MARKERS XXI

Edited by
Gary Collison

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Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies

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Cover Illustration: Malakiah Bonham (1811), Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County, Maryland. Backdated gravestone carved by African American stonecarver Sebastian "Boss" Hammond.

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With this issue, *Markers* begins a new era. When Dick Meyer took over as editor from Ted Chase following *Markers IX* (1992), our journal had already matured into one of the most distinguished publications in the relatively new field of material culture studies. Under Dick's guidance, it grew to include an increasing range of topics reflecting the diverse interests of AGS's growing membership. In 1995 he inaugurated an annual bibliography of recent scholarship, "The Year's Work in Gravemarker/Cemetery Studies," which instantly became an

indispensable aid to researchers. The eleven issues that Dick edited have set a standard of scholarly excellence that AGS can be proud of. It is a daunting task to follow Dick Meyer as editor. It is an equally daunting task to take over as editor in the first year that *Markers* is being distributed to all AGS members. It is also exciting.

Although entirely by accident, the articles in this issue nicely reflect the diversity of interests which AGS has come to represent. Mary Ann Ashcraft's lead article belongs to the major strand of gravestone studies, the identification and study of the work of individual stonecarvers. Her study of Maryland slave and ex-slave stonecarver Sebastian "Boss" Hammond represents an important new discovery. Not only is Hammond one of the few Maryland stonecarvers to have been studied but he is also the first enslaved African American gravestone carver whose work has been positively identified.

Two other essays demonstrate how the study of history and biography can be aided by the study of gravemarkers. Tom and Brenda Malloy use gravemarkers to tell the story of King Phillip's War, when thousands of New England settlers and Native Americans died, and how the war has been remembered at burial sites. David Gradwohl's essay on the gravemarker of Judah Monis shows how it is emblematic of Monis's complex life. A Jewish convert to Christianity, a member of the Harvard faculty, and a friend of the great Puritan divine Cotton Mather, Monis occupied a unique and enigmatic position in colonial New England society.

Two other essays in this issue reflect the interest of many members in nineteenth-century rural cemeteries. Elise Ciregna's study of the role of sculpture in the early years of Mount Auburn Cemetery adds a new chapter to the story of our nation's cultural aspirations. The other essay highlights the delightful rural cemetery in Concord, Massachusetts, where the "Authors' Ridge" graves of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Thoreau, Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and other writers have become a site of pilgrimage for tens of thousands. Every member of AGS can cite (and some can even recite) the most famous American address at the dedication of a cemetery, Abraham Lincoln's address at Gettysburg National Cemetery. It is the most famous piece of American oratory. But even members of AGS would be hard pressed to name another prominent dedicatory address. Joel Myerson and Ron Bosco, two distinguished literary scholars, will change this with their edition of

Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Address at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery." Their introduction places the Address and dedication ceremonies in the context of Emerson's extraordinary life. The Address itself offers a provocative reflection on the history and meaning of cemeteries that reminds us of why Emerson was known as the "Sage of Concord." Who else but Emerson could have surveyed the history of burial from the Egyptians to the modern era in a few pages?

There are a number of visible and invisible changes in this issue of *Markers*. One change that anyone familiar with recent issues of *Markers* will recognize immediately is that *Markers XXI* has slimmed down considerably. To make it possible to send *Markers* to all members and for AGS to plan its total budget, it will be necessary to keep costs for *Markers* under or close to an annual budgeted amount. This means that unless the AGS membership grows substantially, future issues of *Markers* will probably run no more than 224 pages. To insure that each issue provides a good range of articles on a variety of topics, *Markers* will continue to seek manuscripts in the range of "fifteen to twenty-five double-spaced pages, inclusive of endnotes and appendices." As in the past, longer submissions "*may be considered if they are of exceptional merit and if space permits.*" Given the new page limitation, however, it will be much more difficult to find room for significantly longer articles. Authors of longer studies are advised to consult with me well in advance of submitting a manuscript. (For details, see the revised "Notes for Contributors" at www.gravestonestudies.org/Markers. Queries, proposals, suggestions, and comments are welcome. Send them to Gary Collison, *Markers* Editor, PennState/York, 1031 Edgecomb Ave., York, PA 17403; email: glc@psu.edu; fax: 771-717-4022. Email messages will usually get the most timely response.)

Another significant change in *Markers XXI* will be found in the annual bibliography of scholarship, "The Year's Work in Cemetery and Gravemarker Studies," which filled more than fifty pages in *Markers XX* and was threatening to grow even larger (and even more costly to produce). For a description of the changes, see the explanation at the beginning of this year's bibliography.

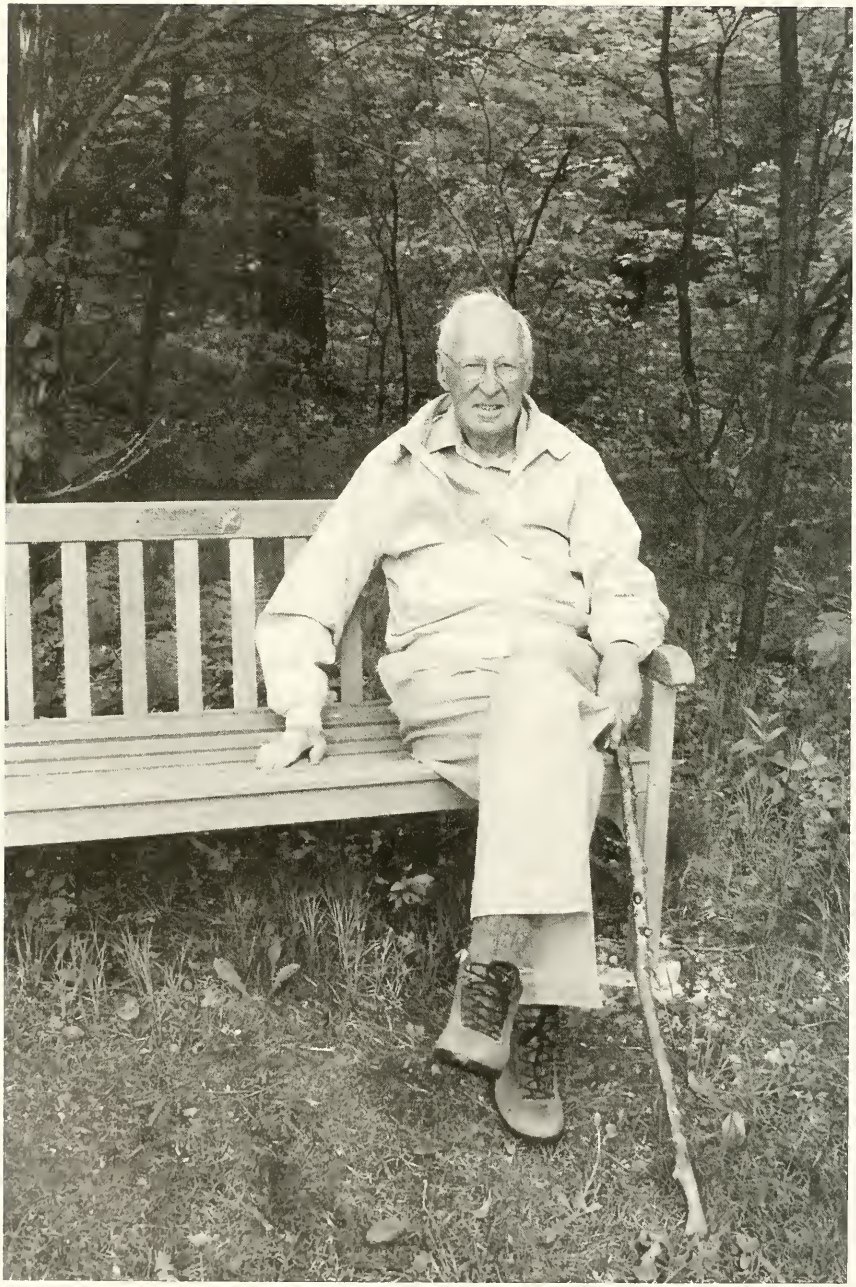
Markers is indexed in *America: History & Life*, *Historical Abstracts*, the *Bibliography of the History of Art* (a Research Library Group Eureka database), and the *MLA International Bibliography*. Coverage in the

Bibliography of the History of Art began with *Markers XVII* (2000) and includes very brief abstracts.

Looking over the subject index for volumes I through XX near the end of this year's issue, I feel very proud of the great range and high quality of scholarship published in *Markers* over the years. I need hardly add that *Markers* would not exist without the continuing support of the AGS membership and board of trustees and the wise guidance of the board of editors of *Markers*. I thank the members of the board of editors and other scholars for their generous and conscientious assistance in evaluating manuscripts. For invaluable support both tangible and intangible, I am grateful to Drs. Diane Disney, Dean of the Commonwealth College of the Pennsylvania State University, and Sandy Gleason, Associate Dean; and also to Drs. Joel Rodney, CEO, Penn State York, and Joseph P. McCormick III, Director of Academic Affairs. For assistance of various kinds, I am indebted to Andrea Carlin, Deirdre Folkers, Shawn Foley, Greg Knapp, Brenda Malloy, Jim O'Hara, Susan Olsen, Joseph P. Royer, Dave Turocy, Carole Wagner, Valerie White, and Leslie Perrin Wilson. Finally, I owe special thanks to Dick Meyer, whom I have called on more times than I can remember for assistance and guidance during this transition year.

G.C.

Theodore Chase (1912-2003)



Obituary: Theodore Chase (1912-2003)

Laurel Gabel

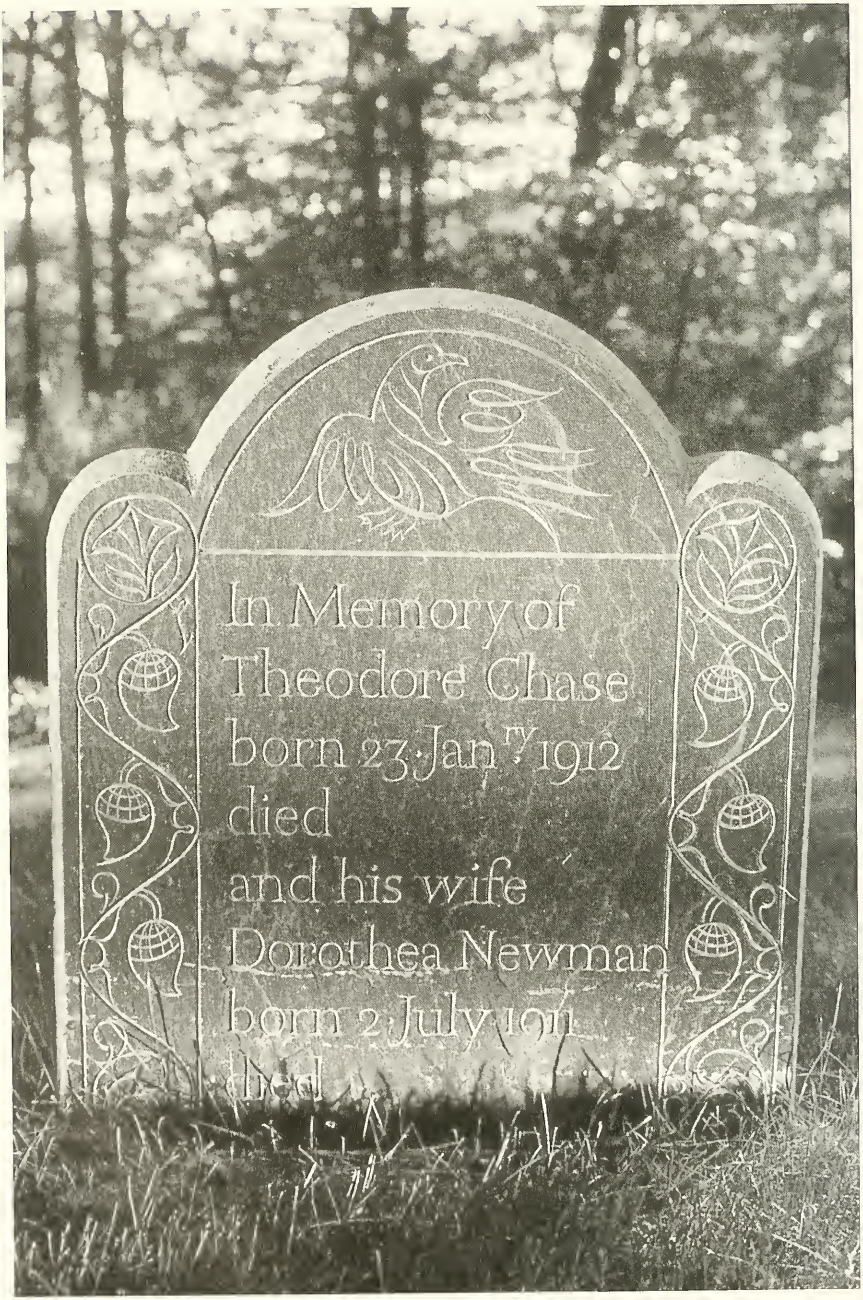
Theodore (Ted) Chase, past president of the Association for Gravestone Studies, editor of *Markers*, author, legal advisor, and long-time friend and benefactor of AGS, died on January 20th, 2003, at his home in Dover, Massachusetts. His death, following a rapid decline caused by congestive heart failure, occurred just three days short of his ninety-first birthday.

Dover, Massachusetts, Summer, 1980

No impatient husband waited in an overheated car while I attempted a hasty gravestone photograph; no whining children kept up their running accusation: "Five minutes, Mom, you *promised* we would only stop for FIVE minutes!" Instead, on this pleasant midsummer morning I was alone inside the old stone walls of Dover's first burying ground. The leaning slates were silent and patient companions, watching while I worked leisurely to catalog the eighteenth-century carvings of John New, Daniel Hastings, John Dwight, and the ubiquitous Lamsons. By twelve o'clock, however, it was meltingly hot and heading toward muggy. Time to pack up scattered gear and return to the car.

Dover's Highland Cemetery sits across from the Town Green on a slight hill that rises up to become a continuation of the older, street-facing graveyard. The newer and larger section of the cemetery was laid out in the nineteenth-century pattern, with winding, tree-lined roads and large family lots defined by single upright monuments of marble and granite, bearing familiar old New England names: Sargent, Sears, Cabot, Tisdal. The appeal of massive shade trees and green grass lured me up the hill toward the cool labyrinth of the newer section—a scenic circuit that eventually loops back down to the level of the original ancient burying ground and the cemetery's only exit gate.

A small dark slate headstone made me stomp on the brakes. It sat alone along the back fringe of grass, away from the road. Even from afar the graceful calligraphic bird design of the tympanum looked familiar. It proved to be copied from the little 1775 Ann Cunningham stone (in


In Memory of
Theodore Chase
born 23 Jan.y 1912
died
and his wife
Dorothea Newman
born 2 July 1911
died

Spencer, Massachusetts, illustrated in Harriette Forbes's *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them*). The gravestone's acorn borders were borrowed from Boston-area markers carved in the early 1700s. Whoever had commissioned this stone had to have had more than a passing familiarity with eighteenth-century New England gravestones! I jumped out of the car and headed toward the slate, but was again stopped short by the stone's unfinished inscription: "In Memory of / Theodore Chase / born 23 January 1912, / died ___ / and his wife / Dorothea Newman / born 2 July 1911 / died ___. " Might one or the other of this couple still be alive to explain their new "old" stone and the story behind its charming motif?

A cemetery workman suggested that I try the nearby Town Hall.

Ted Chase? The clerk smiled. Why, yes, Ted was most definitely alive. A town favorite, a former Dover Selectman and member of the Town Council in years past, Mr. Chase was always talking about old graveyards; "not everyone's cup of tea," added the clerk. Ted would probably enjoy meeting *anyone* who shared his fascination with cemeteries. I raced home to call the number listed for Theodore and Dorothea Chase. The gentleman who answered the phone confirmed that he was indeed an alive and lively version of the very same Theodore Chase of the slate gravestone in question and, yes, he would be happy to tell me all he knew about early gravestones. He was a bit taken aback to be confronted—a mere twenty minutes later—by a middle-aged housewife carrying a suitcase full of gravestone "show and tell" and bearing no trace of the young high school coed that (he later confessed) he had envisioned at the other end of the phone line.

Before the day was out, Mr. Chase and I had spent a delightful afternoon and evening talking non-stop while we viewed slides of gravestones, pored over photo albums of gravestones, discussed every gravestone book in print at the time, and made amateur attempts to identify the carvers of each gravestone in his collection of rubbings, which by early evening had spread out over every inch of floor space in his library. With Dottie Chase's patient indulgence, gravestone conversation bubbled non-stop through the family's ritual four o'clock tea and was threatening a late dinner hour when I finally packed up my "visuals" and went home in the dark. It was the beginning of an enduring friendship.

Theodore Chase was born January 23, 1912, in Concord, Mass-

achusetts, where his family lived opposite the Old Manse, within easy walking distance of Concord's Old North Bridge and other historic landmarks. He was the youngest of three children born to Frederick Hathaway Chase, a local judge, and his wife Theodora Kyle. The infant Theodore was named in honor of his mother. In 1924, at the age of twelve, Ted left home to enter the Groton School, a rigorous preparatory school for boys. Looking back, he often credited those early formative years at Groton with his life-long love of learning. Homesick for family and hopeless at sports, he spent more and more time with his books. The result was a scholar. After his Groton graduation in 1930, Ted went on to Harvard (*magna cum laude* in 1934), and Harvard Law School (*cum laude* in 1937). He began his law career with the firm of Palmer and Dodge in Boston. Mr. Robert Dodge, the firm's founding partner, seeing something special in the new law graduate, described young Theodore as "a comer." In 1942, when just thirty years old, Ted fulfilled Mr. Dodge's expectations by becoming a partner in the well-respected law firm. He was to spend his entire law career in this firm. His much prized seventh-floor corner office looked out over King's Chapel Burying Ground, Boston's first place of burial. It was the perfect view.

During World War II, Ted served with the United States Navy as a Lieutenant, and ultimately as Lieutenant Commander, attached to the Office of General Counsel for the Finance Division, which managed financing for U.S. Navy contracts.

To many, Ted Chase was a holdover from a simpler, more gracious era. He was a true gentleman in every sense of the word. Honest, frugal, hard working, a child of privilege and its accompanying sense of responsibility, and overflowing with common sense, Ted was widely respected and admired for his intellect and integrity. Colleagues remember him as charming and persuasive, a wise man with a commanding presence, a leader who "spoke softly but usually got what he wanted." "He was maddeningly reasonable," one friend told me, "always confident that logic would lead the way."

His grandson spoke lovingly of a grandfather who was "delightfully stalled in history." Ted had scant regard for the popular culture that swirled outside his orbit. "Doggie bags," self-serve gas pumps, fast food "roadhouses," computers, and other "new-fangled" gadgetry were unnecessary to his enjoyment of life. He was a man of Old World manners who dressed for dinner and received afternoon callers over tea.

Ted lived his life with a Spartan discipline formed during his character-building years at Groton School. Even in his extreme old age, when a steamy shower might have eased the aching joints in his frail frame, Ted stuck to his old Groton School regime of short, bracing *cold* water constitutionals. "They do the trick," he insisted. He swam whenever he got the chance, played tennis well into his eighties, and enjoyed nothing more than his daily walks in the wooded acres surrounding his home. Eighty-five acres of Ted's woods were recently deeded to the Trustees of Reservations as a public woodland and wildlife area. Known as the Chase Woodland Preserve, the network of gently sloping paths winds for more than two miles through groves of native trees and along stone walls that mark former farm fields.

Ted was a student of the country's early canal system, cathedral misericords, woodland management, modern art, antique firearms, history of any kind—and human nature. He and Dottie traveled frequently and his journals of these vacation explorations are colorful and informative reading. When he was delighted by something, it was "really swell" or just "peachy"; displeasure was registered with an exaggerated scowl and a disgusted, but usually private, "damn!"

Ted's character, presence, and personality made him a leader in many community organizations such as the Greater Boston United Way and the United Community Services of Boston. As a member of the Massachusetts Board of Regional Community Colleges, he was instrumental in establishing fifteen junior colleges in the state during his tenure, an accomplishment of which he was especially proud. He served as a trustee of Northfield Mount Hermon School and of the Groton School, chairing the committee that voted to convert the all-male school to a co-educational institution. Other committee members remember him as a leader who allowed for all points of view—a consensus builder. He was "a pleasure to work with and a privilege to know."

Ted was a life-long member of the Massachusetts and Boston Bar Associations and president of the Council of the Boston Bar Association from 1965 to 1987.

For many years he took leadership roles in committees and councils of his alma mater: chairman of the Harvard Fund Council, proud chief marshal at his Harvard 25th reunion in 1959, and a Harvard University overseer from 1982 to 1988. He served for many years on the council

for the Massachusetts Historical Society and as a trustee of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Ted's active leadership role in The Trustees of Reservations, one of the nation's oldest conservation organizations, which now protects more than 48,000 acres of scenic, historic, and ecological property within Massachusetts, brought him great satisfaction and pride. It was to The Trustees of Reservations that contributions in Ted's memory were directed following his death.

Ted's interest in gravestones came about as a result of his travels in Great Britain, where he became fascinated with brass rubbing. When he and Dottie returned from one of their trips to England, Ted tried his hand at rubbing the old gravestones in the burying grounds close to home. It was an enjoyable hobby and he began to make a collection of rubbings that illustrated the various styles and motifs in the graveyards around Boston. He found books by Harriette Forbes and Allan Ludwig and, as the AGS bumper sticker warns, his Ford Escort would "brake for old graveyards."

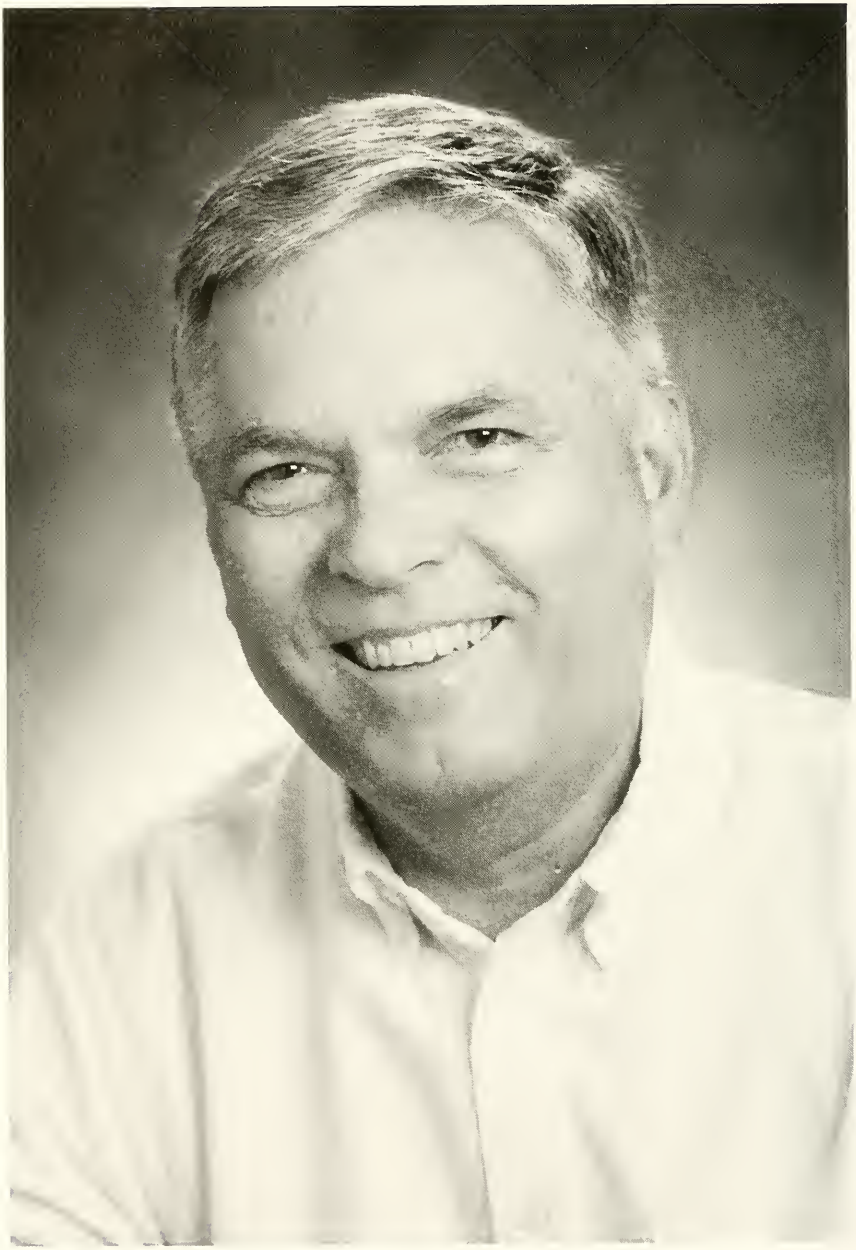
Ted Chase served as trustee and then president of the Association for Gravestone Studies from 1983 to 1986 during some of the organization's most difficult years of growth. His vast experience and firm leadership helped AGS emerge as a viable national association. He worked tirelessly on the original by-laws and drafted important model legislation, still valid today, aimed at protecting historic gravemarkers and cemeteries. These were crucial years in the history of the organization. Taking on the editorial duties of *Markers* in 1987, Ted oversaw the publication of *Markers V* through *IX* and helped maintain and further enhance the journal's reputation for excellence. He was a steadfast advocate for *Markers*, seeing the scholarly journal as the most important lasting legacy of the organization's existence. He was also exceedingly proud of the many articles and the two books about New England gravestone carvers and their work that he co-authored with Laurel K. Gabel. The research and writing of *Gravestone Chronicles I: Some Eighteenth-Century New England Carvers and Their Work* (Boston: 1990, reprinted 1997) and *Gravestone Chronicles II: More Eighteenth-Century New England Carvers and an Exploration of Gravestone Heraldica* (Boston: 1997) followed Ted's retirement, at the age of seventy, in 1982. Shortly before his death he described that period of his life to a friend: "Those were wonderful years. There was always some mystery to solve with these [carver] fellows. Was Maxcy a rogue or just a poor, unlucky business man? What happened to

'our man' after he disappeared from Boston? Laurel and I explored all over New England on those research trips. My, those were swell times." Every research day was an adventure: to old court houses, town libraries, hundreds of burying grounds, abandoned logging roads, ancient barns with gravestones hiding in the foundation, long hidden deeds and receipts or letters that hinted at some linking clue or suggested another trail to follow. Without Ted's confident enthusiasm, considerable expertise, and patient perseverance, none of the resulting studies would ever have been published. For his many outstanding contributions to the field of gravestone studies, Theodore Chase was named the 1990 recipient of the Forbes Award, the Association for Gravestone Studies' highest honor.

Dover, Massachusetts, Winter, 2003

As I approached the old Dover burying ground again on the cold but gloriously sunny January 25th, the large American flag flying over the cemetery was waving at half-staff. In the newer section of Highland Cemetery, on the hill just beyond the ancient graveyard, Ted's simple wooden coffin rested on a bier poised above the gaping grave. Almost obscured by artificial grass and clods of winter earth, his old slate stone was a mute, but timelessly appropriate, observer of the simple committal service. In the picturesque old Dover Church just beyond the Village Green, hundreds of Ted's friends, young and old, had come together to rejoice in his life and, with hymns and prayers and a final sad tolling of the old steeple bell, mark the passing of an extraordinary man and a very dear friend. With the carving of his death date, the long-standing gravestone inscription was finally complete: "In Memory of Theodore Chase, 1912-2003."

Terry Jordan (1938-2003)

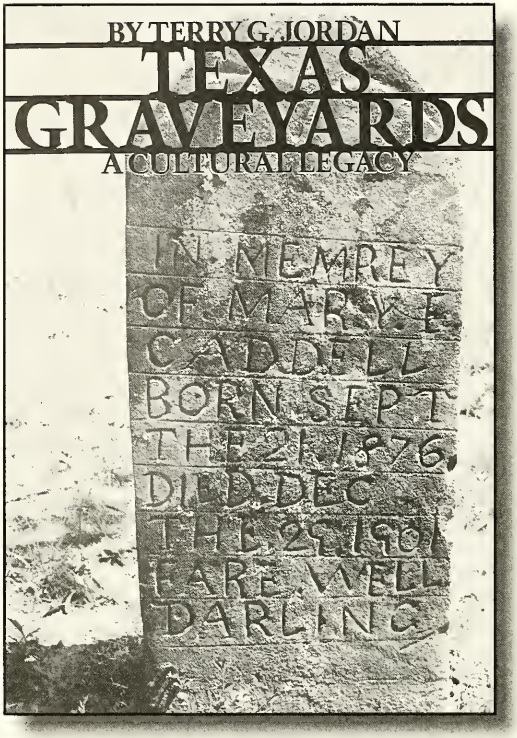


Obituary: Terry Jordan (1938-2003)

Richard Francaviglia

With the passing of Terry Jordan on October 16, 2003, the field of cultural geography lost one of its most productive scholars. Those of us who seriously study cemeteries also lost a colleague who authored a book on cemeteries—*Texas Graveyards* (1982)—that has become a classic in regional literature. Terry Jordan was a sixth-generation Texan—and proud of it. Born in Dallas, Jordan staked out his early intellectual territory in his home state, where he originally taught at (and later chaired) the geography department at the University of North Texas. At this time—the early to mid-1970s—Jordan broke new ground with pioneering studies on Germans in Texas and the log cabin architecture of North Texas. Jordan loved the Lone Star State and spent his entire career there, ultimately holding the prestigious Walter Prescott Webb Professorship of History and Ideas at the University of Texas at Austin.

Like many Texans, Jordan was at home in his native state but also loved to travel. Jordan not only visited 65 countries but also seriously studied the cultural geography of every place he visited. He wrote or contributed to more than thirty books on places as diverse as Australia, Finland, and Siberia. With an eye tuned to everything cultural—landscape, dialects, foodways, folklore—Jordan was the consummate field geographer. Where others might be content to read only the written historical resources about places, Jordan contended that as much—actually more—could be learned by experiencing those places first hand. That is what made his book *Texas Graveyards* stand out: it was based on extensive first-hand field observation. More than twenty years has passed since Jordan published that book, which set the standard for what a regional treatment of cemeteries should cover. That book's simplicity and eloquence have not been duplicated elsewhere for other regions. However, it should ultimately inspire others to use the cultural geographer's techniques in describing and interpreting the cemeteries of other states and regions. Jordan taught his readers and students to see both the details and the big picture, a remarkable accomplishment in an age of specialization.



Jordan possessed another Texas trait that endeared him to many but put off some: He was positively fearless in expressing his opinions. He loved to shatter long-held but unsupported opinions, and his sometimes irreverent interpretations of subjects caused some misunderstandings. For example, in *North American Ranching Frontiers* (1993), Jordan challenged the commonly held belief that western American ranching was primarily inspired by Texan and Spanish/Mexican sources, concluding that its origins revealed strong British roots through the eastern United States. That prompted some scholars to brand Jordan as anti-Hispanic, but those who knew Jordan knew the claim to be absurd.

Jordan is best known for his productive scholarship, but he was also an avid stonemason. This fact is not really surprising given his deep appreciation of the gravemarkers that appear in his *Texas Graveyards*. With his talented hands shaping rock walls in Texas and his inquiring

mind shaping two generations of geographers, Jordan was above all an inspiration. After his marriage to Russian geographer Bella Bychkova in 1997, Jordan hyphenated his name, so do not be surprised to see him also identified as Terry Jordan-Bychkov. That is the name that appears on the last book that he published—*The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Tradition and Landscape* (2003). The Upland South stretches from the Appalachian Highlands down through the Cross Timbers and Hill Country of Texas, a region that Jordan knew intimately. Symbolically enough, the last chapter in this beautifully written and wonderfully illustrated book is entitled "Upland Southern Graveyards." It seems a fitting tribute to the man who studied the world but never lost his love for his native land.

Friends in Austin told me about Jordan's incredibly tough fight against pancreatic cancer, a fight that was both heartbreaking and inspirational. He would come to class while receiving chemotherapy and still deliver wonderful lectures—a fighter to the very end. That, too, should come as no surprise, for Terry Jordan-Bychkov fought for the things he knew were important. Education was his calling, and he lived it to the end.

Frontispiece: William Baile (1836), Pipe Creek ("Brick") Methodist Church between Westminster and New Windsor, MD. Carved by Sebastian "Boss" Hammond.

Carving a Path to Freedom: The Life and Work of African American Stonecarver Sebastian "Boss" Hammond

Mary Ann Ashcraft

In 2001, owners of land lying along the border between Carroll and Frederick Counties in central Maryland discovered the gravestones of two children lying face up in dense undergrowth. The beautifully carved stones bore dates from the mid-1830s. Around them were strewn slabs of local rock with straight edges and the distinct marks of saw blades. The landowners also remembered seeing numerous small stone foundations scattered over the area when they moved there many years ago. Without realizing it, they had stumbled upon the site where a former slave named Sebastian "Boss" Hammond carved more than one hundred elegantly lettered gravestones for nearly three decades in the nineteenth century.[1] His reputation as a stonecutter was widespread during his lifetime, but because he did not sign his work, the memory of Hammond faded rapidly after his death. His rediscovery makes him one of the earliest documented black craftsmen in central Maryland.

Sebastian Boss/Boston/Bostion Hammond was born a slave sometime between 1795 and 1804, probably on a farm belonging to one of the Hammonds of Liberty District, Frederick County, Maryland. This area was home to many large landowners who moved westward from the tidewater region of Maryland during the second half of the eighteenth century, bringing along slaves to work their large holdings. Some of these families were "land-rich, cash-poor": they owned thousands of acres and some slaves but little else. Their homes were usually plain and functional compared to the elegant estates of the Hammonds and Carrolls who lived around Baltimore and Annapolis. In 1824, Boss Hammond's owner, the young widow Area Hammond, promised him freedom on January 8, 1844, and filed the manumission in the Frederick County Courthouse.[2] According to her estimate, Boss was about twenty years old. No doubt she felt she would ensure his loyalty and assistance with this promise. Area soon remarried, but in 1830 she was widowed again and her cousin Colonel Thomas Hammond, the brother of her first husband, purchased Boss at the estate sale of her second husband,

John Walker.[3] Colonel Hammond had extensive land holdings in eastern Frederick County which he farmed using slave labor.

Boss Hammond was approximately thirty years old when Colonel Hammond acquired him and apparently already possessed some stonecarving skills. Colonel Hammond, a politically prominent member of the upper class in Frederick County, may have helped advertise Boss's carving talents to people with whom he came in contact. As Thomas Hammond's slave from 1830 until 1839, Boss Hammond turned out dozens of gravestones. The mid-1830s were his most productive years based upon death dates on the gravestones (Fig. 1). Administration accounts from this period reveal he charged between $10 and $14 for a headstone and footstone, the same price demanded by most other stonecutters working in central Maryland at the time (see Appendix I). It appears the payments were made directly to Boss, not to his owner. There is no way to determine how much of the money he was allowed to keep, but judging from the number of stones he produced, he could have amassed a considerable sum over the nine-year period.

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
[1811]	1	1833	6	1846	3
[1814]	1	1834	10	1847	4
[1815]	1	1835	13	1848	2
[1818]	1	1836	10	1849	3
[1821]	1	1837	8	1850	0
[1823]	1	1838	5	1851	1
[1825]	1	1839	4	1852	0
[1828]	1	1840	4	1853	0
[1829]	3	1841	5	1854	0
1830	3	1842	3	1855	1
1831	2	1844	2	1856	0
1832	6	1845	3	1857	1

Hammond gravestones per year; [ ] = presumably backdated

Fig. 1. Death dates on Hammond gravestones.

On July 29, 1839, Colonel Thomas Hammond granted Boss his freedom nearly five years ahead of the date set by Area Hammond.[4] In the new manumission, his age was given as thirty-eight. That document states he was freed for "divers good causes and considerations," a standard phrase used in most manumissions; no mention is made of specific conditions such as payment of a sum of money. Boss's obituary, written in 1893, says he bought his freedom for $700.[5] If this figure is correct, it was an unusually high price to ask for the release of a man approaching the age of 40. Colonel Hammond may have recognized he was liberating a valuable slave and sought to be compensated accordingly, but it is also possible that oral history was corrupted during the fifty-four years between Boss's manumission and his death. Regardless of the sum, Boss undoubtedly used money he earned carving gravestones toward purchasing his freedom.

Within a year, Boss Hammond had purchased nine acres along the Carroll-Frederick border. He was to live there the remainder of his life (Fig. 2).[6] Between 1841 and 1850 he acquired sixty additional acres, and by 1857 he had bought his wife, Marcella, and eleven children out of slavery.[7] The 1850 census listed his occupation as "stonecutter," but in later years his principal sources of income became farming and lime burning.[8] His land, livestock, and income from the crops he raised would have made him one of the most prosperous African Americans living in the area. Family tradition says he was a leader in his small, primarily black community of Newport and often helped less fortunate families through difficult times.

Because white marble was the most popular material for gravestones in Carroll and Frederick Counties during the nineteenth century, Hammond's dark greenish-gray metabasalt markers are easy to spot from a distance in old cemeteries.[9] According to local residents, he quarried most of his stone less than half a mile from his home. Farmers called it "greenstone" and often used it for foundations, walls, and entire buildings. Hammond may have cut the stone into slabs at a sawmill located near his rock source and then, using his horses, hauled the slabs to his worksite for further preparation. Relatives say he was also a blacksmith, an important skill for someone who constantly needed sharp stonecutting tools at his disposal. Greenstone is ideal for markers as it is relatively soft and easy to carve; doesn't split like slate; is usually free of

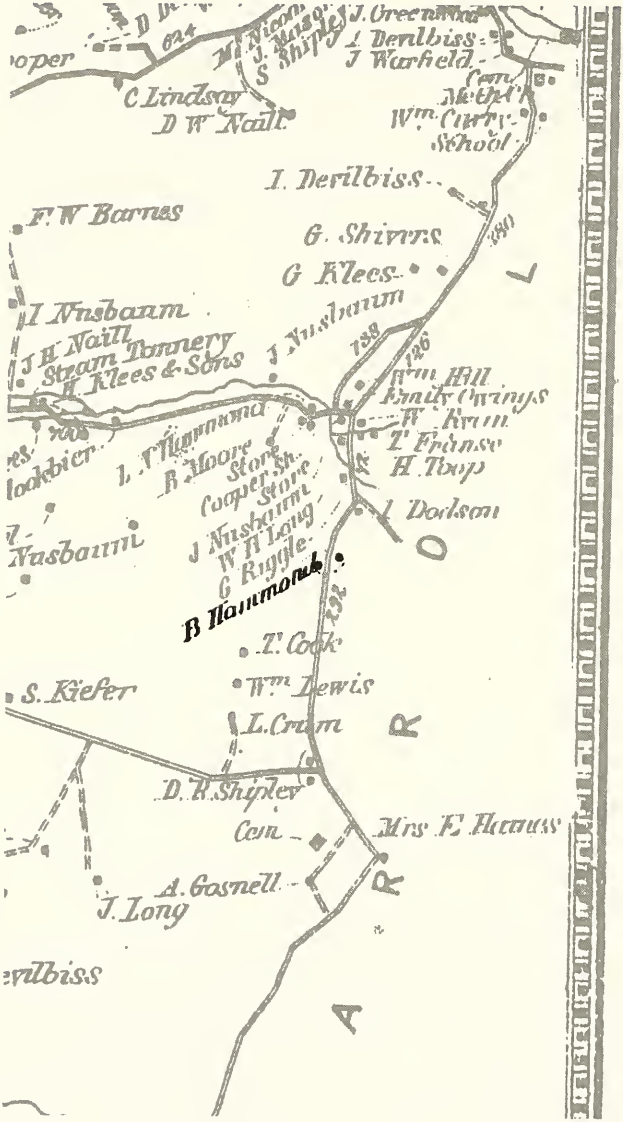


Fig. 2. Portion of 1873 map of eastern Liberty District, Frederick County, Maryland, showing location of B. Hammond's property (center) along the border with Carroll County.

lichen growth; and weathers imperceptibly, even in the climate of central Maryland. Hammond must have chosen his raw material carefully because his markers are generally free of imperfections although color variations and small inclusions are common. Several were found with bits of white filler he apparently used for minor surface repairs.

The headstone of Malakiah Bonham bears the earliest death date (1811) of any Hammond stone, although it could not have been made until many years later (cover; Fig. 7). Hammond markers with death dates prior to 1830 were probably made during the 1830s or early 1840s when he was at the height of his carving career and his reputation was spreading. It is John Walker's gravestone with a death date of 1830 that helps establish the beginning of Boss Hammond's stonecarving career (Fig. 3). Walker and his wife, Area Hammond, owned Boss in 1830, making it somewhat more likely that the marker was carved near the time of Walker's death. It is shaped like other Hammond headstones and bears his trademark motifs, but it differs in many important respects. Although "SACRED" dominates the stone, it is less bold than usual and the word "Age" is also somewhat tentative in its execution. The incised border is well done, but most of the words are poorly spaced, the punctuation is nonstandard, and many letters and numerals are ill-formed (Fig. 4). Hammond's interlace motif in the lobe is rather lopsided and is surrounded by tiny dots—a treatment not seen elsewhere (Fig. 5). The workmanship on Walker's headstone is clearly that of a beginner. None of his other gravestones shows so many signs of inexperience; in fact, it seems remarkable that all the others, regardless of the death dates on them, are so expertly carved in his mature style.

Although Hammond produced scores of markers during his carving career, his name rarely appears in administration accounts. Carroll County's administration accounts were searched from 1837 (the year the county was formed) until 1850, yet only a few listed Hammond as receiving payment for gravestones (see Appendix 1). Hammond's name is equally scarce in Frederick County's records. No known Hammond marker bears a death date after 1857, with the exception of a few "recycled" ones which he or a family member may have sold years later. If he continued carving after 1857, he must have drastically changed his style and begun using marble, but it seems more probable he turned his energies to farming, lime burning, and blacksmithing for the remainder of his long life.

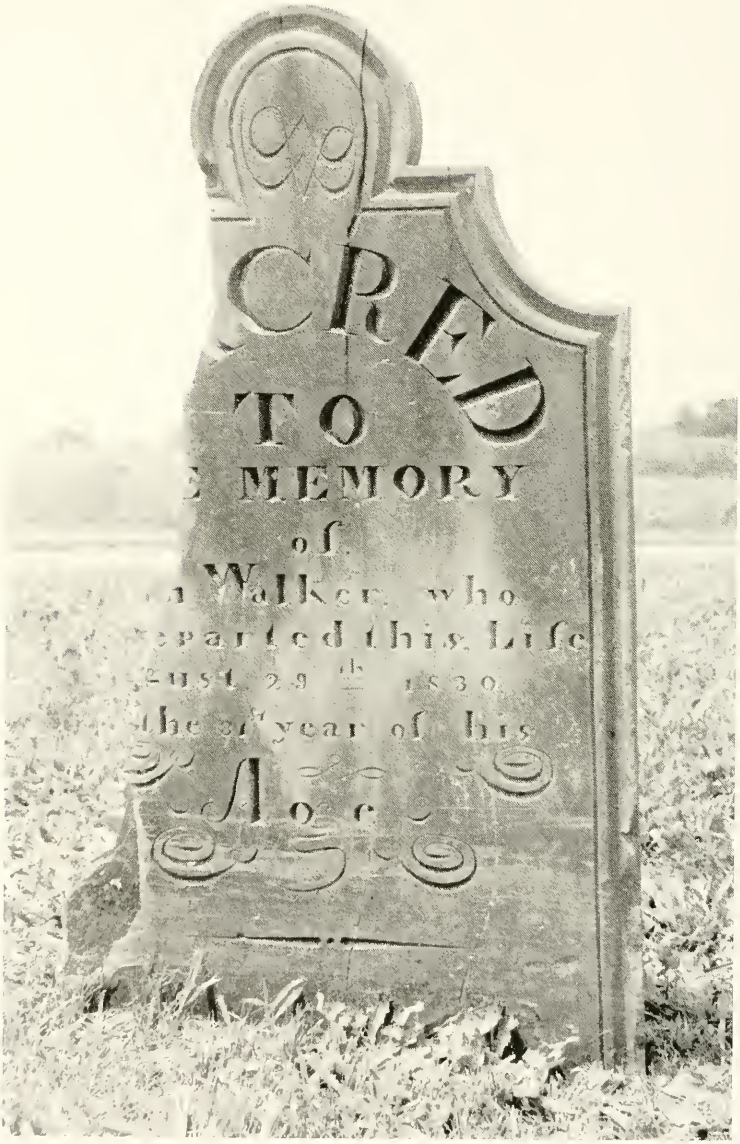


Fig. 3. John Walker (1830), Fairmount Cemetery, Libertytown, Frederick County.

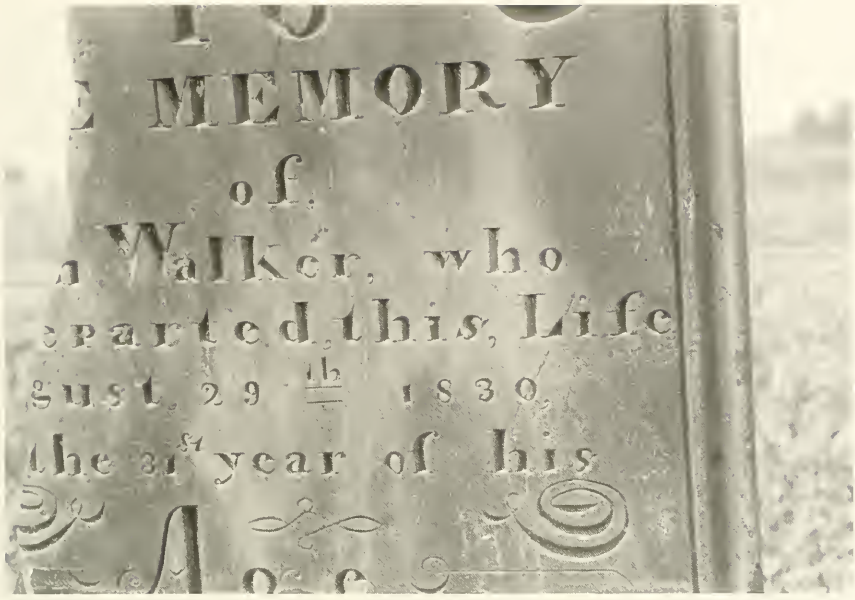


Fig. 4. Crudely executed lettering on John Walker gravestone (1830), Fairmount Cemetery, Libertytown, Frederick County, appears to reveal Hammond's inexperience.

Hammond created distinctive greenstone markers in two basic shapes that vary in proportion and size. From the 1830s until the mid-1840s, he produced the shape seen in the John Lindsay gravestone (1833) with its prominent central lobe and concave shoulders (Fig. 6). A few stones in this style have very exaggerated concave shoulders which extend far down the sides (Fig. 7). No other carver in the vicinity used this shape, although many others produced the simple rectangle with small concave shoulders Hammond began cutting in the mid-1840s (Fig. 8). All of his later gravestones are in this shape.

Hammond laid out his markers with an artist's sense of balance between lettering and ornamentation. Every gravestone has a simple but elegant incised double border formed by chiseling a wide, half-round gutter about one inch from the edge of the stone and an inner narrow groove which also follows the stone's contour. This double border creates a beautiful frame for his text and decorative elements.

Fig. 5. Detail of lobe of John Walker gravestone (1830), Fairmount Cemetery, Libertytown, Frederick County, with interlace surrounded by small dots (not seen on other stones).

Fig. 6. John Lindsay (1833), Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County, showing the standard shape of gravestones Hammond carved in the 1830s and early 1840s.

Fig. 7. Malakiah Bonham (1811) at Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County, with exaggerated concave shoulders. Presumably backdated.

Fig. 8. Amy Nusbaum (1849), Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County, squared top typical of Hammond's later work.

What really distinguishes Boss Hammond's gravestones is their dramatic lettering and appealing decorative motifs borrowed from calligraphy. The word "SACRED" is boldly and deeply carved in capital letters spanning the entire width of the stone. It dominates all other features, including the name of the deceased, and creates a striking three-dimensional effect. Each letter has prominent serifs; those on the "S" are curled and ornate, while those on the other letters are strictly angular, created by deep, straight cuts of the chisel (Fig. 9). The execution of this word leaves little doubt that Hammond thoroughly enjoyed his craft. In a raking light, "SACRED" takes on an almost sculptured appearance. None of his work has been found with the familiar weeping willows, urns, mourning figures, or other representational designs occasionally used by central Maryland carvers during the 1830s and 1840s.

On lobe-style gravestones, Hammond usually carved a lovely calligraphic ornament called an "interlace" within the lobe (Figs. 6,7,9). The design, one of his trademarks, doesn't appear on any other stones in north-central Maryland, but a similar interlace has been found on gravemarkers in an adjacent Pennsylvania county.[10] The shallow, delicate carving of the interlace enhances the lobe and contrasts with the deeply chiseled "SACRED" beneath. Hammond occasionally used another interlace resembling the infinity symbol, but this design was less skillfully executed (Fig. 9). He frequently carved pairs of small motifs resembling curved, interlaced arrows to fill the large empty space on either side of the word "OF." The strong v-cut of his chisel is particularly evident in these unusual designs. Many of the same decorative elements used on his lobe-style gravestones also appear on the rectangular ones. His ornamentation was chiefly curvilinear, and the contrast between it and his crisp, rather angular lettering gives great vibrancy to his work.

The text of Hammond's gravestones follows the standard biographical formula, beginning with "Sacred to the memory of," then the name of the deceased, and finally the date of death and age in years, months and days. Hammond based his block lettering on commonly used eighteenth- and nineteenth-century typefaces; however, it is far more dynamic and exciting than that of contemporary carvers in the area. He created a very personal style which carried variations in thickness of each letter to the extreme. The exaggeration is most obvious in the word "SACRED," but it appears whenever he used capital letters

Fig. 9. Ludwick Greenwood (1844), Greenwood Cemetery, New Windsor, Carroll County, illustrating the three-dimensional effect Hammond created with his deeply carved letters.

such as in the name of the deceased or the month of death. Unlike most carvers of the period, his capital letters are much bolder and thicker than his lower case letters. His serifs are also very pronounced. Letters are well spaced and nicely proportioned. In most instances, he planned each line carefully so words did not require hyphenation and letters were of uniform size. He always placed the name of the deceased on a line of its own, never adding other words to detract from it. His use of punctuation to abbreviate dates or age was sophisticated and included extra strokes not usually added by other carvers (Fig. 10). His numerals are beautifully executed with the same variation in thickness he created for letters.

The inscriptions on some of Boss Hammond's most attractive markers end with the word "Age" greatly enlarged near the bottom of the stone and surrounded with lovely calligraphic ornaments (Fig. 10). "Age" is a comparatively light and delicate design which complements and offsets the boldness of the word "SACRED" (Fig. 6). It ensures that a viewer's eyes will sweep across the entire surface of the stone from top to bottom. These dominant elements frame the several lines of biographical text and balance the entire composition. While Hammond's beautifully formed letters and skillfully executed calligraphic devices prove he was a master carver, the composition of the stones proves he was an artist as well.

Fewer than a dozen of Hammond's gravemarkers end with verse epitaphs. These stones tend to be less aesthetically pleasing than verseless ones because the attractive balance of text and decorative elements is destroyed when four, eight, or even twelve extra lines are added at the bottom. Nevertheless, the verses are technically well executed with accurate spelling and punctuation and usually with appropriate capitalization. He used several different conventional verses, the most common being:

Kind angels watch the sleeping dust,
Till Jesus comes to raise the Just.
Then may she (he) wake with sweet surprise
And in her (his) Saviour's image rise.

Hammond's footstones match the shape of the headstones and always include the characteristic incised border plus bold initials

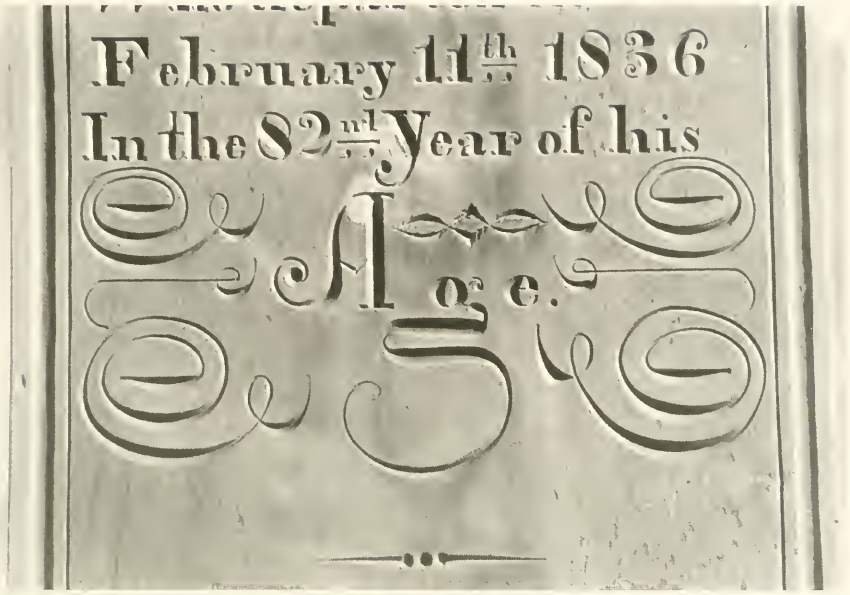


Fig. 10. Detail showing calligraphic ornamentation, Nathan Magruder (1836), Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County.

(Fig. 11). A few add the death date. The price for a headstone and footstone eventually reached $21.00 in the 1840s (see Appendix I). There was probably no cost involved in obtaining the raw material, so the charges covered his labor to quarry the stone, then shape, polish, and letter the markers. Nicholas Benson, a master stonecarver and the owner of the John Stevens Shop in Newport, Rhode Island, estimated it would take approximately a week to letter a stone similar to the one made for John Lindsay (Fig. 6).[11]

Boss Hammond also lettered a few marble markers. A handful of stones have been found with his bold "SACRED" and unique method of punctuating ages and dates (Fig. 12). Their shape is typical of early nineteenth-century gravestones erected in central Maryland, but very different from Hammond's markers. One Frederick County administration record shows he was paid $4.05 for the lettering, less than half the sum he received when he made a stone from start to finish.[12]

According to his obituary, Hammond "did not know one letter from another," and the census records also indicate he could neither read nor

Fig. 11. J. H. Warfield footstone (unknown date), Bethel U. M. Cemetery, Marston, Carroll County.

write.[13] If this is true, the caliber of his work is truly astonishing. Names and dates are spelled correctly on almost every stone and complex verses are perfectly reproduced. Perhaps he relied upon occasional help from a literate neighbor when he was in doubt, but his accuracy also was the result of his close attention to detail as he worked. It is also possible the census records and obituary were incorrect. By the late 1840s, significant spacing problems, misspellings, and other errors appear on two or three of his markers. About the same time, he began utilizing another kind of stone for some of his markers—a dark gray to black slate-like material.

Fig. 12. William M. Worman (1836), Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County. Hammond appears to have lettered this lichen-encrusted marble stone.

The lettering on markers made from this stone is not as crisp as that on the greenstone markers, but it may be less a function of carving skill than of differences in the stone's resistance to weathering over the past 150 years or the texture of the stone itself.

Although Hammond's style changed very little over the course of his career and he did not follow the trends of other local carvers, his work was in demand judging by the number of families who purchased multiple gravestones from him. Five members of the Kiler family are buried beneath his markers at St. Luke's (Winter's) Lutheran Cemetery near New Windsor in Carroll County. Other local families such as the Greenwoods, Drachs, Bailes, Warfields and Bennetts also purchased multiple markers (see Appendix II). Of six gravestones found in the Michael Haines Family Cemetery, four were carved by Hammond. The only known marker he made specifically for an African American was that for Rosanna Cassell. Her estate was administered by a local white farmer named Levi Devilbiss, who lived near Hammond and undoubtedly knew of his craftsmanship.[14]

There is no direct evidence that explains how Hammond learned his trade. When he was a young slave, his owner could have apprenticed him to a stonecutter, but it is more probable he was engaged in farming until he was in his mid- to late twenties. He might have obtained some experience working with stone by being hired out to a stonemason; it was a common practice to hire out slaves temporarily to local craftsmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and stonemasons.

A carver who put the initials "J.N." on his markers and lived near the Carroll/Frederick County border during the 1820s may be the person who taught Boss Hammond to make gravestones. Three of J.N.'s stones appear in the same cemeteries with Hammond's. J.N.'s work, which predates the period when Boss Hammond probably began carving by about five years, shares many features with Hammond's. Both craftsmen carved their markers from local greenstone, and although they shaped the tops of their markers very differently, the multiple border and calligraphic ornaments link J.N.'s 1820s stone for Frederick Buser with Hammond's stones (Fig. 13). As on Hammond markers, block Roman capitals are followed by text in upper and lower case. On the Buser gravemarker, J.N. not only used a matching pair of calligraphic ornaments almost identical to those Hammond carved, but he also used

Fig. 13. Fred'k Buser gravestone (1822?), signed "J.N.," St. Luke's (Winter's) Lutheran Cemetery, New Windsor, Carroll County. Some elements of J.N.'s stones link them to Hammond's work.

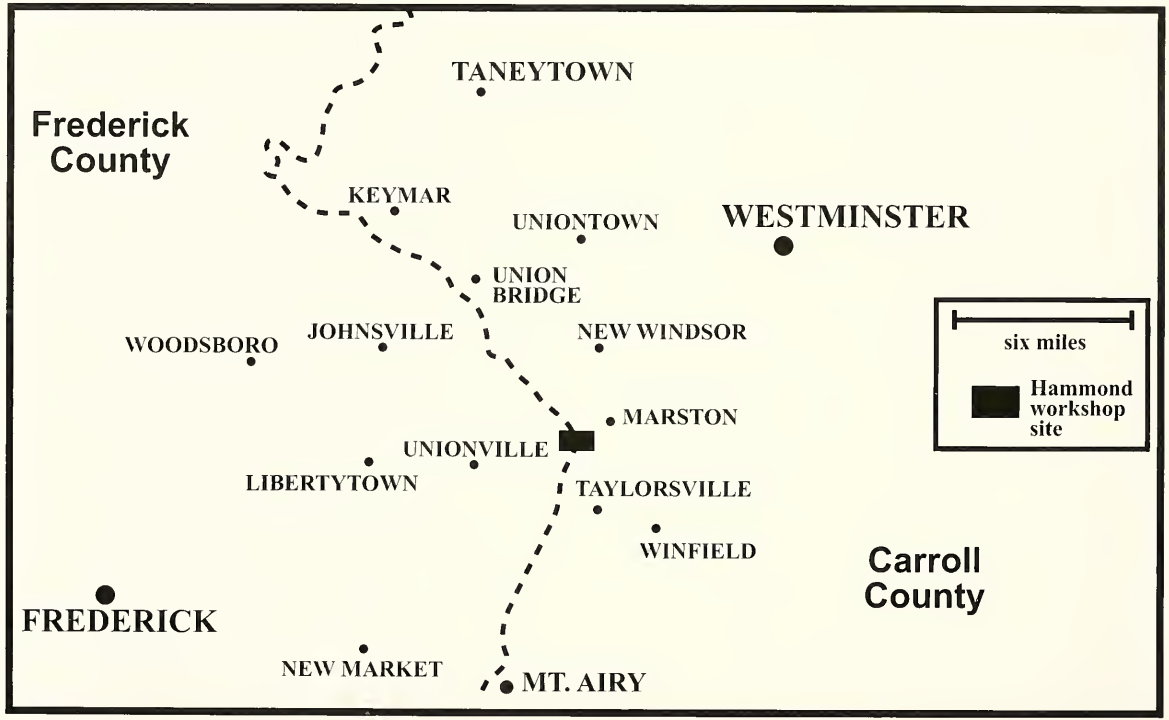


Fig. 14. Map of Central Maryland showing the area in Carroll and Frederick Counties where all but two Hammond gravestones are found.

them in the same way to fill out a short line of text. No other carvers in the region used these calligraphic devices. J.N.'s work is delicate and sophisticated, with shallowly-incised lettering in mixed typefaces as well as calligraphic script. His calligraphic ornaments are equally shallow. In contrast, Hammond's stones appear more flamboyant with their boldly executed block lettering and calligraphic devices that are deeply incised and eye-catching. Although the carvers' styles are very different, there are enough similarities to suggest that a working relationship existed between them at one time.

Although Boss Hammond ceased carving gravestones around 1860, he continued to farm and burn lime in the Newport area for many more years. In 1880 he was forced to sell most of his land to settle an old debt. His wife and oldest son preceded him in death. Hammond passed away March 31, 1893, and was buried in the cemetery at Fairview, a historic African American church on the border between Carroll and Frederick Counties. His gravestone lists his age as ninety-eight. In the *American Sentinel* [Carroll County] of April 8, 1893, his obituary noted that "the funeral of 'Boss' Hammond was very largely attended by both white and colored."[15] The same day another Carroll County newspaper, the *Democratic Advocate*, called Hammond "a worthy colored man, of Frederick county," and commented that "many graveyards in Frederick and Carroll counties bear evidence of his skill as a workman, some of his lettering having been done over seventy-five years ago. He at one time was well off, but lost his property and died poor."[16] Hammond left no will or record of the disposition of his household furnishings or carving tools. If his sons ever helped him with stonecutting as young men, there is no evidence they continued after their father gave up his craft. Hammond's small gravestone at Fairview is a recycled one he originally carved for someone else. He hardly needed a memorial, however, for over one hundred gravestones scattered principally in cemeteries along the Carroll and Frederick County border (Fig. 14) bear eloquent testimony to the man and his talent.

NOTES

The author is indebted to George and Ann Parry Horvath for their assistance in researching many aspects of this subject and for their constant and enthusiastic support. Staff at the Carroll and Frederick County Courthouses were always helpful and cooperative. For more than seven years, friends in the Carroll County Genealogical Society, the Historical Society of Carroll County, and the Historical Society of Frederick County listened kindly to new developments in Boss Hammond's story and offered leads. A somewhat different version of this essay appeared under the title "Sacred to the Memory: The Stonecarving of Sebastian Hammond" in *Catoctin History* (Spring 2003), pp. 20-27.

[Editor's note: A few other African American stonecarvers or gravestone makers have been identified. Vincent Luti, "Case for a Black Stone Carver," in his *Mallet and Chisel: Gravestone Carvers of Newport, Rhode Island in the 18th Century* (Boston: NEHGS, 2002), pp. 297-300, sifts the evidence of the claims about African Americans working in the famous Steven's Shop of Newport. There are several books as well as articles on William Edmondson, who created gravemarkers and sculptural pieces in Tennessee until just before his death in 1951; the most recent is Robert Farris Thompson, et al., *The Art of William Edmondson* (Nashville, TN: Cheekwood Museum of Art; and Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999). See also Patricia Brady, "Florville Foy, F.M.C.: Master Marble Cutter and Tomb Builder," *Southern Quarterly* 31:2 (Winter 1993): 8-20; and Barbara Rotundo, "A Modern Gravestone Maker: Some Lessons for Gravestone Historians," *Markers XIV* (1997): 86-109, which discusses the work of Merry E. Veal of Mississippi. Veal produced gravestones of cast cement beginning in the 1960s. Rotundo also includes references to a few other African American stonecarvers and folk sculptors. M. Ruth Little's *Sticks and Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 239-258, describes African American traditions, particularly the cast cement work of Renial Culbreth, Issiah McEachin, and several anonymous folk craftsmen. Ted Delaney, Archivist & Curator of the Old City Cemetery, Lynchburg, Virginia, reports that William Henry Jefferson (also known by the last name "Taylor" or "Tayloe" before c. 1855) "carved about 50 or 60 stones in the Old City Cemetery" for fellow African Americans (email to the editor, February 25, 2004).]

[1] Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Malatt donated the gravestones to the Historical Society of Carroll County and the Maryland Historical Society.

[2] Frederick County (MD) Land Records, Liber JS 19, Folio 288. Two male slaves in the age category between 14 and 25 were listed as the property of Upton Hammond, Area Hammond's first husband, in the 1820 Census. One of these slaves may have been Boss. See 1820 Census, Liberty District, Frederick County, MD, 211.

[3] Frederick County (MD) Land Records, Liber HS 9, Folio 322-323. The manumission reads in part, "and by these presents do hereby release from slavery liberate manumit and set free my Dark Mullatto (sic) man named Boss, being of the age of thirty eight years which Slave I purchased at the sale

of the personal property of John Walker dec'd in 1830, to serve until the 8th day of January 1844 Said Slave being heretofore manumitted to serve until said 8th January 1844 by Mrs. Area Hammond who afterwards intermarried with the said John Walker, reference being had to the said deed of manumission recorded in the office of the Clerk of Frederick County Court."

[4] Ibid.

[5] *Democratic Advocate* (Westminster, Carroll County, MD), 28:23 (April 8, 1893).

[6] Frederick County (MD) Land Records, Liber HS 11, Folio 528.

[7] Mary Fitzhugh Hitselberger and John Philip Dern, *Bridge in Time: The Complete 1850 Census of Frederick County, Maryland* (Redwood City, CA: Monocacy Book Co., 1978), 436; Frederick County Land Records, Liber ES 7, Folio 302.

[8] Hitselberger and Dern, 554-555; 1860 Census, Liberty District, Frederick Co., MD, 75; 1880 Census, Linganore District, Frederick Co., MD, 14.

[9] The metamorphic rock formation known as Sam's Creek Metabasalt appears frequently as outcroppings of dark gray-green schistose to massive rock along the border between Carroll and Frederick Counties. Hammond would have preferred to work with the massive variety of metabasalt because it was less likely to split when shaped into gravestones than the schistose variety. The formation received its name from Sam's Creek, which flows near Hammond's home and forms part of the Carroll-Frederick border for several miles. Not all of Hammond's markers are cut from metabasalt; he also used other local, dark stone more closely resembling slate.

[10] Gary Collison reported that a stonecarver who used very similar calligraphic devices worked in the German-speaking area of northern Adams County, Pennsylvania, during approximately the same period as Boss Hammond. Adams County forms part of the northern border of Carroll County; the areas are separated by roughly fifty miles. See Jacqueline Kimball, "Gravestones, Carvers and Ethnic Pride (Interview with and photography by Gary Collison)," *Stone in America* (July 1999): 18-23.

[11] Personal communication, Nicholas Benson.

[12] Frederick County Administration Accounts, Liber GME 12, Folio 130-135.

[13] *Democratic Advocate.*

[14] Frederick County Administration Accounts, Liber GME 14, 217-218.

[15] *American Sentinel* (Westminster, Carroll County, MD), 61:14 (April 8, 1893).

[16] *Democratic Advocate.*

Appendix I

Probate Payments to Sebastian "Boss" Hammond

John Lindsay —Frederick Co. GME 10, 174-178. Account dated May 13, 1834. "For d° paid Boss Hammond for a pair of tombstones . . . $14.00." Stone at Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County.

Conrad Duderer —Frederick Co. GME 10, 539-541. Account dated February 2, 1835. "For d° paid Boss Hammond for pr tombstones . . . $12.00." Stone last seen in 1930 on Dudderar Farm near Oak Orchard, Frederick County.

Michael Baile —Frederick Co. GME 11, 280-281. Account dated September 28, 1835. "For d° paid Boss Hammond for pair of tombstones . . . $12.00." Stone at Baile Family Cemetery near Marston, Carroll County.

Henry Bond —Frederick Co. GME 11, 441-443. Account dated February 8, 1836. "For d° paid Boss Hammond for a pair of Tomb stones . . . $10.00." Stone at Pipe Creek Church of the Brethren Cemetery near Uniontown, Carroll County.

William Worman —Frederick Co. GME 12, 130-135. Account dated October 25, 1836. "For D° Paid Boss Hammond [for lettering] . . . $4.05." Stone at Linganore U. M. Cemetery, Unionville, Frederick County.

Rosannah Shuey —Carroll Co. JB 1, 279-280. Account dated May 11, 1840. "D° paid Boss Hammond for pair of tombstones . . . $11.00." Stone at St. Luke's (Winter's) Lutheran Cemetery near New Windsor, Carroll County.

Simon Kiler —Carroll Co. JB 1, 334-335. Account dated Nov. 16, 1840. "D° Paid Boss Hammond for a pair of tomb stones . . . $11.50." Stone at St. Luke's (Winter's) Lutheran Cemetery near New Windsor, Carroll County.

Rosanna Cassell (col'd) —Frederick Co. GME 14, 217-218. Account dated February 22, 1841. "For d° p^{d} Boss Hammond for a pair of tombstones . . . $13.00." Location of stone unknown.

Charles Franklin —Carroll Co. JB 2, 9-10. Accounted dated Jan. 23, 1843. "Paid Boss Hammon for tombstones . . . $10.00." Stone in Franklin Family Cemetery near Taylorsville, Carroll County.

Casper Devilbiss —Frederick Co. GME 15:258. Account dated May 22, 1843. "For this sum paid Bostion Hammond for tombstones . . . $11.00." Stone in Devilbiss Family Cemetery near Oak Orchard, Frederick County.

Ludwick Greenwood —Carroll Co. JB 2, 345-346. Account dated Dec. 22, 1845. "For d° Paid Boston Hammond for pair of Tomb stones . . . $21.00." Stone at Greenwood Church Cemetery near New Windsor, Carroll County.

Susannah Devilbiss —Carroll Co. JB 2, 400-401. Account dated April 20, 1846. "Paid Bostion Hamon for gravestones . . . $15.00." Stone in Devilbiss Family Cemetery near Oak Orchard, Frederick County.

Mary Haines —Carroll Co. JB 2, 429-430. Account dated Aug. 10, 1846. "P^{d} Boss Hammond for grave stones . . . $21.00." Location of stone unknown.

Appendix II

Location of Gravestones Cut and/or Lettered by Sebastian "Boss" Hammond

Date given is the year of death. Stones with dates prior to 1830 are presumably backdated. Probated stones are underlined. Locations are current as of 2003, but are not necessarily the original ones. All are in Carroll County unless designed "FC" (Frederick County), or "BC" (Baltimore County).

Unknown Location (likely CC or FC)

Cassell, Rosanna (col'd) ..... ca 1839

Haines, Mary .....ca. 1846

Baile Family Cemetery near Marston

Baile, Michael 1834

Bethel United Methodist Cemetery near Marston

W., J. H. .....unknown date

Warfield, Caroline .....unknown date

Howard, Juliet 1829

Warfield, Francis H. 1830

Dorsey, Richard G. 1832

Warfield, Evelina H. 1833

Warfield, Hannah Y. 1835

Warfield, Dennis 1835

Warfield, Alexander 1835

Gosnell, Christena 1838

Bennett, Elizabeth 1846

Wright, John D. E. 1847

Wright, Hannah C. 1847

Wright, Eliza J. 1847

Crawmer, Rachel 1848

Miller, Deborah H. 1848

Sebier, Sarah T. ..... 1871 (recycled)

Buckingham Family Cemetery near Taylorsville

Buckingham, Esther 1829

Cassell Family Cemetery near Westminster

Cassell, Jonathan 1828

Cassell, Mary 1834

Roop, Susannah 1845

Devilbiss Family Cemetery near Oak Orchard, FC

Devilbiss, Caspar 1835

Devilbiss, Susannah 1840

Dudderar Family Cemetery near Unionville, FC

Duderer, Conrad 1831
(stone last seen ca. 1930)

Ebenezer United Methodist Cemetery near Winfield

Shipley, Areaminta 1815

Shipley, John 1840

Fairmount Cemetery, Libertytown, FC

Walker, John 1830

Fairview United Methodist Cemetery near Taylorsville

Hammond, Marcella ..... 1890 (recycled)

Hammond, Cora E. ..... 1891 (recycled)

Hammond, Sebastian ..... 1893 (recycled)

Hammond, Lina U. ..... 1896 (recycled)

Franklin Family Cemetery near Taylorsville

____, Frederick .....unknown date

____, Susanna .....unknown date
____, Rachel 1832
Barnes, George W. 1832
Buckingham, Upton B. 1833
Franklin, Charles 1840

Greenwood Church Cemetery near New Windsor, CC

James, Mary 1833
Greenwood, Washington.....1838
Greenwood, Lewis 1842
Greenwood, Ludwick 1844
James, Nancy 1846
Greenwood, Jacob 1849

Haines Family Cemetery near Marston

Baile, Nancy 1818
Haines, David 1821
Baile, Eliza 1835
Hooper, John 1837

Historical Society of Carroll County, 210 E. Main Street, Westminster

Picket, John T. W. 1834

Historical Society of Frederick County, 24 E. Church Street, Frederick

Gosnell, Margaret 1834

Johnsville United Methodist Cemetery, Johnsville, FC

Repp, Solomon 1835

Linganore United Methodist Cemetery, Unionville, FC

Bonham, Malakiah 1811
Bonham, Mary W. 1832
Barnes, Sarah Ann 1832
Greentree, Hannah C. 1832
Coomes, Finetta 1833
Dell, Fransanah 1833
Lindsay, John 1833
Worman, Charles W. ..... 1834 (marble)
Worman, William M. ..... 1835 (marble)
Worman, William ..... 1835 (marble)
Danner, Catharine 1836
Ecker, John, Jr. 1836
Magruder, Nathan 1836
Mercer, double stone for 2 children.....1837
Miller, James Augustus 1838
Shafer, James H. 1838
Miller, Elizabeth Jane 1839
Hartsock, Kitty Ann 1845
Nusbaum, Amy 1849
Dorsey, Sarah .....(recycled in 1902)

Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore

Parsons, John Marshall 1835

Middletown Union Cemetery, Middletown, BC

Bull, Susannah 1837
Bull, William Henry 1837

Nicodemus Family Cemetery near New Windsor

Nicodemus, Ann Mariah 1839

Pipe Creek "Brick" United Methodist Cemetery near New Windsor

Baile, William 1836
Hooper, Mary 1836

Pipe Creek Church of the Brethren Cemetery near Uniontown

Bond, John 1814
Bond, William H. 1823
Zimmerman, Jacob 1834
Bond, Henry 1835
Snader, Mary 1835
Snader, Joseph Englar 1836
Engle, Elizabeth 1841

Hess, Noah ..... 1845 (recycled)
Snader, Ann Maria 1846
Snader, Jacob 1847
Englar, Daniel 1849
Nusbaum, Elizabeth 1851

St. John's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Westminster

Williams, Hannah 1831

St. Luke's (Winter's) Lutheran Cemetery near New Windsor

Townsend, Samuel 1825
Drach, Catharine 1834
Townsend, David 1835
Drach, Adam 1835
Drach, Catharine 1835
Kiler, Elizabeth 1836
Drach, Catharine 1837
Kiler, Sarah Ann 1838
Kiler, Simon 1839
Shuey, Rosanna 1839
Hanna, Mary Magd. 1841
Long, Barbara 1841
Smith, Eliza Ann 1841
Kiler, Andrew 1842
Kiler, Jacob 1844

St. Peter's Rocky Hill Lutheran Cemetery near Woodsboro, FC

Renner, Mary 1829
Fogle, Mary .....183?
Lock, Susanna 1837
Lock, Margaret Custy 1837

Salem United Methodist Cemetery near Winfield

Bennett, Benjamin 1834
Bennett, Polly 1836

Sam's Creek Church of the Brethren near Marston

Young, Ann 1834
Young, George 1834

Taylorsville United Methodist Cemetery, Taylorsville

Young, Benjamin F. ..... 1841 (marble)

Tener/Hooper Family Cemetery near Taylorsville

Zile, Conrad 1830
Collins, John C. 1837
Hooper, Julia Ann 1855
Hooper, Joseph T. F. 1857

Engraving of King Philip as imagined long after his death by silversmith patriot Paul Revere. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

Gravemarkers and Memorials of King Philip's War

Tom and Brenda Malloy

On June 20, 1675, warriors under the command of King Philip attacked Swansea, Massachusetts, thus initiating a war that would result in the destruction of twenty-five towns or about one-fourth of the English settlements in New England. King Philip, the son of Massasoit, was the Christian name given to Metacom, the sachem of the Pokanoket-Wampanoags. For additional forces Philip allied himself with Narragansett, Nipmuck, and Abenaki Indians for a war that, in proportion to population, inflicted greater casualties than any other war in American history. The conflict became known as King Philip's War. This essay provides a narrative of events in the war that are documented by existing memorials and gravemarkers (Fig. 1).

The day after the initial attack on Swansea, a relief force was sent to aid the town. The colonial soldiers established a command post at the settlement's Myles Garrison House and began to engage the Indians. During the next two days, nine men were killed and two were mortally wounded. Today, the approximate location of the Myles Garrison House is marked by a bronze tablet affixed to a large boulder. The top of the tablet reads:

Myles Garrison House
Site
Near This Spot Stood
The John Myles Garrison House
The Place Of Meeting Of The Troops Of
Massachusetts Bay And Plymouth Colonies
Commanded By
Major Thomas Savage And James Culsworth
Who Marched To The Relief Of Swansea
At the Opening Of King Philip's War
A. D. 1675

The bottom of the tablet reads, "These Fell In Swansea Slain By The Indians," followed by a listing of the names of eleven men. Because on

Fig. 1. Map of Massachusetts showing locations of King Philip's War memorials and gravesites mentioned in the text.

many occasions soldiers and victims of King Philip's War were buried in unmarked graves where they fell, this boulder and plaque could be considered a cenotaph for these eleven men.

A gravemarker for an early victim of the war can be found on the front lawn of a home in Berkley (Fig. 2), which is three towns to the east of Swansea. It marks the grave of Edward Bobbett. Bobbett lived in a home here with his wife and nine children. Upon hearing of the attack on Swansea, he began moving his family to the safety of nearby Taunton. With his family some distance ahead of him, Bobbett realized that they were being pursued by some Wampanoag. Edward, who was accompanied by a family dog, hid himself in a tree, but his position was given away by the dog's barking. The Indians fired into the tree and killed Bobbett. Soon after, he was buried where he fell and the location is now marked by a plaque on a small boulder. The plaque reads: "In Memory of Edward Bobbett, Slain Here by Indians, June 25, 1675 and Buried Near This Spot." Family descendants erected this replacement

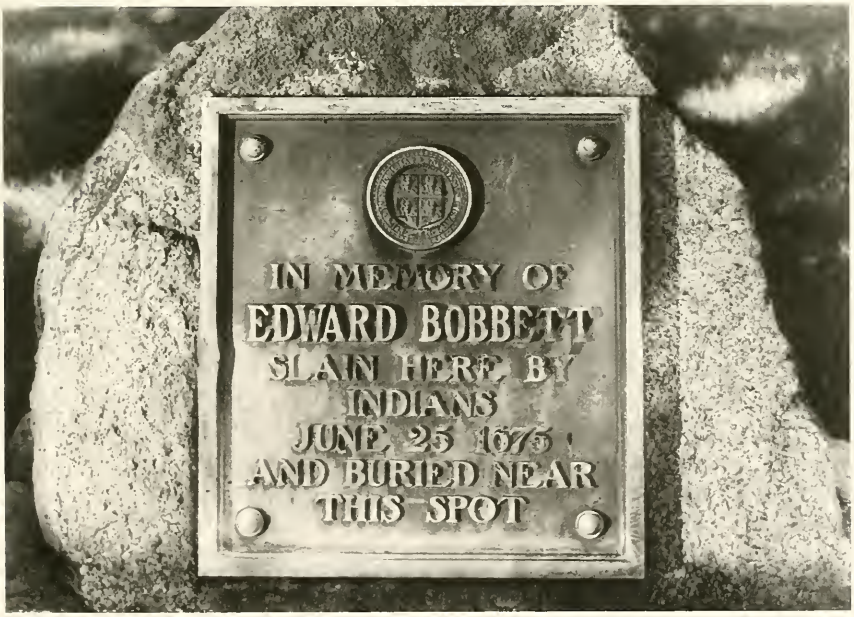


Fig. 2. Plaque marking Edward Bobbett's grave, Berkley, Massachusetts.

marker in 1911. At the same time as the replacement marker was erected, the crude headstone that originally marked the location was placed in the hands of a local historical society.[1]

The following month Wampanoags attacked Middleborough, burning the settlement and forcing its evacuation. Evidence of this flight can be found on the Miller family marker in the Middleborough cemetery. On the side of the marker is inscribed: "Francis Miller Was One Of The Householders Driven Back To Plymouth From Middleborough By The Indians In 1675." The front of the monument provides evidence of the family's return:

In Memory Of
JOHN MILLER
Died May 11, 1720, In The 97th Year Of His Age
He Was One Of The Householders Who
Returned To Middleborough From Plymouth
After King Philip's War And At Their First
Meeting in June, 1677 Resolved To Repossess
Their Estates

A week after the attack on Middleborough, Nipmuck allies of the Wampanoag attacked Mendon, a town about thirty miles northwest of Middleborough. Today, at a traffic intersection, a boulder with a bronze tablet marks the approximate location of the assault. Not much is known about this attack, nor about the half dozen or so victims who were killed while at work in their fields. However, the tablet does list some of those who died:

Near This Spot
The Wife And Son Of
Mathias Puffer
The Son Of John Rockwood
And Other Inhabitants Of Mendon
Were Killed By Nipmuck Indians
14 July 1675
The Beginning Of King Philip's War
In The Colony Of Massachusetts

The marker notes that this attack began King Philip's War in the Colony of Massachusetts because the earlier attacks took place in Plymouth Colony.

During the first week of August, at the central Massachusetts town of New Braintree, the Nipmucks launched an ambush. The attack, which has become known as Wheeler's Surprise, is described on a West Brookfield historical marker:

> One mile to the southwest, off the North Brookfield Road, Edward Hutchinson's Company seeking a parley with the Nipmucks was ambushed by Indians August 2, 1675, and more than half were slain. Captain Hutchinson died from his wounds. Captain Thomas Wheeler was wounded but escaped.

Captain Edward Hutchinson, noted in the marker as dying from his wounds, expired seventeen days after the battle in the town of Marlborough while attempting to reach his home in Boston. Ironically, he died thirty-two years to the month after his mother, Ann Hutchinson, was killed by Indians on Long Island. Edward Hutchinson was the first burial in Marlborough's Spring Hill Cemetery, where his grave is marked by a plaque attached to a simple field stone.[2] The plaque, which wasn't placed until 1921, reads: "Captin Edward Hutchinson, Aged 62 Yeares, Was Shot By Treacherous Indians August 2, 1675. Dyed 19 August 1675."

Four weeks after Wheeler's Surprise, another Indian ambush took place at a location just south of Northfield, a town on the New Hampshire border. Here a granite monument states: "On this plain Captain Richard Beers and his men were surprised by Indians Sept. 4, 1675." Captain Beers was in the command of thirty-six men who were attempting to evacuate the Northfield settlement that had been attacked by Indians two days previously. During the fight, twenty-one men were killed, including the captain. On September 6, another military unit was able to evacuate the dead from the Beers force. A historical marker located near the ambush site states: "Grave of Captain Richard Beers, killed by Indians on September 4, 1675. His monument is on the mountain side above." Today a modern marker on the front lawn of a private school

marks the burial spot. It reads: "The Grave of Capt. Richard Beers killed near this spot by Indians Sept. 4, 1675." This marker identifies only the proximity of Beers's grave because it had been moved from its original location near the foundation of the school's main building. Prior to the erection of the modern stone, the grave was marked by two stones set as foot and head stones.[3]

Just two weeks after the Beers engagement, another ambush with even a greater loss of lives took place in the western Massachusetts town of Deerfield. Because of the high number of casualties, the location became known as Bloody Brook. On September 18, Captain Thomas Lathrop of Essex, Massachusetts, was in command of a sizeable military force, most of whom were in their teens and none of whom were over the age of twenty-two. The unit was escorting carts of food supplies south to the town of Hadley, which at that time was the western command post for the war. At what was originally known as Muddy Brook in South Deerfield, Lathrop stopped the head of the convoy to rest and to allow the back of the column to catch up. The soldiers relaxed their vigilance, placed their guns in the carts, and began to collect grapes growing on the side of the road. At this point, they were attacked by a large party of Nipmuck warriors. Lathrop was killed almost immediately. During the course of the fight, more than forty soldiers and eighteen teamsters were killed. Soon after the ambush, a relief force arrived on the scene and the fighting continued with the second force losing eleven men. The engagement finally ended with the arrival of a third force of colonial soldiers, who drove the Indians from the battlefield.

In 1838 the Bloody Brook Monument was dedicated at the site of the battle. An inscription on the monument reads:

> On this ground Capt. Thomas Lathrop and
> eighty-four men under his command including
> eighteen teamsters from Deerfield, conveying stores
> from that town to Hadley were ambuscaded
> by about 700 Indians and the Captain and
> seventy-six men slain September 18th 1675 (old style)
> The soldiers who fell were described by a
> contemporary Historian as "a choice Company
> of young men, the very flower of the County of

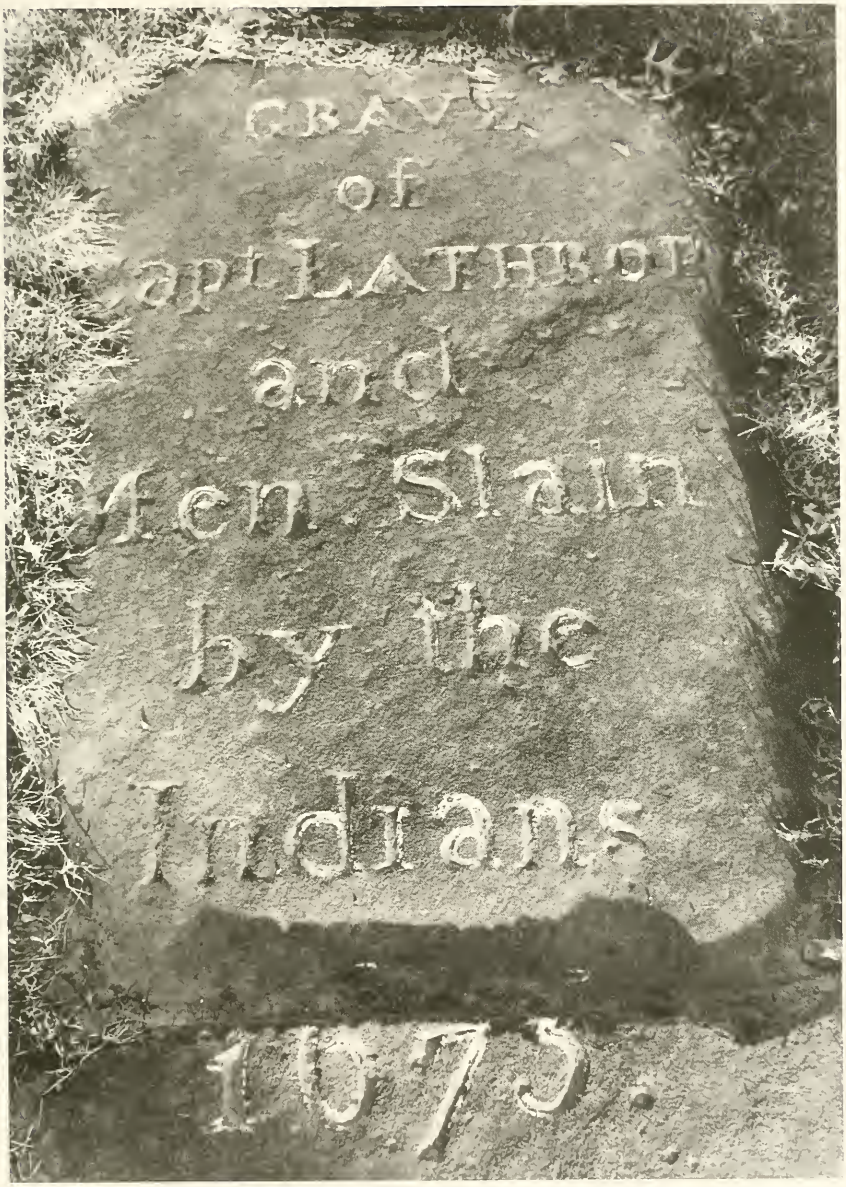


Fig. 3. Mass gravemarker for Captain Thomas Lathrop and soldiers under his command slain at Bloody Brook, South Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Essex none of who were ashamed to speak
with the enemy in the gate."

"And Sanguinetto tells you where the dead
Made the earth wet and turned the unwilling
waters red."

"The Same of the slain is marked by a stone slab
21 rods southerly of this monument."

At the present time the stone slab that marks the grave "of the slain" is located on the front lawn of a home that is on the same street as the monument (Fig. 3). An inscription carved into the stone reads: "Grave of Capt. Lathrop and Men Slain by the Indians 1675." On the morning after the ambush, soldiers from the relief forces had returned to bury their dead comrades. A local historian relates that "scouts were sent out, sentinels stationed to prevent a surprise, and the melancholy duties of the day begun. Parties were detailed to gather the dead and workmen to prepare a common grave. Tenderly the mangled bodies of the victims were borne to the spot, and slowly and reverentially they were laid in the bosom of mother earth."[4]

Because the early owners of the property had moved the stone slab several times, in 1835 a committee was formed to locate the precise location of the mass grave. Guided by hearsay, the committee was able to locate the grave, which contained the bones of about thirty men. This was all that remained of the estimated sixty originally interred bodies. Thus this marker probably stands as the oldest monument to veterans in America. It should also be noted that at the same time that the committee verified the location of this grave, they also reported finding, half a mile away, a grave containing the remains of ninety-six Native Americans. It was assumed that this was a burial spot for Indians killed at Bloody Brook. However, this was never proven and the location remains unmarked.[5]

During the autumn following the battle of Bloody Brook, a commission of the United Colonies planned an attack on the Narragansett fortification in what is now South Kingston, Rhode Island. The fortification was located in an area known as The Great Swamp and the

ensuing battle became known as The Great Swamp Fight. Located near the site, a historical marker reads:

> Three quarters of a mile to the
> southward on an island in the Great
> Swamp The Narragansett Indians were
> Decisively defeated By the United
> Forces of the Massachusetts Bay,
> Connecticut and Plymouth Colonies,
> Sunday, December 19, 1675.

As the historical marker directs, one can walk down a dirt road to where the actual site of the battle is designated by a large rough-hewn granite monolith that was unveiled during a dedication ceremony in 1906 (Fig. 4).[6] On the monolith is inscribed:

> The Great Swamp Fight
> 19 December 1675

Around the monolith are four large granite blocks, each inscribed with the name of one of the four colonies that participated in the battle: "Massachusetts," "Plymouth," "Connecticut," and "Rhode Island." The Indian fortification that stood on this location consisted of a five-acre village of about 500 wigwams. The whole area was surrounded by a timber palisade with spiked stakes and a water moat. Within the seemingly impregnable fort was a population of about 3,000 Narragansett and Wampanoag men, women, and children.

On December 19, a 1,000-man unit of the united colonial forces attacked the stronghold. After breaking through the palisade, the soldiers set the village on fire. During the course of the battle, several hundred Indians were killed, less than half of whom were warriors.

The English casualties consisted of 68 killed and 150 wounded, and more were to die during an eighteen-mile trek through a snowstorm to Wickford, or what is now North Kingston, Rhode Island. In North Kingston, soldiers marched to the safety of Smith's Block House, which had been the staging area for the attack at The Great Swamp. Here they buried some of their dead in a mass grave, which is now marked by a

Fig. 4. Granite monolith marking the site of The Great Swamp Fight, South Kingston, Rhode Island. Four smaller granite blocks around the monolith are each inscribed with the name of one of the colonies represented in the battle.

tablet on a boulder (Fig. 5). The tablet reads:

HERE
WERE BURIED
IN ONE GRAVE
FORTY MEN
Who Died In The Swamp Fight
Or On The Return March
To
Richard Smith's Block House
December 1675

Near this monument is a second boulder with a tablet that memorializes one of the individuals in the mass grave. This tablet reads:

To The Memory Of
CAPTAIN
JOHN GALLUP
Killed In The
Swamp Fight
1675
Erected By The
Gallup Family
Association
1969

John Gallup emigrated from England to become the first sheriff of the Plymouth Colony. He eventually settled, in 1654, in Stonington,

Fig. 5. Plaque marking the mass grave of forty soldiers killed during The Great Swamp Fight, North Kingston, Rhode Island.

Connecticut, on a grant of land that was given to him for his services in the earlier Pequot Indian War. He became familiar with the regional Native American language to the point that he was able to become the commander of Mohegan allies during King Philip's War. Gallup, who was over sixty years old, was commanding the Mohegan unit during the Swamp Fight and became one of six captains killed in the battle.[7]

The first major Indian attack of the new year came on February 10 when a combined force of Nipmuck, Narragansett, and Wampanoag warriors attacked the central Massachusetts town of Lancaster. The town consisted of about fifty families clustered around six garrison houses. One of the garrison houses was the home of the minister Joseph Rowlandson, who, ironically, at the time of the attack was in Boston seeking military support for his community. English casualties from the attack included twenty-six killed and twenty-four captured. Amongst the captives were Mary Rowlandson, the minister's wife, and her three children. During the attack, Rowlandson and her six-year-old daughter received a wound from the same bullet. The captives spent their first night about a mile away from the Rowlandson Garrison. A historical marker near the location reads:

> On the crest of George Hill
> nearby is situated Rowlandson
> Rock where the captives from
> the Rowlandson Garrison House
> passed their first night after
> the burning of Lancaster by
> the Indians February 10, 1675-76

Later in her published narrative entitled "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God," Rowlandson wrote that on the first night, "There remained nothing to me but one poor wounded babe and it seemed at present worse than death that it was in such pitiful condition."[8] The "poor wounded babe" died eight days later near this previously used campsite in what is now the town of New Braintree. A marker near the burial location reads:

Sarah P. Rowlandson
Born Sept. 15, 1669
Shot By Indians At Lancaster
Feb. 10, 1676
Taken to Winnimissett Camp
Died Feb. 18, 1676

In her narrative Rowlandson commented:

> I asked them what they had done with it? They told me it was upon the hill: Then they went and shewed me where it was, where I saw the ground was newly digged, and there they told me they had buried it. Then I left my child in the wilderness, and must commit it, and myself in this wilderness-condition to him who is above all.[9]

After nearly three months of captivity, Mary Rowlandson would be redeemed for a ransom of twenty pounds at the base of Mount Wachusett in central Massachusetts. Here a historical marker states:

> REDEMPTION ROCK
> Upon this rock fifty feet west
> of this spot Mary Rowlandson
> wife of the first minister of
> Lancaster, was redeemed from
> captivity under King Philip. The
> narrative of her experience is
> one of the classics of colonial
> literature.

Redemption Rock, where the ransom was paid, is engraved with:

> Upon this rock May 2nd 1676
> was made the agreement for the ransom
> of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson of Lancaster
> between the Indians and John Hoar of Concord
> King Philip was with the Indians but
> refused his consent.

Mary would be reunited with her husband, son, and daughter, who were also captured in the attack on Lancaster, and two years later her narrative would be published.

The month following Mary Rowlandson's capture, a force of Plymouth Colony soldiers was pursuing a large band of Narragansetts in the area of Pawtucket Falls, Rhode Island. The English force numbered sixty-three men and twenty-nine native allies under the command of Capt. Michael Pierce of Scituate, Massachusetts. The two forces engaged at this location in Central Falls, and the battle site is presently a public park named after the English commander. The park is also an unmarked burying ground for forty-two colonial soldiers who were killed during the ensuing battle.[10] A historical plaque at the site describes the day's events:

> Due to land disputes and broken peace treaties between the local natives and early English settlers, King Philip's War took place for fourteen months during 1675 and 1676. Captain Michael Pierce's fight with the natives occurred on this spot in March of 1676 From Dexter's Ledge . . . native scouts saw Pierce's troops approaching. One hundred natives and seventy settlers perished in the battle. Ten settlers escaped to what are now the Monastery Grounds in Cumberland. Only one lived to tell the tale.

The inscription states that ten settlers escaped to nearby Cumberland, Rhode Island, but that only one would survive. In Cumberland a monument marks the common grave of nine men who survived Pierce's fight but were later executed by the Indians. The location has become known as Nine Men's Misery. However, the plaque in Cumberland gives a somewhat different version of the story. This plaque reads:

Nine Men's Misery
On This Spot
Where They Were Slain By
The Indians
Were Buried The Nine Soldiers
Captured In Pierce's Fight
March 26, 1676

This inscription states that the soldiers were captured and were brought to the location, whereas the one in Central Falls states that the men escaped to this spot and were then killed. Either way, it was several weeks before the bodies were discovered and buried with their grave marked by a rock wall. The present mound of stones marking the grave was erected in the early twentieth century, and the granite marker and plaque in front of the mound was placed there by the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1928. When the land that the monument stands on was purchased by the Cistercian Order as part of their monastery grounds, the remains of the nine men were exhumed and given to the Rhode Island Historical Society. During the 1976 bicentennial celebration, the remains were reburied on the original site, which now belongs to the town of Cumberland.[11]

To the west of Boston, Marlborough was attacked on the same day as Pierce's Fight. One settler was killed in the raid, but there is no burial marker for this individual. However, a historical marker in the cemetery next to where the town's meeting house once stood provides information about the day's events:

> HIGH SCHOOL COMMON
> Site Of First Meeting House Completed In 1662,
> Rev. William Brimsmead Minister It Was Built Within The
> Limits Of The Indian Planting Field Which Was Part Of The
> Ockoocangansett Plantation, And Was A Source Of Hostile
> Feelings Toward The Settlers. It Was Attacked And Burned
> March 26, 1676 By King Philip While A Meeting Was In
> Progress. The Inhabitants Securing Safety In The Nearby
> William Ward House One Of The Designated Garrisons.
> During The Raid 13 Houses, 11 Barns And A Large Portion
> Of The Livestock Were Destroyed.

The attack on Marlborough had caused the town to become partially evacuated, leaving its neighboring settlement of Sudbury vulnerable. In the early morning of April 21, just four weeks after the assault on Marlborough, a combined force of about 500 warriors attacked Sudbury. At first the strike was directed towards the Deacon Haynes Garrison House. A site marker reads:

Site Of The
Haynes Garrison House
Home Of Deacon John Haynes
Here The Settlers
By Their Brave Defense
Helped Save The Town
When The Indians Tried
To Destroy Sudbury
18-21 April 1676

The inhabitants of the Haynes Garrison were able to fend off the warriors, who then turned their attention on the town's second most important fortification:

The Goodenow Garrison House
Portion Of The Goodenow Garrison
House In Which Settlers
Took Refuge From King Philip's
Indians During The Battle Of
April 18-21, 1676

In the meantime, coming to the town's relief was a combined force that had been stationed in Marlborough. It included seventy men under the command of Captain Samuel Wadsworth and fifty in the command of Captain Samuel Brocklebank. Upon its arrival in Sudbury, the relief force found heavy resistance, and a historical marker tells the rest of the story:

Sudbury Fight
One-Quarter Mile North
Took Place The Sudbury Fight
With King Philip's Indians On
April 21, 1676. Captain Samuel
Wadsworth Fell With Twenty-
Eight Of His Men; Their Monument
Stands In The Burying Ground.

The monument referred to on the historical marker stands in the Wadsworth Cemetery, named after the colonial commander. It is a large granite obelisk surrounded by a Victorian cast iron fence. Erected in 1852, it stands on the second burial site of the men in the Sudbury Fight. Their original burial site was a mass grave fifty feet south of the obelisk. A local historian described the burial:

> Thus were the slain soldiers buried on that April morning, in the stillness of the forest, far away from their kindred, friends and homes . . . though scattered, they were borne to one common place of burial and a rough heap of stones was all that marked that lone forest grave. Such was that soldiers' sepulchre, a mound in the woods, left to grow gray with the clustering moss of years.[12]

When the grave was opened for the reinterment, it was described as being "about six feet square, in which the bodies were placed in tiers at right angles to each other. Some of the skeletons were large, and all well preserved."[13] An inscription on the monument reads:

> This Monument Is Erected By The Commonwealth Of
> Massachusetts And The Town Of Sudbury In Grateful
> Remembrance Of The Service And Suffering Of The
> Founders Of The State And Especially In Honor Of
> Capt. S. Wadsworth of Milton
> Capt. Brocklebank of Rowley
> Lieut. Sharp of Brookline
> And Twenty Six Others, Men Of Their Command, Who Fell
> Near This Spot On The 18th Of April 1676 While Defending
> The Frontier Settlements Against The Allied Indian Forces
> Of Philip Of Pokanoket.
> 1852

At the base of the monument is a gravestone that was erected in 1730 at the original gravesite by Samuel Wadsworth's son, Benjamin (Fig. 6).[14] It reads:

Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of
Milton, His Lieut. Sharp of
Brookline, Capt. Brocklebank
of Rowley, With about
Twenty-Six Other Souldrs
Fighting for Ye Defence Of
their COUNTRY Were Slain
By Ye Indian Enemy, April 18th
1676, & lye Buried in this Place

On the Rhode Island border, several towns south of Sudbury, is the town of North Attleborough, where the Woodcock Garrison House stands (the present structure is a replacement of the original building). During King Philip's War, this site was used on various occasions as a staging area for colonial troops. Across the street from the garrison is the Woodcock Historic Burial Ground. Here in April of 1676 John

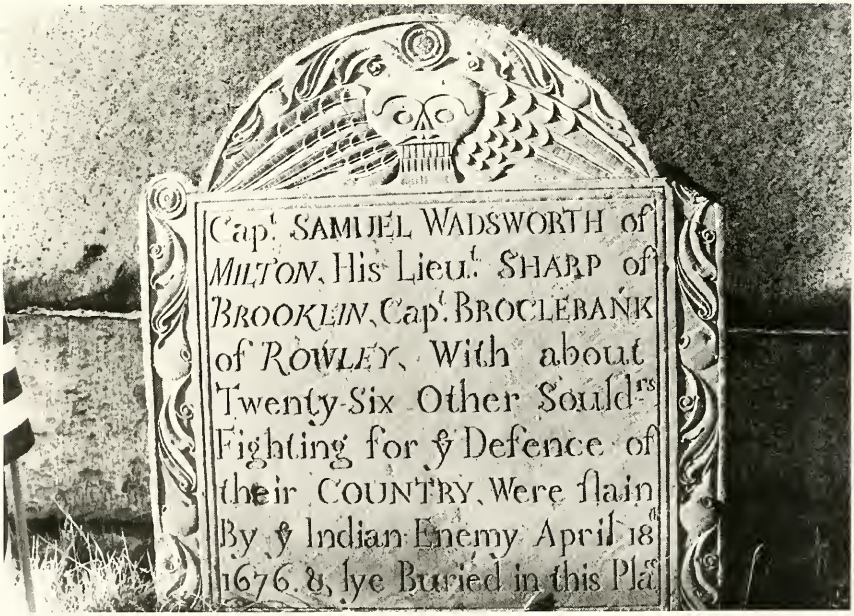


Fig. 6. Original marker for the mass grave of soldiers killed during The Sudbury Fight, Sudbury, Massachusetts.

Fig. 7. Granite marker commemorating the first King Philip's War burials in what later became the Woodcock Historic Burial Ground, North Attleborough, Massachusetts.

Woodcock's son Nathaniel "was shot by Indians and was buried where he fell, nearly in the centre of the yard."[15] Eventually other victims of the war were buried at the location, and in 1694 John Woodcock deeded the parcel to the town, providing for the community's oldest cemetery.[16] Presently there are over 100 stones in the cemetery, but none of them

identify any victims of the war. The only recognition for the original interments is a small granite marker with the date "1676" (Fig. 7).

About a month after the Sudbury Fight and the shooting incident in North Attleborough, the colonial authorities became concerned over a large Indian encampment on the Connecticut River in northwestern Massachusetts. Captain William Turner led a unit of about 140 mounted men to what was called the Peskeompskut camp in the present town of Montague. Here, during the night of May 19 at what is now known as Turner's Falls, the captain launched an attack on the sleeping Indian camp. A monument at the attack site (Fig. 8) states:

Captain William Turner
With 145 Men Surprised And
Destroyed Over 300 Indians
Encamped At This Place
May 19, 1676

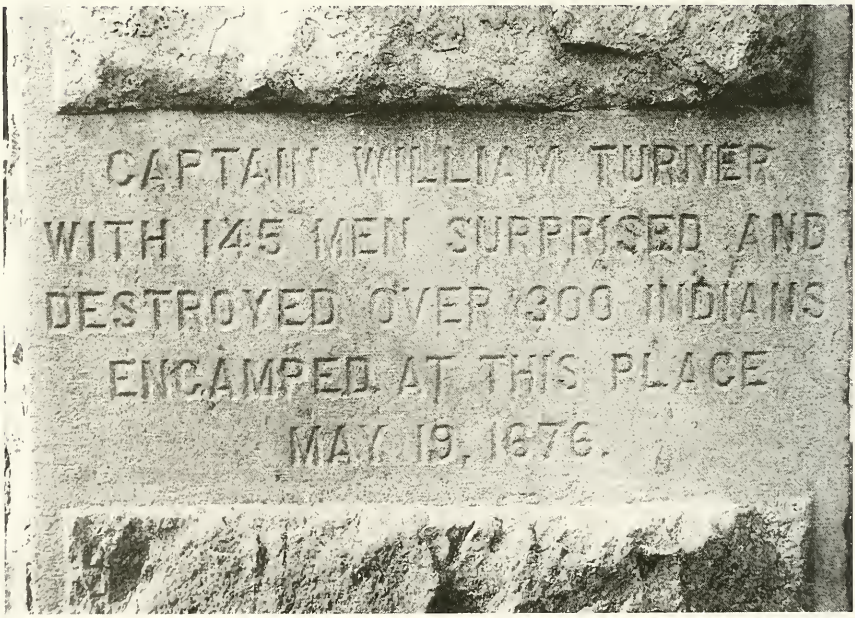


Fig. 8. Falls Fight Monument, town border, Montague-Gill, Massachusetts.

Fig. 9. Two markers at the gravesite of Captain William Turner, Greenfield, Massachusetts.

During the initial attack, many of the warriors fled, leaving the soldiers to kill mostly women, children, and the elderly. However, the warriors were able to regroup, counterattack, and force a colonial retreat. Turner fled to what today is the present town of Greenfield, where he was fatally shot on the bank of the Green River. Next to the river, the location of Turner's death is identified by a historical sign and by a plaque on a boulder (Fig. 9). The sign reads:

Capt. William Turner
A Military Commander During King
Philip's War. Capt. Turner Was Killed
Near Here In A Retreat After Leading
A Massacre Of Indians Fishing At
Turner Falls In Gill On May 19, 1676.

The plaque reads:

CAPTAIN WILLIAM TURNER OF BOSTON
A Soldier In King Philip's War
Was Mortally Wounded
While Crossing The Pukcommeacon River
And Fell On The West Bank May 19, 1676
On The Retreat After The "Falls Fight"
At Peskeompskut (Turner's Falls)
Forty Men Of His Command Fell That Day
Captain Samuel Holyoke With The Survivors
Fought Their Way Back to Hatfield

Sometime after the Falls Fight, a scouting party discovered and buried Turner's body. According to a Greenfield town historian, in 1874, almost two hundred years after the burial, a local individual by the name of Judge Thompson uncovered human bones that he believed were Captain Turner's remains. The bones were placed in a box and stored in a nearby mill. However, several years later these remains were lost when the mill was destroyed by a fire.[17] Consequently, these markers stand as Turner's cenotaph.

By August, troops in Rhode Island under the command of Captain Benjamin Church were in direct pursuit of King Philip. On August 12,

Church and his troops were able to surround and attack Philip's camp in a Bristol, Rhode Island, swamp. Philip and five of his men were killed. Philip himself was shot by a colonial native ally. Church pulled Philip's body from the mud, and stating that the Pokanoket sachem had been responsible for many English bodies to lie unburied, he ordered it beheaded, halved, and quartered. The quarters were hung in trees and Philip's head was sent to Plymouth, where it was placed on a pole and remained for the next twenty years. One of Philip's hands, with a distinguishing scar, was provided as a reward to the Indian who shot him.[18]

Dying forty-two years after King Philip was killed, Benjamin Church, in contrast to his antagonist, was provided with a very respectable burial. His box tomb stands next to similar tombs for other members of his family in the burying ground of Little Compton, Rhode Island (Fig. 10). A tablet in front of Church's tomb reads:

This Tablet
Erected By The Rhode Island Society
Of Colonial Wars
In Recognition Of The Exceptional
Service Rendered By
COL. BENJAMIN CHURCH
His Fearless Leadership
And Effective Command During
King Philip's War
1675-1677

The top of the box tomb is inscribed,

Here lyeth interred the body
Of the Honorable
Col. Benjamin Church, Esq.
Who departed this life, January 17, 1717-8 in
The 78 year of his age

Next to the inscription a metal logo of the United States Rangers has been riveted to the tomb in what appears to be a misguided attempt to recognize Church's innovative use of guerilla war tactics.

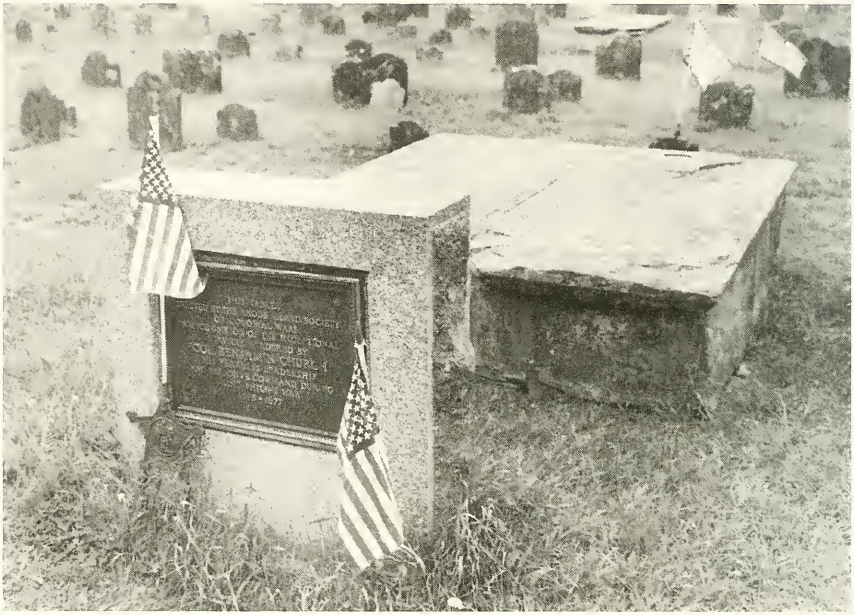


Fig. 10. Commemorative marker, Little Compton, Rhode Island, at the foot of the matching box tombs of Captain Benjamin Church and his wife.

Estimates for the death count during King Philip's War run as high as 2,500 for the English, or five percent of the New England population, and 5,000 for the Native Americans, or forty percent of their population.[19] With a death toll of as many as 2,500 colonists, one might think that there would be more extant gravemarkers, but not if one considers that at the time of the war the erection of permanent gravemarkers was just coming into practice, and if one had been erected, it would have had to survive over three hundred years. As a result, only a handful of gravestones from this time period remains. Also, there is the fact that, according to Benjamin Church's own words, many of the War's victims went unburied. Consequently, most of the markers mentioned in this article are replacement stones or memorial markers that were erected well after the events. Further, it should be noticed that except for a couple of somewhat sympathetic historical markers, there are no markers for Native Americans, which leaves us to ponder the concept that the history of a war is written by the victors.

NOTES

All photos are by the authors.

[1] Eric B. Schultz and Michael Tougias, *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* (Woodstock, VT: Countryman Press, 1999), 95.

[2] Charles Hudson, *History of the Town of Marlborough* (Boston, 1862), 69.

[3] Schultz and Tougias, 166-8.

[4] George Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Deerfield, MA, 1895), 104.

[5] Schultz and Tougias.

[6] Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 237.

[7] Patricia Sabin, http://www.rootsweb.com/~ctnewlon/bios/JohnGallupBio.html New London County, CT Gen Web, "John Gallup Biography," n.d., (1 December, 2002).

[8] Neil Salisbury, ed., *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God by Mary Rowlandson with Related Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 71.

[9] Salisbury, 75.

[10] Douglas Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk* (New York: Norton, 1958), 167.

[11] Schultz and Tougias, 281-82.

[12] Alfred Sereno Hudson, *The History of Sudbury, Massachusetts* (Sudbury, MA, 1889), 250.

[13] Alfred Hudson, 251.

[14] Alfred Hudson, 250.

[15] John Daggett, *A Sketch of the History of Attleborough From Its Settlement to the Division* (Boston, 1894), 107.

[16] Daggett, 108.

[17] Schultz and Tougias, 225.

[18] Lepore, 173.

[19] Salisbury, 1. Schultz and Tougias place the death toll at a much lower figure of 800 English colonists.

Fig. 1. First Parish Church, Northborough, Massachusetts.

Judah Monis's Puzzling Gravestone as a Reflection of his Enigmatic Identity

David Mayer Gradwohl

Introduction

Northborough, Massachusetts, is located some thirty miles west of Boston. The community and its First Parish Church congregation date back to colonial times. With its stately Georgian facade and imposing bell tower, the present First Parish Church structure speaks quintessentially to the early Christian traditions of New England (Fig. 1).[1] Adjacent to the church is an old burying ground where the graves of the town's founding residents are marked by slate headstones exhibiting a genre of iconography, scripts, and epitaphs abundantly reported in the literature for colonial period cemeteries in the northeastern United States.[2] A slate ledger stone, elevated on a mortared stone foundation in the manner of a box tomb or raised tomb, signifies the grave of Rev. John Martyn, the first minister of First Parish Church (Fig. 2). Nearby is the monument identifying the grave of his brother-in-law, Judah Monis.

Fig. 2. Burying ground of the First Parish church showing the box tomb of Rev. John Martyn (center). The slate headstone of Judah Monis is visible on the far left in the front row of gravestones.

In his tome chronicling the history of Northborough, Josiah C. Kent commented: "We seldom see anyone wandering around in our old churchyard. Yet it is worth visiting, for it contains at least one gravestone of rare interest—that of Rabbi Judah Monis, the first Christian Jew in North America. An occasional visitor comes to see it; but we fear that it is entirely unknown to most of our townspeople."[3] Over the years, however, various scholars have taken an interest in Judah Monis and the inscription on his gravestone. As of 1997, I had found six published sources that include differing transcriptions of the text carved on Monis's headstone.[4] Curious about these varying renditions and intrigued by the person oxymoronically described as "the first Christian Jew in North America," I made my own journey to Northborough during the spring of 1998, wandered around the impressive old churchyard, and (with the help of my wife, Hanna Rosenberg Gradwohl) documented the gravestone of Judah Monis. I found that none of those previously published transcriptions of the carved text is complete or accurate. Furthermore, none of those published sources describes the gravestone form or its mortuary symbolism.[5] Neither do any of these sources relate the data on the gravestone to the enigmas of Judah Monis's life.

To the anthropologist interested in the relationship between material culture and identity, this paradox is a clarion call for analysis and explanation. In the following discussion, I first briefly describe the gravestone of Judah Monis in its temporal and cultural context. Second, I summarize what has been documented or suggested concerning the life of Judah Monis and his interesting role in colonial American history. This background is necessary to fully evaluate the inscription and symbols on the gravestone. Third, I provide a detailed analysis of the monument including its form, mortuary symbols, and complex inscription. Finally, I discuss the significance of Judah Monis's gravestone in terms of his identities that stem from his own actions, the perceptions of his contemporaries, and assessments by subsequent scholars.

The Gravestone at First Glance

The casual observer might stroll past the gravestone of Judah Monis without a second glance, so familiar are its overall form, mortuary symbols, and style of script (Fig. 3). The headstone would seem to represent just another deceased First Parish congregation member who had been an accepted and integrated member of the living community.

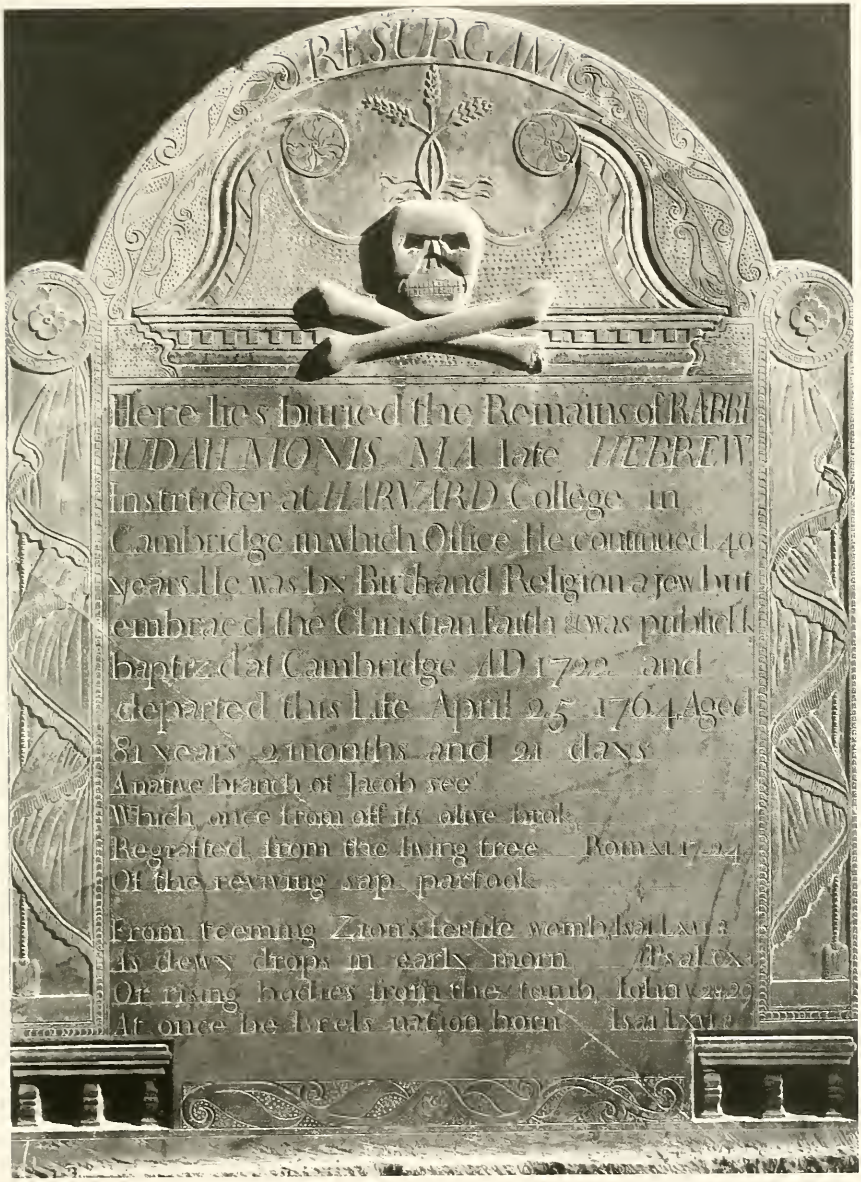


Fig. 3. Judah Monis, 1764, Northborough, Massachusetts. Carved by William Park.

A typical gravestone form for this time period, Monis's monument has a tripartite shape with a large central arch or tympanum and two smaller side panel arches or shoulders. The relatively elaborate carved designs occur in both positive high relief and negative bas-relief. In addition, there is a rather long and elaborate inscription. As noted by Harriette Merrifield Forbes in her classic book, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800*, first published in 1927, "The gravestones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries carried a message to the passer-by both by the epitaphs and even more by the designs."[6] In *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815*, Allan Ludwig notes that "Puritan funerary art shows a deep strain of passion and a naïve delight in mystical symbolism. Between 1668 and 1815 this art slowly deepened in meaning and ripened into forms and symbols which in any other culture would be immediately interpreted as the visual manifestations of a deeply mystical religion."[7] Most of the symbols and artistic conventions employed on early New England gravestones were reinforced in the minds of Puritans by imagery in woodcuts and illustrations in Bibles as well as by verbal imagery heard in sermons.[8]

As I discuss in a subsequent section of this essay, the message on Monis's gravestone integrates artistic symbols clearly recognizable in colonial times with an inscription written in the manner of that period. Monis's headstone caught Harriette Forbes's eye because it is so typical of gravestone art and epitaphs of early New England. Forbes included a brief description and photograph of Monis's headstone in her well-known study. Referring to the location of Monis's gravestone in Northborough, she commented: "His grave is in the little burying-ground there back of the Unitarian Church, marked by the stone made without doubt by William Park, which cost his estate three pounds, an architectural stone not shunning at all the terrible fact of death, but suggesting something beyond the drawn curtains and also the full fruition of grain, 'sown in corruption, and raised in incorruption.'"[9] A closer look at Monis's gravestone will reveal some puzzling ideological and material associations reflecting a unique person of complex and, indeed, conflicting identities.

Biographical Sketch of Judah Monis

Although numerous students of history and religion have written

about Judah Monis, many aspects of his life and motivations remain sketchy and controversial. The enigmas concerning Monis begin with the place and date of his birth. Various sources suggest that he was born in Italy (some specify Venice) or Algiers.[10] Others, however, say Morocco or "one of the Barbary states."[11] On the basis of his Iberian name and the fact that he knew Spanish, Monis is thought by many authorities to have been descended from Spanish or Portuguese parents as reported in *The New England Courant* on April 2, 1722.[12] Perhaps, as some scholars speculate, his family was among those Sephardic Jews who were expelled from Iberia in the fifteenth century.[13] Or possibly, others theorize, they were among the so-called Conversos, Marranos, or Crypto Jews who in public masqueraded as Christians.[14] Scholars usually cite Monis's birth date as February 4, 1683, a computation arrived at from data (which they presume to be correct) included on his gravestone, which says that Monis died on April 25, 1764, at the age of 81 years, 2 months, and 21 days.

Monis is said to have been a rabbinical student at Jewish academies in Italy—at Leghorn (Livorno) and possibly Venice—and also Amsterdam, Holland.[15] The origin of this information appears to be the 1722 article in *The New England Courant*, which states that Monis "commenced *Mashkil Venabon*, in the Jewish academies of Leghorn and Amsterdam, etc." That title has been identified as originating in Italy to denote a student who has achieved some proficiency in Jewish law (*Halakhah*) as opposed to the title *Hakam*, which the Sephardim used for a fully-ordained rabbi.[16] Nevertheless, *The New England Courant* article also stated that Monis had served as a rabbi for synagogues in Jamaica and New York after leaving Europe. The epitaph on Monis's gravestone identifies him as a rabbi. This matter is disputed, however, by no less an authority than the late Rabbi Jacob R. Marcus, often acknowledged as the dean of American Jewish history. Of Monis's credentials Marcus wrote: "Although he received a good Jewish education, it is doubtful that he was a rabbi, as his Christian associates assumed and as his epitaph claims. Actually, it would seem, he had been a scribe and . . . a teacher in Jewish communities."[17]

Documentary evidence shows that Monis was admitted as a freeman in New York City on February 28, 1715/16.[18] Sources differ as to his occupation there. He is variously described as a merchant, proprietor of a store, teacher of Hebrew to both Jews and Christians, rabbi, *hazzan* (a cantor or sexton), and *schochet* (ritual slaughterer).[19] In terms of his skills and knowledge as well as the needs of those around him, it is possible

that Monis could have served in all these capacities.

Meanwhile, Monis was apparently working on a Hebrew grammar and corresponding with Christian clergymen regarding the study of Hebrew. By 1720 he had moved to Boston and attracted the notice of Christian luminaries including Increase Mather (minister of Boston's Second Church and early president of Harvard College) and his son Cotton Mather.[20] In June of 1720, Monis submitted a letter to the Harvard Corporation with the hope that the college might hire him as a teacher and adopt his grammar as a textbook.[21] At that time, Hebrew was a required subject at Harvard and some other colleges in New England as a mark of Biblical scholarship and intellectual achievement.[22] The seals of Harvard as well as Columbia and Dartmouth even contained Hebrew inscriptions. Hebrew was taught at Harvard by Christian tutors (as opposed to instructors or professors) who had varying proficiencies in the language. Probably because hiring a Jewish faculty member was unprecedented, the Harvard Corporation delayed making a decision for nearly two years. Harvard, it should be noted, was not alone in this situation. As Samuel Eliot Morison observed in his *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* : "At Oxford and Cambridge at this time, and in most of the universities of Christendom, no Jew could be admitted to a degree, on account of the religious tests and oaths that went with it."[23]

The intervening period, however, was not idle time for Monis. He apparently ran a small store and taught Hebrew to Harvard tutors and other interested individuals.[24] He also studied, or at least gained a greater familiarity with, Christianity through his association with various clergymen in Cambridge and the Boston area.[25] Monis was a particularly enticing prospect to Increase and Cotton Mather, who were obsessed with the idea of converting Jews to Christianity. They were ecstatic, therefore, when Monis formally embraced Protestantism and was publicly baptized on March 27, 1722, at a service held in College Hall at Harvard.[26] In fact, Increase Mather had been scheduled to deliver the sermon at this service. Due to the aging Mather's ailing health, however, the Reverend Benjamin Colman (pastor of the Brattle Street Church) delivered the sermon, entitled "Moses, A Witness Unto our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Monis's own discourse, "The Truth," argued that Jesus was indeed the messiah presaged in the Pentateuch. Monis subsequently produced two essay sequels in the next few months. In "The Whole Truth" Monis endeavored to prove the divinity of Jesus;

in "Nothing but the Truth" he pleaded the case for the doctrine of the Trinity. Later on in 1722, the Daniel Henchman Shop published and sold a booklet containing a preface by Increase Mather, the sermon by Colman, and the three discourses "written by Mr. Monis himself." Some scholars have questioned the complete veracity of the latter statement given the facts that (a) the discourses are well written and Monis's command of English was reportedly weak, and (b) the Christian theological concepts are expressed at a level of sophistication beyond Monis's expected proficiency. Marcus even speculated that Monis's published discourses "were surely ghostwritten for him."[27] Whatever the case may be, Monis's conversion and baptism were newsworthy enough to be reported in *The New England Courant* on April 2, 1722. Monis was referred to as "learned and ingenious," and his discourses were carefully deliberated over throughout Boston's religious community.

Scholars—then and now—have been divided on the question of whether Monis's conversion was sincere or opportunistic.[28] On one hand, Monis was a participant in religious services at the First Church in Cambridge and outwardly professed his Christian faith. Though some members of the Christian community remained skeptical of Monis's motives, the majority accepted his conversion as a testament to the truth of their religion. Monis's conversion from Judaism to Christianity certainly supported the millennial thoughts of Puritan times in that such actions by Jews were assumed to be the precursor of the reappearance of the Christian messiah.[29] On the other hand, it is said that Monis continued to observe the Sabbath on Saturday.[30] Unfortunately, the writers who make this claim do not explain what these observances were. Monis reportedly taught Hebrew classes on Saturday. But did he otherwise "rest" on that day? Was the Sabbath welcomed by the lighting of candles in his home? Did he usher in the Sabbath by blessing wine? Did he engage in prayers? Did he study the Torah? While no explicit evidence exists for any of these or other specific Sabbath observances by Monis, one writer argued that "his observance of the Jewish Sabbath is proof enough of his adherence to the ancestral creed, and that, like the Marranos of Spain, Portugal, and South America, he remained loyal to Israel at heart, whilst apparently devoted to Christianity."[31] Understanding this whole matter is further complicated by the fact that some Christian ministers and lay people in America and Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries observed Saturday as a day of

rest and prayers. Most Protestant ministers of the day not only studied Hebrew, but some also wore skullcaps and emulated rabbinical practices in other ways.

The genuineness of Monis's motivations for converting to Christianity may remain debatable. The results of his action, however, are clear. At its meeting held on April 30, 1722 (just 26 days after Monis's public baptism), the Harvard Corporation voted "that Mr. Judah Monis be improved as an Instructor of the Hebrew Language in the College, and that he be allow'd out of the College Treasury £50 for one Year from this day."[32] Monis negotiated for a higher salary. The Corporation considered this request and at their meeting on June 13, 1722, the Overseers officially appointed Monis with an annual salary of £70.[33]

Monis's conversion to Christianity also provided opportunities to find a wife. On January 18, 1723/4, he married Abigail Marrett.[34] She was the daughter of Hannah Marrett and Edward Marrett, the glazier for Harvard College.[35] Monis received a grant of land from the municipal corporation and acquired a home on a lot adjacent to that of the Marrett family.[36] Over the years, to supplement his salary from Harvard, Monis ran a small shop and served individuals and governmental offices as a Spanish translator and interpreter. In 1740 the royal governor of Massachusetts nominated Monis for justice of the peace for Middlesex County, but he may never have actually held that judicial appointment.[37]

In 1723 Monis was granted an M.A. degree by Harvard College. Many authors assert that the degree was granted in 1720.[38] This seems highly unlikely, however, since there is no evidence of Monis's arrival in Boston until that year. Other more compelling reasons for the 1723 conferral date are carefully argued by Clifford K. Shipton in his *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1722-1725*.[39] First, Monis's name appears to have been added "at the foot of the Class of 1720, the members of which took the MA in 1723" [emphasis added]. Second, the catalog for 1721 does not list Monis's name. Third, Monis's M.A. degree is not mentioned in newspaper articles or on the title pages of his books printed in 1722. His degree is listed, however, on publications after 1723.[40]

The chronology summarized above is important in terms of the assertions made by most scholars that Monis was the first Jew to obtain an academic degree at Harvard, the first Jew to obtain an academic

degree in North America, and the first Jew on the Harvard College faculty. Monis converted to Christianity on March 27, 1722; he was hired by Harvard College later that year; and he did not receive his honorary M.A. degree until 1723. Therefore it could, and I think should, be argued that Monis can not be credited with any of these "firsts." Neither, incidentally, can he be regarded as the first Jew to convert to Christianity in North America, although he is perhaps the best known of the early Jewish apostates. Samuel Sewall, for example, recorded in his diary that "Simon, the Jew" was baptized in Charlestowne by Rev. Bradstreet on September 17, 1702.[41] A Jew in South Carolina is also said to have converted to Christianity about the same time on the basis of Cotton Mather's writings.[42] There may have been others whose conversions were not recorded.

Beyond these matters, however, Monis was certainly the first instructor of Hebrew at Harvard College. As mentioned above, Hebrew was a required subject at Harvard and had been the teaching responsibility of the tutors. Whether Monis was actually a rabbi or not is less important than the fact that his credentials no doubt surpassed the skills of anyone else in Boston at that time. And there were many contemporary pretenders to that throne of knowledge. For example, Cotton Mather, who wore a skullcap in his study and frequently referred to himself as a rabbi, used Hebrew words and phrases.[43] Many local Christian clergymen prided themselves on their knowledge of Hebrew, but they almost uniformly acknowledged Monis's greater proficiency in that subject. Reverend Colman, for example, described Monis not only as "a learned and pious Jew" but also as a "great Master and Critick in the Hebrew Tongue."[44]

Judah Monis taught Hebrew at Harvard College for thirty-eight years. Opinions vary concerning his adeptness as a teacher. The Harvard Corporation records for April 1723 note that the Overseers were "greatly satisfied with his assiduity and faithfulness in his instruction, ye surprising effects of them having been laid before the corporation."[45] One writer flatly stated that "Monis was popular with his students."[46] Another source proclaimed that Monis was considered "a fine Hebrew scholar" who "took unmeasured pains with a small class to perfect them in the language he loved, and took great pride in their successes."[47] However, Monis has had many detractors. One modern scholar has stated that it was obvious that Monis "was not a successful teacher and

that his course was something less than captivating."[48]

Widely varying student evaluations should not come as a surprise to anyone who has ever taught (as I have) a required course in a subject students do not regard as popular. The behavior of some of Monis's students, however, seems excessive. They reportedly shunned his classroom, penned nasty annotations into their grammar books, broke into Monis's cellar, were constantly "bulraging" [bullyragging] their instructor, and threw bricks, sticks, and ashes at his classroom door.[49] In all fairness to Monis, Morison indicates that the teaching of Hebrew at Harvard in those days probably *never was* popular regardless of which instructor was assigned the task: "The [Harvard] Corporation soon had occasion to invite Mr. Monis to revise his teaching methods, which were 'thought so tedious as to be discouraging,' but he had no better success than the tutors who preceded him, or the professors who followed, in making Hebrew interesting to the average undergraduate."[50]

Monis also achieved a first, at least for British North America, in publishing his Hebrew grammar textbook in 1735. The book was entitled *Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet: A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue, Being an Essay To Bring the Hebrew Grammar into English to Facilitate the Instruction of All Those Who are Desirous of Acquiring a Clear Idea of this Primitive Tongue by Their Own Studies.* This text was welcomed by most students because it spared them the task of copying Monis's dictation into their notebooks. Still, some students despised his class and resented having to study Hebrew. Material evidence for this disgust includes one student's textbook in which the title page reading "Composed and accurately corrected by Judah Monis, M.A." was modified to read "Confuted and accurately corrupted by Judah Monis, M.(aker of) A.(sses)."[51]

In addition to Monis's published discourses and textbook, he wrote at least one manuscript that remained unpublished at the time of his death. The treatise was entitled *Nomenclatura hebraica* and is a dictionary of selected nouns in Hebrew and English.[52] Although Monis's contemporaries were impressed with the scholarship of this manuscript, modern writers are quite critical. Eisig Silberschlag minced no words in his evaluation, although he may have overlooked the lack of certain standardizations during the eighteenth century: "The vocalization is sloppy, shoddy and defective; even the spelling of English words leaves much to be desired; the translations into Hebrew are imprecise and often erroneous. Instances of defective vocalization are too numerous to cite

. . . The erudition, displayed in the *Nomenclatura*, is not of a high and immaculate character."[53] Another scholar described Monis's grammar textbook as "riddled with inaccuracies and inconsistencies."[54] Jacob Marcus was also doubtful of Monis's erudition, particularly in reference to the *Nomenclatura*: "Errors in this vocalized vocabulary make it clear that Monis was no meticulous scholar."[55] On the other hand, Marcus pointed out that Monis was familiar with scholarly Hebrew texts written in Europe and was probably a better grammarian than some of his contemporaries (including Stephen Sewall, Monis's successor at Harvard) wanted to admit.[56] Furthermore, Marcus conceded that "it may be, indeed, that Monis, through his knowledge of the medieval Jewish commentators, supplied a more accurate interpretation of the Bible than did his colleagues, who were dependent on Christologically-oriented interpreters."[57] In sum, if Monis were going up for tenure at an American college or university today, his scholarship and publications would be a subject of acrimonious debate perhaps not entirely unlike the ordeals faced by some professors today.

On October 21, 1760, Abigail Marrett Monis died in Cambridge and was buried there. Her grave is marked by a beautiful and elaborately carved headstone (Fig. 4). Laurel Gabel, who is familiar with gravestones and carvers from this area, identifies this gravestone as produced by Charlestown's Lamson shop.[58] The arched tympanum bears floral designs and the representation of a human face with wings. Further ornamentations of the gravestone consist of floral side border panels and a basal border panel. The inscription reads:

Here lyes Buried y^{e} Body of
Mrs. ABIGAIL MONIS, consort
to Mr. JUDAH MONIS (Hebrew
Instructer in Harvard College)
Who Departed this Life
Octor. y^{e} 27th, 1760, in y^{e}
60th Year of Her Age.

At the time of his wife's death, Judah Monis was seventy-seven years old. His years at Harvard had not been entirely enjoyable.[59] Shalom Goldman observed of Monis that he "never received the full recognition of his students or peers. Monis remained a poorly paid instructor, never gaining the rank of professor."[60] Being childless and without any family

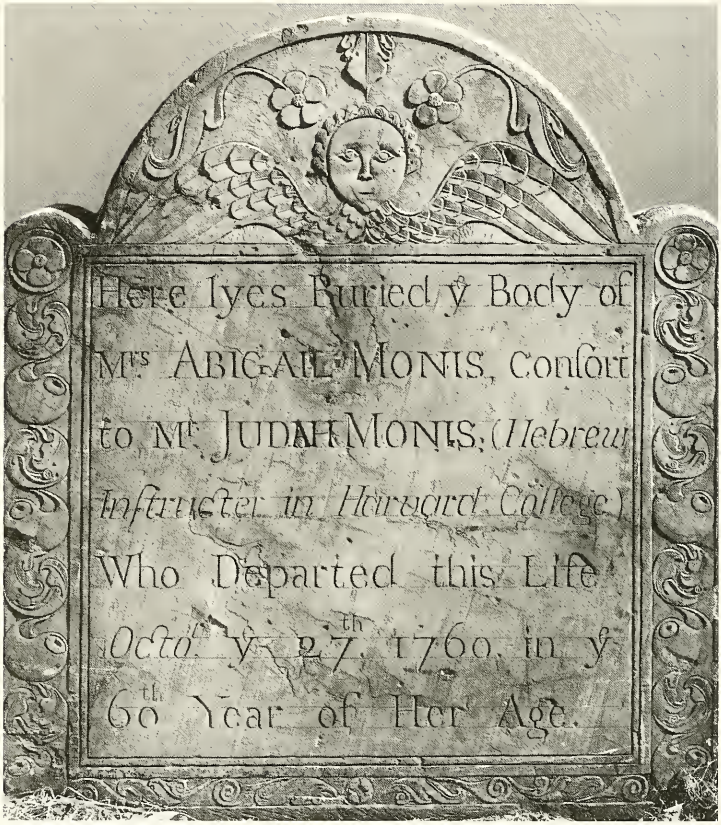


Fig. 4. Abigail Monis, 1760, Northborough, Massachusetts.

in the Boston area, Monis resigned from Harvard, and subsequently moved to Northborough in order to reside with Rev. John Martyn, who was married to Mary Marrett Martyn, Abigail's sister.[61] Monis's extensive library would have been a welcome resource for his brother-in-law and former Harvard associate. Monis was active in Northborough's First Parish Church, was voted a seat of honor in its meeting house, and donated a silver communion service to the congregation. Judah Monis died on April 25, 1764, and was interred in the burying ground of First Parish Church.

A Second Look at the Gravestone: Analysis and Interpretation of Symbolic, Ideational, Biographical, and Historical Factors

The headstone marking the grave of Judah Monis is a handsomely carved slate monument measuring 48" in height above the ground, 32 ¾" in width, and 2 ¾" in thickness. Laurel Gabel supports Forbes's identification of the Monis headstone as an exceptional example of the work of the well-known carver William Park, a skilled Scottish stone worker who had come to the United States circa 1756. The slate is thought to have come from the Pin Hill Quarry at Harvard, Massachusetts, where the Park family carvers obtained their stone.[62] Forbes noted that Park employed specific designs recognized at that time to portray not only the "terrible fact of death" but also the promise of resurrection. Among the familiar attributes of William Park's gravestones carved between 1756 and 1788, Forbes noted (a) "an architectural quality which we might expect from a family of stonecutters who were builders as well," (b) carving in high relief as well as bas-relief, (c) deeply cut anthropomorphic and floral ornamentations, and (d) "a curious type of death symbol which suggests a bulldog."[63] All of these attributes are observed on the headstone of Judah Monis.

So, from one perspective, we see that Monis's gravestone, along with its context in the burying ground of First Parish Church at Northborough, is quite conventional. It is a material personification of an individual who was an accepted and integrated member of a community sharing ideological values and a commonly recognized repertoire of artistic and verbal symbols representing life and death. Forbes was quite cognizant of this fact as well as of the challenge to the carver of this headstone, given Monis's unusual life history. She wrote: "When William Park received the order to carve a stone for Judah Monis, it must have taxed his ingenuity to the utmost. A man of such an interesting history and important position required something both dignified and unique. Judah Monis had been a very unique person ever since the days when Cotton Mather had written of his conversion to Christianity, 'A Jew rarely comes over to us but he brings Treasure with him.'"[64] With these matters in mind, we can analyze the headstone in further detail and better appreciate William Park's integrated sculpting skill and intellectual ingenuity, regardless of whether the stonecarver was indeed conscious of the complexity of meaning of Monis's gravestone.[65]

In looking at Monis's headstone, one's attention is immediately

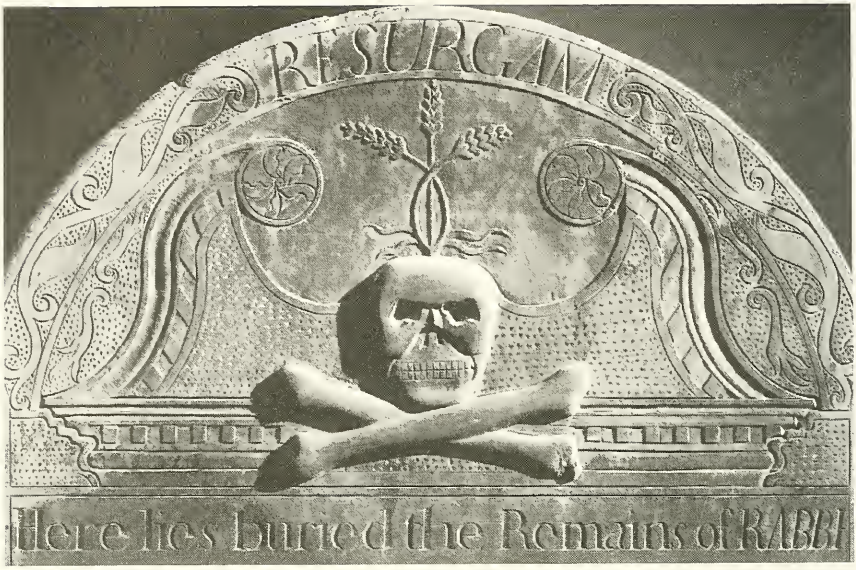


Fig. 5. Tympanum of Judah Monis headstone.

drawn to the carving in high relief of a human skull and crossed long bones (Fig. 5). This symbol of the aforementioned "terrible fact of death" literally jumps out from the stone. Stylistically, this projected artistic design is an example of what Forbes referred to as "bulldog"-like in appearance. As Ludwig has noted, skulls (along with coffins, picks, shovels, and hourglasses) represent the "triumph of death." For readers of our times, he adds that "for the Puritans these symbols held less dread than for us today because for them the passing away of the flesh was as much a part of life as birth and the renewal of life after the death of the body."[66] Even more than commemorating the dead, these death symbols are reminders to the living that they, too, are going to die, and hence they should try to lead exemplary moral lives.[67] Sprouting from the skull are three intertwined stems of wheat or a wheat-like plant.[68] Forbes interpreted this motif as the full fruition of grain "sown in corruption, and raised in incorruption"—i.e., a symbol of a sinful or vulnerable human life that was mature or "ripe"; that life has died but can live again in purity and piety. Ludwig interprets the combination of the

skull and the growing plant as a powerful "symbol of transformation" representing "death's giving way to new life."[69] The idea of death and resurrection is certainly strengthened by the Latin word *RESURGAM*, meaning "I shall rise again," that appears directly above the plant motif at the top of the tympanum.

On either side of the skull are large scrolls terminating in decorative disks. These scrolls (simulating the form of a split, curved pediment) extend up from a base suggestive of a corniced entablature with dentil molding. This decorative unit as a whole is very architectural in its form, echoing the curved pediments seen on some Georgian and neoclassical buildings.[70] As mentioned above, William Park came from a background of builders and stone masons, so it is not surprising that he employed architectural motifs often in his gravestone designs. But the symbolism certainly goes beyond this fact. Ludwig discussed "architectural symbolism" (such as arches, portals, columns, and passageways) on early New England gravestones as representing the Puritan conception of the journey from life to heaven or from death to the unknown.[71] David Watters also stressed this point in saying that "the grave was the passageway between the earthly temple and the heavenly temple . . . Carvers adopted the basic themes of the tomb-temple relationship to a two-dimensional carving space, and some of the earliest stones may have been seen by Puritans as symbolic of 'living stones.'"[72] Even more specifically, following Watters' reasoning concerning entrance to heaven and resurrection, the architectural motifs on Monis's headstone may well refer to the tripartite Old Testament temple in which "only the High Priest was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies, so Puritans saw him as a foreshadowing of Christ who would lead mankind into heaven."[73] The fact that Monis converted to Christianity certainly suggests this interpretation. It may well be that the Puritan fellowship perceived Monis as a "priest" and that his conversion was a validation of their aspirations for the coming of the Millennium that stemmed back to the writings of the Apostle Paul.[74]

The visual references to priest and temple are echoed in the side border panels of Monis's headstone. At the top of each side arch border panel is a sculptured rosette functioning as a border finial (Fig. 6). The rosettes and border panels are edged with a decorative beading or rope-like design. Gently folded drapes with fringes and tassels are delicately carved on the side panels. Watters elucidates the probable meanings of

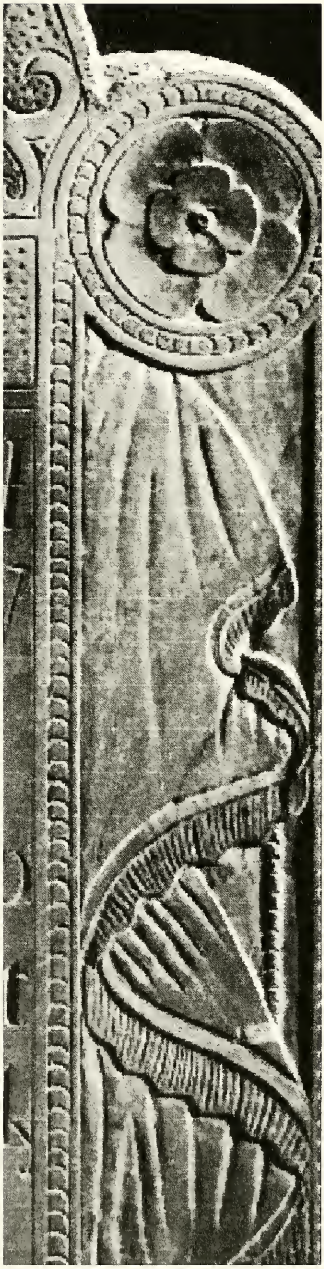


Fig. 6. Detail of border of Judah Monis gravemarker.

the drapes and ropes with tassels vis-à-vis the Old Testament temple and the idea of resurrection: "The veil separating the inner court from the Holy of Holies becomes a symbol for Christ's flesh which has to be rent before believers can enter heaven. . . . The tassels are literal representations of those commonly hung from the pulpit and the pall held over the coffin, but they are also symbolic of the veil of flesh opening into heaven."[75]

Inset at the base of both side panels are architectural embellishments, each consisting of three short vertical columns holding up a horizontal element with banded molding (Fig. 7). The function or symbolism of these motifs is not clear. They may simply serve as foundations or footings for the side border panels. Another possibility is that the carver intentionally designed these elements to represent raised ledger stones or tablestones as a symbol of Monis's ascribed clerical status. Rev. John Martyn's gravestone, for example, is the only raised ledger stone in the cemetery. Still another possibility is that these motifs represent communion tables along the lines described by Ludwig and Watters.[76]

In addition to the decorated disks and rosettes mentioned above, Monis's headstone has other stylized floral and geometric designs.

Fig. 7. Detail of lower border of Judah Monis gravemarker showing an architectural form (possibly representing a table-stone).

Scrolled plant-like motifs form a decorative border across the top of the tympanum. The background surface for designs at the top of the gravestone is textured with lines of small stipple marks. The border at the base of the gravestone consists of a central pinwheel-like disk and scrolled plant-like motifs against a stippled background, repeating elements on the upper border of the tympanum. Although similar motifs are frequently found on early New England gravestones, their connotations are less obvious than the other conventional artistic symbols previously discussed. Flowers and garlands are generally associated with ideas of the ephemeral life of humans and also the victory of eternal life.[77] But, as Ludwig observes, stylized rosettes and other such geometric motifs, typically part of an interlocking network of designs, were "used with some degree of consistency in New England, although in no case are the meanings literally spelled out."[78]

The Monis headstone bears the following inscription, reproduced here in its entirety and with all its idiosyncratic conventions:

RESURGAM
Here lies buried the Remains of RABBI
IUDAH MONIS, M.A. late HEBREW
Instructer at HARVARD College in
Cambridge in which Office He continued 40
years. He was by Birth and Religion a jew but
embrac·d the Christian Faith & was publickly
baptiz·d at Cambridge AD 1722 and
departed this Life April 25, 1764, Aged
81 years 2 months and 21 days
A native branch of Jacob see!
Which, once from off its olive brok,
Regrafted, from the living tree — Rom. XI. 17-24.
Of the reviving sap partook
From teeming Zion's fertile womb, — Isai. LXVI. 8.
As dewy drops in early morn, — Psal. CX. 3.
Or rising bodies from the tomb, — Iohn V. 28, 29
At once be Isr'els nation born! — Isai. LXVI. 8.

This inscription has a number of conventions (perhaps customary for that time and place, or perhaps idiosyncrasies of the carver) that are ignored in most of the published transcriptions (Fig. 8). Monis's first name, for example, is carved with a capital "I," which substitutes for a capital "J"; the same can be seen in the citation of the gospel of John. This substitution is not particularly unusual for that time period, although the capital "J" is used in Jacob's name. Curiously enough, the initial letters in the words "Christian Faith" are capitalized, but the "j" in "jew" is not.[79] Despite some corrected published versions, the words "publickly" and "brok" appear here as they were carved on the stone; likewise, there is a grammatical error in the first line of the biographical section and in the last line of the poem. The letter "e" is represented by a dot in the words "embrac·d" and "baptiz·d" and an apostrophe substitutes for the letter "a" in the word "Isr'els."

The inscription can be divided into four units (Fig. 9). The first unit, which appears curved at the top of the tympanum, consists of the single Latin word "Resurgam," meaning "I shall rise again." This part of the gravestone's carved text appears in none of the published versions I have found prior to Gabel's printed transcription in 2002. It is perhaps worth noting that the tablet inscription for Monis, first instructor of Hebrew at Harvard, contains no words in Hebrew but rather a word in Latin. Thus, in addition to the important concept of resurrection, this one word in Latin highlights the significance to the Puritan world of Monis's conversion from Judaism to Christianity by emphasizing the movement from Old Testament to New Testament beliefs.[80]

The other three units of the inscription are carved in the rectangular space below the sculpture of the human skull and crossed bones. Only one of the earlier published versions makes any attempt to reproduce all three of these sections.[81] The second unit, consisting of nine lines, contains biographical information. Monis is identified as a rabbi (and apparently he served one or more congregations in that role although, as discussed above, he may never have been ordained or awarded that specific status in Judaism). He is further identified as a Hebrew "Instructer" [sic] at Harvard College for a period of forty years. In point of fact, Monis was on the Harvard staff for thirty-eight years, extending from his appointment in 1722 to his resignation in 1760. His public baptism and conversion to Christianity are acknowledged as well as his date of death and his presumed exact age at the time he died.

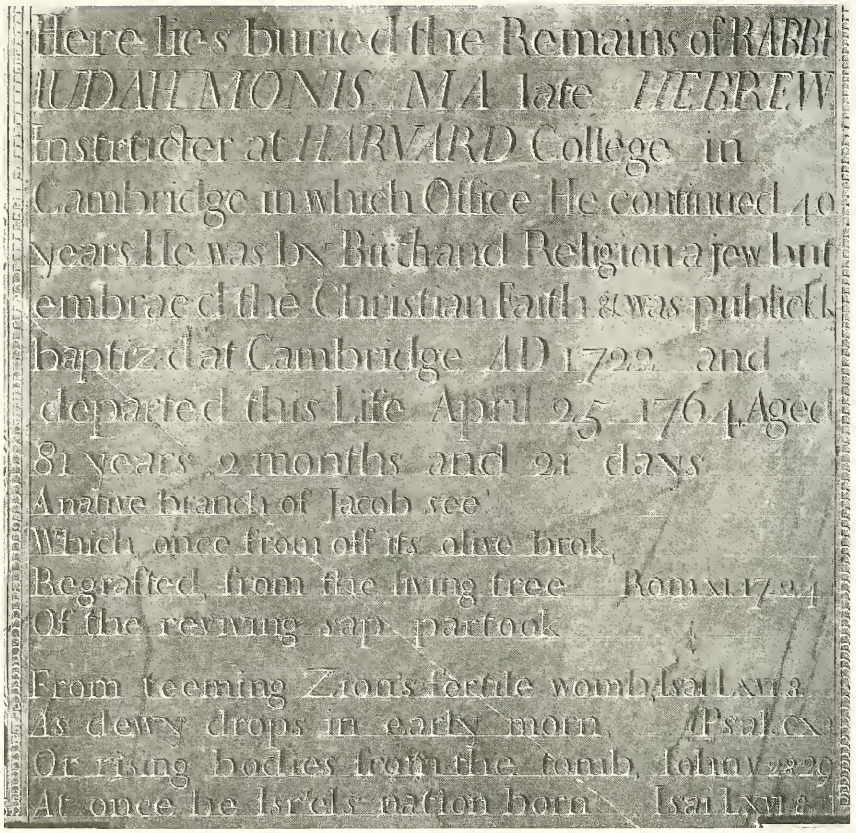


Fig. 8. Detail of inscription of Judah Monis's gravemarker .

The third and fourth units of the inscription consist of an eight-line poem or epitaph directly below the biographical section and, to the right, five citations to Biblical passages that inspired the poem. Verses in Romans, Isaiah, Psalms, and John are cited. This poem is full of allusions to Monis's Jewish background, his acceptance of Christianity, the promise of resurrection, and the vision of a messianic kingdom. The poem and Biblical citations echo and elucidate the word "Resurgam" at the top of the tympanum. Several of the published versions of this epitaph refer only to the poem and then comment that it hints at Monis's

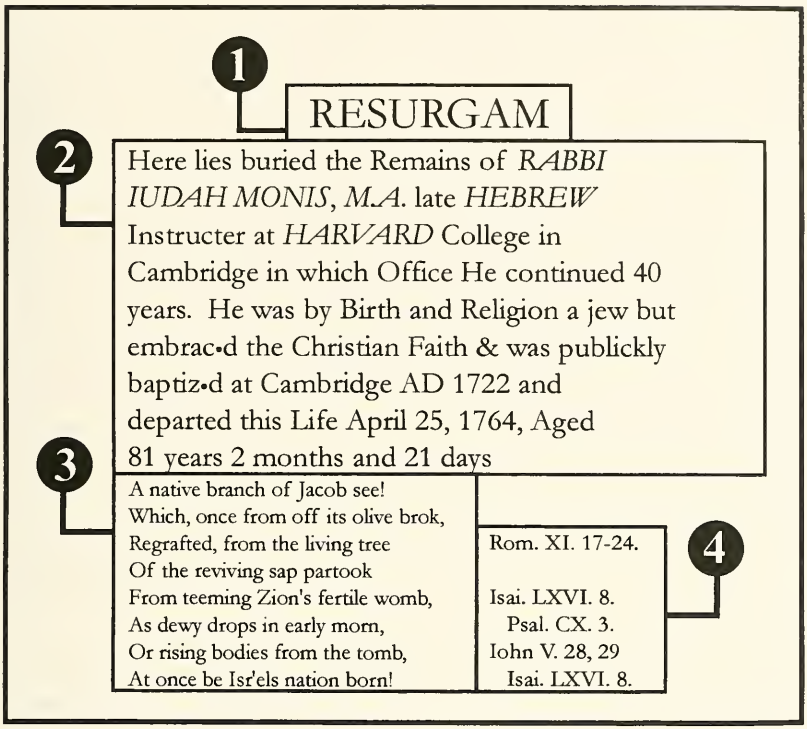


Fig. 9. Diagram showing the four units of the text carved on the gravemarker of Judah Monis.

Judaic background.[82] Isaac Landman did not quote the poem but mentioned that the verse and its figurative allusions point to Monis's Jewish origins.[83] Of course those facts are stated unambiguously in the biographical section of the inscription. Monis's Jewish origins and the impact his conversion to Christianity had on his Puritan associates are repetitive themes that reverberate throughout the entire inscription.

The poem, its Biblical allusions, and the potent graphic symbols provide the key to understanding the message on Judah Monis's headstone. In *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England*, James W. Davidson emphasizes the centrality of millennialism in Puritan religion as forcefully espoused and preached, for example, by Increase and Cotton Mather.[84] Millennialism is deeply rooted in

the biblical symbols and allusions on Monis's gravestone, especially in the passage from Romans. The millennial thread extending from Protestantism back to Catholicism and Judaism centers on concepts of the "chosen people," the messiah, and the manner in which a "Kingdom of God" might be established.

The life and writings of the Apostle Paul are the crucial element here in understanding the growth of Christianity out of Judaism and the early development of millennial thought.[85] Saul of Tarsus in Cilicia was originally a member of the Pharisees, a religious faction of Jews who maintained the validity of oral law in addition to the Torah; they also believed in the resurrection of the dead and a life after death.[86] As a persecutor of Christians, Saul was sent to Damascus to apprehend what followers of Jesus he could find and bring them to trial in Jerusalem. Along the road, Saul had his celebrated epiphanic vision and was called (or converted) to Christianity. Subsequently, as the Apostle Paul, he became a proselytizer for Christianity. The fact that the early Christians had, in fact, been Jews, figured largely in the Puritans' straightforward desire to convert Jews and to venerate Judah Monis's conversion to Christianity.

The questions regarding the identification of "chosen" people, the role of conversions, and the anticipated appearance of a messiah or messianic age, however, are more complex, as revealed in Paul's Epistle to the Romans and alluded to on the headstone of Judah Monis.[87] The problem of salvation and the second appearance of Christ is bound up, to a large degree, in whether Jews (as stated in the Old Testament) or Christians were actually "chosen" to spread the word of God and thus usher in the advent of the messianic age or millennial reign of Christ. Jews were not responding well to the missionary efforts of Paul and other followers of Jesus. Krister Stendahl explains what motivated Paul to write his Epistle to the Romans: "The glorious secret that was whispered into the ear of Paul the Apostle, the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles, was that God in his grace had changed his plans. Now it was the 'No' of the Jews, their non-acceptance of the Messiah, which opened up the possibility of the 'Yes' of the Gentiles. Particularly in Romans 11 does Paul point out that ultimately when the full number of Gentiles have become God's people, then by jealousy (Rom. 11:11) the Jews will also be saved (11:15, 25-27). The central issue claiming Paul's attention is that of the inclusion both of Gentiles and Jews." [88] As E. P. Sanders

notes: "Paul required faith in Christ not only of Gentiles but also of Jews. . . . In Romans 11 he uses the image of an olive tree. Many of the native branches had been lopped off. They can be grafted back only on the basis of faith."[89] This verbal imagery of the broken olive branch regrafted to the living tree is what we observe carved into stone in Judah Monis's epitaph. The metaphor, of course, refers to the fact that Judah Monis was born a Jew but converted to Christianity. Thus the poem further reinforces the biographical portion of the headstone's inscription: the conversion of Monis was, indeed, "good news." In the times of Paul as well as in the Puritan period, Jews were not exactly rushing to conversion. Hence we can understand Increase and Cotton Mather's sense of urgency in their proselytizing efforts and also their near rapture in the conversion of Judah Monis. To the Puritan community, reaching back to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, a life had been saved and they were just that much closer to attaining their promised millennial goal.

Conclusions

As discussed above, Judah Monis was not a man without accomplishments. He was, indeed, the first instructor of Hebrew at Harvard and his Hebrew grammar was the first published in North America. On this basis, one writer labeled Monis as a "Colonial American Hebraist";[90] another as an "American scholar."[91] Many details of Monis's life, however, remain enigmatic. There are conflicting statements concerning his place of birth, the religious tradition of his parents, the places where he was educated, the titles which may or may not have been conferred upon him, the reasons and motivations for his conversion, and his skill and popularity as a teacher. Contrasting references to Monis's identity occurred not only during his lifetime, but have continued in the writings of subsequent scholars. Monis is referred to as a rabbi, a "former rabbi," a "converted rabbi," and a "Christian rabbi," and he is also designated a Jew, a "learned and pious Jew," a "Jewish scholar and Hebraicist," a "convert from Judaism," a "converted Jew," a "Jewish Christian," a "Christianized Jew," a "Christian Jew," and a "terminal Jew."[92]

Jewish scholars, in particular, seem deeply ambivalent about Judah Monis: they cannot afford to ignore him, but they realize the irony of discussing him within the context of American Jewish history. In *The Colonial American Jew*, for example, Jacob Marcus pointed out that Monis was a convert to Protestantism. Immediately following that

statement, Marcus proceeded to exclaim: "Monis was also the first Jew in North America to receive an academic degree—an honorary one in this instance—from an American college."[93] This statement presents problems not only in terms of the chronological events of Monis's life but also in the manner in which his personal identity is described. Similarly, Monis and his complex identities figure prominently in *The Jews of Boston*, a series of essays edited by Jonathan D. Sarna and Ellen Smith.[94] In this book, Stephen J. Whitfield juggled the disparate information about Monis awkwardly: "It is fitting that the first noteworthy Jew to settle in Boston was not a merchant but an academic: Judah Monis, the author of a Hebrew grammar (1735) and the recipient of a Harvard M.A. degree—the first college degree a Jew received in the American colonies. But Boston's first consequential Jew was also a terminal Jew, a convert, though Monis might not have been a Christian by choice. Baptism was a condition of employment at Harvard . . ."[95] But if Monis "terminated" his Judaism prior to his receiving the M.A. degree, the assertion that he was the first Jew to receive a college degree in the American colonies falls flat.

An understanding of the socio-cultural and religious context of colonial America helps identify the conflicting and enigmatic aspects of Judah Monis's identity and explain how he has been perceived by others. As Arthur Hertzberg wrote, "the Puritans of New England were obsessed by the Jewish Bible, but they were not hospitable to Jews, or to Judaism."[96] Jews were seen as subjects to be converted to Christianity by leading clergymen such as Increase Mather and Cotton Mather. They reveled in the occasion of Monis's baptism and conversion. According to Hertzberg, "Christianity thus stood confirmed in Boston, out of the mouth of a Jew who even sometimes claimed to have been a rabbi. What a joy this was for [Cotton] Mather. . . . Mather left College Hall that day in the sure and certain faith that the Second Coming was near."[97]

Given these conflicting perceptions of identity and historical facts, we can better comprehend the portrayal of Monis in the recently published book on the history of Boston's Jews: "Monis's life presents one example—if an extreme example—of how a Jewish individual made a place for himself in Boston history. Without the support of Jewish institutions, a Jewish community, or even other Jewish individuals, Monis entered the life of Cambridge as a Christian. He consciously chose to do so. Having voluntarily left a mature Jewish community in New York City, Monis

came to Cambridge to teach the Hebrew tongue as a Christian. He seems never to have looked back."[98] The incongruity is that the author of this passage acknowledges that Monis was a Christian during his employment at Harvard and yet includes him in the historical review of the Jews of colonial Boston.

Even in death (which occurred in 1764), Monis remains somewhat of a paradox. The epitaph on Monis's headstone in the graveyard of Northborough's First Parish Church proclaims that he "was by Birth and Religion a jew." However, Jewish burials did not occur, and were apparently not allowed, in Massachusetts until the 1840s.[99] Jews who resided in colonial Boston, for example, were transported to final resting places in Newport, Rhode Island, or one of Shearith Israel Synagogue's early cemeteries in New York City. Thus not only the imagery and language but even the location of Judah Monis's gravestone is expressive of his enigmatic and conflicted Judeo/Christian identity. The magnificently carved headstone in the burying ground of First Parish Church in Northborough marks the grave of a person important not only in the history of that community but also in the history of Cambridge, Boston, and the larger realm of colonial America. The integrated imagery on this gravestone, manifested in artistic designs and verbal symbols in the tablet inscription, however, reflect a complex person whose life still challenges our understanding today.

NOTES

I would like to acknowledge the support of a Touro National Heritage Trust Fellowship (administered through the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University in Providence, RI) during the fall of 1997. As an ancillary to my main research project at Newport, RI, I ran across references to Judah Monis and the epitaph on his gravestone. During the spring of 1998, I traveled to Northborough, Massachusetts, to visit the First Parish Church burying ground and document Monis's gravestone. My wife, Hanna Rosenberg Gradwohl, assisted me with both the archival research and field recording of Monis's gravestone. I am indebted to Laurel Gabel not only for sharing her extensive knowledge of colonial New England gravestones, but also for specific information regarding Judah Monis's gravestone and its carver, William Park; in addition, she brought the gravestone of Abigail Marrett Monis to my attention. I also thank the following individuals for their help: Rabbi Judith Bluestein, Rev. Kent Organ, Nancy Osborn Johnsen, Jane G. Nash, Justin M. Nash, Curtis Nepstad-Thornberry, Rev. Richelle Russell (minister of Northborough's First Parish Church), and Leroy Wolins. I also appreciate the assistance of personnel at the American Jewish Historical Society (Waltham, MA), the John Carter Brown Library and Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence, RI), and the Redwood Library (Newport, RI). Aaron Greiner kindly prepared Figure 8. I thank the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, for making available the images of the gravestones of Judah Monis and Abigail Monis from the Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber Collection of Gravestone Photographs. Photographs for Figures 1 and 2 were taken by the author. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the annual meeting of the American Culture Association in San Diego, California, on April 1, 1999, and at the conference of the National Association for Ethnic Studies in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 23, 2000. Lastly, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Gary Collison and two anonymous reviewers as I prepared the final revision of this essay.

[1] The present building is a smaller replica of a church that was constructed in 1808 and destroyed by fire in 1945. That structure, in turn, replaced the original church built during colonial times.

[2] Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800* (1927; Barre, VT: Barre Granite Association, 1989); David D. Hall, "The Gravestone Image as a Puritan Cultural Code," in *Puritan Gravestone Art--The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings 1976*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston, MA: Boston University, 1977), 23-32; Allan Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (1966; Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1999); David H. Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," in *Puritan Gravestone Art II--The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings 1978*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston, MA: Boston University), 25-36.

[3] Josiah Coleman Kent, *Northborough History* (Newton, MA: Garden City Press, 1921), 286.

[4] Lee M. Friedman, "Judah Monis, First Instructor at Harvard University,"

Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society 22 (1914): 19; Kent, *Northborough History,* 288; Milton M. Klein, "A Jew at Harvard in the 18th Century," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 97 (1985): 144; George Foot Moore, "Judah Monis," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 52 (1919): 300-301; Eisig Silberschlag, "Judah Monis in Light of an Unpublished Manuscript," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 46-47 (1980): 496; Ellen Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners: The Jews of Colonial Boston," in *The Jews of Boston: Essays on the Occasion of the Centenary (1895-1995) of the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston,* ed. Jonathan D. Sarna and Ellen Smith (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 34.

[5] Subsequently, however, a complete and accurate transcription has been published along with some description of the mortuary symbolism represented on the gravestone of Judah Monis; see: Laurel K. Gabel, "'By this you see we are but dust': The Gravestone Art and Epitaphs of our Ancestors," in *Art of Family: Genealogical Artifacts in New England,* ed. D. Brenton Simons and Peter Benes (Boston, MA: New England Genealogical Society, 2002), 150-175.

[6] Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England,* 113.

[7] Ludwig, *Graven Images,* 5.

[8] Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," 25-26.

[9] Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England,* 74 and Figure 95.

[10] Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1722-1725,* 7 (1945): 639, quoting the *New Hampshire Gazette,* May 4, 1764; Klein, *A Jew at Harvard,* 139; Kent, *Northborough History,* 286; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew, 1492-1776* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970): 1096; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 57; William H. Mulligan, Jr., *Northborough: A Town and Its People* (Northborough, MA: Northborough American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1982), 224; Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder, "Judah Monis," *The New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970): 1363.

[11] George Alexander Kohut, "Judah Monis, M.A., the First Instructor at Harvard University (1683-1764)," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 14:4 (1898): 219, quoting Benjamin Peirce; Shalom Goldman, "Biblical Hebrew in Colonial America: The Case of Dartmouth," in *Hebrew and the Bible in America: The First Two Centuries,* ed. Shalom Goldman (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993): 201; Arthur Hertzberg, "The New England Puritans and the Jews," in *Hebrew and the Bible in America: The First Two Centuries,* ed. Shalom Goldman (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993): 108.

[12] Moore, "Judah Monis," 287.

[13] Several authors have commented that the family name Monis is unusual if not unique among Jews. See, for example, Moore, "Judah Monis," 286-287; and Kohut, "Judah Monis, M.A.," 217. This name, however, is not an uncommon

Iberian family name in its Spanish spelling (Monis) or its Portuguese spelling (Moniz). Current telephone directories, for example, list more than 150 Moniz residences and one Monis in Providence, RI; Boston has 3 listings for Monis and 25 for Moniz; and there are 140 Moniz listings and 1 Monis in Fall River, MA. Perhaps few or none of these contemporary families identify as Jews. Given the historical factor of forced conversions in Iberia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, it is not impossible that some of these contemporary families may have had Jewish ancestors in pre-Inquisition Iberia.

[14] Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 131; Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1096; Moore, "Judah Monis," 287.

[15] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 639; Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 139.

[16] Moore, "Judah Monis," 287; Leah Borenstein, "The Jewish Religious Leadership in the Muslim East," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 13 (1972): 1450-1451.

[17] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1096. See also Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 139.

[18] Moore, "Judah Monis," 288-289.

[19] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 639; Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 139; Louis Meyer, *The First Jewish Christian in North America--Judah Monis* (Hopkinton, Iowa, *circa* 1890): 3; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 31; Dagobert D. Runes, "Judah Monis," in *Concise Dictionary of Judaism* (New York, NY: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1969): 171.

[20] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 639; Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 139-140.

[21] Moore, "Judah Monis," 290; Friedman, "Judah Monis, First Instructor," 2.

[22] The purposes and rationales for teaching Hebrew are elucidated in Goldman, ed., *Hebrew and The Bible.*

[23] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard,* 57.

[24] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 643; Moore, "Judah Monis," 299-300; Friedman, "Judah Monis, First Instructor," 15-16.

[25] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1097.

[26] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 641; Hertzberg, "The New England Puritans," 108-109; James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather, 1639-1723* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988).

[27] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1099.

[28] Kohut, "Judah Monis, M.A.," 218-219; Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1097-99; Moore, "Judah Monis," 301; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 34; Steven J. Whitfield, "The Smart Set: An Assessment of Jewish Culture," in Jonathan D. Sarna and Ellen Smith, eds., *The Jews of Boston: Essays on the Occasion of the Centenary (1895-1995) of the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 308.

[29] Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought;* M. Hall, *The Last American Puritan.*

[30] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 641; Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1098; Frederick T. Haneman, "Judah Monis," *The Jewish Encyclopedia* 8 (1904): 657; Isaac Landman, "Judah Monis,"*The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* 7 (1969): 622.

[31] Kohut, "Judah Monis, M.A," 218.

[32] Moore, "Judah Monis," 294.

[33] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 642.

[34] Also spelled Marret.

[35] Mulligan, *Northborough,* 225.

[36] Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 142.

[37] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 643; Friedman, "Judah Monis, First Instructor," 15-16; Moore, "Judah Monis," 299-300.

[38] Moore, "Judah Monis," 290; Leon Hühner, "Jews in Connection with the Colleges of the Thirteen Original States Prior to 1800," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 19 (1910):109; Landman, "Judah Monis," 622; Kent, *Northborough History,* 286; Friedman, "Judah Monis, First Instructor," 2.

[39] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 642 and footnote 12.

[40] Most scholars on this subject concur with the 1723 date for Monis's M.A. degree. See Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 142; Isadore S. Meyer, "Judah Monis," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 12 (1972): 257; Silberschlag, "Judah Monis in Light," 495; Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1099; Mulligan, *Northborough,* 224.

[41] Moore, "Judah Monis," 302; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 32.

[42] Hertzberg, "The New England Puritans," 107.

[43] Ibid., 105.

[44] Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 135.

[45] Friedman, "Judah Monis, First Instructor," 7.

[46] Hühner, "Jews in Connection with the Colleges," 109.

[47] Kent, *Northborough History,* 286.

[48] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1099.

[49] Shipton, *Biographical Sketches,* 643.

[50] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard,* 58.

[51] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 1099.

[52] Moore, "Judah Monis," 310; Silberschlag, "Judah Monis in Light," 498-499.

[53] Silberschlag, "Judah Monis in Light," 499-500.

[54] Goldman, "Biblical Hebrew in Colonial America," 202.

[55] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 1102.

[56] Ibid., 1101-1103. Steven Sewall had been a student of Judah Monis and was not laudatory of his former instructor's teaching skills. In 1764, Sewall was appointed the Hancock Professor of Hebrew, Harvard's first endowed chair of Hebrew. See Thomas J. Siegel, "Professor Stephen Sewall and the Transformation of Hebrew at Harvard," in Goldman, ed., *Hebrew and the Bible*, 233.

[57] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 1103.

[58] Laurel Gabel, personal communication, April 5, 1999.

[59] Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 1100.

[60] Shalom Goldman, "Introduction," in Goldman, ed., *Hebrew and the Bible*: xxi.

[61] Kent, *Northborough History*, 287; Mulligan, *Northborough*, 225.

[62] Laurel Gabel, personal communication, March 16, 1999; see also Gabel, " 'By this you see," 162.

[63] Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England*, 72-73.

[64] Ibid., 74.

[65] Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 4-6.

[66] Ibid., 77.

[67] Hall, *The Last American Puritan*, 29.

[68] To this author, the three stems of the plant motif are suggestive of at least a covert representation of the Trinity; but that association may not have been a conscious symbol in the mind of William Park, his patrons, or other people in Colonial Northborough.

[69] Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 77.

[70] Laurel Gabel observes that William Park came from Scotland and further notes that the strong architectural details in his carvings are similar to those in Scotland during that period (personal communication, March 16, 1999).

[71] Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 139.

[72] Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," 26.

[73] Ibid., 25.

[74] Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought* ; E.P. Sanders, *Paul* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1991); Krister Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1976).

[75] Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," 25, 35.

[76] Ibid., 35; Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 176.

[77] Ibid., 142-155.

[78] Ibid., 232.

[79] While I find this distinction pejorative, it may only reflect the somewhat capricious attitude toward capitalization exhibited by gravestone carvers during the colonial period.

[80] I thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this specific paradigm.

[81] Kent, *Northborough History,* 288.

[82] Silberschlag, "Judah Monis in Light," 496; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 34.

[83] Landman, "Judah Monis," 622.

[84] Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*; M. Hall, *The Last American Puritan.*

[85] Sanders, *Paul*; Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles.*

[86] David Flusser, "Paul of Tarsus," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 13 (1972): 190-192; Menahem Mansoor, "Pharisees," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 13 (1972): 363-366.

[87] Robert W. Wall, "Introduction to Epistolary Literature," *The New Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2002); 10: 369-375; N. T. Wright, "The Letter to the Romans: Introduction, Commentary and Reflections," *The New Interpreter's Bible* 10: 395-699.

[88] Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles*, 28.

[89] Sanders, *Paul*, 117.

[90] I.S. Meyer, "Judah Monis," 256.

[91] Haneman, "Judah Monis," 657.

[92] Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 135; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 34; Rev. Robert Wodrow quoted in Klein, "A Jew at Harvard," 137; Ibid., 135; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 30; Kohut, "Judah Monis, M.A.," 217; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 34; L. Meyer, *The First Jewish* Christian, 3; Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 34; Kent, *Northborough History*, 286; Whitfield, "The Smart Set," 308.

[93] Marcus, *The Colonial American* Jew, 1096.

[94] Sarna and Smith, *The Jews of Boston.*

[95] Whitfield, "The Smart Set," 308.

[96] Hertzberg, "The New England Puritans," 105.

[97] *Ibid.*, 109.

[98] Smith, "Strangers and Sojourners," 34.

[99] Ellen Smith, "Israelites in Boston, 1840-1880," in *The Jews of Boston*, 53-54; American Jewish Historical Society, *On Common Ground: The Boston Jewish Experience 1649-1980* (Waltham, MA: American Jewish Historical Society, 1981): 15.

Belmont mausoleum, a replica of the Chapel of Saint Hubert at Chateau Amboise, France. Courtesy, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, NY.

In the Bronx with Melville

Henry Hughes

I'm trying to stay alive, jogging
my heart into an island of smooth industry,
paving lumpy streets, squaring sagging doorways
with the bright brick of muscle. Something like the Bronx,
a running race over those strip-car shoulders
and burned-out projects on the way to Yankee Stadium
and the sooty zoo.

But it's a fine morning
along Bedford's dewy ball fields
with the African elite, the muscled Latinos and smooth women
in sports bras and tights. And after all those inspiring rear miles
I turn the corner and keep going, down railrattled Jerome
up to Woodlawn Cemetery
where the mausoleums outsize the banks—
Woolworth's Egyptian tomb, Zeigler's Parthenon,
Belmont's Chapel of St. Hubert--ensuring time's stranger
that sweating awe of *Wow, he must've been something.*

Faith darts across a path
and in the cool oak groves to the east, lichen prints
the dress of a weeping girl in worn granite.
Her bare legs tease the beach, her delicate hand holds a book
almost finished. Oh, sweet reader, all the love in the world
won't keep us young or famous, though sadness
sings softly for our loss, I think, lying
before the blank scroll of Melville's headstone
in the shelled calm he cannot hear.

But I'm just tired enough to talk, to tell him the meaningless
all meaning of a marathon
run again and again against the gravity
of time and money, of family and a good name. Manuscripts
roll offshore, salt dries on my face,
and there's the bright breach in an open sea, a glistening paperback
pulled from a sports bag,
a notebook and a pen. *Now, Melville,* I say—
stretching across his Elizabeth—
Let's see where you've been.

Fig. 1. Strolling through the garden cemetery.
View from Mount Auburn, **engraving by James Smillie, 1847.**
Courtesy, Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Museum in the Garden: Mount Auburn Cemetery and American Sculpture, 1840-1860

Elise Madeleine Ciregna

In the four quarters of the globe, who . . .
looks at an American picture or statue?

—Reverend Sydney Smith
The Edinburgh Review, 1820

Colonial Americans found little time for pursuits other than the immediate concerns of everyday life. By the early nineteenth century, critiques from abroad, such as the Reverend Sydney Smith's oft-quoted, famously withering comment, highlighted what had become a matter of national urgency for prominent intellectuals across America: the development of a distinct artistic culture.[1] Clearly, the most underdeveloped American art form was academic sculpture, or work produced by formally trained artists. In 1814, the *Boston Spectator* lamented: "It is probably a fact, and not one very flattering to us as a refined people, that not a single attempt has ever been made, in this country, to give to marble the 'human form divine.'"[2] Already, a number of American painters working from European academic traditions had emerged during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, artists such as John Singleton Copley, Benjamin West, John Trumbull, Gilbert Stuart and Washington Allston. These painters had all left America (some permanently, like Copley and West) to take advantage of opportunities to study abroad with trained European artists, furthering the view that America could not sustain artistic endeavor. In America, chiseled or carved work was still bound by earlier folk and craft traditions. Largely produced by anonymous native woodcarvers and stonecutters, it was utilitarian in nature—ship figureheads, shop signs, marble mantelpieces, and gravestones. When American academic sculpture finally began to appear on these shores, one of the first places it was prominent was at a new institution: the garden cemetery (Fig. 1).

This article considers garden cemeteries not only as America's earliest public repositories of academic sculpture but also as a crucial catalyst for the development of academic sculpture in America. The study focuses on Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, America's first rural, or garden, cemetery, founded in 1831. Mount Alburn not only provided the inspiration for the movement that helped to create scores of garden cemeteries throughout the country, but it also provided the model for how it introduced the American public—in this case, the largely white, upper and middle class, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant segment of the population that had the time and interest to pursue cultural activities—to viewing and appreciating sculpture produced by America's first professionally trained American artists. Mount Auburn's founders and lot owners, among the earliest American patrons of an emerging school of American sculpture, helped to advance the careers of numerous artists. In an age before public park systems and public art museums, sculptural works placed in cemeteries provided the American public with access to works by trained sculptors. Previous generations were familiar only with gravestones carved by little known or anonymous craftsmen and placed in graveyards that had little aesthetic appeal. Garden cemeteries brought a new awareness and appreciation of artistic accomplishment. As one art historian has noted, "marmoreal," or marble, works at Mount Auburn transformed the cemetery into "an out-of-door sculpture museum and botanical park given special meaning by the vast and distinguished company underground." The same writer stated, "It may be taken for granted that almost all of the patrons of sculptors drew a large part of whatever understanding and familiarity they had with the art of sculpture from the . . . exhibits in the cemetery."[3] The public's enthusiasm for visiting Mount Auburn invested that cemetery with the status of a museum and helped to introduce a taste for sculpture long before the founding of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1870.

The garden cemetery movement in America has long been the subject of scholarship by historians of landscape, urban planning, public health, society, and culture. Mount Auburn Cemetery has itself been the focus of much scholarship, most importantly by historian Blanche Linden-Ward, whose 1989 book entitled *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* is the only comprehensive social and cultural history of that cemetery. Other scholars such as David Charles

Sloane and Barbara Rotundo have also dealt with Mount Auburn and the nineteenth-century rural cemetery movement. But although connections between the nascent field of American academic sculpture and cemeteries have occasionally been noted in the literature, scholars have largely overlooked Mount Auburn's specific contribution to the development of an American school of sculpture. One notable exception is art historian Frederic A. Sharf, whose 1961 article entitled "The Garden Cemetery and American Sculpture: Mount Auburn" also argued that Mount Auburn acted as a catalyst for sculpture commissions.[4] Sharf, however, felt that the importance given to American "expatriate" sculptors had overshadowed the accomplishments of those who remained in this country and limited his discussion to the latter, consequently ignoring what I feel is the much larger and more convincing view of Mount Auburn's far-reaching influence on American sculpture. Despite Sharf's narrow focus, his art historical focus on Mount Auburn is a refreshing exception to the scholarship on American sculpture, which in general focuses on later sculptors who found their greatest fame in the latter part of the nineteenth century and beyond.[5] A recent small but perceptible resurgence of interest in the earlier period of American sculpture—often referred to as "Neoclassical" for the classically-derived representations and characteristic use of white marble—has produced several dissertations and works on topics closely related to my research, although even in these works the role of the American cemetery receives little or no attention.[6]

A related difficulty with studying nineteenth-century cemetery sculpture is the lack of archival records that deal specifically with the sculptural works themselves. While historic cemeteries may keep accurate records of prominent personages buried within their boundaries, the sculptor or stone cutter who executed the original monument is often not recorded as part of routine lot records. Any paper trail connecting the lot owner or patron to the sculptor or carver rarely survives, unless either the patron or the sculptor was so celebrated that his (or her) papers were preserved in an archive. Retrieving this information, if an original monument is still extant (not always the case), involves inspecting the stone or bronze for a signature, searching for documentation, and possibly researching the artist involved. For obvious reasons, such a labor-intensive undertaking is never high on a cemetery's priority list

that includes the more pressing issues of maintenance and preservation. Comprehensive inventories of American sculpture such as the one at the Smithsonian Institution Research Information System (SIRIS) also tend to be incomplete, especially for cemetery works, since the inventories are compiled mostly from museum and art historical sources.

If historians have seldom dealt with sculpture specifically, they nevertheless have often considered Mount Auburn Cemetery an institution that provided its public with the same cultural attributes one might associate with visiting a museum. Historian Stanley French, in an article published in 1974, first termed Mount Auburn a "cultural institution" and even alluded to the Reverend Smith's comments to bolster his argument that the rural, or garden, cemetery movement helped to prevent America from being considered a "cultural wasteland."[7] French's article, however, concentrated on attitudes towards death, burial, and mourning practices. It had little to do with art with a capital "A," that is, the fine arts of painting and sculpture. One of the first places Americans would begin to view and appreciate the fine arts would be in the garden cemetery, with Mount Auburn in the vanguard.

The reasons for sculpture's relatively late arrival in America are complex and still contested, but one major factor was the dearth of training and study opportunities in America. Woodcarvers and stonecutters often followed templates, or pre-arranged designs, in the wood or stone they carved, producing abstracted or repetitive ornamental designs. Rarely were they required to produce original or figural work, except in the case of ship figureheads, virtually the only call for carved figures. Several artisans influenced by the works of famous European sculptors and imported engravings—among them the master ship figurehead woodcarver William Rush and the stonecutter John Frazee—attempted the transition to artist in the early nineteenth century with little or no formal training but found only limited success.[8]

A critical deficit that retarded the early development of sculpture in America was the lack of exposure to classical statuary. While some European sculptors enjoyed modest success with commissions from the American government during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—the most notable being the Frenchman Jean-Antoine Houdon and his full-length statue of *George Washington* (a commission suggested by Thomas Jefferson)—academic sculpture was known

almost exclusively only to wealthy Americans who had taken the Grand Tour and visited the great art collections of Europe. By the early nineteenth century, limited collections of plaster casts of antique busts and sculptures were owned by private cultural institutions such as the Boston Athenæum and the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York, but there were few possibilities for the public at large to view statues or paintings. Academic art, or art produced by professionally trained artists, in general remained unknown to the large majority of the populace before the mid-nineteenth century.

An anecdote related by Frances "Fanny" Trollope, the indefatigable English tourist and critic of America in the 1820s and 1830s, provides a telling insight about the American lack of experience with sculpture during this period. At the "Antique Statue Gallery" (an exhibit of plaster casts of antique statues) at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1830, Trollope was initially annoyed by the policy of segregating male and female viewers, who were sent in separately. Upon gaining admittance to the gallery, Trollope was not encouraged by what she saw. Confronted with the casts of nudes, several of which had been defaced with lewd graffiti by (presumably male) visitors, she later declared: "Till America has reached the degree of refinement which permits of [viewing sculpture appropriately], the antique casts should not be exhibited . . . at all. I never felt my delicacy shocked at the Louvre."[9] Clearly, she believed Americans in general lacked the ability to view nude statues with any degree of sophistication, at least compared to the more "refined" Europeans.

American garden cemeteries would play a crucial role in helping the first generations of native sculptors develop successful careers. The first objective for an aspiring sculptor consisted of obtaining the skill and experience that would attract both patrons and commissions. Horatio Greenough, often called America's first sculptor, helped to set the course of American sculpture in 1825 when he became the first American to seek training in Italy with Europe's leading masters of sculpture. Well-educated and articulate, Greenough was highly admired for this bold move. The American press helped to ensure his success by reporting on his projects and commissions and by constant praise for his high-quality work, considered in America as rivaling the work of the best contemporary European artists. In the decades that followed, aspiring

American sculptors imitated Greenough's example, including Thomas Crawford, Randolph Rogers, Richard Saltonstall Greenough (Horatio's brother), Thomas Ball, William Wetmore Story, Harriet Hosmer, and Edmonia Lewis, all of whom eventually gained commissions for placement at Mount Auburn Cemetery.

An aspiring sculptor with the means to travel abroad usually chose Italy for his training. The superb art collections of ancient Greek, Roman and Renaissance sculpture, the many funerary monuments and memorials to the celebrated and the wealthy, and the sculpture that decorated public and private settings throughout Italy provided unlimited opportunities for study. The great European masters of sculpture, including the Italian Lorenzo Bartolini in Florence and the Danish Bertel Thorwaldsen in Rome, were settled permanently in Italy and accepted promising students into their workshops. Horatio Greenough studied under both men. Other masters of sculpture such as the Englishman John Flaxman, known for his work with Josiah Wedgwood's manufactories and a highly admired sculptor in his own right, were also based professionally in Italy to some degree. In addition to the collections of antique statuary and the master studios, medical schools welcomed the participation of artists in the dissection of cadavers, allowing artists to obtain scientific, anatomical knowledge of the human body crucial to the work of a serious sculptor. Other practical reasons for choosing Italy abounded, including the availability of the fine white Carrara marble and Italian workmen to carve the marble. Unlike the artisan stonecutters of America, Italian stonecutters were proficient technicians who could be relied on to carve the final version of a statue using an age-old mechanical transfer technique called the "point" system. The sculptor was therefore free to express his creative genius through his modeling of the malleable clay into its final form but did not necessarily learn to carve in stone or marble himself, although most of the American sculptors discussed here did.

Other aspiring artists stayed in America and became professional sculptors with limited training through sheer force of talent, determination, and luck; these included Henry Dexter, Erastus Dow Palmer, and Edward Augustus Brackett. Dexter and Brackett both received multiple commissions from patrons and lot owners at Mount Auburn Cemetery. Regardless of where the training, formal or not, took place,

most sculptors sought out or received commissions for works at cemeteries, suggesting that the links between American sculpture, art appreciation, and cemeteries in nineteenth-century America was much stronger than has been heretofore acknowledged.

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Patronage was a crucial element to the development of American sculpture. Patronage in any form, whether through civic or philanthropic activities, has since Antiquity been the foundation of an artist's success. The important patrons of sculpture in Boston and Cambridge were largely the well-educated and wealthy men who comprised Boston's cultural and intellectual elite. By and large the same men who helped to found Mount Auburn Cemetery and purchased lots there—such notables as Joseph Story, Jacob Bigelow, Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, and Thomas Handasyd Perkins—comprised a select group who founded, headed, or funded the cultural and civic institutions, including the Boston Athenæum and Mount Auburn, that made Boston the "Athens of America."

An oil painting of the sculptor Erastus Dow Palmer's studio, done in 1857 by the artist Tompkins H. Matteson, presents a "typical" interior of a professional sculptor's studio (Fig. 2). Possibly produced as an elaborate advertisement since all of the sculptures depicted were well-known works by Palmer, the painting also provides a somewhat romanticized view of the career of a professional American sculptor in the mid-nineteenth century.[10] Although Palmer himself never trained or worked professionally in Italy, the activities and people in his studio are clearly based on those found in the studios and workshops of American sculptors in Italy. The main figure in the forefront is the sculptor (Palmer), a former carpenter and cameo cutter, who wears the garb of the serious artist: a smock to protect his street clothes and a velvet cap. The sculptor is at work on the wet clay model of a woman's bust, apparently giving instruction to the younger sculptor seated next to him. In the background a technician or workman uses calipers, or pointing machine, to measure a work in preparation to making a copy; another workman busies himself in the next room. The technicians produced copies of Palmer's most popular works for sale—a clue that the distinctions we make today

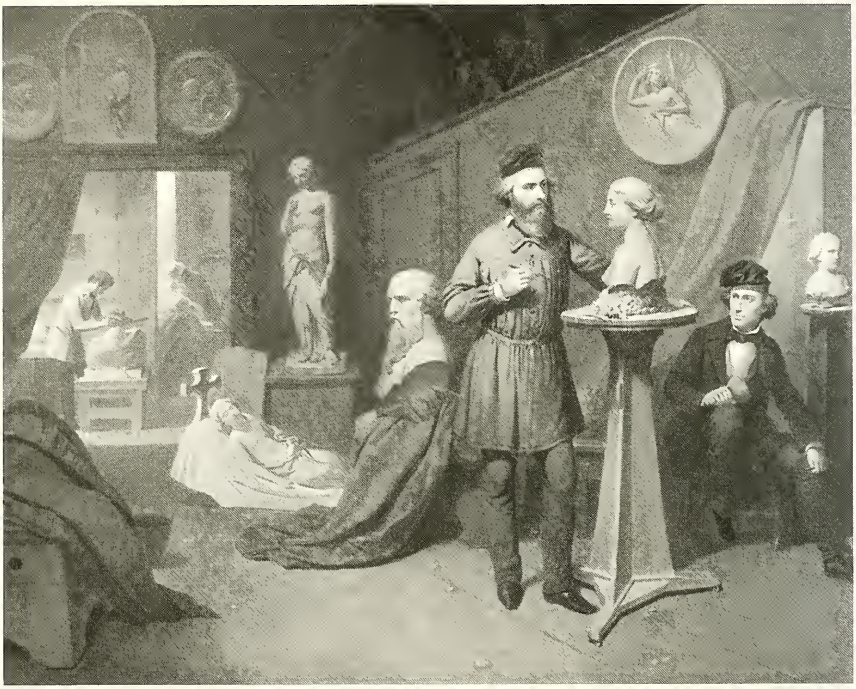

Fig. 2. Tompkins H. Matteson (1813-1884), *A Sculptor's Studio* **(Studio of Erastus Dow Palmer), oil on canvas, 1857. Courtesy, Albany Institute of History & Art. Gift of Walter Launt Palmer in memory of his mother, Mary Jane Seamans (Mrs. Erastus Dow) Palmer.**

between "fine art" and "popular art" were much more fluid during the first decades of America's popular interest in sculpture.

Throughout Palmer's studio are sculptures representative of the three main types of commissions a working sculptor could expect to receive: portrait busts, "ideal" sculpture, and memorial sculpture. Portrait busts—showing just the head, shoulders and breast—were the bread and butter of any working sculptor. While they provided a steady source of income, the repetitive, formulaic portrait busts (in an era just before the widespread availability of portrait photography) could frustrate an artist's more creative ambitions. Commenting on the unvarying nature

of these commissions from Americans on the Grand Tour, Horatio Greenough complained to his brother Henry in 1844: "I have refused to make busts at less than one hundred napoleons. I care not if I never get any more orders of that sort. Our good folk think statues can be turned out like yards of sheeting."[11]

Greenough and other ambitious sculptors preferred to concentrate their energies on the more prestigious commissions of ideal sculpture. Ideal sculpture was the work that separated the merely proficient sculptor from the artist of true "genius," that necessary quality of truly great American men, whether politican, scholar, or artist. Distinct from portrait sculpture, public monuments, and genre pieces, subject matter for ideal sculpture was drawn from history, literature, the Bible, or mythology, and was usually commissioned by either a wealthy private patron or an institution (for example, a court seeking allegorical figures of Truth and Justice).[12] The training of an aspiring sculptor in Italy often meant learning first how to produce copies of classical Greek and Roman sculpture. An artist was considered to have reached his early maturity as a sculptor when he was not just a competent portraitist or copyist, but when he finally produced an entirely original ideal sculpture, taking a moment, event, or figure from a literary or historical source and interpreting it for the first time or in a way no other artist had before. A solid education in classical literature and history was a tremendous asset for the sculptor seeking out new and original ideas, often the first challenge in producing an entirely original sculpture.

In Matterson's painting of Palmer's studio, portrait busts and several ideal sculptures, including the low-relief medallions, amply represent these two common types of commissions. Another important type of commission, cemetery or memorial sculpture, is also represented in the painting. The arched plaque on the back wall between the two medallions is the *Elizabeth W. Meads Memorial* of 1852, installed in St. Peter's Church, Albany. More visible is the dramatically displayed sculpture of a sleeping girl and cross, the *Grace Williams Memorial*, a work Palmer executed in 1856 as a commission from the young girl's parents. The centrally placed sculpture is one of the most prominent works in the painting, not only representing the favorable reception the sculpture received when it was completed, but also suggesting that Palmer was as interested in cemetery commissions as he was other types of commissions. We will return to the

Grace Williams Memorial later in this article, since the possible inspiration for this sculpture was a monument at Mount Auburn Cemetery.

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Founded in 1831, Mount Auburn Cemetery introduced several new concepts to American burial practice: that a cemetery would provide a permanent place for gravesites (in an age when urban burial grounds were full, and grave pits were periodically recycled); that gravesites would become part of a beautiful and natural landscape; and that burial space would be affordable and available to everyone, without regard to economic means or religious affiliation. Virtually from its inception, Mount Auburn was a tremendous success, proudly included in guidebooks as a "must-see" for Bostonians as well as out-of-town guests.[13]

Nineteenth-century visitors to Mount Auburn were presented with a complex, many-layered experience. As historian Blanche Linden-Ward has discussed, visitors came for a wide range of reasons besides mourning. Mount Auburn's purpose was to provide visitors with a "didactic, soothing, restorative place for all ages, all religions, and all classes," experiences that were confirmed in contemporary accounts of visits to it and to other cemeteries built on Mount Auburn's model. The cemetery was to be a place for melancholy reflection, for admiration of the "natural" (designed) romantic landscape, for uplift and renewal, and for moral and religious instruction directly applicable to one's personal conduct and beliefs. Guidebooks emphasized appropriate ways to tour the sights and attractions of the cemetery.[14] (Much to the dismay of founders and managers, however, Mount Auburn and other cemeteries also often became a place of recreation, a situation that led to the enactment of strict policies regulating visitation at many cemeteries.)[15]

An important part of Mount Auburn's appeal lay in the public viewing of gravestones and monuments (Fig. 3). The original conception of the cemetery included the idea that restrained, solemn classical monuments would present moral qualities to the living.[16] In his consecration address, Justice Joseph Story stated: "It should not be for the poor purpose of gratifying our vanity or pride, that we should erect columns, and obelisks, and monuments to the dead; but that we

may read thereon much of our duty and destiny."[17] In addition, some observers also saw the act of erecting cemetery monuments as having the potential for improving America's taste in the arts. In Boston, where America's inferiority in this regard was keenly felt, one regular writer for the *Boston Evening Transcript* commented in November 1841: "We have not the temples, marbles, or pictures of Greece and Italy, by which to guide our judgment or educate our taste. . . . We are erecting buildings, adorning them with pictures and statuary, building monuments in our cemeteries, [etc.], and we get laughed at by foreigners for many of our clumsy failures." He concluded: "Let our citizens educate their taste, so that they can criticize all matters belonging to the fine arts with learning and skill [and] our city will be [tastefully] adorned."[18] The "monuments in cemeteries" were to be part of this new age of American "fine arts." My use of the term "museum" to describe Mount Auburn is meant to suggest the fact that sometimes visitors went to the cemetery just to view sculptural works.

The first figural sculpture to pique the public's interest was installed

Fig. 3. Viewing the Hannah Adams Monument at Mount Auburn Cemetery. *Central Square*, **engraving by James Smillie, 1847. Courtesy, Mount Auburn Cemetery.**

at Mount Auburn with little fanfare sometime in 1840 (Fig. 4).[19] The sculpture was of a sleeping child with crossed arms on her breast and crossed bare feet, lying peacefully on her back in her bed, protected by a canopy supported by fluted columns. Henry Dexter, a blacksmith-turned-sculptor, executed the carving with assistance from Alpheus Cary, a well-established Boston stonecutter. The work memorialized four-year-old Emily Binney, who had died in May 1839 of diphtheria, a common enough occurrence in the nineteenth century. What was *not* so common was that Emily's family commissioned a full-length figural sculpture to mark her grave instead of ordering a traditional small child's marker from a stonecutter.[20]

The selection of Henry Dexter by the Binney family, a seminal occurrence in the history of American sculpture, is worth a closer look. A successful blacksmith, Dexter so desperately wanted to be an artist that he left his family in Connecticut behind (with their blessing) to move to Boston and train under his wife's uncle, the modestly successful portrait painter Francis Alexander. Dexter's painting career did not take off, but an early attempt at modeling clay convinced him that he was much better suited to the art of sculpture. Alexander's professional

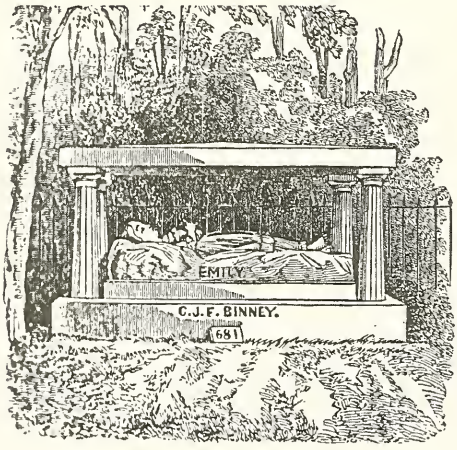

Fig. 4. Henry Dexter, *The Binney Child*, **1840.**
In Nathaniel Dearborn's *Guide Through Mount Auburn* **(1875).**
Courtesy, Mount Auburn Cemetery.

connections in Boston benefited Dexter. Probably with some help from stonecutters such as Cary (who had also provided Horatio Greenough with early training in carving), the former blacksmith essentially taught himself the art of modeling and carving. Within a short time he had earned a reputation as a competent, hard-working sculptor.

In a city that had seen its great son Horatio Greenough leave to seek training and professional opportunities from abroad, the news spread through Boston that a native, self-taught sculptor was in residence in Boston. Over the next few years, Dexter received commissions for portrait busts (almost all in clay or plaster) from illustrious Bostonians, including the Reverend Hubbard Winslow, Peter Harvey (a close friend of Daniel Webster), Colonel Handasyd Perkins, and Samuel Eliot, then Mayor of Boston.

Either shortly before or soon after Emily Binney's death, Alexander completed a portrait of the little girl, dated 1839 (now in a private collection). The girl is depicted with cropped hair, shorn most likely due to her illness. It seems likely that as the Binney family mourned Emily, the relative lack of available sculptors to execute a commission, or a suggestion from Alexander, led them to Dexter. Little is known today about the specific circumstances of the commission or possible sources of inspiration. However, my research as well as the work of other historians suggests that either the educated and well-traveled Binneys, or Dexter (perhaps at the Binney family's request) may have looked for inspiration to English funerary sculpture of children such as the work of Francis Chantrey or Thomas Banks, or else to depictions of children by Italian sculptors such as Lorenzo Bartolini.[21]

The Binney family could hardly have anticipated the intense public interest the sculpture soon generated. Newspapers reported (erroneously) that the sculpture was the first full-length figural work in marble produced by a native artist on American soil (Horatio Greenough and others had already found fame with works produced in Italy and shipped back to the United States). *The Binney Child* soon became a great attraction. One biographer of Dexter wrote: "This pathetic figure . . . drew throngs to Mount Auburn. It was the principal attraction of that celebrated cemetery, and largely helped to make its early fame. I can myself recall the time when it was a common excursion, if one wished to take a walk or entertain a friendly stranger, to go out to Mount Auburn

to see The Binney Child."[22] The reference to the sculpture as having been the most important factor in the cemetery's early fame was, of course, a genial bit of hyperbole to memorialize Dexter and should be read as such. Still, written nearly sixty years after the fact, these words do point to the far-ranging celebrity of this one small sculpture in its time. Emily Binney's memorial would be Dexter's best-known work.

The fame of *The Binney Child* was destined to last only a few decades, after which the marble sculpture apparently deteriorated significantly. By the 1930s *The Binney Child* had been removed (current location, if any, unknown) and today a small headstone marked simply "Emily" remains, lined up with the headstones of other family members. It is difficult today to assess the quality of the sculpture, since no photographic record is known to exist, and only two drawings, neither particularly satisfactory, survive.[23] However, it is clear that *The Binney Child* inspired writers as diverse as Nathaniel Hawthorne and Lydia Sigourney to refer to the memorial in their writings. Hawthorne even featured the sculpture in his 1843 short story entitled "The New Adam and Eve." The story, a fantasy tale, tells of a husband and wife, a couple of wide-eyed innocents, who wander for a day through Boston and its environs. Finally, at the end of the day, they reach the grounds of Mount Auburn Cemetery. Hawthorne writes of the couple's reactions:

> The idea of Death is in them, or not far off. But, were they to choose a symbol for him, it would be the butterfly soaring upward, or the bright angel beckoning them aloft, or the child asleep, with soft dreams visible through her transparent purity. . . . Such a Child, in whitest marble, they have found among the monuments of Mount Auburn.[24]

The influence of *The Binney Child* reached well beyond the boundaries of local interest. The sculpture (with a few modifications) was most likely the inspiration for Erastus Dow Palmer's *Grace Williams Memorial* of 1856 (Fig. 5), a work in the Grace Church in Utica, New York, and the one featured in Matteson's painting, discussed earlier (Fig. 2). The popularity of the Williams memorial eventually led Palmer to market another version of the sculpture with a different face but similar pose. That sculpture was called, simply, *Sleep*. It was also popularized through

stereoviews, photographic images that were viewed in the home for edification and entertainment (the early version of today's ViewMaster). While it is unknown exactly how many commissions Palmer may have received for cemetery installations during his career, Palmer completed at least seven different commissions for other funerary sculptures and bas-reliefs, mostly for cemeteries in the Albany area where he spent most of his professional life. He also produced at least one work for a Vermont cemetery. Unsigned copies or near replicas of Palmer's work have also been noted in other cemeteries.[25]

Henry Dexter's success was assured with the overwhelming response to *The Binney Child.* Subsequent commissions for nearly 200 known works included several more full-figure sculptures such as the one of General Joseph Warren for the Bunker Hill Monument. In 1842,

Fig. 5. Erastus Dow Palmer, *Grace Williams Memorial*, 1856, Grace Church, Utica, NY. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

Dexter again received much praise, this time for his portrait bust of Charles Dickens, who was then touring America while he conducted research for the book eventually published as *American Notes for General Circulation*. Dickens and his wife were pleased with the bust, and the *Boston Transcript* had nothing but praise for the sculptor: "It is known to many that during Mr. Dickens's visit to our city, Mr. Dexter, a gentleman whose merit as a sculptor is equalled only by his worth and modesty as a man, modeled a fine bust of him. . . . It is one of the finest busts of modern times, and in after years will give a high character of the state of the arts in this city at the time in which it was produced."[26] Dexter received a number of commissions from patrons located in other parts of the country, including South Carolina and Kansas, but patrons in Massachusetts, particularly Boston and Cambridge, remained his greatest source of commissions. In 1847, several prominent Bostonians, including Thomas Handasyd Perkins, David Sears, and Francis Calley Gray, helped raise the funds to finance the transfer to marble of Dexter's ambitious sculpture entitled *The Backwoodsman*, which was exhibited at the Boston Athenæum in 1848 and later owned by Wellesley College.[27] In ensuing years Dexter produced more sculptures for patrons at Mount Auburn Cemetery, including a statue of Frank Gardner (1851), the Mountfort Monument (1853), and even the elaborate granite curbing at his own family's lot. Dexter was also commissioned to sculpt a dog for a grave at Forest Hills Cemetery (1854). All of these works are extant today.

The popularity of *The Binney Child* probably inspired other lot owners to commission sculptures for family graves. Commissions for works destined for placement—and viewing—at Mount Auburn began to increase. Philocosmos, the regular correspondent of the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, having just viewed a work in progress destined for Mount Auburn Cemetery, commented in 1842: "If those who have lots in Mount Auburn will but employ the genius of American artists, undoubtedly the first in the world, they may soon make it as remarkable for the treasures of art collected there, as it is now for its scenery."[28] That prediction was coming true even as he wrote those words.

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One of the most notable of the early works to grace Mount Auburn's landscape was a sculpture of a dog (Fig. 6). In the mid-1830s Horatio Greenough, already hailed as America's most celebrated sculptor, received a commission from the Perkins family for a sculpture to be placed at Mount Auburn Cemetery. More than any other figure of early nineteenth-century Boston, Thomas Handasyd Perkins (1764-1854), the patriarch of that family, had already helped to promote what one scholar has called the "spirit of collecting" in Boston.[29] Known as "The Merchant Prince" for his extremely successful enterprise in the China Trade and his many other business ventures, Perkins often put his wealth to use for the betterment of Boston institutions and society. An early and lifelong patron of the arts, Perkins was one of Horatio Greenough's earliest supporters. He provided the twelve-year-old Horatio with access to the private collections of the Boston Athenæum to study its plaster casts and statuary, and, later on, with passage (on one of his merchant ships) to Italy, where Greenough continued his studies and embarked on his professional career. In 1835 Perkins, his son Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Junior, and his grandson Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Tertius, visited Greenough at his studio in Florence, where they approvingly viewed Greenough's works in progress. These included a large sculpture of George Washington, which would later become Greenough's most controversial work.

The two Perkins men may also have met Greenough's new pet greyhound Arno, who would become the subject of one of Greenough's few animal sculptures, completed around 1839 and exhibited at the Boston Athenæum in 1840 (now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). A commission for a sculpture of a dog may have been extended at that time by one of the Perkins men to Greenough. It is not known if the commission was from Perkins Senior, who owned a crypt in a Boston church and a lot (never used and later sold) at Mount Auburn, or his son, who actually owned the lot at Mount Auburn where the dog was eventually placed.[31] It is also not known if the Perkins sculpture was meant to represent a family pet. Greenough mentions his work on the "Perkins dog" only once, in connection with his difficulty in finding a suitable live model. There is no indication he found one; his solution was "to send to Paris for a good lithograph, which, with a St. Bernard specimen, must answer."[31]

Fig. 6. Horatio Greenough, *Dog*, Perkins Family gravesite, circa 1844. Photograph by author.

Fig. 7. Joseph Gott, *English Setter*, Francis Calley Gray gravesite (1837, placed circa 1856). Photograph by author.

Greenough's final result was a delightful representation of a Newfoundland, a popular nineteenth-century breed of dog. The dog has an animated expression and a thick, curly coat that is more characteristic of a Saint Bernard dog. Since Greenough acknowledged he planned to use a Saint Bernard as a live model, this is not surprising, but the fact that Saint Bernards, another popular breed during the Victorian era, were sometimes crossbred with Newfoundland dogs to produce the hardy combination of physical qualities that still persists in both breeds helps to explain Greenough's conception and the visual characteristics of the final result. The sculpture proved to be a favorite at the cemetery from its placement sometime in the 1840s. Nathaniel Dearborn's 1848 *Guide Through Mount Auburn* stated that the *Perkins Dog* "is much admired; —and as history makes records of so many acts of fidelity, watchfulness and sagacity of the Dog, it is here considered appropriate to place him, as an apparent guard to the remains of the family who were his friends;—it was beautifully sculptured in Italy from the purest Italian marble." In

Fig. 8. Thomas A. Carew, Dog, *Harnden Monument*, circa 1866. Photograph by author.

later years the *Perkins Dog* would be joined by other dogs commissioned from sculptors, including the reclining dog at Francis Calley Gray's grave (Fig. 7), commissioned from English sculptor Joseph Gott (completed 1837, placed at Mount Auburn in 1856 or 1857), the bulldog guarding the *Harnden Monument* (Fig. 8), sculpted by the stonecutter Thomas Carew (circa 1866), and a small dog by sculptor Martin Milmore (1866). Henry Dexter and Erastus Dow Palmer were also among the artists who sculpted dogs and animals for gravesites at other American cemeteries.

By the late 1830s, garden cemeteries based on the model of Mount Auburn began to appear throughout America. Laurel Hill Cemetery was founded in Philadelphia in 1836, and Green-Wood Cemetery in New York (Brooklyn) was founded just two years later, in 1838. In Massachusetts, Forest Hills Cemetery near Boston (1848) and Worcester's Hope Cemetery (1849) were founded within months of each other. By 1849, the great nineteenth-century landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing could assert that "scarcely a city of note in the whole country" lacked a rural cemetery. Writing in his magazine, *The Horticulturist*, Downing stated:

> The three great leading cities of the north, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, have, each of them, besides their great cemeteries—Greenwood, Laurel Hill, Mount Auburn—many others of less note . . . any of which would have astonished and delighted their inhabitants twenty years ago. The great attraction of these cemeteries is not in the fact that they are burial places . . . all these might be realized in a burial ground planted with straight lines of willows and sombre avenues of evergreens. The true secret of the attraction lies in the natural beauty of the sites, and in the tasteful and harmonious embellishment of these sites by art. . . . Indeed, in the absence of great public gardens, such as we must surely one day have in America, our rural cemeteries are doing a great deal to enlarge and educate the popular taste in rural embellishment.[32]

As they had at Mount Auburn Cemetery, sculptors received commissions from patrons at many of the newer cemeteries, and the public continued to receive an education in "the tasteful and harmonious

embellishments" of American sculpture. *Smith's Illustrated Guide To and Through Laurel Hill Cemetery* (1852) announced in its introduction that its purpose was to show the visitor "every object of interest in both the North and South Laurel Hill Cemeteries, pointing out the beauties and merits of the many scenes and works of art with which they abound." The guide instructed arriving visitors to head first toward the statues of *Old Mortality, His Pony,* and *Sir Walter Scott* that are still in place just inside the main entrance, since these were "exquisite specimens of art" and "superb in design, execution and finish." The author also noted that the pony and Scott statues were carved of "American stone."[33] Although an observer today, with a more jaded eye, might consider the sculptures somewhat awkward in execution, they helped to attract visitors to the cemetery and probably introduced many to their first view of formal sculpture.

While Greenough's *Perkins Dog* was a relatively minor—albeit popular—work by a major artist, the *Amos Binney Monument* by Thomas Crawford proved to be one of America's most important funerary works (Fig. 9). Crawford, based in Rome, had already found acclaim in Boston with his sculpture of *Orpheus and Cerberus*, paid for with funds raised by the patrons of the Boston Athenæum, of which Amos Binney was an active member (though it is not known if the two men ever met). The *Orpheus and Cerberus* had been exhibited several years earlier in its own specially constructed and decorated exhibit space, generating much public interest and admiration.[34] Charles Sumner, the young Boston lawyer who would later gain fame as a United States senator and staunch abolitionist, was Crawford's earliest and most committed patron, initiating the subscription fund to purchase the *Orpheus* and personally attending to the construction and finish details of the exhibit space.

Mary Ann Binney commissioned the monument from Crawford after her husband died in 1847 in Rome, where the couple was travelling. The sculpture was destined for placement on Binney's grave at Mount Auburn, where his remains were interred. Discussed in detail by scholar Lauretta Dimmick in an article in *Markers IX*, the memorial to Amos Binney—little Emily Binney's uncle—was, as classical scholar Cornelius C. Vermeule III has stated, "Mount Auburn's dramatic entry into the world of American Neo-Classic, Neo-Roman sculpture."[35] As Dimmick

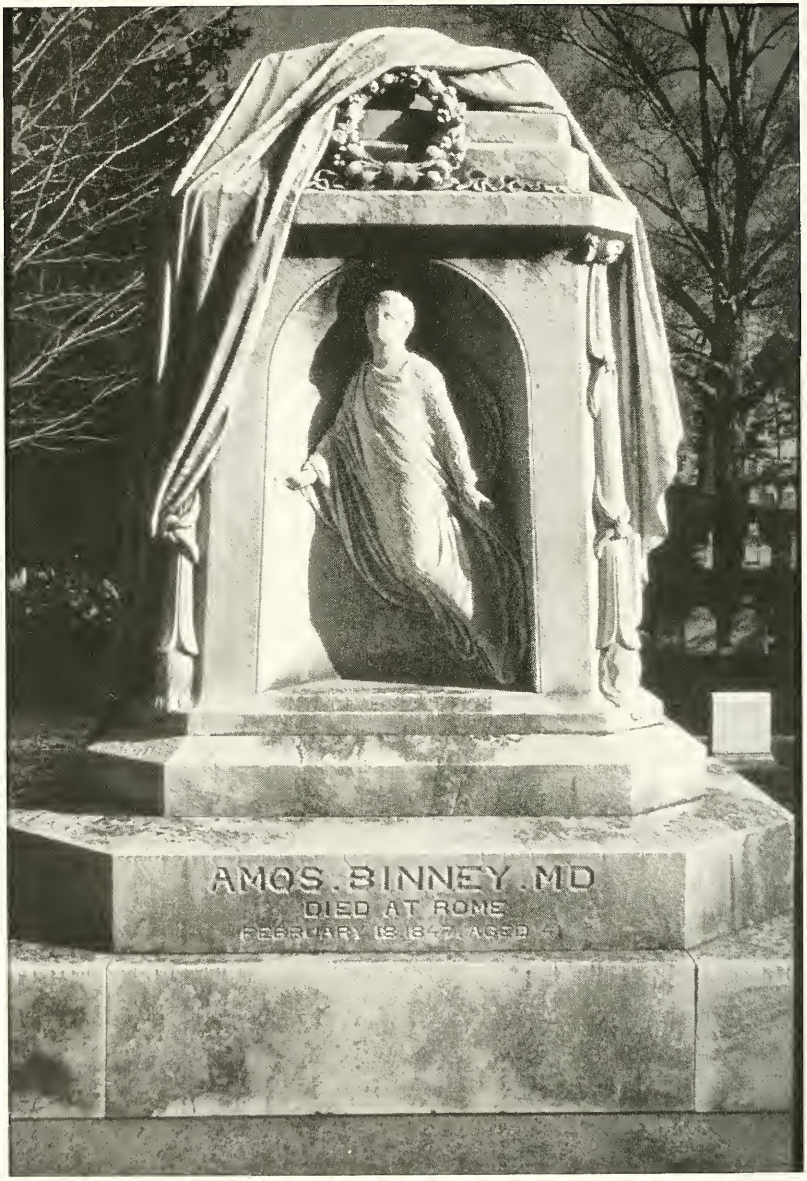

Fig. 9. Thomas Crawford, *Male Soul Ascending, The Amos Binney Monument*, **1850. Photograph, courtesy of Meg Winslow, Curator of Historical Collections, Mount Auburn Cemetery.**

has described, the large and elegant white marble sculpture incorporated classical motifs of death and mourning.[36] The most striking features of the monument were the figures carved in relief on either side. The side referring to Amos Binney represented an ascending soul. The other side depicted the grieving widow as a classical Christian pilgrim (Fig. 10).[37]

The depiction of the ascending soul as male was a completely original departure from the usual classical representation of the soul as female. Staying away from strict neoclassical tenets that males be depicted as nude, Crawford, acting perhaps on a request from Mrs. Binney or in deference to American public taste, clothed Binney's spirit figure in diaphanous, rippling drapery, tastefully outlining the male form clearly beneath the cloth (Fig. 11). Crawford was not just being overly cautious or deferring to his patron's taste, however. In a society that still regarded the nude figure with shock or disgust—as Fanny Trollope found out during her excursion in Philadelphia—Crawford would have had plenty of reasons to be concerned about depicting a contemporary male as a nude figure. The controversy surrounding the 1841 unveiling of Horatio Greenough's *George Washington* was one reason. Greenough's high-minded conception of George Washington as a Zeus-like figure dressed only in a toga and Roman sandals had provided years of sarcastic comments and comic fodder for critics and cynics at Greenough's expense. The American public was appalled at the sculpture of a bare-chested, nearly nude American hero, and the sculpture was finally laughed out of its prominent outdoor location to a less visible situation. Greenough had also endured criticism for a sculpture depicting nude cherubs, prompting concerned citizens to tie aprons around the small sculptures' waists.

Sensitive to these concerns, Crawford had avoided incurring similar criticism with his very first important sculpture of *Orpheus* by giving his otherwise nude hero a fig leaf and a cape, covering all the physical attributes of the god that his public might have found objectionable. Similarly, the male ascending spirit of the *Amos Binney* monument was moderately covered. The nude figure—particularly the female nude figure—definitely became part of the nineteenth-century popular American sculptural canon, as celebrated works such as Hiram Powers' *The Greek Slave* (1844) and Erastus Dow Palmer's *The White Captive* (1859) attest. But sculptural works installed at cemeteries in nineteenth-century America were unfailingly draped, clothed, and robed, reserving the nude

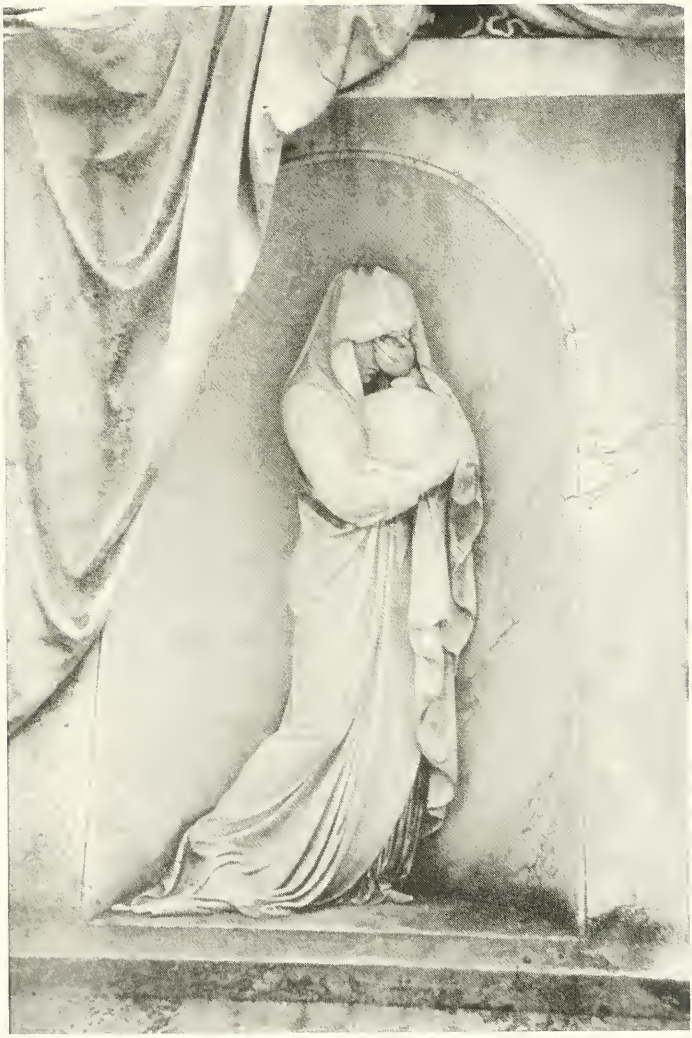

Fig. 10. Thomas Crawford, *Female Mourner, The Amos Binney Monument*, **1850. Arthur C. Haskell photograph, circa 1937. Courtesy, Mount Auburn Cemetery.**

Fig. 11. Detail of Amos Binney monument.

figure for other types of commissions and public exhibits. Crawford and generations of fellow sculptors carefully navigated the waters of public ignorance and morality to obtain American patrons.

Anticipating another masterwork from the creator of the *Orpheus*, the American public excitedly awaited the arrival of *The Amos Binney Monument* from Italy. Finally, three years after Binney's death, the *New-York Commercial Advertiser* announced on June 4, 1850: "We inform the lovers of the fine arts that another admirable work by our gifted countryman, Crawford . . . has arrived in this city from Rome. It has been expected for some time, but owing to its great size considerable difficulty occurred in finding a vessel at Leghorn that would receive it on board."[38] The monument was soon on its way to Boston, where as expected, it was received with great public approval. The *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* pronounced *The Amos Binney Monument* a "work of rare merit,"[39] and guidebooks listed "the splendid mausoleum of two fronts to Dr. Binney" as one of the main points of interest in the cemetery.[40] Although Crawford had designed other funerary monuments and actively competed for

commissions of these, his death of brain cancer at forty-four years of age in 1857, at the height of his artistic mastery and fame, prevented him from executing any more. At his death he was working on another work, discussed below, for Mount Auburn Cemetery. *The Amos Binney Monument* remains one of his most recognized works and his only realized funerary monument. A daguerreotype made by the Boston firm of Southworth and Hawes soon after the monument's installation shows a glossy white marble sculpture that fairly glows in its surroundings. Though now badly weathered, *The Amos Binney Monument* is today still considered a masterpiece of early American sculpture.[41]

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The importance of the cemetery to patronage of American sculpture is highlighted by one of the most extraordinary acts of Mount Auburn's trustees. In 1840, as the trustees discussed plans for a chapel (now known as the Bigelow Chapel), the minutes record the idea that the proposed building should also "become the repository of Marble Busts and Statues and other Sepulchral [monuments] which may from time to time be placed there by liberal Benefactors and Friends in memory of the Dead, and which would not bear the exposure of the open air in our Climate."[42] The suggestion was controversial and generated heated debates about the propriety of using funds for the purpose of commissioning sculpture (a notion which seems also to have been part of these discussions). Recorded comments from several trustees in favor of the sculpture show they felt strongly about the necessity of "embellishments": "Rich dresses are embellishments of the person, virtue is an embellishment of the mind, and liberal arts are an embellishment of society. And we think *commemoration statues* are an embellishment of a Cemetery."[43] The argument in favor of sculpture prevailed.

The sudden death in 1845 of Joseph Story, one of the founders of Mount Auburn and the man who had delivered its memorable consecration address, provided the impetus for the cemetery to commission a large, figural memorial of the eminent jurist (Fig. 12), the first major sculpture planned for placement in the new chapel. Story's son, William Wetmore Story, a lawyer and amateur artist, received the commission in a surprise decision. The younger Story had long harbored

a desire to become an artist. His father's death, ironically, finally gave him the freedom to fulfill his dream. Story and his family moved to Italy, where he pursued his training as a sculptor while working on his first important commission. The work took nearly ten years to complete, a remarkable comment on the trustees' willingness to support such an endeavor. Cemetery trustees thereafter decided to commission three more figural statues, each meant to represent important men of different periods in American, and more specifically, Massachusetts history. To ensure that the commissions would all be completed in a timely fashion and to provide work for as many deserving American sculptors as possible, each commission was awarded to a different sculptor, all of whom lived abroad: the figure of *John Winthrop* (the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, representing the earliest period) to Richard Saltonstall Greenough (Horatio Greenough's younger brother); the figure of *James Otis* (the lawyer and political leader, representing the first resistance to British power) to Thomas Crawford; and the figure of *John Adams* (a founding father and second President of the United States, representing independence and establishment of republican law) to Randolph Rogers (Figs. 13-15). The sculpture of *Joseph Story* represented the fourth period in American history, an era of the "supremacy of law and of intellectual, moral, and social progress."[44] Horatio Greenough might have received a commission in place of his brother, who was at the beginning of his professional success, but Greenough had died prematurely in December 1852, leaving the field he had pioneered to others. That the trustees nearly exhausted their possibilities of well-respected American sculptors for the commissions is a telling comment on the state of American sculpture in its earliest generations.

There were numerous delays and complications along the way. The most serious of these were the untimely death of Crawford before completion of his commission and the loss at sea of Rogers's sculpture. Rogers, one of Crawford's closest friends, not only finished Crawford's sculpture but also reproduced another of his own (with the help of the Italian stonecutters who usually produced Rogers's final versions). By 1859, the sculptures of all four of the "persons distinguished in American history" were in place in the chapel, where they watched over several generations of mourners attending services. No record has been found of public or personal experience with these particular sculptures, although

Figure 12. William Wetmore Story, *Joseph Story*, 1855. Half of a stereographic photograph, circa 1865. Courtesy, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Fig. 13. Richard Saltonstall Greenough, *John Winthrop*, 1857. Half of a stereographic photograph, circa 1865. Courtesy, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Fig. 14. Thomas Crawford, *James Otis*, 1857-58. Half of a stereographic photograph, circa 1865. Courtesy, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Fig. 15. Randolph Rogers, *John Adams*, 1857-59. Half of a stereographic photograph, circa 1865. Courtesy, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

guidebooks clearly included the chapel as one of the recommended stops for casual visitors, making it difficult to draw any conclusions about the direct effect of these commissions on each of the sculptors' future patrons.

Nevertheless, the professional careers of each of the Bigelow Chapel sculptors flourished (with the obvious exception of Crawford, the most senior of the four, who was a leading artist of America's pioneering first generation of sculptors) after these commissions. All became celebrated artists in their time. Story and Rogers each subsequently executed important works for placement at other cemeteries. Story's memorial to his wife, entitled the *Angel of Grief*, erected at her gravesite in Rome's Protestant Cemetery, apparently captured the American public's attention. The sculpture was reproduced in blueprint form by at least one monument company, the Leland Company in New York City, and sculpted for the Cassard family gravesite in Green-Wood Cemetery sometime around 1910.[45] A number of reproductions have also appeared in other cemeteries in various shades of marble as well as granite. A recent article in the *AGS Quarterly* by Sybil F. Crawford identifies at least seven other known reproductions of the *Angel of Death*, as it is also called, including works at Calvary Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri; Cypress Lawn Cemetery, Colma, California; Forest Park Lawndale Cemetery and Glenwood Cemetery, both in Houston, Texas; Friendship Cemetery, Columbus, Mississippi; Oakland Cemetery, Little Rock, Arkansas; and Scottsville Cemetery, Scottsville, Texas.[46] Although angels became fairly common grave sculpture motifs during the nineteenth century, Story's creation, the production of a professionally trained artist, seems to have struck a particularly resonant chord with mourners over the years.

After his work for Mount Auburn Cemetery, Randoph Rogers received commissions for several more sculptural works placed in cemeteries. When industrialist Samuel Colt, inventor of the Colt revolver, died in January 1862, his wife commissioned Rogers to design a monument for her husband's grave in Cedar Hill Cemetery in Hartford, Connecticut. Installed in the late 1860s, the elaborate monument entitled the *Angel of Resurrection* consists of a large base and tall shaft of granite supporting a bronze sculpture.[47] A memorial sculpture on an entirely different scale was the one Rogers designed and executed for J.W. Waterman of Detroit in 1868 (Fig. 16). Titled *Flight of the Spirit*, the monument is reminiscent

Fig. 16. Randolph Rogers, *Flight of the Spirit (J.W. Waterman Monument)*, **1868. Courtesy, Elmwood Cemetery, Detroit.**

Fig. 17. Thomas Ball, *The Chickering Monument* **("***The Realization of Faith"***), 1872. Courtesy, Mount Auburn Cemetery.**

in conception of Thomas Crawford's *Amos Binney Monument*, executed twenty years before. Rogers produced another version of his *Flight of the Spirit* for his own gravesite in Rome's Campo Verano Cemetery. Inscribed into the stone is a line from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: "Dead is he not, but departed—for the artist never dies."[48]

As the first generation of American sculptors passed from the scene, succeeding generations of professional American sculptors continued to add sculptures to the landscape of Mount Auburn Cemetery. Works ranging in size from the massive *Chickering Monument*, also known as *The Realization of Faith* (1872), by Thomas Ball, creator of the popular *George Washington* statue in Boston's Public Garden, to the delicate figure of the goddess *Hygeia* (1875) by Edmonia Lewis, America's first African-American sculptor, provided allegorical figures and classical references for the enjoyment of viewers (Figs. 17-18). Thomas Ball also trained some of America's best-known sculptors, including Martin Milmore and Daniel Chester French, the creator of the *Lincoln Memorial*. The sculptor Martin Milmore may hold the distinction for having produced the widest range in size of sculptural works at one cemetery. At Mount Auburn, he was not only commissioned to sculpt a small dog for the grave of two young brothers and an angel for a different family's daughter's grave, but he also carved Mount Auburn's largest and best-known work, the great *Sphinx* (Fig. 19). Commissioned in the late 1860s by Jacob Bigelow, one of the founders of the cemetery, and installed with great public fanfare in the summer of 1872, the *Sphinx* commemorated the end of the Civil War and slavery. Milmore had also completed one of his best-known works, the *Roxbury Soldiers' Monument*, for the Forest Hills Cemetery outside Boston (1867). Milmore's legacy as a sculptor would later be highlighted and linked by Boston's two great garden cemeteries. In 1892, nine years after Milmore's early death from liver disease, Daniel Chester French created a memorable memorial to Martin Milmore and his stonecutter brothers, all of whom had also died tragically young. Now situated at the entrance to Forest Hills Cemetery, where Milmore is buried, the large bronze relief is entitled *The Angel of Death Staying the Hand of the Sculptor*. The sculpture depicts Milmore interrupted in his work by the winged figure of Death. In a direct reference to Mount Auburn Cemetery, the work the sculptor is engaged in is the carving of the figure of the *Sphinx* at Mount Auburn (Fig. 20).

Fig. 18. Edmonia Lewis, *Hygeia* (Harriot Kezia Hunt Monument), 1875. Photograph by author.

Fig. 19. Martin Milmore, *The Sphinx*, 1871. One-half of a stereographic photograph. Courtesy, Mount Auburn Cemetery.

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Nineteenth-century chroniclers lauded the accomplishments of Mount Auburn's founders. In a memoir of Jacob Bigelow, published in 1880, one biographer wrote that Bigelow "was the first—we may say, in Christendom—to conceive, propose, and earnestly and patiently guide on to a most complete triumph, the plan of an extensive forest-garden cemetery, combining the wildness of nature with the finish of culture, with all appropriate arrangements and adornments." The "finish of culture" included the sophisticated and "appropriate" presentation of nineteenth-century American sculpture.[49]

The Civil War and its wrenching aftermath, as historians have noted, sounded the death knell for American sentimentalism in literature and art. Death no longer held a romantic, melancholy attraction to cemetery-goers. In sculpture, the effects were also felt, as war memorials

Fig. 20. Daniel Chester French, *Milmore Memorial*, 1891, Forest Hills Cemetery. Courtesy, Forest Hills Cemetery Educational Trust.

dominated commissions. Milmore's *Roxbury Soldiers' Monument* of 1867 and Augustus Saint-Gaudens' *Shaw Memorial* (1884, cast 1897) were part of a new aesthetic that helped usher in a new era in American memorial sculpture in which classically-inspired allusions in glowing white marble gave way to realistic representations of fallen soldiers and patriots, usually captured in the dark tones of the more robust medium of bronze. Gravesite commissions extended to late-nineteenth-century American sculptors—among them the *Adams Memorial* by St. Gaudens in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C., commissioned by native Bostonian Henry Adams—also shifted from classical references in white marble to more contemporary representations in bronze and granite, materials that were more durable and permanent. Marble gravesite sculpture became the domain of monument companies producing angels, lambs, doves, tree stumps, and botanical motifs in great quantities. In an ironic twist, these often exquisitely carved sculptures were usually produced by anonymous workmen, harking back to the artisan traditions of an earlier age (Fig. 21).

As Downing had predicted in 1849, America had developed parks and gardens, spurred by the successes of Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903) and his design of New York's Central Park.[50] Public art museums, developed with collections formed by earlier generations of patrons and collectors, also began to proliferate. In 1876, one of America's first public art museums, Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, opened its doors to the public in its handsome, elaborately decorated building in Copley Square. The great entrance hall and rooms were filled with the museum's collection of American sculptures, some by the same early generations of sculptors whose works graced the grounds of Mount Auburn Cemetery, including Thomas Crawford and Horatio Greenough. In other rooms, white marble sculptures by Randolph Rogers, William Wetmore Story, and others lined the walls. Technological developments facilitated the mass production of popular sculptures as small-scale tabletop pieces, which could be found in nearly every respectable American middle-class parlor. A much more experienced and urbane public now went to museums rather than the cemetery to see the latest works by favorite artists.

In the twentieth century, many of the sculptures that had earlier generated such public excitement disappeared with time, hastening their obscurity. Little Emily Binney's memorial survived the harsh

Fig. 21. Anonymous, "Father" and "Mother" gravestones, Mount Auburn Cemetery, late nineteenth century. Photograph by author.

New England climate for less than a century. Some sculptures made their way out of Mount Auburn Cemetery for other reasons. The four "historical figures" in Bigelow Chapel were eventually moved to a new administration building on the grounds of Mount Auburn in the 1890s and displayed in its rotunda. In 1935 the sculptures were donated to Harvard University, which still owns them today. Now separated from each other, the statue of *Joseph Story* greets visitors to the Harvard Law School Library; *John Adams* and *John Winthrop* flank the entrance to Annenberg Hall, the freshman dining room; and *James Otis* stands to one side of the stage in Harvard's Sanders Theatre, paired with another, unrelated sculpture of Josiah Quincy (a sculpture by William Wetmore Story, lending at least a coincidental connection). Few, if any, of the students and staff who pass by these statues have any idea of their origins, or wonder about them at all. Meant to be viewed together, the sculptures have lost their original context and have become part of the background.

Cemeteries and sculpture are largely peripheral to our lives today. This was not the case during much of the nineteenth century. Dialogues about proper burial, death and commemoration, nature and landscapes, democracy and sculpture formed part of the daily discourse of newspapers, writers, intellectuals, and ordinary people. Nathaniel Hawthorne was so inspired by American sculpture that he based the characters in his novel *The Marble Faun* on his American sculptor friends living in Italy (the main character of Kenyon was based on William Wetmore Story). Similarly, Henry James, one of America's most celebrated authors, became William Wetmore Story's biographer. Contemporary responses to cemetery sculpture expressed a range of attitudes and emotions in American society, from nationalistic sentiments to the grief of losing a child. Famous authors such as Lydia Sigourney as well as anonymous writers wrote odes to the statuary at Mount Auburn Cemetery, or memorials to the sculptors who had produced America's first great works, articulating a popular excitement that no cemetery or sculpture would likely generate today.

Because of the relative lack of attention and documentation concerning mid-nineteenth-century cemetery sculpture, it is difficult to assess the quantity of cemetery commissions extended to sculptors during the early period of American academic sculpture. As far as is known, Greenough and Crawford never received any commissions for cemeteries other than the ones discussed here, although it must be remembered that each of these sculptors died at the height of his fame and abilities. As noted earlier, Henry Dexter produced more monuments at Mount Auburn after *The Binney Child*. Besides the Waterman and Colt monuments in Detroit and Hartford respectively, Randolph Rogers also produced memorial and cemetery works for Gettysburg National Military Park (Pennsylvania), National Memorial Park (Falls Church, Virginia), and Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati. During his relatively short career, Martin Milmore also executed commissions installed at Pine Grove Cemetery in Appleton, Maine, and Chester Rural Cemetery in Chester, Pennsylvania. Another work in Oak Grove Cemetery, Bath, Maine, is probably a copy of a Milmore sculpture. Thomas Ball, the creator of *The Chickering Memorial* at Mount Auburn and part of the second generation of American sculptors, produced works for patrons at Forest Hills Cemetery just outside Boston, and Woodlawn Cemetery in Elmira, New York. Henry Kirke Brown, one of the lesser-known and

today under-appreciated sculptors of the nineteenth century, produced works for Mount Auburn Cemetery and Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York; another sculpture in Allegheny Cemetery, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is attributed to him.[51] Besides the lack of reliable records, many uncelebrated sculptors worked in near obscurity, producing copies of works by the better-known artists discussed here. The bas-relief carved on the 1845 *Hurlbert Monument* at Mount Auburn Cemetery is an exact copy taken from funerary designs published in 1844 by Edward Augustus Brackett, the Boston sculptor responsible for the notable cenotaph of Hosea Ballou (1859) at Mount Auburn. Since the work is unsigned, it is impossible to know if Brackett himself carved the work or if his design influenced some other local artist.

For a variety of reasons, some commissions were never completed. Brackett himself apparently received a commission for a work at Mount Auburn Cemetery long before the *Hosea Ballou*, a work that "Philocosmos" reported on in January 1842 for *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*: "I have repeatedly looked into Mr. Brackett's studio to see the progress he has been making in a model for a piece of statuary intended for Mount Auburn; as whatever tends to beautify that resting place of those we have loved, is of interest to us all."[52] Nothing further is known of this work, a sarcophagus, which, as far as is known, never appeared on Mount Auburn's landscape. Upon the great orator and statesman Edward Everett's death and burial at Mount Auburn in 1865, the Everett family commissioned Hiram Powers—who along with Greenough and Crawford completed the mid-nineteenth-century triumvirate of most celebrated American sculptors—to execute a sculpture for the gravesite. Powers had been a close friend of Everett's and had even named one of his sons, Edward Everett Powers, in his honor. For reasons that are unclear, the sculpture was never installed but was donated to Harvard instead. The family then hired sculptor Harriet Hosmer to create an allegorical figure entitled *Eloquence* for the Everett gravesite; that commission was never completed. Everett's grave instead was finally marked by an elegant, classically inspired sarcophagus.[53]

Mount Auburn Cemetery's prominent and influential role as one of America's first truly public cultural institutions and as an early institutional patron and promoter of American sculpture cannot be ignored by social and cultural historians of nineteenth-century America.

American sculpture's first exhaustive historian, Lorado Taft, pointed out in the early twentieth century that for the first generations of American sculptors, "immortality seemed to lay through the graveyard."[54] But the most eloquent commentary is from the contemporary sources that reported on the great happenings at Mount Auburn and recorded the excitement sculpture generated in Boston society. Thanks in part to the leading role of the American cemetery in introducing great numbers of Americans to original academic sculpture, America was not a cultural wasteland. In spite of the dire predictions of the Reverend Smith and Fanny Trollope, Americans were, indeed, looking at statues.

NOTES

[1] Reverend Sydney Smith's statement is excerpted from *The Edinburgh Review* 33 (1820): 79. His commentary was part of an on-going series of articles decrying America's backwardness as a culture. Richard V. McLamore notes in "The Dutchman in the Attic: Claiming an Inheritance in *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon*," *American Literature* 72.1 (2000): 31-57, that Smith's attacks on America were designed to protect England's reputation as an advanced society and to discourage emigration to the New World.

[2] "Ancient Sculpture," *The Boston Spectator* 1.10 (March 5, 1814): 38.

[3] Albert TenEyck Gardner, *Yankee Stonecutters: The First American School of Sculpture, 1800-1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), 10-11. Gardner also lists foreign sculptors who migrated to America and documented stonecutters working in America in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (although today this list can be substantially expanded).

[4] Frederic A. Sharf, "The Garden Cemetery and American Sculpture: Mount Auburn," *The Art Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1961): 80-88.

[5] The study of American sculpture itself has largely suffered in relation to the vast body of literature that has been written concerning American painting. Reflective of sculpture's late start in the American consciousness, the first important work dealing exclusively with American sculpture, *The History of American Sculpture* by Lorado Taft, did not appear until 1903 (New York: The Macmillan Company). Taft's book would remain the only major work on American sculpture through subsequent editions. The next serious study of sculpture was Albert TenEyck Gardner's *Yankee Stonecutters: The First American School of Sculpture, 1800-1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945). This study was more limited in scope and relatively short. Another comprehensive study of sculpture similar in breadth to Taft's would not appear until 1968, with Wayne Craven's seminal *Sculpture in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company). More recently, a number of books specializing in various aspects of sculpture have appeared, including studies of women sculptors and biographies of various sculptors. However, with the exception of Gardner's book and another short work by William Gerdts entitled *American Neo-classic Sculpture* (1973), the period of early American sculpture, almost by definition Neoclassical, is routinely passed over in favor of sculptors who found their greatest fame with Civil War monuments and later works.

[6] See, in particular, three fine dissertations, none of which has yet been published: Jan M. Seidler, "A Critical Reappraisal of the Career of William Wetmore Story (1819-1895), American Sculptor and Man of Letters," (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1985); Lauretta Dimmick, "A Catalogue of the Portrait Busts and Ideal Works of Thomas Crawford (1813?-1857), American Sculptor in Rome," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1986); and David

Bernard Dearinger, "American Neoclassic Sculptors and their Private Patrons in Boston," (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1993). Cultural historian Joy Kasson's *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), is a fascinating study of nineteenth-century American attitudes toward contemporary representations of female figures in American Neoclassical sculpture. In the chapter entitled "Death and Domestication" Kasson looks at some of the associations between death and cemetery sculpture. See also, Jonathan L. Fairbanks, "Eternal Celebration in American Memorials," *Markers XVI* (1999):104-137.

[7] Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," *American Quarterly* 26.1 (March 1974): 37.

[8] *Carved and Modeled*, 9; David Bernard Dearinger, "American Neoclassic Sculptors and Their Private Patrons in Boston," (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1993), 20. The distinction between "sculptor" and "artisan" becomes problematic when considering the work of men such as the woodcarver William Rush (1756-1833) and the stonecutter John Frazee (1790-1852), two early American artisans who produced sculpture based on classical antecedents and who were active professionally well before the period under discussion in this article. Besides his ship figureheads, Rush carved full-size figures in pine—for example, his pair of statues entitled *Comedy* and *Tragedy* (1808)—based on classical statuary, and meant for display in a public setting. Frazee also produced marble portrait busts based on classical styles for patrons such as the Boston Athenæum. Neither man, however, ever left his career as an artisan and producer of utilitarian works to engage in a full-time, exclusive career as "artist" or "sculptor." Throughout his career, Rush listed himself simply as a "carver" in Philadelphia city directories. Thomas Eakins' paintings entitled *William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill* (1877) and *William Rush and His Model* (1908) attest to the deep respect Eakins felt for Rush as a pioneer of early American academic art.

[9] Fanny Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, ed. Pamela Neville-Sington (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1997), 208.

[10] I am indebted to Dr. Elizabeth Roark of Chatham College for alerting me to the possibility that this painting was produced to advertise Palmer's work. Dr. Roark notes that Palmer's studio during this period comprised several floors of a building—and therefore, Matteson's conception of Palmer's studio conflated activities on several floors into one large area.

[11] Frances Boott Greenough, ed., *Letters of Horatio Greenough to his Brother, Henry Greenough* (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1887), 129. One hundred napoleons was roughly equivalent to $500.00. Greenough resolved his complaint by raising his fees for portrait busts considerably.

[12] Joy S. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 1.

[13] See especially Blanche Linden-Ward's book, the most comprehensive and authoritative work on Mount Auburn Cemetery.

[14] Blanche Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," in *Cemeteries & Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992), 300.

[15] Policies varied from cemetery to cemetery, but at Mount Auburn these included the issuance of one-time passes to tourists, the banning of non-lot holders on Sunday, and the banning of horseback riding.

[16] French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution," 48.

[17] *The Picturesque Pocket Companion and Visitor's Guide, through Mount Auburn* (Boston: Otis, Broaders and Company, 1839), 75.

[18] Philocosmos, "The Fine Arts," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* (November 27, 1841).

[19] Charles J.F. Binney, *Genealogy of the Binney Family in the United States* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1886), 35. In his 1961 article on American sculptors' works at Mount Auburn Cemetery, Frederic Sharf mistakenly identified the date of the installation of the Emily Binney memorial as 1842. Although Sharf did not cite his reference, I believe he misread an 1842 article that mentioned the Binney memorial, an error that has been repeated by successive scholars.

[20] My Master's thesis entitled "Museum in the Garden: Mount Auburn Cemetery and the Development of American Sculpture, 1825-1875" (Harvard University, 2002) discusses in much greater detail the careers of all of the sculptors mentioned here. Dexter and the history of The Binney Child is the topic of Chapter Four. See also Kasson, *Marble Queens*, 109-116.

[21] The 1793 *Monument to Penelope Boothby* by Banks is in St. Oswald's Parish Church, Ashbourne, Derbyshire. Chantrey's *The Sleeping Children* (1817), a monument to two young sisters who died together, is in Litchfield Cathedral, Staffordshire. Both sculptures still receive substantial visitation today. The location of Lorenzo Bartolini's sculpture entitled *Innocence* (ca.1825) is unknown; I have only seen a photograph of a plaster cast of this work.

[22] John Albee, *Henry Dexter, Sculptor: A Memorial* (Cambridge, MA: privately printed, 1898), 59-60.

[23] One image is the rather crude line drawing used in the guidebooks and reproduced here; the other is an 1847 engraving by artist James Smillie. Although Smillie's work was excellent, the distant perspective and odd angle

he used in his view of *The Binney Child* makes any assessment of the sculpture's technical and aesthetic qualities impossible.

[24] Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The New Adam and Eve," *Mosses from an Old Manse* (New York, NY: Books for Libraries Press, Arno Press, 1970), 301.

[25] Kasson, *Marble Queens*, 114-115; Smithsonian Institution Research Information System. Works by Erastus Dow Palmer at the Albany Rural Cemetery in Menands, New York, include *The Angel at the Sepulchre* at the Banks lot and a granite monument at the grave of United States Senator and three-term New York Governor William Learned Marcy. Reports of copies or near replicas of Palmer's work at other cemeteries have come from colleagues; I personally am familiar with one in the Brandywine Cemetery in Wilmington, Delaware.

[26] *The Boston Evening Transcript* (April 9, 1842): 2.

[27] Albee, *Henry Dexter, Sculptor*, 76-77. The present location of the sculpture is unknown.

[28] Philocosmos to Editor, *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* (January 7, 1842).

[29] Dearinger, *American Neoclassic Sculptors*, 72.

[30] Perkins Senior was buried with his wife and family in his crypt at St. Paul's Cathedral in Boston. His remains and those of other family members were later reinterred in the Perkins family plot in the early twentieth century.

[31] Horatio Greenough to Henry Greenough, February 28, 1844, in Frances Boott Greenough, ed., *Letters of Horatio Greenough to his Brother, Henry Greenough* (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1887), 169.

[32] Ann Leighton, *American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century: "For Comfort and Affluence"* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 140.

[33] R.A. Smith, *Smith's Illustrated Guide to and Through Laurel Hill Cemetery* (Philadelphia, PA: Willis P. Hazard, 1852), i, 39-41.

[34] When the sculpture arrived in Boston in September of 1843, legs of the *Orpheus* were shattered and in pieces. The Trustees of the Athenæum turned to Henry Dexter for assistance. Dexter pieced the shattered marble pieces together, filling in lost areas and ingeniously inserting iron bars for strength. Dexter's background as a blacksmith thus helped to save the *Orpheus* for posterity.

[35] Cornelius C. Vermeule III, "Greek Sculpture, Roman Sculpture and American Taste: The Mirror of Mount Auburn," *Sweet Auburn, Newsletter of the Friends of Mount Auburn* (Fall 1990), n.p.

[36] Much of the information on the Amos Binney Monument is from Lauretta Dimmick, "Thomas Crawford's Monument for Amos Binney in Mount Auburn

Cemetery, 'A Work of Rare Merit,'" *Markers IX, Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* (Worcester, MA: 1992), 158-195.

[37] Although Mary Ann Binney later remarried, she chose to be buried with her first husband under the monument she had commissioned.

[38] "Monumental Sculpture," *New-York Commercial Advertiser* (June 4, 1850), 2.

[39] "Monumental Sculpture," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* (June 5, 1850), 2.

[40] R.L. Midgley, *Sights in Boston and Suburbs, or Guide to the Stranger* (Boston, 1856), 148.

[41] Among Crawford's plans were monuments to mark the grave of the English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome and another to mark the Roman house where his mentor and friend Bertel Thorwardsen lived. Crawford also submitted a proposal to the Burd family for a funerary monument consisting of five figures in St. Stephen's Church in Philadelphia; that commission was awarded instead to sculptor Carl Steinhauser in Rome in 1850, the same year the *Amos Binney Monument* was installed (Dimmick, "Thomas Crawford's Monument,"159 and 189n2). Dimmick states that the recipient of the Burd family commission was "Wolgerbon Steinhausen"; however, the catalog of the Burd family papers, which are in the Special Collections Department at the University of Delaware Library, indicates the sculptor's name as "Carl Steinhauser."

[42] Mount Auburn Cemetery, "Trustees' Minutes," in "Proprietors' and Trustees Records," Vol.1 (Friday, September 29, 1843), 99, Mount Auburn Cemetery Archives.

[43] Charles P. Curtis and Henry N. Parker, "Trustees' Minutes," Vol.1 (September 30, 1854), Mount Auburn Cemetery Archives.

[44] "Administrative Records–Correspondence Relating to Statuary and Monuments, 1845-1899," "Consent of Trustees to Vote Appropriating Money," September 4, 1854; Trustees' Minutes," I (August 7, 1854), 276, Mount Auburn Cemetery Archives.

[45] Jeffrey I. Richman, *Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery: New York's Buried Treasure* (Lunenburg, Vermont: The Stinehour Press, 1998), 202-203.

[46] Sybil F. Crawford, "Imitation: A World of Cemetery Look-Alikes," *AGS Quarterly: Bulletin of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 27:3 (Summer 2003): 8-11.

[47] Millard F. Rogers, Jr., *Randolph Rogers: American Sculptor in Rome* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), 89-91.

[48] Ibid., 115, 153.

[49] George E. Ellis, *Memoir of Jacob Bigelow, M.D., LL.D.* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1880), 61.

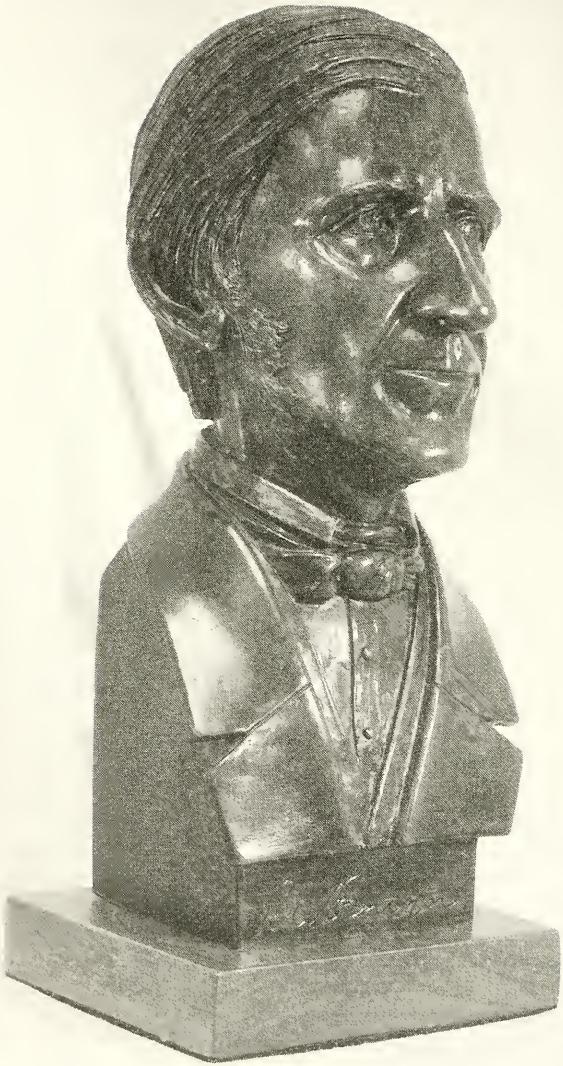
[50] As Blanche Linden and other cultural and landscape historians have shown, Olmsted was not America's first important landscape designer; others, such as Henry Dearborn, who was in large part responsible for the design of Mount Auburn, Forest Hills, and countless parks and cemeteries across the country, were highly influential predecessors to Olmsted.

[51] This information has been compiled from SIRIS inventory records, catalog records (where available and accessible) of cemeteries, biographies and other works, and my own field and research notes.

[52] Philocosmos to Editor, *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* (January 7, 1842): 2.

[53] Dearinger, *American Neoclassic Sculptors*, 294-297 and 332-335.

[54] Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 104.



[Frontispiece] Bronze bust of Emerson at about age fifty, created by Steven H. Maddock of New Mexico for The Ralph Waldo Emerson Society in celebration of the bicentennial of Emerson's birth year (2003).

"In the Palm of Nature's Hand": Ralph Waldo Emerson's Address at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

Introduced and edited by
Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson

> *Sleepy Hollow.* In this quiet valley, as in the palm of Nature's hand, we shall sleep well, when we have finished our day. What is the earth itself but a surface scooped into nooks and caves of slumber. . . . Nay, when I think of the mystery of life, its round of illusions, our ignorance of its beginning or its end, the speed of the changes of that glittering dream we call existence,—I think sometimes, that the vault of sky arching there upward, under which our busy being is whirled, is only a Sleepy Hollow, with path of suns, instead of footpaths, and milky ways, for truck-roads.[1]
>
> —*from the "Address"*

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Concord, Massachusetts, was consecrated on 29 September 1855 in a ceremony that included an "Address" by the town's most distinguished citizen, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). Noteworthy for lyric prose that captured Sleepy Hollow's undulating and naturally romantic setting comprised of "scooped . . . nooks and caves of slumber," Emerson's "Address"—the complete text of which follows—was ideally suited to the occasion. One of the many cemeteries established on the outskirts of major American cities during the nineteenth century, Sleepy Hollow grew out of the garden cemetery movement that began in America with the founding of Mount Auburn Cemetery in nearby Cambridge in 1831, which was itself followed by the design and opening of, for instance, Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York; Albany Rural Cemetery in Menands, New York; and Rose Hill Cemetery outside of Atlanta, Georgia.

In an account of the origins of Sleepy Hollow published in 1880, Concord historian George B. Bartlett reported that the parcel of land

initially associated with the cemetery was purchased by the town in 1855 from the heirs of Deacon Reuben Brown. The attraction of the property was, according to Bartlett, the "amphitheatre" in its center, "which had existed for years . . . and which had borne the name of Sleepy Hollow long before it was thought of as a place of burial."[2] After acquiring the property and determining its boundaries from surveys of Brown's land and the surrounding area done by Henry David Thoreau,[3] the town hired landscape architects Horace William Shaler Cleveland and Robert Morris Copeland to design the cemetery. In short order, Cleveland and Copeland provided the town with a plan for Sleepy Hollow. Their plan was a textbook application of the theory governing garden cemetery design. Instead of "improving" the land by laying out a grid of regularized burial plots and roads, they preserved the natural contours and pathways of the landscape as a woodland retreat from everyday cares for the living and as a welcoming natural site of repose for the dead (Fig. 1). In her recent article on the founding of the cemetery, Leslie Perrin Wilson observes: "One only need walk through the 1855 section of Sleepy Hollow to understand intuitively that its design was intended to foster tranquility and private contemplation. . . . Concord's gem of a cemetery originated [in, especially,] Cleveland's transcendental sense of nature as a tonic for the soul and a catalyst for human sensibilities."[4]

Important as the overall theory of garden cemetery design was to the planning of Sleepy Hollow, two additional facts—one practical and the other emerging out of American intellectual and literary history—were also important to the establishment of the cemetery and the particular application of theory that guided its design. As a practical matter, the town needed a new cemetery. Founded in 1635, Concord remained a relatively small rural community well into the nineteenth century, but by the 1850s, the town's three principal cemeteries were either full or rapidly approaching capacity. The Old Hill Burying Ground (established ca. 1670) that today can be seen to the right of St. Bernard's Catholic Church on Monument Square was virtually filled by 1800. Its replacement, New Hill Cemetery, which is behind and to the right of St. Bernard's, opened in 1823, but was quickly filling up. The Burial Ground on Main Street (established ca. 1690, also known as South Burying Place), which is today to the left of the Middlesex Savings Bank on Main Street and separated from it by Keyes Road, was already filled (Fig. 2). Anticipating

an expansion of population in the near future, Concord's officials knew that the town would soon need a new burial ground. The availability of Deacon Brown's property provided them with a ready answer to their concern, yet even this solution would prove short-lived. Although in his 1855 "Address" Emerson celebrated Sleepy Hollow's "seclusion from the village in its immediate neighborhood, [which] had marked it to all the inhabitants as an easy retreat on a Sabbath day, or a summer twilight,"[5] by the late 1860s the town was already encroaching on the borders of this once-secluded site. Sleepy Hollow Cemetery had to be enlarged with the acquisition of additional land in 1869—and again in 1932, 1954, 1959, 1960, 1975, and 1998.

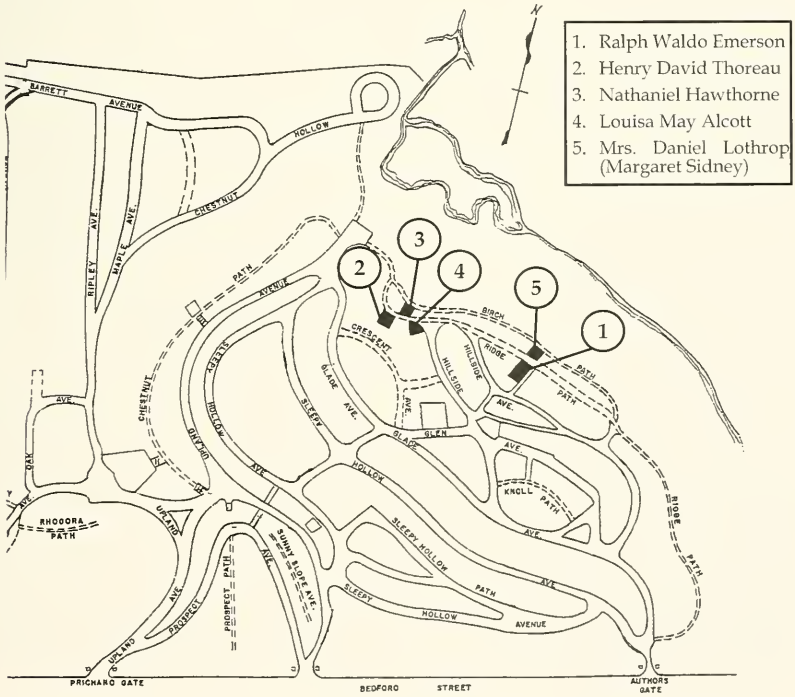


Fig. 1. Map of eastern portion of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery as it appears today, showing Authors' Ridge graves (upper right) along Birch and Ridge paths. Courtesy, Concord Public Works.

The other influence on the application of theory that guided the design of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery was the presence in Concord of Emerson himself. Concord was the Emerson family's ancestral home, and after moving to the town in 1834, when Emerson and his mother came to board in the Old Manse then occupied by his step-grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Ezra Ripley, Emerson considered himself a Concordian forever. Using language that seems to foreshadow his rise to fame as a leading influence on American Romanticism and its aesthetic theory and as the leading light of the Transcendentalist movement that began in 1836 and quickly became identified with him and with Concord, Emerson wrote in his journal,

> Concord, 15 November 1834. Hail to the quiet fields of my fathers! Not wholly unattended by supernatural friendship & favor let me come hither. Bless my purposes as they are simple & virtuous. . . . Henceforth I design not to utter any speech, poem, or book that is not entirely & peculiarly my work. . . .
>
> Respect a man! assuredly, but in general only as the potential God & therefore richly deserving of your pity[,] your tears. Now he is only a scrap, an ort, an end & in his actual being no more worthy of your veneration than the poor lunatic. But the simplest person who in his integrity worships God becomes God: at least no optics of human mind can detect the line where man the effect ceases, & God the Cause begins.[6]

Beginning in 1834, when he moved into the Manse, Emerson wrote and lectured constantly, crafting ever so slowly the prose out of which he would announce the philosophy that would be "entirely & peculiarly" his own. Soon, he had settled into his own Concord home, "Bush," which he purchased in 1835 and renovated for his family. Ultimately, the Emerson household would include not only Lydia Jackson, his future second wife (called "Lidian" after her marriage), and their children, but also his mother Ruth Haskins Emerson, his itinerant aunt Mary Moody Emerson, his brother Charles Chauncy Emerson, and, finally, Elizabeth Sherman Hoar, to whom Charles was engaged.

Fig. 2. Gravestone of Rachel Buss (d. 1743), a typical example of the gravestones in the Main Street Burial Ground, Concord, MA. Attributed to Jonathan Worster (1707-1754).

Emerson's labors culminated in *Nature*, which, published on 9 September 1836, is his sweeping declaration of the divinity of human life, the relatedness of all things in the universe, and the universality of thought. Having assimilated much from his readings in Platonic thought, Eastern philosophy and religion, and natural history, Emerson proclaimed nature the resource through which individuals could restore "original and eternal beauty" to their world and achieve the redemption of their souls.[7] In its appeal to intuition and the senses, its conviction that language, like any other material fact, is symbolic of a higher spiritual reality that governs the universe, and its song of the "Orphic poet" which reminded modern man that he is a figure who before time began "was permeated and dissolved by spirit" and "filled nature with his overflowing currents," *Nature* impressed many early readers as a highly progressive text.[8] *Nature* also made Emerson's case for the importance of the intuitive capacity of the observers of nature, and the observers' ability to move from the factual to the metaphoric or relational meaning of objects, events, persons, and ideas as they encountered them in nature. Intuition enabled the observer to see through the ambiguity or remoteness of words and things to the unifying source of all in the universe: thought. In *Nature*, to put the matter simply, Emerson announced a version of philosophical organicism that informed American literature, aesthetics, and theories of mind for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Cleveland's and Copeland's design for Sleepy Hollow echoes developing Romantic ideals of the time, especially the concept of organicism that is at the core of Emerson's *Nature*.[9] In his "Address" at the consecration of Sleepy Hollow delivered nearly twenty years after *Nature* first appeared in print, Emerson acknowledged his influence on and agreement with the practices of these and other landscape architects:

> Modern taste has shown that there is no ornament, no architecture, alone so sumptuous as well-disposed woods and waters, where art has been employed only to remove superfluities, and bring out the natural advantages. In cultivated grounds, one sees the picturesque and opulent effect of the familiar shrubs,—barberry, lilac, privet, and thorns,—when they are disposed in masses, and in large spaces. . . .

> The ground [of Sleepy Hollow] has the peaceful character that belongs to this town;—no lofty crags, no glittering cataracts;—but I hold that every part of nature is handsome, when not deformed by bad art. Bleak sea-rocks, and sea-downs, and blasted heaths, have their own beauty. . . . The morning, the moonlight, the spring day, are magical painters, and can glorify a meadow or a rock.[10]

Emerson was a member of the town committee that organized the Sleepy Hollow consecration service and requested that he deliver an address. Regardless of the role he played in that particular decision by the committee, Emerson was really the only citizen of Concord to whom the request could have been made. By 1855, he was the town's most visible resident, having achieved a reputation as a lecturer, author, and intellectual presence throughout America and the British Isles and become *the* person that public figures from across America and throughout the world came to visit in Concord.

From the moment he settled in Concord, Emerson was a genuine citizen of the town, and it is fair to say that of all the public honors bestowed upon him, he relished none more than his identification with Concord. He routinely offered his services free of charge as a speaker at the Concord Lyceum, where he delivered exactly one hundred lectures over the course of his career, and as early as 1835, when he was selected to deliver the discourse on 12 September to commemorate the second centennial anniversary of the incorporation of the town, it was clear that his voice would be depended upon to help Concord celebrate events such as this one or to guide the minds and consciences of his fellow Concordians through dark days such as those that accompanied the Civil War. Indeed, between 1835 and the last years of his life, Emerson seems to have played a significant role in every major public event held in Concord. In 1837, for instance, the town sang his recently completed "Concord Hymn" during its Fourth of July celebrations; in 1867, he delivered the address on 19 April at the dedication of the Soldier's Monument, the town's memorial to its forty-four citizens who died in the Civil War; and in 1873, he delivered the address on 1 October at the opening of the Concord Free Public Library. In a lecture that he delivered only once—at the Concord Lyceum on 2 December 1857—Emerson repaid the esteem and kindness that his townsmen routinely directed

toward him. With a type of Yankee charm for which he was admired in Concord, he spoke of the bargain he got when he purchased "Bush" and the lands around it:

> When I bought my farm, I did not know what a bargain I had in the bluebirds, bobolinks, and thrushes, which were not charged in the bill: as little did I guess what sublime mornings and sunsets I was buying,—what reaches of landscape, and what fields. . . .
>
> Still less did I know what good and true neighbors I was buying, men of thought and virtue, some of them now known the country through, for their learning, or subtlety, or active, or patriotic power, but whom I had the pleasure of knowing long before the country did; and of other men, not known widely, but known at home,—farmers,—not doctors of laws, but doctors of land, skilled in turning a swamp or a sand-bank into a fruitful field, and, where witch-grass and nettles grew, causing a forest of apple trees, or miles of corn and rye to thrive.[11]

Part of Emerson's responsibilities on the town committee that organized events for the consecration of Sleepy Hollow was to commission an appropriate hymn that could be sung during the service. While working on his own "Address," Emerson arranged for Ellery Channing to provide a suitably romantic and uplifting poem that could be sung by the local choir; however, when it turned out that Channing's poem simply could not be sung, Emerson approached Franklin B. Sanborn and asked him to compose an ode for the occasion. On 29 September, the exercises began at two o'clock in the afternoon, opening with a prayer by Concord minister Barzillai Frost, which was then followed by the singing of Sanborn's "Ode on the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery." In his "Ode," Sanborn sentimentalized death and the Sleepy Hollow setting that he had been invited to celebrate:

> . . . To holy sorrow—solemn joy,
> We consecrate the place
> Where soon shall sleep the maid and boy,

The father and his race,
The mother with her tender babe,
The venerable face.

These waving woods—these valleys low
Between these tufted knolls,
Year after year shall dearer grow
To many loving souls;
And flowers be sweeter here than blow
Elsewhere between the pole.

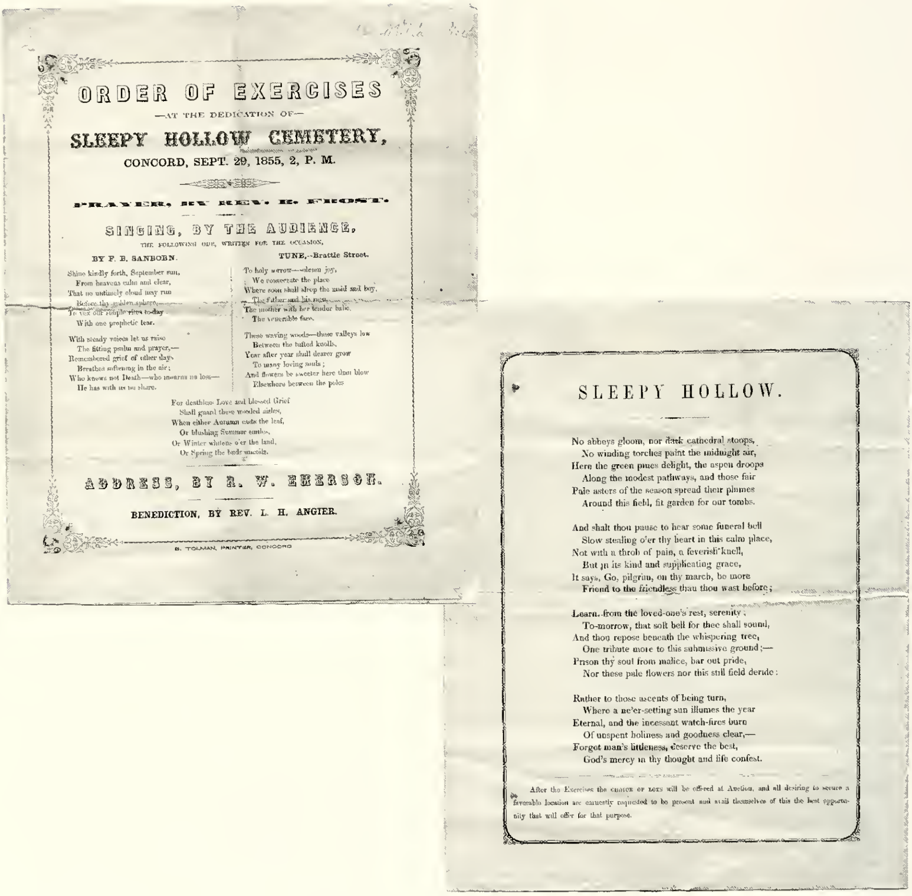
For deathless Love and blessèd Grief
Shall guard these wooded aisles,
When either Autumn casts the leaf,
Or blushing Summer smiles,
Or Winter whitens o'er the land,
Or Spring the buds uncoils.

At the conclusion of the singing of Sanborn's "Ode," Emerson delivered his "Address," which was followed by a benediction offered by L. H. Angier. During the exercises, Channing's "Sleepy Hollow" was recited. Although it definitely lacked the lyricism of either Emerson's "Address" or Sanborn's "Ode," Channing's song, as the following except suggests, drew the audience's attention to the influence of the landscape, where

. . . the green pines delight, the aspen droops
Along the modest pathways, and those fair
Pale asters of the season spread their plumes
Around this field, fit garden for our tombs.

As a fitting memento of the occasion, broadside programs were distributed to those who attended the consecration of Sleepy Hollow; printed on both sides, they included the complete texts of Sanborn's "Ode" and Channing's "Sleepy Hollow" (Fig. 3).[12]

Explaining the virtue of arranging cemeteries such as Sleepy Hollow into park-like settings, Emerson remarked in his "Address" that they



ORDER OF EXERCISES

—AT THE DEDICATION OF—

SLEEPY HOLLOW CEMETERY,

CONCORD, SEPT. 29, 1855, 2, P. M.

PRAYER, BY REV. B. FROST.

SINGING, BY THE AUDIENCE,

THE FOLLOWING ODE, WRITTEN FOR THE OCCASION,

BY F. B. SANBORN. TUNE,--Brattle Street.

Shine kindly forth, September sun,
From heavens calm and clear,
That no untimely cloud may run
Before thy golden sphere,—
To vex our simple rites to-day
With one prophetic tear.

With steady voices let us raise
The fitting psalm and prayer,—
Remembered grief of other days
Breathes softening in the air;
Who knows not Death—who mourns no loss—
He has with us no share.

To holy sorrow—solemn joy,
We consecrate the place
Where soon shall sleep the maid and boy,
The father and his race,
The mother with her tender babe,
The venerable face.

These waving woods—these valleys low
Between the tufted knolls,
Year after year shall dearer grow
To many loving souls;
And flowers be sweeter here than blow
Elsewhere between the poles

For deathless Love and blessed Grief
Shall guard these wooded aisles,
When either Autumn casts the leaf,
Or blushing Summer smiles,
Or Winter whitens o'er the land,
Or Spring the buds uncoils.

ADDRESS, BY R. W. EMERSON.

BENEDICTION, BY REV. L. H. ANGIER.

S. TOLMAN, PRINTER, CONCORD

SLEEPY HOLLOW.

No abbeys gloom, nor dark cathedral stoops,
No winding torches paint the midnight air,
Here the green pines delight, the aspen droops
Along the modest pathways, and those fair
Pale asters of the season spread their plumes
Around this field, fit garden for our tombs.

And shalt thou pause to hear some funeral bell
Slow stealing o'er thy heart in this calm place,
Not with a throb of pain, a feverish knell,
But in its kind and supplicating grace,
It says, Go, pilgrim, on thy march, be more
Friend to the friendless than thou wast before;

Learn from the loved-one's rest, serenity;
To-morrow, that soft bell for thee shall sound,
And thou repose beneath the whispering tree,
One tribute more to this submissive ground;—
Prison thy soul from malice, bar out pride,
Nor these pale flowers nor this still field deride:

Rather to those ascents of being turn,
Where a ne'er-setting sun illumes the year
Eternal, and the incessant watch-fires burn
Of unspent holiness and goodness clear,—
Forget man's littleness, deserve the best,
God's mercy in thy thought and life confest.

After the Exercises the CHOICE OF LOTS will be offered at Auction, and all desiring to secure a favorable location are earnestly requested to be present and avail themselves of this the best opportunity that will offer for that purpose.

Fig. 3. Broadside "Order of Exercises," Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Concord, September 29, 1855. Courtesy of the Joel Myerson Collection of Nineteenth-Century American Literature, University of South Carolina.

provided living Americans with a place of refuge from their "anxious, over-driven" everyday lives, a sense of national identity to rival Europe's widely touted cultural superiority, and a natural environment that promoted friendship and, perhaps, that brand of Transcendental conversation which, as a form of elevated exchange, momentarily relieved attentive talkers of the sting of their own mortality:

> What work of man will compare with the plantation of a park? It dignifies life; it is a seat for friendship, counsel, taste, and religion. I do not wonder that they are the chosen badge and point-of-pride of European nobility. But how much more are they needed by us, anxious, over-driven Americans, to staunch and appease that fury of temperament which our climate bestows![13]

Emerson himself often enjoyed Sleepy Hollow's peaceful spaces, as Kate Douglas (Smith) Wiggin, the author of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1903), has recorded. Brought to Concord by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody in the summer of 1880 to attend meetings of the Concord School of Philosophy, she made the rounds of Concord society under Peabody's direction. Then known as Kate D. Smith, Wiggin often spent afternoons wandering through Sleepy Hollow in the company of Peabody and other Concord luminaries. In her "Personal Recollections of Emerson," which appeared just after Emerson's death in 1882, she recounted one such afternoon during which Peabody and she were joined by Bronson Alcott, Ellery Channing, and Emerson:

> On a summer day, two years ago, I walked through Sleepy Hollow burying-ground (it is an anachronism to call it a cemetery), in company with Mr. Emerson, Mr. Alcott, Mr. Channing, and Miss Elizabeth Peabody.
>
> I can recall it as if it were yesterday: the walk in quiet mood from the hillside chapel, through fragrant orchards, to the ridge overlooking historic fields . . .
>
> We wandered slowly among the graves of the illustrious dead, while each of the honored living related happy anecdotes of the friends passed over and yonder. . . .
>
> I was tired, I remember, for had I not just been precipitated

into the full doctrine of platonic philosophy and psychology, cosmologic and theologic outlines, and the Dæmon of Socrates, that morning? and I sank on the grassy turf beside the marble stone designed

"By its durability
To perpetuate the memory,
And by its color
to signify the moral character
Of
Miss Abigail Dudley."

I looked up. The day was warm, and they had all bared their heads to the breeze. Mr. Channing had helped Miss Peabody to a seat, while Mr. Emerson and Mr. Alcott rested at the foot of a great, leafy oak tree.

I never shall forget it: the sight of the four aged, benignant heads . . . on which the mellow August sunshine poured its flood of light. They looked at each other and then at me, and suddenly the same thought, born perhaps of the place and

Fig. 4. Path to Authors' Ridge, Sleepy Hollow Cemetery.

Fig. 5. Emerson's large rose quartz gravemarker in the Emerson family plot on Authors' Ridge. Photo ca. 1895, courtesy of the Concord Free Public Library.

Fig. 6. Bronze plaque on Emerson's marker. Photo by Jim Fannin.

> the glance, flashed into each brain at the same moment, and Mr. Emerson, in his low, hesitating voice, said:
>
> "We shall leave you behind, child."
> And Mr. Channing added, with a half-playful sadness:
> "Shall we take a message for you yonder?"
> "Yes," cried I, with eyes full of tears. "Say that the beauty and sacredness and glory of old age never seemed to youth so divinely honorable as at this moment."[14]

Today, along with the Old North Bridge, Walden Pond, Orchard House (the home of the Alcotts), and Emerson's "Bush," Sleepy Hollow Cemetery is one of the sites most favored by visitors to Concord, but among these and other local sites of interest, Sleepy Hollow is unrivalled as a truly romantic landscape. Across the seasons it still retains the serene natural ambiance that Emerson so prized and that Cleveland

and Copeland so successfully preserved. Every spring, as the winter ice and snow recede, the grounds burst forth with grand splashes of color as lilacs, rhododendrons, azaleas, dogwoods, and other flowering shrubs and trees bloom; every summer, the leaves of countless trees of every description—many dating back to the period before Sleepy Hollow became a cemetery—provide shade for those who stroll, jog, or sit and meditate along the paths once frequented by Kate D. Smith and her companions; and every autumn, Sleepy Hollow's trees put on the spectacular display of color that Thoreau never tired of describing in his journal, for he thought such displays transformed a landscape such as Sleepy Hollow's into "a faery-place" that served as an emblem of "the immortality of the soul."[15]

The section of the cemetery just above the rim of the "amphitheatre" where Emerson delivered his "Address" is now known as Authors' Ridge, and it is there that he is buried in a large plot with members of his extended family. The Emersons are certainly not alone on the Ridge; beside the path that eventually leads to their graves are those of Henry

Fig. 7. Thoreau family plot, Authors' Ridge, Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, with Henry Thoreau's small individual marker to the far left.

Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ellery Channing, Bronson Alcott and Louisa May Alcott, Harriet Mulford Lothrop ("Margaret Sidney," author of the children's book, *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew* [1881]), and members of their respective families. Nearby are the graves of other once prominent citizens of Concord: Ephraim Wales Bull, the inventor of the Concord grape; Edward Waldo Emerson, Emerson's son and editor; Daniel Chester French, the sculptor whose works include the statue of the Minute Man in Concord, which has Emerson's "Concord Hymn" inscribed on its base, and the seated statue of Abraham Lincoln at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.; Samuel Hoar, his son Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and his son Sherman Hoar—all statesmen of distinction; John Shepard Keyes, Concord's Superintendent of Grounds during the laying out of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery; Elizabeth Palmer Peabody; and Franklin B. Sanborn.[16] Indeed, the Sleepy Hollow that visitors from all over the world see today is very much the one Emerson prophesied as he and his townsmen came together in 1855 to consecrate these grounds: "When [the] acorns that are falling at our feet are oaks overshadowing our children in a remote century, this mute green bank will be full of history: the good, the wise, and the great, will have left their names and virtues on the trees; heroes, poets, beauties, sanctities, and benefactors, will have made the air tuneable and articulate."[17]

Emerson's "Address to the Inhabitants of Concord, at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow, *29 September 1855*"

Citizens and Friends,

The Committee to whom was confided the charge of carrying out the wishes of the Town in opening the cemetery, having proceeded so far as to enclose the ground, and cut the necessary roads, and having laid off as many lots as are likely to be wanted at present, have thought it fit to call the inhabitants together, to show you the ground, now that the new avenues make its advantages appear: and to put it at your disposition. They have thought that the taking possession of this field ought to be marked by a public meeting, and religious rites: and they have requested me to say a few words, which the serious and tender occasion inspires. And this concourse of friendly company assures me that they have rightly interpreted your wishes.

It is the credence of men which, more than race or climate, makes their manners and customs; and the history of religion may be read in the forms of sepulture. There never was a time when the doctrine of a future life was not held. Morals must be enjoined, but among rude men they were rudely figured under the form of dogs and whips, or, of an easier and more plentiful life, after death. And as it was impossible for the savage to detach the life of the soul from the body in his conception, he took great care for his body.

Nature secures the performance of every necessary function by overloading the tendency. Thus, the whole life of man, in the first ages, was ponderously determined on death. And, as you know, the polity of the Egyptians, the by-laws of towns and of streets and houses, respected burial. It made every man an undertaker; every palace, a door to a pyramid: every king or rich man was a *pyramidaire*: a successful general was the lucky candidate for an obelisk. The labor of races was spent on the excavation of catacombs. The chief end of man being to be buried well, the arts most in request were masonry and embalming, to give an immortality to the proper body.

Fig. 8. Henry Thoreau's grave with notes, stones, flowers, and other offerings left by visitors (July 1995).

Fig. 9. Louisa May Alcott's grave with balloons and other visitor offerings, Alcott family plot, Author's Ridge (July 1995). The handwritten note leaning against the stone reads, "I'm your number 1 fan / C.A.D. / My favorite book of yours is Little Women."

The Greek, with his perfect senses and perceptions, had quite another philosophy. He loved life, and delighted in beauty. He set his wit and taste, like elastic gas, under these mountains of granite, and lifted them. He drove away the embalmers: he burnt his body: he built no more of these doleful mountainous tombs: he adorned death: brought wreaths of parsley and laurel: made it bright with games of strength and skill, and with chariot races. Nothing can excel the beauty of his sarcophagus. He carried his arts to Rome, and built his beautiful tombs at Pompeii. The poet Shelley says, "These white marble cells so delicately carved, contrasted so strongly with the plain dwelling houses, that they seemed not so much tombs, as voluptuous chambers for immortal spirits." And the modern Greeks, in their Romaic songs, ask that they may be buried where the sun can see them, and that a little window may be cut in the sepulchre from which the swallow might be seen when he comes back in the spring.

Christianity brought a new wisdom. But learning depends on the learner; no

more truth can be conveyed, than the popular mind can bear. And the barbarians that received the cross, took the doctrine of the resurrection as the Egyptians had done before. It was an affair of the body, and narrowed again by the fury of sect, so that grounds were sprinkled with holy water to receive only orthodox dust; and, to keep the body still more sacredly safe for resurrection, it was put into the walls of a church: and the churches of Europe are really sepulchres. Meantime, the true disciples saw through the letter the doctrine of eternity, which dissolved the poor corpse and nature also, and gave grandeur to the passing hour. They wished their memory to be sweet, that holiness should perfume their graves.

In these times, we see the defects of our old theology, its inferiority to our habit of thought. Men go up and down; science is popularized; the irresistible democracy—shall I call it?—of chemistry, of vegetation, which recomposes for new life every decomposing particle,— the race never dying, the individual never spared,—has impressed on the mind of the age the futility of these old arts of preserving. We give our earth to earth. We will not jealously guard a few atoms under immense marbles, selfishly and impossibly sequestering it from the vast

Fig. 10. Headstone and footstone marking the grave of Nathaniel Hawthorne in the Hawthorne family plot, Authors' Ridge.

circulations of nature, but, at the same time, fully admitting the divine hope and love which belong to our nature, and wishing to make one spot tender to our children, who shall come hither in the next century to read the dates of these lives adorned also.

Our people, accepting this lesson from science, yet touched by the tenderness which Christianity breathes, have found a mean in the consecration of gardens. A simultaneous movement has in a hundred cities and towns, in this country, selected some convenient piece of undulating ground, with pleasant woods and waters; every family chooses its own clump of trees; and we lay the corpse in these leafy colonnades.

A grove of trees,—what benefit or ornament is so fair and great? They make the landscape. They keep the earth habitable: their roots run down, like cattle, to the watercourses, their heads expand to feed the atmosphere. The life of a tree is a hundred and a thousand years; its decays ornamental; its repairs self-made: they grow when we sleep, they grew when we were unborn. Man is a moth among these longevities. He plants for the next millennium. Shadows haunt them; all that ever lived about them, clings to them. You can almost see behind these pines the Indian with bow and arrow lurking yet, exploring the traces of the old trail.

Modern taste has shown that there is no ornament, no architecture, alone so sumptuous as well-disposed woods and waters, where art has been employed only to remove superfluities, and bring out the natural advantages. In cultivated grounds, one sees the picturesque and opulent effect of the familiar shrubs,—barberry, lilac, privet, and thorns,—when they are disposed in masses, and in large spaces. What work of man will compare with the plantation of a park? It dignifies life; it is a seat for friendship, counsel, taste, and religion. I do not wonder that they are the chosen badge and point-of-pride of European nobility. But how much more are they needed by us, anxious, over-driven Americans, to staunch and appease that fury of temperament which our climate bestows!

This tract fortunately lies adjoining to the Agricultural Society's ground, to the New Burial Ground, to the Court-House, and to the Town House, making together a large block of public ground permanent property of the Town and County,—all the ornaments of either, adding so much value to all. This spot for twenty years has borne the name of *Sleepy Hollow*. Its seclusion from the village in its immediate neighborhood, had marked it to all the inhabitants as an easy retreat on a Sabbath day, or a summer twilight; and it was inevitably chosen by them, when the design of a new cemetery was broached, if it did not suggest the design, as the fit place for their final repose.

Fig. 11. Emerson's rose quartz gravemarker as it appears today, flanked on the left by the grave of his second wife (d. 1892) and on the right by the grave of his daughter Ellen (d. 1909).

In all the multitude of woodlands and hillsides, which, within a few years, have been laid out with a similar design, I have not known one so fitly named. *Sleepy Hollow.* In this quiet valley, as in the palm of Nature's hand, we shall sleep well, when we have finished our day. What is the earth itself but a surface scooped into nooks and caves of slumber,—according to the Eastern fable, a bridge full of holes, into one or other of which, all the passengers sink to silence. Nay, when I think of the mystery of life, its round of illusions, our ignorance of its beginning or its end, the speed of the changes of that glittering dream we call existence,—I think sometimes, that the vault of sky arching there upward, under which our busy being is whirled, is only a Sleepy Hollow, with path of suns, instead of footpaths, and milky ways, for truck-roads.

The ground has the peaceful character that belongs to this town;—no lofty crags, no glittering cataracts;—but I hold that every part of nature is handsome, when not deformed by bad art. Bleak sea-rocks, and sea-downs, and blasted heaths, have their own beauty; and, though we make much ado in our praises of Italy, or the Andes, Nature makes not so much difference. The morning, the moonlight, the spring day, are magical painters, and can glorify a meadow or a rock.

But, we must look forward also, and make ourselves a thousand years old; and when these acorns that are falling at our feet are oaks overshadowing our children in a remote century, this mute green bank will be full of history: the good, the wise, and the great, will have left their names and virtues on the trees; heroes, poets, beauties, sanctities, and benefactors, will have made the air tuneable and articulate.

I suppose, all of us will readily admit the value of parks and cultivated grounds to the pleasure and education of the people; but I have heard it said here, that we would gladly spend for a park for the living, but not for a cemetery; a garden for the living, a home for thought and friendship. Certainly, the living need it more than the dead; indeed, to speak precisely, it is given to the dead for the reaction of benefit on the living.

But if the direct regard to the living shall be thought expedient, that is also in your power. This ground is happily so divided by nature, as to admit of this relation between the Past and the Present. In the valley where we stand, will be the monuments. On the other side of the ridge, towards the town, a portion of the land is in full view of the cheer of the village, and is out of sight of the monuments; it admits of being reserved for secular purposes; for games,—not such as the Greeks honored the dead with,—but for games of education; the distribution of school-prizes; the meeting of teachers; patriotic eloquence; the utterance of the principles of national liberty; to private social, literary, or religious fraternities. There we may establish that most agreeable of all museums, and agreeable to the temper of our times,—an *arboretum*,—wherein may be planted by the taste of every citizen, one tree, with its name recorded in a book; every tree that is native to Massachusetts, or will grow in it; so that every child may be shown growing side by side the eleven oaks of Massachusetts; and the twenty willows and the beech which we have allowed to die out of the eastern counties; and, here, the vast firs of California and Oregon.[18] And hither shall repair to this modest spot of God's earth, every sweet and friendly influence, and the beautiful night and beautiful day will come in turn to sit upon the grass. Our use will not displace the old tenants. The well-beloved birds will not sing one song the less; the high-holding woodpecker, the meadowlark, the oriole, the robin, the purple finch, the bluebird, the thrush and the red-eyed warbler, the heron and the bittern will find out the hospitality and protection from the gun, of this asylum, and will seek the waters of the meadow; and in the grass, and by the pond, the locust, the cricket, and the hyla, shall shrilly play.

We shall bring hither the body of the dead, but how shall we catch the escaped soul? Here will burn for us, as the oath of God, the sublime belief. I have heard, that death takes us away from ill things, not from good. I have heard, that when we pronounce the name of man, we pronounce the belief of immortality. All great natures delight in stability. All great men find eternity affirmed in the promise of their faculties. Why is the fable of the Wandering Jew agreeable to men, but because they want more time and land to execute their thoughts in?[19] Life is not long enough for art, nor long enough for friendship. The evidence from intellect is as valid as the evidence from love. The being that can share a thought and feeling so sublime as confidence in truth, is no mushroom. Our dissatisfaction with any other solution is the blazing evidence of immortality.

"The air is full of men." Schiller said, "Thoughtest thou, that this infinite Round is the sepulchre of thine ancestors? that the wind brings thee—that the perfumes of the lindens bring thee, perhaps, the spent force of Arminius,[20] to thy nostril; that thou, in the refreshing fountain, perhaps tastest the balsamed bones of our great Henry?"[21]

NOTES

All photographs not attributed in captions are by Gary Collison.

[1] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Address to the Inhabitants of Concord, at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow, 29 September 1855," in *The Later Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1843-1871*, ed. Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson, 2 vols. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 2:33. The complete text of Emerson's "Address" as it appears in *Later Lectures*, 2:30-34, follows; it is reprinted here with the permission of the University of Georgia Press. Emerson left the "Address" untitled; the title used in *Later Lectures* was supplied by the editors. For information regarding the practices followed in the preparation of this edition, see "Historical and Textual Introduction, [Part 2]," *Later Lectures*, 1:xxxii-lxii. A version of the "Address" arranged by Emerson's son and editor appeared in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson, 12 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903-1904), 11:429-36. At the outset, we should like to acknowledge Leslie Perrin Wilson, curator of the Concord Free Public Library Special Collections, for sharing with us her wealth of Concord lore and her knowledge of Sleepy Hollow's history.

[2] *The Concord Guide Book*, ed. George B[radford]. Bartlett (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, [1880]), p. 18.

[3] The originals of Thoreau's surveys are in the Concord Free Public Library Special Collections. For "Plan of Sleepy Hollow from Plans Made by Cyrus Hubbard in 1836 & 1852 and the New Road Added by Henry D. Thoreau Feb. 1, 1854," see http://www.concordnet.org/library//scollect/Thoreau_surveys/7j.htm on the Concord Free Public Library web site.

[4] Leslie Perrin Wilson, "H. W. S. Cleveland provided vision for Concord's Sleepy Hollow," *The Concord Journal*, 21 November 2002, 14. Quoting from the Concord town report for 1855-56, Wilson notes that Cleveland and Copeland were paid $75 for their services.

[5] *Later Lectures*, 2:32-33.

[6] *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. William H. Gilman, Ralph H. Orth, et al., 16 vols. (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1960-1982), 4:335.

[7] *Nature*, in *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Robert E. Spiller, Joseph Slater, Douglas Emory Wilson, et al., 5 vols. to date (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971—), 1:43.

[8] *Nature*, 1:42.

[9] In "Sleepy Hollow Cemetery: Philosophy Made Substance," Daniel J. Nadenicek takes this argument even further, asserting that Emerson's philosophy exerted a direct influence on Cleveland and Copeland's design for the cemetery; see *Emerson Society Papers* 5 (Spring 1994): 1-2.

[10] *Later Lectures*, 2:32-33.

[11] "Country Walks (Concord)," *Later Lectures*, 2:37.

[12] Broadsides of the program for the consecration of Sleepy Hollow are preserved in the Concord Free Public Library Special Collections, the Joel Myerson Collection of Nineteenth-Century American Literature at the University of South Carolina, and the Houghton Library at Harvard University; in the Houghton Library, see *AC85.Em345.Z855s. Emerson evidently liked Sanborn's "Ode" and Channing's poem. He printed both in *Parnassus*, ed. Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1874), 462 and 460 respectively; the excerpts from both poems reprinted here are taken from *Parnassus*. For more on the occasion, see Sanborn, "The Sleepy Hollow Cemetery—Old Graves," *Concord Minute Man*, 24 November 1915, reprinted in *Sixty Years of Concord*, ed. Kenneth Walter Cameron (Hartford, CT.: Transcendental Books, 1987), 14-15.

[13] *Later Lectures*, 2:32.

[14] Kate D. Smith, "Personal Reminiscences of Emerson," *Californian* 5 (June 1882): 491-92; Smith's later, more elaborately developed version of this anecdote, which first appeared in Kate Douglas Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory: An Autobiography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), 148-54, is reprinted in *Emerson in His Own Time: A Biographical Chronicle of His Life, Taken from Recollections, Interviews, and Memoirs by Family, Friends, and Associates*, ed. Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2003), 242-47.

[15] See the entry for 9 October 1851, in *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau: Journal*, ed. John C. Broderick, et al., 7 vols. to date (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981—), 4:135-36.

[16] There are even a few surprises to be found among Sleepy Hollow's graves. For example, James Underwood Crockett, the horticulturist and host of the once-popular "Crockett's Victory Garden" show, is buried in the cemetery, as is Anne Rainsford Bush, the first woman licensed (in 1900) to drive an automobile in America.

[17] *Later Lectures*, 2:33.

[18] As documented in the Concord town *Reports* [Concord: Benjamin Tolman, 1858], p. 16, on 19 April 1856, the town held a "tree bee," during which "more than a hundred trees were brought and set out by voluntary contribution," in addition to the "seven hundred trees of various kinds" that had already been planted. Additionally, the "ladies of the town" raised $116.75 by sponsoring "a Fourth of July breakfast and floral exhibition at the Town Hall" for the purpose of "beautifying the Cemetery."

[19] The legend of the Wandering Jew, which dates from medieval times, concerns a man who gave Jesus a blow on the way to the Crucifixion, whom Jesus then cursed to wander the earth until He returned.

[20] Jacobus Arminius (ca. 1559-1609), Dutch theologian opposed to Calvin and an important precursor of Unitarian liberalism.

[21] Friedrich Schiller, "Der Spaziergang unter den Linden" (1782), http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/schiller/spazlind/spazlind.htm.

Subject Index for *Markers I-XX*

Compiled by Gary Collison

[EXPLANATORY NOTE: This subject index to the twenty earlier volumes is designed to be brief and usable but still relatively comprehensive. The general rule has been to include an article under a state heading if it includes a discussion, listing, or a photograph of one or more gravemarkers in the state. Studies of the work of individual stonecarvers are listed under the state or states in which the carver's work appears. For the first time, it will be easy for researchers interested in the gravestones of Nova Scotia or Rhode Island, for example, to discover that Jim Blachowicz and Vincent Luti's article, "William Coye: Father of the Plymouth Carving Tradition," contains information about Coye stones in those areas. Anyone perusing the entries for Georgia, Iowa, Vermont, or any of nine other states will discover that Angelika Krüger-Kahloula's pathbreaking article, "Tributes in Stone and Lapidary Lapses: Commemorating Black People in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America," discusses examples of African American gravemarkers or memorial notices in those states. The index reveals many similar unexpected connections. Carvers' names do not appear unless given in the title of an article. With the exception of Boston, no names of cities are used as subject headings. Copies of volumes VI-XX are available from the AGS office. Note that some of the earlier volumes are in short supply. See the *Markers* tables of contents at the webpage, www.gravestonestudies.org.]

CONSERVATION (see PRESERVATION)

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"John Anthony Angel and William Throop: Stonecutters of the Narragansett Basin," Vincent F. Luti, in Jessie Lie Farber, ed., "Stonecutters and Their Works," IV: 148-153
"The John Dwight Workshop in Shirley, Massachusetts, 1770-1816," Eloise Sibley West, VI: vii, 1-31
"Joseph Barbur, Jr.: The Frond Carver of West Medway," Michael Cornish, II: 133-147
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"Murder in Massachusetts: It's Written in Stone," Tom and Brenda Malloy, XVI: 210-241
"The Origins of Marble Carving on Cape Cod, Part I: William Sturgis and Family," James Blachowicz, XIX, 64-173
"The Origins of Marble Carving on Cape Cod, Part II: The Orleans and Sandwich Carvers," James Blachowicz, XX: 196-279
"A Particular Sense of Doom: Skeletal 'Revivals' in Northern Essex County, Massachusetts, 1737-1784," Peter Benes, III: 71-92
"Portfolio of Mrs. Forbes' Cast-Iron Gates," Margot Gayle, VII: 19-34
"The Pratt Family of Stonecutters," Ralph L. Tucker, XIV: 134-157
"Purchase Delay, Pricing Factors, and Attribution Elements in Gravestones from the Shop of Ithamar Spauldin," John S. Wilson, IX: 105-132
"Seven Initial Carvers of Boston, 1700-1725," Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, V: 210-232
"Slavery in Colonial Massachusetts as Seen Through Selected Gravestones," Tom and Brenda Malloy, XI: 112-141
"Silent Stones in a Potter's Field: Grave Markers at the Almshouse Burial Ground in Uxbridge, Massachusetts," Ricardo J. Elia, IX: 133-158
"Samuel Dwight: Vermont Gravestone Cutter," Nancy Jean Melin, in Jessie Lie Farber, ed., "Stonecutters and Their Works," IV: 160-165
"Solomon Brewer: A Connecticut Valley Yankee in Westchester County," Gray Williams, Jr, XI: 52-81
"Speaking Stones: New England Grave Carving and the Emblematic Tradition," Lucien L. Agosta, III: 47-70
"Symbolic Cemetery Gates in New England," Harriette M. Forbes, VII: 3-18
"Thomas Crawford's Monument for Amos Binney in Mount Auburn Cemetery, 'A Work of Rare Merit,'" Lauretta Dimmick, IX: 169-196
"Tributes in Stone and Lapidary Lapses: Commemorating Black People in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America," Angelika Krüger-Kahloula, VI: 32-100
"Where the Bay Meets the River: Gravestones and Stonecutters in the River Towns of Western Massachusetts, 1690-1810," Kevin Sweeney, III: 1-46
"William Coye: Father of the Plymouth Carving Tradition," James Blachowicz, in collaboration with Vincent F. Luti, XVII: 32-107

The Year's Work in Cemetery and Gravemarker Studies: An International Bibliography

Compiled by Gary Collison

Since 1995 (retrospective to 1990), *Markers* has included Richard E. Meyer's invaluable annual compilation of scholarship. This year's edition attempts to provide comprehensive coverage of the most recent English-language scholarship about gravemarkers, cemeteries, monuments, and memorials in the modern era (i.e., post-1500). It also includes some pre-modern subjects and non-English language studies but on a much more selective basis than in previous years. As in the past, most marginal materials are necessarily omitted, including entries that would fall under the heading of "death and dying" as well as compilations of gravemarker transcriptions, book reviews, items in trade and popular magazines, and newspaper articles. This year's listing also omits conference papers. (Note that the bibliography typically covers parts of two years. This year's bibliography includes items published in 2002 and 2003; items published in 2003 after this bibliography was compiled will be included in next year's listing.)

I hope this year's streamlined bibliography is easier to use but still comprehensive enough to meet the needs of members. Please send me your comments and suggestions. For coverage before 1990, researchers should consult the extensive bibliography in Richard E. Meyer's *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (1989).

Books, Monographs, Pamphlets, etc.

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