# MARKERS XVIII



## Edited by
## Richard E. Meyer

# Markers XVIII

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Richard E. Meyer

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*Cover illustration: Graves and ossuary, Necropole Nationale de Douamont, near Verdun, France. Photograph by Richard E. Meyer.*
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One of my favorite cartoon images has always been that of a harried Dagwood Bumstead rushing half-dressed out of his house in the morning in pursuit of the departing streetcar and exclaiming "Better late than never!" I can relate to all of that, this year more than ever. Still, at last, here is *Markers XVIII*. One hopes you'll find the wait was worth it. As has become the journal's custom, the current issue once again features essays and other features covering a wide spectrum of time periods, geographical locales, and disciplinary perspectives.

This issue also marks the final year of service to the journal by one of its staunchest supporters. After editing *Markers V-IX,* and subsequently serving as a member of the editorial advisory board since I took over from him with *Markers X,* Ted Chase has requested we seek someone to take his place, and I am happy to report that Laurel Gabel has graciously agreed to assume these duties commencing with *Markers XIX.* Laurel's considerable experience and wide-ranging areas of expertise should prove an invaluable aid to our efforts. But still, it is difficult to think of a *Markers* without Ted Chase associated with it in some fashion. All of us who enjoy and value this publication owe him an immense debt of gratitude.

Once again, I offer my thanks to the current year's contributors for the high quality of their submissions, and also to the individual members of the journal's editorial review board for their dedicated efforts, good judgement, and consistently high standards. Fred Kennedy of Lynx Communication Group, Salem, Oregon, and Patti Stephens of Philomath, Oregon again deserve special praise for the production and design skills which make *Markers* the handsome volume it is. The officers, executive board members, staff, and general membership of the Association for Gravestone Studies are, of course, what make it all possible in the first place. And, as always, I am most grateful to Lotte Larsen Meyer for her unwavering support and encouragement over the years.

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 found in the "Notes for Contributors" printed at the conclusion of this issue. Address queries concerning publication to me: Richard E. Meyer, Editor, *Markers: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies,* P.O. Box 13006, Salem, OR 97309-1006 (Phone: 503-581-5344 / E-Mail: meyerr@wou.edu). For information concerning other AGS publications, membership, and activities, write to the Association's offices, 278 Main Street, Suite 207, Greenfield, MA 01301, or call 413-772-0836.

*R.E.M.*
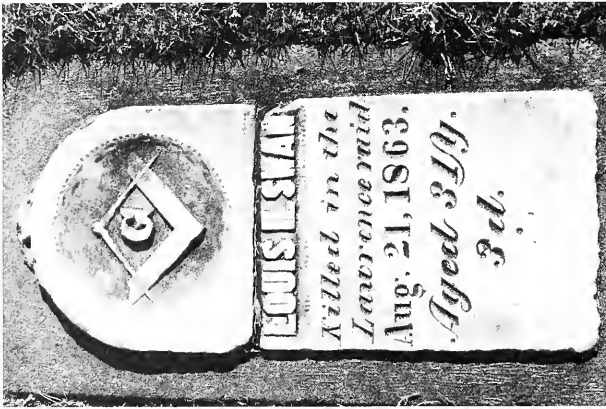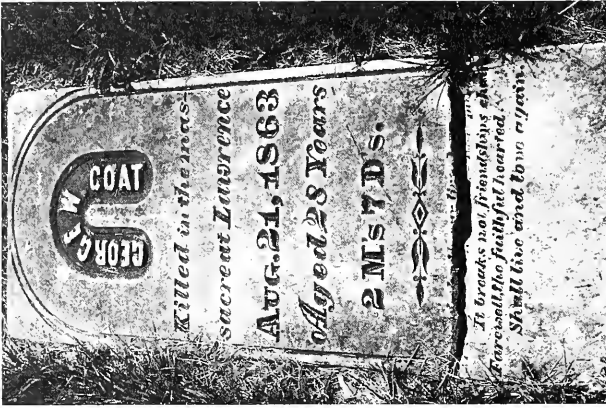
Figs. 1a-1c. Examples of raid victims' gravestones in Pioneer Cemetery, Lawrence, Kansas.

# QUANTRILL'S THREE GRAVES
# AND OTHER REMINDERS OF THE LAWRENCE MASSACRE

## Randall M. Thies

"**Killed in the Lawrence Massacre.**" As I read this epitaph and others like it while walking through the peaceful grounds of Pioneer Cemetery in Lawrence, Kansas, my mind flashes with images of gunshots and killing, houses burning, women weeping. The Lawrence Massacre was unquestionably the most horrific event in Kansas Civil War history. Within the space of a few hours on Friday, August 21, 1863, Confederate raiders killed approximately 200 men and burned the town. Today, gravestones in Lawrence's Pioneer and Oak Hill cemeteries serve as badges of honor for the victims of the raid (Figs. 1a-1c). These gravestones, and various other markers placed throughout the town, serve as chilling reminders of this frightening event.

To properly understand the significance of these markers, it is necessary to know the historical importance of the Lawrence Massacre, also



Fig. 2. "The Lawrence Massacre," sketch by Lauretta Louise Fox Fisk.

known as Quantrill's Raid. According to the preeminent Kansas Civil War historian Albert Castel, the Lawrence Massacre ranks as "the most atrocious single event of the Civil War." In fact, he notes, "for stark, melodramatic horror, nothing else quite matched it."[1]

The raid began just after dawn as some 400 Missouri Confederate guerrillas took Lawrence by surprise. Methodically, and then with increasing raucousness and savagery as they imbibed liquor looted from local saloons, they killed some 200 men and torched the town (Fig. 2). Most of the killings were essentially cold-blooded murders of unarmed civilians, many of them shot as their loved ones pleaded for their lives. Fortunately for the citizens of Lawrence, even some of the raiders were shocked by these events, to the extent that they allowed some men to escape.

A city of some 3,000 souls, Lawrence had been founded nearly a decade earlier by New England abolitionists and was the symbolic capitol of abolitionism in Kansas. Perhaps more importantly, Lawrence was headquarters for many of the "Jayhawkers" who ravaged western Missouri during the first two years of the Civil War, killing and looting (or "jayhawking") under the guise of establishing Union control.[2]

In fact, Kansas jayhawking can be considered as inspiration for the raid. It is all too easy to forget, as one modern Kansas historian has noted, "that it was Kansans who initiated the practice of burning undefended civilian towns and murdering noncombatants in 1861... we ourselves sowed the seed of the Lawrence massacre by filling the ranks of the guerrillas with desperate men who had nothing more to lose and thirsted for revenge."[3] Revenge was clearly one reason for the raid, probably the main reason. From a more pragmatic standpoint, the guerrillas intended quite simply to kill as many local men as they could, especially prominent citizens such as Senator and sometimes General James H. Lane, who directed or inspired the jayhawking that had so disastrously affected the Missourians.

"Quantrill's Raid" gained its name from the man who led the Confederates, 26-year-old William C. Quantrill (Fig. 3). Strangely enough, Quantrill was a former Lawrence resident. Originally from Dover, Ohio, Quantrill emigrated to Kansas in 1857, tried homesteading and then taught school before seeking various other modes of employment. He lived in Lawrence for a time, but associated with the rougher element and became a shady character engaged in questionable activities. When war

Fig. 3. William C. Quantrill.

came, he threw his lot in with the Missouri Confederates and soon gained fame as one of the most effective leaders of the many bands of "bushwackers" that formed to conduct guerrilla warfare in an attempt to resist Kansas jayhawking and Union occupation of their state. The raid on Lawrence can be judged as one of Quantrill's most successful exploits, although it accomplished little or nothing from a military standpoint.[4]

In Lawrence after the raiders left, stunned survivors faced a night-marish scene of death and destruction. Most of the town's buildings had been burned to the ground, and somewhere around 200 men had been killed (the exact number and identity of the victims is uncertain even today due to the lack of accountability for recent immigrants and the arson which consumed some bodies and made others unrecognizable). Most of the dead were local men: some were young, still in their teens, others were heads of families. For the citizens of Lawrence, Quantrill's Raid was a devastating event, a tragedy almost beyond belief.

Two factors resulted in the raid having an impact far beyond the local scene. Quantrill's raid was the first large-scale atrocity of the war, and it received immediate and widespread newspaper coverage, attracting national and even international attention. "The Lawrence Massacre" became a household term. For some families the impact was quite per-sonal, and in at least one instance this resulted in the event finding ceno-taphic expression on a marker far from Lawrence. Raid victim Frederic Kimball found his final resting place in a Lawrence grave, but back home in Greenville, New Hampshire, his parents commemorated his loss by listing him on their gravestone (Fig. 4), noting that he was "killed by Guerrillas at Lawrence, Ks."[5]

Quantrill also became a household name; but depending on the house-hold, he was the subject of two diametrically opposed views. In Missouri, amongst Southern sympathizers, he was "a hero, a cavalier, an avenging angel."[6] In Kansas and throughout the North, on the other hand, Quantrill became an "historical devil," acquiring an infamy that immortalized him as a "monster" and "fiend" which not only gave him a reputation as "the bloodiest man in American history," but also established him as "one of the great national villains."[7] His notoriety in Kansas was such that, long after his death and the end of the war, his bones would be put on exhibit as a macabre sort of trophy, and today his once-bartered remains lie in three different graves in as many states.[8]

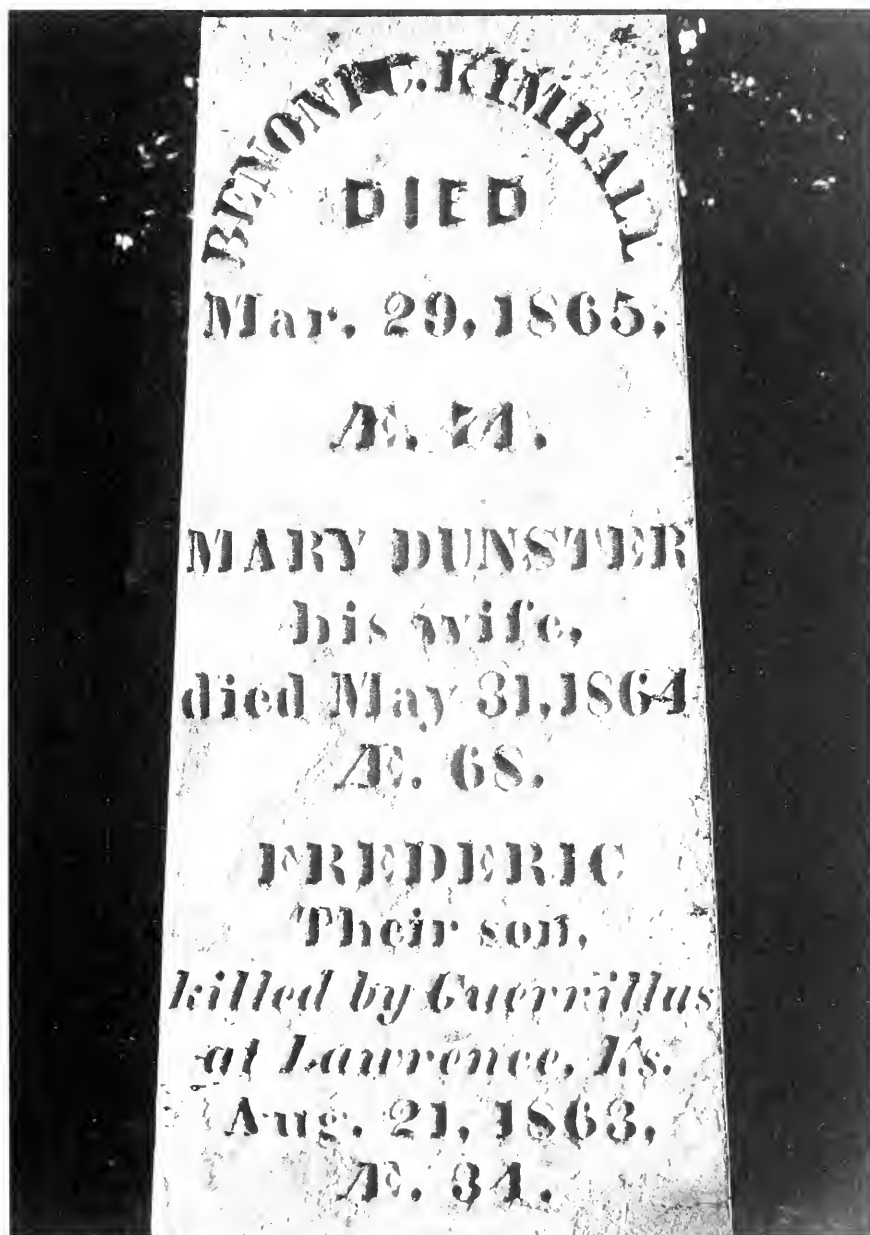In Lawrence after the raid, stunned citizens began the sad task of col-

Fig. 4. Kimball family gravemarker, Greenville, NH.

lecting the bodies of the victims.[9] Some were then buried in family ceme-
teries, but most were taken to Oread Cemetery, which at that time was
located some distance west of Lawrence. Today, the cemetery is well with-
in the city limits and part of the University of Kansas campus. Now known
as Pioneer Cemetery and used for faculty burials, it is a beautiful and well
kept burial ground, but during and after the Civil War it was badly
neglected and regarded as "a disgrace" to the community. Cattle grazed
the area and teamsters drove over it, knocking over and breaking many of
the gravestones. Most of those stones now lie flat, reset in concrete.[10]

The massacre victims were in good company at Oread Cemetery, join-
ing Thomas Barber (Fig. 5), whose body had been placed there nearly a
decade earlier after his death at the beginning of the "Bleeding Kansas"
era. The latter was a time of violence and occasional armed conflict as pro-
slavery forces (mainly Missourians) and free-state forces (for the most
part New Englanders, many of them abolitionists) struggled for political
sovereignty – a struggle now regarded as the "genesis" of the Lawrence
Massacre.[11] Barber was a free-state man, advocating that Kansas be admit-
ted into the Union as a free state, not a slave state. Caught up in the events
of the time, he was shot and killed by pro-slavery Missourians in 1855 and
has come to be regarded as a "free-state martyr."[12] Often credited with
being the first death to result from the conflict in Kansas between free-
state and pro-slavery forces, Barber's demise made him a celebrity of
sorts, immortalized by John Greenleaf Whittier in his poem "The Burial of
Barber," wherein the poet called for Barber's grave to "Be our pledge and
guaranty/Of the freedom of the West!"[13]

After the Civil War, Oread Cemetery was largely abandoned when the
citizens of Lawrence opted for a new cemetery known as Oak Hill, which
was designed according to the precepts of the Rural Cemetery movement.
Town boosterism and civic pride were major forces behind the creation of
the new cemetery, but a more lofty goal was to provide a suitable setting
for raid victims. According to Oak Hill historian Cathy Ambler,
Quantrill's raid "provided a catalyst for the cemetery's founding" by
focusing the community's attention on the need for providing raid vic-
tims with a more respectful setting in a location closer to town than Oread
Cemetery.[14] With these goals in mind, Oak Hill Cemetery was established
in 1865, and by 1872 most of the raid victims had been moved there. At
least six, however, still lie in Oread Cemetery, while a few others remain
in family cemeteries.[15]

Fig. 5.  Gravestone of Thomas Barber,
Pioneer Cemetery, Lawrence, KS.

At Oak Hill, some of the raid victims were placed in individual graves. Others, especially those whose identity was uncertain, were reburied in a mass grave, or more specifically, three adjacent lines of graves (see Fig. 6). In 1895, a monument was placed to the immediate west of the graves. Intended as a memorial for all of the raid victims, it also serves, in effect, as a communal headstone for those buried behind it. The inscription on the front of the monument (Fig. 7) reflects the strong feelings and flamboyant language of the era by memorializing those "...who defenseless fell victims to the inhuman ferocity of border guerrillas led by the infamous Quantrell..."[16]

The names of the victims are not provided on the monument, and in fact, as mentioned above, not all their names are known. With a somewhat curious confidence, however, the inscription on the back of the monument (Fig. 8) indicate that "The roll of their names may be found in the city clerk's office, Lawrence, and in the records of the State Historical Society, Topeka." My co-workers in the Society's Library/Archives Division



**Fig. 6. Depressions (marked by stones on flagging tape) mark the location of the three rows of graves for raid victims at Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence, KS. The raid victims' monument (see also Figs. 7 and 8) can be seen to the left.**

Fig. 7.  Front view of raid victims monument,
Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence, KS.

Fig. 8. Inscription on back of raid victims monument,
Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence, KS.



Fig. 9. "Death marker" for Griswold, Baker, Trask, and Thorp,
beside telephone pole in residential Lawrence, KS.

expressed surprise when I told them of this, however, and none of them remember anyone ever asking for this information – nor do they have a list on hand to be given out to the curious. Enquiries at the Lawrence City Clerk's office produced a similar response.[17]

Lawrence has other reminders of the Massacre, in the form of markers or monuments of a somewhat different sort than gravestones, located in some rather mundane and therefore surprising places. For example, in a quiet residential setting, on a narrow strip of lawn between street and sidewalk, next to an alleyway and telephone pole, a small granite marker (Fig. 9) informs the passerby that "Here Griswold, Baker, Thorp and Trask were shot." This is not a gravemarker. It is something infinitely more chilling – a death marker, serving notice that a killing took place on this spot.[18] Similarly, on a strip of grass adjacent to a downtown parking lot, another such marker informs us that "Here near a score of unarmed recruits were shot" (Fig. 10). These men were new recruits for the Union army, camped in what was then a city park. Quantrill's men swept through them like butter, killing seventeen, the only federal troops to die in Lawrence that day.[19]



Fig. 10. "Death marker" for Union recruits
in downtown Lawrence, KS.

Quantrill and all but one of his men succeeded in getting away from Lawrence safely, and Quantrill continued to be one of the best known guerrilla leaders in Missouri. 1863 was the highwater mark for the Confederates, however, and their situation worsened as Federal forces became more numerous, better equipped, and better skilled. In late 1864, Quantrill and a small group of bushwackers left Missouri, heading east. On May 10, 1865, about a month after Robert E. Lee had surrendered at Appomatox, Quantrill and his men were attacked by Unionist guerrillas near Taylorsville, Kentucky. Quantrill was shot in the back, resulting in his paralysis and capture. He was taken to nearby Louisville and placed in a military hospital. Twenty-seven days later, he died.[20]

Because Quantrill had converted to Roman Catholicism before his death, his body was taken to Louisville's St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery, known today as St. John's Cemetery. He had made arrangements for his burial, providing money to a priest for his grave and a headstone. Things took a bizarre turn at this point, however. Because Quantrill was such a notorious figure in the North, the priest feared that the grave might be desecrated. The priest therefore made his own arrangements with the sexton and had the body buried in an unmarked grave, located close to the sexton's cottage so that the site could be watched. The grave was only some ten feet from the cottage, and to ensure that no one would think a person was buried there, the sexton and his wife were "to throw their dishwater and other slops over the spot so as to obliterate it as much as possible."[21]

This they did, and the matter might have rested there but for a mother's love. In the years after the war, back home in Dover, Ohio, Quantrill's mother Caroline, now a penniless widow, wondered what had happened to her son. To find the answer, Mrs. Quantrill enlisted the aid of W.W. Scott (Fig. 11), a Dover newspaperman who had been a boyhood friend of her son and after the war had taken on the role of Mrs. Quantrill's friend and benefactor. By 1884, Scott had visited Kentucky and discovered the location of Quantrill's grave, learning of it from the sexton and his wife.[22]

In December 1887, Scott and Mrs. Quantrill traveled to Louisville together and arranged for the grave to be opened, supposedly so that the remains could be reburied in a better coffin. While Mrs. Quantrill waited in the hotel, Scott witnessed the exhumation, which took place on a gray and drizzly day. "A part of the backbone and ribs were so decayed that they crumbled to pieces," he later reported, "but most of the other bones

Fig. 11.  W.W. Scott.

were in a fair state of preservation." Some of Quantrill's hair had also been preserved.[23]

Scott wrapped the skull in newspaper and took it back to the hotel. There, in what must have been a truly macabre scene, he presented it to Mrs. Quantrill, who identified it as the skull of her son on the basis of a right-side chipped tooth. According to Scott, she was "much affected" by seeing the skull and grew determined that her son's remains should be reburied in the Quantrill family plot in Dover. At her direction, Scott absconded with the skull and the other bones, taking them back to Dover on the train.[24]

The authorities in Dover were none too happy over the idea of burying such a notorious Confederate in their cemetery, but a reluctant approval was eventually obtained. In 1888, the burial was carried out as a box was placed in the Quantrill family plot with W.W. Scott, Mrs. Quantrill, her minister, and two others standing in attendance. For nearly a century the grave was left unmarked, until 1982, when a Quantrill buff arranged for a government-issue veteran's marker to be placed there.[25] The marker (Fig. 12) is of gray granite, flush to the ground.
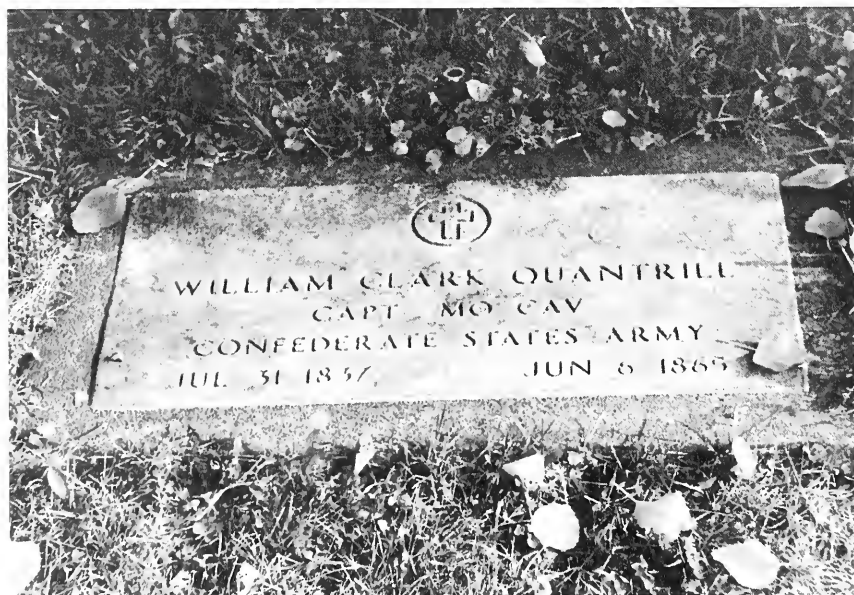


Fig. 12.  Quantrill's gravemarker in Dover, OH.

One wonders what this marker actually marked, however, because today we know that some (and conceivably all) of the bones retrieved from Kentucky ended up elsewhere. Only nine days after the Kentucky exhumation, W.W. Scott wrote a letter to the Kansas State Historical Society offering to sell Quantrill's skull and enclosing a lock of his hair. In modern terms, the hair was a "teaser" intended to create a desire for more such items (i.e., the skull) and thus strengthen the likelihood of a sale. "What would his skull be worth to your Society?", Scott asked in his letter, requiring only that the matter be kept confidential. His letter ended with the truly macabre declaration that "No one in the world knows that I can get the head, but I can." A second letter elaborated on his desire for confidentiality, indicating that the matter would have to be kept quiet until after the death of Mrs. Quantrill ("I would not for any money have her feelings hurt.").[26]

After some correspondence, a price of only twenty-five or thirty dollars was established for the skull. Unfortunately, the Society's budget did not allow for such expenditures, and it did not appear that a suitably close-mouthed benefactor could be found to provide the money. In an attempt to ensure the sale through proximity, Scott brought the skull and other bones to Kansas in May, 1888 for a meeting with Society officials, and took that occasion to give them Quantrill's shin bones free of charge – another "teaser." Even this did not bring about a sale, however, and Scott returned to Ohio with what remained of his cache. In accordance with Scott's wishes, the Society made no public announcements telling of its acquisition of the shin bones.[27]

Matters changed dramatically in 1902 when Scott died. William Connelly, a member of the Society's Board of Directors and himself an historian, followed up by corresponding with Scott's widow in an attempt to purchase manuscripts Scott had written about Quantrill, for use in a book Connelly hoped to write. He was successful in obtaining the manuscripts, but gained an extra and unexpected benefit when Mrs. Scott also provided him with three of Quantrill's arm bones.[28]

Barely a year later Quantrill's mother died, and there was no longer any reason for the Society to maintain silence. At the Society's annual meeting in November, 1903, Society Secretary George W. Martin publicly proclaimed the Society's possession of Quantrill's bones and then proudly put them on exhibit along with other relics of the Lawrence Massacre (Fig. 13). The announcement promptly received a flood of criticism. Some

of this criticism was from people who simply objected to any human bones being on exhibit, but others – particularly Union veterans – objected to these bones in particular, apparently feeling that the exhibit served to commemorate Quantrill and exalt his importance. Despite the unexpected reaction, Secretary Martin maintained his belief in the rightness of the Society's actions, and the exhibit stayed in place – until further events, even more unexpected, transformed the situation.[29]

Over the next few years, rumors began to circulate that Quantrill was still alive, much as occurs today with Elvis sightings. There were half a dozen men identified as being Quantrill or claiming to be Quantrill in various states, Mexico, and Canada. The "best" of these was a man named John (or G.C.) Sharp in British Columbia, but his credibility, or lack thereof, is best summed up in the secondary headline of a newspaper account: "He's Quantrell When He's Drunk, and Sharp When He's Sober." For a free drink, Mr. Sharp was apparently willing to "be" Quantrill.[30]



Fig. 13.  Quantrill's bones and relics of the Lawrence Massacre
on exhibit, circa 1904.

Fig. 14. The author with Quantrill's bones in 1992.

All of this was simply too much for George Martin and the Historical Society, and Quantrill's bones were soon taken off exhibit and put in storage. Eventually they ended up in the Archeology Department, which apparently seemed to be the most logical place for human bones.

In 1974, I landed a job in the archeology lab and was amazed to discover "Quantrill's bones" as part of our collections. My discovery was a brief and fortuitous encounter, made possible only because the bones had been brought out for a one-day analysis by a visiting osteologist, but it had a longlasting effect on me. The physical presence of the bones in the lab, with their unique historical identity attested to by an old museum label, seemed so astounding and personally gratifying (weirdness was a prized quality in those days) that it prompted me to decide on a career in archeology.

Ironically, I was destined to assist in the bones' reburial. After leaving to go to graduate school, I returned to the Society as a full-fledged archeologist, and in 1989, Quantrill's bones became my problem as case investigator for the Kansas Unmarked Burial Sites Preservation Board (see Fig. 14). A new law, aimed primarily at dealing with Native American remains, required us to inventory all of our collections of human bones and begin the process of repatriating them to appropriate kin, whether tribal or family. Although Quantrill had no descendants and no close relatives with any interest in the matter, one group immediately stepped forward to apply for repatriation: the Missouri Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), whose members include descendants of men who rode with Quantrill. The SCV's application was eventually approved, and on a beautiful Fall day in October of 1992, I took Quantrill's bones to Missouri for repatriation to the SCV and reburial at the old Confederate Soldier's Home Cemetery near Higginsville.[31]

The reburial was a public event that attracted a crowd of some four hundred onlookers. Civil War soldier reenactors provided military honors as their wives and sweethearts, similarly dressed in period costume, supplied a feminine embellishment. A funeral service was held in the old Soldiers Home church, and then the coffin was ceremoniously carried out to the cemetery (Fig. 15). After a brief graveside eulogy and a rifle salute by reenactors, the coffin was lowered into the grave, thus committing Quantrill to the soil of the state for which he had fought. At the head of the grave stood a recently placed white marble gravestone, a standard

upright government-issue veterans's marker with the pointed top indicative of Confederate service (Fig 16).

This was the end of the journey for the Kansas collection, but it was not the end of the Quantrill's bones saga, for one item had yet to be dealt with – Quantrill's skull, which W.W. Scott had tried so hard to sell. After returning from Kansas in 1888, Scott apparently hid the skull in his newspaper office in Dover. Scott's wife may not have known of the skull; certainly she did not include it when she gave Quantrill's arm bones to William Connelley after Scott's death in 1902.[32]

One person did know of the skull, however, and that was the Scott's son, Walter. In 1910, when a social fraternity started up in Dover and needed a skull for their rituals, young Scott provided them with this particular relic, which became known as "Jake." Between 1910 and the fraternity's disbandment in 1942, 243 young men swore their way into the fraternity with one hand on Quantrill's skull. In 1972, the last officer of the fraternity donated the skull to the Dover Historical Society. Society officials then documented its identity with affidavits from surviving fraterni-



**Fig. 15.  Carrying Quantrill's coffin to the grave, Higginsville, MO, 22 October 1992.**

ty members and also through analysis by forensic osteologists. One of the latter went a step further and used the precise measurements of the skull to make a wax reproduction of the head and facial features of the once-living individual. Because of the summer heat in Ohio, however, the head has to be kept in a refrigerator. It is occasionally brought out to serve as a table decoration on special occasions.[33]

The wax head was separate from the skull, which was kept on exhibit at the historical society's museum in Dover. People in Dover were of two minds about Quantrill, however: he was the town's black sheep, but his skull attracted visitors to the museum. When approached by representatives of the Sons of Confederate Veterans who wanted to rebury the skull together with the Kansas collection, either in Dover or Missouri but with military honors, the Dover folks declined, although with much indecision.

At the last minute they decided on reburial, but on their terms, and downplayed it as much as possible. Six days after the Higginsville reburial, on a gray and drizzly day much like the one in 1887 when his Kentucky grave was exhumed, Quantrill's skull was reburied in the Quantrill family plot in Dover. The excavation was a relatively shallow



Fig. 16.  Graveside eulogy, Higginsville, MO, 22 October 1992.
Quantrill's gravestone can be seen on the right.

one, for fear of hitting the box Mrs. Quantrill had buried from Kentucky a century earlier.[34]

The Quantrill saga thus ends – hopefully, unless more bones are discovered – with Quantrill's remains occupying three graves, two of them marked. His original Kentucky grave contains his moldered remains, less the bones taken by W.W. Scott. The grave is not marked, and there are no records to indicate its exact location. In fact, it may have been destroyed or covered over by roadwork. An old cemetery map does show, with uncertain accuracy, the location of the sexton's cottage. The cottage was later removed, however, and a new entrance road was constructed in that general location.[35] The general locale is shown in Figure 17.

In Ohio, Quantrill's grave in the Dover Cemetery may or may not have any of the bones brought back from Kentucky, but it does have Quantrill's skull, and it is marked by the gravestone placed there in 1982. Curiously, when the grave was visited on July 4, 1996[36], it was discovered that an American flag had been placed there on a metal G.A.R. flagholder (Fig. 18). The latter item is representative of the Grand Army of the Republic, a nationwide organization for Union veterans, and flagholders



Fig. 17. Presumed general location of Quantrill's grave
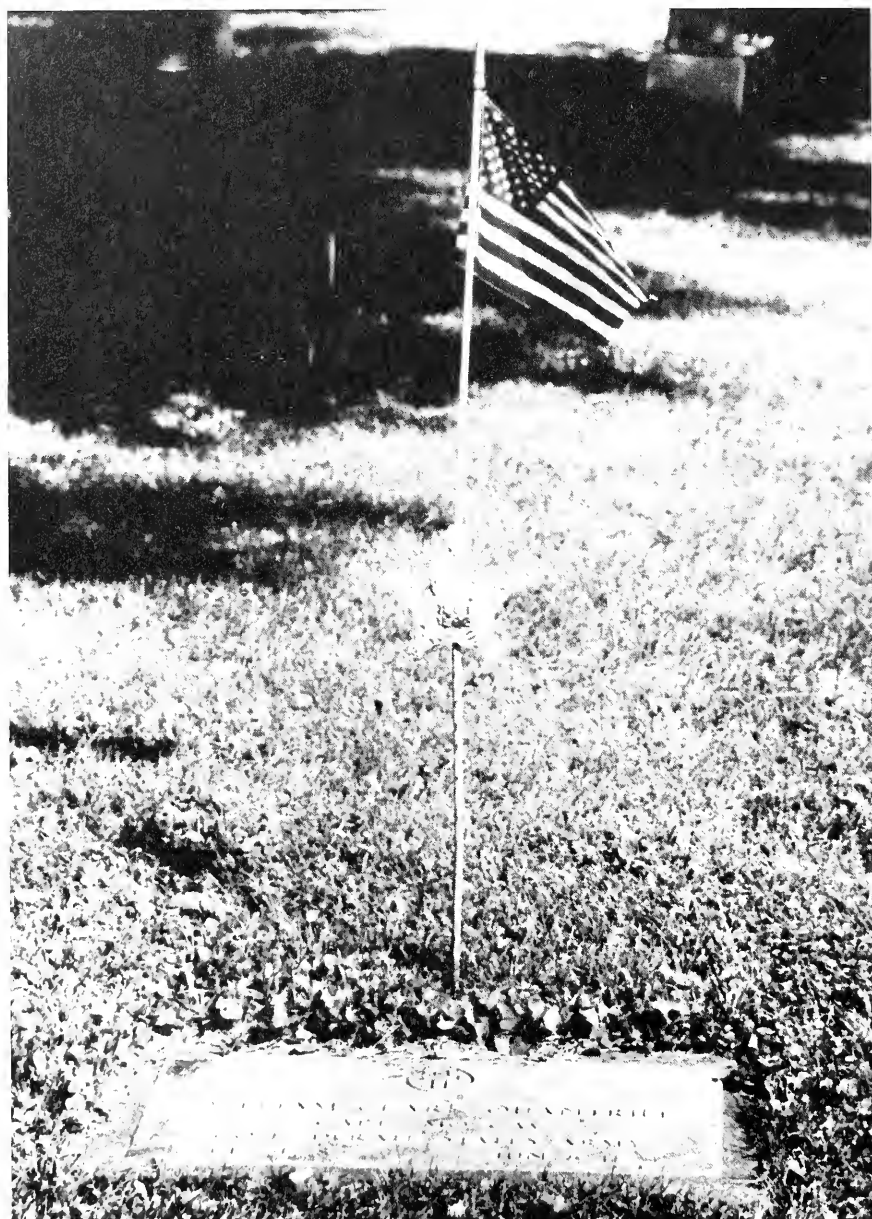in St. John's Cemetery, Louisville, KY.

Fig. 18.  Quantrill's Ohio gravemarker with accompanying
G.A.R. flagholder and American flag, 4 July 1996.

of this sort were common additions to the graves of those veterans. One can only wonder as to the thought, or perhaps the lack of thought, behind the placement of these items on Quantrill's grave. As symbols of the army against which he fought, on his grave they serve as a source of wry amusement, adding a bittersweet irony to the situation.

And finally, there is Quantrill's grave in Missouri, containing the remains once held for so many years by the Kansas State Historical Society. Here Quantrill lies among those who loved and honored him, in a beautiful and appropriate setting. When I visited the cemetery in 1994, I was pleased to see that the grave had been visited by someone before me – someone unforgetting of the past, who cared enough about the nicities of honor and rememberance to leave behind a floral tribute bound with a ribbon marked "To Our Confederate Heroes" (Fig. 19).

Quantrill thus remains a hero to some while being regarded as a villain by others, and the Civil War continues to impact our lives, not only through movies, books, lectures, and reenactments, but through our encounter with the physical reminders of that epic event. For years to come, the gravestones and "death markers" of the Lawrence Massacre will provide mute testimony of this extraordinary episode in our history, while Quantrill's multiple graves serve as sad evidence of the unique historical importance of the man who led the raid.

Fig. 19.  Quantrill's Missouri gravemarker with floral tribute in 1994.

# NOTES

My thanks to those who graciously provided the following photos and illustrations: Figs. 1a-1c, 5-10, 14-16, 19 (Cultural Resources Division, Kansas State Historical Society); Figs. 2-3, 13 (Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society); Fig. 4 (Thomas A. Malloy); Fig. 11 (Dover Historical Society, Dover, OH); Figs. 12, 17-18 (Edward E. Leslie).

1.  Albert Castel, "The Bloodiest Man in American History," *American Heritage* 11:6 (1960): 98. Numerous authors have attempted to describe the Lawrence Massacre. Two of the best, in my view, are Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Dawn: The Story of the Lawrence Massacre* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991), and Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders* (New York, NY: Random House, 1996). Another excellent source is *Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre: A Reader,* edited and compiled by Richard B. Sheridan (Lawrence, Kansas: issued in association with the Douglas County Historical Society, 1995), which contains numerous eyewitness accounts of the raid and its aftermath.

2.  Three of the best sources about the border war and its effect upon both Missouri and Kansas are Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995); Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1989); and Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958; reprint, Lawrence, KS: Kansas Heritage Press, 1992).

3.  The quoted comments are from a short but insightful article by Major Scott Price, USAR, published in the newsletter of the Lecompton (Kansas) Historical Society – "The Real Heroes Wore Blue Uniforms," *The Bald Eagle* 25:2 (1999).

4.  Quantrill the man has perhaps inspired even more writers than the raid itself, prompting one recent article that deals just with his biographers (and in the process, serves as yet another Quantrill biography): see Barry A. Crouch, "A 'Fiend in Human Shape?': William Clarke Quantrill and His Biographers", *Kansas History* 22:2 (1999): 143-156. In my opinion, the best of the many sources is Edward E. Leslie, whose book *The Devil Knows How to Ride* (see Note 1) contains an extensive listing of the primary sources upon which his book and this article are based.

5.  For information on this New Hampshire marker, submitted in a letter of 27 January 1999, I am indebted to Professor Thomas A. Malloy of Westminster, Massachussets. It is fortunate that Kimball's parents thought to commemorate him on their marker, for his gravestone in Lawrence is now virtually illegible.

6.  Goodrich, *Bloody Dawn*, 185. One of the more charming accounts pertaining to the longlasting effect of Quantrill's heroic status in Missouri is offered by Merle Miller in his *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), when he describes the pro-Confederate and pro-Quantrill milieu in which Truman was raised in western Missouri, including, for example, the "shrine" to Quantrill seen at the home of one of his informants.

7. "historical devil" is the term used by Kansas State Historical Society secretary George W. Martin in his "Secretary's Report to Annual Meeting," *Kansas Historical Collections* (hereafter *KHC*) 8:124 (1904). The "bloodiest man ..." and "... national villains" quotations are from Albert Castel, "The Bloodiest Man in American History," 22; 99. "Fiend" and "monster" are only some of the many such descriptions of Quantrill that crowd the pages of newspapers, journals, and other accounts of the Civil War and postwar era: see, for example, the newspaper clippings held by the Kansas State Historical Society in the "Quantrill clippings" or "Quantrill Scrap Book" (hereafter *QSB*), curated by the Library & Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka (hereafter, KSHS Library/Archives Division). Details of the raid and its aftermath with regard to Quantrill's fame/infamy are found in Goodrich, *Bloody Dawn*, Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, and Sheridan, *Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre*, as well as many other sources. Quantrill's folkloric nature is discussed in Thomas D. Isern and Mark D. Weeks, "'Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence': From Disaster Song to Outlaw Ballad," *Mid-America Folklore* 14:2 (1986): 1-14. From a more modern standpoint, Quantrill's cinematic treatment has been discussed by John C. Tibbetts, "Riding With the Devil: The Movie Adventures of William C. Quantrill," *Kansas History* 22:3 (1999): 82-199.

8. The best and most complete accounts of Quantrill's posthumous travels are presented by Edward E. Leslie, "Quantrill's bones," *American Heritage* 46:4 (1995): 53-61; and his epilogue chapter, "'What Would His Skull Be Worth to Your Society?': The Bizarre History of Quantrill's Remains," in *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 406-440. See also Randall M. Thies, "'What Would His Skull Be Worth ...'," *Kansas Heritage* 1:3 (1993): 43-45. For information dealing more specifically with Quantrill's skull, see Marion E. Karpisek, *William Clark Quantrill* (Dover, OH: Dover Historical Society, 1980); also Samuel C. Ream and Marion E. Karpisek, "Quantrill's Skull," *Old West* 17 (1981): 36-38.

9. Sheridan's *Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre* contains several eyewitness accounts of the efforts made by Lawrence citizens just after the raid.

10. The Davis Cemetery, once located in the country but now well within the Lawrence city limits, is one example of a family cemetery with a raid victim who still resides there: see the *Lawrence Journal-World*, May 26, 1997. For mention of the cattle and teamsters at Oread Cemetery, see the [Lawrence] *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 9, 1864. For Oread's "disgrace" in later years, see the *Lawrence World*, July 28, 1905. For a brief description of the modern-day rehabilitation of Oread/Pioneer Cemetery (which began in 1956 when the cemetery was rediscovered by the University of Kansas Chancellor, who "stumbled on it" while out on a walk), see the *Lawrence Journal-World*, April 10, 1997.

11. Sheridan, *Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre*, v.

12. Barber's death is described by Jay Monaghan in *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1955), 41-44. "Free-state martyr" is the description provided for Barber in "Origin of County Names," a listing of Kansas county name origins prepared by the Kansas State Historical Society and published in 1902 in *KHC* 7:472, edited by George W. Martin. Sheriff Jones of the pro-slavery forces reportedly referred to Barber as "that damned abolitionist": see John Speer, "Accuracy in History," *KHC* 6:64, published in 1900. Barber's gravestone is mentioned in the *Lawrence Journal-World*, May 8, 1996, and April 10, 1997.

13. For "The Burial of Barber," see Horace E. Scudder, ed., *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier* [Cambridge Edition] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), 319-320.

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

15. *Lawrence Journal-World*, April 10, 1997, and May 26, 1997.

16. Creation of the monument, and the reasons for it, were described in a 1908 address by Kansas State Historical Society secretary George W. Martin, published in 1910 as "Memorial Monuments and Tablets in Kansas" in *KHC* 11:253-281.

17. Interviews by the author with five Library/Archives staff members, 2-3 September 1999. Telephone interview by the author with Lawrence City Clerk Ray Hummert, 16 September 1999. For those truly interested, a listing of the "known men and boys killed in the Lawrence Massacre" (167 names) can be found in Sheridan's *Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre*.

18. Although it is natural for the reader to translate "shot" into "killed" (hence my use of the term "death marker"), Baker actually survived the shooting. The other three men were killed.

19. The two death markers and five other historical markers were set in place by the University of Kansas Department of American History in 1908, and their dedication served as the occasion for George Martin's address (see Note 16), as described in *KHC* 11:272. Inspection by the author on 15 December 1999 revealed that both death markers are still in place. The Griswold et al. marker is on the south side of Seventh Street, between Louisiania and Indiana; the Recruits marker is on the west side of New Hampshire, between 9th Street and 10th Street.

20. Quantrill's time in Kentucky, and his demise, are discussed by Leslie in *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 341-369.

21. The story was first described in published form by William E. Connelley, in *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1910; reprint, New York, NY: Pageant Book Company, 1956), by means of a lengthy footnote presented as a verbatim recounting of notes (a "Memo.") provided to him by W.W. Scott (Connelley's footnote 19, p. 35). The burial arrangements are also discussed by Edward Leslie in *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 368-369.

22. The activities of Scott and Mrs. Quantrill in finding and then taking Quantrill's remains from their Kentucky grave are detailed in W.W. Scott's "Statement" as presented by William E. Connelley in *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (footnote 19, pp. 35-36). In addition, Scott provided much of this information in letters to the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society: these documents are curated by the KSHS Library/Archives Division as part of the W.W. Scott Miscellaneous Collection. A modern assessment of these events is offered by Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 406-409.

23. Scott, as quoted by Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, footnote 19, p. 36.

24.  *Ibid.*

25.  The 1888 burial is described by Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 413; the 1982 mark-er placement is also discussed, 429. For newspaper coverage of the latter, see the Dover-New Philadelphia *Times Reporter*, March 2 and October 19, 1982.

26.  This letter and other such correspondence from Scott to F.G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, are part of the W.W. Scott Miscellaneous Collection curated by the KSHS Library/Archives Division. Reproductions of these handwritten letters can be seen in Marian E. Karpisek, *William Clark Quantrill* (Dover, OH: Dover Historical Society, 1980). They include the letter of December 17, 1887, offering to sell the skull; a letter dated simply "Dec 1887," acknowledging receipt of Adams's answer and discussing the price and Scott's concern for Mrs. Quantrill's feelings; and a letter of May 8, 1888, setting up a meeting between Scott and Adams in Topeka, as well as a November 11, 1901 letter to George W. Martin (Adams's successor), briefly mentioning "the bones." Unfortunately, Adams's letters to Scott are not known to exist. Scott like-ly followed his own advice when he asked Adams to "Destroy this letter when read, and I will do the same with yours," and the Society apparently kept no copies of Adams' letters, possibly because they were handwritten (this was before the advent of typed letters and carbon copies).

27.  Scott's 1888 donation is listed in the KSHS accession book, but under a 1903 entry, as that is when the collection was formally accessioned. Scott's visit is not well docu-mented, as indicated by Leslie in *The Devil Knows How To Ride*, 410. However, when the bones were rediscovered by George Martin in 1901, a statement was taken from Zu Adams, F.G.Adams's daughter, who apparently learned of Scott's visit from her father. This information took form in a museum label which was attached to one of the bones when they were first put on exhibit (see Fig. 13). A portion of the label remained attached when I first viewed the bones in the KSHS archeology laboratory in 1974. Under the heading "Quantrill's Thigh Bones/Statement of Zu Adams Aug. 7, 1901," the label indicates that Scott visited F.G. Adams in the Historical Society's "rooms" in May, 1888. A separate museum label in the photo states that the bones were donated by Scott.

28.  Connelley provided an sketched illustration of the arm bones in *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 35.

29.  The *QSB* contains many of these criticisms in newspaper clippings. For Martin's announcement, see "Secretary's Report to Annual Meeting," *KHC* 8:124.

30.  *Kansas City Journal*, August 17, 1907.

31.  The 1989 law is known as the Kansas Unmarked Burial Sites Preservation Act. Information (correspondence, clippings, and other such documents) pertaining to the KSHS collection of Quantrill's bones are contained in files UBS1991-20 and UBS1992-2, curated by the Cultural Resources Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

32.  The story of the skull is documented by sources listed in Note 8.

33. Quantrill biographer Edward E. Leslie is one after-dinner speaker who has delivered a speech with the wax head as table decoration (personal communication to author, 1998). Leslie's *American Heritage* article (see Note 8) includes a charming color photograph of the head residing in the Dover museum refrigerator.

34. The reburial was attended by Edward E. Leslie, who described it in *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, 436-437, and in a letter to the author dated October 30, 1992. The reburial was also described in the Akron *Beacon Journal*, November 22, 1992.

35. Since the publication of *The Devil Knows How to Ride*, Edward E. Leslie has continued in his search for the location of Quantrill's Kentucky grave, describing his findings (re: the caretaker's cottage, the building of a new road, etc.) to the author in various phone conversations and in a letter of 20 January 1996, which included copies of old and new maps of the cemetery and photographs of the former cottage locale.

36. My informant was Edward E. Leslie, who described his visit and viewing of the flag and flagholder in a phone conversation and by presentation of photographs taken during his visit.

Fig. 1.  Crosby mausoleum, 1846.

# EGYPTIAN REVIVAL FUNERARY ART IN GREEN-WOOD CEMETERY

## Elizabeth Broman

### Introduction

Much of mainstream American architecture, sculpture, and decorative arts in the nineteenth century is characterized by "revivalism" and "eclecticism". The same influences and attitudes that inspired these revivals and eclectic styles also carried over into funerary art. A nineteenth-century fascination, or preoccupation, with death, inspired by the Romantic movement, led to the creation of dramatic images and forms in funerary art. Nineteenth-century attitudes towards death and dying were reflected in the iconography of funerary monuments while stylistically drawing from classical, medieval and even Egyptian art. In this essay, I propose to briefly discuss and analyze Egyptian Revival forms and motifs as they are expressed in certain elements of the funerary art of Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York. In walking through Green-Wood, I have often wondered why there are fewer Egyptian Revival monuments there compared to the relative abundance of other Revival styles. Were they considered inappropriate from a religious point of view and incompatible with traditional Western/Christian iconography, or could they mean the same things? Perhaps they were not as aesthetically pleasing as other more familiar and fashionable styles such as Classical or Gothic. In the course of this discussion, I will cite some of both the historical criticisms and the defenses of Egyptian Revival (it intrigues me that, despite controversy, people still commissioned this style). Primary emphasis will be placed upon the Egyptian Revival style as it appears in pyramid and mastaba shaped tombs, and upon certain of the individuals who commissioned them. The obelisk, another very popular funerary monument, is also of Egyptian origin, but has lost over time the mystique of a pyramid and has, moreover, acquired other symbolic connotations of its own. Nonetheless, they are worthy of an entire discussion unto themselves, a project so detailed it will have to be reserved for a future essay. There is, of course, a strong association between Egyptian forms and iconography and Freemasonry, a connection which often appears on gravestone art. However, that too is somewhat beyond the scope of the current enquiry and will therefore also be reserved for future discussion.

**A Short Overview of Green-Wood Cemetery**

Located in Brooklyn, New York, Green-Wood Cemetery was incorporated in 1838 and had its first burial in 1840, representing a part of the new "Rural Cemetery" movement in America that had begun several years earlier with the establishment of Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was specifically designed with the intention of creating a garden cemetery wherein sculpture and architecture would contribute to a serene and beautiful park-like open space – a site where visitors could stroll and where the dead could literally rest in peace. It quickly drew weekend visitors and tourists from all over the country because of its idyllic atmosphere and beautiful grounds. Green-Wood rapidly became the most popular cemetery in New York, and for a family to own lots and be buried there carried with it the same prestige as an address on Fifth Avenue. The monuments found within the cemetery range from the most humble stones to the most elaborate statues and structures. The word "Victorian " is frequently used in reference to certain nineteenth-century American cemeteries, and the attitudes and culture of the Victorian era in America are certainly reflected in Green-Wood Cemetery. Realizing this is critical to an understanding of why such a variety of eclectic monuments and Revival styles, including the Egyptian, exist in Green-Wood today.

Nehemiah Cleaveland (1796-1877), the principal of a girls school in Brooklyn, was also a self-proclaimed cemetery observer, critic, and historian, and the contemporary voice of authority relating to matters concerning Green-Wood Cemetery. He wrote his first treatise on Green-Wood in 1847, updating and amending his writings again in 1853 and 1857. An invaluable source for contemporary thoughts and attitudes about cemeteries, and more specifically about the history and monuments of Green-Wood, Cleaveland, like a number of his contemporaries, expressed a cautious and often ambivalent opinion about the Egyptian Revival. He was very much concerned with both the propriety and the aesthetic merits of Egyptian obelisks and architectural styles in public monuments and cemeteries. In an era when graceful Neo-Classical sculpture produced inspiring allegorical figures of Hope and Faith, and beautiful, sentimental angels transported souls to Heaven, the massive blocks of stone that constituted Egyptian monuments amounted to an eyesore, according to Cleaveland , amidst the poetic cemetery landscape. Even while admiring the art of Egypt, as well as that of Classical Greek and Rome, Cleaveland was a staunch supporter of the then widely popular Gothic style in archi-

tecture, and posed the question: "Is Christian architecture so poor and scanty, is modern genius so sterile, that we must seek the models of our churches in 'superstitious' Athens, and derive the forms of our sepulchral monuments, gateways, and chapels, from calf-adoring Egypt?"[1]

## An Overview of Egyptian Revival

Before a specific discussion of Egyptian Revival monuments in Green-Wood Cemetery, it might be useful to provide a background of the Egyptian Revival in general, with some attention to this style as manifested in American funerary art and to the significance of the major forms used in the Egyptian Revival. The pyramid, mastaba form, and many of the Egyptian decorative features that appear in the monuments of Green-Wood Cemetery all have roots in earlier revivals.

Richard Carrott's extensive study of the Egyptian Revival movement in the nineteenth century (for a brief listing of some key secondary sources pertinent to this area see the appendix to this essay) demonstrates that it can be broken down into three different artistic style phases that actually began in the eighteenth century. The first is the Rococo, which in architecture was used to provide a picturesque effect, the second the Romantic/Classical phase, and the third the "archaeological" phase that was a result of the Napoleonic campaigns into Egypt. According to Carrott, the existence of eclectic styles in monuments indicated that there was a strong case for revivalism based on the importance of their past associations. He indicates several reasons why the Egyptian Revival took place, one being that it was a concept of architecture that symbolized death based on its ancient forms and use. A second reason is the concept of the museum, which in the eighteenth century meant creating an atmosphere where there were many references to the past for an aesthetic impact.

The motivation for architectural eclecticism as symbolism is that a structure, although in a current style, may refer to an earlier one for psychological or religious reasons. The most obvious parallel in the Egyptian Revival is the use of the pyramid form for funerary monuments. Pyramids are probably the most highly recognized and distinctly Egyptian form: they contain the aura of mystery that ancient Egypt represents and are most closely associated with burial and death. The Napoleonic idea of the exploitation of eclectic styles for the purpose of creating an architectural museum is another principle of pre-nineteenth

century revivalism. Carrott's concepts of the symbol and past associations, in relation to ancient Egypt and modern funerary art is one of the strongest and most obvious points for the popularity of Egyptian Revival in cemeteries. Applying Carrott's concept of the museum has the most exciting possibilities in looking at Egyptian Revival in Green-Wood Cemetery. The cemetery was designed to be a garden cemetery in which there was a variety of sculpture and architecture, an aim that conformed with one of the main objectives of the American nineteenth-century Rural Cemetery movement.

One of the earliest Egyptian Revival movements actually took place in the ancient Greco-Roman world. The best known of several pyramidal Roman tombs is that of Caius Cestius, c. 12 BC, from the time of Augustus, in Rome. This pyramid served as a model for later Egyptian Revivals. In the mid eighteenth-century, the Egyptian Revival experienced another burst of popularity with the Rococo period, in which the most important stylistic qualities were variety, novelty, and being "picturesque". The idea of using the iconography of Egyptian art for any other reason was not considered at this time. The Egyptian Revival would surface again later in the eighteenth century, during the Neo-Classical and Romantic eras. A primary concept associated with the Romantic movement was the idea of the sublime vs. the beautiful. The sublime aesthetic stated that certain works of art produced emotional qualities such as fear, astonishment, terror, and awe. Egyptian architecture, it was felt, could produce these effects, with dramatic results, in funerary art. The Egyptian Revival experienced its greatest popularity since Greek and Roman times with the Rococo phase of the mid-eighteenth century. The manifestation of the Rococo Picturesque, which took place primarily in France, was for the most part for the purposes of providing an ornamental function for an architectural framework. The Egyptian Revival aspects of the Rococo Picturesque phase began with the writings and designs of Italian architect and designer Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778), one of the foremost inventors of fashions using Egyptianizing forms in an eclectic style. In his 1769 book, *Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini*, whose title translates to *Diverse Ways to Decorate Fireplaces*, he used authentic Egyptian designs based on drawings and engravings from antique models, while incorporating other design elements of his own invention to create a stylistic vocabulary that went beyond the use of obelisks, pyramids, and sphinxes.

The next phase of Egyptian Revival, the Romantic Classicist, began in the late eighteenth century. Romanticism embraced the exotic and the foreign; it indulged in a longing for other times and places. The architectural historian Wayne Andrews has stated that "The Romantic architects were interested in introducing into architecture the fourth dimension, time itself, and their Grecian, Gothic, Italian, Egyptian and other fantasies are best remembered as so many invitations to explore the poetry of time."[2]

Geometrical logic and purity were potent forces in the Neoclassical aesthetic, and these ideas could be embodied in the Egyptian taste. The primitive, massive, and solid aspects of Egyptian architecture were desirable and pleasing attributes, and these were bound to appeal as well to the Romantic Classicists.

## The Napoleonic Campaigns –
## Authentic Ancient Egyptian Monuments

The next critical stage, the "archaeological" phase, had the greatest impact on many art forms: poetry, painting, decorative arts, and architecture all incorporated imagery, symbols, or designs from ancient Egypt. It produced the most widespread creation of Egyptian Revival styles in art and architecture since ancient times. This phase is marked by Napoleon's campaigns into Egypt in 1798-1799. Napoleon brought with him an army of scholars and artists who documented the topography, geography, natural history, and antiquities of ancient Egypt. One of them, Baron Dominique Vivant Denon, wrote the illustrated *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte* in 1802, and between the years 1809 and 1828 produced the 22-volume *Description de l'Egypte*. This treatise and the numerous detailed drawings it contained had a tremendous influence on scholars and artists and fired up the imagination of the public, providing inspiration for the nineteenth-century Egyptian Revival movement.

The designs of several Egyptian Revival mausoleums in Green-Wood Cemetery, which I will discuss in detail later, can be traced directly back to these early source books. Early in the nineteenth century, one of Napoleon's many reforms was the establishment of the first modern-era cemetery, Pére Lachaise, in Paris. Because of the close association of this event with Napoleon's campaigns into Egypt, as well as the association of Egypt's architecture with death, an Egyptian Revival within the new cemetery movement was inevitable.

## The Egyptian Revival and the Sublime

Egyptian Revival appealed to the Romantic sensibility because it evoked ideas and feelings related to an ancient past: picturesque ruins and the exotic locale of Egypt conjured up visions of unfamiliar faraway places. One of the key ideas of Romanticism, and a critical concept behind the Egyptian Revival and a direct influence on its use for funerary arts, was the concept of the Sublime. The roots of the concept of the Sublime may be traced to British statesman and essayist Edmund Burke's formulation of what he termed the 'Sublime versus the Beautiful'. In brief, the sublime aesthetic stated that emotional qualities such as fear, astonishment, terror, dread, and awe were produced by certain works of art. It was realized that Egyptian architecture could give the effect of awe and dread. Not only were its iconographic associations based upon an aura of "Wisdom and Mystery," as well as the Cult of the Dead, but visually these qualities were implied through the very characteristics of the style.[3] Upon seeing Egyptian funerary monuments, viewers would, it was felt, be infused with sublime associations of gloom, solemnity, and the finality of death, as well as the idea of eternity.

French architect Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-99) understood and believed in the ideas of the Comte de Caylus and Edmund Burke, and set about creating designs for massive tombs. His vast schemes featuring blank walls, stupendous scale, and Egyptianizing elements suggest the desolation, terror, and finality of death. Boullée's drawings of pyramidal structures go back to the more wide-angled proportions of the ancient pyramids at Gizeh: his designs sought perfect symmetry on an enormous scale. The mood and atmosphere Boullée tried to create in his cemetery designs has been explained in this way:

> ... By cutting decoration to a minimum, Boullée gave his buildings a 'character of immutability'. He could think of nothing more appropriate or melancholy than a monument consisting of a flat surface, bare and unadorned. No gloomier images exist and if we make abstraction of all the beauty of art, it would be impossible not to appreciate in such a construction, the mournful effect of the architecture.[4]

Americans were exposed to Egyptian Revival styles through eighteenth century furniture and design books, and other archeological publications. Knowledge and understanding of Egyptian culture and art became more widespread as new archaeological discoveries and treasures

were found: books, photographs, and artifacts being brought to America increased interest and awareness of ancient Egypt. Influenced by French and British art and architectural trends, Egyptian Revival popularity in Europe was soon followed here, eventually evolving into our particular American versions of those trends.

## Arguments For and Against Egyptian Revival

### Aesthetic Criticisms

There have been arguments both for and against Egyptian Revival styles for a variety of reasons. With regard to their appropriateness for Christian funerary monuments, there are strong arguments from both sides. The style has its detractors and proponents for its aesthetic qualities too. On aesthetic principles, critics and the public thought Egyptian Revival was too depressing and fearsome; there was a somewhat too much of the awesome quality about it, which oddly enough might well be the strongest argument for its proper use in funerary art. The authenticity of Egyptian art in its applications for funerary art was often its only justifiable reason for use.

### Religious Criticisms and Considerations

The average nineteenth-century family knew that death was a frequent visitor and took comfort in religious faith and teaching. The devout Christian of the Victorian era was exceedingly preoccupied with belief in the Resurrection of the soul, eternal life, and the idea of the afterlife. The appropriateness of Egyptian styles for funerary art and architecture posed religious questions and objections.

The use of more traditional Christian symbols to express faith and hope in the hereafter included angels, crosses, and monuments that incorporated Gothic elements reminiscent of great Christian cathedrals. At the same time, the use of obelisks and Egyptian funerary art was acceptable to some because of the ancient Egyptian's belief in the afterlife: their whole culture, art and architecture revolved around preparation for the afterlife.

Green-Wood, as part of the Rural Cemetery Movement, provided an appropriate material setting for the nineteenth century belief in Victorian America that the living would eventually be reunited with their loved ones who had passed on. The word cemetery connotes not finality, but

sleep – a resting place – a sentiment which often appears as brief epitaphs on gravestones. Both Christian and Egyptian iconography supports this idea of a life after death, and many of the monuments in Green-Wood reflect this attitude toward death in symbolic or written form.

Nonetheless, articles appearing in influential magazines such as the *North American Review*, denounced the Egyptian Revival and declared it tantamount to blasphemy:

> It is very doubtful whether the Egyptian style is most appropriate to a Christian burial place. It certainly has no connection with our religion. In its characteristics it is anterior to civilization; and therefore is not beautiful in itself. But more than this, Egyptian architecture reminds us of the religion that called it into being, - the most degraded and revolting paganism that ever existed. It is the architecture of embalmed cats and deified crocodiles; solid, stupendous, and time defying, we allow; but associated in our minds with all that is disgusting and absurd in superstition....[5]

In the 1840's, some critics denounced "modern sepulchral monuments" as, "pagan". Urns, broken columns, inverted torches, extinguished lamps, and sarcophagi, all of which were based on Classical Greek and Roman art, were looked upon as immoral and un-Christian. The cross, recumbent effigies, and emblems of mercy and redemption were the only acceptable emblems on tombs.[6]

Nehemiah Cleaveland wrote that the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans had no Christian belief in the Resurrection and a Life Everlasting. He admired the aesthetic qualities of ancient art forms, but pointed out that by using the pre-Christian symbols, people who employed them were denying the faith which offered them the hope and salvation they professed to believe in:

> Of these imitations, the emblems most used are of Greek or Egyptian origin. No one can doubt that in their own time and place, these symbols were natural and appropriate, as well as beautiful. But are they so still?... To the mourners of pagan antiquity, death was extinction. To them, no voice from heaven had spoken. (should he) employ the same symbols with the pagan and the infidel? ...Those who will use the gloomy hieroglyphics of some perished creed, should at least place near them the cheering emblems of a living faith.[7]

Critics denounced the Egyptian Revival by saying it offered no meaning, visually or spiritually, to those looking for either inspiration or consolation. The architects who did champion the Egyptian Revival, did so

largely because of its simplicity of form, inherent symbolism concerning
death and mortality, and its suitability for funerary art. Despite the rela-
tively small number of Egyptian Revival funerary monuments in Green-
Wood Cemetery and elsewhere, Egyptian Revival was more popular in
funerary art than in other areas.

### Green-Wood and The Rural Cemetery Movement

Early in the nineteenth century, Romanticism and eclecticism led to
criticisms being hurled back and forth concerning the use and abuse of
different historical styles in architecture. It seems everyone was favoring
one style for brief periods of time and then casting that one off in favor of
something else that had suddenly became more popular. The result was
an ongoing struggle for the dominance of one revival style over the other.

Understanding the Rural Cemetery movement is critical for under-
standing why such a variety of revival styles and eclectic monuments
exists in Green-Wood today. Egyptian Revival stands among the Gothic
and the Greek Revival monuments because patrons were encouraged to
choose monuments and architecture that would create a varied and inter-
esting visual landscape.



**Fig. 2. Crosby mausoleum, 1846.**

Fig. 3.  Crosby mausoleum, 1846.

The garden-like setting of the Rural Cemetery movement can in many regards be traced back to Romantic gardens in England, which made use of fake tombs and ruins designed for Romantic effect. In Romantic garden parks, a variety of styles could often be seen together. In Green-Wood Cemetery, the concept of the eclectic garden cemetery was realized early on, as demonstrated by the variety of architectural styles and sculpture that were chosen to commemorate the dead. The fantasy landscape appealed to a sense of adventure that was so much a part of romanticism. Green-Wood was landscaped with ponds, hills, valleys, and a dizzying maze of meandering paths and drives.

## The Monuments of Green-Wood Cemetery

With the exception of large and striking figural statues, the mausoleums are the most impressive and elaborate structures in Green-Wood Cemetery. To be sure, there are small, modest mausoleums in the cemetery, but a number are as big as many houses, and the appearance of certain others tend to make the visitor forget that they are in Brooklyn, USA.

One of the earliest Egyptian Revival mausoleums in Green-Wood cemetery, and one that Nehemiah Cleaveland would certainly have seen,



Fig. 4. Heckscher mausoleum, 1866.

is the tomb of William B. Crosby (Figs. 1-3). The inner door behind the wrought iron gate in the center of the façade displays incised letters stating "Erected 1846". The mausoleum is constructed of blocks of brownstone and is set into a hillside. Such hillside mausoleums are fairly common in Green-Wood and other rural cemeteries because of the terrain, and it is often difficult to judge the actual size of this type of mausoleum since the entire structure is not visible. This early Green-Wood tomb is a good starting place to explain what primary features characterize an Egyptian Revival monument: it is Egyptian in its use of pylons, cavetto cornices, winged globe, and torus molding. Unlike the other mausoleums I will be discussing, the walls of the Corsby tomb are not battered at an angle in the common ancient Egyptian or Egyptian Revival style, but rise straight up perpendicular to the ground. Later examples that I will examine use a more authentic Egyptian basic structure in that their walls are battered at a 70-degree angle, and their overall shape is not rectangular or square, but rather trapezoidal, shaped wider at the base and tapering off at the top.

The two main pylon blocks that flank the facade of the mausoleum are topped with a simple torus molding, which is a semi-circular or cylindrical molding used on the corners of walls and around doorways. The Crosby vault displays another essential Egyptian architectural feature, the cavetto cornice, which is a gorge, or semi-circular, hollow overhanging molding found at the tops of temples or tombs (see Figs. 1-2). Many Egyptian decorative elements are organic, derived either from plants or animals. The torus molding design, for example, simulates long bundled plants, and the Crosby door frame features this more elaborate torus molding (see Fig. 3). Above the doorway (also Fig. 3) is one of the most commonly used Egyptian motifs, the winged globe with uroei. The winged globe , or sun disc, was seen as a royal symbol of the god Horus. The wings of the falcon represented the sky, the sun and the king. The uroei are rearing snake's heads which in the iconography of gods and kings are the beings that ward off evil, and are a symbol of protection often found carved or painted on the cavetto cornice above the doorways of temples. The wrought iron gate also incorporates another popular Egyptian decorative element, the lotus buds, which are doubled one above the other. Even though this is a small mausoleum compared to the others I shall discuss, one still gets the impression of solidity and massiveness. The two pylons seem to tower at a great height and give a feeling of weight on solid ground: they are constructed of three large blocks

of sandstone instead of many smaller pieces, which would diminish the monumental effect. The pylons are slightly higher than the basic vault, so that they form towers on each side which add a sense of height. The simple, flat surface of the entire shape also makes it appear much larger than it really is and helps to impart an imposing appearance despite its relatively small size.

Some examples of the stark and massive type of architecture that Boullée may have envisioned, though here on a smaller scale, are the mausoleums of C.A. Heckscher (1866/Fig. 4) and Percy R. Pyne (1895/Fig. 5). If we were to compare these and other non-pyramidal shaped tombs to authentic ancient Egyptian tombs, they could be described as mastaba forms, an ancient Egyptian rectangular tomb with a flat roof and battered sides.[8] At first, and from a distance, I didn't consider them Egyptian until I saw their basic pylon structure and battered walls, which thereby render them Egyptian Revival in its simplest form. They feature cavetto cornices, but are completely without ornament and have no torus moldings, winged globes, or columns. Constructed of large, flat blocks of stone, they are certainly some of the most forbidding look-
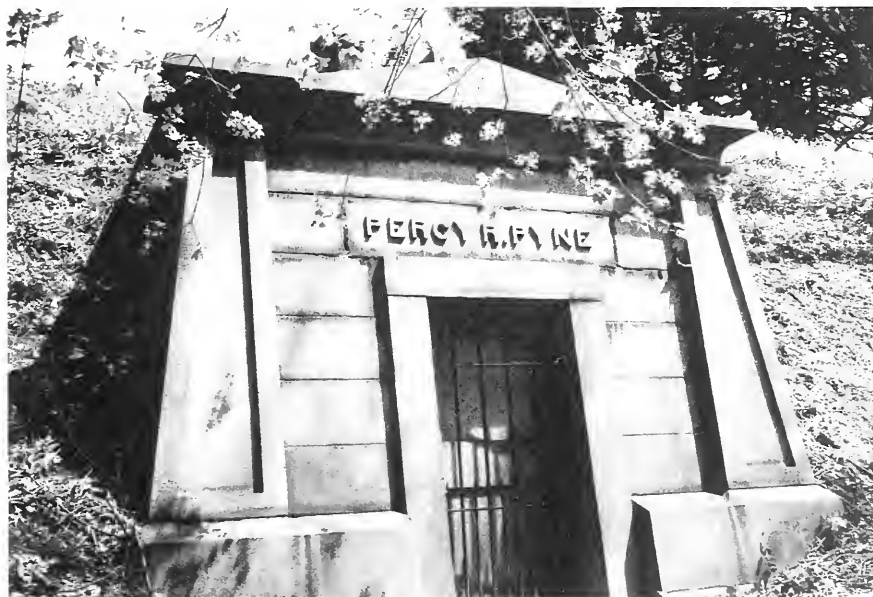


Fig. 5. Pyne mausoleum, 1895.

ing mausoleums in the cemetery. In no sense are they pretty or decorative: in fact, set into hillsides and located along high, dark, and overgrown cliff paths, it might be said these tombs do indeed inspire a certain degree of dread or terror. Despite their relatively small, compact size, they are imposing because of the forbidding blankness of their walls. Part of their aura comes from their location and the fact they are literally half buried.

Another larger but still relatively simple and unadorned Egyptian Revival mausoleum is the Abeel tomb (Fig. 6). The earliest interment for which I can find a record for this lot is 1894, but I suspect it was erected earlier based on its location and appearance. The entire facade is one flat unbroken surface constructed of solid slabs of stone without any protruding pylon structures, with simply the name ABEEL above the doorway in raised block letters. The facade is higher than the two side walls and has an odd narrow rectangular block of stone about five feet long placed in the center above the top of the cavetto cornice. On this stone a winged globe is carved, but without the uroei the block looks as though it could almost have been added as an afterthought to the top of the mausoleum. The sides of the facade are edged with torus molding. All three walls are battered, with the sides of the vault on a steeper angle than the



Fig. 6. Abeel mausoleum, 1894?

facade. Except for the stone with the winged globe and the torus molding and battered sides, this vault is simply a trapezoidal block of extreme simplicity. It does, however, evoke a feeling of permanence and severity.

One of the more interesting Egyptian Revival tombs in Green-Wood is the Johnston mausoleum (Figs. 7-10). It stands in one of the older sections of Green-Wood and probably dates from around 1847. John Johnston was a wealthy New York merchant, and his son John Taylor Johnston, who became the first President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is also buried here. This early mausoleum is a much more elaborate structure than the preceding examples, featuring a number of decorative elements which make it look more like a temple than a stark tomb. Like the other mausoleums, it is built of large, flat blocks (in this instance unpolished gray granite) of alternating narrower and wider heights of stone. Its shape is trapezoidal.

An immediately apparent difference, however, is the fact that the Johnston mausoleum projects more of a feeling of height and verticality because of the columns that are used. These are in antis, framed in a recessed area (Fig. 8) The columns are adorned with beautifully carved



Fig. 7. Johnston mausoleum, 1847.

Fig. 8.  Johnston mausoleum, 1847.

palm leaf capitals; the shafts are carved to look like bundled reeds, and the base of the columns feature stylized overlapping pointed lotus blossom designs.

The doorway is a quite interesting feature because it incorporates a four-stepped corbelled arch, a design which goes back to the mid-eighteenth century designs of Piranesi and which became a common theme in Egyptianized designs. Piranesi brought ancient Egypt indoors: his sketches for fireplace designs made use of inverted stepped pyramids of antiquity, which we refer to as corbelled arches.[9] The doorway of the Johnston mausoleum employs four canted corbelled steps identical to one of these fireplace designs by Piranesi.

The cavetto cornice surrounds the top of the structure on all three sides, but in this case is not simply a plain unadorned gorge, or hollow, but has incised vertical bands of lines that are also considered torus moldings (Fig. 9). Unlike the others we have seen, there are winged globes with uroei (also Fig. 9) on all three sides of the mausoleum. The two corners of the walls are edged with a more prominent torus molding – prominent both in size and in depth of the carving (Fig. 10). The structure itself is archaeologically accurate in the vegetal design motifs and in that there are



Fig. 9. Johnston mausoleum, 1847.

columns distyle in antis above the cavetto cornice portal based upon plates from Denon's *Description*.

Another tomb in Green-Wood that drew my attention was the Arundell-Osborne mausoleum (Figs. 11-13). Although it is a four-sided structure, it is not, strictly speaking, a mastaba since its sides are not battered at an angle, but are perpendicular to the ground. It strikes me as



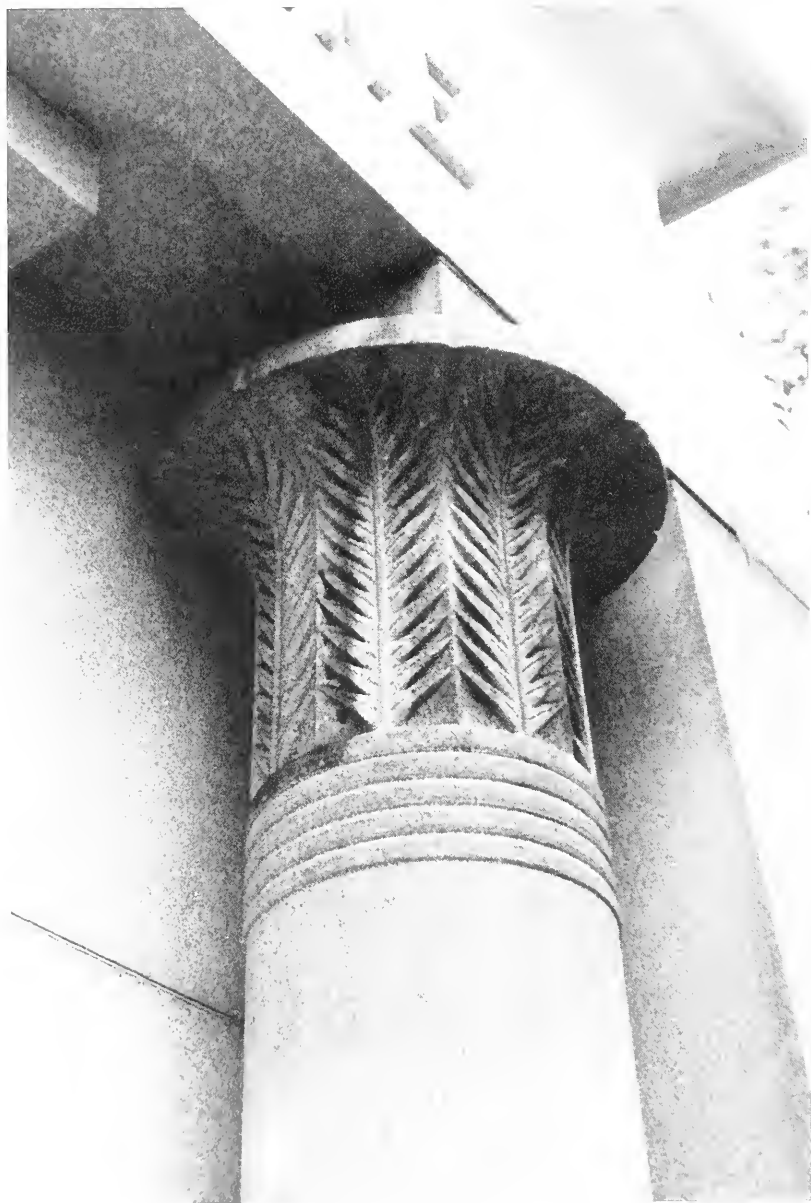**Fig. 10. Johnston mausoleum, 1847.**

Fig. 11. Arundell-Osborne mausoleum, 1909.

Fig. 12.  Arundell-Osborne mausoleum, 1909.

more modern looking somehow, perhaps because it is a freestanding structure and not set into a hillside. It is situated amongst a profusion of Greco-Roman, Renaissance, and Gothic Revival mausoleums and truly stands out as part of an architectural fantasy landscape. Perhaps the Egyptian Revival style was chosen by the patrons in order to set their monument apart visually from the surrounding other variety of architectural styles; or perhaps they embraced a spiritual or ideological philosophy that Egyptian iconography could express.

The Arundell-Osborne mausoleum was erected in 1909 of granite, marble, and bronze. Unlike the other Egyptian Revival mausoleums in Green-Wood, this one has a series of four steps leading up to the door, with an urn on each side of the staircase. The staircase gives the monument a more formal appearance: having to mount steps makes it seem somehow more like sacred space, much in the way the ancient Egyptian temples and tombs were approached by long roads and steps.

The entablature of the mausoleum employs the basic pylon form and is highly decorative, using many Egyptianized designs and motifs. The columns again are in antis, with palm leaf capitals (Fig. 12). Above the lintel is a cavetto cornice with a winged globe and uroei with a double layer of feathers. The four corners of the building feature banded torus moldings, which also encircle the bottom of the cavetto cornice. The back and sides of the mausoleum are unusual in that they have columns with palm leaf capitals identical to the ones in front.

The doorway itself (Fig. 13) is very ornate, consisting of double bronze doors with elaborate decorations. The top halves are windows with bars of lotus flower and buds, and papyrus towards the top. Above the decorative bars on each window are winged globes with the double layers of feathers. The bottom panels of the bronze doors display the ankh[10] symbols, which are topped with more lotus flower decorations. Later identified with the nimbus and Cross of the Crucifixion, the ankh came to signify life and resurrection.

Many of the finer mausoleums in Green-Wood contain stunning stained glass windows inside them. If, for example, one peers through the Egyptianized bronze doors of the Arundell-Osborne tomb, it is possible to see a stained glass window that depicts a Risen Christ in jewel-like colors. The stained glass window Christianizes the otherwise non-Christian elements of the Egyptian Revival structure. The subject of the Risen Christ makes an additional statement about Resurrection and an afterlife which
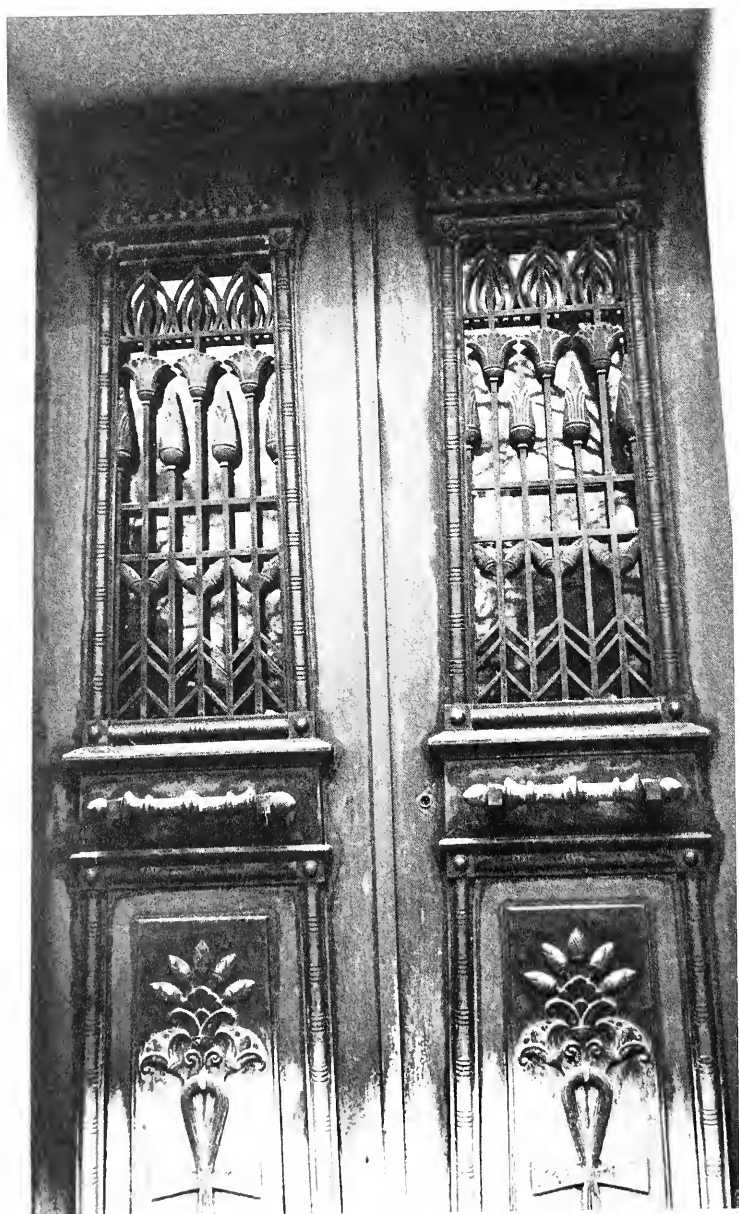
Fig. 13.  Arundell-Osborne mausoleum, 1909.

does not appear disharmonious with the message behind Egyptian tomb architecture.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, pyramids, with their simple geometry, were felt to indicate progressiveness in architecture and adhered to the Neo-Classical desire for purity of line. The pyramidal form had funereal connections ideally suited to monuments and even to individual mausoleums, and there are numerous examples of late eighteenth century pyramidal mausoleums in Europe. Green-Wood Cemetery has three of these pyramidal shaped mausoleums.

The first two pyramid tombs in Green-Wood we shall examine are those of Henry Bergh (1888), and Benjamin Stephens (1890). Like the ancient pyramids, or even the Roman Cestius pyramid, which are much larger than these two monuments, they are nonetheless imposing because of their sense of mass and weight. They project an aura of mystery because, depending on how you perceive them, they are either emerging from within a hillside or are being slowly buried under and being absorbed into one.



**Fig. 14. Bergh mausoleum, 1888.**

One of the criticisms of the Egyptian Revival style dealt with the issue of comparisons with the original ancient monuments. The ancient pyramids at Gizeh are overwhelming because of their incredible size and mass, and thus the much smaller scale of modern Egyptian Revival structures was seen as a ludicrous imitation. Criticisms of the Egyptian Revival, and of revival styles in general, were aimed at their attempts to copy the originals, while disregarding the size or materials used in the originals. This may be true in some cases, but I don't think that the pyramids in Green-Wood Cemetery lose any of their visual impact or expressive power in their modern adaptation. Their more human size, in other words, does not detract from the message they send and the feelings they were meant to evoke. True, one might not feel the awe or dread a more colossal structure might inspire, but these seem to be self-contained and serene. The word immutability still comes to mind.

The tomb of Henry Bergh, founder of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA), is a pyramidal shaped mausoleum built into a hillside (Figs. 14-15), largely unadorned except for the winged globe on the architrave on the triangular pediment (Fig. 15). The



**Fig. 15.  Bergh mausoleum, 1888.**

symbolic device is carved in great detail and features three layers of feathers, with uroei – the rearing snakes. This particular winged globe is carved onto a flat lintel instead of onto the curved surface of a cavetto cornice such as those on the Crosby or Johnston vaults. The doorway displays a recently restored bronze plaque that features the logo of the ASPCA, a round bas-relief depicting an avenging angel with upraised arm wreaking wrath and vengeance on a horsecart driver who is brutally beating his horse.

The pyramidal mausoleum of Benjamin Stephens (Figs. 16-17) is similar to the Bergh pyramid except that its proportions are slightly different. They are both the same width at the base, but the Stephens tomb is higher. The Bergh pyramid's base is longer than its sides, while the sides of the Stephens' pyramid are the same length as its base. The Bergh pyramid is angled lower and has a block-like shape that seems more firmly planted on the ground. The Stephens' sides are more steeply pitched and it presents a loftier appearance because there is more surface area between the top of the lintel and the pyramidion: it appears to be reaching skyward, whereas the Bergh monument seems to have a solid, heavy center of gravity that is firmly planted in the ground.



Fig. 16. Stephens pyramidal mausoleum, 1890.

Fig. 17. Stephens mausoleum, 1890.

The projecting portico and Classical doorway with a triangular pediment is a feature common to both the Bergh and Stephens tombs. Winged globes with uroei beneath the pediment carved onto a flat lintel appear on both pyramids. However, unlike the Bergh monument, which has a simple flat granite door, the Stephens mausoleum features an elaborate bronze door that employs Egyptian decorative motifs. An outer gate consists of a cast iron grille door with vertical bars that are decorated with stylized lotus buds.

One of the things I have been trying to discover about the Egyptian Revival in Green-Wood Cemetery is why it was chosen over other more popular funerary art styles. The Victorian era favored the Gothic above nearly everything else, and Green-Wood is very much a Victorian cemetery, in both its "garden cemetery" philosophy and by the customs of the culture its patrons observed. I believe that choosing an Egyptian style funeral monument was more than a meaningless choice based on simple preference or popularity, especially since a more overtly beautiful and sentimental memorial art dominated the nineteenth century. Given that people were generally more demonstratively emotional about death and their loved ones during this period, why did some patrons deliberately choose a style so seemingly cold and unemotional? Some people are naturally more reticent; others might not have wanted to seem hypocritical by choosing a more overtly religious monument if they had no true religious conviction. Choosing a pyramid or other Egyptian monument must have expressed meaningful ideas and deep convictions outside of the mainstream of popular religion, culture, and funerary tradition.

Researching the pyramid of Benjamin Stephens revealed nothing to me that would indicate any particular interest in or affinity with ancient Egypt or the Egyptian Revival until I looked into the other family members buried in the tomb. I discovered that the younger brother of Benjamin Stephens was the famous explorer and author John Lloyd Stephens, who died in 1852 of the lingering effects of fevers contracted during his travels. In 1837 he wrote *Incidents of Travels in Egypt, Arabia, Petraea, and the Holy Land*, but he is most famous for his books written about his travels in Central America and those concerning Mayan civilization. I think there is a distinct possibility that the older Benjamin commissioning a mausoleum many years later may have chosen the pyramid as an appropriate tribute in memory of his younger brother's interests and activities.

Since Henry Bergh is a fairly famous person, I had hoped to find some definite documentation relating to his choice of a pyramidal tomb. Indeed, I did discover that Bergh had a personal interest in and knowledge of Ancient Egypt, and it would appear that this firsthand experience probably made him more likely to commission a memorial in which Egyptian forms dominate and convey more esoteric meanings.

One of the more important sources for Egyptomania in America, and most particularly in New York City, involved the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the corresponding gift by Egypt to America of an ancient obelisk.[11] With this announcement, a new craze for Egyptian design developed. In 1881, the 69-foot tall Alexandrian obelisk known as *Cleopatra's Needle* was finally raised in Central Park.

When the base for the obelisk was constructed, a "time capsule" was put together for the cornerstone which contained objects and documents relevant to the history of the United States and New York City. I was elated to discover that "documents of the ASPCA" were included in this time capsule,[12] at least one manifestation of Henry Bergh's obvious awareness of and interest in ancient Egyptian artifacts and culture. There are other indicators as well. As was the custom during this period for wealthy people of a certain social class and genteel background, prolonged European



Fig. 18.  Van Ness-Parsons mausoleum, 1931.

honeymoons of several years were common. Henry Bergh's honeymoon of 1847-1850 took him throughout Europe, as well as to Turkey and Egypt. Bergh had had a fascination for the pyramids since childhood, and in his journals he recorded his travels, writing that his "… first sight of the Pyramids – since youth, (were) the strongest desire of my heart,"[13] Bergh was an avid art patron and had, among other things, collected from his travels nymphs, cupids, a view of Naples, a bronze horse, and an Egyptian stone mummy.[14]

Although a member of the Episcopalian Church, Henry Bergh was not an especially devout Christian and was known to be interested in other religions and familiar with the teachings of other religious leaders, including Buddha, Confucius, and Mohammed. I believe it is highly possible that Henry Bergh chose an Egyptian pyramid mausoleum for his wife and himself in part because of his broader religious interests, and because it offered a meaningful and viable alternative to traditional Christian memorial art without seeming to reject it outright. It may also have satisfied his aesthetic, intellectual, and personal spiritual affinity for the Egyptian pyramid since childhood, experienced firsthand on his honeymoon.



Fig. 19. Van Ness-Parsons mausoleum, 1931.

Another fascinating pyramidal shaped mausoleum which delights and mystifies visitors to Green-Wood is the Van Ness-Parsons monument, constructed in 1931 (Figs. 18-21). The mausoleum is constructed of granite, concrete and white brick, and the pyramid is much wider angled than the Stephens or Bergh mausoleums, more like the ancient Egyptian proportions of the structures of Gizeh and those envisioned by Boullée in the eighteenth century. The portico projects out from the front of the pyramid, and at the top is a cavetto cornice within which is carved a winged globe with uroei (Fig. 19). The door to the tomb is constructed of bronze with a rather elaborate and detailed relief carving. There is a rectangular plaque centered on the door depicting Christ on the Cross on the top half of the plaque, and a circle with the Sun in the center encircled by the signs of the Zodiac.

What is so striking and unusual about this mausoleum are the statues flanking the entrance (Figs. 20-21). On the left of the door as one faces it is a marble statue of Jesus holding a Lamb on his left arm. His right hand is outstretched in the pose of holding a staff, which has broken off, leaving only the bottom portion. On the right side is a corresponding marble statue of the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus up in her outstretched



Fig. 20. Van Ness-Parsons mausoleum, 1931.

Fig. 21.  Van Ness-Parsons mausoleum, 1931.

hands. Directly to the right of the statue of Mary is a Sphinx in the couchant (recumbent) position (Fig. 21). The Sphinx is bearded, with breasts, and appears to be gazing up at either Mary and Jesus or at the heavens. These marble statues are "sugaring"[15] badly, and sharp definition of the features has been lost. The sight of this pyramid and Sphinx, juxtaposed with these Christian statues, has always been beautiful and strange. On the face of it, I always imagined this pyramid was an overtly dramatic attempt to Christianize Egyptian iconography, or, at the very least, indicated a strong fondness for exotica or Egyptian art while wanting to retain Christian symbolism.

As it turns out, the iconography of this mausoleum is extremely complex, based on the philosophy of its designer, Albert Ross Parsons (1847-1933), who is best known as a musician and music teacher. A composer and poet who wrote several books on music, his efforts most relevant to this monument were his ventures into philosophy and metaphysics. Amongst the latter is a volume with the somewhat ponderous title *New Light from the Great Pyramid ... The Astronomico-Geographical system of the Ancients Recovered and Applied to the Elucidation of History, Ceremony, Symbolism, and Religion, with an Exposition of the Evolution from the Prehistoric, Objective, Scientific Religion of Adam Kadmon, the Macrocosm, of the Historic, Subjective, Spiritual Religion of Christ Jesus, the Microcosm*, published in 1893.[16] Not surprisingly, the work makes for extremely difficult reading, but in the course of his commentary Parsons explains the significance of the pyramid and the zodiac, as well as the reasons why the ideas and images of Ancient Egypt were so relevant and important to America.[17] In his book, Parsons provides a visual illustration of his belief relating to the importance of Pisces nearing Aries at the time of the Crucifixion, and it is this very drawing which is reproduced in bas-relief on the bronze door of the mausoleum.[18]

Albert Parsons' pyramid is an architectural and sculptural statement that reflects his personal philosophy, which postulates a long-standing identification between Americans, Christianity, and ancient Egypt. In this instance, we see that the use of Egyptian motifs is not only related to the common themes of the appropriateness of Egyptian architecture for funerary monuments representing eternity and the hereafter, but, additionally, to a whole and somewhat idiosyncratic philosophical system which Parsons derived from Ancient Egypt.

Finally, it is worth noting that funerary art in the period under discussion not only reflected the religious sentiments of the deceased, but also reflected the social and economic position of the deceased in society. Mausoleums were generally built for wealthy families: they represented prestige and success. The more elaborate ancient Egyptian tombs were built for Pharaohs. In the case of the individuals whose more modern tombs we have examined here, each was an accomplished and respected person in his profession and in society. In choosing Egyptian Revival styles to memorialize themselves, they perhaps felt themselves worthy of the distinction and esteem given to those Pharaohs of old.

## Conclusion

Green-Wood Cemetery offers a wonderful variety of the types of funerary monuments that the Egyptian Revival produced. As a nineteenth century rural garden cemetery, it invited a diversity of revival styles and eclectic monuments and provided a compatible setting for Egyptian Revival monuments. Among its many patrons, Green-Wood had an extremely wealthy and elite class of residents. In a city with numerous architects, sculptors, artisans, and monument companies, they had the resources to create memorials that are works of art. Monumental art reflects the tastes and aspirations of its culture, and Green-Wood Cemetery reflects the varied culture of mid- to late nineteenth-century New York and Brooklyn.

Middle and upper class cemetery patrons became, in effect, art patrons and made decisions involving artistic and cultural expression when they commissioned a monument to commemorate their loved ones or themselves. Were these decisions made for sentimental reasons? Were they aesthetic decisions based on the fashions of the time? Or do they represent attempts to make more meaningful symbolic statements? Were the patrons in some instances following the dictates of their religious feelings, or perhaps choosing memorials that reflected the character or beliefs of the deceased? Except in the case of the omnipresent obelisks, the choice of Egyptian Revival for funerary monuments in nineteenth century Green-Wood Cemetery seems to have been limited to certain types of patrons. By rejecting more conventional, popular architectural styles and choosing Egyptian Revival, they were perhaps making a more adventurous artistic decision. Obviously, these patrons did not see the religious or aesthetic objections that critics expressed as a conflict and discounted the many and

varied criticisms aimed at the Egyptian Revival. With the exceptions of the Arundell-Osborne and Van Ness-Parsons tombs, all of those individuals who commissioned Egyptian Revival mausoleums in Green-Wood omitted any Christian symbolism. They may conceivably have chosen Egyptian iconography because they were making a more sophisticated, esoteric statement regarding their own mortality and death. In the case of Benjamin Stephens, Henry Bergh, and Albert Ross Parsons, we have seen that they were well educated, traveled, cultured, and had a known interest in Egyptology. Their choice of funerary architecture reflects both their unique, unconventional characters and perhaps their uncommon perceptions of themselves. They were of a more intellectual bent, which probably would have made them more receptive to the possibilities and implications of Egyptian iconography in spite of, or in addition to, any personally held religious beliefs and practice. In the case of the other Egyptian Revival patrons, I can document nothing about their intentions, although I would venture to suggest that they too were choosing to express themselves apart from the mainstream, whether for aesthetic or personal reasons. I also believe that in choosing the Egyptian Revival, patrons sought a more malleable and timeless vehicle to commemorate themselves – one which reached beyond the ubiquitous and sentimental Christian Victorian funerary art so prevalent during this period.

# NOTES

All photographs in this essay were taken by the author and are here reproduced with the full knowledge and consent of Green-Wood Cemetery.

1. Nehemiah Cleaveland, *Green-Wood Illustrated: In highly finished line engraving, from drawings taken on the spot, by James Smillie: With descriptive notices by Nehemiah Cleaveland* (New York, NY, 1847), 52.

2. Wayne Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans: A Social History of American Architecture* (New York, NY, 1978), 98.

3. Richard G. Carrott, *The Egyptian Revival: Its Sources, Monuments, and Meaning, 1800-1858* (Berkeley, CA, 1978), 51.

4. James Steven Curl, *Egyptomania: The Egyptian Revival: A Recurring Theme in the History of Taste* (New York, NY, 1994), 105.

5. James Gallier, "American Architecture," *North American Review* XLIII: 93 (1836): 356-384.

6. Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 363.

7. Cleaveland, *Green-Wood Illustrated*, 50, 51.

8. James Steven Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western Tradition* (London, 1993), 8.

9. Although Piranesi's fireplace design drawings were never executed, the design was displayed as early as 1812 in the Egyptian Exhibition Hall in London.

10. A cross surmounted by a circlet used in hieroglyphics, later identified with the nimbus and Cross of the Crucifixion. It signifies life and resurrection. Curl, *Egyptomania*, 229.

11. A pair of obelisks were originally erected by Tuthmosis III c. 1468 BC at Heliopolis, but were moved to Alexandria by Augustus in 10 BC to stand in front of a temple to Julius Caesar. The move was at the behest of Cleopatra – hence the popular title *Cleopatra's Needles*. The American gift was one of this pair: the other was a gift to England and erected in London in 1878.

12. Martina D'Alton, *The New York Obelisk, or How Cleopatra's Needle Came to New York and What Happened When It Got Here* (New York, NY, 1993), 41.

13. Zulma Steele, *Angel in a Top Hat* (New York, NY, 1942), 24.

14. *Ibid.,* 295.

15. Sugaring is a deterioration of stone, especially marble, that causes it to look and feel like granulated sugar. It is caused by weathering, and in recent years, more rapidly by acid rain. Sculptural details and lettering "melt" or dissolve like sugar.

16. (New York, NY, 1893).

17. The use of the pyramid on the dollar bill, the adaptation of the obelisk for important national monuments, ancient Egyptian migration to North America, and other ideas are repeated and elaborated on in Parsons' book. He believed we were the spiritual descendents of ancient Egypt. *Ibid.,* 66; 502.

18. *Ibid.,* 261.

## APPENDIX

## A Select List of Secondary Sources
## Dealing with Egyptian Revival Styles

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Photo: Richard E. Meyer.

## A CEMETERY

### Emily Dickinson

This quiet dust was Gentlemen and Ladies,
And Lads and Girls;
Was laughter and ability and sighing,
And frocks and curls.
This passive place a Summer's nimble mansion,
Where Bloom and Bees
Fulfilled their Oriental Circuit,
Then ceased like these.

(1864)

Fig. 1.  Bildad Washburn's home (and tavern),
Kingston, Massachusetts.

# THE CARVERS OF KINGSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

## James Blachowicz

### Introduction

The resident gravestone carving tradition of the town of Plymouth, Massachusetts began in 1770, with the arrival of William Coye from Providence, Rhode Island. The town of Kingston, Plymouth's closest neighbor, acquired its first carver about seven years later. This was Bildad Washburn (1762-1832), whose work is found throughout Plymouth county and in neighboring Barnstable and Bristol counties as well. His brother-in-law and apprentice, Bartlett Adams (1776-1828), also left an impressive body of work behind in the area before leaving for Maine in about 1800, in his early twenties. Washburn's successor in Kingston was Hiram Tribble (1809-1881), nephew of the Plymouth carver John Tribble. Hiram probably apprenticed with his uncle in Plymouth before launching his career in Brewster in 1830. His stay on Cape Cod was brief, however, for he returned to marry a Duxbury girl and took over in Kingston after Washburn's death in 1832. Hiram was about the same age as his cousin Winslow Tribble, who worked with his father John Tribble in Plymouth through 1860. Hiram and Winslow produced some very interesting designs in their early twenties, and both moved completely to marble gravestones in the later parts of their careers. I have not investigated the work of carvers resident in Kingston after 1862.

My catalog of gravestones produced by these three men (see Appendix II) is complete for their home town of Kingston, and I have included numerous examples of their work elsewhere.

In this essay, I shall review Washburn's and Adams' biographies in sequence before moving to look at their work, which is so entwined as to make separate analyses impossible, after which I shall move to Hiram Tribble.

### Washburn and Adams: Biography
#### Bildad Washburn

Bildad Washburn was born in Kingston on August 24, 1762, the fourth of at least nine children of Jabez Washburn, Jr. and his wife Mary.[1] Jabez died in February of 1775. Two months later, Bildad, not quite thirteen, served for eleven days as a drummer boy with Captain Peleg

Wadsworth's company of the Theophilus Cotton regiment, and then, con-secutively, another three months with the same company. After two months at home he returned to service, as a fifer. Finally, in 1777, now almost fifteen, he served as a drummer for Captain Andrew Sampson's company, which was stationed at the fort at the Gurnet, on Kingston's coast.[2] Judging from the dates on his earliest gravestones, Bildad must have learned stonecutting at about this time. Since Kingston did not have a resident stonecutter, he no doubt studied with an established neighbor-ing carver. Was this Lemuel Savery of nearby Plymouth, or a carver in Plympton or some other town? I shall address this question once we have examined his work.

Bildad married Lucy Adams in Kingston in 1784. They had fourteen children.[3] He remained in Kingston, appearing rarely in county or town records, although he did act as town clerk from 1804 to 1806.[4] In about 1795, he buys a house in Marshfield,[5] dismantles it, and ships it to Kingston (by oxcart and packet boat) to be reassembled. This would be his home and his tavern.[6] It still stands at 234 Main Street (Fig. 1). In 1798 he buys at auction (for $100.00) a pew in the newly-built meeting house; afterwards, "the men who built it marched to Bildad Washburn's tavern for refreshments and celebration"[7]. It is apparently this house/tavern which is assessed at $800 (a fairly large sum) in the 1798 Direct Tax for Massachusetts. He is also assessed for an additional forty-six acres of land, no doubt farmland outside the town. Washburn sold his house and tavern to a George Russell and built a new house in 1808, across from the burial ground. In fact, he and his younger brother Abiel built twin hous-es: Bildad's was later reworked to make the barn for the Unitarian par-sonage, but Abiel's house, long after he sold it, was moved to 200 Main Street, where it still stands.[8]

An Abiel Washburn appears as an apprentice to Bartlett Adams in 1809, but there are no payments for gravestones to Abiel in Plymouth County probate records. According to Melville's history of Kingston, Abiel Washburn moved to Akron, Ohio in about 1850[9].

Bildad took on his wife's brother Bartlett Adams as his apprentice in about 1791. After turning twenty-one in 1797, Adams set up his own shop in Portland, Maine. Two of Bildad's sons also became stonecutters: Alvan bought Adams' Portland shop in 1812 and probably ran it for two years, until Adams returned, and Alvan's younger brother, Elias, was a stone-cutter in Adams' Portland shop in 1818.[10] Bildad's son-in-law, George

Washington Bryant, who married Bildad's daughter Lucy, also became a carver. As we shall see, Bryant, whose shop was in North Bridgewater, may have competed to some extent with Hiram Tribble.

Bildad Washburn died in Kingston on September 18, 1832 at the age of seventy.[11] His gravestone was carved by Hiram Tribble (see Fig. 37).
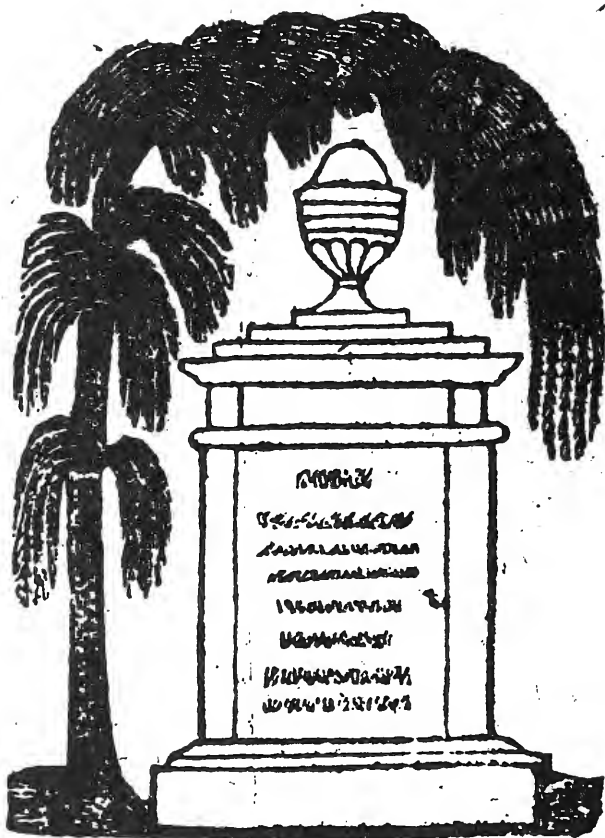
### Bartlett Adams[12]

Bartlett Adams was born in Kingston on October 24, 1776. He was the sixth of at least ten children of Francis Adams and Rebecca Cook.[13] The eldest of these children was Lucy, who married Bildad Washburn in 1784. Adams must have become Washburn's apprentice in about 1791.

Adams moved from Kingston to Portland, Maine after he turned twenty-one in 1797 and before September 15, 1800, the date of his advertisement in the *Portland Gazette* (Fig. 2). His brother Richard, sixteen years old at the time, may have accompanied him. Richard also became a stone-cutter and worked in Charlestown[14]; he later returned to Maine, working in Topsham, Brunswick, and Bath.

Bartlett married Charlotte Neal of Portland and had seven children, all born there.[15] Four of these died before reaching adulthood. In September of 1812 he places an advertisement in the *Eastern Argus*, notifying the pub-

# B. ADAMS,

*SCULPTOR AND STONE-CUTTER,*

R Efpectfully acquaiuts the public, that he has commenced bufinefs, in Federal-Street, near the head of Fifh-Street, where he has an affortment of Connecticut and Quincy SLATE STONES, fuitable for hearths, jambs, and mantels— Alfo, TOMB-STONES and GRAVE-STONES.—Likewifs, a few Italian MARBLE TABLE SLABS. *Portland, Sept. 15, 1800.*

Fig. 2. Bartlett Adams' announcement of the opening of his shop, 1800, Portland, Maine.

# BARTLETT ADAMS,
## *STONE CUTTER—*

HAS on hand a large assortment of white and blue Marble, slate and free Stone, suitable for steps, door-sills, window caps and sills, hearths, jambs and mantels; garden rolls; paint stones, and paint mills; grind stones; columns for tombs; plain and ornamented grave stones; marble tomb stones,&c.&c.

☞ Orders for any kind of stone work in his line, from any part of the country executed with promptitude and dispatch

Fig. 3. Adams' advertisement of his shop, 1817, Portland, Maine.

lic that all debts to him (and by him) must be settled by October 10th, for he is about to move from Portland. He sells his shop to his nephew, Alvan Washburn, son of Bildad, and leaves in the company of the architect Alexander Parrish for Richmond, Virginia, spending almost two years there. In April of 1814, another advertisement in the *Eastern Argus* announces that he has resumed his stonecutting business on Federal Street in Portland.

In 1815, Adams is credited in a column in the *Eastern Argus* as the "ingenious artist" who fashioned a new marble monument for the "late gallant Capt. Burrows," commissioned by Matthew L. Davis, a gentleman from New York who took exception to the fact that Captain Blythe, Burrowes' British opponent in the naval battle which brought fame to both men, had a decent memorial whereas Burrowes had not. The Burrowes monument is an undecorated marble slab.[16]

Adams advertises his shop again in 1817 (Fig. 3), and in 1818 (Fig. 4), where he announces that Bildad's son, Elias Washburn, had joined him. Bartlett Adams died in Portland on January 27, 1828 at the age of fifty-one. Bildad Washburn would live another four years.



Fig. 4.  Adams' advertisement of his nephew's position
at his shop, 1818, Portland, Maine.

## Washburn and Adams: Gravestones

I attribute a total of 489 gravestones to Washburn and Adams: 376 to Washburn and 113 to Adams (eleven of these 113 are in Maine). Once Adams got started, he may have been the one who assumed the responsibility for most of the carving. Consider the Washburn shop's production from 1791 through 1798, that is, the period of Adams' carving career in Kingston:

|          | 1791 | 1792 | 1793 | 1794 | 1795 | 1796 | 1797 | 1798 |
|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Washburn | 14   | 3    | 8    | 3    | 6    | 6    | 5    | 8    |
| Adams    | 4    | 2    | 9    | 16   | 17   | 12   | 11   | 5    |

I should point out, however, that Washburn was apparently directing much of Adams' work to the north, to the area around Milton and Brockton; and because my survey of stones for that area was more comprehensive than for other towns in Plymouth County, the numbers I have here for Washburn may be somewhat low in comparison to those for Adams. Washburn's production does seem to increase after Adams leaves, as one would expect. I did not discover any other carver who might have been producing significant numbers of stones in the Washburn workshop between 1800 and Washburn's death in 1832.

Although my canvass of Washburn's and Adams' gravestones was not exhaustive for towns outside of Kingston, it may still be possible to estimate the total production of their shop (which includes Adams' stones up to the time he leaves for Maine). Sixty percent of the probate citations to Washburn is for stones in Kingston; and I have ascribed a total of 335 stones in Kingston to his shop (this includes Adam's work as well). If the distribution of probate citations to Washburn over various towns reflects the distribution of the stones themselves over the same area, then, because my canvass of Kingston's burial ground as well as my examination of probate records was complete, we can project his shop's total production to about 560 gravestones. However, it may be that gravestones shipped to more distant locales would be less likely to have specific probate payments to the stonecutter than those sold at home; this and the fact that Adams had many stones shipped out of town would point to an even larger production than what I have estimated here.

It is significant that, whereas forty percent of probate citations to Washburn is for stones outside of Kingston, citations to the John Tribble

workshop in nearby Plymouth for stones outside of Plymouth is only about twelve percent of the total. Plymouth was larger than Kingston: the Kingston market alone was evidently not sufficient for Washburn. As we move through the later decades of his production (the 1810s and 1820s), however, the percentage of his Kingston stones rises. The town was growing. Of course, both Washburn and Tribble had other occupations: Washburn ran a tavern and probably farmed, while Tribble also ran a painting, papering, and glazing business as well as a distillery for a time.

In and around Kingston, we can discern two bodies of work which point to two distinct carvers. One carver made cherubs like that seen on the stone for Dorcas Shaw (1797) (Fig. 5). The face on these cherubs is rather small; the eyes are placed well, in the vertical center of the head; the hair tends to rise a bit high off the top of the head; the mouth, which is often no wider than the nose, tends to be a little too close to the nose; the smallish eyes are delineated with ridges that taper into lines running left and right, but these do not touch the sides of the head-outline; the wing feathers are often delineated with wavy veins. The carver of this type of cherub placed his stones in a very wide area: from Kingston through



**Fig. 5.  Dorcas Shaw, 1797, Eastham, Massachusetts.
Typical Washburn cherub with flowers.**

Marshfield to Norwell, Easton, and Milton. We also find his stones in Middleborough, Plympton, on Cape Cod, and in Rehoboth. The largest concentration is in Kingston.

The second carver is responsible for fewer stones, but they also tend to center around Kingston. An example is the marker for Barnabas Harlow (1796) (Fig. 6) in Plympton. The face found on these stones is larger, with the jaw almost the same proportion as the upper head; the eyes tend to be placed slightly higher than half way up the head and are closer to the eyebrows than those of the first carver; they also tend to be spaced further apart and, while they too are delineated with ridges, these ridges do not tend to taper into lines right and left, but simply meet to form a vertex; the outer corners of both eyes tend to make contact with the side of the head; and the mouth is wider than that of the first carver.

While these two descriptions hold for most of the stones in these two groups, there are significant variations. Before proceeding to any more details, however, let me identify these two carvers. I believe the first is Bildad Washburn and the second is Bartlett Adams. What initially makes these ascriptions problematic, however, is the fact that six of the stones of the second group are probated to Washburn.

I uncovered a total of thirty-eight payments to Bildad Washburn in probate records (see Appendix I), and located the gravestones for thirty-three of these. Of these thirty-three, I attribute twenty-seven to Washburn and six to Adams. The reason is that Adams was too young – under twenty-one – to have received probate citations for these stones: because he was Washburn's assistant, it was Washburn who was cited as paid for Adams' work. Note that the earliest of these six Washburn-probated, Adams-carved stones is dated 1791 (when Adams was fifteen) and the latest is 1796 (when he was twenty). In 1797, Adams signs a stone – for Samuel Bent in Milton – announcing, as it were, that he has come of age.

While Adams no doubt was paid for gravestones in Maine's probate records (which I did not search), I did find one citation in a Suffolk County probate in 1809 – this for the stone for Mary Stonehouse (see Appendix I), which I was unable to locate. I should also note that the stone for Ruth Croade (1791) in Halifax, which I attribute to Washburn, was probated to someone else.[17]

The ascription of these two groups of stones to Washburn and Adams is also supported by the fact that the gravestones of the second group cease appearing in the Kingston area at about the same time that Adams

Fig. 6.  Barnabas Harlow, 1796, Plympton, Massachusetts.
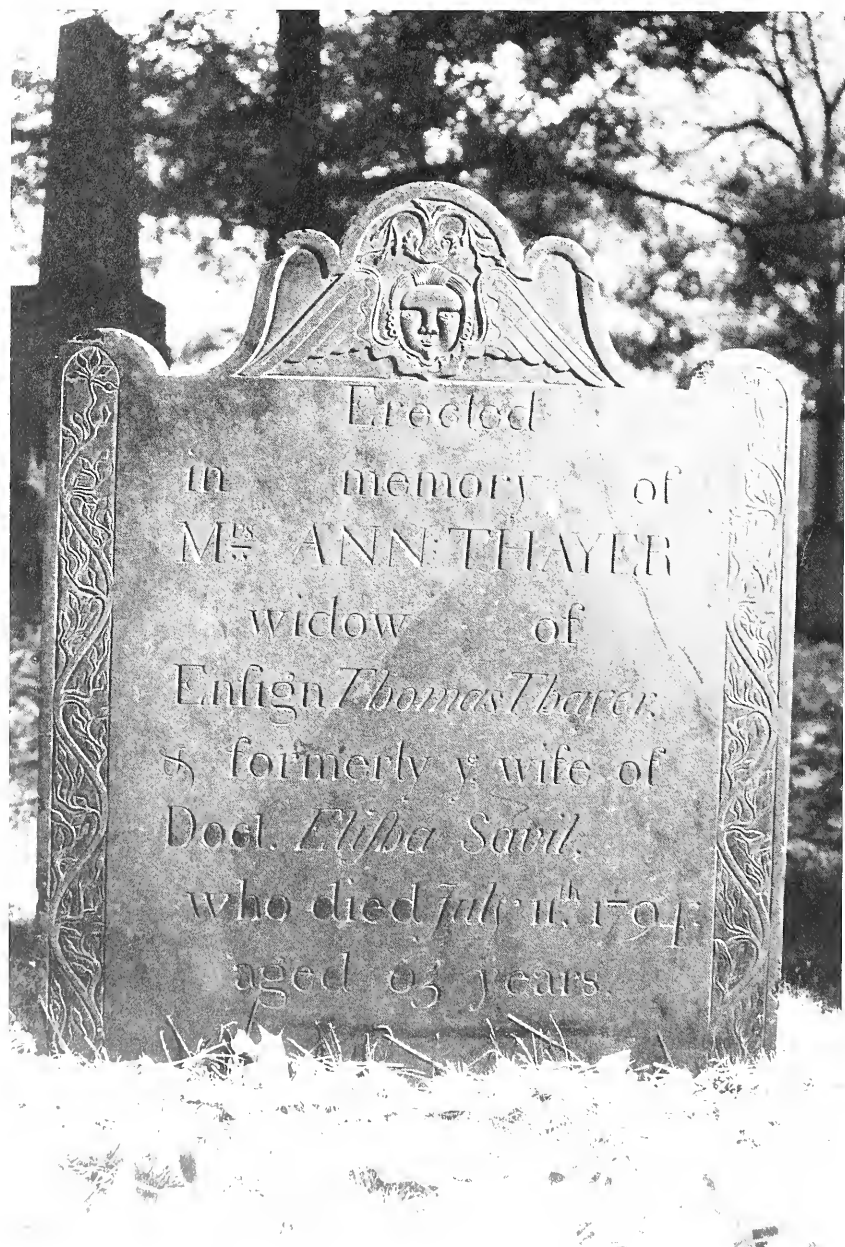Typical cherub carved by Adams; but probated to Washburn.

Fig. 7. Ann Thayer, 1794, Milton, Massachusetts.
Typical Adams cherub of 1793 and 1794.

leaves Kingston for Maine. Those of the first group, however, continue to appear in Kingston.

I have not, unfortunately, been able to discover any clear way to distinguish the lettering styles of these two carvers. Each time we come across what seems to be a telltale difference – for example, that Adams seems to make his "9" with a more pronounced left-curling loop at the bottom – there are exceptions which make this distinction unreliable. One suspects that Washburn lettered many of Adams' stones. I have had to rely almost exclusively, therefore, upon differences in their cherubs and some other decorative features to establish a basis for differentiation.

Rather than proceeding chronologically with each of these carver's stones, I shall follow their styles forward and backward from the "typical" stones represented above. Let us look first at Adams' work.

Most of the stones I have ascribed to Adams bear a cherub face like the one seen in Fig. 6. There are about ten stones dated 1793 and 1794 that I attribute to him, however, which are significantly different. The cherubs on these stones have a more pointed chin as well as diverse hair styles – straight, wavy, a forelock, combed back, combed forward. Further, there



**Fig. 8. William Sylvester, 1799, Harpswell, Maine.
Adams' later elliptical cherub face.**

Fig. 9. Samuel Bent, 1797, Milton, Massachusetts.
Signed by Adams.

are additional decorative features above the cherubs' heads on six of these – crossed bones, a star-like pendant, and floral or tree-like growths, such as on the stone for Ann Thayer (1794) (Fig. 7).[18] There are also rather elaborate floral borders on some of these. Even though the chin here is more like Washburn's than Adams', I attribute this group to Adams because of the treatment of the eyes. These stones show a "9," however, whose bottom does not curl up: perhpas Washburn lettered them. It is even possible, I suppose, that Adams and Washburn collaborated on the cherubs' faces.

More tentatively, I ascribe to Adams the similar stone for Araunah Brewster (1793). Here an urn and two willows are positioned over the head of the cherub. Although the eyes are lower on the head, as in Washburn's style, I keep this stone in the Adams column because of the shape of the eyes and eyebrows.

On his later stones, the face of Adams' cherub loses its pointy chin and becomes less square, appearing as an almost perfect ellipse, such as that seen on the stone for William Sylvester (1799) in Harpswell, Maine (Fig. 8).[19] He added somewhat bushy eyebrows to the face on the Sylvester stone, a feature which we find again on his 1780 (but backdated) stone for James Gooding and his wife in Portland – carved, no doubt, after his move there.[20] If the Sylvester stone was carved after his move to Maine, then Adams no doubt lettered it as well. We find *some* distinctiveness in these letters. The curling lower part of the "9," for example; a different ampersand from Washburn's; a "g" whose upper "ear" curls right instead of up. We see the curled "9" and the "g" with a right-leaning ear again on the signed stone for Samuel Bent (1797) (Fig. 9).

I should mention that there is a late stone in Portland, for Gen. Francis Osgood (1817), which features a cherub that looks a bit like Adams' cherub of the 1790s. Perhaps it is the work of Adams' new partner, Elias Washburn (Bildad's son), who had joined him about that time.

Adams places an umbrella-like canopy over the cherub's head on six of the stones I have ascribed to him.[21] A canopy also appears over the heads of the two female figures on the stone for Christiana Cook (1796) (Fig. 10). This large stone bears an equally large central urn. I ascribe this to Adams on the basis of the eyes, the canopy, and the type of "9." A similar female figure is featured within an oval in the tympanum of the stone for Mary Baxter (1789) in Milton. An identically shaped urn is found on the enormous stone for William Drew (1795), and a quite similar one

Fig. 10.  Christiana Cook, 1796, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Typical large Adams urn.

Fig. 11.  Mary Brewster, 1795, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Large Adams urn and willow.

**Fig. 12.  Joshua Delano, 1816, Kingston, Massachusetts.**
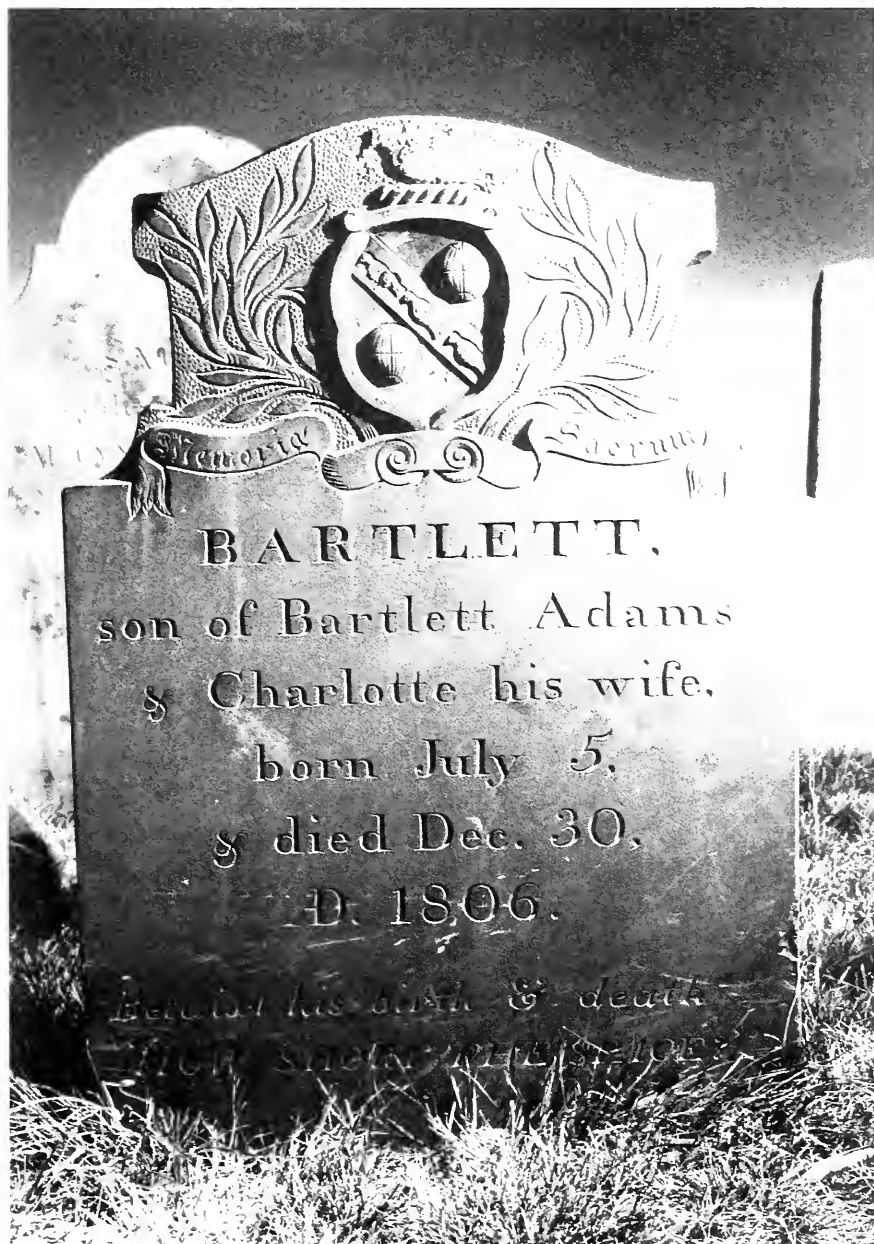**Typical large Washburn urn.**

Fig. 13. Bartlett Adams, Jr., 1806, Portland, Maine.
Carved by Adams for his son.

appears on the marker for Mary Brewster (1795) (Fig. 11), which features an accompanying willow with large "succulent" leaves (a similar "9" is found here as well).

There are five other stones in Kingston with large urns and willows, however, that are Washburn's – those for Kezia Cook (1808) (which also features a pair of his cherubs), Joshua Delano (1816) (Fig. 12), Isaac Bartlett (1816) (these latter two probated to Washburn), Dorothy Drew (1816), and George Russell (1822). The urns, though similar to one another, have different shapes from those I ascribe to Adams, and the leaves of the willows have longer stems than those on Adams' willows. The lettering also matches Washburn's later style.

An Adams stone showing his later technique is that for his son Bartlett (1806) in Portland, Maine (Fig. 13). The lettering has deepened and become very sharp and does not bear much resemblance to that on his earlier work. I have not examined Adams' later work in Maine.

Before moving to Washburn, we need to consider three stones which were probably carved by Adams, but which feature eyes smaller than those found on his other work: these are for Edward Oakman (1791),



**Fig. 14.  Capt. Joshua Vinall, 1793, Marshfield, Massachusetts. "Wild hair" cherub probably carved by Adams.**

William Keen (1792), and Capt. Joshua Vinall (1793) (Fig. 14). These may be examples of Adams' early work, where his style is closer to that of Washburn. The wild hair on the Vinall stone recalls that on the marker for Benjamin Ewer (1792), carved at about the same time, which I ascribed to the "Narrow-Nose carver" in my 1998 essay on Plymouth and Cape Cod carvers.[22] I now believe the Narrow-Nose carver to be Samuel Burbank (1774-1816), Lemuel Savery's nephew and first apprentice.[23] Adams and Burbank might have been acquainted; Adams was only two years younger, and they lived but four miles from each other when they were apprenticing. Eighteen of the thirty-eight stones I ascribe to Samuel Burbank are found in the Brockton/Quincy area, and there are at least twenty-six stones – perhaps substantially more – in this area carved by Adams. The only floral border we find on Samuel Burbank's stones – that on the marker for Moses Brackett (1793) in Quincy – is of a type not dissimilar from the kind Adams used in 1794 and later. There is also the interesting coincidence of the two "wild-hair" cherubs, one made by each man. Finally, there is Adams' backdated marker for Ephraim Thayer (1781) in Holbrook. The style of the cherub (an almost elliptical face) sug-
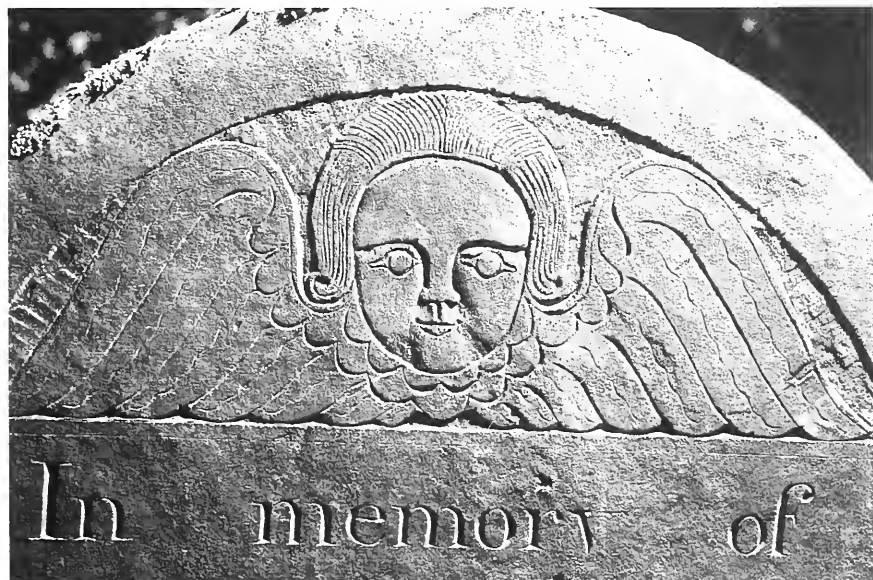


**Fig. 15.  Mary Cook, 1812, Kingston, Massachusetts.
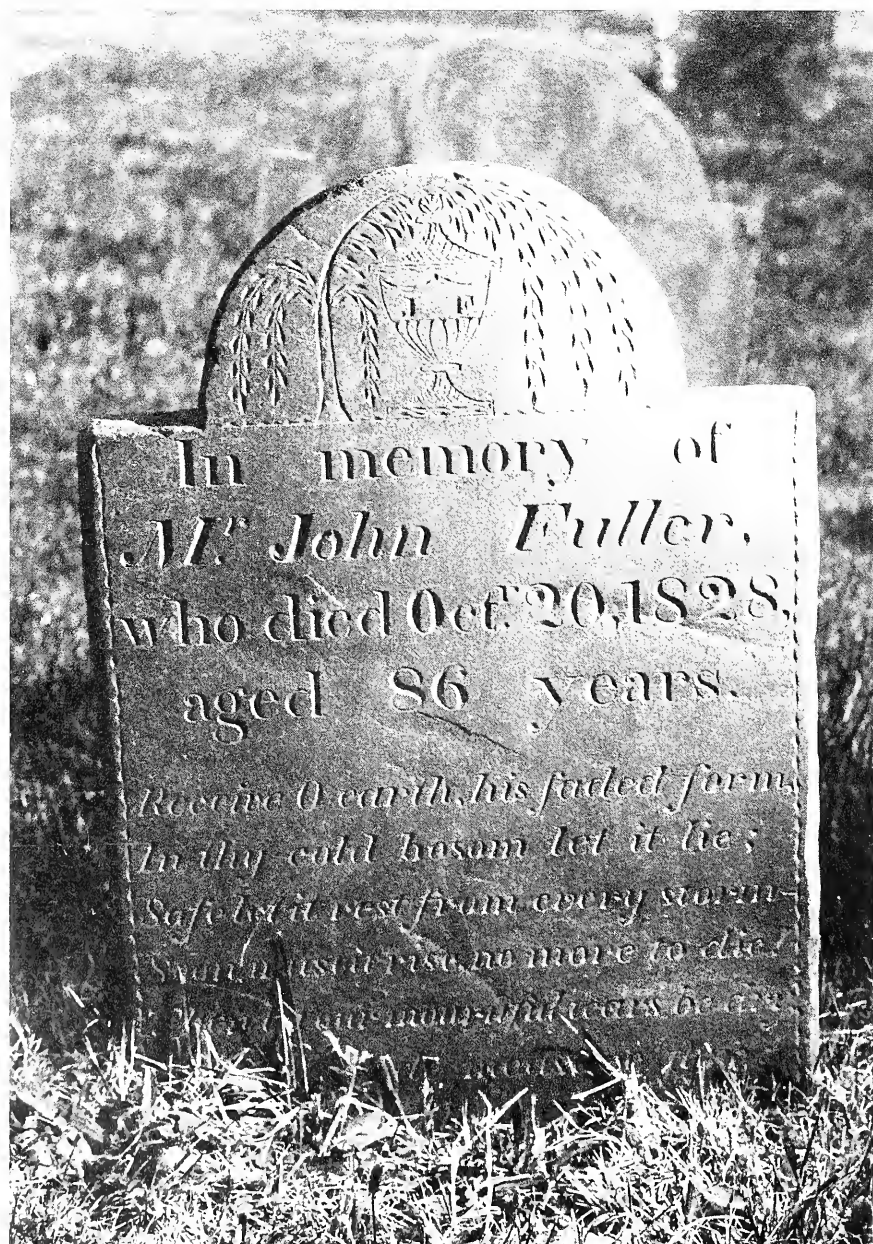Later Washburn cherub.**

Fig. 16. John Fuller, 1828, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Later Washburn urn, with initials of deceased.

Fig. 17.  Luther Bryant, 1807, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Washburn's early small urn.

gests that it was carved in about 1795 or so. What is significant about this gravestone is that it bears the distinctive twisted-rope border used frequently by Samuel Burbank. Adams may have picked up this decorative detail from Burbank, either personally, or from Burbank's stones in the Brockton/Quincy area.[24] Or, perhaps they both took it from Gabriel Allen.

Lemuel Savery himself has over thirty stones in these towns. It was, perhaps, an open market – prosperous, yet with no resident carver; and so John and James New, Savery, Burbank, Washburn, and Adams all placed significant numbers of their stones there. Savery may have even resided there for a time, shortly before his death.

Continuing, now, with Washburn's stones: he carves his typical cherubs on gravestones in the Kingston area for some years after Adams leaves for Maine. The stone for Mary Cook (1812) (Fig. 15) is a rather late example: it is quite like his earlier type except that the eyes have become circles, without the ridged outline.

A typical example of a later Washburn urn is found on the probated stone for John Fuller (1828) (Fig. 16). Here, as on most of his other urns of this type, he includes the initials of the deceased. Earlier, however, from about 1802, Washburn had introduced a giant urn which also acted as the panel upon which the inscription was written; this was usually accompa-



Fig. 18.  Olive Winsor, 1791, Duxbury, Massachusetts.
Washburn portrait.

nied by a "succulent" willow, as on the previously discussed stone for
Joshua Delano (1816) (Fig. 12). His earliest small urns, which emerge
about 1806, are shaped more like oil lamps, elongated along the horizon-
tal (a style we find in other carvers' work as well). An example is on the
stone for Luther Bryant (1807) (Fig. 17).[25]

As we trace Washburn's style back in time, we encounter some inter-
esting new elements. He gives us flowers with his cherub on the stone for
Dorcas Shaw (1797) (Fig. 5) in Eastham, and a distinctive portrait on the
stone for Olive Winsor (1791) (Fig. 18) in Duxbury. On the probated mark-
er for Joanna Macomber (1791) (Fig. 19), we find an earlier type of cherub



**Fig. 19. Joanna Macomber, 1791, Marshfield, Massachusetts.
Washburn's earlier cherub face.**

Fig. 20. Mary Crosby, 1789, Brewster, Massachusetts.
Earlier Washburn cherub; lettering in imitation of Lemuel Savery.

**Fig. 21. Hannah Thomas Willis, 1786, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Early Washburn cherub; wings like Savery's.**
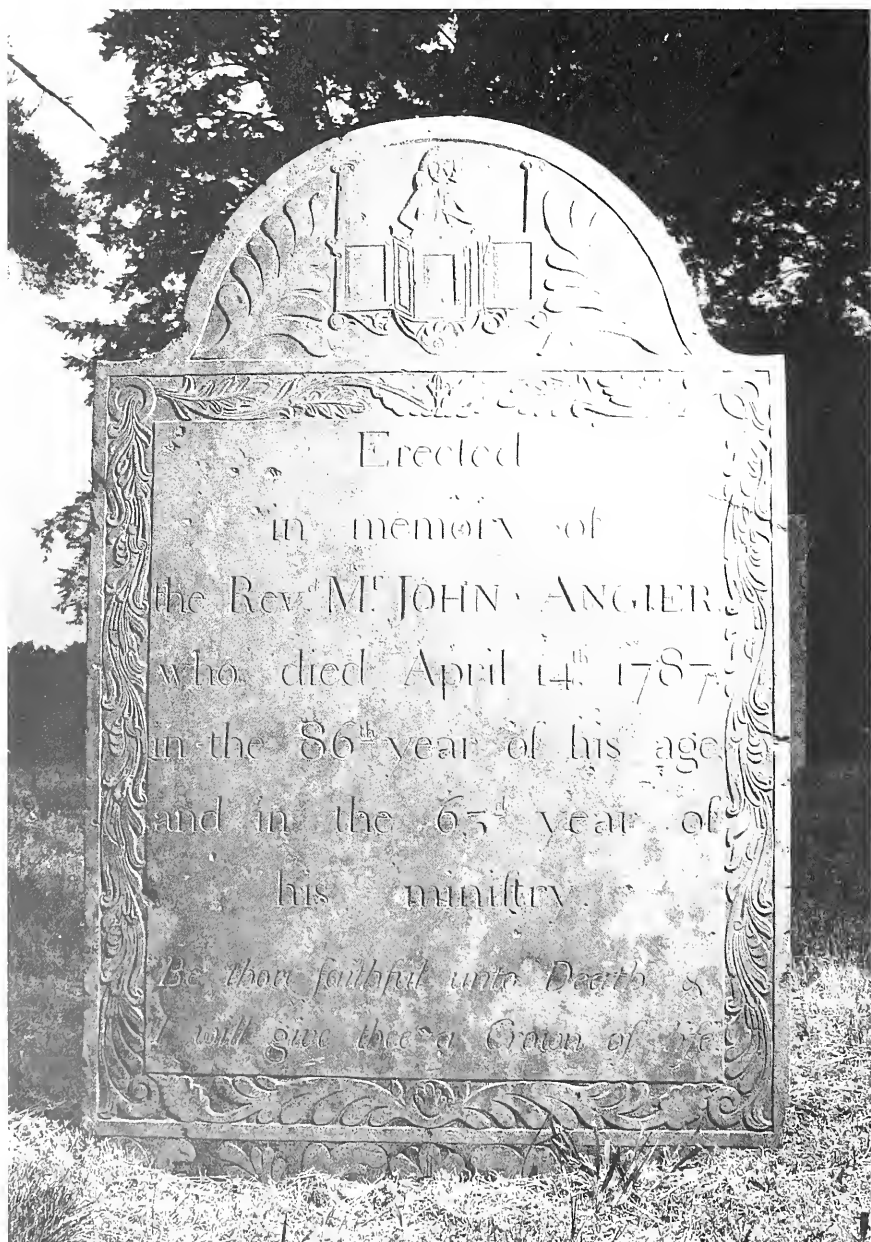
Fig. 22. Rev. John Angier, 1787, East Bridgewater, Massachusetts.
Attributed to Washburn on the basis of its footstone.

face, where the mouth is not placed as close to the nose as on his later stones. This gives the face a distinctively different look and connects Washburn to a number of gravestones in the 1780s, such as that for Mary Crosby (1789) (Fig. 20) in Brewster. The hair and eyes here are not unlike Washburn's later work, but we can notice some interesting features in the lettering. With the exception of the italicized name, the inscription looks at first glance to be the work of Lemuel Savery. We have Savery's traditional opening "In Memory of … ," an ampersand like his, numerals rather like his, and his characteristic "ye," with the "e" superimposed on the upper right serif of the "y." This was at about the time that Savery's stones were most numerous in Plymouth; it certainly appears that Washburn was making an effort here to imitate him.

If we move now to a slightly earlier stone, that for Hannah Thomas Willis (1786) (Fig. 21), we also find small leading-edge feathers veined very much like those Savery was carving at the same time. This marker also bears the distinctive "ye." We find similar imitations on even earlier stones, such as that for Capt. Hezekiah Ripley (1778), which has, however, a distinctive running-diamond border unlike any Savery used.



Fig. 23. John Goodspeed, 1786, West Barnstable, Massachusetts.
Early Washburn cherub; ornate borders.

We are able to ascribe to Washburn the unusual stone for the Rev. John Angier (1787) (Fig. 22) in East Bridgewater, which displays a small portrait of the Reverend in a pulpit, on the basis of its footstone, which features a more traditional Washburn cherub. Washburn may have been influenced here by John New's stone for the Rev. Samuel Brown (1749, backdated) in Abington[26]; but other carvers provided similar depictions of ministers in pulpits.

On the (now broken and corroded) stone for John Goodspeed (1786) (Fig. 23) in West Barnstable, Washburn used a rather traditional alternating scroll border. This was later matched by the border Savery used on the stone for John Goodspeed's wife Mercy (1793), alongside. Any question that this is Washburn's work is dispelled by the John Goodspeed footstone, which shows a cherub that is more recognizably his.

As we move finally to Bildad Washburn's earliest work, we encounter two interesting new types of design. He was apparently responsible for the four winged-skull stones we find in Kingston's old burial ground, one of which, that for Esther Sampson (1782) (Fig. 24), includes a border of heart-shaped leaves delineating the tympanum. We can ascribe this to Washburn



**Fig. 24. Esther Sampson, 1783, Kingston, Massachusetts.
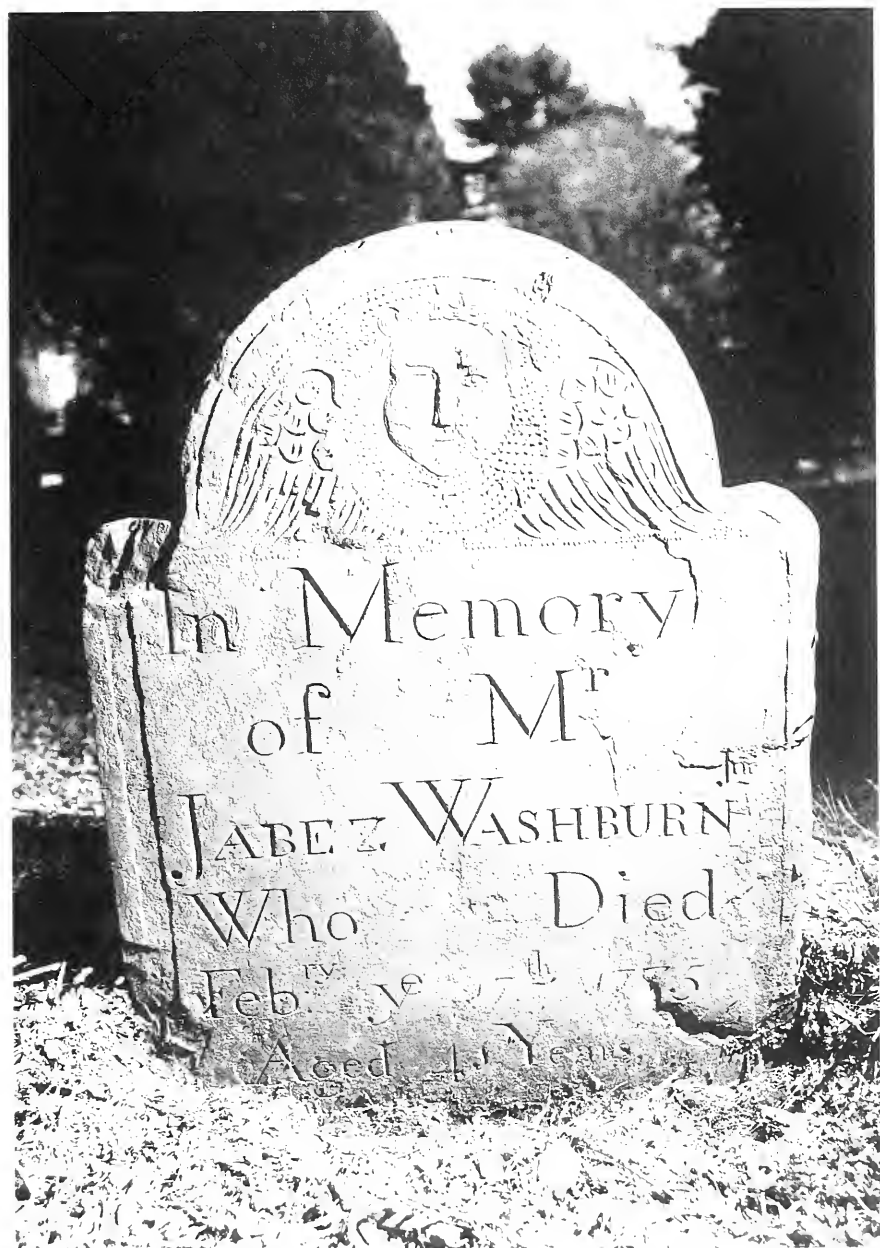One of four Washburn winged-skull stones in Kingston.**

Fig. 25. Jabez Washburn, Jr., 1775, Kingston, Massachusetts.
One of Washburn's very first stones, carved for his father.

on the basis of the letters, which include his "ye." The letters are also rather large, indicating a juvenile style: Bildad was twenty in 1782. The other three winged-skull stones are dated 1760 (backdated), 1778, and 1783.[27]

And he also probably carved five stones with cherub faces unlike his later, more mature type.[28] One of these was for Jabez Washburn, Jr. (1775) (Fig. 25), with large letters, and with a square-jawed face that is very obviously an imitation of Lemuel Savery's jowly-type of the same period. The curling hair also imitates the sort Savery carved on the stones for Robert Brown (1775), Nehemiah Ripley (1775), Nathaniel Morton (1776), and John Torrey (1776) (Fig. 26), all in Plymouth. Savery had carved five of these jowly cherubs on stones in Kingston dated between 1776 and 1779. Washburn most likely carved the Jabez Washburn stone after he had seen these Savery stones in Kingston (or, possibly, others in Plymouth), that is, backdating his stone slightly. The Jabez Washburn gravestone may in fact be one of Bildad's very first; it does show evidence of a juvenile lettering style. The probability that it is a very young Bildad Washburn who carved this stone (as young as thirteen) is strengthened by the fact that Jabez Washburn, Jr. was his father.



**Fig. 26. John Torrey, 1776, Plymouth, Massachusetts.**
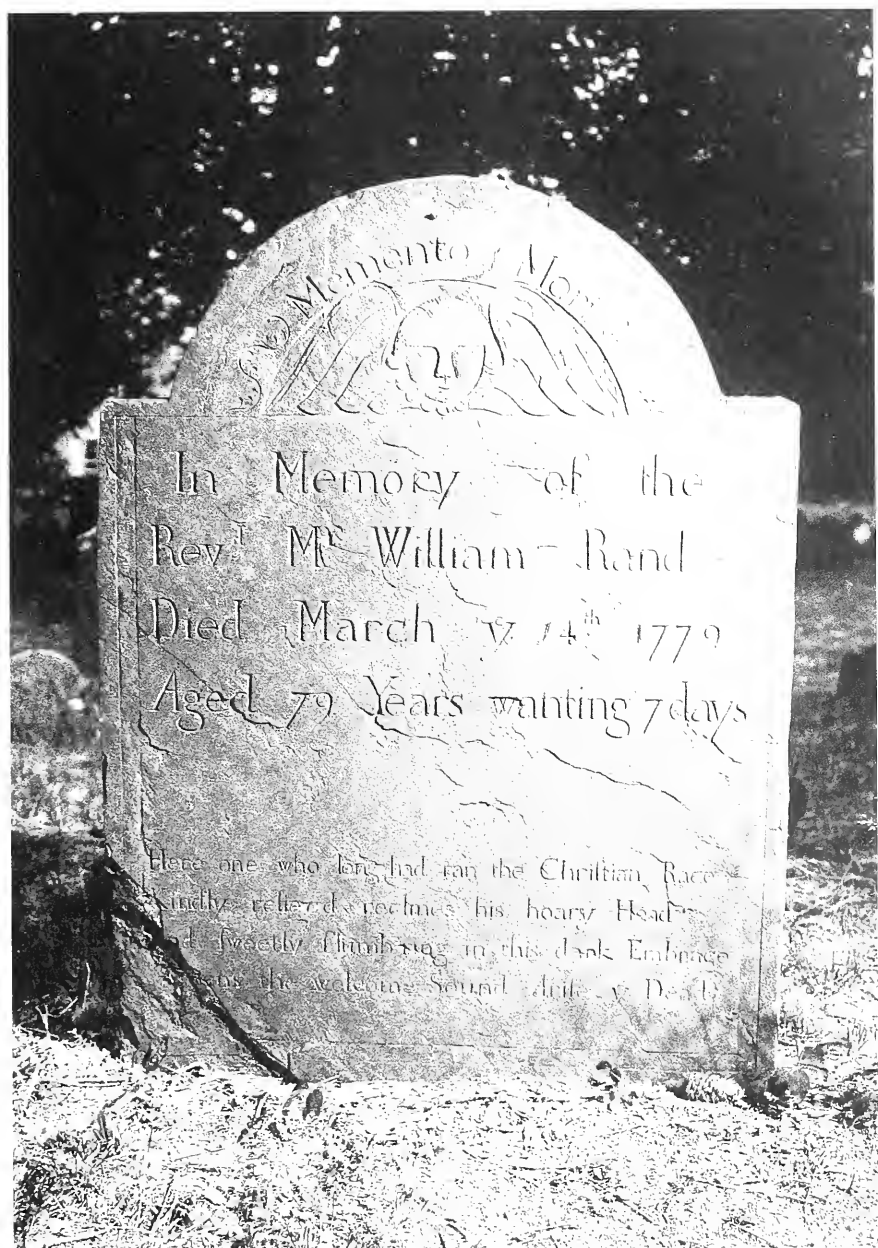**Typical "jowly" Savery cherub.**

Fig. 27. Rev. William Rand, 1779, Kingston, Massachusetts. An early
Washburn cherub; but probably lettered by one of the Soules.

In 1797, Washburn is paid for a stone by the estate of a Nathan Kingman of Bridgewater. There is a marker for a man by this name, but it is dated 1776, Kingman dying in his 20s at the Battle of Ticonderoga. It is decorated with a simple urn and willow. Although the twenty-year gap may well mean that this is not the same individual as that in the probate payment, there is also a chance that it is Washburn's work. The type of stone, the border and the lettering are all not unlike what he used in his earliest work.

Aside from the design and lettering similarities I have singled out, we have no evidence of a more professional relationship between Savery and Washburn. While it would not be surprising if young Washburn commuted the four miles from his Kingston home to Coye's and Savery's stonecutting shop in Plymouth in order to pick up the basic skills he would need to get started in the business, there is one last gravestone in Kingston which suggests another possibility.



Fig. 28. Hannah Harvey, 1786, West Bridgewater, Massachusetts.
Probably carved by James New in imitation
of Savery's cherub shown in Fig. 29.

This is the marker for the Rev. William Rand (1779) (Fig. 27). The cherub's face here is sufficiently like those we find on other early Washburn stones to attribute it to him. But the lettering is quite close to that on the adjacent marker for the Reverend's wife, Bridget Rand (1777). This latter stone bears a cherub characteristic of the Soule workshop. It may be the work of Asaph Soule, for the lettering also matches pretty well that on the stone for Abigail Everson (1780) in Middleborough, which is probated to him.[29] The Soules of Plympton had placed many of their stones in Kingston before Washburn's began to appear. If the Rand stone does indeed show a collaboration between Washburn and Asaph Soule, this is perhaps evidence that Washburn had learned to carve in Plympton with the Soules rather than in Plymouth with Savery. Of course, if he started his apprenticeship in 1777, it could probably not have been with Savery in any case, for Savery was himself only twenty years of age at the time, completing his own apprenticeship with William Coye. Yet if Washburn did apprentice with the Soules, he did not adopt either their lettering style or their distinctive cherub: for these, he turned to Savery, who was the superior artist.



**Fig. 29. Sarah Willis, 1783, West Bridgewater, Massachusetts.
Carved by Lemuel Savery.**

We should not underestimate the influence that Savery's beautifully chiseled, naturalistic faces had on his colleagues in other towns. Besides Washburn, we can find this influence in two other cases, noteworthy because these carvers had to suspend to some significant extent their own traditional style in order to imitate Savery's cherub. The first is the carver of the stones for Abner Fobes (1767, probably backdated) and Hannah Harvey (1786) (Fig. 28), both in the South Street cemetery in West Bridgewater. Compare the Harvey cherub with Savery's for Sarah Willis (1783) (Fig. 29) in the same cemetery. The lettering on the Fobes and Harvey stones is quite like that we find on the work of James New (1751-1835) of Wrentham, who, according to Vincent Luti, was carving in Attleboro at this time, and who supplied stones to the entire area sur-rounding West Bridgewater[30]: the "a," "2," and "8" are quite similar to those on New's stones for Seth Richardson (1785), Asenath Smith (1786), and Betsy Foster (1787), all in Attleboro; the cherubs, except for the gen-eral round shape of their faces, are not as close to New's more usual types, but perhaps he was, as I said, trying to match Savery's.

The second case of Savery-cherub imitation is to be found in a stylistic
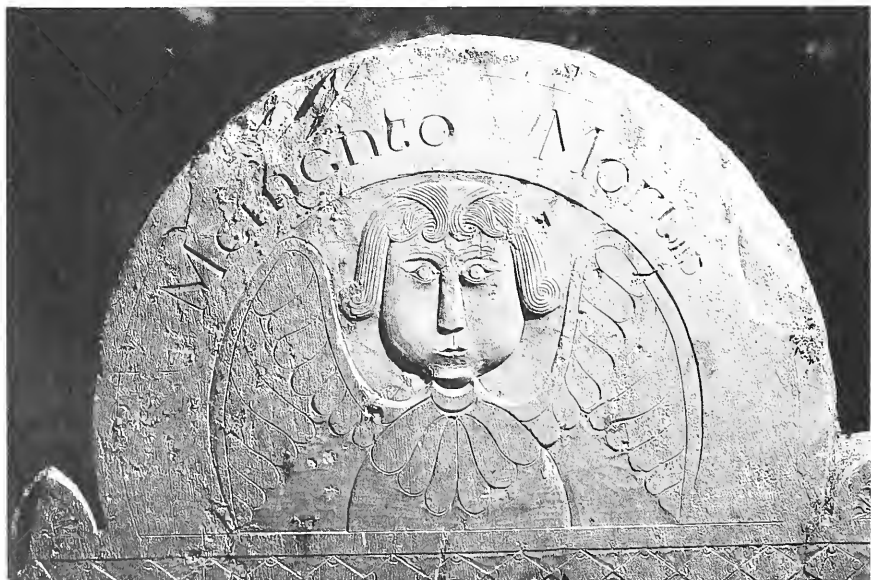


Fig. 30. Josiah Williams, 1789, West Bridgewater, Massachusetts.
Probably carved by Beza Soule, Sr. in imitation of Savery's cherub.

change adopted by one of the Soules. The stones for Rev. Jonathan Parker (1776) in Plympton and Isaac Tomson (1782) in Halifax have a folk-art cherub typical of the Soule workshop, which was capable of a number of different versions. This particular type features very thin lips and eyebrows with subdivisions along its length. On the stones for Isaac Willis (1788) in West Bridgewater and Major James Allen (1789) in Bridgewater, we have a very similar mouth and eyebrows, but here the eyes are much more realistic – rather like Savery's. Then there is the even more naturalistic version we find on a few stones, including those for Mehetabell Brett (1787) in Brockton, Josiah Williams (1789) (Fig. 30) in West Bridgewater, Nathaniel Croade (1790) in Halifax, and Caleb Sturtevant (1791) in Halifax, where the hair is rendered in curls or bangs. This last style certainly resembles Savery's work of the same period and may reflect a conscious effort on the part of this Soule carver to move to Savery's increasingly popular style. There are not very many of these naturalistic cherubs on Soule gravestones; they are found mostly in the Bridgewater area. Perhaps they are the work of Beza Soule, Sr.; the latest of them appear at about the time that Beza moves out of the area in the early 1790s.

## Hiram Tribble: Biography

Hiram Tribble was the Plymouth carver John Tribble's nephew, one of at least seven children of John's older brother Joseph and Polly Holmes.[31] He was born in Plymouth on July 8, 1809.[32] He probably learned to carve with his uncle John in Plymouth (and alongside John's son, Winslow, who was just a year younger), but after his apprenticeship there he apparently took a position on Cape Cod, possibly in the shop of Ebenezer D. Winslow in Brewster. He signs a stone in Orleans, for Sally Taylor (1830), and adds "Brewster" to his signature. I was able to identify only two other Cape stones which may be his, both dated January 1832. He marries Abigail T. Ripley of Duxbury on July 29, 1832; two weeks before, in the Duxbury publishing of their intent to marry, Hiram is listed as "of Brewster." He and Abigail, with whom he had eight children,[33] probably moved to Kingston soon after their marriage. Although Kingston tax records have him on the rolls from 1833, there is a probate record, to be examined below, which may indicate that he took a position in Bildad Washburn's shop before Washburn died in 1832. His career on the Cape was thus rather brief.

Kingston tax rolls also list a George Tribble – probably Hiram's youngest brother – in 1837. Had George come to Kingston from Plymouth

to work with Hiram? In the tax rolls for 1838, we find a curious alteration: George's name is crossed out and the name of a James Thompson is inserted over it. While it is true that, because both surnames begin with "T," their juxtaposition in this single instance may be a coincidence, this same change occurs in much the same way in two other tax books (taxing for different purposes) in the same year. This might indicate that Thompson had replaced George as Hiram's assistant (or partner). There is a James Thompson, born in Kingston in 1826, who became a stonecutter, first in Sandwich and then in New Bedford, and also another James Thompson, born in about 1782, who was a carver on Nantucket; but the former would have been too young to be the man mentioned in these tax records, and the latter was dead by 1838. And so the Thompson mentioned in these records was probably James Soule Thompson, born in Kingston (or West Bridgewater) in 1814.

In 1837, and again in 1840, Hiram acquired two small pieces of land from James Foster, whose property adjoined his.[34] In these deeds, Hiram is listed as a "painter" – an occupation he perhaps picked up from his uncle John, whose Plymouth shop provided painting and glazing as well as stonecutting. He is also a "painter" in another deed in 1842, in which he buys twenty-one acres of woodland near Pine Brook, west of town.[35] In 1843, he and his brother Thomas of Plymouth sell their two-thirds of the Plymouth homestead they had inherited from their father, Joseph.[36] Bailey and Drew's 1926 history of Kingston reports that Hiram Tribble lived in the Stony Brook neighborhood in the house owned in 1926 by H. J. Prouty[37]. Drew locates Hiram's marble shop on Summer Street and Foster Lane. His house was nearby on Summer Street.

The 1850 U.S. Census lists Hiram as a "stonecutter" with real property valued at $2000.00; he is living with his wife Abigail and five children (p. 100). He is a "stonecutter" in the 1855 state census with his wife and seven children (p. 25). And in 1860, he is a "marble worker" (p. 32) with a net worth (in real and personal property) of $4100.00. He and Abigail have seven children living with them: his daughters Mary and Maria are both listed as seamstresses, and his son William is a seaman. Hiram is listed as a marble manufacturer in the 1850-51 *Massachusetts State Directory*, in the 1852 *Massachusetts Register* (where he is also listed under "painters"), and in the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory*.

Emily F. Drew, who contributed an account of Kingston industries to Bailey's 1926 history of the town, also left us (in penciled notes[38] now in

the possession of the Kingston Public Library) a detailed description of Hiram Tribble's marble shop. She reports that this shop had a hipped roof topped by a windmill with four canvassed vanes, with the windmill's shaft running through a hollow log. This powered the marble saws. These saws, like those in use elsewhere, consisted of iron sheets whose straight, toothless edges ran back and forth across the marble, aided by the addition of some sand, for better friction, and water. While Hiram Tribble cut, carved, and inscribed these marble slabs, Drew tells us, he did not set up the final stone. He obtained his slate from Norfolk Downs (in Quincy), but got his marble from Italy. The marble was shipped from Boston to Plymouth and deposited on the wharf. The five-foot-square blocks would remain there until a snowfall, whereupon Tribble would haul them on skids with two yoke of oxen to his shop in Kingston.

Drew adds that the windmill was rather noisy. One day the horses pulling the Duxbury stage were startled when the windmill began its operation: "The coach was stopped after a mad dash down the hill to the station, but the stage owners made vigorous protest to the Town Fathers as to the danger of such a contrivance to their passengers." Tribble was compelled to remove his windmill (but not the shop); he set it up elsewhere, away from the road.

I have not included many marble stones in the list for Hiram Tribble in Appendix II. Yet if he regularly cut his own marble slabs, he undoubtedly supplied his town (and perhaps neighboring towns) with significant numbers of them.

Hiram and Abigail must have moved to Charlestown sometime around 1862. Town records of Kingston list him as paying taxes as a non-resident of the town from 1863 through 1867. In October of 1866, he appoints a lawyer to handle his Kingston properties.[39] In a month, his woodland is sold off.[40] In January of 1867, he takes out a five-year mortgage on two pieces of property: one is a parcel of land in Kingston that he had earlier bought from his neighbor, James Foster; the other is a lot in Charlestown near the Bunker Hill Monument. At the same time, he authorizes his lawyer to sell his old home in Kingston; the following June, he sells "the house and lot where I formerly lived in Kingston."[41] He pays off his Charlestown mortgage in 1872.[42] On March 14, 1876, however, he sells this property.[43] This is perhaps the time when he moves to neighboring Somerville. In all of these transactions except the last, he is a resident of Charlestown, and in most of them he is listed as a painter.

Fig. 31. Hiram Tribble, 1881, Kingston, Massachusetts.

He is still listed as a painter in the 1880 U.S. Census, now resident in Somerville. Others living in the same house are his wife Abigail, his son Otis, now twenty-five and employed as a letter carrier, his son Hiram, Jr., aged thirty-three and employed as a watchman in a post office, Hiram Jr.'s wife Ella, aged thirty-two, and their daughter Abbie, aged three.[44] The census also records that Hiram Sr. was unemployed for ten of the preceding twelve months. Of course, he was close to seventy-one at the time.

Hiram Tribble dies of cancer in Somerville on June 21, 1881, almost seventy-two.[45] His wife Abigail dies the next year. He is buried in Kingston (Fig. 31), along with most of his family.[46]

### Hiram Tribble: Gravestones

I ascribe a total of 172 gravestones to Hiram Tribble (see Appendix II). While my canvass was complete for Kingston, it was incomplete for surrounding towns. I uncovered a total of twenty payments to Hiram Tribble in probate records, dated 1834 through 1848, locating all but three of the gravestones (see Appendix I). In addition, I found sixteen signed stones. One of these twenty probate payments – that from the estate of Capt. Ichabod Samson – is for a stone that was carved by Bildad Washburn. Hiram Tribble is paid $21.00 in the settlement; gravestones are not specifically mentioned, but the amount is appropriate. The stone is dated 1830, but the estate wasn't settled until 1836. This might indicate that Hiram had in fact joined Washburn's shop after his marriage in July, 1832 but before Washburn's death the following September. Perhaps it was not Washburn's death itself, therefore, that prompted Hiram to discontinue his Brewster position; he may have been dissatisfied with work on the Cape and/or his employer there.

Only thirty-five percent of the probate citations to Hiram Tribble are for stones in Kingston. Since my canvass of both the burial ground in Kingston and Plymouth County probate records was complete, it is possible here, as it was in the case of Washburn, to provide a least a rough estimate of Hiram Tribble's total production. While I attribute to him only fifty-four stones outside of Kingston (in Appendix II), his non-Kingston production was probably closer to 220 or so – making his total production about 340 gravestones – if, that is, the percentage of his probates in Kingston mirrors the percentage of his gravestones there.

There are a sufficient number of similarities between Hiram Tribble's early work, especially his lettering, and his uncle John's work to conclude

Fig. 32. Benjamin Dexter Bullard, 1830, Plymouth, Massachusetts.
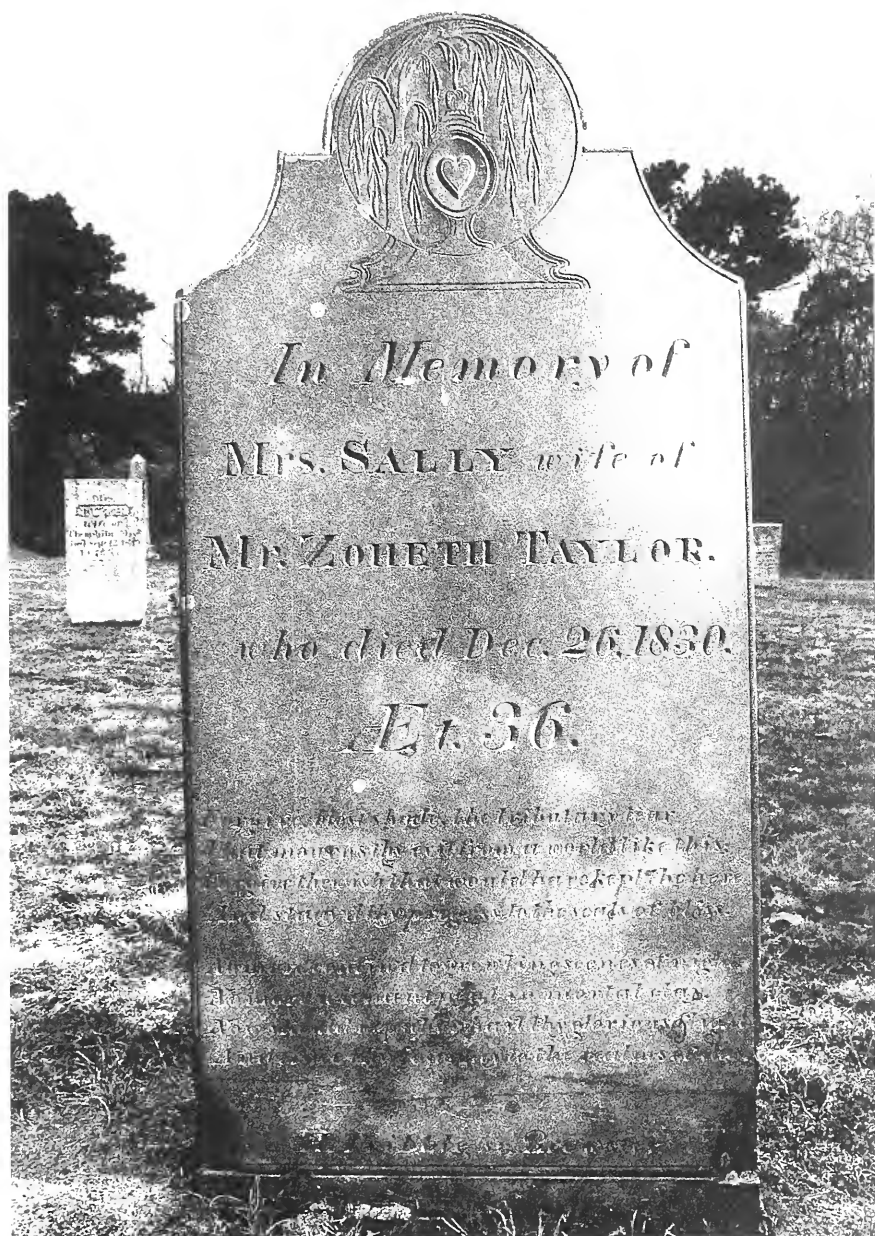Probably carved by Hiram Tribble during his apprenticeship.

Fig. 33. Sally Taylor, 1830, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Signed by Hiram Tribble; carved after the end of his apprenticeship.

that Hiram learned to carve under his tutelage. There are two stones in
Plymouth which Hiram may have carved as his uncle's apprentice: the
markers for Benjamin Dexter Bullard (Fig. 32) and Margaret Robbins, both
on Burial Hill and both dated 1830. Their naturalistic willows are unlike
either his uncle's or his cousin Winslow's, but more like what Hiram
adopts after he sets up his shop in Kingston.

Having ended his apprenticeship, Hiram apparently made his way
sometime in 1830 to Brewster on Cape Cod to begin his adult career – not
wanting, of course, to compete with his uncle John in Plymouth. Here we
have a singular stone, that for Sally Taylor (1830) (Fig. 33) in Orleans; it is
signed "H. Tribble s.c. Brewster," announcing, as it were, his new posi-
tion. Hiram's uncle John knew of Nathaniel Holmes' success on the Cape.
He also probably knew that Holmes shared the Cape with only one other
carver, Ebenezer D. Winslow, who had operated a shop in Brewster since
about 1814. Why would Hiram set up shop in a town that already had a
carver? The answer may be that Hiram and Ebenezer D. Winslow were
not in competition, but that Hiram had joined Winslow's shop as his jour-
neyman, that is, a craftsman working for wages (unlike an apprentice),
but in the hire of a master. There are one or two elements of Ebenezer
Winslow's work that recall similar features of John Tribble's work in
Plymouth. Yet I uncovered no concrete evidence in property records or
elsewhere that indicates a definite connection between Ebenezer D.
Winslow and the Tribbles.

The Taylor stone does resemble some of John Tribble's designs. John
had also positioned a circular panel within the tympanum and had used
a smaller oval medallion from time to time in order to circumscribe a spe-
cial decorative element. And the flame at the top of the bulbous urn in
which the heart is carved is quite like the stylized flame John Tribble had
carved from about 1826 through 1828. While the lettering is consistent
with Hiram's stones which immediately follow, he does not produce any-
thing quite like this again. The stone is very carefully carved – intended,
no doubt, to advertise his skills.

I found only two other gravestones on the Cape that might be Hiram
Tribble's work (yet there are very probably more). The first is that for
Eunice Paddock (1832) (Fig. 34) in Dennis. It is carved, like the Taylor
stone, on a fine grey slate, and is of similar proportions. But what is espe-
cially noteworthy here is the urn: it is an obvious attempt to imitate the
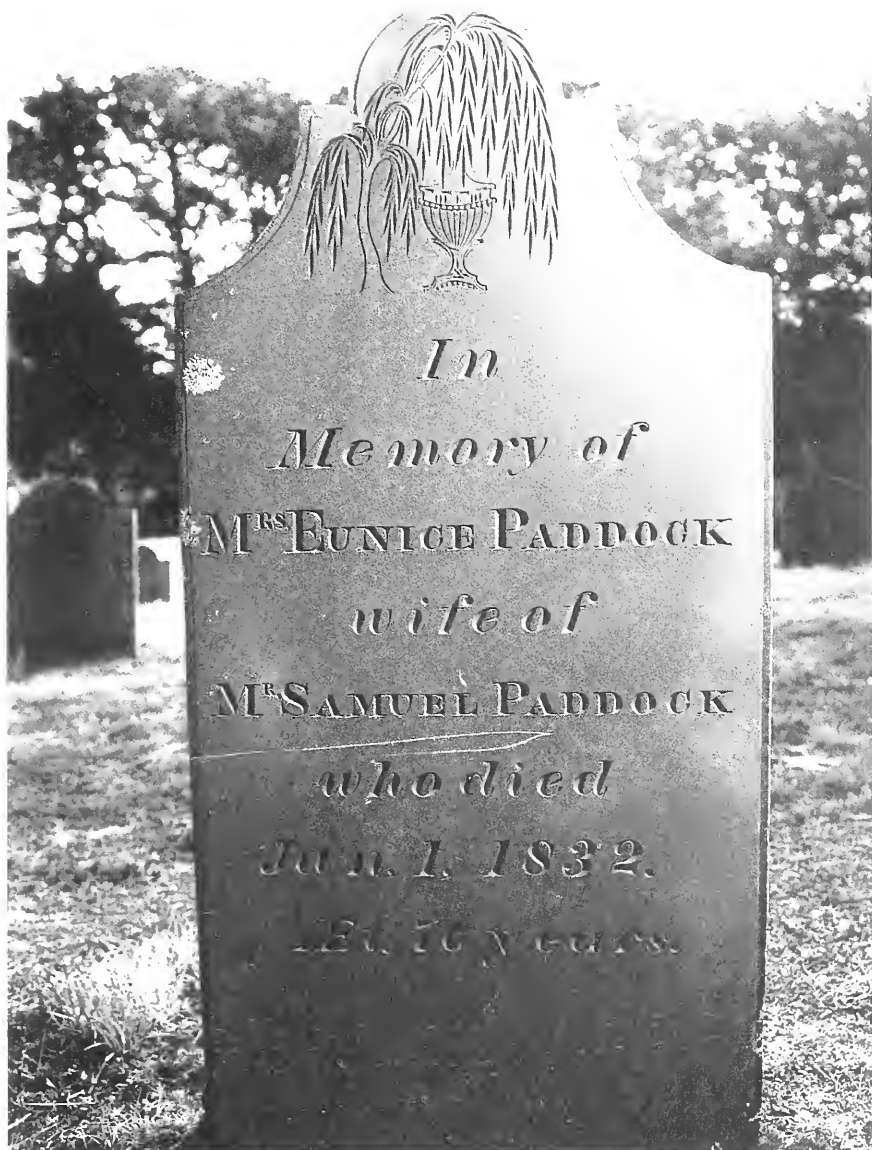urn which we find contemporaneously on the stones of the Cape's main

Fig. 34. Eunice Paddock, 1832, Dennis, Massachusetts. Early Cape stone by Hiram Tribble; urn in imitation of Nathaniel Holmes.

carver, Nathaniel Holmes, with its vertical incisions across a horizontal band. The other marker is for Charles Wing (1832) in Brewster. While the lettering does not seem to match Tribble's perfectly, the willow is certainly executed in his style. If it is his, then it is perhaps the only stone he placed in Brewster while he resided there. This and the fact that the stone is for an infant is consistent with his working in Ebenezer Winslow's shop.

Hiram Tribble returns to the small heart, almost as a signature element, on a number of his early stones, such as that for Rebecca Russell (1833) (Fig. 35) in Plymouth, where he carves only the bottom of his urn, the top concealed by a full lacy willow. A similar design is provided on his beautiful stone for Roxana White (1832) (Fig. 36), probably one of his first stones in Kingston after moving there from the Cape. The urn hides behind the willow; its leaves, incised rather than in positive relief as on the Russell stone, hang at the left and right sides slightly angled from the vertical, a configuration which helps us pick out Hiram's willows from



**Fig. 35. Rebecca Russell, 1833, Plymouth, Massachusetts. Hiram Tribble's signature "heart" with a half-concealed urn.**

those of other carvers. The whole effect is quite stunning.

In the early stones which follow, such as that for Bildad Washburn (1832) (Fig. 37), there is continuing evidence of Hiram's debt to his uncle John (and perhaps his cousin Winslow Tribble), such as the elongated serifs on the numeral "1" and the upsweep at the end of the bottom right end of the "2." On his signed stone for Rufus Woodward (1833) in Duxbury, Hiram has his italics leaning alternately both left and right, just as his cousin in Plymouth did from time to time. But there is also an element or two that Hiram may owe to Ebenezer Winslow of Brewster: the descending stroke of his italic "f," for example, usually ends in a sharp point rather than a curl into a drilled point.

Hiram puts an exceptional design on the marker for Eunice Howland (Fig. 38) in Pembroke – the only figural work we find on his gravestones. This stone is dated 1833, and signed as well. A full-figure trumpeting angel with upswept hair (the current fashion?) balances on one foot atop a rather atypical urn. The proportions of the body are superior to those we find on the interesting stones of his cousin Winslow Tribble of the same period: both in their early twenties, perhaps the two young Tribbles
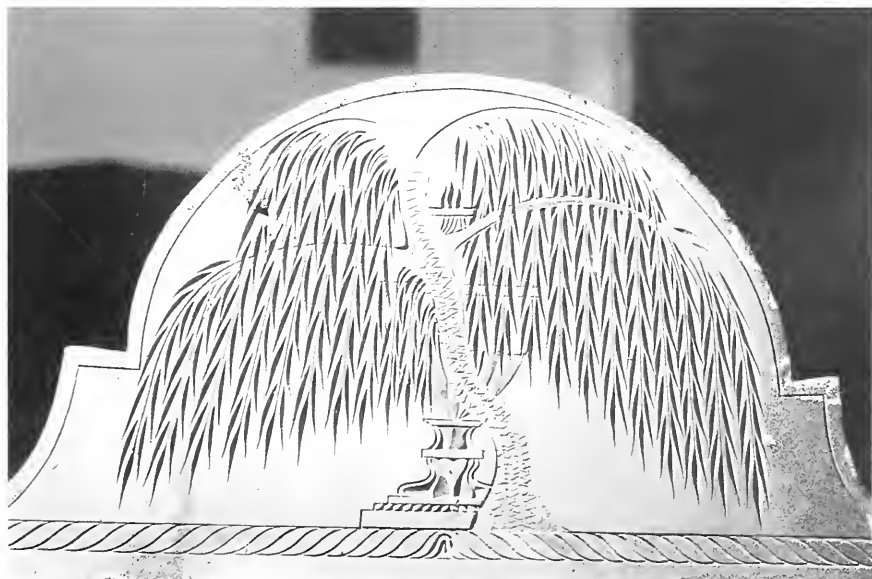


**Fig. 36. Roxana White, 1832, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Another concealed-urn design, with typical incised willow.**

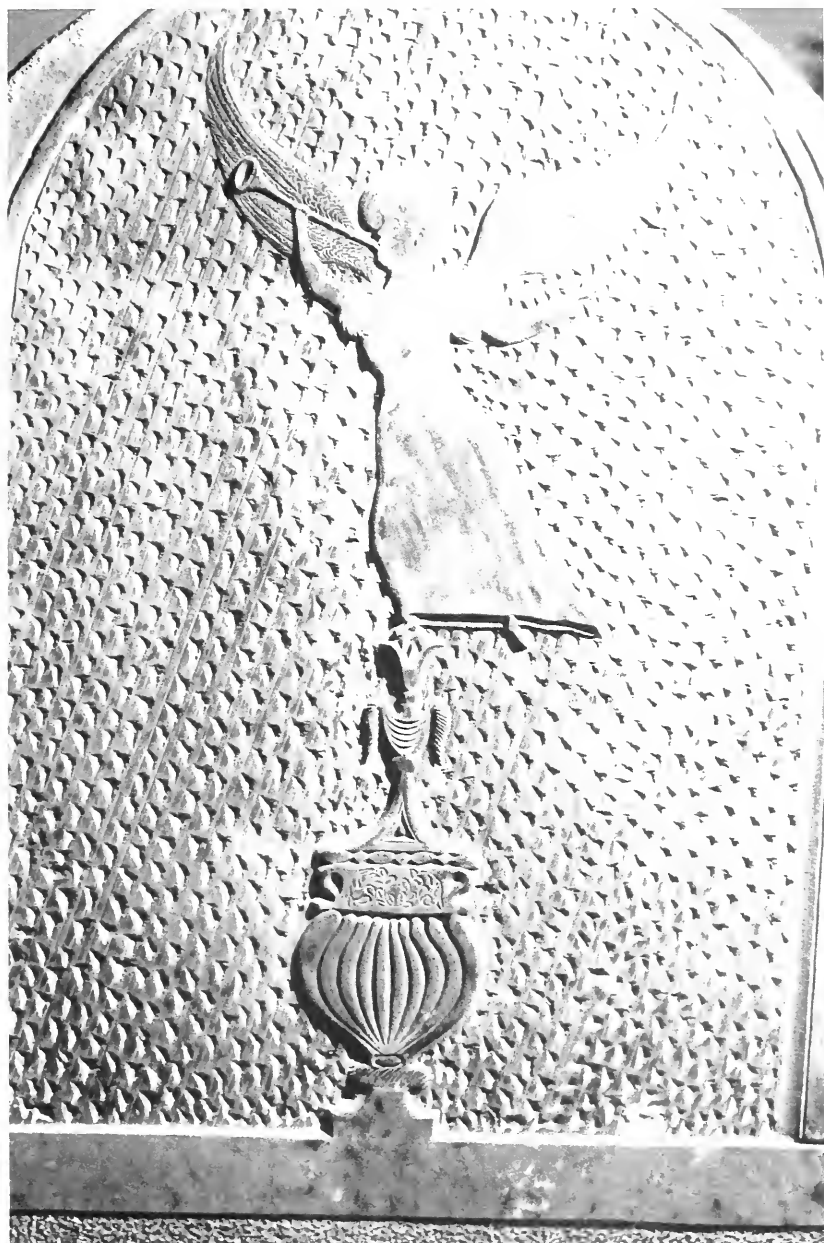Fig. 37. Bildad Washburn, 1832, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Carved by Hiram Tribble.

Fig. 38. Eunice Howland, 1833, Pembroke, Massachusetts.
Signed by Hiram Tribble.

Fig. 39. Capt. Robert McLauthlen, 1836, Kingston, Massachusetts.
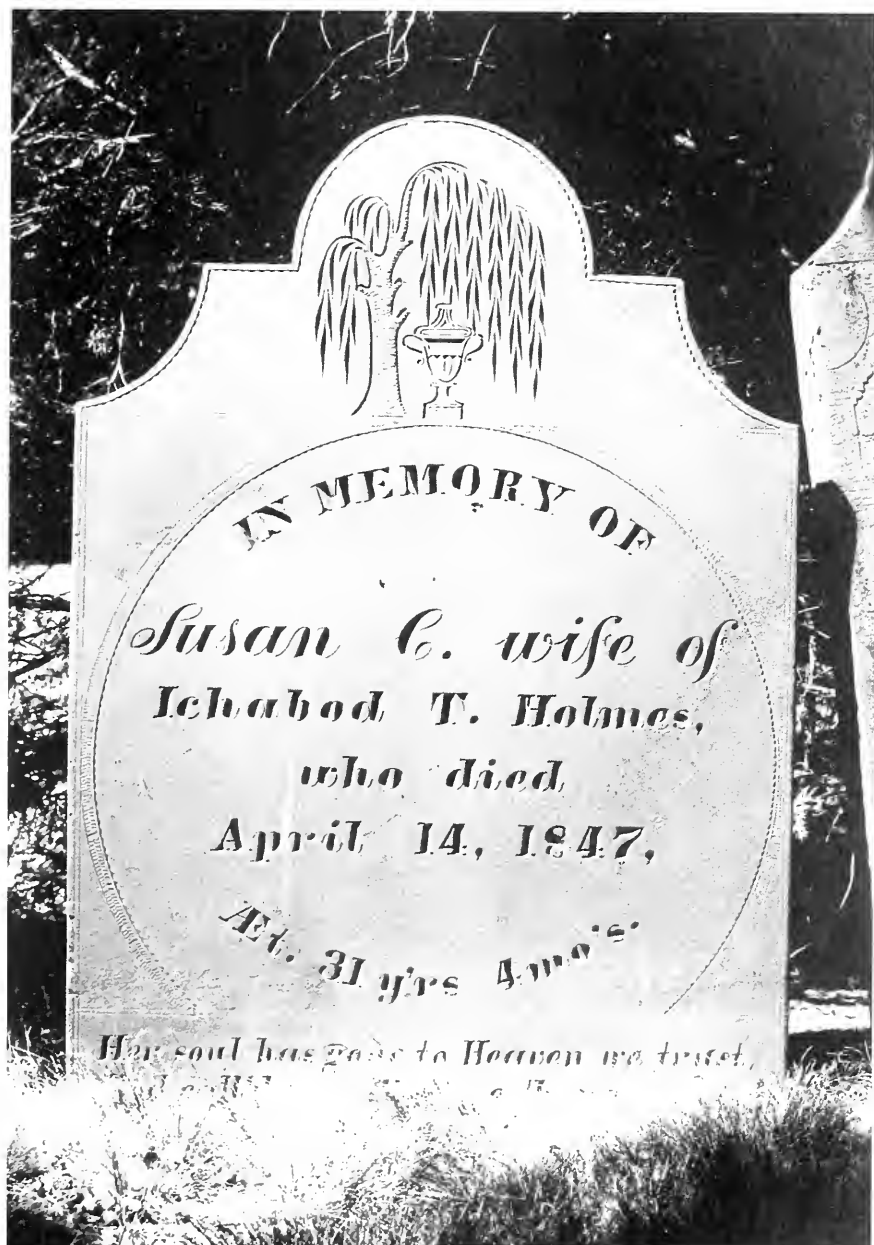Hiram Tribble's imitation of a giant Washburn willow and urn.

Fig. 40. Susan C. Holmes, 1847, Plymouth, Massachusetts.
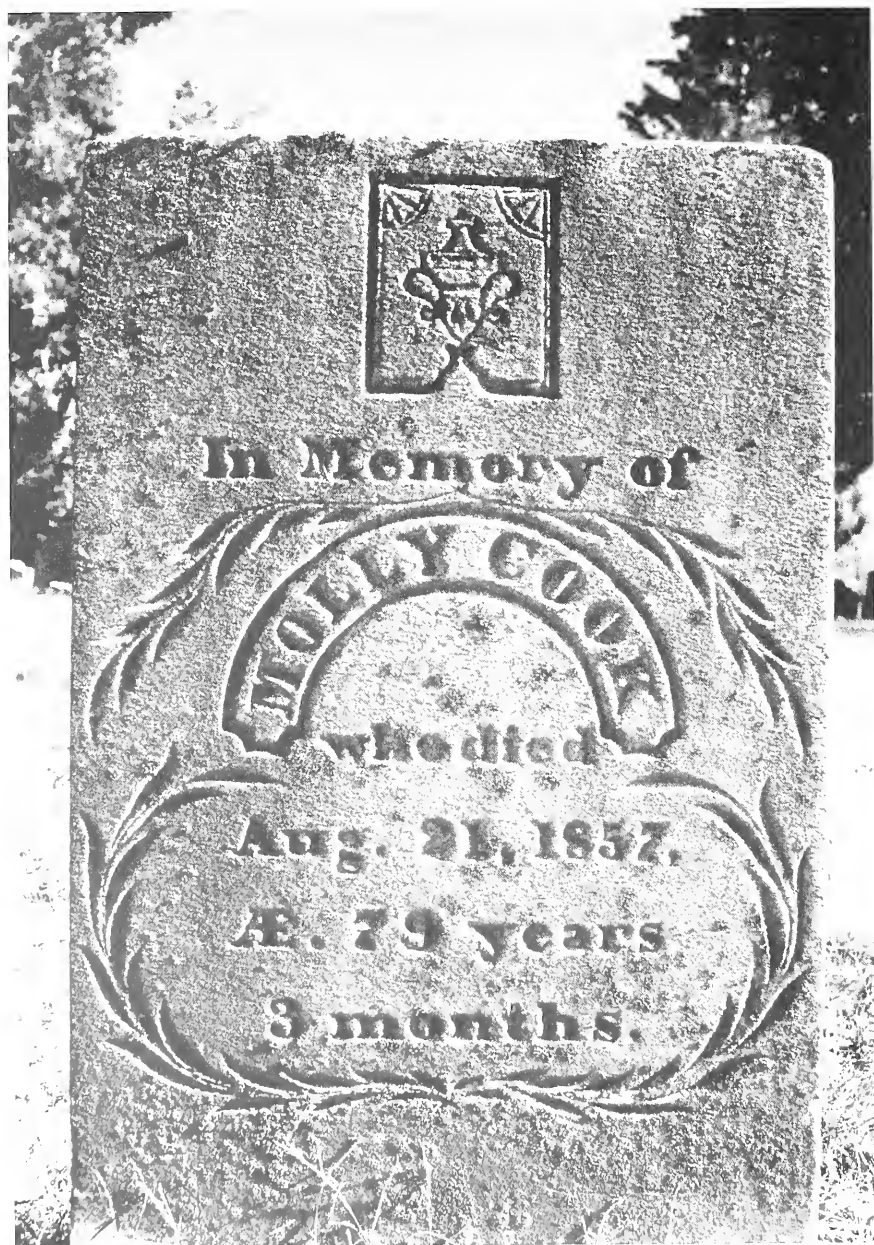Typical tiny urn carved by Hiram Tribble.

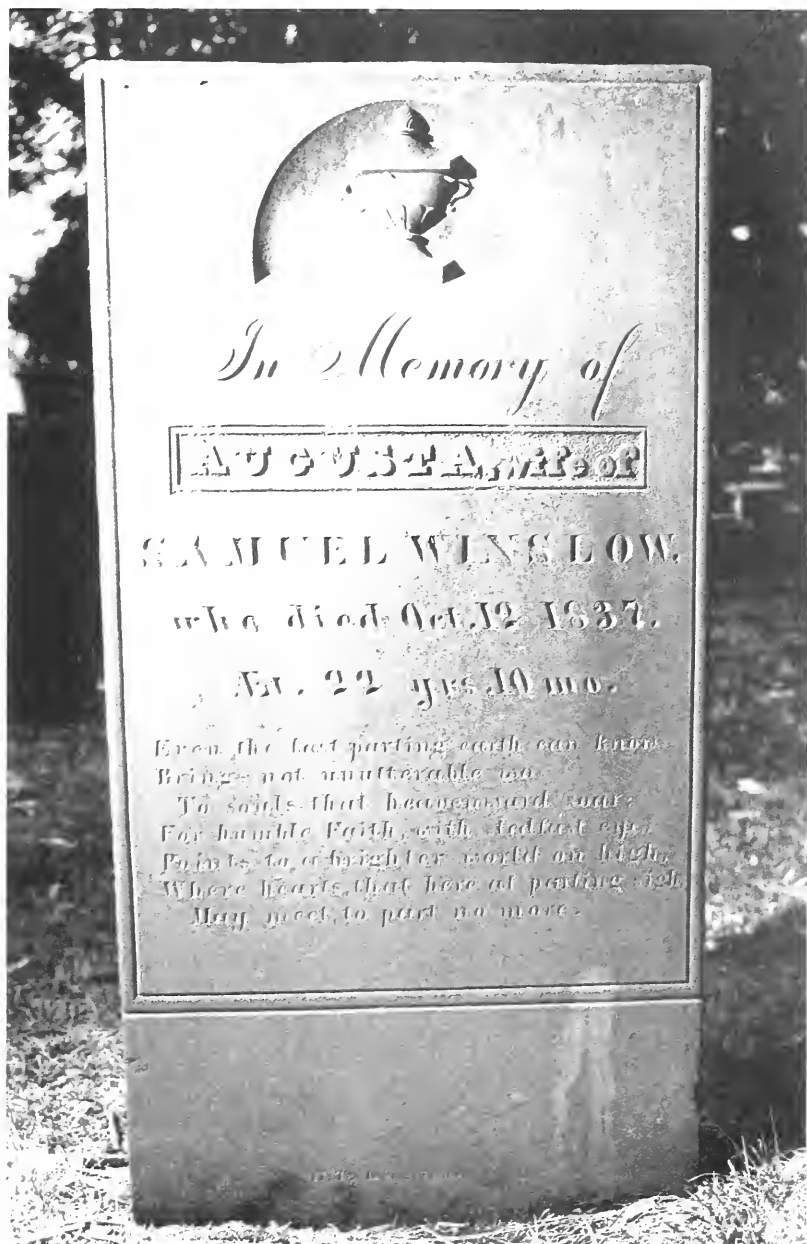Fig. 41. Molly Cook, 1857, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Marble stone carved by Hiram Tribble.

Fig. 42. Augusta Winslow, 1837, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Hiram Tribble's more sculpted urn; stone initialed at bottom.

Fig. 43. Oliver Everson, 1863, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Signed "Bryant & Co."

were experimenting with such designs together.

Hiram's more typical urn may have been patterned somewhat after Bildad Washburn's; on a few early stones, such as those for Samuel Everson (1833) and Lydia Cook (1836), he places the initials of the deceased on the urn, just as Washburn did. He also adds initials to the urn on the stone for Jane Bosworth (1836) in Plymouth, as well as two five-pointed stars on the shoulders, quite like those which his cousin Winslow had used a few times in the same period. On the stone for Capt. Robert McLauthlen (1836) (Fig. 39), he copies Washburn's giant urn with succulent willow.

Beginning about 1836, Hiram adds two handles to his urn and, in time, reduces its size; the result is the tiny urn of the sort we find on the stone for Susan C. Holmes (1847) (Fig. 40), identical to that on his signed stone for Eunice Everson (1840) in Hanson. Sometimes he removes the handles from the urn; sometimes he makes the branches of his willow more irregular and natural. On the stone for Molly Cook (1857) (Fig. 41), he carves his urn in marble.

From time to time, Hiram would take greater care in carving some especially well-designed and executed stones. This is apparent in the more sculpted three-dimensional urn he carved on the stone for Augusta Winslow (1837) (Fig. 42), which he signs (initials) at the bottom. One rea-

Fig. 44. Advertisement for George W. Bryant's marble shop.
North Bridgewater, Massachusetts, 1867.

Fig. 45. Beulah Orton Churchill, 1851, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Undecorated marble stone, signed by Hiram Tribble.

son for the higher quality may have been the need to demonstrate to the citizens of Kingston that he was able to produce stones of the sort that might be obtainable from carvers elsewhere. There are a few markers in Kingston's burial ground documented to stonecutters from other towns, and Hiram may have felt some pressure to respond to these imports. One of these is for Dorcas Emily Newcomb (1851), a plain marble stone signed "A. Wentworth, Boston." George Thompson, a Middleborough carver, was paid for the stone for Capt. Elkanah Cook (1839); he also probably carved the plain stone for Benjamin Vaughn (1839).[47] There are also two plain marble stones signed by the same carver: that for Oliver Everson (1863) (Fig. 43), signed "Bryant & Co."; and the marker for Charles Bartlett (1857), signed "G. W. Bryant, No. Bridgewater." This is George Washington Bryant, who married Bildad Washburn's daughter Lucy Kingman Washburn in Brockton (formerly North Bridgewater) on June 19, 1831,[48] just a little over a year before Bildad died. There is a "Bryant and Green" listed under marble-workers in North Bridgewater in the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory*, and Bryant (along with a Frederic Hanson) had an ad in the 1867 *Plymouth County Advertiser* (Fig. 44).

There is also the stone for Samuel McLauthlen (1848), signed "H. Thompson, Kingston." This is Harris Thompson, born to Solomon Thompson and Harriet Thompson (same surname) in Kingston on August 4, 1828. His signature announces, perhaps, the end of his apprenticeship. I did not discover from whom he learned to carve: it may have been from his uncle (his mother's brother) George Thompson, the Middleborough carver, or from Hiram Tribble. Harris' brother James and his brother-in-law Joshua T. Faunce also became carvers, working in Sandwich.[49] Harris Thompson did not carve very many stones, for he died (of typhus) in Kingston on October 31, 1849, just three months past his twenty-first birthday. His death record has him as a "stone cutter."[50] His tombstone in Kingston was probably carved by his brother James, who we find in Sandwich from about the same time.

Toward the end of his career, Hiram Tribble carved a number of plain marble markers, such as those for Lucy F. Bartlett (1850) and Beulah Orton Churchill (1851) (Fig. 45), both of which he signed. The latest stones in the Kingston area that can be ascribed to him with confidence are those for Priscilla Fuller (1860), which he signs, and for Mary Soule (1861) in Duxbury. It is at about this time that he moves to Charlestown; I did not determine whether he continued to carve gravestones there. His Kingston
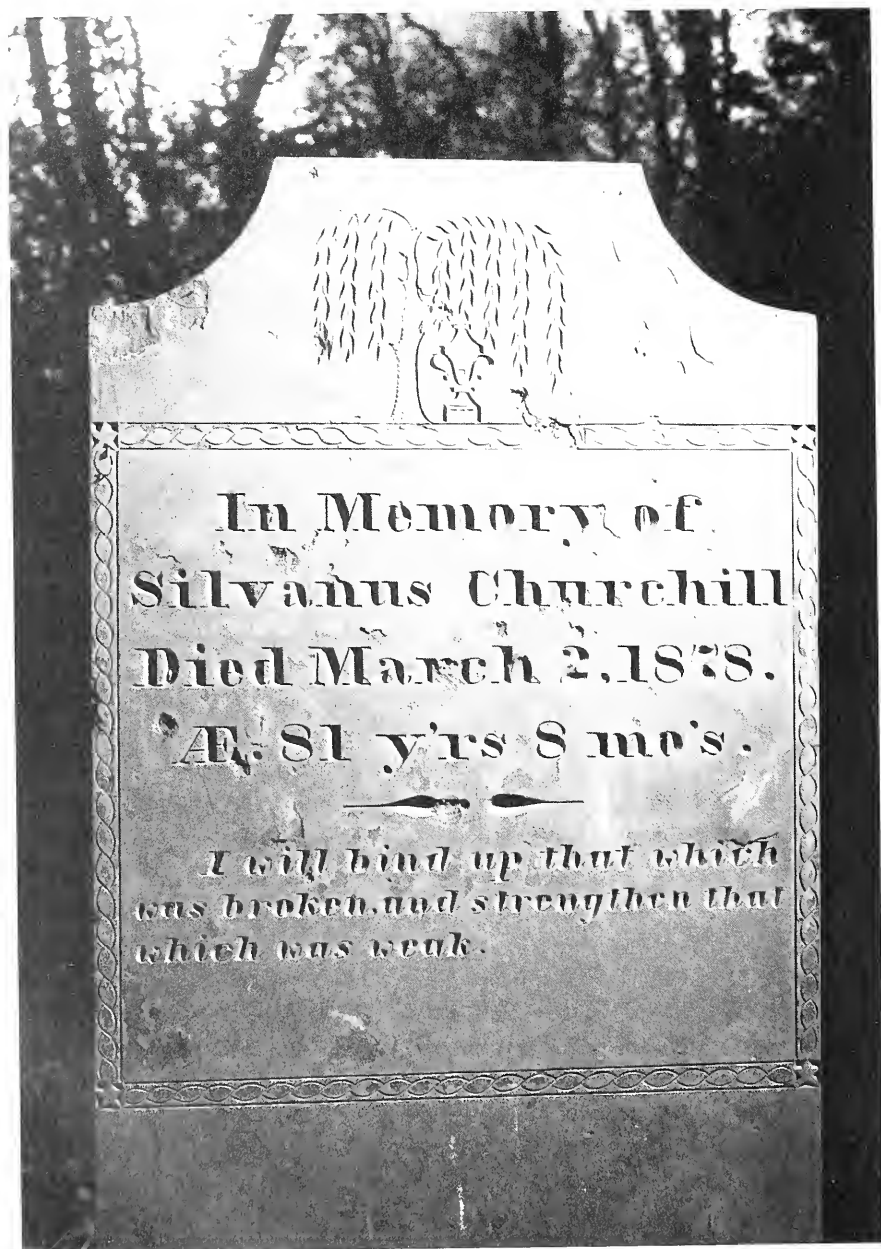
Fig. 46. Silvanus Churchill, 1878, Plymouth, Massachusetts. Probably carved by an unknown carver to match the stone shown in Fig. 47.

numbers appear to be so low in these last years that it would not have been any great loss for him to discontinue carving altogether. And, as we have seen, he also ran a painting business.

There is a small puzzle concerning three late gravestones that at first seem to be Hiram Tribble's work – those for Silvanus Churchill (1878) (Fig. 46), his wife Elizabeth H. Churchill (1876), and Betsy Bates (1880). Although the urns on these stones appear to be Hiram's, they are probably imitations carved by someone else. Hiram had been living near Boston from about 1862 until his death in 1881. It is possible, I suppose, that he carved these stones in his seventies, as a special favor for some Plymouth citizens; but an examination of the context of these three stones suggests that an imitator is at work.

All three stones bear a border (and corner star) that I found on only one other marker among those I have ascribed to Hiram Tribble – that for Elizabeth C. Churchill (1850) (Fig. 47), the daughter of the two Churchills commemorated by two of these three late stones. All three Churchill stones lie beside each other on Burial Hill in Plymouth. It is likely that whoever commissioned the two late Churchill stones wanted to match the earlier 1850 stone. The main inscription on the 1850 stone can be linked to Hiram's earlier work, but just below this main inscription there is an addendum recording the burial of four infant sons of the Churchills who died in 1822, 1829, and 1833. I believe this lettering was added later than 1850, for it does not closely match the lettering in the main inscription (the "2," for example); but it does match (or at least matches better) the lettering on the two later Churchill stones. There are also subtle differences between the rope border on the 1850 stone and the borders on the others. The same seems to hold for the third of these late stones – that for Betsy Bates (1880) in Plymouth's Oak Grove Cemetery: next to it stands Hiram's 1850 marker for three of her children – again, a case of a later stone cut to match an earlier one. Perhaps the later Plymouth stonecutter Robert Clark, or the later Kingston carver Davis W. Bowker, managed these late slate imitations.

Bailey and Drew's 1926 history of Kingston reports that Hiram Tribble was succeeded in the town by Davis W. Bowker, who had a marble works on the lower floor of the G.A.R. Hall[51]. Davis Whiting Bowker was born in Scituate to Howard Bowker and Emeline T. on December 4, 1831. There is a stone in Dennis, for Susan S. Howes (1851), signed "Bowker & Torrey, Boston." Perhaps it was carved by Davis Bowker, having just turned

Fig. 47. Elizabeth C. Churchill, 1850, Plymouth, Massachusetts.
Carved by Hiram Tribble.

twenty-one. He must have had a shop in Abington for a while, for his signature on a stone in Hanover in 1857 includes that town. He also signed the undecorated stones for Rebecca F. Chandler (1865) and Betsey Stranger (1865) in Kingston, but I did not determine the extent of his work there.

## Conclusion

The carving tradition of a given town often has subtle familial and stylistic ties to the carvers and work we find close by. Bildad Washburn learned to carve from one man (a Soule), imitated the style of another (Savery), and then quickly developed his own distinctive designs. Hiram Tribble apparently apprenticed with his uncle John Tribble in Plymouth, acquired some basic willow-and-urn designs there, and ultimately took over from Washburn in Kingston, adding some components of Washburn's style to his own. Both Bartlett Adams and Hiram Tribble made the transition from slate to marble gravestones, and both moved to distant locales in their careers. As we approach the mid-nineteenth century, we find a growing modernization of the stonecutting trade, where carvers become increasingly subject to competitive pressures of the sort which affected other trades significantly earlier. These pressures, coupled with changing economic fortunes in various towns and regions, no doubt contributed to the mobility of many of the stonecutters of this period.

## NOTES

1. Jabez Washburn, Jr. was born in about 1734 and died in Kingston on February 15, 1775. His wife Mary died in 1779. Bildad's brothers and sisters were: Elisha (28 June 1758-11 June 1839), married Deborah Prince; Molley (24 October 1759-7 July 1760); Elias (3 February 1761-22 July 1763); John (6 April 1764-5 October 1801), married Jenny Drew in 1787; Judith (18 September 1765-1809), married a Kingman; Lucy (8 March 1769-13 May 1806), married a Kingman, died in Bridgewater; Jabez (2 July 1771-24 December 1798), married Polly Wadsworth in 1794; and Abiel (20 May 1775-?), married Rebecca Adams, sister to Bildad's wife Lucy. Source: Kingston Vital Records.

2.  *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War*, Vol. XVI (TRA-WHE), 659.

3.  Betsy (4 February 1785-19 June 1820); Judith (27 November 1786-?); Ira (10 October 1788-?); Sophia (23 August 1790-?); Alvan (23 August 1792-?); Nathaniel (2 April 1794-9 March 1796); Elias (28 January 1796-?); Nancy (20 February 1798-?); Eliza (5 March 1800-?); Francis (16 December 1801-?), married Judith; Jabez (7 August 1804-January 1870), twin to Mary (7 August 1804-?); Lucy Kingman (24 March 1806-?), married George Washington Bryant in Brockton; and Bartlett Adams (18 November 1809-19 May 1810).

4.  Town records of Kingston list him in this capacity.

5.  Probably built by Pelham Winslow.

6.  See Doris Johnson Melville, *Major Bradford's Town: A History of Kingston, 1726-1926* (Kingston, MA, 1976), 117; 350.

7.  *Ibid.*, 179.

8.  See Emily Drew, *Kingston: The Jones River Village as Seen by Emily Drew* [1932; 1944], editing and annotations in 1995 by Doris M. Johnson (Plymouth, MA, 1995), 54-55; 58; 60.

9.  Melville, *Major Bradford's Town*, 14.

10. There are two gravestones in Kingston that are neither Bildad's nor Bartlett Adams' work and may have been carved by Alvan or Elias. The first is for Elisha Stetson (1803): it features a crude cherub that shows some signs of juvenile carving. Alvan was eleven in 1803 and just might have been responsible. The second is for Lydia Brigden (1811): it displays Bildad's urn, but is executed more crudely and uncertainly. Alvan was nineteen in 1811, while Elias was fifteen.

11. Both Peter Benes in the *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805* (Amherst, MA, 1977), 208, and Francis Duval and Ivan Rigby in *Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs* (New York, NY, 1978), 129, incorrectly list Washburn's year of death as 1852.

12. Most of the information here provided on the historical background of Bartlett Adams is drawn from Ralph Tucker, "Bartlett Adams (1776-1828)," *AGS Quarterly: Bulletin of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 20:1 (1996): 7.

13. Brothers and sisters: Lucy (1765-30 November 1849); Betsy (14 September 1767-7 July 1837), married Jehial Washburn; Francis (14 December 1769-26 April 1823), married Mercy Adams; Thankful (15 April 1772-3 January 1854); Rebecca (24 July 1774-?), married Abiel Washburn; Hannah (4 August 1779-?); Daniel (9 January 1782-?); Richard (29 February 1784-1845), died in Portland, ME; Kezia (19 March 1786-?). Source: Kingston Vital Records.

14. I found four probate citations to Richard Adams in Suffolk County records (two in 1808 and two in 1809), three of which specifically mention gravestones: Thomas Wheeler

(Vol. 106, p. 286), Aaron Jaquith (Vol. 106, p. 370), Edward Rumney (Vol. 107, p. 199), and Samuel Lord (Vol. 107, p. 639), all residents of Boston.

15. Maria (1804-1827); Bartlett (1806-1806); Charlotte (1807-1824); George (1809-1809); Sarah (1810-1815); Eliza (1812-1812); Rebecca (1817-?).

16. A photograph of this stone and an account of the naval battle may be found in John Sterling's "Eastern Cemetery, Portland, Maine: Two Captains Buried," *AGS Quarterly: Bulletin of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 21:1 (1997): 7-9.

17. This probate pays a Benjamin Cushing fifty-four shillings for the stone (Vol. 33, p. 154). This seems to a somewhat large amount compared to what other carvers were being paid at the time. Also, Cushing is paid another seven pounds in another section of this probate record. Since the carving on this stone is quite consistent with what we find on other stones attributed to Washburn, we must assume that Cushing was in this case acting as a middleman. There are no other payments to Benjamin Cushing for gravestones that I have been able to uncover.

18. The other four with these decorative features are the two stones for a Sarah Packard (1793), the marker for Abigail Tillson (1793), and the stone for Capt. Hosea Brewster (1794), probated to Washburn. The three remaining plainer stones of this group are for William Brooks (1794), Mercy Holmes (1794), and Margaret Maglathlea (1794).

19. Another stone with this perfect ellipse shape is that for Nathan Babcock (1777, back-dated) in Milton. A number of the 1795 stones seem to be transitional between the pointy chin and the elliptical shape.

20. Similar eyebrows are found on the stone for Samuel Brown, Jr. (1798) in Quincy, whose main feature is a personified rising sun. The numerals are close to those found on the stone for Anne Hale (1799) in Portland.

21. Robert Foster (1791), Polly Gore (1794), Jemima Rogers (1795), Lemuel Adams (1796), Abigail Snell (1796), and Samuel Mollish (1797).

22. James Blachowicz, "The Gravestone Carving Traditions of Plymouth and Cape Cod." *Markers* XV (1998): 38-203.

23. See my "Savery's Apprentices (Probably) Identified," *AGS Quarterly: Bulletin of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 24:3 (2000).

24. This type of twisted-rope border is first found on Gabriel Allen's stones, then on Burbank's, and (perhaps just a year or two later) on the work of Levi Maxcy. It also shows up on the stones of later carvers, such as on the markers for Capt. Peleg Kent (1819) in the Congregational Chapel cemetery in Marshfield, Mercy Smith (1820) in the Two Mile cemetery in North Marshfield, and Sarah Snow (1831) in the First Congregational Church cemetery in Truro. I have not identified the carvers of these stones. We can also find this border on Ebenezer D. Winslow's stone for John Young (1829) in Harwich.

25.  Two other Washburn urn stones deserve mention: on the marker for Col. John Gray (1787) he places a double-handled, more rounded and sculpted urn over the head of his cherub; and on the stone for Marcia Holmes (1800), he used a giant urn, but of a "bulbous" type.

26.  See Vincent F. Luti, "Eighteenth Century Gravestone Carvers of the Narragansett Basin: John and James New." *Markers* XVI (1999): 25 [Fig. 17].

27.  They are: Lydia Davis (1760), Sarah Cook (1778), and Capt. Joseph Bartlett (1783).

28.  Three of the other four cherub stones are damaged: those for James Drew (1765), Mary Washburn (1779) (Bildad's mother), and Joseph H[all] (1781). The last of these stones, that for Welthea Bradford (1783), has a rounder and more sculpted face, but it is probably Washburn's as well for the lettering seems close (the "ye" and "8," for example), and the stippling below the cherub's chin is like that on two of the other stones.

29.  Vol. 28, p. 213. The citation specifically mentions gravestones.

30.  Luti, "Eighteenth Century Gravestone Carvers of the Narragansett Basin: John and James New," 66; 85.

31.  Joseph Tribble was born in about 1773 and died in Plymouth on March 13, 1828. He married Polly Holmes in Plymouth on February 23, 1794. Besides Hiram, their known children are: Thomas (1794 [?]-18 November 1795); Thomas (?-?), married Maria Paty in 1821, remarried Cynthia T. Sherman in 1850; William (1804 [?]-1827), married Lucia Goddard; Robert F. (1811 [?]-1832), died in Savannah, GA; Mary (?-18 October 1799); and George (?-?). This information gathered from Plymouth church and vital records as well as from William T. Davis, *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA, 1887).

32.  His date of birth is on his gravestone in Kingston. Transcribed vital records of Kingston indicate he was born there, but this transcription indicates that the source of this information was the gravestone record. His death record in Somerville, however, has him born in Plymouth. I could not locate his birth in the original vital records of either Kingston or Plymouth.

33.  According to her gravestone, Abigail was born June 14, 1818. Hiram and Abigail's children were: William Robert (20 June 1833-9 December 1836), "burned to death"; Mary Holmes (22 December 1835-8 March 1910), married James A. Mackee; William Thomas (28 November 1837-?); Maria Thomas (12 April 1840-2 June 1876), married Jerry H. Pearson; Irene Smith (27 March 1842-2 May 1842); Harriet Holmes (21 July 1843-?); Hiram (25 August 1845-6 February 1915), married Ella H.; Otis (1 October 1854-26 July 1916), married Helen G. [Kingston Vital Records and cemetery inscriptions].

34.  Vol. 207, p. 176; $74.33; July 3rd. Vol. 189, p. 202; $61.24; February 4th; "near the house of Thomas Bailey."

35.  Vol. 207, p. 175; $330.00; April 5th; Joseph Holmes II and wife.

36.  Vol. 212, p. 46; $348.00.

37.  Sarah Y. Bailey, *The Civic Progress of Kingston*, with *A History of the Industries* by Emily F. Drew (Kingston, MA,1926).

38.  One of Drew's notes, dated 1933, mentions the source of her information as a George A. Bailey. This may have been a relative of Hiram's neighbor Thomas Bailey, to whom he sold his home when he moved to Charlestown. Drew's notes were copied by Sally F. D. Chase in 1950. I am grateful to the Kingston, Massachusetts Public library for permission to reproduce this excerpt from: "Hiram Tribble," unpublished ms. from the Emily F. Drew Papers, Local History Room, Kingston, Massachusetts, Public Library.

39.  Vol. 340, p. 32; October 11th.

40.  Vol. 338, p. 156; November 13, 1866; to Gershom Bradford for $545.40.

41.  The mortgage, for $2000.00, is given by a Benjamin Parker of Charlestown; it is for lot #76 on a plan drawn by S. M. Felton, dated September 25, 1839; Vol. 343, p. 40. The record of the final payment of the mortgage is in Vol. 393, p. 98. The sale of the house is to Thomas Bailey for $580.00; June 18, 1867; Vol. 342, p. 252.

42.  Plymouth County Deeds: Vol. 393, p. 38; June 25, 1872.

43.  Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 1318, pp. 114-16; for $4000 to Charles H. and Anne E. Perkins (on a two-year mortgage); March 14, 1876. Hiram's signature appears on the mortgage release in 1878.

44.  Vol. 21, p. 438. The whole family is living at 14 Newbury Street. Hiram Jr.'s wife Ella is listed as having been born in Nova Scotia. It is perhaps a coincidence that their neighbor (at number 16), a Joseph W. Averill, is listed as a "stone quarryman."

45.  His death record is registered with the city clerk of Somerville.

46.  Markers for Hiram and Abigail and their children Marie T. Pearson, Mary H. Mackey, Hiram Jr., and Otis (and their spouses) are grouped in two separate plots in Evergreen cemetery in Kingston.

47.  George Thompson was the son of Isaac Tomson/Thompson, the Middleborough carver who was also a lawyer and state senator. Peter Benes in the *The Masks of Orthodoxy* briefly describes Isaac's work and mentions his son George (pp. 7; 241). However, the dates of birth and death Benes reports (p. 208) for the two Thompsons are incorrect. George Thompson was not born in 1770, but on August 12, 1788; and he died, not in 1845, but on September 25, 1865. Three of the thirty-five probate references I found in Plymouth County records for George Thompson were dated after 1845 (all in Middleborough): those for Dr. Joseph Clarke (88:462; settlement dated 3 Nov 1846), who was probably his father-in-law; William Nelson (89:297; dated 2 Aug 1847); and Thomas Steles (89:202; dated August 1847). That the George Thompson who was born in 1788, and who was the son of Isaac Thompson and Lucy Sturtevant and the brother of a number of other children of Isaac and Lucy, is the son of Isaac the lawyer is sup-

ported by the latter Isaac's will (Ply. Co. 50:463), which names his children (and names George as executor). This Isaac was born, not in 1749, as Benes has it, but on February 1, 1746; he dies on December 21, 1819, his age given as seventy-three in Middleborough Vital Records.

48.  George Washington Bryant and Lucy Kingman Washburn had at least four children, all born in Brockton: George Edward (1832-?), Henry Lyman (11 May 1835-?), Abby Jane (1836-?), and Caroline Frances (1838-?) [Brockton Vital Records].

49.  Harris and his brother James were sons of Solomon Thompson and Harriet (the daughter of the Middleborough carver Isaac Tomson/Thompson), who married in Halifax on November 2, 1817 (Middleborough and Halifax Vital Records.) Harris' and James' sister Harriet married Joshua T. Faunce, who was trained by James while working in his Sandwich shop.

50.  Kingston Vital Records.

51.  Bailey and Drew, *The Civic Progress of Kingston*, with *A History of the Industries*, 40.

# APPENDIX I

## Probated and Signed Gravestones

*records which specifically mention gravestones

*Probated to Bildad Washburn: (Plymouth County)*

Joseph Darling (35:208; , 1795), Duxbury
Joanna Macumber (35:219; 1791, 1791), Marshfield
Nathan Kingman (35:370; 1776, 1797), Bridgewater
[1] Edward Oakman (35:436; 1791, 1795), Marshfield
Abigail Ripley (35:492; 1795, 1796), Kingston
[1] William Keen (35:553; 1792, 1796), Marshfield
[1] Lydia Foster (35:561; 1795, 1796), Kingston
[1] William Drew (36:30; 1795, 1797), Kingston
[1] Capt. Hosea Brewster (36:31; 1794, 1797), Kingston
Ephraim Briggs (36:588; 1799, 1801), Halifax
Peres Chandler (37:378; 1800, 1800), Duxbury
[1] Barnabas Harlow (37:433; 1796, 1796), Plympton
Samuel Alden (40:210; , 1805), Duxbury
Phebe Kent (42:194; 1805, 1805), Kingston
Sarah Mitchell (45:39; , 1813), Kingston
Daniel Phillips (47:38; 1812, 1814), Marshfield
*Experience Cooper (47:117; 1813, 1815), Kingston
Joseph Adams (48:200; 1815, 1816), Kingston

Joshua Delano (49:188; 1816, 1817), Kingston
Oliver Sampson (49:201; 1812, 1818), Kingston
*William Drew (49:226; , 1818), Kingston
*John Faunce (50:43; 1814, 1816), Kingston
*Joseph McLauthlen (53:69; 1819, 1820), Kingston
Peleg Bartlett (53:95; 1818, 1820), Kingston
*John Gray (53:298; 1810, 1821), Kingston
*Caleb Bates (54:70; 1820, 1821), Kingston
*Benjamin White (54:557; 1819, 1822), Marshfield
Seth Cobb (56:35; 1821, 1822), Kingston
*Phebe Manson (56:337; 1821, 1822), Hanover
Isaac Bartlett (57:535; 1816, 1824), Kingston
Crocker Sampson (58:263; 1823, 1824), Kingston
Judah Washburn (59:547; ,1825;70:538; ,1831),Kingston
John Delano (63:16; 1825, 1832), Duxbury
Henry Baker (64:431; 1826, 1828), Marshfield
Hannah Faunce (66:69; 1827, 1827), Kingston
John Fuller (69:156; 1828, 1830), Kingston
John Faunce (69:497; 1829, 1830), Kingston
Harvey Cushman (69:505; 1828, 1830), Kingston

[1]although probated to Washburn, these stones were probably carved by Bartlett Adams

*Probated to Bartlett Adams: (Suffolk County)*

*Mary Stonehouse (107:77; , 1809), ?

*Signed by Bartlett Adams:*

Samuel Bent (1797), Milton

*Probated to Hiram Tribble: (Plymouth County)*

Elcy Beal (76:293; 1833, 1834), Hanson
Cornelius Cobb (77:8;    , 1835), Hanson
[1] Ichabod Sampson (78:355; 1830, 1836),
Duxbury
*David Hammond (80:34; 1837, 1838),
Pembroke
Elisha MacLauthlen (80:37; 1836, 1838),
Kingston
Lydia Cook (80:116; 1836, 1838), Kingston
Ruth Hall (80:354; 1838, 1838), Kingston
Abigail Sampson (81:28; 1837, 1839),
Duxbury
*Susanna Faunce (81:482; 1836, 1839),
Kingston
Charles Bradford (82:247; 1837, 1840),
Plympton
*David Bradford (83:335; 1840, 1841),
Kingston

Charles Drew, Jr. (85:11;    , 1842),
Duxbury
*Charles A. Graton (86:84; 1843, 1844),
Plymouth
Asa Chandler (86:309; 1843, 1844),
Duxbury
Judah Alden (88:263; 1845, 1846),
Duxbury
Lydia Foster (88:431; 1846, 1846),
Kingston
Andrew Sampson (89:242;    , 1847),
Duxbury
Spencer Holmes (89:270; 1846, 1847),
Kingston
Timothy Rogers (90:101; 1845, 1848),
Marshfield
George Loring (90:271; 1840, 1848),
Duxbury

[1] Although probated to Hiram Tribble, this stone was carved by  Bildad Washburn

*Signed by Hiram Tribble:*

Sally Taylor (1830), Orleans
Eunice Howland (1833), Pembroke
Rufus Woodward (1833), Duxbury
Mary D. Symmes (1837), Kingston
Augusta Winslow (1837), Kingston
Eunice Everson (1840), Hanson
Edward Arnold (1841), Duxbury
Capt. George Drew (1844), Plymouth

Anna Hall (1848), Marshfield Center
Joel Hatch (1849), N. Marshfield
Lucy F. Bartlett (1850), Kingston
Olive Holmes Bartlett (1850), Kingston
Beulah Orton Churchill (1851), Kingston
Mary Bartlett (1852), Plymouth
Susanna Fuller (1857), Halifax
Priscilla Fuller (1860), Halifax

## APPENDIX II

### Gravestones Attributed to the Kingston Carvers (partial list)

This list is complete for gravestones in Kingston.
Probated stones are in **bold**. Signed stones are in *italics*.
Years in parentheses are dates of probate, not death (stones not examined).
For stones with multiple burials, the name of the person with the latest date of burial is listed.

*Burial Grounds:*

Boston-1: Phipps
Boston-2: Dorchester North
Boston-3: Roxbury
Braintree: Elm Street
Brewster: First Parish
Brockton-1: Grove St.
Brockton-2: Leach
Brockton-3: Main St.
Brockton-4: Snell
Canton: Center
Duxbury-1: Miles Standish
Duxbury-2: Hull
Duxbury-3: Ashdod
East Bridgewater: Central
East Dennis: Paddock
Easton: Cynthia Park
Halifax-1: Sturtevant
Halifax-2: Thompson St.
Hanover: Hanover
Hanson: Fern Hill
Harpswell, ME: Harpswell
Holbrook: Union

Kingston: Main St.
Marshfield-1: Congregational Church
Marshfield-2: Marshfield Center
Marshfield-3: Marshfield Hills
Marshfield-4: Two Mile
Marshfield-5: Winslow
Marstons Mills: Rte. 149
Milton: Milton
Norwell: First Parish
Orleans: Meeting House Rd.
Pembroke: Center St.
Plymouth-1: Burial Hill
Plymouth-2: Chiltonville
Plymouth-3: Oak Grove
Plympton: Hillcrest
Portland, ME: Eastern
Quincy-1: Hancock
Quincy-2: Christ Church
Rehoboth: Village
Rochester: Center
West Barnstable: West Barnstable
West Bridgewater: Jerusalem

*Bildad Washburn:*

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1760 | Davis, Lydia | Kingston | | 1787 | Bradford, Nathan | Kingston |
| 1761 | Stetson, Sarah | Kingston | | 1787 | Everson, James | Kingston |
| 1763 | Washburn, John | Kingston | | 1787 | Gray, Thomas | Kingston |
| 1765 | Drew, James | Kingston | | 1787 | Holmes, Jonathan | Kingston |
| 1767 | Cobb, Olive | Kingston | | 1787 | Lothrop, Capt. | Kingston |
| 1769 | Damon, Desire | Norwell | | | Benjamin | |
| 1775 | Drew, Nathaniel | Kingston | | 1787 | Phillips, Luce | Marshfield-1 |
| 1775 | Washburn, Jabez | Kingston | | 1787 | Phinney, John | Kingston |
| 1776 | **Kingman, Nathan** | E. | | 1787 | Wadsworth, Zilpha | Kingston |
| | | Bridgewater | | 1787 | Willis, John Thomas | Kingston |
| 1777 | Eaton, Joshua | Kingston | | 1788 | Bradford, Sarah | Duxbury-2 |
| 1778 | Cook, Sarah | Kingston | | 1788 | Brewster, Hannah | Kingston |
| 1778 | Ripley, Capt. | Kingston | | 1788 | Drew, James | Kingston |
| | Hezekiah | | | 1788 | Hide, Mary | E. |
| 1778 | Tomson, Patty | Halifax-2 | | | | Bridgewater |
| 1779[1] | Rand, Rev. William | Kingston | | 1788 | Latham, Hitte | E. |
| 1779 | Washburn, Mary | Kingston | | | | Bridgewater |
| 1781 | Barker, Elisha | Hanover | | 1788 | Read, Martha | Kingston |
| 1781 | H[all], Joseph | Kingston | | 1788 | Sever, Ann Warren | Kingston |
| 1782 | Bradford, Capt. | Kingston | | 1789 | Adams, Cornelius | Kingston |
| | William | | | 1789 | Brooks, Mary | Norwell |
| 1782 | Cobb, Ebenezer | Kingston | | 1789[2] | **Croade, Ruth** | Halifax-2 |
| 1782 | Frazier, Thomas | Duxbury-1 | | 1789 | Crosby, Mary | Brewster |
| 1782 | Sampson, Esther | Kingston | | 1789 | Delano, Lucy | Marshfield-5 |
| 1782 | Washburn, Fear | Kingston | | 1789 | Hayward, Tabitha | Bridgewater |
| 1783 | Bartlett, Capt. Joseph | Kingston | | 1789 | Young, Elisha | Norwell |
| 1783 | Bradford, Welthea | Kingston | | 1790 | Barstow, Huldah | Hanson |
| 1783 | White, Benjamin | Marshfield-1 | | 1790 | Bryant, Mary | Plympton |
| 1783 | Whitman, Seth | E. | | 1790 | Cushman, Elisha | Kingston |
| | | Bridgewater | | 1790 | Drew, Joshua | Duxbury-2 |
| 1784 | Bradford, Abner | Kingston | | 1790 | Drew, Judith | Kingston |
| 1784 | Drew, Polly | Kingston | | 1790 | Hide, Mary | E. |
| 1784 | Fuller, Lydia | Kingston | | | | Bridgewater |
| 1785 | Thacher, Benjamin L. | Kingston | | 1790 | Holmes, Ruth | Kingston |
| 1786 | Drew, Saba | Kingston | | 1790 | Partridge, Ruth | Duxbury-2 |
| 1786 | Faunce, Eliezer | Kingston | | 1790 | Tilson, John | Halifax-2 |
| 1786 | Freeman, Benamin | Kingston | | 1790 | Wadsworth, Peleg | Kingston |
| 1786 | Goodspeed, John | W. | | 1791 | Bartlett, Ichabod | Kingston |
| | | Barnstable | | 1791 | Bryant, Alice | Kingston |
| 1786 | Kent, Samuel | Kingston | | 1791 | Chandler, Rhoda | Duxbury-2 |
| 1786 | Randall. Perez | Kingston | | 1791 | Drew, James | Kingston |
| 1786 | Washburn, Anna[1] | Kingston | | 1791 | Drew, Saba | Kingston |
| 1786 | Washburn, Anna[2] | Kingston | | 1791 | Foster, Mary | Kingston |
| 1786 | West, Dea. Peter | Kingston | | 1791 | Holmes, Rebeckah | Kingston |
| 1786 | Willis, Hannah | Kingston | | 1791 | Leach, Ruth | Kingston |
| | Thomas | | | 1791 | **Macumber, Joanna** | Marshfield-3 |
| 1787 | Angier, Rev. John | E. | | 1791 | Phillips, Hannah | Kingston |
| | · | Bridgewater | | 1791 | Tillson, Molly | Halifax-2 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1791 | West, Abiah | Kingston | | 1799 | Sampson, Eliza | Kingston |
| 1791 | Willis, Thomas | Kingston | | 1800 | Bonney, Ezekiel | Hanson |
| 1791 | Winsor, Olive | Duxbury-2 | | 1800 | **Chandler, Perez** | Duxbury-2 |
| 1792 | Bartlett, Rufus | Kingston | | 1800 | Drew, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1792 | Lincoln, Mary | Norwell | | 1800 | Drew, Martha | Kingston |
| 1792 | Pearse, Rebecca | Boston-3 | | 1800 | Holmes, Marcia | Kingston |
| 1793 | Chandler, Molly | Kingston | | 1800 | Sullivan, Jane | Kingston |
| 1793 | Holmes, Cornelius | Kingston | | 1800 | Waterman, Lucy | Kingston |
| 1793 | Holmes, Ezekiel | Kingston | | 1800 | Wethrell, John May | Plymouth-1 |
| 1793 | Maglathlea, Prudence | Kingston | | 1801 | Brewster, Rebecca | Kingston |
| 1793 | Pearce, Capt. Nathan | Rehoboth | | 1801 | Cobb, Anna | Kingston |
| 1793 | Phillips, Hannah | Kingston | | 1801 | Cobb, Ebenezer | Kingston |
| | Eaton | | | 1801 | Robbins, Bethiah | Hanover |
| 1793 | Sampson, Jane | Kingston | | 1801 | Washburn, John | Kingston |
| 1793 | Samson, Ruth | Pembroke | | 1802 | Bartlett, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1794 | Chandler, Ephraim | Kingston | | 1802 | Brewster, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1794 | Drew, Christiana | Kingston | | 1802 | Church, Huldah | Kingston |
| 1794 | Washburn, Dea. Jabez | Kingston | | 1802 | Day, Joel | Kingston |
| (1795) | **Darling, Joseph** | Duxbury | | 1802 | Faunce, Elijah | Kingston |
| 1795 | Fish, Nathaniel | Kingston | | 1802 | Mitchell, Benjamin | Kingston |
| 1795 | Fish, Perez | Kingston | | 1802 | Thomas, Col. John | Kingston |
| 1795 | Holmes, Ephraim Jr. | Kingston | | 1802 | Washburn, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1795 | Holmes, Rebeckah | Kingston | | 1803 | Cushman, Susanna | Kingston |
| 1795 | **Ripley, Abigail** | Kingston | | 1803 | Eaton, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1796 | Chandler, Edna | Duxbury-2 | | 1803 | Hayward, Sally B. | W. |
| 1796 | Fuller, Mercy | Kingston | | | | Bridgewater |
| 1796 | Holmes, Eunice | Kingston | | 1803 | Hitchcock, Rev. Gad | Hanson |
| 1796 | Macomber, Polly | Hanover | | 1803 | Symmes, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1796 | Sampson, Cornelius | Kingston | | 1804 | Bartlett, Lucy Foster | Kingston |
| 1796 | Silvester, Benjamin | Hanover | | 1804 | Davis, Henry | Kingston |
| 1797 | Drew, Sarah | Duxbury-2 | | 1804 | Drew, Mary | Kingston |
| 1797 | Hayward, Orr | W. | | 1804 | Gray, Ruth | Rochester |
| | | Bridgewater | | 1804 | Sampson, Desire | Kingston |
| 1797 | Howard, Davis | Easton | | 1804 | Sampson, Col. Joseph | Kingston |
| 1797 | Keen, Lydia | Marshfield-1 | | 1804 | Snow, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1797 | Shaw, Dorcas | Brewster | | 1804 | Stetson, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1798 | Cook, Lois | Kingston | | 1804 | Washburn, Jenney | Kingston |
| 1798 | Davis, Nicholas | Kingston | | 1804 | Washburn, Orpha | Kingston |
| 1798 | Drew, Capt. Clement | Kingston | | 1805 | Adams, Thankful | Kingston |
| 1798 | Jones, Thankful | Marshfield-3 | | (1805) | **Alden, Samuel** | Duxbury |
| 1798 | Magoun, Elizabeth | Plympton | | 1805 | Brigden, Sally | Kingston |
| 1798 | Sampson, Oliver | Kingston | | 1805 | Cobb, Stevens | Kingston |
| 1798 | Washburn, Jabez | Kingston | | 1805 | Doten, Hannah | Kingston |
| 1798 | Willis, Hannah | Kingston | | 1805 | Drew, Deborah | Kingston |
| | Thomas | | | 1805 | Drew, George | Kingston |
| 1799 | **Briggs, Ephraim** | Halifax-1 | | | Cranwell | |
| 1799 | Cook, Benjamin | Kingston | | 1805 | Foster, Charles | Kingston |
| 1799 | Drew, Abigail Church | Kingston | | 1805 | Fuller, Josiah | Kingston |
| 1799 | Maglathla, Margaret | Kingston | | 1805 | **Kent, Phebe** | Kingston |

| 1805 | Phillips, Diana | Hanson |
| 1805 | Ruggles, Henry T. | Norwell |
| 1805 | Russell, Betsey Foster | Kingston |
| 1805 | Russell, Nancy | Kingston |
| 1805 | Washburn, James | Kingston |
| 1805 | Washburn, Simeon | Kingston |
| 1806 | Adams, John | Kingston |
| 1806 | Barce, John | Kingston |
| 1806 | Fuller, Zephaniah | Kingston |
| 1806 | Holmes, Jonathan | Kingston |
| 1806 | Marshal, Hannah | Plymouth-1 |
| 1806 | Phillips, Christopher | Hanson |
| 1806 | Tupper, Bridget | Kingston |
| 1806 | Thomas, Abigail C. | Marshfield-1 |
| 1807 | Bradford, Mary Ann | Kingston |
| 1807 | Bradford, Polly | Kingston |
| 1807 | Bryant, Luther | Kingston |
| 1807 | Drew, James | Kingston |
| 1807 | Drew, Stephen Nye | Kingston |
| 1807 | Fuller, Polly | Kingston |
| 1807 | Fuller, Seth | Kingston |
| 1807 | Simmons, Joseph | Kingston |
| 1808 | Chandler, Molly | Kingston |
| 1808 | Cook, Kezia | Kingston |
| 1808 | Cooper, Thomas | Kingston |
| 1808 | Drew, Betsey | Kingston |
| 1808 | Faunce, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1808 | Holmes, Ephraim | Kingston |
| 1808 | Holmes, Jonathan | Kingston |
| 1809 | Barce, Abigail | Kingston |
| 1809 | Bradford, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1809 | Cook, Mary | Kingston |
| 1809 | Fuller, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1809 | Gardner, David | Kingston |
| 1809 | Glover, Mary | Kingston |
| 1809 | Kingman, Judith | Brockton-1 |
| 1809 | Prince, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1809 | Shurtleff, Lydia | Plymouth-1 |
| 1809 | Thomas, Cpt. William | Marshfield-1 |
| 1810 | Bisbee, Rebecca | Kingston |
| 1810 | Brewster, Wrestling | Kingston |
| 1810 | Churchill, Samuel | Plymouth-1 |
| 1810 | Cobb, Margaret | Kingston |
| 1810 | **Gray, Col. John** | Kingston |
| 1810 | Holmes, Heman | Plymouth-1 |
| 1810 | Holmes, Silvester | Kingston |
| 1810 | Sampson, Eliza | Kingston |
| 1810 | Washburn, Bartlett A. | Kingston |
| 1810 | Washburn, Ebebezer | Kingston |

| 1811 | Cobb, William | Kingston |
| 1811 | Fish, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1811 | Foster, Deborah | Kingston |
|      |                | Bradford |
| 1811 | Mitchell, Benjamin | Kingston |
| 1811 | Thomas, Julia Parris | Kingston |
| 1812 | Bartlett, Bathsheba | Kingston |
| 1812 | Cook, Mary | Kingston |
| 1812 | Foster, Silvia | Kingston |
| 1812 | Holmes, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1812 | Mitchell, Ezra | Kingston |
| 1812 | Perkins, Nathaniel | Kingston |
| 1812 | **Phillips, Daniel** | Marshfield-1 |
| 1812 | **Sampson, Oliver** | Kingston |
| 1813 | Bryant, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1813 | **Cooper, Experience** | Kingston |
| 1813 | Drew, Betsey | Kingston |
| 1813 | Dunham, Mary | Kingston |
| 1813 | Fish, Mary | Kingston |
| 1813 | Fish, Sally | Kingston |
| 1813 | Foster, Melzar Adams | Kingston |
| 1813 | Holmes, Joshua | Kingston |
| 1813 | Holmes, Sarah | Kingston |
| (1813) | **Mitchell, Sarah** | Kingston |
| 1813 | Washburn, Priscilla | Kingston |
| 1814 | Cook, Silvanus | Kingston |
| 1814 | **Faunce, John** | Kingston |
| 1814 | McLauthlen, Ann | Kingston |
| 1814 | Price, Kimball | Kingston |
| 1814 | Withrell, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1815 | **Adams, Joseph** | Kingston |
| 1815 | Brewster, Thomas | Kingston |
| 1815 | Fuller, Hiram | Kingston |
| 1815 | Holmes, Sarah B. | Kingston |
| 1815 | McLauthlen, Jedidah | Kingston |
| 1815 | McLauthlen, Peggy | Kingston |
| 1816 | **Bartlett, Dr. Isaac** | Kingston |
| 1816 | **Delano, Joshua** | Kingston |
| 1816 | Drew, Dorothy | Kingston |
| 1816 | Fish, Charles | Kingston |
| 1816 | Fuller, Lucy Delano | Kingston |
| 1816 | Lucas, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1816 | McLauthlen, Pamela | Kingston |
| 1816 | Sampson, Eleanor | Kingston |
| 1817 | Adams, Eleanor | Kingston |
| 1817 | Bisbee, Abigail | Kingston |
| 1817 | Bisbee, Jane Standish | Kingston |
| 1817 | Bradford, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1817 | Fish, Charles | Kingston |

| 1817 | Fuller, Matilda | Kingston |
|------|------|------|
| 1817 | Holmes, Robert | Kingston |
| 1818 | **Bartlett, Peleg** | Kingston |
| 1818 | Bisbee, Julia | Kingston |
| 1818 | Cook, Alfreda | Kingston |
| (1818) | **Drew, William** | Kingston |
| 1818 | Fish, Charles | Kingston |
| 1818 | Holmes, Judith | Kingston |
| 1818 | Holmes, Patrick | Kingston |
| 1818 | McLauthlen, Mary | Kingston |
| 1818 | Tupper, Priscilla | Kingston |
| 1819 | Adams, Ann | Kingston |
| 1819 | Cook, Ira Ames | Kingston |
| 1819 | Howland, Ruth | Kingston |
| 1819 | **MacLauthlen, Joseph** | Kingston |
| 1819 | Wadsworth, Cephas | Kingston |
| 1819 | **White, Benjamin** | Marshfield-1 |
| 1820 | Adams, Ebenezer | Kingston |
| 1820 | **Bates, Caleb** | Kingston |
| 1820 | Bradford, Ruth | Kingston |
| 1820 | Cooper, Nancy | Kingston |
| 1820 | Holmes, Abigail | Kingston |
| 1820 | Holmes, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1820 | McLauthlen, Hervey | Kingston |
| 1820 | McLauthlen, Rizpah | Kingston |
| 1820 | Perkins, Nathaniel | Kingston |
| 1820 | Ring, Francis | Kingston |
| 1820 | Washburn, Betsey | Kingston |
| 1821 | Bryant, Peleg | Kingston |
| 1821 | **Cobb, Seth** | Kingston |
| 1821 | **Manson, Phebe** | Hanover |
| 1821 | Weston, Oliver | Kingston |
| 1822 | Bisbee, John | Kingston |
| 1822 | Bisbee, Capt. Zebulun | Kingston |
| 1822 | Drew, Saba James | Kingston |
| 1822 | Drew, Zenas | Kingston |
| 1822 | Holmes, Molly | Kingston |
| 1822 | Mitchell, John | Kingston |
| 1822 | Russell, George | Kingston |
| 1823 | Adams, Sophia | Kingston |
| 1823 | Bradford, Hannah | Kingston |
| 1823 | Faunce, Elijah | Kingston |
| 1823 | Sampson, Bethany | Kingston |
| 1823 | **Sampson, Crocker** | Kingston |
| 1824 | Bonney, James | Kingston |
| 1824 | Cook, Ira Ames | Kingston |
| 1824 | Delano, Mary | Kingston |
| 1824 | Holmes, John | Kingston |
| 1824 | McLauthlen, Nancy | Kingston |

| 1824 | Prince, Dea. John | Kingston |
|------|------|------|
| 1824 | Waterman, Sally | Kingston |
| 1824 | Weston, Olive W. | Kingston |
| 1825 | Adams, Francis | Kingston |
| 1825 | Bradford, Betty | Kingston |
| 1825 | Bradford, Lurana | Kingston |
| 1825 | Brooks, George N. | Kingston |
| 1825 | Cushman, Ezra | Kingston |
| 1825 | Cushman, Hannah | Kingston |
| 1825 | **Delano, John** | Duxbury-2 |
| 1825 | Foster, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1825 | Fuller, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1825 | Holmes, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1825 | McLauthlen, Almira | Kingston |
| (1825) | **Washburn, Cpt. Judah** | Kingston |
| 1825 | Washburn, Kimbal | Kingston |
| 1826 | Adams, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1826 | Adams, Capt. Melzar | Kingston |
| 1826 | **Baker, Henry** | Marshfield-1 |
| 1826 | Bisbee, Sally | Kingston |
| 1826 | Bradford, Stetson | Kingston |
| 1826 | Cook, Caroline Jenks | Kingston |
| 1826 | Foster, Fear | Kingston |
| 1826 | Fuller, Hannah | Kingston |
| 1826 | Hall, Judah | Kingston |
| 1826 | Lanman, Henry T. | Kingston |
| 1826 | Prince, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1826 | Washburn, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1827 | Adams, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1827 | Cook, Josiah | Kingston |
| 1827 | Cushman, Ebenezer | Kingston |
| 1827 | **Faunce, Hannah** | Kingston |
| 1827 | Holmes, Malatiah | Kingston |
| 1827 | Washburn, Rebecca | Kingston |
| 1827 | Whitten, Isabella | Kingston |
| 1827 | Willis, Jonah | Kingston |
| 1828 | Cook, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1828 | **Cushman, Harvey** | Kingston |
| 1828 | **Fuller, John** | Kingston |
| 1828 | McLauthlen, Asenath | Kingston |
| 1828 | McLauthlen, Ruth | Kingston |
| 1829 | Adams, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1829 | **Faunce, John** | Kingston |
| 1829 | Wood, Azel | Brockton-4 |
| 1830 | Holmes, Samuel | Kingston |
| 1830 | McLauthlen, David | Kingston |
| 1830 | McLauthlen, Jane | Kingston |
| 1830[3] | Samson, Ichabod | Duxbury-2 |

| 1830 | Sampson, Jeremiah | Kingston | | 1831 | Tilson, Polly | Kingston |
| 1831 | Drew, Ebenezer | Kingston | | 1831 | Washburn, Elkanah | Kingston |

[1]probably inscribed by one of the Soule family of carvers, possibly Asaph Soule
[2]probate payment to Benjamin Cushing, but carved by Washburn
[3]probate payment to Hiram Tribble, but carved by Washburn

*Bartlett Adams:*

note: stones in CAPITALS are probated to Bildad Washburn, but carved by Bartlett Adams

| 1765 | Cobb, Hannah | Kingston | | 1794 | Maglathlea, Margaret | Kingston |
| 1774 | Faxon, Relief | Braintree | | 1794 | Sampson, Benjamin | Kingston |
| 1777 | Babcock, Nathan | Milton | | 1794 | Sampson, Cornelius | Kingston |
| 1777 | Clark, Edmund | Quincy-1 | | 1794 | Thayer, Ann | Milton |
| 1780 | Gooding, James | Portland, ME | | 1794 | Wild, Ruth | Braintree |
| 1781 | Thayer, Ephraim | Holbrook | | 1795 | Bradford, Eliphalet | Duxbury-2 |
| 1783 | Thayer, Phebe | Holbrook | | 1795 | Bradford, Jane | Plympton |
| 1786 | Packard, Sarah | Brockton-3 | | 1795 | Brewster, Mary$_1$ | Kingston |
| 1789 | Baxter, Mary | Quincy-1 | | 1795 | Brewster, Mary$_2$ | Kingston |
| 1789 | Tolman, Esther | Canton | | 1795 | Davis, Martha | Kingston |
| 1790 | Davis, Lois | Kingston | | 1795 | Drew, Hervey | Kingston |
| 1790 | French, Relief | Holbrook | | 1795 | DREW, WILLIAM | Kingston |
| 1790 | Snell, Mehitable | Brockton-4 | | 1795 | FOSTER, LYDIA | Kingston |
| 1791 | Gore, Capt. Ebenezer | Boston-3 | | 1795 | Holmes, Levi | Kingston |
| 1791 | Foster, Robert | Kingston | | 1795 | Humphrey, Mary Ann | Boston-2 |
| 1791 | OAKMAN, EDWARD | Marshfield-1 | | 1795 | Loring, Capt. Thomas | Plympton |
| 1791 | Pike, Lucretia | Boston-2 | | 1795 | Rogers, Jemima | Marshfield-3 |
| 1792 | KEEN, WILLIAM | Marshfield-1 | | 1795 | Sampson, Mary | Marstons |
| 1792 | Rawson, Esther | Milton | | | | Mills |
| 1793 | Bradford, Gideon | Plympton | | 1795 | Topliff, Ebenezer | Canton |
| 1793 | Brewster, Araunah | Duxbury-2 | | 1795 | Wadsworth, Eunice | Duxbury-2 |
| 1793 | Fayers, Elizabeth | Boston-3 | | 1795 | Washburn, Lucy | Kingston |
| 1793 | Kingman, Freeman | Orleans | | 1795 | White, Joseph | Holbrook |
| 1793 | Packard, Sarah[1] | Brockton-3 | | 1796 | Adams, Lemuel | Milton |
| 1793 | Packard, Sarah[2] | Brockton-3 | | 1796 | Adams, Seth | Milton |
| 1793 | Tillson, Abigail | Brockton-3 | | 1796 | Cary, George | Quincy-1 |
| 1793 | Vinall, Capt. Joshua | Marshfield-3 | | 1796 | Cook, Christiana | Kingston |
| 1793 | Winsor, Ruth | Duxbury-2 | | 1796 | HARLOW, | Plympton |
| 1794 | Ames, Seba | Brockton-3 | | | BARNABAS | |
| 1794 | Beale, Thomas Swift | Quincy-1 | | 1796 | Lucas, David | Kingston |
| 1794 | BREWSTER, HOSEA | Kingston | | 1796 | Penniman, Dorcas | Braintree |
| 1794 | Brooks, William | Norwell | | 1796 | Sampson, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1794 | Chorley, Theodocia | Quincy-1 | | 1796 | Smith, Prudence | Boston-1 |
| 1794 | Cleverly, Joseph | Quincy-2 | | 1796 | Snell, Abigail | Brockton-4 |
| 1794 | Foster, James | Kingston | | 1796 | Wales, Ephraim | Canton |
| 1794 | Gore, Polly | Boston-3 | | 1796 | Washburn, Nathaniel | Kingston |
| 1794 | Hall, Sarah | Boston-2 | | 1797 | Bent, *Samuel* | Milton |
| 1794 | Holmes, Mercy | Kingston | | 1797 | Faxon, James | Braintree |
| 1794 | Loring, Perez | Duxbury-2 | | 1797 | Hardwick, Frederic | Quincy-2 |

| 1797 | Holmes, Charles | Kingston |
| 1797 | Mollish, Samuel | Boston-3 |
| 1797 | Packard, Ansel | Brockton-4 |
| 1797 | Packard, Charles | Brockton-4 |
| 1797 | Packard, Dea. Ebenezer | Brockton-4 |
| 1797 | Packard, Rhoda | Brockton-4 |
| 1797 | Shaw, Dorcas | Brockton-2 |
| 1797 | Vose, Polly Howe | Milton |
| 1798 | Beale, Peter | Quincy-1 |
| 1798 | Brown, Samuel, Jr. | Quincy-1 |
| 1798 | Cobb, Ruth | Kingston |
| 1798 | Drew, George Stetson | Kingston |
| 1798 | Glover, Elizabeth | Quincy-1 |
| 1798 | Neal, John | Portland, ME |

| 1799 | Hale, Anne | Portland, ME |
| 1799 | Moody, Molly | Portland, ME |
| 1799 | Silvester, William | Harpswell, ME |
| 1801 | Prior, Bethiah | Duxbury-2 |
| 1801 | Vose, Sukey | Milton |
| 1803 | Tukey, John | Portland, ME |
| 1806 | Adams, Bartlett | Portland, ME |
| 1806 | Slater, Priscilla | Portland, ME |
| (1808) | **Stonehouse, Mary** | ? |
| 1809 | Adams, George | Portland, ME |
| 1812 | Adams, Eliza | Portland, ME |
| 1813[1] | Burrowes, Capt. William | Portland, ME |

[1]ascribed to Adams in an 1815 newspaper account in the *Eastern Argus*

*Hiram Tribble:*

| 1822 | Dawse, Ebenezer | Kingston |
| 1828 | Bates, Julia H. | Kingston |
| 1828 | Chandler, Martha | Duxbury-2 |
| 1830 | Bullard, Benjamin Dexter | Plymouth-1 |
| 1830 | Robbins, Margaret H. | Plymouth-1 |
| 1830 | *Taylor, Sally* | Orleans |
| 1831 | Bradford, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1831 | Sampson, Abigail | Duxbury-2 |
| 1832 | Delano, Welthea | Kingston |
| 1832 | Paddock, Eunice | Dennis |
| 1832 | Ring, Mary | Kingston |
| 1832 | Sampson Benjamin | Kingston |
| 1832 | Washburn, Bildad | Kingston |
| 1832 | Weston, Capt. Jacob | Duxbury-2 |
| 1832 | White, Roxana | Kingston |
| 1832 | Wing, Charles | Brewster |
| 1833 | **Beal, Elcy** | Hanson |
| 1833 | Bradford, Mary | Kingston |
| 1833 | Brewster, Capt. Martin | Kingston |
| 1833 | Chandler, John S. | Kingston |
| 1833 | Everson, Samuel | Kingston |
| 1833 | Hall, Washington | Kingston |
| 1833 | *Howland, Eunice* | Pembroke |
| 1833 | Russell, Rebecca | Plymouth-1 |
| 1833 | Wade, Hertilia | Kingston |
| 1833 | *Woodward, Rufus* | Duxbury-2 |
| 1834 | Bradford, Ellis | Kingston |
| 1834 | Bradford, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1834 | Bryant, Patience | Kingston |

| 1834 | Holmes, Amasa | Kingston |
| 1835 | Churchill, Lucia R. | Kingston |
| (1835) | **Cobb, Cornelius** | Hanson |
| 1835 | Cook, Zenas | Kingston |
| 1836 | Bosworth, Jane | Plymouth-3 |
| 1836 | **Cook, Lydia** | Kingston |
| 1836 | Cooper, Margaret | Kingston |
| 1836 | Everson, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1836 | **Faunce, Susanna** | Kingston |
| 1836 | Hall, Asenath | Kingston |
| 1836 | Holmes, Ancel | Kingston |
| 1836 | **McLauthlen, Elisha** | Kingston |
| 1836 | McLauthlen, Robert | Kingston |
| 1836 | Sampson, Croad | Kingston |
| 1836 | Holmes, Betsey | Duxbury-2 |
| 1837 | **Bradford, Charles** | Kingston |
| 1837 | Bradford, Stephen | Kingston |
| 1837 | Bryant, Lewis | Kingston |
| 1837 | Cook, Joanna | Kingston |
| 1837 | Cook, Lucy | Kingston |
| 1837 | Cook, Sarah Foster | Kingston |
| 1837 | Drew, Abigail | Kingston |
| 1837 | Faunce, Eliezer | Kingston |
| 1837 | **Hammond, David** | Pembroke |
| 1837 | **Sampson, Abigail** | Duxbury-2 |
| 1837 | *Symmes, Mary D.* | Kingston |
| 1837 | Washburn, Betsey | Kingston |
| 1837 | *Winslow, Augusta* | Kingston |
| 1838 | Bradford, Elizabeth Ann | Kingston |

| 1838 | Dawse, Priscilla | Kingston |
| 1838 | Doten, Parthenia S. | Kingston |
| 1838 | Fearo, Hannah Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1838 | Foster, Melzar A. | Kingston |
| 1838 | **Hall, Ruth** | Kingston |
| 1838 | Holmes, Lucy | Kingston |
| 1838 | Sampson, Priscilla | Kingston |
| 1838 | Washburn, Job | Kingston |
| 1839 | Cook, Capt. Elkanah | Kingston |
| 1839 | Holmes, Barzillai | Plymouth-2 |
| 1839 | Tribble, Maria | Plymouth-1 |
| 1839 | Washburn, Elisha | Kingston |
| 1840 | Bradford, Amos Perley | Kingston |
| 1840 | **Bradford, David** | Kingston |
| 1840 | *Everson, Eunice* | Hanson |
| 1840 | Graton, Mary D. | Plymouth-1 |
| 1840 | **Loring, George** | Duxbury-2 |
| 1840 | Ripley, Mary | Kingston |
| 1840 | Sampson, Howland | Kingston |
| 1840 | Washburn, Lucy | Kingston |
| 1841 | *Arnold, Edward* | Duxbury-2 |
| 1841 | Atwood, Deborah | Plymouth-2 |
| 1841 | Brooks, George Nathan | Kingston |
| 1841 | Everson, Rebecca | Kingston |
| 1841 | Winsor, Mary | Kingston |
| 1842 | Alexander, John | Plymouth-1 |
| 1842 | Bradford, Lydia | Kingston |
| 1842 | Cobb, Henry Stevens | Kingston |
| 1842 | Doten, Kimball Prince | Kingston |
| (1842) | **Drew, Charles Jr.** | Duxbury |
| 1842 | French, Osmon | Kingston |
| 1842 | Holmes, Lucy | Kingston |
| 1842 | Holmes, Robert | Kingston |
| 1842 | McLauthlen, Olive | Kingston |
| 1842 | Perkins, Seth | Kingston |
| 1842 | Sampson, Elizabeth | Kingston |
| 1842 | Stetson, William | Kingston |
| 1842 | Tupper, Capt. Peleg | Kingston |
| 1843 | **Chandler, Asa** | Duxbury -2 |
| 1843 | Clift, Israel | Marshfield-3 |
| 1843 | Everson, Josiah | Kingston |
| 1843 | **Graton, Charles A.** | Plymouth-1 |
| 1843 | Holmes, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1843 | Mitchell, John | Kingston |
| 1843 | Ripley, Martha | Kingston |
| 1843 | Sprague, Lydia | Duxbury-2 |

| 1844 | *Drew, Capt. George* | Plymouth-3 |
| 1844 | Everson, Mary | Kingston |
| 1844 | Sampson, Rebecca | Kingston |
| 1844 | Washburn, Mercy | Kingston |
| 1845 | **Alden, Maj. Judah** | Duxbury-2 |
| 1845 | Ripley, Jane | Kingston |
| 1845 | **Rogers, Timothy** | Marshfield-2 |
| 1845 | Tupper, Violetta | Kingston |
| 1846 | Brewster, Sally | Kingston |
| 1846 | Burgess, John | Kingston |
| 1846 | Doten, Catherine T. | Kingston |
| 1846 | **Foster, Lydia** | Kingston |
| 1846 | Fuller, Mary | Kingston |
| 1846 | **Holmes, Spencer Jr.** | Kingston |
| 1847 | Bradford, Sally | Kingston |
| 1847 | Holmes, Susan C. | Plymouth-1 |
| (1847) | **Sampson, Andrew** | Duxbury-2 |
| 1847 | Taylor, Marcy | Duxbury-2 |
| 1848 | Doten, David | Kingston |
| 1848 | Gray, John | Kingston |
| 1848 | *Hall, Anna* | Marshfield-2 |
| 1848 | Holmes, Joseph | Plymouth-1 |
| 1848 | Holmes, Nathaniel | Kingston |
| 1848 | Mitchell, Abigail | Kingston |
| 1848 | Ripley, George | Kingston |
| 1848 | Tribble, Sarah | Plymouth-1 |
| 1849 | Brewster, Judith | Kingston |
| 1849 | Everson, Charles [child] | Kingston |
| 1849 | *Hatch, Dea. Joel* | Marshfield-4 |
| 1849 | Lovering, Sarah C. F. | Kingston |
| 1849 | Washburn, Deborah | Kingston |
| 1850 | *Bartlett, Lucy F.* | Kingston |
| 1850 | *Bartlett, Olive Holmes* | Kingston |
| 1850 | Bates, Charles C. | Plymouth-3 |
| 1850[1] | Churchill, Elizabeth C. | Plymouth-1 |
| 1851 | Bartlett, Capt. Joseph | Kingston |
| 1851 | Bradford, Lyman | Kingston |
| 1851 | *Churchill, Beulah Orton* | Kingston |
| 1851 | Cook, Eunice | Kingston |
| 1851 | Everson, Richard | Kingston |
| 1851 | French, Mary W. | Kingston |
| 1852 | *Bartlett, Mary* | Plymouth-1 |
| 1852 | Holmes, Robert | Kingston |
| 1853 | Chandler, Abigail | Duxbury-2 |
| 1853 | Cook, Josiah | Kingston |
| 1853 | Gray, Sarah | Kingston |
| 1853 | Holmes, Eunice | Kingston |
| 1853 | Rider, Nancy | Plymouth-2 |

| 1853 | Washburn, Sally Adams | Kingston | 1857 | *Fuller, Susanna* | Halifax |
|------|----------------------|----------|------|-------------------|---------|
| 1854 | Mitchell, Sarah | Kingston | 1857 | Ripley, Daniel | Kingston |
| 1854 | Perkins, Saba A. | Kingston | 1858 | Holmes, Sally | Plymouth-2 |
| 1854 | Prince, Elizabeth S. | Kingston | [1858][2]Loring, Anna (1804) | | Duxbury-2 |
| 1856 | Bradford, John C. | Kingston | [1858][2]Loring, Benjamin (1784) | | Duxbury-2 |
| 1856 | Churchill, Cyrus | Duxbury-2 | 1858 | Symmes, Nancy H. | Plymouth-1 |
| 1856 | Holmes, Ruth G. | Plymouth-1 | 1860 | *Fuller, Priscilla* | Halifax |
| 1856 | Ripley, Joseph T. | Kingston | 1860 | Washburn, Seth | Kingston |
| 1857 | Cook, Benjamin | Kingston | 1861[3] | Phillips, Luther | Kingston |
| 1857 | Cook, Molly | Kingston | 1861 | Soule, Mary | Duxbury-3 |

[1]inscription at base inscribed by an imitator (see below)
[2]dates in brackets refer to new stones carved in 1858 to replace earlier lost markers
[3]inscribed by another carver

*Stones Carved by a Hiram Tribble Imitator*:

| 1876 | Churchill, Elizabeth H. | Plymouth-1 |
|------|-------------------------|------------|
| 1878 | Churchill, Silvanus | Plymouth-1 |
| 1880 | Bates, Betsy | Plymouth-3 |

Fig. 1.  A typical Czech church at Wesley, Texas, built in 1866. The
earliest death date on a tombstone in the adjoining cemetery is 1870.

# GRAVESTONES AND THE LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY OF CZECH-MORAVIANS IN TEXAS

## Eva Eckert

**Introduction**

Graveyards represent cultural values and traditions of a community. By their very nature, they are sanctified places where vernacular culture in general, and writing in particular, have been preserved better than elsewhere. My linguistic interest in the Czech cemeteries and their tombstone inscriptions has been molded by my search for the living community that produced them. Texas Czechs[1] lived in a culturally rich and self-reliant community that consciously cultivated its language. I confirm this thesis by analysis of their epitaphs, greetings, and poems engraved on tombstones, as well as their letters, notes, and newspaper publications. In the present essay I focus on tombstone inscriptions as a primary and prevalent written source of data relevant to language change.[2] The inscriptions appear in cemeteries that once evolved around Texas Czech communities in central Texas (Fayette, Lavaca, Austin, and Colorado counties), the area of major Czech immigrant concentration. Language change is documented there for a period of one hundred and twenty years in stone. The change from language variation[3] to language attrition[4] is expressed in the inscriptions through such linguistic categories as language convergence, lexical borrowing, and code-switching.[5] The movement in language is also accompanied by reduction in length and detail of the inscription, selection of data about the deceased, and layout of the inscription on the stone. Finally, the change is mirrored in non-linguistic properties of the gravestone – its material, size, and decoration. My goals are (1) to point out specific stages in the progression of language change and show how these are visually echoed in the characteristics of the gravestone, and (2) to explain how tombstone inscriptions significantly enhance our understanding of the Texas Czech community and its language.

Czech cemeteries in central Texas followed the life cycle of the communities that established them. When a community was settled, its church and a cemetery (see Figs. 1 and 2) were typically built in a few years. The Czech immigrants were mainly Roman Catholics, although there were also Brethren Believers and Free-thinkers. A church with its adjacent cemetery was central to the Texas Czech community in the phys-

ical as well as social and cultural sense. Walking through the cemetery is like surveying the community history. Signs in the stone point to home-land origins and changing identity of community members. They reveal how they used their own language and also borrowed from the dominant language and culture, and thus changed who they were. As a final out-come, they replaced their creative unpredictable messages with flat monotonous ones, and lavender with plastic flowers. They accepted the dominant patterns and acculturated. Unlike the communities, the ceme-teries are still here today to give the witness of life, fruition, contact, shrinkage, and shift of a rich culture that added importantly to Texas Czech historical heritage. The Texas countryside betrays presence of the communities only through the remaining steepled churches, curvy roads lined with trees, a few stores and roads bearing Czech names, and ceme-teries with hundreds of Czech gravestone inscriptions. These latter, espe-cially, are visual pointers to the community history, in both the old and the new country, that communicate to us the immigrants' culture, beliefs, and values.[6] Today the most telling story of Texas Czechs is spelled out on



**Fig. 2. Old section of the Dubina Cemetery.
The community was settled in the 1850s.**

tombstones in over sixty cemeteries where they were buried and where they are most vividly present and alive.

When one enters a Texas Czech cemetery, order and peace surround him. Just as in the homeland, the rows of graves are symmetrical and the design maintained. But unlike in the homeland, where the space is cluttered and grave lots reused, the Texas cemetery is an opened space spread over the land and growing by addition rather than substitution. Its visual organization is dictated by the original graves clustered near the church and rows of modern, post-World War II ones further removed. Childrens' graves usually form islands in the middle or to the side, but family burial lots do not occur. The community was the family to the Czech immigrants. Almost all graves have curbing; occasionally the land between them is scraped to prevent grass from growing over. Crosses with Jesus remind visitors of the religious affiliation of most communities. Cemetery stones are richly engraved with religious symbols and often decorated with photographs of the dead (the perennial lamps and candles of the domestic tradition are exceptional), but local habits of decorating the graves with shells, toys, and inverted bottles are rarely adopted.[7] Metal crosses and stone carvings speak of craftsmanship of skilled carvers and metalworkers. Although originally every burial constituted a separate entity, those of the post-World War II era bear, in 99% of instances, the "Father/Mother" gravestones made from granite or marble and decorated by shiny plastic flowers. But the smell of lavender, and the sights of cedar, juniper, and overgrown rose bushes override their anonymity and enhance my memories of Texas cemetery walks.

Despite the unusual setting, cemeteries provide linguists with an ideal environment to study both synchronic variation in language usage and diachronic progression[8] of language change.[9] An advantage of discussing language variation, contact,[10] and change in writing is stability of data, in particular as may be observed in tombstone inscriptions, and availability of several diachronic layers of language showing progressive language contact. I can observe all that within the territory of a single cemetery, while in vernacular[11] language conversations, one must record data at several speech communities as they reflect different stages in the progression. The disadvantage is that the dynamics of given social situations responsible for particular language production are unrecoverable. Vit Bubenik faced the same dilemma in his related study of gravestone inscriptions documenting language contact of Greek koine with local

dialects in ancient Greece and asserted that writing and speech occupy parallel positions: "No sociolinguistic study of a dead language would ever be possible without assuming that the function of written language is autonomous ... writing, like speech, refers directly to meaning."[12]

### Scholarly context and contribution

Language contact, shift, and change have been discussed in scholarly literature,[13] but no one has used tombstone inscriptions data as evidence. Robert Janak and Timothy Anderson surveyed Czech Texas cemeteries statistically and geographically, and noted their cultural impact. Terry Jordan published a representative book of various Texas ethnic folk cemeteries in 1982 that included analysis of burial practices, symbols, and epitaphs but omitted Czech cemeteries. Clinton Machann in 1978 and Machann and James Mendl in 1983 accomplished considerable historical and sociological research in Czech Texas, while Scott Baird in 1992 published a linguistic analysis of inscriptions produced by Texas ethnic communities other than Czech.[14] But, so far Czech Texas cemeteries and gravemarkers remain neglected as linguistic and cultural monuments, and linguistic interpretation of Czech tombstone data has not been attempted. I aim to give visibility to the inscriptions as unique written documents that shed light on language contact, shift, and demise. They speak as eloquently as manuscripts, newspapers, or photographs, and provide yet another approach to capturing the history of Texas Czechs. By their very nature, gravemarkers represent cultural, historical, and linguistic monuments.

### Background data

The first Czechs came to Texas in the 1850s. Most of them arrived after the Civil War. Between then and the end of World War Two, they inhabited the black land triangle between Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio, where they lived on scattered farms centered around churches. They established themselves as a distinct ethnic group and formed socially, culturally, and linguistically self-contained communities that survived for an unusually extensive time period. The communities were structured around social networks that underlay Czech community life at home as well – church, school, newspaper publishing, and various organizations such as theater groups, music bands, and reading clubs. These networks were cultivated as long as the communities prospered. Maintenance of the

mother language was the policy of church, school, and newspapers until the 1940s. The Czechs were the fourth largest ethnic population in Texas after the Anglos, Spanish, and Germans. Today, the population of "Czech extraction" in Texas has been estimated at approximately 700,000 and represents the largest Slavic ethnic community in the southern United States.[15] After the Second World War, restructuring of Texas farming led to collapse of the traditional Czech family farm.

Tombstone inscriptions display both homogeneity of the Texas Czech community and individual speakers' heterogeneity. Homogeneity of the Texas Czech community was determined by common economic and professional background, literacy, religiosity, shared geographic and dialectal origin, and historical and cultural endowment. The Czech communities were organized as focused,[16] in-group communities that separated themselves from their German neighbors and considered the American world as the world on the outside with which they retained contact for practical business purposes. At the same time, the communities were made up of immigrants who came from villages characterized by slightly different dialects, attended school for varied numbers of years, and participated to a different degree in newspaper reading, ethnic organizations, and cultural activities such as music bands or amateur theater performances. Also, they maintained various extents of contact with the American world due to their age, gender, social/community status, interests, and aspirations.

### Chronology of Tombstone Inscriptions

One would search in vain for graves of the very first Czech pioneers. Many died in hospitals as soon as they reached the Texas shore. Others died in the gruesome travel from Galveston due to exhaustion and exposure to weather, and were buried along the way. Their primitive grave-markers – wooden crosses or upright flat stones – have since rotted or collapsed. The first marked graves with inscriptions appear in cemeteries established along with the first communities in the 1860s. Even there, descendants often have replaced simple hand fashioned and inscribed gravestones with modern ones.

The chronology of change in language, as gleaned from tombstones, captures basic stages in the community acculturation. This periodization resonates with the social history of the community. The language of tombstone inscriptions can be condensed into clusters of features mirroring the

Figs. 3a, 3b, 3c. Illustrations – left to right – of the three periods in Texas Czech tombstone inscriptions (see Table 1).

movement from language variation to language shift. The clusters also reflect spatial and chronological distribution of gravestones within a cemetery. Table 1 (see also Figs. 3a-3c) represents a generalized summary reflecting essential tendencies in the language movement, gravestone material, and decoration:

**Table 1**

| 1860-WWI: SEPARATION | WWI-WWII: CONTACT | WWII-Present: SHIFT |
|---|---|---|
| • dialect-standard shifting | • language contact<br>• reduction in quantity,<br>• variation, and styles<br>• use of set phrases | • language shift<br><br>• attrition of Czech in<br>orthography, morph- |
| • detailed, personal,<br>colorful inscriptions | • convergence<br>• lexical borrowings<br>• code-switching | ology, and semantics<br><br>• Czech in disparate signs |

The inscriptions show a breakdown into three stages with rather fluid boundaries: the initial pre-1900 period, a transitional language contact stage, and an open-ended language attrition and shift stage that began after the Second World War. The initial stage is characterized by variation between the standard and dialect, i.e. usage of both varieties and switching between them depending on writers' intentions and language skills. The transitional stage is defined by writing in Texas Czech vernacular, i.e. colloquial everyday variety of Czech that incorporates certain elements of English. The final stage spells out the collapse of grammatical and lexical rules of Czech and a shift to inscribing tombstones in English. The stylistic and lexical range of language used to inscribe tombstones shows a considerable variation within the limits of a single cemetery. A certain epitaph may be used only once in the whole cemetery while others may recur; a single Czech greeting may be spelled in several different ways; first names may be written in Czech as well as in English within a single year. Initially, individual tombstone inscriptions varied unpredictably in semantics, grammar, spelling, and lexicon, and they truly represented interesting texts. Imprints of individual authors and traces of their identities became muddled in some cases as I walked into the 20th century: it was clear that the leap into English was made earlier by some individuals in response to opportunities, needs, and aspirations, and that language choices were quite idiosyncratic. Questions about choices that have to do

with authorship and individual practices of language retention remained unanswered. Language was stretching across considerable space and chronological boundaries of several generations. In crossing them, I saw a folk graveyard culture of distinctive inscriptions and visual images transformed into a homogenized cemetery. After World War Two, the stylistic and lexical range was streamlined and reduced to a few patterns that recurred throughout Czech cemeteries all across central Texas. Early variation between the dialect and the standard literary variety, i.e. the vernacular and formal writing, was gradually replaced during the transitional stage by variation that resulted from language contact of Czech and English.

While the contact with English was gradually more pronounced in the immigrants' writing, Czech, at the same time, stagnated and lost its stylistic flexibility. The inscriptions were progressively authored by speakers whose ability to write in Czech was limited: they spelled it in the same way as they spoke it, i.e. phonetically. Despite this decline, Czech, rather than English, remained the primary language of the Texas Czech community until the Second World War. Afterwards, the immigrant communities became rapidly Americanized due to changes in the outside world. The pressure to change farming methods, and consequently the entire mode of life, led to the disintegration of the immigrant community. Other factors contributing to the disintegration were the upward mobility of immigrant descendants that brought them to professional careers in the cities, the invasion of formerly Czech households by English television, and the decline in Czech language teaching in the schools.

The cultural and linguistic adaptation of the Czech community to the American world is uniquely reflected in writing on tombstones (see Fig. 4). After World War Two, tombstone inscriptions began to document acculturation of monolingual Czech individuals who lived in communities in which Czech and English were used in different domains and complementary functions. As time progressed, English took over and pushed Czech into the functional periphery of the domestic family language. When Czech communities were stripped of natural economic and cultural infrastructure that provided the framework for active daily language community usage and consequently could be no longer self-sustaining, they were abandoned but continued to survive as social if not physical entities. As such, they provide Texas Czechs even today with social networks in which they come together for religious or ethnic holidays. When

Fig. 4.  Juxtaposition of an old and a recent tombstone.

English took over in written usage in the post World War Two period, traces of Czech began to be used to symbolize the deceased's identity and survived in the inscriptions throughout the post World War Two period.[17] When English became the primary language of tombstone inscriptions, it already functioned as the primary language of Texas Czech community contacts with local and state administration, school, trade, and business. But Czech ethnicity has lived on and manifested itself in various aspects until today.

### Tombstone Inscriptions as a Particular Form of Writing

Language variation defines language and marks even writing in stone. But the extent of linguistic variation and vernacular features in Texas Czech inscriptions are unmatched in domestic Czech tombstone inscriptions, which are much more standardized, as one would expect, due to gravestone public display, permanency, and gravity of subject matter. This permanency of time and place endows the language of tombstone writing with certain qualities that defy time. Terry Jordan in 1982 notes that Texas Czech cemeteries maintained the appearance of sanctified loci, unlike some southern folk cemeteries.[18] The Catholic or Brethren church, with its adjacent cemetery, defined the Czech community geographically and culturally. Despite the sanctity of these territories, which one associates with highly codified language varieties, it is the vernacular, often used in variation with the standard, that typifies the Texas Czech gravestone inscription in all cemeteries.

Early tombstone inscriptions appear closer to spoken usage than other written texts and read as personal notes of the bereaved to the deceased. Some of the inscriptions seem more like notes written on a scrap of paper than engraved in stone. In 1927, the parents of three year old Delfina engraved the following message onto her gravestone in Czech: "Rest always sweetly and in peace Your father and mother always remember you" (*Otpočivej vždi slatce a v pokoji Otec a matka natě vždi spominaji).* The inscription contains many obvious grammatical mistakes and misspellings. Tombstone inscriptions were typically written at a time of heightened or uncontrolled emotions. Death far away from one's homeland, in particular, could be particularly emotional for the bereaved family members, which then got transferred to the informality in their writing. Living in the relative isolation of a farm and in contact with a foreign language certainly added to the emotional intensity of linguistic expression.

Fig. 5. 1912 marker for Karolina Dornak captures death of a
young wife with the following inscription in an
informal language variety with phonetic spellings:
*"Sleep sweetly my dear wife and our darling*
*Have peace at your grave and think of us in the kingdom of stars*
*Be with the Lord God my sweet darling*
*Good-bye until we meet where nothing will ever separate us*
*Let the heavenly Lord give you rest"*

Emotional, unpredictable, and personal language is particularly touching on tombstones for departed babies and young wives (e.g., Fig. 5). Reasons for informality, lack of formulaic and standardized expression, and the emotionality of tombstone texts in emigration, must, however, be sought also in the limited availability of printed models other than Bibles as well as of active users of the formal language variety, i.e. Standard Czech. Despite the overall literacy of the Czech immigrants, only priests, ministers, teachers, and editors used Standard Czech actively in writing.

### Semantics of Tombstone Inscriptions

The setting, topic, and also, to a certain degree, the style of tombstone inscriptions are dictated by the nature of cemetery writing. The overall range of semantic information included in tombstone writing is predictable and typically includes the following semantic elements: an opening formula (of the type *Odpočívej v pokoji*, "Rest in peace," or *Zde odpočívá*, "Here rests"), first and last names, possibly maiden name, dates, kinship, places of birth and death, cause of death, an epitaph, biblical verse or personal greeting, reference to the deceased that includes a phrase expressing the grief of the bereaved, and decorative religious symbols.[19] An inscription may mention the cause of death as a car accident, a fatal illness, or even murder, but rarely denotes the deceased's occupation due to the shared farming occupation and social setting. Aside from priests and ministers, I found only one other occupation noted – that of a well digger.

The amount of data included within the individual entries is idiosyncratic. The only universal feature of tombstone writing appears to be reference to the deceased by a name or kinship term. Most tombstones are dated, and the date of death is more common than that of birth. Many tombstones include rich kinship terminology and information about the place of birth and death. But the place of birth is more commonly noted for the deceased immigrants born in Europe than those born in Texas, and occurs more often than the place of death.

The old, pre-1900 inscriptions typically include an opening phrase, names, kinship, dates, places of birth and death, and an epitaph or biblical verse, plus occasionally cause of death and reference to the bereaved family. The data are entered in this order but there is no prescribed manner of entering the individual semantic data and inscriptions vary considerably, in particular in their opening formulae, kinship, closing epitaphs, greetings, poems, and verses. The semantic range is rarely reduced
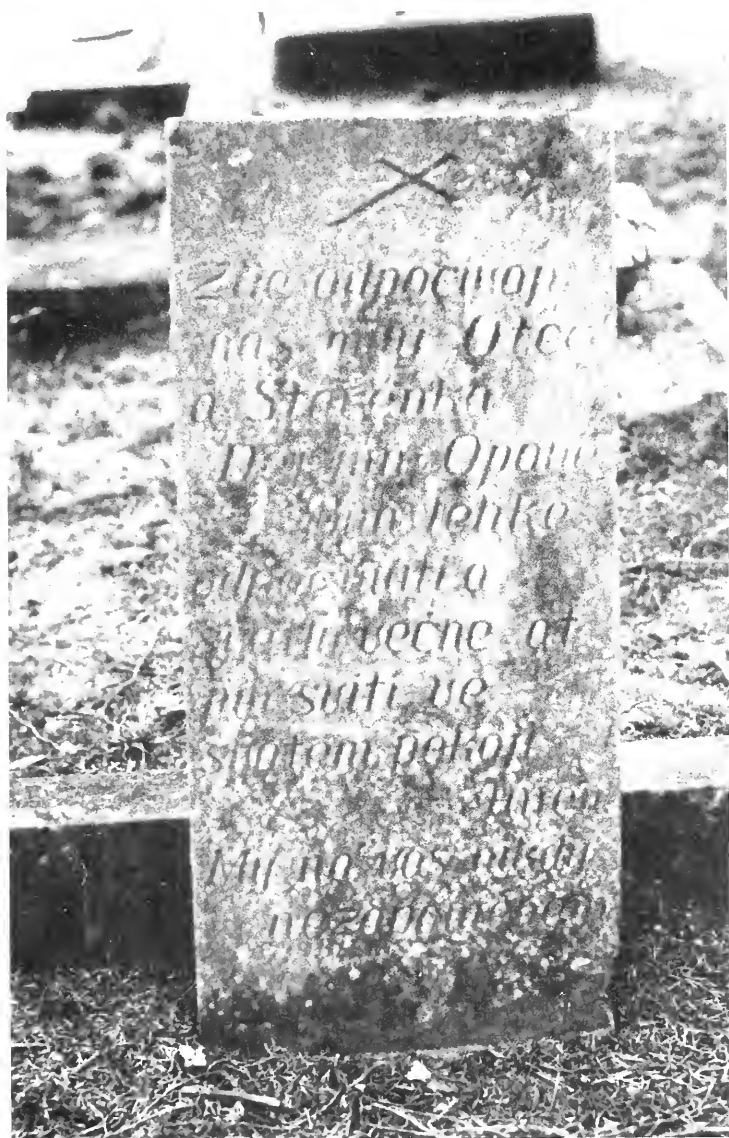
Fig. 6.  Dialect of the inscription and kinship terms ("father and
grandmother") are key to the identity of the departed. But the writing
itself contains no names, dates, or geographical reference:
"*Here rest our dear Father and Grandmother Lord give them easy rest and
eternal light let shines for them in holy peace. We will never forget you*"

beyond names, dates, and some sort of closing formula, but none of the semantic data are obligatory and I found inscriptions omitting even names of the deceased and death dates (e.g., Fig. 6). Authors of the earliest inscriptions tended to record the homeland roots, i.e. the data of birth and place of origin, with obsessive precision; they often included also the age of the bereaved to the last month and day, as well as the length of time spent in America. In contrast to the detail and creativity of early inscriptions, modern ones of the post-Second World War period rarely include geographical data, references to the bereaved family, or elaborate verses, and the range of phrases used within opening formulae, kinship, and epitaphs is minimal and predictable.

Kinship terminology is varied (see Fig. 7). Relatives and acquaintances are labeled not only as "father/mother" but also as "parents, sisters,



Fig. 7. Kinship and place reference:
"Sister Anna Chaloupka Wife, Mother and Grandmother
Born in Čermna in Bohemia in Europe
Died in Houston, Texas"

twins, little daughter, little angel, our beloved father and old mom, little baby, triplets, Mrs." and "bachelor" (*stařičci/rodiče, sestri, blyženci, dcerka, andělíček, náš mily otec a stařenka, nemluvňátko, trojčátka, Pani* and *Mladenec*). The kinship reference can be quite simple and to the point ("Here rest H.Č. and her daughter…" *Zde odpočivaji Hedvika Čundova a její dcera Johana Svrčula*), or rather detailed ("wife of J.M. Jozefa daughter of J.H." *manželka Jana Mořkovskeho Jozefa cera Jana Huňky*, "Here rests in the Lord deceased baby daughter of Joe and Fr. Š." *Zde odpočiva v Panu zesnule nemluvňatko dcera Joe a Františky Šimara*, "Our dear brother, husband, father and grand-father F.C." *Náš milý bratr, manžel, otec a dědeček František Chaloupka 1927*). Kinship terms may be used at the exclusion of names ("Here rest our dear father and grandmother" *Zde odpočivá náš mily otec a stařenka*). When no kinship is given, the name may be introduced by the generic term Mr./Mrs. (*Pan/Pani Kutač*), which reflects how adults were addressed in the community. On childrens' graves first names often appear in diminutive forms as *Mařenka, Adolfek*. References of parents to their deceased babies are gentle and moving: "a little baby daughter of Joe and… 1897" (*nemluvňátko dcera Joe a Františky Šimara*); "Here rest little triplets of… sleep sweetly together" (*Zde odpočivaji trojčátka, K.T. Šimary (1897) spěte sladce pospolu*); "Here rests little M. little daughter of M.D. Sleep sweetly little angel" (*Zde odpočivá Marijanka dcerka Martina Dobiaše Andělíčku spi sladce*); "V. is entered here into the angelic womb, little sister and child of F. and A. C." (*Zde jest uležene v lune anjelske Vlastenka Sestřička a ditko Františka a Anny Chaloupka*).

References to the place of origin (e.g., Fig. 7) tend to be precise and elaborate: ("Born in the old country in Krezanov near by Velka Mezric in Moravia" *(Roz. ve stare vlasti. v Křežanově u Velké Mezřice na Moravě)*; "Born in Hostalkov under Hostyn in Moravia"(*narozen v Hoštalkove pod Hostynem na Morave*); "in Horni Tresnovec, Lanskroun district, Bohemia, Europe" (*v Horním Třešnovci, okres Lanškroun, Čechy, Evropa*). A cause of death or fatal illness is noted occasionally – "he died as a consequence of a car accident near C., Tx" (*zemřel následkem automobilové nehody nedaleko Cameron, Texas*); "she died after a long illness full of suffering"(*zemřela po dlouhe utrapne nemoci*) – or even rendered by juxtaposition of birth and death as "born …" vs. "murdered …".

Inscriptions are concluded by greetings expressing grief of the bereaved ("we will never forget you" *nikdy na tebe nezapomenem*; "you died but live in our memory" *Zemřel jsi - ale ne z pameti naši*), and may take

Fig. 8. This gravestone displays voluminous writing.
The 1903 inscription contains references to the places of
birth and death, personal greetings, and standard epitaphs.

the form of a complex subordinate sentence ("The immense pain that your departure caused us we will conquer by hope that we will meet again" *Bol veliky ktery nam tvuj odchod spusobil musíme mírnit naději že se opět shledame*, or "Departed but not forgotten. Let the earth be light for you. Good-bye" *Odejdený ale nezapomenutý bud' tobě lehká táto země nashledaní*). An inscription under a lamb relief decorating a gravestone for a six month old boy reads "Have a good time, good-bye our little angel" (*Měj se dobře, nashledanu andělku naš*); another one to a departed husband says "I wish you eternal happiness Your wife" (*Přeju ti věčnou radost Tvoje manželka*). Among the less frequently entered data are references to the specific authorship of the bereaved, such as grieving parents or spouse: "In memory built by R.Z., grieving wife with children 1888" (*Na pamatku postavila Rozina Zetik, zarmoucena manželka s ditkami!*); "Grieving parents M. and T. Holub" (*Truchlice rodiče Matej a Terezia Holub*). In 1897, a grieving mother had a tombstone of her child inscribed with "She didn't die but sleeps, said the Lord. We'll see each other up there again. Grieving Mother" (*Nezemřela ale spi. Pravil Pan. Na schledanou tam nahoře. Truchlici Matka*). Another one in 1905 wrote "This monument was given by her mommy in dear memory" (*K milé památce věnovala tento pomník její Maminka*).

As the inscriptional language progressed from the informal vernacular of the initial period to the standardized, formal, and predictable language formulae of the post-Second World War period, variation in semantic data decreased. The initial richness of content, detailed data, language variation and creativity of message (e.g., Fig. 8) receded to formulaic, sketchy and abbreviated basic information on names, kinship, dates, and epitaphs expressed through a few phrases. The progression from informal to formal was also affected by gravestone material. Initial variation in quality, size, and shape of soft gravestones that coalesced with its creative decoration (that might have included religious symbols of the Protestant chalice, Catholic cross with Jesus, crown, grasped hands, flowers, cut down sheaf of wheat, an open book, a fading blossom, lamb, or photographs of the deceased), imaginative text layout, and varied type of lettering was replaced by a standardized marble tombstone with predefined size, shape, lettering, and inscription arrangement. The movement from informality to formality, particularly in inscriptions engraved in hard expensive gravestones, was dictated not only by fashion, but also by financial restrictions and hardness of the stone that made engraving diffi-

Figs. 9a, 9b, 9c.  The *Jan/Veronika Kocian* 1911/1934 inscription
(Fig. 9a, top) shows reduction in semantic content: the older
inscription about the deceased father indicates place of origin
and time/place of emigration; a quarter of a century later, the
deceased wife is described through a few impersonal formulae.
A small unassuming marker (Fig. 9b, center) containing names,
birth and death dates of four children of the *Bíly* family looks
more like a catalogue entry than a tombstone text: the writing is
crowded and leaves no room for an additional name.
The post-WWII tombstone (Fig. 9c, bottom) for Father and
Mother Bíly contrasts with the preceding gravestone of the
Bíly children in most of the features shown in Table 2.

cult and expensive, and shifted the labor by necessity to the hands of a professional engraver.

The profuse language of some early tombstones sharply contrasts with the schematic and abbreviated language of post-World War Two inscriptions (see Figs. 9a-9c). The sheer volume of writing communicating an original message is replaced by a formulaic message reduced to bare essentials. The range of semantic data remains basically unaltered. But in early inscriptions it is enhanced by rich colorful language, while it is rudimentary in the late ones. The goal of the early inscriptions was to explain and elaborate for posterity, but the goal of the modern ones is to keep a record of names and dates. Language usage at its best gave way to record keeping. This linguistic and esthetic transition over time is also a vehement statement about radical change in social and cultural values. Table 2 compares pre-WWII and post-WWII tombstone production according to a set of cultural parameters:

## Table 2.  Tombstone Prototypes

|  | Pre-WWII | Post-WWII |
|---|---|---|
| Semantic data | varied in all categories | reduced to: |
|  | **name** |  |
|  | introductory phrases | *Zde odpocivaji* 'Here rest' |
|  | kinship terms | *Otec/Matka* 'Father/Mother' |
|  | **birth and death dates** |  |
|  | place of birth and death |  |
|  | biblical verses |  |
|  | personal greetings |  |
|  | epitaphs | an epitaph |
| Production | domestic and creative | commercial (since WW1) |
| Material | soft stone, metal, wood | granite, marble |
| Aesthetics | diversified religious symbolism |  |
|  | (chalice, crown, crossed arms, cut down wheat stalks, |  |
|  | fading blossom, lamb, opened book, photographs, etc.) |  |
|  | many models of design | basic prototypes |
| Text lay-out | varied | basic prototypes |

SURNAME
MOTHER       FATHER
birth date      birth date
death date     death date
*Odpočivejte v pokoji* 'Rest in peace'

## Language Contact: Texas Czech Vernacular

Language usage in Texas Czech communities naturally reflected contacts of immigrants with the American world and social changes, which in turn found their way into Texas Czechs' writing. While contacts with the English speaking world and the English language itself were steadily increasing as time went on, contacts with the immigrant homeland decreased. Immigration into Texas dramatically declined after the declaration of Czechoslovakia's independence in 1918 and the imposition of American immigration quotas in 1921, when Congress passed an act limiting the number of new immigrant arrivals, aimed especially at those from southern and eastern Europe.[20] However, Texas Czech communities formed stable rather than transitory structures until World War Two even though their homeland lifeline was severed and social and language contacts with the American world diversified. They enjoyed a full-fledged existence supported and rejuvenated from within by their members rather than surviving on the periphery.

As a result of English language contact, the language of the immigrant community turned into Texas Czech vernacular characterized by Czech and Moravian dialects mixed with anglicisms in spelling, grammar, and lexicon. Writers of the Texas Czech vernacular typically struggled with Czech orthography, converged to English in certain grammatical and lexical constructions, and used English borrowings. Tombstone inscriptions document various forms of language contact and present evidence for sequential steps taking place in language loss. Some of the monolingual inscriptions include no hint of English contact. Some tombstones show obvious English language influences reflecting a patterned, increasing English usage. In tombstone writing, Czech-English language contact is manifested through English lexical borrowings, convergence to English in certain grammatical patterns, code-switching, language attrition, and eventual language shift.[21] But form and extent of language contact are individual, creative, and unpredictable.

## Convergence

As my inscriptions show, first manifestations of English language contact in Czech take various forms of convergence when Czech grammatical patterns are modified according to English ones. Convergence represents the most frequent linguistic form of Czech-English contact characteristic of the stable period preceding the Second World War. Czech usage

confirms a finding by Carol Myers-Scotton that, "… Most cases of convergence come from communities where there is especially high sentiment to maintaining a language, or speakers are very numerous, even in the face of another language as more sociolinguistically dominant … In immigrant communities where immigrant language use is consistently and programmatically supported by speakers …"[22] Through convergence the speakers acknowledge the outside world; they adopt patterns intertwined with the American reality of their daily lives. In English, they have to claim their names, places of origin, community relations, and birth dates. While words or word segments in inscription phrases come from Czech they are rearranged because English grammatical patterns are projected onto them (for instance, birth place is given fully in Czech, but without a case marker, as in *narozen v Hostyn, Texas* – "born in H.,T."). Impact of convergence to English grammatical patterns is obvious and significant in Czech. Unlike English, Czech is an inflective language that



Fig. 10. In the *Gajer* 1937 tombstone the English contact is indicated in the name *Jim* and the use of the father's full name to denote the couple: *Ditko manželu Jim Gajer 29 červ'ce 1937* 'Child of Mr. and Mrs. Jim Gajer'.

indicates grammatical relations through various suffixes expressing grammatical number, gender, case, etc. Convergence to English affects the very structure of Czech that then ceases to express these relations by means of suffixes. A characteristic example of converging to an English pattern that is foreign to Czech is the phrase *Ditko manželu Jim Gajer* – "child of Mr. and Mrs. Jim Gajer" – where *Jim Gajer* is the father's name (rather than that of the deceased child) but is used to denote the entire couple, child, or wife through the husband (Fig. 10). Convergence to English produces last names that are oblique to gender (*Mařenka Mikuda* lacks the *–ova* feminine gender marker), modifies dates (*Ledna 19, 1901*) and gives places of origin without characteristically Czech prepositions and suffixes (*narozen Morava, Europa* – "born Moravia, Europe"). As part of convergence to English, Czechs also give up diacritics in name writing. Finally, a visually striking example of cultural convergence to English is the adoption of the English textual layout and cultural conventions of inscription arrangement. In Table 3 the Czech patterns are contrasted with the English ones towards which Czech converges:

### Table 3. Convergence Patterns (see also Figs. 11-14)

|            | Czech Pattern | English Pattern |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Names      | *Františka*-fem *Kořenk*ová-fem. | Frances Korenek |
| Dates      | *30. března*-gen. *1911* | March 30, 1911 |
| Placenames | *narozena* v *Hostýně na Moravě* | in Hostyn, Morava |
|            | fem. sg. 'at' H.-loc. 'at' M.-loc. | |
| Kinship    | *ditko Jana a Anny Kuběn*ových | child of John and Anna Kuběna/ |
|            | gen. gen. gen. pl. | child of Mr. and Mrs. John Kuběna |
|            | *manžel*ka-fem. *Jana*-gen. *Dostalik*a-gen. | wife of John Dostalik |
|            | *památce*-dat. *Jarolima*-gen. *Adamčik*a-gen. | in memory of Jar. Adamčik |
|            | *Karel Orsak se svý*mi *ditk*ami *Ann*ou a *Jan*ou | Karel Orsak and his children A. and J. |
|            | 'with' instr. pl. instr. sg. | |
| Outcomes   | declensional reduction in case, gender and number marking | |
|            | reduction in diacritics | |

### Names

| Masc: | Czech | *Josef Šťastný* | | |
|-------|-------|-----------------|---|---|
|       | Anglicized as | *Joseph Stastny* | diacritics omission | *f>ph* |
|       |       | *Joseph Stasny/l* | consonant cluster simplification | *stn>sn* |
|       |       | *Joseph Stasney* | English spelling of the ending | *y>ey* |
| Fem:  | Czech | *Anna Kořenková rozená Vyvjalová* | | |
|       | Anglicized as | *Anna Korenek rozená Vyvjala* | diacritics omission | |
|       |       | | neutralization of gender | |

**Dates**
Czech               *17_ledna-gen. 1903* 'January 17, 1903'
**Anglicized** as    *17 Ledna 1903 ~ Ledna 17, 1903*   punctuation and capitalization
**Post-WW2 usage** *Ledena 17, 1903 leden* is not modified when gen ending is added
                    *Leden*-nom *17, 1903*

**Placenames**
Czech               *narozen v Hrab̲ů̲vce̲*-prep. *n̲a̲ Moravě̲*-prep. 'born in Hrabuvka, Moravia'
**Anglicized** as *narozen v Hrabuvka*-nom. *na Moravě*-prep.
                                            shift from prepositional to nominative
                    *narozen v Hrabuvka*-nom., *Morava*-nom.         diacritics omission

## Kinship

A significant result of convergence to English grammatical patterns is declensional reduction. It occurs in the placename phrase, as illustrated above, and also in the use of gender-neutral last names; when they stand in case-marked slots of kinship phrases, they are typically used without the Czech case marker (i.e., *Marie dcera Joe a A. Kutač*-nom; *Rozalia Štef̲ek̲*-nom *manželka to Jana*-gen *Štefek*-nom *rozena co Rozalia Peterova*-fem). But most frequently the usage is mixed; it shows variation in usage of Czech and English morphological marking, which is characteristic of the process of convergence towards English:

Czech               *Františ̲ka Baletk̲ová̲, manželka Jan̲a̲ Baletk̲y̲* 'F.B., wife of J.B.'
**Anglicized** as    1. *Františka Baletka*-masc, *manželka Jana*-gen *Baletka*-nom
                     2. *Františka Baletka*-masc, *manželka **Jan**-nom Baletka*-nom
                     3. ***Frances** Baletka*-masc, *manželka **John** Baletka*-nom

At this stage, the process of declensional reduction and gender neutralization is limited to the listed patterns. But it culminates in the misassignment of declensional endings marking case and gender or their total omission during the post-World War Two period of language shift and attrition. Interestingly, Vit Bubenik encountered phenomena comparable to those outlined under convergence in his research of Greek tombstone inscriptions as well. He noted that texts written by untrained private writers reveal a considerable variation in graphemic competence and bilingual interference phenomena. The most common ones are the failure to maintain naming and dating conventions and to decline nouns, as well as various irregularities in case and number.[23]

Fig. 11. The shift to English pattern reflects the change that happened within one's lifetime. The 1909 *Emilie Kresta Rozena Ježíškova* tombstone has the feminine last name in the English gender-neutral form *Kresta* (spelled without diacritics), but both the gender marker *–ova* and diacritics are retained in the maiden name *Ježíškova* (introduced by *Rozena* "born as").

Fig. 12. The 1916 Lednicky inscription illustrates the Czech pattern with
periods following days (5.) and small initial letter of months (brěz.).

## Inscription Layout

Adoption of English inscription arrangement in parallel text in columns with names, dates, kinship, and epitaphs relevant to deceased parents represents cultural convergence to English, which initially does not affect the language per se. When used in pre-war inscriptions, this layout is filled with Czech language content, but in the post-war period it is with English (see Figs. 15 and 16).

## Borrowings and Code-switching

Another manifestation of contact between Czech and English is borrowing, implying inclusion of English lexical items, and code-switching, implying switching the languages in contact on and off. One of the languages in contact is primary and items of the secondary one are embedded within. Early on, the Czech-English contact took the form of disparate, isolated, and incongruous English lexical items appearing in Czech texts in the form of set phrases such as *Rest in Peace*, *Born*, *Died*, etc. (see Fig. 17).[24] At a later time, pre-cut gravestones were purchased with



Fig. 13. The 1946 and 1949 Horcica tombstones illustrate the shift from Czech word order and case usage (on the left; zemřel 26 SRPENA, spelled with mistakes) to the English pattern (on the right; LEDEN 23, 1946).

Fig. 14. The place of origin is indicated without prepositions
and case endings as *Narozena* ("born") *Morava, Frenštát,*
according to the English pattern.

English opening phrases such as *Come ye Blessed* or *R.I.P.* already engraved.

Code-switching is relevant in my analysis to those inscriptions in which English encodes different semantic data than Czech within a single tombstone. Such inscriptions are "bilingual" in the sense that certain phrases appear in Czech but others in English, rather than English occurring in isolated lexical borrowings. English may appear in the epitaph on a tombstone written in all other respects in Czech; or Czech may be used in names but all other data encoded in English. The English items that appear in the Czech inscriptions are not adapted grammatically to Czech. For instance, in the inscription *Jiřinka Kolodejcak 1919* Czech month names in dates are introduced by English borrowings *Born* and *Died* and follow the English word order pattern.



Fig. 15.  Traditional Czech inscription layout (*Rodina Škopova*).

**Language Shift: World War II Break in the Language and Community**

Following World War II, focused and self-sufficient Texas Czech communities opened to the world. This literally happened through modernization of the Texas countryside, which included building new roads interconnecting individual settlements. Travel to town became easy, and use of English in town was mandated. Leaving family and going to the city to school or job was typical after the war, as Texas Czech descendants have emphasized in interviews. Changes in society led to restructuring of social networks and the linguistic needs of Texas Czech community members. Czech as the language of family, farm, and community was replaced by English as the language of the city with its new needs and opportunities. For almost a century, Texas Czech communities displayed a tendency to maintain a distinction between 'us' and 'them' and behave as a focused community, which is a sign that language shift was not in progress.[25] But at the same time, language contact prepared the ground for the ensuing language shift. [26]

Language contact phenomena in tombstone writing of that time indicate gradual language attrition and a shift toward English (see Figs. 18a



**Fig. 16.  English inscription layout (*Kovařik*).**

Fig. 17. In the 1924 *Neskořik* gravestone Czech names and dates combine with the English abbreviation *R.I.P.* The inscription opens with Czech *Večne světlo Ježíš Kristus*: "Eternal life Jesus Christ".

Figs. 18a, 18b.  These markers capture the shift from Czech to English in the spelling of the last names. The *Fajkus* (Fig. 18a, top) and *Faykus* (Fig. 18b, bottom) tombstones are almost identical in the shape and type of the stone, but placed thirty years apart. Fig. 18a also displays code-switching. All vocabulary is Czech, but the phrase indicating the father's birthplace is inserted above his birth date in English (*Born in Kozlovic, Morava*) and lacks the correct case suffix. The 1996 inscription shows a full shift to English.

and 18b). But the World War Two break did not separate tombstone inscriptions neatly into Czech ones prior to Second World War and English ones thereafter. Czech was commonly used in many 1960 inscriptions, while at the same time English had begun to undermine Czech as the primary language already in several 1930 inscriptions. Czech could not retain its full range of functions and was reduced to formulaic expressions and a repertoire of set phrases.[27] Language shift involved both deterioration in skills on the part of the speakers and a loss of grammatical complexity in the dialect. The characteristic feature of linguistic attrition and shift is the formulaic and predictable writing, which contrasts with creative writing prior to the shift. Writers of the primarily post World War Two period stopped inflecting nouns and verbs and using diacritics. Their inscriptions include no diminutive forms, terms of endearment, or interesting references; names of months are abbreviated, and the range of kinship terms and epitaphs is reduced to *otec/matka* and *Odpočivejte v pokoji*. English eventually became the primary language of the standardized



Fig. 19. The 1963 Sebesta tombstone includes a standard
Czech epitaph but written with unusual phonetic spelling.

tombstone text, while Czech began to be used for occasional code-switching that had a symbolic meaning for the deceased's identity.

Characteristic manifestations of Czech attrition are simplifications in Czech spelling according to pronunciation and according to English (rather than Czech) spelling rules. Thus, Czech *Kosa* became *Kossa*, *Sašín* turned into *Sasin*, *Sassin* or *Sassen*; *Petr* began to be spelled as *Peter* or *Petter*, *Bučanek* or *Klimiček* as *Buchanek*, *Klimichek*, and *Fajkus* as *Faykus*.

Other manifestations of Czech attrition are lack of case marking, prepositions in adverbial phrases, and grammatical agreement. Word boundaries are often obliterated and words decomposed. Literal translations of English phrases into Czech result in senseless texts. Copying of isolated Czech words out of context produces incoherent inscriptions, in which phrases are grammatically unadjusted to match the sex and age of the deceased (see Figs. 19 and 20). Table 4 outlines stages in language attrition of Czech spelling, morphology and semantics.[28]
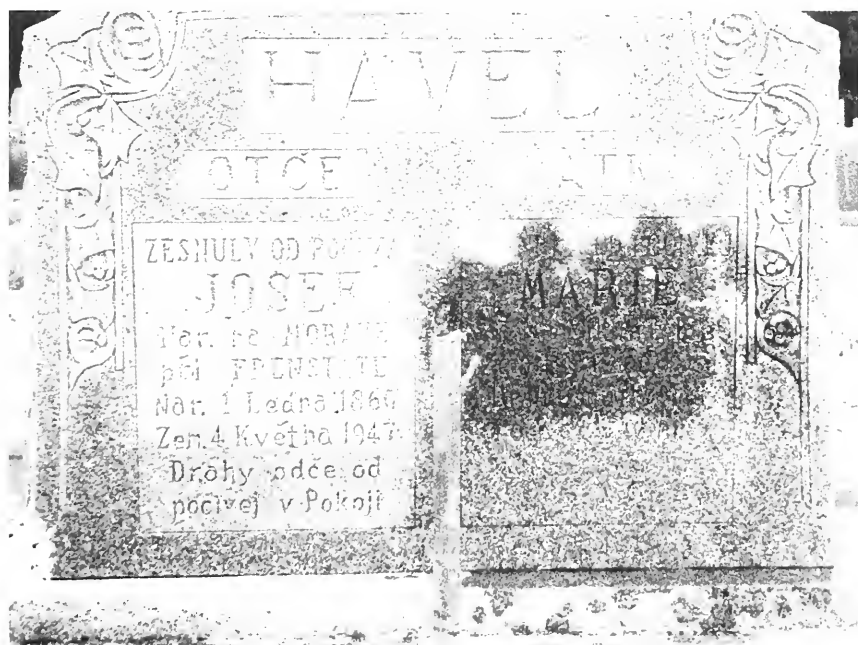


Fig. 20. The 1947 Havel text is introduced by the vocative *Otče* (instead of *Otec*); the Czech spelling has mistakes throughout.

## Table 4.  Language Contact and Attrition Stages

**Orthography**  1. anglicization of first names
2. omission of diacritics
3. anglicization of Czech spelling
4. reintroduction of Czech diacritics identity symbols

**Morphology**  1. use of case-less English placenames in Czech prepositional phrases
2. reduction in use of case and gender markers in proper names
3. breakdown of case, number and gender distinctions, and misuse of grammatical endings in placenames and dates

**Semantics**  1. reduction in semantic data
2. use of semantically inappropriate epitaphs
3. use of incongruous Czech phrases and broken-up sentences

### Shift at the Cemetery

At most Czech community cemeteries Czech remained the primary inscription language until the 1940s. Sample data collected at central Texas Catholic (Ca) and Brethren (Br) cemeteries indicate a majority of Czech inscriptions between the 1870s and 1960s, with English showing strong presence since the 1940s when it also began to replace Czech. At all the cemeteries, English has a clear majority in the 1960s but no cemetery has a majority of inscriptions written in English until the 1940s. Table 5 surveys incidence of Czech language on gravestones from 1860-1970; the first column (A) marks the year with earliest Czech inscriptions; the second column (B) indicates the decade until which Czech inscriptions formed a majority at a given cemetery; and the last column (C) indicates the decade that began the steady growth of English as the inscription language:

## Table 5.

|                | A     | B      | C      |
|----------------|-------|--------|--------|
| Ammansville/Ca | 1889  | 1960s  | 1940s  |
| Bila Hora      | 1883  | 1960s  | 1970s  |
| Breclau/Ca     | 1913  | 1940s  | 1950s  |
| Dubina/Ca      | 1866  | 1940s  | 1930s  |
| Ellinger/Ca    | 1862  | 1920s  | 1930s  |
| Fayetteville/Ca| 1872  | 1970s  | 1930s  |
| Flatonia/Ca    | 1920  | 1920s  | 1920s  |
| Frenstat/Ca    | 1903  | 1930s  | 1910s  |

|                 | A    | B     | C     |
|-----------------|------|-------|-------|
| Hostyn/Ca       | 1866 | 1960s | 1940s |
| High Hill/Ca    | 1866 | 1930s | 1930s |
| Industry/Ca     | 1900 | 1960s | 1940s |
| Industry/Br     | 1880 | 1920s | 1920s |
| Moravia/Ca      | 1913 | 1930s | 1940s |
| Nelsonville/Ca  | 1879 | 1970s | 1920s |
| Novy Tabor/Br   | 1888 | 1930s | 1930s |
| Plum/Ca         | 1909 | 1940s | 1930s |
| Praha/Ca        | 1852 | 1950s | 1940s |
| Ross Prairie/Br | 1875 | 1960s | 1940s |
| Wesley/Br       | 1870 | 1960s | 1940s |

The research of cultural cemetery make-up and maintenance agrees with ethnographic research of Texas Czech communities. When the Czechs first arrived they were isolated, yet they existed in large numbers and were successful enough so that many aspects of their traditional material culture continued to be used. As isolation broke down after the 1940s, the community began to disintegrate in the physical sense and Czech began to disappear from the gravestones. Vernacular culture of the early cemetery became replaced by that of the commercialized graveyard.

## Conclusion

Despite linguistic compromises in grammar and spelling and formulaic staccato language showing attrition, authors of many late tombstone inscriptions insisted on writing in what they understood to be Czech. When I asked Texas Czech descendants why they chose to write in Czech despite their fragmented knowledge of the language, I was given reasons that were private and symbolic: "She [a descendant's mother] liked to speak Czech, and so we had her gravestone inscribed in Czech. We wrote the text on a piece of paper and took it to a shop to have it engraved". Such texts were typically spelled phonetically with lacking or misplaced diacritics that meant little to the text authors and nothing to the engravers, and were standardized in the shop into the formal layout (Fig. 21).

Czech tombstone writing exemplifies the Czech language transition and assimilation to English that happened simultaneously in the community. Overall, the progression of language movement and variation displayed on tombstones, and resonating throughout other primary sources,

can be summarized as follows: initial variation between Standard Czech and dialect led to language variation due to contact of Czech and English that culminated in Czech attrition and a shift to English (see Table 6). Czech tombstone writing thus displays clearly spelled out steps in language change in a language contact situation. Language change is, as Jean Aitchison explains: "... natural, inevitable and continuous, and involves interwoven sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors which cannot easily be disentangled from one another. It is triggered by social factors, but these social factors make use of cracks and gaps in the language structure. In the circumstances, the true direction of a change is not obvious to a superficial observer ... . Whether changes disrupt the language system, or repair it, the most important point is this: it is in no sense wrong for human language to change."[29] Texas Czech tombstone inscriptions display a particularly interesting case of language change and contain invaluable texts.



Fig. 21.  Even in 1990 Czech features can reemerge in English texts. The Czech diacritics are used inconsistently in the text; the female name is spelled in Czech, albeit with reversed letters (*Frnatiška* vs. correct *Františka*).

### Table 6.  Stage in Language Variation and
### Change in Tombstone Inscription

1. Variation between Czech Standard and Dialect
2. Language Contact > Texas Czech Vernacular    Czech Primary Language
           Convergence        in contact with English
           Borrowings
           Code-switching
3. Language Shift        English Primary Language
           Morphological reduction of Czech    Czech Signs of Identity
           Semantic decomposition

Czech tombstone inscriptions are a commentary on the immigrants' aesthetic taste, religious beliefs, and language use.[30] In the words of Texas Czech descendants, gravestones are monuments to immigrants' lives and there is no place one feels more in touch with the immigrants' past than
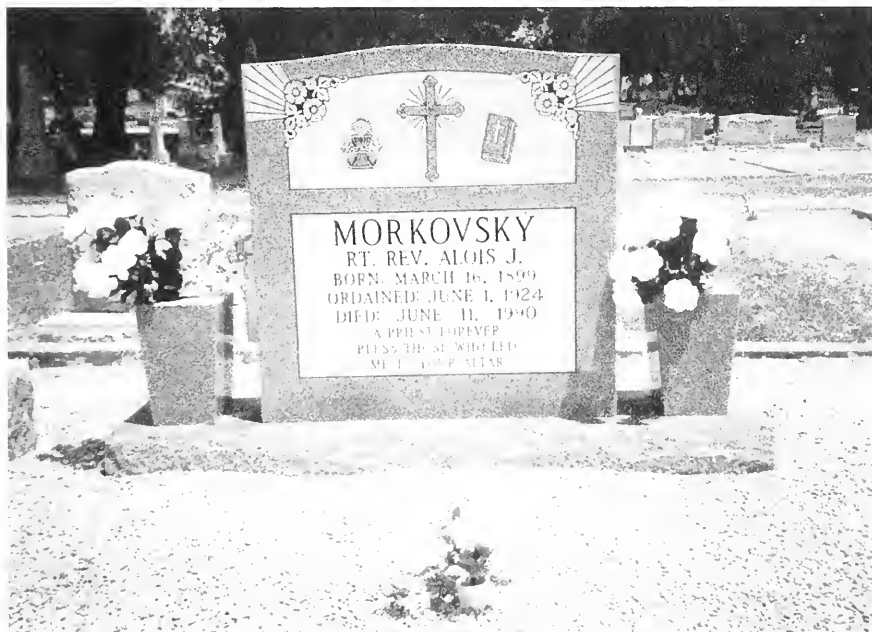


**Fig. 22.  In this 1990 English inscription (commemorating a Czech priest who was well-known in the Texas Czech community), the only distinctly Czech features are the two diacritic marks over the last name of the deceased – MOŘKOVSKÝ.**

in their cemeteries. They are significant components of heritage and portray gradual cultural and linguistic assimilation of an immigrant group. Tombstones and cemeteries are important sites of cultural history that document time. Those who visit them are not in a hurry and sense their aesthetic effect.[31] Texas Czech cemeteries witness the cultural and linguistic homogenization (Fig. 22) that wiped out the rural communities and replaced distinctive decorative and linguistic products of a vernacular tradition with plastic flowers and commercial gravemarkers.

## NOTES

1.  The distinction between Czechs and Moravians has been profusely discussed in scholarly literature: see Kevin Hannan, "Ethnic Identity Among the Czechs and Moravians of Texas," *American Ethnic History* 15:4 (1996): 3-31; Kevin Hannan, "Texas Czech Evolves Over Period of 150 Years," *KJT News* (March, 1992); Clinton Machann and James Mendl, *Krasna Amerika: A Study of Texas Czechs, 1851-1939* (Austin, TX, 1983); and Clinton Machann, *The Czechs in Texas, A Symposium* (College Station, TX, 1978). But in published research the label American Czechs is often indiscriminately applied to both ethnic groups. 80% of the immigrants came to Texas from Moravia. Today both groups are part of the Czech Republic, as they were once part of Czechoslovakia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They share the Czech standard literary language, standardized and codified prior to emigration to Texas in the beginning of the 19th century, but are speakers of several distinct dialects. In major part, they also share their history. I use the label Czech here as a general designation, but the label Moravian in reference to geographical and dialectal features, exclusive of Czech characteristics.

2.  Language change is inevitable. It is an ongoing process that is part of everyday life. Language changes because it is a social phenomenon; it changes along with its speakers and society.

3.  Language variation, just as language change, defines language. It is expressed through language styles and varieties molded by geographical, situational (such as topic and participants in conversation), and social factors (age, sex, education, setting, etc.).

4.  In emigration, in various language enclaves and under other extreme conditions language is not naturally renewed in everyday usage by speakers of all different backgrounds in diverse situations. Consequently, language begins to atrophy and lose its lexical richness and stylistic flexibility, usually within two to four generations. The attrition typically culminates in language shift to the language of the political, cultural, and economic majority and eventually leads to language death. See Jean Aitchison, *Language Change: Progress or Decay?*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge, England, 1991).

5.  The categories represent steps in the process of language change leading to attrition but they also partly overlap. I shall define them later.

6.  Timothy G. Anderson has aptly pointed out that "Cemeteries may be thought of as natural laboratories within which the social scientist may work to gain insight into a group's values, beliefs and social structure... as most graveyards are sanctified places, gravestones are preserved much longer than might be expected with other aspects of material culture": "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East-Central Texas: Material Culture and Ethnicity in Seven Rural Communities," *Material Culture* 25:3 (1993): 1-2.

7.  See Terry Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin, TX, 1982), 17-30.

8.  The dichotomy of synchrony vs. diachrony was first pointed out by Ferdinand de Saussure, who stressed that language must be studied not only as it changes over time, as it was customary at his time, but also within individual chronological layers.

9.  See Scott Baird, "Language Codes in Texas German Graveyards," *Markers* IX (1992): 217-254.

10. Languages naturally enter into mutual contacts that enrich them but may also contribute to language shift and attrition, or even death.

11. Vernacular is "The style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech. Observation of the vernacular gives us the most systematic data for our analysis of linguistic structure": William Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia, PA, 1972), 208 – cited in William Downes, *Language and Society*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, England, 1998), 108.

12. Vit Bubenik, "Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area," *Current Issues in Theoretical Linguistics* 57 (1989): 23.

13. e.g., R.M.W. Dixon, *The Rise and Fall of Language* (New York, NY, 1997); Joshua Fishman, *Language in Sociocultural Change* (Palo Alto, CA, 1972); Susan Gal, *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria* (New York, NY, 1979).

14. Robert Janak, "The Demise of Czech in Texas," *Bulletin of the Texas Foreign Language Association* 9 (1975); Anderson, "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East-Central Texas"; Jordan, *Texas Graveyards*; Machann, *The Czechs in Texas*; Machann and Mendl, *Krasna Amerika*; Baird, "Language Codes in Texas German Graveyards".

15. Hannan, "Ethnic Identity Among the Czechs and Moravians of Texas." The 1990 census, however, identifies 191,754 Texans of Czech ancestry: see 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Texas, Summary Tape File 3A, quoted in Hannan.

16. The Milroys used the term "focused community" in relation to density of speaker and community social networks: see John Milroy and Lesley Milroy, "Change and Variation in an Urban Vernacular," in Peter Trudgill 1978, *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*, ed. Peter Trudgill (London, England, 1978); Lesley Milroy, *Language and Social Networks*. 2nd ed., (Oxford, England, 1987). Machann & Mendl note that "The relatively homogeneous [Czech] Texas population ... had been almost directly transplanted from the rural homeland into Texas farm country ...". See also Joshua Fishman, *Language in*

*Sociocultural Change* (Palo Alto, CA, 1972), and Muriel Saville-Troike, *The Ethnography of Communication* (Oxford, England, 1982).

17.  Peter Trudgill writes: "It is a well-known fact that language can act as an important characteristic of ethnic group membership, and in many communities the link between language and ethnicity is strong, and obvious. It also has to be recognized, however, that a simple equation of ethnic and language group membership is far from adequate…" *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives* (New York, NY, 1983), 127.

18.  Quoted in Andersen, "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East-Central Texas," 33.

19.  Cf. Scott Baird, "The Taylor, Texas, Cemetery: A Language Community," *Markers* XII (1996): 112-141, 127.

20.  See Anderson, "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East-Central Texas," 10; see also Janak, "The Demise of Czech in Texas," 6-7.

21.  See Carol Myers-Scotton, *Dueling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching* (Oxford, England, 1993) and "Code-switching," in *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Florian Coulmas.

22.  *Ibid*.

23.  Bubenik, "Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area," 70-71.

24.  Myers-Scotton differentiates between borrowed lexemes and singularly occurring code-switched items, but admits that motivations for their occurrence are clearly related and that on the surface they show the same patterning of morphosyntactic integration. Borrowed items may be part of the mental lexicon of monolinguals, and as such appear in the speech, while only persons actually bilingual in both languages engage in code-switching. At the same time, the author admits that deciding who is and who is not bilingual is an open-ended question: *Dueling Languages*, 218-219; 193.

25.  Cf. Ralph Fasold, "The Sociolinguistics of Society," *Language in Society* 5, (1984).

26.  According to the U.S. Census, 50,000 "white stock" speakers of Czech lived in Texas in 1920, and 62,680 people whose first language was Czech lived in Texas in 1940. Of these, 12.3% were foreign-born, 42.1% were of native parentage, and 45.6% were of mixed parentage. About 84% of the individuals included in the 1940 figure lived in rural areas: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *16th Census of the U.S.*: 1920 - vol. II, General Report and Analytical Tables, Table 10, 1001, 1940 - Table 2/20 and 2/31.

27.  See Nancy Dorian, *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect* (Philadelphia, PA, 1981); also Dorian, "The Fate of Morphological Complexity in Language Death: Evidence from East Sutherland Gaelic," *Language* 54:3 (1978): 591-609.

28.  Detailed hierarchy of language loss is elaborated in a forthcoming publication by this author entitled "Language Variation, Contact and Shift in Tombstone Inscriptions".

29.   Jean Aitchison, *Language Change: Progress or Decay?*, 210.

30.   Anderson notes that: "The Czech-Catholic graveyard, with the large central crucifix
      watching over it, and with the prevalence of religious motifs, displays more symbolic
      sanctity that the traditional Upper Southern graveyard with its lack of religious sym-
      bolism ... The Czech graveyards and the markers they contain are not fancy or extreme;
      rather, they display the frugality of the Czech farmer-immigrants ... In terms of eth-
      nicity, isolation from Old-stock Americans during the early personal and economic suc-
      cess in farming enabled the Czechs to hold on to much of their traditional culture. The
      old portions of the Czech graveyards display this; and with large European-style
      churches located next to them, one gains a sense of this old culture of which much has
      been lost." "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East-Central Texas," 14-15.

31.   Cf. Olbram Zoubek, "O hřbitovech a náhrobcích" [On cemeteries and gravemarkers],
      *Lidové Noviny* (Nov. 2, 1999), 21.
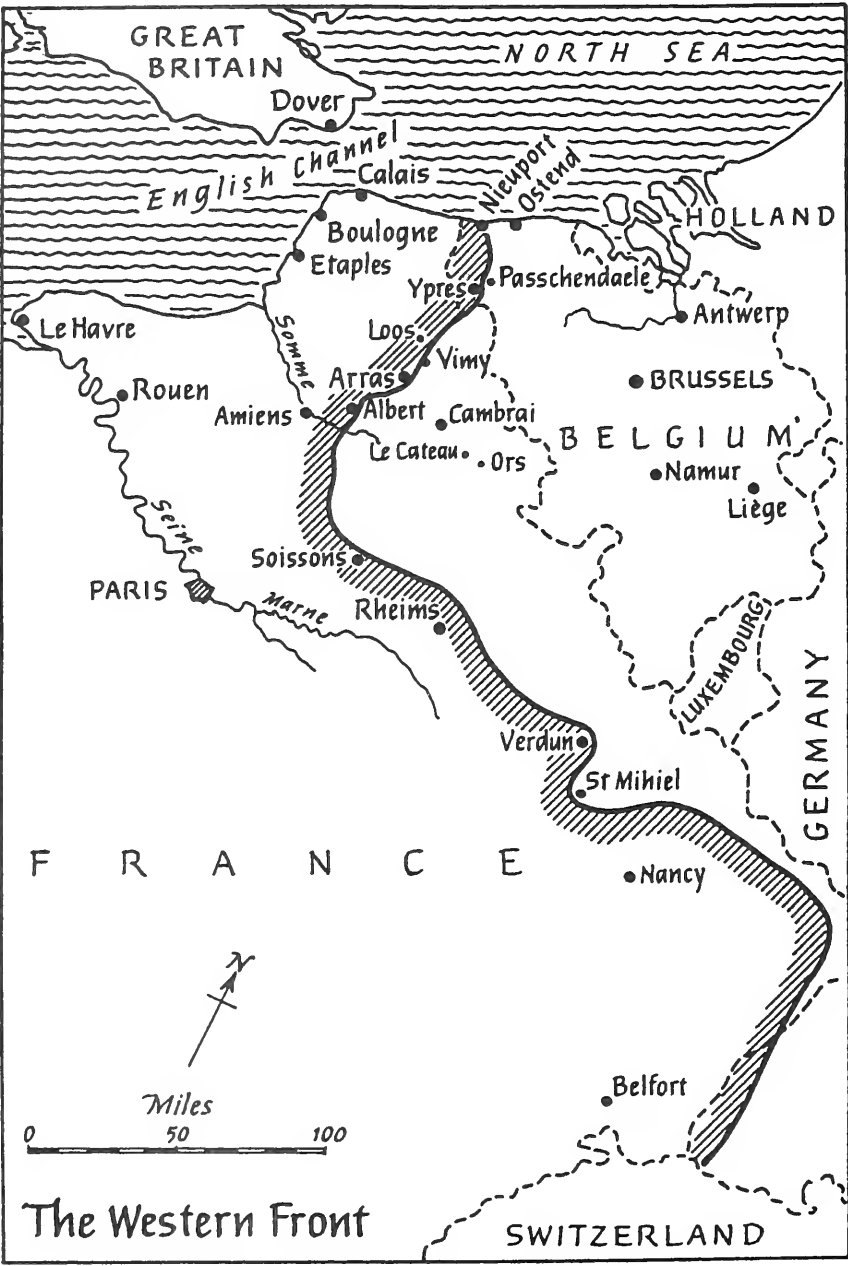
Fig. 1.  The Western Front, 1914-1918.

# STYLISTIC VARIATION IN THE WESTERN FRONT
# BATTLEFIELD CEMETERIES
# OF WORLD WAR I COMBATANT NATIONS

## Richard E. Meyer

They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.
              Lawrence Binyon, "For the Fallen" (1914)[1]

**Introduction**

There is in northern Europe a swath of land – never more than a few miles at its widest points – which stretches from the French/Swiss border, across the Vosges mountains which separate Alsace from Lorraine, thence turning in a generally northwesterly direction through the rich agricultural areas of Lorraine and the valley of the Marne, past the great medieval cathedral cities of Rheims and Amiens, northward into the area known for centuries to both its French and Belgian inhabitants as Flanders, eventually reaching its terminus on the Belgian coastline at the North Sea (Fig. 1). Visitors to this region today are struck by its natural beauty and pastoral serenity: were it not for the constant physical reminders upon the landscape (Fig. 2), it would be difficult to imagine they were standing amidst the largest semi-continuous graveyard in the world. Other objects attest as well to the great collective human tragedy which once occurred here – battlefield monuments and roadside markers (Figs. 3 and 4), municipal war monuments and individual family memorials in community cemeteries (Figs. 5 and 6) – but it is above all the military cemeteries, almost 3,000 of them in total, which serve as focal points in the collective memory of those nations whose young men (and, in some instances, young women) struggled and died here.

World War I, which in its own time was more commonly known as The Great War,[2] was, of course, waged in a number of widely separated geographical locales, but it is the Western Front, described above, which has fixed itself in our imaginations as the very crucible of this devastating conflict, and its place names – Verdun, the Somme, Vimy Ridge, Belleau Wood, Passchendaele, and a host of others – have become a part of the

Fig. 2.  A clustering of First World War Commonwealth
military cemeteries near Warneton, Belgium.

Fig. 3.  38th (Welsh) Division Monument, Mametz Wood,
near Montauban, France.

Fig. 4.  Roadside kilometer marker, Route N35 (*Voie Sacrée*),
between Bar-le-Duc and Verdun, France.
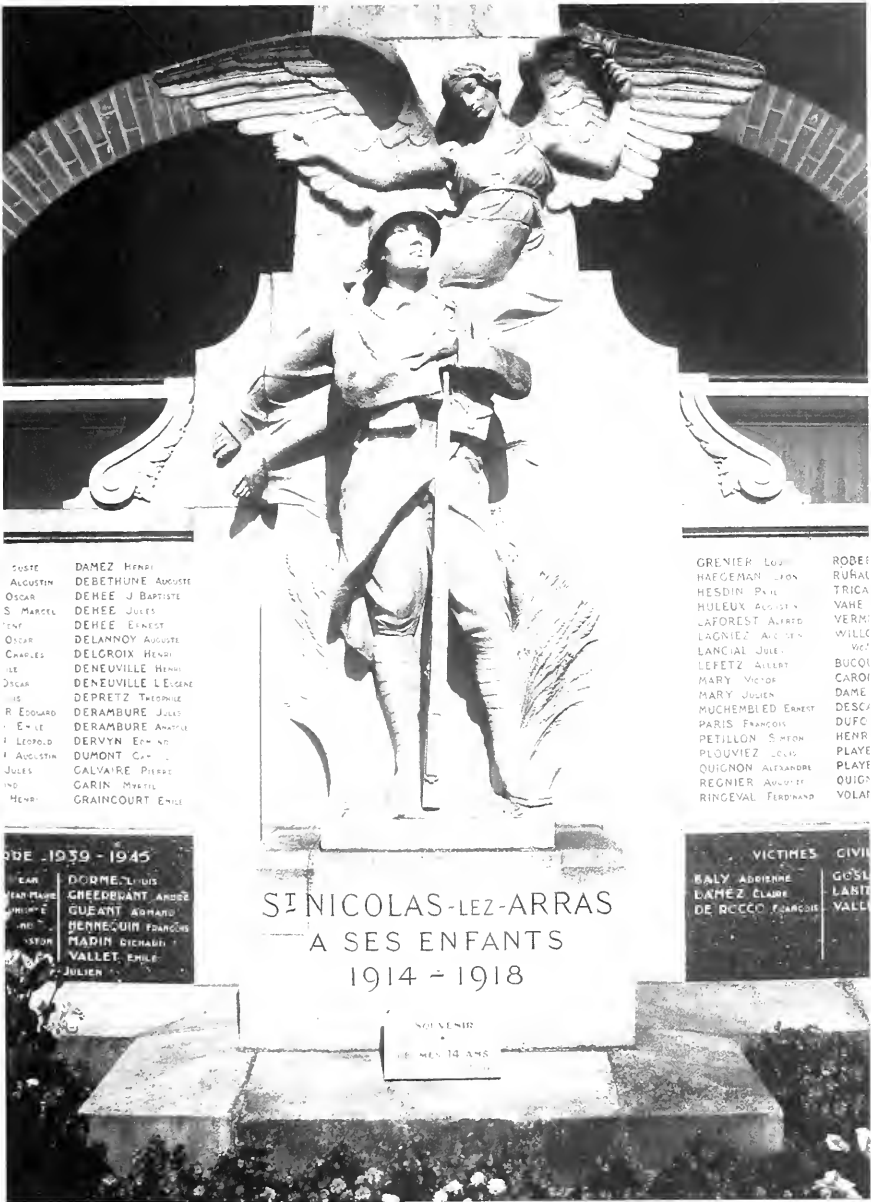
Fig. 5. Village war memorial (*monument aux morts*),
St. Nicolas-lez-Arras, France.

Fig. 6.  Memorial to Marcel Fenaux (d. 26 May 1916) in family tomb,
community cemetery, Triacourt-en-Argonne, France.

complex mythology of human warfare. Fought in often inhospitable terrain and in the midst of some of the most severe climatic extremes seen in northern Europe in decades, the stalemated conditions of trench combat combined with deadly new technologies of warfare to create casualty rates on a scale never before seen in the history of armed conflict.[3]

In the aftermath of the many battles which raged back and forth across those intertrench sections of the Western Front termed "No Man's Land," vast numbers of corpses would litter the landscape (though many hundreds of thousands would never be found, blown to bits by high explosive shells or engulfed by the infamous sucking mud of Flanders). Soldiers did what little they could to bury their comrades where they fell, a ritual poignantly captured by British Sergeant Leslie Coulson in a poem written two months before his own death in 1916:

> When night falls we creep
> In silence to our dead.
> We dig a few feet deep
> And leave them there to sleep —[4]

When time would permit, more consistent efforts to recover and bury (or rebury) the bodies would begin, and each of the combatant nations designated elements of their own military structures to carry out these



Fig. 7. Period stereoview of early French battlefield cemetery, Valee Foulon, France.

tasks. These early battlefield cemeteries no longer exist, at least not in any-thing resembling the form they once did, but from contemporary paint-ings, photographs, and commemorative postcards we can garner an appreciation of their often haphazard, colorful, and sometimes idiosyn-cratic nature (Figs. 7 and 8). Markers were in almost all instances fash-ioned of wood, with hand lettered or stenciled inscriptional data, and fre-quently displaying nationally emblematic or highly personal decorative elements. Almost immediately, in a practice carried forth in various fash-ions to the present day, these sites became places of pilgrimage as families – and later veterans as well – came to search for and grieve at the burial places of their loved ones and friends.

In the decade of the 1920s, for a variety of reasons – some political, some spiritual, some aesthetic – the four major combatant nations which had contested this soil so fiercely (i.e., Germany, France, the United States, and what is now commonly referred to as the British Commonwealth) each in their own manner began a process of consolidation and reconfig-uration which resulted in the formal and highly standardized complex of



Grande Guerre 1914-1918

CHATEAU-THIERRY - BELLEAU - Cimetière Américain, bois de Belleau
CHATEAU THIERRY - BELLEAU - American cimetary in bois Belleau   (1918)
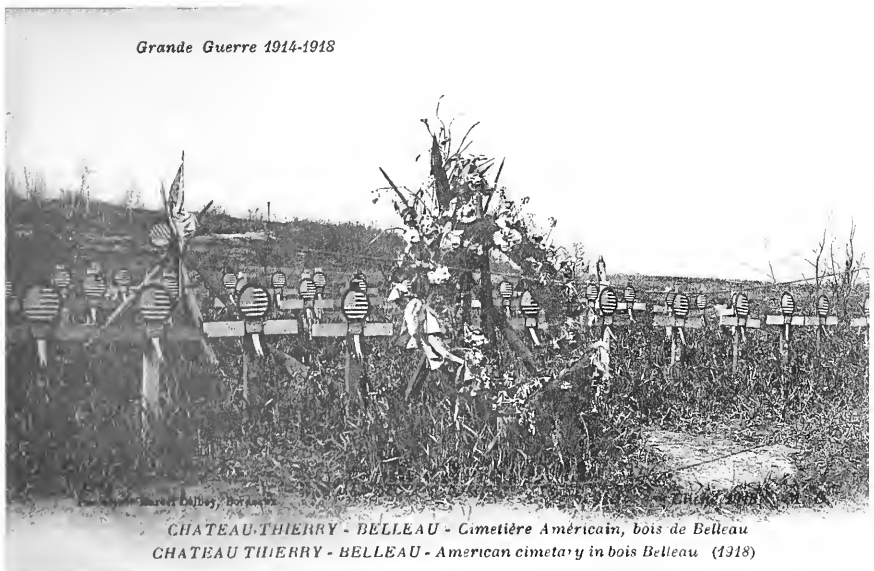
Fig. 8.  Period postcard showing early battlefield version of the American military cemetery adjoining Belleau Wood, near Château-Thierry, France.

Great War national battlefield cemeteries which arrest the attention of the contemporary visitor.[5] Through the formation of national commissions and a number of other complex processes, each nation chose and implemented stylistic mandates which would impart a distinctive visual and emotional quality to their particular burial grounds. It is this stylistic variation as we experience it today – extending from larger landscape considerations to the design and composition of gravemarkers for individual soldiers – which forms the major focus of the present essay. As a means of minimizing confusion, the respective characteristics of each nation's cemeteries will be considered separately rather than concurrently.

**France**

Though no objective scale for measuring such a tragedy could ever hope to be envisioned, it may in many regards be said that it was France who suffered the most from the ravages of The Great War. Quite aside from its more obvious economic impacts, one must remember that by far the greatest majority of the Western Front's battles were staged upon French soil, and it is no exaggeration to state that in certain respects the entire geography of northern France was altered by this cataclysmic series of events. Four years of constant fighting had deforested entire sectors and reduced large areas of formerly rich agricultural land to something resembling the surface of the moon, had resulted in the obliteration of entire villages and the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, and had so polluted the landscape that even today, almost a century removed from the event, there are areas where one should not venture for fear of stumbling upon unexploded ordinance. Even more significant was the human toll. Conservative estimates put the total number of French war dead in excess of 1,350,000, including those of her colonial forces, with only approximately half of these ever positively identified.[6] A visit to one of the *monuments aux morts* found in virtually every village, town, and city in France and even the briefest of glances at the rows of names inscribed thereon is sufficient to validate the claim that France literally "lost a generation" in The Great War.

As was the case with other combatant nations, France began its process of "battlefield clearing" and the establishment of makeshift cemeteries early on in the conflict, but it was only after war's end that time, energy, resources, and national will were available in sufficient quantities to create and maintain a systematic and formalized network of national

war cemeteries. Weeks after the Armistice, a special Commission on Military Cemeteries was established by the French government, its task to consolidate isolated burials and create as well as administer a system of designated military cemeteries.[7] The process was far from smooth: in addition to the enormous logistical problems associated with the identification of bodies, there would rage heated and protracted controversy over the next several years on a variety of issues ranging from the size, design, and location of the new cemeteries to the problem of whether to require that all fallen soldiers be buried in them or allow families wishing to do so to repatriate the bodies to their home churchyards and municipal cemeteries.[8] Ultimately, the latter issue would be resolved in favor of family choice, the result being that some 300,000 – roughly 40 percent – of identifiable bodies from the Western Front were eventually repatriated.[9] The rest, along with those who were unidentifiable or who had simply disappeared, would remain to become a part of the soil upon which they had fought and perished.



Fig. 9.  Necropole Nationale de Château-Thierry,
Château-Thierry, France.
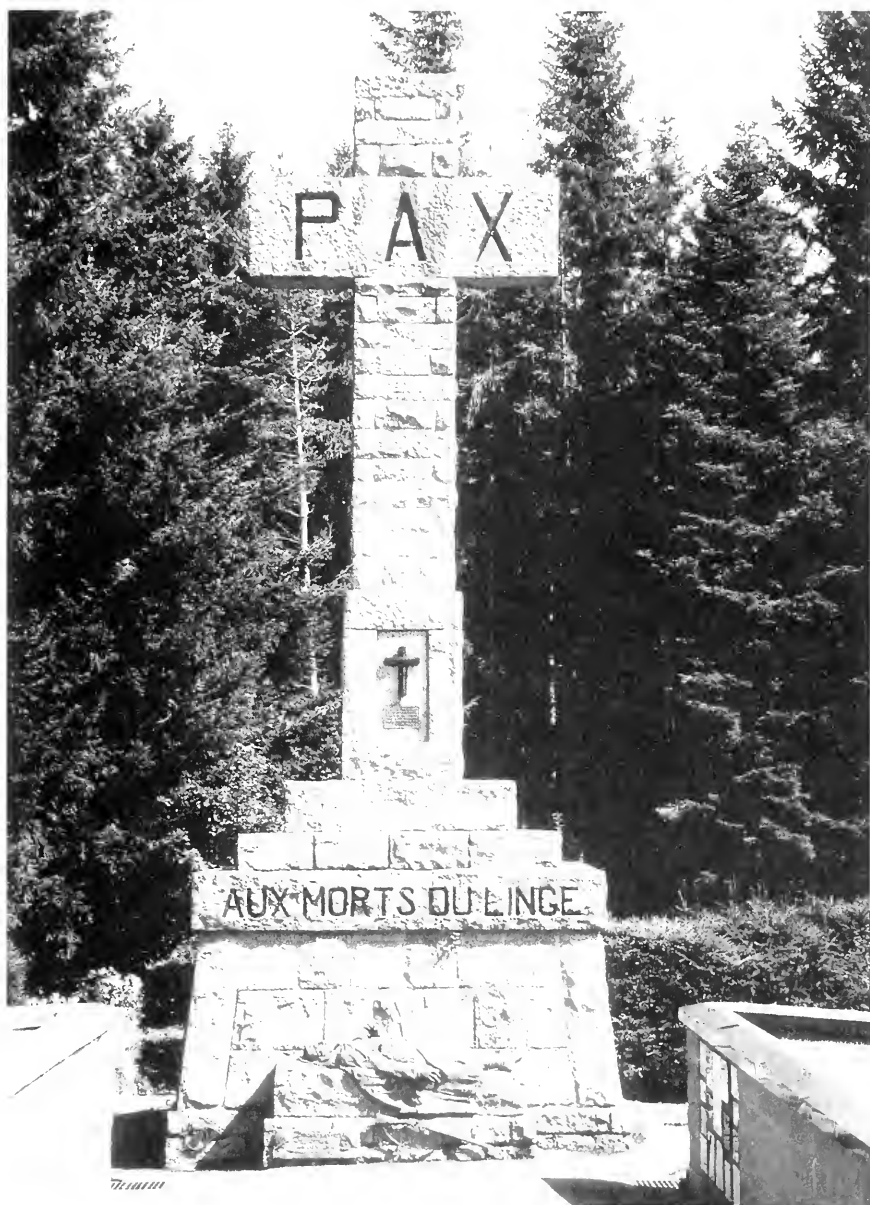
Fig. 10. Monument to fallen soldiers, Necropole Nationale de
Wettstein (aka Le Cimitière de Chasseurs), near Orbey, France.

Today the 108 French World War I cemeteries, or *Necropoles Nationales*, are administered by the *Secretariat d'Etat Charges des Anciens Combattants et des Victimes de Guerre* (French Ministry for War Veterans and Victims), a large but efficient bureaucracy operating under a budget allocated by the French government for the welfare of veterans and victims of war.[10] With the exception of several great showplace sites, to be discussed shortly, these cemeteries tend to be of small to moderate size and display a number of distinctive shared features, including the segregation of graves into evenly spaced rows separated by wide spaces of mowed but frequently unwatered grass (Fig. 9). The wide spacings accommodate the frequently employed, though by no means universal, practice of placing individual graves back to back. Plantings are minimal, although not uncommonly red roses are placed within the beds which surround the gravestones in each row. The French flag is prominently featured in all *cimitières militaire*, and in the vast majority of instances represents the largest single material feature of the landscape. Elaborate gates and fencing, while not unknown, are most generally not present, and only on rare occasions (e.g., Fig. 10) does one encounter a monument of any sort larger and more elaborate than the stones which mark the individual graves.

The gravemarkers in French military cemeteries are perhaps the plainest of the four national groups, and are generally constructed of a coarsely grained stone material, tawny brown in color, though in a few instances they have been whitewashed (Fig. 11). The simple cruciform shape is used for all Christian burials, with specialized shapes and additional incised inscriptions employed for those of Jewish or Islamic faith, the latter constituting a significant presence owing to the heavy use in this war of troops from France's colonies in North Africa (Fig. 12). Minimal inscriptional data – name, unit, date of death, and the ubiquitous *"Mort Pour La France"* ("Died for France")[11] – is found on a rectangular metal plaque, most often bronze or a zinc alloy, affixed to the surface of the marker (Fig. 13). As with the other combatant nations, France has taken pains to erect markers above the graves of unidentified fallen soldiers (Fig. 14). In addition to the individual gravestones, a few cemeteries, such as that at Rancourt, on the Somme battlefields, contain small memorial chapels in which commemorative plaques have been placed by families. Upon occasion, one finds, as an addendum to the Great War markers, burials signifying France's losses in World War II and subsequent conflicts: these are identical in size, shape, and composition to the older stones.

Fig. 11.  Gravemarker of Jules Argoud (d. 18 August 1916),
Necropole Nationale de Douamont, near Verdun, France.

Fig. 12.  Gravemarker of Ali Ben Mohammed Zerroubui (d. 27 May 1916), Necropole Nationale de Saint-Mihiel, near St. Mihiel, France.

One feature unique to French World War I commemoration is the existence in their four largest battlefield cemeteries – at Douamont, in the Verdun sector, Hartmanwillerkopf, in Alsace, Notre-Dame de Lorette, in the Pas-de-Calais, and Dormans, in the Valley of the Marne – of vast and imposing ossuaries which contain the bones of tens of thousands of unidentifiable soldiers, German as well as French, who perished in the fierce battles which raged nearby.[12] Each is set within a large "showplace" cemetery of the French *Necropole Nationale* system, where gravemarkers are placed singly (i.e., not back to back), grass is watered and kept green, interpretive markers in several languages are strategically placed throughout the grounds, and the perimeter is rimmed by impressive larger monuments of varying types. The most visually striking of these giant ossuaries, that at Douamont (see Fig. 15 and this journal's cover illustration), was financed in part by contributions from the United States and forms the centerpiece in a huge complex of museums, forts, monuments, and other battlefield commemorative material culture contained within



**Fig. 13.  Identification plaque on gravemarker of Paul Raphael Manaut (d. 20 June 1915), Necropole Nationale de Sondernach, Sondernach, France.**

Fig. 14.  Gravemarker for unknown French soldier, Necropole
Nationale de Douamont, near Verdun, France.

the former Verdun sector of the Western Front. Its balanced geometric shape, with skyward pointing central tower, has been compared to – among other things – a submarine, a massive artillery shell, and the sword of a medieval crusader. While each of the ossuary complexes serves to this day as a significant pilgrimage site for the French, thereby functioning in a fashion similar to the massive Commonwealth Memorials to the Missing which we shall consider shortly, it is Douamont above all which proves a magnet for such activity, for it is Verdun – more than any other site associated with The Great War – which embodies in French collective memory the entwined virtues of courage, sacrifice, and spiritual victory.[13]

### The British Commonwealth

Of all the combatant national groups who participated in The Great War, it is the British Commonwealth – then still the British Empire – which has bestowed the most visible military legacy upon the landscapes of northwestern France and southwestern Belgium. As with their French



Fig. 15. Ossuary, Necropole Nationale de Douamont, near Verdun, France.

allies, the costs in human suffering and loss to the Imperial forces were staggering – upwards of one million souls consumed in the voracious furnace of war, almost 20,000 of them on one infamous day, July 1, 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme.[14]

Because they were heavily involved in the fighting from virtually the onset of the war, the Imperial forces faced as early as the Fall and Winter of 1914/15 many of the same immediate needs and problems as the French (and the Germans) in terms of establishing early makeshift cemeteries and eventually moving to a more systematic and permanent system when hostilities finally ended.[15] The origins of what would in time become the Imperial (and later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission date from the efforts of a British Red Cross unit sent to France in the early days of the war under the direction of an administratively gifted, energetic, and totally dedicated man named Fabian Ware.[16] On the 21st of May 1917, largely owing to the insistent energies of Ware, a Royal Charter was granted establishing the Imperial War Graves Commission, the first such organization of its type to be officially charged with all aspects pertaining to the war dead of a nation.[17] From this point onwards to the end of the war, and for a decade or more to follow, the IWGC would pursue with enormous diligence and sensitivity its twin primary tasks of registering the war dead and overseeing the design, construction, and maintenance of the military cemeteries which would serve as their final resting places. As in France (and America as well), controversy raged over whether to allow for the repatriation of bodies or to require that they remain in the newly-constructed cemeteries on French and Belgian soil. The ultimate decision to forbid repatriation to Great Britain and her Dominions was undoubtedly one of the factors contributing to the disproportionately large number of Commonwealth military cemeteries one finds on the Western Front today.

Another was the concomitant decision to avoid, except in certain specific instances, the large-scale consolidation of smaller early battlefield burial sites into larger sector cemeteries practiced by the other combatant nations, with the result that a significant number of the cemeteries today maintained by the CWGC, many of them reconfigured versions of their earlier predecessors located upon the same sites, contain 50 or fewer burials. Almost 2,500 Western Front sites officially designated as First War cemeteries are currently under the care of the CWGC,[18] and in them lie the vast majority of the recovered bodies of those who served from England,

Scotland, Wales, Ireland, South Africa, Canada, Newfoundland,[19] Australia, New Zealand, and India, as well as a number from the Chinese labor battalions. A significant proportion of these burial sites have been incorporated as sections within village communal cemeteries, but a great many of them exist as separate entities.

Having made the decision to leave her sons to rest in the lands where they fell, the IWGC in the 1920s did its very best to transform these foreign burial sites into landscapes which in a number of ways evoked images of home, thereby fulfilling the stated desire of the speaker in Rupert Brooke's 1914 sonnet, "The Soldier":

> If I should die, think only this of me:
> That there's some corner of a foreign field
> That is for ever England …[20]

Indeed, the initial sensation one experiences upon entering the typical Commonwealth military cemetery is that of enclosure – not in the unpleasant, claustrophobic sense of the term, but rather in its correspon-



**Fig. 16. Entrance to Tyne Cot CWGC Military Cemetery, Passchendaele, Belgium.**

dence with the more comforting and therapeutic feelings associated with an intimate English garden.[21] Oddly enough, this effect is often achieved even within the larger burial sites, such as the Etaples Military Cemetery, located near the French coastline on the English Channel, and the Tyne Cot Military Cemetery, in the Ypres (Belgium) sector. Formal entrances – often reminiscent to a considerable degree of the lychgates frequently seen in British village churchyards (Fig. 16) – usher the visitor into a walled landscape dominated as much by rose shrubs and other predominantly English decorative plantings as by the monuments themselves, whose intrinsically hard features are moderated and softened by the frequency and strategic placement of their surrounding organic counterparts. Graves in the Commonwealth cemeteries are most generally very compactly placed in neat adjacent rows (Fig. 17): the frequently seen French (and German) practice of placing graves and markers back to back is only rarely employed. Conspicuously absent in these cemeteries are flags, the result of an early and quite deliberate decision on the part of the War Graves Commission in view of the eclecticism represented by the



**Fig. 17.  Delville Wood CWGC Military Cemetery, near Longueval, France.**

presence of fallen soldiers from a number of different Commonwealth countries. Two dominant physical elements form a feature of all Commonwealth burial sites above a certain minimal size[22]: The Stone of Remembrance (Fig. 18), a sarcophagus-like monument designed by the eminent British architect Sir Edwin Lutyens and bearing the words "Their Name Liveth For Evermore," chosen by the poet Rudyard Kipling from the Book of Ecclesiastes (Chapter 44, Verse 14); and The Cross of Sacrifice (Fig. 19), designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield and featuring a large vertical cross embellished with a bronze crusader's sword, the whole set upon a stepped octagonal base.[23] Each cemetery, no matter its size, is immaculately maintained.

Individual gravemarkers in the Commonwealth cemeteries are unique amongst those of combatant nations in their adoption of the upright tablet form (as opposed to the variants of the basic cruciform shape utilized by France, the United States, and, with few exceptions, Germany) as the uniform configuration for all markers.[24] Fashioned of Portland limestone, they are most often a brilliant white, mellowing in some instances to a
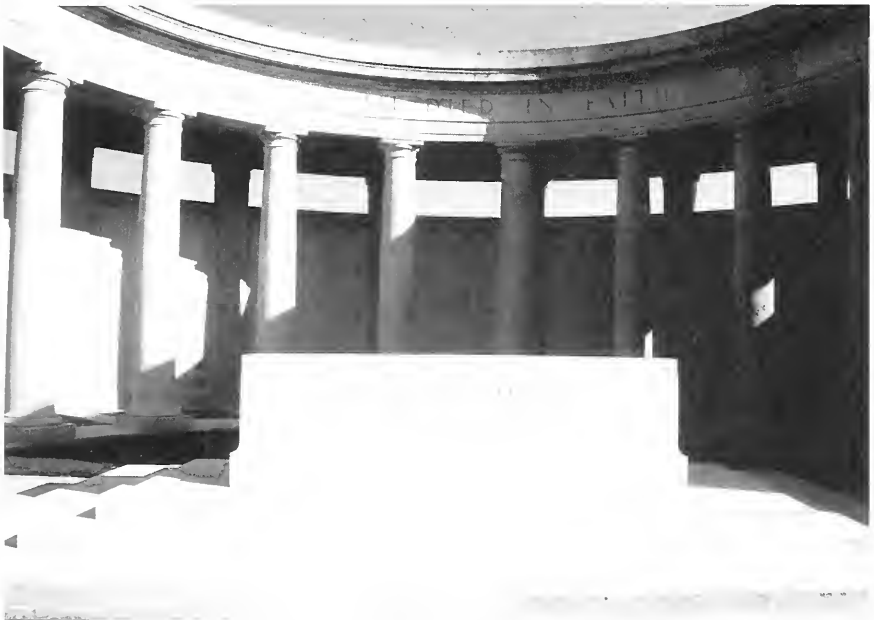


Fig. 18. The Stone of Remembrance, Louverval CWGC Military Cemetery, near Boursies, France.

Fig. 19. The Cross of Sacrifice, Le Câteau CWGC
Military Cemetery, Le Câteau, France.

very light tan, and are a standard 2'6" high x 1'3" wide. Quite aside from its avoidance of a blatantly denominational statement, the greater surface area of the tablet form allows for the inclusion of considerably more verbal and visual detail than is possible when utilizing most variants of the cruciform shape. As we may see by examining the marker of the celebrated British war poet Wilfred Owen (Fig. 20), the standard verbal details on all Commonwealth stones, when known, include full official name, rank, listing of any decorations for valor (Owen's marker indicates he was a recipient of the Military Cross, one of Britain's highest combat citations), unit, date of death, and age at the time of death. In many instances, this largely functional data is supplemented by short personal inscriptions chosen by the soldier's family, a practice allowed by the Commission and unique to the Commonwealth graves.[25] These were restricted to 66 letters total, and were expected to conform to the Commission's standards of good taste and non-controversial sentiment. Generally, these principles are followed, and most of the statements are in fact quite conventional in a manner not unlike those found on any headstone of this period, although upon occasion one's attention as they wander these rows is suddenly arrested by an utterance such as that found in the Tyne Cot CWGC Military Cemetery inscribed upon the marker for Second Lieutenant Arthur Conway Young (d. 16 August 1917):

<div style="text-align:center">

Sacrificed To The Fallacy
That War Can End War

</div>

Two visual motifs are most generally found upon all markers except those of total unknowns: (a) religious iconography (Latin crosses in most instances – e.g., Fig. 20 – , or the Star of David upon the stones of Jewish soldiers[26]); and (b) regimental insignia for members of British units (e.g., Fig. 20), or in the case of other Commonwealth soldiers, the identifying insignia of the relevant country of origin (Fig. 21). The stones atop the graves of those whose remains are unidentifiable (Fig. 22) carry the simple but haunting bi-part inscription, "A Soldier Of The Great War" and, below, "Known Unto God." Upon occasion, one will encounter gravemarkers bearing inscriptions such as "Known To Be Buried In This Cemetery" (Fig. 21), "Believed To Be Buried Near This Spot," or similar indications of uncertainty as to the precise resting spot of a particular soldier's remains.

Fig. 20.  Gravemarker of British war poet Wilfred Owen
(d. 4 November 1918), CWGC maintained military section
of the Ors Communal Cemetery, Ors, France.

Fig. 21.  Gravemarker of C. Parmiter (d. 1 July 1916) displaying
Caribou emblem of Newfoundland, 'Y' Ravine CWGC Military
Cemetery, Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park, near Albert, France.
The inscription at the top of the stone indicates uncertainty as to the
exact location of Private Parmiter's remains within the cemetery.

Fig. 22.  Gravemarker for unknown Commonwealth soldier, Thiepval
Anglo-French Military Cemetery, directly adjoining the Thiepval
Monument to the Missing of the Somme, near Albert, France.

In December of 1919, in an impassioned speech before the British House of Commons, Sir Winston Churchill outlined a vision of the idealistic role the war cemeteries would play in his nation's collective memory. "The cemeteries …," he said, "will be entirely different from the ordinary cemeteries which mark the resting place of those who pass out in the common flow of human fate from year to year … and there is no reason at all why, in periods as remote from our own as we ourselves are from the Tudors, the graveyards in France of this Great War shall not remain an abiding and supreme memorial to the efforts and the glory of the British army, and the sacrifices made in the great cause."[27] Today, more than 80 years hence, those who visit the Commonwealth's Great war cemeteries in France and Belgium cannot help but admire the manner in which their designers fashioned landscape and monument into a powerful visual embodiment of these sentiments.

Although the War Graves Commission constructed no giant ossuaries in the manner of the French, a similar concern for properly commemorating the missing resulted in the creation of several special sites of mass



**Fig. 23.  Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, near Albert, France.**

remembrance. Of these, the two most impressive are most certainly the great Thiepval Monument to the Missing (Fig. 23), located in the center of the Somme battlefields with a total of 73,357 names carved upon its walls, and the equally imposing Menin Gate (Fig. 24), situated on the eastern side of the Belgian city of Ypres (now known as Leper), and carrying the names of 54,896 soldiers (see Fig. 25) who disappeared in the three major battles fought in the infamous salient.[28] Much as the great ossuary at Douamont has served as a sort of ground zero for French pilgrimages to the Verdun battlefields, these two great memorials have performed the same function for the British with regard to their two most important battle sectors, and the same may in fact be said for a number of others – in particular the Vimy Memorial, near Arras, France, for the Canadians (as well as Newfoundland's Beaumont-Hamel Memorial, near Albert, France), the Villers-Bretoneux Memorial, near Amiens, France, for the Australians, and the Delville Wood Memorial, near Albert, France, for the South Africans.[29]



Fig. 24.  Menin Gate Memorial to the Missing of the
Ypres Salient, Ypres (Leper), Belgium.
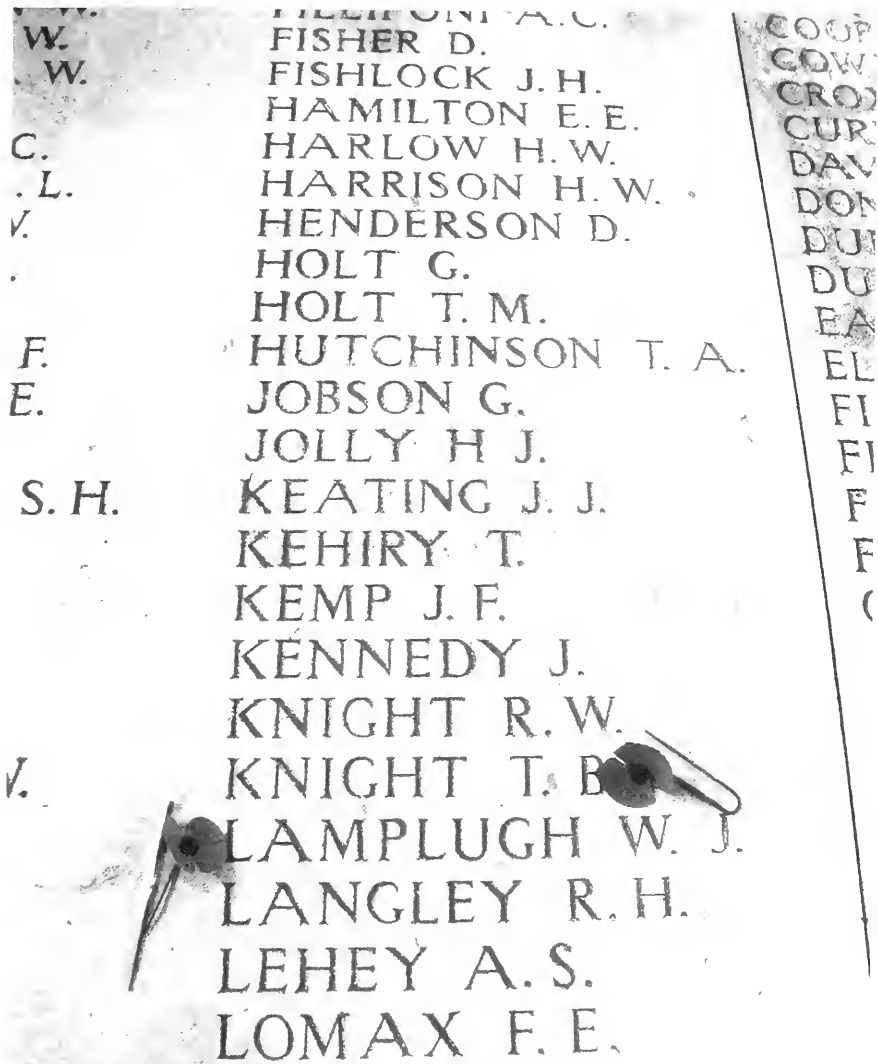
Fig. 25.  A few of the almost 55,000 names inscribed upon the
walls of the Menin Gate Memorial to the Missing
of the Ypres Salient, Ypres (Leper), Belgium.

**The United States**

America did not officially enter the war until 1917, with the bulk of its fighting taking place between March and November of 1918,[30] and although few would dispute the notion that it was this country's intervention which ultimately assured victory for the Allied Powers, it is equally true that the magnitude of her suffering and loss when compared to that of the other combatant nations was relatively minor. That having been said, it is well to remember that mere numbers cannot ever recount the subjective magnitude of loss: for the families of those whose loved ones never returned, such statistics are meaningless. And, for Americans, one other fact was enormously significant: more soldiers had died in this conflict than in all her wars of over 100 years previously. In all, more than 120,000 U.S. soldiers perished in The Great War, of which just under 50,000 were killed in battle (disease, as in so many wars before the second half of the 20th Century, claimed more lives than weaponry).[31]

In the manner followed by the other combatant nations, the Americans realized early on the necessity to register and care for their war dead. The American Graves Registration Service, organized in May of 1917, was charged with the "sacred obligation, made by the War Department to the people of the United States, that the graves of American dead should be perpetually honored and cared for."[32] This the GRS endeavored to do, despite logistical and other difficulties at times greater than those of other countries engaged in the conflict, many of these arising from the great distance and transoceanic separation of America from its European battlefields. Identification of bodies and the creation of initial battlefield cemeteries (see Fig. 8) proceeded up until and for some time beyond the Armistice (November 11, 1918) which officially ended hostilities.

Shortly after the Armistice, the GRS began the process of consolidating isolated burials and smaller battlefield cemeteries into a number of larger sites within key campaign areas, a practice which would continue into the early 1920s when the responsibility for such activities would be vested in the newly created American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC). One of the first of these consolidated cemeteries to undergo construction – The Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery, near the village of Romagne-Gesnes, France – would ultimately become what is to this day, with 14,246 burials, the largest American military cemetery in Europe.[33] Its creation mirrors in many respects that of the other World War I American military cemeteries on the Western Front, and there lives today,

in Portland, Oregon, a 103-year old American veteran of The Great War who can recall in fine detail the events which unfolded about him in those days of early 1919. Howard Ramsey (Figs. 26a and 26b), a member of the Motor Transport Corps during the war, received orders following the Armistice to join the forces engaged in the construction of the Meuse-Argonne Cemetery. There, working with others of his unit, and in conjunction with black soldiers assigned to the task of digging up and reburying the remains,[34] he drove the trucks which carried bodies from the scattered battlefield burial sites to the new cemetery. In a May 11 letter addressed to his mother and family, Ramsey described both the underlying philosophy of the new cemeteries and the nature of his work there:

> During the war men were buried in small quickly made and rough cemeteries or out on the field. This was the best that these men could receive during the stress of battle. But now that the war is over these men are being put in a more fitting resting place. And that is partly our job. This is a large camp consisting mostly of truck companies and Negro regiments.



**Figs. 26a and 26b. Howard Ramsey in 1918 and today.**

> We drive the trucks around in the different areas and the Negroes dig up the bodies and load them in the trucks and we drive them in.
>
> Some days we are thru at three in the afternoon and other days at 10 at night.
>
> There are to be 25,000 men buried here and we have about 15,000 more to bring in. And now we will average about 500 a day.
>
> I won't write any more or go into detail about this work as it's something a woman wouldn't enjoy.[35]

The stepped-up level of activity Ramsey refers to in his letter was owing to the imminent visit of General John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, who was scheduled to arrive on Memorial Day, May 30, to preside at the official dedication of the cemetery. In another letter to his family, written the day after the visit, he mentions this event:

> Gen'l Pershing reviewed the camp and cemetery here yesterday, Memorial Day. We had to work in the morning hauling rock, and in the afternoon the rest of the company marched out to hear Pershing speak. I didn't have to go.
>
> The cemetery is really pretty now with all the crosses slicked up clean and nice. Monday we go hauling dead again.

Though there may have been moments in the many years to follow when Howard Ramsey regretted not seizing the opportunity to hear in person a speech by one of the greatest leaders in American military history, one can hardly question his decision at the time: given the choice of a spit and polish formation and standing in the sun to hear a general speak, or a few hours of precious free time, what soldier would not choose the latter? But, fortunately for us, the beautiful appearance of the cemetery mentioned in his letter has been preserved in a photograph he took that day (Fig. 27).

The Meuse-Argonne cemetery, along with the others established immediately after the war, would undergo an even more elaborate period of redesign and configuration in the 1920s, after the creation of the ABMC (March, 1923) and the concomitant political, aesthetic, and economic decisions which would result in the sites we today see on the Western Front. An even more fundamental question had to be resolved first, as once

again the debate between repatriation and foreign burial came to the fore. This debate was every bit as rancorous and emotion-laden as those which raged in France and Britain, though perhaps for different reasons and certainly with an entirely separate set of logistical considerations which made the whole matter even more difficult, but the eventual result, as in France, was compromise.[36] Families were given their choice, and in the end roughly 70 percent of the American War dead came home to rest in Arlington National Cemetery, in other National Cemeteries located upon American soil, or in private burial plots situated within cemeteries of all sorts scattered throughout the length and breadth of the nation.[37] Those who remained would become the permanent residents of the eight (six in France, one in Belgium, and one in England) American World War I cemeteries found in Europe.

America's Great War cemeteries range in size from quite large (Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery: 14,246 burials; 130½ acres) to relatively small (Flanders Field American Cemetery: 368 burials; 6 acres),[38] and achieved their final aesthetic characteristics as the result of several



**Fig. 27. Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery, Romagne-Gesnes, France, Memorial Day (May 30), 1919. Photo by Howard Ramsey.**

Figs. 28a and 28b. Entrance gates of Suresnes American Cemetery
(top), near Paris, France, and Flanders Field American Cemetery
(bottom), Waregem, Belgium. The memorial chapels for each
cemetery may be seen in the background.

decades of careful and, in certain regards, politically motivated planning decisions carried out by the ABMC.[39]

If the key associative term for the typical Commonwealth Great War cemetery is "garden," then that for its American counterpart would undoubtedly be "park," a correspondence owing much to the conventions of grand cemetery design pioneered in the American Rural Cemetery Movement a century earlier.[40] The sensation begins immediately, as one approaches their entrances, dominated by elaborate and beautifully designed gates (Figs. 28a and 28b) which lead the visitor through avenues of symmetrically planted trees to the main graves areas and other features of the cemeteries. Within the grounds proper, one is particularly struck by three main elements of the constructed environment – the careful placement of patriotic monuments, with accompanying decorative plantings of proportionate scale (Fig. 29); the memorial chapels (see Figs. 28a and 28b), constructed in either Classical or Gothic Revival style[41]; and, of course, the perfectly patterned rows of gleaming white crosses (Fig. 30) set off against the green shadings of manicured lawns and the foliage of



Fig. 29. Monument and plantings, St. Mihiel American Cemetery, Thiaucourt, France.

surrounding trees. The overall effect is one of quiet dignity matched with a combination of cultured taste and implied wealth and power – precisely the qualities envisioned and sought after by those who originally designed these landscapes. Maintenance is continual, overseen by superintendents whose residences adjoin each of the respective cemetery grounds.

The gravemarkers themselves, fashioned of high grade white marble, are elegant in their simplicity, delicate cruciform shapes in the majority of instances, with Star of David configurations for those of Jewish faith. Inscriptional data is minimal: name, rank, unit designation, date of death, and home state or territory. Personalization of any sort is not included. Decorations for valor, however, are duly noted on the headstones, and markers of Medal of Honor winners are visually set apart by gold lettering, an incised gold star, and a notation of the award (Fig. 31). Consistent with the practice followed in the Great War cemeteries of all combatant nations, the graves of unknowns (Fig. 32) are specifically marked, in this instance with stones bearing the inscription "Here Rests In Honored



**Fig. 30.  The graves area, Aisne-Marne American Cemetery,
near Château-Thierry, France.**

Fig. 31.  Gravemarker of Medal of Honor winner Thomas E. O'Shea
(d. 29 September 1918), Somme American Cemetery, near Bony, France.

Fig. 32.  Gravemarker for unknown American soldier,
Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery, Romagne-Gesnes, France.

Glory An American Soldier Known But To God."[42] The missing are com-
memorated as well, in a manner similar to that of the Commonwealth,
their names inscribed upon the interior wall faces of the memorial chapels
(Fig. 33) found within the individual cemeteries, whose locations are in
large part dictated by their relationship to major American battle sectors
of the war.

Although pilgrimage to these burial grounds by Americans was cer-
tainly once common, most notably by veterans in the immediate post-war
years and later in the government sponsored and organized visits by
American Gold Star mothers and wives in the early 1930s,[43] the practice
has virtually disappeared, with the focus shifting to the dramatic and
more recently established World War II cemeteries such as those above
Omaha Beach, near Bayeaux, France, principal site of the Normandy inva-
sion, or on the outskirts of Luxembourg's capital city, burial place of
General George S. Patton (and ca. 5,000 other American war dead from
the Ardennes campaign). Whether this speaks most to the shorter memo-
ries of Americans when compared to their European counterparts or, as is
more likely, to the large-scale repatriations and the generally more mini-
mal impact of the much smaller casualty figures upon American society,
is at best a moot question. It is nonetheless a sad and somewhat discon-
certing feeling to find oneself upon so many occasions the sole visitor to
these stately and thought-provoking material testaments to the awful
price paid by a people and a nation upon the brink of becoming a world
power.

## Germany

German casualties in The Great War surpassed those of any other
nation, with 1,8000,000 soldiers killed at minimum estimate.[44] In 1918
alone, she lost some 380,000 troops in battles along the Western Front,
owing largely to the desperate offensives launched in a last-ditch effort to
win the war.[45] As was the case with other combatant nations, Germany
had to confront early on the problems associated with identification and
burial of soldiers killed in combat, and, like them, the task was first han-
dled by the military units themselves, with special officers in charge of
graves (*Gräberoffiziere*) designated at divisional level to head units
charged with these tasks.[46] Again, however, it was not until after war's
end that serious attention was given to the need for permanent German
military cemeteries upon the Western Front. In 1919, the *Volksbund*

Fig. 33.  Names of the missing, memorial chapel, Aisne-Marne
American Military Cemetery, near Château-Thierry, France.

*Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge* (VDK) was organized in Germany and assumed control of all activities associated with remembering the fallen, including the design and administration of war cemeteries. In point of fact, however, this latter function was not fully operational until as late as 1966, for only then, in accordance with earlier provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, did the war cemeteries come fully under German control.[47] In this and a number of other ways, Germany's options with regard to the care of her war dead were more severely limited than those of the other combatant nations. Defeated, demoralized, and dead broke, the country and its people often found themselves stranded in the emotionally treacherous No Man's Land between the need to remember and the desire to forget. Repatriation, for one thing, never became the burning issue it had in other nations, and the vast majority of the German soldiers who fell on the Western and Eastern fronts have remained there to this day. And while individual soldiers, as we shall see, are indeed commemorated within the war cemeteries, a far greater emphasis is given to mass gravesites and collective monuments than in the military burial grounds of France, the



Fig. 34. Graves against a forest-like background, Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, near Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, France.
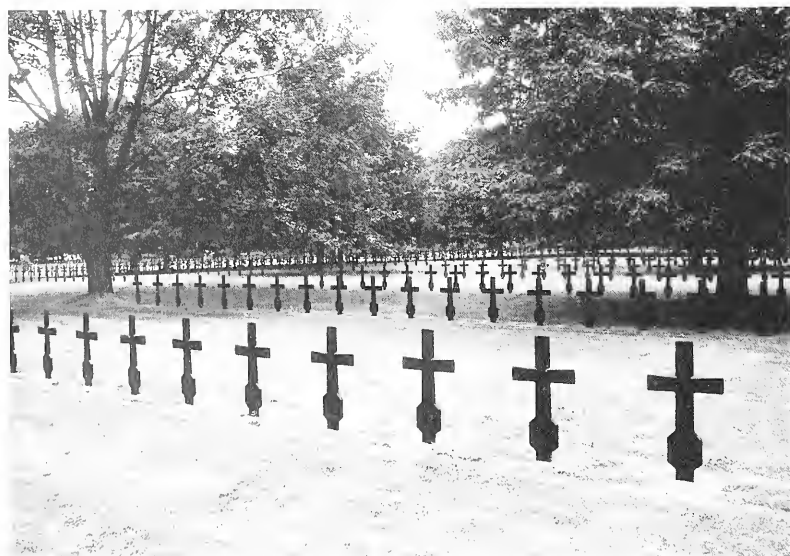
Figs. 35a and 35b. Examples of the wide variation found in site and gravemarker design within German World War I military cemeteries: Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Belleau, near Château-Thierry, France (top); Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Fort de Malmaison, near Soissons, France (bottom).

Commonwealth, and the United States.

Despite its initial, and in some cases ongoing, difficulties, the VDK was largely successful in designing and constructing a series of visually distinctive and powerfully moving World War I cemeteries in all major battle areas of the Western Front. In all, 194 German cemeteries of The Great War are found in France, with a further 13 located in Belgium.[48] Additional graves are found upon occasion in community cemeteries, and, in a few rare instances, within the war cemeteries of other combatant nations. In both appearance and mood, these German war cemeteries are radically different from those of her former adversaries.

We have noted previously the relationship of Commonwealth war cemetery design to the English garden, and, as well, that of the American sites to the park-like setting of the Rural Cemetery Movement. In Germany's Great War cemeteries, the corresponding referent is the forest – dark, somber, slightly forbidding perhaps, but powerfully dignified nonetheless, and



Fig. 36. Flat, rectangular gravemarkers – an exception to standard practice – at Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Langemarck, near Langemarck, Belgium. Many of the markers in this cemetery list two or more names.

above all signifying a place of seriousness, sadness, and contemplation.[49] The effect is immediately achieved through the aesthetically symbiotic relationship between foregrounded rows of dark gravemarkers set against a dense and even darker backdrop of tall, shade-producing trees, most generally conifers or oaks (Fig. 34). Amazingly, this simple formula is employed with consistent success in a wide variety of configural settings (Figs. 35a and 35b), for unlike the practices of other combatant nations there is no apparent attempt within the German military cemetery system at strict standardization in either site or gravemarker design.

Indeed, the markers come in all manner of shapes, usually upright and variations of the cruciform configuration (Germany's own Iron Cross being a particular favorite), but sometimes – as at the huge Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Langemarck in Belgium – rectangular and almost level with the ground (Fig. 36). Both stone and metal, each of widely varying types, are employed, and wide variation occurs in the lettering styles and the type of inscriptional data included on the marker, although the latter



Fig. 37. Jewish soldier's grave, flanked by those of Christian comrades, both religion and military rank democratized by death: Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Belleau, near Château-Thierry, France.

Fig. 38.  Gravemarker for unknown German soldier, Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Breitenbach, near Breitenbach, France.

is invariably minimal, often including only the name, branch of service, and death date. It is quite common to find two or more names inscribed upon a single marker. The graves of Jewish soldiers are apparent by their distinctively shaped and inscribed markers, and these stand in death's equality amidst those of their Christian comrades (Fig. 37). And, as we have seen in the case of all combatant nations, the graves of unknowns are also appropriately marked (Fig. 38).

Because so many of the German war cemeteries contain mass as well as individual burials, special attention is given to the appropriate segregation and marking of such sites within the cemetery grounds (Fig. 39), and, following the practice of other combatant nations, great care is given to inscribing in some manner the names of those for whom no grave of any sort exists (Fig. 40). A great number of the cemeteries contain a small memorial chapel, and some even provide reception rooms with the appropriate facilities.



Fig. 39.  Marked area of mass burials surrounded by gravemarkers signifying individual burials, Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Epinoville, Epinoville, France.
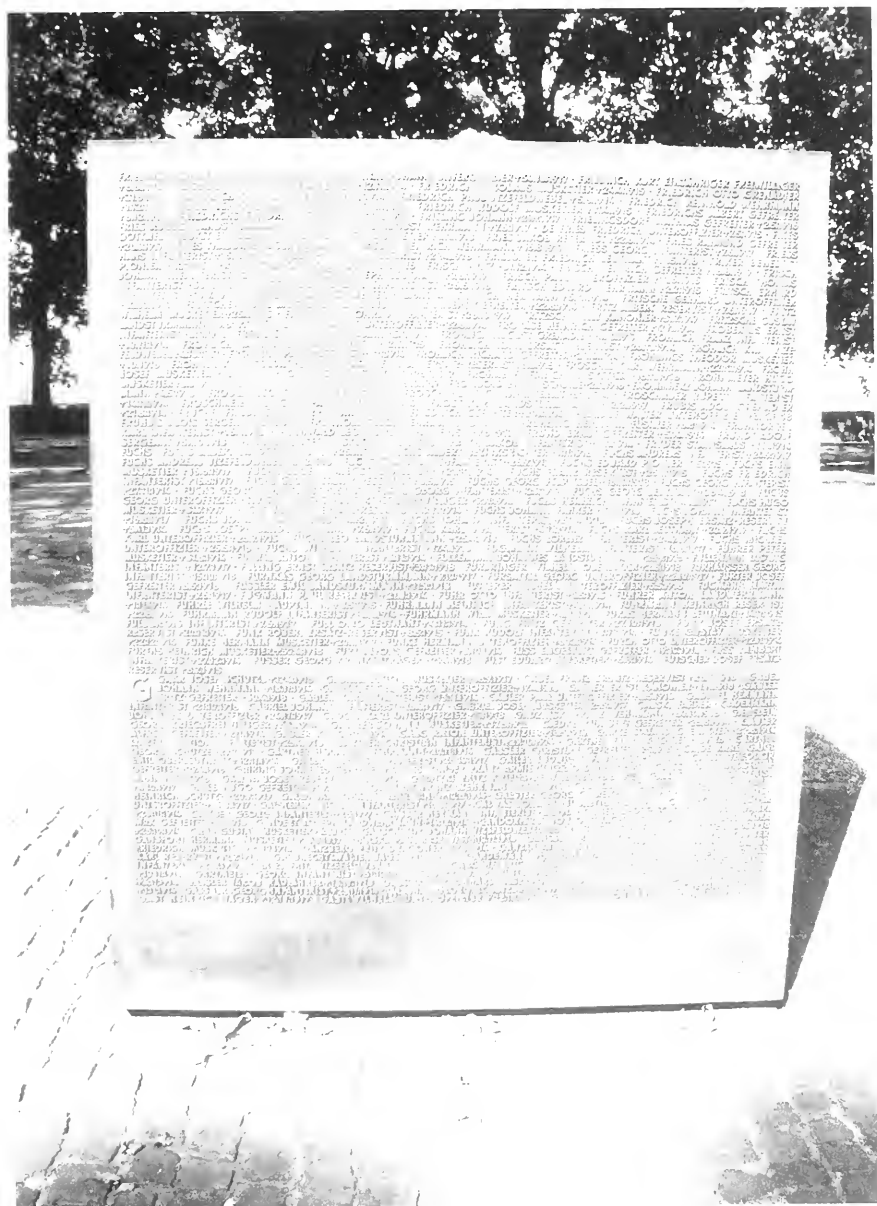
Fig. 40. One of a series of large tablet monuments listing names
of the missing, Deutscher Soldatenfriedhof Langemarck,
near Langemarck, Belgium.

Germany has not forgotten its Great War dead. Visitors are almost always encountered, and a glance at any of the guest registers found near the entrance to each cemetery reveals the sizeable volume and frequency of such activity. In particular, Langemarck, like Douaumont, Tyne Cot, and, to a more limited degree, Meuse-Argonne, is a magnet to this day for both the curious and the pilgrim. And though some may find in these settings a disquieting air of rigid sternness, the more frequent reaction is to the aura of quiet and dignified respect engendered by these silent groves of memory.

## Conclusion

In establishing the permanent battlefield cemeteries of World War I, each of the major combatant nations who contested that narrow band of European soil once known as the Western Front sought to create spatial environments which reflected their collective response to the unprecedented tragedy represented by the war. Youth, laughter, innocence – all these seemed distant memories now: in their place, a numbing sorrow, and, most assuredly, an almost desperate need to believe that all this sacrifice had not been without some meaning. The essence of that meaning – the sanctity of death in the service of a noble and worthwhile cause, and the debt of remembrance owed by a grateful nation – is what these complexes of cemeteries, each in their own manner, seek to communicate. We have dwelt on the differences here, but on a larger scale they are really quite the same, these rows of precisely aligned headstones which represent the last parade and formation of the soldiers which lie beneath them. To stroll amongst these myriad crosses and tablets is indeed a most profound and sobering experience. No matter the language, slowly, by increments, they convey to us a clear and distressing sense of what the poet Wilfred Owen meant by his phrase, "the pity of war" – stone upon stone, name upon name, the pathetic chronicle of a generation squandered. One struggles, perhaps, to believe the message the builders of these sites hoped to convey – that it all really did have some meaning – but the unrelenting story of waste and destruction told here is at times overwhelming, and we are left humbled in the presence of so many material reminders of the terrible human void created in the pursuance of a war which settled nothing, and indeed merely laid the foundations for the next great conflict.

This essay began with poetry, and so it shall end, for if war is a grim representation of humanity's capacity for destruction, than surely poetry

is an emblem of our higher nature and our ongoing search for what the great Romantic poet John Keats called "Truth and Beauty." Not long before he went over the top to die on July 1, 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme, a young British poet named John William Streets composed these lines, with their haunting description of an early battlefield cemetery and their prophetic vision of its legacy in the years to come:

> Behind that long and lonely trenched line
> To which men come and go, where brave men die,
> There is a yet unmarked and unknown shrine,
> A broken plot, a soldier's cemetery.
> There lie the flower of youth, the men who scorn'd
> To live (so died) when languished liberty:
> Across their graves flowerless and unadorned
> Still scream the shells of each artillery.
> When war shall cease, this lonely unknown spot
> Of many a pilgrimage will be the end,
> And flowers will shine in this now barren plot
> And fame upon it through the years descend:
> But many a heart upon each simple cross
> Will hang the grief, the memory of its loss.[50]

## NOTES

Except as otherwise noted, all photos in this essay are by the author, who wishes to especially thank his wife, Lotte Larsen Meyer, for her constant companionship and inspiration throughout the long process which has brought this work to fruition. I wish to dedicate this essay to Mr. Howard Ramsey of Portland, Oregon, who more than eighty years ago not only fought in The Great War as a member of the American Expeditionary Forces (A.E.F.) but also participated following the war in the construction of the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery, the largest American military cemetery in Europe.

1.  In *Poems of The Great War*, ed. J.W. Cunliffe (New York, NY, 1918), 21-22. Binyon's poem, written only weeks after The Great War's inception, provided solace to many grieving families for years to come, and the lines here quoted were often chosen by parents and wives as the inscription to be placed at the base of the headstones found in the military cemeteries established upon French and Belgian soil after the war by the Imperial War Graves Commission: see Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford, England, 1975), 56.

2.  Even as the war itself marked in many ways the threshold of modernity, the name given to it by its contemporaries indicates both its kinship to the type of naming prac-

tices utilized in former conflicts and its implicit recognition that this particular conflagration was unprecedented in history. The terms World War I and The First World War would not come into common use until several decades later, and only then as a means of differentiating it from its literal descendant, World War II, wherein lies the cruel irony implicit in another of the names once given to The Great War – "The War To End All Wars."

3.    There is not – and never can be – concurrence on the exact number of these casualties, nor on the totals assigned to individual combatant nations. By any account they are staggering. Martin Gilbert, in his *The First World War: A Complete History* (New York, NY, 1994), 541, sets the *minimum* figure for total war dead at 8,600,000, which should suffice to make the point. A number of excellent studies chronicle the daily horrors of trench warfare: three which I have found particularly useful over the years are John Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell: Trench Warfare in World War I* (Baltimore, MD, 1976); Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge, England, 1979); and Denis Winter, *Death's Men: Soldiers of The Great War* (London, England, 1979). Two works which competently address the role of new technologies in The Great War are William Moore, *Gas Attack!: Chemical Warfare, 1915-18 and Afterwards* (London, England, 1987); and Hubert C. Johnson, *Break-Through!: Tactics, Technology, and the Search for Victory on the Western Front in World War I* (Novato, CA, 1994). In addition to Martin Gilbert's work cited above, another recent general survey of the war worth consulting is Jay Winter and Blaine Bassett, *The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century* (New York, NY, 1996), companion volume to the excellent 1996 public television series of the same name.

4.    Leslie Coulson, "The Rainbow," in *From an Outpost* (London, England, 1917).

5.    Soldiers of other combatant nations are, of course, buried on the Western Front as well, sometimes in special sections of the major combatant's cemeteries or in municipal burial grounds. A Portuguese World War I military cemetery, containing some 1,800 burials, is located near the village of La Bassée, France.

6.    See Gilbert, *The First World War*, 541: also Annette Becker, "From Death to Memory: The National Ossuaries in France after The Great War," *History and Memory* 5:2 (1993), 32; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, England, 1995), 26; and Jean-Jacques Becker, *The Great War and the French People*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (Oxford, England, 1985), 330.

7.    Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 24.

8.    Two recent imaginative works which recreate the difficult and often harrowing task of recovering and identifying the bodies of fallen soldiers after war's end are Bertrand Tavernier's 1989 film, *La vie et rien d'autre* ("Life and Nothing But"), and Sébastien Japrisot's 1991 novel, *Un long dimanche de fiançailles* ("A Very Long Engagement"). On the various controversies surrounding the issues of cemetery consolidation and repatriation of bodies, see Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago, IL, 1999), 71-83; also Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 23-27.

9.    Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 26.

10. Tonie and Valmai Holt, *Battlefields of the First World War: A Traveler's Guide* (London, England, 1993), 179.

11. There is no variation to this statement, and no other sentiments are allowed. In contrast, private memorials for fallen soldiers in community cemeteries show many variations of the *"Mort Pour La France"* formula – *"Mort Pour La Patrie," "Mort Au De Champs D'Honneur,"* – as well as personal sentiments from family and even friends.

12. For excellent discussions of the ossuaries, their conception, design, and continuing function, see Becker, "From Death to Memory," 32-49; and Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, 81-94.

13. To gain an understanding of the historical events which made Verdun to the French what the Alamo is to Texans, see Alastair Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916* (London, England, 1962).

14. For the total figures, broken down by Britain and her various Imperial forces, see Gilbert, *The First World War,* 541. Many excellent accounts of the First Day of the Somme exist: see, for example, Martin Middlebrook, *The First Day on the Somme: 1 July 1916* (London, England, 1971); Chris McCarthy, *The Somme: The Day-by-Day Account* (London, England, 1993); and Lyn Macdonald, *Somme* (London, England, 1983).

15. A number of detailed and reliable examinations of this evolving process are available. See, in particular, Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-1984* (London, England, 1967); and Edwin Gibson and G. Kingsley Ward, *Courage Remembered: The Story Behind the Construction and Maintenance of the Commonwealth's Military Cemeteries and Memorials of the Wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945* (London, England, 1995), the latter also important for its descriptions of many of the most important sites. An enormously useful and thoroughly comprehensive listing, filled with maps, directions, excellent black and white photographs, and detailed site-by-site burial statistics is Sidney C. Hurst's compilation, *The Silent Cities: An Illustrated Guide to the War Cemeteries and Memorials to the 'Missing' in France and Flanders, 1914-1918* (London, England, 1929; reprint 1993). A number of recently published battlefield guides are also very helpful in this latter regard: see, in particular, the "walking guide" series put out by the London publishing firm of Leo Cooper (e.g., Paul Reed's *Walking the Somme: A Walker's Guide to the 1916 Somme Battlefields* (1997) and *Walking the Salient: A Walker's Guide to the Ypres Salient* (1999); also Holt and Holt, *Battlefields of the First World War: A Traveler's Guide*; and Rose E.B. Coombs, *Before Endeavours Fade: A Guide to the Battlefields of the First World War* (London, England, 1994).

16. On Ware and his efforts, see Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 1-28; and *passim*.

17. Gibson and Ward, *Courage Remembered*, 47.

18. See Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 359-407.

19. At the time of The Great War, Newfoundland was politically still a separate dominion: only in 1949 would it become a province of Canada. The decimation of the Royal

Newfoundland Regiment during the Battle of the Somme in 1916 is one of the many tragic stories of the war, and a visit to Beaumont-Hamel Memorial Park, site of the Regiment's battle lines, is a profoundly moving experience.

20. Rupert Brooke, *The Poetical Works*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, England, 1946).

21. On the relationship of the Commonwealth war cemeteries to horticulture and the notion of the English garden, see John Keegan, "There's Rosemary for Remembrance," *The American Scholar* 66:3 (1997), 335-348; also Paul Gough, " Conifers and Commemoration: The Politics and Protocol of Planting," *Landscape Research* 21:1 (1996), 73-87.

22. These are usually defined as 40 burials for a Cross of Sacrifice (size of the Cross may also vary depending upon the number of burials) and 400 burials for a Stone of Remembrance: see Gibson and Ward, *Courage Remembered*, 53.

23. For information on the political and aesthetic considerations leading to the adoption of these two powerful symbolic elements, see Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 36-37; 67-68; and *passim*: also Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 92; and Gibson and Ward, *Courage Remembered*, 52-54.

24. These replaced the earlier wooden crosses erected in the battlefield cemeteries during the war. Many of the original crosses (unlike the bodies resting beneath them) were repatriated to the home countries, where they often became important elements in personal or community memorials.

25. As in other matters, enormous controversy raged over the consideration to allow this element of personalization, with the government ultimately granting the practice as a concession to the enormous grief and loss suffered by individual families. The inscription seen on Wilfred Owen's marker (Fig. 20) is a quote from one of his youthful poems which was chosen by his mother: it would certainly not have pleased the poet, as it represents a stage of naive juvenile composition he had long since surpassed.

26. These are the only religious figural devices found: upon request, stones could feature neither.

27. Quoted in Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 54.

28. Much has been written on these massive and sobering memorials. See, in particular, Gibson and Ward, *Courage Remembered*, 156, 160-161; also Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 95-96, 101-106; and Holt and Holt, *Battlefields of the First World War: A Traveler's Guide*, 78, 99-101.

29. An excellent account of the history of Great War battlefield pilgrimage by Commonwealth citizens is contained in David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford, England, 1998).

30. Many first rate treatments of America's participation in World War I are currently available. Three highly recommended recent works are Byron Farwell, *Over There: The United States in The Great War, 1917-1918* (New York, NY, 1999); Gary Mead, *The Doughboys: America and the First World War* (Woodstock, NY, 2000); and, with particular emphasis upon home front issues, Merion and Susie Harries, *The Last Days of Innocence: America at War, 1917-1918* (New York, NY, 1997).

31. Farwell, *Over There*, 265.

32. Quoted in "'A Grave Diggin' Feelin' in my Heart': American War Dead of World War I," Chapter 5 of *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War* (New York, NY, 1997), 178.

33. For statistical and historical information on Meuse-Argonne and the other World War I (as well as WWII) military cemeteries in Europe, see Elizabeth Nishiura, ed., *American Battle Monuments: A Guide to Military Cemeteries and Monuments Maintained by the American Battle Monuments Commission* (Detroit, MI, 1989); and Dean W. Holt, *American Military Cemeteries: A Comprehensive Guide to the Hallowed Grounds of the United States, Including Cemeteries Overseas* (Jefferson, NC, 1992).

34. The role of black soldiers in this emotionally and physically difficult task has yet to be fully explored: Meigs, "'A Grave Diggin' Feelin' in my Heart'," touches upon it briefly, and it receives some attention in Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette C. Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: African-American Troops in World War I* (New York, NY, 1966), but none of the major surveys of the war, even those specifically dealing with the United States, provides any significant discussion of the issue.

35. I am most grateful to Mr. Ramsey for sharing with me this and other personal material relating to his wartime experiences.

36. On the progress and results of the debate over repatriation, see C. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, D.C., 1995), 95-98: also Ron Robin, "'A Foothold in Europe': The Aesthetics and Politics of American War Cemeteries in Western Europe," *Journal of American Studies* 19:1 (1995), 56-57; and Meigs, "'A Grave Diggin' Feelin' in My Heart'," 180-181.

37. Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 97.

38. Nishiura, *American Battle Monuments*, 55-72; 17-28.

39. Much has been written on the work and motivations of the ABMC during this period, perhaps the best of which is represented by Robin, "'A Foothold in Europe'," 55-72. See also Elizabeth G. Grossman, "Architecture for a Public Client: The Monuments and Chapels of The American Battle Monuments Commission," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43 (1984), 119-143.

40. On the landscape and monument characteristics of the Rural Cemetery Movement, see, in particular, Barbara Rotundo, " Mount Auburn Cemetery: A Proper Boston Institution," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 22:3 (1974), 268-279; Stanley French, "The

Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the Rural Cemetery Movement," *American Quarterly* 26 (1974), 37-59; and Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, OH, 1989).

41.  For a discussion of Classical and Gothic Revival style architecture and its impact upon American cemetery design, see Peggy McDowell and Richard E. Meyer, *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art* (Bowling Green, OH, 1994).

42.  The inscription is identical to that carved upon the face of The Tomb Of The Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery.

43.  In World War I, and subsequently, the Gold Star, displayed in windows and other appropriate settings, indicated a family member (or, in other circumstances, an employee, alumnus, etc.) lost in the war. For a discussion of the pilgrimages of Gold Star mothers and wives , see G. Kurt Piehler, "The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton, NJ, 1994), 168-185; also William Stevens Prince, *Crusade & Pilgrimage: A Soldier's Death, A Mother's Journey, & A Grandson's Quest* (Portland, OR, 1986). An exceptionally thoroughgoing analysis of the pilgrimages was provided by Lotte Larsen in a conference paper entitled "Cemetery Pilgrimage: American Women Travel Overseas in the 1930s to Mourn WWI Dead," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, April 19-22, 2000, in New Orleans, Louisiana.

44.  Gilbert, *The First World War*, 541.

45.  Laurence V. Moyer, *Victory Must Be Ours: Germany in The Great War, 1914-1918* (New York, NY, 1995), 292. This recent work is an excellent resource for all matters pertaining to Germany's role in the war.

46.  George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, NY, 1990), 81. Largely centered upon German commemorative efforts following each of the world wars, this work is an excellent source for information on war memorials, cemeteries, and other memorial devices and practices.

47.  *Ibid.*, 82.

48.  Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, *Kriegsgräberfürsorge: Stimme und Weg* (Kassel, Germany, n.d.), 30-31.

49.  These settings are undoubtedly strongly related to the German homefront practice of establishing *Heldenhaine*, or "Hero's Groves," specifically planted groves of dark trees which functioned as surrogate military graveyards, with trees taking the place of rows of actual graves. See Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 87.

50.  John William Streets, "A Soldier's Cemetery," in *The Undying Splendour* (London, England, 1917).

# APPENDIX

## Selected Sources on the Military Cemeteries and War Memorials of World War I Combatant Nations

The following is restricted to relatively recent secondary source materials on this subject. Much important earlier material exists as well, including a number of documents issued by such official bodies as the American Battle Monuments Commission, the Commonwealth (formerly Imperial) War Graves Commission, the *Secretariat D'Etat Charges des Anciens Combattants et des Victimes de Guerre*, and the *Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge*. Of particular interest are the famous *Michelin* guides to the World War I battlefields, issued in both French and English versions, which appeared shortly after the war and document a number of original battlefield cemeteries.

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## 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. Categorized entries, listed in alphabetical order by author, consist to a large extent of books and pamphlets 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 the majority of genealogical publications (there are exceptions in instances where the publication is deemed to be of value to researchers beyond a strictly local level) and cemetery "readings," book reviews, 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*). Beginning with *Markers XIV*, the listing has included a much larger selection of relevant foreign language materials in the field, 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, upon occasion, valuable unpublished typescripts on deposit in accessible locations. In addition, from *Markers XVI* onwards, it has included publications on war, holocaust, and disaster memorials and monuments (their essential function as cenotaphs relating them to the general field of gravemarkers), as well as formal papers presented at academic conferences which are relevant to the major themes covered by this bibliography. Commencing with this issue, entries have been separated into several large categories representing basic types of publication or other presentation.

With its debut 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). This same format was utilized in *Markers XIII* and again in *Markers XIV*, adding in each instance previously unreported work from 1990 onwards as well as the year just completed. Although a few references from the 1990-1995 period have undoubtedly gone unnoticed, it may at this point be safely assumed that the bibliographic record covering these years is relatively complete. Starting with *Markers XV*, therefore, "The Year's Work" has restricted itself to the two years immediately preceding the journal's annual publication date (thus, in this instance, the years 1999 and 2000): previously reported work from the earlier of these two years will not be repeated. To help facilitate this ongoing process, the editor continues to welcome addenda from readers (*complete* bibliographic citations, please) for inclusion in future editions. Although every effort is made to insure accuracy in these listings, the occasional error or omission may occur, for which apologies are sincerely offered.

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Luti, Vincent. "By Their Deeds. . . (Court Records, Probates, Account Books, Letters, Obituaries, and Gravestones)." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Lynch, Gay. "'. . . do not go and leave me behind unwept . . .': Greek Gravemarkers Heed the Warning." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Malloy, Brenda. "Early American Epitaphs of Death from Childbirth." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Malloy, Tom. "Epitaphs Documenting Accidental Death in Agrarian Massachusetts." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

_____. "Epitaphs Reflecting Early American Diseases." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Matero, Frank. "Constructing Tradition and Consuming Heritage: Life, Death, and the Revitalization of New Orleans' Cities of the Dead." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Mayer, Lance. "Gabriel Allen of Providence and the Beginnings of Marble Gravestone Carving in New England." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

McGirr, P.L. "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Black Gash of Shame: Codifying the Landscape as Feminine in the Twentieth Century." Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Québec City, Québec, Canada, January 4-9, 2000.

Merriam, Shelly. "The Cuttyhunk Island Cemetery Project." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Messimer, Claire. "Gardens of God." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Meyer, Richard E. "The Cartoonist Visits the Graveyard." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

_____. "Some Corners of Foreign Fields: Graves of the WWI Poets." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Mitchell, Michael Joseph. "Santeria in South Florida Cemeteries." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Morganstein, M.F., and Janowitz, C.L. "Stonewares in the Cemetery: Wasters and Kiln Furniture from the African Burial Ground in New York City." Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Québec City, Québec, Canada, January 4-9, 2000.

Mytum, H. "Beyond Famous Men and Women: Interpreting Historic Burial Grounds and Cemeteries." Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Québec City, Québec, Canada, January 4-9, 2000.

Nixon, Elisabeth. "'Waiting for Us at the Rainbow Bridge': Emerging Traditions of Pet Remembrance and Memorialization." Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Columbus, OH, October 25-29, 2000.

Overlie, Jill A. "The Martha T. Evans Mausoleum: A Contribution to Landscape Architecture and Female Patronage in the Rocky Mountain West." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Paraskevas, Cornelia. "Gravemarkers of Greek Immigrants to the U.S.: Linguistic Texts." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Paresi, Alicia R. "Cultural Resource Management for the Historic Burying Grounds of Concord, Massachusetts." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Pearson, Ann B. "The Cemetery Lantern Tour: History by Moonlight." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Pitts, R.H. "' The Dwellings of the Living and the Resting-Places of the Dead May be Alike Condemned': The Metamorphosis of the African Burial Ground from Hallowed Ground into Real Estate." Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Québec City, Québec, Canada, January 4-9, 2000.

Riordan, T.B. "'There Shall My Grave Digged Be': Changing Perspectives on Burial Practices in the Study of the Colonial Chesapeake." Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Québec City, Québec, Canada, January 4-9, 2000.

Rivers, Cheryl. "Portrait Stones of Recent Eastern European Jewish Immigrants." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Rotundo, Barbara. "Action:Reaction: Changing Values and Beliefs Reflected in the Arts, Including Gravestones." Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Popular / American Culture Association, Albany, NY, November 3-5, 2000.

_____. "A Few Last Words." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Schofield, Ann. "Performing Grief: The Changing Respectability of Mourning in Turn-of-the-Century America." Annual Meeting of the American Studies Association, Detroit, MI, October 12-15, 2000.

Sinan, Alma. "The Cemetery Revolution: Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the Formation of Pére Lachaise." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

_____. "A Wild and Yearning Love: Erotic Gravestone Art." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Slyomovics, Susan. "Palestinian Memorials to the Israeli Massacre at Kafr Qasim." Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Columbus, OH, October 25-29, 2000.

Sprague, Karen. "Recreating Eighteenth-Century Gravestones." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Sterling, John E. "Reading Difficult Stones." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Thursby, Jacqueline S. "The Scofield Cemetery, Carbon City, Utah." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Ware, Thomas C. "They Were Aliens: Now They're Permanent Parisians." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Weeks, Jim. "'One Vast Cemetery for Miles': The Gettysburg Battlefield, 1880-1920." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

White, Emilie. "Missouri Mayhew Mission." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, New Orleans, LA, April 19-22, 2000.

Wilkins, M.L. "'Long will men keep the memory bright. . .': The Battle of Memorialization, Landscape Preservation, and Management at Gettysburg National Battlefield Park." Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Québec City, Québec, Canada, January 4-9, 2000.

Winslow, Meg. "Sense and Sensibility: A Practical Approach to the Maintenance of Historic Gravestones." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Providence, RI, June 22-25, 2000.

Zhang, Juwen. "Maintaining Memory of Identity Through Ritualization." Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Columbus, OH, October 25-29, 2000.

## CONTRIBUTORS

**James Blachowicz**, Professor of Philosophy at Loyola University, Chicago, became interested in early American gravestones during a summer in Falmouth, Massachusetts in 1972, but didn't discover the Association for Gravestone Studies until 1994. He has contributed three papers to the *AGS Quarterly*, and two of his studies on the gravestone carving traditions of Plymouth and Cape Cod have appeared in *Markers XV* (1998) and *Markers XVII* (2000), the latter in collaboration with Vincent F. Luti. He has recently completed a book, *An American Craft Lineage*, which greatly expands his work on Plymouth and the Cape, focusing on twenty-five stonecarvers in the two regions active from 1770 through 1870. His book in philosophy, *Of Two Minds: The Nature of Inquiry* (State University of New York Press), appeared in 1998.

**Elizabeth Broman** is a reference librarian at the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, in New York City. The essay found in this issue is a shortened version of her Master's thesis in Art History. She has lived close to Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York, all her life, and it was there her interest in gravestones and funerary architecture began.

**Emily Dickinson** (1830-1886) is universally acknowledged as one of the very best poets America has produced. Though she spent the greater part of her adult life within her own house and yard in Amherst, Massachusetts, she was a great observer of both nature and the human condition, capturing distinctive and haunting elements of each in the 1,775 poems she left behind at her death. Her poetry is characterized by a compressed diction and other stylistic features far in advance of its time, and by the highly unusual perspectives she brings to her subjects.

**Eva Eckert** teaches linguistics, Russian, and Czech at Connecticut College, where she chairs the Department of Russian and East European Studies. A Czech native with degrees from Charles University in Prague, the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and the University of California, Berkeley, she has published material on Slavic verbal aspects, standard and colloquial language varieties, and language change and loss in American Czech. Her article on language and ethnicity maintenance,

using Czech tombstone inscriptions, is found in *Markers XV*. She is currently writing a book on the acculturation of Texas Czechs, a case study in history and ethnography using gravestones and immigrant newspapers as primary sources.

**Richard E. Meyer** is Professor Emeritus of English and Folklore at Western Oregon University. Besides serving as editor of *Markers* for the last nine issues, he has edited the books *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (1989, reprinted 1992) and *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* (1993) and is co-author (with Peggy McDowell) of the book *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art* (1994). He is a member of the editorial board of *The Journal of American Culture*, a former president of the Oregon Folklore Society, and from 1986-1996 chaired the Cemeteries and Gravemarkers section of the American Culture Association. His articles on Oregon pioneer gravemarkers and (with David M. Gradwohl) on San Francisco's Presidio Pet Cemetery have appeared in *Markers XI* and *Markers XII*, respectively. In 1998 he was a recipient of the Association for Gravestone Studies' Harriete M. Forbes Award for excellence in gravestone studies. Besides his contribution to material necrology, he has published a wide variety of scholarly materials in both folklore and literary studies. He is currently in the early stages of a projected book on America's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery.

**Randall M. Thies** is an archaeologist and cultural resources specialist with the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, Kansas. Born and raised in western Kansas, he completed his graduate training at Iowa State University under the direction of Association for Gravestone Studies member David M. Gradwohl. He served for several years as Kansas coordinator for the Save Outdoor Sculpture program and has a strong interest in war memorials, most particularly Civil War monuments, recently publishing an article in the journal *Kansas History* which examines a unique Civil War monument found in the Kinsley, Kansas, Cemetery.

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Boldface page numbers [in brackets] indicate illustrations

## 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 non-analytical 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*.

**Submissions**
Submissions to *Markers* should be sent to the journal's editor, Richard E. Meyer, P.O. Box 13006, Salem, OR 97309-1006 (Telephone: 503-581-5344 / E-Mail: meyerr@wou.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. Longer articles may be considered if they are of exceptional merit and if space permits.

Should the article be accepted for publication, a final version of the text of the manuscript must be submitted to the editor in both a hard copy and computer diskette (3.5″) 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.

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

### Style/Notes

In matters of style, manuscripts should conform to the rules and principles enumerated in the most current edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. **[a notice in earlier versions of this document that the journal would be switching to the Modern Language Association (MLA) style configuration commencing with the year 2000 should be disregarded as the proposed change has been postponed for an indefinite period]**.

Notes, whether documentary or discursive, should appear as endnotes (i.e., at the conclusion of the article) and those of a documentary nature should conform in format to the models found in the chapter entitled "Note Forms" of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. In manuscript, they should be typed double-spaced and appear following the text of the article and before any appended material. Separate bibliographies are not desired, though bibliographical material may, of course, be included within one or more notes. Any acknowledgments should be made in a separate paragraph at the beginning of the note section.

Any appendices should be placed following the endnotes and clearly labeled as such (e.g., Appendix I, Appendix II, etc.).

Again, the prospective author is encouraged to consult recent issues of *Markers* for examples of these principles in context.

## Illustrations

*Markers* is a richly illustrated journal, its subject matter naturally lending itself to photographs and other visual material. The journal encourages prospective authors to submit up to twenty photographs, plus any number of appropriate pieces of line art, with the understanding that these be carefully chosen so as to materially enhance the article's value through visual presentation of points under discussion in the text. Photos should be 5 x 7 or 8 x 10 black and white glossy prints of medium-high contrast, and should be of the highest quality possible. Although black and white is without question the preferred format, color prints, if they are of exceptionally high quality, may be submitted. **Neither color transparencies (i.e., slides) nor pre-scanned photographic images submitted on computer disk are acceptable**. Maps, charts, diagrams or other line art should be rendered as carefully as possible so as to enhance presentation. A separate sheet should be provided listing captions for each illustration. It is especially important that each illustration be numbered and clearly identified by parenthetical reference at the appropriate place in the text, e.g. (Fig. 7).

## Review

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

## Copyright

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

# AGS JOURNALS

**MARKERS I**    Reprint of 1980 journal. Collection of 15 articles on topics such as recording & care of gravestones, resources for teachers, some unusual markers, & carvers Ithamar Spauldin of Concord, MA & the CT Hook-and-Eye Man. [182 pp; 100 illus.]

**MARKERS II**    Signed stones in New England & Atlantic coastal states; winged skull symbol in Scotland & New England; early symbols in religious & wider social perspective; MA carvers Joseph Barbur, Jr., Stephen & Charles Hartshorn, & carver known as "JN"; Portage County, WI carvers, 1850-1900; & a contemporary carver of San Angelo, TX. [226 pp.; 168 illus.]

**MARKERS III**    Gravestone styles in frontier towns of western MA.; emblems & epitaphs on Puritan markers; John Hartshorn's carvings in Essex County, MA.; & NH carvers Paul Colburn, John Ball, Josiah Coolidge Wheat, Coolidge Wheat, & Luther Hubbard. [154 pp.; 80 illus.]

**MARKERS IV**  DE children's stones, 1840-1899; rural southern gravemarkers; NY & NJ carving traditions; *camposantos* of NM; & death Italo-American style. [180 pp.; 138 illus.]

**MARKERS V**    PA German markers; mausoleum designs of Louis Henri Sullivan; Thomas Gold & 7 Boston carvers, 1700-1725, who signed stones with their initials; & Canadian gravestones & yards in Ontario & Kings County, Nova Scotia. [240 pp.; 158 illus.]

**MARKERS VI**  Carver John Dwight of Shirley, MA.; markers of Afro-Americans from New England to GA; sociological study of Chicago-area monuments; more on NM *camposantos*; hand symbolism in southwestern Ontario; an epitaph from ancient Turkey; & a review essay on James Slater's *The Colonial Burying Grounds of Eastern Connecticut*. [245 pp.; 90 illus.]

**MARKERS VII**    A trilogy on cemetery gates & plot enclosures; the Boston Historic Burying Grounds Initiative; unusual monuments in colonial tidewater VA; tree stones in Southern IN's Limestone Belt; life & work of VA carver Charles Miller Walsh; carvers of Monroe County, IN; Celtic crosses; & monuments of the Tsimshian Indians of western Canada. [281 pp.; 158 illus.]

**MARKERS VIII**    A collection of the pioneering studies of Dr. Ernest Caulfield on CT carvers & their work: 15 essays edited by James A. Slater & 3 edited by Peter Benes. [342 pp.; 206 illus.]

**MARKERS IX**    A tribute to the art of Francis Duval; the Mulliken Family carvers of Bradford, MA; the Green Man on Scottish markers; the Center Church Crypt, New Haven, CT; more on Ithamar Spauldin & his shop; the Almshouse Burial Ground, Uxbridge, MA; Thomas Crawford's monument for Amos Binney; Salt Lake City Temple symbols on Mormon tombstones; language codes in TX German cemeteries; & the disappearing Shaker cemetery. [281 pp.; 176 illus.]

**MARKERS X**    The markers carved by Calvin Barber of Simsbury, CT; Chinese markers in a midwestern American cemetery; stonecarving of Charles Lloyd Neale of Alexandria, VA.; Jewish cemeteries of Louisville, KY; 4 generations of the Lamson family carvers of Charlestown & Malden, MA; & the Protestant Cemetery in Florence, Italy. [254 pp.; 122 illus.]

**MARKERS XI**    Fraternal symbolism & gravemarkers; regional & denominational identity in LA cemeteries; carvings of Solomon Brewer in Westchester County, NY; Theodore O'Hara's 'The Bivouac of the Dead'; slave markers in colonial MA; the Leighton & Worster families of carvers; a KY stonecutter's career; & pioneer markers in OR. [237 pp.; 132 illus.]

**MARKERS XII**    Terra-Cotta gravemarkers; Adam & Eve markers in Scotland; a sociological examination of cemeteries as communities; the Joshua Hempstead diary; contemporary gravemarkers of youths; San Francisco's Presidio Pet Cemetery; & The Year's Work in Gravemarker/Cemetery Studies. [238 pp.; 111 illus.]

**MARKERS XIII**    Carver Jotham Warren of Plainfield, CT; tree-stump tombstones; 50 Years of gravestone carving in Coastal NH; language community in a TX cemetery; carver John Huntington of Lebanon, CT; & "The Year's Work." [248 pp.; 172 illus.]

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