MARKERS XII

Edited by
Richard E. Meyer

Journal of the
Association for Gravestone Studies

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Cover photo: Bruno Grandelis, 1905, Metuchen, New Jersey.
Photograph by Richard Veit.

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MARKERS: JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR GRAVESTONE STUDIES

Readers of *Markers XII* will find that, once again, the individual essays presented in its contents represent a wide range of time periods, geographical locales, 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 Anglo-American folk art and material culture. *Markers* thus continues its leadership role in establishing the standards and defining the boundaries of what has been termed by some an important and emergent "microdiscipline."

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 Western Oregon State College, which continues to generously support this publication through numerous forms of indirect financial assistance; staff members – most especially Fred Kennedy – at Lynx Communication Group, Salem, Oregon, and Patti Stephens of Philomath, Oregon, all of whom, through their design and production skills, 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 helps me keep it all in perspective.

Articles published in *Markers* are indexed in *America: History and Life, Historical Abstracts,* and the *MLA International Bibliography.* Information concerning the submission of manuscripts for future issues of the journal 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.

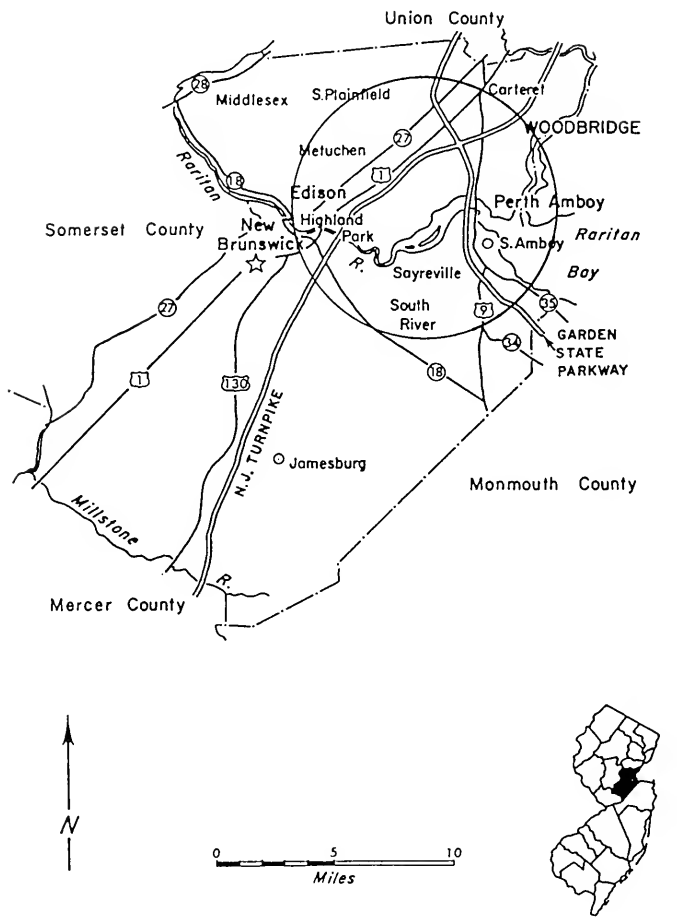

Fig. 1 The circled area in the center of the map represents the part of Middlesex county, New Jersey, where the majority of terra-cotta gravemarkers are found. Staten Island, New York, located to the east of Perth Amboy, also has a few terra-cotta gravemarkers. Map reproduced, with modifications, from the tercentenary edition of *The New Jersey Almanac* (1963).

'A PIECE OF GRANITE THAT'S BEEN MADE IN TWO WEEKS': TERRA-COTTA GRAVEMARKERS FROM NEW JERSEY AND NEW YORK, 1875-1930

Richard Veit

Introduction

In 1948, Peter C. Olsen, President of the Federal Seaboard Terra-Cotta Corporation, described terra-cotta as "A piece of granite that's been made in two weeks."[1] This essay examines the colorful terra-cotta gravemarkers that were created in both Middlesex County, New Jersey, and Staten Island, New York, between the 1870s and the 1930s. The markers are found within a roughly ten mile radius of Perth Amboy, New Jersey (see Fig. 1), the small coastal city which was the center of the Middlesex County clay industry. The manufacturing of these often ornate monuments reflects both the skill of the multiethnic terra-cotta workers who made this area their home and the local importance of the clay industry. Additionally, the markers provided new, and often impoverished, immigrants with an inexpensive, attractive, and lasting alternative to traditional stone monuments.

Most studies of gravemarkers in the Middle Atlantic and New England regions have tended to concentrate on either the gravestone iconography of the colonial period[2] or the ornate monuments and mausoleums of the Victorians.[3] This is also true of New Jersey. While the 17th- and 18th-Century gravestones of the region have been actively investigated,[4] little attention has been paid to the vernacular gravemarkers of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. In a number of regional cemeteries established within the last hundred years or so, unusual gravemarking traditions brought from Europe[5] or associated with regional industries[6] flourished. These largely unstudied *fin de siecle* markers have the potential to enhance our understanding of the lives of immigrants in this region. The present study's emphasis upon one of those traditions, the terra-cotta gravemarkers of the Raritan River Valley, seeks to demonstrate this potential through examining the development, production, iconography, and meanings of these unique markers.

The terra-cotta gravemarkers are concentrated in about a dozen late 19th- and early 20th-Century cemeteries in northeastern Middlesex

County. A small number have also been found in western Staten Island. Many of the gravemarkers are located in the small Catholic burial grounds which once served the region's varied ethnic groups (see Appendix). The largest concentration of markers is found in the least expensive plots at Alpine Cemetery in Perth Amboy: a Victorian product of the rural cemetery movement, Alpine contains a total of 67 terra-cotta markers. While such markers were never the dominant form of gravemarker, even in this region, they were nonetheless, for a short time, an important alternative to marble and granite monuments.

Alternative Gravemarking Traditions

Terra-cotta was one of a number of materials other than stone which were often used to make gravemarkers in the eastern United States. Cast iron markers, for example, are scattered all along the East Coast. For a short period, at the end of the 19th Century, monumental bronze (white zinc) gravemarkers made in Bridgeport, Connecticut were popular. Italian-Americans and other southern European immigrants often created homemade concrete gravemarkers. Germans and eastern European immigrants, not only in the East, but also on the western plains and in Texas created fanciful iron crosses, both cast and wrought.[7] The Southeast – particularly Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama – is home to a variety of ceramic gravemarkers,[8] a tradition which may, at least in part, have African antecedents.[9]

The study of these vernacular memorials holds great promise and deserves further attention before the markers are destroyed by vandalism and weathering. Generally, ceramic gravemarkers – when left undisturbed – have long lifespans. However, both mechanized lawnmowers and vandals pose a serious threat to their continued existence.

Methodology

This study was carried out in two parts. First, during the summers of 1993 and 1994 I visited most of the 19th- and early 20th-Century cemeteries of eastern Middlesex County and western Staten Island in search of terra-cotta gravemarkers. This reconnaissance revealed 128 terra-cotta gravemarkers concentrated in a dozen cemeteries near the terra-cotta works. Others certainly exist. In the early Twentieth Century, small tubular terra-cotta markers were used to mark indigent burials in some Middlesex County Cemeteries: these are not included in my calculations.

Terra-cotta borders for grave plots and corner posts for grave fences were also noted. The gravemarkers are found in the communities of Perth Amboy, Woodbridge, South Amboy, Metuchen, New Brunswick, and Sayreville, New Jersey, as well as those found in western Staten Island.

In addition to the field survey, several individuals were interviewed in an effort to learn more about the production of terra-cotta gravemarkers. Vincent Alba, a Perth Amboy senior citizen knowledgeable about the terra-cotta works, was particularly helpful. I also interviewed by telephone staff members of the Danish Home for the Aged in Edison, New Jersey (Danes made up a large percentage of the workforce at the terra-cotta works, and many used terra-cotta gravemarkers). Research to establish primary and secondary documentation was undertaken at the Perth Amboy Public Library, Middlesex County Cultural and Heritage Commission, and the Special Collections and Archives at Rutgers University's Alexander Library.

Middlesex County's Clay Industry

Central New Jersey was home to some of the most productive clay banks in the state. These clays were part of a large deposit stretching across the narrow waist of New Jersey and on into Staten Island. In Middlesex County, the clay was most accessible near the mouth of the Raritan River. In some areas there were seventeen distinct layers of clay, which at times ran as deep as 347 feet below ground.[10] Many of these clays were of extremely high quality, suitable for firebricks, pottery, and terra-cotta. Soon after the region was settled in the late 17th Century, brick-making began.[11] Throughout the 19th Century, potteries making stoneware, yellowware, and rockingham used the region's clay.[12] By the end of the 19th Century, the area was home to some of the largest brick-works on the East Coast.

The Terra-Cotta Industry

The manufacture of terra-cotta in New Jersey was begun in 1877 at A. Hall and Sons' Terra-Cotta Works. Hall, who had begun making fire brick and yellowware in Perth Amboy in the 1850s, experimented with terra-cotta during an economic slump.[13] His experiment was a success, and soon several other terra-cotta works were established nearby. The factories lined the Arthur Kill and the Raritan River, "their enormous beehive-shaped kilns resembling so many ancient temples."[14] In 1888, Karl

Mathiasen and Otto E. Hansen, Danish immigrants, opened a small terra-cotta plant on Catherine Street in Perth Amboy which would later become the New Jersey Terra-Cotta Company. In 1890, the Standard Terra-Cotta Company was incorporated, also in Perth Amboy.[15] The year 1897 saw the founding of the Atlantic Terra-Cotta Works on Staten Island, operated by former craftsmen from another New Jersey operation, the Perth Amboy Terra-Cotta Company.[16] By 1920, there were eight terra-cotta works just in Middlesex County.[17] One of them, the aforementioned Perth Amboy Terra-Cotta Company, employed between 400 and 600 hands.[18] During the 1920s the industry continued to grow, and in 1928 the Federal Seaboard Terra-Cotta Corporation, a conglomerate, was formed from several of the larger local companies.

Soon thereafter, the Depression slowed the expansion of the industry. In a letter dated June 30th, 1937, Peter C. Olsen, then General Manager of the Federal Seaboard Terra-Cotta Corporation, noted that "normally [we] employ 750 to 800 men in our 3 plants but at present with 2 plants shut down, employ 200 to 240 men."[19] During the Second World War, the terra-cotta plants made practice bombs from terra-cotta for the Air Force, as well as bathroom fixtures. Following the war, changing architectural styles combined with high property taxes and increased suburbanization brought an end to the clay industry in the region.[20]

Uses of Terra-cotta

Terra-cotta means simply "baked earth."[21] The term is generally used to refer to large blocks of molded and burnt clay. While very similar to brick, it has a finer texture and can be molded, sculpted, and glazed to form a variety of architectural ornaments.

Most of the terra-cotta produced in Middlesex County and Staten Island was made for architectural uses. Among the many noteworthy structures built of local terra-cotta were the Woolworth Building in New York, the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Terra-cotta was also used as interior tile and in swimming pools. Statues and decorative urns were often produced. Gravestones apparently made up only a small part of the terra-cotta plants' production. While catalogs and style books exist for Perth Amboy's Atlantic Terra-Cotta Company and the Seaboard Terra-Cotta Corporation, they do not mention gravemarkers.[22] Vincent Alba, a Perth Amboy resident whose uncles were sculptors at Seaboard Terra-Cotta, confirmed that gravemarkers were one

of the sidelines of the terra-cotta plants.[23] He believes that some were mass produced, while others were special orders.

The Raritan Valley's terra-cotta gravemarkers are actually a relatively recent manifestation of a long history of ceramic gravemarkers. During the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), a Chinese emperor was buried with an entire army of terra-cotta retainers.[24] The ancient Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans also made considerable use of terra-cotta.[25] During the Renaissance, particularly in Italy, it saw extensive use for architectural ornamentation and sculpture. By the 16th Century, enterprising English potters were making terra-cotta gravemarkers.[26] In the 18th Century, a terra-cotta-like material called Coade's Stone (after its inventor, a Mrs. Coade) appeared in Great Britain.[27] A variety of mass-produced monuments were made from this material between 1770 and 1820. Many were simple urns, but some were quite ornate, including the gravemarker for Captain Bligh, of Mutiny on the Bounty fame.[28]

In yet another cyclical revival, terra-cotta again became popular in the mid-19th Century, first in Great Britain and then in the United States. This terra-cotta was used in place of stone in architectural settings. The first type produced in the United States dates to the mid-19th Century and resembled brownstone, or reddish brown sandstone.[29] Later, other types of terra-cotta appeared: these included fireproof construction terra-cotta, ceramic veneer, and glazed architectural terra-cotta. While a variety of terra-cotta was made in New Jersey, most of the gravemarkers were made from glazed and unglazed architectural terra-cotta.

Making the Gravemarkers

No contemporary descriptions of the manufacture of terra-cotta gravemarkers are known to exist. However, the process can be reconstructed from contemporary newspaper articles and secondary sources.

First, the clay was mined from the local clay banks and aged. Sometimes the clay was mixed with grog, a combination of ground up fragments of old terra-cotta and brick. This mixture was then kneaded in large iron mills.[30] Some of the earliest manufacturers in Perth Amboy kneaded the clay in horse-drawn pug mills, like the local stoneware potteries.[31] The softened clay was then forced out of the mill as "long winding serpents" which were cut into loaf-shaped pieces.[32] This process was repeated until all the impurities had been removed from the clay. The large squares of kneaded clay were then delivered to the molding room.

There they were worked into carefully prepared plaster molds. Complicated shapes were sculpted by hand.[33] In an 1890 newspaper article, an anonymous journalist described seeing a "boy carving in the soft brown clay the inscription for a memorial plaque."[34] This casual remark, embedded in a description of the sculptor's studios, is the only known published contemporary reference to the manufacture of terra-cotta gravemarkers.

After they were sculpted or molded, the wares were carefully dried at a controlled heat. Some were dipped in a solution of soluble glaze. Colors were applied to the terra-cotta in the glaze. The gravemarkers show a variety of matte and glossy finishes in many different colors: white, blue, red, brown, and yellow are especially common. The glazed markers exhibit a smooth glassy surface. However, the finishes seen on the markers represent only a sample of the many varieties once available. According to a brochure of the Federal Seaboard Terra-Cotta Corporation, an unlimited variety of waterproof, fade-proof colors, including polychrome and noble metal finishes, were available.[35] Textured surfaces were also possible, which allowed the terra-cotta to imitate many types of stone, including sandstone, limestone, and marble. Imitation or "faux-granite" gravemarkers were also popular. These can only be discerned from granite markers if they are chipped or if imperfections in the glaze are visible. Terra-cotta *was* truly granite that had been made in two weeks.

After glazing, the terra-cotta was fired in immense kilns, a process which lasted ten days or more.[36] Sometimes pieces shrank during the firing process. To reduce distortion, large pieces were often built up from several smaller ones.[37] Many of the terra-cotta gravemarkers were also made from several pieces in this way, a practice which has unfortunately proven to be a liability as the pieces separate, facilitating both vandalism and weathering.

Marker Typology

As previously noted, during this study over one hundred terra-cotta markers were examined. Many of their forms are similar to other late 19th and early 20th-Century monuments. None of the markers examined are signed. However, the Bruno Grandelis gravemarker in Metuchen, New Jersey (Fig. 2), a stunning piece of statuary, bears an inscription on the reverse in Italian which reads "Tuo Padre Fece." Loosely translated, this means "Your father made this." Only one gravemarker bears the mark of

Fig. 2 Bruno Grandelis marker, Hillside Cemetery, Metuchen, New Jersey (1905). The marker is made from several pieces of terra-cotta. Though it exhibits severe spalling, the marker was originally made from white glazed terra-cotta and depicts young Bruno (1901-1905) in the arms of an angel. The sculpture was probably executed by the boy's father.

Fig. 3 J.H. Longley marker, Alpine Cemetery, Perth Amboy, New Jersey (1902). An example of an architectural feature, in this case a finial, inscribed and used as a gravemarker.

a firm, in this case the Perth Amboy Terra-Cotta Company. Vincent Alba noted that some gravemarkers were also produced at the Federal Seaboard Terra-Cotta Corporation in Perth Amboy.[38] Apparently the markers on Staten Island were the products of the Atlantic Terra-Cotta Company's Tottenville Works, which were located on the island. Many of the region's terra-cotta factories may in fact have made gravemarkers, but without marked pieces the products of the various works cannot be differentiated.

The terra-cotta gravemarkers were produced in a variety of forms. These include tablets, crosses, pedestals surmounted by urns, obelisks, and statues. Some were simply made, while others were lavishly decorated. Of the 128 markers examined in this study, 55 appear to be unique, while as many as 73 may have been mass-produced (mass-produced means, in this case, that more than two examples of a particular form of marker were noted). In New Brunswick's Elmwood Cemetery, mass-produced terra-cotta tubes, at least one foot long and roughly three inches wide, were used to mark indigent burials. The tops of the tubes were closed and stamped with identification numbers. They were apparently buried in the ground so that only their numbered tops showed. Some were made from red unglazed terra-cotta, while others were made from white glazed terra-cotta. In yet another variation, architectural details were sometimes recycled as gravemarkers (see Fig. 3).

The gravemarkers vary greatly in size. Some of the tablets are less than six inches tall, while other gravemarkers reach seven or eight feet in height. One of the largest markers combines a central portion made from brown sandstone with red and yellow terra-cotta details for a stunning effect (Fig. 4).

In general, the markers are very colorful. This is true of both the unglazed ones (which are often red or gray) and the glazed pieces. Occasionally the lettering or decoration of the markers is accentuated with color. White or gray markers sometimes have black or gold lettering, and gold, red, or blue details (see Fig. 5). Documentary sources note that reddish-brown colored terra-cotta was the first type manufactured, and it was not until 1894 that glazed terra-cotta was invented.[39]

A graph showing the distribution of gravemarkers by decade and form illustrates certain trends (Fig. 6). The earliest gravemarker dates to 1870, but displays a faux-granite finish and thus may be backdated. A second marker, dated 1878, is in fact probably the oldest. If so, it indicates

Fig. 4 Ellen Falvey Royle marker, St. Mary's Cemetery, Perth Amboy. A brown sandstone core combines with terra-cotta details for an unusual effect. The cross and roof of the marker, as well as the bands on the columns, are made from unglazed yellow terra-cotta, while the columns and pediment are unglazed red terra-cotta.

Fig. 5 Uninscribed marker from Holy Trinity Cemetery, Woodbridge, New Jersey. The border and the chi-rho are in white glazed terra-cotta, the background in blue glazed terra-cotta.

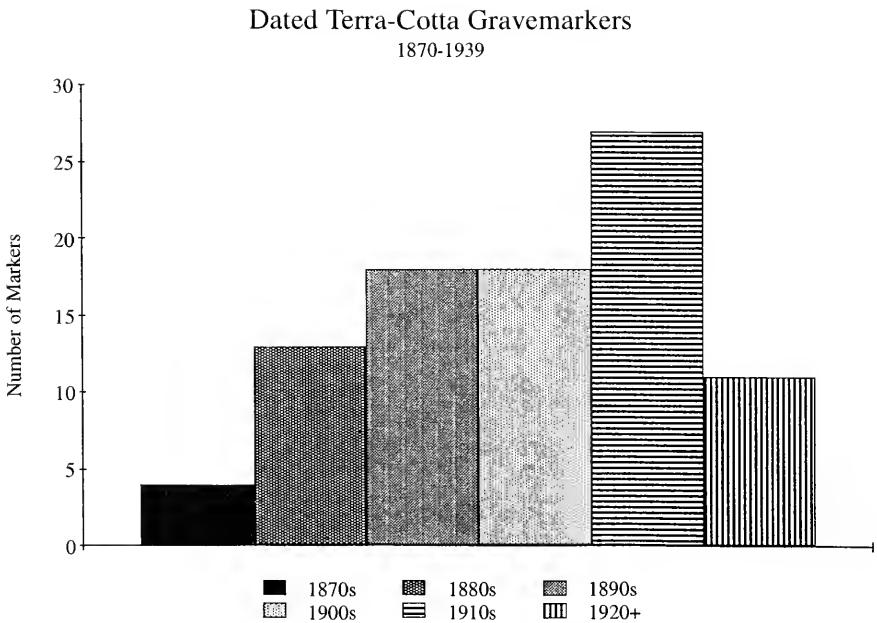

Fig. 6 Distribution graph of terra-cotta gravemarkers.

that terra-cotta gravemarkers were being produced very shortly after the first factory opened. The gravemarkers gradually increased in popularity until 1920, then precipitously declined. The latest gravemarker noted in this study dates to 1935. Unique monuments were more common before 1900, and were supplanted by mass-produced markers after the turn of the century. Unglazed gravemarkers were also more common before the turn of the century than afterwards.

Crosses are by far the most common design. They were produced in a variety of styles. Some were made in the form of Orthodox crosses, a few resemble tree trunks (Fig. 7), and others imitated granite. Many of these crosses appear to have been mass-produced. The prevalence of cruciform markers may be linked to the popularity of terra-cotta gravemarkers around 1920 with eastern European immigrants. Most of the terra-cotta gravemarkers in the region's cemeteries associated with eastern European immigrants are cross shaped (e.g., Fig. 8), and the popularity of this form has strong European antecedents.[40]

Aside from the crosses, two other terra-cotta types of gravemarkers

Fig. 7 Owen Revell marker, Alpine Cemetery, Perth Amboy (1912). The marker was made from unglazed tan terra-cotta and was "Erected by his sorrowing relatives and friends of Lambeth, England." As Lambeth was a center for pottery making in England, one might speculate that Revell was a terra-cotta sculptor.

Fig. 8 P.L. Novak marker, Holy Trinity Cemetery, Woodbridge, N.J. (1921). Cross on unglazed white terra-cotta tablet with four bright red flowers. The marker has been repaired with concrete.

Fig. 9 John and Mary Halbert memorial, Alpine Cemetery, Perth Amboy (1918). The marker has a faux-granite finish. The lettering is highlighted in black, and the cross on top is glazed metallic gold terra-cotta.

appear to have been mass-produced. One group consists of small buff-colored tablets embossed with the initials "DBS." These are associated with the Danish Brotherhood in America, a fraternal order founded in 1882 by Danish Veterans of the Civil War.[41] This organization provided its members with an array of benefits including life insurance, help in old age and sickness, and burial aid. In 1893, an accompanying Danish Sisterhood was founded. The DBS terra-cotta gravemarkers are associated with local chapters of these organizations.[42] In actuality, they are supplementary markers used in conjunction with gravestones, much like the metal plaques issued by other fraternal organizations.

Also mass-produced were tall obelisks, occasionally topped with golden crosses. These often have their lettering accentuated in black. They appear, at first glance, to be made from gray granite and to be typical turn-of-the-century markers (see Fig. 9), but they are not. Instead they are examples of how closely terra-cotta can mimic other materials, in this instance granite. Popular just after the First World War, they are much less conspicuous than the more colorful markers. The lettering was apparently incised after the markers had been molded. They are occasionally accompanied by small faux-granite tablets.

As mentioned earlier, several terra-cotta gravemarkers appear to have been fashioned from recycled architectural details (see Fig. 3). These are often located in the areas of cemeteries set aside for indigent burials, leading one to speculate that they may have been made by terra-cotta workers for members of their families or for friends who were unable to purchase traditional gravestones. Representing the other end of the economic spectrum are several terra-cotta embellished mausoleums in Perth Amboy's Alpine Cemetery. One marks the grave of Karl Mathiasen (died 1920), the First President of the New Jersey Terra-Cotta Company.

Several particular markers are also noteworthy. Also in Alpine Cemetery there is an arched marker inscribed in Danish for Oluf E. Thulesen (Fig. 10). The reddish colored terra-cotta from which it is made was the first type of terra-cotta produced, and it is quite possible that Thulesen was either a terra-cotta worker or a relative of one. One of the most interesting gravemarkers, referred to briefly earlier, dates to the second decade of the 20th Century (Fig. 7). The marker consists of a rustic cross surrounded by ivy, lilies, and ribbons. It was made from several carefully-fitted pieces, with a base made to simulate stone. On an unrolled scroll, sculpted from terra-cotta, appears an inscription noting that the

Fig. 10 Oluf E. Thulesen marker (1888). This finely decorated artifact, inscribed in Danish, was made from bright red unglazed terra-cotta.

marker was "Erected by his [Owen Revell's] sorrowing relatives and friends of Lambeth England." This is particularly interesting because Lambeth, England – like Middlesex County, New Jersey – was a center of ceramic manufacture, thereby perhaps providing an indication of both Revell's immigrant status and his connection with the terra-cotta trade.

Possibly the most spectacular terra-cotta monument, also mentioned earlier, is that of Bruno Grandelis in the Metuchen Cemetery (see Fig. 2). This marker, which dates to 1905, was executed in white glazed terra-cotta by a highly-skilled craftsman, quite likely the father of the deceased. It depicts a casket with lid ajar, set between two truncated pillars topped by lit torches. From the casket an angel is rising, carrying in her arms a young boy – probably four year old Bruno – dressed in a sailor's suit. The sculpture is very well executed and shows great skill on the part of the artisan, as well as the innovative combination of several Victorian motifs.

Despite such spectacular examples, many of the most interesting markers are undecorated and undated. The lack of inscriptions in these cases is puzzling: perhaps, one might surmise, such gravemarkers were mass-produced for inexpensive sale.

In summary, the terra-cotta gravemarkers found in the study area vary from well-executed sculptures to modest, undecorated forms to recycled architectural details. They were produced in a variety of colors and designs, crosses being the most popular.

Why Terra-Cotta Gravemarkers?

The question remains as to why these terra-cotta gravemarkers were made. In some regions, a lack of workable stone leads to the development of alternative gravemarking traditions. However, the Raritan River Valley had been well supplied with gravestones since the late 17th Century.[43] Several factors acting together probably led to the production of terra-cotta gravemarkers in this area: these include ethnicity, economics, craftsmanship, and ideology.

As already noted, terra-cotta gravemarkers had a long history in certain parts of Europe, particularly Great Britain. A careful review of United States Patent Office Records from 1865 to 1920 reveals that three 19th-Century inventors had patented terra-cotta gravemarkers. In 1879, William Payne Loyd and William Dickinson Loyd of Itawamba County, Mississippi, took out a patent for a tombstone made from potters clay with incised lettering and colored glaze.[44] Similarly, in 1872, Collins C.W.

Morgan of Holly Springs, Mississippi, patented both terra-cotta coffins and gravecovers.[45] Despite these fascinating antecedents, there is no indication that New Jersey's terra-cotta workers were aware of their southern counterparts. Closer to home, between 1810 and 1820 potters and glassblowers in southern New Jersey had made an occasional ceramic gravemarker for family members and friends. These markers are very rare and seem to have been the unique products of certain inventive individuals. The Raritan Valley's terra-cotta gravemarkers appear to have been independently invented and, for at least a short period, were quite popular. Surprisingly, considering the mass-produced appearance of some of the markers, they do not appear to have been patented.

The use of terra-cotta gravemarkers would have been a pragmatic decision for the people of Middlesex County. According to contemporary advertisements, terra-cotta was as durable as stone, more attractive, easy to clean, inexpensive, and lasted forever.[46] As Charles Davis, a 19th-Century authority on clay products, noted: "In beauty of color it has advantage over stone, for by the use of chemicals any color can be produced."[47] For a short while, terra-cotta seems to have been considered a sort of super material.

Perth Amboy was also home to a highly skilled workforce which took great pride in its products. This pride is evident in the incredibly ornate and imaginative terra-cotta architectural details found throughout Perth Amboy, as well as in the colorful, proud promotional literature of the time.[48] Many of the Danish, Italian, and English immigrants to the region were highly skilled artisans. Nels Alling, perhaps the most talented of the area's terra-cotta sculptors, had studied at an academy of art in Denmark and received medals from the Danish king before emigrating to Perth Amboy.[49] He came to New Jersey in the 1880s because he had "heard that top-flight workers in terra-cotta could earn as much as 55 cents an hour, which was a fantastic sum of money."[50]

While gravemarkers were certainly not the primary field of work for these talented artisans, they were easily within their reach. Working in the terra-cotta industry, Alling sculpted several impressive statues, including a life-sized rendering of George Washington. The skill of workers like Alling was apparently a source of great pride for the citizens of Perth Amboy. The accomplishments of the terra-cotta factories, including the Chrysler Building, the United States Supreme Court Building, and the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel, were all chronicled by local newspapers.[51] In

1932, reporters estimated that 10,000 people had viewed the newly-completed Perth Amboy terra-cotta pediment for the Philadelphia Museum of Art, then on display at the Atlantic Terra-Cotta plant.[52] Even today, this small city, which was once the leading producer of terra-cotta in the nation, displays some of the finest and most unusual terra-cotta in the United States. Ornaments as diverse as race cars, lobsters, and a miniature Statue of Liberty, complete with torch, decorate local buildings.[53] The quantity and quality of these decorations has been attributed to the skill and competitiveness of local craftsmen,[54] traits which apparently also led them to experiment with gravemarkers. Perhaps, one might surmise, the local fascination with terra-cotta contributed to the acceptance of it as a material for gravemarkers.

It is quite possible that the terra-cotta workers made a number of gravemarkers on their own time at the end of the day. This may have occurred with or without the foreman's tacit approval. The skilled glassblowers of New Jersey's Pine Barrens are known to have produced whimsical pipes and canes at the end of the day. Supposedly, much of this activity was carried out after work and during breaks and came to be called "end of the day" or "tempo" work. The products of these skilled artisans were much sought after.[55]

Two other factors which may have influenced the decision to use terra-cotta gravemarkers were ethnicity and economics. The influence of both these factors on gravemarker choice in other contexts has seen substantial study.[56] According to Lynn Clark, an archaeologist, ethnicity both limits and expands consumers' choices, in either case providing them with a range of options not available to non-ethnic populations.[57] The use of terra-cotta gravemarkers appears to have been one of those options.

The terra-cotta gravemarkers of Middlesex County were most popular with new immigrants and strongly reflect the ethnic diversity of the area during the early 20th Century. Many of the terra-cotta gravemarkers are inscribed in foreign languages such as German, Hungarian, Italian, Russian, and Danish. Often those with English surnames list foreign places of birth, including Tipperary, Ireland, Lambeth, England, or even places in Hungary and Denmark. According to the 1920 census, 35% of Perth Amboy's population was foreign born, and 47% had at least one foreign-born parent.[58] The three best represented immigrant groups were Hungarians, Russians, and Danes, and it was these same groups which often chose terra-cotta gravemarkers.

Many of the immigrants found work in the clay industry: Danes and Italians dominated the terra-cotta plants.[59] Similarly, Hungarians provided the backbone of the region's brickworks.[60] Coming to America for a variety of economic and social reasons, these immigrants gradually assimilated with the region's population.[61] Their assimilation, it seems reasonable to assume, may correspond with the disappearance of terra-cotta gravemarkers in this area.

Ethnicity and socioeconomic status are often interlinked, while status, like ethnicity, is hard to define. According to historical archaeologists Sherene Baugher and Robert Venables, an individual's status may depend not only on income, property, and political and military offices, but can also be linked to marriage, name recognition, participation in societies, ethnicity, and one's physical appearance and behavior.[62] These factors can be hard to quantify. The socioeconomic status of the individuals who chose terra-cotta gravemarkers is unknown. While some of the terra-cotta workers, such as Nels Alling, considered themselves well paid, many of the new immigrants were probably quite poor.[63] Strikes for better wages are known to have rocked the region in the first decades of the 20th Century.

Randall McGuire, studying Broome County, New York's cemeteries, noted that from "the mid-19th Century through the first two decades of the 20th, the Broome County cemetery clearly reflected the status and social position of the people who were buried in it."[64] In a general way the trend seen by McGuire is also evident in this region's cemeteries. Large sandstone – and later marble – monuments marked the graves of prominent citizens of English and Dutch descent. New ethnic groups not only lacked such ostentation but often created their own cemeteries or were relegated to the margins of already established burying grounds. Many rest in unmarked graves.

Linked to the question of the status of the individuals who chose terra-cotta gravemarkers is the issue of cost. Terra-cotta could simulate stone, could be molded into a variety of forms, decorated in vibrant colors, and was significantly cheaper than stone. Mark Nonestied of the Middlesex County Cultural and Heritage Commission recalled hearing of terra-cotta gravemarkers which were made during the Depression and replaced after World War II with stone monuments.[65] Many individuals may have initially chosen terra-cotta gravemarkers based on cost, thus linking the markers to socioeconomic factors. Nonestied first noted the simple, num-

bered ceramic gravemarkers used in Elmwood Cemetery in New Brunswick, New Jersey, to mark indigent burials. These markers date from the turn of the century.

A sizeable portion of the terra-cotta gravemarkers are located in ethnic cemeteries. The main exception is Alpine Cemetery in Perth Amboy, which represents the closest Perth Amboy comes to a Victorian rural cemetery. Its 60 terra-cotta gravemarkers are, however, concentrated in the least expensive plots, next to a block of free graves used for victims of the 1918 influenza epidemic.[66] In many of the ethnic cemeteries, the terra-cotta gravemarkers were only one of a variety of vernacular gravemarkers, which included cement, wood, and metal markers used in place of traditional gravestones. Only infrequently do these unusual markers appear in prestigious locations in cemeteries. To some degree, status – both social and economic – appears to have influenced the choice of terra-cotta gravemarkers.

In addition to reflecting ethnicity and socio-economic status, terra-cotta gravemarkers may have represented an ideological statement. The terra-cotta gravemarkers in the study area are not associated with any particular ethnic group but with new immigrants in general. As such, they may indicate a counter-hegemonic trend on the part of the people who used them. Perhaps, one might argue, the cultural heritage of these immigrants led them to prefer these distinctive, colorful, and conspicuous gravemarkers.

Disappearance of the Terra-Cotta Markers

Between 1915 and 1925 terra-cotta markers reached their highpoint, then rapidly disappeared. This is surprising since the terra-cotta companies survived the Depression and lasted until the 1960s, albeit in much reduced form. Again, no single reason for the disappearance of terra-cotta gravemarkers is known. However, several convergent hypotheses present themselves. First, many of the immigrant groups who used the terra-cotta markers had been in the region for 30 to 40 years by 1930. They may have experienced a fair amount of assimilation through schools, work, and military service, and chosen traditional gravestones instead of terra-cotta gravemarkers. Adding to this is the fact that many cemeteries discouraged the use of unusual gravemarkers.[67] Additionally, the formation of larger conglomerates from the original small, family-owned terra-cotta companies may have reduced or eliminated the production of terra-cotta

markers.[68]

Another factor in the disappearance of the terra-cotta gravemarkers may have been the realization that terra-cotta, if improperly installed, could decay and was hard to repair. Finally, the 1920s were a period of relative economic prosperity. Individuals who might in earlier decades have chosen terra-cotta gravemarkers may have now been able to afford granite or marble gravestones.

While the conclusions presented here are impressionistic, it appears that Middlesex County's terra-cotta markers show the influence of both socioeconomic and ethnic factors. The presence of small, unlettered monuments, some of which are simply pieces of recycled architectural decoration, may indicate a minimal expenditure on gravemarkers, while the large number of ethnic groups and languages represented by the markers shows their popularity with several ethnic populations.

Conclusions

Analyses of gravestones, like other material culture studies,[69] commonly focus on the form of the object. What is distinctive about the artifacts which have been the basis of this study, however, is not their forms as such but rather the material from which they were made. These terra-cotta gravemarkers mark both the graves of numerous inhabitants of the clay region and the home of what was once the world's largest terra-cotta works. More importantly, they document the emergence of a parallel but counter-hegemonic gravemarking tradition which, along with wood, cement, and metal gravemarkers, provided new immigrants and industrial workers in Middlesex County with a distinctive, colorful, and vibrant alternative to the homogenous white and gray markers selected by the majority of the population.

NOTES

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APPENDIX
Cemeteries with Terra-Cotta Gravemarkers

Name	Municipality	Markers
Alpine Cemetery	Perth Amboy, NJ	67
St. Mary's Cemetery	Perth Amboy, NJ	16
Bethel M.E. Cemetery	Staten Island, NY	8
Holy Trinity Cemetery	Woodbridge, NJ	8
Saint James Cemetery	Woodbridge, NJ	7
Hillside Cemetery	Metuchen, NJ	5
St. Stephen's Cemetery	Woodbridge, NJ	4
Cavalry Cemetery	Woodbridge, NJ	3
Our Lady of Hungary Cemetery	Woodbridge, NJ	3
St. Peter's Cemetery	Perth Amboy, NJ	3
Christ Church Cemetery	South Amboy, NJ	1
Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary Cemetery	Woodbridge, NJ	1
Calvary Cemetery	Sayreville, NJ	1
St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Cemetery	Perth Amboy, NJ	1
Total number of markers		**128**

This table does not include terra-cotta corner posts, uninscribed urns, or borders.

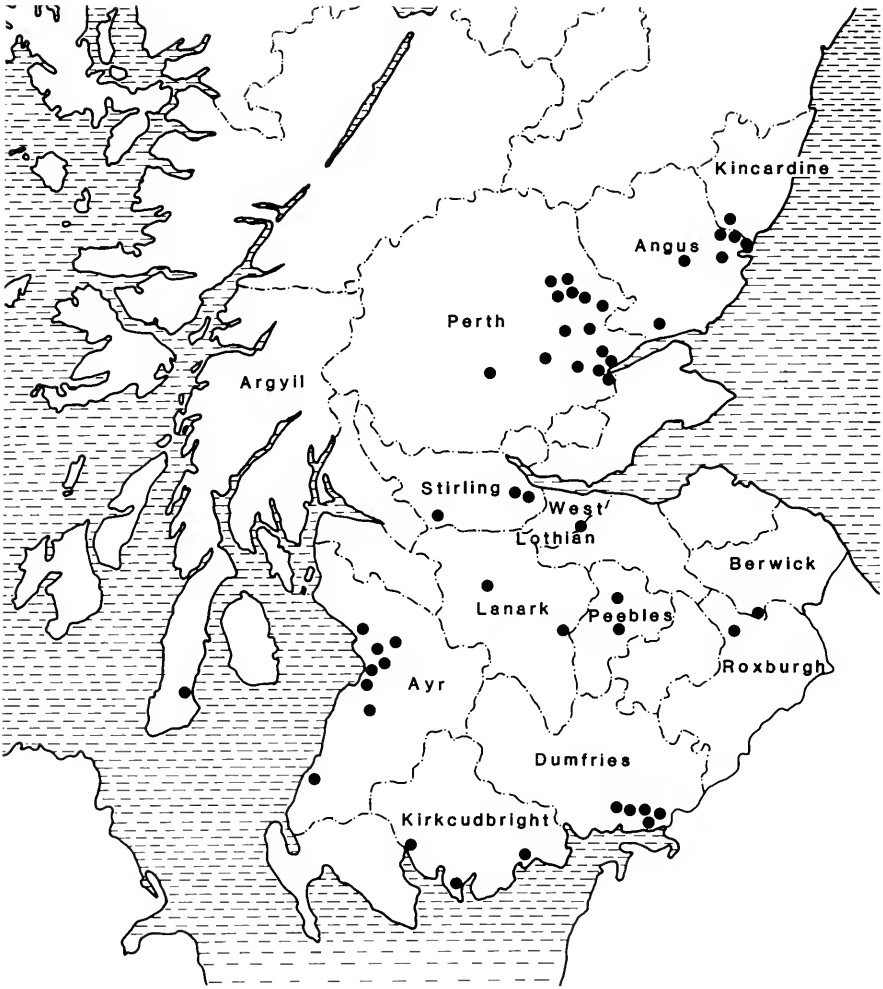


Fig. 1 Distribution of Adam and Eve scenes on kirkyard monuments in the Scottish Lowlands

ADAM AND EVE SCENES ON KIRKYARDS IN THE SCOTTISH LOWLANDS: AN INTRODUCTION AND GAZETTEER

Betty Willsher

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Before the reformation in Scotland, the prestigious and the wealthy were buried inside churches and chapels, and were commemorated on mural monuments, chest tombs, altar tombs, and slabs. Commoners were buried outside the church or chapel in unmarked graves. After the Reformation, there was an edict that no further burials should take place inside churches, so gradually the upper classes raised, over their kirkyard family burial lairs, those same types of monuments which had previously been erected inside the churches. The grand early 17th-Century external mural monuments in Greyfriars, Edinburgh, are examples of this. In the 18th Century, a degree of prosperity among tenant farmers and tradesmen in the Scottish Lowlands led to commissions for an increasing number of such memorials for the graves of ordinary folk. Whilst the churches were stripped of Popish emblems and ornaments, and the newly built post-Reformation churches, with a few exceptions, were strictly plain, the Church did not object to the kirkyard monuments being carved with sets of emblems which promoted the new ideology.

These emblems of mortality and immortality were taken from the emblem books which were so popular in the 17th and 18th Centuries, particularly Francis Quarles's *Emblems Divine and Moral* (1635) and *Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man* (1638).[1] The emblem books drew heavily on Cesar Ripa's *Iconographia* (1603).[2] The source of almost every emblem in the range may be traced back to an earlier usage in Greek, Roman, and other cultures, but the significance was changed to suit each new religious philosophy. The two main emblems were the winged head, taken from Italian Renaissance art (but stemming from an earlier source), representing the soul of the deceased, and the death's head, the selected condensed symbol for death. In addition, it was permissible and popular to display emblems of the appropriate trade, and to decorate the monument with motifs taken from Renaissance art and architecture, such as volutes, cartouches, and pediments. The stones in the kirkyards were cut by local masons, who were usually employed in other types of mason work: only

rarely, in places where demand was high, did masons specialize and serve customers in several parishes. Carved kirkyard monuments are found in England, Northern Ireland, New England, and in the Protestant areas of Germany, as well as in Scotland. In other Reformed countries, such as Switzerland and The Netherlands, the practice has been to remove or recut old stones regularly, so few monuments of this kind have survived.

In addition to the emblems, English and Scottish masons in the 18th Century carved biblical scenes on memorials, along with relevant texts from the scriptures or with rhyming epitaphs. The masons very rarely signed their work (a signature was probably in most instances not considered necessary, for the mason would be known locally), but many of the cutters in England and New England have been identified. Such documentary research has yet to be done in Scotland, where the distinctive style of an 18th-Century carver may nonetheless be recognized in two or three adjacent parishes.

By far the most popular type of monument was the headstone. An agreement between mason and customer would determine the type of memorial – the shape, the decoration, and the emblems selected from the range. In Scotland and New England (and in some regions of England), the local mason used all the possible permutations in order to give each family a unique stone. These carvings were part of a widespread tradition. At the 1978 Dublin (New Hampshire) Seminar for New England Folklife, one of the principal themes which ran through the papers presented there was the question of whether early American gravestone art can be construed as folk art. There were the usual associations between crude technique and folk provenance, but Lance Mayer convincingly argued, from his study of Connecticut Valley markers, that the carvers were part of a larger folk tradition because they shared a vocabulary of "plebeian" motifs used by folk and native artists everywhere, in particular 17th- and 18th-Century Europe.[3]

Scotland

Carved stones appear in areas where a level of prosperity in the local population created a demand, where there was a local source for stone which was suitable for cutting, and where there resided a mason capable of carrying out such work. In his early 20th-Century studies of kirkyard memorials in the Scottish Lowlands, David Christison recorded 24 with scenes of Adam and Eve carved on them.[4] In the course of my own field-

work I have recorded an additional 34. Their distribution stretches from Kincardineshire in the northeast through most of the southern counties and as far southwest as Kirkcudbright (see Fig. 1). Such is the extent of the loss of stones from our graveyards that it is likely there were once many others. One of the most distinctive characteristics of headstone monuments in Scotland is that it was usual to carve them on both faces, a practice which allowed more space for these biblical scenes. Most of the scenes are in fact on headstones, the dates of which range from 1696 to 1799. However, as can be seen from the map, there are certain areas where Adam and Eve scenes do not appear. In the Lothians, where 18th-Century stones are heavily carved, the preferred biblical scene was that of the Sower and the Harvester ("As ye sow so shall ye reap"). In Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, and Stirlingshire (excepting Polmont and Holy Rude, Stirling), kirkyard monuments are relatively plain. In addition, in all of these counties, as well as in Clackmannanshire, Kinross, and west Fife, there was a tradition from the 17th Century of setting up stones to identify lairs which had been bought. Such "marker" stones are often plain, with only initials and dates, and bearing such legends as "Holds three lairs" and "This is the property of ___." Among them may be found a minority of "monument" stones, usually set up to signify people of importance. Travelling from west to east, the ratio of "monument" to "marker" increases, as does the incidence of carvings. A "marker" was set up when the lairs were purchased: a "monument," on the other hand, was set up after the death of a family member, when full information was inscribed and the stone embellished with carvings.

Why was the subject of the Fall of Man so popular in Scotland? It is certainly in line with the other messages which the graveyard carvings convey. *Memento Mori* is the most usual inscription. Epitaphs, emblems, and scenes all warn that death is inevitable, but for those who seek grace, that indestructible part of man, the soul, may attain a place in Heaven. Religious fervour was stronger in 17th- and 18th-Century Scotland than in England, and great stress was laid upon sin, death, and the Resurrection. So it is not surprising that there were constant reminders of original sin, of the Temptation by the Devil, of the fall of Adam, and of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. God did not intend that there should be death: death and suffering were brought about through Adam's fall. A typical epitaph runs:

Fig. 2 Detail of the Farnell Pictish stone, Montrose Museum

By Adam's sin death enter'd in
All mankind to devour
Who to this day will stay alway
Be subject to the power.

There is reference to Christ as "the second Adam": through His death he set man free, giving to him the choice of salvation. The portrayals of Adam and Eve in Paradise, of the Temptation and the Fall, and of the Expulsion are reminders and warnings. The winged souls on these stones are messages of hope. In addition, the scene carved may have been a bulwark to strengthen faith which was wavering in the face of the loss of loved ones, particularly children. The scene was a reminder that death was not the fault of God. Dates of death on a third of the stones are indecipherable: of the dated ones, 19 were erected in memory of children – a significant proportion.

Christison refers to earlier carvings of such stones – for example on a Celtic cross on Iona and on the Pictish stone (Fig. 2) which was removed from its site at Farnell, Angus, and set up in Montrose Museum.[5] The stone has recently been repaired and cleaned, allowing for a clearer

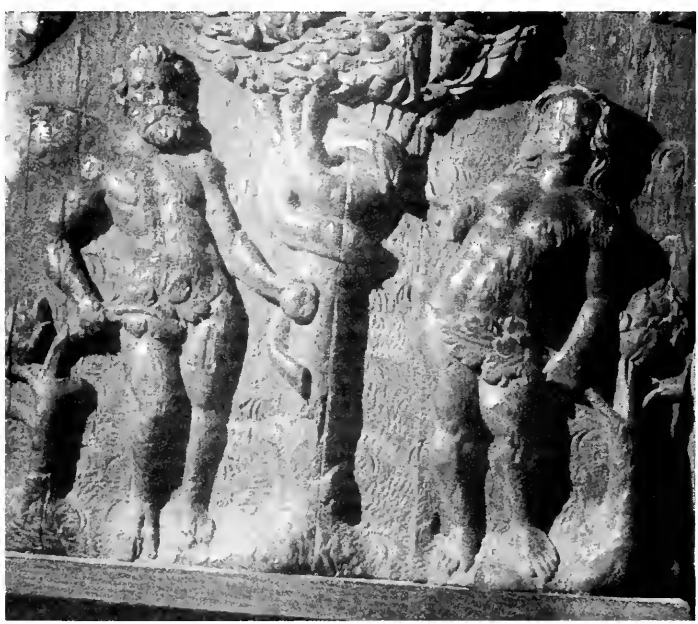


Fig. 3 Detail of chest in Rosslyn Chapel, Midlothian

inspection of its details. Two dumpy human figures standing on either side of the tree may have served as models centuries later, but the two huge serpents making a frame to the picture were not copied. From a much later date, Christison provides an illustration of the ceiling of the Skelmorlie Aisle, built and painted for Lord Montgomery of Skelmorlie in 1636-38, found in the old church at Largs.[6] Although many carvings and paintings in churches were effaced after the Reformation, some may have survived long enough for their iconography to be copied, and may have contained scenes of the Temptation and Fall. There were other examples of the familiar scene readily to hand – in illustrated bibles and religious books, in school primers, in chapbooks, on funeral broadsheets, on pottery, and on furniture (Fig. 3 illustrates the scene on a Flemish bog-oak chest in Rosslyn Chapel). Traditionally, Adam stood left of the tree (to the onlooker) and Eve on the right (i.e., Eve was on Adam's left). The serpent appeared coiled up the tree trunk, emerging with its head looking down at Eve. Perhaps from diffidence, the mason usually carved fig-leaf aprons for the couple, although if the scene is of the Temptation before Adam ate of the apple, this is, strictly speaking, anachronistic.

England

In England, churchyard memorials with scenes of Adam and Eve were identified some decades ago by Frederick Burgess.[7] They were carved by two late 18th-Century schools of masons, one based in Suffolk, Kent, and Essex, the other in the West Midlands, in villages around Evesham. These stones were signed, as was more often the case in England at the turn of the 18th Century. Three biblical subjects appear to be common to both England and Scotland: The Sacrifice of Isaac, the Fall and the Redemption, and the Expulsion from Paradise. The latter two, which fall into the general category of Adam and Eve scenes, are found on gravestones at South Littleton (Worcs., 1804), Child's Wickham (Glos.), and at Church Langton (Leics., 1777).[8] The Church Langton scene shows Adam and Eve, dressed in leafy skirts, standing on either side of the tree with the serpent coiled round it. Adam stands slightly higher than Eve and is on the left of the tree as we look at it. Below a figure of the risen Christ, an angel admonishes them while Death directs his dart at Adam. Adam and Eve face away from us, but their heads are turned to look at the serpent. The scene, charmingly set in flowing arabesques, is very small and at the top centre of a tall stone. Burgess describes the carvings of this school of masons as

"sumptuous": indeed, their work seems quite sophisticated compared with that found in Adam and Eve scenes on Scottish stones, where the cutters were parish masons (or may even have worked in some other trade, such as that of wright).

North America

Three scenes on memorial stones in North America, which have been described and illustrated by Deborah Trask, closely resemble the work of Scottish masons.[9] Exemplifying the strength of this tradition of carving, they are as follows:

(1) *St. Paul's Cemetery, Halifax, Nova Scotia:* Mary (d. 1775) and Freke (d. 1796) Bulkeley, head panel of tablestone (Fig.4). This depicts Adam and Eve on either side of the tree, but here Eve is standing on the left (to the onlooker). The two are rather alike in appearance, with short bob hair styles and wearing what resemble swimming trunks. The couple face forward, with their feet turned inward towards each other. Adam holds an

Fig. 4 Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1775/1796, Mary and Freke Bulkeley

apple in each hand: Eve has one in her right hand, and seems to be taking another from the serpent, which is in exactly the same position as on most of the Scottish stones. Trask reproduces an illustration – with its accompanying verse, "In Adam's Fall / We sinned all" – from *The Child's Guide* (printed in London in 1725) which presents an Adam and Eve scene similar to that on the Bulkeley stone.[10]

(2) *Catholic Burying Ground, Spring Garden Road, Halifax, Nova Scotia (now in the collection of the Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax):* No name (c. 1795), end panel of tombstone (Fig. 5). This is surely by the same cutter as the Bulkeley stone, but here Eve is on our right, the usual stance in Scotland. With her right hand she takes an apple from the serpent. Here Eve has long hair, though both she and Adam wear apparel which closely resembles that of their counterparts on the previous example.

(3) *East Burial Ground, Bristol, Rhode Island:* Sarah Swan (d. 1767), tympanum of gravestone (Fig. 6). Both figures are clad in short leafy aprons. Again Eve is on the left (to the onlooker) and is about to take an apple

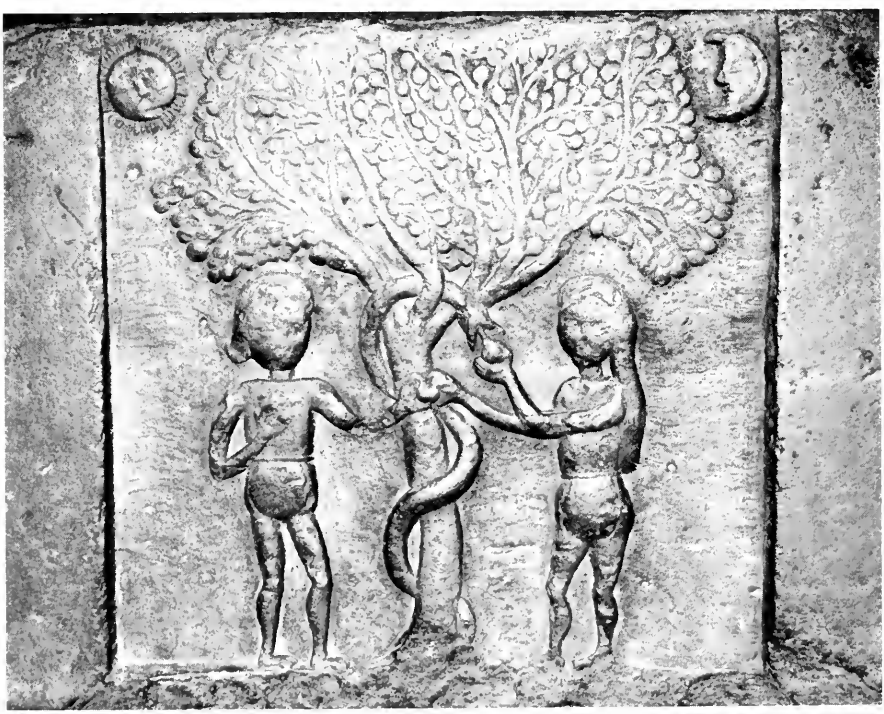


Fig. 5 Fragment of tombstone, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax

from the serpent, which is hanging downwards round the trunk, as at Biggar in Lanarkshire, Scotland. Inscribed to the left and right of this scene are the words "For as in Adam all die, even / so in Christ shall all be made alive." The work has been attributed to the carver Stephen Hartshorn.[11]

A Cause for Concern

As in America, The Adam and Eve scenes in Scottish kirkyards form a distinctive collection of folk art sculpture, reflecting the religious philosophies and social history of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Moreover, these stones are only a part of the valuable art collection which survives in the graveyards of every parish. The importance of churchyard memorials has been recognized in those areas of the United States where such mason work is to be found. There, the Association for Gravestone Studies has been the inspiration and guide to local and statewide groups to record graveyards and to put them in order, resetting loose and tilted stones and

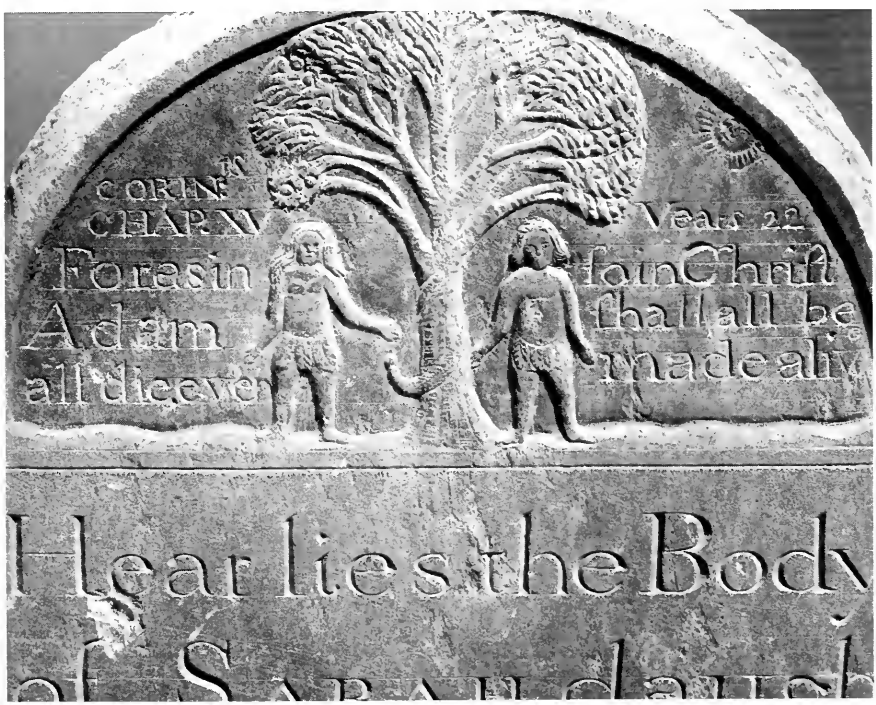


Fig. 6 Bristol, Rhode Island, 1767, Sarah Swan

recovering those which have been removed. The Association also acts as a pressure group to bring about the introduction of state laws which make encroachment on cemeteries illegal and which impose severe penalties on vandalism and the theft of stones. Historians and art historians, among others, have carried out a considerable amount of research. In Scotland, various local societies have made complete recordings of graveyards. Even so, a local authority, despite objections, recently granted permission for an old churchyard (in Paisley) to be turned into a car park. The move to turn churchyards into "gardens" is also a threatening one. Builders are interested in developing neglected city cemeteries in which may be found some fine work by 19th-Century sculptors.

Staring us in the face is the fact that most of these stones have a short future, as the carvings and inscriptions are flaking. Some of the stones recorded by Christison (or by earlier researchers) have disappeared. There is constant loss. Through an annual grant from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and at the request of The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), I, along with Doreen Hunter and Jess Nelson, have made sample records of the best carved stones in each parish in the Lowlands (excepting Aberdeenshire and Renfrewshire). The photographs are held in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

In 1901, David Christison, then Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, strongly recommended that the unique Faith, Hope, and Charity stone in Greyfriars, Perth, be taken into a museum. Ninety years on, all plans have been agreed upon to set up a small museum, opening onto the graveyard, to contain that special stone and a representative sample of several others. It will be done as soon as money is available. The same measure could be taken in other graveyards, using an adapted watch-house or mort-house, or a shed, as at Abdie, Fife. A simpler method to protect a stone *in situ* would be to erect a small roof over the top of it, as rain followed by frost causes flaking. Where stones lie against the kirkyard dyke, and the carvings on the face are thus hidden, it might be considered feasible to select one or two for preservation in the church porch, in the church itself, or in the local museum. In the United States, an increasing number of fibre-glass models are being made for museums, or to stand in place of the original stone which goes to the local museum. Funds for this are raised by local groups. Scotland should take note. Our District Councils should be made aware of the significance of gravestones, and

they should not agree to their removal from graveyards. If local societies can record churchyard monuments, at least there will be data for further research and for the management of this part of our heritage.

PART II: GAZETTEER

There follow descriptions, and in many instances illustrations, of Adam and Eve stones in the Scottish Lowlands, quoting as appropriate from Christison. The stones are grouped geographically, broadly from northeast to southwest, and, where convenient, chronologically. In some cases where stones have deteriorated to the point where photography yields inadequate detail, drawings have been made by Rex Russell. I have been unable to find the stones reported at Farnell, Angus, at Tarbolton and Dunlop in Ayrshire, and at Dalbeattie (Kirkpatrick-Juxta). In stones for more than one person, the date given is that of the first burial listed.

Dun and Tannadice (Angus); Cargill (Perthshire)

Dun (1): 1696, James Erskine, aged 28, and Agnes Burn, aged 25. On the long panel of a tablestone are incised the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac

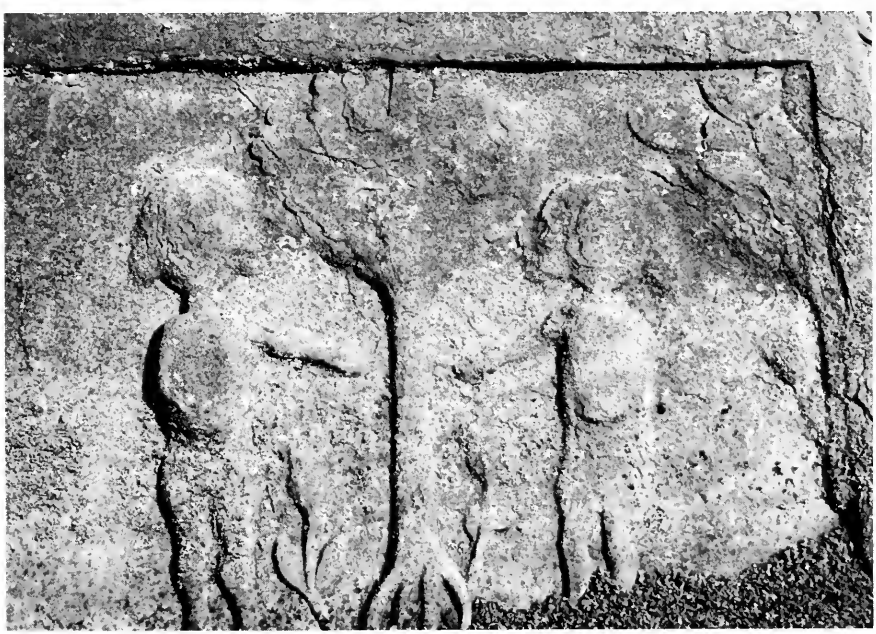


Fig. 7 Dun, Angus, 1699, Robert Paterson

accompanying that of the Fall of Man. Adam and Eve stand under a tree which has thin, stick-like branches bearing apples (not unlike the tree seen in Fig. 2). They face outward in rigid stances, and an active serpent presents an apple to Eve. This scene is half hidden, and the carving is worn.

Dun (2): 1699, Robert Paterson, aged 48, and his wife, Margaret (Fig. 7). On the end panel of a chest tomb we have a close-knit, symmetrical tree with roots. Eve is passing an apple to Adam's outstretched hand, while each has placed the outer hand on the stomach. It is interesting that masons often carve the hands thus – as if to indicate (as in a comic strip) the anticipated relish. The Dun carvings constitute two of the three earliest recorded Adam and Eve stones.

Tannadice: 1715, no name (Fig. 8). This stone, now built into the wall of a house near the churchyard, has been reused. It bears the inscription "AS IN ADAM'S FALL WE SINNED ALL" and the date 1715. The mason may have been the cutter of Dun (2), or may have been influenced by that depiction.

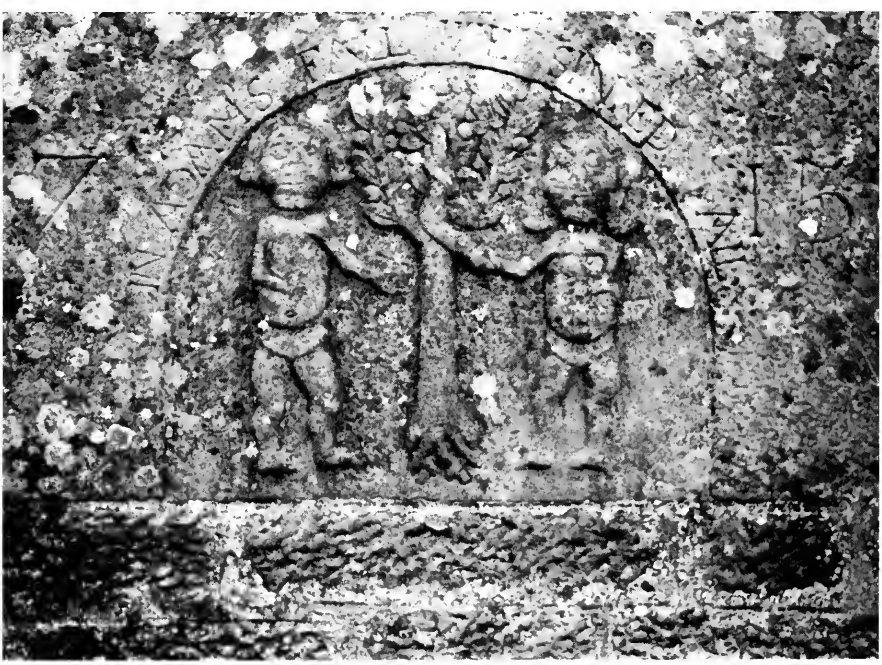


Fig. 8 Tannandice, Angus, 1715

Cargill: no date, no name (Fig. 9). This is a loose panel lying on the ground (there is also a panel with a carving depicting the Sacrifice of Isaac). The rendering bears some similarity to the Paterson scene at Dun, though Eve has long hair.

Logie-Pert and Stracathro (Angus); Fettercairn (Kincardineshire)
Logie-Pert (1): 1742, John Prestack, aged 72, and Margaret Scott, aged 56

Fig. 9 Cargill, Perthshire

(Fig. 10). Christison notes:

> As if to typify the readiness of Adam to accept the fatal gift, one arm with open palm is stretched towards Eve. A rose springs from Eve's right and Adam's left ankle, and on the outer side of each figure a conventional but elegantly foliaged single-stemmed rose tree with a large flower at the top completes the design.[12]

The roses are significant: they stand for Perfection, and therefore for Paradise. The mason who carved all the stones in this group, and many others in the area, embellished his scenes with roses, often a single rose or a lily springing from a plant pot. The figures on his stones are delightful – small-bodied with short legs and very square shoulders, large-eyed, and with neat hair in a rope, coil, or long or short bob. At the top of the legs, a curved line, like the bottom of a vest, avoids embarrassing details.

Logie-Pert (2): no date, no name. This tablestone support (loose) was not seen by us in the field, though Christison reports that:

Fig. 10 Logie-Pert, Angus, 1742, John Prestack

> The serpent descends the tree but with no apple in its mouth, and our first parents stand with hands clasped in front as if still able to resist the tempter's wily tongue. Above Eve ... is inscribed Homo Damnavit.[13]

Adam and Eve have similar hairstyles, and their feet are turned inward to the tree.

Logie-Pert (3): 1743, Anna Annandal, aged 29 (Fig. 11). Christison summarizes the scene as follows: "Adam and Eve in primitive innocence, appear to be walking in the Garden of Eden."[14] This may well be the monument to the wife of the cutter of these five stones, i.e., James Annandal, who died in 1754 at the age of 65. The shield on the other side of this, their family stone, carries the mason's tools of trade. As seen on this side, identical square-shouldered figures are clad in bikini-like pants. Each rests one hand on the stomach and holds up a rose in the other hand. A huge lily growing in a pot is placed in the centre of the scene.

Stracathro: 1730, Margaret Will, aged 59 (Fig. 12). This stone was described and illustrated early in this century: even then it was in poor condition and mended by a metal clamp.[15] Here we meet the wide-eyed gaze of

Fig. 11 Logie-Pert, Angus, 1743, Anna Annandal

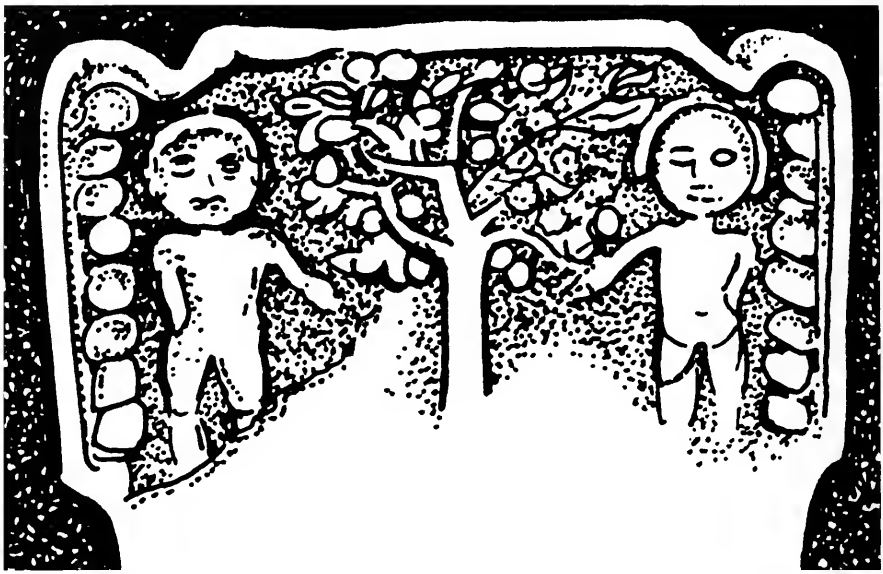


Fig. 12 Stracathro, Angus, 1730, Margaret Will

familiar figures resembling those at Logie-Pert.

Fettercairn: 1737, Margaret Dickie, aged 75, and three infant children (Fig. 13). As Christison points out, the resemblance to the Prestack stone, Logie-Pert (1), is indeed striking.[16] Consider, for example, the trees: at the end of each bough are two leaves with an apple between, looking like a sycamore fruit. Also note the roses springing from ankles of Adam and Eve. Beneath is the inscription:

> ADAM AND EVE BY EATING THE FORBIDDEN TREE
> BROUGHT ALL MANKIND TO SIN AND MISERY.

Dundurn [near Comrie], Clunie, and Methven (Perthshire)

Dundurn Burial Ground, Comrie: 1729, Cathrine Dewar. Under the spreading wings of a large soul effigy, Adam and Eve, hand in hand, walk in the Garden of Eden. Adam is on the left (facing): he has short bobbed hair, while Eve has long hair. They are clad in very short leafy aprons. Each grasps a lily, and two roses are carved between them. The east face of the stone bears a tree, possibly the Tree of Life.

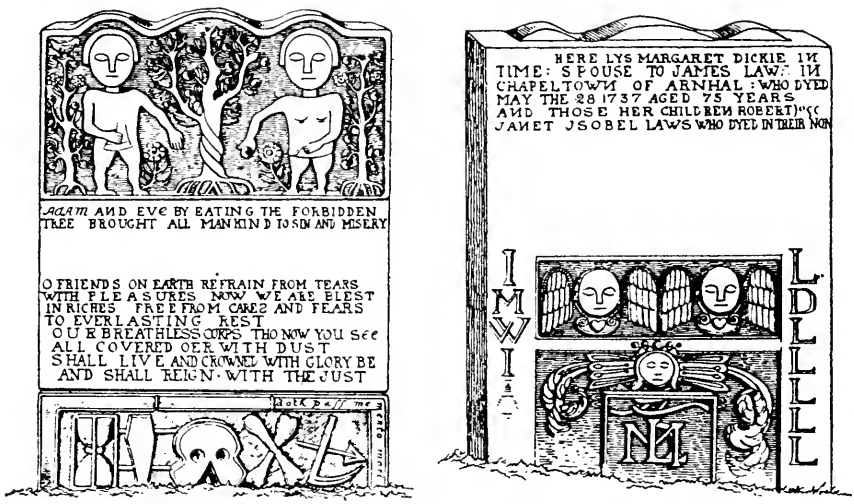


Fig. 13 Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, 1737, Margaret Dickie (after Christison)

Clunie: 1742, James Dog, aged 73. This stone is so worn that it is impossible to distinguish more than the usual format of tree, figures, and serpent.

Methven: 1748, John Watt's young children (Fig. 14). The mason, John Watt, who may have cut the stone, stands above the scene wearing his mason's apron; his tools, with freemason emblems, are displayed in the shield. The style of the carving does not match with any of the other scenes. The figures, wearing short pants, are dumpy, and the heads seem to be fixed to the bodies with no necks. The tree, with long thin branches and tiny apples, is not unlike that seen on the Erskine stone (Dun 1). While the serpent proffers the apple temptingly, Adam and Eve seem to be doubtful and pondering, each with hand to chin. As often occurs, the scene is set so that the figures and tree stand on a ledge. Here we find the only epitaph which places the blame directly on Eve:

> All.ye people .that.pas.by
> on.thes.ston.youl.cast.your.ey
> This.was.the way. that sin. began
> woman.she.beckoned .unto.man

Fig. 14 Methven, Perthshire, 1748, children of John Watt

Collace, St. Martin, and Logiealmond (Perthshire); Lundie (Angus)
Collace: 1742, John Gardner, aged 66. On a tablestone panel, the figures of Adam and Eve face inward, in the same position as at St. Martin (see below), and may represent the work of the same cutter.

St. Martin: 1750, Janet Ritchy, aged 20, spouse to James Mitchell, and their children who died young (Fig. 15). This rendering is different from any so far described. The figures are presented sideways and facing inward to the tree and to each other: each places a hand over the private parts. But their faces are turned towards us and wear guilty, anxious expressions. The serpent holds an apple immediately above Eve's head. The open books are inscribed (in Latin): "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." The scroll below bears the words *Fate Manent Omnes.*

Logiealmond: 1764, James Nockel, age not decipherable (Fig. 16). The mason here seems to have used the St. Martin scene as a model, but being less skilled the carving is clumsy, albeit striking. With an inspiration of great originality, he has made the shape of the tree long and thin and undulating, with the boughs above Eve terminating in a serpent's head. The scroll is inscribed with the familiar *Memento Mori.*

Lundie: 1759, the five Ritchie children (Fig. 17). This resembles the St.

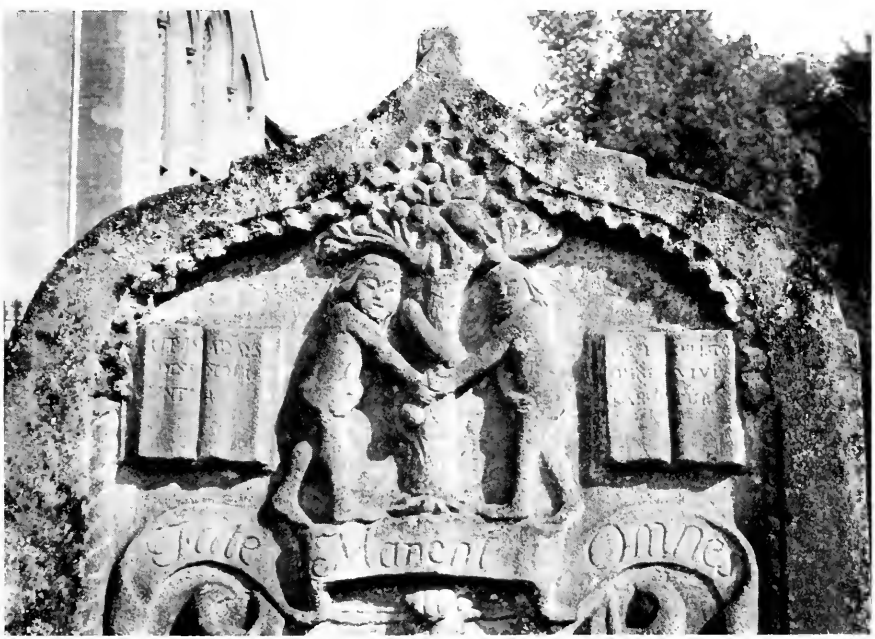


Fig. 15 St. Martin, Perthshire, 1750, Janet Ritchy (Mitchell)

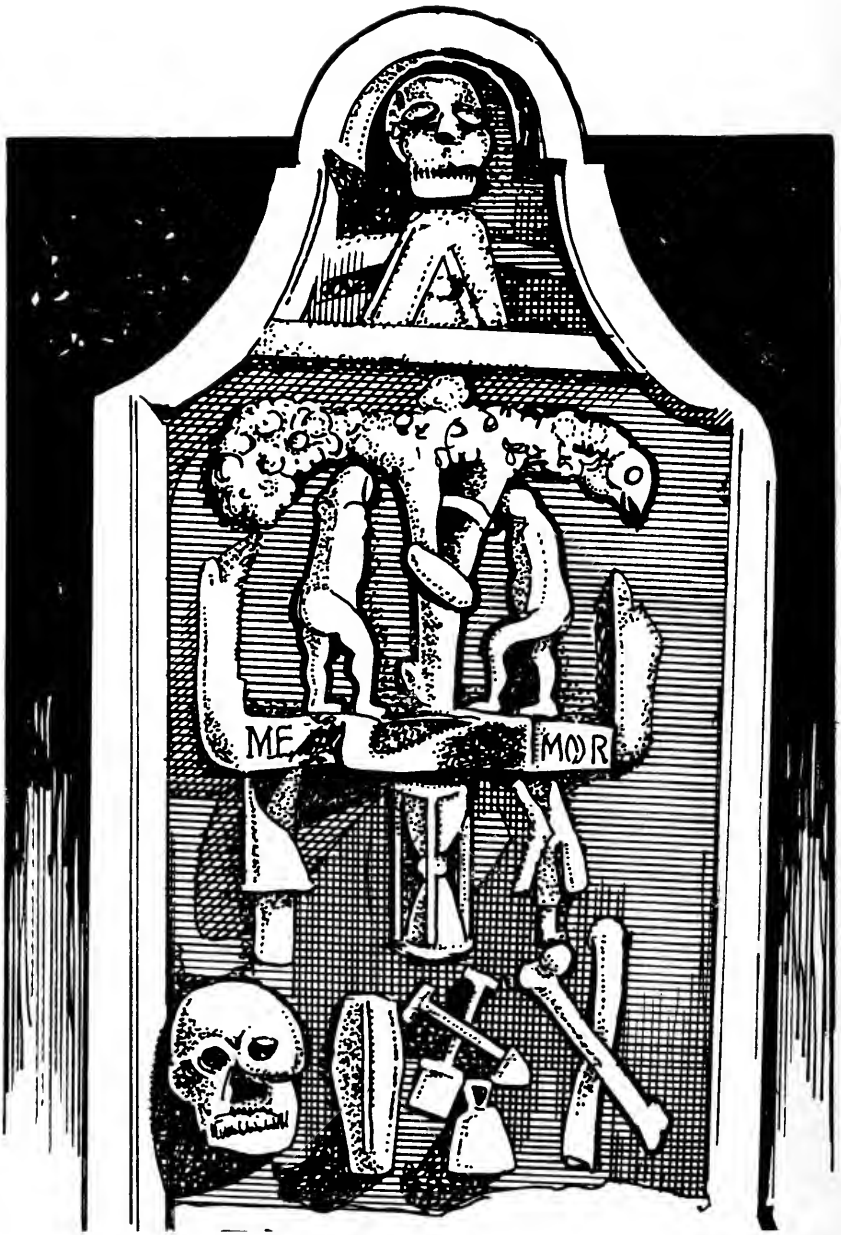


Fig. 16 Logiealmond, Perthshire, 1764, James Nockel

Martin carving in that the figures face inward. Adam holds an apple, and Eve stretches out a large greedy hand to the serpent, which has an apple in its mouth. Although the figures are positioned sideways, they are pro-

Fig. 17 Lundie, Angus, 1759, Ritchie children

vided with covering leaves which are the size of fig leaves (many of the aprons in other scenes look as if they are made with an apple tree leaf or anything but the usual shape of the fig leaf). The most interesting feature here is that the serpent's tail ends in a dart of death. The tree is fuller and more graceful than that found on the St. Martin stone. The caption reads: "The serpent beguiled me and I did eat." On the reverse side of this stone is a carving of the Sacrifice of Isaac – the only headstone known to carry both scenes.

Little Dunkeld and Logierait (Perthshire)

Little Dunkeld (1): 1744, John Burry, aged "about 60" (Fig. 18). Christison

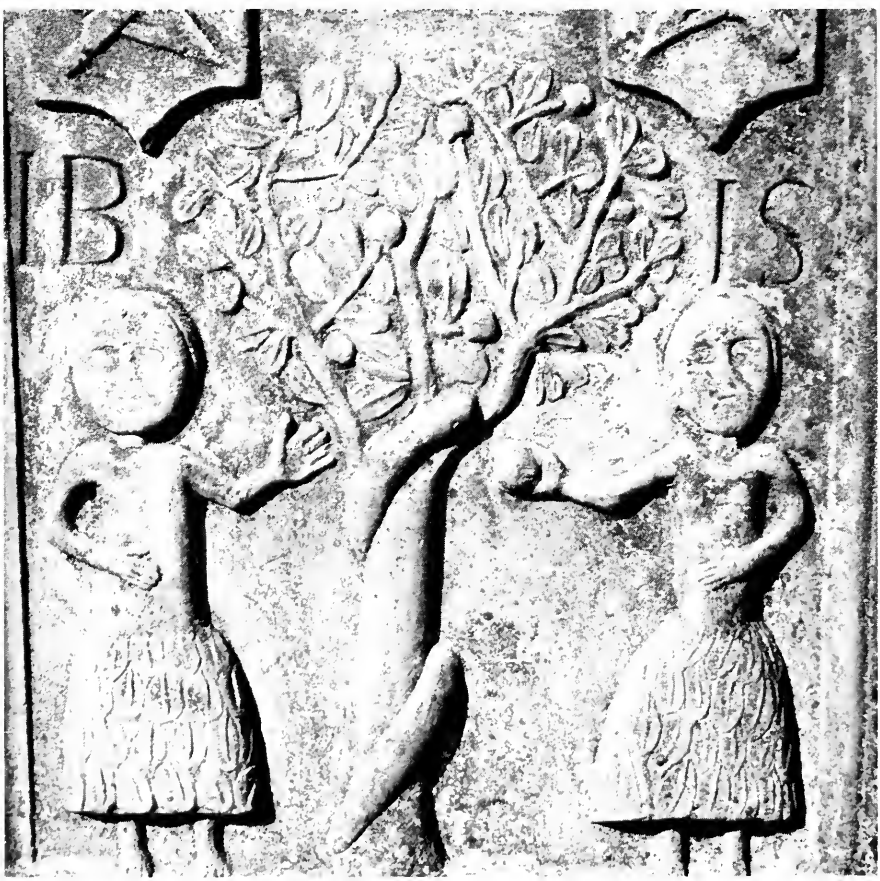


Fig. 18 Little Dunkeld, Perthshire, 1744, John Burry

describes the stone as depicting "Eve holding an apple just received from the serpent, and Adam holding out his hand as if willing to take another."[17] A new feature is the very long aprons (or skirts) worn by Adam and Eve.

Little Dunkeld (2): 1762, John Campbell, aged 35 (Fig. 19). According to Christison:

> The subject is treated in a totally different manner from those formerly described. [There is] a 'Memento Mori' ribbon, above the middle of which Eve, clothed in an apron and a kind of mantle, is sitting in the

Fig. 19 Little Dunkeld, Perthshire, 1762, John Campbell

> background under a tree, and points to Adam, who, also wearing an apron, stands forward with one hand on his stomach and the other stretched towards the tree. Between them, and in front of Eve, the serpent crawls along the ground towards the tree. The attitude suggests that Eve is asking the serpent to fetch an apple for Adam, who is quite ready to receive it.[18]

The Burry stone was reported to Christison as being at Dunkeld, and the Campbell stone as at Birnam. The two actually stand side by side in the churchyard of Little Dunkeld, which is at Birnam. It seems strange that someone would report one without the other – or were the stones at that time not sited as now?[19] As Christison remarks, the treatment of the Campbell stone is "grotesque," but it is amusingly in line with children's drawings, particularly in one feature: the boughs of the tree spring from the same place at the top of the trunk, as if they were twigs in a deep vase. Some features have been copied from the Burry stone – the exceptionally long leaf aprons, Adam's stance (except that the hands are reversed), and the form of leaves on the tree. Both stones also feature a full-faced skull.

Logierait (1): 1769, John McLaren, aged 22 (Fig. 20). This small stone provides a scene similar to that found on the Burry stone, but is embellished with flowers and angels, and the tree is fuller and more artistic. On the reverse face there is a small head portrait in an oval frame, just as may be found on the Burry stone, and the lettering seems to be by the same hand.

Logierait (2): 1784, Margaret Connacher, aged 56 (Fig. 21). In Christison's words:

> The figures stand within an archway, and on the arch is inscribed 'THE SERPENT DECEIVED EVE.' The serpent is coiled round the tree, on either side of which stand Adam and Eve, wearing aprons of fig-leaves, and Eve displaying an apple in her hand.[20]

Christison gives the salient features of all the stones in this group. The tree is alike in each instance – small, compact, and composed of leaves, with six to nine symmetrically placed apples. In keeping with the tradition of mason work, there are slight variations from scene to scene. The objective in the customer-mason agreement was to produce a unique memorial for

each family, while using a set range of subject matter. This was accomplished by playing on permutations. Thus it is very rare to find two stones which are identical (except in central Scotland). This particular mason usually gives us figures with neat hair styles (rope band style, long or short bobs), broad foreheads, and slightly pointed chins. Adam and Eve face forward, but there are differences in the positions of their feet. The captions on the arches vary slightly. The Connacher stone was recently accidentally broken, but was skillfully restored and set up facing north and south. The cleaning has revealed that Eve has been given long hair by

Fig. 20 Logierait, Perthshire, 1769, John McLaren

Fig. 21 Logierait, Perthshire, 1784, Margaret Connacher

Fig. 22 Logierait, Perthshire, 1781, Margaret McLaren and Ann Steuart

Fig. 23 Logierait, Perthshire, 1784, mother of William Husband

a shock of incised lines. Was this, one might ask, added by the cutter at the request of the customer, and after the completion? One can imagine an argument, for the addition is not in keeping with the style of carving.

Logierait (3): 1781, Margaret McLaren and Ann Steuart, first and second wives of Peter McFarland (Fig. 22). Presumably, Margaret died young (Ann died at the age of 28). The death of yet a third wife was added later. Here the figures are cut short at the waist, as the scene is found at the bottom of the stone. The inscription reads "The Serpent Beguiled Eve."

Logierait (4): 1784, William Husband's mother (no age given) and two young children (Fig. 23). This carving seems obviously by the same hand.

Dowally and Lagganallachy (Perthshire)

Dowally: 1782, John and James (aged 26), sons of William Douglas (Fig. 24). This resembles the Connacher stone closely and has the same caption, though with a spelling mistake.

Lagganallachy: 1764, George Black, aged 73 (Fig. 25). The tree here is simi-

Fig. 24 Dowally, Perthshire, 1782, John and James Douglas

lar, but the skull in the row of death emblems is not the same type as on the stones above, which bear a very distinctive profile skull with rimmed eye sockets and a cranial line.

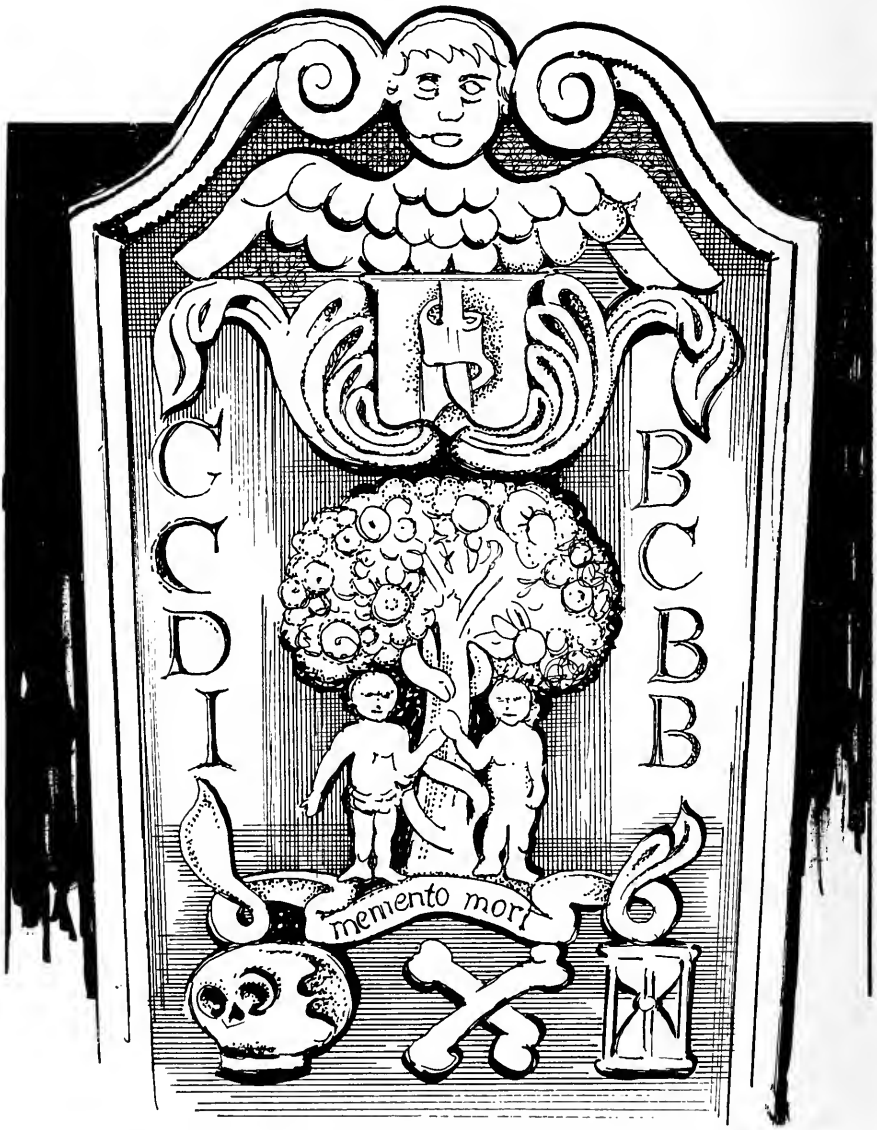


Fig. 25 Lagganallachy, Perthshire, 1764, George Black

Greyfriars Perth, Kinfauns, St. Madoes, and Caputh (Perthshire)
Greyfriars Perth: 1782, John Cameron and Janet McLaren, the parents of Daniel Cameron, gardener (Fig. 26). The unusual feature here is that the tree springs from a globe of the world, on which are inscribed the usual

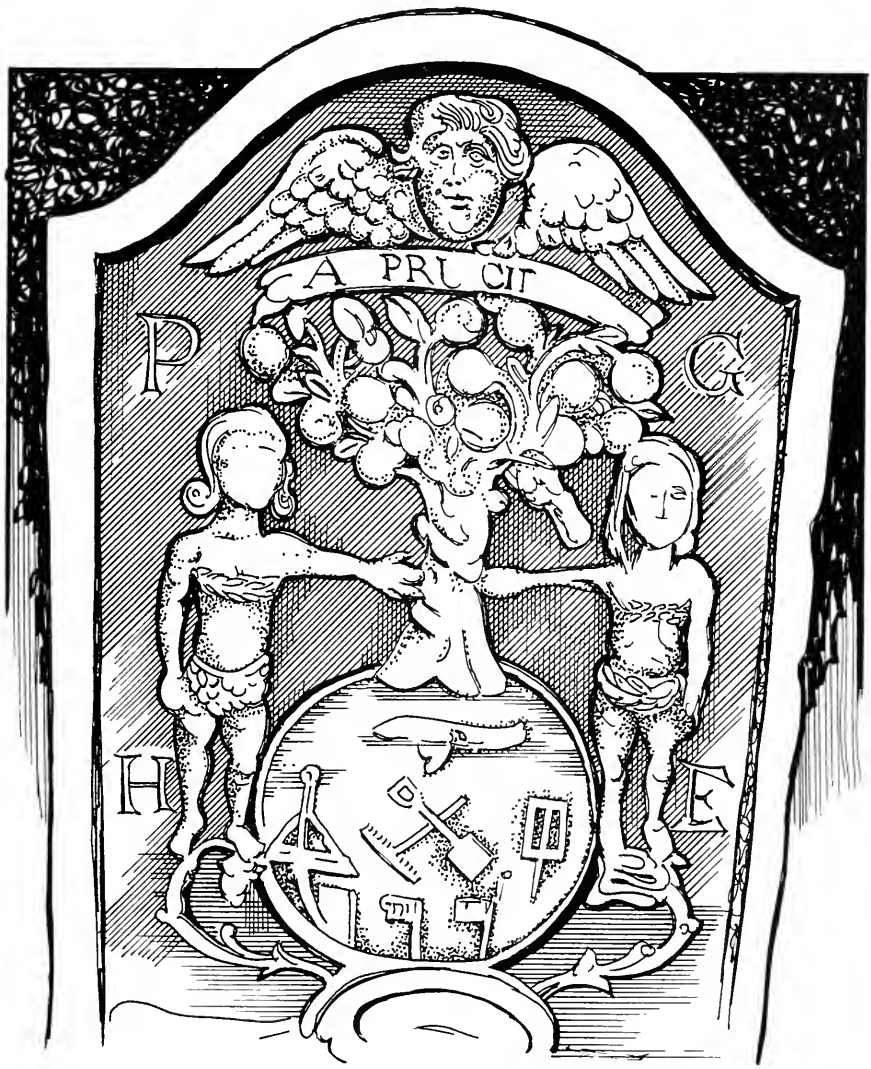


Fig. 26 Greyfriars Perth, Perthshire, 1782, John Cameron and Janet McLaren

tools of the gardener – spade, rake, measuring reel – and something not seen elsewhere, two marker flags. The Adam and Eve figures are attractive, and the tree and serpent well formed. The monument is of red sandstone and, standing under a tree, is deteriorating rapidly.

Kinfauns: 1782, the parents of James Morrison, gardener. Here we have two almost identical stones, cut by the same mason.

St. Madoes: 1785, Gilbert Layell, aged 55 (Fig. 27). Although in the parish adjacent to Kinfauns, this probably represents the work of a mason who cut his own family stone at Kinnaird. Both are of red sandstone, and each features an identical depiction of Father Time. Here at St. Madoes, however, he sits on top of the oval frame, which holds the Adam and Eve scene. The tree is composed of a staggering array of very small apples, and, parting the boughs, one sees an angel of a very primitive cut.

Caputh: 1809, David Robertson's young children. Here there is simply a

Fig. 27 St. Madoes, Perthshire, 1785, Gilbert Layell

carving of the tree with apples and the snake coiled around it, while underneath is a large-winged soul effigy.

Falkirk, Polmont, and Campsie (Stirlingshire)
Falkirk: 1750, Christian Lauder. Christison summarizes the scene thusly:

> Eve receiving an apple from the serpent in the tree,
> and apparently handing another across its stem to Adam.
> They both wear girdles of fig leaves. The roots of the
> tree spring from a thigh bone.[21]

This a superior and pleasing carving. The tools of Christian Lauder's husband, a gardener, are depicted in the side panels and under the scene of the Fall of Man. The stone disappeared from Falkirk, either before the clearance of the graveyard or at that time. Many of the stones from this site were used for bottoming at Polmont.

Polmont (1): 1796, IS IG (Fig. 28). This stone is loose and is propped up against the north kirkyard dyke beyond the church. It is not possible to see the inscription face further than the date 1796. This surely must be the work of the cutter of the 1750 Christian Lauder stone (see above), but it is an unusually long date gap. The design of the face has been varied, so that the roses and tools are in different positions, but all the ingredients and the style of presentation tally. It is possible that this stone was cut between 1750 and 1775 and not actually used until 1796. There is a splendid array of carved stones at Polmont, and it may be that the three gardeners' stones were the work of Robert Hart, who erected a monument to his young children in 1766 and died in 1775. This particular monument has Adam and Eve supporters clad in leafy sashes which end in large fronds.

Polmont (2): 1754, TS EC, and a revised inscription (Fig. 29). It was customary to take over a stone and carve a revised date and inscription. Fortunately, the original date was left in this case. This stone represents the third of the group. All bear the inscription "Solomon in all his Glory was not arrayed like one of these."

Campsie (1): 1799, CC AMcF. On the main panel of this small stone a book is set over a winged soul effigy: on either side are two dumpy figures with

Fig. 28 Polmont, Stirlingshire, 1796, IS IG

leaf aprons, outer hands placed on stomachs and inner hands touching the tips of the soul's wings. On the open book is inscribed "GEN. 3.8 & JOB 2.26."

Campsie (2): 1799, GC AMcF (Fig. 30). This is a variation of the previous example, with a different soul effigy, striated pilasters, crossbones, and skull. To mark the second family, another stone was set up, this being a feature of Stirlingshire graveyards.

Fig. 29 Polmont, Stirlingshire, 1754, TS EC

Fig. 30 Campsie, Stirlingshire, 1799, GC AMcF

Kilchousland (Argyllshire)

Kilchousland: 1720 (Fig. 31). This stone was reported by Robert Rodgers in 1983.[22] Adam and Eve are depicted as if climbing in the boughs of trees – an extraordinary and a very pleasing picture, perhaps meant to represent their freedom in Paradise.

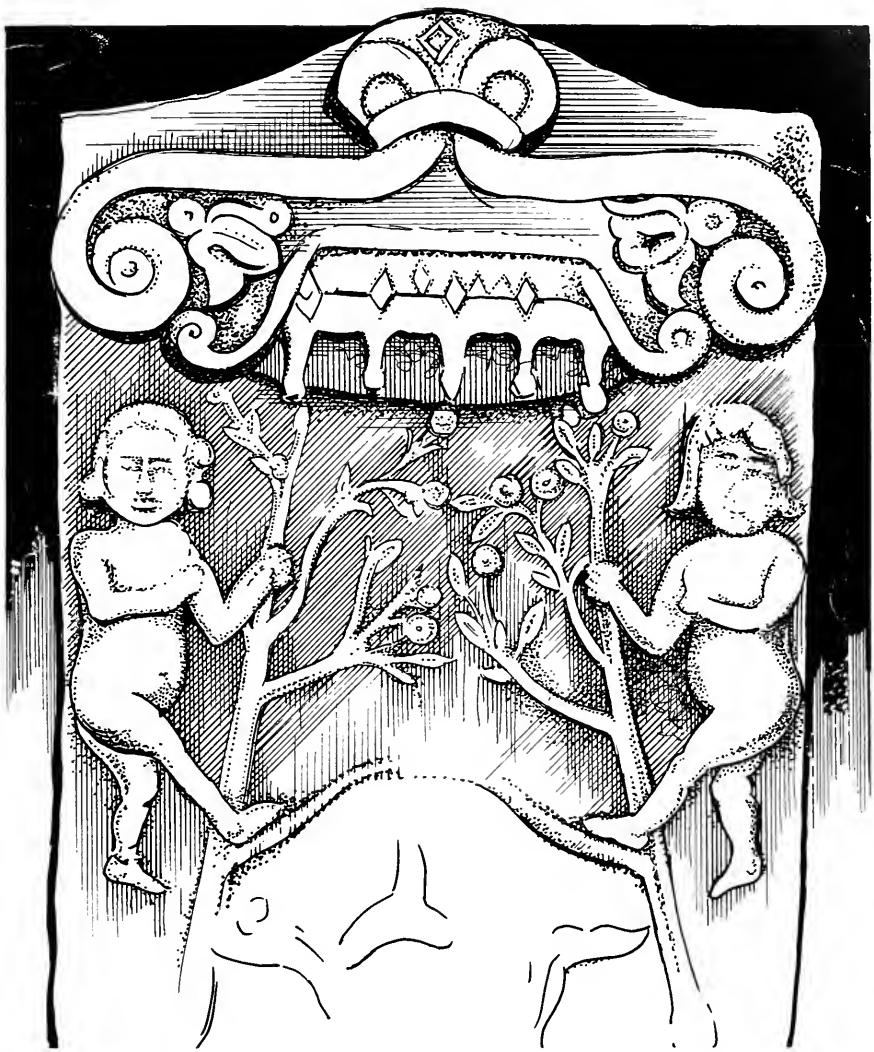


Fig. 31 Kilchousland, Argyllshire, 1720

Biggar and Hamilton (Lanarkshire); Uphall (West Lothian); Lyne (Peebleshire)

Biggar: 1713, Bertram, aged 28 (Fig. 32). According to Christison:

> The treatment . . . has the peculiarity that Eve is nude while Adam wears a loincloth, . . . and that the apples immediately above their heads take the form of skulls.[23]

In my photograph it looks as though Eve has a drape by her left leg. She holds her left hand in a concealing position. The appearance of skulls and

Fig. 32 Biggar, Lanarkshire, 1713, Bertram

doves is a feature of scenes found on stones in Kirkcudbright and Ayrshire. The tree is composed entirely of large apples and bananas. Both Adam and Eve have long hair, and the serpent is in a new position: apple in mouth, it hangs upside down on the tree trunk. Gazing ahead, Eve rather furtively holds her right hand ready at her side.

Hamilton: 1717, James Telfer. A report by John Traynor (Ardrossan) notes that:

> The stone is about 20 in. (0.5 m) high with ADAM and EVE carved above the figures themselves. As you face the stone both figures (Eve virtually obliterated apart from the head) are to the right of the tree.

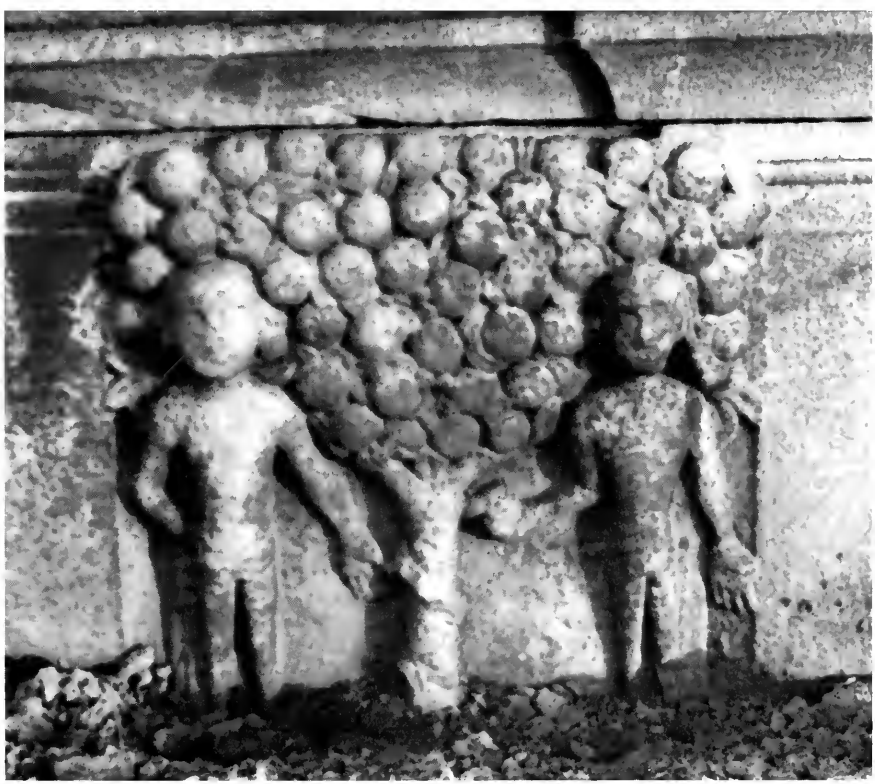


Fig. 33 Uphall, West Lothian, 1733, James Reid

Fig. 34 Lyne, Peebleshire, 1712, Janet Veitch

Uphall: 1733, James Reid, aged 49, tablestone end panel (Fig. 33). In describing the tree found on this stone, Christison remarks that:

> It is remarkable for the extraordinary load of large apples. Both figures have cloaks or drapes: again Eve takes the apple from the snake, and Adam stretches out a greedy hand.[24]

The drapes here resemble sashes.

Lyne: 1712, Janet Veitch, aged 16 (Fig. 34). According to Christison:

> The treatment of Eve is exceptional, as she faces the tree and seems to stretch her left hand towards the serpent which seems to be licking it, while she takes a huge apple bigger than her head from the tree with her right. Both she and Adam wear skirts or aprons, and her flowing hair is elaborately dressed.[25]

This small scene is at the top of the panel, and a transparent covering has been utilized to protect it: the carving is in excellent condition. The accompanying text reads:

> LIFE IS THE ROAD TO DEATH
> AND DEATH HEAVEN'S GATE MUST BE,
> HEAVEN IS THE THRONE OF CHRIST
> AND CHRIST IS LEFT TO ME.

Bowden (Roxburgshire); Dryburgh Abbey (Berwickshire)

Bowden: 1697, Basil Bonitone, in the hollow of a pediment of a tablestone. Alan Reid has described this tiny carving, noting that the figures are 4½ in. (113 mm) high, the breadth of the grouping is 4⅝ in. (117 mm), and the tree is 6½ in. (166 mm) high.[26] This is a compact tree with a mass of apples. Adam leans forward and is turned towards Eve, an arm outstretched. Eve (rather strangely) has both her hands lifted to her left.

Dryburg Abbey Graveyard: 1745, William Pringle, aged 69, and Agnes Guldilock, aged 75 (Fig. 35). Christison comments:

> This example is more artistic, the figures being well proportioned and the tree more like a tree. Eve has her hand on her head as if in doubt.[27]

Fig. 35 Dryburgh Abbey, Berwickshire, 1745,
William Pringle and Agnes Guldilock

Fig. 36 Straiton, Ayrshire, 1705, John and Agnes Mure

Fig. 37 Kells, Kirkcudbright, 1706, McNaught children

The frame of Jacobean scrollwork, the stylized leaves, and a rose above help to make this an elegant scene. This is one of the rare occasions when Adam and Eve are naked yet face forward. The stone is loose and has been taken into the Abbey ruins for protection.

Straiton (Ayrshire); Kells and Kirkandrews (Kirkcudbright)
Straiton: 1705, John and Agnes Mure and their children (Fig. 36). The top part of the stone bears a shield with flowing sprigs of greenery above and on either side. The shield seems to sit on top of a very small tree, out of which pokes the small head of a serpent. Adam and Eve's hands meet over the top of the tree as she gives him the apple. Each rests outer hand on hip.

At Kells in Kirkcudbright there are four early stones with similar depictions of the Fall, all by the same mason who cut the Mure stone at Straiton in Ayrshire. The characteristics are pleasingly plump-limbed childish figures who wear girdles of leaves, Eve with flowing hair, Adam with thick parted locks. The tree is composed of stubby boughs bearing leaves and small apples. In the trees there are carvings of the skull and the dove. The serpent has a small undifferentiated head and long sinuous coils.

Kells (1): 1706, the McNaught children (Fig. 37). This portrayal is similar to that in the Straiton scene, though some differences are apparent. The positioning of hands, arms, and even feet are altered, and in the Kells scene Adam and Eve are depicted as standing on bones.

Kells (2): 1707, Agnes Herese and nine infant children (Fig. 38). On this stone, which is in quite good condition, a dove surmounts the tree, and a large skull, turned inwards and sideways, looms over Eve's head. Adam hangs on to a bough as if to hold himself back from sin.

Kells (3): 1718, Annable Chambers. This is almost the same as the Herese scene, but the tympanum is more steeply domed, the skull has been inserted between Eve's body and the tree trunk (instead of above her), and on Adam's left side is a bone. The stone is broken in three places.

Kells (4): 1702, Margaret Jardine and two children (Fig. 39). On this small stone by the same cutter we find a very truncated version of the Fall: aside

from secondary iconography, the only references to the Adam and Eve scenario are the apple tree with the serpent coiled about it.

Kirkandrews: 1790, the McMonies children (Fig. 40). This stone is obscured: it is difficult to distinguish Resurrection scenes (in which the dead rise naked from the grave) from those which portray Adam and Eve without

Fig. 38 Kells, Kirkcudbright, 1707, Agnes Herese

apple tree and serpent. Here (and at Alva Old, Clackmannan, on a slab dated 1700) the two figures cover their private parts as if ashamed. It is possible that the one at Alva is intended to be Adam and Eve, but the Kirkandrews example is so similar to two other scenes on headstones at Borgue and at St. Johns Dalry, Kirkcudbright – both Resurrection scenes – that it leads one to suspect that this is the intent of the depiction here. The marked difference in heights, as well as the fact that the taller figure

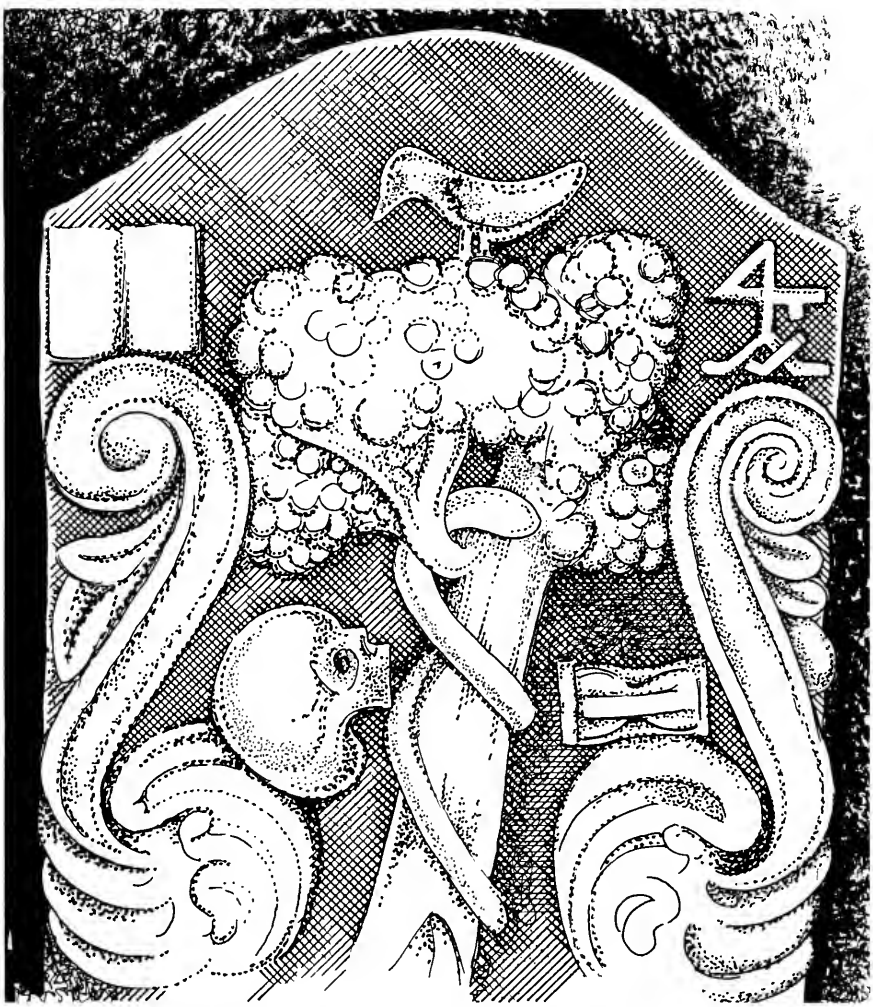


Fig. 39 Kells, Kirkcudbright, 1702, Margaret Jardine

stands upon a skull and the other upon a coffin, point to their representing William McMonies, who died 25 March 1790, aged five years, and his sister Mary, aged one year, who died two days later.

Tundergarth, St. Mungo, Kirkconnel, Repentance, and Hoddam (Dumfriesshire)

Tundergarth: 1711, James Johnston, aged 39 (Fig. 41). This very tiny scene

Fig. 40 Kirkandrews, Kirkcudbright, 1790, McMonies children

at the bottom of the stone face presents an almost token tree: huge leaves sprout from a centre and alternate with apples. Adam and Eve hold their outside hands behind their backs, their inner hands stretching towards the tree and each other.

St. Mungo: 1737, John Bell, aged 71 (Fig. 42). The Fall scene, depicted on the lower portion of the stone, is in the same style as seen on the Tundergarth example: here we also find a tiny tree, while the snake seems to be delivering another apple into Eve's hand. The figures wear small drooping pants. The serpent is coiled round the base of the tree, its head at the level of Eve's waist, and is turned towards her. An inscription beneath reads:

> HERE STAND ADAM & / EVE TREE AND ALL
> WHICH BY HIS FALL / WE WERE MADE
> SINNERS ALL

Fig. 41 Tundergarth, Dumfriesshire, 1711, James Johnston

In the upper portion of the stone, portraits of John Bell, his spouse Janet Irving, and a child surround a shield which bears three bells.

Kirkconnel: 1768, William Garioch (Fig. 43). Of this carving on a tablestone

Fig. 42 St. Mungo, Dumfriesshire, 1737, John Bell

support, Christison says:

> Across the stem [of the tree] Eve's right hand nearly meets Adam's left, but no apple is to be seen either there, or where Eve's other hand touches the serpent's mouth.[28]

This resembles the relationship between Eve and the serpent on the Little Dunkeld (2) stone and the scene at Lyne. The serpent is in dreadful convolutions at the base of the tree.

Repentance: 1768, George Douglas, aged 100 (Fig. 44). Christison describes:

> A tree with half a dozen apples and as many leaves. Eve seems to be aided by the serpent in handing an apple to Adam, whose folded arms indicate he has not yet fallen.[29]

The serpent has similar convolutions to those at Kirkconnel. Huge vines flank the scene. It would appear that several of these stones have a common source.

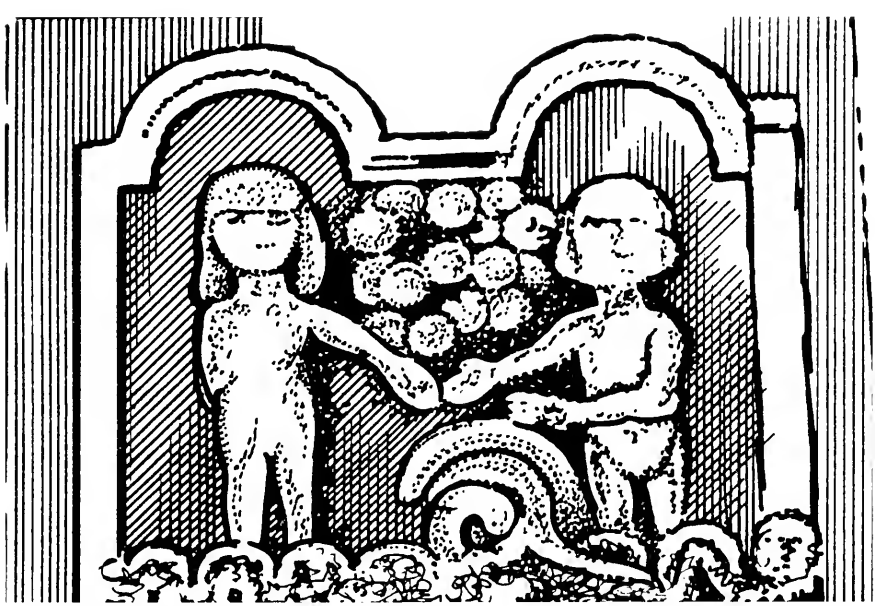


Fig. 43 Kirkconnel, Dumfriesshire, 1768, William Garioch

Hoddam: 1777, James Wightman and children. Christison suggests that this is a Tree of Life.[30] It cannot be placed under the category of Adam and Eve stones because the two figures on either side of the tree are not the first couple but men in 18th-Century costume.

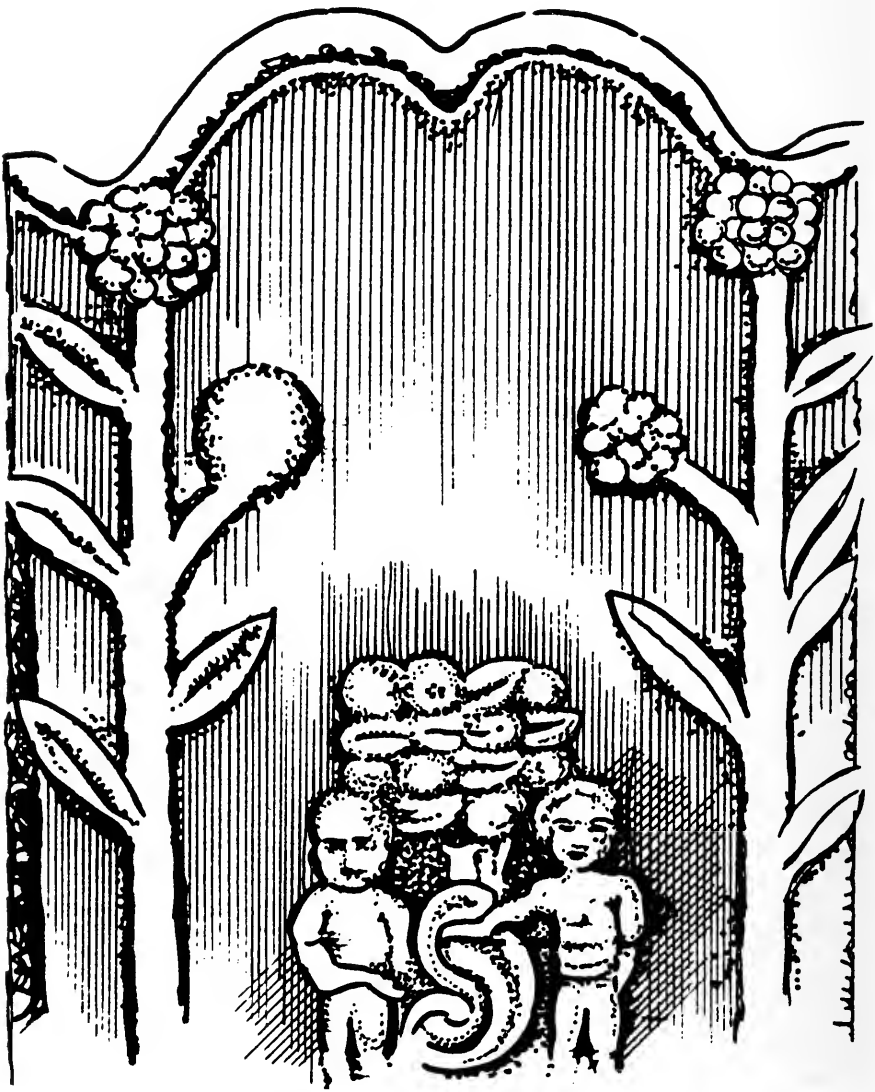


Fig. 44 Repentance, Dumfriesshire, 1768, George Douglas

Riccarton, Craigie, Dundonald, Colmonell, and St. Quivox (Ayrshire)
The ten Ayrshire Adam and Eve stones are reported by Christison, except the Straiton scene already described with the Kells group, and the Dundonald stone (see below).[31] They are a disparate group, each seemingly the inventive creation of different masons.

Riccarton (1): no date, no name (Fig. 45). On this stone, as Christison notes:

> The tempter is not the serpent but the woman. Adam makes a vigorous resistance. He is represented fleeing from her ... The design is quite peculiar in one respect. The figures, instead of standing with their heads towards the top of the stone, are placed horizontally. Eve stands firmly with clasped hands as if piqued by his refusal, but resolved to conquer.[32]

What a wonderful departure! The trunk (not shown in Christison's drawing) is squashed in between the figures, and at the sides are two superb specimens of Green Men.[33] At the very top of the stone, a skull spews out greenery, which droops down to either side of a framed portrait head. We were unable to decipher the inscription.

Fig. 45 Riccarton, Ayrshire

Riccarton (2): date and name not given by Christison, who does tell us that:

> Adam and Eve, robust figures, stand on either side of the tree, which has a very small head. No details of leaves or apples visible, neither is there any sign of the serpent.[34]

From Christison's accompanying illustration, it would seem that Eve stands on the right of the tree and Adam on the left. We were unable to find this stone, but it may have sunk so that the figures are no longer visible. On both these Riccarton stones the figures are naked.

Cragie: 1692 ("given as the earliest date but obviously cut later")[35], no name. Christison provides a good description of this stone and his illustration is reproduced here (Fig. 46). Apparently the stone was removed by the family who owned it. Never was there a more closely packed tree. The little winged soul effigies below the tree are of the style to be found in the Dreghorn/Dundonald area, with two upswept wings, but here only one wing shows because of the angle of the head. Adam is naked, while Eve has a loincloth.

Dundonald: no inscription deciphered. This headstone is very worn. The dumpy figures stand either side of the tree, long arms stretching towards each other. The other hands cover their nakedness. The serpent is not apparent on the sturdy tree trunk, but may be in the boughs. There is a faint impression of a dove in the tree.

Colmonell: 1758, Andrew McKissock and Maram McNiellie (Fig. 47). In Christison's words:

> A monstrous fat serpent trailing on the ground offers the apple in its mouth to a bold-looking, robust Eve, who takes it with one hand while grasping with the other the hand of a poorly developed and reluctant Adam, whose abject terror seems to cause his limbs to give way under him.[36]

As at Riccarton (1), the woman is shown as dominant. The two wear short aprons: above are angels on either side of a skeleton, and at the bottom of the stone appears the familiar Ayrshire ploughing scene. Adam seems to stand on one of the team of animals. Eve's hair lies on her head like a wig, and the goodman flourishes his goad.

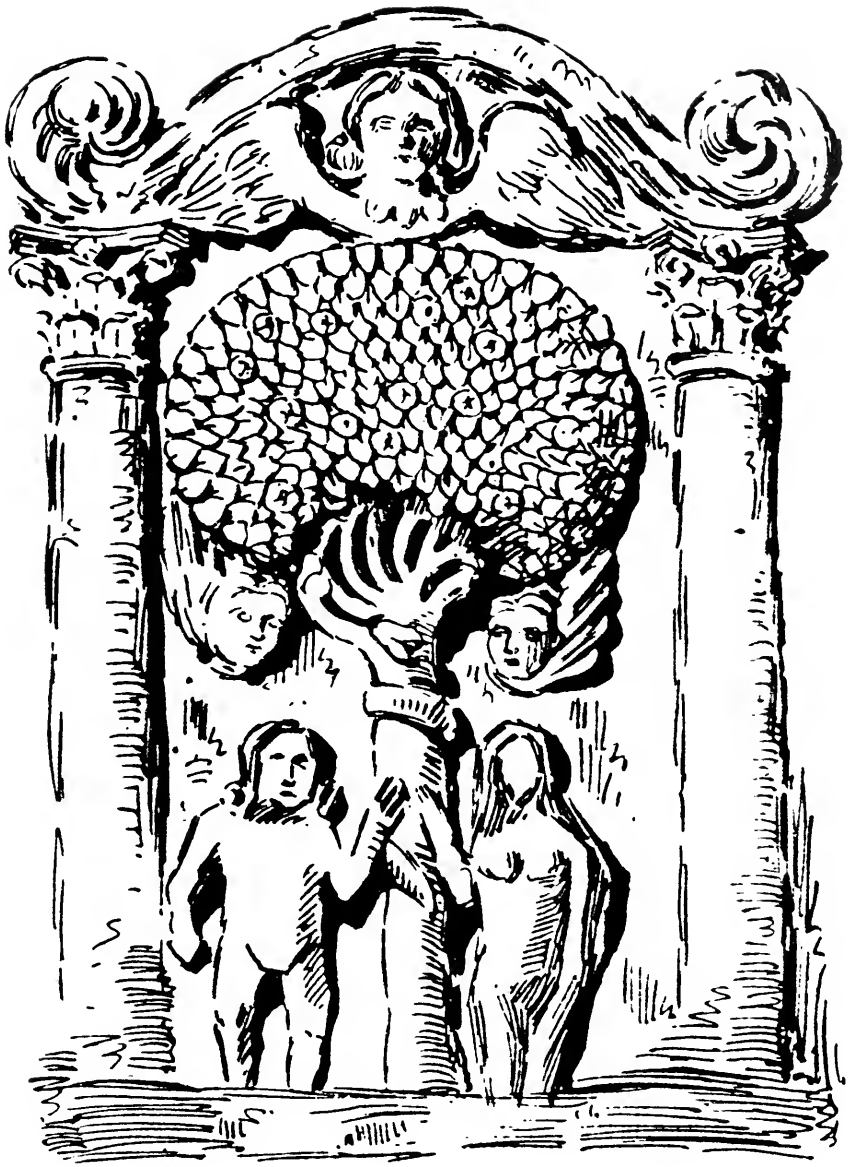


Fig. 46 Cragie, Ayrshire, 1692 [?] (after Christison)

St. Quivox: 1766-84, James McCalla, his wife, and their children (Fig. 48). Christison's description informs us that:

> Here the tree with its fruit is depicted, with the inscription 'In the day thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die.' Above is a shadowy outline of another tree which Mr. Wilson took to be 'the Tree of Life, on which the hapless pair are turning their backs as they go forth from the garden.'[37]

This is perhaps the most appealing of all the Adam and Eve scenes. Eve is on Adam's right – a departure to be found only in Ayrshire. They are long-legged, which gives them a certain grace, and they look forlorn. The thin trees tower above them: the incised tree in the centre seems to have had apples, and may have been a branch from the tree on Adam's left. Damage and wear at the top centre of the stone have almost obliterated the inscription.

Fig. 47 Colmonnel, Ayrshire, 1758, Andrew McKissock and Maram McNiellie

Fig. 48 St. Quivox, Ayrshire, 1766-84, James McCalla

NOTES

A slightly modified version of this article originally appeared in Volume 122 (1992) of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, and we are grateful to the Society for permission to reprint it here. As a number of the carvings treated in this article are poorly preserved or otherwise difficult to photograph, I am extremely grateful to Rex Russell for drawing these for me: they are reproduced here as Figs. 12, 16, 25, 26, 31, 39, 43, and 44. With the exception of the photographs in Figs. 4, 5, and 6 – which were taken by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber – all photographs are by the author. A number of these – Figs. 2-3, 7-10, 20-23, 27-28, 30, 33, 35-37, 40-41, 45, and 47-48 – were taken for the National Monuments Record of Scotland, and I am grateful to RCAHMS for permission to publish them in this article. The distribution map (Fig. 1) was drawn for publication by Margaret Finch and was funded by a grant from the Society's Angus Graham Bequest. Finally, my thanks go to Doreen Hunter and Jess Nelson for all their help with the fieldwork.

1. Francis Quarles, *Emblems Divine and Moral* [published with] *Hieroglyphics and the Life of Man* (London, 1777).

2. Cesar Ripa, *Iconographia* (Padua, 1603).

3. Lance R. Mayer, "An Alternative to Panofskyism: New England Grave Stones and the European Folk Art Tradition," in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston, 1978), 5-17.

4. David Christison, "The Carvings and Inscriptions on the Kirkyard Monuments of the Scottish Lowlands," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 36 (1901-02): 280-457; "Additional Notes on the Kirkyard Monuments in the Scottish Lowlands," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 39 (1904-05): 55-116.

5. Christison, "Carvings and Inscriptions," 328.

6. *Ibid.*, 339.

7. Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (Cambridge, 1963).

8. For illustrations of the South Littleton stone, see Burgess, 194 and Plate 6.

9. Deborah Trask, *Life How Short, Eternity How Long: Gravestone Carving and Carvers in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, NS, 1978), 61-68.

10. *Ibid.*, 63. To the south of Nova Scotia, a virtually identical verse and image was used to illustrate the letter "A" in the famous *New England Primer*.

11. Vincent F. Luti, "Stonecarvers of the Naarragansett Basin: Stephen and Charles Hartshorn of Providence," *Markers II* (1983): 162-68. For additional discussion of the Swan stone, see Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800* (Boston, 1927; rpt. New York, 1989), 105, 117; Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, Conn., 1966), 85; and Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of*

Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving (Middletown, Conn., 1974), 181-84, 274.

12. Christison, "Carvings and Inscriptions," 313-14, Fig. 32.

13. *Ibid.*, 314-15, Fig. 33.

14. *Ibid.*, 313, Fig. 31.

15. See Alan Reid, "Memorials at Dalmeny, With Notes on the Churchyards of Edzell, Lethnot, and Stracathro," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 49 (1914-15): 300, Fig. 11.

16. Christison, "Carvings and Inscriptions," 341, Figs. 55 and 56.

17. *Ibid.*, 341, Fig. 54.

18. Christison, "Additional Notes," 83, Fig. 28.

19. In another apparent confusion, only one of the four Logierait stones discussed in this article was reported to Christison. Perhaps, one might speculate, it was thought they were identical.

20. Christison, "Carvings and Inscriptions," 340-41, Fig. 53.

21. *Ibid.*, 342, Fig. 57.

22. Robert H. Rodgers, "Carved Headstones of Eighteenth-Century Scotland" (Diss., University of St. Andrews, 1983).

23. Christison, "Carvings and Inscriptions," 343, Fig. 58.

24. *Ibid.*, 343, Fig. 59.

25. *Ibid.*, 344, Figs. 60 and 61.

26. Alan Reid, "The Churchyard Memorials of Abercorn, Bowden, and Carrington," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 44 (1909): 63-64, Fig. 11.

27. Christison, "Carvings and Inscriptions," 345, Fig. 62.

28. *Ibid.*, 345-46, Fig. 63.

29. *Ibid.*, 347-48, Fig. 64.

30. *Ibid.*, 348-49, Fig. 65.

31. Christison, "Additional Notes."

32. *Ibid.*, 85, Fig. 29.

33. For more on the Green Man emblem, see Betty Willsher, "The Green Man as an Emblem on Scottish Tombstones," *Markers IX* (1992): 58-77.

34. Christison, "Additional Notes," 86, Fig. 30.

35. *Ibid.*, 86, Fig. 31.

36. *Ibid.*, 88-89, Figs. 32 and 33.

37. *Ibid.*, 87.

APPENDIX

Adam and Eve Stones in Scotland, Arranged by County

ANGUS

Dun	T	1696
Dun	T	1699
Farnell	H*	nd
Lundie	H	1759
Pert	H	1742
Pert	H	1743-54
Pert	H*	nd
Strachathro	H	1730
Tannandice	T	1715

ARGYLLSHIRE

Kilchousland	H	1720

AYRSHIRE

Colmonell	H	1758
Cragie	H*	nd
Dundonald	H	nd
Dunlop	H*	nd
Riccarton	H*	nd
Riccarton	H	nd
St. Quivox	H	1766-84
Straiton	H	1705
Tarbolton	H*	nd

BERWICKSHIRE

Dryburgh	H	1745

DUMFRIESSHIRE

Kirkconnel	T	1768
Lockerbie	H*	nd
Repentance	H	1739-68
St. Mungo	H	1737
Tundergarth	H	1711

KINCARDINESHIRE

Fettercairn	H	1737

KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE

Dalbeattie	H*	nd
Kells	H	1702
Kells	H	1706
Kells	H	1707
Kells	H	1718
Kirkandrews	H	1720

LANARKSHIRE

Biggar	H	1713
Hamilton	H	1717

PEEBLESSHIRE

Lyne	H	1712

PERTHSHIRE

Caputh	H	1809
Cargill	T	nd
Clunie	H	1741
Collace	T	1742
Dowally	H	1782
Dundurn	H	1729
Little Dunkeld	H	1744
Little Dunkeld	H	1762
Kinfauns	H	1782
Lagganallachy	H	1764
Logiealmond	H	1769
Logierait	H	1769
Logierait	H	1781
Logierait	H	1784
Logierait	H	1784
Methven	H	1748
Perth, Greyfriars	H	1782
St. Madoes	H	1745
St. Martins	H	1750

ROXBURGHSHIRE

Bowden	T*	nd

STIRLINGSHIRE

Campsie	H	1799
Campsie	H	1799
Falkirk	H*	1750
Polmont	H	1754
Polmont	H	1796

WEST LOTHIAN

Uphall	T	1733

Key

T	Tablestone Panel
H	Headstone
nd	no date known
*	no longer to be found

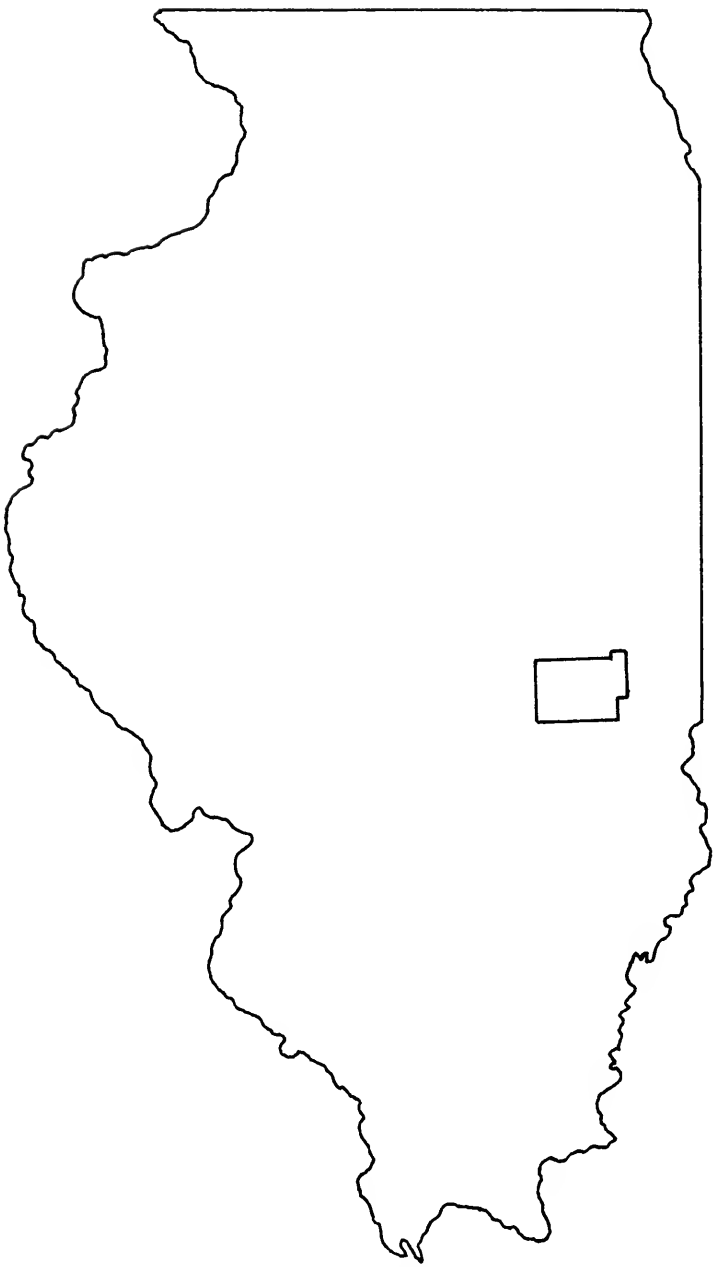


Fig. 1. Outline map of Illinois depicting the location of Coles County.

THE ADKINS-WOODSON CEMETERY: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF CEMETERIES AS COMMUNITIES

Gary S. Foster and Richard L. Hummel

Introduction

Cemeteries, as cultural landscape, show patterns of change over time and store cultural insights[1], though the way they are read varies by academic discipline. The preponderance of cemetery studies have come from the fields of history, genealogy, art history, anthropology, religion, folk art, commemorative art, historic preservation, folklore, cultural geography, English, historical archaeology, landscape architecture, and philosophy.[2]

As sociologists, we find our own discipline conspicuous by its absence, though sociology has not been completely dead to cemeteries as a data source. Kephart used cemetery data to assess social status[3], Warner treated cemeteries as expressions of community values and structure[4], Young analyzed graveyards as reflections of social structure[5], and Durand used tombstone inscriptions to estimate life expectancies in the Roman Empire during the First and Second Centuries.[6] While Thomlinson offers historical and methodological cautions[7], there are no disciplinary reasons for the exclusion of sociology from cemetery research. Kephart wrote in 1950: "... for sociologists interested in the general field of folkways, mores, and social origins, the customs and precedents which exist in the category of 'after death' [including cemeteries] present virtually an untapped source of information."[8] Yet, nearly a half-century later, little has been done within sociology to make use of this material, perhaps because, as one commentator has noted, "... scholars in the social sciences ... have failed to realize the potential of the cemetery as a data base."[9]

Rather than extracting from cemeteries only a single datum (e.g., representative stones of a particular carver, gravestone motifs, or the cemetery customs of a particular ethnic group), we view cemeteries as "communities of the dead,"[10] alive with sociological data reflecting past communities. "'Community,' as distinguished from 'the community,' emphasizes the common-ties and social-interaction ...,"[11] delineated less by locale and more by "... personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion, and continuity in time."[12] In this sense, a gravestone "... conveys a life and that life's love, anger, happiness, and place in family, community and society."[13]

To an extent, the cemetery as community has been recognized. Vidutus and Lowe note that "... the cemetery ... can be analyzed and read as a cultural text containing information about the social, religious, and aesthetic expectations of the community that maintains it."[14] Similarly, Young states that "Cemeteries are public, quantifiable artifacts that extend back into time ..., useful to students of community structure."[15] Much research on cemeteries has been done in the context of ethnicity,[16] and the ethnic enclave as community is significant in sociology. "In fact," notes our authority, "ethnicity has rivaled class as a major preoccupation of community researchers."[17]

Church cemeteries certainly reflect past communities. Those buried in them shared similar lifestyles, common religions, and all that accompanies such mutual experiences. Many interred in the same church cemetery knew one another, knew the families of one another, interacted with many of the others buried there, called them by name. Moreover, many large, municipal cemeteries are organized into fraternal and ethnic sections where the buried knew one another in life, sharing interests and community. Those who lived in the same time period shared a common history and notion of the world.

Only a few cemetery types cannot legitimately be approached as communities of stone. Municipal cemeteries that merely survey, number and sell lots are no more communal than a Holiday Inn. Like vacationers in a motel, individuals and families buy and take up lots with no knowledge of those next to them. Military cemeteries might also be excluded as community, for while those interred there may have shared many common (military) experiences, they had a wide diversity of backgrounds – different ethnicities and religions, residences, and degree of commitment to military service. Conversely, battlefield cemeteries do reflect elements of community in that those interred shared friendships, battles, campaigns, fears, hopes, and – ultimately – death.

What might a census of these communities of stone reveal? Meyer provides this challenge to the researcher: "Far more than merely elements of space sectioned off and set aside for the burial of the dead, cemeteries are, in effect, open cultural texts, there to be read and appreciated by anyone who takes the time to learn a bit of their special language."[18] The buried, in fact, constitute populations to be described demographically.[19] Engraved stones yield a variety of social characteristics, including gender, ethnicity, age, seasonal fertility (conception and birth) patterns, seasonal

mortality patterns, marital status and other familial relationships, and, occasionally, migration and occupational data. Inscriptions may provide insight into the character and demeanor of the person buried there. Finally, one must remember that, in many instances, people are not buried randomly, but interred in particular (e.g., church) cemeteries because of particular (e.g., religious) affiliations.

The potential for such research is intriguing, particularly for historical sociology when data are not readily available in other forms. Would comparing homogeneous cemeteries (e.g., church cemeteries of different denominations, ethnic cemeteries of different groups, public/municipal cemeteries of varying community size) from the same historical period reveal differences in life expectancies, sex ratios, infant and childhood mortality, the ratio of marked to unmarked graves, and so on? Would such indices from any single cemetery differ significantly from more conventional census data? What windows into community can be opened by a cemetery census? Can we read the story of an entire cemetery, and not merely one gravestone? While such considerations are rather beyond the scope of this pilot study, we examine a single cemetery to illustrate the potential.

The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery

The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery is located in Coles County, in east-central Illinois (see Fig 1). The first Euro-American settlers began entering the area shortly before the creation of Coles County in 1830. The earliest cemeteries were family plots, later replaced by church cemeteries, which were, themselves, substantially replaced still later by public cemeteries.[20]

Most Coles County cemeteries, including the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery, have an east-west burial orientation (the feet to the east), conforming to the Christian belief that the dead will rise to meet the dawn on Judgment Day. All cemeteries in Coles County were surveyed in the 1930s by the Sally Lincoln Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The survey recorded all gravestone inscriptions and noted as well all graves marked by uninscribed stones. In 1979, the Coles County Genealogical Society updated the survey, publishing the first two volumes in 1984 and 1985. All told, 88 public, church, and multi-family, and 21 family and "pioneer" cemeteries were surveyed.[21]

The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery was selected for study because it seemed typical of rural church cemeteries, and it was convenient and accessible to our inquiry. Initially, it was a family cemetery. Subsequently,

Fig. 2. An overview, facing west, of the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery in late Spring.

one acre was deeded to the Separate Baptist Church on May 29, 1865, though no record ever places a church structure at the cemetery. Several small Separate Baptist congregations still present in the vicinity, with cemeteries contemporaneous to the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery, have no recognition or collective memory of Adkins-Woodson as a Separate Baptist cemetery, and no written reference, other than the 1865 deed transfer, has been located.

The Cemetery is situated at the edge of a wooded ravine, and measures about 220 feet square (see Fig 2). It is generally organized by family (surname) sections. Maintenance, provided by the township, typically consists of several quick, and often incomplete, mowings each summer. On Memorial Day, 1993, only two graves (spouses) were decorated with floral baskets by an elderly couple. On Memorial Day, 1994, these two graves and a third, unrelated grave were decorated. Hence, except for the political mandate of minimal maintenance, the Adkins-Woodson

Cemetery, as community, is virtually deserted.

A Profile of Cemetery as Community

There are a total of 110 graves within the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery, 102 (92.7%) with inscribed stones, and 8 (7.3%) with unaltered field stones. The cemetery spans ten decades, the first burial occurring in 1847 and the last in 1944, though terminus decades (1840s and the 1910s through the 1940s) involve only one to four cases each. We did not examine a random sample of the burials, but rather the entire population of the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery. As a result, our statistics are not inferrential, generalizable to a population, but are descriptive of the population of the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery (as community). Thus, while the precise patterns discerned (e.g., of male dominance) are specific to the Adkins-Woodson community, quite predictably all cemeteries will manifest their own expressions of such patterns.[22]

Births

Most cemeteries are archives of births, though these data are often overlooked, perhaps because it is no small contradiction to learn about the beginning of life by studying the end of life. Of the 110 people buried in the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery, 81 have birth months identified, allowing us to extrapolate months of conception (see Table 1).

Table 1
Frequencies of Conceptions and Births by Months

Month	Conceptions	Births
January	4 (4.9%)	8 (9.9%)
February	5 (6.2%)	7 (8.6%)
March	9 (11.1%)	7 (8.6%)
April	8 (9.9%)	6 (7.4%)
May	7 (8.6%)	10 (12.3%)
June	7 (8.6%)	5 (6.2%)
July	6 (7.4%)	5 (6.2%)
August	10 (12.3%)	4 (4.9%)
September	5 (6.2%)	11 (13.6%)
October	5 (6.2%)	4 (4.9%)
November	4 (4.9%)	5 (6.2%)
December	11 (13.6%)	9 (11.1%)

Table 1 shows monthly frequencies of conceptions and births. While no unequivocal patterns emerge, sufficient variations suggest patterns. If conceptions/births were evenly distributed, there would be about 7 (8.6%) per month. However, the frequency of conceptions is above the mean for four months (March, April, August and December), reflects the mean for two months (May, June), and is below the mean for six months (January, February, July, September, October and November). Births are above the mean for four months (January, May, September, December), reflect the mean for two months (February, March), and are below the mean for six months (April, June, July, August, October, November). Many factors might account for these less-than-random variations.

Considering conception, March and April, two high months, bring the end of dreary winters, and the optimism of another farming season. August, as a high month, is the lull after a summer of farming activities and before the hectic pace of harvest. December, though the dead of winter, is fraught with the seasonal celebrations of Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year. Any reason for high-spirited chivaries or a break in the toil of seasonal life might inspire amorous exercise!

Considering births, two of the highest months (December and January) are the dead of winter, placing the last trimester, the most uncomfortable period of pregnancy, after the heat and humidity of summer. Similarly, May, one of the four high-birth months, places the last trimester before the discomfort of summer. These three months account for 33.3% of all births. This interpretation suggests more pregnancy planning than probably occurred, and is compromised by September, the single highest birth month, which would place the last trimester precisely in the three summer months. Hence, while the same statistical pattern exists for conceptions and births (high and low months, 46.9% v 35.8%), we are more persuaded by the interpretations of conception. This seasonally-driven conception interpretation is bolstered by our tentative examination of conceptions by ethnicity (English and Germans, the two distinguishable groups by surname). Both groups exhibited the same pattern of conception, removing cultural/group influences and suggesting that more broadly-based community factors were influencing conception. Further study of larger n-sizes may yield more definitive patterns and interpretations.

Sex/Gender

Of the 102 marked burials, 55 (53.9%) are males and 47 (46.1%) are females, yielding a sex-ratio (x males per 100 females) of 117. This sex-ratio is comparable to two extremes found by Dethlefsen's study of nearly 100 colonial cemeteries, showing "... an improbable preponderance of men ..."[23] However, the preponderance of males may not be so improbable. Frontier areas attract a disproportionate number of men,[24] and Coles County, originally part of the public domain, was not completely settled until about 1880.[25] Thus, for the first thirty years of the cemetery's existence, Coles County was a magnet of opportunity, perhaps attracting a disproportionate number of men. Graph 1 depicts the age-sex distribution of the cemetery population.

Considering mean age at death by sex, the mean age for males was 27.5, and for females 24.8. The higher, average age for males is historically consistent, though Dethlefsen found that the average length of life for

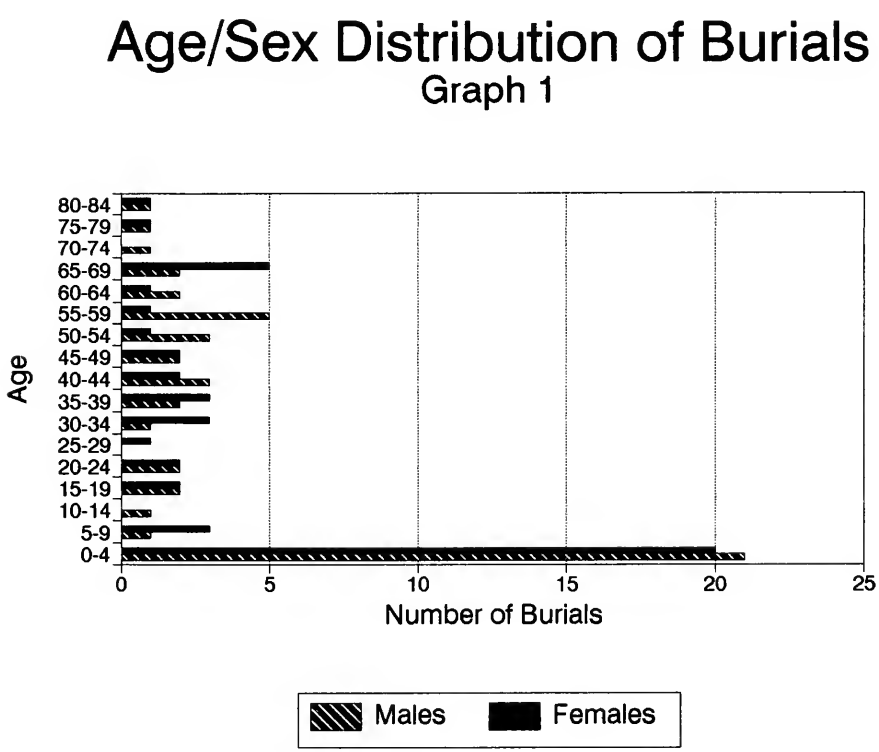


Table 2
Average Age at Death by Decade*

Decade	Males	Females	Overall
1850s	22.3	16.5	19.8
1860s	6.8	12.3	9.1
1870s	26.5	22.8	24.7
1880s	30.5	14.1	25.0
1890s	29.3	19.9	24.0
1900s	28.6	42.0	36.9

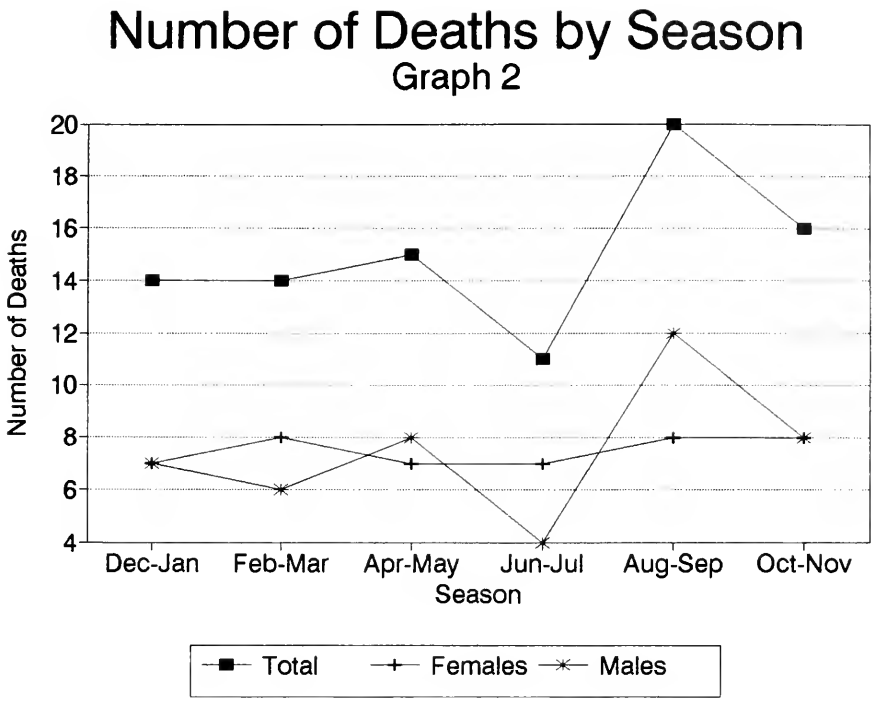
*Terminus decades (1840s, 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, 1940s) were excluded because each involved fewer than 5 cases. The 1860s emerge as an anomaly. Of 12 deaths in the 1860s, only 2 were adults and 10 were children, 2 years of age or younger. The temptation to invoke Civil War hardships is countered by the fact that half of the deaths occurred after the War (1866-1869).

females began to surpass that of males around the turn of the Nineteenth Century.[26] Our data (Table 2) show that females did not generally outlive males until about the turn of the Twentieth Century. Conceivably, this 100-year lag is due to a frontier effect.

Seasonal differences in death (Graph 2) show deaths peaking in late summer, following fewest deaths in mid summer. The pattern of female deaths remains flat across all twelve months, but the pattern of male deaths replicates the overall pattern, indicating that it is male driven. Attempting to explain the tangential valley/peak pattern of male deaths evokes reference to "the lull before the storm" of agricultural harvest. As shall be discussed later, we found a strong tendency for younger deaths to occur in late summer, and the disproportionate number of very young persons buried in the cemetery (see Graph 1) contributes to the late summer peak.

Any socio-historical consideration of gender must address inequalities. Male dominance can be expressed in a variety of ways, as suggested by the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Females are more likely to have familial relationships identified on their gravestones, an expression of male dominance/ownership. Of the 102 marked gravestones, 69 (67.6%) indicated some familial relationship to another person. Of these 69 cases, 28 (40.6%) were males (27 sons, 1 father), while 41 (59.4%) were females (22 daughters, 17



wives, 2 mothers). Thus, while only 28 (50.9%) of the 55 males buried in the cemetery had relationships identified, 41 (87.2%) of the 47 females had relationships identified.

With this tendency to view females as possessions comes the corollary tendency for fewer females to be identified by surname. Of the 55 males, 29 (52.7%) had their surnames given on the gravestones. Of the 47 females, only 9 (19.1%) had surnames given. More commonly, they were identified by some combination of first and middle names or initials *and* a relationship to an adult male, with his surname given (see Fig. 3).

Hypothesis 2: Male gravestones will reflect greater status and prestige. Commemorative gravestone inscriptions represent additional cost and confer additional status. While only 17 (16.7%) of the 102 gravestones had inscriptions, 12 of these (70.6%) were males and only 5 (29.4%) were females (see Fig 4). Thus, 21.8% (12) of the 55 males buried in the cemetery, and only 10.6% (5) of the 47 females, had stones with inscriptions.

Prestige is also conferred by stone size. However, no gender differences were found in gravestone height, partially a result of many married

Fig. 3. The gravestone of an adult female identifies the deceased by stating her relationship to an adult male, with only his surname given.

Fig. 4. A male gravestone in the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery was more likely to have a commemorative inscription, conferring additional status.

couples sharing a single stone. Also, no significant differences were found in the number of letters cut in the stones for males (62 letters) and females (59 letters), partially due to the greater tendency for females to have relationships expressed.

Age Status

Of the 102 inscribed burials, 99 (97.1%) can be identified by age at death, revealing a bi-modal age structure (see Table 3). Infant/toddler categories, spanning only three life years (birth-three), account for 42 (42.4%) deaths. Adult/elder categories, spanning 50 life years (ages 31-81), account for 43 (43.4%) deaths. Child/teen/young adult categories, spanning 26 life years (ages 4-30), account for only 14 (14.1%) deaths. This suggests that if one survived the first three years in the 19th Century Midwest, the chances of surviving beyond young adulthood were quite good.

Table 3
Deaths by Age Status

Status	Deaths	
	n	(%)
Infants	26	(26.3)
Toddlers	16	(16.2)
Children	4	(4.0)
Teens	5	(5.1)
Young Adults	5	(5.1)
Adults	31	(31.3)
Elders	12	(12.1)

For analysis, we collapsed infant/toddler/child/teen categories, yielding 51 cases (51.5%) in a single, subadult category; young adult/adult/elder categories were then combined to yield 48 cases (48.5%) in a single, adult category. These latter categories are comparable to Dethlefsen's study, though he sometimes defined subadult through 16 years of age[27] and sometimes through 19 years of age.[28] However, Dethlefsen's data preceded our data by about 100 years, and our population only had one case between 17 and 19. Since infants and children are probably under-represented in cemeteries because of gravestone expense,[29] and since the eight unmarked graves in our study are probably those of children (based on contextual evidence), our subadult population is probably nearer 55 percent. Other expressions of differential treatment and inequality which may exist are tested by the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 3: The gravestones of subadults are more likely to express familial relationships (see Fig 5). Children are generally regarded only completely as persons in their relationships to others. "Age and sex," notes Vander Zanden, "are master statuses in all societies."[30] Hence, the master status of children (age) is constructed as the daughter or son (sex) of _____. Of the 68 gravestones that indicated both a relationship and age, 45 (66.2%) were subadults and 23 (33.8%) were adults. Thus, out of the 51 subadults, 88.2% (45) were identified in the context of familial relationships, while only 47.9% (23) of the 48 adults were identified in such a context.

Fig. 5. The gravestone of a child identifies the deceased in the context of a familial relationship.

Accompanying this tendency to define children within familial relationships is the tendency for substantially fewer subadults to be identified by surname. Of the 38 burials identified by some combination of first and middle names or initials *and* surname, only 9 (23.7%) were subadults. Thus, out of the 51 subadults, only 17.6% (9 cases) had surnames given, compared to 60.4% (29 cases) of the 48 adults. More commonly, subadults were, like females, identified by some combination of first and middle names or initials *and* relationships to adult males, with the adults' surnames identified.

Hypothesis 4: Subadults will have smaller gravestones, a function of expense, just as Dethlefsen noted that under-representation of child mortality in cemeteries is a function of gravestone expense.[31] The mean height of subadult gravestones was 2.4 feet, while the mean height of adult gravestones was 3.3 feet. Further, while only 30.4% of all subadults have stones that are 3 feet or taller, 71.7% of all adults have stones that are 3 feet or taller. Further measures of stone expense are the number of letters and the presence of commemorative inscriptions. The average number of letters reflected no real differences (subadult stones had an average of 62.6 letters, adult stones 62.1 letters), partially a result of the tendency to identify subadults in the context of relationships. Little difference was also found with respect to the presence of commemorative inscriptions. Of the 17 commemorative inscriptions in the cemetery, 8 (47.1%) were on subadult stones and 9 (52.9%) were on adult stones. Thus, 15.7% (8) of the 51 subadult stones and 18.8% (9) of the 48 adult stones had inscriptions.

Considering age and season of death, Dethlefsen found "... a strong tendency for younger deaths to occur in late summer ...," and while older people do not show such a strong pattern, "... older people died most frequently in late winter."[32] Seasonal death patterns of our adult and subadult categories are consistent with Dethlefsen's findings (see Table 4).[33] The increased likelihood of younger deaths occurring in late summer (fall) coincided with such water-borne diseases as malaria and cholera, exacerbated by the poorly draining prairie of northern Coles County prior to the 1880s,[34] and it is likely the older population segment may have acquired some resistance to such diseases. Late winter (spring) deaths of older people most likely reflect respiratory diseases and influenza which, to this day, afflict seniors more virulently.

Overall, average age at death was 26.1 years. Dethlefsen studied nearly 100 colonial (1720-1820) cemeteries in New England and found that the

Table 4
Deaths by Season
(months expressed numerically)

	Winter (11-12-1)	Spring (2-3-4)	Summer (5-6-7)	Fall (8-9-10)	Total
Subadult	10 (20.8%)	10 (20.8%)	8 (16.7%)	20 (41.7%)	48 (100%)
Adult	10 (24.4%)	12 (29.3%)	9 (21.9%)	10 (24.4%)	41 (100%)
Total	20 (22.5%)	22 (24.7%)	17 (19.1%)	30 (33.7%)	89 (100%)

average age at death, by cemetery, ranged from 29 to 45 years.[35] While our average age at death – for a later time-period – is lower, Dethlefsen also found that rural agricultural communities had a higher proportion of subadult deaths because there were more subadults present, relatively speaking, which deflated the average age.[36] In that Coles County was rural, agricultural, and part of a developing frontier, our average age at death is then more interpretable with Dethlefsen's findings.

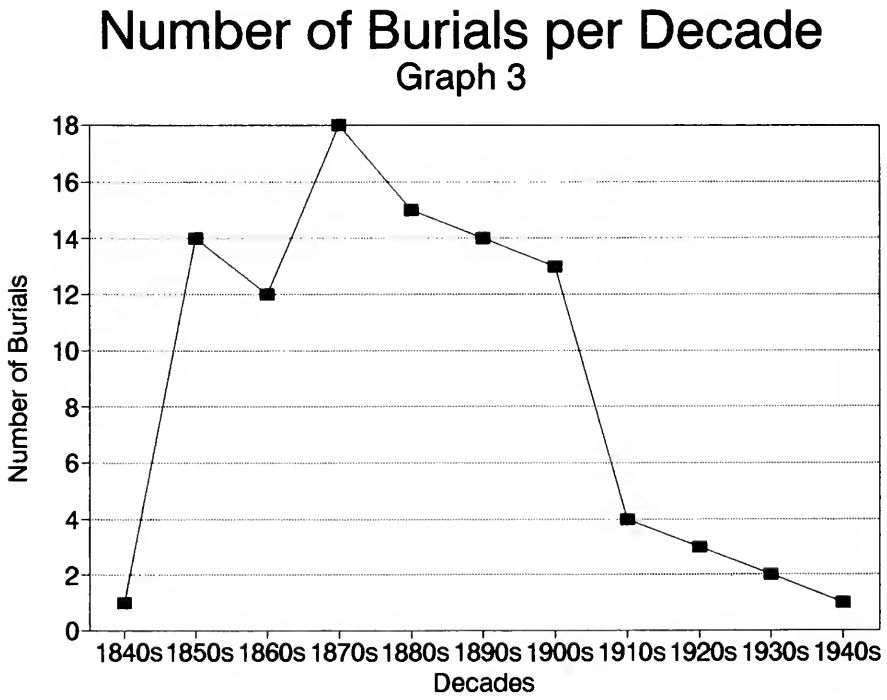
Ethnicity

Encouraged by the substantial ethnic studies based on cemetery data,[37] we generated ethnic hypotheses, based on our previous research, and we identified ethnicity by surname, as we had done in that research.[38] This yielded 91 English (including Scots and Irish), but only 12 Germans. Moreover, the cemetery data offered no insight into place of birth, so it is possible that the Germans had been in the U.S. for several generations and were thus "Yankee-ized," mollifying ethnic patterns. While the number of Germans in the Adkins-Woodson population is small, the patterns (of percentages) profile the community. Ethnic research, at least in rural and agricultural contexts, suggests that Germans, compared to English and Yankees, were more traditional and conservative,[39] tendancies reflected in the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 5: Germans, manifesting greater commitment to agriculture, will have larger families (more children). Two-thirds of the German

burials are sub-adults, compared to roughly half of the English burials. Either Germans were more likely to live in unhealthy conditions which elevated risks to their young, or there were more young to be victims of the statistical probabilities of an early death on an early frontier. The latter seems more convincing to us.

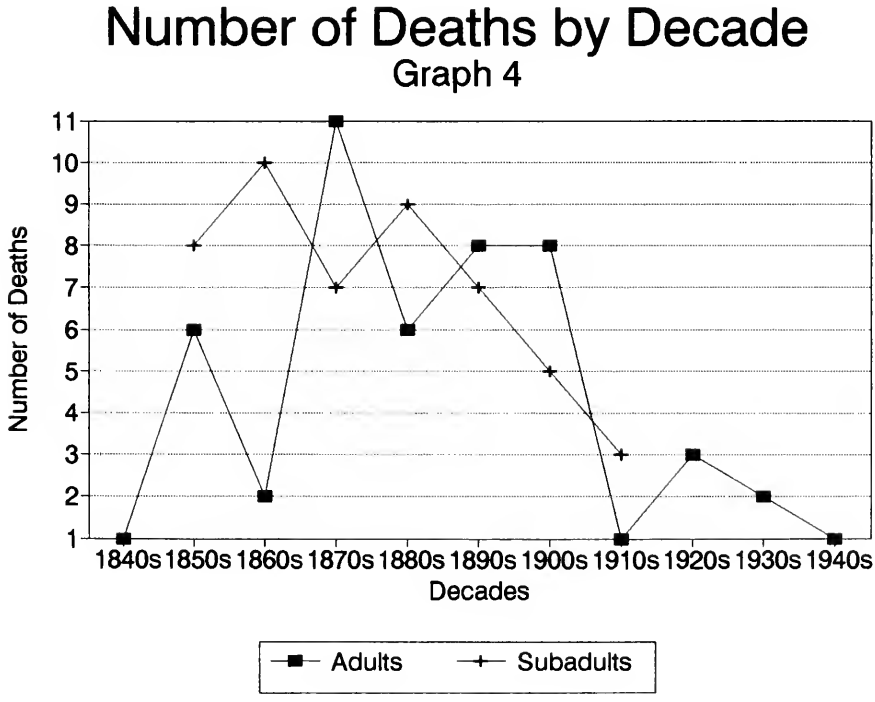
Hypothesis 6: Germans, placing greater emphasis on frugality, will have smaller stones and fewer letters in their inscriptions. With respect to stone size, while only 9.0% of all Germans have gravestones that are 3 feet or taller, 28.6% of all English have gravestones 3 feet or taller. Further, while no German stones were over four feet, 16.6% of all English stones exceeded this height. Eighty percent of the German burials offer no inscription of birth year, and 90% omit birth month. These omissions suggest frugality. On the other hand, all German burials provide date of death, while 11% of the English burials omit this datum. Exact age at death (i.e., 10 years, 2 months, 3 days) is also more likely to be reported on German tombstones. These two patterns suggest greater conservatism and traditionalism among Germans. A pattern contradicting our hypoth-



esized frugality of Germans is the fact that only 13% of the English burials had inscriptions, while 42% of the German burials displayed some inscribed sentiment. However, English burials were more likely (68%) to specify the family relationship of the deceased than German burials (50%), again perhaps reflecting greater frugality among Germans.

Familialism and Community Decline

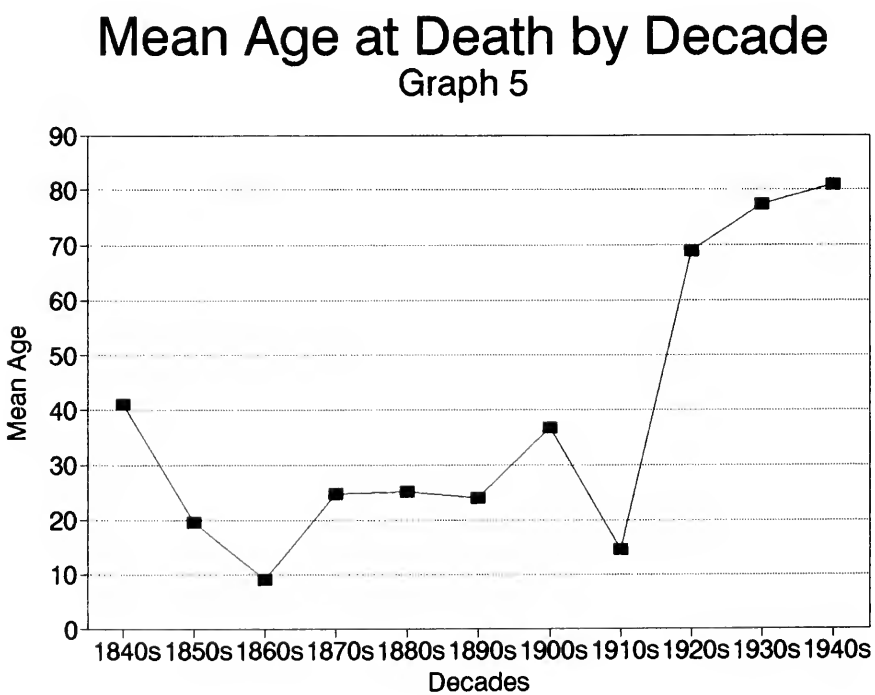
Though the cemetery spans 100 years, its real growth occurred from the 1850s through the first decade of the 1900s, followed by a very rapid decline (see Graph 3). Despite the cemetery's designation as Separate Baptist in 1865, by the 1850s it was already more than a family cemetery. The first burial occurred in the 1840s. In the 1850s, fourteen burials occurred, representing six separate surnames, and in the first half of the 1860s, before being deeded to the Separate Baptist congregation, there were an additional six burials with six different surnames. Hence, prior to May 29, 1865, when it was deeded to the Separate Baptists, there were twenty-one burials (19.1% of all burials), accounting for ten different sur-



names (30.3% of all surnames), suggesting that the cemetery was already serving a community or congregation.

Spatial examination suggests the cemetery was not used to capacity, but remains about half vacant. Hence, the rapid decline in use after the first decade of this century cannot be attributed to a space shortage. Conceivably, the public cemetery movement in the county seat, and in a nearby major rail-line town, may have impacted the Adkins-Woodson Cemetery. However, these public cemeteries have been operating since 1862,[40] and thus provide no particular reason for the substantial decline after the first decade of the 1900s.

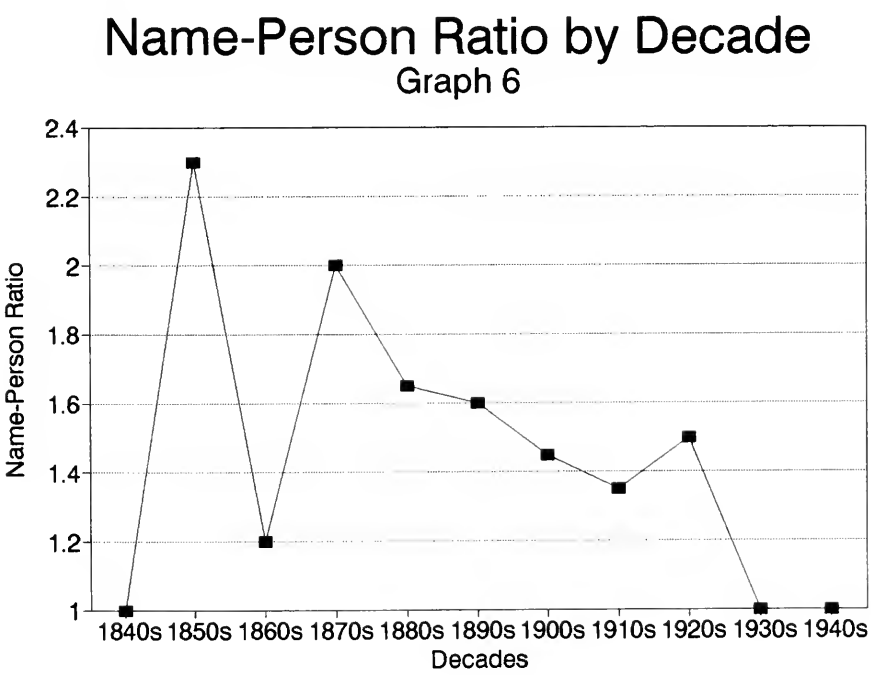
The cemetery's rapid beginning and swift decline is most likely more indicative of the boom-bust cycle, a community development pattern common to frontier settlement.[41] Graphs 4 and 5 support this interpretation. Graph 4, detailing the number of subadult and adult deaths by decade, shows the number of subadults declining and the community "running out" of subadults three decades before its demise, and any community without children is certainly dying. Graph 5 shows a dramatic



increase in mean age during the final decades of the community, indicating that only elderly members remained at the end. The Separate Baptist congregation, like any congregation, probably started with optimism about opportunities offered by a land just being settled, but by the early 1900s the congregation, as community, was declining, marginalized by larger and more prosperous denominations.

Young has employed person/name ratios (the number of people divided by the number of surnames), garnered from cemetery data, and with appropriate cautions, to reflect the relative importance of kinship in community.[42] If the number is large, kinship importance is greater, making community more homogeneous. "If small, it reflects declining ... kinship importance, a trend ... associated with certain changes in the economy and mobility of the population."[43]

Thirty-three different surnames are found in the cemetery (1 surname accounts for 31 individuals; 1 surname for 11 individuals; 1 for 9 individuals; 1 for 7 individuals; 1 for 5 individuals; 6 surnames account for 3 individuals each; 7 surnames for 2 individuals each; 15 surnames for 1 individual each). The fact that only 5 surnames (15.2%) account for 63 indi-



viduals (57.3%) partially suggests the strength and centrality of kinship in the community. However, this is offset by the remaining 28 surnames (84.8%) accounting for only 47 individuals (42.7%).

Calculating person/name ratios by decade (Graph 6), excluding terminus decades – the 1840s and the 1910s, 20s, 30s and 40s – because of relatively few cases, reveals almost a unilinear decline from decade to decade. The name-person ratio is highest for the 1850s, progressively decreasing to a low of 1.44 in the first decade of the 1900s, with a single anomaly in the 1860s. The patterned decline supports the perspective of community in decline, i.e., the bust end of a cycle.

Also of relevance are those buried alone (i.e., with no other person having the same surname interred in the cemetery). Out of the 102 identified burials, only 15 (14.7%) are buried alone, each surname appearing but once. These burials span the decades of the 1860s through the 1900s. Those buried alone have fewer letters per stone (an average of 56.7 letters, v. 62.4 letters) and smaller stones (an average height of 2.3 feet, v. 3.0 feet). Only 33.3% of those buried alone have gravestones three feet or taller, compared to 57.7% of those buried with others of the same surname. These data suggest some marginalization of those buried alone.

Of the lone burials, eight are males and seven are females. Eight are children (less than 7 years old), one is a teenager, five are adults (ages 33 to 59), and the age of one is not known. Seven of the eight children died in the 1860s, 70s, and 80s. Since the cemetery was used for another half-century, and since the parents of these children were not buried with them, this again suggests a community in decline. After these children were interred, their parents apparently left the community (congregation), and since the cemetery was never filled to capacity it would appear that those who left were not replaced by new members, again supporting the perspective of a community in decline.

Conclusions

Dethlefsen and Deetz have noted that "Little is known about population composition or mean life span for any part of the world prior to the present century."[44] However, the data required to begin filling these voids are as near as the closest Nineteenth-Century cemetery. There, quite literally, is sociology under foot. Clearly, we have achieved more unique insight into the Adkins-Woodson "community" than we could have developed using virtually any other data source. We do not diminish the

value and importance of written records in extending, substantiating, and corroborating findings and inferences derived from the material culture, but merely illustrate the extent to which cemeteries can speak for themselves. Moreover, the task of profiling community birth and conception patterns from more traditional records seems arduous, if not nearly impossible. Whether or not our conception pattern/interpretation stands in future research, we are convinced that such historical voyeurism holds tremendous potential for revealing community/life rhythms of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, and might reflect contrasting patterns between rural and urban populations.

The preferential expressions reflected in gender and age status affirm historically predictable patterns. However, our exploratory research focused on a single, congregational community of Separate Baptists, and it would not be unreasonable to place it on the conservative end of the conservative-liberal continuum. Hence, the differential treatment of women and children hypothesized and found in this study is certainly a function of historicity, but quite likely it is also partially a function of the Separate Baptist congregation constituting a very traditional, conservative community, even a century ago. Conceivably, a comparative study examining different denominations may detect a conservative-liberal range, as reflected by expressions of relationships, defrocking the mythical homogeneity of conservatism historically.

Considerations of ethnicity further illustrate the cemetery as a rich and diverse archive. We generated hypotheses of ethnicity intersecting (a) agricultural commitment and family size and (b) frugality. In this sense, cemeteries reflect community life histories, not death histories. Indeed, much of our focus, employing data exclusively from a cemetery, is – somewhat paradoxically – upon life activities, e.g., commitment to agriculture, family size, frugality, conception and birth, and familial relationships of women and children. Such a focus on life amidst those departed is fitting and consistent. Ultimately, cemeteries are made by the living, not the deceased, and they inventory the commentary the living offer about the lives of those buried there rather than about their deaths. Cemeteries are thus communities of the dead which embody life histories.

American scholarly treatment of cemeteries has generally failed to pool the diversity of perspectives and modes of critical inquiry of a variety of disciplines to achieve a more comprehensive, multifaceted assessment.[45] This failure should not be compounded by holding the sociologi-

cal approach in disciplinary isolation. Rather, a focus on social variables legitimately and broadly intersects the more traditional foci of cemetery studies. Those with substantive expertise in gravestone styles and decorative motifs might find significant correlation with variables of age, ethnicity, gender and social class. As Meyer reminds us, the "... ultimate emphasis, irrespective of immediate focus or particular analytical technique, is upon the illumination of the discrete cultural values which interfuse these sites and artifacts."[46]

NOTES

A version of this paper was presented at the 16th annual meeting of the American Culture Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 1994. We are grateful to Richard E. Meyer for his encouragement and to the anonymous reviewers for their comments and criticisms. All photographs were taken by Richard L. Hummel.

1. Richard E. Meyer, "Introduction: 'So Witty as to Speak,'" in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989; rpt. Logan, UT, 1992), 2. See also Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 61:2 (1971): 501-509.

2. Meyer, "So Witty as to Speak," 5; Association for Gravestone Studies, membership application brochure (Worcester, MA, nd); Richard E. Meyer, ed., *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* (Bowling Green, OH, 1993), backcover.

3. William Kephart, "Status after Death," *American Sociological Review* 15:5 (1950): 635-643.

4. W. Lloyd Warner, *The Living and the Dead* (New Haven, CT, 1959), 280-320.

5. Frank W. Young, "Graveyards and Social Structure," *Rural Sociology* 25:4 (1960): 446-50.

6. John D. Durand, "Mortality Estimates from Roman Tombstone Inscriptions," *American Journal of Sociology* 65 (1960): 365-73.

7. Ralph Thomlinson, *Population Dynamics: Causes and Consequences of World Demographic Change* (New York, 1976), 82.

8. Kephart, 635.

9. Thomas J. Hannon, "The Cemetery: An Aid in Cultural Research," paper presented before the Society for Historical Archaeology (Albuquerque, 1980), 1.

10. See Paula J. Fenza, "Communities of the Dead: Tombstones as a Reflection of Social Organization," *Markers VI* (1989): 136-57.

11. Jessie Bernard, *The Sociology of Community* (Glenview, IL, 1973), 4.

12. Robert A. Nisbet, *The Sociological Tradition* (New York, 1967), 47.

13. Aaron Russell Ursey, Introduction to Folklore Field Collecting Project (Western Oregon State College, Monmouth, Oregon, June, 1986), cited in Meyer, "So Witty as to Speak," 5.

14. Ricardas Vidutis and Virginia A. P. Lowe, "The Cemetery as Cultural Text," *Kentucky Folklore Record* 26:2 (1980): 103.

15. Young, 447.

16. For example, see Meyer, *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, and therein his "The Literature of Necroethnicity: An Annotated Bibliography," 222-37.

17. Bernard, 55.

18. Richard E. Meyer, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Ethnic Cemeteries in America," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, OH, 1993), 3.

19. For examples of such approaches, see Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, "Eighteenth-Century Cemeteries: A Demographic View," *Historical Archaeology* 1 (1967): 40-42; Edwin Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones and Demography," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 31 (1969): 321-34.

20. Coles County, Illinois, Genealogical Society, *Cemeteries of Lafayette, Paradise and Pleasant Grove Townships* (Charleston, IL, 1984), 1-2.

21. *Ibid.*, 2-3

22. Methodologically and conceptually, generating a random sample from cemeteries to represent some larger population is confounded by considerations of cemetery type (e.g., specific denominations), time period and even locale/region. For example, if our research focus had been pioneer cemeteries or pioneer communities as reflected by cemeteries, and not a single cemetery as community, a random sample would have to confront the issue of comparability in terms of type, time, and place. Alternatively, if the research focus had been an extremely large cemetery, a random sample representative of that cemetery's single population could be appropriately employed.

23. Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones," 328.

24. James W. Vander Zanden, *The Social Experience* (New York, 1988), 520.

25. Charleston and Mattoon Bicentennial Commissions, *History of Coles County, 1876-1976, Coles County, Illinois* (Dallas, 1976), 14.

26. Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones," 327.

27. *Ibid.*, 328, table 6.

28. *Ibid.*, 325, table 5.

29. *Ibid.*, 323-24, 326.

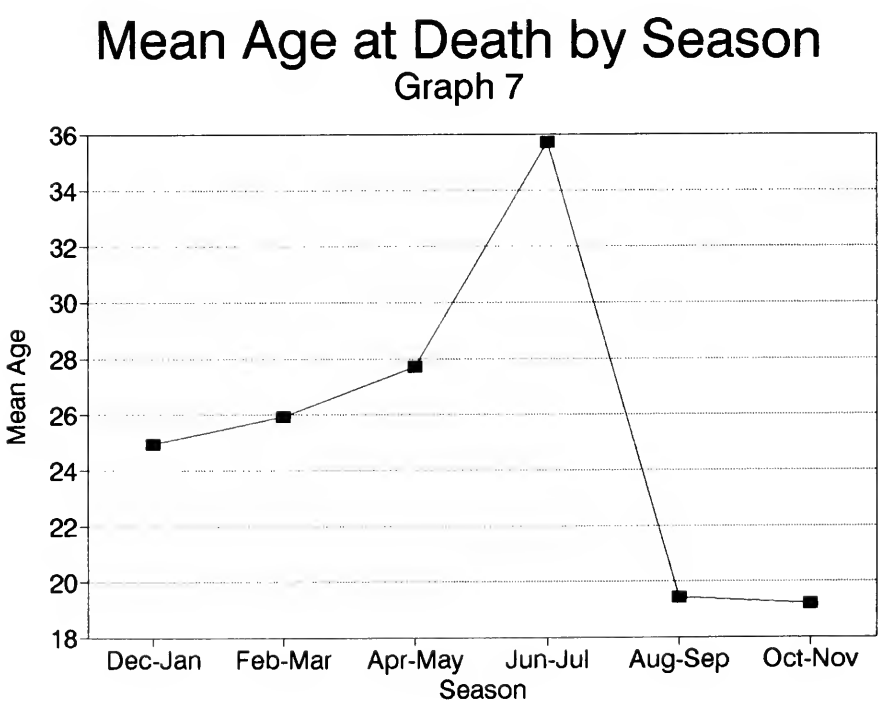
30. Vander Zanden, 90.

31. Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones," 323-24; 326.

32. *Ibid.*, 329.

33. Dethlefsen's discussion implies a consideration of frequencies, but his discussion is based on graphs (p. 329, figs. 4 & 5) depicting seasonal differences in mean (average) age at death. While this is not necessarily inconsistent, means, as a measure of central tendency, are quite sensitive to extreme scores, and since Dethlefsen does not provide frequency data, we are not sure if his graphs reflect greater frequencies (of younger and older deaths), as he suggests, or if the means are being influenced by a few extreme age-scores. Hence, his graphs actually show that the *average age* (not a greater frequency) of those dying in late summer was younger, and the *average age* (not a greater frequency) of those dying in late winter was older.

When we calculated seasonal differences in mean age at death, like Dethlefsen we found younger deaths occurring in late summer, but unlike Dethlefsen we found older people dying in mid-summer, not in late winter (see Graph 7). In our data, the high



mean age of mid-summer deaths was inflated by a few extreme age-scores. To avoid this sensitivity, we analyzed the frequencies of older and younger deaths by season (Table 4), and found a pattern consistent with Dethlefsen's.

34. *History of Coles County*, 7-8; 20-21.

35. Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones," 323.

36. *Ibid.*

37. For example, see Meyer, *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery.*

38. Gary S. Foster, Richard L. Hummel, and Robert L. Whittenbarger, "Ethnic Echoes Through 100 Years of Midwestern Agriculture," *Rural Sociology* 42 (1987): 365-378.

39. *Ibid.* See also Sonya Soloman, "Ethnic Communities and the Structure of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology* 50 (1985): 323-40; Richard H. Shyrock, "British Versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 26 (1939): 39-54; Jan L. Flora and John M. Stitz, "Ethnicity, Persistence, and Capitalization of Agriculture in the Great Plains During the Settlement Period: Wheat Production and Risk Avoidance," *Rural Sociology* 50 (1985): 341-60.

40. Coles County, Illinois, Genealogical Society, *The Prairie Sleeps: Cemeteries of Mattoon, North Okaw and Humboldt Townships* (Charleston, IL), 65.

41. Nels Anderson, *The Urban Community: A World Perspective* (New York, 1959), 71-73; Robert L. Heilbroner, *Beyond Boom and Crash* (New York, 1978).

42. Young, 448-49. It should be noted that some individuals may share a surname but claim no relationship, though this becomes less probable with small, integrated groups. Further, person/name ratios do not denote conjugal family size since extended and nuclear family cannot be distinguished by surname alone.

43. *Ibid.*, 448.

44. Dethlefsen and Deetz, "Eighteenth-Century Cemeteries," 40-42.

45. For more on this notion see Meyer, "So Witty as to Speak," 2.

46. *Ibid.*

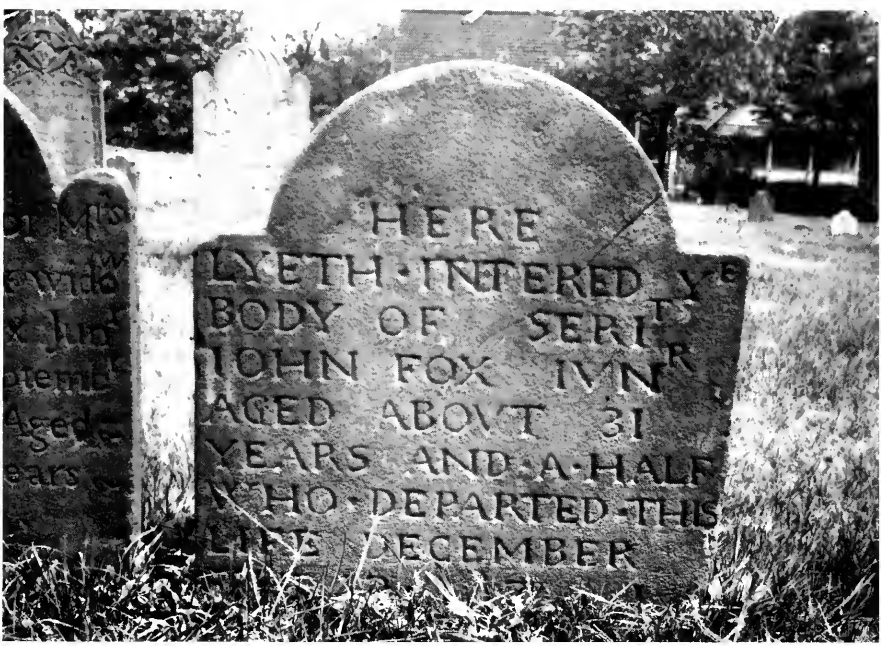


Fig. 1 John Fox, Jr., 1711, New London, Connecticut

THE JOSHUA HEMPSTEAD DIARY

Ralph L. Tucker

Introduction

Despite a vast amount of critical analysis on the artistic products of 17th and 18th Century New England stonecutters, there is really little known about how they actually worked. Aside from what may be gleaned from the surviving gravestones themselves, a limited selection of probate records, a few quarry marks, and other such evidence, one finds very little in the way of hard facts. One of the rare bits of documentary evidence is represented by the diary of Joshua Hempstead (1678-1758), who wrote from 1711 to the year of his death about his daily activities in and around New London, Connecticut.[1] The diary has been reprinted by The New London County Historical Society in a large volume of more than 700 pages.[2] The majority of Hempstead's entries concern the weather and various activities unrelated to his involvement with gravestones. It takes a bit of weeding out to get to his tombstone activities: having excerpted for easy reference all immediately relevant selections from the diary (i.e., those related to coffins and gravestones), it may then be argued that the primary purpose of this brief article is to put before the reader a body of information which may be analyzed in greater detail by those wishing to understand more of the types of daily activities engaged in by stonecarvers in colonial America.

Of particular interest is Hempstead's transition from a carpenter making coffins to a middleman engaged in selling gravestones, all of which is fully documented in the diary. While all the stones he worked on do not appear in the document, enough are mentioned to give an idea of the manner of his trade in them. His usual practice, it appears, was to purchase a number of gravestones for his stock, already carved except for the inscriptions, which he would then letter himself after he had sold the stones. Upon some occasions, when time allowed, he would have the original carver also do the lettering.

Most of the gravestones Hempstead purchased were made by Lt. John Hartshorne, his sister's uncle by marriage, who came to Connecticut about 1720, a competent stonecutter then around 70 years of age. The lettering of Hartshorne is distinctive and easily separated from that of Hempstead. Before the arrival of Hartshorne, Joshua had purchased

stones from other area carvers such as William Stanclift or one of the Johnson family, whose styles are not easily confused.[3]

Hempstead's gravestones were sold in pairs – a *headstone*, generally displaying a carved image, carved borders, and inscription, and the accompanying *footstone*, usually bearing only the name and initials of the deceased. The stones that Hempstead supplied are found in the New London and Groton areas of southern Connecticut, near where he lived, while Hartshorne generally distributed his stones somewhat to the north, closer to his home in Lebanon.[4]

The diary of Joshua Hempstead begins in 1711, when he was 33 years old. At this time he had seven children, with two more soon to come. He records his efforts as a carpenter working on local ships, and there are frequent references to his fields and to the crops which he raised as a farmer. Active in town and state affairs, he later became a surveyor, a justice of the peace, and a judge of probate, in which connection he was active in settling bounds, writing wills, and acting as a lawyer.

From 1711 to 1720 he records over thirty coffins that he was called upon to make. At about that date he rather abruptly ceases making coffins and begins on a regular basis to supply gravestones as a middleman. These transactions continue to be reported throughout the diary to the very end of his life, when he was 80 years old.

As early as 1712 he had ordered (from the Stanclift Shop in Middletown, Connecticut) a pair of completed gravestones for John Fox, Jr. (see Fig. 1). In 1721, he begins to record a long series of transactions involving gravestones that he ordered which were already carved with the exception of the inscription. These he subsequently lettered himself. It was also about this time that the elderly gravestone carver John Hartshorne arrived in Lebanon, Connecticut, from Massachusetts.

Joshua's sister Lucy, then of Norwich, had married Hartshorne's nephew, thereby establishing a family connection. There are a number of references in the diary to "brother Hartshorne," i.e., Lucy's husband, both before and after John Hartshorne arrived in the area. Although Lucy and her husband later removed to Maryland, they maintained communications with Joshua. There are numerous references in the diary making it clear that Joshua Hempstead went to Lebanon from time to time in order to purchase partially carved gravestones from John Hartshorne, paying for them, on various occasions, in wool or bluefish as well as cash.

Hempstead frequently notes that he was "Cutting gr. Stones" or "cutting letters," and later refers to "marking gravestones" and, by 1734, "Engraving Stones." Such references would indicate that he was in the practice of taking gravestones already carved and simply adding the appropriate inscription. In 1729 and 1733, Hempstead records "blacking gravestones": this somewhat cryptic comment may refer to a process of preparing the stone prior to lettering.[5] Though most of his precarved stones were purchased from Hartshorne (see, for example, Fig. 2), he utilized other sources as well. In 1723, for instance, we find recorded a payment of "18-1/2 lb." of wool to a Mr. Johnson of Middletown (most likely the stonecarver Thomas Johnson of that town) for "2 pr. gr. Stones & flax," and in 1724 an order of gravestones from the aforementioned William Stanclift, a well known Middletown stonecutter. As late as 1753, he went to a quarry near Middletown and purchased gravestones "of one Edwards."

It is interesting to note that, while the date of John Hartshorne's death is unknown, Hempstead's diary records that he went to Lebanon in 1739 to "See after gravestones and could get none at present," perhaps an indi-

Fig. 2 William Latham, 1732, New London, Connecticut

cation that the then 89 year old Hartshorne was in fragile condition and no longer able to work.

A sufficient number of Hartshorne gravestones have survived so that if one examines the inscriptions on his stones near upstate Lebanon his unique lettering style is evident. His stones in the New London and Groton area, on the other hand, bear a different style of lettering, which may be designated as that belonging to Hempstead. In this same area we also may find stones made by other carvers which had been purchased and then lettered by Hempstead.

Hempstead's diary as a whole is repetitious and makes extensive use of abbreviations, two somewhat annoying tendencies which make it a bit awkward to read. For example, each Sunday generally has the notation "adm pr a d," referring to the fact that the Rev. Mr. *Adam*s *p*reached *a*ll *d*ay (i.e., both in the morning and in the afternoon on that day). Other facts emerge as well: the number of deaths listed will undoubtedly startle anyone not familiar with that age, and the amount of time Hempstead records as digging rocks out of his fields is astonishing. His few trips and meetings are interesting, as are his infrequent comments upon events outside of New London. Of most interest to readers of *Markers*, however, should be the many references to Hempstead's work with coffins and, especially, gravestones, to which we may now turn.

Excerpts from the Diary

1711

p. 5 (Dec) Tuesd 11... I was wth Jno Fox all day he was very ill: I stayed wth him all night also.

Wedensd 12... I was at uncle Fox's all day. John Died about 10 Clock morn. I came to town to get my tools to make a Coffin & began itt. I Lay their all night.

Thursd 13... I finished Jno Fox's Coffin: & Stayed to his funeral.

Saturd 22d...I went to help Lay out Thomas Way Junr who Died at Griffings sick but 6 days. I made his Coffin & found bods & nils.

p. 6 Thursd 27... I went in ye morn to fetch ye Black Cloath thence to help Carry out ye Coffin & so to my aunts funeral.

1711/12

(Jan) (Tuesd 1st)... I finished Jno Lesters Coffin & yn I went to his funeral &c.

p. 7 Sund 27... Benja Lesters wife Died about 11:clock morn. I went out att night to make her Coffin. I worked almost all night att Isaac fox's & taryed theire.

Mund 28... I finished Ann Lesters Coffin & tarryed all day to ye funeral.

p. 9 (Apr) Tuesd: 15... I was att home all day Pruning aple trees & making a Coffin for Eliza Latham who died Last night.

1712

p. 10 (May) Sunday 4th... Brothr Plumbs Child was buried to day. I made ye coffin.

p. 11 (June) Monday 2d...went to Jno Morgans to & made a Coffin for his mother.

Tuesd 17....Woyats daughter Bijah Brumfield died about Sunset.

wedensd 18... I was att home made a Coffin for Woyett.

p. 12 (July) Thursd 17... I went into town in ye forenoon to Carry a Letter & Mony 25s to Send for a pr Grave Stones for Jno foxes grave.

p. 13 Tuesd 29... I went into town to get ashoar Jno foxes Grave Stones whch Jno Christophers brought down from Midletown. Cost 24s 0d.

Thursd 31... toward night I went wth ye boys & horse into town & gott hands to help us Load Jno fox's grave Stones. I Sett ym in &c. **[See Fig. 1]**

(Aug) fryd 8... in ye forept of ye day I was making Nath Chapells Coffin who died Last night about midnight.

p. 15 (Sept) Mond 29... I was at home till one of ye Clock Making Shorts Coffin who died Last Saturday before noon. mr Woiet helped me al day.

1712/13

p. 20 (Feb) Sund 15... in ye aftern I went to make a Coffin for Hannah fox who died Last night.

p. 21 Mond 23... I workt at home most of ye day & yn I went to make goodee Lesters Coffin...
Tuesd 24... I was in ye neck making ye Coffin & att ye funeral till ye midle aftern...

1713

Sunday March 1... Benja Lesters Son Andrew Died about 11 clock. I went out to make his Coffin.
monday 2d... I was finishing ye Coffin & at ye funeral.

p. 22 (April) Mond 20... I was at work at home & Ebe making a Coffin for Goodee Way who died this morn.

p. 23 (May) Thursd:7:... I made a Coffin for Anne Waterous wife of Jacob Waterous who died Last night. I found 1/2 lb nailes & 1 barll Lamblack. I Stayed to ye funeral.

p. 27 (Sept) Wedensd 9... I was att home all day making a Coffin for Ms Stratton who died Last night.

1714

p. 39 (Sept) Mond 27... Richd Brewster Died. I workt at ye vessell al day & made Richd Brewst Coffin at night wth Richd Attwill.

p. 40 (Nov) Sund 21... I was out at Amos Tinkers & Josh. We made ye Coffin for his Mothr. Very aged woman of 85 years to a day. She was buried between Meetings.

1714/15

p. 42 (Jan) Mond 31... I was at home & made Mary Ingrems Coffin & thn at funeral.

(Feb) Saturd 12... & yn I came home to make a Coffin for Jonat Hills 2d son who died last night about 9 year old whose name was William.

p. 43 Monday 14... I made a Coffin for Jonat Hills Son Jonathan thn I went to the funeral of both Jonat & William (Hill) who were buried in one grave.
Tuesd 15... Jonathan Hills Daughter Ruth about 7 year old died.
Wedensd 16... I made a Coffin for Jonat Hills Child &

went to ye funerall.
Sund 20th... In ye foren I was helping Roff finish ye Coffin for Sarah Dennis. we began it Last night.
Mond 21... I went to Deacon Douglas's to make a Coffin for his wife who died this morn.
Tuesd 22... I finisht ye Coffin & was at ye funeral.

1715

p. 44 (Mar) Saturd 26... & yn went to begin a Coffin for Samll Douglass who died in ye morn.
Mond 28... I finisht Samll Douglas's Coffin & at ye funeral in ye forept of ye day...
p. 45 (May) fryd 6... Doctr Stephenson Died.
Thursd 7th... I was at home & made ye Docters Coffin & yn at his funeral & began a Coffin for Nicholas Darro's Child which died this day about 2 year & 1/2 old.

1715/16

p. 52 (Jan) Sund 15... uncle Robert Douglass Died this Morning Suddenly.
Mond 16... I made ye Coffin & went to ye funeral of Uncle Douglass.

1718

p. 74 (Mar) fryd 14th. I was at home in the foren finishing a Coffin for Isaac Fox's wife.

1719

p. 90 (July) Saturd 25... I made the Coffin for Mary Truman...

1720/21

p. 106 (Feb) Thursd 2d... I was at home al d. Cutting 1 pr gravestones.
p. 107 (Mar) Wednsd 15. I was at home made a Coffin & went to ye funeral of R Prentt"s.

1721

p. 113 (Sept) Saturd.9... I was most of the day Cutting a pair of Grave

Stones for Mr Arnold.

1722

p. 121 (June) Mond .11... I was all day Cutting Letters in Ms Willsons grave Stones.

p. 124 (Sept) Mond 17... I was att home in ye foren Cutting gr. Stones letters for James Rogers.
Tuesd 18... I was att home foren Cutting gr. Stones letters.
Wednsd 19... in ye foren I went to Poquoyog & drawed up 1 pr Gravestones.

p. 127 (Nov) fryd 16... I Cut 1 pr gravestones for Mr Wm Wheeler.

(Dec) Saturd 1... I was att home all day Cutting gr Stones.
Saturd 8th. I went to Mr Wheelers to get directions to Cutt gravestones.

1723

p. 134 (Sept) Tuesd 10... after ye meeting I cut Some Letters in ye grave stones of Capt Rogers's & Mr Picketts wifes.

p. 136 (Oct) Wednsd 16: 5-1/2 lb [wool] to Mr Johnson of Midletown wch was due to ym & 18-1/2 lb to buy 2 pr. gr. Stones & flax.

p. 138 (Dec) Saturd 28... I markt a pr of gr. Stones for G: Havens his child.

1723/24

p. 139 (Jan) Saturd.4... I was at home all day Cutting gr. Stones.
Tuesd 7... I was at home al day Cutting gr. Stones.
Wednsd 8... I was at home all day Cutting gr. Stones.
Thursd .9... I was at home all day Cutting letters.
Wednsd 15... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.
Mond 20... I was att home all day Cutting letter &c.

1724

p. 144 (June) Thursd 25... I dd 8 lb of wooll to Wm Stancliff for a pr of gr: stones he Sent me last week.

p. 148 (Oct) Wednsd 21... I bot of Jno Hartshorne 10. pr. of Gravestones. 1 Small foot Stone is wanting. price for [ ]

Pound & I am to pay uncle Hartshorne all the money as fast as I can make money of them. to get him .1.bb blue fish if I can & Send to [Nor]wich. if I can get 2 bbs he will Take them.

p. 149 (Nov) Tuesd 10th... I was at home Marking gr. Stones.

Thursd 12... I set out for Stonington in Jos Coits Longboat with Stephen in order to fetch Cydar. I caryed 10 pr gravestones. 7 for Wm Wheeler .1. for Ebe Wms & 2 pr Not Sold. ye Wind was high about W S W & a great Sea tht I dare not venture Round Long point. I put in for Mumfords. but got on the flatts was forced to put most of the Stones overbord & yt got a Shore. Lay out al night under a Hay Stack. fryday 13 fair. In ye Morn wee went up to Mumfords on Mr Winthrops farm Stayed for the Tide to Rise got ye Stones in about 2 Clock & got up with them about 6.

1724/25

p. 154 (Feb) Saturd 20... I was at home most of the day blocking & Cutting gr. Stones. toward night at the funeral of Ja. Daniels.

Tuesd 23... I was at home all Day Cutting gr. Stones &c.

p. 155 (Mar) Tuesd 9th... I was at home all day Cutting gr. stones &c.

Saturd 13... I was at home all day Cutting gr. stones for Roger Dart.

fryd 19... I was at ye farm all day Excepting I cut Some Letters in Wm Wheelers grave Stones.

1725

p. 156 Mond 29th... Sold G. Smith 1 pr Gr. Stones & Recd 25s in full.

Wednsd 31... I finished Cutting the gravestones (6pr) of Mr Wheelers. I have 3 pr their not Cut. 2 Red & 1 black.

p. 159 (July) Tuesd 13... I markt a pr grstones W M.

Tuesd 20... a pr of gr. Stones for Sister If I out live her.

p. 160 (Aug) Thursd 12... I markt a pr of Gr. Stones for Sister Patience Hodsell yt was began yesterday. **[See Fig. 3]**

Saturd 14... I was at home al day Marking gr. stones &

Fig. 3 Patience Hodsoll, 1725, New London, Connecticut

Mending fence.

Wednsd 25... I went to Norwich. I bot a pr of Gravestones of Jno Hartshorne for wch I pd 20s p pr. ye Rest to be pd in wool.

p. 161 (Sept) Mond 27... I kept house al day though I did Something to marking a gravestone.
Tuesd 28... I finisht marking the Stones.
Wednsd 29... I markt a gr stone in part.
(Oct) Saturd 2... I was at home al day Marking Gr. stones.
p. 162 Thursd 21... I was at home aftern Cutting gr Stones.
p. 163 (Nov) Mond 29... I went to Norwich to buy Gravestones.
Tuesd 30... I went up to Lads & agreed with Mr Hartshorne for 10 pr of gr stones 3 pr Large of about 20s price & ye other 10s 12s & 15s & I am to pay him in Wooll to Lett him have 100 lb & to take itt out in Stones.
(Dec) fryd 3... I was at home al day Cutting gr stones.
Thursd 9... In the morn i dd Jonat Bradley 1 pr gr. stones for his grand mother & 1 pr at the burying yard for his grandfather [ ] pd [ ]. I dd 5 pr more their. I Cut 1 pr to day.

1725/26

p. 165 (Jan) Tuesd 25... I was at home al d. Cutting gr. Stones.
Wednsd 26... I was at home al day Cutting gr. Stones &c.
Thursd 27... I was at home al day Cutting gr. Stones &c.
p. 167 (March) Tuesd 22... I went to Lads to See after gravestones & yn back & over to uncle Larobees.

1726

p. 168 (April) Thursd 21... aftern I Set out for Norwich in my whale-boat to find gravestones & to carry Mother.
Saturd 23... I came home from Norwich foren... brot home 13 pr gravestones.
Mond 25... yn I put a pr of gravestones for Jno Christophers on bord Capt King to go to Easthampton.
p. 169 (May) Mond 9... I was most of the day Cutting Grave Stones for Thos Douglass's.
fryd 13 ... I blockt 13 pr of gravestones.
Mond 16... I was at home al day Cutting gr. stones.
Thursd 19... I Set up Mr Dennis & Hackets gr. Stones
p. 170 (June) Thursd 9... I was at home all day Cutting gr Stones &c.
Mond 13 ... I was at home Cutting gr. stones & at

Hallams Childs funeral.

p. 171 Tuesd 28th... I was at home al day Cutting gr stones &c.

(July) fryday 1... I was at home marking gr. stones. aftern I Set up a pr for Ms Arnold & Recd of Thos Fosdyck 20s in part of pay.

Wednsd.6... I was most of the day home Cutting gravestones.

Thursd .7.... I was at home al day Cutting grstones till near night.

fryd 8th... In the morning Sett up 3 pr gravestones 1 for Deacon Douglass & 2 for Thos Douglass & his Son ...

p. 173 (Aug) Wednsd 3... I went up to Samll Lads to breakfast. I carried 60 lb of Wooll for Mr Hartshorne & bot of him 9 pr Large grave Stones for £8 & yn to Windham...

Tuesd 16 ... after I had fetched 9. pr Gravestones from Douglasses wharf brot from Norwich p. Wm Whitney. I pd him 7s 6d & trusted him 2s 6d.... I began a pr gr stones for Samll Harris Junrs Child.

Wednsd 17... toward night I was marking gr stones.

Thursd 18 ... I sent 50 lb of wool by michel Rood to Mr Jno Hartshorne at Norwich.

Saturd 20th ...I was at home Cutting gravestones...

Mond 22... I finished cutting gr. stones for old Ms Christophers.

p. 174 (Sept) fryd 2... I was most of the day visiting and with Mr Wheeler to put up grave stones.

p. 175 Thursd 22 ...I Recd of Capt Christophers 40s for a pr. gr. Stones & 8s of Jno Huntley & 10s of Danll Dishan in full of all accots.

1726/27

p. 181 (March) Mond 13 ... I was at home al day marking gravestones.

Thursd 16 ...I was at home Cutting gr stones & yesterday for Ms Arnold & Wm Davise. **[See Fig. 4]**

fryd 17... I Set up 2 pr gravestones for Ms Arnold & 1 for Wm Davise.

p. 182 Wednsd 22...I Returned home & blacked 6 pr gr stones ...

Fig. 4 William Davise, 1725, New London, Connecticut

1727

Mond 27 ...I was at home Cutting Letters...

p. 186 (July) fryd 7 ...I was al day helping draw up ye Courthouse Step Stones & Tombstones for Richard Christophers Esq. 2 Lo[ad] & 1/2 was ym in all 11 L[oad]...

fryd 14... I dd to old Mr Hartshorne 62-1/2 of wool. I am to send it up to Norwich to Whitneys.

p. 188 (Sept) Thursd 14 ...I was at home all d. Marking gravestones &

pulling hops.

p. 189 (Oct) Mond 2... Markt Gr Stones for Samll Fox Senr ye Junr he hath pd Mr for ym 40s & £3 12s 0d for apprizing & Dividing &c & all Ballanced.
Tuesd 3d ...I was at home al day Cutting grstones for Wm Lathams wife.
Wednsd 4 ... I was at home foren Cutting gr Stones...
Saturd 5th... I was at home all day Cutting gr Stones...
fryd 6... I was at home all d. Cutting gr stones...
Saturd 7... I was at home all d. Cutting gr stones.

p. 190 (Nov) Saturd 4 ... I Set up grstones for Samll Fox.

p. 192 (Dec) Saturd 16 ... I was home al d. Cutting gr stones for Lt Hallams Child.

1727/28

p. 193 (Jan) Saturd 6... I was at home al day about gr stones.
Thur 11... I was at home al day making a Map & Cutting Letters.
Saturd 13 ... I Cut Letters ...
Wednsd 17 ... I was at home al d. Cutting Letters.

1728

p. 200 (July) Saturd 13... I sent 81 lb of Wool by Mr Whitney for Mr Hartshorne.

p. 202 (Sept) Thursd 19... I was at home al day Cutting Gravestones.
fryd 20... I was at home al day Cutting Gravestones.
Mond 23d... I was at home al day Cutting gr stones.
Wednsd 25... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.

p. 203 (Oct) Wednsd 9... I cut letters in ye aftern for Capt Conklins Mothers Gr. stones.
Tuesd 15... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.
Wednsd 16... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c I went to the funeral of Ms Codner toward night.

1729

p. 209 (April) fryd 25... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.

p. 213 (Oct) Thursd 2... in the morn I fetched home 7 pr of gr. stones

brot down from Norwich by Whitney. I pd him 10s.

p. 216 (Dec) Tuesd 16... I was home most of the day blacking gravestones.
Wednsd 17... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.
Thursd 18... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.
fryd 19... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.
Saturd 20... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.

1730

p. 225 (Sept) fryd 4... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.
p. 226 fryd 11... I Cut Some Letters in a Tomb Stone for C. C.
Wednsd 30... I was Cutting Letters in C. C. Tomb Stone.
(Oct) fryd 2d... aftern Cutting letters C. C. Tomb.
p. 227 Thursd 8... Cutting Some letters &c.
fryd 9... I was about home in Town Cutting Letters on C. Crs Tomb Stone.

1731

p. 234 (April) Wednsd 28... I Cut Some Letters in Tomb Stone.
p. 237 (July) Saturd 10... I cut Some Letters.
Tuesd 13... I was home most of the day & Cutting Some letters in a Tomb Stone for R. Christophers Esqr.
p. 243 (Dec) Mond 20... I was Cutting Letters in ye Tombstone of R. C.

1731/32

p. 246 (March) Wednsd 22... I was at home al day Cutting Letters in gr Stones.

1732

Mond 27... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.
p. 248 (June) Tuesd 6... aftern Cutting Letters in a Stone.
Mond 12... I finished Cutting Letters in the Tomb Stone of Richd Christophers Esqr.
p. 252 (Oct) fryd 6... aftern I was at home Cutting Letters.
Saturd 7... I was at home most of the day Cutting Letters.
Mond 9th... I finisht Cutting Letters in gr Stones for Capt [ ]

Tuesd 10... I was at home most of ye day Cutting gr stones...

p. 253 (Nov) Saturd 11... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.

p. 255 (Dec) Wednsd 27... I cutLetters in a grave stone.

Thurd 28... I was at home al d lame Cutting Letters.

1732/33

p. 256 (Jan) Thurd 18... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.

1733

p. 264 (Oct) Wednsd 3d... I Recd of Jasper Latham 1 £5 Bill Society mony to pay for grave Stones for William Latham **[see Fig. 2]** if I can put it off Else he to take it again & 1 20s bill good for a Small pr.

p. 266 (Nov) Mond 19... aftern at home Blacking gr Stones &c.

p. 267 (Dec) fryd 21... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.

Saturd 22... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.

Thursd 27... I was at home al day. I carted down 5 pr Gr. Stones to ye water side for Groton.

Saturd 29... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.

1733/34

(Jan) fryd 4... I was at home al day Cutting Letters.

p. 268 Mond 14... I was at home al d. Cutting Letters &c.

1734

p. 277 (Aug) Mond 5... I was at home al day Engraving &c.

Saturd 10... I was at home al day Cutting Letters &c.

Mond 12... I was at home al day Engraving Stones.

Tuesd 13... I was at home all the foren Engraving.

Mond 19... I was at home al day 2 Courts & also Engraving.

Tuesd 20... I was at home al day Engraving.

Thursd 22... I was at home foren Engraving.

p. 280 (Oct) Tuesd 22... I finished Cutting Letters in Cary Lathams Gr. Stone.

p. 281 (Nov) Wednsd 13... I was most of the day at the burying place

Cutting Letters in Justice Prenttis's Tombstone.
Mond 18... aftern at the burying place Engraving.
Tuesd 19... I was most of ye day Engraving at the Tomb of the Late Jonat Prenttis Esqr.
fryd 22... I went to Norwich & went to Ladds & bot 10 pr of gr. stone for £8 to be pd when I Sell them. I pd £3 7s 0d that was due before...

p. 282 (Dec) fryday 20... I was at home al day Cutting Letters in a pr of Gr Stones for Lt Samll Sterry 81 Letters ys day & night.

p. 283 Mond 23... I was at home al day Engraving &c.
Tuesd 31... I was at home al day Engraving Stones.

1735

p. 290 (July) fryd 4... I was at home forenoon Engraving Stones.
Mond 7... I was at home al day Engraving...
Tuesd 8... aftern at home Engraving.
Mond 14... I was at home al day. Engraving aftern.

p. 297 (Dec) Saturd 13... I was at home al day Engraveing.
Tuesd 16... I was at home al day Engraving.
fryd 19... I was at home al day Engraving &c.

1736

p. 305 (June) fryd 25... In the morn I went to Joseph Coits Wharff on bord of Jno Knot & bot 3 pr of gravestones of Danll Brewer of Midletown for 14s 1d p pr. I pd him 15s and gave a Note for 28s 6d for 3 months.

(July) Mond 5... I was home al d. Engraving.
Tuesd 6... I was at home al Day Except about 3 hours at the burying place Engraving Tombstones.
Tuesd 13... I finisht Engraving gravestones for old Justice Smith of Groton.

p. 308 (Aug) Wednsd 25... aftern Engraving Tombstone at the burying place.

(Sept) fryd 10th... aftern I was Cutting Letters in Deacon Plumbs Tombstone.

p. 309 Thursd 30... Richd Christophers buried vizt put into the Tomb. Mr Seabury pr a funeral sermon at the Church & Read over the prayers (ordained by the Church on such

occasions) at the Tomb before he was put in. the Pall bearers were all Churchmen.

1737

p. 320 (May) Tuesd 24... I was at home all day. I helpt Dung Corn & markt Gr stones.
fryd 27... I was at home al Day Cutting Letters for Ms Davise Decd of Groton Mr Davis's first wife Daughter of Ens Wm Morgan.
(June) Tuesd 7... Engraving.

1739

p. 357 (Oct) Thursd 11... I went to Lebanon to See after gravestones and could get none at present.

1741

p. 381 (Aug) fryd 21... I finished making a pr of Gravestones for Natt Larabee & began one for Jno Wood. I Recd 45s of Mr Wood for Sd Stones.
Saturd 22... I was at home all Day Engraving...
(Sept) Thursd 3d... I was at home all Day Engraving Stones.

1742

p. 391 (April) Saturd 3... I had 4 pr of gravestones from Wm Stancliff p Eprh Dones. I pd ye freight 15s 0d.

1744

p. 423 (April) Wednsd 4... I was at home all day. I finisht Tim Foresyths Gr Stones.
p. 424 fryd 6... I markt Gr-stones for Samll Lee.
p. 426 (June) fryd 8... aftern at home Engraving.
p. 436 (Dec) fryd 28... finisht Engraving gr-stones for Shackmaple.

1744/45

(Jan) Thursd 3... I was at home all Day Cutting Letters in a Stone of Wm Newport. finisht 81.
p. 437 Tuesd 22... I was at home all Day Engraving Stones.

p. 438 (Feb) fryd 8... I was at home all day Engraving.
(Mar) Tuesd 5... I was at home all Day Cutting Letters &c.

1745

p. 444 (June) Saturd 22... I was at home all Day Engraving Letters for Wm Newport.
Wednsd 26... I was at home foren Engraving. Joshua Carted up 7 pr gravestones & broke one yt was for Ms Richds. the head Stone.
Thursd 27... I was about home all day Engraving Stones for Ralph Stodder ye 2d.
p. 445 (July) Thursd 4... Iwas at home all Day Engraving Stones.
p. 453 (Dec) Mond 30... I was at home all Day Engraving Stones.

1745/46

p. 454 (Jan) Saturd 25... I finisht marking grave Stones for Frank Poveddo Powers's negro man.
p. 466 (Feb) Saturd 8... night over took me at Mr Powers's where I stopt & Recd £3 10s 0d for his Negro boys Gr. Stones.

1746

p. 458 (April) Tuesd 22... aftern I went to Stonington to Send Some money by my Son minor for Gravestons.

1746/47

p. 477 (Mar) fryd 6... I was at home all day Engraving.

1747

p. 485 (July) Mond 27... An Negro Wooman Servt to Mr Powers, Wife to old frank Poviddo was buried. She died yesterday & the Negro men 4 of them came for Gravestones for young frank. Carryed only ye head Stones ye foot Stones Not be[ ]nged one.
p. 491 (Nov) Wednsd 4th... I went to Capt Johnsons att ye upperhouses & bot 3 pr of Gr Stones for £3 to be pd if I have them.

1747/48

p. 497 (Mar) Mond 7... I was at home all day Engraving.

1748

p. 498 (April) Tuesd 5... I was att home all day Engraving &c.
Wednsd 6... I was at home all day Engraving.

1749

p. 540 (Dec) Tuesd 12... I finisht a pr of Grave Stones for Capt Jonathan Starr of Groton, his grave.
fryd 22... I was at home all day Engraving.
Tuesd 26... I was at home all Day (Engraving) Except one hour I Went up to the Town meeting which was soon over, & nothing done.
Wednsd 27... I finisht Engraving a headstone for Samll Bills wife.

1749/50

p. 545 (Mar) Mond 12... I was about home all d. I Recd 4 pr Gr Stones p Capt Es[ ] from Midletown Sent p Pierpont.
Tuesd 12... I was at home all day Engraving &c.
Wednsd 14... finisht ye Gr stones & DD them & Recd of Sd Darrow £6.

p. 551 (June) Wednsd 4th... I finisht Engraving a gravestone for Jno Avery Junrs wife.

p. 553 (Aug) Wednsd 1... I was at home all day Engraving gr Stones for S. Haughton.
Wednsd 8... aftern I went up to Mr Christophers wharff to Rectifie a pr of Gr stone for Wm Cashkadden. I Cut out one Line because his name was Spelt wrong. & I blackt it over &c.
Thursd 9... I was at home most of the day. towd night I went up to ye wharff & began to Engrave gr Stones for Wm Cashkadden.

1751

p. 568 (May) Tuesd 7... adm fetched home 4 pr Gravestones. Came

from Mr Brewer of Midletown wch Cost £13. Joshua paid the Mony for me.

p. 569 Tuesd 21... I was att home all day Engraving &c.
Wednsd 22... I was about home all day, Engraving.

p. 571 (July) Thursd 4... I was att home all Day Engraving gr Stones.

1752

p. 589 (May) Thursd 21... In the morning I went to Receive Six pair of Gr stones wch came from Daniel Brewer of Midletown. price £19 & freight £6. I also bot 2 pr of Capt Kelly for £8. I pd him £30. Still due £3.
Saturd 23... markt pt of a gr ston.
Mond 25... I was att home all Day Engraving Maples Gr stones.
Thursd 28... I finisht Engraving a pr of gr. stones for Mr Willoughby.

(June) Thursd 4... aftern at home Engraving.

p. 590 Thursd 11... I was att home all day Engraving &c.

p. 593 (Aug) Mond 19... aftern at home Engraving...
Wednsd 12... I was at home all day Engraving...
Saturd 15... I was at home all day Engraving.
Mond 17... I was att home foren Engraving.

p. 599 (Dec) Saturd 2... I was att home all day mending Gr stone S Maple.

1753

p. 602 (Jan) Wednsd 24... finisht a pr Gravestones for Jasper Lathm.
Thursd 25... I was at home Engraving most of the Day.
fryd 26... I finisht a pr Gravestones for Jont Calkin's grave.

(Feb) fryd 9... I Sent 3 pr of Gravestones up to the burying place by adam in the Cart. 1 pr was for the grave of Lt Jonath Calkin, 1 pr for Widow Walwort & one pr for the Grave of Samll Bills wife. these Last were his Stones & I Engraved them 2 or 3 yrs ago. & now this Day he Died . aged I Supose near 60.
Saturd 10... I was att home all day about Gr. stones.
Wednsd 14... I was at home all day Engraving &c.

p. 609 (June) Wednsd 27... went with Pierpont a Cross ye River to ye Quary & bot 1 pr Large gr stones of one Edwards for £4 I pd him. 4 or 5 pr at 50s p pr wch Pierpt is to pay for me.

p. 610 (July) Thursd 12... in the morning I went with adm & Team to Capt Coits wharf & brought home Six pr of Gravestones Stephen Harris brot & pd him £3 12s 0d for freight.

p. 611 Mond 16... in the morning I bot of Stephen Harris 1 pr Gr stones & 2 Baggs for 9 lbs 1/4 of Wool.

p. 614 (Aug) Tuesd 28... I was at home all day Engraving &c.
Wednsd 29... I was at home all Day. finisht Engraving T. Trumans Stones.
Wednsd 28... I was at home all day Engraving.

p. 619 (Nov) Tuesd 20... I was att home all day Engraving.
fryd 30... I was att home all Day Engraving.

p. 620 (Dec) fryd 7... I was att home all day Engraving &c.

1754

p. 623 (Jan) Saturd 26... & I paid to Powers before on his acct 53-£118 18s 0d & also I pd him £9 before in a pr of Gravestones.

p. 627 (April) fryd 5th... helpt adam Load up 4 pr of Gravestones at Picketts wharf ...

p. 635 (Aug) Thursd 22... Molly arived by water with Stephen Harris who brot me a pr of gravestones for Deacon Lee Decd.
fryd 23... In the morn I fetched a pr of Gr. stones fro Capt Coits wharf.

p. 636 Tuesd 27... I was at home all day Engraving.
Wednsd 28... I was att home all day Engraving.
Thursd 29... I finisht Engraving Ms Robinsons grstones.

p. 641 (Dec) fryd 6... I was att home all Day Engraving &c.
Mond 16... finisht Engraving for Dea. Lee.

p. 642 Tuesd 24... I was at home all day Engraving.
Satrd 28... I was at home all day Engraving.

1755

p. 659 (Nov) Wednsd 19... I was att home all Day Engraving.

1756

p. 666 (April) Thursd 1... I was att home all day Engraving gr Stone... going up with adam to ye Burying place with a Jagg of Gravestones.

p. 676 (Oct) Tuesd 19... I was att home all day Engraving.
Wednsd 20... I was att home all day Engraving Capt Barbats Stone.
fryd 22... I finisht Engraving &c.

1758

p. 697 (Jan) Tuesd 10... I was about home all day. Engraving gr stones for Pages.

NOTES

The author is grateful to The New London [Connecticut] Historical Society for its permission to reprint here the excerpts from the *Diary of Joshua Hempstead*, to which it holds copyright. The photograph of the John Fox gravestone (Fig. 1) is from a glass negative by Harriette Merrifield Forbes, in the collection of Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber. The photographs shown in Figs. 2-4 are by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber.

1. Harriette Merrifield Forbes mentions Hempstead in her classic *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men who Made Them, 1653-1800* (Boston, 1927; rpt. New York, 1989), 102-105. Ernest Caulfield first drew attention to Hempstead's diary in the critical literature: see his "Connecticut Gravestones XII: John Hartshorn (1650-c.1738) vs. Joshua Hempstead (1678-1758)," *Bulletin of the Connecticut Historical Society* 32:3 (1967), rpt. in *Markers VIII* (1991): 164-88. See also Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, CT, 1966), 373; 377; 425; Peter Benes, "Lt. John Hartshorn: Gravestone Maker of Haverhill and Norwich," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 109:2 (1973): 152-64; James A. Slater and Ralph L. Tucker, "The Colonial Gravestone Carvings of John Hartshorne," *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston, 1978), 79-146; James A. Slater, *The Colonial Burying Grounds of Eastern Connecticut and the Men Who Made Them* (Hamdem, CT, 1987), *passim*. For a corollary example of the usefulness of such accounts (the daybooks of the Stevens Shop, Newport, Rhode Island) see Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving* (Middletown, CT, 1974), 213ff.

2. *Diary of Joshua Hempstead of New London, Connecticut* (New London, CT, 1901; rpt. 1985). The preface to this volume contains much valuable collateral information on Hempstead and his family, the New London of his times, and the original manuscript volumes of the diary.

3. For more on Stanclift and the Johnsons see Ernest Caulfield, "Connecticut Gravestones II: The Stanclift Family," *Bulletin of the Connecticut Historical Society* 16:4 (1951) and 17:1 (1952), rpt. in *Markers VIII* (1991): 16-38, and "Connecticut Gravestones V: The Thomas Johnsons," *Bulletin of the Connecticut Historical Society* 21:1 (1956), rpt. in *Markers VIII* (1991): 58-89.

4. At the time Hempstead composed his diary, the present day communities of Lebanon, Franklin, and Norwich were all known as Norwich: thus, Hartshorne lived in what is now Lebanon but was then a part of Norwich.

5. For collateral information on the little understood process of painting gravestones in early America, see editor Theodore Chase's "addendum" (pp. 27-29) to Eloise Sibley West, "The John Dwight Workshop in Shirley, Massachusetts, 1770-1816," *Markers VI* (1989): 1-31.

APPENDIX 1

Summary of Gravestone Purchases by Joshua Hempstead

1712	From Middletown for John Fox (made by one of the Stanclifts)
1722	To Poquoyog for a pair of gravestones
1723	A pair of stones from Mr Johnson of Middletown
1724	A pair of stones from William Stanclift
1724	Ten pair from Hartshorne
1725	One pair from Hartshorne
1725	Ten pair from Hartshorne
1725/6	Thirteen pair from Hartshorne
1726	Nine pair from Hartshorne
1733	He sends five pair to Groton
1734	Ten pair from Hartshorne
1736	Three pair from Daniel Brewer of Middletown
1739	To Hartshorne for stones but "none at present"
1742	Four pair from William Stanclift
1745	To Stonington to send money for gravestones - to who??
1747	Three pair from Capt. Johnson
1749/50	Four pair from Middletown, by Capt. Es[ ]
1751	Four pair from Mr Brewer of Middletown
1752	Six pair from Daniel Brewer of Middletown
1752	Two pair of Capt. Kelly
1753	Six pair from Edwards at quarry
1753	One pair from Stephen Harris (for transporting ?)

APPENDIX 2

Summary of stones "cut," "markt," or "Engraved" by Hempstead

1712	John Fox
1721	Mr Arnold
1722	Ms Willson
	James Rogers
	William Wheeler
1723	Capt. Rogers
	Ms Pickett
	child Haven
1724	William Wheeler (7 pair)
	Ebe. Williams
1724/5	James Daniels
	Roger Dart
	William Wheeler
1725	G. Smith
	W.M.
	Patience Hodsell
	Jonathan Bradley's grandparents
1726	John Christophers
	Thomas Douglass & son
	Mr Dennis
	Hackett
	child Hallams
	Ms Arnold
	Thomas Fosdyck
	Samuel Harros' son
	Ms Christophers
	John Huntley
	Daniel Dishan
1726/7	Ms Arnold
	William Davise
	Richard Christophers (Tomb)
1727	Samuel Fox
	William Latham's wife
	child Hallam
1728	Capt. Conklin's mother
	Ms Codner
1730	C. Christophers
1732	Capt. [ ]
1733	William Latham
1734	Cary Latham
	Jonathan Prentiss
	Lt. Samuel Sterry
1736	Justice Smith
	Deacon Plumb
1737	Ms Davise
1741	Nathaniel Larabee
1744	Timothy Forsyth
	Samuel Lee
	Shackmaple
1744/5	William Newport
1745	Ms Richards
	Ralph Stodder
1745/6	Frank Proveddo's Negro man
1747	Frank Proveddo's Negro woman
1749	Capt. Jonathan Starr
	Ms Samuel Bill
1749/50	Darrow
	John Avery's wife
	S. Haughton
	William Cashkadden
1752	S. Maples
	Mr Willoughby
1753	Jasper Latham
	Jonathan Calkins
	Widow Wallworth
	Ms Samuel Bill
	T.Truman
1754	Powers
	Deacon Lee
	Ms Robinson
1756	Capt. Barbat
1758	Page

Fig. 1 Gravesite of Andrew Charles Lynch,
Mt. Pamalpais Cemetery, San Rafael, California

CONTEMPORARY GRAVEMARKERS OF YOUTHS: MILESTONES OF OUR PATH THROUGH PAIN TO JOY

Gay Lynch

Editor's Preface

The essay which follows represents in several ways a departure from the type of article normally found within ***Markers****. For one thing, it is far more intensely personal and contemplative than the generally analytical studies of individual carvers, gravemarker styles, and other cemetery-based materials and concepts which the journal has made its mainstay over the years. Which is not to say that this article is lacking in analytical and critical acumen: far from it, as I am confident will become apparent in its reading. Rather, it might be more accurate to say that this study carries with it – in addition to its valuable critical observations – an element of personal commitment of the part of the author which elevates both the insights and the writing itself to a level of transcendent power rarely seen in merely academic prose. As such, I am reminded of the sometimes spiritually moving works of certain folklorists – John Lomax and Richard Dorson in several of their earlier efforts, and, more recently, Keith Cunningham in his* ***American Indians' Kitchen-Table Stories*** *(1992) – who discovered within the course of their own fieldwork certain truths which profoundly affected, perhaps even changed, their lives. It is this sort of power which infuses the present study and which, in some fashion, transfers its essence to the reader.*

A second manner in which this essay stands in contrast to most ***Markers*** *entries is in its general paucity of illustrations (there are only three photographs, all of the same monument). This is a deliberate choice: the author could easily have supplied numerous visual examples of other markers meant to illustrate the various points she discusses. But these are neither necessary nor desirable, and this for two reasons. For one thing, despite the article's signally important observations on the gravestones of youths in general, there is one memorial and one memorial only which constitute's its spiritual core – that of Andrew Charles Lynch – and to provide additional illustrations of other monuments would only serve to dilute that vitally important consideration. Furthermore, by deliberately choosing* ***not*** *to provide other visual examples (in the manner we have somewhat complacently become accustomed to) the author is presenting a subtle yet quite meaningful challenge to her readers – the invitation to get out of our comfortable armchairs and discover these striking contemporary artifacts in their natural settings, almost always a more powerful and revealing experience than merely studying their reflections within the bound pages of a printed work.*

In our ongoing efforts to appreciate and understand the beauty and uniqueness of gravemarkers as crafted artifacts, it is sometimes important that we take the time to grapple with fundamental questions concerning the equally important and often complex functions they serve in our culture. In her at times almost poetic treatment of the contemporary gravestones of young people, Gay Lynch has provided significant insights into the creation of not only these specific elements of the cemetery landscape, but, perhaps even more importantly, the functioning and purposes of that landscape as a whole.

Introduction

This essay has emerged as the result of a journey, partially physical, perhaps even more so spiritual, which I undertook in 1993 as part of a personal effort to understand the manner in which we as a culture attempt to deal with the loss of young people through the memorials we erect for them. The course of this journey took me to cemeteries on both coasts of the United States, to conversations with many people, and, finally, to what I feel to be at least a partial understanding of the principles I sought to comprehend. My suggestion here is that contemporary gravemarkers of youths constitute a distinct genre of memorial – we mark the deaths of adolescents differently than those of all other age categories – and my response to these markers has led me to two basic conclusions. Firstly, the deaths of young persons are extraordinary violations of the expected and we, in turn, respond with gravemarkers which also violate the expected. With the same passion of the youth who have been snatched too early, we create extraordinary monuments in their memory. Secondly, these unique memorials embody our struggle and brokenness as well as our path to healing. The examples I have observed display a willingness, indeed a daringness, on the part of the surviving families to acknowledge and reveal pain and brokenness in ways that often dramatically set these memorials apart in the cemetery landscape . As such, these creations are honest manifestations of intense wounds. But this is by no means all they embody, for at one and the same time they symbolize a journey toward healing. Within the darkness, sorrow, and torturing doubt in which they are created lies the path to joy and transcendency of the self.

Though a number of recent studies have dealt with the denial of death in contemporary American culture, I have found one of the most useful treatments to be that of Ralph C. Johnston, Jr.[1] Johnston begins with the work of Philippe Ariès, whose general proposition is that humanity's rela-

tionship to death has become ever more distorted as our society has become increasingly technological. According to Ariès, the "tame," non-threatening death of primal community-based societies has become "wild" with the progress of scientific knowledge, for it is the one condition science can never cure.[2] Death has little place in this brave new world.

Following an examination of what he terms the Thanatology Movement, i.e., contemporary publications and organizations seeking to change our culture's terror of death which have followed in the wake of the pioneering studies of Elisabeth Kübler-Ross,[3] Johnston presents his own program for "taming" death in contemporary culture. In the tradition of Ariès, he calls for the return of "an ethic of community" as a way of coming to terms with death and removing "the mantle of invisibility" our culture has cast over it.[4]

Johnston's ethic calls for connectedness with our dead, integration of death into our lives, and union with sacred tradition. His assertion is that these communions, both intrapersonal and interpersonal, are best accomplished by travelling the path of *brokenness* and *mourning*, and that only in our *struggle* with death do we receive a sense of God's mystery and thereby align ourselves with sacred tradition. This sense is not articulated as a conclusion but is, rather, revealed and grasped only in the spiritual barrenness born of confronting struggle. The journey of loss and lament, argues Johnston, leads to the fullness of community.[5] In short, we "tame" death by turning toward it.

Johnston's evocation of the path of struggle, brokenness, and mourning as a means by which to build community in the face of human death offers us an opportunity through which we are irrevocably changed and empowered. When we allow ourselves to struggle, to experience brokenness, and to mourn, we encounter our creativity, our wholeness and our joy. When our cries are not voiced, heaven is not moved and history is not initiated. The result is hopelessness. However, when we do dare to initiate expression, we have a new chance. The distinctive memorials of youths which are the subject of this essay are born from the experience of travelling this path. By daring to cast our pain in material form and reveal our struggle at deeply personal levels, we create extraordinary memorials as well as build bridges with our world.

One might wonder why I have chosen this particular age category. My family and I have lost a young person. Our youngest son, Andrew Charles Lynch, died in his sleep of myocarditis at the age of twenty-one

on January 11, 1991. We had no warning: neither he nor we knew he was ill. Little did we know the steps to the path, the agonizing and ultimately joyful experience of creating our own young person's memorial, were but a heartbeat away. Hence this essay is written in the voice – my voice – of a bereaved parent.

My family found itself resistant to any and all standard, pre-existing styles of stone carvings. In order to mark an event that we felt nature could never possibly absorb, we needed to create a memorial that the existing cemetery landscape would not absorb. We had been handed a tragedy outside of the natural order. The only way we could possibly mark it would be with a memorial that, too, was unnatural. A gravestone that looked like any other gravestone would not do. To lose a youth is not a normal sorrow: in order to remain afloat and in the arena of participation and hope, we needed to respond with a memorial that was unlike the others.

We knew our hearts had to do this unimaginable task. The mind does not tolerate the mystery of such a loss: it is only with the heart that one can enter such mystery and find relationship to it. While the mind judges and seeks to impose order on suffering, the heart appreciates and knows that suffering is the first step of healing. Our hearts needed time to absorb the pain, the agonizing pain, from within which the memorial would be created. We waited for months which totaled nearly three years.

Although James T. McCarthy, third generation owner of California's oldest memorial company, Amador Memorial of Oakland, assured me when I consulted him that parents of young adults spend more time than any of his clientele in choosing gravemarkers, I wondered if our response was unusual. While our family tormentingly reflected on how to mark an event every fiber of our being passionately resisted, I set out to explore and discover how other parents mark the death of their adolescents. Thus began my cemetery wanderings. In my pilgrimage through the stones, I was seeking community for my deepest wound.

I discovered that gravemarkers have many ways of talking to us. As Richard E. Meyer notes in his *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, we hear the voices of these markers not only through their verbal etchings but, as well, through their size, their shape, their composition (i.e., type of material), and their location within a cemetery site.[6] On my journey – which even now I can see has no ending – I have encountered distinctive voices far beyond my expectations, and yet they are voices that are familiar to me. Their pain is my pain. These voices have

spoken to me as loudly as the silence I hear of those whose lives the stones represent: on many occasions I have heard them before I was sufficiently close for my eyes to determine, to confirm the age of the deceased.

This is what I have heard. . .

Inscriptions

Personal Qualities

The gravemarker is our only and our last chance to share the essence of our beloved young person with the world beyond our own personal sphere. Our youth has spent much of his or her life putting down roots and becoming familiar and comfortable with self-identity. They are in the early stages of the process of expressing unique sensitivities and gifts to the world. Now that they are dead, we strongly feel the need to etch in stone those qualities which – though familiar and precious to us – most of the world will never have the opportunity to know.

While frozen expressions such as "Beloved Father and Husband" or "Mother We Love Thee" may typically be found on the contemporary gravestones of adults, or "Ours But a Little While" on that of infants, the epitaphs on gravestones of young people are, in many cases, specialized and highly personal inscriptions. Parents, as survivors, need to communicate and seek to immortalize qualities of the young person so deeply dear to them, qualities of which the world has now, suddenly, been deprived: at the same time, there exists the passionate desire to immortalize as well their own responses to these special qualities possessed by the now departed youth. Perhaps – or so it seems – if we somehow manage to etch these qualities in stone, the world beyond our own personal world will understand and enter into a relationship with these gifts of which our present and future have now been disadvantaged.

> He was loving, strong, adventurous, exuberant,
> talented, with a big heart and wonderful smile.
> He touched so many. We love you so.

* * * * *

> A child of love, beauty,
> sweetness, laughter and joy.
> She taught us the meaning
> of love and life.

Personal Quotations

Another manner in which the verbal etchings provide unique voices is through personal quotes of our young persons which serve as the primary inscriptions on the markers. These utterances, captured here in an image of permanence, tie us to relationships that are never replaced. Those widowed often remarry, and younger couples are likely to "try again" following the death of an infant. As parents of youths, frequently beyond our child-bearing years, we anticipate the process of transferring to these young adults our sense, whether real or imagined, of our own immortality. With their unexpected deaths, we become fixated upon their living images. Not only do the words and expressions of our cherished youths live on in us, we somehow find comfort and experience pride in sharing them with the world.

Catch 'Ya Later

* * * * *

Fig. 2 Detail, Gravesite of Andrew Charles Lynch, Mt. Pamalpais Cemetery, San Rafael, California

Don't Worry About It

* * * * *

Where the earth touches the sea,
We will be free and then truly happy.
Noah

Survivor Comfort

Survivor comfort is an important theme among primary inscriptions found on the gravestones of youths. Neither mortality statistics[7] nor our life experience would suggest that we should expect young adults to die. Their bodies have succeeded in surviving the early stages of life outside the nurturant womb. Save for chicken pox, injections and vaccines have eradicated all previous childhood illnesses, especially the great killers of previous eras. Our young people have managed the integrative process of social community within family and school structures. They have exhibited their flexibility and strength, both physical and emotional, in reaching their adolescent years. They are about to begin to live their own lives in their self-chosen ways. Now, suddenly, unexpectedly, their deaths leave us stunned and confused, our hearts incredibly heavy. We seek comfort in order that we may heal, while, ironically, we often encounter pressure intended to cure us. We are frequently surrounded by the naive notion that having faith somehow cancels our pain and suffering. On the stones of our young people we inscribe the comfort for which our hearts yearn.

He thought of all the good things
he had accomplished in his life,
thought of all the magnificent things
he had learned in his relatively brief time
of existence, and was happy within himself.

* * * * *

My love involves the love before;
My love is vaster passion now;
Though mixed with God and nature thou,
I seem to love thee more and more.
Far off thou art but ever nigh;
I have thee still, and I rejoice;
I prosper, circled with thy voice:
I shall not lose thee though I die.

Visual Images

One of the most compelling features of the contemporary gravemarker is the reemergence of the visual image, particularly when used to impart a strong element of personalization to what otherwise might appear initially to be yet another nondescript element in the general cemetery landscape.[8] Nowhere is this more apparent than on the markers of young people, where increasingly one finds intensely personalized images which form the visual counterpart to the inscribed personal quotations described earlier. Motorcycles, cheerleaders, musical instruments, sports figures in action, pets, automobiles, outdoors scenes – these and a myriad of other images sandblasted or etched upon the faces of contemporary markers in cemeteries throughout America testify to the individuality and vital essence of the young persons who graced our existence.

Size, Shape, Location, Composition

The passion, the vitality, and the potential of our young adults seem too promising to be extinguished. This we announce to the world not only through word and image but also through the size, shape, composition, and positioning of the monuments we choose. In San Rafael, California's Mount Tamalpais Cemetery, at the top of a sloping hillside dotted with other memorials, sits a round and massive piece of local serpentine. To stand beside it is to experience being positioned on a speaker's platform. It boldly announces to the surrounding landscape the enormity of the experience represented in the loss of the youth it commemorates. Its size and positioning speak clearly to us: the intensity of the pain feels as if we were crushed by this immense boulder.

In contrast, the smallest memorial in Oakland, California's vast and monumentally overpowering Mountain View Cemetery, a bronze marker measuring a diminutive six and three-quarter by ten inches, nestles quietly in the melancholy shade of a grassy glen, so still and so very private. I look at the sculpted youthful face captured in the bronze. It hugs the ground in the shadows of the trees, and I hear the whispering sounds: "I was too young and beautiful to die."

Back in Mount Tamalpais Cemetery, a large heart shaped monument, carved of Indian marble, rests upon the green grass of the Sha'arei Shalom Jewish section. Etched upon its face are somewhat unusual looking Lions of Judah. For many months the family agonized with the carver over the expression on the faces of the lions, insisting that they be youthful. The

artist tried repeatedly to achieve what the family needed, with drawing after drawing rejected before final approval of the "adolescent" lions which personalize this stone. This I learned from the young person's mother one day while I was walking in the cemetery. She did not know me, nor I, her; yet, I approached her and said hello after watching her travel from stone to stone. The way she moved reminded me of myself: her body posture told me that she, too, was searching the landscape for other markers that might bring community to her struggle.

On America's other coast, a rare metallic gravemarker in Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery commemorates a twenty-one year old youth. Sculpted of shiny and hollow stainless steel by a New York artist, the monument is suggestive of a door. This holds an even larger and extended meaning for us, for the gravemarkers of our young people serve as powerful symbolic hinges between the separate doors of death and life. To these monuments we return to soften the distance between the doors and to uncover within ourselves a threshold of knowing that both doors open to the same reality. Paradoxically, at the same time we renew our commitments to both realms.

Gardens and Offerings

Researchers and psychologists suggest that the most distressing and stressful grief anyone could encounter is that of the loss of a grown child.[9] Perhaps one of our greatest challenges as surviving parents is to somehow complete the past, find meaning in the present, and want to create a future. But the past is never over for it holds the living memories of our joy. And our child's death, albeit past, is always both now and new. The present is different than anything we have ever known: nothing in our world looks or feels the same. Compassion and empathy for all of life guide our actions, and we reach all around us to support and nurture potential. We want to *want* to create a future and, yet, it is too painful to look very far ahead. Today is enough of a challenge.

There is another kind of gravesite memorial we create that helps us through each day. We plant grave gardens. These gardens reassert life over death and remind us how creation can flower from isolation. Moreover, they allow us an active participation in their growth and development. They become a metaphor for our self-healing wherein we seek to reclaim our own inner acorn nature. We yearn toward the creative and restorative powers of the natural world and hope that we, too, as surely

as the bulbs sending up their shoots, may blossom again.

But it is not only natural forms we plant. Often these gardens display a series of little things placed carefully in and around them – a beer bottle, a rubber duckie, pine cones, a comb, a package of chewing gum. Not only do such offerings serve, in the manner of the previously mentioned verbal inscriptions and visual images, as surrogates of the departed, they have an additional and equally powerful function. As Sharon Olds tell us in her poem "Little Things," these things, these little things, somehow have a magical way of giving us a sense that we belong to our world:

> So when I fix on this tiny image of resin
> or sweep together with the heel of my hand a
> pile of my son's sunburn peels like
> insect wings, where I peeled his back the night before camp,
> I am doing something I learned early to do, I am
> paying attention to small beauties,
> whatever I have – as if it were our duty to
> find things to love, to bind ourselves to this world.[10]

Landscapes and Visits

Pulitzer Prize-winning author N. Scott Momaday writes in his *The Way to Rainy Mountain*:

> Once in his life a man ought to concentrate his mind upon the remembered earth, I believe. He ought to give himself up to a particular landscape in his experience, to look at it from as many angles as he can, to wonder about it, to dwell upon it. He ought to imagine that he touches it with his hands at every season and listens to the sounds that are made upon it. He ought to imagine the creatures there and all the faintest motions of wind. He ought to recollect the glare of noon and all the colors of dawn and dusk.[11]

For certain of us, the "particular landscape" to which Momaday beckons is the gravesite of our child. Our rational minds never really understand, but our hearts, broken open to God, consistently direct us to these spots. These sites are alive, for we keep them alive. The lives of our young adults are not over in us.

Sometimes we go there to pull up weeds: there are other times when to pull up a weed is to experience our child die all over again. We water. We bring birthday cakes, and Valentine hearts, and Easter eggs, and Christmas trees. We light candles. And we also bring the "little things"

that bind us to this world and the world of our young persons.

There are many times when we bring nothing but a deep yearning to sit in silence and feel and listen to the memories. We watch the light; we are aware of the slightest and most gentle of breezes; no movement of anything alive escapes our attention: the bough of a branch softly sways; a lizard makes a sudden movement from one rock to another; a hawk rides the currents of air above us; a male quail, donning topknot in a crest of perfection, sits both haughtily and cautiously atop a nearby stone. In these moments in this sacred landscape all distinction disappears, and we feel that there is but one heart in all of life and death. Our suffering connects us to a universal rhythm, "an ethic of community," and admonishes us of the absolute holiness of our task. Perhaps such an experience breathes life into Johnston's claim that "redemption and transcendence....can be born of suffering and sorrow."[12]

These visits revitalize our lives, for once again we lean into our pain within which we experience our joy. The memorials we have recreated never forsake us but, rather, invite us to find life in death by encouraging us to express our understanding of the source of our suffering. Just as they give voice to the passion which allows us freedom from imagined separateness, we hear a Voice speaking from beyond the distinction of life and death. Perhaps within this sound lies the ultimate "ethic of community."

Conclusion

In his commitment to intrapersonal and interpersonal community in the face of death as a means of coming to terms with death, Ralph Johnston suggests "that the sacred can be realized through a web of shared meanings that transcend the isolated self."[13] The gravemarkers which I experienced in my journey and have discussed in this essay possess sacred meaning for me. I know the pit of despair and the longing out of which they were created, and I know I am not alone.

In his book *Who Dies?*, Stephen Levine claims that "the death of a child is a fire in the mind."[14] The fire must burn its purifying way from our minds into our hearts. This is the work of a lifetime. This intrapersonal integrative process is part of the very "ethic of community" Johnston calls for. For some of us, these gravemarkers are our first and initiatory experience at allowing the air to kindle the flame. Interpersonal community is engendered as well: something in us dies that prepares us to love as God loves when we openly bear and share the unbearable.

The voices of the gravemarkers of our youths are calling to us to integrate death into our lives. Are we, the surviving families of these adolescent deceased, participating in the "taming" of death in our culture? There seems little doubt that in our bright and beautiful young persons we have been given the greatest teachers of all. They will not let us get away with false strength. Each day, and most often when we least expect it, they remind us that our strength and sense of communal belonging lie within our willingness to embrace life's sorrows and to be vulnerable to them.

I have suggested that mourning is a gown of the process of healing, and that these unique gravemarkers of youths are material images that embody this vital and life-sustaining process. Our particular pain has created these images, but they, too, provide others with an opportunity to resonate with their own suffering. The heartache embodied in these memorials beckons others to participate in this universal experience of humankind. They stand as invitations for a shared participation in lives in which wounding has meaning.

The wound itself gets us through. It has its own soul, its own wholeness, and its own way of knowing. It is a window, and it is the first step of healing. Each marker in this sacred landscape of my pilgrimage through the stones has assured me that to have no more than a thinly transparent tissue of protective tissue over my wound is not only safe, but essential if I am to be within the range of the Voice which speaks to me, in its all-embracing unifying wisdom, from beyond the distinction of life and death.

I bring this essay and record of my journey to a close with a personal anecdote which perhaps best summarizes all I have written and experienced. Recently I was walking in the cemetery where our son is buried. At the time, the memorial brass marker was not yet affixed to his stone. As I approached the gently sloping hillside where he lies, I noticed an elderly woman sitting peacefully on the stone. The stone itself is one which I found in the forest in the Sierras of Northern California, an area most dear to our son's heart. Its shape and size are such that it provides a comfortable seat.

As I grew closer to the woman, I said, "Good Morning."

"Oh, Good Morning," she replied.

She hesitated for a moment. "You know, I come here often. I love to sit here."

"You do?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," she responded.

As she lovingly patted the stone, she continued: "Just look at this beautiful piece of natural granite. Now, don't you think this was a wonderful idea? I understand a vital young man is buried here and I imagine this is just what he would have loved."

For a moment she was quiet before she went on: "And look at this lovely garden. Do you see the beer bottle snuggled down in the rosemary? And all the special rocks the family has brought? And look, pennants of his favorite sports teams. I understand he was very tall and a fine athlete."

Again she paused. "As a matter of fact," she continued, "when my husband died a year ago at the age of eighty-six I chose his burial site just a little down the hillside. I chose the site that was closest to where I am sitting. I wanted my husband to be near this youth and this beautiful stone and this lovely garden. He always loved being in the presence of youths, for he felt they had such promise."

Together, for some moments, we held her words in silence. Slowly my body moved closer to her. My eyes glistened with tears of fire which poured forth from my heart. "Yes," I said. "Their promise never dies."

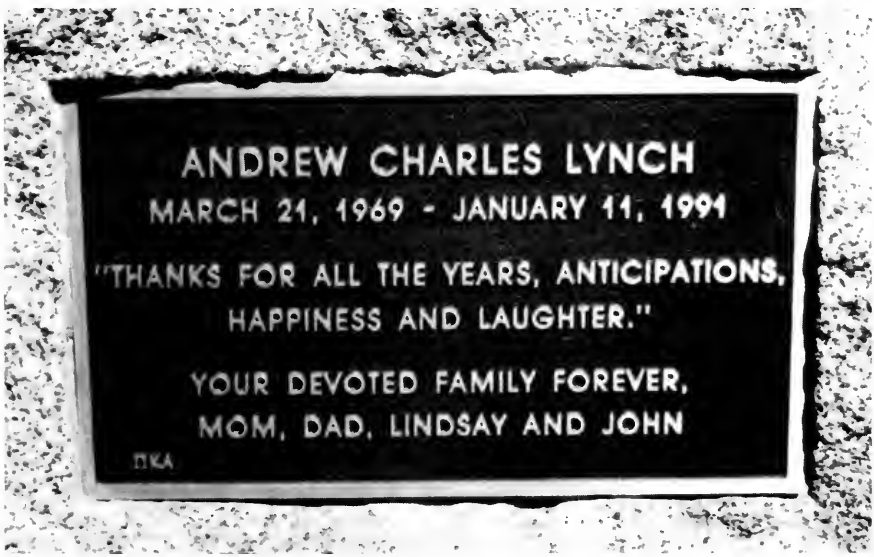


Fig. 3 Memorial Plaque, Gravemarker of Andrew Charles Lynch, Mt. Pamalpais Cemetery, San Rafael, California

Editor's Postscript

Andrew Charles Lynch's memorial (Figs. 1, 2, and 3) is located in Mt. Pamalpais Cemetery, San Rafael, California. Completed in 1994, and three and a half years in the making, it is a product of the collective heart of the Lynch family – Gay, her husband John, daughter Lindsay, and son John, Jr.

NOTES

Professor Kimberley C. Patton of Harvard University's Divinity School trusted me in my struggle and in my need to write this essay. Her confidence in my suffering is forever a part of my healing. The photographs shown in Figures 1 and 2 were taken by John Lynch, Jr., and that shown in Figure 3 by his father, John.

1. Ralph C. Johnston, Jr., *Confronting Death: Psychoreligious Responses* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1988).

2. *Ibid.*, 2-7. Ariès has discussed this concept on several occasions, perhaps most fully in his *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981).

3. Especially her *On Death and Dying* (New York, 1969).

4. Johnston, 55-67.

5. *Ibid.*, 64-67.

6. Richard E. Meyer, "Icon and Epitaph," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989; rpt. Logan, UT, 1992), 9.

7. Recent figures indicate the statistical probability that someone who reaches the age of ten will die before his twenty-fifth birthday (i.e., the general age range under discussion in this essay) is 0.0112, or 1%, a formula including death by accident, which is by far the leading cause of death among young persons. By contrast, the figure for those between the ages of fifty and sixty-five is 0.1395, or 14%. See National Center for Health Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1989*, vol. II (Washington, D.C., 1989), sect. 6.

8. For a more extended discussion of this phenomenon see Richard E. Meyer, "Images of Logging on Contemporary Pacific Northwest Gravemarkers," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989; rpt. Logan, UT, 1992), 61-85.

9. See Catherine M. Sanders, *Grief: The Mourning After* (New York, 1989), 161.

10. In Sharon Olds, *The Gold Cell* (New York, 1987), 68.

11. N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque, 1969), 83.

12. Johnston, 65.

13. *Ibid.*, 67.

14. Stephen Levine, *Who Dies?* (New York, 1982), 113.

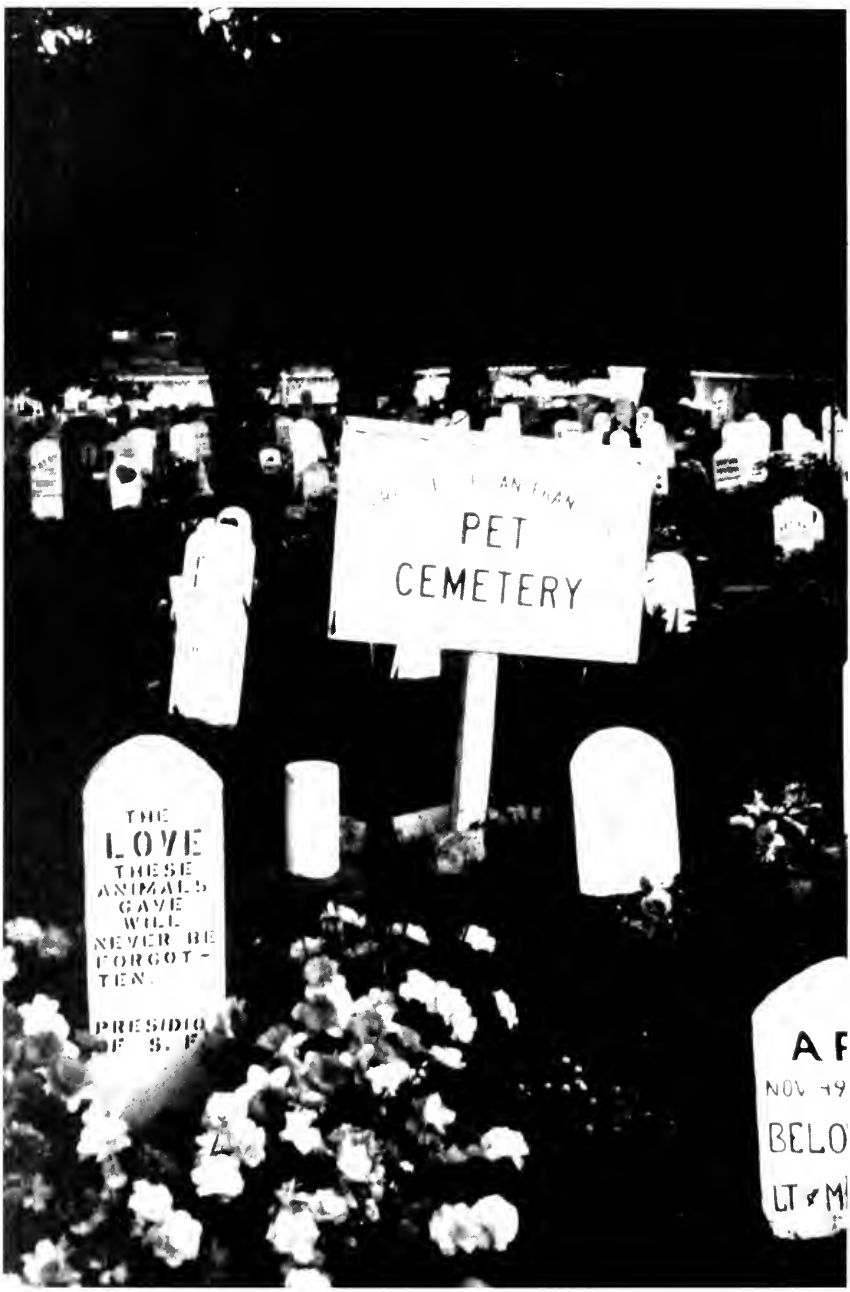


Fig. 1 Entrance to the Presidio Pet Cemetery.

'BEST DAMM DOG WE EVER HAD': SOME FOLKLORISTIC AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SAN FRANCISCO'S PRESIDIO PET CEMETERY

Richard E. Meyer and David M. Gradwohl

To many, San Francisco's most notable landmark – indeed perhaps its very symbol – is the Golden Gate Bridge, spanning the entrance to San Francisco Bay from the Marin County headlands on the north to the Presidio Military Post at its southern extremity. For more than 200 years the Presidio's 1,400 acres have successively been the scene of military activities of the Spanish Empire (1776-1822), Mexican Republic (1822-1848), and the United States (1848-1994).[1] Among the post's historic structures, now on the National Register, are the enlisted mens' barracks constructed in the 1890s around the old parade ground and the Civil War officers' quarters built in 1852 along Funston Avenue. The fort's burial ground, in existence from its earliest days, was established as the San

Fig. 2 Rows of uniform gravestones at the San Francisco National Cemetery.

Francisco National Cemetery on December 12, 1884 under War Department General Orders which designated 9.5 acres of land (increased over the years to its present 28.34 acres) for this purpose.[2] Contained within its grounds are the remains of veterans from the Civil War to the present, in addition to reinterments of American war casualties from other times and places.

Just down the hill, nestled amidst a stand of Scotch pines beside the approach ramps to the Golden Gate Bridge, and a mere stone's throw away from its venerable neighbor, lies a small white-fenced plot of land which is literally miles apart in its colorful and highly personalized display of memorialization for an astounding variety of animals who shared with their owners the peculiarities of a military lifestyle (Fig. 1). In strik-

Fig. 3 Sign displaying cemetery "regulations."

ing contrast to the precisioned uniformity of landscape projected by the cemetery up the hill (Fig. 2), where, as in military cemeteries throughout the world, the ranks of neatly aligned gravestones extend on, ad infinitum, each at attention or at least, in a manner of speaking, at mortuary parade rest, the immediate sensation upon entering the Presidio Pet Cemetery is one of wild and riotous disarray, a mélange of homemade marker styles and graveside decorations which, in its total informality and seeming spontaneity, might suggest a relationship to the National Cemetery not unlike that of base canteen to parade ground. Quite ironically, one feels in this contrast that the pet cemetery is somehow *more human* than its actual human counterpart if, indeed, ingenuity, innovativeness, causative thought, emotion, and a sense of aesthetics are among the hallmarks of our species.

Despite such obvious and dramatic contrasts, the visitor to the Presidio Pet Cemetery soon comes to realize that a more subtle type of uniformity is in fact apparent here, lending to the site a distinctive character which sets it apart from pet cemeteries in general and leaving no doubt that, despite its seeming disharmony and lack of organizational principles, there exists ample evidence to indicate that one has entered a *military* pet burial ground. Just inside the entrance, several rudely fashioned signs (e.g., Fig. 3) are couched in language which sounds oddly familiar to anyone who has served in the military. Though lacking a specifically named authority, the tone of command and regulations is clear, as is the "military vernacular," vis-a-vis spelling and grammar, evidenced in the language itself:

> Keep graves in line. Place marker, pets name. Stop stealing & diging flowers up. Heart signs and plain stones are graves. Please show respect whatever reason here you may be. Thank U!

Another example, somewhat more closely allied with standard English and occasionally blending an element of frustrated pleading with its "command" tone, reads:

> This is a military pet cemetery. Keep graves in line. Use only space necessary and use name and type of pet please (also dates). Those markers with hearts are unknown and signify love. Private expenses are high and limited so please stop stealing my equip. and flowers. Do not pull up flowers. Only space

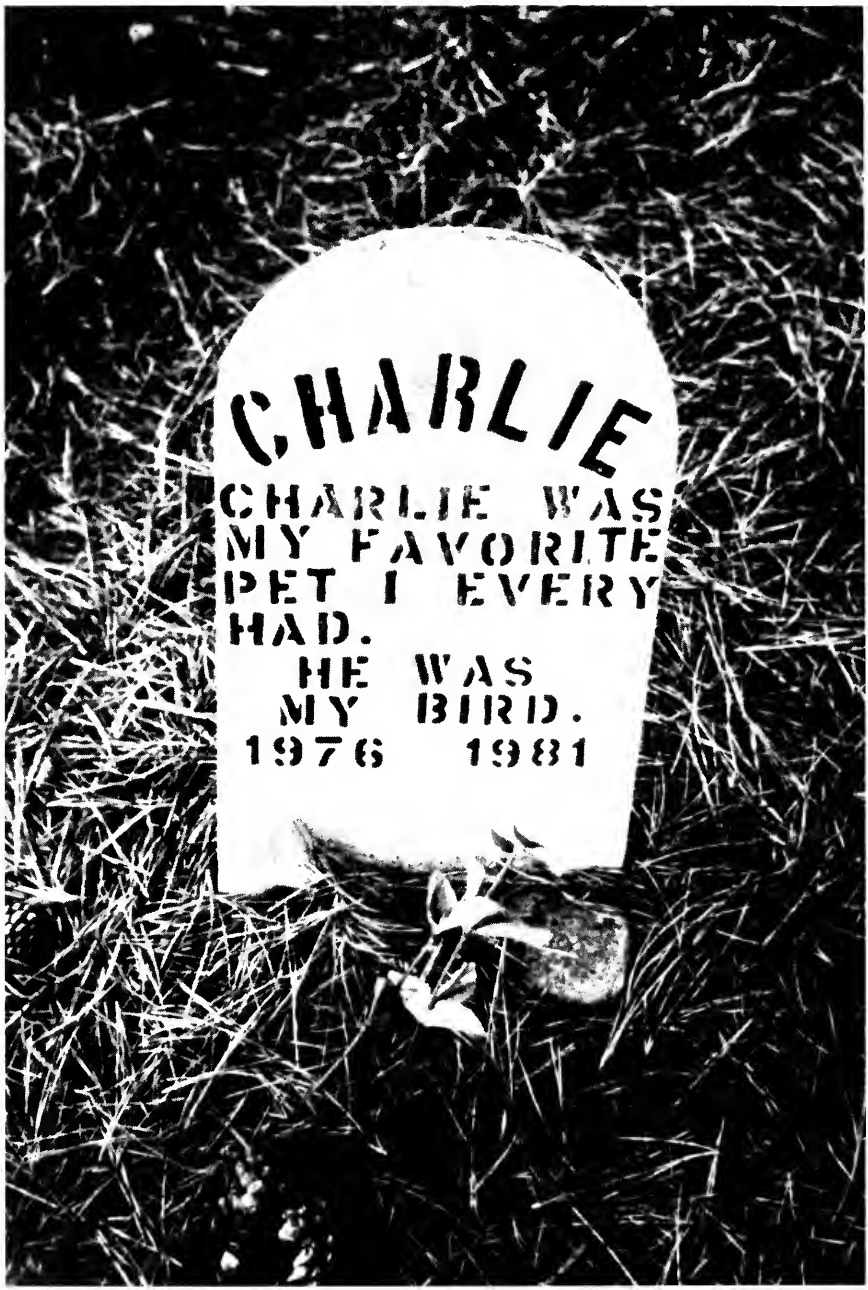


Fig. 4 Example of "conventional" pet inscription.

Fig. 5 Oscar. Sentry dog, with personnel number and unit designation.

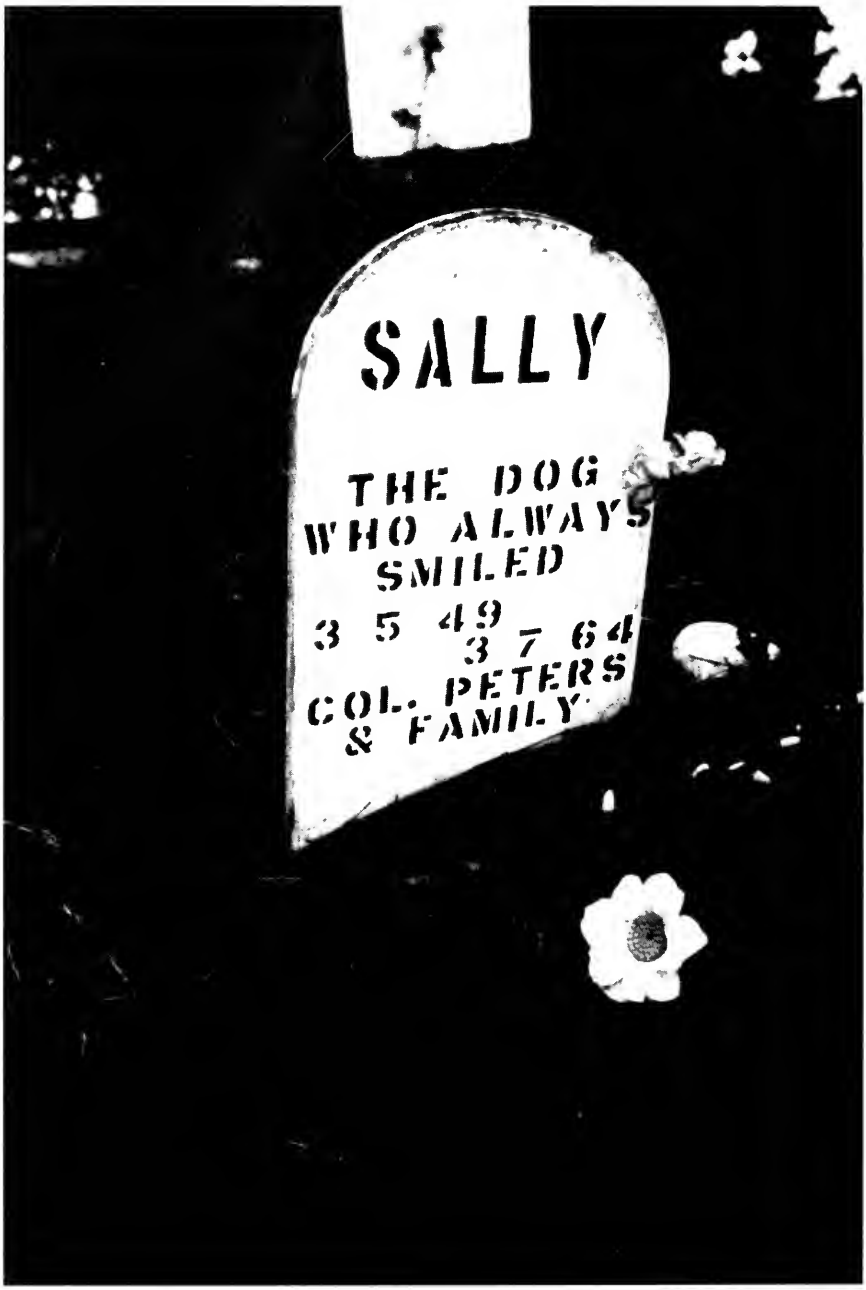


Fig. 6 Sally. Owner's military rank noted on marker.

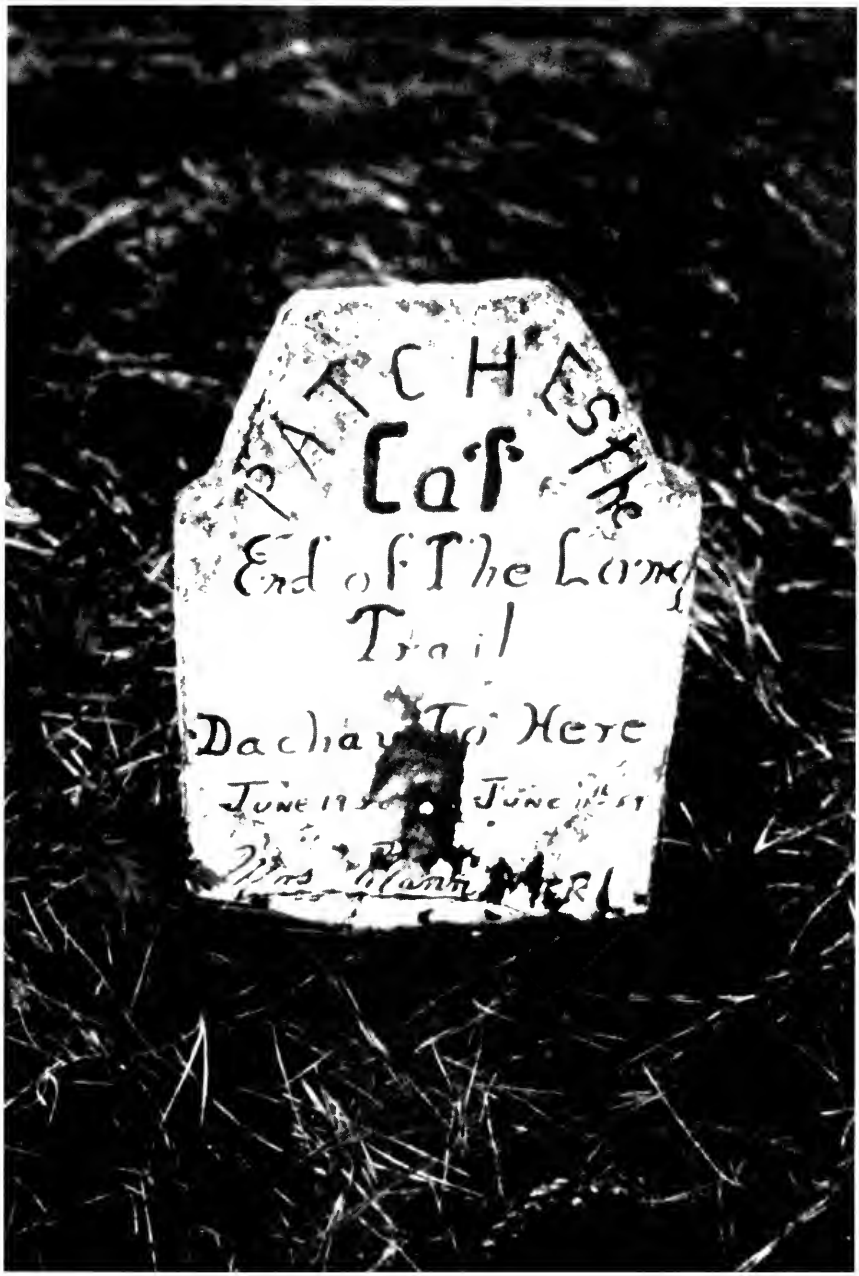


Fig. 7 Patches. Place of birth signifies overseas duty station.

> available is in rear and far left. Please help by leaving things alone. Thank you. I am doing my best to keep our cemetery up. No front space available Many unmarked due to past storms.[3]

Language provides another indicator of the specialized nature of this pet cemetery by virtue of the inscriptions found on individual markers. To be sure, in some instances the epitaphs and other inscriptional data found here are rather conventional (well, for pet cemeteries at least), providing virtually no clue as to the distinctive occupational identity of those who erected them. Thus we encounter Easy, who "was a part of our life from the day she was born 'till her death," Cindy, "The Dog With The Crossed Paws," Shilo, who now "hunts in Heaven," and Charlie (Fig. 4), "my favorite pet I ever had."

A surprisingly large number of the markers in the Presidio Pet Cemetery do, however, indicate quite clearly that the animals buried here were the pets of military families. While there is only one example of an animal who shared a military occupational identity at the most literal level (Fig. 5), there are many who apparently partook of this experience in

Fig. 8 Herr Bitte Binns. Pet's name signifies German connection.

subtler but no less meaningful ways. Inscriptionally, this is indicated in a variety of manners. Quite frequently, the owner's military rank finds its way onto the marker (e.g., Fig. 6), though here – as often in battlefield and other military cemeteries – the distinctions of rank blur, with enlisted and officer pets resting side by side.

Previous duty stations and the mobility of military family life are often indicated on the markers through the use of place names of birth – Doggie, for example, in Utrecht, Netherlands; Champagne, in Australia; Tar Baby and Miss Dusty, in England; Pepper, in Germany; and Patches the Cat (Fig. 7), who was born in Dachau, Germany, but reached the "end of the long trail" at the Presidio. The emphasis on Germany, a reflection

Fig. 9 Bird Dog. A world traveler.

Fig. 10 Navy Doggie. The Presidio was home to more than one branch of the military.

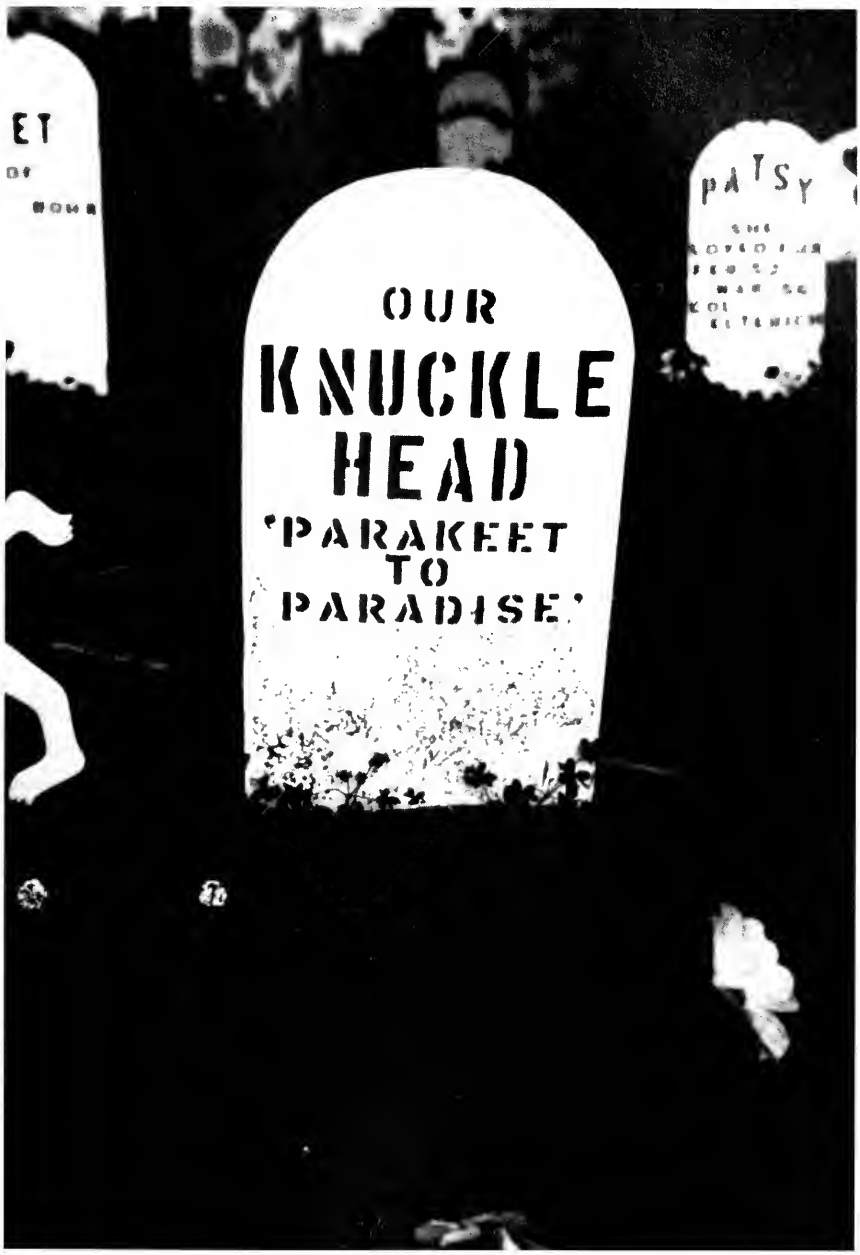


Fig. 11 Knuckle Head. Like other recruits, this bird may have occasionally been advised to 'shape up and fly right.'

Fig. 12 SNAFU. An acronym familiar to many veterans.

of both the lengthy U.S. military occupation there and the affiliation of military spouses, is especially evident and is also reflected in such pet name choices as Siglund, Liebchen, Muschee Regis, Fritz, Gretchen, Pfeffer ("Unser Lieber Hund"), and Herr Bitte Binns (Fig. 8). Sometimes the simplest of descriptors will seem to sum up the entire career military experience, as in the case of Bird Dog (Fig. 9), the "world traveler."

Besides the evocation of foreign duty stations, many of the pets' names reflect decidedly non-civilian qualities of one sort or another. Navy Doggie's marker (Fig. 10) is one of several which serve to remind us that the Presidio was often home to other branches of the military in addition to its primary connection with the U.S. Army, while that of Knuckle Head (Fig. 11) might well reawaken memories of basic training to anyone who has ever served in the military. Veterans will undoubtedly appreciate the acronymic associations of SNAFU's name (Fig. 12)[4], and one need not be a veteran (merely a devoted reader of the comic strips) to recognize Sarge (Fig. 13).[5] Skipper's name (Fig. 14), while neither unusual (one of the authors particularly remembers an ill-tempered cocker spaniel of that name from his youth) nor *necessarily* military, is followed by an epitaph – "The Best Damm Dog We Ever Had" – which, again, partakes of a vernacular strongly associated with the military services.[6] Finally, echoing a phenomenon of military – particularly battlefield – cemeteries everywhere, some of the markers for those buried here are unable to provide a name at all (Fig. 15).

The connection of the pet to a member of the military is often indirectly or explicitly stated, as in the case of Kitty Hanlon (1990-1991), a "Lover of the Presidio and an Army Nurse," Wimpy (Fig. 16), who "Served in the Women's Army Corps," the rather extraordinary Hasso (Fig. 17), who (with MSgt. C.R. Gleason) served in both the WAC *and* the WAF (Women's Air Force), and the touchingly understated marker (Fig. 18) "In Memory of My Army Pet." Other memorials mark the graves of Chappy Champion ("USAF, Ret.") and Chen ("Semper Fidelis"). In a rather fascinating blend of material and verbal elements, the marker for Duke, "Beloved Member of the Hurst Family," incorporates into its surface an actual military identification tag (appropriately known within the military as a "dog tag") which, as in the case of most commercially available pet I.D. tags, provides his owner's name, address, and telephone number.

The material form of the markers and other gravesite elements in the

Fig. 13 Sarge. Did Beetle and his friends serve at the Presidio?

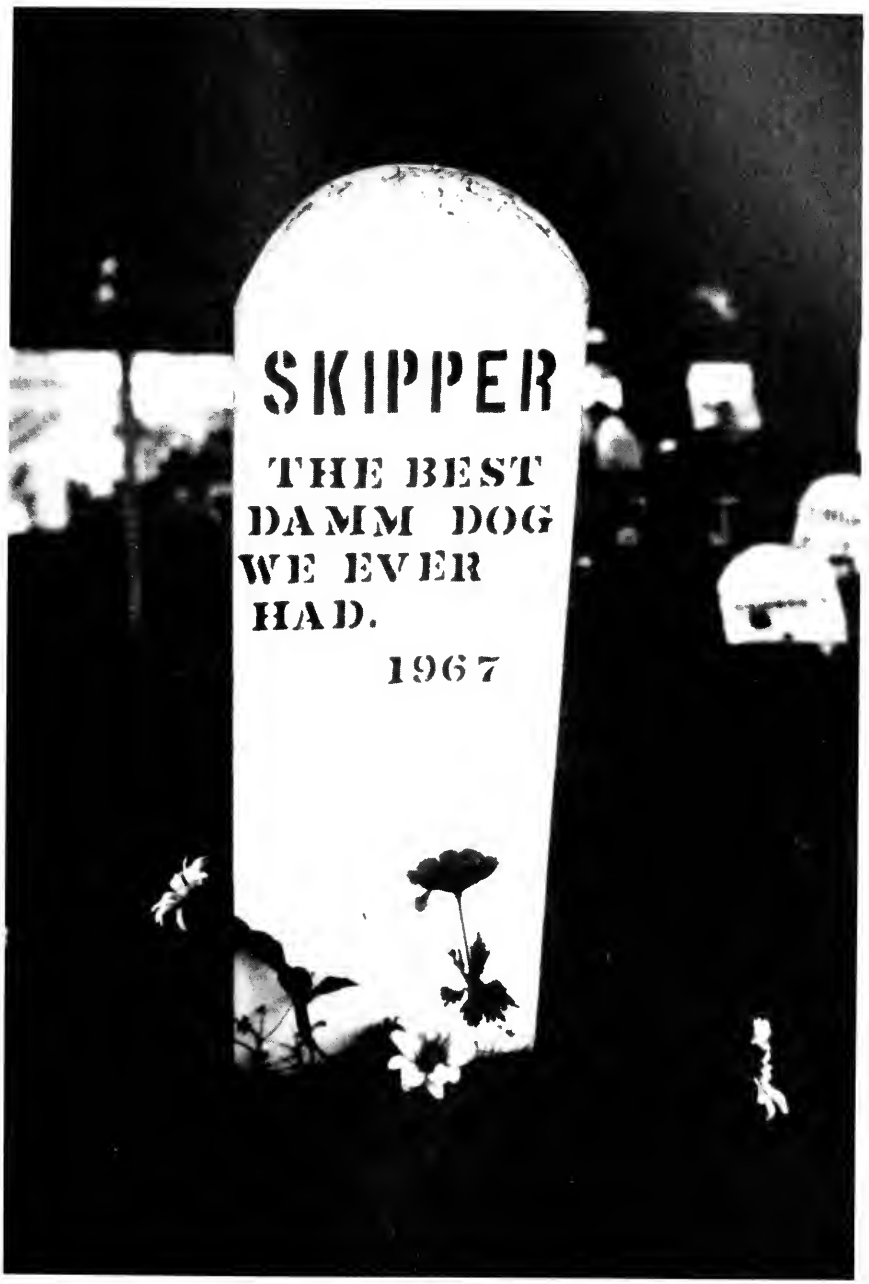


Fig. 14 Skipper. Epitaph couched in military vernacular.

Fig. 15 Unknown. An echo of battlefield cemeteries.

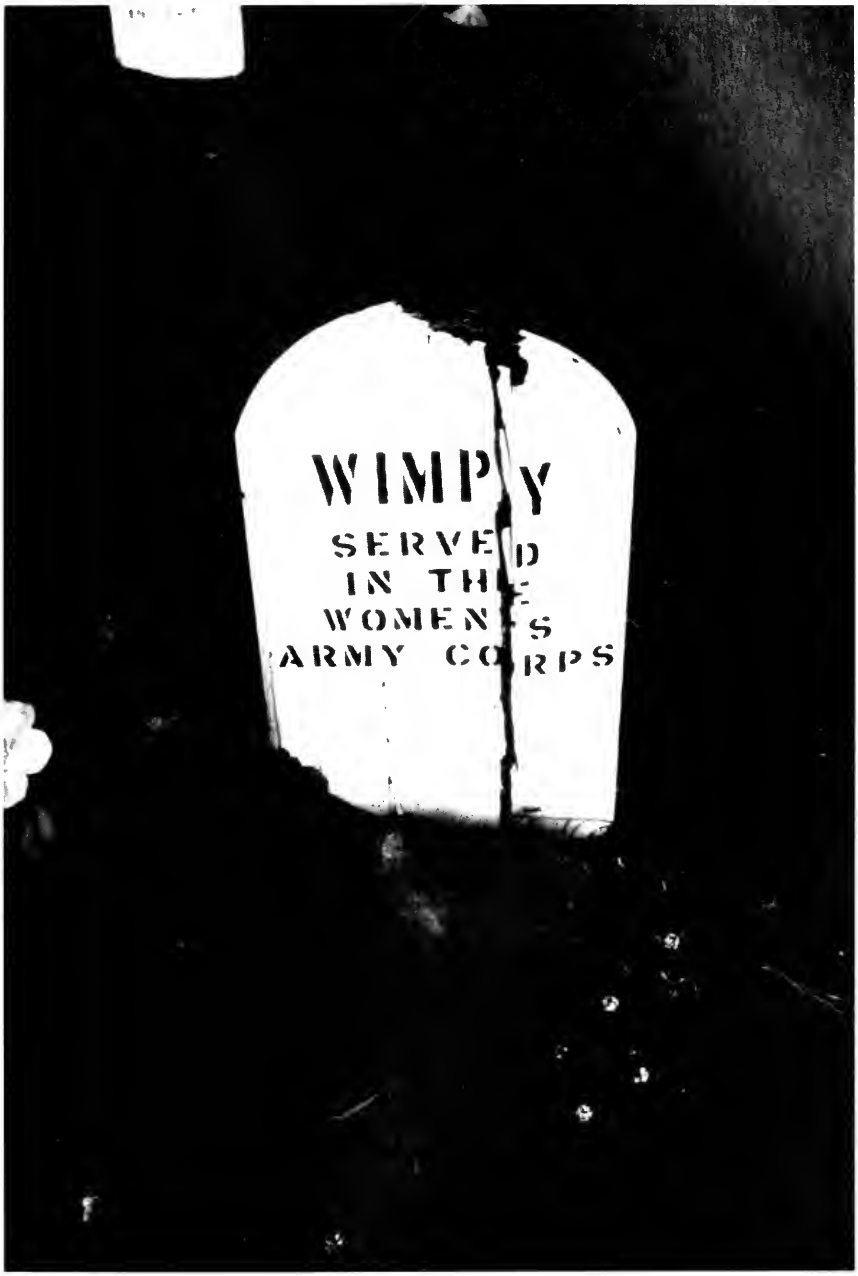


Fig. 16 Wimpy. "Served in the Women's Army Corps."

Presidio Pet Cemetery supports both the type of subtle uniformity linked to the military which we have been emphasizing in this essay up to this point, *and*, oddly enough, the wildly disharmonious elements which, in combination, serve to render it such a striking contrast to the conservative uniformity displayed by its near (human) neighbor, the San Francisco National Cemetery.[7] With regard to the former, a quick glance at the pet cemetery reveals that a significant majority of the gravesites are marked by simply cut wooden markers falling within a relatively limited range of sizes and styles, their surfaces whitewashed and lettered in black through the use of stencils (e.g., Figs. 12, 14, 16, etc.). Their form, in short, is oddly suggestive of the upright, white marble markers found in most (human) military cemeteries, while the stenciled lettering style inevitably evokes

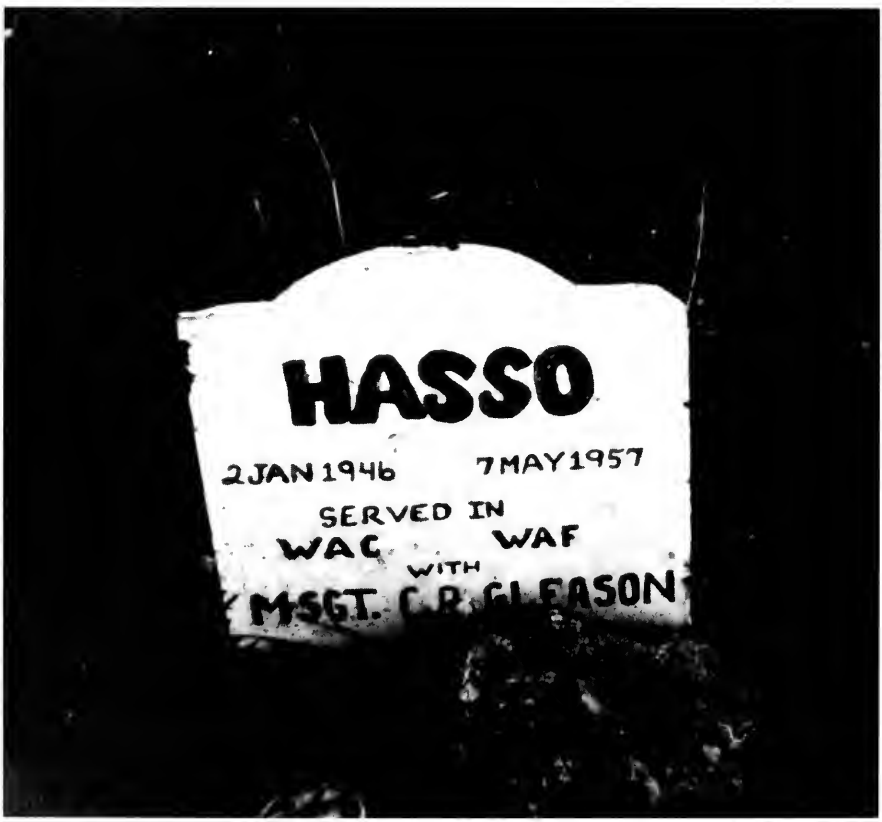


Fig. 17 Hasso. A multi-service pet.

images of duffel bags and cases of C-rations. We shall return to this point later.

Such patterns established, it is the exceptions which – as is so often the case – prove most interesting, and, in this instance, link the Presidio Pet Cemetery with elements present to some degree in virtually all pet cemeteries. Variations on the most common wooden format described above, for instance, are readily apparent. Large and small polygonal tablets are relatively frequent, and there are a number of uniquely fashioned wooden forms such as the heart-shaped marker for Coco, the bone-shaped one for Lady, and the memorial for Regina (Fig. 19), carved (sawn?), appro-

Fig. 18 Roman cross on marker for unnamed Army pet.

Fig. 19 Regina. Marker's shape reflects name of pet.

Fig. 20 Boomer. At the Presidio Pet Cemetery, minimalist monuments are not oxymoronic.

priately enough, with a crown. Other markers are fabricated, in a more *ad hoc* fashion, from at hand or recycled pieces of lumber. Thus, the memorial for Smoke consists of the end of a pyramidal fence post, while pieces of 1"x2" lumber are used to fashion simple cruciform markers such as that for the cat, Handsome 'Licky Face' Cuevas. Boomer (Fig. 20), a pet of indeterminate type, is marked by a flower and a truly minimalist monument consisting of a lettered stick thrust into the ground.

Some of the wooden markers, as well as a few fashioned of other materials, display painted visual images, a personalization of the type increasingly found on markers erected for humans. Most frequently, as in

Fig. 21 Ah Sawat. Stylized, hand rendered portraits are found on a number of markers.

the marker for Ah Sawat (Fig. 21), the image represents a stylized portrait of the pet rendered in black on white, though other colors (including, most recently, day-glow paints) are found as well. Other materials may be combined with the wood or other basic monument substance: the leather and glass bead collar of teacup poodle Cricket, for example, has been countersunk into a wooden tablet, while on another wooden tablet a brass (military) eagle is centered above a plaque which, somewhat enigmatically, exclaims "Loving Memory. Faith, Hope, Love, was born to Shatawa Feb. 6, 1992. God saw fit for them to remain little angels. We love you. Mitze Shirley."

The cemetery also contains a fair number of stone monuments, a few of marble, more of granite. In some instances (e.g., Fig. 22), the latter are virtually indistinguishable from what one is likely to encounter as the norm in the more than 400 "regular" pet cemeteries scattered throughout the United States. The dog, Jake O'Connell, is memorialized by a larger granite monument displaying his photograph and representations of sticks to run and fetch. Other granite markers of varying sizes, colors, and surface etchings cover the graves of Yaro Kirk, Piccolo, Teddy Medellin, and Cally. In a few cases, broken chunks of granite have been put to use as gravemarkers.

Concrete blocks are used with some frequency as gravemarkers in addition to grave covers and curbs. A painted rectangular block designates the burial place of Boots, while a cylindrical block marks the grave of Jason, "The Dancing Dog." Teckel, a dachshund, is memorialized by an elongated concrete block which perhaps recalls his earthly form. Concrete blocks of several forms – along with red, white and blue bunting – grace the family plot where rest Laddie and Princess. A few painted flat metal markers may also be found in the cemetery, as well as several metal card holders of the type provided by funeral parlors to serve as temporary markers in human cemeteries.

Of particular interest are several complex, composite gravemarkers and gravesite montages. The memorial for Sammi contains a painted tile likeness of a cat, along with a brass plaque, numerals, drawer pulls, and door handles, all set into a concrete slab. Vladamier's grave is surrounded by a sturdy iron fence set into a slab: inside is a pink granite marker, with the names of his owners scrawled into the concrete support. Dandy is memorialized with a granite marker, set into concrete and surrounded by red bricks: chunks of shell pressed into the concrete form an epitaph. The

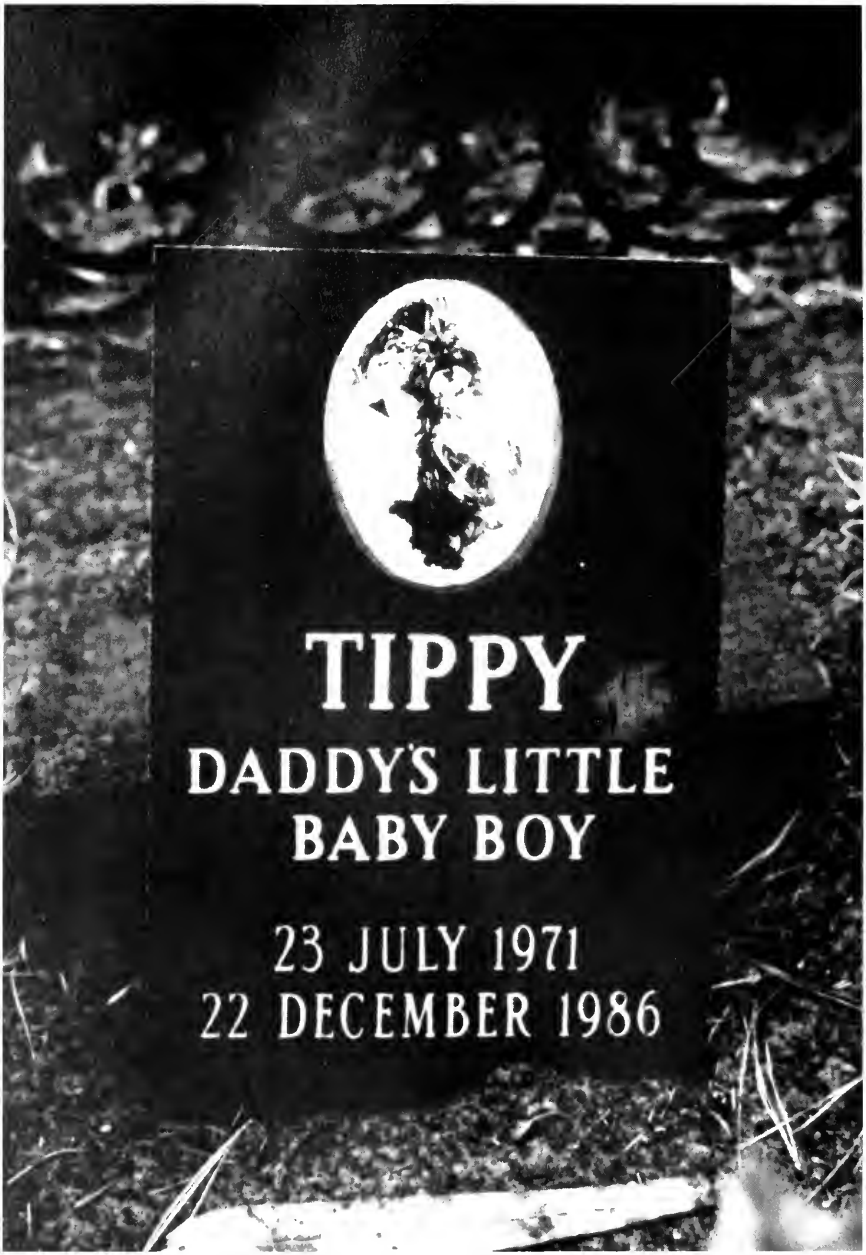


Fig. 22 Tippy. "Human" relationship expressed on granite marker resembling those most frequently found in commercial pet cemeteries.

most elaborate burial site is that created for the two basset hounds, Raspberry and Mr. Twister (Fig. 23). Each of the separate granite monuments displays photographs and a long epitaph "signed" by owner Ken's name within a heart. A postscript on the reverse side of Mr. Twister's monument reads "....he was the end of my rainbow." The graves are surrounded by a low fence within which is a ground cover of white marble fragments. Associated mortuary objects are in abundance – a red, heart-shaped concrete block, living plants, artificial flowers, two basset figurines, several small gift-wrapped packages, four mylar balloons, ribbons, strands of gold beads, and several packets of "Hearty Chews." Such colorful abundance of gravesite decoration is highly unusual in mainstream American burial practices accorded humans, the only general exceptions occurring in certain ethnic contexts or in the case of children and young persons.[8]

Diversity is certainly celebrated in the Presidio Pet Cemetery, and not just in monument fashion but in the enormous variety of animals buried there (far greater than one is likely to encounter in the generic "civilian" pet cemetery). Dogs, as elsewhere, are represented in profusion: included (i.e., so designated on their markers) are Great Danes, Chinese Lion Dogs, Cocker Spaniels, Beagles, Water Spaniels, Brittany Spaniels, Boxers,

Fig. 23 Elaborately decorated gravesite of Raspberry and Mr. Twister.

Miniature Schnauzers, German Shepherds, Dachshunds, Toy Poodles, other Poodles, Akita-Schnauzers, Basset Hounds, Shepherd/Airedales, Border Collies, other Collies, Tibet Lhasas, Samoyeds, Scottish Terriers, and a host of lovable Mutts not designated as to breed. Cats are the next most common pet burials, and although varieties are not usually listed, Siamese (somewhat as in life) seem to receive special notice here.

Several rabbits are present, the most interesting of the lagomorph markers (Fig. 24) being an appropriately colored, stylized carrot designating the final cabbage patch of Jake. Rodents of various sorts are well represented: Willie the hamster is here, as are the rats Noah Knoes, T. Toes, Lupe, Linda, Chocolate, Candy, and Zorah. Bilbo Baggins, a white mouse, shares a gravemarker with Mr. Bird, a canary. Other markers for birds are present with some frequency and include those for Frieda and Phred Finch, Sweet Alyssum ("The Yellow Canary"), the aforementioned Knuckle Head ("Parakeet to Paradise"), Birdie (another parakeet), Peep ("Pet Pigeon of Johnnie Burke"), Roc (a macaw), and Toby and Unknown Baby, zebra finches whose final roosting place is marked by a granite fragment and an ephemeral cross fashioned from sticks and vines. Such burials seem logical enough: one of the authors recalls, as a young child, burying with dignity more than one bird beneath the lilac bushes behind his house. He also recalls, however, that expired pet goldfish were unceremoniously flushed down the toilet. Such is far from the case at the Presidio Pet Cemetery, where even such humble creatures as these are interred with decorum (Fig. 25).

Though one is never allowed to forget that they are in a pet cemetery, the visitor to these grounds finds many analogues to practices and sentiments observable in human burial grounds. One instance of this is the frequent employment of multiple markers and "family" plots. The marker for Shilo (mentioned earlier), though created specifically for that feline upon his death in 1990, has been amended several times to include memorial testimonies to Mandy ("A Perpetual Puppy") and Dino, who had "'purr' haps the 'purr' fect purr." The epitaph on the marker for Jane (a Chinese Water Dragon) reads:

> She lived a full life of 10 years. She was the
> greatest lizard I ever knew and will be greatly
> missed by Emily her owner and friends Randall, Poncho,
> Nellie, Mr. Iguana, Lucy Rabbit and the many others
> who knew and loved her.

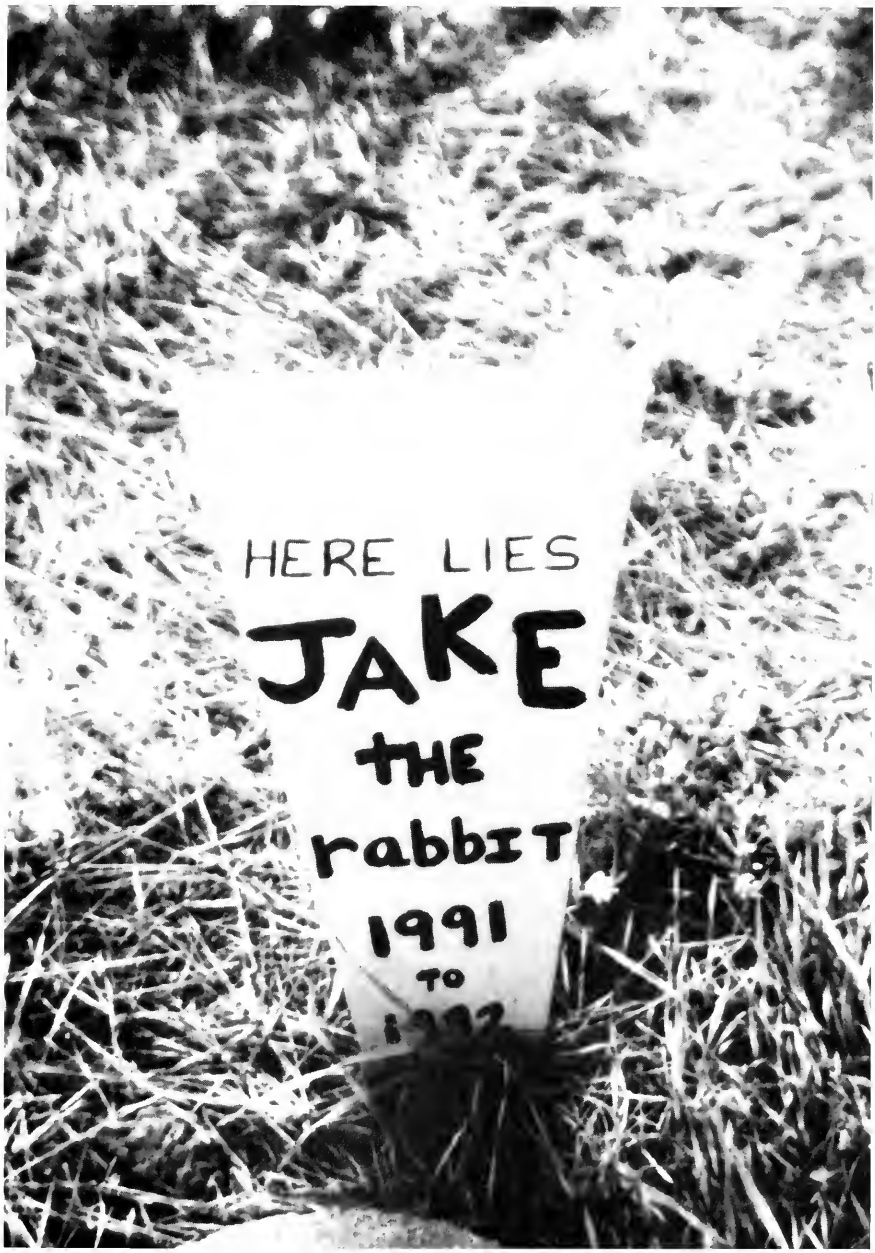


Fig. 24 Jake. A carrot-shaped marker designates this rabbit's final cabbage patch.

Fig. 25 Silver. No toilet bowl funeral for this fish!

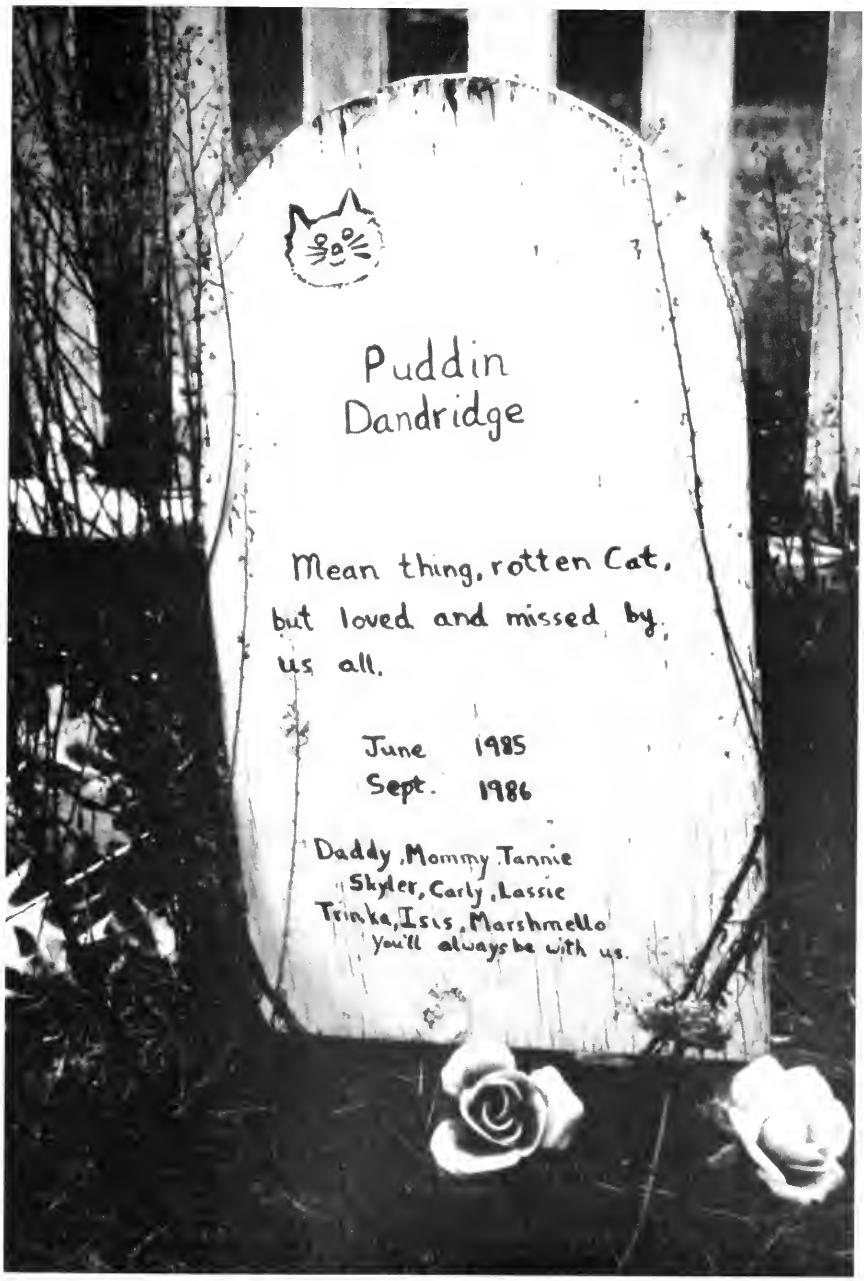


Fig. 26 Puddin Dandridge. Epitaph stresses family connection.

Fellow reptile Mr. Iguana ultimately joined Jane in the family plot, as did her other friends Randy Rat, Nellie (a hamster), and Lucy Rabbit (one presumes a space has been reserved for Poncho, though such "pre-need" arrangements are not likely to bring as much comfort and reassurance to the survivor as they purportedly do in the human sphere).

Kinship and social relationships are frequently stressed here, much as they are in human cemeteries (and, indeed, in other pet cemeteries as well). An exceptional example – displaying strong elements of ethnic cultural value as well – is found on a gravestone, carefully inscribed in the traditional Chinese manner, which in translation declares: "This is the tomb of Liang, a Xiang, an old man. He is from Yi Xinghui in southern Canton province, a person from the Ren-ho district of the Liang family village."[9] Other references, though perhaps less exotic, also emphasize family connections. Ceaser [sic], like a number of the animals buried at this site, is commemorated as a "beloved member" of a human family. Even more specific is the reference to Tippy (Fig. 22) as "Daddy's Little Baby Boy" on the polished black granite monument which also displays his porcelain cameo photograph. Nearby, the beagle Peppy's marker iden-

Fig. 27 Pfeffer. The use of religious iconography is not uncommon in the Presidio Pet Cemetery.

tifies him as a "little boy" and the "son of Lucy, people Mom, Bebe." Here also we find the grave of Spitz, who was Anthony's "best friend and hunting companion," while other markers indicate the burials of Teufel, "protector and loving member of the Maxwell family" and "Ole Brown Dog, pal for 10 years to Bob, Jean, Mike, Lana, Mama and Pop." The marker for Puddin Dandridge (Fig. 26) not only displays a cute drawing of Puddin D., but also the epitaph "Mean thing, rotten Cat, but loved and missed by us all. June, 1985 - Sept., 1986. Daddy, Mommy, Tannie, Skyler, Carly, Lassie, Trinka, Isis, Marshmello. You'll always be with us." This insistence upon the cherished pet as friend, trusted companion, family member, even child, is actually a quite widespread phenomenon in pet cemeteries, and not necessarily the foolishness it might at first appear to be. "Intimate bonds among family members and friends," note Vivian Spiegelman and Robert Kastenbaum:

> have become strained by our society's mobile life style, tendencies toward age segregation, and the whole continuing pattern of dislocative change that some have described as post modernization. Within this context, an animal companion may have an even more important socio-emotional role to play than in former times. Technology changes: dogs remain doggedly dogs, and cats can be counted upon to be cats. Perhaps the pet is the child who does not grow up and leave home, the familiar face who is always there, the initiator and enforcer of many reassuring little household routines.[10]

Another element common in human cemeteries but stressed here as well centers about religious and philosophical views. Above the granite marker of the aforementioned Pfeffer ("Unser Lieber Hund") is a Tyrolean-style shrine with a crucifix: Jesus keeps a watch over Pfeffer's identification tags (Fig. 27). The marker for "My Army Pet," which we have already seen, displays a Roman cross (Fig. 18). Epitaphs indicate various beliefs in a supreme being and an afterlife: "Maxine. We love you and will miss you. Go with God 'til we meet again"; "Muffin Witty. We love you. We will be with you again someday"; and, in instances noted earlier, we are assured that Shilo is now hunting in Heaven while Knuckle Head is winging his way to Paradise. Other epitaphs are animistic, as that for Quentin, "a native of California and a cat to match its mountains." Perhaps the wisdom of Zen is expressed in such inscriptions as "Pee Wee. Dust to Dust, Man to Man"; "God is Love – Backward It's Dog"; and

"Trouble. He Was No Trouble."

To experience the Presidio Pet Cemetery first hand inevitably raises questions as to its origins and the manner of its continuing upkeep. Seeking the answers to these questions proved both frustrating and, at the same time, oddly enlightening in a manner which we had not anticipated. In the course of attempting to pursue what would generally be the logical sequence of research procedures to supplement our on-site fieldwork – i.e., the consulting of relevant written documentation and the conducting of what one might expect to be rather straightforward informant interviews – a curious folkloristic pattern surrounding the cemetery, one quite apart from the material considerations which we have so far been dealing with in this essay, began to emerge.

First of all, the written documentation was either nonexistent or suspiciously ephemeral. Not only that, there were precious few informants to be found, and none whatsoever of the type we would have been primarily interested in – i.e., the pet owners themselves. Naturally, many had moved on over time, the even normally mobile circumstances of military family life having been accelerated in the past several years by the gradual downsizing of the base's personnel in anticipation of its decommissioning in the Fall of 1994. But the cemetery did accept a few new burials until as recently as 1993. Certainly, it seemed, we ought to be able to locate at least one or two of the people whose own personal involvement in this experience might help us to evaluate our own speculations. This, however, proved fruitless: among its other eccentricities, the Presidio Pet Cemetery keeps no formal records of who is buried there or of who did the burying – what you see is thus literally what you get – and attempts to utilize surnames found in the cemetery as the basis for telephone interviews were unrewarding and, in a few instances, somewhat embarrassing. Perhaps selected base personnel, their memories (or files!), might at least supply us with certain basic elements of background information – precisely when and by whom the cemetery was founded, how many animals are buried there, who performs routine upkeep, that sort of thing. Things now began to get somewhat more interesting.

It rapidly became apparent that answers to the seemingly basic questions raised above were as difficult to come by as the whereabouts of the pet owners we had been fruitlessly seeking. On the matter of the cemetery's age, a wide range of opinions exist. One version, repeated several times in slight variation, contends that the cemetery was already in exis-

tence at the time of construction of the Golden Gate Bridge (1933-1937), and indeed had to be moved to its present location when the approach ramps to the bridge were built. A brochure published by the Golden Gate National Park Association states that the pet cemetery was "...originally a burial place for 'K-9' guard dogs and since World War II, the final resting place for pets of Presidio families,"[11] a dating which would seem to place the cemetery's origins somewhere in the 1940s. This is disputed both in oral testimony[12] and in at least one written account – supported by dating evidence on the markers themselves – which has the cemetery established in 1951 on orders of a general who wished to have a place set aside for base personnel to bury their deceased pets.[13] Yet another (oral) account attributes the cemetery's origin to a Major General L.B. "Dutch" Keiser, who in 1963 wished to create a suitable burying spot for Butch, his beloved Chinese Lion Dog. Butch's gray granite marker (Fig. 28), looking very much like the standard military headstones found in the military cemetery up the hill, is in fact located under one of the site's Scotch pines, but its' claim for marking the first burial is disputed by both the written record[14] and a number of markers in the cemetery which clearly predate it.

Still more numerous were explanations concerning the cemetery's maintenance. It was evident – at least prior to 1994 – that the site was receiving frequent and meticulous attention. The enclosure was cleaned and weeded, the white picket fence painted and in excellent repair, flowers and other decorations adorned the individual gravesites, and, most remarkably of all, the overwhelming majority of markers – even those dating from the 1950s – were in splendid condition (many, in fact, representing replacements of original markers, something obvious to the eye but also confirmed by informants and, in at least one instance, by the opportunity to compare the marker for Skipper [Fig. 14] with a photograph of its quite similar predecessor which appeared in a 1981 newspaper article[15] about the cemetery). So who was performing this maintenance? Informants at the base public affairs office, the post museum, and other units were at first rather cagey: they said they didn't really know, though they had heard a local boy scout troop might be responsible. Calls to local boy scout organizations in the bay area for confirmation of this story resulted in nothing other than a rather large phone bill.

What about the explanation found in a walking guide to the Presidio which says the cemetery is maintained by the post veterinarian?[16] Yes,

Fig. 28 Butch. Discredited candidate for the cemetery's first inhabitant.

informants had heard that one too, although they were dubious as to its veracity in that the Presidio had been lacking a post veterinarian for the past 25 years or so. The most widely held theory, they said, was that the site represented the loving personal project of an old and totally anonymous Navy veteran who had "adopted" the place and who, somewhat incredibly, managed to perform all these ministrations by himself (this story, too, appears in recognizable form in several other printed[17] and oral accounts). One amazing constant in all of the explanations was the fact that whoever was responsible for the cemetery's upkeep – whether unnamed boy scout troop, departed post veterinarian, or mysterious Navy veteran – apparently managed to accomplish all their work under cover of darkness, for no one had ever observed it being done in daylight hours.

Folklorists might sense a somewhat familiar pattern emerging here. Traditional explanations, among their numerous other functions, have been known to exist as screens ("cover-up" seems somehow too harsh a word here) to obscure a truth which, while widely known, cannot be conveniently acknowledged. Such indeed proved to be the case in the present instance: the truth of the matter, as several informants eventually revealed, was that the cemetery was being maintained on a weekly basis by the post engineers, a practice of many years' standing. This, of course, goes a long way towards explaining the ubiquitous nature of so many of the wooden markers, including their whitewashed surfaces and the predominant use of stenciled inscriptions. Much of what one actually sees in the cemetery – not to speak of the labor involved – is quite literally government issue, from wood to paint to hot house flowers. Such activity, of course, while it might be fairly common knowledge to base personnel at all levels from orderlies at the Letterman General Hospital complex to the commanding general of the Sixth U.S. Army, would of necessity be quite unofficial and, for that matter, technically unauthorized. Thus the stories of midnight boy scouts and shadowy Navy veterans.

And so, as we have seen, the Presidio's pet cemetery presents several levels of anthropological and folkloristic interest, ranging from the testimony of its material artifacts to the traditional accounts and explanations of its founding and continuing maintenance. The Presidio Pet Cemetery is, we feel, indeed a very unique and special place, and yet at the same time it should be remembered that what we see here has broad corollaries with and should properly be viewed within the even larger context of

death and bereavement in general and, even more specifically, the roles played by funerary activities and memorialization in helping individuals cope with loss. Every bit as importantly, we would stress that these factors are as pertinent to pet loss as they are to the deaths of human companions and other family members.[18] And in this, military families are certainly no different than families of any sort.

This point is brought home many times within the Presidio Pet Cemetery, but perhaps nowhere more vividly than at the gravesite of Molly the Collie (Figs. 29, 30, 31). Here, on the back of an unpainted wooden German-style shrine marker, carefully lettered in pink and purple paint, we find the words: "In Loving Memory of Our Collie / The Carpenters / 13 3 1978 / 9 7 1991." Below the inscription are several painted figures – a peace symbol, a heart, and a smiley face. In front of the marker is a rectangular enclosure made from round concrete-with-pebble stepping stones turned on end, inside of which are found live geranium and daisy plants. Standing outside the enclosure are a silk geranium bush and a tiny American flag. Beneath the pitched roof of the marker's front is placed a cross, while across its base is painted the name "MOLLY."

Fig. 29 **Molly. Back of shrine-type marker and gravesite enclosure.**

Fig. 30 Molly. Front view of marker, with cross, photograph and typed 16-line poem.

Propped up within the shrine's protective enclosure is a clear plastic picture frame containing the somewhat faded color photograph of a man and woman (in civilian clothing) standing with a black and white Collie, beneath which appears this typed poem:

ODE TO MOLLY

This passage was written after you left,
An ode, a eulogy following your death.
Your joy and love chronicled our lives
The 6th member of our family whose memory will always survive.
A soulmate, a guardian, a friend who crossed our paths;
a sister, a teacher, a spirit whose strength never wavered.
We ran, we played together, sometimes taking a bath.
We laughed and we cried, sharing life's labors.
Our hearts merged into one, no line of demarcation
Capturing a bond the Book talks about
before the great separation.
Although you have gone, and our pain will never subside
We feel no absence because our spirits with you reside.
At night, we can see your heavenly constellation,
Knowing that you are well
Shining down upon us, watching over us still.

We miss you, Molly, and love you even more.

THE CARPENTER FAMILY

Molly's touching memorial goes far towards validating the thesis that the emotional energy we invest in our pets rivals and perhaps on occasion even exceeds that which we direct towards each other, and, bearing such sentiments as it does, could as easily have been found in any one of the hundreds of pet cemeteries located both in this country and abroad. Her marker reminds us that the animals of the Presidio Pet Cemetery – and, even more importantly, their owners – are linked spiritually with their counterparts elsewhere. Yet, as we have seen, the Presidio Pet Cemetery is clearly no ordinary pet cemetery, indicating at the very least that the efforts shown here to commemorate a shared experience of very special significance may indeed represent a primary element in successful management of the grieving process. This is, in fact, a phenomenon common to much material memorialization: it is just that only rarely, as in the cemeteries of certain self-contained mining or logging communities, or here within the boundaries of one of America's oldest military installa-

Fig. 31 Molly. Detail of photograph and poem.

tions, do we have the opportunity to see it articulated on a broad scale and permeated by a common occupational bond.

In some ways, inside the picket fence surrounding the Presidio's footnote to its larger National Cemetery, the normal distinctions between humans and their pets are lost – or at least significantly blurred – to an extent even greater than may be observed elsewhere, the result of a shared and deeply meaningful existence within an esoteric occupational folk group. Whatever the case, two things seem clear. The first is that, as with virtually all pet animals who were treated with affection, the love offered in return by these permanent Presidians was seen to be both unconditional and deeply important to those who mourned and remember them.

Fig. 32 A G.I. Pet who "did his time."

But the second, and equally evident perception is that, in a manner perhaps even beyond what might be encountered with normal pets, these members of military families who – like their owners – "did their time" (Fig. 32) were considered to be very special indeed.

In talking with base personnel during the course of our research, it was not difficult to sense the sadness and uncertainty they felt for the future of this beautiful and historic military post as it wound down towards the date when it would cease to be an active military installation and would subsequently become a portion of the Golden Gate Recreational Area administered by the massive bureaucracy of the National Park Service. The San Francisco National Cemetery will remain intact under its own administration, but what does the future hold for the many other features of the Presidio which have made it so unique and so loved by those who have served or even visited there – its splendid museum, its parade ground, its historic buildings? And what of the Presidio Pet Cemetery, that colorful and unruly repository of love and esoteric lore beneath the shadow of one of the world's great bridges, when the post engineers have become as insubstantial as their surrogate boy scouts, veterinarians, and old retired Navy veterans?

NOTES

This essay is the result of largely independent fieldwork and research undertaken by the authors in a period stretching from 1991 to 1994, with preliminary findings presented at Annual Meetings of the American Folklore Society (Meyer/1992) and the American Culture Association (Gradwohl/1993). As one of the prerogatives of scholarly collaboration, we hereby cheerfully ascribe any errors of fact, interpretation, or omission to each other. We wish to happily acknowledge the assistance and support of our wives – Hanna Rosenberg Gradwohl, who, like Muschee Regis, a Presidio pet, was born in Germany and was called by that diminutive appellation of endearment as a child, and Lotte Larsen Meyer, who, although born in Denmark, has no known *Danske navnefaetter* in the Presidio Pet Cemetery. Our thanks for assistance of various sorts also go to Professor Charlotte Bruner, Dr. Shu-Min Huang, Dr. Steven E. Gradwohl, Jim Jewell, Lisa L. Mann, Robert Pierce, and a number of informants at the Presidio who by their own request shall remain anonymous. The photographs found in Figures 1-2, 4-16, 19-22, 25-26, and 32-34 were taken by Richard E. Meyer, those in Figures 3, 17-18, 23-24, and 27-31 by David M. Gradwohl.

1. John Martini, *The Official Map and Guide to the Presidio of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1992).

2. Dean W. Holt, *American Military Cemeteries: An Illustrated Guide to the Hallowed Grounds of the United States, Including Cemeteries Overseas* (Jefferson, NC, 1992), 328.

3. The use of the first person singular here would seem to indicate that maintenance of the cemetery is, or was, the responsibility of a single individual. As shall be discussed later in this essay, however, interviews with base personnel conducted in 1991 and 1992 contradict such a scenario.

4. In the best tradition of scholarly explanatory notes, we humbly render the translation of this popular military slang term as "Situation Normal, All Fouled [euphemism] Up."

5. For the benefit of the uninitiated, the somewhat esoteric reference here is to the popular strip "Beetle Bailey."

6. Skipper is not the only animal in the Presidio Pet Cemetery to be thus linguistically honored. On the reverse side of a hand- made ceramic marker for one T. Toes ('89-'91) is found the inscription "Best Damn Rat We Ever Had." As Skipper's date (1967) is considerably earlier, we conclude that Mr. or Ms. Toes' memorial sentiment is the mortuary equivalent of what ballad scholars refer to as a "traveling line."

7. Though the temptation to engage in pop psychological theorizing as to the ultimate *reasons* for such distinctions proves almost overwhelming at times, we shall show restraint and leave such matters to those better equipped by training to ponder these mysteries.

8. See, for example, Lynn Gosnell and Suzanne Gott, "San Fernando Cemetery: Decorations of Love and Loss in a Mexican-American Community," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989; rpt. Logan, UT, 1992), 217-236; and Paul F. Erwin, "Scottish, Irish, and Rom Gypsy Funeral Customs and Gravestones in Cincinnati Cemeteries," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, OH, 1993), 104-130. See also the essay by Gay Lynch, "Contemporary Gravemarkers of Youths: Milestones of Our Path through Pain to Joy," in this edition of *Markers*.

9. This inscription flabbergasted our Chinese colleague and interpreter, Dr. Shu-Min Huang. Even though he had been told the context of the gravestone, he exclaimed "but this is the tombstone of a human being," thereby independently confirming one of the theses of this essay.

10. Vivian Spiegelman and Robert Kastenbaum, "Pet Rest Memorial: Is Eternity Running Out of Time?", *Omega: Journal of Death and Dying* 21:1 (1990): 8-9.

11. Martini.

12. e.g., interview with Col. Milton B. Halsey, Jr., Executive Director of the Fort Point and Army Museum Association, at the Presidio of San Francisco, 4 December 1992.

13. Joan McKinney, "Beloved Presidio Pets Have Their Own Memorial," *Oakland Tribune* (23 August 1981), C-1.

14. The *Oakland Tribune* article cited above mentions General Keiser's monument for Butch, but somewhat unflatteringly in the context of attempts to discourage a trend towards the erection of larger and more ostentatious memorials which began to emerge approximately a decade after the cemetery's founding.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Presidio Historical Trail Guide* (San Francisco, 1980), entry for Station # 16.

17. e.g., McKinney.

18. Much thinking and writing remains to be done before we understand these relationships completely. In the meantime, several treatments of this matter deserve mention. J. Joseph Edgette treated the relationship between pet bereavement and memorialization quite succinctly in two papers presented at professional conferences, "Like Human, Like Pet: Parallelism in Gravemarkers" (American Culture Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, Canada; March, 1990), and "Personality and the Pet Epitaph: Correlative Link Between Owner and Pet" (American Culture Association Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, March, 1991). For an excellent collection of essays on this general topic, see William J. Kay *et al.*, eds., *Pet Loss and Human Bereavement* (Ames, IA, 1984). In addition to the scholarly treatment of pet cemeteries by Spiegelman and Kastenbaum cited previously, a number of very useful stories have appeared in newspapers and magazines in the past several years: see, for example, Jerry Adler, "Let Us Pray for the Animals," *Newsweek* 11 (January, 1988): 53; Christopher Cox, "Animal Rites," *Boston Sunday Herald* (3 June 1990), Sunday Magazine Section, 12-16; Sarah Lyall, "Cemetery Journal: Pet Burials Rivaling Some for People," *The New York Times* (1 July 1991), B-3; Alex Vagelatos, "In Loving Memory: Pets Rest in Peace at Area Cemetery," *Ft. Wayne Journal-Gazette* (2 August 1992), D-1/2; Linda Young, "At Pet Cemeteries the No. 1 Concern is Peace of Mind," *Chicago Tribune* (4 February 1993), 7. An interesting documentary film focusing on a pet cemetery in California is Errol Morris' *Gates of Heaven* (1987).

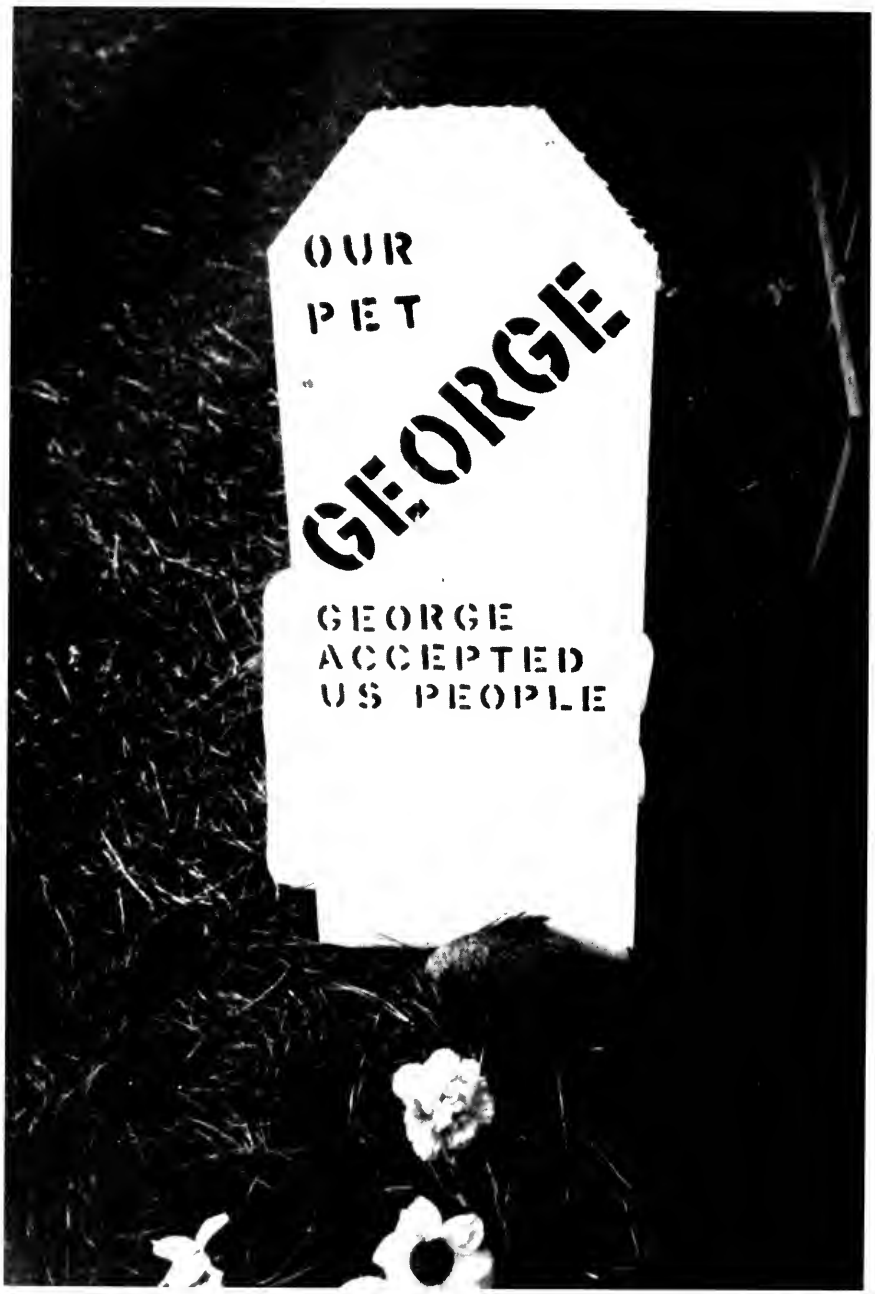


Fig. 33 George. He "accepted us people."

Fig. 34 Exterior view of the Presidio Pet Cemetery.

THE YEAR'S WORK IN GRAVEMARKER/CEMETERY STUDIES

With this edition, *Markers* inaugurates a feature common to many scholarly publications, the presentation of an annual bibliography of works pertinent to its field which have appeared in print during the preceding year. Since, with the exception of Edward L. Bell's *Vestiges of Mortality & Remembrance: A Bibliography on the Historical Archaeology of Cemeteries* (1994), a comprehensive bibliographical listing of this sort has not appeared since that found in the 1989 *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, this first compilation will actually be somewhat broader in its temporal range and will cover the years 1990 through 1994. Entries, listed in alphabetical order by author, consist mainly of books and of articles found within scholarly journals: excluded are materials found in newspapers, popular magazines, and trade journals, as well as genealogical publications and cemetery "readings," book reviews, and irretrievably non-scholarly books (i.e., the "Little Book of Bedside Grave Humor" sort of thing). Though not included here, it should be noted that short but valuable critical and analytical pieces are frequently published in the quarterly *Newsletter* of the Association for Gravestone Studies. Since errors of omission are perhaps inevitable, the editor would welcome addenda from readers (complete citations, please) for inclusion in *Markers XIII*.

Ambler, Cathy. "A Place Not Entirely of Sadness and Gloom: Oak Hill Cemetery and the Rural Cemetery Movement." *Kansas History* 15:4 (1992-1993), pp. 240-253.

Ames, Kenneth L. *Death in the Dining Room and Other Tales of Victorian Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992, especially Chapter 3, "Words to Live By," pp. 97-149.

Anderson, Timothy G. "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East-Central Texas: Material Culture and Ethnicity in Seven Rural Communities." *Material Culture* 25:3 (1993), pp. 1-18.

Arthur, Caroline. "Place Names: Bury Me Down at Buzzard Roost." *American Demographics* 13 (1991), pp. 18-19.

Baird, Scott. "Language Codes in Texas German Graveyards." *Markers IX* (1992), pp. 216-255.

Barber, Russell J. "The Agua Mansa Cemetery: An Indicator of Ethnic Identification in a Mexican-American Community." In *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*. Edited by Richard E. Meyer. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993, pp. 156-172.

Barth, Gunther. *Fleeting Moments: Nature and Culture in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, especially pp. 123-180 (rural cemetery movement).

Bell, Edward L. *Vestiges of Mortality & Remembrance: A Bibliography on the Historical Archaeology of Cemeteries*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

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Boldface page numbers [in brackets] indicate illustrations

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS TO *MARKERS: JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR GRAVESTONE STUDIES*

Scope

The Association for Gravestone Studies was incorporated as a non-profit 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

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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.

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As regards articles published in *Markers*, copyright is normally given to the Association for Gravestone Studies, though requests for permission to reprint are readily accommodated. Offset copies of published articles are not provided to authors: each contributor, however, receives a complimentary copy of the volume.

Gravestone studies in general, and the Association for Gravestone Studies in particular, lost a dear and valued friend with the untimely death, on October 8, 1994, of Jim Jewell. Inscribed upon the gravestone which Jim designed for himself in Lindenwood Cemetery, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, are the words from poet William Blake, 'No bird soars too high if he soars with his own wings,' to which we would add, in dedicating this volume, another fitting epitaph seen from time to time over the years:

'There is no death so long
as we live in the hearts
of those who remember us.'

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MARKERS VIII A collection of the pioneering studies of Dr. Ernest Caulfield on Connecticut carvers and their work: fifteen essays edited by James A. Slater and three edited by Peter Benes.

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MARKERS IX A tribute to the art of Francis Duval; the Mullicken Family carvers of Bradford, Mass.; the Green Man on Scottish markers; photo-essay on the Center Church Crypt, New Haven, Conn.; more on Ithamar Spauldin and his shop; the Almshouse Burial Ground, Uxbridge, Mass.; Thomas Crawford's monument for Amos Binney; Salt Lake City Temple symbols on Mormon tombstones; language codes in Texas German cemeteries; and the disappearing Shaker cemetery.

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MARKERS XI Fraternal symbolism and gravemarkers; regional and denominational identity in Louisiana cemeteries; the carvings of Solomon Brewer in Westchester County, NY; Theodore O'Hara's 'The Bivouac of the Dead'; slave markers in colonial Massachusetts; the Leighton and Worster families of carvers; a Kentucky stonecutter's career; and pioneer gravemarkers in Oregon.

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