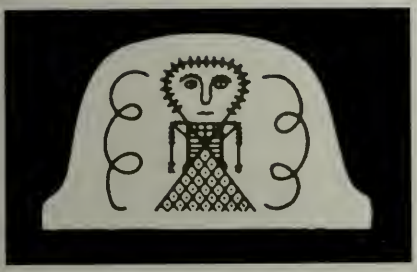
MARKERS XXV



25th ANNIVERSARY EDITION

ASSOCIATION FOR GRAVESTONE STUDIES
AGS

Edited by
Richard E. Meyer & Gary L. Collison

Markers XXV

Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies

Edited by
Richard E. Meyer & Gary L. Collison

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Cover Illustration: The Two Logos of AGS – On top the Original, designed by Francis Duval from the Elisabeth Smith (1771) Marker in Williamstown, MA, and at bottom the Current Design, adopted in 1991.

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To the memory of Theodore Chase and Gary Collison, two editors who served *Markers* with great distinction, this 25th Anniversary Edition is gratefully dedicated.

With this edition, *Markers* celebrates its 25th year of publication. In her Introduction to the annual journal's inaugural issue, Jessie Lie Farber, its editor, recalled how the concept of such a publication arose during a 1979 meeting of the Executive Board of the Association for Gravestone Studies: "An annual publication was needed, the Board agreed, to present the year's most interesting and significant papers dealing with gravestone studies. The title *MARKERS* was chosen as one that would identify the

publication's subject without limiting the scope of its contents to any period or location." Today, hundreds of articles and thousands upon thousands of words later, it is gratifying indeed to see how successfully this mandate has been fulfilled. Within its pages have appeared works dealing with every aspect of gravemarker and cemetery studies, from examinations of the work of individual gravestone makers of the past to the cutting edges of technology in today's monument industry. Multidisciplinary and international in nature, the journal has attracted the efforts of scholars from across the academic spectrum, and over the years has come to be recognized as a leading authority in the field of material culture studies.

And while a Silver Anniversary would normally be a time for great joy, such feelings are somewhat muted this year by the death of Gary Collison, who served as the editor of *Markers* through the last four full issues. Gary's impact upon the journal was enormous, and we are all in his debt for the love and effort he devoted to it. He had barely begun work upon the current edition when death came in September of 2007, and so it fell upon me – his immediate predecessor – to compete the editing and production of *Markers XXV*. We are listed as co-editors for this edition, but please ascribe any shortcomings to me alone. As we look to the future, it is a pleasure to announce that the AGS Board of Trustees has appointed a new permanent editor for the journal, Dr. June Hadden Hobbs of Gardner-Webb University. Please direct any enquiries and/or submissions to her at jhobbs@gardner-webb.edu or P.O. Box 1345, Boiling Springs, NC 28017-1345.

Markers is currently indexed in the *Bibliography of the History of Art*, *America: History and Life*, *Historical Abstracts*, and the *MLA International Bibliography*. In the very new future it will also be found in the many other academic databases provided under the aegis of **EBSCO Host**.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the members of the journal's Editorial Advisory Board for their extraordinary service over the years: without their devoted efforts and sound counsel this publication could not exist. On an even more personal note, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of those, both within and without the Association for Gravestone Studies, and most especially my wife Lotte, for their kind and most needed support and understanding during this difficult period of transition. A special note of thanks is due to the family of Gary Collison – his wife Linda, his son Evan, and his daughter Megan – for the help they provided in making this issue possible.

R.E.M.

Gary L. Collison (1947-2007)

OBITUARY: GARY L. COLLISON (1947-2007)

Richard E. Meyer

How do we weigh the value of a single individual's life ... What do we prize most highly? Is it what they said, what they wrote, the smiles they sent our way? Is it the model they presented, the encouragements they gave, the standards they set? Can we hold it in our hands, or merely in our memories? Gary Collison left us many things to treasure. Husband, father, grandfather, teacher, mentor, scholar, editor: to each of these roles, and to others as well, he gave the full measure of his love and effort. We shall miss him terribly.

Several years ago, while engaged in the similarly sad task of writing an obituary for our friend and colleague Barbara Rotundo, I made the point that we who have made a passion of studying old (and new) gravestones and cemeteries often, even as we are fully appreciative of the work of others who share this passion, are unaware of their many other accomplishments, some of them extraordinarily significant. It certainly bears repeating here. How many of you who are reading this, for instance, were aware that Gary Collison was once nominated for the Pulitzer Prize, and it was *not* for anything he wrote about gravemarkers or cemeteries? But more on that in a moment.

Gary came out of a background of American literature and letters. Having obtained his B.A. degree from Lehigh University, he went on to secure his M.A. from Bucknell University, where his thesis analyzed the Puritan literary tradition as reflected in the works of John Bunyan and Nathaniel Hawthorne, and ultimately his Ph.D (1979) from Pennsylvania State University. His doctoral dissertation consisted of a critical edition of the correspondence between two 19th Century Boston-area Unitarian ministers, Theodore Parker and Convers Francis, best remembered for their impact upon the American Transcendental and Abolitionist movements. Each of these movements would form the focus of much of Gary's scholarly inquiry over the coming years, and it should not go unnoticed that, even at this early point, he was mastering the critical skills of an editor which would prove so important at a later point in his career.

Gary's scholarly publications began to appear shortly after receiving his doctorate, a number of them focusing on the American Transcendental movement, and in particular the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, whom he once referred to as "our Shakespeare and our Luther." [Please see the

selective bibliography at the end of this obituary for examples of his work in this and other areas] Soon he was also producing a number of studies focusing upon Abolitionist figures and activities in the Boston and Concord areas, the latter culminating in the 1997 publication by Harvard University Press of his book, *Shadrack Minkins: From Fugitive Slave to Citizen*. A meticulously researched account of one black man's journey from slavery in Virginia to freedom and citizenship in Canada, with a major focus on incidents surrounding Minkins' controversial sojourn in Massachusetts, the book met with immediate critical acclaim and is, some ten years after its initial publication, considered an essential work in the study of African-American history. The *Times Literary Supplement* proclaimed it "a triumph of research and persistence," and *Reviews in American History* "a major contribution to the history of black resistance, unembroidered and free of romantic condescension." It was this work which garnered the Pulitzer Prize nomination and which also would earn it's author the prestigious Gustavus Myers Award as one of the outstanding American books published in 1997.

Somewhere in all of this Gary discovered gravestones and old burial grounds. It began with the German-American Folk Art markers so prevalent in his area of Pennsylvania, and while this interest would remain a powerful one for the rest of his life he soon came, like so many of us, to be fascinated by a number of other types of artifacts and sites within this general field of study. He would never publish a great deal of his research, but he did share much of it over the years in the form of paper presentations at meetings of scholarly and professional organizations such as the Association for Gravestone Studies and the American Culture Association, covering topics as diverse and far-ranging as the markers erected for mid-Atlantic pioneer settlers, the work of an early 19th Century folk gravestone carver, and horse burials. He was the founder and chair of the Death in American Culture section of the Mid-Atlantic Popular/American Culture Association, tirelessly encouraging the presentation of new research on all aspects of death in the American experience. A major effort left unfinished at his own untimely death, the result of many years of study and fieldwork and a true labor of love, was the book he had tentatively entitled *Pennsylvania's Historic Cemeteries: A Brief History*. [For a tantalizing glimpse of what this work promised, see Gary's six-page prospectus at **http://www2.yk.psu.edu/~glc/cemetery.html** , or just Google "Collison" + "Pennsylvania Cemeteries"]

In the last analysis, however, I think it may safely be said that Gary's

greatest contribution to the field of gravestone studies – and his most enduring legacy – was his editorship of this annual journal, commencing with *Markers XXI*. Gary and I shared a somewhat special relationship with regard to this position insofar as I had been his immediate predecessor and continued as a member of his editorial advisory board, and we had many long and sometimes intense conversations about the journal in the years he served as editor. I can speak with certainty not only of the great love he had for this publication but of the enormous amount of time and effort he put into its annual publication. He shepherded the journal

through a difficult process of size reduction owing to budgetary restraints without its suffering in quality, and he introduced a number of new features including an attractively redesigned back cover.

Of major importance was the enormously thoroughgoing 20-year subject index for the annual which he compiled and published in *Markers XXI*. As an editor, Gary was a perfectionist: he expected – and generally got – the very best of which his contributors were capable, and he was no less exacting in the standards he set for his own editorial functions. Though demanding, he was, as anyone who worked with him in this capacity will tell you, always strong and positive in his encouragement and suggestions, and his great enthusiasm and respect for the thoughts and interests of others were ever present elements in his dealings with them. The members of AGS, and indeed all who have an interest in this field of study, owe him a great debt of gratitude for the four (five if you count this one) splendid issues of *Markers* he gave us.

And, lest it be forgotten, we should keep in mind that throughout the years of these many great accomplishments, Gary was also performing with distinction as a Professor of English and American Studies at Pennsylvania State University, York. Beloved of his students and most highly respected by his colleagues, he touched and influenced countless lives during his more than 30 years of service to that institution. Add to this his devotion to his family – especially his wife Linda, his son Evan, his daughter Megan, and his grandsons Sawyer and Sage – and we begin to see a bit more fully the dimensions of this special individual who was taken from us all too soon.

When news of Gary Collison's passing began to spread in the autumn of 2007, there followed almost immediately an outpouring of tributes to his memory, of which a small sampling is here presented. Joel Myerson, Distinguished Professor Emeritus and Distinguished Research Professor at the University of South Carolina and leading authority on American Transcendentalist authors, had this to say: "Gary was a true gentleman scholar... a diligent researcher who freely shared his findings. His knowledge of the field was superb, his dedication complete, his interests varied. He will be missed." From Joel M. Rodney, Chancellor of Penn State York, came these words: "Gary was a superb teacher who was truly loved by his students and colleagues alike.... the driving force behind the establishment of the American Studies major at Penn State York.... an unofficial mentor to his younger colleagues." Barry Rauhauser, Stauffer Curator at the Lancaster County (PA) Historical Society, remembered Gary as "A fel-

low transcendentalist, my mentor, my friend," noting further "... I'm sure I could write a thousand words and none would capture how much he influenced my life." And on "The New England Anomaly Newsblog" there was posted the following by "Cranky Yankee": "I didn't know Gary, but I've been an AGS member for almost six years, and a faithful reader of *Markers*.... Thanks to AGS and special thanks to Gary Collison for helping me out far more than they could know."

We are so fortunate that this gifted and humane man who enriched the scholarly world with his research and published efforts in American literature and history also found the time to turn some of his talents towards the study of cemeteries and gravemarkers. Selfishly, we might have wished to have him all to ourselves, but at the same time it is undoubtedly true that it is in large part these far-ranging interests which energized his intellect and made him the fascinating person he was. And if the stones *really* could speak, as we are so often fond of saying they can, I think they would join us in thanking him for the time he spent with us walking in their midst.

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MEMORIAL NOTICE, *AGS QUARTERLY* 31:4 (2007)

A more detailed obituary for Gary Collison, long-time AGS member and editor of *Markers XXI-XXIV*, will appear in the next issue of the journal he so lovingly edited. It will address primarily his distinguished academic career, but it seems appropriate here to take a few moments to remember Gary the person, the one who touched so many of our lives and gave us so many fond memories to carry with us into the future.

Perhaps the most endearing of Gary's many admirable qualities was his natural and totally unselfconscious ability to immediately make people feel comfortable in his presence. Certain physical attributes contributed to this – his youthful appearance (when I first met him, some 15 years ago, I thought he was a student!), the smile which lit up his face upon almost any occasion, the twinkle in his eyes – but more than anything, I feel, it emanated from his total lack of pretentiousness and self-centeredness. When Gary would speak to a room full of people, it seemed as if he was speaking to you alone, and in private conversations he always managed to make you feel as if whatever it was you had to say was of the utmost importance to him. He genuinely liked people, and perhaps it was a simple as that.

Gary was a superb editor, uncompromising in his standards of excellence but at the same time guided unfailingly by the principles of humanity which were so apparent to those of us who knew him – kindness, humility, good humor, enthusiasm for and appreciation of the ideas of others. When he left us on September 19, we lost far more than our journal editor: we lost a valued friend. But his smile, his warmth, his enthusiasm – these remain with us in memory, as important a part of his legacy as his scholarship and academic vision.

Richard E. Meyer
Salem, Oregon

Fig. 1. Photograph © 2008, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. John Smibert, American (born in Scotland), 1688-1751. *Judge Samuel Sewall, 1729.* Oil on canvas. 76.2 x 63.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of William L. Barnard (by exchange), and Emily L. Ainsley Fund. 58.358.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MEMORIALIZATION IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND: THE DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

Laurel K. Gabel

Reading the faded, fragile pages of a colonial diary confers an intimate, almost voyeuristic bond of kinship with its author. Diaries, journals, and other first person accounts invite us to another time and place and sometimes into the more private joys, hopes, fears, and commanding religious beliefs that shaped the writer's daily thoughts and actions.[1] Mortality was one of the major themes in the private and public writings of early New Englanders and, although death was recorded with awesome frequency, the routine details of burial seem to have been too commonplace to merit much in-depth commentary in most chronicles.

One of the most well known, important, and accessible New England diaries, kept over a fifty-five year period by prominent Boston merchant and judge Samuel Sewall (1652-1730), provides a notable exception (Fig. 1).[2] Begun in December, 1673, when Sewell was twenty-one, and ending just before his death on January 1, 1729/30,[3] his diary mentions close to 2,000 deaths and many hundreds of burials that he participated in or attended. This essay focuses upon Sewall's description of some of these burials and his own intimate familiarity with bereavement. [Unless otherwise noted, the narrative quotes that follow are from the published (1973) two-volume diary of Samuel Sewall edited by M. Halsey Thomas.[4] Extant gravestones or family tombs exist for all but a few of the burials noted herein.]

Sewall (age nine), his mother, and four siblings came to Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1661.[5] Samuel studied under a local Newbury schoolmaster, the Rev. Thomas Parker, until being admitted at age fifteen to Harvard College. He graduated with two degrees in 1674.[6] Unlike many fellow classmates, he did not enter the ministry, following instead in the mercantile footsteps of his future father-in-law. In 1675, after a formal courtship and many prayerful consultations, Sewall married Hannah Hull, the daughter of wealthy Boston goldsmith and Massachusetts' Colonial mint master, John Hull.[7] Samuel and Hannah lived their entire married lives in the Hull family homestead on Boston's main street, now called Washington Street and still in the heart of Boston's urban center.[8] Hannah bore fourteen children during the couple's more than forty years of marriage.

She died in 1717, and Samuel remarried twice more, his third wife surviving him in 1730.

Sewall's diary entries often provide the small details that help illuminate historical personalities, situations or events. October 17, 1688: "This day a great part of the Church is raised.[9] Mr. Cotton Mather [is] not there;

Fig. 2. Nathanael Mather, 1688, Charter Street Burying Ground, Salem, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #HF0762.

he stays at Salem to close the eyes of his dying Brother Nathaniel [who] died this day about one aclock."[10] Young Rev. Nathaniel Mather, son of Harvard President Rev. Increase Mather and younger brother of the Rev. Cotton Mather, entered Harvard College at twelve, graduated in 1685 at age sixteen, and then "devoted himself so excessively to study that his frail body gave way before his was twenty."[11] Nathaniel's gravestone still stands in Salem's Charter Street Burying Ground (Fig. 2). His epitaph, perhaps written by his brother, honors his concentrated life: "An Aged person / that had seen but / Nineteen Winters / in the World."[12]

A few days later, Rev. Samuel Willard, minister of Sewall's South Church,[13] "was call'd out to [pray with] Isaac [Walker] who lay dying. [He] was taken [ill] but last Sabbath-day. [Walker died] about 3pm [the same day, and] Was buried [3 days later]. Deacon Eliot and I led the young widow and had scarfs and gloves.[14] [It] rained as we went to the grave." Coming away from the burying yard, mortality fresh in his thoughts, Sewall prays, "The Lord fit me, that my Grave may be a Sweetening [purifying] place for my Sin-polluted body."[15] Isaac Walker's gravestone, probably erected within a few years of his death, offers a visual depiction of burial paralleling Sewall's verbal account (Fig. 3). Beneath the tympanum's winged skull a frieze features two of the enigmatic little naked figures called "death imps." The tiny figures are shown shouldering a lengthy drape or foliate swag – perhaps a pall. The Lamson shop in nearby Charlestown carved most of the 110 known "death imp" images on Boston-area gravestones, 1671-1712, and may indeed have made the Isaac Walker marker, although lettering and stylistic inconsistencies also suggest comparison with the work of other local carvers.[16]

"... [It] rained as we went to the grave."[17] Even Sewall's almost daily weather reports provide insight into common funeral conventions. Some funerals may have been deferred due to severe weather but many others took place in heavy rain or snow,[18] perhaps from necessity dictated by law. The Massachusetts Bay Colony's Acts of Resolve urged the avoidance of Sabbath day funerals, explaining that their solemnization "ofttimes occasions great profanation thereon, by servants and children gathering in the streets, and walking up and down, to and from the funerals, and is the means of many disorders and irregularities then committed."[19] Likewise, "No person shall dig any grave or make any coffin on the Lord's Day without the approbation and allowance of two of the selectmen."[20] Exceptions may have been made, but Sunday burials were unusual.

Despite Nineteenth Century intervention aimed at reordering Boston's

burial spaces, the original burying grounds had not evolved in any such linear or preconceived pattern.[21] Most early graves, dug as needed, were rather haphazardly placed so as to avoid other sunken burials. Grazing rights for sheep and cattle were routinely dispensed to the highest bidder until the increasing number of headstones made such use impractical. The stone markers now crowding the oldest burial yards did not begin to appear in any numbers until late in the 1660s and early 1670s, and then only for those few who desired and could afford them. The earliest graves were left unidentified, or were marked by simple wooden stakes or rails. Sewall's diary entry for March 21, 1687, documents the early use of these impermanent markers. Commenting on the burial of old Father East, Sewall notes that he: "... was buried on Satterday, On's [on his] Rail 'twas said was 94 years old."[22] In the spring of 1702, Sewall, visiting Plymouth's old Burial Hill, mentions another weathered wooden rail marker for Thomas Walley. The old post had broken off and tumbled about, but Sewall was still able to make out the inscription, presumably a painted one, for Rev.

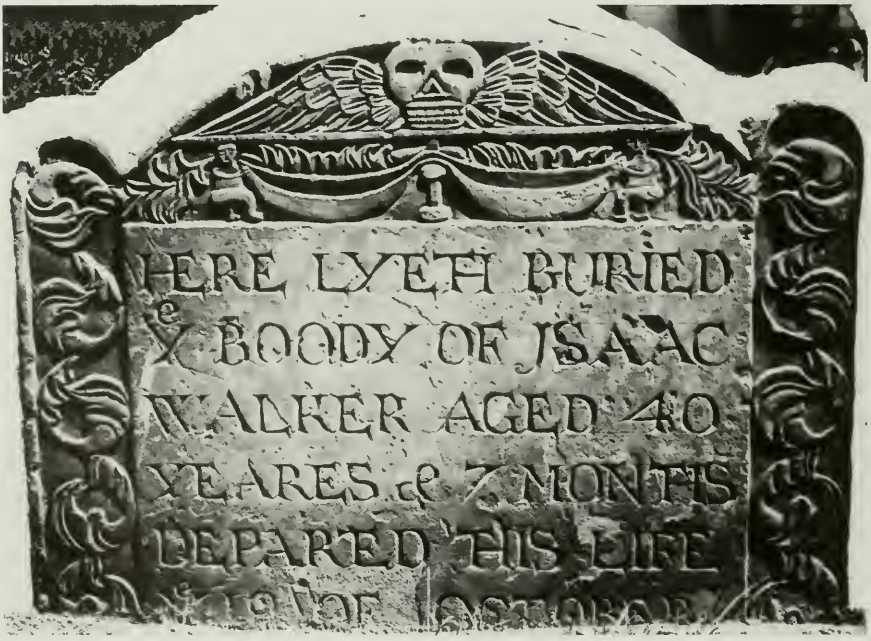

Fig. 3. Isaac Walker, 1688, King's Chapel Burying Ground, Boston, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #HF1153.

Walley, which indicated that he had "ended his Labour and [fallen] asleep in the Lord, [on] 21 March 1677," twenty-five years earlier.[23]

By 1700 there were several gravestone carvers working in and around Boston and permanent gravemarkers and bricked underground vault tombs were very much in evidence. Still, although it is difficult to accurately document, most scholars agree that fewer than half of all Boston burials were ever marked with a permanent gravestone. Memorialization in the form of a carved gravestone or tomb ledger gained acceptability only as the markers became more readily available, affordable, and visible in the local graveyards. This did not begin to occur until the well into the 1660s–1670s. Typically, an early Puritan burial entailed a solemn, modest procession from the deceased's home to the gravesite.[24] Devoid of preaching and pageantry, and without the concept of hallowed ground, burial acknowledged the departed soul with a private prayer—but no funeral sermon—as the unsanctified remains were committed to the grave. This conscious austerity was gradually undermined as the arriving Anglicans and newly wealthy merchant class began to aspire to some of the pomp and ceremony long in abeyance for Puritan funerals.

Although it took place much later (1736) in the less stridently dissenting atmosphere of a more Anglicized New England, The Boston News-Letter's description of the well-attended burial of Governor Jonathan Belcher's wife, Mary, offers a colorful account of a more elaborate funeral.[25] The entire town, even the ships in the harbor, participated in this highly structured ritual. "All the bells in town were tolled; and during the time of the procession the half-minute guns begun, first at His Majesty's Castle William, which were followed by those on board His Majesty's ship *Squirrel* and many other ships in the harbour, their colours being all day raised to the heighth as usual on such occasions. The streets through which the funeral passed, the tops of the houses and windows on both sides, were crowded with innumerable spectators." [Another time, Sewall says, people perched "on Fences and Trees, like Pigeons."[26]] The next Sunday "his Excellency's pew and the Pulpit" at the South Church "were put into mourning and richly adorned with escutcheons, and the Rev. Thomas Prince preached a sermon, which was printed ... with the customary black border and death's head."[27] Over 1,000 pairs of gloves were distributed as an invitation to the funeral, or a memento of attendance.[28]

Simple or elaborate, funerals served as important social occasions. For some it meant the distribution of funereal gifts such as scarves, gloves, and the "Death's Heads Rings" or "Burying Rings" that goldsmiths advertised

in early newspapers.[29] Sewall's large inventory of such mementos attests to the fact that he missed very few such civil gatherings.[30] Other Bostonians had similar collections; their diaries record quart-sized tankards full of mourning rings, and large inventories of gloves and scarves.[31] "When [Rev.] Andrew Eliot, minister of the North [Second] Church in Boston, tallied his ... thirty-two years worth of wedding and funeral mementos, he found that he had received two thousand nine hundred and forty pairs of funeral gloves ... in addition to [a sizeable mug full of mourning] rings and [an almost equal number of] scarves."[32]

Sewall's diary entries likewise show that military funerals were especially colorful and well-attended regimental extravaganzas of public display and ceremony. An elected member and Captain in Boston's oldest (1637), most prestigious militia, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, Sewall seldom missed an opportunity to describe the martial theater of military burials. His diary describes many such scenes:

> February 3, 1686: "Mr. Henry Phillips is buried with Arms ... Capt. Hutchinson led the Souldiers ... Capt. Townsend and Capt. Hill each of them Trailed a Pike; were a bout 24 Files, 4 deep. Snow very deep, so in the New burial Place [Copp's Hill], 3 Paths[:] 2 for the 2 Files of Souldiers, middlemost for the Relations."[33]

> May 17, 1687: "Brother and I ride to Newbury in the rainy Drisk ["drizzly mist (OED)]; this day Capt. [Thomas] Hamilton buried with Capt. Nicholson's Redcoats and the 8 Companies[.]" There "was a funeral-Sermon preach'd by the ... Chaplain. Pulpit cover'd with black cloath upon which Scutcheons. Mr. Dudley, Stoughton and many others at the Common Prayer and Sermon. House very full, and yet the Souldiers went not in."[34]

> February 4th, 1697/8: "Last night, about nine of the clock, Col. Shrimpton dyes of an Apoplexy" [at age fifty-five.] Samuel Shrimpton, one of the richest men in Boston, and a Lieutenant Colonel in the militia who served on the Governor's Council under Governor Andros, "was seen at his door last Sixth Day" [i.e., the previous Saturday]. Six days later, Sewall notes, "Col. Samuel Shrimpton was buried with Arms; Ten Companies [from Boston, as well as eight companies from Brookline]; ... No Horse [soldiers] nor Trumpet, but a Horse [that was] led—Mr. Dyers, the Colonel's [horse] would not endure the cloathing [i.e., the black funeral trappings]; [there was a] Mourning Coach also and Horses in Mourning [with] Scutcheon on their sides and Deaths heads on their foreheads.[35] Coach stood by the way here and there and mov'd solitarily. Mr. ...Hutchinson and Mr. Allen led the widow. Capt. Clark fired twelve great guns at the Sconce [Fort Hill, overlooking Boston Harbor, The guns] began as [we] march'd to New-burying place where the Corps was

> set in [with] the two [previous] wives. Very fair and large paths [through the snow] were shovel'd by great pains and cost, three in the Burying place, one direct to the Tomb, the other compassing by the sides in which the souldiers stood Drawn up."[36]

> "Sabbath day, Aug. 20, [1676]: "We heard the amazing newes of sixty persons killed at Quinebeck [Kennebeck] by barbarous Indians, [one] of which [was] Capt. Lake...." Seven months later "Capt. [Thomas] Lake, the Remainder of his Corps, was honourably buried" with ceremony at Copp's Hill.[37]

The demise of one Major John Richards, aside from his eventual military burial, was also noteworthy for other reasons: his death was unexplainably sudden [the more ideal death being one preceded by a gradual fading, allowing time to prepare for the 'great change.'], and imbued with misgiving enough to justify an autopsy.[38] As Sewall recounts, "In the Afternoon, all the Town is filled with the discourse of Major [John] Richards' death, which was extraordinarily suddain. [He] was abroad [meaning out and about] on the Sabbath, din'd very well on Monday, and after that[,] falling into an angry passion with his Servant Richard Frame, presently after fell[,] probably into a Fit of Apoplexy, and died."[39] Five days after Major Richard's death, Sewall records the awkward burial "in his Tomb in the North Burying Place [with] Companyes in Arms attending the Funeral. Major General and Mr. Foster led the Widow. [The] Coffin was covered with Cloth. In the Tomb [they] were fain to nail a Board across the Coffins and then a board standing right up from that, bearing against the top of the Tomb, to prevent [the coffins] floating up and down. Sawing and fitting this board made some inconvenient Tarriance [at the gravesite]."[40]

On the night following Major Richard's sudden demise "he was opened." There was "no cause found of his death, [his] noble Parts being fair and sound."[41] While not routinely employed, post mortem exams were done when death was unexplained, seriously suspect, of a particularly violent or sudden nature—or whenever the opportunity for useful anatomical study presented itself. As a young man, Sewall had attended one such instructional dissection and remembered it well. "Spent the day from 9 in the M. with Mr. [Dr.] Brakenbury, Mr. Thompson, Butler, Hooper, Cragg [and] Pemberton, dissecting the middlemost of the Indian executed [for murder] the day before." He noted in his account of it that one doctor, "taking the [heart] in his hand, affirmed it to be the stomack."[42] Autopsies

were also performed when a birth anomaly raised the ever present suspicion of witchcraft and the supernatural: The Body of Rev. Cotton Mather's infant child was also "opened" when the baby, who was born "without a Postern for the voidance of Excrements," died a few days after birth.[43] The examinations mentioned here, and others known to have occurred, suggest that appropriate medical scrutiny was not forbidden or seen as particularly objectionable.[44]

An entry for November 17, 1700, notes: "This day John Soames, the Quaker, dies. Was well this day sen-night [seven days ago; a week ago]."[45] John Soames' gravestone was almost certainly carved by fellow Quaker and Sewall neighbor William Mumford (Fig. 4). Although the 1690 Acts of Toleration made it incumbent upon the colonies to accept those of other faiths, no ground was set aside for Quaker burials until 1709, and, in fact,

Fig. 4. John Soames, Sr., 1700, Copp's Hill Burying Ground, Boston, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #HF1039.

Quakers who wished to set apart the graves of the martyrs who had been executed for heresy in 1685 did so in the face of repeated refusals for permission to enclose the site.[46]

Nor was there a specific Jewish burying place in Boston until the 1730s. Boston had few Jews and no sizeable Jewish congregation until well into the Nineteenth Century.[47] Sewall's diary entry for February 4, 1704 records how the few non-Christian burials were likely to be handled in the early Eighteenth Century: "Joseph Frazon, the Jew, dyes at Mr. Major's... [and, the next day] ... Stterday, is carried in Simson's coach to Bristow [Bristol, RI]; from thence by Water to Newport, where there is a Jews burying place."[48] Newport in the early 1700s had a flourishing Jewish community, largely engaged in trade with Europe and the West Indies. There is no extant gravestone for Joseph Frazon.

Recognizing funerals as civil rather than religious functions, Quakers, Baptists, Anglicans, and other non-Puritan Christians were buried in any one of Boston's community burying grounds, none of which were formally or legally affiliated with, or exclusively devoted to, a particular meeting house or church. Following the arrival of Governor Andros (and hence Anglicanism) in 1684, Anglican churches became the notable exceptions. Many Anglicans chose to be interred in their own denominational burial grounds (Trinity, Boston, 1737), or in private crypts below the church nave (King's Chapel, 1688, and Christ Church, Boston, 1723).

In addition to the personal and practical reflections on death, Sewall's diary occasionally calls forth a mental picture of a setting or event that speaks more than words. August 11, 1711: "Mr. Elizur Holyoke dies. [Sewall was one of the pall bearers at the funeral, three days later.] As [we] were passing along in Middle street; One of the Porters stoop'd to take up his Hat, by which means the Corps was lower'd so that the Head of the Coffin jounc'd upon the Ground; but was retriev'd. The widow was much disturb'd at it. Went to the South burying place [Granary] (See Fig. 5)."[49] Then, as now, the final walk to eternity was imbued with special emotion for the bereaved.

Many of Sewall's most detailed diary entries concern the deaths in his own family and so more completely blend the personal, practical, and philosophical aspects of mortality noted above. Samuel Sewall clearly cared about his children's lives, and their deaths influenced him deeply. The events he relates show the intensity of religious fervor invested in his hope for each child's recovery. Prayer is much more frequently and specifically described as a curative, not simply palliative, focus of care. Of Samuel

and Hannah Sewall's fourteen children, seven died before their third birthday. John, their first child (born April 2, 1677) "Dyed Sept. 11, 1678, and lyeth buried in the New burying place, on the South side of the grave of his great Grandfather, Mr. Robert Hull."[50]

The death and burial of two-week-old Henry, the Sewall's sixth child, born December 7, 1685, is also recorded in his father's diary. As the infant's condition worsened, Sewall gathered several ministers to add prayers, but "about four in the Morn" on December 21, 1685, "the faint and moan-

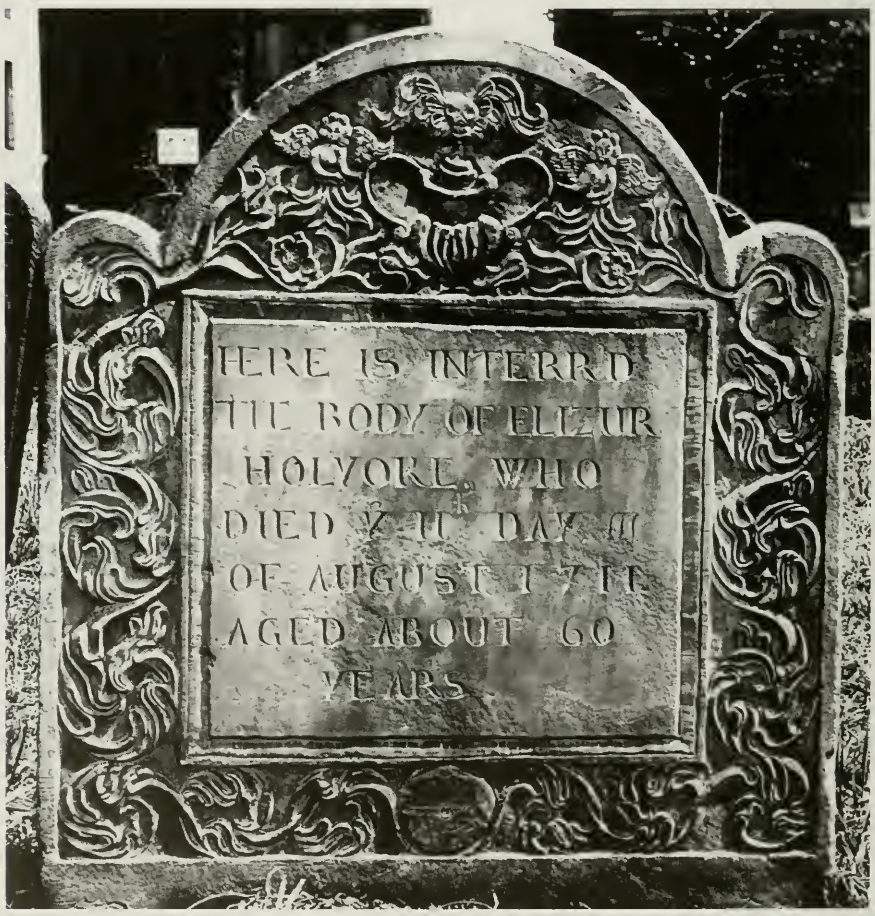

Fig. 5. Elizur Holyoke, 1711, Granary Burying Ground, Boston, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #HF0589.

ing noise of my child forces me up to pray for it." Toward morning the "child makes no noise save by a kind of snoaring as it breathed...." Sewall had spent the night reading scriptures and praying with his wife and the attending nurse. Finally they "could hear little Breathing and so about Sun-rise, or a little after, he fell asleep, I hope in Jesus, and that a Mansion was ready for him in the Father's House."[51]

Sewall also describes some burial practices obscure to us. It is probably not well-known, for instance, that midwives and attending women who cared for the mother and infant during and following delivery were often afforded the sad honor of carrying their tiny corpse to the grave.[52] The infant Henry "Died in Nurse Hill's Lap" and it was Nurse Hill who washed and laid out the small body.[53] The household then prayed and fasted to invoke God's blessings in preparation for the burial two days later, after the regular Thursday evening Lecture. Henry's little chestnut

Fig. 6. Hull-Sewall Family Tomb, Granary Burying Ground, Boston, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #HF1005.

coffin[54] was carried to the tomb by Midwife Weeden and Nurse Hill, followed by a procession of the "Governor and Magistrates ... Eight Ministers, and Several Persons of note" who attended as the body was set into the family tomb (Fig. 6), which, Sewall notes, was full of water.[55] Unless the mother had been "churched", that is, sufficiently recovered from childbirth to attend church services and offer thanks for her safe delivery, she did not customarily attend the burial of her infant.

Six months after Henry's burial, Hull Sewall died just before his second birthday.[56] Named for his maternal forbearers, little Hull was buried in the coastal town of Newbury, Massachusetts, north of Boston, where he had been taken to live with his grandparents in hopes that the country air

Fig. 7. Hull Sewall, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hull) Sewall, 1686, Newbury, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Ralph Tucker.

might cure him of the convulsions that eventually proved fatal. Years later, corresponding with Cotton Mather, Sewall recalled his son Hull: "Though I have buried ten Children, yet not every one of them [lies] in the [Granary] Tomb; Hull Sewall died, and was buried, at Newbury. Not withstanding, I had his name engraven on the Tomb-Stone with the Poet's verse."[57] The "poet's verse" that Sewall quotes in the letter is Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the translation a tender tribute to his son: "If not the sepulchral urn, the lettered stone will join us. If I can not touch you, bone to my bone, still I will touch you, name to name."[58] Ovid's quotation, however, does not appear on Hull's modest headstone in Newbury, which neighbor William Mumford most likely carved (Fig. 7). Perhaps it was carved on the original top of the Hull/Sewall table tomb in the Granary, Boston, which was recarved in the 19th Century and so is no longer extant.

Despite death's prevalence and visibility in early Boston, its impact on young children was no less frightening.[59] Barely a year after Hull's death, six-month-old Stephen Sewall died, like Henry, in Nurse Hill's arms. Stephen's burial took place the next day. When pallbearers "Samuel Clark [who carried the head of the coffin] and Solomon Rainsford put him into the Tomb, ... Solomon's foot, on a loose brick, slipt and he slide down the steps and let go [of] the Coffin, but the end Rested upon Johnny's stone[,] set there to show the Entrance [of the tomb], and Sam[uel] held his part steadily, so was only a little knock."[60] For eight-year-old Sam Junior and his two younger sisters it was all too much. They "cryed much coming home and at home, so that [we] could hardly quiet them. It seems they look'd into [the] Tomb and ... saw a great Coffin there," that of their Grandfather Hull.[61]

In the 1690s, Samuel and Hannah dealt with the deaths of three more infants. Daughter Judith died in 1690 after six short weeks of life; in 1693, five-week-old Jane joined her siblings in the tomb. "A dead child is a sight no more surprising than a broken pitcher, or a blasted flower," Cotton Mather had preached, not long before.[62] Three years later, on December 21, 1696, Sewall remarked on the snow and extreme cold gripping Boston, and on his efforts to have his own minister and others venture out to pray over another dangerously ill daughter. "This day I remove poor little Sarah into my Bed-chamber, where about the break of day, December 23, [1696], she gives up the ghost in Nurse Crowell's arms."[63] Born November 21, 1694, Sarah had just turned two. And so on December 25th, 1696, Sewall noted, "We bury our little daughter." In the chamber (where the child was laid out at home), each surviving child read a Bible verse. "I speak to each,

as God helped, to our mutual comfort, I hope," Sewall noted. "I order'd Sam. [at sixteen, the oldest son] to read the 102 Psalm.[64] Elisa Cooke, Edw. Hutchinsin, John Baily, and Josia Willard bear my little daughter [from the house] to the Tomb."[65] The family's informal prayers before going to the grave appear to have been the only devotions associated with the burial. Puritans held that "the celebration of marriage and burial of the dead be not ecclesiastical actions appertaining to the ministry, but civil, so to be performed."[66] Even on that of all days they found no special reason for burial ritual or even ministerial presence: the Hulls and Sewalls, like most Puritans, did not keep Christmas.

Another diary entry connected with preparations for little Sarah's burial describes how, earlier that day, Sewall had visited the family tomb in the Granary burying ground to "see in what order things were set." In the brick-lined crypt[67] Sewall could take comfort in the sight of Grandfather Hull's coffin that had so frightened his children and view and

> converse with, the coffins of my dear Father Hull, Mother Hull, Cousin Quinsey, and my Six children: for the little posthumous [the unnamed stillborn son who was buried May 22, 1696[68]] was now took up and set in upon that that stands ... one upon another[,] twice, on the bench at the end. My Mother [Hull] ly's on a lower bench, at the end, with her head to her Husband's head: and I order'd little Sarah to be set on her Grandmother's feet. T'was an awfull yet pleasing Treat; Having said, The Lord knows who shall be brought hither next, I came away.[69] [The Rev.] Mr. Willard prayed with us the night before [the burial]; I gave him a ring worth about 20 s.[70]

Elsewhere, Sewall describes Judith's small coffin, one of those stacked on the bench: "On [Judith's] Coffin is the year 1690, made with little nails."[71]

Having survived the tenuous childhood years that had claimed six of her siblings, the next to be buried in the family tomb was the Sewall's nineteen-year-old daughter, Mary Sewall Gerrish, who died several days after the birth of her first child in 1710. When Sewall returned home to inform his wife, a most "doleful Cry was lifted up."[72] Mary's sister, Elizabeth (Betty) Sewall Hirst, died about midnight on July 10/11, 1716, also "a very desirable Child not full Thirty five years old. She liv'd desir'd and died Lamented. The Lord fit me to follow, and help me to prepare my wife and Children for a dying hour."[73] Elizabeth's coffin was carried to the grave by six distinguished pall bearers led by her husband, Grove Hirst, then their children, two-by-two: Sam. (age 10) and Mary (12); Elizabeth (9) and Hannah (8); Jane (6), who was led by Experience. Then followed the Grandfathers, Elizabeth's siblings, cousins, and many other relatives from

near and far. She was "Buried... a little before Sun-set."[74]

Mrs. Hannah Sewall, Samuel's wife of forty-one years, died the following year, 1717, at age 59. Sewall's entries record both his emotional loss and the more practical aspects of Hannah's funeral: "My dear wife is [dis]embowelled and put in a Cere Cloth, the [October] Weather being more than ordinarily hot."[75] In a letter to Cotton Mather, just over a week after his wife's burial, Sewall writes: "These [lines] Are thankfully to acknowledge my Obligation to you on account of your Embalming my most Constant Lover, my most laborious Nurse."[76] Sewall's use of the term "embalming" might be taken as a metaphor for the verbal preservation that was part of Mather's sermon following Hannah's death. No direct evidence shows that Cotton Mather disemboweled or embalmed Hannah's body. But as one of the colonial ministers who also practiced medicine, he may have actually participated in the disemboweling.[77] Four years later Sewall established a permanent memorial to Hannah by setting up "my Connecticut stone post in Elm Pasture, in Remembrance of my loving Wife Mrs. Hannah Sewall."[78] The Connecticut brownstone was likely obtained from James Stanclift, the gravestone carver and quarry owner in Middletown, Connecticut.[79]

Sewall's penchant for the almost clinical details of a burial appears in an entry for August 17, 1724. By then, few of his children still lived in the parental home. Over half had died early in life; most surviving siblings had married and moved away. But the Sewall's unmarried eldest daughter Hannah lived at home until she died at age forty-four. In late July of 1724, a chronic suppurating leg abscess that had plagued her for years worsened, leaving her bed-ridden. By August, many visiting ministers—including her brother Rev. Joseph Sewall, newly elected President of Harvard College—prayed for her spiritual and physical well being. Her concerned father left a "Note at the Old [First Church] and South: 'Prayers are desired for Hannah Sewall as drawing Near her end.'" Hannah died on August 15th, while her father was at Meeting. Coming home from prayers, he "found my Daughter laid out. ... I hope God has delivered her of all her Fears!," wrote Sewall.[80]

Later that afternoon, Sewall "put up this Note at Old South Church: Samuel Sewall desires Prayers, that the Death of his Eldest Daughter may be Sanctified to him, and to the Relatives.'" Hannah had earnestly "desired not to be emboweled," and the doctors thus urged that she be buried quickly. Until this could be accomplished, her body was put "into her Coffin in a good Cere Cloth, and bestowed [with] a Convenient quantity of

Lime, whereby the noxious Humour flowing from her Legg, may be suppressed and absorbed."[81] The casements were left open for ventilation and Boston, the family servant,[82] vehement about not having Hannah's body placed in the cellar, sat watch during the hot, humid summer night. After a "great funeral," Hannah joined the growing number of Sewall family members in the Hull tomb (Fig. 8).[83] But the Sewalls were not yet done with Death—or Death with them. The next day, Samuel's fourteen-month old grandson John died at Brookline: "Matthew brings him in his Coffin to my house in the night, and is set in the best Room; a goodly Corpse." Little John was buried the next day, after which "Mr. Cooper pray'd at our return from the Grave. The good Lord Teach me what the meaning of this reiterated Stroke should be!"[84]

Fig. 8. "Expended in the Funeral of Daughter Mrs. Hannah Sewall who died August 16, 1724." From *Account Book of Samuel Sewall, 1670-1728*. R. Stanton Avery Special Collections Department, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts, Mss. 514.

Over the years, Judge Sewall made periodic checks on the family tomb. In 1717 he writes: "I go into [the tomb] to view the order of things in it. Enlarge the number of steps by adding one more. Dug a hole in the north-East Corner and there buried the scattering bones and buried the pieces of Coffins."[85] Sewall's son Samuel, writing in 1737, names thirty-six known burials placed in the Hull/Sewall family tomb by that date.[86] Other tombs, later excavated during repairs, reportedly contained similar large numbers of remains.[87] Many surviving box tombs and tabletop monuments in New England burying grounds guard the entrances to underground chambers that accommodated a surprisingly large number of interments.

Given this more extensive use of family crypts, it not surprising that so few headstones exist for this period. Only a small percentage of burials may have been marked with a permanent gravestone: many, if not most, of the burials mentioned in Sewall's diary involve more costly underground tombs accommodating multiple interments. Individual names and death dates seldom appear on above-ground markers associated with these large family vaults and it is hard to make a complete assessment since their horizontally placed capstones are particularly vulnerable to the elements. Many have broken or eroded away; others have been replaced or even recarved by later generations. Underground vaults were also not exclusively for family members alone: several generations of an extended family's remains might be mingled with those of friends, servants, and neighbors – some temporarily, some for eternity.

Another custom abundantly documented in this and other period diaries is the almost casual moving of bodies from place to place. It was also common to share a tomb with neighbors, unrelated friends, servants, and even strangers. Today's Freedom Trail visitors see a large freestanding puddingstone near Granary's Tremont Street fence: its bronze plate marks Samuel Adams' burial in the nearby Checkley family tomb. This example is consistent with observations found in Sewall's diary as well. On September 18, 1690, he notes that "Mr. Willard's Edward dies of a Convulsion Fit" and "is buried [2 days later] at Roxbury in Mr. Eliot's tomb."[88] Also, "Mrs. Mary Nowell buried. [She] Was laid in Mr. Usher's Tomb,"[89] and "This day was buried one Mr. Lock in Capt. Hamilton's tomb. It's thought he kill'd himself with Drink."[90]

Sewall was called again to "view the order of things" [in the family tomb] when "Mr. Willard, [Sewall's minister, who had originally been buried in the Hull/Sewall family tomb] was taken out yesterday and laid in the new Tomb built by the South Congregation."[91] Further entries note:

"Mr. White [is] buried. Was laid in Mr. Belcher's Tomb, the uppermost of the Wall in the South Burying Place;"[92] "Capt. Dwight dies on Friday night [and] Mrs. Dwight [his 6th wife] [dies] today [just one week later];"[93] "Col. Townsend, Samuel Lynde Esq., and I go in the Hackeny coach to Dedham to the funeral of Capt. Dwight and his wife. Gov. Dudley went in his Chariot." [The two coffins were taken to the gate of the house and

Fig. 9. Captain William Greenough, 1693, Copp's Hill Burying Ground, Boston, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #1358.

carried thence to the burying ground by twelve pall bearers. The coffins] "were put into Major Lusher's Tomb. It seems Mr. Adams also lyes in [the Lusher] Tomb, into which I have now again looked."[94]

Several entries document burials at sunset or at night, along with other funeral practices and customs seldom observed today. In 1687, Sewall describes a torch-lit procession and the bells that tolled for the 9 p.m. funeral of Lady Andros.[95] Mr. Taylor, a well known Boston merchant was "found hang'd in a loft over his counting house..." and was "buried in his own Tombe ... at night[,] about 11 o ye clock...."[96] On another occasion, he notes: "Tuesday night, August 16, 1687. Elder [John] Wiswall dies, having liv'd, as is said, fourscore and six years." He was buried, two days later, "just ... before Sunset."[97] As well: "Mr. Loring's son, a student of the College, was buried that night ..."[98]; "At night went to the Funeral of Fr[ances] Homes's Son;"[99] "Sabbath, Augt. 6, 1693. Capt. Wm. Greenough died about 4 this morn, buried about nine [o'clock the same] ... nigh (Fig. 9). Three Vollies past nine at night. There was bright moonshine."[100]

Most of the funerals that Sewall attended were close to home, but he and others often traveled to attend funerals in the towns surrounding Boston. Hearing of Elder Clap's death in October 1708, Sewall joined a group of Boston men who "ride in the Coach to Dorchester, to the Funeral of Elder Samuel Clap, who is much lamented.[101] He was the first man born in Dorchester, 74 years old."[102] The majority of burials took place within three days after death, but, then as now, many exceptions were necessitated by weather conditions, the need to gather distant relatives, competing local events, or the elaborateness of the funeral procession.

Throughout his life Sewall kept a detailed financial ledger or account book in which he recorded his financial dealings with individuals from all over New England. His financial records as well as his numerous diaries and letter books make direct references to a few known gravestone carvers. On one occasion, Sewall "Spent a pretty deal of time in the burying place to see to the Graver of the Tombstone." Disappointingly for us, he does not mention whose stone he is superintending, nor which "graver" is doing the work.[103] One possibility is the diarist's neighbor and friend William Mumford, the crafter of several Sewall family gravestones. Two years after Samuel Sewall's brother, John, died at Newbury, in the summer of 1699, Sewall's account book lists payments made to gravestone carver William Mumford: "By a grave stone for brother John Sewall[,] formerly, L1.5.9." (Fig. 10) The Mumford account also shows that the stone carver was paid for several other family stones, including those for Sewall's

"Dear Father and Mother,"[104] and his married sisters Hannah Toppan (died 1699, in York, Maine) and Mehetabel Moody (died 1702, in Newbury, Massachusetts).[105]

Sewall paid the Dorchester carver James Foster for 696 feet of slate for "ye cellar floor;" made payments to James Stanclift and his agents of Middleton [Connecticut]; to "John Marshal of Braintree for a grave and monument;" to gravestone carvers James Gilchrist and Nathaniel Ems [Emmes] for a "Connecticut stone and carting and laying in the monument..., L10-10-0;" and to Boston carver James Gilchrist "by work and materials of my tomb in the New Burying place in Boston, L37-16-6." This last entry is followed by Sewall's note: "James Gilchrist was drowned at the swinging Bridge, Aug. 28, 1722."[106]

Fig. 10. John Sewall, 1701, Newbury, MA. (Sewall payment to William Mumford for gravestone.) Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society Worcester, Massachusetts, #HF1004.

A more heartfelt passage in Sewall's diary tells of the death of his friend Capt. Jacob Eliot, who died during the yellow fever epidemic of 1693. On August 16, "Capt. [and Deacon, Jacob] Eliot comes sick from Muddy-River [Brookline] ... and "Dyes about 2 at night" and "is buried" in the 'new burying place' the following day.[107] Sewall, a pall bearer at the funeral, continued to mourn the loss of his great friend, mentioning at the same time a humorous event that resulted from his original ignorance of his friend's death:

> 'Tis a sudden and very sore Blow to the South Church, a Loss hardly repaired. On the Sabbath, Mr. Willard [the minister] being in [to the meeting house] before me, I did not [notice] Deacon Eliot's absence, and wondered I heard not his voice beginning the Ps[alms], and Capt. Frary waited when I should begin it. We shall hardly get another such a sweet singer as we have lost. He was one of the most Serviceable Men in Boston ... , One of the best and most respectful Friends I had in the World. Lord awaken us. Scarce a Man was so universally known as He.... [He] Dyed in the 61 year of 's Age. Was one of the first [to be] born in Boston.[108]

Deacon Eliot's gravestone (Fig. 11) is one of the ornate mermaid stones, perhaps the work of "J.N." or one of the other talented Boston carvers active in the late 1680s and early 1690s.[109]

Sewall, appointed by Gov. Phips to sit in judgment at the Salem witch trials, may have had the witchcraft executions in mind as he wrote in his diary: "Jan. 19, 1693/4. This day Mrs. Prout dies after sore conflicts of mind, [and] not without suspicion of Witchcraft."[110] Mental illness or aberrant behavior of any kind was often interpreted as the work of Satan or the result of unconfessed and unrepentant sin. Poor Elizabeth Prout was buried at Copp's Hill under a stone probably carved by her neighbor, William Mumford. In December, 1696, Sewall proposed a public day of fasting and prayerful penance for the sins of the witchcraft trials. He alone among the five judges also apologized publicly for his part in the trials. From that day forward Sewall habitually set aside the day annually, fasting and praying for forgiveness for his part in the wrongful death of the Salem "witches."[111]

There may be no better indication of how life and death were entwined in Samuel Sewall's Boston than the number of accidental deaths he records, especially the surprising number of drownings, which appear to account for the largest number of such fatalities.[112] More than forty accidental deaths mentioned in the diary involve children. On November 30,1696 he records: "Many [Harvard] Scholars go in the Afternoon to Scate on Freshpond; William Maxwell and John Eyre fall in and are drown'd. Just about

Candle-lighting the news of it is brought to Town, which affects persons exceedingly. Mr. Eyre the father cries out bitterly." Sewall adds that "Paul Miller, his 2 sons, and about 4 more [were] drowned last week."[113] In June of the following year, thirteen-year-old Richard, the son of the Sewall's minister, the Rev. Samuel Willard, dies: "He went to Cambridge and was admitted [to Harvard]; and then went into the River [for a swim] and was drowned with his Admission [slip fresh] in his Pocket. His father and

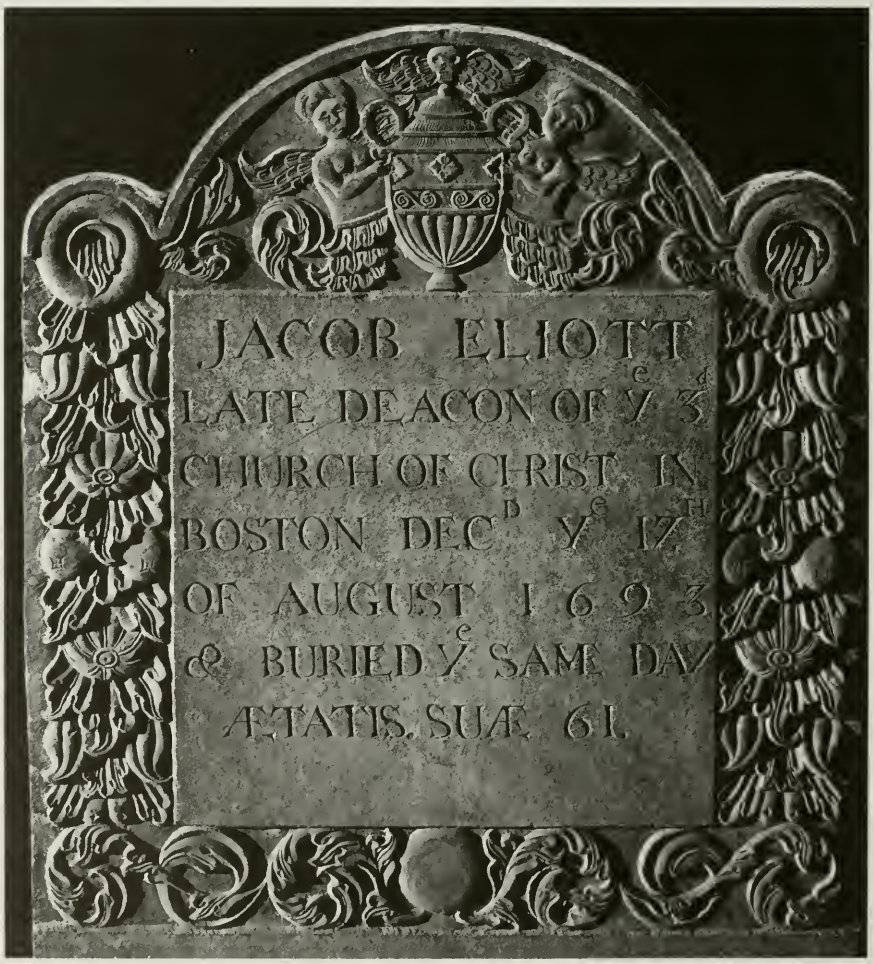

Fig. 11 Deacon Jacob Eliott, 1693, Granary Burying Ground, Boston, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #1018.

Mother mourn sorely."[114] On August, 1715: "This day Billy Gibs, the Minister's Son, is drown'd at Cambridge a little above the Bridge...was about eleven years old. [He] Was drown'd at young Floud, and not taken up till eleven at night, by Torches; one [of the searchers] accidentally trod on him; [he] could not Swim. Buried at Watertown [the] next day."[115] And then: "This day, March 15, [1694/5], young Tim° Clark, of about 14 years old, falls down into the hold of a ship...and dies, to the great sorrow of all that hear of it."[116] Typical of William Mumford's style, the winged skull and lush borders of young Timothy Clarke's gravestone (Fig. 12) mark his resting place in Boston's Granary Burying Ground.

Fig. 12. Timothy Clarke, 1694/5, Granary Burying Ground, Boston, Massachusetts. Photograph courtesy of Farber Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, #HF0229.

Although only a very small sampling of Samuel Sewall's many diary entries concerning death and burial have been highlighted here, his diary, and countless other less well-known personal narratives, provide insight into how Colonial New Englanders dealt with the final separation of body and soul — how they prepared for life's final event through prayer, how they mourned, and how they remembered their dead in private and in more public observances. The gravestones of this period remain as tangible evidence of this cultural process.

NOTES

My intent, when I first embarked on the "diary project," was to locate and read as many early New England diaries as possible and to report on the hidden references to gravestones and gravestone carvers, 1650-1850. How naïve! The idea quickly evolved into one of the most addictive research projects that I've ever undertaken. The primary source materials, the diaries themselves, are often buried within manuscript collections and rare book holdings at widely scattered research libraries and small historical societies, which frequently have rather limited access. Only a small percentage of extant diaries have been transcribed or published, as has Samuel Sewall's, and many, scratched out in a now unfamiliar script using space saving codes and arbitrary abbreviations, are a challenge to read. Discovering and transcribing a long lost diary is more than enough reward. I've chosen the diary of Samuel Sewall to represent the 17th-Century diaries because it is probably the most readily available, widely studied, and complete early diary. For their considerable help along the way, special thanks to Gary Collison, Richard E. Meyer, the three unnamed *Markers* reviewers, Donna LaRue, Judith Lucey at New England Historic Genealogical Society, and the staff at the Massachusetts Historical Society, all of whom contributed substantively to my understanding of different aspects of Sewall's world.

1. For information about authors, locations, and dates of extant American diaries, see: Laura Arksey, Nancy Pries, and Marcia Reed, *American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of Published American Diaries and Journals to 1980*, 2 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1983-85); Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *New England Diaries, 1602-1800: A Descriptive Catalogue of Diaries, Orderly Books and Sea Journals* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1923); *Index to Personal Names in the National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections, 1959-1984 (NUCMC)* (Alexandria, Virginia: Chadwyck-Healey, 1988); William Matthews, *American Diaries in Manuscript, 1580-1954: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1974); Joyce D. Goodfriend, *The Published Diaries and Letters of American Women* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1987); Cheryl Cline, *Women's Diaries, Journals, and Letters: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publications, 1989). *The Periodical Source Index (PERSI)* covers references from printed genealogical journals and newsletters since 1847.

2. Sewall is perhaps best known today for his role as judge in the 1692 Salem witch trials, as well as his subsequent (1697) public repentance, and for his early anti-slavery tract, "The Selling of Joseph" (1700), the full text of which can be found in M. Halsey Thomas, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar, Straus

and Giroux, 1973), 1117-1121, and at the Digital History web site: www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/documents/documents_p2.cfm?doc=211.

3. For a time before English calendar reform became official in 1752, both the old style (o.s.) and the new style (n.s.) dates were frequently recorded. The old style or Julian calendar began the new year on March 25th (Lady Day, given as the date of Christ's conception); the new style or Gregorian calendar began the year on January 1st. When a death date fell within this confusing January 1st to March 25th time period, a date might be written as 1729/30, explained as 1729 old style, 1730 new style.

4. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall,* from the manuscript at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

5. Samuel Sewall, the son of Henry and Jane (Dummer) Sewall, was born at Bishop Stoke, Hampshire, England, March 28, 1652. The infant's father, Henry Sewall, had, after his second voyage to New England, settled himself at Newbury where he prepared to receive his growing family. Henry Sewall's wife, Jane, with five young children and two servants, arrived in Newbury in the summer of 1661, after an eight week voyage aboard the *Prudent Mary.* (Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall,* xxiv-xxxiii.) For the most complete Sewall family genealogy, see Eben W. Graves, *The Descendants of Henry Sewall (1576-1656) of Manchester and Coventry, England, and Newbury and Rowley, Massachusetts* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society's Newbury Street Press, 2007). Much has been written about Samuel Sewall and about different aspects of his life and diary. The two volume edition of the diary used for this paper (Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall*), is an excellent starting point. Some additional resources include: Richard Francis, *Judge Sewall's Apology, A Biography: The Salem Witch Trials and the Forming of an American Conscience* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005); David D. Hall, "The Mental World of Samuel Sewall," in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,*1980, 92021-92044; Mary Adams Hilmer, "The Other Diary of Samuel Sewall," *New England Quarterly* 55:3 (1982), 354-365; Judith S. Graham, *Puritan Family Life: The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000); David S. Lovejoy, "Between Hell and Plum Island: Samuel Sewall and the Legacy of the Witches," *New England Quarterly* 70.3 (1997), 355-367; Lawrence Rosenwald, "Sewall's Diary and the Margins of Puritan Literature" *American Literature* 58.3 (1986), 325-341; T. B. Strandness, *Samuel Sewall: A Puritan Portrait* (Michigan State University Press, 1967); Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *Samuel Sewall of Boston* (New York:The Macmillan Company, 1964); David H. Watters, "A Letter from Samuel Sewall to his Father." *The New England Quarterly* 58.4 (1985), 598-601; Mel Yazawa, ed., *The Diary and Life of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Bedford Books/St. Martin's Press, 1998).

6. "Sewall earned his B.A. in 1671, served as a college fellow and tutor, and then received his "second degree" (M.A.) from Harvard in 1674.": Judith S. Graham, *Puritan Family Life: The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000),18.

7. One commentator notes, "Love and respect motivated Samuel Sewall to seek the hand of John Hull's only living child, but the union also brought him the enormous benefits of financial security and access to the Boston elite.": Graham, 24-26.

8. "The Diaries of John Hull, Mint-master and Treasurer of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 3 (Boston: American Antiquarian Society, 1857),108-316. A comprehensive investigation into the location of the Hull/Sewall house and other Hull properties in Boston appears in "Communication from Dr. Estes Howe, of Cambridge, in Regard to the Abode of John Hull and Samuel Sewall," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, Vol. 1 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1884-1885), 312-326.

9. The church being raised in 1688 is King's Chapel, the first Anglican Church to be built in Boston. The new church's construction on the site of the Puritan founders' burial ground produced predictable anger and resentment from those who had crossed the Atlantic to realize an alternative vision of English Protestantism. Ill will had already been stirred by Royal Governor Andros' deliberate occupation of the Puritan meeting house for Anglican worship, which was precipitated in part by the fact that no Puritan would sell suitable land to the Anglicans for their church. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 1: 135-140; Peter T. Mallery and Tim Imrie, *New England Churches and Meetinghouses* (Seacaucus, New Jersey: Chartwell Books, 1985), 69-71.

10. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Oct. 17, 1688), 1:180-181. Rev. Cotton Mather was the most influential religious leader in Boston at the time.

11. *Ibid.* (July 24, 1689), 1:230n. For more about Cotton Mather and his political, social, and religious influence in early New England see: *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708*, Seventh Series, Vol. VII, VIII (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1911-1912); also, http://www.bibliaamericana.gsu.edu/biography.htm.

12. For more about Nathanael Mather's gravestone see: Richard E. Meyer, "'Death Possesses a Good Deal of Real Estate': References to Gravestones and Burial Grounds in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *American Notebooks* and Selected Fictional Works," *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 39:1 (2006), 1-28. Cotton Mather's biography of his brother, *Early Piety, Exemplified in the Life and Death of Mr. Nathanael Mather* (London, 1689), was probably published at Sewall's expense. See: Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (July 24, 1689), 1:230n. Many years later, Cotton Mather "retired into the Burying place [in Salem], and att the Grave of my dear Younger Brother there, I could not but fall down on my knees before the Lord with praises to His Name for granting the Life of my dead Brother to be writt and spread and Read among His people and bee very serviceable ... ." Young Nathaniel, who had extraordinary command of mathematics, classics, theology and science, had, shortly before his death, compiled and published Almanacs for the years 1685-1686. See Barrett Wendell, *Cotton Mather: A Biography by Barrett Wendell*, New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993, 170; (http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/images/fullpageimage.php?name=MMD1442).

13. Boston's Third Church or "Old South" Congregation was formed in 1669, after part of the congregation split away from First Church as a result of theological differences arising from baptismal provisions in the Halfway Covenant. In the winter of 1686, the newly arrived Royal Governor, Edmund Andros, took over the Old South meeting house for Anglican services, forcing the Puritan congregation to compromise many of their own worship services. The building of the King's Chapel on a portion of another long established Puritan landmark renewed simmering resentment. For more

on the complicated history of Boston congregations and church buildings, see Donna LaRue, "A Walking Tour of Boston's Church History," *The Colonial Churches of the Shawmut Peninsula*, Vol. I (Boston: 1996), 19.

14. Isaac Walker's young widow was Hannah (Frary) Walker (b. 31 Jan.1655/56), the daughter of Theophilus Frary. She was married again on February 12, 1889/90, to widower Andrew Belcher. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Jan. 1718), 2:879, fn5.

15. Sewall frequently refers to well known ritual practices surrounding death and burial: prayerful attendance at the death bed, prayers at home before going to the grave, the ordered procession to the burial ground according to family rank, age, gender, etc., male dignitaries who lead and support the widow in the funeral procession, and the giving of scarves, gloves, and/or rings to funeral participants and worthy friends. Sewall also comes away from many burials with a fervent prayer that he will be prepared and found acceptable to God at the time of his own death. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Oct. 19-22, 1688), 1:181.

16. For a discussion of "death imp" stones and their sources, see Laurel K. Gabel, "A Common Thread: Needlework Samplers and American Gravestones," *Markers* XIX (2002), 24-27; Ralph Tucker, "Heavenly Imps, Evil Demons, Little Men," *Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 3:3 (1979), 1-3.

17. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Oct. 19-22, 1688), 1:181.

18. *Ibid.* (Jan. 20, 23, 25, 1706), I: 540-541, for example.

19. "Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, December 27, 1727": Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, 1630-1880.* Vol. 2 [of 4 Vols.] (Boston: Tichnor and Company, 1881), 470.

20. "By Act of the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts, October 22, 1692, and May 12, 1701." *Ibid.*, 2:469-470.

21. The original placement of graves was without much ordered planning. "Nineteenth century interventions, like those of Secretary Hawes in Granary, were aimed at reordering these spaces to conform retroactively to the Victorian cemetery aesthetic displayed to such great effect at Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge": Donna LaRue, personal correspondence, Jan. 12, 2007.

22. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (March 21, 1687), 1:135. Old Father East was perhaps the Francis East admitted as Freeman at Boston, April 17, 1637. See *Boston Colonial Records*, Vol. 1:195.

23. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (April 4, 1702), 1:464.

24. In early Boston there were three community burial grounds: Ancient, or Old Burying Ground, in use since 1630 (now known as King's Chapel Burying Ground); New, or New North, opened in 1659 (now Copp's Hill Burying Ground); and New, or South, opened in 1660 (now Granary Burying Ground).

25. "The Rev. Dr. Sewall [Samuel Sewall's son, Joseph] made a very suitable prayer at his Excellency's house, just before the funeral. The coffin was covered with black velvet and richly adorned. The pall was supported by ...[six of the colony's highest-ranking men]. [A pall, mort-cloth, or bier-cloth, as it was sometimes called, was originally a heavy cloth drape supported as a canopy above the coffin. It might also be used to cover the resting coffin. Biers and palls were often kept at the meeting house for community use.] His Excellency with his children and family followed the corpse, all in deep mourning; next went the several relatives according to their respective degrees, who were followed by a great many of the principal gentlewomen in town; after whom went the gentlemen of His Majesty's Council; the reverend Ministers of this and the neighboring towns; the reverend President and Fellows of Harvard College; a great number of officers both of the civil and military order, with a multitude of other gentlemen. His excellency's coach[,] drawn by four horses[,] was covered with black cloth and adorned with escutcheons [bearing] the coats of arms both of his Excellency and of his deceased lady." Boston News-Letter (October 14, 1736), reprinted in Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, 2: 474-475. For a graphic depiction of the marshaling of similar aristocratic or heraldic funerals see Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, *Gravestone Chronicles II: More Eighteenth-Century New England Carvers and an Exploration of Gravestone Heraldica* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1997), 502-504; 521.

26. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (April 8, 1720), 2:945.

27. Winsor, 2: 474-475; see Gordon E. Geddes, *Welcome Joy: Death in Puritan New England* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981), 143-146. Funeral sermons were often given at the request of the family and, if printed, were done at the family's expense. In Puritan services, such sermons were delivered not at the burial itself, but at the next regular worship service.

28. See William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789*, 2 Vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1890), 2:538. George Francis Dow, *The Arts & Crafts in New England, 1704-1775* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1967), 183-184. An ad in the September 24, 1764, issue of the Boston Gazette describes another, more simple funeral for Mr. Ellis Callender, son of the Late Minister of Boston's Baptist Church, in which crape armbands and mourning bonnets (which could be rented for the day) replaced more elaborate and costly mourning attire. "There is thus Virtue in the 'Occonomy' and simplicity that 'breaks a Custom too long established and which has proved ruinous to many Families in this Community' ": Dow, 183-184.

29. Although several sumptuary acts strove to prohibit the practice of distributing these remembrances to ministers, pall bearers, political dignitaries, family and close friends of the deceased, Sewall's diary entries document widespread non-compliance. Provincial laws directed against "the extraordinary expence at funerals" were repeatedly passed. The law appears to have been poorly regulated or enforced, however, and the practice continued well into the 18th century. See Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1974), 27-29.

30. Sewall made an informal accounting of "some [of the funerals] I have been Bearer to" during the eight year period between 1697 and 1705. The list includes the names and

dates of burial of thirty deceased, along with the gifts received: gloves 5; rings 13; scarves 26. "In less than fifty years, Sewall received fifty-seven mourning rings." See Robert Habenstein, et. al., *The History of American Funeral Directing* (Milwaukee: National Funeral Director's Association, 2001), 124.

31. Alice Morse Earle, *Customs and Fashions and Old New England*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), 376; Habenstein, 124.

32. Earle, 376-377; Habenstein, 124.

33. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Feb. 3, 1686), 1:95.

34. *Ibid.* (Tuesday, May 17, 1687), 1:140. Starting in 1686, when English officials arrived in Boston to enforce royal control following the revocation of the Massachusetts Bay Charter, there were many challenges to the old ways. Sewall makes special note of the fact that a funeral sermon was preached and that the service was based on the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, which along with the use of escutcheons, would have been eschewed by the Puritans, who found little spiritual reason for burial ceremony. Francis Nicholson, Captain of the Redcoat regiments, was almost certainly an Anglican since, at the time, Government officials were required to participate in Anglican services to prove that they were members of the King's Church. Nicholson later became Andros' Lt. Governor. See Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy During the American Revolution* (New York: 1999), 10 -11, fn2; Linda Ayres, *Harvard Divided* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 147; Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *Samuel Sewall of Boston* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 79.

35. Soon after the funeral the Shrimpton's estate billed the Boston painter-stainer and heraldic artist Thomas Child for a hatchment and badges. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 554, 22n.

36. *Ibid.* (Fourth-day, Feb. 9, 1697/8), 1:387.

37. *Ibid.* (March 13, 1677), 1:38, 10n. Capt. Lake's "mangled body" was not recovered until several months after his death at Arowsick Island, Maine. A fine plain headstone, lettered by an unidentified Boston-area carver, marks his grave. See The Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber Collection of Early American Gravestone Art, image # HF0671, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. The Farber Collection is also online at: http://www.davidrumsey.com/farber/. [Hereafter noted as Farber Collection.]

38. Maj. John Richards, along with diarist Sewall, had recently been appointed as justices of the Superior Court. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (April 2, 1694), 1:318.

39. *Ibid.* (April 2, 1694), 1:318.

40. *Ibid.* (April 6, 1694), 1:318.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.* (September 22, 1676), 1:22-23 and 23n.

43. Anal atresia or imperforate anus, the absence of a normal anal opening, occurs in about 1 in 5,000 births. Its cause is unknown. Often accompanied by other less visible birth anomalies, the condition is routinely managed today through surgery. See (http://www.pedisurg.com/PtEduc/Imperforate_Anus.htm); Graham, 51-52.

44. Six autopsies are recorded in New England between 1674 and 1678. See Francis Randolph Packard, *The History of Medicine in the United States* Philadelphia: Lippincott,1901.

45. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (November 16, 1700), 1:437.

46. A Quaker burying ground was located behind the Quaker Meeting House that occupied the corner of present day Congress Street and Quaker Lane. Quaker burials from this location were moved to Lynn in July, 1826. See George A. Selleck, *Quakers in Boston, 1656-1964* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Thomas Todd Co., 1976), 45, 86; Yazawa, 84-85.

47. "As far back as 1735, nearly 100 years before there was even an organized Jewish community in the Boston area, Isaac Solomon and Michael Asher established a "Burying Ground ... fenced in to the 'Jewish Nation' in Boston. They contemplated a very small 'Jewish Nation' because the cemetery was no larger than 10' x 10'.": Steven Feldman, *Genesis 2 Guide to Jewish Boston and New England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Genesis 2, 1986); see also Abram Vossen Goodman, "Roots in America," Reprinted from the *Menorah Journal* (New York: The Menorah Association, 194?), 21-22; http://www.jcam.org/Pages/About_JCAM/Msg_President.htm.; Lee M. Friedman, "Early Jewish Residents in Massachusetts," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (1915), 23:79-90.

48. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Feb. 4, 1704), 1:497.

49. *Ibid.* (Aug. 11, 1711), 2:667.

50. *Ibid.* (Sept. 11, 1678), 1:46.

51. *Ibid.* (Dec. 21-22, 1685), 1:89.

52. A Salem, Massachusetts law (1697) ordered men to follow first for the funeral of a man, and if a female corpse, a woman to follow first. When a woman died in childbirth, the midwife and the other woman in attendance at the birth might be accorded honorary positions close to the coffin in the funeral procession. See Geddes, 134.

53. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Dec. 22,1685), 1:89.

54. The quality or type of coffin wood and its adornment was seen as an indication of the social position of the deceased. See Habenstein, 125.

55. Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall, *Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society*, Sixth Series (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1888), 2:310. The Hull/Sewall tomb was built for John Hull, Esq. who died October 5, 1683. Samuel and Hannah Sewall's first-born son, John, had died in September, 1678, and was apparently buried in a grave marked by an upright slate headstone. Upon completion of the spacious

family tomb, "His Coffin [was] taken up and Put in [the] Tomb." Sewall's later diary entry mentions "Johnny's stone," which eventually came to mark the entrance of the Hull/Sewall family tomb. See Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (July 26, 27, 1687), 1:145.

56. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (June 18, 1686), 117.

57. Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall, 73-74; Samuel Sewall to Cotton Mather, October 29, 1717.

58. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book XI: 706: "Si non urna, tamen iunget nos littera: si non; ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam."

59. Deeply held religious beliefs fostered the punishing fear of separation from familiar loved ones, while hellfire's threat coaxed forth an anxious desire for salvation. See Peter Gregg Slater, *Children in the New England Mind in Life and Death* (Hamden, CT: The Shoe String Press, 1977)

60. The reference to "Johnny's stone" is particularly interesting. Sewall is probably referring to a gravestone that marked the grave of his firstborn son, John (1677-1678), who "Dyed Sept. 11, 1678 and lyeth buried in the New burying place, on the South side of the grave of his great Grandfather, Mr. Robert Hull." The infant John apparently had had a headstone that was moved (see Note 55), along with his remains, into the new Hull family vault tomb [eventually the Hull/Sewall tomb], where it was being used to mark the underground entrance. This may suggest the fate of other early markers perhaps also placed within the newly built family tombs or used to mark the structures' entrances. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (July 27, 1687), 1:145.

61. *Ibid.* (July 26, 27, 1687), 1:145.

62. Cotton Mather, "Right Thoughts in Sad Hours, Representing the Comforts and the Duties of Good Men under all their Afflictions, And Particularly, That one, the Untimely Death of Children" (London: 1689), as quoted in Graham, 105.

63. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Dec. 23, 1696), 1:363. Sewall's expression "give up the ghost," still familiar today, means literally to die. "Ghost" is an ancient Saxon word equivalent in meaning to soul or spirit. It is the translation of the Hebrew *Nephesh* and the Greek *pneuma*, both meaning breath, life, spirit. See Eaton's Bible Dictionary: http://www.htmlbible.com/kjv30/eastoneast1473.htm.

64. Sewall's well chosen Psalm 102 begins, "Hear my prayer, O LORD, and let my cry come unto thee." The twenty-eighth and final verse offers more soothing words to comfort the assembled family: "The children of your servants will live in your presence; their descendants will be established before you."

65. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Dec. 25, 1696), 1:364.

66. Habenstein, 120, quoting Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, "An Apologie or Defense of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists...." (Amsterdam: 1604).

67. There are several general references to such "brick'd graves" in Sewall's diary and more than one reference in his account Leger to gravestone carvers Nathaniel Ems (Emmes) and James Gilchrist for masonry work done on the tomb. The diary of Jabez Fitch describes two such tombs abandoned and open to the curious in 1775: *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, Vol. 9 (1896); 58,60.

68. Yazawa, 179-180.

69. For a compelling look at some early tomb interiors, see the documentary photographs taken by John Spaulding, photographer for The Friends of the Office of Connecticut State Archeology. John may be contacted at: jjsruns@infionline.net. A brief description of tombs can also be found in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, Vol. 9 (1896), 58-60.

70. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Dec. 25, 1696), 1:364. Sewall also presented rings to five others, but comments that he "Gave not one pair of Gloves save to the Bearers."

71. *Ibid.* (Sept. 23, 1690), 1:267

72. *Ibid.* (Nov. 17, 1710), 2:645.

73. *Ibid.* (July 10, 1716), 2:825, 1086-1087.

74. *Ibid.* (July 13, 1716), 2:825.

75. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Oct. 21, 1717), 2: 864; disemboweling was a simple form of embalming, a way to lessen the rapid deterioration of the body. Cerecloth is a fabric (usually linen) smeared or impregnated with hot wax, creosote, or some other glutinous preservative, and used for wrapping the dead body (think of it as an early version of oil-cloth). The shroud was gathered and tied at the feet. See Geddes, 117-118.

76. *Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall*, 2 vols., *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Sixth Series (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1886-88), 73-75.

77. See Patricia Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction: The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), for Mather's and other minister's medical competence and familiarity with basic medical care. Thank you to Donna LaRue for making me aware of this source.

78. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Sept. 16 1721), 2:982. Sewall purchased the five acre "elm pasture" in 1692, with an intent to develop the Beacon Hill land. The original pasture extended between present day Joy Street to just west of Walnut Street and probably fronted on the Common. See Annie Haven Thwing, *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630-1822* (Boston: New England Historical Genealogical Society CD, 2001.)

79. "Samuel Sewall, His Leger," #24, R. Stanton Avery Special Collections Department, New England Historic Genealogical Society (Boston, Massachusetts.), Mss 514:122-123.

80. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Aug. 2-15, 1724), 2:1019-1021

81. *Ibid.* (Aug. 17, 1724), 2:1020-1021.

82. Sewall's account of the death and burial of Boston, the Sewall's black servant, offers details about the less well known burial practices of the town's minority population: "Mr. Appleton...makes an excellent Discourse from [blank, and] prays for Boston. At half an hour after Six a-clock Negro Boston expires. Burying was appointed to be on the last day of the week; but the storm came on so violently, 'twas disappointed, and the second of the week next was set. I made a good Fire, set Chairs, and gave Sack" [sack: a generic term for a type of white wine imported from Spain and Canary Islands]. *Ibid.* (Feb. 14-17, 1729), 2:1065. Boston's obituary appeared in the New England Weekly Journal of February 24, 1729: "On the 14th died here a Negro Freeman named Boston in an advanced Age; and on the 17th, was very decently Buried. A long Train follow'd him to the Grave, it's said about 150 Blacks, and about 50 Whites, several Magistrates, Ministers, Gentlemen, &c. He having borne the Character of a sober virtuous Liver, and of a very trusty honest and faithful Servant to all that employ'd him, and having acquir'd to himself the general Love and Esteem of his Neighbors by a Readiness to do any good Offices in his power for every one; his Funeral was attended with uncommon Respects and his Death much lamented."

83. A list of expenses "Expended in the Funeral of Daughter Mrs. Hannah Sewall who died August 15, 1724, Aetatis 45," amounts to close to £500. Although her father and others referred to Hannah as "Mrs. Hannah Sewall," such a title does not refer to her marital status. In the Seventeenth Century "Mrs." was often used as a designation of respect, denoting some degree of social position, education, and/or wealth. "Samuel Sewall, His Leger," #24, Mss 514:177.

84. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Aug. 19-21, 1724), 2:1021,1086. Little John Sewall was the son of Samuel Sewall, Jr., and his wife Rebeckah Dudley of Brookline.

85. *Ibid.* (July 31, 1717), 2:695.

86. "Samuel Sewall, Jr.'s Memoranda," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 6th Series, Vol. 2; Letter Book of Samuel Sewall, 2 vols., *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Sixth Series, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1886-88), 2:310-312.

87. The Keayne tomb, for example, contained the remains of at least thirty-six bodies. See "The Two Hundred and Seventy-First Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, 1908-1909," Sermon by Rev. Stephen H. Roblin, D.D. of Boston (Boston: Mudge Press, 1909), 73.

88. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Sept. 18, 20, 1690), 1:266.

89. *Ibid.* (Aug. 15, 1693), 1:312.

90. *Ibid.* (Tuesday, Dec. 20, 1687), 1:155.

91. *Ibid.* (July 31, 1712), 2:695.

92. *Ibid.* (Dec. 13,1721), 2:985.

93. *Ibid.* (Feb. 6, 1718), 2:882.

94. *Ibid.* (Feb. 7, 1718), 2:883.

95. *Ibid.* (Feb. 10, 1687/8), 1:160.

96. "Diary of Noadiah Russell," *New England Historical Genealogical Society Register* VII (Jan. 1853), 56.

97. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Aug. 16, 19,1687), 1:146-147. See Farber Collection photo, #HF1246.

98. *Ibid.* (Oct. 27, 1721), 2:984. Daniel Loring, Jr., son of Daniel Loring, the brewer.

99. *Ibid.* (Oct. 29, 1721), 2:984.

100. *Ibid.* (Aug. 6, 1693), 1:312. Practical as well as symbolic motives may have played a part in timing burials so late in the day that torches were required for visibility. The bustle of livestock, commerce and general street traffic would have been avoided and merchants and others would be more available to attend without loss of trade or valuable daylight working conditions. The restful darkness of the day's ending also paralleled that of the tomb's final dark silence.

101. See Farber Collection, photo #HF0217 and #658.

102. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Oct. 18, 1708), 1:605.

103. *Ibid.* (May 4, 1687), 1:139. William Mumford, the as yet unidentified Old Stone Cutter, William Lamson, and perhaps Thomas Welch are among the known "gravers of tombstones" working in the Boston area at that date.

104. See Farber Collection, photo #HF1003.

105. William Mumford's account of August, 1701; October, 1701; October, 1703, in "Samuel Sewall, His Leger," #24, Mss 514.

106. "Samuel Sewall, His Leger," #24, Mss 514. James Gilchrist's gravestone is in King's Chapel burying ground.

107. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Aug. 12, 16, 17, 1693), 1:312.

108. *Ibid.* (Aug. 17, 1693), 1:312-313.

109. Of the sixteen extant Boston-area gravestones with mermaid motifs (dated 1680-1720), most have been attributed to the carver known only by his initials, J.N., possibly the Boston silversmith John Noyes. However, based on lettering and other stylistic differences, the mermaid stones, which represent the pinnacle of sophisticated iconography for that time and place, appear to have been produced by more than one

local carver. For a more complete discussion of the Boston mermaid stones, see David Watters, "The JN Carver," *Markers II* (1983), 115-131; David Watters, *'With Bodilie Eyes': Eschatological Themes in Puritan Literature and Gravestone Art*, (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 98-104; and Gabel, "A Common Thread," 27-32.

110. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Jan. 19, 1693/4), 1:317. Sewall begged God for forgiveness and asked that God "cease visiting his sins upon him, his family, and upon the land." See Lovejoy, 360; Geddes, 48-50.

111. Donna LaRue, "Evidence in the Stones: Gravemarkers and Memorials for Those Involved in the 1692 Trials in Colonial New England," illustrated lecture, St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts, 1992; Douglas Linder, "An Account of Events in Salem." http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/SALEM.HTM

112. Geddes, 37.

113. Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Nov. 30 and Dec. 1, 1696), I: 360-361.

114. *Ibid.* (June 29, 1697), 1:375.

115. *Ibid.* (Aug. 10, 1715), 2:796. Farber Collection, photo #1245.

116. *Ibid.* (March 15, 1694/5), 1:328.

Frontispiece: The distribution of pre- and post-medieval discoid gravemarkers in mainland Britain. The three Scottish discoids are at sites 29, 30, and 31 (for site numbering designation see Appendix 1).

SCOTTISH DISCOID GRAVEMARKERS: THE ORIGINS AND CLASSIFICATION OF A RARE TYPE OF MORTUARY ARTIFACT

George Thomson

Introduction and Distribution

From at least as early as the classical Roman period circular or oval-shaped sculptural artifacts, usually referred to as "discoid", have been utilized as gravemarkers by various European and American cultures. Most are Christian funerary memorials, although a few may be secular. They are usually in the form of a disk surmounting a short shaft, sometimes decorated with iconographic imagery, including mortality symbols, flowers, circles, and more rarely human heads, animals, astronomical signs, arrows, interweaving, as well as many design that are anomalous. The post-medieval stones from the north of Spain and south-west France display predominantly Christian iconography, but trade symbols, personal emblems, plants, and *fleur-de-lis* frequently occur. Commemorative or other text is often inscribed on one or both faces or, more rarely, on the edge of the head of the discoid. These distinctive memorials are particu-

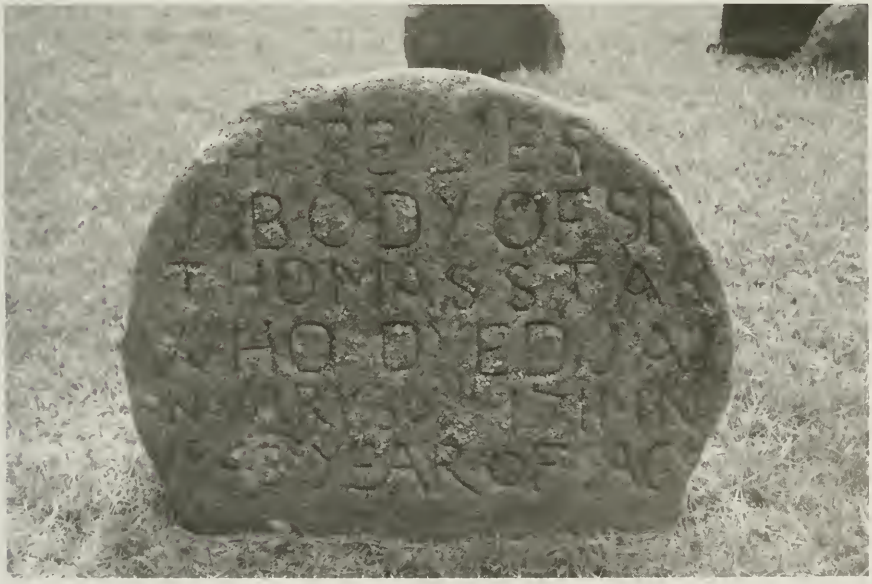

Fig. 1. Discoid gravemarker by "The Norwich Ovoid Carver," 1711, Groton, Connecticut.

larly common in some parts of Europe. This includes the Languedoc district of southern France, especially the Hérault and the department of Aude, the Basque region of northern Spain (some of which are very large, reaching 1.7 meters [67 inches] in diameter), south-western France, Portugal, Bulgaria and north-western Ireland.[1]

Similar funerary artifacts are also found in parts of the United States, especially in south-eastern Connecticut, Illinois, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and in several variant and transitional forms in Arkansas, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, New Jersey and Tennessee, some of which are relatively recent.[2] Although these can be termed "discoid" within an inclusive taxonomy, they are almost certainly unrelated historically to their old world counterparts. In the USA there are two basic discoid types. One form is found in several widely spread historic burial grounds in south-eastern Connecticut, especially at Groton and Norwichtown (Fig.1). These are attributed to "The Norwich Ovoid Carver", but it has been argued that they were the output of more than one individual.[3] An identical gravemarker is located in Hardy, Pike County, Kentucky dated 1864, much later than the early 18th Century Connecticut stones. A second type comprises a simple disk head and rectangular shaft, occasionally with cross-like "shoulders" between the disk and shaft (Fig. 2). When the disk and shaft are not distinct, the form is best described as "necked". The early 19th Century wooden headboards with disk head and shaft in Coston Cemetery, Onslow County, North Carolina are probably anthropomorphic in inspiration. Headstones of this form date from the early 19th Century and most are later than 1850. Many of them are very small, 50 cms (19½ inches) or less in height. Arguably these have quite different origins and may emanate from distinct local vernacular cultures and represent examples of regional folk art. The striking similarity between a discoid headstone in Cat Hill Cemetery, McCreary County, Kentucky, dated 1855, and a much earlier west Ulster discoid marker is, arguably, coincidental.

Dating the early discoids is somewhat problematic, although it is believed that the Languedoc memorials and many of the Spanish stones are from the Middle Ages, probably 9th to 12th Centuries, with some of a later date.[4] In Navarra, the Pyrénées Atlantique, and less commonly in other parts of northern Spain, there are similar gravestones of the 16th to the 19th Centuries with modern "revivals" made since the 1970s encouraged by the Lauburu Association, Bayonne.[5]

Elsewhere in Europe, by far the greatest concentration of late 17th and 18th Century discoid headstones is in north-western Ireland, in the coun-

ties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Tyrone. The number of discoid headstones in western Ulster is exceeded only by those in parts of the Basque Region, especially in the Labourd region of France, and Portugal. Other than in Ireland, discoids appear sporadically and in very small

Fig. 2. Discoid gravemarker, 1816, Liberty, North Carolina. Photograph from the Farber Collection - courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

numbers. Several medieval and early post-medieval discoid stones have been found in northern France, Germany, Belgium (Luxembourg), Norway, and Sweden.[6] The pre-Reformation Swedish discoid gravemarkers at Bosjökloster, Skåne are probably late medieval. Some have simple Greek crosses and are similar in basic shape to some of the 18th Century Irish stones. These have been relocated and reused as gravestones between the 17th and early 19th Centuries, a few with crudely cut inscriptions and dates.

There are relatively few discoid memorials in mainland Britain, those recorded numbering less than 100, and most of these are in England (see Frontispiece).[7] Of the pre-Reformation stelae (vertical stone monuments used for funerary or commemorative purposes), several are probably Anglo-Norman, as at Adel and Bakewell in central England, while others are likely to be medieval and include those at Ainstable and Dalston in the north-west, Kildale and Whitby Abbey in the north-east, East Bridgford, Grantham (now lost), and Hanslope in central England, and Helpston, Horley, Lydden, Lythe, and New Romney (with fragments elsewhere in Kent, totalling sixty six in that county) in the south-east of the country.[8] The discoid stone at Darley Dale is generally considered to be Anglo-Norman, but the sculptural form suggests a medieval date.[9] There is an interesting broken Celtic cross shaft at Kirk Michael on the Isle of Man recut in discoid form and dated 1669. The Cornish wayside crosses, of which there are about 100 recorded, arguably belong to different group. Although some were later reused as funerary memorials, the original function of these Cornish artifacts was not as gravemarkers. Most of them have a longer shaft than medieval discoid stelae and as such are perhaps closer to early high crosses. A stone found at Saughtree in the Scottish Borders and deposited in Hawick Museum has very recently been identified and examined as a possible discoid marker (see Appendix II). From the post-medieval and early modern periods there are discoids at Barnsley, East Harlesey, Knaresborough, Over Silton, and Upleatham in the north-west, Glentham, Aston Cantlow, Langham, Upper Hambleton, Uppingham, and Wansford in central England, Buckden, Chartham, Fyfield, and Lingfield in the south east, and Lower Swell in the south-west. Others, arguably belonging to the same group of stelae, are at Durham, Bishopton (County Durham), and Ford (Northumbria) in the north-east of England.

There is no common pattern in the use of design or inscription on the discoid gravestones of the 17th to early 19th Centuries in England. Very few feature mortality symbols, the exceptions being the questionably dis-

coid stones at Durham Cathedral. These post-Reformation discoid gravemarkers bear little resemblance, in detail, to either the stelae of the medieval period or the Irish headstones. The discoids in the USA also vary in inconography and inscription, as would be expected from their variant forms and geographical spread.

The Origin of Discoid Markers

The reasons why this particular form of artifact arose and was subsequently used as a mortuary or other type of memorial have been debated extensively without any general agreement or conclusion. Perhaps this is not surprising, considering the diversity of the objects and their geographical distribution. The heterogeneous creations of the discoid form were not the outcome of the same belief or philosophy. They did not originate in one specific area from which the idea spread. The classical discoid stelae and the medieval discoid markers of the Basque Region and Portugal may well have associations with sun worship, as suggested by their decoration, although this concept is not universally accepted. Conversely, the discoid 19th Century head and footboards and some headstones in North Carolina, some of which even have facial features, must surely be anthropomorphic, perhaps even totemic in concept.[10] There is no evidence that the North American headstones of this sort have their origins in either the Irish or Basque discoid markers. In many cultures, the circle is considered to be a powerful symbol, representing a multiplicity of ideas and beliefs. However, while we cannot dismiss these other explanations, it is probable that the overriding foundation of discoid markers lies in a simple appeal of the circular or oval form. The occurrence of several other head-and-shaft permutations as gravemarkers where the head is octagonal, heart-shaped, or of some another geometry suggests that the discoid form is only one expression of a particular artifact type, at least as funerary memorials in England and Scotland, and probably also in the USA.

Equally problematical is the possibility that earlier medieval discoids were the inspiration for, or influence on, discoids of the modern period. The only known discoid stele from the middle ages in Ireland is on Devenish Island, County Fermanagh. Several hundred discoid headstones were made in western Ulster in the late 17th and 18th Centuries, bearing little resemblance in detail to the earlier stones. Most of the medieval discoid stelae from several parts of England do not occur in the same places as the later markers. Even allowing for differential survival rates, if these early artifacts had any connection with the later discoids, why did the discoid form

come back into favour, albeit as a rarity, in the late 17th Century, after a gap of 400 years? Similarly, the principal argument against the theory that the Celtic and other so-called "high" crosses, including those described below as "pre-discoid", are not the precursors of the discoid stele or marker is the paucity of examples from the intermediate period in areas where these early stelae and crosses are found.

Problems of Definition/Categories

The miscellany of discoid forms makes it difficult to produce an accurate and unambiguous definition of the artifact. For example, some authors consider the high cross to be discoid within a somewhat inclusive construct.[11] However, the high cross and related Celtic and other medieval carved monuments differ significantly in concept, having an underlying overall cruciform design, with the upper arm of the cross head almost invariably forming an extension of the cross shaft. Cross-type discoid markers, on the other hand, are based on a disk head (sometimes a ringed cross), with the shaft forming a disjunct element of the design (see Fig. 3). These differences in interpretation, and consequently in nomenclature, create considerable problems when attempts are made to determine the distribution of discoid stelae. Further problems of definition are encountered when the discal part of the marker is ovoid, when the differential

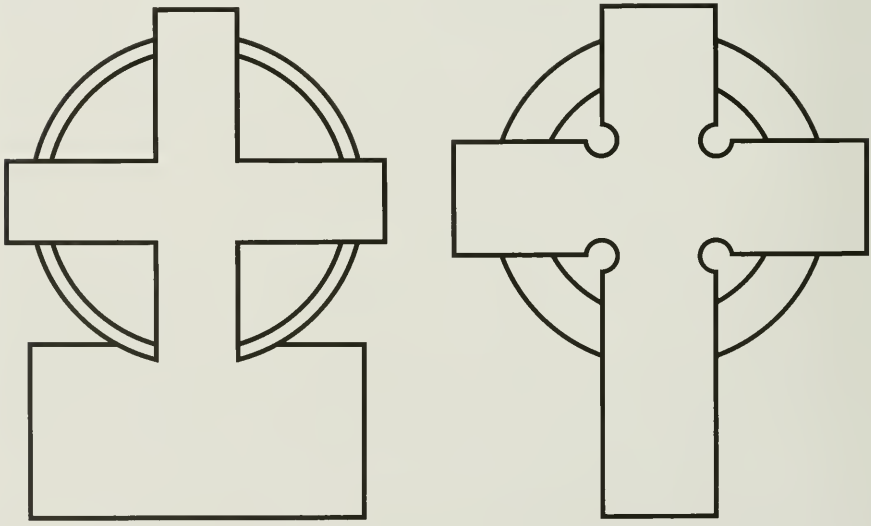

Fig. 3. The basic forms of a discoid marker (left) and High Cross (right).

proportion of "disk" to shaft is considerable, or when the top of the memorial is partially discoid or "necked". The occurrence of what are, probably, intermediate forms demonstrates the futility of trying to pigeonhole the discoid type of gravemarker.

Nijssen subdivides round gravemarkers, or what he calls "circular monuments," into four groups, namely ring cross (*Ringkreuz* or *croix-cercle*), round cross (*Radkreuz* or *rotiforme*), discoid with cross (*Scheibenkreuz* or *discoidale à croix*), and discoid (*Scheibendenkmal* or *discoïdal*).[12] To a great extent, the derivation of the form and the influence of historical precedent on the carver/mason determines the rationale and, consequently, the place of the discoid form in the overall complex of shapes and forms. It is clear from the considerable period throughout which discoid memorials were made, the multiplicity of cultures that made them, and the extensive geographical range of their occurrence that the creative impulses that influenced the design were diverse. Consequently, the following groupings are based solely on morphology and constitute a convenient descriptive framework within which discoid types and related markers can be placed.

Pre-Discoid (excluding classical and before)

These are stelae that are largely associated with Celtic cultures, although a few stretch into the early medieval period. They are early Christian crosses, usually richly decorated with interlace designs. The slab is more or less shaped in the form of a shaft with a cross carved on the disk head, often irregular in outline. Arguably, these carved stones could more appropriately be referred to as cross slabs rather than discoid stelae. Examples are those from Whithorn (Whithorn Museum in south-west Scotland and National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh), Glasserton (National Museum Scotland), the Braddon Wheel Cross (CE 900-1100), Isle of Man (11th Century), and the Llantwit crosses at Glamorgan (9th Century).

Cross Types

The ringed cross with shaft (Fig. 4: 1a) is found in significant numbers in north Fermanagh and south-west Tyrone in the west of Ulster, Ireland. The dates on these stones range from the late 17th to the early 18th Centuries. There is a remarkable assemblage in the graveyard at the Hullo Kirik, Vormsi in Estonia, and others at Marville and Sintheim in the north of France, Frelenberg, Gerlingen, Hochkirchen, Homburg, Lülsdorf, and Vochem in Germany, and Arel and Junglinster in Belgium. Sometimes the "counters" of the disk head are pierced (Fig. 4: 1b). All of the Vormsi and

some of the Ulster gravestones are of this form. The discoid type in which the cross on the disk head is reduced to short projections (Fig. 4: 1c) is characteristic of the discoid gravemarkers in central and southern Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Cavan in Ireland, where several hundred can be found, all from the 18th Century. In the French Basque region a few discoid markers have similar protrusions that may or may not represent a cross.

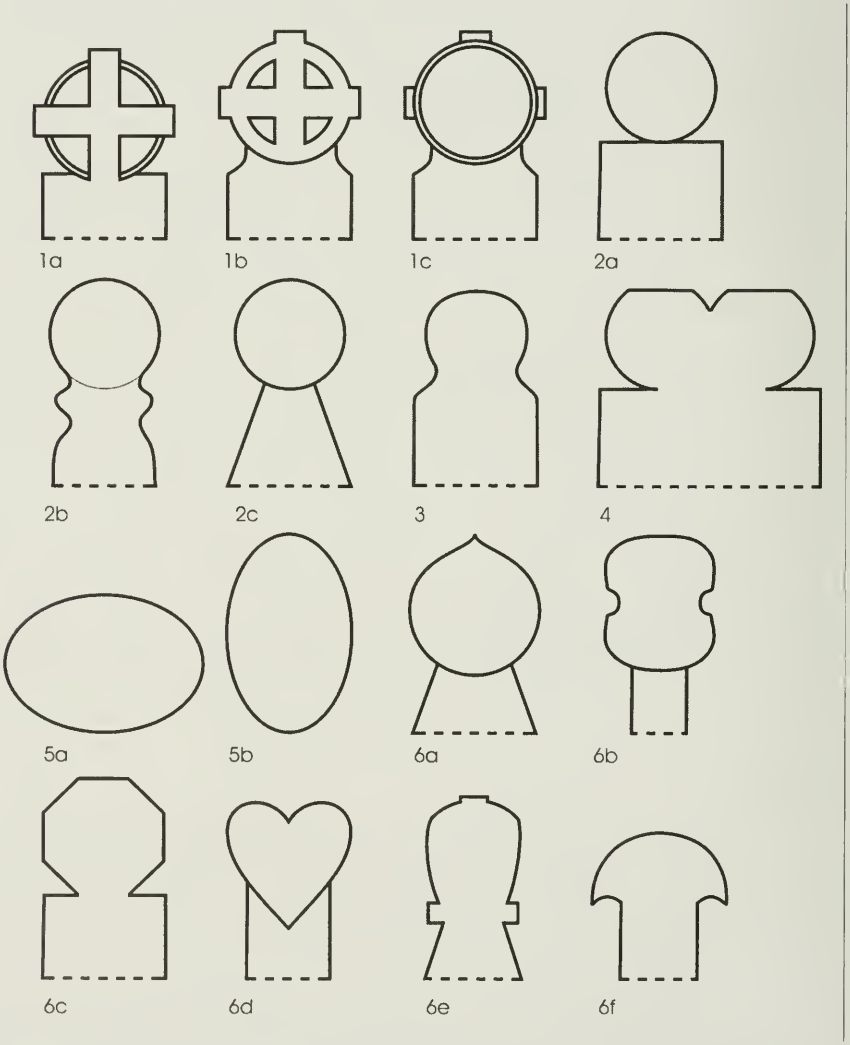

Fig. 4. The basic forms of discoid gravemarkers and related artifacts.

Disk and Shaft

The simple disk head with rectangular shaft is widespread and exhibits a wide range of interpretations (Fig. 4: 2a-c), largely related to the proportion of the disk head to the shaft. Some English and Irish discoids have a very small disk and broad shaft, but in most the disk and shaft are of similar dimensions. Some very small gravemarkers with shaped shafts (Fig. 4: 2b) occur in western Ulster. This is the most common discoid type in the Basque lands of France and Spain as well as in Portugal. Some are early medieval in date while others are 17th and early 18th Century. In this area the shaft is usually tapered (Fig. 4: 2c).

In addition to the regions mentioned above, the disk and shaft marker is found in Sweden (Bosjökloster), Belgium, and the United States, although most of the New World discoid headstones date from after the middle of the 19th Century. The Scottish discoid gravestones are of this type.

Necked

The necked type of gravemarker is a form that is intermediate between a discoid form and rectangular graveslab (Fig. 4: 3). The disk head is not fully defined. Some of the early gravemarkers of this form are clearly anthropomorphic in concept. Several such markers can be found in graveyards from Arkansas and Missouri to New Jersey.[13]

Double Discoid

The double discoid form is rare and is sometimes found with the disk heads modified (Fig. 4: 4). There is a good example at King's Cliffe in Northamptonshire in central England.

Ovoid

These memorials are either horizontally oval, being wider than tall, and include the Connecticut discoids (Fig. 4: 5a), or vertically oval. Examples of this latter type can be seen at Schley, North Carolina (*circa* 1800) and New Ipswich, New Hampshire (1807). A headstone of this form dated 1638 was once located at Closeburn graveyard, Dumfriesshire, Scotland but is now missing (Figs. 4: 5b, 5a-b). These ovoid artefacts have no visible shaft above ground level.

Other Related Forms

There are several other marker forms that are not truly discoid but have a similar head-and-shaft structure. These include those with a modi-

fied disk head (Ford, Northumbria, Fig. 4: 6a), elliptical or "violin" shaped (Durham Cathedral and Bishopton, Fig. 4: 6b), octagonal (King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire, Fig. 4: 6c), heart shaped (Duns in Berwickshire, Fig. 4: 6d), and with cross arms (Polwarth, Berwickshire, Fig. 4: 6e), and semi-circular (Lanark, Fig. 4: 6f).

Victorian and Modern Forms

The discoid form of headstone extended well into the 19th Century and beyond in the United States, and late examples appear as rather crude markers in the far south of France. A circular element recurs frequently in Victorian memorials, both in mainland Britain and Ireland, well into the 20th Century, as well as in many later North American headstones. However, many of these gravestones are not discoid in concept or design.

Scottish Discoid Gravemarkers

Only four pre-Victorian discoid gravemarkers have been identified in Scotland, all of which are late 17th Century headstones. They are all located in graveyards in the south of Scotland and appear to be isolated instances of the choice of this style of memorial, none being found in adjacent sites.

Figs 5a-b. Ovoid gravemarker (a - recto, b - verso), Closeburn, Dumfriesshire.

Figs 6a-d. Discoid gravemarkers, Lennel, Berwickshire. 5a and b: number 1, recto and verso. 5c and d: number 2, recto and verso.

Two of the markers (Lennel 1 and Lennel 2) are at Lennel Old Churchyard, Berwickshire (National Grif Reference NT 857 411: Figs. 6a-d), in the southwest of the old section of the graveyard. Lennel 2 was formerly built into the wall of the ruined Pre-Reformation church and is now loose against the north-east wall alongside other 17th Century gravestones. Lennel 1 is cut from fine-grained red sandstone and Lennel 2 from coarse-grained beige sandstone. They comprise a circular head on triangular shaft with deeply cut mortality symbols on both recto and verso and incised inscriptions on the tops of the disk heads. Both have a facing skull in disk center on one side and an hourglass on the other. Lennel 2 additionally has crossbones at the top of the shaft. The badly degraded incised inscription on the Lennel 1 stone is in two lines of old roman capitals and reads:

HERE LYES . . . EKEW
WHO DIE[D] . . . 1656

The single line on Lennel 2 reads:

I . H . 1 . 6 [ ] 8 . 4 . E . C

Figs. 7a-b. Discoid gravemarker (a - recto; b - verso), Lanark, Lanarkshire.

with inter-character lozenges between the characters and open lozenge between *6* and *8*. Lennel 1 has a raised double rim and Lennel 2 a raised single rim.

A single discoid marker is located in St Kentigern's Old Churchyard, Lanark, Lanarkshire (National Grid Reference NS 887 433: Figs. 7a-b), in the center of the east section of the graveyard. It is a fine-grained red sandstone gravemarker of similar shape to those at Lennel. The disk head is "squared-off" near the junction with the shaft. It has a badly degraded incised inscription, with diagonal lines at the beginning and end on the side and recto of the disk head, but lacks mortality or other symbols. On the disk top, the two lines of deeply cut roman capitals with inter-character points between each word read:

HEIR .LYES.I[SAB]EL.LAW
SPVS.TO . . . E.GILKRIS

The two-line marginal inscription reads:

WHO.DECEA[S]D.ON.THE
9.OF.MAY.1665

The initials I.G are located in the center of the disk.

The fourth Scottish discoid is at Walston Old Churchyard, Lanarkshire (National Grid Reference NT 058 457: Figs. 8a-b), to the north-east of the central section of the graveyard. It is carved from light red fine-grained sandstone. Unlike the other markers, the shaft is almost rectangular and this may have had a raised margin; otherwise the form is similar. A facing skull is cut on one side of the disk head with anomalous incised symbols that possibly represent bones, to each side of the skull. The two-line inscription on the obverse is incised in roman capitals with inter-character points between letters and numerals and reads:

M.P . M.P
1.6.6.1

Conclusions

The Scottish discoid markers from each of the three burial sites have little in common other than their discoid shape. The two stones from Lennel, although separated by twenty-eight years, have similar, but not identical mortality symbolism on recto and verso. This iconography is

superficially reminiscent of Ulster discoids, but the Irish headstones bearing this imagery are of a much later date and of a different discoid style. Furthermore, there is nothing unique in the use of these symbols at this time, and the suggestion by McCormick that their occurrence in Ireland indicates Scottish influence is hard to substantiate.[14] The skull, hourglass, and crossbones frequently appear on memorials throughout western Europe from the late 16th until the early 18th Centuries and in eastern North America from the 17th to the 18th Centuries. Similar arguments for Scottish and Irish influences on the design of headstones in the USA are often, though not always, misplaced.[15]

An epigraphic study reveals nothing exceptional in the inscriptions. The incised roman lettering style is characteristic of the period, with the distinctive old style of *6* with long upper stroke, *5* having an extended upcurving terminal on the upper horizontal, and *W* formed of two Vs. The use of inter-character points and lozenges was also common at this time.

The four Scottish discoid headstones represent rare examples of a memorial type that is relatively uncommon in mainland Britain. They are

Figs 8a-b. Discoid gravemarker (a – recto; b - verso), Walston, Lanarkshire.

small (mean diameter 39.9 centimeters) but relatively thick (mean 13.5 centimeters), and it is possible that their small size made them vulnerable as an easily moved source of stone that could be used for other purposes. Even allowing for this, why this type of small memorial was not used more extensively is difficult to say, and their sporadic occurrence parallels a pattern of distribution across western mainland Europe. The occurrence of large numbers of discoids in the Basque Region, Portugal, Languedoc, western Ulster, and southern Connecticut is best explained by the prominence of distinctive local, though sometimes widespread, material cultures in the early medieval period and later in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

NOTES

I am indebted to Mike McNerney for pointing me in the direction of the Lennel headstones and for much information on discoid markers in the USA. I thank Robert White and the Hawick Museum for providing access to the Saughtree stone. This research was in part funded by the University of Cumbria.

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7. J. Billingsley and D. Charlton, "The Old Stones of Adel Church." *Northern Earth* 79 (1992), 24-25.

8. H.T. Simpson, *Archaeologia Adelensis* (London: W. H. Allen, 1879); B. Stocker, "Medieval Gravemarkers in Kent," *Church Monuments* 1:2 (1986), 106-114.

9. F. Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (London: Lutterworth Press 1963).

10. See McNerney and Meyer, *Early Pioneer Gravestones.* The traditional belief that some disk and shaft gravemarkers have an anthropomorphic basis is being reconsidered by some researchers (McNerney, personal communication).

11. J. Nijssen, "Les Discoïdales et Leurs Alternatives dans le Nord-ouest du Continent," in *Hil Harriak, Actes du Colloque International sur la Stèle Discoidales* (Bayonne: Musèe Basque, 1984), 347-360.

12. Nijssen, *Signalisations de Sépultures et Stèle Discoïdales.*

13. McNerney, personal communication.

14. F. McCormick, "A Group of Eighteenth-Century Clogher Headstones," *Clogher Record,* 9:1 (1976), 5-16.

15. Little, *Sticks and Stones.*

16. M. Robson, "The Saughtree Crosses in Hawick Museum," *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1978), 34-39.

APPENDIX I

Sites Indicated on Frontispiece

1: Adel, West Yorkshire

2: Bakewell, Derbyshire

3: Brockhall, Northamptonshire

4: East Bridgford, Nottinghamshire

5: Grantham, Lincolnshire

6: Hanslope, Buckinghamshire

7: Helpston, Cambridgeshire

8: Horley, Oxfordshire

9: Kildale, North Yorkshire

10: Lydden, Kent

11: New Romney, Kent

12: Whitby, North Yorkshire

13: Darley Dale, Derbyshire

14: Buckden, Cambridgeshire

15: Chartham, Kent

16: East Harlesey, North Yorkshire

17: Fyfield, Essex

18: Glentham, Lincolnshire

19: King's Cliffe, Cambridgeshire

20: Knaresborough, North Yorkshire

21: Lower Swell, Gloucestershire

22: Langham, Rutland

23: Lingfield, Surrey

24: Over Silton, North Yorkshire

25: Upleatham, North Yorkshire

26: Upper Hambleton, Rutland

27: Uppingham, Rutland

28: Wansford, Cambridgeshire

29: Lennel, Berwickshire

30: Walston, Lanarkshire

31: Lanark, Lanarkshire

32: Aston Cantlow, Warwickshire

33: Ainstable, Cumbria

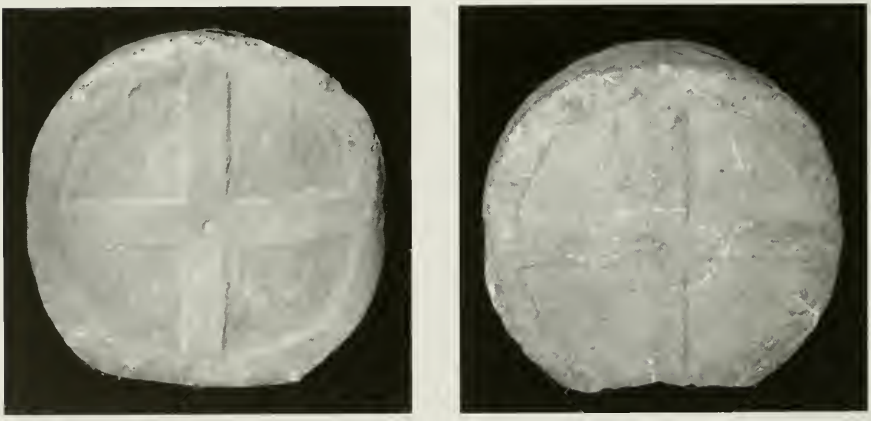
34: Dalston, Cumbria

35: Whalley Lancashire

36 : Barnsley, Yorkshire

APPENDIX II

The Saughtree stone (Figs. 9a-b) is cut from Carboniferous limestone and probably dates from between the 10th and 13th Centuries. English medieval discoid markers are usually small. The somewhat larger size of the Saughtree stone suggests an earlier rather than a later date. The disk head is almost perfectly circular with a diameter of 45.0 cms (17¾ inches) and an irregular thickness of 13.0-16.0 cms. (5-6¼ inches). The "neck", where the shaft would have been attached, is 22.0 cms (8¾ inches) in width. An identical rimmed Greek cross is carved on both sides. Both rim and cross arms are 4.0 cms (1½ inches) wide. The provenance and possible original form of the Saughtree discoid marker is discussed at length by Robson.[16] He concludes that it was found about 1850 and had a shaft, making the artifact a total of "four feet" (1.22 m) in height. This shaft appears to have been separated from the head towards the end of the 19th Century and probably was used as building material in a wall. However, the Crosshall cross, standing over 3 m (10 feet) high, in the adjacent county of Berwickshire has an almost identical disk head. The Saughtree stone may have come from a similar disk-headed high cross rather than a discoid marker. This artifact demonstrates the difficulty in identifying incomplete artifacts of this sort.



Figs. 9a-b. Medieval discoid marker (a - recto, b - verso), Saughtree, Roxburghshire.

APPENDIX III

List of Sites Mentioned in the Text

Belgium
Arel (Arlon), Luxembourg
Junglinster, Luxembourg

England
Adel, West Yorkshire
Ainstable, Cumbria
Bakewell, Derbyshire
Barnsley, Yorkshire
Bishopton, County Durham
Brockhall, Northamptonshire
Buckden, Cambridgeshire
Chartham, Kent
Darley Dale, Derbyshire
Dalston, Cumbria
Durham, County Durham
East Bridgford, Nottinghamshire
East Harlesey, North Yorkshire
Ford, Northumbria
Fyfield, Essex
Glentham, Lincolnshire
Grantham, Lincolnshire
Hanslope, Milton Keynes
Helpston, Cambridgeshire
Horley, Surrey
Kildale, North Yorkshire
King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire
Knaresborough, North Yorkshire
Aston Cantlow, Warwickshire
Langham, Rutland
Lingfield, Sussex
Lower Swell, Gloucestershire
Lydden, Kent
Lythe, North Yorkshire
New Romney, Kent
Over Silton, North Yorkshire
Upleatham, North Yorkshire
Upper Hambleton, Rutland
Uppingham, Rutland
Wansford, Northamptonshire
Whitby, North Yorkshire

Estonia
Hullo, Vormsi

France
Marville, Meuse
Sintheim, Haut-Rhin

Germany
Frelenberg, Schleswig-Holstein
Gerlingen, Baden-Württemberg
Hochkirchen, North Rhine-Westphalia
Homburg, North Rhine-Westphalia
Lülsdorf, North Rhine-Westphalia
Vochem, North Rhine-Westphalia

Ireland
Ballintemple, County Cavan
Devenish Island, County Fermanagh

Isle of Man
Braddon
Kirk Michael

Scotland
Closeburn, Dumfriesshire

Duns, Berwickshire
Glasserton, Wigtownshire
Lanark, Lanarkshire
Lennel, Berwickshire
Polwarth, Berwickshire
Saughtree, Roxburghshire
Walston, Lanarkshire
Whithorn, Wigtownshire

Sweden
Bosjökloster, Skåne

United States
Cat Hill, Kentucky
Coston, North Carolina
Hardy, Kentucky
Groton, Connecticut
New Ipswich, New Hampshire
Norwichtown, Connecticut
Schley, North Carolina

Wales
Llantwit, Glamorgan

APPENDIX IV

Measurements of Scottish Discoid Gravemarkers
All Dimensions in Centimeters (10 cms = about 4 inches)

	Lennel 1	Lennel 2	Lanark	Walston
disk diameter	39.0	41.5	43.0	36.0
thickness	13.0-14.0	13.2	16.0	11.4
height above ground	41.0	52.0	49.0	40.0
height overall	64.0[1]	79.0[1]	?	?
shaft length	24.5[1]	39.5[1]	12.0[1]	12.0[2]
shaft width max	26.0	50.0	33.0	29.0
shaft width min	20.0	23.0	24.0	28.0[3]
outer rim width	6.5	6.5	-	-
inner rim width	3.2	-	-	-
letter height	4.0	9.4	4.0[4]-5.0[5]	5.5[6]-6.0[7]

[1]interpolated
[2]above ground
[3]at junction with disk head
[4]marginal
[5]top
[6]initials
[7]date

Fig. 1. Beth El Cemetery. The fence separates the Jewish cemetery from the rest of Elmwood Cemetery.

BETH EL: MICHIGAN'S OLDEST JEWISH CEMETERY

Ernest L. Abel, Michael L. Kruger, and Jason R. Abel

Introduction

In the stillness of the cemetery, gravestones inventory and commemorate a community's dead and preserve its traditions and beliefs. With each letter of an inscription adding to a gravestone's cost, and its limited space, the details of personal and family life chiseled into a marker are not haphazard. The names of the deceased, their spouses, their children, their birth and death dates, and the occasional epitaphs, biblical texts, or farewell phrases, are all memorials preserving the relationships of people to their families and their communities. This is one reason archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, folklorists, geographers, genealogists, and sociologists often rely on gravesites to reconstruct bygone customs and ideas of belonging.[1]

In a previous article in *Markers*, Foster and Hummel[2] described a paradigm (since expanded[3]), for determining community demographics, gender biases, and kinship relationships from gravemarkers by analyzing the aggregated birth and mortality data on markers and what they say about the dead. In this essay, we use a similar paradigm to describe and analyze markers in Beth El Cemetery, the oldest Jewish burial ground in Michigan.

The first part of this article describes the early beginnings of Michigan's oldest Jewish congregation and its adoption of the new Reform movement in Judaism, which made the community less ritualistic and more egalitarian. The second part describes the congregation's cemetery and explains how its new philosophy affected the markers it erected in its cemetery and their inscriptions. The third part analyzes these inscriptions in terms of what they say about childhood mortality and patterns of gender and kinship structure.

The Early Beth El Community

Temple Beth El, the oldest Jewish congregation in Michigan, was established in Detroit in 1850 by 12 families. At that time there were 51 Ashkenazi (European) Jews (29 males and 22 females) in Detroit, mostly from Bavaria, Germany, out of a total population of 21,000 in the city and 50,000 in the whole country.[4]

Detroit was rarely the first place Jewish immigrants headed when they came to the United States. Most moved there after previously living in New York and Ohio. The main occupations of these first Jewish Detroiters were merchant (ten) and cigar maker (two). Other members of this community included a peddler, blacksmith, grocer, doctor, and portrait painter. As was customary throughout the United States, these Jews organized a religious community called a *minyan* (prayer assembly) as soon as ten or more male adults could be brought together. Such *minyanim* (plural) also became the cultural heart of each Jewish community. In Detroit, the first minyan became the Beth El Society and then the Beth El Congregation.

In 1851, Beth El filed articles of incorporation in Wayne Country. The articles said the Society had been created to provide a place of worship, a venue for teaching Jewish culture, and an organization for acquiring a burial ground for its members.

Soon after its incorporation, Beth El's members debated whether to remain Orthodox or join Judaism's new Reform movement. Although not a deciding factor in the debate, the decision ultimately affected the kinds of markers it erected in its cemetery and the inscriptions on those markers.

There are three main congregational divisions in Judaism. Orthodox Judaism emphasizes an adherence to the rituals of traditional rabbinic Judaism such as wearing a skull cap (yarmulke), strict observance of kosher dietary laws, separation of men and women during religious services, exclusive use of Hebrew in prayers, and continued recognition of the two hereditary priestly castes, the Kohanim (high priests) and their attendants, the Levites. Reform Judaism, the most liberal of the three denominations, emerged in the 19th Century. Although retaining an emphasis on learning and duty, it no longer mandated observance of ritualistic practices or wearing religious paraphernalia. The third division of Judaism, Conservatism, took a middle road, taking different practices from each.[5]

Although originally Orthodox, the majority of the Beth El congregation was becoming solidly middle-class and assimilationist. In 1861 they voted to join the Reform movement, which enabled its members to blend in and interact more easily in the non-Jewish community. Members of the congregation who preferred to follow the older traditions resigned and created a new congregation[6] while some of the members who continued to observe some of the older traditions remained. In 1899, under leadership of its new rabbi, it became aggressively egalitarian, discouraging signs of gender discrimination or individual distinction.

Fig. 2. Variation in size and appearance of gravemarkers typical of Reform Jewish cemeteries.

Fig. 3. Gravestone containing both Hebrew and English inscriptions.

The Beth El Cemetery

One Jewish tradition that continued to be observed in Reform Judaism was burial of Jewish dead only in Jewish cemeteries or in clearly separated sections of communal cemeteries. Accordingly, a year after it organized, the Beth El Congregation purchased a half acre of land facing Champlain Street (now Lafayette) for a cemetery. The original Beth El Cemetery stood alone, but is now located within Detroit's historic Elmwood Cemetery. As is common for Jewish burial grounds, Beth El Cemetery is separated from the rest of Elmwood by an enclosure (see Fig. 1). The cemetery is still maintained by Temple Beth El, although no burials have occurred there since the 1960s.[7]

The Lafayette Beth El Cemetery contains 327 burials with gravemarkers. In contrast to Orthodox and Conservative Jewish cemeteries, where the markers tend to be relatively simple and similar, markers in Beth El are much more varied in size and appearance (see Fig. 2) and contain types commonly found in non-Jewish Victorian cemeteries[8] such as obelisks and urns.

Most of the inscriptions on the markers at Beth El are in English, although 18 percent, the majority of them being the oldest in the cemetery, are in both Hebrew and English (see Fig. 3). The Hebrew part of the inscription (written right to left) typically contains the name and family of the deceased. The letters "pay" and "nun" at the top of this example are an

Fig. 4. Gravestone containing the Star of David, commonplace in Orthodox and Conservative stones but less so on stones in Reform Jewish cemeteries.

abbreviation for "Po Nikaver," meaning "here is buried." The five Hebrew letters at the bottom (again right to left) are Tav, Nun, Tsadik, Bet, and Hay, an acronym for "tehe nishmato tzerurah bitzror hachayim," meaning "may the soul be bound up in the bond of life," a passage from I Samuel (25:29).[9]

Beth El's departure from Orthodoxy is reflected in the absence of symbols commonly found on Jewish markers in Orthodox and Conservative Jewish cemeteries, such as books and lions. The only symbols still retained on some of the markers at Beth El and other Jewish Reform cemeteries are the six-pointed Star of David (see Fig. 4) and, less commonly, the candelabra (see Fig. 5). Interestingly, neither symbol appears on the oldest markers at Beth El.

Reflecting an egalitarian philosophy which no long paid homage to the ancient priestly castes, there is only one stone with the symbol of fingers stretched out in priestly benediction denoting the grave of a Kohan (see Fig. 6). This stone was erected in 1870 or shortly thereafter and would not have been encouraged after the 1899 adoption of aggressively egalitarian measures. In this regard it is noteworthy that none of the markers for the

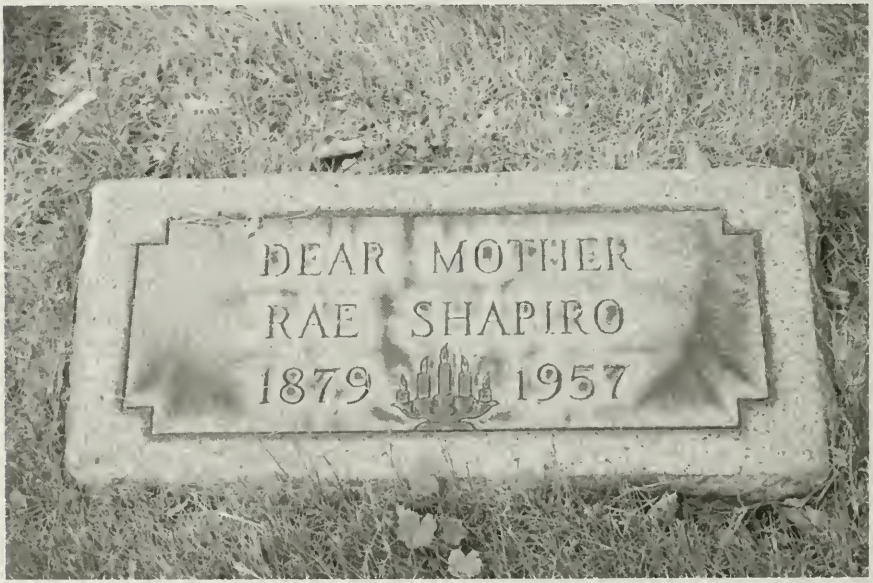


Fig. 5. Gravestone containing menorrha, commonplace on female Orthodox and Conservative Jewish gravestones, but less common on stones in Reform Jewish cemeteries.

Fig. 6. Only gravestone in the cemetery depicting symbolic imagery of the priestly Kohanim.

four male Cohens and three Kahns in Beth El, whose surnames are indicative of the Kohanim, have symbols indicating they are Kohanim. There is also no symbol (a pitcher used for washing the hands of the Kohanim) denoting a Levite on any gravemarker, although there are three Levins and four Levys buried in the cemetery.

Also contrary to Orthodox tradition, the gravesite for the one Kohan marker, the Shlesinger stone (Fig. 6) is in the middle of the cemetery rather than at its edges. The latter tradition, still observed in Orthodox Jewish cemeteries, was adopted so that Kohanim would not be contaminated by the other dead interred in the cemetery.

Although common in Victorian-era gravemarkers, the symbol of the weeping willow is not found at Beth El. Another symbol common in Victorian-era cemeteries, the hand-clasp, perhaps signifying reunion in the afterlife, occurs only once at Beth El (see Fig. 7). The absence of this symbol in Jewish cemeteries might well reflect the absence of a belief in an afterlife in Reform Judaism. While individuals are free to believe in an ultimate resurrection or reunion, this belief is not a cornerstone of Reform Judaism as it is in Christianity.

During its 100-year history there was a rapid increase in the number of burials at Beth El in the period 1840-1880. The trend stabilized for the next 60 years and then rapidly declined after the 1940s. The percentage of burials for each 20-year period from 1840 to 1959 is shown in Figure 8. A more detailed reflection of this decline is indicated in Figure 9, which charts the number of internments for subadults (infants/toddlers/children/teens) and adults (young adults/adults/elderly) [for age-definitions see below]. A decrease in the number of subadult burials beginning in 1880-1899 indicates the community's relocation farther to the north and purchase of additional cemetery space at Woodmere Cemetery in 1873. The increase in adult burials indicates that either the elderly continued to live in the community or that they had earlier purchased cemetery plots at Beth El. The trend of declining burials for subadults and an increasing number of burials for adults is similar to that noted by Foster, *et al.*[10] for burials in rural Illinois as the people in that community moved elsewhere in search of jobs or better farming land, a phenomenon common to frontier settlement.

Sociological Analysis

In this section we examine birth and mortality data gleaned from the markers at Beth El and describe the gender and kinship relationships reflected on them.

Fig. 7. Rare example of hand clasp symbol on marker in Jewish cemeteries.

Birth and Mortality

Social and medical scientists have a special interest in month of birth patterns because month of birth is linked to a wide range of conditions later on in life, including suicide and longevity.[11] However, month of birth has rarely been examined for Jews because such records are rarely kept by synagogues and religion is not indicated on census records. Analyses of gravemarkers at Beth El offered a way to determine Jewish month of birth patterns. Comparison of those patterns with comparable patterns from rural Illinois cemeteries enabled us to determine if there were differences between the two communities in family planning.

At Beth El, information pertaining to birth month was found on 143 of the 327 markers. A Table indicating the monthly distribution for births is shown in Appendix I along with our extrapolated months for conception. As indicated in the Table, there was a clearly defined pattern in births, with a consistent decrease in the hotter months of June to September. The mean number of births per month during June-September was 6.5, about half as many as the 11 per month one would expect by chance. The month with the highest number of births was May, followed by January and March, although as is evident from the Table, differences between the first five months and the last three were relatively minor compared to differences between these months and the June-September months. Looking at

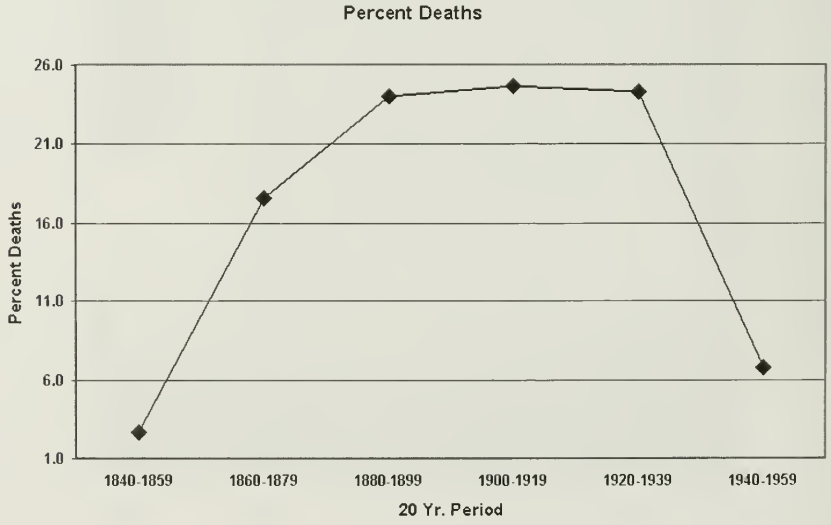


Fig. 8. Percent burials at Beth El in 20-year periods from 1840-1959.

the corresponding months for conception, the fewest conceptions occurred during the last four months of the year and the greatest number occurred during the first eight months. This pattern of births/conceptions differed from the rural Illinois cemeteries studied by Foster and Hummel, where the peak number of births took place between November-February, corresponding to conceptions from January to April.

The difference in birth/conception patterns is not likely due to rural versus urban differences or to socioeconomic differences because such differences tend to either augment (for low socioeconomic groups) or deflate (for high socioeconomic groups) seasonality birth patterns rather than change them, as is the case at Beth El.[12]

A possible explanation is that differences are related to the respective new year calendars for Christians and Jews. For Christians, the "high-spirited chivaries" and optimism of the New Year season may have "inspire(d) amorous exercise!" resulting in a peak in births from November to February[13], whereas for the Jewish community the March-April period, corresponding to the celebratory Passover family holiday, seems to have been the occasion for procreative activity. Unlike the Christian/secular season with its fixed calendar holidays, the Jewish holiday season is lunar-based and can fluctuate by as much as a month from year to year. The optimism associated with the spring Passover season may have encouraged its own calendar-related new beginnings.

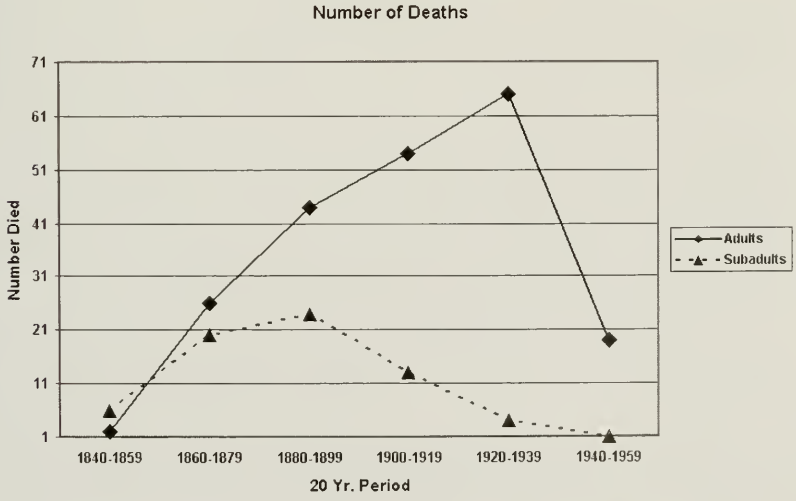


Fig. 9. Number of deaths by 20-year period for adults and subadults.

Death By Age, Gender, and Season

We were able to identify age at death for 279, and gender for 324 of the 327 burials. The average age at death at Beth El was 48. Gender differences in number were minimal: 50.6% were female and 49.4% were male. Both findings are at variance with data from non-Jewish cemeteries. In rural Illinois, for instance, the average age at death was about five years less than at Beth El, and where the number of male deaths was much higher than females. Dethlefsen's[14] data from colonial cemeteries is similar to the rural Illinois data.

One reason death age was higher at Beth El was that the death rate for Jewish infants was much lower than the rate for non-Jews (see below), thereby raising the overall average death age. An explanation for the difference in male-female ratios for the two sites is harder to come by. One possibility is that in the rural communities men were more likely to venture out alone, resulting in a greater number of men in the community than women, whereas this was common for urban-bound Jewish immigrants. Another possibility is that women were less likely to have markers in rural and colonial cemeteries than men.

We next examined month of death for men and women. For comparison purposes with Foster, *et al.*[15] we divided months into the same divisions they used. Our findings for all burials at Beth El are shown in Figure

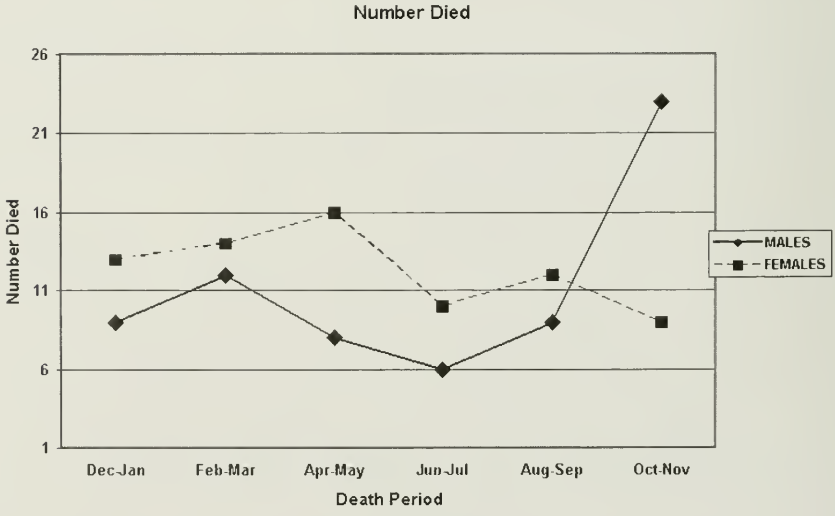


Fig. 10. Death months for males and females at Beth El.

10. Overall, the fewest deaths for men occurred during June-July, whereas the highest percentage occurred in October-November. Female deaths tended to be more evenly dispersed throughout the year. The Table found in Appendix II lists the mean age at death for males and females for each 20 year period from 1840 to 1960. Dethlefsen[16] noted that up until the 19th Century males lived longer than females, but after the 19th Century this pattern was reversed. Foster and Hummel[17] found a similar reversal, but one that began to emerge around the turn of the 20th Century. The same general reversal between males and females was noted at Beth El after 1920.

We next divided ages into the same categories as Foster, *et al.*[18] and compared ages at death in the two communities. The categories were: infant (birth-1), toddler (1-3), child (4-12), teen 13-19), young adult (20-30), adult (31-60), and elder (61 and above). The data are shown in the Table found in Appendix III. Infant/toddler deaths accounted for 13.3% of the total deaths, much lower than the 24.9% deaths for this age category in rural Illinois[19], but consistent with many studies noting a lower mortality among children of Jewish immigrants in the United States.[20] Some of the reasons for this difference are discussed below. Child/teen/young adult deaths accounted for 11.8% of the total deaths, which, though lower than in rural Illinois, was closer to its 18.1% rate. On the other hand, our adult/elder category accounted for 74.9% of the deaths, much higher than the 56.5% reported by Foster and colleagues for this age group. The greater number of adult/elderly at Beth El reflects the fact that if children survived beyond their first three years they had a reasonably good expectation of surviving their young adulthood as well.

We next stratified burials for the three age categories and compared their death patterns by season. The results may be found in the Table comprising Appendix IV. Most infant/toddler deaths occurred in fall and winter; the fewest occurred in summer, which differed considerably from historic infant mortality trends in America and Europe, which rose during the summer (oftentimes over one and a half times the yearly average) in response to annual epidemics of diarrheal diseases during the 17th to the early 20th Centuries.[21] Both Dethlefesen[22] and Foster[23] recorded a comparable tendency for younger deaths to occur in late summer (August-September).

One reason that the Beth El site differed from infant mortality patterns elsewhere is likely related to lower rates of Jewish women in the labor force[24], which meant that infants in Jewish homes were breast fed for at

least their first year of life. Such prolonged and exclusive breast feeding was a major deterrent of infant mortality from water- and food-borne diarrheal diseases responsible for the summer spike in infant/toddler deaths in the 19th Century. Older children and adults may have been similarly exposed, but were much more resistant to infection. A second factor may be related to the month of birth patterns described earlier. Since fewer Jewish children were born during the summer months when diarrheal diseases were most virulent, they would have had less opportunity to become infected than children born during this peak season for infection.

By the third decade of the 20th Century the summer epidemic in infant diarrhea largely disappeared following improvement in sanitation and food preparation and public health campaigns encouraging mothers to breast feed their children for longer periods. There were not enough infant/toddler burials before and after for us to compare deaths before and after 1930.

Social Relationships

The first of the social relationships on gravestones that we examined was gender inequality. We expected that traditional dominant male-preferring attitudes during life would carry over into death, and anticipated this inequality would take the form of a higher percentage of females being identified as a wife (see Fig. 11), mother (see Fig. 12), or daughter than males identified as husband, father, or son. We also anticipated that the extent of this female inferiority would be much lower at Beth El than at the cemeteries in rural Illinois because of Beth El's egalitarian philosophy of equality of the sexes.

Both of these presuppositions were evident at Beth.El. While we found a higher percentage of females (46.3%) than males (34.2%) with expressed relationships to the other sex on the markers at Beth El, the "inferiority" relationship was much less prevalent at Beth El than in rural Illinois, where 71.6% of the female markers had relationships expressed on their markers. By contrast, the percentage of males with an expressed relationship at Beth El and rural Illinois were an identical 34%.

A second indicator of differential status between the genders is the frequency with which male and female markers contain a surname. When first names of both males and females are present on the same stone and only the male's surname is also present, it implies that the female's status is derived from the male. Again, while we found a higher percentage of the

Fig. 11. Marker showing typical "inferior" female relationship expressed as "wife of ..."

males (42.5%) than females (34.8%) identified by surname at Beth El, differences at Beth El were not as great as at rural Illinois, where only 19.1% of the females had their surnames inscribed on their markers compared to 52.7% for the males.

While the Babett Schloss stone (Fig. 11), with its familiar "wife of..." inscription, is typical of Victorian-era markers, the Kahn marker (Fig. 12) illustrates the equal status more often accorded husbands and wives on markers at Beth El, especially beginning in the 20th Century. The Rosenbloom marker (Fig. 13), which also indicates equal status, is likewise interesting because it contains the family name at the top of the marker and repeats it for both male and female. This contrasts with the more common situation in other cemeteries where, if a surname appears at the top of a marker and is repeated, it is repeated only for the male, with the female being typically identified as "wife of" or "his wife." Yet another reflection of Beth El's egalitarian philosophy is the Albert Marx marker (see Fig. 14), which identifies him with the rare designation of "husband of Fannie Marx."

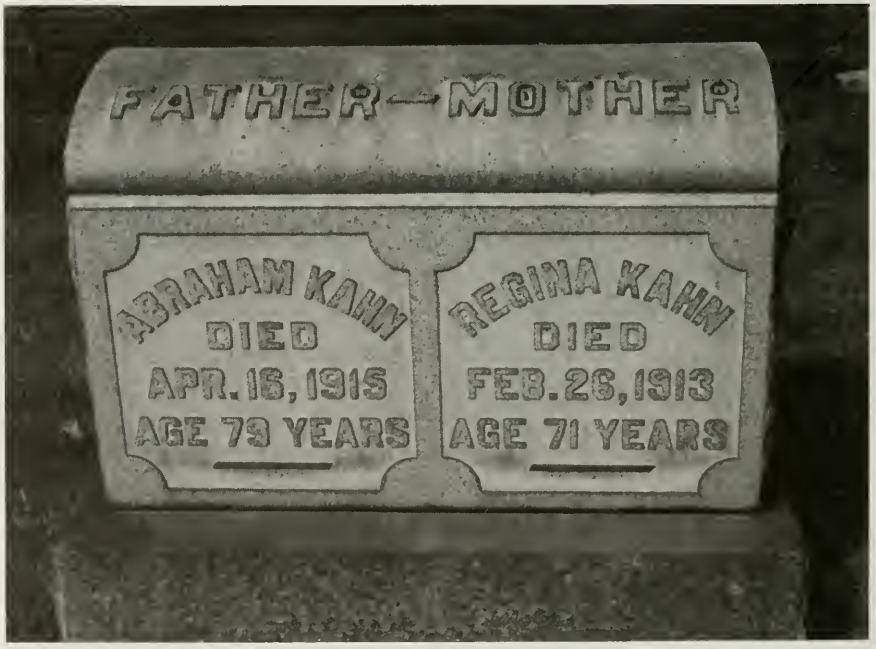


Fig. 12. Kahn marker containing relationships and surnames for both husband and wife.

Closely related to sexism is the paternalistic attitude that a child's life only has meaning in the context of that child's relationship to a parent. Since children were generally considered inferior to adults, Foster and Hummel[25] proposed that subadults (infants/tolders/children/teens) would be much more likely to be identified in the context of familial relationships than adults/elderly. In other words, markers for children would be more likely to express familial relationships because children are generally only regarded in terms of their relationship to their parents.

Twenty-seven of the markers contained an inscription identifying the burial as being a son (13) or daughter (14). Of these, 23 also had an age of death indicated on their markers: 17 of the 23 (74%) were subadults, whereas only 6 (26%) were adults, which is not very different from the

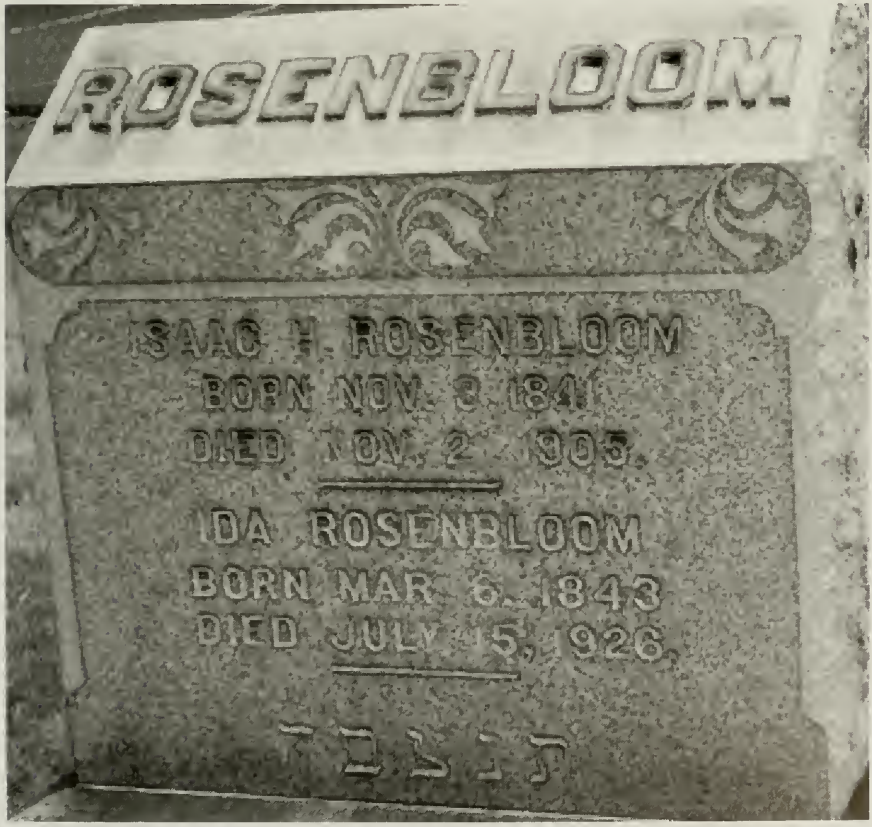


Fig. 13. Rosenbloom marker containing surnames for both husband and wife.

Fig. 14. Albert Marx headstone identifying him as "husband of ...".

percentages in rural Illinois. There were also fewer subadults with surnames on their markers, though exceptions did occur (see Fig. 15). Compared to 82% of the adults, only 18% of the subadults had surnames on their gravemarkers, which was similar to the percentage in rural Illinois.

Kinship

The kinship structure of a community can be discerned from the ratio of the number of people interred to the number of surnames on their cemetery markers: the higher the ratio, the greater the kinship and the greater the homogeneity of the community.[26] Over time, an increasing ratio indicates community solidarity and prosperity, whereas a declining ratio over time reflects economic hardship and abandonment of the community. We identified 163 different surnames at Beth El, a far greater number than the 33 surnames found at Atkins-Woodson cemetery in rural Illinois, reflecting a lesser overall degree of kinship at Beth El.

A lesser degree of kinship was also evident in the number of people with the same surnames. The most common surname at the rural Illinois cemetery was held by 31 individuals, whereas at Beth El the highest number of people with the same surname was 15. At Beth El, five or more surnames accounted for 25.5% of the total, whereas in rural Illinois five or

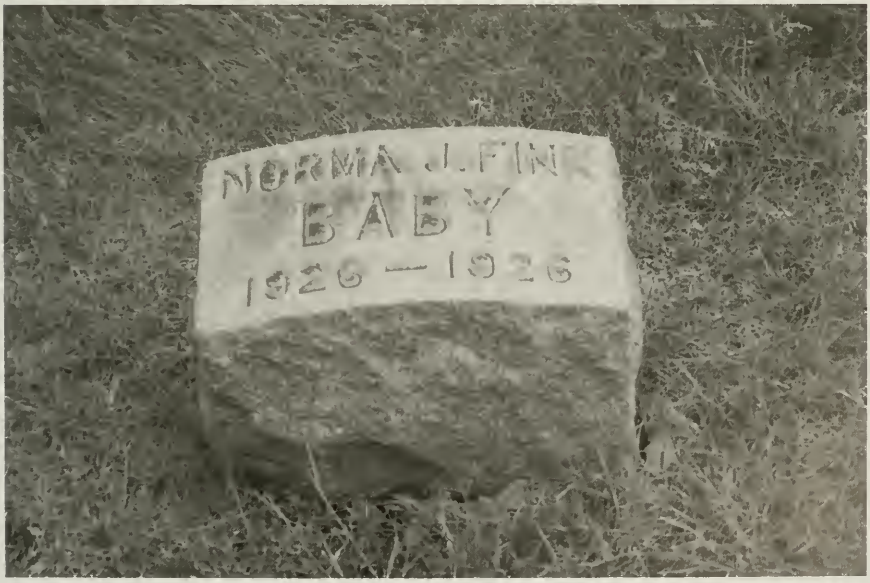


Fig. 15. Marker for infant containing both given and surname.

more surnames accounted for 57.3% of the totals. In the rural Illinois cemetery there were only 15 (14.7%) people who were buried alone, meaning they did not share a surname with anyone else, whereas at Beth El, 96 of 320 (30%) people were buried alone.

The person/surname ratio at the ten cemeteries Foster studied ranged in ratio from a low of 2.25 to a high of 4.94 at three Baptist cemeteries. As shown in Figure 16, the person/surname ratio at Beth El was below the lowest ratio in rural Illinois. After a marked decline in 1860-1879 (likely due to Civil War casualties and internment elsewhere), the person/name ratio at Beth El increased systematically from 1860-1880 (although never coming as high as in rural Illinois) and peaked between 1900-1919, after which it declined systematically.

Conclusions

As Snell[27] reminds us, the inscriptions chipped into gravestones are paid for by the living. Sometimes they are dictated in advance of dying, but typically they reflect the sentiments of those in the here and now. As such, cemeteries provide a unique insight into community life histories and traditions, In many cases, they are a community's only archives. This may be especially so in the case of minority racial and religious communities, whose pasts are often rarely preserved.

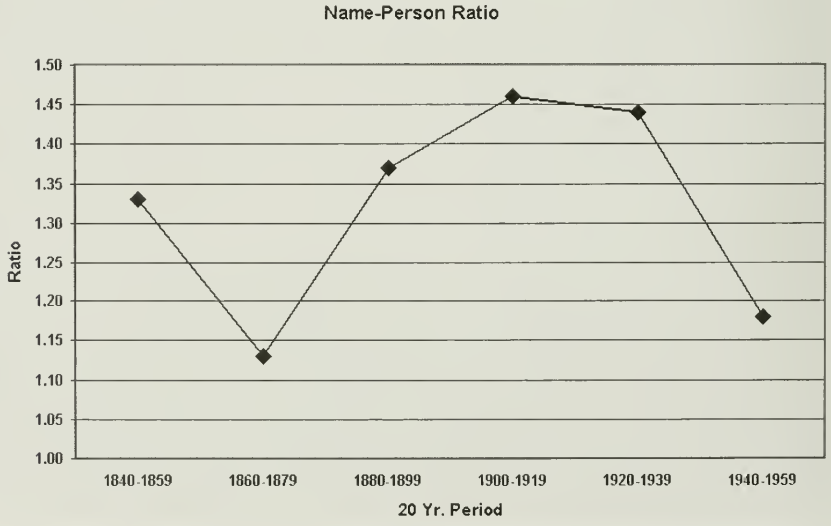


Fig. 16. Name-person ratio for 20-year periods between 1840 and 1959.

Beth El Cemetery, Michigan's oldest Jewish cemetery, aligned itself with the Reform Judaism movement almost from the congregation's beginnings. Reform's characteristically egalitarian philosophy discourages distinctions of religious caste or gender preference, as reflected in the almost total absence here of symbols denoting Judaism's hereditary religious castes which are very prominent in Orthodox and Conservative Jewish cemeteries.

Our analyses of the personal details on Beth El's gravemarkers indicated a pattern of births/conceptions for the Beth El community that differed from the pattern in rural Illinois. We speculated that the differences might be due to timing based on the two different holiday calendars. We also found differences in childhood death patterns which might in part be related to these seasonal differences in births/conceptions. Yet another difference was the extent of gender discrimination at the two cemeteries. Although females were still more likely than males to be identified in terms of their relationship to spouses on their markers than vice versa, and also were less likely to have surnames on their markers, these tendencies occurred to a much lesser extent at Beth El than at cemeteries in rural Illinois. The implication is that the Reform movement's egalitarian philosophy continued to be honored at death, according women a recognition in their own right rather than one due to a relationships to a male.

As in all such studies focusing on relatively few individuals from particular segments of society in particular parts of the country, the relationships we noted at Beth El may be unique to that community. As indicated in the Introduction to this essay and noted by others[28], there is no single Jewish sociocultural identity. Jewish communities throughout the United States are separated into the three broad divisions of Reform, Conservative and Orthodox, and there are often subtle distinctions within these divisions. One might expect these distinctions would be reflected in their cemeteries, but other than general analyses[29] that expectation has yet to be tested.

NOTES

1. K.D.M. Snell, "Gravestones, Belonging and Local Attachment in England 1700-2000." *Past and Present* 179 (2003), 97-134.

2. G.S. Foster, and R.L. Hummel, "The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery: A Sociological Examination of Cemeteries as Communities." *Markers* 12 (1995), 93-117.

3. G.S. Foster, R.L. Hummel, and D.J. Adamchak, "Patterns of Conception, Natality, and Mortality from Midwestern Cemeteries: A Sociological Analysis of Historical Data." *Sociological Quarterly* 39 (1998), 473-489.

4. R.A. Rockway, *The Jews of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986).

5. D.M. Gradwohl, "The Jewish Cemeteries of Louisville, Kentucky: Mirrors of Historical Processes and Theological Diversity through 150 Years." *Markers* 10 (1993), 116-149.

6. I.I. Katz, *The Beth El Story* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955).

7. As the Congregation grew, additional burial space was purchased in 1873 and 1915 for Beth El members and their families within Woodmere Cemetery (Section 27, North F). In 1939 a new site (Beth El Memorial Park) was established and was formally opened in 1940. The last burial at the original Lafayette Street cemetery occurred in the 1960s. Burials still take place at the Woodmere Cemetery, but most now occur at the newer site.

8. Also typical of Reform cemeteries are family plots. While there are no family plots at Beth El, there are such plots at Woodmere and at Beth El Memorial Park. Some Conservative congregations also have family plots. Orthodox congregational cemeteries do not. Instead, only husbands and wives are usually buried side by side. The place where husbands and wives are buried is determined by the chronology of their deaths.

9. The other two lines of the inscription describe Samuel as "a good father" and "the son of Yehudah."

10. "Patterns of Conception," 473-489.

11. Ernest L. Abel and Michael L. Kruger, "Birth Month and Suicide Among Major League Baseball Players." *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 101 (2005), 21-24.

12. B. Pasamanick, S. Dinitz, and H. Knobloch, "Socioeconomic and Seasonal Variations in Birth Rates." *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 38 (1960), 248-254.

13. Foster and Hummel, "The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery."

14. E. Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones and Demography." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 31 (1969), 321-324.

15. "Patterns of Conception."

16. "Colonial Gravestones and Demography."

17. "The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery."

18. "Patterns of Conception."

19. *Ibid.*

20. G.A. Condran and E.A. Kramarow, "Child Mortality Among Jewish Immigrants to the United States." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22 (1991), 223-254.

21. R.A. Cheney, "Seasonal Aspects of Infant and Childhood Mortality: Philadelphia, 1865-1920." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14 (1984), 561-585.

22. "Colonial Gravestones and Demography."

23. "The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery."

24. Condran and Kramarow, "Child Mortality."

25. "The Adkins-Woodson Cemetery."

26. F.W. Young, "Graveyards and social structure." *Rural Sociology* 25 (1960), 446-450.

27. "Gravestones, Belonging and Local Attachment."

28. Gradwohl, "The Jewish Cemeteries of Louisville."

29. e.g., Gradwohl.

APPENDIX I

Frequencies (%) of Birth and Conceptions by Months (1841-1952)

Month	Births	Conceptions
January	17 (11.9%)	14 (9.8%)
February	13 (9.1%)	14 (9.8%)
March	16 (11.2%)	12 (8.4%)
April	13 (9.1%)	17 (11.9%)
May	18 (12.6%)	13 (9.1%)
June	7 (4.9%)	16 (11.2%)
July	8 (5.6%)	13 (9.1%)
August	4 (2.8%)	18 (12.6%)
September	7 (4.9%)	7 (4.9%)
October	14 (9.8%)	8 (5.6%)
November	14 (9.8%)	4 (2.8%)
December	12 (8.4%)	7 (4.9%)

APPENDIX II

Average Age at Death (No. cases) by 20-year period at Beth El Cemetery (1840-1959)

Period	Males	Females	Overall
1840-1859	24.0 (4)	19.5 (4)	21.8 (8)
1860-1879	31.1 (22)	35.3 (24)	33.2 (46)
1880-1899	37.6 (31)	39.5 (37)	38.7 (68)
1900-1919	52.9 (35)	49.5 (31)	51.3 (66)
1920-1939	61.6 (35)	62.3 (34)	61.9 (69)
1940-1959	66.2 (11)	68.2 (9)	67.1 (20)

APPENDIX III

Age Status at Death at Beth El Cemetery (1840-1859)

Status	Deaths	
	N	%
Infant (>1)	15	5.4
Toddler (1-3)	22	7.9
Child (4-12)	12	4.3
Teen (13-19)	8	2.9
Young Adult (20-30)	13	4.7
Adult (31-60)	98	35.1
Elder (61+)	111	39.8

APPENDIX IV

Deaths By Season at Beth El Cemetery (1840-1959)

	Winter	Spring	Summer	Fall	Total
Months:	(Nov-Jan)	(Feb-Apr)	(May-July)	(Aug-Oct)	
Age Cat.					
Infant/Toddler	11 (32.4%)	7 (20.6%)	5 (14.7%)	11 (32.4%)	34(14.6%)
Child/ Young Adult	5 (17.2%)	9 (31.0%)	8 (27.6%)	7 (24.1%)	29 (12.4%)
Adult/Elder	45 (26.5%)	51 (30.0%)	32 (18.8%)	42 (24.7%)	170 (73%)

Fig. 1. Caroline Chapman, 1850, Washington Center, NH.

"GOTHIC" CAST-IRON GRAVEMARKERS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE (AND BEYOND)

William Lowenthal

Introduction

This essay discusses an unusual style of gravemarker, examples of which were placed in a limited number of New Hampshire cemeteries for a few years in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. They cannot properly be called grave*stones*, since they are made of cast-iron. They share a uniform Victorian "Gothic" design. Although the focus here is on the specimens signed by Charles H. Greenleaf and James Newman in the greater Hillsborough region, the style has been found both elsewhere in New Hampshire (signed by D. French) and much further beyond, suggesting at the very least the existence of a commercially-available foundry mold pattern.

The Greenleaf and Newman Markers

A country road leaves the calendar-perfect common of the town of Washington, New Hampshire and shortly curves its way past a graveyard. Visitors who linger here are usually looking for a famous stone marking the burial place of the *leg* of Captain Samuel Jones, amputated in 1804. Should they notice, these visitors might also puzzle over some markers which seem out of place here in the heart of stony New England, for they are of an atypical construction and appearance. Made of iron, they resemble the facade of a Gothic cathedral. They embody some interesting contradictions. Though ironworking is emblematic of the Industrial Revolution, and they date from that period, the process used to make these markers is a low-technology endeavor that could be performed by one man (excluding production of the iron itself). And though the use of iron as a gravemarker material is highly progressive, the motif dates back five centuries. The simple fact that there are so few of them, and those that exist tend to run in families, suggests they never found a wide appreciation, both in style and material.

There are three of these markers in the Washington Center Cemetery, dating in the 1840s and '50s, and all completely identical except for size and lettering. The one belonging to Caroline Chapman (Fig. 1), who died in 1850 at age 5, displays a strong clue to their origin. On the reverse side (Fig. 2) is a small plate with the words "Greenleaf & Newman, Hillsboro Br. N.H."[1]

Fig. 2. Caroline Chapman marker, showing typical reverse.

In the greater Hillsborough region I ultimately located just 15 of these markers, plus a "foot" marker without its head. Paradoxically, none can be found in Hillsborough itself. They exhibit a high degree of locational clustering in the region west of Concord, New Hampshire, as can be seen in the Table found in Appendix I; for this reason I attribute all in this area to Greenleaf and Newman even though some are "unsigned."

There is another strong tendency for the markers to be either belonging to relatives of Greenleaf or Newman, or to be clustered in a few other family groups (e.g. Fig. 3). These two traits, along with the general extreme rarity of the markers, suggests that they may have been too avant-garde or otherwise unsuited for the wider public.

The Table presented in Appendix II describes all the surviving Greenleaf and Newman markers with family relationships where known. Approximate heights and widths are shown; height is from the base to the top of the center spire and is not available where the marker is broken or subsided.

I have no doubt that more of these markers were originally produced. In a number of locations there seem to be gaps between existing iron mark-

Fig. 3. Fisher Family markers, Deering, NH, showing subsidence in soft soil.

Fig. 4. Charles (1840) and William (1841) Barney, Washington Center, NH.

ers in family plots, suggesting missing examples. The footmarker in Newport with the initials "H.H.M." is an obvious orphan. Though cast-iron is strong from a load-bearing perspective, it is brittle, and these markers had what could be termed a design flaw in the way they were mounted to their stone bases; only short pegs cast with the main body formed their anchoring points. Indeed, since I have been studying them a prime example has toppled and now is slowly being overgrown with grass. Also, it is likely that because of their unusual, even bizarre appearance, they were tempting targets for thieves, as is continuing to happen to iron cemetery gates and fences.

As the Table shows, the majority of markers are dated in the early 1850s and none after 1854, suggesting a manufacturing date range. Conventional stone markers present challenges in ascertaining the original carving date when multiple names and dates appear, as names could have been added at any time, or the stone was carved upon the death of the spouse, years after the death of the first spouse. However, the very nature of iron casting lets one establish with certainty that the *latest* date on the marker is the *earliest* it could have been made. With cast-iron, there is no re-lettering.

The Table also shows there are three standard sizes, with the smallest reserved for small children. The molds were therefore most probably offered in a limited number of sizes, all having an approximate height to width ratio of 2.2:1

Beyond the size and lettering, these markers are quite uniform in design and execution, as might be expected for the output of a mold (Figs. 4, 5, 6). The lettering panel dominates the center of the marker, and forms a true Gothic arch. There are three knobbly spires, the center one tallest and crowning the arch. In the triangular space between the arch and its crown are two darts and an object somewhat like a fleur-de-lys. The two flanking spires crown columnar elements which have a raised floret in the middle. From the front, the markers give the appearance of bulk and solidity, but they are actually quite two-dimensional; less than an inch thick at most.

The lettering is fairly uniform among all the markers. A name in a half-circle has the largest glyph. For women's and children's markers, usually only the first name is in the half-circle; mens' display both first and surname in this style.[2] The text is a mix of upper and lower case. On a few markers, the word "DIED" appears in a wreath, but there is usually no other ornamentation to the letters; nor are the letters in any form of script or fancy glyph.

Fig. 5. Hannah Abell, 1852, Goshen, NH, with detached foot marker.

Fig. 6. Olive Draper, 1850, East Washington, NH, with detached foot marker.

The reverse of the markers is unadorned, and concave where the front is convex (and vice versa), except the letters, which have no indentation on the back. A "maker's" plate appears on the reverse of many, either in the center or at the bottom. In some cases the plate looks subsequently attached, in others it has a more integral appearance as if it were cast directly into the marker (Fig 7). All "maker's" plates reference "Hillsboro Br. N.H."

The footmarkers echo the shape and general style of the headmarkers, but their spires lack any of the knobbly details of their larger kin. The fleur-de-lys and darts are present. Typically, only initials in very bold letters (separated by periods) appear on the footmarkers.[3]

Given cast-iron's well known tendency to oxidize when exposed to the elements, one wonders what their original appearance was, and what the thinking was about the effects of time. They were undoubtedly meant to last, like other markers, until the Resurrection, so what was the vision of their lasting appearance? In a few protected areas on some of the markers flakes of white enamel can be found; whether this is original or not cannot be discerned. And if bright white, they might have resembled the white marble of so many of their contemporaries. If the intention was to maintain the paint, they would have been adequately protected. Over time,

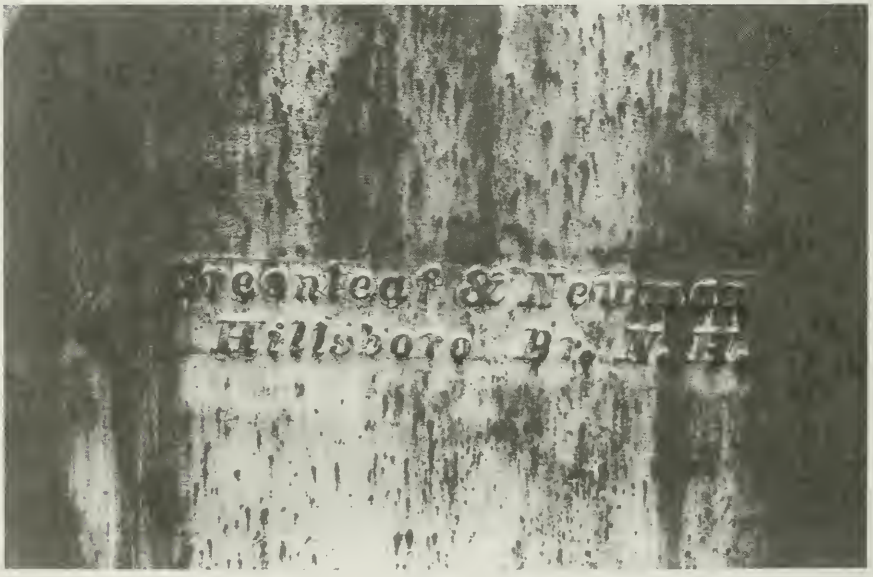


Fig. 7. Typical Greenleaf & Newman makers' name plate.

though, the sad but inevitable decline in attention paid to old things has caused them to rust, break, and vanish.

Greenleaf and Newman—Who Were They?

The plain truth is there are no historical references to the markers, only scant reference to Greenleaf and Newman separately, and none as a team.

Obviously, since many of the markers were conveniently "signed" with a reference to Hillsborough Bridge, I hoped studying Hillsborough town histories might yield some information about the enterprise. *The History of Hillsborough, NH 1735—1921 V.2 (Biography and Genealogy)* contained this entry:

> **Newman, James,** (son of Joseph and Pamelia (Bingham) Newman, b. in Washington May 10, 1818; came to Hillsborough in 1841 and engaged in the stove and tinware business for many years. He was an upright, energetic, public spirited business man, respected by all...He d. May 10, 1884.

The *1860 New England Business Directory* lists one "Jas. Newman of Hillsboro Br" under the heading "Stove Dealers and Tinsmiths."

The mention of stoves, assembled of cast-iron panels, leads me to believe this is the Newman of Greenleaf & Newman. However, there is no direct reference to an iron *foundry*. Thus, it is possible that the "stove and tinware business" could mean simply dealing in finished goods. The foundry which actually produced the markers could have been owned by someone else and located anywhere in the vicinity. In fact, a history of Washington mentions "Gage's Mill, which at one time manufactured stove castings."[4] This was purchased by one Frank P. Newman (b. 1852), and was renamed "Newman & Wiley Mills." Frank Newman was a first cousin once removed of James.[5] Frank was born too late to have had a hand in the making of the iron markers, and the mill was in Washington, not Hillsborough, but it does suggest a family connection to iron making.

There are genealogical links to James Newman and two of the markers. James's mother, Pamelia, was the daughter of Harris and Phebe Bingham of Lempster, NH. Her parents share a large Greenleaf & Newman marker in the main Lempster Cemetery (Fig. 8). Also, Newman's first cousin once removed was Caroline Chapman, the young girl whose iron marker in Washington was noted and shown (Figs. 1-2) at the beginning of this article.

In a "maker's" plate on one marker, the name "C. H. Greenleaf" ap-

Fig. 8. Harris (1822) and Phebe (1824) Bingham, Lempster, NH. Maternal grandparents of James Newman. Taken prior to toppling of marker.

Fig. 9. Makers' name plate showing C. H. Greenleaf only.

Fig. 10. Elizabeth Greenleaf (1847), Washington, NH.
Mother of C. H. Greenleaf.

pears, without Newman (Fig. 9). The initials gave me the ability to identify him from brief historical records. The fact that here only his name appears raises questions about the partnership being dissolved at some point, particularly when combined with the above 1860 reference to James Newman as a stove dealer with no mention of Greenleaf.

The *History of Washington, NH* (1886) lists a Charles H. Greenleaf, one of 11 children of Daniel Greenleaf, "born in Concord May 7, 1812; m. Mrs. Elizabeth Platt, res. in Lempster, died in Washington May 20, 1886."[6] His father, Daniel Greenleaf (Jr.), was born in 1780, married Elizabeth W. Gale, and moved to Washington in 1820, dying there in 1847. Charles's mother also died in 1847. Hers is the name on one of the Greenleaf & Newman markers I first encountered in the Washington Cemetery (Fig. 10). Daniel's gravestone next to hers is a relatively modern standardized veteran's marker. I suspect that he may have also had an iron marker obtained from his son, now replaced.

Though there are no further references to C. H. Greenleaf, and an occupational description is lacking for him, I nonetheless believe I have identified the Greenleaf of Greenleaf & Newman.

Fig. 11. Plot of John Platt (1851), Lempster, NH, showing iron fencing with balusters suggestive of the "Gothic" iron markers. Platt was the former husband of C. H. Greenleaf's wife.

There is another intriguing but wispy thread that can be followed, however. Recall that C. H. Greenleaf married the widow Elizabeth Platt, and that they resided in Lempster for some years. Very near the iron marker in Lempster for Harris and Phebe Bingham (Newman's maternal grandparents) can be found a marble obelisk surrounded by a cast-iron fence whose balusters are extremely similar to the spires of the Greenleaf & Newman markers (Fig. 11). The obelisk and fence is for the Platt family, with John Platt the "primary" name.[7] On the left side of the obelisk are the names of two young children of John and Elizabeth Platt. But on the right side is the name C. H. Greenleaf, and "Elizabeth B., wife of C. H. Greenleaf and widow of John Platt."[8] This causes the highly unusual situation of two husbands sharing a plot and a stone with one wife. Apparently Elizabeth's wish was to be buried with her children (which meant with Platt, their father), and Greenleaf's wish was to be with his wife. Indulging in pure poetic license, could Elizabeth have noticed and liked the Bingham iron marker near her late husband's plot, seen that Greenleaf & Newman were the makers, decided to commission an iron fence from them for the plot, and thus made the acquaintance of the middle-aged bachelor Charles Greenleaf?

The D. French Markers

The late Barbara Rotundo had a long-standing interest in metallic gravemarkers, in particular the fairly common "white bronze" (zinc) markers of the late 19th Century. In 1994 I began a brief correspondence with her to see if she had had any exposure to the iron markers I was studying. She replied that she had, indeed, encountered the Washington Center pieces. She informed me that she had also seen several of the same type of markers in Danville, NH, near the border of Massachusetts. This was intriguing because I had so far found nothing beyond a 25-mile radius of Hillsborough, and Danville is over 60 road miles away from there.

She had not researched any of these pieces, but suggested that the Danville markers may also have been made by Greenleaf and Newman. As soon as possible I journeyed to Danville, and found three of them: much to my surprise they were all signed "D. French, Haverhill, Mass." In size, design, lettering, and dates they are indistinguishable from the Greenleaf and Newman examples (see Appendix III). Two of them, however, feature oval copper frames attached meant to hold daguerreotypes, as shown in Figures 12 and 13. None of the Greenleaf/Newman markers have this in-

teresting accessory. Sadly, the images they once held are long gone, as is the glass which encased them.[9]

Examination of cemeteries in the surrounding areas, including Haverhill itself and going all the way out to the seacoast, turned up no further ex-

Fig. 12. Miriam Dearborn (1852), Danville, NH. Makers' plate shows D. French. Note daguerreotype frame. Broken spire testifies to the brittle nature of cast-iron.

amples, so it is indeed puzzling why tiny Danville should have three. I could find no historical reference to a D. French from Haverhill, so nothing is known of him. As hopeful as it initially seemed, it is *not* possible that this D. French is the same person as the noted sculptor Daniel Chester French.[10]

Distribution Elsewhere

Especially intriguing were photographs sent to me by Barbara Rotundo of similar pieces in Rochester, New York and Montgomery, Alabama! The Rochester example in Barbara's photograph is virtually identical to the New Hampshire pieces, except that a botanical decoration appears above the lettering (Fig. 14). The Montgomery piece may be a foot marker, and it, too, is quite similar to the others, except the lettering appears to have been separately made and attached by rivets. The overall similarity between these far-flung pieces led Barbara to write: "I have a theory—and have never tried to get evidence to support it—that some outfit, perhaps in Philadelphia or New York City, made these molds and sold them to small and large local foundries."[11]

The molds she referred to remain elusive; I have communicated with the curators of the Saugus Iron Works in Massachusetts and the Hopewell

Fig. 13. James Hook, left (1851) and Permelia Hook (1853), Danville, NH. Note typical setting of markers in granite slabs.

Fig. 14. Albert Freeborn (1854), Rochester, NY.
Photo by Barbara Rotundo.

Furnace in Pennsylvania, both units of the National Park Service, to see if such patterns existed in their collections. Both replied that they had never encountered them before.

The similarity could otherwise be explained by postulating that dealers throughout the country took orders for the markers and had them made at one or two foundries that specialized in this craft. They did not have to be local to the dealers at all; effective rail transportation existed by the 1850s, and, in contrast to stone markers, iron is much more durable in shipping.

How They Were Made

Many of the convex features on the face of the markers have corresponding concave surfaces on the back. This indicates that a double-sided mold was used; otherwise the reverse would be flat and lack any detail.

This type of iron working is called "flask casting." Two identical box frames are constructed. One box, called the "drag," is laid on a flat "follow board." The pattern is placed in the box with its obverse facing up. A fine, damp sand is sifted over it until the box is filled to the rim, at which point it is firmly packed. After removing excess sand with a level (the "strike"), another follow board is laid on top and the drag is turned over. Removing the first follow board exposes the back of the pattern. The second box frame ("the cope") is placed on the drag and more sand is packed in. A wooden wedge called a "gate" is placed in the sand, which forms a conduit for the molten iron. The cope is filled to the top with more sand, tamped, and leveled. The gate is removed, the two halves of the flask are separated, and the pattern is carefully removed. When the cope and drag are mated and clamped, the hollow formed by both sides of the pattern is preserved in the center of the flask's sand. Iron is poured through the gate into the hollow and allowed to cool.

Of all the known examples of this type found in New Hampshire, the basic pattern varied only in size. The lettering verbiage varied, of course, which probably meant the basic molds had separate boards to which letter blocks (like type) were glued. With the lettering board attached to the main pattern (but not permanently, so the mold could be reused), the letters became integral to the overall casting.

Conservation Status

Iron and a harsh environment are mighty foes. That is the obstacle to overcome; challenging enough even without the fatal flaw of these mark-

Fig. 15. Eleanor W. Starkey (1852), Antrim, NH, showing recent attempt at conservation by spray painting.

ers' design - the ridiculously small and delicate pegs which anchor them into their pedestals.

Just in the time I have been observing them significant events have occurred to affect the survivability of a number of these rare monuments. The Eleanor Starkey marker in Antrim has received a coat of silver spray paint, presumably rustproof (Fig. 15). The intent is good, though it is startling and no doubt makes it look very different from what was intended by the designers. The Phebe Matilda Warde marker in Henniker, in years past displaced and simply leaning against a tree on the edge of the cemetery, seemed likely to become a decoration for a dorm room in adjacent New England College. Happily, it has been rescued and re-erected, though possibly in the wrong plot.[12] Unhappily, as previously mentioned, the massive marker for Harris and Phebe Bingham in Lempster has toppled and must soon vanish through contact with the earth or theft unless conservation is undertaken (Fig. 16). And the three Fisher markers (see Fig. 3) in the abandoned plot in Deering look to be further sinking into the apparently soft earth.

Conclusion

The few surviving examples (only 18 in New Hampshire) of this wonderful and rare art form illustrate a truism about taste: to become popular, a style must be accepted by the consuming public. Colonial and post-Colonial New England signaled its approval of slate and marble for funerary art, and countless thousands of existing examples attest to that. Only in the last hundred years or less has granite supplanted these earlier materials. The Gothic-style iron markers had two strikes against them. Not only is the material of the markers unusual and unorthodox, the shape is quite different from nearly anything they were traditionally associated with. For a real trend to start, these two obstacles had to be overcome, which did not happen in New Hampshire or, apparently, elsewhere.

Fig. 16. Harris and Phebe Bingham, showing present toppled and overgrown condition. Note thin iron peg in lower left corner.

NOTES

1. Hillsborough Bridge is the historic mill section of the town of Hillsborough (popularly spelled Hilllsboro), New Hampshire, sited on the Contoocook River about 10 miles southeast of Washington. In 1850 the town's population was about 1700.

2. The "Wid. Lydia Cram" has her whole name in the half-circle; the child brothers Ezra and William Fisher appear side-by-side.

3. Harris and Phebe Bingham's entire surname appears on their footmarker.

4. Ronald Jager and Grace Jager, *Portrait Of A Hill Town – A History of Washington, N.H 1876 – 1976* (1977), 153-156.

5. James Newman's father's brother's son's son.

6. P. 459. This would put him in his early 40s when the markers were made.

7. Platt died 1851, the time of the iron markers.

8. C.H. died 1886; Elizabeth died 1881.

9. Except for a few shards, which I discovered "the hard way."

10. Daniel Chester French, who hailed from nearby (to Danville) Exeter, New Hampshire, made such well-known and -loved pieces as the bronze "Concord Minute Man" statue placed at the Old North Bridge in Concord, Massachusetts, and the marble Seated Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial. Born in 1850, he was a child at the time these iron markers were made.

11. Personal communication, March 27 1994.

12. Her marker is placed next to other iron markers in the plot of her husband's relatives (the Warde Family). I suspect its original location was in the adjacent plot of her husband, George Warde, where she is listed on his obelisk. This leads me to further suspect that her marker was placed on a base which originally held yet another vanished iron marker for a Warde family member.

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Greenleaf and Newman Iron Markers

Town	Quantity	Number of Cemeteries
Washington	4	2
Henniker	4	1
Deering	4	2
Lempster	1	1
Goshen	1	1
Antrim	1	1
Newport	1 ("foot" marker only)	1

APPENDIX II

Inventory of All Known Greenleaf and Newman Iron Markers

Marker Name	Relationship to Greenleaf or Newman, or to other family iron markers	Death Date(s)	Age(s) at Death	Approx. Ht. - Wth (in.)	Location	Foot-marker Present?
Elizabeth Greenleaf	Mother of Charles H. Greenleaf	1847	81	48 – 22	Washington Center	Yes
Caroline Chapman	First cousin once-removed of James Newman	1850	5	35 - 16	Washington Center	No
Harris and Phebe Bingham	Maternal grandparents of James Newman	1822, 1824	58, 60	60 - 27	Lempster	Yes
Phebe Warde	Warde family	1852	26	48 - 22	Henniker	No
Jesse and Sally Warde	Warde family	1838, 1851	42, 52	N/A - 27	Henniker	No
William and Sarah Warde	Warde family (son and daughter of Jesse and Sally Warde)	1852, 1854	20, 18	48 - 22	Henniker	No
Mary Fisher	Fisher family (wife of Ezra Fisher)	1854	76	N/A - 22	Deering	No
Ezra Fisher	Fisher family	1852	83	48 - 22	Deering	Yes
Ezra and William Fisher	Fisher family (sons of Ezra and Mary Fisher)	1848, 1828	48, 16	N/A - 22	Deering	Yes
Charles and William Barney	None known	1840, 1841	2, 4	35 - 16	Washington Center	No
Hannah Abell	None known	1852	42	48 - 22	Goshen	Yes
Simon Brown	None known	1850	80	60 - 27	Henniker	No

Lydia Cram	None known	1851	52	48 - 22	East Deering	No
Olive B. Draper	None known	1850	1	35 - 16	East Washington	Yes
Eleanor W. Starkey	None known	1852	23	60 - 27	Antrim	No
"H.H.M."	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Newport	Foot-marker only

APPENDIX III

Inventory of All Known D. French Iron Markers

Marker Name	Death Date(s)	Age(s) at Death	Approx. Ht. - Wth (in.)	Location	Foot-marker Present?	Remarks
Permelia Hook	1853	65	48 – 22	Danville	Yes	Has daguerreotype frame
James Hook	1851	65	48 – 22	Danville	Yes	
Miriam Dearborn	1853	43	48 – 22	Danville	Yes	Has daguerreotype frame

THE YEAR'S WORK IN CEMETERY AND GRAVEMARKER STUDIES: AN INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Richard E. Meyer

This annual feature of *Markers*, inaugurated in 1995, is intended to serve as an ongoing, working bibliography of relevant scholarship in the interdisciplinary field of Cemetery and Gravemarker Studies, including relevant works dealing with cenotaphs and public monuments and/or memorials. With significant exceptions, since 2004, it has restricted itself to English-language works in the modern era (i.e., post-1500), consisting of books, scholarly articles, and theses/dissertations. Excluded are conference presentations, audio-visual materials, newspaper articles, book reviews, items in trade and popular magazines, compilations of gravemarker inscriptions, and a number of non-scholarly items of varying sorts. Also not included are articles found in *Markers* or in the *AGS Quarterly*. Bracketed notations in **[bold]** occur where geographical locale is unclear. This year's bibliography features materials published in 2006 but not covered in *Markers XXIV*, as well as from 2007: items published in 2007 after this listing was compiled will be included in next year's edition.

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