

CHOICES FOR THE LIVING, HONOUR FOR THE DEAD:
A CENTURY OF FUNERAL AND MEMORIAL PRACTICES
IN LETHBRIDGE

CORRINE B. LENFESTY

Bachelor of Arts, University of Lethbridge, 1995

A Thesis
Submitted to the Council of Graduate Studies
of the University of Lethbridge
in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS
in History

LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA
September, 1998

© Corrine B. Lenfesty, 1998

Dedicated to my parents
Douglas and Julia Lenfesty.

this would not have happened
without your love and support
and I thank you

Choices for the Living, Honour For the Dead:
A Century of Funeral and Memorial Practices
in Lethbridge

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the customs and traditions surrounding death and memorialization in the history of Lethbridge, paying particular attention to the public "face" of the practices as observed in newspaper death notices, obituaries, in-memoriams, undertaker advertisements, gravestones and cemeteries. It places Lethbridge rituals within the context of the general patterns of western culture, and others, as described by anthropology, history, archaeology, and art history. Its intent is to understand the effects of certain external influences on the realms of personal choice and individuality, and to observe the extent to which these influences have had an impact on what was once a deeply personal family matter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the patient council given me by my supervisor William Baker, and the equally patient encouragement I received from Sandra Bamford and Malcolm Greenshields. Patience is a requirement for those who must nurture a shy flower (*procrastinatus hermita*) that wants to bloom at home alone in the dark.

I would also like to express appreciation to my long-suffering family and friends for enduring what must have seemed like endless grumblings and pontifications on the subjects of life, death, growth, and the writing of a thesis. I would particularly like to thank Debbie, Marlene, Maynard, Penelope and Max for their encouragement and suggestions.

I would also like to thank Doreen Indra for making the initial germination possible, Greg Ellis at The City of Lethbridge Archives and Myrna Pienkowski at the City of Lethbridge Cemetery Records Office for digging up some nice surprises, and Neil Mirau for providing some welcome nourishment.

And a very special thank you to Margaret Kennedy, for planting the seed in the first place.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter I Themes in the Literature.....	12
Chapter II The Early Period.....	36
Chapter III The Transitional Period.....	82
Chapter IV The Conservative Period	113
Chapter V The Recent Period	138
Chapter VI Conclusion.....	165
Bibliography.....	176
Appendices.....	186

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	B.C. Moore Advertisement 1905.....	79
2.	Fetterly funeral procession 1912.....	79
3.	Stafford gravestone 1883.....	80
4.	Macdonald gravestone 1896.....	80
5.	Delay gravestone.....	80
6.	Cox gravestone.....	80
7.	Program of Edward VII Memorial 1910.....	81
8.	Sirrell funeral c. 1929.....	108
9.	Kawamura funeral procession c.1936.....	109
10.	Sawchuk gravestone 1935.....	110
11.	Homemade cross.....	110
12.	Koshman gravestone 1933.....	110
13.	Homemade cross II.....	110
14-18.	Funeral director advertisements 1920s & 30s.....	111
19-20.	Bodnaruk announcements and gravestone.....	112
21-22.	Matteoti story and gravestone.....	112
23.	Norton memorial pamphlet 1949.....	134
24.	Page from Lethbridge Monumental book of designs.....	135
25-27.	Funeral photographs.....	136
28.	Chow-Leong story.....	137
29-30.	Leong Funeral Procession c.1950s.....	137
31-33.	Recent period gravemarkers.....	161
34.	Ericksen memorial card 1979.....	162
35-36.	Clarke memorial card & funeral service program.....	163
37.	White Quills-Fox obituary.....	164
38.	Princess of Wales funeral schedule.....	164

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Methodology.....	186
Appendix B - Cemetery maps.....	189
Appendix C - Gates of Heaven.....	190
Appendix D - Death Registration Forms 1907 & 1985.....	192
Appendix E - Description of Illustrations.....	193

INTRODUCTION

It was in the fall of 1993 that I visited St. Patrick's Cemetery in Lethbridge and first saw the memorial for Jacob and Tatyanna Sawchuk. It is a large monument, made of concrete and steel, and fronted with a remarkable cast-iron plaque, two feet high, four feet long, and two inches thick, that bears the inscription. A finishing touch was provided by the two trees which were planted on the plot and have since grown to the point of obscuring the iron plaque and engulfing parts of the monument. I found it necessary to engage in some physical contortions in order to read the inscription.

Once discovered, the Sawchuk memorial haunted my imagination and suggested so many questions. How was it made, and where, and by whom? Why would a Russian immigrant family have chosen to erect such a memorial and place it among those of their contemporaries, which are so ordinary? Was there something different about this family? Did they wish to make a statement about their status? Why did they make these choices? The monument was not inexpensive and making it required a great deal of technical expertise not to mention specialized facilities. It seems that Jacob Sawchuk worked in the mines, like many of the neighbours beside whom he and Tatyanna are buried, so why is the Sawchuk memorial so very different? It is an intriguing mystery.

After weeks of prowling in cemeteries - a most fascinating and pleasant pastime - I concluded that the same questions I asked of the Sawchuks' could be asked of all the monuments, and

furthermore, that similar questions could be asked of many other aspects of funerary ritual as well.

Having had my curiosity stimulated, I wished to consider seriously the meanings inherent in the things that people do when death comes. How much of what they have done was purely traditional, and as such was unquestioned? Were some things done out of expediency, and how significant was the influence of other factors? Furthermore, I wondered, what do these choices and behaviors mean, as far as both individuals and their community are concerned, and in what ways might these things have changed historically, as far as the city of Lethbridge is concerned?

The first task was to examine the vast body of literature on the subject, especially as it pertains to The Western World from the closing decades of the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. This examination revealed a general pattern for western culture, provided a framework in which to examine the history and society of Lethbridge, and suggested that no more is known of the great mystery of death now than at any time in the past. I soon understood an oft-used phrase attributed to de la Rochefoucault-- "Death, like the sun, cannot be viewed directly". What can be viewed, however, is the incredible variety of means by which human societies have dealt with death. In discussing these, the literature reveals a number of recurring concepts and themes. Chapter I is a discussion of some of these, as well as an overview of many of the works that were studied in preparation for this research.

After applying these concepts and themes to the history of Lethbridge several emerged as applicable and worthy of interest.

Among these were two very important influences: religion and ethnicity. The complexity of these soon became apparent, however, and I determined that a worthwhile discussion of them was beyond the scope of my research, especially since local historical material on these areas was difficult to locate. Therefore, I have set aside these considerations for the present time.

I decided, instead, to focus on two rather straightforward topics. Firstly, the funerary practices and customs actually undertaken in Lethbridge during its century-long history. These are, on the surface, examples of personal choice, but they are also expressions of the socio-cultural standards and the economic climate of the community. Secondly, the external influences that affected the creation and utilization of these practices, which might reveal the actual degree or quality of the choices which were understood to be personal, as well as suggesting something of the relationship between culture, commerce, and government. The point of examining these particular topics was to uncover the meaning inherent in those choices and practices, and in the existence or acceptance of the external influences. They also deal peripherally with some long-standing interests: creativity and personal expression, freedom of choice, the conflict between individuality and the need to maintain a cohesive society, and of course the great mystery of Death itself. In the case of this particular research, then, the questions asked were: how have mortuary practices manifested themselves in the arenas of personal and societal life, what changes may be observed historically, and what may these things tell us about the nature of society and culture in Lethbridge?

I have divided Lethbridge's century into four time periods. They are periods with vaguely defined edges which are partially delineated by historical milestones and partially related to attitudinal and societal changes. The other pertinent reason for the divisions is the presence of noticeable phases in mortuary practices.

The Early Period (Chapter II) spanned the final two decades of the nineteenth century and the first two of the twentieth century, ending with The Great War and the Spanish Influenza epidemic. It was the Victorian-Edwardian era, characterized by a romanticism in the arts, a colonialist-expansionist attitude in politics and economics, and a general sense of the superiority of Britishness in socio-cultural matters. This period witnessed the development of many new technologies: electricity, the wireless, the internal combustion engine, automobiles and aeroplanes, to name a few. The knowledge base of the typical Lethbridgian, while keeping up with these innovations, would have included almost all of the means by which people coped with the everyday necessities of life: how to build houses and privies, make soap, butcher animals, grow a garden, preserve food, make clothing, bake bread in a coal stove, and how to marry, birth, and bury their own. The customs surrounding death at this time were traditional, old-world, and religious.

This was followed by a Transitional Period (Chapter III) which is neither clearly defined nor easy to describe in its own right, but it ended with World War II. It was a period of minimal growth for Lethbridge because of the fluctuating economy and the war, but it embraced the transformation from traditional old world values and customs to the new modern world of consumerism and

professionalism. The self-reliance evident at its beginning gradually gave way to a comfortable dependence upon professional and commercial enterprises. At the same time, the Canadian version of the melting-pot and the first wave of mass-media culture--radio and movies--were at work homogenizing society.

Next, coinciding with the era of the "baby-boom", came a Conservative Period (Chapter IV) encompassing the years from the end of the war to the social revolution of the early seventies. It was characterized by a conformity and a uniformity, perhaps brought on in part by the second wave of mass-media and popular culture which added television to the already existing elements of movies and radio. Everyone was watching and listening to the same things and absorbing lessons about the same basic set of values, standards, and expectations. The relaxation of formality that began during this period may also have resulted from the influences of those mass media. Lethbridge grew steadily due to post-war immigration, the rising birth rate, and a dramatic lowering of the mortality rate. As well, the knowledge base of the typical Lethbridgian expanded into international culture, cold war politics, space exploration, and modern consumerism, at the same time as many of the once-familiar necessity-of-life tasks were forgotten.

The Recent Period (Chapter V) followed the social revolution of the early nineteen seventies and extended to the end of the century. It was marked by changing family structures, diminishing community cohesiveness, and a "globalization" of the entire socio-cultural and economic structure. It was also profoundly affected by the third wave of mass-media culture: multi-channel cable television,

video movies, personal computers, and the explosion of the "information age" and the World-Wide-Web, all of which have encouraged a concomitant focus on the importance of the individual, and on freedom of expression. The knowledge base of Lethbridgians in this period extended beyond space and into cyber-space, atomic structure, and numerology, while many of the once common understandings of daily life remained forgotten. Individual Lethbridgians, like many late-twentieth-century humans living in the Western World, were completely dependent on their highly specialized economic structure.

Consideration of these time periods revealed a complication caused by the ages of the people who died and the ages of the people who arranged or chose the practices. The former are generally older than the latter, so there is always what could be called a generational time-lag. During the Conservative Period, the era characterized by the so-called baby boom, for example, the decisions about funerals and such were being made by the parents of the "boomers", thus the mortuary practices of the period reflected the mentality of the Early and/or Transitional Periods rather than those of the period in which they took place. Only in the recent period have the "boomers" themselves been making those decisions. The values and standards typical of a particular generation, therefore, do not show up in funerary practices until the following generation.

There were three main sources of information about the practices: newspapers, cemeteries and gravestones, and the memories of workers in death-related businesses. Newspapers provided death announcements, obituaries, and in-memoriams from

the entire span of Lethbridge's existence. Gravestones, which are historical documents and archaeological artifacts *in situ*, covered all the time periods as well, and the information that can be extracted from them is amazingly complex. As for the memories, they spanned the second half of the century only. I had hoped that churches and funeral businesses would have records that included details about practices and customs but such was not the case. The main sources of information about the external influences were: government documents, city by-laws, newspapers, death-industry advertisements, and the history of the funeral service industry in Alberta and in the Western world in general.

I expected to find a number of things: that funeral customs were traditional or habitual and as such were rarely questioned, that Lethbridge has indeed matched the patterns that existed in the Western world although there may be variation due to the pioneer context, and some unusual population demographics. I also expected to find some evidence of the much-debated "denial of death", an attitude said to be stronger in the modern West than in any other time or place. There also may be differences stemming from the fact that Lethbridge became the buckle of Alberta's "bible belt", as well, but this aspect will have to wait for further research.

Historically, there is a natural sequence of events that has remained virtually the same as far as practices and customs are concerned, although the specifics have changed. The body is claimed and moved (depending on the location of the death, of course) to await arrangements, and the necessary paperwork performed. The body is then "laid out" which is a term encompassing a specific set of

activities which prepares the body for final disposition, and makes it presentable to family and friends. These activities have taken place either in the home, at the business premises of the undertaker/funeral director, or partially in a medical facility. Also at this time, the mourning family informs relatives and friends by various means, receives visits of condolence, and accepts gifts of food and flowers. They also make all the preparations necessary for the funeral service and any related social gatherings. On the chosen day, a procession takes place from the site of the laying out to the place of the official service.¹ The prescribed service, shaped by a combination of religious requirements, cultural protocols, and family wishes, is followed by another procession to the place of final disposition. This may be followed by a social gathering at the family home, the church, or elsewhere.

The details of most of these activities are extremely difficult to determine, historically, since the situation is forced upon people quite suddenly and decisions are therefore made under some duress --people just want to get it all over with and are usually content to do what is efficient or comfortably traditional. Conceptually, these activities are private and fleeting and if any records of them exist they do so in private places and in memories. Not until the recent period have such decisions been made ahead of time.

After the immediate post-death activities, a period of mourning follows, especially for the closest relatives of the deceased. This can take many different forms depending on ethnicity, religion, social

¹ This procession has not always been necessary since the "laying out" and the funeral have often taken place in the same location.

standing, and time period. Various memorialization activities follow, the most obvious of which is the erection of a permanent monument which is usually accomplished within a year or two of the death, most commonly at the site of the disposition. The other most popular way of commemorating a life is to place an "in-memoriam" in the newspaper, typically at the anniversary of the person's death. The purpose is, of course, to provide a means to publicly remember the deceased. Active memorialization can continue for many years, and in the case of monuments is virtually unending.

As far as post-funeral activities are concerned, most of the details exist in the public realm and are thus easy to access. People have had time to think about things before making decisions about these activities which are meant to be public and, as far as memorialization is concerned, permanent as well.

Some customs are timeless. For example, the coffin was always moved feet-first. This was (and is) the accepted way, although the reasons for it are obscure. Some say it is so that the deceased may symbolically 'walk' on her final journey.² For most denominations, the coffin arrived first at the church (or wherever the service was held). For some denominations, notably Anglican and Roman Catholic, it was traditional for the coffin to be brought in after the people arrived because the entry of the deceased formed the beginning part of the service. Most denominations placed the coffin in a transverse position at the front of the church or chapel, while in Catholic and Anglican services the coffin was traditionally placed so the corpse

² Webb Garrison, *Strange Facts About Death* (Nashville: The Parthenon Press, 1978) 55. This was confirmed by Bryan Watts, Funeral Director, Martin Brothers Funeral Home, Lethbridge, January, 1998.

faced the altar (that is to say, if it could open its eyes and sit up it would see the altar) while in Buddhist services the deceased traditionally faced the exit.³ Once in the cemetery, the body was traditionally laid to rest facing the rising sun, or symbolically walking towards it, but there are certainly exceptions to this.

I believe I have been hampered by the narrowness of my source material; the closets and spare room dresser drawers of the people of Lethbridge are no doubt a rich resource. Such personal archives could yield a variety of documents, artifacts and other tangible evidence of funerary customs such as sympathy cards, mourning cards, homemade bookmarks, memorial pamphlets and photographs, and much more. In fact, the actual keeping of such mementos is a specifically private form of memorialization and is thus difficult to observe.

That having been said, newspapers are a much more fertile source than one might think, as much for what they do not say as what they do say. They have also provided an obvious connection between the private and the public response to death in our culture, and I returned to them again and again, each time with a slightly different understanding of what was, or was not, there.

In Chapter VI, the material is summarized and examined from a number of different perspectives in an attempt to come to some conclusions about Lethbridge funerary practices and their ability (or inability) to simultaneously meet personal and public needs. The validity of the concept of denial will also be discussed, in this context,

³ Bryan Watts, funeral director.

as will the different ways it has been manifest in these personal and public realms.

In a tragic coincidence, while the research for this thesis was underway, Diana the Princess of Wales was killed in a car crash in Paris. I paid very close attention to the local and international response to this tragedy and was amazed by the astonishingly personal feelings her death aroused around the world. This led me to wonder how Lethbridge had responded to the deaths of other personalities. My only sources for this were *The Lethbridge News* and *The Lethbridge Herald*, which were consulted for news of famous deaths in the earlier periods. Despite a lack of personal response from citizens, there were a few differences and similarities worth noting.

This history of death in Lethbridge begins with Nicholas Sheran whose demise was of an all too common type for the early settler--he drowned in the Oldman River in May of 1882. His body was never found and I could locate no mention of any funeral service ever being held, nor of any memorial being erected at the time.⁴ In the meantime, the oldest memorial in Lethbridge is the sandstone marker carved for Henry Stafford, whose death was also typical of pioneer life--he succumbed to typhus in the summer of 1883, before there was a doctor or a minister in the area, and he was buried by his family and neighbours in the river bottom not far from his home.

⁴ Although no traditional monument exists for Nicholas Sheran, his life has been commemorated by the West Lethbridge city park, community school, and leisure centre which bear his name.

CHAPTER I

Themes in the literature.

Death and funeral practices were not popular topics for serious debate until the middle of the twentieth century when publication of *The Meaning of Death* began a virtual tidal wave of death books.¹ By the end of the century, universities were offering programs in death studies or thanatology.² The vast literature on death takes many different approaches and utilizes a wide variety of settings in time and place, but regardless of the differences, some recurrent concepts can be observed apropos of this history of death practices in Lethbridge:

- a) the fear of death is the driving force behind many socio-cultural constructs (especially religion) and as a result, there is an immense significance to mortuary ritual in relationship to the structure and functioning of a society.
- b) the death practices utilized by western culture are often very different from those of the rest of the world, especially in the twentieth century, and many of those practices are forms of avoidance, or to use the stronger term, denial.

Considering, first, the significance of mortuary rituals. There can be little argument with the statement that death is a transition from

¹ Herman Feifel, ed., *The Meaning of Death* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959).

² For example, the University of Minnesota offers a regular program in death studies.

one state to another and, as is the case whenever there is a significant change in the human condition, it is marked by significant ritual. Humans have a need for ritual on both a personal and societal level. It reflects the cultural values of the group to which one belongs, and participation in ritual not only maintains but actively structures those values.³ At the societal level, the complexity of the rituals surrounding death is also directly related to the credo of the culture, while at the personal level, the rituals are further affected by the status of the individual and/or the family most directly involved.

Regardless of the actual nature of the ceremonies, a number of things are accomplished by them: they acknowledge a death and commemorate a life, they accomplish the disposal of a corpse in accordance with the needs of the culture and its ideology, they reenact a familiar religious rite, and they reassure and reestablish the social group and the social order.⁴ On a personal level, they tie individuals (in this case both the deceased and the mourners) to the group and to their common beliefs.⁵ Mortuary rituals are rife with symbolism and repetition. Symbolism is immensely significant in the enactment of ritual since it has the capacity to reach very deeply into the psyche.⁶ Repetition, meanwhile, has a comforting influence due to

³ Michael C. Kearle, *Endings: a Sociology of Death and Dying* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 95. See also Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 7. Bloch & Parry use even stronger words, saying that mortuary rituals actually *create* the social order.

⁴ Robert Fulton, "The Funeral in Contemporary Society," in *Dying: Facing the Facts*, ed. Wass, et al, (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), 257.

⁵ Bronislaw Malinowski, "Death and the Reintegration of the Group," *Magic, Science, and Religion* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954), 29.

⁶ J.J. Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967, orig. pub. c.1880), 49.

familiarity (the idea that it is a re-enactment of something very ancient), and it therefore has a certain air of authority.⁷ Comfort is also derived from the religious belief itself, especially when strong emotion is engaged at the same time. The familiar traditional activities have the capacity to turn an unpleasant but natural biological fact into a social and spiritual event, which represents the triumph of order over chaos.⁸ The symbolic elements can simultaneously be representative of different things to different people at many different levels. Illustrative examples of this can be found in the funeral rites held for John F. Kennedy in 1963 and for Diana the Princess of Wales in 1997, both of which were widely broadcast on television. In both cases, one ceremony served as a drama that enacted both personal and communal loss and met the needs of individuals at a personal level, at a family level, and at a community level, as well as meeting the needs of the state, of the nation, and of the people of the whole world.

It is likely that the fear of death "haunts the human animal like nothing else."⁹ There can therefore be a natural instinct to want to run away from a death in order to avoid all the unpleasantnesses which must surely follow, and this is especially the case for modern Westerners. This instinct is resisted, however, in favour of a coming-together, using ritual to tie the whole group to the deceased and to

⁷ Peter Gose, Professor of Anthropology, University of Lethbridge, in discussions with the author, Spring, 1994. See also Mircea Eliade *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954), 4. Eliade says that the most meaningful human acts are reproductions of mythical prototypes.

⁸ Malinowski, 948, and Bloch & Parry, 12.

⁹ Huntington, Richard, & Peter Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 194 (quoting from Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death*).

the bereaved and to communally held beliefs, as well as for the comfort which it offers.

There are other conflicting instincts as well, particularly in the West. People want to get rid of the corpse as soon as possible since it is an unpleasant reminder of the inescapable and it is also potentially dangerous. Yet they are reluctant to part with it since it is the tangible evidence of the loved one's existence and as long as it can still be seen the loved one is not really gone. They also want to prevent the corpse from decomposing since the idea of a loved one rotting away is difficult to bear. At one and the same time, the deceased is loved yet the corpse is loathed. People want to maintain their ties to the deceased loved one, yet also to no longer see or think about the corpse with all of its unpleasant connotations. Together, these two accomplishments will enable them to continue with 'normal' life. The bereaved may feel happy that they are still alive to enjoy the continuance of their families and their communities, and they may also feel guilty for the very same reason. Guilt may also be caused by feelings of relief that suffering has ended, not only for the loved one but also for themselves.

On an emotional level, the funeral and burial ceremonies of Western Culture give comfort to the bereaved by functioning as a sort of 'shock-absorber'.¹⁰ They are a public expression of strong potentially negative emotions such as shock and sorrow and fear, softened by the warmth of togetherness. The funeral has been described as 'half ordeal-half party', reflecting the fact that it is a difficult occasion that is tempered by the joy of a reunion of family

¹⁰ Kearle, 45.

and friends.¹¹ However they are described, the rituals of the funeral and the burial are the final phases of the transition from one state to another, as the deceased, the mourners, and the community can all be said to pass through three stages: an ending, a pause, and a new beginning.¹² The deceased is separated from the activities of daily life and after a few days of existence as a corpse in a shroud or a box is buried or burned--three stages. The mourners are segregated from society as the ones most affected by grief, they then adopt unusual behaviors and engaged in unusual customs for a period of time, and then they participated in the ceremony of the public funeral which reunited them with the community--again three stages. The community was separated from the deceased and the role that he or she had played. The period of preparation for the funeral is like a brief pause in the life of the community before the final rituals allow for a reshuffling and re-assigning of roles to take place so that the society can carry on without the deceased--again three stages. Death is, in this interpretation, a passage from one state to another, for an individual, for a family, and for a community.

Death rituals have been interpreted in other ways as well. For many cultures, there is a direct and unabashed relationship between death and sexuality. In the great unending cycle, birth and death are always preceding and following each other; there cannot therefore be one without the other. For example, in parts of Madagascar, Christian mourners boisterously celebrate the fact that Adam and Eve chose to

¹¹ Huntington & Metcalf, 96.

¹² As in the classic interpretation of Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage: a Classical Study of Cultural Celebrations* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), particularly chapter 8 "funerals". The familiar anthropological terms are: separation, liminality, and reintegration.

have sex, reproduce and die, rather than live forever.¹³ This sexual and celebratory element is entirely missing from the publicly acknowledged purpose and meaning of funerals in the West, due in large part to the prudish nature of European Christianity. Western artists, though, have often juxtaposed images of death and eroticism, or agony and ecstasy.¹⁴

On a social level the funeral is also the "finished picture of a person, providing a ritual occasion when one reflects on the successes and shortcomings of a concluded biography."¹⁵ It also "marks the endeavours of a generation ... [and reveals] ... how many lives can be touched by a single individual".¹⁶ Exaggerated examples of the significance of someone 'touching the lives of people' can be observed in the cases of famous individuals such as Marilyn Monroe who is still loved and missed by thousands of people even thirty-five years after her death. People did not know her personally, yet she 'touched' them, and continues to 'touch' them in some way. 'Touching' people is obviously very significant.

¹³ Huntington & Metcalf , 96. See also David Suzuki, "At War With Death," program #7 *A Planet for the Taking* , CBC Television, 1985.

¹⁴ One motif with a long history is that of "Death and the Maiden" which depicts death as the seducer of beautiful young women, and, based on the insight of novelists and also on personal discussion, the deep relationship between sex and death may still be subconsciously recognized; couples do often engage in passionate lovemaking soon after they learn of a death--see Rita Mae Brown *Southern Discomfort* for just one, albeit unusual, modern literary example. For visual examples of the sex/death juxtaposition see the paintings of Heironymous Bosch and Peter Bruegel, and Bernini's "Vision of The Ecstasy of St. Theresa". Even the motif known to Art History as a *Pietà* can be interpreted in this way. For a graphic description of the more gruesome and disturbing manifestations of the death/sexuality relationship, see Christine Quigley, *The Corpse: A History* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1996), 298-301, "Necrophilia".

¹⁵ Kearle, 95.

¹⁶ Ibid.

There are also several subtle protocols to be observed in the activities surrounding the death rites. For example, the order and the means by which people are informed of the death will be assessed by the family and by the community in retrospect, and errors will be noted. The choice of persons who will play an active role in the rituals will be similarly analysed.¹⁷ The choices made about whether or when to pay a visit of condolence to the bereaved or to phone them or to view the remains, the choice of how many tears should be shed publicly or what should be said to whom at a certain time, all will be judged for their appropriateness. These are all subtle means of evaluating "the importance of ... [a] person in the life of the deceased and in the estimation of survivors".¹⁸ There are actually two kinds of crying at funerals: the private, which expresses sorrow, and the public, which expresses social bonding.¹⁹ The social bonding is so important that many cultures engage in loud ritual crying, often utilizing paid or designated criers. This practice recognizes that a community needs to see expressions of grief, but it also solves the problem of each member having to worry about how much crying they should do; they do not need to cry in public at all, it is being done on their behalf by the criers. This is another feature that has

¹⁷ There is an example from Lethbridge history, the "Tar and Feathers" case of 1895, that features an aspect of this idea of appropriate behavior at funerals. Simply stated, James was engaged in a sexual relationship with the wife of his friend Charles. Charles then killed himself. As if this were not bad enough for his reputation, James proceeded to act the role of chief mourner at Charles' funeral, which so further aroused the ire of the town that a number of men assaulted James in the night and 'tared and feathered' him. See Wm. M. Baker, ed., *Pioneer Policing in Southern Alberta: Deane of the Mounties 1888-1914*. (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1993), 68.

¹⁸ Huntington & Metcalf, 199.

¹⁹ Ibid., 31, referring to Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*..

faded from Western funerals, although it once was common.²⁰ However, the amount of crying done in public is still consciously measured, by those doing the crying, and by those observing.

Funerary rituals are thus a type of arena in which physical, emotional, spiritual, and even political aspects of life come together, and in so doing they meet individual needs and the needs of society at a particularly crucial moment in life.

Although most of the aspects discussed so far are entirely relevant to Western Culture, there were differences worth noting in the death practices of the nineteenth and twentieth century West. The causes were ideological, social, religious, and economic, but they stemmed largely from the fact that Westerners were not as comfortable with most biological processes and natural bodily functions as were members of many other cultures. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century society (especially in the English-speaking world) tried to hide most biological functions--defecation, copulation, birth and death--behind euphemisms and social restrictions; they either became fanciful, ribald, or medical, and yet always they remained embarrassing. Having learned how to move mountains and change the course of rivers, Westerners had come to think of themselves as above nature. These bodily functions were constant reminders that they were not.

²⁰ It was a standard feature of funerals in Ancient Greece and Rome, for example, see for example J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), 43-50, and it continues to be a feature of funeral ritual in countries with a Mediterranean, and particularly a Latin, heritage, see Robert Habenstein and William Lamers, *Funeral Customs the World Over* (Milwaukee: Bulfin Printers, Inc., 1960). See also Quigley, 71-72.

In many cultures the process of decomposition of the body, another natural function, was welcomed and encouraged in order that the clean dry bones could be permanently placed in a significant location, commonly among the bones of the ancestors.²¹ Westerners, on the other hand, were repulsed by the idea of decomposition. This fact became an inspiration for horror and morbidity in the popular arts, but it also contributed to the general acceptance of embalming and other restorative techniques, including the use of sealed coffins and vaults advocated by the funeral service industry and often required by law. Although embalming may delay it long enough to perform the necessary ceremonies, and sealed coffins and vaults will provide peace-of-mind, none of these techniques will prevent decomposition.²²

As mentioned above, a close connection between sexuality and death is recognized in many cultures, but not so much in the West. For Westerners, the idea of pairing love and death, sex and death, birth and death, is seen as somewhat revolting or abnormal.²³ There is the recognition that there is power in these pairings, however; the

²¹ Examples may be found in Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand* (Aberdeen: Cohen & West, 1960), and in Huntington & Metcalf, regarding the Berawan of Borneo who practice second burial after the flesh has decayed, and of course there are examples from Medieval and Early Modern Europe in which the cleaned bones of the dead were displayed in artistic arrangements in charnel houses and catacombs, see for example Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 51 and 383. But there are many other examples not as remote, notably the early Chinese immigrants to Canada, who periodically sent boxes of bones home to China for final burial there, and the traditional cultures of the North American Aborigines of the Plains region.

²² Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1963), chapter 6. According to Mitford, bodies treated to *successfully* prevent decomposition would look like "old shoe leather" (80), and the more tightly a body is sealed into a coffin, the worse will be the rotting process (84).

²³ Huntington & Metcalf, 96. Also, consider the discomfort caused by the film "Kissed" with its modern depiction of erotic necrophilia.

continued popular interest in the classic vampire legend is evidence of this since the vampire is part ghost, part evil spirit, part corpse, part lover, part sexual predator.

In the West, particularly in later twentieth-century United States and Canada, there was a belief in the concept that life should be happy. Aging and dying intruded into this happiness and were dreaded, for that reason. There was probably a direct relationship between the avoidance or denial of death and the Western obsession with youth. Aging and dying were both hidden from view: the former behind makeup, dye, and surgery; the latter behind curtains and doors and edifices.²⁴ Individuals who exhibited the signs of either dreaded state were lowered in status, even to that of a minor, no longer accorded the respect due to the young and vital, and often restricted in the opportunity to decide for themselves.²⁵ As well as being youth-obsessed, twentieth-century Western society also became increasingly oriented towards the importance of individuality. In this mind-set, the death of a young individual, especially a child, was doubly devastating. This was in contrast with the more adult-centred nineteenth-century West in which children died with appalling frequency yet with less social devastation due to their lesser social status, and to the realities of mortality rates at the time.²⁶ It was also common in the West, as in much of the world, to want to be buried with one's kin or one's ancestors. For the settlers of

²⁴ Kearle, 47.

²⁵ Huntington & Metcalf, 201.

²⁶ The Dominion Census of Canada, 1891, reported that of the 117 deaths in Alberta, 65 were of persons under the age of 15 yrs. The Index of *The Lethbridge News* and *The Macleod Gazette 1882-1900* reveals that of the deaths reported during the period, fully one-third were of infants and children!

Western Canada this was not always possible and for the highly mobile population of the late twentieth century, having adjusted to life far from one's 'roots', it became far less important, not to mention inconvenient. The increasing sense of the significance of the individual and the simultaneous loosening of family ties may be the most significant explanation for the relative scarcity of family plots in the cemeteries of Lethbridge (at least of the type which is easily recognizable as such). It may also explain a new trend at the very end of the twentieth century: people have recognized that the graves of their own ancestors are rarely seen or visited and family history is being forgotten or ignored by many people. Therefore, perhaps in order to prevent themselves from being so easily forgotten by future generations, people have begun to create more varied and personal memorials with more significant epitaphs than have been seen since the beginning of the century.

Religious belief used to be able to soothe the frightening worry over death. People could take comfort in the knowledge that there was a heavenly reward after the troubles of this life were over. During the twentieth century, however, the strength of traditional religious belief has weakened.²⁷ Belief in the new 'religions' of science and economics, however, offers little comfort when it comes to death. Science is able to solve many problems and accomplish many modern miracles, but the medical profession is left with a sense of embarrassment since death is evidence of failure on their part. Thus, a

²⁷ Michael Adams, *Sex in the Snow: Canadian Social Values at the End of the Millennium* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1997), 24. Adams' research indicates that in the 1940s, 60% of Canadians attended church regularly, while the number in the 1990s is 30%.

great expense of time, effort and money is directed toward the goal of defeating death on the battlefield of science, the assumption being that its defeat is possible. Death, once firmly in the religious realm, or perhaps the moral, has moved into the realm of technology.²⁸ As for economics, that is a world view that all but ignores death, except perhaps as a means by which certain businesses may contribute to the GDP because of it.

A result of the continuous medical battle being combined with the aforementioned cultural obsession with youth is the creation of institutional ghettos for the aging, the sick, and the dying. Death once took place at home, with family members witness to the pain, the smells, and other myriad unpleasantnesses, but during the twentieth century the death scene shifted to hospital or nursing home where often the only witness to the final act of life would be an overtaxed staff-member.²⁹ The increased use of drugs in this setting has had a double-sided effect: the dying may suffer less, but they may also be consigned to intellectual oblivion long before the physical end and are thus prevented from experiencing their own death. By these processes, both to individuals and to society, death is relegated to the unfamiliar - it is rendered invisible.³⁰ In fact, the Western capacity to deny the existence of death is so successful that it has been

²⁸ John D. Morgan, "Living Our Dying: Social and Cultural Considerations," in Wass et al. 25.

²⁹ Stanley B. Burns, "Death in America: A Chronology," *Sleeping Beauty: Memorial Photography in America* (Altadena: Twelvetrees Press, 1990), no page numbers. The number of hospital deaths surpassed the number of home deaths in the 1940s, in the U.S.

³⁰ Lynne Ann DeSpelder & Albert Lee Strickland, *The Last Dance: Encountering Death and Dying*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1996), 67.

humourously compared to ignoring an elephant in the living room!³¹ (“Goodness! How do you live with that elephant in your living room?” “What elephant?”)

Perhaps the greatest difference found in the rituals of death in Western Culture is the presence of the funeral industry. There have always been businesses that helped with certain practical, difficult, or unpleasant aspects of the whole procedure, but it is in the twentieth century that these enterprises have grown to enormous size and influence. The persons known as undertakers would typically have washed and dressed or shrouded the corpse, placed it in a coffin which they would often have provided, and transported it to the church and to the graveyard. This occupation had always had a rather low status and was the object of some derision and so its members began the process, in the late 19th century, of transforming themselves into a respected profession.³² Their transformation from Undertaker to Funeral Director involved the gradual creation of ‘traditions’ which encouraged or necessitated their involvement in all aspects of the process, so much so that their presence became indispensable.³³ The Funeral Director not only performed the tasks traditional to the Undertaker, but also became the coordinator of a social event. This became such a lucrative business that it was soon true to say that the average American was likely to be closer to a

³¹ Charlie Walton, *Packing for the Big Trip: Enhancing Your Life through Awareness of Death* (Ventura: Pathfinder Publishing, 1997), chapter 4 “The Elephant in the Living Room”.

³² The attitudes toward undertakers may have been partially a result of the ancient belief that whoever touched a dead body was rendered unclean. For example, see *The Holy Bible* (Numbers XIX:11).

³³ J. Wagner, ed. *Reforming the Rites of Death* (New York: Paulist Press, 1968), pp171-176.

funeral parlour than to a police or fire station.³⁴ It must be said, of course, that most modern Canadians and Americans *want* these services and are quite happy to pay for them.

The increasing influence of commerce and medical science are the two main components of a general institutionalization of dying and death in the twentieth century West. What was, at the beginning of the period which is covered by this history, a private family matter taken care of in the parlour of the family's home, and in their church and its graveyard, is at the end a process taken care of by business enterprises and a rather mysterious factory-like system.

There is another aspect to the incursion into a once private matter: that of bureaucracy. The modern state has multiple motives for counting and regulating its population and although some of them are medical, most are legal, according to its own explanation.³⁵ Law and Government reached the Northwest Territories of Canada along with the settlers, so there was hardly a time when the citizens of the area did not have to deal with bureaucracy. The law required that deaths be registered by filling out government forms which included information supplied by medical personnel and by family members or other witnesses.³⁶ However, since many recent immigrants may have been unaware of the rules or may not have been literate, and many people lived in remote areas, it is quite likely that some deaths

³⁴ F. Gonzales-Crussi, "On Embalming" in *The Literature of Fact: Readings for Writers*, ed. Winterowd et al (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1988), 181.

³⁵ *Vital Statistics Handbook containing International List of Causes of Death* (Fifth (1938) Revision), Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 12.

³⁶ C.C. McCaul, B.A., Q.C., and H. Harvey, B.A., L.L.B., compilers, *Ready Reference Guide to the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, 1896* (Toronto: The Goodwin Law Book and Publishing Co., Ltd., 1896), indicates that the ordinances regarding cemeteries and the registration of deaths were revised from those of 1888 to 1892.

went unrecorded. There is an ultimate irony resulting from the process: bureaucracy tends to depersonalize and homogenize at the very same time that it offers many opportunities for 'immortality' on paper.

The last great difference is in public and private attitudes. These have been well chronicled and analysed by a number of writers, but from the perspective of the history of Western Culture, one of the most quoted is Philippe Ariès.³⁷ Ariès has identified four phases in the conception of and the attitude towards death throughout the history of the West. First, was the sense of a common destiny for all, with each person content to play a part in that common destiny. As long as one had been baptized into the Roman Catholic faith, one's soul was safe and would ascend into heaven at the end of the world. Death was accepted as it was; its qualities were not frightening or chaotic but were 'tamed'.³⁸ Second, a major shift in perspective emerged towards the end of the medieval period with a growing emphasis on the individual, and on the Christian concept of Judgement Day, at which time each person would be judged and would be rewarded with heaven or condemned to hell depending on the nature of their lives. This necessitated that each person take responsibility for his or her own life as an individual. It also meant that death became personal--the death of oneself.³⁹ (These two phases do not pertain to this history, specifically, but they are part of

³⁷ Philippe Ariès has published a number of works on the subject of death attitudes and imagery: *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), *Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), and *Images of Man and Death*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985).

³⁸ Ariès, *Hour*, Part I, and *Attitudes*, Chapter I.

³⁹ Ariès, *Hour*, Part II, and *Attitudes*, Chapter II.

the background of all European and Christian culture). Third, in the nineteenth century a new concept emerged which focused on the significance of the other person and therefore also, the death of that person.⁴⁰ During the previous two centuries, Judgement Day had moved through time, conceptually, from the far distant future (the end of the world) to the moment of death. The beloved dead were therefore not mouldering in the ground awaiting judgement day, but were already in heaven. This concept of the heavenly reward, which was infinitely better than this sorrowful and difficult life, led to the idea of 'the beautiful death', which was romanticized in popular arts and crafts, poetry, literature, and many new forms of memorialization.⁴¹

'The beautiful death' was also elaborately mourned. In fact, mourning became such a significant social fact that many business enterprises thrived by supplying the necessary specialized paraphernalia: clothing, gifts, decorations, cloth, stationery, and so on. Mourning was so emphasized during the Victorian and Edwardian eras that it may have had the effect of actually diminishing the acceptance of death as a reality.⁴² It became an opportunity for drama in the lives of ordinary people who used it to express the hope of reunion with their loved ones in the afterlife.

The belief in a better existence after death is just one example of the many means of avoidance employed in the West. This concept

⁴⁰ Ariès, *Hour*, Part IV, and *Attitudes*, Chapter III.

⁴¹ The art of the Victorian period frequently included romantic images of death, notably in the popular photographs of Robinson and Hawarden, and in the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites and their contemporaries, as well as in mortuary photography, mourning cards, and elaborately decorated grave markers.

⁴² DeSpelder and Strickland, 67.

has come to be regarded as the 'denial' of death.⁴³ Conceptually, dying used to be something that people *did*, but by the middle of the twentieth century it became something that *happened* to people--when things didn't work out right, or an accident occurred, or the medical profession failed. But for many, death was not really the end of existence but the beginning of life in the hereafter, whatever that may be. Both the reality and the inevitability of it was denied. For example, the popularly uttered phrase "saved her life" was just a denial of the reality; the best one can actually do is "postpone her death," (but that just doesn't have the same ring to it.)

If it is viable to suggest that most socio-cultural constructs are a result of the human fear of death, it may then be equally viable to say that many of those constructs are designed for the express purpose of denying death or, at any rate, avoiding thinking about it.⁴⁴ Consider religion. One of its primary functions is to deny the finality of death by promising an afterlife of some sort, and the attainment of that afterlife is frequently the goal of the faith. Central to the story that all Christians learn, for example, is that death is part of God's plan; it is the consequence of original sin, but there is no need for the faithful to worry because the promise of the afterlife takes away its sting. In secular terms, death is the cost of being born. However, the inevitable is kept hidden behind "socially constructed curtains"⁴⁵ in both the religious and secular realms.

⁴³ Ariès, *Hour*, Part V, and *Attitudes*, Chapter IV. Ariès uses the phrases 'forbidden death', 'the invisible death', and 'death denied'. The existence of denial of death is a frequent topic of discussion in the literature.

⁴⁴ See Franz Borkenau, "The Concept of Death", and Charles W. Wahl, "The Fear of Death", in *Death and Identity*, ed. Robert Fulton (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1965), see also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Death and Reintegration*.

⁴⁵ Robert Fulton & Gilbert Geis, "Death and Social Values", Fulton, 70.

Cathedrals and churches are rather like exalted monuments to the denial of death, and their secular equivalents are hospitals which function in the same way for modern society, when it comes to death.⁴⁶ One could also add funeral homes to this list; although everyone knows what they are, these structures usually look more like restaurants or small hotels than places where funerals are held and corpses are stored. Within these institutions the denial is cultivated on a daily basis. The afterlife is assumed to be the destiny of the faithful in the first instance. Recovery from illness, no matter how severe, is assumed to be the destiny of the faithful in the second. In the third instance, the inside of a funeral home is just as bland and featureless as the exterior, giving no clue as to what really happens there, and a trouble-free return to normalcy is assumed to be the destiny of those who voluntarily enter. No doubts are acceptable. Death shall not prevail in the hallowed halls.

If it should actually happen that death comes and takes someone away, it can be explained. In the first example it was part of God's plan and was therefore meant to happen. His plan is mysterious but will be understood by the faithful in due time. In the second, the doctors used heroic measures and everything that could be done was done, or things did not go quite as expected, or the patient did not respond, or the damage was too extensive, or the patient did not get medical help quickly enough. But as the medical profession learns from each case, the next patient who experiences this same situation will probably not die. In this way, the myth is perpetuated that medical science can and will find a way to prevent death, eventually.

⁴⁶ Kearle, 13.

In the third example, the soothing tones of recorded music and the voices of experienced professionals suggest that this difficult period will soon be over and things will return to normal as though nothing had happened.

In each case, be it church or hospital or funeral home, the dead have not really gone far. In the popular imagination, their spirits would hover around and look after loved ones.⁴⁷ This belief was reflected in many practices, from adherence to 'New Age' or 'occult' philosophies that understood souls to be reborn again and again to repeatedly find the re-incarnated souls of their past loved ones, to the predictions of psychics, and the pronouncements of mediums who communicated with spirits, to the expression of belief that a dead loved one helped or saved someone, to something as mundane as the inclusion of visual depictions of the concept in a daily cartoon strip in which the spirit of the grandfather kept the children from harm.⁴⁸

Many practices could be interpreted as denial. The legislated use of flat gravemarkers in many cemeteries, for example, has the effect of making the dead invisible.⁴⁹ The use of embalming has the effect of making corpses look more like they are asleep and well,

⁴⁷ Charles O. Jackson, "Death Shall Have no Dominion: the Passing of the World of the Dead in America", in *Death and Dying: Views From Many Cultures*, ed. Richard A. Kalish (Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), 48.

⁴⁸ Bill Keane, *The Family Circus* (Cowles Synd., Inc.), as featured in *The Lethbridge Herald* daily and Saturday comics. Keane frequently uses the "guardian-spirit-grandpa" motif to demonstrate how children survive their own careless but innocent behavior.

⁴⁹ This trend was popular in western Canada during the conservative period. It was thought that the flat marker placed in an unbroken lawn space (called a 'memorial garden') was neater than the typical graveyard jumble of upright stones and slabs, and that it would also provide for easier maintenance. This last supposition was incorrect, since grass grows over the markers and they have to be regularly dug out. They also sink unevenly and corners sometimes tip up far enough to be damaged by mower blades.

rather than dead. It is actually the intention of the embalmer's profession to create a "beautiful memory picture"⁵⁰ for the mourners. Viewing this type of painted-padded-powdered-waxed-injected-sprayed-wired-glued-and-sewn object (which more closely resembles a mannequin than a corpse) has less to do with the reality of death than with the banishment or avoidance of all things unpleasant.⁵¹

Modern society prefers to pay professionals to assume the responsibility for unpleasant tasks even when, as in this case, those tasks have traditionally been family obligations.⁵² If people had to wash and dress the body of their loved one, they would see the realities of death with its smells and excretions and other grotesqueries. Death is not like being asleep and it is not always as beautiful or peaceful as it appears in movies or stories or old paintings. The purpose, then, of hiding the truth behind make-up and other types of falseness is to make it less unpleasant, and to help achieve the goal of avoidance. Modern Westerners would not choose to accept falsehood rather than truth in most areas of their lives, but when it comes to death and other unpleasantnesses, it is quite acceptable, even desirable. They would rather not know.

The popular entertainment forms of film and television also helped society to avoid understanding death realistically. Characters have died quite regularly in these media, of course, but either the

⁵⁰ Mitford, chapter 6. See also David Suzuki, "At War With Death", 1989, among others.

⁵¹ Gonzales-Crussi, 178-9. See also Huntington & Metcalf, 194, and Kearle, 47, among others. Quigley includes a detailed description of the embalming and restorative process, pp. 57-60, as does Mitford, 68-74. (I wonder if people would request the procedure for their loved ones if they knew what was actually involved.)

⁵² Fulton and Geis, 68.

deceased was not a sympathetic character, or the death took place beyond the frame of the action, or it took place so early in the story that the character was not known at all, or the death was romanticized into sweet sentimentality, or the death was the excuse for revenge or justice. It was a rarity for death and grief to be accurately portrayed.⁵³ In any case, the audience generally understood that they were watching actors who would live again after the movie was finished, just as children do after playing dead.

One more obvious form of denial might be the euphemism--there exist at least seventy words or phrases to express 'dead', 'died', or 'dying'. The funeral industry created a specific lexicon to avoid over-use of the 'd' words as well as other words too suggestive of the 'd' words.⁵⁴ The use of these alternatives was ostensibly to soften the cold realities and to remain sensitive to the feelings of the bereaved, but they also helped the funeral industry with its image problems, and served the goal of denial very well.⁵⁵

One more theme that appears frequently in the literature, although it is not specifically about death, is the nature vs. culture

⁵³ There are exceptions, of course. One example is the 1984 film *Places in the Heart*, which depicts the sudden death of a young small town sheriff in the Deep South, c.1930. His dead and bleeding body is brought home to his wife and laid on the kitchen table for her and her children to deal with. The scenes of the young widow and her sister washing and dressing the body are presented with intense, yet tender, realism.

⁵⁴ Mitford refers to industry euphemisms as "funeralese", 231.

⁵⁵ A list of such euphemisms can be found in Fulton and Geis, p.15, another in Kramer, 14, and another in Mitford 18, 77, and 229. Mitford discusses this numerous times since it is a prominent feature of the funeral industry which she was investigating. See also Harald Gunderson, *A History of Funeral Direction in Alberta* (Calgary: Alberta Funeral Association, 1993), 55, which features actual instructions given to members of the industry in this regard.

dichotomy.⁵⁶ It has been discussed as biology vs. society, or as the animal vs. the symbolic.⁵⁷ Whatever words are used, the suggestion is that human beings exist simultaneously in two realms: one governed by the laws of the natural sciences, and another governed by the laws which they have created for themselves. Philosophically, this dual existence creates a dilemma. On the one hand, humans seem able to transcend nature by using their well-developed intellect and their creativity; on the other hand, they exist in bodies that continue to embarrass them by smelling and excreting and aging. On top of all that, the bodies of these creatures who can create symphonies, move mountains, split the atom, and visualize black holes, still die and rot away. All human beings, in whatever socio-cultural setting they have existed, have had to develop some means of dealing with this dual reality. The best they have been able to do is create religion to promise that death is not final, that there is some higher purpose to life, and (especially in Western Culture) that human beings are somehow separate from nature. There is the school of thought that says the reality of death must simply be accepted for what it is, the final phase of existence for all living things. But secular thought also celebrates the uniqueness of each individual, and posits the idea that the death at the end of it does not matter as long as the life was well-lived, successful, and/or productive. One might even say that death may be better accepted as the goal of life rather than the end of it.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ The concept of this dichotomy--nature/culture--originated with Claude Lèvi-Strauss who discussed it in *The Raw and the Cooked*, (New York: 1969), and elsewhere.

⁵⁷ This pairing is from Lloyd R. Bailey Sr., *Biblical Perspectives on Death* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 1.

⁵⁸ This concept is from Carl Jung, see "The Soul and Death," in Feifel, *Meaning*, 3-15.

There is another reality, however. Throughout history, philosophers have discussed the nature of the mind--the personality, the memory, the intellect--and wondered if it is purely physical or something more.⁵⁹ Science can explain physical life and death, but the mystery of the nature of the mind evades scientific solutions and thus requires another approach. Perhaps if, physically, living things are comprised of atoms which continue to exist even after death, and which would be recycled or reintegrated if the natural course of events were allowed to unfold, then the mind may also continue after death and whatever it is comprised of would also be recycled or reintegrated.⁶⁰ Perhaps each individual is part of a whole which never ends despite the apparent end of its constituent parts, and perhaps this is true for the mind as well. Each psyche may be part of a larger whole as each body is part of the whole of the living world.⁶¹ On the other hand, the mind, with its memories and personality, may simply be electrical energy passing along familiar neural pathways and when the heart stops beating and the brain dies and the electricity stops, the mind simply ceases to exist.

These Nineteenth and Twentieth Century concepts, changes, dualities, mysteries, denials, and explanations of mortuary ritual, are all applicable to Lethbridge to one degree or another. In the chapters that follow, I will describe some of the customs, influences, and

⁵⁹ For a concise overview of how western philosophers have dealt with these problems, see Jacques Choron, *Death and Western Thought* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1963).

⁶⁰ The idea--that the atoms comprising an individual's body at time of death could and even should be recycled--has caused me to privately refer to cemeteries as fancy landfills, wasting a lot of perfectly useful stuff.

⁶¹ Jung, 8.

attitudes that existed in Lethbridge during the course of its history and will attempt to determine whether Lethbridge matches the patterns set up in the literature.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY PERIOD

This history begins with Nicholas Sheran who, along with his sister Marcella and later his wife Awatoyakew, was the first resident of the place called Sheran's Ferry or Sheran's Crossing. Sheran was the first settler to die there, too, in the summer of 1882.¹ The settlement was called Coalbanks for a time, then was given the name Lethbridge in 1885, was incorporated as a town in 1891, and became a city in 1906.

The forty-year time span from the beginning of Lethbridge to the Great War saw the population of the settlement increase from two persons to approximately ten thousand.² The provincial mortality rate at the time fluctuated between a low of 5.9 per thousand to a high of 15.2, but the average was in the vicinity of 8.5.³ What this meant for Lethbridge was six deaths or fewer per month, which makes it seem somewhat surprising to find so many undertakers active in that early period. Before 1900 these included: Climie and Robertson and their successor John Craig, J.H. Lawrence,

¹ Technically, Sheran did not drown at Lethbridge but up-river at the Kipp crossing, according to *The Macleod Gazette* report of July 30, 1882. He was the first resident of the townsite to die, however, and so I begin this history with him.

² Alex Johnston and Andy den Otter, *Lethbridge: A Centennial History* (Lethbridge: City of Lethbridge and Lethbridge Historical Society, 1991), 230.

³ Death rates for the early period were extrapolated from Alberta Health and Vital Statistics "Estimated population and number of deaths for Alberta 1905-1991" as published in Gunderson, p. 237, and Census of Canada, 1891, vol. IV, table K, "Ages of the Dead and Proportion to 1000 of the population," p. 420. The high number of 15.2 is from 1918 and is no doubt due to the Influenza epidemic.

and D. Brodie. Shortly after the turn of the century these names gave way to: Brodie and Stafford, Campbell's, B.C. Moore and his successor R.G. Addison, F.T. Brewer, T.S. Fetterly, S.Y. Hurst and his successor Charles Mackay. At any given time, there were either two or three Undertakers working in Lethbridge. There were also a number of Monument Makers supplying gravestones for western Canada at that time. Those seen most frequently in the cemeteries of Lethbridge were: The Somerville Company, Western Marble & Granite Works, the J. Thompson Co., Kootenay Marble Works, and Lethbridge Monumental Works.⁴

The earliest 'cemetery' was the Stafford burial ground in the riverbottom. It began out of sudden necessity when seventeen-year-old Henry Stafford succumbed to typhus in 1883. It was soon deemed to be in an inappropriate location and so The Union Cemetery was begun on a coulee-top (or 'bench') north of the town, in 1886.⁵ This cemetery was known by a number of names over the years but came, finally, to be called St. Patrick's Cemetery, which is the name we shall call it here. Problems soon developed with this site, too, not the least of which was its inconvenient location as far as the residents of south Lethbridge were concerned, and in 1905 a new Public Cemetery was begun on a coulee-top south of town, right beside that of the Anglican Church, already in existence for a few years, and nearby a small Hebrew Cemetery established at about the

⁴ The Somerville Company operated out of Brandon, Manitoba in the 1890s, and started a branch in Calgary in 1903, the same year Lethbridge Monumental began operations. The Thompson Co. was in Brandon, Western was in Calgary, and Kootenay was in Nelson.

⁵ Alex Johnston, "Lethbridge Its Cemeteries 1837 to 1989" (Lethbridge, 1989, unpublished), 2. The Union Cemetery has also been called the Pioneer Cemetery, the Miner's Cemetery, and St. Patrick's Cemetery.

same time.⁶ This new site also used different names for different segments at different times, but finally became Mountain View Cemetery, which is the name we will use here. One of the reasons indicated for the choice of this site was that it could be irrigated by the city system, unlike the St. Patrick's site.⁷ After this new one began, the older cemetery was retained for the use of the Roman Catholic community. So, for the first half of the early period, all burials would have taken place in St. Patrick's, and during the second half, Roman Catholic burials took place at St. Patrick's, while Anglican and other burials took place at Mountain View.

For most of this period, Lethbridge was predominantly a mining town--a community comprised of a large proportion of young males.⁸ It was connected by rail to the rest of Canada in 1885 and to the United States in 1890, and had police, doctors, churches, and most amenities by the 1890s. The mentality of Lethbridge was determined by the socio-cultural dominance of people of British heritage among the business and professional élites. Geographically, Lethbridge was divided into North and South by the railway tracks and, generally speaking, a majority of the Protestant middle-class business people and professionals resided on the south side while the

⁶ Ibid., 4-5. The Anglican Cemetery was called St. Augustin's Anglican, while the new cemetery was first called the Lethbridge Public and later Mountain View which encompassed the Anglican.

⁷ Ibid., 4. Ironically, at time of writing, it is St. Patrick's which is fully irrigated by a timed underground system, while the staff at Mountain View still has to drag water pipes and hoses around all day in many of the sections.

⁸ Alex Johnston & Andy den Otter, *Lethbridge: A Centennial History* (Lethbridge: The City of Lethbridge and The Lethbridge Historical Society, 1991), 50, 230. The largest population group was that of age 20-39, according to statistics compiled by W. Baker and J. Tagg for the University of Lethbridge History Department, "Comparative ages of the population (by percentages)" 1891 - 1976, unpublished.

north side residents were predominantly working-class, most of them non-British and Catholic or Orthodox. *The Lethbridge News* and *The Lethbridge Herald* newspapers (written from the point of view of the dominant Anglo community) made frequent disparaging remarks about people of European or Asian heritage, believing that they posed a threat to British cultural values.⁹ That culture existed in a world that was dominated by the British Empire and the image of its Queen whose name is given to the set of values and behaviors known to history as "Victorian": duty, romanticism, sentimentality, steadfastness, stoicism, a concern with propriety and respectability, to name just a few of the elements.

Whatever attitudes existed towards death, they were surely affected by the emotional and psychological impact of the Great War and the Influenza Epidemic. Death was no doubt on everyone's mind, whether it was happening in the trenches of Flanders or next door. These two great catastrophes brought the period to an end.

As far as can be determined, funerary practices in Lethbridge during the early period followed time-honoured traditions that remained faithful to the familiar rituals, whether that be of the 'old country' or the more settled part of the new world. People were then quite accustomed to seeing death, and knew what had to be done. Almost any illness or injury was a potential killer in the days before antibiotics. The death of family members typically occurred at home

⁹ Whenever anything bad happened, especially on the north side of the railway tracks where most of the residents were either not British or were decidedly working class, the newspaper accounts of the story would treat the citizens of north Lethbridge as 'they' who are not 'one of us'.

and the consequences had to be dealt with. People may have had the option of utilizing the services of an undertaker, if they could afford it, but by the early evidence they rarely did. Examples which indicate the self-reliance of the period are found in the reports of both the well-known story of the death of Henry Stafford in the summer of 1883, and the drowning death of a cowboy named Richard Thompson in the summer of 1886. Apparently, the numerous witnesses to Thompson's drowning had attempted a rescue but their efforts turned into a recovery of the body instead. Thompson's remains were "brought to the old storehouse in the bottom and will be buried from there this afternoon."¹⁰ As for Stafford, Annie Stafford Peat recalled in her memoirs that when Henry died, "the miners made the casket and Mr. Stafford read the burial service."¹¹ These stories suggest that family members, friends, and the residents of the riverbottom were taking care of what needed to be done.

By the end of the century there were several churches and clergymen and undertakers available, and more formal funeral services were held either in the home of the family of the deceased or in the church which the family attended. For example, when John Rosaine passed 'beyond the veil' in 1899, his funeral service was held in the Methodist church "of which the deceased was a member".¹² As a general rule, the ritual began in the home, even when the person died in hospital, as was the case for Mrs. Malcolm

¹⁰ *The Lethbridge News*, Sept. 1, 1886.

¹¹ Annie Laurie Stafford Peat, *Nineteenth Century Lethbridge* (Lethbridge: Whoop-Up Country Chapter Historical Society of Alberta, 1978), 25.

¹² *The Lethbridge News*, Dec. 14, 1899.

McKenzie, "who underwent a surgical operation at the Galt Hospital ... and expired from its effects on Sunday ... the funeral took place from their residence on Baroness Road on Monday afternoon ...".¹³ It had been traditional for family members to do the necessary tasks of washing and dressing the remains, but there is no way of knowing for certain who performed these tasks in early Lethbridge. If an undertaker was hired, it seemed that his principle functions were the furnishing of a coffin and, perhaps, the transporting of it (and its occupant) to the church and to the cemetery. This assumption is based on the fact that before the turn of the century undertakers advertised themselves in the context of cabinet-makers, furniture dealers, and upholsterers; not until the early years of the new century did their ads mention hearses and/or embalming. It is also quite likely that these undertaker/cabinet makers made the coffins which they used.¹⁴ If they were required to provide more than the coffin and the transportation, it was probably to 'lay out' the body in the family home.¹⁵ On the day of the funeral service, they would come with their conveyance and move the coffin to the church.

¹³ Ibid., Sept. 9, 1896.

¹⁴ Coffins continued to be made in the Cardston-Magrath area until the 1950s, by Ralph Weston and Vern Hall, according to Gunderson, 106, and Bryan Watts. The funeral service industry insists on calling coffins 'caskets', claiming that these names distinguish between the traditional body-shaped hexagonal box and the now-familiar rectangular box, but critics suggest it is a matter of semantics - a coffin is a box used to put a dead body in, while a casket is a box used to store a treasured object like a jewel, see Jackson, 48. Interestingly, I have seen these two words defined in exactly the reverse order, see Garrison, 85.

¹⁵ "Laying-out" is a term used to describe the necessary preparation and presentation of the body: washing, plugging orifices, closing the eyes and mouth, dressing and combing hair, etc. The Undertaker's establishment was not the focal point of funeral rites until the transition period when embalming became more popular.

Family and friends would follow in a cortège, and after the service the undertaker would again lead the procession to the cemetery.¹⁶

The time between death and the funeral was usually only one or two days, as typified by the McKenzie story above, since embalming was so rare. The family would receive visits of condolence from friends and neighbours who could see the remains at this time if they wished. The body might be in a coffin, or laid out on a bed. If the family home had a parlour, this was the room typically used for the laying out and for the visits.¹⁷ The entire funeral service would often be held at home, as in the case of Mrs. Seaman whose large service was held in the family residence on 5th Ave. S., on July 4, 1917. However, it seems likely that most services were held in church.¹⁸

The funeral service itself would closely follow the dictates of the particular religious denomination involved. The minister or priest would conduct the service, and there would be no participation by members of the family. Those attending the service would generally wear black or other dark colours, and most women would wear hats. Female members of the mourning family might also wear veils over their faces. When this part of the service was complete, the coffin would be carried to the wagon or hearse which would lead the procession to the cemetery where the second part of the service

¹⁶ An example can be found quoted in full, below. There is also a well-known photograph of a Lethbridge funeral cortège being led by T.S. Fetterly's elegant hearse and three carriages, in 1912, see figure 2.

¹⁷ It is because the parlour of the family home was typically used for the visiting and viewing that when the Undertaker's establishment took over this role, it came to be called a 'funeral parlour'. In fact, the newspapers often used phrasing the likes of "Fetterley's parlors", *Lethbridge Herald*, June 25, 1917. See also Burns, "Chronology," 1910 & 1930 (no page numbers).

¹⁸ Seaman funeral, *Lethbridge Herald*, July 5, 1917.

would take place. Floral tributes were profuse, when possible, and they were typically left at the gravesite.¹⁹ An example can be found in the description of the funeral of Thomas Peter Kilkenny, the young fire chief who died in 1911, whose tributes consisted of:

... pillow, Lethbridge fire department; leaning cross on stand, city offices; wreath, Stacey Lumber Co.; spray, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold; wreath, Miss Mildred Mason; wreath, city police; spray, L. Pabst; wreath, No. 1 fire hall Winnipeg; crescent, City of Lethbridge; and wreath, Alberta House.²⁰

The description of these possibly elaborate displays (especially during the winter, as in this case) suggests professionally-done flower arrangements rather than donated home-grown bouquets.²¹

The graveside service was traditionally attended by the entire congregation since it was an actual part of the funeral. The age-old tradition of the symbolic tossing of soil onto the lowered coffin ("Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust"²²) may have been practiced in Lethbridge, as elsewhere, since graves were dug by hand in the early period, and the resulting pile of earth would be nearby. Male friends and members of the congregation would usually remain at the cemetery to help bury the coffin. After the burial service was completed, the public part of the event was finished. Only family

¹⁹ This general information comes from discussions held with workers in the funeral industry in Lethbridge, particularly Bryan Watts at Martin Brothers Funeral Chapels Ltd., and Max Salmon and Scott Kuntz at Christensen-Salmon Funeral Home, in the Fall of 1997 and Winter of 1998. It was Watts' understanding that the practices discussed here were typical of the early period.

²⁰ *The Lethbridge Herald*, March 9, 1911.

²¹ *Henderson's City of Lethbridge Directories* lists two "Florists and Nurserymen" operating in the city in 1909: Thomas Clarke and George Taylor, and by 1914, the Directory was listing two others: Frache Bros. and The Terrill Floral Co.

²² This commonly used phrase was popularized by its inclusion in the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer*., but the concept may date back to Plutarch in the first century, or even earlier. See Garrison, 36.

members would return to the family home for lunch or supper. For members of certain denominations there might be further rites to observe during the following weeks or months, and close family might be expected to alter their behavior for a certain amount of time following the death. Female members especially would often wear only black for several weeks or months.²³ It may have been, however, that official mourning did not take place in Lethbridge, at least not to the extent practiced by the middle class in Britain during the Nineteenth Century. This is an assumption based on the absence of any mention of mourning paraphernalia in advertisements in Lethbridge newspapers, either by undertakers or clothing shops.²⁴

After the funeral and immediate mourning period had passed, the process of memorialization would begin. The most public method was, of course, the gravemarker, which functioned as a focal point for memory and contemplation in perpetuity.²⁵ For the Victorian British, strolling through the cemetery was a respectable thing to do. Gazing upon the imagery and the inscriptions was an emotional and uplifting reminder of one's own mortality, of the rewards sure to come to the righteous, and yet of the sorrow suffered by those left

²³ It was upon women that the greatest burden of mourning fell, while men would continue on in virtually the same way as they normally did. Mourning was expected and respected throughout the British world, due in part to the permanent mourning of the beloved "Widow of Windsor", Queen Victoria. See Morley, 63-4.

²⁴ In Britain, the selling of funeral and mourning accoutrements was very big business, and was well advertised. See, for example, Sylvia M. Barnard, *To Prove I'm Not Forgotten: Living and Dying in a Victorian City* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 3 & 116, and Morley, ch. 6 "Mourning Dress and Etiquette".

²⁵ Nancy Millar, *Remember Me As You Pass By* (Calgary, 1994). 157-158. Millar contemplates the fact that when it comes to memorialization, people seem to have the need for a tangible object which they can not only see but also touch.

behind. They were a "warning to the living ... pointing to what was higher and nobler."²⁶

There are no examples in Lethbridge cemeteries of the most lavish examples of Victorian gravestone art such as are found in Britain and in central and eastern Canada. This may be due to the fact that the extravagant period was passing out of fashion by the 1890s, but it could also be the result of practicality and economics. Some of the typical but more sedate elements can be seen, however. Among them are obelisk shapes, broken columns or tree stumps, inclusion of place of birth and death, the occupation of the deceased, the precise age or dates, and several lines of verse, along with familiar design motifs: oak and ivy, cross, crown, drapery, doves and sheep.

In the case of Henry Stafford, a sandstone marker was carved for him by his uncle David Gibb. It looks as though it were designed to have other names added when necessary, but none were, even though there are believed to be a number of other graves in the same location.²⁷ The inscription does include place of birth (Scotland), and place of death (Lethbridge), but rather than poetry, the inscription says simply, "He is not lost but gone before", which is an expression very typical of the attitude of the time. For Richard Thompson, the drowning victim, no gravemarker has survived, if indeed any ever existed. The next oldest markers are found in the Old North-East section of St. Patrick's Cemetery, and date from

²⁶ Roy Porter, forward to Barnard, ix . see also Barnard, 5.

²⁷ Stafford Peat, 25 & 35. Page 35 features a map drawn by Richard Stafford in 1896 which shows five graves at the same location. (see figure 3.)

1887.²⁸ They vary greatly in size shape and inscription, but most feature rather intricate design elements and lines of verse. This was the section about which many complaints were made in the 1890s, causing the Anglican church to begin another burial ground, and the City eventually to begin Mountain View Cemetery. It seems that this oldest (mainly Protestant) section had been surveyed and staked, but no records were kept, and locations of burial were haphazard and often distressingly close to previous burials.²⁹ After the turn of the century, burials proceeded in a more orderly fashion, especially in the north-west, or Roman Catholic, side. A detailed survey of St. Patrick's and its gravestones, completed by the author in 1994, indicates that the Old North-East (Protestant) section was used progressively from west to east, generally speaking, and the stones bear dates ranging from 1887 to 1918. The Old North-West (Catholic) section was used progressively from east to west and the bulk of the stones bear dates ranging from 1888 to 1928.³⁰

From the early period, more than eighty percent of the markers in Lethbridge are marble, their average height is thirty-six

²⁸ See Appendix A for an explanation of the gravestone sample used in this research.

²⁹ Patricia Parker "Beautification of St. Patrick's Cemetery credit to Lethbridge pioneers" *Network* magazine Nov.-Dec., 1987, 33. And Johnston, 3. Apparently, NO records exist of St. Patrick's Cemetery before 1920.

³⁰ Corrine Lenfesty, "The Permanence of Meaning, the Meaning of Permanence: An Analysis of the Gravestones in St. Patrick's Cemetery, Lethbridge, Alberta, Summer, 1994." An Independent Study for Archaeology 4990, University of Lethbridge, December 1994, unpublished. Exceptions to the progressive usage pattern are a child and baby section at the west end which has its own pattern and four newer rows added onto the east end. There is also a section down the coulee bank on the north side which was used for the burial of unbaptized babies. (In the 1970s, there was quite a local keffuffle about this situation, see Johnston, 5.)

inches, and verticals and obelisks predominate in the silhouette.³¹ The most common design motifs are florals, ivy-oak combinations, and sheep (for the children). At St. Patrick's the most common shape and design though all the time periods is the cross. Thirty percent of the markers from the early period feature lines of verse in the inscription, eighty percent include the precise age of the deceased, and fifty percent include some religious content.³² Only five percent of the markers include the names of both husband and wife. As far as the 'voices' of the epitaphs are concerned, fifty-five percent are abstract and forty-four percent are the 'voice' of the mourner.³³

One of the most eye-catching designs from the early period features gates opening up to reveal one or more of a variety of symbolic images: a sunrise (or sunset), clouds, an anchor, a dove, the hand of God, or 'the old rugged cross', to name just a few. This design is referred to as "the Gates of Heaven" by the author, and in cemetery observances in three provinces, more than thirty different versions of it have been catalogued. It is a highly complex design, requiring a great deal of skill and time in the carving.³⁴

³¹ As outlined in Appendix A, the gravestone descriptions and percentages used throughout this paper are based on a random sampling of the older sections at Mountain View, particularly sections 1-8 and A-G and the entirety of St. Patrick's in detail. A surface assessment of the 'silhouette' of the other sections contributed to the discussion. Also, see Appendix D for maps of the cemeteries.

³² By religious content I mean some reference to God or heaven or angels, etc., or the use of scripture.

³³ The 'voice' of the epitaph could be that of the deceased, as in "Say a Hail Mary for me", or that of the mourner, as in "We will remember him", or an abstract, as in "Rest in Peace".

³⁴ This design might also have been named the Gates of Death or the Gates of Paradise. (See Appendix C).

The 'epitaph', that part of the inscription which is other than factual information, can speak some words of comfort or wisdom, or offer information or a comment, functions it performed well in Victorian England. In the cemeteries of Lethbridge and southern Alberta, though, these inscriptions could be judged not particularly original, inspiring, or informative. This may be the result of fashion or it may be partially due to the practicality of monument makers and their patrons; since it is generally true that the longer the inscription the greater the cost, it is not surprising that the majority are quite short.³⁵

One thing of note: there are a number of markers in the Lethbridge cemeteries that are hand-carved works of art.³⁶ These markers, each one unique, were carved in the early and transitional periods, usually in white or light grey marble. They can be distinguished from typical markers by certain clues: the carving is in high relief, or there are irregularities in the size or spacing of letters, or there is a unique or natural quality to the depicted flora, or the marks made by the chisel and rasp are plainly visible. (The names of the carvers are unknown at this time.)³⁷

³⁵ There certainly are exceptions to this; the 1911 Bessie Cronkhite Lovering marker in section A at Mountain View Cemetery includes a 72 word epitaph!

³⁶ Once the signs of hand-carving are pointed out to an observer, they become easily recognizeable; one must be wary, however, of a commercially produced style which attempts to recreate the hand-carved look of a unique sculpture.

³⁷ One example of a unique hand-carved marker is that of Daniel Delay, St Patrick's Cem., Old North-West section, row 10, plot 8, and there are also several in section 1 at Mountain View, nearby a number of the commercial variety mentioned in f.n. 36 (See fig. 5).

Gravestones are sometimes referred to as silent, and some have even called them "mute".³⁸ By this it may be meant that the designs and the names, dates, and inscriptions carved thereon, do not reveal very much of the experience of the people who lie beneath them. There is no hint of the hard work, the fear of the frontier, the loneliness, and so on. As for the markers in Lethbridge, there are suggestions of the danger of this frontier and its climate and its coal-mining industry, but when it comes to the experience of creating a new town and a new society on the dry flat prairie of southern Alberta, one would do better to look elsewhere for these expressions. One can find the occasional mention of a person's occupation--Thomas Peter Kilkenny is identified as the Chief of the Lethbridge Fire Brigade, for example, or the cause of death--Istvan Gergely was "*lovak szegént megölrék*" (tragically killed by a horse.)³⁹ but these are rare in Lethbridge. Much more common are the markers that reveal very little, for example, to read on the warm golden limestone, "Peachie, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. D.H. Cox, died July 25, 1904, aged 11 yrs. 10 mos. 13 dys., our darling" seems so inadequate in light of what happened to Peachie:

³⁸ For example, the term "mute" is used by David Burrell, "The Gravestones of Geauga County, Ohio 1800-1825", Ohio State University, 1997, (Published on the World Wide Web) in discussion of the very small pioneer cemetery in his study. Burrell uses the letters and diaries of the people in the cemetery to uncover the details of their lives. It is by comparison with these that he calls the grave markers "mute". (Website <http://mail.h-net.msu.edu/~burrell/life.html> as of August, 1998.)

³⁹ Kilkenny headstone, St. Patrick's Cemetery, O.N.W. section, row 15 plot 10. Kilkenny died of pneumonia on March 7, 1911, according to the *Lethbridge Herald* report, but it was thought to have resulted from his having fought the January 12th Balmoral Hotel fire in -40 degree weather. Gergely headstone, St. Patrick's Cemetery, O.N.W. section -12-2, Hungarian translation by Betty Kover.

Fatal accident.

On Monday while driving a load of hay to their ranche at Grassy Lake, Peachy, the twelve-year-old daughter of Mr. D.H. Cox, met with a fatal accident. She was sitting near the front of the load and as one wheel suddenly dropped into a badger hole, the jolt sent her forward; she fell on her face and the two wheels of the heavily loaded wagon passed over her back, crushing her breast. Her sister ran to her assistance, but she was already dead.

The body was brought to Grassy Lake the same night, but as the railroad could not carry it without a doctor's certificate, the heavy-hearted brother and his two sisters drove all night reaching Lethbridge Tuesday morning with their sad burden. The funeral took place from Brodie & Stafford's Undertaking rooms at 3 o'clock on Wednesday.

Mr. Cox, the girl's father, was in Winnipeg and was unable to reach here in time for the burial. Much sympathy is felt for the stricken family.⁴⁰

Sometimes there are hints, but no details: a small homemade concrete pulpit-shaped marker tells of the death of twenty-five year old Katie Walsh and her month-old baby, in 1911; death from the complications of childbirth were all too common, but in this case, there was no death announcement to provide any further clues. Sometimes there are hints, and details can be found: a tall grey marble marker informs us that thirteen-year-old Jozsef Gorog and his ten-year-old brother Gyorgy both died on May 18, 1903, but we are left to wonder why. The newspaper tells the awful story of how the two boys were caught in the very bad freak snow storm that devastated the area, while trying to bring a flock of sheep home to shelter. Their father, who had reached home safely with his youngest son, searched frantically for three days. The story ends with the poignant words: "Upon the father especially, the exposure and terrible strain has made a mark that will probably never be

⁴⁰ *Lethbridge News*, July 28, 1904, front page. Gravestone in St. Patrick's O.N.E. -13-3. (Author's personal comment--this is one of my favourite markers despite its plainness; who could not instantly love a child named Peachy?). (See fig.6.)

effaced.”⁴¹ The inscription on this marker also includes the birthplaces of these two boys: one in Victor, Colorado, and the other in Coalgate Indian Territory. There are probably many such tragic stories, but the gravemarkers are mostly silent about such things. There is no indication, either on markers or death announcements, that identifies victims of the ‘flu’ epidemic, for instance, or the many women who died in childbirth, as may have been the case for Katie Walsh. The precarious nature of life on the frontier can be imagined by reading the newspaper accounts of deaths. Between 1882 and 1900, for example, the main causes of death named are accident, illness, and drowning - and a third of the deaths are those of children and infants.⁴²

Gravestones utilize a stylized and repetitive form, and present an expression that is in many ways artificial, and is sometimes misleading. Gazing upon the tall, slender, and elegant white marble marker that reads:

In memory of Jas. W. Macdonald, P.G. of Lethbridge Lodge No.2
I.O.O.F died Nov. 19, 1893 aged 38 years & 6 months, A loving
friend, a husband dear, A tender parent lieth here: Great is the
loss we here sustain, But hope in heaven to meet again.⁴³

one might think that Macdonald was a member of Lethbridge’s élite, and that he was wealthy--this marker was expensive, after all. But, in truth, he was an A.R. & C. Co. miner who was run over by engine No.16 in the city railyards. He was, however, a charter member of

⁴¹ *Lethbridge News*, May 28, 1903. Gravestone in St. Patrick’s O.N.W. -7-1. (This marker is a sort of ‘Rosetta Stone’ since the Hungarian inscription is repeated in English.)

⁴² *Index of Macleod Gazette and Lethbridge News, 1882-1900.*

⁴³ St. Patrick’s Cemetery O.N.E. -2-3. (See fig. 4).

the Oddfellows Relief Association of Canada, and as such, was insured for \$1000.⁴⁴ Therein lies a probable explanation for the stunning marker, one of the most elegant in Lethbridge.

Most inscriptions are seen often--a few examples: "Her happy soul has winged its way to one pure bright eternal day", and, "Gone to dwell with saints above, and rest in God's eternal love", and "No pain, no grief, no anxious fear, can reach the peaceful sleeper here." There are some that are far more rare, however--an example: "The baby wept. And God did take it from the mother's arms, From present pain and future unknown harms. And baby slept."⁴⁵ There seem to be no truly unique or personal epitaphs from this period.

The other enduring forms of memorialization are death announcements, obituaries, and 'in-memoriams'. The in-memoriams that were printed in the newspapers over the entire century of this history have changed very little. It is difficult to classify them; they were more emotional than gravestone epitaphs, and yet they were even more repetitive and stylized. Were each one to be considered singly, the sentiments expressed would be touching. However, to read dozens of them in succession is to find the same words and phrases repeated over and over which causes them to lose their impact. Perhaps the truth lies in the fact that for the families involved, it is only the particular one that mattered at the time, not the ongoing selection.

⁴⁴ *Lethbridge News*, Nov. 23, 1893. The inquest into Macdonald's death attempted to determine whether he had had enough to drink to have caused him to pass out. According to the evidence given, he had not.

⁴⁵ Sarah Lillian Cotton grave, 1892, St. Patrick's O.N.E. -2-2.

The July 12, 1906 front page in-memoriam for Ethel Fleetwood set the style and the tone which hardly changed thereafter (although this one is a bit longer than most):

To the memory of Ethel Fleetwood, drowned in the Belly River July 2, 1906.

Just a lovely summer's day, God called our darling flower away.
She was too pure on earth to dwell, you know, He knoweth what is well.
A sweet and happy child was she, always loving, true, and free.
But our dear Lord has called her home, He could not let her longer roam.
Dear ones, whom she has left behind, do not think our Lord unkind.
He loved your little one so dear, she walks with him and knows no fear.⁴⁶

In the early period, as in the above example, these memorial tributes were placed in the newspaper just a few days or weeks after the death. As time went by, it became the custom to insert them in the paper on the anniversary of the person's death, usually for a year or two, but sometimes longer. The memoriam of this period would typically end with words such as, "inserted by her mother" (or whomever). Until the 1920s, the expressions, be they lines of verse or one-liners, had a 'religious' content; they mentioned 'God' or 'our Lord' or 'meeting again in heaven'. Most of these 'poems', repeated and re-worded, have about them a 'greeting-card' quality. They could be described as purchased or borrowed rather than truly personal expressions. Newspapers usually have had lists of verses to choose from, in fact. Personalized memoriams are quite rare, but we will see some in later periods.

Death announcements and obituaries have also utilized a stylized presentation and phraseology for most of the century of our study, yet it was not so at the very beginning. For the first two or

⁴⁶ *Lethbridge Herald*, July 12, 1906.

three decades of this history, there were relatively few deaths in Lethbridge and announcements of them were typically included in columns throughout the paper, such as 'Local Happenings' or 'Milady', rather than in a place specifically for the purpose. Since the newspapers were all weeklies until c.1907, these death announcements did not include the particulars of the funeral service unless it was to discuss it as a past event. Once the *Herald* became a daily newspaper, the details of the impending service were included and often the undertaker involved was named. This sort of announcement, then, became an unofficial invitation to the funeral for anyone who was not contacted personally. This changed the nature of funerals, which had been private family affairs until this form of 'advertising' made them into social events.

There was considerable variation in the earliest examples, and often there was an eye-catching headline that was quite matter-of-fact: "Wm. Vanhorne Dead,"⁴⁷ for example, or "Death of Infant Child"⁴⁸. Sometimes the title of the story seems slightly sensationalized: "Died From Shock."⁴⁹ When the story of someone's death was included in the local 'news' column, which was common, it would often include biographical information or a brief 'character sketch'. The word "Obituary" was used infrequently to indicate what was a longer item including biographical information. (Actually, the word "Obituary" was seen as early as July 12, 1888, but was never common.) When the deceased was a woman, the information

⁴⁷ Ibid., Oct. 4, 1906. This was a local man, not to be confused with his famous namesake who built the CPR.

⁴⁸ Ibid., Feb. 3, 1908.

⁴⁹ Ibid., July 3, 1908. When her child drowned at Coleman, Mrs. Macknac, who had been ill, suffered so severely from the shock that she died the next day.

typically included details of her husband's occupation and/or social position: "Chas. Burkette Bereaved,"⁵⁰ read the title of the story which went on to explain that Burkette's wife died at age 35. His occupation was included in the story, as was the place and time of the funeral, but her name was never mentioned! The woman's name was included in the story "Sad Death of Soldier's Wife",⁵¹ but it was on the soldier overseas, and his children, that the story focused, rather than on her. Often the announcement of someone's death was prefaced with words such as, "We regret to inform ...", and occasionally, the entire funeral would be described:

The funeral of the late Mrs. A. McNally, who died early on Friday morning took place Saturday afternoon and was largely attended by friends. The cortege left the residence of C.M. Arnold at the corner of Dufferin Street and Westminster Road, shortly after two o'clock and moved to St. Augustin's church, where the full burial service was conducted by Rev. J.E. Murrell-Wright. The hymns sung were, "Nearer, My God to Thee" and "Rock of Ages." From the church the hearse, followed by a large number of carriages and rigs, moved to the Anglican cemetery where the last rites were performed and the remains interred ... Seldom at a funeral in Lethbridge have the floral tributes been so many or so beautiful, and they fairly filled the room at the Arnold residence where the body lay ...⁵²

It was not uncommon in those early days of recent in-migration to see included in the death announcement words such as: 'the remains will be sent (or 'forwarded') to' another community, and the undertaker advertisements would often include mention of "Prompt attention ... [to] shipment of bodies".⁵³ The early period saw the most variation in the wording used in death announcements, perhaps

⁵⁰ Ibid., July 4, 1907.

⁵¹ Ibid., June 23, 1917.

⁵² Ibid., July 4, 1910.

⁵³ Ibid., July 5 and July 8, 1918. The second example is from McKay & McKay, Undertakers.

because there were still so few. The July 5, 1918 issue of the *Daily Herald* revealed a total of seven deaths at the Galt Hospital during the month of June which meant that, even though this number may have been high due to the influenza epidemic, the writers were still able to create different phraseology for each item, or to deal with each as newsworthy. Perhaps for the same reason, the stories or announcements of deaths could be found in various places throughout the paper, and were blended in appearance with world news items, social items, and advertisements for medical remedies. Once the number of deaths rose, however, it would be more difficult to deal with each one individually and it may be partly for that reason that the stylized form took over.

These published death notices gradually replaced the traditional 'mourning card' which, in Victorian and Edwardian tradition, was sent out by mail to family and friends, during this period, to inform them of the death. Most of these were single page 'greeting-cards' mailed in matching envelopes with black borders, but some were the 'postcard photo' type designed to be displayed in the family photo album.

There is no death! What seems so is transition;
This life of Mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
Whose portal we call Death.

In loving remembrance of
Mrs. William Stafford Jr.
Died June 30, 1891. Aged 29 yrs., 1 mon., 10 days.

A precious one from us has gone,
A voice we loved is stilled;
A place is vacant in our home,
Which never can be filled.
God in His wisdom has recalled,
The boon His love had given;

And though the body moulders here,
The soul is safe in heaven.⁵⁴

The *Herald* seemed to have some trouble with names and dates; very often the gravestone and the death notice are at odds. In one instance, the deceased was very poorly served in this regard. Firstly, the June 14 announcement read: "The death occurred this morning of Mrs. Perock, aged 36, wife of Mike Perock, of Hardieville ..." but the gravestone reads, "Memorium for Mother Carolina Miiller[sic] Pirock ... died June 13, 1917."⁵⁵ (The correct spelling of the name is not known, at time of writing.)

During the early period, bureaucratic interference was not very pronounced, as yet.⁵⁶ Until 1888, there was no official process for civil registration in the North West Territories. It was in that year that the Civil Ordinance respecting the registration of births, marriages, deaths, and stillbirths, was introduced. Previously, what registration took place was done by members of the clergy and kept in church records. Two years after Alberta became a province in 1905, its new legislature modified that Civil Ordinance and adopted it as The Vital Statistics Act of Alberta. It was administered by an executive council within the Department of Agriculture until 1922 when it passed to the Department of Public Health. The person in

⁵⁴ This postcard type, and others, can be seen in the Stafford Family Album, in the City of Lethbridge Archives. They are rather more elaborate than the typical ones seen by the author elsewhere, but they are the only Lethbridge examples come across during this research.

⁵⁵ Announcement in the *Lethbridge Herald*, June 14, 1917, gravestone in St. Patrick's Cemetery O.N.E. -14-3. Actually, mistakes on gravemarkers are quite rare, they usually double check before they begin carving, but not in this case. (See Appendix C).

⁵⁶ Bureaucracy certainly had an impact on the Cox family--the railroad could not transport the body legally without a medical certificate of death, and so the other children had to transport Peachie to a Doctor in Lethbridge, themselves.

charge was titled 'Minister' until that title was changed to 'Registrar General' in 1913.⁵⁷ Until 1918, the provinces each had different systems, which made the compilation of national statistics very difficult. Thus, in 1918 the Dominion of Canada and the legislatures of the provinces agreed on a 'Model Vital Statistics Act' which brought about a uniformity of records across the country and allowed for the compilation of national statistics. The adopted system was based on those already in use in the United States, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and France, and therefore allowed for participation in the compilation of international statistics, as well.⁵⁸

Each district needed to have a resident individual to receive the information and fill out the official forms to be sent to the Minister/Registrar General of Vital Statistics for the Province. The job of Registrar typically fell to the secretaries of municipalities, villages, and counties, until the registration districts were reorganized to coincide with school districts in 1919. After that time, the duty of Registrar fell to the secretary-treasurers of the local school districts in rural areas and small towns across the province. In large centres the registrar was appointed.⁵⁹ As far as Lethbridge is concerned, the position of Registrar was not held by any one particular person but was included in the functions of certain different offices or positions over the years. At times, the offices of the City Police were

⁵⁷*Statutes of Alberta, 1907, 1913, and Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1922.*

⁵⁸ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Department of Trade and Commerce, *Vital Statistics Handbook: containing international list of causes of death.* 1938, fifth revision, 1947 edition.

⁵⁹ *Statutes of Alberta, 1919.*

responsible for the task, at other times it was part of the duty of hospital administration.⁶⁰

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics provides the reasons for such records being kept:

The primary function of the registration system is to obtain and preserve such documentary evidence concerning births, stillbirths, marriages and deaths as is necessary to protect the legal rights of the individual.⁶¹

In the specific case of the registration of death, the *Vital Statistics Handbook* indicates that such records have value to individuals, particularly in legal matters; to medical officers, private physicians and medical researchers, particularly in keeping track of causes of death and compiling mortality data; and to governments, particularly for policy formulation, the allocation of funds, and the assessment and maintenance of the public health.

In 1893, the International Statistics Institute adopted a uniform "International List of Causes of Death" which is updated approximately every decade. Canada is a member of this Institute, and since that time, the cause of death on the medical certificate of death in Alberta must conform to the list.

The registration of death has always had two main parts: the personal and the medical. It was the duty of the medical practitioner (doctor or coroner) to fill out the medical certificate, which established time, place, and cause of death. It was the duty of an

⁶⁰ Discussions with Bryan Watts, and with a staff member of the Provincial Archives in Edmonton, by telephone, January 28, 1998, according to whom, the actual names of the clerks who signed the forms could only be determined by scrutinizing all of those forms as they currently exist, in the Archives.

⁶¹ *Vital Statistics Handbook*, fifth revision (1938), p.10.

informant (family member or friend) to provide the personal information for the registration form, which included the deceased person's name, sex, age, marital status, occupation, place of birth, religious denomination, and other unspecified information when the situation warranted. It was the duty of the cemetery caretaker, or the undertaker/funeral director, or whoever was in charge of the disposition of the body, not to do so without first receiving a certificate indicating that official registration had taken place. Each local Registrar sent a return to the Minister/Registrar General every month, and every owner/manager of a cemetery supplied a list of all burials on his/her premises every six months. Every clergyman informed the Minister/Registrar General every six months as to who could and who did preside over funeral and burial services in their district or denomination. And although it was essentially illegal to bury or cremate someone's body without having filed all the necessary forms, it could be done under extenuating circumstances. When such a circumstance occurred, registration using a special form would have to take place within four years in order to avoid prosecution. The requirements of bureaucracy have changed little in Alberta since the adoption of the first Vital Statistics Act in 1907.

Before the "Model Vital Statistics Act" was adopted in 1918, the Dominion Census had attempted to compile data on age, sex, and cause of death. It was decided, however, that the information gathered by the census-taking system was "untrustworthy" and so, questions about death were dropped from the census forms in 1911, and such data were no longer included in national census records.⁶²

⁶² Ibid., p.8.

With the compulsory registration of deaths at the provincial level required by the passing of the Model Act, and with the standardization of registration forms across the country, accurate data were compiled after 1918, and published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and, later, by Provincial Bureaus.⁶³

What this meant for the Lethbridgian who experienced the death of a family member, friend or co-worker, was thus: before 1888, whichever clergy officiated at the funeral service and burial would record the particulars in their leger. After 1888 the procedure became complicated, and with the exception of a few role changes it has remained much the same for over a century. When a person died, a doctor would fill in Form E stating time place and cause of death. If there was any doubt about the circumstances surrounding the death, a coroner might conduct an investigation to clarify the facts. If the medical cause of death was unknown, a medical examiner would conduct a post-mortem (commonly known as an autopsy) to determine same. These findings would then be included on Form E. In the meantime, a member of the family of the deceased, or a friend or co-worker as the case may be, would fill in Form C which included all the personal information: name, age, marital status, occupation, and so on. It was up to whoever was in charge of performing the funeral and burial to see that this form was filled in and filed with the nearest registrar. The registrar, having possession of Form E and Form C, would then issue Form D which indicated that the death had been properly registered and that therefore

⁶³ This description of the bureaucratic requirements has been rather lengthy, but it serves to explain the process for the other time periods as well, since there was little change.

disposition of the body could take place. The caretaker of the cemetery could not proceed to bury or cremate the deceased until Form D was in his/her hands. The undertakers/funeral directors would make certain, as part of the service they performed, that all of this paperwork was properly carried out on behalf of the family of the deceased.

When the first deaths occurred in Lethbridge (Coalbanks) in the 1880s, the survivors were faced with the problem of having hurriedly to select a burying-place. As indicated above, the first selection, made by a dying boy, was inadequate.⁶⁴ The second selection, made by committee, turned out to be inconvenient for part of the population.⁶⁵ During part of the early period, its use was poorly regulated. People did the work themselves, without bureaucracy, and it resulted in near disaster despite the fact that there was a caretaker.⁶⁶ After the next selection was made, largely by arbitrary decision, the level of maintenance at St. Patrick's depended upon the coffers of the church and the participation of the congregation, while the City attempted to manage the new site, Mountain View, increasingly as the years went by, so as to prevent the earlier problems from recurring.

It is generally thought unacceptable by most modern urban dwellers that their cemetery should be 'messy'. The fashion of maintaining a cemetery as a perfectly neat lawn and garden space may have originated in the United States in the mid-nineteenth

⁶⁴ This was Henry Stafford who is said to have requested that he be buried under the big trees near the family home, see Stafford Peat, 25.

⁶⁵ It was, after all, on the "wrong side of the tracks", both literally and figuratively, for the citizens of South Lethbridge.

⁶⁶ Johnston, 3, and Parker, 33.

century, especially with the opening of Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It became common for most larger communities to then locate their burying-grounds on the outskirts of town and make them into beautiful lawn-gardens.⁶⁷ The concept of 'perpetual care' emerged from this fashion. Citizens who bought shares in the cemetery (another way of saying that they purchased plots), were contributing to the upkeep of the grounds. They were supporting 'perpetual care', which would be undertaken by the cemetery staff on behalf of shareholders who might not always be present to care for the graves of their loved ones. This is not an inexpensive undertaking. The city of Lethbridge financial records reveal the growing cost of this fashion. Cemetery expenditures in 1912 amounted to \$52.50, yet by 1921 they had made an enormous leap to \$2104.17.⁶⁸ But if respect for the dead was truly to be deemed the "bedrock of civilization and citizenship,"⁶⁹ then the cost must be borne.

Even the new cemetery suffered from some rather vague record-keeping in the early period. In 1911, the local Undertakers sold plots and had to then report the details to the City. T.S. Fetterly informed the City Treasurer in his letter of March 17, 1911, that he had sold a number of plots, and had moved a number of graves (some from the old cemetery), and that he would "be pleased to go to the cemetery any time you wish and assist you in checking off the

⁶⁷ Burns, "Chronology", 1855 and 1891.

⁶⁸ City of Lethbridge Financial Records, 1912 and 1921.

⁶⁹ Roy Porter, preface to Barnard, xi.

graves sold.”⁷⁰ In the lists that exist from Addison and Son Undertaking Parlors, the names are accompanied by the plot numbers all right, but there are arrows and cross-outs and check marks and x’s, all unexplained. It does seem rather haphazard, still. In 1915, the City had been receiving complaints about the Cemetery situation, and so some rules were set down in regards to the caretaker:

1. The caretaker to be paid Fifteen Dollars (\$15.00) per month:
2. The caretaker to be allowed to charge Five Dollars (\$5.00) for an adult’s grave and Three Dollars (\$3.00) for a child’s grave:
3. The caretaker is given complete charge of the Cemetery under the direction of the Commissioner of Public Works:
4. The caretaker is given exclusive right to do all work in connection with the grave yard and graves (excepting that done directly by relatives or close friends of the relatives, where no charge is made) when he is qualified by experience and skill to do the work, at reasonable prices, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Public Works:
5. Relatives and close friends shall be permitted to use hose for watering graves, when it is not in use by the caretaker.⁷¹

This still seems a bit vague, but it was the first step towards the very long list of rules which would come later.

The commercial influences were dominated by the funeral service industries and the newspapers. The profile of undertakers in the Lethbridge area can be easily traced by their advertisements, and their involvement in funerals can be observed by studying newspaper death notices and obituaries. The advertisements reveal their attitudes toward their own business, to each other, and to the public. Death notices and obituaries demonstrate the trend toward uniformity and away from individuality, as well as revealing the degree of importance of the role of the undertaker.

⁷⁰ The City of Lethbridge Cemetery Records Office has the original of this letter in their informal archives.

⁷¹ Ibid.

Advertisements can be seen in early editions of *The Lethbridge News*, beginning in 1886 and continuing into the 1890s, from Furniture Dealers and Cabinet Makers who included "Undertaking" in their list of offered services. Among the earliest were J.H. Laurence, and John Craig. Certainly the main function implied by their ads is the making of coffins, but that they have used the word "undertaking" would suggest that they provided further services as well.

The undertaker advertisements passed through many phases in style and complexity over the years, but there are three types from the early period. The first was a matter-of-fact but nearly invisible inclusion of the word 'undertaking' in furniture store ads. One example is from 1886:

John Craig, successor to Climie and Robertson, manufacturers of and dealers in all kinds of furniture! Lethbridge N.W.T. Just arrived Bedroom Setts[sic] Centre Tables Sideboards Lounges Perforated cane seat chairs springbeds and wool and straw mattresses. Undertaking a speciality. Repairing promptly attended to.⁷²

The second was an entry of the type found in the "business cards" or "professional cards". These were typically very small, confined to a one column width, and stated only the basics - name address and phone number. They also reflected a desire on the part of undertakers to be seen as professionals along with the doctors and lawyers listed above and below them. An example:

D. Brodie. Undertaker. A first-class stock of caskets and trimmings etc. on hand - orders promptly attended to...⁷³

⁷² *The Lethbridge News* Aug. 11, 1886.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, June 1893.

The word 'undertaker' was used until the mid-1920s, but the term 'funeral director' was also used, as early as 1907. By 1910, the 'professional card' entries had lengthened to include some self-promotional phrases such as 'open day and night', 'motor or horse-drawn hearses', 'graduate of such-and-such college', 'latest methods', 'exclusive agents for Sommerville Co.', and so on, but they remained discreet and unobtrusive. The third was an advertisement that looked like one, albeit quite small. B.C. Moore's eye-catching ads from c.1905 featured a picture of a horse-drawn hearse complete with top-hatted driver and ostrich plumes.⁷⁴

During the early period there is little mention of undertakers in newspaper death notices. This could mean that either they were not involved, their involvement was minimal, or mention of their involvement was not considered necessary or appropriate. Although there were undertakers in Lethbridge in 1886 when Richard Thompson drowned, the story as told suggests that no undertaker was involved. When Jas.W. MacDonald was run over by the train, he was taken to hospital where he died a number of hours later. The death announcement reported that the funeral "took place from the Galt Hospital."⁷⁵ There is no mention of an undertaker. Mrs. M. McKenzie died in the Galt Hospital, but "the funeral took place from their residence on Baroness Road ..."⁷⁶ and the funeral of W.

⁷⁴ Ibid., May 21, 1905, for example. The graphic is not directly related to Moore, of course, since the exact same image was used by other advertisers as well. One can be seen at the Remington Carriage House in Cardston, Alberta, for example. (See fig. 1).

⁷⁵ Ibid., Nov. 23, 1893.

⁷⁶ Ibid., July 22, 1896.

Vanhorne was held in the home of Chas. Vanhorne.⁷⁷ Again, no mention of an undertaker. In the case of Peachie Cox, an undertaker was necessary because the family was far from home, the children's mother was dead, and their father was not there; there seemed no alternative.

As the new century progressed, undertakers began to raise their profile. Mention of their presence became more common in death announcements. At Mrs. A. McNally's funeral in 1910, "the arrangements were under the direction of R.G. Addison."⁷⁸ The announcement of the death of the W. McKenzie baby in 1917 informed the reader that the funeral took place "from Fetterley's parlors...".⁷⁹ The Wm. Lobas death announcement, from 1918, stated, "the remains are being held at Fetterley's parlors awaiting funeral arrangements."⁸⁰

Further evidence of the role of the undertaker/funeral director can be seen in the wording of the Provincial Statutes and Regulations. In the 1907 Statutes, reference to legal burial refers to "undertaker, clergyman, sexton, householder or other person" engaging in the burial of the body.⁸¹ This would change in future years.

In the early period there were many monument companies operating in western Canada, as mentioned above. There are two things to consider when studying grave markers and the ways they

⁷⁷ *Lethbridge Herald*, Oct. 4, 1906.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1910.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1917.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1918.

⁸¹ *Statutes of Alberta*, 1907.

reflect or affect personal choice: the material and technology used, and the source or place of origin of the design elements.

During the early period most stone carving was done by hand, with mallet and chisel, and materials preferred were therefore relatively soft and easy to carve. Locally available choices were sandstone and limestone, but marble was the most popular material since it is most attractive and elegant as well as being easy to work with.⁸² Skilled carvers could render almost any design or inscription in marble, whether very plain or very intricate. The 'Gates of Heaven' motif was like a drawing, rendered in stone in shallow relief; it would take time, skill, and patience to accomplish, but would not be difficult for the experienced stone-cutter. Granite was rarely used due to the difficulty in carving it by hand. Thus, existing granite markers from the early period have very plain inscriptions with few embellishments. Granite was also more expensive than marble at that time, and so it is not surprising that only about nine percent of early markers are granite. With the choice of marble, the customer could have virtually any affordable design and inscription carved on a gravestone, while the choice of granite usually meant only the name and dates.⁸³

Other materials exist in Lethbridge cemeteries from the early period, as well: wood, metal, and concrete being the most common. Almost anyone could make a wooden marker and inscribe it by

⁸² There was a sandstone quarry near Monarch, operated by Duncan Maclean, for a number of years just before the Great War, see Nancy Millar, 18.

⁸³ Jim Muloch at Lethbridge Monumental provided the information on the history of stone use and cost, in 1994. One example of early granite carving is Alex Zubach's marker, a 43 inch tall vertical with cross, St. Patrick's Cemetery, O.N.W. -6-1.

carving or painting, but very few of these have survived, and most are no longer legible.⁸⁴ Metal markers, often plaques attached to a metal cross or a concrete block or embedded in a concrete base, were generally small and therefore had small print and little room for decoration. Concrete was the least expensive choice and could be made by almost anyone with even the most rudimentary construction experience, but a neat inscription is difficult to accomplish and few homemade concrete markers include any elements other than the name and dates.

The air-pressure chisel became available towards the end of the early period. This technology made carving marble easier than ever before, but it also enabled the easier carving of granite. The granite monuments from the period are all rather plain, as mentioned, but there are exceptions, which, given the difficulty involved, are impressive. The Bessie Lovering marker mentioned above, with its seventy-two word epitaph, was chiselled in granite! If it was not accomplished with an air-pressure chisel, then it represents an enormous amount of work indeed, not to mention some very sore arms.

The equipment necessary for cutting and polishing stone, especially granite, is large and expensive to purchase and maintain. For this reason, not all western Canadian stone cutters did their own cutting and polishing. There were firms in Ontario and Quebec that supplied cut and polished 'blanks' for shipment to firms across the country which would then have only to carve the inscriptions.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ At time of writing, an example of an elegant yet illegible wooden cross can still be seen at St. Patrick's Cem., O.N.E.,-15-1

⁸⁵ Muloch, 1994.

Many monument makers could hew and polish marble and granite but could not cut it. These facts contribute to limiting the choices and prices offered to customers. One might prefer a cut and polished stone, for example, but having to ship it from Central Canada it may have driven the price too high.

The actual origin of the design elements is difficult to determine for most of the earlier years, but since the same designs are seen on markers all across western Canada, the 'Gates of Heaven', for example, it is safe to assume that there was a common origin. There are two possibilities: either the designs themselves were distributed across the country on paper and utilized by stone cutters everywhere, or they were already carved on the 'blanks' when they arrived. Regardless of which of these two was the case, the design did not originate with either the local stonecutter or with the local client. This means that whatever meaning or attitude they represent has come from outside the community. All the designs and shapes have derivative meanings, but it is doubtful people choose them for that reason. How many Lethbridgians would have known, for example, that an obelisk symbolizes eternity? Was it known that broken columns and tree stumps symbolize life cut short, or oak and ivy faithfulness and eternal life?⁸⁶

As for newspapers, in the early period announcements of deaths were placed in different locations throughout each edition--as items in gossip and news columns mostly--and there is no indication that there was a specific charge for this, as there would be in later

⁸⁶ Barnard, 180, and George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, 1974), 33, 35.

periods. It is uncertain who actually wrote these news items, but it seems logical to assume that the paper's editor or its reporters did, once having been informed of the details by friends, family, or the police.

We can see that during the earliest decades in Lethbridge, there was still considerable room for personal choices and expressions in funeral and memorial practices, as well as independent actions, and that there was a minimal amount of interference from the authorities and the business world. This would change in later years.

When considering famous deaths of the period, none would be more significant than that of Queen Victoria in January of 1901. The words in the black-bordered columns of *The Lethbridge News* were suitably dramatic and emotional:

Gloom has been cast over every quarter of the greatest and most glorious empire that has ever existed ... it is doubtful whether any monarch who ever existed held the same esteem or veneration, we might even say adoration, in the minds of the people ...⁸⁷

The editor wrote about her noblest attributes, and "the wholesome influence of her example ...". There were also two full-page spreads, one with photos and the other with family and biographical information. Within a few days, the Federal Government was talking about declaring May 24 a national holiday.⁸⁸ Many days later, the funeral was described in detail, but without pictures. There was no forum for comments from ordinary citizens, but the public responses

⁸⁷ *Lethbridge News*, January 22, 1901.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, January 31, 1901.

of dignitaries and politicians were reported. At least one local business--Robinson's Framing--used the event to some advantage by adding the words, "Don't forget mourning stationery" to its advertisement on the front page.⁸⁹

When Edward VII died just nine years later, the response was similar, but less emotional, and on a smaller scale. Lethbridge did hold a memorial service, however, for which a pamphlet was printed.⁹⁰

The rituals enacted during the early period for ordinary Lethbridgians, as far as can be determined, met the needs of propriety as much as personal needs. Epitaphs and in-memoriums were sentimental but not individualized in any way. Gravestones were pretty as well as functional, if minimally informative. One suspects that the funeral service was familiar and functional as well as beautiful and romantic, as it was in Victorian England, albeit on a smaller scale.⁹¹ The citizens of early period Lethbridge knew their place and knew their roles, even when someone died.

It can probably be said with some certainty that the citizens of Lethbridge in this early period, like the generations that preceded them, were fairly comfortable with death. That is to say, dying was familiar to them as something that persons of any age could do at any time. People probably felt that they 'knew' where the dead were;

⁸⁹ Ibid., several issues in a row, January and February, 1901.

⁹⁰ City of Lethbridge Archives, uncatalogued. (See fig. 7).

⁹¹ Morley, 21, refers to "romance in funerary customs ..." and to a "most delicate and beautiful rite ..." especially for girls. He also details the extravagant excesses of Victorian funerals in England, but there is no evidence of these excessive practices existing in Lethbridge.

they were in a better place. The memory of them was kept alive in the hearts and minds of mourners, who were comforted by thoughts of the eventual reunion. The act of remembering was encouraged by the appearance of the lovely, peaceful, rural-style, garden cemetery and its impressive, often evocative, tombstones which were proof that the living cared about the dead.⁹² There are other things to consider, however.

The citizens of Lethbridge at that time no doubt still considered themselves as being 'from' somewhere else, and as such, were emotionally attached to the customs and traditions of that place. Their dead would be laid to rest and memorialized in the familiar ways. But the city's class and ethnic divisions were perpetuated in these rituals, especially in the cemetery. If the power and influence lay in the hands of those of British descent, and the memorials they erected for their dead are reminders of that high status, then the memorials erected for the 'others' are status markers of a slightly different kind. The deliberate display of difference in the cemetery is an example of 'boundary maintenance', in effect saying: 'you exclude us from your midst because we are different, so we will *be* different!'. The 'mother tongue' proliferates among the gravestones at St. Patrick's, for example, and on the Asian and Hebrew stones, as a badge of pride in heritage as much as for comfort or familiarity. There are some markers which are obviously of the non-Anglo community which are written in English, however. This might be seen as a confident demonstration of a desire to not identify solely

⁹² Jackson, 48.

with the 'others', but with the dominant culture which one hoped soon to be part of.

The citizens of Lethbridge were also self-reliant during much of the early period. They knew how to take care of themselves and each other. They did not need to pay someone to do things for them, ie. an undertaker. Local workers and business people engaged in many self-reliant activities such as stone masonry and coffin manufacture, and the carrying of coffins and the digging and covering of graves. Most things, it is assumed, were accomplished with hands-on participation.

Let us consider the cemetery and its gravestones, those most deliberate and considered of all funerary appendages. Accepting for the moment the concept that the cemetery is a reflection of the living society, and is a "symbol of the heirarchical nature of the society, and ... a reaffirmation of the kind of society toward which the people were striving ..." ⁹³, what intent can we understand from examining the cemeteries of Lethbridge in the early period? While it is true that cemeteries at the turn of the century tended to preserve forever the inequalities that existed in society, it does not seem that Lethbridgians were quite as intent upon this as were their English contemporaries. ⁹⁴ There are no 'upper-class' or 'middle-class' or 'pauper's grave' sections, and there is no indication that plots had different price tags depending on their location. But, there were other types of segregation.

⁹³ Victor W. Marshall *Last Chapters: A Sociology of Aging and Dying*. (Monterey, 1980), 49.

⁹⁴ Barnard, 8, and Barnard preface by Roy Porter, x.

The separate sections that exist in Lethbridge cemeteries are related to ancestry and/or religion, rather than economic standing, although there is often a relationship between the two. It seems early Lethbridgians had considerable freedom of choice as to the location of burial for their loved ones, at least the location was not being dictated by a judgemental board, as it had been in England.⁹⁵ Exceptions were the religious consideration (Catholic, Protestant or Hebrew), and the ancestral (Chinese).⁹⁶ To truly understand these divisions would require knowledge of the real origins of the decision to have separate sections. The impetus may have come from the Anglo-oriented city decision-makers who continued to think in terms of 'us' and 'them', or it may have come from a desire on the part of particular self-identified groups to stick together.

The sense of propriety and respectability that are among the hallmarks of middle class Victorianism can be recognized in the forms of memorialization available for study. But the Victorians had a distaste for certain aspects of human life, and this makes one wonder about the emotions experienced by Marcella Sheran and Awatoyakew, the two people most affected by the death of Nick Sheran in 1882. Marcella must surely have been horrified by the

⁹⁵ Ibid., xi, (preface by Roy Porter), according to Barnard, public cemeteries in 19th Century England were managed by boards which determined the locations for most burials, based largely on class. See also, Randall H. McGuire, "Dialogues With the Dead: Ideology and the Cemetery", *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology and the Eastern United States* (Washington, 1988), ed. M. Leone & P. Potter, 462.

⁹⁶ At this time in history, Chinese immigrants still chose to practice secondary burial, that is, the remains were buried here only temporarily. Once every seven years, all the bones would be disinterred and shipped home to China in order to be buried with each family's venerated ancestors. There are no gravemarkers in the Chinese Cemetery at St. Patrick's that predate 1920, and very few from before WW II.

thought of her brother's body not receiving a proper burial. Worse than that, it was probably being eaten by scavengers, and worms. No wonder she pleaded, and offered a reward, for someone to find the remains.⁹⁷ Awatoyakew's attitude may have been more pragmatic. The Blackfoot and their ancestors were accustomed, traditionally, to the practice of second burial, and therefore the idea of her husband's body decomposing in the outdoors somewhere may not have been quite so problematic, although she would probably have preferred to know where they were.

Pragmatism of another kind would have had to be extended to parenthood. The possibility of losing one or more of your children was great, and although few experiences can be as awful as witnessing the death of one's child, it happened with such regularity at the time that it was necessary to just accept it and get on with life. It must have been very hard at times, though. Eli and Alma Hodder, the first young couple to marry in Lethbridge (1886), lost their only baby, Thornell, just months later.⁹⁸ The newspaper report of a baby death in 1904 ends with this: "Mr. and Mrs. Graham have been most unfortunate with their children, having lost four within the last three years."⁹⁹

If the way the dead were treated was symbolic of the structure of society, and if death rituals were truly "a reaffirmation of the kind of society toward which the people were striving ..."¹⁰⁰, then we should be able to recognize some Victorian and Edwardian values in

⁹⁷ Stafford Peat, 19.

⁹⁸ Johnston, 2, and Stafford Peat, 25.

⁹⁹ *The Lethbridge News*, May 26 1904.

¹⁰⁰ Marshall, 49.

funeral and burial practices. Generally speaking, the Victorian funeral was a private family matter acted out under the scrutiny of the public gaze, and the few photos that exist of funeral processions of the period do seem 'showy', as though meant to be a spectacle for bystanders.¹⁰¹ Those photographed examples may not be typical, but they seem to indicate that it was important to look respectable in front of the public. Gravestones of the period are pretty but most are not overly romantic--they do not suggest an intent to dramatize or 'celebrate' death or to display status difference. The extravagance of Victorianism seems to have been tempered by a pragmatic adaptation to the pioneer situation.

By the time of the two great world events at the end of the period, Victorianism was fading. The Great War and the Influenza Epidemic probably had a profound effect on Lethbridge society, as they did elsewhere, and attitudes toward death were no doubt affected as well. Some two thousand six hundred Lethbridgians joined the fighting forces in The Great War and over two hundred of them died.¹⁰² To make things even worse, over a hundred more died in the epidemic.¹⁰³ The war took young people in the prime of life, while the influenza took people of all ages. It was not possible to ignore death or to hide it away when so many were dying, and so many were mourning. In England, the government stepped in and ordered an end to many of the traditional displays of mourning because there seemed no end to them and the morale of the

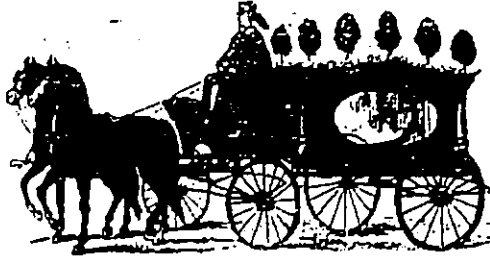
¹⁰¹ Morley, 20, says funerals were intended to be spectacles, and Porter (Preface to Barnard, ix) designates the Victorian funeral as a "celebration of death". (See fig. 2).

¹⁰² Johnston and den Otter, 100.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 114.

population was suffering.¹⁰⁴ This emotional trauma coincided with, or brought about, the end of the early period.

¹⁰⁴ Burns, "Chronology", 1916 (no page numbers).



B. C. MOORE
Undertaker & Embalmer
All Work Carefully and Respectfully at-
tended to. Place of business.....
Burdett Street, South of Central School
Phone 102.

fig. 1



fig. 2

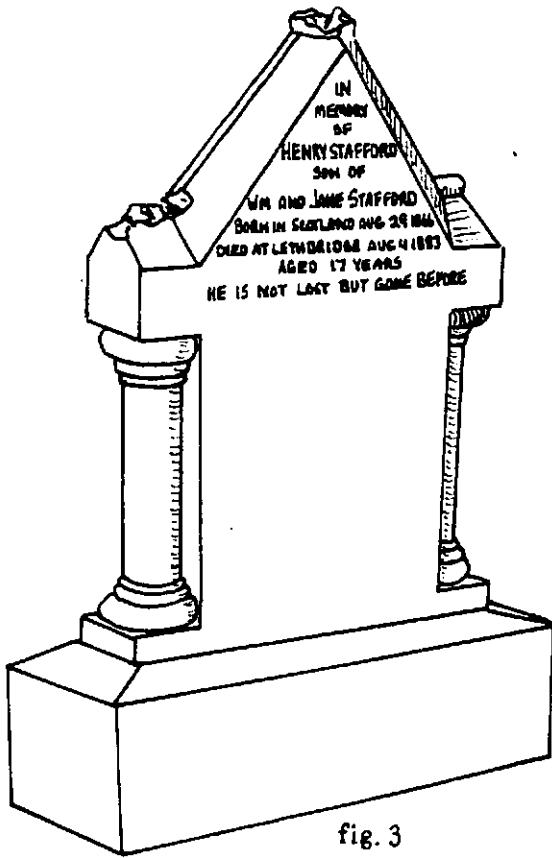


fig. 3

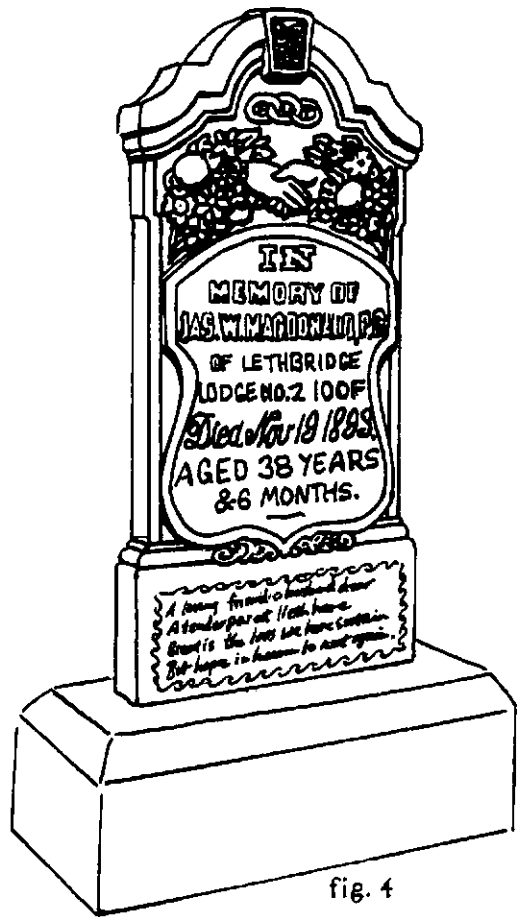


fig. 4



fig. 5

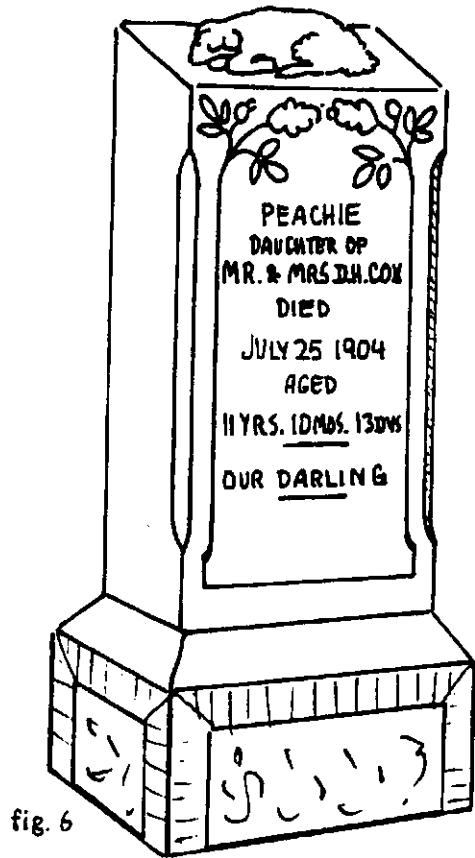


fig. 6

Hymn *Tune—St. Anne*

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home!

Beneath the shadow of Thy Throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure,
Sufficient in Thy arm alone,
And our defence is sure.

Before the hills in order stood,
The earth received her frame,
From everlasting Thou art God,
To endless years the same.

A thousand ages in Thy sight
Are like an evening gone,
Short as the watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
Sweeps all its gains away,
Thou art, O God, the Everlasting Day,
That never shall be dim.

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Be Thou our light while troubles last,
And our eternal home! Amen

Address—

The National Anthem

God save our gracious King,
Long live our noble King,
God save the King,
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the King.

The choicest gifts in store
On him be pleased to pour,
Long may he reign,
May he defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice
God save the King.

Our loved Dominion bless
With peace and happiness,
From shore to shore
And let our Empire be
United, loyal, free,
True to itself and Thee
Our evermore Amen

Edward the Seventh

By the Grace of God
of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland, and of
the
British Dominions Beyond
the Seas,

King

Defender of the Faith,
Emperor of India.

Born 9th November, 1841.
Became King 22nd January, 1901.
Died 9th May, 1910.

CITY OF LETHBRIDGE MEMORIAL SERVICE Friday, May 20th, 1910

Hymn *Tune—Aurea*

To him that overcame on earth's battle fields,
We give the crown of glory, we crown the man
who died.

Lord rings the shout of triumph, fair shines the
laurel wreath,
We bring the robe of martyr, we lay the sword in
sheath.

There is a sterner battle against a Goliath here,
our leader fought it for us, and laid the rebels low
More glorious than laurels the crown of thorns he
wore.

He captive led captivities, He loved to die no more,
To him that overcame, a crown of life is given.
The glory of God's children the perfect rest of
heaven.

The morning star for Israel, a robe of purple white,
and CHRIST our LORD will own him, His fol-
lowers in the day.

To him that overcame earth's battles shall be
the song of triumph, and shout of victory,
To him who for us conquered, by Whom we over-
came.

He evades praise and blessing, all adoration, power
and fame.

Dead March in Saul

Address:—

Scripture:—

I am the resurrection and the life, said the Lord;
he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet
shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth
in me shall never die.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he
shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And
though after my skin worms destroy this body,
yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see
for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not
another.

We brought nothing into this world, and it is
certain we can carry nothing out. The Lord gave,
and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the
name of the Lord.

Prayer:—

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God of
his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of
his servant, Edward our late King, we therefore
with our brethren in commissioning his body to
the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to
dust, in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection
to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ,
who shall change our vile body, that it may be
like unto his glorious body, according to the
mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all
things unto himself. Amen.

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of
them that depart hence in the last, and with
whom the souls of the faithful, after they are de-
livered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and
glory: We give thee hearty thanks, for that it
hath pleased thee to deliver our late Sovereign,
Lord King Edward out of the miseries of this sin-
ful world, beseeching thee, that it may please thee
of thy gracious goodness, quickly to accomplish
the number of those elect, led to Heaven, the
Kingdom, that we, with all them that are depart-
ed in the true faith of thy Son Jesus, may have
our perfect communion with him, both in body
and soul, in the eternal and everlasting glory,
through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O merciful God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus
Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, in
whom whosoever believeth shall live, though he die,
and whosoever liveth, and believeth in him, shall
not die eternally; who also hath taught us, by his
holy Apostle Saint Paul, not to be sorry, as men
without hope, for them that sleep in him, We
beseech thee, O Father, to raise us from
the death of sin unto the life of righteousness;
that, when we shall depart this life, we may rest
in him, as our hope is our late Sovereign, Lord
King Edward hath and rest, at the general
Resurrection in the last day, we may be found ac-
ceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing,
which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce
to all that love and fear thee, saying, Come, ye
blessed children of my Father, receive the King-
dom prepared for you from the beginning of the
world. Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful
Father, through Jesus Christ, our Mediator and
Redeemer. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the
love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost,
be with us all evermore. Amen.

fig. 7

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

During the period between The Great War and World War Two, the population of Lethbridge grew from ten to twenty thousand. The average provincial mortality rate was eight per thousand, which meant between six and twelve deaths per month in Lethbridge. Undertakers operating at the time were Martin Brothers (the successor to Fetterly), Charles Mackay, Christensen's (the successor to Mackay), and Lethbridge Memorial Funeral Chapel (also known as Flock's Funeral and Ambulance Service.) For most of the period there were two undertakers operating at one time, and for seven years there were three.¹

St. Patrick's Cemetery expanded onto the southern part of its hilltop. The use of its southernmost section (E) took place in a progressive pattern from west to east, starting in 1921, and there was some random usage of its central sections (A, B, C, & D). The small Chinese Cemetery next to St. Patrick's began to grow in the thirties. This may have been due to the difficulty in sending remains home to China during the depression, and later during the war years, but perhaps it reflected a weakening of interest in the traditional ways. Mountain View (still named the Public Cemetery) expanded to include St. Augustin's Anglican Cemetery, while the nearby Hebrew

¹ Flock's operated from 1936 until 1942, according to newspaper advertisements, and for much of that time they also operated an ambulance service.

Cemetery grew slowly.² At the very end of the period, a section of Mountain View was set aside for the creation of a Japanese Cemetery (section 19) since the Lethbridge area was a site for relocated west-coast Japanese-Canadians during World War II.³ Until the creation of this section, Japanese burials took place randomly in sections 5-7 and 10-12.

Lethbridge Monumental and the Somerville Co. continued to be the main suppliers of gravestones for the area, although there were other companies which may have been active, namely Sunset Memorial (from Calgary) and Regina Monument (later known as Remco). Since fewer stones were 'signed' by the maker, it is uncertain if there were any others.⁴

Lethbridge's first hometown radio station, CJOC, went on the air in 1926, bringing news and views and music from across North America and around the World. Newspapers of the time featured listings of radio programs from all the stations that could be picked up in the area. The entertainment covered popular music, hillbilly music, comedy, drama, and news.⁵ There were also a number of movie theatres operating in the city: King's, The Empress, The

² Although at the end of the present century the spelling is "St. Augustine's", the name of the Anglican church was usually written as "St. Augustin's" in newspaper accounts of the early and transitional periods. I have followed that convention in this paper.

³ Johnston and den Otter, 148. This is actually somewhat surprising, since the actual sites of relocation were Raymond, Picture Butte and Taber, more so than Lethbridge itself. Raymond had a sizeable Japanese population before this new influx, and interestingly, Japanese graves are not segregated in the Raymond Cemetery, and there is a large memorial there, dedicated to those who were relocated, and to those who were buried without a separate marker. Picture Butte has no cemetery of its own, however.

⁴ Gunderson, 355-8. Also, personal observance.

⁵ Johnston and den Otter, 106. Also see, for example, *The Lethbridge Herald*, Feb. 27, 1928, for radio listings.

Colonial, The Majestic, and The Palace, all of which featured Hollywood films. Their advertisements were quite prominent throughout the period. These represent a broadening of world view, and a degree of socio-cultural homogenization, not to mention an Americanization. The Christian religion continued to dominate, of course, but the number of denominations grew from the three or four basic ones to more than twelve.⁶

Mining and agriculture continued to be the most significant economic presences. Both were dangerous industries, a fact brought home when, in 1935, there was an explosion in the Coalhurst Mine which killed sixteen men. Even though the population of Lethbridge and area had grown to more than 13,000 by then, such a tragedy must have touched almost everyone, to one degree or another.

Besides being flanked by two wars, this era also featured the terrible depression and drought of the 'dirty thirties'. Lethbridge did not fare quite as badly as some areas, due in large part to the success of irrigation agriculture, but the international economic depression had its effects there as well as elsewhere. There was a considerable amount of labour unrest, especially in the coal industry, the unemployment rate was high, and money was scarce.⁷

At the beginning of the period, society was emerging from the time-honoured old-world traditions which had been forever altered by the experience of the Great War. By the end of the period, society and its traditions would be transformed into those of the new

⁶ Ibid., 118.

⁷ Ted Byfield ed., *Fury and Futility: The Onset of the Great Depression* vol. VI *Alberta in the 20th Century: A Journalistic History of the Province in Thirteen Volumes* (Edmonton: United Western Communications, Ltd., 1998), 14-15, 52-53. Also Johnston and den Otter, 121, 126.

modern world, having been further altered by yet another war. As modernity increased in Lethbridge, as well as in the rest of the Western World, there may have been a concomitant decrease in emotional involvement with others, as well as in the importance of relationships.⁸ The existence of this phenomenon in Lethbridge, or its impact on funerary rituals, has not been determined by my research.

The actual nature of the rituals during the transitional period are no more clearly known than those of the previous period, since there are very few descriptions of funerals in the newspapers, and memories are short on detail. It would not be surprising to find that they had changed little. One thing is certain, however; undertaker businesses grew tremendously in size, status and influence. They added inter-denominational chapels to their premises, as well as rooms suitable for the laying out of the body, either in a coffin or on a divan.⁹ The laying out room was a particularly helpful innovation for those families with smaller homes. Visits of condolence would still be made to the family, of course, but if anyone wanted to view the remains they could do so at the Undertaker's. The newspaper often obliged informatively; "The remains are at Mackay's Undertaking parlors" reads the death notice for Nick Wazniuk in 1921.¹⁰ Slightly less than half the deaths occurred at home while the rest, except for special cases such as accidents, occurred in hospital.

⁸ Marion J. Levy, Jr. *Modernization: Latecomers and Survivors*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972, 122.

⁹ Gunderson, 71, features a photograph of a "slumber bed" or divan at Nott's Funeral Home in Medicine Hat in the 1930s.

¹⁰ *Lethbridge Herald* April 3, 1921. There are many other examples that include a similar message.

Yet, many dead were still 'laid out' at home, during the early part of the period. By the late twenties, though, mention of the home in death notices was in reference to place of death only, while the funeral home was the starting point or the location of the funeral. A few examples: both Mary Jane Clare and Alfred Mathers died on July 1, 1922, each in their own home, but while the Clare funeral was held at Martin Brothers, the Mathers service was held in the family residence.¹¹ In 1925 the funeral for Josephine Zasadny began in the family's home and proceeded to St. Peter & St. Paul's for the Mass.¹² Thora Smith "passed away at home" in 1934, and her funeral was held in church, and of the four deaths listed in the paper June 5 and 7, 1943, three took place at home; two of the funerals were held in church and two in the funeral chapel.¹³

It is probably quite safe to say that there was little change in the funeral and burial services themselves, since the church still determined these rites and most funerals were held in church, according to the death notices. Floral tributes were customary and were typically left at the cemetery as they had been in the early period. The cortège was still a necessary feature, as well. We can gather clues from the occasional example, even though they may have been out of the ordinary in some way to have been written-up in detail:

A Large Funeral

Followed by a large concourse, with over fifty automobiles in the procession to the cemetery, the funeral of the late Geo. B. Weller

¹¹ Ibid., July 3, 1922.

¹² Ibid., January 2, 1925.

¹³ Ibid., July 24, 1934 (Smith), and June 5 & 7, 1943 (there was no edition on the 6th, being Sunday.)

took place on Saturday afternoon. The deceased was a veteran of the South African war, and was buried in the soldier's plot....The first part of the burial service was held at Fetterly's undertaking parlors, with the Rev. W. E. MacNiven officiating, and the service at the graveside was in charge of the Masons. In the cortege were representatives of the Army and Navy Veterans, the Commercial Travellers, the Masons, and the Oddfellows. There was a profusion of floral tributes.¹⁴

As mentioned, the flowers were most often left at the graveside, but some people were beginning, perhaps, to feel regret at thought of flowers left to die in the cemetery, and were asking people to refrain; "No flowers by request." says Richard Diggory's death notice in 1922.¹⁵

The home was still significantly involved, as mentioned above, and there was also a very short wait--only one or two days--between death and burial, suggesting that most of the dead were not being embalmed, especially at the beginning of the period. There is some evidence of the growing popularity of embalming towards the end of the period, though. There are a number of examples that suggest this; the Albert Firth death announcement from 1943 is one which indicates there were three days between death and burial.¹⁶

It had not been traditional, in British and in Protestant culture at any rate, to open the coffin at the funeral or burial, but that began to change towards the end of this period when the coffin would sometimes be opened at the rear of the church after the funeral service so that the mourners and the congregation could view the

¹⁴ Ibid., July 4, 1921.

¹⁵ Ibid., April 3, 1922. This is the earliest such request that was observed during my research, but it is not the only one from this period.

¹⁶ Many other examples can be found in newspapers of the early 1940s. The Firth announcement is from the *Lethbridge Herald* June 7, 1943.

remains as they filed out after the service.¹⁷ This practice would be another indication that embalming and restorative cosmetic techniques were being adopted.

One of the largest funerals ever held in Lethbridge took place December 13, 1935, for the sixteen men killed in the Coalhurst Mine explosion. There were actually three funeral services (Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, and Protestant) and two burial services, but it seems everyone was present for the duration. Photographs show hundreds, perhaps thousands, walking in the funeral cortège, and hundreds more lining the streets. Businesses were closed for the day. The coffins were carried in hearses and trucks, while the pallbearers--at least six for every man--walked alongside. Miners from Coalhurst, Lethbridge, Shaunessy, and the Crowsnest Pass marched, as did contingents of the R.C.M.P. and the Canadian Legion, while the Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Band and the Salvation Army Band played Mendelssohn's 'Funeral March'. Services ended with 'The Last Post'. Ten of the dead were buried in St. Patrick's and six in Mountain View, and two large granite memorials were later erected by The United Mine Workers of America.¹⁸

¹⁷It was Bryan Watts' understanding that the open casket custom was common by the fifties, but had not been before that. Even at the end of the 20th Century the open coffin is not customary in Britain, see Mitford, 94 and 202, and Gorer, 12-15. On the other hand, the open coffin has been a tradition among Catholic and Orthodox Central and Eastern Europeans and remains so. See Gunderson, 158-9 for photographs of Alberta funerals with mourners gathered about the open coffins. Also, my family has a few such photos from our Polish side, c.1920s and 30s.

¹⁸ Janine Coombes, "No Christmas Tree This Year", *Our Treasured Heritage: A History of Coalhurst and District*, Lethbridge: Coalhurst History Society, 1984, 156-8.

It became the custom to insert in-memoriams in the paper on the anniversary of the person's death, rather than shortly after it had taken place. These were usually inserted for a year or two, but sometimes for as long as six years in a row. One example of the latter instance is Elijah Hadlington, who died in October, 1921. Every October for six years, there were three memoriams for him, one from his parents, one from his wife and children, and one from his sister and her family. The 'religious' content faded in favour of the secular, and although the sentiments remained much the same as in the Fleetwood example from the early period, the items were generally shorter. The three Hadlington examples from 1928 are typical:

for Elijah Hadlington - died Oct. 3, 1922.

A bitter grief, a shock severe, to part with one we loved so dear.
Our loss is great, we'll not complain, but hope in heaven to meet
again. - inserted by his loving wife and children.

In our home there is a picture, to us it is dearer than gold. It is a
picture of our dear son, whose memory will never grow cold.
-inserted by his loving mother and father.

Today brings back memories, of our dear brother gone to rest.
-inserted by his loving sister, brother and family, Mr. And Mrs.
W. Stonely.¹⁹

By this we can see that the in-memoriams were shorter and less 'flowery' than in the early period.

By 1920, death announcements were all placed together on the same page of the *Herald* under the title "Deaths" or "Death Notice", with each separate entry beginning with the word "Died". Uniformity was being encouraged by the organization and the cost, and so the notices all have approximately the same wording: name and age, date

¹⁹ *Lethbridge Herald* October 3, 1928.

and place of death, location of funeral, and name of undertaker. A typical example of the death notice reads:

Died - Tentelicuk. At Coalhurst on July 3, Constantine Tentelicuk, aged 48 years. The funeral will be held from Mackay's parlours to the Greek Orthodox church on Sunday at 4 pm. Chas. Mackay funeral director.²⁰

Most of these short announcements were placed by the undertaker on behalf of the family. There was probably more input from the family for items that began with the title, "Obituary", which was used (infrequently) to indicate what was a longer item including biographical information. A 1925 example from out of town reads:

LOUGHREN - George Earl Loughren aged 18 son of Mr T.G. Loughren 209 South 16 Ave E Duluth, and formerly of Lethbridge Alberta, died on the morning of Sept. 25 following an illness since March. Besides his father he is survived by a brother Ray and 2 sisters Alyse and Mrs. Guy T. Mix all of Duluth Minn. Funeral was held from the house to the First Presbyterian Church conducted by Modern Samaritan Lodge.²¹

In the early thirties, there were very few death notices in the paper, even though the number of people dying must have been the same or greater than in the late twenties. The reason for this was probably economic. One thing that did become more common in the notices of this decade was the use of the phrase "passed away," which was rarely seen in the early period. It was also more common for women to be named as individuals, that is to say they were identified by their given name as in, "The death took place here yesterday of

²⁰ Ibid., July 4, 1925.

²¹ Ibid., Oct. 2, 1925.

Annie Nihill, wife of Robert Nihill ...”²², but still not in every case, as in, “Leslie--passed away in the city on Wednesday ... William Chambers aged 49 years ... husband of Mrs. W.C. Leslie ...”.²³

In the forties there was an increase in the number of announcements, and the name of the undertaker, by then known exclusively as a funeral director, was included at the end of every one. Lethbridge area armed forces personnel killed or missing were also listed, but not usually under the title ‘death notices’. For example, Pilot Officer Albert W. Matthews was listed M.I.A. in May of 1940, just a week after his wedding in England.²⁴ Occasionally, there was both a death announcement and an obituary for the same person, on the same page. One such obituary became a news story in 1940:

‘Please Publish I Didn't Go On Relief’ Last Wish. Mrs. Katie Palen, native of Hungary, will be buried Tuesday.
‘Please publish in the paper when I die that I didn't go on relief, always paid my own way and worked hard’. This was the request of Mrs. Katie Palin or Bokor, aged old timer of Lethbridge, previous to her passing in St. Michael's Hosp. on Saturday morning. For many years the deceased worked in a large number of Lethbridge homes and was very well known in the city. In recent years she made her home in the local hospital. A native of Nagrcanya Hungary, Mrs. Bokor, who adopted the name of Palin in Canada, came to Lethbridge about 1895. For many years she was employed as caretaker of the Higinbotham store on Fifth St. S. Her duties included cleaning the Post Office then operated by Mr. Higinbotham. She continued active until old age forced her retirement a few years ago....Prayers were said in Flock's Funeral Home on Sunday evening with Rev. Father Bergin officiating and Rev. Father Griffin will conduct funeral services from St. Patrick's church on Tuesday at 10 a.m. Interment will follow in the family plot, St. Patrick's cemetery.²⁵

²² Ibid., July 5, 1926.

²³ Ibid., April 2, 1927.

²⁴ Ibid., May 18, 1940. I did not follow this up to see whether or not Matthews was actually killed.

²⁵ Ibid., May 20, 1940.

The most tangible examples of death and commemoration were still, as always, gravestones. In the transitional period, the number of marble markers decreased from eighty to sixty percent, while the percentage of granite markers increased from nine to almost thirty, by the end of the period. At St. Patrick's, fifteen percent of the markers of the period are homemade (most often of concrete), while at Mountain View there are only a handful of homemades. The height decreased eight inches to an average of twenty-eight, and the shapes include the greatest variety of all the time periods: verticals, crosses, rectangular block plot markers, horizontals, pillows, and flats (in order of frequency). Florals and ivy-oak combinations are the most common designs and the "Gates of Heaven" are still seen, but they are smaller and less elaborate than those from the previous period.²⁶ Inscriptions are typically one line rather than a verse, only ten percent include religious content as compared to fifty percent in the early period, and abstract epitaphs increased from fifty-five to seventy percent. Inclusion of the precise age of the deceased dropped from eighty to ten percent of the inscriptions, and thirty percent include nothing other than the name and dates, something which was very rare in the early period. Ten percent of the markers are for husband and wife together, which is an increase of five percent.

The markers of the period offer great variety, including a few unusual specimens. Annie Chobotar's marker has a winged cherub's

²⁶ The two latest examples are from 1926, one in St. Patrick's and one in Mountain View. (See Appendix C).

face on it; this used to be a very common motif in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but is very rare in the twentieth, especially in Lethbridge. John Troyan's marker features a high relief sculpture of a child sleeping in an alcove. Edward Lawrence Connor's marker is a mystery: it reads, M.D.C.M.F.A.C.S., and Thomas Henry Owens has three markers: one standard military, one civilian, and one from the I.O.D.E.²⁷

As mentioned, there is a difference worth noting in the presence of many home-made memorials at St. Patrick's and the comparative rarity of same at Mountain View. Many of the concrete crosses at St. Patrick's were made from one of four different forms, indicating that those forms were shared.²⁸ Seventy-two percent of these have inscriptions in Slovak or Polish, twenty-one percent are written in English but bear slavic names, and seven percent are written in Hungarian. There are also a number of unique homemade markers. While the artistically-challenged might label them 'crudely-made', these are often the most satisfying from an artistic standpoint, since they have about them the touch of originality and real feelings. One suspects, however, that the reason for their being home-made was not artistic, but economic. The concrete crosses are sturdy and virtually permanent, but there is a problem with the inscriptions: those that were drawn in the surface of the wet cement are fine, but several of the markers had painted inscriptions and these are in danger of being lost. Four of these home-mades also have 'window-shaped' niches on their faces; these may have been used to hold

²⁷ The I.O.D.E. (Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire) placed a marble plot marker on the grave of all those who served in the Canadian armed forces.

²⁸ See fig. 11 & 13.

pictures or other memorabilia. Of all the home-mades, one of the most original and most touching is the little decorated concrete cross made in 1933 for Fred Koshman.²⁹ Its heart-framed, scratched-in and pebble-inlaid epitaph reads "Our Dear Father May God Be With Him"; it expresses love in an honest unpretentious fashion. Another of the notables is, of course, the one that inspired this research: that of Jacob and Tatyana Sawchuk, which one would not describe as unpretentious.³⁰

Epitaphs were understated and short, for the most part, and reveal almost nothing of the life of the deceased. The occasional anomaly exists, of course; Angelo Matteoti's marker tells the viewer that he was killed, and shows a picture of him on his caterpillar tractor, which creates the impression that the two are related.³¹ Sometimes the viewer can deduce that something happened but have no idea what; two identical marble crosses stand near each other, one with the names Mary Mae and William Bodnaruk, and the other the names Katherine and Donald Bodnaruk. In both cases, the female was in her late twenties and the male was a child, and all four died September 20, 1944.³²

²⁹ St. Patrick's Cemetery, section E, row 7, plot 16. (A favourite. It never fails to touch me when I look at it.) (See fig. 12.)

³⁰ Ibid., section A, row 19, plots 17-18. (My inspiration.) (See fig. 10.)

³¹ St. Patrick's Cemetery, B -21-9. Matteoti was indeed killed when his tractor rolled over on him, but whether it was the machine in the picture on his gravestone is not known. See the *Herald* July 22, 1940. (See fig. 21 & 22.)

³² Ibid., A -20-6 and 7, and A -20-9 and 10. These were two sisters-in-law who had just left the Coaldale area home of Mary's mother to drive home to Lethbridge, with their children, when they were hit by a train. Two other children survived. See the *Herald*, September 21 and 22, 1944. (See fig. 19 & 20.)

The bureaucratic requirements remained virtually unchanged from the previous period; the same forms were filled out and sent away to be officially registered, and the same provincial regulations governed the operation of cemeteries. Most of the aspects of the process described in Chapter II are applicable here. But the existence of the undertaker is acknowledged in the provincial statutes, which read: the undertaker or any person acting as undertaker, or the occupier of the house, or a person residing in the house, or any person present at the death, or the coroner, shall register the death.³³ This was a change from the previous period when the word undertaker was not mentioned.³⁴

City By-Laws regarding the cemetery had not yet fully adopted the concept of 'perpetual care', as would be the case later on. The city of Lethbridge financial records reveal that the cost of cemetery maintenance fluctuated, actually decreasing, during the period; from \$2104.17 in 1921, it dropped to \$840 in 1940.³⁵ This suggests a low-profile involvement for the city, possibly due to the economic situation. Individuals probably had ample opportunity to 'interact' with the graves of their loved ones, as well as having some responsibility for their upkeep. The city had nothing to do with St. Patrick's cemetery, of course, which was looked after by the parishioners and a caretaker.³⁶

³³ Statutes of Alberta, 1922, Chapter 24, section 23. I have paraphrased and encapsulated what is a lengthy and overly precise paragraph.

³⁴ Ibid., 1907, Chapter 13, section 18.

³⁵ City of Lethbridge Financial Statements, 1921 and 1940.

³⁶ Parker, 35.

The newspaper encouraged uniformity for its death notices and in-memoriams by setting a price for them of 12¢ per line, with a minimum of 50¢. The result was that most of the announcements were 5 to 8 lines in length, at a cost between 50¢ and \$1. The same price remained in effect throughout the 1930s, despite the reality of the depression. At a time when a pair of boys running shoes cost 59¢ and a 5 lb. roast of beef cost 55¢, a death announcement costing 50¢ to \$1 may have been too expensive for some families.³⁷ This may explain why there were fewer death announcements in the paper during the early thirties, and why many names found on gravestones of the period have no matching death notice in the newspaper.

Undertaker/Funeral Director advertisements tell a very interesting story during the twenties and thirties, revealing the growing influence and pride of these practitioners. The word 'undertaker' was used until the mid-twenties, but with the passing of the Mackay business from the scene (in 1927), the use of that age-old term officially ended. The newspaper advertisements grew steadily larger in the late teen years and the twenties, with the Mackay establishment emphasizing prices while its competitor emphasized service. Mackay ads had been increasing in size before Martin Brothers appeared on the scene in 1922, but their arrival triggered an 'ad war' of a sort. The weekday ads remained fairly sedate, although larger than in previous decades, but the Saturday ads grew to eight or ten inches in length, were two or three columns wide, and were extremely flamboyant and wordy! The two

³⁷ The prices mentioned here are from ads in *The Lethbridge Herald*, July 9, 1932.

competitors ads often appeared close together, going 'head-to-head', as it were. Mackay continued to emphasize prices while Martin Bros. stressed service. Here is one example of their competing ads:

Careful attention to every detail marks our conduct of any funeral entrusted to us. Whether it be small or large, we omit nothing that will aid in making the occasion as it should be. Our prices are most reasonable. Children from \$30, \$35, \$40, to \$75. Adults \$65, \$85, \$110, \$120, \$135, \$155, to the most expensive in steel and cast bronze. Chas. Mackay, Funeral Director....

and:

...Martin Bros. licensed embalmers and funeral directors. We never measure the quality of our service by the amount of compensation we are to receive. Those innumerable kindly and intimate details which make our service so satisfying are rendered impartially to all.³⁸

The large ads of this type were accompanied by attractive graphics: art deco borders, a variety of scenery, and bold print. By the late twenties, the ads could almost be described as bizarre: they waxed poetic about lighthouses and forests, and they were padded with phrases such as 'perfect understanding', 'unmistakeable sincerity', 'fidelity discretion and tactfulness', without ever saying exactly what it was that the business did. For a time, Christensen's (successor to Mackay's) featured pontifications that, it was hoped, would "be of value to the public", such as this thought from January 11, 1930:

A Thought For The Business Man. Business progressiveness is dependent on competition. New methods and new ideas are the outgrowth of the spirit of adventure and of individual enterprise. Without adventure there is no progress.

³⁸ Both ads are from *The Lethbridge Herald* October 3, 1925. (See fig. 15.)

Please read the thoughts inserted in this space from time to time as we feel they will be of value to the public and at the same time express the nobility sincerity and quality of our service.
Christensen Funeral Home, Funeral Directors and Licensed Embalmers. Lady Attendant.³⁹

The inclusion of the words "Lady Attendant" is interesting. The wording suggests that this "Lady" was a receptionist, or that she served in some capacity other than embalmer or full-fledged funeral director. That Christensen's advertised her presence was perhaps an indication of some sensitivity to the needs of female clients, but it was also a good way to help all potential clients distinguish them from their competitors.

Some Christensen ads included short history lessons having nothing whatever to do with funerals, as in the example of Feb. 25, 1928, which featured a picture of the God Zeus and a brief description of who he was. This ad ends with some carefully worded boasting. The Martin Bros. ad of the same day accomplishes an equal amount of boasting, but without the extraneous material. This extravagance ended in the mid-1930s, and the ads returned to a more sedate appearance, foregoing the pontifications.⁴⁰

The managerial aggressiveness displayed in these ads may have ceased partly because of the economic downturn of the 1930s, but the definitive factor was a decision taken by the Alberta Funeral Service Association to enforce the code of ethics which they had originally formulated in 1929, but which some of their members continued to disregard. Among the goals of that code was the

³⁹ Ibid. ,Jan. 11, 1930.

⁴⁰ See fig. 14 - 18.

prevention of boastfulness, the mentioning of prices in advertisements, and the elimination of 'cut-throat' competition.⁴¹ This protectionist attitude had been in existence for many decades, but only seemed to reach Alberta undertakers in the twenties.⁴² An aggressive approach to advertising was thought unseemly for funeral direction businesses. The preferred idea was to use ads simply to make their presence known, and to rely on word of mouth and family custom to sustain the business. According to a story featured in an industry magazine, a survey indicated that only ten percent of respondents mentioned prices or advertising as influencing their choice of funeral director; the other ninety percent mentioned 'intangibles' such as previous service, recommendation, personal acquaintance, reputation, attention to details, and so on.⁴³

The role of the Association cannot be overestimated since it directly affected the daily operations of undertakers/funeral directors, the way that they presented themselves, and the way they interacted with the public. The decisions that it took were designed to effect conformity of practice and a standard of understated professionalism. To this end, they successfully lobbied for a required provincial license to operate, for all funeral directors in the Province.

⁴¹ Gunderson, 38-39. In Lethbridge in the 1920s and early 1930s, there were only approximately 2 or 3 deaths per week, so it stands to reason that the two competing funeral businesses had to be aggressive.

⁴² See Michael Bliss "The Protective Impulse: An Approach to the Social History of Oliver Mowat's Ontario", *Oliver Mowat's Ontario*, ed. D. Swainson, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972, 174-188. Bliss identifies undertakers as among those resisting the free market concept in Ontario in the 19th Century (176). The rhetoric among protectionist advocates was that "cutthroat" competition would destroy morality and lower quality (178), and that a "price-cutter" was to business what a "scab" was to labour (180).

⁴³ Gunderson, 101, 103, two items reprinted from The Alberta Funeral Director's Association Magazine *The Director*, July 1947 and July 1951.

The enforcement of common business practices for the funeral industry suggests a possible reduction of regional variation and perhaps a limiting of individual choice, not only for the clients, but for the businesses themselves.⁴⁴

Throughout the transitional period, the funeral service industry steadily raised its profile. From the beginning, when the name of the undertaker was only infrequently mentioned in death notices, to the end, when there was no mention of a death without the name of a funeral director, the increasing influence of the funeral profession can be easily traced. The adoption of the name 'funeral director' is symptomatic of a desire to leave behind the old stereotype of the ghoulish, cold-hearted, undertaker.⁴⁵ The new title also stressed the social rather than just the purely physical tasks performed by the profession. For example, the announcement of the death of Elijah Hadlington concludes with the words, "for enquiries phone 3561. Martin Bros. funeral directors."⁴⁶ This makes the funeral directors seem important and authoritative, rather like the legal and medical professions they so wished to equal.

During the transition period, the air pressure chisel became available to stone carvers. This technology made carving marble easier than ever, but it also facilitated the carving of designs in

⁴⁴ Ibid., 33-44, is a history of the Alberta Funeral Director's Association reprinted from *The Director*, July, 1949. At one point the article, written by J.C. 'Doc' Wainwright, discusses the desire to prevent cutthroat competition, and to weed out any businesses that do not conform to the code of conduct (39). The Association felt entirely justified in doing this, but since the enforcing of conformity does not end with conduct, many critics have been prompted to hint at collusion. See Mitford, particularly chapter 7, "The Allied Industries".

⁴⁵ See Gunderson, 202.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Oct. 3, 1922.

granite. The number of granite markers increased from nine to twenty-seven percent during this period, but they were typically smaller than their less expensive marble counterparts. Marble was still the best choice for its prettiness and its versatility, and Lethbridge Monumental advertised that they carried Italian marbles.⁴⁷ There were more concrete markers erected during this period than at any other time, however. There were also other less expensive materials used by monument companies: marble and granite chips cast in a concrete or synthetic matrix, for example, and a type of cement 'fondue' cast over a reinforcing wire mesh cage.⁴⁸

The pressure chisel continued to be used well into the conservative period, but was eventually supplanted by sandblasting technology which was first used in Lethbridge in the 1940s, according to the markers as they now exist. This method took much of the back-breaking labour out of stone carving, for the first time in history, and made it possible to carve as easily in granite as in marble. The cost of marble also increased steadily after World War II began, so it is not surprising that granite surpassed marble in popularity towards the end of the period.⁴⁹ The earliest sandblasted

⁴⁷ *Lethbridge Herald*, October 22, 1923. Interestingly, Lethbridge Monumental advertised in 1911 that they were "Kootenay Marble Specialists" (March 6, 1911).

⁴⁸ Personal discussions with Jim Muloch at Lethbridge Monumental Ltd., in 1994. One of the patented versions of the chips-in-matrix type was called 'Lons', but there were also copy-cat versions. The phrase cement 'fondue', on the other hand, comes from the realm of Fine Arts, and I have used it to refer to a type of concrete made by whipping together water cement and fine sand without any gravel. This makes for a comparatively smooth concrete surface. See, for example, Wilmos Velejti, St. Patrick's E-8-23, and Peter Speaker, St. Patrick's E-13-26, among many.

⁴⁹ Muloch, 1994.

markers imitate the overall look of the chiselled examples, with most designs being relatively plain.⁵⁰

The actual origin of the design elements is still difficult to determine for this period, but since the exact same designs are seen on many markers, it is still safe to assume that there was a common origin. Throughout this period and the next, Lethbridge Monumental had large books of designs, with photographs and drawings of existing or imagined memorials, through which their clients could browse and make selections.⁵¹ These books also included lists of 'appropriate' epitaphs which were often arranged and displayed according to length. Not only might one choose the words one liked, but one might choose the line that was the best size for the space available. Thus, especially by the end of the period, very little of the final result could be called original or personal.

This was a transitional period in many respects. The self-reliance and familiarity factors that existed at its beginning, as far as death was concerned, had faded dramatically by its end. The dominance of the British culture gradually gave way to something uniquely Canadian--not quite British and not quite American--and

⁵⁰ Students of gravestone art may compare the difference between carved and sandblasted granite at St. Patrick's Cemetery at E-11-25&26. Alice Perini's red granite vertical is carved while her husband John's is identical in colour and shape, but the inscription and designs are sandblasted. The carved one is much easier to read.

⁵¹ The books which I viewed at Lethbridge Monumental in 1994 were composites, put together from what appeared to be many sources, none of which were dated. According to my own experience as a long-time student of gravestones, which allows me to be quite confident in my ability to date designs and shapes, the sources in the books ranged from the thirties to the sixties. Muloch indicated that he used to have many such books but did not keep them, and he no longer used the old ones he still had. (see fig.

the sense of being 'from' somewhere was replaced by a Canadian self-identity which emerged out of proud participation in first one, then another, international war. The Depression, on the other hand, created feelings of mistrust for the federal government and increased western regional consciousness.⁵²

People no doubt still felt they 'knew' where the dead were--in a better place--but war, epidemic and depression had removed any sentimentality which may once have been present. The broad knowledge of basic life skills that early Lethbridgians had possessed, which had enabled them to take care of the dead in their own homes and in the cemeteries they cared for themselves, was largely given over to business and government entities. By the end of the period, funeral directors were in almost total control of the social aspects of the ritual, as well as most of the physical; only the spiritual aspects remained in the domain in which they had been for centuries--the church. Outside forces exerted an influence on the whole process by determining the choices offered to people. Gravestones were smaller, and their once elaborate design elements were gradually replaced by plainer ones. Inscriptions lost all elements of emotionalism and became plainly functional. Death announcements were no longer news stories but formulaic bits of business undertaken by the funeral director on behalf of his clients. In the face of all the other functional sameness, the one thing that individuals could have used to demonstrate personal expression--in-memoriams--also remained stylized, repetitive and formulaic. It seems that people were accepting and embracing professionalism and the efficiency of

⁵² Blishen, 6.

trained experts. But it could also have been that they were choosing to conform, and to adopt what was seen as the modern way.

There were some exceptions to conformity. In the Catholic Cemetery, the 'mother-tongue' remained the choice for nearly half the markers, and in the Hebrew and Chinese for almost all. Economic circumstances required the resurgence of the old self-reliance for many who made their own gravestones. This particular hands-on activity is more evident in St Patrick's than in Mountain View, as mentioned, and probably reflects the fact that there was a relationship between economic standing and ethnicity and religion.

There are some interesting phenomena surrounding the 'mother-tongue' inscriptions. First, there is a tremendous variation in spelling. Some of the variations are due to the grammar of slavic languages themselves, particularly in relation to gender and relationships, but some variations are less easily explained. Some possibilities are that there was a minimal degree of literacy among the Central and Eastern Europeans and they did not know how to spell the words, or they pronounced the words to the (Anglo) monument makers who proceeded to spell them whatever way they sounded, or it did not matter how they were spelled as long as the meaning was there. One example is a slavic equivalent of 'here rests', *Tu Spociva Ju*, which has been seen spelled more than ten different ways.⁵³

Second, a slightly different mentality is revealed by the words that begin the gravestone inscriptions. Those in Slovakian, Polish, Hungarian, and some Italian, translate as "here rests", while those

⁵³ Slovakian, Czech, and Polish all use this phrase. (See fig. 13.)

written in English say "in memory of". One suspects that these words may be nothing more than convention, yet the difference between them, however subtle, is real. The former is pragmatic and functional, while the latter is sentimental and evocative. Overall, gravestones of this period, although still pretty, became progressively more 'functional' than in the previous era.⁵⁴ Epitaphs were brief and abstract, not at all personal, and designs were simplified.

In the midst of this process of simplification, there were also exceptions. Katie Palen, who wanted everyone to know she always paid her own way, is commemorated by an unpretentious grey marble vertical, twenty-seven inches tall, with her name, the dates, and a cross. Right beside her lies her sister, Elizabeth Lengyel, whose grey and yellow-veined marble memorial is sixty-four inches high from ground to top of cross, and features a pretty design incorporating the letter "L" with oak and ivy above the name, dates and epitaph, and the large surname below. The observer can speculate on the contrast in economic standing and social status displayed by the two markers.⁵⁵

Most death rituals and customs, from the funeral through to the gravestone and the in-memoriams, are enacted or undertaken

⁵⁴ Compare fig. 20 and fig. 21 to see early transitional and late transitional types.

⁵⁵ There is no indication on the markers that these two women were sisters, one married (Elizabeth), the other not (Katie), but when one knows these facts, some interpretations suggest themselves. Most obvious, of course, is the fact that Elizabeth's marker was considerably more expensive than Katie's. Also significant is Elizabeth's fancy letter 'L' and the large surname Lengyel (her married name), while Katie's name is written small and plain. A superficial estimation would declare one to be more significant than the other. One marker certainly represents more disposable wealth.

under the public gaze, and they can be interpreted to reflect the degree of importance placed on public approval. Very few in-memoriams were placed by members of the non-Anglo community, for example. How might this be interpreted? The newspaper 'belonged to' the Anglo community, maybe the 'others' were not impressed by it or were not interested in seeking the social approval of its readers. Perhaps they could not afford to place the in-memoriams, or maybe it was simply not their custom to do so. Cemeteries, on the other hand, employed deliberate segregation. How might that be interpreted? One can only say (from the perspective of the late twentieth century), that except for the religious considerations, this was an example of pure prejudice, but those whose markers were segregated often chose to strengthen the boundary by the use of the 'mother tongue'. 'Hah!' they seem to say, 'you might look at our markers but you won't be able to read them.' Meanwhile, the fact that a majority of the Japanese markers are inscribed at least partly in English, would seem to say, 'See, we are Canadian!'

As for the meeting of personal needs and the more public needs of propriety, one might say that the transitional period was, by way of its great mixture of styles and trends, fulfilling the personal requirements fairly well. People had what seems to have been a good many options, dependant, of course, on their economic capacity. But this variation was chiefly evident in the cemetery, while death announcements and memoriums were structured to fit a formula--a formula designed to meet the needs of an external body.

Propriety and respectability, two of the values associated with the early period, were also in evidence but the economic situation was probably responsible for placing some restrictions on aspirations at the same time as it re-shaped priorities. In the face of the struggle to survive hard times, it may not have been as important as it once was to make statements about status or social ambitions in the rituals surrounding death.

In comparison to the early period, this era witnessed a diminishing of personal choice in the practices and a gradual increase in the influences coming from external sources. The economic crises of the period placed obvious restrictions on options, and the funeral service industry grew considerably; its business practices affected the whole character of death customs as it subtly gained control of them. Gravestones were an expensive tradition in hard times, and memorial companies responded by providing smaller plainer models, and less expensive man-made materials, while some people returned to individual endeavour to meet the needs of this custom. People may have felt they were making personal choices, but the choices actually existed increasingly within the mandates of external interests: the church (as always), the newspaper, the death industries, and bureaucracy. As elements of the whole process were taken out of the home, they were taken out of sight, and out of the realm of ordinary experience.



fig. 8



fig. 9

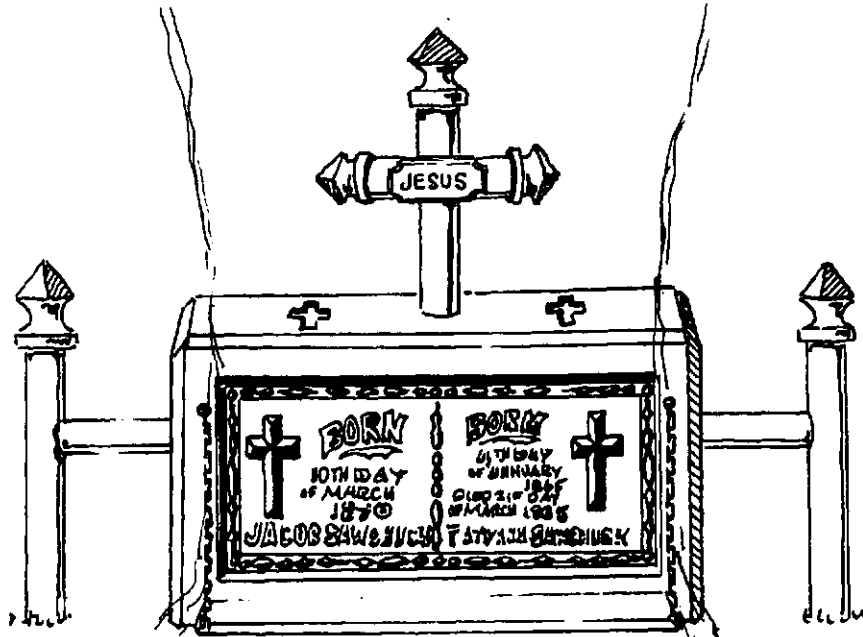


fig. 10

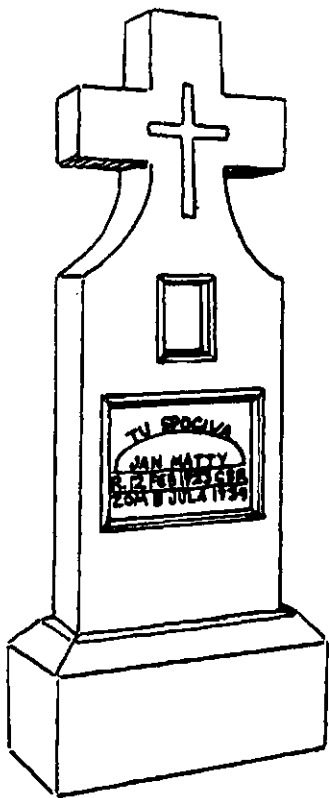


fig. 11

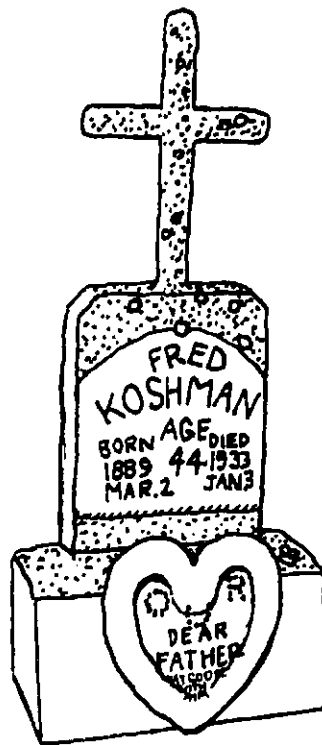


fig. 12



fig. 13

Careful Attention
 to every detail marks our conduct of any funeral entrusted to us. Whether it be small or large, we omit nothing that will aid in making the occasion as it should be.

OUR PRICES ARE MOST REASONABLE.

Children
 \$30, \$35, \$40 \$75

Adults
 \$65, \$85, \$110, \$120, \$135, \$155

to the most expensive in steel and cast bronze.

CHAS. MacKAY
 FUNERAL DIRECTOR
 1110 THIRD AVE. S. PHOENIX, ARIZ.
 RESIDENCE 2902

fig. 15
 1924

A Thought For the Business Man

Business progressiveness is dependent on competition. New methods and new ideas are the outgrowth of the spirit of adventure, of individual initiative, administrative enterprise. Without adventure there is no progress.

Please read the thoughts inserted in this space from time to time as we feel they will be of value to the public and at the same time express the nobility, sincerity and quality of our service.

Christensen Funeral Home

FUNERAL DIRECTORS AND LICENSED EMBALMERS.
 LADY ATTENDANT.
 1110 Third Ave. S. Phoenix, Ariz.

fig. 17
 1930

fig. 14

UNDERTAKING
CHARLES MACKAY
 1110 THIRD AVE. S. PHOENIX, ARIZ.
 OPEN DAY AND NIGHT

MARTIN BROS.
 DIRECTORS OF
FUNERAL SERVICE
 LICENSED EMBALMERS
 PHONE 3567
 PARLORS 356 67-82

The light of the world is the light of a perfect understanding. Our thorough knowledge of our profession brings to the ceremony an unmistakable note of sincerity.

Martin Bros.
 DIRECTORS OF
Funeral Service

PHONE 3567

fig. 16
 1927

Martin Bros.
 DIRECTORS OF
Funeral Service

PARLORS
 1110 THIRD AVE. S.
 PHONE 3567

BRANCH
 SAUCERVILLE, ARIZ.

fig. 18
 1935

fig. 21 & 22

[Leth. Her. July 22, 1940]

Cardston Farmer Killed By Tractor

Angelo Matteotti Found By Daughter Dead 15 Feet From Machine

(Special to The Herald.)

CARDSTON, July 22. — Angelo Matteotti, 54, native of Italy and farmer of the district south of Cardston, was killed this morning in a freak accident with a tractor while at work in a field.

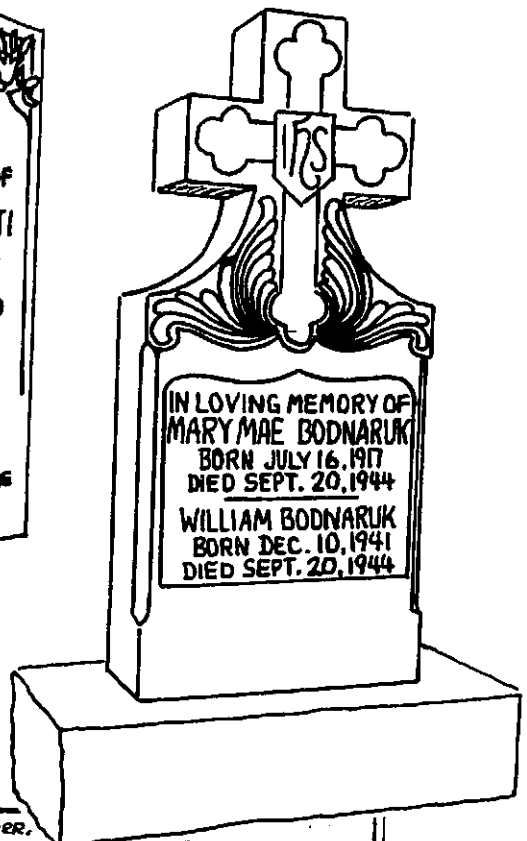
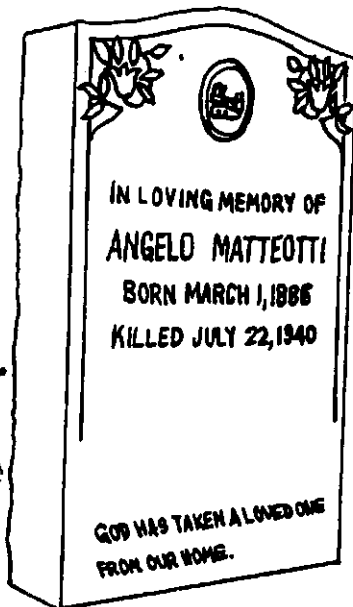
The deceased went to work at 6 a.m. and was supposed to return to his farm home for breakfast between 7 and 8 a.m. When he failed to return, his daughter, Alice, 15, went to the field, finding her father dead and the tractor still running.

He was pulling a cultivator and drag behind the engine. Tracks show that the tractor became mired on a slope and that he had unhooked the other implements. Apparently the tractor got away from him and overturned completely over a bank and barbed wire fence. His body was lying 15 feet away from it.

Coroner Dr. Stacpoole and members of the R.C.M.P. investigated. No inquest will be held.

Deceased is survived by his widow, one daughter and three sons, who farm near Woolford. Funeral arrangements are in charge of Flock Funeral Home of Lethbridge.

Mr. Matteotti is a former resident of North Lethbridge, living here up to about a dozen years ago. He was a miner and a merchant here.



[Leth. Her. SEPT. 22, 1944]

Deaths

BODNARUK—Passed away suddenly at Tempest, September 20th, Katherine, aged 30 years, and Donald John, aged 8 years, beloved wife and son of John Bodnaruk of Mayburt. Funeral services will be conducted from St. Patrick's Church on Sunday, September 24th at 3 p.m. Interment in St. Patrick's cemetery. Friends will please meet Saturday at 8 p.m. for prayers at Christensen Bros. Funeral Home. 1309

BODNARUK—Passed away suddenly at Tempest, September 20th, Mary Mae, aged 27 years, and William George, aged 8 years, beloved wife and son of Michael (Mike) Bodnaruk of Mayburt. Funeral services will be conducted from St. Patrick's Church on Sunday, September 24th at 3 p.m. Interment in St. Patrick's cemetery. Friends will please meet Saturday at 8 p.m. at Christensen Bros. Funeral Home for prayers. 1310

fig. 19 & 20

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSERVATIVE PERIOD

The thirty-year period from World War Two to the Social Revolution of the early seventies was one of rapid growth for Lethbridge, due to immigration, the rise in the birth rate, and the lengthening of life expectancy. The population of the city rose from twenty to forty thousand, with the largest age group being nineteen and under.¹ The provincial mortality rate averaged seven per thousand, and the number of deaths in Lethbridge grew from ten to twenty per month, over the period.² Senior citizens' residences were built, as well as nursing homes, befitting the fact that Lethbridge was becoming a retirement community. The 'Brains Industry'-- Lethbridge Community College, the Agricultural Research Station, and finally, the University of Lethbridge--made an impact on the make-up of the city by bringing in highly educated people and extra young adults.

There were only two funeral businesses operating through the whole period: Martin Brothers, and Christensen's.³ Mountain View Cemetery was officially named such, and the city took over the care of St. Patrick's Cemetery which had fallen into disrepair.⁴ The Chinese Cemeteries in St. Patrick's and in Mountain View grew

¹ Johnston and den Otter, 230.

² Death rates from Statistics Canada, 1977, Vital Statistics volume II, page 6.

³ Christensen's went through a number of owner and name changes: Lawnview Mortuary, Christensen's, and Christensen-Fleming.

⁴ In 1994, stories were related to the author, by elderly visitors to St. Patrick's, about how in the forties and fifties, when the cemetery was in very poor condition, gleeful children used to be excited and repulsed by peering down into eroded graves and glimpsing coffins, or so they believed.

considerably due to the fact that the new Communist government in China would no longer allow the remains of expatriate Chinese into the country.⁵ Archmount Memorial Gardens was begun on the West Side, as a private business, and it followed a popular trend of the time in allowing only flat markers. Lethbridge Monumental was joined in the city by Southern Monument, while Regina-based Remco Memorials opened a closer workshop and distribution office in Red Deer.⁶ There was also a firm called Glendale Monumental Co., whose 'signatures' have been seen on markers from the early fifties, but little is known of them at this time.

This was the era of the Cold War, the threat of nuclear holocaust, and 'the space race', of which everyone was aware, and these things surely must have affected attitudes toward life and death at a very deep level. Lethbridgians made plans for civil defense, the stockpiling of supplies and possible evacuation, and they sought to designate suitable fallout shelters in the area. Interest arose in the paranormal--reincarnation and U.F.O.s in particular. Still, sixty percent of Canadians regularly attended church.⁷ It was the era of the so-called "baby boom", which saw more births than ever before due to a unique combination of moderately high birth rate, a decrease in infant mortality rate, and immigration.⁸ It was also the

⁵ Howard Palmer *Land of the Second Chance: a History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta* (Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972), 62.

⁶ Gunderson, 358.

⁷ Johnston & den Otter, 173, and Adams, 24.

⁸ Although statistics indicate that the crude birth rate during the conservative period was lower than that of the early twenties, and in fact decreased to unprecedented lows by the end of the period, the large number of births caused a bulge in population pyramids which has remained present even as it moves upward through the decades.

era of the second wave of popular mass-media in which television, on top of the already influential radio, movies, and recordings, brought the news of the world and the culture of idealized American suburbia into every home. Lethbridge's first T.V. station, CJLH, went on air in 1955. Another set of societal changes was brought about by the culture of the personal automobile, just one result of which was the Western Drive-In Theatre which opened in 1950, symptomatic of the belief imported from America that one could do everything in one's car. (They even had drive-through funeral homes in the United States.⁹) The homogenization of society that took place in this period may be partially due to the influence of television--since there were only one or two channels available to most people, everyone was watching the same things and absorbing the same ideas--but there may have also been a desire to blend in with the greater whole, especially on the part of minority groups which had been excluded from the centre of things in the past. The Canadian Government initiated policies that attempted to consolidate Canadian values and the Canadian identity while countering the U.S. influence; The National Film Board, The National Gallery, and the Public Archives of Canada were important parts of this effort.¹⁰

The predominant attitudinal approach to life of adults in this period still mirrored that of their parents, in part. They were concerned with duty, and were willing to make sacrifices and to

⁹ F. Gonzales-Crussi, "On Embalming", *The Literature of Fact: Readings For Writers* ed. W.R. Winterowd, L. Hawk, G.R. Winterowd, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1988), 180.

¹⁰ Bernard Blishen, "Continuity and Change in Canadian Values", *The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and Language in Canada*, ed. A. Cairns & C. Williams (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 1-26, 8.

defer gratification, especially for their children. They accepted authority figures and believed 'there was a place for everyone and everyone knew his or her place'. Canadian goals were a blend of American and British--individualism, egalitarianism, achievement, and change, tempered with collectivism and elitism, faith in ascribed characteristics and desire for stability.¹¹ But in a world where the standard of living rose for most people, these values existed alongside a growing consumerism and materialism, most of which, as comfortable as they once seemed, were rejected by the next generation, and the social revolution that ensued marked the end of the era.

The conservative period saw a further enlargement of funeral businesses to include a larger interdenominational chapel, and a reception room, enabling an increasing number of funerals to be held there almost in their entirety. The family home was still mentioned in a few death notices, however; Cyrus Tudor died at home in 1947, for example, and his funeral was 'from the home',¹² but in the vast majority of cases the deceased was laid out at the funeral home, to which people were often invited by inclusion of a phrase such as, "Friends will meet for prayers in Martin Bros. Chapel at 8 p.m."¹³ The majority of death announcements did not name the place of death; most individuals seemed to have 'passed away in the city'. In fact, this use of the repeated formula sometimes seemed a bit inadequate and out of place, as in the case of the three men killed in

¹¹ Ibid., 12. See also, Adams, 15, 37.

¹² *Lethbridge Herald*, May 29, 1947.

¹³ Ibid., July 30, 1955, the Nagy death announcement, for example..

a train wreck in 1948. Their death announcements stated that each of them 'passed away near Lundbreck', one of them 'suddenly'.¹⁴

The funeral service was customarily held three days after death, revealing the nearly universal acceptance of embalming. The service itself remained traditional, with little or no participation by family members; personalized eulogies were almost unheard of. Music remained traditional as well, with the favourites being *Rock of Ages* and *Nearer My God to Thee*. The coffin would often be opened at the back of the church or chapel, as earlier, but increasingly it became the fashion to have it open at the front of the room for viewing before the service instead of after. In fact, it was during the conservative period that the whole concept of 'viewing' became the fashion in the U.S. and Canada. Not only was the coffin opened during the early part of the ritual, before the religious service, but it had been open for at least two days at the funeral parlour. There, the family customarily gathered on the eve of the service, perhaps to say prayers (as in the example above) but perhaps to just view the prepared corpse.¹⁵ Except for particular denominations such as Orthodox, the coffin was rarely open during the service. It remained customary for mourners to wear black or dark clothing, but this tradition was changing by the end of the period, especially for

¹⁴ Ibid., May 29, 1948.

¹⁵ Watts. See also, Mitford, 75. It is interesting to note that the customs of embalming and viewing have never been widely accepted in Britain and Europe, according to Mitford, 75, Habenstein & Lamers, 559, and Gorer, who never mentions embalming in his entire book about funeral customs in Britain, except to refer obliquely to "the curious elaborations of the morticians ..." in the U.S. (112).

members of the congregation other than family.¹⁶ Floral tributes were still common, in the form of wreaths and large sprays which would go to the cemetery, but many of the flowers were intended to remain in the homes of the mourners. An increasing number of death announcements read that there be 'no flowers by request', and stated preferences that donations to a particular charity or fund be made, in lieu of flowers, began to appear regularly towards the end of the period. Added to the request for a contribution to cancer research, made by Elzada Ririe, was also the wish that people bring "only home-grown floral tributes" to her funeral service.¹⁷ The funeral cortège was longer than ever due to the proliferation of cars and the increasing size of the typical funeral. Complaints were heard about the length of funeral processions and the traffic snarls they could cause on city streets and highways. It was the protocols that existed around these processions that caused the complaints; anyone in the procession would keep their car headlights on to let other drivers know they were in the cortège and the 'rule' was that one did not cut into the procession if one was not part of it. This sometimes made for long impatient waits at intersections, particularly since propriety dictated that these processions should travel in a slow and dignified fashion.¹⁸

¹⁶ Watts, and Salmon and Kuntz provided most of this general information about customs, the first two having been in the funeral business since mid-century.

¹⁷ *The Lethbridge Herald*, July 9, 1960.

¹⁸ In 1964, Minister of Highways Gordon Taylor went on record as opposing speedy funeral processions which had been suggested in order to lessen the traffic hazard. See Gunderson, 242. (See fig. 29 &30, and fig. 34 - top left.)

Burial was still the accepted method of disposition, in spite of the fact that cremation had been available in Calgary since 1937.¹⁹ Less than five percent of all dispositions in Alberta involved cremation.²⁰ It was thought disgusting and few wanted to talk about it, despite its obvious practicality; in fact, there was very little discussion of death at all. Plans were rarely made in advance of need, as would be the case in the following period, and unusual options were rarely considered.²¹ It seemed most people were content to let the funeral directors take care of things in the customary ways.

In the cemetery, there was an increase of mechanization in the gravedigger's art, with the result being that a mechanical digger (a backhoe) would be used to dig the grave and pile the dirt to one side. The pile, being regarded as unsightly, or at any rate dirty, would be covered by carpet supplied by the funeral director or by the cemetery crew. Later in the period, the pile of dirt was removed from the vicinity altogether, not to be brought back until after all of the mourners had left the cemetery. Meanwhile, the coffin, which had previously been lowered into the ground by hand using ropes, was lowered by a mechanical device. These processes of mechanization allowed for the burial of the coffin to take place without having been touched, literally or figuratively, by human hands.

Most of the congregation were present at the graveside service (then called the interment), as had been the case previously, since it was an integral part of the ritual. The social gathering which followed

¹⁹ Gunderson, 354.

²⁰ Funeral industry statistics, as reported to me by Bryan Watts.

²¹ Watts.

the burial service also gradually became part of the ritual; what had once been a family gathering in the home became a social event involving a wider circle of family and friends.

It is the silhouette of the cemetery that most justifies the naming of this period as conservative. Many gravestone researchers, including this author, have used the words 'dull' and 'boring' to describe the uniformity and conformity of the gravemarkers erected during these thirty years.²² Approximately seventy-five percent of them are granite--up from thirty percent of the previous era. The average height of the above-ground markers continued to decrease, dropping from twenty-eight to twenty inches, and pillows and horizontals are the predominant shapes, followed by rectangular block plot markers and flats. Florals and geometric lines are the most common motifs and many markers feature enameled pictures of the deceased, especially in St. Patrick's and in the Chinese sections. More than half the markers include nothing more than name and dates--an increase of twenty percent--but of the rest, almost all of the inscriptions are abstract one-liners, only ten percent of which have any religious content. Sixty percent of the inscriptions feature the prominent display of the surname of the deceased, a substantial increase from the previous periods, and the number of markers for husband and wife together also rose considerably, from ten percent to thirty-five percent.²³ There are signs of cultural assimilation of

²² Millar uses the word 'boring', for example, pointing out that most markers of the period say very little in spite of the fact that people had lots of money to buy big hunks of granite to say nothing on (152), and Mitford goes so far as to refer to "mass-produced granite horrors," 188.

²³ There are often quite noticeable differences between St. Patrick's and Mountain View, for example: in the 1950s, 60% of the markers at the latter

some groups; where gravestones of the transitional period had featured much use of the 'mother-tongue' in inscriptions, in this period English became the preference for all but persons of Chinese and Jewish heritage.

The typical gravestone from the period would be a dull black granite horizontal (not the glossy black which would be seen in the next period), about twenty-five inches tall and thirty-six inches wide. It would have a prominently displayed surname and the name and dates (years only, no days or months), and a one line abstract epitaph such as 'rest in peace.' The 1951 marker for John Lengyel, husband of Elizabeth, and brother-in-law of Katie Palen, fits this description, as does that for Annie and Abraham Hines, from 1952.²⁴ There was also a particular type of marble that was popular during this period. It was white, with a green or bluish-green vein. This material was used for small verticals and for vertical crosses as well, with the inscriptions very deeply sandblasted.

As for the cemeteries themselves, the southernmost section at St Patrick's (now known as section E), continued to be used progressively from west to east through to 1956, while the other four sections (now known as A, B, C, and D) were used randomly from the late 1940s.²⁵ The change from progressive to random usage roughly coincides with the take-over of St. Patrick's by the City in 1953, reflecting a different system of management. The Chinese cemetery at St. Patrick's was used progressively from east to west,

have only name and dates, while in the same decade at the former the number is 10%.

²⁴ St. Patrick's Cemetery B-19-3, and B-16-13&14. (See fig. 24.)

²⁵ These four sections had had a minimal amount of usage during the 1920s and 1930s, mainly for babies and children.

beginning in the thirties and ending in the late sixties, with a few later dates (usually spouses) added to existing stones. The earliest Chinese markers (left over from the previous period) are very small and very basic. They give the impression that perhaps they were not intended to be permanent but were not shipped home as usual, first because of the depression and then the war, and then they ended up being permanent when the new government of China said 'no' to reburial.²⁶ In the meantime, the pattern of usage in Mountain View was random within each section. There was some usage of the older sections during this period, but the sections most frequently used were 5 through 15, as well as the segregated areas, of course.

Reflecting a trend which began in the 1950s, all of the markers at Archmount are flat, or flush with the ground. The original premise behind this trend was that flush markers would facilitate easy maintenance.²⁷ However, with the passage of time, the highly variable Lethbridge climate causes the markers to tip, often sinking one corner below the level of the grass which would immediately begin to grow over it, while another corner would rise up often just high enough to catch the mower blade. Tipped markers had to be dug out and fixed fairly regularly, thus maintenance was not lessened at all by the flat markers.²⁸ The pattern of usage at Archmount

²⁶ Palmer, *Second Chance*, 62.

²⁷ Millar comments on the intention of these 'Memorial Gardens' to "meet the needs of the mower before the needs of the mourner." (153) Flat markers also do a good job of making the dead invisible, which was their other purpose.

²⁸ Testimony from City of Lethbridge Cemetery Records Officer, Myrna Pienkowski. This situation is also evident from personal observation.

Memorial Gardens was random. In the meantime, Mountain View set up sections 13, 14, and 15, exclusively for flat markers.²⁹

As far as other customs were concerned, funeral directors provided additional mementos in the form of a printed program or 'memorial card', and a funeral guest book or book of condolence.³⁰ The typed or photocopied memorial cards were similar to small folded greeting cards or stationery, while the book of condolence was similar to a small wedding album or autograph book, with pages designated for lists and signatures. Photographing the corpse in its coffin, often surrounded by grieving family and bouquets of flowers, continued into the middle of this century, in Lethbridge. Untold numbers of amateur photographs, or 'snapshots', may exist in the albums and shoeboxes of private individuals, but the archival collection of negatives from the de Jourdan Studio also includes many examples of professional photographs taken either in funeral homes, churches, or private homes; there are also a few pictures of funeral processions.³¹ These are usually pictures of corpses carefully prepared by morticians, dressed up, and appearing to be asleep in their coffins. It is interesting to note that the subjects of most of

²⁹ In my opinion, it is a pity that flat markers are segregated this way since these sections are visited far less by the casual stroller and the student of gravestone art, due to the fact that they are simply not as enticing or as interesting as sections with upright markers. Flat markers cannot be read until one is standing right above them, while uprights can be read from a considerable distance. The dead buried in these flat marker sections are, in a sense, hidden.

³⁰ An example of these books of condolence may be seen at the City of Lethbridge Archives, artifact #P19961002003. It is for John Brindley, and dates to April 28, 1964. In this particular case, most of the pages in the book were never filled in.

³¹ This collection is housed by the City of Lethbridge Archives. One of the most notable processions is that for Jimmy Leong, in the early 1950s. (See fig. 25, 26, & 27 and fig. 29 & 30.)

these photographs are identified as either Slavic or Asian. One explanation might be that these photos were taken to send to relatives in the old country, just as the British custom in the early period had been to send memorial cards.

In-memoriams of the period are very much as they were earlier, but it became more common for them to finish with words such as, "Ever remembered by" or "sadly missed by" someone. The first photographs were seen with in-memoriams in the 1950s, an example being Orlie Harry Anderson, June 4, 1954, but it was never as common to include photos with an in-memoriam as it was with a death notice or obituary. Memoriams might be inserted many years after the death as in this typical example from 1949:

In loving memory of dear husband and father Angelo Matteoti
who passed away July 22, 1940.

He never failed to do his best
His heart was true and tender.
He lived and worked for those he loved
Then left us to remember.

Ever remembered by his wife and family.³²

Another type of memorial was the brass commemorative plaque such as those which were placed in the rooms of the Lethbridge Municipal Hospital. "Furnished in memory of Harm J. Stoffer" reads the plaque which was in the third floor lounge.³³ Sadly, these memorials are no longer in their intended location since the hospital was demolished in 1989. Yet another type was the memorial pamphlet produced by a club or organization to which the person

³² *The Lethbridge Herald*, July 22, 1949. (See also fig. 21 & 22.)

³³ Twenty-one of these plaques, including the one quoted, are now in the collection of the Galt Museum, Lethbridge.

had belonged, such as that for Charity Pierce Norton by The Order of the Eastern Star in 1949.³⁴

There were also few changes in the style of death announcements during the conservative period. The items were still listed under the word "Deaths", but there was a new listing under the title "Funerals" which included listings of funerals both past and upcoming. There were rare occasions when a photograph of the deceased would be included with the announcement or the obituary.³⁵ At the end of the period, death announcements began merging with obituaries by including brief biographies and the names of family members. Otogo Hasagawa died July 21, 1950, and there was an announcement in the July 22 issue and again in the July 24 issue, when a lengthy obituary was included on the same page:

Resident of South for 40 years Dies

Funeral services will be held here Tuesday afternoon for a resident of Raymond and Lethbridge since 1910, Otogo Hasagawa of 1007 Eight Avenue South who died in a local hospital following a lengthy illness. He was 62.

Born in Echigo, Japan, Mr. Hasagawa came to Canada in 1908. He resided in Victoria, B.C. until 1910, when he moved to Raymond. From Raymond he came to Lethbridge in 1946.

A member of the United Church he is survived by his widow, Itoyo; three sons, Henry of Tabor, George and Billy of Lethbridge; four daughters, June, Carol, Gloria and Mary, all of Lethbridge; and two brothers in Japan.

The services will be held from Christensen Brothers chapel at 2 o'clock. Rev. J. Kobayama will officiate. Remains may be viewed at the residence from eight o'clock this, Monday, evening until one p.m. Tuesday. The body will go to Calgary for cremation following the services.³⁶

Obituaries such as this were always inserted in the paper separately from the announcement, and everything about this one is typical of

³⁴ See fig. 23.

³⁵ *The Lethbridge Herald*, June 4, 1955, for example.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, July 24, 1950.

others of the period, except that the remains were kept at home rather than at the funeral parlour, and that they would be taken to Calgary for cremation; both unusual choices for the period. By the late sixties, many death announcements had tripled in length, compared to the late fifties, as the obituary was blended into them.

Except for the fact that it was the funeral director who looked after almost everything, the bureaucratic requirements remained very much as they had been. What changes there were to the regulations affected the record-keepers rather than the public. What did affect the public was a rise in the cost of placing items in the paper - first up to 15¢ per line with a minimum of 75¢, and just a few years later to 20¢ per line with a \$1 minimum.³⁷ The death notices followed the same formulaic style throughout the period, possibly because they were all written by the funeral director and placed on behalf of the client. The prominent role of the funeral director is enshrined in the wording of the provincial statutes. "The personal particulars of the deceased person shall, upon the request of the funeral director, be completed in the prescribed form and delivered to the funeral director ...".³⁸ This was a change from the previous wording which read, "The undertaker or ..." followed by a long list of persons who could register a death.³⁹

In-memoriams continued to follow the pattern already set. To read one of these 'poems', as quoted above, is to feel the intended sentiment, but they lose their impact completely when one reads

³⁷ Ibid., July 23, 1949, and April 30, 1954.

³⁸ Statutes of Alberta, 1959, Chapter 94, section 14.

³⁹ Ibid., 1922, Chapter 24, section 23.

large numbers of them in succession. Many of them existed in a book of verses provided by the newspaper, and selecting one was similar to selecting a greeting card at the drug-store. Often the poetry seems weak, given the grief and loneliness which must motivate its selection: "In loving memory of my dear husband ... Your heart was the truest in all the wide world, Your love the best to recall. For no one on earth could take your place, You are still the dearest of all. Ever remembered by his living[sic] wife"40

In spite of the fact that funeral directors were more thoroughly involved than they had ever been, those operating in Lethbridge maintained a discreet profile, following the recommendations of their association to rely on word-of-mouth to bring in their clients.⁴¹ The industry felt quite comfortable with its status, maintaining the idea that it was 'a fine and honourable calling' rather than a business, and requiring that facilities, furnishings, and staffs appear elegant and impeccable at all times.⁴² Funeral businesses found various other ways to enhance their own professionalism. In a 1960 advertisement, for example, Christensen Funeral Home listed its connections: "Registered in the American Blue Book of Funeral Directors. Members of the Canadian Funeral Directors Association. Members of the Alberta Funeral Directors Association."⁴³ Lest the

⁴⁰ *The Lethbridge Herald*, July 30, 1955. In this particular case, the memorium was placed just one year after the man's death.

⁴¹ See Gunderson, 101, for the short 1951 essay by J.C. Wainwright, Secretary of the Alberta Funeral Service Association, entitled "Why Was Your Funeral Home Called?", which emphasizes the desirability of the unobtrusive and understated approach to the funeral direction business.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 102, the Martin Bros. history; and 202, "The Funeral Director - A Friend In Deed". an essay by Mitchell Henderson (no date).

⁴³ *The Lethbridge Herald*, July 9, 1960.

reader think that made the establishment a bit too lofty, the ad reminded them that it was 'a beautiful chapel on a quiet street'. Martin Bros. played up its connections in a different way. Under the logo of the Associated Funeral Directors of America Inc., their ad read: "Service anywhere in America! Through our nation-wide connections, we have the facilities for handling a funeral from any point in America. We offer our services with pride knowing that we can relieve the family of all burdens incident to any death away from home."⁴⁴

The industry did dominate the whole funeral process, but the general feeling was that its members were the people most competent to deal with it all. This dominance, combined with the fact that few members of the public actually knew what to do when death occurred, fueled the fires of criticism during the sixties and seventies, criticism that asked about the fairness of those who know nothing being sold something by those who know everything.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, the sand-blasting techniques applied by stone-cutters of the period were not utilized to their full potential; the designs accomplished remained quite plain. This was due to the habit of using the same designs repeatedly, and to the fact that monument makers kept books of designs which were created by design companies such as Gem Rock and Ryegate Design Studio.⁴⁶ These

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Jessica Mitford was inspired by this possible unfairness, but others have been as well. See for example, Consumer Reports, ed. *Funerals, Consumer's Last Rights: The Consumer's Union Report on Conventional Funerals and Burial*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1977), especially Chapter 8, "Some Psychological Aspects of the Funeral Transaction".

⁴⁶ Lethbridge Monumental, composite book of designs, no date. This book also gives little acknowledgement to the designers whose work was being offered to customers. (See fig. 24.)

companies employed graphic artists to design generic memorials for use all across the continent. Also, the gravestone 'fashion' of the time was a clean, neat, unembellished functionality. Thus, the possibility of any unique or personal design showing up in Lethbridge cemeteries was quite remote, even if anyone had wanted it. Since the technology allowed it, granite became the stone of choice for its relative durability (compared to marble) and for its cost, although marble continued to be used throughout the period. Lethbridge Monumental mentioned Canadian granites and Vermont marbles in its ads.⁴⁷

On a more emotional note, there a number of famous deaths in the conservative period, but probably none so shocking, and so well remembered, as the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963. Many consecutive issues of *The Herald* featured stories, photo spreads, commentaries, and expressions of shock and condolence from dignitaries and reporters but, as in the previous periods, there were no personal expressions from the public in spite of the fact that *The Herald* had a "People's Forum" column. In fact, there were comments from reporters all over the world, printed under the headline "The Press Speaks for the People."⁴⁸ The editor of *The Herald* wrote how "a great light has gone out ..."⁴⁹ and a reporter wrote of having gone to Great Falls, Montana to see Kennedy speak a short time previously, and being impressed by the excitement, even the hysteria that he

⁴⁷ For example, *Lethbridge Herald*, July 9, 1960.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1963.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1963.

had generated--as though he were a movie star.⁵⁰ Eaton's Department Store used the event to its advantage, sponsoring a very large ad with their own logo, a portrait of J.F.K. and four paragraphs of praise, under the headline: "There hath passed away a glory from the Earth."⁵¹ One of the few local responses reported in the paper was an announcement of the intention of the Knights of Columbus to hold a special Mass on November 24.⁵²

Another famous death of the period (at least from the perspective of years), was that of Marilyn Monroe, but it was given rather perfunctory notice when it happened.⁵³ The writer of a very short piece on the subject seemed willing to accept the verdict of suicide, even before it was official. It was not until much later that this death became one of the most written-about in history, rivaled only by that of Kennedy, himself. Monroe became one of those special dead who would continue to be memorialized for decades, both by commercial enterprises and by the public.

As for famous deaths with a Canadian connection, those of W. L. Mackenzie King in 1950 and King George VI in 1952 are most significant. Both inspired rather understated responses, but there seemed to be a little more emotion for the King. Along with the obligatory remarks from dignitaries (many of whom used the phrase 'he was a good man'), and the biographies and the photo spreads, the *Herald* wrote of the King, he was "a tired spent Monarch" and "His

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. This Eaton's ad. was very much like one they used at the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1945.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., August 6, 1962.

brave and sober face in the most trying times will always stand out in the memory of his people around the world.”⁵⁴ Mackenzie King, on the other hand, elicited no evocative prose, only respectful observances such as, “A Lone Sentinel Has Passed Away” and “A Statesman Passes”.⁵⁵ There was at least one local response for Mackenzie King: “the Coaldale Mennonite Brethren Church, have arranged for a wreath to be placed on the casket of the distinguished statesman while his body is lying in state.”⁵⁶ And in the Crowsnest Pass (and probably elsewhere) school children participated in flag ceremonies to mark the death of the King.⁵⁷ Eaton’s once again used the opportunity for self promotion with a half-page memorial for George VI.

Death became a stranger to most westerners during the conservative period, continuing the process that began in the previous decades. People seem to have willingly given up what control past generations may have had over the rituals and customs surrounding death. This was also the case for many other aspects of life; control was given over to educated professionals--authority figures who were rarely challenged since it was understood that they were trained to know what was best. The good life was for living. Total nuclear-generated annihilation was a possibility at any moment, after all, so perhaps it was beneficial to push thoughts of death aside and live that good life. Even driving past the cemetery

⁵⁴ Ibid., February 6, 1952.

⁵⁵ Ibid., July 2, 1950.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., February 6, 1952.

would not arouse thoughts of death as long as that cemetery was one of the new ones with invisible gravestones. As for self-reliance, it was not needed in a place where competent professionals could be relied upon to do almost everything, as long as one had the wherewithal.

Although a few things were retained--proper procedure and behavior, and adherence to religious traditions, for example - a number of things became part of the past. Extravagance, especially in the cemetery, was replaced by functionality and a plain no-nonsense simplicity. Sentimentality was replaced by a bland sort of stoicism. Black funeral clothing, once mandatory, became optional. Past behaviors that had represented an acceptance of the unpleasant realities were replaced by behaviors which seemed to represent an avoidance of them. A probable explanation is that priorities had changed; this life, in the here and now, became more important than thoughts of life in the hereafter.

Personal choice did not lean toward much variation or individuality. The formulaic repetitiveness used by the newspaper for some public aspects of the process seemed to have been accepted, for example. The silhouette of the cemetery does not reveal many anomalies either. The funeral service itself remained much as it had been for generations, with the exception of the open coffin and general acceptance of embalming, which were undertaker's innovations, and newer music which represented an adapting church.

The behaviors of the period probably constitute avoidance, but are they evidence of denial, and if so, what was it that was being denied? It seems to me that the prevailing attitudes and behaviors of

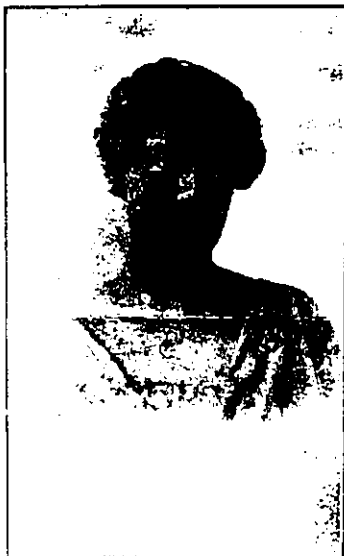
conservative period society were intended to ignore the existence of death as though it was, as something which interrupted the good life, just too awful to acknowledge. Commentators have said of the existence of death-denial in late-twentieth century U.S.A., that death was un-American.⁵⁸ It interfered with the pursuit of happiness and it defied yankee ingenuity--it was a problem that had no solution--so, rather than deal with it realistically, it was ignored. If there was any time period or any place that seemed to actively deny death, this was it.

⁵⁸ Gonzales-Crussi, 179-180, and Arnold Toynbee, *Man's Concern With Death*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1968, 131.

In Memoriam

MRS. CHARITY PIERCE NORTON
 Past Grand Matron
 GRAND CHAPTER OF ALBERTA
 ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR

Born August 1873
Died July 18, 1949



MRS CHARITY PIERCE NORTON
 Worthy Grand Matron
 1918-1919

To all Members of the Grand Chapter of Alberta
 and Sister Grand Chapters of other Jurisdictions
 Order of the Eastern Star

For the fifth time within a year a link has fallen from the chain
 of Past Grand Mothers. After a prolonged illness

SISTER CHARITY PIERCE NORTON

died at her residence in Edmonton, Alberta, Monday, July 18th, 1949.

She was born in Mankato, Minnesota, and at the age of seven entered
 with her parents in Edmonton, Alberta, where she received all her education.
 She had extensive work and taught school in Mankato, Grand Rapids
 Michigan, where for many the only white person among negro teachers before
 1918. In 1918 she married Frederick Clarence Norton of Chicago, Illinois,
 Dakota, and lived in a home for eight years, later moving to Seattle and
 retired in Seattle in 1935.

She was the first Worthy Matron of Double Chapter No. 17,
 affiliation of the time this Chapter was organized, September 11th, 1931
 in March 10th, 1936, she affiliated with Single Grand Chapter No. 1
 in Chicago. She was elected Associate Grand Conductress in 1935 and
 Worthy Grand Matron in 1938.

Expressing a general personality and a sympathetic understanding, her
 conduct earned her a wide circle of friends. She always had the best
 interest of the Order at heart and rendered this protection spiritual and
 legal advice.

Since 1938 she has held all the offices of the Order. She was an
 all members of the work committee which for many years and was
 secretary of the Association. She was honored in 1938 with a
 life membership in the Order and Woman's Institute of Canada for her long
 standing work in that organization.

Having her own friends to help to organize the chapters, Chapter of
 Washington state, a committee, Chapter of Seattle and a number
 in Michigan, in all about 2000 members were sympathetic to her work.

Deep in the heart are the cherished memories
 being spoken to those who remain here and loved by all.

As a token of respect to the memory of our sister we request that
 this Memorial be read and recorded in the minutes of each Chapter in
 the Grand Jurisdiction. At the next stated meeting after its receipt and
 the Altar be draped for a period of 30 days.



HENRI V. THOMPSON
 Worthy Grand Matron

JAMES V. WIGGIE
 Worthy Grand Pastern

LEA C. ISAAC
 Grand Secretary

fig. 23

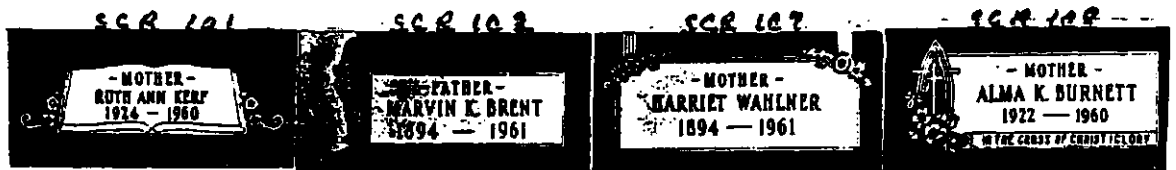
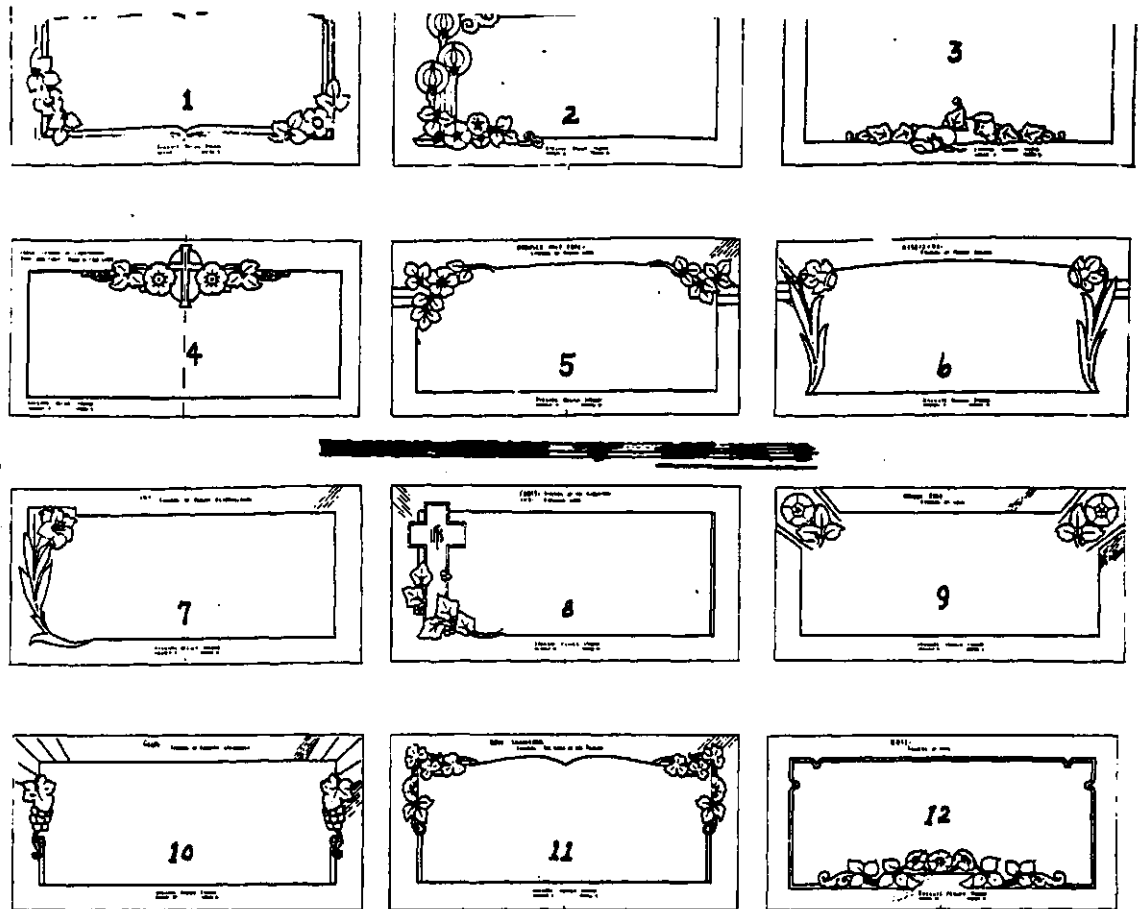


fig. 24



fig. 25



fig. 26

fig. 27

fig. 28

IMPRESSIVE FUNERAL RITES PLANNED FOR LOCAL AIRMAN

A large military and Chinese civil funeral will be held here Monday afternoon for the late Flying Officer Charles Chow-Leong, well-known Lethbridge native son who was killed in a plane crash at Carman, Man., early this week.

At least 50 R.C.A.F. personnel from the Clarendon and Winnipeg air bases will attend the mass funeral which will probably be the largest held here in some years.

A firing party, R.C.A.F. pallbearers and honorary pallbearers, an escort party and possibly even an aerial salute will be included in the services.

The funeral will include a Chinese civil service at the National League hall followed by a full military funeral at St. Augustine's Anglican Church.

CHINESE CUSTOM

The casket will leave Martin Bros., who are in charge of arrangements, at noon and proceed past the home of the airman's parents and his widow's home. This is according to old Chinese tradition.

From there the cortege will proceed to the National League hall, where a customary civil funeral will be held.

The casket will lie in state, draped by an R.C.A.F. ensign, in the hall while friends and relatives pay respect to the parents and to the immediate family of the deceased. The family then will take its last parting with the deceased airman.

Messages from different organizations and friends also will be read, and in old tradition, will be presented to the airman's family.

After the civil ceremony the ensign will be removed from the casket and presented to the family. A Union Jack then will be draped over the coffin. Following Chinese custom, a flower truck, on which will be mounted a large photograph of the late P/O Chow-Leong, will be included in the cortege.

After the casket is brought out of the National League hall it will be placed on an R.C.A.F. tender and escorted along 2nd Ave. N. to 5th St. along 5th St. to 4th Ave. and along 4th Ave. to 11th St., and then to St. Augustine's Church.

FULL MILITARY RITES

The R.C.A.F. chaplain from the Clarendon station and Canon Leslie L. Grant will meet the party on the church steps. The service will then be held, and later resume at Mountain View Cemetery for interment in the soldiers' plot.

F/L C. C. Buxton of Clarendon will officially represent the commanding officer of the Clarendon station.

P/L W. H. Morley of 14 Group Headquarters, Winnipeg, is officer-in-charge of the funeral.

P/O D. Orange of Winnipeg, who escorted the body to Lethbridge, will be with the family during the funeral.

At the cemetery the late P/O Chow will receive full military rites.



P/O. CHARLES CHOW-LEONG

First To Enlist As Pilot

Flying Officer Charles Chow, pilot of the ill-fated R.C.A.F. twin-engine plane which crashed at Carman, Manitoba Monday was a native son of Lethbridge and the first of Canada's Chinese to enlist for pilot's training in the R.C.A.F. during the Second World War. Two R.C.A.F. students were also victims of the crash.

He was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Ling Chow-Leong of Lethbridge, but the family has dropped the Leong portion of the name.

Mr. Chow, Jr., attended White School near Wilson Sliding and studied at the Collegiate in Lethbridge. He worked for a time in the Ritz Cafe prior to enlisting in the R.C.A.F. in May, 1942.

Following training and graduation as a pilot at No 7 B.F.T.S., Macleod where he received his wings, he went overseas to Britain in March, 1944. Early that year he received his pilot officer's commission. Almost immediately after his arrival in Britain he was posted to the Far East. His duties in India were completed by August, 1946, and he was posted to Brussels as a member of the occupation forces.

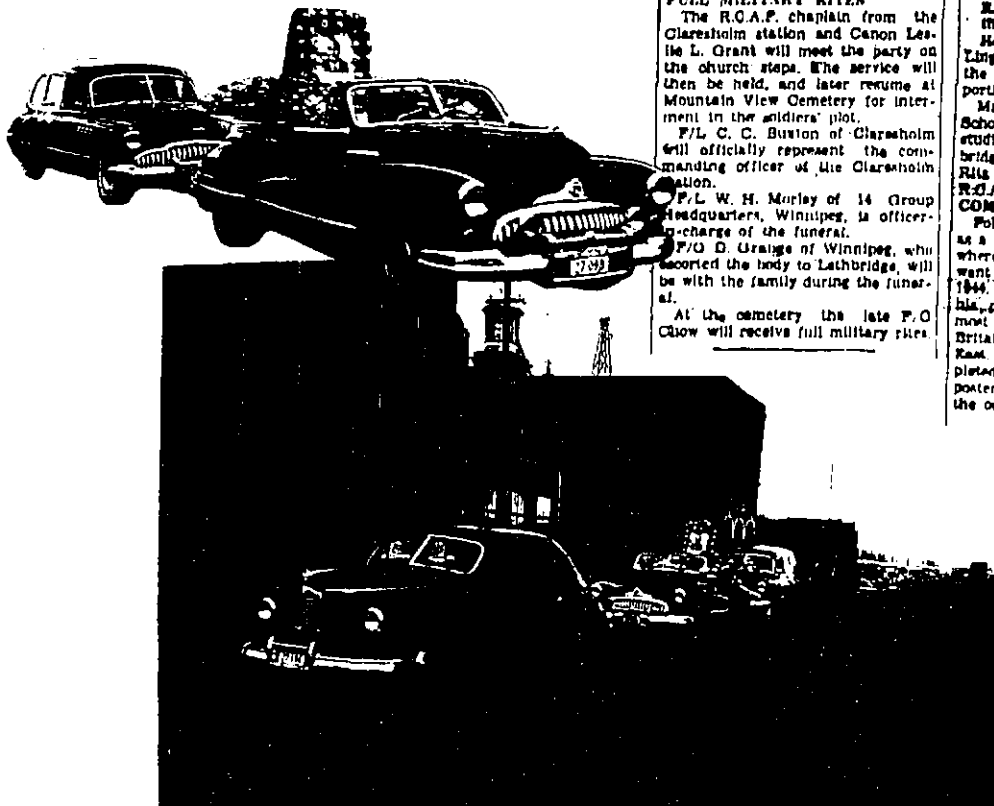


fig. 29 & 30

CHAPTER V

THE RECENT PERIOD

During the period from from the Social Revolution to the end of the century (c.1975 to 1998), the population of Lethbridge rose from forty to nearly seventy thousand, while the provincial mortality rate dropped to 5.3 at its lowest and leveled out at around 5.7 per thousand. For Lethbridge that meant twenty to thirty-five deaths per month. For much of the period, Martin Brothers and Christensen's were the only two funeral businesses operating in the city, but in the 1990s they were joined by two new ones: Mount View Funeral Home and Cornerstone Funeral Home.¹ Lethbridge Monumental and Southern Monument were joined in the city by Remco Memorials in 1977.² The City continued to operate Mountain View Cemetery and St. Patrick's Cemetery, and in 1982 Archmount Memorial Gardens was added to its responsibilities as well.³

The population of the city showed differences in that there were fewer children and more seniors than the provincial and national averages, while the dominance of Britishness was all but gone.⁴ Yet, even though that old stratification had diminished, there continued to be a perceived 'personality' to North Lethbridge as opposed to South Lethbridge, and yet another for the new area of

¹ August, 1998, postscript--Mount View Funeral Home went out of business.

² Gunderson, 358.

³ Johnston, 6. Previous to the city take-over there had been a decade of legal wrangling brought about by the 1971 abandonment of the project by its original owner.

⁴ City of Lethbridge Annual Reports, 1990-1997.

West Lethbridge.⁵ Third and fourth generation Lethbridgians were joined by new arrivals from throughout the world, and the 'brains industries' in the city continued to have an impact on the population demographics, as did the building of many more retirement and leisure facilities for seniors.

The social revolution of the late sixties had initiated a questioning of old established values. Young people in particular began to challenge much of the existing social structure, especially its authority figures and institutions. Church attendance in Canada dropped to thirty percent of the population by the end of the period.⁶ Among the youth of the western world, conformity was rejected in favour of 'do your own thing', and an informality of behavior and dress replaced the old conventions. Attitudes toward life, birth and death were profoundly affected by the development of the birth-control pill, the controversial war in Viet Nam, and the realization that pollution was seriously damaging the health of the whole world. Lethbridge, like the rest of western culture, was heavily influenced by the third wave of mass media: multi-channel cable television which offered an ever widening selection of programming, home video equipment and video movies which provided at-home entertainment by choice as well as the opportunity for creativity, the personal computer and the international communications network (the Internet) presented further creative opportunities at the same time as it allowed

⁵ Informal conversations with students at the University of Lethbridge reinforce the stereotypes: North Lethbridge is rowdy and 'bad' yet cool, South Lethbridge is okay but dull, and West Lethbridge is snobby.

⁶ Bumsted, 478, and Adams, 24.

communication between people from all over the world, at a personal level. The homogeneity evident in the conservative period was replaced by an emphasis on the individual. The sense of duty and the rigid self-identity which were the hallmarks of the previous generation, were replaced by a hedonism, a self-absorbed search for a meaningful life, and a flexible identity, increasingly so toward the end of the century.⁷

Funeral workers reported a change in the attitudes of people.⁸ The once present reticence about the subject of death and burial vanished. People desired to discuss openly the various options and their wishes regarding not only the funeral and disposition of their loved ones, but of their own as well.⁹ As a result, the funeral service industry adapted to this attitudinal change by offering more flexibility in all aspects of the services it rendered. The pre-planning of funerals experienced a dramatic growth in the eighties and nineties.¹⁰

The average person was completely unfamiliar with death. Most never saw a dead body anywhere other than in a coffin at the funeral home or the church. Only members of the police, the medical profession or emergency rescue teams would know of the look, the sound, and the smell of death, or what to do when it occurred. A great majority of deaths took place in hospitals and nursing homes, largely

⁷ Bumsted, 475, Adams, 22, 37, and Blishen, 12.

⁸ Watts, Salmon, and Kuntz, and Consumer Reports, 15.

⁹ This went along with a general willingness to question other former authority figures, as well; doctors, lawyers, teachers (and so on) who had formerly been held in some awe because they knew things that the average person did not, were being challenged to explain and discuss things more openly.

¹⁰ Gunderson, 350.

protected from the gaze of society. A significant aspect of the knowledge base once possessed by everyone was almost entirely lost.

As in the previous period, people needed only to know how to call the funeral director who would take care of everything.¹¹ For the first decade the elements of the conservative period were only gradually altered; the spirit of individuality and the informality pervasive in society did not significantly impact the rituals of death until the second half of the period. Black and dark colours were rejected, fairly early, in favour of casual wear and it became increasingly common for people to arrive late to the service and to leave early, habits unheard of in earlier periods. The 'three-days-after-death' custom was also no longer standard for the funeral service, as families chose whatever day was convenient. Most Christian denominations gradually relaxed their traditional funeral service to allow for the participation of friends and family and the inclusion of secular music with an inspirational theme, since people were demanding these changes. Some favourite songs were *Amazing Grace*, *How Great Thou Art*, *On Eagles Wings*, and *The Rose*. Personalized eulogies became increasingly common throughout the period.¹² Mementos offered by the funeral business were accepted as the norm: the memorial card or pamphlet, with photo, given out to every member of the attending congregation along with the

¹¹ See Consumer Reports, chapter 5 "Finding an Undertaker" which discusses the often rushed and haphazard way an undertaker is chosen, and the difficulties placed in the way of the consumer who might want to shop around for a good price or the preferred arrangements, as would be the case with any other purchase.

¹² Watts.

'program' for the service, and the guest book or book of condolence.¹³ Floral tributes diminished as bunches and small bouquets intended for the family's home replaced the traditional wreaths and sprays, while the memorial donation in lieu of flowers became a common preference. By the end of the century, the location of funeral services was evenly split between the Funeral Home chapels and the churches.¹⁴

The burial service (its name changed to the committal service) had traditionally been attended by the entire congregation, but in the recent period that became optional, particularly in inclement weather. Some members of the congregation would choose to wait for the family to return to the reception area for the social gathering. Families created new traditions to replace some of the faded ones, such as the tossing of earth onto the coffin. For example: each child or grandchild or other family member would place a flower on the coffin as they left the graveside, or in a variation, each would take a flower from a spray adorning the coffin.¹⁵ The social gathering which followed the burial service gradually increased in size to a large event involving a wide circle of friends and relatives, particularly for

¹³ Informal research carried out by Funeral Directors suggests that these books of condolence are rarely looked at more than once or twice, and then only to inform the family of who actually attended the funeral service (but may not have stayed for the social gathering afterwards.)

¹⁴ Lethbridge funeral businesses disagree on the ratios: Martin Bros. says it is 60/40 in favour of the funeral chapel, while Christensen Salmon says it 60/40 in favour of churches. This difference may be a function of the religious orientation of the clientele of each establishment. For example, if the managers of a funeral establishment are members of a particular faith, then their clientele may include a large percentage of members of that faith, which may always hold its funerals in the church.

¹⁵ Watts, Salmon and Kuntz.

families from smaller towns and rural areas where a funeral was often also a family reunion.¹⁶

The popularity of cremation rose dramatically. Where less than five percent of dispositions involved cremation in the conservative period, in 1984 it was twenty percent, and by the end of the recent period the number was forty percent and rising.¹⁷ Thus, four crematoria were built in the city during this period; Martin Brothers' was the first, in 1981.¹⁸

The recent period also displayed some marked changes in the cemetery. Granite continued its rise to dominance, increasing in numbers from seventy-five to ninety percent of existing markers, with most of the remainder being bronze. Marble, meanwhile, has all but disappeared from the scene, although it is still offered. The typical height of above ground markers is twenty-five to thirty inches, and the most common shapes are horizontals and pillows. Flats are equally popular, however, with almost all of them segregated into separate sections at Mountain View and the entirely separate cemetery of Archmount, while at St. Patrick's the flats are fully integrated. Florals still dominate the motifs, but new elements began showing up in the nineties in the form of scenery, wheat, vehicles, horses, and a variety of objects and images relevant to the life of the deceased. Seventy-seven percent of the epitaphs are abstract, little changed from the previous period, but those from near the end of the century are slightly longer than they had been for

¹⁶ Funeral workers have noted that, generally speaking, small town and rural funerals are more well attended than most city funerals.

¹⁷ Johnston, 7, and Bryan Watts.

¹⁸ Johnston, 8.

decades, and poetry began to make a comeback, albeit in a small way. The number of markers for husband and wife together continued to rise, going from thirty-five to forty percent.

A large number of the above ground markers are horizontals, and a typical marker of the first part of this recent period is very much like those from the conservative period. It is red or black granite, approximately eighteen or nineteen inches high, and is sitting on a granite base of about five or six inches. It is typically thirty-five inches in length and six inches thick. The inscription features the prominent display of the surname, with the given name(s) and date(s) separate. There are deeply sandblasted florals in the upper corners, supplemented by lines or meanders, and by crosses in the Catholic sections. The inscription says "in loving memory of", or "ever remembered ever loved", or "gone but not forgotten", or "rest in peace". Many identify the name(s) as "mother" or "father". In the whole of St. Patrick's and in the Chinese section at Mt. View, many also have enamelled portraits, which was not nearly as common elsewhere.

The Chinese inscriptions at both are either totally in Chinese characters or both English and Chinese together, but in Mountain View the floral motifs from the late conservative period and the recent period are painted in bright colours. In the Japanese section, the typical inscriptions prominently feature the surname, the backgrounds behind the letters are darkened or lightened to make the words easy to read, and the text is almost entirely in English,

often with only a small inscription in Japanese characters.¹⁹ This was the case in the later conservative period as well. The floral symbol of the Otani branch of the Jo Do Shin Shu school takes centre place, and the most common epitaph reads "namu amida butsu"--Japanese words written in Roman letters.²⁰ The typical Hebrew marker is a vertical or horizontal black or grey granite, with florals or a menorah as well as the Star of David, surnames are not prominent, and there is rarely an epitaph.

The second half of the period has seen an eruption of differently shaped horizontals: slanted, curved, heart-shaped, oval, shouldered, irregular, and so on, which makes for a more interesting silhouette. As well, the design elements have progressed from the basic sand-blasted florals and lines of the conservative period to an enormous variety of elements and styles, due to new engraving technologies which create a variety of textures on the surface of the highly polished granite, rather than cutting deeply into it. The typical marker of the late part of the period is a grey, black, or red granite horizontal, and slightly larger than before, at thirty to thirty-five inches in height including its base, thirty-five inches long and six inches thick. The decorative elements are not deeply sandblasted, but feature complex multi-shaded sandblast-etching. Corner florals and lines might be present, but so might one or more unique images such as boots, yarn and needles, a truck, or a piano. There might also

¹⁹ Although they are probably not intended as such, these small inscriptions appear decorative, especially to the non-Japanese eye.

²⁰ The phrase "namu amida butsu" roughly translates as "veneration to the Buddha Amitabha", see *The Shambala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*. (Boston: Shambala Publications, Inc., 1991), pages 5-6. The floral symbol is the sukarifuji, or hanging wisteria. (See fig. 31.)

be an etched photograph of the deceased, or a farm yard, or a scene. In the Chinese section, is little change from the typical marker of the earlier recent period, but some of the images are more complex and personal: horseshoes, dogs, wheat, bamboo, and the yin/yang symbol. The story in the Japanese section is similar, with new imagery being: bonsai, musical notes, and wheat, while the predominant floral is the lotus. Except for the presence of new-style glossy granite, the typical Hebrew stone has not changed.

Coffins were buried with their occupants facing east as always, and all gravestones faced east as well until the nineties when the cemetery began to place stones in two close rows, back to back; in the newest section--28--these back to back rows are placed on a concrete 'sidewalk' or runner. This innovation is for both neatness and ease of maintenance. Other than these newest ones, the only other markers to face west are those in the older Chinese section at Mountain View.

As for newspaper death notices, their location was page two in *The Herald* for a number of years and then, finally, they were moved to the 'Classified' section near the end of the paper, under the heading 'Death Notices'. Although it had been the case since the transition period in particular that the death notice was an invitation, in this period many of them actually included the words, "friends are invited". Photos were not common in the seventies but by the nineties were very much so. The phrase of choice was still 'passed away' rather than 'died', and more often than in previous periods the cause of death would be named, especially if it was cancer. The length of the items varied a great deal, with short ones being placed

beside very long ones, but the overall length grew steadily as the death notice and the obituary melded together. Not only were the particulars of the deaths and funerals mentioned, and many family members named, and people's biographies sketched, but by the end of the period their personalities were described as well. A recent example, the death notice/obituary for Olive White Quills-Fox, reached six hundred and sixty words, plus a photo!²¹ The fact that the formulaic-style death notices of the previous fifty years were replaced by a great variety of length and content suggests that individuality was beginning to play a greater role in their creation.

The in-memoriams were also more varied in length, and many included a photo, but other than that they remained very much as they had always been. *The Herald* continued to remind its readers on every obituary page that they had in-memoriam verses available for free, and encouraged them to "Remember your loved ones with an In Memoriam..."²²

Occasionally, a uniquely personal memoriam would stand out from the rest, such as this for Dan and Philomena Chief Moon:

There's not a day that passes that we have not thought about both of you. Everything we do and see, you remind us how the road is to be taken. We still hear your voices and see your faces in each and every one of us. We thank the creator for taking you to the Makoyoo Sookoy...²³

But more typical was:

Many a day her name is spoken,
And many an hour she is in our thoughts,
A link in our family chain is broken.

²¹ *Lethbridge Herald* January 12, 1997. (See fig. 37.)

²² *Ibid.*, August 27, 1996.

²³ *Ibid.*, January 23, 1997. It is interesting to observe that often the most personally expressive memoriams and obituaries are from people of Aboriginal heritage.

She is gone from our home but not from our hearts²⁴

The death notices and in-memoriams of this period no longer had the formulaic look which had been so common for four or five decades, although the occasional short one was still reminiscent of the earlier style. Every one of the death announcements, whether long or short, concluded with the name, and often also the business logo, of a funeral director.

In the nineties, a new type of memorial began to be seen - the mini-biography. Those that I have seen are either scrapbook collections of memorabilia and reminiscences from friends and family of the deceased, or they have been compiled on a 'desk-top-publishing' computer program. There are a number of these memorial books in the Lethbridge Archives. Among them is one for Linda Barvir, who died of an asthma attack in 1988, at the age of 37. The book is a moving and inspiring tribute to a well-liked, community-oriented person. Among other things, it includes the official announcements that an award and a scholarship would be set up in her name, and there is also a photocopied poster which she quite possibly had on the wall of her office, and which contains a sentiment that could very well reveal her philosophy of life, given the feelings expressed about her by her friends:

People are unreasonable, illogical, and self-centered.
Love them anyway
If you do good, people may accuse you of selfish ulterior motives.
Do good anyway
If you are successful, you may win false friends and true enemies.
Succeed anyway
The good you do today may be forgotten tomorrow.
Do good anyway
Honesty and frankness make you vulnerable.

²⁴ Ibid., August 27, 1996.

Be honest and frank anyway
People favor underdogs but follow top dogs.
Fight for some underdogs anyway
What you spend years building may be destroyed overnight.
Build anyway
People really need help but may attack you if you offer it.
Help them anyway
Give the world the best you have and you may get kicked in the
teeth. Give the world the best you've got anyway.²⁵

The bureaucratic requirements remained much the same as they had been as far as individuals were concerned. The many forms still existed, in only a slightly modified style with slightly modified titles. The 1985 form, when compared with the 1907 example (see Appendix D), displays a few improvements, certainly from the perspective of genealogical research, with the inclusion of parent's names and birthplaces. The newer form also includes the mention of the funeral director as an integral element, suggesting that the whole process could not take place without one. In fact, doing the necessary paperwork was so much a part of the funeral director's function that the average person would likely not know what to do, much less how to do it. There is a far greater change in the medical certificates of death, however, with the recent one including many more details as to cause and circumstance of death.

Funeral directors were certainly fully involved in every aspect of the rituals of death and burial, but they maintained a discreet profile for most of the period. During the nineties, however, the increased competition that arose in Lethbridge after the opening of

²⁵ Barvir file, City of Lethbridge Archives, catalogue number P19961018024. The author of this quoted piece may have been Susan Striker, according to the version in the Barvir file, but I have seen it elsewhere, in slightly different variations. The attitude presented here is continued on Barvir's gravemarker, see fig. 32.

the new funeral homes meant innovation on the part of services offered as well as increasing boldness in advertising, including the mention of prices, unheard of since the thirties.²⁶ They also began using catchy slogans, such as "Where beautiful things need not be costly", and "Large enough to serve, small enough to care."²⁷ Another innovation was the planting of memorial trees by the funeral home, on the family's behalf. When this was the case, it was mentioned in the newspaper announcement, for example: "In living memory of Vonda Tolley a tree will be planted in the Lethbridge area by: Christensen Salmon Funeral Home."²⁸ The funeral businesses also provided stone benches in Mountain View Cemetery's scatter garden and columbarium areas, and elsewhere. These were engraved with the company name and so were also another form of advertising.

Monument companies were not reluctant to advertise during the period. Their ads, especially in the weekend papers, were big and eye-catching--often mentioning prices or special sales: "15 - 20 - 25% off all Memorials - Extra 5% if two people order together..." reads an ad from Lethbridge Monumental in 1980.²⁹ Benches or seats in cemeteries or in parks were an innovation from monument companies--some as a form of advertising for themselves and some as memorials to a deceased person. Another innovation was the memorial "tablestone" which was a small portable stone or metal

²⁶ Mount View Funeral Home ad, *Telus Directory Yellow Pages*, 1998, 159, or *The Better Book Yellow Pages*, 1998, 72.

²⁷ The former is from Martin Brothers, and the latter from Christensen Salmon. These were printed with funeral listings in the *Herald* of August 27, 1996, but were used in other editions, as well.

²⁸ *Lethbridge Herald* July 24, 1998.

²⁹ *The Lethbridge Herald* June 7, 1980.

plaque which could be kept at home or in the family garden.³⁰ New technologies in stone-cutting provided many new choices for the person selecting a monument. Almost any photograph could be engraved onto the surface of the highly polished stone in great detail, and the same technique allowed for very long poems to be successfully engraved in lovely small print. Three such examples are in the newest section at Mountain View: Tracy Lee Poehlmann's epitaph is Christina Rossetti's sonnet, "Remember":

Remember me when I am gone away,
Gone far away into the silent land;
When you can no more hold me by the hand,
Nor I half turn to go yet turning stay.
Remember me when no more day by day
You tell me of our future that we planned:
Only remember me; you understand
It will be late to counsel then or pray.
Yet if you should forget me for awhile
And afterwards remember, do not grieve:
For if the darkness and corruption leave
A vestige of the thoughts that once I had,
Better by far you should forget and smile
Than that you should remember and be sad.³¹

This work reads as Tracy's voice, while Christopher Neuman's epitaph is Edgar Guest's "A Child Loaned", which reads as the voice of his parents. Ryan Paul Bishoff's marker includes a lengthy work entitled "I'm Free" (origin not identified), and beneath images of a skier and a wind-surfer are the words "a boulevard of broken

³⁰ This last innovation was the idea of Jim Muloch at Lethbridge Monumental, and was probably an idea whose time had come.

³¹ Poelmann's grave is in section 28 at Mountain View, and is dated 1995. Rossetti wrote the work in 1849, See Jan Marsh, *Christina Rossetti: A Literary Biography*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1994), 100.

dreams".³² These same new techniques can be used to reproduce any image, and so, for the first time in decades, complex design elements are included on gravestones, this time with personal components. Designs are still being used repeatedly, however. One of the most striking of the new examples is a very large profile of Chief Mountain with a pair of Canada Geese flying towards it. This design just might be a new 'Gates of Heaven', in this case very specific to Southern Alberta, with its allegorical depiction of two mated souls flying away together into an eternal beauty.³³ With the new shapes and the new techniques offering greater choice, gravestones have become interesting once again, in the late twentieth century.

In fact, the art of the homemade has not vanished, after all. Since 1994, a brand new one has been installed in St. Patrick's. It is a cross, made of welded tubular framing, with chromed trailer hitches on the ends of the arms of the cross. A heart-shaped slab of steel plating is welded to the front, and the inscription is accomplished with welding bead. It reads: "Bronislaw Springer May 5, 1916. Podwysokie Poland." The meaning is a little unclear, but it is the thought that counts.³⁴

In the meantime, the cost of cemetery maintenance continued to rise. In 1980 it stood at \$127,625 and in 1990 at \$444,161.³⁵ Part of the reason for this dramatic increase was the official take-over of Archmount Memorial Gardens in 1982. The City By-Laws pertaining

³² Neuman's grave is dated 1992 and is in section 28, while Bishoff's is dated 1996 and is in section 27, both in Mountain View Cemetery. These poems are far too lengthy to be included here.

³³ See fig. 33.

³⁴ St. Patrick's Cemetery, C -13-16.

³⁵ City of Lethbridge Financial Records, 1980 and 1990.

to cemeteries in 1994 went on for twenty-three pages and included, among the list of 'musts' and 'shall nots', the news that a concrete vault was mandatory for all coffin burials (the only exceptions being religious objections). The use of such vaults had previously been optional, and the mandatory use of them increased the cost of burial. As for the costs, the newer sections were becoming 'neighbourhoods' potentially based on economic class. Section 28 was most desirable, being the area with a view, and plots there were worth \$1010 in 1996, while plots in section 31, next to the fence, were worth \$750. The list of rules also included some curious restrictions. To mention only two: cross-shaped monuments were not allowed anywhere except in St. Patrick's, and no upright marker could be taller than thirty-six inches. No reasons were given for such rules.³⁶ The public is not supposed to walk over the graves, yet the workers walk, drag pipes, and drive all over them. The public is not supposed to do much except look at the markers and place flowers in approved vases; there is to be no music, no food, no gathering, no sitting, etc. Fortunately, many of these rules are ignored and not enforced very stringently.³⁷

The cost of placing death notices and memoriams in the paper was no longer as clearly stated as it once was at 'so-much' per line, but was said to be 'from \$20 up' (that being suggested as the very least it could be). Photographs increased the price considerably, but

³⁶ Although the rules state that no marker should be taller than 36 inches, there are several that exceed that.

³⁷ A thorough reading of the 1994 Cemetery By-Laws prompted me to intone, "and the cemetery manager shall be god."

the cost would not be known to the customer until the item was printed.³⁸

Funeral directors in the recent period were operating in a post-Mitford world.³⁹ That is to say, the pervasive influence of funeral directors and the potential for fraud and manipulation that existed within the industry became subjects for public discussion in the sixties and seventies, and the industry was extremely sensitive to the criticism. They continued to keep a low profile as far as advertisements were concerned; at first, all of their ads were similar, were the same size, and were on the same page, as though they were cooperating. In the later years of the period, when the businesses became more competitive, they mailed out brochures, sponsored special sections in the paper, and included big colourful entries in the Yellow Pages.⁴⁰ They also found some new opportunities to advertise, as mentioned above: cemetery benches with their names on them, listings of weekly funerals which would be taken care of by each business, and an annual listing of all the deaths in the city during the year.⁴¹

³⁸ This is according to the response given me by telephone when I called the *Lethbridge Herald* Classifieds, in January, 1998.

³⁹ Jessica Mitford's broad, satirical, critique of the funeral industry *The American Way of Death* was published in 1963. Anyone who read it would never again feel quite as comfortable with funeral directors, but they would henceforth pay more attention to many things they had once taken for granted.

⁴⁰ Martin Brothers mailed out 48,000 brochures in the spring of 1997, in response to the arrival of the fourth funeral business in Lethbridge, and Mount View Funeral Homes has hired an advertising agency. *Lethbridge Herald*, October 27, 1997.

⁴¹ The year-end "Memorial Tree" list of the year's dead was sponsored by Cornerstone Funeral Home and printed in *The Lethbridge Herald* and *The Lethbridge Shopper* in late November of 1996 and 1997. Cornerstone also had a display on their premises and gave dove-of-peace ornaments to each family who came to see it.

One consumer response to the published criticisms of the industry all across the U.S. and Canada was the organizing of Memorial Societies.⁴² There was one in the Lethbridge area as well-- The Memorial Society of Southern Alberta.⁴³ The purpose of these largely volunteer organizations was to provide people with the opportunity to learn about funeral options which could save them money and stress. They advocated simplicity, and they could answer the questions which funeral businesses could not or would not.

The funeral business as a whole experienced a significant growth during the last three decades of the century as it moved from the realm of local family businesses to that of large corporations. In 1996, the business world buzzed with the news of a 'war' between the two North American giants - Loewen Group Inc. and Service Corp. International, as the latter tried to take over the former.⁴⁴ The Canadian company, Loewen's, owns over nine hundred funeral homes in the U.S. and Canada, many of them in Alberta, but none in Lethbridge, so far. Aside from this corporate battle, there were entrepreneurial innovations springing up in Canada and around the Western World. New Funeral businesses were opening up to cater specifically to women, for example, and cabinet makers have started to make unique coffins, completely unlike the familiar funeral home

⁴² For a good discussion of memorial societies, see Consumer Reports, 51 and 211. This book was written at a time when these societies were gaining in popularity. Funeral, burial, and memorial societies have been around for a long time, however; they were common in the Roman world. See for example, J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 55.

⁴³ This organization did not advertise a telephone number, and the address it used in the ads I saw, which are a number of years old, is now a private residence. I did not attempt to contact it.

⁴⁴ *The Globe and Mail*, September 21, 1996.

version.⁴⁵ One can also find plans on the Internet to create build-it-yourself coffins, and some of the unique ones being offered from the various sources could be used as coffee tables or bookshelves until they were needed for their intended purpose. There are also casket stores opening up across Canada and the U.S. which will store your purchase for you until you need it.⁴⁶ As these new ideas catch on, funeral businesses may find themselves having to compete more aggressively, whether they want to or not.

As for famous deaths, probably the most famous of the period was that of Diana the Princess of Wales who was killed in a car crash in Paris on August 31, 1997, while the research for this project was under way. I, like so many millions of people around the world, was stunned. It seemed to me that the western world pressed a 'pause' button and remained there until the funeral was conducted a week later. The response from people was nothing short of amazing--all those bouquets and all those messages of condolence and all those outpourings of emotion, for a total stranger. Well, perhaps she really did not seem like a stranger since we all were so familiar with her appearance and with her story, but in reality she was a stranger. For me, the most striking thing was the contrast between the regular in-memoriams in the *Lethbridge Herald* and the messages written in the various books of condolence and on the Internet, for Diana's family. The former have always been formulaic weepy doggeral,

⁴⁵ *Lethbridge Herald* stories "No men allowed in this parlor", and "Man makes furniture to take to the grave", July 26, 1996, and *Calgary Herald* story, "To Heaven in Style", August 31, 1997.

⁴⁶ *Venture*, CBC Television, October, 1997.

while the latter were heartfelt immediate outpourings, (at least all that I read, personally, on the 'Net, and saw on television)! Cynics and analysts have designated the response to Diana's death 'mass hysteria', but I saw the tears on the faces of the crowds at Kensington and Buckingham palaces, and outside the Abbey, as genuine emotion. It was more than just a death, of course, it was an event--'the thing to do'--'the place to be'. The sharing of it was, I believe, a significant aspect of what was happening. It was quite fascinating!

The newspaper and television coverage of Diana's death was unrelenting. Every fact and every rumour was reported and repeated, and even a year later, there were still one or two news items in the paper every week about the accident and its various aftermaths. Right after it happened, the 'Opinions' page in *The Herald* included messages and thoughts from the citizens of Lethbridge, as well as from reporters and editors and dignitaries. Many of the immediate responses were in regards to the involvement of the media in causing the accident. As in previous periods, businesses used the event to their advantage--most notably, Mount View Funeral Home, which invited people to come and sign a book of condolence for the Spencer family, and then to come to their premises and watch the televised funeral service together with others, and enjoy a breakfast afterwards. This event was advertised in a half-page spread, under a photo and the headline "Honouring

Her Legacy".⁴⁷ Of course it was a nice idea, and many Lethbridgians accepted the invitation.⁴⁸

Some of the changes that took place in this period could lead one to conclude that Lethbridgians had almost come full circle, but that would only be true in some respects. They may have allowed emotion, individuality and personality, even ostentation, to show through in the cemetery and in obituaries, and to creep into funeral services in some cases, but they were by no means comfortable with or knowledgeable about the realities of death, as they had been a century before.

They had more personal choices than they had had in decades, for most aspects of life including death rituals. They could be as involved as they wished to be in the creation of those rituals, with a few exceptions, of course, and they could create new ones if they chose. Yet, even though many of them were not church-goers, when it came time to have a funeral service, they relied on that otherwise ignored institution. Part of the reason for this may be the lack of familiarity with death. When one does not normally or frequently see something like death, one does not know what to do when it occurs. One does not know how to deal with it. So one turns to those who do--funeral directors and the church--to derive some comfort from witnessing or participating in rituals as they are enacted by those familiar with them.

⁴⁷ *The Lethbridge Herald*, September 5, 1997.

⁴⁸ Approximately 50 people attended the 'service' at Mount View. I almost did, but laziness won out and I watched it at home alone, and cried.

This had been the case in the previous period as well, but then, members of society were content to let institutions like the church lead the way, and to be a part of that familiar system. This is one of the attitudes that changed in the recent period. The experts and the trained professionals were still required to do what they knew how to do, but no longer would they be held in awe, as they had been; now they would be scrutinized and questioned. Now, the people would demand the right to know, and to participate. Where once there was a wish to do the proper thing in order to appear respectable in the public gaze, now there was a desire for personal fulfilment which could give meaning to things.⁴⁹ Perhaps this change of attitude resulted from improvements in education, but at any rate, it represents a degree of individual empowerment.

Individuality and beauty made a comeback in the cemetery, too, after decades of functionality. Formulaic sameness began to give way to expressionism, although there was still the tinge of 'purchased' expression about most of it. There were even some signs of a return to extravagance in gravestones (there was certainly no shortage of it in death announcements and obituaries.) Regulations regarding size and shape seemed designed to prevent extravagance, but since a number of examples have been seen which seem to circumvent the rules, personal choice may yet prevail.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Informal discussions with people of various ages revealed that, at the end of the recent period, most people prefer a funeral service that is personal and expressive rather than one that just follows a 'script'.

⁵⁰ The most common circumvention of the regulations, as mentioned above, is the exceeding of official height restrictions. See the enormous Anctil family marker in section 27 at Mountain View!

The shifting values and lifestyles of the end of this period go hand in hand with the social and communications revolutions that are changing the western world so drastically. Computers and the Internet have made personal expression easy and painless, and it can even be anonymous. The individual has become more self-aware and more insistent on self-determination. I believe that there is far less tendency to ignore the existence of death as people become more interested in regaining some of the control over this aspect of life, control which had been relinquished in the previous periods. Although some changes in funerary rites have already become apparent, I suspect there are more to come.

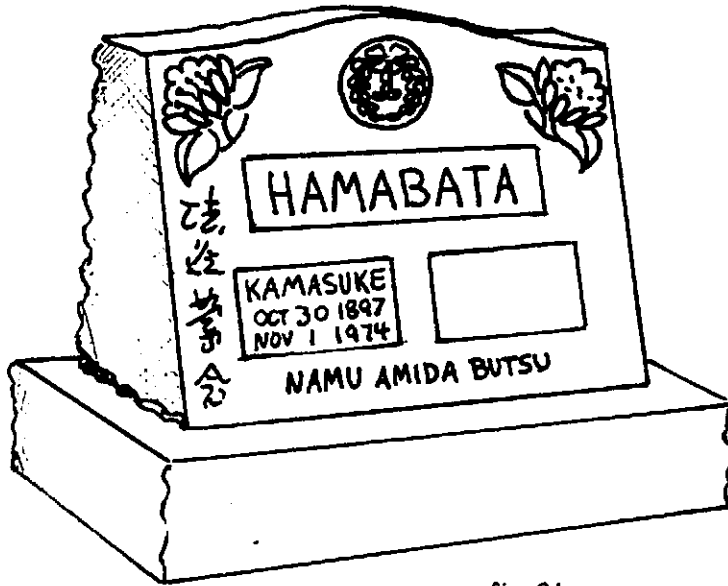


fig. 31

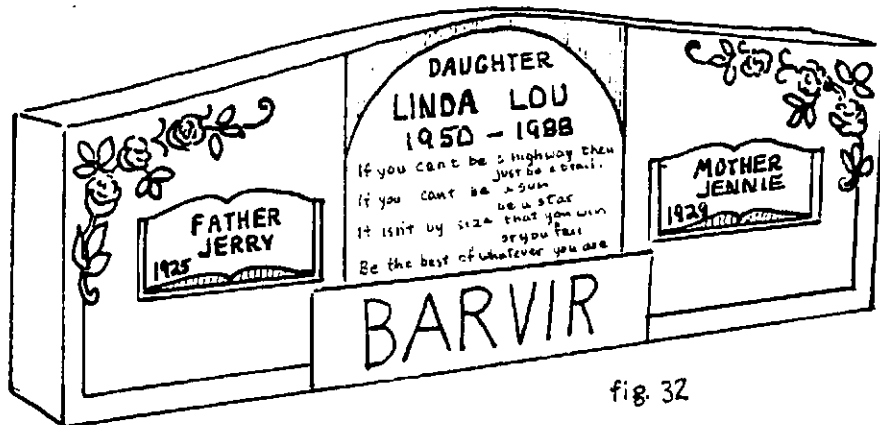


fig. 32

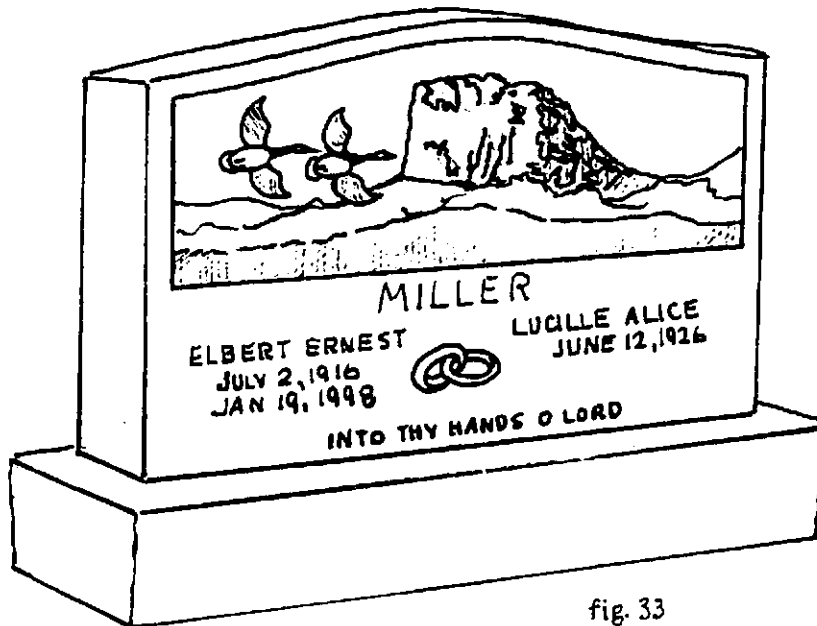


fig. 33

"HEADLIGHTS ON"

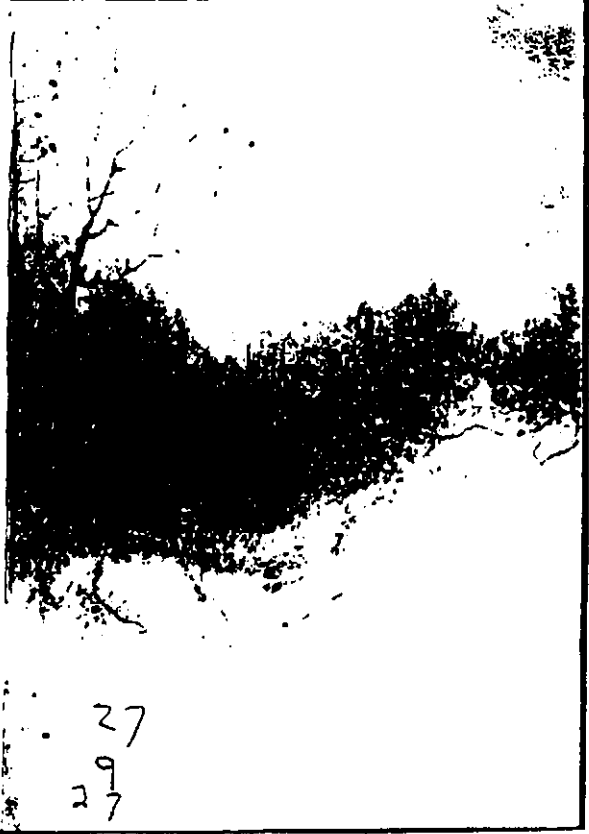
The beams from your headlights identify you as part of the funeral procession and aid in your safety through the busy intersections. Please turn off your headlights at the cemetery.

Thank You

MARTIN BROS. LTD.

Memorial Chapel - 703 - 13th St. N.
Traditional Chapel - 812 - 3rd Ave. S.
Phone (403) 328-2361
Lethbridge, Alberta

MADE IN CANADA



27
9
27

The Twenty-Third Psalm

The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures
He leadeth me beside the still waters
He restoreth my soul He leadeth me in the
paths of righteousness for His name's sake
Yea, though I walk through the valley of the
shadow of death, I will fear no evil
for thou art with me, thy rod and
thy staff they comfort me
Thou preparest a table before me in the
presence of mine enemies
thou anointest my head with oil,
my cup runneth over
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow
me all the days of my life
and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever

SVEN ERIK ERICKSEN

Born September 5, 1906
Died September 26, 1979

Services in
Southminster United Church
Monday, October 1, 1979
at 3:00 p.m.

Dr. Kenneth Morris, Officiating
Cremation

Memorial Book Attendants:

Eleanor Smith
Joyce Lundquist
Joan Graves
Bernice Bonke

fig. 34

*I have tears unshed for you
That I am saving
Like a treasure too precious
to be squandered.
Each tear a crystal drop with
facets formed by memories.
Each one a perfect salty diamond.
I shall spend them with care,
And some will make me cry
And some will make me smile
And some will make me laugh.
I will savor the warmth and
the bittersweet bite of salt
As each dissolves to leave its
trace of memory.
And I will live enriched by this
treasure of mine.
This treasure that will never
be all spent.*

Brenda

In Loving Memory Of
**WILLIAM GEORGE
"BILL" CLARKE**

*Born July 19, 1908
Passed Away October 22, 1992*

*Memorial Service In
McKillop United Church
1:00 PM., Monday, October 26, 1992
Reverend Terry Shillington officiating*

CREMATION

HONORARY PALLBEARERS

G.S. "Joe" Laskie	Glen Hamilton
George Draffin	Bob Johnston
John Williams	Harm Chapman
Doug Card	Sheridan Clark
John McCutcheon	Roland Jardine

MEMORIAL BOOK ATTENDANTS

Lolamae Hooper	Edna Laskie
----------------	-------------

USHERS
Members of McKillop A.O.T.S.

SOLOISTS

Evelyn Mills	Barb Varley
--------------	-------------

ORGANIST
Marilyn Sinclair

fig. 35

A Memorial Service for
WILLIAM GEORGE CLARKE - 1908 - 1992
McKillop United Church - October 26, 1992

Prelude

Scripture Sentences

Prayer of Approach

Hymn #30 "Praise My Soul"

Old Testament
Ecclesiastes 3:1-14 -Stephen Clarke
Book of Wisdom 3:1-9 -Gordon Clarke

Anthem "The Lord's My Shepherd" -Sr. Choir

Gospel John 6:35-40 -Geoffrey Batzel

**Memories of William George Clarke -Brenda Batzel
-Brian Clarke**

**Duet "Lift Thine Eyes"(Mendelssohn) -Evelyn Mills
-Barbara Varley**

Sermon -Terry Shillington

Hymn #269 "O Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah"

The Naming

Prayers

Commissioning

Choral Benediction (opposite page)

May the light of God shine on us today.
May the light of God shine on us today.
May it show us where to travel, lead us
back if we should stray:
May the light of God shine on us today.

May the love of God live in us today.
May the love of God live in us today.
May the warmth we feel within us show
in all we do and say.
May the love of God live in us today.

May the peace of God be with us today.
May the peace of God be with us today.
May it guide us and protect us as we
go our sep'rate ways.
May the peace of God be with us,
May the love of God live in us,
May the light of God shine on us today.

Honorary Pallbearers
G.S. (Joe) Laskie George Draffin
John Williams Doug Card
John McCutcheon Glen Hamilton
Bob Johnston Harm Chapman
Roland Jardine Sheridan Clark

We thank the AOTS of McKillop who are ushering this
afternoon.

Minister.....Terry Shillington
Organist.....Marilyn Sinclair
Cello/Oboe.....Joanna & Stewart Grant

Following this memorial service, all are invited to move
to the Upper Hall, for coffee, tea and a light lunch!

fig. 36



WHITE QUILLS-FOX

MRS. OLIVE WHITE QUILLS-FOX, (nee Creighton) "PAAKAAKII" beloved wife of Mr. Jonas Fox of the Blood Reserve, residing in Calgary, AB, passed away suddenly at the Lethbridge Regional Hospital on Tuesday, January 7, 1997, at the age of 64 years.

Besides her loving husband Jonas, she is survived by her daughters: Vivian (Dian) Long Time Squirrel, Peggy (John) Littlelight, Vera White Quills, Tommy (Ed) Knife, Doreen (Leonard) Crow Chief, sons: Eugene Jr. (Lucille) White Quills, Robert White Quills, Kirk (Lorna) White Quills, stepsons: Jeff (Doreen) Fox, and Craig (Linda) Fox, thirty seven grandchildren and ten great grandchildren, Godchild Jodi Crow Chief, her mother Flora Creighton, sisters: Rosabel (Isaac) Yellow Wings, Maryann (Floyd) Smith, Fisco Littlelight, Audrey (Elliot), brothers: Melvin (Rosaline) Creighton, Andy (Benita) Creighton, Eugene (Dolly) Creighton, uncles: Joe (Louise) Crop Eared Wolf and Reggie (Alvina) Crop Eared Wolf, Aunties: Rosie Red Crow, Ruth Wings, Mary Louise Oka and Priscilla Bruised Head, Sisters-in-Law: Bernadette (Jerry) Young Pine, Florence Red Crow, Angelina Standing Alone, Delores Gadbars, Phyllis (Tom) Holy Singer, Joyce First Rider, Rosaline (Merwin) Crow Shoe, Brothers-in-Law, Morris White Quills, Vincent (Rosaline) White Quills, Roderick (Audrey) White Quills, Sidney Young Pine, Lary (Carmie) Fox, Pat (Rose) Fox.

She was predeceased by her first husband Eugene White Quills Sr. (1961), her father Sam Creighton, Grandparents: Aloysius and Teresa (nee Small Face) Crop Eared Wolf, Percy and Jessie (nee Tall Feathers) Creighton, brother Adrian Creighton, sister Teresa Mae (Mac's), uncles: Pat Crop Eared Wolf, Billy Creighton, Stanford Creighton, Wallace Creighton and John (Jiggs) Creighton, Aunts: Agnes Shade, Violet Big Sorrel Horse, Nellie Mary Ringers, special children: Louise (Tweedy) Plain Woman and Esther Brown Weasel and cousins: Reggie Knife (Crop Eared Wolf), Joe (Crop Eared Wolf) Jr., Tiny (Barbara) Creighton and Aloysius Wings (Crop Eared Wolf). Our deepest apologies for any names that may have been overlooked.

Paakaakii was born on February 21, 1932 on the Blood Reserve, raised and educated on the Reserve, she met her first husband, Eugene White Quills Sr. and together they had six beautiful children. Eugene passed away in 1961 and she was left to raise their children on her own. She accepted the challenge and did an excellent job as a mother, provider and a role model.

She received her education at the St. Paul's residential school, later taking upgrading and social work training, her social work training was largely self taught through work experience, studying her books and utilizing her cultural values and traditions.

After being widowed in 1961, she joined the work force continuing with her late husband's farming and ranching and then working for Norfab in Fort MacLeod. She was then offered employment from her Aunt Priscilla Bruised Head as a Welfare Aide with Social Services. She later became one of the first Administrators of Blood Tribe Social Development. She then served on the Band Council for two terms from 1974 to 1978.

Through her example as a great role model she instilled in her family the necessity of an education and was especially proud of them in their accomplishments. The highlights and proudest moments was in seeing her brother Eugene obtain his law degree, her son Robby obtaining his Bachelor of Commerce degree, daughters: Peggy, a diploma in Business Administration, Vera, a Para Legal and Tammy, a Medical Records Technician.

Paakaakii met her present husband Jonas Fox in 1973 both later retiring and moving to Calgary in 1992. Even though retired and through her love in serving her fellow natives, she continued her work in human services working with the Women's Support Group and the Calgary Native Friendship Centre Elders Group. Through her life she maintained her faith and spiritually attending pilgrimages in Medjugorje and Guadalupe. She was a great inspiration to all she met on her many journeys in serving her Creator.

Paakaakii enjoyed her past times with reading, crocheting and visiting with her relatives and friends. She especially enjoyed participating in Rodeos as a rodeo timer and also in playing Bingo. She was a very compassionate person with her kind and gentle nature always thoughtful of others placing their needs before hers.

Paakaakii will be sadly missed and lovingly remembered by all who knew her. Her faith and example was an inspiration to all.

Relatives and Friends are invited to a Wake Service at ST. MARY'S IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CATHOLIC CHURCH, Blood Reserve, AB on Sunday, January 12, 1997 at 6:00 P.M. Funeral Mass will be celebrated at ST. MARY'S IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CATHOLIC CHURCH, Blood Reserve, AB on Monday, January 13, 1997 at 12:00 Noon with Reverend Andrew Stenzina O.M.I. Celebrant. Interment to follow at St. Catharine's Cemetery, Standoff, AB.

Honoured to serve the family
**CORNERSTONE FUNERAL HOME
 AND CREMATORIUM, 2800
 Mayor Magroth Drive South,
 Lethbridge, Alberta T1K 7B1.
 Telephone (403) 381-7777**

fig. 37

City can mourn Diana

By LISA SICLUNA
 Lethbridge Herald

Lethbridge residents will have a chance to formally grieve for Princess Diana during her funeral Saturday.

Mount View Funeral Home is presenting a live broadcast of the funeral in its chapel beginning at 2 a.m. Saturday.

The funeral procession and service will be broadcast on a 13-foot screen and will provide Lethbridge residents a way to say goodbye to the princess.

"We decided to hold this because if you work in the funeral industry you realize that people need a vehicle to get rid of their grief," says Carol Laycock, general manager of the funeral home.

"There needs to be a feeling of closure. Diana was so admired and loved by so many people that we thought it would be meaningful to have a place to come and gather to honour her."

The broadcast will run from 2 a.m. to 8 a.m. A continental breakfast will be served to all who attend.

The chapel has seating for 200 with an overflow area with capacity for another 200.

A book of condolences will also be available for signing, and will be sent to the Spencer family in England.

See SOUTH Page A2 coverage on B17, B18.



Networks set for funeral

Coverage plans for Diana's funeral by Canadian networks:

CBC-TV: Coverage begins at 2 a.m. (end of service). Taped repeat at noon. Channel 10, Cable 9.

Newsworld: Coverage begins 11:30 p.m. Friday with taped repeat at noon. Cable 29.

CTV: Coverage begins at 2 a.m. and includes coverage of the transport of Diana's casket to the Spencer family home. One-hour highlights special at 7 p.m. Channel 11, Cable 1.

Continued from A1

As well, floral tributes or financial donations may be made in Diana's name.

All flowers will be given to patients at Lethbridge Regional Hospital and financial donations will go to St. Michael's Palliative Care.

"Diana was an incredible woman and working with the community all that we thought it would be appropriate to allow people to make donations to palliative care," says Laycock. Floral and monetary donations, as well as

condolences, will be accepted all day Saturday. The doors open at 1:10 a.m. Mount View is located at 1123 Scene Dr. S.

Condolences for the princess' family can also be left in a memorial book at the Lethbridge constituency office, located at 1113 1 Ave. S. The book will be forwarded to Rideau Hall Monday. Condolences can also be mailed to the Governor General at Rideau Hall, 1 Sussex Dr., Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0A1. (Fax: 454-3932).

Donations can also be sent to Britain to the Diana, Princess of Wales' Memorial Fund, Kensington Palace, London W8 4PU.

fig. 38

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

One of the goals of this research was to place Lethbridge within the context of Western Culture as presented in the literature on death. The themes that emerged most significant from that literature were, firstly, that the fear of death is the driving force behind almost everything we do, socio-culturally speaking, and that therefore there is an immense significance to the rituals of death. The second theme was that those rituals can be interpreted as being forms of avoidance, and as far as Western Culture is concerned the stronger word, 'denial', may apply.

So, what exactly were the death rituals in Lethbridge? Ignoring for a moment whatever changes took place in those rituals over the century of this study, they were basic. A religion-based ceremony was held, at which the remains of the deceased were present, and at which the family and friends of the deceased publicly acknowledged that the individual had died, and during which familiar and comforting songs, words and phrases were uttered and the promises made by the religious faith repeated. The remains were placed in a box and buried in the earth beside others like it, in a place set aside for this purpose. An announcement of the death was printed in the newspaper, sometimes accompanied by a brief biographical sketch which might name members of the family, and/or profile the personality of the dead person. A monument, which usually included design or iconographic elements, stated the person's name and dates

of birth and death, and may have included a few words of choice, was commissioned and permanently installed above the place of burial. At selected appropriate times thereafter, ritual gifts might be placed at the monument, or a message of remembrance printed in the newspaper.

Stated in this way, the significance of these rituals is fairly obvious. In a society structured around familial and religious bonds, it is fitting that these two elements should come together in a ritual whenever there is a significant change in life. It is fitting, also, that this ritual should be enacted in front of members of the wider community of which the family is a part, since the death is a change in the life of that entity as well. Since this culture believes in remembering and honouring its dead, it seems sensible that the body would be buried (something must be done with it, after all) in a specially prepared place, and marked by a specially made object. It is then such a place that not only the family and the community can remember and honour, but so can posterity. That the death should be announced in the newspaper seems practical, after all it is the most efficient way of informing the community, and that the dead person should be praised and his or her history told befits the fact that that same medium also speaks to posterity. To occasionally place a remembrance of the person's death in that same medium does likewise. Many of these customs are private enactments done under the public gaze, to one degree or another; in a way, they are an interaction between family and community. They are also a re-creation of familiar and/or traditional activities which have the

ability to turn otherwise ugly biological facts into spiritually significant moments.

Stated as they were, the Lethbridge rituals do not seem to show any evidence of denial, but since so many theorists have concluded that this state is prevalent in Western Culture, perhaps a harder look is required. The first thing to consider is, of course, the religious belief (in this case Christianity) which is so essential to the death ritual. It states that with death comes the fulfilment of the promise made by The Saviour, that whoever believed in Him would not really die, but live forever in paradise, with Him. Well, this is the truth as far as true believers are concerned, but to non-believers it may look more like wishful thinking, or perhaps it is a parable that depicts the philosophical and psychological satisfaction, at the moment of death, of a life well lived. It may also be interpreted as denial, since it is said that the chief function of all religion is to deny the finality of death.

Burying the body in a box does not seem like denial, since, as mentioned above, something must be done with it, but when the details of the custom are examined they tell a different story, or in this case two different stories. For the second half of Lethbridge's history, the body in the box was not just a body but an embalmed and restored body. Specific techniques were applied for the deliberate purpose of hiding the natural appearance of a corpse, with all of its unpleasantnesses: oozing, gaping, smelling, etc. Embalming creates the 'beautiful memory picture' which causes viewers to say things like, "she looks better than she had in years", but the truth is that she does not really look dead. To want to cover up reality with

artificiality in this way seems to be a symptom of denial. On the other hand, during the first part of Lethbridge's century, the body in the box was just that.

There is another aspect to the use of the box, though, particularly in the second half of Lethbridge's history. It is believed that that box will somehow keep the body from decomposing or being consumed by vermin. Embalming strengthens the belief. These are false hopes, however. Only pickling or freeze-drying can prevent decomposition since it is a process built into the design. It does not come from without, but from within--it is supposed to happen (good thing too, otherwise we would all be up to our necks in corpses.) Trying to prevent that which is natural and inevitable is another symptom of denial.

Burying the box with others in a place set aside for the purpose is a sensible and logical thing to do (may as well keep them all in one place) and aside from the fact that the dead are regimented and segregated and relegated, the burial place does not seem to exhibit denial.

The erection of a permanent marker over the burial place is not denial since the rows of visible monuments are a constant reminder, to all who pass by, that death exists. But the inscriptions on them might be interpreted that way. Some simply speak of remembering the person, but many speak of the happiness the person is enjoying in heaven, and many replay the hope of reunion there. That may be symptomatic of denial, depending on one's perspective. Flat markers, on the other hand, seem designed to make

the dead invisible. Wanting the dead to be unseen and unthought of is probably denial.

Placing an announcement in the newspaper--a practical thing to do, as mentioned above--does not seem to deny death in any way. It seems rather to celebrate a life, particularly the way it was done in the later part of this history. Publishing in-memoriams and leaving gifts of flowers, fruit or incense at the monument are customs motivated by emotion, and although there is an artificiality about the published remembrances, the emotions behind these gestures have probably been genuine.

We can see by this closer scrutiny that there is and has been some denial of death in Lethbridge, at least as far as the typical practices are concerned. But this research also looked at the external influences that affected those rituals, and there we may find more denial. The main externals were bureaucracy and commerce, especially the death industries: funeral direction and monument production. In the case of bureaucracy, no denial seems intended, except that there is the suggestion that death is denied until it is duly registered. When considering the death industries, however, we find the potential source of some of the forms of denial discussed above: embalming, sealed coffins and vaults, hidden markers and engraved weepy disclaimers, for example. The euphemisms used by funeral directors are also deliberate avoidance or denial, although their original intent may have been compassion. The body is Mr. Smith (or whoever), it is not laid out in the parlour it is in the slumber room, it is not in a coffin it has been casketed, it is not moved in a hearse but in a coach, and so on. When pressed to defend

the 'customs' of embalming and viewing, among others, the death industries always say they are just giving people what they want, but critics have pointed out that most of these things were not wanted before they were offered and encouraged by the industry.

There was also a tangential focus of interest to this research, namely the significance or existence of creativity and personal expression, freedom of choice, self-reliance, and individuality in society. First, considering creativity and personal expression, the funeral ritual itself has been untouched by the innovative urge until near the end of the period of study. People have chosen to take comfort from the familiar reenactments and promises offered by the religion-based rites. As for the boxes, for most of Lethbridge's century they were built by professionals; only in the early decades, or perhaps when economic circumstances may have dictated, did people make them themselves. The burial process leaves little room for expression or creativity, but the selection of the monument is a different story. Regardless of how much influence came from the monument makers and from the costs involved, individuals made the final selection as to what was to be inscribed on the marker. They had the opportunity to be creative and to express themselves in some unique way. That they rarely chose to do so is as significant as if they had. But perhaps the stone-cutters did not say, 'I can carve any design you want'; maybe they said 'choose any one you want out of this book'. People passed up other opportunities as well, namely in the selection of a published message of remembrance. The verses used were doggerel and the one-liners were clichés when they could have come from the heart. I call this use and re-use of already

existing material the 'greeting-card mentality', whereby personal expression is purchased. All these purchases reveal not only a lack of creativity but an absence of self-reliance; it is as though people were not or are not able to do much of anything for themselves, preferring to purchase everything from someone who is paid to do it.

As for freedom of choice and individuality, these values do not seem to have come significantly into play until the recent period, although there is some evidence of them in the early period. When there was great variety in the size and shape of gravestones, as in the earlier decades, one could be as extravagant as one's budget would allow, and when in the later decades technology provided almost unlimited options for gravestone engravings, one could do likewise. But in between there was a long period of neither option, and individuality was either not something people were interested in, or it was difficult to assert. True freedom of choice has always been curtailed by community standards, of course. I recall a story told in Calgary, in the 1980's I believe, of an artist who made his own gravemarker out of brightly coloured sheets of thick plastic. He installed it on his plot at the cemetery and very quickly there was a tremendous uproar from the public. The gaudy thing was deemed inappropriate and ugly and so on, but it was what he wanted so should it not have been accepted?¹ Sometimes the story takes a different turn, as in the case of the Sonnenberg monument in the Coaldale Cemetery. No other memorial there was allowed to exceed the height restrictions, but that one did, by a considerable amount.

¹ I do not know how this story ended.

Despite the heated controversy it caused, it is still there.² The overall attitude or mood revealed by the Lethbridge area rituals and customs is one of conformity, for the most part. Only in the earliest period and in the recent period is there variety that is tied to expression.

Throughout the process of researching and writing this paper, I have asked myself the questions, 'what is the purpose of a funeral?' 'What is the purpose of a death announcement?' '... of a gravestone?' '... of an in-memoriam?' Well, the complex multi-purpose functionality of the funeral ritual was discussed in chapter I, and we could say that the purpose of the death announcement and gravestone seem obvious, but the purpose of the in-memoriam is not quite as easily stated. The answers to the above questions are tied up with the simultaneous functioning of the individual in the private and public realms. All these things seem to have private origins, yet are publicly presented, and therefore consideration of the public gaze must factor into the decision-making process. A funeral is held because it is human nature to want to enact a ritual over life's big events. In this case, an intensely private experience is played out in public. The death announcement has a mundane function--to tell people about the death--but because by its nature it is destined for posterity, it also has a commemorative function and therefore often includes extra information such as biographical, genealogical, and social facts. Something similar could be said of the gravestone. It

² Richard Alan Sonnenberg, Constable First Class, Calgary Police Service, was a rookie police officer killed in the line of duty near Calgary, October 8, 1993. His monument is approximately 50 inches in height while all of the others in Coaldale Cemetery are 30 inches or less.

marks the place of burial and displays a few facts for posterity, but there is another aspect to these objects because they are a form of art and are therefore expressive of something. The expressiveness they represent can be interpreted twice--each one as an individual piece, and each one as displayed among many others of the same time period or from the same community. They are, individually and communally, a permanent statement about "feelings and attitudes, held both consciously and unconsciously, about the most ultimate matters."³ That means part of their purpose is expression. As for the 'in-memoriams' published in the newspaper, of course they are public declarations of remembrance, but since they are not really personal expressions, I might suggest that the motivation behind the practice is partially related to status and respectability.

What of status, then? What role does it play in the whole drama? When one considers the funeral, the coffin, and the gravestone, there is plenty of opportunity for families to display their status by indicating how much 'disposable wealth' they have.⁴ Research has shown that nineteenth century funerals and cemeteries were deliberate public displays of inequality, while those from the middle and later twentieth century were deliberate public denials of inequality.⁵ As for the end of the century, the future will decide, but change is evident.

³ Diana Hume George and Malcolm A. Nelson "Resurrecting the Epitaph" *Markers: The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* vol 1, 85.

⁴ Anything useful or functional that is buried with a body or used to mark its location is, seemingly, wasted and is therefore a demonstration of disposable wealth. This activity has persisted since the Neolithic Age.

⁵ Randall H. McGuire "Dialogues With the Dead: Ideology in the Cemetery" *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* ed. M.P. Leone & P.B. Potter Jr., (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 435-474.

Another question never far from my mind was the motivation behind segregation in the cemetery. Individuals are relegated to separate sections based on their age (there have always been official and unofficial "Babyland" sections at all three cemeteries), on their religion (this is by choice as required by doctrine as far as Catholics and Jews are concerned, but what about Anglican or LDS?), and on their heritage (Chinese and Japanese), or on their occupation or association (the armed forces and police Fields of Honour). It seems incongruent for a society that professes equality as the ideal pattern for society to continue to perpetuate division and categorization, even segregation, in the cemetery. Self-identity comes into play here and, although this may be a superficial interpretation, I would say that in the end one decides to be identified as part of a recognized group - after all, one is going to be a lot longer in the cemetery than out of it. One will forever be associated with the others who are in the same section and therefore it is not surprising that one would choose 'like with like'. But this exposes the presence of prejudice even where it is denied.

Other elements that we can consider in examining funerary customs in Lethbridge have to do with self-reliance, satisfaction, and the natural human tendency to innovate. Fashion is something that has existed in all realms of human endeavor, especially where any form of the arts applies, simply because of the human tendency to innovate--to take what is familiar and useful from the past and modify it to make it more meaningful for the present. When it comes to death practices, this is most evident in gravestones, of course, but it could also be seen in other customs at the very end of the history.

The rest of the time, as far as could be determined, there was a decided lack of innovation in most customs, as least as far as any being generated by private individuals. I would relate this to self-reliance. When one does things for oneself, they are done the way one imagines them or wants them. Once the same tasks are undertaken by specialists, the external forces come into play and individuality may be lost along with self-reliance.

The final concept that figures into the matter, like an adhesive holding the parts together, is values. From the propriety and respectability of the early period, to the self-sacrifice and deferred gratification of the transitional period, to the materialism of the conservative period, to the individualism and changing identities of the recent period, the values prevalent in Lethbridge society have shaped the funeral customs of the community.

Does Lethbridge fit into the pattern of cultural responses to death, in Western Culture? I believe so, but most specifically as it existed in The United States rather than in Britain or Europe. Has there been denial of death in Lethbridge? I believe so, but not so much on the part of individuals, as on certain elements of the system in which the customs and rituals took place. It was the set of commercial and social fashions and values that evolved through the transitional and conservative periods that affected the patterns of mortuary ritual in Lethbridge, taking them out of the realm of intimate family life and into institutional and professional realms. As the century and the millennium come to an end, there are signs indicating that people may be ready to take back what was once theirs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

Cemeteries--Archmount Memorial Gardens, St. Patrick's Cemetery, and Mountain View Cemetery, (see Appendix A).

Census of Canada, 1891.

City of Lethbridge Annual Reports, 1990 - 1997.

City of Lethbridge Archives, miscellaneous records related to funeral and memorial practices in Lethbridge.

City of Lethbridge Cemetery Records Office, miscellaneous files.

City of Lethbridge Financial Statements, 1908 - 1991.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Vital Statistics Handbook: Containing International List of Causes of Death.* fifth (1938) revision. Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce, 1957.

Henderson's Lethbridge Directory. 1909-1914.

Lethbridge Herald, 1905 - 1998, sample (see Appendix A).

Lethbridge News, 1882 - 1904, sample (see Appendix A).

North West Territories Ordinances, 1898.

Province of Alberta Statutes and Regulations, 1907 - 1995.

Sir Alexander Galt Museum, miscellaneous records related to funeral and memorial practices in Lethbridge.

Statistics Canada, Census Tracts: Lethbridge, 1988, and Lethbridge and Red Deer, 1993.

Statistics Canada 1977, Vital Statistics Vol. II, Death Rates 1921 - 1977.

Statistics Canada 1981, Vital Statistics Vol. I, Death Rates 1981.

Secondary sources

- Adams, Michael. *Sex in the Snow: Canadian Social Values at the End of the Millennium*. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Alberta Genealogical Society. *Mountain View Cemetery*. Publication # 347, January 1996.
- Alberta Genealogical Society. *St. Patrick's Cemetery*. 1979.
- Ariès, Philippe. *Images of Man and Death*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1985.
- Ariès, Philippe. *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- Ariès, Philippe. *The Hour of Our Death*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981.
- Bachofen, J.J. *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967 (reprint, originally published c. 1880).
- Badone, Ellen. *The Appointed Hour: Death, Worldview, and Social Change in Brittany*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Bailey, Lloyd R., Sr. *Biblical Perspectives on Death*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979.
- Baker, Wm. M. *Lethbridge. Founding the Community to 1914: A Visual History*. Lethbridge Historical Society Occasional Paper No. 27. Lethbridge: City of Lethbridge, 1992.
- Baker, Wm. M., ed. *Pioneer Policing in Southern Alberta: Deane of the Mounties*. Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1993.
- Baker, Wm. M., Wm. Lodge, & J. Tagg, ed. *Weddings, Work and War: Lethbridge 1914-1945, A Scrapbook History*. Lethbridge: History 3704 Scrapbook Publishing Consortium, 1994.
- Bardis, Panos. *The History of Thanatology*. New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1981.

- Barnard, Sylvia M. *To Prove I'm Not Forgotten: Living and Dying in a Victorian City*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Baum, Daniel Jay. *Warehouses For Death: The Nursing Home Industry*. Don Mills: Burns & MacEacheran Ltd., 1977.
- Becker, Ernest. *The Denial of Death*. New York: The Free Press, 1973.
- Bendann, E. *Death Customs: An Analytical Study of Burial Rites*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1930.
- Bertman, Sandra L. "Communication with the Dead: An Ongoing Experience as Expressed in Art, Literature, and Song". *Between Life and Death*. ed. R. Kastenbaum. New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1979.
- Bertman, Sandra L. *Facing Death: Images, Insights, and Interventions*. Taylor & Francis, 1991.
- Blishen, Bernard. "Continuity and Change in Canadian Values", *The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and Language in Canada*. Research Coordinators Alan Cairns and Cynthia Williams. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986, 1-26.
- Bliss, Michael. "The Protective Impulse: An Approach to the Social History of Oliver Mowat's Ontario", *Oliver Mowat's Ontario: Papers presented to the Oliver Mowat Colloquium Queen's University, November 25-26, 1970*. ed. Donald Swainson. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972, 174-188.
- Bloch, Maurice & Jonathan Parry. *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Borkenau, Franz. "The Concept of Death", *Death and Identity*. ed. Robert Fulton. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Bryan, Liz. *The Buffalo People*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. 1991.
- Bumsted, J.M. *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992.

- Burns, Stanley B. *Sleeping Beauty: Memorial Photography in America*. Altadena: Twelvetrees Press, 1990.
- Carse, James P. *Death and Existence: A Conceptual History of Human Mortality*. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1980.
- Chody, Bill & Gordon Hancock. *Stepping Through Silent Stones: A Perspective on Cemeteries in Rural Manitoba*. The authors, The Manitoba Heritage Federation, The Manitoba Department of Culture Heritage and Citizenship, & Health and Welfare Canada, no date. (c.1991).
- Choron, Jacques. *Death and Western Thought*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1963.
- Cloutier, Kathy. *Customs & Traditions in Times of Death and Bereavement*. Calgary: McInnis & Holloway Funeral Homes, 1990.
- Consumer Reports, ed. *Funerals: Consumers' Last Rights. The Consumers Union Report on Conventional Funerals and Burial ...* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1977.
- Coombes, Janine, "No Christmas Tree This Year", *Our Treasured Heritage: A History of Coalhurst and District*. Lethbridge: The Coalhurst History Society, 1984, 154-161.
- de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- den Otter, A. A. *Civilizing the West: the Galts and the Development of Western Canada*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1982.
- DeSpelder, Lynne Ann & Albert Lee Strickland. *The Last Dance: Encountering Death and Dying*. fourth edition. Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1996.
- Dumont, Richard G. & Dennis Foss. *The American View of Death: Acceptance or Denial?*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co. Inc., 1972.
- Eliade, Mircea. *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1954.

- Ellis, Greg. *The Stafford Family: Pioneer Community Builders*. Lethbridge: City of Lethbridge Archives, 1992.
- Falardeau, Jean-C. *Roots and Values in Canadian Lives*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Feifel, Herman, ed. *The Meaning of Death*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959.
- Feifel, Herman, ed. *New Meanings of Death*. Montreal: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1977.
- Ferguson, George. *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Fooks, Georgia Green. *A History of the Lethbridge Herald, 1905-1975*. Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975.
- Fooks, Georgia Green. *Lethbridge: Portraits of the Past*. Burlington: Windsor Publications, 1988.
- Ford, Colin, and Brian Harrison. *A Hundred Years Ago: Britain in the 1880s in Words and Photographs*. Harmondsworth: Allen Lane/Penguin Books Ltd., 1983.
- Fulton, Robert & Gilbert Geis. "Death and Social Values", *Death and Identity*. ed. Robert Fulton. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Fulton, Robert. *Death and Identity*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Garrison, Webb. *Strange Facts About Death*. Nashville: The Parthenon Press, 1978.
- Glaser, Barney G. & Anselm L. Strauss. "The Ritual Dance of Mutual Pretense", *Death: Current Perspectives*. ed. E.S. Shneidman. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1976.
- Gonzales-Crussi, F. "On Embalming", *The Literature of Fact: Readings For Writers*. ed. W.R. Winterowd, L. Hawk, G.R. Winterowd. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1988.

- Gorer, Geoffrey. *Death, Grief, and Mourning in Contemporary Britain*. London: Cresset Press, 1965.
- Gorer, Geoffrey. "The Pornography of Death", *Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society*. ed. M. Stein, A. Vidich, & D. M. White. New York: The Free Press, 1960.
- Grimes, Ronald L. *Marrying and Burying: Rites of Passage in a Man's Life*. Oxford: Westview Press, 1995.
- Grollman, Earl A. *Concerning Death: A Practical Guide for the Living*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1974.
- Gunderson, Harald. *A History of Funeral Service in Alberta*. Calgary: Alberta Funeral Service Association, 1993.
- Habenstein, Robert W. & William M. Lamers. *Funeral Customs the World Over*. Milwaukee: Bulfin Printers, Inc., 1960.
- Hertz, Robert. *Death and the Right Hand*. Aberdeen: Cohen & West, 1960.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.
- Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Huntington, Richard & Peter Metcalf. *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Irish, Donald P., Kathleen F. Lundquist & Vivian Jenkins Nelson, ed. *Ethnic Variations in Dying, Death, and Grief: Diversity in Universality*. Washington D.C.: Taylor & Francis Inc., 1990.
- Johnston, Alex. *Lethbridge: A Century of Fire Fighting*. Lethbridge: City of Lethbridge Fire Department, 1986.
- Johnston, Alex. *Lethbridge: Its Cemeteries, 1837 to 1989*. City of Lethbridge Archives, unpublished, 1989.

- Johnston, Alex & Andy den Otter. *Lethbridge: A Centennial History*. Lethbridge: The City of Lethbridge and the Lethbridge Historical Society, 1985.
- Jung, Carl. "The Soul and Death", *The Meaning of Death*. ed. Herman Feifel. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959.
- Kapleau, Philip & Paterson Simons. ed. *The Wheel of Death*. London: Harper Colophon Books, 1971.
- Kearle, Michael C. *Endings: A Sociology of Death and Dying*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Keyes, John T.D. "The Last Goodbye", *Canadian Living Magazine*, volume 22, no. 4, (April, 1997), 59-63
- Knight, David B. *Cemeteries As Living Landscapes*. Ottawa: Ontario Genealogical Society, 1973.
- Kramer, Kenneth. *The Sacred Art of Dying: How World Religions Understand Death*. Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1988.
- Kübler-Ross, Elisabeth. *On Death and Dying*. London: The Macmillan Co., 1969.
- Lewis, Hywel D. *Persons and Life After Death*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1978.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. *Magic, Science and Religion*. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954.
- Marshall, Victor W. *Last Chapters: A Sociology of Aging and Dying*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1980.
- Mathesis Club of Lethbridge. *100 Women in 100 Years*. Lethbridge: The Mathesis Club, 1985.
- McGuire, Randall H. "Dialogues With the Dead: Ideology and the Cemetery", *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, ed. M.P. Leone & P.B. Potter Jr., Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.

- McCormick, Annie, ed. *Job Reed's Letters: Life in Lethbridge 1886-1906*. Lethbridge: Whoop-Up Country Chapter Historical Society of Alberta, 1979.
- Millar, Nancy. *Once Upon a Tomb: Stories From Canadian Graveyards*. Calgary: Fifth House Publishers, 1997.
- Millar, Nancy. *Remember Me As You Pass By: Stories From Prairie Graveyards*. Calgary: Glenbow, 1994.
- Mitford, Jessica. *The American Way of Death*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.
- Morris, Ian. *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Palmer, Greg. *Death: The Trip of a Lifetime*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1993.
- Palmer, Howard, & Tamara Palmer, ed. *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985.
- Palmer, Howard. *Land of the Second Chance: a History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta*. Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972.
- Parker, Patricia. "Beautification of St. Patrick's Cemetery Credit to Lethbridge Pioneers", *Network Magazine*, Nov./Dec. 1987, 32-37.
- Paxton, Frederick S. *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Pine, Vanderlyn R. *Caretaker of the Dead: The American Funeral Director*. New York: Irvington Publishers, Inc, 1975.
- Quigley, Christine. *The Corpse: A History*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1996.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. *The Andaman Islanders*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

- Richardson, Ruth. "The Corpse and Popular Culture," chap. in *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988.
- Rosenthal, Ted. "How Could I Not Be Among You?", *Death: Current Perspectives*. ed. E.S. Shneidman. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1976. (528-532).
- Shambala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen. Boston: Shambala Publications, Inc., 1991.
- Shibles, Warren. *Death: An Interdisciplinary Analysis*. Whitewater, Wis.: The Language Press, 1974.
- Shneidman, Edwin S. *Death: Current Perspectives*. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1976.
- Shushan, E.R. *Grave Matters: A Curious Collection of 500 Actual Epitaphs...* New York: Ballantine Books, 1990.
- Stafford Peat, Annie Laurie. *Nineteenth Century Lethbridge*. Lethbridge: Whoop Up Country Chapter Historical Society of Alberta, Occasional Paper No. 8, 1978.
- Stannard, David E. *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study of Religion, Culture, and Social Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Suzuki, David. "At War With Death" *A Planet For The Taking*, program #7. Toronto: CBC Productions, 1985.
- Toynbee, Arnold, et al. *Man's Concern With Death*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1968.
- Toynbee, J.M.C. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1971.
- Turner, Alice: *The History of Hell*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1993.
- Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960.

- Wagner, Johannes, ed. *Reforming The Rites of Death*. New York: Paulist Press, 1968.
- Wahl, Charles W. "The Fear of Death", *Death and Identity*. ed. Robert Fulton. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Walton, Charlie. *Packing for the Big Trip: Enhancing Your Life Through Awareness of Death*. Ventum: Pathfinder Publishing, 1997.
- Warner, W. Lloyd. *The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- Wass, Hannelore, Felix M. Berardo, Robert A. Neimeyer, ed. *Dying: Facing the Facts*. first edition, Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing Co., Inc., 1980. second edition, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc, 1988.
- West Lethbridge History Book Society. *The Bend: A History of West Lethbridge*. Lethbridge: The West Lethbridge History Book Society, 1982.
- Willson, Jane Wynne. *Funerals Without God: A Practical Guide to Non-Religious Funerals*. Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1990.
- Zunin, Leonard M. & Hilary Stanton Zunin. *The Art of Condolence: What to Write, What to Say, What to do at a Time of Loss*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Methodology

Cemetery and gravestone data

All three of the cemeteries of Lethbridge were surveyed for this project, but to different degrees. Firstly, St. Patrick's Cemetery: in 1994, all 1428 markers that existed there at the time were measured, the inscriptions recorded, and many of them drawn or photographed.* This data formed the basis of the measurements and percentages used. Secondly, Mountain View Cemetery: in 1997, all of sections A and 1 were recorded in the same way as St. Patrick's, except that no drawings were done, and the data was added to that gathered from St. Patrick's. Then, similar data was gathered randomly in sections B, C, E, F, 2, 5, and 6.* The rest of the sections were sampled in even less detail, looking mostly at the 'silhouette' and the general appearance of different decades and sections. The result of the randomness of the survey was that several sections, especially those reserved for flat markers, were covered in only a very minimal fashion. Thirdly, Archmount Memorial Gardens: In 1998, all sections were surveyed randomly, with only a few drawings done.

* Drawing is a better method than photography for recording details on gravestones; while doing rubbings usually produces excellent results, it requires large sheets of paper and can be a frustrating exercise, especially in a windy climate.

* My random survey was not conducted using proper scientific method, that is, using a designated selection of random numbers; rather, it was spontaneously random, which means that I may have been drawn to examine a particular marker by any number of factors, such as appearance.

The data gathered from the minimalist 'silhouette' surveys was not included in the percentages, but was used in the discussions.

Newspaper data

Early period papers were surveyed at two issues per year from 1886 to 1890, then two issues every third year to 1904, then four issues per randomly selected year to 1919. Transitional period papers were surveyed more thoroughly at four issues per year during the twenties, and two issues per year during the thirties and forties. Conservative period papers were surveyed at two issues per year during the late forties and the fifties, while the sixties and seventies were surveyed at two issues every five years. Recent period papers were surveyed at two issues every five years, except for 1996 to 1998 which have been surveyed as they appeared.

Real newspapers were used for the late teen years through to the early fifties, and microfilm was used for all the other years (except for 1996 to 98).†

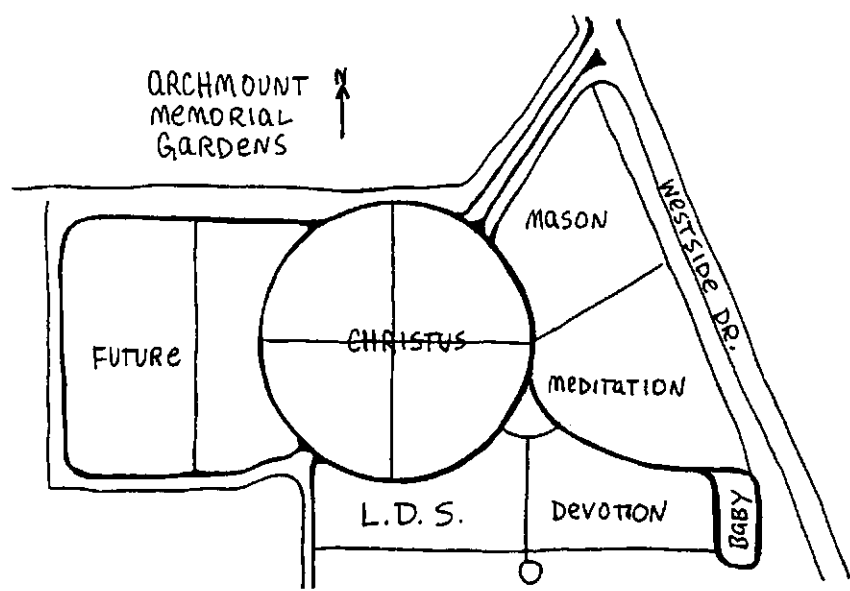
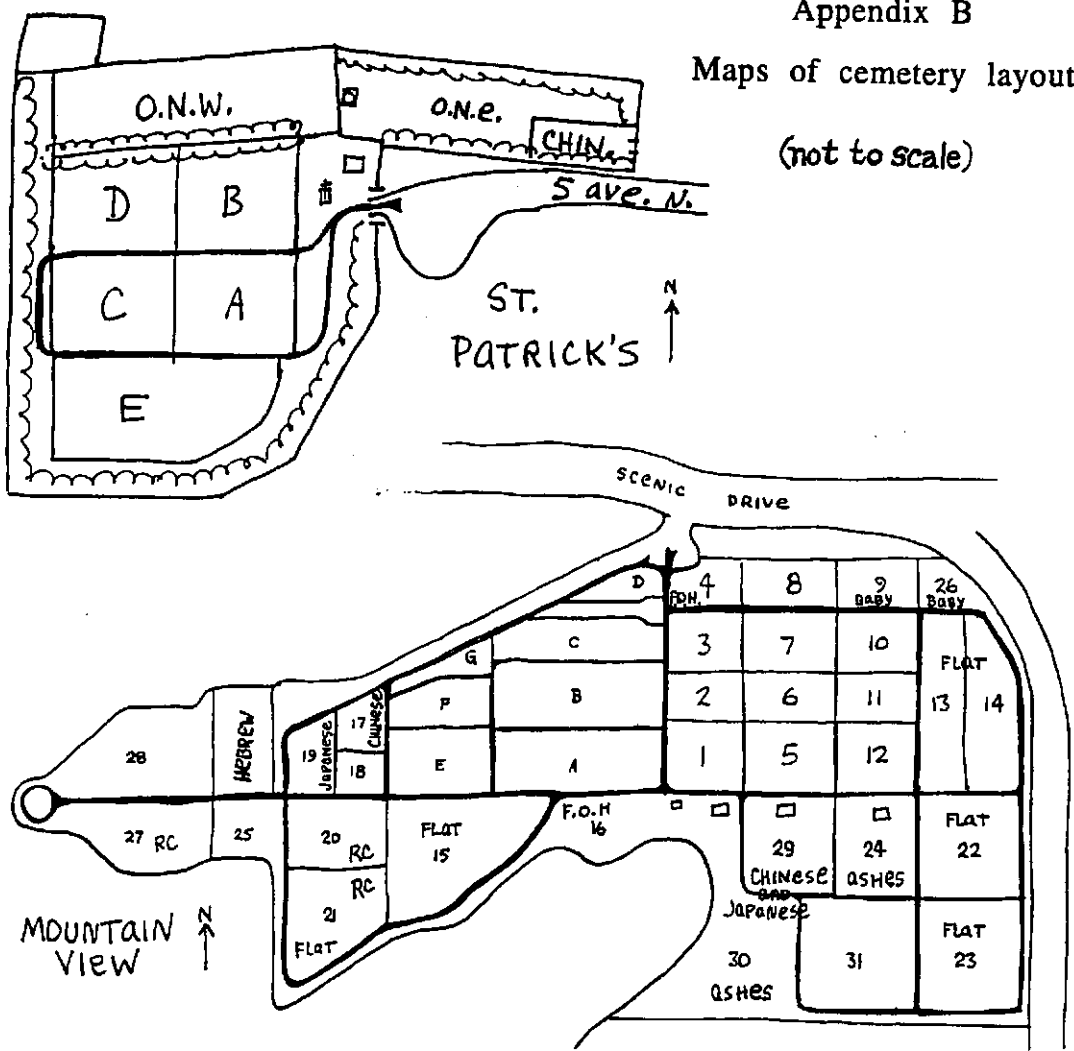
Interviews

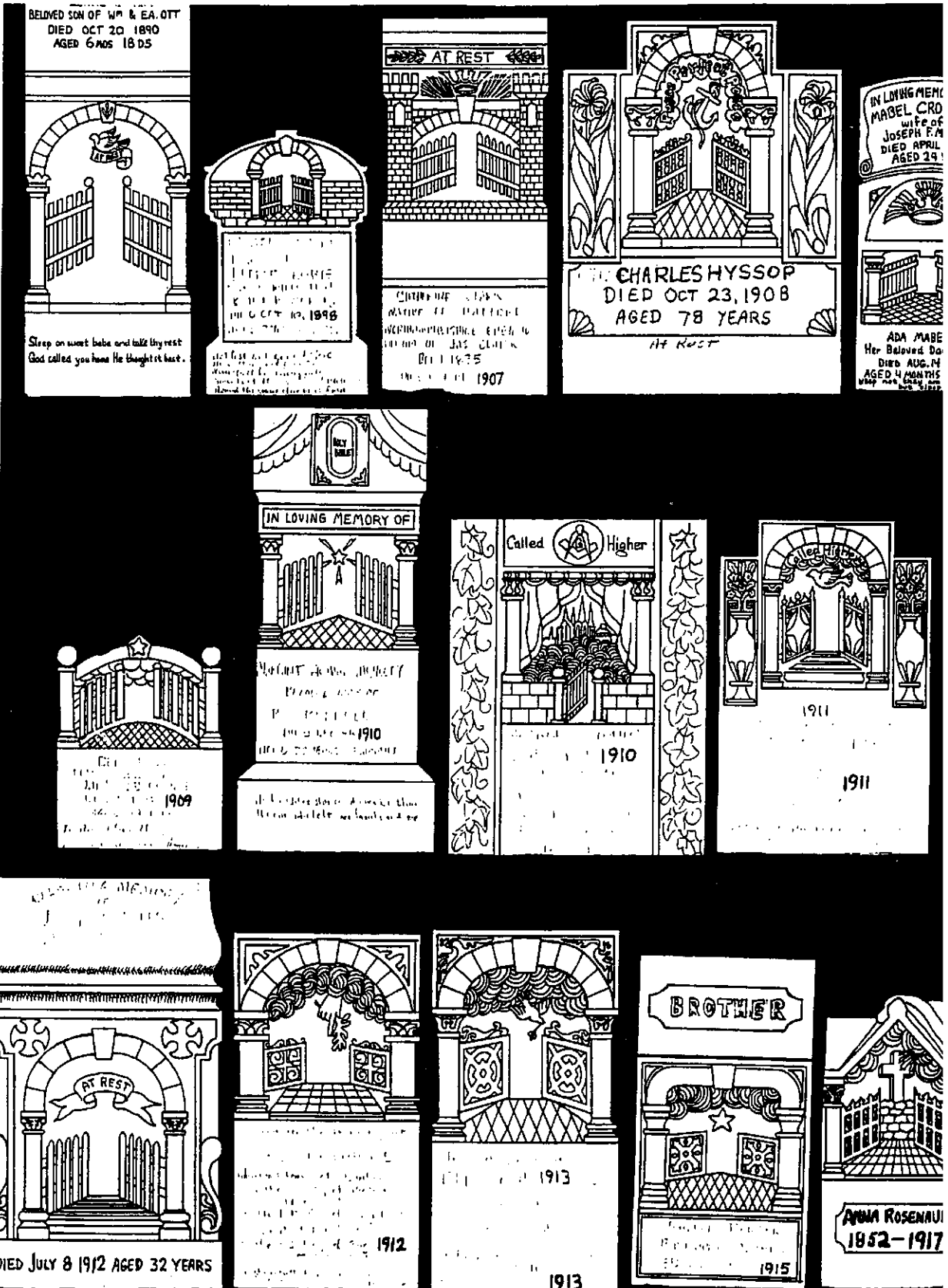
Discussions were held in person with Max Salmon and Scott Kuntz at Christensen-Salmon Funeral Home, with Bryan Watts at Martin Brothers Funeral Home, with Jim Muloch at Lethbridge Monumental, with Mary McIntyre of Remco Memorials (at the Taber Trade Fair), and with Ted Anctil of Southern Monument (at St. Patrick's cemetery during an installation), and with cemetery workers preparing a gravesite at St. Patrick's, in 1994. A number of

† The two media create experiences which are quite different, from the perspective of the researcher, with the real papers providing a far superior sense of the period to that suggested by the microfilm version which, among other things, distorts the scale.

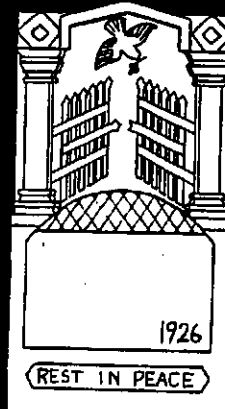
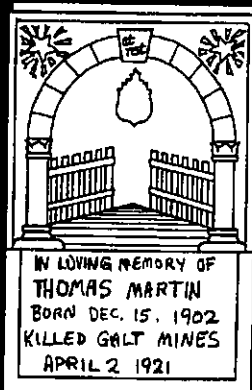
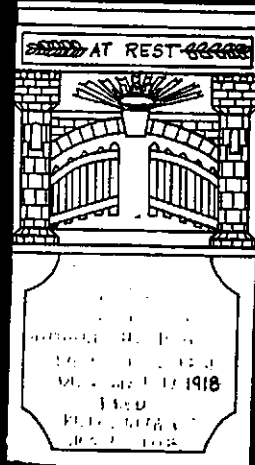
informative but anecdotal discussions were held with elderly visitors to St. Patrick's during the summer of 1994.

Appendix B
 Maps of cemetery layouts
 (not to scale)





Appendix C
A Selection of "Gates of Heaven" designs, 1890-1926



FORM C.

CANADA (For the use of the Department only)
 PROVINCE OF ALBERTA. (Record No. of 190)

REGISTRATION OF DEATH. 1907

Registered at

Name of Deceased in Full		
Date of Death	day of	190
Place of Death (Street and No. if any)	Special Information for Hospitals, Institutions, Transients or Recent Arrivals. Recent arrivals. Former or Usual Residents. How long at place of death. Where was disease contracted.	
Sex (Male or Female)		
Age		
Married or Single		
Profession or Occupation		
Place of Birth		
Cause of Death		
Name of Physician (if any) attending Fatal illness		
Religious Denomination		
REMARKS		

I certify the foregoing to be true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Given under my hand at this day of 190

Informant.

Occupation and Address.

I hereby certify that the above return was made to me at 190 on the day of

Registrar.

Registrar's Record No.

FORM D.

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF DEATH.

I, Registrar at do hereby certify that the particulars of the death of have been duly registered.

Given under my hand at this day of 190

Registrar.

This certificate must be obtained before the interment of any body may take place, and must be delivered at the time of burial to the superintendent or caretaker of the cemetery in which such body is interred.

ALTA. REG. 304-85

1985

VITAL STATISTICS

ALBERTA REGISTRATION OF DEATH

Alberta Canada

Form 1985

REGISTRATION OF DEATH

ALBERTA

Form 21. To be completed only by the funeral director.

SEE REVERSE FOR LEGAL REQUIREMENTS UNDER THE VITAL STATISTICS ACT

ALTA. REG. 304-85

VITAL STATISTICS

OVER

Alberta SOCIAL SERVICES AND COMMUNITY HEALTH Vital Statistics

BURIAL PERMIT

This is to certify that particulars of the undermentioned death have been duly registered and permission for interment is hereby granted. If the body is to be shipped out of Alberta, cremated or dissected in Alberta, under the requirements of the Fatality Inquiries Act, this permit must be accompanied by the appropriate form from the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner.

Name of Deceased _____

Place of Death _____

Date of Death _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Given under my hand at _____ this _____ day of _____ 19 _____

Signature of District Registrar _____

8-2300-1-26-1 23-8-84

To be retained by Funeral Director in acknowledgement of registration of death. Copies 2 and 3 to be attached to death certificate by common carrier.

Appendix D
 Death Registration Forms
 and Burial Certificates
 1907 and 1985

Appendix E

Description and source of Illustrations

fig. 1 - page 79
Advertisement
in the *Lethbridge News*
c.1905 (this design was used for several years)

fig. 2 - page 79
T.S. Fetterley, Undertaker, leading funeral cortège
on 8th St. S., Lethbridge, in 1912
(City of Lethbridge Archives, #P19891049077)

fig. 3 - page 80
the Henry Stafford gravemarker
in Indian Battle Park.
sandstone, ht. 44", wdth. 31", dpth. 8"

fig. 4 - page 80
the James Macdonald gravemarker
in St. Patrick's Cemetery
white marble, ht. 54", wdth. 21", dpth. 3"

fig. 5 - page 80
an example of a hand-carved-sculpture,
the Daniel Delay gravemarker
in St. Patrick's Cemetery.
light grey marble, ht. 28", wdth. 17", dpth. 12"

fig. 6 - page 80
the Peachy Cox gravemarker
in St. Patrick's Cemetery.
golden brown limestone
ht. 42", wdth. 16", dpth. 8"

fig. 7 - page 81
Edward VII Memorial Service Program
original: 6.25" by 9.5"
(City of Lethbridge Archives, uncatalogued)

fig. 8 - page 108
Funeral service for Henry Sirrel at Martin Bros., Lethbridge, c.1929
mourners and pallbearers with coffin
(City of Lethbridge Archives, #P19841071019-GP)

fig. 9 - page 109
Funeral procession for Rev. Kawamura's son c.1936
family and vehicles in front of church
(City of Lethbridge Archives # P19790275055-GP)

fig. 10 - page 110
The Sawchuk gravemarker
cast concrete with steel pipe, and cast iron,
ht. 68" to top of cross, wdth. 60" without supports, dpth. 18"
(as it would look if one could see through the trees)

fig. 11 - page 110
a variation of the
homemade concrete cross,
made by using a form also used by others,
inscription of cast aluminum or tin
ht. 48", wdth. 18.5", dpth. 5.5"

fig. 12 - page 110
the Fred Koshman marker
completely unique, homemade,
cement over wire frame, with coloured glass,
inscription scratched into surface,
ht. 37.5", wdth. 12", dpth. 3"

fig. 13 - page 110
another variation of the
homemade concrete cross,
made with a shared form,
ht. 80.5", wdth. 17" at widest, dpth. 7"

fig. 14 - page 111
an example of the small undertaker ads
used regularly in weekday editions,
early 1920s

fig. 15 - page 111
Mackay ad.
Oct. 4, 1924

fig. 16 - page 111
Martin Bros. ad.
Jan. 8, 1927

fig. 17 - page 111
Christensen ad.
Jan. 11, 1930

fig. 18 - page 111
Martin Bros. ad.
July 6, 1935
notice that the pontifications
and boasting have been dropped

fig. 19 & 20 - page 112
Bodnaruk death announcements
and one of the two identical gravemarkers,
the style harkens back to the early period
with its intricacy and prettiness of design,
grey marble with chiseled inscription
ht. 58.5", wth. 25", dpth. 6"

fig. 21 & 22 - page 112
Matteoti news story and gravemaker,
the design looks forward to the plain
utilitarian style of the conservative period,
black granite with chiseled inscription
ht. 44", wth. 21", dpth. 6"

fig. 23 - page 134
Norton memorial pamphlet
(original 8" by 11")
(City of Lethbridge Archives, uncatalogued)

fig. 24 - page 135
page from Lethbridge Monumental's
book of gravemaker designs
late 1950s - early 1960s.
plus a Lethbridge example typical of the conservative period

fig. 25 - page 136
Boychuk funeral (possibly Helen Boychuk),
at rest at the funeral parlour in 1946
photo by A.E. Cross
(City of Lethbridge Archives #P19941051680)

fig. 26 - page 136
Tanaka funeral,
Picture Butte, c.1950
most of the flowers are daffodils.
photo by A.E.Cross
(City of Lethbridge Archives #P19941051689)

fig. 27 - page 136
Warzola funeral,
in the church, c.1950.
the two younger people look at the camera, while
the two older people look away
photo by A.E.Cross
(City of Lethbridge Archives #P19941051679)

fig. 28 - page 137
news stories and death announcement
for Charles Chow-Leong,
Lethbridge Herald, Feb.9,1952

fig. 29 & 30 - page 137
funeral cortège for Jimmy Leong,
Chinatown, Lethbridge, c.1949
photos by A.E. Cross
(City of Lethbridge Archives,
#P19941051685 and 6)
this is not the funeral described in fig. 28 yet,
except for the military aspects,
the two must have been much the same.

fig. 31 - page 161
Hamabata gravemarker
black granite, ht. 29", wth. 32", dpth c.8".
inscription sandblasted
typical of 1970s

fig. 32 - page 161
Barvir gravemarker
brown granite, ht. 32", wth. 75", dpth. 8".
inscription sandblasted and etched
typical of 1980s

fig. 33 - page 161
Miller gravemarker, example of the Chief Mountain-Canada geese motif.
glossy black granite
inscription etched and sandblasted
style is typical of 1990s

fig. 34 - page 162
Ericksen funeral card,
only the print at bottom right is unique.
notice the 'headlights on' rules.
(City of Lethbridge Archives, Kiwanis file)

fig. 35 & 36 - page 163
Clarke memorial card and funeral program,
entirely unique.
(City of Lethbridge Archives, Kiwanis file)

fig. 37 - page 164
White Quills-Fox obituary
Lethbridge Herald Jan. 12, 1997

fig. 38 - page 164
announcements regarding the
funeral for the Princess of Wales,
(funeral as entertainment)
Lethbridge Herald Sept. 5, 1997