DEATH, LANDSCAPE AND MEMORIALISATION IN VICTORIAN URBAN SOCIETY: NOTTINGHAM'S GENERAL CEMETERY (1837) AND CHURCH CEMETERY (1856)

by

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INTRODUCTION

Victorian cemeteries are striking examples of what Michel Foucault called heterotopias or emplacements with major connections with other kinds of places whilst suspending, neutralizing, or reversing the various relations 'designated, reflected, or represented by them.' Cemeteries were one of Foucault's primary examples of heterochronias along with museums, libraries and festivals serving as temporal heterotopias that accumulate indefinitely or linked to time in its most 'futile', fleeting or transitory states. The idea of heterotopias has been employed to interrogate various organisations, institutions and other social phenomena such as public parks and Foucault's concept certainly helps to uncover the factors behind the design, planting, managing and usage of cemeteries, including underpinning religious, social and landscape-gardening philosophies and social contexts.[1] According to Foucault, heterotopias have 'precise and specific' social operations which can alter through time, frequently with systems of admittance and control reinforcing distinctiveness. They are spaces of illusion which denounce 'all real space' and 'all real emplacements' through which life is 'partitioned off as 'illusory' or are more 'perfect', 'meticulous' and ordered than places beyond becoming heterotopias of compensation.[2] Heterochronias are heterotopias associated with 'temporal discontinuities' which break with traditional time.

According to Foucault, cemeteries and gardens are ancient and vital heterotopias offering glimpses of perfection, small parcels of the world which are nevertheless entwined with every other urban or social emplacement.[3] Cemeteries are different from other kinds of 'ordinary cultural spaces', yet through family members buried within, are 'connected to all the other emplacements of the city', society, or village. Their cultural significance changed through time, shifting from traditional churchyards during the nineteenth century in response to the 'individualisation of death', 'bourgeois appropriation' and emerging 'obsession with death as a "disease". There was a hierarchy of burial places from charnel houses and pauper graves where all semblances of individuality were effaced, to individual tombs, church monuments and elite family vaults. Physical shells were of little value faced with the prospect of resurrection and eternal life, and only when adherence to these beliefs faltered, did western culture inaugurate the 'cult of the dead'. Greater importance was then given to individual plots and, in response to public health scares and an obsession with death as a 'disease', cemeteries shifted to the urban periphery becoming the 'other city', where each family possessed its dark dwelling', rather than sacred signifiers of immortality. As miasmatic medical theory blamed noxious effluvias for disease and proximity to decomposing corpses for outbreaks of cholera and fever, so death 'was responsible for the propagation of death itself' which the new cemeteries were intended to counter. Foucault's interpretation of nineteenth-century cemeteries and changing attitudes towards death applies more closely to the burial grounds of post-revolutionary France than Britain or North-America, where cemeteries such Mount Auburn in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, continued to be promoted as sacred places where family members and others could repose in quiet contemplation amidst appropriately sombre

planting and sculpture. However, his concepts of heterotopia and heterochronia provide a useful framework for understanding the development of the Victorian garden cemetery.

This article argues that through their buildings, landscaping, planting, monuments and management, Nottingham's Victorian garden cemeteries functioned as heterotopias and heterochronias enabling visitors to traverse the globe, serving as portals to remote places and linking past with present and future and the living and dead. By the 1820s, the town faced problems associated with a high population density, crowded churchyards and poor public health, exacerbated by space restrictions caused by burgess rights to surrounding common lands. From the 1830s campaigners called for a comprehensive enclosure act with associated public green spaces intended to compensate the burgesses for loss of rights of common. As the first specially-designed public green space established under the reformed corporation, the General Cemetery (1837) played a crucial role in winning support for the Nottingham Enclosure Act (1845). This enabled the creation of the Nottingham Arboretum (1852) and other interconnected public parks and walks, providing additional space for the General Cemetery and land for a new Anglican Church Cemetery (1856). Landscaped and planted like a country-house garden with some (but not universal) interdenominational support, the General Cemetery provided a model for the public parks laid out after the 1845 act. It was also seen as an arboretum because of its extensive tree collection, which pre-dated the arboretums in Derby (1840) and Nottingham (1852). The Church Cemetery too, with its commanding location, landscaping, planting, antiquities and rich historical associations, likewise effectively served as another public park. Although quickly joined by other urban and suburban cemeteries in the Nottingham vicinity, the two Victorian garden cemeteries served the needs of a modern industrial population whilst invoking memories of communities long gone. Like the botanical gardens, arboretums, art galleries, museums and libraries, the two cemeteries were intended to further the objectives of middle-class rational recreationists as well as to serve moral and religious purposes and foster urban identity, even if, like them, they remained institutions divided by class and religion.

Establishment of the General and Church Cemeteries

British urban cemetery development between the 1830s and 1850s was motivated by religious, moral and public health concerns. Although the dangers of intramural burials and overcrowded urban churchyards were highlighted by Rev. Thomas Lewis (1689–*c*.1749) in the eighteenth century, it was only when a series of public health reports and publications by campaigners such as George 'Graveyard' Walker (1807–84) exposed in graphic detail the shocking state of burial grounds that this provided major impetus for new suburban cemeteries.[4] From the eighteenth century, there were growing demands for individual lives to be commemorated as a focus for mourning and memorialisation, whilst new burial grounds also gave dissenters an opportunity to be interred in public cemeteries even if that was often in separate unconsecrated ground. Concerns about overcrowded urban churchyards and intramural interment were reinforced by miasmatic medical theories which saw disease as caused by noxious effluvia arising from putrefying animal or vegetable matter and bad airs associated with confined spaces. Although there was initial resistance from Anglican clergy fearing loss of control over religious rites and incomes associated with burial practices, public health arguments began to carry the day in the face of lurid, sensationalised accounts of widespread abuses.[5]

The expanding population of Nottingham – which rose from 50,680 in 1831 to 53,091 in 1841 and 58,431 by 1851, or 85, 207 if the suburbs are included – coupled with disease outbreaks and fears, brought burial problems to a head during the 1830s.[6] Concerns over cholera, bad water, overcrowding in courts, alleys and lanes, bad ventilation and poorly drained low lying parts of the town towards the Trent were detailed by James Ranald Martin for the government inquiry into the state of large towns, much information being provided by the local engineer Thomas Hawksley (1807–93). These

districts compared very unfavourably with what surgeon Joseph White called the 'better conditioned parts' which had 'many excellent streets with 'houses of a very superior character'. Yet 'most' of Nottingham and 'all parts of the poorer districts', contained dwellings 'crowded together in the most prejudicial manner' with overcrowded populations causing outbreaks of cholera, fever and other diseases.[7] It was believed that the 1845 Enclosure Act and other measures brought improvements in health and sanitation. White claimed that the new high pressure water supply system, designed by Hawksley was now 'one of the best in England' supplying 'nine tenths of the dwelling houses' including higher stories of buildings 'without cessation' and providing 'unlimited supplies of 'pure and filtered water' to facilitate 'cleanliness, health, and comfort.' Likewise, the new Sanitary Committee appointed by the Board of Guardians assisted by Highway Boards, corporation and other bodies had done an 'immense…good' through road re-surfacing, new sewerage and drainage networks, paving and draining enclosed courts, supervising slaughter houses and lodging houses, providing bath and wash houses and other measures.[8]

Whilst Nottingham clergy and parishes tried to establish extensions to burial grounds, these remained unavailable to some dissenters partly through self-exclusion but also Anglican opposition to their presence. Generally, the Presbyterians – and later, Unitarians – were most likely to take occasional communion and be interred in parish churches or churchyards and never acquired their own burial ground, whilst Baptists and Quakers, who were most opposed to the Established Church, were first to acquire their own cemeteries and Congregationalists obtained one by the late seventeenth century.[9] Three new parochial burial grounds for St. Marys were established in the period, the first in Bellar gate consecrated in 1742, a second in Barker Gate consecrated in 1786 and

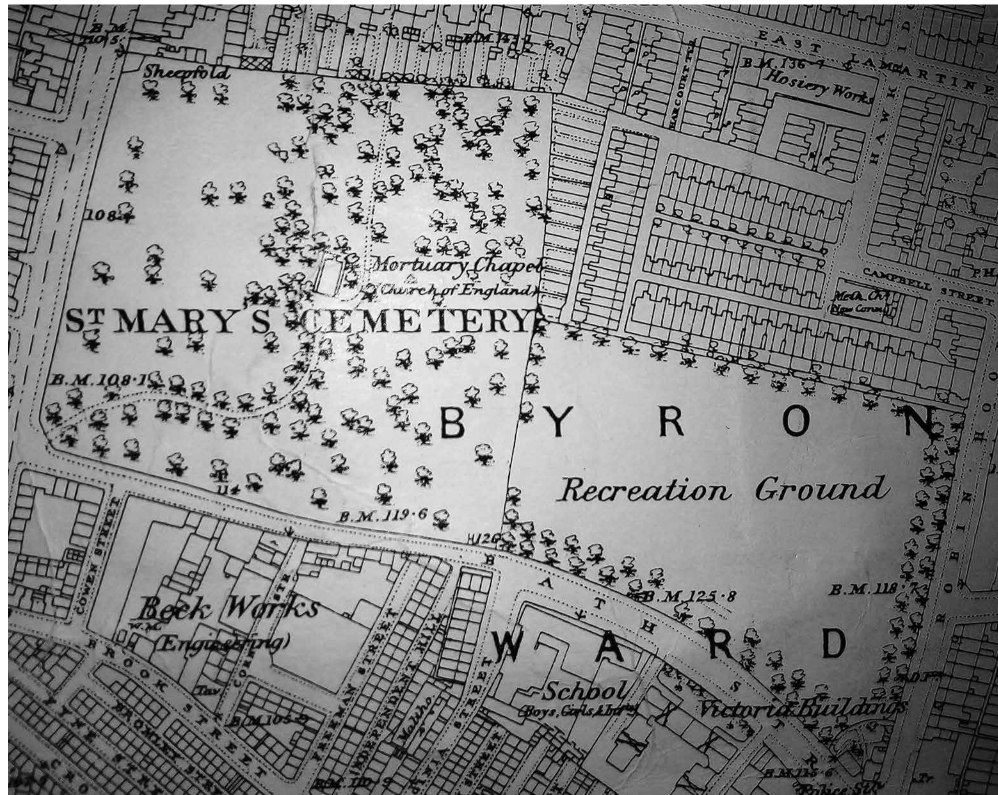

FIGURE 1: St Mary's Cemetery, Nottingham from 25 OS inch map of Nottingham (1881), courtesy of Nottingham Local Studies Library

a third on the south side of Bellar gate purchased in 1813, whilst the St. Peter's burial ground (1831) was in Broad Marsh and St. Nicholas's parish obtained an additional site near the church about 1790.[10] When Asiatic cholera killed three hundred people concentrated in the courts and back-to-back houses to the east and south of Nottingham in 1832, there were concerns that disease would spread to nearby houses because of the lack of burial places. The wealthy Quaker grocer and benefactor Samuel Fox (1781–1868), working with the Roman Catholic priest Rev. Robert William Willson (1794–1866), offered land for burials at the east end of Beck Street adjoining the Beck Works and near the 'Stone Waterings' which when combined with other land purchased by the parish to a total of six acres, became St. Ann's Cemetery also known as 'Fox's' or the Cholera Burial Ground, later renamed St. Mary's Cemetery and subsequently St. Mary's Rest Garden (see figure 1).[11] Looking for cheaper burial grounds beyond the town boundary, a St Mary's vestry meeting in October 1832 attended by Fox concluded that the Board of Health be 'recommended to purchase land out of town' at a low rate and 'in such a situation, that if the parish thought proper hereafter, a general cemetery might be made.' This was as Stapleton argued, in some respects the 'oldest Nottingham cemetery as the term is now understood' and provided with a 'neat little Gothic' mortuary chapel built in 1833, iron gates and a 'high wall', and consecrated by the Archbishop of York in August 1835. Although the vestry had clearly articulated the aspiration for a future interdenominational burial ground, the cemetery fell under the Vicar of St. Mary's control, which excluded dissenting ministers from officiating and many of their congregations from being buried there.[12] In 1836, Fox and others petitioned Parliament for such a new 'general' cemetery, offering to each subscribe enough money to get a joint stock company going if given enough powers. The group included Willson again and nonconformist clergy such as Rev. Benjamin Carpenter (1796–1860) minister at the High Pavement Unitarian Chapel since 1822,[13] local councillors such as the Baptist Alderman John Heard (1784–1865)[14] and the lace manufacturer Alderman William Vickers,[15] the bankers Francis Hart (1776–1862) and Alfred Thomas Fellows (1790–1862) who were in business together,[16] the Baptist, Absalom Barnett (1783–1860) Clerk to the Nottingham Board of Guardians and author of *The Poor Laws and their Administration* (1833),[17] William Enfield (1801–73) the Unitarian Town Clerk,[18] and Thomas Wakefield.[19] Wakefield (1791–1871) was Sheriff of Nottingham in 1815, first mayor of the reformed corporation in 1835 and again in 1842, a JP and a strong supporter of burgess rights who used his editorship of the *Nottingham Mercury* to oppose enclosure of the common fields, but was able to unite with supporters of enclosure to campaign for new burial grounds even at the cost of some burgess lands.[20]

The Nottingham General Cemetery Company was formed in 1836 with 440 shares at a cost of £10 each and purchased eight acres of sloping land on the Sand-hills, lying north, on the summit of Tollhouse-hill (or Sion Hill) from the Nottingham Corporation and Fox (figure 2). An additional four acres were acquired by 1841 and a total of around £5,800 was spent purchasing and developing the site.[21] The Cemetery was overseen by a Committee of twenty-four Directors, annually chosen by the proprietors, who elected a management committee and appointed a superintendent and others based in the company's offices on the premises. Besides Wakefield, by 1841 these included George Bradley of Lenton, John Newton (1802–1886) a lacemaker and musician, Alderman Joseph Frearson, a baptist, Rev. Willson, Samuel Hollins (1800–1859) and William Felkin (1795–1874).[22] Samuel S. Rawlinson a young Nottingham architect, planned the laying out of the grounds and designed the neo-Greek Anglican chapel, lodges and almshouses on either side, after winning a competition in 1837 (figure 3). Shortly after completion, the entrance was described as a 'massive Italian-Doric gateway, of simple but noble architecture' which provided a 'spacious' entrance to the cemetery and was 'winged for lodges' with 'four burgesses houses' branching off each side' which formed an '*antis* to the entrance, the style of architecture harmonizing with the centre.' The almshouses were intended for the residence of 'aged burgesses, or their widows' and had been campaigned for by the Freemen's Rights Committee. Designed in the Grecian style 'with an Italian finish', they had two rooms per

FIGURE 2: General Cemetery looking north west, author 2017

FIGURE 3: General Cemetery main entrance, author 2017

floor, were ‘well-lit and ventilated’ and had ‘large back yards for drying clothes’. The construction of buildings and laying out of the grounds was finished in 1840 superintended by a sub-committee of directors consisting of Daft Smith Churchill, Thomas Roberts and Fox, who paid half the cost of the clock above the entrance archway.[23]

Grave purchases were initially slow but then accelerated as the work was completed and trees and plants matured. A lodge keeper and servant George Allcock and an assistant, William Mann, were hired in 1838 to manage all funerals, dig and prepare graves and vaults (except the brickwork), keep the walks and grounds in order and ‘promote the general good conduct of the Cemetery ground’ whilst living rent free in the principal lodge.[24] The Company rapidly found that the ‘number of the poorer classes interred’ in the cheapest area had ‘greatly exceeded’ their original expectations and was ‘nearly filled’.[25] By 1849, the Nottingham Sanitary Committee reported that 6579 burials had taken place. As we’ve seen, the General Cemetery was always intended for all religious denominations and proponents of a new interdenominational cemetery company in Leicester such as the Unitarian hosier and political reformer William Biggs (1804–1881), highlighted this as an inspiration.[26] However, some Nottingham Anglicans and dissenters such as Baptists and Quakers were never comfortable with this and section 23 of the Cemeteries Clauses Act (1847) specified that consecrated portions of cemeteries should only be used ‘for burials according to the rites of the Established Church’, which made retaining a ‘general’ cemetery without divisions more difficult.[27] Hence, when eight additional acres for burial grounds were allotted by the enclosure commissioners under the terms of the Nottingham Enclosure Act (1845), half were added to the General Cemetery to the north for a ‘Dissenter’s Cemetery’ by 1848 and the other half was retained for a new Anglican Cemetery. A chapel was added to the nonconformist portion of the General Cemetery in 1856 and a lodge half funded by Fox again, which therefore ran from Sion Hill at the top of Derby Road to Waverley Street opposite to the Arboretum with two other entrances: one from Clarendon Street for pedestrians and the other from Waverley Street.[28] Trustees of the dissenter’s portion appointed in 1848 were given powers to charge fees for the costs of appointing company officers, enclosing laying out and planting and maintaining the grounds and had to publish their accounts annually in the local newspapers. These included James Smith Baldwin a tailor, William Vickers junior a lace manufacturer, Arthur Wells a solicitor and the printers John Howitt and John Frost Sutton, editor of the *Nottingham Review* and author of the *Nottingham Date Book* (1852). Additional laymen were nominated to this board by their congregations and new trustees were only appointed with written approval from local ministers.[29]

The four acres allotted for the Anglican Cemetery were originally situated in the Clay Field and Forest, but when local residents objected, this was moved to another location on the Forest and Sand Field overlooking the former with good prospects to the north. With prominent clergy such as Robert White Almond, William J. Butler and William Howard and lay Anglicans such as councillors George Eddowes and William Hannay and the physician Henry Smith amongst the trustees, after St. Andrew’s Church was constructed in 1871, the area became a major Anglican focus for memorialisation and worship (figure 4).[30] It was agreed that the trust should become a joint stock concern and the Church Cemetery Company, created in 1853, had an initial capital of £5,250 divided into 1000 shares of five guineas each, and purchased nine more acres on the Forest. The Company clerk, Edwin Patchitt designed the cemetery and oversaw the landscaping and planting for a total cost of around £7,000. After a prohibition of memorials and then the closure of over-crowded Anglican churchyards had hastened the pace and consecration, the first interment took place in June 1856.[31] Occupying an old quarry like St. James’s Cemetery in Liverpool, the sandstone digging had created pits and caves and during landscaping, many thousand tons of soil were removed from the valley and used to make artificial mounds’ elsewhere in the grounds. Development took several years including constructing boundary walls and iron fences, a lodge, and ‘levelling the sand’, excavating and forming roads and paths. The road through the Rock Valley to Sherwood Street was stopped, loose sand was removed and rocks ‘laid bare’. The caves were cleared of soil

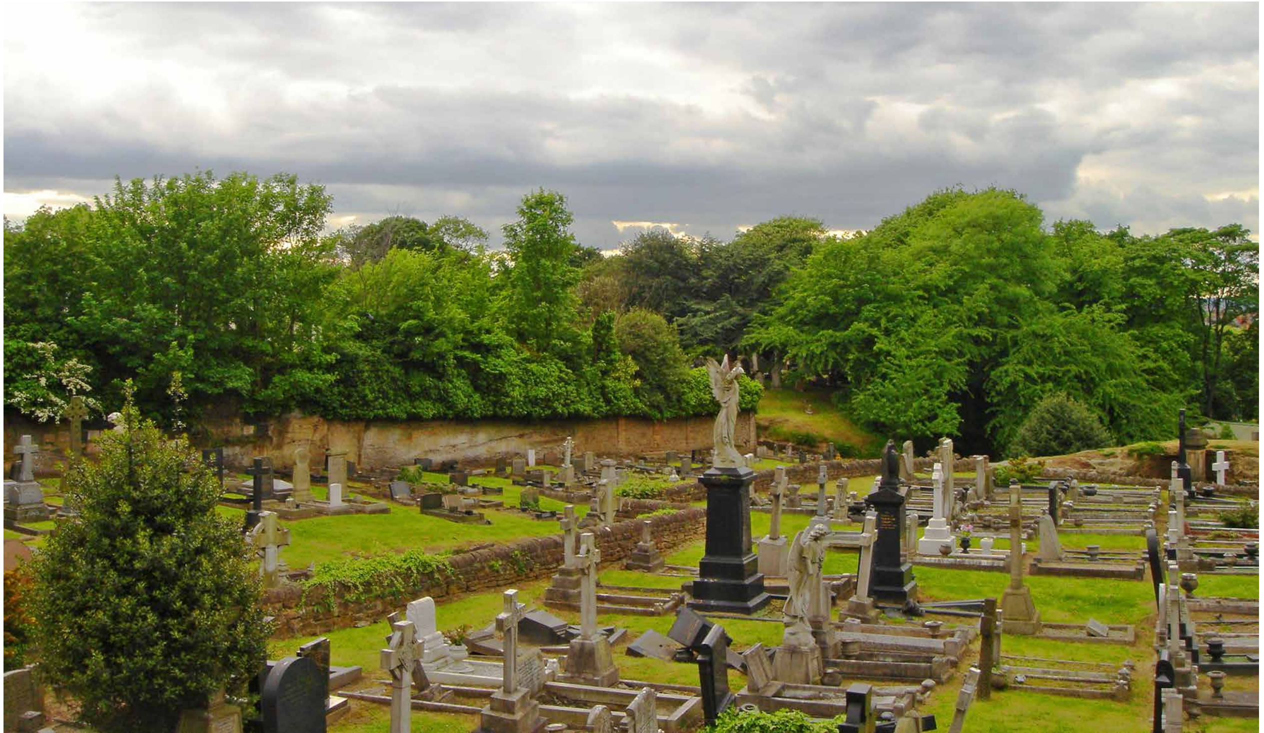

FIGURE 4: Church Cemetery looking south west, author 2006

FIGURE 5: Church Cemetery from the Forest, author 2013

and rubble and the top of the cemetery was raised to the Forest Road level whilst Chestnut Avenue on the Forest was heightened to cross the valley again. The hillocks upon which windmills had stood were reduced, hollows filled up and wild gorse cleared away whilst the large 'hole or depression' called the 'Punch Bowl' to the north, which was partly natural and partly excavated, was renamed St. Anne's Valley (figure 6).[32] It was claimed the caverns would be 'exceedingly well adapted for a series of catacombs' if completed as originally planned, however, in the end they were not employed in this manner.[33] Ornamental iron gates between stone piers were provided at the main gate. An entrance lodge was built in 1865 followed by a large neo-gothic chapel opened in 1879 to a design by Edward William Godwin of Lincoln.[34] This followed a cruciform plan and had a central tower and pyramid spire. Although complaints continued to be made about fences, roads and footpaths – which were described as 'dilapidated', 'frequently unfit for use' and 'a disgrace' in 1876 – the company's debts were paid off by 1873, the boundaries made more secure with iron railings and revenues rose to between four and five hundred pounds per annum.[35]

Cemeteries and Public Health

Public health concerns meant that new cemetery promoters were keenly interested in the location, geology, soil, drainage and design of burial grounds encouraged by neo-Hippocratic concerns about airs and waters as well as contemporary miasmatic medical theories which maintained that disease was caused by the presence of noxious effluvias arising from putrefying animal or vegetable matter and bad airs associated with confined spaces.[36] This was encouraged by medical practitioners on governing committees such as Booth Edison, a trustee of the dissenter's portion of the General Cemetery, Surgeon to the Nottingham General Hospital and President of the British Medical Association and John Calthorp Williams, a Church Cemetery trustee

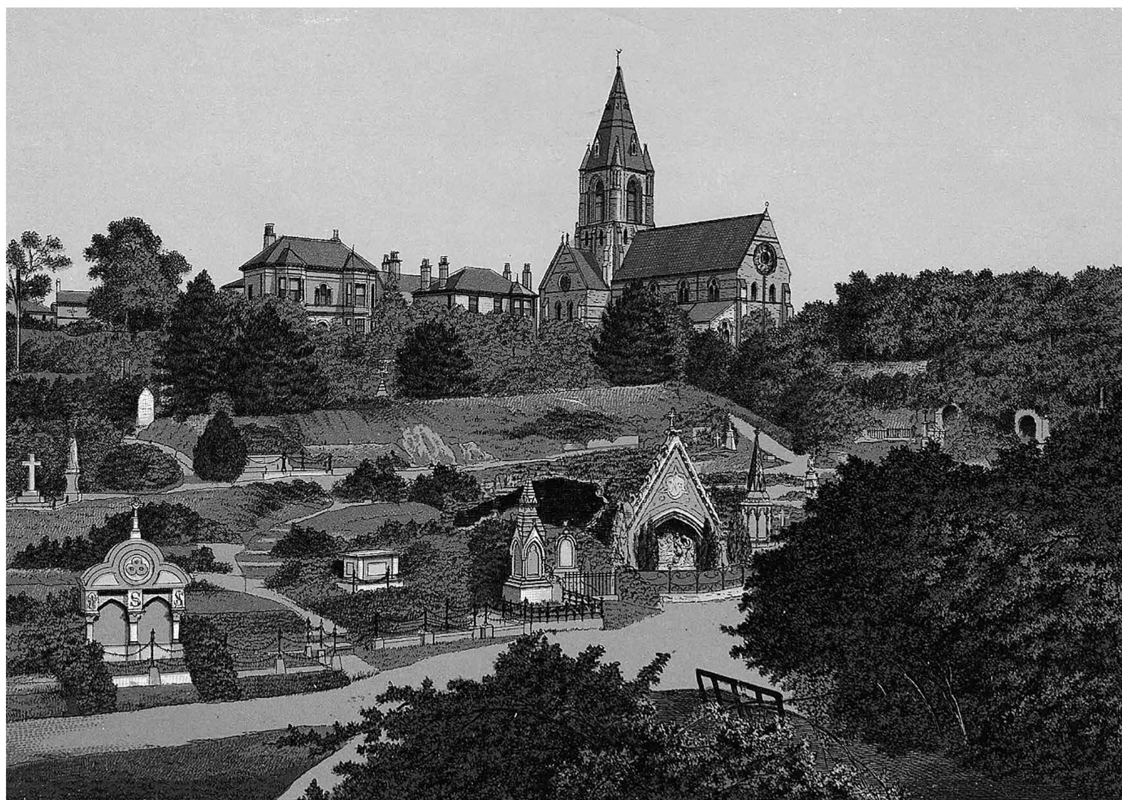

FIGURE 6: Church Cemetery and St. Andrew's Church, *Rock's Royal Cabinet Album: Nottingham*, (London, *c*.1890)

who was President of the Midland branch of the Provincial Medical Surgical Association.[37] New suburban burial grounds such as the General and Church cemeteries tended to be located on higher suburban locations, said to be more airy, sunny, better drained and therefore less prone to causing diseases but also often cheaper. General Cemetery Company directors argued in 1841 that 'the confined character and crowded state' of urban churchyards had 'long' required that new cemeteries be found which did not disturb 'the remains of those so recently deposited'. The 'painfulness of such occurrences', their 'inconvenience', and detrimental impact upon public health had encouraged the development of new suburban cemeteries and the need for a similar Nottingham institution was 'seriously and urgently felt'.[38] Establishment of the St Mary's and General cemeteries, the 1845 Enclosure Act and other health and sanitation improvements were believed to have reduced mortality rates. Comparing the impact of cholera in 1849 with the number of deaths in 1832, the Sanitary Committee formed in 1846 drew attention to the 'healthy Nottingham' which it claimed resulted from the new water-supply system, clean and well-drained streets and courts, new burial grounds, growing medical knowledge and municipal initiatives.[39] The 'sandy porous rock' of higher Nottingham with its 'free-flowing air' had largely escaped cholera, whilst reductions in intramural interments, measures taken to control 'pestilential vapours' around houses near old churchyards, laying of gas tar and asphalt, removal of 'noxious substances' from the streets, and 'decent' General Cemetery interments were all beneficial.[40] As Joseph White, resident surgeon to the General Hospital told the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association in 1852, these measures had prevented the spread of disease around the older graveyards, helping to ensure the 'maintenance' of 'good order and cleanliness' and improving the 'poorer and more-unhealthy parts' of Nottingham.[41] Although not always ideal for building, local red sandstone had health benefits because of its softness and porousness which let moisture through making it a very 'desirable sub-strata' for urban living which was 'easily excavated' to form caves and cuttings and had a 'warmth' and 'agreeable' aesthetic effect.[42] Citing Dr. William Henry of Manchester as authority he noted that red sandstone was 'well adapted' to 'moderate the evils of a rainy climate' was almost entirely free from 'noxious metals', provided an 'abundant supply of beautiful clear water', served as an 'excellent natural filter' and produced an 'excellent sandy loam' through its decomposition, hastening rich vegetable growth and contributing materially to the 'salubrity' of the surrounding country.[43]

The moral and public health benefits of new cemeteries and sanitation measures were believed to be interlinked. Whilst defending past burial practices as appropriate for their times, an editorial in the *Nottingham Review*, probably written by the editor and General Cemetery trustee Frost Sutton, argued vehemently that 'disease' was augmented by the 'poisonous vapours of the grave', the 'very soil' being impregnated with the 'poison of putridity'. Decency was 'outraged', humanity shocked' and the 'very dead themselves disturbed and insulted' by churchyard burial in crowded urban areas.[44] Invoking the 'philanthropic [George] Walker' and the 'eloquent and enlightened' [Thomas] Southwood Smith, it argued that 'scientific' and 'impartial' observers now agreed that with their 'vitiated air', burial grounds could not exist in densely populated areas without 'injury to the health of the inhabitants'. For the sake of everyone alive and dead and the natural benevolent feelings kindled by tender recollections, it called for all old urban churchyard and intramural interments to cease and for more suburban cemeteries away from the 'homes of the living' on the basis of 'science and humanity'. Noisy urban churchyards mocked the solemnity of death whereas peaceful suburban burial grounds such as the General Cemetery preached the 'lesson of mortality' as the 'breeze' sang a sweet mourning 'dirge', the flowers watched over each grave and 'every waving tree' and 'tender bud' watched over 'human bosoms which lie faded there' in contrast to the 'filthy and smoke stained' churchyards devoid of blooming flowers and singing birds where the 'very soil' was 'saturated with corruption' emitting 'those poisons' which impaired 'the health of the living'. As places of 'refinement and morality', the suburban cemeteries offered 'meditation and calm communion with the spirit of mortality' which blended 'art and nature' and taught that 'beauty and decay' were forever

indissolubly interlinked. They provided 'moral improvement' and instruction for the living where visitors could 'dream of the visionary future' and death might even 'lose its repulsiveness' without 'parting from its solemnity', impressing 'life' with its 'spectacle' without impairing it with the 'noxious influences of the grave.' [45]

Cemeteries as Parks: Landscaping and Planting

Many of the new British urban cemeteries created between the 1830s and 1850s were inspired by the garden cemetery movement which employed aesthetic, religious and public health arguments in support of landscaped and planted sites. Most were initially formed by joint stock companies, but by the 1850s burial boards became the most common form. Cemetery designs and management supported increasingly elaborate rituals and ceremonies associated with Victorian funerals and mourning, with controllable boundaries, demarcated spaces (by religion and income), chapels for services and drives and walks to facilitate the movement of solemn funeral processions, hearses, mourning coaches, religious ceremonies and subsequent visits by mourners. For the funeral of the Basford-born physician, Marshall Hall in 1857 for instance, the cortege passed from his sister's home at Sneinton to Exchange Hall where it was joined by many local 'eminent' physicians and surgeons before passing along Derby Road lined by a 'large number of spectators' towards the General Cemetery where the service was read by William Frisby, resident superintendent, and the coffin lowered into the vault.[46] The funeral of Joseph Barnes Lomas in 1866 was conducted in front of 'a large concourse of friends and spectators' with the hearse followed by a carriage containing his three sons and then fellow trustees of the Wesleyan Halifax-Place Chapel. The clerks of Nottingham Gas Company offices where Lomas had worked also took part and were joined at the cemetery gates by Nottingham Permanent Benefit Building Society trustees, whilst a 'short but solemn' service was conducted by Rev. Charles Haydon at the chapel and another hymn, 'Come let us join our friends above' was sung beside the grave.[47]

Like the prevailing architecture of its chapels, the first General Cemetery monuments and memorials were predominantly neo-classical in style with some rejection of the 'fantastic' ornamentation, local variation and 'over-elaborate' lettering prevailing during the eighteenth century. However, later monuments and those in the Church Cemetery were largely neo-gothic in style reflecting the impact of the gothic movement encouraged originally by Evangelicalism and subsequently the Oxford Movement through the pages of *The Ecclesiologist*. The latter fostered rejection of neoclassical forms such as the urn and temple and cremation practices as redolent of the 'superstitious and idolatrous practices' of pagan antiquity and the 'Papal metropolis' which offended against hopes for the resurrection of the body from the grave on the last day of judgement. The 'beautiful foliated tracery' and 'ornamental sculpture' of gothic was believed to harmonise better with 'venerable' church and churchyard architecture, offering opportunity for 'unlimited variety or ornamentation' with 'chaste and refined judgement' without 'unmeaning flourishes' or 'gaudy colouring'.[48] Iron gates and railings proliferated alongside neo-gothic tracery helping to demarcate burial places like family vaults and underlining similarities between the suburban middle-class villas and the residences of their deceased ancestors.[49] Few took this quite as far in Nottingham as John Wheatley who made his coffin and stored it in his bedroom with 'choice wines and liqueurs' before buying and enclosing a large space of ground in the General Cemetery as a 'comfortable retiring place in lieu of a summer house' in which he sat reading and meditating, having his grave dug within to 'indulge his eccentric fancies'.[50] Just as cemetery structures and monuments sought to invoke memories and associations of ancient churches, so their landscaping and planting sought to invoke an idealised vision of country churchyards and efface differences between ecclesiastical and modern commercial or municipal institutions.

As Foucault emphasised, like gardens, churchyards and burial grounds often invoked the idea of a return to Eden, especially in rural areas when planted with trees, shrubs and flowers, as did nineteenth-century garden-cemetery promoters. Gardens and trees also became a significant theme

on neo-classical memorials by the seventeenth century as biblical scenes or signifying life when verdant and death when lopped or blasted, whilst fruit trees, oak, willows and other examples symbolised growth, vitality or mourning. The painter and sculptor Thomas Wood of Bingham, Nottinghamshire (1760–1841) for instance, designed various pastoral scenes for headstones with woodland, animals and buildings.[51] Partly inspired by fashionable landscape gardening philosophies and practices such as those of Humphrey Repton and designed by architects, gardeners, committees and nurserymen, garden cemeteries were in some respects, what Roy Porter described as an early form of slum clearance, 'the first garden cities', 'snuggly sequestered in suburbia'.[52] With their serpentine and geometric drives and paths, lawns and planting, garden cemetery designs sought to blend aesthetics with the practicalities of religious worship and memorialisation. Some had major tree or plant collections and like contemporary public parks, were supposed to foster education and rational recreation as well as moral improvement and piety.[53] Loudon argued that they provided a beautiful and practical solution to urban public health problems, especially if carefully located and planted, well drained and managed. He maintained that whilst some deciduous trees were appropriate coniferous kinds were generally better suited to burial grounds, especially yews, and advocated avenues of evergreens planted along cemetery paths, ideas that were adopted by influential cemetery designers such as William Barron.[54] As both commercial and municipal cemeteries filled up with interments, however, different designs came to be favoured and many new burial grounds and extensions came to follow grid patterns to maximise interments, providing less room for trees and shrubs. Another solution was provided by cremation, which was strongly opposed by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches but gradually accepted from the late nineteenth century. Loudon and William Robinson argued that cremation was healthier than burials and provided opportunities for more beautiful urban garden cemeteries which could exploit the space available without the clutter of elaborate monuments. Overall, with their system of roads and paths, rows of elaborate architectonic monuments and sculptures, family tombs, trees and shrubs, often dramatic settings frequently on high ground overlooking towns, garden cemeteries were alterative cities of the dead, places for the ancestors to overlook the living.[55]

Rational recreational as well as religious and public health objectives informed the promoters of the new garden cemeteries. According to Loudon, if properly managed and planted with named trees and shrubs, just as country churchyards had been places of education for the labouring population, so new suburban burial grounds might become schools 'of instruction in architecture, sculpture, landscape-gardening, aboriculture, botany' and crucial areas of 'general gardening, neatness, order and high keeping'.[56] With its tree collection, the General Cemetery in particular was also inspired by some of the rational recreational, scientific and religious objectives of the Howitts and their friends in the Sherwood Forest group of writers and those of philosophical institutions such as the Nottingham Literary and Scientific Society, Nottinghamshire Natural History Society (1836) and Nottingham Mechanics' Institute (1837). After election as an alderman in the reformed corporation in 1836, the writer William Howitt called for the enclosure and preservation of meadow lands south of Nottingham whilst his brother Godfrey, physician to the Nottingham General Hospital, produced a *Nottinghamshire Flora* (1839) which aimed to provide a comprehensive survey of all plants, ferns, mosses, lichen and algae in the county with botanical names, localities where found and months of flowering.[57] In 1841, the cemetery was described as 'highly picturesque' with 'ample walks' that had been 'tastefully' laid out and planted with and numerous trees, shrubs and flowers upon twelve acres of sloping sandy soil (figure 2). According to the *Nottingham Review* a 'serpentine carriage road, turning to the right through an avenue of trees' led from the high point at the Canning Circus entrance to 'a dell with sloping banks, ten feet high' along which it was planned that the Ayrshire rose would 'be creeping and blooming and shedding its perfume.' Then the 'chaste and beautiful' chapel 'bursts agreeably into sight' based upon a 'Grecian-Iconic' design from which the carriage road passed 'by graceful sweep' to the lower lodge, also constructed in the Italian-Doric style like the

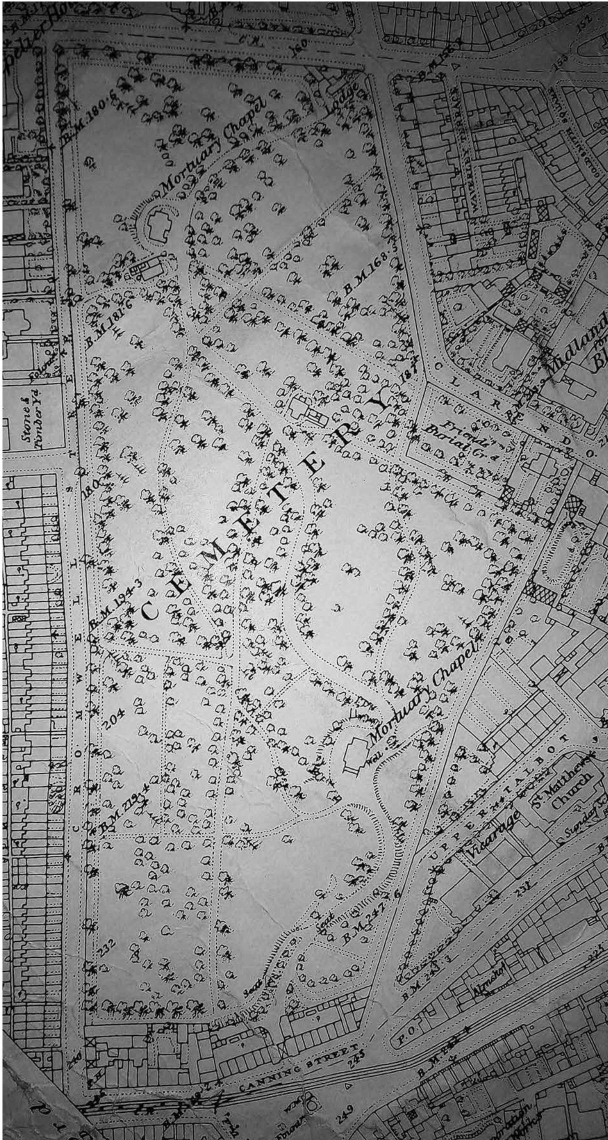

FIGURE 7: General Cemetery from 25 OS inch map of Nottingham (1881), courtesy of Nottingham Local Studies Library.

burgesses houses adjoining the entrance. The main serpentine path connected the chapel and lower lodge, whilst 'walks of graceful curve' branched 'off the main carriage ride 'into the more expensive sites for the interment of the wealthy' (figure 8). The higher original chapel stood upon 'table-land in the centre' providing 'an object of pictorial interest' from 'every part of the cemetery it was a design of 'calm and dignified simplicity, an architectural object of great beauty' which could be glimpsed 'through the vistas and from various points of view' and served as a focus for funeral ceremonies.[58] One of the earliest memorials (1838) was an ashlar obelisk near the main entrance on a pedestal erected by the directors to a fellow director, Daft Smith Churchill, who had been killed in a shipwreck off the Farne Islands.

It is clear from the ambitious layout and planting scheme that the directors and supporters of the General Cemetery were trying to do far more than merely create a new burial ground. The contrast with the six-acre St. Anne's Cemetery or 'Cholera Burial Ground' opened in 1835 in the 'more thickly populated part of the town' and 'principally used by the poorer classes' which lacked 'gorgeous monuments', trees and shrubs (originally) and other features 'save the little earthy grass-covered mounds' of the burial plots – is striking.[59] According to the *Nottingham Review*, the 'creative power of landscape-gardening' was 'delightfully…exhibited' by the design and planting of the General Cemetery in which 'hill and valley, upland and lowland', undulated 'in apparently unstudied nature, producing exquisite snatches of the most picturesque scenery' beyond. The situation commanded views to the north and west and 'for ornamental planting' provided 'an excellent soil', whilst within the 'inner belt of land' and around the cemetery, a twelve-foot space was originally left free for additional planting. It was claimed that 'care, sound judgment, and correct taste' had been 'displayed in the 'selection and arrangement' of the trees and shrubs.[60] These became the 'meeting place' for numerous birds returning each season 'for their home at breeding time' with nests of missel-thrush, mavis or song thrush, blackbird, Robin, sparrows of the hedge, tree and house varieties, blackcap, blue cap, long-tailed tit, wren, starling, chaffinch, fly catcher, green linnet, bat. There were also 'rare birds from distant lands'.[61] The trees and shrubs were supplied by the 'eminent horticulturist' John Pearson (1778–1845) from the family nurseries at Chilwell near Beeston, a business founded by his father John senior (1752–1824) the previous century. John junior was described as an 'eminent botanist and florist' with 'extensive nursery plantations and flower gardens' in 1844 and as foreman to the company during the

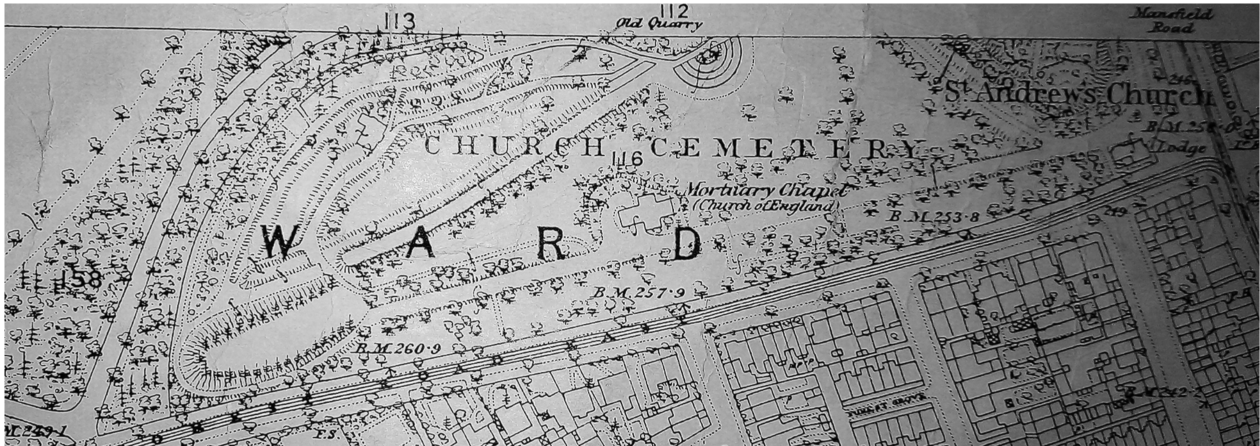

FIGURE 8: Church Cemetery from 25 OS inch map of Nottingham (1881), courtesy of Nottingham Local Studies Library.

1830s, John Frederick Wood, later proprietor of the Coppice nursery and founder of the *Midland Florist and Horticulturist*, would also have assisted with the work of planting out the new cemetery.[62] Pearson's 'extensive' nurseries covered about 114 acres and were 'scattered over the whole parish' of Chilwell. They were celebrated for their fruit trees but also included 'a select arboretum, with many hundred specimens' and numerous 'plants under glass…remarkable for their beauty and healthy appearance' the whole being 'open every day except Sunday' with 'every attention' being 'paid to visitors by the worthy proprietor.' [63] Supplying the new cemetery with trees and plants was good business for Pearson, providing an opportunity to showcase his arboricultural collections and talents at a time when there were no landscaped public gardens or parks in the Nottingham.

The large selection of trees and shrubs for the ornamental belts provided by Pearson for the General Cemetery included examples chosen for their rich, beautiful foliage such as the occidental plane (American sycamore), striped barked maple, syringa-leaved catalpa and scarlet oak. Other trees such as new scarlet thorns, snow drop tree, willow-leaved pyrus (probably crab apple) and snowy mespilus (Canadian medlar) were selected for their luxuriant flowers. A selection of 'handsome flowering shrubs' fronted the trees including the 'aria-leaved spiraea' with its 'pendent white blossoms', lilacs, roses, the 'beautiful and hardy scarlet flowering currant' and rock rose with its 'beautiful though fleeting flowers'. An 'avenue of fine foliaged trees' from the centre to the lower lodge included Lucombe, Turkey and variegated oak, long-leaved Robinia and variegated and weeping elm, whilst rhododendrons, azaleas and 'American plants' were planted beneath the trees in clumps to tie everything together following contemporary landscape gardening practice. The highest point was planted with trees such as weeping laburnum, tulip tree, 'graceful unarmed Robinia' with its spineless boughs, and glandulous ailanthus with its 'magnificent foliage'. Dwarf and Ayrshire roses on the banks were intended to provide a complete trailing 'floral carpet of these favourite flowers'. Transplanted trees included 'fine specimens' of weeping birch, bird cherry, long-leaved Robinia, broad-leaved American limes and locust trees which were 'removed with very considerable labour to create instant maturity. Early views of the Cemetery and the 1881 Ordnance Survey map show how much planting took place.[64] As we've seen, in a series of articles and his book on cemeteries (1844), Loudon promoted the concept of a garden and arboretum cemetery which he believed united the best of science and taste and provided an opportunity for rational recreation. The large selection of trees and shrubs provided by Pearson from his nurseries are fully evident on the 1881 Ordnance Survey map and early photographs. This with the use of planting methods such as transplantation, meant that although not a

systematic or labelled plant collection, the General Cemetery was designated an 'ARBORETUM' with 'pride' by the Liberal *Nottingham Review* which linked it firmly with Loudon's sustained advocacy of systematic tree collections for aesthetic, scientific and rational recreational purposes for parks and gardens in the *Gardener's Magazine* and *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (8 vols., 1838) – issued in parts between 1835 and 1838.[65] However, the rich and varied picturesque General Cemetery planting and lack of evergreens except for junipers, hollies, laurestines, ivies and two cedars of Lebanon which stood 'as *terminii*' at the end of the serpentine carriage road, contrasted with contemporary calls for restrained, simple and sober planting in burial grounds made by Loudon and others.[66] According to William Kelke churchyards should be surrounded by forest trees 'to shelter from storms' and provide a 'becoming air of seclusion and solemnity', with a belt of evergreens if exposed and moderate planting of yews hollies or cedars within. Anything redolent of 'domestic pleasure grounds' such as shrubberies, flower gardens and exotics should be rejected as 'inconsistent with the simplicity and sacred character' which ought to 'pervade a Christian cemetery' which needed to promote a 'still', 'solemn' and 'peaceful, natural retreat' for 'meditation' that was 'tranquillizing to human passion' and 'soothing to Christian sorrow'.[67]

However, in 1838 the *Nottingham Review* congratulated the citizens of Nottingham on the opening of their 'fascinating and beautiful' new cemetery which they believed would 'progress, perhaps for many centuries' as 'successive contributions of affection' augmented its 'monumental enrichment' so the 'sacred tract of land' became 'by its associations' and accretions one of the most significant local institutions. There were 'numerous spots, and nooks, and dells, of tranquil beauty; where conjugal and parental affection, filial piety, or fraternal love' would create a 'monumental stone' which enshrined 'their own most sacred earthly affections'. The 'delicious fragments or tomb-land' would become 'tributes to departed loveliness, genius, or worth' although the higher ground was 'appropriated for the higher class of funerals.' With the passing seasons when the 'banks and glades' of the 'enchanting' new cemetery were 'enamelled with flowers' and 'arborescent beauties' so the 'contemplative mind' would 'leave the world without' and 'whilst traversing its peaceful paths', enjoy 'more vivid perceptions' of the 'true aims and end of existence'. So visitors would find their 'affections purified' and the 'holiest and best impulses' of their hearts 'renovated, or strengthened', and they would 'return to society… HAPPIER because… BETTER' people. The fact that the Cemetery Company kept the grounds 'OPEN' to the general population 'at suitable hours' meant that the cemetery served in affect as the first specially-designed public park in the town which the *Nottingham Review* believed to be a 'subject of congratulation for the public' although it hoped that its 'sacred solitudes' would be sought out by those 'only, whose conduct' would 'accord with those solemn purposes' that inspired its foundation. [68]

The Church Cemetery too served as a public park adjoining the Forest and St. Andrews Church. Although the site originally contained just one remaining tree, the cemetery was 'beautifully laid out and planted' to a design by Edwin Patchitt with both deciduous and coniferous trees and shrubs amongst the picturesque and rocky outcrops, valleys and declivities which are clearly visible in prints and photographs of the period (figure 8). A belt of trees was planted around the perimeter which screened the cemetery from Mansfield Road and Forest Road to the south and east. On Sunday afternoons in fine weather, the walks were 'thronged either for the purpose of obtaining a little fresh air' and 'admiring the shrubs and flowers', or paying tribute to departed friends and relatives.[69] John Bohler described the flora of the Church Cemetery in an article in Allen's *Illustrated Handbook and Guide* partly targeted at visitors to the 1866 British Association meeting in the town. Noting the strong local tradition of botanical study and the great reputation of the amateur 'artizan florists' horticultural industry in their 'five thousand workmen's gardens' which 'belted around' Nottingham and supplied so many 'tulips, pelargoniums, and roses'.[70] A range of semi-natural grasses, flowers, ivy, fungi, mosses and lichens already covered parts of the Church Cemetery: 'grey colouring' on many of the tombs and memorial stones which was 'the first growth of the spores of Lichens' which he believed

would form a crust after a few years that would be very useful 'in resisting atmospheric attrition, by covering the stones with a living coat of mail, and so prolonging their durability.'[71] Like the General Cemetery and Arboretum, planting in the Church Cemetery followed a picturesque scheme with a mixture of coniferous and deciduous trees and shrubs taking advantage of the hilly site and porous sandstone and sandy soil beneath. Given their associations with rural churchyards and mourning it is not surprising to see that evergreens such as Scotch pine and common and Irish yew were planted, but like the General Cemetery, the range of deciduous examples was more akin to a country park or arboretum. These included Spanish Chestnut, rosemary, various types of elm, almond-leaved, Crack, Bedford, Sweet Bay-leaved, White, Rosemary-leaved and Weeping forms of willow and as might be expected in Nottinghamshire, oak trees, all of which had grown to 'considerable' heights within a decade creating 'one of the most lovely places for retirement and meditation in the neighbourhood'.[72]

There was therefore a close relationship between the garden cemeteries and public parks, both of which partly owed their existence to the 1845 Enclosure Act.[73] Laid out and planted in adjoining places as picturesque gardens upon similar terrain and underpinning geology, their similarity and proximity facilitated easy movement between whilst prominent features such as trees, chapels, spires and lodges in each were widely visible across all the green spaces (figure 9). Visitors to the British Association meeting at Nottingham in 1866, for instance, were encouraged to move freely between the parks, walks and cemeteries, carefully observing the flora and fauna in each whilst deceased local

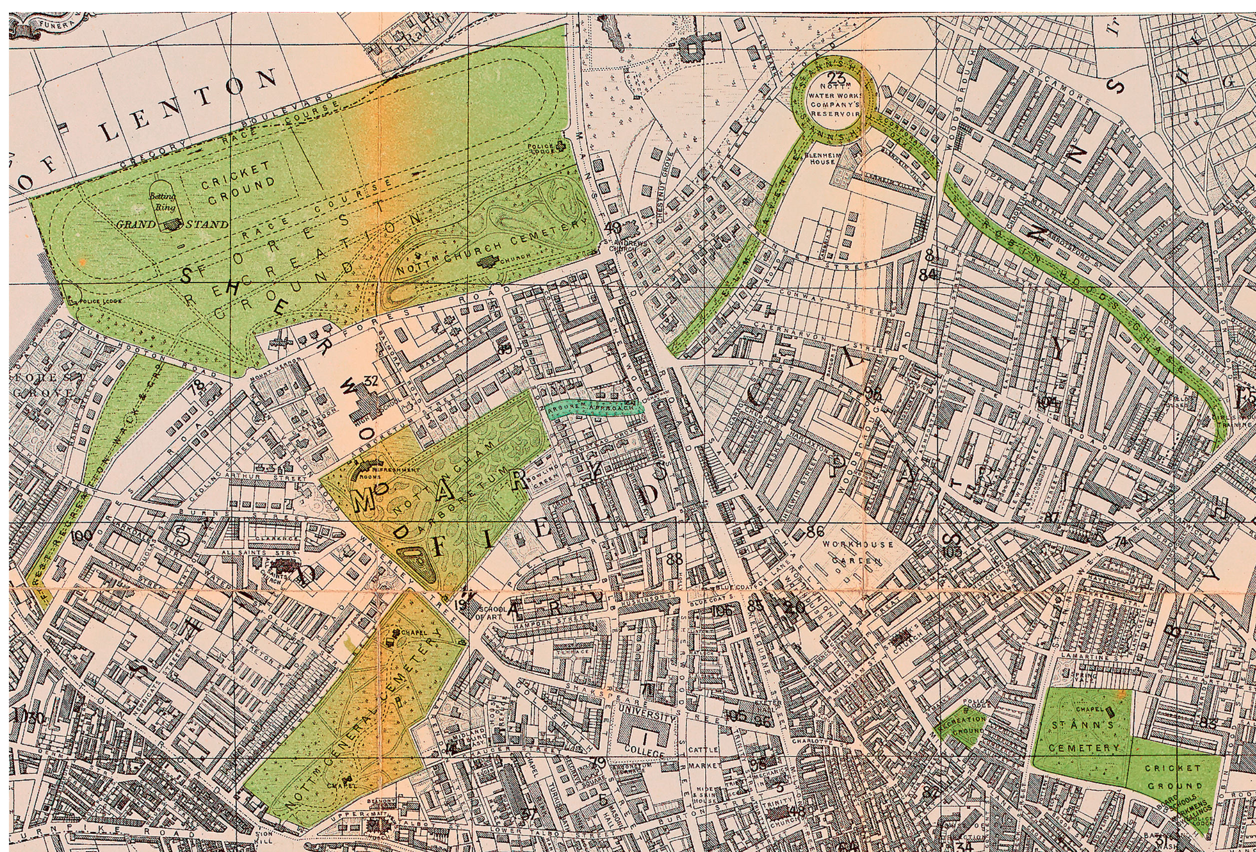

FIGURE 9: Nottingham green spaces from Frederick Jackson, Map of Nottingham (1866), courtesy of Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham.

worthies and their families in the General and Church cemeteries could look out upon the green spaces they had helped to create from their tombs in the higher sections.

Place and Associations

Just as visits to the cemeteries provided a means for the living to commune with – and remember the departed family and friends, so the trees, memorials, monuments and statues with their plaques and inscriptions in parks and burial grounds provided means for onlookers to transcend time and contemplate Nottingham past and future. Just as contemplation of the noble example of the dead was supposed to inspire the living and inculcate higher values of work and industry, so the trees and shrubs of the parks and walks and opportunities for family promenading were likewise intended to promote higher moral values and botanical education. Planting in cemeteries was intended to inculcate moral and religious feelings as 'every tree, every flower, every blade of grass' would 'raise the mind from nature up to nature's God' just as it was claimed every grave and inscription would 'awaken humbling thoughts' of sinfulness and mortality and Christian hope for the resurrection of the dead.[74] The monuments and memorials, particularly for those regarded as prominent worthies and their families, were intended to provide uplifting and inspiring examples of endeavour, achievement and in some cases, self-sacrifice for the living to emulate. These were 'the dust of the bodies of some of the best men and women who have lived and moved among us'.[75] Many were listed and described in Victorian town histories and directories and included clergy, corporation members, prominent industrialists and manufacturers, major charitable donors and benefactors, professionals and some writers. At the Church Cemetery by the 1880s there were memorials to the wealthy lace manufacturer Thomas Adams (1801–1873), clergy such as Rev. Frank Woods and Rev. Francis Morse (1818–86) and civic dignitaries such as Edwin Patchitt (1808–1888), the solicitor, County Treasurer, Clerk of the Enclosure Commissioners, mayor and as clerk to the Church Cemetery, the person largely responsible for its design (figure 10).[76] A striking memorial in the centre of St. Anne's Valley was to William Hannay JP, owner of a large hosiery manufactory, prominent supporter of enclosure and public parks, Chair of the Enclosure Committee when the Arboretum was created and a director of the Midland Railway Company, who drowned off the coast of Sark (figure 6).[77] Designed by the architect George Thomas Robinson (*c*.1827–1897), his monument featured a depiction of Christ's body being placed in the tomb by the Yorkshire sculptor Richard Lockwood Boulton (*c*.1832–1905) enclosed within a moulded arch canopied by a 'huge gable of stonework'. Boulton was 'well known' for the 'power of invention' and 'skill of treatment' in his work and collaborated with Sir George Gilbert Scott on various projects including sculptural schemes at Worcester, Hereford and Lichfield cathedrals.[78]

FIGURE 10: Samuel Butler memorial, Church Cemetery, author 2006.

But opportunities for visitors to transcend time in the cemeteries were not confined to the monuments,

structures, memorials or trees but included the ancient and historical traditions and associations clustering around them which were reinforced by landscaping and planting. Claims about the venerable ancient history of towns became a major part of many urban histories by the eighteenth century, helping to reinforce local pride and assert status in the face of civic rivalry and nineteenth-century industrial towns sought to reconstruct their own past as a means of reconciling radical progress and modernity with tradition, providing legitimacy for class structures by depicting cohesion and continuity with the past rather than jarring ruptures.[79] However this was more difficult in towns such as Nottingham where unlike centres such as York, Chester or Lincoln, there was little evidence in historical or antiquarian records for pre-Roman or Roman occupation. Yet despite this, the presence – and discovery of more – caves combined with semi-mythical and etymological evidence was used by eighteenth and nineteenth-century antiquarians and historians such as William Stukeley, Charles Deering and Charles Laird to claim that Nottingham was settled by the ancient Britons or Romans.[80] Formed on the edge of the Forest which was believed to be an outlying remnant of Sherwood Forest, clearing and excavating the sandstone in the Church Cemetery for catacombs revealed more caves and numerous items which were believed to reinforce such claims including 'relics of human bodies, several rusty rough looking pistols, crow tars and other weapons' whilst 'numerous remains of pillars, arched cavities, and a particular description of aperture, opening outwards as if for purposes of habitation' were also uncovered, three of which were preserved. It was argued that the skeletons were those of 'British warriors' killed during the 'dimly remembered battle' in which the legendary King Humber of the Huns defeated King Albanact as recounted by Geoffrey of Monmouth.[81] In *Shadows Departed*, a pamphlet dedicated to Patchitt the chairman of the Cemetery Committee, the antiquarian and freemason Rev. George Oliver (1782–1867) argued that these were the remains of Abrahamic-period druidical habitations and a temple claiming that this was supported by etymological evidence for ancient Celtic activities such as the derivation of Hyson Green from 'High Stone Green'. At the base of the Church Cemetery valley a 'large circular mass of rock work' was found which appeared to be 'the remains of several caverns which were once arched over; in one part, the roof overhung so dangerously, that it was deemed necessary to remove it.'[82] Although these views were questioned by some, the editor of the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* was encouraged to drive 'at once to the Church Cemetery' after reading Oliver's 'delightful' pamphlet to 'wander through the avenue of the marvellous Druidic temple, the theory of which was 'almost certainty'. He accepted that the site had been a 'great hypaethral [i. e. roofless] temple of the British priesthood – shaded in those ancient times by mighty oaks in which grew the sacred mistletoe' with a lake below mirroring 'at midnight the sacrificial fires' of ancient rites, and claimed that there were no more 'perfect' druidical temples anywhere, the 'lessons of Stonehenge' being 'none so complete' as these. Despite expressing scepticism of these claims, Mellors remarked that the Church Cemetery reminded him of how Abraham had wanted a field with trees and a cave to serve as a 'place to bury his dead out of site'.[83]

The fact that the Church Cemetery and St. Michael's Church were formed near to the place of Nottingham's public executions also helped to efface the memory of past barbarism and expiate the guilt for historic executions. Although an uncomfortable reminder of past public brutality, the association with executions was undoubtedly a source of fascination and repeatedly invoked in publications such as the *Nottingham Date Book* which listed some of those that had taken place. Often hung for what appeared from the Victorian perspective as minor offences frequently driven by hardship and buried in un-consecrated ground if unclaimed by the surgeon or not taken to St. Mary's Churchyard, the new cemetery and church re-sanctified a forlorn spot where hopes had died witnessed by clergy, officials and curious crowds. These associations undoubtedly added a gothic fascination to the place alongside the remains of what were interpreted as historic cave dwellings and apparent evidence for druidical temples. According to Mellors, it was the rocky, romantic and picturesque hilltop location and landscaping melded with the varied and maturing trees combined with the 'traditions of Robin

Hood', the gallows, windmills, and St. Andrews's 'looking down upon it and tolling its blessing' that made the Church Cemetery such a fascinating place to visit and take walks 'for air and exercise and restfulness.'[84] The ancient remains, sacred and historical associations increased the beauty, magic and mystery of the cemetery and linked present Nottingham inhabitants with those of past and future across the millennia.

Social Divisions

Although death was a great leveller and the Anglican and Church cemeteries were theoretically open to all, as with other Victorian institutions, class and religious differences pervaded all aspects of their design, management and usage. As we've seen, these were reinforced by division between consecrated and un-consecrated areas in the General Cemetery from 1848 and although the Church cemetery was supposed to be available to all, in practice it was favoured by middle class Anglicans rather than dissenters. Furthermore despite an effort to keep charges comparable with those of the General Cemetery, the cost of burials at the Church Cemetery was higher than in the other burial grounds. Class divisions were also evident in the geographies of cemeteries with much better provision for the north and west of Nottingham through the General and Church cemeteries than in more densely-populated parts where there were only crowded churchyards (figure 9). Older burial grounds and St. Anne's (St. Mary's) Cemetery or the Cholera Burial Ground on St. Anne's Well Road became rapidly full and when the former were closed in 1856, the number of interments in the latter actually increased. However, although originally sparsely planted, in 1879 it was decided that the St. Mary's Cemetery could be made more park like for a 'small outlay' to become another 'splendid "lung" for the 'teeming multitudes' living nearby. By 1881, as the Ordnance Survey map clearly shows, it was planted out with many trees including an avenue along the drive to the mortuary chapel from the main entrance whilst the adjoining cricket ground had become Byron Recreation Ground (from 1894, Victoria Park).[85]

Anglican preference for the Church Cemetery was also fostered by the differences in prevailing architectural styles as we've seen, with neo-gothic predominating there whilst neoclassicism dominated in the General Cemetery. Class divisions were of course evident in the location and types of grave and memorial in both burial grounds with monuments ranging from nothing over crowded paper graves and temporary wooden crosses over rented graves to elaborate family tombs in enclosed spaces owned in perpetuity with detailed inscriptions surrounding by iron fences. These paralleled divisions in life between the suburban villas of the middle class and cramped terraced and back-to back dwellings of the working class and poor.[86] Both cemeteries prepared maps with records of interments listed numerically and provided rules and regulations governing gravestones, vaults and monuments, drawings of which with inscriptions, had to be presented for approval beforehand. Mourners at the General Cemetery were 'at liberty to introduce such minister as they prefer' for burial services or they could choose to have the keeper read the service. Social class differences were reflected in the location and types of graves and memorials within cemeteries although, as the Independent minister and writer James Orange pointed out, the actual cost of the cheapest graves in the General Cemetery was originally 12s 6d and so income from interments of the wealthier classes were subsiding those of poorer individuals. The fees in both cemeteries varied according to position, type of monument or memorial and the size of plot, with higher charges for burial in 'select parts' of the General Cemetery, closer to the chapel and on the higher ground towards the entrance lodge and gates. There were five classes of burial the cheapest being for 'interment in rotation in 5th class ground' for 7s 6d, which meant that the ground itself was not purchased, could not be transferred and would be re-used for burial after a given period (Loudon recommended twenty eight years). There were also lower charges for young children (under five) and still born children. A mid 3rd class nine foot plot cost £3 3s 0d and a nineteen foot six inch plot in 1st class ground was £6 15s 0d whilst the provision of head or flat

stones cost £1 1s 0d, a tablet on the boundary wall 2.2.0 and a tomb 3.3.0.[87] Despite an effort to keep charges comparable with those of the General Cemetery, the cost of Church Cemetery burials remained higher. It was claimed that as the vaults and common graves in the Church Cemetery were 'dug out of the solid rock' this would enable the 'humbler classes' to take advantage of having a vault for the 'cost of an ordinary grave', which would normally have been prohibitively expensive, but this never actually worked.[88] The graves of wealthier inhabitants generally came to occupy the higher parts of the Cemetery, whilst the lower parts, such as St. Anne's Valley were intended for poorer families. Whilst the rocky location was attractive for picturesque and health reasons it made grave excavation more difficult, time-consuming and expensive than interments in the General and St. Anne's cemeteries. Furthermore, the hilly location on the northern side of Nottingham meant that carriages were often required which were prohibitively expensive for the working class. Excavations in the Forest to form the main carriageway from east to west provided materials that were used in the landscaping of the General Cemetery and in March 1858, Samuel Collinson described seeing 'great excavations' being undertaken there using unemployed labour which was castigated by some as a misapplication of community money and labour for the private gain of wealthy Anglican families who largely patronised the institution.[89] Religious and social class differences also emerged in conflicts over the use of the cemeteries which were seen by supporters of public parks as kindred rational recreational establishments, and supporters of free access to the Nottingham Arboretum highlighted how popular and successful the new cemeteries were as free institutions whilst opponents emphasised problems controlling behaviour in all the green spaces. Notices were placed in the General Cemetery in 1856, for instance, alongside police at the entrances, to prevent young people from engaging in 'disorderly behaviour' and there were threats that access might be limited unless parents or guardians took better control.[90]

Conclusions

As the Nottingham population and size, even the new cemeteries proved to be insufficient. The borough extension of 1878 brought the settlements of Lenton, Radford, Basford, Bulwell and areas to the south as far as the Trent into the town and new cemeteries were established in suburbs such as Radford, Bulwell, Loughborough Road, West Bridgeford and the first Nottingham Crematorium. The General Cemetery was closed to all but existing family interments in 1927 and the Church Cemetery had largely filled up by the inter-war period after having received tens of thousands of burials.[91] However, during the Victorian period, the St Marys, General and Church cemeteries were Nottingham's main burial grounds. Made possible by the enclosures of the 1830s and 1840s, they were closely associated with contemporary public parks and walks, a relationship underscored by their picturesque landscaping and planting. The combination of imposing structures and monuments and carefully managed and planted garden spaces turned the new cemeteries into heterotopias by investing them with sacredness to dignify and exalt the memory of Nottingham's former citizens interred within. According to Orange with its 'green sward' of lawn receding 'by a gentle sloping declivity to the north, intersected with tasteful walks, fringed with lovely flowers, sheltered by humble shrubs and spreading trees', the General Cemetery presented a picture of 'solemnity and beauty' which appeared to 'claim a rightful sovereignty, itself as lovely as some virgin queen' which was 'utterly unlike the weeds and baldness that alternate in many churchyards' which appeared 'rude and unsacred'. The 'quiet repose of the silent inhabitants' was 'made fragrant and lovely by the perfume of flowers' and 'adorned nature' smiled her 'blessings' upon memories of deceased ancestors, transcending time and proclaiming a moral message to the living.[92] However, despite such idyllic descriptions, as we've seen, the cemeteries were riven by class and religious differences with wealthier citizens interred in 'select' higher parts of the grounds, close to chapels and relatively undisturbed, whilst the poor were placed in 'rotational' graves below.

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22 *Nottingham General Cemetery, Derby Road* (Nottingham, 1841), 3–5.

23 *Nottingham Review*, 19 January 1838; Orange, *History*, 950–1; Carter Papers: Nottingham GCC: SubSeries, NA, M/22945–22960: Letter of Benjamin Goodhead, chairman of Freeman's Rights Committee, to GCC concerning erection of freemen's houses, 6 March 1837, M/22945; Second annual report of GCC referring to buildings etc., 1838, M/22951; *Nottingham and Newark Mercury*, 7 January 1837; Mellors, *Men of Nottingham*, 219. 'General Cemetery, Nottingham', Historic England (2018), https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001487; E. Harwood, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Nottingham* (New Haven, 2010), 129–30.

24 Statement of property of the GCC, 1838, NA, M/22952; Balance sheet of the GCC, 1838, M/22953; M/22954, list of private grave purchasers, Jul 1837 – Nov 1838; memorandum hiring George Allcock, 16 November 1838, M22955; Memorandum providing house for William Mann, 17 November 1838, M/22956; (draft) statement of property and funds of the GCC, 1839, M/22957.

25 During its first year of operation to June 1839, there were 270 interments (Orange, *History and Antiquities*, 951).

26 *Leicester Journal*, 24 October 1845.

27 N. Simons ed., *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 18 (London, 1847), 716.

28 'Nottingham Inclosure: Map of the Several Public Carriage Roads, Highways or Streets', 19 January 1848, NA; R. Allen, *Illustrated Handbook and Guide to Nottingham and its Environs*, (Nottingham, 1866), 63; *Nottingham Journal*, 21 May 1858. More land was added to the south west too so the boundary ran along Cromwell Street to the corner with Alfreton Road.

29 Minutes of Council, 1848–9, NA, CA 3608, General Enclosure Committee Report, 13 December 1848, 36–9; indenture, 28 December 1857, NA, M22, 806.

30 *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 7 February, 1850; *Post Office Directory of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire* (London, 1855), 72; *Nottingham Red Book* (1871), 62; Minutes of Council 1848–9, NA, CA 3608, General Enclosure Committee Report, 13 December 1848, pp. 38–9.

31 Sutton, *Nottingham Date Book*, vol. 2, p. 479; *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 16, 23, 30 May, 6 June, 1850, 26 July 1855, 24 January, 19 June, 1856; Mellors, *Gardens, Parks and Walks*, 148–51; Nottingham Enclosure Award map, 1865, NA.

32 Mellors, *Gardens, Parks and Walks*, 149; Harwood, *Nottingham*, 140–1; 'Church Cemetery, Nottingham', Historic England (2018), https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001486.

33 Allen, *Illustrated Handbook and Guide*, 65.

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