MARKERS X

Journal of the
Association for Gravestone Studies

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Edited by
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MARKERS: JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR GRAVESTONE STUDIES

As an avid reader of *Markers* since its initial appearance in 1980, I have been privileged to witness the evolution of this landmark annual publication over its first nine issues. Now, with this, the tenth issue of the journal, the responsibilities of editorship have fallen to me, and in assuming them I am struck with an awareness both of the enormous debt I owe to those who have performed these tasks before me and of the many challenges which lie ahead.

Markers X presents the tone and balance which I hope will characterize the journal as it moves into the second decade of its existence – a blending of the type of traditional folk carver studies which have built and sustained the publication's reputation and a series of interpretive articles which expand its scope into matters of regionalism, ethnicity and other concerns relating directly to a fuller understanding of the role gravemarkers and cemeteries play in the broad spectrum of American culture.

In assembling this issue, I have been aided enormously by the tireless efforts of an editorial advisory board whose many thoughtful comments and suggestions have enhanced greatly the breadth and quality of the various articles contained herein. Both I and the individual contributors owe them our profoundest gratitude.

Thanks also are owed to a number of others: to Western Oregon State College for its generous indirect financial support of the editor's responsibilities; to the American Institute of Commemorative Art and to several anonymous donors for their direct financial assistance to the journal; to Ted Chase, the previous editor of *Markers*, whose counsel and assistance to me in this period of transition have been invaluable; to the staff members of Oregon Typography and Print Tek West, both of Salem, Oregon, whose assiduous efforts are in great measure responsible for the handsome appearance of the volume you now hold; to the officers, board members and general membership of the Association for Gravestone Studies for their many gestures of encouragement and support; and, finally, to Lotte Larsen, whose strength and loving presence keep the editor sane and happy when the stresses of scholarship threaten to engulf him.

Information concerning the submission of manuscripts for future issues of *Markers* may be obtained upon request from Richard E. Meyer, Editor, *Markers: Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, English Department, Western Oregon State College, Monmouth, Oregon 97361. For information about other AGS publications, membership, and activities, write to the Association's Executive Director, Miranda Levin, 30 Elm Street, Worcester, Massachusetts 01601, or call (508) 831-7753.

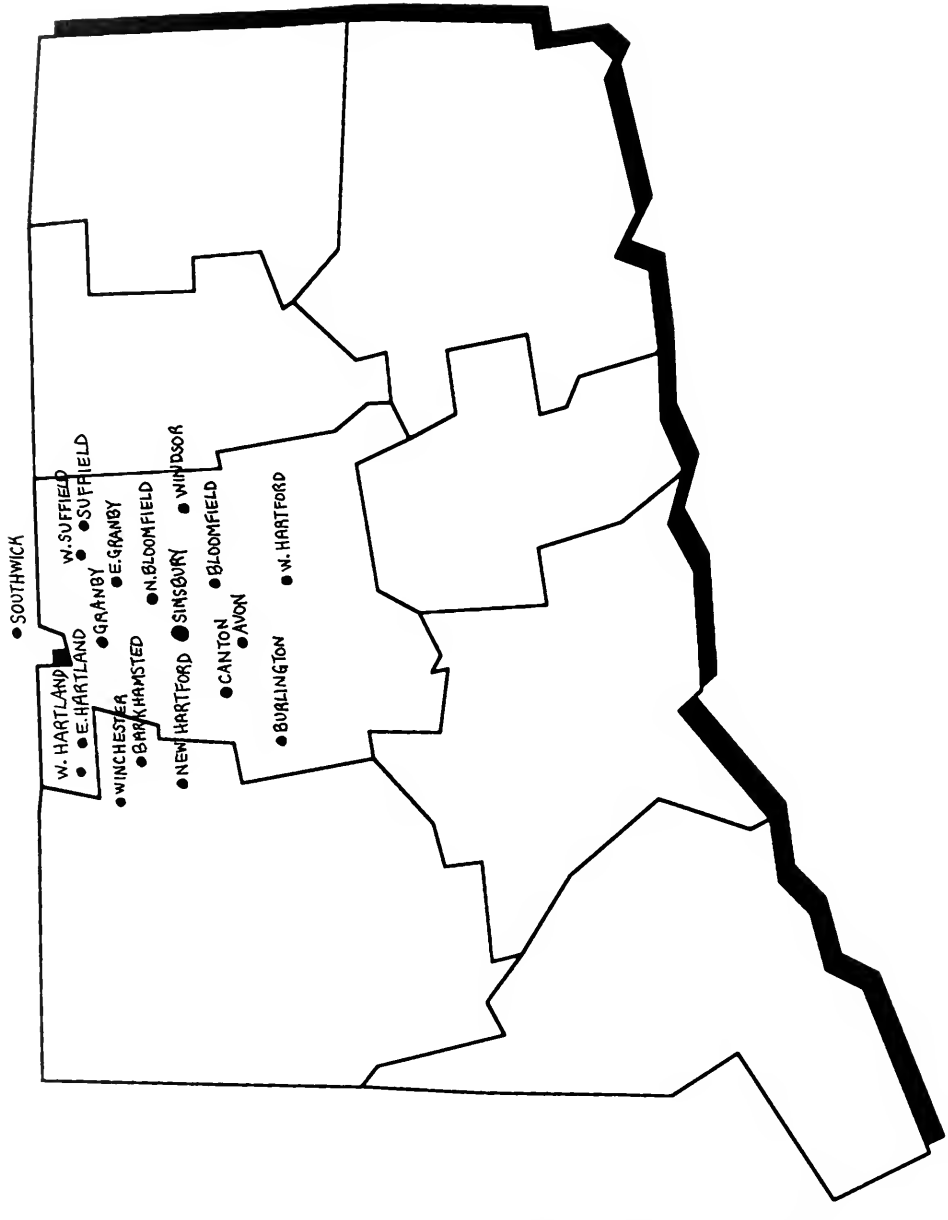

Fig. 1 Map Illustrating Locations of Documented Barber Gravestones

A CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE GRAVESTONES MADE BY CALVIN BARBER OF SIMSBURY, CONNECTICUT

Stephen Petke

Beneath the towering pines and to the sides of the central path of the eastern slope of Simsbury's Hop Meadow Burying Yard stand some sixty sandstone gravemarkers with remarkably similar decorative characteristics. These gravestones, most of which are dated between 1792-1807, feature a pear-shaped face with a small, thin, down-turned mouth, thin almond-shaped eyes and curved eyebrows and a long, two-lobed nose. The face is often encircled with striated wings and wavy headdress. The borders are symmetrical s-shaped curves which occasionally merge at the finial into an abstract flower bud. The legend is carved chiefly in upper- and lower-case block letters with liberal serifs. The capital letters AD are fused and followed by a colon. The numbers tend to be quite large and full-bellied.

The maker of these gravestones, Calvin Barber, signed none of them, but fortuitously left an extraordinary record of his work in two now desiccated account books currently in the possession of the Simsbury Historical Society. Barber's account books are a veritable gold mine of information about his life, his business ventures, his carving shop, and, especially, the individual stones which he made. It is indeed rare that such documentation exists and that it is possible to catalog nearly the entire output of a carver by having a record of his work. With Barber's account books one can trace changes in style, lettering, materials, costs and dispersal of his works. From reading these two volumes it becomes clear that Calvin Barber dominated the gravestone carving business in Simsbury and adjacent Farmington River Valley towns from 1793 until 1820. Even allowing for the tremendous increase in the number of gravestones erected after the American Revolution, Barber's output is significant. He placed over 150 stones in Simsbury, ninety in Canton, sixty in Granby, fifty in Bloomfield, twenty-five in East Granby and a scattering in the Connecticut towns of Avon, Windsor, East and West Hartland, Burlington, New Hartford, Winchester, West Hartford, Suffield, Barkhamsted, and the Massachusetts border town of Southwick (see Fig. 1). In all, at least 425 gravemarkers in this area can be documented or safely attributed to Calvin Barber. The volume of his work may easily exceed

this figure: however, the lack of consistent documentation and the lack of distinction among much of the gravestone styles in the Farmington Valley after 1820 do not allow for conclusive attribution. These obstacles notwithstanding, it is certain that Barber was the region's most popular carver during the transformation of the craft at the turn of the century.

When Calvin Barber's father, Daniel, died in 1779 at the age of 46, he left a humble estate worth just over 100 pounds. Incompetently managed by the executors, these assets quickly diminished and the widow, Martha (Phelps) Barber, found herself unable to care for her many children. At eight years of age, and against his will, her son, Calvin, was apprenticed to his brother-in-law, Jacob Pettibone, to learn the business of stonecutting and masonry. Whether or not Calvin Barber learned how to carve gravestones from Jacob Pettibone is uncertain. There is limited evidence which suggests that Pettibone may have produced gravestones. His inventory included two chisels, two crowbars, one stone hammer, and two stone augers, but these would not have been used exclusively, if at all, for cutting gravestones. The gravestone carved for Pettibone's son, Jacob Wayne Pettibone (Simsbury, 1781), bears some resemblance to the early documented works of Calvin Barber and it would not have been uncommon for a father in the stonecutting business to memorialize his son with a marker of his own making. Pettibone's contemporary, Isaac Sweetland of Windsor and Hartford, was clearly active in gravestone making in the 1780s and there are similarities in the carving styles of Barber and Sweetland (see Figs. 2 and 3). Sweetland, incidentally, continued to carve for another forty years until his death in 1823 and remains a figure worthy of continued research by gravestone scholars.

Wherever he learned his trade, Calvin Barber learned it well. By 1793 he had married Rowena Humphrey, daughter of Major Elihu Humphrey, and was already established as a competent stone mason and gravestone carver. In the same year Calvin received his first military appointment, the designation of corporal. Successive appointments over the next fifteen years elevated him to the position of lieutenant colonel. Calvin's education must have also included academic training, for his account books are well-written and meticulously maintained. His training would bear abundant fruit. He would serve as Justice of the Peace for the county from 1806-1815 and in a legal capacity for the State of Connecticut. From rather unassuming beginnings, Calvin Barber would

Fig. 2 Major Elihu Humphrey, 1777, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Isaac Sweetland. Calvin Barber's early carving resembles this Sweetland style.

become one of the shrewdest and most prominent businessmen in Simsbury in the early nineteenth century.[1]

Gravestone making was rarely an occupation that could support an ambitious Yankee. In fact, Calvin Barber's gravestone business supplemented his major occupation as a mason and stonecutter. The residents of the Farmington Valley also patronized Calvin Barber for their stoves, sinks, mantels, hearths and well caps. He furnished the stone for the underpinning, steps and hearth for the Turkey Hills meeting house from 1796-1802 and provided the stone for the elaborate house of Solomon Rockwell of Winchester, now the home of the Winchester Historical Society. Later, Barber would build the arches for the Farmington canal through Simsbury.

Calvin Barber obtained the variegated, reddish orange-brown sandstone used to form gravestones from two quarries, one at Hop Brook, just south of the present day First Church of Christ in Simsbury, and another adjoining his own wooded lot.[2] The stone used by Barber can be distinguished easily from the redder stone used by the Drake family of carvers in the area around Windsor, Connecticut and the browner sandstone quarried in the Portland/Middletown section of the state. The color of the stone quarried in Simsbury resembles the sandstone from the nearby Longmeadow/Springfield area of Massachusetts, though the former is coarser in texture. At the time Barber began to carve gravestones, the quarry at Hop Brook was owned by John Poyson. Calvin bartered his labor in exchange for the use of the quarry:

> Know all men by these presences that I, Calvin Barber of Simsbury do for the consideration of twelve pounds [new tenor?] do bind myself to bild a chimney to a dwelling hous for Mr. John Pason. Said Pyson to bord said Barber and find [timber?] and to deliver materials for said chimney also. Said Barber is to under pin said hous to the sills; one side of said hous to be hewed stone, the other part of said hous to be ruf and not hewed but of plate stone. Said Barber is to furnish said underpinning stone and to deliver them in the quarry and said Pyson to dr[aw] them to the hous. The above [task] to be finished the first day of January, 1796.
>
> For which labor I am to have the privilege of a quarry of ston[e] which I am now improving and have bin for the time of two years; said Barber to have the benefit of said quarry from the north bounds to the brook which bounds we have this day put up, said quarrys are at the upper and lower mills so-called in Hopmeadow in Simsbury.
>
> (signed) John Poyson
> Calvin Barber

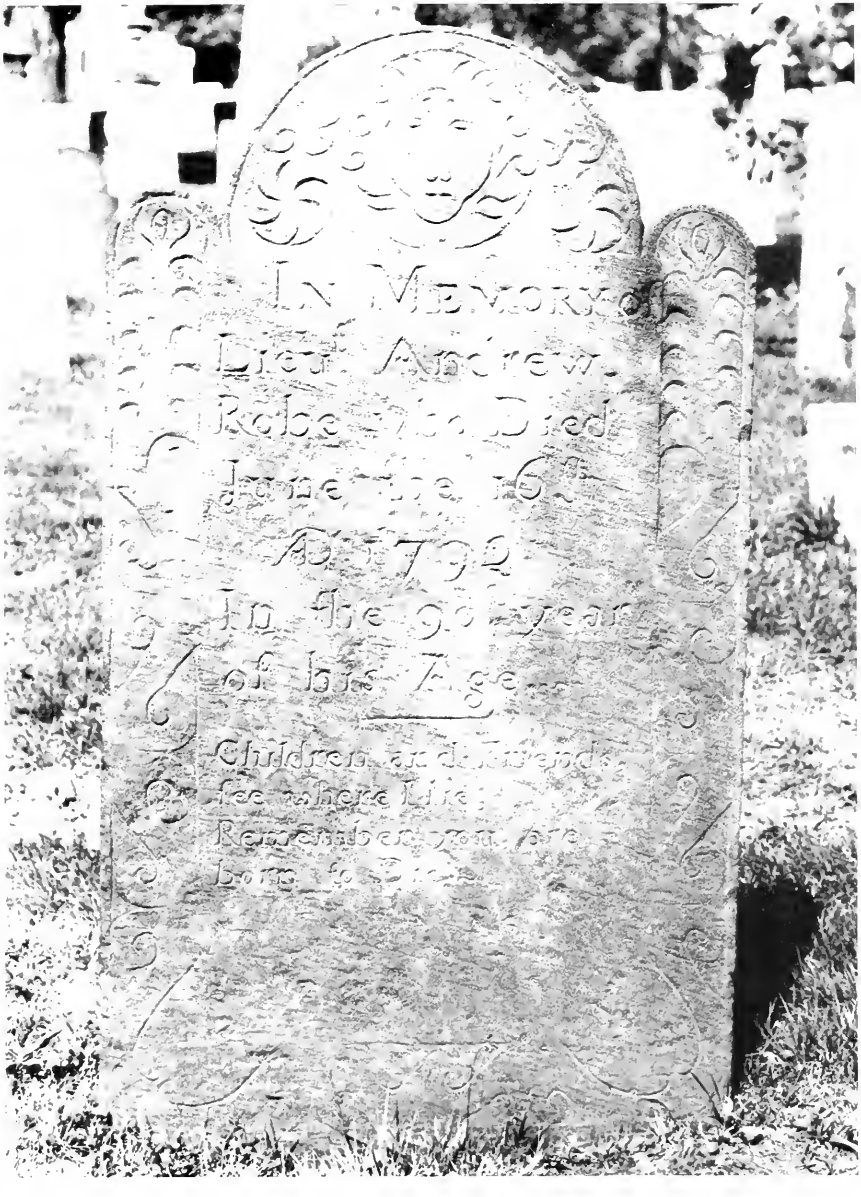

Fig. 3 Lieutenant Andrew Robe, 1792, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. This stone illustrates similarities and differences in Barber's early work and that of Isaac Sweetland.

Dated at Simsbury
this 16th day of Dec., 1795
in presence of
(signed) Theo Woodbridge
Ebenezer Smith[3]

In 1807 Barber purchased outright the quarry at Hop Brook from Jonas Stanbury, a New York land speculator, and continued to own his two quarries, valued at $175, until his death in 1846.

The early sandstone gravestones

The earliest stones made by Calvin Barber resemble the circle cherub style of the Elihu Humphrey stone (Simsbury, 1777, Fig. 2), carved by Isaac Sweetland.[4] The stone carved by Barber for Lieutenant Andrew Robe (Simsbury, 1792, Fig. 3), which was purchased in March, 1793, illustrates both the similarities and the differences. The head of the cherub on both stones is encircled by short, upswept, striated wings and the wavy headdress, and is flanked by two pinwheel rosettes. A drape-like pendency appears over the head. The eyes on the Robe stone, however, are thinner, as are the eyebrows, and the long nose has two lobes instead of three. The border decorations are the familiar s-shaped curves merging into a flower stem and bud. In the legend the fused AD is common to both, as are the colon and the size and shape of the numerals. The connector in the A of the Robe stone, however, is not v-shaped as in the stone carved by Sweetland, and the thorn (the symbol Y for the "th" sound, as in Ye for the) is not used. Barber rarely used the thorn in his lettering. The cost of each stone was two pounds.

By the mid 1790s Barber had modified his carving, simplifying and standardizing the basic design of his "two-pound, five-shilling" gravestone. The marker for Deborah Case (Simsbury, 1796, Fig. 4) shows that the mouth has been turned down and that the borders contain a thin, undulating abstract vine motif. The numbers are quite large and the relief is rather shallow. Occasionally, as in the stone for Asenath Humphrey (Simsbury, 1795, Fig. 5), Barber substituted a pair of flowers in place of the usual pinwheel rosettes. The borders too could be modified, using plain, straight lines, as in the marker for Liberty Phelps (Canton, 1796). Barber's stones for children often were simplified even more by eliminating much of the epitaph and minimizing the amount of carving in the lunette and borders. His earliest documented stone for a

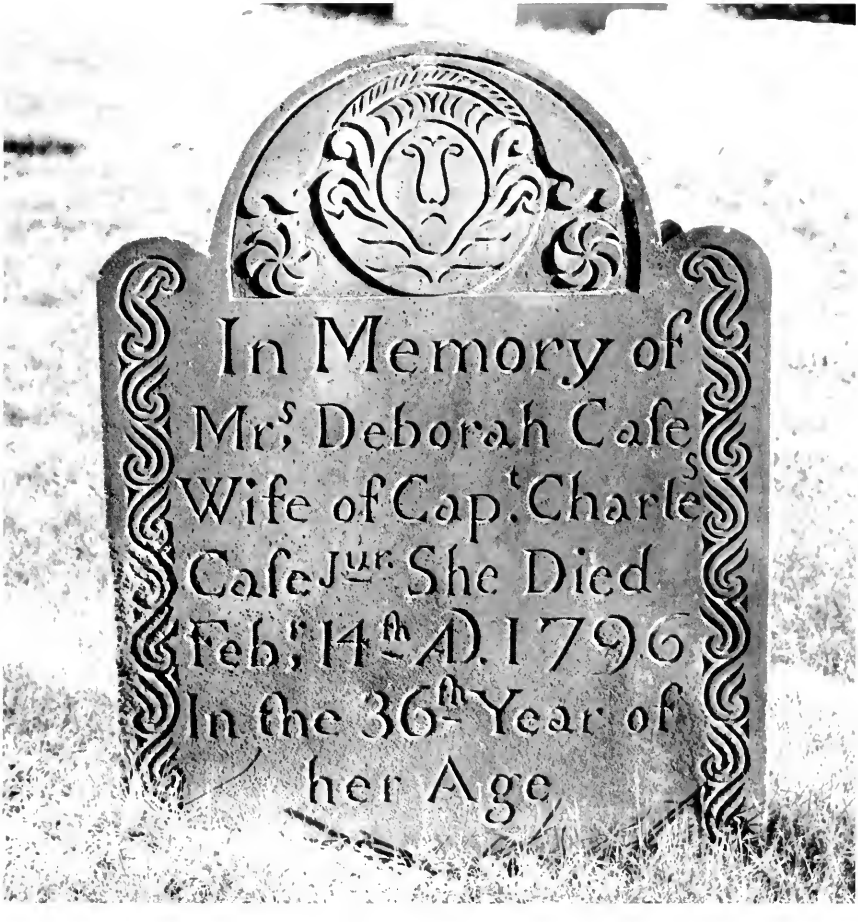

Fig. 4 Deborah Case, 1796, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. Simplified design used by Barber in the mid-1790s in his "two pound, five shilling" gravestones.

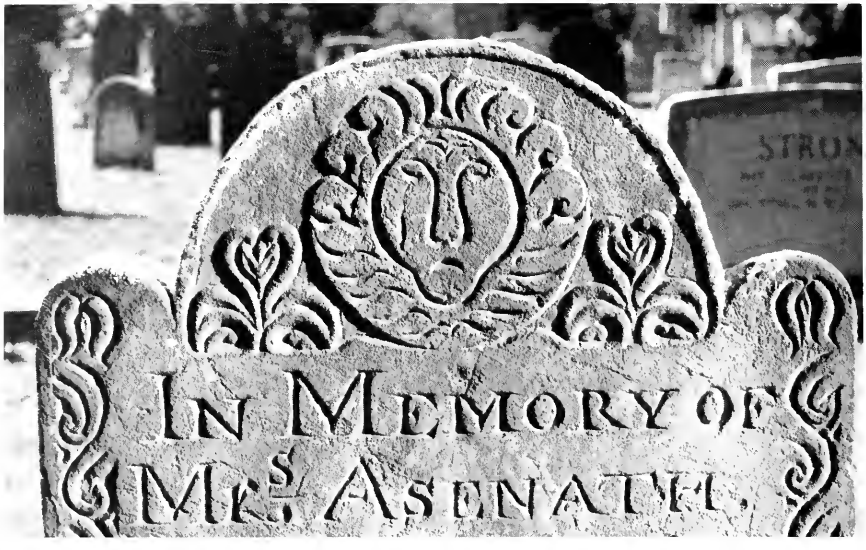

Fig. 5 Asenath Humphrey, 1795, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. An occasional Barber design in which he replaced his usual pinwheel rosettes with flowers.

child, that for Love Ensign (Simsbury, 1794, Fig. 6) was cut using the streamlined version of Barber's basic gravestone design. The limited amount of carving reduced the cost of such a stone to just one pound, four shillings.

Although Calvin Barber had largely standardized his gravestone production within the first two years of operation, and the cost of such stones was now within the reach of some of the moderately wealthy and middle class citizens of the Farmington Valley, the most prominent and prosperous of the Valley's populace could still distinguish themselves by having erected distinctive gravemarkers cut by Calvin Barber. Carved in 1797, the gravestone of Colonel Jonathan Humphrey (Simsbury, 1794, Fig. 7) stands apart from Barber's more conventional gravestones. While the lettering and facial features are readily recognizable as from Barber's hand, the central image is transformed by the large, solid, scimitar-like wings which arch up powerfully from below the chin. They are supported by two small pillars (recalling the Biblical Jachin and Boaz) and a globe within a box. The headdress is far more elaborate than is usual for Barber's work and the intricate scrolled-head tympanum, which was

Fig. 6 Love Ensign, 1794, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. Barber's earliest documented stone for a child and typical of the streamlined version of his basic design.

Fig. 7 Colonel Jonathan Humphrey, 1794, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. An example of an elaborate design carved for a prosperous citizen.

specifically requested by the deceased's son, completes this decidedly fashionable monument. Colonel Jonathan Humphrey was one of the leading citizens of Simsbury. He served as a lieutenant on Lake Champlain during the French-Indian War and as a colonel at Peekskill, New York during the revolution. He commanded a force of 1,149 men, three-fourths of which he had mustered in Simsbury. On the domestic front, he helped to establish Newgate prison and represented his town in the Connecticut General Assembly and as a selectman. He owned a stylish center-chimney "saltbox" house and some 165 acres of land. Though his entire inventory of over 1,000 pounds does not indicate a man of great wealth, it is likely that some of his fortune was spent during the Revolution or had been conferred to his heirs prior to his death.[5] A similarly elaborate scroll pediment gravestone was carved for Matthew Adams (Bloomfield, 1776, Fig. 8) and was placed some twenty years after his death.

Calvin Barber merged his scimitar wing and s-shaped curved border styles in executing the gravestones for his father, Daniel Barber

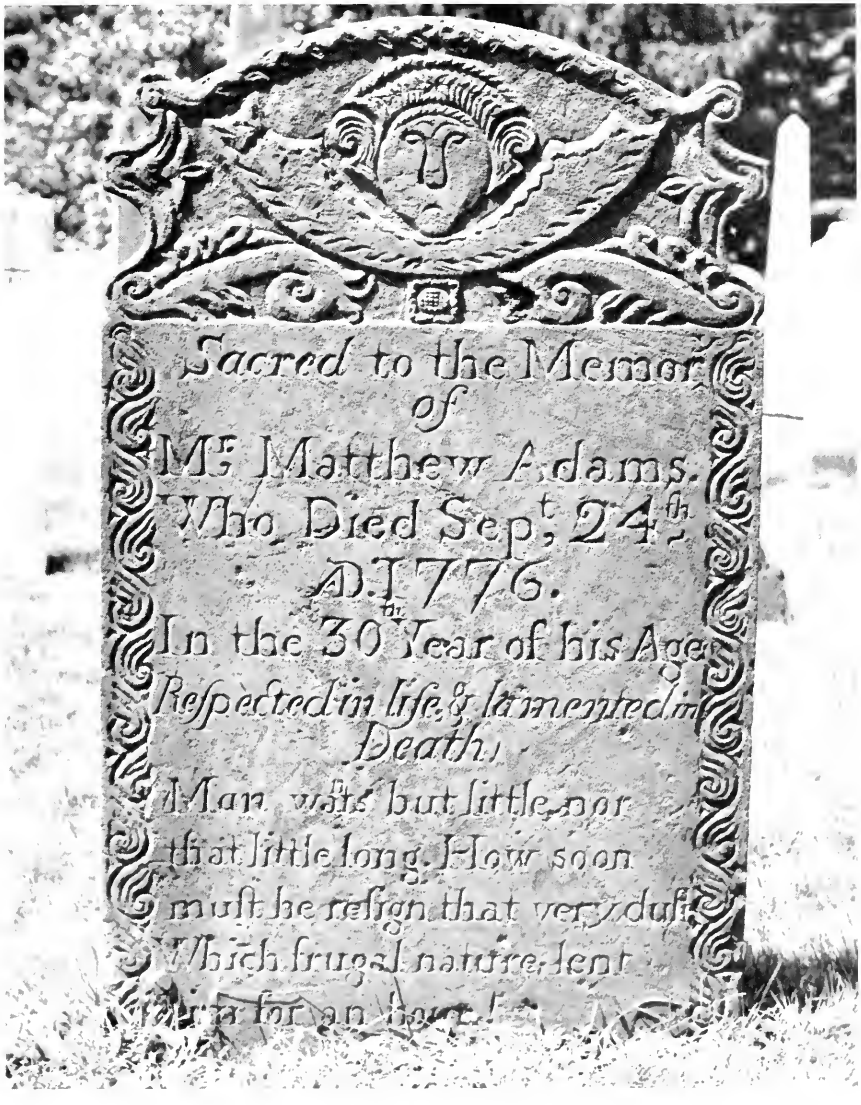

Fig. 8 Matthew Adams, 1776, St. Andrews Cemetery, Bloomfield. Documented to Calvin Barber. Carved and erected in 1797, twenty years after Adams' death.

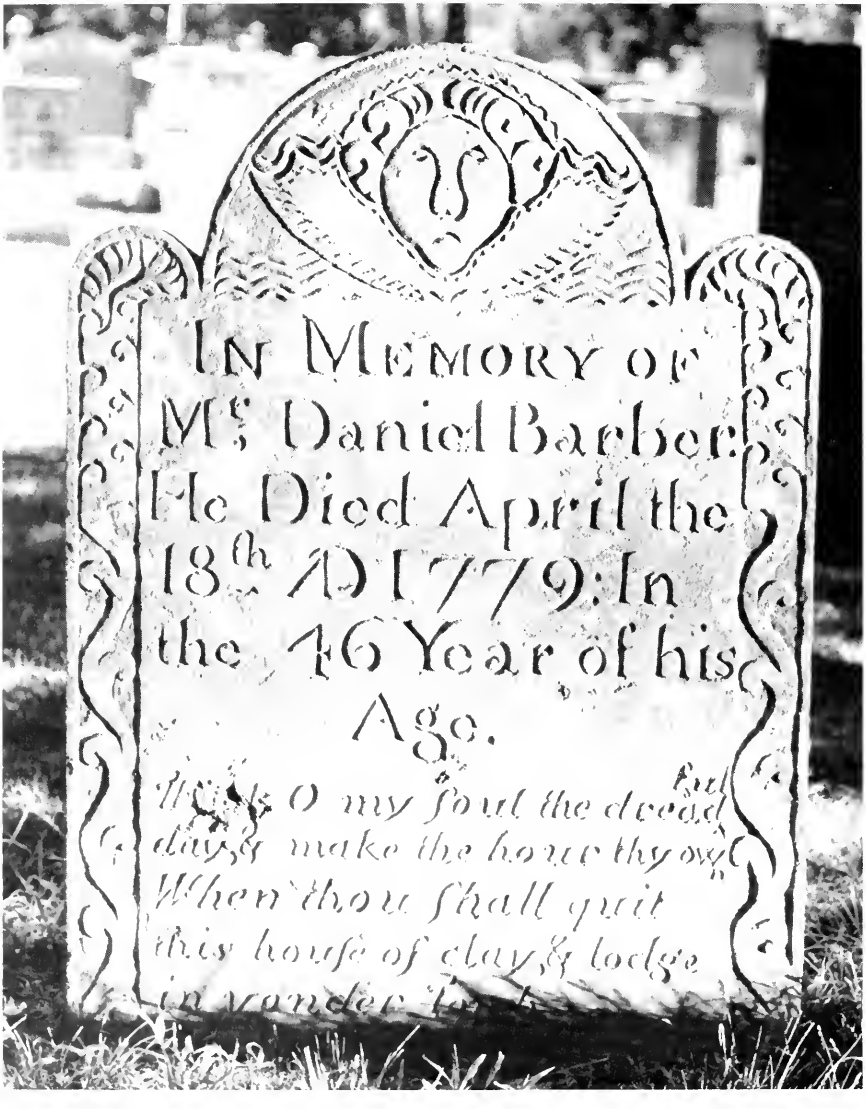

Fig. 9 Daniel Barber, 1779, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Attributed to Calvin Barber. This stone for Calvin's father is backdated by some 15 years.

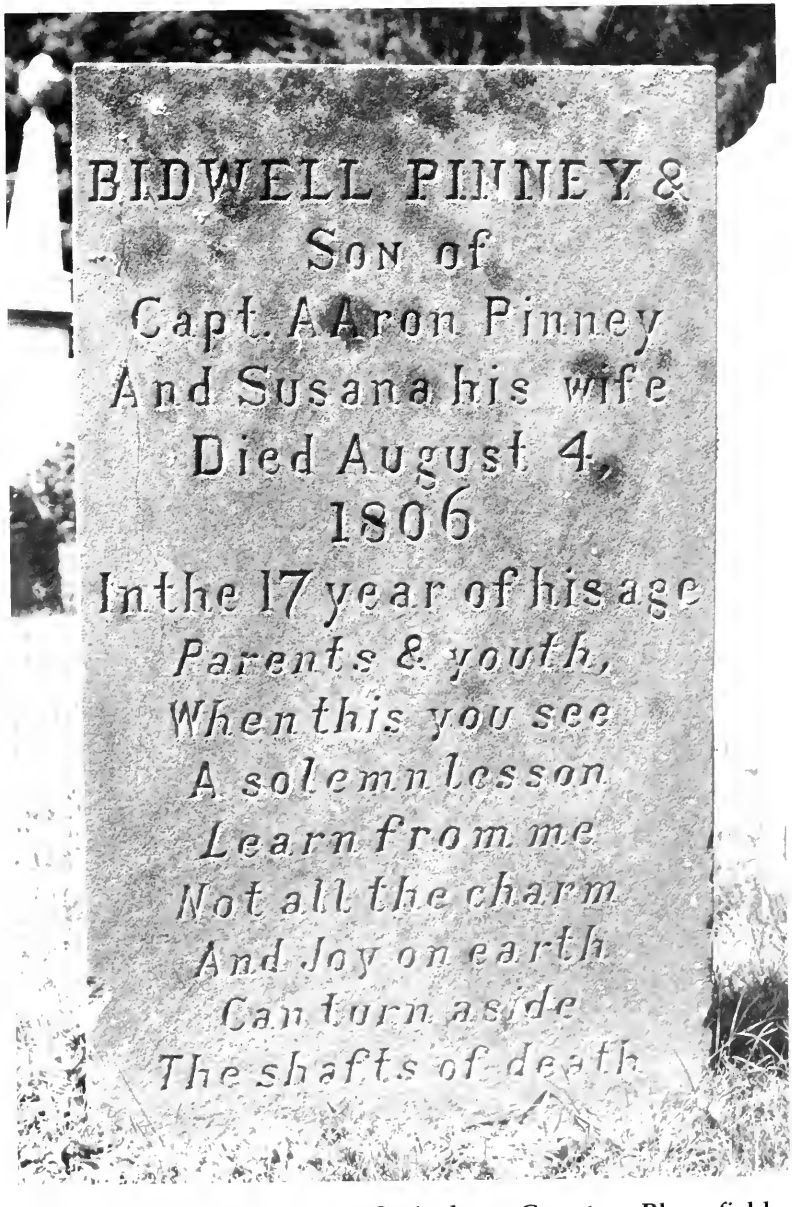

Fig. 10 Bidwell Pinney, 1806, St. Andrews Cemetery, Bloomfield. Attributed to Calvin Barber. Typical of an unornamented style that Barber carved and placed only in this yard for two decades beginnin in the mid-1790s.

Fig. 11 Michael Moses, 1797, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. Around 1800, Barber began to simplify his carving, progressing toward an unornamented uniformity.

(Simsbury, 1779, Fig. 9) and for Hezekiah Humphrey (Simsbury, 1781). These stones, both of which are backdated by roughly 15 years, are more deeply cut than many of Calvin's other works, and the attentive carving in the lunette sets these two stones apart from Barber's more common gravemarkers.

Beginning in the mid 1790s, Barber also began to furnish gravemarkers from a different sandstone and of a different style for the deceased at the St. Andrew's church in a section of North Bloomfield, at the time called Scotland. While some of Barber's more elaborate scimitar wing style stones were placed here, a majority of sandstone markers cut for this congregation by Barber were rectangular grayish-brown gravestones with inscriptions but no ornamental carving (see Fig. 10). The earliest of these was carved in 1795. In addition to the composition and shape of this stone, the lettering that Barber used differs from his typical style. The carving is more fluid, many of the letters being italicized or delicately slanted. Barber would continue supplying this style of gravestone over the next two decades. In no other Farmington Valley burying ground, however, does one find the rectangular grayish brown gravestone with no decoration that Barber carved for the St. Andrew's church.

Nineteenth century winged-face sandstone gravestones

Around 1800, Calvin Barber began to further simplify his basic design by gradually eliminating the striated lines in his effigies' wings and thinning the eyes and eyebrows. The Michael Moses stone (Simsbury, 1801, Fig. 11) illustrates the progression toward this unornamented uniformity. Barber's movement toward greater simplicity was no doubt driven by his desire to produce gravestones efficiently rather than by his lack of skill or creativity. There are, nonetheless, occasional examples of a rare but not unexpected mistake, as, for example, a backward number 4 in the stone carved for John Cowles (New Hartford, 1792).

Amidst the monotony of the mass-produced gravestone, Calvin Barber did, at times and for the proper dignitary, furnish a monument of considerable artistry, invention and proficiency. Among his sandstone masterpieces must be included the monument for Doctor Jonathan Bird (Simsbury, 1786, Fig. 12). This stone, carved in 1795, is a remarkably executed sculpture which demonstrates Barber's tremendous facility in carving intricate details upon gravestones of sweeping proportions.

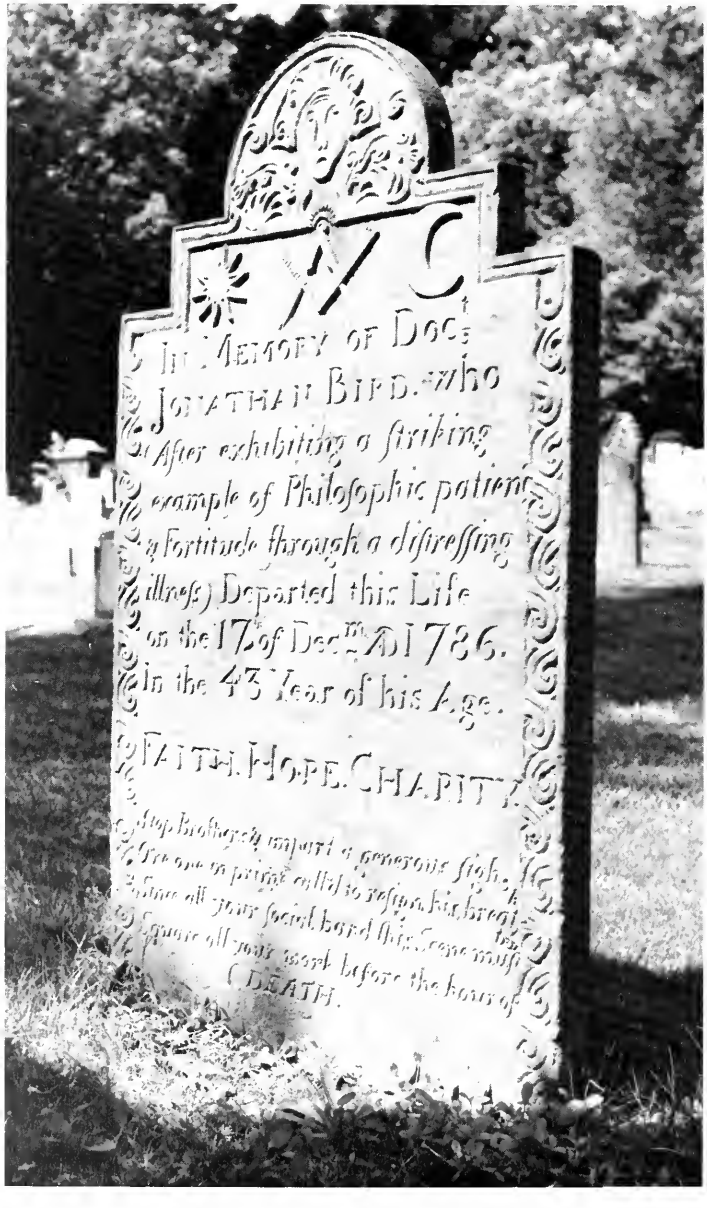

Fig. 12 Doctor Jonathan Bird, 1786, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. One of Barber's sandstone masterpieces blending traditional folk imagery with newer classical images.

Given the time, motivation, and remuneration (the stone cost six pounds), Calvin Barber could create works which rivaled the best products of the Valley's finest carving tradition. The Bird stone, with its right-angled shoulders, features a conventional cherub face with elaborate curly headdress surrounded by delicately carved vines. The space directly below the tympanum shows a quintet of Masonic symbols: the sun, the square and compass, the all-seeing eye, and the crescent moon. The inscription, also carved with great care, reads:

> IN MEMORY of Doct. JONATHAN BIRD, who (After exhibiting a striking example of Philosophic patience and Fortitude through a distressing illness) Departed this Life on the 17th of Decm AD 1786. In the 43 Year of his Age.
>
> FAITH. HOPE. CHARITY.
>
> Stop Brother and impart a generous sigh, O're one in prime called to resign his breath. Since all your social band this Scene must tie, Square all your work before the hour of DEATH.

During the late 1700s and early 1800s a movement toward adaptation of neoclassical motifs saw a parallel tendency to abandon many of the typical religious symbols and to recognize one's allegiance to earth-bound institutions. This period represented a transitional phase as gravestone images and carving techniques shifted from expressions of folk culture to manifestations of professional training and popular culture. The apparent religious images (cherubs, angels, and soul effigies) were gradually replaced by neoclassical and secular images (urns, willows, columns, and curtains.) In addition to the changes in imagery, this period witnessed a change in technology. Instead of the freehand creation of designs by individual carvers, gravestone production relied on the use of stencils or patterns for designs. The rise in Freemasonry paralleled this transformation in gravestone art. This quasi-religious group displayed its loyalty to the fraternal order by placing their symbols on selected markers in New England. The Bird stone is an exceptional example of the blending of traditional folk imagery and newer worldly and popular images. The traditional cherub face is merged with the sun and the moon symbolizing light, the square and compass representing reason and relationship with God, and the all-seeing eye of a vigilant God. The words Faith, Hope, and Charity stand for the three rungs of

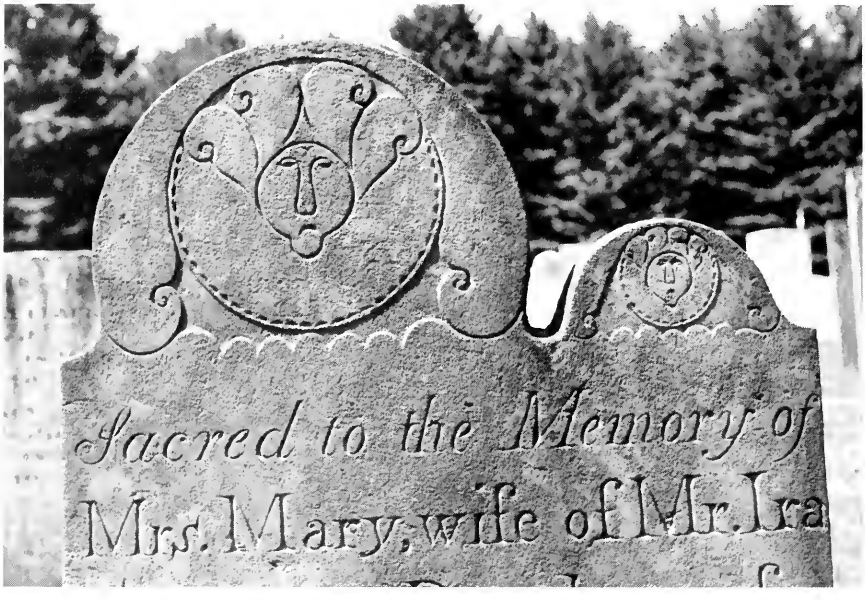

Fig. 13 Mary Clark and daughter, 1808, St. Andrews Cemetery, Bloomfield. Documented to Calvin Barber. This stone illustrates the economy of the carving seen in much of Barber's later work.

Jacob's ladder.[6]

During the latter portion of the new century's first decade, Calvin Barber eliminated the rosettes from the lunette of his stones and carved very few excess lines or ornamentation. Border decorations disappeared and inscriptions became terse. Within a few years Barber would price his stones according to the number of characters and begin to charge interest on accounts past due. The gravestone of Mary Clark and daughter (Bloomfield, 1808, Fig. 13) illustrates the continuing sparseness and economy of the carving. The drape-like pendency above the face has now become the outline of the tympanum. The encircling wings are more abstract than ever, and the headdress contains but a few large curls. As late as 1819, Barber was still providing gravestones with the cherub face motif to those who had no preference for the more current styles.

Neoclassical sandstone gravestones

The proliferation of the urn-and-willow motif in the last decade of

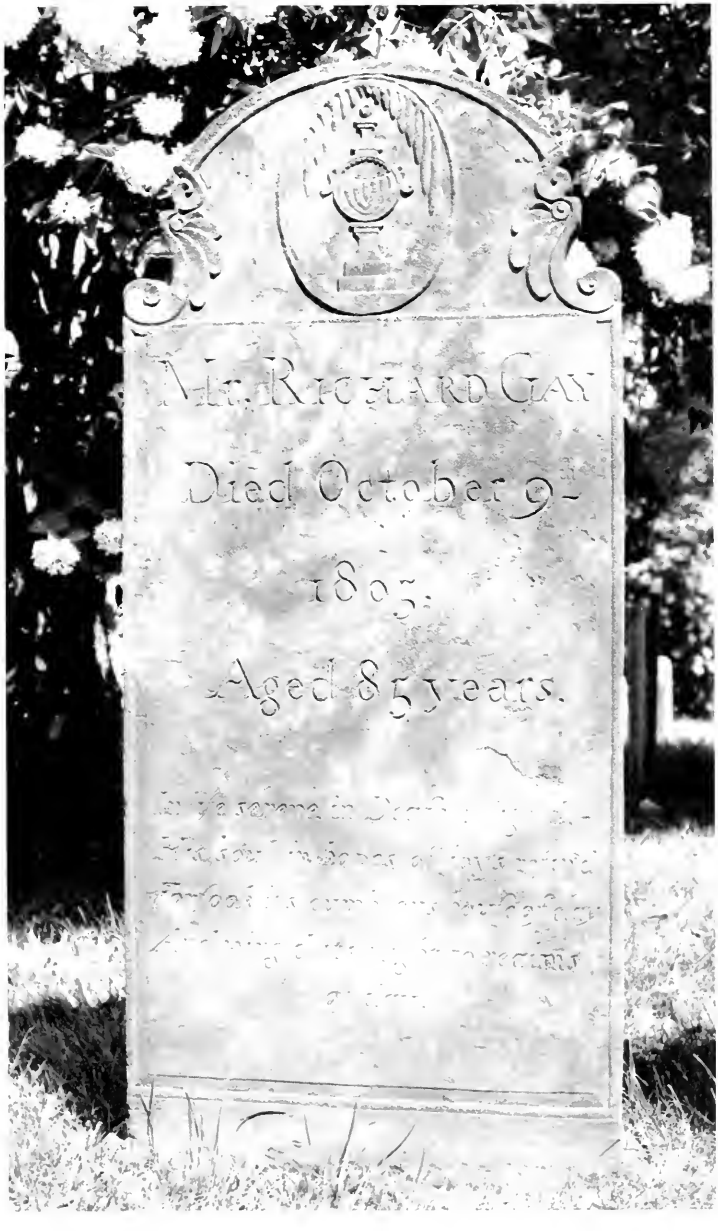

Fig. 14 Richard Gay, 1805, Center Cemetery, East Granby. Documented to Calvin Barber. An example of the "locket style," one of Barber's three urn-and-willow designs.

the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century engulfed virtually all major New England carvers, among them Calvin Barber. After 1810, with few exceptions, the winged-effigy or cherub-faced stones (which one associates with the colonial carving tradition) were made by Calvin Barber generally for children and wives whose older surviving relatives ordered the then-outmoded cherub face motif. For the new generation, the neoclassical lines and sentimental urns and willows were the fashion of the day.

Calvin Barber began carving his urn-and-willow motif gravestones in 1802, the year in which he rendered the baroque carvings for Moses Case (Simsbury, 1794) and Job Case (Simsbury, 1798). Undoubtedly influenced by other Connecticut Valley carvers, Barber cut these grave-markers with a tympanum shaped by scrolls and reverse curves. Within the lunette, he carved a round urn flanked by two willow trees. As with almost all of Barber's urn-and-willow carvings, there are no border decorations, only a slight grooved outline to frame the legend. The lettering

Fig. 15 Deacon Samuel Hayes, 1801, Center Cemetery, Granby. Documented to Calvin Barber. One of about a dozen markers carved in a baroque urn-and-willow style, Barber's most expensive sandstone creations.

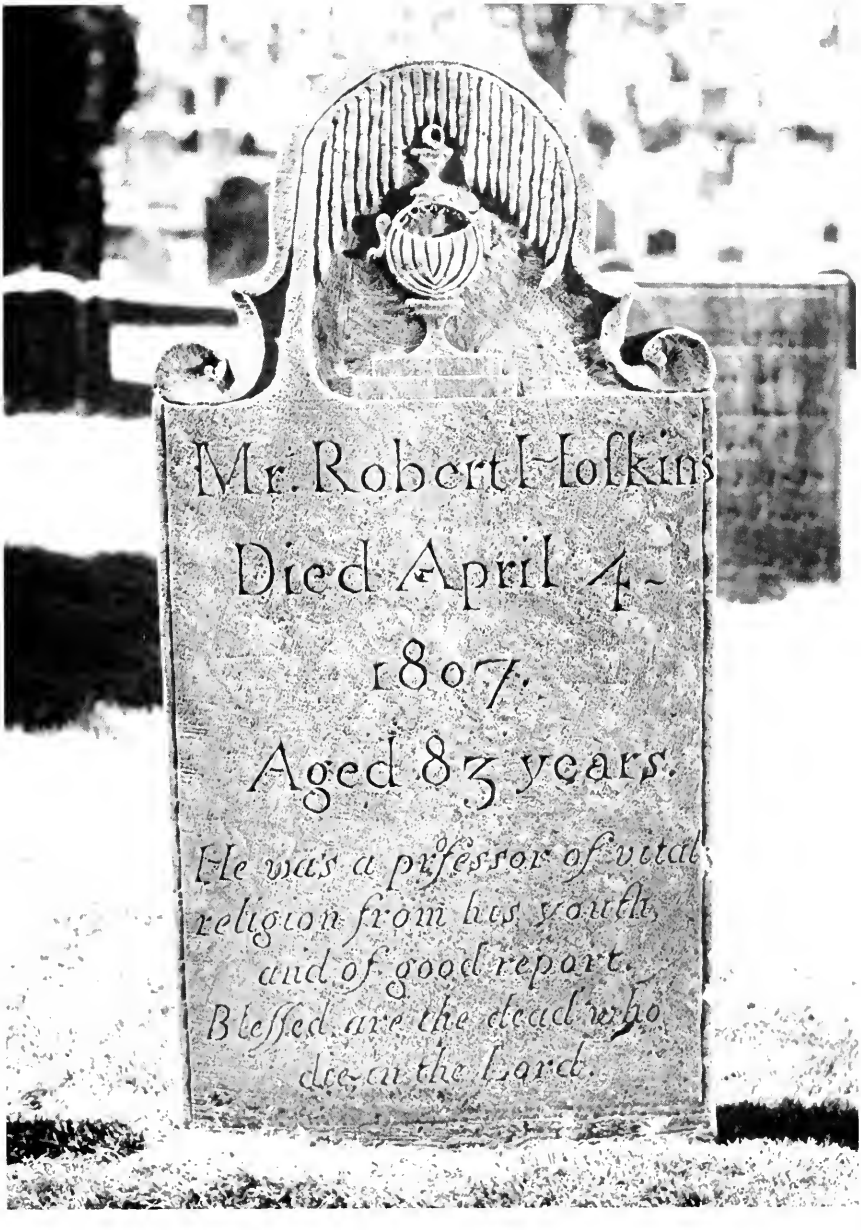

Fig. 16 Robert Hoskins, 1807, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. An example of Barber's third urn-and-willow style.

is characteristic of Barber's cherub-faced creations, with block upper- and lower-case letters for the initial inscription, italicized letters for the remainder of the epitaph, a fused AD, and full-bellied numerals.

While a few examples can be found with a single urn or with a lone willow, the vast majority of Calvin Barber's neoclassical gravestones were carved with both urns and willows in the tympanum. Barber relied on a fundamental design for his colonial style carvings, but commonly used three repetitive urn-and-willow designs to suit his or his patron's taste. The gravestone for Richard Gay (East Granby, 1805, Fig. 14) is one of Barber's "locket-style" urn-and willow carvings. The central image, a round urn upon a base with an overhanging willow tree or branch, is enclosed by a thin oval outline. The Gay stone is embellished with baroque volutes which extend to the finials.

The Deacon Samuel Hays stone (Granby, 1801, Fig. 15) is one of the finest examples of Barber's high baroque style of urn-and-willow gravemarkers. Barber carved about a dozen of these fashionable monuments until 1810, when simpler, cleaner designs became more popular. The purchasers of Barber's scroll head style of gravestone frequently gave him specific carving instructions. Simeon Hays asked that the gravestone for his father, Samuel, be a "scroll head," while Noble Phelps requested that the stone for his wife, Florina (Simsbury, 1799) be a "scroll head with a weeping willow." Because of the more complicated and time-consuming carving, these were among Barber's most expensive creations, costing around four and one-half pounds.

A third basic urn-and-willow design utilized by Barber can be seen in the stone carved for Robert Hoskins (Simsbury, 1807, Fig. 16). Here the round urn is draped by a large willow tree which fills the entire upper portion of the lunette. The stones that Barber carved for Luther Holcomb (East Granby, 1809) and Hoel Humphrey (Simsbury, 1808) represent less elaborate and less expensive versions where the willow tree is far less intricately carved or is absent altogether. In the case of the Humphrey stone instructions for a gravestone "with an urn on it" were expressly given to Calvin Barber. For children, Barber often carved double stones such as the markers for Nancy and Candice Holcomb (West Granby, 1811) and Henry J. and Harriet Holcomb (North Granby, 1815).

Very few Connecticut Valley burying yards contain gravestones with Masonic symbols on them. The Amasa Humphrey stone (Simsbury, 1799, Fig. 17) deserves attention both for its striking abundance of

Fig. 17 Captain Amasa Humphrey, 1799, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. An expensive stone with an elaborate, beautifully executed design that includes an abundance of Masonic symbols.

Masonic symbols and for its consummate execution. Barber's most skillfully carved urn-and-willow motif adorns the tympanum of this monument, while the vertical and horizontal borders are cut to represent the two pillars of King Solomon's Temple (symbolizing strength and stability) and the tesselated pavement. Within this framework are carved the sun symbolizing light, the Bible open to the gospel of St. John, the square and compass representing reason and faith, the all-seeing eye symbolizing watchfulness and the Supreme Being, the moon surrounded by seven stars denoting the perfect lodge, the plumb rule designating uprightness, and the level representing equality. The profusion of these symbols illustrates an emerging emphasis on the commemoration of the individual and the importance of his earthly behavior and virtues. It epitomizes the burgeoning rationalization of man's relationship to his maker, the beginning of a modern world dominated no longer by God, but by man. The epitaph recounts that Humphrey "possessed a sound mind and judgement, was cheerful, benevolent and agreeable. In life he

Fig. 18 Elisabeth Case, 1808, Dyer Farm Cemetery, Canton.
Documented to Stephen Harrington, who worked for Calvin Barber.
Barber's influence is easily recognized in this stone.

Fig. 19 Hannah Humphreys, 1808, Dyer Farm Cemetery, Canton. Documented to Henry Harrington, a partner in Calvin Barber's workshop. The lettering resembles Barber's, but the urn-and-willows are Harrington's.

Fig. 20 Selah Dickenson, 1806, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Henry Harrington, who with his brother, Stephen, became co-owners with Barber of the Barber workshop.

was beloved and in death lamented." A sheriff for Hartford County and a successful businessman who owned two houses and two barns, Humphrey possessed an estate valued at nearly 1,500 pounds.[7] At seven pounds, four shillings, his gravestones were the most expensive markers purchased in Simsbury before 1805. Related to Humphrey by marriage and by the bonds of the fraternal order, Barber was the logical craftsman for Humphrey's executors to patronize.

The Barber Shop

Throughout the burying grounds of the Farmington Valley, one occasionally encounters what at first would appear to be one of Barber's variations on a familiar theme. Closer examination, however, reveals the hand of other craftsmen influenced or trained by the master. The account books of Calvin Barber tell us that several of the town's young men were employed by him to hew and haul stone from the quarries, and, periodically, to carve or finish a gravestone. Jared Barber worked for Calvin, as did Asa and Eden Hays, Zebe Ensign, Friend Noble, James Fletcher and Horace Bestor. Randall Tuller began his apprenticeship with Calvin Barber in 1802 but found the task too demanding, as a notice in the *Connecticut Courant* recounted:

> Runaway from the subscriber, on the evening of the 5th day of February 1809, an indented BOY, to the mason and stone cutting business, named Randall Tuller, 18 years of age...whoever shall return this boy will have one cent reward.[8]

Among the first to join Calvin Barber in his stonecutting venture was Stephen Harrington (1777-1812). Stephen is mentioned in Barber's journal for hewing the stone that would become the gravemarker for Martha Pettibone (Simsbury, 1796). He is also credited with completing the gravestone for Jerucia Tuller (Simsbury, 1798), although it is uncertain whether he collaborated with Barber in its making. Stephen was paid $15 for the gravestone for Elizabeth Case (Canton, 1808, Fig. 18).[9] The influence of Barber is easily recognized in this work: the overall shape and design is comparable to Barber's own style, yet the execution is less accomplished.

In 1804, Stephen's brother, Henry (1785-1810), joined the Barber shop not only to extract stone but also to fashion gravestones. Henry cut the gravestone for Hannah Humphreys (Canton, 1808, Fig. 19), a marker

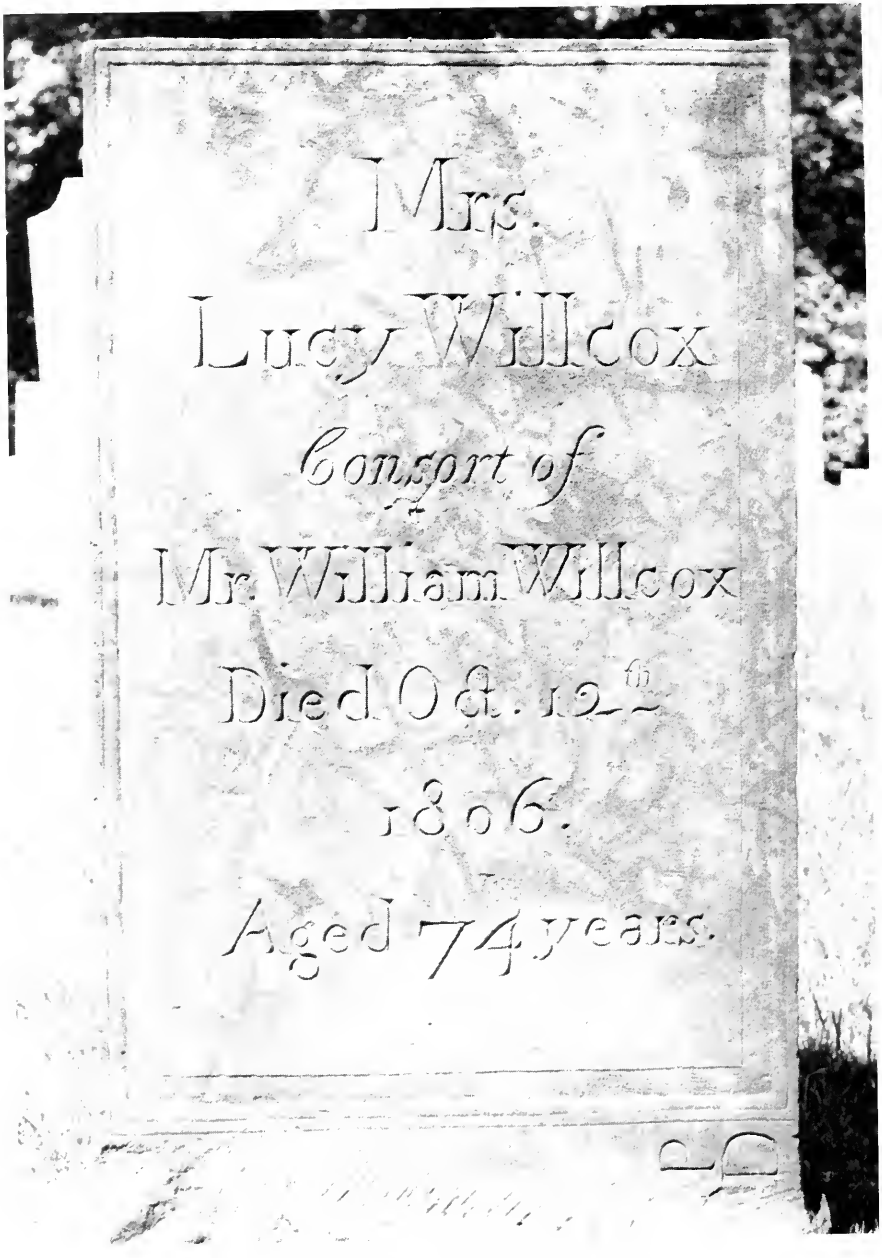

Fig. 21 Lucy Wilcox, 1806, North Canton Cemetery, North Canton. Documented to Calvin Barber. One of Barber's rectangular sandstone markers, of which he made numerous variations from 1810 to 1819.

whose lettering closely resembles Barber's own, but whose image, with its diamond-shaped urn and taut willow trees, is Henry's alone. Henry Harrington was paid $8 for the marker for Selah Dickenson (Simsbury, 1806, Fig. 20), with its spherical urn, fluted columns supporting an arch, and striped leaves.[10] The Harrington brothers would become co-owners, with Barber, of the "quarry near to the Grist Mills in Hop Meadow," and would help propel the Barber shop into the nineteenth century. The partnership, however, was tragically short-lived. At the young age of 24, Henry Harrington suddenly died. A distraught Stephen migrated to Ohio and died there, a victim of the War of 1812.

Sandstone gravestones with no central image

Gradually, Calvin Barber would shift his carving style by moving away from the neoclassical urn-and-willow as the central image on his gravestones and toward slightly decorated and often undecorated sandstone markers. In 1810, the year in which he carved the rectangular sandstone marker for Lucy Wilcox (North Canton, 1807, Fig. 21), Barber introduced yet another style of monument to the Farmington Valley. During the decade from 1810-1819, Barber offered variations of his rectangular sandstone gravestone. For the gravestone of Elisha Wilcox (Simsbury, 1812), he added scalloped fans at the four corners of the marker. For the Susannah Phelps stone (Simsbury, 1815), he carved flower petals in the upper corners. For the gravemarker of Mary Case (Canton, 1817), Barber engraved the inscription within a low relief circle seemingly held by four fan-like projections emanating from the corners of the stone. Smaller and simpler stones could be provided for children at about half the cost of those for adults. The stone cut for Eliza Prince (Canton, 1817) was one of the last rectangular sandstone markers that Barber produced. Other inexpensive stones for children combined the undecorated style with a tablet shape or modified bed board shape, such as the stone carved for Wealthy Case (Simsbury, 1808).

Marble gravestones with no central image

As early as 1796, Calvin Barber was exploring the use of marble as a new material for his gravestone carvings. It was in that year that Doctor John Bestor asked Barber to carve the diminutive marble marker for his son, Henry, who had died two years earlier shortly after being born. As the demand for the pure white, ethereal quality of

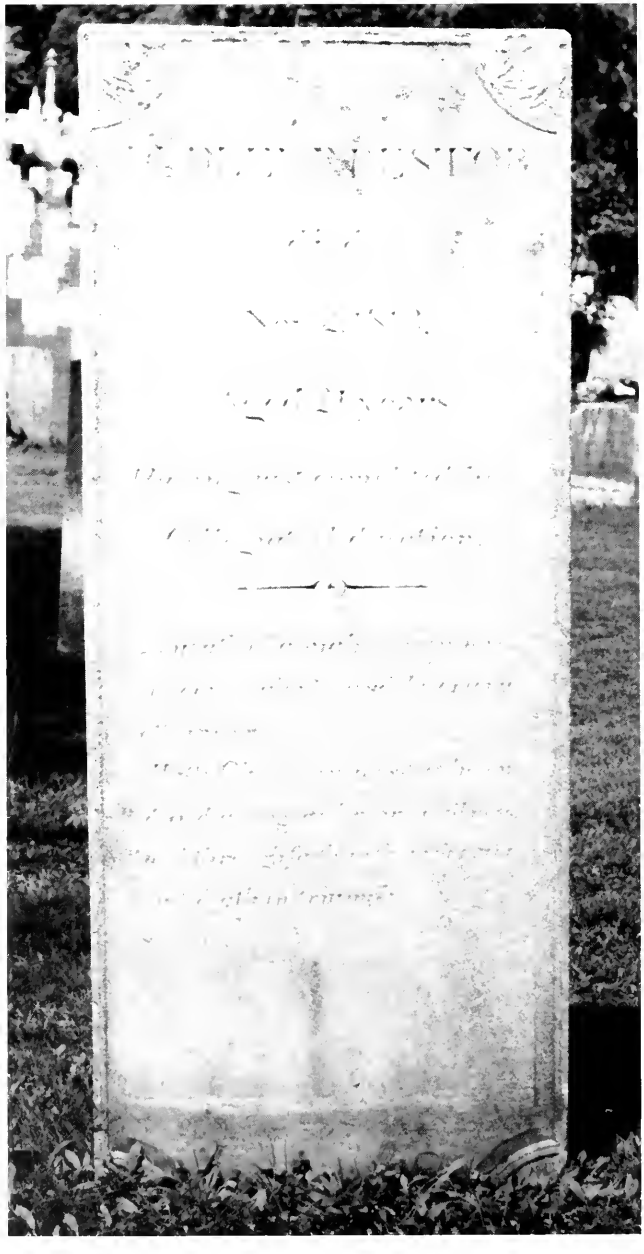

Fig. 22 Dudley Bestor, 1818, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Documented to Calvin Barber. An example of Barber's rectangular, white marble markers.

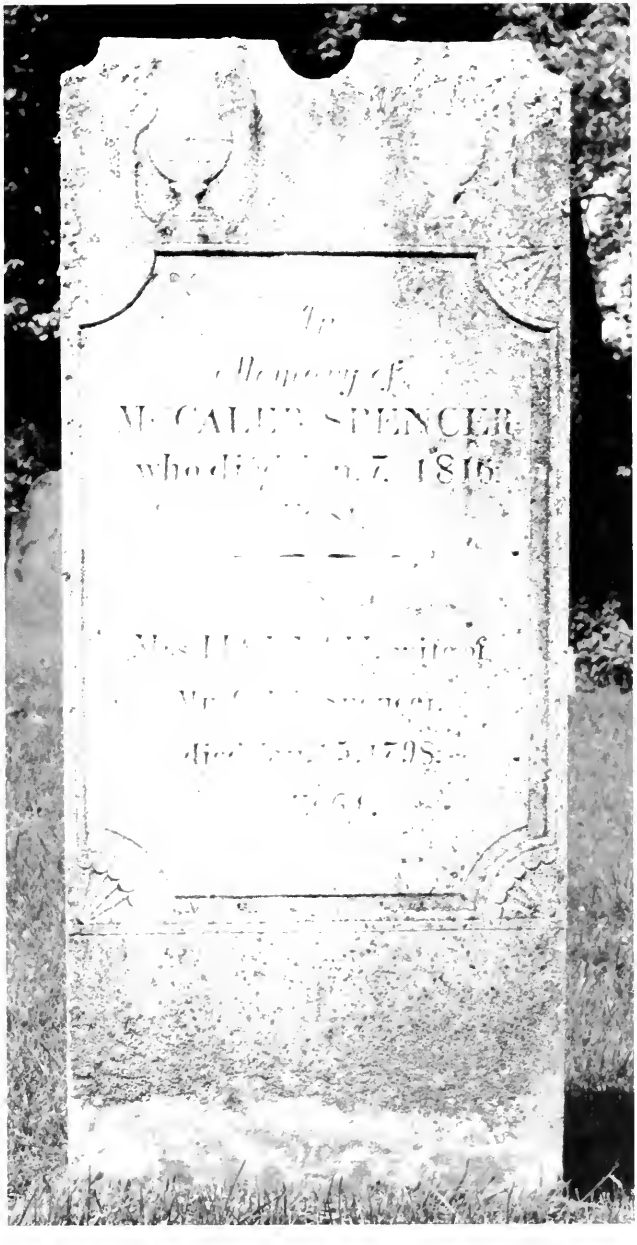

Fig. 23 Caleb, 1816, and Hannah, 1798, Spencer, North Canton Cemetery, North Canton. Documented to Calvin Barber. About 1815, Barber began using stencils for lettering and numerals.

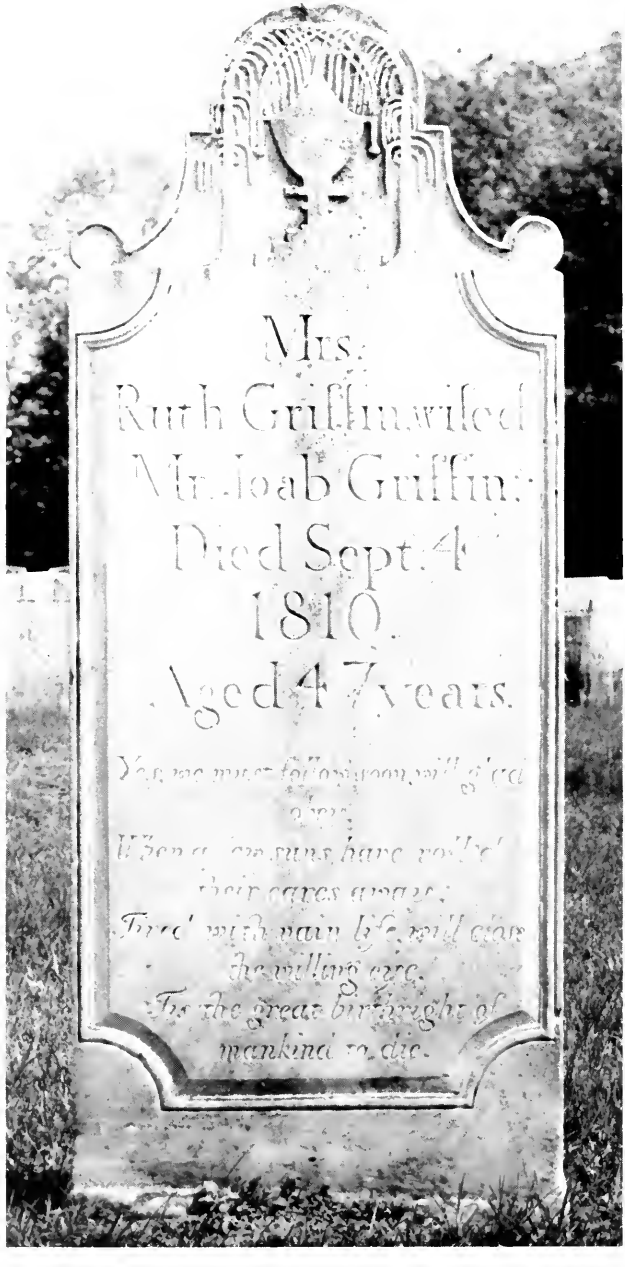

Fig. 24 **Ruth Griffin, 1810, West Granby Cemetery, West Granby. Documented to Calvin Barber. One of Barber's finest marble stones.**

marble increased, Barber journeyed to West Stockbridge and Washington, Massachusetts to obtain new stone for his gravestone carvings. The variations that Barber used in his rectangular sandstone gravestones he also rendered on marble. Small fan, flower, and shell shapes at the corners, chamfered edges, and thinly grooved border outlines can be found with regularity on Barber's rectangular marble gravemarkers. Perhaps fittingly, one of the last sparingly decorated rectangular marble gravestones that Calvin fashioned was the large marker for another of Doctor Bestor's unfortunate sons. The stone for Dudley Bestor (Simsbury, 1813, Fig. 22) marks the grave of a promising lad who had just completed his collegiate education.

Neoclassical marble gravestones

Marble did not inspire Calvin Barber to create innovative new styles, yet he was quite capable of carving on both marble and his own indigenous sandstone. His urn-and-willow marble gravestones were cut in rectangular, chamfered rectangular, bed board, and classical bed board shapes. While many of Barber's works on marble were among his most expensive – the cost of importing the stone being a contributing factor – Calvin could nonetheless also render a fashionable marble gravestone at a modest price. The gravestone for Seymour Case (Simsbury, 1812), with its central urn and curved volutes, was one of a pair carved for the children of Amasa Case, Jr.. By limiting the degree of ornate carving in the lunette and the legend, Barber could produce such a stone for just $3.50.

It was not uncommon that double gravestones for husbands and wives were ordered. If the wife had died first, and not had a stone erected, a double marker was often carved for the couple upon the subsequent death of the husband. Such was the case with Hannah and Caleb Spencer (North Canton, 1798 & 1816, Fig. 23). Amos Spencer purchased the large double stone for his parents from Calvin Barber for $33.00 shortly after his father's death. The chamfered lunette is bifurcated with an urn and willow tree carved in each half, while the legend is outlined by a groove with concave corners from which fan-shaped objects radiate. By the middle of the century's second decade, Barber had begun to employ stencils for some of his lettering, particularly for the names and dates of the deceased.

Many eighteenth and early nineteenth century Connecticut gravestones carved on marble have succumbed to the ravages of New

Fig. 25 Lydia Graham, 1802, North Canton Cemetery, North Canton. Documented to Calvin Barber. Because this stone was toppled and has rested on the ground face-down, its carving has been better preserved than that on many marble stones in New England.

England's weather and pollution, so that a large number are today nearly illegible. Few of Barber's marble gravestones have been spared this fate, but those that have survived the past 200 years provide special insight into his considerable proficiency in carving on marble. The gravestones for Ruth Griffin (West Granby, 1810, Fig. 24) and Lydia Graham (North Canton, 1802, Fig. 25), both completed in 1813, represent two of Barber's finest marble carvings. The urn and willow cut in the tympanum of the Griffin stone is as fine as any Barber executed on sandstone. The inscription, neatly spaced and confidently etched, is framed by a delicately beveled outline.

At $48.00, the gravestone that Calvin Barber made for Freeman Graham's wife, Lydia, was the most expensive from the Barber shop before 1820, and uncommon circumstances have kept it relatively free from deterioration. In the lunette of this stone, Barber carved an unusual collection of mortuary symbols: an urn with a peculiar broad-leafed willow, a scythe, and an hourglass. When searching for this stone, it became apparent that this was one of the few markers Barber documented in his account book that is no longer standing. When I did find it lying on the ground, it seemed ironic to discover that its face-down position had protected its carved surface from the elements so that it was in unusually good condition. Now split in half from its collapse, this stone is certainly worthy of restoration for its importance to Barber's body of work and to early Connecticut carving.

Unsolved mysteries

The account books of Calvin Barber have allowed me to locate all but about a dozen of the stones that he made and recorded. But as much as his records provide invaluable documentation of his body of gravestone carving, they also present the gravestone scholar with the inevitable unsolved mysteries that accompany every historical investigation.

In 1802, Campbell Humphrey purchased a gravestone for his brother, Dudley, for four and one-half pounds. The price would indicate that it was one of Barber's large baroque-style urn-and-willow sandstone markers. The only Dudley Humphrey that has been found in written records as a brother to (Alexander) Campbell Humphrey was the Dudley who died in Ohio in 1859. A stone for Dudley Humphrey (Norfolk, 1794) is documented in the deceased's estate papers to Abraham Codner, who provided a winged cherub marble gravestone in

Fig. 26 Calvin Barber, 1846, Hopmeadow Cemetery, Simsbury. Carver unknown.

1795 for five pounds, two shillings, four pence.[11] For whom did Campbell Humphrey buy the expensive gravestone from Calvin Barber, and where is that stone?

In 1799, Farrend Case married Electra Shepard of Blandford, Massachusetts. Three years later Case purchased a gravestone from Calvin Barber for "Mr. Shepard" for two pounds, five shillings, the usual price for one of Barber's standard cherub-faced sandstone monuments. Who was the "Mr. Shepard" for whom this stone was acquired and where is it located? Family genealogies offer only tantalizing clues.[12]

The unfortunate Ezra Adams of North Canton, who lost five of his children before they reached adolescence, bought three small gravestones from Calvin Barber in 1809 for $4.50 apiece. Could these have been the same type of simple, undecorated sandstone markers that are found in many Farmington Valley burying yards? The stones for the Adams' children are not in the North Canton yard with an $8 stone purchased that same year for Hannah Adams, 1807. Where are these three stones, and for which of the Adams children were they carved?[13]

During the Revolutionary War, David Goodrich of Chatham was killed in a violent storm, leaving a wife and a three year old son, David. Three dozen years later, the younger David, who had married Hilphah Hayes and moved to Granby, purchased an expensive ($30) marble gravestone for the father he barely knew. Was this a replacement stone, or, perhaps, a cenotaph? It is not in any of the Granby burying yards. If the stone has survived, does it lie in some other Connecticut burying ground?[14]

Conclusion

Though the bulk of Calvin Barber's gravestone carvings are unremarkable, particularly in comparison to the finest preceding and contemporary works from New England's urban centers, they nevertheless represent a considerable volume of the region's mortuary art carved during the first decades of the new nation. Any view of artifacts which emphasizes the mere beauty of the objects offers an interpretation of history and heritage that fails to acknowledge the entire spectrum of the American experience. Without ignoring the contributions made by extraordinary Americans, we must recognize that ordinary people are makers of history in their own right. Calvin Barber (see Fig. 26) was an industrious and shrewd businessman and a conscientious public official.

He was an accomplished stone mason and a skilled and prolific gravestone carver who supplied the residents of the Farmington Valley with the materials to erect homes for the living and markers for the dead. The hundreds of gravestones that he placed in the burying yards of Connecticut's Farmington River towns, complemented by the written record of his work, have secured a place in history for Calvin Barber.

NOTES

All photographs are by the author.

1. Estate Inventory of Daniel Barber, Simsbury, 1779, Simsbury District File 216, CSL. Estate Inventory of Jacob Pettibone, Granby, 1807, Simsbury District File 1281, CSL. Estate Inventory of Isaac Sweetland, Hartford, 1823, Hartford District File unnumbered, CSL. Lillian May Wilson, ed., *Barber Genealogy* (Haverhill, Mass., 1909), 138-139.

2. Estate Inventory of Calvin Barber, Simsbury, 1846, Simsbury District File 212, CSL.

3. Contract Between Calvin Barber and John Poyson, December 16, 1975, manuscript, Simsbury Historical Society.

4. Estate Inventory of Elihu Humphrey, Simsbury, 1777, Simsbury District File 1566, CSL.

5. Frederick Humphreys, *The Humphreys Family in America* (New York, 1883), 299. Estate Inventory of Jonathan Humphrey, Simsbury, 1794, Simsbury District File 1594, CSL.

6. Thomas A. Zaniello, "The Keystone of Neoclassicism: Freemasonry and Gravestone Iconography," *Journal of American Culture* 3:4 (1980): 581-594.

7. Humphreys, 175. Estate Inventory of Amasa Humphrey, Simsbury, 1799, Simsbury District File 1530, CSL.

8. *Connecticut Courant* (April 12, 1809).

9. Estate Inventory of Elisabeth Case, Canton, 1808, Simsbury District File 541, CSL.

10. Estate Inventory of Henry Harrington, Simsbury, 1810, Simsbury District File 1307, CSL.

11. Humphreys, 143. Estate Inventory of Dudley Humphrey, Norfolk, 1794, Norfolk District File 384, CSL.

12. Gerald Faulkner Shepard, *The Shepard Families of New England* (New Haven, Conn., 1973), III: 133.

13. Abiel Brown, *Genealogical History With Short Sketches of the Early Settlers of West Simsbury now Canton, Conn.* (Hartford, 1856), 9.

14. LaFayette Wallace Case, ed., *The Goodrich Family in America* (Chicago, 1889), 96; 166.

APPENDIX A

GRAVESTONES SOLD BY CALVIN BARBER

Page	Transaction Date	Price	Last Name	First Name	Death Date	Type	Gravestone Location	Purchased By
				FIRST ACCOUNT BOOK (1793-1808)				
1	1805	2=5=0	Holcomb	Sarah	1804	S	East Granby	Asahel Holcomb
1	1805	2=5=0	Holcomb	Dinah	1804	S	East Granby	Asahel Holcomb
7	1803	4=16=0	Phelps	Florina	1799	S	Hopmeadow	Noble Phelps
7	1803	1=4=0	Phelps	Jonathan	1794	S	Hopmeadow	Noble Phelps
11	1807	1=10=0	Tuller	Sarah	1806	S	Hopmeadow	James Bodwell
26	1797	3=18=0	Humphrey	Col. Jonathan	1794	S	Hopmeadow	Jonathan Humphrey (son)
33	1808	1=16=0	Tuller	Lucy	1803	S	Hopmeadow	Reuben Tuller
33	1808	2=8=0	Tuller	Mary	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Reuben Tuller
38	1806	1=7=0	Holcomb	Emilia	1805	S	St. Andrews	Capt. Jesse Holcomb
45	1797	2=2=0	Tuller	James	1795	S	St. Andrews	Abner Pinney
46	1797	1=11=2	Pettibone	Martha	1796	S	Hopmeadow	Jonathan Pettibone
48	1795	1=4=0	Ensign	Love	1794	S	Hopmeadow	Isaac Ensign
57	1797	2=5=0	Humphrey	Lucy	1795	S	Hopmeadow	Amasa Humphrey
57	1798	1=2=6	Humphrey	Hezekiah	1781	S	Hopmeadow	Amasa Humphrey
65	1800	3=15=0	Humphrey	Ezekiel	1795	S	Dyer Farm	Col. George Humphrey
71	1801	2=5=0	Moses	Michael	1797	S	Hopmeadow	Michael Moses (son)
77	1796	2=0=0	Fletcher	Martha	1795	S	Hopmeadow	John Fletcher
78	1808	1=8=6	Phelps	Ester	1806	S	North Canton	Oliver Phelps
79	1806	2=8=0	Latimer	Wait	1804	S	Hopmeadow	Capt. Wait Latimer
79	1806	1=10=0	Latimer	Lucius	1803	S	Hopmeadow	Capt. Wait Latimer
88	1796	1=16=0	Bestor	Henry	1794	M	Hopmeadow	Dr. John Bestor
88	1803	4=10=0	Hays	Deacon Samuel	1801	S	Granby Center	Simeon Hays
88	1803	3=16=0	Hays	Elizabeth	1801	S	Granby Center	Simeon Hays

88	1803		Hays	Infant	1791	S	Granby Center	Simeon Hays
88	1803		Hays	Infant	1797	S	Granby Center	Simeon Hays
88	1803		Hays	Infant	1799	S	Granby Center	Simeon Hays
92	1796	2=5=0	Humphrey	Asenath	1795	S	Hopmeadow	Asa Humphrey
92	1797	1=2=6	Humphrey	Hezekiah	1781	S	Hopmeadow	Asa Humphrey
92	1802	7=4=0	Humphrey	Capt. Amasa	1799	S	Hopmeadow	Asa Humphrey
94	1797	2=5=0	Case	Deborah	1796	S	Hopmeadow	Charles Case, Jr.
94	1803	2=5=0	Dill	Lydia	1789	S	Dyer Farm	Solomon Dill (son)
94	1803	2=5=0	Dill	Solomon	1800	S	Dyer Farm	Solomon Dill (son)
98	1794	2=0=0	Edgerton	Lodanna	1792	S	North Canton	John Edgerton
99	1795	5=0=0	Pinney	Bidwell	1793	S	St. Andrews	Aaron Pinney
100	1805	4=10=0	Larcom	Anna	1803	S	Dyer Farm	Amos Larcom
101	1801	2=5=0	Clemmons	William	1797	S	Lee (N. Granby)	Ferdinand Clemmons
101	1801	1=1=0	Clemmons	Lucy	1800	S	Lee (N. Granby)	Ferdinand Clemmons
101	1801	1=1=0	Clemmons	Ferdinand	1800	S	Lee (N. Granby)	Ferdinand Clemmons
102	1795	0=4=6	Russell	David	1785	S	Hopmeadow	Jesse Russell
107	1807	$17.00	Gay	Richard	1805	S	East Granby	Richard Gay (son)
107	1807	$16.00	Hillyer	Elizabeth	1793	S	East Granby	Appollos Hillyer
108	1805	3=12=0	Tuller	wife & children				Samuel Tuller
113	1806	2=8=0	Case	Elisabeth	1804	S	Hopmeadow	Jacob Case
119	1796	3=0=0	Hoskins	Rosebella	1795	S	Hopmeadow	Shubal Hoskins, Jr.
127	1800	2=5=0	Wilcox	Isaac	1797	S	Hopmeadow	Alexander Allyn
134	1795	6=0=0	Bird	Dr. Jonathan	1786	S	Hopmeadow	Amy Bird
135	1808	3=0=0	Graham	Anna	1793	S	North Canton	Augustus Grimes (Graham)
136		2=8=0	Brewer	Sarah	1802	M	Hopmeadow	Rev. Samuel Stebbins
136	1805	2=8=0	Case	Cynthia	1804	S	Hopmeadow	Hezekiah Case
137	1800	3=15=0	Humphrey	Oliver	1793	S	Dyer Farm	Asher Humphrey
138	1800	1=12=0	Burr	Deliverance	1799	S	Wintonbury	Isaac Burr
142	1796	2=10=0	Gibbs	Betty	1789	S	St. Andrews	Jonah Moore
143	1796	4=0=0	Huggins	Nancy	1792	S	Granby Center	James Huggins
143	1803	2=5=0	Case	Daniel	1801	S	Dyer Farm	Amariah Case
144	1796	2=0=0	Cornish	Elisha	1794	S	Hopmeadow	Elisha Cornish

144	1802	1=10=0	Cornish	Elam	1800	S	Hopmeadow	Elisha Cornish
144	1802	1=4=0	Cornish	Sarah	1772	S	Hopmeadow	Elisha Cornish
149	1804	1=4=0	Case	Daughter	1793	S	Canton?	Asa Case
157	1802	4=14=0	Humphrey	Dudley				Cambell Humphrey
161	1805	$15.00	Moses	Abel	1800	S	East Hartland	Widow Moses
162	1801	4=10=0	Moses	Lydia	1799	S	East Hartland	Martin Moses
164	1802	2=5=0	Shepard	Mr. ____			Loudon (Otis)?	Farrend Case
169	1800	1=17=6	Humphrey	Oliver	1793	S	Dyer Farm	Reuben Humphrey
172	1802	2=14=0	Giddings	Deacon Thomas	1790	S	East Hartland	Joseph Moor
172	1804	4=10=0	Clark	Joel	1777	S	East Granby	Samuel Clark
172	1804	4=10=0	Clark	Lydia	1796	S	East Granby	Samuel Clark
172	1804	4=10=0	Clark	Lydia	1798	S	East Granby	Samuel Clark
175	1805	3=18=0	Phelps	Joseph	1790	S	East Granby	Capt. Roswell Phelps
175	1805	2=8=0	Phelps	Julia	1804	S	East Granby	Capt. Roswell Phelps
175	1805	5=2=0	Phelps	Roswell	1805	S	East Granby	Cloe Phelps
181	1797	3=6=0	Adams	Matthew	1776	S	St. Andrews	Matthew Adams (son)
181	1797	3=6=0	Thrall	Kezia	1794	S	St. Andrews	Matthew Adams
182	1802	4=16=0	Case	Moses	1794	S	Hopmeadow	Moses Case (son)
183	1797	3=18=0	Pinney	Lydia	1796	S	St. Andrews	Jonathan Pinney
184	1797	2=5=0	Jones	Rhoda	1796	S	East Hartland	Israel Jones, Esq.
188	1808	1=10=0	Hoskins	Robert	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Aaron Case
188	1796	2=5=0	Phelps	Liberty	1796	S	Dyer Farm	Thomas W. Phelps
189	1805	4=10=0	Hays	Joel	1800	S	Granby Center	Calvin Hays
192	1808	3=0=0	Tillotson	Zene	1807	S	North Canton	Mary Tillotson
202	1800	2=5=0	Cowles	John	1792	S	Town Hill	Asa Cowles
202	1800	2=5=0	Cowles	Sarah	1798	S	Town Hill	Asa Cowles
202	1800	1=10=0	Cowles	Ezekiel	179?	S	Town Hill	Asa Cowles
206	1804	2=8=0	Humphrey	Ruggles	1802	S	Dyer Farm	Ens. Solomon Buell
211	1800	2=5=0	Humphrey	Hepzibah	1800	S	Dyer Farm	Theophilius Humphrey
211	1798	2=5=0	Phelps	Abigail	1795	S	Dyer Farm	David Phelps
212	1803	2=8=0	Phelps	Jonathan	1794	S	Hopmeadow	Austin & Noble Phelps
213	1798	1=10=0	Cleveland	Chester	1795	S	Wallins Hill	Rufus Cleveland

213	1798	0=18=0	Cleveland	Mary "Polly"	1791	S	Wallins Hill	Rufus Cleveland
214	1798	4=10=0	Woodbridge	Rev. Samuel	1797	S	West Hartland	Elizabeth Woodbridge
214	1798	2=14=0	Woodbridge	Ashbel	1780	S	West Hartland	Elizabeth Woodbridge
214	1798		Woodbridge	Joanna	1780	S	West Hartland	Elizabeth Woodbridge
214	1798		Woodbridge	Elizabeth	1790	S	West Hartland	Elizabeth Woodbridge
224	1800	1=4=0	Moses	Clarissa	1800	S	North Canton	Frederick Moses
225	1798	1=15=0	Case	Child				Ariel Case
225	1802	4=16=0	Case	Job	1798	S	Hopmeadow	Ariel Case
225	1808	$15.00	Pinney	Hannah	1795	S	St. Andrews	Jesse Holcomb
232	1800	2=5=0	Wilcox	Isaac	1797	S	Hopmeadow	Stephen Harrington
232	1800	2=5=0	Tuller	Jerusha	1798	S	Hopmeadow	Stephen Harrington
235	1801	2=10=0	Hawley	Deborah	1798	S	Cider Brook	Rufus Hawley
235	1808		Foot	Clarry	1789	S	North Canton	John Foot
235	1808		Foot	Stiles	1797	S	North Canton	John Foot
235	1808		Foot	John, Jr.	1803	S	North Canton	John Foot
235	1808	7=16=0	Foot	Lois	1802	S	North Canton	John Foot
238	1803	1=4=0	Ensign	Sally	1802	S	Hopmeadow	Isaac Ensign
240	1808	2=14=0	Curtis	Eunice	1805	S	Dyer Farm	Gad Curtis

SECOND ACCOUNT BOOK (1808-1819)

12	1817	$10.00	Case	Mary	1817	S	Dyer Farm	Peter Buell
18	1816	14.00	Eno	Jonathon	1813	M	Hopmeadow	Salmon Eno
20	1818	10.00	Buell	Hepzibah	1816	S	Hopmeadow	Normand Buell
36	1816	14.00	Eno	Jonathon	1813	M	Hopmeadow	Chauncy Eno
39	1817	9.00	Holcomb	Lemuel	1815	S	Hopmeadow	Samuel Holcomb
39			Holcomb	Lemuel 2nd	1815	S	Hopmeadow	Samuel Holcomb
39			Holcomb	Infant		S	Hopmeadow	Samuel Holcomb
43	1809	14.00	Clark	Mary	1808	S	St. Andrews	Joel Griswold
43			Clark	Mary (daughter)	1808	S	St. Andrews	Joel Griswold
44	1816	15.00	Hoskins	Asa	1815	M	Hopmeadow	Erastus Reynolds
46	1809	12.00	Case	Jesse	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Jesse Case

46	1809	4.00	Case	Justin	1802	S	Hopmeadow	Jesse Case
46	1809	4.00	Case	Newton	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Jesse Case
46	1819	1.29	Case	Sarah	1815	M	Hopmeadow	Jesse Case
47	1809	8.00	Adams	Hannah	1807	S	North Canton	Ezra Adams
47	1809	4.50	Adams	Child			North Canton	Ezra Adams
47	1809	4.50	Adams	Child			North Canton	Ezra Adams
47	1809	4.50	Adams	Child			North Canton	Ezra Adams
50	1810	3.00	Kilbourn	Timothy	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Samuel & Timothy Kilbourn
50	1810	3.00	Kilbourn	Mary	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Samuel & Timothy Kilbourn
55	1811	15.00	Eno	Anne	1808	S	St. Andrews	Abel Eno
55	1811	15.00	Eno	Joel	1805	S	St. Andrews	Abel Eno
55	1811	15.00	Eno	Abel	1805	S	St. Andrews	Abel Eno
56	1816	25.00	Mitchelson	John	1814	M	Hopmeadow	John Mitchelson
62	1815	11.00	Case	Sterling	1813	S	Hopmeadow	Asa Case
62	1813	6.00	Case	Wealthy	1808		Hopmeadow	Asa Case
63	1818	16.25						Pitkin or Battason ?
64	1817	40.00	Tuller	Elijah	1814	M	Hopmeadow	Cambell Humphrey
66	1810	10.00	Sugden	Hannah	1808	S	North Canton	Thomas Sugden
68	1819		Humphrey	Amy	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Asa Humphrey
69	1810	10.00	Buell	William	1808	S	Hopmeadow	Hepzibah Buell
70	1818	12.00	Bestor	Dudley	1818	M	Hopmeadow	Dr. John Bestor
70	1818	10.00	Bestor	John	1806	M	Hopmeadow	Dr. John Bestor
70	1816	28.00				M		Dr. John Bestor
72	1814	4.50	Barnard	George A.	1808	S	St. Andrews	George Barnard
73	1816	14.00	Hoskins	wife				Thomas Hoskins
75	1810	19.00	Clark	Martha	1808	S	East Granby	Joel & Horace Clark
75	1810	18.00	Clark	Joel	1808	S	East Granby	Joel & Horace Clark
76	1818	5.00	Slater	Almon Draton	1817			James Slater
78	1810	8.50	Case	Seth, Jr.	1809	S	Hopmeadow	Capt. Seth Case
80	1817	4.50	Humphrey	Hiram Wolcott	1808	S	Dyer Farm	Theophilius Humphrey
90	1815	11.00	Pettibone	Nabby	1806	S	Hopmeadow	Elias Pettibone
92	1810	10.00	Pettibone	Lucy	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Joseph Pettibone

92	1816	5.00	Wilcox	Elisha	1812	S	Hopmeadow	Elisha Wilcox, Jr.
96	1812	10.00	Foot	Rosanna	1793	S	North Canton	Miles Foot
96	1812	10.00	Foot	John	1812	S	North Canton	Miles Foot
97	1816	3.50	Case	Seymour	1812	M	Hopmeadow	Amasa Case, Jr.
97	1811	3.50	Case	Mercy	1809	M	Hopmeadow	Amasa Case, Jr.
97	1816	6.00	Case	Lucy	1816	S	Hopmeadow	Amasa Case, Jr.
102	1810	10.00	Wilcox	Lucy	1806	S	North Canton	Col. William Wilcox
102	1810	8.00	Wilcox	Mercy	1807	S	North Canton	Col. William Wilcox
102	1810	4.00	Wilcox	Cellestia	1794	S	North Canton	Col. William Wilcox
102	1811	8.00	Wilcox	Mercy	1809	S	North Canton	Col. William Wilcox
109	1817	5.50	Slater	child				James Slater
110	1815	16.00	Pinney	Jonathan	1813		St. Andrews	Lot Pinney
111	1815	15.00	Woodridge	Mary	1814		Hopmeadow	Haynes Woodbridge
111	1816	17.00	Woodridge	Lt. Theophilus	1815		Hopmeadow	Haynes Woodbridge
113	1812	14.50	Case	Lorinda	1808	S	Canton Springs	Capt. Uriah Case
113	1812		Case	Elizabeth	1808	S	Canton Springs	Capt. Uriah Case
113	1816	10.00	Case	Eunice	1815	S	Canton Springs	Capt. Uriah Case
115	1812	30.00	Goodrich	David	1776	M		David Goodrich
115	1811	9.00	Tuller	Charles	1809	S	Hopmeadow	Widow Theodosia Tuller
122	1813	48.00	Graham	Lydia	1802	M	North Canton	Freeman Graham
123	1812	12.50	Hays	Benjamin	1810	S	West Granby	Thaddeus Hayes
127	1816	17.00	Holcomb	Asenath	1813	S	Hopmeadow	Benajah Philo Holcomb
128	1811	25.00					Canton?	William Stone
128	1811						Canton?	William Stone
128	1811						Canton?	William Stone
129	1812	4.50	Phelps	Elizabeth	1808	S	Wintonbury	Zelotes Phelps
129	1817	10.00	Barber	Betty	1817	S	North Canton	John Barber
130	1810	10.00	Carter	Father			Russell, MA?	James C. Carter
133	1816	5.00	Wilcox	Elisha	1812	S	Hopmeadow	Ozias Wilcox
134	1810	8.00	Rice	Deziah	1807	S	Lee (N. Granby)	Jonah Rice
134	1817	15.54	Reed	Martin	1815	S	Granby Center	Martin Reed
134	1818	12.00	Mills	Mary F.	1817	M	Dyer Farm	Gardner Mills

134	1818	12.04	Mills	Gardner Anson	1817	M	Dyer Farm	Gardner Mills
135	1811	10.00	Case	Aaron	1811	M	St. Andrews	Molly Case
138	1813	9.00	Humphrey	Amelia	1811		Dyer Farm	Arnold Humphrey
139	1811	14.00	Holcomb	Martha	1803		West Hartford	Flag Holcomb
139	1811	17.00	Holcomb	Luther	1809	S	East Granby	Rastus Holcomb
140	1810	16.00	Hayes	Betsey	1807	S	Granby Center	Alpheus Hayes
140	1810	4.00	Hayes	Infant	1809	S	Granby Center	Alpheus Hayes
140	1812	21.00	Hayes	Rosanna	1780	S	West Granby	Alpheus Hayes
140			Hayes	Martha	1791	S	West Granby	Alpheus Hayes
140			Hayes	Benjamin	1810	S	West Granby	Alpheus Hayes
140	1812	4.00	Hayes	Sheldon	1803	S	West Granby	Alpheus Hayes
140		12.00	Weed	David	1811	S	West Granby	Moses Weed, Jr.
140		12.00	Weed	Nancy	1812	S	West Granby	Moses Weed, Jr.
140	1815	12.00	Weed	Mahitable	1814	S	West Granby	Moses Weed, Jr.
142	1812	10.00	Miller	Anne	1809	S	Cider Brook	Joseph Miller
144	1818	10.00	Barber	Azariah	1817		North Canton	William Barber
144	1818	6.00	Barber	William Stiles	1817	S	North Canton	William Barber
144	1818		Barber	Infant	1812	S	North Canton	William Barber
144	1819	4.50	Barber	Sarah Almira	1818	S	North Canton	William Barber
145	1813	28.00	Post	Aaron	1810		Lee (N. Granby)	Widow Post
146	1812	20.00	Adams	William	1811	S	St. Andrews	William Adams (son)
147	1815	16.00	Phelps	Susannah	1815	S	Hopmeadow	Frederick Phelps
147	1815	10.00	Phelps	Timothy	1782	S	Hopmeadow	Frederick Phelps
147	1815	10.00	Phelps	Sarah	1795	S	Hopmeadow	Frederick Phelps
150	1818	4.50	Prince	Eliza	1817	S	Dyer Farm	Charles Prince
151	1815	14.00	Jewett	Sibyl	1812	S	Granby Center	Joshua R. Jewett
152	1813	7.33	Case	Jesse	1807	S	Hopmeadow	Augustus Case
153	1811	20.00	Lee	Charlotte	1810	M	Lee (N. Granby)	Orrin Lee
155	1815	8.00	Cook	Sally	1811	S	Dyer Farm	Amasa Mills
157	1813	25.00	Griffin	Ruth	1810	M	West Granby	Jacob & Chester Griffin
159	1811	18.00	Holcomb	Noahdiah	1809	S	Granby Center	Affiah Holcomb
161	1816	18.00	Vining	Sally	1815	M	Hopmeadow	Elmore Vining

163	1814	16.00	Moses	Aaron	1809	S	North Canton	Seymour Moses
164	1816	19.00	Mason	Chloe	1815	M	Hopmeadow	Robert Mason
164		35.00	Pettibone	Ozias	1812	M	Granby Center	Ozias Pettibone, Jr.
166	1812	8.00	Holcomb	Theodocia	1804	S	Granby Center	Jacob Holcomb
166	1817	10.00	Holcomb	Tryphena	1815			Jacob Holcomb
167	1812	8.00	Case	Mother				Martha Case
167	1812	5.50	Case	Gideon	1810	M	West Granby	Dr. Gideon Case
170	1817	4.50	Holcomb	Anson	1805		East Granby	Calvin Holcomb
172	1816	10.00	Moses	Michael	1816	S	Hopmeadow	Mariah Moses
172	1816	10.00	Sage	Solomon	1811	S	Hopmeadow	Widow Anna Sage
178	1812	10.00	Case	Charity	1803	S	Hopmeadow	Ens. Rufus Humphrey
179	1812	10.00	Wilcox	Roxy	1811			William Wilcox, Jr.
179	1812	4.50	Wilcox	child				William Wilcox, Jr.
180	1812	5.00	Carter	Theron	1811	S	Hopmeadow	Abel Carter
180	1807	6.50	Barns	Thaddeus	1800	S	North Canton	Roswell Barnes
180	1807	6.50	Barns	Lucy	1796	S	North Canton	Roswell Barnes
183	1814	27.00	Eno	Isaac	1785	M	St. Andrews	Martin Eno
189	1814	5.50	Humphrey	Hoel	1808	S	Hopmeadow	Gurdon Humphrey
189	1817	14.00	Moses	Daniel	1805	S	North Canton	Widow Anna Moses
190	1813	7.00	Cook	Mire	1808	S	Wintonbury	Samantha Cook
190	1813	7.00	Cook	Samantha B.	1811	S	Wintonbury	Samantha Cook
190	1813	7.00	Cook	Nancy	1790	S	Wintonbury	Samantha Cook
193	1815	4.50	Griswold	Pliny	1815	S	Hopmeadow	Pliny Griswold (father)
196	1813	8.00	Case	Violet	1803	S	North Canton	Simeon Case, Jr.
198	1815	28.00	Haskell	Joseph	1815	M	Hopmeadow	John Haskell
199	1815	10.00	Moore	Micah	1812	S	East Granby	Oliver Moore
199	1815	10.00	Moore	Mary	1813	S	East Granby	Oliver Moore
200	1813	10.00	Humphrey	Benoni	1808	S	Hopmeadow	Amos Wilcox
204	1814	5.00	Milles	Lemuel	1808	S	Dyer Farm	Dorothy Mills
206	1813	27.00	Huggins	Chloe	1811	M	West Granby	James Huggins
207	1813	5.50	Case	Emiline	1811	S	Hopmeadow	Jacob Case
210	1813	10.00	Dewey	Abigail	1809	S	Granby Center	David Dewey, Jr.

210	1815	10.00	Dewey	Deborah	1811	S	Granby Center	David Dewey, Jr.
214	1816	33.00	Spencer	Caleb	1816	M	North Canton	Amos Spencer
214			Spencer	Hannah	1798	M	North Canton	Amos Spencer
218	1814	16.00	Day	Lovina	1813	S	Granby Center	Joseph Day
218	1814		Day	Infant	1813	S	Granby Center	Joseph Day
222	1813	28.00	Goodrich	child?		M	West Granby?	Hezekiah Goodrich
223	1815	8.00	Bradley	Sidney	1813	M	Hopmeadow	Oliver Bradley
223	1814	5.50	Case	Jane Amelia	1812		Granby?	Abner Case
223	1814	4.00	Humphrey	Chloe	1809	S	Hopmeadow	Dosetheus Humphrey
226	1816	5.00		sister				A____ M____
227	1817	20.00	Brown	Margaret	1816	M	Hopmeadow	Zopher Brown
230	1816	25.00	Brown	Wife		M		Calvin Brown
241	1817	12.00	Rice	John	1802	S	Baptist (N. Granby)	John Rice
244	1815	14.00	Bacon	Hannah	1814	S	West Granby	Arlow Bacon
245	1815	15.00	Case	Joanna	1812		Hopmeadow	Capt. Ariel Case
246	1815	10.00	Holcomb	Daniel	1812	S	Baptist (N. Granby)	Philetus Holcomb
246	1815	10.00	Holcomb	Hannah	1807	S	Baptist (N. Granby)	Philetus Holcomb
246	1815	10.00	Holcomb	Chauncey	1808	S	Baptist (N. Granby)	Philetus Holcomb
252	1815	10.00	Griswold	Alexander	1813		East Granby	Hezekiah Griswold
253	1815	4.00	Holcomb	Asenath	1807	S	Baptist (N. Granby)	Warren Holcomb
253	1816	12.00	Holcomb	Henry, Jr.	1815	S	Baptist (N. Granby)	Warren Holcomb
253	1816		Holcomb	Harriet	1815	S	Baptist (N. Granby)	Warren Holcomb

APPENDIX B

LOCATIONS AND DATES OF GRAVESTONES CARVED BY CALVIN BARBER

Southwick, MA	Before 1800	1800-1809	1810-1819	1820-1823	Fragments (No date)	Totals
Avon	2	2	2	0	2	8
Barkhamsted	0	1	0	0	0	1
Bloomfield	16	10	23	2	2	53
Burlington	1	2	0	0	0	3
Canton	17	36	37	0	0	90
East Granby	1	13	8	0	1	23
Granby	2	21	36	3	0	62
Hartland	3	4	0	0	0	7
New Hartford	1	4	0	0	1	6
Simsbury	32	52	73	3	6	166
Southwick, MA	0	2	0	0	0	2
Suffield	1	0	0	0	0	1
Winchester	1	2	0	0	0	3
Windsor	2	1	1	0	1	5
West Hartford	1	1	0	0	0	2
TOTALS	**80**	**151**	**180**	**8**	**13**	**432**

APPENDIX C

LOCATIONS AND STYLES OF GRAVESTONES CARVED BY CALVIN BARBER

	Cherub on Sandstone	Urn & Willow on Sandstone	No image Sandstone	Urn & Willow on Marble	No image Marble	Totals
Avon						
Cider Brook	5	2	0	0	0	7
West Avon	1	0	0	0	0	1
Barkhamsted						
Center	0	1	0	0	0	1
Bloomfield						
Wintonbury	5	2	4	0	1	12
St Andrews	11	4	18	3	5	41
Burlington						
Case Road	1	0	0	0	0	1
Center St	2	0	0	0	0	2
Canton						
Baptist	0	0	2	0	0	2
Dyer Farm	17	9	6	1	2	35
N Canton	19	7	12	3	12	53
East Granby						
Center	4	14	2	2	1	23
Granby						
Center	5	12	10	0	1	28
Baptist	1	3	6	0	1	11
Lee	6	1	2	0	1	10
W Granby	0	1	7	1	4	13

Hartland						
E Hartland	4	0	0	0	0	4
W Hartland	2	1	0	0	0	3
New Hartford						
Town Hill	4	2	0	0	0	6
Simsbury						
Hop Meadow	57	28	42	16	23	166
Southwick, MA						
Old	0	2	0	0	0	2
Suffield						
W Suffield	1	0	0	0	0	1
Winchester						
Wallins Hill	3	0	0	0	0	3
Windsor						
Palisado	1	0	0	0	0	1
Old Poquonock	3	0	0	0	0	3
Elm Grove	0	0	0	0	1	1
West Hartford						
Old North	1	1	0	0	0	2
TOTALS	**153**	**90**	**111**	**26**	**52**	**432**

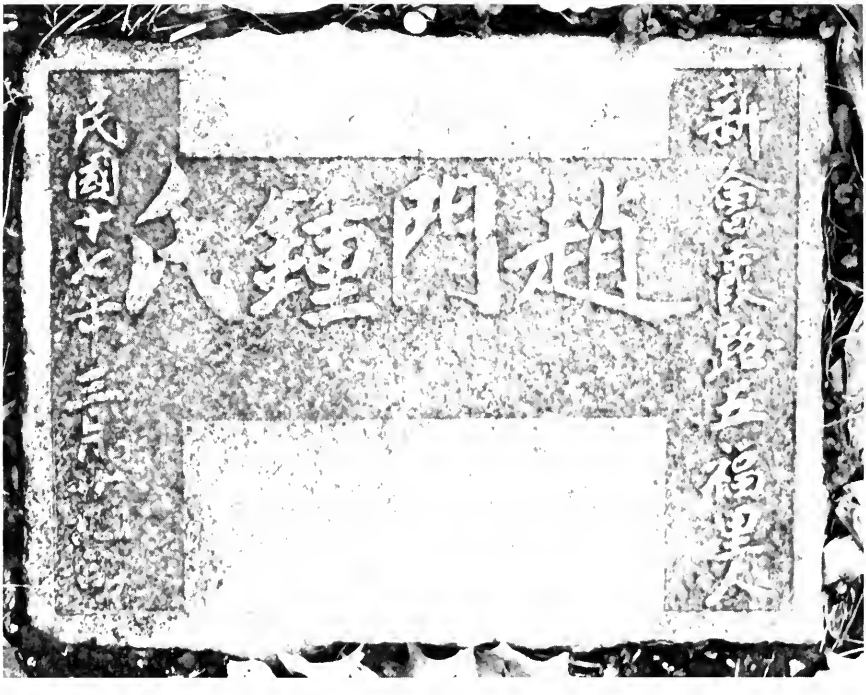

Fig. 1 *Jiuh mahn Jung si* (Traditional Format).
Typical of flat stones in original section.

The Chinese of Valhalla: Adaptation and Identity in a Midwestern American Cemetery

C. Fred Blake

People from China have lived in St. Louis, Missouri for almost one hundred and fifty years, but very little material evidence of their early settlement and way of life has remained and very little effort has been made to research their past. One of the few sources that is both accessible and rich in evidence is Valhalla, a large suburban cemetery where the remains of more than two hundred deceased members of the Chinese community are buried. Visitors to this and other cemeteries have long been intrigued by what the gravemarkers, inscriptions and engravings tell about the people who produced them.[1] Anthropologists, along with scholars from other disciplines, have extended this interest in systematic studies aimed at showing how cemeteries express the beliefs, values and structures of American communities.[2] The Chinese gravestones in Valhalla add yet another case study, if not another dimension, to this tradition of popular curiosity and scholarly research. The Chinese gravestones allow us to see some of the manifold ways in which members of a Chinese community have attempted to make meaningful their lives and deaths in the American heartland. This essay focuses on two sets of data: first is the arrangement and style of gravemarkers, and second is the inscriptions in Chinese and Roman systems of writing.

Historical Arrangement of Gravestones

Chinese burials in St. Louis began with the eastward migration of Chinese laborers after 1869.[3] With the exception of Ching Foo, whose remains were embalmed and shipped home in 1873, others who lacked sufficient funds were buried without ceremony in unmarked graves. The first recorded ceremony was a Christian service conducted for Wong You, who died in his Pine Street laundry in the autumn of 1879. His remains were interred in a section of the Wesleyan Cemetery located on Olive Street Road, six kilometers west of the city limits.[4] This and two adjacent sections became the site for all subsequent Chinese burials until the cemetery was closed in 1924.[5] During these fifty years the Chinese community asserted increasing autonomy over the disposition of its deceased members, first with the help of St. John's M.E. Church, then the

"Chouteau Avenue Church for Chinamen," and finally, around the turn of the century, the On Leong Tong.[6] In 1927, the Wesleyan Cemetery was razed in the course of changing land use, and the remains of a hundred Chinese were removed for shipment back to native villages in China.[7] I have found no indication that the Chinese graves in the Wesleyan Cemetery were marked.[8]

In 1924, the On Leong Tong purchased a section in Valhalla, a large non-sectarian cemetery of lightly wooded hills located in the same vicinity as the Wesleyan Cemetery. This section is located on a hilltop at the northeastern corner of Valhalla. Today it contains thirty-seven square and rectangular gravestones laid flat in the earth and sandwiched between a host of mostly upright stones of European-Americans. Figure 1 illustrates the older style of gravestone in this section, whose dates range from 1924 to 1954. A second section was later opened for Chinese burials in a lower field between the perimeter road and a creek which meanders along the southern edge of the cemetery. Unlike the burial plots in the first section, those in the lower field were purchased piecemeal on the basis of periodic need.[9] The lower field contains 143 flat rectangular stones laid in twelve rows. They date from 1930 to the present. Figure 2

Fig. 2 *Chyuhn-Sauh Leuhng gung mouh* **(Modified Format). Typical of flat stones in lower field section.**

illustrates one of these stones, which are all rectangular in shape.

Along both sides of the lower road there are thirteen upright gravestones with Chinese inscriptions dating from the 1960s. Typical of these is the Jue family gravestone depicted in Figure 3. These stones mark the beginning of a new phase in the mortuary practices of the Chinese community. The upright stones are stylistically heterogeneous and they are individually situated in ways that blur the spatial boundaries between Chinese graves and those of their European-American neighbors. Above the perimeter road in three other sections of the cemetery there are forty-six Chinese gravemarkers which date from 1970. All but two of these are standing upright, including two rather elaborate catafalques. These

Fig. 3 Jue Family gravestone. Typical of newer, upright stones in various sections.

graves are situated on increasingly higher ground and in clusters that join members of the original Szeyap community from south China with the newer immigrants from other parts of central and eastern China.

The record of Chinese gravemarkers over the past seventy years thus reflects a structural shift in the Chinese community. The initial act of marking graves with stones or other impervious materials and inscribing them in Chinese characters and Roman letters is a *de facto* claim on permanent residence.[10] The rows of uniform flat stones, which are especially dramatic in the oldest section, where they cut a narrow swath through a sea of upright markers and monuments belonging to European-Americans, mark the graves of individuals who became all but invisible in response to attempts to exclude them from American society.[11] The arrangement of these stones reflects only the simple succession of individual deaths and the undifferentiated corporate unity of the On Leong Tong. Although this phase has lasted down to the present day, it has been truncated by a second phase which continues to gain momentum.

The second phase, which begins with the upright gravestones of the 1960s, reflects a new mode of participation in American society. The upright stones tend to accommodate the contiguous burial of spouses and sometimes their unmarried siblings and children. This reflects the widely reported shift from a "bachelor society" to a "family oriented society."[12] The upright stones break the previous pattern of uniformity by exhibiting a variety of styles, sizes, shapes, materials and decor. These differences express an increasing sense of social differentiation and rising claims on social status within the Chinese community. But they also communicate claims on social status beyond the Chinese community, which is evident in the way that the modest increase in stylistic variation occurs with the dispersal of gravestones into other parts of the cemetery. This dispersal begins in earnest after 1970 and reflects the residential dispersal of members of the living community from the city to the suburbs in that decade.[13] The dispersal of gravestones occurs in small clusters of friends and in-laws that have formed in reference to being "Chinese" in metropolitan St. Louis rather than in reference to being "Chinese" in the Old World.

Fragments of Chinese Literacy

The only feature that distinguishes the Chinese gravemarkers from those of the surrounding European-Americans is the set of inscriptions

that employ Chinese writing.[14] The Chinese tradition of literacy is the basis upon which people from China stake their claim to four thousand years of continuous cultural history. This tradition was sustained, but only tenuously and with great effort, in the rural villages from which most of the Valhalla Chinese came. Not all of the earlier immigrants were literate by Chinese standards. Most could read and write their native script, but with varying degrees of difficulty.[15] For those who settled in the American heartland, the simple facts of demography prevented the concentration and reproduction of Chinese literary skills. Moreover, these literary skills, which constituted the core of identity and success in China, were worth almost nothing in the United States. Thus, the advent of an American-born-and-educated generation made the effort to sustain the fragments of this literary tradition all but impossible. On the other hand, the continuous loss of Chinese literary skills among descendants of the older immigrants has been augmented by a continuous infusion of literary skills into the community by newer immigrants. Thus, the literary skill invested in the Chinese gravestone inscriptions in Valhalla has remained relatively high. In fact, closer scrutiny might show that the literary quality of the Chinese inscriptions, when measured against traditional standards, has actually improved with the passage of time. This is due to the increased educational and economic levels of many newer Chinese immigrants.

The inscriptions in Chinese are ordinarily written by a close friend, an in-law, a member of the immediate family, such as a son or grandson, or even the deceased himself. The inscription on the large upright gravestone of Yee Wing Kee, according to an appendant phrase, is "written by the person in the grave." Self-inscription becomes necessary for those who take pride in the tradition of Chinese literacy but who do not depend on their American-educated children to provide. Other signatures, of which there are only a few, claim the credit for "erecting" the gravestone, and not necessarily for the elegance of the inscription. These bear the signature of a son or "first son," but one is signed, "devoted friend," and followed by the name of an African-American woman. The inscriptions thus display a range of literary talents within the Chinese community.

The characters inscribed on the gravestones can be divided between those that achieve some degree of balance and proportion, which is the hallmark of Chinese calligraphy, and those that convey their own sense

Fig. 4 ***Leuhng Yik-Laahn fuh-yahn mouh*** **(Modern/Western Format).**

of vitality in more unconventional modes of the written word.[16] The first group can be further divided into the traditional types and styles of calligraphy. For instance, in the first group we find an archaic *zhuanshu* or "seal type" inscription on an upright slab of polished black granite. This stylized form of print, which developed from the earliest forms of Chinese writing, marks the grave of Ting Cheuk Lam. Another example from this group is *Lishu*, a square plain form of print first developed by clerks of the Han dynasty. Elements of *Lishu* are found on a catafalque belonging to the Chen family. A *Lishu* style is also in evidence on the humble gravestone of Yee Ming, especially where the side strokes in each character are elongated (*baifen* style) to increase the sense of "balance." But the vast majority of the Chinese inscriptions in this first group employ *kaishu*, the "regular" block print form that allows increased latitudes for self-expression. Compare, for instance, the supple characters that form *Leuhng Yik-Laahn*'s name in Figure 4 with the turgid, almost earthy characters in *Cheuhng-Kwing Leih*'s name in Figure 5 and the deliberate and measured characters in *Jiuh Fun-Jeuk*'s name in Figure 11.

Several inscriptions, for example Eng Hong's inscription in Figure 6, employ some of the formulaic elements of *songti* [Song dynasty typeface] to create an increased sense of precision and personal detachment.[17] Others move in the opposite direction by quickening the motion of the brush into a single continuous flow interrupted only by the suc-

Fig. 5 *Cheuhng-Kwing Leih gung mouh* **(Integrated Format).**

Fig. 6 *Ngh gung Bak-Hahng mouh* **(Sinicized Format).**

cession of characters. At this point the style shifts into a more spontaneous "running hand," or *xingshu*. The gravestone inscriptions exhibit only a few halting attempts at *xingshu* style. One of these can be seen in Figure 7, where the characters that inscribe Pang Lew's name alternate between a kind of "walking" *kaishu* and "running" *xingshu*! [18]

The second group of Chinese inscriptions includes characters that are easy to read but do not adhere to traditional standards of calligraphic

writing. Insofar as these characters are cut into stone and mark the graves of the next of kin, we must assume that they are invested with a high degree of sincerity. This being the case, these inscriptions make the fundamental point that "our Chineseness is disclosed in our language — no matter how it may be written." There is less concern here with appearances ("face-saving") and more concern with the substance of the

Fig. 7 *Liuh gung Liht-Pihn mouh* **(Segregated Format).**

Fig. 8 *King-ngoi dik Fu-chan, Jiuh Sihng* **(Modern/Western Format).**

expression. An especially poignant example of this proposition is the inscription on the marker for Seng Chiu seen in Figure 8. Here the significance of the script is in the content of the phrase, *king-ngoi dik fu-chan* [Respected and Loved Father] rather than in the rough and ready hand that produced it. This is not only a traditional literary expression, embedded in a modern format (to be discussed later), but it is one of the rare expressions of affection on the Chinese gravestones in Valhalla.

Another example is the inscription of Chinese characters found on the stone marking the grave of an American woman of African descent named Juanita Chin (see Fig. 17). The Chinese inscription transcribes her given name, *Wahn-ne-douh*, and implies with the word *niuh-si* that she was not married to the man whose Romanized surname her gravestone bears (to be discussed later). Here again, the significance of the inscription is not in the elegance of the hand that wrote it, but rather in the insistence that this American woman of African descent have her name not just inscribed on a stone, but inscribed in Chinese, and that she thus be included in the memory bank of the old community.

A residual category of literacy might include mistakes in writing the character or cutting it into the stone. Common mistakes can be found in several characters missing simple strokes. The more glaring mistakes are due to misunderstandings between the (European-American) stonecut-

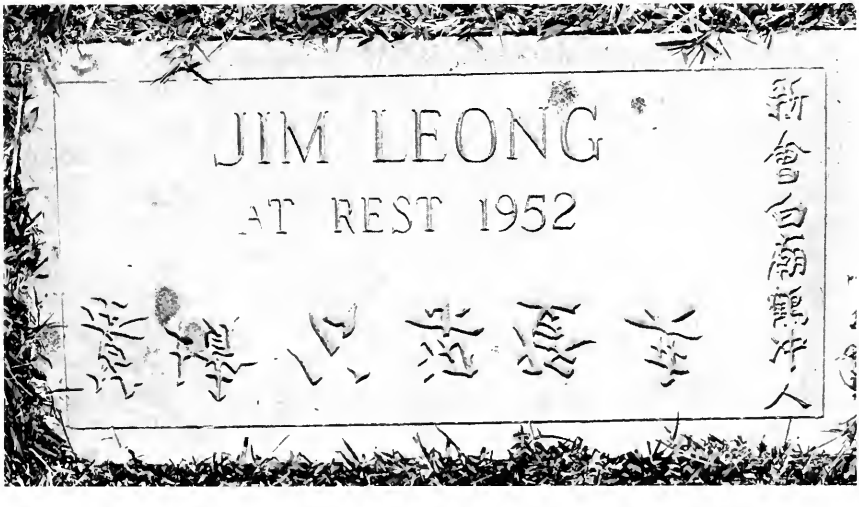

Fig. 9 Gravestone of Jim Leong. The horizontal Chinese script is upside down and backwards.

ter and his (Chinese-American) customer. Lacking knowledge of Chinese, the stonecutter depends on his customer to supply a pattern scaled to the exact size and shape of the figures to be cut. With pattern in hand, the stonecutter exhibits a keen technical ability to cut the minutiae of each character, especially when he cuts the Chinese name inscription sideways on Yee Ming's gravestone, or upside down and backwards on Jim Leong's gravestone (Fig. 9).

This residual category might also include characters that appear to be mistakes but may in fact be intentional manipulations of the iconic and literary conventions. For example, a given name on Huie Wing's gravestone adds the "heart" radical to the character for "laughing." The character is written with the same clarity and self-confidence as is evident in the rest of the inscription, but it can not be found in a dictionary. This suggests that Huie Wing's given name belongs entirely to the spoken vernacular. In order to inscribe it, therefore, a special graph has been fashioned out of the phonetic and semantic resources of the literary language.[19] Another apparent mistake, when seen in the overall text of the stone, turns out to be an intentional act of ritual prophylaxis – or "superstition." In instances where one spouse precedes the other to their common resting place, the gravestone is frequently inscribed with both their names. This creates a potentially dangerous paradox in which the surviving spouse is written down as already dead. One set of inscriptions on a married couple's gravestone protects the surviving husband by manipulating the representational function of the icon. The "grass" radical that caps the character for "grave" in the husband's name inscription is simply deleted. The incomplete icon – the "sun" radical perched above the "earth" radical but minus the "grass" radical – is not a mistake, but rather a graphic expression that "the grass under your feet does not grow on my grave!"

Taken in its entirety, the corpus of Chinese inscriptions expresses a four thousand years old tradition of literacy that has been transported from towns and villages in China and individually reproduced in Missouri lime and sandstone, granite, marble and bronze. This work exhibits a remarkable variety of conventional types and individual styles, and it is the work of ordinary persons – of laundrymen, cooks, and clerks, and of engineers, architects, and businessmen, each with a different and sometimes shifting cultural experience, orientation, commitment, and skill, and each with a sense of pride and efficacy in his work.

Chinese Inscriptions[20]

There are three basic categories of information encoded on most of the gravestones: A name for the deceased, the name of a native place in China, and a death date. Most of the names and dates in Chinese script are placed in conventional phrases that indicate that this is *the grave of* so 'n' so, that he or she was *a native of* such 'n' such a place, and that he or she *passed away on* the date indicated. This has the effect of structuring the string of words and increasing the control over the direction for reading them. This effect is most apparent in the names that are inscribed on a horizontal plane. In the absence of a phrase, a name like *Chyuhn Sauh Leuhng* in Figure 2 may be read from the right side or from the left side and it may be read with the given name first, as indicated above or with the surname first as *Leuhng Sauh Chyuhn*.[21] By placing the name in an objective phrase, *Chyuhn Sauh Leuhng gung mouh* [the grave (*mouh*) of the honorable (*gung*) *Chuyhn Sauh Leuhng*], the name is read in its intended direction and syntax.

The names thus inscribed exhibit four distinct variations based on the different permutations of horizontal direction and syntax. These four ways of inscribing names may be interpreted as common sense strategies for mediating the hermeneutical problems that arise when writing Chinese in a Western cultural context. These strategies are defined in the two-dimensional matrix of Table 1. The "traditional" strategy begins with the surname on the right side of the stone as shown in Figures 6 and 7. A clear majority of names inscribed on the horizontal plane employs this strategy. This percentage is much higher on stones dating from the first two decades of the Chinese in Valhalla.

The second strategy "modifies" the tradition by placing the given name on the right side, as in Figure 2. This has the effect of placing the surname, somewhat unexpectedly, in the middle of the script. It combines the traditional direction of reading Chinese scripts with the Western preference for placing the given name in front of the surname. The modified script thus fuses a sense of direction which is Chinese with a sense of individual preeminence which may be attributed to its American context. Twenty-eight percent of the names inscribed horizontally are modified in this way. The first appearance of a modified name is on a stone dating from 1929, and by the 1950s it is almost as popular as the traditional inscription.

The least popular strategy is to "modernize" the inscription by writ-

ing the surname on the left side of the stone, as depicted in Figure 4. This strategy reverses the direction of the script while giving priority to the Chinese surname. That is to say, it preserves the Chinese syntax but changes the direction in which it is read. Reversing the direction of the script while keeping the syntax Chinese became popular in China as the "modern" way to write after 1950. This was a conscious strategy by which the Communist Party put into daily praxis its project to save China by changing its direction with respect to the Western world. Thus, the various configurations of direction and syntax signify not only cultural orientations but also political and ideological commitments.

The fourth strategy is to "Westernize" the name by inscribing the given name on the left. If this is a logical alternative, it seems to be unacceptable in view of the fact that we find no examples on the Chinese gravestones in Valhalla. The rule is sufficiently ingrained that even names inscribed without the benefit of a phrase, such as *Jiuh Fun-Jeuk* in Figure 11, would not be read as "*Jeuk-Fun Jiuh*." The Chinese inscriptions may be "modified" or "modernized," but they may not be "Westernized." In other words, if preeminence is given to the individual name then it must take the form of modifying the Chinese syntax while resisting the directional bias of Western culture; or if the direction is reversed, then the syntax must be preserved. These relationships are of consider-

SCRIPT BEGINS			
with	*on*	RIGHT SIDE	LEFT SIDE
SURNAME		Traditional 62%	Modern 10%
GIVEN NAME		Modified 28%	Western 0%

Table 1 Strategies for Inscribing Chinese Scripts on American Gravemarkers

able importance to persons who seek to retain a coherent identity while endeavoring to restructure and adapt their traditions.

Up until now I have referred to inscriptions of personal names written on a horizontal plane. However, many inscriptions are written vertically. This includes most of the personal names inscribed on upright stones and virtually all the place names and death dates inscribed on both upright and flat stones. The inscriptions that are placed on the vertical plane accommodate only the traditional and the modified forms for the simple reason that there is no convention in either culture for reading a script from the bottom to the top. However, among the hundreds of vertical inscriptions on the Chinese gravemarkers in Valhalla, only two modify the traditional syntax by placing the exclusive given name above the inclusive surname (see Fig. 16).

Native place names and death dates are as a rule written vertically on the right and left edges respectively of both flat and upright markers.[22] Each begins with the larger inclusive unit, the name of the native province or the year of death, and each ends with the smaller exclusive unit, the name of the natal village or the hour of death. The text of the stone thus moves from right to left, from birth to death, and from beginning to end, with the name in between. The sense of the text as a whole is traditional, but a tradition that is not without profound disruptions. This process of mediating disturbances in the tradition intensifies as we move from the Chinese to the Roman system of writing.

Roman and Arabic Transcriptions

Although most of the information in the basic categories is written in Chinese characters, many names and dates for the deceased are also inscribed in ordinary Roman letters and Arabic numbers. The use of two culturally distinct writing systems in the same text creates additional disturbances. Of these there are two: one is the occasional inconsistency between death dates written in Chinese and dates written in Roman-Arabic scripts. These usually indicate differences between the lunar and the Gregorian calendars.[23] The other disruptions include the pervasive differences between personal names. The principal means of mediating these differences is transcription, which involves writing Chinese names in Roman script. The first task is to mediate the syntax of names, and, again, we find that there are four common sense strategies which can be defined in the two-dimensional matrix of Table 2.[24]

CHINESE SCRIPT	ROMAN SCRIPT: CHINESE SYNTAX	ROMAN SCRIPT: WESTERN SYNTAX
CHINESE SYNTAX	Sinicization 40%	Segregation 33%
WESTERN SYNTAX	Integration 21%	Westernization 7%

Table 2 Strategies for Inscribing Name Phrases in Chinese and Roman Scripts

The most popular strategy is to "sinicize" the syntax of the Romanized name by writing the surname in front of the given name in conformity with the syntax of the Chinese script below (see Fig. 6). The accommodation of "American culture" in the form of a Roman script is thus accomplished in keeping with Chinese rules. However, as we shall see, when a name in Chinese like *Ngh Bak-Hahng* is rendered into a parallel Roman script as "Eng Hong," the given name, "Hong," often becomes the American surname.

Next in popularity is to "segregate" the rules that generate the two scripts each according to its own cultural convention and sensibility. The Chinese name in Figure 10 is written according to Chinese syntax, while the name in Roman letters, which in this case happens to be a highly modified transcription of the Chinese name, is written according to Western syntax.

A third strategy is to "integrate" the rules of syntax. The Western rule is used to write the name in Chinese script and the Chinese rule is used to write the same name in Roman script. In Figure 5, Lee Chong Quin's gravestone inscription in Roman letters conforms to the Chinese rule of placing the surname, "Lee," before the given name, "Chong Quin," while the same name in Chinese script, *Cheuhng-Kwing Leih* is written in a modified format with the given name, *Cheuhng-Kwing* before the surname, *Leih*. This strategy uses the literary resources of the two cultures to create a cultural synthesis and thus a sense of congruence.

The last and least utilized strategy is to write the Chinese name in both scripts according to the Western rule of syntax. That is to say, the Romanized name is written according to the convention of Western usage, for example "Wee Wo Lee" (where "Lee" is the surname), and the name in Chinese script is written in a modified form, for example *Waih-Woh Leih* (where *Leih* is the surname).[25] This strategy, along with the segregated scripts (e.g. in Fig. 10), is strongly associated with the tendency to inscribe American (given) names above the inscriptions of Chinese names. The next logical step is to dispense with the Chinese inscription altogether, and this we find on twenty gravestones marked only with Romanized names, for example, "George Sunn," "Gim Y. Chiu," and "Jack G. Jue" (see Fig. 13).

Another point of mediation between the two systems of writing surrounds the inscription of different names on the same stone. Many men possess more than one set of Chinese names. These may include a boyhood name, a school name, a nickname, a married name, a business name, and a paper name.[26] As several of the figures illustrate, the gravestones frequently inscribe one set of names in Chinese characters and another set or combination thereof in Roman letters. However, the given name in Roman script is more often an ordinary American name. For instance, Figure 10 shows a stone inscribed with the American name "Jim But." Below this in parentheses is another name which combines an

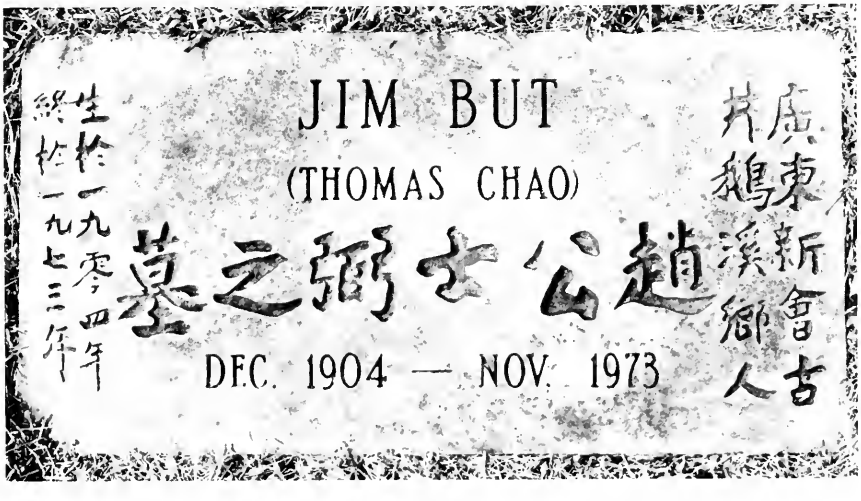

Fig. 10 *Jiuh gung Si-Baht ji mouh* **(Segregated Format).**

Fig. 11 *Jiuh Fun-Jeuk* **(Sinicized Format).**

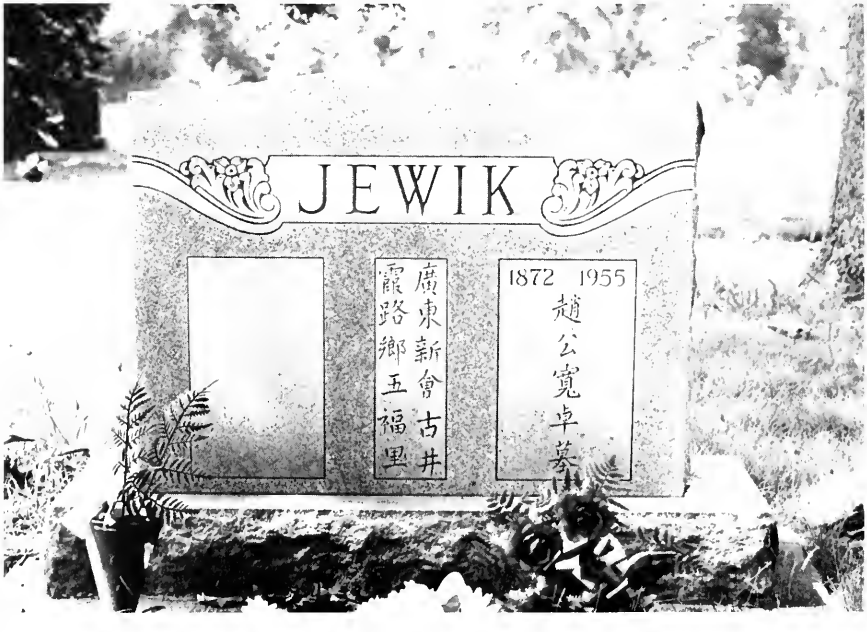

Fig. 12 *Jiuh gung Fun-Jeuk mouh* **(Traditional Format)**

American given name, "Thomas," with the Chinese surname, "Chao." This parenthetical name preserves the Chinese surname in a Western syntax along with its sound (*Zhao*) in the national language. However,

the name in Chinese characters is inscribed in a traditional format, and when it is spoken according to its sound in the native Cantonese vernacular, *Jiuh Sih-Baht*, it provides the initial "J" in the surname *Jiuh* and the second word in the given name *Baht* for the all-American name, "Jim But." The conversion of Chinese names from the Chinese script into American paper names in Roman script, of *Jiuh Baht* into Jim But, for example, had certain practical advantages. It created a coherent set of personal identities in a life world that was torn by cultural differences and racial hostility.

On the other hand, these same conditions, which resulted in sixty years of official exclusion from 1882 to 1943, constrained others to change their names entirely. Many would-be immigrants with no legal means for entering the United States purchased their paper names from families who enjoyed legal residence. This "slot racket," as it was sometimes called, consisted of a man with legal residence selling a place in his family genealogy to a neighboring villager. The bearers of these illegal papers were known as "paper sons;" and as illegal residents of the United States they were denied any opportunity to acknowledge their true paternity for fear of discovery and deportation. Some gravestones in Valhalla bear the evidence from this difficult chapter in Chinese-American history. These stones have two Chinese surnames. One is the paper surname in Roman letters and the other is the ancestral surname in Chinese characters. The gravestone thus makes it possible for a person to finally acknowledge his true ancestry but in so doing also to reveal to the world what was once the most closely guarded secret of the Chinese community. The Chinese gravestone inscriptions are significant precisely because they preserve, as in no other public record, the complex structure of personal identities by which means members of the old-time community mediated the sociocultural boundaries and legal restrictions that they encountered in their daily struggle to make ends meet.

The process of Romanizing names to conform to sounds that are familiar to American ears, of converting *Ngh Hahng* into Eng Hong, for example, entails other considerations which are clearly expressed on the gravestones. For example, the Romanized name tends to avoid configuring letters in a way that suggests an identity in American culture that is provocative or otherwise unwarranted. In Valhalla, the surname *Jiuh* is Romanized nine different ways.[27] These include one surname written with the letters "J-e-w" on the flat gravestone in Figure 11. The same

grave is marked by an upright stone of later vintage which fuses the surname with the given name "I-k," thus creating an entirely different American surname, "Jewik," for the deceased and his posterity, as depicted in Figure 12.

However, I would hasten to add that this attempt to avoid unwarranted associations does not cover warranted associations such as engravings of the Mosaic Tablets, the Mogen David, the Torah and the menorah (candelabrum). These Judaic symbols are found on two upright stones marking the graves of *Dang Sei-Chih*, an immigrant from Guangdong, and Dr. Jack G. Jue, a native-born St. Louisan.[28] The configuration of symbols on Dr. Jue's gravestone in Figure 13 is one of the most elegant religious motifs in the Chinese sections of Valhalla.[29]

These are some of the ways that disruptions in personal identities are mediated between the two cultures. One principle of mediation that is

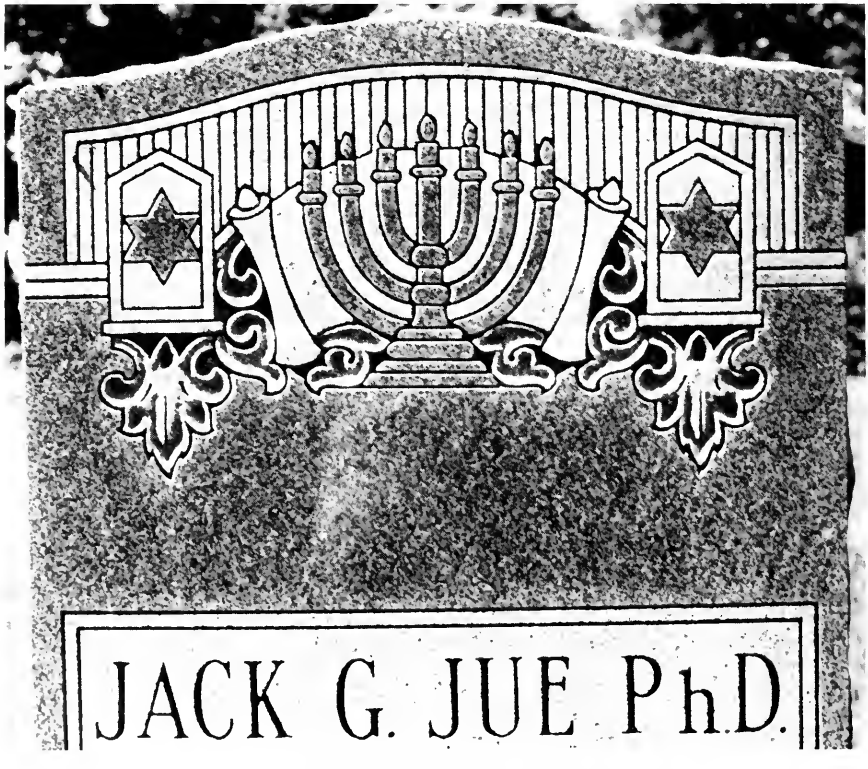

Fig. 13 Gravestone of Dr. Jack G. Jue.
Note Romanized name and use of Judaic symbols.

common to all the inscriptions, however, is the use of Roman letters to transcribe, but not to translate, Chinese names.[30]

The Index of Women's Names and the Changing Constructs of Female Identity[31]

Chinese women do not possess the multiplicity of given names that men traditionally possess.[32] Instead, they possess a multiplicity of surnames. In the Old World village tradition a married woman is known by the surnames of her father and her husband. This tradition is expressed on many of the gravestones in Chinese Valhalla. The oldest gravestone for a woman, dated 1928, is shown in Figure 1. The inscription reads *Jiuh mahn Jung si* [a *Jung* married to a *Jiuh*]. Her inscription gives no clue to who she was as an individual person. *Jiuh* and *Jung* are surnames; *mahn* [doorway] and *si* [nativity] are signifiers for the married and maiden names respectively. The maiden name together with its signifier, *Jung-si*, takes the place of her given name. When these names are Romanized and converted into paper names they follow the spoken version, which deletes the signifier for the married name. The Romanized name often follows the Western syntax, as in Figure 4: the maiden name "Chan," plus its signifier "See," comes before the married name "Leong." The same stone records a Chinese given name, *Yihk-Laahn* [abundant orchids]. However, this name is inscribed on the husband's gravestone in another section of the cemetery, and thus refers to him. What is more, the native place name boldly inscribed across the top of the woman's stone typically refers to her husband's village. It is interesting that the content of this woman's identity is constructed entirely according to Old World village traditions, but it is inscribed in a Western and modern format.

Although most inscriptions identify a woman by the link between her maiden and married names, there is, in fact, an emerging tradition of genuine given names. The earliest inscription of a given name is on a 1942 gravestone belonging to a young married woman named "L. Mary" (see Fig. 14). However, the given name is an American name and it is placed, according to Chinese syntax, after the initial "L," which stands for her married and maiden names. These are inscribed below as *Lahm mahn Leuhng si* [a *Leuhng* married to a *Lahm*].

Most of the earliest inscriptions of given names are found on the gravestones belonging to young or unmarried women, and even to

Fig. 14 ***Lahm mahm Leuhng si mouh*** **(Sinicized Format)**

female infants. However, marking the graves of unmarried females entailed a radical break from the mortuary practice of the Old World village.[33] The grave of little *Wohng Guk-Ying* / Charlotte Wong, who was less than a year old when she passed away in 1945, is the most poignant example. She is buried not only in a marked grave, but a grave marked with a stone that bears her given names in Chinese and American and, even more telling, a grave that has continued to receive the devotion of visitors bearing springtime bouquets and white floral crosses for almost half a century (the white floral cross can be seen standing in the field of flat gravestones to the right and rear of the Jue family gravemarker illustrated in Figure 3.)

Marking the graves of unmarried females required an additional accommodation, that of using a given name in the absence of a married name. Marking her grave with her given name suggests that the unmarried female is recognized as an individual person in the public domain of gravestone inscriptions. These fundamental shifts in traditional mortuary practice created a precedent that has been extended to include the gravestone inscriptions of married women.

The first appearance of a married woman's Chinese name is on a Leong family gravestone that dates from 1968 (see Fig. 15). The name, "Lee Chung," is written in Roman letters. This is followed by another stone dated three years later that gives the woman's name in Chinese characters. The inscription begins with her married and maiden names,

Fig. 15 Leong Family gravestone. Illustrates changing patterns of denoting names of married women.

Yuh Chahn, then her given name, *Meih-Wahn*, followed by the term for wife, *fuh-yahn*. In the past two decades the use of Chinese characters to inscribe woman's given names has become increasingly popular.

The most recent precedent in this evolving microcosm of name inscriptions is found on two gravestones dating from 1986. The name inscriptions, which follow a modified vertical format, include only the woman's given and maiden names. For example, the gravestone inscription in Figure 16 shows the woman's title *Tsou-bi* [ancestral deceased mother] followed by her given name, *Tsui-sieng*, and then her maiden name, *Bung*. Significantly, no married name is included in her inscription. Her marital status can be inferred from her title *Tsou-bi* [ancestral mother] and from the inscription of her surviving husband's surname, Lee, in bold Roman letters at the bottom of the stone.[34]

The changing tradition of inscribing the names of women is still encumbered with certain practical problems, however. Survivors of deceased women, especially members of a lower generation, may not know the given name of their mother or grandmother and others may have forgotten the name.[35] Recently, a woman of very respectable age passed away. Her surviving relatives including her son could not recall her given name. Her gravestone is marked only with surnames, but in this case with three different surnames, not the usual two. These include her maiden and married names in Chinese script and a paper surname in Roman letters.

The gravestones in Valhalla thus reflect changes in the way women's personal identities are publicly constructed. One aspect of this tradition that remains invariant is the attachment of relationship terms to the woman's name. Whether the name is a coupled surname or includes her given name, a relationship term is always part of the married woman's name phrase. The two most frequent relationship terms are *moh* [mother] and *fuh-yahn* [married woman or Mrs.]. Two others include a modern term, *ngoi-jai* [beloved wife], and a classical literary term, *on-yahn* [wife of imperial rank]. Several names are followed by the term *niuh-si* ["mis-

Fig. 16 ***Tsou-bi Tsui-sieng Bung si mo*** **(Modified Format)**

tress" in the positive sense of the word, or Ms.], which is a traditional title of respect for a woman whose marital status is otherwise indeterminate. This term is found on three gravestones belonging to a Chinese, a European and an African-American woman. Figure 17 shows the stone marking the grave of Juanita Chin, an American woman of African descent. The inscription indicates her married name, "Chin," in Roman letters and an altogether different construct, *Wahn-ne-douh niuh-si* [mistress *Wahn-ne-douh*], in the Chinese script. The contrasting constructs reflect culturally appropriate, if also socially expedient, definitions of a relationship that is fraught with a legacy of social stigmas and legal sanctions.[36]

These are the principal precedents for the inscriptions of women's names within the Valhalla population. Although we are looking at a fairly small sample over a short period of seventy years, we can nevertheless discern a tradition that increasingly identifies women as persons in their own right. This begins with the use of American names for the American-born and the inclusion of unmarried females, notably female infants, in the memory bank of the community. This is followed by the use of Chinese names, first in Roman script and then in Chinese script. Thus, a process that is encouraged, if not precipitated, by the American experience becomes increasingly informed by the symbolic resources of Chinese culture. There is even precedent for redefining the semantic function of the maiden name. Originally used to dignify an alliance

Fig. 17 ***Wahn-ne-douh niuh-si mouh*** **(Segregated Format)**

between male descent groups, the maiden name may increasingly signify a woman's ownership of her own being.

The Index of men's Names and the Reconstruction of the Old Community

The casual visitor to the Chinese graves perceives only the rows of gravestones laid in order of death dates and the recent extensions of the more heterogeneous upright stones into other parts of the cemetery. However, most markers inscribe a set of names that have structural significance and that are available in no other public domain. The gravestone inscriptions are crucial in our attempt to study the history of the old Chinese community. When the names of persons and places are systematically collected and sorted, they generate a structure of references to the historical community. These hypothetical structures can be tested, modified, and augmented by the results of other research procedures. I will limit my remarks to the data from the gravestones that represent the older Szeyap community.

We have already noted how the simple arrangement of the gravestones reflects the overall structure of relationships under the On Leong Tong. Within this corporate structure there are three other general points of identity that oriented social relationships of the men in the old community. These are surname, first given name, and native place. There are twenty-two surnames listed on the gravemarkers of the original community. However, three of these surnames, *Leuhng*, *Leih*, and *Jiuh* represent forty-five percent of the post-mortem population; and from other data we know that they provided the demographic basis for organizing influence in the old community.

The names of native places inscribed on the gravemarkers refer to fifty-four villages situated in each of four neighboring counties that form the western edge of the Canton Delta.[37] The four counties are *Hoi-pihng*, *Toi-saan*, *Hok-saan*, and *San-wui*.[38] Among these the largest number of references are to fourteen villages surrounding the market town of *Gu-jeng*, in the center of *San-wui* county.

The index of place names correlates closely with the index of surnames. Thus, two of the principal surnames belong to two different villages around *Gu-jeng*, while the large *Leih* [Lee] group belongs to a rural district in *Toi-saan*. The largest surname group in the cemetery, *Leuhng* [Leong], is almost evenly divided between villages in *San-wui* county and the neighboring county of *Hok-saan*. In fact, the *San-wui* and *Hok-*

saan county Leongs constituted the two branches of the now defunct *Jung-haau-tohng*, i.e. the Leong Surname Association of St. Louis.[39] Thus, the Leong men of *Gu-jeng* were strategically situated in the St. Louis Chinese community. Within the St. Louis community they could draw on two networks of social support and political influence, one from alliances with other surname groups in their own marketing and marriage network,[40] the other from an alliance based on a surname shared with men from a neighboring county.

When we sort the index of surnames and native places by first given names, which we have compiled from the gravestones, we get a more focused view of actual descent groups.[41] This is based on the cultural assumption that the shared first name from the same descent group (which is indicated by a surname linked to a particular native place) represents the married individual's affiliation with a particular generation of collateral kinsmen. In our corpus of first names we find eighteen possible cohorts, two of which form significant clusters. The two significant clusters are associated with the two branches of the Leong surname group in St. Louis. The first cluster includes the Leongs from *San-wui* county. The second cluster includes the Leongs from *Hok-saan* county.

We may verify the corporate status of these clusters and place each individual in his respective generation by sorting the names according to a "poem" which the descent groups possess as a means to name the married men in each generation. Each word in the poem provides the married men of each generation with a common first name. That is to say, when a male member of the descent group is married he takes as his first given name a word that is dictated by the sequence of words in a poem composed by his ancestors.[42] I was fortunate to elicit several of these poems from elders of the community who were still able to recite them. However, when I compared the two clusters of "generational names" that I compiled from Leong gravestones with the two poems that I elicited from elders of the two former branches of the Leong Association, I found an anomaly. "Generational names" compiled from the *Hoh-chyun* market gravestones follow the poem of the Leongs from the neighboring county of *Hok-saan* and not the Leongs from their own county of *San-wui*.[43] When I re-sorted the corpus of Leong gravestone names on the basis of the different poems, I resolved the anomaly in my research procedure, but I then encountered two additional anomalies located in the historical social structure itself!

While the *San-wui* cluster includes the men of the eleventh, or *jeuhng* generation of *Gu-jeng* market, the *Hok-saan* cluster includes men with married names from five generations of a network extending from *Hoh-chyun* market in *San-wui* across the county line to *Haahp-tuhng* market in *Hok-saan*.[44] The first anomaly is not uncommon: the men whose married names linked them to five consecutive generations in the same descent group lived and worked together in St. Louis. In fact, we can see from the dates inscribed on the gravestones that some members of the older generations were actually younger in chronological age than some members of the more recent generations! This anomaly can be explained on the basis of differential rates of reproduction in a large and, in this case, dispersed descent group.[45]

The second anomaly entails a unique contradiction between the *de facto* and the *de jure* native place identity of the *Hoh-chyun* sub-segment of the Leong Surname Association (see Table 3). The *Hoh-chyun* segment resides in *San-wui* county, but is the senior segment of the more populous *Hok-saan* county descent group.[46] In other words, the identity of the *Hok-saan* Leongs is divided; and it is the *Hoh-chyun* people who confound the distinction between the two descent groups that made up the two legs of the Association. In the historical community, this "confusion" was dealt with on at least two levels of highly reflexive social action. The first was in the origin stories of the *Hok-saan* Leongs that explained how they became known as the "Double Leongs."[47] The second was in the way that persons from *Hoh-chyun* were singled out in the old community as objects of local humor.[48] In fact, this sense of humor (which was expressed in the form of "moron jokes") is evident on the gravestone depicted in Figure 9, where the characters are turned upside down and backwards. This at least enables the deceased to read his own name, it could be reasoned, which then challenges our common sense that gravestone inscriptions are for the living, not the dead! Of course, it may only be mere coincidence that the native place inscribed along the edge of this gravestone is *Bak-miu*, a village in *Hoh-chyun*.

Although we have begun to move our attention from the material culture of gravestones to the reflexive folklore of origin myths and local humor, it was questions that I posed in the original analysis of the gravestone inscriptions that led to the present insights. The gravestones in Valhalla thus provide an important key in our endeavor to reconstruct the old Chinese community of St. Louis.

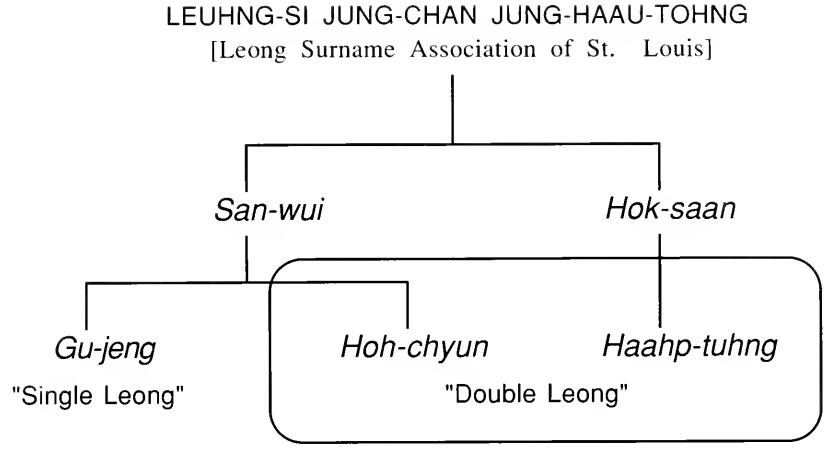

Table 3 The Regional Structure of the Leong Surname Association

Conclusion

Although the scope of my inquiry is confined to the modest gravestones of Chinese Valhalla, we can see a complex process in which the symbolic resources of two literate civilizations are inscribed together on the same slabs of stone. The process of fusing these horizons of cultural meaning entails a variety of cross-cultural strategies aimed at making Chinese identities meaningful in the American heartland. The process of fusing horizons of cultural meaning occurs in a more or less organized and coherent way if not in a uniform way, and certainly not in a way that mechanically substitutes one culture for another. There is indicated in these stones an unfolding of Chinese traditions in which horizons of meaning are preserved, disrupted, modified, reinterpreted, and modernized in ways that contradict, resist, recognize, accommodate, and enrich the American culture. Whether the patterns we have observed are unique to a particular locality or region in the American heartland is left open to further comparative research.

The gravestones and their inscriptions are also ostensive points of reference to a world that is embedded in a particular time and place. The Valhalla gravestone inscriptions index and store the historical features of a past that exists in both subjective and objective forms. For the descendants of Chinese in St. Louis, the historical features which the gravestones index exist in the subjectivity of scattered anecdotes and faded

memories. But when we assemble and sort this index we grasp the features of structure and scale in their objective form. As we "flesh out" these objective features of structure and scale we encounter anomolies that provoke additional questions, probe ever deeper and recall with increased cognitive acuity the shadowy remains of a deceased community. In this way, we continue the task of appropriating the past to serve the historical needs of the present.

NOTES

All photographs are by the author.

1. See, for example, "Among the Dead, Bellefontaine Cemetery as It is Seen on Sunday: The Beauties and Attractions of the Silent City," *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (July 8, 1878).

2. W. Lloyd Warner, *The Living and the Dead* (New Haven, 1959), 280-320; Frank W. Young, "Graveyards and social structure," *Rural Sociology* 25 (1960): 446-450; James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, New York, 1977); Richard E. Meyer, ed., *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (Ann Arbor and London, 1989).

3. Although there were individual Chinese living in St. Louis before the Civil War, the Chinese did not become a recognizable aggregate or community until the decade of the 1870s. See Lucy M. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People without a History* (Baton Rouge and London, 1984); C. Fred Blake, "The Life and Times of Alla Lee: The First Chinese Citizen of St. Louis, Missouri 1857-1880" (unpublished manuscript, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii).

4. "The Late Wong You," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Oct. 25, 1879); "A Celestial Funeral," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Oct. 26, 1879).

5. "The Wesleyan Cemetery Association Journal" (handwritten manuscript in the archives of the Centennary Episcopal Church, St. Louis, Missouri).

6. The On Leong Tong was the corporate expression of the St. Louis Chinese community from around the turn of the century until the 1960s. The English-speaking community often referred to it as "the Chinese Merchants Association" or "the Chinese Masons." The St. Louis On Leong was one branch of the national organization headquartered in New York City. The national On Leong Tong was, in turn, part of a loose confederation of about thirty competing lodges across North America known as the Chee Kung Tong (*Zhigongtang*), which supported radical political reform in China before 1911. Unlike the larger Chinese communities, the St. Louis community appears not to have had a United Chinese Benevolent Association of various *huiguan* ("official association") based on native places. The St. Louis On Leong Tong undertook many of the tasks that *huiguan* performed in the larger communities, such as dealing with the City Hall and providing for burials and the repatriation of remains of deceased members to their native places in China. Beneath the St. Louis On Leong Tong were several surname

associations which provided business credit to their members. At the lowest tier of the old St. Louis community were a number of corporate descent groups which owned and operated a variety of import and wholesale businesses.

7. The exhumation was undertaken by the leaders of the On Leong Tong. They removed the remains, washed, dried and packed the bones in metal boxes, and shipped them to San Francisco, where similar shipments were received from all over the United States. From San Francisco the containers of bones were shipped to Hong Kong, where they were sent to their respective villages in the rural districts southwest of Guangzhou for re-burial: see "Bones of Chinese to be Sent Home," *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (Nov. 17, 1928).

8. The manner of marking Chinese graves should indicate the temporal nature of the Chinese community. Marking a grave with an inscribed stone presumably signifies some level of permanence. This must certainly be the inference in face of all the factors that can be adduced to account for graves intended as temporary resting places and thus unmarked or marked with less durable materials. These factors would include 1) the Federal laws that excluded Chinese from citizenship in the United States, 2) the stated intentions and customary practice of the Chinese community to deposit the bones of its members in the hills surrounding their native villages, 3) the general poverty of the community and need to expend its meager resources on the shipment of bones back to China rather than on marking its graves with permanent fixtures, and 4) the customary idea held by people from south China that exhuming the remains from temporary graves and cleaning the bones for re-deposition in burial urns in accord with principles of Chinese geomancy is an important act of filial piety, not to mention interlineage rivalry and village politics. See Maurice Freedman, *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* (London, 1966), 118-154, and Rubie S. Watson, "Remembering the Dead: Graves and Politics in Southeastern China," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds. (Berkeley, 1988), 203-227.

9. When the plots in one lot were filled, each member of the On Leong Tong was asked to contribute a sum of money for the purchase of the next lot. In this way burial was under the control of the Tong and every member was guaranteed a place in the cemetery on the occasion of his or her death.

10. The decade of the 1920s, when Chinese burials became continuous and permanent in St. Louis, was the pivotal decade for Chinese in the United States. This was the period when the weight of forty years of Federal and State legislation to exclude Chinese from American society achieved its greatest result in reducing and isolating the Chinese population. The virtual elimination of the Chinese as a viable population, on the other hand, ironically reduced the pressures against them. Many of the men of this period had lived and worked in the United States for the better parts of their lives. Although many expressed a desire to return to their native villages, they were also completely inured to their ways of making ends meet, and could not return to an Old World rural economy. The outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941 and the succession of the Communist Party in 1949 ended, for many, even the desire to return. The series of Congressional acts and Executive orders which began in 1943 to unravel the official discrimination against Chinese in the United States provided additional incentives for

members of the Chinese community to make their graves in Valhalla their permanent resting places.

11. Some members of the Chinese community have voiced the idea that the flat gravestones of previous decades were the result of racial discrimination against the Chinese. These voices seem to echo Susan E. Wallace's eloquent description of a Jewish cemetery at Constantinople, where "the stones lie flat, as though pressing down the restless feet of the scattered, wandering, and persecuted race that is even in the sepulchre denied the right of an upright memorial" ("Turkish Cemeteries," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, April 1, 1888). However, in the absence of explicitly stated rules prescribing how Chinese should mark their graves in Valhalla, this interpretation is difficult to validate, especially in view of the many flat gravestones also marking the graves of European-Americans. The interpretation does have merit, on the other hand, if understood in a very broad context that includes 1) the economic priorities of a community that is transient and, out of necessity, parsimonious; 2) the egalitarian corporate practices of the On Leong Tong; 3) Cantonese cultural preferences (see note 8); and 4) subtle and not-so-subtle interethnic expectations and mutual understandings in an atmosphere of racial hostility. Indeed, the whole cultural complex of Chinese mortuary customs and stated intentions to be repatriated to China, alive or dead, must be seen in some *immeasurable* sense as a response to the racist system that excluded Chinese from participation in American society. In this sense, the practice of marking Chinese graves with flat stones prior to 1960 may also be seen as yet one more expression of a survival strategy geared to retaining a "low profile" in a hostile environment. The strategy of keeping a low profile was manifest in many aspects of ordinary daily life, not the least of which included the means of livelihood. Most of the Chinese buried in the older sections of Valhalla worked hand laundries or "chopsuey joints," which were among the humblest of all trades. They lived and worked among the immigrant and transient neighborhoods within the city limits, where they tended to blend with the other "unmeltable ethnics." Their low profile lifestyles are described by Paul C. P. Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation*, ed. Kuo Wei Tchen (New York and London, 1987).

12. Rose H. Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hong Kong, 1960), 42; Victor G. Nee and Bret DeBary Nee, *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (New York, 1972).

13. In St. Louis, as in many other American cities, the several hundred members of the original Chinese community joined the migration to the suburbs in the late 1960s. This move was coupled with the urban renewal in which St. Louis' "Chinatown" on South Eighth Street was demolished in order to build the parking structure for the Bush Memorial Stadium. Of course, the demolition of "Chinatown" was not the cause as much as a symbol of this move to the suburbs, since many Chinese had always lived in other parts of the city and not in "Chinatown." The 1960s also witnessed the end of the Chinese hand laundries in St. Louis and the move of the second generation into professional occupations. These moves were important parts of a changing kaleidoscope of living standards, styles, and material artifacts. In the suburbs they were joined by new waves of Chinese from various parts of East Asia to form part of the working middle class of metropolitan St. Louis.

14. Except for the inscriptions of Chinese characters, the Chinese gravemarkers are indis-

tinguishable from the others in Valhalla. With very few exceptions, there is no trace of a Chinese cultural influence on the form, shape or substance of the gravemarkers. The minor exceptions include a recess in the lower corner of the Chung family gravestone marking the residence of the Chung family guardian earth deity. Also, there is a vaguely expressed regard for Chinese geomancy (*fengshui*) evidenced by the way some of the more recent graves are nestled in the side of the hill and by what an employee of the cemetery refers to as "the Chinese preference for plots on higher ground."

15. Siu, 157.

16. I asked two of my friends in St. Louis with very different backgrounds and a different set of literary standards to comment on the stylistic aspects of the several thousand characters in these inscriptions. One friend is trained in Chinese art history and calligraphy and is an immigrant from Beijing. My other friend was born and reared in St. Louis and is the author of several of the Chinese gravestone inscriptions. The comments of these two friends helped me to draw some general inferences about the quality of the writing.

17. *Songti* and its modern "imitation," *fangsongti*, is from a typeface carved on square blocks in the Song dynasty. It is not a type of calligraphy and it may be copied with any type of writing utensil. See Yu Gingnan, *Meishuzi* (Beijing, 1980), 12-13.

18. The fifth type of calligraphy is *caoshu*, or "grass style." It is a kind of shorthand that lends itself to such artistic self-expressions that ordinary people sometimes find it difficult to decipher. This type of calligraphy is appropriate on certain types of public monuments, for example on monuments to the dead heroes of the revolution in Beijing. But I have not seen credible examples of *caoshu* on ordinary Chinese-American gravemarkers.

19. The spoken vernaculars of Chinese, which are regionally based, include numerous words that are not represented by a particular graph or set thereof in the written language.

20. I have rendered into italicized Roman letters all the names on the gravestones inscribed in Chinese characters. Most of these names belong to speakers of a Yue dialect. These are hyphenated and transcribed according to the pronunciation of the Guangzhou (Canton city) dialect of the Yue vernacular as described in Zhou Wuji, *Gwangdonghua Biaozhunyin Zihui* (Xianggang, 1988). Zhou uses the International Phonetic Alphabet, which is awkward for the purpose of this essay. I therefore employ the system of romanization developed by Parker Po-fei Huang in his *Cantonese Dictionary* (New Haven and London, 1970). In Huang's orthography, the "h" after a vowel places the spoken word in the lower register of the Guangzhou tonal system. The reader needs to bear in mind several provisos. The first is that the Guangzhou dialect spoken in the provincial capital constitutes the dominant speech community of the Yue vernacular and therefore only roughly approximates the rural dialects of the Szeyap region from which the original Chinese community in St. Louis came. Second, exactly how to characterize the dialects of the original St. Louis community or of the American "Chinatown Chinese" is uncertain. There is a strong sense among some, including my friends in the Chinese community, that there has evolved a Chinese dialect that blends

the native regional distinctions and incorporates the American experience, but this notion is challenged by Marjorie K.M. Chan and Douglas W. Lee, "Chinatown Chinese: A Linguistic and Historical Re-evaluation," *Amerasia* 8:1 (1981): 111-131. Finally, there are increasing numbers of gravestones in Valhalla that mark the graves of persons from other parts of China with their own vernaculars and dialects. Where in one other instance I cite inscriptions from the Chaozhou area of eastern Guangdong, I use the pronunciation and orthography in the *Hanyu Fangyin Zihui* (Beijing, 1962). All other citations in Chinese conform to the national spoken language (putonghua) and the Pinyin system of Romanization.

21. Chinese tradition lends preference to writing in vertical columns moving from top to bottom and right to left. But these columns may also be written from left to right or in horizontal rows from either direction. I should point out that many forms of the popular culture employ this versatility, from *The People's Daily* to the throng of signs that form the labyrinth of advertisements along Hong Kong's Nathan Road. However, having pointed this out, I do not suggest that gravestones belong to the discourse of popular media. Gravemarkers and popular media, although they occasionally interact, neverhteless belong to phenomenologically different domains of the American culture.

22. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. On a few stones the position of the native place name and death date is reversed, while on others (for example Fig.4) the native place is inscribed across the top of the stone. In the latter case, the characters for the native place name are sometimes inscribed with such bold strokes as to overshadow the person's name below.

23. The Chinese death dates on the gravestones employ one or a combination of the three conventional styles of enumeration (including the very informal *mazi* or "business style" numbers on the gravestone in Fig. 17) and one or a combination of several systems for reckoning time (Gregorian system variously modified, the lunar system, and the sixty-year cosmic cycle). Although most dates in Chinese agree with the dates in Roman Arabic script, some do not. A typical example is a death date that reads from the top to the bottom of the column: *Jung-yu Mahn-gwok sahp-baat-nihn sei-yuht sahp-saam-yaht chau* [Passed away in the eighteenth year of the Republic in the fourth month thirteenth day at the fourth watch]. The Roman Arabic death date reads "May 21, 1929." The discrepancy between the dates is in the month and day, and, of course, the Chinese date adds the hour of death. The Chinese date signifies a frame of reference in which a person's life and death correspond with the ebb and flow of cosmic forces.

24. The percentages in each cell pertain only to the percentages of gravestones on which the name is the same in both Chinese and Roman scripts. These percentages would change if we included the gravestones on which the name in Roman script is different from the name in Chinese script. My analysis does not hinge, however, on these quantitative differences, but rather on the semantic structure of logical possibilities.

25. A variation on this format is Seng Chiu's inscription (Fig. 8), in which the Roman script follows Western usage (Chiu is the surname), while the Chinese script *Jiuh Sihng* follows a "modern" format, that is, it reads from the left side with the surname first.

26. The paper name is the name in Roman letters required on legal documents in the United States.

27. The nine ways of Romanizing *Jiuh* on the Valhalla gravestones are "Chao," "Chu," "Cheu," "Chew," "Chiu," "Jeu," "Jew," "Jue," and "Jui."

28. Although there is nothing on his gravestone to indicate that Dr. Jue is "Chinese," it is appropriate, I believe, to note the fact that he is a descendant of immigrants from China and specifically of the *Jiuh* family from *San-wui* county in Guangdong province.

29. Six percent of Chinese gravestones in Valhalla express a Christian affiliation with simple engravings of the cross. Eighteen percent of the markers are engraved with floral designs. The floral designs provide the most frequent motifs. Although there is a general absence of epitaphs, there are a few that express trite or traditional sentiments such as "Rest in Peace," "Our Eternal Love," and "Together Forever." Others express the same deep feelings based on a specific relationship: "Our Dear Sister," "Our Boy," "Devoted Friend." Although there are no Buddhist-inspired epitaphs or symbols, there is one from each of several other religious traditions not mentioned in the text of my essay. From the Christian tradition we find the Pond family [Resting secure in the bosom of the Lord]. The Chen family catafalque is flanked by a Taoist-inspired couplet: [May pines and cedars stay green for ten thousand years; and rivers and mountains bloom for a thousand years]. The Chung family gravestone is engraved with a Confucian-inspired couplet: [Let us find joy in the virtue of our ancestors; and let our posterity prosper in this land of good fortune].

30. Chinese derive surnames from a particular domain of their historical experience which is untranslatable except as "surname." Given names, however, come from the words of everyday experience. They often are given in pairs, the two members of which may stand alone or form a semantic or lexical unit. However, as personal names these words are embedded in semantic networks and ontological structures that can not be translated without sounding either "exotic" or "awkward." For example, among the given names inscribed in Valhalla are *Hoh-gweng* ["a river (of) brightness"], *Gam-Yihn* ["a river (with) many branches"], *Chan-Jihn* ["blazing forth"], *Sai-kahn* ["a world (of) celery"] or *Jeuhng-bo* ["a likeness (of) waves"]. Other names, for example *Bat-Wuih* ["no benefit"], are difficult to interpret as names that somebody might inscribe on a gravestone, although there is a precedent in Chinese village culture for so-called "mean names" according to Russell Jones, "Chinese Names," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32:187 (1961), 45. Some names found on the gravestones translate easily into semantic categories of English, for example, *Cheun-lahnn* ["spring rains"], and others form a single lexeme, for example, *Tsui-sieng* ["narcissus"]. But each and every translation of names loses the thick and vital texture of its meaning in Chinese and the name in translation becomes a veneer of ethnicity. There are Chinese-Americans who have names that are translated from the Chinese. The ones I am most familiar with are names like "Narcissus," "Jasmine," "Lotus" and "Jade." These names fit the Western semantic categories of feminine names for flowers and precious stones. But even these names, in translation, lose their cultural vitality and become veneers of ethnicity. In Cantonese, *Yuhk* [jade] is endowed with the mystical power of purity and virtue, and this mystical power is gender neutral. In Valhalla there are several inscriptions of men's names which include the word *Yuhk*. The Amer-

ican name, "Jade," on the other hand, suggests none of the original mystery and becomes associated instead with stereotypes of the "China doll" or "exotic female."

31. The gravemarkers of women reflect the uneven sex ratio in the Chinese community over the past seventy years. The overall sex ratio of males per one hundred females is 600, which is the national average for Chinese in the 1920 U.S. Census. See Stanford M. Lyman, *Chinese Americans* (New York, 1974), 88.

32. Ruby Watson, "The Named and the Nameless: Gender and Person in Chinese Society," *American Ethnologist* 13:4 (1986): 619-631.

33. Chinese village culture offered few comforts in the face of death outside the elaborate rituals which expense alone dictated be held only for those who lived long enough to complete a circle of life. This attitude was garbed in the values of the folk religion and popular Confucianism which demeaned the life of any person that did not live long enough to complete the principal filial obligation of reproduction. This obligation was completely integrated in the highly structured interdependence between living and deceased members of the family. The death of an unmarried child subverted this structure of interdependence and thus provided, especially in the case of a female infant, no occasion for a public expression of grief. The corpse was disposed of, contrary to that of a married adult, in the most efficient and seemingly indifferent manner possible. See, for example, the descriptions of J.J.M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1897), 1387-1389, and J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese* (Shanghai, 1925), 404. The obvious attention shown to female graves, especially those of female infants, in Chinese Valhalla is probably due to a shifting mixture of values, amongst which we should count the influence of Christianity, the demographic need for women in a bachelor society, and the increasing affluence of the Chinese community.

34. However, there is another dimension to this inscription which is not related directly to the question of gender. The inscriptions which are in negative relief are painted green and red. The color green is added to the three characters *bi Tsui-sieng* [deceased mother *Tsui-sieng*] in order to signify the "yin," i.e. the mortal or finite aspect of individual being. These green-colored characters of personal identity are bracketed by the red symbols of structure, i. e. the characters for "ancestor," the maiden surname and the husband's surname — and indeed the character for the tangible "grave" itself. These are painted the color red to signify the "yang," i.e. the immortal or transcendental aspect of being — the aspect of being that incorporates the ancestors and their descendants as members of a family. The inscription for a deceased male on a neighboring gravestone is similarly painted. The native place inscriptions on these stones indicate ancestral homes in eastern Guangdong. This is a Min-speaking area entirely distinct from the Yue-speakers who make up the vast majority of the old-time inhabitants of Valhalla (see note 20). Other indications on these gravestones suggest that the deceased may be "ethnic Chinese" from Southeast Asia.

35. Jones (26-27) notes that a woman may be known by her maiden name and its signifier "from early in life, and that her children may never discover what her personal names are if she does not belong to the 'lower classes'."

36. The history of marriages between men from China and American women in St. Louis is

long and complex. Before the Exclusion laws and state miscegenation laws came into effect in the 1880s, a number of Chinese immigrants married either native-born or European-born American women. After these laws went into effect, including one provision in the Federal law that stripped native-born Americans of their citizenship if they married a Chinese (Lyman, 109), those who wanted to live together and share their lives simply avoided the law and made their own "common law" arrangements. These arrangements were sometimes complicated by men who left wives in China, where they had been married according to village custom (See Siu, 156-170). The post-1960 movement of Chinese into the white-dominated suburban classes has increased the pressure on Chinese to disassociate themselves from the Black community, a process which James Loewen has described in *The Mississippi Chinese: Between White and Black* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). These pressures have been most acutely felt in "mixed" families of Chinese and African ancestry.

37. The number of villages represented on the gravestones is inexact due to the combination of three factors: 1) our own analytical definitions of "village" are ambiguous; 2) native references in the inscriptions to *xiang* [administrative village], *bao* [walled village], *cun* [natural village], and *li* [hamlet or neighborhood] are used interchangeably; 3) actual places which are designated with one of these native terms for "village" occupy various and shifting positions in the hierarchy of modernizing central places.

38. These four counties share common borders along the western edge of the Canton Delta. *Hoi-pihng*, *Toi-saan* and *San-wui* form three counties of the Szeyap (or Four Districts) region, which is based on a distinct dialect and control of the *Taahm* river resource base. See Kil Young Zo, "Emigrant Communities in China, Sze-Yap," *Asian Profile* 5:4 (1977): 313-323. When *Hok-saan* is included on the basis of geographical proximity and cultural affinity, the region is referred to as *Ngh-yap* (Five Districts). However, *Hok-saan* is mostly hills and hollows where it backs up against Szeyap along its western and southern borders. Its small mountain streams feed the *Taahm* river, but well south of the county boundary. Thus *Hok-saan* has no direct share in the *Taahm* river basin, but its northeastern border is formed by the major channel of the West River where it enters the incomparably rich agricultural counties of the Canton Delta.

39. The St. Louis Leong Surname Association was affiliated with the *Jung-haau-tohng* (Zhongxiaotang), headquartered in San Francisco.

40. The network of *Gu-jeng* men in St. Louis is also reflected in the conjugal relationships that are indicated by the two surnames inscribed on the gravestones of Chinese women in Valhalla. Most of the inscriptions on the gravestones of Chinese women in Valhalla indicate they came from a village in the *Gu-jeng* market area and married a man from another village in the same area. This conjugal pattern distinguishes the *Gu-jeng* men of Valhalla from their contemporaries in the Chinese community who did not reproduce their market-based conjugal network in St. Louis.

41. By actual descent group I mean a group that records actual genealogical relationships. These are distinguished from the much more inclusive groups that recruit members simply on the basis of a shared surname.

42. According to Jones (11), the arrangement of "generational names" in the form of a

poem began in the Han dynasty as a mnemonic device. In poetic form, each line consists of five names and each stanza consists of two, four or six lines, hence ten, twenty, or thirty generations of names. The four line poem of the Leong descent group from *San-wui* county, *Gu-jeng* market is typical of the ones I elicited: *Sai dak fong chyuhn sau, Douh wihng sihng sin tung, Jeuhng yihn hing yuhn cheung, Jung daaih kaai san yauh.* Loosely translated: [Let our virtue be kept and protected in the four corners of the realm, Let the eternal Way govern our ancestral tradition, Let our models of virtue prosper into the distant future, And let the greatness of our ancestors begin anew.] The St. Louis descendants of this group are currently in the third line of their poem, but with the demise of the Leongs as a corporate descent group in St. Louis the poem has become increasingly irrelevant and all but forgotten.

43. These five names make up one line of the *Hok-saan* Leong's ancestral poem: *Jou yihk sai chyuhn fong* [Let the virtue of our ancestors be spread far and wide].

44. I am using market town reference points here instead of the particular villages in order to simplify the analysis. Most members of the *Leuhng* descent group in *Hok-saan* come from the villages of *Chuhng-hah* and *Leuhng-kang*, which are one and two kilometers west of *Haahp-tuhng* market. The *Leuhng* descent group from *San-wui, Gu-jeng* is from the village of *Naahm-lohng*.

45. The fact that five generations are represented contemporaneously may be accounted for by long-term differential rates of reproduction between segments of the group due to difference in command over economic resources. See Hugh D. R. Baker, *Chinese Family and Kinship* (New York, 1979), 56-57.

46. I have not yet been able to obtain much information on this large descent group that straddled the county line, but it would appear to be similar to the Kuan lineage of *Hoi-pihng* described in Yuen-fong Woon, *Social Organization in South China 1911-1949: The Case of the Kuan Lineage in K'ai-p'ing County*, Center for Chinese Studies Monograph 48 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1984).

47. The origin of the "Double Leongs" celebrates the exploits of *Ngau Ying*, a local culture hero whose foolishness and tricks became legendary. Early orphaned, he lives with his father's sister, who is married to the Leong family in *Hoh-chyun*. When he is hungry, he steals the villager's potatoes; when pursued, he abandons the cremated remains of his parents in the cleft of a mountain that turns out to have excellent geomancy, the benefits of which he almost squanders through ignorance. Later he betrays his aboriginal (Miao) patrons whom he has taught the benefits of civilization and annihilates them in a great holocaust under the assumed name of Leong and in the pay of his royal overlord. Through thievery, accident, and guile, and despite serious blunders, he wins fame and fortune and in time gives up his ancestral name, *Ngau*, to assume the Leong surname. *Ngau-Leuhng Ying* thus mediates and reflects the crucial boundaries of Chinese identity, the boundaries between man and nature, the civilized and the savage, and between different patrilineal descent groups.

48. The role of the "comic fool" is often assigned to a person or group which mediates a critical social boundary. A critical social boundary is a point of interaction that is fraught with tension but also serves as the foundation of social order. The group that

straddles this boundary or point of identification is often the purveyor and the butt of so-called "moron jokes" which turn the common sense on its head. In this way, the offending-and-offended group, which is one and the same, embodies, represents, and reflects the mysteries of (the) social order itself. The quality of community life depends on the "good nature" rather than the hostility of the group that offends and is offended. See C. Fred Blake, "Racial Victimage in Hawaii: The Role of the Comic in Reducing Violence," *Planning the Good Life for Hawaii: Proceedings of the 1980 Humanities Conference* (Honolulu: Hawaii Committee for the Humanities, 1981), 148-153.

Fig. 1 Charles Lloyd Neale

Fifty Years of Reliability: The Stonecarving Career of Charles Lloyd Neale (1800-1886) in Alexandria, Virginia.

David Vance Finnell

Reliability must have been the retail theme of 1883 in Alexandria, Virginia. The city's commercial directory that year characterizes nearly half of all local businesses as "*reliable*," a word the directory always italicizes. For example, Thomas Devitt's grocery at the intersection of Duke and Alfred Streets is "a *reliable* house"; Fowle & Company, cotton dealers on Union Street, is "a *reliable* concern"; and the drygoods merchant Isaac Eichberg at the corner of King and Royal "assures all who may deal with him ... perfectly fair and *reliable* dealing." Not surprisingly, the directory says of C.L. Neale & Sons, whose marble yard occupied the southwest corner of Duke and Columbus: "These gentlemen ... are *reliable* persons, and will execute with fidelity and dispatch all work entrusted to them."[1]

However repetitious the directory may have been in its vocabulary, the word "reliable" appears to have suited Neale & Son perfectly. By 1883 Charles L. Neale had been operating his stonecutting business in Alexandria for some forty-five years. The number of gravemarkers bearing the Neale signature in local church cemeteries was legion. While these facts do not prove Neale's reliability, they certainly suggest it. This review of Charles L. Neale's work will show that the key to Neale's sustained business success was a strong, simple carving style that satisfied the tastes of his community.

Charles Lloyd Neale (Fig. 1) was born September 26, 1800 to Charles and Mary Mariman Neale of St. Mary's County, Maryland. The family belonged to an old and respected Maryland clan that traced its American roots to Captain James Neale of Walleston Manor, who brought his family to Maryland from England in 1660. Charles Lloyd's grandfather was James Neale, said to have served in the Revolutionary War as Commissary-General of the Maryland line with the rank of colonel, although no official record has been found to confirm this.[2]

In his twenties, Charles L. Neale moved to Washington D.C. Family legend has it that Neale worked on the construction of the Capitol building, begun in 1793 when President Washington laid its cornerstone. It is not clear whether Neale left home already versed in the art of stonecutting or learned it as he went. In 1829, Neale married a local woman

named Ann Johnson. Two children were born to the couple in Washington, one of whom, Charles Washington Neale, would become the first of three sons to join his father's firm.

At some point in the mid-1830s Charles and his family moved across the Potomac River to Alexandria, technically part of the District until 1846. Neale may have come to Alexandria specifically to replace Edward Colgate, the town's sole stonecutter, who was present as late as 1834, but does not appear in the 1840 census schedule for the District of Columbia.[3] The same census schedule lists Neale's third child, age three, as a Virginia native. That would put Neale in Alexandria as early as 1837 (this, coincidentally, is the date on what appears to be the oldest stone signed by Neale, the John DeVaughn marker in Union Methodist Cemetery). Elliott and Nye's *Virginia Directory and Business Register* for 1852 puts Neale's shop at the southwest corner of Fairfax and Prince. In 1870, the business relocated to Duke Street next to the residence of Charles' son Frank (Fig. 2).[4] Here the marble yard would remain until the business closed its doors in 1916, thirty years after Charles L. Neale's death.

Neale's decision to settle in the old river town of Alexandria was something of a gamble. For various economic reasons, the place had not been able to sustain its 18th century importance as both a national and

Fig. 2 Southwest corner of Duke and Columbus Streets, Alexandria, Virginia, final site of the Neale marble yard (1870-1916)

international mercantile port, losing out gradually to Baltimore to the north and Richmond to the south. Commerce had been declining for years. Industry, which might have revitalized the town's economy, was virtually nonexistent.[5] To make matters worse, the Bank of Alexandria had closed its doors in 1834, a local foreshadowing of the national financial panic of 1837.[6]

Nevertheless, Alexandria had several things going for it that would certainly have attracted Neale. One was the city's distinctly residential character. Retail shops, small manufactories, and private dwellings predominated. Schools, churches, and civic institutions were plentiful. The wealth of structures created, in theory, a demand for artisans to maintain, renovate, and, occasionally, replace existing structures. In the late 1830s the town experienced a short but intense building boom. Several large buildings, including the court house (1838) and Alexandria's cultural center, the Lyceum (1839), were erected.[7] While no building records mention Neale in regard to these major projects, he may well have been sub-contracted to handle or assist with the stonework. If not, he could reasonably have expected to find employment at other local construction sites during this brief period of prosperity.

Fig. 3 Detail, Benjamin S. King, 1847, Union Methodist Cemetery

The second feature that must have appealed to Neale as a specialist in gravestone carving was the cultural stability and moral tone of the community. To earn a steady income from this kind of carving required a clientele that had the means, the opportunity, and the inclination to observe the religious and popular rituals of death ... and *to observe them locally*. Deaths among a more transient population or within a town lacking adequate burying grounds would have discouraged local interments. This was not the case in Alexandria, which possessed a permanent population of roughly eight thousand whites and free blacks.[8] At the time, the town had one Catholic cemetery, six Protestant cemeteries, one black cemetery, one pauper cemetery, and many small family graveyards.[9] Each of the cemeteries, Neale must have noted with a professional eye, had plenty of room for expansion.

Two hundred and thirteen markers in Alexandria (see Appendix) can be attributed to C.L. Neale & Sons: 198 headstones; eight obelisks; five monuments; one ledger stone; and one table stone. Ninety percent of the markers date from 1860, while only two bear dates before 1850. The paucity of early Neale markers is not surprising given the neglect these cemeteries suffered in the mid-19th century.[10] Since all but the Catholic

Fig. 4 **Detail, Charles F. Webster, 1873, St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery**

cemetery were located outside the town boundaries, Alexandria police were powerless until after the Civil War to protect the cemeteries from vandals or from local farmers whose cattle grazed within the cemetery enclosures. An 1853 letter to the town newspaper laments the "ruined walls, sunken and trodden graves" that characterized these antebellum cemeteries.[11] The war hastened the degradation: the Federal forces occupying Alexandria used the cemeteries freely as campsites and corrals. Thus, Neale's markers were at considerable risk in these early years, and at least a few of them must have been damaged, moved or stolen.

One of Neale's oldest surviving stones is the Benjamin S. King marker (Fig. 3), dated 1847, in Methodist Protestant (Union Methodist) Cemetery. Its broad, flat shape (2′ x 5′) and the symmetrical anthemion across its brow reflect a neo-classical taste already out of vogue when King died. It is unique among Neale's signed tombstones. However, the presence nearby of similar markers, unsigned and contemporaneous, suggest that Neale may have produced these too. The King marker provides an interesting point of comparison with the Victorian period markers that Neale would carve later.

While Neale never again carved so overt a geometrical pattern, he

Fig. 5 Detail, Jane P. Cuvillier, 1874, St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery

did occasionally use such patterns for purposes of embellishment. For example, the Charles F. Webster headstone (Fig. 4), dated 1873, in St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery includes a delicately rendered series of curved incisions reminiscent of the King design. The symmetrical incisions enclose a circular tympanum featuring a cut rose, symbolizing mortality and human love. This graceful line art serves both a decorative and a thematic purpose. It draws the viewer's eye into the partly shaded niche, where the rose droops on its stem. The stem, like man's existence, has been severed while the rose is still blooming. And because of its proximity to the rose, the design takes on the abstract appearance of

Fig. 6 Detail, Lowe obelisk, 1873, St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery

foliage or creeping ivy. This optical illusion serves to extend and accentuate the floral motif.

Neale used exactly the same design in 1874 for Jane P. Cuvillier's stone (Fig. 5) in St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery. As before, a twin series of curved lines border a circular tympanum. Here, the tympanum encloses that staple of Victorian iconography, the hand of God pointing Heavenward. The function of the line art is the same – to highlight the tympanum and to accentuate the central motif. The effect, however, is quite different. While the filigree of the Webster headstone suggests Nature locked in earthly time, the same pattern here creates the illusion of celes-

Fig. 7 Lowe obelisk

tial movement – clouds roiling around God's hand, or rays of light emanating from God's person.

The icons of the rose and the divine hand interact in one of Neale's more ambitious works, the tall obelisk commissioned by Judge Enoch Magruder Lowe upon his wife's death in 1873. On the ten-foot-high shaft is a downward-turned hand grasping the rope-handle of a flower basket. Two rows of rounded shapes represent clouds, from which the hand is emerging. These shapes are balanced by a profusion of flowers filling the fluted container (Fig. 6). Neale's symbolic depiction of God lifting the soul of the departed to heaven is stylized: the clouds are static, the clasping hand is veinless, and the plucked flowers sit in two perfect rows. Not a breath of movement animates this almost surreal scene.

Full-sized obelisks like the Lowe monument represent only three percent of Neale's total output, even though obelisks occur frequently in Alexandria cemeteries. The obelisk's imposing size and high cost appealed to Alexandria's status-conscious gentry, who preferred to take their trade to the large and prestigious marble firms in Baltimore and Washington D.C.[12] Yet the simple beauty of the entire Lowe monument (Fig. 7) – its perfect proportions, its crisp tabular inscriptions, its elegant

Fig. 8 Detail, Lowe obelisk

eaves arching over solitary flowers (Fig. 8) – proves Neale's capability for handling large commissions. Of Neale's other obelisks, the Wedderburn monument (1859) in Trinity Methodist Cemetery, the Calmes monument (1873) in Washington Street Methodist Cemetery, and the Evans monument (1875) in Union Methodist Cemetery are noteworthy for their stately simplicity. Neale even produced a convincing miniature obelisk, seventy-two inches tall, for Kate M. McGuire (1865), a twenty-eight-year-old widow (Fig. 9). Though miniature markers were normally reserved for children, Kate's parents no doubt still considered her their little girl. The inscription on a side panel reads: "Our darling fell asleep./ When will the morning come."

Fig. 9 Kate M. McGuire, 1865, St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery

The usual signature of C.L. Neale & Sons was a straightforward "Neale" on the plinth or at the lower right-hand corner of the marker's face. Neale experimented in the 1850s and 1860s with a cursive style, but returned eventually to using plain block letters exclusively. On a few occasions the word "fecit" or "maker" was appended (Fig. 10). Neale sometimes added his initials, but never his Christian name. Only rarely did he indicate "Alex VA" on local stones, saving this formula for monuments destined for out-of-town locations where his work and place of business were less familiar.[13]

Apart from stonecutting, Neale led an active civic and political life in Alexandria. He headed the town's night security patrol in the 1850s, served as city councilman in the 1850s and 1860s, and acted as clerk of the city market in the 1870s and 1880s.[14] On May 23, 1861, Neale and his oldest son voted in favor of secession, even though Neale did not personally approve of slavery.[15] The next day a Union regiment entered Alexandria. Its commander, twenty-four-year-old Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, was shot and killed removing a secessionist flag flying atop a hotel on King Street. His assailant, James Jackson, the hotel keeper, was

Fig. 10 Early Neale signature. Thomas Buckingham, 1859, Washington Street Methodist Cemetery

killed almost immediately by one of Ellsworth's troops.[16] Neale and eleven other citizens were chosen to serve on the coroner's jury investigating Jackson's homicide. They returned the verdict that Jackson had died "in defence of his home and private rights," a brave and defiant finding, indeed, given the presence of a hostile military force.[17] Neale was obviously a man of nerve and passion.

Perhaps Neale's finest work is the Chatham obelisk (Fig. 11) in Trinity Methodist Cemetery. James Chatham, who died in April, 1885 at the age of seventy-two, owned the livery stable in town. His livery service was, in the words of his obituary, "well known almost throughout the entire

Fig. 11 James Chatham, 1885, Trinity Methodist Cemetery

State," apparently because of the part Chatham played in a serio-comic assault on President Andrew Jackson in 1833.[18] The story goes that after Jackson dismissed Lieutenant Beverley Randolph (of the famous Virginia Randolphs) from the U.S. Navy for allegedly embezzling Goverment funds, Randolph boarded Jackson's ship tied up at Alexandria, forced his way into Jackson's cabin, and gave the President's nose a painful tug. In the ensuing melee, Chatham and other friends of Randolph got the assailant ashore and safely out of town.[19]

The Chatham monument is a modest marble stone, comprising a blunted four-foot-high shaft, a base bearing the Chatham name in block letters, and a square plinth. The inscription is spare, and the sentiment, running in small cursive script along the base of the shaft, says only: "Through much suffering he is at Rest." What is special about the Chatham obelisk is its exquisite detail. Perhaps no illusion is more difficult to create in representational art than the texture and shading of tapestry. The tasseled and embroidered funeral pall that Neale fashioned for the upper section of the monument provides a convincing illusion. The entire shaft is one piece of marble. The pall, though, appears distinct, as if draped over the obelisk. What appear to be innumerable folds

Fig. 12 Detail, Chatham obelisk

in the shroud are three patterns repeated from one side of the obelisk to the next. A lovely garland of small flowers, carved in high relief and signifying death overcome, hangs above the inscribed tablet (Fig. 12). Beneath the tablet is an wavy abstract design suggesting the head and wings of an angel.

The Chatham obelisk is unlike anything else in Neale's canon. Considering Neale's advanced age in 1885, one wonders whether the marker may not have been the work of his surviving son, Frank. However, Neale's obituary emphasizes the old man's "remarkable vigor" and remarks that he had "worked at his trade (stonecarving) up to a short

Fig. 13 Neale family obelisk, 1862, St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery

time ago," a fact confirmed by Neale's great-great-grandson, William F. King, of Springfield, Virginia.[20] There is thus every reason to believe Neale had a direct hand in the Chatham carving, the culmination of a long and prolific career.

One other Neale obelisk deserves mentioning, and that is the one in St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery commemorating Neale's oldest son, Charles Washington Neale, who died in 1862 (Fig. 13). One of the practical benefits of an obelisk is the extra space it gives for genealogical data. Neale used three sides of the base and one side of the shaft to chronicle the names of four other Neale family members, including "Little Willie," his infant son who lived only a month. The Neale obelisk is made of brownstone, an attractive sandstone native to the Eastern seaboard and one that Neale often mentioned in advertisements. Unfortunately, the soft and porous nature of brownstone is sadly apparent in this deteriorating marker.[21]

Despite its longevity, C.L. Neale & Sons never monopolized the stonecutting trade in Alexandria. Through the mid-to-late nineteenth century, a succession of rival stonecarvers set up shop in town, the most notable being William Chauncey (1834-1900), who in the 1870s purchased a marble yard one block away from Neale's.[22] Competition convinced Neale of the importance of advertising. *Chataigne's Alexandria City Directory* for 1881-1882 shows on page 118 a typical Neale advertisement, in which the firm is said to be "prepared to execute all orders for Monumental and Head Stone Work, Steps, Sills and Lintels. Carving and Lettering executed in the best manner." The accompanying illustration bows to the sentimentalism of the day: a lady and child mourn beneath a weeping willow in a well-ordered necropolis. The advertisement also contains a major typographic error: instead of "C.L. Neale & Sons," the copy reads "S.C. Neale & Sons." Sidney Chapman Neale, apparently no relation, was a prominent attorney in town during this time. Such a misprint must have embarrassed both men. Was it a coincidence that the firm of C.L. Neale & Sons was not commissioned to make any of the markers in the S.C. Neale family plot in St. Paul's Episcopal Cemetery?

As the advertisement makes clear, Neale's business extended beyond the graveyard. He was evidently prepared to undertake a variety of commercial and domestic stonecutting jobs. Much of the firm's handiwork is surely extant in Old Town Alexandria, a topic worthy of further research. We do know that Neale was responsible for the stonework

inside the Catholic parish hall (no longer standing) that opened in 1859, and that his son Frank was sub-contracted in 1872 to install a mantel of "marbleized slate" in the Lambert House at 407 Duke Street.[23]

Neale never assayed a truly original design. However, his trademark was a double column-and-arch design that forms the basis of four family monuments in Alexandria: the Harlow tomb (1879), St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery; the Hammond tomb (1881), the Presbyterian cemetery; the Bossart tomb (1881), St. Paul's Episcopal Cemetery; and the Downey tomb (1903), St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery. While Neale certainly did not create this design, which is not uncommon in other Vir-

Fig. 14 Harlow family monument, 1879, St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery

ginia cemeteries and elsewhere, he was the only carver to employ it in Alexandria.[24]

Neale's double column-and-arch design was suitable for family markers, providing ample room for inscription. It consists, from the ground up, of a three-tiered base, two fourteen-inch cubes, two two-foot-high columns, and an arch. At the apex of the arch is a finial: an urn for Protestants; the Latin cross for Catholics. The entire monument is nine feet high and, at the base, four feet wide. The earliest example of this design, the Harlow family monument (Fig. 14), differs slightly from the others in that its base is two-tiered, not three; the capitals of its columns are plain, not decorative; and the negative silhouette within the monument is rounded, not pointed.

Aesthetically, these column-and-arch monuments are interesting but graceless. The compressed bulk of their columns, carved from cement-gray stone, overwhelms the rest of the tomb, and the finials seem too tall for their arch supports (in fact, the urn on the Bossart monument has snapped off and is now wedged for safekeeping between the columns). Yet Neale's column-and-arch motif succeeds nicely when incorporated into a better balanced structure. A case in point is the family monument in St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery marking the grave of Neale himself and his wife (Fig. 15). The pedestal supports four unfluted columns, smaller than the pair on the nearby Harlow tomb. The naked arch of the Harlow monument is here merged into a well-proportioned canopy, steeply pitched and domed, providing a secure base for the cross. The overall effect is that of a miniature mausoleum, pleasing in scale and style, and certainly an improvement on Neale's original design. Presumably, Frank Neale oversaw the production of this unsigned tomb after his father's death, although Charles himself may have originally carved the monument when his wife died in 1874.

Charles Lloyd Neale died June 8, 1886. The cause of death was pneumonia brought on, according to Neale's descendants, by his spartan habit of taking a cold shower in the marble yard each day. Frank Neale died in 1894. Frank's widow, Carrie, remarried, and with her second husband, John McKenna, a stonecutter, maintained the business until McKenna's death in 1916. Even after the firm's name was changed to Alexandria Marble Works in 1895, the Neale name continued to appear on markers as the firm worked its way through its inventory of "pre-signed" Neale stones.

Fig. 15 The Charles Lloyd Neale monument, St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery

The author of an unpublished paper on Alexandria tombstones observes that Alexandria cemeteries do not show the usual rich variety of Victorian sepulchral art – the weeping willows, the sleeping lambs, the open books.[25] The author implies that the mediocrity of the hometown carvers explains this absence of ornamentation.[26] This is unfair to Neale and other local stonecutters, who employed an unadorned style deliberately. The community's taste in commemorative art, grounded in the town's Scottish heritage, was essentially conservative.[27] While Victo-

rian iconography is abundantly present in local carving, it is usually on a modest scale.

The restrained nature of local sepulchral art played to Neale's strength as a competent, straightforward stonecutter. His carving style, even at its most fanciful, bespeaks simplicity and vigor. Admittedly, he possessed little of the innate originality and artistic flair of two notable nineteenth century stonecarvers in Virginia, J.W. Davies of Richmond and Charles Miller Walsh of Petersburg.[28] Yet, as the Lowe and Chatham

Fig. 16 James H. Neale, the youngest son, who died at age thirty-four

monuments show, Neale was certainly capable of inspired work.

Neale's remarkable career spanned half a century. The solid quality of his carving and the reliability of his service (touted by the 1883 commercial directory) allowed Neale to flourish in a competitive market. His three sons, Charles, James (Fig. 16), and Frank, added their energy and talent to what became a successful and long-lived family business. As a public man, Neale enriched Alexandria through his active involvement in the political and commercial life of the city. The myriad markers in Alexandria bearing the Neale signature are tributes to this skilled craftsman and responsible citizen.

NOTES

All photographs are by the author, with the exception of Figures 1 and 16, provided through the courtesy of Mr. William F. King, Springfield, VA.

1. F.L. Brockett and George W. Rock., *A Concise History of the city of Alexandria, Virginia, from 1669-1883 with a Directory of Reliable Businesses* (Alexandria, Va., 1883), 57-58, 66.

2. William F. King, interview with author, Alexandria, Va., January 12, 1992. Unless otherwise noted, all genealogical data in this article come from family notes supplied by Mr. King in this interview.

3. Peter Matthews, "Alexandria (D.C.) Directory 1834 Occupational Listing" (Alexandria, Va.: Office of Historic Alexandria, 1988), 14.

4. Deed Book 17, Clerk's Office, Circuit Court, Alexandria, Virginia, 24. Neale's sons Francis (Frank) and James were the actual owners of this property. They purchased it for $460 on December 2, 1870.

5. Steven J. Shephard, "Development of a City Site: Alexandria, Virginia, 1750-1850" (Paper presented at the Historic Petersburg Conference on Urbanization in Maryland and Virginia, March 11-12, 1988), 8, 11, 13.

6. Ethelyn Cox, *Historic Alexandria Virginia Street By Street* (Alexandria, 1976), xix.

7. Cox, vi, xix-xx.

8. Shephard, 16.

9. "The Fireside Sentinel: An Historical Journal about Alexandria Published by the Lloyd House, Alexandria Library" 1:8 (1987): 60-68.

10. "The Fireside Sentinel" 1:9 (1987): 79.

11. *Alexandria Gazette* (Sept. 2, 1853).

12. Many of the grander Victorian monuments in Alexandria's cemeteries came from the marble works of William A. Griffith of Washington D.C. and the Gaddes brothers of Baltimore.

13. For example, the graveyard in Sabillasville, Maryland, seventy-five miles to the northwest, contains two markers signed "C.L. Neale Alex Va."

14. Neale obituary, *Alexandria Gazette* (June 8, 1886).

15. "The Fireside Sentinal" 3:4 (1989): 44.

16. E.B. Long, *The Civil War Day by Day* (Garden City, 1971), 77-78.

17. Edgar Warfield, *A Confederate Soldier's Memoirs* (Richmond, 1936), 46.

18. Chatham obituary, *The Alexandria Gazette* (April 8, 1885).

19. Jonathan Daniels, *The Randolphs of Virginia: America's Foremost Family* (New York, 1972), 263.

20. Neale obituary, *The Alexandria Gazette* (June 8, 1886).

21. Cyril M. Harris, ed., *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction* (New York, 1975), 71.

22. J.H. Chataigne, *Chataigne's Alexandria City Directory, 1876-77* (D.C., 1876), 190.

23. T. Michael Miller, ed., *Pen Portraits of Alexandria, 1739-1900* (Bowie, Md., 1987), 367.

24. For example, the same design occurs in Riverview Cemetery, Strasburg, Virginia, and Mount Hebron Cemetery, Madison, Virginia.

25. Suzita Myers, "'Remember Me As You Pass By': Style as Evidence in Tombstones of Alexandria" (manuscript, Alexandria Public Library, Lloyd House, undated), 12.

26. *Ibid.*, 4.

27. Barry Axell Berglund, "Annexation: A Study of the Growth of Alexandria, Virginia" (M.A. diss., Oklahoma University, 1974), 3; Shephard, 18.

28. On Walsh, see Martha Wren Briggs, "Charles Miller Walsh: A Master Carver of Gravestones in Virginia, 1865-1901," *Markers* 7 (1990): 139-171.

APPENDIX

ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF MARKERS IN ALEXANDRIA CEMETERIES* ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE NEALE FIRM.

1883	Abendschein, John	Washington Street
1878	Addison, Dr. Edmund B.	Trinity Methodist
1883	Anderson, John S.	St. Mary's
1887	Appich, David	Presbyterian
1857	Arnold, Mary	Methodist Protestant
1871	Baggett, Mary Ann	Presbyterian
1863	Barrett, infant	St. Paul's
1874	Bell, Lizzie Tinsley	Presbyterian
1890	Blonheim, Simon	Home of Peace
1888	Bohraus, Jacob	Bethel
1881	Bossart, Mary A.	St. Paul's
1865	Boyer, John	Washington Street
1872	Bradley, Harrison	Trinity Methodist
1870	Brewis, baby	Trinity Methodist
1870	Brewis, Thomas A.	Trinity Methodist
1879	Brown, Abraham	Home of Peace
1861	Browne, Ellen Douglass	St. Paul's
1891	Bryan, Martha	Presbyterian
1868	Bryant, John J.	Methodist Protestant
1861	Buchanan, Robert E.	Methodist Protestant
1863	Buchanan, Robert E., Jr.	Methodist Protestant
18??	Buckingham, I.	Washington Street
1859	Buckingham, Thomas	Washington Street
1866	Burchell, Edward	Trinity Methodist
1868	Callender, Margaret	St. Mary's
1868	O'Sullivan, Jeremiah	St. Mary's
1869	Carmichael, Sarah L.	St. Paul's
1863	Carne, Mary C.	St. Mary's
1872	Carne, Richard L.	St. Mary's
1885	Chatham, James	Trinity Methodist
1865	Churchman, John	Washington Street
1861	Clagett, Ann	St. Paul's
186?	Clagett, Richard	Trinity Methodist
1874	Clagett, Sarah	Trinity Methodist
1873	Clames, Joseph	Washington Street
1878	Clark, Alexander	Methodist Protestant
1874	Clark, Caroline	Methodist Protestant
1883	Clifford, George W.	Washington Street
1872	Coffee, Bridget	St. Mary's
187?	Colvin, James R.	Washington Street
1865	Concannon, Catherine	St. Mary's

1880	Cook, Hortensia H.	Presbyterian
1873	Cook, John D.	Methodist Protestant
1876	Cooney, Joseph	St. Mary's
1868	Corbet, Michael	St. Mary's
1876	Cowling, Elizabeth	Methodist Protestant
1871	Coxen, Mary A.	St. Mary's
1865	Cracken, James M.	Washington Street
1883	Craven, John	Trinity Methodist
1884	Craven, Virginia A.	Trinity Methodist
1851	Cross, Reid	Trinity Methodist
1862	Cuander, Julia E.	Presbyterian
1874	Cuvillier, Jane P.	St. Mary's
1861	Dade, Mary T.	Christ Church
1888	Davidson, Jane Welborne	Presbyterian
1893	Davis, James T.	Methodist Protestant
1872	Davy, Susan	Trinity Methodist
1881	Demaine, Elizabeth	Methodist Protestant
1880	Dentinger, Bessie C.	St. Paul's
1864	DeVaughn, _____	Washington Street
1863	DeVaughn, Emma Blake	Washington Street
1837	DeVaughn, John	Methodist Protestant
1859	Diez, Eve Catherine	St. Paul's
1884	Dobie, Mary J.	Methodist Protestant
1875	Dorsey, Mary	St. Paul's
1875	Douglass, J. Edwards	Presbyterian
1903	Downey, John T. (unsigned)	St. Mary's
1881	Dreifus, Caroline	Home of Peace
1890	Duffey, Sarah C.	Methodist Protestant
1879	Dugan, Anthony	St. Mary's
1885	Duke, Elizabeth	Washington Street
1868	Dulany, Getta	St. Paul's
1850	Emerson, Aquilla	St. Paul's
1878	Entwisle, Marvin	Washington Street
1861	Evans, Dr. John	St. Mary's
1875	Evans, John T.	Methodist Protestant
1873	Fadely, Milton W.	Methodist Protestant
1854	Fairall, Grafton	St. Paul's
1889	Fleming, Andrew J.	Presbyterian
1888	Fleming, Catherine	Presbyterian
1885	Fleming, Eliza	Presbyterian
1880	Foote, Mary Marshall	Christ Church
1873	Glover, Laura J.	Methodist Protestant
1872	Gregory, Douglas S.	Presbyterian
187?	Grimes, Joseph	Methodist Protestant
1877	Grimes, Margaret	Methodist Protestant
1879	Grunebaum, Harry	Home of Peace
1852	Gunney, Mary	St. Mary's
1872	Hall, Mary Ann	St. Paul's
1887	Hall, Thomas M.	St. Paul's

1887	Hammill, Bridget	St. Mary's
1890	Hammill, Henry	St. Mary's
1897	Hammond, J.T.	Presbyterian
1881	Hammond, Nan	Presbyterian
1879	Harlow, Michael	St. Mary's
1857	Harper, Washington M.	Washington Street
1877	Harrish, Elizabeth	Methodist Protestant
1864	Harvey, Grace A.	Presbyterian
1882	Hayes, Patrick E.	St. Mary's
1864	Hellmuth, Louis	St. Mary's
1865	Hoare, Cornelia	Methodist Protestant
1894	Hollenbury, Harriet	Trinity Methodist
1862	Hooe, Eleanor	Christ Church
1882	Hooff, Rebecca	St. Paul's
18??	Houre, Mary Louisa	Washington Street
1864	House, Ann W.	Methodist Protestant
1859	Huguely, Edgar	Methodist Protestant
1865	Huguely, George F.	Methodist Protestant
1876	Hunter, Margaret	St. Paul's
1865	Hussey, Sibyl D.	Washington Street
1872	Jenkins, William	St. Mary's
1860	Johnson, Ann	Methodist Protestant
1879	Johnson, William A.	Washington Street
1865	Jordan, James W.	Washington Street
1879	Kantman, Hannah	Home of Peace
1880	Kelly, Indianna	Presbyterian
1847	King, Benjamin S.	Methodist Protestant
1865	King, Jane	St. Mary's
1874	King, Mary	St. Mary's
1869	Kinzer, I. Louis	Presbyterian
1883	Laws, Neman	Washington Street
1878	Lawson, Robert, Jr.	Trinity Methodist
18??	Lindheimer, Rudolph	Home of Peace
1864	Lindsey, James	Methodist Protestant
1872	Lowe, Mary Joyce	St. Mary's
1864	Machenheiner, Eliza	St. Paul's
1875	Mason, Capt. Murray	Christ Church
1870	Massey, Mary	St. Mary's
1882	Masterson, Mary A.	St. Mary's
1883	May, John Alvin	Washington Street
1880	McCliesh, George	Presbyterian
1865	McGuire, Kate M.	St. Mary's
1882	McKnight, Mary E.	Presbyterian
1884	McLean, Elizabeth	St. Mary's
1874	McLean, Joseph	St. Mary's
1858	McLean, Martha	St. Paul's
1860	Meagher, Mathew	St. Mary's
1862	Milburn, B.C.	St. Paul's
1862	Milburn, Thirza	St. Paul's

1887	Miller, George C.	Methodist Protestant
1877	Mitchell, George W.	Washington Street
1860	Monroe, Joseph	Methodist Protestant
1882	Moore, Charlie T.	Washington Street
1874	Morgan, William	Trinity Methodist
1869	Morrow, Maria	St. Mary's
1869	Murphy, John	St. Mary's
1867	Murtaugh, Bridget	St. Mary's
1855	Nalls, John T.	Washington Street
1878	O'Brien, Mathew	Methodist Protestant
1858	O'Connell, Margaret	St. Mary's
1877	O'Sullivan, Dennis	St. Mary's
1879	O'Sullivan, William	St. Mary's
1894	Padgett, John W.	Washington Street
1865	Page, Charles H.	St. Paul's
1878	Page, Emily Handy	St. Paul's
1863	Plain, Catherine A.	Methodist Protestant
1875	Popham, Mary A.	Christ Church
1871	Powell, Selina	Christ Church
189?	Prendergast, James M.	Washington Street
1874	Prettyman, Ann Lucinda	Methodist Protestant
1870	Prettyman, Margaret Virginia	Presbyterian
1865	Price, Sarah Jane	St. Paul's
1866	Price, William	St. Paul's
1880	Richardson, Ellen	St. Mary's
1880	Richardson, Johanna	St. Mary's
1879	Richardson, Margaret M.	St. Mary's
1867	Riordan, James	St. Mary's
1885	Rudd, Amanda M.	Washington Street
1866	Rudd, Anna R.	Washington Street
1873	Rudd, Charles D.	Washington Street
1885	Rudd, Julia E.	Washington Street
1864	Rudd, Sallie	Washington Street
1860	Shakes, John	Washington Street
1864	Sherwood, Charlotte	Trinity Methodist
1874	Sides, William H.	Presbyterian
1850	Simpson, Emma	Trinity Methodist
1877	Simpson, Henry L.	Trinity Methodist
1872	Simpson, Margaret	Methodist Protestant
1862	Simpson, Mary Anne	Trinity Methodist
1850	Snyder, Mathias	Trinity Methodist
1884	Sprouse, Mary F.	Methodist Protestant
1871	Stain, George	Presbyterian
1869	Stain, Mary V.	Presbyterian
1854	Swain, Lizzie	Presbyterian
1877	T_____, Martha E.	Washington Street
1886	Tartiselle, Ellen	St. Mary's
1888	Taylor, Belle	Methodist Protestant
1889	Taylor, T.A.	Washington Street

1865	Thomas, John A.	St. Mary's
1880	Thompson, John T.	Methodist Protestant
1876	Thompson, Margaret A.	Methodist Protestant
1877	Tiger, Lewis	Methodist Protestant
1874	Tr_____, Julia F.	Washington Street
1869	Travis, Janie	Methodist Protestant
1874	Tyler, John H.	Washington Street
1868	Washington, E. Clarence	Trinity Methodist
1858	Washington, Ellie	Trinity Methodist
1857	Washington, Lanine	Trinity Methodist
1861	Waters, George A.	Trinity Methodist
1873	Webster, Charles F.	St. Mary's
1892	Webster, Constance Madella	Washington Street
1878	Webster, John B.	St. Mary's
1859	Wedderburn, Dr. A.J.	Trinity Methodist
1857	White, Vachel	St. Mary's
1865	Wickop, Sophia	Trinity Methodist
1864	Wood, Lewis Bancroft	Washington Street
188?	_____, _____	Presbyterian
18??	_____, Elizabeth K.	Washington Street

(*) This roster encompasses St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery (1795-96) and the cemeteries established on the old Spring Garden Farm southwest of Old Town Alexandria: Christ Church Episcopal (1808), Trinity Methodist (1808), St. Paul's Episcopal (1809), Presbyterian (1809), Douglass (1827), Methodist Protestant (1836), Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church South or Union (1850), Home of Peace/Jewish (1858), and Bethel (1885).

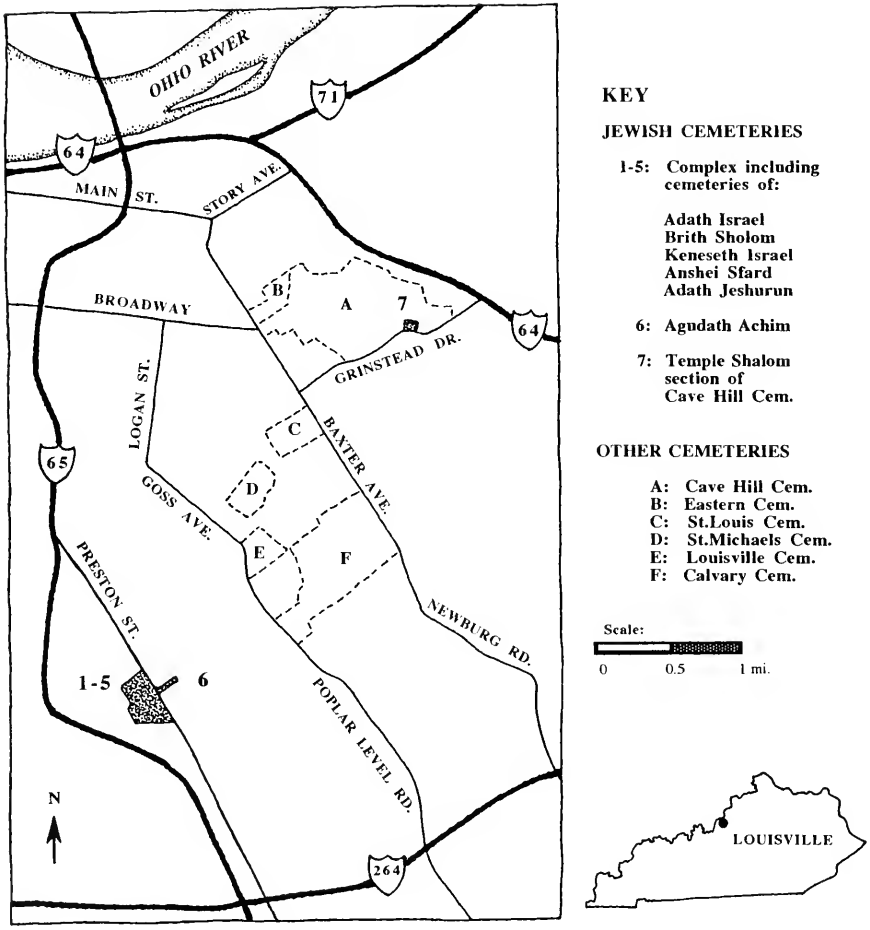

Fig. 1 Vicinity map of Louisville, Kentucky, showing the locations of principal cemeteries.

THE JEWISH CEMETERIES OF LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY: MIRRORS OF HISTORICAL PROCESSES AND THEOLOGICAL DIVERSITY THROUGH 150 YEARS

David M. Gradwohl

My scholarly interest in the Jewish cemeteries of Louisville, Kentucky began with a personal journey to that city some seven years ago. At that time, the questions to which I initially sought answers were particular ones regarding the social history and genealogy I am organizing for my paternal grandmother's lineage, the Hilpp family. That first visit provided answers to some questions and, as is inevitable, raised many new ones. Even more fascinating are certain apparent universal patterns – some admittedly impressionistic – observed in Louisville's extant Jewish cemeteries which seem to parallel those my wife, Hanna Rosenberg Gradwohl, and I are recording in detail in the Jewish cemeteries of Lincoln, Nebraska, and Des Moines, Iowa.[1] In essence, the separate cemeteries maintained by Louisville's Jewish temples and synagogues (see Fig. 1) reflect different historical origins, theological orientations, and ritual practices within American Judaism. They mirror the processes and intra-group diversity of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jews throughout a period of 150 years. In this discussion, I start with a personal and anecdotal framework and move to a more general and, I hope, encompassing perspective regarding Judaic identifications and mortuary patterns with a particular emphasis on intra-group variations. My analytical framework is based upon my disciplinary training in anthropology and my specialization in archaeology, which includes a specific interest in ethnoarchaeology as a link between material culture and the non-material aspects of human behavior.[2]

I begin with a photograph of the Hilpp family taken in St. Joseph, Missouri in the early 1890s showing my paternal grandmother, Hattie Hilpp Gradwohl, and her father, Samuel Hilpp (Fig. 2). I ascertained that Samuel Hilpp was born in the United States in 1846. But oral historical and archival sources differed as to whether he was born in Louisville, Kentucky, or in Madison, Indiana. Furthermore, family informants differed as to the names of Samuel's parents, who had immigrated to this country from states in what are now the western part of Germany and the eastern part of France.

Fig. 2 The Hilpp family, photographed in St. Joseph, Missouri in the 1890s. Hattie Hilpp Gradwohl, second from right; Samuel Hilpp, third from right.

Eventually, my quest led to the cemetery of Temple Adath Israel,[3] Louisville's oldest Jewish congregation and a bastion of Reform Judaism in the Ohio River Valley (Fig. 3). To the south of the cemetery's entrance is a Victorian-style gatehouse which has served as a residence for the cemetery superintendent; to the north is a limestone structure which formerly housed a chapel. Just inside the cemetery, one immediately observes a variety of tombstone forms and sizes typical of Reform Jewish burial grounds throughout the midwestern and eastern United States (Fig. 4). Late nineteenth century and early twentieth century gravestone styles include vertical tablets, columns, obelisks, compound blocks, family monuments, and individual markers.[4] The Adath Israel cemetery was originally laid out along the lines of the rural or English landscape design, with curving avenues and irregularly-shaped sections (see Fig. 5). In some respects it resembles Louisville's famous Cave Hill Cemetery, although on a smaller scale and with a flatter terrain.[5] The gravestones of Samuel Hilpp's parents, Elias Hilpp and Thresa Maas Hilpp, are located

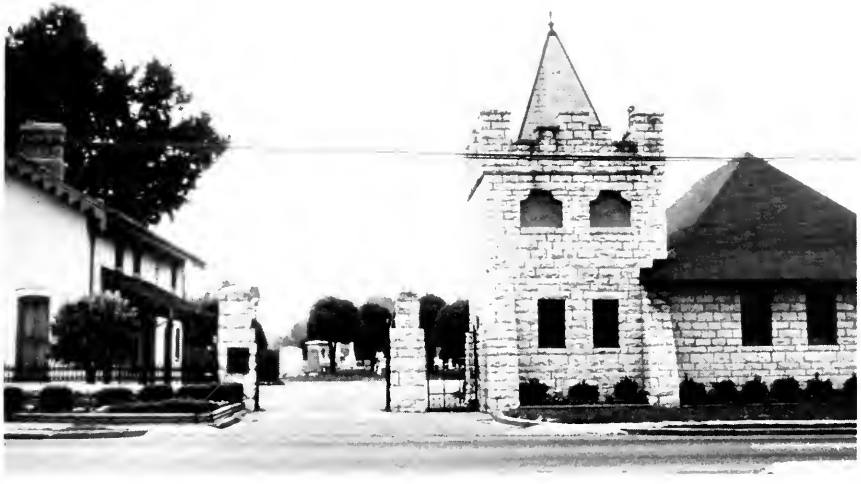

Fig. 3 Entrance to the original Adath Israel Cemetery (now The Temple Cemetery), Louisville, Kentucky. The building on the left once served as the cemetery superintendent's house; the structure on the right was a chapel.

Fig. 4 General view inside Adath Israel Cemetery. Note variation in tombstone style and size; also sculptures in the round, including human representations.

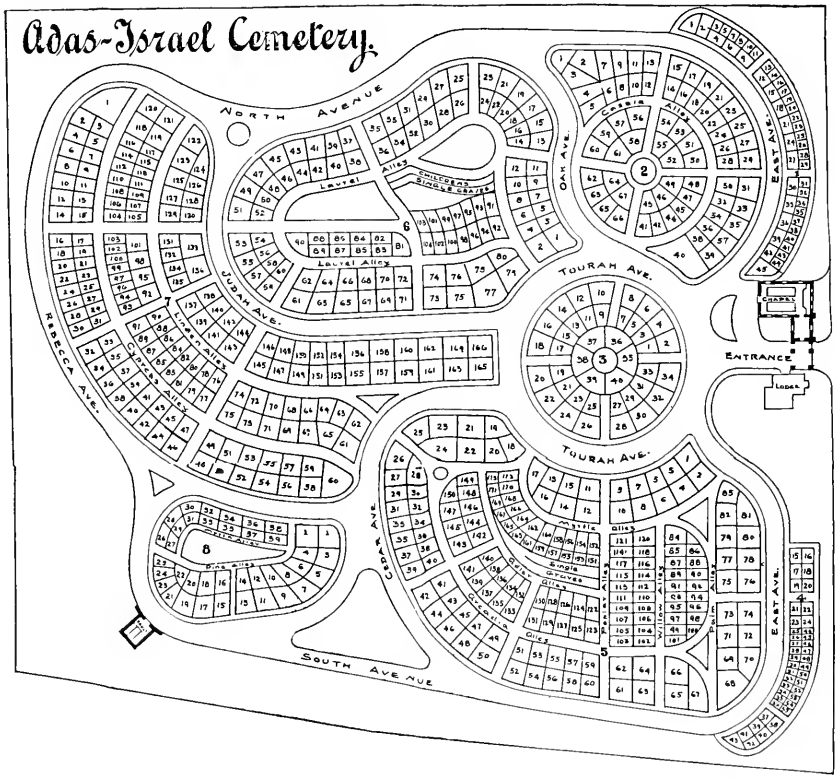

Fig. 5 Nineteenth century plat map of Adas (Adath) Israel Cemetery. Adapted from an original in the archives of The Temple, Louisville, Kentucky.

Fig. 6 Monuments of Elias Hilpp and Thresa Maas Hilpp in Adath Israel Cemetery; shown here with their great-great-grandson, the author.

along the eastern edge of the Adath Israel Cemetery near Preston Street (Fig. 6). These monuments fit the pattern my wife and I have observed in other midwestern nineteenth century Jewish cemeteries. As is typical for Reform Jews who came to the United States from Germany and France, the Hilpp gravestones bear epitaphs in English only and do not include any Judaic symbols. My great-great grandparents' monuments are of modest size – probably a reflection of their middling socio-economic status. From archival records, I know that at different times in his life Elias Hilpp was a butcher, tanner, and glue manufacturer (apparently no portion of the animals went to waste!).

The pursuit of relevant documents pertaining to my family's history led to a book by Herman Landau entitled *Adath Louisville: The Story of a Jewish Community*, and to several antecedent archival sources.[6] Landau's book chronicles the history and breadth of Louisville's Jewish inhabitants and institutions over time, and thus provides a good general context for observing and interpreting the city's Jewish cemeteries. Today, within Louisville's city population of 289,900 and a greater metropolitan population of 906,200, there are some 9,200 Jewish residents.[7] Louisville

boasts a large Jewish Community Center with a variety of educational and recreational facilities, the Shalom Tower, which includes housing and social services for the elderly along with the offices of the Jewish Federation, and the extensive Jewish Hospital and medical complex which serve a large non-sectarian population. The Herman Meyer and Son Mortuary, on the other hand, provides sectarian final rites of passage for Louisville's Jews.

Between the womb and the tomb, Louisville's Jews have been served by a number of congregations. Although Jewish settlers are documented for Louisville at least as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1830s that a sufficient number of Jews resided there to establish a *minyan*, the minimum of ten Hebrew males over thirteen years of age traditionally required for communal prayers.[8] Lewis N. Dembitz states that "About 1838, if I am not mistaken, a beginning of regular services was made, in some dingy up-stairs room, and some sort of ritual bath [*mikveh*] was dug."[9] According to Landau, these religious services were held in the upper rooms of Abraham Tandler's boarding house, located on Market Street between Second and Third streets.[10] Although petitions for the corporate establishment of a Jewish congregation in Louisville may have been filed with the Kentucky legislature as early as 1834, it was apparently not until September of 1842 that such a charter was issued.[11] The history and development of the city's incorporated temples and synagogues between the early 1840s and late 1980s are displayed in schematic form in Figure 7.

Louisville's first chartered congregation was Adath Israel ("Congregation of Israel"). Landau's book lists the name of Elias Hilpp as one of the original incorporators of Adath Israel, providing me with a personal as well as a scholarly interest in Louisville's history.[12] A second Reform congregation, Brith Sholom ("Covenant of Peace"), was founded in 1880 and continued to 1976 when it merged with Adath Israel into a congregation known as "The Temple," now housed on Brownsboro Road. The signboard at the new building reads "The Temple. Congregation Adath Israel Brith Sholom." One group of Reform Jews, however, did not favor the merger of Adath Israel and Brith Sholom, so they formed an independent Reform congregation known as Temple Shalom ("Peace Temple"), now located on Lowe Road. During the 1870s and 1880s two Orthodox Jewish congregations formed, namely the B'nai Jacob Synagogue ("Sons of Jacob") and the Beth Hamedrash Hagodol Synagogue

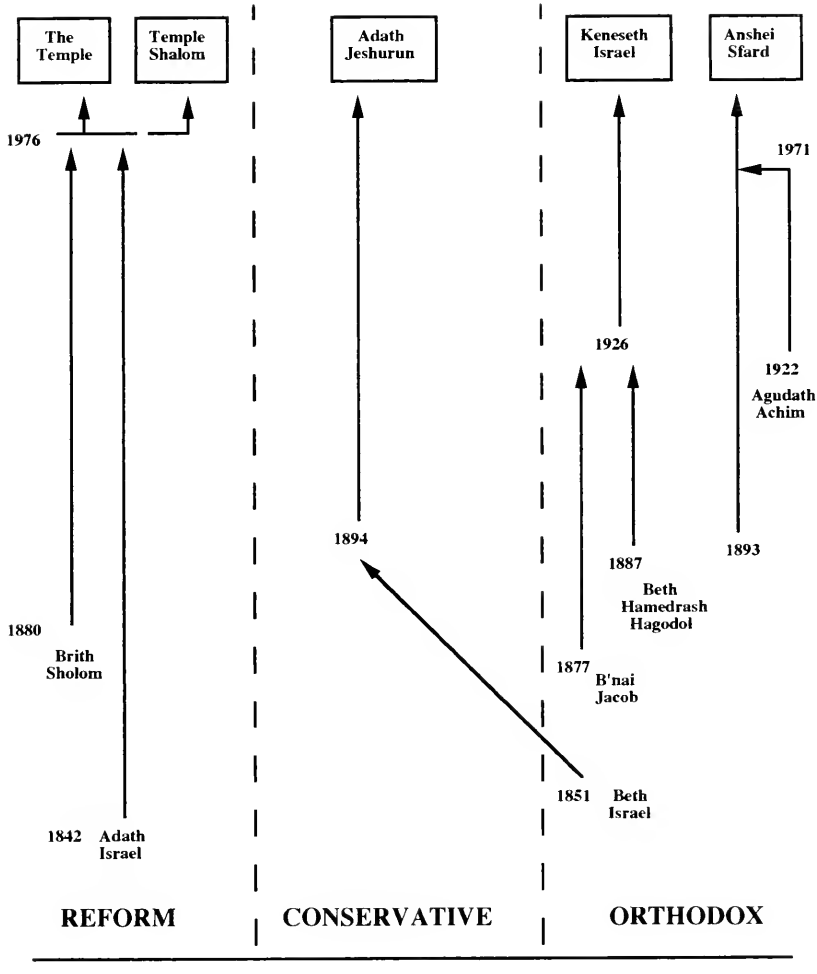

Fig. 7 Time chart showing the historical development of Jewish temples and synagogues in Louisville, Kentucky between the early 1840s and late 1980s.

("Great House of Study"). In 1926, these two congregations merged into the Keneseth Israel Synagogue ("Assembly of Israel"), which today maintains a large building complex on Taylorsville Road. In 1893, a second Orthodox congregation, Anshei Sfard Synagogue ("Sephardic Men"), formed. A third Orthodox congregation, Agudath Achim ("Union of Brothers" or "The Brotherhood"), incorporated in 1922 and merged with Anshei Sfard in 1971. Today the Anshei Sfard Synagogue is located on Dutchman's Lane near the Jewish Community Center and Shalom Tower. Conservative Judaism is represented in Louisville by the Adath Jeshurun Synagogue ("Congregation of Jeshurun" or "Congregation of Jacob"), presently located on Woodbourne Avenue. The incorporated name of Adath Jeshurun begins in 1894, although the roots of the congregation extend back to 1851 with the establishment of the then-Orthodox Beth Israel ("House of Israel") Synagogue. Reflecting the country of origin of many of its members, the congregation was known for many years as the "Polish Synagogue."[13]

The institutional history of Jews in Louisville reflects the broad historical, theological and ritual diversity in Judaism within the United States. The Adath Israel and Brith Shalom congregations – now represented by the Temple and Temple Shalom – were founded primarily by Jews from Western Europe (Germany, Austria, Alsace-Lorraine, and France).[14] During the early years of these congregations, prayers and sermons were conducted in German and the minutes of the business meetings were recorded in the mother tongue.[15] These Western Ashkenazim embraced the principles of Reform Judaism which began after the emancipation of Jews in Europe and was transmitted to the United States by rabbinic leaders such as Max Lilienthal, Isaac Mayer Wise, David Einhorn, and Kaufmann Kohler.[16] As specifically codified at the Philadelphia Conference of 1869 and the Pittsburgh Conference of 1885, Reform Judaism emphasized the themes of Prophetic Judaism rather than the rituals mandated by traditional Rabbinic Judaism. Abandoned was the absolute obligation to follow kosher dietary laws and to wear religious paraphernalia such as the *yarmulke* (skull cap), *tallis* (prayer shawl), and *tefillin* (phylacteries). Also rejected was the hope of a return to Zion, that is, a homeland in Palestine. To emphasize this point, Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise once proclaimed, "America is our Zion."[17] Reform Jewish practices included such things as the integrated seating of men and women during religious services, the use of vernacular languages (in particular,

English and German) as well as Hebrew in prayer, and the disavowal of the so-called priestly castes – the *Kohanim*, or high priests, and the *Levites*, or temple attendant priests. Confirmation, a religious rite of passage for both girls and boys, replaced the traditional *Bar Mitzvah* ("Son of the Commandment") ritual undertaken by boys on their thirteenth birthdays. Organs, other musical instruments, and choirs were used during religious services instead of or in addition to the ritual chanting of the traditional cantor.

On the other hand, the founders of the Orthodox Synagogues – B'nai Jacob, Beth Hamedrash Hagodol, Keneseth Israel, Anshei Sfard, and Agudath Achim – came primarily from Eastern Europe (Poland, the Baltic countries, and Russia).[18] In addition to the languages of their countries of origin, most of these people spoke Yiddish, a distinctive dialect of Middle High German with the incorporation of some Hebrew words. These Eastern Ashkenazim, for the most part, continued the traditional practices of Judaism, which include such things as the literal authority of the rabbis and Talmudic interpretations, the obligatory kosher or dietary laws, the separation of men and women during services, the wearing of religious paraphernalia, and continued roles of the *Kohanim* and *Levites* in religious rituals.[19] Today, the Keneseth Israel Synagogue continues to identify with Orthodoxy but is labelled by Landau as "Traditional with Mixed Seating."[20] Anshei Sfard, contrary to its name, is not a congregation whose membership is comprised primarily of Sephardim – that is, Jews who trace their origins back to Spain and Portugal and speak Ladino, a dialect of Spanish mixed with Hebrew. The founders of this congregation were actually Chasidic ("Pious") Jews from southern Russia and preferred certain Sephardic rituals and modes of prayer as opposed to the *minhagim* (customs) of Louisville's existing congregations.[21] Today, however, it is my understanding that the Sephardic rituals are essentially restricted to a few customs at the High Holy Days. Basically, the Anshei Sfard Synagogue follows the Eastern Ashkenazi traditions and is considered Louisville's most orthodox synagogue.

Louisville's Adath Jeshurun Synagogue represents Conservative Judaism, a third, middle-of-the-road, "branch" of Judaism which essentially developed in the United States under the rabbinic leadership of Solomon Schechter, Isaac Leeser, and others. Conservative Judaism draws from both Orthodox and Reform Judaism.[22] Individual adherents of Conservative Judaism select differently from traditional and liberal

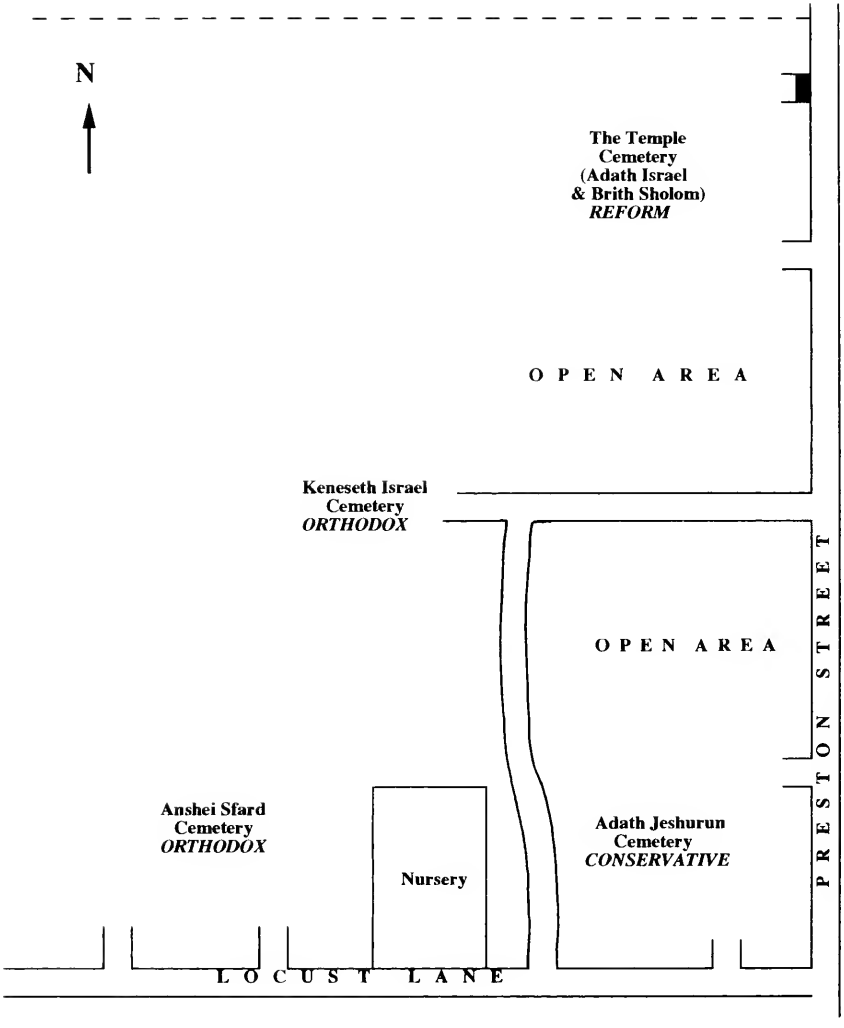

Fig. 8 Sketch map of Jewish cemeteries at the corner of Preston Street and Locust Lane.

practices. Some follow the dietary rules strictly, others do not. Some observe the rituals of the priestly castes, others do not. Partly as an accommodation to the changing roles of women in western society, the rite of *Bas Mitzvah* ("Daughter of the Commandment") was instituted for girls on their thirteenth birthdays.

The diversity within Louisville's historic Jewish congregations and extant temples and synagogues is reflected in the city's separate Jewish cemeteries. In establishing settlements throughout the world, each group of Jews has traditionally expressed its presence by instituting a place of prayer, a religious school, and a cemetery. David de Sola Pool underscores this point in discussing the earliest Jewish cemeteries in New York City:

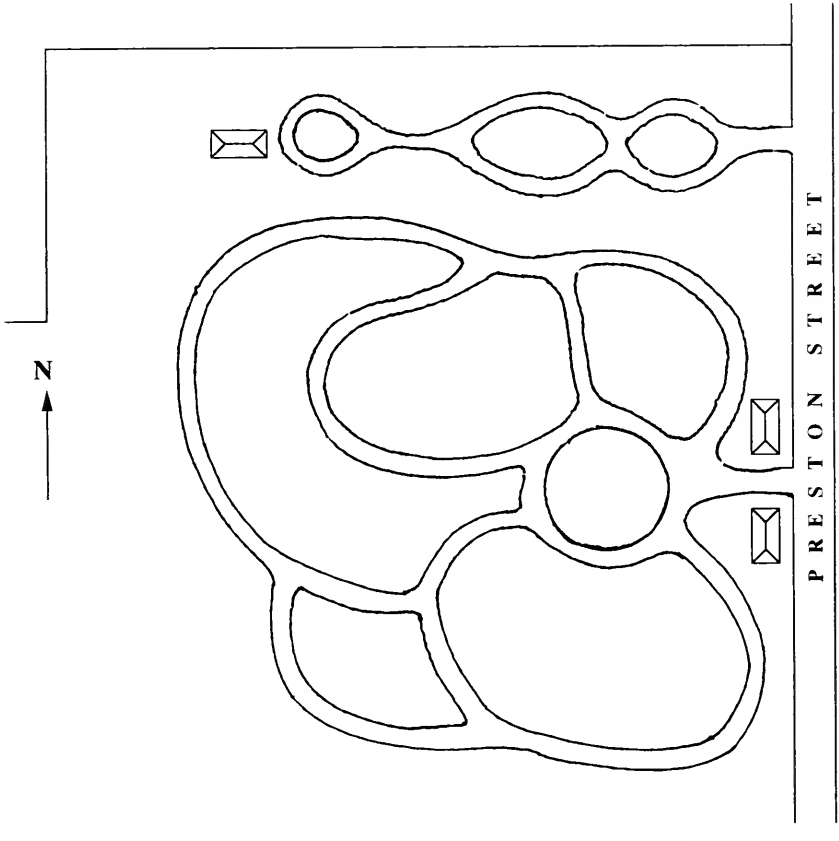

Fig. 9 Sketch map showing cemeteries of Adath Israel and Brith Sholom before the 1976 merger.

> In Jewish life, to a greater degree than is commonly found elsewhere, the establishment of a *common consecreated* burial ground is a significant sign of permanent settlement. In medieval Germany the secular authorities would sometimes name and classify Jewish communities by the cemeteries which they used. The cemetery served as the permanent geographic nuclear unit of community organization. At least it was immovable property, while the living Jew, the quarry of many a brutal man hunt, for his own protection had to be a movable chattel of the local feudal prince.[23]

During the 1820s, some Kentucky settlers of Jewish faith, including at least one from Louisville, were transported to Cincinnati, Ohio for burial.[24] In the 1850s, Temple Adath Israel had a burial ground, known as the "Hebrew Cemetery," at the corner of Preston and Woodbine. At some later date, adjacent to Adath Israel's original cemetery, was a sepa-

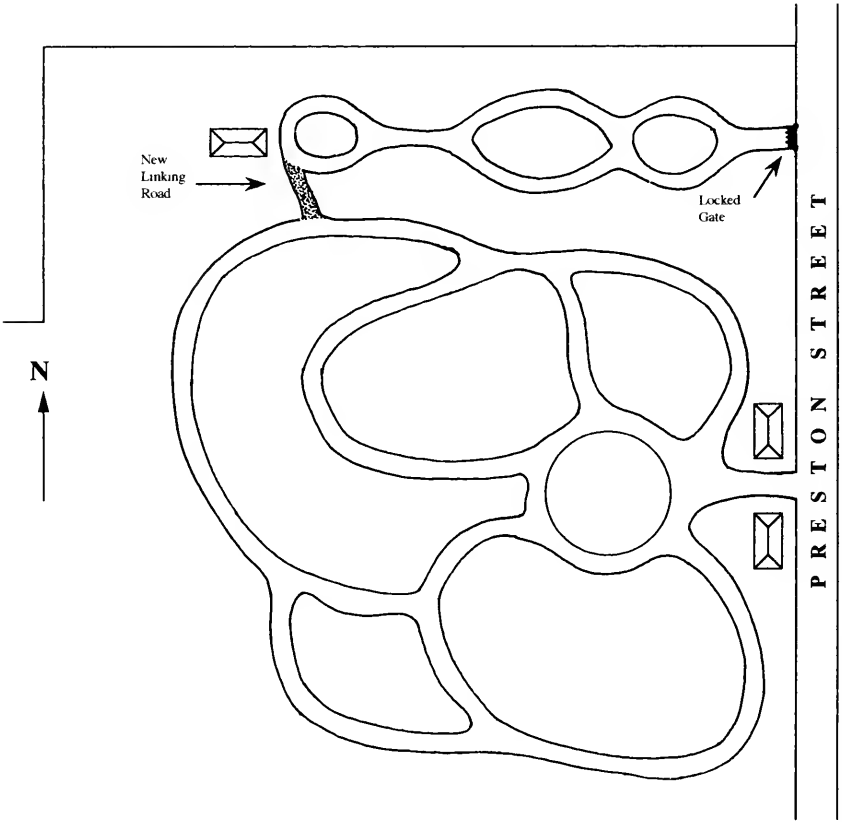

Fig. 10 Sketch map showing cemetery of "The Temple" after the merger of Adath Israel and Brith Sholom in 1976.

rate burial ground for the members of Adath Jeshurun. Those cemeteries were destroyed by the construction of the Interstate 65 highway, and the burials removed to the present cemeteries of those separate congregations.[25] During the late nineteenth century, a third burial ground, known as the Hebrew Schardein Cemetery, was established on the south side of Wathen Lane west of Seventh Street Road. According to Landau, that site was destroyed about 1934 by the construction of the Seagram distillery; the individuals buried there were re-interred in what is now the cemetery of Keneseth Israel Synagogue.[26] Early on, then, we see that separate cemeteries were maintained for Louisville's Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jews. That pattern has continued on into the twentieth century. Landau states that "Adath Israel purchased The Temple's present cemetery property in 1873 and that general area has become the site of all the congregations' cemeteries since then. The other congregations bought their land at different times, but by 1920 the pattern was established."[27] Today in Louisville there are seven Jewish cemeteries: five within the mortuary complex at the corner of Preston Street and Locust Lane, one to the east across Preston Street, and the other a recently-established section within the Cave Hill Cemetery (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 11 View within Adath Israel Cemetery; note family monuments, bas relief carvings, and sculptures in the round.

The extant cemeteries associated with Louisville's Reform Jews are located at the northern end of the Preston Street mortuary complex (see Fig. 8). Prior to 1976, the cemeteries of Temple Adath Israel and Temple Brith Sholom were separate, each having its own entrance gate opening out onto Preston Street (see Fig. 9). After 1976, the two cemeteries were merged and the roadways joined with a connecting link to the south of Brith Sholom's Frankel Memorial Chapel (see Fig. 10). The reorganization of these two cemeteries provides a spatial paradigm for the merged congregation of the living, now known as The Temple. Brith Sholom's entry gates were locked, and access to the merged cemeteries is now provided via the original entrance to Adath Israel's cemetery. The merger was cast in bronze, so to speak, in a new sign near Adath Israel's old gatehouse which reads "The Temple Cemetery. Adath Israel Brith Sholom."

Within these Reform cemeteries – as with those we have observed in the midwest and on the eastern seaboard – one notes a wide variety of monument styles: large obelisks, small tablets, compound block and column monuments, horizontal blocks, and vertical blocks, to name a few. These styles reflect differences in monumental architecture through time, in addition, one assumes, to differences in the wealth and social

Fig. 12 Davis family mausoleum in Adath Israel Cemetery.

status of the deceased.[28] Large family monuments with individual markers are common, many of which are elaborately sculpted and often embellished with decorative curbs and other ancillary elements (see Fig. 11). Not uncommon are central monuments which designate two or three linked extended families. Mausoleums are also notable features of these two Reform Jewish cemeteries, as they are in many Reform cemeteries elsewhere (Fig. 12). These burial structures are generally prohibited in Orthodox cemeteries since above-ground disposal of the dead is traditionally proscribed.[29] Many of the monuments in the Adath Israel-Brith Sholom cemeteries are ornately carved in high relief, utilize elaborate sculptures in the round, and even exhibit human images, which are generally eschewed in Jewish tradition. To be sure, this was an art form gracing many nineteenth century cemeteries, including, of course, Cave Hill. As exemplified by the Woloshin monument, however, the practice continues up to the present time, where it is combined with the latest of twentieth-century gravestone art technology (Fig. 13).

Typically, the gravestones of Reform Jews contain epitaphs which are exclusively in the vernacular, in this case, English. If Hebrew occurs at

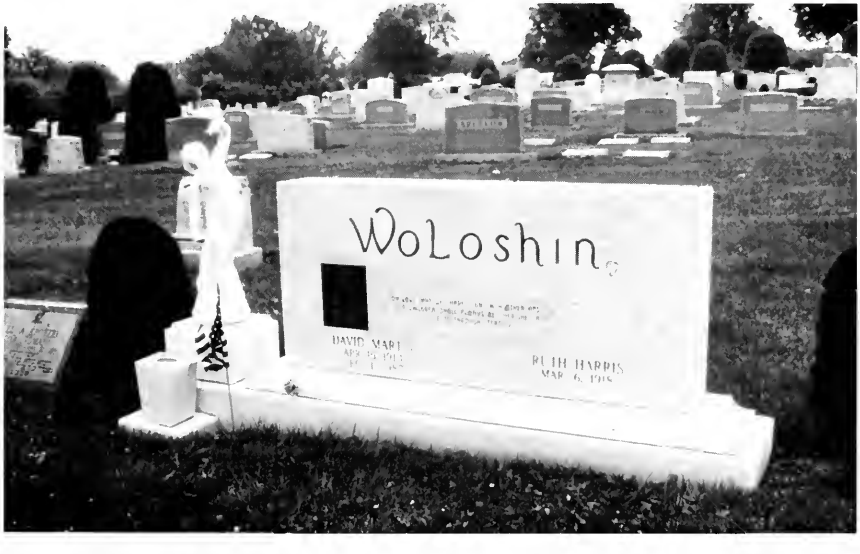

Fig. 13 Woloshin family monument, Adath Israel Cemetery, showing contemporary use of sculpture in the round. Note also the photograph, which is not as frequently found in Reform as in Conservative and Orthodox Jewish cemeteries.

Fig. 14 Kern family monument and markers, Brith Sholom Cemetery. Note use of abbreviated Hebrew phrases and indication of places of birth (Germany) and death (Louisville, Ky).

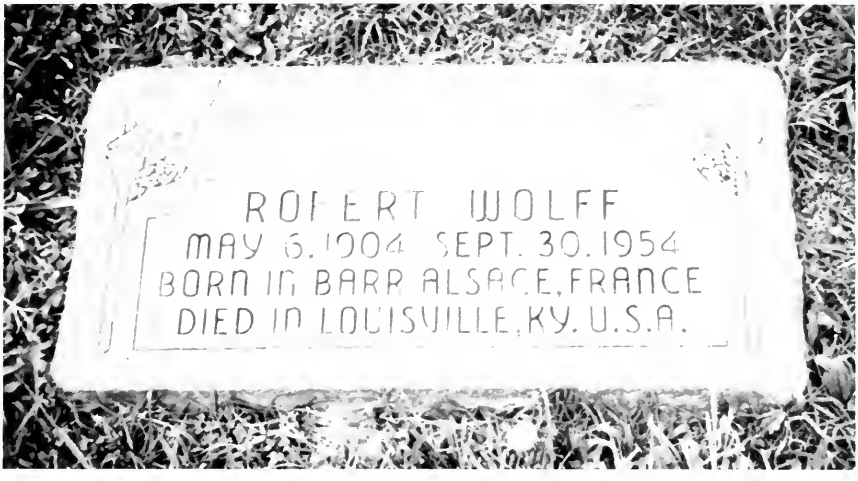

Fig. 15 Marker of Robert Wolff, Adath Israel Cemetery, showing place of birth (Barr, Alsace, France).

all, it is normally limited to the names of the deceased or to abbreviations of traditional phrases. For example, on the monument of Caroline K. Lapp and Daniel Kern (Fig. 14), the upper Hebrew epitaph is an abbreviation of the phrase meaning "Here lies," or "Here is buried." The lower pentagram in Hebrew stands for the phrase which is translated as "May his or her soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life." In Reform cemeteries, Judaic symbols (such as the Star of David, menorah or candelabrum, and Lion of Judah) are not common. Notably lacking as well are the insignia of the *Kohanim* or *Levites* or epigraphic references to the priestly castes. The rights, duties, and obligations of the *Kohanim* and *Levites* were specifically rejected in the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, the principal theological statement of nineteenth century Reform Judaism in the United States. A final practice which is often observed in Reform cemeteries, including those in Louisville, is a reference to the deceased's place of birth. Almost invariably, these birthplaces are in Germany, Austria, or France, reflecting the origins of these Western Ashkenazim (see Figs. 14 and 15). Typically, such references to the deceased's place of birth are lacking in Orthodox cemeteries. I suspect this may be explained by two factors: first, the force of rabbinic authority in Orthodoxy, which tends to result in uniformity; second, the fact that Reform's Pittsburgh Platform considered Jews "no longer a nation but a religious community" whose adherents were citizens of the states in which they resided.

Fig. 16 View within Keneseth Israel Cemetery. Note relative uniformity in tombstone size and style in addition to Judaic symbols and extensive epitaphs in Hebrew.

Early Reform Jews, in fact, rejected the idea that they were living in a Diaspora ("Exile") and aspired to return to Zion, a Homeland in Palestine. Additionally, it should be noted that the Orthodox Eastern Ashkenazim generally fled Europe because of fanatical pogroms, so it is reasonable to expect that they might not want to commemorate those hateful places on their tombstones.

The Orthodox cemeteries in the Preston Street mortuary complex are separated from the Reform cemeteries by a broad swale and open space (see Fig. 8). One cannot drive from The Temple Cemetery to the Keneseth Israel Cemetery without going back out onto Preston Street and reentering the mortuary complex by a separate gate and driveway. This geographic separation, I maintain, is a spatial paradigm for the polar differences in theological orientation and ritual observances between Reform and Orthodox Judaism. The spatial analogy to living traditions is additionally expressed by the fact that the Anshei Sfard Cemetery is located farthest away from the Reform cemeteries, although the border between the two Orthodox cemeteries is less obvious. The entrance gates to Anshei Sfard Cemetery open out onto Locust Lane.

The monument styles and placement of tombstones within the Orthodox cemeteries contrast markedly with the patterns discussed for the Reform sections (see Fig. 16). There is less diversity in gravestone styles –

Fig. 17 Shavinsky monument, Keneseth Israel Cemetery, showing Star of David, two shofars (ram's horns), and bunches of grapes representing wine.

probably reflecting the Orthodox practice of burying the deceased in simple shrouds (*Tachrichim*) and uniformly unadorned wooden coffins.[30] According to Maurice Lamm, "Jewish tradition recognizes the democracy of death. It therefore demands that all Jews be buried in the same type of garment. Wealthy or poor, all are equal before God, and that which determines their reward is not what they wear, but what they are."[31] Each individual typically has a separate gravestone, as opposed to the family monuments and individual markers which are frequent in the Reform cemeteries. Recent memorials intermixed with the older ones include double horizontal monuments for husband and wife.

Epitaphs found upon markers within the Orthodox cemeteries are normally in Hebrew, or in Hebrew and English, and typically include the Hebrew name of the deceased, the Hebrew name of his or her father, and the deceased's death date in the Jewish ritual calendar.[32] The memorial inscriptions usually include the abbreviations for "Here Lies" and "May his or her soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life." Also contained in the epitaphs may be honorific adjectives or titles of the deceased, in addition to religious holidays associated with death dates.

Fig. 18 Kreitman monument, Keneseth Israel Cemetery, showing Hebrew epitaphs and Judaic symbols, including the Ten Commandments, two lions of Judah, a Star of David, a menorah, and a jahrzeit lamp or Ner Tamid (symbolizing remembrance and Everlasting Light).

Especially on older monuments, Biblical quotations may be incorporated into the inscriptions.

Judaic symbols are also frequent, in particular the Star (or Shield) of David, menorah or multi-branched candelabrum, Torah (Scroll of the Pentateuch), Lion of Judah, and Ten Commandments. A symbol of light, either a lamp or a single candle, is employed often. The lamp may stand for the Eternal Light (*Ner Tamid*), which signifies the eternal presence of God, but may also symbolize the light which is traditionally kindled in remembrance of a deceased relative's *jahrzeit* (death anniversary), which, as mentioned above, is typically carved on his or her tombstone. On the occasion of a relative's *jahrzeit*, it is traditional for Jews to repeat the *Kaddish* ("Holy") prayer. A specific visit may be made to the cemetery for that purpose, or the prayer may be recited at home in conjunction with the lighting of a memorial candle.

Other motifs may have no specific Judaic connotations. Fruits, vines, leaves, and flowers, for example, are part of the general repertoire of

Fig. 19 Green Monument, Keneseth Israel Cemetery, showing Hebrew epitaphs, a Star of David, and the symbol of the Kohanim hands raised in priestly benediction. Non-Judaic symbols are also present. Note as well the use of personal photographs and the pebble placed intentionally on top of the monument.

American gravestone art and can be observed in the cemeteries of most religious and secular groups. They are often, in fact, already sculpted on the gravestones which monument dealers have on hand to sell to customers as "stock" items. One exception, however, may be the bunches of grapes I have observed on the tombstones of Jews in Louisville and elsewhere in the midwestern and eastern United States. In these instances, I strongly suspect that the grape bunches symbolize the "fruit of the vine" which is blessed, in the form of wine, by the *Kiddush* ("Sanctification") prayer before or during Sabbaths and the holidays.

It is not unusual to see several Judaic symbols and other motifs on the same monument. The Shavinsky monument, for example, exhibits a Star of David, two bunches of grapes, and two *Shofars* or ritual ram's horns (Fig. 17). The *Shofar* is ceremonially sounded at the High Holy Days (*Rosh Hashanah*, the Jewish New Year, and *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement) and, in some Orthodox congregations, at other times. In Biblical days, the *Shofar* announced the approach of Sabbath, the beginning of each Hebrew month (*Rosh Hodesh* or "New Moon") and various

Fig. 20 Monument of Eva Slung, Keneseth Israel Cemetery. Hebrew epitaph includes a reference to the deceased's father's role as a Levite, or temple attendant priest.

Fig. 21 Grave house of Rabbi Asher Lipman Zarchy (Louisville's Orthodox Chief Rabbi) and his wife, Molly Zarchy. Inside this mortuary enclosure, the deceased are buried in the ground and marked with individual vertical monuments and horizontal ledger stones.

other events. Landau notes that Simon Shavinsky long served the Keneseth Israel congregation as *Shamas*, that is, the synagogue's sexton and caretaker of ritual objects.[33] It is possible that the *Shofar* symbol on Simon Shavinsky's monument symbolizes his ceremonial duties at Keneseth Israel Synagogue. It is also possible that his family name shares etymological roots with the Hebrew term for ram's horn and that the *Shofar* symbol is a "play" on words, following a practice exhibited on tombstones in European Jewish cemeteries.[34] The Kreitman monument also exhibits a number of Judaic insignia: two Lions of Judah, the Ten Commandments, and the *Jahrzeit* memorial, or everlasting light (Fig. 18). Sam Kreitman is symbolized by the Star or Shield of David, which is typically associated with males.[35] His wife, Fannie Kreitman, is memorialized by the candelabrum, which is typically associated with females, the ritual kindlers of the Sabbath and holiday lights. On other gravestones one can observe a distinctive artistic motif consisting of the hands raised in priestly benediction which symbolizes the *Kohanim* (see Fig. 19). References to the *Kohanim* are also made in the epitaphs: for example, the

name of Morris Green (Fig. 19) is rendered "Reb Moshe Bar Shlomo Hakohen" (or "Mr. Moses son of Solomon the High Priest"). Although I did not observe the insignia of the *Levites* on gravestones in Louisville, references to the Temple Attendant Priests do occur in epitaphs: for example, the epitaph of Eva Slung (Fig. 20) records that her father was Reb Mordecai Zvi *Halevy* – Mr. Mordecai Zvi, the *Levite* or Temple Attendant Priest.

Pictures of the deceased printed on porcelain are frequently observed in Louisville's Orthodox and Conservative Jewish cemeteries (Figs. 19 and 20). I have observed this practice elsewhere in Orthodox and Conservative Jewish cemeteries as well as in Christian cemeteries. The use of human images is generally discouraged in Orthodox Judaism. According to Lamm, "Photographs mounted on monuments are not in good taste. Some authorities maintain that they are prohibited.[36] In this instance, the force of folk tradition seems to outweigh rabbinic proscription. In the Keneseth Israel and Anshe Sfard cemeteries one also notes the presence of pebbles placed on monuments (see Fig. 19). This practice is not uncommon in Orthodox and Conservative cemeteries throughout the midwestern and eastern United States. The pebbles function as ritual "calling cards," and may be a vestige of the time when funeral atten-

Fig. 22 View inside Adath Jeshurun Cemetery. Note extensive use of shrubs and floral ground covers over the graves.

dants actually filled up the grave pit.[37] Even today, mourners accompanying Orthodox funeral processions to the cemetery may place ritual shovelfuls of soil on top of the coffin.

A mausoleum-like structure in the middle of the Keneseth Israel cemetery (Fig. 21) initially shocked my eye – especially considering that the memorial is associated with Asher Lipman Zarchy, identified as the "Chief Rabbi" of Louisville's Orthodox Jews. A closer investigation through the doors of this structure (unfortunately not within the range of my camera's light meter) revealed that Rabbi Zarchy and his wife are buried, as per Orthodox tradition, in the ground. This matter is clarified by Lamm: "A mausoleum is permissable only if the deceased is buried *in the earth itself*, and the mausoleum is built around the plot of earth. This was frequently done for scholars, communal leaders, those who have contributed heavily to charity, and people of renown."[38] The Zarchy's graves inside the structure are covered with ledger stones and also marked by monuments. This burial pattern has been described for cemeteries in Eastern Europe.[39] More than mausoleums per se, these structures are actually "mortuary houses" within which the deceased are inhumed. Other ledger stones are observed in the Louisville cemeteries.

Fig. 23 Weisberg monument in Adath Jeshurun Cemetery. The bronze sculpture depicts the Tree of Life in addition to individual Biblical stories.

Fig. 24 View inside Agudath Achim Cemetery. Note relative uniformity of tombstone style and size in addition to Judaic symbols and Hebrew epitaphs.

Along the Atlantic seaboard, in the Caribbean, and in Europe, ledger stones are associated with Sephardic Jews.[40] However, this specific association is probably not demonstrable in Louisville.

The fifth cemetery in the Preston Street complex is the Adath Jeshurun Cemetery, where Louisville's Conservative Jews are buried. As might be expected, the gravestones reflect both Orthodox and Reform patterns: many single, fairly uniform monuments, some family monuments with Hebrew and English epitaphs, and some gravestones with references to the *Kohanim*. Particularly distinctive in Adath Jeshurun's well-manicured cemetery are decorative grave cover plantings, including ivy, begonias, low privet hedges, barberries, and ribbon grass (see Fig. 22). Rivaling the diversity of monument styles in the Reform cemeteries are a good many modern stone memorials and bronze sculptures which are indeed works of art in their own right (see, for example, Fig. 23). In addition, the Adath Jeshurun Cemetery includes a cenotaph for the individuals who were removed from the Woodbine cemetery during the aforementioned highway construction activities.

Across Preston Street to the east is the cemetery of the former Agudath Achim Synagogue which merged with Anshei Sfard in 1971 (Fig.

Fig. 25 Temple Shalom Section in Cave Hill Cemetery. Hanna Rosenberg Gradwohl observing flush markers, all of which are bronze.

24). Today the Anshei Sfard Synagogue maintains the Agudath Achim cemetery. This cemetery's monuments and their epitaphs reflect the Orthodox Jewish tradition. In essence, one observes a relative uniformity of gravestone size and style, the preponderance of single tombstones as opposed to family monuments and individual markers, the frequent use of Judaic symbols, extensive epitaphs in Hebrew in addition to or instead of English, and the presence of photographs.

Louisville's Cave Hill Cemetery is well known for its grand rural landscape plan, extensive arboretum and array of decorative shrubs and flowers, and impressive monuments of notable citizens.[41] Here one can study a wide array of innovative monumental art styles and can follow the "yellow brick line" to the stone and bronze memorial of Kentucky Fried Chicken czar, Colonel Harland Sanders. Less noticeable is Temple Shalom's recently-established memorial garden section, in which only flat bronze markers are permitted (Fig. 25). Some of the markers exhibit Judaic symbols in addition to secular motifs, while others lack any Jewish insignia at all. Most of the markers contain inscriptions in English only, though on some the deceased's name is rendered in Hebrew as well as Roman letters.

What we see in the Jewish cemeteries of Louisville and cities elsewhere throughout the midwestern and eastern United States is the material manifestation of non-material cultural phenomena. Represented here are the tangible indicators of individual cognitive beliefs and group ideational systems – the kinds of data and specific associations which normally elude the archaeologist studying prehistoric or early historic time periods. In this case, Louisville's Jewish cemeteries clearly express a number of aspects of Judaism as a religion which transcend time and space. Through one analytical lens, it is possible to identify recognizable group patterns which have been referred to as "ethnicity" and the existence of "ethnic groups." I use those terms here cautiously, and in the strict sense defined by George DeVos:

> An ethnic group is a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include "folk" religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin. The group's actual history often trails off into legend or mythology, which includes some concept of an unbroken biological-genetic continuity, sometimes regarded as giving special characteristics to the group.[42]

As a social anthropologist, DeVos goes on to explain some of the dimensions along which ethnicity may be manifested. His words are particularly meaningful to the ethnoarchaeologist who is looking for the possible linkage of cognitive domains with material culture:

> ... the ethnic identity of a group of people consists of their subjective symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. These emblems can be imposed from the outside or embraced from within. Ethnic features such as language or clothing or food can be considered emblems, for they show others who one is and to what group one belongs. A Christian, for example, wears a cross; a Jew the Star of David.[43]

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Jews living in Louisville have identified themselves by the creation of various religious, educational, recreational, fraternal, medical and philanthropic institutions. They also established separate cemeteries for the burial of their dead. These cemeteries, as specially consecrated sacred spaces, are geographic indicators of ethnicity. Their physical limits are paradigms of the *inter*-group boundary-maintaining mechanisms which one notes

among the living. In itself, burial in any one of Louisville's Jewish cemeteries is a statement of some Judaic identification or affiliation. Within these cemeteries, there are additional Judaic indicators on the gravestones: general religious symbols, specific emblems of the priestly castes, and epitaphs in Hebrew.

Through a second analytical lens, one can ascertain additional and perhaps even more significant patterns which are reflective of *intra*-group diversity. For the most part, this aspect of human behavior has been ignored or under-estimated in regard to the study of ethnicity. Throughout the world, Jews do not constitute a single, monolithic, socio-cultural entity. Even in Louisville, there are internal dimensions of diversity reflected in the different temples and synagogues and their individual cemetery areas. The separation of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox cemeteries in the mortuary complex at the corner of Preston Street and Locust Lane is a subtle and yet dramatic spatial analog of the patterns manifested among the living Jews in Louisville. It is perhaps not surprising that death and life reflect each other in these ways when one considers some of the Hebrew euphemisms for cemetery: *Beth A Haim*, for instance, translates as "House of Life," and *Beth Olam* means "House of Eternity."[44]

In conclusion, my journey to Louisville resulted in finding out more about my great grandfather, Samuel Hilpp, although the archival as well as oral historical sources still differ as to his place of birth. En route, I ascertained that Samuel's parents were Elias and Thresa Hilpp, who lie buried in the cemetery of Temple Adath Israel, an institution they helped to incorporate in 1842. During the following 150 years in Louisville, other temples and synagogues were incorporated and other cemeteries established. These cemeteries provide an impressive mirror and a tangible historical record of the diversity of Louisville's Jews in regard to national origins, theological orientations, and ritual practices over the course of a century and a half. The revelation of those facts transformed my personal quest into part of a more global academic expedition.

NOTES

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1. David Mayer Gradwohl and Hanna Rosenberg Gradwohl, "That is the Pillar of Rachel's Grave Unto this Day: An Ethnoarchaeological Comparison of Two Jewish Cemeteries in Lincoln, Nebraska," in *Persistence and Flexibility: Anthropological Perspectives on the American Jewish Experience*, Walter P. Zenner, ed. (Albany, New York, 1988), 223-259; David M. Gradwohl, "Houses of Life, Abodes of Eternity: A Preliminary Ethnoarchaeological Perspective on Six Jewish Cemeteries in Des Moines, Iowa," Paper delivered at the 67th Annual Meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, Ames, Iowa, March 24, 1991.

2. The ethnoarchaeological approach employed in this study follows the precedent of a number of authors over the past twenty-five years. In particular, see Richard A. Gould, *Living Archaeology* (Cambridge, England, 1980); Richard A. Gould, *Explorations in Ethnoarchaeology* (Albuquerque, 1978); Richard A. Gould, "Living Archaeology: The Ngatatjara of Western Australia," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 24:2 (1968): 101-122; "Archaeology of the Point S. George Site and Tolowa Prehistory," *University of California Publications in Anthropology* 4 (1966). In addition, note William H. Adams, *Silcott, Washington: Ethnoarchaeology of a Rural American Community* (Washington State University Laboratory of Anthropology, Reports of Investigations 54, 1977); Lewis Binford, *Nunamiut Ethnoarchaeology* (New York, 1978); John F. Yellen, "Settlement Patterns of the !Kung: An Archaeological Perspective," in *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers*, R.B. Lee and I. DeVore, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 47-72. In this paper I follow the definition of ethnoarchaeology as "The study of living societies by archaeologists ... Ethnoarchaeologists document events from two perspectives: the artifacts involved and associated behaviors and beliefs" articulated by William L. Rathje and Michael B. Schiffer, *Archaeology* (New York, 1982), 391, 196. As an academician, and also a participant observer in Judaism, I approach the data base from both the "etic" and "emic" perspectives: see Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (New York, 1969), 574-582, and Marvin Harris, *Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture* (New York, 1980), 32-41.

3. This temple was originally incorporated under the name *Adas* Israel. Over the years, the name officially changed to *Adath* Israel. This shift reflects differences in dialect and historical usages pertaining to the transliteration of the twenty-second letter in the Hebrew alphabet ("sof" or "tof") and the subsequent pronunciation of the letter as an English "s," "t," or "th."

4. Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and

Ethnographic Perspective," in *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us*, R.A. Gould and M.B. Schiffer, eds. (New York, 1981), 137-159; Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "Social Commentary from the Cemetery," *Natural History* 86:6 (1977): 32-39.

5. See Samuel W. Thomas, *Cave Hill Cemetery: A Pictorial Guide and Its History* (Louisville, 1985).

6. Herman Landau, *Adath Louisville: The Story of Jewish Community* (Louisville, 1981). See also: Lewis N. Dembitz, "Jewish Beginnings in Kentucky," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1 (1893): 99-101; Lewis N. Dembitz, "Kentucky," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII (New York, 1906), 467-468; Israel T. Naamani, "Louisville," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11 (New York, 1971), 520-522; Jewish Historical Society, *A History of the Jews of Louisville, Kentucky* (New Orleans, 1901); Joseph Rauch, "Louisville," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 7 (New York, 1969), 209-210.

7. Barry Kosmin and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1990," *American Jewish Yearbook 1991*, 91 (Philadelphia, 1991), 212.

8. Landau, 5-6; Rauch, 209; Dembitz, "Kentucky," 467.

9. Dembitz, "Jewish Beginnings," 101.

10. Landau, 20.

11. Naamani, 521-522; Landau, 19-21.

12. Landau, 20; in this source the family name is incorrectly spelled as "Hilp." The Jewish Historical Society (p. 15) also lists Elias Hilpp as an incorporator, but spells the family name incorrectly as "Hillp."

13. According to Professor Lee Shai Weissbach (personal communication dated May 27, 1992), a new Orthodox synagogue has been formed very recently, bringing Louisville's Jewish congregations to six in number. The congregation members meet in a converted house in the vicinity of the Jewish Community Center. Although the new synagogue is called Beth Israel, it is not directly connected to the nineteenth century congregation which also bore that name and which evolved into the present-day Conservative Congregation Adath Jeshurun. The new Orthodox synagogue apparently has not yet established its own cemetery.

14. cf. Priscilla Fishman, *The Jews of the United States* (New York, 1973); Oscar Handlin, *Adventure in Freedom: Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America* (New York, 1954); Rufus Learsi, *The Jews in America: A History* (Cleveland, 1954); Lee J. Levinger, *A History of Jews in the United States* (Cincinnati, 1944).

15. Landau, 2, 20, 27.

16. Joseph L. Blau, *Judaism in America: From Curiosity to Third Faith* (Chicago, 1976); Sylvan D. Schwartzman, *Reform Judaism Then and Now* (New York, 1971); William B. Silverman, *Basic Reform Judaism* (New York, 1970).

17. David Philipson, "Personal Contacts with the Founder of the Hebrew Union College," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 11 (1967): 15.

18. Landau, 2-3.

19. Bernard J. Bamberger, *The Story of Judaism* (New York, 1971), 312-315; 347-350.

20. Landau, 2.

21. *Ibid.*, 51.

22. Moshe Davis, *The Emergence of Conservative Judaism: The Historical School in Nineteenth Century America* (Philadelphia, 1963); Herbert Parzen, *Architects of Conservative Judaism* (New York, 1964); Marshall Sklare, *Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement* (New York, 1972).

23. Emphasis added. David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers 1682-1831* (New York, 1952), 6-7.

24. Landau, 16.

25. *Ibid.*, 16-17.

26. *Ibid.*, 17.

27. *Ibid.*, 16.

28. Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61: 2 (1971): 501-509; see also Dethlefsen, "The Cemetery and Culture Change."

29. Maurice Lamm, *The Jewish Way in Death and Mourning* (New York, 1981), 57.

30. *Ibid.*, 16-17.

31. *Ibid.*, 7.

32. *Ibid.*, 188-92; Isaac Klein, *A Guide to Jewish Religious Practice* (New York, 1979), 295-96; Leo Trepp, *The Complete Book of Jewish Observance* (New York, 1980), 338-39.

33. Landau, 12.

34. Jan Herman, *Jewish Cemeteries in Bohemia and Moravia* (Brno: Council of Jewish Communities, Czech Socialist Republic, ND [ca. 1980]), Figures 68, 69, and 70; Otto Bocher, *The Jewish Cemetery of Worms* (Worms, Gemany, 1988), Figures 11 and 12.

35. According to Landau, p. 10, Max Kreitman ran what for many years was the only kosher meat market in Louisville.

36. Lamm, 191.

37. Otto Bocher, *Der Alten Juden Friedhof in Worms* (Neuss, Germany, 1976).

38. Lamm, 57.

39. Arthur Levy, *Judische Grabmalkunst in Osteuropa* (Berlin, 1923).

40. David Davidovich, "Tombstones," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 15 (New York, 1971), 1222-23.

41. Thomas *op. cit.; Plants of Distinction: Cave Hill Cemetery*, Brochure prepared by Cave Hill Cemetery, Louisville, Kentucky (ND).

42. George DeVos, "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation," in *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change*, George DeVos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds. (Palo Alto, California, 1975), 9.

43. *Ibid.*, 16.

44. Meir Ydit, "Cemetery," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 5 (New York, 1971), 272.

Fig. 1 Mary Rous, 1714, Charlestown

THE LAMSON FAMILY GRAVESTONE CARVERS OF CHARLESTOWN AND MALDEN, MASSACHUSETTS

Ralph L. Tucker

OVERVIEW

The Lamson family of stonecutters who lived in the Malden/Charlestown area of Massachusetts was one of the earliest and most important producers of colonial gravestones. Of the half dozen stonecutters in the Boston area who carved something more than lettering on gravestones prior to 1700, Joseph Lamson was one of the best and most prolific. The family as a whole was not only prolific in their carving, but also cut some of the most interesting and beautifull stones to be found in all New England. Beginning about 1677 with the work of Joseph Lamson, and continuing up to the 1800s with several members of the fourth generation, the Lamsons produced stones that can be found from Nova Scotia on the north to Charleston, South Carolina on the south.

The early stones of Joseph Lamson were rather simple, lacking side borders, framing for the inscription, or any embellishment other than the stern winged skull, which almost always had eyebrows. Before long, however, side borders, frieze, and finial decorations were added, and several death-related items such as coffins, hourglasses, and crossbones began to appear. By the time of the 1692 Salem witchcraft craze, Joseph was using death imps on his stones. The craze may have influenced his work, for at that time he abruptly ceased carving imps and only after ten years resumed using them. By the early 1700s, elaborate framed inscriptions, floral and fruit side panels, and drapery above the skulls may be found. Faces appeared in the finials, at first rather crudely carved, but by 1704 very lifelike and rendered in both male and female versions. This development would continue, and by 1709 full busts began to appear in the finials. As Joseph's sons became skilled, they took over the business and developed their own variations on these styles. The third and fourth generations added their ideas, so that in time portraits, figures, and, finally, trees and urns were carved on stones made by this family.

JOSEPH LAMSON

Joseph Lamson was born in 1658 at Ipswich, Massachusetts, his father William having come from England in 1634 and married a local

girl, Sarah Ayres of Haverhill.[1] When William died in 1659, shortly after Joseph's birth, the family of eight children was broken up, and Joseph's earliest years were unsettled. When he was two years old his mother married Thomas Hartshorne of Reading (whose son John later became the first stonecutter of the Merrimack River Valley). The marriage caused a dispute over the care of the children who had been put out to other families, and over their rights to property. This brought about a court action, the details of which are lacking, though judging from later events all was eventually settled.

An early record indicates that Joseph, at the age of seventeen, served under Captain Turner on the Connecticut River expedition in March 1675/6, during King Phillip's War.[2] On December 12, 1679, he married Elizabeth Mitchell of Charlestown, probably having finished an apprenticeship in stonecutting, as we can date some of his earliest stones to the late 1670s. He and Elizabeth had eight children, all born in Malden. Shortly after Elizabeth died on June 10, 1703, Joseph married Hannah (Mousal) Welch, the widow of the carver Thomas Welch who lived nearby. After Hannah's death in 1713, he married again in 1715, this time to Dorothy (Hett) Mousal. There were no children by either of these later marriages.

In 1695, Joseph was made a proprietor and freeholder in Malden, where he was later voted a tithingman and sealer of leather. In 1699, he took an appeal for Malden to the Great and General Court, while in 1701 he was on a committee to lay out a road and in 1702 on a committee to see about the Meeting House. In January, 1720, he became the only surviving son of William, and was appointed "admr. de Bonis non" of his father's estate. The local histories of Malden and Charlestown during this period give frequent references to Joseph and his family.

It is recorded that Joseph bought property and a house in Malden in 1682/3, where he is variously listed as a mariner, cordwainer, and stonecutter. There are a number of references to the property bounds in early Malden mentioning the Lamson shop and property, as well as the property of Thomas Welch and Joseph Whittemore. Of special interest is the reference to "... Thomas Welches house, ware mr Lamson now lives ..." There are also intriguing references to Quarry Hill on Menotomy Road, where the stone on which the Lamsons carved was probably obtained. Also of interest is reference to a "wharffe and landing place" by Mr Lamson's shop, from which he probably shipped his work. A reference to

Whittemore's land may be to land owned by a local ship captain and stonecutter who probably worked with Lamson. One who is conversant with the early history of the town could probably locate these sites.[3] There is some confusion as to whether the Lamson shop was in fact located in Charlestown or in Malden. The residences and shop were apparently in Malden, as noted above, but there are several references in probate records to members of the Lamson family as "of Charlestown." The dividing line was a narrow creek, and later homes may well have been on the Charlestown shore.

Joseph died August 23, 1722, at the age of 64, in Charlestown, where the gravestone carved for him by one of his sons still stands (see Fig. 8). In his will, dated July 16, 1722 and proved September 21, 1722, he calls himself "stonecutter."[4] He mentions his wife Dorothy, son John, son William, son Nathaniel, son Joseph and his children, and son Caleb. His inventory totaled £203, the value of the house being £140.

Of his five sons, Nathaniel and Caleb became stonecutters in their father's shop, and son William, who removed to Stratford, Connecticut in 1717, may have worked in his father's shop earlier. Lamson stones appear in and near Stratford, some identical to the Charlestown stones, as well as later ones carved on Connecticut sandstone that probably were made by a member of the family there. Joseph's son, Joseph Jr., was involved in the invasion of Port Royal in 1710 and survived the sinking of the troopship Caesar along with the carver William Custin, but while they may have worked at carving together, there is no evidence to that effect.[5] At least two grandsons and three great-grandsons of Joseph are known to have been stonecarvers. We are able to identify eight Lamsons who were stonecutters, and there may well have been others. I have been unable to locate much information on these later generations aside from the usual birth, marriage, and death data.

BEGINNINGS

The earliest New England gravemarkers were simple boulders or slabs which were only rarely lettered or ornamented. There is also evidence that wooden gravemarkers were used, and that when they disintegrated and carved stone markers became available the wood was replaced with "proper" gravestones, which were at first upright slabs with plain lettering, often crudely executed. The earliest and most common carving, aside from mere lettering, is the death's-head, a winged

skull motif which dates from about 1670. For over one hundred years this death's-head was omnipresent, and only a few other varieties of style are to be found. In rare cases a coat of arms is used[6] (Fig. 1), and on certain occasions a cherub (or winged face). Only with the coming of the tree and urn stones after the American Revolution does the death's -head finally become obsolete.

Examples of Lamson styles can easily be found at the Bell Rock Burial Ground in Malden, the Phipps Street Burial Ground in Charlestown, and the Cambridge Burial Ground. These graveyards, which were those nearest to the Lamson shop, contain not only Joseph's work but also that of the succeeding three Lamson generations. In fact, the overwhelming majority of stones in these three burial grounds represent the work of the Lamson shop. Using the stones mentioned in the probate records and those made for his immediate family, Joseph Lamson's basic styles can be definitely determined. Sorting by date, moreover, one can separate out the stones Joseph made before the sons were old enough to carve in order to determine which can be attributed to him alone. In any case, the early stones of the sons are rather crudely cut and only with time become comparable with their father's work.

In the Boston area there are stones dated from 1650 to the 1670s with only lettering, and without borders or other carving. It is difficult to attribute authorship to these stones. It is possible that some of these were made by the Old Stonecutter (see below), or by Joseph as an apprentice, but most are dated before Joseph could have been trained as a carver. On the other hand, because a number of the stones could be backdated, Joseph may have in fact carved some of them.

By the late 1670s one can find stones with a browed and winged skull – a death's-head – in the tympanum, complemented by crossbones in one finial and an hourglass in the other. Some of these are certainly by the Old Stonecutter, but others are probably by Lamson working as his apprentice. By the 1680s there are over fifty stones of this variety that have definite Lamson hallmarks, such as his typical drapery (which will be described later). It is probable that Thomas Welch, and possibly Joseph Whittemore, also carved such stones.

Joseph Lamson probably learned his trade from the "Old Stonecutter" mentioned by Harriette Forbes in her pioneering work, *Gravestones of Early New England.*[7] The Old Stonecutter has had little study, and we know nothing about him aside from his work, which can usually be dif-

ferentiated from that of other early unidentified carvers. He probably started carving in the area about 1650 and continued into the 1690s, although these dates are difficult to state with certainty. He appears on the scene already an unusually competent carver possessing a variety of styles. His winged skulls can usually be recognized by their eyebrows, a distinctive feature few other carvers used. There is some speculation that the Old Stonecutter was located north of the Charles River, as was Lamson, in either Charlestown or Cambridge. Forbes describes Lamson's work as "so distinctive that it is possible to distinguish it from that of all other workers..."[8] Though differences are also apparent, I believe, because of certain distinctive similarities in their styles, that Lamson apprenticed under the Old Stonecutter.[9]

Similarities between Lamson and the Old Stonecutter

1. Both used at early dates (1670s-1690s) the dominant element of winged skulls with eyebrows that often had hooked ends. Eyebrows are very rare on the stones of other carvers.
2. Both on a few occasions featured winged faces (or cherubs) instead of the more common winged skulls (or death's-heads).
3. Both used, especially in the frieze, secondary death symbols such as crossbones, picks and shovels, palls, scythes, hourglasses, coffins, or darts of death to an extent greater than that of other contemporary carvers.
4. Both were apparently the only carvers who used death imps (small naked figures carrying palls, coffins, darts, or hourglasses) on their stones.
5. Both carved faces in the finials. The early faces are nearly identical, but Lamson's show a definite development and improvement. Few other carvers used such faces, and where they did, they are easily differentiated.

Differences between Lamson and the Old Stonecutter

1. The Old Stonecutter used a variety of classical Latin phrases on his stones, while Lamson used only "MEMENTO MORI" and "FUGIT HORA," these with some regularity.
2. The Old Stonecutter sometimes carved a skull having a flattened or indented top, often with a vertical line through the top of the skull. Lamson used a more rounded top for his skulls, and no vertical line.

3. The Old stonecutter sometimes made elaborately shaped stones, while Lamson always used a simpler shaped stone with a large central lobe and two smaller side lobes at the top.
4. The Old Stonecutter regularly utilized a numeral one having two spirals extending from its base, while Lamson rarely, if ever, did.
5. The Old Stonecutter on occasion used a letter " T" of an old-fashioned style somewhat resembling the capitol letter "E ," a practice which Lamson rarely, if ever, employed.
6. The Old Stonecutter and other contemporary carvers rarely framed their inscriptions. While Lamson's earliest stones also lack frames, he soon began to use frames regularly, some of which become rather elaborate.
7. The Old Stonecutter often placed square shapes in the rounded finials, while Lamson invariably used round shapes in his rounded finials (there is a sense of balance here exhibited by Lamson which the Old Stonecutter lacked).
8. Lamson employed many varieties of bottom borders, while the Old Stonecutter used few bottom borders.
9. Lamson frequently used a bordered frieze between the tympanum and the inscription, while the Old Stonecutter rarely did.
10. The Old Stonecutter made several elaborate stones copying printed woodcuts of the figures of death and of father time. There exist no stones carved by Lamson which can be traced to printed material.
11. The Old Stonecutter's carved wings often feature horizontal upper feathers and vertical lower ones, while Lamson's carved feathers all are in the same general direction.
12. The Old Stonecutter on a few of his earliest stones used wingless skulls. Lamson's skulls are all winged.

DOCUMENTATION OF STONES

Harriette Forbes was the first to identify Joseph Lamson as a gravestone carver, and she photographed many of his stones as early as 1924. She also went through the probate records of the period to identify not only Lamson but also other early New England carvers, setting a standard of research which stands to this day.[10] In order to document the fact that Joseph Lamson was indeed the carver of the stones studied, I made a further check of the source material. The Massachusetts probate court records of Essex, Suffolk, and Middlesex counties contain information

about payments to carvers, some specifically for gravestones and others for unspecified work. There are, for example, over two hundred known references in probate records to payments to members of the Lamson family, many of which specify that the payment is for gravestones. Unfortunately, few of these are for Joseph because the earliest records are not as numerous or as comprehensive as the later ones, and those mentioning gravestones before 1715 are rare. Once a carver has been identified, however, one can watch for his name in the inventories and other records. Sometimes a stone is reported as paid for with no mention of the carver: if the stone is later located and identified as the work of a given carver, we can build up quite a list of his stones. There is sufficient evidence to start us on our search, however, as the following data will show:

1. In 1705, the estate of Samuel Fletcher of Chelmsford paid Joseph Lamson £0.24.0, presumably for gravestones. Samuel's stone is still extant and is a Lamson type stone.[11]
2. In 1709, Joseph Lamson was paid £1.8.0 by the estate of Lt. Thomas Pratt of Charlestown "for gravestones."[12] While the headstone, unfortunately, has not been located, the footstone is extant and has the distinctive Lamson fig in the tympanum, together with Thomas' name and rank (Fig. 2).
3. The 1709 Lt. John Hammond and the 1711 Mrs. Prudence Hammond stones in Watertown cost the estate £0.21.0 and £0.13.0 respectively, paid to Joseph Lamson.[13] Both of these stones still stand and can be used to identify Joseph's style of carving.
4. The 1718 stone for Richard Kaets, Concord, cost £2.12.0, which was paid to Joseph Lamson for "gravestones and carting."[14]

While there are other references to payments to "Mr. Lamson" in Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex County Probate Records of a date consistent with Joseph's time, some refer to the work of his sons and can be separated out only by the lettering or style. The stones mentioned above, however, enable us to identify the style and lettering of Joseph. There is a continuity of style between the father and his sons so that when the son's stones are identified, the father's stones can be identified as well. Additional evidence will be noted later in this essay as we study stones made for Lamson family members by carvers within the family. There are no known stones signed or initialed by Joseph, although there are initialed stones by his sons Nathaniel and Caleb.

Fig. 2 Thomas Pratt, 1709, Charlestown

OTHER CONTEMPORARY CARVERS

Other early carvers may well have learned their craft from the Old Stonecutter. Forbes states that Thomas Welch was paid for carting stones of the Old Stonecutter to the grave and that he was an apprentice to him in 1672. Thomas Welch and Joseph Whittemore both were early carvers, and are noted in the probate records as stonecutters, but little is known of their work.[15] Both lived in Malden near Lamson and were his neighbors. What little evidence there is suggests that these three were associated and worked from the same shop. All three carvers were related by marriage to some degree, and, as noted earlier, Lamson later married Welch's widow.

William Mumford, the best of Joseph Lamson's contemporaries and the one most apt to be confused with him, used a deeply carved side border of fruit like Lamson's but rarely featured eyebrows on his skulls. The oval-eyed skulls of Mumford can usually be clearly differentiated from the eyebrowed skulls of Lamson. The stones of the other contemporary Boston carvers – Nathaniel Emmes, James Foster, W.C., W.G., James Gilchrist, and J.N. – are all unlike Lamson's in some elements of style and can usually be identified.

DISTRIBUTION OF STONES

The stones of the Boston carvers are much more frequent south of the Charles River, while Lamson's are mostly north of it, leading to the conclusion that there was a *de facto* geographical division of territory, probably caused in part by proximity and modes of transportation. However, both Boston and Lamson stones can be found north to the Maine coast and Nova Scotia and south to Charleston, South Carolina and the Barbados, almost certainly because of the relative ease of shipment to these sites by boat. The lack of quarries on Long Island and Cape Cod, together with the presence of established shipping trade routes, explains the large number of Lamson and Boston stones there. In addition, there are instances in which a family, after moving to a new area, would order a stone from the home-town "family carver" and have it shipped to the new location. Finally, in areas where there was no local carver; or on the coast where delivery by boat was relatively simple, gravestones were often imported from a distance. These factors aside, it is usually true that in the earliest days settlers in interior towns away from water transportation tended to buy their gravestones from a local carver: the diffi-

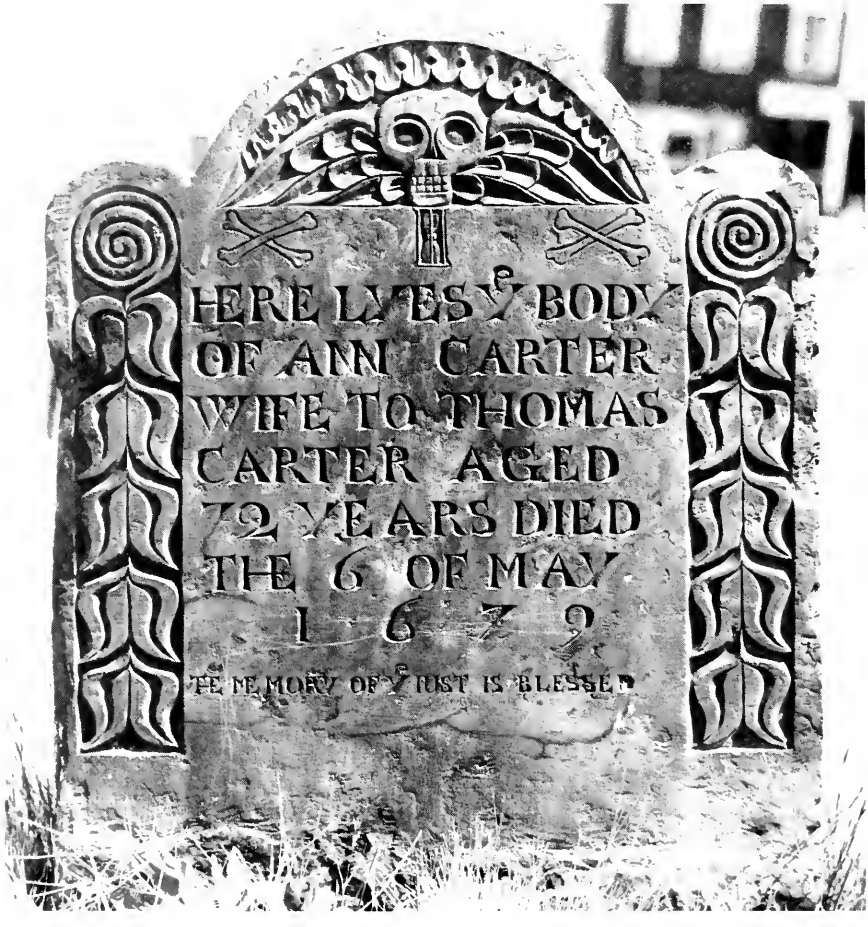


Fig. 3 Ann Carter, 1679, Charlestown

culty of transporting heavy gravestones in areas removed from water transportation is thus one reason there were so many early stonecutters in the inland rural areas.

TYPES OF JOSEPH LAMSON STONES

Downleaf Stones

The first style which can be definitely determined as that of Joseph Lamson I designate as "downleaf" stones (see Fig.3). The distinctive feature is that of side borders consisting of twin descending leaves roughly resembling bells or inverted tulip blossoms. This style was used from

about 1670 to 1714 and contains a winged, eyebrowed skull in the tympanum. While few have a frieze, as do his later stones, a number feature crossbones, Latin phrases, or an hourglass between the tympanum and the inscription. Few of these stones have the inscription framed as do his later stones. The finials are usually spirals, although Lamson on occasion placed a carved face there. More will be said about the style development of these faces shortly in connection with the imp stones.

In none of his downleaf stones did Lamson use the fancy numeral one with coils at its base, as did the Old Stonecutter, and all the lettering is in upper-case. We know that both Welch and Lamson carved downleaf stones. The probated 1705 Samuel Fletcher stone by Lamson in Chelmsford is an example of the style, as is the probated 1697 Mary Rogers stone by Welch in Billerica. These two stones are nearly identical and lend credence to the theory that Lamson and Welch worked together. The downleaf stones are rather small and plain and represent a routine product. Over one hundred downleaf stones have been studied, and more could probably be located. Many are dated after Welch's death in 1703, establishing the fact that Lamson was the chief carver of this style. There are twenty-four downleaf stones with distinctive Lamson drapery in the tympanum, and ten stones with the Lamson style face in the finial, which also point to Joseph's authorship.

Two early stones (Joseph's wife Elizabeth Lamson, 1703, Malden; and daughter Elizabeth Lamson, 1707 Malden) of this simple downleaf variety have winged skulls, disk finials, no inscription frames, and, surprisingly, no eyebrows, a feature characteristic of Joseph's other work. The characteristics of downleaf stones are listed in Appendix 1.

Imp Stones

More elaborate designs were developed as Lamson's skill improved. A second style – the imp stones – dates from 1671-1712, although they were actually carved in the years 1683-1712, for there are two significant time gaps when no such stones were made. The first gap is between the first two stones, which are dated 1671 and 1683. As these two stones are nearly identical, it is probable that the 1671 stone is backdated and was cut in the early 1680s. The second gap is from 1694 to 1701. I theorize that the two stones dated 1691 and 1692, which have large imps in their finials, were felt to be too graphic at the time of the witchcraft craze in 1692, and that Lamson ceased using imps until 1701, well after the witch

trials, when he resumed their use. The two 1694 stones may be backdated markers that were actually carved in the early 1700s.

These stones are some of Lamson's best work. Of the forty-one known imp stones, about twenty-five are undoubtedly his, and most of the others are presumably his with help in the inscription area from his sons. The 1706 Marcy Bucknam stone in Malden is a poorly carved version of the imp stones which I would attribute to either Nathaniel or Caleb, who were just starting out on their own and had not yet acheived a high degree of skill. Other possible exceptions are the stone for Elder John Stone, 1683, Cambridge, which has the Latin " Memento Te Esse Mortalem " cut above the inscription, a feature typical of the Old Stonecutter, as well as three other nearly identical early stones. These are probably joint productions of the Old Stonecutter and Lamson when he was an apprentice. They have coil leaf sides and are not as well cut as the

Fig. 4 Jonathan Pierpont, 1709, Wakefield

later imp stones which are easily identified as Joseph's work. No other carvers attempted such work.

Among the imp stones are five with Nathaniel's initials " NL " cut into them, usually in the tympanum. Some attribute these stones to Nathaniel,[16] but I am of the opinion that while he probably cut the lettering on these stones, he didn't have enough skill to have carved the entire stone. In this connection, one should note that after 1712, when the sons took over the business, there are no more such figures, faces, or imps to be found. When Joseph ceased working, the quality of the carving on the Lamson stones dropped for several years until the sons' skills gradually improved.

The imps are nude figures engaged in death or burial activity. There are twenty-six stones with imps carrying palls (see Fig. 4). This is the earliest type of imp and is the only one to be used beyond 1706. There are also six stones with imps carrying or lowering coffins (see Fig. 5): these are restricted to the 1689-1705 time period. Other imp stones show the figures supporting hourglasses or carrying darts of death. Contrary to

Fig. 5 William Dickson, 1692, Cambridge

Fig. 6 Zechariah Long, 1688, Charlestown

initial impressions, the imps, although small on the stones, are life-size when measured against the coffins and palls. Two "headpunchers" are an exception, as they are "tiny" on top of the skulls where they are found (see Fig. 6). None of the imps carry bows, although they do have arrows, or more properly, darts of death. They are not chubby, and do not resemble the putti or cherubs of classical art. Forbes calls them "little

men"who "help the soul on its way to paradise."[17] She also refers to the "darts of death." Allan Ludwig employs a variety of terms – "evil demons armed with arrows of death," "imps of the underworld," "imps of death," "darts of death," and "demons of New England symbolism."[18] Dickran and Ann Tashjian use "messengers of death ," and "man in his nakedness,"[19] while Emily Wasserman prefers the descriptive "tiny evil demons armed with death's darts."[20] As for these darts or arrows that some of the imps carry, the sermons of the day often refer to "darts of death" which were a constant threat and reminder to the living.[21] There are references to such imps in the testimony of the witchcraft case of Elizabeth Morse in Newbury in 1681, where one witness states that she "saw the imp o' God into said Morss howse."[22]

The imps are usually found in a frieze below the tympanum and above the inscription, although two stones have them in the tympanum itself and another two have them in the finials. Two-thirds of the imps are wingless and are usually those that are carrying a pall, while other imps are winged. I can discover no clue as to why some are winged and some are not. The two "headpuncher" stones with imps in the tympanum are early imp stones – the 1686 Elias Row and 1688 Zechariah Long (Fig. 6) stones – both of which are in Charlestown. These two stones are nearly identical, and each has two winged imps standing upon the skull poking it with darts of death. The tympanum is draped with the Lamson drapery, and the finials contain the spiral or coil found on most of the downleaf stones. The inscriptions are framed, and the sides have typical Lamson lush fruit borders. Apparently these stones were a bit grim even for those days, and Lamson never again used the same configuration of headpunching imps.

Lamson later tried placing large, wingless imps in the finials. This may be seen on two stones, those for Deacon John Stone of Watertown, 1691, and William Dickson of Cambridge, 1692 (Fig. 5). On the Watertown stone, one of the finial imps holds an imp hourglass and dart of death, the other a scythe and dart of death. Each stands in a finial facing the other. On the Cambridge stone, each imp holds an hourglass and a dart of death, while in the frieze there are two pairs of small winged imps carrying coffins. The odd hairdos on these large finial imps have sometimes been seen as Indian hairdos, and the darts of death in their hands as arrows, leading to speculation that the figures are Indians rather than death imps. In this connection, I find it significant that these

two stones were carved just before the time of the Salem witchcraft affair and that Lamson never again used large imps in the finial. Only after a hiatus of eight years did he resume carving imps, and then with an outburst of twenty-seven more stones featuring this motif.

The later imp stones all contain the imps within the frieze where, because of their smaller size, they appear less threatening. Their activity is nonetheless pronouncedly grim as they carry coffins or palls or support a centrally placed hourglass. These stones are all well carved, with most having richly carved side borders containing vines, pomegranates, gourds, pumpkins, and other fruit. Vines and gourds in the tympanum are also to be found. Most of the stones have distinctive Lamson-style drapery above the skull and use his typical skull shape. They also feature framed inscriptions, bottom borders and finely carved faces in the finials. These details make it possible to be certain of the carver.

Six of the forty-one stones present epitaphs below the inscription, while another six employ the Biblical quotation " THE MEMORY OF THE JUST IS BLESSED." This quotation is also found on his stones of other styles and is a clue to the carver's identity.

Three imp stones, all dated 1709, are of special significance – those of the Rev. Jonathan Pierpont, Wakefield ; Mary and Hannah Shutt, Copp's Hill, Boston; and Pyam and Elizabeth Blower, Cambridge. On these stones the faces which Lamson placed in the finials were given upper torsos. These are more fully described under the heading of "Finials" below. A listing of impstone characteristics may be found in appendix 2.

Regular Style Stones

The stones of Joseph Lamson most commonly found are similar to the downleaf variety except that the carving is much more fully developed and elaborate. They have Lamson's typical death's-head, and a leaf-like drapery unlike that of any other carver often adorns the top border of the tympanum. The space between the tympanum and the inscription is bordered and becomes a formal frieze. The Latin phrases MEMENTO MORI and HORA FUGIT and a centrally placed hourglass are usually found in the frieze, together with various items associated with death. The downleaf sides are replaced with well-carved fruit borders of pumpkins, pomegranates, and other fruits. Inscriptions are framed, and the overall stone is deeply carved and rich in appearance (see Fig. 7).

Fig. 7 Robert Knowles, 1703, Charlestown

Other Stones

There are several early stones dating from 1684 to 1689 that, while they have some Lamson traits, also display elements which indicate a hand other than his. These are stones obviously made by a carver lacking the skill displayed by Joseph at the dates involved. On fifteen stones of this type that I have studied, the skulls resemble upside-down pears, having narrower chins than usual and brows that drop down to form the

nose, which contains a triangle. The lettering is upper-case and the carving simple. Four of these stones have "downleaf" sides similar to Joseph's earlier work, three feature Lamson-type drapery above the skull, and one has a face finial typical of his shop. The stones are too early to be the work of his sons, and certainly too crude to be that of Joseph himself. My feeling is that, as both Thomas Welch and Joseph Whittemore are known to be stonecutters as well as close associates and neighbors, these stones should probably be attributed to one of them.

DESCRIPTION OF JOSEPH LAMSON'S WORK

Tympanum

A winged skull with eyebrows is found on the tympanum of nearly all of Joseph Lamson's stones. The eyes are round, sometimes just a bit oval, but not overly large. Eyebrows sometimes have hooks at their extremities on his earliest stones. A few of his skulls lack eyebrows, but they are the exception. The line of the eyebrows at the center usually continues downward to form a triangular nose.

The earliest stones have no carving between the skull's nose and teeth (see Fig. 3), but in time an arc is used in this location, giving the impression of an upper lip (see Fig. 4). (Later, about 1712, when the sons are carving, the arc evolves to become bracket-shaped and appears even more lip-like: see Fig. 8). Teeth are in two rows and evenly spaced. The chin, while squarish, usually has rounded corners. The wings spread to each side evenly, with each feather having a central stem. The wing feathers are not coined in layers as sometimes found in the work of the Old Stonecutter. In early Lamson stones the death's-head fills the tympanum, but soon other elements are added, the most distinctive being a form of leaf-like drapery bordering the top of the tympanum above the skull (see Fig. 3). The same type of drapery is also used at times to form a frame for the inscription (see Fig. 4). On a few occasions it is even used in the finial. This drapery becomes a distinctive Lamson hallmark and is used for several generations by the Lamson shop.

Vines and leaves sometimes replace the drapery in the tympanum above the death's-head (see Fig. 4). This appears to be a transition from death items to symbols of life. Another motif in the tympanum consists of a single oak or acanthus leaf suspended from the top center, with a daisy-like flower hanging down on either side above the skull (see Fig. 9).

Fig. 8 Joseph Lamson, 1722, Charlestown

Even at the earliest dates, the winged skull, or death's-head, is at times replaced by a winged face (or cherub), but this is rare. The face that Joseph commonly used in the finial is later moved to the tympanum and wings are added. While the cherub was used infrequently by Joseph, later Lamsons made greater use of this motif, until finally, in several variations, it becomes relatively common in their work. In the study of early New England gravestones, a most significant fact to emerge is the shift from a grim presentation of death symbols such as skulls to a more general use of lifelike cherubs.

The Old Stonecutter, William Mumford, and other early carvers also occasionally use a winged face on their stones. It was only after 1740, however, that the cherub became common. A variety of types of cherubs were developed, and several Lamson styles have been identified (see Fig. 10 A-H). This addition of winged faces or cherubs is indicative of the developing theological opinions arising during the Great Awakening of the 1740s. Philippe Aries, in discussing this shift, notes:

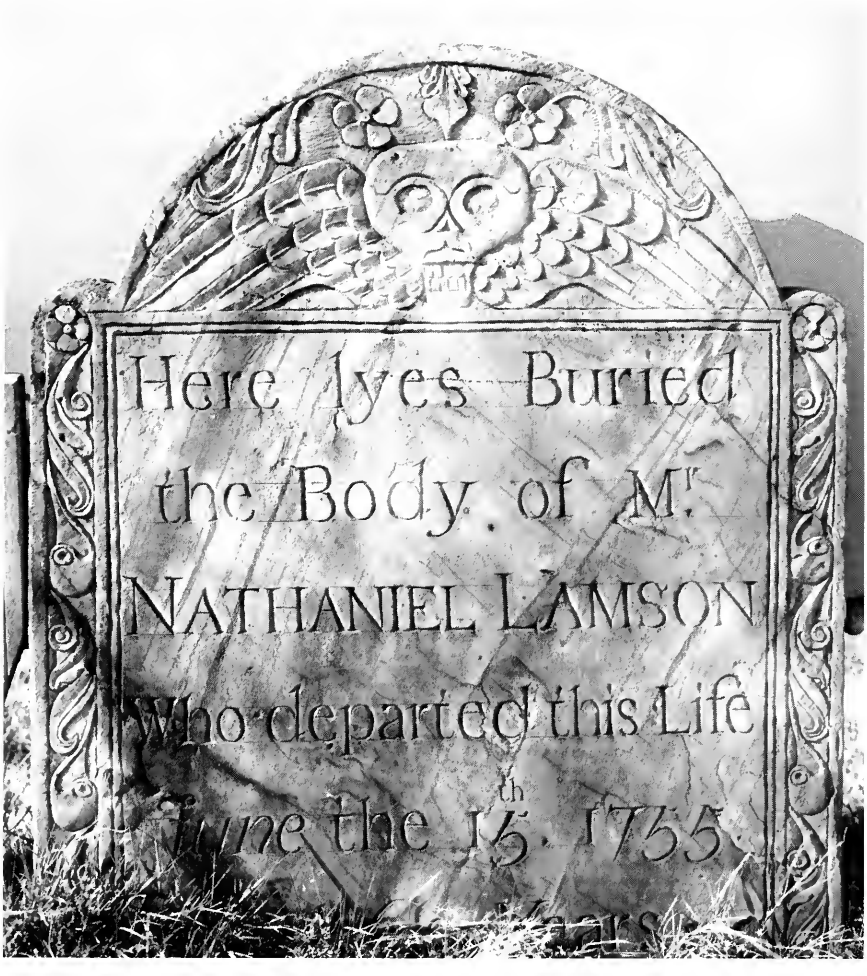


Fig. 9 Nathaniel Lamson, 1755, Charlestown

> In America it [the death's-head] has a flavor and intensity all its own: people had not forgotten that it represented the immortal soul. This explains why in eighteenth-century New England, where the meaning of death was changing and the Puritans were belatedly ceasing to cultivate the fear of death, the winged death's-head was transformed into a winged angel's head by an almost cinematic process in which the face gradually became fuller and gentler.[23]

There are also a few atypical stones, such as those with coats of arms, which can be identified as Joseph Lamson's work. These tend to be

stones for prominent persons and were made to order rather than being "stock" stones. The exceptional 1714/5 Mary Rous stone (Fig. 1) in Charlestown is an example of such work.

Frieze

The area between the tympanum and the inscription on the stones of most carvers is devoid of carving, with the exception of an occasional line of division. This is true of Lamson's typical earliest work, but by the 1670s he places crossbones and hourglasses in the area without any border, especially on downleaf stones. Later, a centrally placed hourglass (see Fig. 3) becomes standard in this area, and is one of the last death symbols to eventually disappear. Soon the Latin phrases "MEMENTO MORI" and "FUGIT HORA" are included in the frieze regularly, together with borders that provide a separation between the tympanum and inscription (see Fig. 7). The imp stones use this space for the imps, coffins, and palls (see Fig. 4), while on other types of stones shovels, picks, hourglasses and other death related items are used. After about 1712, when Joseph ceased carving, vines, leaves, figs, and often a central disk or flower are replacements for the more grim implements in the frieze. On the less elaborate stones there may be no frieze at all, regardless of the time period.

Inscription, Lettering, Frame

The lettering of the stones that Joseph Lamson himself carved and lettered is consistently good upper-case and has no idiosyncratic letters that enable one easily to identify his work. The Old Stonecutter, for example, used an odd numeral one with two scrolls at its base as well as an old-fashioned letter " T ". Other carvers often had some equally identifying telltale letters. Starting about 1709, however, some of Lamson's stones are cut with lower-case lettering, probably indicating that his sons, as they gained skill in carving, were given the task of lettering the stones. By 1717, when the sons had taken over the business, nearly all Lamson stones have upper- and lower-case letters; this at a time when few other carvers used lower case in the main inscriptions. It appears that Boston carvers did not usually use lower-case lettering until about 1760.[24] This makes the task of identifying these Lamson stones somewhat easier.

In a few cases on stones for the clergy, Latin is used, usually at some

length, the text having been supplied by neighboring clergy. While most early carvers used the thorn "ye," Joseph was one of the first to use "the" in its place consistently, another fact that allows us to differentiate the stones of some of the early carvers.

Generally gravestones were made ahead, and the purchaser would select one and then have the essential inscriptional data and sometimes an epitaph added. This task was generally given to an apprentice – in the case of the Lamson shop, to the sons. Such a case is found in the remarkable 1709 Rev. Jonathan Pierpont stone in Wakefield (Fig. 4). This is one of the finest stones of the period and was undoubtedly carved by Joseph Lamson. If one examines it closely, the initials "NL" will be seen hidden in the tympanum. As Nathaniel was still a teen-aged youth in 1709, it is probable that he was given the task of doing the lettering, which he executed in lower-case. This also gave him the opportunity and excuse to add his initials to the stone.

Because of this practice in the early shops of leaving the lettering to an apprentice (with the result that an otherwise well-carved stone may have some rather crude lettering), it is dangerous to lean too heavily upon the style of lettering to identify a carver in instances where there may have been apprentices. There are also known cases in which a merchant purchased from a carver some ornamented but unlettered stones which were later sold and lettered by a second carver.

Generally Joseph did not provide an epitaph, though when present it is usually found below the inscription: in a significant number of cases, however, the quotation from Proverbs 10:7, "The Memory of the Just is Blessed," is used and can be a clue to identifying some of his work.

Lamson was the first to use a frame around the inscription, something other carvers seldom did. Not only did he introduce this feature, he was imaginative in his variety. Some of his more elaborate frames use the drapery found in his tympanum. Others present degrees of elaboration varying in accordance with the richness of the carving of the border. The borders beneath the inscriptions have often sunk below ground and thus cannot be seen, but where they are visible they add a balancing touch to the overall design. Lamson also appears to have been the first to use bottom borders, a feature provided by few other carvers.

Finials

In the finials of some of the later downleaf stones, and in many of his

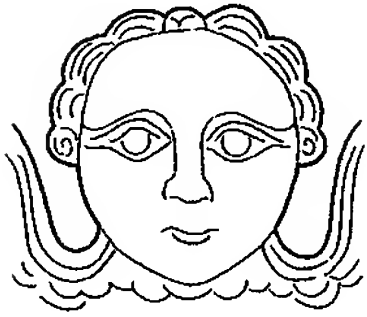
other stones, Joseph Lamson carved a face. The development of this feature is most interesting. The earliest faces (1680-1705) are rather crudely cut, with stringy hair and odd eyes that are shaped like fish (see Fig. 11-A). Some refer to these as "soul effigies," as they are not very lifelike and may have been placed on the stone to ameliorate the stark skulls in the tympanum and indicate evidence of the soul's presence even in the face of death. To me, however, they appear simply as poorly carved faces which I call "fish-eye faces." Surprisingly, four of these faces have moustaches (see Fig. 11-B), a rather unspiritual aspect, leading me to the conclusion that indeed these faces *are* intended to represent human faces. By 1700, the workmanship improves and the faces approach a more realistic appearance. In the period 1704 -1713, the face has either a masculine appearance with carefully groomed shoulder-length hair and well shaped eyes (see Fig. 11-C), or is feminine, with the hair pulled back (see Fig. 11-D). The faces of these two types are on many of the stones of this period. There is little effort to individualize them, although as early as 1704 the finial face on the Rev. Thomas Clark stone in Chelmsford was given clerical tabs placed under the chin to indicate his occupation.

In a further development in 1709, the Pierpont stone has in each finial a torso added to the head, showing the figure of the clergyman gowned, with preaching tabs, and holding a bible (Fig. 4). That same year, a similar stone was made for Captain and Mrs. Blower of Cambridge, with busts of a male figure on one finial and a female figure on the other, each dressed appropriately, their hands folded in prayer. Also from the same year, Mary and Hannah Shutt's double stone in Boston's Copp's Hill Burial Ground has a female bust or half figure in each finial. Copp's Hill also contains the 1709 John Russell stone, which, although badly broken, presents a waist-up figure with hands in prayer.[25] These personalized figures show that by this time, if not earlier, the representations are human and not soul effigies. The last of these faces appear in 1713, and these stones mark the end of Joseph's carving. His sons' carving abilities by this time, while improving, were not good enough to produce any faces.

While faces are often found in Joseph's finials, he also generally employed a variety of other devices in this space, usually geometric or floral. As mentioned earlier, most of the downleaf stones have a spiral or face in the finial. Flower blossoms, curved leaf shapes, differing types of disks, and round geometric shapes are found in abundance on his standard work.

1734 Tabitha Morse
Cambridge

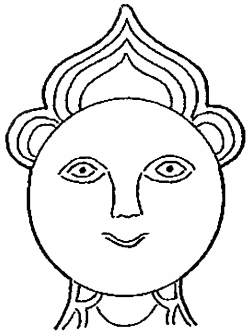
1756 Ephraim Jones
Concord



1771 David Jones
Newburyport

1772 William Johnson
West Newbury

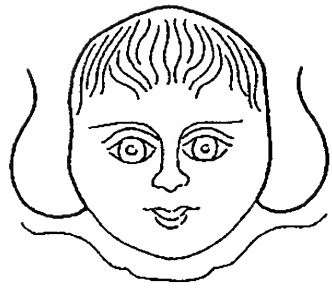
1773 Hannah Sheafe
Portsmouth, NH



1780 Timothy Farnum
North Andover

Fig. 10A-H Cherubs found on Lamson stones

1791 Sarah Gardner
Salem

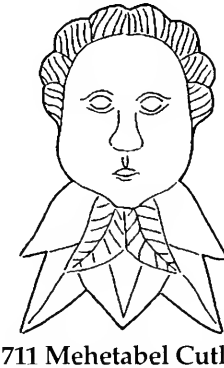


1794 Katherine Moore
Charlestown

1702 Mabel Jenner
Charlestown

1702/3 Peter & Mary Tufts
Malden

1709/10 William Wyer
Charlestown



1711 Mehetabel Cutler
Charlestown

Fig. 11A-D Finial faces found on Lamson stones

Side Borders

As a frame heightens the appearance of a painting, so a rich border enhances the design of a gravestone. Joseph Lamson's earliest stones, devoid of inscription frames, finial decorations, and side borders, are rather plain. The downleaf stones, having side borders, are more attractive, and his imp stones with their deeply carved fruit side borders stand out, as the depth of the carving adds a richness, casting shadows as the light of the day moves from one side to the other. Generally, the side borders will vary in detail and depth in accordance with the other aspects of the carving, the more elaborate stones having richer borders. As time went on, however, the deeply carved fruit borders, which require a great deal of work, were replaced by later generations with simpler leaf designs. This may be seen with the second generation of the Lamson family, and even more markedly in later generations, to the point where borders are no longer used at all. It may be that the early stonecutters took more pride in their work, or merely that later generations had to produce so many more stones that carving borders became impractical.

Joseph's "downleaf " sides are easily recognized. Aside from Thomas Welch and perhaps Joseph Whittemore, who probably worked with him, no other carvers used these sides in such quantity. Lamson-type lush fruit sides, however, are also found on the well-carved stones of William Mumford especially, and to a degree on the stones of the other Boston carvers as well. A border of gourds and leaves less ornate than Joseph's fruit border is found in the period 1708-1721 (see Fig. 12). This border of the Lamson shop can usually be identified easily, as the gourds often resemble christmas stockings. A circular leaf border (see Fig. 8) is common on the stones made by the Lamson family, as well as by most other early carvers, and can be found on nearly all of the Boston carvers' stones, even the earliest ones. A fig motif appears early and is used in borders by the Lamson sons, but probably not often by Joseph. The fig continues to be used by the family for another sixty years.

Strawberry Vine

An interesting design of the 1697-1717 period is a crudely carved strawberry vine, which has been found on twenty-six Lamson stones (see Fig. 13). While one would not expect to attribute this crude work to a master carver, these carvings are not found after Joseph's death in the mature work of his sons. The answer seems to be that this is probably the

Fig. 12 Mary Reed, 1712/3, Marblehead

early work of Nathaniel or Caleb, and that as they became more proficient they discarded the berry motif. There are, however, a few with such early dates that the stones are either backdated (which is probable) or carved by Welch or Whittemore. This carving is usually found on the bottom border (seventeen times), where more casual patterns are generally found, as well as in the frieze (eight times), in the tympanum (three times), and in the side borders (once).

Footstones

Gravestones were made in pairs, with the headstone usually bearing

Fig. 13 Mary Barrett, 1713, Concord

the decorative pattern and inscription and the smaller footstone bearing simply the name or initials, date, and sometimes simple carving. From the early 1700s, we often find a pair of fig-like devices on a background of vertical lines in the tympanum of the footstones of the Lamson shop (see Fig. 2). This unique device on their footstones continues in use well into the 1780s, and is a hallmark of the family. While the footstone is usually the same type (i.e., material) of stone as the headstone, this is not always the case. Instances have been found, for example, where a brown sandstone footstone is used with a slate headstone.

SECOND GENERATION

Two of Joseph Lamson's five sons are known to have become carvers, Nathaniel (1692-1755) and Caleb (1697-1760). A third son, William, born October 25, 1694, may as a young man have worked in his father's shop, but we have no evidence for this. In 1717, William removed to Stratford, Connecticut, where he married and spent the rest of his life active in the community there. While there is no evidence that he was a carver, it is probable that his son, William, Jr., at a later date may well have been. This will be discussed later in relation to the Lamson stones in Connecticut and New York.

Nathaniel Lamson

Nathaniel was born at Malden, Massachusetts in 1692 and married Dorothy Mousal, his step-mother's daughter, January 13, 1722/3, at Medford, Massachusetts. He lived in Charlestown, where all his children were born. He died June 7, 1755, and his stone is in the Phipps Street Burial Ground, Charlestown (Fig. 9). There are forty-eight stones probated to him from 1713 to 1755, and probate records that document Nathaniel as having been paid for stones in the 1713-1715 period indicate that Joseph had turned over most of the work to his son by this time. Fortunately, there are several stones which Nathaniel initialed (see Table 1): these usually are stones which he made at an early age.

While Joseph had always used upper-case lettering on his work, about 1709 lower-case lettering begins to be found on Lamson stones. Though the ornamental carving on these initialed stones is too refined to be the work of the teenage Nathaniel, it appears that this lower-case let-

TABLE 1
Initialed "NL" Stones

	*=imp stone		
1707	*Samuel Blanchard	Andover, MA	
1709	*Pyam & Elizabeth Blower	Cambridge, MA	
1709	*Rev.Jonathan Pierpont	Wakefield, MA	(Fig. 4)
1709	*Hannah & Mary Shutt	Boston, Copp's Hill, MA	
1710	*Mercy Oliver	Cambridge, MA	
1714/5	Mary Rous	Charlestown, MA	(Fig. 1)
1716	Ephraim Beach	Stratford, CT	
1716	Thomas Sewell	Cambridge, MA	

tering represents the work of the son. The five imp stones mentioned above are of this category, as is the superb stone for Mary Rous (Fig. 1). By 1717, when the sons had taken over the business, all the stones have lower-case lettering and none are inscribed with all upper-case letters.

"Continuous Brow" Stones

There are sixteen stones dating from 1703 to 1707 which are similar to the usual Lamson stones except that the eyebrows in these stones form a continuous line above the nose which does not descend to connect with it. The stones are all lettered in upper-case. Seven have downleaf sides, three have framed inscriptions, and two have drapery above the skull – all Lamson traits. On the other hand, the skulls on these stones usually have narrow jaws, four exhibit crude lettering, four have an oversized numeral three and/or five, and five use a numeral one having two coils at the base – all non-Lamson traits. As Welch was dead by this time, I attribute the stones to either Whittemore or young Nathaniel.

"Big 5" stones

These stones all have distinctive large numerals five and/or three with large loops. Of the eleven stones studied (four are of the " Continuous Brow " variety), five have Lamson drapery, four have Lamson finial faces, three have "downleaf" sides, and one has a framed inscription. On the other hand, six have the unusual numeral one with coils at the base, nine use carets between some words, five have slightly indented skulls, and three have abstract side borders unlike the work of Joseph Lamson. As the eleven stones date from 1703 to 1707, it would appear that Nathaniel Lamson or Joseph Whittemore was the carver – perhaps both.

"Abstract Side" Stones

Forty stones dating from 1708 to 1713, as well as the nine "browless" stones (see next heading), have side borders with fruit or leaf elements which are more abstract than lifelike. Other than this they are much like the usual Lamson stones. Fourteen have drapery, eleven have frames, ten have a frieze, nine have finial faces, and four have winged faces or "cherubs" instead of winged skulls – all Lamson traits. Half of the stones are all upper-case, and the rest are lower-case, which sometimes includes an old style letter "T" that resembles a curved upper-case letter "E," as well as an unusual lower-case letter "F" with a dot or small trian-

gle on it's left side three-quarters of the way up. It was in this time period that Joseph was slowing down in his production of stones and that the two sons were beginning to be paid for their stones, indicating that they were taking over the business. At such a time, some experimentation was to be expected. The shift from upper- to lower-case lettering by the Lamson brothers is significant, as the other contemporary carvers did not make this shift for an additional forty years. It is my opinion that Nathaniel Lamson is primarily responsible for these stones.

"Browless" Stones

While the basic hallmark of a Lamson stone is the presence of eyebrows, there are nine dating from 1705 to 1710 that are browless and yet have all the traits of a Lamson work, albeit some marks of a beginng carver. The use of a finial face and a framed inscription are found in this category. An interesting fact in regard to the lack of eyebrows is that Joseph Lamson's first wife's stone and a daughter's stone are in this style. I could locate less than twenty browless Lamson stones before 1715, and I would attribute the early stones of this type to Nathaniel Lamson.

Caleb Lamson

Caleb was born in Malden, Massachusetts, June 12, 1697, and married Dorothy Hancock, daughter of Samuel, November 24, 1720, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He lived in Malden and belonged to the church there. He was listed on the muster roll as sergeant in Captain John Codman's Company of Charlestown. He died February 9, 1760, at the age of 63, according to his gravestone in Charlestown. Caleb's inventory[26] clearly shows his occupation to be stonecutter, as not only carver's tools, but also gravestones are listed.

Caleb's ten initialed stones (see Table 2) range in date from 1713 to 1725. It is to be noted that these initialed stones were made when he was quite young and eager to be identified as a carver. The 1712/3 Mary Reed stone (Fig. 12) at Marblehead, with Caleb's initials carved below the skull's chin, is a stone with lower-case lettering and misspelled words. Eight other initialed stones are all rather plainly carved and of a simple design. He apparently did not add his initials to his father's stones as did his brother, probably because his father had ceased carving about the time Caleb was able to produce good work. Most likely his stones were typical of his work at that time, adding to the evidence that

TABLE 2
Initialed "C L" Stones

1712/3	Mary Reed	Marblehead, MA	(Fig. 12)
1716/7	Joseph Grimes "M by Caleb Lamson"	Stratford, CT	
1717	Prudence Turner	Marblehead, MA	
1717	John Mitchell	Malden, MA	
1719	John Rogers	Portsmouth, NH	
1720	Joseph Small	Portsmouth, NH	
1720	Benjamin Alcock	Portsmouth, NH	
1721	Richard & Lydia Webber	Portsmouth, NH	
1725	Margaret Gardner	Portsmouth, NH	
1766 [!]	William Grimes [palimsest]	Lexington, MA	(Fig. 15)

Joseph had turned over the business about 1712. We have probate references to fifty-two stones probated to Caleb from 1723 to 1767.

The 1766 William Grimes stone (Fig. 15) initialed by Caleb Lamson is a remarkable example of a "palimpsest" stone, a type of marker which has certain characteristics in common with but is in fact very different from a backdated stone. "Backdating" was especially practiced in the early days: for example, one finds a number of Lamson stones dated much earlier than 1712 that have figs carved in the side borders even though we know that the second generation Lamsons had only begun to use this fig motif about 1712, thereby showing that the stones were carved much later than the date on the face of the stone. Palimpsest stones, on the other hand, are stones that have had their inscription area carved out and then re-lettered at a subsequent date, thus producing an old style stone bearing at a later date. The Grimes stone, an obvious example of the Lamson style with the initials of Caleb Lamson, is dated six years after his death. The carving on the footstone in the style of the Park family gives us the evidence of the re-use of this stone by a second carver. If one examines the face of the stone carefully, it is possible to find traces of the original inscription.

Styles of 2nd Generation

About 1712-1713 one can see that there was a shift from the old styles to newer ones. Joseph apparently ceased carving as his two sons came of

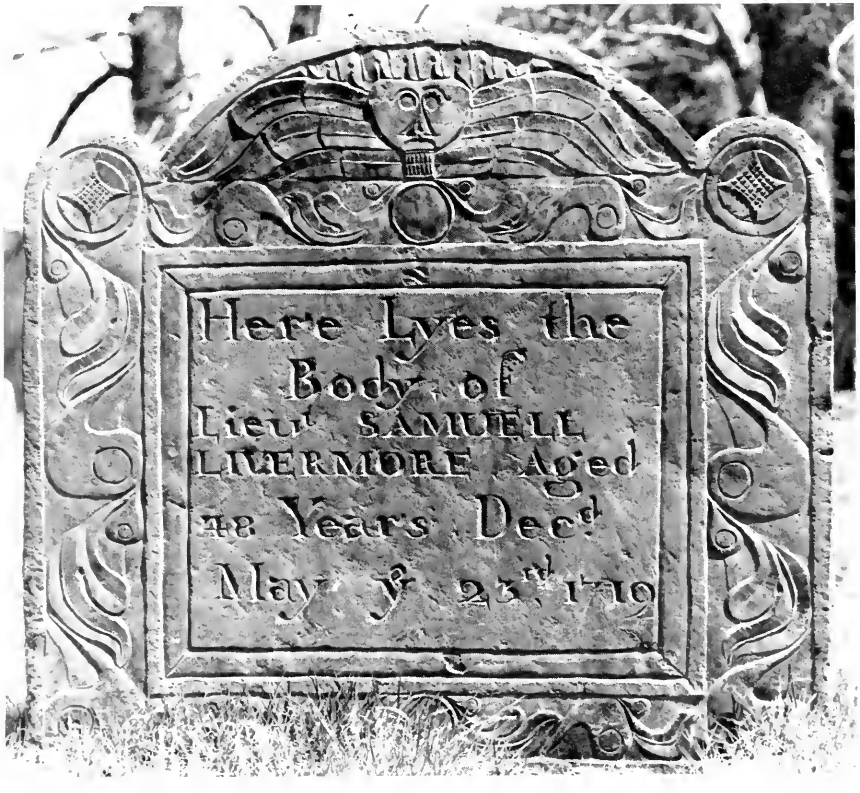


Fig. 14 Samuel Livermore, 1719, Watertown

age, and as the brothers became more proficient they developed unique styles different from those of their father. Unfortunately, the work of the brothers is so homogeneous that one cannot distinguish a stone of Nathaniel from one of Caleb except for the early 1712-1720 period when Caleb was beginning to carve and where we find some awkward carving and abominable spelling on Lamson stones which I attribute to him (see Figs. 12 and 14). The Lamsons of the second generation rarely used the downleaf design which their father had employed up to 1711, nor did they carve any imp stones, although Nathaniel did letter and add his initials to a few of them. The faces in the finials, which had shown a constant development from as early as 1687, cease to appear. The lush fruit side borders, too, abruptly cease. It may be that these elements were beyond the carving ability of the sons at this time. In any case, their absence indicates that the father is no longer at work. It is at this period

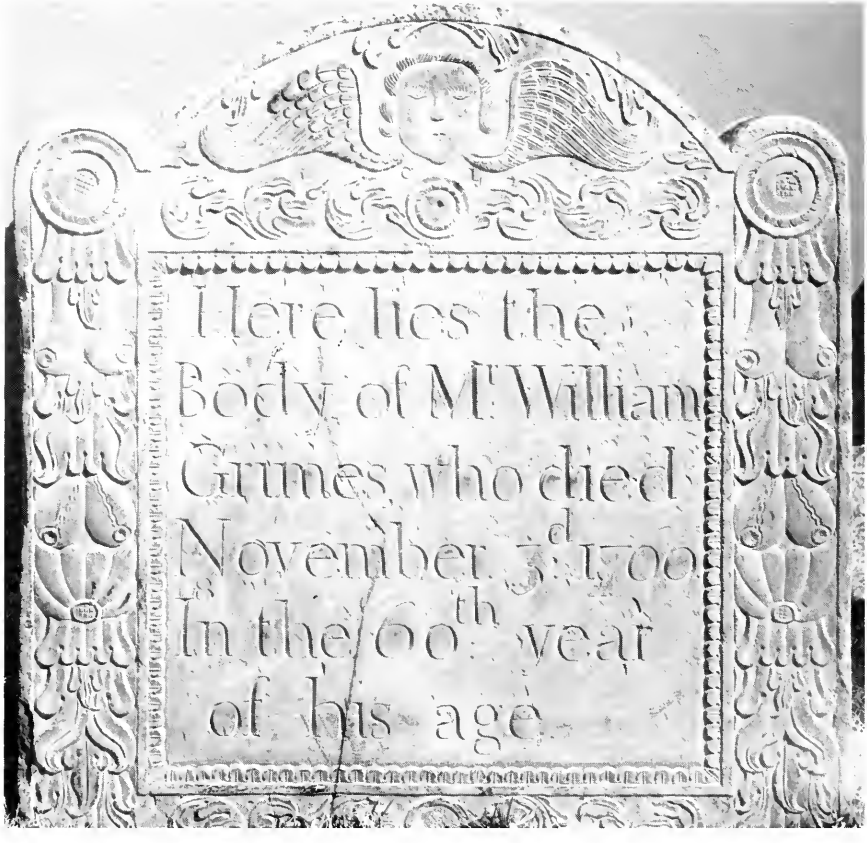


Fig. 15 William Grimes, 1766, Lexington

that "abstract" side borders appear, revealing a change of style perhaps also linked to a certain lack of skill. The side borders often become slimmer and simplified, and vines and leaves become narrower. Drapery is gradually used less frequently. By 1713, the Latin phrases "MEMENTO MORI" and "FUGIT HORA" are also less frequent. The hourglass, which was a stable central element in the frieze, is the last death symbol, aside from the skull, to be used, but by 1717 it too is replaced, usually by a central disk with leaves or vines. The simple lip mark which had been an arc becomes a bracket-shaped line, which is more realistic.

There is also a continuity in the Lamson work, however. The standard three-lobed stone with eyebrowed winged skull and framed inscription is still used, although it is increasingly less ornate. The drap-

Fig. 16 Samuel Brigham, 1713, Marlboro

ery which had been used since the 1680s in the tympanum is a frequent adornment up to the 1730s and continues, though to a lesser degree, until Caleb's death in 1760. A central disk together with vines, figs, or leaves, all above the skull or face in the tympanum, gradually replace the drapery. The winged eyebrowed skull continues dominant, but winged faces become more common after 1713. In the transitional period from 1713, when the sons took over, until 1722, when Joseph died, we find a few instances where both winged skull and winged face are present on the same stone, one above the other (see Fig. 16 and Table 3). The ambivalance in the religious thinking of the day is wonderfully apparent in such cases.

The crudely carved strawberry vines located in various places on the stones continue to be found at first, but they completely disappear by 1717.

Several new elements are introduced. The finials are now filled with a variety of circular disks, flowers, or rosettes, and faces no longer appear here. A fig which had been occasionally used previously appears frequently by 1713 – and is omnipresent by 1720 – in the sides (see Fig.

TABLE 3

Stones with death's-heads and cherubs

1712/3	Anna Cooper	Woburn, MA	
1713	Samuel Brigham	Marlborough, MA	(Fig. 16)
1714	Hannah Angier	Cambridge, MA	
1714	James Allen	West Tisbury, MA	
1721	Peter & Marcy Tufts	Medford, MA	

9), tympanum, frieze, bottom borders, and on the footstones. This also can be seen as a shift from death symbols to symbols of life, nature, and abundance. The fig design continues until the 1790s, well after the brothers' deaths, and it becomes a hallmark of the Lamson family and especially of the second generation stones. It is the fig footstone, as well as the drapery and eyebrowed skulls, which enables one to identify as Lamson stones a variety of later styles (see Fig. 2).

About 1715, the family began to use a new quarry which had a slate diagonally striped in colors of delicate blue, red and green. This slate is easily identified and is used by the family for many years along with the usual gray variety. On other occasions, one finds a light brown sandstone used by the second and later generations of the family. These stones are usually small in size. The 1776 Anthony Gwyn markers in Newburyport (Fig. 17) are a grey slate headstone and a light brown sandstone footstone with Gwyn's name carved on it. Apparently any small stone was good enough for a footstone. These two stones are now replaced with reproductions in the burial ground of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, and the original stones are at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a protective practice which should be increasingly followed before the best stones become victims of rampant vandalism or other factors. Cherub stones of later generations are often found on this light brown sandstone. The source of this sandstone is unknown at present, but it may have come from Connecticut, where Nathaniel and Caleb's brother, William, lived. William probably acted as agent for the sale of slate Lamson stones made in Charlestown, Massachusetts in the Stratford, Connecticut area and along the nearby coastal areas, where there are many such stones. If this is the case, one might expect that he may in turn have occasionally shipped Connecticut sandstone to Boston for use there.

Lower-case lettering is used regularly after 1717, and is excellently

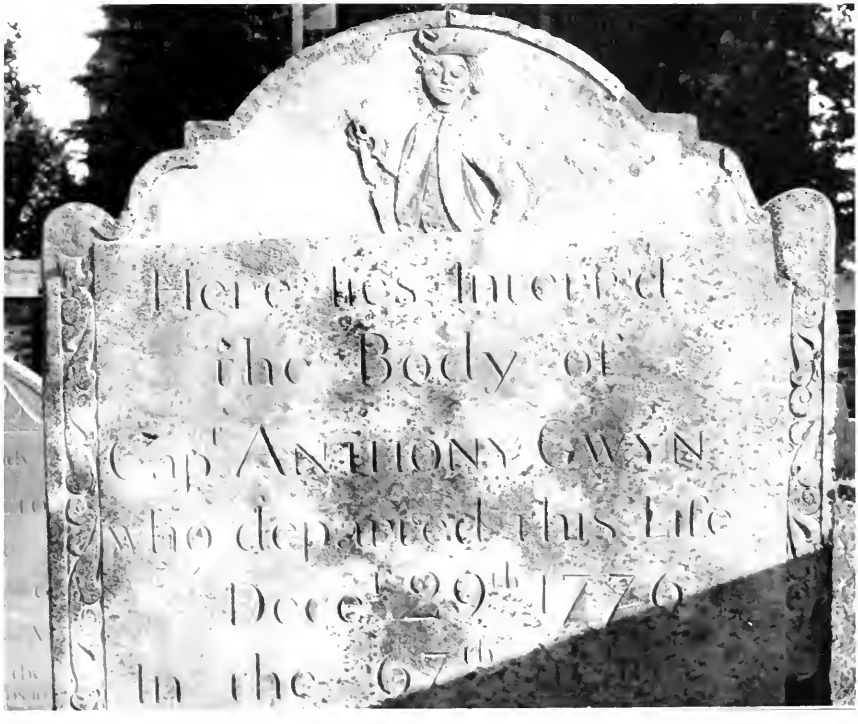


Fig. 17 Anthony Gwyn, 1776, Newburyport, St. Paul's

carved with justified margins and few instances of letters squeezed in. The Lamson brothers used no letters of unusual style which would allow us to use lettering as a clue to their work. One can only suggest that the presence of unusual letter shapes at this time indicates a non-Lamson carver. The two brothers were the earliest carvers to introduce and use lower case lettering consistently. The 1709 Pierpont stone (Fig. 4) in Wakefield is such an early example. While other carvers did use lower-case occasionally for epitaphs below the inscription, it is only about 1760 that the Boston carvers used lower case in the inscription area. This fact can be used to separate and identify some of the carvers of the period. From 1730 to the 1770s there are some instances of the use of italics by the Lamsons, especially for the month and for "AD."

There are three stones with "CHARLESTOWN" carved at the base or on the footstone which are good examples of the Lamson style (see Table 4).

The development of the side border is steady. As mentioned earlier,

TABLE 4
Stones with "CHARLESTOWN" carved on them

1710/1	Capt. John Rainford "Made in Charlestown" on face	Bridgeton, Barbados
1721	Dr. John Burchstead "Charlestown 1721" on footstone	Lynn, MA
1721	Hon. John Burrill "Charlestown 1722" on footstone	Lynn, MA

the downleaf and the fruit borders are no longer used after 1713. Beginning about 1707, the Lamsons introduced a leaf and gourd border that is a simplified variety of the fruit border. The gourds are often sock-shaped at first, later becoming fuller and more oval. The leaves can be either rounded or pointed (see Fig. 13). By 1713, a leaf and fig or vine and fig border becomes dominant and is increasingly well-carved (see Fig. 14). On simple stones, a narrower leaf or vine border is used (see Fig. 18). Starting in 1721, and continuing for the next sixty years, borders become increasingly narrow and less impressive, finally being reduced to simple lines and then omitted altogether. The fig side borders continue only to about 1750, when Nathaniel and Caleb were ending their carving years.

In the tympanum, a suspended acanthus or oak leaf over the head with a daisy-like flower on either side may be found (see Fig. 9). This device appears about 1710 and is found frequently in the 1740 -1780 time period.

From 1722 to 1760 there were seven stones carved for members of the Lamson family which, while showing some variety, are essentially alike. All located in Charlestown, they include those for Joseph and his two carver sons, and are in each case clear cut, typical Lamson stones:

1722. Joseph Lamson the carver (Fig. 8) has an eyebrowed winged skull, draped tympanum, circle leaf sides, disk finials, framed inscription, and upper- and lower-case lettering. This is a typical second generation stone, as indicated by the lettering and by the fact that Joseph's sons were the only members of the family carving at the time.

1723. Elizabeth Lamson, daughter of Nathaniel, has an eyebrowed winged skull with leaves over the skull, fig and leaf border, disk finials, and no frame. The date, together with the figs, mark this as a second generation stone.

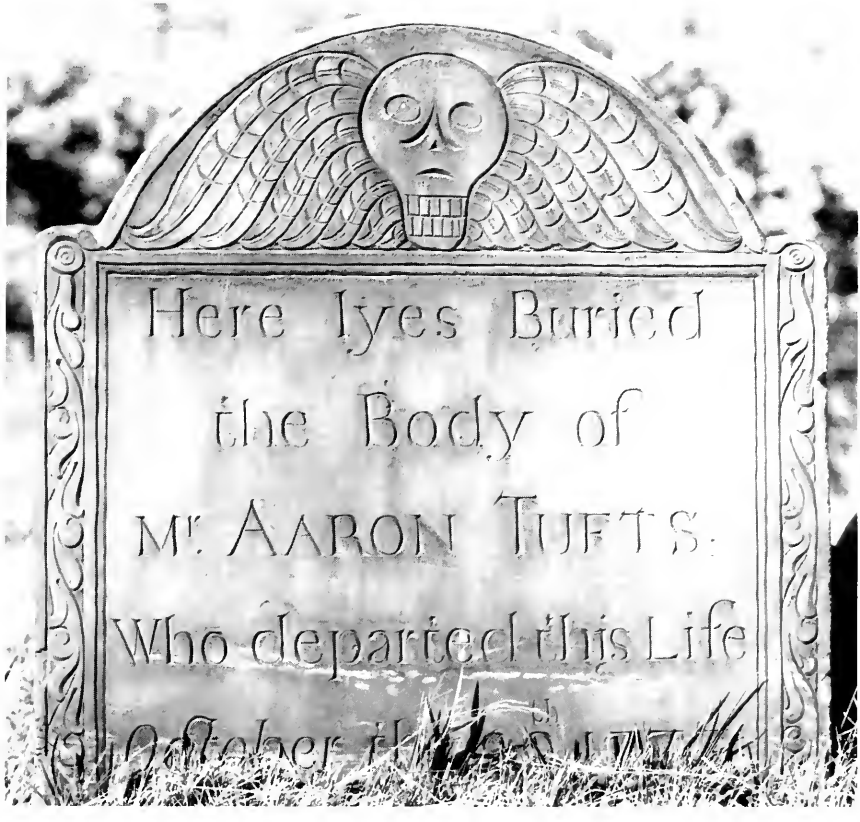


Fig. 18 Aaron Tufts, 1772, Charlestown

1724. Caleb Lamson, son of carver Caleb, has a draped, eyebrowed winged skull, framed inscription, and a fig and leaf border similar to the stone of Elizabeth.

1734. Hannah Lamson, daughter of carver Caleb, has an eyebrowed winged skull with leaves over it, a framed inscription, and leaf sides. The figs have been omitted.

1755. Nathaniel Lamson the carver (Fig. 9), has an eyebrowed winged skull with two flowers over the skull, a framed inscription, fig and leaf sides, and a flower finial.

1757. Caleb Lamson, a second son of carver Caleb, has a draped, eyebrowed winged skull, a framed inscription and fig and leaf sides.

1760. Caleb Lamson the carver has an eyebrowed winged skull with leaf and figs over, a framed inscription, and fig and leaf sides.

These seven stones are all typical of the stones of the second and third generations and add to the evidence documenting the authorship of the Lamson styles.

There are some excellently carved coats of arms in Charlestown and in Boston that may well have been produced by the brothers. These were placed at the entrances to underground tombs, and they illustrate a high degree of skill. One good example is the Jackson coat of arms in the Granary Burial Ground, Boston, which is probated to Nathaniel Lamson for £35, plus an additional £10 for other work. The Samuel Jackson estate was settled in 1757, two years after Nathaniel's death.[27]

Beginning in the 1730s, a marked shift in style is found in the death's-head as the skull loses it's eyebrows and the eyes become large and round. Such light-bulb shaped skulls (see Fig. 18) are found probated to nearly all of the carvers of the time and are nearly identical in all respects. Most Boston carvers used such a style, and it was not at first recognized that the Lamsons also did such work: however, the fig footstone associated with some of these headstones makes such attributions secure. This type of stone is generally referred to as a "generic" skull, whose authorship is uncertain unless there is some identifying clue such as probate records, peculiar lettering, or an associated footstone. Fortunately, these plain and routine stones are not the end of the line, for the Lamson family went on to develop some very interesting and significant stones in following generations.

THIRD GENERATION

Lamson stones dating from the 1740s to the 1780s represent the work of the end of the second generation, the third generation of carvers, and the beginning of the fourth.

Joseph Lamson, son of Nathaniel, was born in Charlestown on November 11, 1728. He married there Susanna Frothingham[28] on January 18, 1752/3, and in 1789 is listed in the census with daughter Elizabeth. He died April 25, 1789. In the division of his estate is listed a wharf on the Mystic River. He had the distinction of owning the site of the Battle of Bunker Hill. We know of twenty-seven stones of his which are found mentioned in the probate records, being dated from 1743 to 1774. There are an additional twenty-one stones mentioned that could have been made either by this Joseph or his son Joseph, these being dated from 1776 to 1788. As relatively few stones are ever noted in the records,

this number is sufficient to mark him as a productive carver.

John Lamson, the son of Caleb, was born at Charlestown on June 10, 1732 and married Frances Webb there on May 10, 1759. His gravestone stands in Woburn, where he died January 2, 1776. In probate records he is called "stonecutter,"[29] as are his sons Samuel and Caleb. The probate references to stones by John are few, there being ony nine, while another seven stones of the appropriate dates are noted to "Mr. Lamson," which could refer to either John or his cousin Joseph.

It is difficult to determine the difference between the second and third generation Lamson stones. Assuming that carvers could begin to carve at the age of fifteen, the third generation's work would start to appear about 1743 in the case of Joseph, the son of Nathaniel, and 1747 in the case of John, the son of Caleb. As one examines these stones, there are few new styles evident, and the lettering provides few clues that might enable one to differentiate the various members of the family. As Nathaniel died in 1755 and Caleb in 1760, there is an overlap of about eighteen years when four Lamsons were carving. This would be a period when payments may have been made to Nathaniel or Caleb even if the work was by their sons.

Surveying the evidence, I would surmise that Joseph of the third generation became a steady carver who passed the craft on to his son, Joseph. John, on the other hand, may have worked part time as a carver, probably being more active in his other documented role as a schoolmaster, despite the fact that he and his two sons Caleb and Samuel are mentioned in some records as "stonecutters." The styles of the third generation are largely those of their fathers. There was a general simplification in the carving, with narrower side panels, fewer finials, and less ornamentation.

One new style to emerge, however, was the "Gabriel" variety (see Fig. 19 and Appendix 3). These stones contain a bird-like winged head blowing a long horn and are found in the 1753-1791 period, indicating that at least some of them were carved by the fourth generation. The inscription "Arise ye dead" often emerges from the horn, and in one case is written in mirrored lettering. The attribution of these stones is based on the evidence that one can find the Lamson frond in the tympanum, and the fact that all have the numeral one that resembles the letter "J." This typical "1=J" is found in many of the fourth generation stones of the Lamson family, as well as in the work of other carvers. The lettering is

Fig. 19 Jonathan Poole, 1791, Wakefield

otherwise devoid of unique features.

In the 1760s and 1770s there was use of a cursive script and also of italics in the lettering. There seems to have been much experimentation in various forms of lettering, but all was in good taste and not like the work of other carvers who sometimes used a different font for each line of the inscription. A variety of cherub faces is found, as there were several members of the family carving simultaneously (see Figs. 10A-H).

FOURTH GENERATION

Joseph Lamson, son of Joseph of the third generation, was born in Charlestown February 3, 1760 and was married December 13, 1791 to Susanna Frothingham.[30] He was a corporal in the Massachusetts Continental Army and died in Charlestown September 25, 1808. He is listed as a "stonecutter" and owned land on the Mystic River on the canal. His inventory lists an estate worth $514.00. There are eight stones probated to him, with an additional twenty-one that were made either by him or his father.

Caleb Lamson, son of John, was baptized April 27, 1760 and married Joanna Rand on February 27, 1794. He died sometime after 1800.[31] I could only locate three probated references of stones for which he was paid, these being from 1791 to 1794.

Samuel Lamson, the son of John and brother of Caleb, was baptized March 7, 1773 at Charlestown. He married Sally Elliot on July 23, 1811, and died in 1818. He is listed as "a victualler and chaise maker" as well as a "stonecutter." I could not locate any probate records relating to Samuel.

Probate records credit a David Lamson with payment for the 1799 stone of Mary Farmer located in the Copp's Hill Burial Ground in Boston, but my search of the genealogical and other records leave the issue very much in doubt as to who precisely this David Lawson was.

Finally, there are at least eight probate references to "Mr" Lamson that could be for any of the above members of the family. As the estate payments were often made a year or two after the funeral, one should be guarded in attempting an exact chronology or attribution.

There are several new marker styles that begin to be seen as the fourth generation comes of age. The "figure" stones which appear from about 1770 to 1800 bring a completely new approach to the family repertoire of styles. The fig (see Fig. 2) continues to be a hallmark of the shop through the 1790s and is usually located in the side borders, especially on the footstones, where a balanced pair on a vertically lined background is often used together with the name, initial, and/or year. Inscription frames continue to be found on many stones, but are increasingly less ornate. Lower-case lettering is used and is excellently carved, with justified margins and with few instances of letters squeezed in. At times on the more elaborate stones, characters in italics are employed for the place, the month, and for "AD." Lettering is sometimes found in a cursive script (see Fig. 20), especially on the figure stones in the 1775-1790 period. Often in the 1790s one finds several kinds of lettering on the same stone. This tendency led some carvers to an almost vulgar attempt to display as many kinds of lettering as possible on a given stone. The Lamsons, fortunately, didn't go as far in this direction as did some others. The numeral one in this later period is carved to approximate the letter J, which falls below the line. This can be a clue to identifying Lamson stones, though other carvers also used a similar device.

Three-lobed stones continue to the 1800s, but square-shouldered

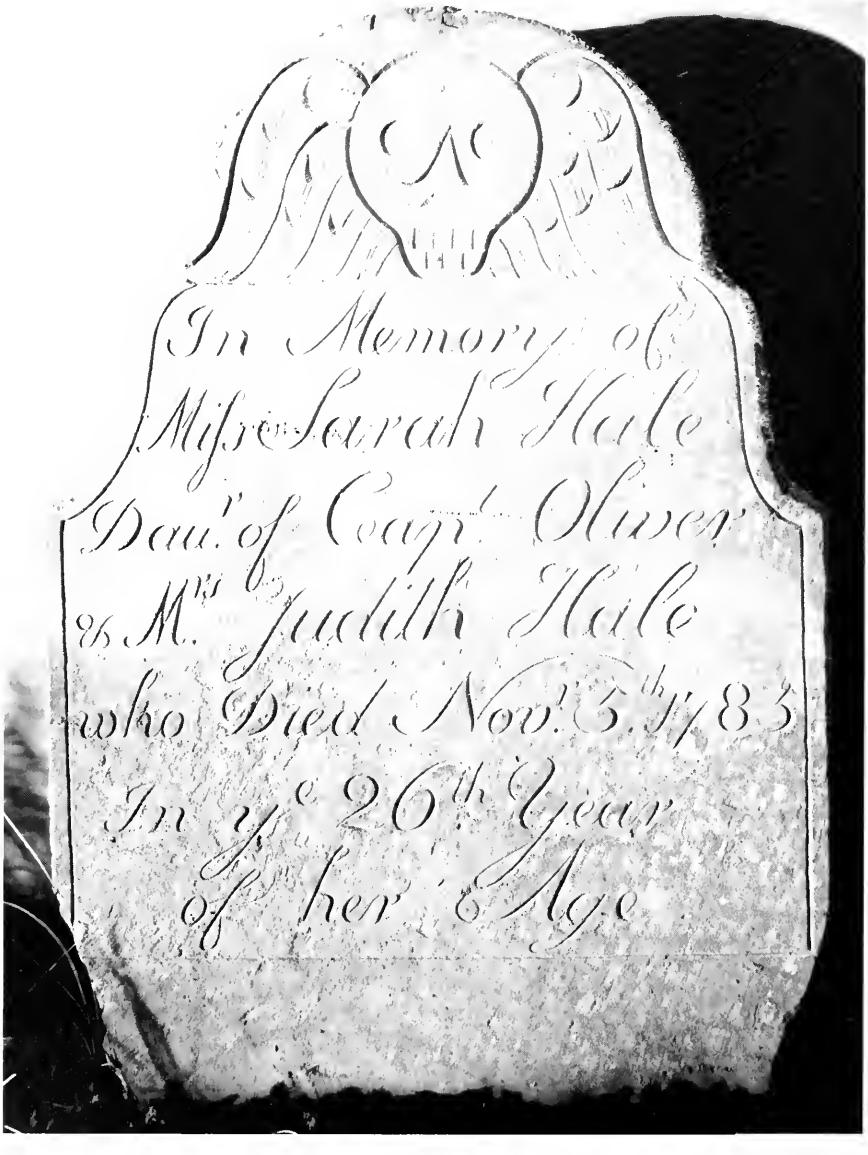


Fig. 20 Sarah Hale, 1785, Newburyport, Sawyer Hill

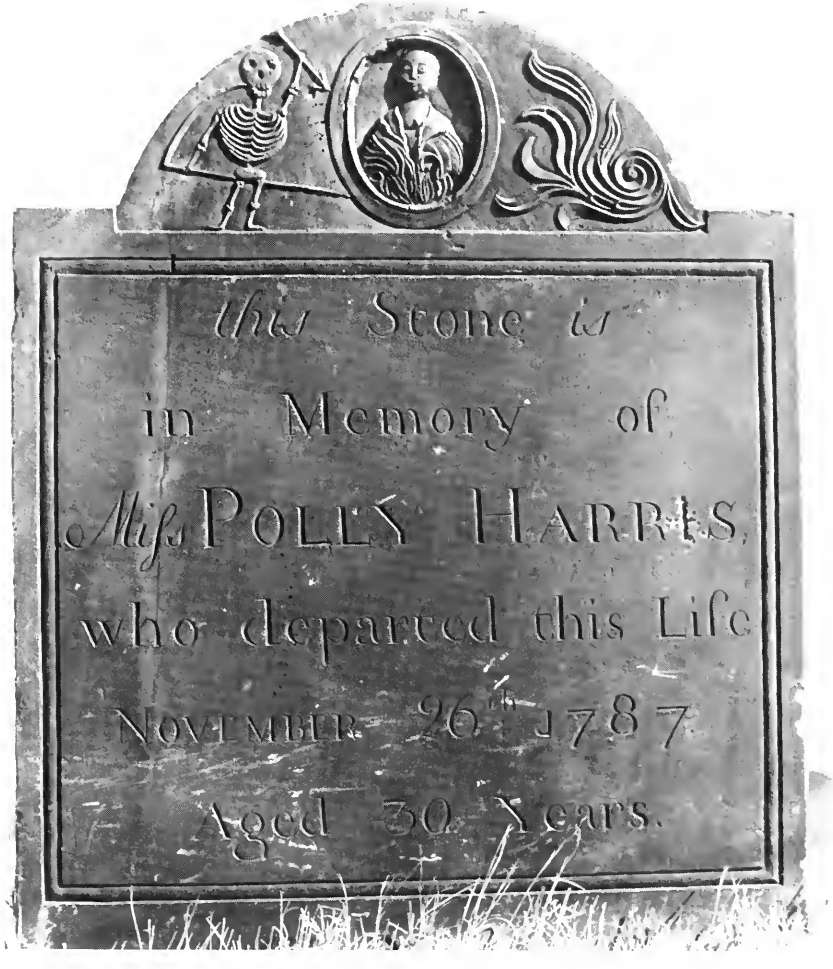


Fig. 21 Polly Harris, 1787, Charlestown

finials begin to appear by the 1770s and soon become dominant (see Fig. 21). A variety of reverse curves and odd shaped tympanums are also used in this period (see Fig. 20). There is on the part of all carvers of this period an effort to simplify designs, and with the coming of the fourth generation of Lamsons the movement accelerates. Side borders become slimmer and simplified, so that by 1780 plain ruled or lined sides are the norm. Still later, no side borders at all are used.

The cherub stones of the fourth generation of Lamsons have several different styles of winged faces, one of their most striking developments. From 1760-1780 a finely cut face with a pompadour hairdo and outlined wings is found (see Fig. 10-D). At first the hairdo and the wing outlines are left blank, but later lines are added to define the hair and the wing feathers. Often found on a light brown sandstone which the later Lamsons sometimes used, as well as on a black slate, this cherub is consistent in style. The long oval face is later shortened and becomes more round and rather acorn-shaped, but it is easily recognized as made by the same hand. Sometimes the wings are deliberately twisted a bit and, as the mouth is usually slightly crooked, I call this type "crooked mouth". While unlike any previous Lamson cherub, the fig footstone found with several of these stones identifies this type as a Lamson variety which can be easily recognized.

There is also a winged face referred to as "lowbrow," which is a round face with straight eyebrows (see Fig. 10-H). This is a type of stone generally attributed to Daniel Hastings (1749-1803) of Newton, but beginning in the 1790s we find them with unmistakeable lettering by Caleb Lamson or his brother Samuel. The connection of these carvers is not clear. The Lamsons may have borrowed the style from Hastings, or even have purchased stones from him, which they lettered. The subject has need of further study. Another winged face has a pointed hairlock (see Fig. 10-F). While none of these are initialed, a sufficient number have fig footstones so as to identify them as Lamson stones. With further study, the particular Lamson family member who carved each type may be discovered.

A significant development to appear late in the third generation and on to the fourth is the "figure" stone [see Appendix 3]. These are stones with full-length or waist-up figures usually carved on good slate. One type has a full-faced woman from waist up with arms folded in front (see Fig. 22). Of four such stones (1774-1784) known to the author, the earliest

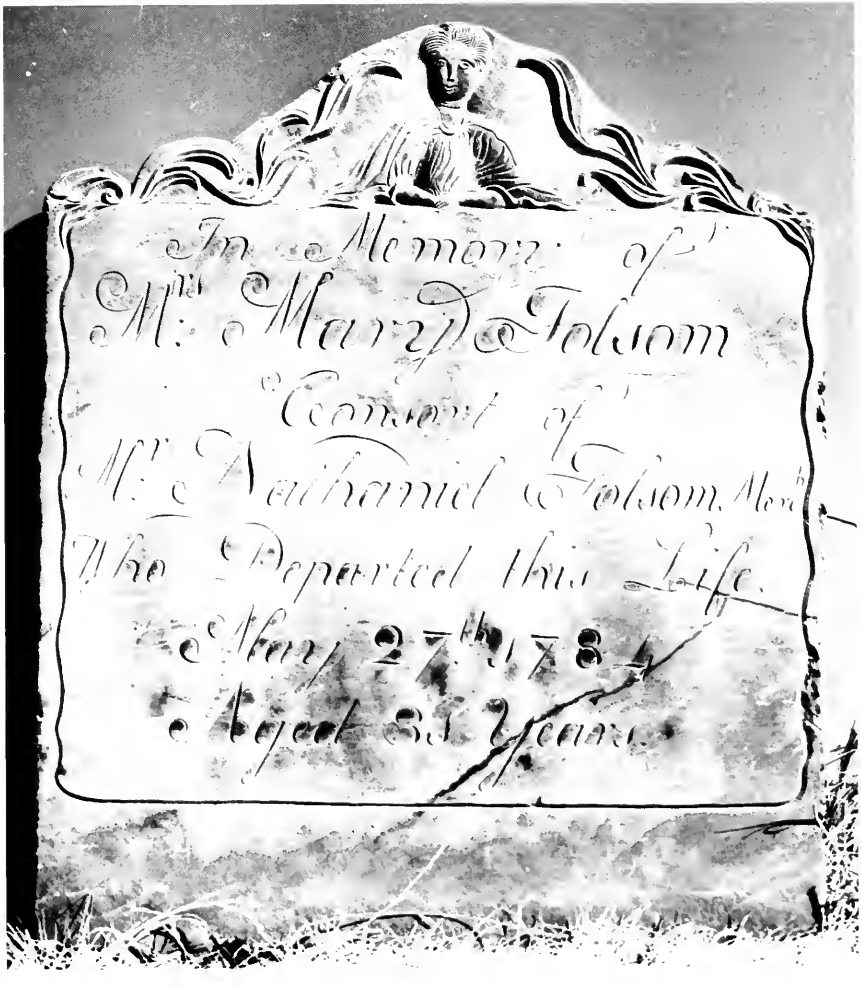


Fig. 22 Mary Folsom, 1784, Portsmouth, NH

has a footstone with a Lamson cherub. All four stones are remarkably similar. Three have cursive script, three have Lamson fronds, and one portrays a child lost in childbirth held in her mother's arms.

Other "figure" stones are busts or portraits, such as the previously mentioned Anthony Gwyn stone in Newburyport (Fig. 17), which has a waist-up figure with a three-cornered hat and a staff or sword in hand. On its brown sandstone footstone, inscribed with the deceased's name, is a Lamson cherub. The 1780 Benjamin Greenleaf stone in Newburyport depicts a well-dressed man with a frond on one side and death symbols on the other. The 1787 Miss Polly Harris stone in Charlestown (Fig. 21) features a central bust of Polly with the Lamson skeleton with scythe and dart of death on one side and a Lamson frond on the other. There are a number of such stones which heretofore have not been recognized as Lamson stones. On these figure stones, the Lamsons' use of a unique frond to balance the design in the tympanum is a significant clue to their work.

The squat skeleton with an inverted pear-shaped head, round eyes, and a narrow toothed jaw is another "figure" of the Lamsons. With upward-turned ribs and squat size (e.g., Fig. 21) as the most easily spotted clues, the skeleton enables us to identify a number of other stones. The Lamson skeleton is variously found with an hourglass, a scythe, or other death symbols. There is a renewal of the use of death impedimenta in the third and fourth generations, all being in secondary positions, however. The browless round-eyed "lightbulb" skull of the "generic" variety (e.g., Fig. 18) continues to be found up to the 1780s. As they are so common and difficult to attribute, they have received little attention.

There are five stones (all featuring square finials rather than rounded ones) made for members of the Lamson family of the later generations that are briefly described here to illustrate the development of styles, showing both the tendency to simplify and the introduction of such new features as a bust, a simplified cherub, and the later fashion of the tree and urn:

1789. Joseph Lamson the carver, son of Nathaniel, has a bust on top of a pedestal in the tympanum with a frond on either side, narrow leaf sides, and the numeral one resembling the letter J. There are no figs, cherubs, or death's-heads.

1794. Elizabeth Lamson, daughter of Nathaniel, has a cherub in the tympanum with leaves on each side, numeral one = J, and line sides.

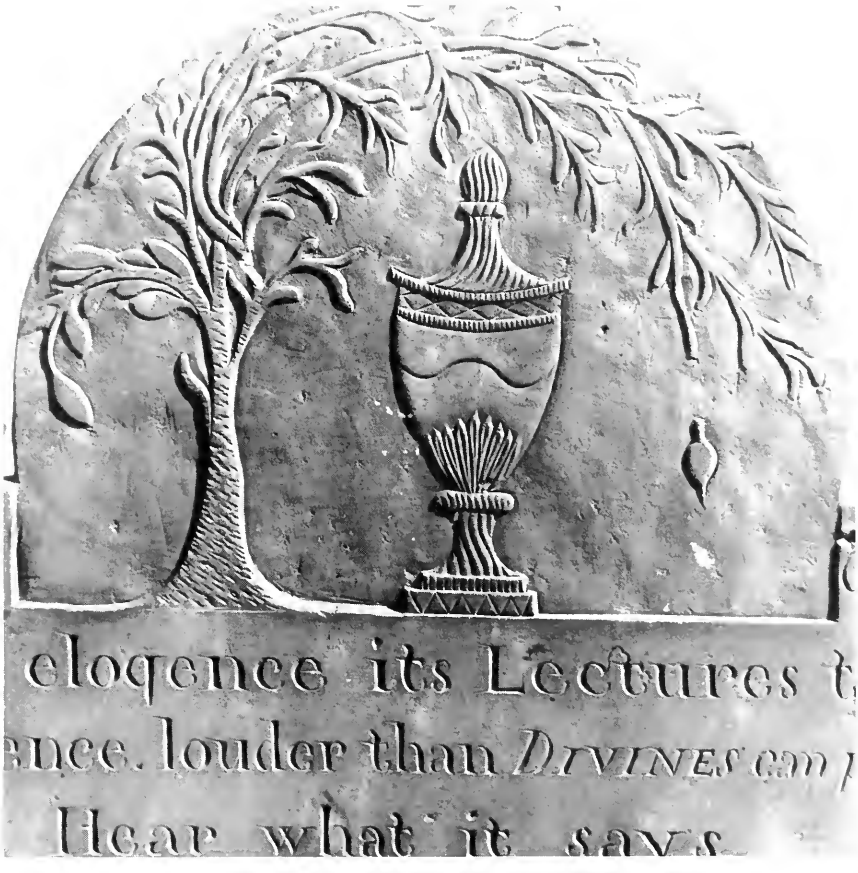


Fig. 23 Nancy Lamson, 1800, Charlestown

1795. Susanna Lamson, consort of Joseph, has a cherub and line sides.

1800. Nancy Lamson, daughter of Caleb, has a large trunked tree, a broken bud, urn, and the numeral one = J (Fig. 23).

1808. Joseph Lamson the fourth generation carver has a large trunked tree and urn and the numeral one = J

Tree and Urn Stones

Beginning in the 1790s and continuing well into the 1800s, the tree and urn became the most popular gravestone design and finally marked the end of the death's-head motif. Sometimes the tree or the urn is depicted separately, but customarily they are used together. As most

carvers of this period used the tree and urn theme, often in identical ways, it is sometimes difficult to identify the particular carver of this style. In certain instances, however, through the use of probate records or the oddity of a given carver we can identify the maker. Such, fortunately, is the case with the Lamson stones. Lamson-style tree stones are identified by the following process: of 116 stones located in Malden's Bell Rock Burial Ground (which is almost exclusively made up of Lamson stones) that have trees alone or both trees and urns (1800-1839), most of the trees have markedly thick trunks and a limited number of large leaves. The trees are shaped more like elms than willows, lacking descending branches, and are quite unlike the trees of other carvers found in the Boston area. The urns appear in a variety of shapes, however, sometimes resembling loving cups, sometimes Georgian pots, and usually more round than long or oval. A significant number of these stones also contain Lamson cherubs along with the trees, thereby enabling us to identify the Lamson-style tree. Two of these stones (also described earlier) are for members of the Lamson family and were presumably made by the family shop:

1800. Nancy Lamson stone in Charlestown, which has the large-trunked, branched tree with a broken bud and a slender urn (Fig. 23).

1808. Joseph Lamson stone in Charlestown, which has a more traditional willow and a wide urn.

Two additional stones are significant in our search:

1801. Norcross stone in Watertown, which has the Lamson cherub and the quotation, "The Memory of the Just is Blessed," with two thick-trunked trees. The urn could be mistaken for a lamp with a flame.

1809. Tripp stone in the Boylston Street Burial Ground, Boston, which has the Lamson cherub on the headstone as well as two thick-trunked trees and an urn (Fig. 24).

A full study of the Lamson urn and willow stones has yet to be made. Anyone interested in seeking out the particular stones of the Lamson shop would do well to start at the Malden Bell Rock Burial Ground and the Phipps Street Burial Ground in Charlestown, from there broadening the search to Watertown and Cambridge.

LAMSON STONES IN CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK

Special attention needs to be paid to Lamson stones in Connecticut

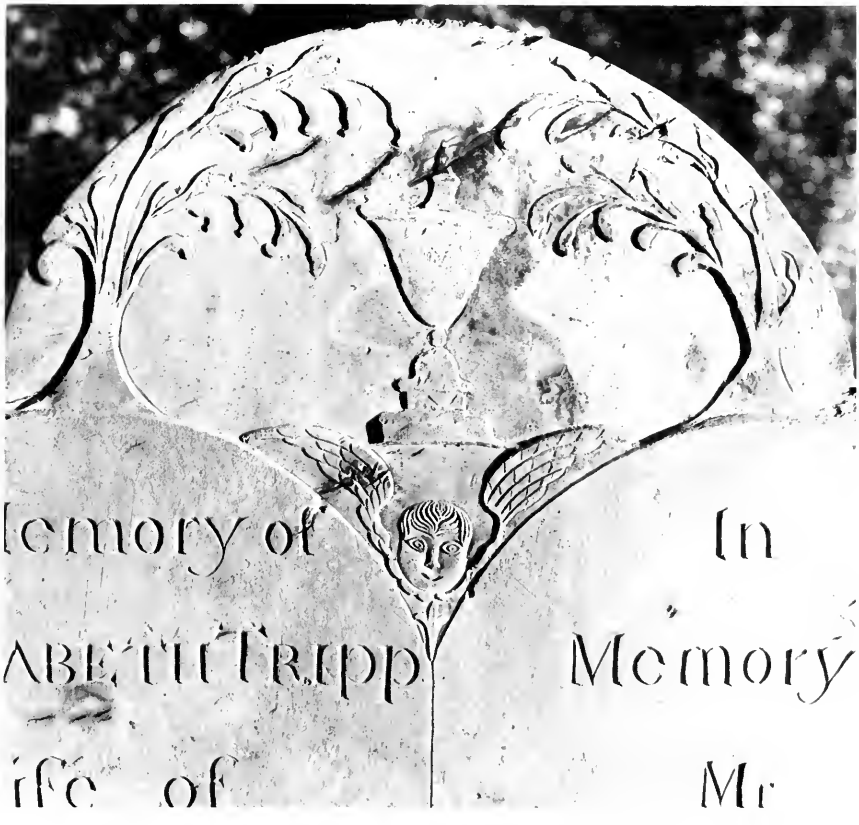


Fig. 24 Elizabeth & Nathan Tripp, 1809, Boston, Boylston St.

and New York. Typical winged, browed skulls on slate are found in coastal Connecticut, with occasional stones of this type in inland areas, especially near Stratford, Connecticut. Over two hundred such stones have come to my attention, and there are probably many more. Most date from 1755-1773, with a few as early as 1716. Lamson slate stones were brought from the Lamson shop in Massachusetts when Joseph's son William was married in 1716 at Stratford to Elizabeth Burch, for initialed stones by both Nathaniel and Caleb are found in Stratford, each dated 1716. This William, and his son William, Jr., were thus responsible for the profusion of slate stones in an otherwise slateless area. We have no evidence, however, that William, Sr. was ever a carver. He died January 21, 1755 in Stratford, where he was a leading citizen and owner of several mills.

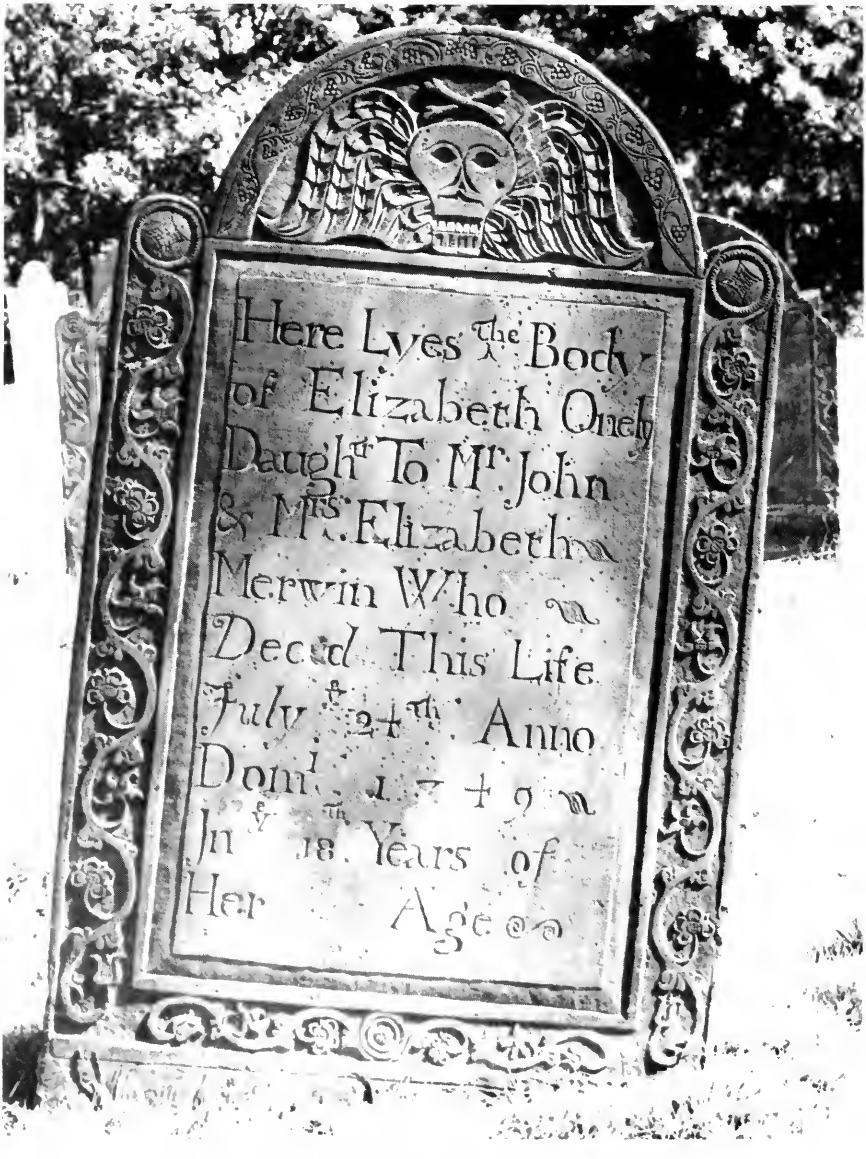


Fig. 25 Elizabeth Merwin, 1749, Milford, CT

On the eastern end of Long Island there are over ninety slate stones dated 1715-1759. Most, if not all, of these Long Island stones were also probably carved in Charlestown at the Lamson shop, as they are on the usual gray-black or striped slate, none of which is found in Connecticut or on quarry-less Long Island. The inscription area of the gray slate is often coated with a brown film of rust, typical of the slate used by the Lamson shop.

On the other hand, in the western Connecticut area, and on the northern side of western Long Island, one finds Lamson stones carved on red or brown Connecticut sandstone. These stones have the unmistakable marks of the Lamson shop, but vary from the usual styles in significant detail. The winged, eyebrowed skull, figs, leaf and two-flower motifs typical of the Lamson shop are found: on the other hand, some of the skulls have extremely narrow jaws, and some side borders have well-carved flowers of a type not found in Massachusetts (see Fig. 25). There are distinct differences between the sandstone and the slate styles, probably owing to the difference in ease of carving in sandstone and in slate. There is, however, no mistaking the fact that all are of the Lamson style, dating from 1740 to 1769 with a few (possibly backdated) as early as 1730. I know of sixty-nine Long Island stones and forty-two Connecticut stones of this type, and there are probably many more. These Lamson stones are found in and around New Milford, Connecticut, and in nearby South Salem, New York, just over the Connecticut border, as well as on the north shore of western Long Island. Milford, Connecticut has thirteen such stones dating 1749-1774. Others are scattered throughout the southern part of Connecticut and are dated 1755-1773.

It appears that these stones may have been carved by William Lamson, Jr., who was born June 3, 1719 in Stratford and married Hannah Judson. He had lived since 1740 in New Milford, an area where there are many such stones, and where there is a probate record of his being paid £15.10.11 by the estate of John Curtis, possibly for stones. Ernest Caulfield, an authority on Connecticut gravestones, refers to "... such excellent stonecutters as ... William Lamson ..." when writing of carvers in the Woodbury and New Milford area.[32] There is also a payment made of £1-6-6 to William Lamson mentioned in an article by Meredith M. Williams and Gray Williams, Jr.[33] William's date of death is not known.

Fig. 26 Sarah Long, 1674, Charlestown

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The first Joseph Lamson carved in the 1670-1713 period, following which his sons Nathaniel and Caleb took over the trade. These sons carved until the late 1750s. The third generation began to carve in the 1740s, when Nathaniel's son, Joseph, and Caleb's son, John, became productive. Since the fourth generation Lamsons were all born after 1760, we can attribute stones of the 1740-1760 period to either the second or third generations; those of the 1760-1775 period to the third generation alone; those of the 1775-1789 period to both third and fourth generations; and those of the 1789-1818 period to the fourth generation (see Appendix 4).

While the Lamson shop was basically a family affair, we should always be aware that other carvers may have worked in the shop, especially Thomas Welch and Joseph Whittemore, who were undoubtedly

associated with the Lamson shop. We also note that William Custin, who was a carver, was associated with Joseph Lamson, Jr., one of the Lamson brothers. There was also apparently some connection between Daniel Hastings and the later Lamsons, as some of their styles are almost identical. It is quite possible that they may have apprenticed together. Additional study would be required to resolve this matter.

This article is based on more than 1400 stones of the Lamson shop that have been identified, but they are only a fraction of the stones still existing. Personal observation and photographs furnish most of the information for this study, though some is from notes and correspondence which sometimes lack all the desired details of the carving. The data is extensive enough, however, to furnish a comprehensive picture of the family's work. The unique imp stones are the only ones that are given full coverage in this study, and I believe I have reported on virtually all of them here.

The superb Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber collection of over four thousand photographs is an invaluable source of information for all early carver's work, including that of the Lamsons. Most of the illustrations in this article are provided through the courtesy of the Farbers.

In concluding, it is worth reemphasizing that the Lamson shop produced many more stones than are commented upon here. The data is very strong on the stones up to 1760, dates that were relevant to the first and second generations. When the styles of the third and fourth generations were recognized, a search for further data was made (up to the early 1800s), but this investigation, to date, has been less extensive. A summary of all data pertinent to this study may be found in Appendix 6. As the data after 1760 is not as thorough as that of earlier periods, it goes without saying that this constitutes a worthwhile and potentially fruitful area for future investigation.

NOTES

All photographs in this essay are by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber, with the exception of Figure 1, which is from a glass negative of the Hariette Forbes collection, and Figure 2, which is by Ralph Tucker. Figures 10 and 11 are from drawings of Ann Tucker. Figure 12 is a photograph by Daniel Farber of a rubbing by Susan Kelly and Ann Williams.

1. For genealogical information see the Vital Records of Malden and Charlestown, Massachusetts. See also William J. Lamson, *Descendants of William Lamson of Ipswich, Mass.* (New York, 1917), and Thomas Bellows Wyman, *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown* (Boston, 1879.) A detailed bibliography is filed at the Association for Gravestone Studies Archives in Worcester, Mass.

2. Samuel Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston* (Boston, 1856), 418n: "Capt William Turner in 1676 had about 100 men...was received at Marlborough from Capt. Reynolds ... Joseph Lamson ..."

3. See appendix 5.

4. Essex Probate (Salem), 16:442, 450 ; 17:447,459 ; 85:118.

5. Theodore Chase and Laurel Gabel, *Gravestone Chronicles* (Boston, 1990), 53.

6. See Lloyd Grossman, " Heraldic Design on New England Gravestones," *Old Time New England*, 64:2 (1973): 55-60.

7. Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them* (Boston, 1927; rpt. Princeton, NJ, 1955; rpt. New York, 1967; rpt. Barre, VT, 1989).

8. *Ibid.*, 41.

9. The Sarah Long stone (Fig. 26) exhibits some of the distinctive earmarks of the Old Stonecutter. Compare this stone with that of her husband, Zechariah (Fig. 6), which was undoubtedly carved by Joseph Lamson.
10. The probate references used herein have been compiled from Forbes' notes, a copy of which is available at the archives of the Association for Gravestone Studies.

11. Middlesex Probate (Cambridge), 11:87; see Forbes, Fig. 43, for illustration.

12. Middlesex Probate (Cambridge), 12:514.

13. Middlesex Probate (Cambridge), 13:201; see Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images* (Middletown, Conn., 1966), Plate 172a, and Forbes, Fig. 42, for illustrations.

14. Middlesex Probate (Cambridge) 17:399; see Forbes, Fig. 44, for illustration.

15. See Forbes, 22. There are seven known references to Thomas Welch in the Middlesex Probate records (Cambridge). Those with asterisk specifically mention gravestones.

1690	William Barrett	Cambridge	£0.8.6	
1697	*Mary and Thomas Rogers	Billerica	£0.12.0,	M28:106
1697/8	*Jonathan Caine	Cambridge,	£0.12.0,	M9:263
1698/9	*John Cleasby	Charlestown	£1.0.0,	M9:100
1702	*Daniel Gold	Charlestown	£1.0.0,	M10:514
1704	John Whittemore	Charlestown	£4.0.1,	M6:427
n.d.	Elizabeth Jackson (Mrs John.)	Cambridge,	£5.0.0	

His inventory of 13 Dec. 1704 (Middlesex 6:505) mentions "working tools, viz Beetle, Wedges, forks, rakes, axes, hows, chissils, hammers, planes, gouges, adsz, & other tools & old iron – saddle & pillions & 2 old guns £4.18.8." Whittemore is mentioned as a stonecutter (Middlesex 18:263), but none of the stones have been located.

16. See, for example, Chase and Gabel, 43.

17. Forbes, 24, 42.

18. Ludwig, 100.

19. Dickran Tashjian and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change* (Middletown, Conn., 1974), 77.

20. Emily Wasserman, *Gravestone Designs* (New York, 1972), 22.

21. See David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death* (New York, 1977), 62, for reference to Cotton Mather and "arrows of death." See also contemporary sermons.

22. Joshua Coffin, *A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury* (Hampton, NH, 1977, reprint), 128.

23. Philippe Aries, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981), 328.

24. Laurel Gabel, "A Computor-Aided Analysis of 10,546 Boston-Area Gravestone Records." Address at the 1990 Association for Gravestone Studies Conference. A copy may be found in the AGS Archives.

25. See Ludwig, plates 175a & b, for illustrations of the Blower and Russell stones.

26. Middlesex Probate (Cambridge) 43:187.

27. Middlesex Probate Vol. 23, General Records, p. 109.

28. This is the first Susanna Frothingham, b. 1724; Joseph of the fourth generation married another Susanna Frothingham, who was b. 1768.

29. Suffolk probate (Boston) 71:51 of 1783.

30. This is the second Susanna Frothingham, b. 1768.

31. Middlesex Probate (Cambridge) #13530.

32. Ernest Caulfield, "James Stanclift," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, 17:1, (1952) :5. In *Markers: The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 8 (1991), in a revised edition of this article, "William Lamson" reads "Nathaniel (?) Lamson" (p. 34). Caulfield, in his notes made after initial publication, indicates that he was unsure which Lamson was responsible for the Connecticut stones, but was sure it was some member of the family. It is my opinion that the original article is correct.

33. Meredith M. Williams and Gray Williams, Jr., " 'Md. by Thomas Gold': The Gravestones of a New Haven Carver," *Markers: The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 5 (1988) :56. The article quotes a probate record showing that the David Lattin estate of Stratford, Conn. paid £1.6.6 "to William Lamson" for a gravestone.

APPENDIX 1: DOWNLEAF STONES
108 Downleaf stones by Joseph Lamson, 1675-1714

Tympanum			
	Death's-heads	106	1675-1714
	Draped	23	1679-1714
	Cherubs	1	1703
	Leaf	1	
Frieze			
	Death symbols	72	1675-1713
	Strawberry vines	3	1703-1713
	Imp (Bucknam)	1	1706
	Other	1	
	No frieze	32	
Inscriptions			
	All upper-case lettering	105	1675-1714
	Upper- and lower-case lettering	3	1710-1713
	Base has "The Memory of the Just is Blessed"	5	1679-1699
	With frame	9	1680-1714
Finials			
	Coils in finials	86	1675-1713
	Finial faces	10	1693-1711
	Fish eyed faces	4	1693-1703
	Male faces	3	1705-1710
	Female faces	3	1706-1711
	Disks	6	1703-1714
	Other	6	1691-1713
Bases			
	Leaf and disk	6	1702-1713
	Strawberry vine	4	1691-1714
	Leaf	3	1691-1703
Headstones having existing footstones		4	1693-1713

APPENDIX 2: IMPSTONES

Date of Stones

Stones dated from 1671 to 1712
Time gap 1671-1683 due to backdating
Time gap 1692-1701 due to witchcraft

Carvers

Joseph Lamson	25 stones	1671-1706
Joseph Lamson – "NL"	5 stones	1707-1709
Lamson shop carvers	15 stones	1706-1712

Location

Charlestown	13 stones	1671-1709
Cambridge	10 stones	1683-1712
Malden	3 stones	1692-1706
Boston, Copp's Hill	2 stones	1709-1712
Revere	2 stones	1706
Wakefield	2 stones	1709-1710
Watertown	2 stones	1691-1709
Woburn	2 stones	1692-1706
Andover	1 stone	1707
Boston, King's Chapel	1 stone	1688
Chelmsford	1 stone	1704
Lexington	1 stone	1709
Medford	1 stone	1701

Tympanum

All impstones have winged skulls with eyebrows

30	Stones with drape over skull	1686-1710
5	Stones with nothing over skull1	1671-1688
4	Stones with vine and drape over skull	1702-1709
5	Stones initialed "NL"	1707-1709
2	Stones with winged imps in tympanum	1686-1688
2	Stones with gourds and vine over skull	1709
2	Stones with hour glass and two winged imps	1686-1688
2	Double stones	1709-1712
2	Stones with skulls having coined wings	1671-1684
1	Stones with birds over skull	1704
1	Stones with fig and leaves over skull	1710
1	Stone with vine but no drape	1710
2	Broken stones	1705-1709

Frame

35	Stones with frame	1686-1712
6	Stones with no frame	1671-1706

Frieze

36	Stones with all full face imps	1671-1712
28	"MEMENTO MORI"&"HORA FUGIT"	1689-1712
26	Stones with imps with pall	1705
23	Stones with central hour glass	1692-1712
10	Stones with imps & hour glass	1701-1710
10	Stones with central pillar	1671-1706
10	Stones with winged imp	1686-1702
6	Stones with imps with coffin	
6	Stones with no pillar or hour glass,	1686-1706
4	Stones with darts	1686-1692
4	Stones with profile imp	
3	Stones with crossed bones	1694-1703
2	Stones with plain bones	1701-1702
1	Broken stone with probable winged imps	1705
1	"MEMENTO TE ESSE MORTALEM" (in inscription)	1683
1	Broken stone	1705
1	Broken stone	1705
3	Stones with no frieze	1686-1691

Side

27	Stones with fruit	1686-1712
7	Stones with leaf and gourd	1707-1712
6	Stones with coil leaf	1671-1692
3	Stones with fruit and gourds	1707-1708
1	Downleaf stone	1706

Bases

21	Stones with base borders	1691-1712
14	Stones with probable base borders	1686-1712
5	Stones with no probable base border	1671-1706
1	Stone with no base border	1684

Titles

26	Men mentioned on stones	
	8 Men with no titles	1686-1707
	5 Men with church titles	
	2 Rev. and/or Pastor	1704-1709
	2 Deacon	1691-1705
	1 Elder	1683
	11 Men with military titles	
	5 Captain	1692-1709
	3 Major	1706-1710
	2 Men with "Major & Esquire"	1706-1710
	2 Ensign	1694-1706
	1 Lieutenant	1709
	2 Men with "Mr"	1709-1712
19	Women mentioned on stones	

16	Wife	1671-1712
9	Mrs	1702-1712
3	Daughter	1706-1709

Lettering

34	Stones with upper-case lettering only	1671-1712
6	Stones with upper and lower-case lettering	1709-1712
1	Stone with upper and lower-case lettering in Latin	1704

Ages

45 Persons on 41 stones

19	Women	7m to 83 years.	47.4 years average age
26	Men	30 to 85 years	62.4 years average age

Depth of Stone Setting

11	Well set stones	1684-1709
15	Sunken to cover base border	1671-1712
15	Sunken covering some lettering	1683-1712

APPENDIX 3: FIGURE STONES

All are in Mass. except as noted

ABBREVIATIONS

F	Frond	N	No arm holding trumpet
HG	Hourglass	O	One arm holding trumpet
J	Numeral one = J	Sc	Script lettering

Some examples

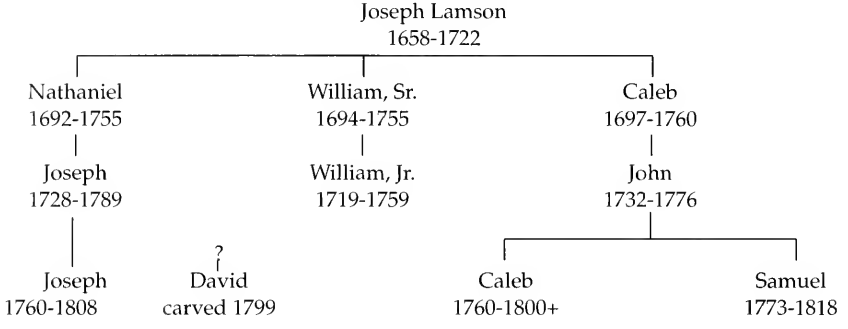
Gabriel Stones

				From trumpet
1753	Lambert, Thomas	Wakefield	J, N	Arise ye dead
1765	Nichols, Thomas	Wakefield	J, O	Arise ye dead
1775	Lambert, Elizabeth	Wakefield	J, N	Arise ye dead
1778	Nichols, Elizabeth	Wakefield	J, O	Arise ye dead
1787	Ford, Samuel	Woolwich, ME	J, O	Know ye the hour
1790	Brooks, Noah	Lincoln	J, O	Arise ye dead
1790	Cummings, Margaret	Billerica	J, O	Arise ye dead [mirrored]
1790	Hinkley, Susanna	Barnstable	J, O	Arise th' dead
1791	Pool, Jonathan,Jr.	Wakefield	J, N, F	Think on death
1799	Gibbs, John Herpin	Ansonia, CT	J, N	[nothing]
1799	Hinkley, Mary	Barnstable	J, N, Sc	Arise ye dead
1800	Stimson, Nabby	Barnstable	N, italics	[nothing]
1804	Hinkley, Samuel	Barnstable	O	[nothing]
1806	Jones, Sylvanus	W. Barnstable	O	[nothing]

Figure Stones

1762	Perkins, Ann	Newburyport	Skeleton, scythe, bird, erasure
1773	Pearson, Jane	Byfield	Skeleton, scythe, HG
1774	Nasson, Mary	York, ME	Bust, Sc, J
1775	Robinson, John	Portland, ME	Skeleton, scythe, HG, imp, J
1776	Gwyn, Anthony	Newburyport	Bust, hat, sword
1776	McKean, Sarah	Ipswich	Bust, baby, F
1777	Knight, Samuel	Newburyport	3/4 figure, Sc, J
1780	Greenleaf, Benjamin	Newburyport	Bust, skull, HG, scythe, F
1781	Baldwin, Elizabeth	Malden	Bust, F, J
1782	Roberts, Thomas	Newburyport	Figure, Skeleton, scythe, F, Sc, J
1783	Lewis, Stoodly	Portsmouth, NH	Bust, F, Sc, J
1784	Folsom, Mary	Portsmouth, NH	Bust, F, Sc, J
1784	Stacey, Abigail	Newburyport	Bust, F, Sc
1787	Harris, Polly	Charlestown	Bust, Skeleton, scythe, dart, F, J
1789	Fletcher, Grace	New Ipswich, NH	Bust, F, J
1789	Williams, Sarah	Revere	Bust, Skeleton, scythe, dart, F, Sc
1792	Chapman, Micah	Dennis	Bust, F, J
1801	Willis, Eliakim	Malden	Bust, J

APPENDIX 4: GENEALOGICAL CHART AND DATA



The dates in the tables below are approximate but may be helpful despite the variables. This table assumes the following:

1) Joseph ceased carving about 1713 for the reasons given.
2) Carvers began carving at age fifteen.
3) A carver's earliest work was lettering.
4) Carvers carved to the date of death unless otherwise known.
5) The earliest carved figures are usually crudely carved.

1670s-1707	30+years	Joseph
1707 -1712	5 years	Joseph, Nathaniel
1712 -1713	1 year	Joseph, Nathaniel, Caleb
1713 -1743	30 years	Nathaniel, Caleb
1743 -1747	4 years	Nathaniel, Caleb, Joseph
1747 -1755	8 years	Nathaniel, Caleb, Joseph, John
1755 -1760	5 years	Caleb, Joseph, John
1760 -1775	15 years	Joseph, John
1775 -1776	1 year	Joseph, John, Joseph, Caleb
1776 -1788	12 years	Joseph, Joseph, Caleb
1788 -1789	1 year	Joseph, Joseph, Caleb, Samuel
1789 -1808	19 years	Joseph, Caleb (?), Samuel, David
1808 -1818	10 years	Caleb (?), Samuel, David (?)
1818 up		Caleb (?), David (?)

Note: The death date of the last Caleb is not known, and only one date of the David's carving is known.

APPENDIX 5: LAND RECORDS

Exerpts from *Record Commissioners Reports* (Boston) Vol.3:189-260

pg. 189 2 Jan 1681 "...to Sergt. Thomas Welch, six Comon & a quarter." "...to Thomas Welch, junr, one common and three eights common.."

pg. 195 Proprietors 1681 #43 Thomas Welch 2 acres

pg. 196 1685"Thos Welch junr seven acres one half and twenty poles..."

pg. 197 "Sgt Thomas Welch, twenty one acres, bounded... minde there is within these bounds of Welch one quarter of a acre left for a common quarry"

pg. 198ff "To a Quarry place Cont bounded north East'ly by the County rode to Menotamies, North East'ly by Richard Lowden & Thomas Carter, Alias the high way to Cambridge, west South'ly: by John Mousall West South'ly. Minde Cambridge rode is South west'ly." 1685

pg. 216 "Thomas Welches house, ware mr Lampson now lives, from the door of the said house to the street is 18 foot & 1/2" [from pg 262 Survey of Charlestown 1713-1714]

pg. 218 "Jonathan Goves Southwest corner of his lott or pasture near the Quarries incroached very much to the damage of the said highway....below the Quarry hill... a little below Ralph Mousell's Quarrie... the said Ralph Mousells Quarrie pit..." 1714

pg. 223 *Landing place at bottom of Causway* "From Temples fence to Lamsons Shop, formerly Whittemores Land 454 feet." *Wharffe & Landing Place* "...lying between Lamsons shop & Fosdicks Shop, measuring in the front 33 feet 4 inches, & continues said with to low water mark, the North corner of Fosdicks Barn encroached near the Wharffe & Lamsons Shop Encroached the front corner."

pg. 235 "The Quarry...there is about an acre of Land between Hunnewells & Rands:" the bounds are given

pg. 236 "..formerly the Quarry Hill..." *Penny Ferry Road* "...From Whittermores Land, where the house formerly was, just above Lamsons, across to Alfords Fence is 53 feet."

pg. 238 6th Range way starts measuring on Menotomy Road "...to the Quarrie Still Southerly 79 rods...said Quarrie being on Kents Street." "...to Watson's, formerly Quarrie Hill..."

pg. 243 "24th There is a wharffe and landing Place between Mr Fosdicke Shop & Mr Lamsons Shop, which runs to low water mark which belongs to the Town." 2 March 1767

pg. 256 "...from Mr Lamsons gate to the east corner of Mr Smiths land, opposite, is 125 feet..." *Powder House Road*

pg. 260 "*Dirty Marsh* Then we measured the road leading to dirty marsh (so called), from Mousalls gate, or Lamsons, through Mr Andrew Kettells land, 47 rods 11 feet, in a northerly direction..."

APPENDIX 6: DATA ON ALL LAMSON STONES

This data is mostly from personal observation and many photographs, some of which are not easily readable, or which do not include the whole stone. Other data is from notes or letters from correspondents.

Tympanum

	no. of stones
Death's-heads	824
draped	273
browless	94
Cherub	221
with fig footstones	19
draped	9
Fig in tympanum	80
Flower in tympanum	78
Bust/figure/Gabriel	35
Tree/urn	25
Leaf in tympanum	19
Coat of arms	6
Death's-heads *and* cherub	4
Cherub *and* Tree & urn	3
Strawberry vine	3
Other	6
No information	284

Frieze

no frieze		with frieze
31	Downleaf stones	77
3	Imp stones	34
403	Death's-head stones	421
0	Cherub & death's-head	4
204	Cherub stone	24
19	Tree & urn stones	0
660		560

Finial

22 DEATH SYMBOLS		
15	Crossbones and hourglass	
3	Crossbones alone	
2	Hourglass alone	
2	Large imps	
158 FACES		
51	fish faces	1681 -1704/5
63	male faces	1704 -1713
38	female faces	1705 -1717
2	male & female faces	1708 & 1712
4	busts	1709

649 OTHER

376	disk
113	flower
110	coil
13	coil leaf
11	star
5	weeping disk
8	leaf alone
10	other (odd, broken, etc)

196 NOTHING IN FINIAL
409 DATA NOT AVAILABLE

Side Border

	Number of stones	Date used
Fig and leaf	176	1651 -1772
Leaf	167	1688 -1809
Fruit	144	1681 -1766
Lines	110	1742 -1803
Downleaf	108	1675 -1714
Leaf and gourd	106	1693 -1721
Coil leaf	70	1679 -1746
Vine	38	1689 -1809
Coil leaf & fig	18	1723 -1760
Odd fruit	16	1704 -1712
Fat leaf	10	1709 -1761
Other	32	
No information	475	1662-1808
	TOTAL 1430	

Fig. 1 Overview of the Protestant Cemetery.
Anonymous photo, c. 1880.

THE PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN FLORENCE AND ANGLO-AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD ITALY

James A. Freeman

When Americans or Britons died in Florence during the last century, either while travelling or after voluntary exile, their gravemarkers sometimes eternalized their mixed judgment of the city (and of Italy in general). No matter how much northern visitors appreciated the low costs, history, art, climate and scenery offered by the queen of Tuscany, they rejected the current inhabitants and their burial customs. The Protestant Cemetery in Florence symbolizes this curiously binary response to Italy, an attraction/aversion reflex notable amongst those who spoke English.

Florence has always been a mecca for pilgrims eager to improve something in their lives, but the earlier stream of aristocratic travellers was augmented in the 1800s by a steadily increasing flood of sightseers from many social levels. So many newcomers expressed themselves in the same way that almost any of them can be quoted to demonstrate what most grand tourists felt. Percy Bysshe Shelley's rapturous, "I have seldom seen a city so lovely at first sight," echoed the visitors' initial joy. Writing to Mary Shelley on August 20, 1818, he painted a word picture of what innumerable others had noticed or would notice:

> You see three or four bridges, one apparently supported by Corinthian pillars, and the white sails of the boats, relieved by the deep green of the forest which comes to the water's edge, and the sloping hills covered with bright villas on every side. Domes and steeples rise on all sides, and the cleanliness is remarkably great. On the other side there are the foldings of the Vale of Arno above, first the hills of olive and vine, then the chestnut woods, and then the blue and misty pine forests which invest the aerial Apennines that fade in the distance.[1]

Once there, Atlantic-based visitors usually revelled in Florentine activities. Some, like the enthusiastic Irishwoman Lady Morgan, methodically did the sights (the published account of her 1819-20 journey fills two substantial volumes). Others, like Shelley when he sat in the Cascine Park and composed his "Ode to the West Wind," responded to less specific yet still powerful emanations from the city. Its magic inspired parents as well as poets: in 1820, William Edward and Frances Nightingale named their new-born daughter for the fabled town.[2] Visi-

tors used it in ways that ranged from the expected to the idiosyncratic: William Dean Howells, like many lesser-known sightseers, sought out one street mentioned in George Eliot's *Romola* (the historical novel of Savonarola's time), while Edmund Gosse saw the city's two different rivers as private symbols for his father's irreconcilable religious and scientific aspects.[3]

However, behind this adulation lurked a determined stand-offishness. Balancing one's admiration of things Italian with aversion for the country's people became a linguistic formula. For example, a precocious fourteen-year old girl wrote in her diary for Tuesday, November 17, 1817, "this country with all the charms of climate[,] the fine arts and all the richness and beauty of nature bears but weakly a comparison to England. Nature is in perfection[,] but mankind is so degraded by vice that people of a better nation tremble at the recital of their dreadful lives." In the same tone, a mere four months after praising the majestic Tuscan landscape to Mary, Shelley wrote Thomas Love Peacock, "External nature in these delightful regions contrasts with and compensates for the deformity and degradation of humanity."[4]

This propensity to resist Italian customs also inaugurated behavioral formulas. English-speaking tourists who felt indisposed bypassed the ancient pharmacy near Santa Maria Novella to patronize the Farmacia Inglese on Via Tornabuoni; those who wished to expand their minds read at the British Institute Library; those with spiritual yearnings worshipped at St. James' Episcopalian or St. Mark's Anglican churches. Whether in Florence for short or long visits, many strenuously pretended to be still at home or among more familiar people. In 1860, George Eliot stayed at a Swiss-owned pension while beginning *Romola*. Returning the next year with her companion George Lewes, Eliot emphasized how little contact they had with residents: he spent his time in the library doing background research, and, together, they visited only Mrs. Trollope or walked at sunset, making sure to avoid "the slow crowds on the Lung' Arno." Likewise, the expatriate Brownings remained essentially British, praising the movement for Italian unity and choosing burial in the city for Elizabeth, but mistrusting their Florentine servants. The testy author of *Imaginary Conversations*, Walter Savage Landor (1775-1864), also encouraged Italy's rebellion against the Austrians (he sold his watch to finance Garibaldi's campaign in Sicily) and chose to be interred in Florence. Having spent two decades in the city, though, Landor took "no

interest whatever in the affairs of the Italians. I visit none of them: I admit none of them within my doors" (he pummeled Italian workmen who displeased him and once threw out his landlord when the poor man forgot to remove his hat in Landor's presence).[5]

The divided reaction of Anglo-Saxon visitors did not go unnoticed. Personifying them, L. Villari summed up the dualities that Italians sensed: "We pretend to love Italy, they say, yet have no liking for Italians, do not care to know them.... Accordingly he [the native] is all the more puzzled by the attitude of the travelling English, who unite deep reverence for the Italy of the past with open indifference to the Italy of today."[6] Villari's description held true for Britons and the relatively smaller number of American visitors. They, too, alternated between reverence and revulsion. Mark Twain enjoyed the city while composing *Pudd'head Wilson* during 1892-93 (the chestnut cake was as good as in Dante's day, and he loved "the most dream-like and enchanting sunsets to be found on any planet")[7]; however, he had become so lost during an all-night ramble on his first trip that he neglected the sights and snorted, "My experiences of Florence were chiefly unpleasant. I will change the topic."

Throughout the nineteenth century, then, English and Americans strolled on both sides of the Arno, eager to dream in the Medici palace but loath to notice some flesh-and-blood *contadino* selling his vegetables. The place they wished to see was the floridly romantic one in Henry Holiday's popular painting "Dante and Beatrice." It shows the love-struck poet holding his heart when his lady approaches (a moment familiar to readers of his *Vita Nuova*) as well as landmarks along the Arno (especially the Ponte Vecchio). Like other *anglosassoni* in more remote countries, Egypt, say, and India, travellers tried to emulate Ali Baba in the cave, gazing upon treasures while nervously avoiding any touch. They preferred to see the city as a vast museum empty of everyone except (as John Ruskin phrased it in the mid-1870s) "English Travellers" studying "Christian Art." Learned aficionadas like Susan and Joanna Horner supplied elaborate directions, chronologies and historical anecdotes so that even the newcomer might take enriching *Walks in Florence* without the need of a native *cicerone*.[8]

The Protestant Cemetery at Porta a Pinti (often miscalled the "English" Cemetery) accepted inhumations between 1828 and 1877 and symbolizes the cultural bias against Mediterranean custom displayed by the very pilgrims who had sought out this eminently southern city. Origi-

nally, the cemetery lay at the city's northern outskirts, a quiet zone, usually safe from desecration by Catholic zealots.[9] Much of it was built over the ruined Ingesuati convent; part of it touched old walls reinforced under Michelangelo's direction to defend the city against mercenary armies of Germans and Spaniards led by Charles V during the siege of 1529-30. Thanks to the progressive plans of engineer Carlo Reistammer, the ramparts were torn down in the early 1820s and a broad traffic circumvallation built around the 8,000 square meter oval.

By design or accident, this cemetery conformed to the most modern European ideas of beauty and utility. For roughly a quarter century before its opening, theorists had recommended that cemeteries be built outside of cities on elevated sites, open to purifying north winds, and bordered by ornamental trees, which would sweeten the air, rather than by walls.[10] A photo taken toward the end of the century shows this model burial ground, facing the scenic hills Shelley had admired, a perfect locale for dreamless sleep (Fig. 1).[11] It quickly became a goal for visitors. The travel writer John Stoddard advertised its picturesque charms two decades after it closed by stating, "There is a burial-place in Florence, dearer by far to all American hearts in its simplicity than even the magnificent Santa Croce. It is the Protestant Cemetery."[12]

Today, however, even before ringing the portiere's bell, the modern visitor senses a gap between what the tenants wanted – a calm, green knoll from which to look back on the monuments of *quattrocento* intellect – and what they got. Thanks to the ironies of history, that bucolic spot, renamed Piazzale Donatello, has become a traffic island which drivers notice only because it complicates their straight avenue. Vespas and yellow double-decker buses noisily jockey for position and disregard sleepers on the hill. Five famous paintings by the Swiss Arnold Böcklin emphasize the change. Each "Island of the Dead" (one at New York's Metropolitan Museum) was inspired by Porta a Pinti after Böcklin buried his infant daughter there in its last year, 1877. The canvases communicate a silent otherworldliness that contrasts to the current tumult. Famous as this metropolitan burial ground became, it could not exempt itself from the general European pattern described by Philippe Ariès: "the cemetery had in about 1830 been situated outside the city but was encompassed by urban growth and abandoned toward 1870 for a new site."[13]

Within, too, the Cimitero Protestante seems busy. Even if members of

the Swiss Evangelical Reformed Church, the first and current owners, had originally envisioned a simple burial ground like the Old Protestant Cemetery in Rome, they ended up with a crowded necropolis superficially resembling models in the nearby city (San Miniato, for example). It houses 1,409 people from at least sixteen nations. English are the most numerous (760) and explain its epithet. But Swiss (433), North Americans (eighty-seven), Italians (eighty-four) and Russians (fifty-four) lie with Germans, Hungarians, and Poles. In life, many might have preferred the company of their own countrymen; here, they lose their national identities and, obedient to Italian concerns about Catholic or non-Catholic, accept new neighbors.

Two main paths cross at right angles in the center of the oval and almost hold the many monuments in a perilous balance. Otherwise, there is no obvious visual symmetry. The columnar *rond-point* erected at the paths' crossing by Frederick William IV of Prussia in 1858 does little to discipline a viewer's eye. The monarch envisioned a general union of Protestant sects and offered protection to the Evangelicals, a necessity before the acts of religious toleration went into effect during the early 1860s. Frederick's project was darkened by two strokes in 1857, and his cross-topped pillar, although connoting political order, is literally obscured by stately cypresses. Their natural uniformity alone organizes the varied human memorials beneath them.

Crowded though Porta a Pinti may be (like many contemporary cemeteries in Italy and elsewhere), three important features distinguish it from surrounding *camposanti* and, indeed, from the majority of burial grounds everywhere. It cannot be called a representative resting place where a statistically average number of aristocrats and poor sleep together. Most graveyards contain native citizens from all social classes, some famous, others who saved money all their lives to purchase a plot and marker. Genoa's dramatic hillside Staglieno cemetery, for one, shelters Giuseppe Mazzini and many of his renowned *mille*, the "thousand" who liberated the nation from Austria, as well as a majority of ordinary subjects. In Piazzale Donatello, however, many foreign celebrities repose. Elizabeth Barrett Browning typifies an elite group that flourished away from its native lands. No everyday person inspired Swinburne to compose an epitaph such as now appears on the worn stone covering Landor's remains. Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-1861), once the star pupil at Thomas Arnold's Rugby School, husband of Florence Nightingale's

cousin, protege of Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell and Charles Eliot Norton, is also interred here. His death, far from Anglo communities, prompted Matthew Arnold's "Thyrsis," one of the most notable pastoral elegies in English literature. The famous American sculptor Hiram Powers (1805-1873), praised for his portrait busts and neo-classical nudes, moved to Florence in 1837 and stayed near the source of his glittering carrara marble. Close to both these men, in a stately sarcophagus, reposes James Lorimer Graham (1838-1876), the respected editor of *Graham's Magazine* (Fig. 2). He enthusiastically accepted President Grant's appointment as Consul General in Florence and, exceeding his charge, sought out a wide variety of people to help. He and his wife provided quarters in their Villa Orsini on Via Valfonda for Claire Claremont, mother of Byron's Allegra; at Christmas, they sold conspicuously non-Italian evergreen trees and mistletoe along the Arno to benefit city paupers. When Graham died at age thirty-eight, Florentines mourned him, and Swinburne wrote a moving elegy for his burial.[14]

The high percentage of notable exiles makes the Protestant Cemetery unlike nearby Italian ones for a second reason. Few families repose together. Porta a Pinti accepted inhumations for barely half a century, so

Fig. 2 Memorial to James Lorimer Graham, Jr. (1838-1876).

the linkages are restricted to husbands and wives or parents and children, and these mainly among continental families. Perhaps the nonconformists had been prepared psychologically for separation by the Protestant emphasis upon direct communication, unmediated by clergy or family, between God and individual believers.

The estrangement that death brings to any survivors here reduplicates itself, however: these sleepers had left our bright world, as everyone must, but they departed from Florence, not their familiar London or Boston or Basle. According to John Morley and James Stevens Curl, midcentury English speakers eased the acceptance of death in their own lands with consoling rituals. In Florence, several Hope-and-anchor or child-soul-flying-to-heaven statues display this characteristic Victorian optimism. Nonetheless, the general impression is of individualism in death. Contemporary painters sometimes implied that dying anywhere still held much terror. Their canvases remind us how, unlike most deaths in Florence, these of foreigners happened among strangers rather than kin and must have caused special anxiety.[15]

One extraordinary monument in Porta a Pinti, a jarringly medieval reaper erected by a fond father and brother for a 17-year old girl, underscores the isolation required because of citizenship or religion. Andrea di Mariano Casentini (1853-1870) rests under a scythe-wielding skeleton that clashes with the usual mid-nineteenth century emblems of consolation (Fig. 3). Rather than easing the survivors' grief, it preaches a moral more reminiscent of Savonarola and Cotton Mather than John Wesley. The skeleton suggests how tenuous was the supposed resignation to death, at least among some exiles.

A final distinctive feature: the memorials of these family-less notables may differ from one another, but each resolutely marks the permanent abode of the deceased. Tenants disregarded the European custom (employed as well in New Orleans' Saint Louis cemeteries) of burying the dead for a few years and then digging up the remains so they might be reinterred in a wall niche (even today, the normal subterranean tenure in Venice's island cemetery, San Michele, is a mere ten years).[16] Rather, these varied stones imply a final abode in which the loved one can rest forever, free from translation as soon as the fee for below-ground privilege has been exhausted. Like the English dead in Thomas Gray's country churchyard, "Each [is] in his narrow cell forever laid."[17]

This permanence may be due to the absence of an established church

Fig. 3 Memorial to Andrea di Mariano Casentini (1853-1870).

with adjacent open ground (the Evangelical Church's historian André lists at least six buildings in Florence used for worship during years that the cemetery was open). Also, social custom changed, and many survivors preferred to let the loved one remain in the city. An earlier habit of

shipping non-Catholic bodies to Livorno became difficult when the Florentine Protestant community grew. Because expatriates tried to cling to practices of their original lands, while also adjusting to meet local needs, the segregation by class, the deemphasis of family, and the habit of eternal inhumation should not surprise us.

What might give us pause, however, are the obvious ways that the monuments in the Protestant cemetery, which range from simple to extravagant, defy most concessions to regional custom. Only one headstone, whose year cannot be read, conforms to a common Italian type. Although tall grass now grows from the plot in front of the curved, upright slab, it bears, in the fashion of mid-century stones on both sides of the Atlantic, a picture of the deceased. The touching epitaph, though, appears to be quite Mediterranean. Twenty-three-year old Bianca Bianchini died after less than one month of marriage. Her motto turns upon a conceit: "*Povera Bianca / Il tuo velo nunziale / dopo 24 giorni / si cambiò in drappo funereo*" ("Poor Bianca. Your wedding veil, after twenty four days, was changed into a funeral wrapping"). Such sentiment might seem more in keeping with the flamboyant Italians than the rational northerners. True, John Dryden had expressed the same paradox when he wrote these lines "Upon the Death of Lord Hastings" in 1649: "Must noble Hastings immaturely die, / The honor of his ancient family, / Beauty and Learning thus together meet, / To bring a *Winding* for a *Wedding-sheet*?" But the English author was barely nineteen, and the taste of his age admitted metaphysical wit. A parallel conceit occasionally appears on English stones. *Ainsworth's Magazine* for 1842 records an inscription "at Kensal Green" that complements that of Bianca: "The coffin must be her bridal bed, / The winding sheet must wrap her head." John Morley rightly characterizes the verse as "ineptly romantic," and I suspect that the English sleeper came from a social class below that of most Anglo-Florentines.[18]

The concentrated emotion evident in Bianca's italianate stone seems to contrast with the severe factuality commemorating another prematurely dead bride, this one an Englishwoman. William Holman Hunt, the Pre-Raphaelite painter, married Fanny Waugh on December 28, 1865. He was determined to show her the Holy Land (he had visited it in the previous decade), but a cholera epidemic diverted the newly-weds to Fiesole. There Fanny died at age thirty-three, soon after giving birth to a child also destined to perish. The memorial Hunt designed is a curvilin-

ear domed coffin resting on foam-like stone which, in turn, sits upon a solid rectangular pediment (Fig. 4). The simple plaque attached to the north side of the base, the one facing Elizabeth Barrett Browning's monument, reads, "FANNY / the wife of / W. HOLMAN HUNT / died in florence Dec. 20. 1866 / in the first year of her marriage." Restraint and a hope of salvation mingle – the streamlined coffin has cross-like decorations at either end that result from an ornamental fillet resembling a true-love knot. Hunt's piety apparently furnished him with a security that needed no mannerist cleverness to express itself.

But the same memorial that announces Hunt's resistance to Italy ("one who sees her young is lost") also communicates another gesture, of personal guilt, perhaps, or florid romantic despair. Hunt anxiously supervised the carving of this marker (a common ritual for survivors). If cemeteries must sum up the deceased, they also materialize fantasies of the living. Hunt's life had already been complicated by questions of intimacy. His paintings reveal a preoccupation with sexuality. Timothy Hilton notes how "the Shakesperean scenes which fascinate Hunt are those in which are displayed a strong sense of sin and sexual guilt." Illustrating *Measure For Measure* in 1860, for instance, Hunt chooses the

Fig. 4 Memorial to Fanny Waugh Hunt (1833-1866).

Fig. 5 William Holman Hunt, "Isabella and the Pot of Basil," 1867.
Courtesy Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington

moment when Isabella reveals to her brother Claudio that she refused to sleep with Angelo, the temporary ruler, in exchange for a pardon from death for the helpless Claudio. In another instance ("A Street Scene in Cairo: The Lantern Maker's Courtship"), Hunt pictured a grinning Arab lantern maker who feels the contours of his beloved's face beneath her veil. This interest in disovering a hidden lover, here expressed in a playfully erotic way, reappears in his illustration for John Keats' poem "Isabella and the Pot of Basil" (Fig. 5). The macabre tale, originally in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, tells how the distraught Isabella learned from her lover's ghost that he had been murdered by her snobbish brothers. She digs up his head and hides it in a pot of basil, which she visits daily and waters with her tears.[19]

I suggest that Hunt's anxiety about the dark trinity of god-sex-death encodes itself in the outwardly simple sarcophagus he chose for Fanny. Its rounded end copies the shape of the basil pot, and it may recall those many hours that Fanny, sick with her difficult pregnancy, posed in scorching heat for sketches of Isabella. A portrait of Fanny finished in 1868 shows her with a neat bow at her throat – reminiscent of the fillet on the sarcophagus. Behind her, a mirror reflects the chandelier, a curved urn, and a shallow glass bowl four times. Possibly the painter reused the familiar shapes for Fanny's monument because he longed for her to return just as, in his painting, the lights and the curved objects on the mantel repeat their existence.[20]

Many markers for other English speakers in the Protestant Cemetery resisted Italian culture by claiming that the deceased's real life was lived far from Florence. Like the English in Victoria, British Columbia, who planted old world yew, holly and boxwood trees in Ross Bay Cemetery so that the new world pines would not dominate their last home, the planners of several stones in Florence wanted to recall those lands the dead had left behind, not the one in which they died. Sir David Dumbreck (1805-1876), a professional soldier originally from Scotland, served in the Crimea and advertised his military identity by displaying five medals, including the K.C.B., on his stone (Fig. 6). Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore* (1878) laughs at the inept Sir Joseph Porter and his K.C.B., but Sir David's memorial communicates a patriotic seriousness unlike that of a comic "monarch of the sea." Dumbreck's classical upright slab and simple iron fence mark off a space appropriate for one who respected tradition and clear boundaries. His method of eternaliz-

Fig. 6 Memorial to Sir David Dumbreck (1805-1876).

ing martial accomplishment reappears in northern monuments. A French nurse major ("Infermière Major") born in the decade of Sir David's death, Maman Perdon (1872-1954) lies in the cemetery of St. Vincent, Paris, and displays twelve medals on her uniform.[21]

The marker of another soldier, "LIEUTN GENERAL JOHN FOXE / OF NEWCASTLE IRELAND / WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 26 OF FEBRUARY 1837 AGED 67," deftly combines southern and northern motifs to emphasize his allegiance to the British Isles (Fig. 7). At the center of Foxe's cross is featured a pelican in its piety, found throughout Europe as an emblem of sacrificial love. Dante calls Jesus "*nostro pellicano*,"[22] and recalls the long identification of Christ with the bird that reputedly revives its young by lacerating its own breast and feeding them with his blood. However, as if to prove the truth of Foxe's pilgrim motto ("THE JUST PASSETH THROUGH DEATH UNTO LIFE"), the upright and two arms of his almost- celtic cross echo the shape of the three tri-lobed shamrocks pictured on the end pieces. This plant directs one's attention, not to Christendom in general, but to Ireland. Shamrocks may indicate his belief in the Trinity; still, their most immediate association for a countryman would be geographical, not theological. The General's family crest at the base adds a further element to this bi-cultural cross and creates a new triad of adopted nation / original homeland / family that bespeaks a longing for personal significance no matter what the immediate region might be.

A similar urge to pretend that the deceased lay under familiar skies may be felt when one stands before the memorial to Theodore Parker (1810-1860) (Fig. 8). The famous Boston transcendentalist minister, whom his friend Emerson called "our Savonarola" because he spoke so eloquently against the Mexican War and in favor of John Brown, runaway slaves and Native Americans, rests under a dignified protrait-and-legend marker. John Hart sculpted it shortly after his death and meant to remind visitors of Parker's amazing oratorical skills. Across the wide ocean, Leonard Wood (1774-1864), another noted preacher, sleeps in the Phillips Academy Cemetery, Andover, Massachusetts, facing Harriet Beecher Stowe (Fig. 9). Wood's marker, sadly worn now, once displayed a striking profile and engraved biography, and shows how traditional was Parker's monument (as if to reaffirm Parker's New England identity, a Massachusetts pine was originally planted behind the stone in Florence).[23]

The two clearest reminders of a distant homeland mark the graves of

Fig. 7 Memorial to Lieutenant General John Foxe (1770-1837).

Fig. 8 Memorial to Theodore Parker (1810-1860).

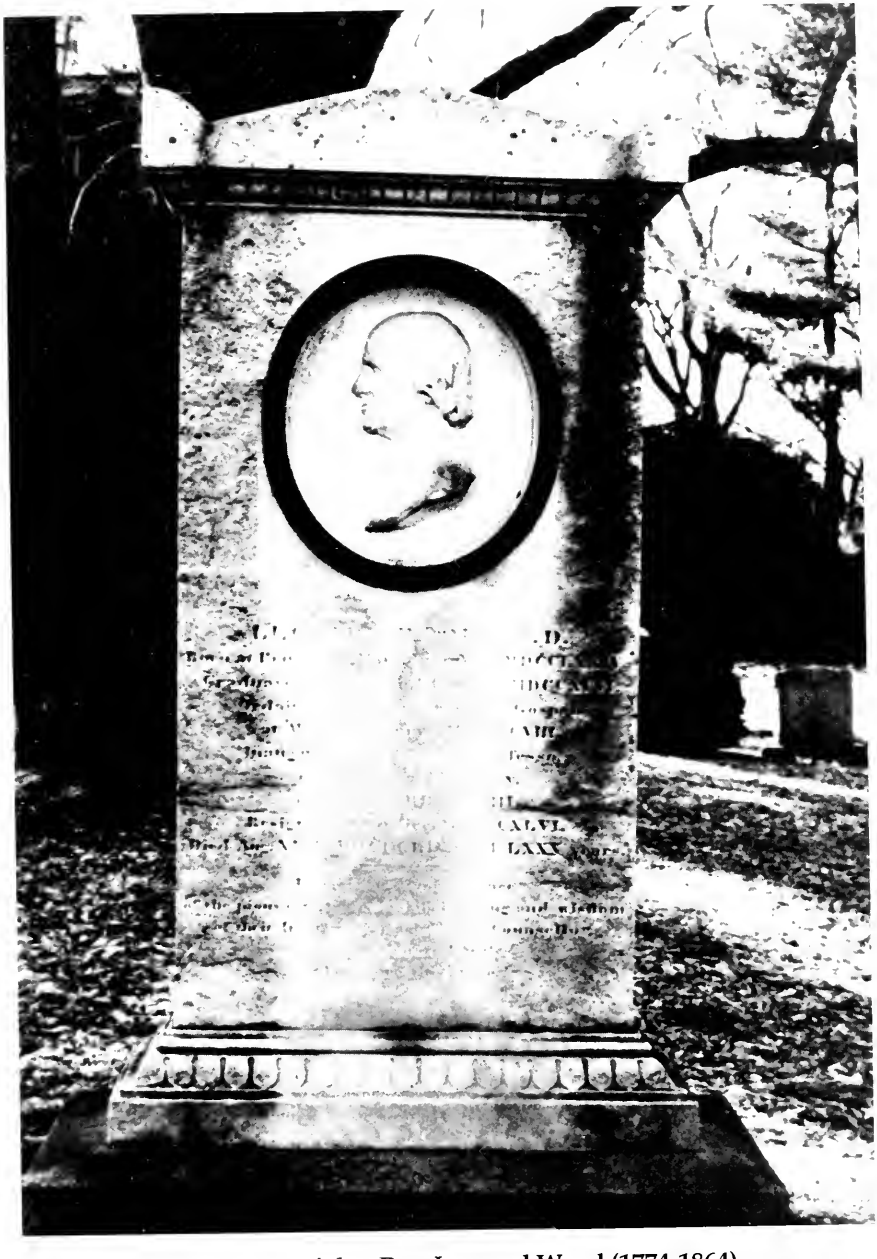


Fig. 9 Memorial to Rev. Leonard Wood (1774-1864).
Philips Academy Cemetery, Andover, Mass.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861) and Frances Trollope (1780-1863). On June 29, 1861, Mrs. Browning died in Robert's arms, having just kissed him. Her burial took place on Monday, July 1, at 7 p.m. Although she had worshipped with Dissenters during their fifteen-year residence in the city, Robert preferred to hear "those only words" which began the Anglican service. Thus, the chaplain of the English church officiated. Soon afterward, Robert sketched the preliminary design for a monument; Lord Frederic Leighton did the detailed plan; Giovannozzi sculpted it. Leighton already had an affinity for the Brownings. His sentimental picture of honeymooners who hold hands while the man draws might have illustrated his friends' loving relationship. Robert, in turn, eased Leighton's worry about creating a fit memorial ("Don't fret; you will do everything like yourself in the end, I know").[24]

Elizabeth's monument (Fig. 10) blends ancient, Renaissance and modern motifs, so that anyone who knew her would have understood that her ideals were being translated into stone. The laurel-crowned female in the medallion may be any one of three women. Perhaps Leighton meant it to portray Elizabeth. When William Wordsworth died in 1850, Elizabeth, not the less famous Robert, was put forward to be the

Fig. 10 Memorial to Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861).

Fig. 11 Memorial to Frances Trollope (1780-1863).

Fig. 12 Memorial to the Magoun family.
Mount Auburn Cemetery, Boston, Mass.

new poet laureate of England. Then again, the woman may be Poetry in general or Elizabeth's fictional alter ego, Aurora Leigh, a poet who pluckily forged a life and profession for herself. The medallion is bracketed by lilies, symbol of Florence and, in the Brownings' private mythology, of freedom from Britain's cold climate, her harsh father and the repressive Austrians.

One last monument to both a person and a life away from Italy was erected by Frances Trollope's dutiful son. Her long career (1780-1863) ended on October 6, 1863. Thomas Adolphus Trollope soon after placed this touching memorial (Fig. 11). The grieving female kneels in profound meditation, praying and perhaps regretting that she must leave the world she had enjoyed for so long. During most of Mrs. Trollope's twenty-year stay in Florence, her salon attracted eminent visitors, eager to meet the author of some thirty novels and savor her famous wit (her last home, where she staged amateur plays, is still known as Villino Trollope). We may ask why the ebullient woman should be eternalized by such a *plorante*, but an analogous monument in Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery (Fig. 12) once again shows how formulaic were these sculptings. The somber Magoun monument echoes that of Mrs. Trollope and demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon tradition sometimes eclipsed individual statements.[25]

While these voluntary exiles were simultaneously absorbing Italian culture in life and rejecting it at death, Nathaniel Hawthorne in 1860 wrote in *The Marble Faun* (a novel inspired by the author's own travels in Italy), "bad as the world is said to have grown, innocence continues to make a paradise around itself, and keep it still unfallen."[26] Whatever a modern viewer might feel about the colonialist mentality of the sleepers in Florence, I should like to think that they would welcome such a respectful description, and understanding, of their final resting place.

NOTES

Partial support for research was provided by the Graduate School, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. In addition, I have profited from the comments of colleagues, Professors Gary Aho, Robert Bagg, Paul Mariani, and Meredith B. Raymond, as well as from respondents to short versions presented to the American Culture Association, Toronto, March, 1990, the Association for Gravestone Studies, Bristol, RI, June, 1990, and the anonymous reviewers for *Markers*. Professor Sara and Doctor Anna Volterra, who live near Porta a Pinti, have done so much for me that Anglo-Saxon words fail to express my profound gratitude. All photographs were taken by the author, with the exception of Fig. 1, which is in

the public domain, and Fig. 5, which is reproduced courtesy of the Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, Delaware.

1. Quoted in Newman Ivey White, *Shelley* (New York, 1940), 2:31-32. C. P. Brand discusses "Italo-mania" in *Italy and the English Romantics. The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957). Harry W. Rudman continues the history of English involvement with Italy through the 1860s in *Italian Nationalism and English Letters. Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters* (London, 1940). John Pemble offers a superb general account of visitors to countries such as Greece and Egypt, as well as Italy, in *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford, 1988).

2. Lady Morgan, *Italy. Being the Substance of a Journal of Her Residence in That Country* [1819-20], New Edition, 2 vols. (London, 1824). A memorial *lapide* on a wall in the first cloister of Santa Croce opposite the Pazzi chapel honors the birth of Miss Nightingale.

3. William Dean Howells, *Tuscan Cities* (Boston and New York, 1894), 15. Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son* (Boston, 1907, Rpt. 1965), 74-75.

4. Harriet Charlotte Beaujolois Campbell, *A Journey To Florence in 1817*, ed. G. R. de Beer (London, 1951), 126-27. Shelley's letter of December 22, 1818, from Naples, is in *English Romantic Poetry and Prose*, ed. Russell Noyes (New York, 1956), 1113.

5. George Eliot, *Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (New Haven, Conn., 1954). Pension: 3:294; walks, 3:419. "In Memory of Walter Savage Landor" may be found in Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads. First Series* (London, 1889), 153-55. C.P. Brand captures the spirit of this contradictory man, offering the anecdotes cited and then reminding us, "Yet there was always *something* Italian which attracted the exiles: with Landor it was the literature": *Italy and the English Romantics*, 12.

6. L. Villari, "Italians and English," *The National Review* 9 (November 1883): 371.

7. Mark Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*, ed. Sidney E. Berger (New York, 1980), 1-2. The second quotation is from *The Innocents Abroad* (New York, 1911), 167.

8. See John Ruskin, *The Works*, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, vol. 23 (London, 1906), which contains *Val D'Arno* (1874), *The Aesthetic and Mathematic Schools of Florence* (1874), and *Mornings in Florence: Being Simple Studies of Christian Art for English Travellers* (1875-77). Susan and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence*, 2 vols. (London, 1873).

9. In his 1877 *Notice Historique sur le Cimetière de l'Église Évangélique Reformée de Florence a Porta Pinti*, Gustave Dalgas recounts an incident from the cemetery's early days when vandals, "inspires par le fanatisme," climbed the walls and ruined flowers, hedges, and monuments. The "profanation" was not repeated, and Dalgas notes the general benevolence of the populace and the government. The *Notice* is reprinted as an appendix in Tony André, *L'Église Évangélique Réformée de Florence depuis son Origine jusqu'à nos Jours* (Florence, 1899), 283-308. Profanation: 287.

10. Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death. The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, Mass, 1987), 300.

11. The old photo also adorns the title page of a small guide by Luigi Santini, *Il Cimitero Protestante detto <<degli Inglesi>> in Firenze* (Firenze, 1981).

12. John Stoddard, *Lectures*, vol. 8 (Boston, 1903), 78. Modern Italians also respond to the cemetery's spell. See Franco Forini's poem, "Camposanto degli Inglesi," in *The New Italian Poetry, 1945 to the Present. A Bilingual Anthology*, ed. and trans. Lawrence R. Smith (Berkeley, Cal., 1981), 46-49.

13. Philip Ariès, *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore, 1974), 97.

14. Clara Louise Dentler conveniently summarizes biographical information for Graham and others in *Famous Foreigners in Florence, 1400-1900* (Firenze, 1964). Graham: 101-102, 300. A more complete study is Giuliana Artom Treves, *Anglo-Fiorentini di cento anni fa* (Firenze, 1953).

15. John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (London, 1971). James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (London, 1972). Several paintings illustrate the themes of terror and loss. Arthur Hughes' "Home From the Sea" (1863) shows a young sailor weeping in an English cemetery, obviously returned too late to have comforted the departed. Thomas Charles Farrer's "Gone! Gone!" (1860) portrays a forlorn woman, perhaps pregnant, against a seascape, hinting that her lover/husband will not return. In "Vail of Rest" (1858), John Everett Millais depicts nuns burying their dead, but he disconcerts the viewer by having one nun stare directly out of the canvas. In Henry Alexander Bowler's "The Doubt. Will These Bare Bones Live Again?" (1858), a young woman leans on a gravemarker and ponders newly unearthed bones.

16. Conversation with Fr. Vittorino Meneghin, Prior, Franciscan Convent, San Michele, Venice, June, 1989.

17. Thomas Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. M.H. Abrams, *et al.*, 5th Ed. (New York, 1986), I: 2480-2483.

18. John Dryden, "Upon the Death of Lord Hastings," in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Berkeley, Cal., 1961), I: 3-6. The Kensal Green epitaph is quoted in Morley, 43.

19. Timothy Hilton, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (New York, 1974), 86. There are two versions of "Isabella and the Pot of Basil," both painted in 1867, one at Laing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the other at the Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington. Roland Elzea intelligently discusses the latter version in *The Samuel and Mary R. Bancroft, Jr. and Related Pre-Raphaelite Collections* (Wilmington, Del.: Delaware Art Museum, 1984), 66-68. Hunt's fascination with grieving is also evident in his 1849 engraving, "Of My Lady in Death," reproduced in John Nicoll, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London, 1970), 38.

20. Collection of Paul A'Court Bergne. Reproduced in Mary Bennett, *William Holman*

Hunt: An Exhibition by the Walker Art Gallery (Liverpool, 1969), plate 76. Hunt lamented to a fellow artist on November 19, 1867, that he had no likeness of Fanny: "I wish so much you had done one of my dear wife." A few lines later, Hunt mentions "sweet 'Isabella' mourning over her pot of basil," a significant juxtaposition. See *A Pre-Raphaelite Friendship. The Correspondence of William Holman Hunt and John Lucas Tupper*, eds. James H. Coombs, *et al.* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1986), 79.

21. John Adams supplied the data on Ross Bay at the American Culture Association convention, St. Louis, 1989. The prototype for Porter was a land-locked bookseller named W. H. Smith whom Disraeli appointed First Lord of the Admiralty at the time of Sir David's death. Judi Culbertson and Tom Randall picture Maman Perdon's memorial in *Permanent Parisians. An Illustrated Guide to the Cemeteries of Paris* (Chelsea, VT., 1986), 138. [*Editor's Note*: The practice of depicting medals on gravemarkers is an important (and ongoing) French funerary tradition: monuments bearing such decoration are frequently found in cemeteries throughout the country.]

22. Dante, *Paradiso* 25. 113. Near Foxe's marker lies Clara Mathilde Westznthius née Salvetti (1802-1863). Her elaborate memorial, a compendium of symbols such as the reversed tedae, burning heart, phoenix, and cross-holding, upwardly-pointing woman, also displays on its front a similar pelican.

23. John Weiss describes Parker's memorial in *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, 2 vols. (New York, 1864), 2:441-42. The Savonarola epithet appears in Henry Steele Commager, *Theodore Parker* (Boston, 1936), ix.

24. Leonee and Richard Ormond reproduce the plan in *Lord Leighton* (New Haven and London, 1975), plates 98, 99, 100. Leighton's "The Painter's Honeymoon" is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Mrs. Russell Barrington prints Browning's letter, dated August 30, 1863, in *The Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Leighton*, 2 vols. (New York, 1906), 2:65.

25. Helen Heineman, *Mrs. Trollope: The Triumphant Feminine in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio, 1979), 297, quotes the mock epitaph which fun-loving Frances composed and might have preferred to have inscribed on her monument:

    I Mrs. Trollope
    Made these vols. roll up;
    And when Heaven shall take my soul up
    My works will fill a big hole up.

26. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun* (New York, 1958), 321.

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