MARKERS XIX

Edited by
Richard E. Meyer

Rosalee Oakley

Markers XIX

Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies

Edited by
Richard E. Meyer

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Cover illustration: Detail on gravestone, Fir Crest Cemetery, near Monmouth, Oregon. Photograph by Richard E. Meyer.

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MARKERS: ANNUAL JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR GRAVESTONE STUDIES

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Those of us who study and love the old stones are at times brought face to face with a reality the Puritans understood only too well, and the inscriptions they often carved upon their gravemarkers serve to remind us that we are no more immune to the fact of mortality than those for whom these artifacts were originally created. Two individuals who meant a great deal to gravestone studies passed away recently, and it is a sad year indeed when we find ourselves in the position of needing to publish two obituaries in *Markers*. Still, these obituaries, tributes that they are, constitute an important part of the memorial process, and I hope – even if you did not know James Deetz and Ivan Rigny – that you will take a few moments here to learn a bit about the lives and achievements of these two remarkable men.

Markers XIX contains articles presenting a variety of topics and perspectives – testimony once again to the vitality and diversity of this field of study.

I am particularly pleased that two essays – those by James Blachowicz and Ann Cathcart – choose to focus on one of the most overlooked areas of gravestone studies, the role of those carvers who were practicing their trade during that critical period when the predominant material of choice for markers was shifting from slate to marble. Often plain and unadorned when compared to the work of some of the well known slate carvers which has been so well documented from the time of Harriette Forbes onwards, the stones which these early marble carvers placed in thousands of graveyards must not be neglected if we are ever to truly understand the history and evolution of cemeteries and gravemarkers in this country.

Thanks are in order to many for the vital roles they have played in making *Markers XIX* a reality: first and foremost among these, of course, are the current year's contributors for the high quality of their submissions. Grateful thanks as well to the individual members of the journal's editorial review board for their dedicated efforts, good judgement, and consistently high standards. I owe a particular debt of thanks this year to Susan Olsen, Executive Director of the Friends of Woodlawn Cemetery in New York City (Bronx), for supplying us with the wonderful vintage drawing used to illustrate Kenneth Pobo's poem on the Key West Cemetery. As they have for many years, Fred Kennedy of Lynx Communication Group, Salem, Oregon, and Patti Stephens of Philomath, Oregon have once again spared no effort in applying their considerable production and design skills to the process which makes *Markers* the handsome volume it is. The officers, executive board members, staff, and general membership of the Association for Gravestone Studies are, of course, the backbone of support which makes it all possible. And finally, two in particular whose love has been so important in all that I do: Lotte Larsen Meyer, ongoing companion of my soul, and a sweet little Siamese cat, Vienna (1983-2001), *notre ami de coeur*.

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.

James Fanto Deetz (1930-2000)

OBITUARY: JAMES FANTO DEETZ (1930-2000)

Kathryn Crabtree and Eugene Prince

James Deetz was an outstanding anthropologist, a specialist in historical archaeology, whose professional career spanned forty years. Many students of cemeteries and gravemarkers are familiar with the pioneering work he and Edwin (Ted) Dethlefsen did in the 1960s, exploring the cultural patterns found in colonial gravestones from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England. As experimental archaeology, these studies are important in the history of archaeological theory. Deetz and Dethlefsen serendipitously discovered that they could use tightly *controlled* data from historic cemeteries to test some of the methods commonly applied to the study of prehistoric archaeological sites. Based on the notion that styles gradually come into fashion, reach a peak of popularity, and then decline in favor (which is shown graphically as the classic battleship-shaped curve), seriation allows an archaeologist to order sites chronologically before firm dates can be established. Deetz and Dethlefsen's results, happily, validated this relative dating method. They also found that the anthropological concept of diffusion, how cultural ideas spread, could be examined by distinguishing changes in gravestone styles. Further possibilities for interesting things to do with gravestones were seemingly endless, and exciting. One need only read Jim's foreword to Richard Meyer's 1989 *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* to appreciate what a grand time it was!

In some four years of studying colonial gravestones in New England (circa 1963-1967), Jim and Ted opened the doors for a new approach to material culture studies in archaeology – by recording artifacts that were not only above-ground, but actually bearing dates, and furthermore, still *in situ* (their original place). Historical archaeologists have the advantage – over those who study prehistory – of access to documentary sources by which to check or support their interpretations of the data, and the information inherent in these early stones was prime material for learning more about the people who chose the designs and erected them as memorials. Jim and Ted also discovered Harriette Merrifield Forbes's seminal study, and they applied what she had learned about the carvers of these folk objects to the task at hand.[1] Paying close attention to stylistic variations in the artifacts, combined with archival research and knowledge of the historic period under study, Jim and Ted sought the underlying reasons for such changes. The sequence they perceived, from death's head to cherub to urn and willow, appeared to be resonant with docu-

mented changes in religious views prevalent over the period under study. The two scholars co-authored five professional papers from their cemetery findings, which are listed in the Appendix. The clearest statement of this work for the non-archaeologist is "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow," originally published in *Natural History* magazine in 1967. Its lasting value is evident from the three reprints of this article that have appeared, one in a collection of general interest and two in readers intended for classroom use.[2]

While Ted's later work would include a number of studies specific to gravemarkers, Jim cast his net in various directions. But he never forgot the lessons he had learned from looking at colonial stones early in his career, and he continued to use gravemarkers as examples in teaching and in nearly every paper and book he wrote for the next thirty-plus years. He probably sent hundreds of students from his always-popular courses in American material culture out to their local graveyards for term paper and thesis projects, demonstrating that it is entirely possible to do archaeology without ever setting a spade in the dirt. As he once told Kathryn, in an advisor-student meeting, a gravemarker is "the most violent communicative device going!"

Jim was born in Cumberland, Maryland, and earned his undergraduate and graduate degrees at Harvard. His 1960 doctoral dissertation on Arikara ceramics was published in 1965, and is still considered an important contribution, while his 1967 *Invitation to Archaeology* remains an excellent introduction to the field (in fact, it was translated into Japanese as recently as 1988). Although initially trained in prehistoric archaeology, Jim's ever-expanding intellectual curiosity led to anthropological studies of early American life, first in New England, and later in Tidewater Virginia. Eventually his research became truly global, as he applied his knowledge of American and British material culture to comparative studies of English settlements in colonial-period South Africa.

His academic appointments included the University of California at Santa Barbara, Brown University, and the University of California at Berkeley (where he also served as the director of the then-Lowie Museum of Anthropology, and won Berkeley's Distinguished Teaching Award in 1982). From 1994 he held an endowed chair, Harrison Professor of Historical Archaeology, at the University of Virginia. He wrote six books, edited others, and prepared a large number of journal papers over the course of his career. Here we have chosen to highlight only a few of his many publications — those of particular interest in gravestone studies, some other

significant theoretical works, and his major books. Among the latter is Jim's multiple award-winning study, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864*, which was published in 1993. His full, and extensive, bibliography (and additional information about him) may be viewed on-line at *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project*.[3] It is worth noting, also, that his students presented him with two *festschrifts* during his lifetime.[4]

Jim was one of the first to embrace, and indeed helped define, the specialty known as historical archaeology in this country, which is now recognized as a specific sub-discipline of anthropology. He was one of the earliest presidents of the Society for Historical Archaeology (in 1974), and its membership would recognize his life-long contributions to the field with the J.C. Harrington Medal in Historical Archaeology in 1997, thirty years after the organization was founded.[5] For his innovative contributions to Plimoth Plantation (where Jim was Assistant Director from 1967 to 1978, and later a trustee), he was honored with the Henry Hornblower Tribute Award in 1999. And, of course, most readers of this journal will be aware that he, along with folklorist Warren Roberts, jointly received the Harriette Merrifield Forbes Award from the Association for Gravestone Studies in 2000.

Jim was a scholar of great depth and breadth, and he was a supremely gifted teacher, both in the classroom and outside of it. All of us who had the privilege of studying under him or working with him in a variety of settings will always remember his irrepressible nature, his entertaining (often irreverent, but always insightful) lectures and comments, and his *joie de vivre*. Numerous crew members who lived in tents through steamy, stormy, Virginia summers would have to admit that Jim could make all manner of discomforts not only bearable, but fun. He certainly took a broad view of his work, as he commented to Gene in the field on the Flowerdew project: "one minute I'm doing archaeology, and the next minute I'm doing folklore; half an hour ago I was doing history." But eventually it all came together. Jim's goals, clearly, were not frivolous: he made his students and his colleagues *think*, think about the reasons for the work — and the methods we bring to it — and always to reach for the big picture. What was life really like for the people whose discarded garbage we excavate and whose houses we measure, and how did their *beliefs* affect the artifacts they made and used? Among his research specialties he listed "the greater understanding of culture, cognition, and the impact of mind on the shape, form, and use of the material world."[6]

The finest guide to his way of thinking that we can recommend is Jim's 1996 book, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (revised and expanded from the edition published in 1977). It is scholarly, yet a very accessible work, for he always wrote clearly and concisely, to communicate his ideas not just to other academics, but to as wide an audience as possible. This brief study both explains the value of doing historical archaeology and treats a range of material culture as clues, not only to behavior, but also to a worldview (to us, quite foreign) of people who lived in the past. Anthropologists use the concept of culture, which, Jim would have us remember, is itself a mental construct, to understand human behavior in all of its complexity. His work frequently focused on how cultures change over time, and he was a master of discovering stylistic variations that point to the underlying patterns. The changes seen in gravestones — to which he devotes a full chapter in this book — are correlated with other classes of material culture (ceramics, houses, foodways, music, etc.) that mutually support his thesis. What Jim wanted us to understand was that the "small things" left by those who came before us are their legacy; and if we are careful in our analysis and *courageous* in our interpretations, the objects provide one of the most honest statements from which to seek knowledge of the past.

Jim's body of work teaches archaeologists, and many others, to view gravemarkers and cemeteries as cultural artifacts and landscapes of deep significance to those who made and used them. The inclusion of the cemetery has become standard practice in community studies, for this allows the investigator access to an invaluable set of artifacts of both social and religious importance. Jim's gift was to broaden our perspectives, to open our eyes to differing historical uses of commonplace objects, and to insist that we think hard about their meaning (or their multiple meanings, depending on the cultural context in which they were used). For only then can we begin to incorporate more of the people who lived in the past: not just the famous, the wealthy, and the literate, but the majority, who indeed left few, if any, written records. By using a combination of solid scholarship within a sound historical framework and careful analysis of the artifactual record, the stories we tell about the past will make meaningful connections with the lives of the people who lived there, which can only be a good thing for all concerned.

With his first wife, Eleanore Kelley Deetz, Jim had nine children; the Deetz family now includes seventeen grandchildren. His final book, *The Times of Their Lives: Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony* (available only

James Deetz teaching ceramics class,
Archaeology Laboratory, Flowerdew Hundred, VA.

a few weeks before his death), was co-authored by his second wife, Patricia Scott Deetz. She plans to complete their joint work on a children's book about Plymouth Colony. Jim Deetz is buried at St. Peter's Catholic Cemetery in Westernport, Maryland, and one of his daughters, Cindy Deetz, has designed a marvelous seventeenth-century-style marker (to be carved of slate) for his gravesite. The family hopes that it will be in place by spring 2002.

As one of his former students, Margaret Purser, remarked for a memorial service held at Berkeley: "the culmination of a great career is a truly lived life." Jim did it all. He inspired vast legions of students, colleagues, and friends — through his excellent scholarship, his oftentimes magical teaching, and the many enthusiasms he brought to his work. His myriad contributions, both professional and personal, will live on.

NOTES

Our special thanks to Trish Deetz, who encouraged us from the beginning of our work on this tribute: she graciously answered questions, provided photos of her husband, gave us permission to quote from *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project* web site, and took time to review a draft. We'd also like to thank Cindy Deetz for her spirited response. We further appreciate the considered comments of Dave and Vera-Mae Fredrickson, while Michael Stephens's suggestions were helpful as well. Margie Purser kindly gave us permission to quote from her manuscript, "Remembering Jim." The frontispiece (by Coy Barefoot) and Burial Hill Cemetery photo are courtesy of Patricia Scott Deetz. The Flowerdew Hundred lab photo (by Gene Prince) is courtesy of the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

1. Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1927).

2. The full text of this article, with photos, is also available on-line: see James Deetz, Patricia Scott Deetz, and Christopher Fennell, eds., *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2000), http://etext.virginia.edu/users/deetz (1 September 2001).

3. *Ibid.*

4. Anne Elizabeth Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 1992); Mary Ellin D'Agostino, Elizabeth Prine, Eleanor Casella, and Margot Winer, eds., *The Written and the Wrought: Complementary Sources in Historical Archaeology, Essays in Honor of James Deetz,* Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, no. 79 (Berkeley, CA: Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, 1995).

5. See Marley Brown III, "J.C. Harrington Medal in Historical Archaeology: James Deetz 1997," *Historical Archaeology* 31: 4 (1997): 1-4.

6. James Deetz, "A Summary of James Deetz's Work & Publications," in *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project.*

APPENDIX

A Select Bibliography (presented chronologically) of James Deetz's Major Works and Gravestone Studies

"Style Change in New England Colonial Gravestone Design: An Experiment in 'Historic Archaeology.'" MS, Archaeological Materials and Techniques, 1963. Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

With Edwin Dethlefsen. "The Doppler Effect and Archaeology: A Consideration of the Spatial Aspects of Seriation." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 21:3 (1965), pp. 196-206. Reprinted in *Experimental Archeology,* ed. Daniel Ingersoll, John E. Yellen, and William Macdonald. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1977, pp. 133-144.

The Dynamics of Stylistic Change in Arikara Ceramics. Illinois Studies in Anthropology, no. 4. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1965. [Published version of his 1960 Ph.D. dissertation.]

With Edwin Dethlefsen. "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries." *American Antiquity* 31:4 (1966), pp. 502-510. Excerpted in *Passing: the Vision of Death in America,* ed. Charles O. Jackson. Contributions in Family Studies, no. 2. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977, pp. 48-59. Also available as "Experimentación Arqueológica en Cementerio Colonial: Diseños de Calaveras, Querubines y Sauces" [cover title "Arqueologia Experimental en Cementerios Coloniales"], trans. Jaime Miasta Gutiérrez. Lecturas "Emilio Choy," no. 15. Lima, Peru: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, 1998, pp. 31-55 [2].

With Edwin Dethlefsen. "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow." *Natural History* 76:3 (1967), pp. 28-37. Reprinted in *Contemporary Archaeology: A Guide to Theory and Contributions,* ed. Mark P. Leone. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972, pp. 402-410. Reprinted in *Man's Many Ways: The Natural History Reader in Anthropology,* ed. Richard A. Gould. New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1977, pp. 88-93. Reprinted in *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions,* ed. Robert L. Schuyler. Farmingdale, NY: Baywood Pub-

lishing, 1978, pp. 83-89. Available on-line in James Deetz, Patricia Scott Deetz, and Christopher Fennell, eds., *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2000), http://etext.virginia.edu/users/deetz (1 September 2001).

With Edwin Dethlefsen. "Eighteenth Century Cemeteries: A Demographic View." *Historical Archaeology* 1 (1967), pp. 40-42.

Invitation to Archaeology. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Natural History Press, American Museum Science Books, 1967. [Translated into Japanese, Tokyo, Japan: Tuttle-Mori Agency, 1988.]

"Late Man in North America: Archeology of European Americans." In *Anthropological Archeology in the Americas*, ed. Betty J. Meggers. Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington, 1968, pp. 121-130. Reprinted in *Man's Imprint from the Past: Readings in the Methods of Archaeology*, ed. James Deetz. The Little, Brown Series in Anthropology. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1971, pp. 208-218. Reprinted in *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, ed. Robert L. Schuyler. Farmingdale, NY: Baywood Publishing, 1978, pp. 48-52.

"Archaeology as a Social Science." In *Current Directions in Anthropology*. Bulletins of the American Anthropological Association 3:3, pt. 2 (1970), pp. 115-125. Reprinted in *Contemporary Archaeology: A Guide to Theory and Contributions*, ed. Mark P. Leone. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972, pp. 108-117. Reprinted in *ASA Journal* 1:2 (1977), pp. 5-14.

"Must Archaeologists Dig?" In *Man's Imprint from the Past: Readings in the Methods of Archaeology*, ed. James Deetz. The Little, Brown Series in Anthropology. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1971, pp. 2-9.

With Edwin Dethlefsen. "Some Social Aspects of New England Colonial Mortuary Art." In *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, ed. James A. Brown. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, no. 25, ser. ed. Stuart Streuver. Issued as *American Antiquity* 36:3, pt. 2 (1971), pp. 30-38.

"A Cognitive Historical Model for American Material Culture: 1620-1835." In *Reconstructing Complex Societies — An Archaeological Colloquium*, ed. Charlotte B. Moore. Supplement to the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, no. 20 (1974), pp. 21-24. Reprinted in *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, ed. Robert L. Schuyler. Farmingdale, NY: Baywood Publishing, 1978, pp. 284-286.

In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Anchor Press, Anchor Books, 1977. Reprint, New York, NY: Doubleday, 1989.

"Material Culture and Archaeology - What's the Difference?" In *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*, ed. Leland Ferguson. Special Publication Series, no. 2, ser. ed. John D. Combes. N.p.: The Society for Historical Archaeology, 1977, pp. 9-12.

"Scientific Humanism and Humanistic Science: A Plea for Paradigmatic Pluralism in Historical Archaeology." In *Historical Archaeology of the Eastern United States: Papers from the R.J. Russell Symposium*, ed. Robert W. Neuman. Baton Rouge, LA: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University. Issued as *Geoscience and Man* 23 (April 29, 1983), pp. 27-34.

"History and Archaeological Theory: Walter Taylor Revisited." *American Antiquity* 53:1 (1988), pp. 13-22.

"Material Culture and Worldview in Colonial Anglo-America." In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter Jr. Anthropological Society of Washington. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988, pp. 219-233.

"Archaeography, Archaeology, or Archeology?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 93:3 (1989), pp. 429-435.

Foreword to *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer. American Material Culture and Folklife, ser. ed. Simon J. Bronner. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989, pp. ix-xiv. Reprint, Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1992.

Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993. Reprint, Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1995.

In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life. Rev. and expanded ed. New York, NY: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1996.

"Discussion: Archaeologists as Storytellers." In *Archaeologists as Storytellers,* ed. Mary Praetzellis. *Historical Archaeology* 32:1 (1998), pp. 94-96.

"Cultural Dimensions of Ethnicity in the Archaeological Record." Keynote Address, 28th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Washington, D.C., 1995. In *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project,* ed. James Deetz, Patricia Scott Deetz, and Christopher Fennell. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2000. http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/users/deetz/Plymouth/JDeetzmem6.html (1 September 2001).

With Patricia Scott Deetz. *The Times of Their Lives: Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony.* New York, NY: W.H. Freeman, 2000. Reprint, New York, NY: Random House, Anchor Books, 2001.

James Deetz with Nancy Brennan, Director of Plimoth Plantation, at Burial Hill Cemetery, Plymouth, MA (circa 1998).

OBITUARY: IVAN B. RIGBY (1908-2000)

Jessie Lie Farber, with Katherine M. Noordsij

Ivan Rigby – artist, scholar, collector, and educator – died after a brief illness on October 25, 2000, in Circleville, Ohio, where he had been living with relatives. After a memorial service in Circleville, he was buried with full military honors in his family plot in La Follette, Tennessee. He was 92.

For those who are students of gravestone art, Ivan Rigby's work stands as a testament to his valuable contributions to this field. For those of us who knew Ivan personally and are familiar with the details of his years of intense and tireless creativity, his dedicated, scrupulous scholarship, and his personal integrity and loyalty, his death is a larger loss. We miss this gentle, modest man.

Ivan Rigby was born in La Follette, Tennessee. In 1931, he graduated from The Maryland Institute of Art, in Baltimore, Maryland, where he was awarded a European scholarship to study three-dimensional design. After graduation, he served on the faculties of several schools in Maryland, including The Maryland Institute of Art, where he taught a course in three-dimensional design. In 1939, he obtained a teaching position at the Pratt Institute, in Brooklyn, New York. Between 1939 and 1942, he received his Bachelor of Fine Arts from Pratt and took private lessons with the sculptor Alexander Archipenko. With colleagues at Pratt, he developed a course in model making and camouflage.

In 1942, Rigby was drafted into the United States Army; he served until 1945. The army assigned him to the Corps of Engineers, Camouflage Unit, and later to Three-Dimensional Strategic Scale Model Units in the United States, in England, and, after the invasion, in Paris. During this time, he prepared three-dimensional terrain maps for the invasions in the European and Pacific theatres. He also found time to explore Paris's art scene, to ring the bells of Notre Dame Cathedral, and to visit celebrated artists in their studios, among them, Henry Moore, Pablo Picasso, George Braque, Le Corbusier, Alexander Calder, and Salvador Dali.

In 1945, Ivan returned to The Pratt Institute, where he taught in the Foundation and the Industrial Design Departments. As one of the directors of The Pratt Gallery, he developed many exhibits, several of which included his own work in some of his major areas of interest: Pre-Columbian art, Mexican art, and early American gravestone art.

He retired from full-time teaching in 1973, continuing, however, to

teach one or two courses. In 1992, the Pratt Institute presented him with The Rowena Reed Kostellow Award in honor of his long commitment to excellence in industrial design education. Among the many letters from former students congratulating him was one which read:

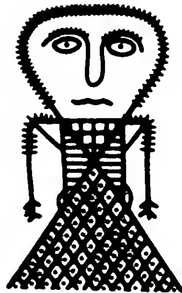
> ... If someone were to ask me who was the most influential teacher in college, I would have to say: Ivan Rigby. You taught me to see, to be critical of what I do, and you gave me tough standards to follow. Fifteen years ago I was doing seams on my dry walls ... and you were standing over my shoulder saying: 'Now I don't want to see one flaw in the plaster. I don't want to see one sandpaper scratch. I don't want to see one bubble, one ripple.' ... [As a teacher] my basic design courses in the Fine Arts were based upon my Pratt training, and I must say I patterned myself upon you ... I felt if I could give [my students] what you'd given me, then they would have something ...

One of Ivan's students was Francis Duval, a French Canadian from Montreal, who worked, following his graduation from Pratt, as a commercial photographer. Francis was a tireless perfectionist, also interested in the art found on early American gravestones. Ivan, after his retirement, converted the garage of his Brooklyn apartment into a studio. There he and Francis became colleagues and fellow artists, creating art as well as promoting the understanding, appreciation, and preservation of gravestone sculpture, a then relatively unrecognized area of American folk art. For twenty years, they traveled through New England, south to North Carolina, and west to Ohio, capturing fine examples of this art in photographs and in stunning three-dimensional molds, which were then cast in plaster for photography and display. Their work was the subject of numerous exhibitions and was recorded in various publications, the most complete of which was their book, *Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs*, published in 1978 by Dover Publications, Inc. After Francis' untimely death, the result of complications from an accident in 1989, Ivan donated their photographs and molds to The Museum of American Folk Art in New York City. This large and important gift, added to rubbings by Susan Kelly and Anne Williams, molds by William McGeer, photographs by Dan and Jessie Lie Farber, and one original gravestone, has resulted in this country's largest and most varied museum collection of early American gravestone art.

Like many members of The Association for Gravestone Studies, Ivan and Francis felt a need to share the discoveries, frustrations, and successes they experienced in their often lonely work in graveyards. Beginning with the 1976 Dublin Seminar in Dublin, New Hampshire, which pre-dated the founding of AGS, they attended every conference until

Francis' death. Their presence, and later their absence, was keenly felt. Their contributions to these conferences were specific and unique. Neither Francis nor Ivan ever presented a formal paper, and in 1981 they even declined the Harriette Merrifield Forbes Award, the Association's highest honor. They enjoyed the informality of "The Late Night Show," which they originated and which continues as a popular session at AGS conferences. They produced beautiful, professional-standard exhibits. They designed the layout for and contributed an article ("Openwork Memorials of North Carolina") to *Markers I*, the first edition of AGS's Annual Journal, which was introduced at the 1980 conference. They designed the organization's original logo. Ivan and Francis were regular contributors to the *AGS Newsletter* (now the *AGS Quarterly*), and they completed the first two issues, published by AGS, of a planned series of illustrated guides to the best stones in a variety of geographic areas. They were generous with their time, helpful to anyone who shared their interest in America's early gravestone art. In the area of conservation, they arranged for an important, threatened stone (Eliakim Hayden, 1797, Essex, Connecticut) to be taken into a museum for safekeeping. And they practiced what they preached concerning care of the yards they visited.

As this is being written, it seems inconceivable and somewhat sad that we in the Association were never until now able – except for the publication of an article in this journal, written by Ivan as a tribute to Francis – to formally recognize and celebrate the enormous contribution to gravestone studies made by Ivan Rigby and his colleague, Francis Duval.



Original AGS logo, designed by Ivan Rigby and Francis Duval, based upon the Elisabeth Smith (1771) stone, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

For additional information about Francis Duval and Ivan Rigby, including a list of their publications, a description of the process they used to make molds, as well as photographs of them at work, see "Reflections of a Collaboration, A Tribute to the Art of Francis Duval," by Ivan B. Rigby, with Katherine M. Noordsij, in Markers IX.

Ivan Rigby at work on one of his many sculptures (1940s).

Ivan Rigby making a gravestone mold
in an early Massachusetts burial ground.

"While God Does Spare, For Death Prepare." Embroidered sampler, Mary Batchelder, The Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1773.

A COMMON THREAD: NEEDLEWORK SAMPLERS AND AMERICAN GRAVESTONES

Laurel K. Gabel

Martha Taylor stitched her name with pride, and presumably relief, on the needlework sampler she completed in the late 1700s:[1]

> Martha Taylor is my name,
> Lancaster is my nation,
> Octora is my Dwelling Place,
> and Christ is my Salvation.

This common sampler verse also occasionally appears as an epitaph on early New England gravestones.[2]

Thirty years ago, when school girl needlework samplers were considered to be of little or no value (and thus easy to afford from the monthly grocery money), I began to search out these signed and dated embroideries from garage sales and small antique stores around Boston. My first sampler cost fifty cents at a neighborhood bazaar and, although there were two almost identical examples pinned together, shortsighted frugality convinced me to resist such extravagance and I took home only one.

It struck me then, as it still does today, that these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century samplers have something in common with many of the gravestones produced in New England during the same time period. In this essay I will explore some of the similarities – the common threads – shared by needlework samplers and early American gravestones. I do **not** intend to convey the idea that most gravestone iconography came directly and unaltered from embroidery pattern books, for in only a few instances do I believe this to be true. However, needlework and gravestones, and almost all other forms of decorative art, drew inspiration from a common vocabulary of popular motifs and themes circulating at the time. Among the most widespread and visible of these design influences was needlework. The title pages of several early sixteenth-century needlework books illustrate the intended use of the printed designs by noting that working stone masons, carvers, and carpenters would find the collection of patterns useful in their crafts as well.[3] This shared design source is illustrated on the title page of one such needlework pattern book, Peter Quentel's *Eyn Newe Kunstlich Moedelboeck alle Kunstner* (1529). Quentel's *Moedelboeck* illus-

tration (Fig. 1) features three views of women busy at various needlework-related crafts, along with a fourth scene depicting a stone carver at work with his mallet and chisels.[4]

Samplers, also known as **examplars** (from the Latin exemplum, meaning a model to be imitated or copied; an example) originated as a collection of various needlework stitches, techniques, and patterns that were meant to serve the embroiderer as a convenient reference piece.[5] New stitches and designs were avidly collected and exchanged, passing from hand to hand along a far-reaching network of friends and relatives.[6]

Early seventeenth-century samplers were usually worked in a succession of bands on long and narrow pieces of linen. While the *length* of individual samplers tended to vary greatly (some being more than three feet long), the *width* was dictated by the limitations of the loom that produced the cloth. Most surviving examples range somewhere between six and nine inches wide.[7] Many early samplers were also strewn with randomly placed spot motifs or crowded with little individual designs, appearing any which way, wherever there was space. These often fanciful spot motifs included animal (leopard, squirrel, dog, lion), bird (peacock, parrot, bluebird), or plant (acorn, wheat, gourd, rose, vine) designs adapted from

Fig. 1. Illustration from the title page of Peter Quentel's *Eyn Newe Kunstlich Moetdelboeck alle Kunstner,* 1529.

the illustrated botany tracts, herbals, and bestiaries popular at the time. Bestiaries, especially, with their fantastic descriptions of real and imaginary creatures, were used to illustrate points of Christian doctrine. They rivaled the Bible in popularity during the Middle Ages.[8]

Over a lifetime, as new patterns and stitches were acquired, additional bands might be added to the crowded sampler or some earlier work laboriously removed and replaced by a more fashionable or complex design. When not in use, the collection was rolled up and carefully stored away until it was needed again as a reference. Samplers were considered to be a highly valued family resource, often included in estate inventories or bequeathed in wills to be handed down from one generation to the next.[9]

Although needlework samplers have been studied extensively, their ancient history remains somewhat speculative. We know that the early Egyptians and Babylonians were skilled embroiderers and that their fabric artistry was highly prized by the Greeks and Romans who eventually adopted many of the intricate patterns and stitches of the eastern cultures.[10] Examplar collections of these eastern designs are known to have existed by 400-500 C. E. Well-preserved Mamluk needleworks from Egyptian burial chambers of the medieval period survive in several museum textile collections around the world.[11]

During the early Christian era, Italy emerged as the center of fine needlework.[12] Ecclesiastical embroidery, typically the province of highly skilled male needleworkers, was particularly widespread and highly esteemed by monarchs and church dignitaries of the day. Church-related needlework continued to develop throughout the Dark Ages (476-1000 C. E.) and the early years of the Middle Ages, eventually emerging in the thirteenth century as part of the established Guild system.[13] Under the Guild system, fraternal-like trade unions were established to regulate and protect the interests of particular trades.[14] In England, professional male embroiderers belonged to the influential (and still operative) Worshipful Company of Broderers.[15]

That the making of needlework samplers was a fairly common female occupation by the late 1300s is suggested by the painting of "The Virgin and St. George" (Fig. 2), attributed to Spanish artist Luis Borrassa (c.1350-1424). The painting shows an instructor and her convent pupils displaying samples of their skill.[16] From the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, almost all needlework remained church related.[17] However, a strong revival in all forms of decorative art, especially fancy embroidery and needle arts, began to take hold as Europe emerged from the Middle Ages.[18] This focus

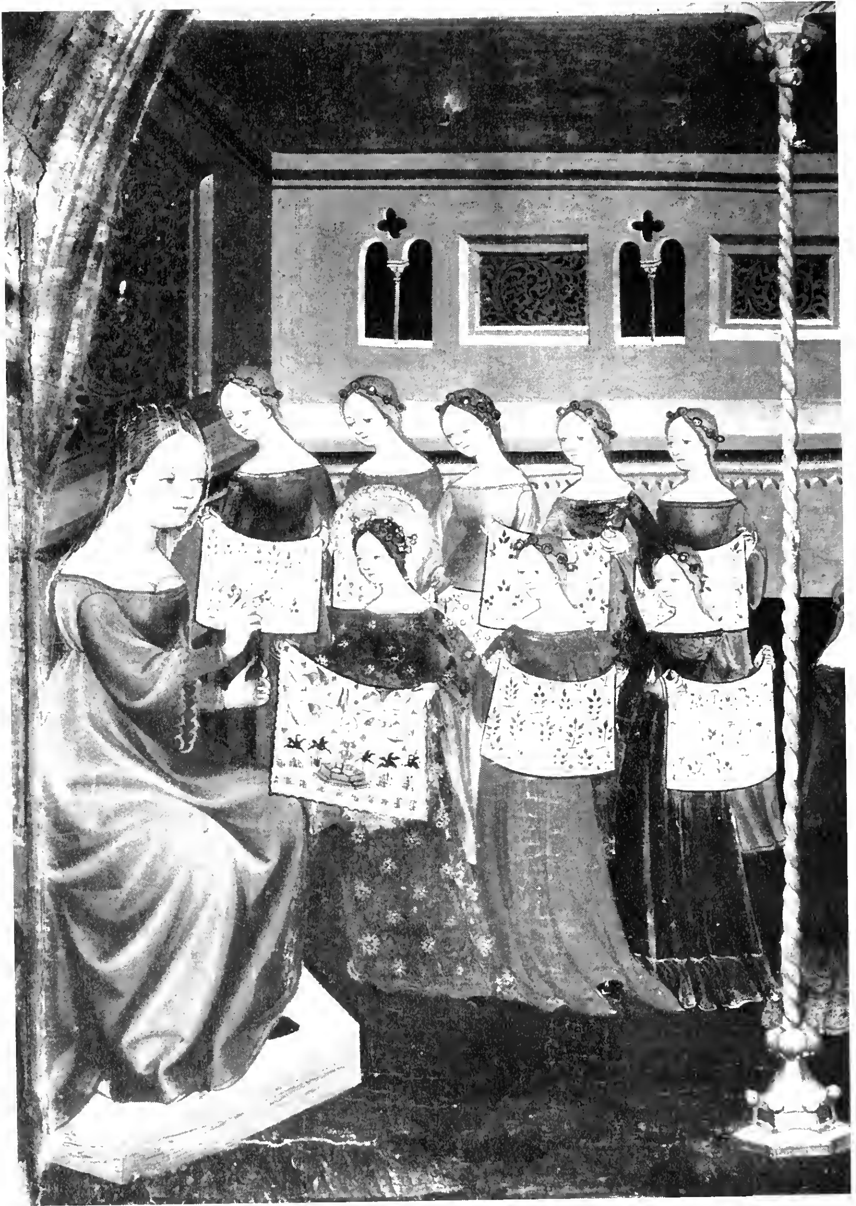


Fig. 2. Young girls with their samplers, from retablo of "The Virgin and St. George," late 1300s, attributed to Spanish artist Luis Borrassa (c. 1350-1424).

on embroidery followed the invention (in the 1450s) of a movable type printing press, which precipitated a flourishing trade in printed needlework pattern sheets and design books.[19] Venice, a city long associated with the textile trade, quickly became the dominant center for printing needlework patterns.[20] Many of the early designs originated in the textile-rich Near East, where religious conventions favored abstract geometric ornamentation (stylized trees, plants, flowers, or flowing arabesques) over any human representation in art.[21] Once in printed form, these patterns spread easily via the extensive trade networks that were rapidly expanding at the time. Before the end of the sixteenth century, needlework design books were being produced and copied throughout Europe and Great Britain.[22] There is little question that examplars were quite customary in both England and Spain by 1500.[23] Specific mention of the word *sampler* occurred early in the sixteenth century, a time when evidence in wills and inventories also suggests that these reference embroideries had become very popular on the Continent as well as in England.[24] This was a time when wealthy merchants and others who aspired to join the ranks of the aristocracy found embroidery a fashionable embellishment. Almost everything was decorated with needlework – household linens and bed hangings, mirror frames, heavily embroidered caskets designed to hold precious belongings, shoes, hats, traveling pouches, and every layer of men's and women's wearing apparel and ceremonial attire.

Several influential pattern books are acknowledged to be the source of the most popular early designs: publications by Johannes Schonsperger (1523-24), Peter Quentel (c.1727-29), and Johann Sibmacher (1597) from Germany; Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (1530) and Giovanni Ostaus (1561) from Venice; and Federico de Vinciolo, a Venitian working in Paris (1587 and 1591), are among the most well known. In Great Britain, Richard Shorleyker's *Scholehouse for the Needle* (published "At the Signe of the Marigold in Paules Church Yard," 1624) and John Boler's best-selling *The Needle's Excellency, "a new Booke wherin are Divers admirable workes wrought with the needle, newly invented and cut in Copper for the pleasure and profit of the industrious"* (there were twelve editions between 1634-1640) popularized many of the designs and patterns seen on English and then on American samplers from the late sixteenth century onward.[25] *The Needle's Excellency* was actually compiled by John Taylor, who wrote that the patterns came:

From the remotest part of Christendome
Collected with much paines and industrie
Thus are these workes farre fetch'd and dearly brought
And consequently good for ladyes thought.

Although most sampler designs were copied from common pattern sources such as those mentioned above, each artist brought his or her own interpretation to the process. As a result, there are hundreds of imaginative variations of the most popular motifs.

The majority of needlework patterns were printed on strong paper that could be used over and over. The method of transfer involved pricking holes along the heavy inked lines of the design and then powdering the holes with a fine black powder (pounce), a procedure called pouncing.[26] It is conceivable that gravestone carvers may have employed a similar technique in order to transfer some designs onto stone, although this is merely speculation as no confirmation has been found that this technique was common among stonecutters.

The earliest sampler motifs and designs were inspired by, or in many instances copied from, ancient patterns, illuminations, and printed textiles. Handed down, adapted, copied, and repeatedly reworked over a period of many centuries, the corrupted results cannot always be identified – or explained. Recognizable human figures, for example, evolved into geometric designs; geometric designs became simply stylized ornamentation; stylized ornamentation disintegrated further into abstract spot motifs and border designs that were no longer identifiable. As the old patterns lost integrity, many took on new shapes and meaning.

One such example might appear familiar to students of early gravestones. Called "boxers," because their profile stance reminded one nineteenth-century researcher of a boxer's pose, these little nude figures began appearing on English samplers early in the 1600s (Fig. 3). The little figures almost always appear as a pair, one on either side of a highly stylized plant design, and they are usually depicted with one upraised arm holding or supporting various objects, known as trophies. These trophies often include acorns, fir tree branches, flowers, vases, arrows, drapery, and many different, unrecognizable geometric shapes.[27]

Although boxer figures were a favorite theme of many early pattern books, the design is found most often on samplers with English origins.[28] The motif proved to be relatively short lived, however, and the little men died out almost completely in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[29]

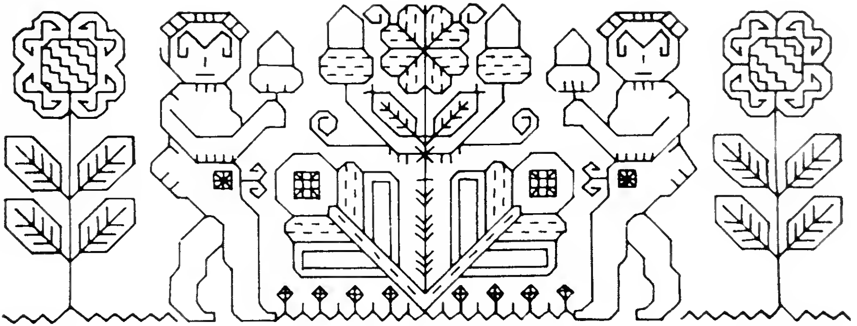


Fig. 3. "Boxer" pattern from early sampler. Unknown source.

The origin and meaning of these "boxers" has eluded the most knowledgeable needlework researchers. The figures are derived from earlier Italian and Spanish work and at one time were thought to have evolved from illustrations of Renaissance cupids, or as rude renderings of processional figures.[30] In one early Italian sampler (probably dating from the late 1500s), the figure of a winged boxer is shown carrying a stubby arrow or spear (Fig. 4), perhaps lending plausibility to the popular theory that these naked figures may have begun as putti or cupids. At least one scholar, however, traces the boxers to a corrupted version of an ancient popular design depicting two suitors presenting gifts to a maiden.[31] By the late seventeenth century the figures were debased, through repeated pattern transfers and by the inherent limitations of the stitches used, almost to the point

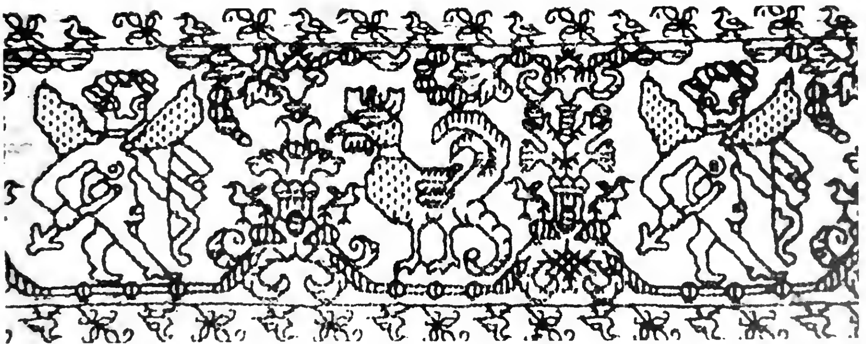


Fig. 4. Winged "boxer" figures carrying arrows.
From Italian sampler of late 1500s or early 1600s.

of caricature.[32] As is true with so many ancient designs and symbols, when the original ***intent*** was lost, the ***form*** soon became incoherent as well. There is stunning evidence that this particular decorative pattern was repeated again and again, long after the original meaning had become obscure.

I believe that the enigmatic "death imps" (e.g., Fig. 5) that appear on many (mostly Joseph Lamson-carved) Boston gravestones during the first decade of the 1700s were inspired by, if not actually copied from, the popular "boxer" figures found in English pattern books and needlework samplers of the day. The "boxer" or "death imp" design does **not** appear to be associated with silver, pottery, decorated furniture, engraved bookplates, or any other form of commonly produced decorative art.[33] These little figures appear ***only on samplers and on gravestones***, their popularity spanning a relatively brief period at the end of the 1600s and the first decade of the 1700s.

According to Lamson scholar Ralph Tucker, there are 110 separate "death imp" images carved on at least 41 Boston-area gravestones with dates between 1671 and 1712 (Fig. 6). Stones bearing these images appear to have been carved almost exclusively by the Lamson shop.[34] The imp figures on the gravestones (e.g., Fig. 7) are nearly identical to the boxers worked on samplers. Although unique to a single time and place (and

Fig. 5. "Boxer" or "Death Imp" detail from gravestone for Martha Dadey, 1708/9, Charlestown, Massachusetts.

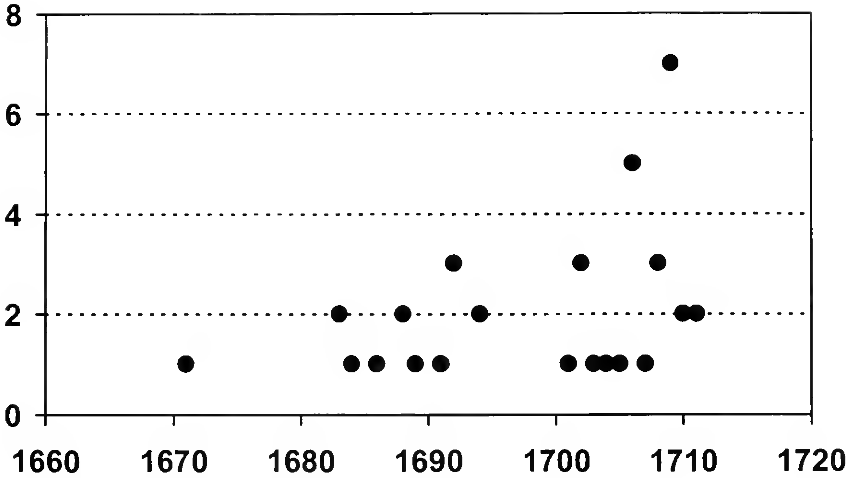


Fig. 6. "Death Imp" gravestones, 1671-1712.

most likely to a single workshop), the death imp gravestones have always been explained within the context of Puritan religious symbolism.[35] While such interpretations may indeed be valid as to symbolic value, the little figures themselves seem to be clearly derived from needlework sampler patterns whose origins are obscured by several centuries of evolution.

Another design found in early needlework pattern books, on samplers, and on a handful of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Boston-area gravestones features a mythical mermaid on either side of a lidded urn or chalice. Figure 8 illustrates one of several sixteenth-century needlework patterns known to have exhibited a similar arrangement.[36]

Fig. 7. "Death Imp" detail from gravestone for Rev. Thomas Clark, 1704, Chelmsford, Massachusetts.

Fig. 8. One of several 16th-century mermaid patterns.

Some form of half-human, half-fish mythology has existed, of course, in almost all ancient cultures, especially those with seafaring traditions.[37] Mermaids or mermen[38] (and the loosely related Tritons, Dagons, Nereids, Undines, and Nayads)[39] were familiar figures in popular mythology. Mermaid forms appear on fourth-century needlework from Egypt, Alexandria, and Rome,[40] and are also highly visible in heraldry, where they are usually depicted holding a mirror and comb.[41] There was a revival of interest in mermaids during the Middle Ages, and they were included in numerous bestiaries that were in vogue at the time.[42] As metaphors for moral lessons, mermaids can be found decorating the grand interiors of Europe's ancient cathedrals, posing on the blatantly irreverent monastery misericords, and mocking sinners from carved ends of pews and stalls within lesser parish churches.[43] Saint Patrick, famous for banishing snakes from Ireland, was also alleged to have banished all the old pagan women from earth by turning them into seductive mermaids whose influence was limited to the watery underworld.[44] The Nuremberg Bible (*Biblia Sacra Germanica*, 1483) includes a woodcut (Fig. 9) illustrating the "Seduction of the Faithful", a scene which depicts Noah's Ark adrift between a mermaid and her mate of the deep. As one scholar notes: "Symbols of Vice, the voluptuous harlot-mermaids as represented by the medieval Church, personified the lure of base, unnatural desires which stood between a man and his chance of salvation."[45]

The mermaids of mythology existed without a soul and were always associated in some manner with the destructive forces of corruption, temp-

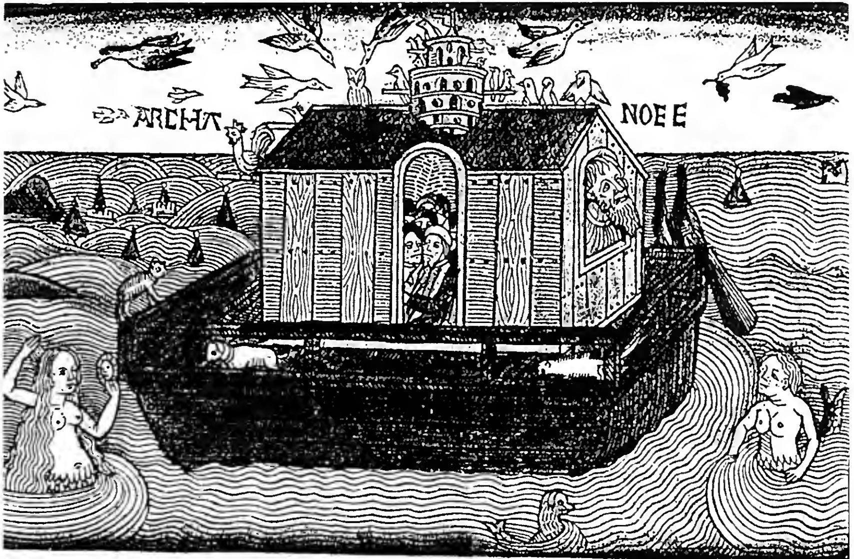


Fig. 9. "Seduction of the Faithful" woodcut from *Biblia Sacra Germanica*, 1483 (Nuremberg Bible).

tation, vanity, or lust.[46] It was Persephone, mythical goddess of the watery underworld, who some say assigned mermaids the task of carrying abducted souls of the dead to Hades. The Western Roman Church thus used mermaids to symbolize the attractiveness of sin that stood ready to "lure upright citizens from the straight and narrow."[47]

How then do we explain the mermaids – pagan and mythical symbols of vanity and deceit, soulless messengers to Hades' underworld – that appear as the central theme on gravestones for Boston's Puritan elite? (Fig. 10) Many gravestone scholars have been tempted to assign complex and often contradictory religious meaning to the "Puritan" mermaids.[48] Their explanations are not always convincing. Is it possible that Boston's gravestone mermaids, much like the contemporaneous "boxer" figures, represent yet another example of a common motif whose ancient pagan meanings evolved over centuries to serve a new, essentially decorative, function? A suitable analogy is suggested by a beautifully carved slate gravestone (Fig. 11) for a man who died in 1908.[49] It is hard to believe that Puritan religious doctrine was a conscious factor in the choice of this familiar design. Were nineteenth- and early twentieth-century patrons and gravestone carvers aware of the multiple layers of ancient symbolism as-

Fig. 10. Detail from gravestone for Jacob Eliott, 1693, Boston, Massachusetts.

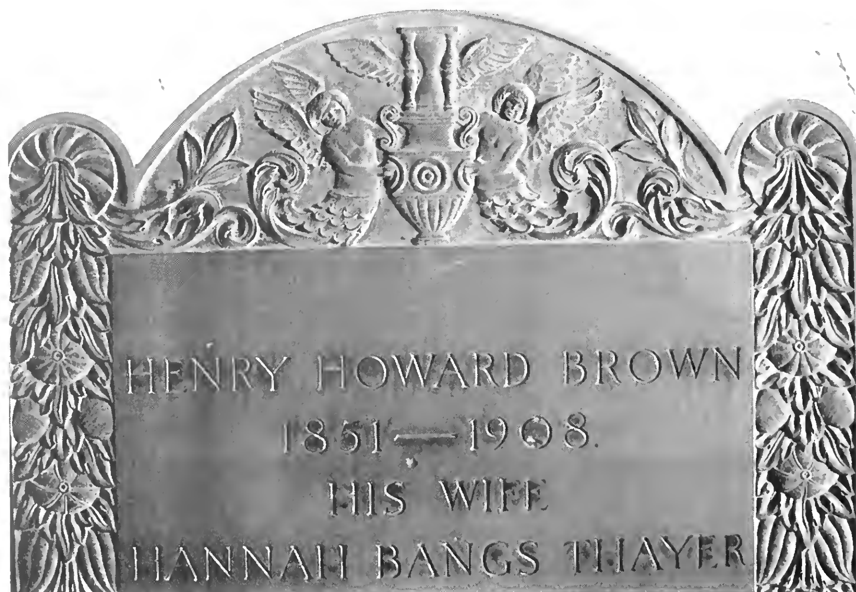


Fig. 11. Slate gravestone for Henry Howard Brown, 1908, Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

sociated with these paired mermaids? Perhaps. But the design choice may also be a reflection of popular revivalism – a pleasing ancient motif that can be vaguely associated with the early history and prestige of Boston's founding families. The 1908 slate is almost identical to many of the early Boston mermaid stones. Tastefully faithful to a meaningful historic and quasi-religious mythology, the design is repeated, one suspects, because of its artistic merit and associative history rather than for any well-defined symbolic intent.

Mermaids became a part of many coats of arms granted during England's Elizabethan period. Of particular relevance to the composition of the original Boston, Massachusetts, mermaid stones are the heraldic arms belonging to the ancient city of Boston (Fig. 12), England. Boston was the English home of Puritans John Cotton, Isaac Johnson, and several other founders of the newly planted Puritan stronghold of the same name

Fig. 12. Arms of the Borough of Boston, Lincolnshire, England.

in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It seems likely that Boston, **England's** armorial identity might have been familiar and particularly meaningful to the spiritual and economic leaders of newly founded Boston, **Massachusetts.**

Of the sixteen extant Boston-area gravestones with mermaid motifs,[50] the majority were probably actually carved in the 1690s (Fig. 13). Most have been attributed to the carver known only by his initials, J.N., possibly the Boston silversmith John Noyes.[51] However, based on lettering and other stylistic differences, the mermaid stones, which represent the pinnacle of sophisticated iconography for that time and place, appear to have been produced by more than one local carver.

Many of the elegant and unconventional motifs usually attributed to the silversmith JN have components common to needlework: the use of popular lily and tulip sampler designs, for example, the inclusion of peacocks, classical urns, mermaids, squirrels, birds, and the use of detailed crosshatching and raised stippling to accent the center of flowers and gourds. Every one of these motifs and techniques is typical of (although certainly not exclusive to) contemporary needlework samplers and crewel embroidery.

Baskets or urn-like vases overflowing with flowers and two birds eat-

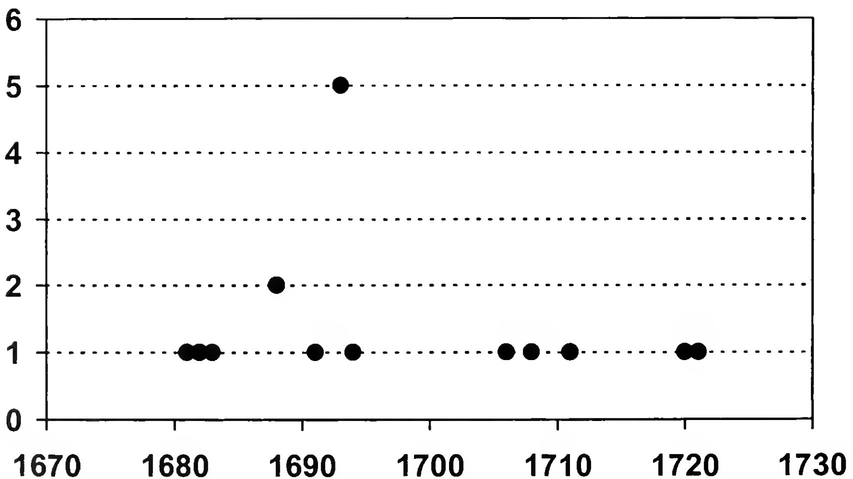


Fig. 13. Mermaid gravestones, 1680-1720.

ing cherries or fruit from either side of a low bowl (Fig. 14) are also familiar sampler designs reproduced on gravestones. Symbolically, cherries were believed to represent the Fruits of Paradise and thus eternal life, while birds were seen as stewards of the Christian soul.[52] Birds on either side of a fountain or bowl resemble early church embroidery of doves drinking at a fountain, which symbolizes Eternal Life.[53] Numerous samplers include a spot design depicting two birds flanking a stylized plant or tree with the words "a symbol of innocence" embroidered directly beneath it. The written explanation associated with this particular spot motif is rare; samplers seldom include such clarification. The proliferation of this particular oddity appears as one more example of a standard pattern that was reproduced from some unknown source and then faithfully copied again and again by multiple sampler makers. A similar example exists on gravestones in the repeated and widespread use of a large lower case "**a**" in the word "age": e.g., "in the seventy-ninth year of her **a**ge." This unexplained stylistic convention was repeated by several carvers working in different geographic areas of Massachusetts in the last quarter of the 1700s. Embroiderers – and gravestone carvers – undoubtedly reproduced many popular motifs simply for their design value rather than from any real knowledge of the pattern's original symbolic significance.

Carved border panels of twining foliage or flowers growing up from a decorative urn,[54] undulating ribbon borders,[55] stylized scroll devices,[56] the

Fig. 14. Detail from gravestone for Batha Hall, 1698, Dennis, Massachusetts.

Tudor rose,[57] and strawberry and acorn (often associated with the Stuart monarchy)[58] borders (Fig. 15) are further examples of designs common to both gravestones and needlework.

Pomegranates and gourds (Fig. 16) are also familiar motifs on needlework of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Laden with religious meaning, they are usually associated with Christian faith and with the renewal and heavenly abundance promised by Christ's church.[59]

The use of crowns of every kind was almost universal on samplers, where they were employed as decorative fillers for incomplete lines of verse or as spot motifs, often bearing descriptive labels such as king, queen, earl, duke, and viscount. In America, the use of crowns continued beyond the Revolution, due in part, perhaps, to the inclusion of this motif in the standard alphabet marking pages that were printed in several popular schoolbooks and family almanacs.[60]

The theme of Adam and Eve, another motif prevalent on Scottish and English samplers, was only slightly less popular in Colonial America. The

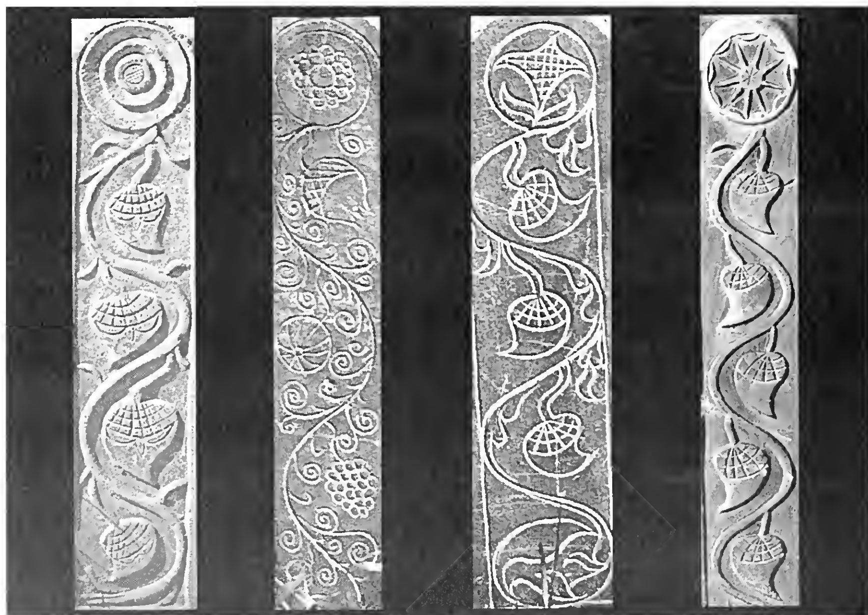


Fig. 15. Acorn and strawberry design borders on gravestones for (from left): Joseph Bernard, 1695, Deerfield, Massachusetts; Thankful Baker, 1697/8, Dorchester, Massachusetts; Joseph Nightengale, 1715, Quincy, Massachusetts; Benj. Thompson, 1714, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

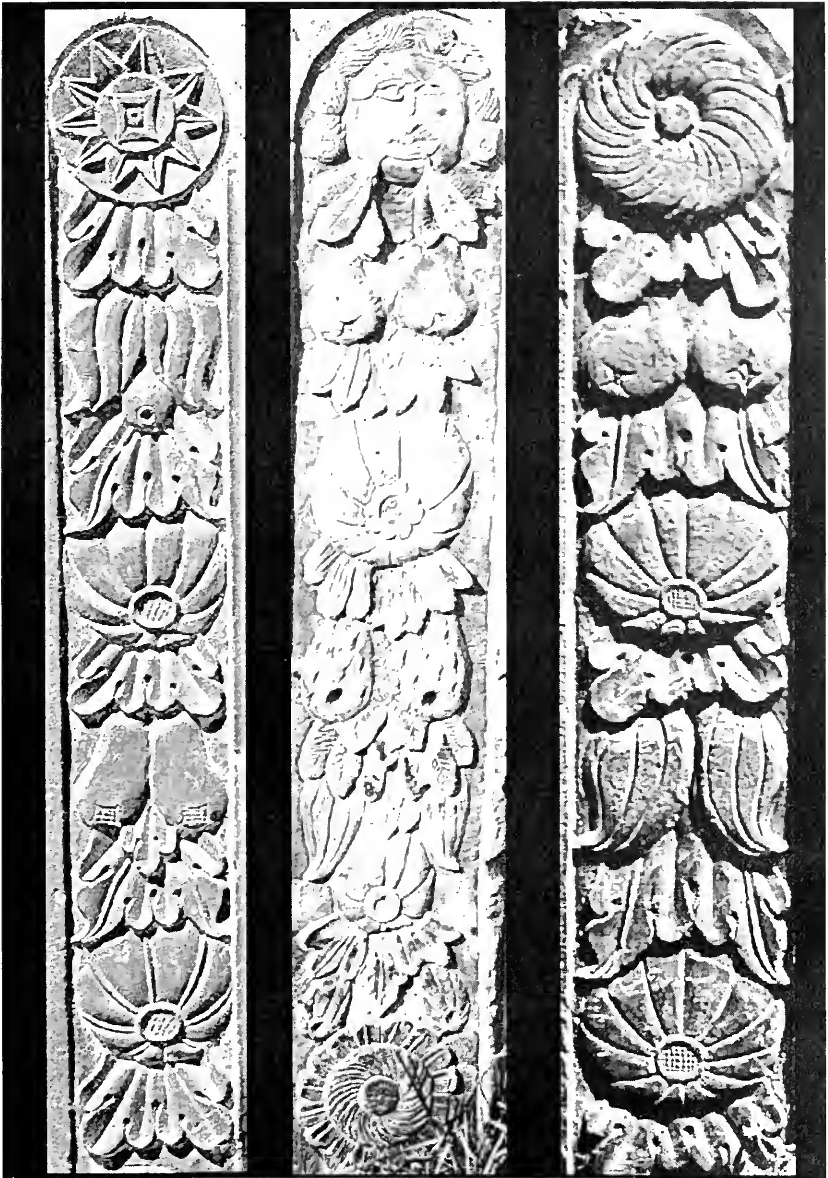


Fig. 16. Pomegranates and gourd borders on gravestones for (from left): Ambros & Mary Dawes, 1705, 1706, Boston, Massachusetts; Edward Grant, 1682, Boston, Massachusetts; Melicen Neal, 1687, Boston, Massachusetts.

scene appeared on painted furniture, on firebacks, in children's' lesson books, and on gravestones. Scottish researcher Betty Willsher reminds us that "religious fervor was stronger in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland than in England, and great stress was laid on sin, death, and the Resurrection."[61] Mrs. Willsher has catalogued more than sixty Scottish gravestones (1696-1799) which bear this popular Biblical scene, symbolic of sin and death.[62] There are several similar Adam and Eve gravestone examples in the heavily Scottish settlements of Nova Scotia.[63] The 1767 Bristol, Rhode Island stone for twenty-year-old Sarah Swan (Fig. 17), recently attributed to carver William Coye,[64] is the only known American example.

Just as the outline shape and form of gravestones changed over time, so too did the size and configuration of samplers. No longer long and narrow, eighteenth-century needlework became organized within a defined border frame, like a picture.[65] And, like a picture, the stitching became decorative, meant to be admired. From their original purpose as a ready reference of stitches and patterns, samplers gradually became a schoolgirl exercise in embroidery technique and acquired refinement. A majority of the samplers made between about 1660 and 1840 were the educational products of young girls between the ages of five and fifteen.[66] In the ordinary dame schools, instructors combined embroidery and literacy, teaching young students (sometimes boys as well as girls) to stitch the alphabet, numbers, and a short moral or religious verse. Samplers,

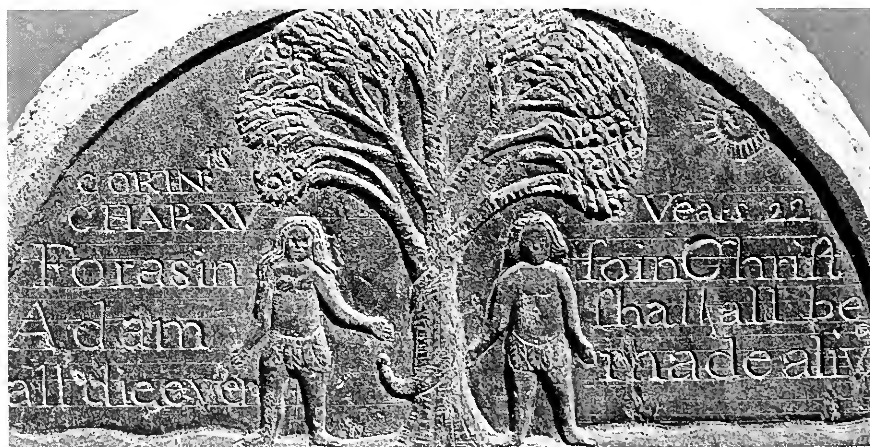


Fig. 17. Detail from gravestone for Sarah Swan, 1767, Bristol, Rhode Island.

considered an important validation of a girl's educational achievement, were frequently framed and displayed with pride. In contrast to the working Examplars of an earlier era, which were only occasionally initialed, these schoolgirl examples of accomplishment were *often* signed and dated, sometimes with an acknowledgement of thanks to a named instructor or particular school.

Since sampler designs were often the work of the teacher, rather than of the students who actually stitched the samplers, a popular design might have had many variations, each combining colors and motifs in a uniquely individual way.[67] Likewise, a gravestone carver's signature design might be adapted by another carver or employed in some fresh combination to create a new design. Henry Christian Geyer's characteristic border motif, for example, was sometimes incorporated in the work of Paul Noyes; the hanging tympanum flowers always identified with the Lamson shop are conspicuous on several stones carved by James Ford; and the equally recognizable Park footstone device appears in the work of Daniel Hasting and other imitators. It is not unusual to find several carvers employing the same stylistic elements, each in a uniquely individual way.

Older girls, whose parents could afford to send them to female academies or private day schools, produced elaborate and highly refined needlework: classical scenes done in silk, allegorical figures, memorial pictures, mourning samplers, and professionally drawn heraldic embroideries worked under the guidance of special needlework instructors. The ornate designs were often the work of the teacher who was free to copy the successful needlework efforts of others or to reproduce examples found in printed pattern folios, illustrated Bibles, or emblem books. In 1738, Boston teacher Susanna Condy advertised that she would draw "Patterns from London, but drawn ... much cheaper than English drawings."[68] Later instructors invited parents of prospective students "to call and view the collection of fine Drawings, English and French Books, &c. provided for the use of the pupils."[69] Such designs were routinely dispersed to pupils, each of whom might pass the pattern on to a younger sibling or neighbor, who, after adding to or modifying the basic design further, shared it with another circle of friends or relatives, and so on. The elaborately embroidered coats of arms appear to have been exclusive to the Boston area, where their popularity, starting in the early 1740s, coincides with the proliferation of heraldic gravestones and armorial tomb fronts (Fig. 18).[70] The very best of these skillfully worked schoolgirl embroideries are breaking records at top auction houses across the country. Hanah Otis' needlework

Fig. 18. Armorial detail from James Bowdoin family tomb front, unknown date, Boston, Massachusetts.

picture of Boston Common in 1753, for example, brought well over one million dollars ($1,175,500) when it sold at Sotheby's in 1996.[71]

In her authoritative two-volume work, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1860,* Betty Ring has chronicled many of the influential regional instructors and their identifying needlework designs in much the same way that pioneering gravestone scholar Harriette Forbes first identified gravestone carvers and their associated styles.[72] Just as regional styles or "schools" of gravestone carving are routinely identified because of the size and shape of a marker, the lettering style, or the use of a particular type of stone or signature design, samplers and embroidered pictures also may be attributed to a particular needlework school or geographic region based on the overall design of the sampler, uniquely combined motifs, the verse, and the specific materials, colors, and embroidery techniques used to create the whole. Samplers originating in Essex County, Massachusetts, for example, were often worked on a fine dark linen and frequently included the Latin abbreviation *Obt.* or *Obit.* for "died."[73] It is interesting to note that this more classical terminology was also uniquely prevalent on the Essex County gravestones carved by Salem's Levi Maxcy and others.[74]

George Washington's death in 1799 precipitated the great popularity of needlework mourning pictures and memorial embroideries produced in America during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.[75] Always considered more fashionable than sorrowful, these stylized mourning embroideries were meant to reflect refinement and culture, a fashionable way to demonstrate needlework skills and social status. The same decorative details were being used on wallpaper, fabrics, jewelry – and, again, gravestones. Almost all mourning or memorial embroideries included one or more weeping trees to symbolize the surviving mourner's loss. A majority of the memorial scenes also included a raised tomb topped by an urn or a stunted obelisk, a garden of flowers or a body of water with a church or cathedral on the far shore, and fashionably dressed figures in obvious mourning poses within the picturesque graveyard (Fig. 19). The faces of the family mourners in the embroidered scenes were occasionally personalized, some painted in by well-known portrait artists who also advertised their expertise in drawing needlework patterns.[76] At least two identified gravestone carver/masons are known to have also designed patterns for needlework.[77] The local embroidery teachers and gravestone carvers copied the designs of others or reproduced examples found in printed pattern folios, illustrated Bibles, emblem books, or in the popular bestiaries

and herbals mentioned earlier.[78] Sometimes amazingly detailed tombstone inscriptions were handwritten or actually printed in type and then skillfully attached to the embroidered monuments. Most of the pictures were romantically generic, although occasionally a recognizable setting or replica of a specific family tomb was reproduced. Many of the most elaborate silk embroidery pictures were taken directly from European prints and engravings.[79] If a young girl did not have a family member or distant relative to memorialize in needle art, there were numerous popular alternatives in the form of allegorical representations of Faith, Hope, Charity, or Liberty, the four seasons, or illustrations of dramatic moments in popular novels. Scenes from classical mythology and Shakespeare appear more often than do purely American subjects.[80] A majority of these silk needlework pictures date from the first half of the nineteenth century, a time when the same popular figures and themes began to appear on monuments in America's emerging rural cemeteries.

Fig. 19. Needlework mourning picture worked by Lucretia Carew, 1800, Norwich, Connecticut.

Another important feature shared by both samplers and gravestones is a consoling message or instructive rhyme. Pious verses and moral lessons began to appear on English samplers in the middle of the seventeenth century[81] and on Colonial needlework of the 1700s. Many of the embroidered sampler verses are familiar to us as gravestone epitaphs. From the popular *New England Primer,* for example:

from death's arrest no age is free[82]

* * * *

time cuts all, both great and small

* * * *

as runs the glass, our lives doth pass.

Whether embroidered on samplers or carved on gravemarkers, the verses served to remind the reader of his or her own mortality. Consider:

Great God, how frail a thing is man, how swift his minutes pass.
His age contracts within a span; he blooms and dies like grass.[83]

Or the familiar:

Death is a debt to nature due
Which I have paid, and so must you.

There were also many embroidered and carved variations of this favorite theme:

Our life is never at a stand, 'tis like a fading flower.
Death is always near at hand, comes nearer every hour.[84]

Following the publication of Isaac Watts' *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* in 1720, and Charles Wesley's poems and hymns in the 1740s, many sampler verses and gravestone epitaphs derived from these popular sources. From *The Psalms and Hymns of Isaac Watts (Psalm 17)*:

My flesh shall slumber in the ground 'till the last trumpet's joyous sound;
Then burst the chorus with sweet surprise and to my Savior's 'mage rise.

Also popular on both samplers and gravemarkers are the following lines from a poem and hymn by Josiah Conder (1789-1855):

O'Blessed be the hand that gave, still blessed when it takes.

And from the same verse:

Perfect and True are all His ways, whom Christ adores and heaven obeys."[85]

It is apparent that needlework pattern books and samplers were among the many design influences familiar to early gravestone carvers. Mostly, these patterns were not unique to needlework or gravestones, but were part of a standard vocabulary of motifs in general use at the time. A few specific patterns, such as the English "boxer" figures or the influential acorn and strawberry border designs, may have derived directly from popular pattern books that were known to have advertised their usefulness to carpenters, stone masons, and carvers in addition to needleworkers, male and female.

The sentiments expressed as gravestone epitaphs also served young embroiderers who incorporated these same lines into their samplers. Both gravestones and needlework recognize regional designs, materials, and methods that can be identified as "schools" of work, often associated with a particular artisan or teacher. The stated purpose of many samplers and gravestones, however, is perhaps the most enduring common thread: "When I am dead and in my grave and all my bones are rotten, *May this you see and remember me, that I may not be forgotten.*"

NOTES

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Credits for particular illustrations used in this essay are as follows:

Frontispiece – Cooper Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, Bequest of Mrs. Henry E. Coe, 1941-69-166.

Fig. 1 – Weidenfield and Nicolson Archives, London, England.

Fig. 2 – From *Girlhood Embroidery* by Betty Ring, copyright © 1992 by Betty Ring. Used by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc.

Fig. 4 – From title page of Margaret Fawory and Deborah Brown, *The Book of Samplers* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1980).

Figs. 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17 – From the Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber Collection of Gravestone Photographs, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Fig. 8 – From *Needlework Patterns from Renaissance Germany*, recharted by Kathryn Newall from John Sibmacher's *Schon Neues Modelbuch, 1599* (Austin, TX: Curious Works Press, 1994), plate 66.

Fig. 9 – Victoria and Albert Picture Library, London, England.

Fig. 18 – Photograph courtesy of Michael Cornish.

Fig. 19 – Long Island Museum of Art History and Carriages, Stony Brook, New York.

1. Martha Taylor sampler, 1797, Winterthur Museum #91.5.

2. Two examples: Katharine Symonds, 1785, Middleton, MA, and Jonathan Simpson, 1733, Wayland [Old Sudbury], MA. The Simpson gravestone records a common variation of this familiar theme: "Charlestown doth claim his birth / Boston his habitation / Sudbury hath his grave / where was his expiration."

3. Kim Salazar, *The New Carolingian Modelbook: Counted Embroidery Patterns from Before 1600* (Albuquerque, NM: Outlaw Press, 1995), 17.

4. Anne Sebba, *Samplers: Five Centuries of a Gentle Craft* (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 16.

5. Donald King, *Samplers* (London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1960), 2; Averil Colby, *Samplers* (London, England: B. T. Batsford, 1984; reprinted from 1964 edition), 17.

6. Rita Vainius, "Samplers Through the Ages," *The Caron Collection* (http://caron-net.com/featurefiles/featfeb.html (February 17, 2000): 1.

7. Susan Burrows Swan, *Winterthur Guide to American Needlework* (New York, NY: Crown Publisher, 1976), 10; Pamela Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary* (New York, NY: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1976), 232.

8. "The Bestiaries became standard books used by medieval artists in the development of their complex iconographies, as moralizing parallels were regularly drawn between the animals and their human counterparts": Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary of Christian Art* (New York, NY: Continuum, 1994), 59. See also Beatrice Phillpotts, *Mermaids* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1980), 30.

9. King, *Samplers*, 2.

10. Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 4; Cheryl Christian, "Kathleen Epstein: Solving the Mysteries of the 17th Century, *FineLines* 3:2 (1998): 10-13.

11. Paula Richter, Historic Needlework Lecture, Peabody-Essex Museum, April 7, 2000. See also Sarah Don, *Traditional Samplers* (New York, NY: Viking Penguin Press, 1986), 9; Colby, *Samplers*, 18; King, *Samplers*, 4.

12. Colby, *Samplers*, 18; Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*, 4.

13. Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary*, 39. In 1613 when James I asked the guild companies to help settle English and Scottish Protestants in Northern Ireland, each of the twelve main guilds absorbed several smaller companies. Interestingly, the Broders Guild and the Masons Guild were included under the larger Mercers Company and remained linked until the system was abolished in 1908.

14. For a brief history of the ancient Broderer's Guild, see their website at www.csinter.net/broderers/; also Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary*, 39.

15. Rita Vainius, "Men in the Fiber Arts: From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution," *The Caron Collection*, http://caron-net.com/featurefiles/featjan.html (January 14, 2000): 1-4.

16. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*, 5.

17. *Ibid.*, 4.

18. Don, *Traditional Samplers*, 9.

19. Carol Humphrey, *Samplers* (Cambridge, England: Fitzwilliam Museum Handbooks, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

20. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

21. Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary*, 18-19.

22. King, *Samplers*, 2-3.

23. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*, 5.

24. Humphrey, *Samplers*, 3; King, *Samplers*, 2.

25. Sebba, *Samplers: Five Centuries of a Gentle Craft*, 16-18. Also see Humphrey, *Samplers*, 3-4.

26. Pounce was usually a mixture of ground cuttlefish bone and charcoal: see Madilayn de Mer, "Transferring Embroidery Patterns to Fabric," Combat and Archery, http://www.sca.org.au/riverhaven/Actmegan.html; Davida Tanenbaum Deutsch, "Needlework Patterns and Their Use in America," *Antiques* (February, 1991): 376. To transfer a design onto fabric: "prick with a Pin any Outlines of a Print or Drawing one has a mind to copy, and then, laying the said Picture on a Sheet of paper, take a Powder-puff, or a Tuft of Cotton, dipping it now and then in Charcoal-dust, or red Chalk-dust, and beat it over the prick'd Lines, through the picture, renewing it with Dust frequently by dipping, and then you will have full Directions marked on your Cloth or Paper, sufficient to finish a just Drawing." See also Cyril G. E. Bunt, "An Embroidery Pattern Book," in *Needlework: An Historical Survey* (New and Expanded Edition), ed. Betty Ring (Pittstown, NJ: The Main Street Press, 1984), 15.

27. Colby, *Samplers*, 57; 71-73. Also Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary*, 37.

28. Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary*, 37; Humphrey, *Samplers*, 4.

29. Colby, *Samplers*, 57; 67; 71-73.

30. *Ibid.*, 71-73; Humphrey, *Samplers*, 5; Gay Swift, *The Batsford Encyclopaedia of Embroidery Techniques* (London, England: B. T. Batsford, 1984), 31.

31. M. Jourdain, *The History of English Secular Embroidery* (New York, NY: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1912), 182.

32. Humphrey, *Samplers*, 4-5.

33. Justin Jarrett, of Witney Antiques, London, England; personal communication, November 12 and 13, 1999.

34. Ralph Tucker, personal correspondence, February 22, 2000. See also: Ralph Tucker, "Heavenly Imps, Evil Demons, Little Men," *Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 3:3 (1979): 1-3.

35. Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 100-107; 236. Also Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1974), 79.

36. Salazar, *The New Carolingian Modelbook: Counted Embroidery Patterns from Before 1600*, 154; Thomasina Beck, *The Embroiderer's Story: Needlework from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Spa, Italy: David and Charles, 1995), 28; Kathryn Newall, *Needlework Patterns from Renaissance Germany: Designs Recharted by Kathryn Newall from John Sibmacher's Schon Neues Modelbuch, 1599* (Boulder, CO: Costume and Dressmaker Press, 1999), 11; 22; *German Renaissance Patterns for Embroidery: A Facsimile Copy of Nicolas Bassee's New Modelbuch of 1568* (Austin, TX: Curious Works Press, 1994), plate 66 (see also plates 16 and 44 for other examples of designs shared by gravestones and needlework).

37. Beatrice Phillpotts, *Mermaids* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1980).

38. "The earliest recorded ancestor of the mermaid was in fact a male sea god, Oannes, the 'great fish of the ocean' worshiped by the Babylonians circa 5,000 BC": *Ibid.*, 8.

39. Triton: a god of the sea, son of Poseidon, portrayed as having the head and trunk of a man and the tail of a fish; Nereid: any of the sea nymphs, sometimes seen as protectors; Dagon: chief god of the Philistines and later the Phoenicians, half man and half fish; Undine: female water spirit. See *American Heritage Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992); Phillpotts, *Mermaids*, 14. Malcolm South, ed., *Mythical and Fabulous Creatures: A Source Book and Research Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).

40. W. Fritz Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*; (Middlesex, England: Paul Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1966), 11; 14; 26. The fatal seductresses called Sirens derived from ancient Egyptian soul birds known as the Ba, "soul birds," "demons of death." The Ba (half bird, half woman) often appeared on Egyptian tomb carvings. They are considered to be the direct ancestor of mermaids. See Phillpotts, *Mermaids*, 19-21.

41. Colby, *Samplers*, 74-76.

42. Phillpotts, *Mermaids*, 30.

43. Annette Stramesi, "The Mermaid's Tale: Legends and Folklore About Mermaids," *Colonial Homes* 20:4 (1994): 52; 55. See also Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* (New York, NY: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1916), 148; Jim Higgins, *Irish Mermaids* (Galway, Ireland, Crows Rock Press, 1995).

44. Phillpotts, *Mermaids*, 26.

45. *Ibid.*, 27; 30.

46. According to popular tradition, mermaids might acquire the longed-for soul if they married a mortal: *Ibid.*, 38.

47. *Ibid.*, 28-30.

48. Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving*, 89-92; Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815*, 296; David Watters, "The JN Carver," *Markers II* (1983): 115-131.

49. Thanks to Meg Winslow, Curator of Historical Collections, Mt. Auburn Cemetery, for her help in identifying the location of this stone.

50. John Briggs, unknown date, Boston; Major Thomas Savage, 1681, Boston; Michael Martyn, 1682, Boston; Benjamin Hills, 1683, Boston; Prisscilla Coddington, 1688, Newport, Rhode Island; Hanah Craford, 1688, Boston; Timothy Dwyt, 1691/2, Boston; William Button, 1693, Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Jacob Eliott, 1693, Boston; William Greenough, 1693, Boston; Matthew Pittom, 1693/4, Boston; Ann Simpson, 1694, Boston; Hannah Wadsworth, 1706, Boston; Samuel Clap, 1708, Dorchester; Elizur Holyoke, 1711, Boston; Mary Holyoke, 1720, Boston. See also Watters, "The JN Carver," 117.

51. *Ibid.*, 115-131.

52. Colby, *Samplers*, 40; 79-80.

53. *Ibid.*, 80.

54. Massachusetts examples include stones for Sarah Wheeler, 1775, Sudbury; Anna Peirce, 1775, Groton; Abigail Stone, 1767, Lexington; and Samuel Tuttle, 1780, Littleton.

55. Needlework design examples can be found in *Art of the Embroiderer*, by Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin, Designer to the King, 1770 (Boston, MA and London, England: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with David R. Godine, 1983), plate 4, figure 3. Gravestone examples include stones for Elizabeth Shippen, 1692, Boston; and Henery Allen, 1695/6, Boston.

56. Needlework design examples can be found in *Art of the Embroiderer*, 109. Massachusetts gravestone examples include stones for Solomon Park, 1753, Holliston; David Whittaker, 1755, Concord; Tabitha Eager, 175_, Northborough; Dr. Richard Temple, 1756, Concord; Deborah Lincoln, 1760, Hingham; Sarah Baldwin, 1761, Billerica; Deacon Job Lane, 1762, Bedford; and Margaret Nickles, 1763, Billerica.

57. Tudor rose motifs are too numerous to list, but good representative examples exist on the gravestones of Elizabeth Emmes, 1715, Boston; Samuel Hinckley, 1798, Brookfield; and Rev. Job Cushing, 1760, Shrewsbury, all in Massachusetts.

58. Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary of Christian Art* (New York, NY: Continuum, 1994), 61; 78; 91. See also Marcus Huish, *Samplers and Tapestry Embroideries*, 2nd Edition (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1970), 17-18; 68. Acorns, especially popular as a sampler border design during the seventeenth century, were the symbolic badge of Henrietta Maria, wife of the Stuart king Charles I, and were usually associated with the Stuart rulers in England.

59. Colby, *Samplers*, 40.

60. George Fisher, *The American Young Man's Best Companion*, 13th Edition (Worcester, MA: Issaiah Thomas, 1785), 373-375: "It is indispensably necessary and useful for the training up of the younger Sort of the Female Kind to the Needle, it being introductory to all the various and sundry Sort of Needlework pertaining to that Sex. Marking copies of the alphabets upper and lower case and numbers, etc." [with crowns at the end of lines used as fillers].

61. Betty Willsher, "Adam and Eve Scenes on Kirkyard Monuments in the Scottish Lowlands," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 122 (1992): 416-417.

62. *Ibid.*, 413-451.

63. Deborah Trask, *Life How Short, Eternity How Long: Gravestone Carving and Carvers in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: The Nova Scotia Museum, 1978), 63-67.

64. See James Blachowicz, in collaboration with Vincent F. Luti, "William Coye: Father of the Plymouth Carving Tradition," *Markers XVII* (2000): 32-107.

65. Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnson Coe, *American Samplers* (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1921), 8; Glee F. Krueger, *A Gallery of American Samplers, The Theodore H. Kaptek Collection* (New York, NY: E. Dutton, in association with the Museum of American Folk Art, 1978), 19.

66. Betty Ring, "Schoolgirl Embroideries," in *Needlework: An Historical Survey*, New and Expanded Edition, ed. Betty Ring (Pittstown, NJ: The Main Street Press, 1984), 59.

67. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*, 18.

68. Nancy Graves Cabot, "The Sources of Some Designs in the Fishing Lady Pictures," in *Needlework: An Historical Survey*, New and Expanded Edition, ed. Betty Ring (Pittstown, NJ: Main Street Press, 1984), 51.

69. *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), March 21, 1827, as quoted in Jane C. Nylander, "Some Print Sources of New England Schoolgirl Art, *The Magazine Antiques* (August, 1976): 296.

70. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*, 61; 63. On heraldic gravestones and tomb fronts, see Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, "Headstones, Hatchments, and Heraldry," *Gravestone Chronicles II* (Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1997), 496-604.

71. Litra Solis-Cohen, "Otis Canvas-work Picture Sells for $1.15 Million," Sotheby's January [1996] Americana Auction: http://www.maineantiquedigest.com/articleshann0396.htm.

72. Ethel Stanwood Bolton (*American Samplers*, Boston, MA: Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1921) was one of the first to study the regional characteristics of American Samplers. Another excellent source of information about early needlework instructors and their work is Glee Krueger, *New England Samplers to 1840* (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1978), 139-205.

73. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*, 121.

74. Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, "Levi Maxcy, The 'Other' Son," *Gravestone Chronicles II* (Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1997), 458.

75. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850*, 20.

76. Davida Tenenbaum Deutsch, "John Brewster, Jr., An Artist for the Needleworker," *The Clarion* 15:4 (1990): 46-50. Some known pattern and needlework painters were John Brewster, Wiliam Birch, Nathaniel Hancock, Frederick Kemmelmeyer, Archibald and Alexander Robertson, Samuel and Godfrey Folwell, the "Boston Limner" (Probably John Johnston, son of the heraldic painter and engraver, Thomas Johnson), and Raphaelle Peale. Bernard Andrew, a Boston embroiderer, offered his service "at the lodgings at Mrs. Geyer's, the Flower Maker in Pleasant Street, Boston" (*Boston NewsLetter*, July 2,1772).

77. Frederick Burgess, *Tombstone Lettering on Slate* (no date or publisher), 7. Grace Rogers Cooper, *The Copp Family Textiles* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), 2.

78. Davida Tenenbaum Deutsch, "Needlework Patterns and Their Use in America," *The Magazine Antiques* 139:2 (1991): 368-381; Nancy Graves Cabot, "Engravings as Pattern Sources," *The Magazine Antiques* 40:6 (1950); Jane C. Nylander, "Some Print Sources of New England Schoolgirl Art," *The Magazine Antiques* (1976): 292-301.

79. According to researcher Nancy Cabot, "It has been possible, in various instances, to identify the use on both sides of the ocean of the same engraving as a pattern source for pictorial embroideries. The New England version usually proves to be lives of somewhat later date and is generally a simpler rendering of the scene..." preserving most of the English flavor but with distinctly American details: Nancy Graves Cabot, "The Sources of Some Designs in the Fishing Lady Pictures," 50.

80. Jane C. Nylander, "Some Print Sources of New England Schoolgirl Art," 292; 296.

81. Don, *Traditional Samplers*, 9.

82. Verse from Lydia Hollingsworth sampler, 1759 (DAR Museum, gift of Hannah Babcock):

    I in the Burying place may
    See graves shorter there
    Than I, From Death's
    Arrest no Age is free
    Young Children too may
    Die. my God, may such an
    Awful Sight awakening be
    To me, Oh, that by early
    Grace I might for death
    Prepared be.

83. These words also appear as a hymn, "Great God How Frail a Thing is Man," with text credited to Mather Byles (1744) and music by William Billings (1781). William Billings published Boston's first singing master's book (*New England Psalm Singer*) in 1770. I am indebted to Donna LaRue for introducing me to Billings and for providing me with a copy of the hymn.

84. Perhaps from Psalms 103:15-16: "As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is done; and the place thereof shall know it no more."

85. These popular lines are from the last verse of an untitled hymn by Josiah Conder, which appears in several versions of the Watts Hymnal. The verse first appeared in 1824 in Conder's poem "On the Death of an Infant," published in *The Star in the East*. The verse also appears on the gravestone of Robert E. Lee's young daughter (1862), in Abraham Lincoln's daily devotional (*The Believer's Daily Treasure; or, Texts of Scripture arranged for every day in the year*. London, England: The Religious Tract Society, 1852, Entry of November 21), and on several nineteenth-century needlework samplers. I am indebted to the staff of Rochester's Eastman-Sibley Music Library, The University of Rochester Library, and the Monroe County Library, New York, for their considerable help in finding the origins of this popular sampler verse and epitaph.

Fig. 1. Gravemarker of the Remu, side closest to the Remu synagogue, Remu Cemetery, Crakow, Poland. The marker is the most elaborate in the cemetery.

LEGENDARY EXPLANATIONS: THE PROTECTION OF THE REMU CEMETERY DURING THE HOLOCAUST

Simon J. Bronner

Cemeteries and gravestones are the stuff of legend. This association in public consciousness can be explained by the roles of cemeteries as ritual, and hence mysterious, zones in many communities. Folklorists often consider narratives told about cemeteries in relation to the local legend, since themes and motifs relating to beliefs about death, burial, and spirit may appear migratory, although the reference is to a specific stone and person in a teller's community. Folkloristic literature abounds with legends that attribute magical qualities to tombstones, or legendary explanations of unusual stones. The typical scenario for the reporting of legends about cemeteries is that the stones are located in the teller's immediate environment and represents a connection to community. My concern here is the narrated place of cemeteries in the lost world of Jewish Poland and its wider ethnic and historical representation. In the case of elderly Yiddish speakers, the localities in Poland are distant from the speaker's experience, although they still relate to them, and certainly relate stories about them.

In this essay, I take up an example of a cemetery/stone narrative told about the renowned Remu cemetery in Cracow, Poland. The legend is about the encounter of Nazis during the Holocaust with the cemetery. I contextualize the telling of this legend to gauge perceptions of its meaning as related by Yiddish speakers from Poland, and I compare the story to legends about the Remu as well as migratory themes concerning the Jewish cemetery. My ethnographic objective is to interrogate the rhetorical use of the legend so as to understand the function of the narrative. I also have a historical objective to analyze the sense of place, indeed a sense of tradition, retained in the consciousness of Holocaust survivors, removed from their original communities. Thematically, this example also raises issues of the wide symbolic significance of cemeteries for social groups whose experience has shaped attitudes revealed in narrative.

I begin with a telling of the legend in the context of a gathering of Yiddish speakers. The date was August 8, 1993. It was at the home of Holocaust survivor Ed Dunietz in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. A group of Yiddish speakers had gathered around the dining room table as pastries, fruit, tea, and coffee were served. They had been in the living room

for a Yiddish-speaking meeting (the *Vinkl*, they call it), and had finished the program of readings and discussion. The move to the dining room signaled the start of informal conversation among members of the *Vinkl*. Everyone in attendance except for me had been born before World War II. Several had been in concentration camps or escaped to Russia from Poland during the war. Leo Mantelmacher, who was born in Poland but had not been back since liberation, pressed Ed to describe his trip to Poland the month before. Ed was also born in Poland, not far from Cracow, and had been hidden for much of the war. "Did you go to Kazimierz?" Leo asked.

The question implied the specialness of this section of Cracow as a Jewish place. Ed nodded and described what seemed to him an amazing development – Jewish tourism in downtrodden Kazimierz. He discussed the museum that had been made from the old synagogue and the Jewish restaurant that featured Jewish and Russian entertainment. His tone softened when he came to describe the Remu synagogue. The name of the Remu (or Remah) was familiar to all of Ed's listeners. It was the acronym of the renowned Talmudist Rabbi Moses Isserles who was born in Cracow (born 1525 or 1530, died 1572). In 1553, the Remu built a small synagogue in Kazimierz to memorialize his wife who died at the tender age of 20 in 1552. A cemetery lies beside the synagogue and its major attraction is the grave of the Remu himself (Figs. 1 and 2). It was known before World War II as a pilgrimage site for Jews from every part of Poland who visited the grave of the wonder-working Rabbi on Lag ba-Omer. The holiday coincided with the anniversary of the Remu's death, and pilgrims to his grave left written wishes on the grave. "It's still there? The Nazis didn't destroy it?" Leo asked incredulously.

"That's right," Ed replied. He knew that many of his listeners could recount stories of the destruction of synagogues, cemeteries, and yeshivas in their home towns in Poland. He felt the need to explain the survival of this structure revered by Jews. "I'll tell you what people say," he said in Yiddish. "The Nazis went to burn the shul by the Remu's grave [the stone is situated next to one wall]. But the sparks blew back, they got scared and left it alone."

"Dos iz a *mayse*," Leo said dismissively. By *mayse* he meant an intentionally false folktale. "Nu, that's what the people there say," Ed repeated in his defense. "A legend," someone else interjected in English. "Nischt emes" (not true), Leo blurted out. Leo was irritated with the discussion that deviated from the hard facts and numbers of the Jewish catastro-

Fig. 2. Gravemarker of the Remu, side facing away from synagogue, Remu Cemetery, Crakow, Poland. The notes on the grave are called in Yiddish *shlikhes*: messages containing wishes that are left on the graves of great righteous rabbis (*tsadikim*) who are associated with the power to perform miracles.

phe. Ed turned from the issue of whether it was true or not and tried to impress upon Leo the importance of belief. "If you were there," Ed challenged, "you would feel it was a magical place." From there ensued a lively argument on the ruthlessness of the Nazis with Leo taking the position that they would have destroyed the structure, and anything Jewish, if they had wanted. Others weren't so sure. Or they did not want to easily discount a host of legends they knew about the magical powers of wonder-working rabbis in Poland. "Maybe it is a *mayse*," Ed finally offered, and he emphasized in Yiddish, "Die geschichte bringt mir a sach wichtigkeit ... bedaitung" (The story has importance, meaning, for me.") His choice of *geschichte* resounded in contrast to Leo's dismissal of *mayse*. *Geschichte* was a story, to be sure, but it connoted a historical narrative. Whereas the *mayse* tended to be offered for entertainment or instruction, the *geschichte* explained a matter of immediacy, a matter Ed referred to as *richtig epes* (something real or meaningful).

It wasn't the first time I heard the story told as a *geschichte*, or witnessed an argument that followed. In Los Angeles, California, that same year, I attended the regular Sunday brunch hosted by Henry and Lola Bornstein, my aunt and uncle, for Yiddish-speaking Jews from Oswiecim, Poland. Conversation regularly drifted to wartime Poland. My aunt sighed when she told me once, "No matter how we start off – the weather, taxes, traffic – the conversation always comes back to the Holocaust. We're still trying to figure out how Auschwitz happened to Oswiecim." At one brunch, my aunt recounted being in Cracow after she left the smaller town of Oswiecim during the 1930s. She was asked "Was Kazimierz *Frum* (religious) then?" She acknowledged the Hasidic presence and recalled the pilgrimages to the Remu grave. "The Nazis cleared out the old quarter," and she recalled that some of her family members were caught in Cracow. Her husband Henry piped in that it was "incomprehensible" that the Remu synagogue survived. "You know why?" he asked in his typical cue that a narrative was coming. "I tell you. It was said that if the stone was touched then your family would mysteriously die or disappear. So the Nazis were scared."

"You know I heard that too," Nathan Littner replied. "But I thought the Nazis tried to burn it, but the fire flew back at them." A guest at the brunch was a Yiddish speaker from Romania and he emphasized the importance of the synagogue burning to the Nazis in his town, and found it strange that they would spare the structure. This led to an excited conversation about Nazi displays of destruction to Jewish sites in Po-

land. There were those who attributed to the Nazis senseless cruelty while others saw method in their madness. Emphasizing the devilish attributes of the Nazis, Nathan remarked that the Nazis were "superstitious," "into occult," and could have been scared by the curse.

When I made a query about the legend on a Holocaust list over the Internet, I received a note from Jonah Bookstein living in Cracow who recalled a Jew in the city explaining to him that the Nazis were aware of a curse on vandals of the grave. He continued: "When the first Nazi refused because he was scared (he had been told by a Jew the power of the Rabbi), a second Nazi stepped up. He swung at the matzevah with a sledgehammer which bounced off the stone and hit him in the head. He was killed instantly."[1] The significance of the story is local awareness that around the Remu grave indeed stones were destroyed, and the cemetery in disarray after the war (Fig. 3). Earl Vinecour has commented, in fact, that "*miraculously*, the only tombstone to survive the war totally unimpaired was that of Rabbi Moses Isserles" (emphasis added).[2] Part of the miraculous association of the grave besides its towering size, posi-

Fig. 3. Wall of Remu Cemetery, Crakow, Poland. The wall was constructed with headstones the Nazis removed from the cemetery or damaged.

tion right next to the eastern wall of the synagogue, and elaborate inscription is the boastful Hebrew phrase connecting the Remu with Moses himself: "From Moshe until Moshe, there was none like Moshe. May his soul be bound in the bond of eternal life."

The internet query also produced an incredulous reply similar to Leo's at the Vinkl. Bernard Sussman of Washington, D.C., emphasized in his message to me his displeasure at hearing the legend. He drew my attention to the work at the concentration camps in the region. "It is very probable that all the energies and facilities of the German troops in the area were devoted to the extermination camps, with nothing left over for pointless gestures such as desecrating a cemetery that Jews couldn't see anymore." What especially bothered him was the supernatural motif of the story. "This 'legend' about a Remu Stone supports the sympathetic notion of those poor ignorant, sentimental Nazis, so easily frightened by ghost stories, like little children; can't really hold them responsible for the Holocaust. That's why I am very unsympathetic to such 'legends'."[3] He felt somewhat at a loss to explain the survival of the Remu's stone when the rest of the cemetery was in disarray. His belief was that the stone's survival stemmed "partly from its superior construction and partly from the veneration of the spot which may have been known (if imperfectly) among local Christian Poles."[4]

The only published account I have found of the "protection from the Nazis" narrative is by Moshe Weiss, a Bobover Rabbi who grew up in Oswiecim. Weiss wrote in reference to the synagogue: "Legend has it that the Nazis spared the Remu Synagogue after being told that it was a holy place inhabited by the spirit of a holy man, and should they attempt to burn it down, they would fail in their mission."[5] Weiss offered the narrative to emphasize the spiritual importance of the Remu, and he recounted other legends about the great wonder-working Rabbi. One that he published also gets in a commentary on German destructiveness: "There is also another story about a wedding celebrated on Ulica Sheroka near the Remu Synagogue until late one Friday afternoon. The rabbi implored the guests to end the festivities lest they violate the Sabbath. When the guests went heedlessly on with their merry-making, the rabbi placed a curse on them. According to one account, they all died; another version has it that they were swallowed alive. In any case, after the Sabbath a fence was installed around the entire area. This fence remained standing until the Germans invaded Krakow and destroyed it."[6]

This last narrative was in fact given by a Polish Catholic tour guide

when I visited the site, but she did not relate the story of the Remu grave. The "wedding cemetery" story also appears in the memoirs of Jacob Seifter in the Oswiecim memorial book published in 1977.[7] Seifter emphasized the magical quality (what he called *Epes tsoiberhaftes*) of places such as the Remu synagogue for Jews in that area. For many survivors of the region, Kazimierz symbolizes old Jewish Poland and the Remu synagogue is its spiritual center. The Remu grave story, as far I could determine, was largely told by Jewish survivors of the Holocaust from western Galicia, which included Oswiecim and Crakow. It is not a story that their children have inherited.

Use of the story raises several questions about the emergence and function of such narrative among Jews removed from their former home and dealing with the memory of the Holocaust. The story with its magical motifs can create controversy when it is told because of public sensitivity about relating the hard "facts" of the Holocaust. As my experience showed, there were even attempts to suppress the telling of the story. But as Ed Dunietz said, the story is important for many survivors to relate because of the *bedaitung*, the meaning, it conveys. It related the stone and the synagogue to the experience of the survivors themselves. Having documented some instances of the story's use and context, I want to encourage interpretation of this private side of post-Holocaust narrative beyond the frequently collected genre of rationalized "testimony."[8]

While the "protection from the Nazis" is clearly set in a post-Holocaust setting, it is a bridge to pre-Holocaust Poland because of its strong relation to three themes in Jewish-Polish (and especially Yiddish-speaking) tradition. One is the cemetery and synagogue as magical sites, another the legendary protection provided by the Remu and wonder-working rabbis, and the third the use of explanatory narrative.

The memory of Jewish presence in Poland is often attributed to the community center in the synagogue and cemetery. The old age of many synagogues and the representation of generations in cemeteries are reminders of Jewish persistence in the Polish landscape. Kazimierz is especially unusual because of two synagogue structures that date back to the sixteenth century or earlier. While the official guidebook of the Polish government notes that "the 15th century synagogue in Cracow, one of the oldest in Poland, miraculously escaped destruction," it was Remu's later one that attracted legend probably because of the renown of the Remu. A guidebook by Polish Michal Rozek observes: "Jews from all over the world come to his [Remu's] grave, praying and leaving by his

stela small notes with requests and expressions of gratitude for grace obtained. The atmosphere of the cemetery is unique and strange, which is augmented by the prevailing silence. It is as if time stood still there."[9]

Polish Jews indicated the special role of synagogues and cemeteries in religious ritual as centers of spiritual activity, and in narrative and belief centers of the activity of spirits. They are related because the spirits from the cemetery often gather in synagogues as "spirit congregations," according to frequently collected legends from Eastern Europe.[10] Joshua Trachtenberg in his classic study *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (1979 [1939]) devoted a full chapter to the "spirits of the dead," most of whom according to tradition dwelled in synagogues and cemeteries. While the cemetery is an unclean place, as indicated by the ritual cleansing of the hands upon leaving a cemetery, and a place apart from life, as indicated by the traditional absence of flowers and plant growth at Jewish cemeteries, it may also be a site for magical beseeching. Trachtenberg points out the custom of visiting deceased relatives and scholars to request intercession to avert evil on earth. Indeed, the Remu grave is a site for leaving of written notes with prayers and wishes (*kvitl*) (see Fig. 2). Cemeteries, Trachtenberg observed, became places to visit on several occasions so "that the dead may beseech mercy on our behalf."[11] Befitting the power of the spirits of the dead, grave inscriptions in Ashkenazic tradition became elaborate and, in the case of renowned scholars and *Tzadikim*, shrines. Dov Noy identified the perception of the meaningfulness of the grave in Jewish culture with the Talmudic motif of "Return from dead to punish disturber of grave" (E235.6).[12]

That the spirits did not provide protection or return to punish Nazi disturbers of graves and synagogues is one of the running commentaries that pepper many conversations I sat in among Jewish Holocaust survivors. The Remu legend may indeed have sparked argument in the sessions I recounted here because it retained a faith in the magical intervention of Jewish spirituality while many reported feeling disenchanted with religious belief. Reflecting on her collections of narratives from Holocaust survivors, Haya Bar-Itzhak wrote that "the survivors' sense of commitment to their dead and their community produces a sense of obligation to tell their stories and that of the community, which includes the story of its synagogue."[13] She gave as an example a narrative which recalls the glory of the Jewish synagogue on the Polish landscape and laments its destruction. Her narrator concluded, "And when I

remember and call to mind the Great Synagogue, the ancient synagogue in our town, which was destroyed by the Germans, may their name be blotted out, then my sighs are many and my heart is sick."[14]

When I heard the Remu story told, it offered less separation from the past than the stories Bar-Itzhak summarizes as narratives of "destruction, eulogy, and lament." The Remu story certainly makes reference to the destruction of the Holocaust and the separation of pre- and post-Holocaust experience. Yet it also offers a parable of Jewish persistence. And while Bar-Itzhak heard in her tellers' performances an editorializing about Jewish revival in Eretz Israel, I understood from the commentaries on the Remu story a connection to the Diaspora. I heard the Remu story most often from Yiddish speakers who still hung on to some sense of belonging, culturally and religiously, with their Polish-Jewish past. The locations and characters in the story were significant for they represented in the minds of speakers the oldest Jewish section, with the oldest synagogues, most revered religious figures, and the most presently active Jewish community. Yet it was not uncommon for listeners to counter the stories with stories that echoed Bar-Itzhak's theme of final "destruction, eulogy, and lament." Folklore thus acquired *wichtigkeit*, or weighty importance, because it was a strategy of memorializing the dead, and at the same time commenting on the experience of the living. It encapsulated total experience and used the *geschichte* to offer parable.

The attachment of the post-Holocaust narrative with the Remu is not incidental. The Remu has attracted a host of legends set in the pre-Holocaust period and the location of his synagogue and grave within the vicinity of the most notorious region of the Holocaust—Auschwitz and Plaszow – adds to his post-Holocaust significance. Offering Hasidic tales of the Holocaust, Yaffa Eliach wrote, for example, "As I walk down the streets of Cracow I feel as if I am stepping on the dead. Each cobblestone is a skull, a Jewish face. Cracow's violated synagogues are habitations of ghosts. Cracow, the first Jewish settlement on Polish soil, the center of Jewish creativity, of law and Hasidic lore, is now a town with virtually no living Jews. Only a handful remain here, more dead than the clouds above Auschwitz and neighboring Plaszow."[15] Within the pre-Holocaust legendry, the Remu as a religious figure who studied Kabbalah and commented on magical powers added to his mystique and the perception of his powers.[16] Although he could be critical of unlettered people who engaged in mystical speculation, the Remu wrote on the roots of magical arts from God and nature, and observed that material things can be en-

dowed with occult virtues and powers.[17] One can still hear the numerological commentary that the Remu lived 33 years, wrote 33 books, died on the 33rd day of the Omer, and the rabbis who eulogized him listed 33 merits.[18] Beyond the Remu's association with magic, he also was the codifier, sometimes called the "Maimonides of Polish Jewry," and was known for his commentaries on the customs of Ashkenazic Jews. He thus represented the carrying on of life as a Jew in Poland.

The Remu and his grave had a special place because of his stature as a *Tzadik*, or a miracle-working rabbi. The renowned Yiddish folklorist Y.L. Cahan collected a legend in Poland concerning the poor man who asked to buy a plot near the Remu's grave because of its magical association.[19] The caretaker took his money but buried him in a different plot than the one he had promised. It was far from the Remu. The dead man's ghost appeared in the caretaker's dreams and disturbed him. After consulting with a rabbi, the caretaker honored his promise and reburied him near the Remu. Mysteriously, the grave of the buried man collapsed in on itself.

A significance of the Remu's saintly role is described by Bar-Itzhak as one closer to the "storytelling society than is the divinity, which is an amorphous force in Judaism, the saint serves as a means of religious identification for the members of the community who are unable to identify with the divine force or can do so only through the saintly mediator."[20] Thus the poor man of the storytelling society in Cahan's story sought a place near the Remu. Frequently such legends about Jewish miracle-working rabbis contain the key feature of the saint as a hero who offers often passive, but profound, resistance to persecution. The saintly hero uses spiritual or intellectual power to act for a people who are apparently powerless to combat violent attack. There can be a range of legendary explanations of resistance from Rabbi Akiva's martyrdom which inspired an insurrection against the Romans to Yemenite Rabbi Shalom Shabazi's turning from his plowing to destroy the governor's palace. In the latter narrative, used as an example of the Jewish saint's legend by Bar-Itzhak, "The governor, who was secretly plotting to deal unjustly with the Jews, saw the great power of Shabazi and recanted, and abandoned the wicked plot he had intended to carry out."[21]

The Remu story combines reference to the saintly intervener with the pre-Holocaust legend of place. As with many pre-Holocaust narratives of synagogues connected to the place legend, it brings out the "uniqueness, beauty, and sanctity" of community and its religious center.[22] It

also locates a shadowy, extra-religious realm of belief connected to life in Poland. It offers an experience of a specific location. But in its post-Holocaust context, the story relies on a memory of place and the realization of destruction of community. Its reference to the Nazis appears not so much unique or final, as it does one of many parables of Jewish persistence, in the face of persecutors from the Romans to the Crusaders. It is a contested narrative, however, when the Holocaust is offered as a historical finality that marks the rise of a new Jewish identity. Yet its countering version is as much a narrative of explanation as the Remu story. The *bedaitung* in both cases comes from the struggle of memory. The Remu story told in conversation records a connection to spiritual resistance and cultural persistence.

NOTES

All photos in this essay are by the author.

1. Jonah Bookstein, personal communication, 17 January 1995.

2. Earl Vinecour, *Polish Jews: The Final Chapter* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1977), 22.

3. Bernard Sussman, personal communication, 9 March 1995.

4. Bernard Sussman, personal communication, 13 March 1995.

5. Moshe Weiss, *From Oswiecim to Auschwitz: Poland Revisited* (Oakville, Ontario, Canada: Mosaic Press, 1994), 38.

6. *Ibid.*

7. See Jacob Seifter, "Die Stadt Oshpitsin," in *Oswiecim-Auschwitz Memorial Book*, ed. Ch. Wolnerman, Rabbi A. Burstin, and M.S. Geshuri (Jerusalem, Israel: Irgun Yotzey Oswiecim, Israel, 1997), 355-361; Simon J. Bronner, "*Epes Tsoibwehaftes*: The Rhetoric of Folklore and History in Jacob Seifter's Memorials of Auschwitz," *Yiddish* 10 (1996), 17-46.

8. See Lawrence L. Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991); Bronner, "*Epes Tsoiberhaftes*: The Rhetoric of Folklore and History in Jacob Seifter's Memoirs of Auschwitz." See also Jack Kugelmass and Jonathan Boyarin, eds., *From a Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry* (New York, NY: Schocken, 1983).

9. Michal Rozek, *Cracow: The Old Town, Kazmierz and Stradom* (Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo "Sport I Turystyka", 1991). Examples of the notes left at the Remu's grave are shown in Figure 2 of the present essay.

10. See Seifter, "Die Stadt Oshpitin," 355-361; Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion*, 1939 rpt. (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1979), 62; Beatrice Silverman Weinreich, *Yiddish Folktales* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1988), 348; Josepha Sherman, *A Sampler of Jewish American Folklore* (Little Rock, AR: August House, 1992), 76-77. Jacob Hennenberg now of Cleveland (originally from Oswiecim, Poland), related to me in 1995 the following narrative of a spirit congregation:

> I remember hearing a legend as a youth about the Great Synagogue of Oswiecim. It was told that there were ghosts inside. Going home from cheder I had to pass the Great Synagogue, and I became scared sometimes when it was an especially dark night. According to the legend, when someone passed the synagogue, the ghosts could call you to the Torah and you had to go in. The whole city knew the legend that one time this happened and some people walked by at night, and the doors of the Great Synagogue opened. The lights went on and the people were ordered to go in backwards and to say the 'Brucha' and walk out the same way.

11. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion*, 64-65.

12. Dov Neuman Noy, "Motif-Index of Talmudic-Midrashic Literature." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1954. E235.6.

13. Haya Bar-Itzhak, *Polin – Agadot Reshit: Ethnopoetica ve'Korot Agadiyim* [Legends of Origin of the Jews of Poland: Ethnopoetics and Legendary Chronicles] (Tel Aviv, Israel: Sifriyat Poalim, 1966).

14. *Ibid.* Bar-Itzhak cites the source of the narrative as Israel Folktale Archives tale no. 5219 at Haifa University:

> The ancient synagogue in our town was built more than 900 years ago. They built it over a period of several years but were unable to finish it. Suddenly a Jew appeared from far away. No one knew who he was or where he had come from. He pledged to the community leaders that he would complete the synagogue. When construction was complete the man abruptly disappeared. The next day the congregation found all the money the community council had paid him for his work in a corner of the synagogue. People said he was none other than King David, may his merit defend us and all Israel, who built this splendid synagogue, for it was impossible that normal flesh and blood, a gevaynlikher mensch, could build such a glorious holy place. I myself cannot believe that I ever merited to see with my own eyes this remarkable and magnificent synagogue, which had all the hues and colors of the sun and the moon and the rainbow. And when I remember and call to mind the Great Synagogue, the ancient synagogue in our town, which was destroyed by the Germans, may their name be blotted out, then my eyes shed tears because the enemy has overcome; my sighs are many and my heart is sick.

Bar-Itzhak's commentary is:

> The first part of this narrative is a legend of origins. The synagogue is said to be 900 years old, which gives a stamp of legitimacy to the community's exist-

ence in Poland. Its beauty and splendor dignify the town and its congregation, which had the merit of having such a synagogue. The attribution of the completion of the synagogue to King David gives a spiritual and theological seal of approval to the community's presence in Poland, for King David, the greatest king and hero of Israel, is also the ancestor of the Messiah. This part, which is the center of the legend before the Holocaust, becomes merely the introduction and excuse for what the post-Holocaust narrator wants to tell about himself and his community—destruction, eulogy, and lament.

15. Yaffa Eliach, *Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust*, 1982 rpt. (New York, NY: Vintage, 1988), 210.

16. See Yaakov David Shulman, *The Rema: The Story of Rabbi Moshe Isserles* (New York, NY: C.I.S. Publishers, 1991).

17. See Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion*, 20-21; Alan Unterman, *Dictionary of Jewish Lore and Legend* (London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 101-102.

18. Weiss, *From Oswiecim to Auschwitz: Poland Revisited*, 38; Unterman, *Dictionary of Jewish Lore and Legend*, 101-102.

19. Y.L. Cahan, *Yidisher folklor: Filogische shriftn fun YIVO* (Vilna: YIVO, 1938), 152-153; Weinreich, *Yiddish Folktales*, 338.

20. Haya Bar-Itzhak, "Modes of Characterization in Religious Narrative: Jewish Folk Legends about Miracle Worker Rabbis," *Journal of Folklore Research* 27 (1990), 205-229.

21. *Ibid.*, 209.

22. Bar-Itzhak, *Polin – Agoadot Reshit: Ethnopoetica ve'Korot Agadiyim.*

MARBLE TOMB-STONES.

WM. STURGES, of Lee, Berkshire county, takes this method to inform the inhabitants of Nantucket and its vicinity, that he has opened a shop in this place, directly over the store of Joseph R. Fisher, 41 Orange street; for the manufacture of MARBLE TOMBSTONES. He has now on hand 40 pairs, of all sizes, ready for lettering. Having entered into co-partnership with a person who owns a Quarry and a Stone Saw-mill, by whom he is to be regularly supplied, he pledges himself to afford them at a much less price than they have been obtained in this place. All are invited to call and examine his assortment, and the execution of his work, whether they wish to purchase or not.

March 6—3m ··3ts

Fig. 1. Advertisement for William Sturgis' marble shop, 1834, Nantucket, Massachusetts.

THE ORIGINS OF MARBLE CARVING ON CAPE COD, PART I: WILLIAM STURGIS AND FAMILY

James Blachowicz

Preface

Studies of American gravestones have tended to concentrate upon the styles of two distinct chronological clusters: the archaic stones of early New England before about 1800, and the Victorian art of the great rural cemeteries which peaked in the second half of the nineteenth century. This has resulted in some neglect of the period between the two, when marble monuments were first introduced and developed. Of course, some might argue that this stage hardly deserves extensive study, for much of it yielded quite plain marble tablets with no decorative features whatsoever.

The present study, comprising this essay and a concluding installment to appear in *Markers XX*, targets a significant portion of this intermediate stage in gravestone development. While there were indeed many plain markers produced in these decades, this was not the whole story, as we shall see. Besides, this period is vital for our understanding of the development of the traditional craft apprentice system into the more market-oriented businesses we find by late Victorian times.

Marble emerged as the material of choice for gravestones at different times in different areas of New England. The timing of this transition depended in part on the proximity of a given town to sources of marble. We find marble stones well before 1800, for example, in the area around Bennington, Vermont. Bennington was on the marble belt, a stretch of stone extending along western Vermont south through western Massachusetts and continuing alongside the Appalachians through southern Pennsylvania, western Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia to Alabama.

The earliest marble markers were shaped and carved quite like their tabular slate counterparts. By the time we reach the late 1800s, of course, quite elaborate three-dimensional sculptures had appeared. Between these two stages, especially as we move through the 1860s and 1870s, we find significantly thickened (and more squat) marble markers, often with sculpted sides and inscriptions on more than one face. We also begin to see three-dimensional obelisks of all sizes.

Cape Cod, Massachusetts had imported all its gravestones until the arrival of the carver Nathaniel Holmes in 1805. Holmes' slate produc-

tion far exceeded his marble work even to his death in 1869. I found only about fifty marble stones out of the more than 600 he carved from 1830 on. He was in this respect conservative, matching the conservatism of his clientele. But marble gravestones did begin to appear in substantial numbers on the Cape even from the 1830s. Ebenezer D. Winslow of Brewster began carving appreciable numbers of them from the 1820s, but he seemed to maintain his slate and sandstone production in parallel.

The birth and development of marble carving on Cape Cod was largely due to the influence of one remarkable man, William Sturgis. He had learned his trade closer to the marble belt in western Massachusetts and had begun to produce marble gravestones there from the 1790s. He had carved exclusively in marble from the beginning. Sturgis was eleven years older than Nathaniel Holmes and, although born in Sandwich, had moved to Lee in Berkshire County as a young man. He opened a marble shop there with his brother and supplied the towns around Lee until the early 1830s, when he reached the age of sixty. He then returned to eastern Massachusetts – first to Nantucket, and then back to the Cape. He and his son Josiah and, to a lesser extent, his son John, were responsible not only for supplying the Cape with many early marble markers: they also helped initiate, directly and indirectly, three other independent marble-carving traditions there – one in Yarmouth, one in Orleans, and one in Sandwich, involving a total of eleven later carvers. What follows is an account of this enterprising development.

Because this story will take some time to tell, it is divided into two parts. The present essay will focus on William Sturgis, his son Josiah, and the Yarmouth marble shop of William's son-in-law, Jabez M. Fisher. In *Markers XX*, I shall complete this account with a discussion of the nine later carvers who established themselves in Orleans and Sandwich.

Introduction

Some stonecarvers, such as John Tribble (1782-1862) of Plymouth, organized workshops with many employees at work at many trades. Tribble's shop offered painting, glazing, papering, stonecutting, and even distilling, and he employed about a half dozen individuals, mostly his relatives. But the services of the shop were pretty much confined to the citizens of a single town. Less than two percent of Tribble's gravestones were sold to clients outside of the Plymouth area (comprising Plymouth, Kingston, and Carver). With the Sturgis family, we find a similar entre-

preneurial spirit, but with a different strategy. William and Josiah Sturgis concentrated on stonecutting, with no apparent sideline occupation (except for some farming); but they sought to expand their business by geographical diversification, that is, by selling their products to many towns within a general region. This may seem at first to be the same approach adopted by some earlier stonecutters, but there are important differences. While it is true that over a third of Lemuel Savery's gravestones, for example, were sold to citizens of towns outside of the Plymouth area, Plymouth was clearly Savery's base and he faced significant competition in these other towns. Nathaniel Holmes sold more than half of his work to towns outside of the Barnstable area, but he had benefitted from being the first on the scene, setting up his shop in the populous center of the Cape and marketing his stones in the region around it with little or no competition. The Sturgises, on the other hand, had arrived with Holmes already in place and with Ebenezer D. Winslow selling his stones in Brewster, Dennis, and some towns further east. They were thus forced to pursue a more artificial market of their own design, comprising a string of towns spread over a wider area, east and west of Holmes' and Winslow's markets – and south too, on the islands. Although the majority of William Sturgis' stones in eastern Massachusetts are found on the inner part of the Cape from Sandwich through Falmouth (including Martha's Vineyard), and most of Josiah's are on Nantucket, they really didn't have a single populous town as a home base on which they could rely.

William and Josiah also made frequent geographical moves. As a young man, William left his native Sandwich for Lee, in the Berkshires; then in his sixties he moved to Nantucket, next probably to Falmouth, thence to Orleans, from there to Sandwich, then (after his retirement) back to Lee, and finally to Yarmouth. Josiah accompanied his father in many of these moves, and he also tried setting up his own shop in Harwich while maintaining stonecutting stations in Falmouth, Sandwich, Orleans, Nantucket, and Edgartown. He later abandoned this venture (and stonecutting altogether) and joined the rush to California. We find in their movements not only the enterprising spirit that continued to develop through the mid-nineteenth century but also the influence of competitive pressures that began to claim the stonecutting trade as it had others in earlier decades.

William Sturgis: Biography

A William Sturgis is paid in an 1844 probate record for a gravestone in Sandwich, one like many others in the area. In my earlier essay on Plymouth and Cape stonecarvers in *Markers XV*, I had misidentified this stonecutter as William W. Sturgis, a Barnstable resident – this because I had found no evidence in any vital records for any other William Sturgis in that area of the Cape. This error became apparent once I discovered that the Sturgis stones of Sandwich and Falmouth resemble very closely those found in and around Lee in Berkshire County, most of which were carved by a William Sturgis resident there.

Lee was home to a number of families from the Cape, many of whom moved there shortly after 1780, in response to the depression in Cape fishing and shipping following the Revolution.[1] These transplanted Cape citizens concentrated in the east part of Lee, along what came to be called Cape Street. The two gravestone carvers of Lee were brothers, William and Thomas Sturges/Sturgis.[2] They were sons of Jonathan Sturgis of Sandwich, who was born in about 1751 and who married Elizabeth Smith there on November 3, 1771.[3] In the 1790 U.S. Census, there are three males, all under sixteen, listed in the household of Jonathan Sturgis. Since William was eighteen at the time, this is evidence that he may have already moved west, probably apprenticing with an established carver somewhere in that area. Two of the boys under sixteen must have been William's brothers Thomas and Nehemiah. While I found no record of another brother who could have been listed in 1790, there is a seven-year gap between the births of William's sister Abigail in 1775 and his brother Thomas in 1782; so perhaps there was another boy who did not survive.

Jonathan's daughter Abigail died in Sandwich on October 25, 1794, and is buried there. Her brother William provided her a marble marker carved in a style found in central and western Massachusetts – more evidence that he had moved out some time before. This stone, now very weathered, but still just legible, may be the earliest marble monument on the Cape. William bought a tract of land in Lee in February of 1795,[4] preparing, perhaps, for his marriage later that year. His parents probably didn't move to Lee until sometime later, for his father did not sell his house in Sandwich until 1804.[5]

William Sturgis, who was born in 1772,[6] married Salome Dimmick in Lee on September 11, 1795.[7] She was the daughter of Captain Lot Dimmick of Falmouth and his wife Fear Fish. Lot's brother Joseph Dimmick earned fame in the Revolution as a raider, twice in 1779 recapturing schooners

from the British, who were blockading Cape ports, and harassing them on Nantucket.[8] He later rose to the rank of general. William and Salome had at least ten children.[9] William's younger brother Thomas, born in September of 1782, married a Mary Hinckley (of Barnstable) in Lee on March 20, 1806.[10] They had at least seven children.[11]

While Sandwich vital records are incomplete for this period, Jonathan and Elizabeth Sturgis had as many as five other children besides William, Abigail, and Thomas. The entire (living) Sturgis family is named in an 1821 deed in which they yield all their rights to the property of the late John Smith of Sandwich.[12] John Smith was Elizabeth Smith Sturgis' father; but Elizabeth had died in 1813 and her family had inherited her rights to her father's property. Besides Jonathan, this Sandwich deed lists Jonathan's living children as: William, Thomas, Russell, Robert, Hannah, and Celia. There is also a probate record in 1828 for Robert Sturgis of Lee, who was born in about 1796,[13] which lists his brothers and sisters as heirs: William, Thomas, Hannah, Celia and Russell[14]; the same record has Russell Sturgis being appointed guardian for Catherine and Lucretia Sturgis, daughters of the recently deceased Nehemiah, "brother of said Robert."[15] Thus, it is safe to assume that the Nehemiah who appears in Census and vital records in Lee is another brother of the stonecutters William and Thomas.[16] The Hannah mentioned in these two records was probably Nehemiah's widow Hannah (*nee* Russell). Celia, unmarried, died in Lee in 1828 at the age of thirty-eight. Jonathan Sturgis died in Lee in 1824 at about the age of seventy-three. His gravestone mentions that he was a Revolutionary War veteran. The 1804 Sandwich deed listed his occupation as "yeoman."

According to a Hyde's (1878) centennial history of Lee (see note 1), William and Thomas Sturgis were the first resident stonecutters of Lee. They came from a "good family on the Cape," Hyde reports, and ran two different shops: Thomas' shop was in East Lee, while William's was on the hill road between East Lee and the center of town. "These two establishments supplied grave stones and other cut stone work for most of Southern Berkshire. Their monuments are to be found in almost every grave-yard in the vicinity" (pp. 316-7). They signed stones in Lee with "T. Sturges, Lee" and "Wm. Sturges, Lee."

Besides its tradition of papermaking, Lee is also known as a source of a very hard, but not so finely grained, marble and limestone, used after 1850 in the enlargement of the Capitol in Washington as well as in many monuments in New York City.[17] Lee marble quarries were also contracted

by the government in the 1880s to supply thousands of marble gravestones for Arlington National Cemetery. Western and central Massachusetts stonecutters, however, had used marble from the area since before the turn of the century. Judging from his style, we can assume that William Sturgis trained with one of these carvers after having moved from Sandwich.

An 1818 Berkshire County court record lists Nehemiah Sturgis, brother to William and Thomas, as a stonecutter,[18] but he is not to my knowledge paid for gravestones in probate records, and another record shows him only as a mason. He died in 1821 at the age of thirty-four. Some of the sons of William and Thomas also become stonecutters. Although William's eldest son Samuel, born in 1796, is listed as an innkeeper in U.S. Census records, he is reputed to have a signed gravestone in Cherry Valley, NewYork.[19] William's son John was in business with the Bridgewater stonecutter Elisha Eveleth, together owning (but perhaps not running) a marble shop in Sandwich in the late 1840s, just before John accompanied his brother Josiah (William's youngest son) to California late in 1849. John's death record in 1886 in Martinez, California lists him as a "stone cutter." Josiah, born in 1816, also became a carver. He went to Nantucket with his father in the early 1830s and married there in 1839. There are a number of his gravestones on the island as well as a few on the Cape. I will provide a more complete account of Josiah's life and work shortly. Edwin, the son of Thomas Sturgis of Lee, born in 1807, continued carving into his sixties in his father's shop in Lee.[20] Edwin's brother George, born in 1823, is listed as a "stonecutter" in the 1850 U.S. Census (p. 44) as well as in the record of his death in 1863, but is a "tanner" in the 1860 U.S. Census (p. 652). The relationships among the ten men of the Sturgis family mentioned as stonecutters in various records is shown in Table 1:

Person	Marriage
JONATHAN STURGIS (c1751-1824); Sandwich(?)/Lee	m. ELIZABETH SMITH 1771, Sandwich
WILLIAM (1772-1858); Sandwich/Yarmouth	m. SALOME DIMMICK1795, Lee
SAMUEL (1796-1852); Lee/Lee [8 children]	m. ELIZA , Lee
ABIGAIL (1798-); Lee/	m. EBENEZER C. BRADLEY1819, Lee
WILLIAM (1800-1825); Lee/Lee	
FRANKLIN (1802-c1857); Lee/ [4 children]	m. SARAH ANN
SARAH (1804-1877); Lee/Yarmouth	m. **JABEZ M. FISHER** 1829, Lee
WILLIAM S.(1830-1907); Sandwich/ Yarmouth	m. SARAH E. HAWES 1858, Yarmouth
ARIETTA D.(1832-1866); Nantucket/ Yarmouth	m. GORHAM KNOWLES 1862, Yarmouth
BENJAMIN F.(1841-1873); Harwich/ San Francisco	
[and 3 more children]	
JOHN (1807-1886); Sandwich/Martinez, CA	m. MARY LOOMIS 1834
PERSIS (1809-); Lee/	m. EDWIN BALDWIN, Nantucket
EBENEZER (1814-1834); Lee/ Lancasterville, SC	
JOSIAH (1816-1897); Lee/Martinez, CA	m. ELIZA R. SMITH 1839, Nantucket
SARAH ANN (1841-1917);Nantucket/ Berkeley, CA	m. CORNELIUS CUTLER 1863, Martinez, CA
THOMAS S. (1844-1924); Nantucket/CA	m. OCTAVIA RICE 1877, Martinez, CA
ABIGAIL (c1775-1794); Sandwich/Sandwich	
THOMAS (1782-1852); Sandwich/Lee	m. MARY HINCKLEY 1806, Lee
EDWIN (1807-1901); Lee/Lee [1 daughter]	m. CHARLOTTE HEWITT of Norfolk, CT
ELIZABETH (1809-); Lee/	
MARY ANN (1812-); Lee/	m. ORTON HEATH 1833, Lee
CHARLES (1814-); Lee/ [3 children]	m. LUCRETIA GIFFORD 1836, Lee
LYDIA (1816-); Lee/	m. HENRY R. COE 1834, Lee
HENRY (1820-); Lee/ [1 son]	m. LYDIA of Vermont
GEORGE (1823-1863); Lee/Lee [1 daughter]	m. LYDIA MINER 1843, Lee
CLARKE (1829-1829); Lee/Riverton, CT	
NEHEMIAH (c1787-1821); Sandwich/Lee [3 daughters]	m. LYDIA HINCKLEY 1809, Lee rm. HANNAH RUSSELL c1818, Pittsfield
CELIA (c1790-1828); Sandwich(?)/Lee	(unmarried)
RUSSELL (c1792-); Sandwich(?)/ [5 children]	m. FANNY CLAPP 1833, Lee
ROBERT (c1796-1828); (?)/Lee	

Different generations are in different columns; those mentioned as stonecutters in various records are in **bold**. Places of birth and death follow birth and death dates.

Table 1: The Sturgis Family Genealogy.

The fifth child of William Sturgis of Lee was Sally (Sarah), born in 1804. She married Jabez M. Fisher of Sandwich in Lee on January 22, 1829.[21] They lived in Sandwich before moving to Nantucket in 1832. It is possible that William and Josiah Sturgis came with them to the island. Nantucket's resident carver,a James Thompson (whom I shall discuss briefly in Part II of this survery in *Markers XX*), had died in 1832. The Sturgises ultimately pursued this recently opened market, although it is not clear whether this was the reason for their move there. It is significant that the stones of James Thompson of Nantucket are found not only on that island, but also in the 1810s and 1820s in the Falmouth area (which was outside of Nathaniel Holmes' sphere of influence); this is also where we shall find the stones of William Sturgis appearing more and more as we advance into the 1830s.

It is also possible that the Sturgises came to Nantucket a little later, perhaps in 1834, for on December 3rd of that year, an advertisement for the opening of William Sturgis' marble shop appeared in the *Nantucket Inquirer* (Fig. 1). Joseph R. Fisher, mentioned in the ad, was a younger brother of William's son-in-law, Jabez Fisher. Joseph, who would die in 1838, ran a dry goods store at 41 Orange Street. The man William Sturgis mentions as his quarry-owning partner may have been his brother Thomas in Lee. This ad ran through March of 1835.

William signed the stone for Sally Hamblen (1834) in Yarmouth with "Engraved on Nantucket by Wm. Sturges." He may have moved from Nantucket to the Falmouth area in 1835 (after his ad), for he signs the 1834 stone for Celia Dimmick (who died December 28th) in Falmouth with "Made in this Town by Wm. Sturges." This is also just about the same time that Sturgis stones begin to appear in the Falmouth area in greater and more continuous numbers. On the signed stone for Seth Robinson (1836) in Hatchville, Sturgis carved "Engrav'd in Falmouth by... [his name is obscured by a concrete base]," confirming, it seems, that Falmouth had followed Nantucket. Yet perhaps he retained a residence in Nantucket (his son's or son-in-law's house?), or commuted between the two locales. I found fourteen of his stones on Nantucket dated between 1835 and 1840, one of which is probated to him,[22] and he is a witness to Jabez Fisher's sale of a property there in 1839.[23]

It is also possible that when Sturgis put "Engraved in ... " at the bottom of a stone, this did not so much indicate his residence as the fact that he came to that location to do the engraving. On the stone for Kezia Gorham (1827) on Nantucket, he inscribed yet another "Engraved in this

Town by Wm. Sturges."Yet it seems unlikely that he would have resided there at so early a date. If this stone is not backdated, this may be evidence that some of the stones he sold to citizens of the Cape before moving out there may have been inscribed by him *there*, rather than being shipped already inscribed from Lee.

In 1840, Jabez Fisher "of Nantucket" sold to William Sturgis "of Orleans" all of his property in Sandwich.[24] While I found no other property transactions which confirm that William Sturgis was residing in Orleans at this time, he may have been renting or living with someone else there. A witness to this 1840 transaction between Fisher and Sturgis was Josiah Sparrow, Jr. The Orleans stonecutter Josiah Sparrow II was the son of Isaac Sparrow; but this Josiah Jr. could have been his uncle. It seems likely that William Sturgis helped train some of the Orleans carvers (Sparrow, Linnell, Hopkins, to be discussed in Part II) at this time before moving on. It is noteworthy that William Sturgis has nine gravestones in this area of the Cape for the years 1838 through 1840.[25]

As we should expect, there is no William Sturgis as a head of household listed in the 1840 U.S. Census for Lee. There is a man aged seventy to seventy-nine living there with William's eldest son Samuel (p. 64); but William was sixty-eight at the time, and his wife Salome, who would not die until 1845, is not in this household. So perhaps this older male is another relative, such as Samuel's father-in-law. There is, however, a William Sturgis in the 1840 U.S. Census for Sandwich (p. 59). And he is listed on the tax rolls for Sandwich from 1840 through 1844. He was living, perhaps, in Jabez Fisher's old homestead near Peter's Pond. We find a number of his stones in the Sandwich area at this time. He then moves back to Lee sometime before September 8, 1845: that is when his wife Salome dies in Lee in the home of their son Franklin.[26] In the 1850 U.S. Census,William, aged seventy-eight, is shown as living in Lee with his eldest son Samuel (p. 43).

William Sturgis, in his sixties, had moved from Lee to Nantucket to Falmouth to Orleans to Sandwich – all in the span of six years, 1834 to 1840. Or, perhaps he had a residence in one or two of these locations (Nantucket, Sandwich) and simply visited the others (Falmouth, Orleans) for extended periods. He did not sell his main residence in Lee until February of 1841.[27]

He no doubt had a marble shop in Sandwich. When he left, he may have conveyed it to his son John. We know that John was still in Lee as late as 1841, where he represented his father's business interests, and

that he was living in Great Barrington in 1844, when he mortgaged his house in Lee to his brother Josiah.[28] This may have been about the same time John acquired his father's shop and stock in Sandwich. John then formed a partnership with Elisha Eveleth of Bridgewater ("J. Sturgess & Co."). From June 17, 1848 they advertised in the *Sandwich Observer* their "marble manufactory" "a few rods in the rear of the Unitarian Meeting-house" in Sandwich. In addition to marble monuments, they were prepared to furnish "marble and granite posts, and iron rails, for yards." John may not have resided in Sandwich, however. In a transaction dated December 20, 1848, John Sturgis, listed as a resident of "Holmes Hole" (Tisbury) on Martha's Vineyard, and Elisha Eveleth mortgaged to the firm of Hyde, Fuller, and Hyde of Castleton, Vermont, 128 pieces of marble in Bridgewater, 50 pieces in North Bridgewater, 75 pieces in Sandwich, and a horse, two harnesses, a wagon and a buggy. This "chattel" mortgage was to be repaid within six months. About a week later, on December 29th, John Sturgis ("of Tisbury") and Elisha Eveleth mortgaged "all the marble at the shop of Henry T. Bassett, also a lot lying on the wharf of the Sandwich Packet" to Jabez M. Fisher (John's brother-in-law) of Yarmouth.[29] The Bassett mentioned here was not another stonecutter; he is the same Henry T. Bassett who served as Josiah Sturgis' agent in Sandwich – listed by Sturgis in his 1839 advertisement (see Fig. 3) for the network of marble stations he had set up on the Cape, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard. Thus, Sturgis marbles were probably available for purchase in Sandwich at Bassett's place of business from as early as 1838 or so, that is, one or two years before William Sturgis moved there in 1840.

While the 1849 *New England Mercantile Union Business Directory* and the 1850-51 *Massachusetts State Directory* each lists under marble manufacturers "John Sturgis & Co." in Sandwich, John himself was probably, as we have seen, residing on Martha's Vineyard. The shop he and Eveleth owned in Sandwich was probably run by James Thompson (*not* the same man who carved on Nantucket), who came down to Sandwich from Kingston at about this time. There is a single, undecorated stone probated to "J. Sturgess & Co.," that for Deliverance (Delia) Baty (1848) in Sandwich. It is too difficult to judge the carver on the basis of so few letters, but it was probably not James Thompson (whom we know to have resided and carved in Sandwich); thus, it was most likely either John Sturgis or Elisha Eveleth. I will have more to say about James Thompson and his Sandwich shop in Part II.

Elisha Eveleth appears in various records as a stonecarver. "Elisha Eveleth & Co." is listed under marble manufacturers for Bridgewater both in the 1849 *New England Mercantile Union Business Directory* and in *The Massachusetts Register* for 1852; and "Eveleth & Co," is paid in the 1855 probate record for Elisha Howes of Chatham.[30] This is most likely the same Elisha Eveleth born in about 1820 in Gilsum, New Hampshire and who married Priscilla Dart there in about 1846.[31] He was probably residing in Weston, Vermont in 1847, where his son was born. I have not determined how it was that John Sturgis and Elisha Eveleth came to form their partnership. Perhaps Eveleth was supplying Sturgis with Vermont marble. The mortgages they made in 1848, however, were quickly followed by the dissolution of their partnership, announced in the *Sandwich Observer* on January 6, 1849. Eveleth proceeded to form a new partnership, in Boston, with T.E. Hughes and P. McGrath under the name "T.E. Hughes & Co." (announced in the *Sandwich Mechanic and Family Visitor* from June 17, 1851). He signed the impressive obelisk for Prudence Jernegan (1852) in Edgartown and added "Boston" to his signature.

Meanwhile, John Sturgis, despite his entry in the Massachusetts directory in 1850-51,probably left Massachusetts for California with his younger brother Josiah late in 1849. He most likely still owned the Sandwich marble works for a time and had James Thompson continue to operate it. Thompson in turn trained one or two more carvers (as we shall see in Part II). If this is how things transpired, then the Sturgises would have been responsible for helping to initiate three independent marble-carving traditions on the Cape: one in Orleans, one in Sandwich, and one in Yarmouth – the last beginning with the marble shop of William's son-in-law, Jabez M. Fisher.

In 1850, Jabez Fisher mortgaged his Sandwich property to William Sturgis, "marble manufacturer of Lee."[32] William did appear personally in court in Berkshire County for a suit in March of 1852.[33] But William's younger brother Thomas died in January of 1852 and William's son Samuel died the following December. And so, in October of 1853, William moved again, when he was eighty-one, into the household of his daughter Sarah and her husband Jabez Fisher, whose Yarmouth marble shop was prospering.[34] William is listed in the 1855 state census (p. 21) in Fisher's household; this entry also records the fact that, by this time at least, William was deaf.

An 1856 transaction in which Jabez pays off his mortgage to William lists William as "late of Lee."[35] This is the same year that William Sturgis

signed and dated his will (in Yarmouth), in which he named his six living children as heirs.[36] He named Jabez Fisher as his executor. William Sturgis died in Yarmouth on August 2, 1858, at the age of eighty-five.[37] Jabez and Sarah Fisher charged the estate for expenses incurred in taking his remains back to Lee for interment. They also charged a total of $747.00 (at $3.00 per week) for the four years and forty-one weeks that William had stayed with them (this is how we can determine that William came to Yarmouth in October of 1853). William Sturgis is buried in Lee with a gravestone carved by Jabez Fisher (Fig. 2).

While it is true that William Sturgis was a party to a number of property transactions in Lee in this period (two in 1836,[38] two in 1837,[39] two in 1838,[40] and one in 1841[41]) he is listed in each of these seven as a co-party with his son John; and so it seems likely that, while William still owned property in Lee, it was John who was representing his interests there while William was on Nantucket and the Cape. One of these transactions, that in 1841, appears to be a mortgage of William's property (for $2400; on February 8th) to his son Franklin, who was an attorney. This is also the time that his youngest son Josiah was trying to sustain a rather ambitious enterprise on the Cape; perhaps William helped out with some money.

William Sturgis also appears in a number of court actions in Lee. Between 1815 and 1854 he was a party in eleven cases, as follows: 1815, 1818, 1825, 1828, 1831, 1834, 1839, 1848, 1848, 1851, 1854. The case in 1834 was settled on November 11th[42]; this court record reports that the two parties came "by their attorneys," and the court found in favor of the plaintiff (Sturgis) because the defendant failed to appear as ordered. Thus, William Sturgis himself may not have attended this session, but had his interests represented by his son Franklin. And even if he did appear, he could still have moved to Nantucket afterwards, in time to advertise his new shop there in December. There is only a single case (1839) which was heard in Lee during William's Nantucket-and-Cape residency period, but here again, he was a co-defendant with his sons Samuel and Franklin.[43] Franklin, who again acted as attorney, appealed the case to the next term. There is no evidence from this case that William himself appeared in court in Lee in 1839.

According to the 1840 U.S. Census, four other individuals were living with William Sturgis in Sandwich at the time: a male between twenty and twenty-nine years of age and three females, one between twenty and twenty-nine, one between fifty and fifty-nine, and the third between sixty

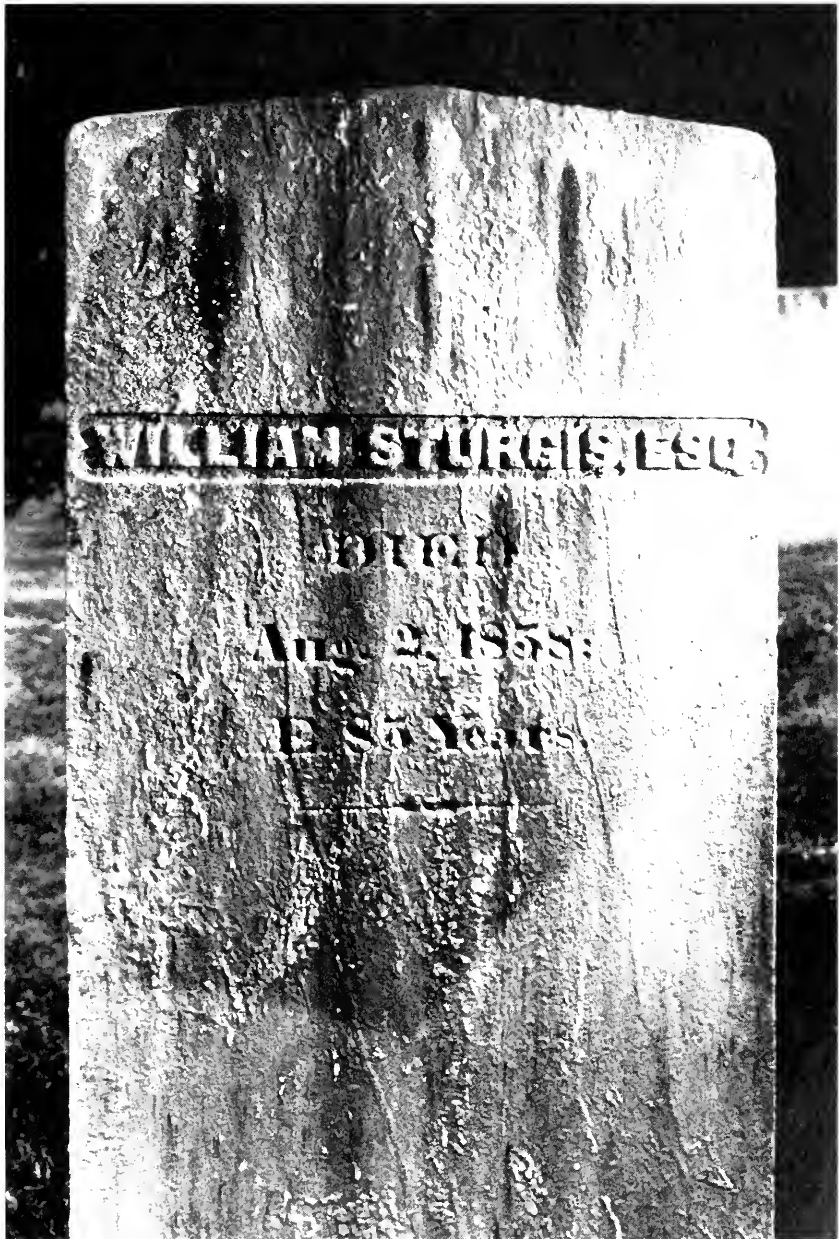


Fig. 2. William Sturgis, 1858, Lee, Massachusetts.
Carved by Jabez Fisher.

and sixty-nine. The oldest female was probably William's wife Salome, who was sixty-eight. The younger male could have been Josiah (John and Jabez would have been too old) and the youngest female Josiah's wife, whom he married in Nantucket the year before. While it is true that Josiah Sturgis was enumerated in the 1840 Census for Nantucket,[44] it is possible that he was counted twice.[45] The other female aged fifty to fifty-nine in this 1840 household might be Josiah's widowed mother-in-law Cassandra Smith: her husband Thomas died on November 26th of that year.[46]

Josiah launched his own stonecutting business in Harwich and elsewhere on the Cape, probably with his father's financial aid, advertising his marble shop in Harwich from January of 1839 through November of 1841; but this venture was not successful. There is a single gravestone on the Cape in this period – the plain stone for Captain Noah Davis (1840) in Falmouth – which is probated to a "Mr. Sturgis." The lettering is close enough to Josiah's other work to ascribe it to him. Josiah most likely traveled a great deal between Nantucket and Harwich, and perhaps between Harwich and Sandwich. Despite periodic visits and stays, however, he remained a Nantucket resident throughout this time, as is indicated in Nantucket property and probate records and in a summary of his life in an 1882 biographical sketch, to be considered below.

After William Sturgis left the Sandwich area in the mid-1840s, three new stonecutters took his place. I will discuss this new generation in Part II.

Josiah Sturgis: Biography

Although the majority of William Sturgis' gravestones are to be found in Berkshire County, he was a native of Sandwich and did supply a few hundred stones to the Cape, residing there for a few years in his sixties and seventies, and then for five more years in his eighties. His son Josiah, however, has a more tenuous connection to the Cape, placing only a very few stones there. He worked on Nantucket for fifteen years, 1834 through 1849, with perhaps a stay (without fixed residence?) in the Harwich area sometime between 1837 and 1841. He no doubt learned stonecutting from his father, and was in business for a time with his older brother-in-law Jabez M. Fisher, after which Jabez set up his own marble operation in Yarmouth. Josiah advertised his stonecutting shop on the Cape from 1839 through 1841, but apparently couldn't make a go of it there. His movements from Berkshire County to Nantucket to the

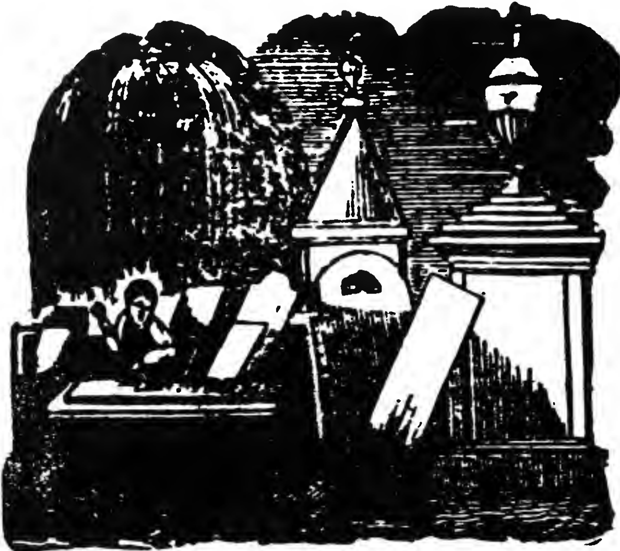
Cape (briefly) and finally to California reflect some of the wider patterns of settlement driven by the economic forces of the time.

Josiah Sturgis was born in Lee on April 23, 1816.[47] He probably came to Nantucket with his father in 1834 at the age of eighteen[48] to work in his father's new marble shop. The earliest record of Josiah's presence on Nantucket is a deed dated September 7, 1838 in which he buys a third of a carpenter's shop from an Asa Meiggs (but he sold this property to a Samuel Woodward a year later).[49] Just two weeks after buying this shop, he purchased land, a house, and other outbuildings from a Job Coleman. This lot is situated just to the east of Fair Street and north of Plumb Lane.[50] In these and the other records which mention Josiah Sturgis, he is described as a "stone cutter," "stone engraver," and "marble engraver." In a late (1848) record, however, he is listed as a "merchant."[51] Perhaps by then he had given up on marble monument manufacture.

Josiah married Eliza Riddell Smith,[52] a native of Virginia, on Nantucket on October 7, 1839. They had at least two children, Sarah Ann and Thomas, born on Nantucket in 1841 and 1844. Eliza's father Thomas died in 1840; in October 1844, Josiah, Eliza, and six other heirs inherited his property,[53] and they all sold it a few days later for $4500.[54]

Although he married on Nantucket in October 1839, and his daughter was born there in 1841, Josiah posted an advertisement in the *Barnstable Patriot* (Fig. 3) in January of 1839 (this ran through March, followed by an identical ad with a different graphic from March through June); he then re-issued this ad the following September (running through January of 1840), to be followed by another, shorter, version in November 1841. In the ad, we can note, first, that Josiah speaks of continuing his "old stand" in Harwich; he thus appears to have had a working business in Harwich perhaps a year or more before 1839. He turned twenty-one in 1837; perhaps this is when he began this operation. Impressively, Josiah informs us that he has five agents representing his interests in Sandwich, Falmouth, Nantucket, Edgartown, and Orleans. (Nathaniel Holmes, of course, had an effective monopoly on the middle Cape, while Ebenezer D. Winslow was still working in Brewster.) No doubt his father, William Sturgis, could help expedite his business at Orleans, where he was probably residing at the time; and Josiah had his brother-in-law Jabez Fisher representing him on Nantucket. His agent in Edgartown was perhaps aided by Jabez's brother Theodore, who was living there. Since first issuing this ad, Josiah added a new agent, Isaac Sparrow, in East Orleans. This is very probably the father (or possibly the older brother) of Josiah

LOOK AT THIS!



MARBLE TOMB STONES.

THE subscriber would inform the inhabitants of the Cape, that he still continues his business at his old stand in Harwich, a few rods east of the Congregational Meeting House; where he has a large assortment of STONES, which he will cut to order at short notice. He would also inform the inhabitants of this County, that he has Stone in Sandwich, under the Agency of *Henry T Bassett;* in Falmouth, under the Agency of *Paul Nye;* in Nantucket, under the Agency of *Jabez M. Fisher;* in Edgartown, under the Agency of *Sylvanus L. Pease;* and in East Orleans, under the Agency of *Isaac Sparrow.* Those wishing to perpetuate or pay the last tribute to the memory of their deceased friends, can be accommodated by calling on either of the gentlemen above mentioned.

JOSIAH STURGIS.

Harwich, Sept. 17. 6mo

Fig. 3. Advertisement for Josiah Sturgis' multiple marble "stations" in 1839.

Sparrow II, the Orleans stonecutter. Josiah Sparrow II was just a year younger than Josiah Sturgis, and Sparrow's stones begin to appear in that area in about 1844.

As we shall see, it was not only Josiah (or even principally Josiah) who was carving the stones for these locales. We find a spurt of William Sturgis' stones from about 1840 on, for example, on Martha's Vineyard. Josiah may have sold more of his father's work than his own.

Josiah tells the reader in his 1939 ad that he has "stones" ready to cut. It was easier to store carved but unlettered stones in various locales which could be delivered in bulk and then letter them on the spot, rather than having to ship stones individually to these places one at a time. Thus these "shops" would function more as "stone stations" in a network than as places of business in the ordinary sense. Ernest Caulfield describes a very similar practice by the New London, Connecticut carver Chester Kimball, who was carving gravestones at about the same time:

> Chester, Sr., had branch offices in Chelsea (Norwich), Stonington, and Mill Town (North Stonington); the last two were in the stores of other men. As soon as he would receive sufficient orders at a branch office, he would go there for four or five days at a time to do inscriptions, meanwhile retaining his main shop in New London.[55]

This was probably a common practice of William Sturgis as well.

While Josiah's main Cape shop was apparently in Harwich, his family residence probably remained on Nantucket. He is cited a number of times in property transactions there; in contrast, he is not a party to any property purchases on the Cape.

Josiah's Harwich marble shop was taken over by Jabez Fisher, who advertises this fact in 1844. Jabez is enumerated in the 1840 U.S. census for Harwich and his son was born there in 1841. He probably had come to help Josiah at the Harwich shop while Josiah was still there. I have already indicated that Josiah may have stayed briefly with his father William in the Sandwich area at this time, for, as we have seen, a man about Josiah's age and a woman his wife's age are enumerated with William Sturgis in the 1840 census for Sandwich.

Fisher moved on to Yarmouth in 1844 to open up another marble shop. Josiah Sturgis appears to have withdrawn to Nantucket: besides the continuing property transactions there to which he was a party, he is also cited from about 1838 in a number of probate records on Nantucket; and his son was born there in 1844. While he did sue a Berkshire county man in 1843, he was represented in this action by his brother Franklin.[56]

In 1845, Josiah Sturgis bought eight "sheep commons" in Nantucket in an undeveloped area south of town[57]; these were set off to him as private property by a vote of the town proprietors the day before.[58] This land was located a half mile from the mills, close to where today we find some of Nantucket's cemeteries. Later that year, Josiah bought (or perhaps paid off a mortgage on) nineteen acres of land "between the town of Nantucket and the farm of George Myrick."[59] Then, in 1846, he mortgaged his homestead (for $850.00) to his widowed mother-in-law, Cassandra Smith, with the option of paying her back and reacquiring it in six months.[60] This transaction is dated July 13th, the very day of the great fire which would destroy a third of the town, including the entire waterfront business area. A map of the "burnt district" which appeared in the *Nantucket Inquirer* the following July 27th shows, however, that the destruction did not extend far enough down Orange Street to take Josiah's house.

The final recorded property transactions for Josiah Sturgis on Nantucket involve a piece of land in "Washman's Island" (a district west of the town) which he bought in 1847 and sold in 1849.[61] This is also the year that we find a probate payment to him for a gravestone in Falmouth – one of only two of Josiah's probated stones we find on the Cape. His father William had by this time moved back to Lee, explaining perhaps why Josiah was needed to cut (or at least inscribe) this stone. Josiah sold off a mortgage he held on a property in Lee on April 4, 1849, acquiring some capital, perhaps, for his venture west.[62] When he sued a John Baker in Lee in 1852, his residence was still recorded as Nantucket.[63] It is immediately after this time that other stonecutters' names begin to appear in Nantucket probate records.[64]

Apparently resigned to the fact that his business prospects on Nantucket and the Cape would not improve, Josiah, like many other residents of the island, left for California in search of better fortune. The decline of whaling and the discovery of gold combined to produce a powerful incentive to relocate. Nantucketers, of course, had known their way to the Pacific for a long time. Josiah left on the steamship "Empire City" (of New York) on December 1, 1849, arriving in San Francisco, via Panama, on February 1, 1850, probably in the company of his brother John.[65] The source of much of this and some other interesting information about Josiah's move is an 1882 history of Contra Costa County, California,[66] which includes a biographical sketch of Josiah Sturgis, much of which was undoubtedly supplied by Sturgis himself, then sixty-six. This

sketch reports that Josiah, on arriving in San Francisco in ill health (not uncommon for passengers on these long voyages), moved to Martinez, California to regain his strength. A great many of the immigrants into Martinez at this time were from Nantucket.

Josiah's name is recorded in this history as one of the forty-three voters who took part in the first election in Martinez in 1850 (pp. 385-86). Because of the heavy transient population of immigrants at this time, a number of boarding houses, kitchens, and "hotels" were built in the area. In the year he arrived, Josiah bought a kitchen and boarding house called the Hotel de Steward from its African-American owner, William Jones, who had been a captain's cook and had opened the place earlier that year.[67] In 1852, Josiah remodeled and expanded the place as the Alhambra Hotel and, as this history records, "by periodic additions, he has made one of the most comfortable and complete hostelries in the county" (p. 678). This is the same year the Union Hotel was built in Martinez (p. 391), but it was destroyed in a fire in September of 1856 (p. 394), leaving Josiah with one less competitor. Josiah is listed as a marble manufacturer on Nantucket in the 1849 *New England Mercantile Union Business Directory*; in the 1850-51 *Massachusetts State Directory* and in Josiah's suit

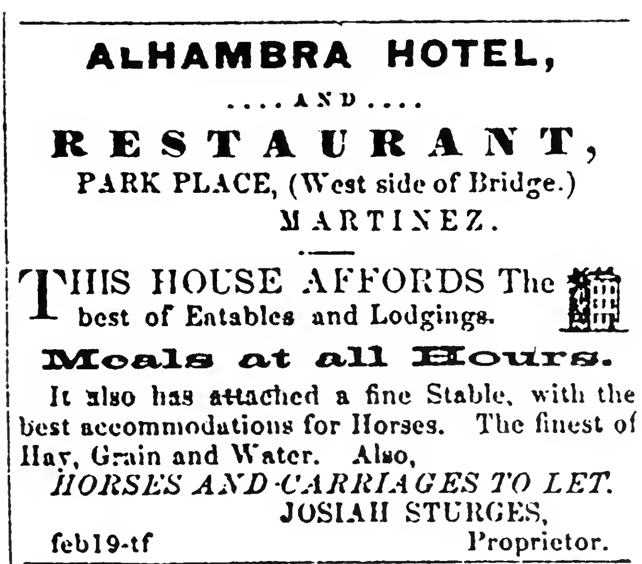


Fig. 4. Advertisement for Josiah Sturgis' Alhambra Hotel, 1863, Martinez, California.

against John Baker in 1852, his residence is still listed as Nantucket. Perhaps he had still not committed himself completely to California at this time. This is strongly indicated by the fact that he did not bring his family west until 1857.[68] His decision to have his family join him was probably made sometime in 1856. On June 19th of that year, he sold a large piece of land in Lee to the adjoining School District there; he signed this deed in California.[69] He listed his residence this time not as Nantucket, but as Martinez, California.

Josiah advertised his hotel in the first issue of the *Contra Costa Gazette* in 1858 and periodically thereafter. The ad shown in Figure 4 dates from 1863. The 1860 U.S. Census for Martinez shows Josiah as a "hotel keeper," listing his property assets at $1500 and his personal worth at $3000.[70] He is listed as living with his wife Eliza, their daughter Sarah Ann, and son Thomas. On November 10, 1863, in Martinez, Sarah married Cornelius T. Cutler, who was born in Maine.[71] He is listed as a deputy sheriff in court cases from 1859 through 1861, but this was no doubt an office he held rather than a full-time occupation. In 1859, a rich vein of coal was discovered near Horse Haven. Rights to it were later acquired by four Martinez men, including Josiah Sturgis and Cornelius Cutler. It was they who developed the roads to what came to be known as the Black Diamond vein, allowing mining operations to succeed. This brought coal miners to the area and led to the emergence of a few nearby towns, including Nortonville.[72]

An earthquake in October of 1868 brought down two of the walls of a new stone building at the hotel. This may be when the photograph shown in Fig. 5 was taken, for it appears that blocks from the stone building on the left have fallen to the ground (or perhaps it was a subsequent earthquake).

In the 1870 Census, Josiah's property assets climbed to $10,000 and his personal worth is estimated at an additional $5000 (p. 3). His wife is still with him, as well as his daughter Sarah Cutler, and her daughter Carrie, five years old. Josiah's son Thomas is no longer living with him. Sarah Cutler was not widowed, for her husband Cornelius did not die until September 22, 1885 – of yellow fever in Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico (he is known to have owned a mine in Mexico).[73]

In March of 1876, as reported in the Contra Costa County history, the Alhambra hotel was "considerably enlarged by the addition of a central two-story structure between the east and west wings, and a new kitchen

connected to the detached stone building, which became a dining hall" (p. 396).

In about 1881, Josiah contributed two "handsome chandeliers" to the Grace Episcopal Church in Martinez (p. 400). By 1882, at age sixty-six, he had realized the fortune he first sought as a stonecutting entrepreneur in eastern Massachusetts and was "the proprietor of considerable property in conterminous districts" (p. 678). His status is reflected in his having a biographical sketch in the history of the county published that year – even if these sketches were vanity publications, commissioned and perhaps even written by their subjects. Josiah's sketch concludes with the following:

> It is a pleasure to state that by a life of honest rectitude, Mr. Sturges has earned the esteem and respect of all classes in the community in which he resides, while, that he reveres the scenes of his youth is evinced in his having crossed the Isthmus of Panama no less than nine times to revisit them. (p. 678).

In 1883, Josiah's eighteen-year-old granddaughter Carrie Cutler, with four other women, helped to organize the first library in Martinez.[74] She

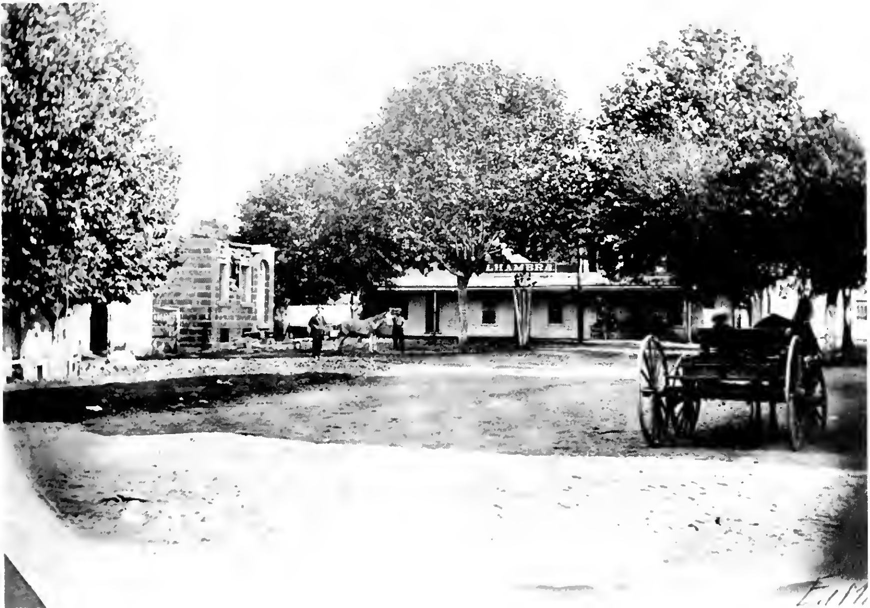


Fig. 5. The Alhambra Hotel, perhaps in 1868, Martinez, California. Built, owned, and operated by Josiah Sturgis.

married a Samuel McLenegan of San Francisco (originally from Beloit, Wisconsin) on March 1, 1887. Josiah's wife Eliza died in Martinez on February 7, 1884; her obituary records that "she was one of the pioneer women who, with her children, joined her husband on the Coast."[75]

We have a late photograph of Josiah Sturgis (Fig. 6). A photo identical to this one is in the Martinez Historical Society files, except that the man shown on the right is cropped out altogether. This photo (the one here depicted) has "Grandfather Sturgis" (the man on the left) written on the back. Since this photo was, according to reports of the Society, donated by Carrie Cutler McLenegan, Josiah's granddaughter, and since she was in her thirties when Josiah died, she should have known what he looked like. The photo may have been taken about 1886, perhaps at the funeral of John Sturgis, or in 1884, when Josiah's wife Eliza died. The man on the right might possibly be Josiah's son Thomas (though this identification may not be entirely reliable).[76]

A Martinez death record lists John Sturgis' occupation as "stonecutter."[77] Although there are a few stones in Martinez that were probably cut by new England carvers, I could not determine whether John or Josiah

Fig. 6. Josiah Sturgis (on left), at about seventy years of age, with (possibly) his son Thomas. On the porch of the Alhambra Hotel, about 1886.

Sturgis were responsible for any of them. It is not only Josiah but also John to whom licenses are sold (in 1858 and 1859, for example) to operate a bar. No doubt John assisted in the operation of his brother's hotel.

Some of the wild and violent character of frontier life in Martinez in its early days is communicated in the many criminal suits brought against various parties for horse stealing, cattle rustling, assault, and murder. Josiah and John Sturgis are witnesses in a number of these cases, and in one, which came to court on September 11, 1854, John Sturgis is the plaintiff against a William M. Smith. This is Colonel William M. Smith, who was the agent for the Martinez family out of whose holdings the town was originally formed; it was Colonel Smith who, according to the Contra Costa County history, in 1849 surveyed the land, laid out the first lots, and in effect founded the town (p. 385). John Sturgis accused Smith of having attacked him with a butcher knife.[78] John died in Martinez on April 22, 1886, after having "resided in various localities on the coast," according to his obituary, which also mentions that his funeral service was held at the Alhambra Hotel.

Josiah continued with his hotel until his death in Martinez on July 23, 1897 at the age of eighty-one. His obituary in the *Contra Costa Gazette* the following day reports that he died of heart failure and that the town had lost "an honored and respected citizen who has been identified with the business interests of the town for many years." He is buried in the Alhambra Cemetery in Martinez (Fig. 7).

The 1882 Contra Costa County history mentions that Josiah's Sturgis' two children are still residents of the county. Both Sarah Cutler and T. W. [Thomas] Sturgis are also mentioned as Josiah's surviving children in his 1897 obituary – Thomas perhaps living in Ventura County at the time. Josiah's nephew William S. Fisher died in Yarmouth in 1907. Fisher's probate record lists three living relatives: his wife and his cousins Thomas Sturgis and Sarah Cutler. Thomas' home at the time is unknown, but he is buried in the family plot in Martinez, having died in 1924. His wife Octavia Rice, whom he married in March of 1877, died in Sonora in 1935; perhaps that is where Thomas had lived as well. William Fisher's probate mentions that Sarah Cutler is living in Los Angeles. She sold the old hotel to the town in 1912 (she was probably living in Alameda County at the time). The hotel has been demolished and the new town hall is built on the site. Sarah Cutler died at the home of her daughter Carrie McLenegan in Berkeley on September 14, 1917 after an illness of many years.[79]

Fig. 7. Josiah Sturgis, 1897, Martinez, California.

William Sturgis: Gravestones

William Sturgis was a marble carver. Of the 402 stones I have ascribed to him (see Appendix III), only two are in slate. This poses special problems. Generally speaking, at least through the Civil War, marble carvers did not adorn their work with as many decorative elements as slate carvers. Further, the length of inscriptions cut on marble stones becomes very short indeed, sometimes with only the name of the deceased and the date. This, as well as the fact that just about all marble gravestones are today less legible than their slate counterparts because of weathering, makes the task of carver identification and ascription particularly difficult. With fewer decorative symbols and letters on the stones, there is less basis for detecting distinctive patterns and styles in a given body of work.

In the case of William Sturgis and his son Josiah, there are two factors which offset this handicap to a certain extent. William was born in 1772, and was eleven years older than the slate carver Nathaniel Holmes. He was a member of an older generation of stonecutters and, even though he carved in marble, he did not embrace the featureless style of many other mid-nineteenth century marble carvers. He rarely gave us unadorned stones, and continued carving his distinctive urns and willows to the end of his life.

The case is just the opposite with his son Josiah. I cannot point to a single stone of Josiah Sturgis – among the stones, that is, that we can attribute to him with some confidence – which has *any* decoration whatsoever. The body of work which I have given him, therefore, is quite small. But an aid here, as well as with the work of his father, is the fact that we have an abundant number of probated and signed stones. There are nine references to William Sturgis (or to a "Mr. Sturgis" that is probably William) in probate records: six in Berkshire County records, two in Barnstable County, and one in Nantucket County. In addition, William Sturgis signed at least twelve stones: four in Berkshire County (there are undoubtedly more there), six in Barnstable County, and two on Nantucket. In contrast, while I have found only one stone signed by Josiah Sturgis (in Hyannis), he is cited in probate records eighteen times, sixteen for stones on Nantucket and twice for stones in Falmouth. Even here, however, care must be taken. I believe Josiah's only signed stone was carved by his father; and it was William who carved the top of one of the two stones in Falmouth probated to Josiah. Josiah's brother John is also paid for a stone in Sandwich, but it is not certain that he carved it.

Fig. 8. Jerusha Boies, 1837, Blandford, Massachusetts. Typical stone carved by Thomas Sturgis.

I did not find any stones on the Cape that could with confidence be ascribed to William Sturgis' younger brother Thomas, who was an active stonecutter in Lee. Thomas signed a number of stones in western Massachusetts and it is not difficult to get an idea of his style. The 1837 stone for Jerusha Boies (Fig. 8) in Blandford is typical. He is fond of using larger letters than William; he also employs a more cursive script, and positions the initials of the deceased at the top. While his willow often resembles his brother's, his urn is narrower and differently decorated. Thomas Sturgis may have influenced the carving of Jabez Fisher, a possibility I will consider later.

Chronology and Regional Distribution

To better recognize the patterns of distribution of William Sturgis' work (see Table 2, below), I have divided the areas in which we find his gravestones into seven regions, as follows (I exclude two stones in distant regions: one in Plymouth and one in Bridgewater):

R1: Lee, Becket, Blandford, Granville, Pittsfield
R2: Falmouth, Woods Hole, Forestdale, Farmersville, Hatchville, Bourne, Cotuit, Waquoit
R3: Chatham, Harwich, Orleans
R4: Nantucket
R5: Martha's Vineyard
R6: Sandwich, E. Sandwich, Sagamore, Cedarville
R7: Barnstable, Yarmouth, Marstons Mills, Brewster, Dennis

	RI	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	TOTAL
1774	1							1
...								...
1782	1							1
...								...
1790	1							1
1791	1							1
...								...
1794						1		1
...								...
1796	3				1			4
1797	2							2
1798	5	1						6
1799	3							3
1800	3	1						4

	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	TOTAL
1801								0
1802	1							1
1803	3							3
1804	1							1
1805	2							2
1806	1						1	2
1807								0
1808								0
1809	4							4
1810	1							1
1811	1	1	1		1			4
1812	4	2						6
1813	2	1			1			4
1814	3							3
1815	2	1			1			4
1816	4							4
1817	2	1			1			4
1818					1			1
1819					1			1
1820	1				2			3
1821	3	1			1			5
1822	3	2		1				6
1823	2			2		1		5
1824	3	2			4			9
1825	4	4	1			1		10
1826					1			1
1827	1	3		1	1			6
1828	1	2*			2		2	7
1829		2		1	1			4
1830			2		3			5
1831		4	2			1		7
1832	4	9	4			1		18
1833			1	1	3	1		6
1834	3	11	2	4	7	4	1	32
1835		10	1	7	6	2	1	27
1836		6	2	2	3	3	1	17
1837		4	2	2	1	1		9
1838		5	6	2	1	1	2	17
1839		7	4		1	10		22
1840		9	1	1	5	7		23
1841		7	1		5	7		20
1842		5	3		5	4		17
1843		6		1	5	6	1	19
1844		5			1			6
1845		4*			1	2	1	8
1846		1		1	1	6		9
1847		1				2		3
1848		1			1	1		3
1849		1*			1			2

	RI	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	TOTAL
1850								0
1851								0
1852								0
1853				1				1
1854								0
1855								0
1856						1*		1
...								...
1868							1*	1
...								...
1877							1*	1
...								...
1908							1*	1
Total	76	119	33	27	69	63	13	400

*one stone inscribed by another carver

Table 2. Chronology and Regional Distribution of William Sturgis's Gravestones.

A word of explanation on the gravestones itemized in R1: These are only a small sample of Sturgis' total production in western Massachusetts and consequently should be disregarded in comparing his production elsewhere. However, in the four towns I canvassed in that area, I looked especially for the *latest* Sturgis-type stones, trying to find any after about 1834, that is, after Sturgis had presumably moved out of Lee. And so while the brute numbers of the stones in R1 are not complete, the chronological cut-off should be fairly accurate.

I can only guess at the full extent of William Sturgis' productivity in western Massachusetts. He carved slightly more than 210 stones on the Cape and Nantucket from 1834 through 1844, that is, from ages sixty-two through seventy-two, averaging about nineteen stones a year; in contrast, Nathaniel Holmes, at the same age from 1845 through 1855, carved about 110 stones, averaging ten a year. William Sturgis may thus have been even more productive than Holmes. But we should remember that William was probably expending some extra effort in his sixties to help out his son Josiah, whereas Nathaniel at a comparable age was more in a position to scale back comfortably on his work. William's brother Thomas also ran a separate shop in Lee, and I have not determined what the demand was for William's stones there. Only an exhaustive canvass of the burial grounds around Lee will provide the answer. I should also

add that, while the burial grounds I list in Appendix I are those in which I found gravestones ascribed to the thirteen carvers of this study, my search did extend to *all* burial grounds on Cape Cod.

Although this chronology is consistent with William Sturgis moving out of Lee in about 1834, we can also note that he had placed a number of gravestones on the Cape before his move, especially in the eight or nine years before. Perhaps, as I have already indicated, William would visit the Cape periodically and inscribe a few stones here and there.

While the numbers of his stones on Nantucket rise in 1834, the year he sets up his shop, and also in 1835, I found significantly more of his work in these years in the Falmouth and Sandwich areas and on Martha's Vineyard. These two years were among the most productive of this later stage of his career, and were perhaps directed, as I have suggested, to laying the groundwork for his son Josiah, who would soon try to establish his Cape-and-islands enterprise. As William's Nantucket numbers decline, there is a small but significant rise in his numbers for the outer Cape beginning about 1837, the year Josiah may have started up his shop in Harwich. But these too decline quickly afterwards, with the majority of William Sturgis' stones now concentrated once again in the Falmouth/Sandwich area. From 1840 through 1845, as we would expect, since he had moved back to Sandwich, William's production for coastal Sandwich, modest as it is, is significantly greater than that for his old focus in Falmouth and South Sandwich.

I found twenty-two of William's gravestones on the Cape and islands dated after 1845, which is when he probably moved back to Lee, but at least five and probably more of these were inscribed by other carvers. Still, he may have carved a few of these in Lee and had them sent back to the Cape. The 1848 stone for Cloa Fish (see Fig. 23), one of his very last, shows an unevenness probably due to his advancing years. The marker for Elisha Gifford (1849) in Falmouth, with a smaller version of Sturgis' usual urn, may be his, but this is probated to (and probably inscribed by) James Thompson, who ran the Sandwich marble shop owned by John Sturgis and Elisha Eveleth. The Daniel Weston stone (1856) in Sandwich features a Sturgis-type bible and two small willows, but this was probably inscribed by Edwin B. Nye, an even later Sandwich stonecutter who worked in Thompson's shop (to be discussed in Part II). It is not possible to tell when Sturgis may have carved the decorative part, if in fact it is not a Nye imitation. Josiah Sturgis may have inscribed some of these late stones deposited on the islands. The three markers I ascribe to

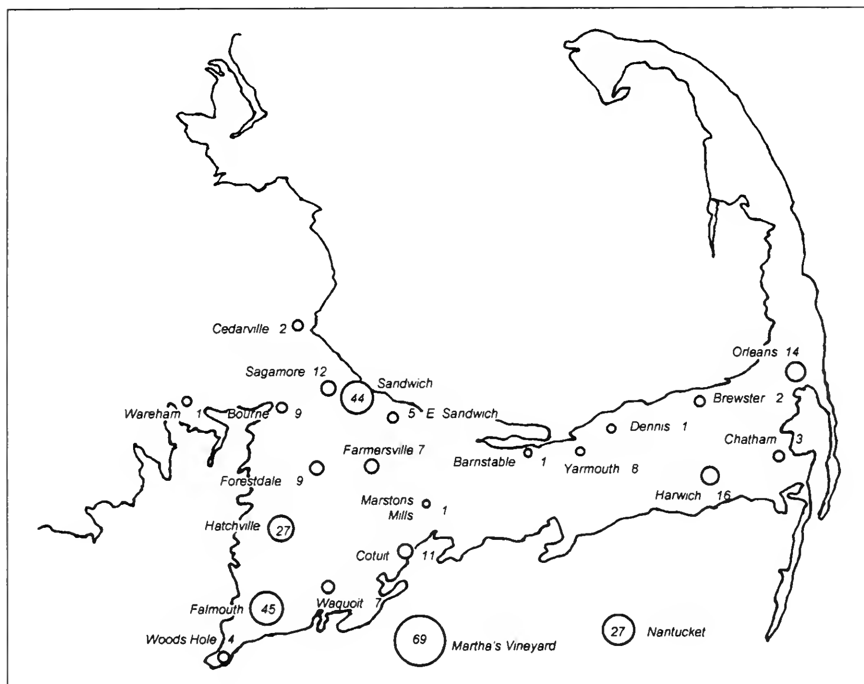


Table 3. William Sturgis' Regional Production on Cape Cod and the Islands.

William Sturgis dated after 1858, of course, were inscribed after his death. His total regional production on the Cape and Nantucket is shown in Table 3.

Principal Decorative Elements

(a) Cherubs

Because the greater part of William Sturgis' carving career, until he moved out of Lee at the age of sixty-two, is not within the province of this study, I have very little to say about his carving origins and his early style. While I have made every effort to record all of his gravestones on Cape Cod and the islands, I provide only a sample of his work from four western Massachusetts towns: Lee, Becket, Blandford, and Granville (no doubt Robert Drinkwater, to whom I am indebted for information on Sturgis' gravestones in western Massachusetts, would be able to provide a more comprehensive picture of his work there).

Fig. 9. Jonathan Wadsworth, 1798, Becket, Massachusetts. Typical cherub carved on early stones by William Sturgis.

The 1798 gravestone for Jonathan Wadsworth (Fig. 9) provides an early example of Sturgis' cherub (or soul-effigy). The general style here is rather like the work of the Connecticut carver Josiah Manning and of some Manning imitators such as Amasa Loomis. There is also some resemblance to the faces on the stones of Elijah Sikes, which can be found in and around Lee; and the wings are rather like those on the abstract cherubs of Solomon Ashley of Deerfield. I leave for others, however, the task of determining the early influences on Sturgis and identifying the carver who may have trained him. It is fairly apparent that he picked up his skills after having moved from Sandwich, probably in the late 1780s, for we do not find this style represented on the Cape.

These early stones show evidence of sometimes rather shaky spelling, and also a form of lettering around 1799 in which curls are added to ending strokes of the "y," "a," "r," "f," and "2." It is possible that this curly style was a fashion; this is about the same time that we find a similar curling in the lettering of Amaziah Harlow, Jr., a Plymouth carver.

(b) Urns

In my admittedly cursory examination of Sturgis' work in western Massachusetts, I found no cherub-representation after 1805. He introduces a pleasant, distinctively shaped urn as early as 1798, found on the now somewhat weathered stone for Zeruiah Crocker in Lee. The general shape of the urn, but little else, is evident on the signed 1806 marble stone for Marther Thacher (Fig. 10) in Barnstable. Marther's [Martha's] parents were probably former Cape citizens now living in Lee and had arranged with Sturgis for their daughter's stone. Sturgis, of course, saw this as an opportunity to display his work – hence the signature.

He signs another Cape stone (1812), for Jane Dimmick (Fig. 11) in Falmouth, adding a nice circular panel for the inscription and four quarter-rosettes for the corners, a device he would use often.[80]

(c) Willows and Other Decorative Features

Sturgis also quickly adds a willow to his urn. We find one version on a stone in 1809,[81] but he most often uses a willow in which boughs are carved in positive relief and leaves indicated by simple incisions within the boughs – an easier process than individuating each leaf, as Holmes was to do. A good example of his mature urn with willow – and bibles – is on the 1822 marker for Rhoda Smith (Fig. 12) in Blandford. The bible is

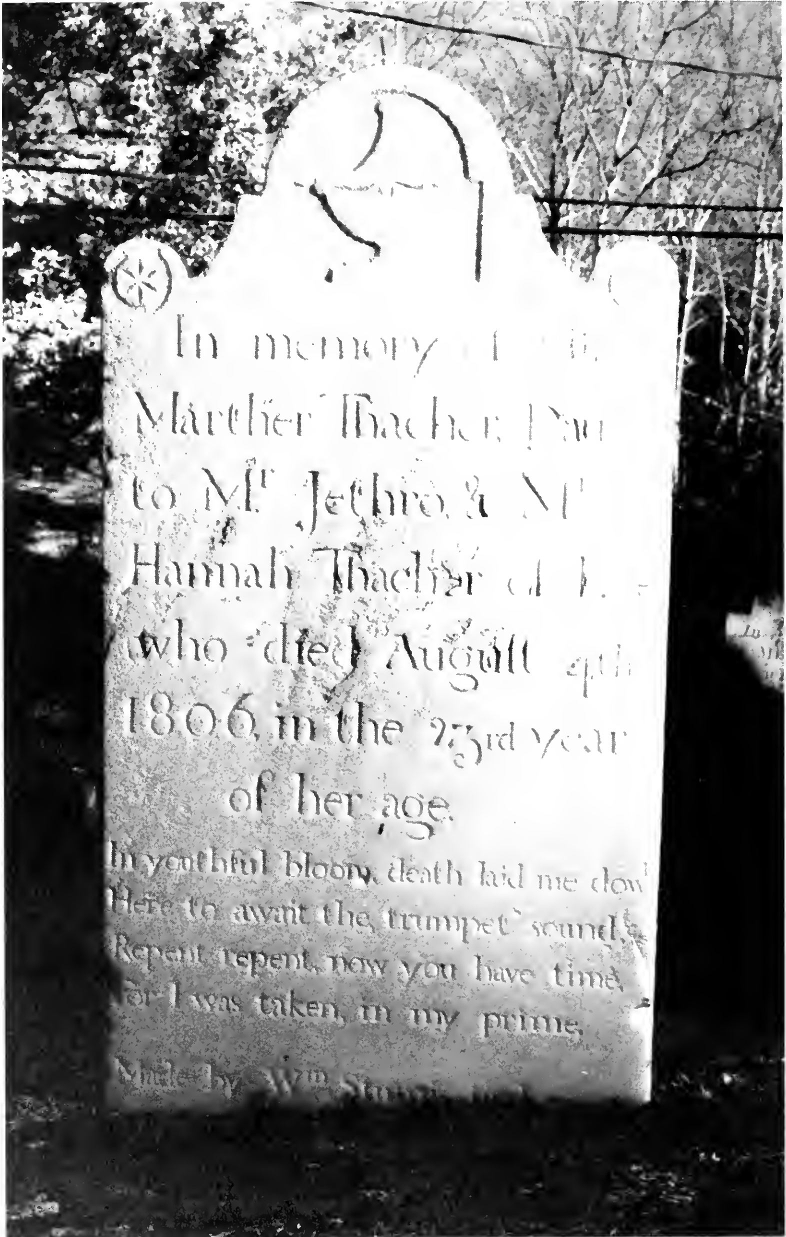


Fig. 10. Marther Thacher, 1806, Barnstable, Massachusetts. Early urn stone signed by William Sturgis.

Fig. 11. Jane Dimmick, 1812, Falmouth, Massachusetts.
Signed by William Sturgis.

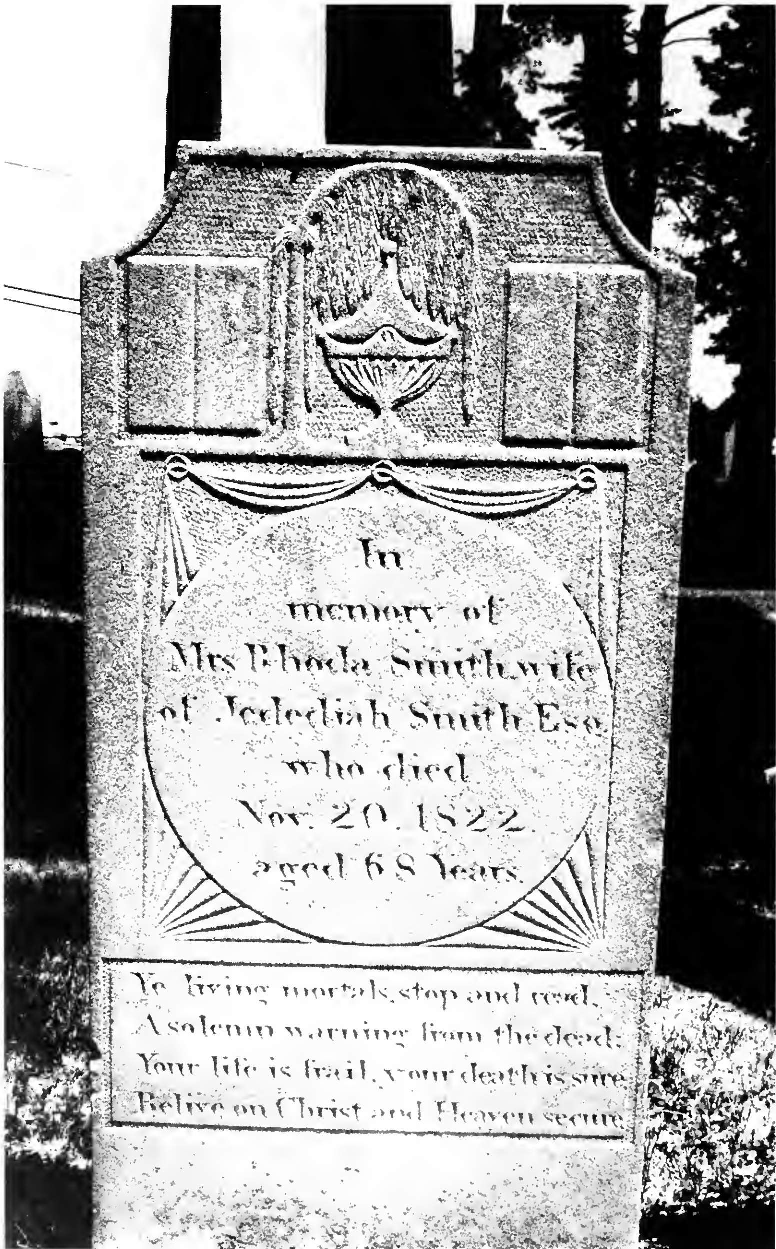


Fig. 12. Rhoda Smith, 1822, Blandford, Massachusetts.
Mature Sturgis willow.

also the principal decorative element on the 1834 stone for Celia Dimmick (Fig. 13) in Falmouth. This is, as we have seen, an important marker in dating Sturgis' arrival in the Falmouth area, for he signs it with "Made in this Town by Wm. Sturges." The signed stone for Sally Hamblen in Yarmouth, dated the same year, features a willow partially obscuring another, narrower type of urn which we see on only a few other of his stones.[82]

Josiah Sturgis turned twenty-one in 1837, the year he may have opened his shop in Harwich, which he advertised in 1839. In Hyannis we find another sort of advertisement: the 1838 stone for Walter Baxter (Fig. 14). This is signed "Made in Harwich by J. Sturgs." But this stone in all respects, including the lettering, appears to be the work of William, not Josiah. None of Josiah's probated stones is even remotely like this one. While Josiah was twenty-two in 1838, William was now sixty-six. I think a reasonable explanation for this signature is that the father had turned the business over to the son and, even though the son had not carved the stone, Josiah would be the man to contact for new orders. Master stonecutters, of course, were often paid in probate records for stones carved by their apprentices; but in this case, we have, not the master carver, but the business manager, putting his name on the stone. Times were changing.

William Sturgis would sometimes use a simple willow with symmetrical opposing branches as his single decorative element, such as on the 1831 stone for Anna Dimmick (Fig. 15). Or, he might choose a more elaborate composition, such as on the 1843 marker for Almira Holway (Fig. 16). Here the complex arching and intertwining of various branches creates more interest. He would also use a broken branch or, as on the small 1838 marker for Thomas W. Hamblen (Fig. 17), a broken trunk to represent early death, a motif often used for children's stones. I should add that, because of some variability in the style of letters and numbers used on stones in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and because both William's son Josiah and his son-in-law Jabez Fisher are carving at the same time, it is not impossible that Josiah or Jabez may have had a hand in these broken-branch stones, which begin to appear at this time. It is also just possible that they carved the willows as well. I ascribe them to William in part because they are more numerous in the Sandwich/Falmouth area, where William was residing for some time, than in the burial grounds around Chatham and Harwich, where Josiah and Jabez had opened their marble shop.

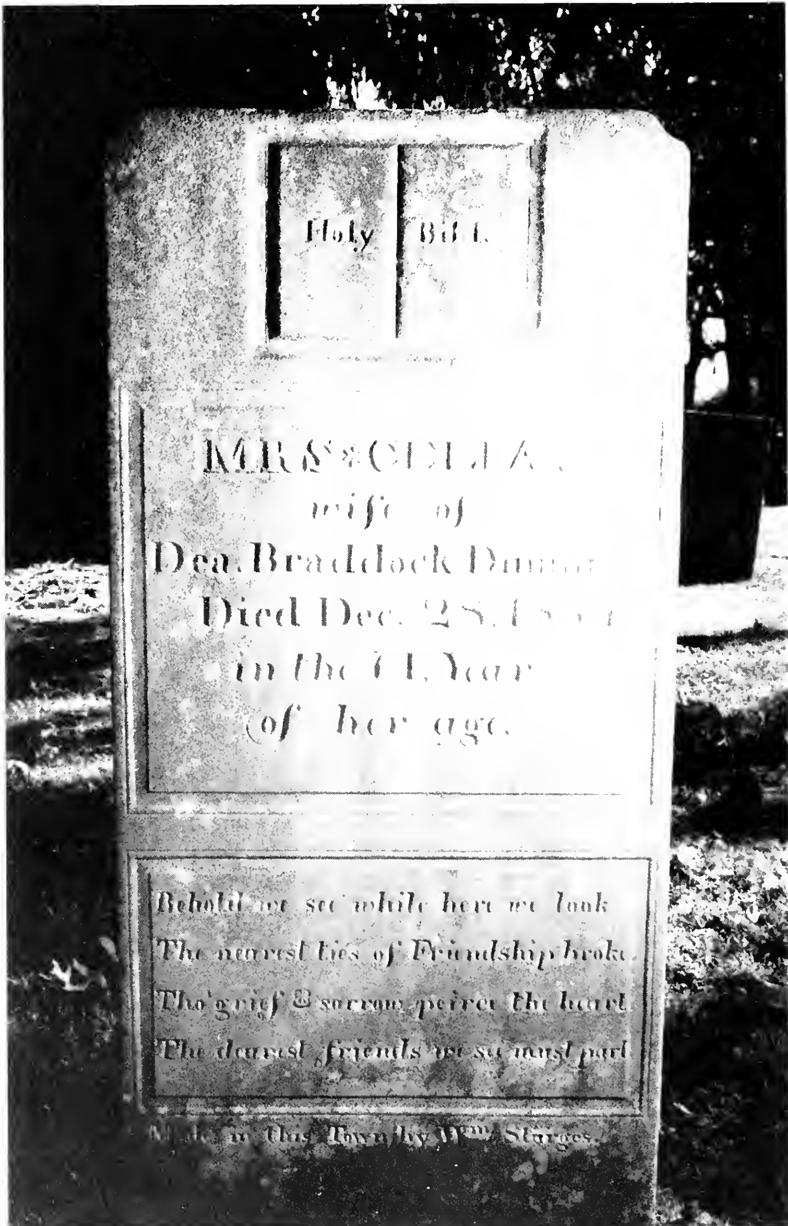


Fig. 13. Celia Dimmick, 1834, Falmouth, Massachusetts. Signed "Made in this Town by Wm. Sturges."

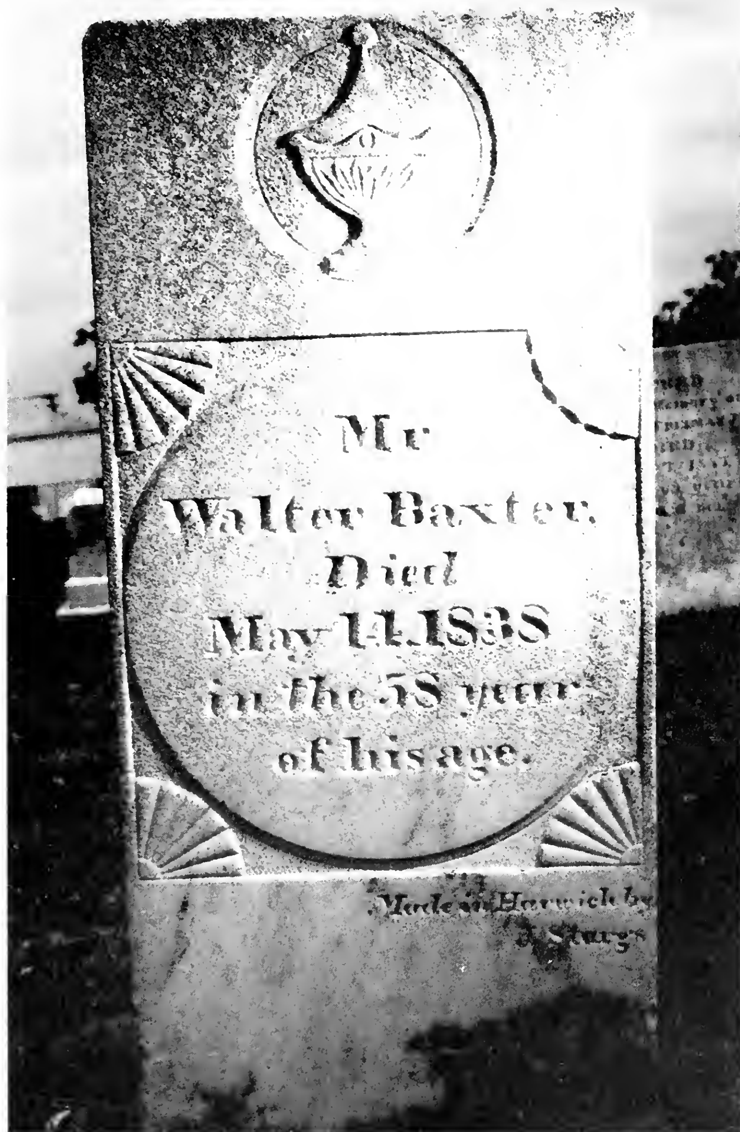


Fig. 14. Walter Baxter, 1838, Hyannis, Massachusetts.
Signed "Made in Harwich by J. Sturgs";
but probably carved by William Sturgis.

Fig. 15. Anna Dimmick, 1831, Falmouth, Massachusetts. Sturgis' willow with symmetrically opposing branches.

Fig. 16. Almira Holway, 1843, Farmersville, Massachusetts.
Sturgis' more elaborate willow.

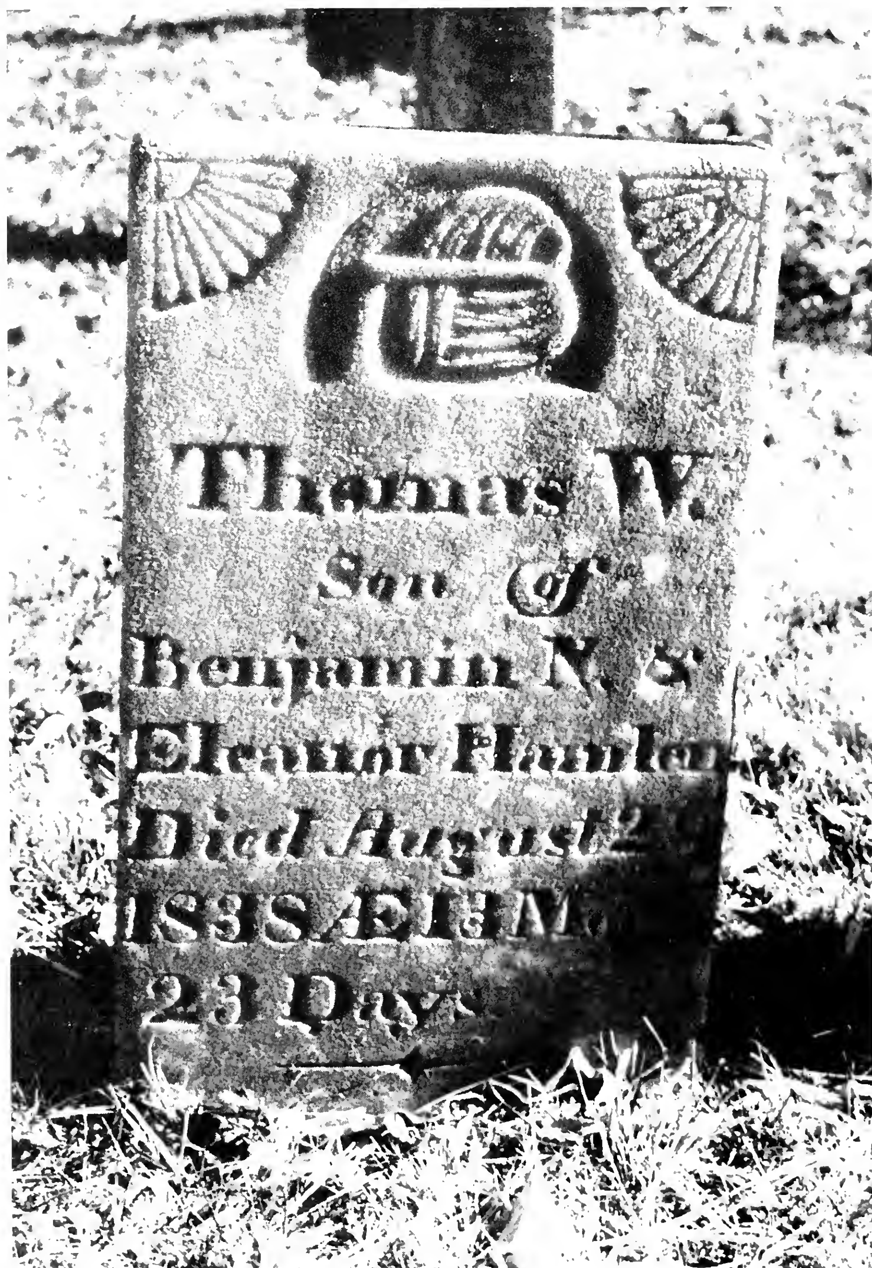


Fig. 17. Thomas W. Hamlen, 1838, Yarmouth, Massachusetts.
Typical Sturgis broken-trunk willow.

On the 1843 marker for Sylvia Crocker (Fig. 18), William Sturgis uses two willows with arched branches to fill out a large tympanum and adds a wreath around the inscription panel. Noteworthy here is the perfectly horizontal edge of his urn, a simplification to which he would return often on his last gravestones. Lest we think that this may be Josiah's work, William signs one of these horizontal-edge stones in 1843.[83]

Other decorative features include hearts (see Fig. 9), four-pointed stars, upward-pointing hands,[84] and an occasional drapery, such as that on the 1840 marker for William J. Freeman (Fig. 19). These smooth, rounded folds are apparently the inspiration for similar draperies used by late Cape carvers in the area around Orleans and Chatham, as we shall see in Part II.

Sturgis' patrons on the Cape, of course, were used to slate monuments, especially if they lived near Nathaniel Holmes' sphere of influence. Two of these patrons must have asked for a slate version of a Sturgis urn, one of which we find on the 1839 stone for Mary Nye (Fig. 20) in Sandwich. Yet Sturgis may not have been very comfortable in this medium, for, although decently carved, he put in few of his usual decorative extras – and none at all on his other slate stone, where the urn is represented only in outline. We can compare the Nye stone with some of the marble versions Holmes attempted: he in like manner rarely added decorative features to stones made in the medium to which he was unaccustomed. Neither carver, apparently, liked chiseling in the other's material. On the other hand, Jabez Fisher, as we shall see, was at home in both.

Working in Falmouth and Sandwich, William Sturgis must have at least met Nathaniel Holmes.These were the two "grand old men" of the Cape's slate and marble carving traditions. Holmes may even have done Sturgis a favor in the case of a single stone, that for Horace S. Crocker (1844) in Cotuit (Fig. 21). This is obviously a Sturgis stone, but the probate settlement of Crocker's estate pays Nathaniel Holmes for it.[85] This estate was settled in 1847, after William Sturgis had returned to Lee. The "8," "f," and "g" on this stone seem closer to Holmes' style than to Sturgis'. Holmes may have been doing Sturgis and/or the Crocker family a favor in acquiring the uninscribed stone from Sturgis and then inscribing it (in Sturgis style). Or, perhaps Holmes just bought the stone from Sturgis and used it for Crocker on his own initiative. Holmes probably carved the 1848 marker for Watson Crosby (Fig. 22), with a Sturgis-like urn and

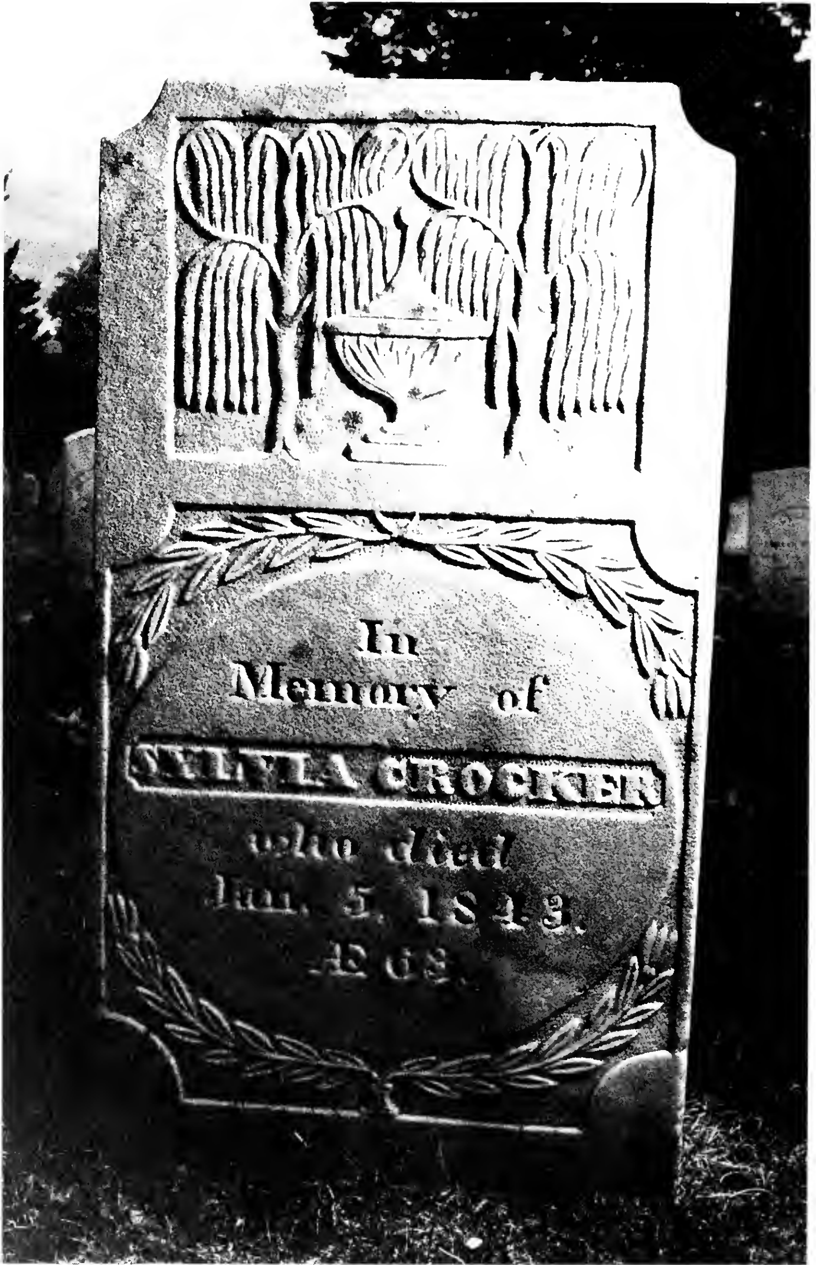


Fig. 18. Sylvia Crocker, 1843, Cotuit, Massachusetts.
Sturgis' double, intertwined willow with horizontal-edge urn.

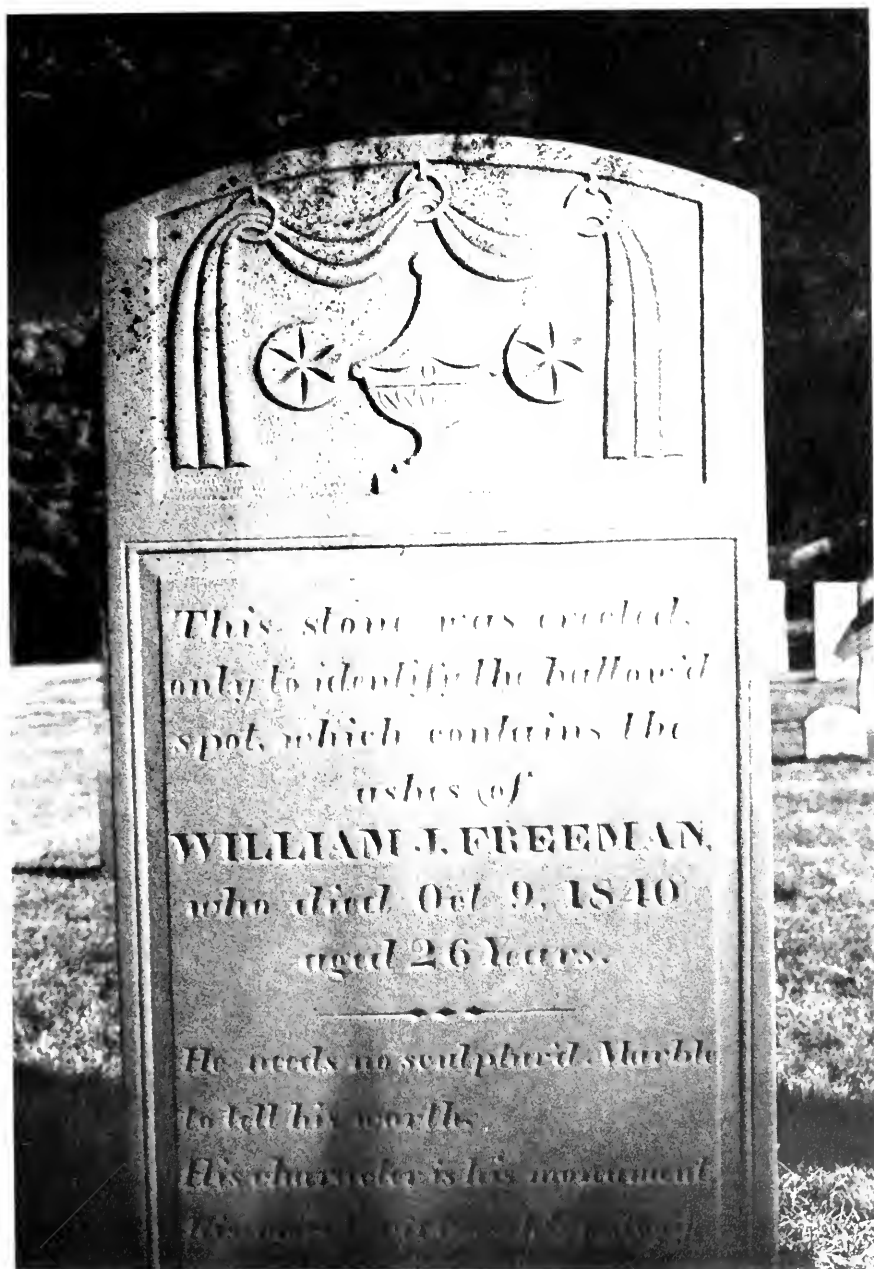


Fig. 19. William J. Freeman, 1840, East Sandwich, Massachusetts. Mourning drapery carved by William Sturgis.

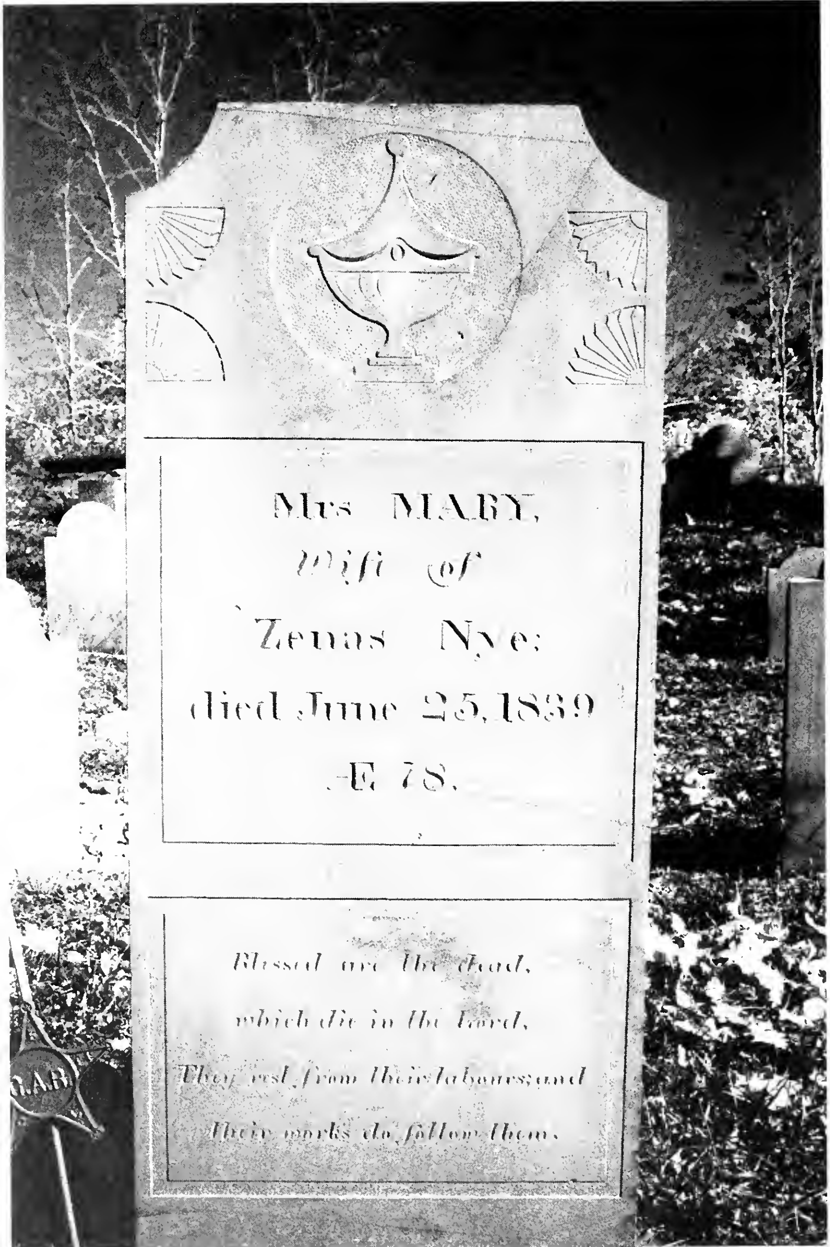


Fig. 20. Mary Nye, 1839, Sandwich, Massachusetts.
Rare slate stone carved by William Sturgis.

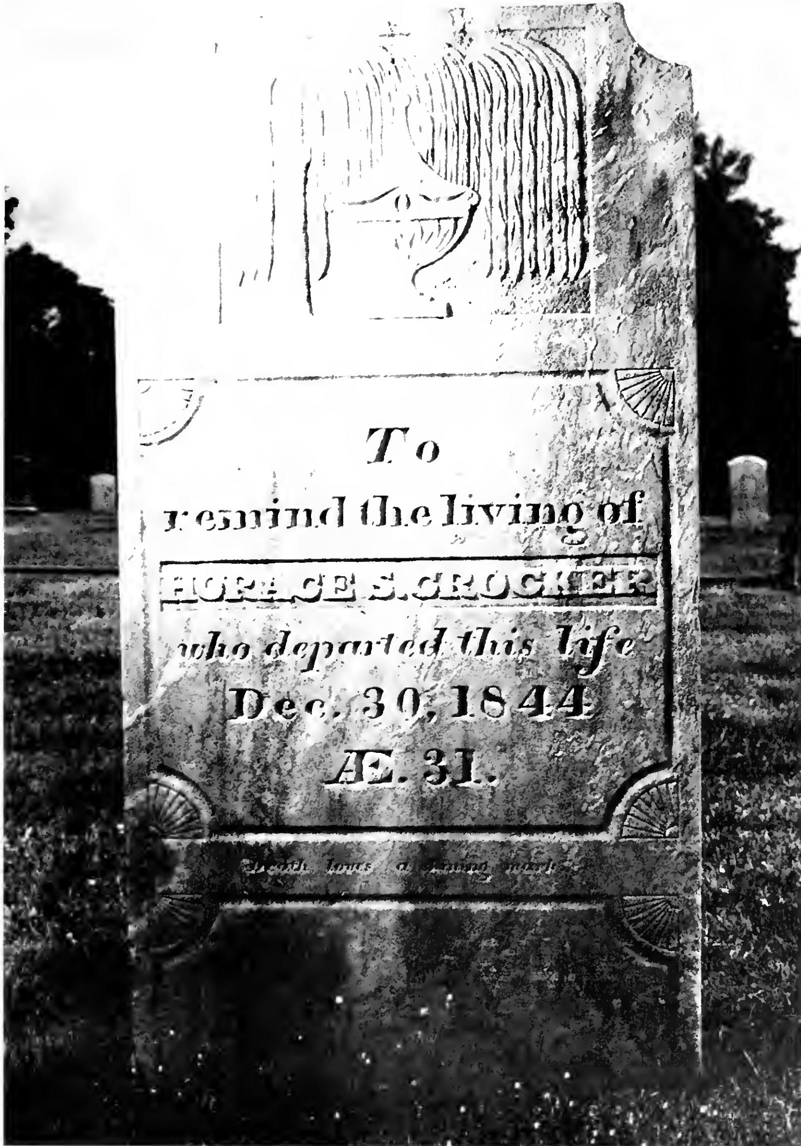


Fig. 21. Horace S. Crocker, 1844, Cotuit, Massachusetts. Typical Sturgis stone, but probated to Nathaniel Holmes.

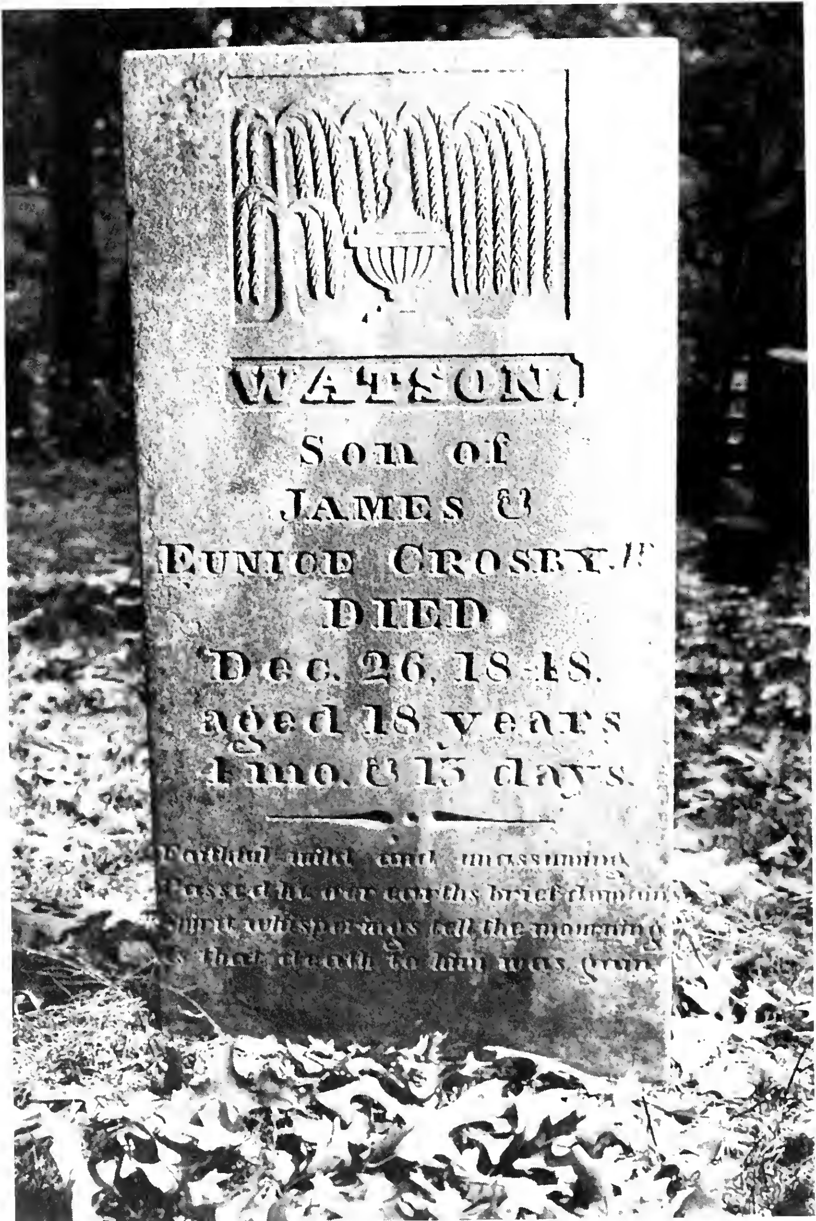


Fig. 22. Watson Crosby, 1848, Centerville, Massachusetts. Willow and urn carved by Nathaniel Holmes in imitation of William Sturgis' style.

willow, at about the same time. He must have been aware that the future of stonecutting was in marble and respected Sturgis' decades-long expertise in this medium.

Inscriptions

Because William Sturgis' lettering is relatively unremarkable, there is little we can gain from an extensive analysis of it. There is some variability, in his manner of making a "2," for example, that suggests that another hand is at work, such as Josiah's. But these variations appear on stones too early to be Josiah's work. There are one or two possible telltale differences between William's and Josiah's lettering, however, that I will consider below. William did characteristically loop the descending stroke of his "f" in "of" back and half way around the "o" (see Fig. 16); both Josiah and Jabez Fisher (and George Thompson of Middleborough) were to adopt this convention as well.

We can see a deterioration in William's letters on the 1848 stone for Cloa Fish (Fig. 23), one of the very last he carved (if he actually carved it, that is). Two of the three markers ascribed to William Sturgis dated after 1858, the year of his death, were probably inscribed by the Fishers – the last of William Sturgis' old stock.

The gravestones of William Sturgis give us an opportunity to explore the evolution of sometimes complex design elements in a marble medium well into the mid-nineteenth century. His son Josiah's work, unfortunately, has no decorative or artistic qualities worthy of note. He seems to have been more interested in the business side of the trade than in the craftsmanship.

Josiah Sturgis: Gravestones

I ascribe only forty-five gravestones to Josiah Sturgis (in Appendix III). He undoubtedly carved many more than this, but they are so plain and the inscriptions so short that there is not enough evidence to give him more. Seventeen of these forty-five are probated to him; I found twelve of these seventeen.There is also an eighteenth probate which pays Josiah, but I believe this was for a stone carved by William.

Many of Josiah's markers are like the probated 1835 stone for Solomon Smith (Fig. 24). From time to time, he will provide at least some variation in the lettering and layout, such as on the probated marker for Aaron Holmes (Fig. 25). The probated 1845 stone for Braddock Dimmick (Fig. 26) is the most ambitious work we could attribute to him, but it might

Fig. 23. Cloa Fish, 1848, Forestdale, Massachusetts.
One of William Sturgis' last stones.

Fig. 24. Capt. Solomon Smith, 1835, Nantucket, Massachusetts. Probated to Josiah Sturgis.

Fig. 25. Aaron Holmes, 1847, Nantucket, Massachusetts. Probated to Josiah Sturgis.

Fig. 26. Braddock Dimmick, 1845, Falmouth, Massachusetts. Probated to "Joseph Sturgis"; probably lettered by Josiah Sturgis, but quite possibly carved by William Sturgis.

not in fact be his; his father may have left it behind for Josiah to inscribe. This stone is in Falmouth, although the estate was settled in Plymouth County. It pays "Joseph Sturgis" for gravestones, but this was most likely Josiah. Besides the quite similar formatting of the deceased's name, the italicized "died," the date and the age, other similarities to Josiah's probated stones include the rectangular recessed panel in which the name is carved (with the small scallops at the corners) and the positive relief block letters used (compare to the Aaron Holmes stone in Figure 25).

Josiah usually carves a significantly different "a" than his father. The upper hook of William's "a" is narrower than Josiah's, with Josiah's sometimes leaning left past the lower half; William's upper stroke also (usually) curls more than Josiah's. Josiah often makes his "g" with a larger upper loop than the lower, in contrast both to his father and to Jabez Fisher. Since it was William Sturgis who probably carved the Bible on this stone, I have put it into his column despite the probate payment to Josiah.

It is possible that Josiah carved the urn and willow on the stone for Prince Dimmick (1841) in Falmouth; the urn is smaller than his father's. The lettering also resembles Josiah's other work.

William Sturgis' traditional marble decorations tied him to a slightly older generation of carvers. Josiah's, on the other hand, were non-existent. Josiah Sturgis tried and failed to capitalize on his stonecutting venture in the 1840s; but greater fortune awaited his brother-in-law Jabez Fisher, who took over exactly where Josiah had left off. With carving skills that surpassed Josiah's (and Ebenezer D. Winslow's) and with a growing population that both demanded and was able to pay for somewhat larger and more elaborate marble gravestones, Jabez and his son William developed their Yarmouth workshop into the center of the Cape's marble monument manufacture. The Fisher shop rode this wave of prosperity for some decades before it had to accommodate both the proliferation of some smaller shops on the Cape and the influence of the larger manufacturing centers in distant cities. The Fishers edged closer to the more three-dimensional sculptural style in marble that would explode in burial grounds all over the country in the following decades. (Although I provided a brief account of the Fishers' work in *Markers XV*, I had not yet connected them to the Sturgises and had not surveyed their work in much depth. The analysis I present here supersedes that earlier discussion.)

Jabez M. Fisher and William S. Fisher: Biography

Jabez Meiggs Fisher was born in Sandwich on October 14, 1803, the second of eight children of Theodore Fish (not Fisher) of Sandwich and Mercy Meiggs of Falmouth.[86] He is listed on the Sandwich tax rolls as a resident from 1825 (after he turned twenty-one) through 1831. In 1828, he bought sixty acres of woodland near Peter's Pond, which is apparently where his family homestead was located.[87] His mother died the following November and is buried in nearby Forestdale Cemetery. On January 22, 1829, he married Sarah S. Sturgis in Lee.[88] Sarah was born in Lee on September 7, 1804, the daughter of William Sturgis – the stonecutter – and Salome Dimmick.[89] Jabez and Sarah had at least six children. Their first, William Sturgis Fisher, was born in Sandwich in 1830.[90] In the Sandwich tax rolls for 1831, Jabez is assessed for his land as well as for a seven-ton vessel; in 1832, he is listed on these rolls as a resident of Nantucket. This is where, in the same year, his second child, Arietta Dimmick Fisher, was born. Jabez's younger brothers Joseph Robinson Fisher and Silvester Holmes Fisher as well as his younger sister Lurana Meiggs Fisher may have accompanied him there; they are mentioned in various Nantucket records.[91] There are a number of individuals named Fish on Nantucket at this time; perhaps one was a relative of Jabez's father who assisted in Jabez's move there.

I have not been able to determine exactly when and where Jabez Fisher started carving gravestones. It is possible, I suppose, that he learned from the Sturgises in Lee either just before or just after his marriage there in 1829; but he remains a resident of Sandwich through this period. His first stones don't seem to cluster until later, perhaps closer to 1834, when William Sturgis' advertisement for his marble shop first appears in the *Nantucket Inquirer*. So perhaps he didn't learn until William Sturgis came to Nantucket. By 1834, Jabez was thirty-one, William about sixty-two, and Josiah eighteen.

Jabez Fisher is certainly carving gravestones by 1842, the date of his earliest probated stones. He was also carving in 1840 and 1841, when we find him in Harwich with Josiah, who advertises his Harwich shop in 1841. The earliest stone documented to Jabez Fisher is that for Marshall Ryder in Chatham, dated March, 1839, which is signed "J. M. Fisher, Harwich." Jabez is listed in Nantucket records as a housewright, never a stonecutter, and he is not credited with gravestone payments in Nantucket probate records, whereas Josiah Sturgis frequently is. And so it is possible that Jabez did not pick up the trade until his mid-thirties, with

Josiah's move to open his shop in Harwich slightly before 1839.

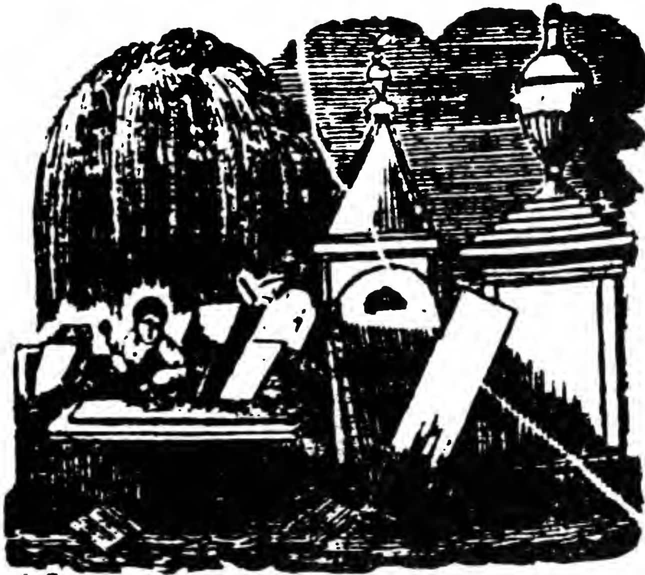
In 1834, Jabez's brother Joseph R. Fisher advertised in the *Nantucket Inquirer* (May 31) that he had moved his dry goods shop from Main and Orange to 41 Orange Street. William Sturgis, as we have seen, opens his marble shop above Joseph's store early in 1835.

Another child of Jabez and Sarah, Ebenezer, was born on Nantucket in 1834; two more children, unnamed in the vital records, were born, one in 1836, and another perhaps in 1838, but these three all died as children. In 1835, Jabez took out a mortgage on some land in Nantucket town.[92] In 1837, he bought a lot located in Newtown (in the south part of town, just north of the highway) from his brother Joseph R. Fisher, who is listed as "of Sandwich."[93] In this record Jabez is a "housewright." In 1838, he mortgaged all of his Sandwich holdings for $775.00[94] in order to pay off the mortgage on his Nantucket property.[95] Jabez's brother Joseph died in 1838[96] (he is buried in Forestdale) and Jabez was appointed administrator of his estate.[97] Then in 1839 Jabez sold the Nantucket lot he bought from his brother two years before[98]; he is again listed as a "house carpenter" in this record. This transaction is witnessed by William Sturgis. William was probably residing in the Falmouth area at this time, but perhaps came to Nantucket to provide financial support for his daughter and son-in-law. In 1840, Jabez "of Nantucket" sold to William Sturgis "of Orleans" all of his property in Sandwich (he had apparently reacquired title to it in the meantime).[99] This was just prior to William's move there; and so William may have taken up residence in Jabez's old home.

Jabez Fisher must have moved almost immediately to Harwich at this time, for the 1840 U.S. census has him there (p. 209) and his son Benjamin Franklin was born there in 1841.[100] This is the same year that Josiah Sturgis advertised his marble shop in Harwich; Jabez thus probably joined Josiah at this shop. The earliest probate record for a payment to Jabez Fisher is dated 1842, for a stone in Harwich, but there is, as I mentioned, a signed stone in Chatham dated 1839. The presence of a number of other stones of a similar type in the Chatham/Harwich area dated 1839 suggest that Fisher was producing stones for Josiah's Harwich shop even before he transferred his residence there in 1840.

In January 1844, the advertisement shown in Figure 27 ran in the *Barnstable Patriot*. This ad suggests that Fisher was actually working on stone at both Harwich and Yarmouth for a time. The declining years and productivity of Nathaniel Holmes had offered him an opportunity in Yarmouth that may have not been available to Josiah Sturgis just two

Marble Tomb Stones



THE Subscriber takes this method to inform the public that he has opened a Shop in Yarmouth, where he will cut to order

Tombstones and Monuments,

of any description, on as reasonable terms as can be purchased elsewhere. He will continue to work at the old stand at West Harwich, as usual. All orders left at the Store of Capt. Job Chase, or sent to the Subscriber, will receive prompt attention.

He would also inform the inhabitants of Chatham, that he keeps a Shop near the Store of Mr. Emery, where he will furnish customers with the best of work and stock, as low as can be got of any one. All orders left with Mr. Emery, or sent to the subscriber, will receive prompt attention.

N. B. All work delivered free of extra charge.

Yarmouth, Jan 16, '44. J. M. FISHER.

Fig. 27. Advertisement for Jabez Fisher's Harwich and Yarmouth marble shops, 1844.

years earlier. This, coupled with the fact that Fisher was a more skillful carver, laid the foundation for his eventual success on the Cape. It is interesting however, that Ebenezer D. Winslow of Brewster, who had been an established stonecutter on the Cape since about 1814, didn't himself make a move to attract the clientele of Yarmouth once Holmes began cutting back. Of course, by 1840, Winslow was already forty-seven – ten years younger than Holmes, but ten years older than Fisher. Winslow did run an advertisement for his shop in 1851, at about the same time that Holmes retreated from Yarmouth for good; but by that time Fisher had already entrenched himself there.

Fisher's 1844 ad also mentions a shop that he keeps in Chatham. No doubt, like Josiah Sturgis before him, he kept some carved but uninscribed stones at his branch stations for potential customers to examine, and lettered them as the need arose. Fisher's Chatham business is soon challenged, however, by a new stonecutter on the scene – Josiah Sparrow II of Orleans. Nine months after Fisher introduced his ad in 1844, Sparrow offered the ad shown in Figure 28. It was probably Sparrow's father Isaac, we should recall, who was Josiah Sturgis' agent in Orleans; but Isaac died in 1843.[101] Josiah Sparrow II apparently set out to acquire a portion of the stonecutting business for himself. While he was obviously serving the population of Orleans, Wellfleet, and Truro, Sparrow's shop in Chatham was in direct competition with Fisher's. Fisher immediately responded with a new ad in December of 1844. While the wording is identical to that in his first ad, he obviously was not ready to cede Chatham to Sparrow, and he kept this ad running for more than two years. It may be that newspaper editors at the time did not see the sense of using space for *two* marble tomb stone ads, for as soon as Fisher's ad stopped running, Sparrow countered with a new ad of his own (see Fig. 29) beginning in January 1847. In it, Sparrow continues his agencies in Orleans, Chatham, Wellfleet, and Truro, and has now added an agent in Eastham as well. This competition was ended by Sparrow's death the following October at the age of twenty-nine. His business was continued by his apprentice, Thomas A. Hopkins, although his brother-in-law, Oliver N. Linnell, may also have had a hand in it for a time (I shall examine the work and relationships among these men in Part II).

In 1846, Jabez Fisher sold more of his Sandwich property in a quit claim to Solomon Howland (the man to whom he mortgaged it in 1838)[102]; this is also the time that William Sturgis left Sandwich for Lee. But Jabez may have retained some portion of it, for an 1848 court record in which

Marble Tomb-Stones

THE Subscriber takes this method to inform the public that he has opened a shop in East Orleans, where he will cut to order

Tombstones and Monuments,

of any description, on as reasonable terms as can be purchased elsewhere.

He will continue to work at Chatham as usual.— All orders left with Mr. Samuel Higgins, or sent to the subscriber, will receive prompt attention.

He would inform the inhabitants of Wellfleet, that their orders may be left with Mr. Giles Holbrook; and orders for Truro may be left with Mr John Smith.

He will furnish customers at the above mentioned places with the best of work and stock, as low as be got of any one.

N. B. All work delivered free of extra charge.

JOSIAH SPARROW, 2D.

East Orleans, Oct. 10, 1844.

Fig. 28. Advertisement for Josiah Sparrow II's marble shop, 1844.

Marble Tomb-Stones.

THE Subscriber takes this method to inform the public that he has opened a shop in East Orleans, where he will cut to order . . .

Tombstones and Monuments,

of any description, on as reasonable terms as can be purchased elsewhere.

He will continue to work at Chatham as usual.—All orders left with Mr. Samuel Higgins, or Capt Thacher Ryder, or sent to the subscriber, will receive prompt attention.

He would inform the inhabitants of Eastham that their orders may be left with Mr. Elijah E. Knowles; and orders for Wellfleet may be left with Mr. Collins S Cole, or Doct. Thomas Stone; and orders for Truro may be left with Mr Elkanah Paine, or sent to the subscriber, and will receive prompt attention.

He will furnish customers at the above mentioned places with the best of work and stock, as low as can be got of any one.

N B. All work delivered free of extra charge.

JOSIAH SPARROW, 2D.

East Orleans, Jan. 21, 1847. 1y

Fig. 29. Sparrow's new 1847 advertisement.

a Jabez Phinney of Sandwich sues a Thomas D. Fisher over a piece of land describes the land as abutted on the south by the land of "Jabez M. Fish," both pieces situated between Peter's Pond and the Sandwich-Falmouth road.[103] The 1851 tax roll for Sandwich indicates, however, that Fisher's property had been sold.

By December of 1847 Jabez Fisher had established himself in Yarmouth: he took out a mortgage on a Yarmouth property that year – one acre of land "with the Marble Manufactory of said Jabez Fisher standing thereon."[104] In 1848, as we saw earlier, John Sturgis and Elisha Eveleth mortgaged their marble stock in Sandwich to Fisher; they paid Fisher off in August of 1849.

Fisher is listed as a marble manufacturer in Yarmouth in the 1849 *New England Mercantile Union Business Directory*, and again in the 1850-51 *Massachusetts State Directory* and the 1852 *Massachusetts Register*. The 1850 U.S. Census lists him as a "stonecutter" with real property worth $1500.[105] Early that year he again acquired a mortgage (for $1500.00) for "all my real estate situate in said Yarmouth, consisting of cleared land, with a Dwelling House, shop and other buildings thereon standing."[106] The deed lists Jabez as a "marble manufacturer": the buyer, also listed as a marble manufacturer, was William Sturgis "of Lee." Jabez is a "marble worker" in the 1855 state census (p. 21) – which also has William Sturgis as a resident in his household – and as well in the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory*. In 1856, William Sturgis, "late of Lee," sold back to Fisher (for $500.00) the "homestead now occupied by Jabez M. Fisher" – a total of six acres with house, barn and outbuildings.[107] That is to say, Jabez had paid off his mortgage to his father-in-law. Later in 1856, Jabez acquired another lot abutting his own property.[108] In 1857 he acquired a third of a lot for $300 from John Williams, buying this with (his neighbors?) Oliver Gorham and Nathaniel Taylor; but he sold this five years later to Nathaniel Taylor.[109] In 1858, Jabez, his brothers Theodore and Sylvester (both of whom were in Edgartown), and Theodore's children Hervey and Mercy Chadwick, sold a portion of the Sandwich estate they had inherited from their father, who had died five years before.[110]

Jabez Fisher's house and marble shop in Yarmouth were located at the southeast corner of Main Street and Pine Street, according to the 1858 Wallings map of the Cape. His house is still standing – a beautiful Greek Revival structure at 381 Route 6A (Old King's Highway) in Yarmouth (Fig. 30). The house retains some exterior marble steps, no doubt set there by Jabez. An 1880 map indicates that a windmill was

located on this property; perhaps Jabez, like Hiram Tribble of Kingston, used it to power his marble-sawing operation. Jabez sold this house (and barn/back building) in 1867 to Ezra Howes of Dennis for $3200.00[111]; but he removed the shed adjoining the north part of the barn (his stonecutting shop?).[112] Ezra Howes was still the owner in 1880, according to a map of that time.[113]

In the 1860 U.S. Census, Jabez is listed as a marble-worker whose real property is worth $2600 and personal property worth $900 (p. 215); he is a marble-worker in the 1865 state census, as is his son William, who is living with him; and in the 1870 Census, Jabez is listed as a "stonecutter," his worth rising to $7500 in real estate and $3000 in personal property (p. 14).

The 1860 record (dated August 18) includes Jabez's wife and three children and also his son William's wife Sarah. William married Sarah E. Hawes in Yarmouth on January 28, 1858.[114] But there is a separate record in the same census (p. 203; dated 9 July), which records William S. Fisher and wife Sarah living at the residence of his father-in-law John Hawes, who is listed as a druggist. In this second record, William S. Fisher, aged thirty, is listed as a "stonecutter." Ten years later, the Census has William

Fig. 30. Jabez Fisher's Greek Revival home in Yarmouth, Massachusetts.

as the head of a separate household, living with his wife Sarah and a John E. Hawes (his wife's brother?), aged nineteen, listed as an "apprentice to stone-cutting" (p. 10). Two years earlier, in 1868, Sarah, her mother and perhaps two siblings had sold a portion of her father's estate.[115]

Jabez's daughter Arietta, who operated a millinery shop, married Gorham Knowles, a seaman from Eastham, in Yarmouth on January 10, 1862.[116] She died (of "convulsions") on February 24, 1866, in her thirties,[117] and is buried in the same plot with her parents and brother in Woodside Cemetery in Yarmouth. Her grave is marked with a finely carved small marble stone, inscribed simply "Ariette," and "sleeping softly," but without either a date of death or her married name.

Jabez wrote his will in 1866, leaving his estate to his wife Sarah, whom he also named as executor, and, should she die or remarry, to his two surviving children William and Benjamin. But Benjamin Franklin Fisher, who became a photographer, died of "consumption" in San Francisco seven years later, on February 17, 1873, at the age of thirty-one;[118] and Jabez's wife Sarah died in 1877. Jabez M. Fisher himself died (of nephritis) in Yarmouth on January 6, 1879, at the age of seventy-five. His and his wife's grave is marked with a marble monument no doubt carved by their son William (see Fig. 50). William died (also of nephritis) in Yarmouth on July 8, 1907, at the age of seventy-six. He had no heirs. His wife Sarah died in 1912.[119] Theirs is a monumental granite marker, carved about seventy years after William's father had set up his first marble shop on the Cape. The Fisher shop itself had apparently produced granite markers later in the century, but I have not examined their work to any extent past 1870.

Jabez M. Fisher and William S. Fisher: Gravestones

Early Marble Gravestones

I did not attempt a comprehensive survey of the Fisher workshop's gravestones. Besides the other reasons I have given which make a canvassing of marble stones very difficult, we can, in the Fisher's case, add one more: Jabez and his son William carved stones of many different styles simultaneously. Perhaps this diversified repertoire was part of the reason for their success. The best that I can do here is to provide examples of this variety. We are fortunate once again to have a number of probated and signed stones to help us. I uncovered twenty-two payments to Jabez Fisher (none to William) in probate records, and found the gravestones for all but two of these (see Appendix IId). In addition, we have

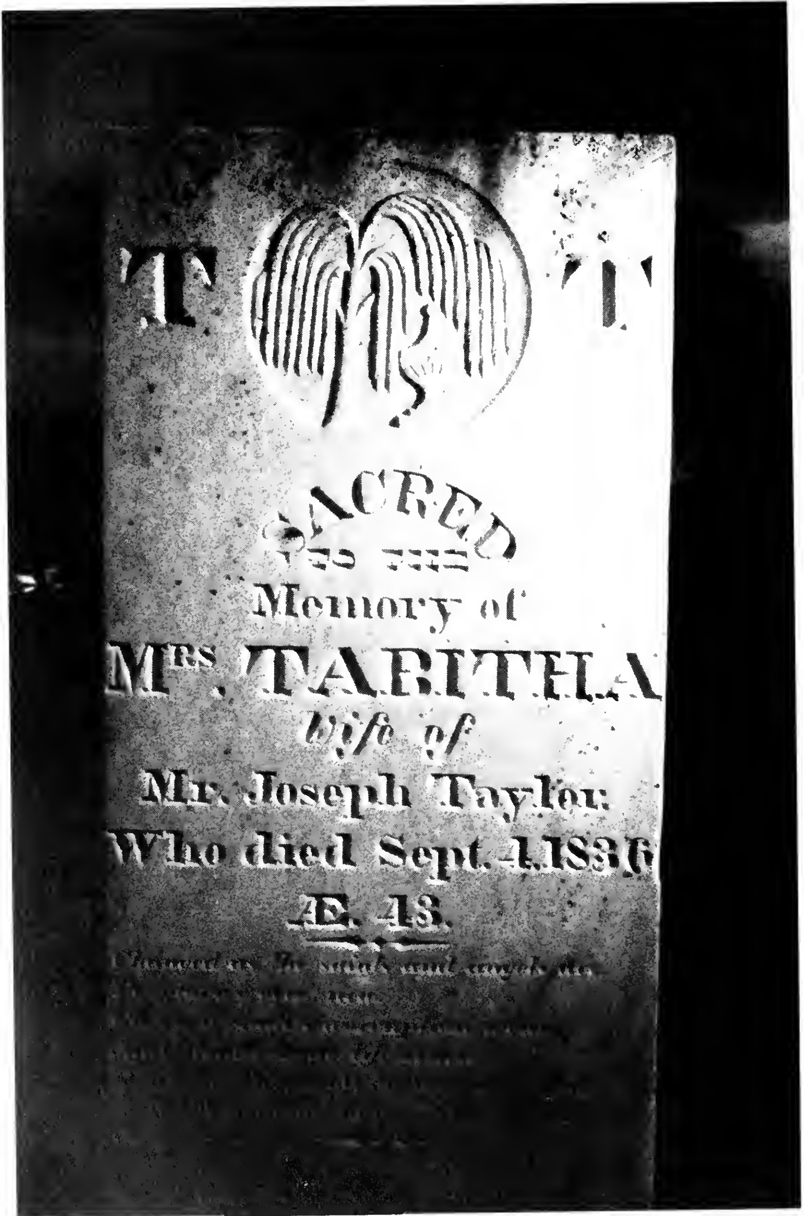


Fig. 31. Tabitha Taylor, 1836, Chatham, Massachusetts. Marker in the style of Thomas Sturgis, but possibly carved by Jabez Fisher.

Fig. 32. Marshall and Lydia Ryder, 1839, Chatham, Massachusetts. Jabez Fisher's earliest signed stone, in the style of William Sturgis.

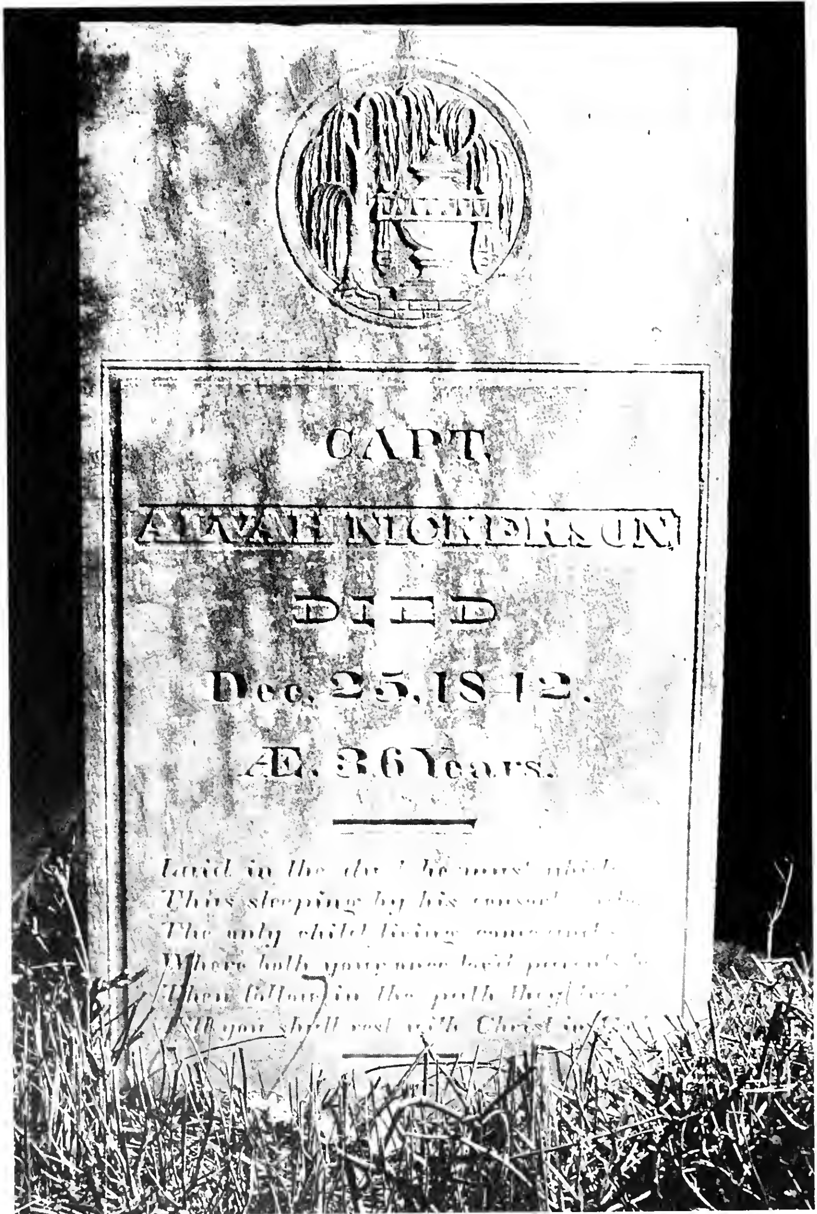


Fig. 33. Capt. Alvah Nickerson, 1842, South Dennis, Massachusetts. Typical willow and urn of the 1840s; probated to Jabez Fisher.

ten signed stones – seven by Jabez (some with "& son"), two by William, and one simply "Fisher, Yarmouth." One of Jabez's signed stones is also probated to him.

Jabez Fisher seems to have been influenced to some extent by the style of both his father-in-law William Sturgis and William's brother Thomas. Compare, for example, Thomas Sturgis' 1837 stone for Jerusha Boies (Fig. 8) with the 1836 marker for Tabitha Taylor (Fig. 31) in Chatham. Although the lettering on the Taylor stone is in question (it could be William's or even Josiah's), the willow and urn were probably carved by Jabez Fisher, for they resemble those on the important 1839 marker for Marshall and Lydia Ryder (Fig. 32), Fisher's earliest signed stone. The prominent initials were one of Thomas Sturgis' favorite devices, but the urn here obviously owes more to William. Yet Fisher switches almost immediately on later stones to another type of urn, closer to the kind Thomas Sturgis used. The probated 1842 gravestone for Captain Alvah Nickerson (Fig. 33) is an example.

What is also significant on the Ryder and Nickerson stones are the willows: the left-of-center position and the configuration of the left branches allow us to attribute to Fisher a number of other willow-only stones which begin to appear in about 1839. An ascription of these stones to Fisher rather than to William Sturgis is supported by the fact that they appear when Fisher comes to this part of the Cape; and we find them around Harwich and Chatham rather than in the Falmouth/Sandwich area, where William Sturgis was probably residing at the time.

Fisher introduces a small change in this willow which aids us in identifying more of his stones. When he does not provide an urn, the space where the urn would have been contains a branch that curls up and around counter-clockwise – a device used perhaps to provide some interest to this part of the tree in lieu of the urn. An example is found on the 1842 marker for Nabby Stone (Fig. 34). As we shall see in Part II, Oliver N. Linnell, a later Cape carver working in the area, also uses such a curled-branch willow from time to time, but Linnell positions the tree in the center of the stone rather than left of center. In a single instance, on the stone for Richard Smith (1841), Fisher puts a small obelisk in the position usually occupied by the urn.

Fisher's willow evolves quickly into another recognizable variant. The 1845 stone for Hannah Arey (Fig. 35), practically identical to the probated stone for Sally Small (1847), features a willow whose branches have become more intricately interlaced. This is a reliable feature by means of

which we are able to identify his work from about 1843 through 1849. We find a similar willow on the stones of Thomas Sturgis in the 1830s. In a few instances, such as on the 1842 stone for Priscilla Snow (Fig. 36), Jabez added a mourning drapery instead of a willow to his distinctive urn. This was modeled on a type William Sturgis carved (see Fig. 19); and the later Cape carvers around Orleans would all use it as well.

Slate Gravestones

Beginning in about 1850, a series of stones appear in Yarmouth which seem at first to be the work of Nathaniel Holmes. Closer inspection reveals that they are imitations. The 1867 Susanna Nickerson stone (Fig. 37) is an example. While the stylistic differences I will describe are really enough to conclude that Holmes did not carve them, proof comes from the fact that the five latest of these stones are dated after Holmes' death.

Features of these stones which distinguish them from Holmes' include the following: (1) The leaves of the willow are more elongated; (2) the urn has two characteristics typical of Holmes' urns of the 1820s, but which Holmes had abandoned by the 1840s, namely, the top "hook" and a series of nine (or seven) vertical incisions in the urn's band (Holmes had reduced this number to three); (3) the numerals (such as the "3") are

Fig. 34. Nabby Stone, 1842, Dennis, Massachusetts.
Jabez Fisher's willow with curled branch.

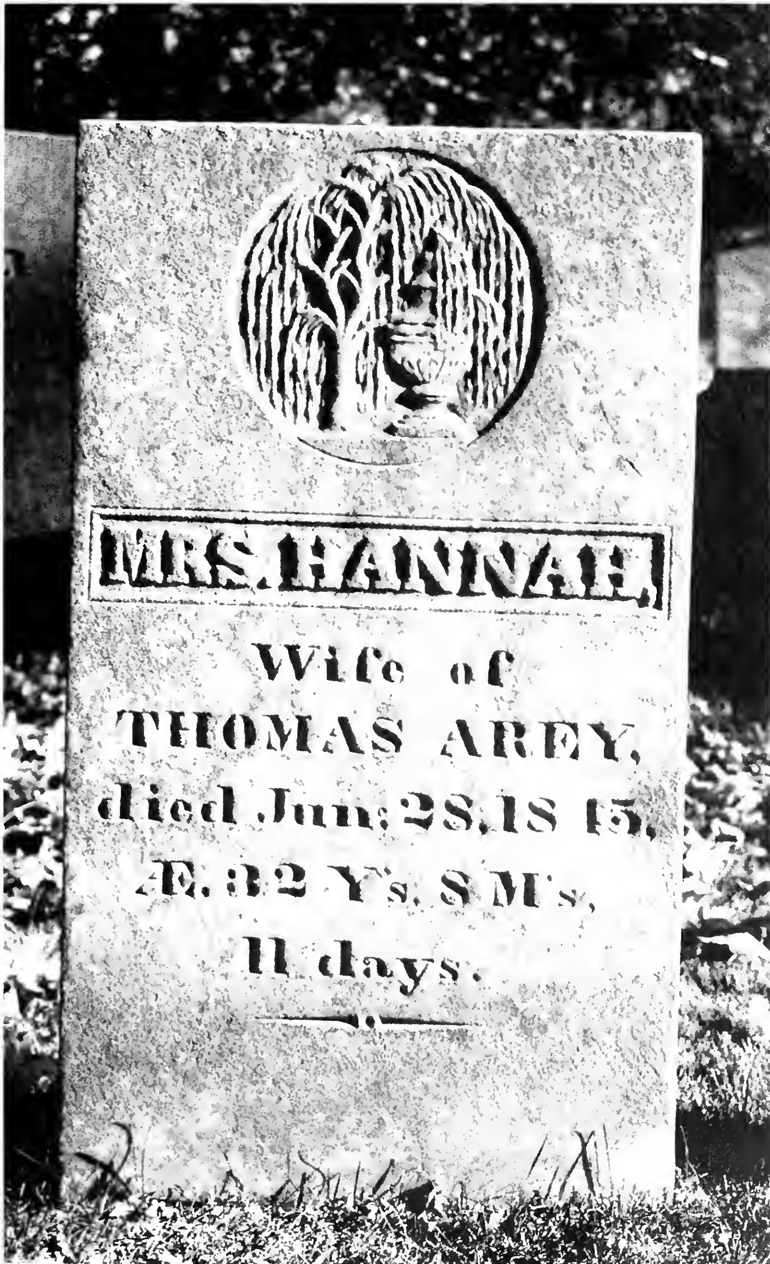


Fig. 35. Hannah Arey, 1845, Yarmouth, Massachusetts.
Jabez Fisher's more interlaced, simplified willow.

Fig. 36. Priscilla Snow, 1842, Harwich, Massachusetts.
Jabez Fisher's mourning drapery.

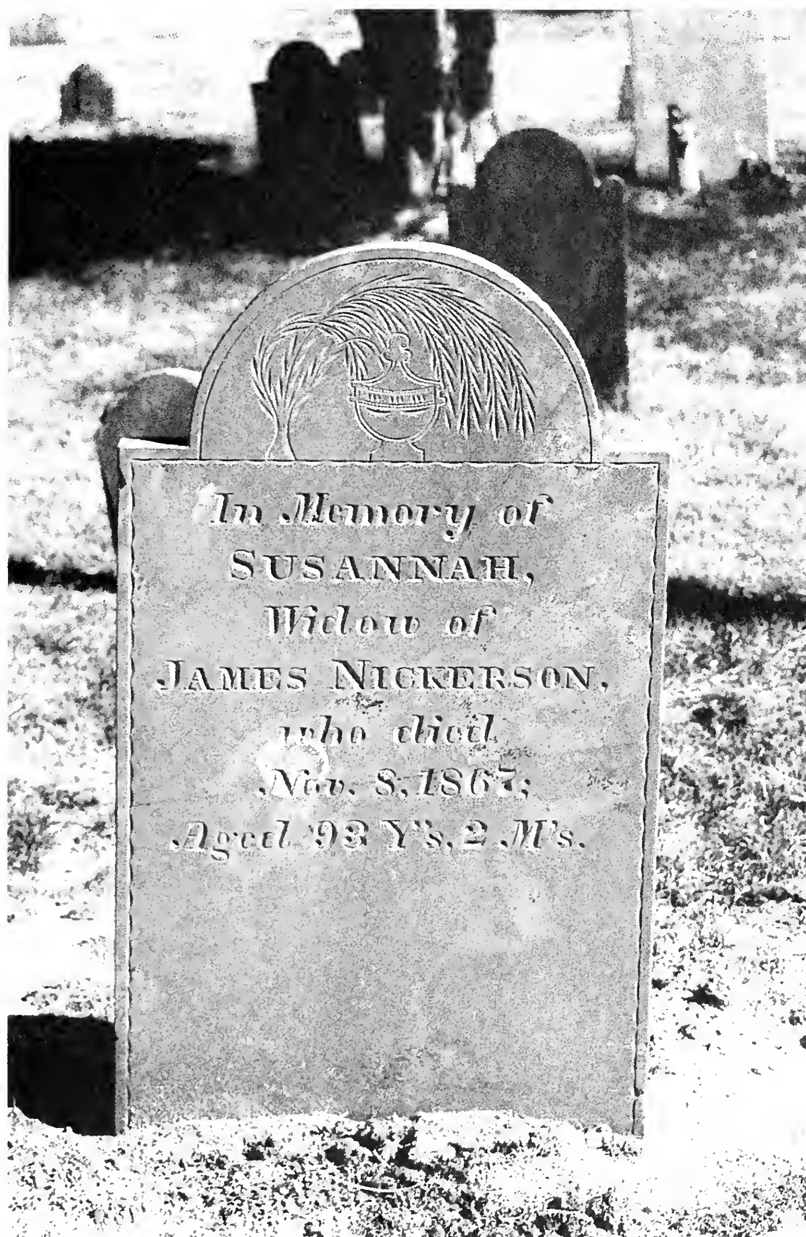


Fig. 37. Susanna Nickerson, 1867, South Dennis, Massachusetts. Imitation of a Holmes slate carved by Jabez Fisher.

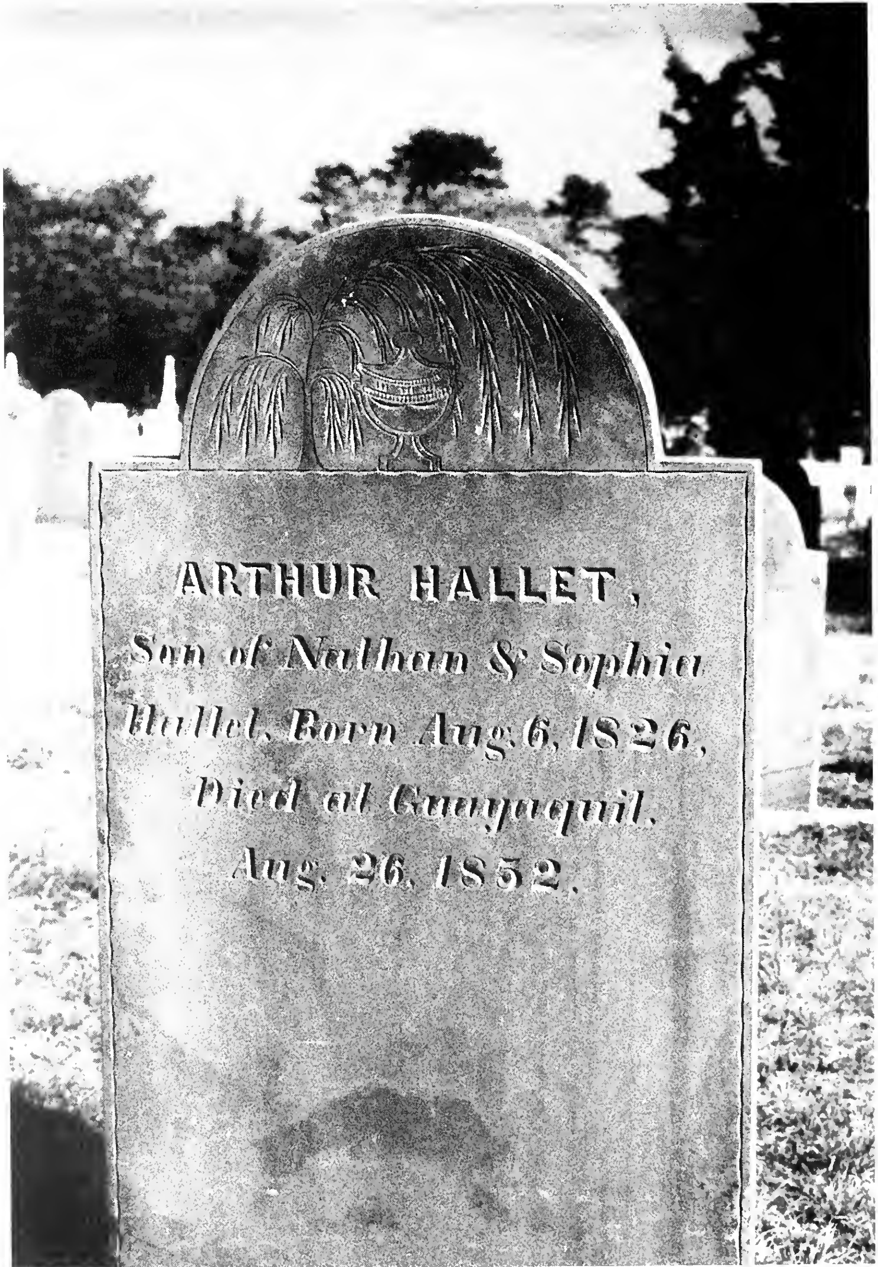


Fig. 38. Arthur Hallet, 1852, Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Imitation of a Holmes slate probated to Jabez Fisher.

rounded and carved in a more contemporary mid-nineteenth century style, unlike Holmes'; (4) the abbreviations "Y's" and "M's" are often used for "years" and "months"; (5) the tiny ball at the end of the curved stroke of the "f" falls more or less directly in front (to the right) of the cross bar of the "f," whereas in Holmes' "f," the ball is positioned more above this cross bar; (6) the lower portion of the "g" is attached to the upper portion at the left (as is normal), whereas Holmes attaches it in the center; (7) some of these stones have fewer willow branches than Holmes was using at the same time. On the basis of these differences, I have identified forty-two of these slate stones (those marked with an "s" – for "slate" – in Appendix IV). Twenty-nine are found in the Yarmouth area, one in South Dennis, one in Provincetown, and eleven in the Barnstable area (including Hyannis and Marstons Mills). Four of these Barnstable-area stones are dated after Holmes' death.

There is no evidence, I should repeat, that any of Holmes' sons became stonecutters. Census records consistently list his eldest son Oliver as a farmer (once as a shipwright). The single exception is the 1865 Massachusetts state census, where Oliver is listed as a stonecutter, but this work probably consisted of aiding his father who was then in his eighties, during this period. Nathaniel's second son William is always listed as a harness-maker. It seems, rather, that another carver has appropriated Holmes' style in order to accommodate the Yarmouth citizenry (Holmes had over 200 stones in Yarmouth and West Yarmouth before 1850). This carver was apparently successful in replacing Holmes in this area – for no Holmes stones appear in Yarmouth after 1850. Further, this imitator copied the style of Holmes' stones of the 1820s and 1830s, rather than Holmes' current style. This would point to a true imitator rather than an apprentice or partner. After Holmes' death, this imitator produced only five more of such stones: marble and newer styles of carving displaced Holmes' old-fashioned slates entirely.

The 1851 Arthur Hallet marker (Fig. 38), which is one of these forty-two, employs sans-serif block-capital letters for the deceased's name (these appear on no others of this group which have a Holmes-type willow and urn); while the urn lacks a hook, it has nine band-incisions, together with willow-leaves and lettering of the sort typical of this imitator. This stone is probated to Jabez M. Fisher – the only slate stone probated to him.

While Fisher never carved a Holmes-type willow and urn on any of his probated marble stones, and also tended to prefer italics for the slates

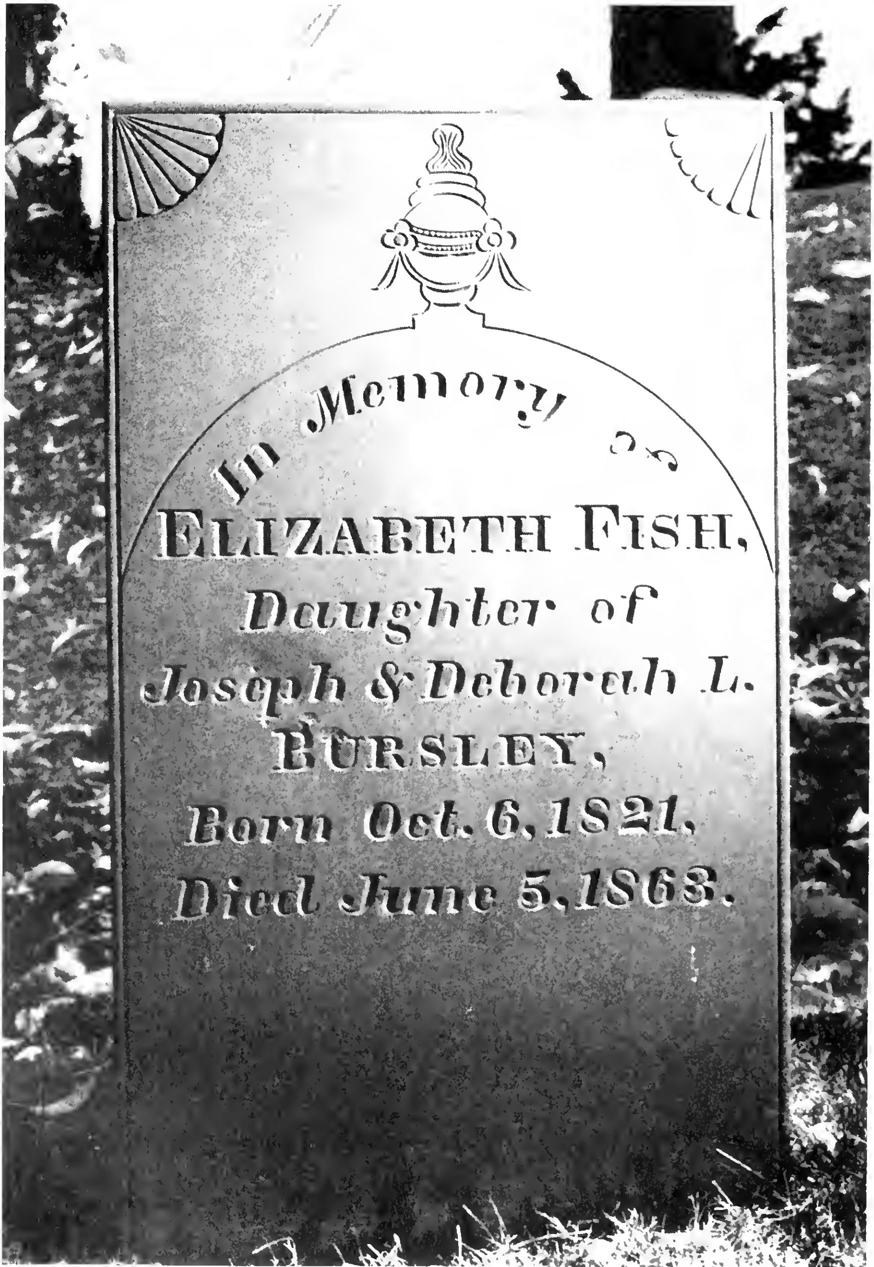


Fig. 39. Elizabeth Fish Bursley, 1863, Barnstable, Massachusetts. Late imitation by Fisher of Holmes' bulbous urn.

and non-italics for the marbles (a division we also find in the work of some other carvers), there is enough evidence from his inscriptions to conclude that he carved both groups. That Fisher had to adopt this completely foreign material and style in order to succeed in Yarmouth is dramatic evidence of the cultural commitment a given community can develop to such conventional preferences. We find Fisher's telltale "f" and "g" as well as his numerals on the 1863 marker for Elizabeth Fish Bursley (Fig. 39), one of Jabez's latest slates, and the only one where he copies Holmes' bulbous urn.

There are three more stones to complicate matters – those for Hiram Hallet (1839, probably backdated), Captain Nathan Hallet (1851) (Fig. 40), and Joseph Kelley (1852). The first two feature the same block-capital sans-serif letters as Jabez Fisher's Arthur Hallet stone, and the rest of the inscribed letters seem close to those on the other Holmes-imitation stones; further, the lower portion of the lower-case "f" on the first two stones curls down and back under the "o" of "of" in Sturgis fashion – just as it does on the Elizabeth Chapman stone (1853) in Provincetown, another stone of the group. But the willows and urns on these three markers were obviously carved by someone else. They are probably the work of Jabez's son William, who turned twenty-one in 1851.

William also worked primarily in marble, but probably tried his hand as a young man at a willow and urn on the two Hallet slates. William also carved two slates in the Holmes style after Jabez's death – for Reuben Ryder (1878) and Eben Whelden (1887) (Fig. 41). The willow here is rather like that on the two Hallet stones.

Since the Fishers were successful with their marble-stone line quite independently of these slates, such Holmes-imitations were most likely the result of requests from clients used to Holmes' slates in Yarmouth than of any intentional effort on the Fishers' part to develop a slate-stone production in competition with Holmes.

Later Marble Gravestones

The 1851 marker for Samuel S. Crocker (Fig. 42) is an example of the more contemporary marble work of which Jabez Fisher was capable even as he was simultaneously producing Holmes clones. He has two other such stones, one of which, although probably carved by Jabez, is dated 1885 and therefore probably inscribed by his son William.[120] I came across a number of other instances of this style (mostly inferior) carved by other men – for example, four in Nantucket dated 1855 through 1863,[121] one in

Chatham,[122] one in Harwich,[123] and even one in Martinez, California.[124]

At the same time, Fisher could provide completely plain markers such as the 1855 probated stone for Gideon Crowell (Fig. 43). The 1858 marker

Fig. 40. Capt. Nathan Hallet, 1851, Yarmouth, Massachusetts.
Letters probably by Jabez Fisher;
willow and urn probably by William S. Fisher.

Fig. 41. Eben Whelden, 1887, West Barnstable, Massachusetts. Imitation of a Holmes slate probably carved by William S. Fisher.

Fig. 42. Samuel S. Crocker, 1851, Cummaquid, Massachusetts.
Late marble style probated to Jabez Fisher.

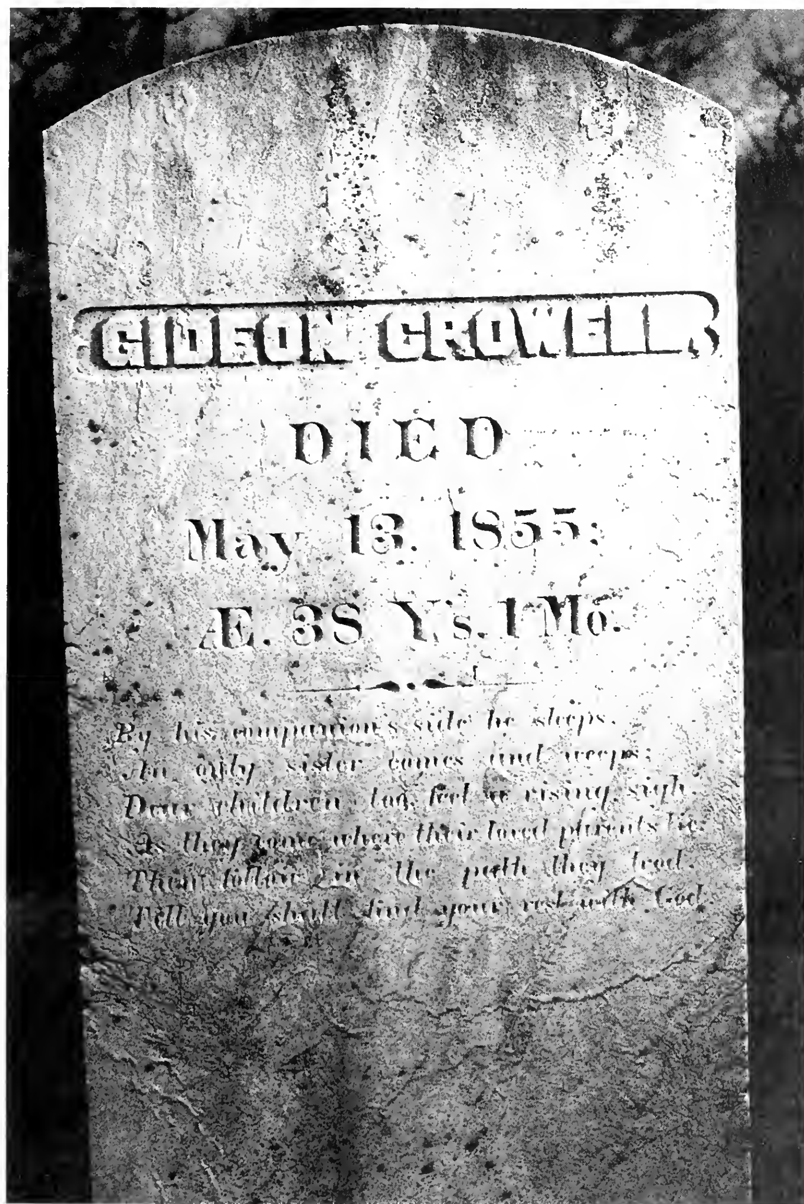


Fig. 43. Gideon Crowell, 1855, South Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Probated to Jabez Fisher.

for William Sturgis (Fig. 2) is another example of this simple style. Fisher also probably carved the plain marker for Nathaniel Holmes[125] and similar stones for other members of Holmes' family. The marker for Holmes is quite like Fisher's signed stone for David Lewis (1869).

Two other examples of Jabez Fisher's marble monuments, which show even more variety in his design repertoire, are the markers for Daniel Hallet (1856) (Fig. 44) and his wife Caroline B. Hallet (1869) (Fig. 45). The chain links also appear on the signed stone for Benjamin Handy (1859), while sculpted flowers adorn the signed marker for Mary Bearse (1844); these flowers are identical to those on the 1856 stone for Elizabeth C. Hallet (Fig. 46).

I should mention at this point that two of the markers probated to Jabez Fisher, those for Gorham Baker (1847) and for Elisha Baker (1852), as well as one signed by him, for Samuel W. Baxter (1858), are large, three-dimensional marble obelisks (one is over eight feet tall), each with

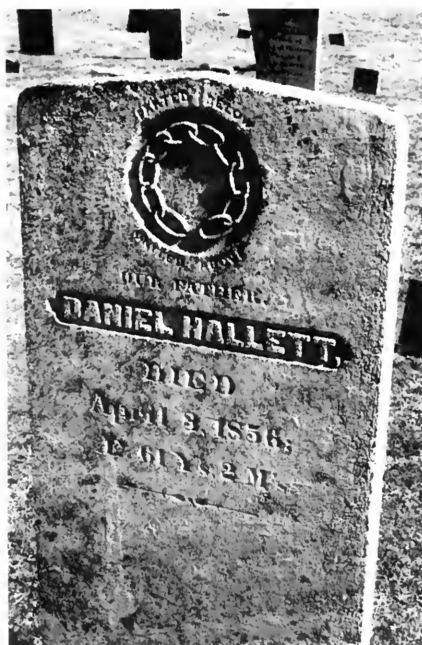


Fig. 44. Daniel Hallet, 1856, West Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Later marble style of the Fisher workshop.

Fig. 45. Caroline B. Hallet, 1869, West Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Later marble style of the Fisher workshop.

an inscription written on all four sides. The Fishers were probably responsible for many such obelisks on the Cape.

There are two features of William's lettering that are useful in distinguishing it from his father's: (1) he tends to make the lower loop of his "g" further to the right than his father did, and the upper loop of the "g," on his early stones at least, is significantly smaller than the lower loop; (2) his "Y" has a longer vertical stem.

William's marble monuments are more three-dimensional than his father's, in keeping with the newer styles developing in burial grounds through the late 1800s. He probably carved the 1866 elegant small marker for his sister Ariette Knowles (Fig. 47). He signs the small 1889 stone for Rebecca Bartlett (Fig. 48). And the lettering on the large, highly sculpted monument for Franklin and Meribah Russell Hallett (1876, 1895) (Fig. 49) suggests that it is also his (although it might also be the product of a marble firm in a larger city such as Boston). William no doubt also carved the monument for his parents (Fig. 50) in Yarmouth's Woodside cemetery.

William Fisher continued to carve in marble into the 1900s, his work of fairly high quality. Given the enormity of their output on the Cape

Fig. 46. Elizabeth C. Hallet, 1856, Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Sculpted flowers by Jabez Fisher.

and the fact that Jabez's reported net worth increases seven-fold from 1850 to 1870, the success of these two stonecutters rivals and may even surpass that of Nathaniel Holmes.

* * *

In Part II of this study of Cape Cod marble carvers, to appear in *Markers XX*, we shall examine the fruit of the seeds planted by William Sturgis in Orleans and Sandwich, considering the work of nine later carvers working in the two locales. As we shall see, marble monuments become more conventional through this later period, with the business end of things continuing to overtake the craftsmanship.

Fig. 47. Ariette Knowles, 1866, Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Probably carved by William Fisher for his sister.

Fig. 48. Rebecca Bartlett, 1889, Cummaquid, Massachusetts. Signed by William S. Fisher.

Fig. 49. Franklin and Meribah Russell Hallett, 1876, 1895, Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Possibly carved by William S. Fisher.

NOTES

I am grateful to a number of individuals who contributed to various aspects of this study. Robert Drinkwater generously shared with me his information on the work of William and Thomas Sturgis of Lee, including their known signed and probated stones in Berkshire County. My one-day excursion there to photograph these stones would have been impossible without his help. Barbara Gill of the Sandwich Archives and Historical Center provided me with valuable genealogical information on the families of Jabez Fisher, James Thompson, and Joshua T. Faunce, as well as tax and mortgage records that more exactly established the nature of John Sturgis' activity in Sandwich and the residence of William Sturgis there. Thompson's moves from Sandwich to New Bedford to Evans, New York, and finally to Chatham would have been very difficult to trace without her help. Laurel Gabel provided me some leads on the Sturgis brothers in Lee and directed me toward Robert Drinkwater, who, as mentioned above, was able to supply vital information for this study. Jennifer Y. Madden, Museum Curator of the Sandwich Heritage Museum, located and provided me a photograph of a signed stone of Jabez Fisher that I had missed in my earlier canvasses. Burton Derick of South Dennis assisted me in locating a number of probated gravestones on the outer Cape and checked cemetery records for the Crosby brothers and other marble-workers in this area. He also informed me of the work of J. Harvey Jenks and Robert Clinton Baker, two late nineteenth-century stonecutters in West Dennis. Ann Sears of the Falmouth Historical Society identified the stone in Falmouth's Old Burying Ground signed by William Sturgis, located William's wife Salome Dimmick in Falmouth vital records, and helped me locate a number of other stones. Charlene Perry of the Martinez Museum in Martinez, California kindly sent me various materials on Josiah Sturgis

Fig. 50. Jabez M. and Sarah S. Fisher, 1879, 1877, Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Carved by William S. Fisher.

relevant to his later history there, including photographs of the Sturgis family gravemarkers. She also ultimately located for me both a rare photo of Josiah Sturgis and an early advertisement for his hotel. Brett Stroozas of the Contra Costa County Historical Society in California spent a number of extra hours locating many records relevant to Josiah Sturgis and his family. Maureen Meyers of the cemetery department of the town of Harwich assisted me in locating some stones probated to Jabez M. Fisher. Janet Griffith of Middleborough kindly helped me in untangling the relations among the many members of the Thompson family in that town. The photograph in Figure 5 is here reprinted with permission of the Contra Costa County Historical Society, Pleasant Hill, California, and that in Figure 6 with permission of Janet McLenegan and the Martinez Historical Society, Martinez, California. All other photos are by the author.

1. See C. M. Hyde, *Lee: The Centennial Celebration and Centennial History of the Town of Lee, Mass.* (Springfield, MA, 1878).

2. This spelling shifts: we also find "Sturgiss," "Sturgess," "Stergess," and "Stoorges" in various records. While "Sturges" seems more common early on, the spelling seems to settle down to "Sturgis" as time goes by. I shall use "Sturgis" throughout.

3. Both Jonathan and Elizabeth are recorded as being "of Sandwich" in Sandwich vital records; the death record for Thomas Sturgis in Lee lists his parents as Jonathan and Elizabeth. Jonathan's date of birth is estimated from his gravestone in Lee.

4. Berkshire Co. Deeds; Vol. 38, p. 133. He purchased this land from a George Bennet for thirty-four pounds. He subsequently bought another tract from Bennet in 1797 (38:135). (These transactions were uncovered by Robert Drinkwater.)

5. Town of Sandwich Deeds, v. 3, p. 172: Jonathan and Elizabeth sold their house, land, garden, and orchard to Ebenezer Wing of Sandwich for $150.00 (the same land Jonathan bought from Benjamin Tobey in 1779); May 2, 1804.

6. His age in the 1850 Census is seventy-eight, so that he would have been born in 1772. His age on his gravestone (August, 1858) is eighty-five; if correct, then he was born after August of 1772.

7. Lee vital records; Salome died on September 8, 1845.

8. I am grateful to Ann Sears for uncovering Salome's ancestry. In 1835, William and Salome Sturgis ("of Lee"), together with five other members of the Dimmick family (named Fish and Chadwick), sold their share in Lot Dimmick's homestead at "Tetaket" in Falmouth (Barnstable Co. Deeds, 21:123). Lot Dimmick is buried in Falmouth, while his wife Fear is buried in Forestdale; both have Sturgis gravestones.

9. His children: Samuel D. (2 June 1796-7 December 1852); Nabby/Abigail (24 May 1798-?), married Ebenezer Bradley in 1819; William (1 August 1800-14 September 1825); Franklin (4 September 1802-?), listed as a lawyer in the 1850 U.S. census and in various other civil records; Sally/Sarah S. (7 December 1804-29 July 1877), married Jabez M. Fisher of Sandwich; John (4 April 1807-24 April 1886), married Mary Loomis in 1834, and went with his younger brother Josiah to Martinez, California in 1849; Persis (4 May 1809-?), who probably accompanied to Nantucket either her sister Sarah in about 1832 or her father in 1834 and married an Edwin Baldwin there; Ebenezer (7 February 1812-11 August 1834); Eliza-

beth (4 July 1814-28 April 1816); and Josiah (23 April 1816-23 July 1897), whom I shall discuss later. (All from Lee vital records)

10. From Lee vital records: Mary, who was born in about 1781 and who died in Lee on March 24, 1869, was the daughter of Henry and Lydia Hinckley.

11. From Lee vital records: Edwin (16 March 1807-27 Janurary 1901), married Charlotte Hewitt of Norfolk, CT; Elizabeth (28 April 1809-?); Mary Ann (4 February 1812-?), married Orton Heath in 1833; Charles (11 May 1814-?), married Lucretia Gifford in 1836; Lydia H. (21 April 1816-?), married Henry R. Coe in 1834; Henry (5 May 1820-?); and George R. (December 1823-19 November 1863), married first, Lydia B. Miner of Stonington in 1843, and second, Hannah A. Kyle of Chester in 1847.

12. Town of Sandwich, vol. 3, p. 211. They are paid $30.00 by Deborah Smith. Recorded in Berkshire County on November 23, 1821.

13. His gravestone in Lee shows his age as thirty-two.

14. Berkshire County; Vol. 32, p. 289.

15. Judging from his age on his gravestone, Nehemiah was born in about 1787. He married Lydia Hinckley in Lee in 1809 (Lee vital records).

16. Russell is listed as a shoemaker in the 1850 U.S. census, where his age is given as fifty-eight (p. 57). There is also a Betsey Sturgis who marries an Asa Nourse in Lee in June of 1802; I have not determined whether she may have been a sister to William and Thomas.

17. See Rev. L. S. Rowland, "Town of Lee," in J. E. A. Smith ed., *History of Berkshire County, Massachusetts,* Volume II (New York, NY: J. B. Beers and Company, 1885), p. 149.

18. Vol. 38, p. 274. There is an intriguing stone in Hatchville for Kezia Sturges (1805), wife of Ezekiel Sturges: it is made of marble and has an urn whose shape is not unlike that used by William Sturgis; but the urn is more sculpted than William's and the lettering is not his. Might this be an early stone of one of the other stonecutting Sturgises such as Thomas (aged twenty-three) or Nehemiah (aged fifteen)? I have not determined whether Ezekiel or Kezia are relatives of the Sturgises of Lee; they would probably have been of the same generation as William and Thomas.

19. I am grateful to Laurel Gabel for this as well as the initial information which led me to the Sturgis family in Lee. Later, I learned more from Robert Drinkwater on the Sturgises' signed and probated gravestones in that area. Samuel D. Sturgis was one of fifteen Lee men drafted in the War of 1812, but his "action" consisted of drilling in Boston (Rowland, "Town of Lee," p. 137); in 1820 he opened a tavern (the third in town) in East Lee (*Ibid.,* p. 151).

20. Hyde, p. 317. Edwin is also listed as a stonecutter in the 1850 U.S. census, p. 45, where his property assets are worth $1000.00; in the 1860 U.S. Census, p. 704, his assets are $2000.00 in real property, $1500.00 in personal property; and in 1870 $5500.00 real, $925.00 personal (p. 400). There is also an entry for "T. & E. Sturges" (presumably Thomas and Edwin) under marble manufacturers in Lee in the 1851 *Massachusetts State Directory.*

21. Her death record in Yarmouth records her father as William Sturgis, born in Sandwich, and her mother as Sally, born in Lee (but Salome was probably born in Falmouth).

22. For Charles E. Phillips, the record dated February 10th; Vol.14, p. 555.

23. Vol. 39, p. 386.

24. Vol. 22, p. 178; $400.00; January 14th.

25. A less probable explanation is that "of Orleans" is simply a corruption of "of Lee" or even "formerly of Lee."

26. Mentioned in Lee vital records.

27. Berkshire Co. Deeds; Vol. 112, p. 579; February 8th. William and his son John sold the "home farm now occupied by us, in Lee, a little west of S. D. [Samuel] Sturgis Tavern" to William's son Franklin for $2400.00. They also sold their pew in the Meeting House. (This transaction reported to me by Robert Drinkwater.)

28. This mortgage was for $250.00; the house and lot was just west of his oldest brother Samuel's hotel in East Lee; 8 Sep 1844. He paid Josiah back on June 6, 1847. (Berkshire County deeds; Vol. 112, pp. 45-6).

29. The first mortgage was for $237.98. Chattel mortgages; Vol. 1, p. 322. The second was for $200.00 (again for six months); Vol. 1, p. 319. (I am grateful to Barbara Gill of the Sandwich archives for uncovering this information.)

30. Barnstable County; Vol. 85, p. 125; April 16, 1855.

31. This taken from the IGI database of the LDS (Mormon) church. This also records the birth of two children: Lavon Priscilla, in Weston, VT, on August 23, 1847; and Frank Leslie, in Bridgewater, on January 5, 1852.

32. Vol. 46, p. 368.

33. William sued John Baker of Lee, the same man his son Josiah had sued the year before. On July 25th William was awarded $94.76; Vol. 75, p. 643.

34. I have calculated the date for his move to Yarmouth in October of this year by the board Jabez Fisher charged his estate after his death; see below. Just before he moved to Yarmouth, apparently, William provided money to his son Franklin, who mortgaged to William his land and house in South Lee (south of the Meeting House) and another house called "The Old Red Lion" which Franklin had acquired from Walter Laflin and which he had earlier mortgaged to his younger brother Josiah on April 29, 1851 (Berkshire Co. deeds; Vol. 146, p. 313; Vol. 131, p. 327). Franklin mortgaged this to his father again in early 1857 (Vol. 115, p. 114), a transaction recorded in Barnstable and witnessed by William's grandson William S. Fisher. On July 1, 1857, Josiah returned to Lee from California to convey the South Lee property (to which he seems still to have held the mortgage) to Franklin's wife Sarah (had Franklin died in the meantime?) (Vol. 95, p. 334).

35. Vol. 60, p. 349.

36. Abigail Bradley, Franklin Sturgis, Sarah S. Fisher, John Sturgis, Persis Baldwin, and Josiah Sturgis; case #3889; Vol. 19, p. 3.

37. Obituary in the Lee *Valley Gleaner* for August 5, 1858; tombstone.

38. Vol. 89, p. 177; Vol. 92, p. 153.

39. Vol. 103, p. 495; Vol. 109, p. 479.

40. Vol. 93, p. 333; Vol. 98, p. 324.

41. Vol. 112, p. 579.

42. Vol. 56, p. 483; Wm. Sturgis vs. Henry Murray; $250.00.

43. Casper Hollenbeck vs. Franklin, William & Samuel Sturgis; Vol. 61, p. 367; $334.00.

44. Enumeration signed October 17, 1840; p. 395.

45. As we shall see, William S. Fisher was counted twice in 1850.

46. His estate was divided in 1844; Vol. 44, p. 503.

47. Lee vital records have only the year 1816 for Josiah's date of birth. The 1882 history of Contra Costa County, California, gives his birth as April 23, 1817. However, this history has his age as sixty-six. If he was born in 1817, as this history reports, he would be sixty-six only after April 1883; yet the history is published in 1882. I have therefore kept the month and day recorded in this history, but have adopted 1816 as his year of birth. Further, if Josiah was himself interviewed for this history, as appears to have been the case, he may have told the interviewer only his present age (sixty-six) and his age when he left for Nantucket (eighteen). If then the interviewer incorrectly calculated Josiah's date of birth as 1817, Josiah may have come to Nantucket in 1834 when his father's marble shop opened, not 1835, which is the date the interviewer records in the history. The obituary for Josiah Sturgis in the *Contra Costa Gazette* for July 24, 1897 repeats his date of birth as April 23, 1817; but it is apparent that the person writing the obituary derived much of its content from the 1882 history of the county. Yet even his gravestone shows 1817. An 1890 voting register, on the other hand, records his age as "50" on January 22, 1867, three months before his birthday; this would make his year of birth 1816.

48. As reported in the 1882 history.

49. Vol. 38, p. 276; $100.00. Might Asa Meigs have been a relative of Jabez Fisher's mother Mercy Meiggs? He sold the shop for $100.00, December 28, 1839; Vol. 40, p. 80.

50. Vol. 38, pp. 226-27; $1900; September 24, 1838. This is a mortgage.

51. Vol. 48, p. 16.

52. Daughter of Thomas Smith and Cassandra Hatch, according to Nantucket vital records. The *History of Contra Costa County* (1926), published by the Historic Record Co. (probably), incorrectly reports that Eliza was born in Nantucket (p. 238).

53. Vol. 44, p. 503; October 4th.

54. Vol. 45, pp. 14-15; October 16th.

55. Ernest Caulfield, "Connecticut Gravestones XIII: The Kimballs," *Markers VIII* (1991), 202.

56. Vol. 65, p. 282; vs. Levi Atwood of Great Barrington.

57. Vol. 45, p. 443; September 6th; $10.00 from Peleg Macy.

58. Vol. 45, p. 459; September 9th; he bought eighteen more sheep commons for $13.50 in 1847; Vol. 47, p. 331.

59. Vol. 46, p. 47; $1050; December 4th; from James Tufts of Boston.

60. Vol. 48, pp. 436-37; July 13th.

61. $132.00 paid, and received; bought from Cromwell Barnard on July 25th; Vol. 48, p. 16; sold June 16th to Charles H. Clark; Vol. 48, p. 260.

62. Berkshire Co. deeds; Vol. 117, p. 272.

63. Vol. 74, p. 67.

64. I found payments to C. F. Winslow (once, in 1852) and Charles H. Robinson (five times, 1853 to 1858) (see Appendix II (f)). Robinson is also listed as a marble-worker in the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory* and in the 1858 Wallings map of Nantucket (living on Fair Street).

65. The obituary in the *Contra Costa Gazette* in April, 1886 reports that John Sturgis, or "'Uncle John,' as he was familiarly known," arrived in Martinez, California "early in 1850," and that, after his wife died, he had "resided in various localities on the coast."

66. *History of Contra Costa County, California*, with a preface by J. P. Munro-Frasier (San Francisco, CA: W. A. Slocum and Company, 1882).

67. *Ibid.*, 390; 678. *Martinez: A California Town* (RSI Publications, 1986) mentions the Hotel de Steward; information regarding William Jones' full name and occupation was obtained from Charlene Perry of the Martinez Museum.

68. Nantucket vital records indicate that Josiah's wife Eliza "went to California in 1857"; this is confirmed by her obituary notice in the *Contra Costa Gazette*.

69. Berkshire Co. deeds; Vol. 115, p. 116. This might be the same land on which was situated "The Old Red Lion."

70. Contra Costa County; Martinez township #1; p. 49.

71. Records of Grace Episcopal Church, Martinez.

72. *History of Contra Costa County, California,* 131.

73. Obituary, *Contra Costa Gazette,* September 26, 1885. That he owned a mine is information communicated in a letter from his granddaughter Carrie Cutler, McLenegan's grandson's wife, Janet S. McLenegan, to the Martinez museum (still in their files) in 1988.

74. The Historic Record Company history of Contra Costa County, p. 178.

75. *Ibid.,* p. 238.

76. If the photo in Fig. 5 was indeed taken after the earthquake of 1868, and if this photo was taken at the same time as the photo of the two men on the porch of the hotel, then the man on the left would probably *not* be Josiah Sturgis, for Josiah was only fifty-two that year – too young, it seems, to be the man on the left. Evidence that the two photos were taken at the same time comes from the two men seated on the porch in Fig. 5, who may be the same men as in Fig. 6 (in reversed position); one can discern the white shirt under the neck of the man on the left – rather like that of the man on the right in Fig. 6 – and the shape and attitude of the hats seems right as well. So perhaps Josiah is the man on the right, and the man on the left might be his older brother John Sturgis, who would have been sixty-one in 1868. But this would depend both on the supposition that the two photos are contemporaneous and that the photo in Fig. 5 was indeed taken on the occasion of the 1868 earthquake.

77. Lee vital records show John Sturgis marrying a Mary Loomis in 1834; and there is a Mary Sturges who died of consumption in Martinez in 1856. She is listed, along with Josiah and John, in the 1852 California census for Martinez, evidently having arrived before Josiah's family, who came in 1857.

78. Contra Costa County Court Records; Document 1, B38, Smith.

79. *Contra Costa Gazette,* September 15, 1917.

80. An almost identical stone, also signed, is that for Timothy Snow (1812) in Becket.

81. Rachel Eames, in Becket.

82. Such as on that for Absalom Bunker (1835) on Nantucket.

83. For Betsey Hoxie in eastern Sandwich; unhappily, this stone has broken into three large pieces and has been cemented back together, propped up (in 1998) by board-struts front and back.

84. Such as on the early signed stone for Captain Ezra Marvin (1811).

85. Vol. 77, p. 94.

86. Falmouth, Sandwich and Nantucket vital records reveal the following: Theodore was born in about 1778, the son of John Fish and the grandson of Nathaniel; he died in Sandwich on November 26, 1853. Mercy was born in about 1770 and was the daughter of Jabez Meiggs, who died in 1798, and Lurana Dimmick of Falmouth. Theodore Fish and Mercy Meiggs were married in Falmouth on November 1, 1800. Other children: Sabra (29 September 1801-?); Theodore (3 November 1806-?), married Adeline Butler of Edgartown in 1836; Joseph Robinson (10 October 1808-1838), who had a dry goods store on Nantucket; Lurana Meiggs (27 September 1810-3 December 1839), married Thomas Jefferson Coffin on Nantucket in 1836; Mercy H. (1814-4 May 1816); Edmund Meiggs (4 December 1815-20 November 1840), died at sea; and Silvester Holmes (12 December 1820-?), who also resided in Edgartown.

87. July 1st. A piece of cleared land was also purchased; both from Charles Nye and Ezra Tobey of Sandwich for $342.74; Vol. 6, p. 19.

88. Their intention to marry is published on November 5, 1828 (vital records of Sandwich).

89. The publication of their intention to marry as well as a vital record in Yarmouth both report that Jabez's wife Sarah S. was born in Lee in 1804; her Yarmouth death record has her father as William.

90. Yarmouth vital records. Yet his death record has him born on Nantucket.

91. Lurana M. Fisher married Thomas Jefferson Coffin on Nantucket on June 6, 1836 (Nantucket vital records).

92. Vol. 22, p. 61; August 18th; from a Benjamin Freeman of Boston.

93. $75.00; December 27th; Vol. 37, p. 34. This is witnessed by their brother Sylvester; but Sylvester is listed as a tailor in Edgartown in an 1856 business directory, and is with his brother Theodore there in 1858.

94. With a three-year term; April 5th; to Solomon C. Howland; Vol. 20, p. 71.

95. For $800.00; April 4th; Vol. 22, p. 61.

96. Nantucket Probate Vol. 15; pp. 66, 119, 185.

97. Notice in the *Nantucket Inquirer*; August 8, 1838.

98. July 25th; $75.00; to Samuel Woodward, the same person to whom Josiah Sturgis sold his third of a shop later that year; Vol. 39, p. 386.

99. $400.00; January 14th; Vol. 22, p. 178.

100. Vital Records of Yarmouth. There is also a William Sydney Fisher, a printer, living in Yarmouth, who is married to Elizabeth F. Hallet; they had at least four children between 1840 and 1846. This cannot be Jabez's son, William S. Fisher the stonecutter, who would have been too young.

101. His gravestone in Orleans was carved by his son.

102. June 13th; $900.00; Vol. 177, p. 404.

103. Vol. 3, p. 340.

104. $340.00 over 20 months; December 17th; Vol. 43, pp. 215-17.

105. p. 267. This record lists him as "David M. Fisher" rather than "Jabez"; undoubtedly the enumerator made a phonetic mistake ("Jabez" is pronounced "JAY-biz" – enough like "David" to make such an error); he is correctly recorded as "Jabez" in the 1850 census.

106. January 7th; Vol. 46, p. 368.

107. March 28, 1856; Vol. 60, p. 349.

108. September 26th; $100.00; from Hannah Hedge; Vol. 62, p. 407.

109. April 7, 1862; $80.00; Vol. 63, p. 271.

110. April 15th; $30.00; to Elihu Fish of Sandwich; Vol. 68, p. 52.

111. July 5th; Vol. 93, p. 205.

112. Jabez sold another small piece of land abutting this lot to Ezra Howes on June 19, 1875 for $33.00; Vol. 120, p. 533.

113. See *Yarmouth: Old Homes and Gathering Place* (Yarmouth, MA: Yarmouth Historical Commission, 1989), p. 39.

114. Yarmouth vital records.

115. February 11th; for $1500.00 to Benjamin Hawes; Vol. 116, p. 184.

116. Vital records of Yarmouth.

117. Her death record has her age as thirty-one; but if she was born in 1832, she would have been about thirty-four.

118. *Yarmouth Register*; March 1, 1873; his death record lists his occupation with his address given as San Joao Avenue.

119. Vital records of Yarmouth.

120. John Baker (1851), which is both signed by and probated to Jabez, and Jonathan Crocker (1885).

121. Rachel C. Cornish (1855) (New North Cemetery), Jane Hussey (1856) (New North), Susan W. Archibald (1863) (Old North), and John Maxcy (1863) (Newtown).

122. Henry Kendrick (1852) (People's Cemetery), probably carved by Oliver N. Linnell.

123. Samuel Emery, Jr. (1853) (Union Cemetery).

124. Capt. Daniel Hooker (1856).

125. See James Blachowicz, "The Gravestone Carving Traditions of Plymouth and Cape Cod," *Markers XV* (1998), Fig. 32.

APPENDIX I

Relevant Burial Grounds

All are in Massachusetts.
For locations of burial grounds on Cape Cod, see Marjorie Hubbell Gibson, *Historical and Genealogical Atlas and Guide to Barnstable County, Mass.* (Falmouth, MA: Falmouth Genealogical Society, 1995).

1. Acushnet (Acushnet)
2. Barnstable (Cobb's Hill)
3. Barnstable (Lothrop)
4. Barnstable (Sandy Hill)
5. Becket (Becket Center)
6. Blandford
7. Bourne (Monument Beach)
8. Bourne (Old Bourne)
9. Brewster (Evergreen)
10. Brewster (First Parish)
11. Brewster (Pine Grove)
12. Brewster (Redtop)
13. Bridgewater (Central Square)
14. Cataumet (Cataumet)
15. Cedarville (Herring Pond Rd.)
16. Cedarville (Long Pond Rd; baseball field)
17. Centerville (Beechwood)
18. Centerville (Congregational)
19. Chatham (Old South)
20. Chatham (People's)
21. Chatham (Seaside)
22. Chatham (Union)
23. Chilmark
24. Cotuit (Old Mosswood)
25. Cummaquid
26. Dennis (Howes)
27. Dennis (Rte 6A)
28. Dennis Port (Swan Lake)
29. East Dennis (Quivet)
30. Eastham (Evergeen)
31. East Harwich (Evergreen)
32. East Harwich (Old First Methodist)
33. East Harwich (Union)
34. East Sandwich (Cedarville)
35. Edgartown (Westside)
36. Falmouth (Methodist)
37. Falmouth (Oak Grove)
38. Falmouth (Old Burying Ground)
39. Farmersville (S. Sandwich)
40. Forestdale (Rte. 130)
41. Granville (Center)
42. Harwich (Cong. Ch.)
43. Hatchville (East End)
44. Hyannis (Baptist)
45. Hyannis (Universalist)
46. Kingston (Evergreen)
47. Kingston (Main St.)
48. Lee (Fairmont)
49. Marion (Little Neck)
50. Marstons Mills
51. Middleborough (Purchade)
52. Middleborough (South Middleborough)
53. Nantucket (Mill Hill)
54. Nantucket (New North)
55. Nantucket (Newtown)
56. Nantucket (Old North)
57. Nantucket (Prospect Hill)
58. North Falmouth
59. Norton (Newcomb)
60. Oak Bluffs (Oak Grove)
61. Orleans (Meeting House Rd.)
62. Osterville (Hillside)
63. Plymouth (Burial Hill)
64. Plymouth (Chiltonville)
65. Provincetown (Gifford)
66. Provincetown (Hamilton)
67. Sagamore
68. Sandwich (Bay View)
69. Sandwich (Freeman)
70. Sandwich (Mt. Hope)
71. Sandwich (Old)
72. Sandwich (Spring Hill)
73. South Chatham
74. South Dennis (Ancient)
75. South Dennis (Cong. Ch.)
76. South Harwich

77. South Yarmouth (Baptist)
78. South Yarmouth (Georgetown)
79. South Yarmouth (Pine Grove)
80. Tisbury (Holmes)
81. Tisbury (South End)
82. Tisbury (Village)
83. Truro (First Cong. Ch.)
84. Truro (Old North)
85. Truro (Methodist)
86. Truro (Pine Grove)
87. Waquoit (Bayview)
88. Wareham (Agawam)
89. Wareham (Center)
90. Wellfleet (Duck Creek)
91. West Barnstable
92. West Dennis (Crowell)
93. West Harwich (Baptist)
94. West Tisbury (Lamberts Cove)
95. West Tisbury (West Tisbury)
96. West Yarmouth (Woodside)
97. Woods Hole (Village)
98. Yarmouth (Ancient)
99. Yarmouth (Woodside)

APPENDIX II

Probated and Signed Gravestones

The entry after each name is the volume and page number of the probate record, followed by years of death and probate settlement. If the date of death is not given, the stone was not located.

*Records which specifically mention gravestones.

(a) William Sturgis:

Probated: (Berkshire Co.)[1]

*Isaac Howk (#2369; 1805, 1812), Lee
*Roland Thatcher, Jr. (#2640; 1809, 1810), Pittsfield
*Joseph Morgan (#2661; 1809, 1810), Becket
*Solomon King (#2662; 1809, 1811), Becket
*Jesse Bradley (#2930; 1812, 1812), Lee
*Jared Bradley (#3178; 1814, 1814), Lee

[1]These six records communicated to me by Robert Drinkwater

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

Ezra H. Burgess (61:362; 1842, 1842), Sandwich
*Jonathan Burr (61:568; 1842, 1844), Sandwich

Probated: (Nantucket Co.)

Charles E. Phillips (14:555; 1836, 1837), Nantucket

Signed:[1]

Marther Thacher (1806), Barnstable
Capt. Ezra Marvin (1811), Granville
Dr. Oliver Brewster (1812), Becket
Jane Dimmick (1812), Falmouth
Timothy Snow (1812), Becket
[2]Abigail Knox (1825), Blandford
Kezia Gorham (1827), Nantucket
Celia Dimmick (1834), Falmouth
Sally Hamblen (1834), Yarmouth
Seth Robinson (1834), Hatchville
Eben W. Tallant (1834), Nantucket
Betsey Hoxie (1843), Sandwich

[1]signed stones in Becket, Blandford, and Granville uncovered by Robert Drinkwater
[2]signed "W. & T. Sturges Lee, Mass"

(b) Josiah Sturgis:

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

[1]Noah Davis (61:466; 1840, 1843), Falmouth

Probated: (Plymouth Co.)

[2]Braddock Dimmuck (90:436; 1845, 1848), Falmouth

Probated: (Nantucket Co.)

Thomas V. McCleve (15:139; 1837, 1838), Nantucket
George W. Ewer (15:391; 1839, 1840), Nantucket
[3]James Morse (15:398; 1839, 1840), Nantucket
Thomas Hiller (15:499; 1839, 1841), Nantucket
Laban Cottle (16:4; 1841, 1841), Nantucket
Henry Riddell (16:36; 1840, 1842), Nantucket
William Coffin (16:103; 1841, 1842), Nantucket
David Swain (16:135; 1841, 1842), Nantucket
Eliza Ann Gardner (16:231; 1843, 1843), Nantucket
[4]T. G. Clapp (16:235; 1842, 1843), Nantucket
Mary Myrick (16:283; 1844, 1844), Nantucket
William Brown (16:304; 1840, 1844), Nantucket
Anna Folger (17:165; 1846, 1846), Nantucket
Solomon Smith (17:195; 1835, 1847), Nantucket
Aaron Holmes (17:369; 1847, 1848), Nantucket
Edward J. Pompey (17:451; 1848, 1849), Nantucket

[1]"Mr. Sturgis" (more likely Josiah than John Sturgis)
[2]"Joseph Sturgis"
[3]"J. Stergess"
[4]"for stone posts and setting"

Signed:

Walter Baxter (1838), Hyannis

note: despite this signature, this stone was probably carved by William Sturgis

(c) John Sturgis:

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

Deliverance Baty (77:240; 1848, 1849), Sandwich

payment to "J. Sturgess and Co."

(d) Jabez M. Fisher:

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

*Isaac Weekes (61:381; 1841, 1842), S. Chatham
*Alvah Nickerson (61:482; 1842, 1844), S. Dennis
*Benoni Baker (61:569; 1844, 1845), S. Yarmouth
Sally Small (77:132; 1847, 1848), Harwich
*Israel Nickerson (77:195; 1847, 1848), S. Dennis
*Abram Hedge (77:235; 1848, 1849), Yarmouth
*Elijah Dyer (77:254; , 1849), Provincetown
*Gorham Baker (77:267; 1847, 1850), S. Dennis
*Nathan F. Sears (77:296; 1848, 1850), E. Dennis
*Amos Whorf (77:340; 1849, 1851), Provincetown
*Alexander Howes (77:391; 1849, 1851), Dennis
*Darius Weekes (77:417-8; 1849, 1852), S. Harwich
[1]Isaac Hinckley (77:475; 1850, 1852), Barnstable
*Samuel S. Crocker (77:509;1851,1853), Cummaquid
*Daniel F. Small (85:95; , 1853), Provincetown
*Arthur Hallet (85:133; 1852, 1855), Yarmouth
Hannah Baker (85:142, 390; 1851, 1855), S. Dennis
*[2]Gideon Crowell (85:198; 1855, 1856), S. Yarmouth
*John Baker (85:227; 1854, 1856), Brewster (signed)
*Michael Burgess (85:363; 1857, 1858), Harwich
*Elisha Baker (85:371; 1852, 1858), S. Yarmouth
*Ebenezer Turner (85:404; , 1858), Barnstable
*Sally Baker (#4220; 1861, 1861), S. Dennis
*Thankful Hall (#4288; , 1861), Yarmouth
*Joshua Eldridge (#4424; ,1863), Yarmouth
*Gideon Hall (#4442; 1862, 1863) Dennis
*Elnathan Lewis (#4469; 1862, 1864), Yarmouth
*Nancy Freeman (#4577; , 1863), Brewster
*Washington Baker (#4672; 1864, 1865), Yarmouth
*[3]Jesse Freeman (#4893; 1865, 1868), Provincetown
*William Hall (#4902; , 1866), Yarmouth
Waterman Crocker (#5023; 1866,1868), Provincetown
*Frederick Dunbar (#5034; 1866, 1868), Yarmouth
*Nathan Howes (#5368; 1868, 1868), Dennis

[1]includes a payment of $1.44 to "A. Fisher," perhaps Jabez's daughter Arietta, who was 20 at the time.
[2]payment includes the stone for his wife.
[3]payment is for stones for Jesse's wife Hannah, who died in 1868 and is buried beside her husband.

Signed:

Marshall Ryder (1839), Chatham
Mary Bearse (1844), Hyannis
John Baker (1854), Brewster (probated also)
Samuel W. Baxter (1858), W. Harwich
Benjamin Handy (1859), Hyannis
Capt. Theophilus Adams (1863), Marstons Mills
David Lewis (1869), W. Dennis
Temperance Crocker (1872), Barnstable

(e) William S. Fisher:

Signed:

Catherine Loring (1888), Barnstable
Rebecca Bartlett (1889), Cummaquid

(f) Other Carvers Relevant to this Study:

C. F. Winslow:

Probated: (Nantucket Co.)

*Eliza Jones (18:322; 1851, 1852), Nantucket

Charles H. Robinson:

Probated: (Nantucket Co.)

*Tamar Starbuck (18:406; 1852, 1853), Nantucket
Benjamin Whipple, Jr. (18:486; , 1854), Nantucket
Benjamin Folger (19:163; , 1855), Nantucket
Nancy [L?]uce (19:251; , 1856), Nantucket
*Susan C. Paddock (19:487; , 1858), Nantucket

APPENDIX III

Gravestones of William Sturgis and Josiah Sturgis (partial list)

This list is complete for gravestones on Cape Cod.
The number in parentheses following each entry indicates the burial ground (See Appendix I).
Probated stones are in **bold**. Signed stones are in *italics*.
For stones with multiple burials, the name of the person with the latest date of burial is listed.

(a) William Sturgis:

Year	Name	Burial ground
1774	Watson, Ruth	Becket (5)
1782	Backus, Nathaniel	Lee (48)
1790	Standly, Samuel	Lee (48)
1791	Winegar, Zach	Lee (48)
1794	Sturgis, Abigail	Sandwich (71)
1796	Basett, Mary	Lee (48)
1796	Coffin, Capt. Thomas	Edgartown (35)
1796	Crocker, Joseph	Lee (48)
1796	Porter, Kimball	Lee (48)
1797	Ball, Nathan	Lee (48)
1797	Freeman, Anna	Becket (5)
1798	Crocker, Zerniah	Lee (48)
1798	Dimmick, Joseph	Falmouth (38)
1798	Hamblin, Benjamin	Lee (48)
1798	Wadsworth, Jonathan	Becket (5)
1798	Winegar, Caty	Lee (48)
1798	Winegar, John	Lee (48)
1799	Tobey, Remember	Lee (48)
1799	Vandusen, Lowrance	Lee (48)
1799	Wadsworth, Rebeckah	Becket (5)
1800	Anderson, Samuel	Blandford (6)
1800	Church, Daniel	Lee (48)
1800	Davis, Ebenezer	Hatchville (43)
1800	Ingersoll, Lucinda	Lee (48)
1802	Knox, Capt. William	Blandford (6)
1803	Foot, Jonathan	Lee (48)
1803	Gillet, Hannorah	Becket (5)
1803	Waters, Oliver	Granville (41)
1804	Ingersoll, Lydia	Lee (48)
1805	**Howk, Isaac**	Lee (48)
1805	Seymour, Abigail	Granville (41)
1806	*Thacher, Marther*	Barnstable (2)
1806	West, Thankful	Lee (48)
1809	Eames, Rachel	Becket (5)
1809	**King, Solomon**	Becket (5)
1809	**Morgan, Joseph**	Becket (5)
1809	**Thatcher, Roland Jr.**	Pittsfield
1810	Bradley, Mamry	Lee (48)
1811	Dimmick, George	Falmouth (38)
1811	*Marvin, Capt. Ezra*	Granville (41)
1811	Norton, Cornelius	W. Tisbury (95)
1811	Sparrow, Dea. Richard	Orleans (61)
1812	**Bradley, Capt. Jesse**	Lee (48)
1812	*Brewster, Dr. Oliver*	Becket (5)
1812	Crosby, Martha	Lee (48)
1812	*Dimmick, Jane*	Falmouth (38)
1812	Jenkins, Elizabeth	Hatchville (43)
1812	*Snow, Timothy*	Becket (5)
1813	Jenkins, Rachel	Hatchville (43)
1813	Norton, Lot	Edgartown (35)
1813	Sturges, Elizabeth	Lee (48)
1813	Thatcher, Dea. Roland	Lee (48)
1814	**Bradley, Jared**	Lee (48)
1814	Freese, John	Lee (48)
1814	Rose, Elisha	Granville (41)
1815	Davis, Judith	Hatchville (43)
1815	Fellows, Susan O.	Edgartown (35)
1815	Ingersoll, William	Lee (48)
1815	Wadsworth, Hannah	Becket (5)
1816	Perkins, Mary	Becket (5)
1816	Sturges, Eliza	Lee (48)
1816	Sturges, Lydia	Lee (48)
1816	West, Dea. Oliver	Lee (48)
1817	Chadwick, Bathsheba	Lee (48)

1817	Dimmick, Capt. Lot	Falmouth (38)
1817	Gibbons, Philomena	Granville (41)
1817	Fellows, Sally	Edgartown (35)
1818	Fellows, Electa B.	Edgartown (35)
1819	Mayhew, Tristram	Edgartown (35)
1820	Cleaveland, Susan	Edgartown (35)
1820	Crosby, John	Lee (48)
1820	Luce, Capt. Jason	Edgartown (35)
1821	Bradley, Joseph J.	Lee (48)
1821	Fellows, Henry	Edgartown (35)
1821	Phinney, Levi	Cotuit (24)
1821	Rose, Aaron	Granville (41)
1821	Sturges, Nehemiah	Lee (48)
1822	Bourne, Timothy	Hatchville (43)
1822	Clark, Anna	Nantucket (57)
1822	Gibbons, Peter	Granville (41)
1822	Hinckley. Dea. Edmund	Lee (48)
1822	Perry, Solomon	Bourne (8)
1822	Smith, Rhoda	Blandford (6)
1823	Chase, Elizabeth	Nantucket (56)
1823	Chase, Mary	Nantucket (56)
1823	Chipman, Mary	Sandwich (72)
1823	Freeman, Elisha	Lee (48)
1823	Hine, William N.	Becket (5)
1824	Cooley, Louisa Maria	Granville (41)
1824	Dimmick, Zereviah	Falmouth (38)
1824	Fellows, Hiram H.	Edgartown (35)
1824	Garfield, Abigail	Lee (48)
1824	Hinckley, Content	Lee (48)
1824	Jones, Roland	Edgartown (35)
1824	Luce, Elizabeth	Tisbury (81)
1824	Manchester, Harriet A.	Tisbury (82)
1824	Swift, Stephen	Bourne (8)
1825	Dimmick, Jabez	Falmouth (38)
1825	Handy, Asa	Cotuit (24)
1825	Leonard, Harriet	Wareham (88)
1825	Little, Maria	Becket (5)
1825	Nye, Levi	Lee (48)
1825[2]	*Knox, Abigail*	Blandford (6)
1825	Snow, Robinson	Hatchville (43)
1825	Sparrow, Thomas	Orleans (61)
1825	Spring, Mary	Sagamore (67)
1825	Sturgis, William	Lee (48)
1826	Hillman, Stephen	Chilmark (23)
1827	Bourne, Thankful	Falmouth (36)
1827	Coe, Rachel	Granville (41)
1827	Dimmick, Mercy	Falmouth (38)
1827	*Gorham, Kezia*	Nantucket (57)
1827	Lawrence, Sarah	Falmouth (38)
1827	Luce, Ruth	Edgartown (35)
1828[3]	Fisher, Mercy	Forestdale (40)
1828	Homer, Joseph	Brewster (12)
1828	Homer, Thankful	Brewster (12)
1828	Norton, Deborah	Edgartown (35)
1828	Norton, Tristram	Edgartown (35)
1828	Nye, Alvin	N. Falmouth (58)
1828	Spelman, Almon	Granville (41)
1829	Benson, Martin	Plymouth (63)
1829	Gibbs, Experience	Bourne (8)
1829	Lambert, Bathsheba	Bourne (8)
1829	Whippey, Eliza L.	Nantucket (56)
1829	Worth, Jethro	Edgartown (35)
1830	Baker, Deforest	W. Harwich (93)
1830	Cleaveland, Mary	Edgartown (35)
1830	Coffin, Mary	Edgartown (35)
1830	Pease, Lydia	Edgartown (35)
1830	Sparrow, Richard	Orleans (61)
1831	Burgess, Seth	Harwich (42)
1831	Davis, Ebenezer	Hatchville (43)
1831	Dimmick, Anna	Falmouth (38)
1831	Fish, David W.	Falmouth (38)
1831	Nye, Bradley V.	N. Falmouth (58)
1831	Snow, Osborn	Harwich (42)
1831	Tupper, Grace	Sagamore (67)
1832	Bassett, Nathaniel	E. Harwich (32)
1832	Bearse, Hannah	Cotuit (24)
1832	Bourne, Frances	Hatchville (43)
1832	Bourne, Mary Ann	Falmouth (38)
1832	Burgess, Stephen	Harwich (42)
1832	Burgess, Theophilus	Harwich (42)
1832	Fisher, Ephraim	Forestdale (40)
1832	Freeman, Sarah	Orleans (61)
1832	Gibbs, Agness	Blandford (6)
1832	Hatch, Bethiah	Falmouth (38)
1832	Hatch, Hannah C.	Hatchville (43)
1832	Kingsley, Alethea	Becket (5)
1832	Lawrence, Mary S.	Farmersville (39)
1832	Lester, Samuel	Becket (5)
1832	Lloyd, Sarah Ann	Sandwich (71)
1832	Robinson, Hannah	Hatchville (43)
1832	Sherman, Hannah J.	Hatchville (43)
1832	Stevens, Cpt. Benjamin	Lee (48)
1833	Lloyd, Sarah Ann	Sandwich (71)
1833	Fisher, Simeon	Nantucket (56)
1833	Freeman, Abner	Orleans (61)

1833	Merchant, Deborah	Edgartown (35)
1833	Merchant, Eliza J.	Edgartown (35)
1833	Morse, Joann	Edgartown (35)
1834	Bayliss, Thomas L.	Edgartown (35)
1834	Bennett, Celia T.	Nantucket (56)
1834	Bennett, Lydia	Bourne (7)
1834	Boyden, Jesse [daugh]	Sandwich (70)
1834	Butler, Charles	Edgartown (35)
1834	Chipman, Josiah	Sandwich (72)
1834	Clark, Abiah	Becket (5)
1834	Coffin, Anna	Nantucket (56)
1834	*Dimmick, Celia*	Falmouth (38)
1834	Cottle, Margaret	W. Tisbury (94)
1834	Ellis, Jonathan	Bourne (8)
1834	Fisher, Eunice	Edgartown (35)
1834	*Hamblen, Sally*	Yarmouth (98)
1834	Jenkins, Weston	Falmouth (37)
1834	Johnson, Fear D.	Forestdale (40)
1834	Lawrence, Shadrach	Falmouth (37)
1834	Lloyd, James	Sandwich (71)
1834	Mayhew, Mathew	Edgartown (35)
1834	Nickerson, Lydia	S. Harwich (76)
1834	Norton, Cordelia	Edgartown (35)
1834	Orpin, Isaac [wife]	Nantucket (56)
1834	Percival, James L.	Farmersville (39)
1834	Phinney, Mary	Hatchville (43)
1834	Phinney, Naome	Cotuit (24)
1834	Robinson, Charles	Hatchville (43)
1834	Ryder, Kimball	Chatham (20)
1834	Sampson, William	Cotuit (24)
1834	Sturgis, Ebenezer	Lee (48)
1834	*Tallant, Eben W.*	Nantucket (57)
1834	Tilton, Asa	Chilmark (23)
1834	Tobey, Capt. Henry	Sandwich (71)
1834	Whitman, Phebe	Bridgewater (13)
1834	Williams, Lydia E.	Becket (5)
1835	Athearn, Susan	Edgartown (35)
1835	Bennett, Almira	Bourne (7)
1835	Bunker, Absalom	Nantucket (56)
1835	Chipman, Delia	Sandwich (72)
1835	Davis, Hannah	Falmouth (38)
1835	Davis, Susanna	Falmouth (38)
1835	Dimmick, Fear	Forestdale (40)
1835	Fellows, Hermione	Edgartown (35)
1835	Fish, Elizabeth C.	Nantucket (56)
1835	Fisher, Bethiah	Forestdale (40)
1835	Fisher, Eliza	Forestdale (40)
1835	Gwinn, Capt. James	Nantucket (56)
1835	Holbrook, Mary	Sandwich (71)
1835	Jenkins, Eliza	Nantucket (56)
1835	Jenkins, Joseph	Hatchville (43)
1835	Luce, Dea. Timothy	W. Tisbury (95)
1835	Mooers, Jonathan	Nantucket (56)
1835	Morse, Uriah	Edgartown (35)
1835	Norton, Henry	Edgartown (35)
1835	Pinkham, Catharine W.	Nantucket (57)
1835	Robinson, Sarah	Falmouth (38)
1835	Sampson, Joseph W.	Falmouth (38)
1835	Small, Priscilla	Harwich (42)
1835	Snow, Jane	Yarmouth (99)
1835	Swift, Stephen	Falmouth (38)
1835	Webb, Sarah	Nantucket (56)
1835	Weeks, Octavius	W. Tisbury (94)
1836	Arey, Catherine	Yarmouth (99)
1836	Bourne, Mary	Falmouth (38)
1836	Bunting, Capt. James	Edgartown (35)
1836	Chipman, Benjamin	Sandwich (72)
1836	Crowel, Reuben	N. Falmouth (58)
1836	Davis, Francis	Falmouth (38)
1836	Dimmick, Sarah	Falmouth (38)
1836	Doty, Elizabeth	Hatchville (43)
1836	Fisher, Sarah Bartlett	Nantucket (56)
1836	Godfrey, Edward A.	S. Harwich (76)
1836	Nickerson, Leonard	Chatham (21)
1836	Norton, Tristram	Edgartown (35)
1836	Pease, Mary	Edgartown (35)
1836	**Phillips, Charles E.**	Nantucket (57)
1836	*Robinson, Seth*	Hatchville (43)
1836	Skiff, Rufus	Sagamore (67)
1836	Weston, Phebe	Sandwich (71)
1837	Baker, Job	Hatchville (43)
1837	Chase, Mercy	Orleans (61)
1837	Fish, Isaiah	Forestdale (40)
1837	Fisher, Jonathan	Edgartown (35)
1837	Hatch, Betsey	Hatchville (43)
1837	Jenkins, Celia F.	Falmouth (37)
1837	Marstons, Sarah	Sandwich (72)
1837	Mooers, Hannah	Nantucket (56)
1837	Sherman, Lydia	Orleans (61)
1838	Benson, Charity	Sagamore (67)
1838	Burgess, Hannah	Harwich (42)
1838	Crosby, Eliza	Orleans (61)
1838	Crowell, Capt. Nathan	Dennis (27)
1838	Davis, John	Falmouth (38)
1838	Davis, Susanna	Falmouth (38)
1838	Eldred, Abiel	Falmouth (38)

1838	Ewer, Mary	Nantucket (54)
1838	Hamblen, Thomas W.	Yarmouth (99)
1838	Lawrence, Joseph	Falmouth (38)
1838	Norton, Rhoda	Oak Bluffs (60)
1838	Pease, Sally	Nantucket (56)
1838	Phiney, Abish	Hatchville (43)
1838	Rogers, Joseph	Orleans (61)
1838	Snow, Capt. Thomas	Harwich (42)
1838	Sparrow, Dea. Seth	Orleans (61)
1838	Tripp, Barbary W.	W. Harwich (93)
1839	Bourne, Elizabeth	Hatchville (43)
1839	Chipman, Josiah	Sandwich (70)
1839	Comings, Benjamin	Orleans (61)
1839	Crocker, Temperance	Cotuit (24)
1839	Eldred, Mary	N. Falmouth (58)
1839	Fish, Sarah H.	Sandwich (72)
1839	Freeman, Cpt. Jonathan	Orleans (61)
1839	Goodwin, Ezra	Sandwich (71)
1839	Harding, Deborah	Chatham (19)
1839	Hatch, William	Hatchville (43)
1839	Higgins, Eliakim	Orleans (61)
1839	Jones, Abby E.	Sandwich (69)
1839	Jones, Francis F.	Sandwich (69)
1839	Lawrence, Josephine	Falmouth (38)
1839	Nye, Lydia	E. Sandwich (34)
1839	Nye, Mary	Sandwich (71)
1839	Pope, Augustus	Sandwich (71)
1839	Pope, Mary	Sandwich (71)
1839	Sampson, Hannah H.	Cotuit (24)
1839	Sampson, Micah	Falmouth (38)
1839	Swift, Phebe	Sagamore (67)
1839	Tilton, Daniel	Chilmark (23)
1840	Bourne, Nathaniel	Falmouth (38)
1840	Chuumiuc [sp?], Dina	Cedarville (16)
1840	Crowell, Capt. William	Tisbury (81)
1840	Eldridge, Albert D.	Woods Hole (97)
1840	Eldridge, Jeremiah	S. Harwich (76)
1840	Ellis, Mary	Bourne (8)
1840	Fisher, Salome S.	Forestdale (40)
1840	Francis, Antone	Cedarville (16)
1840	Freeman, William J.	E. Sandwich (34)
1840	Hillman, Elijah	Tisbury (82)
1840	Luce, Jane	Edgartown (35)
1840	Percival, Hannah C.	Farmersville (39)
1840	Perry, Charles	Sandwich (72)
1840	Phinney, Anna	Waquoit (87)
1840	Roberts, Chloe	Edgartown (35)
1840	Robinson, Ann H.	Falmouth (38)
1840	Robinson, Lucy	Woods Hole (97)
1840	Smith, Ebenezer	Oak Bluffs (60)
1840	Swain, Mary Abby	Nantucket (56)
1840	Swift, Harriet R.	Falmouth (38)
1840	Tinkham, Hannah	Sandwich (70)
1840	Tobey, Nancy H.	Sandwich (71)
1840	Weston, Seth	Sandwich (70)
1841	Bourne, Hannah	Bourne (8)
1841	Chadwick, Emeline C.	Hatchville (43)
1841	Coffin, Henry	Edgartown (35)
1841	Crocker, Braddock	Cotuit (24)
1841	Eldridge, Sanyra	S. Harwich (76)
1841	Freeman, Capt. Thomas	E. Sandwich (34)
1841	Hall, Asenouth	Waquoit (87)
1841	Hamblin, Charles H.	Sandwich (72)
1841	Hancock, John	Chilmark (23)
1841	Jenkins, Daniel	Hatchville (43)
1841	Lawrence, Shubael	Hatchville (43)
1841	Mayhew, Eunice	Chilmark (23)
1841	McGuire, Catherine	Sandwich (70)
1841	Nye, Eliza B.	Sandwich (71)
1841	Nye, Jane	Sandwich (70)
1841	Pease, Mary Ann	Edgartown (35)
1841	Pent, Samuel	Edgartown (35)
1841	Studley, Lydia	Waquoit (87)
1841	Tobey, Nancy	Sandwich (70)
1841	Tupper, Prince	Sagamore (67)
1842	Athearn, Jonathan	W. Tisbury (95)
1842	Bourne, Mehetable	Falmouth (38)
1842	**Burgess, Ezra H.**	Sagamore (67)
1842	**Burr, Jonathan**	Sandwich (71)
1842	Butler, Parnel	Falmouth (38)
1842	Coffin, Zoraida	Edgartown (35)
1842	Cottle, John	W. Tisbury (94)
1842	Davis, Sophronia	W. Tisbury (95)
1842	Eldred, Harriet	N. Falmouth (58)
1842	Eldridge, Elijah Jr.	S. Harwich (76)
1842	Eldridge, Ezra	S. Harwich (76)
1842	Faunce, William	Sandwich (71)

Year	Name	Location
1842	Higgins, Sarah	Orleans (61)
1842	Nye, Rebecca	E. Sandwich (34)
1842	Phinney, Mary	Waquoit (87)
1842	Swift, Thankful	Waquoit (87)
1842	Tilton, Olivia B.	Chilmark (23)
1843	Adams, Capt. Moses	Chilmark (23)
1843	Andrews, William	Tisbury (82)
1843	Crocker, Ezra	Marstons Mills (50)
1843	Crocker, Sylvia	Cotuit (24)
1843	Crowell, Bathsheba	N. Falmouth (58)
1843	Davis, Hannah Ellen	Woods Hole (97)
1843	Davis, Dea. John	W. Tisbury (95)
1843	Eldridge, Edmund D.	Woods Hole (97)
1843	Freeman, Mehitable	E. Sandwich (34)
1843[10]	Gardner, Eliza Ann	Nantucket (57)
1843	Gifford, Tabitha	Sandwich (70)
1843	Holway, Elmira	Farmersville (39)
1843	*Hoxie, Betsey*	Sandwich (70)
1843	Luce, Thomas	W. Tisbury (94)
1843	Merry, Mary	Tisbury (81)
1843	Nye, Mahala	Sandwich (70)
1843	Phinney, Braddock	Waquoit (87)
1843	Swift, Jacob	Sagamore (67)
1843	Swift, Rebecca	Sagamore (67)
1844[1]	Crocker, Horace S.	Cotuit (24)
1844	Lawrence, Solomon	Falmouth (38)
1844	Meiggs, Eliza C.	Farmersville (39)
1844	Pent, Samuel	Edgartown (35)
1844	Percival, Mercy F.	Farmersville (39)
1844	Percival, Sally	Farmersville (39)
1845	Dillingham, Thomas	Sandwich (71)
1845	Cleveland, Lois N.	Edgartown (35)
1845[8]	Dimmick, Braddock	Falmouth (38)
1845	Gibbs, Betsey	Sagamore (67)
1845	Jenkins, Rebecca	Hatchville (43)
1845	Sampson, Mary C.	Cotuit (24)
1845	Small, Mary	Waquoit (87)
1845	Snow, David	Yarmouth (99)
1846	Adams, Sophronia	Tisbury (82)
1846	Bassett, Mary	Sandwich (70)
1846	Covell, Hiram	Sagamore (67)
1846	Gibbs, Elisha	Sagamore (67)
1846	Jenkins, Ann	Hatchville (43)
1846	Nye, Joseph	Sandwich (70)
1846	Riddell, Eliza	Nantucket (57)
1846	Stutson, Mary	Sandwich (70)
1846	Whenley, Ann	Sandwich (70)
1847	Gibbs, Benjamin	Sandwich (70)
1847	Lewis, Ebenezer	Hatchville (43)
1847	Tobey, Elizabeth	Sandwich (70)
1848	Fish, Cloa	Forestdale (40)
1848[9]	Norton, Elihu P.	Edgartown (35)
1848	Tinkham, Susan G.	Sandwich (70)
1849[6]	Gifford, Elisha	Falmouth (38)
1849[9]	Merchant, Ephraim Jr.	Edgartown (35)
1853[4]	Cooper, Arthur	Nantucket (53)
1856[7]	Weston, David	Sandwich (71)
1868[3]	Nickerson, Richard	Yarmouth (98)
1877[5]	Hamblen, Joseph	Yarmouth (98)
1908[4]	Herr[?], Olive	Yarmouth (98)

[1]probated to and probably inscribed by Nathaniel Holmes
[2]signed "W. & T. Sturges Lee, Mass."
[3]probably inscribed by Jabez M. Fisher
[4]probably inscribed by another carver
[5]probably inscribed by William S. Fisher
[6]probated to and possibly inscribed by James Thompson of Sandwich
[7]probably inscribed by Edwin B. Nye
[8]probated to "Joseph [probably Josiah] Sturgis"; probably carved by William Sturgis but inscribed by Josiah
[9]possibly inscribed by Josiah Sturgis
[10]probated to Josiah Sturgis, but probably carved by William Sturgis

(b) Josiah Sturgis:

Year	Name	Location
1818	Davis, Malachi	Hatchville (43)
1824	Tobey, Capt. Zimri	Falmouth (37)
1834	Paine, John	S.Harwich (76)
1835	**Smith, Capt. Solomon**	Nantucket (56)
1836	Fisher, Ebenezer S.	Nantucket (56)
1836	Waitt, Henry	Nantucket (56)
1837	**McCleve, Cpt. Thomas**	Nantucket (56)
1838[1]	*Baxter, Walter*	Hyannis (44)
1839	**Ewer, George W.**	Nantucket (56)
1839	Hatch, Sarah	Falmouth (38)
1839	**Hiller, Capt. Thomas**	Nantucket (56)
1839	**Morse, James**	Nantucket (57)
1840	**Brown, William**	Nantucket (55)
1840[2]	**Davis, Capt. Noah**	Falmouth (38)
1840	**Riddell, Henry**	Nantucket (57)
1841	**Coffin, William**	Nantucket (56)
1841	**Cottle, Capt. Laban**	Nantucket (55)
1841	Dimmick, Prince	Falmouth (37)
1841	Meiggs, Abby B.	Nantucket (56)
1841	**Swain, David**	Nantucket (55)
1842	Clapp, Timothy. G.	Nantucket (54)
1842	Davis, Lydia	Woods Hole (97)
1842	Lawrence, Sarah N.	Falmouth (37)
1842	Parker, Capt. Timothy	Falmouth (38)
1843	Eldridge, Capt. Ephraim	Woods Hole (97)
1843	Gardner, Peleg	Nantucket (56)
1843	Russell, John	Falmouth (37)
1844	Bridger, John	Nantucket (56)
1844	Gardner, George H.	Nantucket (56)
1844	Hatch, Moses	Falmouth (38)
1844	**Myrick, Mary**	Nantucket (56)
1844	Nye, Lewis Henry	Falmouth (38)
1844	Russell, Mary Ann	Nantucket (56)
1844	Webster, Sarah	Woods Hole (97)
1845	Brown, Judith	Nantucket (57)
1845	Chadwick, Elijah	Falmouth (38)
1845	Fisher, Nabby	Nantucket (56)
1846	Davis, Capt. Jabez	Woods Hole (97)
1846	Coffin, Judith	Nantucket (56)
1846	**Folger, Anna**	Nantucket (56)
1847	Coffin, Phebe	Nantucket (56)
1847	**Holmes, Aaron**	Nantucket (56)
1848	Baker, Hannah H.	Nantucket (56)
1848	Fish, Abigail	Forestdale (40)
1848	**Pompey, Edward J.**	Nantucket (53)

[1]Signed "J. Sturgs," but probably carved by William Sturgis
[2]payment to "Mr. Sturgis"

(c) John Sturgis:

Year	Name	Location
1848	**Baty, Delia**	Sandwich (69)

payment to "J. Sturgess and Co."

APPENDIX IV

Gravestones of Jabez M. Fisher and William S. Fisher (partial list)

The number in parentheses following each entry indicates the burial ground (See Appendix 1).
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.

Note: An "s" following the date indicates a slate stone; all the rest are marble

Year	Name	Burial ground
1821	Stone, Patience	Dennis (27)
1825	Stone, Thankful	Dennis (27)
1836	Taylor, Tabitha	Chatham (20)
1837	Smith, Carlona	E. Harwich (33)
1838	Lawrence, William	Farmersville (39)
1838	Moses, Susan C.	Nantucket (56)
1839	Baker, Phebe	W. Harwich (93)
1839	Calder, Josiah	Nantucket (56)
1839	Cash, Patience	Harwich (42)
1839s	Hallet, Hiram	Yarmouth (98)
1839	Howes, Rebecca	Dennis (27)
1839	Lawrence, Anna	Farmersville (39)
1839	Paddock, Sally	Dennis (27)
1839	*Ryder, Marshall*	Chatham (22)
1839	Sears, Lydia	Brewster (12)
1839	Stone, Job	Dennis (27)
1839	Stone, Nathan	Dennis (27)
1839	Tobey, Mercy	Brewster (12)
1840	Albertson, Patience	S. Harwich (76)
1840s	Crowell, Perlina	W. Yarmouth (96)
1840	Godfrey, Capt. David	Chatham (22)
1840	Goodeno[?], Peter	Brewster (12)
1840	Eldridge, Meriton S.	S. Chatham (73)
1840	Fisher, Edmund M.	Forestdale (40)
1840	Homer, Stephen	Brewster (12)
1840	Hull, Eliza S.	Barnstable (3)
1840	Nickerson, Silas	E. Harwich (33)
1840	Snow, Sylvia T.	S. Chatham (73)
1840	Stone, Emily	Dennis (27)
1840	Swift, Samuel B.	Waquoit (87)
1841	Blanchard, Cyrus	Harwich (42)
1841	Crowell, Luther	W. Yarmouth (96)
1841	Hopkins, Martha	Brewster (11)
1841	Paine, Bethiah	Harwich (42)
1841	Smith, Richard	Chatham (22)
1841	Underwood, Nathan	Harwich (42)
1841	**Weekes, Isaac**	S. Chatham (73)
1841	White, Elvira	Dennis (26)
1842	Howes, Martha	Dennis (27)
1842	**Nickerson, Alvah**	S. Dennis (75)
1842	Ryder, Richard	Chatham (20)
1842	Snow, Priscilla	Harwich (42)
1842	Stone, Nabby	Dennis (27)
1843	Crocker, Betsey	Hyannis (44)
1843	Crowell, Mehitable	Hatchville (43)
1843s	Hallet, Gideon	Yarmouth (99)
1843s	Howland, Mary	Marstons Mills (50)
1844	**Baker, Benoni**	S. Yarmouth (78)
1844	*Bearse, Mary*	Hyannis (45)
1844	Hedge, Warren	Yarmouth (98)
1844	Howes, Jerusha	Dennis (27)
1844	Matthews, Sylvanus	Yarmouth (98)
1844	Nickerson, Mehitable	Harwich (42)
1844	Smalley, Edward	Harwich (42)

Year	Name	Location
1845	Arey, Hannah	Yarmouth (99)
1845	Chase, Irene	W. Harwich (93)
1845	Eldridge, Sarah R.	Woods Hole (97)
1845	Fish, Elizabeth	N. Falmouth (58)
1845	Hamilton, Nehemiah	S. Harwich (76)
1845	Melcher, Rebecca H.	Sandwich (71)
1846	Clark, Abby	Sandwich (70)
1846	Rogers, Capt. Foster	W. Harwich (93)
1847	**Baker, Gorham**	S. Dennis (74)
1847	Crowell, Elizabeth	Hatchville (43)
1847	Hallet, Edward B.	Yarmouth (99)
1847	**Nickerson, Israel**	S. Dennis (75)
1847	**Small, Sally**	Harwich (42)
1847	Weekes, Priscilla	Harwich (42)
1848	**Hedge, Abram**	Yarmouth (99)
1848	**Sears, Nathan F.**	E. Dennis (29)
(1849)	**Dyer, Elijah**	Provincetown
1849	Eldredge, Betsey J.	S. Harwich (76)
1849	Eldredge, Sally A.	S. Harwich (76)
1849	Fessenden, Lois T.	Sandwich (71)
1849	**Howes, Alexander**	Dennis (26)
1849	Spilsted, Caroline S.	Barnstable (3)
1849	**Weekes, Darius**	S. Harwich (76)
1849	**Whorf, Amos**	Provincetown (66)
1850	Bearse, Sophia H.	Hyannis (45)
1850s	Custis, Hannah	Yarmouth (98)
1850	**Hinckley, Isaac**	Barnstable (3)
1850s	Taylor, Azubah	S. Yarmouth (77)
1851	**Baker, Hannah**	S. Dennis (74)
1851s	Baker, Maria	W. Yarmouth (96)
1851s	Carsley, Susanna	Marstons Mills (50)
1851	**Crocker, Samuel S.**	Cummaquid (25)
1851	Dillingham, Abigail	Sandwich (71)
1851	Dillingham, Betsey	Sandwich (71)
1851s	Hallet, Capt. Nathan	Yarmouth (98)
1851s	Smalley, Sally	Yarmouth (98)
1851s	Taylor, Ruth	Yarmouth (98)
1852	**Baker, Elisha**	S. Yarmouth (77)
1852	Baker, Hannah	S. Yarmouth (78)
1852s	**Hallet, Arthur**	Yarmouth (98)
1852	Hallet, Sally S.	Hyannis (45)
1852s	Kelley, Joseph	W. Harwich (93)
1852s	Matthews, Lydia	S. Yarmouth (77)
1852s	Matthews, Sarah	Yarmouth (98)
1853s	Chapman, Elizabeth	Provincetown (65)
1853s	Custis, Sarah	Yarmouth (98)
1853	Holmes, James D.	Barnstable (2)
1853s	White, Lucy	Yarmouth (98)
(1853)	**Small, Daniel F.**	Provincetown
1854	***Baker, John***	Brewster (9)
1854	Baxter, Nella P.	Hyannis (45)
1854s	Hallet, Dorcas	Yarmouth (98)
1855s	Bray, Sarah	Yarmouth (98)
1855	**Crowell, Gideon**	S. Yarmouth (79)
1855	Crowell, Ruth	S. Yarmouth (79)
1855	Fisher, Theodore	Forestdale (40)
1855s	Taylor, Thankful	Yarmouth (98)
1856	Hallet, Daniel	W. Yarmouth (96)
1856	Hallet, Elizabeth C.	Yarmouth (99)
1856s	White, Dea. Joseph	Yarmouth (98)
1856s	White, Phosa	Yarmouth (98)
1857	**Burgess, Michael**	Harwich (42)
1857	Hallett, Eliza H.	Hyannis (45)
1857s	Homer, Susan	Yarmouth (98)
1857	Sears, Seth	E. Dennis (29)
1858	*Baxter, Samuel W.*	W. Harwich (93)
1858s	Gray, Chandler	Yarmouth (98)
1858s	Hallet, Matthews	Yarmouth (98)
1858	Nickerson, Ruth Hall	S. Dennis (75)
1858s	Phinney, Sarah	Barnstable (2)
1858	Sturgis, William	Lee (48)
(1858)	**Turner, Ebenezer**	Barnstable
1858	Whorf, Susan L.	Provincetown (66)
1859s	Gray, Henry	Yarmouth (98)
1859	*Handy, Benjamin*	Hyannis (44)
1860s	Hallet, Polly	W. Yarmouth (96)
1861	**Baker, Sally**	S. Dennis (75)
(1861)	**Hall, Thankful**	Yarmouth
1861s	Dunbar, John H.	Yarmouth (98)
1862	**Hall, Gideon**	Dennis (27)

1862	**Lewis, Elnathan**	Yarmouth (99)
1862s	Thacher, Susannah	Yarmouth (98)
1863	*Adams, Cpt. Theophilus*	Marstons Mills (50)
1863s	Bursley, Elizabeth Fish	Barnstable (2)
(1863)	**Eldridge, Joshua**	Yarmouth
(1863)	**Freeman, Nancy**	Brewster
1864s	Baker, Patty	Hyannis (45)
1864	**Baker, Washington**	S. Yarmouth (78)
1864s	Custis, Sally	Yarmouth (98)
1865	**Freeman, Jesse**	Provincetown (66)
1865s	Norris, Peter	Hyannis (44)
1865	Sears, Betsey	E. Dennis (29)
1866	**Crocker, Waterman**	Provincetown (65)
1866s	Dunbar, Dorcas	Yarmouth (98)
1866	**Dunbar, Frederick**	Yarmouth (98)
1866	Fisher, Ariette	Yarmouth (99)
(1866)	**Hall, William**	Yarmouth
1867	Hawes, John	Yarmouth (99)
1867s	Nickerson, Susanna	S. Dennis (75)
1867	Sears, Edmund	E. Dennis (29)
1868	**Howes, Nathan**	Dennis (27)
1869s	Hall, John	Yarmouth (98)
1869	Hallet, Caroline B.	W. Yarmouth (96)
1869	Holmes, Abiah C.	Barnstable (2)
1869	Holmes, Ephraim	Barnstable (2)
1869	Holmes, Nathaniel	Barnstable (2)
1869	*Lewis, David*	W. Dennis (92)
1870	Lewis, Jane	W. Dennis (92)
1871s	Lewis, Thomas B.	Barnstable (4)
1872	*Crocker, Temperance*	Barnstable (2)
1872s	Smith, Susan	Barnstable (3)
1872s	Whelden, Clarissa	W. Barnstable (91)
1873	Bursley, Mary C.	Barnstable (2)
1873	Holmes, Nathaniel	Barnstable (2)
1875	Holmes, Carrie	Barnstable (2)
1878	Ryder, Amelia H.	Yarmouth (99)
1878s	Ryder, Reuben	Yarmouth (98)
1879	Fisher, Jabez M.	Yarmouth (99)
1885	Crocker, Jonathan	Cummaquid (25)
1887	Hawes, Betsy	Yarmouth (99)
1887s	Whelden, Eben	W. Barnstable (91)
1888	*Loring, Catherine*	Barnstable (3)
1889	*Bartlett, Rebecca*	Cummaquid (25)
1889	Bearse, Capt. William	Hyannis (44)
1890	Holmes, Sarah Lizzie	Barnstable (2)
1893	Baker, John E.	S. Yarmouth (77)
1897	Maria Eldridge	S. Yarmouth (77)
1900	Holmes, Grace	Barnstable (2)
1903	Crowell, Abby B.	W. Yarmouth (96)
1906	Baker, John A.	S. Yarmouth (77)
1907	Jenkins, Charles C.	W. Barnstable (91)

Fig. 1. Road to Praha, Texas Cemetery.

FROM MORAVIA TO TEXAS: IMMIGRANT ACCULTURATION AT THE CEMETERY

Eva Eckert

Journey to Texas

My research on the acculturation of Czech and Moravian peasant immigrants in Texas started where the immigrant journey ended – at the cemetery. On a sweltering Spring day I drove from San Antonio to a cemetery at Praha, Texas. Homesick for the real Prague back in my homeland, I felt immediately attracted by the placename: how could a place in Texas bear the name of a central European capital? The road to the cemetery curved around and was lined with trees (see Fig. 1). As I came near, I could see from a distance seemingly endless stretches of land dotted with tombstones decorated by reliefs and photographs, dilapidated gravestones as well as elaborate metal crosses crafted by talented artisans and perfectly shaped granite stones covered with Czech writing of various tones. At the cemetery I found the language and culture of a community; yet the prairie surrounding the cemetery included few hints about how this community once lived.

Questions began to emerge. Why did Czechs and Moravians ever come to Texas? Why did they trade neat villages with squares shaped by tradition and ancient gems of churches for the bleakness of the Texas prairie? Did they ever get used to living there, or did their hearts break when they found no gentle meadows or quick streams in sight? When I traveled back to Moravian and Czech villages where the immigrants were born, I found them set in mountains or their foothills within a romantic countryside (see Fig. 2). They attracted tourists by carefully marked trails and guidebooks describing the scenery, local legends and folk tales, regional musical traditions, and medieval history of the towns and villages. The more I saw the more I was startled because the contrasts between geography, architecture, and history of the Czech Republic and Texas were seemingly irreconcilable. What forced the peasants to leave? And why did they end up in Texas of all places? There was Pennsylvania with 18th century Moravian Brethren and German Deutsch settlements, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota with Czech as well as German communities that they could have joined. Was it the expansive prairie of fertile blackland that seemed so attractive to those who spent their lives in crowded dwellings, landless and farming on rented subdivided fields?

Did they take a chance to escape cold, snowy winters? Or were they mystified by the freedom of the American frontier?

Whenever I followed Czech placenames on a map in the search of Czech Texas[1] I ended up at a cemetery. My first encounter with Czech Texas was in Praha. From a distance I recognized the "Czech" church, quaint and un-American but nothing like those at home built of stone upon layers of architectural foundations and history. In the cemetery, I found language and culture that since has disintegrated in the community of the living. As I entered, order and peace surrounded me. Just as in the homeland, the rows of graves were symmetrical and the design maintained.[2]

The first Czechs came to the site of Praha over one and a half centuries before me, led by Matej Novak (1818-96). He disembarked in Galveston in 1854 and found his way into the Anglo settlement of Mulberry Creek in the southeast corner of Fayette County, "Beset by outlaws who could not get along even with rough frontiersmen. They were used to an undisciplined lifestyle and could not understand the hard-working Czechs who were willing to sacrifice much to wrest a living out of the heavily wooded blackland."[3] Novak worked for wages among the

Fig. 2. Czech countryside, the village of Lichnov.

Fig. 3. Cross in Czech homeland cemetery.

American settlers and eventually bought land and built a loghouse. By 1864, twenty-five Moravian families had joined him in the settlement that would become by the turn of the century one of the largest Czech towns in Texas, known as Praha.[4] According to the Fayette County History, in the 1870s Praha already had three stores. By 1882 the businesses included a saloon, post office, café, herb center, and a liquor store. The population increased from two hundred families in 1882 to six hundred in 1894, and by then both a church[5] and a permanent priest were in place. By 1902 there were also a blacksmith shop and a wheelwright shop, a meat market located about a mile out of town, and a resident physician living in the town. By 1904, over 200 children attended the town's Catholic school, and a new school was opened as late as 1936.[6] Several hundred tombstones, cross monuments, and bordered graves at the Praha Cemetery indicated how numerous the Czech population of the Praha settlement once was. Today's cemetery visitor is greeted by the welcome sign to *Matička Praha*, "Dear mother Prague."[7] The cemetery became a treasured site for me that contained hundreds of Czech inscriptions, epitaphs, and emblems.

Fig. 4. Cross in Texas Czech cemetery.

Sanctity of the cemeteries

From Praha I drove to Flatonia, Ammansville, Dubina, High Hill, and Hostyn, and traced the immigrant footsteps in little used country roads and old farms. The names designated cemeteries rather than present communities. The cemeteries appeared as islands enveloped by roads and highways leading away to the city. As I followed them driving through the country I was guided by the cross. Crosses with Jesus overriding the horizon define religious affiliation of most Texas Czech cemeteries, much as in the homeland (see Figs. 3 and 4). Texas Czech immigrants were believers, and churches with adjacent cemeteries were central to Texas Czech communities in the physical as well as in the social and cultural sense.

The communities were settled as either Roman Catholic or Brethren, and composition of the immigrants reflected the Catholic vs. Brethren distribution of homeland population. Over 80% of immigrants from Bohemia and Moravia were Catholics.[8] The graveyards in Praha, Dubina, Ammansville, and other Czech sites abound in homeland-inspired (e.g., Fig. 5) religious motifs displaying symbolic sanctity, and the churches were ornately decorated with Saints' paintings and statues. Prevalent Czech Catholicism emerged out of three centuries of religious discord, beginning in the Hussite Wars.[9] It carried a stamp of Baroque culture emphasizing the external elements of faith and its visual manifestations. Catholic rituals of the religious practice structured everyday life and the whole life cycle of believers. In Texas, as had been the case in the homeland, Czechs communed in services, celebrations of saints' name days and religious processions. Catholic stonecarvers refrained from biblical quotations but often included all sorts of epitaphs, rhymed vernacular poetry, and greetings. Their stones were richly engraved with religious and other symbols such as crowns, clasped hands, flowers, cut down bunches of wheat, fading blossoms, or lambs, and were often decorated with photographs of the dead (see Fig. 6). Children's sections in the pre-WWII cemeteries formed isles of small graves and stones in the middle;[10] the position suggested both social hierarchy (visible also in separate rows for children in some churches) and protection by the circle of "adults." These graves were often indistinctive, but some were decorated with special touches and emblems such as lamb reliefs, faded flowers, dying doves, the child's photograph, or touching epitaphs. Family burial lots did not occur in the cemetery, suggesting that the community was the family to the Czech immigrants.

Fig. 5. Religious statuary in a homeland village.

Fig. 6. Example of Texas Czech tombstone that includes photograph.

Texas Brethren cemeteries at Wesley or Ross Prairie were small, reflecting the minority position of Brethren both at home and in Texas. The early Brethren cemeteries of the 1860s, as well as those at Snook or Novy Tabor established a couple of decades later, carried on their markers the visible stamps of Brethren identity: they typically included a chalice, the symbol of accepting both the bread and blood of Christ, and an opened Bible symbolizing accessibility of the Word to all through the vernacular that was taught and shared equally by all believers (see Fig. 7). Brethren graveyards excluded photographs but, most importantly, included biblical verses, quoted from memory as evidenced by a myriad of misspellings and dialectal pronunciations. One of the recurring verses welcomes believers into the original church at Wesley still today: *Já jsem ta cesta i pravda i život* ("I am the road, the truth and the life"). The Brethren have always shunned ceremony and ostentatious display of one's faith and grandeur, while emphasizing instead private study of the Word, meetings of believers at individual homes, and historical values of their faith endowed by prosecution and respect for learning. Differences in religious affiliation caused occasional friction within the Czech community in Texas which, nevertheless, presented a unified front to the outside.[11] This friction was particularly noticeable in large mixed towns, such as Fayetteville, that included both Czechs and Germans, as well as Catholics and Brethren, all segregated and supposedly distant from the others.

Why Texas?

As I ventured into the Texas Czech graveyards, I met the Gajdas, Nováks, and Šimečeks whom I knew from emigration petitions, passenger lists, and homeland chronicles. Their children and grandchildren were all also buried in the cemetery. Walking from stone to stone I tried to picture the individuals, their families and children. How did the immigrants react to their promised land when they debarked? They must have felt a shock instead of the reconciliation that should have followed the horrors of weeks of journey on a ship. The contrasts of the old and the new land were stark. The land in no way resembled central Europe, where the countryside was chaotic and irregular, broken up by valleys, hills, and crooked rivers, where one had to climb a hill to get a view of the country. A pioneer woman who arrived to Texas Cat Springs in 1851 wrote back home: "The grass and trees are gray instead of green. In the whole of Texas, there is not a single piece of soft lawn resembling that at home. Local grass is like bristles, hard and tall, so it looks like a broom

Fig. 7. Chalice and open bible on Brethren tombstone.

more than grass. And those beautiful meadow flowers, abundant in our country, we saw only a few, and none smelling nicely. We also suffer a shortage of water and annoying insects."[12] Texas lacked not only meadows and flowers but also the structure imposed by churches, town halls, market places and pubs where people would gather every day; the land spread out indefinitely and the sky embracing it was enormous. Standing on the grand prairie the immigrants felt puny and insignificant.[13] They achieved their destination, yet, they were at the beginning, disenchanted by the Texas reality that did not match their "American dream." The move was costly, but when they first set out they had no idea how costly it would be: mothers lost their infants and families their matriarchs or patriarchs to the sea. Exhausted travelers starved and fell victim to yellow fever. Seeing abused slaves must have reminded the immigrants of their own recent reality of forced labor. The relocation was ultimate with little chance of ever returning. What they saw all around

Fig. 8. Hrnčíř family house, *Lichnov*.

was land that had to be broken to receive the seed. Wells had to be dug, shelters built, and roads traced through the country.

As I stared at old tombstone photos, I wondered about the fates of those depicted.[14] I tried to match photos on the gravestones with authors of letters and diaries; I imagined that the old mother in the black scarf was the ailing *stařenka* 'grandmother' concerned that her children attended Mass regularly overseas. Engraved placenames marking pioneers' origin and pioneers' last names associated with particular homeland villages led me to the area of *Lanškroun* in Bohemia, and *Frenštát pod Radhoštěm, Vsetín,* and *Nový Jičín* in Moravia. When I first arrived at a village in the homeland I felt as though I had already known it from its description in an autobiography or a memoir published in a Texas Czech newspaper. I found individuals with names I knew from tombstones. In *Lichnov,* near *Frenštát,* I saw the substantial house of the Hrnčíř family who left for Texas on the eve of Civil War. They were descendants of the village mayor and their house and land reflected their elevated social status. Yet they left it all behind. Today their house is occupied, surrounded by a garden and fields (see Fig. 8). I wondered what the emigrant villages were like at the time when the emigrants said good-bye to their loved ones forever? How did the pioneers and those left behind once live in the homeland?

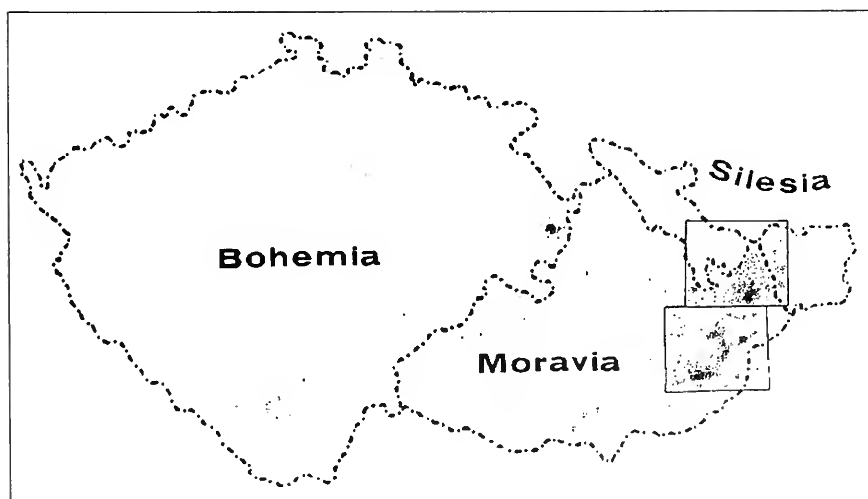


Fig. 9. Distribution map of villages with significant emigration.

Emigration from the Czech Lands

Over 80 % of immigrants to Texas came from a compact territory of Moravian Wallachia and Lachia bordering Slovakia, Poland, and Prussia (see Fig. 9), defined by the language contact of Czech and Moravian dialects with dialects of Polish and Slovak.[15] The combined territory of Moravian Wallachia and Lachia, isolated geographically, historically and linguistically, stretches some sixty miles from north to south and forty miles from east to west. The Beskids, a range of the Carpathians, cover much of this territory.

The villages surrounding the town of *Frenštát* in Wallachia – *Tichá, Vlčovice, Lichnov, Trojanovice,* and others – are like small pearls on a string woven through the lowlands among individual hills. Each village forms a separate unit today as it did in the 1850s. Village houses are often aligned along a creek or a road and face the square, and fields stretch long in the back of the houses. Occasional isolated clearings in the hills indicate that newcomers found insufficient land in the village and were forced to move on. For an overview of the region one has to ascend a hill. But when following the road one feels as if in a puzzle because each turn around a hill reveals a new view of an unsuspected village. A church unambigiously dominates the village. Usually it is a plain stone church with a single steeple decorated in the baroque style on the inside that replaced an original wooden church in the 17th century. The cemetery attached to each church provides the best site to overlook the countryside because it is typically located on a hill (see Fig. 10).[16]

As mountainous regions distant from major urban centers, north Bohemia, Wallachia, and Lachia were traditionally among the poorest and most backward areas of the Czech Lands. The first groups emigrated in the early 1850s from the northeast Bohemian region around the town of *Lanškroun*. This initial trickling of pioneers was followed within a decade by a strong and lasting emigration wave from adjacent northeast Moravia. The two decades preceding the emigration from northeastern Bohemia and Moravia were devastating: one infertile season followed another, and the region suffered from severe storms and floods. Potatoes, which fed the majority of the population, were infected by potato blight, causing periodic famine; fields yielded poor grain crops. As a result, hundreds starved to death or fell victim to cholera and typhus epidemics. There was no food to purchase; not even landowners could afford to hire day laborers. The villages of *Čermná* and *Nepomuky,* near *Lanškroun,* experienced overcrowding and poor crops in the years pre-

ceding 1852, and several dozens of very poor Brethren families in the region decided to emigrate to Texas and Wisconsin in the early 1850s. Historians recorded economic instability and religious persecution as reasons for their departure. The poor around *Frenštát*, the Moravian center of Texas emigration, where peasants depended on domestic weaving for income, ate acorns, tree buds, orach, and nettles. Malnutrition led to the spread of epidemics, with typhus alone killing six hundred in 1846-47.[17] One source notes, "The fields produced nothing, and people ate grass and grounded tree bark, which led to all sorts of diseases. Starvation was imminent in that year [1847]."[18] The district of *Vsetín*, from which the first peasants left for Texas under the leadership of teacher Mašík in 1854, showed all the signs of economic decline. The overpopulated region had no industry and its land was depleted. Parents depended on child labor in the fields. For seven years potato crops were diseased and many cattle died. When the railroad was built through the region, the local population lost income from transportation by horse wagons. Floods, starvation, and the extreme cost of everything recur among reasons for emigration presented in peasants' petitions. Crisis in the weav-

Fig. 10. Moravian village church with an adjacent cemetery.

ing and spinning industries put thousands of men out of work. Yet the governor of *Vsetín* reported in 1855 to the *Nový Jičín* regional office that poverty and starvation were due to laziness of the local peasantry, who were drunkards and sinners, and suggested as remedy an improved attendance of church and school.[19]

The search for answers to questions such as who the immigrants were and why they left for Texas uncovers various leads and diverse factors but also reveals a shared climate conducive to emigration. Stories of the first pioneers indicate idiosyncratic reasons for their Texas journey. They followed personal ideals formed against the backdrop of literary novels about America and independence of the Texas Republic. A Protestant minister sought religious freedom and dreamed of establishing a community of believers living in moral and spiritual harmony. An 1848 revolutionary responded to the calling of the Republic in hope for relief from persecution of the Austrian police apparatus. A merchant couple from *Hradec* seem to have followed in their footsteps, incited by fiction about frontier life and pioneer news in the German press (by now Texas had attracted thousands of immigrants from Germany).

The earliest adventurers who came to Texas from Bohemia wrote letters back home and were followed by large interrelated families and acquaintances, depopulating villages in the emigration regions. The pioneers wrote home how warm and pleasant the Texas climate was, and described a land abundant in game and fertile fields. The news spread among peasants who followed the leaders, mainly after the Civil War (1861-1865) from Moravia where economic prospects for peasants, laborers, and weavers were hopeless. They needed to get out of Austria to escape mounting threats of accumulated debts, eviction, and job loss, and wanted to provide for their children. They went where the land was cheap and the weather good. That they ended up in Texas was due, at least initially, to the game of events. They read about Texas in a German paper or somehow got the news of the free land policy of the Texas Republic. The idea that they could own hundreds of acres must have sounded like a fairy tale to landless laborers or peasants who depended on a couple of acres. Ultimately, they were attracted by those who went ahead, those whom they knew and whose letters of success (what else would one write from a place of no return?) convinced them that the dream of America could come true.

In the 1850s the road to emigration opened up through accessibility to seaports by railroads from land-locked Bohemia and Moravia and the

peasants' release from labor services. The journey to Texas was planned within families and entire villages, and emigrants depended on the advice and guidance, as well as the money, of those who preceded them. They left with many children but little of anything else. Through village and family contacts new emigrants were drawn as laborers to the cities of St. Louis, Chicago and New York, and, in the case of farmers, to a number of locales, including Fayetteville in Texas. The immigrants arrived in Texas at a time when it sought to attract immigrants who would colonize unbroken prairies and take over abandoned plantations, and it lured them to land and prosperity. Civil War defeat and the abolition of slavery had devastated the Texas plantation economy; Texas needed their labor and sought it assertively at a time when Bohemia and Moravia suffered the consequences of the lost Austro-Prussian war and decline of the weaving industry. The immigrants replaced the black slaves on the land they bought from plantation owners and ushered in three decades of economic growth.

Texas Land

A comparison of cemetery land usage tells us something important about the differences between the value of land in Texas and the homeland. The new Texas cemeteries stretched into an opened space of the immense land (see Fig. 11). In contrast, the cemetery space in the

Fig. 11. Spacious Texas Czech cemetery.

homeland's mountainous villages was cluttered and one grave bordered another with hardly any space in between to pass through (see Fig. 12). Its organization reflected an old habit of reusing burial lots because of a lack of space. Every grave contained remains of several family members. Old bones were dug up, wrapped in a clean piece of linen, and reburied along with the new dead in the intervals of eight to ten years needed for the body to decompose. "Every acre of land was needed to grow potatoes, even the dead had to struggle for a piece of land," recalls a pioneer.[20] But in Texas, they read in an 1849 letter from the evangelical pastor Bergmann, land resources were without a limit and land could be purchased cheaply by hundreds of acres; it was fertile, abundant, and waited to be broken. "Various trees grow here such as oaks, maple, nut and so forth," he wrote. "There are forests five miles to the north with cedars and cypresses from which we get lumber. The trees in the forests grow wild, large and tall, from the ground up to the heavens… We have many prairie chickens and deer. Now they are shooting turkeys and deer. Bees can be found everywhere in hollow trees."[21]

Fig. 12. Crowded Czech village cemetery.

In 1848, peasants throughout the Austrian monarchy were freed to move from the estates and relieved from forced labor services and contributions.[22] They achieved immediate personal economic freedom, but the rigid system of landholding continued to tie them as debtors and tenants to former masters. They continued to pay taxes and furnish ten per cent of their income to the church, which was enough to bring them to debt. Vincenc Šiller was twenty two when he married sixteen year old Františka of Čermná, near Lanškroun, in 1850. Now he was to take over the entire farm and care for both the land and aging parents. But the young couple refused to accept the farm because it was indebted and would potentially burden them for their entire lives. Instead they left for Texas, accompanied by relatives and numerous families from the region. By then, they already had two children, including a six week old infant.[23] As evidenced by memoirs, even the poorest traveled, having borrowed money from richer neighbors and repaying it by working for the debtors in America.[24] Texas seemed to promise all that they could never attain at home.

Sixteen families, totalling seventy-four individuals, left in the very first group. All planned to emigrate legally with passports.[25] They were the very poor Protestant laborers of the region; only two had over 1,000 gold pieces needed as the officially required emigration minimum, and they supported their compatriots who had none. Their landing was noted by Houston authorities, who published a report about the *Lanškroun* immigrants in the *Telegraphs and Texas Register*: "Miserably poor immigrants have recently arrived in Houston destitute of the comforts of life and suffering from the effects of diarrhea. Several of them died within the last two weeks ... They were furnished with provisions and medicine at the expense of the city, otherwise more would have died ... They intend to settle in Austin County ... Measures should be taken to prevent captains of the vessels from transporting such wretched persons to our shores." The survivors formed the North Bremen and New Ulm settlements in Austin County, where they were joined by about thirty families from the same village of *Čermná*, near *Lanškroun*, between 1851 and 1854.[26]

Cemeteries of former communities

During the first two decades of Czech immigration to Texas, only less than eight hundred arrived, although almost twice as many left the homeland to go there. Two cases are typical of this experience. Mrs. Marek reached Texas as a widow. She worked for $3 per month doing house-

work and moved among settlements frequently in search of work, until she married a German pioneer, Henry Ginzel, himself a widower with two children, who had already established a farm. Josef Mašík, a politically active leader with twenty-three years of teaching experience in Bohemia and Moravia, arrived at Galveston along with half of the peasants who originally set out on the journey. The other half, including his wife, perished on the ship. He lived in Texas with a German family in exchange for work, as did many other pioneers. Eventually, he rented twenty five acres, and by 1859 had started a Czech school at *Veselí*/Wesley[27] in Washington County.[28]

Today's Wesley is its cemetery: ten or so residents live in small houses in the country, but there is no town to speak of. Yet, already before the Civil War Wesley was "a thriving commercial center." In 1866, a Brethren church and a store were built for some forty-five families living within two miles. The church served as a public school in the beginning. During the 1880s, the congregation grew to the point that the church building was enlarged and the town had several stores, a cotton gin, and a grain mill. I approached Wesley with particular trepidation. I had known it from pastor *Chlumský*'s letter found in the Prague archives. Would I recognize the church from his drawings? The country was enchanting and must have appealed to the immigrants when they selected a prominent hill overlooking a spacious prairie as a site of their church and cemetery. The Wesley church was tiny and quaint, the cemetery small and informal in design, marked by Brethren signs of chalice and with biblical verses quoted in the vernacular with all sorts of misspellings and even wrong verse identifications. Did the immigrants first see the land lush green and covered by bluebonnets, as I did? As I closed my eyes, I heard the preacher's voice and Brethren singing. Mrs. Šulák recalled in her memoir how she used to walk to *Veselí* to join the Brethren in singing when she felt particularly lonely. She was a Catholic, but there was no Catholic church nearby in the early 1860s that she could attend.

Initially the Czech pioneers were scattered among the other earlier settlers, depending on availability of work and land for rent or purchase. Typically, they were without means to buy land in the first years after arrival, and, just as at home, they were left with renting land, this time from Americans and Germans. "It was difficult to find work," recalled a pioneer in his 1943 memoir. "Those who had their slaves needed no laborers. There were almost no agricultural utensils, everything was made of wood, and the crops were very low."[29] They lived in primitive dwellings:

> The house was a single room without windows, a hole was left in a wall to enter, there was no floor. Father made roof from bundles of grass and corn stalks, covered holes in between logs and hung a blanket in the door space. Luckily, mother brought a sufficient amount of covers and clothing from Europe. In the middle of the room we made fire over which we cooked and baked in a large metal pot. We had no matches... Those who brought a little mill with them could grind up corn, boil porridge out of it and bake bread. We had no milk because all cattle was wild. There was plenty of game and father hunted frequently, which helped in the daily survival.[30]

Like Wesley, Dubina was settled by hundreds of families within a few decades starting in 1856. Today, all that is left of the once prosperous community of the living is the community of the dead, still increasing in size as those who once lived in Dubina return home to be buried. "It was at the end of November," I read in the memoir of Judge Haidušek, who arrived with his parents and other villagers from *Tichá*, near *Frenštát*, in 1856. "We loaded up two wagons that brought us to an area under live oak trees on Mr. Holub's land. Heavy rain started. We had no cover except oaks over our heads ... For miles around there were no settlers and we felt miserable and forsaken. Next day the sun came out very bright and we got to work ..."[31] The immigrants stayed on the land under the oaks and named their settlement *Dubina* ('Oak land'). Fayetteville (originally begun in 1833 as a shelter against American Indians and wild ani-

Fig. 13. Abandoned Czech Catholic Union building, Dubina, Texas.

mals) became a shelter for a few Czechs in 1854, evolving within three decades into a prominent Czech-German community where Czechs made up the majority of the population.[32] Hostyn was originally established in 1831 as a Spanish Catholic mission post. It was a German town in the 1830s, but twenty years later the first Czechs joined in and transformed it into a stronghold of Texas Czech Catholics.[33]

When I arrived at Dubina I had a sense of entering the past. The road passed by "Jerry Shimek's Place," a small structure that looked like an old car service station or a country store, the abandoned building of "K.J.T. Dubina" [Czech Catholic Union] (Fig. 13), and eventually brought me in front of a large church. Next to it stood a shabby hut of stone, once supposedly the priest's dwelling, two toilet booths with bilingual signs for both genders, and finally a large cemetery. I passed through the modern section into the old one, shielded by the branches of ancient crooked oaks covered with moss. Parts of the cemetery were overgrown with grass and other vegetation, obviously not visited for years (Fig. 14). As I started taking photographs, fascinated by the diversity of stones and texts, I surprised a couple in their forties standing over an old grave in silence. They knew little about the particular relative buried there but happily exchanged a few formulaic phrases with me in Czech and filled me in on the past. Dubina, I learned, once had several stores, gins, and pubs, and was in every respect a booming community. In 1877, six hundred Czech families lived there and the community had its church, with a parochial as well as a public school. By 1900 the town had expanded to the point where there was even a zoo.[34] A fire destroyed Dubina in 1912: it never recovered and most of its settlers left the area. Today, all that is left is the church and the cemetery.

While taking photographs in Texas cemeteries on Easter and All Souls Day I met other descendants of the pioneers at the graves as well. They shared their memories of aging parents who lost the sense of the American reality as they grew old and returned to the Czech world of their youth. "*Stařenka* 'grandmother' became like a baby and now she is gone," one said. "I wish I could have understood all her stories." They told me that the prairie was once dotted with Czech stores and gins and that the Czechs adapted quickly to the new land. At first, they hunted for meat to survive, established primitive shelters shared by several families, rented a few acres from luckier neighbors, and sent their children to work for others while they turned the prairie into fields. And then, in a predictable order, they built a church, a cemetery, and a school to make the

community complete. When the Czechs first settled in various regions of central Texas they endowed their settlements with names that still today bring up distinctly Czech historical and geographical associations: *Hostyn,* after a hill and village in Moravia known for the miracle of the Virgin Mary's apparition; *Praha,* after the capital of the Czech Lands and the symbol of the Czech nation; *Velehrad,* after the site of the 863 A.D. mission from Byzantium; *Komensky,* after the 17th century philosopher of that name; *Rožnov,* after the town under the hill of *Radhošť* in the Beskid mountains; *Bílá Hora,* after the 1620 battle of that name; *Nový Tábor,* after the bastion of radical Hussites in south Bohemia. When they joined earlier German immigrants in Fayetteville, Frelsburg, Shiner, and Ellinger, they typically outnumbered or matched the original population within a few decades. But that was a long time ago, the descendants stressed. Once prospereous, Czech rural settlements today represent no more than a dot on the map linked to a cemetery.

Many pioneers died in the march from Galveston inland, and the sites of their burials are long forgotten. A pioneer recalled, "It happened so that Mareš died on the way and so they dug up a hole, laid him in it,

Fig. 14. Overgrown section of Dubina Cemetery, shielded by tall oaks.

covered him with ground and went on."[35] But laying out a cemetery was one of the earliest priorities of the newly organized congregations; it entailed claiming a possession in the land and creating a new homeland.

Fig. 15. Tombstone displaying kinship relations or origin.

Burying one's parents there was not only part of the traditional ancestor veneration but also of the intention to stay and to belong.[36] By having a piece of land where one's ancestors were buried one could enter into local history. The land that contained bones of their departed contained also roots of the community. Veneration of land and nature characteristic of the Czech vernacular culture was reflected also in immigrants' attachment to the land as a valued ownership. They lived off the land; once purchased, it stayed in the family (additional acreage was often acquired cheaply in undeveloped blackland regions as long as a tendency to found a Czech settlement became apparent).

The tombstones (e.g., Fig. 15) that Czech immigrants raised on the land memorialized their relatives through data about their origin, recorded often with obsessive precision ("Born in Čermná near Lanškroun in Bohemia, Austria, Europe"). The data were embellished by details clarifying the community linkage, family kinship ("Marie Horák, wife of Josef Novák, born as Zamykalová, first wife of Jan Šimeček"), time of arrival and number of years spent in America ("Born on 29 March, 1867, arrived to America in April 1887 and died in Dubina July 15, 1910"). The texts traced family interrelationships and community networks, and were selected and carved with the awareness that community members would read them in the future; thus, they became critical in creating community memory. The cemetery became the place to reaffirm one's identity and a museum where the second and third generations could reconnect with their ancestry. Abundant language on the stones contains memories meant to outlive the deceased individuals and become permanent records. The cemeteries were the sites of ceremonial visitation on several holidays during the year, in particular on All Souls Day in November, when entire families would arrive to remember the deceased, show children where the departed lay, and narrate stories about their deeds.

The earliest marked graves with inscriptions appeared when the first communities were established in the 1860s. The Wesley Moravian Brethren congregation, the oldest Brethren congregation in the state, was organized in 1864 and its first church built in 1866; the earliest death date carved on a tombstone is 1870. The Ross Prairie Brethren congregation was founded in 1870, its church and cemetery established that same year, which coincides with the earliest death date engraved upon a stone. The first Fayetteville Catholic church was dedicated in 1872, the same year that the first person was buried in its cemetery.[37] St. Mary's in Praha is one of the oldest Catholic parishes in the state. The pattern of tombstone

inscriptions in the cemetery reflects the arrival and eventual dominance of Czechs in the parish. The earliest preserved stones remember the lives of Anglo-Texans at Mulberry [earlier name for the settlement] and bear English inscriptions. The first Czech inscription is dated 1869, but the first Czech burial at the cemetery actually took place in 1866 when forty-nine year old Marie Gallia died.[38] By the 1880s, the majority of the inscriptions were in Czech, something which was true still in the 1940s.[39]

Messages from the dead

In reading the graveyard messages one senses the gains and losses that the immigrants experienced. They often had to leave behind their parents and were severed from the support of family and village, as well as the ties of language and traditions. Separation was particularly difficult for lonely and aging parents who knew that never again would they see their children. A Moravian mother wrote to her children in Texas:

> I inform you that we received the two pictures and I was so glad that you thought of me because I longed to see you. So now my wish came true. I'm so pleased that you have such big and healthy children, they will be of good help to you; you could never keep them in such an order here. We welcomed you back having your pictures. I cried from joy when I was looking at you and you at me ... P.S. The postcard that we sent you some time ago came back and so we're sending it to you again now.[40]

Communication with home was slow and unreliable. Most emigrants died without ever seeing their loved ones again. The cemetery assumed the role of a public chronicle and was maintained by successive generations that can be traced through the tombstones. Tombstone inscriptions functioned as both public and private texts at the same time: they were displayed, shared, and accessible to all; but they were also personal expressions of individual grief. The texts communicated in three different ways: the bereaved announced a relative's departure to the community ('Here rests in the Lord O.M. born ... and died ... Let's wish her eternal rest in her ashes' [1888]); they addressed the deceased in a final goodbye ('Rest always sweetly and in peace. Your father and mother always remember you' [1927]); and the deceased admonished grieving relatives and the community, reminding them of everyone's mortality ('The Highest Lord called me up so that I intercede for you' [undated but pre-1900]).[41] Authorship of tombstone texts and designs was communal. The bereaved chose the text and imagery, perhaps in consultation with the dying family member, pastor, and friends. The engraver took deliberate steps in

making final modifications in the text and arrangement. With each death, the pioneers mourned not only the departure of a dear soul but also a link to the home that was irrevocably lost. They promised in the stone never to forget the departed, expressed a hope that the foreign soil was going to give them easy rest, and found consolation in a heavenly reunion with them. The inscriptions ended in sad good-byes of the bereaved – "My darling, be well up there" – resembling vernacular greetings used in the community and adding a refreshing tone to the language of death.

Distinctive elements of the Texas Czech graveyard incorporate diversified language and material culture, and, despite the polished artistry of some, most early tombstones carry the imprints of vernacular production. Initially, inscriptions were cast into soft gravestones[42] and the text laid out in all sorts of arrangements and types of lettering, as designed by the bereaved. Each stone was idiosyncratic in its design of text and decoration. Some included crude lettering, casually drawn lines, words running over lines, and text lacking any order and form. Occasional aesthetic mismatching of the orderly gravestone and disorderly language is striking.

Messages on early gravestones tend to be memorable and idiosyncratic. In 1912, a husband wrote on the stone for his deceased wife: "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." Others engraved what was weighing on their heart. Many gravestones reveal despair and poverty. A metal plate on one contains the names and birth and death dates of four children who died within a short time span in one family. It looks more like a catalogue entry than a tombstone text. The writing is crowded and leaves no room for an additional name. Crooked lines separate the text into four columns. The impact is grim. More standardized stones of marble and granite often prevent such an emotional effect: they do not reveal material status or pain, and carry the message of death through static prescribed formulae.

Acculturation

Gravestones point to the pioneers' historical identity and ethnicity, and suggest how the immigrants negotiated their identity in emigration: they mark the extent of contacts with the American world, as well as the speed of immigrant adaptation and abandonment of community. Being

Czech, I could glean the acculturation pattern from the tombstones and began in my mind to attach footnotes to the stones about religious faith, vernacular concerns, geographical origin, generation, and degree of contact with English. To most visitors these tombstones were inaccessible and begged explanation. But one thing was apparent beyond any doubt even to those who could not read Czech: the language was inscribed everywhere, and the cemetery was the product of a community of literate believers who held onto their identity for an unusually long time period.

Czech cemeteries in central Texas followed the life cycle of the communities that established them. Inscriptions display stages of community acculturation through patterns of language usage, the initial functional separation of English and Czech as well as the eventual shift into English. Czech was imprinted everywhere and did not seem to recede or mix with English until after World War II. Even the fourth generation continued to dot their English texts with Czech identity symbols. What was the community like that it imparted such a lasting ethnic attachment? In the modern houses spread at some distance from the cemetery, and considerable distances from one another, there was nobody to ask. If the locals knew of Texas Czechs who once lived in the area, they referred to them as to a culture gone a long time ago. I could not help but wonder about the speed of change that obliterated traces of the past. For how long will the cemeteries last as the cultural vestiges?

The actual community maintenance was affected by various factors, both prior to the actual emigration and in the emigration itself. Its seeds were the emigrants' literacy, and their high level of ethnic, cultural, and language awareness. The factors defining the Texas Czech community were several: the homogeneity of the Czech immigrant group; the heavy flow of immigrants into central Texas after the Civil War; the self-sufficiency and relative isolation of the immigrant farming communities; the ethnically defined social networks within the communities; and the presence of leaders who contributed to the organized and planned emigration, and shaped the immigrants' new Texan identity. During the period prior to World War I the communities were being continually settled and immigration to them was increasing every year. Original settlements were rejuvenated through the homeland contacts, and new immigrants dispersed into settlements established in the neighborhood. The pre-WWI period constituted the peak years of the community, when cultivation of homeland ties and affirmation of Czech roots happened naturally as an

ongoing process. The communities needed to exert no special effort to maintain themselves. They also did not seek to integrate into the Anglo-American culture, and mutual relations of Americans and Czechs were rather distant. The situation changed drastically after WWI, when contacts with the immigrant homeland decreased: immigration into Texas declined after the declaration of Czechoslovakia's independence in 1918, and immigration quotas were imposed by the U.S. Congress in 1924. These events in effect severed the community from the homeland. After WWII, the community became affected by a myriad of changes on several fronts. The farming countryside changed forever when small farms vanished due to a massive restructuring of agricultural production. Further, the war dispersed the population: after the conflict, some returned to the cities rather than to their hometowns while others did not return at all. The changes in America were compounded by post-WWII developments in Czechoslovakia. Institution of the communist regime in 1948 sealed off the American settlements for forty years to come. Descendants of pioneers who wanted to visit their Czech relatives and see the villages from which their parents emigrated never received a Czech visa, and letters they wrote home got "lost." Conversely, maintenance of contacts with Texas relatives was politically dangerous for those in Czechoslovakia.

The cemeteries reflect these historical changes. The stones provide a measure of continuity in the community, and also show through the content and culture of messages how the immigrants of the second and third generations changed their identity. The most striking change in interwar inscriptions was a shift away from an idiosyncratic text to its arrangement into two columns with parallel data on deceased parents, i.e. kinship, names, dates and epitaph, representing adoption of an American cultural pattern that initially did not affect the language per se. When used in the pre-WWII inscriptions, the American layout was filled with Czech content, but in the post-war period this shifted to English. Already in the interwar years, tombstones began to display anglicizing features, mixing in English through borrowings and grammar patterns, and code-switching between Czech and English dates and epitaphs on the stone (see Fig. 16). This usage indicated that both languages were now present in the community through increasing contacts with the Anglo world. Czech was the language of the immigrants' homeland used for self-identification, and English the language through which the immigrants began to negotiate their American identity from "Czechs in Texas," to "Texas Czechs," and finally to "Americans." Tombstone inscriptions

(and also minutes of KJT meetings, readers' letters to the press, and personal notes) illustrate the colorful language that the immigrants brought

Fig. 16. Mixed language tombstone text.

with them originally from home, its gradual convergence to English in selected patterns, and a subsequent full shift to English.

After WWII, the Czech language in Texas became a hybrid marked by English borrowings and grammatical patterns. Its outside source dried up: no new immigrants were arriving who would refresh its vocabulary and remind users of the homeland sounds. Only a few listened to the old voices of priests, teachers, and press editors. The language became compressed into a monotonous style with a rusty tone. It lived through self-perpetuating rituals of song, prayer, and cemetery phraseology of those who once spoke Czech daily in the community. However, though the language has been dying with its original speakers, ethnicity has lingered on for decades.[43] Tombstones of the post-WWII period seem to echo language rituals lingering on in those who used to hear their elders speak Czech. One usually remembers greetings, sayings, a few distinctive vocabulary items when everything else escapes the memory. After WWII, initial variation of names, greetings, and epitaphs of diverse spellings and dialects were streamlined and reduced to a few patterns repeated throughout Czech Texas. Most gravestones indicate joint mother/father burials. Rare are the graves of individuals, young people, or children nowadays because after WWII the young departed for the city. The cemetery had ceased to be an integral part of a community.

In the years following World War II many rural communities vanished. By 1982 Moravian Hranice, in Lee County, was a dispersed rural community marked by two cemeteries and a few scattered buildings. Even earlier – by 1950 – most land in the area of the Moravian community of Vsetin in Lavaca County, settled in the 1880s, had reverted to pasture due to a decline in cotton production. Today the former community continues to be marked by a church and it's two cemeteries.[44] The story of post-WWII decline and abandonment repeats in community after community. Gravemarkers that have appeared in cemeteries since then were placed by descendants living removed from the original community. Their choice of an inscription for their parents' tombstone was determined by the parents' desire, the descendant's perception of their identity, and their capacity to write in Czech. Although the link to the community was broken, the respect for parents remained, as evident in the choice of the Czech language marking parents' identity. But the Czech used was formulaic and revealed nothing about the actual capacity to speak the language (see Fig. 17).

Stones upon the prairie

Searching through these old cemeteries I relished every tombstone, gently moving plants and rubbing off dirt to read the text. The modern ones irritated me. They disclosed little basic data, and this in large clearly legible letters; all was in the open and monotonous (Fig. 18). Even in the graveyard, the Czechs did what the time demanded; they accommodated the majority and ceased to be different. Modern communal cemeteries obliterated distinctive elements of ethnic traditions reflected in the older graveyards:[45] in modern sections of the Czech cemeteries photos, personal greetings of the bereaved, various personal identification of the deceased, biblical verses, vernacular terminology, dialectisms, mistakes and misspellings ... all that vanished. Cultural homogenization into an American prototype took away the choices of individuals.[46] It replaced lavender and rosebushes with commercially produced plastic flowers. Informal messages on stones of various sizes, shapes, and materials yielded to formal language and content on the newer, more expensive granite stones.

Fig. 17. The 1949 Řiha tombstone was placed by children of the deceased parents. All the data are formulaic and abbreviated to a minimum. But the authors' intention was to write in Czech.

Today, Texas Czech cemeteries are no longer surrounded by immigrant settlements; ongoing, vibrant relationship between the community and cemetery, commonplace in the homeland, is gone forever. Texas Czech cemeteries became stones on the prairie and memorials to the past; those in the Czech Republic, on the other hand, are part of the present life of villages and towns. Ties of the community to the cemetery containing the bones of those who belonged to the community have never been severed there, and descendants continue to arrive several times a year and add creative touches even to mass produced tombstones. Uniformity of gravestones has not reached the degree that it attained in America. In the homeland, the cemetery remains a place where people visit and where flowers bloom according to the season (see Fig. 19). In Texas, the cemetery is a site of memorials where only old couples get buried nowadays, those who outlived the Texas Czech community that dissipated half a century ago.[47]

Churches and cemeteries were the first visual elements to define Texas Czech settlements when established; today, they are their remains. Church steeples continue to guide travelers to the sites that were once vibrant

Fig. 18. Modern Texas Czech gravestones displaying general uniformity.

with Czech ethnic culture. Texas Czechs lived and died, but their gravemarkers stand to tell their story and to document their identity. As one walks today among gravestones with inscriptions from the 1970s and later containing staccato English messages that repeat from stone to stone, Czech identity of the dead stands out in signs of names, marks above letters, and isolated words, documenting that the Czech language did not "fade away neatly."[48] Despite a sharp decline in Czech tombstone writing in the last three decades, when Czech inscriptions have become an exception rather than a rule, the inscriptions reflect descendants' loyalty to their Czech roots. Inscribing tombstones turned into an act of Czech identity, and the inscription became a metaphor of the physical interment.

As I kept returning to Texas, traveling throughout the Czech settlement areas and collecting tombstone inscriptions, the distant Texas past of these immigrants became near and familiar. Old-timers' stories enlivened Texas Czech history that began to seem as recent as yesterday. Continuity emerged when I talked to grandsons who spoke with love of their

Fig. 19. A typical contemporary homeland cemetery.

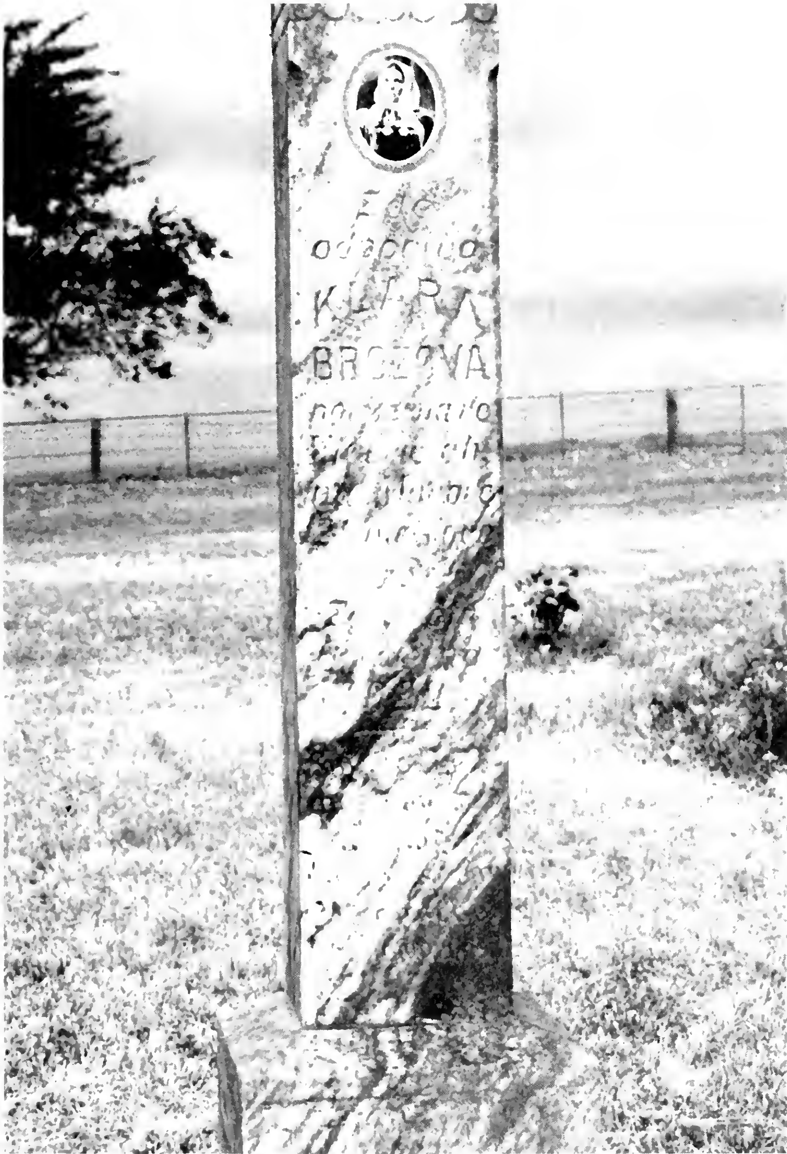


Fig. 20. An immigrant stone upon the prairie.

grandfathers' adventures and related their stories of childhood in Texas Czech communities. Two eighty-year old sisters living in Fayetteville in the house where they were born asserted that their town has changed little since they were growing up. They remembered who built which house and to whom it successively belonged. The sisters and others who defended the old ways of living associated with the Texas Czech community were themselves also as those stones upon the prairie (Fig. 20) preserving the collective memory. As I listened to them I pictured their ancestors as they sang, danced, picked cotton, and prayed. Their stories rendered the Texas Czechs, whom I had already known from my tombstones, alive, and a fading past became part of the present.

NOTES

All photos are by the author, with the exception of Fig. 2. The map in Fig. 9 is from Robert Janak, *Geographic Origins of Czech Texans* (Halletsville, TX, 1985).

1. Descendants of Czechs and Moravians who immigrated to Texas are known today as Texas Czechs. Many are, however, aware, of their distinct ethnographic origins, as defined by geographical, historical, and ethic boundaries. The label Texas Czechs is used in scholarly literature today to encompass both groups.

2. For a comparison with German Texas cemeteries, see Terry Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1982), p. 97.

3. This sort of description is characteristic of various stories that appeared in the calendar *Amerikán*, published in Chicago and distributed from the 1870s throughout the 1950s in the U.S. It seems to have entered the narratives of many pioneers. For instance, see a story called "*Křováci*" in *Amerikán* 9 (1886): 102-109.

4. Cf. Rev. V.A. Svrcek, *A History of the Czech-Moravian Catholic Communities of Texas* (Waco, TX, 1974) and *History of St. Mary's Parish at Praha, Texas*, 1995, The Schulenburg Sticker, Schulenburg, Texas [collection of memoirs of Moravian settlers of Praha, as narrated by their descendants and compiled by church parishioners].

5. The pioneers attented a church at Hallettsville before the Praha church was built.

6. *Fayette County, Texas Heritage* (Fayetteville, TX: Curtis Media, Inc., 1996), 78.

7. Praha remains attractive still today thanks to its annual feast day reunions on the day of Virgin Mary Apparition in August that continues to be celebrated by Czech gatherings and masses.

8. L.W. Dongres, an American journalist who lived among Texas Czechs, estimated that as many as 80 percent of all Czechs and Moravians in Texas were Roman Catholics. See also A.J. Morkovsky, "The Church and the Czechs in Texas," in *The Czechs in Texas*, ed. Clinton

Machann (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1978): 88-95. Tombstone counts of homeland placenames confirm this majority.

9. The burning at the stake of Hus and Hieronymus of Prague in 1415-16 for their adherence to the Bible and request for Church reform ignited a powerful social response that resonated throughout the centuries, but which also devastated both the countryside and church architecture.

10. See Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy,* p. 97 on children sections at German cemeteries.

11. As evaluated by American historian F. Lotto: *Fayette County. Her History and Her People* (La Grange, TX: Sticker Stem Press, 1902).

12. Kateřina Herrmann's letter from 1851, in Náprstek Museum Archives, Prague, Czech Republic.

13. On the settlers' trauma when faced with a radically different countryside than the one to which they were accustomed and which has been culturally shaped for many centuries, see David Murphy, "Podstatné rysy českoamerické krajiny" [Basic features of Czech-American countryside], *Český lid* 85: 1 (1998): 35-47.

14. For comments on the use of photographs in German cemeteries as well, see Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy,* 116.

15. Robert Janak, 1991, "Czech Texas and Texas Czechs," *Stirpes* 31, (1991): 106-119. In two other works – *Geographic Origin of Czech Texans* (Halletsville, TX, 1985) and *Old Bohemian Tombstones* (Hallettsville, TX, 1987) – Janak has also demonstrated through data compiled from tombstone inscriptions that some 80% of the Czech immigration to Texas originated in northeastern Moravia. This figure is corroborated by official statistics of emigration petitions and population counts as well as genealogists and archivists researching the history of individual families.

16. For an interpretation of the cemetery location, see Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy,* 33.

17. Drahomír Strnadel, *Emigration to Texas from the Mistek District* (Victoria, TX: Czech Heritage Society, 1996), 17.

18. From the Lichnov chronicle, quoted in Josef Šimíček, ed., *700 let Lichnova 1293-1993* [700 years of Lichnov] (Lichnov, Czech Republic: District office of Lichnov, 1993).

19. The report is analyzed in *Vystěhovalectví z okresu Vsetín 1853-80* [Emigration from the Vsetín district in 1853-80], 1987, in the Museum of Lichnov, Czech Republic, unpublished.

20. From memoirs published in the immigrant newspaper *Svoboda,* 1950 (El Campo). After WWII, many memoirs were published in the immigrant press in an attempt to rekindle the past for the sake of the old settlers and that of the youth who had begun to depart from the community.

21. Quoted in Strnadel, *Emigration to Texas from the Místek District* (unpaginated).

22. See Derek Sayer, *On the Coasts of Bohemia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 66. Labor services were regulated and significantly lightened by Joseph II's Robota Patent of 1775, whereby peasants were emancipated from serfdom but still bonded to nobles' estates. In remote regions, however, labor was often enforced throughout the 1850s.

23. *Svoboda*, 11 February 1943.

24. See, for instance, "Tiny Town Tells of Czech Heritage," *Houston Chronicle* (27 October, 1980), 3; see also *History of St. Mary's Parish at Praha, Texas* and other primary sources from the areas of Czech settlement in Texas.

25. A total of 115 persons originally applied for passports and received them after many weeks of anticipation, but over thirty decided not to leave after all. See František Šilar, "The First Nepomuky and Čermna Emigrants in Texas," *Hospodář* (January, 1967).

26. See František Kutnar, "Dopisy českých vystěhovalců z padesátých let 19. století ze zámoří do vlasti" [Letters of Czech emigrants from the 1850s from overseas], in *Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie* [Beginnings of Czech and Slovak emigration], ed. Josef Polišenský (Bratislava, Czech Republic: Slovenská académia vied, 1970), 211-306.

27. The name of *Veselí* was anglicized as Wesley in 1866 when it established its own post office. The English name was perhaps a play on words recalling the English church reformer as well as a way to accommodate English spelling. The original building still stands next to a new church built in 1962.

28. Mašik's life story was initially recorded by his daughter in 1887 for *Amerikán*, in remembrance of his death in 1881.

29. *Svoboda*, 11 February 1943.

30. *Ibid*.

31. Quoted in Svrcek, *A History of the Czech-Moravian Catholic Communities of Texas*, p. 45.

32. The settlement served as a stage coach station on the Old San Felipe Trail that connected San Felipe and Bastrop, and it attracted heavy German immigration in the 1830s. Originally settled by these Germans, the first Czechs began living there in 1854. In 1890, Fayetteville had over 200 families, two hotels, a general store operated by Czechs, and a doctor who lived in town. 220 Catholic Moravian families were counted in 1904. It was a center of commerce for cotton growers, cattlemen, and egg farmers, with the towns of Industry, Ellinger, Columbus, Ammannsville, Ross Prairie, and Nelsonville within easy traveling distance.

33. Jan Habenicht, *Dějiny Čechův amerických* (St. Louis, MO: Hlas, 1904). Hostyn's Catholic school was founded in 1868, a theater and reading clubs a few years later, and a first Czech Mutual Society in 1877. A permanent local pastor arrived in 1884 from Moravia. In 1939, 115 families lived in Hostyn and the parish had 512 believers.

34. See *The Czech Texans* (San Antonio, TX: Institute of Texan Cultures, 1972), 8.

35. From a description of a journey from the port of Galveston in 1853, *Svoboda*, 11 February 1943.

36. Czechs never adopted the custom, then so prevalent in America among the other groups, of burying the dead on the edges of their farmland in unsanctified ground. Cf. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy*, for a description of German folk cemeteries in New Braunfels and isolated family cemeteries in the Hill Country corroborating adoption of the American custom.

37. Janak, *Old Bohemian Tombstones*, 3.

38. Svrcek, *A History of the Czech-Moravian Catholic Communities of Texas*, 148.

39. Janak, *Old Bohemian Tombstones*, 3.

40. A private letter dated 1884 and sent from Valašské Klobúky in Moravia to Texas.

41. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy*, 117-118.

42. Limestone and sandstone were used in domestic production, and from the 1900s also cement. See Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy, passim.*

43. "A language may be lost but such loss does not mean inevitably that the group that used it has lost its identity, although such loss of identity often does follow": Ronald Wardhaugh, *Sociolinguistics*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1998), 20.

44. See Sean N. Gallup, *Journeys into Czech-Moravian Texas* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), 127-128 for a chart of existing Czech communities, marked at least by a physical vestige such as a church or cemetery. Only communities with Czechs names are, however, included in the chart.

45. See Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy*, 49-50, on the arrival of commercial markers in Texas cemeteries.

46. *Ibid.*, 7.

47. *Ibid.*, 100. Originally every burial constituted a separate entity. Although family burial lots never materialized, 90% of post-WWII stones comprise gravestones that include both parents.

48. As Jean Aitchison comments, "Language death is messy": *Language Change: Progress or Decay?*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 208.

Pen and watercolor drawing of Key West Cemetery, ca. 1947.

KEY WEST CEMETERY

Kenneth Pobo

Sun on stone,
humid names drip.
Flowers. Memory
needs a bouquet,
a place to rest.

We walk slowly past
these bodies,
take our time.

The sea is kinder,
covers bones
with coral and sand.
Our salt veins
flow back under fins,
turtle shells,
pulsing anemones,

but among graves,
grief has an address:
a mother, a father,
a lover,
less than photographs,
a few stories told
which can't be proven,
like faith or love.

We listen for a voice
that cannot speak,
grow more aware
of breath. The cemetery,
a community.
Stars petal the ground
with light.

Fig. 1. Mary Creighton gravestone,
Old Hebron Cemetery, Hebron, New York.

THE RULE FAMILY: VERMONT GRAVESTONE CARVERS AND MARBLE DEALERS

Ann M. Cathcart

In 1802, Henry Rule, Sr., his wife, Christian Stuart Rule, and their children, Agnes, 11, John, 8, Henry, 5, and Robert, 2, left Scotland for America. They settled in Bennington County, Vermont, where a son, James, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, were born (see Appendix I).[1] The father, Henry, had been a teacher in Scotland. In Vermont, in the village of Sunderland, he became a farmer.[2] In an application dated 14 August 1812, Henry Rule, Sr. applied for U.S. citizenship. He said, "I am a common laborer ... I have resided in the United States of America about tenn [sic] years ... and have never maid [sic] an application to any other Courts of the United States to become a citizen ..."[3]

Young Henry and his brother James would eventually become stonecutters and marble dealers, taking advantage of the locally quarried marble found in their Bennington County neighborhood, specifically in the villages of Sunderland and Arlington, Vermont. It is not known where or how Henry and James learned to carve gravemarkers. The 18th century gravestone carver, Samuel Dwight, lived in Arlington[4] and Sunderland,[5] and perhaps they had contact with him and his work as they were growing up. Samuel Dwight, on occasion, signed his work as "S. Dwight, Sc.": it is interesting to note that Henry and James Rule also used this same designation (i.e., "Sc.") on gravestones which they signed. While Samuel Dwight may have taught the Rules techniques for carving marble, they did not copy or develop his folk art style for gravemarkers. As we shall see, the Rules carved the neo-classical willow-and-urn designs which became a widely used style in the early nineteenth century.

Agnes Rule, older sister of Henry and James, married Ethan Stone c. 1813, and moved to Arlington, where Ethan also became a stonecutter and marble dealer. The *Vermont Gazette* in 1831 published a list of stonecutters in the Bennington County, Vermont, area: included on this list were the names James Rule, M. McKee, and E. Stone.[6]

Henry Rule was married 20 September 1834 to Mary Canfield of Arlington.[7] Mary was a descendant of early settlers of Arlington, and her uncle, Nathan Canfield, Jr., owned a marble cutting mill in Arlington where Henry worked. Most of the marble came from quarries near the

Battenkill River, at the point where it flows through Arlington.[8] Ethan Stone purchased a quarry in this area from Moses McKee in 1833.[9]

As early as 28 September 1825, James Rule had journeyed to Brockport, New York, where he was attempting to establish a business for gravestones. He wrote to his brother Henry from Brockport, saying, "As for our sales they are not rapped [sic], but sell to a great proffet [sic] at two dollars per foot besides lettering. We have sold $90.74 worth and have engagements for as many more."[10]

The McKees of Arlington were also a family of carvers and marble dealers. Aaron McKee and his brother Moses[11] owned a quarry in Arlington.[12] A nephew of Aaron and Moses, Samuel McKee, taught school in Arlington for two years. The younger McKees, Samuel and his brother James, and Henry and James Rule were friends who spent a good bit of time together. Samuel McKee moved to Herkimer County, New York, where he settled in Winfield. In a diary entry dated 29 March 1826, Samuel wrote that he "... talked with Henry Rule about a hand to work for me. H. thought his brother would come. He agreed to see him and write me word; talked with him about stone he is to furnish me with some from Canfield's quarry if I wish." In April 1827, Samuel wrote in his diary, "... wrote a letter to M[oses] M[cKee] to have James Rule come on & M.M. to send about 80 ft. of slabs &c." James Rule made the trip to Winfield, where he worked on McKee's farm and helped in the marble business: "... Rule this week cut 116 letters finished curtains cut a willow urn & oval ..." Apparently the arrangement suited both parties, for on 19 March 1828, Samuel wrote, "... rec'd a letter ... from Jas. Rule ... informing me he would work for me the ensuing season ...", and on 24 Mar 1828, "... wrote a letter to James Rule directing him to come on the first of May."[13] Samuel McKee took farm products from Winfield to Albany, New York, then continued to Arlington and loaded his wagon with marble, which he took back to Herkimer County to sell.[14]

From Winfield, Herkimer County, New York, James wrote in 1828 to Henry in Arlington: "Saw a gentleman on my way here who was in want of two pare [sic] of grave stones 6 ft by 1 ft 8 carved with willows and urn ovals and grape vines. ... Offered me forty Dollars cash in the Fall for them ... wish you to consult with Ethan [Stone] on it and let me know the least it can be don [sic] for."[15] Later that same year, James, from Springfield, New York, wrote to "Henry Rule or Ethan Stone, Arlington. Dear Brother — I will send you the inscription for the two set of gravestones. One set are to be worth thirty dollars finished and delivered at the Springs,

and the other set to be worth twenty dollars finished in good stile [sic], the Cash is ready on the Delivery. ... Please forward a ... stone imediately [sic] pay the transportation and forward a bill of the whole and the money shall be ready when you come to finish the gravestone ... both sets are to be worth fifty dollars including carving them ..."[16]

As mentioned earlier, both Henry and James Rule carved gravestones, and many signed examples of their work can be found today (see Appendix II). For example, a gravestone signed by James Rule may be seen in Old Hebron Cemetery, Chamberlain Mills Road (north side), Hebron, New York (Figs. 1 and 2). This stone marks the grave of Mary Creighton, who died 17 September 1820. It is not as elaborate as the Thomas Law marker carved by Henry Rule (to be discussed shortly), but it follows the same general pattern which features an urn with flame and a willow tree. The stone for Thomas Creighton, husband of Mary, is virtually identical to the the Mary Creighton stone, but is not signed. Both Salem and Hebron are located just west of the boundary between Vermont and New York, and are very close to Arlington, Vermont. A stone signed "H. Rule, Sc." for a man named Thomas Law, who died 4 March 1830, is located in

Fig. 2. James Rule signature on Mary Creighton gravestone, Old Hebron Cemetery, Hebron, New York.

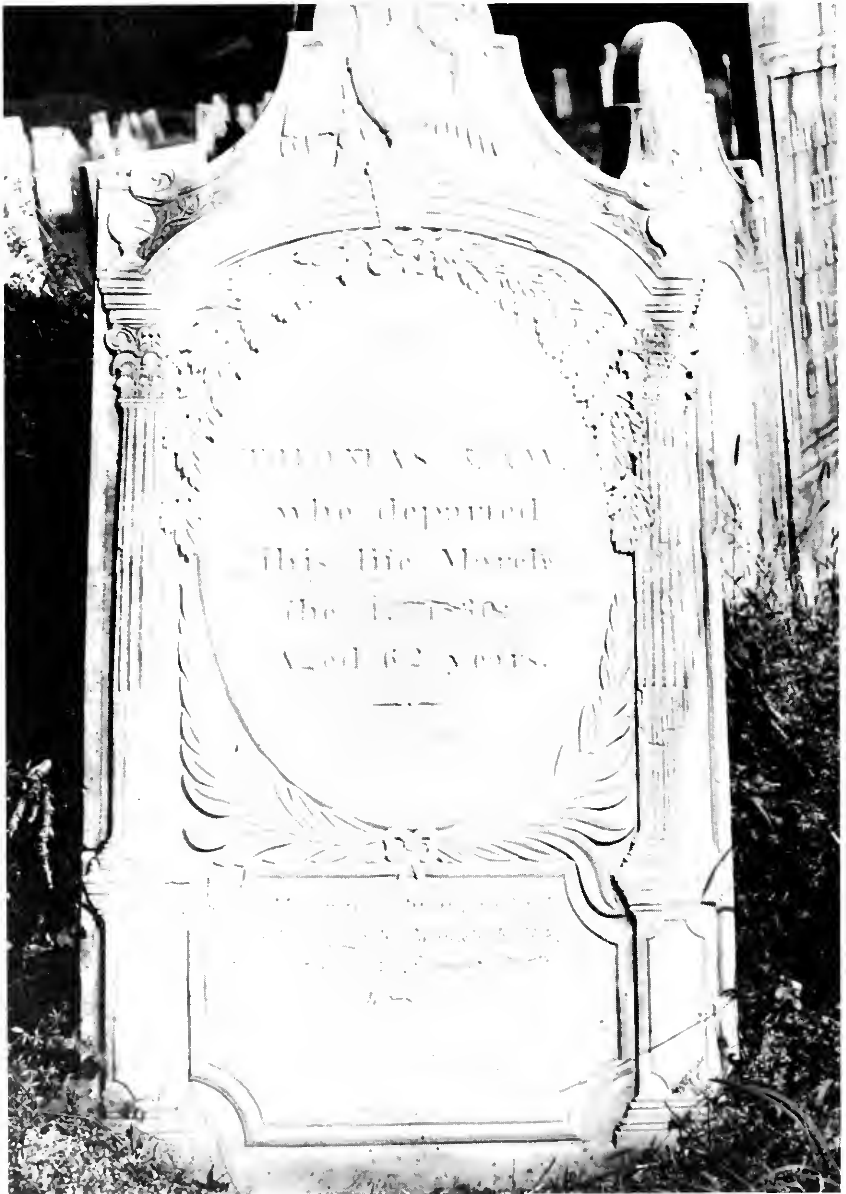


Fig. 3. Thomas Law gravestone,
Revolutionary Cemetery, Salem, New York.

the Revolutionary Cemetery, Salem, Washington County, New York (Figs. 2 and 3). The marker is leaning against another gravestone, but otherwise appears to be in good condition. Its design includes a willow tree with visible roots and an urn with a flame coming from the top. The top portion of the stone is curved with a small rosette on each side, and the borders are rather ornate columns. The name and death date are carved upon a raised oval, which is surrounded with leaves. There is a bow at the top of the oval, and another at the bottom.

In Cayuga County, New York, in the towns of King Ferry, Genoa, and Venice Center, there are a number of other stones carved and signed by Henry Rule. The recurring motifs are a willow and urn, sometimes surrounded with leaves or vines. The willows almost always shows roots, and the letters are carved both neatly and consistently and are evenly spaced. In the West Genoa Cemetery, King Ferry, New York, there are three gravemarkers located close together, each signed by Henry Rule (see Fig. 5). The largest is an obelisk marking the graves of Roswell and Pamela Franklin (died February and March, 1843, respectively), and it is signed "H. Rule, Vt." (Fig. 6). A plain tablet marker for Lewis Toan, Esq.

Fig. 4. Henry Rule signature on Thomas Law gravestone, Revolutionary Cemetery, Salem, New York.

Fig. 5. Three gravemarkers, each signed by Henry Rule.
West Genoa Cemetery, King Ferry, New York.

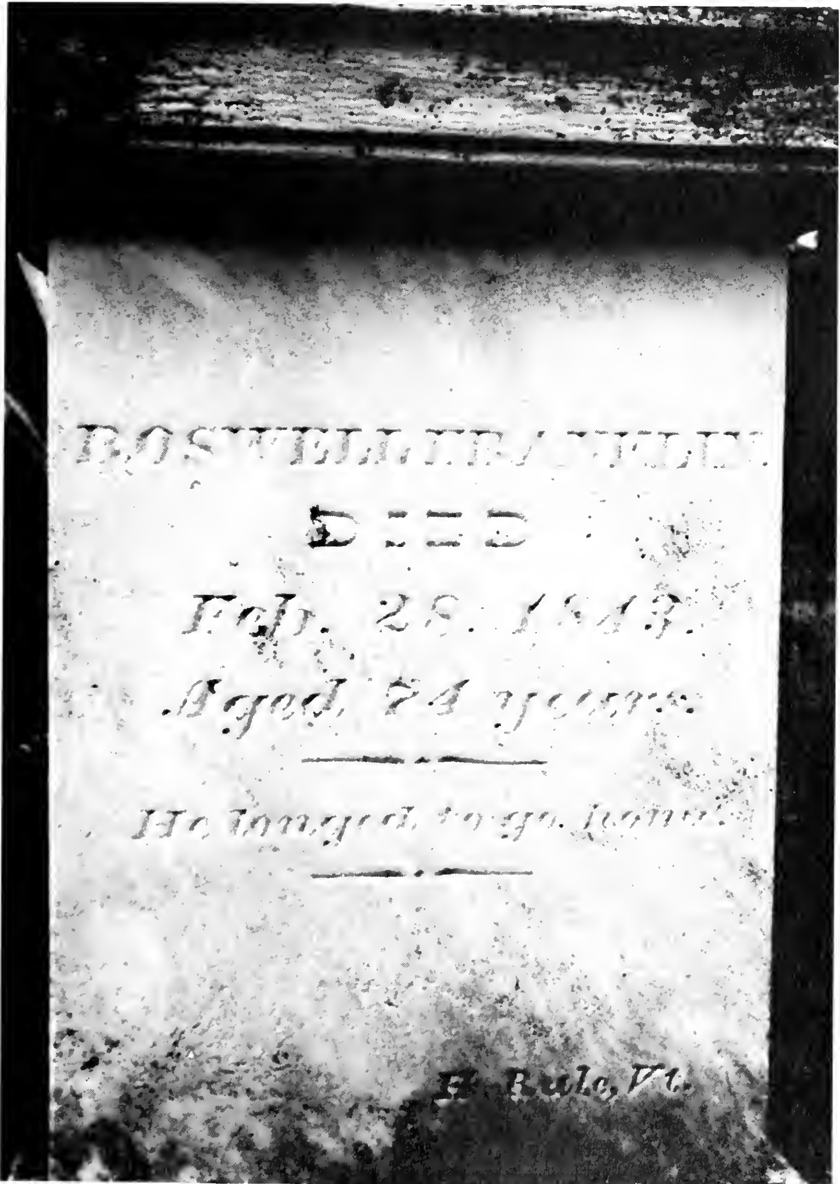


Fig. 6. Detail of Roswell and Pamela Franklin obelisk, West Genoa Cemetery, King Ferry, New York.

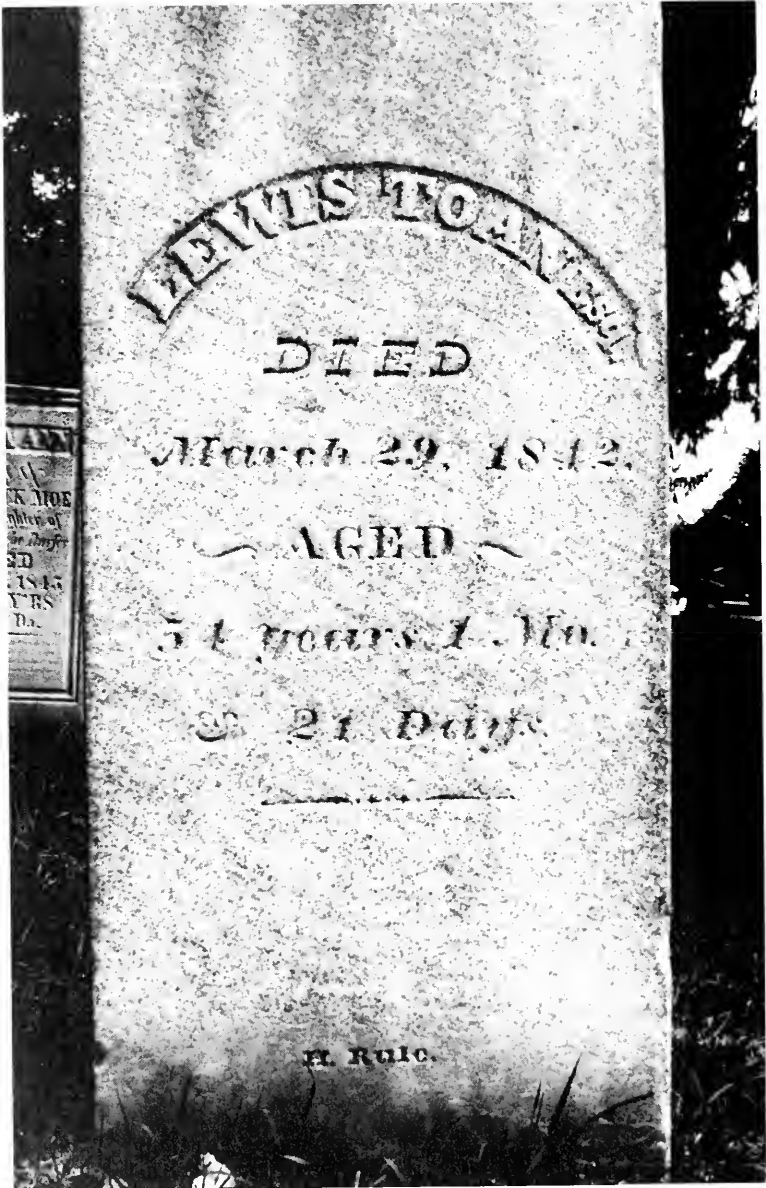


Fig. 7. Lewis Toan gravestone, West Genoa Cemetery, King Ferry, New York.

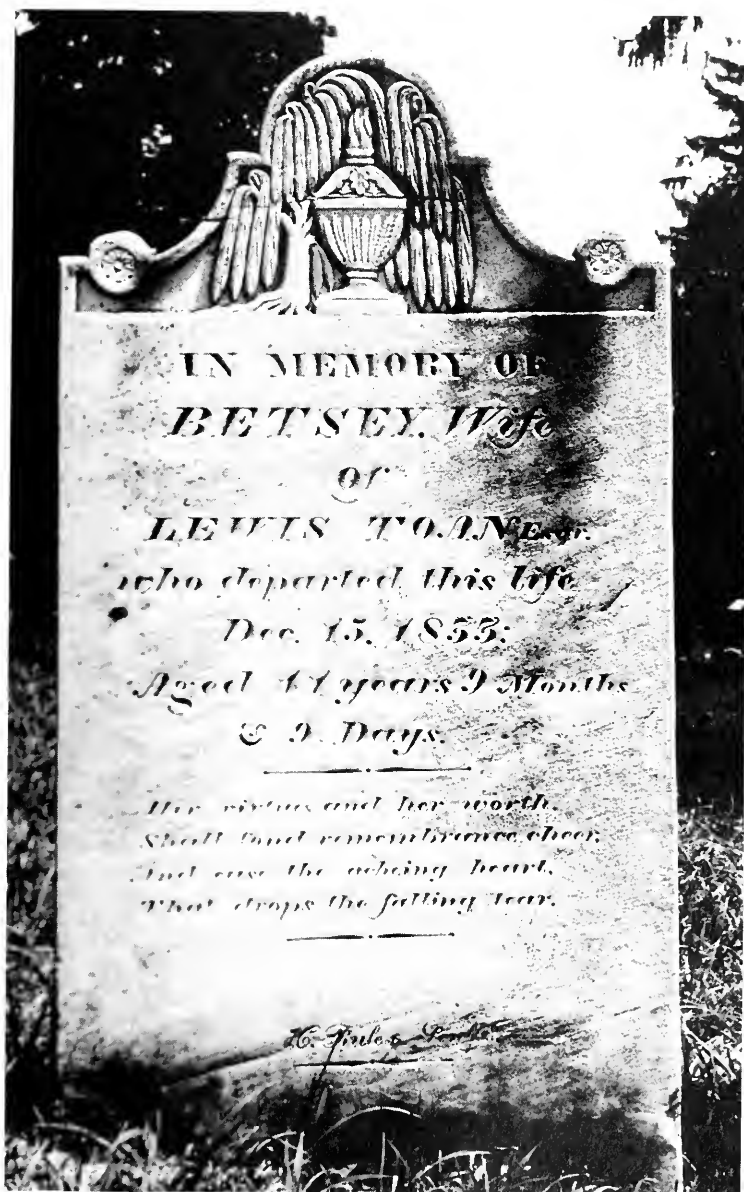


Fig. 8. Betsey Toan gravestone, West Genoa Cemetery, King Ferry, New York.

(died 1842) is signed "H.Rule" (Fig. 7), while the third stone in this group, that for Betsey, wife of Lewis Toan (died 1833), is signed "H. Rule, Sculpt." (Fig. 8). Betsey's marker is considerably more elaborate than that for her husband, featuring a curved top, a willow with visible roots, an urn with flame, and rosettes at the edge of the tympanum. The differences in these three markers illustrates the variety of Henry Rule's work.

On 22 November 1829, Ethan Stone wrote in a letter to Henry Rule, in Geneva, New York that he had a "... pretty hard summer's work. I have sold more than two hundred dollars worth of stone ... besides my other work." In the same letter, he noted, "... James wrote to me to have a stone sent to him ... It is not probable that it can be sent this fall so that he can get it up the [presumably Erie] canal."[21] An example of Ethan's work is the gravestone for Rebekah Deming, died 1816, in St. James' Episcopal Church Cemetery, Arlington, Vermont, bearing the signature "Wrought by Ethan Stone" (Fig. 9). This marker displays a willow tree, an urn, rosettes, and leaves and flowers encircling a center oval showing the name and death date.

Ethan and Agnes Stone had two sons. Their older son, Henry Rule Stone, who was born 25 May 1814, became in adulthood a marble dealer working with his father. He lived in Greenwich, New York, and died there in 1890. The younger son, John Jerome, migrated to Ohio, to Minnesota, and as far as Oregon. He became both a marble dealer and a medical doctor, prompting one of his cousins to remark many years later that " ... He was in the marble business and afterwards went to medical college ... came through all right as I used to tell him, to start up the marble trade he had to kill the people off with his practice. He used to get quite out of patience with my joking ..."[18] He ultimately settled in Argyle, Minnesota, where he died in 1894.[19]

We are fortunate in that Henry Rule kept a useful notebook of his business dealings.[20] The notebook contains a few sketches, some inscriptions for stones, amounts he charged for his carving and other services, and various other items reflecting his business activities. The inscription for the previously discussed Betsey Toan marker (Fig. 8) is in this notebook, perhaps written out by Mr. Toan. Also contained within is a tracing of an inscription for the gravestone of Helen Canfield, located in St. James' Cemetery, Arlington. This stone is not signed, although the tracing indicates that it was carved by Henry. There are identical markers in the cemetery for two brothers and a sister of Helen Canfield, each a small obelisk displaying a branch with leaves, a flower, and the child's name

Fig. 9. Rebekah Deming gravestone, St. James' Church Cemetery, Arlington, Vermont.

(raised) on the front. The child's date of death and the parents' names, F.H. and L.P. Canfield, are carved on the back of each stone, very small and close to the base. Another entry in Henry Rule's notebook contains this charge to a customer: "...detail working on a monument ($20.), trimming a grindstone ($0.50), splitting rails 3 days ($2.25) and planting corn ($0.62½)." In this case, the sum of his charges was offset by his "Acct at store."[21]

In February of 1832, Henry Rule purchased forty-nine acres of land in Sunderland.[22] He farmed the land, and lived on it until he deeded it to his brother James in 1834.[23] In March of 1837, Henry bought one acre of land in Arlington,[24] and in July of 1838 he increased the size of the property by purchasing forty-nine additional acres.[25] He sold this farm on 24 April 1847[26] and moved to a house on Water Street in Arlington. He maintained a marble shop on the property,[27] and purchased a house there in 1850.[28]

John, the older brother of Henry and James Rule, served briefly as a soldier in the War of 1812.[29] After his military service, he left Vermont for western New York state, where he worked as a blacksmith and as a bounty hunter, called a "tracker."[30] He married Deborah Robinson on 18 September 1817 in Potter, Gates County, New York.[31] After several years living in various small towns in western New York, John and Deborah settled in Norwalk, Ohio in 1832.[32] He worked as a blacksmith and as a farmer, and he also sold marble which his brother Henry sent to him. A notice in the *Norwalk Experiment* dated 22 April, 1845 states that "JOHN H. RULE, Has just received from the East a good assortment of White and Clouded MARBLE TOMB STONES, TOMB TABLES AND MONUMENTS, which he offers for sale very cheap."[33]

Henry Rule, Sr. and Christian Stuart Rule, the parents of Henry and James, remained in Sunderland. Christian died in 1831, Henry, Sr. in 1838. They are buried in the Ira Allen Cemetery in Sunderland, and one could conclude their gravestones (Figs. 10 and 11) were probably carved by their sons, although these markers are not signed. The designs are very similar to others that Henry and James carved and did sign.

There is little known of James Rule's final years. He continued to travel from Vermont to the West, and he continued as well to farm in Sunderland, Vermont. In the 1840 U. S. Census, he is listed as occupied in agriculture in Sunderland.[34] He married Elvira Knapp of Arlington, and they had two daughters, Georgina, born in 1839, and Selina, born in 1847.[35] In 1841, Gilbert Bradley, "overseer of the poor in Sunderland,"

Fig. 10. Christian Stuart Rule gravestone, Ira Allen Cemetery, Sunderland, Vermont.

Fig. 11. Henry Rule, Sr. gravestone, Ira Allen Cemetery, Sunderland, Vermont.

made application to the Probate Court in Manchester, Vermont that a "guardian be appointed for James Rule, because he is so much a spendthrift ..." The Probate Court officer declined to make such an appointment, saying "...the person herein complained of does not come within the limit of description ..."[36] In the 1860 U. S. Census, Elvira Rule is enumerated with her father, Silas Knapp, in Arlington. Her occupation is given as "grass widow." [37] In a poignant letter written in 1890 by Jane Rule Power, daughter of John and Deborah Rule, she describes a visit from her uncle James many years earlier. He arrived in Norwalk, Ohio destitute, ragged, and hungry. He stayed a short while, was unable to find any work, and departed again. The Ohio family never saw him again, and " ... it almost killed Father."[38]

Agnes and Ethan Stone spent their lives in Arlington. Agnes died on 28 September 1847;[39] Ethan on 7 February 1857.[40] Both are buried in the St. James' Episcopal Church Cemetery, Arlington.

Mary Canfield Rule and Henry Rule had two children – a daughter, Marion, and a son, Henry Stuart Rule. Marion married George B. Holden, and they spent their lives in Arlington. Henry Stuart Rule lived in Arlington until the early 1900s, when he and his family moved to Rutland, Vermont. Mary Canfield Rule died on 16 February 1880.[41] In the 1880 U.S. Federal Census, enumerated 19 June 1880, Henry is shown as living with his son, Henry Stuart Rule, and his daughter-in-law, Maria E. Blakely. His occupation is given as marble cutter.[42] Henry Rule died on 21 September 1889 at the age of 92.[43] An obituary in *The Bennington Banner*, 26 September 1889, describes him as "... one of the pioneers of the marble industry in Vermont, commencing in active life when quarries which furnished stone which would split like slate were considered the most valuable." Mary and Henry Rule are buried in the St. James' Episcopal Church Cemetery in Arlington with a single gravestone marking the site. The stone is large and appears to have been carved using far more modern methods than those which Henry Rule himself had employed.

Henry Rule, his brothers John and James, and their brother-in-law Ethan Stone were not well-to-do, and they never achieved widespread renown or great financial success. Unlike many eighteenth century gravestones, noted for whimsical and imaginative carvings, those done by the Rules early in the nineteenth century are very structured. Their primary designs are the urn-and-willow, usually with a flame in the urn; they feature leaves, curtains, or columns as borders; and the finials are either a rosette or a pinwheel. Upon occasion other touches are added, as in

the previously discussed Thomas Law marker (Fig. 3), with its two bows around the inscription panel. Numerous other stones located but not specifically identified feature a bow of similar style. Henry Rule also carved and signed plain rectangular stones which included only the name, date of death, and age of the deceased. In all instances, his lettering is neat, well-spaced, and legible.

Henry Rule apparently considered himself first and foremost a stone cutter or marble cutter, as he reported that to be his occupation in the 1850, 1860, and 1870 census enumerations.[44] James Rule[45] and Ethan Stone[46] each are shown with the occupation of farmer in the 1850 census, the last in which they were enumerated. They, as probably most of their contemporaries in nineteenth century Vermont, supported themselves and their families as best they could, using the materials available to them and their own ingenuity. This meant farming in the summer season, quarrying marble, carving gravemarkers during the cold winters, and traveling as far as necessary to sell, deliver, and install them. The small town of Arlington, Vermont, essentially a farming community, had ample supplies of marble, and the members of the Rule family used that resource to create gravestones and their livelihood.

NOTES

Gratitude and appreciation are due to Margaret R. Jenks for providing the original impetus for this article, and for her helpful advice during the research and writing periods; to Mary Dexter, for her time and advice regarding Cayuga County, New York, cemeteries; and to the Association for Gravestone Studies Carver DataBase for assistance in locating gravemarkers carved by the Rules. All photos are by the author, with the exception of Figures 3 and 4, which are by Margaret R. Jenks.

1. *Record of the Rule Family*, notebook, prepared by Henry Stuart Rule; inside cover notes "Property of Selina Arnold Rule, from H. Stuart Rule, 1885." In possession of the author; additional hand-written copy at Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Henry Rule, Report to the Marshal, District of Bennington, Vermont; Rule Family Papers, Bennington Museum Archives, Bennington, Vermont.

4. Samuel Dwight household, 1800 U.S. census, Arlington, Bennington County, Vermont, page 179, line 7, National Archives micropublication M32, roll 51.

5. Samuel Dwight household, 1810 U.S. census, Sunderland, Bennington County, Vermont, page 124A, line 6, National Archives micropublication M252, roll 64; 1820 U.S. census, Sunderland, Bennington County, Vermont, page 131A, line 28, National Archives micropublication M33, roll 126; 1830 U.S. census, Sunderland, Bennington County, Vermont, page 115, line 26, National Archives micropublication M19, roll 184.

6. *Vermont Gazette*, 11 January 1831, Microfilm #17, 1831-1832, Bennington Museum Library.

7. George A. Russell, *Vital statistics of Arlington, Vermont, including soldiers rolls and gravestone records* (Arlington, VT: typescript, 1936), vol I, page 187.

8. 1856 Map of Arlington, Vermont, in *Old Arlington Houses and Roads*, notes made by George A. Russell, M.D. George Russell Vermontiana Collection, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.

9. Arlington Town Records, Vol. 9, pages 110-111, 6 July 1833, and page 400, 5 Jan 1837. Town Clerk's Office, Arlington, Vermont.

10. James Rule, Brockport, New York, to Henry Rule, 28 September 1825. Rule Family Papers, Bennington Museum Archives.

11. Aaron McKee household, 1820 U.S. census, Arlington, Bennington County, Vermont, page 127, line 1; Moses McKee household, 1820 U.S. census, Arlington, Bennington County, Vermont, page 126, line 8.

12. *Old Arlington Houses and Roads.*

13. Diary of Samuel McKee, 1804-1893, (typescript; George Russell Vermontiana Collection).

14. *Biographical Review, Biographical Sketches of the Leading Citizens of Otsego County, New York,* (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Co., 1893) page 615.

15. James Rule, Winfield, New York, to Henry Rule, 4 May 1828. Rule Family Papers.

16. James Rule, Springfield, New York, to Henry Rule, 11 August 1828. Rule Family Papers.

17. Ethan Stone, Arlington, Vermont, to Henry Rule, 22 November 1829. Rule Family Papers.

18. Jane Rule Powers, Akron, Ohio, to Henry Stuart Rule, 7 Jan 1890. Rule Family Letters, in possession of the author.

19. Letter from B. F. Bivins, Argyle, Minnesota, 14 January 1895, to Jane Rule Powers. Rule Family Letters.

20. Henry Rule Notebook, Rule Family Papers, Bennington Museum.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Original Deed, Edmund A. Graves to Henry Rule, Jr., 15 February 1832, recorded in Book 8, page 263 of Sunderland Town Records.

23. Edward H. Holden (grandson of Henry Rule), notes regarding Henry Rule, transcribed from Sunderland Town Records, Book 8, page 438.

24. Arlington Town Records, Vol. 9, page 420.

25. *Ibid.*, Vol 10, page 26.

26. *Ibid.*, Vol 10, page 523.

27. 1856 Map of Arlington, Vermont.

28. Henry Stuart Rule to Martha Canfield, 21 January 1909; George Russell Vermontiana Collection.

29. Roster of Soldiers in the War of 1812-1814 (State of Vermont, Prepared and published under the direction of Herbert T. Johnson, The Adjutant General,1933), 367.

30. Henry R. Timman, *Just Like Old Times, Book II* (Norwalk, OH, 1977), 100.

31. *Firelands Pioneer* (Norwalk, OH: Firelands Historical Society, 1884), 108.

32. *Ibid.*, 107-108.

33. *Norwalk Experiment* (22 April 1845), 4.

34. James Rule household, 1840 U.S. census, Sunderland, Bennington County, Vermont, page 201, line 15; National Archives micropublication M704, roll no. 539.

35. Henry Stuart Rule, *Record of the Rule Family.*

36. Application to have guardian appointed, Volume 15, page 472, Probate Court Record, State of Vermont, District of Manchester, 25 October 1841. Northshire Courthouse, Manchester, Vermont.

37. Silas Knapp household, 1860 U.S. census, Bennington County, Vermont, Arlington, Arlington post office, page 632, line 25, dwelling 1266, family 1289; National Archives micropublication M653, roll 288.

38. Jane Rule Power, Akron, Ohio, to Henry Stuart Rule, 7 January 1890, Rule Family Papers.

39. Agnes Stone gravemarker, St. James' Episcopal Church Cemetery, Arlington, Vermont (Route 7A); photographed by the author, August 1996.

40. Ethan Stone gravemarker, *Ibid.*

41. Arlington Town Records, volume 2, 103.

42. Henry Stuart Rule household, 1880 U.S. census, Bennington County, Vermont, population schedule, town of Arlington, enumeration district [ED] 23, sheet 300, dwelling 244, family 258; National Archives micropublication T9, roll 1341.

43. Arlington Town Records, volume 3, 45.

44. Henry Rule household, 1850 U.S. Census, Bennington County, Vermont, population schedule, Arlington, page 52, dwelling 727, family 801, NARA micropublication M432, roll 921; 1860 U.S. Census, Bennington County, Vermont, population schedule, Arlington, page 156, dwelling 1242, family 1273, NARA micropublication M653, roll 1316; 1870 U.S. Census, Bennington County, Vermont, population schedule, Arlington, page 328, dwelling 201, family 197, NARA micropublication M593, roll 1615.

45. James Rule household,1850 U.S. Census, Bennington County, Vermont, population schedule, Sunderland, page 28, dwelling 378, family 409; NARA micropublication M432, roll 921.

46. Ethan Stone household, 1850 U.S. Census, Bennington County, Vermont, population schedule, Arlington, page 52, dwelling 719, family 793; NARA micropublication M432, roll 921.

APPENDIX I

Family Group Sheet, Henry Rule Sr.

Subject*	Henry RULE		
	Birth:	cir 29 Dec 1765	Scotland[1]
	Death*	10 Jun 1838	Sunderland, Bennington, VT[2]
Father*	John RULE (1728-)		
Mother*	Janet WAIT (1735-)		
	Marriage*	15 Mar 1790	Perth, Perthshire, Scotland[3,4]
Spouse*	Christian STUART		
	Birth*	__ ___ 1770	Scotland
	Death*	15 Feb 1831	Sunderland, Bennington, VT[5]
Father*	John STEWART		
Mother*			
Seven Children			
1/F	Agnes RULE		
	Birth*	19 Feb 1791	Scotland[6]
	Baptism:	06 Mar 1791	Cranshaws, Berwick, Scotland[7]
	Marriage*	cir __ ___ 1813	Ethan STONE (1789-1857), son of Luther STONE[8]
	Son:	25 May 1814	Henry Rule STONE
	Son:	__ ___ 1827	John Jerome STONE; Arlington, Bennington, VT
	Death*	28 Sep 1847	Arlington, Bennington, VT
2/M	John H RULE		
	Birth*	19 Apr 1794	Scotland[9]
	Baptism:	27 Apr 1794	Cranshaws, Berwick, Scotland[10]
	Marriage*	18 Sep 1817	Deborah ROBINSON (1797-1882), daughter of Phillip ROBINSON and Christiana PERRY; Potter, NY[11,12]
	Daughter:	03 Aug 1818	Mary C RULE[13]
	Daughter:	24 Jun 1820	Nancy E RULE[14]
	Daughter:	07 Aug 1822	Phila M RULE[15]
	Daughter:	11 May 1826	Sarah D RULE[16,17]
	Son:	26 Jun 1828	James H RULE; Springport, Cayuga, NY[18,19]
	Daughter:	01 Aug 1832	Jane L RULE; Ohio[20,21]
	Death*	17 Jul 1867	Norwalk, OH[22]
	Burial*	aft 17 Jul 1867	Norwalk, OH
	Daughter:	__ ___ ____	Alma L RULE
	Daughter:	__ ___ ____	Ellen D RULE

3/M	Henry RULE Jr		
	Birth*	24 Jun 1797	Scotland[23]
	Marriage*	30 Sep 1834	Mary CANFIELD (1804-1880), daughter of Albert CANFIELD and Salvina BINGHAM; Arlington, Bennington, VT[24]
	Daughter:	20 Apr 1836	Marion Steele RULE; Arlington, Bennington, VT[25, 26]
	Son:	28 May 1839	Henry Stuart RULE
	Death*	21 Sep 1889	Arlington, Bennington, VT[27]
	Burial*	23 Oct 1889	Arlington, Bennington, VT[28]
4/M	Robert RULE		
	Birth*	09 Jun 1800	Garvald, East Lothian, Scotland[29, 30]
	Baptism:	29 Jun 1800	Garvald, East Lothian, Scotland[31]
	Marriage*	__ ___ 1831	Sally FERRIS (1787-1867), daughter of Peter FERRIS and Betsey BREWER[32]
	Son:	10 Nov 1833	Henry RULE
	Death*	28 Oct 1873	Peru, NY
5/M	James RULE		
	Birth*	16 Nov 1802	Sunderland, Bennington, VT[33]
	Marriage*	cir __ ___ 1838	Elvira KNAPP (1808-1894), daughter of Silas KNAPP and Urana HAWLEY[34]
	Daughter:	06 Oct 1839	Georgianna RULE[35]
	Daughter:	25 Jun 1847	Selina Arnold RULE[36, 17]
6/F	Elizabeth RULE		
	Birth*	26 Apr 1806	Sunderland, Bennington, VT[39]
	Death*	11 Apr 1883	
7/F	Mary RULE		
	Birth*	11 Dec 1810	Sunderland, Bennington, VT[39]
	Marriage*	09 Oct 1845	Benjamin SHIPLEY (-1849); Norwalk, Huron, OH[40, 41, 42]
	Marriage*	16 Mar 1854	Lemuel RAYMOND[43]
	Death*	12 May 1856	Shelby, Richland, OH[44]

Notes for Appendix I

1. Genealogy of the Rule Family, 1885, Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont.
2. Gravestone Photographs, 1995-1997, Ira Allen Cemetery, Sunderland, Vermont, Cathcart Genealogy Files.
3. International Genealogical Index, 1980, Batch M119481, Source Call #1040160; Church Records, Marriages 1756-1804, Perth, Perthshire, Scotland.
4. Extract of entries in an Old Parochial Register, Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages (Scotland) Act 1965, s. 47, Church Records, Marriages 1756-1804, Parish of Perth, Scotland: microfilm no. 1040160, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
5. Gravestone Photographs, Ira Allen Cemetery, Sunderland, Vermont.
6. Genealogy of the Rule Family.
7. Old Parish Records, Parish of Cranshaws, County of Berwick, 6 Mar 1791.
8. Genealogy of the Rule Family.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Old Parish Records, Parish of Cranshaws, County of Berwick.
11. Genealogy of the Rule Family.
12. Biographies and Memoirs, "The Firelands Pioneer," 1884, 107.
13. Genealogy of the Rule Family.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Rule Family, Letters, Photographs, and other Memorabilia; Letter from James Rule, Winfield, NY, to Henry Rule Jr, 25 September 1828, Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont.
18. Genealogy of the Rule Family.
19. Biographies and Memoirs, "Firelands Pioneer," 1884, p 110.
20. 1850 United States Federal Census, M432, Mf M432, roll 697, p 73, dwelling 213, family 207.
21. Genealogy of the Rule Family, p 16.
22. Biographies and Memoirs, "Firelands Pioneer," June 1868, p 100.

23. Genealogy of the Rule Family.

24. George A Russell MD, in *Vital Statistics of Arlington VT, Including Soldiers' Rolls and Gravestone Records,* I & II (Arlington, Vermont: personal, 1937), V. 1, 187.

25. Genealogy of the Rule Family.

26. Holden Genealogy, 1972-1985, Cathcart Genealogy Files, Houston, Texas, p 3.

27. Records of the Town of Arlington, Vermont, 1762-1997, Births, Deaths 1883-1896, p 45.

28. List of Burials, St. James' Parish Churchyard, 1969.

29. International Genealogical Index, Batch C117072; Source 1067798; Scottish OPR.

30. Old Parish Records, Parish of Garvald, County of East Lothian, 29 June 1800: microfilm 1067798, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Genealogy of the Rule Family.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

34. Genealogy of the Rule Family.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

37. 1850 United States Federal Census, Mf M432, roll 921, p 28, dwelling 378, family 409.

38. Genealogy of the Rule Family, p 15.

39. Anne Lockwood Dallas Budd, *Richland County Ohio Abstracts of Wills, 1813-1873,* I (Mansfield, OH: Ohio Genealogical Society, 44906, 1974), 119.

40. Genealogy of the Rule Family.

41. Budd, *Richland County Ohio Abstracts,* 119.

42. Letter from Henry R. Timman regarding Rule Family, 1998, per *Reflector,* Huron County, Ohio, newspaper.

43. Budd, *Richland County Ohio Abstracts,* 119.

44. *Ibid.*

APPENDIX II

Signed or Otherwise Identified Gravestones Carved by Rule Family Members

Cemetery	Town	State	Decedent	Date of Death	General	Signature	Border	Finials	Notes
Revolutionary Cemetery	Salem	NY	Thomas Law	04 March 1830	Curved top	H Rule Jr Sc	Columns	Rosettes	Bow
St. James' Church	Arlington	VT	Rebekah Deming	27 Aug 1816	Curved top	Wrought by Ethan Stone	Vines	Rosettes	Willow, urn
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Lewis Toan Esq	29 March 1842	Rectangular	H. Rule			
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Betsey Toan	15 Dec 1833	Curved top	H. Rule, Jr. . Sculpt		Rosette	Inscription in Rule Notebook
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Roswell Franklin	28 Feb 1843	Obelisk	H. Rule, Vt.			One stone for Roswell & Pamela Franklin
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Pamela Franklin	4 Mar 1843					
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Asenath Tillotson	20 Feb 1835	Curved top	H. Rule, Jr.	Leaves, flowers	Pinwheels	Wife of Matthew Tillotson
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Matthew N. Tillotson	11 Jun 1830	Curved top				Identical to Asenath Tillotson
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Elbert Tillotson	3 Feb 1837	Rectangular	H. Rule, Jr.			
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Deacon Benjamin Close	11 Oct 1836	Rectangular	H. Rule, Sc.			
West Genoa	King Ferry	NY	Sarah Close	18 Aug 1836	Rectangular	H. Rule, Sc.			
Venice Center	Venice Center	NY	Titus Fish	27 Aug 1827	Rectangular	H. Rule, En.			Stone lying on ground

Old Hebron	Hebron	NY	Mary Creighton	17 Sep 1820	Rectangular	J. Rule, Sculptor	Vine	Rosettes	
Old Hebron	Hebron	NY	Robert Creighton	9 Feb 1820	Rectangular				Identical to Mary Creighton
Genoa Rural Cemetery	Genoa	NY	Col. Daniel Thorp	15 Mar 1837	Rectangular	H. Rule, S.c.			
Genoa Rural Cemetery	Genoa	NY	Emily Thorp	16 May 1825	Rectangular	H. Rule, S.c.			
Genoa Rural Cemetery	Genoa	NY	Daniel Thorp	6 May 1835	Rectangular	H. Rule, S.c.			
St. James' Church	Arlington	VT	Helen Canfield	1853	Obelisk				Mentioned in Rule Notebook
St. James' Church	Arlington	VT	Mary Canfield	1857	Obelisk				All Canfield children stones identical
St. James' Church	Arlington	VT	Edward Canfield	1858	Obelisk				Vines with flower
St. James' Church	Arlington	VT	Willy Canfield	1864	Obelisk				Name raised

Fig. 1. Memorial for "Infant Son" of Mr. & Mrs. J.H. Zurick with "Budded on earth to bloom in heaven." Kenton Cemetery, Kenton, Oklahoma.

SAY IT WITH FLOWERS IN THE VICTORIAN CEMETERY

June Hadden Hobbs

Familiarity breeds contempt in the Victorian cemetery, and that's just the beginning of the problem. Once any icon becomes so common that it can be labeled a cliche, it risks becoming invisible. The cliches of death – clasped hands, fingers pointing up, ladies clinging to crosses, angels, gates ajar – are those symbols least likely to arouse the interest of tombstone scholars simply because they are everywhere. But it is time to recognize their importance. Cliches don't start out as trite and ordinary expressions; rather, they are a discourse so attuned to a cultural need that they become a sort of shorthand for complex ideas. Many times they are, in fact, condensed versions of intertextual conversations between, say, a tombstone and a scripture, a hymn, or a novel.

Of all the cliches of death in Victorian cemeteries, none is more nearly ubiquitous than flowers. Their very abundance makes them invisible, and ignorance of funerary symbolism often renders them unreadable. People of the nineteenth century, however, recognized well the symbolic and commercial value of flowers, and publishing companies in Western countries capitalized on and promoted flower symbolism by selling sentimental flower books purporting to be dictionaries of standardized meanings. As a result, one commonplace notion about Victorian culture is that flower arrangements of any kind during this period deliver a coherent message accessible only to those conversant with the complicated "language of flowers" supposedly known to all civilized Western people during the nineteenth century.

Testing this hypothesis is a good place to begin investigating what flowers in a Victorian cemetery are saying and how they are saying it. Using nineteenth-century flower dictionaries can become a sort of parlor game. Consider an arrangement of roses, Easter lilies, and poppies I saw on a gravestone in Atlanta, Georgia. Based on what I know about conventional symbolism and from a quick perusal of information from Mme. Latour's 1854 text, *Le Langage des Fleurs*, I could discern that the carving says something like, "Sleep well, beautiful one, until the day of resurrection." Unfortunately, if I consulted a variety of flower vocabulary books from England, France, and the United States, as Beverly Seaton did in her research for *The Language of Flowers: A History*, I might just as easily decide that the message could be, "Your falsehood brings no con-

solation to the sick, so I'm going to war." Sentimental flower books, as Seaton concluded, were what we today would call coffee table books whose presence indicated "the gentility of the women of the family." The so-called "language of flowers" was primarily a commercial project promoted by the publishing companies. Flower vocabulary lists did not always agree with each other, and Seaton claims that, despite the cultural importance of such books, "there is almost no evidence that people actually used these symbolic lists to communicate."[1]

In truth, the importance for Americans of flowers in Victorian tombstone iconography and epitaphs is at once more complicated and more culturally significant than the flood of sentimental flower books in nineteenth-century France, England, and America might imply. By the middle of the century, Romanticism and scientific naturalism had reduced human beings to the level of plants and animals, and, according to James J. Farrell, "naturalists [had] redefined death as a natural process."[2] The already-well-established symbolism of flowers began to change accordingly by acquiring new connotations that made it more compatible with the cultural climate of the day.[3] As David Charles Sloane has observed, the institution of rural cemeteries in the northeastern United States during the early-nineteenth century was accompanied by tombstone designs that used flowers and plants to emphasize themes of "hope, immortality, and life."[4] Often, they compare flower nature to human nature.

The human nature in question, though, is not androgynous. It is very specifically female, and the correspondences between flower nature and human nature articulated on tombstones reveal the way that death in the ideal was sexualized and feminized in the Victorian age. Cut flowers in this feminized world were not simply reminders of mortality as they would have been in an earlier time, but, in the words of a sentimental poem published in *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1855, "emblems dear of all we treasure here with tender care."[5] In this sense, both males and females can be gendered feminine in American tombstone iconography and epitaphs when they are compared to flowers, which were figuratively associated with women's physical and emotional characteristics. In addition, floral designs evoke the religion of Protestant women, who sponsored popular "flower missions" to carry blossoms to the sick and poor, especially those further corrupted by urban life. The focus of Enlightenment era scientists on the reproductive processes of flowers, Seaton explains, had also made a strong connection between flowers and sexuality by the nineteenth century.[6] As a result, references to perennial flowers and plants

on tombstones often have erotic overtones that include oblique references to deflowering and to the pain and pleasure represented by women's bodies. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, flowers began losing these Romantic connections to women as they came to be associated with women's roles in establishing social status through conspicuous consumption.

Since epitaphs often give a fuller articulation of attitudes toward death than graphics alone, I would like to support my point that nineteenth-century funerary symbolism used flowers to feminize death and the dead by examining two representative though not always distinct groups of flower epitaphs that became the cliches of nineteenth-century American tombstones (see Appendix). The first group describes the memorialized person as an earthly flower given to teach a heavenly lesson, just as Protestant women used flowers to influence the unconverted. The message is neatly condensed in the common formula "Budded on earth to bloom in heaven," variations of which appeared on American tombstones at least as early as 1834 (Fig. 1).[7] Nineteenth-century stonecarvers apparently received explicit orders for this popular epitaph (Fig. 2). The formula offers both consolation and instruction, but availability and economics may also have popularized it. The special Sears and Roebuck *Tombstones and Monuments* catalog of 1902 includes this epitaph in its two-page list of formulaic inscriptions that have been "used very fre-

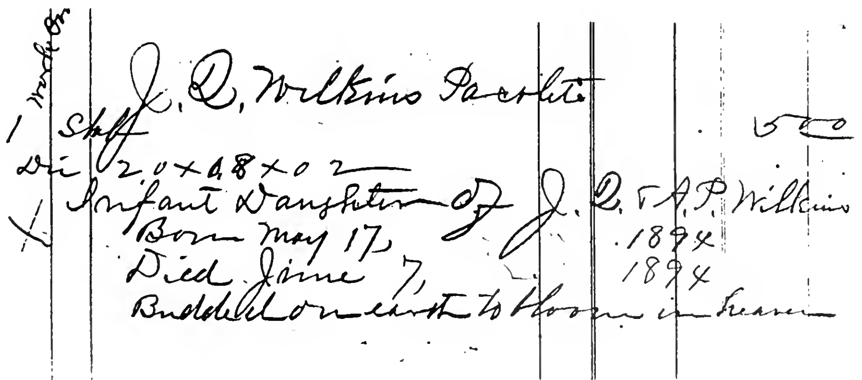


Fig. 2. Detail from the ledger of D.J. Hamrick, late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century stonecutter of Boiling Springs, North Carolina, showing an order for a child's stone inscribed with "budded on earth to bloom in heaven."

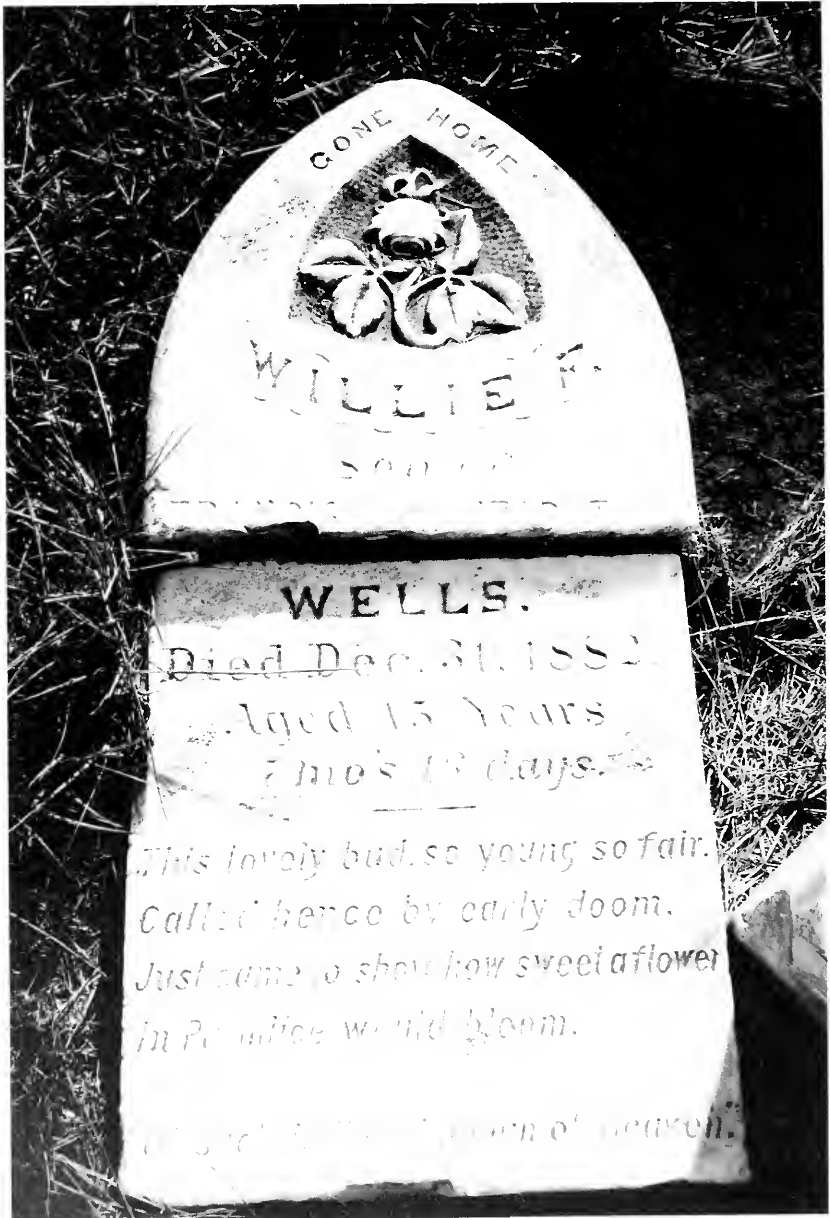


Fig. 3. Willie F. Wells stone (d. 1882),
Old Bayview Cemetery, Corpus Christi, Texas.

quently on work we have made in the past." The mere 28 letters of the epitaph cost only 70 cents to inscribe, making it the best bargain of the lot after "Gone, but not forgotten" at 47 cents.[8] The second group emphasizes the intense but transitory beauty of life that is analogous to the ethereal beauty of a virginal young woman. Her beauty is so tempting that it leads to "deflowering," but then, of course, the virgin is no more. A variation of the first inscription, which I once saw on the grave of a baby in Oak Hill Cemetery, Georgetown, D.C., nicely illustrates this second group of epitaphs: "plucked from earth to bloom in heaven." Many of these memorial sayings are allusions to specific hymns, tracts, poetry, and other popular literature of the period, and their themes are developed more fully in these less condensed texts.

The very clearest articulation of the first group of epitaphs is the following, which appears on the grave of Willie F. Wells, who died in 1882 and is buried in Old Bayview Cemetery, Corpus Christi, Texas (Fig. 3):

> This lovely bud, so young so fair
> Called hence by early doom,
> Just came to show
> How sweet a flower
> In Paradice [sic] would bloom.

This epitaph is very common. A quick Internet search for it turned up around thirty examples in cemeteries whose markers have been transcribed online. The epitaph was used frequently in the United States by the 1850s at least and even earlier than that in the British Isles. It is a quotation from *The Young Cottager* (c. 1810), a Christian tract written by Legh Richmond and collected in an anthology called *Annals of the Poor*. Richmond was an English clergyman and the prolific composer of such works as *The Dairyman's Daughter*, the "most widely read religious tract of the 19th century."[9]

The Young Cottager chronicles the short but exemplary life of young Jane S[quibb], who died of consumption in 1799 at the age of fifteen and is buried at St. Mary's Church in Brading on the Isle of Wight.[10] Richmond describes Jane as his "first-born child" in the faith; in other words, she was his first convert. The clergyman first met the young girl when she joined a class of children receiving religious instruction at his house on Saturday afternoons. Richmond's texts were "catechisms, psalms, hymns and portions of Scriptures." Eventually, he hit upon a further

source of instruction: the epitaphs on tombstones in the nearby churchyard. Richmond describes his technique in this way:

> Sometimes I sent the children to the various stones which stood at the head of the graves, and bade them learn the epitaphs inscribed upon them. I took pleasure in seeing the little ones thus dispersed in the churchyard, each committing to memory a few verses written in commemoration of the departed. They would soon accomplish the desired object, and eagerly return to me ambitious to repeat their task.
>
> Thus my churchyard became a book of instruction, and every gravestone a leaf of edification for my young disciples.[11]

Young Jane memorized her assigned epitaph one afternoon and then voluntarily learned the one next to it:

> It must be so. Our father Adam's fall
> And disobedience brought this lot on all.
> All die in him. But hopeless should we be,
> Blest Revelation, were it not for thee.
> Hail, glorious Gospel! Heavenly light, whereby
> We live with comfort, and with comfort die,
> And view beyond this gloomy scene, the tomb,
> A life of endless happiness to come.

Jane later tells her minister that his probing questions (e.g., "Children, where will you be a hundred years hence?") and the epitaph made her long for salvation and effected her conversion.[12]

Soon, it appears, Jane herself will be eligible for an epitaph. Richmond visits her frequently during her decline and comes to regard her as his teacher: "The Lord, thought I, has called this little child, and set her in the midst of us, as a parable, a pattern, an emblem." Throughout the narrative, Jane is associated with flowers. Upon his first visit to her cottage, Richmond smells the honeysuckle growing up the walls and fancies the fragrance symbolizes the "intercession of a Redeemer, which I trusted was, in the case of this little child, as 'a sweet-smelling savor' to her heavenly Father." As he puts it, "The very flowers and leaves of the garden and field are emblematical of higher things, when grace teaches us to make them so."[13]

Jane's approaching death makes her conscious of her careless parents' lack of religion, and many of the interviews between her and the Reverend Richmond center on her concern for them and for her younger

brother. Her selflessness is touching in the face of her obvious suffering. After one such conversation, Richmond observes to himself that "surely … this young bud of grace will bloom beauteously in Paradise. The Lord transplant her thither in his own good time!" At the end of the narrative, after he conducts her funeral, Richmond muses upon what he has gained from his "cultivation" of one of God's "spiritual lilies of the valley." The epitaph so often employed in American cemeteries is one that Richmond claims he pondered as he stood at Jane's grave. These words, he says, "are inscribed on a gravestone erected in the same churchyard":

> This lovely bud, so young and fair,
> Called hence by early doom,
> Just came to show how sweet a flower
> In Paradise would bloom.[14]

A few years after its publication by the Religious Tract Society in England, *The Young Cottager* was picked up by the American Tract Society, which "flooded the nation with evangelical pamphlets," distributing around "35 million evangelical books and tracts" during the ten years after its founding in 1825.[15] At the same time, American writers were also much taken with the idea that those who die young are like flowers sent as gifts from heaven to embody spiritual truths. In the novel *Say and Seal*, published in 1860 by American sisters Susan and Anna Warner, a young boy named Johnny is the designated flower. As he is dying of tuberculosis, his Sunday school teachers, John and Faith, come to wait with him. Johnny finally falls asleep, and his friends have the opportunity to reflect upon their coming loss. John says, "It was very hard for me to give him up at first … but [accepting the will of God] answers all questions. 'The good Husbandman may pluck his roses, and gather in his lilies at mid-summer, and, for aught I dare say, in the beginning of the first summer month.'" In response, "Faith looked at the little human flower in her arms – and was silent." When little Johnny awakes, he asks the male teacher to sing to him, and the hymn – composed by Anna B. Warner especially for the novel – is an expression of the child's exemplary faith.[16] This hymn, "Jesus Loves Me," was a smash hit when it was set to music by William Bradbury two years later, and it is still the first hymn most Protestant children learn.[17] The hymn models for adults a childlike acceptance of death, especially in verses three and four, where

Johnny imagines Jesus watching him on his deathbed, prepared to take him to heaven at the end.[18]

The popular literature of the period is full of hymns, stories, and verse that metaphorically describe feminized children as blossoms sent from heaven to teach ideal faith by example. Sunday school hymnals such as W.A. Ogden and A.J. Abbey's *Songs of the Bible for the Sunday School* (1873) were particularly explicit in developing this idea. As is typical for the period, hymnal editors were often hymnists as well and used their hymnals to sell their own work. Abbey's "Go to Thy Rest, Sweet Child," subtitled "Funeral Song," in the Ogden and Abbey collection, is a case in point. In the first verse, Abbey describes the child's corpse laid out with flowers, and then moves quickly in the chorus to show that the flowers are, in fact, symbols of the child itself:

Go to thy rest, sweet child,
Go to thy dreamless bed;
Gentle and undefiled,
With blessings on thy head,
Fresh roses in thy hand –
Buds on thy pillow laid;

Chorus:

Haste from this tearful land,
Where flowers so quickly fade.
Haste from this tearful land,
Where flowers so quickly fade.

In verse two, Abbey articulates the comfort to be found in an early death. He addresses the dead child who has expired "ere sin had sear'd thy breast."[19] The inclusion of this hymn in a social hymnal intended for use in children's Sunday schools rather than in adult-oriented worship services suggests the utter conventionality of regarding flowers as spiritual messengers. Beverly Seaton notes that "children's literature is an area always reserved for the tried and true, the totally acceptable."[20] In another hymn from the "Infant Class Songs" of a collection edited by Abbey's collaborator, W. A. Ogden, a child speaks to a flower, begging it to "tell me, little flower, with uplifted eye, what do you see yonder?" The flower, however, can teach only by example, just as the child must, and the singer concludes in the end that:

Sweetest little flower,
God gave you to me;
May I too look upward
And his child e'er be.[21]

Significantly, the moral example of children, which had to be lived rather than spoken, is also the ideal for women, who were supposed to civilize the nation and make it more moral by their "influence" rather than by voting, preaching, and governing.

Many epitaphs articulate a lesson of this sort. Consider, for example, the words on the gravestone of Mary W. Starnes, who died in 1855 at not quite two years old and is buried in Buffalo Baptist Church Cemetery, Cherokee County, South Carolina:

Fig. 4. Broken rosebud detail on memorial for Bessie Gaston, who died in 1877 at 2 years old. Buffalo Baptist Church Cemetery, Cherokee County, North Carolina. The child's epitaph reads: "Alas! How changed that lovely flower, which bloomed and cheered our hearts. Fair, fleeting comfort of an hour, how soon we're called to part."

Fig. 5. Eleanor Mayhugh stone (d. 1916),
Good Shepherd Cemetery, Ellicott City, Maryland.

> So fades the lovely blooming flower
> Frail, smiling solace of an hour.
> So soon our transient comforts fly
> And pleasure only blooms to die.

Little Mary did not have to voice the lesson of her existence. Her life, short as it was, had meaning because it exemplified the ephemeral quality of earthly delights. Frequently such epitaphs are accompanied by a rosebud or other bloom on a broken stem, an apt symbol for the thought (Figs. 4, 5, 6).

The use of flowers to teach spiritual lessons deftly parallels the religious activities of Protestant women in America because by the latter half of the nineteenth century "flower missions" had become quite popular. The idea was that sending a flower, usually accompanied by a scriptural verse or religious tract, to people living in a city was a way to spread the gospel. Seaton explains that "nineteenth-century Christians believed that flowers spoke God's language; thus, sending flowers to the sick and the poor was a way of testifying to them of God's love." In England, trains carried flowers – sometimes at a discount fare – from the country to "a distribution center in the city," where they were picked up to be distributed to the ill and destitute.[22] In Boston, a teen-aged Alice Stone Blackwell recorded sadly in her journal that she "was not very successful with the flowers I had brought to give to the dirty little children in the street."[23]

During this era, women, who were often named for flowers, were so closely allied with flora that specific flowers became associated with specific variations of female beauty and the feminine personality. Etiquette books of the day make frequent references to the connections between women and flowers. In addition to establishing social conventions, such books of manners also served as guides to morals, grooming, and fashion.[24] Maud C. Cooke's *Social Etiquette or Manners and Customs of Polite Society* (1896) includes in the section called "Colors and Complexions" categories of beauty types for women with appropriate colors, jewels, and flowers for each. Golden blondes may wear "all flowers," but particularly "pansies, sweet peas, and pale tinted roses." Those with "greenish gray hair ... accompanied with brown, or dark gray eyes, and a skin in which the brownish tints prevail" are limited to "tea roses." Women with any claims to beauty, we may infer, are by definition white, middle-class, and presumably Christian if not specifically Protestant. In another

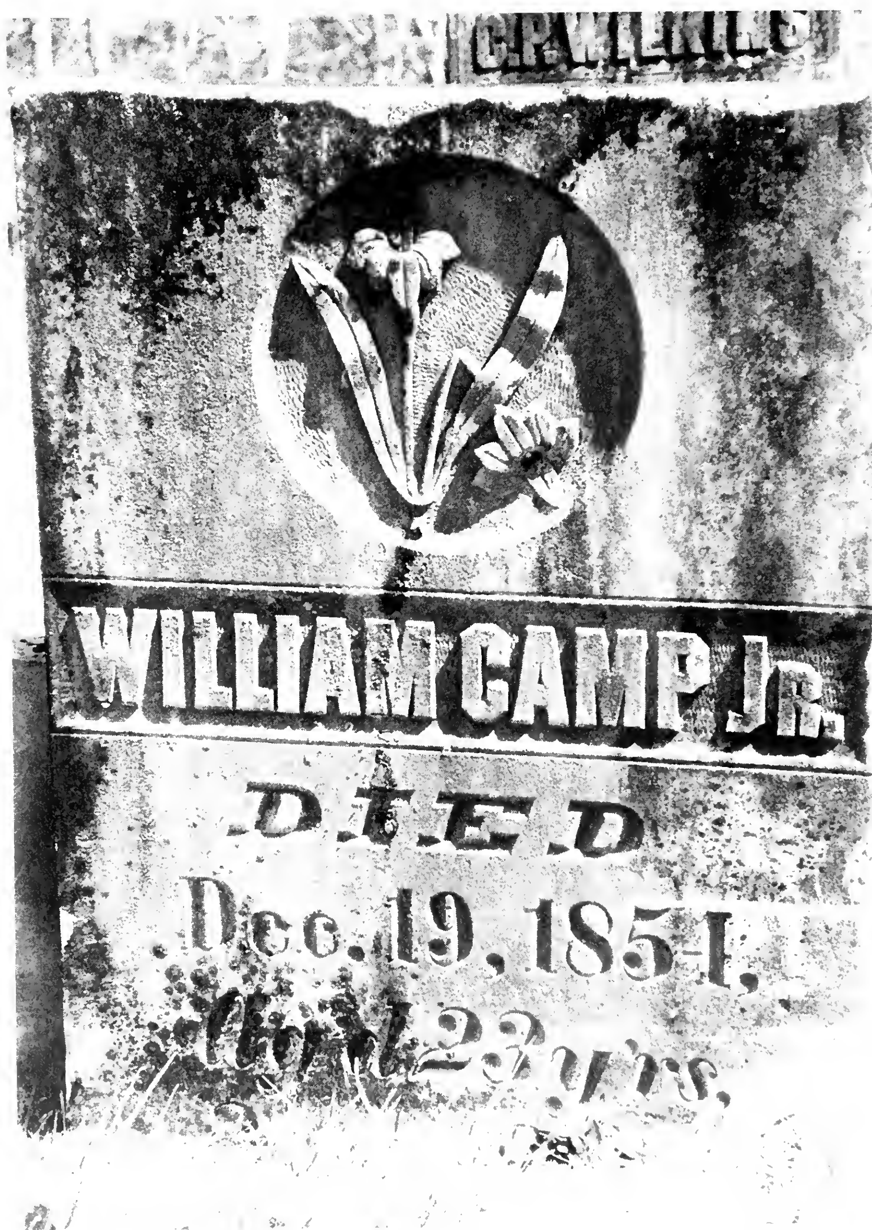


Fig. 6. William Camp, Jr. stone (d. 1854), Buffalo Baptist Church Cemetery, Cherokee County, North Carolina.

section of the book, Cooke informs us that "it is the duty of a well-bred person to attend church regularly on Sunday."[25]

Flora were also emblematic of categories of female personalities. Louisa May Alcott, whose references to flowers in connection to women infuse most of her writings, gives a wonderful example of what Seaton calls the "rapprochement between women and flowers"[26] in her 1872-73 serial novel *Work*. The scene is a greenhouse at the rural home of a Quaker family, where Christie Devon, the young heroine, has gone to recover from an emotional ordeal. Christie's task of arranging flowers for a gala dance known as a "German" has been set by David Sterling, a gardener who is the mainstay of his widowed mother. David tells his young guest that she should do the job because "it is better fitted for a woman's fingers than a man's." When David returns to find the work completed, he sadly acknowledges that he cannot "read" flowers and asks Christie to interpret for him. Here are a few of the descriptions of her nosegays:

> This white one might be given to a newly engaged girl, as suggestive of the coming bridal ... Here is a rosy daisy for some merry little damsel ... this delicate azalea and fern for some lovely creature just out; and there is a bunch of sober pansies for a spinster, if spinsters go to "Germans." Heath, scentless but pretty, would do for many; these Parma violets for one with a sorrow; and this curious purple flower with arrow-shaped stamens would just suit a handsome, sharp-tongued woman, if any partner dared give it to her.

Seeing Christie's obvious affinity for flowers, David praises her and wistfully comments that "I wish I could put consolation, hope, and submission into *my* work as easily." *His* work of the moment is arranging a box of white flowers for a baby's funeral, and Christie quickly adds the finishing touches that change it from a box of flowers to a message that will comfort a "mother's sore heart."[27] Clearly, a man can grow flowers, but only a woman fully understands how to communicate with them because flower nature and female nature are much alike. And so the circle of connections is complete: women are like flowers and flowers are intimately associated with death. God sends women and the children they bear to teach truths about the spirit just as women send flowers to the ill, destitute, and grieving for comfort and instruction.

Women and flowers also emphasize the nature of all humanity because their beauty is intense but short lived. It certainly must not be taken for granted. Maud C. Cooke sagely advises the readers of *Social Etiquette* in 1896 that "the very delicate blonde who has reveled in palest, daintiest shades must beware of presuming too long on that evanescent

bloom, lest she find herself basing the color of her dress on a flower that faded years ago."[28] The blossom's transient beauty also has the power to attract sometimes unfortunate attention to itself. A verse offered in the suggested "Mottoes, Verses, and Quotations" section of the 1882 Monumental Bronze Company's catalog tells a little story in which a human blossom seals its fate when it catches the eye of an angel:

Fig. 7. Elizabeth Lucenia Cash stone (d. 1909), Boiling Springs Baptist Church Cemetery, Boiling Springs, North Carolina. This marker was carved by the child's grandfather, D.J. Hamrick.

A flower just blossoming into life
Enticed an Angel's eye.
"Too pure for earth," he said, "Come home,"
And bade the floweret die.[29]

It seems to me that the most telling words in the narrative are "enticed" and "he." The flower has seductive power, just as a beautiful young virgin would have for a man, and deflowering is the result. In an age when angels typically were female, only a male angel makes this story work.

Another line that appears on many tombstones of the era condenses a similar story into the words "an angel visited the green earth and took a flower" (Fig. 7). These words are the slightly altered final lines of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Reaper and the Flowers." Because the poem was included in both the fifth and sixth levels of *McGuffey's Eclectic Reader,* many Americans must have read and committed it to memory in public schools (Fig. 8). The narrative opens with the Grim Reaper using his scythe to slice down rows of "bearded grain" and "the flowers that grow between." The Reaper justifies his actions in terms of desire for what is young and fresh: "'Shall I have naught that is fair?'saith he; / 'Have naught but the bearded grain?'" And so he reaps the young plants along with the mature but justifies his actions, as "he bound them in his sheaves," by saying they are not for him really but for "The Lord of Paradise," who wants them as "dear tokens of the earth ... where he was once a child." Longfellow's portrayal of this deity attributes sentimental longing to God that mirrors the sentimental longing of bereaved parents for a lost child. The little one is not truly gone, of course, but displaced into another county, and that other place – heaven for the grieving mother, earth for the tender God – becomes the true focus of the poem:

And the mother gave, in tears and pain,
The flowers she most did love;
She knew she should find them all again
In the fields of light above.

O, not in cruelty, not in wrath,
The Reaper came that day;
'T was an angel visited the green earth,
And took the flowers away.

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with tears and sobs of joy, and her father laid her within her mother's bosom.

DEFINITIONS. — 1. Brāe, *shelving ground, a declivity or slope of a hill.* Pas'times, *sports, plays.* 4. Ri'ot-ing, *romping.* 5. Hēath'er, *an evergreen shrub bearing beautiful flowers, used in Great Britain for making brooms, etc.* 6. In-spired', *animated, enlivened.* Sū-per-năt'u-ral, *more than human.* Brāke, *a place overgrown with shrubs and brambles.* Re-vĕr'ber-āt-ing, *resounding, echoing.* In-tĕnt', *having the mind closely fixed.* 8. Plāid (*pro.* plăd), *a striped or checked overgarment worn by the Scotch.* 9. E-jăc'u-lāt-ed, *exclaimed.* 11. Scour, *to pass over swiftly and thoroughly.*

NOTE. — The scene of this story is laid in Scotland, and many of the words employed, such as *brae, brake, heather,* and *plaid,* are but little used except in that country.

XXVIII. THE REAPER AND THE FLOWERS.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (*b.* 1807, *d.* 1882), the son of Hon. Stephen Longfellow, an eminent lawyer, was born in Portland, Maine. He graduated at Bowdoin College in 1825. After spending four years in Europe, he was Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at Bowdoin till 1835, when he was appointed to the chair of Modern Languages and Belles-lettres in Harvard University. He resigned his professorship in 1854, after which time he resided in Cambridge, Mass. Longfellow wrote many original works both in verse and prose, and made several translations, the most famous of which is that of the works of Dante. His poetry is always chaste and elegant, showing traces of careful scholarship in every line. The numerous and varied editions of his poems are evidences of their popularity.

1. THERE is a Reaper whose name is Death,
And, with his sickle keen,
He reaps the bearded grain at a breath,
And the flowers that grow between.

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2. "Shall I have naught that is fair?" saith he;
"Have naught but the bearded grain?
Though the breath of these flowers is sweet to me,
I will give them all back again."

3. He gazed at the flowers with tearful eyes,
He kissed their drooping leaves;
It was for the Lord of Paradise
He bound them in his sheaves.

4. "My Lord has need of these flowerets gay,"
The Reaper said, and smiled;
"Dear tokens of the earth are they,
Where he was once a child.

5. "They shall all bloom in the fields of light,
Transplanted by my care,
And saints, upon their garments white,
These sacred blossoms wear."

6. And the mother gave in tears and pain
The flowers she most did love;
She knew she should find them all again
In the fields of light above.

7. O, not in cruelty, not in wrath,
The Reaper came that day,
'T was an angel visited the green earth,
And took the flowers away.

DEFINITIONS. — 3. Shēaves, *bundles of grain.* 4. Tō'ken (*pro.* tō'kn), *a souvenir, that which is to recall some person, thing, or event.* 5. Trans-plănt'ed, *removed, and planted in another place.*

Fig. 8. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Reaper and the Flowers," as found in *McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader*, rev. ed. (1879).

Fig. 9. Mary Melissa Rippy stone (d. 1867) with full-blown rose and epitaph identifying her as "the fairest of roses in our home." Buffalo Baptist Church Cemetery, Cherokee County, North Carolina.

The Grim Reaper ends the poem, then, with his true nature revealed as an angel or messenger from God sent to pluck flowers for the Master, who seems to need them and to expect their mothers to endure the loss required in the spirit of a peasant woman whose loveliest daughter has attracted attention from the lord of the manor. The difference is that the subsequent deflowering carries with it a hope of reunion in some mansion in the sky because the young maiden is not just worthy but the best that the home could offer. Sixteen-year-old Mary Melissa Rippy, who died in 1867, seems to fit this pattern very well. Her tombstone (Fig. 9) is adorned with a rose in full bloom and the following epitaph: "She was the finest of roses in our home. We loved her dearly but Jesus loved her best."

An icon expressive of this theme is the hand from heaven, often reaching down from a cloud to snatch up flowers from the earth (Figs. 10 and 11). Sometimes the hand simply holds aloft a flower or a bouquet (Fig. 12). Presumably, the hand belongs to God. The fact that the hand in many instances emerges from a frilly cuff makes the notion of God gleaning

Fig. 10. Detail from stone for Sarah J. Herren (d. 1883, age 17), Salem Pioneer Cemetery, Salem, Oregon.

Fig. 11. Anna A. Holman stone (d. 1897),
Juniper Haven Cemetery, Prineville, Oregon.

Fig. 12. Syntha Ann Miller stone (d. 1870),
Santiam Central Cemetery, near Albany, Oregon.

buds from earth analogous to a woman plucking flowers in her garden. Although many stones set this imagery within a Christian context, whether through inscriptional reference or location within a particular type of cemetery, it is interesting that Jews also used flowers in this way, indicating perhaps their acculturation within American communities. Consider the epitaph for Irene W. Spiro (1887-1907), who is buried in Emmanuel Cemetery in Birmingham, Alabama. Her gravestone is adorned with a Star of David, an inscription in Hebrew script, and the following words in English: "Alas: like a beautiful flower slain, she sleeps in sweet peace serene." In this epitaph, the word "slain" clearly indicates that death was premeditated murder of her beauty.

For a time in which the mortality rate for babies and young people was much higher than it is today, flowers pulled up by an unseen hand provide the perfect analogy for both the cruelty of death and the beauty of what dies. Flowers used as tombstone icons represent what Carl Lindahl terms "mirror symbols," that is, the use of one image to suggest two "antithetical meanings." In an intriguing experiment, Lindahl asked young and senior adults to articulate their responses to some of the cliches of nineteenth and early-twentieth century cemeteries: the "rose, lily, lamb, weeping willow, angel, dove, clasped hands, urn, tree stump." Lindahl assumed that such "mirror symbols" would suggest both "grief and hope" to the viewers, and the data he compiled bore out his assumption. The two flowers icons elicited especially paradoxical reactions. For example, one older viewer responded to the rose with these words, "I like it. I buried my husband with a rose. They don't last too long. Neither do we. But the beauty is always there to remember. Something pretty doesn't die."[30] Most significantly, Lindahl's study suggests that symbols which have disappeared from the "iconographic repertoire of American cemeteries" – the draped urn, for example – are the ones which no longer elicit a dual response.[31] Perhaps that is why flowers persist as funerary designs but the idea of God or a messenger from God plucking flowers does not. Americans no longer have in common the human experience that the latter idea represents, nor do we as a group have a common knowledge of Scripture and other popular texts needed to interpret it.

The ambivalence for nineteenth-century Americans was more clearly gendered, however. Browsing through almost any of the popular magazines, novels, and other literature of the day targeted at women means reading sentimental verse in which dead women and children are com-

pared to flowers plucked too early. Growing, picking, and arranging flowers was the province of middle-class women, of course, so both the plucker and the plucked have an intimate relationship to flowers. A poem (mentioned earlier) by Mrs. S. M. Combes in the September 1855 issue of *Godey's Lady's Book* tells the story of a woman who went out one morning when her "heart was light and gay, as are the smiles of early love." She explains that she wanted to gather flowers for spiritual nourishment: "I went to gather flowers – a fresh bouquet, / To feast my soul with nature's own revealing." As she prepares her bouquet, however, she finds herself pondering the symbolism of what she picks. Soon her mood grows dark in the midst of beauty because the flowers voice a conflicting message of both "the enchanting spell of pleasure, and the tear / That comes unbidden e'er we are aware." That which comes "unbidden" is memories and "sounds we may not hear again." At last the speaker concludes, "These flowers are dead – alas! ... but their perfume lingers yet, ... to cheer us on."[32]

The most significant line of this last verse is the first: cut flowers are by definition dead flowers, no matter how beautiful. They can be preserved by drying, pressing, and other methods, something that young ladies did to keep souvenirs of a happy time. Still, flowers are mirror symbols because they point both to death and to its polar opposite: fresh, budding youth, whether in the past or in heaven. When flowers appear in epitaphs and icons on tombstones, Mrs. Combes would likely see a similar message. Her poem appears on a page that includes three other poems about dead children. Apparently people enjoyed reading, writing, and singing such words, and their pleasure in them contrasts dramatically with the shift in taste that requires our contemporaries to view their behavior with cynicism or detachment. Few of the songs by Stephen Collins Foster about women who are dead or in a death-like sleep, for example, are in vogue today, but in the mid-nineteenth century, they were the popular stuff of minstrel shows and parlor gatherings.

In "Gentle Annie" (1856), for example, Foster commemorates a child who was trampled to death while trying to cross the street in a rain storm. This popular song, which is full of flower imagery, begins with a simile comparing the little girl to a blossom:

> Thou wilt come no more, gentle Annie,
> Like a flow'r thy spirit did depart;
> Thou art gone, alas! like the many
> That have blossomed in the summer of my heart.[33]

The emphasis of such a song is on the eternal beauty of memory that will always keep Gentle Annie young and delightful. Philippe Ariès has called our time an era of "forbidden death" and Stephen Foster's time "The Age of the Beautiful Death."[34] These labels suggest that changes in tombstone iconography parallel a dramatic shift in ways of looking at mortality. The pairing of women and flowers as symbols of death seems simply morbid to a twentieth-first century audience because we have denied the complex nature of grief that brings both pleasure and pain.

Nineteenth-century writers less likely to use the sentimentality so offensive to moderns also depict this duality. Nathaniel Hawthorne, for example, makes specific connections between tombstones and the mirror symbolism of flowers in a sketch about an itinerant tombstone carver named Mr. Wigglesworth called "Chippings with a Chisel." Hawthorne's piece was first published in *The Democratic Review* in 1838 and later included in the 1851 edition of *Twice-Told Tales*. In the narrative, Hawthorne handily invokes the mirror symbolism of flower imagery when he describes a mother buying a tombstone for her daughter, who has a living twin. I think we are to assume that the twins were identical rather than fraternal. The mother is "a comely woman, with a pretty rose-bud of a daughter" who accompanies her to place the order. The mother in this incident is sad and aware of her loss, but Hawthorne describes the daughter as lacking "real knowledge of what death's doings were" because she and the dead sister, an identical though dead rosebud, still maintain a mystical connection. "It seemed to me," Hawthorne writes:

> that by the print and pressure which the dead sister had left upon the survivor's spirit, her feelings were almost the same as if she still stood side by side, and arm in arm, with the departed, looking at the slabs of marble; and once or twice she glanced around with a sunny smile, which, as its sister-smile had faded forever, soon grew confusedly overshadowed. Perchance her consciousness was truer than her reflection – perchance her dead sister was a closer companion than in life.[35]

The living sister exists as herself even as she mirrors what Hawthorne calls her mother's lost "treasure."[36] A single image brings both joy and sadness. By the end of the sketch, the narrator perceives "a strange doubt in [his] mind, whether the dark shadowing of this life, the sorrows and regrets, have not as much real comfort in them – leaving religious influences out of the question – as what we term life's joys."[37] In other words, the process of memorialization is a two-edged sword, defeating the ravages of time even as it injures the one who wields it.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the associations between women and flowers in relationship to death took on new meanings. In 1899, when Thorstein Veblen published *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, women were beginning to be associated with the beauty of flowers in a very different way. Purchasing and displaying flowers had become a mode of "conspicuous consumption," in the phrase Veblen coined. Within this scheme, the beauty of flowers became a function of limited availability: "Some beautiful flowers pass conventionally for offensive weeds. . . while still other flowers, of no greater intrinsic beauty than these are cultivated at great cost and call out much admiration from flower-lovers whose tastes have been matured under the critical guidance of a polite environment." Middle-class women, of course, were the primary ones purchasing flowers, a social responsibility assigned to those whose "vicarious leisure" and "vicarious consumption" enhanced the status of their husbands and fathers.[38]

Mrs. John [Mary Elizabeth] Sherwood's 1887 edition of *Manners and Social Usages* describes this shift in the social functions of flowers:

> The language of flowers, so thoroughly understood among the Persians that a single flower expresses a complete declaration of love, an offer of marriage, and, presumably, a hint at the settlement, is, with our more practical visionaries and enthusiasts of the nineteenth century, rather an echo of the stock market than a poetical fancy. We fear that no prima donna looks at her flowers without a thought of how much they have cost, and the belle estimates her bouquet according to the commercial value of a lily-of-the-valley as compared with that of a Jacqueminot rose, rather than as flowers simply.[39]

Sherwood's reference to "Persians" shows that she, like others of her time, understands the language of flowers described in sentimental flower books as a custom originating in the Oriental harem, a notion Seaton deftly discredits as implausible despite its widespread acceptance.[40] The significance of Sherwood's description of the relationship between flowers and women is that she perceives flowers are losing their romantic connotations in favor of economic ones. She mentions later that hothouse flowers at social events are so popular that "it is a favorite caprice to put the field-flowers of June on a lunch-table in January." She also deplores "the extravagant use of flowers at funerals."[41] Robert Tomes, author of *The Bazar Book of Decorum*, complains in 1873 that displays of funeral flowers have become "an ostentatious exhibition of a profusion of crowns, crosses, hearts, and stars of the rarest and most costly products of the hothouse, which seem rather an indication of the exultation of wealth

than of regret for the dead or sympathy for the living."[42] When Henry Ward Beecher, the nation's most popular preacher, died in 1887, his funeral became the epitome of flower extravagance. In accordance with his wishes to focus on hope in the face of death, his family "staged a nationally noticed 'flower funeral,'" banking his casket with floral offerings and hanging flowers instead of crepe on the front door.[43]

As the American mania for funeral flowers rose, the number of flower epitaphs appears to have decreased. Only the carved or incised flowers, with their more ambiguous symbolism, are still common in later twentieth-century and early twenty-first century tombstone iconography. One of the few floral epitaphs I have found in recent years is on a contemporary gravemarker in Shelby, North Carolina. The stone is decorated with an open book; a single full-blown rose is the bookmark. Across the opened pages are the words "Just One Rose Will Do" (Fig. 13). Despite a small

Fig. 13. Quotation from the hymn "Just a Rose Will Do" on a contemporary gravemarker, Sunset Cemetery, Shelby, North Carolina.

change, the epitaph clearly quotes a twentieth-century hymn, "Just a Rose Will Do" by J. A. McClung. This hymn associates flowers, not with consolation but with extravagance. The speaker asks for restraint in the face of death: "Don't spend your money for flowers, / Just a rose will do." The issue, however, is not quiet good taste. The speaker in this hymn is one with whom a blue-collar worker, a mill hand perhaps, might identify. Appropriately, the chorus envisions life in terms of work that has been poorly recompensed. The words suggest wistful envy of those who could afford conspicuous consumption as well as superiority to those who get their reward on earth:

> I'll go to a beautiful garden,
> At last when life's work is thru;
> Don't spend your money for flowers,
> Just a rose will do.[44]

The hymn ends then on a new mirror symbol. When McClung writes, "just a rose will do," the flower does not invoke the duality of nineteenth-century feminine nature. It is related to women only in the sense that they are associated with the luxuries of life. The issue is economics. In rural and small-town North Carolina, a new grave adorned only with a single rose would look pitifully neglected beside those covered with the usual masses of floral offerings, but that's not the end of the matter. In terms of spiritual economics, the size of one's funeral sprays is not really important. Indeed, it is better to have fewer flowers because in heaven the first shall be last and the last first. Death is a permanent lay-off for those whose earthly life has been characterized by toil, but in heaven they have a new status that can afford the conspicuous leisure of relaxing in a "beautiful garden" that a nineteenth-century lady might have cultivated. No doubt it is a flower garden rather than a vegetable garden, and one that never needs weeding.

NOTES

All photos are by the author, with the exception of Figs. 10, 11 and 12, which are by Richard E. Meyer. The ledger shown in Fig. 2 is reproduced courtesy of Maida Greene Scruggs, great-granddaughter of carver D.J. Hamrick.

1. Beverly Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 2; 19; 183; 189; 193.

2. James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press), 51.

3. Excellent guides to these standardized meanings are Jessie Lie Farber's leaflet, *Symbolism in the Carvings on Old Gravestones*, published by the Association for Gravestone Studies, and George Ferguson's *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1966).

4. David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 77.

5. Mrs. S. M. Combes, "I Went to Gather Flowers," *Godey's Ladies Book* (September, 1855), 257.

6. Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History*, 52.

7. My thanks to John Spaulding, Research Coordinator for the Association for Gravestone Studies, who found many variations of this idea in only one cemetery in Connecticut. I have been unable to locate its author and first use, but it seems to have been popular throughout both the United States and the United Kingdom.

8. *Tombstones and Monuments* (Chicago, IL: Sears, Roebuck, and Company, 1902), 60-61.

9. Dave Parker, "Famous Caulkheads and Overners" *Isle of Wight Nostalgia Site*, 6 March 2001, <http://www3.mistral.co.uk/daveparker/iow/people.htm>.

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12. *Ibid.*, 15; 27-31.

13. *Ibid.*, 16; 47; 22.

14. *Ibid.*, 62; 89-90.

15. Library of Congress, "Religion and the New Republic," *Religion and the Founding of the American Republic*, 21 March 2001, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel107.html>.

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17. William J. Reynolds, *Companion to the Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1976), 124.

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19. A.J. Abbey, "Go to Thy Rest, Sweet Child," in *Songs of the Bible for the Sunday School*, ed. A.J. Abbey and W.A. Ogden, (Toledo, OH: W.W.Whitney, 1873), 84.

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23. Alice Stone Blackwell, *Growing Up in Boston's Gilded Age: The Journal of Alice Stone Blackwell, 1872-1874*, ed. Marlene Deahl Merrill (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 176-77. Quoted in Judith Walsh, "The Language of Flowers and Other Floral Symbols Used by Winslow Homer," *Magazine Antiques* (Nov., 1999), note 12: NC Live, Gardner-Webb University, Boiling Springs, NC, 9 August 2000, <http://www.nclive.org.htm>.

24. See Simon J. Bronner, *Grasping Things: Folk Material Culture and Mass Society in America* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1986) for a fascinating discussion of etiquette books as a factor in cultural formation.

25. Maude C. Cooke, *Social Etiquette or Manners and Customs of Polite Society* (London, England: McDermid and Logan, 1896), 328; 403-404.

26. Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History*, 19.

27. Louisa May Alcott, *Work: Or Christie's Experiment, The Christian Union*, December 1872-June 1873; reprinted as *Work: A Story of Experience* (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1977), 230-235.

28. Cooke, *Social Etiquette or Manners and Customs of Polite Society*, 399.

29. *The Catalogue of the Monumental Bronze Company* (Bridgeport, CT: Monumental Bronze Company, 1882), 123.

30. Carl Lindahl, "Transition Symbolism on Tombstones," *Western Folklore* 45.3 (1986), 165; 72-80.

31. *Ibid.*, 167.

32. Combes, "I Went to Gather Flowers," 257.

33. Stephen Collins Foster, "Gentle Annie," in *A Treasury of Stephen Foster*, ed. John Tasker Howard (New York, NY: Random House, 1946), 127.

34. Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, NY: Knopf, 1981), 451; and *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 85-107.

35. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Chippings with a Chisel," in *Tales and Sketches*, ed. Roy Harvey Pearce (New York, NY: Library of America, 1982), 621.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, 624-25.

38. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1899; reprint Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1994), 37; 50-51; 81.

39. Mrs. John [Mary Elizabeth] Sherwood, *Manners and Social Usages*, rev. ed. (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1887), 352.

40. Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History*, 61-62.

41. Sherwood, *Manners and Social Usages*, 353; 356.

42. Robert Tomes, *The Bazar Book of Decorum: The Care of the Person, Manners, Etiquette, and Ceremonials* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 269.

43. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*, 81-82.

44. J.A. McClung, "Just a Rose Will Do," in *Heavenly Highway Hymns* (Dallas, TX: Stamps Baxter Music and Printing Company, 1956), 233.

APPENDIX

Flower Epitaphs

The dead, like flowers, teach spiritual truths:

Budded on earth to bloom in heaven.
(1902 Sears *Tombstones and Monuments* catalog and many other places.)

This lovely bud, so young so fair
Called hence by early doom,
Just came to show how sweet a flower
In Paradice would bloom.
The Young Cottager, Legh Richmond
(Willie F.Wells 1867-1882, Old Bayview Cemetery, Corpus Christi, TX)

Alas! how changed that lovely flower
Which bloomed and cheered our hearts.
Fair, fleeting comfort of an hour,
How soon we're called to part.
(Bessie Gaston, 1875-77, Buffalo Baptist Church Cemetery, Cherokee Co., NC)

A little flower of love
That blossomed but to die
Transplanted now above
To bloom with God on high.
(Dau. Of A.B. and Annie Ater, 1893-94, City Cemetery, Rogers, TX)

Husband dear, take thy rest
The summer flowers will bloom
While you, the purest and the best,
Doth wither in the tomb.
(J.L.T. Hall, 1833-97, City Cemetery, Rogers, TX)

So fades the lovely blooming flower
Frail smiling solace of an hour.
So soon our transient comforts fly
and pleasure only blooms to die.
(Mary W. Starnes, 1852-55, Buffalo Baptist Church Cemetery, Cherokee Co., NC)

The most beautiful flowers must be plucked:

Plucked from earth to bloom in heaven.
(Clarence Haw, 1860-61, Oak Hill Cemetery, Georgetown, D.C.)

A flower just blossoming into life
Enticed an Angel's eye.
"Too pure for earth," he said, "Come home."
And bade the floweret die.
(Monumental Bronze Co. catalog, 1882)

"Who plucked that Flower?" cried the Gardener. His fellow servant answered, "The Master." And the Gardener held his peace.
(Maggie Bissicks, 1866-69, Lexington Municipal Cemetery, Lexington, KY)

An angel visited the green earth and took a flower.
From "The Reaper and the Flowers," H.W. Longfellow
(Elizabeth Lucenia Cash, 1907-1909, Boiling Springs Baptist Church Cemetery, Boiling Springs, NC)

She was the finest of roses in our home.
We loved her dearly but Jesus loved her best.
(Mary Melissa Rippy, 1850-67, Buffalo Baptist Church Cemetery, Cherokee Co., NC)

Alas: like a beautiful flower slain, she sleeps in sweet peace serene."
(Irene W. Spiro, 1887-1907, Emmanuel Cemetery, Birmingham, AL)

The pure and precious little flower
Whose sweetness we so much did love
God needed for His heavenly bower
And took her up above.
(June Beaussee, 1928-35, Oconee Hills Cemetery, Athens, GA)

THE YEAR'S WORK IN CEMETERY/GRAVEMARKER STUDIES: AN INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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*). Revised or subsequent editions of previously published works are noted. 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 *Markers XVIII*, entries have been separated into several large categories representing basic types of publication or other presentation. For the first time in this issue, a new category has been added for videotaped material.

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 2000 and 2001): 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. For reviews of gravestone- and cemetery-specific books and other materials, the reader is invited to consult the various issues of the Association for Gravestone Studies' *AGS Quarterly*.

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

Scope

The Association for Gravestone Studies was incorporated as a non-profit corporation in 1978 as an outgrowth of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife. The first volume of the Association's annual scholarly journal, *Markers*, appeared in 1980. While the charter purposes of AGS are broad, the general editorial policy of *Markers* is to define its subject matter as the analytical study of gravemarkers of all types and encompassing all historical periods and geographical regions, with an emphasis upon North America. Gravemarkers are here taken to mean above-ground artifacts that commemorate the spot of burial, thereby in most instances excluding memorials or cenotaphs (exceptions may, however, be made to this latter prohibition, and prospective authors are urged to consult the editor if they have any questions concerning this matter). Articles on death and dying in general or on other aspects of death-related material culture would not normally fall within the journal's purview unless clearly linked to the study of gravemarkers. Particular cemeteries may form the basis of study if a major focus of the article is on the markers contained therein and if the purpose of the article is more than simply a 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*.

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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.

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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 & social perspective; MA carvers Joseph Barbur, Jr., Stephen & Charles Hartshorn, & "IN"; 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 initials; & markers/graveyards 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.]

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MARKERS IX The art of Francis Duval; the Mullicken Family carvers of Bradford, MA; the Green Man on Scottish markers, 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 Markers carved by Calvin Barber of Simsbury, CT; Chinese markers in a midwestern American cemetery; carving 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.]

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MARKERS XII Terra-Cotta markers; Adam & Eve markers in Scotland; a sociological examination of cemeteries as communities; the Joshua Hempstead diary; contemporary markers 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.]

MARKERS XIV Amerindian gravestone symbols; ministers' markers in north central MA; a modern gravestone maker; Charles Andera's crosses; Pratt family stonecutters; African-American cemeteries in north FL; & "The Year's Work." [232 pp.; 107 illus.]

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