MARKERS XIV

Edited by
Richard E. Meyer

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Cover illustration: Gravestone maker Merry E. Veal, Jackson, Mississippi. Photograph by Barbara Rotundo.

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Markers XIV, with articles focusing on a range of ethnic, historical, and artistic issues, with a time frame which spans three centuries, and with a geographical spread which includes four major regions of the United States, comes the closest to date towards achieving the balance in emphasis which I envisioned as the primary goal for the journal when I assumed its editorship five years ago. Individual contributors to the current issue bring a variety of disciplinary perspectives to bear on matters as far ranging as the material commemoration of Congregational ministers in early New England and the work of a folk gravestone maker in contemporary Mississippi. In these, as well as its other essays, *Markers XIV* continues its efforts to provide its readers with the best and most current examples of the type of broad-based and balanced examination of gravemarkers, their makers, and the places where they are found which define this specialized area of folk art and material culture. Finally, in its ongoing efforts to

establish the standards and outline the boundaries of this important and emergent microdiscipline, the current issue offers a greatly expanded version of its annual bibliographic survey, "The Year's Work in Gravemarker/Cemetery Studies."

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 once again 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, through such efforts as the release time provided to the editor by its Faculty Development Committee, continues to generously support this publication in a variety of manners; 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, my inspiration, my conscience, my best friend, alongside whom, in the words of poet Wilfred Owen, I go on "quietly shining in her quiet light."

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: Annual 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, Lois Ahrens, 278 Main Street, Suite 207, Greenfield, Massachusetts 01301, or call (413) 772-0836.

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Fig. l. Bronze bust of T.C. Cannon, Kiowa/Caddo Indian painter and poet, at the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

CEMETERY SYMBOLS AND CONTEXTS OF AMERICAN INDIAN IDENTITY: THE GRAVE OF PAINTER AND POET T.C. CANNON

David M. Gradwohl

Introduction

A bronze image of T.C. Cannon (Kiowa/Caddo) stands among other sculptures at the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians in Anadarko, Oklahoma (Fig. 1).[1] Among the forty Native Americans presently included in this Hall of Fame, located some fifty miles southwest of Oklahoma City, are such historical Indian luminaries as Sitting Bull (Sioux), Will Rogers (Cherokee), Sacajawea (Shoshoni), Sequoyah (Cherokee), Cochise and Geronimo (Chiricahua Apache), Jim Thorpe and Black Hawk (Sac and Fox), Chief Joseph (Nez Perce), Charles Curtis (Kaw), Oceola (Seminole), Tecumseh (Shawnee), Pontiac (Ottawa), and Pocahontas (Powhatan). Honored for his achievements in twentieth-century art, the late T.C. Cannon is among the youngest individuals selected for the Indian Hall of Fame. His memorial plaque and the associated literature distributed by the Hall of Fame note that Cannon is buried in Anadarko's Memory Lane Cemetery. Sources indicate that he was laid to rest with full American military and traditional Kiowa honors.

T.C. Cannon's gravestone (Fig. 2) reflects the ethnic and historical identity of one Native American; however, this case study has implications for the understanding of ethnicity in general and Native American ethnic identity in particular. In an attempt to interpret this specific *tangible* representation of T.C. Cannon's identity, it is necessary to consider the symbols of certain immediate and broader mortuary contexts: additional gravestones in the Memory Lane Cemetery, and various general burial patterns of American Indians across time and space. To achieve these goals, this essay first outlines the life of T.C. Cannon and his accomplishments. Second, it reviews selected burial patterns in native North America to demonstrate some of the many different modes in which American Indians have *materially* expressed their identities across several thousand years. The third portion of this discussion deals with some general patterns and exemplary gravestones of non-Indians in the Memory Lane Cemetery. Fourth, there is a focus on the symbols associated with American Indians who are buried at Memory Lane. The fifth, and final, analytical section centers on the mortuary monuments of T.C. Cannon

and his parents. In conjunction with parallel studies I am conducting on the gravestones of American Jews and Lativian-Americans,[2] I conclude that the study of T.C. Cannon's gravestone and its contexts contributes to our understanding of the relationship of material culture and ethnicity. Cemeteries and gravemarkers provide an important basis for exploring the dimensions of individual and group identities through time.

T.C. Cannon the Artist

Tommy Wayne Cannon was born on September 27, 1946, at the Indian hospital in Lawton, Oklahoma. His mother, Mimi ("Mamie") Ahdunko Cannon, was of Caddo Indian ancestry, while his father, Walter Cannon, was a member of the Kiowa tribe. The Cannon family (which included older children Vernon and Joyce) lived in the vicinity of Anadarko, first at a farm near Mountain View and later at Gracemont, where Tommy completed his secondary schooling. Tommy was always interested in art, and in his early teens began entering his work in art shows. He won some prizes and sold some of his paintings. As a child, Tommy was given the

Fig 2. T.C. Cannon's gravestone (front side) in Memory Lane Cemetery, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Kiowa name *Pai-doung-u-day*, which means "One Who Stands in the Sun." This was the Indian name of Walter Cannon's deceased maternal uncle. According to Kiowa cultural protocol, Walter Cannon formally sought permission to use the name from his uncle's son, who had the hereditary right to give the name to someone else.[3] This is just one of many ways in which Kiowa historical traditions and American Indian values in general were brought to bear on the young Tommy Cannon. Some years later, Cannon had this to say concerning these early traditional influences on his personal identity as an American Indian:

> I believe that there is such a thing as Indian sensibility...This has to do with the idea of a collective history. It's reflected in your upbringing and the remarks that you hear every day from birth and the kind of behavior and emotion you see around you. It's probably true of any national or racial group that's sort of inbred; in other words, where Italians marry Italians and live in an Italian community and eat Italian food you can't very easily turn out to be Chinese.[4]

Following graduation from high school in 1964, T.C. (as he subsequently would be known) studied at the newly-founded Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. In the words of one art historian, "Under instructors including Allan Houser and Fritz Scholder, a new definition of Indian art evolved there, and Cannon helped author much of it".[5] A volume celebrating three decades of the Institute of American Indian Arts includes the statement that T. C. Cannon "... is perhaps the best known of the IAIA graduates".[6] Exemplary of this period is a work which demonstrates the artist's sense of humor as well as skill. This piece, entitled "Mama and Papa Have the Goin' Home to Shiprock Blues," portrays a Navajo man and woman waiting, presumably for a bus, to return to their Dineh homeland.[7] The man – wearing a traditional headband, black velvet shirt, and beaded necklace – sits cross-legged and dreamily waves a cigarette in his left hand, while his wife rests solidly next to him, huddled in a red and white striped blanket and sporting large sunglasses.

In 1966, Cannon was awarded the Governor's Trophy at the Scottsdale National Indian Art Exhibition. That year he also studied briefly at the Art Institute of San Francisco. In 1969, following his military service, Cannon attended the College of Santa Fe and then transferred to Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, where he graduated with an art major in 1972. During this period Cannon was married to (and then divorced

from) Barbara Warner, a Ponca Indian from Oklahoma. Maturing as an artist while at Central State University, Cannon not only learned but combined the idioms of the Western European and American Indian painting traditions. For example, his painting entitled "Collector #5," or "Osage With Van Gogh," depicts an elaborately-costumed Indian dandy seated in a wicker chair which in turn is placed on a Navajo rug.[8] On the wall behind the seated figure is a perfectly-executed representation of Vincent Van Gogh's painting "Wheatfield."[9] Influences of Art Nouveau and the decorative style of Henri Matisse can be seen in the painting Cannon charmingly called "Grandmother Gestating Father and the Washita River Runs Ribbon-Like".[10] In this image, an abundantly pregnant woman bounces along a meandering multicolored strip holding a bright red umbrella. In addition to calf-high beaded moccasins, a concho belt, and a floral shawl around her waist, she wears a dress with large yellow-bordered red polka dots. Banded dots also embellish the surrounding topography and are repeated on the painted border that frames the scene.

While studying in San Francisco, T.C. Cannon enlisted in the U.S. Army and volunteered for the paratroops. He spent 1967 and 1968 in Viet Nam with the distinguished 101st Airborne Division. During this time he filled notebooks with drawings and poetry about war and his comrades in arms. The U.S. government awarded Cannon two Bronze Stars for his bravery in Viet Nam, and upon his return to Oklahoma the Kiowa inducted him into their elite Black Leggings Warrior Society. This modern Kiowa warrior sodality has its roots in the ranked male military societies which were prominent among the Kiowa and many other High Plains Indian cultures during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[11] In former times, members of the Kiowa's *Tonkonko*, or Black Leggings Society, danced with black-painted lower legs and forearms.[12] They wore horsehair roach headdresses and carried eagle tail feather fans. Their unique military emblem was a curved "no-retreat" staff which, when planted in battle, signified a fight to death. In 1958, the Black Leggings Warrior Society was formally re-established.[13] Members of this prestigious contemporary society must have served in the armed forces and are selected by invitation based on their high moral and ethical character. At powwows and Veterans' Day observances, members of the society dance in black knee socks, black buckskin leggings, or with their bare legs painted black.

Much of Cannon's art deals with war and warriors. A hero of epic pro-

portions is depicted in his painting entitled "His Hair Flows Like a River," in which a warrior with face paint is shown attired in a bright robe, floral scarf, bone bead choker, and wolf skin headdress.[14] Cannon captured the tragedy of all wars in paintings such as "Big Foot in the Snow," which shows the horrifying image of the Sioux chief's frozen body on the battlefield following the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890.[15] Finally, he depicted the folly and irony of war in various representations of General George Armstrong Custer, in particular the one he dubbed "Zero Hero".[16]

It is worth noting here that T.C. Cannon was among the more than 42,000 American Indian military personnel with the U.S. armed forces in southeast Asia during the Viet Nam War. Historically, American Indians have served in the national armed forces in numbers exceeding their percentage of the general population.[17] Recent estimates suggest that there are now some 160,000 American Indian veterans, representing ten percent of the living Native American population.[18] American Indians are three times as likely to have served in the armed forces as other American citizens during the twentieth century. Approximately 25,000 American Indians served in World War II; included in this number were at least 400 Navajo "code talkers" who contributed greatly to the U.S. victory in the Pacific theater by using their indigenous language to baffle Japanese cryptographers.[19] The personal problems and identity issues of American Indian veterans returning to the United States have been on-going themes in contemporary literature, for example *Ceremony* by Leslie Silko (Laguna Pueblo), *House Made of Dawn* by N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa), and *From Sand Creek* by Simon Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo). T.C. Cannon's art, especially when considered with his various journals and poems, reflects these centrifugal forces in the contemporary life of Native Americans. In a recently-published American Indian encyclopedia, Arthur Silberman points to this matter in commenting that Cannon "... identified strongly with traditional values. He also used contemporary mainstream styles and made personal statements with wit, anger, and affection about the dilemmas and paradoxes of maintaining a sense of Native American Identity."[20]

During 1973 Cannon served as an artist-in-residence at Colorado State University; in 1975 he was a visiting artist at Dartmouth College. In the late 1970s, Cannon received a number of large commissions. The Santa Fe Opera Company engaged him to create paintings to advertise their 1977 and 1978 seasons. The painting for the poster and program cover for the 1978 opera season, entitled "A Remembered Muse (*Tosca*)", juxtaposes a

number of Euro-American and American Indian symbols.[21] Behind the two American Indian figures dressed in elaborate traditional garb is an American flag banner with the images of the martyred John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. The painting is at the same time puzzling, provocative, and poignant. A larger-scale endeavor, completed in 1977, was a huge mural, eight feet high by twenty-two feet long, for the Daybreak Star Indian Cultural Educational Center in Seattle. The title of the mural is "Epochs in Plains History: Mother Earth, Father Sun, the Children Themselves." Among the mural's figures are representations of the moon, a group of Old People from the primordial world, Mother Earth, an owl, a sacred eagle, a herd of bison, an equestrian warrior, the fabled White Buffalo, a skewered Sun Dancer, a shield-like sun, tipis, and a Peyote Man seated near some peyote buttons and a crescent-shaped altar. Moving off the right side of the image is a Gourd Dancer in blue jeans, a brightly patterned shirt, blanket, western hat, and "shades." In the center of the mural are T.C. Cannon's hand prints in red and yellow .[22]

Whether or not some of the symbolism in the above-mentioned paintings is prescient of the artist's tragically early death can be debated. Nonetheless, T.C. Cannon was killed in a one-car accident near his home in Santa Fe on May 8, 1978. Although only thirty-one years old, Cannon had garnered many honors and was known not only throughout the United States but in Europe as well. In 1972, while he was still an undergraduate student, he was featured with Fritz Scholder in an exhibition entitled "Two American Painters," mounted by the Smithsonian's National Collection of Fine Arts. This two-man show toured Berlin, Belgrade, Skopje, Istanbul, Madrid, and London. Cannon's one-man shows included exhibitions at the Southern Plains Indian Museum in Anadarko (1971), Larkin Gallery in Santa Fe (1972), Pickard Galleries in Oklahoma City (1974), Beaumont-May Gallery in Hanover, New Hampshire (1975), and the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe (1976). In 1979, the Aberbach Gallery in New York, which had served as Cannon's agent and dealer, mounted a posthumous show entitled "T.C. Cannon: A Memorial Exhibition." From New York this exhibition toured to the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe, the Heard Museum in Phoenix, and the Buffalo Bill Cody Cultural Center in Cody, Wyoming. Cannon's work was also included in more than twenty group exhibitions that not only toured the United States but Europe as well. Throughout 1990 and 1991 an extensive retrospective one-man show was exhibited by the National

Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center in Oklahoma City and the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indian and Western Art in Indianapolis.

The evaluation of T.C. Cannon's skill and position in the art world is outside the scope of this essay and beyond the expertise of this author, but one historian of contemporary art puts his work in perspective with the art of others of "the most successful Indian painters" – Fritz Scholder, Earl Bliss, Kevin Red Star, and Grey Cohoe:

> Their eclectic stylistic combinations of the expressive, the decorative, and the ironic have formed an ambivalent repertoire of recognizable but distorted images. Thus, at least an attempt is made to transform the stereotype into the archetype by its simultaneous acceptance and negation. An analysis of this development in Indian art might finally demonstrate that the artistic expression of minorities within majority cultures is based on a common structural principle. This principle includes (a) the combination of myth and history, (2) the attempt to purify the cliché, and (3) the search for art forms that concentrate, intensify, and generalize motifs, images, and rhythms, first in symbolic, then in ironic, and, perhaps, finally in a playful popular mode".[23]

It is safe to say that T.C. Cannon's art epitomizes the above principles. Only time will tell whether his artistic contributions will have a continuing impact not only on American Indian art per se but contemporary art in general.

Cannon was not only well aware of his blending of traditional American Indian aesthetic forms with modern Western art modes, he was also able to articulate it clearly and eloquently. In 1970 he wrote the following in connection with the preparation of his first one-man exhibition at the Southern Plains Indian Museum in Anadarko:

> Contemporary Indian painting is an ever-expanding field full of infinite directions and countless rewards and dreams. In these few works, I have tried to align myself along the lines and codes of my ethnic background. I have not shut out my tradition, nor have I attempted to sacrifice or negate the traditional idiom from where I started ... I lean toward a more abstract idiom which I feel suits my situation more ideally. The contemporary Indian of today is a much more open-minded individual than ten years ago, especially the young people with their sensitive and revealing outlooks on the present day world.[24]

Put in this straightforward manner, Cannon's art is a paradigm of his life in general.

Selected Burial Patterns in Native North America

During the thousands of years that they have inhabited North America, Native Americans have disposed of their dead in a variety of ways. A full discussion of these various patterns is obviously beyond the bounds of this essay. A few examples, however, will suffice to demonstrate two points. First, there is no one American Indian mortuary pattern, historically or today, but rather a number of differing modes. Second, these disparate burial practices are expressive of diverse group and individual identities.

In the eastern United States, between approximately 800 BC and 800 AD, people of the archaeologically-defined Woodland Tradition cultures, including Adena, Hopewell, and others, constructed large conical burial mounds over log tombs or pit inhumations.[25] Flexed inhumations in circular pits, of course, had been the primary burial mode for some six thousand years back into the Archaic Tradition.[26] In the Upper Mississippi Valley, by at least 800 A.D. certain prehistoric Indian groups were building mounds in the shapes of animal effigies.[27] Although these Effigy Mounds may have served more than one purpose, many of them do include disarticulated "bundle burials." In the Great Plains, numerous historic tribes placed their dead on above-ground scaffolds where the eventual disarticulated bones either fell to the ground or were gathered to be deposited in sub-surface pits. In the 1830s, artist George Catlin recorded this practice at a Mandan village: burial scaffolds can be seen outside the community of earth lodges beyond the defensive stockade.[28] During the same time period, Swiss artist Karl Bodmer was hired to illustrate the western journals of traveler-scientist Prince Maximilian von Wied Neuwied. Bodmer's exquisite and detailed paintings document funeral scaffolds among the Sioux and human mortuary displays among the Mandan.[29] In the American southwest other mortuary patterns obtained. Some groups in the Hohokam Tradition practiced cremation, with the burial of ashes and burned bones in sub-surface pits.[30] Other groups, particularly those in the Anasazi-Pueblo Tradition, often buried their dead below the floors of their stone or adobe houses, while Native Americans in western Canada and southern Alaska build separate "spirit houses" in which the dead are buried.[31]

To differing degrees today, many southwestern Indian groups have been converted to Christianity. This is certainly apparent at the cemetery of Taos Pueblo in northern New Mexico, where visitors are, for good rea-

sons, not allowed within the burial grounds. Still, from outside the peripheral wall, one can observe among the crosses several probable Native American carry-overs in the form of bird motifs painted on gravemarkers and several mortuary offerings of beads (not rosaries). The Tohono O'odham or Papago have long been missionized at San Xavier del Bac in Tucson, Arizona. The adjoining cemetery has many characteristics of Hispanic Catholic cemeteries elsewhere and is abundantly decorated with mass-produced artificial floral bouquets and other mortuary ornaments. Within that melange, however, can be seen offerings of jewelry and food which may represent traditional Indian mortuary patterns. Similar multi-cultural practices have been reported for the Zuni and Navajo.[32] Similar processes also exist in the Inuit (Eskimo) native cemetery at Nome, Alaska. Particularly striking is the white painted wooden cross gravemarker of Aloysius Pikonganna, to which has been attached a stone amulet. The horizontal crossbar exhibits a black silhouette-like drawing rendered in an Arctic art style which goes back at least several centuries in engraved ivory.[33] The scene depicts boats, the hunting of a bird, walrus, and seal, along with dancers and a drummer with a tambourine. Finally, many contemporary American Indian burial practices are not open for observations from outsiders. At the Meskwaki Indian Settlement in central Iowa, for example, access to the cemetery is halted by a sign that reads "Private Cemetery. Tours of any kind are strictly prohibited. We have no chiefs, no agents, no delegates authorized to sell our cornfields, our homes, our trees, or the bones of our dead. Signed by The People."

General Observations on Anadarko's Public Memory Lane Cemetery

As Anadarko's public cemetery, Memory Lane presented a pleasant, tidy, and well-maintained appearance when I entered it. Judging from the names and/or symbols on gravestones, I assumed that American Indian and non-Indian burials were generally intermixed rather than being placed in separate sections of the cemetery. That impression was independently verified by a maintenance worker and a monument dealer with whom I spoke during my two visits to Anadarko.[34] The gravestone styles, source materials, epitaphs, and mortuary or decorative symbols here do not differ markedly from most other small town public cemeteries I have observed in the Great Plains. The changes in these forms from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century are also essentially predictable. Among the monuments erected during the last twenty years,

however, one can observe increasing numbers of idiosyncratic symbols pertaining to occupations, favorite avocations, and other pursuits. The carved motif on the reverse side of Pat and Joan Anderson's monument, for example, records the family's participation in Oklahoma's oil boom. Similarly, carved scenes on the Francis family monument suggests that their wealth came not only from oil but also cattle. The double marker for the Vaughns has designs indicating that Shirley spent a lot of time with yarn and a crocheting needle while James was a handy-man with a hammer and screw driver. The monument of George Hector exhibits a chiseled image of his personal airplane, specifically a Cessna 210-D Centurion. The epitaph on Bart Harrison's monument announces that he is "Going Home"; the image of a dove in flight emphasizes this message, while the likenesses of a trumpet and musical notes probably indicate the deceased's avocational or professional pursuits. Two other monuments attest to the individualistic interests of gravestone customers in addition to the vibrant virtuosity of monument dealers in central Oklahoma. One of these, the stone for Bill and Virginia Tallent, bears an epitaph proclaiming "What beautiful memories we have" along with a complex chiseled and/or laser-cut scene that includes large hills, trees, a barn, lots of livestock, a stream, and a family of six enjoying a plentiful picnic on a blanket next to their automobile, a Lincoln Mark IV coupe with optional sun roof and Continental rear end kits. The other, a recent pyramidal column monument for Virgil O. Williams, recalls the taller obelisk form popular seven to eleven decades ago. This column, however, has three cast bronze geese departing from its apex; and within its granite shaft is a glass-fronted niche that affords a view of a large porcelain or metal-lidded pitcher decorated with German inscriptions and folk figures.

Gravestones of American Indians at Memory Lane Cemetery

Gravestones of American Indians buried at Memory Lane Cemetery follow the characteristics outlined above for the monuments of non-Indians. Many gravestones include general floral designs or Christian symbols. Their association with American Indians lies solely with identifiable family names: examples include the monuments of Noah and Viola Spotted Horsechief (Fig. 3), Alexandra and Bertha Curley Chief, Lois J. Snake Blackwolf, Stephanie Buffalohead, and Jerry Scott Spotted Horse. Other monuments, though displaying no overt symbols of Native American identity, exhibit names of families from which prominent

Indian personalities have come. Mammedaty, for example, was the traditional name of the paternal grandfather of N. Scott Momaday, the Kiowa Pulitzer prize-winning novelist and poet.[35] Nevaquaya is the family name of well-known Comanche painter and flute player Doc Tate Nevaquaya.[36] The name Ahpetone (or Ahpeatone) appears on two small pyramidal columns dating from the early twentieth century as well as an adjacent contemporary large horizontal monument. "Apeahtone" was the last federally-recognized chief of the Kiowa Tribe; a statue in his honor is scheduled for dedication at the Indian Hall of Fame during the summer of 1996. The monument of Frank Kodaseet exhibits an image of Christ with the Sacred Heart and a symbol for the Knights of Columbus (Fig. 4). Also included on this monument is Frank Kodaseet's Indian name, *Taime-Day*. Interestingly enough in terms of *traditional* beliefs, the word *Tai-me* refers to the most sacred single image or fetish in the Kiowa Indian religion. *Tai-*

Fig. 3. Monument of Noah and Viola Spotted Horsechief. The family name is the only specific indication of American Indian identity. The praying hands and open book or Bible motifs are general Christian symbols found on a number of American Indian and non-Indian gravestones in Anadarko and elsewhere.

me was the central figure of the Kiowa's *K'ado*, or Sun Dance, ceremony.[37] Gravestones of other Native Americans are revealed by the employment of their Indian names, most often rendered in a hyphenated transliteration into English. For example, one may note the monument for A-On-Hote-Baw and Ke-He-Gould-Da Keah-Tigh (Fig. 5). The gravestone's other side identifies these people as Margaret Jane and F.M. Keah-Tigh (presumably the additional rendering of their nicknames as "Mom-O" and "Pop-O" is an extension of the hyphenation principle!). The beveled column monument of Zos-Sah-Ane, who died in 1903, suggests that this individual was known by a traditional single name rather than by "first" and "family" names. Zos-Sah-Ane's gravestone style, epitaph ("Gone But Not Forgotten"), and Christian mortuary symbols (crown of glory, stars, mansions in the sky, and gates of heaven) are typical "stock" forms found

Fig. 4. Monument of Frank Kodaseet exhibiting Christian symbols, including Christ with the Sacred Heart and the Knights of Columbus emblem. His Indian name, Taime-Day, reveals an association with *Tai-me*, the most sacred single object in Kiowa traditional religion.

in turn-of-the-century cemeteries in the American midlands. Finally, one observes Tsait-Kope-Ta's monument, which is topped by a large sculpted angel pointing heavenward. Although such sculpted angels are a common Victorian form elsewhere, this monument is strikingly unique in Anadarko, Oklahoma.

The American Indian identities represented on numerous other gravestones in Memory Lane Cemetery are considerably more obvious. For example, the monument of Lilly Catherine Botone Kodaseet (a.k.a. *Ahkee'n Tih'n*, or "White Flower") specifies her as a "Kiowa Prayer Woman" and further signifies her Indian identity by a tipi motif (Fig. 6). Another monument identifies Frank Waldon Jones as a member of the

Fig. 5. Monument of A-On-Hote-Baw and Ke-He-Gould-Da Keah-Tigh, whose traditional Indian names are transliterated into English in a hyphenated manner characteristic of the rendering of many Native American names in Memory Lane Cemetery. The reverse side of the monument identifies these individuals as Margaret Jane ("Mom-O") and F.M. ("Pop-O") Keah-Tigh.

"Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma," while his wife, Cecilia Belgarde Jones, is a designated member of the "Chippewa Tribe of North Dakota." Enoch Hoag's gravestone specifies him as the "Last Chief of the Caddo Tribe / Grandson of Chief Jose Maria" (Fig. 7). An oval porcelain photograph of Hoag in traditional garb further emphasizes his American Indian identity. The small, wedge-shaped monument of Perry Arthur Keah-Tigh "Woman Heart" exhibits an inscription identifying him as an "Educational Indian song dance lecturer / A true credit to his father's people." Other than the family name, there is no symbol of Indian identity on the front of Lois and Stacy Pahdopony's monument; cut and painted portraits on the back of the gravestone, however, show Lois Tooahimpah Pahdopony's hair parted and braided in a traditional fashion. On one side of the Newkumet family monument is an engraved feather (Fig. 8). On the other side of the monument, and also on the individual markers for Vynola Beaver Newkumet and Phil J. Newkumet, is a

Fig. 6. Monument of Lilly Catharine Botone Kodaseet. Her American Indian identity is revealed in three ways: her traditional name, Ahkee'n Tih'n, or White Flower; a tipi motif; and an inscription that identifies her as a "Kiowa Prayer Woman".

fire and rising smoke motif (Fig. 9). This emblem may represent the Sacred Fire or the New Fire ceremonies known throughout the Native American southeast.[38] Indian symbols in the form of a feather headdress, arrow, quirt, and trade bugle embellish the double marker of Clarence (*Set'-Tain-Te*) and Maggie Sankadota. The front side of the double monument for Michelle A. Yackeyonny (almost 29 years old) and Dominic A. Reyna (8 years old) is decorated with Christian symbols including the praying hands motif and books (presumably the Bible or the Book of Life). On the reverse side, however, are two traditional feather dance or prayer fans. Dominic's epitaph reads "My canoe is small, the ocean wide / May the Great Spirit be my Guide" (Fig. 10). For Michelle – on her portion of the monument – there are the words "It's so hard to say 'goodbye' to yesterday." The cultural metaphors are additionally mixed, however, as

Fig. 7. Enoch Hoag's gravestone, which specifies him as "The Last Chief of the Caddo Tribe / Grandson of Chief Jose Maria". His American Indian identity is further expressed by the traditional clothing and hair style in his photograph on the monument.

Dominic is depicted playing soccer and his ephemeral grave offerings include toy cars, dinosaurs, and various commando and soldier dolls. The front of Leonard and Eve Silverhorn's monument exhibits no Indian symbols; but on the reverse side one observes the chiseled image of a wooden flute, perhaps the courting flute employed by most Plains Indian tribes (Fig. 11). The double monument for Bessie Hunter Snake and Willie Snake has separate symbols for these two individuals. Bessie is commemorated by the image of a turtle; Willie by two dominoes. The meanings of these symbols are not immediately clear. The turtle could represent a clan or family totem, the "turtle island" of myths, or even a zoomorphic marker for the Indian dice game. While dominoes did not originate in American Indian tradition, Native Americans had a large array of games of chance and gambling.[39] Bingo halls and casinos are modern institutions, but gambling had independent roots among the first inhabitants of North America.

More obvious, and in many ways more unique among the American Indian symbols observed at the Memory Lane Cemetery, are motifs which represent the Native American Church. This religious organization syn-

Fig. 8 Newkumet family monument (back side) showing feather motif, a sacred symbol in many American Indian religions.

cretizes rituals of the traditional Peyote Cult and Christianity.[40] The Native American Church was incorporated in Oklahoma in 1918 and there are still many practitioners there today. Adherents of this religion ritually ingest buttons of the spineless peyote cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*) as a sacrament and a curative medicine. In this context peyote is nonhabit forming but produces visual, temporal, and other sensory sensations which are an ingredient of the ceremonies of the church.[41] The monument of Mable Mahseet Weryavah identifies her as a member of the Native American Church (Fig. 12). Here we see the symbol of the tipi (in

Fig. 9. Newkumet family monument (front side) showing a fire and rising smoke motif. This emblem, repeated on the individual markers for Vynola Beaver Newkumet and Phil J. Newkumet, may symbolize the Sacred Fire or New Fire ceremonies known in many American Indian religions in the southeastern United States.

which the ceremonies are traditionally held), a peyote rattle made from a small gourd, and an image of the aquatic spirit bird or water bird, "usually depicted with neck and wings extended as if in flight".[42] Worshipers in the Native American Church entrust their prayers to the aquatic spirit bird to be conveyed to the all-powerful guardian forces. Peyote rattles are typically decorated with bright beads and horsehair. One small gourd rattle in the collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society exemplifies the combination of Peyote Cult iconography (tipi, star, cactus plant, sun/peyote button, and crescent moon/altar) with Christian symbols (cross, prayer words) in the Native American Church. Another Native American Church member buried at Memory Lane Cemetery, identified by the tipi and aquatic spirit bird symbol, is Thomas Hugh Eckiwaudah. The double monument of N. Hazel Palmer and Earl Palmer, Sr. has no American Indian symbols on its front side; but the reverse side exhibits the symbol of a peyote tipi. Paul Kenyon Littlechief's monument prominently displays the aquatic spirit bird icon of the Native American Church

Fig. 10. Detail of double monument for Dominic A. Reyna and Michelle A. Yackeyonny. In particular, note the engraved image of a traditional feather dance or prayer fan.

(Fig. 13). The accompanying inscription, "He had the heart of an eagle," refers to another bird that has much broader meanings in traditional American Indian religions. Eagle tail feather dance or prayer fans and individual feathers, for example, have a number of symbolic connotations to Native Americans. Since eagles soar high in the skies, they are witnesses to everything around them. In the words of Jordan Paper, "Eagle has varying symbolic functions that differ from culture to culture, but in all cases is a major spirit. Eagle may represent Sun or West Wind. Eagle also represents the sending of our messages to the spirits."[43] Finally, in regard to symbols of the Native American Church, we may observe the monument of Tom Little Chief. A close inspection of the oval porcelain photograph affixed to his gravemarker reveals his association with the peyote religion (Fig. 14). He is wearing a tie tack in the form of a "sunburst," which, it is said, "symbolizes the peyote button dispersing its benevolent rays to all humanity".[44] Little Chief's portrait also shows him garbed in a beaded bandolier with a sunburst medallion and attached aquatic spirit bird pendant.

Fig. 11. Monument of Leonard and Eve Silverhorn exhibiting the symbol of a wooden flute. Among most Plains Indian tribes, young men used flute music to court their girlfriends.

Mortuary Monuments of the Cannon Family

Two dark pink granite monuments represent the Cannon family in Memory Lane Cemetery. A rectangular horizontal block marks the grave of Mimi Cannon, who was born in 1913 and died in 1989, and the future resting place for Walter Cannon, who was born in 1911 and is still living (Fig. 15). Portraits of T.C. Cannon's parents have been cut into and painted upon the front surface of the stone. Their marriage date in 1942 appears below their images. An inscription on the back of the monument records the fact that Walter and "Mamie" Cannon are the parents of Vernon, Tommy "Tee Cee," and Joyce (Fig. 16). The elder Cannons' tribal affiliations, respectively Kiowa and Caddo, are cut into the stone (Fig. 17). In addition there are two round Plains shield-like symbols. One (adjacent to the word "Kiowa") depicts an Indian man, presumably a warrior, riding a horse and carrying a shield and possibly a bow. The other (adjacent to the word "Caddo") shows a leaf and two small circles. The iconographic asso-

Fig. 12. Gravestone of Mable Mahseet Weryavah displaying symbols of the Native American Church: a tipi, an aquatic spirit bird, and small gourd rattle used in peyote rituals.

ciations of these motifs are not clear. They could represent family crests, clan, or tribal symbols, but, if so, they appear to be idiosyncratic.

Finally, we reach the monument of T.C. Cannon, which has a smoothly-cut, rectilinear-shaped form of a cross along one edge while the opposing border is irregularly curvilinear and roughly hewn (Fig. 2). This gravestone form may well be the shape of a "stock" item available at the monument dealer engaged by the Cannon family; the company name "Bill Willis, Granite, Ok." is engraved at the lower right hand side of the front of the monument. On the other hand, one could speculate that these opposing borders are a formal metaphor for the contrasting and complex dimensions of T.C. Cannon. From one viewpoint – that of his paintings, poetry, music, reading interests, and general intellect – Cannon comes off as very polished and sophisticated. From the opposite perspective – Cannon's simple tastes, modest lifestyle, and to-some-extent shy personality – he appears to be more simple and uneven. In words written in

Fig. 13. The aquatic spirit bird emblem of the Native American Church depicted on the monument of Paul Kenyon Littlechief. His epitaph refers to the eagle, a bird with widespread significance in American Indian religions.

Fig. 14. Detail of the gravestone of Tom Little Chief. In addition to a feather and traditional braided hair style, his photograph shows symbols of the Native American Church: a peyote button or sunburst tie tack, and a bandolier with a sunburst medallion and attached aquatic spirit bird pendant.

1973, Cannon portrayed himself as the latter: "I am not sophisticated. I am not a man of letters ... I am nothing but a young man ... I have learned to accept myself as nothing more and nothing less".[45] The prominent symbol of the cross on T.C. Cannon's monument is also somewhat enigmatic. Cannon's former wife, Barbara Warner Cannon Ross, has stated that "On all the applications at school which listed what religion you were, he always put 'universalist.' ... I think he had strong religious feelings, but they weren't structured in the church or anything like that".[46] A statement by Sherman Chaddlesone, Cannon's close Kiowa friend, is even more emphatic: "T.C. wasn't a member of the Native American Church, and he didn't go to Christian churches either. He despised organized religion".[47] His most recent biographer, Joan Frederick, commented that "T.C. did not belong to an organized church, but was a deeply religious person. His upbringing combined a belief in the mystical Indian religion of his ancestors with basic Christian tenets".[48] The observations of Elizabeth Dear, whom Frederick identifies as "T.C.'s best female friend in Santa Fe during

Fig. 15. Front side of monument of Walter and Mimi (Mamie) Cannon, parents of T.C. Cannon.

the last two years of his life," suggest that Cannon had even broader and more eclectic leanings: "He considered himself a religious person and was deeply interested and involved in his traditional Indian beliefs, along with several other religions, including Judaism. This fascination led him to read as much as he could about it ..."[49] These statements are interesting in terms of the fact that T.C. Cannon normally wore a silver Star of David on a leather thong. That Star of David was recovered along with Cannon's body from the wreckage of his truck on May 7, 1978.[50]

Cut into and painted on the front surface of this gravestone is a handsome and rather detailed portrait of T.C. Cannon – a proper memorial to a man who produced many self-portraits during his career. He is represented informally by the name "Tee Cee" and formally as "Tommy Wayne Cannon." An inscription records the fact that he is the "Son of Walter and Mamie Cannon, Brother of Vernon and Joyce." This kinship reference, when taken together with the inscription on his parents' monument, identifies T.C. Cannon as an American Indian of Kiowa and Caddo tribal affil-

Fig. 16. Back side of the elder Cannon's monument listing the names of their children (Vernon, Joyce, and Tommy "Tee Cee").

iation. His dates of birth and death are noted: Sept. 27, 1946 and May 8, 1978. In between those two dates is carved the logo of the 101st Airborne Division in which Cannon served in Viet Nam (Fig. 18). The logo incorporates the image of an eagle upon a shield. Recently I was informed that members of this elite American combat unit are known as the "Screaming Eagles."[51] Not only is the eagle a totemic avian symbol of the United States but, as alluded to previously, "Eagle is the winged spirit of the day sky, of the Sun" in most American Indian religions.[52] Among Cannon's paintings is one entitled "On Drinking Beer in Viet Nam in 1967."[53] This painting captures Cannon enjoying a brief interlude from war with his close friend, Kirby Feathers, a Ponca Indian from Oklahoma.[54] In the painting both men are wearing military uniforms, and the artist went to some little effort to clearly include the 101st Airborne's logo shoulder patch. Cannon shows his hair as below shoulder length while his buddy

Fig. 17. Detail of the back side of the elder Cannon's monument showing two round Plains shield-like symbols and the American Indian tribal affiliations of Walter Cannon (Kiowa) and Mamie Cannon (Caddo).

is depicted as sporting traditional braids – neither of which, I suspect, would have been expedient or tolerated in the U.S. military. Both men are wearing feathers in their hair. Quite evidently these are two American soldiers; more obviously they are two American Indian warriors. For these reasons my hunch is that the shield and eagle on T.C. Cannon's gravestone may have at least two sets of meanings, as they do in his painting from Viet Nam. Cannon was an American military hero with two Bronze Stars and a member of an elite combat unit with a proud and distinguished history; he was also *Pai-doung-u-day,* a member of the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society.

The back of T.C. Cannon's monument also presents some food for thought (Fig. 19). The overall design shows a palette with paint, a container of brushes, and an artist's easel holding a rectangular form, suggesting a stretched canvas, upon which is written a poem (for T.C.

Fig. 18. Detail of the front side of T.C. Cannon's gravestone showing the logo of the 101st Airborne Division, the military unit in which Cannon served in Viet Nam. The eagle and shield symbols probably have additional meanings in terms of American Indian religious iconography.

Cannon was a writer of poetry and music too). The easel and other images convey the idea that Cannon was a contemporary painter. The poem is entitled "Remember Me Blues" and is written in Cannon's individualistic manner:

When the bright lights of the morning
Have faded from the land
And the ghosts of countless friendships
Have all shifted with the sand
And the chimes of farewell's melody
Blows outward to the sea
I'll be standing here r'memberin
Hopin you r'member me.

The poem is signed "T. Cee, Artist - Composer - Poet." The verse is certainly poignant, but I must confess that I can find no absolutely certain

Fig. 19. Back side of T.C. Cannon's gravestone. The epitaph and engraved images refer to Cannon's endeavors as a contemporary artist, composer, and poet.

threads of American Indian identity in its lines. The first time I viewed the monument I was so busy trying to comprehend its overall design and so engrossed in reading the poem that I almost overlooked the small but important icon identifying T.C. Cannon's Native American links which is situated in the lower left corner of the framed poem on the easel (Figs. 19 and 20). It consists of the representations of three ceramic vessels decorated in the bichrome and polychrome styles in which pots have been painted in the American southwest by Anasazi-Pueblo Tradition artists for nearly two thousand years. It is this long tradition of conceptualizing forms and painting designs which must have stirred in T.C. Cannon as a child and carried him into his stellar career as a leading definer and exponent of contemporary American Indian art.

Fig. 20. Detail of the back side of T.C. Cannon's gravestone showing three small ceramic vessels painted in the style of Anasazi-Pueblo artists in the American Southwest for nearly two thousand years. These small images are important symbols of Cannon's prowess as a painter and his connections to the long-standing traditions of painting among American Indians.

Conclusions

This study has shown that there are some demonstrable relationships between material culture and ethnicity. In this case we have seen many gravemarkers that express both individual and group ethnic identities of American Indians on the contemporary scene and back through time. The data presented in this essay illustrate several points. First, over the course of North American prehistory and history, American Indians have employed a number of different and distinctive burial practices. Second, some of these kinds of variations exist today among Native Americans despite Euro-American attempts at forced assimilation and religious missionization. Third, a number of specific mortuary symbols are expressive of American Indian identities in the Memory Lane Cemetery in Anadarko, Oklahoma. These ethnic indicators include particularistic names, hyphenated format of transliterating names into English, epigraphic indications of tribal affiliation, references to political and religious roles, photographs portraying traditional hair and clothing styles, and design motifs such as a feathered headdress, individual feathers, dance or prayer fans, fire and smoke, a flute, an arrow, and zoomorphic forms. The cemetery exhibits a notable degree of individuality and virtuosity in the modern gravestones of both American Indians and non-Indians. Particularly distinctive is the iconography of the Native American Church as expressed on mortuary monuments. Key symbols here include the ceremonial tipi, Peyote rattle, aquatic spirit bird, sunburst or Peyote button symbol, and portrayals of "Peyote jewelry" in photographs attached to the gravestones. Fourth, the gravestones of artist T.C. Cannon and his parents specifically exhibit symbols of American Indian identification. It is significant, I think, that all three are represented by gravestone portraits. The tribal affiliations of Walter and Mamie Cannon are indicated and there are shield-like motifs which may be further material expressions of their particularistic identity. T.C. Cannon's monument includes a military emblem with a shield and an eagle – insignias with probable bicultural meanings. From documented records we know that Cannon was laid to rest with both U.S. military and traditional Kiowa honors. Furthermore Cannon's link to the heritage of American Indian art, particularly painting, is represented by the symbol of three painted Puebloan pots on his gravestone. In an interview in 1975, T.C. Cannon reflected on this linkage: "From the poisons and passions of technology arises a great force with which we must deal as present-day painters. We are not prophets – we are

merely potters, painters, and sculptors dealing with and living in the later twentieth century".[55] These words are characteristically modest for a man of T.C. Cannon's stature. By the same token, the diminutive images of painted pots on Cannon's gravestone are significant but understated symbols for the man upon whom was bestowed the honored Kiowa name that means "One Who Stands in the Sun."

NOTES

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1. This memorial bust was sculpted by Kiowa artist Sherman Chaddlesone, a close friend of T.C. Cannon from their mutual days at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

2. David M. Gradwohl, "World View and Ethnicity: A Perspective From Latvian-American Gravestones in Lincoln, Nebraska," paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 6-9, 1994; David Mayer Gradwohl, "Intra-Group Diversity in Midwest American Jewish Cemeteries: An Ethnoarchaeological Perspective," in *Archaeology of Eastern North America: Papers in Honor of Stephen Williams*, ed. James B. Stoltman (Archaeological Report No. 25, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS, 1993), 363-382; David M. Gradwohl, "The Jewish Cemeteries of Louisville, Kentucky: Mirrors of Historical Processes and Theological Diversity Through 150 Years," Markers X (1993): 116-149; David Mayer Gradwohl and Hanna Rosenberg Gradwohl, "That is the Pillar of Rachel's Grave Unto This Day: An Ethnoarchaeological Comparison of Two Jewish Cemeteries in Lincoln, Nebraska," in *Persistence and Flexibility: An Anthropological Perspective on the American Jewish Experience*, ed. Walter P. Zenner (Albany, NY, 1988), 223-259.

3. Joan Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ, 1995), 12; Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman, OK, 1971), 140.

4. Quoted in Jamake Highwater, *Song From the Earth: American Indian Painting* (Boston, MA, 1980), 177.

5. David Rettig, "T.C. Cannon," *American Indian Art Magazine* 21:1 (1995): 56.

6. Rick Hill, Nancy M. Mitchell, and Lloyd New, *Creativity Is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Indian Art of the Institute of American Indian Arts* (Santa Fe, NM, 1992), 88; see also W. Jackson Rushing, "Authenticity and Subjectivity in Post-War Painting:

Concerning Herrera, Scholder, and Cannon", in *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland (Phoenix, AZ, The Heard Museum, 1991), 12-21.

7. William Wallo and John Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American: A New View of the West* (Oklahoma City, OK, National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Arts Center, 1990), 55; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 31.

8. Wallo and Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American*, 111; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 143; William Benton, "T.C. Cannon: The Masked Dandy," *American Indian Art Magazine* 3:4 (1978): 34-39.

9. Referring to the late 1970s and early 1980s, Gerhard Hoffman, Professor of American Studies at the University of Würzburg in Germany, stated that this painting by Cannon was "among the most widely produced Indian works of the last decade" ("Frames of Reference: Native American Art in the Context of Modern and Post-Modern Art," in *The Arts of the North American Indians: Native Traditions in Evolution*, ed. Edwin L. Wade (New York, NY, 1986), 267).

10. Wallo and Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American*, 99; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 131.

11. Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 136-140; Benjamin R. Kracht, "Kiowa Religion: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Ritual Symbolism 1832-1987" (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX, 1989), 223-225.

12. Kracht, "Kiowa Religion," 236-239.

13. *Ibid.*, 968-975; also Benjamin R. Kracht, personal communication to author, May 3, 1996.

14. Highwater, *Song From the Earth*, 176; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 137.

15. Wallo and Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American*, 94; compare with the actual field photograph in Ralph K. Andrist, *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indians* (New York, NY, 1969), facing page 183; or Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York, NY, 1972), Fig. 48.

16. Wallo and Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American*, 95; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 127.

17. Alison R. Bernstein, "Military Service", in *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Mary B. Davis (New York, NY, 1994); Arlene Hirschfelder and Martha Kriepe de Montaño, *The Native American Almanac: A Portrait of Native America Today* (New York, NY, 1993), 227-236.

18. Bernstein, "Military Service," 341.

19. *Ibid.*; Hirschfelder and de Montaño, *The Native American Almanac*, 233-234.

20. Arthur Silberman, "Painting", in *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Mary B. Davis (New York, NY, 1994), 421.

21. Wallo and Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American*, 115; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 163.

22. Wallo and Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American*, Fig. 213; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, front and end papers.

23. Hoffman, "Frames of Reference," 266.

24. Quoted in Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 28-29.

25. Jesse D. Jennings, *Prehistory of North America* (Mountain View, CA, 1989), 230-247.

26. *Ibid.*, 125-131.

27. Clark R. Mallam, *The Effigy Mound Manifestation: An Interpretive Model* (Report 9, Office of the State Archaeologist, Iowa City, IA, 1976).

28. Harold McCracken, *George Catlin and the Old Frontier* (New York, NY, 1959), 31.

29. William H. Goetzmann, David C. Hunt, Marsha J. Gallagher, and William J. Orr, *Karl Bodmer's America* (Omaha, NE, Joslyn Art Museum, 1984), 184-185; 293-294.

30. Jennings, *Prehistory of North America*, 299.

31. H.S. Cosgrove and C.B. Cosgrove, *The Swarts Ruin, A Typical Mimbres Site in Southwestern New Mexico* (Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 15:l, 1932), 23-25. Spirit houses in the Northwest were discussed by Macel M. Wheeler in her paper, "Cemeteries Along the ALCAN," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, March 25-28, 1996.

32. Keith Cunningham, "The People of Rimrock Bury Alfred K. Lorenzo: Tri-Cultural Funerary Practice," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, OH, 1993); Keith Cunningham, "Navajo, Mormon, Zuni Graves; Navajo, Mormon, Zuni Ways", in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989); Stephen C. Jett, "Modern Navajo Cemeteries," *Material Culture* 28:2 (1996): 1-23.

33. cf. Dorothy Jean Ray, *Artists of the Tundra and Sea* (Seatle, WA, 1980), 31-97.

34. Field observations were recorded and photographs taken on November 1, 1994 and November 3, 1995. Hanna R. Gradwohl and Nancy M. Osborn assisted in this endeavor.

35. cf. N. Scott Momaday, *The Names: A Memoir* (New York, NY, 1976).

36. Rosemary Ellison, *Contemporary Southern Indian Plains Painting* (Anadarko, OK, Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative, 1972), 28; 51; 74.

37. Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 147-151; 157.

38. Thomas M.N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg, *Tribes That Slumber: Indians of the Tennessee Region* (Knoxville, TN, 1960), 176-180.

39. Steward Culin, *Games of North American Indians* (New York, NY, 1975), originally published as the Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1907.

40. Weston LeBarre. *The Peyote Cult* (New York, NY, 1969); J.S. Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion: A Study of Indian-White Relations* (New York, NY, 1975); Edward F. Anderson, *Peyote: The Divine Cactus* (Tucson, AZ, 1980); Omer C. Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History* (Norman, OK, 1987).

41. Stewart, *Peyote Religion*, 3.

42. Rosemary Ellison, *Contemporary Southern Plains Indian Metalwork* (Anadarko, OK, Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative, 1976), 14-19; Rosemary Ellison, "The Artistry and Genius of Julius Caesar", *American Indian Art Magazine* 3:4 (1978): 56-61; 75.

43. Jordan Paper, *Offering Smoke: The Sacred Pipe and Native American Religion* (Moscow, ID, 1988), 82.

44. Richard Cronn, *Circles of the World: Traditional Art of the Plains Indians* (Denver, CO, 1982), 136; 150.

45. Quoted in Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, vii.

46. *Ibid.*, 147.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*, 175.

51. I am indebted to Richard E. Meyer, a veteran of the 101st Airborne Division, for this fascinating and enlightening fact.

52. Paper, *Offering Smoke*, 61.

53. Rettig, "*T.C. Cannon*," 57; Frederick, *T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun*, 46.

54. Wallo and Pickard, *T.C. Cannon, Native American*, 20-21.

55. Quoted in Highwater, *Song From the Earth*, 119.

Fig. 1. Towns with markers of early Congregational ministers in northwestern Middlesex County and northern Worcester County, Massachusetts.

GRAVEMARKERS OF THE EARLY CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS IN NORTH CENTRAL MASSACHUSETTS

Tom and Brenda Malloy

Introduction

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was established in 1630 as a Puritan theocracy. Within the first year of settlement six towns were laid out. In the ensuing years the Bay Colony experienced rapid population growth to the point that it would become Britain's most populated colony in North America. Consequently, a new county was established to the west of Boston. When Middlesex County was organized in 1643, it had eight towns, and by 1700 there were twenty-two.[1]

The town structure was viewed as a means by which control could be maintained over a rapidly growing population and, at the same time, ensure Puritan economic and religious domination. A town could only be formed when permission was given by Massachusetts' central government, known as the General Court. When a town was incorporated, the inhabitants cleared land to be used in common, i.e., the town common, and the next step was to build a meeting house. The structure was called a meeting house because both town and church meetings were held within the building inasmuch as towns were also legally considered parishes. As one town historian has stated, "A history of a New England town without an ecclesiastical chapter would surely be like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out."[2]

The established church in Puritan Massachusetts was Congregational and, because the church was supported by the government, as late as 1800 towns could be fined for not hiring a minister. The town provided the minister's salary and other various benefits, such as land and his year's supply of cord wood. The last benefits to be bestowed were his funeral expenses and the erection of his headstone.

In some cases, a minister's marker might be a well-ornamented stone that was of the style found generally, throughout his congregation's burying ground. However, because of his high status in a church-state community, the minister's grave would normally be designated by the most impressive marker in the graveyard. In most instances the marker would be a portrait stone or a table stone. Frequently, if the grave was marked by a table stone, which was considered symbolic of a tomb, it was the only

such marker in a cemetery. Portrait stones were carved not necessarily to reveal the individual's likeness, but to symbolize his position by the inclusion of clerical tabs. Also, if for some reason a minister's grave was not marked until some years after his death, it appears that an obelisk marker was normally chosen.

In addition to being one of the most distinctive gravemarkers in a cemetery, a minister's marker normally contained a generous amount of documentation within the epitaph. Consequently, by using this information in conjunction with other historical sources, the role of the Congregational minister within a church-state community can be demonstrated. For the purposes of this study, this will be done through the analysis of ministers' markers in twenty-one towns of north central Massachusetts, eight of which are in the northwestern section of Middlesex County, and the remainder in northern Worcester County (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 2. Reverend Samuel Whiting, 1719, Billerica. The epitaph on the Whiting stone, carved by Joseph Lamson, reveals that the Congregational clergy were provided with the genteel title of mister as well as that of reverend.

Stones of the Ministers

Examples of three different types of ministers' stones can be found at the South Cemetery in Billerica, which was incorporated as a town in 1655. At the front of the cemetery is a stone for Samuel Whiting, the town's first pastor. Carved by Joseph Lamson, the headstone is ornamented with a winged skull, gourds and finial faces (Fig. 2). The inscription reads:

HERE LIES YE BODY
OF YE REVEREND MR.
SAMUEL WHITING,
PASTOR OF YE CHURCH
OF CHRIST IN
BILLERICA, AGED 80
YEARS, DECEASED
FEBRUARY YE 28 1719

Whiting, whose father was the pastor in Lynn, Massachusetts, was a 1653 graduate from the Puritan theological institution known as Harvard College. He arrived in Billerica three years after its incorporation. However, it would be two years after his ordination before the town could afford to build a meeting house. This meeting house, built for Whiting, was a thatched-roof structure with rough boards for siding, a primitive structure compared to the white-steepled churches that were eventually constructed on New England commons. Samuel Whiting preached the sermon in Billerica for fifty-six years before his retirement in.1714, and the stone that marks his grave indicates that he died five years after his retirement.

In near proximity to the Whiting stone is the headstone of Billerica's second minister, Samuel Ruggles (Fig. 3). Ruggles graduated from Harvard in 1702, and was teaching in Hadley, Massachusetts when, in 1708, he was selected to assist the aging Whiting. Succeeding Whiting as pastor, Ruggles served until his death in 1749, at which time the town voted 150 pounds for his funeral expenses.[3] His headstone is a large portrait stone carved by William Park which was not erected until some years after the minister's death.[4] Features at the top of the stone include a portrait with clerical tabs, an hourglass, the ubiquitous "Memento Mori," and the phrase "From deaths Arrest no age is free." The epitaph (on the lower portion of the stone) is inscribed in Latin. Translated, it reads in part:

> Under this rock of a tomb are found the ashes of
> Reverend Mister Samuel Ruggles recently pastor
> of the Billerica church who by the course which
> God had given completed at AD 1749. He took to
> death on the 3rd day of March when he had lived
> about 68 yrs.[5]

Upon the death of Samuel Ruggles, John Chanler became the third pastor in Billerica. He was a recent Harvard graduate who had grown up in the nearby town of Andover. However, he would only serve as pastor for eleven years before being dismissed for "indulgence in spiritual consolations which were not from above."[6] It was known that he kept these "spiritual consolations" stored in his cellar. Two years after his dismissal he died at the early age of 38. The brevity of Chanler's tenure is referred to within the epitaph of his portrait stone, which reads:

Fig. 3. Reverend Samuel Ruggles, 1749, Billerica.
The clerical tabs on the Ruggles portrait are typical of the neckwear worn by the Congregational clergy, and are considered symbolic of the tablets that contained The Ten Commandments.

Here lye the Remains of the
Revd. Mr. John Chanler
Some time Pastor of the
Church in Billerica
who departed this life
November the 10th AD 1762

The Chanler stone (Fig. 4), which is located to the rear of the South Cemetery, was carved by the same artisan who cut his predecessor's stone.[7] Although, it is only about one-third the size of the Ruggles stone, both markers display a very similar style of portrait.

Henry Cumings was Chanler's successor, becoming the fourth pastor in Billerica. At the age of twenty he graduated from Harvard, which later bestowed on Cumings an honorary doctorate. He has been described as a man who "was six feet and upwards in height, finely proportioned, with silvery flowing locks and a pleasant smile."[8] Cumings' pastorate lasted for sixty-one years until his death in 1823 at the age of eighty-four. He

Fig. 4. Reverend John Chanler, 1762, Billerica. Like the Ruggles portrait, the figure on the Chanler stone has details of clerical tabs plus buttons and pleats on the coat.

would be the last minister to have his funeral expenses paid for by the town, probably because within a decade after his death church and state would be separated in Massachusetts. Cumings is buried in a family plot where a table stone, the only marker of its type in the South Cemetery, covers his grave (Fig. 5). The epitaph, which is on the surface of the stone, reads:

Beneath this stone
rest the remains of the
Rev. Henry Cumings D.D.
late Pastor of the Church and Christian
Society in Billerica
Born Sept. 16th 1739
ordained Jan. 26 1763
died Sept. 6th 1823

Incorporated the same year as Billerica, the town of Chelmsford borders it to the west. Behind the First Parish Church is the Forefather's

Fig. 5. Reverend Henry Cumings, 1823, Billerica. The Cumings table stone consists of a slate top supported by granite legs. Next to the table stone are the headstones of Cumings' daughter and three wives.

Fig. 6. Reverend John Fiske, 1676, Chelmsford.
Truncated obelisks such as the Fiske cenotaph became popular markers during the late nineteenth century.

Burying Ground, and here can be found the markers of the town's first four ministers. Because the exact site of the first minister's grave is not known, a memorial cenotaph in the form of a truncated obelisk was erected by his descendants in 1899 (Fig. 6). The inscription reads:

> This cenotaph is erected by the Fiske Family of Chelmsford to the memory of the Rev. John Fiske First Pastor of Chelmsford who was born at South Finham Suffolk County England about the year 1601. In 1637 he came to New England In 1644 he gathered a church at Wenham Mass. and continued as its pastor until 1656 when he removed with the greater part of his church to Chelmsford where he ministered both as pastor and physician. Greatly respected and beloved until his death January 14, 1676 at the age of 76 years.

The Reverend John Fiske, as his cenotaph notes, was born in England, where he was educated for the Anglican clergy. Eventually adopting Puritan theology, he fled England in 1637 in order to avoid persecution.

Fig. 7. Reverend Thomas Clark, 1704, Chelmsford. In many cases the Latin epitaph on a ministers's stone was written by a surviving colleague.

Fiske lived in Cambridge and then in Salem before moving to Wenham, Massachusetts, where he became the first minister of that town's church. After thirteen years he accepted the pastorate at the new church in Chelmsford, where he settled with a majority of the members from the Wenham parish. John Fiske died in the twentieth year of his ministry after an infirmity that required him to be carried in a chair to church services.[9]

Upon Fiske's death, Thomas Clark, who was born and reared in Cambridge, became Chelmsford's second minister. Town records pertinent to Clark reveal how members of the early Puritan ministry might be compensated. Initially, he received provisions and meat as part of his salary. In 1680 he asked the town for, and received, ten acres of land. Three years later he claimed that thirty cords of wood was insufficient to heat his house, and was granted ten additional cords. Then, in 1688, he was given a yearly cash salary increase from eighty to one hundred pounds and an allotment of corn.[10]

In his twenty-seventh year in Chelmsford, Thomas Clark died of a

Fig. 8. Reverend Samson Stoddard, 1740, Chelmsford. The sandstone cover on Stoddard's tomb has an inscription for his wife, Elizabeth, but not for him.

fever after attending a funeral. Like the Whiting marker in Billerica, Clark's grave is graced by a winged skull stone carved by Joseph Lamson (Fig. 7). However, the top of the Clark stone also features an hourglass flanked on each side by imps carrying a burial pall. On the left, the imps are flanked by the phrase "Memento Mori" and on the right by the phrase "Fugit Hora." Also, in comparison to the Whiting stone, the finial faces on the Clark marker are accented with clerical tabs, thus symbolizing that the stone was erected for a member of the ministry. Further, Clark's epitaph is entirely in Latin. Translated, it reads:

> Here to the dust are committed the remains of the Reverend Mister Thomas Clark, the distinguished pastor of the flock of Christ in Chelmsford, who, in the faith and hope of a blessed resurrection, breathed forth his soul into the bosom of Jesus the 7th of December, in the year of the Lord 1704, and the 52nd of his age.[11]

Just a few feet from the Clark stone is the only box tomb in the Forefather's Burying Ground. It marks the interment site of Chelmsford's third minister, although there is no inscription to designate it as such (Fig. 8).

Fig. 9. Reverend Ebenezer Bridge, 1792, Chelmsford. Whereas the portrait stones in Billerica were carved by William Park, Bridge's portrait stone was carved by William's son, Thomas Park.

Samson Stoddard was born in Boston in 1681 and graduated from Harvard in 1701. Five years after his graduation he was invited by a vote of a town meeting to serve as the pastor for the First Parish Church. Stoddard remained as the pastor for the next thirty-four years, during which time he won the reputation of being a plain and practical preacher. In the last three years of his ministry, Stoddard became so ill that he was unable to perform his duties, yet the town continued to pay his salary. Then, after he was found dead in his well on August 30, 1740, the town paid 132 pounds for his funeral expenses.[12]

Stoddard was succeeded by Ebenezer Bridge, whose portrait stone (Fig. 9) stands as a prominent marker in the town's burying ground. In addition to the portrait, with clerical tabs, the top of the stone is decorated with draped urns. The inscription reads:

By the Church of Christ
In CHELMSFORD
In Testimony of their esteem and veneration
This sepulchral stone erected, to stand
as a sacred memorial of their late worthy Pastor
The Rev. EBENEZER BRIDGE,
who after having officiated among them
in the service of the Sanctuary
for more than a year above half a century
the strength of nature being exhausted
sunk under the burden of age
and joined the congregation of the dead,
Oct. 1, 1792, AE 78.

During his fifty-two year tenure, Bridge was considered to be an excellent speaker whose sermons kept the full attention of the congregation. As a person, he is described as being "large and commanding" while being a "communicant friend and a pleasant companion."[13]

The first minister in the neighboring town of Westford also, like the Reverend Bridge, had a fifty-two year ministry, and his table stone is the only marker of its type in the town's East Burying Ground (Fig. 10). Originally, Westford was a western precinct of Chelmsford. In 1729, residents of the precinct received a charter of incorporation from the General Court. Of course, in colonial Massachusetts the partitioning of a town also meant forming a new church. Consequently, in preparation for the parti-

tion, the Reverend Willard Hall was ordained two years prior to incorporation. As was customary in those days, ministers from surrounding towns were invited to ordination ceremonies, and attending the Willard ordination was Samson Stoddard, Chelmsford's third minister.[14]

Under Hall's leadership the Westford congregation expanded and prospered. During his tenure 274 people were admitted to the church, 280 marriages were solemnized, and 1,535 children were baptized. However, as the Revolutionary War approached, many of the town's people became antagonized by Hall's criticism of the Colonial cause. As a result, in 1776 Hall was dismissed by a vote of both the congregation and a town meeting.[15] Reverend Hall died three years after his dismissal, and the inscription on the surface of his table stone reads:

ERECTED IN MEMORY OF
THE REVEREND WILLARD HALL,
FIRST PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST
In Westford.

Fig. 10. Reverend Willard Hall, 1779, Westford. Whereas the Cumings table stone in Billerica has granite legs, the Hall table stone is supported by three granite pedestals.

DIED MARCH 19, 1779,
AGED 77 YEARS,
and in the 52nd year of his
Ministry.

While the pale carcass tho'tless lies
Among the silent graves,
Some hearty friend shall drop his tear
On our dry bones and say,
These once were strong as mine appear,
And mine must be as they.
Thus shall our mouldering members teach
What now our senses learn;
For dust and ashes loudest preach
Man's infinite concern.

On the southwest border of Westford is the town of Littleton, which was incorporated in 1714. Here, in the town's First Cemetery, can be

Fig. 11. Reverend Daniel Rogers, 1782, Littleton. Rogers' table stone stands in back of an obelisk that marks his family plot. At the foot of the table stone are headstones for his first two wives, Mary and Elizabeth, and for other members of his family.

found a small monument for the first minister, the Reverend Benjamin Shattuck. Shattuck was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, where he taught grammar school while attending Harvard. He was ordained in Littleton on Christmas Day, 1717, but the town's new meeting house was not completed until five years later. The assignment of pews, called "laying out the pew ground," in the Littleton meeting house was typical for Massachusetts towns. Those who paid the highest taxes sat at the front nearest the pulpit, with women on one side of the house and men on the other, and Black parishoners were assigned seats to the rear.[16]

Thirteen years into his ministry, it appears that Shattuck fell into disfavor with his congregation, because in 1730 the town forced his retirement by not continuing his salary. Shattuck continued to live in Littleton, but as a person of reduced status. This is evident by the 1742 laying out of the pew ground for a new meeting house. At that time Shattuck was assigned a pew to the rear and on the women's side. Also, the present monument that marks his interment site was not erected until many years after his death.[17] The inscription reads:

Here sleeps
until the resurrection morn
THE REV.
BENJAMIN SHATTUCK
son of
William Shattuck
of Watertown
the first ordained minister
of Littleton
Born July 30, AD 1687
Died AD 1763
AEt. 76

According to a report given in the 1894-95 "Proceeding of the Littleton Historical Society," the birth date and parentage on the Shattuck monument, written about seventy-five years after his death, were incorrect.[18] However, the inscription quoted above does provide the correct information, indicating that the present marker is a second monument erected some time after the errors became evident.

Daniel Rogers replaced Shattuck as Littleton's minister. His table stone (Fig. 11) stands as the only marker of its type in the town's First Cemetery.

Rogers was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts and graduated from Harvard, where his grandfather had been president. In 1731, six years after receiving his degree, he was offered the pastorate in Littleton. However, he refused the first offer at a salary of 100 pounds, later accepting the position when the salary was raised to 140 pounds. The people of Littleton must have been very pleased with Rogers' acceptance because at the ordination ceremony the town entertained generously, paying forty-one pounds for the expenses.[19]

After more than forty years in the pulpit, Rogers came into conflict with his congregation. Like the Reverend Willard Hall in neighboring Westford, Daniel Rogers did not support the Colonial cause against England as did his parishoners. This conflict came to a head on Thanksgiving Day, 1775, when, during a service, the pastor concluded a proclamation with "God save the king." The congregation rose in protest and demanded a retraction, causing Rogers to flee to his house, where they called upon him to declare his position. When the pastor refused, they fired a volley into the door of his house. After this incident, as tempers cooled, Rogers was forgiven for his transgressions, and he remained in Littleton until his death, which occurred a year before the end of the Revolutionary War.[20] Like his colleagues Willard Hall of Westford and Ebenezer Bridge of Chelmsford, Rogers' ministry lasted for fifty-two years.

As with the Cumings table stone in Billerica, the Daniel Rogers table stone consists of a slate top supported by four granite legs. However, unlike any other table stones in our sampling, the surface of the Rogers marker includes epitaphs in addition to his. The first epitaph on the stone is for Rogers' third wife, who predeceased him by three years. The last epitaphs are for Rogers' son and his previous two wives. In the middle of these inscriptions can be found Rogers' own epitaph which reads:

> Here lies buried the body of
> the Revd. Mr. Daniel Rogers
> who died Nov. ye 22nd 1782, In the
> 77 year of his age and in the
> 52nd year of his ministry.
>
> A learned and faithful Minister is God's delight.

North of Westford and Chelmsford is the town of Tyngsborough, where in the Thompson Cemetery can be found a headstone for the first

minister. Tyngsborough, originally a district of neighboring Dunstable, was not incorporated as a town until nearly a quarter of a century after the conclusion of the American Revolution. Similar to the separation of Westford from Chelmsford, a new congregation was formed in preparation for the partition. Thus in 1790, a year after the district was established, Nathaniel Lawrence was ordained as the pastor of the First Parish Church.[21]

Nathaniel Lawrence is buried in a family plot next to his wife and two of his children. His term of office extended well beyond the date of separation of church and state in Massachusetts and well into the mid-nineteenth century. Consequently, the tympanum of his slate stone is decorated with a willow and urn, a common motif for that period (Fig. 12). The stone's epitaph provides a good documentation of Lawrence's life as well as the circumstances of his death:

Fig. 12. Reverend Nathaniel Lawrence, 1843, Tyngsborough. The weeping willow on Lawrence's stone is symbolic of sadness and sorrow, while the urn symbolizes the soul and mortality.

In Memory of
Rev Nathaniel Lawrence
Who died on Lords Day
Feb 5 1843
AEt 77 1/2
Mr. Lawrence was a native of
Woburn Mass. He graduated
at Harvard College in 1787,
and on Jan. 6, 1790 was
ordained Pastor of the
Congregational Society in
Tyngsborough, which relation
continued 49 years.
On the morning of Feb. 5,
He attended church as usual,
in apparent good health, but
on returning to his dwelling,
very suddenly expired.
His death was that of the
righteous; and his last end
like his.

B. Day, Lowell

The town of Groton, which borders Tyngsborough to the west, was incorporated in 1655, over a century and a half before Tyngsborough. There is only one table stone in the town's Old Burying Ground and it is for the fifth minister, the Rev. Caleb Trowbridge, who was ordained in 1714 (Fig. 13.) A search of the cemetery as well as an 1878 publication of the cemetery's epitaphs revealed that there are no existing markers for the earlier ministers.[22] The epitaph on Trowbridge's stone provides information on his family background, graduation from divinity school, and period of service, as well as his personal qualities. In full the epitaph states:

UNDERNEATH THIS STONE LIES THE BODY OF THE
REVD CALEB TROWBRIDGE, LATE PASTOR OF THE CHURCH
of Christ in Groton, born of reputable Parents in the Town
of Newton, educated at Harvard College in Cambridge
New-England; of such natural and acquir'd Endowments as

rendered him an Ornament and Blessing in the several Relations which he sustained: he was a good steward over the House of God and discharged the Duties of his Pastoral relation with Prudence and Impartiality; Diligence and Fidelity. He was a tender and loving Husband; an affectionate and kind Parent; an agreeable and faithful friend and a Useful Member of Society. He was much beloved and respected while he lived, and dyed greatly lamented, the 9th day of Septr, AD 1760 in the 69th year of his Age and the 46th of his Ministry and is we trust receiving the reward of his Labours in the Kingdom of his Lord: and in Honour to his Memory his loving People have erected this Monument over his Grave.
Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord for they rest from their Labour and their works do follow them.

The Memory of ye just is Blessed.

Fig. 13. Reverend Caleb Trowbridge, 1760, Groton. In contrast to previously illustrated table stones, Trowbridge's employs brick supports.

Bordering Groton to the north is the town of Pepperell. Here the only table stone in the Walton Cemetery (Fig. 14) is for the town's first minister. It stands next to the matching box tombs of William Prescott, the Colonial commander at Bunker Hill, and his wife. In 1747, when Pepperell was a precinct of Groton, Joseph Emerson was ordained as the pastor. He was the twenty-two year old son of a minister in Malden, Massachusetts, and had recently served as a chaplain on a British expedition against the French at Louisburg.

According to a town history, Emerson's sermons did not deal with the depravity of human nature as did those of many Puritan ministers. Rather, his sermons dealt with people's needs relative to their worth in the eyes of God. In one particular sermon, delivered in 1760, he talked about the "Pepperell Fever", a disease which in four years had killed 103 members of the parish. In another sermon, given on Thanksgiving Day in 1766, he rejoiced at the repeal of the Stamp Act and held up the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as a warning to George III.[23] Thus, unlike his col-

Fig. 14. Reverend Joseph Emerson, 1775, Pepperell. Standing next to the Prescott box tombs, Emerson's table stone provides a good illustration of how table stones were considered symbolic representations of tombs.

leagues in Westford and Littleton, Emerson became an ardent supporter of the American Revolution.

Joseph Emerson died in 1775, the year that Pepperell became a town and the first year of the Colonial resistance against England. As a patriot, it is fitting that Emerson is buried next to the American commander of the battle at Bunker Hill. The epitaph on the surface of his table stone, which was erected by the town, is highly complimentary:

Erected
by the Town of Pepperell
to the memory
of the Revd Joseph Emerson
1st Pastor of the Church here
who deceased Oct. 29th 1775
in the 52nd year of his age
and 29th of his Ministry
Steadfast in Faith
once delivered to the Saints
Fixed and laborious
in the cause of Christ & precious souls
Exemplary
in visiting and sympathizing
with his Flock
Diligent in improving his talents
A kind Husband, a tender Parent
A faithful Reprover a constant Friend
and a true Patriot
Having ceased from his Labours
his works follow him

Bordering Pepperell to the west is the town of Townsend, which was incorporated in 1732. Three years after incorporation the first interment took place in the town's Old Burying Ground. Among the burials to follow were those of the first two ministers. The marker for Townsend's first pastor, Phinehas Hemenway, is a portrait stone. Hemenway was ordained in 1734, and remained as the town's pastor until his death twenty-seven years later, at which time the town paid for his funeral expenses and for the erection of his gravestone.[24] The portrait at the top of the stone (Fig. 15) features clerical tabs and, in contrast to the portraits

of other ministers in this survey, is framed by cherub wings. The stone's inscription reads:

> Erected by the Town to the
> Memory of the Revd, Mr Phinehas
> Hemenway the first Pastor of the
> Church here, who departed this
> Life May 20th 1760 AE 55 27th
> of his ministry
> Sound in Faith, Zealous in
> the Cause of God, meek and patient
> under Trials, Faithful to his Lord,
> and to the Souls of his People.

At the bottom of the stone is inscribed the warning, "From deaths arrows no age or station is free."

A few feet away from the Hemenway gravestone is the marker of his successor, Samuel Dix. Dix served the town until his death in the thirty-

Fig. 15. Reverend Phinehas Hemenway, 1760, Townsend. Hemenway's portrait stone was carved by William Park, the same carver who executed the Billerica portrait stones.

sixth year of his ministry. At the services for Reverend Dix, the funeral sermon was given by the pastor of the church in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, in which he stated that Dix's preaching provided "earnestness and pathos of address."[25] In the summer following the funeral, the town voted to establish a committee "to obtain a suitable stone to be erected at the grave of Rev. Samuel Dix."[26] The committee selected a portrait stone (Fig. 16), but, unlike other ministers' portrait stones, this portrait did not include clerical tabs. The epitaph on the marker states:

> Erected by the Town
> To the memory of the
> Rev Mr. Samuel Dix,
> the 2d Pastor of the Church
> of Christ in Townsend, who
> departed this life Nov. 12th
> 1797: in the 62 year of his
> age and the 36 of his ministry

Fig. 16. Reverend Samuel Dix, 1797, Townsend.
The portrait on the Dix stone is considered a common image carved by John Dwight, whose shop was located in Shirley, Massachusetts.

Sound in faith, lover of souls
Humble, meek and patient under trials,
kind charitable and benevolent to all

At the bottom of the stone is the verse:

Ye living mortals take a solemn view,
Of this my silent dark and long abode;
Remember you were born like me to die;
Therefore prepare to meet the righteous
God.

Lying to the west of Middlesex County is Worcester County. Of the sixty towns located within Worcester County, Harvard is the most northeasterly. The town's original cemetery is located just south of the common, but there are no markers for the town's first two ministers. This is because they were both dismissed. The first minister, a married man, was discharged for suspected transgressions with a wealthy resident's maid, and the second minister proved to be unsatisfactory because of a speech impediment.[27]

Harvard's third and fourth ministers proved to be more acceptable and, even though their periods of service were relatively short, their graves are marked by two of only three table stones in the cemetery (Fig. 17). The table stone for Daniel Johnson is the only one in our sampling that also features a portrait. The portrait is located in a crescent-shaped indentation on the upper surface of the marker. Because Thomas Park lived and worked in Harvard and was known to have carved stones similar to Johnson's, this table stone is more than likely his work.

Considering that his period of service was only from 1769 to 1777, Johnson's epitaph is lengthy and highly complimentary. Also, the inscription documents that his death was caused by dysentery while serving as a chaplain for American forces during the Revolutionary War. The epitaph reads in full:

Sacred to the memory
of the Rev. Daniel Johnson
Late Pastor of ye Church of Christ in Harvard
Early in Life
He entered ye ministerial office,

Fig. 17. Reverend Daniel Johnson (foreground), 1777;
Reverend Ebenezer Grosvenor (background), 1788, Harvard.
These table stones for Harvard's third and fourth pastors, respectively,
represent two of only three table stones in the cemetery.

and during his continuance therein,
Shone with a brilliancy, and Lustre,
Surpassing the most of his order
For the God of Nature had endowed him
with Powers of mind
uncommonly sprightly and active.
A copious invention & ready utterance
made him, in extemporaneous Performances,
greatly to excel.
In his Sermons he was orthodox & elegant;
In his delivery Zealous, popular & engaging;
So that when he ascended the desk,
a peculiar attention
marked the countenances of his auditory,
To his Friends he shewed himself Friendly,
who had frequent Pleasing experience
of his generous hospitality
He was formed for action & Possessed
of a martial Genius
which lead him to accept ye office of a Chaplain
in the American Army
just on his entrance into which
He was seized with a malignant Dysentery,
which put a period to his valuable Life,
(disappointing the expectations
of his family, friends & Flock)
on the 23d of Sept. 1777,
In the 30th year of his age and 8th of his Ministry

All flesh is as Grass & all ye glory of man
as the flower of Grass.

Daniel Johnson was not replaced by a permanent pastor for the next five years, at which time Ebenezer Grosvenor was ordained as the town's fourth pastor. He had previously been the pastor in Scituate, Massachusetts, and, unlike most of his colleagues in central Massachusetts, he was educated at Yale rather than at Harvard College. Even though Grosvenor's pastorate lasted for only six years until his death, the epitaph on his stone, like that of his predecessor, is lengthy and highly complimentary:

To the memory of the
Rev. Ebenezer Grosvenor
late Pastor of the Congregational Church
in Harvard;
descended from respectable parents
in Promfret Connecticut;
educated at Yale College
in New Haven;
of such endowments as rendered him
an ornament & blessing
in the various relations which he sustained;
he was a good steward in the house of God,
and discharged the duties of his pastoral office
with prudence & impartiality, care & fidelity;
he was a man of polite address,
and peculiarly formed for social life,
a tender & loving husband,
an affectionate & kind parent,
an agreeable friend & pleasing companion;
he was much beloved & respected in life,
in death greatly lamented,
and is we trust receiving the reward of his
labours in the kingdom of his Lord;
his bereaved & grateful people have erected
this stone the monument of his virtues,
& their affection,
He was the beloved pastor of the first church
in Scituate 17 years,
and in Harvard 6
He died May 28, 1788.
Aged 49

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord
for they rest from their labours & their works
do follow them

Two towns to the northwest of Harvard is Lunenburg, which was incorporated in 1728, four years before Harvard. At Lunenburg's South Cemetery there is a cluster of three table stones, all of which are for min-

isters (Fig. 18). However, the grouping does not include a marker for the first minister because he was dismissed for "predilection for hunting wild turkeys on the Sabbath and his levity of manner."[28] Consequently, the table stones are for his successors, the first of whom was David Stearns.

Stearns was born in Watertown, Massachusetts and graduated from Harvard in 1738. Five years after his graduation he was ordained in Lunenburg, where he won a reputation for being "a man of good ability, a faithful and devoted minister, a friend of the people, and labored for the public good."[29] Further testament to the Reverend Stearns' twenty-eight years of service can be found within the inscription on his table stone, which reads:

This Monument
erected by the Town of Lunenburgh
Is sacred to the Memory
of the Reverend David Stearns

Fig. 18. Reverend David Stearns (background, left), 1761; Reverend Samuel Payson, (background, right) 1763; Reverend Zabdiel Adams (foreground), 1801, Lunenburg. The town of Lunenburg provided its second through fourth pastors with identical table stones.

their much beloved and respected Pastor
who departed this Life
in the joyful Expectation of a better
on the 9th day of March A D 1761
and in the 52d year of his Age
In his private capacity
He was a kind Husband, a tender Parent
an affectionate Brother and a faithful friend
In his Ministerial Character
his Conversation was pure entertaining
and instructive:
His Doctrines plain and Scriptural:
and his Life truly exemplary:
He was adorned
with Hospitality with Singular Prudence
and a most endearing Benevolence, with
a good Knowledge of men and things, with
a fervent Zeal for the Glory of Christ and the
salvation of souls and was governed by the
United Influence of the Accomplishments
Help Lord for the Godly man ceaseth.

About a year and a half after Stearns' death, Samuel Payson, whose father was a minister in Chelsea, Massachusetts, was ordained as Lunenburg's third pastor. Unfortunately, he died five months later at the early age of twenty-four. Despite Payson's brief tenure, the town erected a matching table stone for him next to that of his predecessor. The stone's inscription not only refers to the brevity of Payson's tenure, but also documents his cause of death as atrophy. Translated from Latin, the full epitaph reads:

Here rest, within this tomb the remains
of the Rev. Samuel Payson A.M. the
beloved and exemplary Pastor of the
Church of Lunenburg. He was a man of
superior abilities and of an amiable
disposition, more distinguished for virtues
than for length of days. He died of an
atrophy in February A.D. 1763, aged 24.[30]

The year following Samuel Payson's death he was succeeded by Zabdiel Adams of Braintree, Massachusetts. Zabdiel Adams was a double cousin to President John Adams, that is, their fathers were brothers and their mothers were sisters. On at least two occasions Reverend Adams was known to have had visits in Lunenburg from his famous cousin. Probably because of his cousin, Zabdiel Adams seems to have developed some political associations. For instance, in 1782 he gave the sermon at the inauguration of Governor John Hancock.[31] Reverend Adams died in the thirty-seventh year of his ministry. His table stone is identical to the other two and stands in line with that of David Stearns'. The inscription reads:

> This monument is erected by the Town
> as a tribute of affectionate respect to the
> memory of their deceased Pastor the Rev.
> ZABDIEL ADAMS
> who died universally esteemed and re-
> spected March 1st 1801, in the 62 year
> of his age and 37th of his ministry.
> An active and capacious mind nurtured
> by a publick education, rendered him an
> acceptable, instructive, and useful minister.
> The asperities of his constitution were
> softened by the refining influence of Religion.
> With a heart, and understanding formed
> for social life, he seldom failed to interest
> and improve all, who enjoyed his communi-
> cations. In his ministerial performances, in
> ready utterance, commanding eloquence
> and elevated sentiments, made him en-
> gaging and profitable. A catholic belief
> of the Gospel, a respect and love of the
> Saviour, and a confidence in the faithfulness
> of God, disarmed death of its terrors
> and inspired a rational and certain hope
> of a glorious resurrection.
>
> He was a burning and shining light
> and we rejoiced for a season in his light.

In 1764, nearly 18,000 acres of the western portion of Lunenburg were separated to form the new town of Fitchburg. In Fitchburg's South Cemetery there stands only one table stone, and it marks the grave of the first pastor, the Reverend John Payson, brother of Lunenburg's third minister (Fig. 19). Payson was ordained in 1768, four years after the town's incorporation. The later years of his ministry were marked by ecclesiastical disputes. These disputes arose among members of the parish over the selection of a new meeting house site, as well as from dissenters such as Methodists and Baptists, who no longer wanted to provide financial support for the state-endowed Congregational church. The conflict caused the minister so much stress that in 1802 he was dismissed for "mental infirmities," and two years after his dismissal he committed suicide.[32] The epitaph on the surface of his table stone, like that of his brother's in Lunenburg, is inscribed in Latin. In translation, it reads:

Under this Tomb
the Remains
of Rev John Payson A.M.

Fig. 19. Reverend John Payson, 1804, Fitchburg. Payson's table stone is flanked by his son John's headstone on the left and by his wife Anna's on the right.

Once the Pastor of the Congregation
of Fitchburg
Who on the day of the 23rd of May
In the Year 1804 A D
died
At the Age of 59
and in the 36th Year of his ministry

A man with an outstanding talent
and very kind spirit
Endowed with knowledge and by divine
order faithful to the study and training
of theology, given to friendly advice and
deeds rather than eager for
greed and corruption.[33]

Fig. 20. Reverend Jonathan Winchester (left), 1767, Ashburnham. In comparison to Winchester's finely carved clerical tabbed portrait, which was executed by William Park, his wife Sarah's stone (right) displays the simple image of a face.

Bordering Fitchburg to the northwest is the town of Ashburnham. Here, at the Meeting House Hill Cemetery, the portrait stones for the town's first minister and his wife stand as prominent markers (Fig. 20). Jonathan Winchester was ordained in 1760, which was five years prior to the town's incorporation from a district known as Dorchester-Canada. At the time of his ordination he was forty-five years old and had previously been a school teacher in Brookline, Massachusetts. Winchester died after serving only seven years of his pastorate. An obituary in a contemporary newspaper, *The Boston Post Boy and Advertiser,* referred to him as "a sensible and worthy man."[34] Winchester was also described as a man of generosity and compassion. For instance, it is claimed that he bought a slave girl for the express purpose of setting her free. However, even after his humanitarian act, the slave girl, Anne Hill, chose to remain with Winchester as his servant.[35]

Probably the greatest testament to Winchester's brief tenure is the epitaph on his stone, which the town provided for in 1772. It reads:

> This Stone
> Erected by the People of
> Ashburnham is in Memory
> of Jonathan Winchester
> A. M. their first & much
> beloved Pastor, who de-
> parted this life greatly
> lamented Nov. 26 1767
> In the 51st year of his age
> and 8 of his Ministry
>
> The Gentleman, the Scholar &
> the Christian in him were
> conspicuous
> As a preacher He was acceptable
> As an Husband tender, as a parent affectionate
> As a neighbor kind, as a friend sincere
> For candor, meekness, Patience & modesty (remarkable)

Several feet away from the Winchester marker is a table stone for Ashburnham's second pastor (Fig. 21). At the age of twenty-four, John Cushing succeeded Jonathan Winchester and remained as Ashburnham's

second pastor for over fifty-five years until his death in 1825. According to a town history, "the most fitting tribute to the memory of Mr. Cushing can be found in his works."[36] These works included the performance of 987 baptisms and 312 marriages. Unfortunately, the granite table stone

Fig. 21. Reverend John Cushing, 1825, Ashburnham. Cushing's table stone stands on top of his family tomb.

marking his grave does not provide a lasting tribute. It is so covered with lichen that very few of the family names are readable. Also, even though John Cushing's name is legible, there is no discernible epitaph.

As with many of early Massachusetts' pastors, the ministry for John Cushing was a family tradition. In the town of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, in southeastern Worcester County, can be found a replacement gravestone for his father, Job Cushing. At the time of John's birth, his father was the pastor of this community. Job Cushing was originally from Hingham, Massachusetts, and had graduated from Harvard exactly fifty years before his son's graduation.[37] The epitaph on his stone reads:

Here lies interred the
remains of the Rev.
Job Cushing A. M. and
first pastor of the first
Church of Christ in Shrewsbury
who after 37 years laboring
in the work of the Ministry
suddenly expired Augt. 6
1760 in the 67 year of his age
Vigilans, prudens, patiens

Incorporated two years after the American Revolution, the town of Gardner was formed from a portion of Ashburnham and parts of other surrounding towns. In the town's Old Burying Ground can be found the vandalized table stone of the first minister. It is broken in half and is now just a remnant of the cemetery's only table stone. It was erected for Jonathan Osgood, who arrived in the town in 1791 and remained as the pastor until his death in 1822. The stone's epitaph is simple:

Rev Jonathan Osgood
The first minister of Gardner
Born at Andover Mass Sept 21 1761
Died May 26 1822
In the 31 year of his ministry

Bordering Gardner to the west is Templeton, which was another one of the towns from which Gardner annexed a portion for its incorporation. Ebenezer Sparhawk was ordained here in 1760, the same year that Jonathan Winchester was ordained in Ashburnham and more than thirty

years before Jonathan Osgood arrived in Gardner. The table stone that marks his grave stands in the middle of a family plot, and is the only marker of its type in the town's Pine Grove Cemetery (Fig. 22). Sparhawk was ordained when Templeton was still a township known as Narragansett No. 6, and he succeeded a pastor who served only four years. Consequently, he was the second pastor of the township but the first pastor of the town, a position he held for forty-five years. The lengthy epitaph on his table stone reads:

This monument is raised to the memory
of the
Rev. learned & pious Ebenezer
Sparhawk A. M.
Pastor of the Congregational
church in Templeton
who expired Nov. 25 A D 1805

Fig. 22. Reverend Ebenezer Sparhawk, 1805, Templeton. Sparhawk's table stone stands in the midst of markers for his immediate and extended family. To the left of his marker is the gravestone of the minister's first wife, Abigail, and to the right is that of his second wife, Naomi.

In the 68 year of his age & 45 of
his ministry
Early in life he devoted him-
self to the service of his
God & Saviour
Endu'd with good powers
of mind, improved by
liberal Education & sanctified
by Grace, he proved a
burning & shining Light.
In the Pulpit he was clear &
pungent rightly divining the
word. In the circle of his
acquaintance, he was ever
a welcome guest: his conversation
being ever pleasant & improving.
From a child he knew the
Holy Scriptures & was mighty
in them. In Faith he was
sound & Evangelical.
In rectitude pure & exemplary
A strict adherence to the order
& discipline of the Churches, was
a distinguishing trait in his
Character.
As a Husband he was affectionate;
as a Father tender.
He ruled his own house well &
his children arise up and call
him blessed with assiduity &
fidelity, he persevered in his
Work until called to receive
his Reward.

Bordering Templeton to the northwest is Royalston, and here in the town's Old Centre Cemetery a single table stone, the only marker of its type in the cemetery, sits in the family plot of the Reverend Joseph Lee (Fig. 23). Lee was born in Concord, graduated from Harvard in 1765, and was

ordained in Royalston on October 19, 1768, three years after the town's incorporation. He served as the first pastor for half a century, his half century sermon being his last. At Lee's funeral on February 22, 1819, the pastor from the neighboring town of Athol delivered the sermon, in which he quoted the words from the last chapter of Genesis: "So Joseph Died."[38]

The epitaph on Joseph Lee's table stone is covered with lichen to the point that the inscription is almost illegible. However, through the efforts of a member of the Village Improvement and Historical Society of Royalston, the inscription has been largely deciphered:

In Memory of
Rev. Joseph Lee
Pastor of the Church in Royalston
was born in Concord
May 12th 1742 O.S. (illegible)
Graduated Harvard College
ordained Oct 19th 1768
Deceased Feb 16th 1819

Fig. 23. Reverend Joseph Lee, 1819, Royalston. Lee's table stone is flanked on the right by the headstones of his three wives, Sarah, Lucy, and Hannah.

in the 77th year of age and 51st
of his ministry
As a man he was
studious, prudent, and sincere
As a Christian
fervent humble and devout
and as a minister
faithful to the soul of men
to his Lord and Master
He lived in uninterrupted harmony
with his people
and was abundantly blessed
in his labours.

The inscription concludes with an elaborately-rhymed epitaph:

Fig. 24. Reverend Aaron Whitney, 1779, Petersham. Whitney's sandstone table stone has five fluted supports, and is flanked by the headstone of his first wife, Alice. The gravestone for his second wife, Ruth, is located in Keene, New Hampshire.

While servile flattery spreads the Hero's fame
and pours her lavish praise on the wise
Jesus, tis on love of thy name
the Christian's faith and hope of heaven relies
Thy precious blood be all thy servant's plea
the merits Lord above shall all speak for thee.[39]

Aaron Whitney was one of the pastors who participated in Joseph Lee's ordination ceremony. He was the first pastor in Petersham, which is situated two towns to the south of Royalston. Like Lee, Sparhawk, Cushing, and many of the previously mentioned pastors, his represents the only table stone in the town's cemetery (Fig. 24). However, unlike the table stones erected for the previous ministers, the Whitney marker is constructed of sandstone, a material more common for gravemarkers in western Massachusetts.

Reverend Whitney was born in Littleton, Massachusetts in 1714, the year of that town's incorporation and three years before Benjamin Shattuck became Littleton's first pastor. Whitney was ordained in 1738 when Petersham was still a township and sixteen years before it received full status as a town. In the thirty-seventh year of his ministry, Whitney fell into disfavor with the town because of his Loyalist politics, and in May of 1775 he was forbidden to preach from the pulpit. However, he continued to preach in his own home to members of the congregation who sympathized with his politics. Then, upon his death in 1779, his lands were confiscated and sold by the town.[40]

Even though Aaron Whitney was dismissed by a vote of the town in 1775, the years of his ministry that are stated on his table stone show that his tenure was considered until his death. Also, in view of the circumstances of his dismissal, the rhyming epitaph which follows the factual inscription reflects a great respect for the town's first minister:

In Memory of
The Revd. Aaron Whitney A.M.
the First Pastor of ye Church of Christ
In Petersham
Who on ye 8th of September 1779
In the 66th Year of his Age & 41 of his Ministry
Closed this varied Scene of Mortality
In sincere Hope of eternal Rest.

A faithful Father, Friend & Parent too
Just to mankind & to his country true
Fixed in his faith free from Bigotry
Lover of Peace & Foe to Tyranny
In manners pure & to his Friends sincere
Candid to all; only to vice severe
Watchful to shun prompt to forgive fault
Was what he seemed & seemed what he ought
Such was the man who now from Earth removed
Enjoys the Peace & Liberty he loved.

Translated from Latin, the last portion of the epitaph reads:

If we would imitate the holy life of Christ
Then we must do what we proclaim
Monumentum

On Petersham's southern border is situated the town of Hardwick, which was incorporated in 1738, the same year that Aaron Whitney was ordained in Petersham. Two years prior to Hardwick's incorporation, David White was ordained as the town's first minister. In 1786 the town paid 7.18 pounds for the erection of his and his wife's double stone, 4.1 pounds of which went to the stonecutter "Mr. Sikes."[41] The gravestone still stands as the most prominent marker in Hardwick's "old burying place" (Fig. 25). Measuring nearly six feet in height, its borders are decorated by stylized vines with leaves and flowers, while the top of the stone features a double tympanum with symbolic portraits on each side.

The wigged portrait in the left tympanum, which is surmounted by the phrase "MEMENTO MORI," is representative of the Reverend White, who graduated from Yale College six years before his ordination in Hardwick. The town's history states that "His talents were respectable, but by no means brilliant," and that "His success in giving satisfaction to his people depended not so much on the energy of his mind, as on the meekness, simplicity, and purity of his heart."[42] Even though the congregation did not seem favorably impressed by White's intellectual ability, he was retained as their pastor until his death, forty-eight years after his ordination. Further indication of their respect is the fact that the congregation agreed to provide gloves to the ministers who acted as his pallbearers.[43] At that time, tokens of this type were a common practice for

funerals of prominent individuals.

The bonneted portrait on the right portion of the stone, which is surmounted by the phrase "Tempus Fugit," represents White's wife, Susanna. Susanna's death preceded her husband's by six months, and she is remembered "by all who survived her, as brilliant and good."[44] She is further recalled as being "remarkable not only for her lady-like and Christian deportment, but for her intellectual power, in which she was far superior to her husband."[45]

Just below each of the portraits are individual inscriptions that commemorate the couple's separate virtues:

Sacred to the Memory of
the Rev'd David White
who died Janry. 6th 1784
in the 74 year of his age
He was the first Minister

Sacred to the Memory
of Mrs. Susanna White
Consort of the Rev'd
David White; who died
July ye 17th 1783 in the

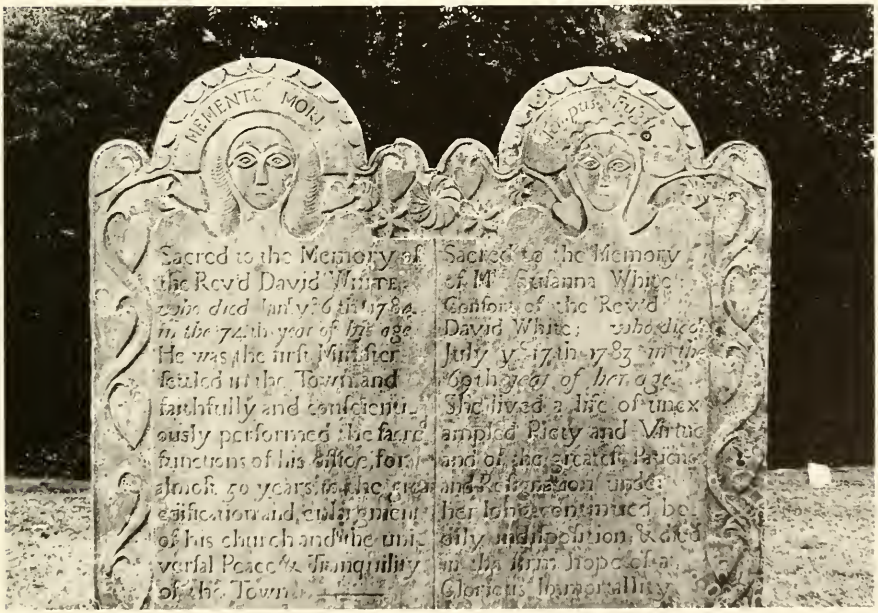

Fig. 25. Reverend David White (left), 1784, Hardwick. Although Elijah Sikes carved many figures similar to those in the double tympanum of this stone, it is obvious that the images are intended to be symbolic of portraits of White and his wife, Susanna.

settled in the Town and
faithfully and conscienti-
ously performed the sacred
functions of his office for
almost 50 years to the great
edification and enlargement
of his church and the uni-
versal Peace & Tranquility
of the Town

69th year of her age
She lived a life of unex-
ampled Piety and Virtue
and of the greatest Patience
and Resignation under
her long continued bo-
dily indisposition & died
in the firm hope of a
Glorious immortality

Beneath these descriptive lines are separate rhyming verses:

Adieu to sickness and death
Adieu to vanities and cares;
Submissive I resign my breath
And rise to Bliss beyond the stars

With Heartfelt Joy I yield my breath
And quit a life of pain and woe
Rejoicing pass the scene of death
To live where Joys forever flow

Almighty Father hear my prayers
And send salvation to this land
May this my People be thy Care
And ever dwell at thy right hand

New Transports now inspire my
frame
With Joys Celestial and sublime
O may you catch the Heavenly flame
And soar beyond the reach of time

And, at the very bottom of the stone:

Hail kindred spirits of the eternal skie
We come to visit your devine abode
To spend a long Eternity on high
And love, adore, and bless, our Saviour God.

Two towns to the northeast of Hardwick is Hubbardston, which was incorporated in 1767. Here, just to the right of the main gate of the Parish Cemetery, can be found the gravestones of Nehemiah Parker, the town's first pastor, and his wife (Fig. 26). At the top of the considerably larger minister's stone is a clerical tabbed portrait which is framed by an arch. As added decoration, the tympanum also contains a sprig of willow.

Three years after Hubbardston's incorporation, the Reverend Parker was ordained under an oak tree on the town's common. The ordination came seven years after his graduation from Harvard, where, by his own account, he "was somewhat given to college pranks."[46] A reference to Parker's abilities states that "He seems to have been a man of decided the-

ological convictions, though not of superior intellectual gifts."[47] After a twenty-year struggle for a decent salary, the first minister, at his own request, was dismissed by a town meeting. He died the following year, and now "his remains sleep in the old burial ground, among the voiceless congregation to which he ministered."[48] Upon Parker's death the town paid 18 dollars and 58 cents for his funeral expenses, and erected the stone upon his grave.[49] The primary inscription on the marker reads:

Sacred to the memory of the
Revd NEHEMIAH PARKER
first Pastore of the Church of
Christ in Hubbardston,
Ordained to the Sacred office
June 13th 1770 and deceased
Aug 20th 1801 in the
60th Year of his age
much lamented
In him were united the kind

Fig. 26. Reverend Nehemiah Parker, 1801, Hubbardston. While Parker was provided with a portrait stone for his gravesite, his wife Mary received a smaller willow and urn marker.

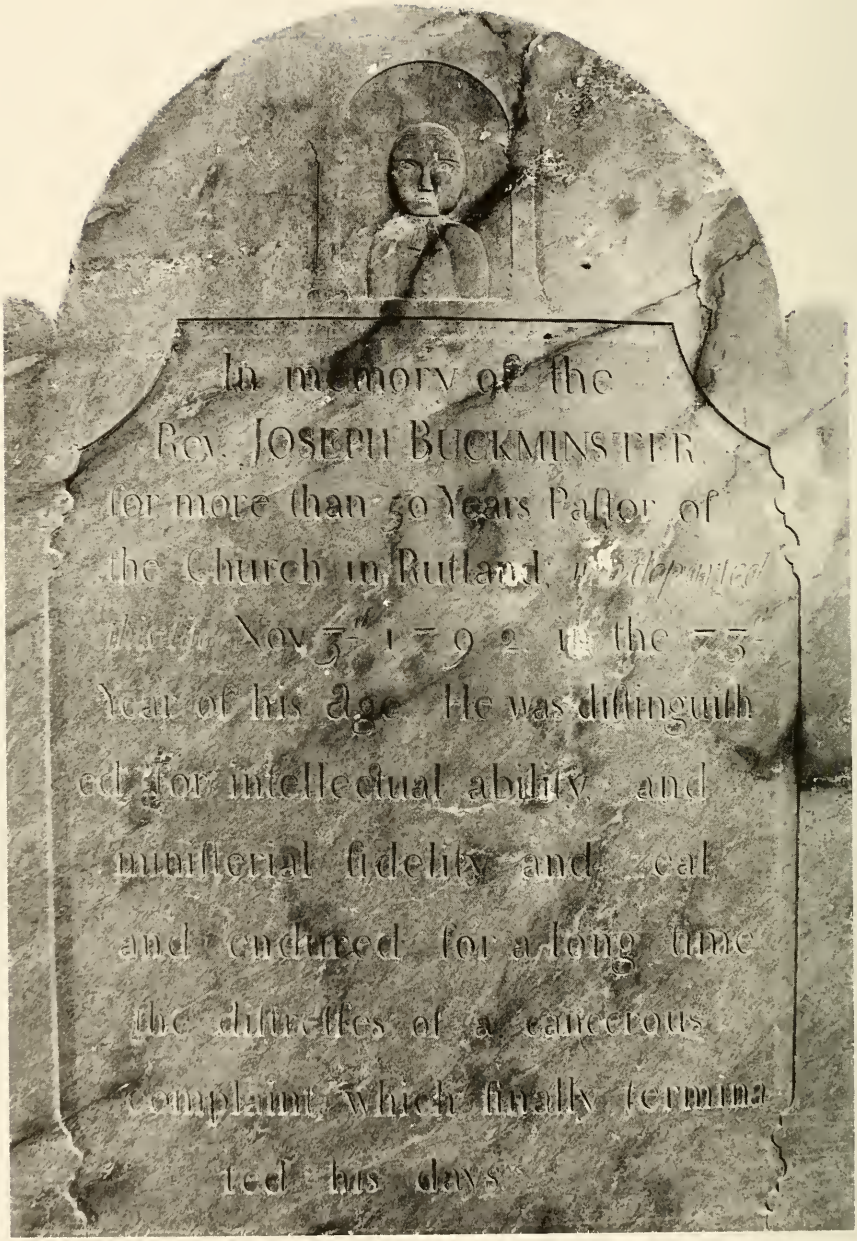

Fig. 27. Reverend Joseph Buckminster, 1792, Rutland. The epitaph on Buckminster's stone reveals that he died of a "cancerous complaint."

Husband the tender and
indulgent Father - the eloquent orator
and benevolent Christian

Hubbardston was created out of a northeasterly section of Rutland, a town that borders it to the south. In Rutland's Old Burial Ground can be found a commemorative marker with the inscription "IN MEMORIAM KILLED BY INDIANS IN RUTLAND." Listed on the marker are the names of six men who were killed in two separate raids in 1723 and 1724. The first name listed is that of Reverend Joseph Willard. Willard came to Rutland from Sunderland, Massachusetts in 1721, a year prior to the town's incorporation. He arrived with the intent of becoming the first parson. However, just a month prior to his ordination, while working in his fields, Willard was killed and scalped by an Indian raiding party.[50]

Because Joseph Willard died before his installation, his name does not appear on a second commemorative marker for Rutland's early ministers. The inscription on this marker states: "IN MEMORIAM TO THE PASTORS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF RUTLAND INTERRED ON THESE GROUNDS." The inscription continues: "THE FIRST FIVE PASTORS OF THE CHURCH, SERVED 118 YEARS CONSECUTIVELY." The first name on the marker is that of Thomas Frink, who served as the first pastor for thirteen years until asking to be dismissed in 1740. The second name listed is that of Joseph Buckminster, whose portrait stone is located directly behind the ministers' commemorative marker. Like the Parker portrait stone in Hubbardston, Buckminster's features clerical tabs and is framed by an arch (Fig. 27).

Joseph Buckminster was born in Framingham, Massachusetts and came to Rutland in 1742, three years after his graduation from Harvard. According to the epitaph on his stone, Buckminster remained as Rutland's second pastor for half a century. In full, the epitaph reads:

In memory of the
Rev Joseph Buckminster
for more than 50 Years Pastor of
the Church in Rutland who departed
this life Nov 3 1792 in the 73d
Year of his age. He was distinguish-
ed for intellectual ability and
ministerial fidelity and zeal

and endured for a long time
the distresses of a cancerous
complaint which termina-
ted his days

Bordering Rutland to the east is the town of Holden, which was incorporated in 1740 from a northern portion of the present city of Worcester. In Holden's oldest cemetery stands the portrait stone of Joseph Davis, the town's first pastor (Fig. 28). Like the Buckminster stone in Rutland and the Parker stone in Hubbardston, the Davis portrait displays clerical tabs and is framed by an arch. Also, as on the Parker stone, Reverend Davis' portrait is surmounted by the design of a willow sprig.

Joseph Davis was born in Concord and graduated from Harvard the same year that Holden was incorporated. Two years later, in 1742, he was ordained as the town's first pastor, which was the same year that Joseph Buckminster was ordained in neighboring Rutland. However, unlike Buckminster's pastorate of fifty years, after thirty-one years of service

Fig. 28. Reverend Joseph Davis, 1799, Holden. The portrait on the Davis stone, as well as those on the Buckminster and Parker stones, are the work of Paul Colburn of Sterling, Massachusetts.

Davis requested dismissal. Although relieved of his clerical duties, the first pastor remained in the town until his death in 1799.[51] The epitaph on his gravestone reads:

> This monument is erected in
> memory of the Revd Joseph Davis
> who was born at Concord July the 16
> 1720. Graduated at Harvard College
> in 1740. Ordained first Pastor of
> the Church in Holden Dec 22d 1742
> Where he laboured many Years in
> the work of the gospel Ministry.
> He was a man of Science and a
> Zealous; pungent Preacher. The affe-
> ctionate husband. The tender parent
> The kind Neighbor, and the cordial
> friend. Died March 4th 1799

Conclusions

It is obvious that portrait and table stones were the gravemarkers of choice for the Puritan ministry. In this sampling, which includes thirty-three ministers' markers in twenty-one towns of north central Massachusetts, twenty-five – or about three-fourths – were either portrait or table stones. Also, in most cases a minister's table stone was the only marker of its type in a town's cemetery, and most of the portrait stones were distinguished by the inclusion of clerical tabs on the image.

Besides being the most distinctive marker in a cemetery, the ministers' stones provide for a greater amount of documentation than that found on the average monument. For instance, many of the inscriptions note that the marker was erected by the town, demonstrating the church-state relationship in early Massachusetts. All of the epitaphs use the title of Reverend, and in a few instances the additional title of Mister. Beyond simply supplying the dates of life, most of the markers provide the year of ordination, sequence of the pastorate, tenure of the pastorate, and the year of graduation from divinity school, which was usually Harvard and in some instances Yale. In addition, several of the markers note the place of birth or previous positions. Further, in some instances the cause of death is stated, such as "atrophy," "dysentery," and a "cancerous complaint."

Because of the ministers' eminent position in a town, many of the epitaphs included lengthy descriptions of their qualities as husbands, fathers, and pastors. Relative to the roles of husband and father, terms such as "affectionate," "tender," and "loving" were frequently used. In relation to their pastoral abilities, it is clear that great value was placed on the ministers' competence to deliver a sermon, and some epitaphs describe this talent as "eloquent," "elegant," "pungent," and "acceptable." Consequently, all of this data, along with the distinctive styles of these stones, demonstrates that markers of the early Congregational ministry remain as valuable and revealing material documents of a crucial era in New England history.

NOTES

All of the photographs for this article were taken by the authors. The authors would like to extend their appreciation to Laurel Gabel, Association for Gravestone Studies Research Clearinghouse Coordinator, for her input on carver identification.

1. William Wheeler and Susan Decker, *Discovering the American Past* (Boston, MA, 1994), 52.

2. Lilley B. Caswell, *History of the Town of Royalston, Massachusetts* (Royalston, MA, 1917), 52.

3. Henry Hazen, *History of Billerica, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA, 1883), 182.

4. Charles Stearns, "Billerica Mass. Cemetery," unpublished paper, 4.

5. Translation provided by Katherine Sullivan, Foreign Language Director, Oakmont Regional High School, Ashburnham, Massachusetts.

6. Hazen, *History of Billerica, Massachusetts*, 182.

7. Stearns, "Billerica Mass. Cemetery," 4.

8. Hazen, *History of Billerica, Massachusetts*, 261.

9. George Adams Parkhurst, "The Story of the First Parish Church Chelmsford 1655-1980," unpublished paper, Adams Library, Chelmsford, MA, 3.

10 *Ibid.*, 5-7.

11. *Ibid.*, 7.

12. *Ibid.*, 8.

13. *Ibid.*, 9.

14. Edwin R. Hodgman, *History of the Town of Westford* (Lowell, MA, 1883), 256-57.

15. *Ibid.*, 265-66.

16. Herbert Harwood, "An Historical Sketch of the Town of Littleton," 10.

17. *Ibid.*, 12.

18. Edward Frost, in the "Proceedings of the Littleton Historical Society, 1894-95," points out that errors in birth date and parentage were made in Shattuck's inscription, which was written seventy-five years after the minister's death. However, the present inscription has these errors corrected, thus lending credence to the assumption that the present monument was erected after 1895.

19. Harwood, "An Historical Sketch of the Town of Littleton," 11-12.

20. John Sykes, "A History of Littleton, Massachusetts for Use in the Junior High School." M.Ed. thesis, Boston University, 1950, 42.

21. Elias Mason, *A History of Dunstable, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA, 1877), 151-3.

22. Samuel Abbot Green, *Epitaphs from the Old Burying Ground in Groton, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA, 1878).

23. *A Pepperell Reader*, 27-29.

24. Ithamar Sawtelle, *History of the Town of Townsend 1676-1878* (Fitchburg, MA, 1878), 90.

25. *Ibid.*, 98.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Henry S. Nourse, *History of Harvard* (Clinton, MA, 1894), 194; Abijah Perkins Marvin, *History of Worcester County Massachusetts* , Vol. I (Boston, MA, 1879), 560.

28. Nelde K. Drumm and Margaret P. Harley, *Lunenburg: The Heritage of Turkey Hills 1718-1978* (Lunenburg, MA, 1978), 38.

29. *Ibid.*, 55.

30. George Cunningham, *Cunningham's History of the Town of Lunenburg* (Lunenburg, MA,1866), 634.

31. Drumm and Harley, *Lunenburg*, 57.

32. Doris Kirkpatrick, *The City and the River* (Fitchburg, MA, 1971), 129.

33. See note no. 5.

34. Ezra S. Stearns, *History of Ashburnham, Massachusetts* (Ashburnham, MA, 1887), 254.

35. Tom Malloy, *Profiles of the Past* (Athol, MA, 1984), 27.

36. Stearns, *History of Ashburnham, Massachusetts*, 263.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Caswell, *History of the Town of Royalston, Massachusetts*, 55.

39. The authors express their appreciation to Patricia Poor for her efforts in deciphering the Reverend Joseph Lee's epitaph.

40. Mabel Cook Coolidge, *The History of Petersham, Massachusetts* (Petersham, MA), 87.

41. Lucius Page, *History of Hardwick, Massachusetts* (New York, NY, 1883; rpt. Bowie, MD), 193.

42. *Ibid.*, 192.

43. *Ibid.*, 193.

44. *Ibid.*, 537.

45. *Ibid.*, 193.

46. J.M. Stowe, *History of the Town of Hubbardston* (Hubbardston, MA, 1881), 90.

47. *Ibid.*, 88.

48. *Ibid.*, 90.

49. *Ibid.*

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51. David Foster Estes, *The History of Holden, Massachusetts* (Worcester, MA, 1894), 255.

APPENDIX
Ministers' Markers: North Central Massachusetts

Town	Inc.		Minister	Tenure	Marker
Ashburnham	1765	1st	Jonathan Winchester	1760-1767	Portrait
		2nd	John Cushing	1768-1825	Table Stone
Billerica	1655	1st	Samuel Whiting	1658-1714	Winged Skull
		2nd	Samuel Ruggles	1714-1749	Portrait
		3rd	John Chanler	1749-1760	Portrait
		4th	Henry Cumings	1763-1823	Table Stone
Chelmsford	1655	1st	John Fiske	1656-1776	Obelisk
		2nd	Thomas Clark	1676-1704	Winged Skull
		3rd	Sampson Stoddard	1706-1740	Box Tomb
		4th	Ebenezer Bridge	1740-1792	Portrait
Fitchburg	1764	1st	John Payson	1768-1802	Table Stone
Gardner	1785	1st	Jonathan Osgood	1791-1822	Table Stone
Groton	1655	5th	Caleb Trowbridge	1717-1760	Table Stone
Hardwick	1738	1st	David White	1738-1784	Dual Portrait
Harvard	1732	3rd	Daniel Johnson	1769-1777	Table Stone
		4th	Ebenezer Grosvenor	1782-1788	Table Stone
Holden	1740	1st	Joseph Davis	1742-1773	Portrait
Hubbardston	1767	1st	Nehemiah Parker	1770-1801	Portrait
Littleton	1714	1st	Benjamin Shattuck	1717-1730	Obelisk
		2nd	Daniel Rogers	1731-1783	Table Stone
Lunenburg	1728	2nd	David Stearns	1743-1761	Table Stone
		3rd	Samuel Payson	1762-1763	Table Stone
		4th	Zabdiel Adams	1764-1801	Table Stone
Pepperell	1774	1st	Joseph Emerson	1747-1775	Table Stone
Petersham	1754	1st	Aaron Whitney	1738-1775	Table Stone
Royalston	1765	1st	Joseph Lee	1768-1819	Table Stone
Rutland	1722	2nd	Joseph Buckminster	1742-1792	Portrait
Shrewsbury	1727	1st	Job Cushing	1723-1760	Urn
Templeton	1762	1st	Ebenezer Sparhawk	1760-1805	Table Stone
Townsend	1732	1st	Phinehas Hemenway	1734-1760	Portrait
		2nd	Samuel Dix	1761-1797	Portrait
Tyngsborough	1809	1st	Nathaniel Lawrence	1790-1839	Willow & Urn
Westford	1729	1st	Willard Hall	1727-1779	Table Stone

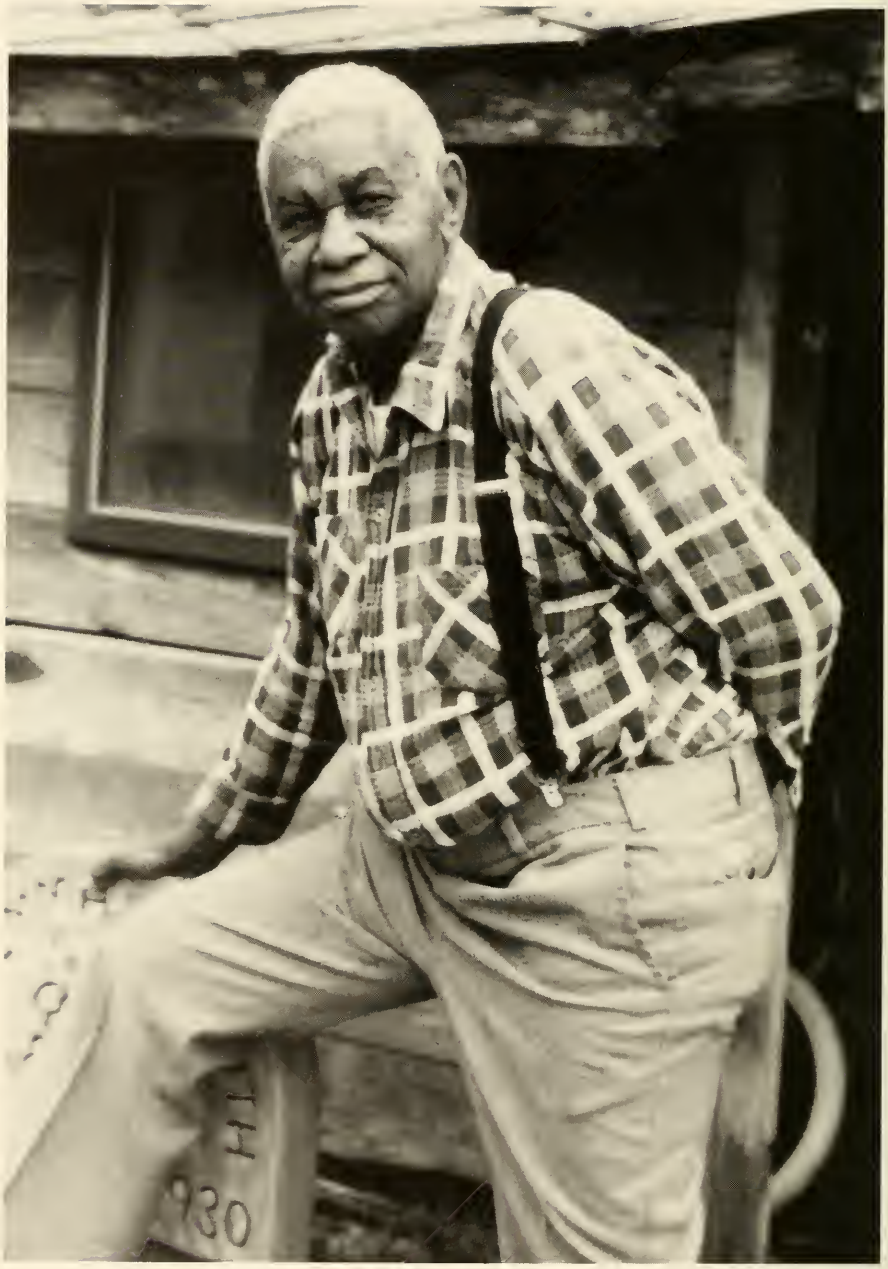


Fig. 1. Merry E. Veal in February, 1995.

A MODERN GRAVESTONE MAKER: SOME LESSONS FOR GRAVESTONE HISTORIANS

Barbara Rotundo

Introduction

This essay will introduce a black craftsman whose work is unique; yet the study of his methods and of the development of his designs can reveal much about other craftsmen in contemporary and earlier eras. How I first noticed his work and what I did in trying to identify him are all part of the story, so let me begin at the beginning.

After retirement, I taught for one semester in 1990 at Tougaloo, a small, private, black liberal arts college near Jackson, Mississippi. The many novel experiences made for an exciting and rewarding time. I treasure the memories of "good morning" from everyone I met, fresh shrimp at $2.99 a pound, and camellias in blossom in January when I had left snow and glacial temperatures up north. But the experience relevant to this essay was driving on back country roads to find dozens of small cemeteries. I started in Rankin County because the Rankin County Historical Society had produced a publication that listed every burial place in the county. It gave the number of gravemarkers, the number of people buried, and its exact location on the Mississippi State Highway Department maps. It also identified which were black cemeteries, a great help to a field worker who had lived in the northeast all her life.

It so happened that the fifth stone[1] I saw in the first cemetery I visited was one that I would see duplicated in several other cemeteries I visited that first day. It was professionally finished, yet obviously homemade. I was intrigued. I continued to see them throughout the county. Toward the end of my stay, I finished all the Rankin cemeteries that had ten or more stones and began exploring Hinds County. I found that markers by "my man," as I was soon thinking of him, were a sure signal that I was in a black cemetery. I thought the maker must be a man because it was unlikely that a woman could handle the finished gravestones and equally unlikely that an amateur would have specialized machinery for help in handling heavy material. As it is, I later found out that "my man" calls on a second man to help him free the stones from their forms and to place them in a cemetery.

By the time the semester was over, I had photographed about a dozen of the special stones and included several slides showing them in a talk I gave at Tougaloo College just before I left. A colleague said her Uncle Bob was one of the men memorialized on the stones by "my man." Only months later did I think to ask her to find out the carver's name. By that time her grandmother, the only family member who kept in touch with the widow, had died. My search for the time being had literally come to a dead end.

On a brief visit to Tougaloo a year later, I explored more of Hinds County and up into Madison County, where some churchyards had as many as ten examples of these special stones. Never was I in one when another visitor was present, nor did any adjoining church list a minister's name that I could find in the thick Jackson telephone directory. (Smith and Young were little better than anonymous.) In 1993 I made yet another visit to the area and found a cemetery across the road from St. Paul's Church in Tinnin, Mississippi that had twenty-eight of those special markers, and also a minister with a distinctive name. Copying four names from recent stones, I called the Reverend Paul Luckett to see if he could find related parishioners or if he knew the maker himself. He didn't know but said it should be easy to find out. However, he did not answer when I called back at the agreed time, and I left the next morning. He never responded to the letters I sent him in the following months with a self-addressed stamped postcard.

Then in January 1994, I wrote that I would be in Jackson on a specific weekend in February. I would call and if he had not yet found out the name, I would stand on the church steps on Sunday to see if someone couldn't help me. Apparently the thought of a crazy lady outside his church roused him at long last. When I reached him in February, he had the name and a phone number. "My man" was Merry E. Veal, and he lived in Jackson. I immediately called Mr. Veal, and he invited me to come around the next morning when he would be working "out there." The following day I found "out there" was his backyard.

Merry E. Veal 1919-

Merry Veal (Fig. 1) was born and brought up in a rural community just north of Jackson, Mississippi, where his family belonged to Pine Grove Church, which is the church he still belongs to. Although he did not attend high school, Veal is certainly literate, but shares certain character-

istic non-standard grammar forms common to blacks raised in a segregated community, north or south. Without any special training or education, he has provided a comfortable living for himself and his family. He served in the United States army during World War II and is now retired from his job in the mail room of the Veteran's Administration in Jackson. He lives in a house on a corner lot on a tree-lined residential street on the northern edge of the city. Reading his character from events he has described and thoughts he has expressed, I see him as a good neighbor and a thoughtful friend – thrifty, reliable, wise, and amused by the foibles and weaknesses he observes in his fellow men and women. He is what his brothers and sisters at Pine Grove would call a good Christian, generous and forgiving when it is appropriate, doing unto others as he would like them to do unto him.

An Accidental Side-Line

Veal began his gravestone "career" as a result of the traits described above. A neighbor asked him to put a name on a rock that she felt would make a nice gravestone for the unmarked grave of her sister. Veal told her

Fig. 2. The backyard workshop with the shed and many examples of the tablet in a base, Veal's most frequently used model.

the name would not fit, but he thought he could make a gravemarker for her. That was in 1966. Other people heard about his work and asked him for similar help. He soon found himself moonlighting on a regular basis, and began to keep records. He has now made more than 300 of these cemetery gravestones. Of the 122 stones I have photographed, 103 are tablets with a rounded top set in a base (Fig. 2), eight are what I call mushrooms, with a curved top but set on a narrow column (Fig. 3), six are constructed in the shape of a cross (Fig. 4), and five are flat stones (Fig. 5). Since the total represents a good third of his production, it seems a fair sample that would give an accurate picture.

Is this just another example of those cement markers found on the graves of poor people all over the United States, or do these markers represent special talent and a controlled design that would place them in the category of folk art?

I needed to acquire a background in folk art, a field new to me, in order to place Veal's work for scholars and critics. However, as I began to

Fig. 3. Mushroom-shaped marker with leaf design.

read, I discovered that I had opened Pandora's box. I should have suspected there might be problems. I knew that colonial carved gravestones are highly valued as antiques, but museum curators do not accept them as "Fine Art," and they are not included in the Inventory of American Sculpture. Originally, gravestones were not included in SOS! (Save Outdoor Sculpture!), but the early reports and pictures sent by field workers refusing to follow instructions and perhaps the indignant letters from gravestone enthusiasts softened the SOS! prohibition to allow a limited number of restricted styles to be included.[2]

The bibliography that I started to develop was overwhelming, and the contents confusing. One writer's folk art was another's material culture. One author's art is beneath the notice of another. They toss around words like "innocence," "mainstream," "ethnic," and "naïve." I particularly like "naïve." When a painter who is considered naïve produces dozens of similar paintings that are snapped up at high prices, is it the painter or the buyers who are naïve?

After reading four books and a dozen articles,[3] I have decided to be naïve myself. I will simply describe Merry Veal at work and show pictures

Fig. 4. Cross-shaped marker with heart design.

Fig. 5. Veal working on a flat marker.
Tablet in background has rough space for later date to be added.

of the stones he produced over time. Readers can have the freedom to decide for themselves how they would define the gravestones pictured on these pages. Mine will be the same wary innocence shown by most men and women who are enduring or enjoying the attention of critics or who are reaping the benefits of new and wider markets for their products. Like them I know there is a lot going on outside my world, but I choose to ignore it.

The Process

At the back of his yard, Merry Veal has a shed (see Fig. 2), and the land between the shed and the house is his workshop. He works only when it is not too cold or wet. In Mississippi there are many warm months, though rain can come at any time. In the shed he keeps all the supplies and equipment he needs for making the gravestones: a barrel of sand, a barrel of pebbles, tubs for mixing the cement, the forms and putty knives, and a wall of annual licenses from the city of Jackson allowing him to make "Ornamental Products." There is not one piece of machinery involved in the production of the stones. They are truly handmade. This also means the workshop is a benign neighbor. The greatest noise would be a few bangs of the hammer as he puts the forms together or some squeaks as he pulls the boards apart after the concrete has set. The straight sides of the forms are easy to make with boards. He ingeniously uses wide industrial belting to form the curved tops of the stones. Only when I saw a number set up close together in front of the shed did I notice that the thickness front to back varies. We are accustomed to look at memorial markers from the front because that is where the information is. For armature he thriftily picks up the display stands from cemeteries when the funeral sprays have withered and turned brown. He snips off the legs, which make a perfect framework and are strong yet not too heavy.

Veal does the lettering and designs freehand. He does not do a draft beforehand nor does he measure, except with his eye. When the cement has started to set, he takes a large nail, about 14-penny size, and inscribes the name, dates, and anything else the customer has ordered or that he feels is suitable. For instance, he sometimes chooses an appropriate citation from the Bible when he has known the person being memorialized. At this point he can wipe out the inscription and start over if he has made a real error; however, he is not a perfectionist and will leave a wavering line, slightly irregular spacing, etc. It is interesting to note that his spacing

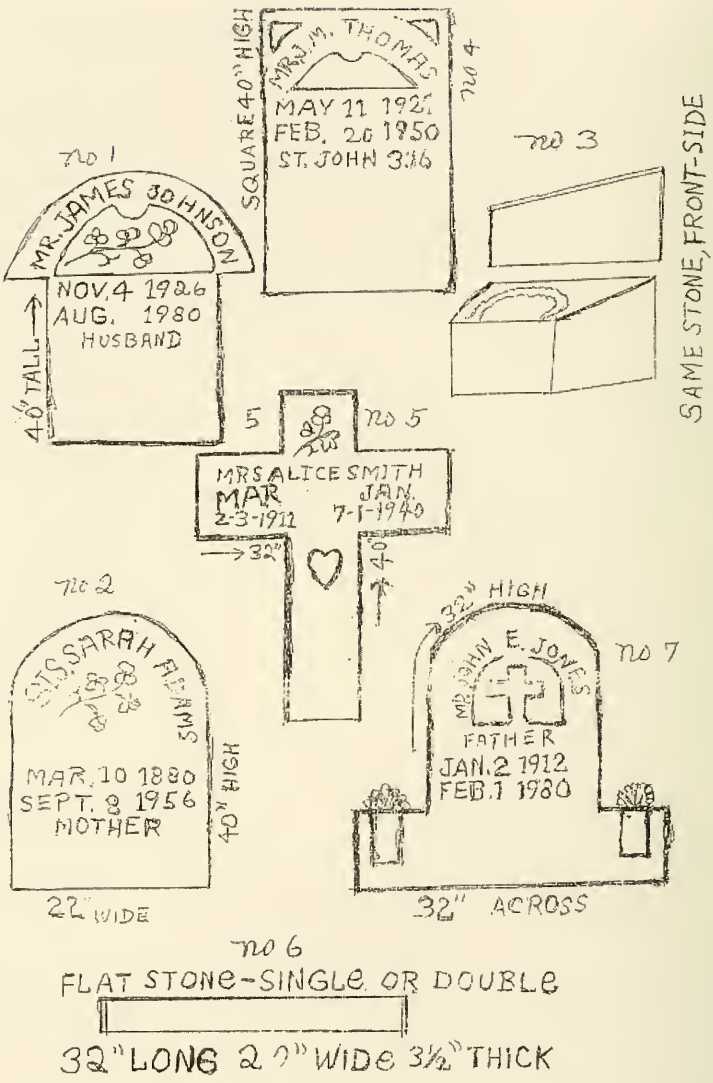
and lettering have improved over the years.

After the cement has hardened, he goes over the lines with the point of a beer can opener. Then he goes over them with a knife and smooths the flat surfaces with a putty knife (Fig. 6). He paints the stones a light gray with what he assured me is the most expensive acrylic latex house-paint. The most popular and expensive style has a base with holes for vases. The two holes are made by sinking a pair of large beer cans in the wet cement. When I asked him how he removed the flat markers from their forms, he went into the shed and came out with a plastic-covered cushion such as one finds on porch furniture – undoubtedly recycled. The man who helps him load and unload the stones that he sets in cemeteries comes to lift one side while Veal lifts the other, and they flip it onto the pillow.

Although he still works very much like an amateur, he has adopted a few commercial customs. He now asks for a deposit before he begins work. Two of the stones in the rows before his shed he repossessed from the cemetery where he had placed them because the woman who ordered them had made no payment in two years. In recalling this incident, he commented, "I had trouble tracking her down. Guess she isn't any better at paying her rent than she is at paying me." I asked if he set a certain percentage of the final price for his deposit. He said he let them offer an amount and if it seemed right, he did nothing further. He has also adopted the commercial dealers' custom of providing markers pre-need, meaning before death. He leaves a rough cavity for the second date (see Figs. 5 and 6), to which fresh cement will adhere, and when it starts to set he can trace in the death date. Just a nail will do; he doesn't need the thick rubber stencil and the sandblasting equipment of commercial monument craftsmen.

When he first began making the stones, Veal charged $57. His latest prices, shown in Figure 7, have hardly covered his costs. Furthermore, he will install the stone for an additional $15. When I scolded him for not charging more for installation, he smiled and said, "I like to do it cheaper." He really makes the gravestones to oblige people. Although his customers are not always his friends, they have found him through personal contacts. When he takes the trouble to make a stone he wants to be paid for his efforts, but he did not go into the business to make a profit. When I presented a paper on his work at the annual conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies in 1994, I wrote to ask his permission

Fig. 6. Smoothing the surface of a base.



All stones are $110.00 except no. 7 it is $120.00. They are made of gray concrete only.
M. E. Veal - 4505 Meadow Lane, Jackson, MS 39206 - Telephone no. 366-4734

(Guaranteed) No. 4041 Licensed operated

Fig. 7. Merry Veal's price sheet.

for the office to send out a press release and a picture to the *Jackson Star-Ledger*. He immediately wrote back a negative reply, saying he had never wanted to make his work public and at his age surely he did not.

Design Development

A comparison of early stones with recent ones shows increasingly attractive designs and proves Veal's good taste and aesthetic sensitivity or

Fig. 8. Scalloped edge on early stone.

– in the view of art critics who can't believe untrained workers control their product – his good luck. His choices were directed toward simplification and ease of vision. At first he used a scalloped edge (Fig. 8) but now has settled on a plain curved top. He eventually came to accept, as first he did not, the convention that the first date listed is for the birth and the second for the death. Notice also that he used "Born" and "Death" where conventional usage would require two verbal forms or two nouns (Fig. 9). Instead of the earlier completely outlined cross, which seems skimpy and a bit crowded (Fig. 10), he developed a cross with the second line sweeping out from the sides, thereby giving an impression of spaciousness yet a satisfactory closure as the two ends accent the curve of the name (Fig. 11). He eliminated the busy effect of too many words in the center of the stone and now puts all extra words below the dates, adding visual weight to the bottom, where one's eye would naturally tend to pull it. I do not believe he thought through all these decisions with words and arguments in sentence form. He has the creative eye. I am trying to verbalize what his instincts told him to do. It was his felicity in design that caused me to remember the first example I saw and finally to focus on his work to the exclusion of everything else.

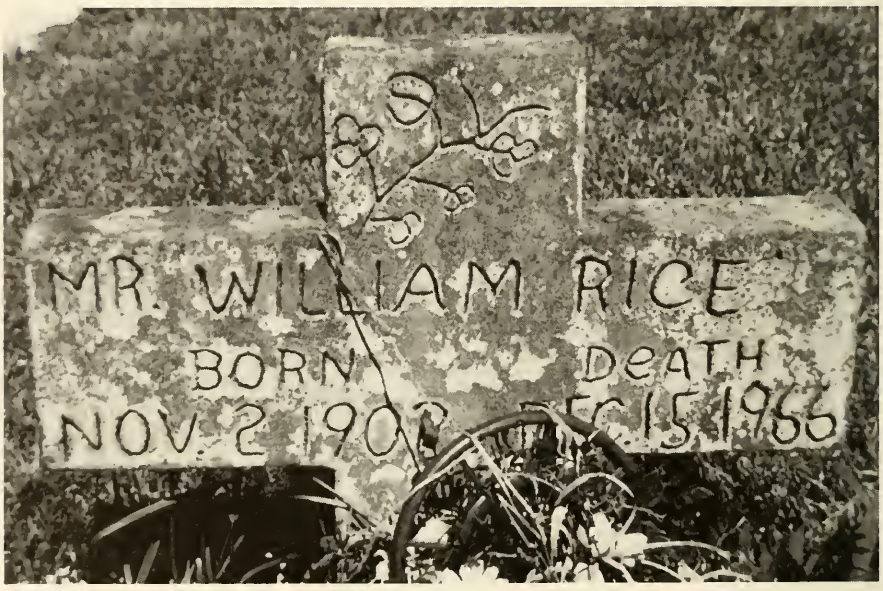


Fig. 9. Early stone with dates identified.

The inscriptions on his stones follow the normal English language pattern, according to linguist Scott Baird,[4] since the two semantic items that always appear on a gravestone before any others are the name and date of death. However, Veal does something nearly unique in gravestone design. Look again at the pictured stones: he separates the name and the date by the image. In the thousands of stones I have observed in Europe, Australia, Canada, and the United States, the image is above the name, dates and any other semantic material, with the exception of brief aphoristic phrases like "Gone home" and "Till we meet again" or introductory works like "Here lies" and "In memory of." On the 111 stones by Veal that I have photographs of and that have an image, the central focus might seem to be on the image, yet the name is not obscured and receives additional grace as it curves with the top of the stone. Why have no other gravestone designers used this pattern? If nature abhors a straight line,

Fig. 10. Early stone with completely outlined cross.

why must gravestones use that stiff, horizontal line? Conventional monument designers are missing out by being blind to the pleasing charm of the curve.[5]

In addition to developing what we might call the surface design, Veal, who had never before worked with cement, needed to find the best methods for handling his medium. He confesses that at first he didn't use any pebbles in the mix nor provide any structural frame. His more recent stones will obviously weather better than the earliest work. He also discovered the benefits of a wide base for the upright tablet. This design (see item no. 7 in Fig. 7) is more expensive than the single basic price for all the others, and rightly so since he makes the two pieces in separate molds and must wait till the tablet is completely dry before setting it into its base. Once he has the base, he puts in the holes for vases (at first these were placed in front of the tablet but eventually became one on each side, where flowers put in the vases will not obscure the epitaph). He ends with

Fig. 11. Later cross design with accenting curves.

a design that has a professional layout and is conservatively attractive.

Influences

Except for the mushroom shape, Veal uses the popular American gravestone forms. For his choice of imagery, the chief influence seems to be the Christian religion. He employs the cross more frequently than other images, and he can shape the entire stone like a cross if his customer requests it. Most of the stones are found in church-connected graveyards, and an informed guess would be that word about his handsome but inexpensive stones probably traveled over the churches' networks. Certainly his lifetime of church-going enables him to choose the appropriate biblical text for the friends he knows well.

When I first saw the branch and leaf design, I though of my research in religious symbolism and said with confidence, "Ah, the tree of life." I asked him the meaning of that (pointing) design. He answered, "It doesn't mean anything. It's just a nice pattern—and it's a lot easier to do than the other one" (the cross). I asked him where he got the idea for it. " I saw it in a cemetery. Yes I did." Here again, his instinctive aesthetic taste picked up this image over all the others he might have seen in a cemetery. And he might have been unconsciously influenced, as we all are, by his background, which in his case would have included the tree of life, green pastures, and all the other nature symbolism in the Bible. Yet the green of the plant world is a universal image: for life, for immortality, for life everlasting, from the laurel leaves crowning the Greek victor to the tree planted on the African grave[6] to the Greenpeace movement.

African influence should certainly be checked in this day when blacks have become proud of their African heritage, and scholars are eager to follow Alex Haley and trace black culture back to its African roots. They are often too eager and use isolated examples of black gravemarkers to make sweeping statements that extensive fieldwork in black cemeteries can not support. For instance, John Michael Vlach relies on only historic evidence to claim that the pattern of African grave decoration follows the east to west and south to north movement of slaves with the result that "graveyard offerings occur wherever black churches are found."[7] His evidence is four pictures taken in the 1930s. That a custom existed sixty years ago is no proof that it exists today. He says he saw a 1973 grave in Conway, North Carolina, with a glass pitcher that had its bottom knocked out and was set on a conch shell.[8] This is the single example he gives of modern

African-derived grave decoration. I have been looking intensively at rural cemeteries in Louisiana and Mississippi and casually in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, as well as asking local people whenever I get the chance. I have yet to find a single plot decorated with African-derived gravegoods. I have seen them decorated with artificial flowers, empty jars or vases, and mechanical toys, but not with containers having bottoms symbolically broken nor personal items such as medicines and the last cup used.

North and south, black and white, I have found toy cars, trucks, and airplanes on children's graves. A child's death at whatever age and in whatever region evokes an extreme emotional response, and gravegoods are a common reaction. In addition to toys there are frequently seasonal decorations – Easter bunnies, Christmas trees, and jack-o-lanterns. Their birthdays are more likely to be remembered with flowers than are adults', and they are more likely to have porcelainized portraits on their stones.

Robert Farris Thompson discusses many of the same African traits, but when he is concerned with their appearance in the work of particular folk artists, he is on much firmer ground. It is easy to accept his statement about Henry Dorsey's constructions and decorations that used unrelated industrial products. Dorsey might never have heard about Kongo traditions and heroes, Thompson says, "But I suggest that he was their progeny by virtue of the culturally open and responsive spirit of his imagination."[9] Thompson admits that Dorsey's creation of unusual decorations is partly idiosyncratic but claims it is also partly the work of an African-derived sensibility that decorates graves and sets up bottle trees. But the idiosyncratic part is all important in one of the only two gravestones that Dorsey ever made. When he made and placed a gravestone on the grave of his sister in 1963, "the other members of the family quietly purchased a commercially rendered granite marker."[10] The point I would like to make about the work of Merry Veal in the light of the claims by these two most famous experts on African influence is that there may be evidence of that influence in visionary folk artists, in the eccentric, but the center of the black community, the mainstream, if you will, wants conventional Anglo-American memorialization. And that is precisely what Veal's gravestones provide. A picture that Thompson printed earlier in his book provides the same evidence. While he does not give a date, I suspect it is more recent than the pictures Vlach was using. It shows a grave with the typical cups and other porcelain objects, but in the background are four conventional commercial gravestones.[11] His one example produced four

examples to support my claim. The single example I have seen of unusual grave decorations that may or may not be in the African tradition was in Holt Cemetery in New Orleans. This is a municipal cemetery for black burials, containing hundreds and hundreds of marked graves. To the left of the entrance but not all the way in the far corner are two adjoining graves on which are piled boxes, carpets, garden edging, and what looked like racks from stoves or refrigerators. They were piled haphazardly and were very conspicuous, not at all like the graves with pottery and other gravegoods scattered on them. Black families who were tending other graves expressed great disgust with these two.[12] There were some commercial gravestones in Holt, but there were dozens of wooden and metal markers and hundreds of homemade cement markers. A few had, on the grave itself, homemade decorations, and some were outlined in materials such as cement blocks: all seemed well within the Anglo-American tradition and none with a particular African stamp.

This is not to deny the existence of African-derived black material culture, but to urge modernation in making claims. As a reaction to the longtime white denial of any black culture, scholars today are often too apt to make sweeping statements. Some of the customs they attribute to African heritage have other possible sources as well. The decorative use of shells, for instance, seems to be a universal custom. European and Amerindian as well as African customs include decorating graves with shells. Since Terry Jordan presents a balanced discussion of these in his *Texas Graveyards: a Cultural Legacy*, I will not duplicate it here.[13] Some more distinctive customs have alternative sources. For example, archaeologists in Florida have found that mound-building Indians in western Florida broke the bottoms of pots to be buried with the dead,[14] whereas Kongo custom in Africa was to place the broken pot on top of the grave. Henry Glassie offers an explanation that I can accept whole-heartedly: "African practices and material with non-African analogs stood a better chance of survival than did that which would have appeared totally alien to old marster."[15]

What about the influence of the customer on Veal's work? This interaction has long been a question for historians and art critics. How much influence did the patron have, and how much did the creative ability of the artists control? Only a foolish critic would claim total influence for one or the other. Both sides, in this case the customer and Veal, have been influenced by the world they live in, and despite any lingering African influence both live in twentieth-century United States. What they have

seen, heard, and learned in the United States will influence their taste, goals, and ideas.[16] Veal may not be a typical artisan because his craft developed in response to the customers' demands. However, no customer can demand what is outside the ability of the craftsman to produce. Since most of Veal's gravestones appear in church-connected cemeteries, it is not surprising that his customers wanted a cross. It is the refinement of the design that is Veal's artistic contribution. His selection and rendition of a leafy branch was inspired, even if it was copied from another gravestone. Its implication of nature and immortality would make it acceptable to churchgoers, yet it has no special Christian tie for people with a different religious faith. The heart that shows in Figure 4 represents a rare use of that image. The heart as a decorative device has a long history in European folk art, but its modern use connects it to valentines and bumper stickers as well as love, so I doubt that it would ever become popular with Veal's clientele.

The one element that I didn't mention in my discussion of the design of these gravestones is the persistent use of a title for each person, usually Mr. or Mrs., sometimes Sis. or Bro. The only exception is when the name is very long. This inclusion of the title by Veal may very well be what has attracted so many potential buyers. A title is very important to blacks, especially to older men and women who have too often been called by nothing but first name by all the whites whom they are expected to address by title. During the interview I tried to ask a question that would elicit this information in Veal's own words. Instead, he took the use of the title so much for granted that in response to my question, "What about the way you always use a title before the name?", he said, "Yes, but I tell them if the name is too long." In other words, he was explaining (and excusing) the few times he did *not* use a title. Interestingly enough, other markers in the cemeteries rarely give titles.

When I asked if he had ever made any stones for whites, Veal answered, "Yes, a couple for people I worked with, the rest for colored." I have used the term "black" throughout this essay because I am writing for a modern audience, but Veal is in his mid-seventies and grew up when the polite term was "colored." He grew up like the rest of his community, wanting but not yet daring to demand that he be granted the dignity and the right to share what was best and most desirable. His cement markers are unique and not copies of commercial gravestones, yet their design is solidly in the tradition of Anglo-American, mainstream gravestones. In

this the standards of the customers match those of the craftsman. John A. Milbauer, who has done extensive research in southern cemeteries, states what everyone with wide field experience knows:

> Blacks provided their own markers largely because of indigence, not due to a preference for folkways. With increasing affluence blacks are choosing commercial tombstones over those made by themselves. The transition from folk to mass culture manifests itself in the Afro-American cemetery, where one can observe a commercial tombstone juxtaposed to a homemade marker on the same grave.[17]

To amend that statement slightly, we could say that Veal's markers manifest the transition from folk to mass culture, that perhaps in Mississippi the black affluence has not yet reached the stage where they can afford the commercial prices, but are beyond expecting a relative to do the best he can with wood, metal, or cement.

Other Gravestone Craftsmen

With more than 300 gravestone to his credit, Merry Veal's work has no match. Only a few colonial slate carvers (and no modern craftsmen of whom I have heard or read) can come close to that number. In Holt Cemetery and in the cemeteries of the three-county area in Mississippi that I studied, there were a few examples of a repeated pattern in cement markers; at the most there would be half a dozen I would be sure were made by the same hand. No one of them was as neatly finished or as carefully designed as those by Veal. In these different cemeteries I saw several markers made by pressing colored glass into cement to form the shape of a necklace. These were very attractive, but not very satisfactory as a memorial since only one had a name inscribed and none gave a date. They resemble two stones that Ruth Little reported in her article, "Afro-American Gravemarkers in North Carolina."[18] One had pieces of mirror pressed into cement, the other had colored glass, and neither had a name inscribed. Little's is the only writing I have found that describes contemporary folk gravestone carvers. She found two groups of stones and learned the names of the men who made them. One had already died, but she was able to interview his widow and two children. Renial Culbreth had been a blacksmith and acted sometimes as an undertaker. He constructed four different molds and made the markers by pouring cement into these molds. The epitaphs he fashioned by pressing commercial let-

ters and numbers into the wet cement. All told, he made about twenty of these markers.

The other craftsman she described was Issaiah McEachin. He also has built molds for the poured cement and forms the names and dates by pressing metal letters and numbers into the cement. For decoration he outlines each stone with marbles pressed into the top and side margins. He is proud that the marbles can't be pried out because he inserts them more than halfway into the cement. He had made about eighteen such markers when he was interviewed in the 1980s.

Descriptions of two other black craftsmen from the recent past have been published. One is Cyrus Bowen, who carved highly individual wooden sculpture for the graves of some family members. The WPA field workers who were studying black customs in coastal Georgia heard about him and went in search of him.[19] They apparently never found him because they describe the Sunbury, Georgia burial ground where they found his gravemarkers but never quote from an interview with him or with anyone close to him. They did, however, take a picture of the sculpture, and that picture appears in Vlach, Thompson, and others who have written about black craftsmen and artists. The picture dates from 1939, yet no one ever returned to ask Bowen about these unusual carvings before he died in 1960.

Another twentiety-century craftsman is William Edmondson, who received much public notice. Edmondson, a native of Nashville, Tennessee, was born in the 1880s and died in 1951.[20] A black man without education or training, Edmondson in middle-age started carving blocks of granite that he was able to acquire, often discarded granite curbs. The original shape of the block controlled his sculpture. A few of these were bought and used as gravestones. Discovered in the 1930s by artists who were rebelling against conventional academic standards for fine art, Edmondson received several exhibitions in major cities because of the critical interest aroused by enthusiastic artists. His reputation was also helped by the fact that most people came to know his work through the pictures taken by the famous professional photographer, Edward Weston. The work is crude, but the imagery is strong. Edmondson told interviewers that he carved what God told him to do. A sincere visionary artist, he was not at all a man who could have worked to customers' orders as Merry Veal has done.

Conclusions

This essay has shown why Merry Veal's work is unique, but so far it has only glanced at resemblances between his work and that of other gravestone craftsmen, present and historical. The similarities between Veal and colonial American carvers are basic, especially those for whom gravestones were a sideline as they were for him. They all belonged to a homogeneous, strongly bonded community. Reading and learning were oriented toward the Bible, and religion was ever-present in their lives, whether or not they themselves were deeply religious. Their visual training came not from museums and art books but from the popular press, and the work of other carvers.

Veal chose only the leafy branch from all the symbols he would have seen in the cemetery, and he assigned no conscious meaning to it. Students of colonial carvers should be a little cautious about assigning deep significance to the images chosen by the men they are studying. Instead of selecting on the basis of religious belief or geographic location, they may simply have liked a particular form and decided that they could reproduce it.

Veal has lived and worked in Jackson all his life, yet you can see his gravestones in other cities in Mississippi and in Chicago, Illinois. He also told me he thought one had gone to Tennessee. In each case that he described, people had come "home" to Jackson on vacation or a family visit, ordered a gravestone, and picked it up the next time they were in town. The eighteenth century had no concept of a vacation from work, yet people made trips to distant markets, and visited possible new locations for settling. A few markers found in cemeteries far from the carver's usual base do not necessarily mean that he had moved his base or even that he had visited that area.

Even trickier is any definitive statement about the customer's control over the design. Customers exercise control when they choose one craftsman over another, but especially in a rural community there may be only one possibility. Cost can also limit choice. Those who choose Veal must also decide whether they want to spend the extra ten dollars for the tablet on a base. After that decision, do they specify the image they want and any addition to the epitaph? Veal's answer when I asked him whether his customers picked out the symbol is instructive. He smiled and said, "It depends. Some do and some don't." Let that stand as a warning. When we write about work done in the past, we can interpret but not speak with

assurance about reasons and motivations as though we were giving factual information. That is the lesson provided by Merry Veal.

NOTES

All photographs in this essay are by the author.

1. Although the gravemarkers I am discussing are all cement, I have used "stones" as a generic term throughout this essay.

2. Sculpture by established artists would be included regardless of setting, another example of "Fine Arts."

3. For those who may share my lack of awareness, I recommend the book based on a symposium at Winterthur Museum in 1977 because it covers a wide range of viewpoints: Ian M.G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank, eds. *Perspectives on American Folk Art* (New York, NY, 1980). See also Henry Glassie, *The Spirit of Folk Art* (New York, NY, 1989).

4. Baird gave the information in a paper at the annual conference of the Gravemarkers & Cemeteries section of the American Culture Association, Toronto March 7-10, 1991, but see also his "Language Codes in Texas German Graveyards," *Markers IX* (1992): 251, note 32.

5. Some nineteenth-century marbles have the name on a raised or enclosed surface resembling a ribbon, as though the drape of the ribbon required the name to be curved.

6. Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York, NY, 1983), 138.

7. John Michael Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland, OH, 1978; rpt. Athens, GA, 1990), 149.

8. *Ibid.*, 143.

9. Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 147.

10. *Ibid.*, 154. Yet the design for his sister was conservative, a rectangular piece of metal with her name and dates, the rectangle attached to two legs that were stuck in the ground.

11. *Ibid.*, 133.

12. This seemed to be an honest indignation, not just seeking the approval of the white observers.

13. Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin, TX, 1982), 21-25.

14. "Bottom of Vase Broken at Death," *American Cemetery*, February 1989, 5.

15. Henry Glassie, *Patterns in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, PA, 1968), 117.

16. Veal has had foreign experience thanks to the US army, and probably some of the men he memorialized had been in Africa, Italy, France, and Germany with him. They did not, however, have much exposure to the culture of those countries, although they probably learned more than they wanted about the geography.

17. John A. Milbauer, "Folk Monuments of Afro-Americans: A Perspective on Black Culture," *Mid-America Folklore* 19:2 (1991):104.

18. M. Ruth Little, "Afro-American Gravemarkers in North Carolina," *Markers VI* (1989): 102-134.

19. Georgia Writer's' Project, *Drums & Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes* (rpt. Athens, GA, 1986), 116-117. The pictured sculptures have now disappeared.

20. All the information about Edmondson comes from Edmund L. Fuller, *Visions in Stone: The Sculpture of William Edmondson* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1973).

Fig. 1. Cast metal cross typical of Charles Andera's artistry.
St. Wenceslaus Cemetery, Verdigre, Nebraska.

THE REMARKABLE CROSSES OF CHARLES ANDERA

Loren N. Horton

Introduction

From the limestone bluffs of northeast Iowa to the plains of east Texas to the sandy shores of Long Island, New York, visitors to cemeteries may observe the elegant artistic legacy of Charles Andera. This Bohemian immigrant designed and produced some of the most beautiful gravemarkers that can be found in the United States (Fig. 1). These cast metal crosses were created in a multitude of sizes, shapes, and designs, and are mounted on a variety of bases. Found almost exclusively in Roman Catholic churchyards, the majority of inscriptions are in the Czech language. A few are in English and in German.

The Andera crosses are much more ethnic specific than they are geographically or chronologically restricted. The earliest date found on one of these crosses is 1875 and there are dates as late as 1938. These later dates are a bit puzzling because Andera died in 1929, and the business, as such, was not carried on by any of his family. One explanation may be that Andera produced the crosses in his own lifetime, and only the inscriptions had to be added later. Some inscriptions plates are in fact markedly different in composition and material.

From Bohemia to Iowa

Frantisek Andera, son of Vaclav Andera and Marie Anna Veselova, was born in Hrobska Zahradka, Pacov, Bohemia in 1804. The translation of the name of the village means "Garden at the Graveyard". He first married Anna Balounova and they had seven children, of whom three – Frantisek, Vaclav, and Marie – lived to be adults. He then married Katerina Cekalova and they had two sons, Josef and Karel. It is the youngest child, Karel, who grew up to become the cross maker of Spillville, Iowa under his anglicized name, Charles (Fig. 2). Charles Andera married Barbara Dostal in 1875 in Spillville, and they were the parents of ten children, of whom eight lived to be adults.[1] Descendants of four of those children helped to provide valuable information in the search for the explanations of how, where, and why Charles Andera got involved in the production of cast metal gravemarker crosses.

Fig. 2. Portrait of Charles Andera in 1875.

Charles was baptized in the parish church at Cetoraz, near Tabor, Bohemia, and immigrated with his parents first to Canada and then to Sumner Township, Winneshiek County, Iowa in 1862 or 1863. Andera's whereabouts between 1862 and 1875 are not clear. His name does not appear in the 1870 federal decennial census in any of the logical locations. He is not listed in his parents' household, as is his brother, Josef. He is not listed with either of his half-brothers or his half-sister, all of whom lived in Floyd County, Iowa. There is in fact no documentary evidence of his existence until his marriage to Barbara Dostal in 1875. Thereafter, he is regularly listed in most of the available federal and state censuses. In 1880 he is recorded as a carpenter, in 1885 again as a carpenter, in 1895 as the proprietor of a furniture store, in 1900 as a furniture dealer, in 1915 as retired, in 1920 as head of the household, and in 1925 the census mentions only that he owned his own home.[2] In the state gazetteer in 1882-1883, Andera is listed as a furniture dealer, and this same designation is continued in the 1884 and the 1889-1890 editions. In the 1897-1898 gazetteer he is listed as a furniture dealer and cabinet maker.[3]

Fig. 3. Andera furniture store and workshop, Spillville, c. 1890. The photography study sky-light is visible at the back of the top floor.

Other Trades and Activities

Somewhere, sometime during this twelve-year "mystery" period Charles Andera must have learned his crafts of cabinet making and general wood working because he opened his furniture workshop and store in Spillville (Fig. 3) shortly after his marriage. We have no indication of where or from whom he learned these trades, nor where he got the financial assistance to open a store. Possibly Barbara Dostal's father, Jan Nepomucky Dostal, was partially responsible for both things. Family tradition is mute on the matter, and no records have been found to shed any light on it.

During his career as a businessman in the furniture store, Andera made a great deal of furniture and other fine cabinet and wood work. Among his products were church furniture and other furnishings, including altars, rood screens, reredos, brackets, and other types of ornamental wood work and decorations for Roman Catholic churches in his area. Attributed to Andera are the side altars in St. Wenceslaus Church in Spillville, the high altars in St. John's Church in Fort Atkinson and Holy Trinity Church in Protivin, all in Iowa, and St. Wenceslaus Church in Tremont, Missouri, where the family lived from c. 1902 to c. 1905.[4] A let-

Fig. 4. Andera family group portrait, 1899.

ter from his daughter, Sister Sidonia (Emma Andera), confirms this. She also noted in that same letter that he could paint with a brush in one hand and at the same time sketch with the other hand. She recalled that, as a child, she would often say *tatinek spravi*, meaning Dad will fix it, and he could fix anything that broke, including toys and dolls.[5]

Charles Andera was also a photographer. It is the local understanding in Spillville that he took a portrait of the famous Bohemian composer, Antonin Dvorak, in 1893.[6] That he did take photographs is undoubted, and a studio was located at the back of the top floor of the furniture store. His daughter, Mary Andera Klimesh, remembered a room with a skylight in the furniture store where her father would take pictures.[7] His grandson, William Andera, recalls playing with the photographic equipment on the farm west of Spillville after the death of his grandfather.[8] It is the family tradition that, after the birth of each child, Andera would take a new family group portrait and include himself in it. He devised a remote control apparatus and would trip the shutter after he resumed his seat in the family group. Mary Andera Klimesh wrote that her father stud-

Fig. 5. Drayman named Seim in front of the Andera furniture store in Spillville with wagon load of crosses crated for shipping, date unknown.

ied photography on his own. When taking family group pictures, he used a long rubber hose and a bulb to trip the shutter, all hidden under a rug. There are existing illustrations of Andera family group portraits (e.g., Fig. 4) as well as other photographs which Andera took of his business establishment and his crosses.[9]

Andera was an organizer and charter member of the first Catholic Workman chapter in Iowa, a founder of the Western Bohemian Union insurance cooperative, a trustee of St. Wenceslaus Roman Catholic parish, and he sang in the church choir. As a part of his furniture store business, Andera routinely built coffins, a normal combination activity at that time. His daughter, Mary Andera Klimesh, recalled that when he made coffins he lined the bottom with shavings and then tacked down a fancy white cloth over the bottom and sides.[10] Family members recalled that Andera mentioned the lack of large trees in the area when he arrived. He had to haul large logs from a distance for his work.[11]

The Andera Crosses

Despite these numerous activities, this busy man still managed to find time to make hundreds of cast metal gravemarker crosses. It is important

Fig. 6. Drayman named Seim (and others) in front of the railroad depot in Conover with a wagon load of crosses crated for shipping, date unknown.

to bear in mind that the cross manufacturing was only a sideline for him. Among the local young men who helped him in the making of crosses were Leopold Pohusta, Martin Soukup, John Dostal, and John Andera (his nephew, not his son).[12] There is one bit of evidence that his son, Albert, also helped in this enterprise. In an issue of a local newspaper there is an article noting that Albert Andera delivered a load of cast iron grave monuments to the railroad freight depot in Conover for shipment to points in various states (cf. Figs. 5 and 6).[13]

Construction and Distribution

Mary Andera Klimesh mentioned in a letter that her father made and sold grave monuments. He made the crosses out of wood and sent them to the foundry as a pattern. They fabricated the crosses and sent them back to him. Andera then trimmed them off, painted them, and added the crucifixes. She recalled that he had six or seven patterns. Albert Andera, a grandson, recalled seeing at least four wooden corpus figures and a cross packed in a wooden box in the shop at the house in Spillville. Cyril M. Klimesh, another grandson, remembers two wooden corpus figures hanging behind the shop door.[14]

Where the casting was done is yet another mystery. There is no record that there was ever a foundry in Spillville or Conover. However, there were foundries in nearby Decorah and in Fort Atkinson, where the family lived for a few years when they moved back from Missouri (see Fig. 7). Some suggestions have been made that foundries in Nora Springs, Iowa or Winona, Minnesota or La Crosse, Wisconsin were used. The church history in Tremont, Missouri states that the molds he made there were sent to Rockport, Illinois for casting.[15] Any of these are possible, but none are a certainty at this time.

The previously mentioned newspaper notice about Albert Andera brings to mind the question both of distribution and of advertisement. Spillville was located three and a half miles from the nearest railroad depot at Conover. Many of the places to which crosses were shipped were not on a railroad line either. Horses and wagons would have been the only means of transporting the crosses to the cemeteries. And the crosses were heavy. One clue about this is a "SAFE DELIVERY GUARANTEE" announcement signed by Andera:

> If it should happen that any part reach you broken or in any way damaged, be sure to have the Railroad agent mark the notation of such damage

on the expense bill, which he gives you when you pay the freight. On receipt of this bill I will make a claim against the Railroad company for the damage, and furnish you new part or parts, as may be the case in place of the damaged one without charge. Unless I have these facts written across the expense bill, I can not make a claim for damages and therefore only in this way I can guarantee safe delivery.

Prices include ordinary inscriptions, but do not include verses which are charged extra at the rate of 1 1/2 c for each letter.

Chas. Andera
Spillville, Iowa.[16]

Andera's connection with the Catholic Workman is important to the study of his crosses. We know that he was an organizer of Chapter 33 on 14 February 1897 in Spillville. He was probably also a member of the predecessor organizations, the First Central Union and the Western Czech Catholic Union. These memberships are significant in understanding the sale of the gravemarker crosses because the only advertisement yet found for the crosses is in a 1916 history of the Catholic Workman, noting that Karel Andera of Spillville, Iowa made iron crosses.[17] Because of the wide distribution of the crosses, there had to be some method of letting people

Fig. 7. Barn at the farm near Fort Atkinson showing crosses and bases leaning against the wall, c. 1908.

know of their availability. Searches of other Czech-language newspapers and magazines have not revealed additional advertisements for them. Yet people as far apart as Texas, North Dakota, and New York not only knew of them but ordered and installed them.

Family information sheds some light on the type of person Charles Andera was and how some of the work was done. Mary Andera Klimesh wrote that her father made most of the crosses found in the cemetery in Spillville. He also dressed the stone and made the bases for them. He had a room in the barn where this work was done. She also noted that her father made a pattern for a cross, carved it out, and then sent it to the foundry to have the crosses cast. Additionally, he carved the figure of the body of Christ and encased it in plaster of paris, thus making a form. Mary also wrote that her father carved a statue of the Blessed Virgin and crucifixes for the grave monuments that he sold.[18]

When the trustees of St. Wenceslaus Church decided to have a clock installed in the steeple, it was Charles Andera who did the remodelling and installation. He also constructed small outdoor chapels in the churchyard which were used during the annual Corpus Christi processions.[19]

Post Office records in Spillville indicate that Charles Andera received twelve pieces of registered mail prior to 1902, the time of his move to Missouri. These included:

31 August 1894, Tripp, South Dakota
7 April 1896, Fayetteville, Texas
8 April 1896, Oakdale Station, New York
18 June 1897, Creighton, Nebraska
13 May 1898, St. Louis, Missouri
8 June 1898, North McGregor, Iowa
17 June 1898, Prague, Nebraska
30 October 1899, Bryan, Texas
21 March 1900, Bryan, Texas
4 October 1900, Bryan, Texas
23 April 1900, Mincie, Wisconsin
29 June 1900, Geranium, Nebraska

Since we know that Andera crosses exist in about half of these places, we might assume that the other locations are also prime places to search. Without this clue the cross on Long Island, New York would not have been found.[20]

In an attempt to determine whether or not Andera advertised in Czech-language newspapers and magazines, his grandson, Cyril M. Klimesh, has read through the relevantly dated issues of *Hospodar, Hlas,* and *Slavie* and found no such evidence.[21] There are, of course, additional periodicals to check, but it now seems more likely that the entry in the *Katolicky Delnik Inkorporovany ve satu Minnesota* in 1916 may be the only such reference we are likely to find.

Composition

Another important question which naturally arises is from what material were these extraordinary crosses made? To answer this question, I submitted a sample of the material to the Department of Materials Science and Engineering at Iowa State University. Professor John D. Verhoeven examined a fragment in a scanning electron microscope, and his analysis indicated that the particular cross in question was composed of 94.5% FE, 3.2% Si, 1.4% P, and 0.9% Mn. Translated into common language, this means the cross was made of iron with a high content of silicon and significant amounts of phosphorus. Professor Verhoeven stated that this would lead to good corrosion resistance. He also suggested further conventional chemical analysis.[22]

Following this suggestion, I arranged for a fragment to be submitted to the Chicago Spectro Service Laboratory, with the following results: carbon 3.27%, manganese 0.62%, phosphorus 1.02%, and silicon 3.06%.[23] All of this analysis aroused the curiosity of Professor William L. Larsen of Iowa State University. With the assistance of Francis Laabs, Larsen studied the cross fragment further and concluded that it was high phosphorus cast iron. Phosphorus has two main effects upon cast iron: (1) it makes the iron very difficult to machine because it forms hard particles which tend to wear or break cutting tools; (2) it contributes fluidity to the molten iron, allowing it to fill tiny crevices in the mold. Old fashioned radiators with ornate surface patterns and other decorative iron items commonly used this type of alloy. The two men did further study with an optical stereo microscope using a variable magnification up to 35X. This latter test was mainly concerned with surface features, rather than the composition of the substance of the cross.[24]

Professors Verhoeven and Larsen followed up their responses to my initial enquiry by suggesting that the lack of corrosion on the Andera crosses was probably the result of their being painted.[25] Since family

information suggests that Andera did paint the crosses before he shipped them, and since most of the crosses that I have observed myself have been painted, this seems to be a reasonable conclusion (see Fig. 8). There are some crosses in Minnesota which show a brownish surface, not resembling corrosion, and yet do not seem to have been painted in the recent past. Additional analysis will need to be done in order to answer the materials questions more completely. Andera apparently initially painted many of the crosses black with gold trim (e.g., Fig. 8), although all of the crosses located in my survey that are painted at all are now done in a solid silver color.

Styles

Despite these considerations, it seems that questions of manufacture, advertisement, and distribution pale in comparison with the manner in which one is struck by the visible beauty of these cast iron gravemarker crosses. The crosses are indeed monuments of rare artistic beauty and exhibit a large number of subtle variations in their design and ornamen-

Fig. 8. Painted cast iron gravemarker crosses and carved wooden church furniture photographed by Charles Andera, precise date unknown, probably 1880s.

tation. There are at least eight different basic cross designs, with the possibility of one or two more. Further, there exist at least six and possibly seven styles of bases for the crosses. A variety of ornamental features could be added to any one of the several basic cross designs, and I have located at least twenty-two different ways in which Charles Andera marked the crosses on the back (see Figs. 9, 10, and 11).

Fig. 9. Styles of Andera cast iron gravemarker crosses, 1897.

Some crosses have the inscription cast on the form itself. In other instances, the inscription plates were cast separately and then attached to the cross. Sometimes the inscription plate is of a different material entirely than that of the cross itself. There are crosses with *botonee* lobes, with *patee* lobes, with heart-shaped facing plates, with front views of angels, with profile views of angels, and with skull and crossbone emblems. Others feature a Crown pierced by a Cross, a Lamb of God surrounded by sunburst rays, winged faces, a Chalice, the Sacred Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a praying Madonna (either in head only or with full body), and at least eleven different versions of the Corpus figure.[26] There are instances of identical crosses side by side, one marked on the back by Andera and the other not marked. Only two models for molds have been found: Robert Balik of Spillville has located models for the Lamb of God and for the Chalice (see Figs. 12 and 13).

Andera crosses range in weight from 108 to 318 pounds, in height from five feet eight inches to ten feet tall, and in original purchase cost from $10.50 to $47.00 each. While the weight and the height might have

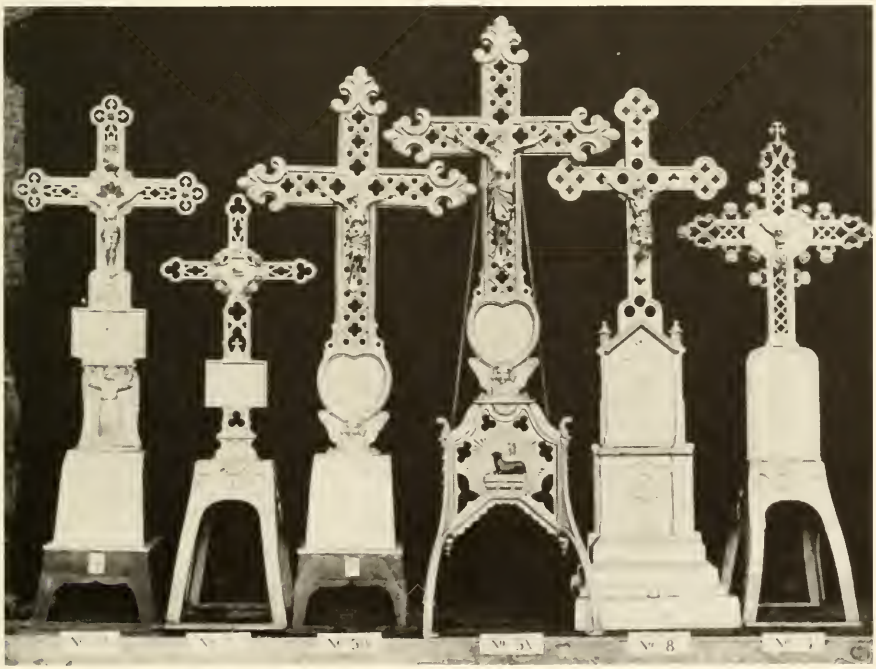


Fig. 10. Styles of Andera cast iron gravemarker crosses, 1904.

added to the difficulty of transporting the crosses, the low cost should certainly have made them an attractive choice for a cemetery monument. In comparison, a 1902 mail order catalog lists a granite marker four feet four

Fig. 11. Styles, prices, and heights of Andera cast iron gravemarker crosses, date unknown.

inches tall and weighing 800 pounds at $26.70. Additionally, they list shipping costs at $1.00 to $1.50 per 100 pounds.[27]

The arms of Andera crosses are sometimes pierced by trefoil or quatrefoil cusps as well as by a variety of either Gothic or Art Deco lattice or grill work, and some feature *fleur de lis* cresting. Very occasionally the arms are solid and plain. Crosses similar to these were manufactured by the Badger Wire and Iron Works of Milwaukee, Wisconsin,[28] and by the Kohler, Hayssen & Stehn Company of Sheboygan, Wisconsin.[29] The Andera crosses should not be confused with these alternatives. It is nonetheless possible that Charles Andera was a dealer for one or both of these companies, and actually sold a number of crosses he did not make.

Neither are the Andera crosses to be confused with the wrought or forged iron cemetery crosses of the German Russians, found in plentiful quantity in North Dakota and in Kansas. Blacksmiths made strap iron crosses in many areas. There are even some of these in the St. Wenceslaus Cemetery in Spillville, the town in which Charles Andera lived and

Fig. 12. Clay model for foundry mold of Lamb of God.

worked (Fig. 14). They are easily distinguished from the cast iron crosses of Andera and the other suppliers. Julaine Maynard, in an article which appeared in Volume I of *Markers*, discussed metal crosses in the Kenosha, Wisconsin area where there are Czech settlements: these are not Andera crosses either.[30]

Fig. 13. Clay model for foundry mold of Chalice.

Conclusions

The remarkable crosses of Charles Andera remain to this day artifacts of intricate, ethno-specific beauty (Figs. 15, 16, and 17). They are also found in large quantities: to date, examples have been found in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Michigan, and New York. They seem to be most numerous in Texas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Minnesota, and, of course, in Iowa. There are without doubt more to be found, and thus the search goes on. One hundred years ago, a craftsman from the small town of Spillville, Iowa struck such a chord in the hearts of his fellow Bohemian immigrants that they were willing to purchase these cast iron gravemarker crosses even when they lived at considerable distance. The strong ethnicity and fierce retention of culture by the Bohemian immigrants allowed for, or caused, this example of material culture to be perpetuated. We can value and treasure the Andera crosses for these and many other reasons.

Upon Charles Andera's death in 1929, the Reverend W. A. Dostal wrote a letter of condolence to Andera's daughter, Anna. In it he rendered a great tribute to the man: "He was a genius. But because of his great humility he was unknown to the world."[31] I think he deserves to be

Fig. 14. St. Wenceslaus Church and Cemetery, Spillville, 1906, showing crosses of varying types in the churchyard cemetery.

Fig. 15. Andera cross model #3, with base model A,
St. Wenceslaus Cemetery, Verdigre, Nebraska.

Fig. 16. Andera cross model #5,
St. Wenceslaus Cemetery, Verdigre, Nebraska.

known by the world. I think he deserves more than that, but at the least I would hope that through this essay the world will learn somewhat of this man and his many achievements, most particularly his remarkable cast iron gravemarker crosses which stand today as eloquent testimonials to his artistry and sense of ethnic community.

Fig. 17. Detail of inscription plate on Andera cross illustrated in Fig. 16, St. Wenceslaus Cemetery, Verdigre, Nebraska.

NOTES

The photographs found in Figs. 1, 12-13, and 15-16 were taken by the author. Those in Figs. 3-11 and Fig. 14 were taken by Charles Andera. The photographer who took Andera's portrait (Fig. 2) is unknown.

1. Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 17 November 1994; Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 9 June 1996; *The Decorah Journal*, 2 October 1929.

2. Manuscript schedules of United States Census for 1880, 1900, 1920; Manuscript schedules of State of Iowa Census for 1885, 1895, 1915, and 1925.

3. *Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory* (Chicago, IL, 1882-83, 1884-85, 1889-90, 1897-98), Vol. II, 713; Vol. III, 925; Vol. V, 1040; Vol. IX, 1059.

4. *The Quasquicentennial History Book*, 1860-1985 (Spillville, IA, 1985), 182.

5. Sister Sidonia (Emma Andera), Letter to Sister Martha (Andera), July 1971.

6. *The Quasquicentennial History Book, 1860-1985*, 181; Mary Andera Klimesh, Letter to Sister Martha (Andera), 5 July 1971.

7. Mary Andera Klimesh, Letter to Sister Martha (Andera), 5 July 1971.

8. Personal interview with William Andera, 6 May 1996.

9. *The Quasquicentennial History Book, 1860-1985*, 181; Mary Andera Klimesh, Letter to Sister Martha (Andera), 5 July 1971.

10. Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 2 December 1994, quoting Mary Andera Klimesh, Letter to Cyril M. Klimesh, 21 May 1979; *The Quasquicentennial History Book, 1860-1985*, 181-182.

11. Cyril M. Klimesh, *They Came To This Place: A History of Spillville, Iowa and Its Czech Settlers* (Sebastopol, CA, 1983), 32.

12. *The Quasquicentennial History Book, 1860-1985*, 181.

13. *The Decorah Republican*, 9 April 1908.

14. Mary Andera Klimesh, Letter to Cyril M. Klimesh, 1979, quoted in Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 2 December 1994; Mary Andera Klimesh, undated and unpaged autobiographical sketch; Mary Andera Klimesh, Letter to Sister Sidonia (Emma Andera), 5 July 1971; *The Quasquicenntennial History Book, 1860-1985*, 181.

15. *History of St. Wenceslaus Church* (Karlin, MO, nd.), unpaged; Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 12 November 1895, quoting from an unattributed 1902 newspaper clipping.

16. Original clipping in the possession of Cyril M. Klimesh. Some models were cast in parts, which then had to be bolted together prior to installation.

17. *Katolicky Delnik Inkorporovany ve statu Minnesota* (np, 1916), unpaged.

18. Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 2 December 1994, quoting Mary Andera Klimesh letter to Cyril M. Klimesh, 1979; Mary Andera Klimesh, undated and unpaged autobiographical sketch.

19. *The Quasquicentennial History Book, 1860-1985*, 181.

20. Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 10 January 1995.

21. Cyril M. Klimesh, Letters to Loren N. Horton, 4 October 1994; 8 January 1995; 23 May 1995.

22. John D. Verhoeven, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 28 June 1995.

23. Richard Goldblatt, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 3 October 1995.

24. William L. Larsen, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 10 October 1995.

25. John D. Verhoeven, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 30 October 1995; William L. Larsen, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 2 November 1995.

26. Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 23 September 1995.

27. *Consumers Guide No. 111* (Chicago, IL: Sears, Roebuck and Company, 1902), 809.

28. Catalog N, *Iron Grave Crosses* (Milwaukee, WI: Badger Wire and Iron Works, 1920).

29. Catalog, *Cast Iron Crosses* (Sheboygan, WI: Kohler, Hayssen and Stehn, 1901).

30. Julaine Maynard, "Wisconsin's Wrought Iron Markers", *Markers I* (1980): 76-79. See also Timothy G. Anderson, "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East-Central Texas: Material Culture and Ethnicity in Seven Rural Communities", *Material Culture* 25:3 (1993): 1-18; Karen S. Kiest, "Czech Cemeteries in Nebraska From 1868: Cultural Imprints on the Prairie", in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, OH, 1993), 77-103; Nicholas Curchin Vrooman and Patrice Avon Marvin, *Iron Spirits* (Fargo, ND, 1982); and Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "Iron Lilies, Eternal Roses: German-Russian Cemetery Folk Art in Perspective," *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia* 6:3 (1983): 27-31.

31. Cyril M. Klimesh, Letter to Loren N. Horton, 12 November 1995, quoting The Reverend W. A. Dostal, Letter to Anna Andera, October 1929.

APPENDIX

Locations of Andera Crosses Presently Identified

IOWA	Clayton, Dubuque, Fayette, Hancock, Howard, Johnson, Linn, Pocahontas, Tama, Washington, and Winnishiek counties
KANSAS	Rawlings County
MICHIGAN	Leelanau and Schoolcraft counties
MINNESOTA	Hennepin, McLeod, Mower, Renville, Rice, Scott, and Steele counties
MISSOURI	Polk County
NEBRASKA	Box Butte, Butler, Colfax, Fillmore, Knox, Richardson, Saline, Saunders, Thayer, and Valley counties
NEW YORK	Suffolk County
NORTH DAKOTA	Walsh County
OKLAHOMA	Lincoln County
SOUTH DAKOTA	Bon Homme, Brule, and Yankton counties
TEXAS	Austin, Brazos, Burleson, Fayette, and Lavaca counties
WISCONSIN	Kewaunee, LaCrosse, Richland, and Vernon counties

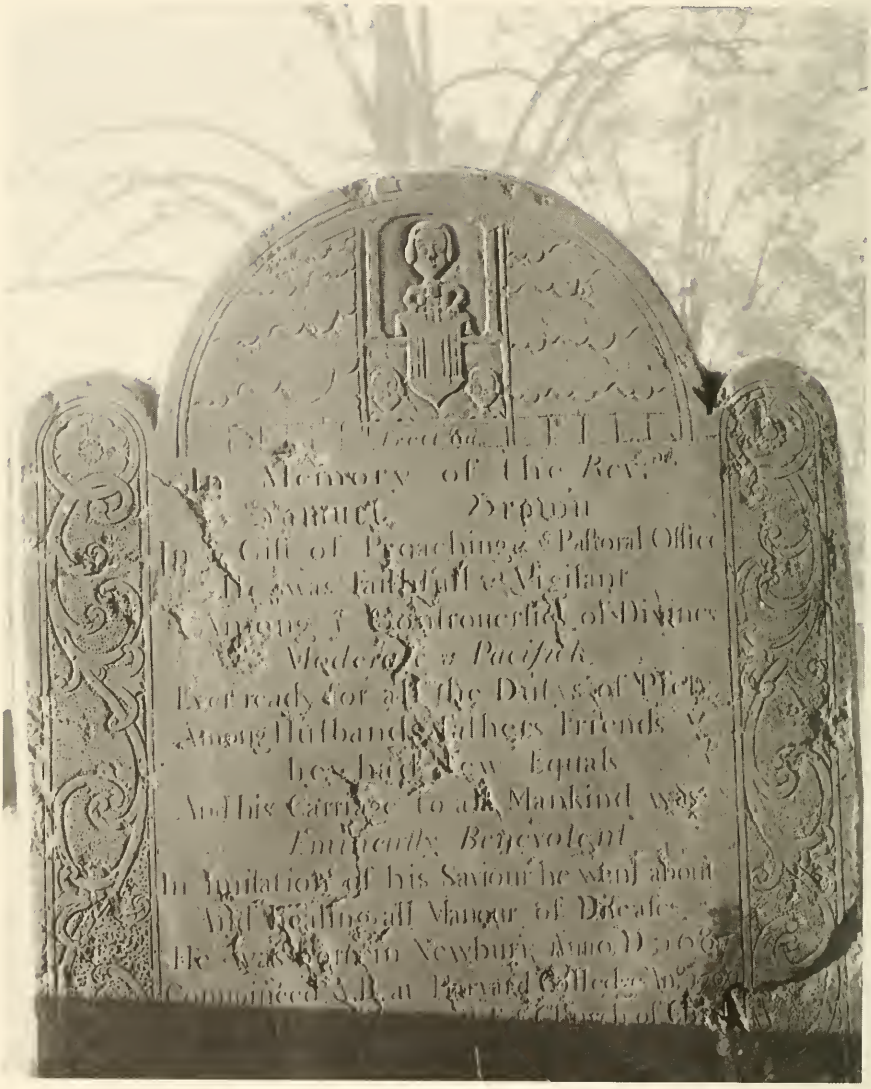


Fig. 1. Rev. Samuel Brown, 1749, Abington, Massachusetts. Carved by John New.

THE PRATT FAMILY OF STONECUTTERS

Ralph L. Tucker

Introduction

Gravestones displaying portraits are rare in the pre-revolutionary period in New England. The earliest type of decorated gravestone generally featured winged skulls; later, these gave way to winged faces (or cherubs), which were not really portraits. To find a significant number of realistically rendered full human figures, half figures, or even heads without wings, one generally has to look in the post-revolutionary period. It was only then that there was a noticeable shift from winged skulls and/or faces to other styles. Exceptions to this general pattern are found on Boston's south shore in the work of John New and the Pratt family, who are among the first to use realistic faces and figures.

John New

John New (b. 1722) carved a number of gravestones in various styles in the interior Massachusetts towns, and then came to the coastal towns near Abington where he carved portraits and other interesting figures in the 1758-1768 period. His work in the Abington, Massachusetts area is executed on an unusual dark red slate of conspicuous size and features full figures of people holding occupational tools in their doll-like hands (Fig. 1).

These styles pioneered by John New were also carved by Noah Pratt, Sr., who before 1767 seems to have been New's apprentice. Stones of this type up to 1767 were either carved by John New alone or with the assistance of Noah, Sr. Only a detailed study, however, enables one to distinguish the work of John New from that of Noah Pratt, Sr. The 1767 Hannah Lovell stone in North Weymouth, Massachusetts provides a case in point. It features a well carved three-dimensional foliate border and good lettering by John New, but also incorporates two "engraved" heads in the tympanum which were probably carved by Noah Pratt, Sr. in a "flat" manner. New was better at rounding out his work, especially the foliate borders and the figures, while Pratt used an engraving technique which gave a "flat" result. Noah Pratt, Sr. at this time had a shaky hand with a chisel which only time would improve.[1] Aside from John New and members of the Pratt family, no other carver's work is even vaguely similar.

Although a competent carver, John New was throughout his life an unstable character and came under the guardianship of Benjamin Shepard in 1767, perhaps because of alcoholism or mental troubles, which caused his removal to the Worcester, Massachusetts area at this time[2]. This may account for the fact that probate records say Noah Pratt, Sr. was paid for several stones which were actually carved by John New – a case where an apprentice as a middleman was paid for the work of his master.

John New and his works were never found in the Abington area after 1767, and while his son James New (1751-1832) would became a carver in the 1770s, he was located in Attleboro and later at Grafton, Massachusetts and employed an altogether different style from that of his father. His work is not found in the Abington area at all. It is thus a clear inference that stones in this style in the Abington area dated after 1767 were made by one of the Pratts.

The Pratt Family

There are several probate references wherein it is noted that Nathaniel Pratt and his son Noah, Sr. and grandson Robert Pratt were paid for gravestones[3]. Peter Benes, on the basis of this evidence, theorized that Lt. Nathaniel Pratt was the carver of the earlier Pratt stones, and that his grandsons Noah Pratt, Jr. and Robert Pratt took over the trade in 1779 when Nathaniel was in his eighties.[4] Recent study, however, seems to indicate that it is more probable Nathaniel was a middleman for his son Noah, Sr., who was the first Pratt carver, and that Noah, Jr. and his brothers Robert and Seth carried on the trade in the next generation. An additional Pratt carver, unknown to Benes, was Cyrus Pratt, the son of Noah, Jr., who carved in the 1800s, although in a different style altogether.

Throughout discussions such as these, it should always be kept in mind that there often exist backdated stones by a carver where his later styles and skills appear to have been employed at an earlier date than when the stones were actually carved. The 1738 Benjamin Hayden stone in Braintree (Fig. 2) is an example of a marker most certainly carved by Noah Pratt, Sr., but obviously not when he was seven years old. The stone probably was made after 1770.

The early Pratt stones of the 1760s and 1770s were carved by Noah Pratt, Sr. (1731-1781), with his sons as apprentices perhaps contributing to the trade as they grew old enough. Robert (1753-1791), the oldest son, may have carved as early as the late 1760s, Noah, Jr. (1758-1825) by the

1770s, and Seth (1762-1838) by the late 1770s. Their early gravestones in the Abington area were carved on the unique dark red slate, shaped with chamfered edges, wide finials, and high tympanums. The large size and the unusual red slate make the stones stand out in any burial ground.

Fig. 2. Benjamin Hayden, 1738, Braintree, Massachusetts. Carved by Noah Pratt, Sr.

Fig. 3. Nehemiah Randal, 1790, Freeport, Maine.
Carved by Noah Pratt, Jr.

They are significantly larger than the usual gravestones of the period and are usually found in the vicinity of Abington, although a few are found as far afield as Boston's Copp's Hill Burial Ground and Portland, Maine. After the 1770s the stones displaying full figures are rare, and their stereotyped heads are more commonly found.

Noah Pratt, Sr.

Noah Pratt, Sr. the son of Lt. Nathaniel Pratt of Abington, was born there on October 19, 1731 and married Mary Jones in Abington on January 11, 1753. Revolutionary war records list eighteen entries for "Noah Pratt" – one from Abington and others from surrounding towns. It is unclear which references refer to Noah, Sr., which to Noah, Jr., or, for that matter, which to other Noah Pratts, of whom there were several. Little is known of the senior Noah's life, but local evidence in Abington indicates that he was something of an alcoholic. In the post-revolutionary period he removed to the Skowhegan area of Maine, but no evidence of his work has been located there.

Noah Pratt, Jr.

Noah Pratt, Jr. was born in Abington on July 20, 1758 and was married there to Alice (or Elsie) Jenkins on November 24, 1780. The next year, together with his relation Thomas Bicknell, he purchased fifty acres of land on Pleasant Hill in North Yarmouth (now Freeport), Maine from Benjamin Parker. The purchase price was £60.[5] The deed reads "... Thomas Bagnell (sic) & Noah Pratt, yeoman, both of N. Yarmouth...", thus indicating Pratt's residence there by 1781. In 1784 he purchased additional land in North Yarmouth, and in 1785 he signed a petition for a road near his residence on what is now Pleasant Hill Road, Freeport. Noah is listed in the Militia of North Yarmouth, Cumberland County, Maine, which would be before 1789 when North Yarmouth became Freeport. In 1789 the town made him a hog reeve and field driver. He then appears in the 1790 census as being located in Freeport and as having within his household one white male over sixteen, four white males under sixteen, and two white females. His name does not appear in the Maine census in 1800 because, upon the death of his older brother Robert in 1791, he returned to Abington, where he took over the family gravestone business. In that same year he sold his Freeport property to Thomas Bicknell[6], and in the deed he referred to himself as "... Noah Pratt of Freeport, stone-

cutter..." No other records relating to Noah, Jr. have been found in the Freeport vital records or other papers there. Much later, in 1824, he moved from Abington to Hanover, Massachusetts together with his wife and son David. His wife's will in 1836 mentions eight living children. His son, Noah Pratt 3rd, was married in Abington in 1818 to Nancy Reed, but later

Fig. 4. Jacob Silvester, 1776, Freeport, Maine. Carved by Noah Pratt, Jr.

moved to Skowhegan, Maine, where in 1842 he married Lydia Eaton. He is not known to have been a stonecarver.

Over forty gravestones have been located in the Freeport and Brunswick, Maine areas which can be attributed to Noah Pratt, Jr. These stones may be used to study his particular lettering and style and distinguish them from the work of his father and two brothers. All of these gravestones are carved on a poor grade of black or gray slate, and three of them are eroded to the point of being barely identifiable as Pratt stones. There are few variations in the markers. All feature a symmetrical halo of leaves surrounding a head in the tympanum. The heads are of three basic types: 1) a male head facing the observer, with the head sitting upon a narrow neck and displaying hair in a wig-like style (Fig. 3); 2) a head facing the observer, with a narrow neck and the head featuring a hood of the type used to cover the hair of women and children (Fig. 4); 3) a male head in profile showing his shoulders (Fig. 5).

All the Pratts carved unusual eyes which are curved upwards . The side borders have fat foliage, which on occasion extends into the finial. In many cases a six pointed star can be found in the finial, as well as at the top center of the foliate halo. The inscription is situated in a rectangular frame beneath the tympanum. Only one stone departs from this rule: the 1788

Fig. 5. Samuel Bartoll, 1786, Freeport, Maine. Carved by Noah Pratt, Jr.

marker for Zilpha Curtis, aged thirteen, in Mast Landing Burial Ground, Freeport, places the inscription within a large heart-shaped border (Fig. 6). Some of the markers have epitaphs below the inscription, but the stones usually are sunken to a point where the lettering can only be seen partially.

The lettering on these stones shows only a few idiosyncrasies: an upper-case "P" is often used where the lower case is called for; the long,

Fig. 6. Zilpha Curtis, 1788, Freeport, Maine. Carved by Noah Pratt, Jr.

old fashioned "s" resembling the letter "f" is used; and one sees an unusual lower case "g" which has large flattened loops. Noah, Jr. often uses a lower case "m" on "Mr." Nearly all the inscriptions start with "In memo-

Fig. 7. Hannah Bartoll, 1784, Freeport, Maine.
Footstone, carved by Noah Pratt, Jr.

ry of ...", only two stones saying "Here lyes ....". In the inscription, rather than the words "...who died...", the carver says"...he died...". Noah, Jr. often makes the numerals 3, 5, 6, and 8 to the height of upper case and drops numerals 4, 7, and 9 below the base line, leaving only numerals 0, 1, and 2 within the lower-case lines.

All the footstones are similar, displaying an empty half circle in the tympanum and employing straight lines for borders (Fig. 7). They are usually inscribed with the name and date of death. There are only sixteen of these footstones remaining, three of which have no corresponding headstones.

There exists a unique "sample" gravestone carved by Noah, Jr. which contains examples of the heads carved on his other stones, fifteen letters of the alphabet, the year "1787," and his name (Fig. 8). This stone, which is 14" x 7" in size, is easily transportable and the only such sample marker known to the author. In 1963 Colby College presented an exhibition entitled "Maine and Her Role in American Art," and the catalogue for the exhibition featured an illustration of the stone. Discovered in the attic of the Thomas Bicknell house where Noah had previously lived, and where the Bicknell family have lived to the present day, the provenance is unchallenged. This stone is now in the collection of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Robert Pratt

Robert Pratt was born on December 18, 1753 in Abington, Massachusetts. He married Jane Bicknell there on January 27, 1775 and died, also in Abington, on February 22, 1791. Robert's work can be identified by looking at the stones in the Abington area dating from 1781-1791 (the years Noah, Jr. was in Maine), and also by the unique lettering he employed. An example of the latter is found on one of his probated stones, the 1779 John Hobart marker in Whitman, Massachusetts, which features an unusual "curlicue" type of lettering (see also Fig. 9). From the war records, where three entries are found pertaining to Robert Pratt, it appears that he was a drummer who was present on the 19th of April 1775 at the battle of Lexington-Concord.

Seth Pratt

Seth Jones Pratt, the brother of Robert and Noah, Jr., was born on June 28, 1762 in Abington and married Hannah Hunt in March, 1784. He is referred to in the Abington records as a stonecutter, but his work cannot

be distinguished from that of his brother Robert. There is uncertainty as to his place of residence during and after the war. Military records list

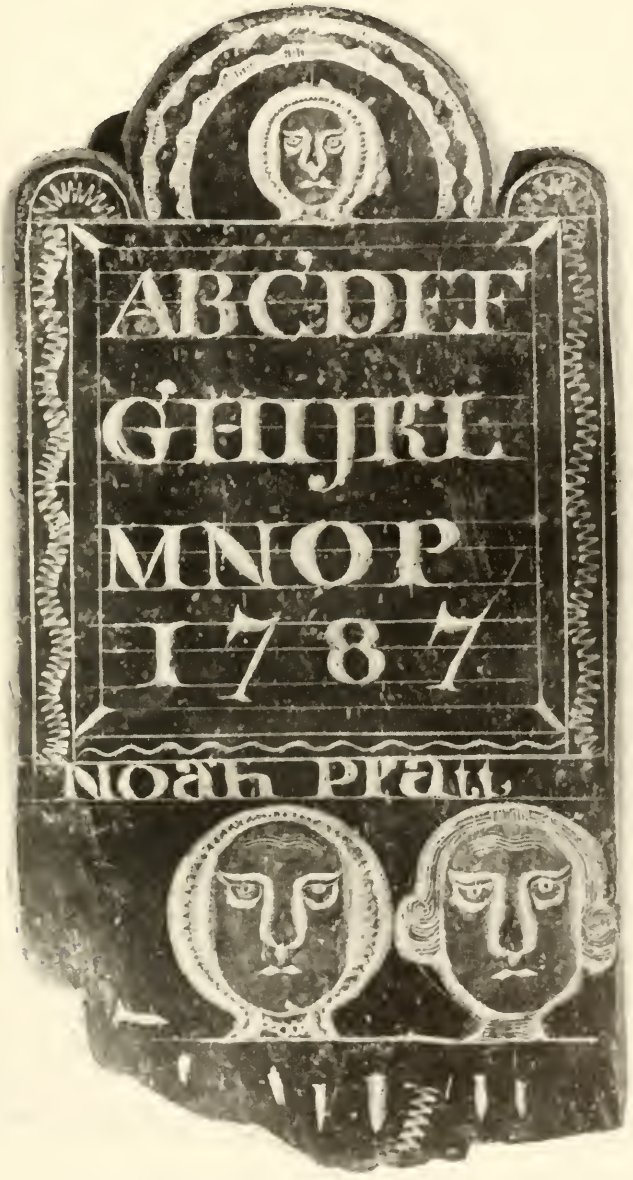


Fig. 8. Sample stone, 1787. Carved by Noah Pratt, Jr.

four entries for Seth Pratt, and it appears that he spent all of 1780 in the Continental Army as well as some other spells of duty. There is a pension application on file which notes his service in Colonel Bayley's and Colonel Sprout's Regiments.[7] Later records indicate Seth's residence in Maine as well as his death there in 1838. He may also have carved there, but there are no reports of his work found in that area.

Fig. 9. Isaac Jones, 1783, Weymouth, Masachusetts. Carved by Robert Pratt.

Cyrus Pratt

Cyrus Pratt, the son of Noah, Jr., was born about 1783, apparently in Freeport, Maine. On December 7, 1808 he married Cynthia Orcutt in Abington. About 1820 he moved to nearby Hanover, where he died in 1846. In the 1800s he carved some gravestones on slate bearing some Pratt-type faces, not as portraits, but as angels or cherubs with wings (Fig. 10). Most of his work, however, is unlike the other Pratt stones except for the distinctively distorted almond-shaped eyes, which clearly identify him as a Pratt carver. He used a type of rock which was rare, being what is geologically referred to as rhyolite (sometimes called "wacke"), a greenish trap rock quarried in Hanover, Massachusetts, where he was located. This rock is quite different in aspect from that found in other gravestones, making them stand out to even the casual observer.

Conclusion

The changes in the cultural styles of gravestones during this period are

Fig. 10. Benjamin Hearsey, 1793, Weymouth, Massachusetts. Carved by Cyrus Pratt.

well illustrated in the markers carved by the Pratt family. The stones of John New in the 1750s and 1760s, with their human figures and busts, were early examples of the shift away from the usual death heads and cherubs to themes less lugubrious. The Pratt family took up this style and used it through the 1790s. It would cease only when the still newer themes of neoclassical urns and weeping willow trees became increasingly prevalent in the post-revolutionary period.

NOTES

Figs. 1, 2, 9 and 10 are from the Daniel and Jessie Farber Collection of Gravestone Photographs, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. Fig. 8 is from the collection of Nina Fletcher Little; originally published in the exhibition catalog, *Maine and its Role in American Art* (Waterville, ME: Colby College, 1963), the stone it illustrates is now in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The photographs shown in Figs. 3-7 were taken by the author. In completing this essay, the following primary and secondary sources proved particularly useful:

Abington Bicentennial Committee. *Abington and the Revolution.* Abington, MA, 1975.

Benes, Peter, *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805.* Amherst, MA, 1977.

Campbell, Martha (Mrs. Colin). Correspondence on genealogical and historical data as well as notes on Abington gravestones.

Cumberland County Registry of Deeds: 20:184; 20:485.

Dunning, Col. Thurlow. *Genealogies of Freeport Families.* Mss at Bartol Library, Freeport, ME.

Forbes, Harriette Merrifield. *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800.* Boston, MA, 1927; rpt. New York, NY, 1989.

Luti, Vincent. Correspondence on data relating to the New family and the early Pratts. (Vincent has done significant work on the New family of carvers.)

Nash, Cyrus. Manuscript diaries, 1804-1850, on old Abington, MA.

Pratt, Francis Greenleaf. *Genealogical Record of Matthew Pratt of Weymouth, Mass. and his American Descendants , 1623-1888.* Boston, MA, 1889.

Rand, Sally (Mrs. John). Manuscript material on Noah Pratt, Jr.'s stones. Freeport Historical Society, Freeport, ME.

"There's No Place Like Home," *Portland Sunday Telegram,* 8 Sept. 1940.

Thompson, Deborah, ed. *Maine and Its Role in American Art.* Waterville, ME: Colby College, 1963.

Thurston, Florence, and Cross, Harmon S. *Three Centuries of Freeport, Maine.* Freeport, ME, 1940.

1. According to the best authority on the New family of carvers, Vincent Luti, John New was the better carver: he carved eyes with modeled pupils and realistic necks; his stippling was even; his foliate borders were full and three dimensional; his serifs were slanted; he used extensive punctuation; and he decorated his capital letters. On the other hand, Noah Pratt, Sr. carved unusual almond-shaped eyes, skinny necks, random stippling, flat serifs, poor foliate borders, and employed little punctuation. In general,

New's work is more realistic and full, while Pratt's is flat and uncertain. Compare John New's work in the 1766 Sarah Adams stone in Milton, Massachusetts with Pratt's 1767 Sarah Garnett stone in South Hingham to see the difference in abilities.

2. John New had several episodes of unusual behavior, being insolvent on several occasions and once running for governor of Massachusetts, where he received one vote.

3. There are several probate records for Nathaniel Pratt, two of which are specifically for gravestones. Eleven references involve Noah Pratt (no distinction as to which one), three of which mention gravestones. Three references cite Robert Pratt, two of which are for gravestones. See also, Peter Benes, *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805* (Amherst, MA, 1977), 142-146. A complete listing of relevant probate records follows:

PRATT PROBATES

*Stones marked with * were made by John New although paid to Noah*

Suffolk County Probates

stone date					probate date	
1743	Wight, David	Dedham	S37:121	£0.93.0	1744	Noah Pratt
1774/5	Nash, Alexander	Weymouth	S74:396	£1.16.0		
1774	Nathaniel Pratt, g.s.					
1745	Pratt, Dr. Henry	Medway	S41:268	£1.10.0	1748	Noah Pratt
1745/6	Ellis, Caleb	Dedham	S38:22	£27.4.0	1745/6	Noah Pratt
1761	Beal, Ebenezer	Hingham	S62:315	£2.6.8	1763	Noah Pratt
1761	Beal, Ebenezer*	Hingham	S67:405	£2.12.8	1769	Noah Pratt, g.s.
1766	White, Samuel*	Braintree	S66:123	£2.8.0	1767	Noah Pratt
1767	Lewis, Joseph	Hingham	S69:125	£2.8.0	1770	Noah Pratt, g.s.
1768	Leavitt, Hezekiah	Hingham	S69:369	£1.13.0	1770	Noah Pratt, g.s.
1769	Faxon, Capt. Richard	Braintree	S71:194	£3.6.0	1772	Nathaniel Pratt 2 g.s.
1769	Faxon, Anne					
1770	Laurance, Edmund	Dedham	S69:369	£1.13.0	1770	Noah Pratt, g.s.
1770	Dodge, Ezekiel	Abington	see town records			Noah Pratt, Sr.

Plymouth County Probates

1766	Studley, Joseph*	Hanover	P20:193		1769	Noah Pratt
1774	Lapham, David	Marshfield	P21:350		1774	Nathaniel Pratt
1777	Adams, Samuel		P38:343		1793	Robt. Pratt
1775	Hayward, Benjamin	Bridgewater	P21:414		1775	James New, g.s.
1777	Reed, Samuel	Abington	P24:387	£1.4.0	1777	Robt. Pratt, g.s.
1779	Hobart, John/Huldah	Whitman		£12.0.0	1779	Robt. Pratt, 2 g.s.

4. Benes, *The Masks of Orthodoxy*, 142-146.

5. See Maine's Cumberland County Registry of Deeds book 20:184.

6. See Maine's Cumberland County Registry of Deeds book 20:525

7. S.A.R., Fisher, *Soldiers, Sailors, and Patriots of the Revolutionary War, Maine*, 1982.

APPENDIX

Stones Carved by the Pratt Family

The following listing, while not complete, is meant to be representative, and consists of data known to the author at this time.

Date	Last Name	First Name	Title	Location	St	Carver
–	–	–	–	Brunswick	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1778	Adams	Moses		Quincy	MA	Pratt, Robert
1777	Adams	Samuel	–	–	MA	Pratt, Robert
1777	Adams	Sarah		Quincy	MA	Pratt, Robert
1761	Allen	Benjamin		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1787	Allen	Matthew	Capt.	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Robert
1768	Andrews	Elizabeth		Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1801	Arnold	Daniel		Quincy	MA	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1795	Arnold	Elizabeth		Quincy	MA	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1770	Atwood	Thomas	–	–	MA	Pratt, Robert
1788	Bartoll	George	Mr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1784	Bartoll	Hannah	Mrs	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1779	Bartoll	John	son	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1786	Bartoll	Samuel	Mr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1781	Bartoll	Solomon	son	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1743	Bass	Hannah		Randolph	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1768	Bass	Samuel		Holbrook	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1792	Bates	Jos,Eunice,J	son,dtr,son	Hanover	MA	Pratt, Noah, Jr

1766	Bayley	James	Rev.	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1761	Beal	Ebenezer (1)	_	Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr/New
1761	Beal	Ebenezer (2)	_	Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr/New
1761	Belcher	Sarah		Quincy	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1778	Bicknell	Ebenezer		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert
1768	Bicknell	James		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert
1780	Bicknell	Mary	Mrs, wife	N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1775	Bicknell	Nathaniel	son	Milton	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1778	Bicknell	Stephen		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert
1778	Bicknell	Zachariah		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert
1798	Blanchard	Daniel	–	S Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1801	Blanchard	Mary	Mrs, wife	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah
1775	Brown	Josiah	Mr	Milton	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1749	Brown	Samuel	Rev.	Abington	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1799	Burr	Thomas	Mr, son	Bath, Beacon	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1780	Chapman	Edmund	Gentleman	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1786	Curtis	Faith	Mrs	Freeport, Mast	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1789	Curtis	Hannah/Sam		Hanover	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1767	Curtis	Lemuel		Hanover	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1788	Curtis	Zilpah	daughter	Freeport, Mast	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1763	Cushing	Dan & Sarah		Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1793	Cushing	Scilence	daughter	W Bath	ME	Pratt, Cyrus
1755	Daws	Robert	Mr	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1786	Dennison	Abner	Capt.	Freeport, Mast	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1786	Dennison	Jonathan	son	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr

1779	Dennison	Joseph	son	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1784	Dennison	Mary	Mrs, wife	Freeport, Mast	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1775	Doble	Susanna		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1770	Dodge	Ezekiel	Rev.	Abington	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1770	Dodge	Ezekiel	son	Abington	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1745/6	Ellis	Caleb	_	Dedham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1778	Ellis	David	Mr	Rockland	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1800	Everson	Mary		Quincy	MA	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1769	Faxon	Anna		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Nath/Noah Sr
1768	Faxon	Richard	Capt.	Braintree	MA	Pratt, Nath/Noah Sr
1758	Fogg	Mary	wife	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1725	Ford	Andrew	Ensign	Abington	MA	Pratt/New
1771	Formal	Sarah	–	Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1771	French	Eben., Anna	–	–	MA	Pratt, Robt/Jas New
1779	Gannet	Abiah	son	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1803	Gannett	Betsy	Miss, dtr.	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1798	Gannett	Deborah	Miss, dtr.	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1767	Garnett	Sarah	Msr	S Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1787	Griffen	Christopher	Mr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1764	Gurney	Zachariah		Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1778	Harris	James		E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt
1787	Harris	Samuel		Brockton	MA	Pratt, Robert
1796	Hatch	Benjamin	Mr	Marshfield	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1767	Hatch	Gamaliel		Hanover	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1738	Hayden	Benjamin	none	Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr

1789	Hayes	Levi	son	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1793	Hearsey	Benjamin	son	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1775	Hearsey	Rachel	daughter	S Hingham	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1767/79	Hobart	John, Huldah	Mr	Whitman	MA	Pratt, Robert
1777	House	Seth	–	Hanover	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1793	Hubbart	Peter	Dr.	Hanover	MA	Pratt
1789	Hunt	John	Mr	Brunswick	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1795	Hunt	Micah			MA	Pratt
1763	Jackson	Hannah	–	Plymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1763	Jenkins	Leah	–	Abington	MA	Pratt, Robert
1783	Jones	David	Dr. (Sr)	Abington	MA	Pratt
1783	Jones	Isaac	Mr	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert
1782	Josselyn	Thomas	–	Pembroke	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1782	Joyce	Phillips	son	Marshfield	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1797	Keith	Bethiah	Mrs, consort	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1777	Keith	David & Abig		E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt
1774	Lapham	David	–	Marshfield	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1770	Laurance	Edmund	–	Dedham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1768	Leavitt	Hezekiah	Mr	Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1800	Lemont	Joanna	Mrs, wife	W Bath, Lamont Cem	ME	Pratt, Cyrus
1751	Lewis	David		Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1767	Lewis	Joseph	Mr	Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1754	Lewis	Sus. & Abiga			MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1767	Lincoln	Rachel		Whitman	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr

1796	Lincoln	Sarah	Mrs, wife	Hingham	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1783	Loring	David Cushing	Mr	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1769	Loring	Lydia	Mrs, wife	Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1780	Loring	Sarah Hayes	Mrs, consort, da	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1767	Lovell	Hannah		Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah/New
1787	Low	Betty	Mr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1782	Mackness	William	Mr	Harpswell	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1788	Merrill	Moses	Mr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1797	Mills	William	son	Boston, Copps	MA	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1786	Mitchel	Benjaman	Mr	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1785	Moxey	James	–	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
178?	Moxey	Rhoda	–	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1785	Munro	Thomas	Dr.	Bristol, Juniper	RI	New/Pratt
1774/5	Nash	Alexander	Capt.	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1794	Neal	Else	–	Hanover	MA	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1775	Newman	John	Mr	E Prov., Newman	RI	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1777	Newton	Josiah	Mr	W Brookfield	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1785	Otis	Isaac		E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt
1759	Packard	Abiel		Brockton	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1774	Packard	Abiel	Capt.	Brockton	MA	Pratt
1778	Packard	Isaac		Brockton	MA	Pratt
1770	Packard	Sarah	–	Brockton	MA	Pratt
1781	Pote	Anne	Mrs, wife	Falmouth, Pine Grove	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1776	Pratt	Abner		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert

1764	Pratt	Elizabeth	–	–	MA	Pratt, Robert
1836	Pratt	Elsie	Mrs	Spring Lake	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1760	Pratt	Hannah		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1745	Pratt	Henry	Dr.	Medway	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
–	Pratt	Mary	Miss	?	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1779	Pratt	Nathaniel	Lt.	Abington	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr?
1825	Pratt	Noah	(Jr.)	Spring Lake	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1820	Pratt	Robert	Mr	Spring Lake	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1761	Pratt	Sarah	–	Hingham	MA	Pratt/New
1771	Pratt	Sarah	–	Hingham	MA	Pratt/New
1787	Pulling	John	Capt.	Boston, Copps	MA	Pratt, Robert/Noah
1790	Randel	Nehemiah	Mr	Freeport, Mast	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1778	Read	William	Capt	Whitman	MA	Pratt, Robert
1776	Reed	Daniel	Capt.	Abington	MA	Pratt
1777	Reed	Samuel	–	Abington	MA	Pratt, Robert
1767	Rice	David		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1785	Richards	Joseph	Mr	W Abington	MA	Pratt
1797	Richards	Rachel	Mrs, wife	Weymouth	MA	Pratt
1766	Robinson	Joseph (1)	Mr	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1777	Robinson	Joseph (2)	Mr	E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1784	Robsen	Ann	Mrs	Brunswick	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1791	Rogers	William	Capt.	Freeport, Mann	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1784	Rose	Edward	Mr	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1787	sample stone	–	–	SPNEA	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1768	Savel	Abigail		Quincy	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr

1768	Savil	Elisha	Dr.	Quincy	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1789	Sherman	James	Jr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1785	Silvester	Amos	Mr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1776	Silvester	Jacob	son	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1770	Silvester	Susanna	dafter	Harpswell	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1790	Simpson	Elizabeth	Mrs, wife	Brunswick	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1771	Snell	Charles		Brockton	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1768	Snell	Zachariah	Deacon	Brockton	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1780	Soul	Barnabas	Mr	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1776	Spooner	Ephraim		Abington	MA	Pratt
1790	Stanwood	Samuel	Deacon	Brunswick	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1791	Stetson	Samuel	–	Hanover	MA	Pratt
1768	Stockbridge	John	–	Hanover	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1752	Stowel	M & L		Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1766	Studley	Joseph	none	Hanover	MA	Pratt, Robert/New
1789	Sylvester	Jacob	son	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1788	Sylvester	Patience	daughter	Freeport, 1st	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1767	Symmes	Timothy		Abington	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1768	Tenny	Gershom		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1771	Thayer	Sarah		Braintree	MA	Pratt
1779	Thayer	Thomas		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1789	Torrey	Belinda, Beria	dtr; son	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert
1771	Torrey	William	Mr	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1788	True	Nathaniel	Mr	Yarmouth, Ledge	ME	Pratt, Noah, Jr
1773	Turner	Henry	Dr.	Quincy; X Church	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr

1793	Turner	Phillipp	Mr	Norwell	MA	Pratt
1788	Vinson	Hannah	Mrs, consort	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert
1784	Vinson	Warren	son	S Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1762	Vinton	Hannah		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1779	Vinton	Thomas		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1770s	Ward	Samuel	Major	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1768	Waterman	Elizabeth		N Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1773	Waterman	Josiah	Deacon	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1778	White	Augustus	son	Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1778	White	Augustus		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Robert
1759	White	Ebenezer		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1755	White	Lydia		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr?
1758	White	Nathl. & Ruth	Dr; wife	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1766	White	Samuel		Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr/New
1775	White	Susanna	Mrs, wife	Braintree	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1793	Whiting	Homer	Mr	Hanover	MA	Pratt
1770	Whitman	Abiah	Capt.	Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1756	Whitman	Joanna	Mrs, wife	S Weymouth	MA	Pratt, Robert/Sr
1773	Whitman	Susannah		E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt
1788	Whitman	Thomas		E Bridgewater	MA	Pratt, Robert
1778	Whiton	Enoch	Capt.	S Hingham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1795	Whiton	Mary	Mrs, wife	S Hingham	MA	Pratt, Cyrus
1743	Wight	David	–	Dedham	MA	Pratt, Noah, Sr
1776	Willis	John	Esq.	W Bridgewater	MA	Pratt

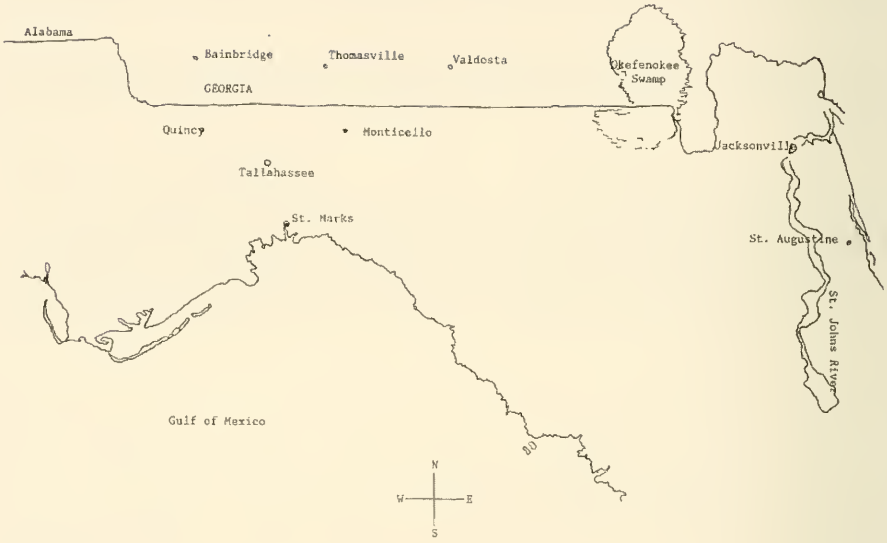


Fig. 1. Map of North Florida study area.

UNDER GRAVE CONDITIONS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN SIGNS OF LIFE AND DEATH IN NORTH FLORIDA

Robin Franklin Nigh

"Let the Soul's of thy people be cool..."[1]

Introduction

Cemeteries are deliberately created and highly organized cultural landscapes.[2] Studied collectively, they present miniaturizations and idealizations of larger patterns and social conditions. Studied individually, cemeteries and grave decorations provide visual texts that illustrate the belief systems of the living. In African-American cemeteries, they articulate trends and customs of a diasporic people. This essay examines select cemeteries and grave decorations in relation to the development and structure of the black Christian Church in North Florida.

In order to understand the similarities and simultaneous uniqueness of African-American graves in relation to those of other groups in North Florida, a review of the commonalities in cemeteries is helpful. North Florida cemeteries are of the Upland South folk graveyard type. Cemeteries of this type are widely dispersed across the South and are identified by, among other things, their small size, hilltop location, east-west grave orientation, scraped ground, and preferred species of vegetation.[3] These cemeteries are typically found in or near rural communities. The Upland South type is a blending of the three cultures that have formed the present-day South: Euro-American, Native American and African-American. Because of this blending, a number of shared motifs or elements, such as east-west orientation, may have multiple origins and are thus subject to diverse interpretations. For instance, the European Christian tradition for facing east derives from the notion of facing Jerusalem and the direction of the second coming. In African traditions (namely those of Ghana and Central Africa), east/west is regarded as the direction of the earth and therefore positive. Alternatively, while certain customs have multiple origins and meanings, the scraped ground, and some of the grave adornments seen locally, seem unquestionably of African origin.[4] This is not to say that adornment is not found in white cemeteries across the South, simply that, as stated by Zora Neale Hurston, "the will to adorn is one of the greatest contributions that the African-

American has contributed to Southern culture."[5]

My fieldwork in North Florida includes several cemeteries of varying sizes and totals approximately one thousand graves. These cemeteries were in or near a three-county area that includes Leon, Jefferson and Gadsden Counties (study area outlined in Fig. 1). Most were of the transitional-type defined within the Upland South criteria. This type, as described by D. Gregory Jeane, has grass within the cemetery, but not over the graves.[6] In these instances, however, the above-ground granite or concrete covering seems to have replaced the raked/scraped ground upon the grave. Among those I interviewed were an African-American funeral director and several people who had family buried in these cemeteries. I found many variants in grave adornment, and in the presumed origin of these decorations. Many African-Americans do not know why they decorate the graves, or what the ornaments might signify in their African heritage. Most assume the decoration or organization of the grave is derivative of white burial traditions.[7] I postulate that the structure and adornments of North Florida graves and cemeteries are strongly connected to the rise and development of the Black Church. As shall be discussed, the Black Church has been a consistently influential institution among African-Americans since the days of slavery. Additionally, it is the one institution that remains essentially segregated, and it is this segregation that has allowed Yoruba undercurrents to continue to thrive in North Florida.[8]

The Role of the Black Church

African-American churches in the rural South have a long and complex history that weaves together African and Euro-American traditions. While graves may be physically organized according to European influence (headstone, casket, etc.), their function remains comparable to African altars and traditions.[9] This is because many African-Americans view cemeteries, and consequently graves, as part of a living, active process. These graves are portals or crossroads where the living meet those ancestors who have passed on to the next state of being. The ancestors will continue to play an active role within the family and may be included in such family traditions as reunions (where group photographs are taken by the headstones of the deceased) or the custom of passing an infant over the casket at the funeral.[10] Both traditions present death as simply the other side of living, not as a terminal or permanent end.

Acculturation can generate innovations. One must acknowledge the simultaneous creativity and the cultural blending of the newly arrived Africans and their subsequent generations as they were forced to recode their faith. It would be inaccurate to suggest that the hardship of slavery destroyed the creative tendencies of the West Africans; it simply reconfigured or rechannelled the religious structure. Rules and parameters of the dominant white culture were superficially obeyed, not adopted. In the nineteenth century, slave funeral practices were largely dictated by whites in regards to when the funeral would be held.[11] Christian practices were encouraged by the dominant white society, but the white society most likely stayed away from the personal lives of the slave community. This allowed African-Americans to reconfigure much of the traditional Euro-Christian imagery and practices and recode it with their own meaning. In doing this, they did not convert to God, they converted God to them.[12] A new visual language – one of duality and complexity – brought forth new types of imagery that are represented in the form of grave decorations. The individuals creating this language are no longer African or European: they are part of a diasporic experience, and must come to terms with identity and self-worth. As expressed by John Michael Vlach, African and European components merge within the African-American.[13] This suggests a split identity which W.E.B. DuBois addressed in his *The Souls of Black Folk:*

> ... It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of theirs, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.[14]

DuBois expresses the plight of the African-American in evangelical language, evoking the image of an outraged preacher shouting from his pulpit. For the African-American in the South, the notion of identity has always had a direct line to the Church because the role of the church has always been utterly different for the African-American than the Euro-American.[15] To quote Paul Radin, "the white Methodist or Baptist was asked to prove that Christ had forgiven his sins; the black was asked to prove that Christ had recognized him and that he recognized Christ.[16]

Since reconstruction, the Church has continued to play an important role in the lives of African-Americans in the South.[17] This role has tradi-

tionally been different from that performed by the Euro-American church because the needs are different. As in Africa, the black minister was and continues to be priest, politician, and orator all at once.[18] From its early days, beginning with the slave church, it has been associated with a struggle for human rights (though perhaps not always labeled as such).[19] W.E.B. DuBois referred to the church as a sort of "Club House" serving the community with multiple functions.[20] Additionally, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Jessie Jackson provide more recent examples of the priest-politician-orator initiating issues of civil rights through a church environment. In Tallahassee, the Black Church is a powerful and influential presence within the community. Within one block of Florida State University's Fine Arts Building there are two black churches. One church, Bethel Baptist, has secured expensive real estate on busy Tennessee Street and opened a family restaurant. While the restaurant feeds the body, and the church the soul, they both function to strengthen the community.[21] All of this is to say that the role of the Church is emphasized within the community and this I believe is clearly related to practices of grave decoration. Certainly not all African-Americans are devout church goers: however it should be remembered that the graves seen in north Florida exemplify these belief systems of the Black Church, belief systems that are recoded African traditions.[22]

African-American graves in North Florida are of significant interest because in many cases connections can be traced directly to West Africa. Roughly 75% of the individuals I interviewed were born and raised in Leon County. Most could trace their ancestors back to slavery in North Florida, although they could not say precisely when their ancestors were brought to this country or where they ultimately derived from in Africa. It is fundamental to acknowledge that the African-American community in North Florida is not a particular mobile community. Most have family members buried in cemeteries that include slave graves (though most of the slave graves no longer have their original wooden markers). Another reason why African-American graves in this area are worthy of study is because this region of the country, though not isolated, had the reputation of being backwards and having uneducated ministers. These false assumptions indicate black ministers learned from an oral, black tradition.[23]

Like the Black Church, black graves in North Florida possess strong Kongo traditions that were orally perpetuated by plantation and runaway

slave settlements. From 1824-1860, the slave trade was a profitable business in Tallahassee, as this area was considered the heart of the cotton belt in Florida. Patterson and Hughes, a large slave trading firm, operated out of Tallahassee. T.R. McClintok, another slave trader, was extensively engaged in the slave trade in Leon County. These slaveholders and traders influenced the economic and religious affairs of the county very early in its history. Illegal importation of slaves in Leon County continued as late as 1828 (some through the port of St. Marks, just twenty miles South of Tallahassee). Some thirty years later, in the 1860 census, there were listed 75 large plantations with thirty slaves or more, and 73% of the total population in Leon County were indicated as slaves.[24] These slaves were allowed to attend the White Church, though not in equal proportions to the white congregation. Some blacks would break away and form their own church with the congregation consisting of free blacks and slaves.

After the Civil War, during the reconstruction period, some African-Americans went north, while others moved to neighboring counties (Gadsden and Jefferson in particular). Many, however, remained in Leon County.[25] The newly freed slaves would not automatically assimilate to white society, and they found themselves having to adjust to vastly different social conditions.[26] The role of the Black Church would play an increasingly important role in the development and organization of social rituals, including funerary and burial customs.

African-American Burial Patterns in North Florida

Like the markers used for early slave settlement graves, those found on many contemporary North Florida graves are not commercially produced, but handmade. When commercial headstones are used, they are frequently of custom design and emphasize either personal loss or a biographical statement. The handmade gravemarkers are usually made of concrete. These also make emotional statements. One assumption might be that the family was too poor to buy a commercial tombstone,[27] but according to John Michael Vlach, the concrete gravemarkers form a neat intersection between commercial headstones and scattered burial offerings of the Kongo and nineteenth century America.[28] Additionally, I have found the handmade, individualized gravemarkers to be a source of pride. On the Ayavalla Plantation, there is a cemetery that has been active since at least the early nineteenth century and is known to contain the

graves of many slaves. I was told about the handmade, personalized gravemarker of a woman who died in 1987 and is buried in this cemetery

Fig. 2. Handmade headstone of Florence Holliday.

(Fig. 2). When I contacted him about this marker, the son of the deceased woman proudly and sincerely stated that "My Dad made that headstone."[29]

This idea, that the prevalence of handmade gravemarkers is not an issue of economics but rather represents recoded traditions, is further borne out when graves of black military veterans are examined. At death, the government provides deceased veterans a headstone that commorates their service. However, in addition to this standardized marker, many graves of black military veterans in North Florida will display multiple forms of identification (Fig. 3). In some cases, the grave has three forms of identification – two headstones (one standard military, one handmade) and a footstone (frequently of cement with block letters).

This redundant identification, ultimately a form of respect and sentiment for the "new ancestor," is in accordance with a number of other burial customs honoring and respecting the dead. In the early decades of the twentieth century in North Florida (as in other black communities in the South), it was not uncommon for a week or two to pass before the deceased was actually buried. Newbell Puckett writes that many African-Americans thought it disrespectful that so many whites buried their dead so quickly.[30] Since the 1930s, there has been some shift in North Florida and South Georgia as funeral homes are playing a larger role and subsequently influencing traditional funerary customs. Billy Hutchings, a third generation African-American funeral director in Macon, Georgia, said the average length now between death and burial is three to five days. Though he assumed most black funerary traditions were assimilated from white society, he does recognize two fundamental differences as possessing African origins. First, and foremost for Hutchings, is the music in the funeral services performed in the Black Church. This, he feels, represents a statement of rebellion against the White Church from which it derived – a church that allowed no music or dancing.[31] Secondly, Hutchings notes that the ceremonies for the deceased are fundamentally different: "In the white church, it's like a memorial service. In the black church, it's like a regular church service."[32] This is affirmed by Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilbur Wright III, who note that funeral sermons are never preached at a burial but rather afterward at church on a following Sunday.[33]

An 1887 drawing of an African-American burial on the banks of the St. Johns River (near Jacksonville, Florida) depicts other examples of Kongo death and burial traditions that have been recoded to the available mate-

rials and conditions (Fig. 4). This drawing was first published in Hezekiah Butterworth's *A Zig-Zag Journey In The Sunny South,* and according to Robert Farris Thompson the image portrays several Kongo and Angola influences.[34]

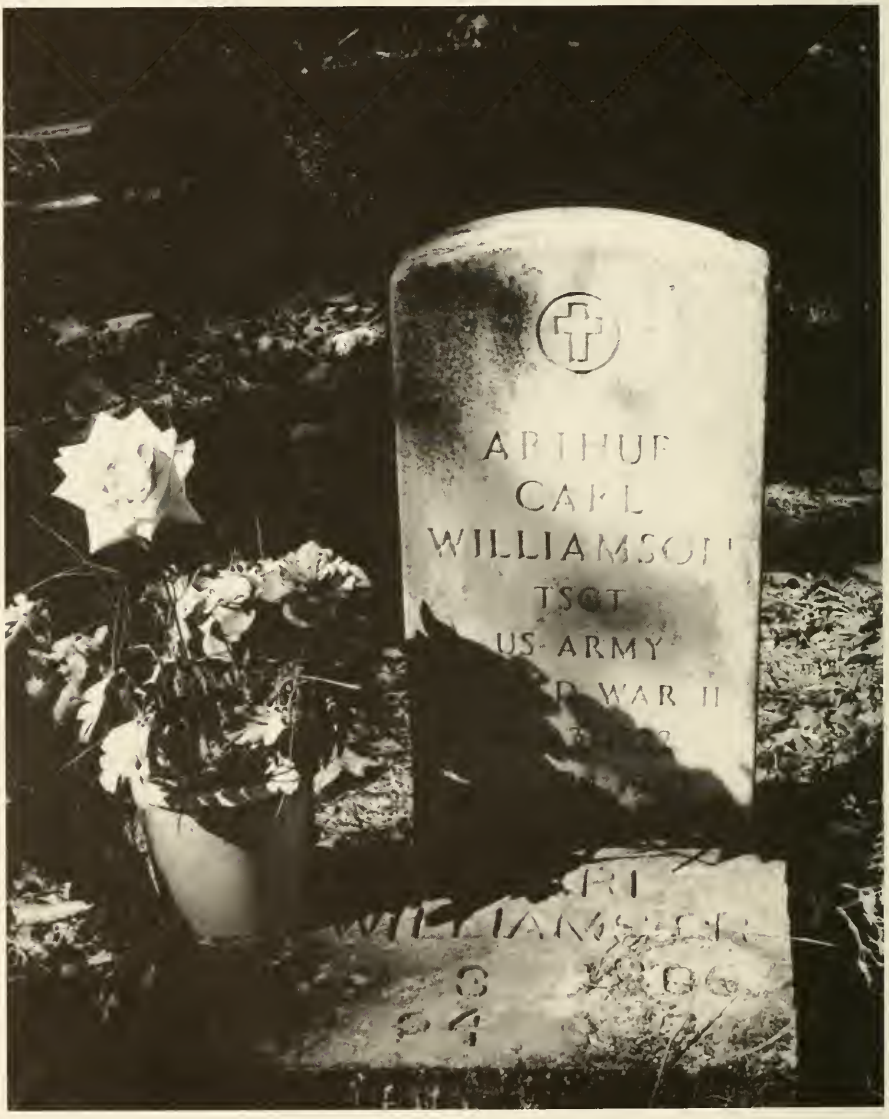


Fig. 3. Multiple identifications are typical on the graves of African-American military veterans in North Florida.

Fig. 4. This drawing, originally published in 1887, depicts the grave of an African-American near Jacksonville, on the banks of the St. Johns River. Note the animal skin banner and the broken pots.

For instance, placing broken crockery (or pots with the bottom punctured) on the grave of the deceased is a practice seen in parts of West and Central Africa and is also seen on some African-American graves (Fig. 5). Of course, interpretations vary as to what this practice may mean. One explanation is that the dishes are broken so that the chain is broken – i.e., that no one else in the family will follow the deceased too quickly. In West Africa, the pots are to assist the deceased in the next life. It has been falsely presumed that they were broken to prevent theft. What is consistent is that the broken fragments are for the deceased and are not to be touched.[35]

Additionally, the hanging skin seen at the head of the pyre compares directly with the lifting-up of wildcat banners on Kongo graves and is associated with kings. It is also said to mean the arrest of evil.[36] In the photographic archives of the State of Florida, I have found what may be an extension of this tradition. In the archives, there are several post-mortem photographs of the deceased's casket placed on an animal skin rug or straw mat (mats are also associated with kings), including one striking example taken in the 1920s in St. Augustine, a town 20 miles south of Jacksonville (Fig. 6).[37] This arrangement seems to have been an important part of black funeral practice in Florida in the 1920s and 1930s and coin-

Fig. 5. The grave of Eddie Wade in Greenwood Cemetery has broken pottery placed on the cement headstone.

cides with a similarly important practice of placing the deceased on a cooling board.

Cooling boards were a practical method of preserving the body, allowing the deceased to "rest easy" and "be cool." This practice was actually used for both blacks and whites; however, certain African parallels would suggest the practice would be easily assimilated with African meanings. First is the notion of coolness. If the spirit is kept "cool," it is more likely to leave the living alone. Secondly, cooling boards often resembled beds. In some African areas, such as Senufo, beds function as catafalques whereupon the body is wrapped and displayed while formal mourning is observed.[38] The bed is thus used for sleep in life and afterlife. The notion is echoed in the Black Church, where death is considered a type of sleep, and the correspondence is frequently articulated on handmade headstones (e.g., Fig. 7). This association of sleep with death is, of course, common in many mainstream religious practices as well. To say the deceased is sleeping suggests the potential of awakening, or resurrection. Again,

Fig. 6. This post-mortem photograph of an African-American woman was taken in St. Augustine in the 1920s. The animal skin rug has associations with kings in Yourba and denotes a form of respect.

however, this also specifically evokes one of the Yoruba concepts of the soul – that of breath, and the notion that breath leaves the body during sleep.[39] Additionally, the graves themselves can recall the form and function of a bed with a headboard/headstone and a footboard/footstone.

Other themes that may be read as African with a Christian overlay, or acculturated blendings, are illustrated by graves that possess sentimental offerings. For the West African, it is common practice to bury people with broken pottery (a point discussed earlier) and/or with the tools of their trade.[40] In Africa, the tools or implements of a person's livelihood are placed upon their grave: they have now been rendered useless in the present life, as they belong to the essence of the deceased. While I did not find this exact tradition at work in North Florida, I did note a comparable commemorative notion in cemeteries in Quincy and Tallahassee. On one grave, a truck driver is rendered standing alongside his truck; at another, a motorcycle is forever emblazoned on the grave of the deceased. Billy Hutchings recalled a similar example in Macon where a motorcycle is engraved on a grave covering because the deceased "was just crazy about

Fig. 7. Sleep and death have associations in many faiths, but may have an additional dimension in African-American Christian Churches.

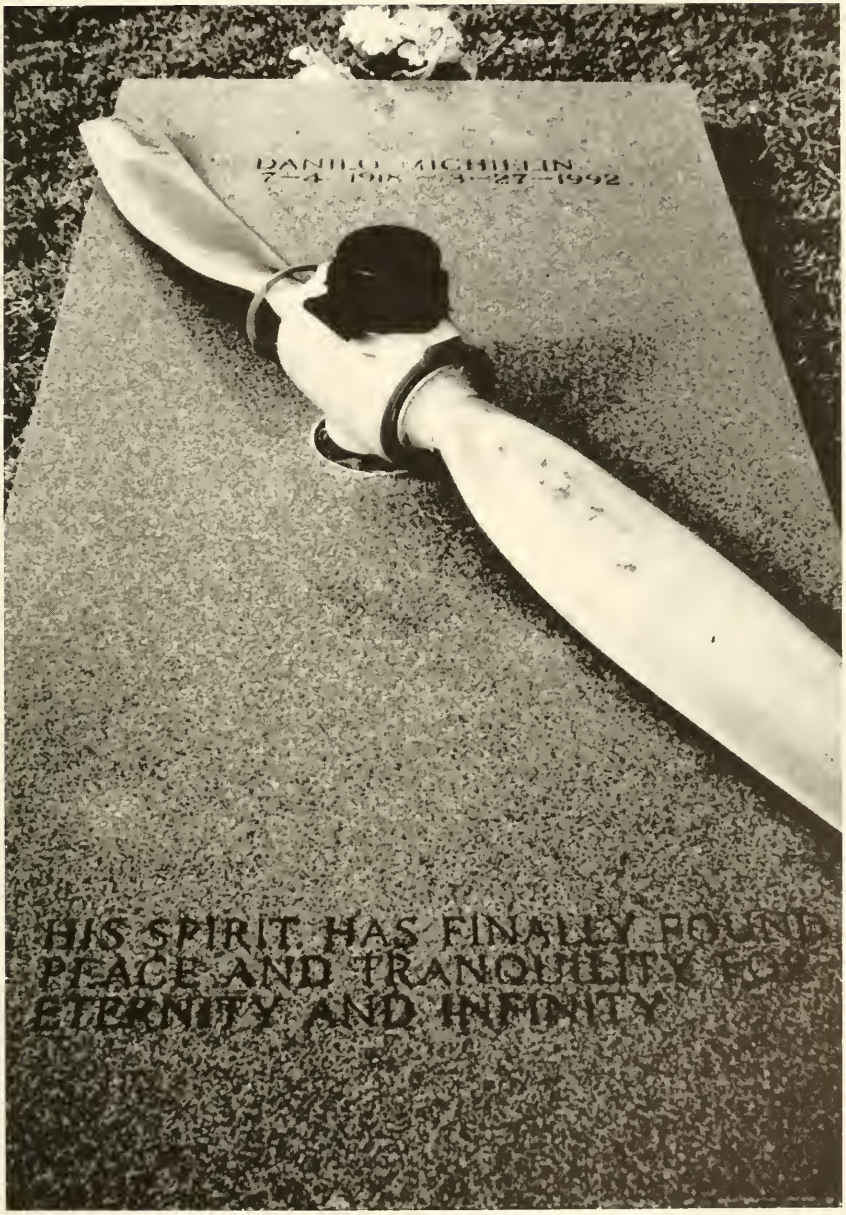


Fig. 8. The grave of Danilo Michielin, a former airline pilot, is surmounted by an airplane propeller. The propeller indicates his livelihood while also suggesting motion.

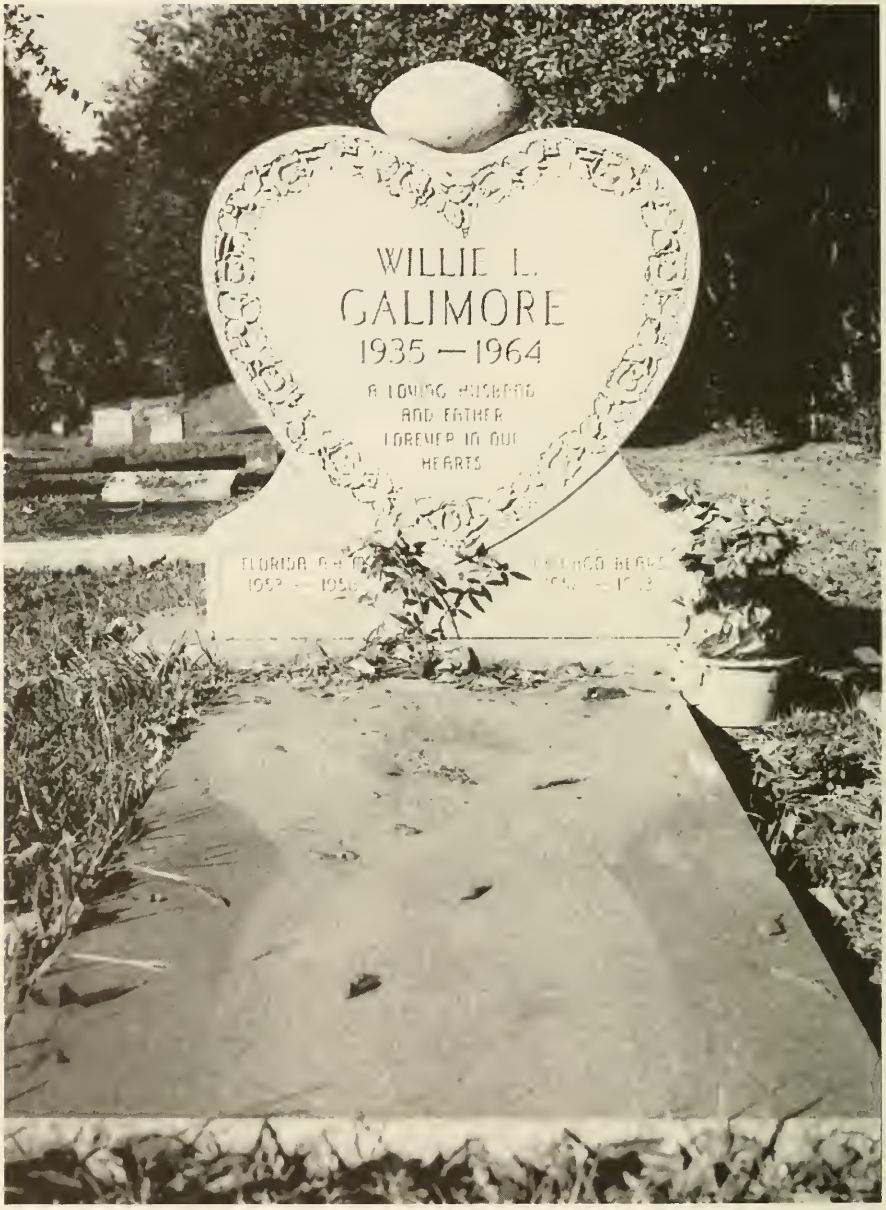


Fig. 9. The grave of former football player Willie L. Galimore. Note the heart shape, the football, and the dates given for his separate football careers.

motorcycles."[41] At Southside Cemetery, a former airline pilot is honored with a propeller atop his grave "for eternity and infinity" (Fig. 8). While recognizing the forms of livelihood is an increasingly common practice in all cemeteries, there seems to be a particular relevancy when considered in the context of African gravesite decoration. All of these decorative elements – trucks, motorcycles, and airplanes – are associated with the deceased's living occupation or hobby, but they are also strongly suggestive of motion, an element important to the African concept of "blazing."[42]

Similarly, in Greenwood Cemetery, an elaborate granite gravemarker recounts the three lives of Willie Galimore – his life on earth generally, his life as a husband and father, and his life as a football player, first at the collegiate level for Florida A&M University and ultimately as a professional with the Chicago Bears (Fig. 9). The heart shape, as seen on Galimore's monument, remains a popular motif in African-American cemeteries. In addition to its usual connotations, the heart shape also evokes the concept that the soul resides in the heart – it is at the center of the body.[43]

Fig. 10. A ceramic Christ figure and an angel are cemented atop this grave in Quincy. The materials and placement of these figures suggest an altar-like function.

Fig. 11. This Bible is wrapped in plastic and forms the center of a large red and white wreath. It is forever opened to the Twenty-Third Psalm.

African-American graves in North Florida are frequently found decorated with mementos that seem more like offerings on altars (e.g., Fig. 10), supporting the notion that graves are an access point to the spirit world. The grave is considered to be an active "channel" or crossroads. In Quincy, I found a Mickey Mouse note taped to a headstone. Reading it, I found a simple message, "Mom I miss you and know I will see you again." This deep sense of mourning and personal loss is also filled with hope and promise. It continues the Kongo tradition of tomb decorations imposing multiple dimensions upon outwardly simple shapes and gestures.[44] A Bible placed on a grave in a Monticello church cemetery is open to the Twenty-Third Psalm (Fig. 11). It is placed so as to form the center of a heart-shaped wreath of red plastic roses with a white dove, evoking, among other religious meanings, the red and white of Shango.[45] While this paper Bible is undoubtedly wrapped in plastic for protection, it reminds one of the plastic Bibles frequently used in black cemeteries as part of the gravesite decoration (see, for instance, Fig. 20).

A consistent theme or metaphor found throughout these black cemeteries is that of water. Articulated in various ways – through pipes, shells,

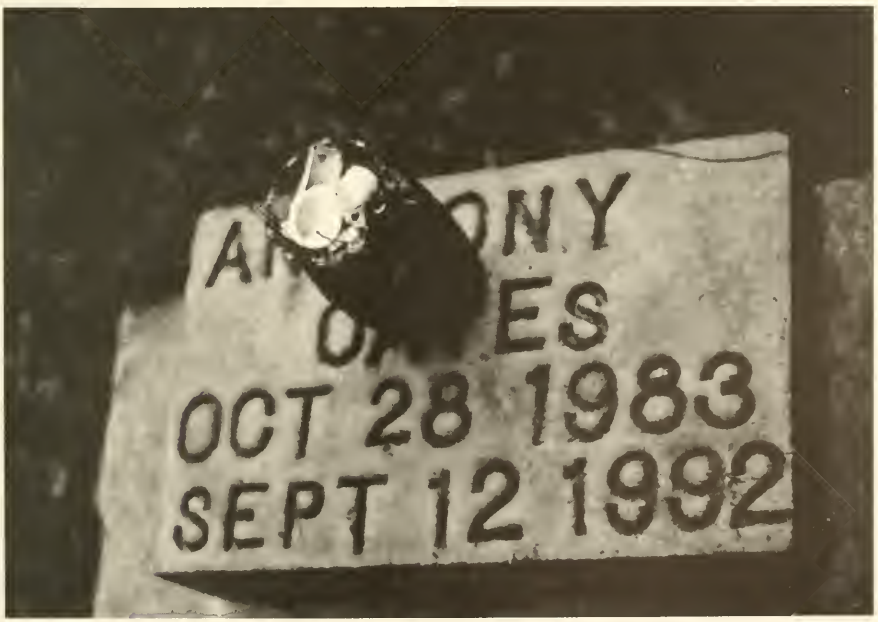


Fig. 12. Shells in a jar are placed on the grave of Anthony Oates.

or overt suggestions – the notion of water has significant meaning to both Christian and Yoruba traditions.

Shells have broadly cross-cultural meanings throughout the South. For the Native American, shells are associated with death but not used in above-ground graves. For the Euro-American, shells evoke ancient traditions associated with Venus, and ultimately the Virgin. But John Michael Vlach maintains that the practice of using shells as grave decoration amongst African-Americans is unquestionably of African influence.[46] In Kongo, shells suggest immortality, and the spirals serve as a metaphor for the soul's infinite journey. The shell encloses elements such as water, earth and wind, and is believed to enclose as well the soul's immortal presence. It is a world in miniature. Of course, not all African-Americans are aware of these traditions. Billy Hutchings says that people put shells on the grave because "they look nice, and people will use what is available to them."[47] He is right, of course, but there is also a recoding taking place here, a recoding that would also explain why shells are found on graves

Fig. 13. This grave is located near the "crossroads" of busy Highway 27 and Old Bainbridge Road. Note the four posts that surround the grave.

that are well inland. Shells are associated with water, and the spirit world is deeply connected to water. The notion of water as a type of passage may be manifested in many forms of grave decoration. In particular, shells placed on or near the headstone (e.g., Fig. 12) create an image of a river bottom, the environment in African belief under which the realm of the dead is located.[48] Bleached shells could symbolize both the whiteness and watery character associated with death.[49] Robert Farris Thompson associates this phenomenon with spiritual return.[50]

An extension of the shell motif is the notion of a scaffolding structure (cf. Fig. 4) functioning as a mediation of the spirit.[51] The poles intersect both worlds – the living and the spirit world – thereby creating a crossroads. One grave in the cemetery of St. Mark's Primitive Baptist Church is surrounded by four posts (Fig. 13), suggestive of the "crossroads" structure. In this instance, the deceased is also facing a literal crossroads, the busy intersection of State Road 27 and Old Bainbridge Road. This motif is reconfigured in a number of media such as pipes and poles (e.g., Fig. 14).

Fig. 14. This grave is located in a plantation cemetery known to have slave burials. Note the iron pipe bowed over the grave. Pipes are associated with water and intersect the living world with the spirit world.

Fig. 15. Next to the grave of Bettie Dickey is a broken water pump. The water pump assures that the spirit will be satisfied and will not wander.

Such sites, notes Thompson, "are grounded in dimensions where the flow of the spirit, and contact between worlds, becomes possible as through the passage of water."[52]

The spirit world travels through water and for water. A water pump (Fig. 15) placed near a grave at the Ayavalla Plantation Cemetery provides assurance that the soul will not wander. A stream runs through the east side of Greenwood Cemetery, providing similar assurance for the souls of those who rest there. Water also sparkles when it catches the light. Glittering objects in general embody the spirit, because, for the dead, the world is upside down. This also affects the concept of time. In the spirit world, it is noon at our midnight.[53] Glittering objects, such as the blue glass placed beside and atop a marker at a Primitive Baptist Church cemetery (Fig. 16), the blue and yellow stone inlay on a headstone at Greenwood Public Cemetery (Fig. 17), and the purple and gold beads arranged atop a grave slab in Southside Cemetery (Fig. 18), all sparkle in the sun, when it is dark on the other side. Shiny and reflective objects share the likeness of the western mirror – they are all an index to the consciousness of spiritual proximity. The spirit can dwell in them.

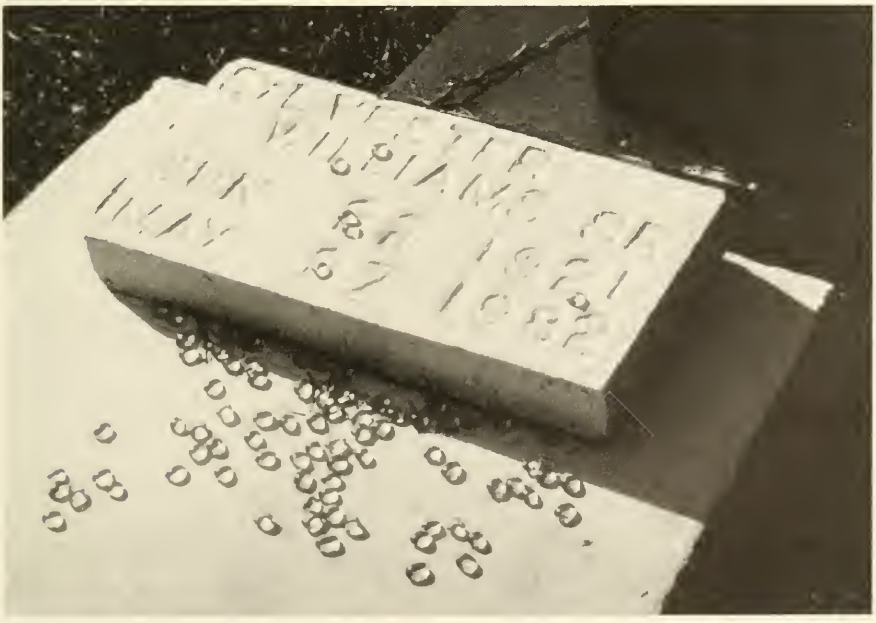


Fig. 16. Blue glass sparkles in the sun on the grave of Sylvester Williams, Sr.

The "pool" which covers and outlines a gravesite in Monticello is fashioned of turquoise-colored stones and is surrounded by a white wooden border (Fig. 19). At night it glows; by day, it looks like a cool pool. This grave, so typical of many in my study, evokes the form and function of a Christian motif (a pool used for total submersion in baptisms and identified with rebirth) and, simultaneously, a Yoruba river bed where spirits may dwell. It is completed with a wooden marker – the only (recent) example of a wooden marker found throughout my fieldwork. Carved into the wood are two interlocking birds (probably doves) with names written on each. Etched on the dove on the right is the name Wayans, while on the left dove is the name of Jesus. Below it reads "Soldier of Fortune." Behind the marker is a gardenia bush. As in a number of cultures, how well a plant does when planted at a grave is seen as an indicator of how well the spirit is doing in the afterlife. In African traditions, this notion is further extended as the tree or schrub's roots extend downward

Fig. 17. This headstone features yellow and blue stone inlay.

Fig. 18. Purple and gold bows and beads are taped to the Moore family's grave slab.

towards the deceased. Next to the gardenia there is a large anthill. Ants in African traditions are considered good luck when found near a grave. They not only turn the soil, but like the gardenia in this example, can cross between the spirit world below and the world of the living above.

Additionally, some African-American graves in these North Florida cemeteries recall the function of a nkisi (plural = minkisi). Minkisi are containers made of various materials ranging from fabric to wood or metal, and they function in a fashion similar to Kongo cosmograms or charms. Included among the minkisi functions are their ability to serve as hiding places for people's souls and to keep and compose order to preserve life. They are filled with spirit-embodying materials including cemetery earth, which is considered at one with the spirit of a buried person. According to Robert Farris Thompson, graves are the ultimate charm in that they provide an effective medium for communicating with the dead.[54] In this sense, all objects placed on the grave, and most especially those which bear particular relevance to the deceased, are similar in function to the objects placed in the minkisi (see Figs. 20 and 21).

The decorative border surrounding the graves, as illustrated in Figures 20 and 21, can be dually read as the perimeter of the minkisi and

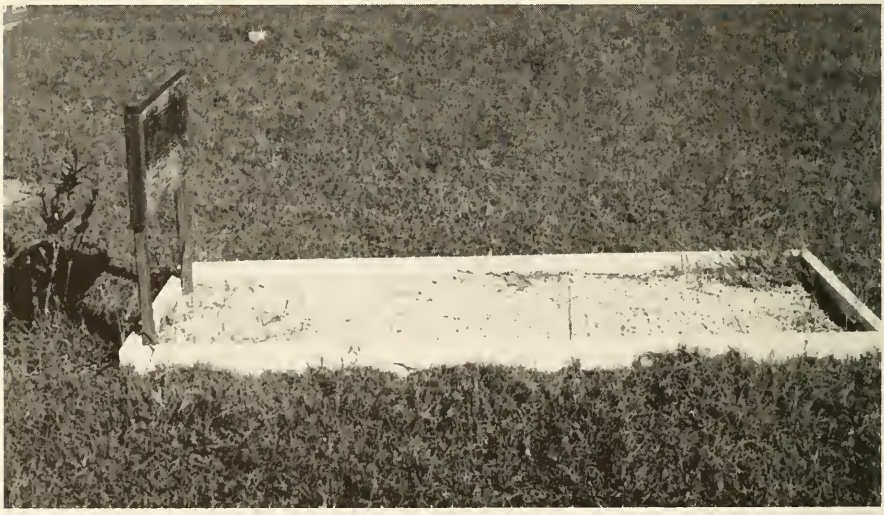


Fig. 19. The Wayans gravesite in Monticello looks like a cool pool. Turquoise stones are framed by a white wooden border. Note the gardenia bush behind the wooden marker. An anthill – another culturally relevant feature – is near the gardenia.

as a luumbu. The luumbu is the protective enclosure that commonly surrounds Kongo graves and royal compounds. In African-American burials, the custom of surrounding the grave with a border or fence seems partic-

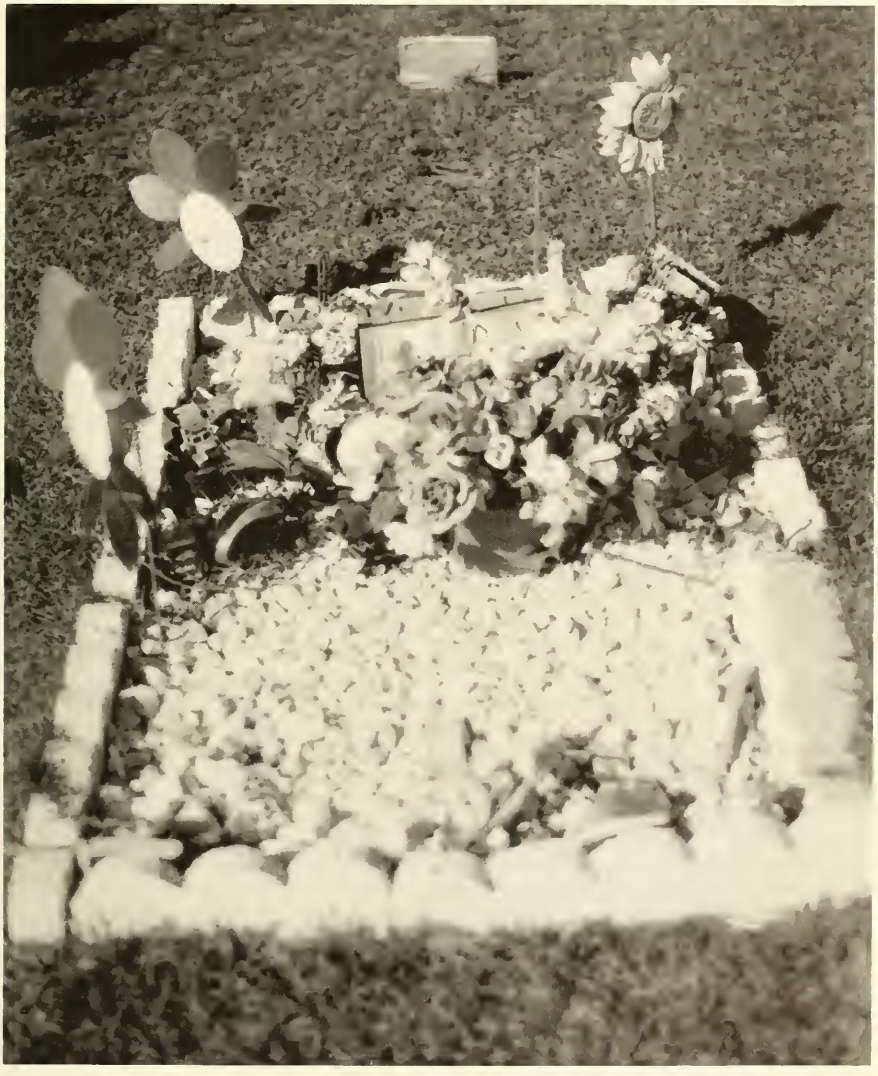


Fig. 20. The grave of a child. Artificial flowers, toys, and plastic garden pinweels decorate the grave, and the plastic bible in the center is inscribed with the name of the deceased. Note also the border surrounding the grave.

ularly prevalent at the gravesites of children. It doesn't seem to matter what the grave covering is: what is important is that the grave itself is surrounded and protected.

Conclusions

The African-American graves found in North Florida are the embodiment of African and Euro-Christian traditions. There is a duality present, and an aesthetic that, acknowledged or not within the community, continues to thrive. The graves function like living, dynamic altars – they present a channel or doorway through which the living and the spirit worlds can meet and commune. The grave decorators of North Florida are leaving individual doors open to communicate with the deceased. There is thus an ongoing exchange established between the living and the dead. The living must make the dead understand that they have lost nothing by dying since they receive mementos and offerings from those who are yet a part of this world. The dead, in turn, are expected to compensate

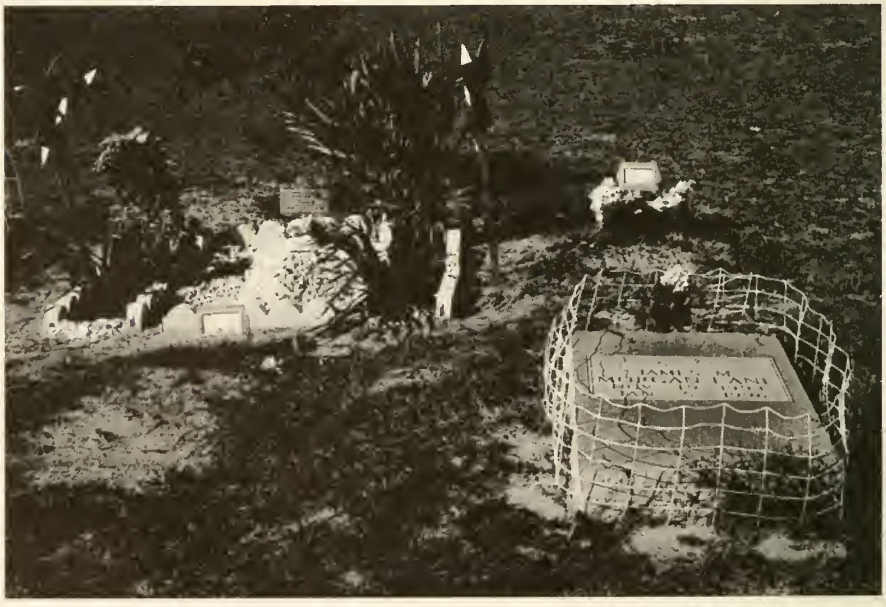


Fig. 21. Two graves of children. Note the mounded rocks, the protective, surrounding border, and the garden planted for the child on the left, where red and white garden pinwheels flank each side. The grave on the right is protected by wire fencing.

through listening and understanding.[55] This ancient cross-cultural tradition is actively seen in North Florida's African-American cemeteries. It is fundamental, because there is still – and ever – interaction, even in death.

NOTES

I wish to acknowledge many enthusiastic discussions with Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk and Robert Farris Thompson on this topic. I am grateful for their encouragement. I am particularly indebted to Frank Hammaker, who not only told me about many of these cemeteries, but took the time to show me. And most especially I wish to express my gratitude to the families who spoke with me. Except for Figures 4 and 6, all photographs are by the author. Fig. 6 is reprinted with the permission of the Florida State Photographic Archives.

1. Line from a Neur Prayer. Quoted in Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Westport, CT, 1979), 11.

2. Richard Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61:2 (1971): 501.

3. Gregory Jeane, "Rural Southern Gravestones: Sacred Artifacts in the Upland South Folk Cemetery," *Markers IV* (1987): 55.

4. Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin, TX, 1982), 18. D. Gregory Jeane argues against this premise in his article, "The Upland South Folk Cemetery Complex: Some Suggestions of Origin," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989), 113-116.

5. Zora Neale Hurston, "Characteristics of Negro Expression," reprinted in *The Sanctified Church* (Berkeley, CA, 1981), 50. For examples of white decorated graves, see the Photo Archives of the State of Florida; see also Jordan, *Texas Graveyards*, 14. In reverse, it should be noted that not all African-American graves are decorated.

6. See Jeane, "The Upland South Folk Cemetery Complex: Some Suggestions of Origin," 116-118.

7. Billy Hutchings, Alfreddie Holliday, Louis Henry, and Barbara Jones, personal communications. Just as I was surprised to find how different and personal African-American cemeteries are, I found it interesting that those I interviewed were equally surprised at my initial unawareness of the richness in these cemeteries.

8. See Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York, NY, 1984). See also Robert Farris Thompson, *Face of the Gods* (New York, NY, 1993); and Henry John Drewel, "Art and Divination Among the Yoruba: Design and Myth," *African Journal* 14: 2-3 (1983): 139.

9. Coffins, for instance, were introduced by the Portuguese to Africa in the late fifteenth century. For information on coffin development in Africa, see Thierry Secretan, *Going into Darkness: Fantastic Coffins from Africa* (London, England, 1994).

10. The passing of an infant over the casket of the deceased assures that the infant will have the blessing of the deceased, and that the child will not suffer the same fate of the deceased. See William H. Wiggins Jr. and Douglas DeNatale, *Jubilation!: African-American Celebrations in the Southeast* (Columbia, SC, 1993), 53.

11. John Blassingame says that most slave funerals were held at night so as not to interfere with the work schedule. A second funeral would be held at a later date that allowed for more elaborate celebrations. These included dancing and singing. See Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York, NY, 1972), 41-45. The notion of a second funeral is also a Yoruba tradition. Slaves were buried quickly (with no embalming) and typically in pine boxes. One gentleman I interviewed, Louis Henry, told me of an experience in which he had fallen into a rotted wooden coffin while out hunting. He spoke of how he went home, got the proper materials, and reburied the deceased – essentially giving the deceased a "second" (or third?) funeral.

12. Paul Radin, "Status, Phantasy, and the Christian Dogma," in *God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Negro Ex-Slaves*, Vol. 19 of *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, ed. George P. Rawick (Westport, CT, 1971), x.

13. John Michael Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland, OH, 1978; rpt. Athens, GA, 1990), 1.

14. W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York, NY, 1969), 45.

15. Radin, *God Struck Me Dead*, xi.

16. *Ibid.*

17. For further information on the developing and influential role of the church see: W.E.B. DuBois, "The Religion of the American Negro," *New World*, December 1900, p. 631; Zora Neale Hurston, *The Sanctified Church;* Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida* (Tallahassee, FL, 1965), 83-96; Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On;* and Andrew P. Watson's essay "The Negro Primitive Baptist Church," in *God Struck Me Dead*.

18. Bennetta Jules-Rosette, "Creative Spirituality from Africa to America: Cross-Cultural Influences in Contemporary Religious Forms," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 4:1 (1980): 239.

19. Robert Hall, "Response," in *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South*, ed. Ted Ownby (Jackson, MS, 1973), 45. This is borne out in the events surrounding Barnetts Creek Baptist Church in Thomas County, Georgia. Controversy erupted when the church asked the parents of a deceased infant to exhume the remains of their daughter and bury her elsewhere because her father was black. This story made national news (NPR) and the front page of the *Tallahassee Democrat*, 28, 29, and 30 March 1996.

20. W.E.B.DuBois, "The Religion of the American Negro," p. 631.

21. This church was founded in 1869, during the reconstruction period. Reverend R. B. Holmes, the church's current leader, says of economic projects, "It will be a little Wall Street," and adds that "the next project will be a strip mall". See Penelope M. Carrington, "Restaurant to Feed Spirit of Church," *The Tallahassee Democrat*, 4 March 1996, B1, 3.

22. This can also be seen in the length of the church services. Many churches meet frequently – some several days a week and for several hours at a time. The 1990 statistics for the Leon County area listed devotional Bible reading as a favorite pastime. This statistic includes the entire population, and is not split on racial lines.

23. Language would undoubtedly be an important issue. African dialects were common on the plantations, with many slaves eventually learning a "pigeon english." Over the decades, one can image the linguistic blending of vocabularies and speech inflections that would impact the black community.

24. Larry E. Rivers, "Slavery in Microcosm: Leon County, Florida, 1824 to 1860," *Journal of Negro History* 66:3 (1981): 236. Leon County was created in 1828. Prominent individuals (bank and land owners) and church leaders (such as Francis Eppes, founder of St. John's Episcopal Church) all owned slaves.

25. Dr. Larry E. Rivers, Professor of History and African Studies at Florida A&M University, personal communication, 5 March 1996.

26. Robert Hall, "African Religious Retentions in Florida," in *Africanisms in American Culture* ed. Joseph E. Holloway (Bloomington, IN, 1990), 112.

27. Billy Hutchings, Director, Hutchings Funeral Home, Macon, Georgia, personal communication, 21 March 1996.

28. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*, 145. For a contrasting interpretation, see the essay by Barbara Rotundo in this issue of *Markers*.

29. Alfreddie Holliday, personal communication, 18 March 1996.

30. Newbell Niles Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (New York, NY, 1969), 109.

31. Billy Hutchings, personal communication, 21 March 1996. Hutchings is most likely referring to Primitive Baptist.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilbur Wright III, *Lay Down Body: Living History in African-American Cemeteries* (Detroit, MI, 1996), 282.

34. See Hezekiah Butterworth, *A Zig-Zag Journey In The Sunny South* (Boston, MA, 1887); Robert Farris Thompson, personal communication, 13 March 1996; see also Robert Farris Thompson and John Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art of Two Worlds* (Washington D.C., 1984), 191.

35. See Vlach, *The Afro-American Traidition in Decorative Arts*, 141. During my fieldwork, I found several other graves that also had broken pottery; however, the placement of some of the broken crockery or glassware suggests inconclusive interpretations. In one instance, a broken flower pot had been placed behind a gravemarker. Though the flower pot seemed new and unused, its breaking and placement appeared accidental. Other graves had broken bottles near the grave, but none on the grave. This was seen at Greenwood Cemetery, where empty beer bottles were frequent; however, Greenwood is in located in an economically depressed area (Frenchtown) where vandals are not uncommon.

36. *Ibid.*

37. This photograph is from the Richard Aloysius Twine Collection, Florida Photographic Archives. I do not know what type of animal skin is shown here, but is my guess is that it is sheepskin.

38. Roy Sieber, *African Furniture and Household Objects* (Bloomington, IN, 1980), 105.

39. See William Bascom, "Yoruba Concepts of the Soul," in *Men and Cultures: Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, ed. Anthony F.C. Wallace (Philadelphia, PA, 1956), 401. See also Babatunde Lawal, "The Living Dead: Art and Immortality Among The Yoruba of Nigeria," *Africa* 47:1 (1977): 51.

40. Thompson and Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun*, 202.

41. Billy Hutchings, personal communication, 21 March 1996.

42. See Thompson and Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun*, 202-203.

43. Another configuration of headstone, more frequently seen in African-American cemeteries than in those of other cultural groups in north Florida, is the diamond shape The diamond shape is a variant of the dikenga sign, or turning point. In Kongo, the dikenga marks the crossroads, the tomb, the parting of the ways. The diamond points represent birth, florescence, decline and renaissance. For further information on dikenga marks, see Thompson, *Face of the Gods*, 43.

44. Thompson and Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun*, 183.

45. Color symbolism for red and white is abundant. See Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago, IL, 1966); and Thompson, *Face of the Gods*, 232-244.

46. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*, 143.

47. Billy Hutchings, personal communication, 21 March 1996.

48. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*, 143.

49. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards*, 24; and Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*, 124.

50. Thompson and Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun*, 184.

51. *Ibid.*, 190-191. Thompson also cites other Bakongo sources who have suggested the scaffolding was part of a mummification process.

52. *Ibid.*, 194.

53. *Ibid.*, 198. There is a conical-shaped gravemarker embedded with marbles at Southside Cemetery. The shape is similar to an African crown, perhaps recalling the concept of kingship. The argument that they function similarly might be furthered when the brilliantly colored inlaid marbles are compared with the brilliant colored beadwork of the crown. Also, one notes the fact that they both come to a point, thus emphasizing ashe, and a location of spirit in Yoruba tradtion. The spirit writing on the surface may indicate that this is not associated with the Black Church.

54. See Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 117. See also John M. Janzen and Wyatt MacGaffey, *An Anthology of Kongo Religion: Primary Texts from Lower Zaire* (Lawrence, KS, 1974).

55. Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, 31.

THE YEAR'S WORK IN GRAVEMARKER/CEMETERY STUDIES

Richard E. Meyer

This annual feature of *Markers*, inaugurated in 1995, is intended to serve as an ongoing, working bibliography of relevant scholarship in the interdisciplinary field which is ever more consistently coming to be known as Cemetery and Gravemarker Studies. Entries, listed in alphabetical order by author, consist to a large extent of books and of articles found within scholarly journals: excluded are materials found in newspapers, popular magazines, and trade journals (though, as any researcher knows, valuable information can sometimes be gleaned from these sources), as well as genealogical publications and cemetery "readings," book reviews, video productions, electronic resources (e.g., World Wide Web sites), and irretrievably non-scholarly books (i.e., things along the order of the recently published, "revised" edition of a book with the grotesque title, *The Definitive Guide to Underground Humor: Quaint Quotes about Death, Funny Funeral Home Stories, and Hilarious Headstone Epitaphs*). Though not included here, it should be particularly noted that short but valuable critical and analytical pieces are frequently published in the *AGS Quarterly: Bulletin of the Association for Gravestone Studies* (formerly – prior to 1996 – entitled the *Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies*). New to this year's listing are a much larger selection of relevant foreign language materials in the field, the inclusion of formal master's- and doctoral-level theses and dissertations (important research often not published in the traditional manner but nonetheless frequently obtainable through interlibrary loan), and, in several instances, valuable unpublished typescripts on deposit in accessible locations.

With its debut listing in *Markers XII*, "The Year's Work" attempted to fill gaps in existing bibliographic resources by actually covering the year's 1990 through 1994 (for work prior to 1990, readers are advised to consult the bibliographic listings found at the conclusion of my *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, first published in 1989 by UMI Research Press and reissued in 1992 by Utah State University Press). Since this first listing in *Markers*, additional materials have been identified from the earlier years of the decade which are worthy of inclusion. Realizing that, to a certain degree at least, this belated identification is likely to occur at any time, bibliographic listings will henceforth be presented

under two headings: (I) materials from roughly 1990 through the previous year's listing *which have not been previously cited in "The Year's Work"*; (II) materials identifiable at press time from the year just completed. To help facilitate this ongoing process, the editor continues to welcome addenda from readers (*complete* bibliographic citations, please) for inclusion in future editions.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS TO *MARKERS: ANNUAL 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 annual 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, with an emphasis upon North America. Gravemarkers are here taken to mean above-ground artifacts that commemorate the spot of burial, thereby in most instances excluding memorials or cenotaphs (exceptions may, however, be made to this latter prohibition and prospective authors are urged to consult the editor if they have any questions concerning this matter). 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. 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 8 1/2 x 11 typescripted, double-spaced pages in length, inclusive of notes and any appended material.

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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. Most current word processing programs are compatible with the journal's disk translation software, which is used for typesetting contributors' articles. Any questions on this matter should be directed to the editor.

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