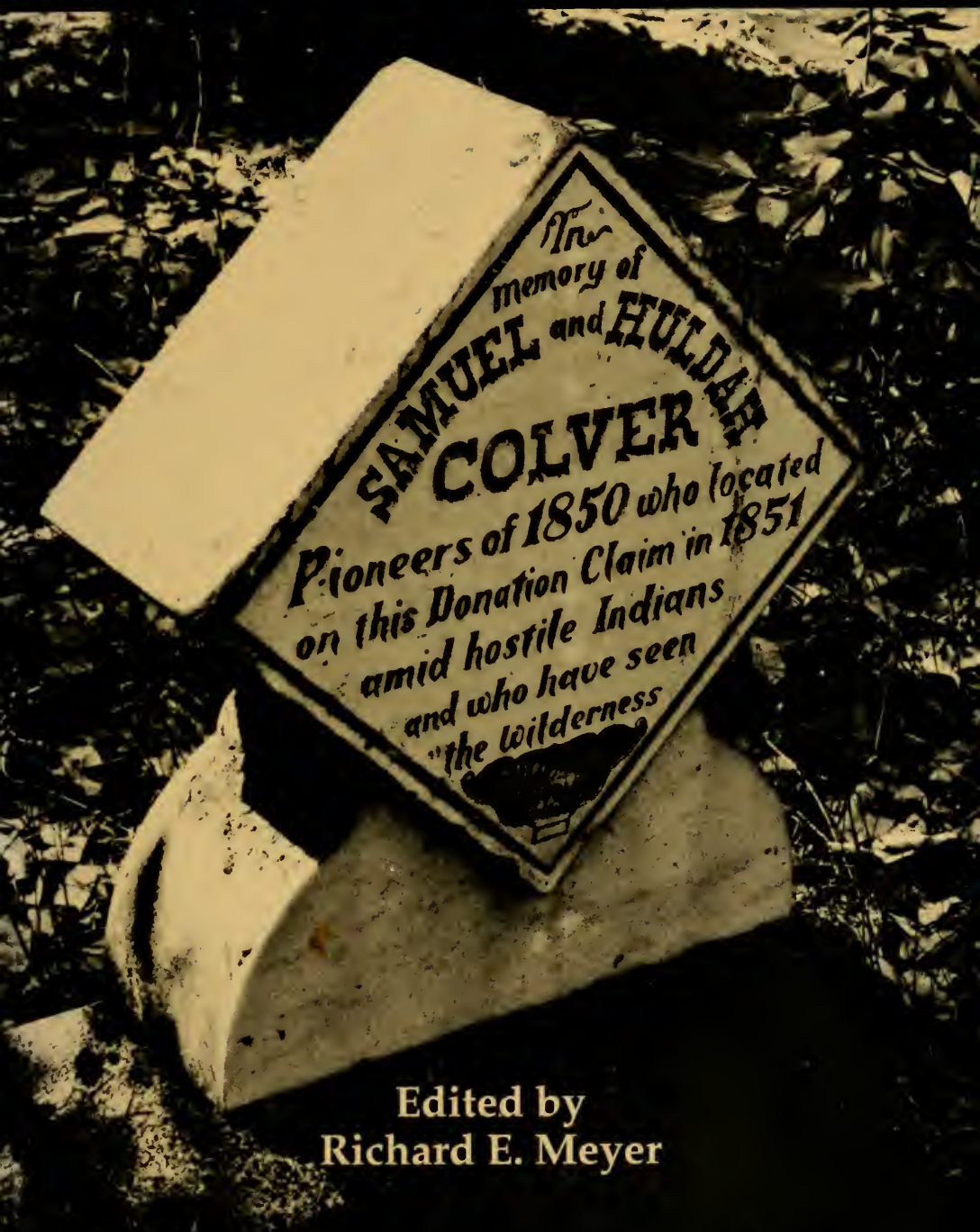
MARKERS XI



Edited by
Richard E. Meyer

Journal of the
Association for Gravestone Studies

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Cover photo: Samuel and Huldah Colver, 1907, Phoenix, Oregon. Photograph by Richard E. Meyer.

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Markers XI has been a pleasure to produce, and I hope its readers will find an equal pleasure in reading its contents. The individual essays presented in this issue represent a wide range of time periods, geographical regions of the country, and scholarly techniques – in short, the type of broad-based and balanced examination of gravemarkers, their makers, and the places where they are found which is coming to be characteristic of the best recent work in this specialized area of American folk art and material culture. As a part of this trend, I feel, *Markers* has been and continues to be the standard by which other efforts must be judged.

Any scholarly publication's merits are determined largely by the quality of its manuscript submissions and the subsequent efforts of its editorial review board, and in both these regards my work as editor has been greatly aided by the high standards and conscientiousness displayed by contributors and members of the editorial board. I thank them

all, and hope that readers with scholarly projects in mind will consider submitting their best work for publication consideration in future issues of *Markers*.

Others deserve thanks as well, in particular Professor Gregory Jeane of Samford University, who responded with enthusiasm and acumen to my call for specialized editorial assistance; Western Oregon State College, which generously supports this publication through numerous forms of indirect financial assistance; staff members – most especially Patti Stephens and Fred Kennedy – at Print Tek West, Salem, Oregon, who make my job a lot easier and this volume a lot more handsome; the officers, board members, staff, and general membership of the Association for Gravestone Studies, who make it all possible in the first place; and, finally, Lotte Larsen, who believes in me and helps in so many ways to make me believe in myself.

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 (Phone: (503) 838-8362 / E-Mail: meyerr@fsa.wosc.osshe.edu) For information about other AGS publications, membership, and activities, write to the Association's Executive Director, Miranda Levin, 30 Elm Street, Worcester, Massachusetts 01609, or call (508) 831-7753.

Frontispiece. "Virtue and Silence." Masonic emblems on slate gravemarker, late 1700s. East Derry, NH. Photograph #1838 by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber

RITUAL, REGALIA AND REMEMBRANCE: FRATERNAL SYMBOLISM AND GRAVESTONES

Laurel K. Gabel

In the 1920s, an estimated thirty million people, nearly half of the entire population of the United States, belonged to at least one secret order or fraternal benefit society (Fig. 1).[1] Even the smallest rural settlements often supported more than one fraternal lodge, so it was not uncommon then, or even now, for a man or woman to belong to several different organizations (Fig. 2). The grand lodge buildings and fraternal meeting halls of these groups, once a central focus of many communities, are still highly visible in towns and cities across the country.

In their heyday, the well-known symbols and emblems of fraternal organizations appeared everywhere – on jewelry, furniture, and ceramics, on an almost limitless array of household items, and on gravemarkers. The most elaborate symbolic displays, however, were usually

Fig. 1 "Which Are You?" Fraternal emblem lapel pins featured in a Grinnell Company advertisement. *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 5, 1924. Courtesy of The Saturday Evening Post Society.

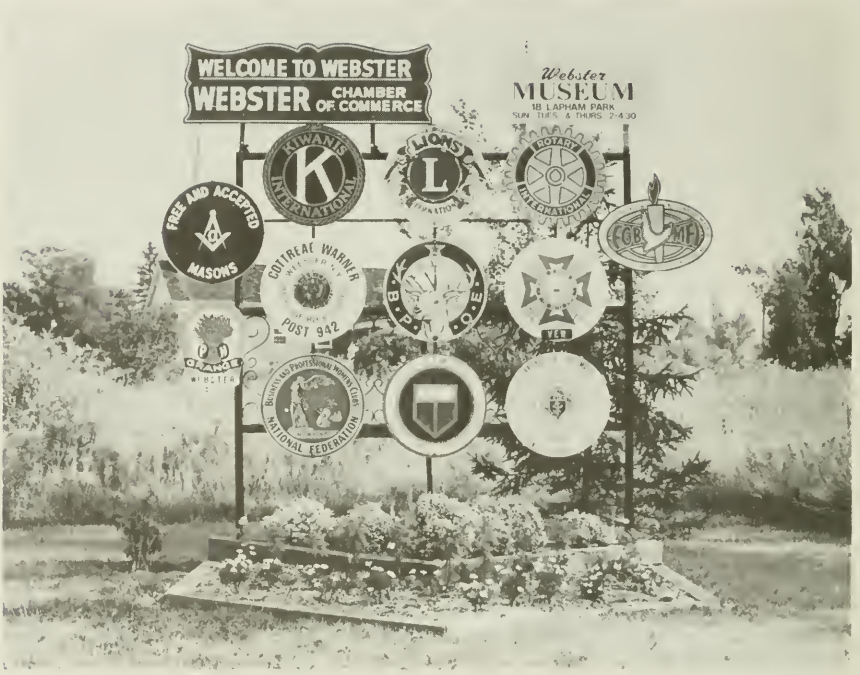


Fig. 2 Roadside sign displaying emblems of local fraternal and service organizations, 1991. Webster, NY.

reserved for lodge furnishings and the special ceremonial regalia of the order (Fig. 3).[2]

Death and funerary regalia held special importance in the complex rituals and secret initiations of fraternalism. This regalia was also an integral part of the etiquette and ceremony of fraternal burials. Special coffin plates and handles embellished with fraternal emblems, elaborate floral tributes in the symbolic shapes and colors of the order, and ornate mourner's badges worn by attending lodge brothers were among some of the more common, commercially available funeral accessories. Along with the insurance of a decent burial, secret societies provided their own structure and meaning to the mourning process by integrating lodge rituals and symbols into the fraternal burial ceremony. Furnishing this final dignity and drama at a member's funeral was considered one of the most solemn obligations of the fraternal brotherhood.

The prevalence of fraternalism is apparent today on numerous

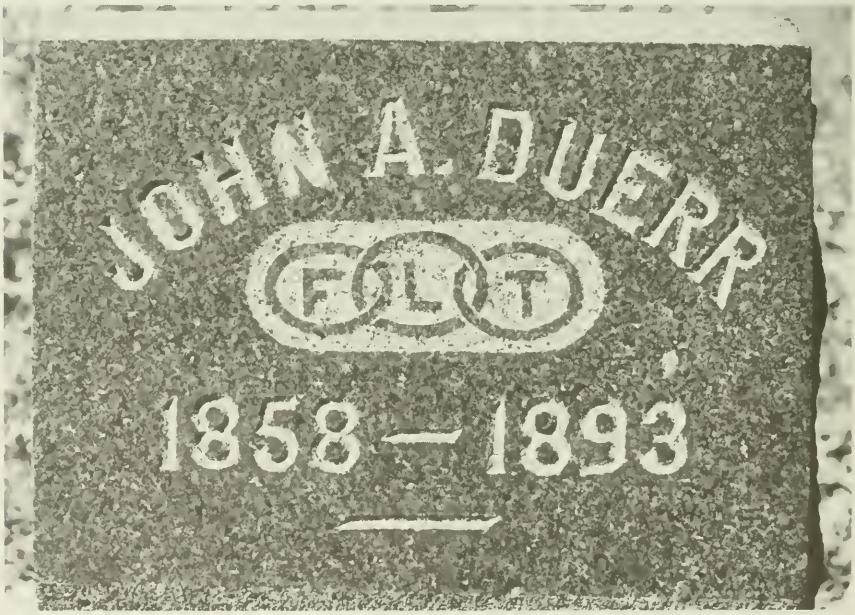
Fig. 3 Masonic Regalia. Lodge Apron, ca. 1850. Attributed to R. B. Crafft of Kentucky. Museum of Our National Heritage, Lexington, MA, #85.6.2; Gift of the Valley of Lowell, MA, in honor of Brother Starr H. Fiske, 32nd Degree. Photograph by John Miller Documents.

gravestones in cemeteries across the country, where the totality of a life is often expressed by a name, dates of birth and death, and the emblems of fraternal affiliation (Fig. 4). Many cemeteries have dedicated special sections to the various fraternal groups. It is not uncommon, for example, to find within the cemetery proper a large Masonic plot or a separate area (or areas) reserved for Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, or the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. Fraternal organizations also established and frequently continue to own and operate entire cemeter-

ies exclusively for their brotherhood. And, even in instances where these cemeteries have come under community or private control, their origins are often clearly seen through the retention of their original, identifying names.

Our contemporary society may find it easy to dismiss some of the practices and beliefs of these secret organizations: their mysterious rites, secret rituals, and ceremonial regalia can appear silly when viewed in the context of today's culture. However, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the heyday of secret societies, there were at least 800 active fraternal organizations in the United States.[3] An estimated 2,000 fraternal societies are believed to have existed in North America at one time or another since the mid-1800s. Many of these organizations survived for only a short period and left behind little by way of historical records.[4] Gravestones bearing unfamiliar emblems and long forgotten acronyms may offer the only tangible evidence of a secret society's former existence.

Most fraternal organizations functioned at least partly as benefit soci-



eties – forerunners of the welfare programs, health insurance agencies, labor unions, and farm co-operatives that we now take for granted.[5] In

Fig. 5 "George Washington as a Mason." Strowbridge & Co., Lithographers; J.H. Power & Co., publishers, 1870. Museum of Our National Heritage, Lexington, MA.

many instances, a vital part of the benefits structure provided by these societies consisted of various forms of funerary assistance.

The meaning of some of the complex symbols and emblems associated with secret societies may be better understood when considered within the context of each specific organization. What follows is a brief introduction to several of the most common fraternal/benefit societies and their associated symbolism.

Although Masonry's ancient beginnings are often disputed, most scholars agree that the modern day origins of the order trace back to the stonemason's guilds of England and Scotland.[6] Structured around quasi-religious rituals and ancient mythology, the Masons are generally recognized as the oldest, and historically the most influential, fraternal society in America. Freemasons, or Ancient Free and Accepted Masons as they are officially known, were well-established in Boston and Philadelphia by the 1730s.[7]

Fig. 6 The "Structure of Freemasonry." R. E. Bartlett illustration after a painting by Everitt Henry. (Illustration from *Life*, October 8, 1956.) Museum of Our National Heritage, Lexington, MA. Photograph by John Miller Documents.

Masonry played a significant role in our country's early political and social history. The radical "Sons of Liberty," such noted leaders of the American Revolution as Paul Revere, John Hancock, and George Washington, and the majority of delegates to the Constitutional Convention were active members of the secret Masonic brotherhood (see Fig. 5).[8] These men incorporated some of the most basic ideals and principles of Masonry into the political foundations of the new government. One of the more visible examples of this is found on the back of the U.S. one dollar bill, where several common Masonic symbols appear in the Great Seal of the United States.[9]

The Masons, and the many fraternal societies modeled after them, built their organizations on a pyramid of degrees or ranks through

Fig. 7 Grave monument emblem of 32nd Degree Scottish Rite Mason, nd. Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, NY

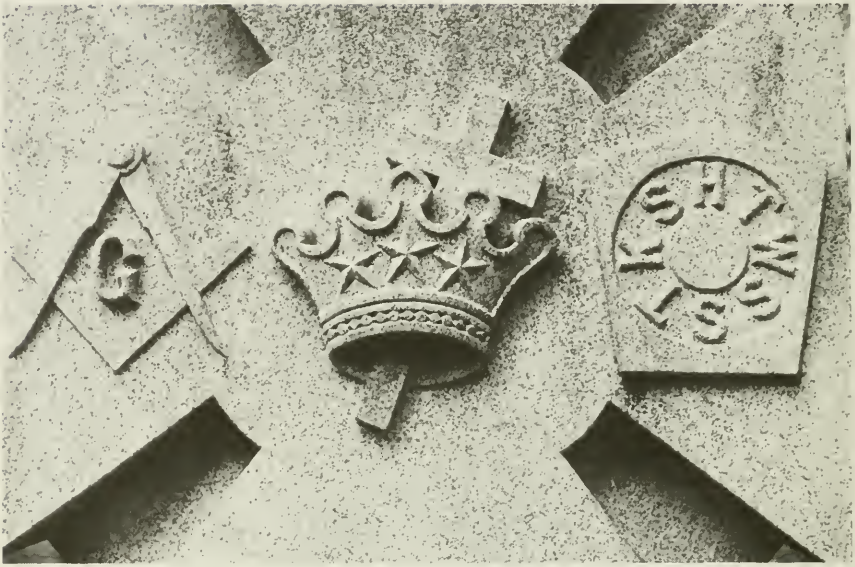


Fig. 8 Master Mason (left), Knights Templar (center), and Royal Arch (right) Masonic emblems on granite gravestone, 1912. Allegheny Cemetery, Pittsburgh, PA. Photograph by James Bodnar.

which initiates advance (Fig. 6). After completing the first three ranks, a candidate is said to have passed the "third degree" and is then accepted into the Masonic Blue Lodge. The common phrase "put through the third degree," which describes intense or relentless questioning, derives from this process of fraternal investiture.[10] Once a member of the Blue Lodge, Masons may continue in either the Scottish or the York Rite.[11] In the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (whose ranks are shown on the left side of the pyramid in Fig. 6) there are thirty additional degrees leading to the highest earned rank of thirty-second degree Mason. A double-headed eagle is associated with both the thirty-second and the honorary thirty-third degree in the Scottish Rite (Fig. 7). The York or American Rite Masons (whose ranks are shown on the right of the pyramid) advance through ten degrees to achieve the York Rite's highest rank of Knights Templar (see Fig. 8). Each rank has its own mythology and associated symbolism, which, when found on a gravemarker, displays the highest rank attained by the deceased.

Secret rituals, passwords, handshakes, and mystical symbols are an

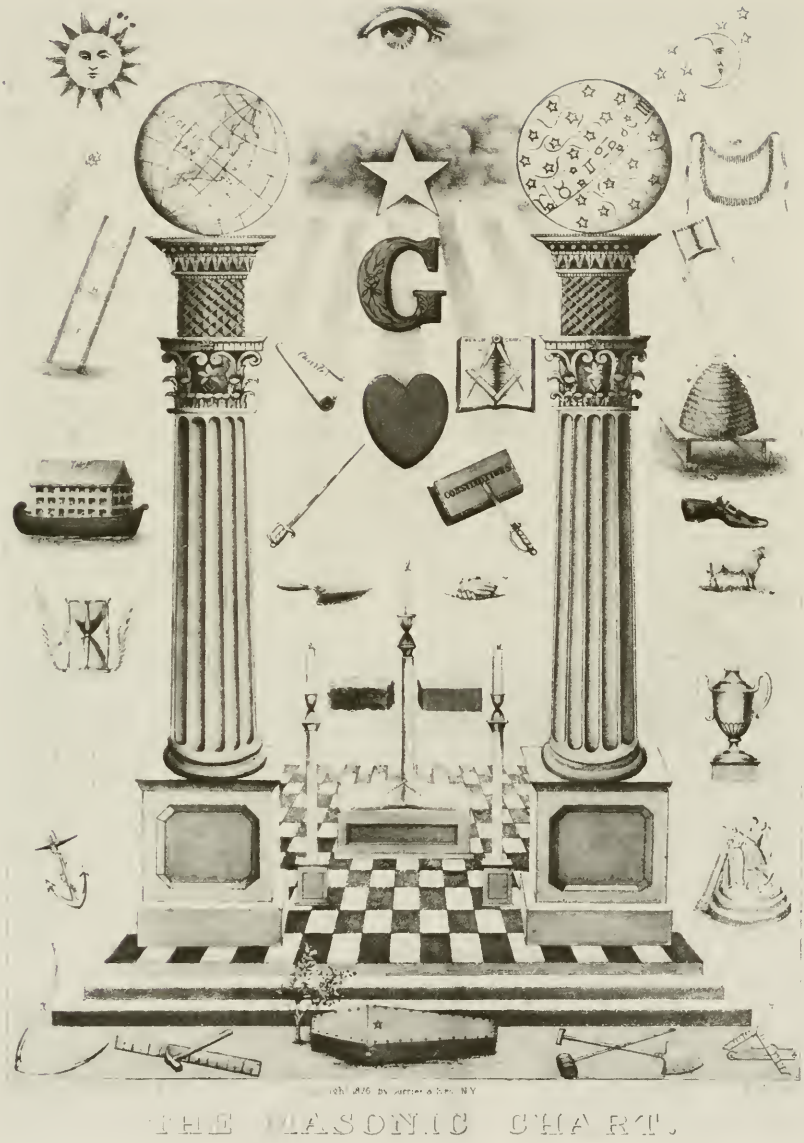


Fig. 9 Masonic symbols chart produced by Currier and Ives, 1876. Museum of Our National Heritage, Lexington, MA. Special Acquisitions Fund, #74.8. Photograph by John Miller Documents.

integral part of Masonry, as well as of most other fraternal societies. When, in 1826, a disgruntled Mason named William Morgan threatened to publish a book revealing fundamental Masonic secrets, he vanished – permanently – from a small town in northwestern New York. There was a great public outcry over Morgan's kidnapping and presumed murder. Masonic membership fell back sharply as a growing anti-Masonic political movement spread through the country. The Morgan affair, as it is now known, and the subsequent flurry of anti-fraternal activity, reflected the passions once aroused by fraternalism and fraternal secrecy.[12]

Most secret societies base their teachings on mythology, ancient legends, or historical incidents from the Old Testament. An extensive infrastructure of symbolism was designed so that, to quote nineteenth-century author George Oliver, "Every character, figure, or symbol delineated on the Tracing Boards or placed visibly before the eye in the Lodge, possesses a moral reference and inculcates the practice of moral and social virtue."[13] In ancient times, Tracing Boards were "for the Master to draw his plans on, that the building, whether moral or literal, may be conducted with order and regularity."[14] In fraternal lodges, these tracing boards or illustrated charts supplied the standard visual reference that accompanied the parables and moral lessons covered in lodge meetings.

The following listing of common symbols is derived from a popular lithograph of the Masonic Chart produced in 1876 by Currier and Ives (Fig. 9), and from *Masonic Symbols in American Decorative Arts*, an Exhibition Catalog of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum and Library, published in 1976. Many of the symbols listed here are used by other fraternal groups in addition to the Masons. A beehive, for example, may indicate that the deceased was affiliated with the Masons, the Odd Fellows, the Royal Orange Institution, or was perhaps even a member of the Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) faith. More than one fraternal society used the Masonic square and compass, and an all-seeing-eye figures in the symbolism of a great many secret societies. The *way* the symbols are combined on a gravemarker often helps determine the affiliation. Amongst the most commonly encountered Masonic symbols, one finds:

- The all-seeing-eye, a symbol of watchfulness and of a Supreme Being.
- A sprig of acacia, symbolic of immortality.
- An ark, suggesting hope, a safe passage through troubled times.

- A beehive, representing industriousness and productivity.
- The four Cardinal Virtues (Fig. 10): Temperance (figure measuring from a pitcher); Prudence (woman contemplating a mirror); Fortitude (figure with soldier's helmet); Justice (shown balancing the scales of justice).
- Charity, called the greatest of Masonic virtues, along with Faith (a figure with a cross) and Hope (a figure with an anchor), is depicted as one of the three rungs of the theological ladder. Charity is often represented by a mother with children.
- A shoe, associated with the first degree of Masonry and the assumption of fraternal obligations.
- The lamb, symbolizing purity and innocence.
- An urn with incense, emblem of a pure heart.
- A broken column, along with the figure of Father Time and a weeping Virgin standing over an open book, symbolic of mourning (Fig. 11).
- Pillars, representing the entrance to Solomon's Temple; sometimes labeled "B," which stands for Boaz, signifying "strength," and "J" for Jachin, which means "to establish," – or "in strength shall my

Fig. 10 The Four Cardinal Virtues: Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, and Justice. ***An Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry*****, Albert G. Mackey, 1916. Frontispiece, Vol. II.**

Fig. 11 Masonic emblem (Father Time standing behind a virgin weeping over a broken column) on marble gravestone, 1857. New Bern, NC. Photograph #7263 by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

house be established." Three columns symbolize Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, the three supports of a lodge.

- Euclid's forty-seventh problem of geometry, which instructs Masons to embrace science and art.
- The two globes, one celestial and one terrestrial, often seen on the two pillars of King Solomon's Temple.
- The Mosaic pavement, representing the floor of King Solomon's Temple, the black and white pattern symbolic of the good and evil in life.
- The square and compass (see Fig. 8), perhaps the most recognizable Masonic emblem, representing reason and faith.
- The letter "G," regarded as one of the most sacred of Masonic symbols, which stands for God and for geometry, emblematic of the spiritual and material worlds.[15]

- A keystone with the letters H.T.W.S.S.T.K.S. (see Fig. 8), which remind Royal Arch Masons of "Hiram the Widow's Son Sent to King Solomon," a principal lesson in this degree.[16]

Secret organizations for women, commonly existing as auxillaries to the men's fraternal lodges, are also known as fraternal, rather than sororital, societies. Women who wish to be associated with Masonry may join the Order of the Eastern Star, an adoptive order established in the 1870s. The degrees of Eastern Star center around the lives and virtues of five Biblical women. The emblem (Fig. 12) is a five-pointed star, usually bear-

Fig. 12 Eastern Star emblem on granite gravestone, 1973. "F.A.T.A.L." is an acronym for "Fairest Among Thousands, Altogether Lovely." San Marcos Cemetery, San Marcos, TX. Photograph by James Bodnar.

Fig. 13 Odd Fellows Encampment emblem on zinc ("white bronze") gravemarker, 1900. Pine Grove Cemetery, Falmouth, ME. Photograph by Rev. Ralph Tucker.

ing multiple small symbols (a broken pillar, sheaf of wheat, chalice, draped sword, and crown and scepter), accompanied by the letters F.A.T.A.L., an acronym for "Fairest Among Thousands, Altogether Lovely."[17] Many of the larger fraternal organizations discussed in this essay also established youth groups such as Rainbow Girls, DeMolay, Job's Daughters, Sunshine Girls, or Princes of Syracuse.

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.), another very popular fraternal organization, was founded in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1819 by English Odd Fellows who had migrated to the United States. Like Freemasonry, upon which it is loosely based, Odd Fellows have many degrees and accompanying symbols. The most familiar emblem associated with the order is the three links of a chain, often surrounding the letters "F.L.T.," which stand for the three degrees of "Friendship, Love and Truth" (see Figs. 4 and 15). A shepherd's crook, a pair of clasped hands, a bow and arrow, a heart displayed in the palm of a hand, and a tent, which is associated with the Odd Fellow's advanced Encampment Degree (Fig. 13), are other commonly encountered Odd Fellow emblems.[18] The three chain links associated with the Odd Fellows and the square and compass used by the Masons are the most common fraternal emblems found on gravestones. And, as many men belonged to both lodges, it is not unusual to see the two emblems side by side on a monument.

The women's auxiliary of the Odd Fellows, which began in 1851 as the Daughters of Rebekah, is known as the Association of Rebekah Assemblies. Its most frequently used emblem, a crescent moon and stars, a dove, and a lily accompanied by the letter "R", is often seen on gravestones or on a separate metal standard placed over the grave (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14 Daughters of Rebekah, or International Association of Rebekah Assemblies, emblem.

Many fraternal symbols such as the clasped hands of fellowship (see Fig. 15), a heart, a cross, an all-seeing-eye, and the anchor of hope, which were in everyday use in nineteenth century culture and universally understood, can also be found on non-fraternal gravemarkers. Private and popular meanings also coincide in a host of other images – a lamb, an hourglass, a scythe, a skeleton, or coffin, an open Bible, the scales of justice, a bee-

Fig. 15 Clasped hands of fellowship and three link emblem of Odd Fellows on zinc ("white bronze") gravemarker, ca. 1890. Cayuga County, NY.

hive, a sheared off column, or a dove of peace, to name but several.[19]

The Improved Order of Red Men, another well-known and still current organization, was founded in Baltimore in 1834. The ceremonies and symbols of the Red Men are based on nineteenth century perceptions of Native American culture. Lodges are called "wigwams," members belong to a "tribe," and non-members are known as "pale-faces." As in most fraternal organizations, a candidate was accepted for membership only after a vote by current members in good standing. A white ball placed in the ballot box signified acceptance, while a black ball was recorded as a negative vote, and thus emerged the term "black balled" to describe non-acceptance. Although its name and rituals are based on American Indian culture, the Improved

Fig. 16 Improved Order of Red Men emblem. "T.O.T.E." is an acronym for "Totem Of The Eagle."

Fig. 17 Members of Black Masonic society, 1928. James Vanderhee, New York, NY. Museum of Our National Heritage, Lexington, MA. Special Acquisitions Fund, #89.34.

Fig. 18 Prince Hall gravemarker, 1807.
Copp's Hill Burying Ground, Boston, MA.

Order of Red Men ironically did not admit Native Americans until 1974. The Order has two emblems, (a) an Indian profile and (b) an eagle with a hatchet, a peace pipe, an arrow and quiver, and a shield, each accompanied with the letters "T.O.T.E.," which stand for "Totem of the Eagle" (see Fig. 16). The watchwords "Freedom, Friendship and Charity" often appear in the insignia as well. The popular auxiliary order for women is the Degree of Pocahontas.[20]

Following the Civil War, hundreds of secret societies sprang up in the deep south, where nearly four million ex-slaves looked to family, church, and benefit societies for racial solidarity and, in some cases, economic survival (see Fig. 17).[21] Most of these secret organizations offered social benefits along with life and burial insurance. Next to the church, fraternal benefit societies were the most important organizations in the lives of many black Americans.[22]

Excluded from almost all white fraternal societies, Blacks early on developed their own lodges. In 1784, a Black clergyman named Prince Hall attempted to establish a legitimate Black Masonic Lodge in Boston. The Massachusetts Grand Lodge refused his petition because of his color. Later, Hall received a charter from the Grand Lodge of England and went on to establish the African Grand Lodge of Boston. Prince Hall's grave (Fig. 18) at Copp's Hill Burying Ground in Boston is the site of an annual ceremony honoring him as the founder of black Masonry in the United States.

In 1843, Blacks established the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, a brotherhood with the same organizational structure, goals and rituals as their white counterparts. The affiliated women's group was named the Households of Ruth. During this same period, a secret network of approximately 40,000 slaves calling themselves the Twelve Knights of Tabor organized to overthrow slavery in the south.[23]

The Knights of Pythias was founded in the aftermath of the Civil War when our divided, war-weary nation was seeking ways to promote brotherhood and a sense of national unity, and it quickly became one of the most popular fraternal societies in the country.[24] Its insignia (Fig. 19) depicts a medieval knight in armor with a bird perched atop his helmet, accompanied by a sword, battle ax, and a shield displaying the letters F, C, and B, which stand for the Pythias watchwords "Friendship, Charity and Benevolence." The women's group is known as the Pythian Sisters.

The popularity of secret societies continued to grow despite their

Fig. 19 Knights of Pythias emblem on gravemarker, 1889. Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, NY.

denouncement by many church leaders who considered fraternal groups to be a threat to organized religion. Roman Catholics were specifically forbidden by the Church to join non-Vatican sponsored societies. Under the Secret Consistory of the Vatican in 1865, fraternal organizations were deemed "dangerous to the security of kingdoms" and considered enemies of the Church. At one point, the Catholic Church allowed membership in some selected fraternal groups, but only under the following conditions:

- The member was not to attend meetings.
- Dues were to be paid by mail.
- The lodge was forbidden to participate in the funeral service.
- Only if by NOT belonging to these fraternal organizations the person would suffer "a grave temporal loss," such as the lack of insurance protection.[25]

Eventually, the phenomenal popularity and growing influence of fraternal societies led the Catholic Church to sponsor their own fraternal organizations for those of the faith. These organizations included the Knights of Columbus (see Fig. 20), the Catholic Association of Foresters,

Fig. 20 Knights of Columbus emblem

the Daughters of Isabella, the Knights of St. John, and the Catholic Knights of St. George. Despite the creation of church-based societies, some dioceses permanently banned the use of fraternal emblems in their cemeteries.

Protestant denominations also founded church-sponsored fraternal groups such as the Epworth League (see Fig. 21), Christian Endeavor, and the Knights of Luther. There were numerous Jewish societies established as well: the Workmen's Circle, the Free Sons of Israel, B'nai B'rith (see Fig. 22), and B'rith Abraham, to name but a few.

The Knights of the Maccabees of the World, founded in London in 1878, quickly gained popularity in America because of its very progressive and successful benefits program. The Maccabees' plan called for every member of the society to contribute ten cents to the widow of a deceased "brother." Within two years of its establishment in the United States, 10,000 members held "endowment certificates guaranteeing that their wives and children would receive $1,000 in the event of their death."[26] Accident and sickness benefits were also included in the plan. An active women's group, called the Ladies of the Maccabees, merged with the men's association in the 1920s. Today, after several reorganizations and name changes, the Maccabees has become a mutual life insurance company. The various Maccabees emblems often include a globe or a tent (Fig. 23), and for the women's order, a superimposed beehive.

Fig. 21 Epworth League emblem

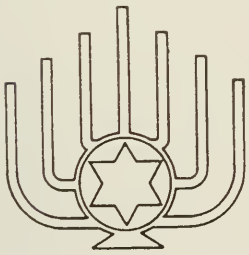


Fig. 22 B'nai B'rith emblem

Woodmen of the World derived from the Modern Woodmen of America, a fraternal group which was founded in 1883. Fraternal scholar William Whalen describes it as an insurance society with some fraternal lodge features. Woodmen advertised themselves as an organization for the "Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, the agnostic and atheist" and sought

Fig. 23 The Knights and Ladies of the Maccabees emblem on marble gravestone, 1897. Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, NY.

only physically fit and "wholesome" candidates from the rural small towns and farms of the "healthiest," that is, midwestern, states. Excluded from early membership were saloon keepers, railway brakemen or engineers, firemen, miners, race drivers, employees in gunpowder factories, sailors, baseball or football players, submarine operators, aeronauts, and – ANYONE living in a city![27] The Woodmen of the World emblem (Fig. 24) is a sawed-off tree stump, often with a mallet or beetle, an ax, and a wedge; the motto "Dum, Tacet Clamat" ("Though Silent He Speaks") usually appears somewhere on the border. The women's association is known as the Woodmen's Circle, and is represented by a shield of stars and stripes behind a crossed ax, beetle, and wedge, flanked by the letters "W.C."[28] These Woodmen emblems are found throughout the United States, but the largest concentration is in the South and Midwest. Until fairly recently, carved tree-stump monuments were provided by the organization as part of the Woodmen's extended death benefits. By way of caution, it should be noted that not all tree-stump markers are for Woodmen: the fraternal monuments usually include the emblem and motto somewhere on the stone, thereby distinguishing them from other

Fig. 24 Woodmen of the World emblem on granite tree-stump marker. San Antonio City Cemetery #6, San Antonio, TX.

markers utilizing the tree-stump motif.

As immigrants from Europe poured into this country in the late nineteenth century, membership in fraternal societies continued to grow.[29] Free Sons of Israel, the German Order of Harugari (see Fig. 25), Irish Hibernians (see Fig. 26), Sons of Italy, Polish Falcons, and hundreds of other ethnic lodges were established wherever new immigrants settled. These fraternal enclaves often served as safe havens – comfortable clubs where fellowship was strengthened by familiar

Fig. 25 German Order of Harugari emblem

Fig. 26 Ancient Order of Hibernians in America emblem

language and accepted customs. One of fraternalism's most important attractions for immigrants was undoubtedly the emotional support and economic security it promised. In an alien, often harsh new country, in the uncertain times before social security, welfare programs, and workmen's compensation, fraternal membership offered assistance to the ill, a "decent" burial, and aid to widows and children. These acts of benevolence epitomized fraternalism.

The Order of United American Mechanics and its eventual successor, the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, were popular "nativist" or ANTI-immigration organizations. Founded in the mid 1800s in the wake of one of this country's massive influxes of immigrants, the United American Mechanics epitomized the growing resentment felt by many American workers towards the newly arrived workers pouring into the labor force. The Junior Order of United American Mechanics considered itself to be a patriotic social and benevolent society whose objectives included finding jobs for "native Americans," protecting the public school system, promoting separation of church and state, and aiding the widows and orphans of members. Its emblem (see Fig. 27) is usually composed of the Masonic square and compass and the arm of labor wielding a hammer, sometimes with a patriotic shield or American flag in the background. The women's groups were known as the Daughters of Liberty and Daughters of America. The Know-Nothing political party, popular in the 1850s, drew its membership from O.U.A.M. and from other similar groups such as the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, the Patriotic Order of True Americans and the Order of Uncle Sam.[30] The O.U.A.M. insignia often appears on a gravestone in combination with one or more other fraternal emblems.

Fig. 27 Jr. Order of United American Mechanics emblem

The temperance movement of the 1840s and 50s led to the creation of societies such as the Independent Order of Good Samaritans, the Order of Rechabites, and the Sons of Temperance. America's Centennial years

focused interest on a historic and glorious past, spawning a host of lineage societies and patriotic fraternities which included the Society of Mayflower Descendants, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the National Society of Colonial Dames of America. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Ancient Order of United Workmen, and Knights of Labor were just three of the many groups established during the labor movement of the late 1800s.[31] And, as we might expect, the emblems of these societies frequently appear on gravemarkers or on the separate metal standards placed next to the graves.

The Patrons of Husbandry (see Fig. 28), or the Grange as it is more commonly known today, began soon after the Civil War as a fraternal organization exclusively for farm workers. From its inception, women were admitted as equals and have always played an active role in the organization's programs. The Grange became a strong political force during the late 1800s when it helped farmers unite against the powerful railroad monopolies that controlled access to distant markets. Our system of RFD, Rural Free Delivery of mail, is one of the many far-reaching benefits brought about by the political action of the Patrons of Husbandry.[32] The Grange is still strong today in many rural communities, where it sponsors farm cooperatives, promotes scientific agricultural research, and serves as a social and benefit society for farm families. The rituals and degrees of the Grange are based upon the tools and symbols of agriculture.

Fig. 28 Patrons of Husbandry (the Grange) emblem

The Grange, like the Odd Fellows, Masons, Knights of Pythias, Sons of Israel, Red Men, Daughters of Rebekah, or any of the hundreds and hundreds of other fraternal societies and benefit organizations that flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, left their mark on history – and on gravemarkers, where they remain to interest and sometimes puzzle the cemetery visitor. To us, the insignia of these secret societies may appear as alien remnants of an unfamiliar era. But for the men and women whose graves they mark, the symbols proclaim an affiliation that defined them in life, as in death.

NOTES

With the exception of those so indicated, all photographs in this essay are by the author. All line drawings are by Ann Saydlowski.

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2. Barbara Franco, *Fraternally Yours: A Decade of Collecting* (Lexington, Mass., 1986), 9; 33-76.

3. Schmidt, 3.

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9. W. Kirk MacNulty, *Freemasonry: A Journey through Ritual and Symbol* (New York, 1991), 88-89.

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11. R. E. Bartlett, diagram drawn from a painting by Everitt Henry, "Masonic Showcase," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (October 25, 1970), Roto Gravure Part 2, np.

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15. *Masonic Symbols in American Decorative Arts*, 47-52. See also "Fraternal Arts: The Ubiquitous Signs and Symbols of American Freemasonry," *American Heritage* 31:6 (1980): 90-97.

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22. Walter B. Weare, "Black Fraternal Orders," *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds. (Chapel Hill, NC, 1989), 158-159.

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24. Albert C. Stevens, *The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* (New York, 1907), 263-264.

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32. *Ibid*, 14.

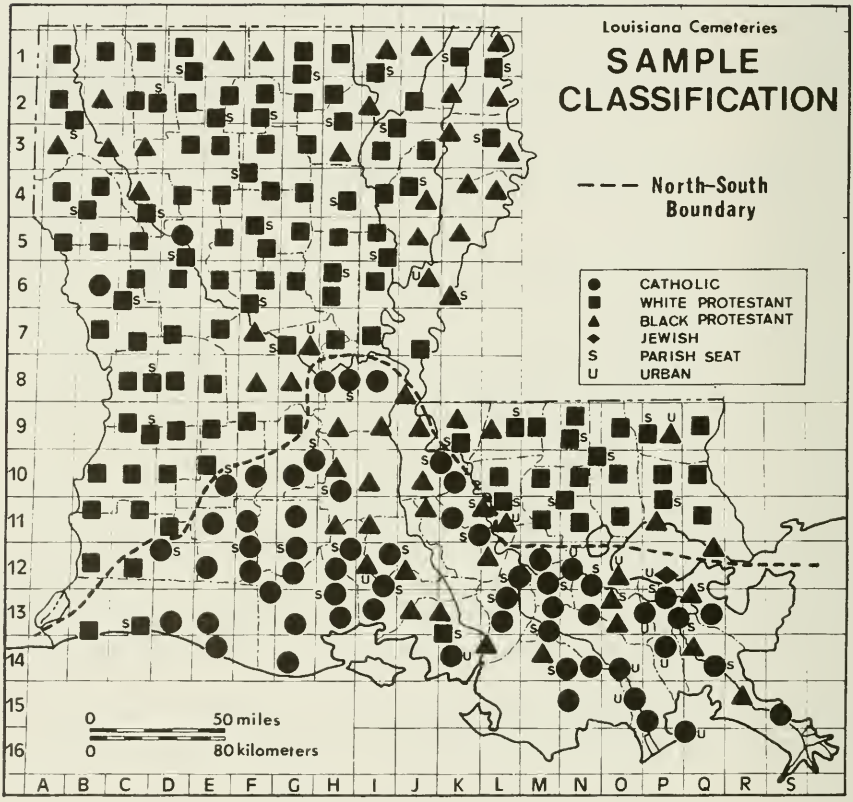

Fig. 1 Sample cemeteries.

LOUISIANA CEMETERIES: MANIFESTATIONS OF REGIONAL AND DENOMINATIONAL IDENTITY

Tadashi Nakagawa

Louisiana, with its distinct cultural diversity, has attracted geographers' attention for more than half a century. North Louisiana has been characterized as an Anglo-Saxon Protestant area, while South Louisiana has been described as French Catholic. The differences between these two major cultural areas have been identified in terms of houses[1], settlement patterns[2], language[3], place names[4], land survey systems[5], and surnames[6], and such cultural elements have been diligently mapped through comprehensive field surveys. Cemeteries, by contrast, have not been thoroughly examined in relation to this cultural context of Louisiana, although the study of the cemetery has long been called for as a promising subject.[7] The present study seeks to address this situation through a geographic analysis of Louisiana cemeteries based upon a systematic field survey of the entire state.

The cemetery is a distinctive material culture complex which strongly expresses people's beliefs, for the cemetery is not a direct result of human biological necessity. Such landscape elements as graves, tombstones, decorations, roads, vegetation, fences, and gates are arranged to make patterns that represent the beliefs of the people. As the vast majority of Louisianans will be buried in Louisiana cemeteries after death, the cemetery may be regarded as a microcosmic representation of Louisiana culture.

Given the fact that the cemetery is a strong manifestation of people's beliefs, religious or denominational variation of the landscape must be emphasized in addition to spatial difference.[8] In Louisiana, where Christianity is the only dominant religion, the difference between Catholic and Protestant is strongly recognized by the people. Although the distribution of Catholics and Protestants closely overlap culture areas, the similarity cannot be described in terms of uncritical generalizations. Such generalizations overlook the different manifestations of denominational and regional identity in the landscape. Suppose, for example, that a Catholic cemetery in South Louisiana has a consecrated central cross and many above-ground vaults. The meaning behind establishing the central cross probably differs from that of building the

above-ground vaults. Through the central cross, the people may have expressed their strong identity with the Catholic church, but may have not necessarily identified with South Louisiana. By contrast, the denominational meaning may have not been as significant as the regional when these same people constructed above-ground vaults. Louisianans have thereby expressed different identities through the employment of different cemetery landscape elements.

Through analysis of the distribution of each element in Louisiana cemeteries, this study primarily attempts to discover which identity people express more strongly – region or denomination.[9] Additionally, minority groups such as Catholics in North Louisiana and Protestants in South Louisiana are examined to determine whether in such instances denominational identity has been maintained in relation to regional identity. Regional identity patterns at the boundary of North and South Louisiana are also studied in comparison with those displayed in the typical North or South Louisiana cemeteries.

It is, of course, true that various culture islands exist in Louisiana. Descendants of Midwesterners, for example, occupy Louisiana's southwestern prairies. Such minority groups as Spaniards, Italians, and Hungarians also form small ethnic enclaves in various areas of the state. However, the distinction between North and South Louisiana is not only much more evident than these cultural islands, but also is strongly recognized by minority people themselves. This study, therefore, clearly focuses its regional analysis on the North-South dichotomy. Minority groups, including black people, will be discussed within this regional context.

Method

The absence of comprehensive cemetery landscape data in Louisiana makes fieldwork an essential procedure for data collecting. The only exhaustive resource for cemeteries in the United States is the United States Geological Survey's large-scale topographic quadrangles.[10] Although the maps contain the locations and, in some cases, the names of the cemeteries, few of them contain the specific types of landscape information required for this study. Two things were determined before the fieldwork: (1) which landscape elements to survey, and (2) which cemeteries to visit.

Although any landscape element may become the subject of geographical analysis, only a limited number serve as distinctive elements

in differentiating between the cemeteries of North and South Louisiana or those of Louisiana Catholics and Protestants. The distinction between water burial, earth burial, and cremation, for example, may be significant in other parts of the world. In Louisiana, on the other hand, where the great majority of the deceased are buried in the earth, studying such differences in burial does not reveal significant geographical patterns. Selection of the elements, therefore, was based upon their potential effectiveness as a means to differentiate regions and denominations within Louisiana. A tentative survey form was created based upon previous studies and the author's own observations. Preliminary fieldwork involving more than 100 cemeteries of different denominations in various parts of Louisiana was then conducted to test the usefulness of the selected elements. The results clearly indicated that such elements as the location of burials in relation to the ground (above/below ground burials), the orientation of burials, and such religious symbols as crosses, statues, and miniature shrines would be most revealing, and the final survey form was accordingly constructed with an emphasis upon these elements.

By reviewing the topographic quadrangles, 3,180 cemeteries were identified in Louisiana. The obvious impracticality of surveying all cemeteries made sampling an essential procedure. In order that the entire state be surveyed, the cemetery closest to the center of each fifteen minute series map within Louisiana was chosen for study. Any map covering more area of a state other than Louisiana was excluded.

In order to identify the regional and denominational variation of Louisiana cemeteries more effectively with a limited sample, modern memorial parks, which generally lack clearly identifiable regional patterns, and abandoned cemeteries were eliminated in accordance with the following criteria: (1) the cemetery must have been established before 1930[11], and (2) it must be still in use. If the cemetery closest to the center of the map did not fulfill both requirements, the next closest one was surveyed. It should be emphasized that elimination of memorial parks and abandoned cemeteries for the purposes of this study by no means implies that they are worthless. It was both important and desirable, however, that all sample cemeteries have somewhat similar historic characteristics because this study focuses more on regional and denominational variations than on historic changes. By surveying cemeteries that share at least half a century of the same active period, geographic

patterns will manifest themselves more clearly than would otherwise be the case.

This method still has two deficiencies. First, urban cemeteries are not numerous enough, although a substantial percentage of interments are found there. Second, sample cemeteries do not always represent the majority of the denominational affiliation of the area, mainly because the average cemetery size is different among denominational groups. Ascension Parish in South Louisiana, for example, has 5.6 times more Protestant cemeteries than Catholic ones, even though 85 percent of the religious adherents are Catholics.[12] To offset these deficiencies, one cemetery from each parish seat was added to the first sample. If more than one cemetery existed in a parish seat, the cemetery chosen was either older or larger and its composition reflected the dominant denomination of the parish. By combining these methods, the total sample of cemeteries for the study reached 236.

The main fieldwork was carried out between December 1984 and May 1985 by the author. More than 60,000 graves were observed in these sample cemeteries and 2,000 photographs were taken in the course of 10,000 miles travel.

The distribution of each cemetery landscape element has been mapped to identify its regional and denominational patterns. Such elements as the feet-to-east orientation and reliquary markers may be expressed by their presence or absence in a cemetery. Other elements, such as below-ground burials, need more complicated manipulations, for the elements are present in almost all cemeteries. Analyses of these traits have been based upon criteria appropriately effective for the specific traits; e.g., "below-ground burials 70 percent or more" or "below-ground burials less than 50 percent." Although it is ideal to select a critical value which can most effectively distinguish one group from another, any one value, in reality, hardly has the same distinguishing power between regional and denominational categories. Critical values have, therefore, been established in a fairly arbitrary manner in such rounded numbers as 10, 20, and 50 percent so as to avoid unnecessary complication. Maps with different criteria, then, have been compared to select the critical value that most effectively exhibits geographical patterns.

Description of Sample Cemeteries

Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of sample cemeteries, each with

symbols to indicate group affiliations. Although it is impossible to draw a definite boundary between North and South Louisiana, a line was heuristically established with reference to previous studies[13] and the author's observation of the cemetery landscapes. The label of Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish is attached to each cemetery by virtue of the major religious or denominational category which characterizes its establishment and inter-

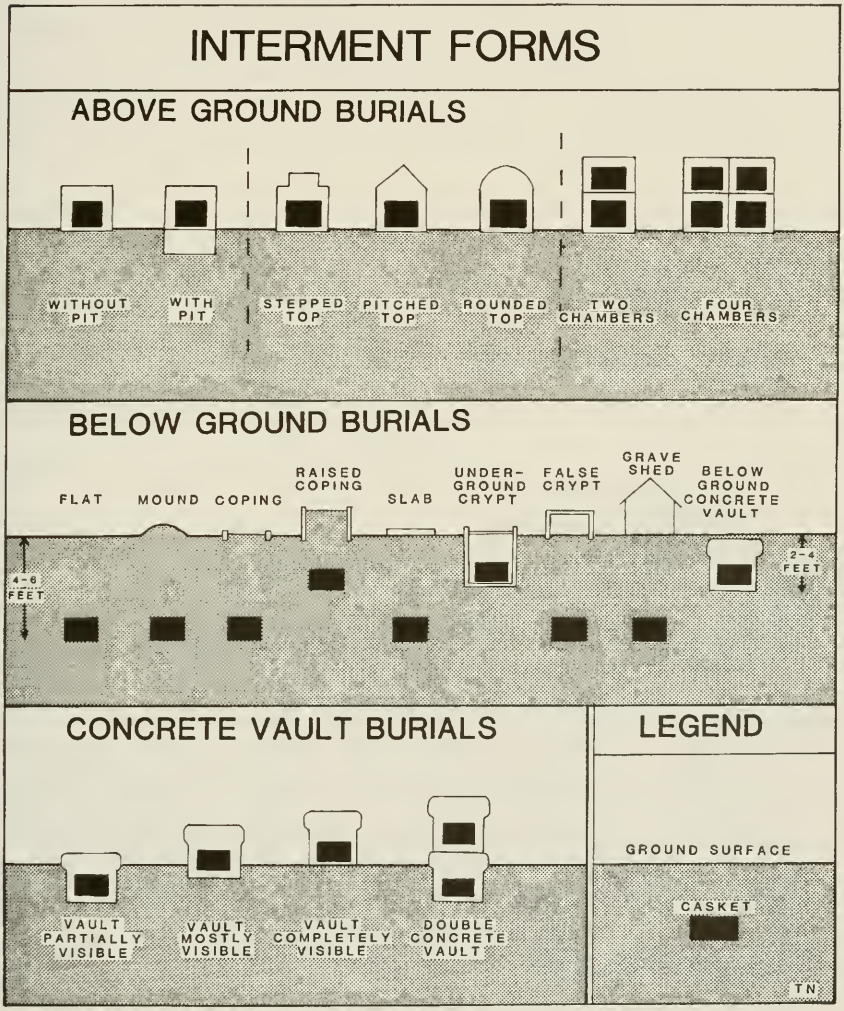

Fig. 2 Interment forms.

ment patterns. Through this process, the 236 cemeteries in the study sample have been categorized into 148 North Louisiana and 88 South Louisiana, and into 61 Catholic, 174 Protestant, and one Jewish cemetery. While the traits of the Jewish cemetery are mapped, the cemetery is excluded from the objects of analysis because the sample is only one.

While this study mainly analyzes cemetery landscapes in the context of culture region and denomination, other attributes such as race and urban/rural location will also assist the landscape analysis. Although the majority of burials in the sample cemeteries consist exclusively of one race, racial mixture does occur with more frequency in Catholic cemeteries. Whereas all black Catholics in the sample share white dominant Catholic cemeteries, black Protestants tend to have their own separate cemeteries. For mapping purposes (see Fig. 1) the symbol of the black Protestant cemetery is distinguished from that of the white dominant Protestant cemetery. Cemeteries located in urban areas are marked either with the letter **S** (parish seat) or with the letter **U** (other urban areas with 1,000 or more population[14] in the 1980 census). Cemeteries without these letters are defined as rural cemeteries.

Fig. 3 Above-ground vaults in St. Louis II Cemetery, New Orleans.

Sample cemeteries clearly reflect the regionalization of denominations within the state. North Louisiana, as one may see in the map (Fig. 1), contains significantly more Protestant cemeteries than Catholic cemeteries. The only two sample Catholic cemeteries in North Louisiana reflect non-Anglo-Saxon origin. Campti Catholic Cemetery (map location 5D), which lies in a French outlier in North Louisiana, contains burials of French and Italians. Old St. Joseph Cemetery in Zwolle (6B), which stands near the site of the early Spanish Mission established in the late eighteenth century, is owned by people of Spanish origin, although they have become extensively mixed with other ethnic groups in the course of several generations. By contrast, 67 percent of sample South Louisiana cemeteries are Catholic. Among 28 sample Protestant ceme-

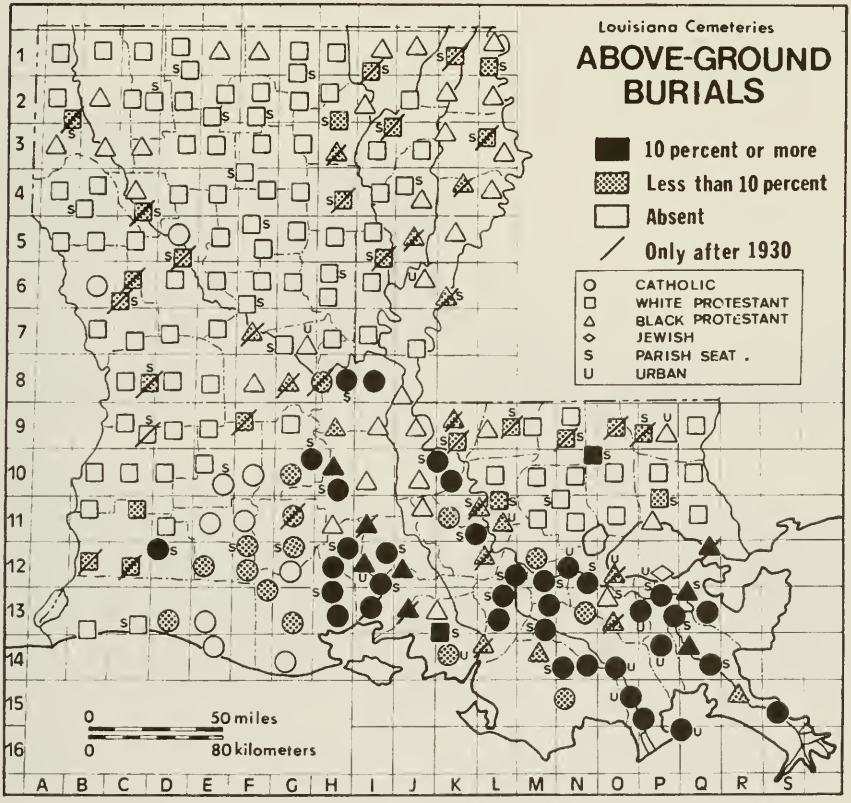

Fig. 4 Above-ground burials.

teries in South Louisiana, 24 are black cemeteries, located mainly along the Mississippi and Bayou Teche. Four sample cemeteries lying along the North-South boundary and in the Anglo-Saxon enclave in South Louisiana have an Anglo-Saxon origin (12C, 13B, S13C, S13K).

The majority of the cemeteries are exclusively Catholic or Protestant. Only 16 cemeteries in the sample contain at least 10 percent of graves representing other religions. Seven of these (9G, S10E, 11D, S11L, S11P, 12B, S12D) lie on the border of North and South Louisiana, where Catholics are gaining in the percentage of the population. Two mixed-religion cemeteries in South Louisiana (13J, S13K) lie in the original Anglo-Saxon territory that is gradually becoming less distinct. Similarly, the sample cemetery at Natchitoches (S5D) lies in what was originally a French Catholic settlement, but one where Protestants later became dominant.

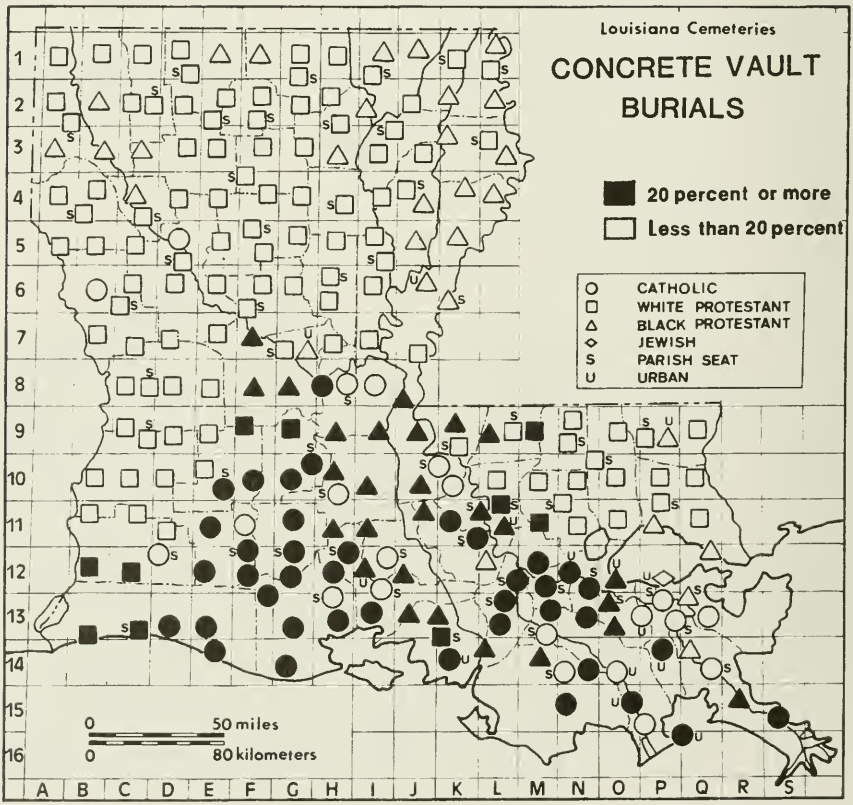

Fig. 5 Concrete vault burials.

Burial Location

A major difference in the cemetery landscape between North and South Louisiana is noted in terms of the location of burials in relation to the ground surface. It has been reported that South Louisiana cemeteries characteristically consist of above-ground vaults, while interment takes place beneath the ground in the majority of cemeteries found within North Louisiana.[15]

This study classifies all interments into three categories: above-ground burials, below-ground burials, and concrete vault burials (see Fig. 2). Above-ground burials typically take place in vaults constructed above the ground surface (see Fig. 3). The vaults are constructed of brick, stones, or concrete, with flat, stepped, or rounded roof structures. The number of chambers in the majority of these tombs ranges from one to four. Below-ground burials, in contrast, lie completely beneath the

Fig. 6 Single and double concrete vaults in Providence Cemetery (map location, 120), St. John the Baptist Parish. Note that this black Baptist cemetery in South Louisiana resembles Catholic ones with the presence of many crosses, although the feet-to-east grave orientation is maintained.

ground surface. Usually, a four to six foot deep grave is dug, within which a concrete vault or a metal casket container is placed, and finally covered with one to four feet of earth. The concrete vault is a manufactured casket container which, while normally placed below ground, may also appear partially or wholly above the ground surface. In this study a *concrete vault burial* signifies an interment that is at least partially visible, excluding those placed completely below ground.

Above-ground burials, as previously noted, take place mainly in South Louisiana (see Fig. 4). Half of South Louisiana cemeteries have at least ten percent of burials occurring above ground, while only two North Louisiana sample cemeteries exhibit ten percent or more such above-ground burials. Even in the South, however, the incidence of such interment patterns does not appear to be as overwhelming as one might suspect: above-ground burials constitute fifty percent or more interments in only thirteen sample South Louisiana cemeteries.

Fig. 7 The landscape of Union Spring Cemetery (1C) in Webster Parish demonstrates a typical North Louisiana white Protestant burial pattern with below-ground burials and feet-to-east grave orientation. Few crosses or statues occur.

While the concentration of above-ground burials in the Mississippi floodplain seems to support the popular belief that the high water table is responsible for their existence, further examination suggests that it is more likely the expression of people's values. The existence of below-ground burials in all sample cemeteries demonstrates the feasibility of the below-ground burial in a variety of natural conditions. Even in areas of very low elevation, above-ground burial is not always a dominant form of interment. Among thirty-one cemeteries separately surveyed in New Orleans, many of which are located at sea level, only eleven consist predominantly of above-ground burials. The existence of above-ground vaults on natural terraces also indicates that above-ground burial did not always result from the necessity to protect a burial site from a high

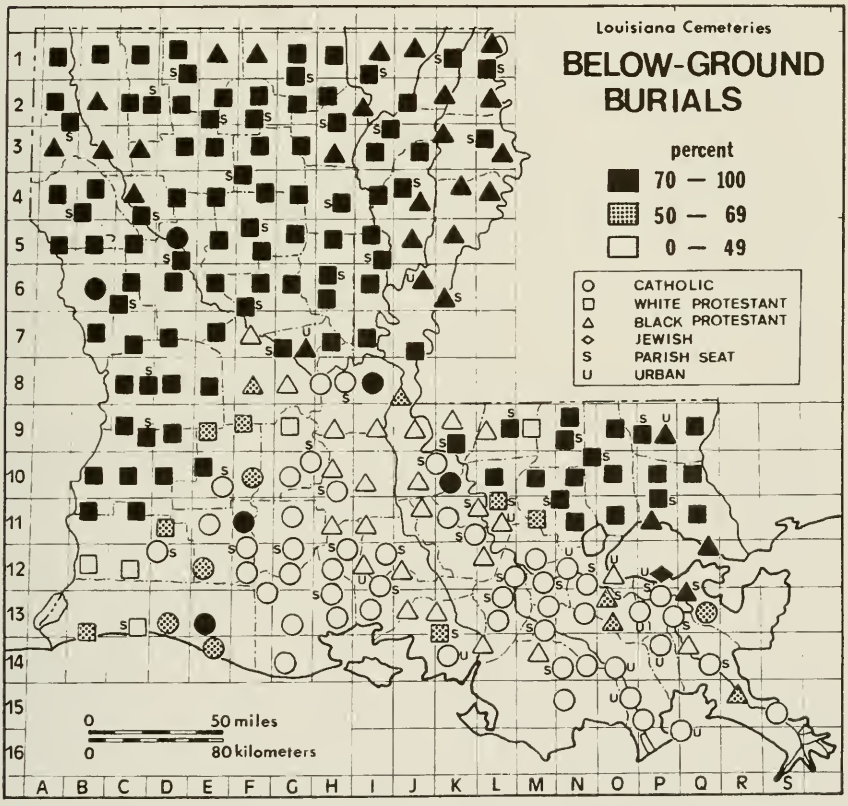

Fig. 8 Below-ground burials.

water table. The prevalence of this pattern, therefore, must be examined historically.

The origins of the use of above-ground vaults in Louisiana lie in the late eighteenth century. Early New Orleans Creoles did not introduce above-ground burials: St. Peter Street Cemetery, the first recorded cemetery in New Orleans, was established in the 1720s under a French colonial government, and then consisted solely of below-ground burials.[16] Nor did Cajuns bring the custom from Nova Scotia, for above-ground burials are not among the traditions of French Canada. The first documented cemetery in Louisiana with above-ground vaults is St. Louis I Cemetery in New Orleans, established in 1789 after the Spanish colonial government had taken over the rule of New Orleans. It is assumed that the custom was introduced either by the Spaniards or the French during this period[17] and was thence accepted by people throughout South Louisiana to become a regional type.

Oral and material evidence indicates that many people in South Louisiana regard above-ground burial as an ideal form of interment: it is in fact perceived as a significant status symbol in this area. The majority of local informants expressed their preference for above-ground burial, though some people apparently cannot afford to build above-ground vaults because of their high cost. An average two-story above-ground vault in Ascension Catholic Cemetery (12M), for example, cost $3,000 in 1985, whereas a concrete vault was $500. The difference prompted a number of people to place concrete vaults above the ground as an alternative to the more costly above-ground constructed vaults.

North Louisiana cemeteries, by contrast, are still largely devoid of above-ground burials, mainly because people in this area maintain a strong traditional belief that interment must take place below the ground surface. In several urban areas people have introduced the above-ground vault as an alternative fashion, but only after 1930.

Concrete vault burials are distributed throughout South Louisiana (see Fig. 5). In North Louisiana, on the other hand, concrete vaults are numerous only at the proximity to the border with South Louisiana. As noted earlier, the popularity of placing concrete vaults at least partially above ground in South Louisiana is related to the desire of people who wanted above-ground vaults but could not afford them. Until the early twentieth century, below-ground burials dominated the majority of South Louisiana cemeteries. The introduction of concrete vaults at the

turn of the century, however, extensively changed the cemetery landscape. People now had the means to materialize their desire for above-ground internment in a substituted form. The expression of this desire has been strengthened since 1960, when people in South Louisiana first began to place one concrete vault upon another. This "double concrete vault" configuration (see Fig. 6) has become ever more increasingly popular since 1980.

Below-ground burial (e.g., Fig. 7) is the most common form of interment in the United States and occurs in all sample cemeteries in Louisiana. The percentage of below-ground burials, however, differs sharply between North and South Louisiana cemeteries (see Fig. 8). Whereas 94 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries have more below-ground burials than non-below ground burials, non-below-ground burials dominate 81 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries.

Overall, the distribution of below-ground burials clearly shows that this is an expression of identity with North Louisiana (region) rather than with Protestantism (denomination). Catholic cemeteries in North Louisiana predominantly consist of below-ground burials, while the majority of Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana contain many non-below-ground burials (see Table 1). In the boundary region between North and South Louisiana, the North-South regional identity seems to blur, and it is this boundary region which contains the majority of the cemeteries in the category of 50 to 69 percent below-ground burials.

TABLE 1
Cemetery Landscape Traits by Group

Traits	North Louisiana		South Louisiana	
	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
above-ground 20%	0	1	61	28
concrete vault 20%	0	8	67	92
below-ground 50%	100	94	15	25
feet-to-east	50	94	11	71
crosses 10%	50	3	91	41
statues 1%	50	8	76	17
reliquary	0	0	54	0

Note: One Jewish cemetery is excluded.

Grave Orientation

Previous studies have indicated that traditional Upland South cemeteries, which are generally Protestant, are distinct in the orientation of their constituent burials.[18] Graves are arranged along an east-west axis, with the feet pointing toward the east. French Catholic cemeteries in Louisiana, by contrast, tend to have the grave arranged as a matter of convenience.[19] It is also reported that Catholic cemeteries in the western Pennsylvania area are less likely to have their graves arranged along an east-west axis.[20] On a large scale basis, nonetheless, feet-to-east burials are widespread not only in the United States, but also in Northwestern Europe, Mediterranean Europe, and parts of Africa.[21]

This study defines a *feet-to-east cemetery* as one having at least 90 per-

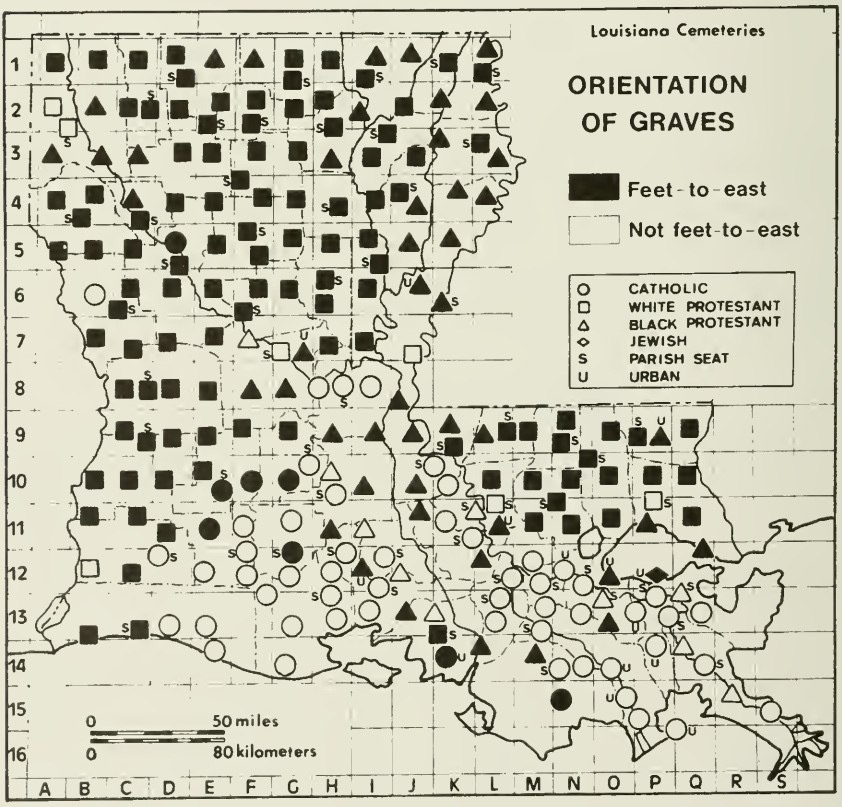

Fig. 9 Feet-to-east burials.

cent of the graves with feet directing between magnetic north 60 degrees east and south 60 degrees east. Utilizing this definition, the contrast between Catholic and Protestant is more evident than that between North and South Louisiana (see Fig. 9). Whereas 90 percent of Protestant cemeteries in the study follow feet-to-east orientation, only 13 percent of Catholic cemeteries may be thus classified.

This strong contrast between Catholic and Protestant seems to reveal that grave orientation in Louisiana represents people's identity with denomination more strongly than with region. While the ultimate origin of the feet-to-east orientation is uncertain, a literal interpretation of the Bible, which is a characteristic of evangelical Protestantism, may partially explain the continuation of this practice. Protestant Louisiana natives often explain that this orientation is so that the body will rise to meet Christ when he comes from the East, for "as the lightening cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be."[22]

Fig. 10 Like other Catholic cemeteries, Holy Rosary Church Cemetery (14O) in Larose, Lafourche Parish, contains many crosses on above-ground and concrete vaults.

As might perhaps be expected, the sharpness of the contrast between Catholic and Protestant cemeteries tends to blur in areas where a substantial number of people of the other denominational group live. Five of eight feet-to-east Catholic cemeteries are found either in North Louisiana or near the North-South boundary (5D, S10E, 10F, 10G, 11E). Crowly (S12G) and Patterson (14K) are in areas formerly dominated by Anglo-Saxons and Midwesterners. Likewise, 29 percent of Protestant sample cemeteries in South Louisiana do not have the feet-to-east arrangement.

Religious Symbols

Significant differences between Louisiana's Catholic and Protestant cemeteries also appear in the use of religious symbols. A typical Catholic

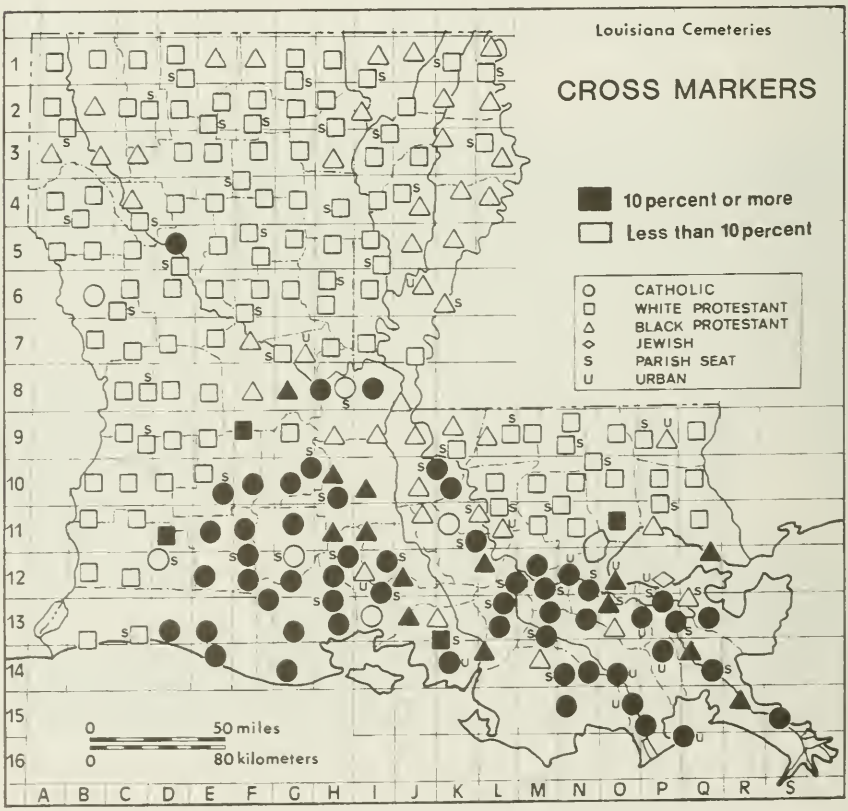

Fig. 11 Cross markers.

cemetery has a central cross, cross markers, statues, and miniature shrines. Protestant cemeteries, on the other hand, do not contain central crosses or shrines, although a few crosses or statues may occur.

Catholics and Protestants attach contrasting symbolic values to the use of cross markers. While the cross is favored by Catholics of any ethnic background (see Fig. 10), Protestants generally tend to avoid it, regarding the cross marker as a symbol of Catholicism.[23] Indeed, the use of a cross is considered taboo for Protestants in various parts of the Upland South.[24] This tendency is remarkably evident in Louisiana as well (see Fig. 11). Whereas 90 percent of Catholic cemeteries have 10 percent or more of their graves displaying crosses, only 10 percent of Protestant cemeteries match this frequency.

Again, regional minorities do not show such a distinct pattern (see Table 1). One of two Catholic cemeteries in North Louisiana (6B) has less than 10 percent of its graves decorated with crosses, while in dominantly Catholic South Louisiana 41 percent of Protestant cemeteries contain as many as 10 percent of their graves displaying crosses. It is thus evi-

Fig. 12 Madonna statue on an above-ground vault in St. Michael Cemetery (S12I), St. Martin Parish.

dent that in Louisiana regional minorities tend to weaken their denominational identity in terms of the use of crosses.

Another primary religious symbol which distinguishes Catholic from Protestant cemeteries involves statues of the Madonna, Christ, or angel figures (see Fig. 12). Catholics characteristically favor statues as gravemarkers or decorations, while Protestants tend to avoid statues that they believe represent Catholicism. Whereas 75 percent of the Catholic cemeteries in this study have at least one percent of their graves decorated with statues, only 10 percent of the Protestant cemeteries have as many as one percent of their graves so decorated (see Fig. 13). Thus, the existence of statues clearly reflects denominational identity. Although statues are sporadically seen in Protestant cemeteries in North

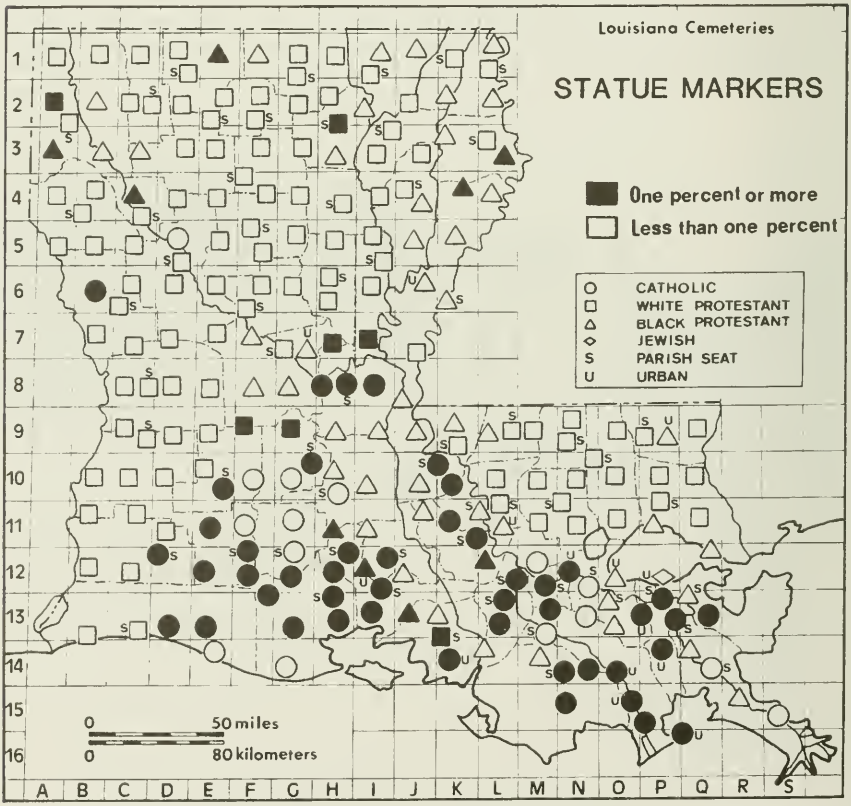

Fig. 13 Statue Markers.

Louisiana, these cemeteries often lie in close proximity to South Louisiana (7H, 7I, 9F, 9G).

A few Catholic graves feature miniature shrines or small reliquaries as gravemarkers. The forms include a round or square concrete structure, gabled or flat roofed wooden boxes, and built-in shrines inside crosses. Some present a Madonna or Christ statue within the structures (e.g., see Fig. 14), while others contain plastic flowers (Fig. 15). Unlike colorful reliquaries found within Mexican-American cemeteries in Texas[25], the typical structure in Louisiana is painted white only. In Louisiana, reliquaries are found solely on Catholic graves (see Fig. 16). Although they are not numerous, 50 percent of the sample Catholic cemeteries have at least one reliquary. The existence of reliquaries within a cemetery thus clearly reflects denominational identity.

Conclusion

As may be seen by the results of this study, the distribution of cemetery landscape traits supports the assumption that people express differ-

Fig. 14 Reliquaries featuring Madonna and Christ statues in Matherne-Rogers Cemetery (14N), Houma, Terrebonne Parish.

ent identities with different landscape elements. Burial location in relation to the ground surface represents people's stronger identification with region (North or South Louisiana) than with denomination. The above-ground burial, after being introduced in the late eighteenth century, became an ideal regional type in South Louisiana. Further, the introduction of concrete vaults at the turn of the present century gave South Louisiana people the means to materialize their desire for above-ground burials in a substituted form. People at the boundary zone between North and South Louisiana did not express a typical North Louisiana or South Louisiana identity in terms of burial location.

By contrast, other landscape elements examined in this study show a stronger identity with denominational group than with region. Feet-to-east burial orientation represents an identity with Protestantism more strongly than with North Louisiana regional identity. On the other hand, such religious symbols as a central cemetery cross, cross gravemarkers, statues, and reliquaries are distinctly Catholic. The intensity of the religious expression, however, may differ among these religious symbols:

Fig. 15 Wooden flower box as reliquary in Immaculate Conception Church Cemetery (13L), Assumption Parish.

reliquaries occur exclusively within Catholic cemeteries, while a few Protestants do use crosses or statues.

Regional minorities within the area of this study tend to shift their identity to the majority group. Catholics in North Louisiana, although the samples are few, tend to have fewer crosses and statues than their contemporaries in South Louisiana. One of the two Catholic cemeteries there even has a feet-to-east orientation, which is clearly a characteristic of Protestant cemeteries. Likewise, some Protestants in and around South Louisiana have created cemetery landscapes similar to those of Catholics. Nearly 30 percent of the sample Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana do not follow the feet-to-east burial orientation, and two-fifths of South Louisiana Protestant cemeteries contain 10 percent or more graves displaying crosses.

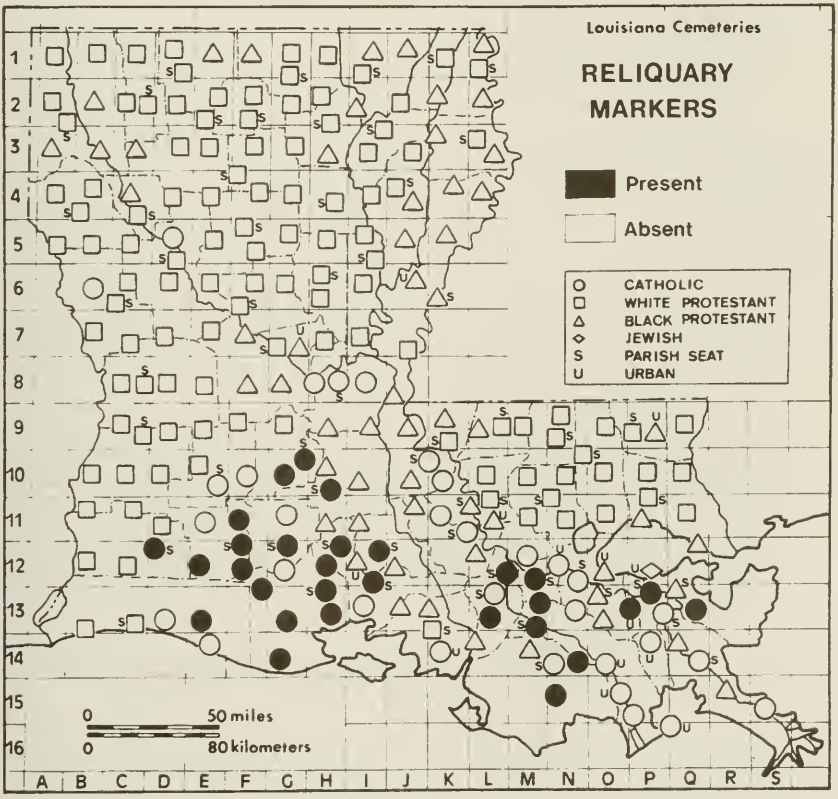

Fig. 16 Reliquary markers.

NOTES

Research for this article was funded by a grant from the Toyota Foundation. This article is presented in memory of Milton B. Newton, Jr. (1936-1988), who energetically guided me by his sage advice and encouragement as my major professor during my graduate program. I acknowledge the constructive advice received from Drs. Carolyn V. Prorok and Richard E. Meyer, and from the members of the editorial board of *Markers* who reviewed the manuscript of this article. All photographs and other illustrations are by the author.

1. Fred B. Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 26 (1936): 179-193.

2. William B. Knipmeyer, *Settlement Succession in Eastern French Louisiana* (Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University, 1956); Fred B. Kniffen, *Louisiana: Its Land and People* (Baton Rouge, 1968); Milton B. Newton, Jr., *Louisiana: A Geographical Portrait* (Baton Rouge, 1987).

3. William A. Read, *Louisiana French* (Baton Rouge, 1931).

4. Randall Augustus Detro, *Generic Terms in the Place Names of Louisiana: An Index to the Cultural Landscape* (Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University, 1970).

5. John Whiting Hall, *Louisiana Survey Systems: Their Antecedents, Distribution, and Characteristics* (Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University, 1970).

6. Robert C. West, *An Atlas of Louisiana Surnames of French and Spanish Origin* (Baton Rouge, 1986).

7. See Larry W. Price, "Some Results and Implications of a Cemetery Study," *The Professional Geographer* 18:4 (1966): 201-207; Fred B. Kniffen, "Necrogeography in the United States," *The Geographical Review* 57 (1967): 426-427; Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61:2 (1971): 501-509; David B. Knight, *Cemetery as Living Landscapes* (Ottawa, 1973); Donald Gregory Jeane, "The Upland South Cemetery: An American Type," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11:4 (1978): 895-903; Thomas J. Hannon, Jr., "The Cemetery: A Field of Artifacts," in *Forgotten Places and Things: Archaeological Perspectives on American History*, Albert E. Ward, ed. (Albuquerque, 1980), 263-265; Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "The Cemetery and Cultural Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethnographic Perspective," in *Modern Material Culture*, Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer, eds. (New York, 1981), 137-159; Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin, 1982).

8. Religious aspects of the cemetery were emphasized by David E. Sopher in his *The Geography of Religion* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1967), 32.

9. In this study the term *denomination* is simply used to differentiate Catholic and Protestant. Distinctions are not made among Protestant denominations in order that the analysis may be clearly focused upon the differences between Catholic and Protestant cemeteries.

10. See Wilbur Zelinsky, "Unearthly Delights: Cemetery Names and the Map of the Changing American Afterworld," in *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy*, David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden, eds. (New York, 1976), 193.

11. The year 1930 was chosen because few memorial parks originated in the pre-1930 period in Louisiana. Conversely, traditional cultural features are found in almost all cemeteries established before 1930. This break off point also proved convenient for interviewing because most native people remembered if their cemetery originated before the Great Depression.

12. Tadashi Nakagawa, "Spatial Variation of Ascension Parish Cemeteries, Louisiana," *Annual Report*, Institute of Geoscience, the University of Tsukuba 15 (1989), 4-6.

13. Knipmeyer, plate 1; Milton B. Newton, Jr., "Blurring the North-South Contrast," in *The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana*, Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson, eds. (Lafayette, LA, 1975), 42-48.

14. Despite the census definition, the definition of an urban area as a place with at least 1,000 people is adopted because the landscape of such area contains substantially more urban elements than the surrounding areas in Louisiana.

15. Kniffen, "Necrogeography," 427.

16. Leonard V. Huber, "New Orleans Cemeteries: A Brief History," in *New Orleans Architecture, III: The Cemeteries*, Mary Louise Christovich, ed. (Gretna, LA, 1974), 4.

17. Peggy McDowell,"J. N. B. de Pouilly and French Sources of Revival Style Design in New Orleans Cemetery Architecture," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard E. Meyer, ed. (Ann Arbor, 1989; rpt. Logan, UT, 1992), 139.

18. Donald Gregory Jeane, "The Traditional Upland Cemetery," *Landscape* 18:2 (1969), 40; Jordan, 30.

19. Newton, *Louisiana*, 200.

20. Thomas J. Hannon, Jr., "Nineteenth Century Cemeteries in Central-West Pennsylvania," *Proceedings of the Pioneer America Society* 2 (1973), 34.

21. Jordan, 30.

22. *Matthew* 24:27.

23. Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (London, 1963), 35.

24. Jordan, 50-51.

25. *Ibid.*, 79.

Fig. 1 Abraham Martlings, 1786 (detail), Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow, North Tarrytown, New York. Listed in the record book of commissions kept by Solomon Brewer and continued by his sons. A typical example of the engraved soul-effigy carved by Brewer up to about 1800.

SOLOMON BREWER: A CONNECTICUT VALLEY YANKEE IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY

Gray Williams, Jr.

Like much of the Northeast, Westchester County in New York has lots of rocks. They range from boulders dropped by the glaciers to deeply rooted masses of bedrock, but unfortunately none of them are suitable for monument carving. They are either too hard, too soft, too coarse, too brittle – or some combination of these undesirable qualities. The lack of proper stone created a difficult problem for the county's European settlers: how to mark their graves and memorialize their dead. Trying to engrave on local fieldstone was an unrewarding task, and was attempted only by amateurs.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, the more affluent families in the county came up with a solution: import gravestones from places where monument-quality stone was available, and where professional carvers had already set up shop to work it. In the first half of the century, the nearest such centers were in northern New Jersey, drawing upon quarries of reddish-brown Triassic sandstone there. In the second half of the century, however, several carvers went into business in New York City, where it was relatively easy to transport New Jersey sandstone by water, and up until the Revolution most of the Westchester families who could afford professional stones ordered them by post from the city.

There were certain disadvantages to such a mail-order system. For one thing, you couldn't always be sure you would get what you ordered by handwritten communication. We can only imagine the frustration and disappointment of the grieving kin who received (as they sometimes did) stones with misspelled names, botched dates, or other slips of the chisel. And it was doubtless difficult, if not impossible, to send them back for replacement or correction, so they ended up in the graveyards, their errors doomed to lasting display.

During the Revolution, all carving (and most other commerce) came to a halt. New York City was occupied by the British, and Westchester County became a no man's land in a vicious guerrilla war. After the British left – along with many local Tories – New York City lost its dominance in stonecutting. In Westchester, a number of local carvers

appeared, ready to meet the pent-up demand from the war years. Like the city carvers, they used imported stone – first sandstone from across the Hudson (New Jersey or Rockland County), then marble from New England and elsewhere.

One of the most distinctive of these carvers left works over much of the county, but especially a few communities in the middle: Sleepy Hollow (now called North Tarrytown), Greenburgh, and White Plains. His style was very different from that of other carvers in this area (see detail of his stone for Abraham Martlings, Fig. 1). Like them, he carved soul effigies, but his characteristic version has whorled wings on either side of the face, with a prominent crown of righteousness perched between them. The image is readily recognizable to anyone familiar with stones from the Connecticut River valley. So the question arises, what was a Connecticut valley gravestone carver doing in Westchester?

I had been looking vainly for the answer for several years, until I was given a 1903 article in the *Tarrytown Argus*[1] by Daniel Van Tassell, an energetic genealogist and local historian who was also (conveniently) editor of his community newspaper. He had met a printer from Bridgeport named Duane Brewer, who showed him a record book compiled by his stonecutter grandfather, Solomon Brewer. Van Tassell quickly made the connection between the inscriptions recorded in this book and the stones in Westchester – particularly at Sleepy Hollow. He not only published an extensive account of his findings in the paper, but also made his own partial transcription of the record book. The book itself has disappeared, but Van Tassell's handwritten transcription survives, along with at least one photocopy of it.[2]

These leads eventually produced others. One is an affidavit by Solomon Brewer's son, Joshua, in 1855, detailing his father's Revolutionary War record and other biographical details.[3] Another is a genealogical record of the Brewer family, compiled and printed by Duane Brewer.[4]

Solomon Brewer was born in 1746 in Springfield, Massachusetts. His grandfather, Daniel Brewer, served as the pastor of the First Church of Christ and his father, Nathaniel, was a deacon of that church. His aunt Eunice, Nathaniel's sister, married Robert Breck, who succeeded Daniel Brewer as pastor. Solomon Brewer himself was originally a farmer (according to Duane Brewer) or a cabinetmaker (according to Joshua Brewer). Perhaps he was both. He and his first wife, Martha Smith, had

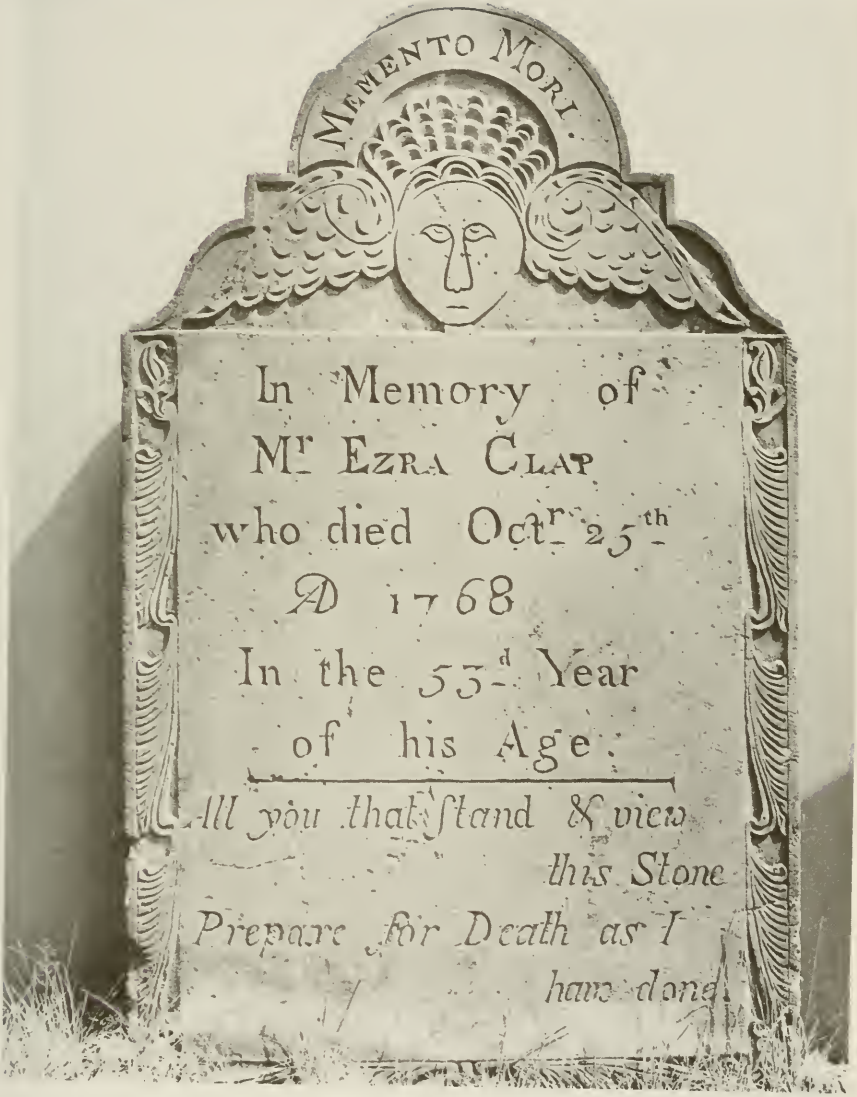

Fig. 2 Ezra Clap, 1768, Westfield, Massachusetts. Attributed to Solomon Brewer, but executed while he was still in Springfield, and had not yet begun keeping the record book of his commissions. Probably an early example of his work. Photograph by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

eight children. It was probably in the late 1760s that he started carving gravestones: the stone for Ezra Clap, dated 1768, with its rather awkwardly spaced inscription, may have been among his earliest works (Fig. 2).

None of the stones Brewer carved in Massachusetts are included in his record book (he didn't start keeping that book until after he left the state). His early work can thus only be identified by style, but that style, though quite similar in many respects to that of his contemporaries, fortunately has a few fairly distinctive details. The most obvious of these are the eyes of his soul effigies: close set on either side of the long, slightly bulbous nose, they turn noticeably downward at the outer corners, conveying a rather mournful expression. I call them "polliwog eyes."

Brewer's lettering also has several distinguishing features. One of the most obvious is the joined, italicized AD before the year of death. He also often separated roman-lettered biographical data from italicized verse by a prominent horizontal line or other decorative device. Among his typical individual characters one finds the lower-case g with the protruding "ear" placed at the very top of the upper bell. The upper-case Y is unusually wide, with a short ascender. Numeral 2 curls over at the top, and ends with a prominent serif at the bottom, while numeral 5 has a curved top bar.

Some twenty-seven stones in Massachusetts can be attributed to Brewer's hand, the majority of them dated in the early 1770s.[5] During this period, Brewer was evidently polishing his skills – his lettering, in particular, became more fluid and harmonious. But most of these stones reflect a basic approach that he would adhere to throughout his career: a simple, incised design that could be carved quickly and efficiently, and sold for a moderate price (e.g., see Fig. 3, Hannah Montague, 1773, South Hadley).

Brewer did, however, occasionally employ a more elaborate, three-dimensional design for those customers willing and able to pay the extra cost (e.g., Fig. 4, Luke Montague, 1775, South Hadley). These stones also tend to be larger and more intricately shaped than those that are simply incised. The design of the soul effigy is quite different: there is no crown or righteousness, and the elaborate wings meet under the chin like a huge bowtie – a device pioneered earlier in the century by the well-known Johnson family of carvers, who worked out of quarries downriver near Middletown, Connecticut.[6] Initially, one might hesitate to attribute such work to Brewer, but the lettering style is his, and the

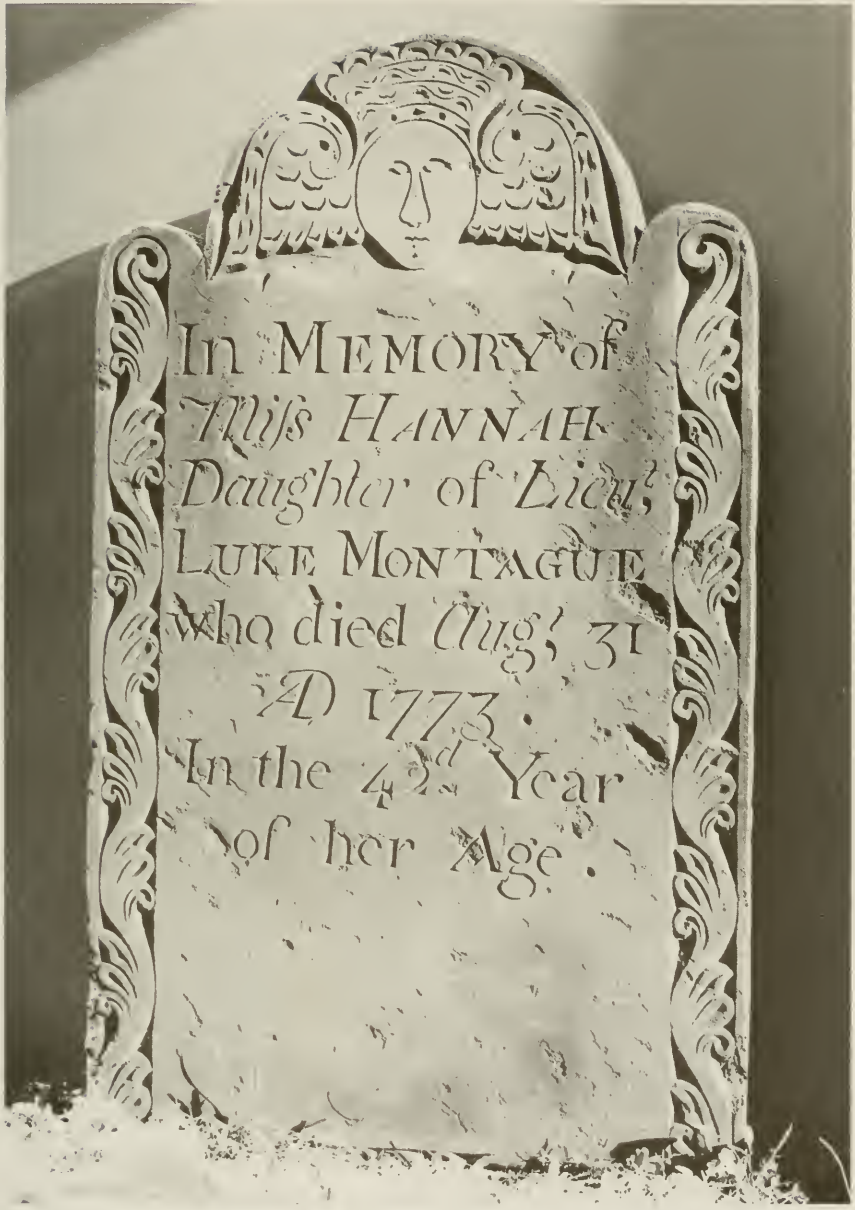

Fig. 3 Hannah Montague, 1773, South Hadley, Massachusetts. Attributed to Solomon Brewer, but executed before he began keeping his record book. Photograph by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

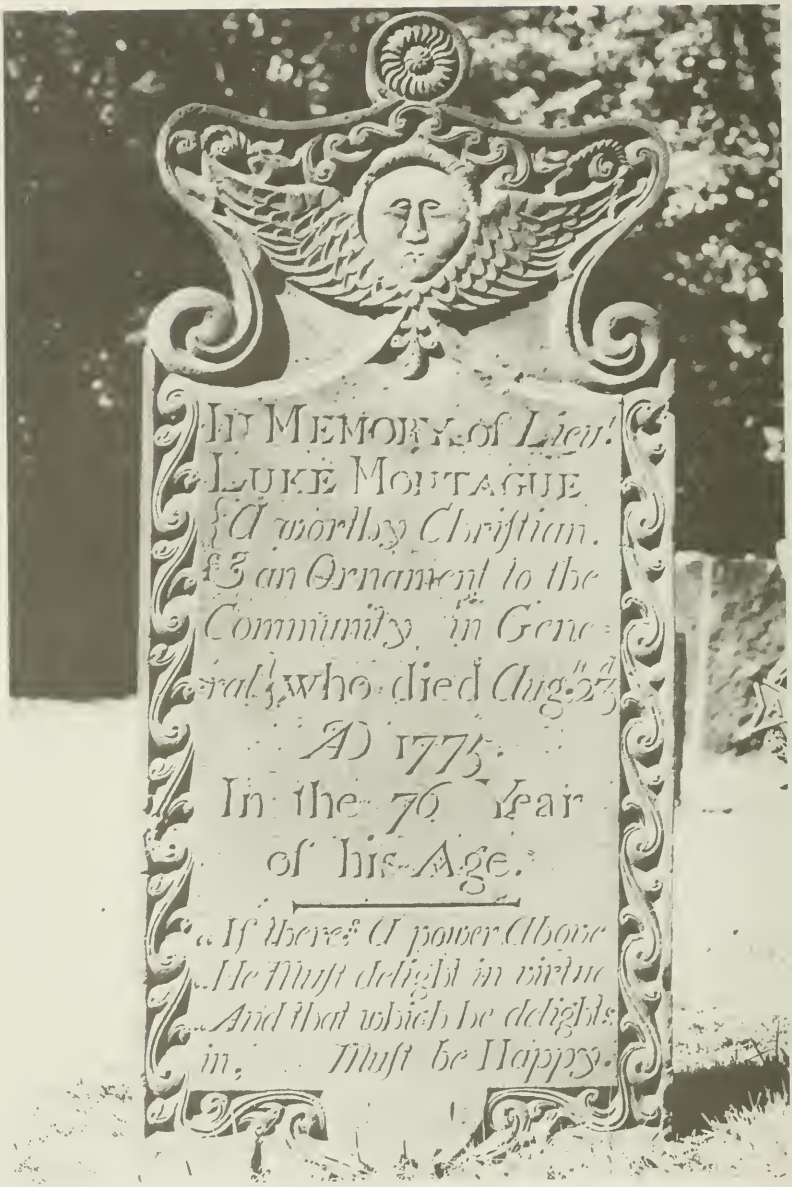

Fig. 4 Luke Montague, 1775, South Hadley, Massachusetts. Attributed to Solomon Brewer, but executed before he began keeping his record book. An elaborate, three-dimensional work, much less common than stones with engraved decoration. Photograph by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

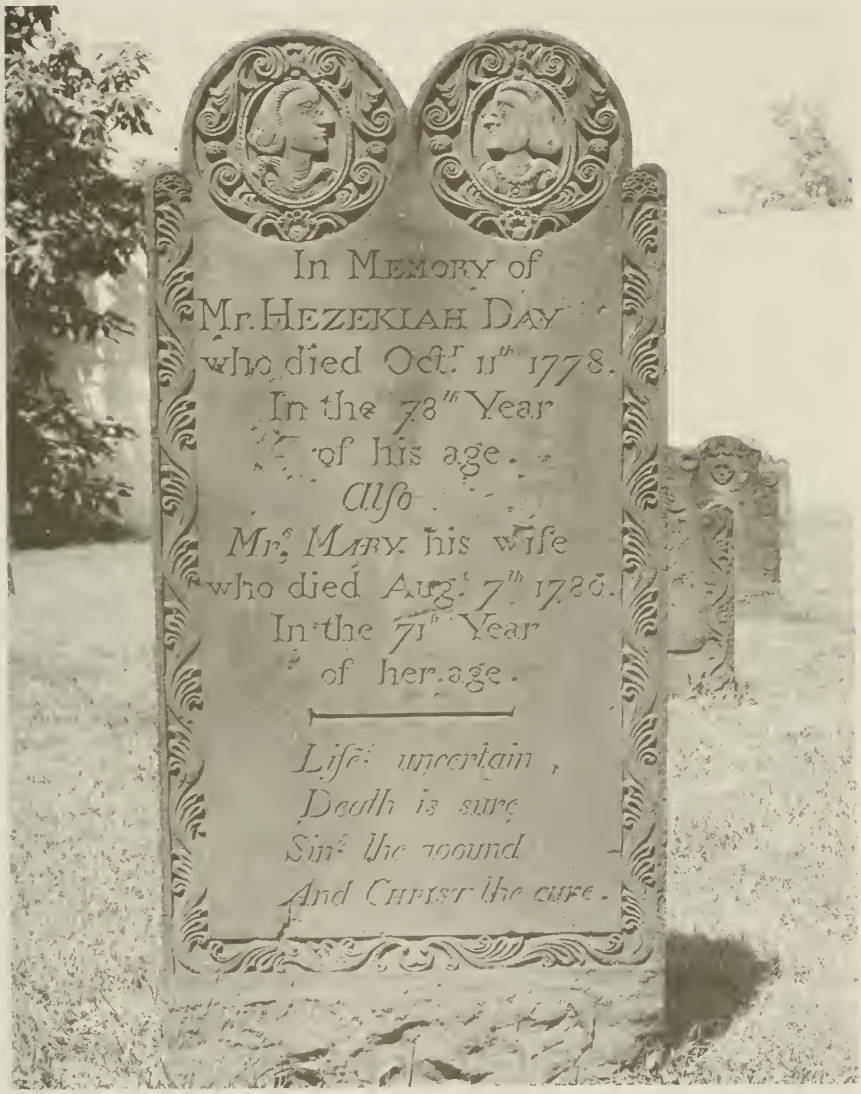

Fig. 5 Hezekiah & Mary Day, 1780, West Springfield, Massachusetts. Attributed to Solomon Brewer, but executed before he began keeping his record book. A very unusual stone for Brewer, with portrait-like profiles of the deceased. Photograph by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

downturned polliwog eyes are a giveaway.

When the Revolution came, Brewer joined the militia, and during the war rose in the ranks from sergeant to adjutant, although he may never have been in combat. He probably had little or no opportunity to carve stones during this period, and the few markers attributed to him which bear dates in the war years are likely to have been backdated. One of these stones represents another departure from his usual style (Fig. 5, Hezekiah & Mary Day, 1780). Replacing the usual soul effigies is a pair of profile portraits in oval frames, surrounded by decorative scrolls. Again, this was not an image that Brewer himself invented, but rather one he borrowed from his contemporaries. He executed so few stones of this type that I suspect he found little demand for them. In any case, there simply aren't many Brewer stones of any sort in Massachusetts dating from either the war or postwar years. Apparently he was having financial troubles: as Duane Brewer put it, "To provide for his large family ... was a serious question, for the times were hard and money scarce." In 1780 his wife died, and about 1785 he decided to move on.

Leaving his children and his farm in the care of a brother, Brewer settled in Guilford, Connecticut, where he worked mainly as a stone mason. He married again, and his second wife, Rene Benton, eventually bore him nine more children. He also continued carving gravestones and at this time began keeping records of his commissions, including the deceased's name, date of death, age, and place of death (which was not necessarily the place of burial).

Occasionally Brewer would manage to land a big commission, such as the stone for Sarah Hough and two Hough children in Meriden (Fig. 6). He also executed, and even signed, what appears to have been a stone with a profile design (it is now almost entirely unrecognizable). In his record book, the name of the deceased is given as John Beach, while on the stone itself, John Beech: both, however, confirm that the man died on March 25, 1785, in Cheshire.

Despite such departures, however, Brewer usually stuck to his simpler, linear formula. Indeed, he further simplified it. After this time his stones would no longer have any side borders. Whatever the case, his efforts were apparently not very successful. Only seventeen commissions are recorded in the two or three years he lived in Connecticut. Perhaps there was too much competition from other, established carvers in the area, such as Thomas Gold in New Haven. As if that were not

enough, carvers of the Cowles family in Cheshire were directly knocking off his style, including the downturned eyes that were his trademark (see Fig. 7, Dr. Samuel Dutton, 1789, Wallingford).

By 1787, Brewer apparently felt it was once again time to move on, and he took his wife and growing family to the Hudson valley. They settled first on the west side of the river, in Orangetown, Rockland County. The carver's chronological record book clearly documents this relocation. All of a sudden, commissions in Connecticut cease and are supplanted by commissions in New York. Among the first in New York is one for "Eldad Parker of Cheshire Conn. Sept. 8 1786 – 24th year. Nyack." This may in fact explain how Brewer made his way to Rockland County: Orangetown is just a few miles southwest of Nyack. Brewer had carved several stones for families in Cheshire, Connecticut, including one for Deacon Edward

Fig. 6 Sarah Hough, 1775, Ira Hough, 1777, and Rosetta Hough, 1778, Meriden, Connecticut. Listed in the Brewer record book. A relatively elaborate stone executed when Brewer was living in Guilford, Connecticut. Photograph by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

Parker. Perhaps, one might speculate, he received the commission for Eldad Parker's stone from the Parker family in Cheshire, and traveled to Nyack, where the young man had died, either to carve it or deliver it. The stone itself has unfortunately disappeared.

Fig. 7 Dr. Samuel Dutton, 1789, Wallingford, Connecticut. Attributed to Elisha Cowles. Soul effigy apparently imitated from Brewer's work.

During the time Brewer lived in Rockland County, relatively few of his commissions actually came from that county; most came instead from across the Hudson, in Westchester. Probably one of the reasons he had settled in Rockland was to have access to the sandstone quarries there and in neighboring New Jersey. But by 1790 he moved to where his customers were. He lived for six or seven years in Tarrytown, and then moved inland to an 11-acre farm in Greenburgh. It was a curious choice for a gravestone carver. The best way to move stone from the New Jersey and Rockland quarries was by water, but Greenburgh was (and is) several land miles east of the river. Perhaps Brewer wanted to be assured of the subsistence a farm could provide.

From his new location, Brewer carved stones for several of the leading families in the area, such as the Martlings family, who had a boat service on the Hudson, with a dock at Tarrytown. Abraham Martlings (see Fig. 1) and his brother Daniel both served in the Revolution.[7] Their stones, along with more than half of Brewer's other surviving works, are in the burying ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow.

The second largest group of the carvers's works stands in the graveyard of the Presbyterian church in White Plains, a few miles east of Greenburgh. Three modest stones there, for example, commemorate a White Plains family whose home (according to local tradition) was used as a headquarters by George Washington. Tragedy struck the family in the fall of 1776, when Elijah Miller (Fig. 8) and his two sons, aged 16 and 20, all died. Brewer carved their stones long after the event. In his records, which seem to be basically chronological, the commission for the father's stone appears among others dated 1790. The commissions for the sons' stones turn up even later, near others dated 1802.

The record book makes it plain that this backdating of stones was in fact the rule, rather than the exception. Most of Brewer's stones were carved at least a year or two after the date of death, and often much longer. I suspect that the same is true of other carvers as well, and that the dates on stones don't accurately reflect the chronology of a carver's work.

Brewer's records suggest production of about ten to twelve stones per year – only a little better than what he had accomplished in Connecticut. It's plain that he couldn't make a living this way. According to Daniel Van Tassell, he taught school, had a license as an auctioneer, and served as a census enumerator and as Greenburgh Town Clerk, as

Fig. 8 Elijah Miller, 1776, White Plains Presbyterian Church graveyard, White Plains, New York. Listed in the Brewer record book. A backdated stone, actually executed in the 1790s.

Fig. 9 Sarah Tidd Paulding, 1790, Hillside Cemetery, Van Cortlandtville, New York. Listed in the Brewer record book. One of the few stones with three-dimensional decoration that Brewer executed after moving to New York.

well as working as a mason. And then there was the family farm, on which the Brewers kept a couple of cows, presumably had a garden and some fruit trees, and raised hay and other crops.

On rare occasions the carver was able to drum up a commission for a fancier monument, with relief decoration (e.g., Fig. 9, Sarah Tidd Paulding, 1790, Van Cortlandtville). Sarah Paulding was the wife of John Paulding, one of the militiamen who captured the spy John Andre. He was awarded a comfortable pension by a grateful Congress and could probably afford the additional cost. But in the decades immediately following the Revolution, most families could not. Furthermore, this stone and the five others like it in New York are all smaller and less elaborate than similar ones Brewer had carved in Massachusetts.

For the most part, however, Brewer remained loyal to his formula: simple, engraved decoration on stones of modest size. He apparently offered a comprehensive service to his customers, including a repertoire of traditional verses for them to choose from. These, like his carving style, he probably brought from Massachusetts. It may be no accident that most are composed of short, pithy lines, with relatively few letters to carve. In any event, they tend to appear repeatedly. Some are very well known, such as:

Death is a debt
To nature due,
Which I have paid
And so must you.

And probably the most famous of all:

Reader behold as you pass by.
As you are now so once was I.
As I am now so you must be.
Prepare for death and follow me.

A number of these verses were suitable for any occasion:

Life's uncertain.
Death is sure.
Sin's the wound,
And Christ the cure.

While others had more specific applications, such as death in old age:

Suffic'd with life
My spirit's fled;
And I'm at rest
Among the dead.

Or death after long illness:

Affliction sore
Long time I bore.
Physicians' help was vain.
Till death did cease
And God did please
To ease me of my pain.

Fig. 10 Couenhoven children, 1794, Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Listed in the Brewer record book. An unusual triple stone for the victims of an epidemic. Photograph by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

The earlier inscriptions – those of the 18th century – tend to be rather grim and implacable, like this one, for Anthony King, age two:

> Death oft destroys
> The parents' joys.

Yet sometimes either Brewer or the family would settle on wording truly poignant and appropriate. Three small children of the Couenhoven family died in an epidemic within a few days of one another. The epitaph on their triple stone (Fig. 10, Couenhoven children, 1794, Sleepy Hollow) comes from David's elegy to Saul and Jonathan, in the first book of Samuel. Unfortunately now below ground, it reads:

> How lovely & pleasant were they
> in their
> Lives; & in their Deaths they were
> not divided.

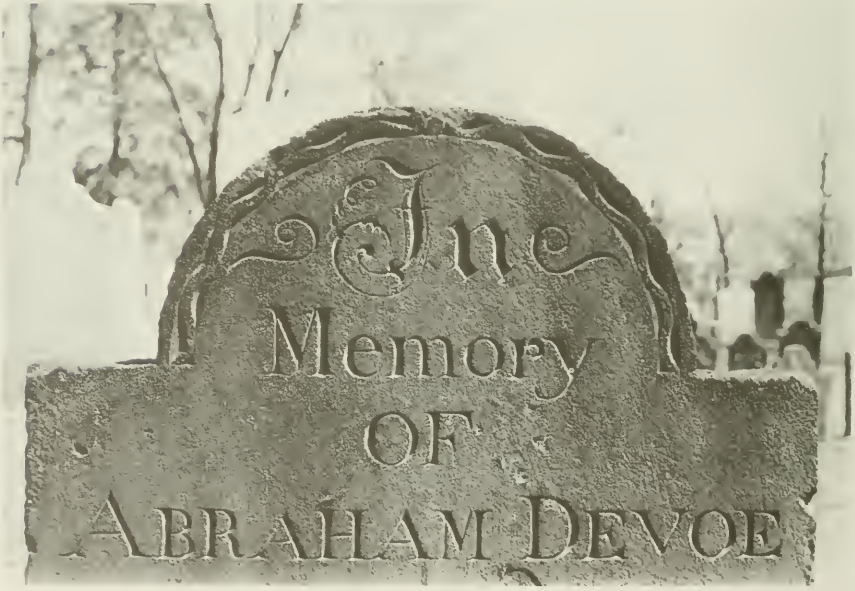

Fig. 11 Abraham Devoe (1805), detail, Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Listed in the Brewer record book. A large gothic "In" replaces the no-longer-fashionable soul effigy.

On other occastions, though, the choice seems somewhat inexplicable:

> Calm resignation crown'd
> his latest hours
> While death stood ready
> to arrest the powers
> Of flesh & blood
> The mind serene & free
> Bound for the joys
> of immortality.

The subject of this verse was an infant of six months.

At the end of the 18th century, in New York as elsewhere, soul effigies went out of fashion. At first there was no generally acceptable image to replace them, so most gravestones contained only lettering. Like other carvers of the period, Brewer made at least a gesture toward ornamentation by carving an elaborate Gothic "In" where the effigy used to be (see Fig. 11, Abraham Devoe, 1805, Sleepy Hollow). He also added to his

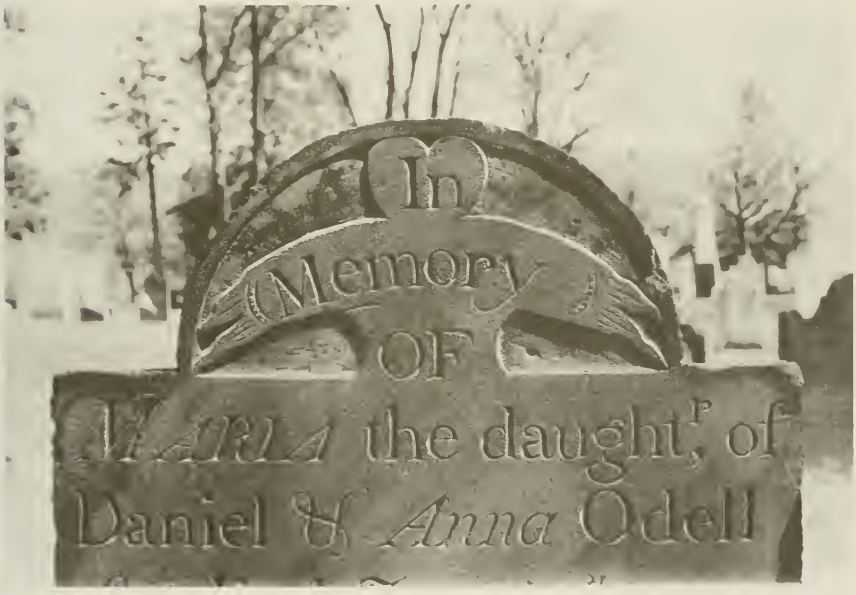

Fig. 12 Maria Odell, 1805 (detail), Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Listed in the Brewer record book. A banner-and-heart design occasionally used by Brewer for children's stones in the early 1800s.

repertoire some verses with gentler, kinder sentiments than the traditional threats of death and damnation:

> Haste my beloved, fetch my soul
> Up to thy blest abode
> Fly, for my spirit longs to see
> My Saviour and my God.

For children's stones, he developed an odd little decoration composed of a double-ended banner, surmounted by a heart (see Fig. 12, Maria Odell, 1805, Sleepy Hollow).

At the beginning of the Romantic Age, Brewer remained a conservative. As far as I know, he never carved any weeping willows, and only very rarely did he execute a classical urn (as, for example, Fig. 13, Gabriel Requa, 1809, Sleepy Hollow). He was also apparently reluctant to use marble, even when it was becoming steadily more fashionable than sandstone. Perhaps it is true as well that not as many of his marble monuments have survived. Certainly those that do remain are often

Fig. 13 Gabriel Requa, 1809 (detail), Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Listed in the Brewer record book, and signed "S.B. fecit." A rare example of Brewer's work in marble, decorated with an urn.

badly weathered.

Nonetheless, the carver did seem to recognize marble as a prestige material. The aforementioned marble stone for Gabriel Requa (Fig. 13) is signed, "S.B. fecit." Brewer actually signed very few of his stones. I know of only four: all are relatively elaborate, and two of them are in marble. The earliest is the profile sandstone marker for John Beach (or Beech) in Cheshire, Connecticut, referred to earlier. The second is a large sandstone with three-dimensional decoration, carved for David Howell of Newburgh, New York, who died in 1793. The other marble stone is a tall memorial for the patriarch of the Requa family, the former militia officer Glode Requa (Anglicized from the Huguenot French name Claude Requier), who died in 1806. Its tympanum has no decoration, and much of its inscription is now illegible. But at the bottom, still clearly visible, is Brewer's signature, in a small banner (see Fig. 14). And just above the signature is a little trademark soul effigy – a sentimental memento, perhaps, of a device that was by then thoroughly out of fashion.

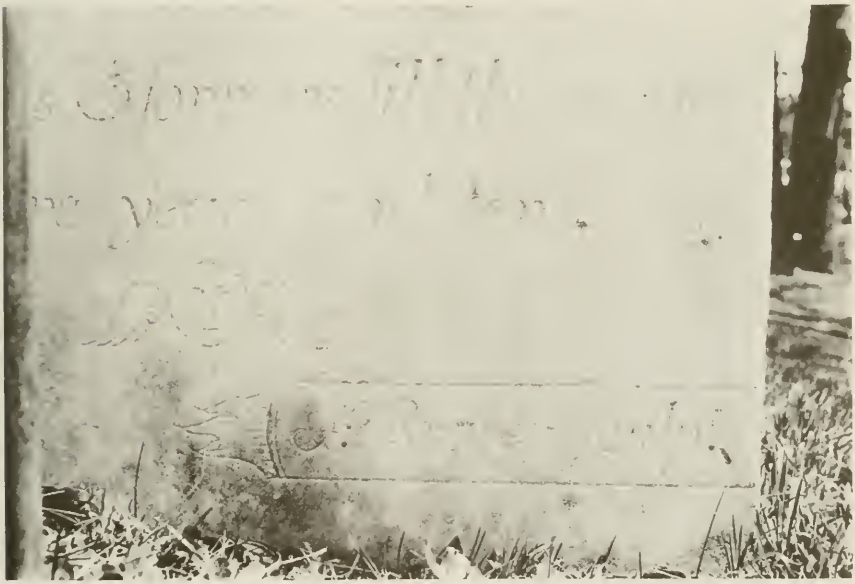

Fig. 14 Glode Requa, 1806 (detail), Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Listed in the Brewer record book, and signed "S. Brewer sculpt." Above the signature is a miniature soul effigy in Brewer's typical style.

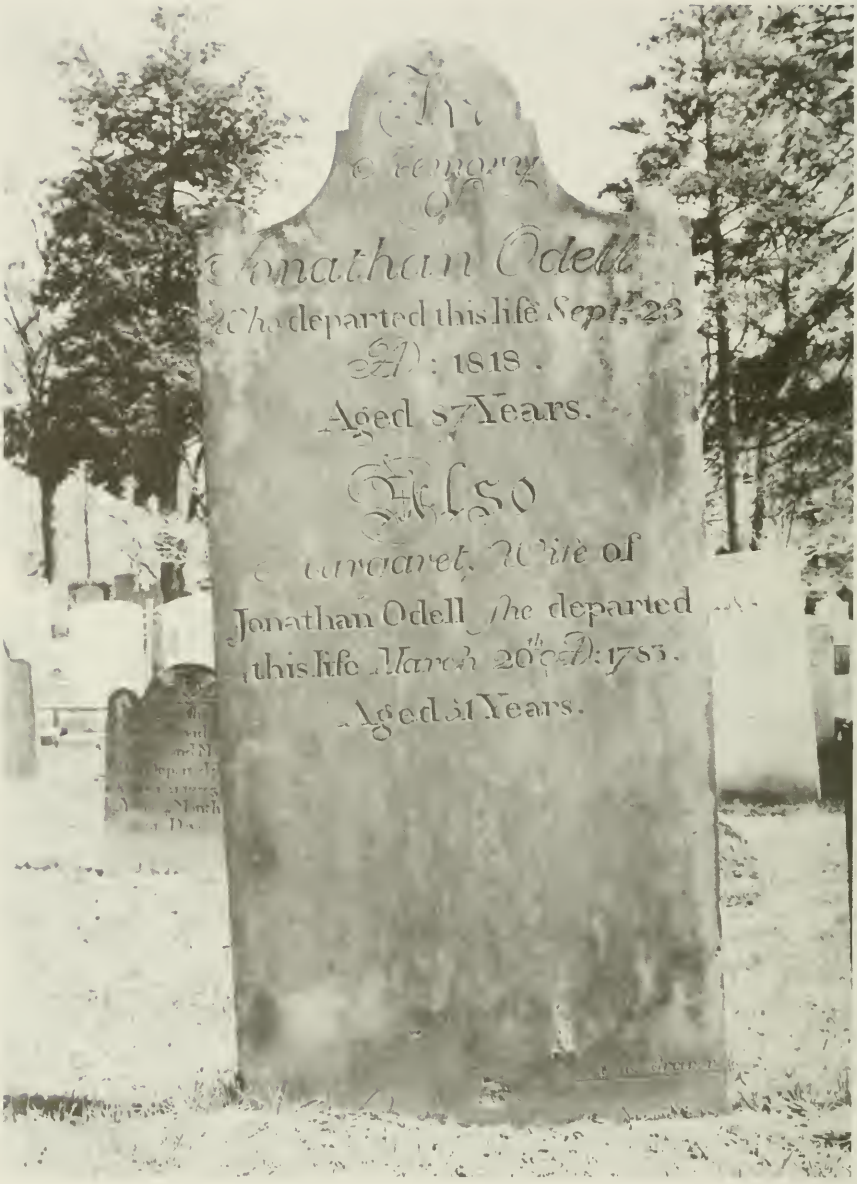

Fig. 15 Jonathan Odell, 1818, Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Listed in the Brewer record book, this is the work of Solomon Brewer's sons James and Horace, who appear to have succeeded him about 1817.

According to Daniel Van Tassell, the title page of Brewer's record book read "Solomon Brewer's Book, Greenburgh, May 1815." Actually, it appears to be a compilation of earlier records, perhaps assembled when Brewer was thinking of retiring. In any event, only a few stones that can be attributed to him bear dates from 1815 on, and none at all after 1817. Two of his sons, James and Horace, apparently took over the business. Not only did they carve stones, but also for several years they added their own commissions to the record book. Even in Daniel Van Tassell's transcribed version, the transition from the father's commissions to those of the sons is clear. Solomon Brewer always included the place of the deceased's death in his entries. But in the midst of entries dated 1817, this information abruptly disappears. Evidently the sons didn't think it worth recording.

The sons' lettering style (e.g., Fig. 15, Jonathan Odell, 1818, Sleepy Hollow) is crisp, clean, and harmonious, like their father's. But the vertical proportions of the roman letters are more compressed, with more pronounced serifs, and the italics are often embellished with extravagant

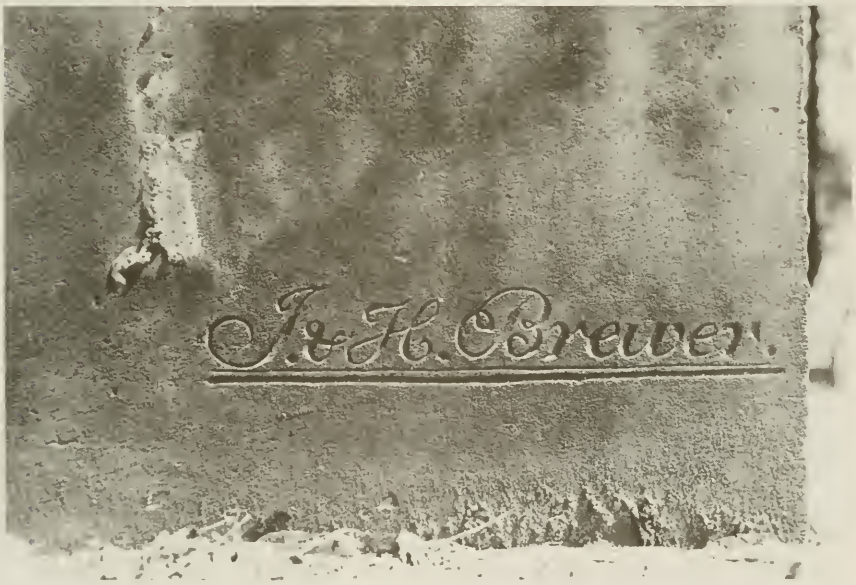

Fig. 16 Jonathan Odell, 1818 (detail), Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow. This stone is one of at least two that James and Horace Brewer signed.

romantic flourishes. At least two of their stones are signed, "J. and H. Brewer" (see Fig. 16, Jonathan Odell, detail). Horace Brewer was known to Daniel Van Tassell and mentioned in his newspaper account, while the other partner was not: but there is no question in my mind that it was James, Solomon's only other surviving son by his second wife.

James and Horace continued to produce monuments for families such as the Foshays (see Fig. 17, stones of Ann Foshay and John Foshay, 1829, 1808, Sleepy Hollow), who had been clients of their father's. And they, too, apparently produced no more than about a dozen stones a year. I've tried to distinguish the works of each son, but have finally given up. Some stones seem a little more heavily cut than others, but otherwise the stylistic differences are subtle and inconsistent. Plainly the brothers worked as a team.

Perhaps it is my imagination, but the sons, while excellent craftsmen in their own right, nonetheless seem a little less careful and accurate than

Fig. 17 Ann Foshay (left), 1829, by James and Horace Brewer, and John Foshay (right), 1808, by Solomon Brewer. Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Both stones listed in the Brewer record book. Solomon Brewer's sons continued to receive commissions from the same families that had bought stones from him.

their meticulous father. For example, they had a very hard time with the stone for Anthony Dutcher (Fig. 18). First they got his given name wrong (in the record book, actually, it appears as "Alexander"). So they chiseled a singularly unconvincing panel to erase the mistake, and inserted the correct name within it. But then they discovered a missing letter in the father's first name, Deliverance. Here they abandoned all pretense, simply inserting the lost "r" above the line and placing a caret underneath.

It was one or the other or both of the sons who carved their father's stone (Fig. 19) when he died in 1824, at the age of 77 years, 9 months, and 14 days. Although Solomon Brewer apparently wasn't a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, he had nonetheless managed to acquire a substantial plot in the Sleepy Hollow burying ground, where he and several other family members are buried. He left no will, but as James's accounting shows[8], he was in debt to the tune of $120. The farm was auctioned off to pay these debts, but was actually bought by his daughter Polly. The verse carved on his stone was one that he himself had earlier used for

Fig. 18 Anthony Dutcher, 1824 (detail), Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Listed in the Brewer record book. James and Horace Brewer appear to have been somewhat less accurate than their father.

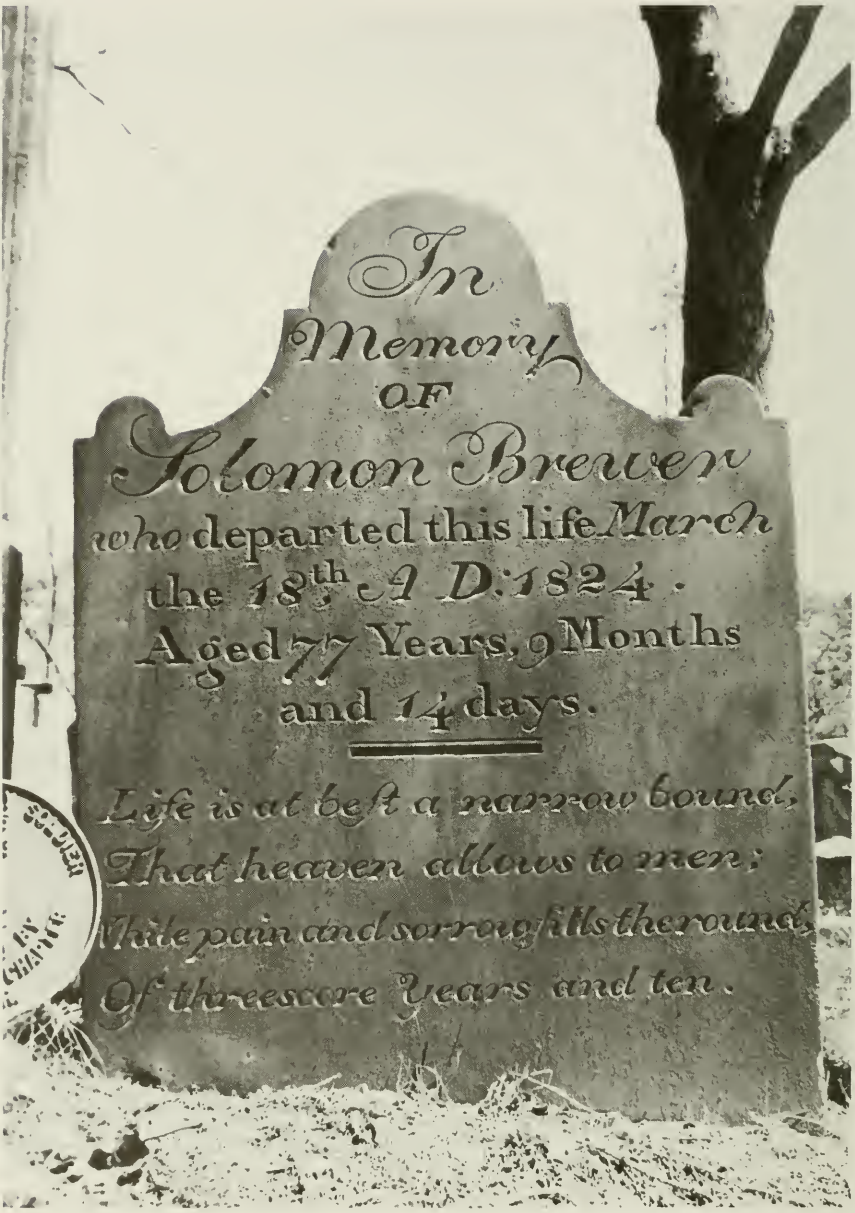

Fig. 19 Solomon Brewer, 1824, Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Not listed in the Brewer record book, but undoubtedly executed by James and Horace for their father.

Glode Requa:

> Life is at best a narrow bound,
> That heaven allows to men;
> While pain & sorrow fills the round,
> Of threescore years & ten.

The sons continued to carve stones for more than a decade after their father's death, and they remained basically faithful to his style. They favored sandstone, although most other carvers had long since switched to marble, and they carved no urns or willows or other romantic devices. In only a few instances did they experiment with either the ornate, circus-poster capitals or the blunt, sans-serif typefaces that became popular toward the middle of the 19th century. In the record book, there are no dates past 1836, and I can find no stones of theirs dated after 1838. They must surely have stopped carving by about 1841, when their mother died. Her stone, now badly weathered, is a typical Victorian marble, and not by the sons at all. They apparently gave up what was a marginal business at best. By that time their work may have seemed rather old fashioned in its simplicity, its clarity, and its stubborn loyalty to its own traditions.

The Brewers' record book is an immensely valuable document that illuminates many aspects of gravestone carving as a craft and as a business. It also provides a revealing, though sobering, insight into the survival of gravestones generally. Comparing the record book with the stones to be found in graveyards vividly demonstrates the ravages of two centuries of exposure and presages the probable fate of these monuments in the future.

The book contains about 495 entries. Each entry usually, but not always, corresponds to a single stone: sibling children with separate entries may end up memorialized on one stone, or a single commission for a husband and wife may be executed as a pair of stones. Not every commission was recorded. I know of about seventy stones that are not listed, but that can be safely attributed to Solomon or his sons. For example, the high-style stones for Petrus (Fig. 20) and Catriena Van Tessel at Sleepy Hollow couldn't have been carved by anyone else. Neither could the signed stones for Gabriel and Glode Requa (Figs. 13 and 14). And neither, for that matter, could Solomon's own stone, nor the stone that James and Horace carved for their brother Bela, who died in 1827.

I have not been able to find surviving stones to match 100 or so entries in the record book – about one in five. Undoubtedly I've missed some. Several are probably hidden away in obscure family burying grounds, which are common in Westchester, and I may have overlooked others, especially marbles with badly worn inscriptions. Nonetheless, the evidence of significant attrition is undeniable.

The most precise evidence comes from Sleepy Hollow, where the stones have been thoroughly and repeatedly documented over several decades, and where substantial efforts at restoration have been made. By my count, 223 Brewer stones survive there, many of them, fortunately, in good shape. But forty-five are known to be gone. That is, they are listed in the record book, and as late as 1953 are documented as being in the burying ground,[9] but they have since disappeared or else have been defaced beyond recognition. One of the latter, for example, was once a

Fig. 20 Petrus Van Tessel, 1792 (detail), Burying Ground of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. Attributed to Solomon Brewer, but not listed in the Brewer record book. Solomon Brewer's style is unmistakeable, even in stones that are undocumented.

very well-known memorial, and was among Solomon Brewer's first Westchester commissions. It was the stone for Isaac Martlings, the brother of Daniel and Abraham Martlings, who was familiarly called "Isaac the Martyr." As the inscription used to state, he was "inhumanly slain by Nathaniel Underhill" in 1779. Underhill was a notorious Tory who bore Martlings a grudge, and, after cutting down the one-armed Indian war veteran with a sword, fled to Canada. All that now remains of Isaac's stone is a broken and eroded sandstone stump.

Other Brewer stones may have disappeared as well, even though they don't appear in Sleepy Hollow documents. When commissions for the stones of several close relatives appear bunched together in the Brewer book, and only some of the stones themselves can be found in the graveyard, one can assume that the others have been lost. At Sleepy Hollow there are thirteen such instances.

Arithmetic yields plain, if depressing, results. Adding forty-five to thirteen makes fifty-eight Brewer stones that were probably once at Sleepy Hollow, but have since been destroyed or have disappeared. Adding these fifty-eight to the 223 surviving stones gives a total of 281. The ratio of 58 to 281 is a little over twenty percent – again, about one in five.

This in itself would seem a sad enough postscript to the story of a talented early American gravestone carver, but it also suggests an ongoing problem, for the fact of the matter is that it is hard, if not impossible, to halt further attrition. In any graveyard accessible to the public, vandalism may be controlled, but it cannot be entirely prevented. There is at present no acceptable way to prevent exposed marble from gradually dissolving. Relaminating spalled sandstone is difficult and costly, and the permanency of the repair is uncertain. The prospect appears inevitable: left outside, all these monuments will eventually disintegrate or disappear. But what is the alternative? We cannot rescue every stone from vandals or the weather. If we decide to bring some indoors, how shall the selections be made, and what will be erected in their place? These problems haunt anyone who is concerned with saving the heritage of our old gravestones, and there are no easy answers. To paraphrase the old verse:

Stone's uncertain,
Ruin sure.
Restoration
Holds no cure.

NOTES

Much of the research for this article was done by others, who generously shared with me their knowledge, their insights, and documents in their possession. With deep gratitude I would like to acknowledge their help. Robert Drinkwater did virtually all the research on the Brewer stones in Massachusetts, visiting graveyards throughout the Springfield area, and supplying me with slides and photographs. Laurel Gabel provided me with photocopies of works by several Connecticut Valley carvers (crucial in separating Brewer's work from that of his contemporaries), plus valuable leads on research sources. Lucille M. Kennedy (Mrs. Robert C. Kennedy), wife of a descendant of Solomon Brewer's, supplied a copy of Daniel Van Tassell's article (see Note 1), which became a kind of Rosetta Stone for Solomon Brewer and his sons, linking their names to specific works and alerting me to the existence of their record book. Elizabeth Fuller, Librarian of the Westchester County Historical Society, discovered in the society's collection a photocopy of Van Tassell's transcription of Brewer's book (see Note 2). William Lent, President of the Friends of the Old Dutch Burying Ground at Sleepy Hollow, located the genealogical study by Duane Brewer (see Note 4) at the City Library of Springfield. Robert W. Purdy, another descendant of Solomon Brewer's, provided me with a copy of Joshua Brewer's affadavit (see Note 3) and other documentary information. Gerard Dorian located the documents dealing with Solomon Brewer's estate (see Note 8) in the records of Westchester County. This article has been enhanced by the inclusion of a number of excellent photographs by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber, so indicated in the respective photo captions. All other photographs are by the author.

1. Daniel Van Tassel, "Solomon Brewer," *Tarrytown Argus* (May 2, 1903).

2. Solomon Brewer, *Solomon Brewer's Book: Greenburgh May 1815*, transcribed by Daniel Van Tassell, about 1902. The handwritten original is at the New York Biographical and Genealogical Society, among the Van Tassell papers, and is available only to society members. The photocopy is at the Westchester County Historical Society. An abbreviated transcription in database form, arranged alphabetically and by graveyards, is maintained by the Association for Gravestone Studies.

3. Joshua B[owen] Brewer, Affidavit, Hudson County, New Jersey, January 5, 1855, while "on a visit among his relatives and friends in the vicinity of New York."

4. Duane E[lceron] Brewer, *The Brewer Family in America* (Bridgeport, Ct., 1901). Privately published pamphlet in the genealogical collection of the Springfield, Massachusetts, Public Library.

5. A list of these stones is maintained at the Association for Gravestone Studies.

6. James A. Slater, *The Colonial Burying grounds of Eastern Connecticut and the Men Who Made Them* (Hamden, Ct., 1987), 57-60.

7. For this and other biographical references to those buried at Sleepy Hollow see *Tales of the Old Dutch Burying Ground*, 2nd, rev. ed. (Tarrytown, NY, 1992).

8. "Rene Brewer & others Adm[inistrators'] Bond/ Solomon Brewer/ 1824," August 2, 1824. "Solomon Brewer's Inventory – 1824," August 18, 1824. "Petition of Account of Rene Brewer & James Brewer, Admins./ to sell real estate of Solomon Brewer/ 1825," September 14, 1825. "Return of James Brewer Administrator of Solomon Brewer dec'd/ Recorded/ 1825," December 16, 1825. All: records of Westchester County, New York.

9. William Graves Perry, *The Old Dutch Burying Ground of Sleepy Hollow in North Tarrytown, New York: A Record of the Early Gravestones and Their Inscriptions* (Boston, 1953).

Fig. 1 MacClellan Gate, Arlington National Cemetery, Washington, D.C.

'WHERE VALOR PROUDLY SLEEPS': THEODORE O'HARA AND 'THE BIVOUAC OF THE DEAD'

Thomas C. Ware

"There is something beyond the grave;
death does not end all,
and the pale ghost escapes from the vanquished pyre."

Sextus Propertius,
Elegies, IV, viii.

Nor shall your glory be forgot
While fame her record keeps,
Or Honor points the hallowed spot
Where Valor proudly sleeps.

– Theodore O'Hara,
"The Bivouac of the Dead"

As Thomas Wolfe observed in *Look Homeward, Angel*, a destiny that leads the people of one nation to another is strange enough; but a destiny that leads a talented individual – and thence his progeny – into foreign regions and to ambivalent fame becomes touched by "that dark miracle of chance which makes new magic in a dusty world."[1] Thus it was with Kean O'Hara, one of the "wild geese" who fled Ireland in the late 18th century and found his destiny in Kentucky – and there begot his son, Theodore, fated to become one of America's most quoted authors, and one of its least known to contemporary audiences.

Perhaps no artist in recent centuries, with the possible exception of the English poet Thomas Gray, became so closely identified with cemeteries or so widely cited in them as Theodore O'Hara, once regarded as "Uncle Sam's Official Poet" and "the bard of Memorial Day."[2] Lines from O'Hara's elegiac poem, "The Bivouac of the Dead," have been immortalized in marble and granite, in steel, on slabs, memorial tablets, and on the graves of soldiers in state and national graveyards throughout the land – especially the South, and most notably, perhaps, across the archway on both sides of the General George B. MacClellan gate, the original entrance to Arlington National Cemetery (Fig. 1).[3]

One account tells us that a stanza of O'Hara's elegy was inscribed on

a rude memorial nailed to a tree on the battlefield at Chancellorsville, Virginia, shortly after the fighting in 1863. A passage of "The Bivouac of the Dead" is engraved on a military monument in Boston – still another on an obelisk in a cemetery in Greenville, South Carolina. In Europe, lines from the poem became etched on a memorial column marking a major battle of the Crimean War. Reading the relatively little that has been written about this man and his major elegy, one gets the sense that during the height of the vogue which the poem apparently enjoyed during the later decades of the 19th century, and the early 20th, it was regarded as the ultimate expression on the subject of death – especially the death of military men. During that vogue, the poem became the official elegiac utterance in American Civil War battlefield cemeteries. But the poet's name never appears with his lines in these public places. In our time, whatever recognition the poem still receives, lessened though it may be, certainly overshadows the fame of its author, though that author's life and career led him into some of the most exciting and important events of his time – and by extension, some of the most dramatic occasions of the history of the United States in the mid-19th Century, including the War with Mexico, an ill-fated attempt to free Cuba from Spain, and the War Between the States.

A few seasons ago, on his CBS television show "Sunday Morning," Charles Kurault referred to the poem as it appears in Arlington National Cemetery as written by an "unknown" poet. Several weeks later, he publicly acknowledged the authorship of O'Hara. The historian and novelist Shelby Foote, who knows Civil War personnel as intimately as anyone, recently spoke of O'Hara at a gathering. "I know that he was on the staff of General Johnston at Shiloh," he said, "but I lost track of him after that. Whatever happened to him?" Clearly, the author of such a moving, public poem deserves more recognition than he currently receives.

Theodore O'Hara (Fig. 2) was a native Kentuckian, born February 11, 1820, probably in Frankfort;[4] but the odyssey which led to his birth in that green sector of this dusty world originated in the 1790s in the west of Ireland, a time and place of remarkably widespread and inventive violence, reaching deeply into parts of the country not implicated in the burgeoning insurrection.

The success of the American Revolution had intensified the desire for freedom among Ireland's oppressed people, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Quite coincidentally, revision of various penal codes directed

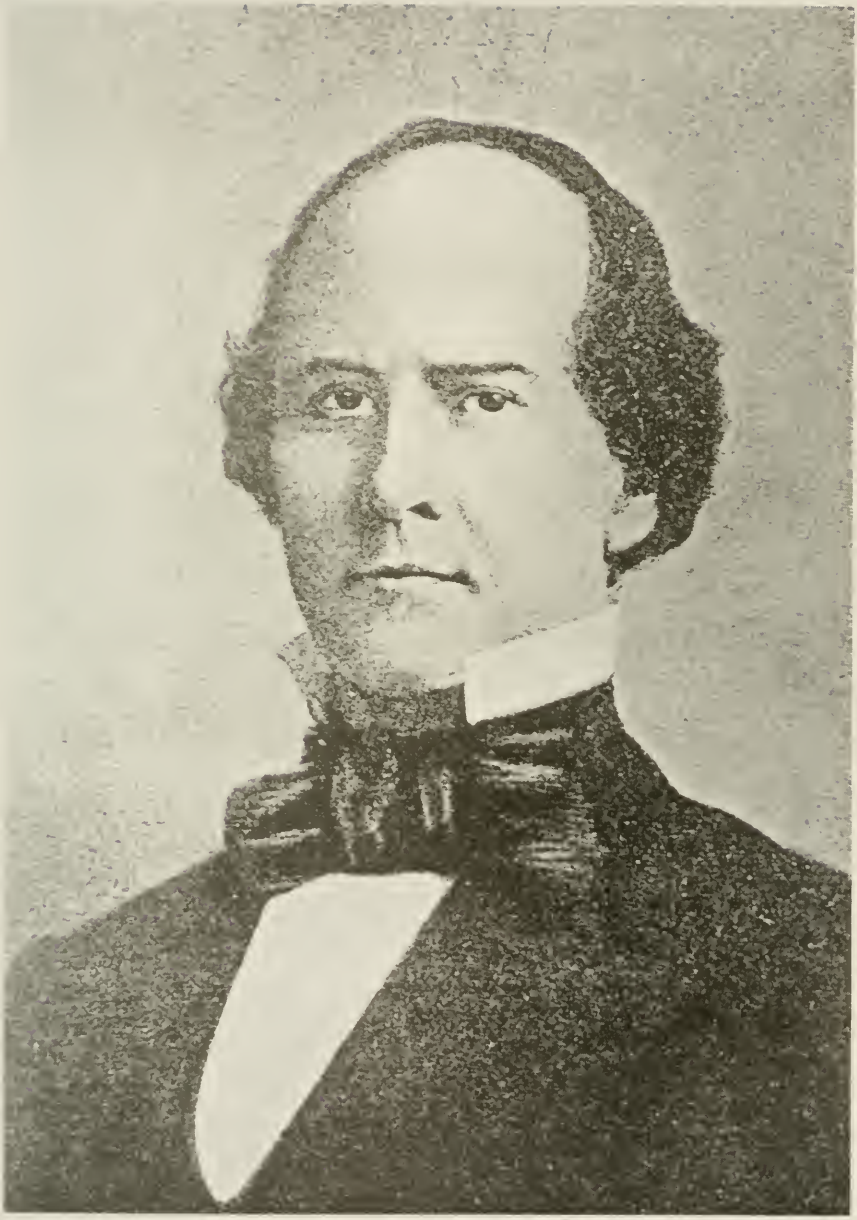

Fig. 2 Theodore O'Hara

against Catholics began in the mid-1770s, and dictates outlawing the Catholic Church itself were revoked by 1782. Indeed, the economic and military constraints which the war produced in England led to the easing of some restrictions which Irish merchants had experienced. Thus, American success in the War of Independence became a beacon for Ireland's own aspirations.[5]

Within this charged political atmosphere, the odyssey of the O'Hara family began. Exactly how and why remain for now only conjecture. One thing is certain, however: at one point during this nationalistic turmoil and its consequences, which spawned its own haunting body of defiant ballad literature, Kean O'Hara came to this country in the company of his brothers, James and Charles, and his sister, Polly, along with their father, James, senior.

Among the legends that surround this odyssey was that the departure of the O'Hara's from Ireland occurred as a direct result of the infamous "rising" of 1798, the "year of the French," when rebellious Irish patriots under the leadership of Lord Edward Fitzgerald were prepared to assist in the invasion of Napoleon's agents on the west coast. This plot was discovered and a pattern of cruel reprisals ensued, resulting in widespread massacre.

This matrix of violence seems a fitting romantic prelude to the career of Theodore, who was himself later to become so attracted to turbulent adventures, and so evidently at home in the presence of patriotic gore; but such legends must be countered with more sobering elements. Kean O'Hara's gravemarker (Fig. 3), still present in the small cemetery of St. Pius Church in the village of White Sulphur, Kentucky, indicates these defining events:

Born in Ireland, Nov. 24, 1768
Emigrated to America in 1793
A Citizen of Kentucky in 1798
Married in 1800
Died in Franklin County, Ky.
December 23, 1851

One should note well: "Emigrated to America in 1793." Such tombstone reality, based on the facts provided in the parish record at the time of death, can hardly now be refuted. What then are we to make of the many accounts of Kean O'Hara's involvement in the rising of 1798 and the urgent circumstances of his leaving his native country? Such stuff as

Fig. 3 Gravemarker of Kean O'Hara, St. Pius Church Cemetery, White Sulphur, Kentucky

dreams are made of, perhaps, and an exciting piece of fiction. The vague approximation between the date of the emigration and the better known events that transpired in the old country would have made for a fine broth of a tale, especially about a teacher who was as colorful as Kean O'Hara seems to have been. One contemporary letter provides us this perspective:

> He was a familiar figure of my childhood. He took part in the revolt against England in 1798, when he was compelled to leave and come to the U. S., reaching Kentucky and teaching a classical school until he bought a farm ...[6]

Clearly this attribution is incorrect on several points; but it does illustrate how a legend accumulates and adheres.

Kean O'Hara would have been approximately thirty years old when he left Ireland; and when he died in 1851 at age 83, he had been celebrated in and around the Blue Grass region of Kentucky for half of a century. One historian recounts this impressive career in a succinct manner:

> Among the large number of pupils of Kean O'Hara who rose to distinguished positions in life were several of the Marshalls and the Browns, Zachary Taylor (afterwards the President of the United States), and Major George Croghan of the United States Army.[7]

Croghan, the nephew of George Rogers Clark, won fame and a congressional award for his defense of Fort Stephenson in the War of 1812. Only twenty-one at the time, Croghan made a triumphant return visit to O'Hara's school after his great achievement. In like manner, while on his way to Washington for his inauguration in 1849, General Zachary Taylor himself made a special stop at Frankfort to visit his old mentor:

> It was an affecting scene when the great soldier, then an old man (of 65), bowed himself in grateful homage before the venerable preceptor of his youth, and in few but earnest words thanked him for the care bestowed upon his early education, to which he chiefly attributed all the achievements of his early life.[8]

The "venerable preceptor" would have been approximately 80 on this occasion, and hardly a prominent family in that section of Kentucky would not have been touched in some way by his endeavors. Shortly afterwards, his odyssey was over. In a personal recollection of him, his granddaughter wrote that "In getting off a horse, he fell – was injured

and died from the affects [sic]."[9]

Quite apart from his collateral role as the father – and mentor – of the young man who would become such a notable poet, Kean O'Hara deserves continuing acclaim in the early history of education in this country.

While living briefly in Maryland, Kean had met Helen Hardy, the daughter of a distinguished Irish family which had emigrated to that province during the time of Lord Baltimore, and later, after Kean had settled in Kentucky, the two were married there. In all, it was quite an auspicious set of circumstances into which Theodore was born, made especially rich when the father undertook to design his gifted son's education and career. Even during his childhood years, Theodore demonstrated great skill in poetical recitation, not unusual when one considers first, the methods and substance of classical education at the time, and second, the special encouragement and attention of his schoolmaster. Despite the secular nature of his school, Kean O'Hara remained Roman Catholic, and the accounts of Theodore's childhood include details of a trip back to Ireland, where his father returned to visit relatives. During this visit, the youngster was made to stand on a table and recite in classic style to rounds of applause from neighbors and kin.[10]

Though little else of specific incident is recorded about his early education, we know that O'Hara began attending classes in Frankfort at his father's school, perhaps as early as 1824. A quick and diligent scholar, he reportedly aided other students in their lessons – "doing sums for them and helping in various ways."[11] Study, states one account, was "his passion. It engrossed of his childhood. Happily, he was trained ... by one who fully understood [his] nature ..."[12] Nevertheless, he was also characterized as full of mischief, perhaps deliberately so in the presence of his strict, disciplinarian father, in a manner analogous to that of the proverbial preacher's son.

Theodore's love of poetry and song, especially about heroic deeds – the verse of Sir Walter Scott, for example[13] – was evidently nurtured early in his life and became one of his most striking intellectual traits. As he grew to manhood, he seems to have sustained great proficiency and delight in reciting such verses in congenial company. William Aytoun's *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, a body of literature principally about chivalry, insurrection, and tragedy in Scottish experience during the reigns of Tudor and Stuart monarchs, remained a special favorite of O'Hara, and

one may find in some of those "lays" the qualities of the elegies he himself would later compose.[14]

After what was evidently intense academic preparation by his father, Theodore was judged fit to go on to higher education and was sent to St. Joseph College in Bardstown, probably about 1836, and apparently acquitted himself in an exemplary manner there, although his academic prowess may be inferred only from comments.[15]

Although it does seem true that most of the records of the college have been lost – or remain inaccessible at this time – it is a striking coincidence that one ledger, and one only, does still exist, attesting to this period of the poet's career. The ledger records the years 1838 through 1840 at the college, providing listings of the administrators, the faculty, the student body, and the curricular offerings. For the academic year 1838, Theodore O'Hara is identified as "Tutor of Latin and Greek"[16], but not as a student. Some accounts have him graduating in 1839. He may have been a senior at that point in 1838, but he was not listed as taking classes. More likely he would have graduated in the spring of 1838 with distinction enough to earn appointment as tutor. In any event, it is certain that he was never a Professor of Greek, as often stated.

By late 1839, just prior to his entering the study of law, his actions and his achievements had announced his qualities and his mode of life, though not yet his direction. He had rejected an academic career, for that kind of daily life, like the profession of law he would now attempt, did not present the levels of challenge and adventure that could sustain his interest and commitment. As his later military compatriot Albert Brackett would assert, he was a "singular man in some respects"; "and ... undoubtedly a man of genius ..."[17]

To suggest, at that juncture in 1839, that Theodore O'Hara would not succeed in any endeavors he chose, would be to assert that intelligence of a high order, a deeply ingrained moral sense, a college education, talent abounding, and an attractive personality were not sufficient attributes for a young man in the brave new world of 19th century America. Yet his successes in later life were surprisingly few.

At some point in his youth, probably about the time he returned to Frankfort from St. Joseph's, O'Hara began the practice of spending hours in the state cemetery grounds that overlook the Kentucky River. Musing in such picturesque spots had become a favorite activity for aspiring young poets at that time, a vogue begun in England during the late 18th

century by the "Graveyard School."[18] These poets, associated with the early development of the Romantic movement, often wrote lengthy, melancholy works speculating on the gloomy topics of physical decay, death, and immortality. The macabre elements generally present in old burial grounds held a special fascination for them.

Given both O'Hara's knowledge of literature and the nearby retreat of this attractive hillside plot, it is not difficult to see how he would have been drawn to such a practice. If one adds both his occupation at this period of his life – spending long days reading law – and his proclivities towards elegiac poetry, soon to manifest themselves in his two major works, then the final elements of supposition fall into place.

Reading law and entertaining poetical thoughts may seem antithetical, but during this period of O'Hara's life, the two processes seem to have come together. As one observer recognized, this spot of ground was to be "intimately associated" with his major literary productions:

> Always inclined to Celtic meditation tinged with sadness, he lived to walk here amid the solitudes and to allow his imagination free flight.[19]

And indeed it remained, at least until he was approximately forty years of age, a free flying imagination without settling into serious literary production. The crystalizing of his thought into poetic utterance would later be prompted by two formal occasions which brought significant public attention to the little cemetery: the burial of Kentucky's dead from the battle of Buena Vista, and the reinterment of Daniel Boone. His literary responses to these events, about a decade away, would ironically bring him the enduring recognition which would otherwise elude him.

Another apt judgment of O'Hara during this period would conclude of him that "he was possessed of the impulsive spirit which induces one to stake all on the hazard of a die rather than to attain by painful and persistent effort." And, still further:

> It may be the that Muses did haunt his every step, weaving about each scene the witchery of idealism and romance so enchanting to the poetic mind, but they certainly did not compel him to put into living verse the varied and picturesque experiences through which he must have passed. He wrote but little.[20]

Indeed, for public audiences it is true he wrote but little, or so it appears in any case. One must lament the absence of any body of papers, such as

juvenilia or other fledgling attempts at poetic writing.

Despite the brevity of the legal career which would follow these years of apprenticeship, the impact of his reading the law was to remain evident later in his life and in his writings, both private and public. His skills as an orator, earning him a strong reputation among his contemporaries, were shaped not only by that daring and brilliance exhibited in his childhood but by the kind of legal rhetoric and declamatory patterning which were characteristics of American speech-making since the days of the founding fathers. Only a few of his public addresses have survived, but one notable example remains in the obituary statement he delivered on the occasion of the burial of William Barry at the state cemetery. It reads in part:

> The tribute we are here to pay is that which a people's cool sense of gratitude and justice ... dispassionately renders to exalted merit and appreciated public service. It ... has exacted from the still devoted subjects of its living sway. It is the tribute which an immortal eloquence, mingling its undying echoes in eternal harmony with her joyous anthem of freedom and peace and happiness, has won from the land... It is the tribute which a burning patriotism ... has extorted from the grateful memory of the country which now garners these sacred ashes to her bosom ... We are here ... to execute upon these remains ... that consecrating judgment of ancient Egypt, which, upon a severe trial of her greatest worthies after death, and a cold scrutiny of their whole lives, admitted those of spotless fame and of the loftiest worth to the sublime repose of her everlasting pyramids.[21]

This oration has been credited as having influenced Abraham Lincoln when he composed his Gettysburg Address[22], but if so – and there can be only conjecture – the differences between O'Hara's excessive formality of diction, phrasing, and allusion and the tighter parallel construction of the Gettysburg speech suggest that the analytical eye of Lincoln permitted him to cut down to the basic organization of O'Hara's eulogy. And quite probably the comparison may owe more to the standard oratorical traditions of the time – especially in the legal profession – than to specific influences.

Over the years, O'Hara worked for several newspapers, including the *Kentucky Yeoman* (of Frankfort), the Louisville *Times*, and the Louisville *Sun*, eventually moving into a high position of authority for the Mobile (Alabama) *Register*, whose owner, John Forsythe, was U. S. Minister to Mexico. When the U. S. War with Mexico began in 1846,

O'Hara volunteered for service, was commissioned captain, fought in several battles, and was decorated for meritorious conduct.

On July 20, 1847, a crowd estimated at 20,000 gathered in Frankfort to witness the reburial of those local heroes who had fallen at Buena Vista, a decisive battle won by General Zachary Taylor, but at great cost to the Second Kentucky Regiment of Foot Volunteers, among them Lt. Colonel Henry Clay, Jr., son of the Great Compromiser. O'Hara was not present at this ceremony, however, as he was still serving in Mexico – and not discharged until October 15, 1848. Yet among the legends which surrounded the composition of O'Hara's famous poem was the persistent one that he was invited to read during the ceremony and that he worked all night and into the morning of the funeral in order to prepare the elegy.

According to George W. Ranck, the poet was actually composing his elegy during August of 1847 for the dedication of a monument for those fallen Kentuckians of the Mexican War, to be raised in the state cemetery at Frankfort, but even Ranck incorrectly lists O'Hara as editor at that time of the *Kentucky Yeoman*.[23] It was not until February of 1848 that the Kentucky Legislature appropriated money to pay for the monument, which was not completed and erected until July, 1850.

And so "The Bivouac of the Dead," as it later became known, was certainly not read at this dedication, though specific questions of when it was completed and where it was first delivered remain to this day unanswered. A story that came third hand to Major Edgar Hume, who had some fairly close access to the O'Hara legends, indicates that Theodore first read the poem aloud to a cadre of young friends in a saloon across from the State House in Frankfort.[24] Because the poet did not return from Mexico until late in 1848, one may at best place only the origins of the poem in this period, and Hume asserts that the first publication was in 1858 in the Mobile *Register*, where and when O'Hara had assumed editorship.[25]

This assertion, like so many about O'Hara's career, has had its critics. And a document now in the archives of the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, also testifies otherwise. This is a newspaper article – headed by the title "A Beautiful Poem" – which states, "the following beautiful poem was written on the occasion of the burial of the gallant Kentuckians who gloriously fell at Buena Vista in the cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky. The author, Colonel Theodore O'Hara, gallant as a

soldier as he is gifted as a writer, is now in our city. At our earnest solicitation he has consented to its publication in our columns."[26] This version is composed of ninety-six lines, in twelve stanzas of two quatrains each, in traditional hymn meter: alternating four beat, three beat lines, with interlocking rhymes (see Appendix). The article continues:

> We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the above is the exact photographic copy of the famous lyric by Colonel Theodore O'Hara now called "The Bivouac Of The Dead" – as it appeared in print in the year 1850, in the Frankfort (Kentucky) *Yeoman*. Date of month is not known by Mrs. Branham in whose scrapbook, a family relic, this clipping from the Yeoman is preserved...[27]

This comment is hand-dated February 11, 1901, and signed by several people, including Susan Bullitt Dixon and Mary O'Hara Branham, identified as niece to the poet. The statement adds that the original manuscript was destroyed by fire soon after this publication. Whether this story – all or any part of it – is true, it has become well documented that O'Hara continued to revise his poem over the years – and to republish it in several places. Also in the Filson Collection are several other newspaper clippings which address the issue of revisions and final revisions. One such item, "Mutilation of a Great Poem," with a New York *Times* byline but hand-dated Aug. 1, 1890, by the same Susan Bullitt Dixon who presented the "original" item mentioned above, attacks in detail the work of George W. Ranck, who had published an edition of the poem the prior year. As the article states, many different versions of the poem had already appeared, but none so "unjust" as the one by Mr. Ranck, according to Miss Bullitt. She particularly laments the alterations and omissions by which this editor had attempted to rid the work of "local" references and to make the elegy more "universal."[28]

Miss Dixon's criticism notwithstanding, the poem in the earlier, "first" version already belonged to the ages. On February 22, 1867, Congress passed an Act, "to establish and protect national cemeteries." With this act, the project of official recollection of the war dead was set in place, and shortly afterwards "The Bivouac" became selected as the language of that memorialization. Excerpts from the elegy were selected to grace the archways of both sides of the MacClellan Gate, the original entrance to Arlington Cemetery. Construction of this impressive gate, which rises twenty-four feet above the roadway, was begun in 1870, but not completed until 1879 because of the difficulty of obtaining suitable

quantities of the red sandstone which had been chosen for its composition.[29]

It was not until the 1880s, however, that the elegy was established with the memorial status it has now occupied for well over a century. These official memorials took the form of cast-iron tablets, originally ordered from the Ordnance Office by the Quartermaster General on June 10, 1881, with an enclosed draftsman's sketch of the specifications, 1'6" X 3'0", for mounting on posts 4" X 4". The order, for 500 castings of the tablets, was sent to the Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois, with indications that three of the selected quatrains were to have 100 castings each, while four other quatrains were to have fifty each. Now in the National Archives, the authorizing letter reads:

> To be cast in the solid, with socket fitted on
> the back by which they can be secured to wooden posts.
> They are desired to replace the present wooden
> tablets at the cemeteries which are rapidly decaying.[30]

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this account is the offhand reference to the decaying wooden tablets. What this comment suggests is that in some fashion, a relatively primitive one, O'Hara's poem had been selected and displayed in at least Arlington, if not a number of other battlefield cemeteries much earlier, with the implications clearly present that these "wooden tablets" had been there long enough to start deteriorating – perhaps as early as 1864, when the cemetery was officially established.

On June 27, 1883, the arsenal sent the total bill for the completed work and the shipping – $2,002.57.[31]

The aforementioned letter inaugurating the project was signed by the Quartermaster General at the time, Brevet Major General Montgomery Meigs, an officer who enjoyed a distinguished career in that capacity. Meigs' selection of O'Hara's poem provides not only an insight to the level of his own cultural refinement but an index to the contemporary appeal of O'Hara's lines – and of the concept of public poetry honoring these who fought in the war. Ironically, Meigs took a poem about the fallen of the Mexican War, written by a Confederate officer who fought against the Union forces, and applied its lines to burial places of the Union dead, and thence to all soldiers in death's tenting grounds. These plaques may be seen today (e.g., Fig. 4) in various arrangements in such

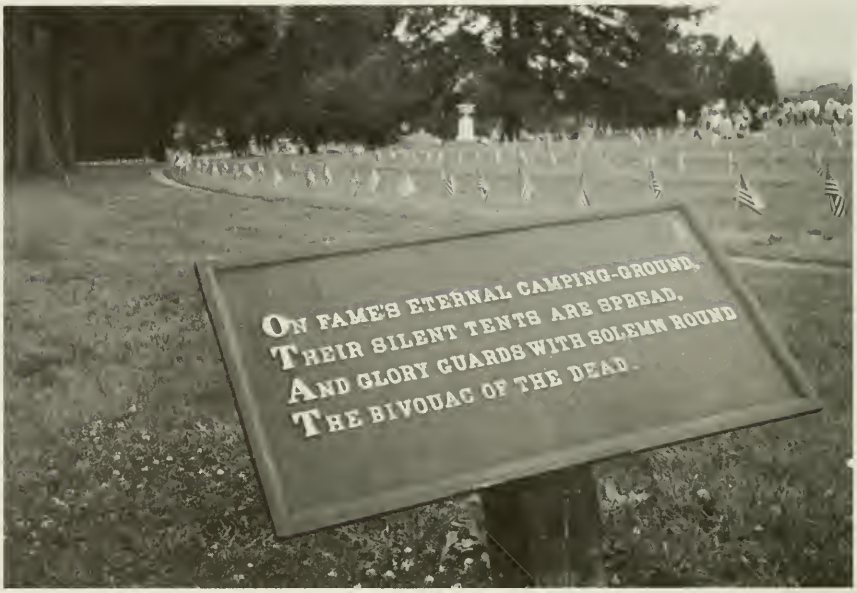

Fig. 4 Example of "Bivouac" plaque, Gettysburg National Cemetery, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

military cemeteries as those commemorating the bloodiest battles of that war, among them Antietam, Gettysburg, Fredericksburg, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Stones River, where O'Hara acquitted himself bravely – also at others which officially honor the Civil War dead and those veterans who were later buried in these plots, Arlington and Cave Hill in Louisville, for example – and, quite apart from the associations with the Civil War, at the Custer Battlefield National Cemetery in Montana.

And as one reads these somber passages – especially aloud – from the plaques as they appear among the starkly ranked lines of gravestones, the experience aesthetically reinforces the notion of collective military order, which follows even individual disintegration by death. This poem, a distinctly neo-classic elegy, exhibiting characteristics of late 18th century English poetic diction and versification, is a highly effective work for the purposes for which it was appropriated.

The sustained metaphor of the poem, the "bivouac," stresses the discipline which continues to govern the soldiers even at their twilight leisure, when the tumult and the furious action of battle are over. Clear

to see, no intrusion of a disordered, civilian nature can now alter the fixed and final pattern of their military experience. Though various stanzas demonstrate certain rhetorical devices and other technical elements which root it in the main lines of the elegiac tradition, it was that central metaphor and the tone of proud weariness which doubtless recommended the work to General Meigs. In the sequence in which the lines were selected from within the context of the poem, these are the quatrains he chose – the first two for 100 castings each; the next four, 50 castings each; and the last one 100 castings:

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

On Fame's Eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

No rumor of the foe's advance
No swells upon the wind;
No troubled thought at midnight haunts
Of loved ones left behind;

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

No vision of the morrow's strife
The warrior's dream alarms;
No braying horn or screaming fife
At dawn shall call to arms.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The neighing troop, the flashing blade,
The bugle's stirring blast,
The charge, the dreadful cannonade,
The din and shout are past.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Your own proud land's heroic soil
Shall be your fitter grave;
She claims from War his richest spoil,
The ashes of her brave.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead!
Dear as the blood ye gave!
No impious footstep here shall tread
The herbage of your grave;

These lines, aptly chosen from the heart of the poem, stress not so much the ultimate isolation of death and the exile from family and friends as the manly sublimation of grief, and the abiding satisfaction with the performance of the day: "the rapture of the fight ..." The solace, then, comes from the poet's own knowledge and stoic acceptance of the major hazards and the minor comforts of the soldier's life.

The American tradition of visiting military cemeteries, especially on official holidays, would have periodically renewed those seven quatrains of the elegy in the public mind, and curiosity about the "anonymous" author from time to time would beget another biographical sketch. Today, the O'Hara files at the Kentucky Historical Society in Frankfort contain a variety of letters over the years from persons seeking information about the poet and his family background.

The immediate responses of the public to this dramatic use of the poem must have been electrifying. Also in the National Archives are copies of a number of letters, written during the period from the 1890s to about 1910, from prominent officials, including a U.S. Senator, requesting the War Department to provide or sell comparable tablets to honor deceased veterans buried in plots in several northern and midwestern states. The standard answer was in every case, No: "that those tablets were provided for exclusive use in the National Cemeteries"; that "There are none now on hand"; and that "there is no law under which they could be supplied as requested either by gift or sale."[32]

One can today only speculate on aesthetic grounds about why this particular work was selected for such an apotheosis. It cannot now be determined where Meigs may have encountered the work, though it is a testament to its popularity that the poem was so readily handy, so well known in slightly over a decade from its first appearance, almost certainly in 1850. Nineteenth century sentimental utterances about the

exalting nature of war and its trappings, especially rhyming verses which romanticized the tragic aspects of death in battle, became legion. The best of the U. S. Civil War poems – and, one could easily argue, among the best war poems prior to those of the Great War experience (1916-1918) on the Western Front – are those in Walt Whitman's *Drum Taps*. Many of these, however, are relatively short, unrhymed and, by the standards of the day, not declamatory enough to become public favorites. He says as much in "To a Certain Civilian":

> Did you ask dulcet rhymes from me?
> Did you seek the civilian's peaceful and languishing rhymes?
> Did you find what I sang erewhile so hard to follow?
> . . . . . .
> What to such as you anyhow such a poet as I? Therefore
> leave my works,
> And go lull yourself with what you can understand, and with
> piano-tunes,
> For I lull nobody, and you will never understand me.[33]

More in the vein of O'Hara's work were such contemporary items as Abram Ryan's "Sentinel Songs":

> When falls the soldier brave,
> Dead at the feet of wrong,
> The poet sings and guards his grave
> With sentinels of song.
> . . . . . .
> And the songs, in stately rhyme,
> And with softly-sounding tread,
> Go forth, to watch for a time – a time –
> Where sleep the Deathless Dead.[34]

Or Thomas W. Parson's "Dirge: For One Who Fell in Battle":

> ROOM for a Soldier! lay him in the clover;
> He loved the fields, and they shall be his cover;
> Make his mound with hers who called him once her lover:
> . . . . . .
> Bear him to no dismal tomb under city churches;
> Take him to the fragrant fields, by the silver birches,
> Where the whipporwill shall mourn, where the oriole
> perches:[35]

And, finally, the extraordinarily popular "The Blue and The Gray", by Francis Miles Finch:

By the flow of the inland river,
Whence the fleets of iron have fled,
Where the blades of the grave-grass quiver,
Asleep are the ranks of the dead: –
. . . . . .
No more shall the war-cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red:
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead!
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the Judgement day: –
Love and tears for the Blue;
Tears and love for the Gray.[36]

All of these efforts, and dozens more, reflecting the sometimes maudlin public, quasi-religious interpretation of the theme of "dulce et decorum est," might have qualified for what could be termed graveyard communication and public solace. Most of them lacked, it now seems apparent, the stately march of O'Hara's verses, the classical restraint, and the universality of application which his poem offered.

Often compared to Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," "The Bivouac" is notably less sentimental, less introspective, and less philosophical than Gray's poem, which has at its core a provincial English speaker who refers to "me" and who reflects on the mysteries of fate and the democratic "levelling" of death. O'Hara's elegy also relies much less on pastoral conventions, such as the bucolic imagery which has characterized the elegiac tradition encompassing the dirges of Edmund Spenser, John Milton, and Percy Shelley – and even of Whitman. Instead, O'Hara's work evokes the trappings of military finality, the calming sense of relief when the day's battle is over, the reordering of the discipline when every individual takes his place within the evening's campground – but the campground is the final resting place.

It would seem, then, that some measure of fame had finally and irrevocably rested on Theodore O'Hara, a man for whom temporal success had been so elusive. Yet even the relatively modest niche he once held has eroded. In at least two of those national cemeteries, the metal tablets have been removed and have by official accounts disappeared. In the early 1930s, some visitors from Kentucky to Arlington noted that the plaques, with those stirring lines, once so prominently placed, seemed to have vanished. Where were they? The answer was simple: The National Fine Arts Commission, involved in refashioning the grounds, in 1933,

decided that aesthetically the plaques were "not in harmony with the character of the cemeteries and detracted from rather than enhanced their beauty and appearance" and recommended their removal[37] – as if the jurisdiction were that of the Commission and not the War Department, and specifically the Quartermaster General and his superior, the Secretary of War.

The indignant outcry at this news, especially in Kentucky, resulted in a series of negotiations between the Commission, The American Legion, and the Congressman from the Frankfort district, the Honorable Lloyd Chapman. On February 12, 1934, an Associated Press release out of Washington, D. C., printed in the New York *Times* the next day, stated that Representative Chapman had announced that "a compromise was effected whereby the complete poem would be placed on the amphitheater walls. Efforts to have the tablets replaced ... will be dropped.[38] On January 3, 1935, Mr. Chapman introduced in the House of Representatives H. J. 20, a joint resolution which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed, to wit:

> To provide for the erection of a tablet in the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater.
> Resolved by the senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to place upon the wall of the Memorial Amphitheater building in Arlington National Cemetery the following stanzas of the poem by Theodore O'Hara entitled "Bivouac of the Dead" : [This was followed by the entire revised version of the elegy.][39]

It therefore appeared that the presence of the poem in Arlington would soon take on a newer, more aesthetically pleasing form, at the focal point of the cemetery, adjacent to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. This time, also, it seemed certain that the poet's name would appear with his lines; but such was not to be. For reasons unknown, the project was never completed – if indeed it was ever ordered. A recent search for the poem in Arlington ended in vain, with no information whatever among the attendants about whether the project got off the planning table. And a letter to The Fine Arts Commission yielded this response from the secretary:

> ... I am afraid we have little light to shed on the matter. When the plaques were removed by the National Park Service in 1934, the Commission of Fine Arts was asked to consider other suitable locations where they might

> be reinstalled. They suggested the Trophy Room at the Memorial Amphitheater, but this was never done, and there is nothing in our files to indicate the ultimate fate of the plaques ... If they were indeed placed throughout Arlington Cemetery, the fact remains they are not there now ... So the matter would appear to remain a mystery. [40]

Yes, a mystery indeed – how approximately eighteen or twenty metal plaques of such size would have vanished, even in a place as large as Arlington and with as disciplined a staff as one would find anywhere. And there were no answers forthcoming as to why this Federal agency took the arbitrary action of choosing not to follow its commitment, especially after the public announcement that the poem would be given a permanent place of honor. The letter from the secretary of the Fine Arts Commission addresses the issue of the vanished plaques, but it ignores the question of the marble tablets that never materialized.

A similar disappearance occurred at the large Chattanooga National Military Cemetery. In 1962, a prominent local educator noted the the "Bivouac" plaques – seven of them – had been removed from that location, and along with many other citizens he called for their restoration, not for official but for sentimental reasons. The official public explanation, reported in the Chattanooga *Times*, was that extensive work and expansion in the cemetery had resulted in taking the tablets down, because of the added work in keeping them in satisfactory condition.[41] The plaques were repaired and later restored, and the furor died away. Some time after – no one in authority can now say when – they were again removed and are presumed irrevocably lost. Again, it is almost unbelievable that such heavy and, one would presume, cumbersome slabs of iron could have been misplaced.

As for O'Hara himself, the story of his latter years becomes somewhat cloudy – and filled with misfortune.[42] After his service in the Mexican War – during which he rose from private to major – he left the army under duress in October of 1848, briefly practiced law, and appears to have worked in Mexico. In 1850, he joined some other "filibustering" Kentuckians in General Narciso Lopez's ill-fated expedition to free Cuba from Spain and was seriously wounded. He later stood trial in New Orleans for this shady enterprise, but was exonerated.

O'Hara then returned to journalism, helping to launch the Louisville *Times* and serving as editor in 1853. He once again joined the army, in 1855, becoming commissioned as captain in a new regiment, the Fifth

Fig. 5 Gravemarker of Theodore O'Hara, inscribed with verses from "The Bivouac of the Dead." Kentucky State Cemetery, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Cavalry. In 1861, O'Hara and his unit became part of the army of the Confederate States of America, as the Twelfth Alabama Regiment, with O'Hara appointed as temporary Lieutenant Colonel.[43] Though he was on the staff, as captain, of General A. S. Johnston at the battle of Shiloh, where Johnston was killed, and though his military record and reputation seemed to merit attention, he did not rise proportionately in rank over his years of service. Several eloquent letters attest to his belief in the injustice with which he was treated. He remained captain at the end of the war.[44]

Afterwards, he raised cotton, but did not prosper, dying near Guerrytown, Alabama, June 6, 1867. His remains were later moved to Frankfort, where his grave lies (Fig. 5) in the section of the cemetery reserved to those Kentucky soldiers slain at Buena Vista, honored by his own elegy – and near the tomb of Daniel Boone, whom O'Hara addressed in another poem, "Dirge for the Old Pioneer," far less known than "Bivouac."

Although contemporary accounts of O'Hara emphasize his striking physical countenance and graceful bearing, he never married. Among his family members, stories persisted about his love for a young lady whose ambitious mother blocked their marriage – because he never accumulated sufficient wealth.

The poem itself remained quite popular for a time, as outlined by Granger's *Index to Poetry and Recitations*. The 1920 edition of this index listed twenty-five total anthologies and collections which included the poem, nineteen of these in its full length. In 1940, there were still twenty-five total listings; in 1953, and again in 1963, twenty-four. By 1973, however, the number had fallen to sixteen, and in the 6th edition, which included anthologies from 1970 to 1981, there were no listings at all.[45]

As a declamatory utterance, stressing "Glory," "Honor," "Nation," and "Valor," the "The Bivouac of the Dead" clearly does not represent the kind of sentiment which would have been popular during the Vietnam era. As a poem, it is not likely these days to be read in literature classes: but as part of the legacy of American history, especially that chapter involving the honored dead of the Civil War and the manner in which they were commemorated, it can, and should, and perhaps will endure – along with the story of the man who wrote it.

NOTES

With the exception of Fig. 2, all photos in this article are by the athor.

1. *Look Homeward, Angel* (New York, 1929), 1.

2. Paul Farley, "Uncle Sam's Official Poet," *Columbia* (April 1930), 12; William Atherton DuPuy, "Kentucky Confederate Official Poet of the Martial Dead", Louisville *Courier-Journal* (May 25, 1913), (Features) 1.

3. Recently, the entire poem has been utilized as a sort of introduction to a reference work on American military cemeteries. See Dean W. Holt, *American Military Cemeteries: A Comprehensive Illustrated Guide to the Hallowed Grounds of the United States, Including Cemeteries Overseas* (Jefferson, NC, 1992), xiii-xv.

4. Various sources have named Danville as his place of birth; but in the winter of 1819-20, his father, Kean, had moved to Frankfort and had opened a new school there, spending much of the rest of his life in that region of the state. See The Frankfort newspaper, *The Argus of Western America* (Dec. 17, 1819).

5. Giovanni Costigan, *History of Modern Ireland* (New York, 1970), 113.

6. Erma Jett Darrell, *Filling the Chinks* (Frankfort, KY, 1966), 73.

7. Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1874), 1:410.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Mary O'Hara Branham, handwritten note, ca. 1933, in possession of the author.

10. Albert G. Brackett, J. S. A., "Colonel O'Hara's Career Made Famous by a Poem, 'The Bivouac of the Dead,' " *The Vedette* (December 1892), 3-4. In this sketch, Brackett stresses O'Hara's penchant for telling amusing anecdotes about his Irish relatives and their interest in him. See also George Washington Ranck, *The 'Bivouac of the Dead' and Its Author* (New York, 1898), 16.

11. Ervin Craighead, "Theodore O'Hara, Poet," in *From Mobile's Past: Sketches of Memoral People and Events* (Mobile, AL, 1925), 181.

12. Edgar Erskine Hume, *Colonel Theodore O'Hara* (Charlottesville, VA, 1936), 8.

13. Brackett, 4.

14. Both Brackett and Ranck make reference to O'Hara's love for this work.

15. Ranck, for example, cites an admirer of Theodore who was present when he made his graduation address: "It was the most perfect thing of its kind I ever heard, for elegance of style, depth of thought, truthfulness of sentiment, and beauty of composition." (27).

16. Academic Ledger, St. Joseph's College, now in the Getz Museum on the grounds of St. Joseph's parish church, Bardstown, KY.

17. Brackett, 3.

18. Especially notable in this well-known group were the works of Edward Young ("The Complaint, of Night Thoughts"), Robert Blair ("The Grave"), and, of course, Thomas Gray ("Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard").

19. Hume, 9.

20. Robert Burns Wilson, "Theodore O'Hara," *Century* 18 (May 1890), 106.

21. *Obituary Addresses Delivered Upon the Occasion of the Re-Interment of the Remains of Gen. Chs. Scott, Maj. Wm. T. Barry, and Capt. Bland Ballard and Wife, in the Cemetery of Frankfort, November 8, 1854* (Frankfort, KY, 1855), 24-25.

22. Farley, 13.

23. George W. Ranck, *O'Hara and His Elegies* (Baltimore, 1875), 30.

24. Hume, 9.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Item, "A Beautiful Poem," hand-dated "February 11, 1901," Theodore O'Hara file, Filson Club, Louisville, KY.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Item, "Mutilation of a Great Poem," Theodore O'Hara file, Filson Club, Louisville, KY.

29. Information Sheet on McClellan Gate, sent to the author from Kathy Shenkle, Historian, Arlington National Cemetery, July 17, 1992.

30. War Department, Quartermaster General's Office, Letter of June 10, 1881, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

31. Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois, Letter of June 29, 1883, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

32. War Department, Quartermaster General's Office, letter of September 18, 1902 to Mr. M.H. Bumphrey, Three Rivers, Michigan, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

33. From *Drum Taps*, in Sculley Bradley and Harold W. Blodgett, eds., *Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass* (New York, 1973), 323.

34. In Barton Egbert Stevenson, ed., *The Home Book of Verse, American and English*. 3rd Ed. (New York, 1953), 2322.

35. *Ibid.*, 2315.

36. *Ibid.*, 2308. This poem, first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1867, later became known to millions of schoolchildren through its appearance in *The McGuffey's Reader* edition of 1879. See Diane Ravitch, ed., *The American Reader: Words That Moved a Nation* (New York, 1991), 159.

37. Report cited in a letter of January 9, 1934, from William N. Morell, Chariman, National Pilgrimage Committee (American Legion) to H.P. Caemmer, Secretary and Administrative Officer, The Commission of Fine Arts, Washington, D.C.

38. N. Y. *Times* (February 13, 1934), 11.

39. H. J. Res. 20, 74th Congress, 1st Session, January 8, 1935.

40. Letter of 13 August, 1993 to the author from Charles Atherton, Secretary, The Commission of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C.

41. Alfred Myners, "O'Hara's Poem, 'Bivouac of the Dead' Restored in National Cemetery," Chattanooga *Times* (October 24, 1962), 5.

42. Several personal accounts of this latter period of his life provide valid outlines of his adventures and misfortunes, among them Josiah Stoddard Johnson, "Sketch of Theodore O'Hara," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 11 (Sept. 1913), 67-72.

43. Theodore O'Hara file, National Archives.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Edith Granger, ed., *An Index to Poetry and Recitations* (New York, 1920). See also succeeding editions.

APPENDIX

"A Beautiful Poem" later named "The Bivouac of the Dead"

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

No rumor of the foe's advance
No swells upon the wind;
No troubled thought at midnight haunts
Of loved ones left behind;
No vision of the morrow's strife
The warrior's dream alarms;
No braying horn or screaming fife
At dawn shall call to arms.

Their shivered swords are red with rust,
Their plumed heads are bowed;
Their haughty banner trained in dust,
Is now their martial shroud.
And plenteous funeral tears have washed
The red stains from each brow,
And the proud forms by battle gashed
Are free from anguish now.

The neighing troop, the flashing blade,
The bugle's stirring blast,
The charge, the dreadful cannonade,
The din and shout are past.
Nor war's wild note, nor glory's peal,
Shall thrill with fierce delight
Those breasts that never more may feel
The rapture of the fight.

Like the fierce Northern hurricane
That sweeps his great plateau,
Flushed with the triumphs yet to gain,
Came down the serried foe.
Who heard the thunder of the fray
Break o'er the field beneath,
Knew well the watchword of that day
Was "victory or death!"

Long had the doubtful conflict raged
O'er all that stricken plain,
For never fiercer fight had waged
The vengeful blood of Spain.
And still the storm of battle blew—
Still swelled the gory tide—
Not long, our stout old Chieftain knew,
Such odds his strength could bide.

Twas in that hour his stern command
Called to a martyr's grave,
The flower of his own loved land
The nation's flag to save.
By rivers of their father's gore,
His first-born laurels grew,
And well he dreamed the soul would pour
Their loves for glory too.

Full many a Norther's breath has swept
O'er Angostura's plain,
And long the pitying sky was wept
Above its mouldered slain.
The raven's scream, or eagle's flight,
Or shepherd's pensive lay,
Alone awakes each sullen height
That frowned o'er that dread fray.

Sons of the Dark and Bloody Ground!
Ye must not slumber there,
Where stranger steps and tongues resound
Along the heedless air.
Your own proud land's heroic soil
Shall be your fitter grave;
She claims from War his richest spoil,
The ashes of her brave.

So 'neath their parent turf they rest,
Far from the gory field;
Borne to a Spartan mother's breast
On many a bloody shield.
The sunshine of their native sky
Smiles sadly on them here,
And kindred eyes and hearts watch by
The heroes' sepulcher.

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead!
Dear as the blood ye gave!
No impious footstep here shall tread
The herbage of your grave;
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While Fame her record keeps,
Or Honor points the hallowed spot
Where Valor proudly sleeps.

Yon marble minstrel's voiceless stone
In deathless song shall tell,
When many vanished year hath flown
The story how ye fell.
Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
Nor Time's remorseless doom,
Can dim one ray of holy light
That gilds your glorious tomb.

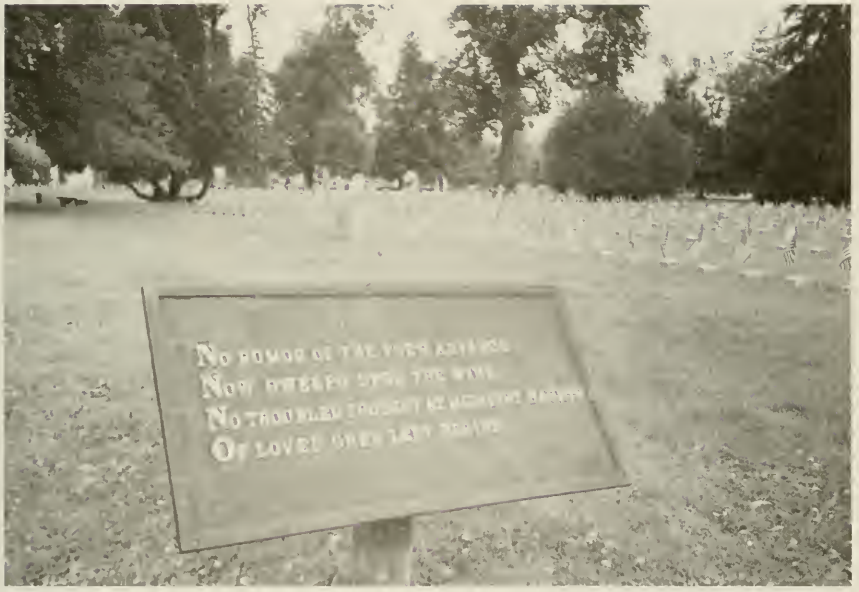

Fig. 6 A calm and ordered serenity at the Bivouac of the Dead.

Fig. 1 Slave (probably named Nero) of Governor Moses Gill, Meeting House Hill Cemetery, Princeton, Massachusetts.

SLAVERY IN COLONIAL MASSACHUSETTS AS SEEN THROUGH SELECTED GRAVESTONES

Tom and Brenda Malloy

Question someone about the extent of African slavery in Massachusetts and the response would probably be one of amazement that it ever existed. In present day Massachusetts one finds few physical reminders of the institution. There are no preserved plantations with restored slave quarters and there are no distinguishable former slave markets. As well, there are no interpretive centers with programs on slavery such as may be found at Williamsburg, Virginia. However, evidence of slavery in Massachusetts can be found and interpreted by locating gravestones of slaves in the state's old burying grounds.

The particular event that precipitated the bringing of African slavery to Massachusetts was the 1638 sailing of the ship *Desire.* The ship left Salem on a seven month voyage, and when it returned to the colony from the West Indies the cargo included cotton, tobacco, salt and Africans. Not only did this event mark the introduction of Black slavery to Massachusetts, it was also the inception of the colony's economic involvement in the slave trade, a trade in which Massachusetts would become the major carrier for the rest of the English colonies.

Besides becoming a leader in the slave trade, Massachusetts was the first of the thirteen English colonies to legalize slavery: formal legislation of the institution was brought about by the Body of Liberties in 1641. Granted, slavery in Massachusetts would not become as extensive as in the Southern colonies. In 1770, for instance, Virginia counted 190,105 Blacks as part of its population, which represented 41.1 percent of the total, while Massachusetts counted 5,229 Blacks, a figure accounting for only two percent of its total population.[1]

Also, in comparison with the Southern colonies, it should be noted that slavery in Massachusetts was a more humane institution. In the South the status of a slave was strictly that of property, whereas in Massachusetts a slave was considered both property and a person, and as a person was accorded privileges not available to his or her Southern counterpart. For instance, Massachusetts' slaves could testify in court,

receive trial by jury, make contracts with their owners and acquire property. Further, records throughout the Colonial period show that even though Blacks in Massachusetts were legally enslaved, they were referred to as "servants".[2]

Some examples of this use of the word servant may be found at the Meeting House Hill Cemetery in the town of Princeton, located in north central Worcester County. In the center of the cemetery there are three slate stones standing abreast of each other. At the top of two of the stones there is a carved head.[3] One of the stones is chipped to the extent that the name of the interred is missing: however, the data on the other two stones is fully legible. The respective inscriptions (Figs. 1, 2, 3) read:

1. Here lye_____ body of _____ Negro man Servant of the Honbl Moses Gill Esqr who died March 1st 1776 aged 39 years (According to town records this slave's name was Nero.[4])

2. In Memory of Flova a Negro woman Servant to the Honbl. Moses Gill Esqr who died June 13th 1778 aged 41 years

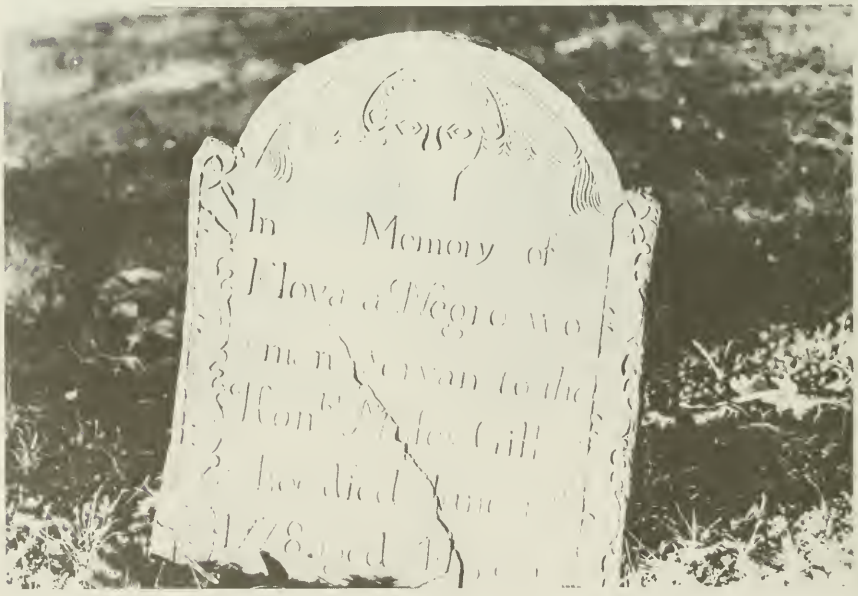

Fig. 2 Flova, slave of Governor Moses Gill, Meeting House Hill Cemetery, Princeton, Massachusetts.

3. In memory of Thomas a negro man Servant to the Honbl. Moses Gill Esqr who died Sept 17th 1782 aged 89 years

The owner of these slaves, Moses Gill, provides an illustrative example of the acceptance of slavery by the establishment in Massachusetts. Gill was a wealthy Boston merchant who married Sarah Prince, only child of the Rev. Thomas Prince, who served as pastor of Boston's Old South Church. Based on an advertisement which was placed in a 1726 *Boston News Letter*, it appears that the Prince family were also slave owners:

> A likely Negro woman to be sold. The Rev. Mr. Prince has a Negro woman about 20 years of age, well-educated, accomplished for all manner of household business, to be disposed of.[5]

In 1767, through the death of Thomas Prince, Moses Gill inherited a three thousand acre estate in the town named after his father-in-law. Gill at this point moved to Princeton, where he became a Worcester County judge. Records show that during his residency there he owned at least two other slaves in addition to the three whose stones are present in the

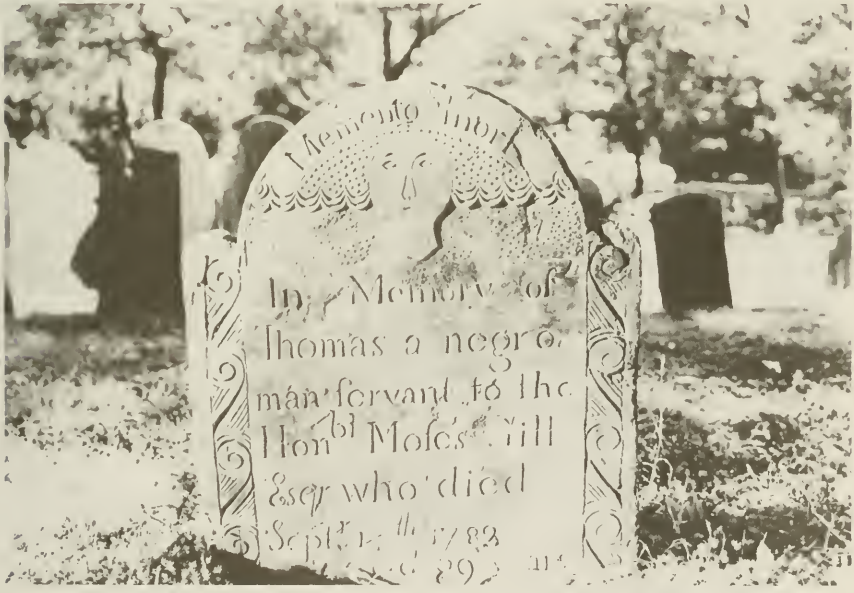

Fig. 3 Thomas, slave of Governor Moses Gill, Meeting House Hill Cemetery, Princeton, Massachusetts.

cemetery. One was Violet, mother of the Nero who is buried in the cemetery. Also, through a second marriage, Gill inherited a slave by the name of Jack, and at the same time, Flova, who is also one of the slaves buried at the cemetery.[6]

Besides attending to his estate and sitting on the county bench, Moses Gill became involved in state politics. In 1795 he became the lieutenant governor under Governor Increase Sumner. Four years later Sumner died in office and Gill succeeded him. He had, however, served as governor of Massachusetts for only a few months when he himself died, leaving the state to be run by the Governor's Council. He is not buried in the Meeting House Hill Cemetery with his slaves, but rather is believed to be interred in Boston's Old Granary Burying Ground.[7]

In contrast to the Princeton slaves, who were buried in the center of the cemetery, it was not unusual in Massachusetts for slaves as well as free Blacks to be buried in a remote or even segregrated part of a graveyard. One example of this practice may be seen in another Worcester

Fig. 4 Othello's stone is located in a remote site of Harvard's oldest cemetery and it nearly abuts the foundation of the town's Evangelical Congregational Church

county town. In Harvard, about a half hour's drive east of Princeton, the oldest cemetery (Old Burial Ground) is located to the south of the town's common. Here, in the extreme northwestern corner of the burying ground, one finds a single slate stone marking the grave of Othello (Fig. 4). Below the engraved name of "OTHELLO," the inscription reads: "The faithful friend of Henry Bromfield, Came from Africa about 1760. died 1818, Aged about 72". It is obvious by the deliberate choice of the word "friend" that this inscription denotes a close relationship between master and slave. Also, despite the relegation of Othello's marker to a remote sector of the graveyard, it illustrates through its inscription the fact that in colonial Massachusetts slaves were frequently considered members of the household.

Col. Henry Bromfield, Othello's owner who later manumitted him, came to the town of Harvard in 1777 to live on an 126-acre estate. In later years, according to a Harvard town history, he was followed like a shadow by his body servant, "a faithful Negro eccentric in habits and speech named 'Othello'." The local villagers, who were probably not well versed in Shakespeare, pronounced the Black servant's name "Thurlo". Othello died two years before Col. Bromfield. Relates the town history: "so dependent had the squire become upon his services, that after the old Negro had gone to his final rest, it is said he sometimes would in moments of forgetfulness, go to the door and shout, 'Othello, Othello' and wonder at the nonappearance of his servitor". When Bromfield died, in 1820, he was not buried in the Harvard graveyard with his African friend and servant. Rather, his body was placed in his family's tomb at King's Chapel Burying Ground in Boston. [8]

At a town in northeastern Massachusetts one may see another example of a slave's internment being relegated to a remote part of a cemetery. In a distant corner of North Andover's oldest graveyard (First Burying Ground) stands the recently restored gravestone of Primus (Fig. 5). The slate stone, which features a carved cherub, reads:

In Memory of
PRIMUS who was a faithful
servant of Mr.
BENJAMIN STEVENS Junr.
Who died July 25th, 1792:
Aged 72 years, 5 months, & 16 days

The fact that the owner, Benjamin Stevens, Jr., provided more than a simple marker for Primus would appear to suggest another example of a slave who was appreciated as a person and not just as chattel, though, as with the stone for Othello, this did not ensure burial in the main part of the cemetery.

The Stevens family was amongst the first settlers of North Andover and was very active in town as well as affairs of the colony. It also appears that, as an established family, they were prominent slave owners. As a representative instance, from a 1730 bill of sale, we find these words of conveyance:

> ... confirm unto him the said Benjamin Stevens, his Heirs, and Assignees forever a certain Negro Girl Candance, to Have and Hold the said Negro girl to him the said Benjamin Stevens His Heirs and Assignees forever.[9]

Just up the road from North Andover's oldest cemetery is a burying ground known as the Second Cemetery. To the extreme rear of this cemetery, in a thicket and covered by brush, there stand three slate stones, the

Fig. 5 The gravestone for Primus was recently restored through the efforts of the North Andover Historical Commission.

markers of Cato Freeman, his wife Lydia, and one of their sons (see Fig. 6). Cato's stone reads: "In memory of, Cato Freeman, who died Aug 9, 1853 AEt 85". Cato was the son of Salem and Rama Phillips, who were the African-born slaves of the Reverend Samuel Phillips. Because slavery was a hereditary status in Massachusetts, Cato was automatically born as the slave of the Reverend Phillips. However, as a slave it appears that Cato received many special benefits from the Phillips family. For instance, he not only was well versed in reading and writing but also became a skilled musician who played a violin in the church choir.[10]

In 1780, with the ratification of the state constitution, many Massachusetts towns began to eliminate slavery. Such was the case in North Andover, which at the time was still part of the town of Andover. It was soon after his manumission, at twelve years of age, that Cato took the surname of "Freeman". He eventually went to work for his former master's son, Benjamin Phillips, Jr., who was the founder of the prestigious Andover Academy. When Cato reached his majority, in 1789, he decided

Fig. 6 The burial plots of Cato and Lydia Freeman were relegated to such a remote location that their stones are not presently visible from any portion of North Andover's Second Cemetery.

to leave the service of the Phillips family. At that time he wrote the family a letter thanking them for their kindness. It reads in part:

> Being about to remove from the family where I have for some time resided, would, with the greatest respect I am capable of, to the heads of each family respectively take my leave. I desire therefore, to return my hearty and unfeined thanks for your care over me, your kindness to me. Also for your timely checks, your faithful reproofs, necessary corrections, your wise council, reasonable advice, for your early endeavors, being yet yound (young) and my tender mind, to frame it in such a manner as to lay a foundation for my present and future happiness.[11]

Four towns south of North Andover is the town of Woburn, where lived a slave whose success story became the subject of a 1950 biography by Elizabeth Yates entitled *Amos Fortune, Free Man*. Amos Fortune was probably born along the Guinea coast around the year 1710. About 1730 he was captured and brought to Boston, which at that time was the leading slave trading port of the American colonies. Upon his arrival in Boston, Amos was sold to Caleb Copeland, a weaver from Woburn, who later sold him to a tanner in the same town by the name of Ichabod Richardson. Fortune there arranged with Richardson to purchase his freedom on a four year installment plan, which was completed by 1769. Within a few years of his manumission, Fortune purchased a female slave to be his wife. Unfortunately, she died within a few months. Three years later, with the same purpose in mind, he purchased Lydia Somerset for the sum of fifty pounds. She also died after a few months. The following year, seemingly undeterred by these sad precedents, Fortune purchased Violate for the same amount of money: she would remain his wife for the next twenty-two years of his life.[12]

In 1781, at the age of seventy and after fifty years of residency in Woburn, Amos Fortune moved to Jaffrey, New Hampshire. Here he was befriended by the Reverend Laban Ainsworth, the town's first minister, who loaned Fortune a piece of land to set up a tannery. Eight years later, now nearly eighty, Fortune purchased twenty-five acres of land, where he built a home and set up another tannery. During his tenure in Jaffrey, Amos was permitted to join the church, was one of the founders of the town's library, and became known as one of the best dressers in the community. When he died, in 1801, he left money for both the church and the

public school.[13]

Amos and his wife Violate, who died the following year, are buried next to each other in the cemetery of the church where they worshipped. In marked contrast to practices noted previously, these former slaves rest in a prominent area of the cemetery. Their graves are marked by matching urn and willow slate stones (Fig. 7). Amos' marker reads:

SACRED
To the memory of
AMOS FORTUNE
who was born free in
Africa a slave in America
he purchased liberty
professed Christianity
lived reputably &
died hopefully
Nov 17, 1801
AEt 91

Fig. 7 Amos and Violate Fortune's gravestones are in a prominent area of Jaffrey's First Meeting House cemetery. At the base of Amos' stone is inscribed "exec. William Farnsworth, Groton."

And Violate's:

SACRED
to the memory of
VIOLATE
by sale the slave of
Amos Fortune, by Marri
age his wife; by her
fidelity his friend and
solace, she died his widow
Sept 13, 1802
AEt 73

These very sensitive inscriptions were written by Reverend Ainsworth, the man who first befriended Amos and Violate upon their arrival in Jaffrey. Ainsworth himself died fifty-seven years after Amos Fortune and is buried in the same graveyard.

During the same period that Amos Fortune was still being held as a slave in Woburn, another slave in Concord, Massachusetts was gaining his freedom. Jack was the slave of a Concord shoemaker by the name of Benjamin Barron. Soon after his master's death in 1754, Jack was able to purchase his freedom from Barron's wife for 120 pounds. Upon his manumission, he took the first name of John and began establishing an eight acre farm. Here he not only farmed but also conducted a cobbling business, a trade that he had learned from his former master.[14]

After a year's illness, John Jack died in 1773 and was buried on the back side of Concord's Old Hill Burying Ground. The rectangular slate stone that presently marks his grave is a replica of the original marker (see Fig. 8). Its well-known epitaph reads:

God wills us free; man wills us slaves.
I will as God wills; God's will be done
-Here lies the body of-
-JOHN JACK-
A native of Africa who died
March 1773, aged about 60 years.
Tho' born in a land of slavery
He was born free.
Tho' he lived in a land of liberty,
He lived a slave.
Till by his honest, tho' stolen labors,
He acquired the source of slavery,
Which gave him his freedom;

Tho' not long before
Death, the grand tyrant,
Gave him his final emancipation,
And set him on a footing with kings.
Tho' a slave to vice,
He practiced those virtues
Without which kings are but slaves.

The epitaph was actually written by Daniel Bliss, a lawyer whom John Jack had hired to handle his estate. In the last three lines, starting with "Tho' a slave to vice", Bliss criticizes his client's immoderate use of alcohol (John Jack was known to be a heavy drinker: his estate, for instance, shows that he left seven barrels of cider). More importantly, the epitaph reflects the fact that Bliss was a Tory who, on the eve of the American Revolution, favored the British cause. In the lines "Tho' he lived in a land of liberty, He lived a slave," Bliss expresses his cynicism towards American colonists who wanted their freedom from England and yet held others in bondage.

On March 20, 1775, Daniel Bliss left his home, which was located in the center of Concord's village, for England. This was just four weeks before the British assault on the towns of Lexington and Concord, an event that would precipitate "the shot heard round the world." Bliss left with two British officers who had been spying on patriot activities in Concord. Before their departure, one of the officers copied the epitaph on John Jack's stone. He later mailed it to England, where it was published in a London newspaper, presumably in order to demonstrate what was considered hypocrisy in the American cause.[15]

Neighboring Concord to the south is the town of Lincoln, where, in the community's old burying ground, a small monument marks the communal grave of five British soldiers who were killed during the withdrawal from Concord on April 19, 1775. Next to the monument is a relatively plain slate stone (Fig. 9) whose epitaph reads:

In memory of
SIPPIO BRISTER
a man of Colour
who died
November 1, 1820
AEt. 64

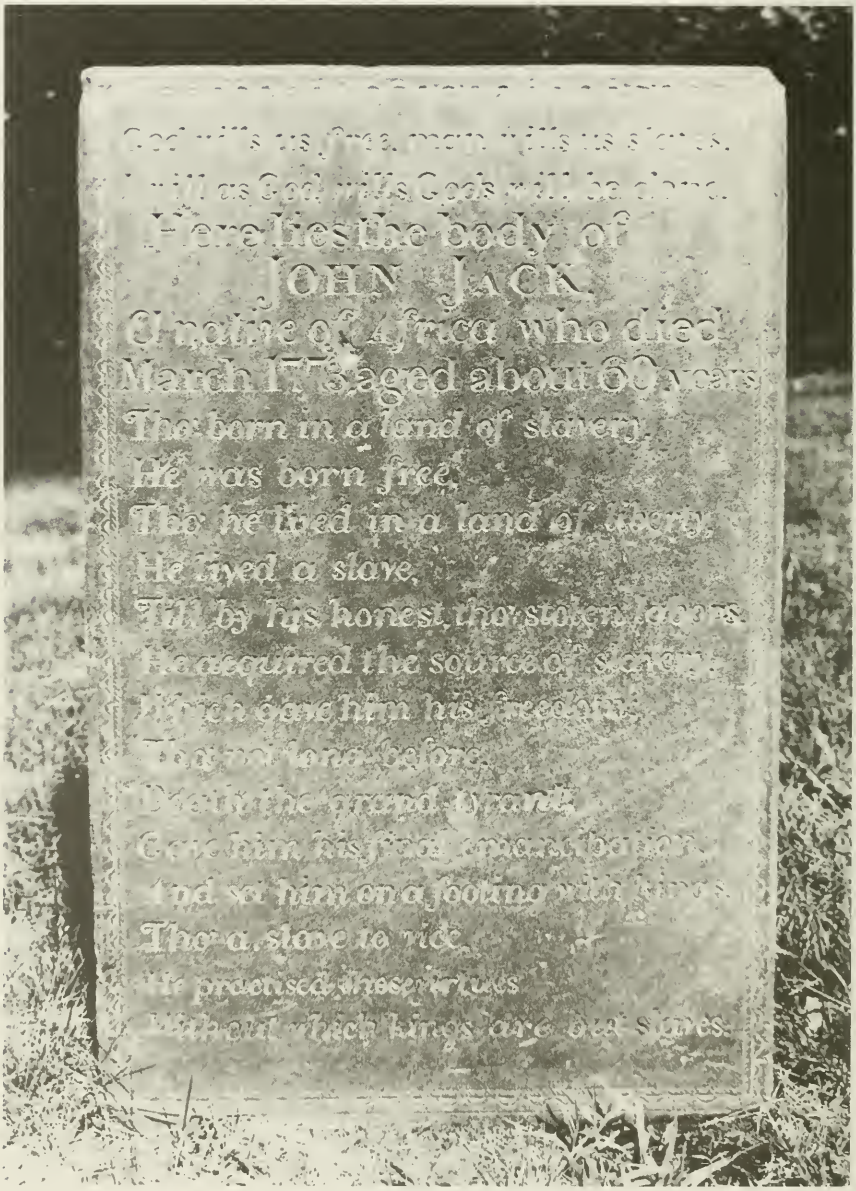

Fig. 8 The stone that presently marks John Jack's grave was erected in 1830 as a replica of the original marker.

Sippio Brister, who orginally called himself Brister Freeman, was the slave of Squire Cummings of Concord. He acquired his freedom sometime prior to 1772 and later established a home with his wife and three children near Walden Pond.[16]

Henry David Thoreau mentions Sippio Brister in classic of American literature, *Walden* . In the chapter entitled "Former Inhabitants; and Winter Visitors," Thoreau notes:

> Down the road, on the right hand, on Bristers Hill, lived Brister Freeman, "a handy Negro," slave of Squire Cummings Once, - there where grow still the apple-trees which Brister planted and tended; large old trees now, but their fruit still wild and ciderish to my taste.

Of Brister's wife, Thoreau says:

> With him dwelt Fenda, His hospitable wife, who told fortunes, yet pleasantly, - large, round, and black, blacker than any of the children of night , such a dusky orb as never rose on Concord before or since.

After visiting Brister's gravesite, the author comments:

> Not long since I read his epitaph in the old Lincoln burying-ground, a little on one side, near the unmarked graves of some British grenadiers who fell in the retreat from Concord.[17]

Brister was nineteen years old when the British soldiers he is buried next to were killed. However, even though he was of military age throughout the American Revolution, there is no record that the former slave participated in the colonial cause, as did thousands of African-Americans. Actually, African-American participation in the resistance against the British authority began with the first incident of colonial overt action.

In March of 1770, a crowd of colonists demonstrated outside of the Custom House in Boston. One of the demonstrators was Crispus Attucks, a fugitive slave of Deacon William Brown of Framingham. Attucks, who stood 6'2" tall, a large man for his time, had run away from his master twenty years earlier and, because he had a reputation of being a tough character, it appears little attempt was made for his recapture.[18] As the crowd at the Custom House became larger and more agitated, British soldiers guarding the building fired into the crowd and five of the

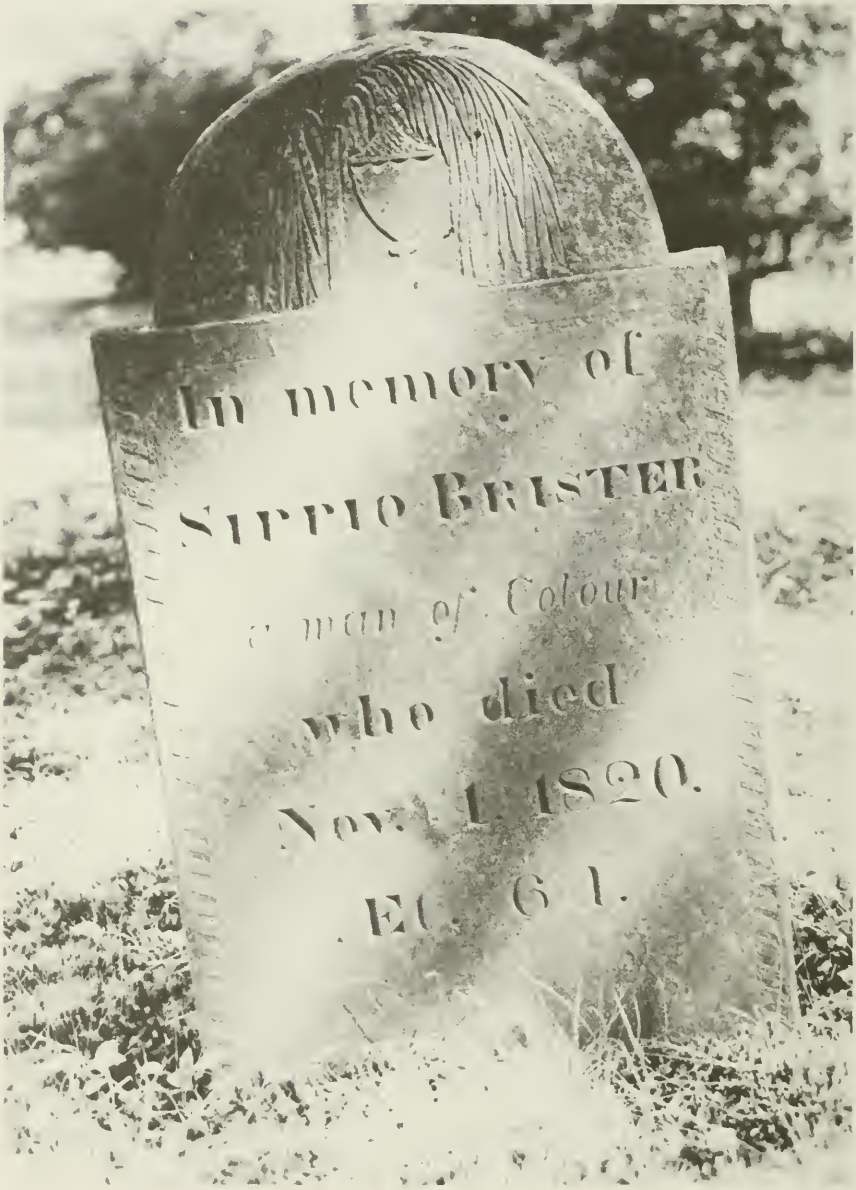

Fig. 9 In *Walden*, Henry David Thoreau criticizes Sippio Brister's epitaph, which refers to him as "a man of colour." Thoreau states: "... as if he were discolored."

demonstrators were killed in what Samuel Adams and other radical leaders promptly termed the Boston Massacre. Crispus Attucks was one of those killed and thus has achieved recognition as the first African-American to die in the American Revolution.

Attucks and the other victims of the Boston Massacre were buried in the city's Old Granary Burying Ground. At the front of the graveyard stands a rectangular shaped marble stone, erected in 1906 by the Boston chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, which lists the name of Crispus Attucks along with those of the other four victims (Fig. 10). Also listed is the name of a twelve year old boy who was killed two weeks prior to the Massacre by a local Tory.

Five years after the Boston Massacre, when British troops were advancing on Concord to capture colonial military stores, their advance was interrupted by a contingent of colonial militia in the town of Lexington. Amongst the seventy Minutemen who confronted the British troops that day were eight Black men, one of whom was Prince Estabrook. The slave of a Lexington farmer named Benjamin Estabrook, Prince had been a member of the town's militia for two years. When the Minutemen refused to disperse, the British troops fired a volley into their formation, leaving eight colonists dead and ten wounded. Prince Estabrook was one of those wounded.[19]

After this confrontation, which became known as the Battle of Lexington and Concord, colonial resistance against the British gradually turned towards a war for independence. With some resistance, most of the colonies and also the Continental Congress began enlisting slaves as well as free Blacks for military service. In Massachusetts, two Black companies were formed, one under a White commander and the other, called the Bucks of America, under command of an African-American. It is also estimated that up to 5,000 African-Americans, both slave and free, served in the Continental Army. Slaves joined with the understanding that they would receive their freedom upon termination of their military service, although this was not a guarantee.

One slave who did receive his freedom for service in the Continental Army was Prince Estabrook. After Lexington and Concord he joined the Continental Army and served as a private for six years, returning to the

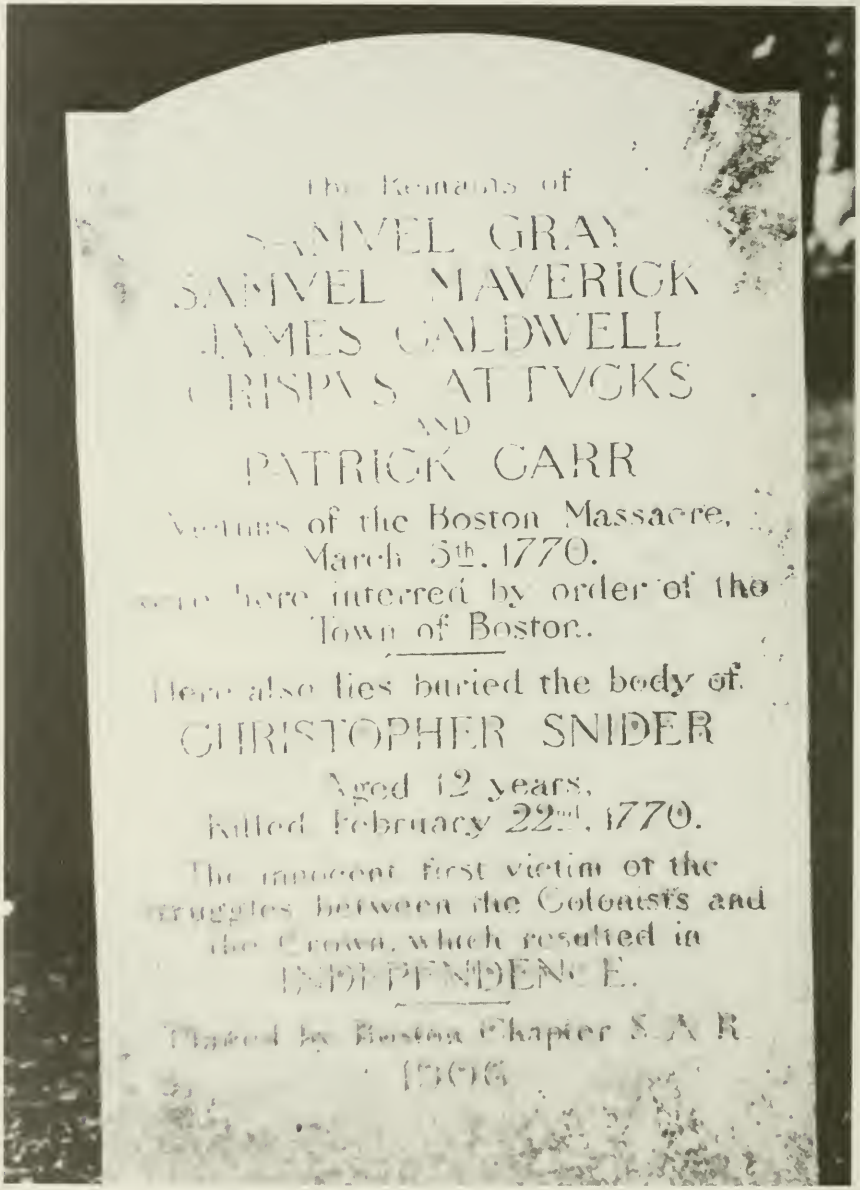

Fig. 10 Because Boston's Old Granary Burying Ground has undergone constant reconstruction, this stone probably does not mark the actual interment site for the victims of the Boston Massacre.

Fig. 11 Prince Estabrook's marker in the First Parish Church Cemetery, Ashby, Massachusetts, is standard government issue for those who served in the Revolutionary War.

Lexington home of his former master upon completion of his military service. Some years later, about 1800, he went to work for Nathan Estabrook, the son of his former owner, who lived in the north central Massachusetts town of Ashby. Prince remained here until his death in 1830, and was buried in a secluded corner of the cemetery behind Ashby's First Parish Church. The marble headstone that marks his grave is standard United States government regulation for Revolutionary War soldiers (Fig.11). It was erected by the Sons of the American Revolution in 1930, exactly one hundred years after Prince's death. The existence of an earlier stone is not known.[20]

The gravestone of another Black Revolutionary War soldier may be found in the north shore town of Marblehead. In a small gorge in the town's Old Burial Hill there stands a stone with an image of an eagle in flight incised at the top (Fig. 12). The eagle is carrying a banner that contains the words "VICTORY" and "PEACE," while the marker's inscription reads:

JOSEPH BROWN
1750———1834
MARBLEHEADS "BLACK JOE"
A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER
& RESPECTED CITIZEN

Joseph Brown was born in Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard in 1750 to an Indian father and a Black mother. He later came to Marblehead as a slave used in the capacity of a household servant. When the Revolutionary War broke out, he served in a seacoast defense company that guarded a shoreline fortification. Several years after the War was over, Brown and his wife, Lucretia, opened a tavern in Marblehead. Lucretia, who was more familiarly known as Aunt Crese, was the daughter of freed slaves. She continued running the tavern after Joseph's death, and it remained in the family until 1867. The old structure, now a private home, still stands next to Black Joe's Pond. [21]

The story of yet another Black Revolutionary War soldier reveals the essential vulgarity of slavery in Massachusetts. Eden London was a slave who was bought and sold nine times during the first eighteen years of his life. His last three owners were residents of Winchendon, a town in

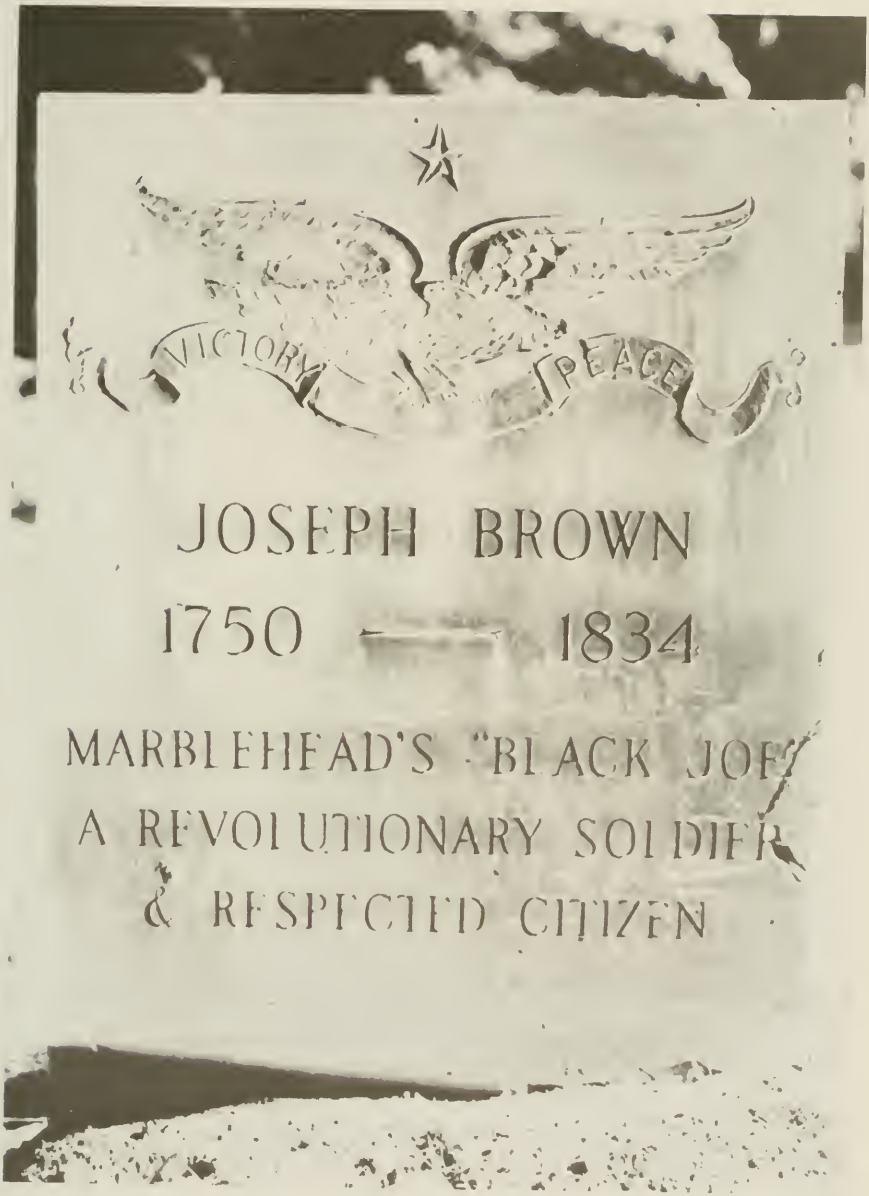

Fig. 12 It would seem that the use of "Black Joe" on Joseph Brown's headstone in Marblehead is not meant to be derogatory, but is merely the statement of a nickname.

central Massachusetts on the New Hampshire border. During the Revolution, London's master, Daniel Goodrich, a Winchendon selectman, offered his slave's services in lieu of his own military obligation. Thus, in March of 1781, at the age of 23, Eden London joined the Continental Army for a three-year enlistment. His owner received the enlistment bounty that was given to new recruits, plus part of London's wages from the army. At the end of the war, London was rewarded with his freedom. Within a quarter of a century after the Revolutionary War, the former slave was a man who was getting on in years and had fallen into poverty. As a result, the Worcester County Court ordered the town of Winchendon to maintain his support. However, town finances for London's behalf were not long needed, as he died two years after the court's order.[22]

In 1810 Eden London was buried in an unmarked grave in a back corner of Winchendon's Old Centre Burying Ground. Here his gravesite remained forgotten for the next century and a half until, in 1972, the Winchendon Historical Society discovered London's records while researching the enlistments of Revolutionary veterans from that town. It was also discovered that London's grave was not only unmarked but that the site was not in any manner distinguished as were the graves of other Revolutionary soldiers. As a result, on Veteran's Day in 1973 a ceremony was held in which London's grave was identified with a bronze Revolutionary War veteran's marker. A few months later a gravemarker was placed at the site (Fig. 13) bearing the following inscription:

EDEN
LONDON
SLAVE OF DANIEL GOODRICH
ENL. IN REV. WAR
Aug, 1776
DISCH. YET A SLAVE 1779
DIED MAR. 1810

At the front of this same Old Centre Burying Ground in Winchendon stands a plain rectangular marker with an inscription that claims David Sims, who died in 1911, was "Winchendon's first colored citizen" (Fig. 14). This is sadly ironic when it is considered that Eden London lived in the town for at least thirty-five years and was buried in the cemetery more than a hundred years before David Sims' death. The full inscrip-

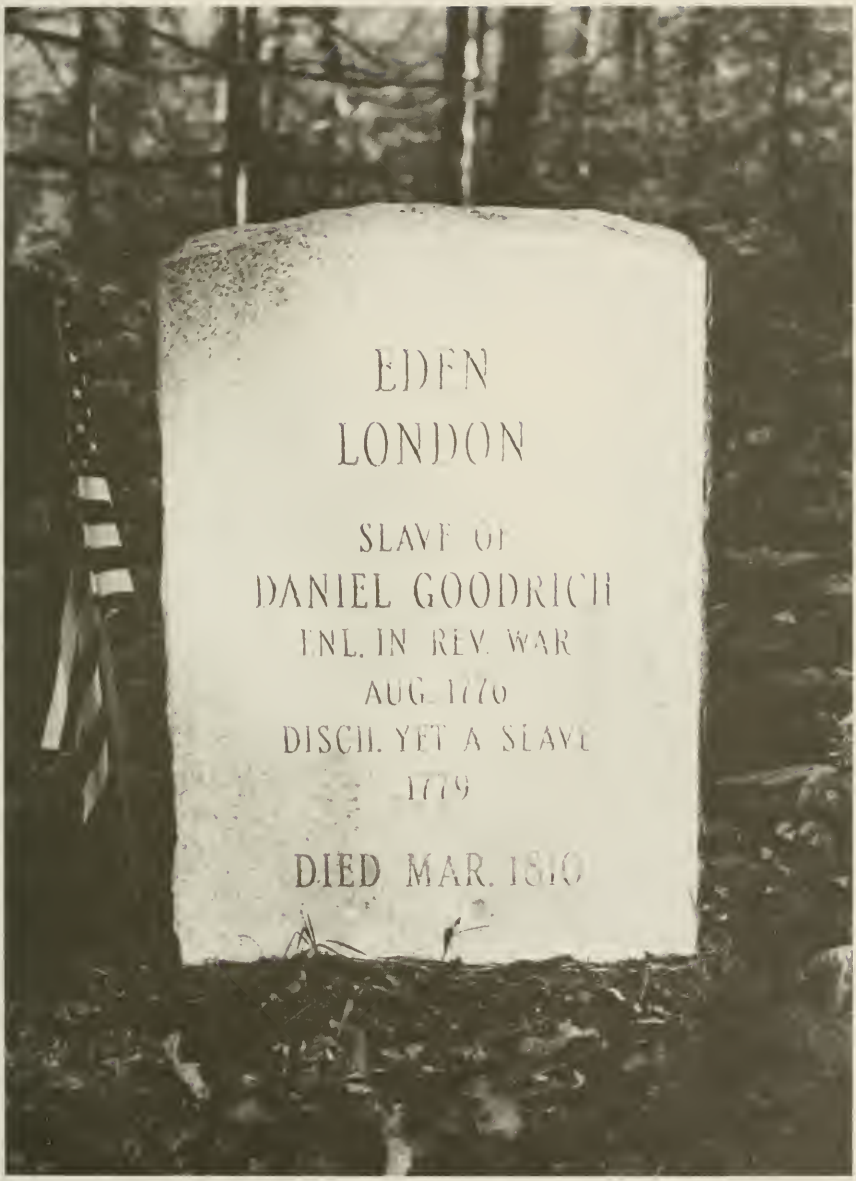

Fig. 13 The period of service inscribed on Eden London's stone is incorrect for his military service in lieu of Daniel Goodrich. The confusion results from the fact that at an earlier time, in 1776, London ran away and served in the army for eight months.

tion on the Sims stone reads:

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
DAVID SIMS
WINCHENDON'S FIRST
COLORED CITIZEN
BELOVED BY ALL
BORN IN WASHINGTON D. C.
DIED IN WINCHENDON
SEPT. 1, 1911
AROUND THE AGE OF
70 YRS.

David Sims was brought to Winchendon from Virginia in the year following the Civil War. George Coffin, a local mill owner, arranged for the move and employed Sims as a coachman. According to a local history, the former slave was known as a religious man who regularly attended church, frequently wearing a tall silk hat. In his later years, Sims ran a chicken and egg business: when he died in 1911, he was a resident of the town's poor farm. [23]

While many of Massachusetts' slaves were gaining their freedom individually through military service, other African-Americans were working for the total eradication of slavery in the state. One such man was Prince Hall, a free Black who was born in Barbados and came to Boston in 1765 at the age of seventeen. Hall eventually became a Methodist minister and a leader of Boston's African-American community. During the Revolutionary War he urged the use of slaves as well as free Blacks in the colonial military and also personally became a participant in the rebellion. Hall was one of at least a dozen Black colonists present at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and he later served for nine months with the Continental Army.

Prince Hall's grave may today be seen at the Copp's Hill Burying Ground in Boston's North End, marked by a plain stone (Fig. 15)[24] with an inscription that notes his involvement with the Masonic Order:

Here lies ye body of
PRINCE HALL
first Grand Master of the
colored Grand Lodge of
Masons in Mass
Died Dec. 7, 1807

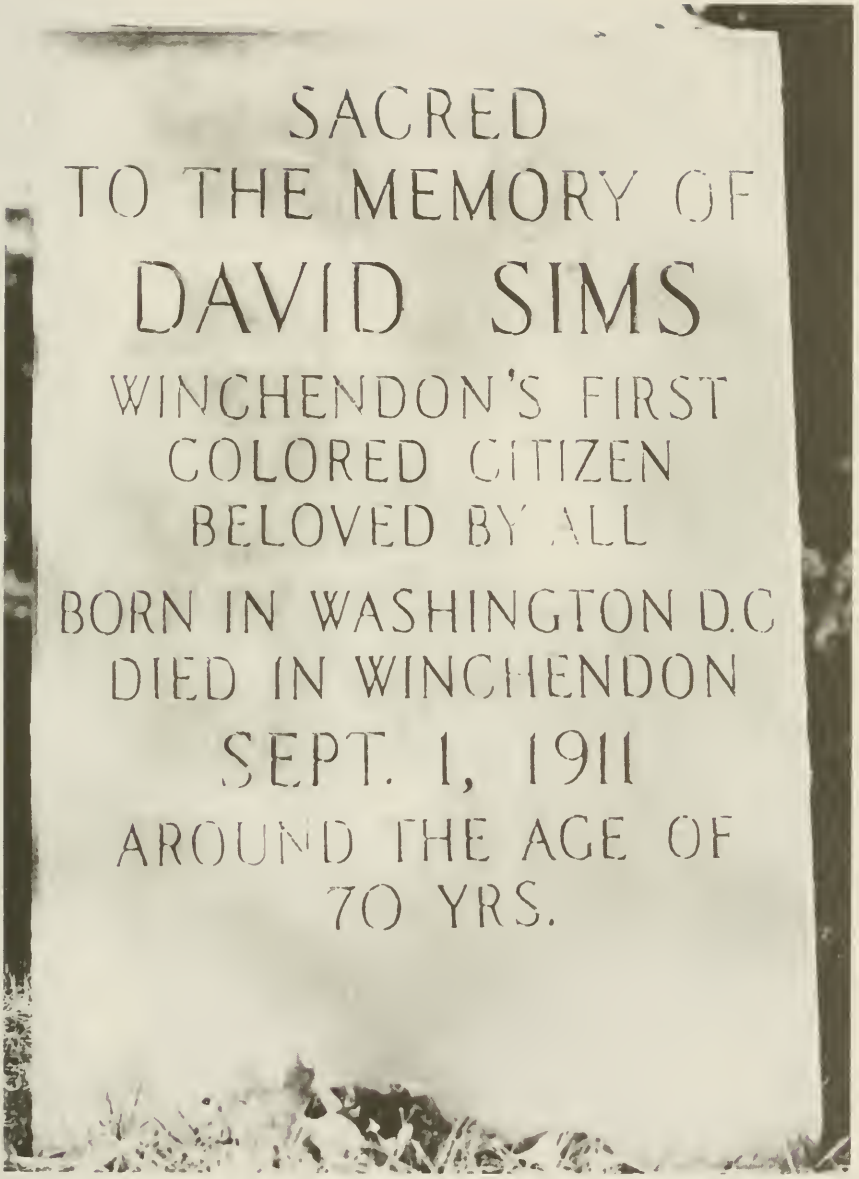

Fig. 14 Even though David Sims died in 1911, his marker wasn't erected until 1954. It was paid for by the descendants of his employer, and the somewhat misleading inscription was written by the director of a local funeral home.

When, in 1776, Hall established and became the Grand Master of African Lodge No. 1, it represented the first organized body of African-American Masons in the United States. [25]

As the African-American leader in Boston, Prince Hall was constantly working for the benefit of his race. This was certainly the case in 1777 when he led a petition drive calling for the elimination of slavery and directed to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, which at the time was drafting the state's new constitution. When the constitution was ratified in 1780, it did not specifically abolish slavery: however, the preamble contained a phrase which stated that "all men are born free and equal". For many people, the phrase caused confusion as to how it related to slavery. Nevertheless, based on the "born free" terminology, some slaves asked for and received their freedom, some simply took their freedom, and some towns specifically prohibited slavery. But the final death-blow for the institution would not come until 1783 with the decision of the Quok Walker case.

Quok Walker was a slave of Nathaniel Jennison, a farmer in the central Massachusetts town of Barre. In 1781 Walker ran away from Jennison and took refuge with John Caldwell, another Barre farmer. Jennison subsequently sued Caldwell for enticing Walker to run away, while, in turn, Walker sued Jennison for assault and battery. (It seems that Jennison, upon discovering Walker's whereabouts, went to Caldwell's and assailed his slave.) All of this resulted in Jennison's losing both his case against Caldwell and the suit brought against him by Walker. In its decision, the Supreme Judicial Court declared that slavery was inconsistent with the state's constitution and concurred that the "born free" clause was to be regarded as an authoritarian expression of law, not just a meaningless expression of words.[26]

Nathaniel Jennison – realizing that slavery was now doomed in Massachusetts – took some of his slaves, along with their children, and sold them in Connecticut where slavery wouldn't be abolished until 1792. One of those sold was Prince Walker, the ten year old brother of Quok. After some time Prince ran away and returned to Barre, where he established a large family. The former slave died in 1858 at the age of 84 and lies buried with five members of his family on land that was once

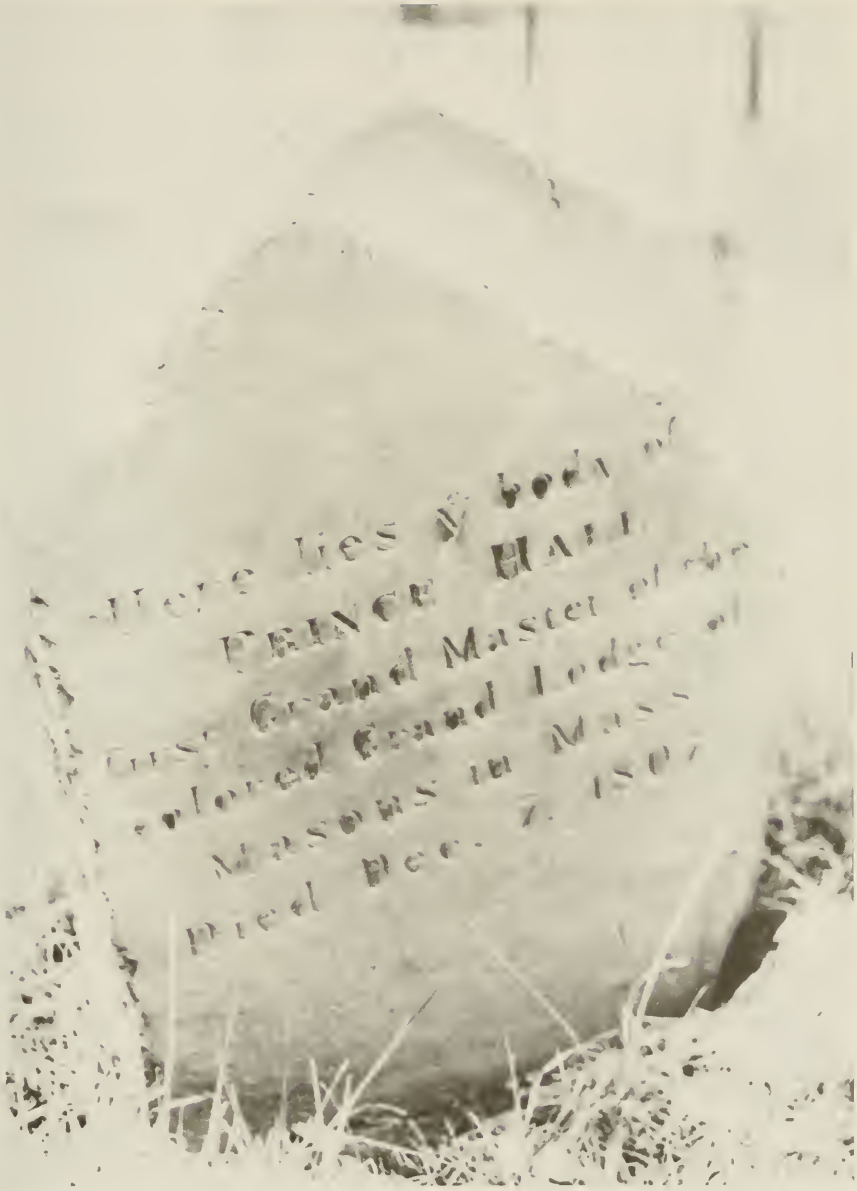

Fig. 15 In 1895 the Prince Hall Grand Lodge placed a more impressive monument adjacent to this simple marker for Prince Hall's grave in Boston's Copp's Hill Burying Ground.

his homestead.[27] Today it is an isolated plot, deep in the woods of Barre (see Fig. 16). However, the burial location of Prince's brother, Quok, is not known, and thus, unhappily, there is no gravestone to mark the final resting place of the man whose court case provided that Massachusetts, the first colony to legalize slavery, would also become the first state to abolish the institution.

The fact that the location of Quok's gravesite is not known should not be considered unusual. In some Massachusetts communities the bodies of slaves and former slaves were relegated to the unmarked pauper's section of a town's cemetery. Also, like Prince Walker, African-Americans often formed their own family plots, but many of these are no longer evident. After emancipation, some African-Americans formed their own neighborhoods: here separate graveyards were often established, but many of these also have since disappeared. This was the case in Quok's home town of Barre, where in the western part of the town an African-American section evolved which was known as Guinea Corner. It is believed that at one time an extensive burying ground was located here: however, today one finds no trace of the gravesites.[28]

It would appear that the extant slaves' stones found in Massachusetts, not all of which have been examined in this essay[29], were erected as the consequence of one of three factors: (a) the slave served wealthy owners such as the Gill or Stevens families; (b) after manumission the individual achieved some level of personal affluence, as with Joseph Brown and Amos Fortune; or (c) the stones were erected at some later point by concerned citizens, as in the case of Crispus Attucks and Prince Estabrook. Nevertheless, these gravemarkers represent only a fraction of the more than 5,000 African-Americans who lived in Massachusetts on the eve of the Revolution, and this figure doesn't even consider those who lived and died prior to that time. Consequently, the comparatively few slaves' markers that remain are not only rare historic documents but also represent the few extant physical reminders of slavery in Massachusetts.

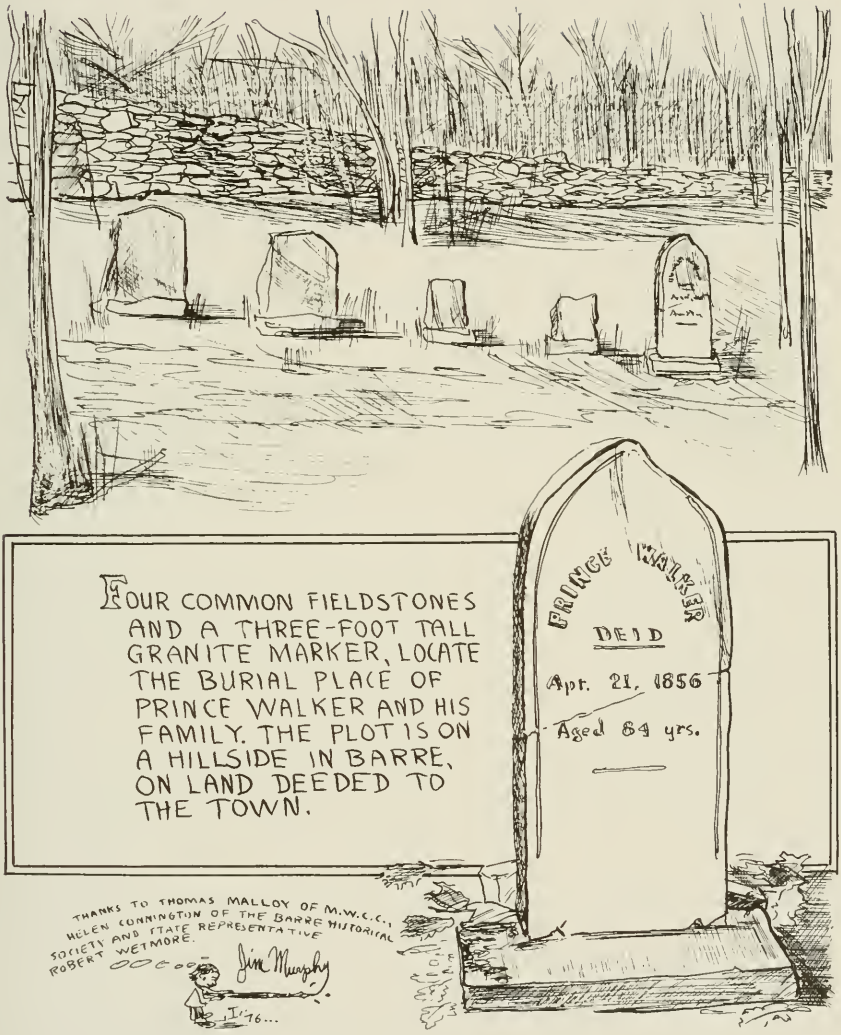

Fig. 16 Since this drawing was done in 1976, the Prince Walker stone was hit by an all- terrain vehicle and now lies on its back, flush to the ground.

NOTES

All of the photographs in this article are by the authors. Figure fourteen was drawn by James Murphy for a 1976 issue of the *Gardner News*, Gardner, Massachusetts.

1. Stuart Bruchey, ed. *The Colonial Merchant: Sources and Readings* (New York, 1966), 12.

2. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 5th series, Vol. III, 399. Dr. E. A. Holyoke, a Salem physician writing in 1795, claimed that slavery in the colony had been as tolerable as such an institution could provide.

3. According to Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber of the Association for Gravestone Studies, these stones were carved by a member of the Soule family. The Soules were an extended family of carvers who worked throughout the Northeast. Robert Drinkwater and Kevin Sweeney, both AGS members, believe that Ebenezer, Sr. carved Flova's stone and his youngest son, Ivory, carved Thomas' stone.

4. Francis Blake, *History of the Town of Princeton*, Vol. II, 114.

5. Justin Windsor, *The Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. II (Boston, 1887), 485.

6. Blake, Vol. I, 272.

7. *Ibid.*, 274

8. Henry S. Nourse, *History of the Town of Harvard* (Clinton, Ma., 1894), 133-35.

9. Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover* (Boston, 1880), 39.

10. Charlotte Helen Abbot, *Andover Townsman* (April 12, 1901).

11. Files of the North Andover Historical Society, North Andover, Ma.

12. Charlene Forsten, *The Keene Sentinel Magazine* (August 1, 1987).

13. *Ibid.*

14. Barbara K. Elliott and Janet W. Jones, *Concord: Its Black History* (Concord, Ma., 1976), 18-20.

15. *Ibid.*, 16.

16. *Ibid.*, 42. Also, according to Jack MacLaren, a member of Lincoln's Cemetery Commission, it is his guess that the British soldiers are buried in what was once the pauper section of the cemetery. Forty-five years later, Sippio Brister was buried in this same section.

17. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden and Civil Disobedience*, ed. Sherman Paul (Boston, 1957), 176.

18. Harry Hansen, *The Boston Massacre: An Episode of Dissent and Violence* (New York, 1970), 52-58. Hansen points out that, upon Attucks' escape, his master did advertise for his return in a Boston paper. However, because of the fact that Attucks remained a fugitive for twenty years, it appears no great effort was made for his return.

19. Karen Kromer, *Worcester Telegram* (October 6, 1991).

20. *Ibid.*

21. David Spink, *Marblehead Reporter* (May 24, 1984).

22. Thomas Malloy, *Profiles of the Past* (Athol, Ma., 1984), 37-38.

23. Lois Greenwood, *Winchendon, Years 1764-1964* (Winchendon, Ma., 1970), 364-65.

24. For an illustration of the more elaborate monument to Prince Hall placed next to this simple marker at a later date, see Fig. 18 in Laurel Gabel's article on Masonic Gravestone Symbolism found in this edition of *Markers*.

25. W. Augustus Low and Virgil A. Clift, *Encyclopedia of Black America* (New York, 1981), 413.

26. Thomas Malloy, *Slavery in Colonial Massachusetts* , M.A. thesis, Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo, 1967), 99.

27. Matthew Walker, *Barre Gazette*, Files of the Barre Historical Society, Barre, Massachusetts.

28. *Ibid.* See also Ann and Dickran Tashjian "The Afro-American Section of Newport, Rhode Island's Common Burying Ground", in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard E. Meyer, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1989; rpt. Logan, Utah, 1992), 163-196. In this essay the authors state that Newport's Common Burying Ground might be the last remaining burial site for Blacks of colonial New England.

29. In order to demonstrate the thesis of this essay, it was not felt necessary to locate or discuss every existing slave's marker in Massachusetts. For instance, in the town of Westminster can be found the stone of Zilpah Blanchard, one of several slaves who once lived there. Her stone states that she died in 1806, "aged about 50," and that she was " a coloured woman". A number of the stones discussed in this essay, plus two additional markers – those of Caesar in North Attleboro and Elizabeth Freeman in Stockbridge – are also treated by Angelika Krüger-Kahloula in her article, "Tributes in Stone and Lapidary Lapses: Commemorating Black People in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America," *Markers VI* (1989): 32-100.

Fig. 1 Samuel Heard, 1720, Ipswich, MA, type A.

MERRIMAC VALLEY STYLE GRAVESTONES: THE LEIGHTON AND WORSTER FAMILIES

Ralph L. Tucker

John Hartshorne of Haverhill, Massachusetts, later of Rowley, Massachusetts, and still later of Norwich, Connecticut, developed a variety of gravestone carving that has been termed "The Merrimac Valley Style," as it occurs primarily in the Merrimac River valley from Haverhill in the north and extending to Salem in the south.[1] Later, three families of local carvers in the valley also made gravestones in this style: these were the Mullickens of Bradford, Massachusetts, the Leightons of Rowley, Massachusetts, and the Worsters of Harvard, Massachusetts.[2] The last family of carvers to use this style, the Worsters, worked and distributed their stones around their core area at Harvard, Massachusetts: consequently, their stones are found in northern Middlesex county, slightly to the west of the other carvers' work.

The style can best be described as featuring in the tympanum (the rounded top of the gravestone) an outlined oval effigy or face distinguished by round eyes, a linear vertical nose, and a horizontally straight mouth, there being no wings attached. Disks containing six-pointed stars or rosettes are often found on both sides of the face, and stars or coils are also displayed in the finials (at the top of the side borders). The side borders usually contain scroll-like carving or simple leaf or vine decorations (see Chart 1 and various photographic examples included in this essay).

THE LEIGHTON FAMILY

In 1708 there was an Indian raid on Haverhill in which Hartshorne's wife, eldest son John, Jr., and three grandchildren were massacred, resulting in the removal of Hartshorne to Rowley. There he married in 1709 Mary Leighton Spofford, Ezekiel Leighton's sister, who was the widow of Thomas Spofford. The Leightons had been among the original settlers in Essex county, Massachusetts, being in the company of the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley, Yorkshire, England when he established the

town of Rowley, Massachusetts in 1638[3]. Richard Leighton of Rowley, the progenitor of the family, was the father of Mary and Ezekiel (1659-1723), who became a stonecarver. Ezekiel's son, Richard (1687-1749), and grandson, Jonathan (1715-1772), also became carvers.

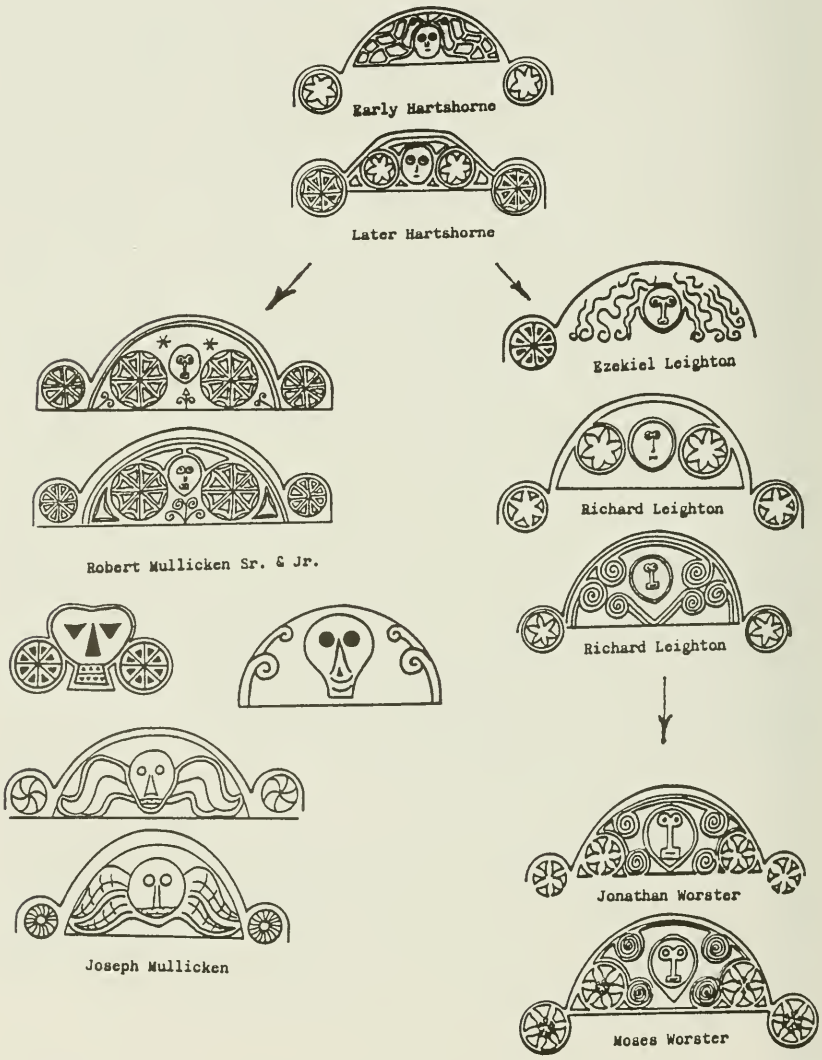

Chart 1 Merrimac Valley Styles (Simplified)

Mullicken family more often used pinwheels in their finials, and were distinctive in this regard.

The Leighton's work is found from Newbury southerly through Rowley and Ipswich down the old main road (now route 1A) as far as Salem. Aside from the initialed or probated stones, it is difficult to know which member of the family made a particular stone. It is obvious, however, that no carver can carve after his death, nor before he is mature enough to practice the craft, so we can sometimes deduce by dates which member of the family probably carved a particular stone.

In 1713, Ezekiel's son, Richard, married Abigail Elithorp of Beverly. They had seven children, Jonathan the carver being the second child and eldest son. Richard died in 1749 and is buried in nearby Byfield, a section of Newbury, Massachusetts under a type H stone carved by his son, Jonathan, which still stands. The 1723 Ezekiel Leighton, Sr. stone (type D) in Ipswich was probably carved by Richard for his father. Richard is mentioned as having been paid for a pair of gravestones by the estate of Moses Bradstreet of Rowley in 1737 (type F). There is also a probate record showing that Richard was paid for the 1739 Ephraim Jewett stone[5] (type F) in Rowley, as well as for the 1723 Jeremiah Dow stone (type D) in Ipswich. Sidney Perley, the Essex County historian, recognized Richard as a maker of gravestones in the area as early as 1899.[6]

Jonathan Leighton was born in Rowley in 1715 and married Mary Boynton in Newbury in 1739. They had ten children, none of whom are known to have been carvers. Jonathan carved in Rowley from about the 1730s until 1761, when he sold his property there. At some later date he and his mother removed to New Castle (Sheepscott), Lincoln County, Maine, where he was known to be located in 1771. There is a probate record in 1747 for the 1732 Ezekiel Northend stone in Rowley made by Jonathan (type F). As noted earlier, he carved the 1749 stone (type H) for his father, Richard, which is in Byfield. Other stones can only be attributed by the style rather than documentary evidence.[7] Jonathan located a source of high grade slate about 1750 and used it to good effect.

Types of Leighton Gravestones (see Chart 2)

There are few Leighton stones aside from the initialed "EL" stones

Shortly before his wife's death in 1719, Hartshorne taught Ezekiel, then about sixty years old, how to carve, and probably taught Richard as well. Upon Mary's death, Hartshorne moved to Norwich, Connecticut to live with his daughter, Martha Hartshorne Ladd, leaving the Leightons to carry on the gravestone business in Rowley and the Mullickens in Bradford.

Ezekiel was the third of the original Richard's five children, all of whom were born in Rowley. In 1686 he married Rebecca Woodman of Newbury and they had four children, Richard being the eldest son. Active in town affairs, Ezekiel signed petitions and is mentioned in town records. He died in Rowley in 1723, where his gravestone, which was carved by his son Richard, still remains. Ezekiel's carving skill was minimal, probably because he only started to carve at the age of sixty and didn't improve much in the short time he practiced the trade.

Ezekiel's son, Ezekiel, Jr., died in 1716 as a young man and is buried under a type B stone in Rowley, probably made by his father (for a fuller explanation of the types used in reference to Leighton family stones see the illustrations in Chart 2 and the detailed descriptions found later in this essay). There are five gravestones in Ipswich clearly carved on the back or on the footstone "M BY EL," an example of which may be seen in Figure 6.[4] These stones can be attributed to Ezekiel, and they enable us to identify his other work: using them, one can trace the motifs and styles that gradually evolved in the carver's repertoire. Ezekiel apparently carved up until his death in 1723.

The resemblance of the Leighton stones to those of John Hartshorne is obvious. Both employ a central wingless effigy or geometric face in the tympanum. These characteristics separate their stones from those of all the Boston carvers who were carving winged death heads and cherubs on good slate. Leighton stones, Ezekiel's in particular, were rather crudely carved on a poor grade of slate, and the effigies had closely set eyes. Hartshorne sometimes featured birds and other devices in the tympanum along with the effigies, a practice which the Leightons never employed. Stars or rosettes were generally used (sometimes in profusion) on the stones and nearly always are found in the finials. At other times disks and other circular devices were substituted in the finials. The

that are adequately documented. What evidence there is may be found in the notes accompanying this essay. Knowing, however, that the three Leightons listed have been recorded as stonecarvers, and using some good circumstantial evidence, the following attributions can be made with a fair degree of certainty. (Note: Types A to F carved by both Ezekiel and Richard: Types E to I carved by Jonathan).

Type A - "Wild Hair" (see Fig. 1)

One of the earliest styles of the Leightons employs the typical Hartshorne wingless oval face, but with a different mouth and what appears to be a wild hairdo consisting of wavy lines. These early stones often have other wavy lines used to fill blank areas. Side borders often feature a scroll design. This style of gravestone was made in the 1717-1729 period.

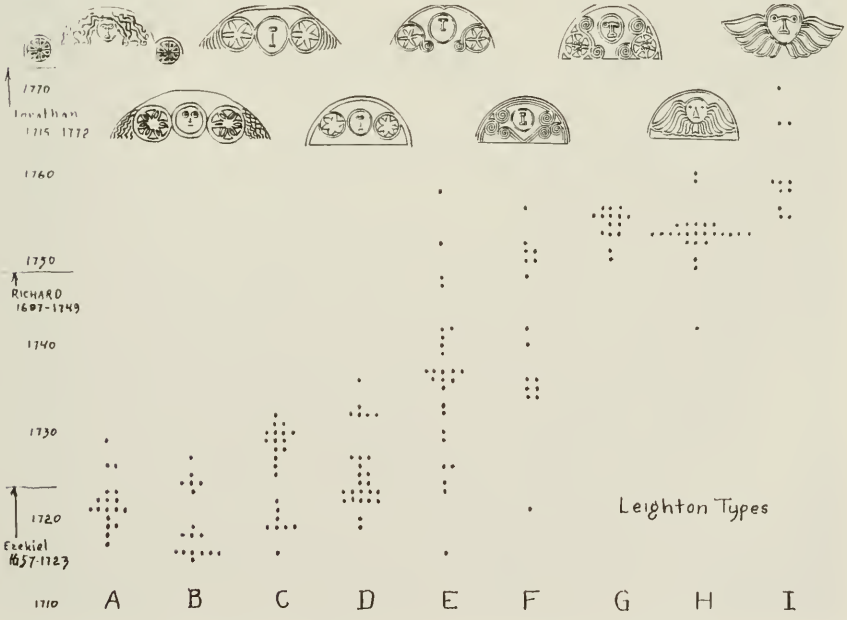

Chart 2 Merrimac Valley Style – Leighton Types

These stones are so crudely carved that some researchers have mistakenly felt that they were the earliest stones carved in the area. The backdated 1689 Mary Hart stone in Ipswich, Massachusetts is an example of such a stone that has misled students into believing the Leighton

Fig. 2 Thomas Lovell, 1718, Ipswich, MA, type B.

family carved many years before they actually did. These backdated stones may have been made to replace earlier markers, perhaps wooden ones that had rotted, or simple boulders with no inscriptions.

Type B - "Stars/Wavy Lines" (see Fig. 2)

This early style utilizes the oval face with a six-pointed star (or rosette) on each side. The geometric wingless face is, again, typical of the Leighton family's stones. On the outer side of each star are wavy lines. Four of the stones in this category bear the carving "EL," thereby clearly identifying them as Ezekiel Leighton's work. The 1716 Ezekiel Leighton, Jr. stone in Rowley, carved by his father, is also of this type. Since several stones in this mode were made after Ezekiel's death, Richard can also be identified as a carver of this style, which was produced in the 1715-1727 time period.

Fig. 3 Hannah Burpe, 1729, Rowley, MA, type C.

Type C - "Stars/Smooth Lines" (see Fig. 3)

This style is nearly identical to the "Star/Wavy" type noted above except that the outer lines are smooth or curved rather than wavy. The eyes in the face are crowded together over an elongated nose, providing a unique appearance. These stones were produced in the 1719-1732 time period by both Ezekiel and Richard Leighton.[8]

Type D - "Stars" (see Fig. 4)

This is essentially a simplified version of the previous design, consisting of the face image with only the stars. Ezekiel and Richard Leighton were the carvers of this style, which was produced in the period 1719-1736.

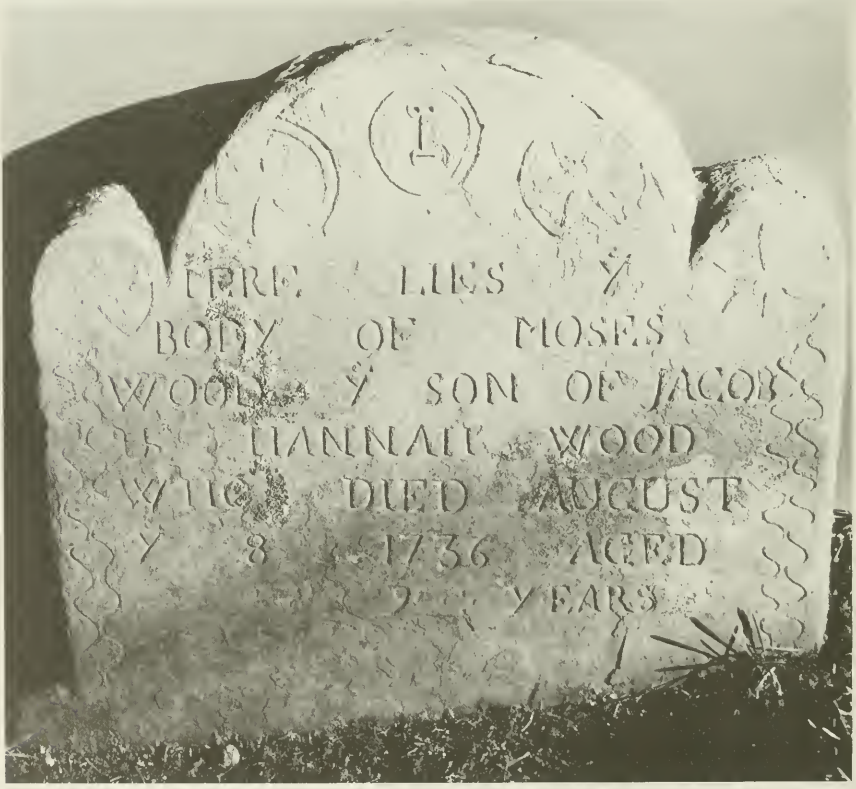

Fig. 4 Moses Wood, 1736, Rowley, MA, type D.

Fig. 5 Benjamin Kimball, 1716, Ipswich, MA, type E.

Fig. 6 Benjamin Kimball, 1716, Ipswich, MA, Leighton footstone.

Type E - "Stars/Coils" (see Figs. 5 and 6)

The 1716 Benjamin Kimball stone in Ipswich shown here was carved by Ezekiel and set this style, but Richard and Jonathan carved most of the rest. This type of stone is contemporaneous with the "Coil" style (type F) and was produced mostly in the 1723-1758 time period. This and the previous type (D) represent forerunners of the style later used by the Worster family.

Type F - "Coils" (see Fig. 7)

Stones of this type were produced in the 1734-1756 period, though there is one earlier (1719) marker which probably is backdated. In this variant, the stars flanking the oval face are replaced by coils. By this time Jonathan was carving along with his father, Richard.

Fig. 7 Jonathan Pickard, 1735, Rowley, MA, type F.

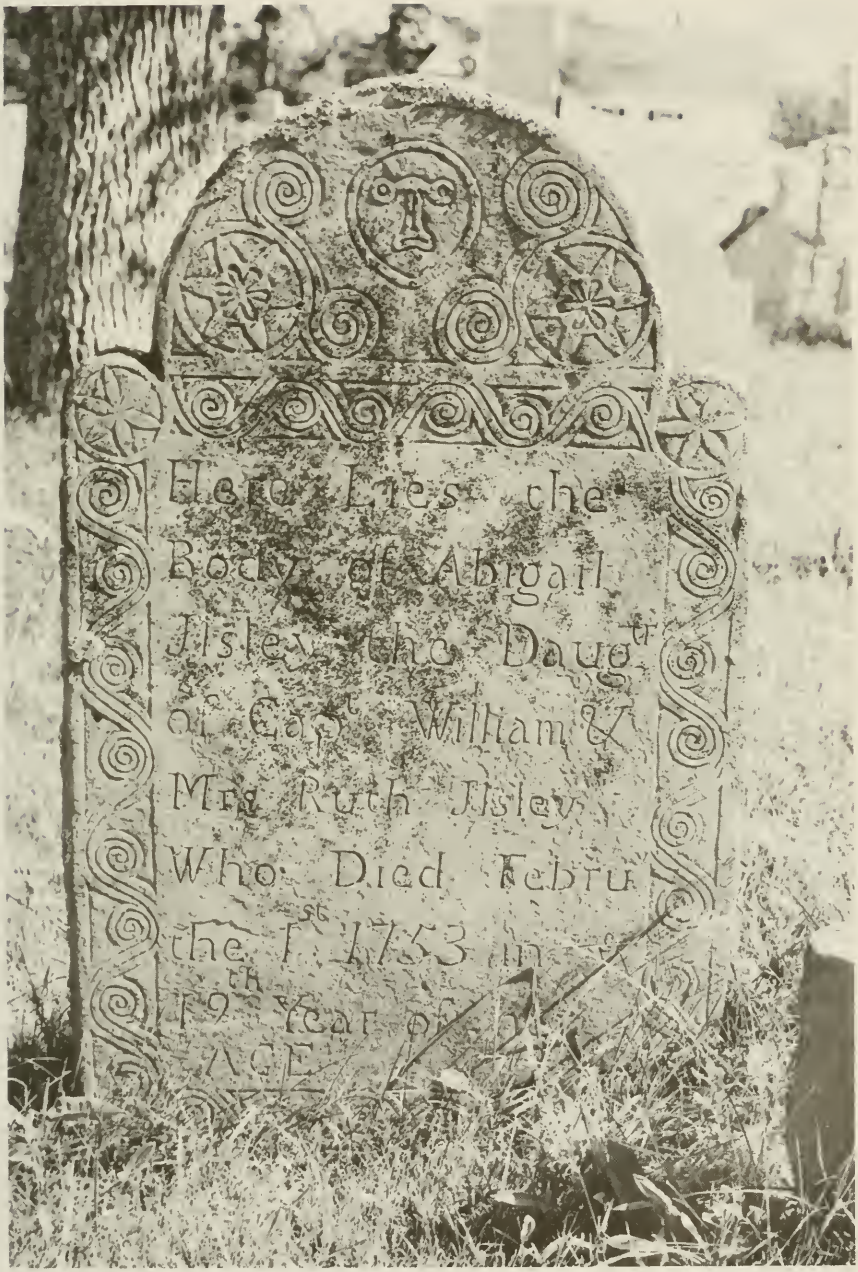

Fig. 8 Abigail Ilsley, 1753, Newbury, MA, type G.

Type G - "Spectacles" (see Fig. 8)

A new style appeared in the 1750s using both stars and coils in some abundance, but spreading the formerly close-set eyes apart and connect-

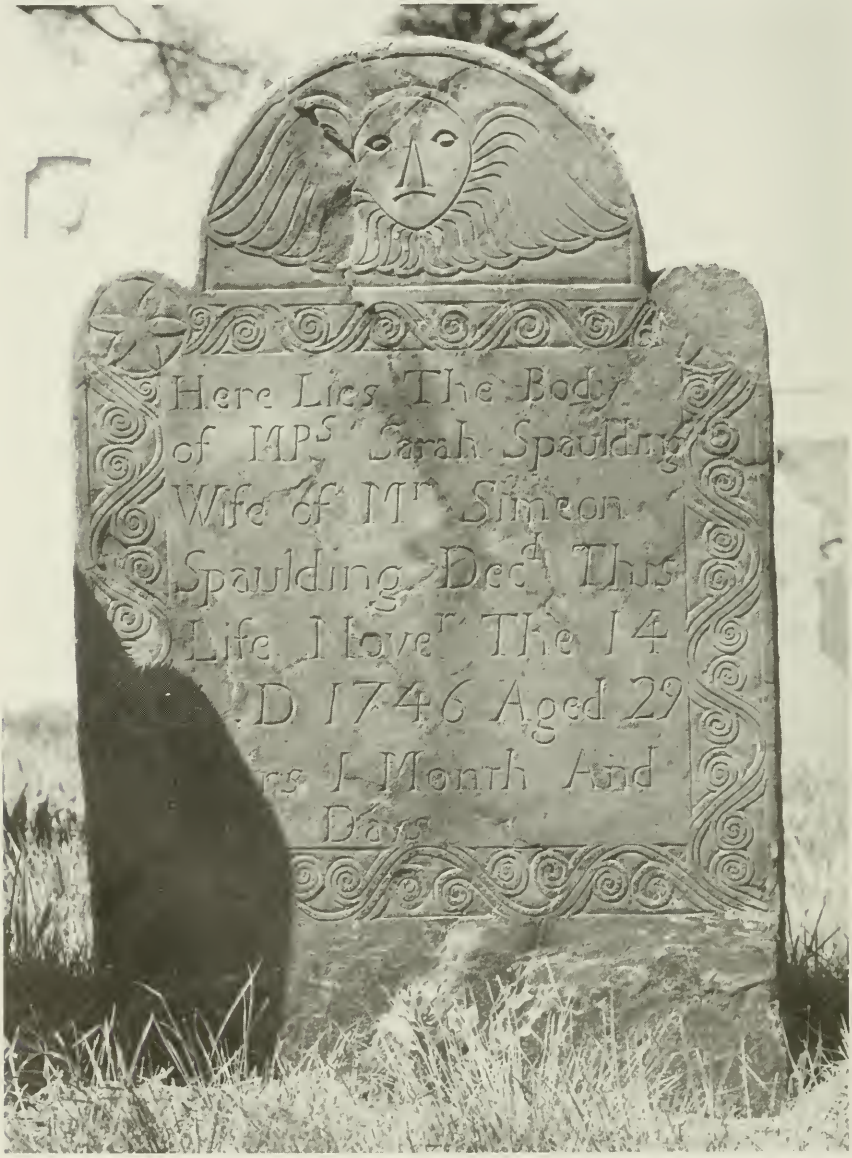

Fig. 9 Sarah Spaulding, 1746, Chelmsford, MA, type H.

ing them to look like spectacles. The mouth appears as an arc, producing a somewhat "grumpy" effect. The 1754 Col. John Appleton stone in Ipswich is of this type, and has a footstone in the "Wings" style (type H). Jonathan Leighton carved this style in the 1750-1756 time period. It is possible that Jonathan Hartshorne was working with Jonathan Leighton at this time because he later developed a format with a grumpy mouth very similar to this style and was working in the same area.[9]

Type H - "Wings" (see Fig. 9)

A key trait in the "Merrimac Valley Style" of gravestones is the absence of wings and the use of geometric effigies rather than skulls or realistic faces. Jonathan Leighton departed from the family style by adding wings to a round face. This represented a complete departure from his own previous work as well. The wings are themselves unusual, the nose is an inverted "V", and the mouth an arc. Stones of this type were produced in the period 1742-1760 by Jonathan .

Type I - "Spectacle/Wings" (see Fig. 10)

A further development of style comes when we find a "Spectacle" face with fully developed wings. The wings, as noted above, are a distinct departure from the Merrimac Valley Style and are closer to the Boston styles. These stones can be attributed to Jonathan Leighton and perhaps to Jonathan Hartshorne as well. They were produced in the 1755-1773 time period.

Footstones (see Figs. 6 & 11)

The twenty-two known Leighton footstones usually have borders of wavy lines, and a few include hearts or crude faces as well as the name or initials of the deceased. As mentioned earlier, several of these footstones have "BY E L" carved on the back, indicating that Ezekiel was the carver. There are many wavy lines found on the early Leighton headstones, which correlates with their predominant use on the footstones. These footstones created by the Leighton family are unique, and this is fortunate as a means of carver attribution: because there are footstones extant for all styles of Leighton stones, even when the headstone style

Fig. 10 Abigail Plumer, 1759, Byfield, MA, type I.

Fig. 11 Martha Tredwell, 1727, Ipswich, MA, Leighton footstone.

changed, the consistency and uniqueness of the footstone style would indicate that it was the same family of carvers that made both stones.

Other Leighton Traits

The lettering style, along with several other traits and features employed by the Leighton carvers, may be summarized as follows:

"B" - upper-case	loops sometimes separate and not connected
"M"- upper-case	inner lines connect half way down
"R" - upper-case	the leg curls out
"t" - lower-case	very small "t" used by Jonathan only
"U" - upper-case	usually has parallel sides
"W"- upper-case	made with overlapping "V"s
"Y"- upper-case	often has a curved right side
"2"	curved top and straight bottom
"5"	with curved top of the old fashioned type
"ye" with upside down "e"	used by Ezekiel and Richard only; ceases about 1740
"hear" instead of "here"	used by Ezekiel and Richard only
uneven spaces between lines	used by Ezekiel and Richard
lower-case lettering	begins to be used about 1750 by Jonathan
poor spelling	by all
six pointed stars in finials	almost universal; didn't often use pin-wheels
slate (of a poor grade)	after 1730s a better grade was used
double spiral side border	the most common border
wavy lines	especially on early stones

THE WORSTER FAMILY

Descended from the Rev. William Worster, one of the original settlers of Salisbury, Massachusetts, Jonathan Worster was born December 1, 1707 in Bradford, Massachusetts, which is on the south bank of the Merrimac River, across from Haverhill. The eldest of six children of Ebenezer Worster, he married Rebecca [maiden name unknown] in 1722 and had eleven children, all born in Harvard, Massachusetts. He went to Littleton, Massachusetts at the time of his marriage, and when the town of Harvard was formed in 1733 he moved there, becoming one of the original members of the Harvard church. In the town records he was listed as a yeoman. He died at Harvard on April 12, 1754.

It appears that Jonathan learned to carve from Richard Leighton of

Fig. 12 Thomas Dinsmoor, 1748, Hollis, NH, by Jonathan Worster.

Rowley, whose style he copied and embellished with numerous coils and six-pointed stars. He seldom varied his style of carving, thereby making his work easily recognizable. The primitive effigy face can be spotted at a distance, and when you have seen one, you've essentially seen them all. Nonetheless, they are so striking that they are in a class by themselves.

Moses Worster was born in Harvard, Massachusetts on January 10, 1739, the second son of Jonathan and the fourth of eleven children. He married Sarah Witt (Wilt) on January 12, 1768/9 at Bolton, Massachusetts and had three children, none of whom are known to have been carvers. He died in 1789 in Boxborough, Massachusetts.

Moses took over his father's business in the early 1750s and continued with the same style, with the exception that he carved a pointed chin rather than the rounded one featured in his father's work.

Harriette Merrifield Forbes as early as 1927 identified the Worsters as carvers and noted their style.[10] More than 400 of their stones have been studied for this article, and over a dozen of them were made for members of the Worster family. The probate records give us documentation for their being gravestone cutters, as shown here (payments specifically for gravestones are so indicated):

Fig. 13 Samuel Green, 1759, Lexington, MA, by Moses Worster.

Fig. 14 Josiah Haywood, 1736, Concord, MA, by Moses Worster (backdated).

Jonathan Worster (1707-1754) Probate References

Date on stone			M= Middlesex Probate (date) = date of probate
1738	Barrett, Paul	Concord	M22:598 "Jonathan Worster £3.2.0" (1740)
1737	Merriam, John	Littleton	M21:46 "Jonathan Worster £3.8.0" (1741)
1738	Prescott, Benjamin	Groton	M20:169 "Jonathan Worster £11.15.0" (1742)
1740	Holden, Nathaniel, Jr.	Groton	M25GR:197 "Jonathan Worster for two pair gravestones £6.10.0" (1747)
1741	Sawyer, Moses	Littleton	M21:51 "Jonathan Worster, gravestones and transporting them £3.10.0"
1745	Houghton, William	Lancaster	£7.5.0
1746	Fletcher, Joseph	Acton	M25GR:247 "Jonathan Worster for gravestones £7.0.0" (1747)
1756	Burge, Josiah	Westford	M35:182 "to a journey to Harvard for gravestones and getting them up £0.10.0; to the widow Worster for gravestones £3.14.0" (1759)
1772	Parker, Lt. Benjamin	Groton	M56GR:282 "cash Jonathan Worster £1.04.0"

Moses Worster (1739-1789) Probate References

1755	Levistone, Seth	Tewksbury	M32:235 "Moses Worster £2.18.9"
1778	Wetherbee, Lt. Daniel	Stow	M58:408 "Moses Worster for gravestones £13.10.0"
1792/3	Hapgood, Joseph	Marlboro	M77:356 "paid Moses Worster £0.37.4"

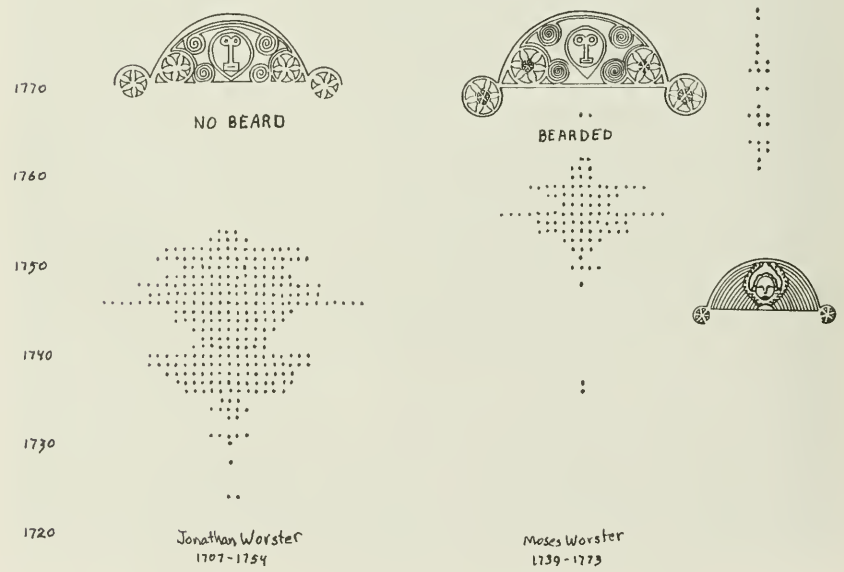

Chart 3 Merrimac Valley Style – Worster Varieties

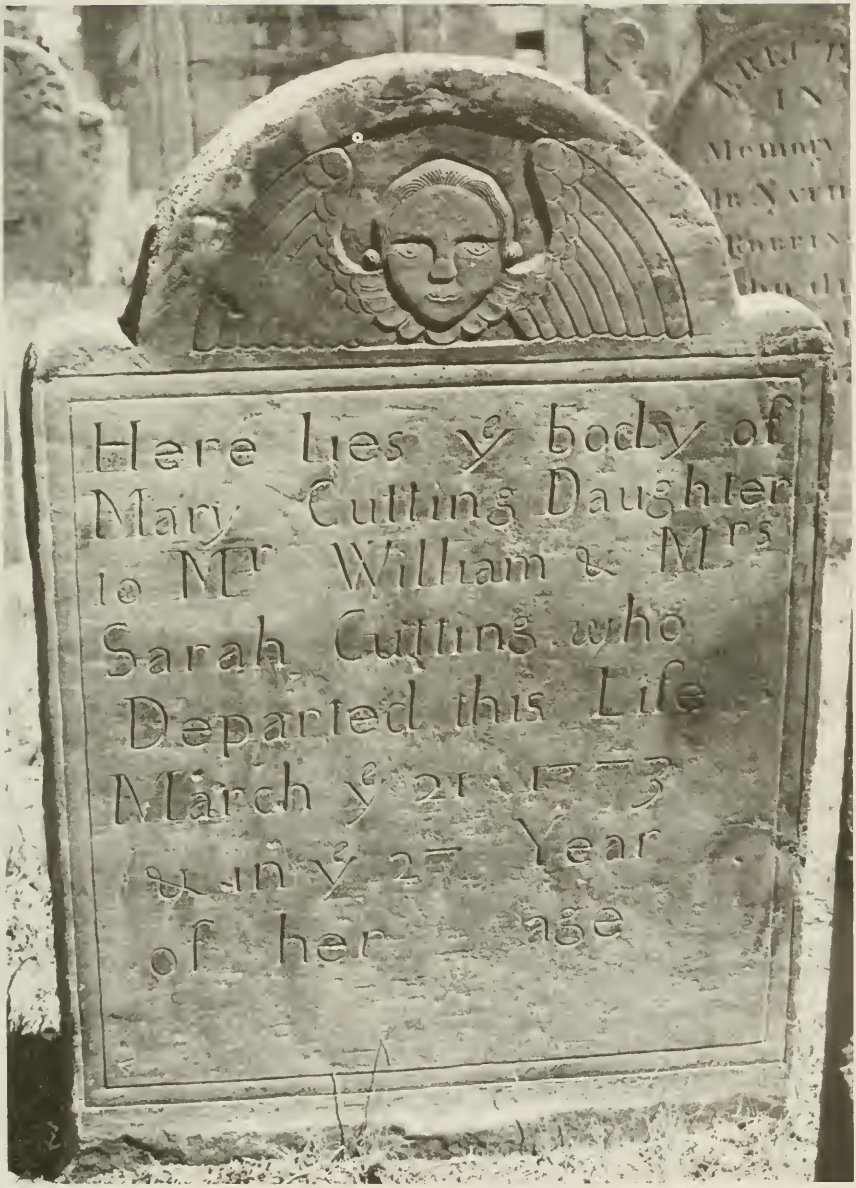

Fig. 15 Mary Cutting, 1773, Acton, MA, by Moses Worster.

Worster Style (see Chart 3)

As the last family to carve in the Merrimac Valley Style of folk gravestone carving, the Worsters had the advantage of using the excellent slate newly discovered at Pin Hill in Harvard, Massachusetts, which has preserved their work in fine condition to this day. Adorned with their mask-like images which carry a striking and unique visual impact, the Worster stones are mostly found in upper Middlesex county, Massachusetts, rarely south of Lexington. There are, however, a few of their stones to be found just over the New Hampshire line, and one or two in the Boston area as well. The Worsters had no competition in their core area until the 1750s and until then did not change their style of carving. When other carvers settled in nearby Groton and around Pin Hill, Moses began to offer other styles reflecting the more standard urban types of winged faces, or cherubs, presumably to meet the competition.

Jonathan consistently used an outlined wingless face featuring a long linear nose, and usually a flat, horizontal mouth (see Fig. 12). The eyes are oval on the earliest stones, but soon become constantly round and set close together. The face is definitely an effigy and not meant as a realistic representation of a face. There are coils and six-pointed stars (rosettes) on each side of the face and similar stars in the finials. These stars often become quite complex, with stars inside of stars. The side borders consist of scrolls which rarely vary in design. The early faces were oval or round in configuration.

Jonathan's lettering is all in upper-case with well-formed letters, but there is uneven spacing of the often crowded words. The letters are generally larger than one would expect for the space containing them. Words are frequently spelled incorrectly and often split oddly, so that they run into the next line or are superimposed above. The lines of lettering are not always parallel, and the spacing of lines and letters is poorly executed, with the height between each line variable.

Moses carved stones similar to those of his father, but added what appears as a pointed beard at the chin (see Fig. 13). He most often used lower-case lettering, unlike the convention employed by Jonathan. The identifying letters to look for are the lower case "g," which is rather unusual, and the old-fashioned "s," which appears as an "f" without the

Fig. 16 Samuel Green, 1759, Lexington, MA, by Moses Worster (footstone).

crossbar. In addition to his standard work, he developed in the 1740s a fine youthful face set in a bubble which he used for children's stones (Fig. 14), and in the 1760s a winged human face, or cherub (Fig. 15). The original style, however, was a mainstay as long as he lived.

The footstones of both carvers tend to be similar (e.g., see Fig. 16), but can vary in detail . They are simply carved, usually employing a simple line for a border, with the name or initials inside. Most generally, the scroll border as found on the headstone is also used on the footstone.

The Merrimac Valley Style gravestones carved by the Worsters are the finest examples of this style and have been described as "an art form that attempted to create as directly as possible the felt spiritual realities intrinsic to death and resurrection."[11] Removed as the Worsters were from the Boston market, their folk art style was continued well into the 1770s. The Pin Hill slate in Harvard had just been discovered and was the source of the excellent stone which enabled them to produce a finely finished product. This same source of high quality slate, however, also attracted a number of other carvers who were using winged skulls, portraits, willow trees, and urns. This ultimately marked the collapse of the rural and folk art tradition in favor of a newer, neoclassical style. The prolific Park family of nearby Groton, whose work begins about 1760, as well as other carvers, took over the gravestone business when the Worsters died and the Merrimac Valley Style ceased to exist as a viable tradition.

NOTES

The photographs shown in Figures 1-7 and in Figure 9 are by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber. The rubbings in Figures 5 and 6 were done by Susan Kelly and Anne Williams. All other illustrations in this article are the work of the author.

1. For the earliest study of these stones see Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, Conn., 1966). As one of the earliest students of this type of carving, he did not have available enough information to adequately understand these stones and who carved them. He referred to the style as "Essex County Ornamental Style, Phase III," and attributed it to various unknown carvers. When it later became known that there were four groups of carvers – John Hartshorne, The Mullickens, The Leightons, and the Worsters – the term "Merrimac Valley Style" came into use. For John Hartshorne stones see Ernest Caulfield, "Connecticut Gravestones XII – John Hartshorne vs. Joshua Hempstead," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 32:3 (1967) [Rpt., *Markers VIII* (1991): 164-188]. See also Peter

Benes, "Lt. John Hartshorn: Gravestone Maker of Haverhill and Norwich, " *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 109:152 (1973); and James A. Slater and Ralph L. Tucker, "The Colonial Gravestone Carvings of John Hartshorne," in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, Peter Benes, ed. (Boston, 1978), 79-146.

2. For the Mullicken stones see Ralph L. Tucker, "The Mullicken Family Gravestone Carvers of Bradford, Massachusetts, *Markers IX* (1992): 22-57.

3. For genealogical information on the family see George Brainard Blodgette, *Early Settlers of Rowley* , rev. Amos Everett Jewett (Rowley, Mass., 1933).

4. The 1716 Ezekiel Leighton, Jr. gravestone (type B) in Rowley (died aged 21) was probably made by his father. The "EL" stones, all in Ipswich, are as follows: 1715/6, Elizabeth Smith ("BY EL": only the footstone is extant); 1716, Sarah Glasiar & 1716, Stephen Glasiar, one on each side of the headstone ("BY EL": headstone type B); 1716, Benjamin Kimball ("M BY EL": type C); 1716, Richard Kimball ("M BY EL": footstone only); 1716, Martha Nason ("BY EL": footstone only).

5. Peter Benes reports this stone as having been probated at Essex County in 1743, but no specific reference is given.

6. Perley identified Richard Leighton as the stonecutter who was paid for the 1738 stone of Moses Bradstreet in *The Essex Antiquarian* 3:12 (1899): 177. See also Amos Everett Jewett and Emily Mabel Adams, *Rowley, Massachusetts* (Rowley, Mass., 1946), 141; and Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800* (Boston, 1927; Rpt. New York, 1989), who quotes the probate record for Moses Bradstreet of Ipswich dated "Aguest ..." 1739 "... mony pade to mr Lighten for ye grave stons...£4-00-00". This stone still stands in the 16th row on the east side of the cemetery. Another related entry reads "Cash p to Righerd Lighten ... £5-5-0".

7. The 1734 John Baker stone in Ipswich was probated (Essex 324:604) to Jonathan Leighton for £70 for gravestones in 1740. This is an extremely high price for a pair of gravestones and probably included other work. The stone itself appears to be the work of John Holliman. Whether Holliman was working for Jonathan Leighton or vice-versa is unknown. For an article on Holliman, see Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, "John Holliman: Eighteenth-Century Salem Stonecarver, *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 128:3 (1992).

8. As the Leightons are the only carvers of this style, and as Jonathan was as yet too young, we assume Ezekiel and Richard were the carvers.

9. A study of the work of Jonathan Hartshorne, the grandson of the carver John Hartshorne, has yet to be made. Jonathan is documented as a carver, but little is sure about his work.

10. Forbes, 77-78.

11. See Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving* (Middletown, Conn., 1974), 193.

Fig. 1 Willie Spindler stone, Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green, Kentucky. A pamphlet promoting the White Stone Quarry of Bowling Green included the following testimonial from John C. Underwood, civil engineer and architect: "It is a most valuable building and even ornamental stone; for owing to said softness it is very easily cut and shaped after any pattern ... [it] is remarkable for strength and durability – bearing the *greatest relief* in carving of all descriptions, and enduring the exposure necessary in architectural works of all kinds."

MONUMENTAL AMBITION: A KENTUCKY STONECUTTER'S CAREER

Deborah A. Smith

The first question addressed to a stranger in south central Kentucky is, "Who are you kin to?" The second, "What church do you attend?" Kinship matters in this part of the world. In life, family ties may be visible in jaw lines, laugh lines, hairlines, or waist lines. In death, the bloodlines may be invisible but they continue to exert strong influence. Generation after generation, kinship is the tie that binds and cemeteries the enduring monuments to that unity. Look closely, though, and sometimes they may reveal not only ancestry, but acrimony and ambition too.

Often out of sight from the country roads, hundreds of small cemeteries cover the landscape of Warren County. Almost every family farm seems determined to care for its dead with no need to rely on anyone else, just as they did in life. Other cemeteries accompany rural churches. These graveyards are usually more prominent than those located on the family farms, but equally proud. In the extended family of a church congregation, epitaphs proclaim the communicants' stubborn opinions: in one abandoned churchyard "predestinarian Baptists" and "true predestinarians" lie side by side. Upholding states' rights, local options, and schismatic doctrines in their lifetime, families and churches insist on eternal privacy and independence in their burying grounds too.

In town cemeteries, the evidence of kinship comes not from proximity to the family church or homestead but from plots bearing the same name. Especially in the earliest period of settlement, however, the burial grounds may be deceptive at first glance. For example, Repose Park, established on the outskirts of Bowling Green in 1811 soon after the town incorporated in 1798, has a smaller number of stones than the actual number of graves. To look at the graveyard, one would think that the pioneers in town were as exclusive as the true believers in the country. Vandalism, weathering and several coats of whitewash applied in honor of the 1976 Bicentennial are partly to blame for obscuring the evidence of family ties. So too is the character of pioneer settlement. Numerous markers for single children, unaccompanied by other siblings or parents,

attest to Bowling Green's importance throughout the first half of the nineteenth century as a "jumping off" place for further westward movement.[1] Families came, recognized after a spell that their fortunes lay elsewhere, and moved on, often leaving buried hopes in the cemetery.

Later in the century, civic-minded citizens laid out Fairview Cemetery, also on the outskirts in 1865 but on the opposite side of town. Lacking a site with natural variations in topography, the cemetery achieved a semblance of the desirable "rural" or "garden" look chiefly from the layout of curving roads and the survival of a few mature trees from the destruction of the Civil War. More successful was the desire to perpetuate in death the family structure people knew in life. Curbstone railings and corner posts mark private plots, the family's "home away from home," complete with a threshold stone bearing the surname and footstones designating Father, Mother, Brother, Aunt.[2] More subtle was the eternal preservation of lifetime segregation. From the manicured lawns of Fairview, the lane leads back to a Catholic section, and from there to a section for Blacks. Each has its separate entrance, while the markers become gradually less expensive and the grounds gradually less landscaped. Still, an air of peaceful resignation hangs over all three; the worst parts of the front and the best parts of the back are probably on a par. The combination tool shed and outhouse formerly relegated to the very back has disappeared.

Invisible ties of kinship link the Ford Family Cemetery, a private burial ground on the Barren River Road outside of Bowling Green, and a plot in Fairview Cemetery. In the Fairview plot lies Hugh F. Smith, a master stonecutter who died in 1897 at the age of 72. In the Ford Family Cemetery reposes his wife's uncle, James Ford, who died in 1861 at the same age. Ford died a wealthy man who had bequeathed a small fortune in property to his niece. His grave appears today as his will directed, "enclosed with a neat and substantial wall of cut stone with iron railing added thereto and a suitable tombstone or stones for my own grave corresponding with that of my late wife."[3] Smith, on the other hand, died a failed businessman, his name appearing frequently in court records that document his unattained ambitions and suggest a strained relationship with his partners, wife and daughter. His artistry as a stonecutter is evi-

dent throughout Fairview, but the master carver himself and his wife lie in unmarked graves.

Hugh Smith was born in neighboring Hart County in 1825. On the 1850 census he is listed as a stonecutter living in a hotel filled with sixteen other male workers: house joiners, stage drivers, miners, traders, a silversmith, a barkeeper, and two other stonecutters. Where he learned his trade or if he was in partnership with the other cutters is unknown. Possibly Smith lived an itinerant life in the early years of his career, traveling to wherever stone work was in demand. By 1853 he had settled in Warren County, purchasing two lots in town for $100.[4] Four years later we find Smith speculating in real estate when a lot in town passed through three owners in one day. Smith was the middleman and made fifty dollars in profit.[5] It was the first step of a long journey to advance his career from humble stonecutter to "enterprising citizen of Bowling-green," as he would be called nineteen years later.[6]

Kinship was the springboard to Smith's ambitions. In 1855 he married Louisa McMurray, presumed to be related to the family of Ann Shannon McMurray. Ann had two sisters, Mary (1779-1857) and Lydia (1792-1852). The elder sister married James Ford, a farmer eight years her junior who was one of the wealthiest men in the county in 1860 with $20,000 of real estate and $35,000 of personal property, including slaves.[7] In 1850, when Hugh Smith was living in the Hart County hotel, Ann McMurray lived in the neighboring house to her sister with three grown children. The ages recorded by the census taker are almost certainly incorrect, raising questions about the reliability of the names he wrote down. From other evidence we do know that Ann had a son Thomas (1819-1854) and daughter Lydia (1829-1878). The youngest child listed on the census is called Elizabeth, year of birth uncertain, who may have been the Louisa that Hugh Smith married.

How did a man like Smith come to be acquainted with a family so closely connected to one of the county's richest farmers? The only clue is the gravestone for Thomas McMurray, the earliest stone that can be attributed to Smith, carved the year before his marriage. The marker is a white limestone slab with a scroll top and flowers carved in relief within a recessed circle. Typical of the mid Victorian period, for Smith it was a

modest demonstration of his abilities. Only the high relief of the flowers and the fine quality of the carving suggest the character of his later and best work, dating from 1858 to 1868. His stones from that decade remind one of nineteenth-century calligraphy, capturing in three dimensions all the scrolls and flourishes that penmanship manuals of the period printed at the back of the book as the most advanced models for practice.

A typical stone from Smith's prime is a slab with a simple rounded top and bolection on the sides, creating a raised panel on the front (see Fig. 1). The text meanders in lines that purposefully rise and fall, forsaking anything as simple as a ruled straight edge but always beautifully balanced. The lettering is both incised and relief, the name almost always appearing in relief. The most striking characteristic is some sort of encapsulation for the names and dates (secondary text usually appears below in smaller letters formed in straight lines). These arches, ribbons, rectangles and other shapes terminate in charming flourishes that might be leaves, trumpets, fanfares or simply the whimsy of the carver. Short parallel lines give depth to the borders. While the style is distinctive and personal, unlike anything else in the area, Smith was clearly conversant with standard Victorian gravestone motifs. For children, a recessed circle at the top of the stone might carry a rosebud, lamb or angel (Fig. 1), while for adults he could produce Masonic emblems, Odd Fellows rings (Fig. 2) or flower wreaths. Like any good tradesman, he could also restrain his flamboyance to suit a customer's taste. In accordance with James Ford's will, the vault attributed to Smith is very plain, made to match the simplicity of his wife's monument, with only a Masonic compass for ornament.

Without detracting from Smith's innate talents, it must be noted that his choice of stone played a large part in his ability to carve that material as if it were soap, and also in the direction of his career. Warren County rests atop a deposit of high grade oolite limestone equal in quality, its promoters claimed, to the building stone used for St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Easily cut and shaped when first quarried, the stone hardened upon exposure and bleached to a whiteness almost as pure as that of marble. For durability and heat resistance it was unsurpassed, as testimonials from engineers and geologists readily asserted, and architects

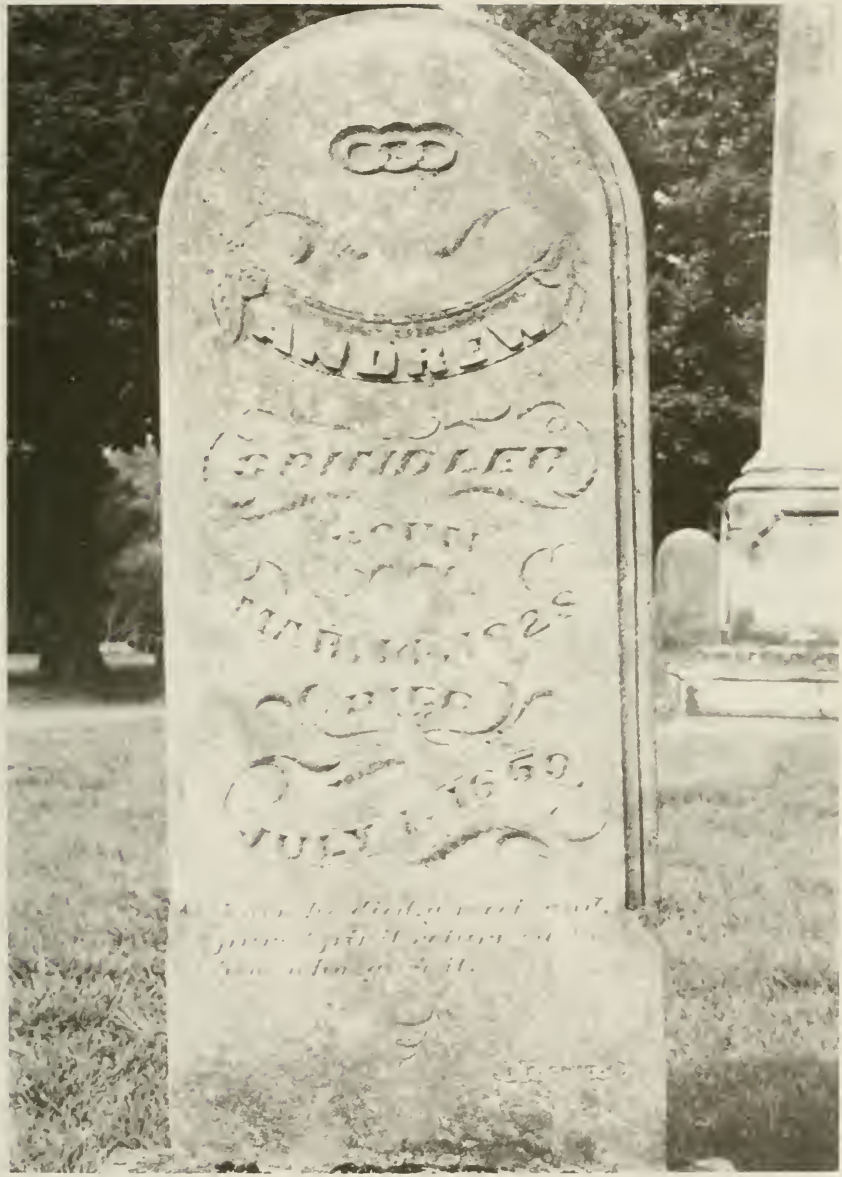

Fig. 2 Andrew Spindler stone, Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Spindler's epitaph reads: "When he died a meek and pure spirit returned to him who gave it." Smith's signature is in the lower right corner.

praised its ornamental quality.[8] A long series of owners, developers and companies worked the quarry, usually at a profit, from 1833 until 1930 (see Fig. 3).[9] When the quarry had been closed for about two years, one vein was reopened for a final order of stone work for the Kentucky Building, Western Kentucky University's museum, to be built entirely from materials native to the state (the building was completed in 1939). Despite having been worked for a century, the quarry produced four stone columns, each one a single piece measuring twenty-two feet.[10] Stone from the quarry was used for numerous buildings in Bowling Green, the governor's mansion in Frankfort, the Seelbach Hotel in

Fig. 3 Stone workers, White Stone Quarry, Bowling Green, Kentucky. In 1892, four years after Smith had sold the quarry, a group of stonecutters posed for the camera. The workers' interracial composition was also characteristic of the years when Smith held title to the quarry. On the 1880 census, 69 percent of the work force was Black, mostly men in their twenties. Photo courtesy The Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Louisville, Sacred Heart Church in Washington, D.C., Saint Thomas Cathedral in New York, the United States Custom House in Nashville, and many other enduring edifices across the country.[11]

Said to underlie the county a quarter of a square mile across with an average thickness of twenty-five feet, the most accessible outcropping of the limestone was on Ellis Knob, a hill five miles southwest of Bowling Green. A stonecutter named John Howarth was the first to use the stone, "in desultory fashion for the limited local uses of the town," according to the quarry's later promoters.[12] Howarth apparently purchased only that part of the site that contained the accessible stone, paying William Ellis twenty dollars in 1833.[13] At the next sale in 1857, from Howarth to Smith and a partner, William Carnes, the value of the property had risen to two hundred dollars, but no cash changed hands. Ready to retire at the age of 55, Howarth agreed to pay a debt to one Benjamin Sanders, a future partner of Smith. Smith and Carnes agreed to complete a lot of unfinished stone in Howarth's shop, allowing just compensation to themselves for the work. The balance was paid by J.G. Gerard "or to his order in stone work, at reasonable prices."[14] Gerard was the local cabinetmaker and undertaker. He provided nearly a full line of funeral services already, including the coffin, its hardware, the hearse, opening the grave, arranging for carriages and notices, shrouds and burial slippers, and refreshments.[15] The arrangement with Smith and Carnes now allowed him to provide gravemarkers as well.

In March, 1860, Carnes sold out his half interest in the quarry to Smith for $80.97.[16] Sometime before this, Smith had come into possession of his own marbleyard and shop in town. Here again kinship played a role. The land on which the shop stood had been owned by James Ford since 1853, though the deed clearly states that the shop and stone already there in 1860 belonged to Smith and a partner Benjamin C. Sanders. As we have seen, Smith's dealings with Sanders went back at least three years, when his acquisition of the quarry included provision for payment of a debt to Sanders. In January, 1860, Sanders sold to Smith his interest in a lot in town worth $2500.[17] In June, Smith and Sanders bought the marbleyard lot from Ford for $2750.[18] At the age of 35, Smith had advanced himself from a mere stonecutter to an entrepreneur. In

sole possession of the source of the finest stone in the area, he now also owned outright a prime piece of real estate for his shop and yard, on the northwest corner of the public square.

The following year Smith moved to consolidate his position through the bonds of kinship. In September, 1861 James Ford died. In his will drawn up in May he emancipated his slaves and provided for his grandchildren from his personal estate, his children apparently being deceased or out of favor. His largest bequest was to his wife's niece, Lydia Ann McMurray, named for Ford's wife's sister, who had been living in Ford's household at least since the 1860 census. Lydia inherited all of his "houses and lots and premises in the town of Bowling Green and on the Public Square," including a hotel and merchant tailor's shop. The assessed value of $20,000 in 1860 would be the equivalent of $300,444 in 1991. Only a month later, Hugh Smith and Lydia McMurray married, Smith's first wife presumably having died, divorced, or disappeared. Given the protracted mourning of the Victorian era, the haste of the marriage is almost unseemly. Unkind gossips might have hinted that Ford disapproved of the match, or that Smith pressed his advantage through the ties of his first marriage to woo an heiress so soon. A more favorable interpretation would be that the wedding had been planned well in advance of Ford's demise and the uncertainty caused by the outbreak of Civil War made delay unwelcome. The bride was 32, the groom 36. Three years later the couple had a daughter, named Sarah and called Sallie.

Up until the end of the war, Smith continued to produce gravestones in his usual elegantly ornate style, but his output dropped significantly as other business affairs began to take precedence. Having assumed the role of quarry owner, shop manager and husband of an heiress, perhaps he began to feel that actual production was no longer appropriate to his station. Instead, he turned his attention to developing the hotel property that his wife had inherited. In April, 1866, he applied to the Warren County Court and obtained a license to keep a tavern and hotel "with the privilege of retailing spirituous liquors."[19] In July, the account books of cabinetmaker J.C. Gerard show orders for numerous chairs, bedsteads, washstands, safes and other articles of furniture totalling $249.

To secure capital for this new venture, the following month Smith sold the town lot he had acquired from Sanders for $2555.[20] By September, Smith further distanced himself from hands-on stonecutting by selling all of the stone and marble at his shop to a new set of partners, McBride & McCormack, who are called joint but unequal owners in the deed. Smith additionally agreed to rent the shop and stoneyard to them for $250 per year for five years.[21] Smith's earlier partner Sanders apparently retained his interest in the yard. Shrewdly, Smith held on to the stone's source and in fact expanded his holdings at the quarry. Sometime prior to 1869, Smith and Sanders bought an additional 155 acres adjacent to Ellis Knob known as the Loving quarry, Smith holding a one-third interest and Sanders two-thirds.

From this point on, whenever Hugh Smith transacted business that was noted in the county records, his wife's name also appears. In the early years of the nineteenth century, common law dictated that all of a woman's land, leases, debts, bonds, furniture or slaves became the property of her husband at the time of her marriage. Fortunately for Lydia, laws passed in Kentucky in 1846 afforded some protection for the considerable estate she brought to her marriage, excluding it from the collection of any debts her husband incurred. However, an antebellum case that ended in the state supreme court had set a precedent for married women regarding tripartite deeds. As long as the husband used no coercion, husbands and wives could transfer property to a third party with the design that it would transfer back to the husband. Without explicit language in the deeds regarding Lydia's intents and desires to the contrary, Lydia might have been in jeopardy of losing her estate. Not until 1894, after Lydia had died, did the law allow wives to procure and dispose of property as if they were still single women.[22]

Presumably to protect her interests, such a trade is described in detail between the Smiths and Rev. John South in March, 1867.[23] From South, the Smiths received a farm of 63 acres about three miles west of Bowling Green on which they already resided, with the deed in Lydia's name. From Lydia Smith, South received a lot in town, part of her inheritance. It was agreed between husband and wife that if the farm should be sold, the proceeds would go to Hugh provided that he convey to Lydia half

interest in his other property, the marbleworks leased to McBride & McCormack and the quarries. Two years later the farm was sold and the stipulations of the deed came to pass. Lydia received half interest in the marble yard and became the lease holder (the partnership now down to McBride alone). More significantly in terms of its potential value, Lydia received the original Ellis Knob quarry and Hugh's one-third interest in the Loving quarry. In fact, the value of the property conveyed was $1200 more than the farm was worth. In compensation, Lydia transferred to Hugh alone the income of one year's rent from the hotel.[24]

On a city map dating from 1877, the name H.F. Smith appears on the marbleyard and the hotel. Even though his business affairs had broadened, Smith (with a new partner, Broeg) continued to call himself a stonecutter in the Bowling Green city directory of the previous year. Only one other stonecutter is listed in the directory, Jno. L. Stout. Sanders had retained his interest in the quarry, but what happened to Smith's numerous partners to that time (Carnes, McBride & McCormack, and unnamed apprentices) is unknown. None appears to have been a serious competitor. Smith had evidently earned a reputation in the antebellum years for producing fashionable work that customers still found desirable even though his attention increasingly turned to the managerial role. In at least two instances, clients requested rival carvers to create stones for their family plots to match markers made earlier by Smith.[25] The climax of his stonecutting career must have been the commission for the Confederate Memorial erected in 1876, a southern town's idea of a fitting way to celebrate the national Centennial. A white stone plaque on one side of this granite obelisk in Fairview Cemetery depicts a scene based on a painting called "The Soldier's Return" and shows a desolate figure with bowed head leaning upon his rifle next to the ruins of an abandoned cabin (Fig. 4). Undoubtedly made of stone taken from Smith's quarry, for few other materials would permit such detail, the plaque is signed by Smith & Broeg.

Smith's primary professional interest as a stonecutter from the late 1860s on, however, was the quarry itself, known locally as the White Stone Quarry. The stone's advantages for beauty and strength were more than offset by the difficulties inherent in transporting it. In the

absence of a railroad spur to the quarry, contractors building the town's new courthouse in 1868 had to haul stone from the quarry by oxcart. Three times the carts carrying massive stone columns mired or broke down, leaving no alternative but to abandon them and cut replacements.[26] Recognizing that profits would continue to fall by the wayside until the quarry was properly developed, the Smiths and B.C. Sanders in 1870 leased the property to Owen Macdonald & Company (and its numerous successors) for thirty years, stipulating that a track to remove the stone must be built within three years. Anticipating a goldmine from their limestone, the Smiths further required in the deed that they receive one dollar for every car load of stone removed from the quarry.[27]

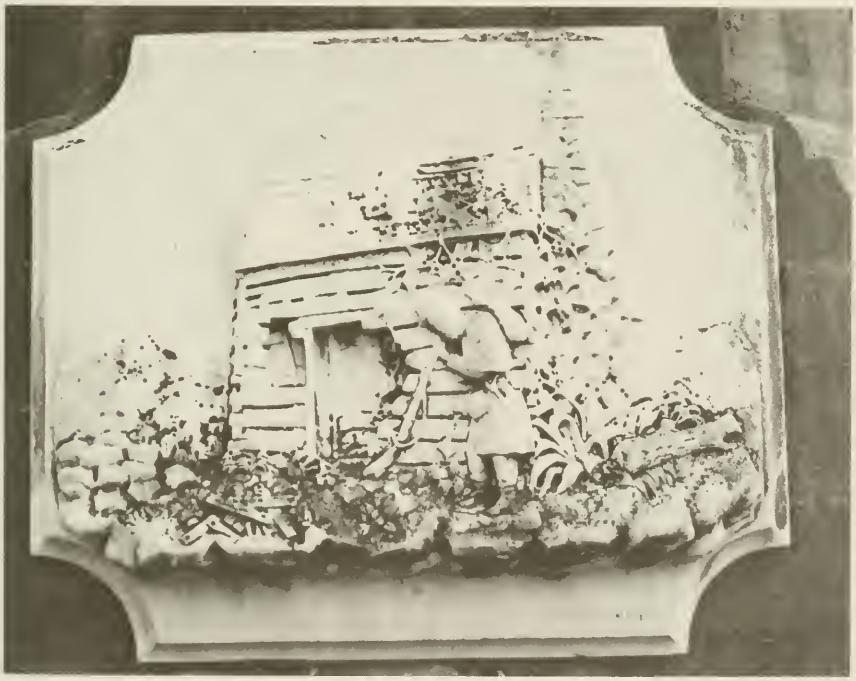

Fig. 4 The Soldier's Return, Confederate Memorial, Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Among the first memorials erected in the South to commemorate the Confederate dead, Bowling Green's monument was dedicated May 3, 1876, with a crowd of 12,000-15,000 people in attendance. Popular subscriptions raised $1,500 to pay for it. An estimated 312 graves surround the monument.

Although the spur was not completed until 1872, the Smiths very soon began to use the property as collateral to secure a series of notes: $1581 in 1871, $1200 in 1872, $800 in 1873, and $999 in 1875. By then they had taken three mortgages on the quarry for loans totalling $2600. Their ability to borrow against the quarry's profits speaks well for the stone's qualities and the confidence it inspired in local lenders. But it also raises questions about Hugh Smith's abilities as a businessman, and whether Lydia Smith was a willing partner in their growing debt.

Hugh's career came to a crisis in 1877 when the Smiths were defendants in a law suit brought against them by Kentucky Masonic Mutual Life Insurance Company. The Smiths lost and the court ordered the marbleyard and hotel sold to the company for $10,068 (equivalent to $127,214 in 1991 dollars).[28] The cause of the dispute is unknown, but the outcome was the loss of Lydia's inheritance. All that remained was the title she held to the quarries, heavily mortgaged. A year later Lydia was dead at the age of 49, of heart disease according to Gerard's undertaking accounts. Hugh paid $25 for her funeral and buried her "in the country," presumably in the Ford Family Cemetery. Left a widower with a fourteen year old daughter, Smith also lost his longtime partner, Benjamin Sanders. Again for reasons unknown, Sanders chose to cut Smith out when he sold his two-thirds interest in the Loving quarry to McElwain and Feland.[29]

Was it bad luck or poor judgment that caused Smith's failure? In some respects his business career followed a common progression in nineteenth-century America. Many another would-be capitalist labored hard and risked much to climb from the working class, and like Smith they also began without cash. Instead they swapped old debts, assumed unfinished deals, negotiated partnership networks and borrowed on future credit to build up a business from scratch. In the best Horatio Alger tradition, many also got their first break by marrying the wealthy boss's niece or daughter. Certainly when Smith first began to develop the White Stone Quarry, everything seemed to favor success. Immigrant and Black labor was cheap and plentiful, the railroad had connected Bowling Green to Louisville and Nashville in 1859 and to the national rail system by 1870, and towns and cities throughout the south needed a

good supply of stone to rebuild from war's destruction. What were Smith's reasons for needing to borrow so heavily against future profit? Was he overly generous? On at least two occasions, the Gerard account books indicate Smith purchased coffins for children not his own, though his relationship with the parents is unclear.[30] Was he a spendthrift or perhaps a drinker? One tantalizing clue comes from his burial certificate, which lists "paresis" as the cause of death. One definition of this condition is a general paralysis caused by a stroke. But it can also be a disease of the brain caused by syphilis of the central nervous system and characterized by inflammation of the brain linings, paralytic attacks, and mental and emotional instability. Whatever the reasons, the debt he accumulated immediately after leasing the quarries left him extremely vulnerable to the national economic depression of 1873.

Court records paint a bleak picture of Smith after losing the lawsuit, only 52 at the time of his downfall. Lydia Smith apparently died intestate, but the remnants of her estate did not automatically go to Hugh. In 1882, when his daughter Sallie reached the age of 18, all interest, right and title to the quarries passed to her together with the power to institute an investigation through her guardian into the companies operating the quarries and collect any money owed her. The reference to a guardian when her father was still living suggests incompetence on Hugh's part as well as a strained relationship between father and child. A damning preamble implies the cause:

> and whereas [Hugh F. Smith] during the lifetime of the said Lydia A. Smith his wife used and appropriated a large sum of money and considerable other property belonging to his said wife and which would have passed to and belonged to [Sallie M. Smith] at her mother's death had the money and property remained unappropriated and on hand...[31]

Three years later Sallie purchased an additional one-third interest in the Loving quarry from McElwain, perpetuating the bypass around her father that began when Sanders sold the interest to McElwain in 1878.[32] In November, 1885 she set up a trust fund for her father that effectively relieved her of further filial responsibility. Hugh was to receive one-third of the rent from the White Stone Quarry lease, to be administered by one W.A. Cooke. Having ensured "board, comforts and clothing" for her

father for the rest of his lifetime, Sallie married a doctor, J.L. Johnson, a few days later.[33]

In 1886, the only other year in the nineteenth century from which a Bowling Green city directory survives, Jno. L. Stout is listed as the town's sole stonecutter. Smith's name does not appear at all. The last stone that he signed had been carved five years earlier for C.P. Snell, a co-signer on one of two notes Smith had taken against the quarry lease in 1871. Snell's name appears in the usual raised letters on a rectangular border but the rest of the text is done in ordinary script in straight lines, a striking departure from Smith's graceful curves and embellishments. Quite possibly the stone did not come from the White Stone Quarry, as it shows more deterioration than any of his earlier work. Also unusual is the weeping willow tree within a recessed frame, an old-fashioned motif for 1881. In sum, it is a stone that hardly qualifies as a prize example of then current gravestone fashion. The more difficult stone and the lack of practice (before Snell, the last stone signed by Smith was the Confederate Memorial five years earlier) might account for the absence of his usual ornate carving. But knowing his history, it is tempting to picture Smith as a weary man, no longer up-to-date with his profession, called out of semi-retirement for the sad task of carving a friend's final tribute.

Smith appears in the deed books only a few more times. In 1888 he received $80 to drop his claims "as the husband of Lydia A. Smith deceased" on the old hotel property, apparently the only obstacle that prevented the owners from selling it for $7000 a few weeks later.[34] Later that year, Smith is named with Dr. Johnson and his wife as one of the quarry's sellers, although his rights to the quarry were probably as groundless as his claim to the hotel. The sale was for $9500, but there is no mention of how the money was divided.[35] Twenty days later, since the source of Hugh's trust income was now sold, Smith received $450 from Sallie and in return released his daughter and son-in-law "from all liability by reason of said deed or otherwise."[36] His final appearance in a public record until his death was a listing in the roster of the "Commercial Club," a booster-type organization that published a booklet promoting Bowling Green about 1893.

Hugh F. Smith died August 16, 1897. His son-in-law the doctor

signed the death certificate. Despite the evidence of family estrangement, the bonds of kinship were compelling. Whether motivated by guilt, a sense of duty, or possibly even a reconciliation, the Johnsons paid $62.25 for a modest funeral. There were four carriages in attendance. Two weeks later Lydia's remains were moved from the country cemetery to Fairview. Dr. Johnson died at the age of 43 in 1904. Sallie Smith Johnson died in 1949 at the age of 85. She had outlived her husband by 45 years and supported herself as a seamstress after his death.

Smith's only child died without issue, leaving him without an heir. When the last of the line has gone, acrimonies and ambitions also die, but so too does the family's memory. Not even gravestones remain for Hugh and Lydia, and, ironically, their unmarked graves lie less than fifty feet from a grand granite monument erected for Smith's chief competitor, Jno. L. Stout. To find the legacy of Hugh F. Smith, one must look for the stones scattered around his final resting place with the calligraphic scrolls and flourishes, the exuberant carving of a talented man in his prime, monuments to a stonecutter's ambition.

NOTES

With the exception of Figure 3, the photos found in this essay are by the author.

1. Baird, Crowe-Carraco and Morse, *Bowling Green: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk, Va., 1983), 11-13.

2. Kenneth L. Ames, "Ideologies in Stone: Meanings in Victorian Gravestones," *Journal of Popular Culture* 14:4 (1981), 641-56.

3. Warren County Will Book D, 14 May 1861, 315.

4. Warren County Deed Book 24, Townsend and Sill to H.F. Smith, 20 Aug. 1853, 581.

5. Warren County Deed Book 27, Grider to Sulser, 206; Book 27, Sulser to Smith, 212; Book 27, Smith to Webb, 122. All dated 7 Feb. 1857.

6. *Description of the White Stone of Bowlinggreen, Ky.* (Louisville, Ky., 1872), 5. Fourteen page company promotional booklet.

7. The value of Ford's real and personal property put him in the top seven percent of Warren County's population in 1860. See *The Diary of Josephine Calvert* (The Kentucky Museum: Bowling Green, KY 1983), 8.

8. *Description of the White Stone of Bowlinggreen, Ky.*, 6-9; 12-14.

9. Christy Leigh Spurlock, "The White Stone Quarry of Bowling Green, Kentucky," (1984). Unpublished paper, original located at the Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green.

10. *Ibid.*, 39-42.

11. Charles Henry Richardson, *Building Stones of Kentucky* (Frankfort, Ky., 1923).

12. *Description of the White Stone of Bowlinggreen, Ky.*, 5.

13. Warren County Deed Book 15, William Ellis to John Howarth, 27 Nov. 1833, 289.

14. Warren County Deed Book 27, Howarth to Smith and Carnes, 6 April 1857, 195.

15. Gerard Account Books, originals located at the Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green.

16. Warren County Deed Book 28, Carnes to Smith, 5 March 1860, 520.

17. Warren County Deed Book 32, Smith and Sanders to Cook, 29 Aug. 1866, 203. The deed recording the sale from Sanders to Smith is described as "lost or mislaid;" without the deed, Sanders' name needed to be included in the subsequent sale.

18. Warren County Deed Book 28, Ford to Sanders and Smith, 9 June 1860, 603.

19. Warren County Order Book K, 217.

20. Warren County Deed Book 32, Smith and Sanders to Cook, 29 Aug. 1866, 203.

21. Warren County Deed Book 32, contract and mortgage between Smith and McBride & McCormack, 18 Sept. 1866, 228.

22. For information on married women's property rights during this period the author is indebted to correspondence with Andrea S. Ramage, University of Kentucky (February, 1993).

23. Warren County Deed Book 33, Smith to South, 6 March 1867, 242.

24. Warren County Deed Book 34, Smith to Smith, 1 Jan. 1869, 341.

25. The stones signed by Smith are for John Hess (1859) and C.P. Snell (1881). The matching stones were made for their widows in 1876 and 1894 respectively. Both pairs of stones are in Fairview Cemetery.

26. Spurlock, 2-3.

27. Warren Count Deed Book 35, Smith and Sanders to Owen Macdonald & Co., 22 Jan. 1870, 439-41.

28. Warren County Deed Book 47, Smiths to Kentucky Masonic Mutual Life Insurance Co., 24 July 1877, 512.

29. Warren County Deed Book 52, Sanders to McElwain and Feland, 2 Nov. 1878, 419.

30. In 1873 Smith paid $15 for the coffin and burial of William Hardin's daughter. In 1876 he paid $3.00 for the coffin of a "negro child," no parents named. Gerard Account Books, Kentucky Library.

31. Warren County Deed Book 54, Hugh Smith to Sallie Smith, 10 Mar. 1882, 466.

32. Warren County Deed Book 60, McElwain to Smith, 28 Feb. 1885, 470.

33. Warren County Deed Book 61, Smith to Smith, 18 Nov. 1885, 193.

34. Warren County Deed Book, Smith to Eubank and Mitchell, 8 Jan. 1888, 321.

35. Warren County Deed Book 66, Johnson and Johnson and Smith to Belknap and Dumesnil Stone Co., 8 Aug. 1888, 398.

36. Warren County Deed Book 66, Johnsons to Smith, 28 Aug. 1888, 439.

Fig. 1 Sign for Clatsop Plains Pioneer Presbyterian Church, near Warrenton, Oregon.

'AND WHO HAVE SEEN THE WILDERNESS': THE END OF THE TRAIL ON EARLY OREGON GRAVEMARKERS

Richard E. Meyer

> I wait in the wagon, weaker than some at the present.
> Others are waiting: the old ones, the children,
> beside the rutted trail: chalked stones for markers...[1]

The poet and essayist T.S. Eliot, in his *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, reminds us that "Even the humblest material artifact, which is the product and symbol of a particular civilization, is an emissary of the culture out of which it comes."[2] Those in the habit of frequenting old cemeteries constantly encounter the visible proofs of Eliot's dictum: their hearts, like mine, stir with anticipation each time they prepare to enter one of these sites for the first time, for they know from past experiences the richness and variety of the voices from the past they are about to hear. These emissaries patiently wait in all corners of the United States, as indeed throughout the world. I first learned to heed their messages in my home state of Oregon, at the end of the long trail which brought the pioneers.

Today's Pacific Northwest, an area encompassing the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, in addition to portions of northern California, western Montana and Wyoming, and southern British Columbia, was, prior to the middle years of the nineteenth century, most often known simply as "The Oregon Country." This vast segment of the North American continent presents a rich and varied history which has involved the fortunes of no less than half a dozen nations. Certainly a pivotal event in Pacific Northwest history, however, and the one which was eventually to bring a major segment of this territory under the permanent control of the United States, was the initial emigration of thousands of people from the southern, eastern, and midwestern sectors of the country to the large and immensely fertile Willamette Valley region which lies between two mountain ranges in the western portion of the present state of Oregon.

This process, which spanned an almost fifty-year period but saw its greatest concentration in the decades of the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, had always at its heart the lure of free and abundant agricultural land, though it was spurred considerably in the 1850s and 1860s by a series of rich gold strikes in southern and eastern Oregon, as well as in adjacent portions of Idaho, Washington, and California. The men, women, and children who took part in this vast enterprise (today there is a tendency to prefer the somewhat romanticized term "pioneers," though in their own time they most frequently referred to themselves as simply "emigrants") were beyond question a most hardy and resourceful lot, and their deeds, real as well as imaginary, have become a significant part of the American mythology.[3]

For a variety of reasons, many of which seem quite justified in terms of both dates and geography, Oregonians have traditionally considered their state to have been the physical and spiritual heart of Pacific Northwest pioneer settlement. Their pride in and ready identification with this phenomenon, manifested in a variety of expressive forms ranging from frequent and recurring "Pioneer Days" type festivals and reenactments of significant events in early settlement history to the recent statement by a political aspirant that "a new generation of pioneers" was needed to lead the state into the twenty-first century, might seem at times to reach almost obsessive levels and, in any event, are quite apparent to any contemporary observer.

What other state, for instance, can claim an official, legislatively decreed Pioneer Mother, to take her place amidst the usual assortment of state birds, trees, flowers, and anthems? Perhaps even more striking are the many visual reminders, both permanent and ephemeral, of the pioneer experience which dot the cultural landscape. High atop the rotunda of the state capitol in Salem stands a huge gilded statue of the Oregon Pioneer, while eternally facing each other across a quadrangle at the University of Oregon in Eugene sit the stony-faced effigies of the Pioneer Mother and Pioneer Father. Cities and towns incorporate dramatic visual symbols of the pioneer experience into their signs, as do museums and historically significant sites and buildings (Fig. 1), but the phenomenon penetrates to other, more mundane levels as well (Fig. 2), dominat-

ing the names and logos of countless pizza parlors, motels, hair salons, and other small businesses.

These are largely contemporary artifacts, demonstrating the ongoing vitality of the pioneering metaphor in the imagination of today's Orego-

Fig. 2 Pioneer Motel, Pendleton, Oregon.

nians. But what of an earlier time, one in which the *actual* pioneer experience lived within the memories of those who participated in it? Did these early Oregonians also find avenues of material expression to proclaim the significance of their accomplishments, and are these artifacts still present and visible today? Fortunately, the answer in both cases is yes. Cemeteries, as more than one commentator has noted, are remarkable indicators of the dominant cultural values at work in the societies which produce them.[4] T.S. Eliot, it seems, was correct.

And so it was that when I first became interested in Oregon's pioneer cemeteries a number of years ago it was largely with the intention of testing the thesis that I would find mirrored within them a verbal and visual emphasis upon the pioneer experience which, almost from the beginning of the settlement period, was coalescing to form a significant part of the region's collective self-concept. The present essay, based upon archival research and fieldwork in some six hundred of Oregon's pioneer cemeteries, is an effort to validate not only this limited thesis, but also, by extension, the assertion once made by folklorist Barre Toelken that "In Oregon, as in any other state ... we should be able to find clusters of folk art that fairly represent the response of those folk groups to the life they lived and continue to live ..."[5]

Death was a dominant part of the Oregon pioneer experience from the onset. Vast numbers never survived the emigration process itself and received lonely burials at sea or, as was far more frequently the case, in unmarked graves along the Oregon Trail.[6] Hardships, constant danger, and disasters of every sort beset the emigrants, with disease the greatest terror of all. In 1852 alone, the so-called "cholera year" on the Oregon Trail, whole wagon trains were wiped out by the disease and left to rot along the way. The journal of the noted women's rights leader Abigail (Scott) Duniway, who as a child crossed the plains with her family in that memorable year of 1852, grimly catalogs the number of new graves encountered with each day's passage,[7] and Joaquin Miller, an early Oregon journalist and poet who made the overland crossing in that same year, later remembered the Oregon Trail as the place where "... brown'd and russet grasses wave / Along a thousand leagues that lie one common grave."[8] Years later, in a speech delivered at the 1905 Lewis and

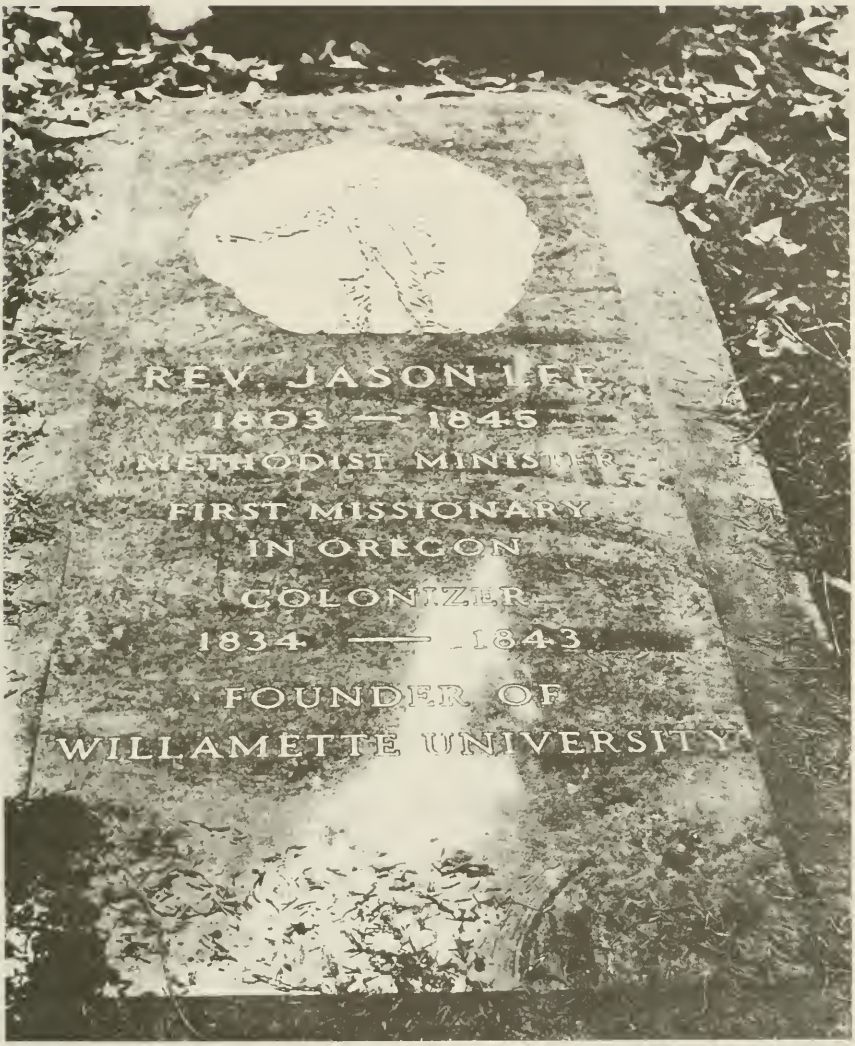

Fig. 3 Modern replacement marker for Rev. Jason Lee (d. 1845), pioneer missionary. Lee Mission Cemetery, Salem, Oregon. The cemetery was established in 1838, following abandonment of the first settlement at Mission Bottom, along the banks of the Willamette River north of Salem.

Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon, Miller would once again evoke that same chilling image. "It is a sad story," he told his listeners. "There was but one graveyard that hot, dusty, dreadful year of 1852, and that graveyard reached from the Missouri to the Columbia."[9]

As if the rigors of the trail were not severe enough in and of themselves, a number of those who managed to survive the longest portions of the journey would, ironically, die within sight of their objective. Such was the case for forty-four-year old William T. Hines, whose family, having come so far together, chose not to leave him along the trail near the present-day Idaho/Oregon border, but rather carried him onward to receive proper burial at their ultimate destination in the Willamette Valley. His marker, which stands in the Pike Cemetery (also known as the IOOF Cemetery), near Yamhill, Oregon, notes simply that he "Died at

Fig. 4 Entrance gate to Missouri Flat Cemetery, Jackson County, Oregon. The cemetery remains, though the early mining community of Missouri Flat has long since disappeared.

Emigrant Crossing, Snake River, Aug. 7, 1847."

The early years in the Oregon country were likewise ones of constant hardship, danger, and imminent death. Burials at first were often hap-

Fig. 5 Ascending angel motif. Stone of Eliza Viola Smith (d. 1870). Masonic Cemetery, Albany, Oregon.

hazard and isolated: certain of these sites are still readily identifiable, and there are moreover a surprisingly large number of geographic features in the state bearing such descriptive names as Grave Creek, Deadman Canyon, and Tombstone Prairie.[10] But with the exception of the two Willamette Valley cemeteries established in the late 1830s in conjunction with Oregon's first missions – the Methodist (1834) near Salem (see Fig. 3) and the Catholic (1839) at St. Paul – organized cemeteries as such do not begin to appear in the area comprising the present state of Oregon until the mid- to late 1840s, coincident with the increasing waves of emigration. Most of these early examples were private family cemeteries, and while many of them have remained such until the present day, others evolved into larger community cemeteries under the control of fraternal organizations, churches, or local governmental units.

Typical in many respects of such evolution is the case of Salem's Pioneer Cemetery, one of the most beautiful and historically significant early cemeteries in the state. Originating as a private family plot in 1841, when the Rev. David Leslie found it necessary to bury his first wife, the site was expanded both spatially and functionally in 1854, at which time it was acquired by the local lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF). After some one hundred years of sporadic maintenance by the Odd Fellows, it was eventually passed on to county and, finally, city control, where it remains today with the assistance of a dedicated and highly active "Friends" organization. Similar processes have resulted in the fortunate preservation of particularly important early cemeteries in Portland, Oregon City, Albany, and Jacksonville, and, with the formation in 1991 of the Oregon Historic Cemeteries Association (whose motto, excerpted from the well known gravestone inscription, is "Not Forgotten"), one hopes the list will continue to expand.

Still, not all pioneer cemeteries in Oregon have fared as well as those cited above. Many lie in a virtual state of ruins, victims of the same diseases – neglect, vandalism, weathering, rampaging animals, and airborne pollution – which inevitably seem to plague old burial grounds in all regions of the country. In a number of instances, one of these sites might be the last tangible reminder that a community once existed in a certain area (see Fig. 4), and, regrettably, sometimes even these have dis-

appeared from the cultural landscape. Despite all this, there are well over one thousand of these pioneer cemeteries whose existence is still known in Oregon today, ranging in size from tiny to quite extensive and

Fig. 6 Marker for a pioneer blacksmith. Stone of John A Buford (d. 1899). Emanuel Cemetery, near Cornelius, Oregon.

encompassing all geographic localities of the state.[11] And, most importantly, they still contain an amazing array of artifacts which speak eloquently and forcefully of the hopes, fears, and values of those who

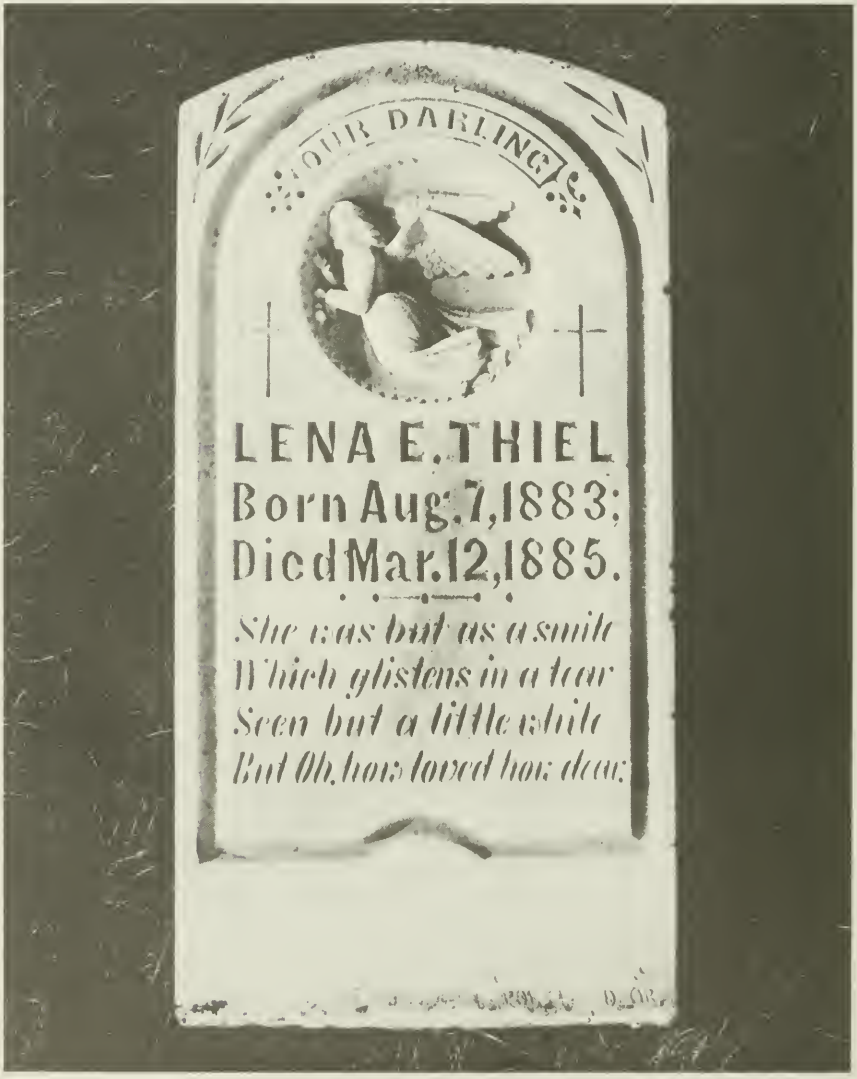

Fig. 7 Child-specific epitaph. Stone of Lena E. Thiel (d. 1885). Sacred Heart Cemetery, near Gervais, Oregon.

caused them to be erected.

If one were to attempt to summarize the essential character of Oregon's pioneer cemeteries, an immediate and readily apparent observation would be that they fall quite clearly within the general framework of the Victorian cemetery movement – a phenomenon distinguished by progressively elaborate treatments of both the monumental and landscape features of cemeteries – as seen in the more settled eastern portions of the United States. This is demonstrated in a number of ways, including the frequent adoption of the more popular visual elements of Victorian gravestone iconography. Present everywhere are the ubiquitous clasped hands and weeping willow motifs. Readily apparent as well are numerous instances of ascending angels (Figs. 5 and 7) and fingers pointing to heaven, but two of the more blatantly obvious of the varied resurrections symbols popular during this period. Balancing these are the many equally popular variants of mortality symbolism – shattered pillars, severed chain links, and broken flower stems, all serving to denote a life cut off before its time – as well as repeated instances of those specialized motifs of child death, the dove and the lamb. A host of other symbolic devices complete the picture, including fraternal insignia of all sorts and, upon occasion, some striking examples of occupational imagery (Fig. 6).

Epitaphs – at least the more elaborate, poetic examples – tend most frequently to be those found in the popular sample books available to many marble carvers during this period, perhaps the most commonly observed being variants upon this favorite:

> Shed not for me the bitter tear,
> Nor give thy heart to vain regret;
> 'Tis but the casket that lies here,
> The gem that filled it sparkles yet.

Or this touching quatrain (Fig. 7) often found on the stones of children:

> She was but as a smile
> Which glistens in a tear;
> Seen but a little while,
> But, oh, how loved, how dear.

Other shared elements of the Victorian cemetery movement readily observable in Oregon's pioneer cemeteries include such factors as a trend toward increasingly more elaborate and sometimes personalized monumentation (e.g., Fig. 8) as the century wears on and a growing

Fig. 8 Portrait stone of James B. (d. 1889) and Elizabeth (d. 1887) Stephens. Lone Fir Cemetery, Portland, Oregon.

emphasis upon the family plot as the primary spatial concept within the cemetery proper (Fig. 9).

All of this emulation should come as no great surprise, however, for although Oregon during this period was definitely a frontier region, these recent settlers did not by any means relish the primitive conditions under which they were often forced to live. Rather, it was the fond desire of most of them to convert as quickly as possible this social as well as physical wilderness into a reasonable facsimile of the civilized portions of the country, and thus they were in many instances eager to embrace the current fashions of mid- to late-nineteenth century America, including those pertaining to cemeteries and gravemarkers. This would explain, among other things, the early appearance and rapid spread of stonecarving establishments in principal towns and cities – Eugene, Corvallis, Albany, Salem, Oregon City, Portland – along the south-north flow of the Willamette River (Fig. 10).[12] By the 1870s, the products of

Fig. 9 Ish family plot. Jacksonville Cemetery, Jacksonville, Oregon.

WILLIAM STAIGER

DEALER IN

Foreign and American

MARBLE MONUMENTS,

HEAD STONES

Mantels, Fountains,

ETC. ETC.

Scotch & California Granite Monuments,

IMPORTED ITALIAN MONUMENTS,

TABLETS AND STATUARY.

Furnished to Order at the Lowest Possible Rates.

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Fig. 10 Advertisement for marble carver, Salem (Oregon) City Directory, 1873. By the time this notice appeared, William Staiger had been carving local gravestones for several years.

local carvers were also being erected in cemeteries in southern and eastern Oregon (Fig. 11).

And yet, if in one sense Oregon's pioneer cemeteries reflect the styles and customs of the Victorian cemetery movement in general, in another they have their own unique flavor, stemming largely from their insistent and highly visible emphasis upon the pioneer experience itself. Nor is this the paradox it might at first appear, for while longing for the secure and settled conditions of mainstream America, these hardy settlers seem to have been acutely aware, as indeed are many of their descendants today, of the great and enduring significance of their accomplishments.

There are two primary means by which the pioneering experience is manifested in Oregon's early cemeteries. The first of these involves a careful chronicling of the hazards of daily life on the frontier, which, as

Fig. 11 Exterior of Jacksonville Marble Works, Jacksonville, Oregon, ca. 1880s. Stones signed by J.C. Whipp (pictured in center, next to tall marble monument) may be found in cemeteries throughout southern Oregon. Photo courtesy Southern Oregon Historical Society.

might be imagined, took many forms in this frequently hostile environment. If disease was a scourge on the overland (or sea) journey, it certainly remained so once the settlers arrived in the Oregon Country, and the actual progress of epidemics over space and time can often be charted by the evidence cited in the stone records of these early burial grounds. Typhoid and smallpox are amongst the most frequently listed causes of death in all age groups, while the particularly devastating effects of such diseases as scarlet fever and diphtheria among children are grimly reflected in the numerous instances of multiple-child headstones found in pioneer cemeteries (Fig. 12), upon occasion listing as many as six children in one family dying within a period of several months. A particularly sober reminder of the high incidence of child death during this period may be found in the old Sterlingville, Oregon, Cemetery[13]: here, upon a single marble obelisk, are listed the dates of ten children of Joseph B. and Mary E. Saltmarsh, all of whom died before reaching their tenth birthday in a period stretching from 1856 to 1878.

The long and often bitter struggles between settlers and native populations are prominently recorded upon white (i.e., Anglo-American) pioneer gravemarkers scattered throughout the state. Near the coastal town of Gold Beach, a frequently-visited marker (now actually part of a state park) proclaims that it is "Sacred to the memory of John Geisel / Also his three sons, John, Henry, & Andrew / Who were massacred by the Indians / Feb. 22, A.D. 1856 / Aged respectively 45, 9, 7, & 5 years." In the Jacksonville Cemetery in southern Oregon a similar vein is struck in the memorial to "William Boddy & Sons / Murdered by the Modoc Indians / November 29, 1872." This "Killed by Indians" theme is likewise echoed on a number of markers erected in the Olney Cemetery, Pendleton, Oregon, in memory of white settlers who died in eastern Oregon's 1878 Bannock-Paiute War.[14] And there are many more. By way of contrast, however, it is perhaps worth noting that I have yet to see a marker expressing sentiments of a similarly vituperative nature in any of Oregon's Native American cemeteries dating from this same period.

One of the most frequent causes of death cited on Oregon pioneer gravemarkers is drowning, a reminder of the perils of navigating the major rivers of this territory in the nineteenth century. Two of the more

spectacular examples – both testimonials to the skills of certain gravestone carvers in early Oregon – actually provide graphically explicit visual representations of the incidents in question. The stone of Captain

Fig. 12 Hartless children stone (all d. 1854). Mount Union Cemetery, near Corvallis, Oregon.

Robert B. Randall, located in the Pioneer Memorial Cemetery in Umatilla, Oregon, not only tells us that he "Drowned in the rapids near Umatilla, Ogn., March 7, 1875," but also vividly depicts him and his boat approaching this formerly dangerous stretch of white water near the confluence of the Umatilla and Columbia Rivers. And in Portland's historic Lone Fir Cemetery may be found the unique stone of Frederic Roeder (Fig. 13), whose death by drowning on June 19, 1887, is dramatically represented by the depiction of high waves, his boat, and his hands sinking below the surface of the water.

The perils of certain occupations in a frontier region are amply documented as well. This is particularly evident with regard to those involved in various forms of transportation, as, for example, the case of Captain Frederick K. Morse, whose marker in the old Milwaukie Cemetery notes that he was "Killed on Christmas Day 1850 by explosion of a cannon while celebrating the launching of the Lot Whitcomb at Milwaukie, Oregon, the first steam boat built on the Pacific Coast."[15] A marker for Asher F. Wall (Fig. 14), a stagecoach driver, erected in Roseburg's pioneer cemetery by his fellow employees of the C.S.O. (California and Southern Oregon) Stage Company, displays a handsome set of stage driver's whips along with the simple explanation that he "Died in the discharge of his duty, Dec. 17, 1874." Less decorative in design but more to the point descriptively is the stone located in the old Canyonville cemetery which declares that it is "Sacred to the memory of Robert E. Lee Roberts, who died on duty as fireman in the wreck of the O. & C. R.R. Train in Rock Cut, Cow Creek Canyon, Or., Jan 1, 1888."[16]

Other occupational hazards are recorded in these early cemeteries as well. What might well be the earliest extant marker for a logger in the Pacific Northwest, that of William F. Laymen in the Brownsville Pioneer Cemetery, utilizes language which almost seems to suggest a bizarre sort of anti-advertisement when it proclaims that he was "Killed by falling from a tree while working for J. Larkin, Nov. 3, 1880."[17] And a reminder that Oregon was indeed a part of the "Wild West" is provided by the stone in the IOOF Cemetery at The Dalles erected "In memory of Charles Keeler, born in Baden Gy, and murdered while in discharge of his duty as city marshall Sept. 5, 1867."

The sort of frontier violence captured on the Keeler stone is echoed on markers throughout the state. A quarrel with an acquaintance on the streets of frontier Scio led to twenty-nine-year-old James A. Young's burial in nearby Pleasant Grove Cemetery, where the inscription on his

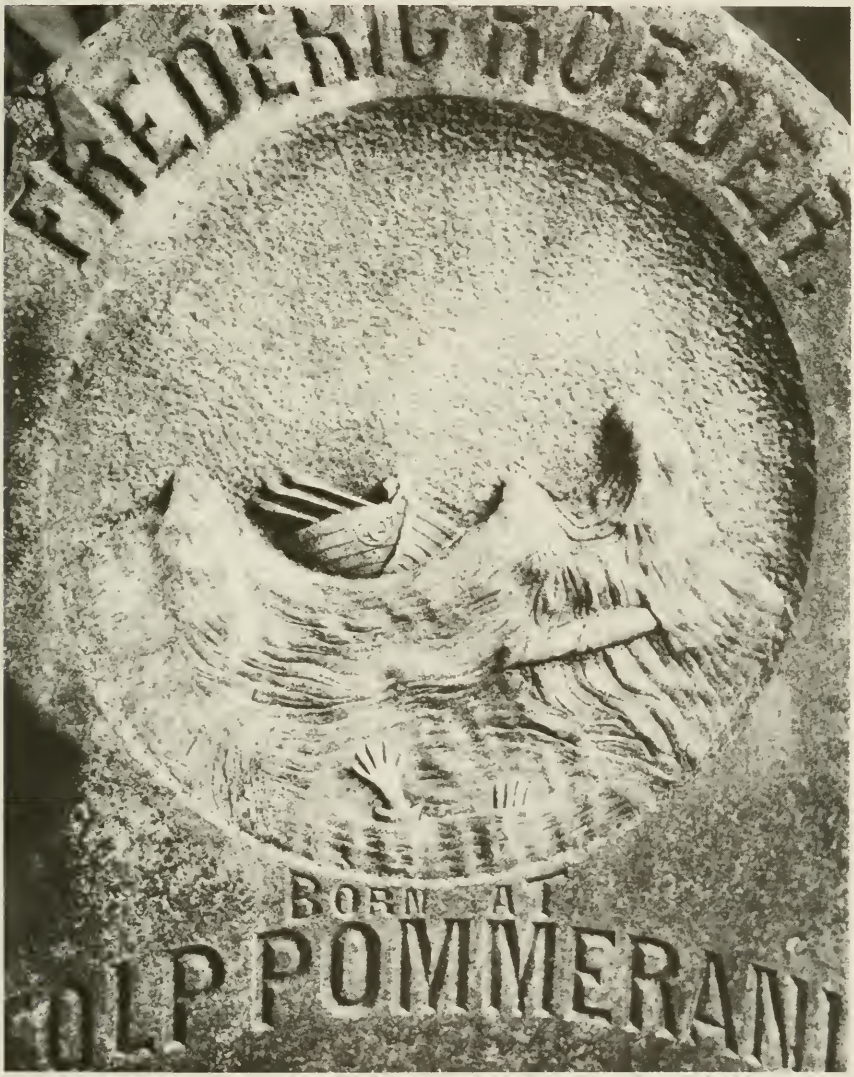

Fig. 13 Drowning scene. Stone of Frederic Roeder (d. 1887). Lone Fir Cemetery, Portland, Oregon.

gravestone informs us that he "Died from the effects of wounds with a knife." A handsome double stone in the old Linkville Cemetery, Klamath Falls, tells the truncated story of Lee and Joe Laws, two young

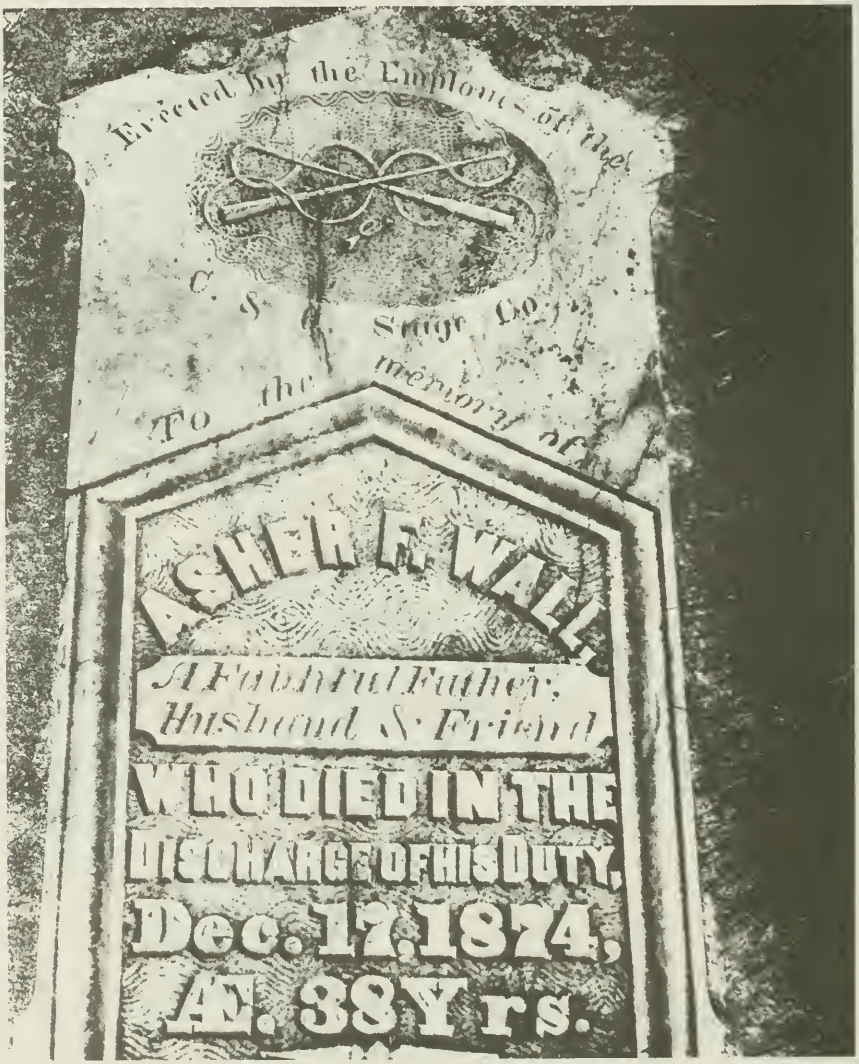

Fig. 14 A pioneer stagecoach driver who "died in the discharge of his duty." Stone of Asher F. Wall (d. 1874). Roseburg Masonic Cemetery, Roseburg, Oregon.

brothers who were "Murdered by masked assassins, June 24, 1882," while a simpler marker for William Moody in the Eagle Valley Cemetery, near the small eastern Oregon community of Richland, notes enigmatically that he was "Murdered by his pretended friends." In some instances families of victims were not adverse to naming names in a most extraordinarily permanent fashion, as evidenced by the gravestone for Isaiah Graham (Fig. 15) in Portland's Lone Fir Cemetery, which states unequivocally that he was "Assassinated by Thomas Ward, June 21, 1871." A smaller inscription at the base of the stone adds, "May the Lord forgive the evil doer."

Other causes of death recorded on these early markers portray a wide variety of potential dangers consistent with a frontier environment: for example, "Was killed by a runaway team" (George Henderson, d. 1879, Henderson Pioneer Cemetery, near Dufur, Oregon); "Lost in Mountains" (J.R. Bucknum, d. 1898, Alford-Workman Cemetery, near Harrisburg, Oregon); "Was killed in the Santiam Gold Mines, Linn Co., Or." (William R. Burnett, d. 1892, Riverside Cemetery, Albany, Oregon); "Killed by a grizzly bear" (B.H. Baird, d. 1864, Croxton Cemetery, Grants Pass, Oregon); or "All the family drowned June 15, 1896 by the breaking of the Guthridge Reservoir on Pine Creek" (Clark L. and Laura A. French and five children, ages 1 to 11, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Baker City, Oregon).

A surprising number of stones, as, for example, the one erected for fourteen-year-old Salem Dixon (d. 1853) in the Hobson-Whitney Pioneer Cemetery near Sublimity, Oregon, record the cause of death as "accidental shooting," an indication not so much of the poor marksmanship of these early settlers as of the uncertain quality of the ammunition and firearms in general use at the time. And then there is the occasional inscription which teases the imagination by virtue of its understatement, so that one wonders, for instance, precisely what fate befell young Thomas H. Judkins, whose marker in Laurel Hill Cemetery near Eugene, Oregon, simply tells us that he "Left camp twenty miles east of Eugene Mar. 6, 1881 / Remains was found 1 mi. from camp, May 12, 1881."

These stone records of pioneer hazards and untimely death do not tell the entire story, of course. They may be supplemented, indeed vastly

expanded, by examining municipal death records, newspaper accounts, contemporary letters, diaries, and journals, and even the rather idiosyncratic records of cemetery sextons, where we sometimes find such fasci-

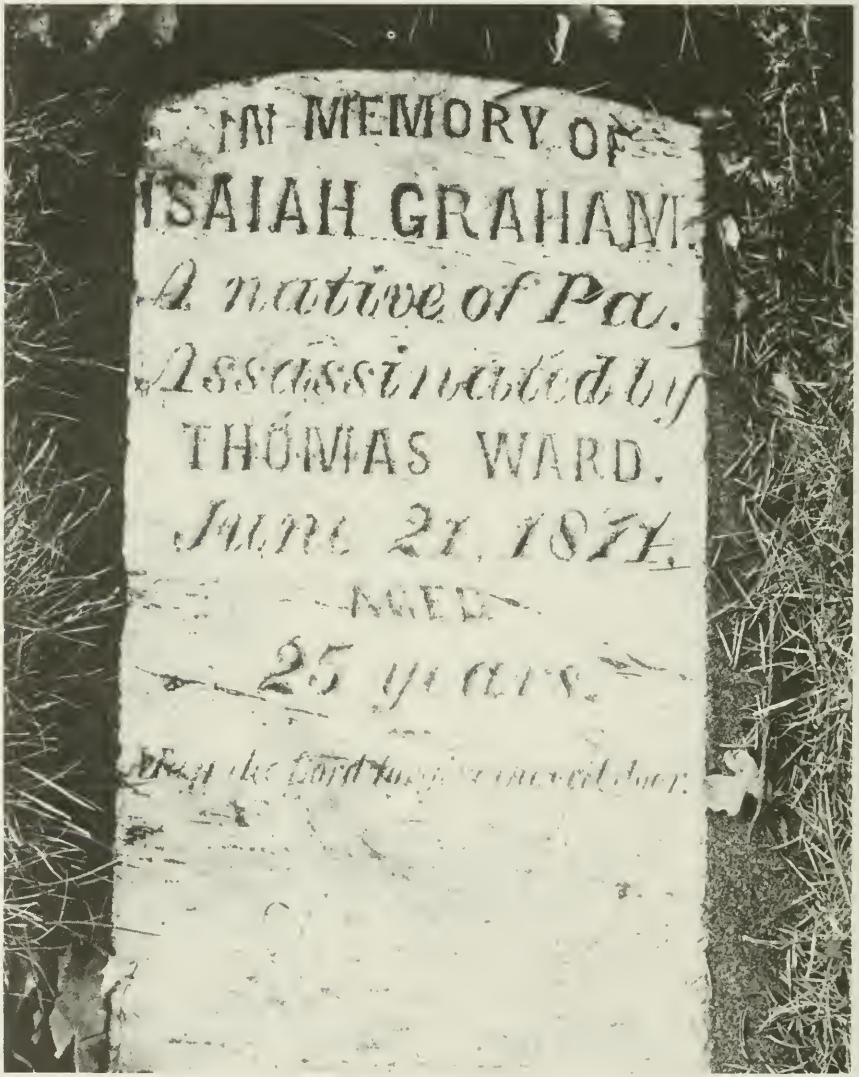

Fig. 15 An instance of frontier violence, with equal billing accorded to the perpetrator. Stone of Isaiah Graham (d. 1871). Lone Fir Cemetery, Portland, Oregon.

nating entries as "Shot by her husband in a house of ill fame at the corner of Salmon and 3rd St."; "Killed by falling into sewer, suffocated in the mud"; or "Died of starvation while fasting, according to instructions

Fig. 16 German language marker indicating city and country of origin. Stone of Heinrich Koehler (d. 1896). Barlow Pioneer Cemetery, near Barlow, Oregon.

of Mrs. G.H. Williams, a faith healer."[18] But the cemeteries themselves speak quite clearly of a time in Oregon's history when life was lived in the shadow of sudden, and not infrequently violent, death.

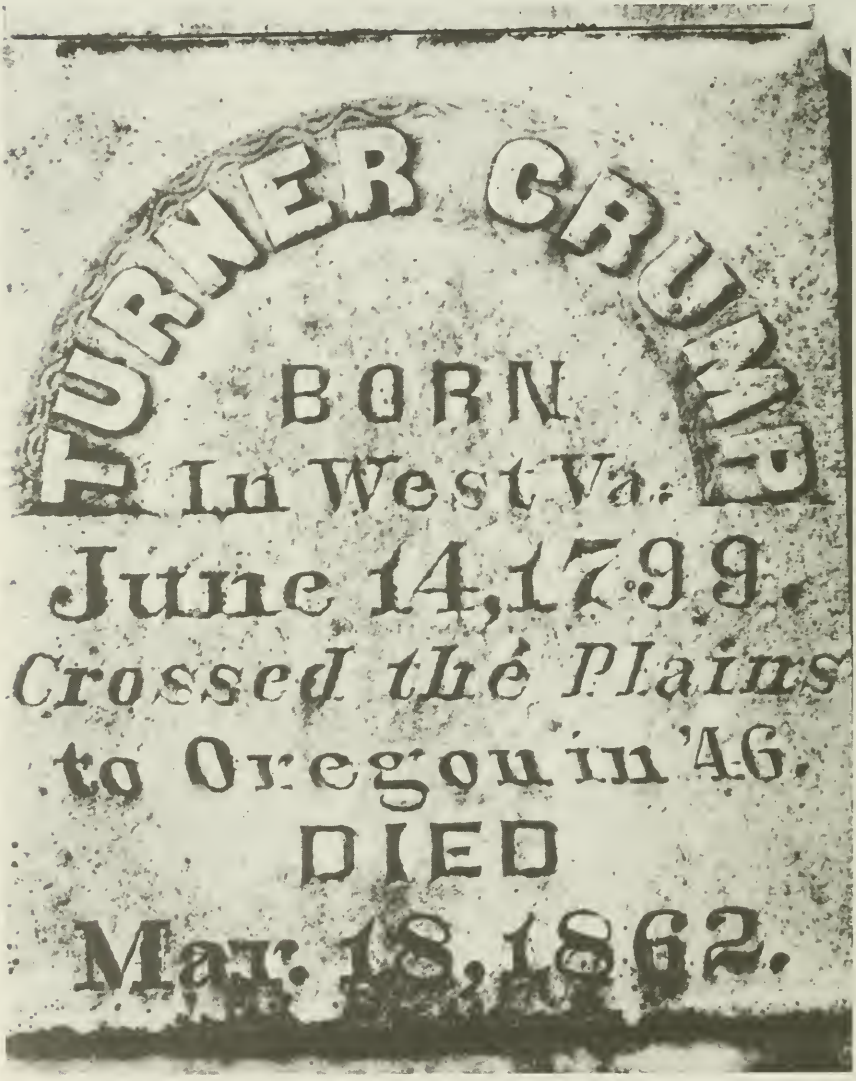

Fig. 17 Place of origin and Oregon Trail emigration date. Stone of Turner Crump (d. 1862). Salem Pioneer Cemetery, Salem, Oregon.

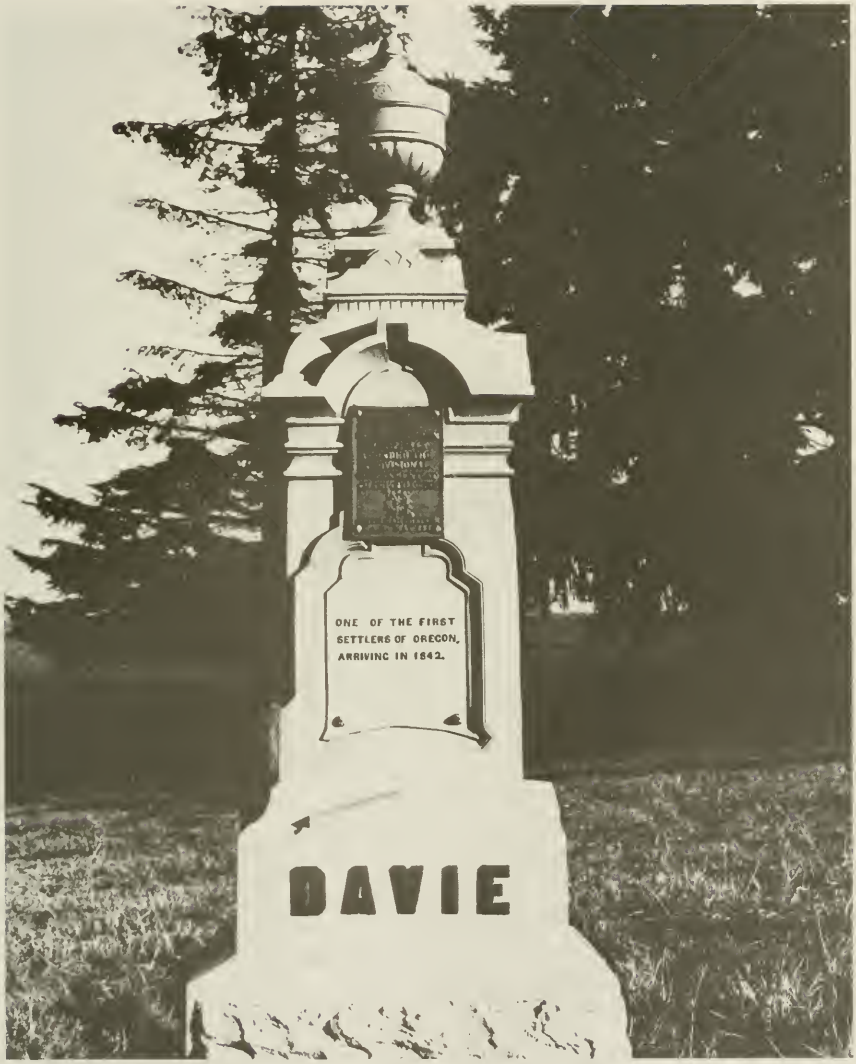

Fig. 18 Emigration date and D.A.R. plaque indicating a founder of the territorial provisional government which brought the Oregon country under control of the United States. White bronze gravemarker of Allen J. Davie (d. 1875). Aumsville Cemetery, near Aumsville, Oregon.

Fig. 19 Emigration date and other pioneer data. Stone of Samuel (d. 1891) and Huldah Colver, "Pioneers of 1850 who located on this donation claim in 1851 amid hostile Indians and who have seen the wilderness." Phoenix Cemetery, Phoenix, Oregon.

The other primary manner in which gravemarkers in Oregon's pioneer cemeteries call attention to the pioneer experience is through inscriptions and visual symbols which emphasize the emigration and settlement processes themselves. An astounding number of these markers take great pains to highlight – sometimes in letters enlarged for purposes of emphasis – the emigrant's state (Figs. 5, 6, 15, 17), or in some cases country (Figs. 13, 16), of origin in the inscriptional data found upon the stone. In this manner, the artifacts serve to provide the modern observer with a relatively clear picture of basic settlement patterns in the Oregon country: early markers in the Willamette Valley, for instance, show a heavy preponderance of New England and midwestern origin points in the northern portions of the valley, with the emphasis shifting to southern origins as one proceeds southward down the valley and thence to the counties of southern Oregon. Even more importantly, how-

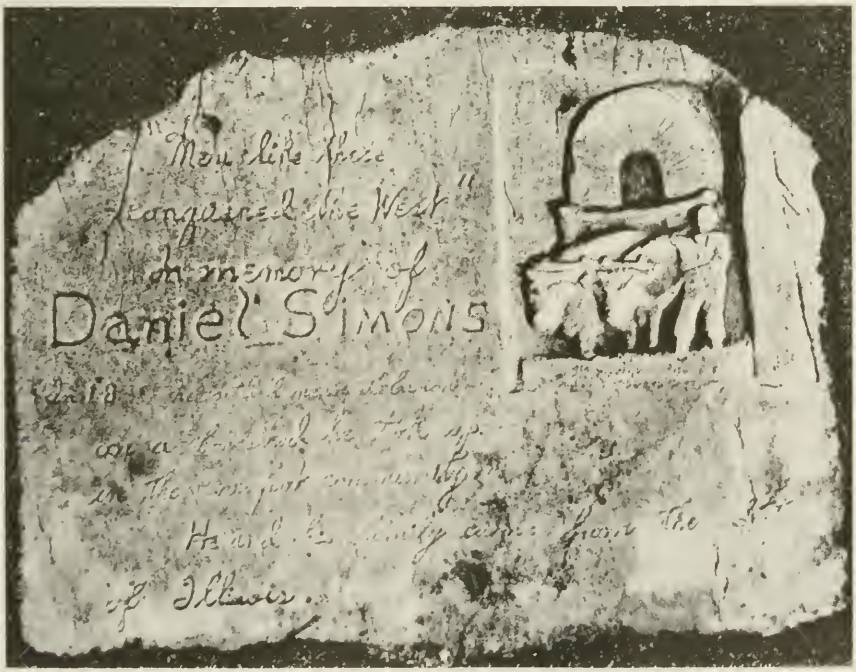

Fig. 20 "Men like this conquered the West." Covered wagon and other pioneer data. Stone of Daniel Simons (d. 1875). Pioneer (Old Lebanon) Cemetery, Lebanon, Oregon.

ever, these stones emphasize clearly the inherent emotional dualism of the pioneering experience itself – the unwillingness to forgo entirely a link with a former time and place even while resting beneath the soil of what has become, indubitably, home.

Almost as prevalent as this listing of origin points are the numerous references, especially among those who arrived overland via the Oregon Trail, to specific dates of emigration (Fig. 17). The year of emigration, or in some cases even the specific wagon train, became sources of pride and esoteric identification to settlers in the Oregon country (Fig. 18),[19] and in virtually any pioneer cemetery in the state the careful observer will find inscriptions which deliberately emphasize such data, often in conjunction with other key elements of the pioneering experience (Fig. 19).

In addition to these verbal inscriptions, however, one striking and pervasive visual image leaps out at visitors to a number of the state's pioneer cemeteries – that of the covered overland wagon. This icon, which has come in many ways to sum up for Oregonians not only the trail crossing itself but the entire pioneer experience, is, as I noted near the beginning of this essay, prominently featured in a dazzling array of contemporary manifestations from the official state seal to business signs for taverns, banks, real estate offices, bowling alleys, and pancake houses. That it is also present on gravestones from an early period onward should come, therefore, as no great surprise.

For high and low – from the impressive monument to David T. Lenox (d. 1873), captain of one of the first wagon trains to reach the old Oregon Country, located in the West Union Baptist Church Cemetery, near West Union, Oregon, to the simple tablet which speaks to the life and deeds of Francis M. "Uncle Dan" Daniel (d. 1897) in Providence Cemetery, near the small mid-Willamette Valley community of Lacomb – this simple image of the covered wagon conveys a unique shared bond of pride and an awareness of historic significance. Speaking in a way for all of them is the lovely stone of Daniel Simons (Fig. 20) in the Pioneer (Old Lebanon) Cemetery, which, though shattered by the hands of cretinous vandals, still manages to convey, through its detailed accounting of his journey to Oregon, its finely carved depiction of a pioneer covered wagon, and its declaration that "Men like this conquered the West," a clear indication of

the awesome sense of accomplishment felt by these emigrants. Perhaps this is why, even today, it is not uncommon for the descendants of pioneer families to specify the depiction of covered wagons when replacing missing or damaged originals with newer, backdated markers (Fig. 21).

In speaking of the intrinsic value of cemeteries, the cultural geographer Terry G. Jordan has written, "Nowhere else is it possible to look so deeply into our people's past."[20] How very true, for old cemeteries are unique and irreplaceable outdoor museums, full of those very emissaries extolled by T.S. Eliot, bearing words and images which reflect the worldviews and cultural values of bygone eras. And nowhere, it seems to me, is this more patently evident than in the case of Oregon's pioneer cemeteries (Fig. 22), where site and artifact have combined to produce

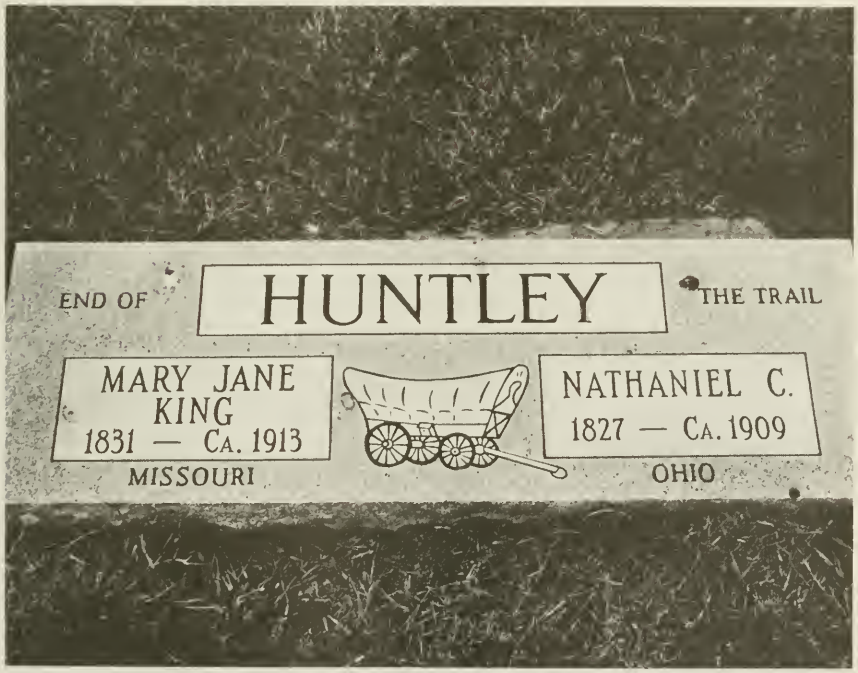

Fig. 21 "End of the Trail." Covered wagon on contemporary, backdated marker. Stone of Mary Jane King (d. 1913) and Nathaniel C. (d. 1909) Huntley. Gold Beach Pioneer Cemetery, Gold Beach, Oregon.

such diverse and beautiful elements of the cultural landscape, temporal intersection points at the end of the trail where past and present are intimately connected by an emphasis upon the pioneer experience which has come to form so important a part of the collective self-image not only of Oregonians, but of Pacific Northwesterners in general.

Fig. 22 Pioneer Cemetery, Vale, Oregon.

NOTES

A somewhat shorter and otherwise modified version of this essay was originally published under the title "Image and Identity in Oregon's Pioneer Cemeteries" in *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures*, edited by Barbara Allen and Thomas J. Schlereth (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 88-102, and is reprinted here courtesy of the original publishers. Even earlier, preliminary findings concerning the matters dealt with herein were presented orally at two separate venues: a Symposium on Heritage Cemeteries in British Columbia, Victoria, B.C., April, 1987; and the Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October, 1987. Special thanks for help along the way to Addie Dyal Rickey, Lotte Larsen, Walt Stempek, and Barbara Allen. With the exception of Figures 10 and 11, all photos are by the author.

1. Willis Eberman, "Oregon Pioneer Notes," in *The Pioneers and Other Poems* (Portland, OR, 1959). Eberman is a descendant of Oregon pioneers who crossed the plains in 1843.

2. T.S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (New York, 1949), 94.

3. Histories and interpretations of this movement exist in abundance as well as in varying quality. The most comprehensive and contextually useful studies remain David Lavender, *Land of Giants: The Drive to the Pacific Northwest, 1750-1950* (Garden City, NY, 1958); Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest*. Rev. Ed. (New York, 1967); Malcolm Clark, Jr., *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon, 1818-1862* (Boston, 1981); and Gordon B. Dodds, *The American Northwest: A History of Oregon and Washington* (Arlington Heights, IL, 1986).

4. For an overview of this process, see Richard E. Meyer, "'So Witty as to Speak'," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard E. Meyer, ed. (Ann Armor, MI, 1989; rpt. Logan, UT, 1992), 1-6.

5. Barre Toelken, "In the Stream of Life: An Essay on Oregon Folk Art," in *Webfoots and Bunchgrassers: Folk Art of the Oregon Country*, Suzi Jones, ed. (Salem, Or, 1980), 15.

6. Some of the most vivid descriptions of these burials may be found in the various accounts of pioneer women. See in particular Fred Lockley, *Conversations with Pioneer Women*, comp. and ed. Mike Helm (Eugene, OR, 1981); and Kenneth L. Holmes, ed., *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails*. 7 vols. (Glendale, CA, 1983-1987).

7. Holmes, 5:39-135.

8. Joaquin Miller, from "By the Sun-Down Seas," in *Poems* (Boston, 1882), 133.

9. Quoted in Holmes, 4:13.

10. See Lewis A. McArthur and Lewis L. McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names*. 5th Ed. (Portland, OR, 1982).

11. Besides USGS topographical maps, the only useful field guide to Oregon's pioneer cemeteries is a document entitled *Oregon Cemetery Survey*, compiled in 1978 under the direction of Robert Gormsen for the Oregon Department of Transportation (the study itself was mandated by the State Legislature). A revised and expanded version of the *Survey* (in this instance under private rather than state initiative) has been in the offing for some time, but as of this writing (1993) it has not yet appeared.

12. The first published city directories in Oregon, appearing in the decades of the 1860s and 1870s, contain numerous entries for marble carvers in each of these cities. As early as the 1850s, however, "signed" stones by carvers such as William Young of Portland began to appear in Willamette Valley cemeteries.

13. Sterlingville, in southern Oregon, is another example of those early Oregon communities which have vanished, leaving only their cemeteries as material reminders of their former existence (cf., Fig. 4).

14. Background information on these confrontations, and indeed on many of the individuals commemorated on these stones, is readily available in any number of sources, e.g., Howard McKinley Corning, ed., *Dictionary of Oregon History* (Portland, OR, 1856).

15. An account of this bizarre accident may be found in Howard McKinley Corning, *Willamette Landings: Ghost Towns of the River*, 2nd ed. (Portland, OR, 1973), 24-25.

16. The mountainous region of Douglas County, Oregon, where Asher F. Wall and Robert E. Lee Roberts lost their lives is cut by a number of deep and sometimes treacherous canyons which nonetheless served in the nineteenth century as the principal overland transportation route between southern Oregon and California to the south and the Willamette Valley to the north. Roberts' full name is indicative of the heavy emigration pattern from the American South which characterized early Oregon settlement south of the mid-Willamette Valley.

17. An alternate – and perhaps more likely – interpretation of this message is that Larkin paid to have the stone erected for his employee and did not wish his munificence to go unnoticed.

18. All three of these notations (Sept. 18, 1890; Oct. 11, 1893; Dec. 20, 1893) are from the sexton's records, Lone Fir Cemetery, Portland, Oregon. See Wythle F. Brown and Lloyd E. Brown, comps., *Records of Lone Fir Cemetery* (Portland, OR, 1981).

19. Annual meetings of the exclusive Oregon Pioneer Association, held between its organization in 1873 and demise in 1951, resembled in many respects class reunions, with members paying particular allegiance to their emigration year.

20. Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin, TX, 1982), 7.

Fig. 23 Hilltop Pioneer Cemetery, near Independence, Oregon.

Contributors

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Gray Williams, Jr. is a freelance writer on subjects ranging from health and gardening to history. A member of the Board of Trustees of the Association for Gravestone Studies, he has previously published material in *Markers V* and *Markers IX*. His work on local genealogy, graveyards and associated material culture has also appeared in the *Bicentennial History of the Town of New Castle* and in *The Westchester Historian*, journal of the Westchester County Historical Society.

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Boldface page numbers [in brackets] indicate illustrations

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS TO *MARKERS*

Scope

The Association for Gravestone Studies was incorporated as a nonprofit corporation in 1978 as an outgrowth of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife. The first volume of the Association's scholarly journal, *Markers*, appeared in 1980. While the charter purposes of AGS are broad, the general editorial policy of *Markers* is to define its subject matter as the analytical study of gravemarkers of all types and encompassing all historical periods and geographical regions of North America. Gravemarkers are here taken to mean above-ground artifacts that commemorate the spot of burial, thereby excluding memorials or cenotaphs. Articles on death and dying in general or on other aspects of death-related material culture would not normally fall within the journal's purview unless clearly linked to the study of gravemarkers. Particular cemeteries may form the basis of study if a major focus of the article is on the markers contained therein and if the purpose of the article is more than simply a history or description of the cemeteries themselves. While not necessarily excluded, articles dealing with material not found in North America should seek in some fashion to provide meaningful comparative analysis with material found here. Finally, articles submitted for publication in *Markers* should be scholarly, analytical and interpretive, not merely descriptive and entertaining. Within these general parameters, the journal seeks variety both in subject matter and disciplinary orientation. For illustration of these general principles, the prospective author is encouraged to consult recent issues of *Markers*.

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Submissions to *Markers* should be sent to the journal's editor, Richard E. Meyer, English Department, Western Oregon State College, Monmouth, OR 97361 (Telephone: (503) 838-8362 / E-Mail: Meyerr@fsa.wosc.osshe.edu). Manuscripts should be submitted in triplicate (original and two duplicate copies) and should include originals of any accompanying photographs or other illustrations. Generally, articles in *Markers* run between fifteen and twenty-five 8½ x 11 typescripted, double-spaced

pages in length, inclusive of notes and any appended material. Longer articles may be considered if they are of exceptional merit and if space permits.

Should the article be accepted for publication, a final version of the manuscript must be submitted to the editor in both a hard copy and computer diskette format. The following word processing programs are currently compatible with the journal's disk translation software (one assumes more recent versions of these programs, should they become available, will also be acceptable): Ami Pro 1.0, 2.0; AppleWorks WP 2.0, 3.0; DCA-RFT (DisplayWrite); FrameMaker MIF 2.0, 3.0; MacWrite 4.5, 5.0; MacWrite II; Multimate; Multimate 4.0; OfficeWriter 5.0., 6.0;; Professional Write; RTF (Rich Text Format); Text; Word Mac 3.0, 4.0, 5.0; Word PC; Word for Windows 1.0, 2.0; WordStar 3.0, 4.0. 5.0, 6.0, 7.0; WordPerfect 4.2, 5.0; WordPerfect PC 5.1, 6.0 (DOS & Windows); WordPerfect Mac 1.0, 2.0, 2.1; Works WP Mac & PC 2.0, 3.0; WriteNow Mac 2.0; WriteNow NeXT 1.0, 2.0; XYWrite III.

Regular volumes of *Markers* are scheduled to appear annually in January. No deadline is established for the initial submission of a manuscript, but the articles scheduled for publication in a given volume of the journal are generally determined by the chronological order of acceptance and submission in final form.

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Submissions to *Markers* are sent by the editor to members of the journal's editorial advisory board for review and evaluation. Every effort is made to conduct this process in as timely a manner as possible. When comments have been received from all reviewers, the author will be notified of the publication decision. If an article is accepted, suggestions for revision may be made and a deadline for submission of a finalized manuscript established. All accepted articles will be carefully edited for style and format before publication.

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It is extremely expensive to produce a journal of the size and quality of *Markers*. Should authors of accepted articles have available to them any source of outside support in the form of grants-in-aid to support photographs, text or other publication costs, such financial assistance in the form of gifts to the Association for Gravestone Studies would be most sincerely appreciated. It goes without saying, of course, that such matters have no influence upon the editorial selection process.

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