

MARKERS IV

The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies

Edited by

David Watters

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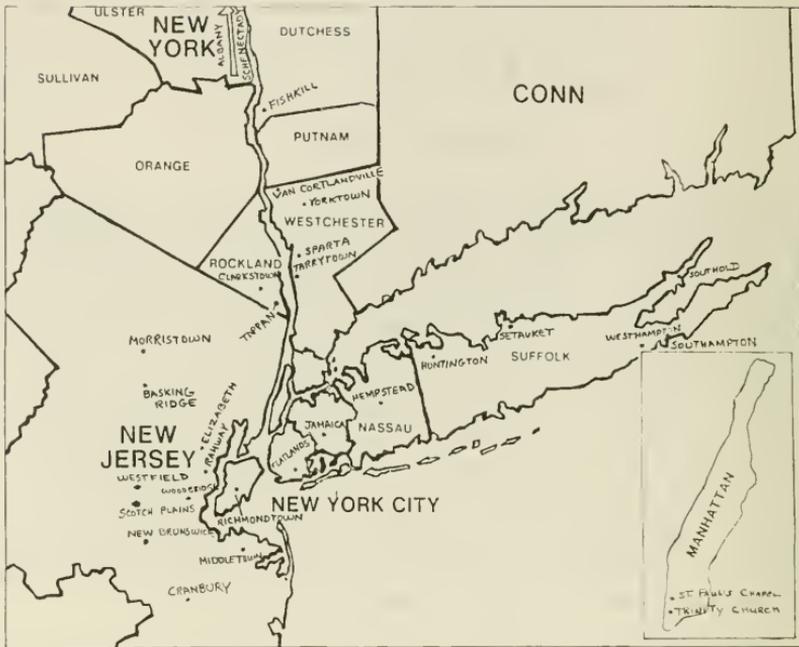
The New York and New Jersey
Gravestone Carving Tradition

Richard F. Welch

Valuable as much of the work on early American gravestones has been, almost all of it has suffered from a serious limitation: confinement to the New England region. Not that New England's monopoly on gravestone scholarship has been entirely unjustified. The New England colonies gave birth to the American gravestone carving tradition, and its practitioners were gifted and numerous. Additionally, many intra-regional schools of gravestone carving flourished before the native vision was ultimately overwhelmed by neoclassicism. Nevertheless, the hypnotic effect of New England gravemarkers has led to the neglect of other important and distinctive regional schools of carving. Perhaps the most notable of these lies on the borders of New England itself--the New Jersey and New York gravestone cutting tradition (Map 1).

The evolution of gravestone cutting in New York and New Jersey merits study for several reasons. The region's tradition is second only to New England in number of craftsmen and extant memorials. Lower Hudson River valley carvers possessed a rich vocabulary of funerary design distinct from New England patterns. The evolution of gravestone cutting in New York and New Jersey sheds light on emerging cultural patterns in a region vital in itself, and extends our knowledge of the development of funerary art throughout English North America. Lastly, the vibrancy of the New York-New Jersey tradition testifies further to the diversity and genius of the colonial and Federal carvers.

Before 1664, New York and New Jersey comprised the bulk of the Dutch New Netherlands colony. While the Dutch, and their culture, predominated the colony, the area was much more heterogeneous than neighboring English possessions. Huguenot, Walloon, German and English communities were well established. No Dutch gravemarkers from the period of their dominion remain and the records suggest that, other than the possible use of uninscribed field stones, the Dutch did not use gravemarkers at all.¹ Dutch language gravestones are found from Brooklyn to Schenectady, but they date only from the 1740s, three generations after New Netherlands became New York and New Jersey. It seems clear that



Map 1. New York and New Jersey locations in study.

the Dutch adopted gravestones, and hereditary surnames, from the English.

English settlements in New York began in 1640 when New England emigrants began to colonize eastern Long Island. The Dutch government in New Amsterdam invited other groups of New Englanders to settle on the western part of the Island where they established the towns of New Utrecht, Gravesend, Flushing, Newtown, and Hempstead. Consequently, when New Netherlands fell to the English in 1664, a sizable English contingent already existed. Plantation schemes in northern New Jersey, especially the Newark-Elizabeth area, drew English settlers from both eastern Long Island and New England itself. Later Dutch migrations from King's County on Long Island to Bergen and Passaic County in New Jersey not only added population, but also gave the latter areas a stronger Dutch character than it had under the New Netherland's government.

By 1682, gravestones were being sent from New England to eastern Suffolk County on Long Island, an area that remained in a New England cultural zone until the Revolutionary War. New York and New Jersey carvers

later penetrated the Suffolk market, but over ninety percent of the County's pre-1820 gravestones were New England imports. However, the earliest symbol decorated stone in New York is not a New England marker. Rather it is the memorial of Richard Churcher, 1681, standing in Manhattan's Trinity Church, and is probably an import from England (Fig. 1). The Churcher stone is carved on both sides, one bearing a stark skull and crossbones, the other an incised inscription. Neither the style of cutting nor the double-sided method was widely used in the colonies. The presence of such an early English import presages the importance of later immigrant stonecutters in the development of New York gravestone cutting. But imports, like the Churcher marker, had little to do with the appearance of an indigenous tradition.

The real beginnings of the Lower Hudson River valley gravestone cutting tradition took place not in New York, but in northern New Jersey during the second decade of the eighteenth century. The emergence of a distinctive New Jersey gravestone cutting school was facilitated by the presence of extensive sandstone deposits in the Newark area. Until the 1790s, this New Jersey sandstone served as the most common medium for

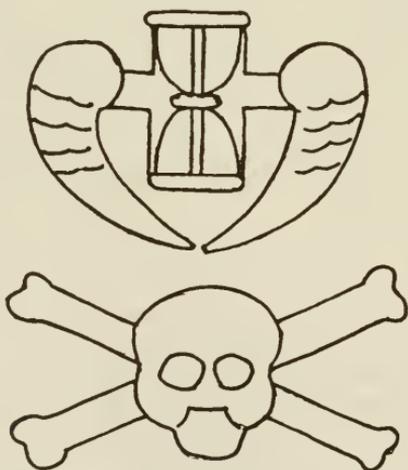


Figure 1. Richard Churcher, 1681, Trinity Churchyard.

almost all New York and New Jersey memorials. The New Jersey origins for the Lower Hudson gravestone tradition may have been influenced by immigrants from New England and eastern Long Island who settled heavily in Essex and Union Counties. This opens the possibility that some New England stonecutters migrated to East Jersey, as it was then called, and continued to craft markers for the inhabitants. If relocated New England craftsmen were responsible for transplanting the practice of erecting gravestones, the ensuing stylistic developments are distinctive to the New Jersey region.

Unfortunately, an analysis of the genesis of gravestone carving in New Jersey is hindered by the loss of the Old Newark burial ground which was New Jersey's oldest. However, most of the burial grounds from the other early settlements, especially the large cemeteries at Elizabeth and Woodbridge have survived, permitting a reasonably accurate appraisal of the evolution of Lower Hudson River valley gravestone styles.

The earliest professionally made gravestone markers appeared ca. 1700-1720 when both graveslabs and gravestones came into use. The graveslabs are well represented by the sandstone memorial to Helen Gordon, 1687, now in St. Peter's Churchyard, Perth Amboy (Fig. 2). Her husband, Thomas, who died in 1722, received a similar monument, and it is likely both were carved after the latter's death. Most of the Gordon slab is taken up by an inscription fashioned with deeply cut archaic lettering. All the letters are upper case, and the cutter engaged in the practice of using ligatures. A large skull-and-crossbones and hourglass, both symbols of mortality, stand immediately beneath the inscription. The Thomas Gordon stone is unadorned, with the inscription in Latin. Two similar slabs dated 1687 are mounted on the walls of the Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth. These bear boldly engraved crossbones.

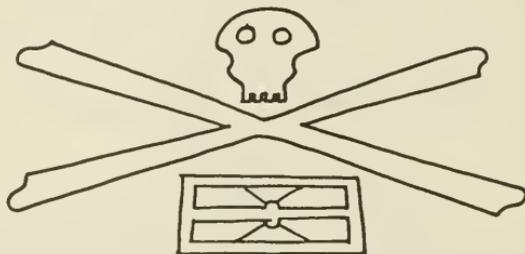


Figure 2. Helen Gordon, 1687, Perth Amboy.

Gravestones proper also began to be carved in the 1720s. Two different types appeared; one consists entirely of death's heads, while the other combines death's heads and an idiosyncratic skull-soul effigy. Six examples of the first skull variety, dated 1723 to 1729, survive. Five are located in Elizabeth and one in Woodbridge. These markers bear a compact, oval skull with the top row of teeth resting on crossbones, though one example has the full skull superimposed over crossbones. The Sarah Woodruff stone has subsidiary decoration in the form of an hourglass flanked by two birds, probably meant to be peacocks (Fig. 3). The use of peacocks in funerary symbology dates to antiquity. Reputedly, the flesh of the peacock is incorruptible and the birds represented immortality--a reference to the continued existence of the soul. The pilasters are filled with a highly stylized vegetation pattern which occasionally extends around the tympanum.

The second variety of first generation New Jersey gravestones features a winged skull or skull-soul effigy cut in a highly abstracted, planar fashion. The James Sayre stone well illustrates the more conventional death's head (Fig. 4). Here the message of the skull is reiterated by the crossbones and hourglass which fill in the tympanum above it. The carver of the Sayre marker also crafted the more intriguing skull-soul effigy, as found on the Jonathan Ogden stone (Fig. 5). On this pattern, the image retains the skull's mouth and nose cavity, but the eyes are cut as if closed in sleep, and a downturned cleft at the chin animates the effigy even further. Like the skull pattern, border decoration is a perfunctory vine motif. The second variety skull and skull-soul effigy stones are slightly later and more numerous than are the oval death's head stones. Fourteen of these memorials, dating from 1728 to 1733, remain extant--all but one in Elizabeth. The carvers of these interesting markers ceased production in the 1730s. By then a second generation of northern New Jersey cutters had appeared to consolidate and expand the tradition.

In the 1740s New Jersey stonecutters had entered a period of increasing production and diffusion which did not end until the entire tradition collapsed in the early nineteenth century. The rapid expansion of the New Jersey stonecutting school was based on the popularity of two designs, the products of the same workshop or group of carvers. The first symbol was a large, square-jawed winged death's head with uniform, rectan-



Figure 3. Sarah Woodruff, 1727, Elizabeth, N. J.

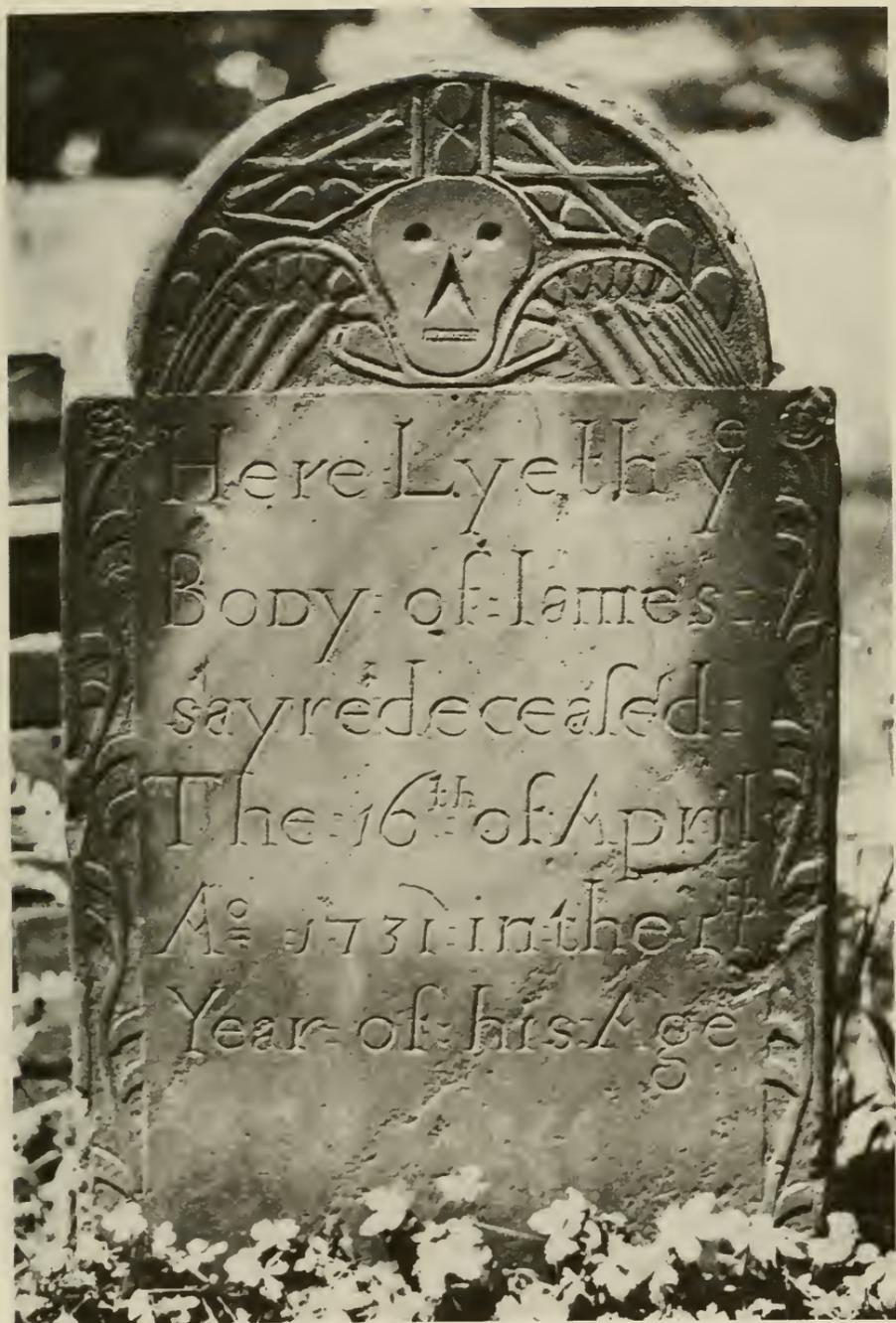


Figure 4. James Sayre, 1731, Elizabeth, N. J.

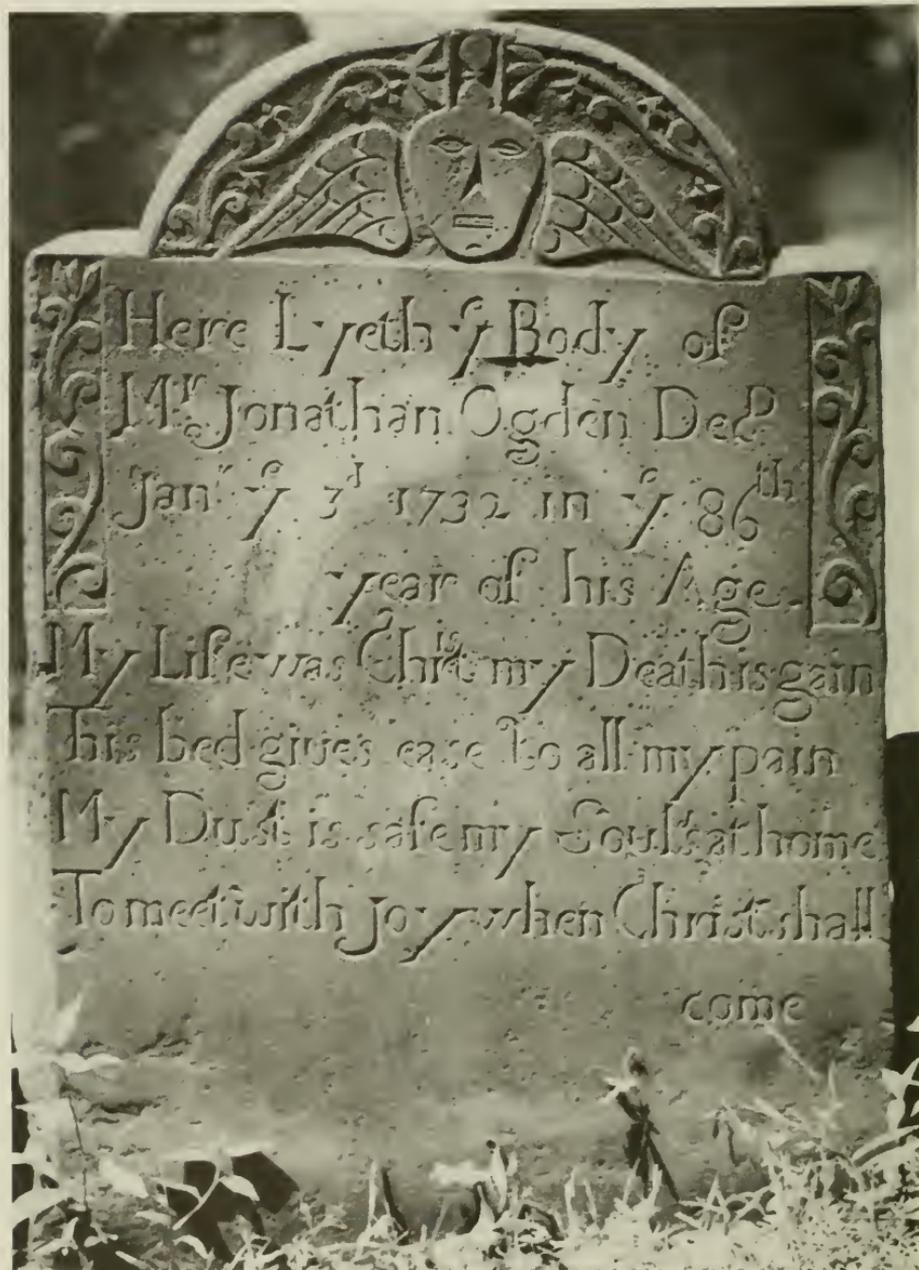


Figure 5. Jonathan Ogden, 1732, Elizabeth, N. J.

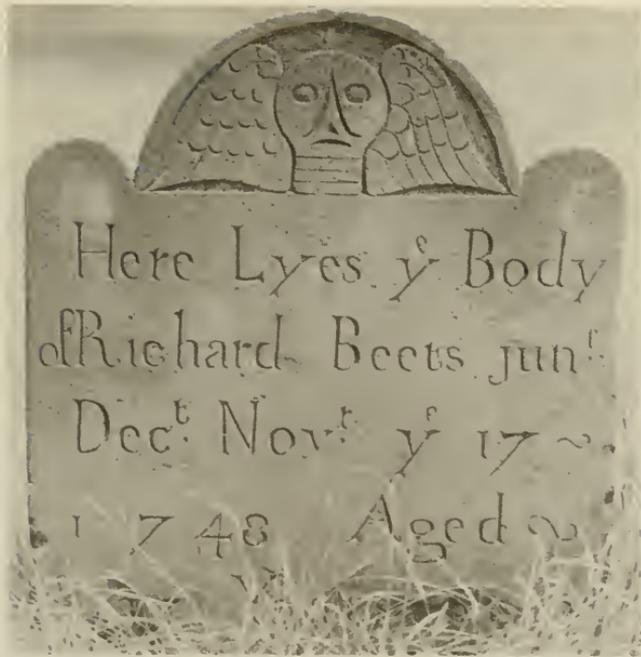


Figure 6. Richard Beets, 1748, Jamaica, Long Island.

gular teeth (Fig. 6). Occasionally, a crown, symbolizing the triumph of death and the triumph over death was placed over the skull. The letters are deep and well-formed, with short bars and tucked under swashes. These markers, common in the burying grounds of northern New Jersey, Manhattan, and Long Island, bear dates from the second decade of the eighteenth century to the 1770s. They were most numerous between 1740 and 1770 (Table 1). Coinciding with the popularity of the massive-jawed death's head was the unknown workshop's second design, a soul effigy (Fig. 7). These gently molded, sad-looking images have oval faces and well articulated eyes, complete with eyebrows and lashes. Though on first glance they seem to have little in common with the square-jawed skull, a comparison of lettering quickly points to a common origin for most of them.

The overlapping of the square-jawed skull and the soul effigy highlights the first great transformation in colonial funerary iconography--the shift from death's head to soul effigy. Since this stylistic change closely followed the Great Awakening, 1730-1740, it has become traditional to ascribe the shift to that major



Figure 7. Sarah Ross, 1759, Elizabeth, N. J.

religious revival.² According to this interpretation, the Great Awakening shifted the emphasis of funerary symbols from a traditional Calvinist fear of death to a joyous assurance of salvation. Hence the dour warning of the terrible moment of judgment at death was replaced by the soul effigy depicting the soul secure in its heavenly abode. However, the skull-soul effigy change also occurred among the non-Calvinist population of the Lower Hudson River valley and New England itself. Nor did the mortality symbols disappear entirely. They showed surprising persistence right up to the Revolutionary War.³ Of equal significance is the fact that such a transformation had already taken place in England. Under the circumstances, it is likely the replacement of the death's head by the soul effigy in the 1750s was an illustration of the colonies following the English example. Accordingly, the change from skull to soul effigy in the region under study may indicate a cultural fashion shift rather than a response to a specific religious movement.

The square-jawed skull did not fall into immediate disuse. In fact, it remained the anonymous workshop's preferred image through the 1760s. However, when the percentage of death's heads among all New York-New Jersey stones is calculated, the general pattern of displacement of death's heads by soul effigies during the 1750s becomes clear (Table 2).

Some of the square-jawed skulls and common New Jersey soul effigies are inscribed with the distinctive long, lithe and sinuous letters typical of the work of Uzal Ward, a Newark carver who flourished ca. 1760-1790. The appearance of Ward's letters on the unattributed skulls and cherubs may suggest an apprenticeship before he established his own workshop. It might also simply mean he purchased some uninscribed stones from the unidentified carver and lettered them.

By the 1770s, if not before, Ward (1726-93?) owned a sandstone quarry which he bought from Samuel Medlis. Newark sandstone was commonly used by the region's stonecutters for construction as well as ornamental work, and Ward stressed its provenance in an advertisement he placed in the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, April 8, 1771.⁴ Here he explicitly stated he has several men working for him. Some of these may have been his apprentices in gravestone crafting, and, indeed, the quantity of extant Ward stones suggests more than one hand was at work.

	Elizabeth	Rahway	Woodbridge	Trinity	Ch.	Total
1710-20			5	1		6
1721-30	2		5	3		10
1731-40	4	4	5	16		29
1741-50	3	7	22	19		51
1751-60	7	8	33	8		56
1761-70	6	2	18	7		33
1771-80	1		3	7		11
Illegible date		1	5			6
Total	23	22	96	66		202

Common Jersey Soul Effigy

1710-30					
1731-40	3	1	2	2	8
1741-50				6	6
1751-60	4	1	4	4	13
1761-70		6	2	1	9
1771-81					
Illegible date			1	3	4
Total	7	8	9	16	40

Table 1. Square-Jawed Jersey Skulls

	Death's head	Soul Effigy	Misc.	Plain	Total
1680-1700	2				2
1701-10					
1711-20	3				3
1721-30	4	1	1		6
1731-40	16	4		2	22
1741-50	20	15	2		37
1751-60	10	25	3		38
1761-70	11	56	1	3	71
1771-80	3	21		13	37
1781-90	6	19	1	24	50
1791-1800		6	2	90	98
1801-10			2	45	47
1811-20			2	24	26
Total	75	147	14	201	437

Table 2. Distribution of Symbol Types, Trinity Churchyard.

Most of Ward's markers fall into two design categories. The first is the earlier pattern found on the Nehemiah Smith stone which shows a square-jawed soul effigy with a striated ridge for a wig and a long nose which bulges slightly at the tip (Fig. 8). Two hour-glasses flank the effigy which is borne aloft by narrow, arching wings. The hourglasses stand next to small rosettes and the floral motif is repeated by the vines spreading from the hourglasses to frame an eight-pointed star. Symbolically, the several motifs are an ingenious juxtaposition of mortality and resurrection symbols. Ward's second design is not found with subsidiary ornamentation. This image, as seen on the Daniel Smith marker, bears the earlier Ward facial features but on a pear-shaped head (Fig. 9). Broad wings with quarter-moon cuts replace the wings of the first pattern.

Uzal Ward's markers are most common from 1760 to 1775, after which his output plummets precipitously. This drop coincides with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Ward may have served as a major in the New Jersey militia or the Continental line. Some of the perceived drop in his productivity may simply reflect the loss of the Old Newark burial ground where the bulk of his work was probably placed. Additionally, in the 1750s the rapidly expanding New York school wrested the Manhattan, western Long Island and Hudson River valley territory from New Jersey carvers. Ward had been a popular cutter in New York's Trinity Church parish and may have felt this loss keenly. Indeed, in his 1771 advertisement he went out of his way to demonstrate his convenience to potential customers in New York. He had, so he wrote, "for the greater conveniency of such persons who may want to be supplied, . . . two boats constantly plying between New York and Newark."⁵

Ward had at least one imitator, William Grant, an emigrant from Boston who arrived in New York City in 1740. Grant attempted to set himself up as a grave-stone carver near Trinity Church.⁶ However, his surviving work is more common in northern New Jersey and it is likely he removed there before 1760. Supporting evidence for such a move comes from the West Indies. In the old burying grounds on St. Eustatius stands a stone dated 1751 and signed "Made by Wm. Grant of Newark, East Jersey." Grant stones certainly look like Ward's and the lettering is nearly identical. Grant's soul effigies are more squint-eyed, however, with slightly indented head shapes (Fig. 10). There

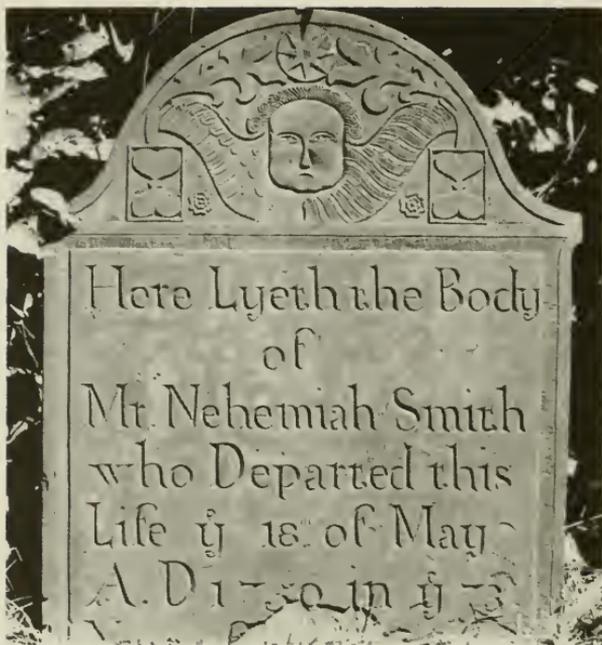


Figure 8. Nehemiah Smith, 1750, Jamaica, Long Island.

are some markers, especially in Woodbridge, New Jersey, which seemingly combine the two carvers' styles. Since Grant did eventually move to Newark, it is not impossible the two men worked together at one time or another.

The removal of the Old Newark Burial Ground in 1887 makes a totally accurate assessment of Uzal Ward's, and indeed, all New Jersey gravestones, difficult. Based on surviving evidence, the most successful and prolific gravestone workshop in the entire New Jersey-New York region was that established by Ebenezar Price of Elizabethtown, now Elizabeth, New Jersey. Ebenezar Price (1728-1788) was a descendant of an eastern Long Island family which had migrated to Elizabeth. He was not only an industrious carver himself, but also employed several assistants, three of whom are known by name: Jonathan Akin, David Jeffries and Abner Stewart. All three of Price's assistants carved in their master's style, making a Price workshop memorial readily identifiable.

Price and his employees, all of whom frequently signed their work, cut three designs almost exclu-



Figure 9. Daniel Smith, 1763, Nissequogue.

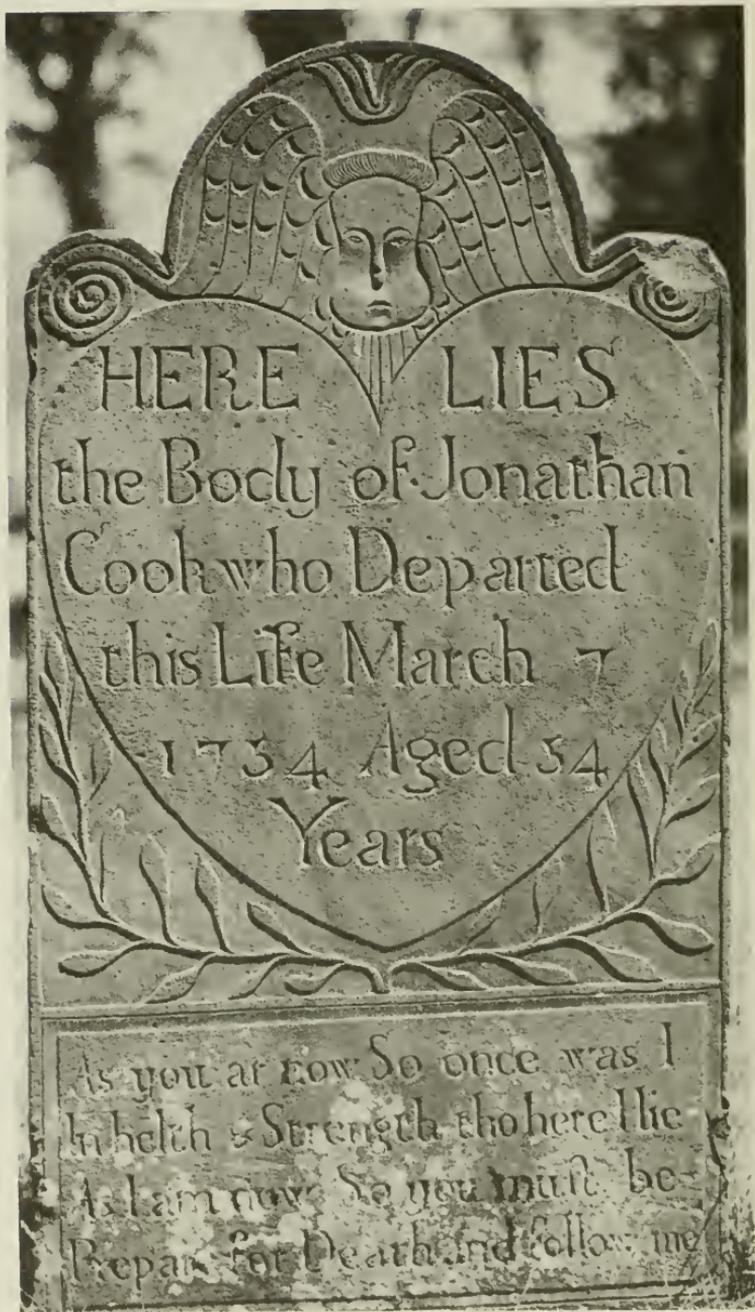


Figure 10. Jonathan Cook, 1754, Quogue, Long Island.

sively. The overwhelming favorite among their grave-stones was a soul effigy rendered quasi-naturalistically, with molded or partly molded features. The cheeks bulge, the slightly wedge-shaped eyes are deeply set, and the mouth is invariably downturned. Closely set striated balls typically serve for a wig, and a cloud-like device hovers over the effigy. The wings arch powerfully, projecting a disproportionately large appearance.

Like most skilled cutters, Price could vary his image to suit individual taste and budget. His markers might be reduced to a small, almost drab pattern, or be cut in a large, bold and ornate rendition with much subsidiary decoration. The Moses Ogden stone reveals Price at his most elaborate, the heart-shaped inscription panel and vine and floral decoration providing an additional artistic flourish (Fig. 11). The Price workshop generally employed a stone shape which boasted a series of lobes, usually seven, protruding from the tympanum, or central panel. By the 1790s this type of outline had become so popular in New Jersey that virtually every other Jersey carver adopted it. Indeed, the lobe-topped stone survived the demise of the symbols it was originally designed to bear.

The Price workshop offered two other less popular motifs. The first was a tulip design, possibly a reflection of Dutch or German influence in the area (Fig. 12a). The other was a shell or fan motif (Fig. 12b). The shell is an ancient symbol of resurrection, while fan windows and arches are common on late Georgian and Federal period furniture design. It is unclear which symbol Price had in mind when he cut these memorials.

The number of Price workshop soul effigies is large, especially in the early burial grounds of Elizabeth, Rahway, and Woodbridge, and the slightly later cemetery at Westfield (Table 3). Not surprisingly, Price markers are most numerous in his home town of Elizabeth. To the number of soul effigies should be added all or most of the seventy-nine tulip or fan markers also found in these four burying grounds. Some of the seventeen stones cut after 1791 may have been the work of someone outside of the Price workshop, but most are clearly his products.

In the 1770s a new family of gravestone cutters began to give the Price workshop competition in the towns south and west of Elizabeth. This was the Osborne clan whose leading members were Henry and Jona-

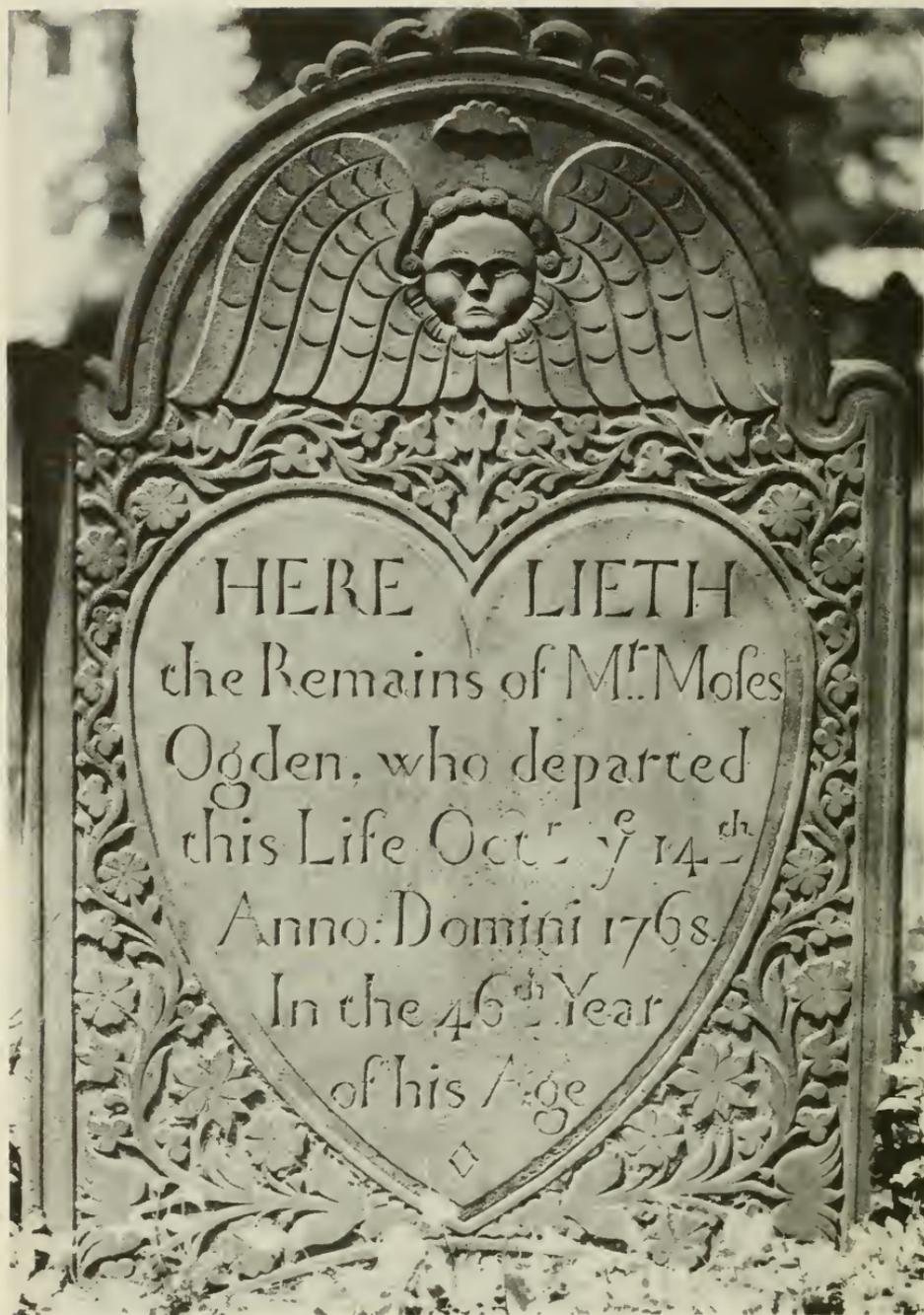
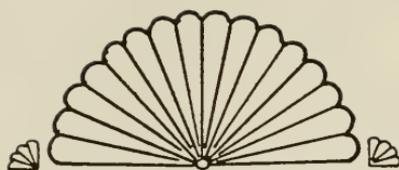


Figure 11. Moses Ogden, 1768, Elizabeth, N. J.



a. 1792



b. 1759

Figure 12. Price Workshop.

	Elizabeth	Rahway	Woodbridge	Westfield	Total
1720-30	2				2
1731-40	2			2	4
1741-50	7			4	11
1751-60	22	5	1	19	47
1761-70	25	9		24	58
1771-80	58	19	7	30	114
1781-90	43	15	4	22	84
1791-1800	17	2		9	28
1801-1810				1(1811)	1
Illegible date	1	1			2
Total	177	51	12	111	351

Table 3. Price Workshop Soul Effigies.

than Hand Osborne. Like Price, the Osbornes were probably descended from eastern Long Island emigrants. The Osbornes have proven more elusive than Price and his assistants, and even the exact nature of the relationship between them is unclear. Henry Osborne, an Essex County mason who died in 1758, was probably their immediate forebearer.⁸ It is not known if this Henry Osborne cut gravestones, but if he did it might help explain the persistence of the craft within the family. Both Henry and Jonathan Hand Osborne signed stones from the 1770s through the first decade of the nineteenth century. They could have been brothers, or just as easily, father and son. In the 1820s, a second generation Osborne, William, began to affix his name on the stones of the period. One difference between the first two Osbornes is that Henry's signature sometimes gave his address as Woodbridge, while Jonathan Hand never gave a location other than Scotch Plains. Yet surviving Osborne markers demonstrate they received commissions in the same towns and had no exclusive territory of their own.

The two men's styles are very similar, and their lettering is almost identical, indicating a shared training experience. Their most frequently employed symbol was a soul effigy nicely exemplified by the Mary Elmer stone (Fig. 13). The design is clearly adopted from the dominant Price version, but is more abstract and static. Price's puffy cheeks become almost skull-like and the chin dips dramatically downward. Osborne wings rise as high as Price's, but indent inward and lurch outward rather than arch. Altogether, the Osborne image is more stylized than Price's and suggests less contact with cosmopolitan influences. The Osbornes used several styles of border designs, a clover pattern being frequently employed. They followed Price's lead in using the lobe-topped stone. The Osbornes themselves had an imitator in Elias Darby, who worked out of Elizabeth in the 1790s, making soul effigies nearly identical to their own.

The Osbornes also carved tulip patterns in the Price tradition and, in the early nineteenth century, were probably responsible for some variations on that theme. The two carvers, especially Henry, developed some patterns unique to themselves. One such is the Humphrey Mount stone signed "H. Osborne" (Fig. 14). Here, two kissing doves hover above the deceased's initials. What seems to be a heart in flames flanks the initials.

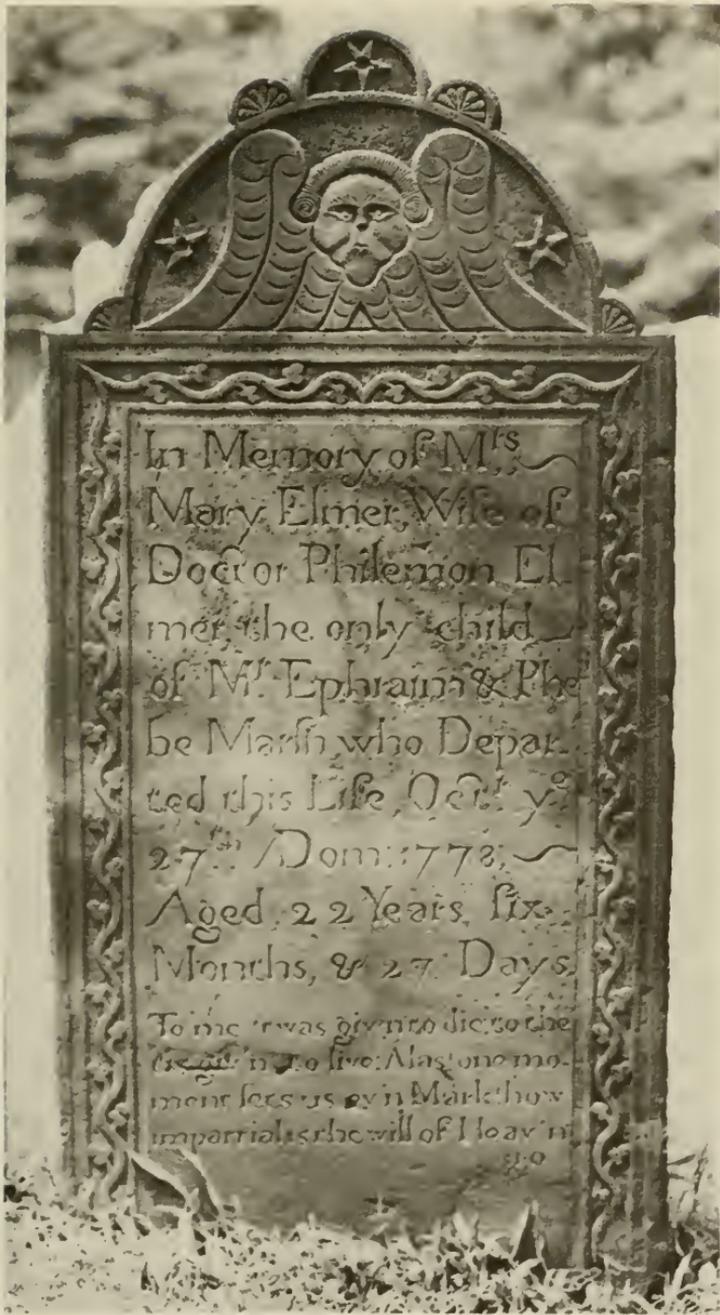


Figure 13. Mary Elmer, 1778, Westfield, N. J.

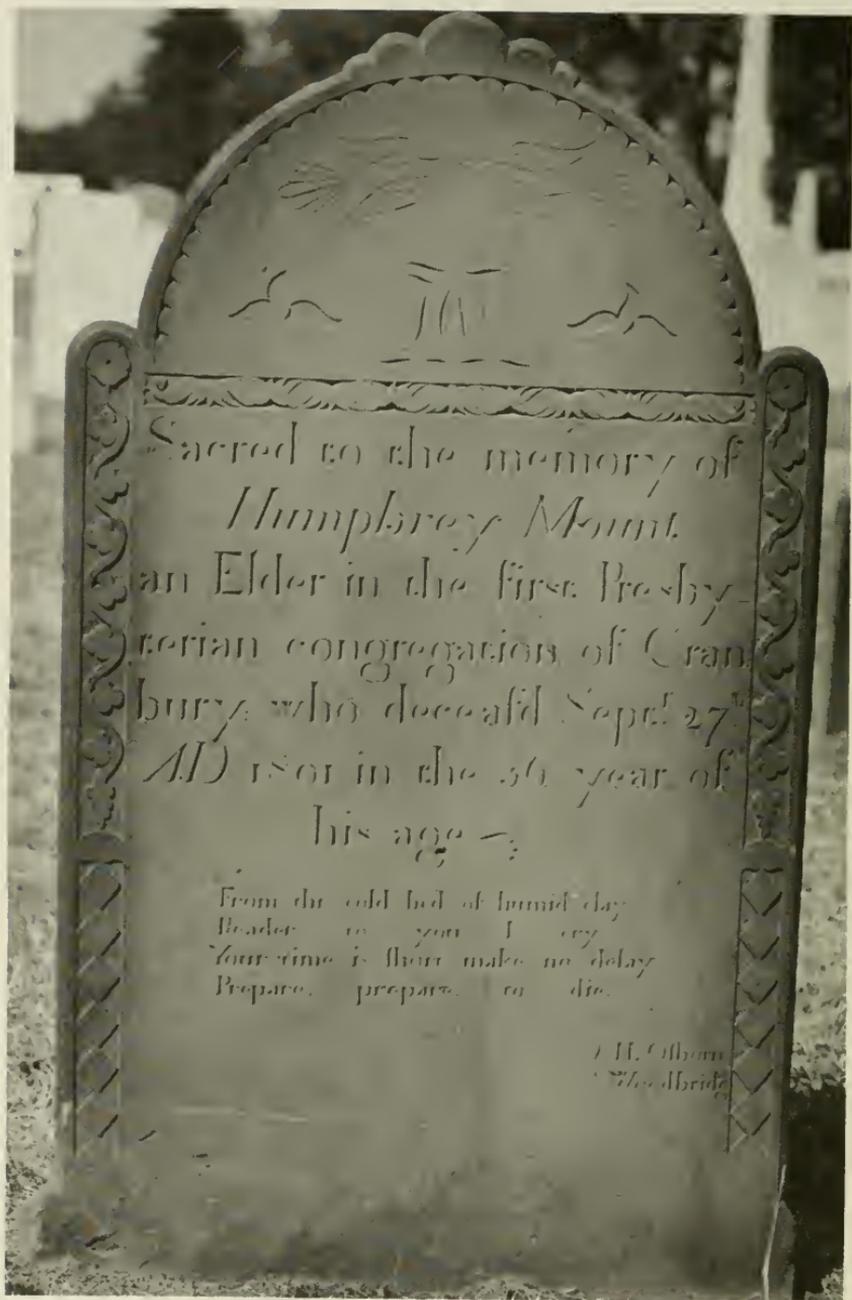


Figure 14. Humphrey Mount, 1801, Cranbury, N. J.



Figure 15. Martha Osborne, 1799, Scotch Plains, N. J.

Henry Osborne often exhibited a surprising degree of playfulness on his less standardized memorials. Little faces sometimes peek out from floral borders or end up on the tail of a swash or descender. On the Martha Osborne stone, signed "H. Osborne," the craftsman fully indulged his whimsy (Fig. 15). The central motif, over the italicized initial, consists of two petalled flowers. The stems terminate in curious little creatures which seem to bear small horns or ears jutting from their heads. A small face capped by a heart peers from the peak of the tympanum border, while an American eagle soars in the tympanum extension.

The waning of traditional religiosity and changing fashions in funerary art began to express themselves in the region's gravestone design after 1790. Neoclassic design began to make inroads in the Lower Hudson River valley, though they never came close to dominating the area's burial grounds as they did in parts of New England. Rather, though in different ways, New York and New Jersey cutters began to fashion memorials devoid of any major symbolism. New York craftsmen produced the plainest stones, generally shorn of border decoration and primary design. The Osbornes stood in



Figure 16. Eliakim Smith, 1785, Westfield, N. J.

the forefront of this trend. However, they, and those who followed their lead, retained the lobe-topped outline, and continued to utilize subsidiary decoration, such as vines, clover, diamonds, cables or other geometric patterns, around the borders. The major tympanum symbols, death's heads, soul effigies, neoclassic motifs and the rest, were replaced by the deceased's monogram, usually engraved in cypher-like italics. The Eliakim Smith stone demonstrates one way this was done (Fig. 16). Jonathan Hand Osborne's blatant advertisement on this stone is unusual, for most signatures are placed more discretely at the bottom of the stone. Once the monogram pattern was devised it was copied by practically every carver in the area. Aaron and Isaac Ross, A. Wilcox, E. Norris and Abner Stewart in his later phase, all followed the Osbornes in producing these markers.

The one traditional funerary symbol which survived almost until the Victorian era was the tulip. Its persistence was probably due to its floral, decorative quality which was nearly universal in its appeal. Figure 17 shows versions of the tulip in its nineteenth-century incarnation. These tulip patterns were probably carved by one of the Osbornes, most likely Wil-



a. 1804, signed "Henry Osborne"



b. 1822



c. 1829

Figure 17. Osborne Workshop.

Members of the Osborne family were still cutting stones in the Rahway-Westfield area in the 1830s. Like many regional carvers, they adapted their style to marble as sandstone went out of fashion. Several memorials in Westfield bear their signatures. Unfortunately, the Vermont sugar marble used at this time does not stand up well to time and weather, so all these stones are so eroded that the identity of the symbols (if any) can not be determined and the lettering is barely legible. One nineteenth-century Scotch Plains marker, nicely lettered in the new style, is intriguingly signed "H. Osborne." It is possible this is the same Henry who began in the 1770s, now an old man, adapting himself to the times. More likely it was made by a descendant. After 1830 even the vestigial remnants of the traditional styles had fallen into disuse. If the Osbornes continued to follow the family craft, cutting the now predominant marble rectangle, they ceased signing their work. As the stone designs became more monotonous, the craftsmen seem to have lost much of their pride in making them.

Common as they are in Union and Middlesex Counties, Price and Osborne markers are not frequently found elsewhere (Table 4). Five Price stones stand on the east end of Long Island, probably a result of lingering family ties; one Price soul effigy is found in Westchester. Manhattan holds a few stones which fit the general Price pattern without being so somber-looking. They may be the work of a young Price or perhaps some unknown carver who taught him. Gravestone cutters in both the Lower Hudson River valley and New England exported stones to other sections of North America and the West Indies. There is, for example,

	Rahway	Woodbridge	Scotch Plains	Westfield	Total
1750-60		1			1
1761-70	3	2	2		7
1771-80	5	10	16	12	43
1781-90	8	15	30	11	64
1791-1800	2	3	5	3	13
1801-10	1		6	2	9
1811-20	1			1	2
1821-30			3	2	5
1831-40	1				1
Illegible	1				1
Total	22	31	62	31	146

Table 4. Osborne Family Symbol-Engraved Markers.

one Price marker in Savannah, Georgia. Such long distance trade formed only a small part of the gravestone carver's market, however, and did not alter the general parameters of the various workshop's areas of influence.

The large number of Price and Osborne stones, coupled with their generally restricted range, highlights the increasing competition in gravestone cutting as the eighteenth century wore on. This caused the development of intraregional territories and dominance by one or a few workshops. A major revolution in this regard was the creation of distinct New York and New Jersey markets after 1760. Before that date the number of carvers in New York City was apparently limited or non-existent, and New Jersey craftsmen, with their ready access to local sandstone, had no trouble controlling the New York market. However, beginning with the appearance of John Zuricher (ca. 1750), a stylistically and geographically distinct school of New York carvers rapidly appeared. They quickly captured Manhattan, western Long Island, and the Hudson River valley markets for their workshops. The school's seizure of Trinity Churchyard clientele in New York City, as shown in Table 5, would seem even greater if unadorned markers were included. By 1790, the New York school produced the most common style memorial in New York, including almost all those in Trinity Churchyard. While there was some importation of New York stones into New Jersey after 1760, and some trade going the other way, these provide the exceptions that prove the rule. By 1760, New York and New Jersey were stylistically and commercially separate entities in terms of gravestones.

	New England	New Jersey	New York (Trinity)	Total
1680-1700	1		1	2
1701-10				
1711-20	1	1		2
1721-30	3	3		6
1731-40		22		22
1741-50		39	4	43
1751-60	2	26	11	39
1761-70		25	43	68
1771-80	1	1	20	22
1781-90			2	2
1791-1800			7	7
Total	8	117	88	213

Table 5. Symbol-Decorated Stones by Location (excluding illegible stones).

The Emergence of the New York Stonecutters

While the New Jersey stonecarvers passed through their formative period and entered one of expansion, the art lagged behind in New York. This was not due to a lack of public interest as the 1681 Churcher stone attests. Indeed, early in the eighteenth century, New York residents turned to New England and New Jersey sources for memorials for their dead. In the 1740s, however, a workshop was established which spearheaded the rise of a community of New York City gravestone carvers who soon controlled the gravestone market on Manhattan, western Long Island, and up the Hudson River valley as far as Schenectady. Interestingly, this workshop did not spring from the dominant English population, but from the older Dutch community.

This highly influential workshop was founded by John, or Johannes, Zuricher. As is typical for a colonial gravestone cutter, information regarding his life is scanty. He first appears in the written record in 1747 as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York City, usually in the company of his wife, Elizabeth Enslar.⁹ It was at about this time that he began crafting gravestones. Though his markers are found bearing dates as early as 1691, stones dated before the late 1740s are clearly backdated.

Zuricher's career, which lasted almost till his death in 1784, can be separated into two periods, which divide about the year 1765. It remains possible that the carver of the earlier, or proto-Zuricher, group was not actually Zuricher himself, but the man who taught him his craft, perhaps his father. The two Zuricher phases are best illustrated by comparing the soul effigies. The ca. 1750-1765 effigies generally exhibit less polish and uniformity than his later designs. Their overall effect tends to be cruder, though they also demonstrate more variety and individuality than the later, uniform pattern. The faces on the early images are heavy, featuring muscular jaws, and thick, ridged eyebrows. Occasionally, the image is bald, something never encountered on post-1765 soul effigies. The wings are high with feathers delineated by quarter-moon cuts. Various types of crowns, formed by stylized tulips or feathers, and cornets hover over the image. Proto-Zuricher letters are long and thin and bear some archaisms, such as the angled bar in the capital 'A'. Usually the inscription is ended by a wedge-shaped dash. Most of these features can be seen on the Altie Brinc-



Figure 18. Altie Brinckerhoff, 1749, Fishkill, N. Y.

kerhoff stone (Fig. 18). The signature, "Hannis Zuricher," incised on the side of the marker is the earliest found on the 173 surviving Zuricher memorials. Hannis was short for Johannis, the Dutch form of the craftsman's name. In the same burial ground is the Jacob Brinkerhoff stone, 1758, which includes two hourglasses as subsidiary symbols. Zuricher discarded these secondary motifs before he entered his second phase.

Fishkill also contains the only known death's heads carved by Zuricher. This is the double image stone commemorating Barbare Van Dyck and John Van Vorhis, 1743 and 1757 (Fig. 19). Clearly the marker could not have been made before 1757, and probably not for a year or two afterwards. This stone demonstrates the traditional Dutch practice of the wife retaining her maiden name. While the jawless profiled skulls are a far cry from Zuricher's soul effigies, the lettering is identical to that found on his early markers. The scroll outline of this marker is unusual for a Lower Hudson Valley cutter and Zuricher would not use it again until 1771.



Figure 19. Barbare Van Dyck, 1743, and John Van Voorhis, 1757, Fishkill, N. Y.

In the 1760s Zuricher's carving became more refined, the lettering bolder, and the trend towards uniformity increasingly pronounced (Fig. 20). By 1765, Zuricher's soul effigies had completed their evolution. After this date he often signed his work, usually with "John Zuricher Stone Cutter," but sometimes, most often on stones to be sent some distance away, with "John Zuricher New York." The later Zuricher effigies bear either heavily jowled or round faces with pronounced pointed chins. Celtic Le Tene spirals form the wig and the tulip crown of righteousness became standard. The wings are now lower and more compact, but the quarter-moon cuts are retained. Like most stone cutters, Zuricher could render his basic pattern in several versions varying in size and elaboration. Zuricher's standard style can be seen on the Lemuel Cushing stone (Fig. 21). The craftsman also added subsidiary flourishes, such as star motifs, to some of his memorials. Some late Zuricher markers feature ornate petal designs, analogous to stained glass forms in the shoulder finials (Fig. 20).

Operating from a workshop probably located on one of the two lots he owned on the Hudson River, Zuricher

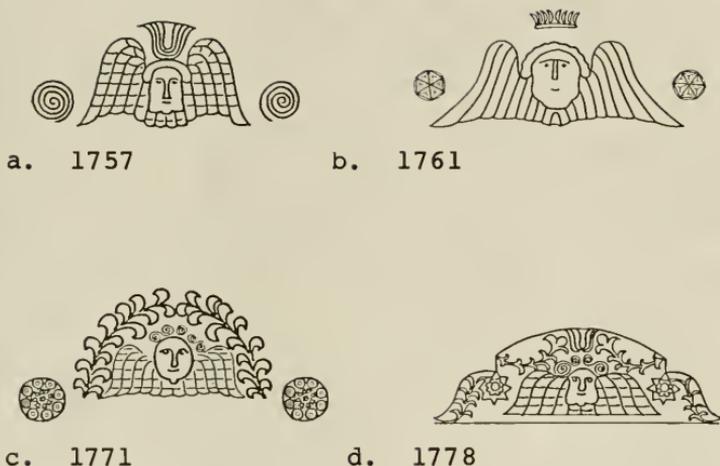


Figure 20. Evolution of Zurich Workshop Soul Effigies.

became the most popular New York carver of his time.¹⁰ While he received commissions from both the Dutch and English populations, he had a special hold on the loyalty of the Dutch. Dutch language inscriptions, dating from 1740 to 1775, comprise eighteen percent of his extant markers. Such a statistic does not adequately demonstrate Zuricher's popularity among the Dutch population since not all Dutch descended families ordered Dutch inscribed stones. A better appreciation of Zuricher's following among the Dutch population is ascertained by computing the percentage of Zuricher markers in the major surviving Dutch Reformed burial grounds.

Clarkstown, Rockland County, N.Y.	70%
Flatbush, Kings County, N.Y.	46%
Flatlands, Kings County, N.Y.	40%
Fishkill, Dutchess County, N.Y.	53%
Tappan, Rockland County, N.Y.	26%
Tarrytown, Westchester County, N.Y.	41%

While Zuricher gained an absolute majority in only two cases, the majorities in the other burial grounds were divided among several carvers leaving Zuricher the most common single carver. Also, in Tarrytown, the

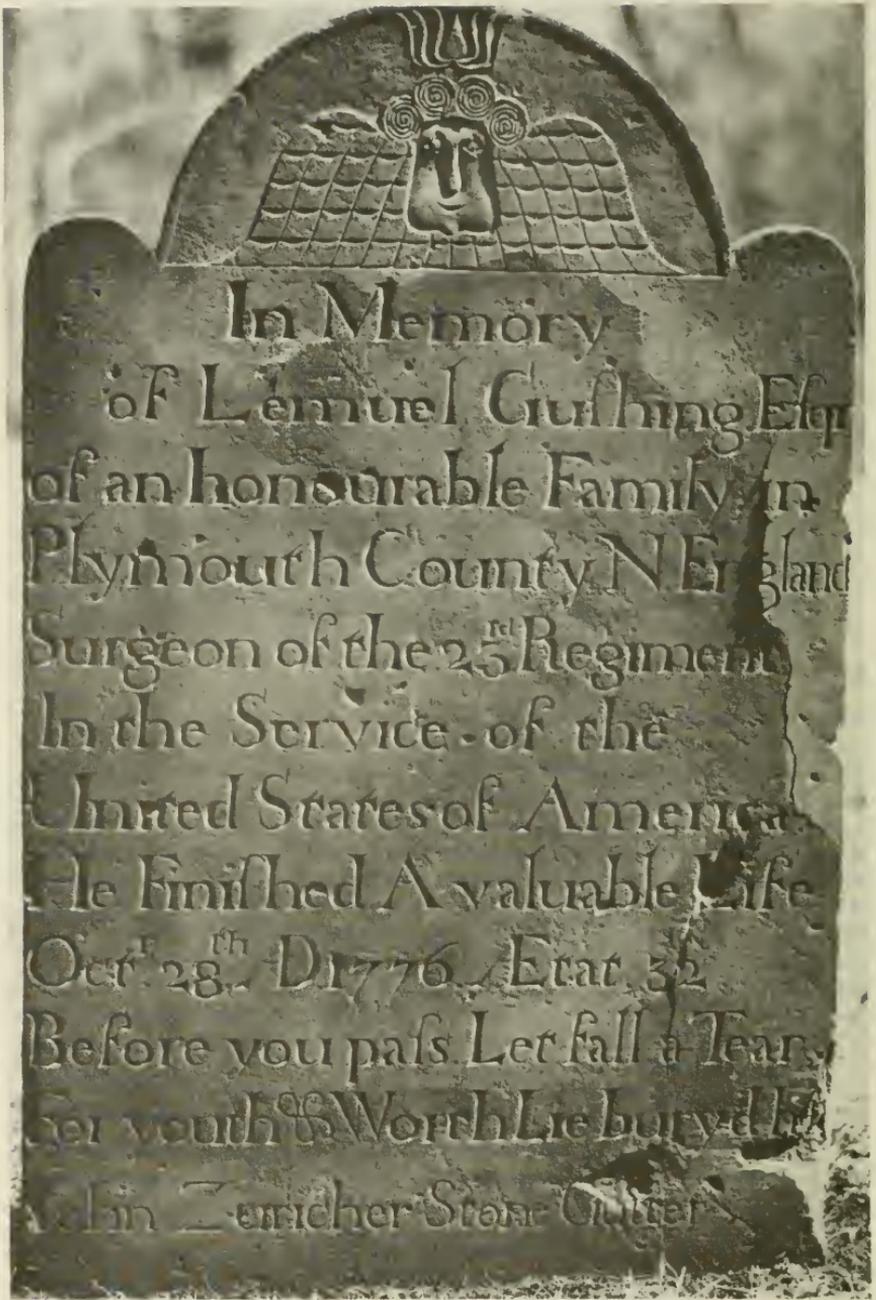


Figure 21. Lemuel Cushing, 1776, Tappan, N. Y.

Zuricher workshop was responsible for all the pre-1776 symbol-engraved memorials. Zuricher produced all but one of Tappan's symbol-bearing stones. Unfortunately for the study of New York gravestones, the monuments in the Old Dutch Churchyard in New York City were destroyed when the church was demolished in the nineteenth century. This cemetery would certainly have revealed much about Zuricher's career. Suffice it to say, the evidence from remaining Dutch Reformed burial grounds indicates that, among the Dutch at least, a definite ethno-religious preference was at work in selecting gravestone cutters.

Zuricher's popularity increased in the years immediately preceding the Revolution. Surviving evidence suggests that he, along with the other craftsmen and lesser merchants, supported the Revolutionary cause. He was still in New York City in 1776 when his window leads were taken in order to make bullets for the Continental Army.¹¹ The British capture of New York in September of that year set Zuricher in motion. Sometime between 1776 and 1781 he relocated on the farm of his son, Lodwick, in the Haverstraw Precinct of Orange (now Rockland) County. Lodwick saw service in the Orange County militia which fits with Zuricher's pro-Revolutionary leanings. The sixteen Zuricher stones dated 1776-1778 probably were carved in Haverstraw. It is difficult to see how the Lemuel Cushing stone with its reference to "Service of the United States of America" could have been cut in British-occupied New York.

The Revolution and his consequent flight from New York resulted in the contraction of Zuricher's career, and old age brought it to an end. 1778 is the latest date found on a Zuricher marker. In 1781, stating he was "Weak and infirm in Body but of Sound and perfect mind and Memory," Zuricher drew up his will. He died in May, 1784, his will being probated on the twenty-first of that month. John Zuricher's gravestone has not been found and his resting place remains unknown.

Thomas Brown and Company

The New York gravestone cutting community was greatly stimulated by the arrival of immigrant carvers from the British Isles. Between 1739 and 1771, New York newspapers carried advertisements by six stonecutters who clearly indicated they made gravestones.¹² Of these six, three were recent arrivals from England and

one a migrant from Boston who described himself as "Lately arrived in this City."¹³ Only three of these six craftsmen can be connected presently with any style. Two of the identifiable advertising carvers are Uzal Ward and William Grant. The third cutter was Thomas Brown, perhaps the most successful New York cutter after John Zuricher.

"Thomas Brown and Com. from London, Beg leave to inform the Publick, that they have open'd a Marble Quarry, in this Government little inferior to the Italian, out of which will be made Chimney Pieces, marble Tables, Monuments, Tombs, Headstones for Graves &c in the compleatest Manner, and on the most reasonable Terms"¹⁴ This advertisement appeared in the New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy on August 30, 1764. By his choice of words Brown reveals he had assistants or apprentices. How many were in his "company" is not stated, but they probably included his son, Nathaniel. Like several other carvers who advertised, Brown emphasizes his marble work. However, only one marble marker remains in New York and New Jersey dated before the 1780s. Significantly, it is Brown's work. Otherwise, New Jersey sandstone provided the medium for Brown's gravestones as it did for the other Lower Hudson River valley craftsmen.

While Brown worked with a larger repertoire of funerary symbols than did Zuricher, two patterns predominated. The first is a delicately incised cherub, usually full-faced, with tossed hair and tight facial features, all rendered in short, incised lines. Supported by finely feathered wings, the 'soul effigy gives the impression of a pencil sketch. Brown fashioned his images in several sizes and varying degrees of ornateness. His smaller, cheaper cherubs were simply incised while the more elaborate renditions depict the image in relief (Fig. 22). The practice of only partly cutting through the stone between shoulders and finials is frequently found on Brown's smaller, inexpensive markers. On the Gertrude Van der Heyden stone, 1784, now in Albany Rural Cemetery, Brown carved two cherubs in profile. The wing configuration is identical to the full-faced model, and the delicate, "pencil-sketch" incised features are also typical. Fortunately, Brown signed this memorial thus permitting proper attribution of his work.

Brown workshop letters are well spaced and beautifully configured. His 'a,' 'd,' and 'g,' are particu-



Figure 22. Jane Slidell, 1778, New York City.

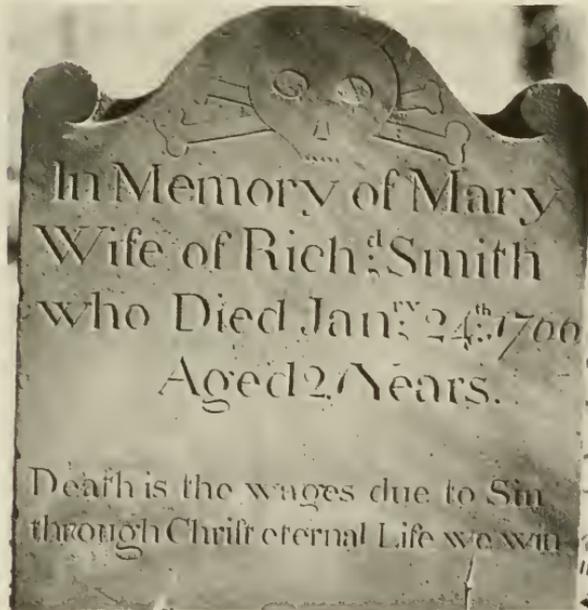


Figure 23. Mary Smith, 1766, Nissequogue, Long Island.

larly distinctive, and his numerals are done in sharp, graceful, readily identifiable italics. Brown workshop lettering permits not only attribution of his unadorned stones, but reveals him as the creator of somber mortality images as well.

Brown crafted two mortality symbols both of which contrast startlingly with his child-like cherub. One of these was a simple, stark crossbones. Indeed, almost all crossbones patterns in New York state seem to be his work. Even more dramatic was his skull and crossbones design as seen on the Mary Smith stone (Fig. 23). None of the gentle peacefulness of his cherubs shows in this image with its somberly effective simplicity. The sharp teeth and absence of a lower jaw enhance the fearsomeness of the symbol. Though the cherub and mortality designs are quite dissimilar, Brown's lettering and his practice of cutting only part of the stone between tympanum and shoulder finial gives him away. The Sarah Lyon stone is a one-of-a-kind variation on Brown's usual death's head (Fig. 24). Here the death's head is cut in profile, with a superimposed dart of death underscoring the message.

Brown's mortality symbols are intriguing for two reasons. First, the plain bones and skull-and-crossbones are a starker image of death than the winged death's heads which had prevailed before 1760. Yet Brown never cut the more popular style of mortality image. Second, Brown only began his American career after the transition of death's head to soul effigy had occurred. His mortality symbols were theoretically anachronistic and out of fashion. Yet, Brown not only carved his mortality symbols concurrently with his cherubs, he actually cut more of them.

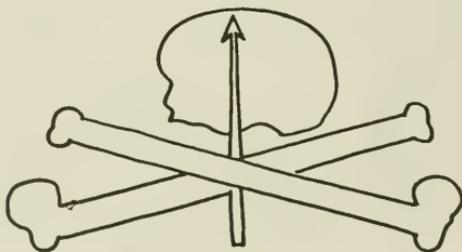


Figure 24. Sarah Lyon, 1769.

Thomas Brown Symbol-Carved Markers

	Cherubs	Mortality Symbols	Miscellaneous
1751-60	3	2	
1761-70	14	14	5
1771-80	1	9	
1781-90	1	1	1

The Brown workshop produced other symbols, but with less frequency. Both floral and Masonic designs can be found in Trinity Churchyard in New York City. Perhaps his most distinctive symbol, of which only three extant examples are known, is his snake grasping tail design. The snake biting its tail and thus forming a ring is an ancient symbol of eternity. On two of these markers, Brown combines the snake-eternity image with crossbones, thereby juxtaposing symbols of mortality and immortality. On the John Downey marker the message of the symbol is repeated by the motto "Eternity How Long" (Fig. 25).

Little is known of Brown's life. He was certainly well-trained in both stonecutting and draughtsmanship. His first advertisement stated that "the useful and



Figure 25. John Downey, 1768, New Brunswick, N. Y.

necessary Arts of Drawing and Architecture will be taught, in the most methodical Manner."¹⁵ This aspect of his professional life seems to have been dropped as it never appears again in newspaper notices.

The turmoil of the Revolutionary War seems to have adversely affected Brown's business. No symbol-carved memorials are found between 1776 and 1784, and attributable plain markers are few in number. After the war Brown's workshop responded to the increased demand for plain, unadorned markers. The impressive Van der Heyden stone, 1784, is the only surviving Brown workshop memorial with a post-Revolutionary War date.

The activities of Brown, his son, and probably assistants are traceable through his unadorned markers and occasional newspaper notices. In 1784, he entered into a brief partnership with another stonecutter, George Lindsay. This partnership may account for some anomalous markers which bear Brown's lettering but bear atypical symbols. However, on January 25, 1785 Brown took out a notice in the Independent Journal and General Advertiser announcing the dissolution of his partnership with Lindsay. Brown went on to state he "continues to carry on the Stone Business in all its Branches . . . and flatters himself that those who have been acquainted with his abilities will confer their favors as they may have occasion."¹⁶

Post-Revolutionary New York City Directories list Brown at several addresses on the West Side, all within easy distance of the major churchyards of the period. His son, Nathaniel, who no doubt worked with him, lived nearby. Brown ceases to appear in the Directories after 1791, the probable date of his death. The same sources show Nathaniel moving into his father's last quarters at 16 Greenwich Street. If the evidence of the Directories is accurate, Nathaniel did not long survive his father. There is no mention of him after 1796.¹⁷

Related in spirit to Brown's soul effigies are a number of chubby-cheeked cherubs which seem to gesture downward with closed eyes. These symbols, usually carved in shallow relief, but sometimes incised, are not common, and seem to have been carved over a long period, 1764-1805. The lettering on these markers is usually block-like, as if the carver imitated the thicker printing types (Fig. 26). The numeral seven is distinguished by a long, thick descender. The numeral



Figure 26. Martha Halsey, 1771, Westhampton, New York.



Figure 27. Caleb Morgan, 1805.

four stretches below the bottom of the other letters, and the top bar of five is cramped by a high arching loop. Among the identifying letters is a clumsy capital 'V'. Late in his career the unknown carver seems to have adopted a quite different symbol. The effigy on the Caleb Morgan stone is fashioned in a highly cursive style which portends the calligraphic art which became popular in the nineteenth century (Fig. 27). The lettering, however, is identical to that found on the chubby-cheeked cherub.

There are several styles of pre-Revolutionary soul effigies apparently cut by New York craftsmen which are known from only a few examples. Rare today, and probably always uncommon, they were most likely the work of marginal or part-time stonecutters. Two of the earliest of these less common, unattributable styles are exemplified by the Theodosius Van Wyck and the Jacobus Swartwout stones (Figs. 28-29). The Dutch language Van Wyck marker has a single analog in English in Trinity Churchyard, New York City. The carver of the Swartwout marker had a slightly larger output with several versions of this style remaining in Trinity Churchyard. The Van Wyck stone with its ominous, boldly carved soul effigy, is a striking example of the primitive power of much early stone carving. In contrast to the looming, relief-carved head, the lettering and secondary decoration is lightly incised. The Swartwout memorial is generally less impressive, but possesses the naive charm often found on such archaic designs. The unknown carver's lettering suggests he did two floral/geometric designs encountered at Fishkill. There are eleven of these more primitively designed markers remaining.

The John Smith stone represents yet another style of primitive soul effigy (Fig. 30). This relief-carved oval head with stylized supporting wings is part of a group of thirteen such memorials found with dates ranging from 1764 to 1777. Twelve of the thirteen were cut 1764-1770. This suggests that the last marker of this group, the Bridget Duggan stone, 1777, St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, may have had its inscription carved several years after the image itself was crafted. Gravestone cutters are known to have stockpiled markers with their symbols and subsidiary decoration cut but the inscriptions left blank, thus providing a supply of markers on hand from which customers could choose. A result of this practice is stones bearing dates considerably later than the image itself suggests. Gravestone cutters occasionally traded these



Figure 28. Theodorus Van Wyck, 1754, Fiskill, N. Y.



Figure 29. Iacobus Swartwout, 1749.



Figure 30. John Smith, 1766.

half-finished memorials, thus creating anomalies in style and distribution.

At the opposite end of the stylistic spectrum is a small number of stones carved with finely molded relief cherubim. A well preserved example of this style is the John Bourne stone (Fig. 31). William Valentine signed a similar marker dated 1776. Here the cherubim are matched with petalled flowers. In all extant examples of this pattern, Valentine incised his inscriptions lightly, and, on the Bourne marker he used Roman numerals. The soft, deep, and polished naturalistic carving on these markers is characteristic of the Baroque style of carving fashionable in England at this time but infrequently encountered in America. The scarcity of these stones, coupled with their confinement to the 1770s (a 1749 example in Charleston is probably backdated), suggests Valentine may have been an English master carver visiting New York. It is also possible that they were imports from England.

Among the enduring styles of New York gravestones is a design cut by an unidentified workshop or workshops. The basic design consists of a simple soul effigy, usually incised, dominated by large closed eyes



Figure 31. John Bourne, 1774, Middletown, N. J.

and downward drooping wings. The hair on the effigy was formed by short lines sometimes within a narrow ridge representing a wig. The nose was achieved by extending the eye lines downward in a rectangular pattern. The dates on these stones run from 1756 to 1798. The 1756 example is clearly backdated as the memorials do not show up consistently until the 1760s. Fifty-three of these stones are known to survive.

At least two hands are responsible for the droopy-winged cherubs. These can be clearly seen by comparing the Obadiah Mills stone with its thin, straight, serviceable, but unsophisticated letters with those found on the Margaret Smith stone (Figs. 32-33). The latter bears letters in a style highly reminiscent of Thomas Brown. It is possible that Brown lettered several of these markers, perhaps during his partnership with George Lindsay, if, indeed, Lindsay was the man behind this style. It is also possible that this type soul effigy was a New York "generic" type made by several stonecutters, Brown among them. Then again, a Brown-trained craftsman may have been responsible for them. The Brown type lettering is found most often on stones dated after 1770.

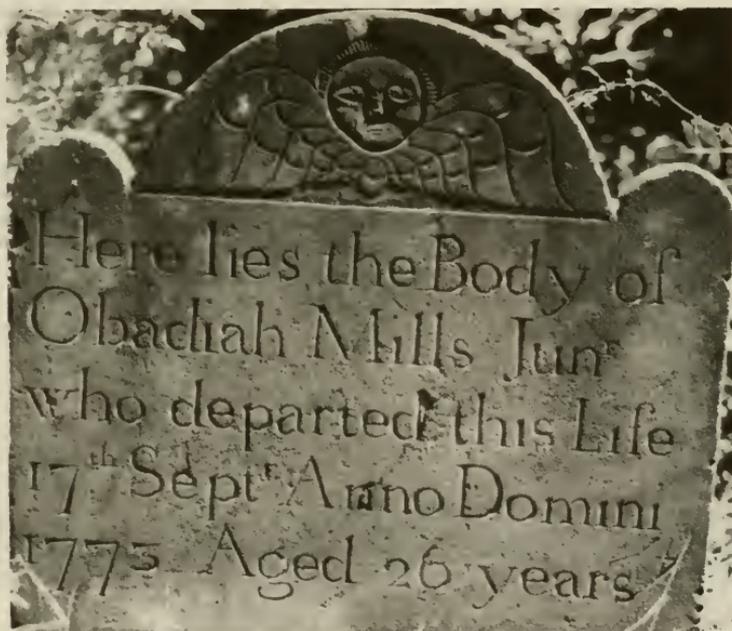


Figure 32. Obadiah Mills, 1773, Jamaica, Long Island.



Figure 33. Margaret Smith, 1756, Strong's Neck, Long Island.

In the 1790s a design clearly derived from the droopy-winged Mills-Wells style appears. It is a more ambitious and ornate style, with the face always cut in low relief and the wings rendered semi-naturalistically with cursively delineated feathers. Yet the narrow crew-cut hair, large oval eyes and general wing configuration cannot disguise its relationship to the more static image from which it sprang (Fig. 34). The late dates on these more elaborate designs may indicate an evolution in the stonecutters' artistic development. A more likely explanation is a former apprentice or son taking over the workshop.

The effects of the Revolutionary War were even more severely felt on New York gravestone cutting than they were on the New Jersey school. All of Manhattan, Long Island and most of what is today the Bronx fell under British occupation. Much of the border areas became no-man's lands replete with raids, reprisals, and guerilla warfare which frequently degenerated into outright banditry. This political situation isolated the City carvers from much of their market outside Manhattan. Production by New York craftsmen declined

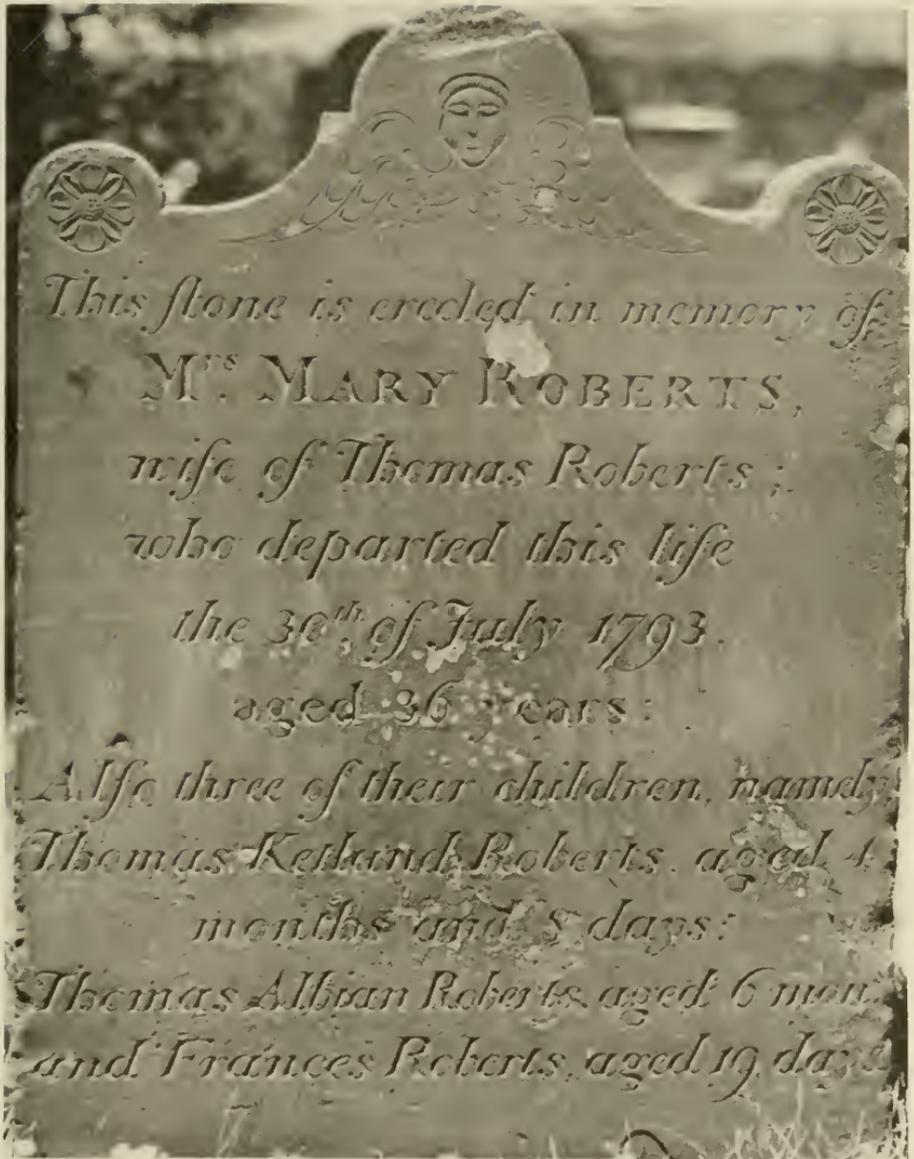


Figure 34. Mary Roberts, 1793, New York City.

and some completely ceased carving. John Zuricher, as we have seen, fled to his son's farm in 1776, cutting few stones until his death eight years later. Many memorials dated between 1776 and 1783 were probably made after the British withdrawal.

One sign of the stress suffered by the New York City gravestone cutting community during the Revolution is the type of markers which were erected during this period. In the late 1770s, Thomas Gold, a New Haven, Connecticut, stonecutter of Tory sympathies fled to New York. Several of his "egg-head" soul effigies (Fig. 35), and some plain markers, still stand in Manhattan, Staten Island, Westchester and King's County, well outside his usual territory. These include the Willem Stoothoof stone, 1774, Flatlands (Brooklyn), New York, a very rare example of a New England carver cutting a Dutch language inscription. Around 1784, Gold returned to New Haven and resumed his trade there. Though Gold sent markers to Long Island during his second New Haven phase, they went exclusively to Suffolk County. Another type of gravemarker found only with Revolutionary War dates is an unattributed pattern whose face and wing design are carved in sunken relief. The face itself is a squat, circular image whose eyes, mouth and



Figure 35. Thomas Gold Soul Effigy, 1782.



Figure 36. Anonymous Carver, 1778.

feathers are cut with crude, elliptical wedges (Fig. 36). The lettering is functional and devoid of any beauty. These stones, five in all, bearing dates from 1774-1778, are not simply primitive or eccentric; they are poor examples of funerary art. The fact the stones of such inferior design and workmanship show up during the Revolution indicates a major disruption among the City's stonecutting community and a resulting lack of supply for the City's inhabitants. It also suggests that other carvers besides Zuricher and the oval-head cutter either left the City or were forced to curtail their operations.

The end of the Revolution, and British occupation, led to a resumption of all trades, including gravestone cutting. In fact, more gravestone cutters may have been working than ever before. Between 1784 and 1800 New York City Directories list thirty-nine men who gave their occupations as stonecutters.¹⁸ Of course, these men performed many other types of stonecutting tasks besides carving gravestones. Nevertheless, we can identify makers by their works and by advertisements, and many other stonecutters probably worked in the shops of those who advertised. The advertisement placed in the New York Herald, on May 11, 1803, by the firm of Knox and Campbell, who often advertised gravestones, illustrates the heightened activity among the City's stonecutting community: "Journeymen stonecutters. Wanted a number of sober, industrious, good Workmen. Constant employ and good wages will be given. Apply to George Knox or Alexander Campbell, Master Stonecutters."¹⁹

Along with this presumed increase in the number of gravestone cutters went major changes in gravestone styles. During the Federal period, 1784-1815, neoclassic designs including urns and willows, the dominant funerary motifs in Britain, began to appear in large numbers in the United States. The reasons for the replacement of the traditional soul effigy by a design reflecting British popular taste is not entirely clear. Especially in New England, this shift surely mirrors the increasing weakness of the Puritan ethos and the funerary art which served it. However, in areas of greater ethno-religious heterogeneity, as the New York-New Jersey region, this shift in styles seems to have as much to do with fashion as it does with religion. Neoclassicism appeared modern, perhaps better adapted to a self-conscious infant republic than the symbols which had been utilized for over a century. It should be

remembered that the spread of Methodism and the Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century demonstrate that religion continued to exert a powerful influence on the average American. Thus it seems most likely that the decline of the soul effigy, as the winged skull before it, had less to do with religion than with popular taste and an evolving sentimental attitude towards death.

That fashion was at least as important as religion seems borne out by the fact that the neoclassic designs never achieved the popularity in New York and New Jersey that they did in New England. After 1780, the trend was towards markers devoid of any dominant symbol. New York stonecutters, like their New Jersey brethren, followed this pattern. Unlike the New Jersey craftsmen, who retained many traditional devices--lobetopped outlines, vine and floral borders, tulip motifs--New York cutters increasingly chose, or their clientele demanded, plain, unadorned markers. These stones, which usually began "In Memory" or "In Memorium," dominate New York burial grounds after 1790. After 1810, stones bearing traditional funerary iconography are a rarity (Table 2).

The transition to unadorned memorials was accompanied by the rising popularity of marble. While New York stonecutters had advertised the availability of marble during the colonial period, only one pre-Revolutionary, symbol engraved stone remains extant. The continued popularity of sandstone before the Revolution may have resulted from a combination of conservatism in taste and the lower cost of sandstone. After the Revolution Vermont marble became readily, and cheaply, available for gravestones. This material is specifically mentioned in advertisements by Arthur and John Darley, emigrants from Dublin, who began their stonecutting business in 1796. Undoubtedly they were referring to this material when they stated "they [were] supplied from a quarry up the North [Hudson] River with marble perfectly white and superior to any yet discovered in America for outside work."²⁰ This type of marble, called "sugar" marble because of its highly granular composition, is extremely susceptible to weathering. Unfortunately, large numbers of memorials carved in marble are eroded beyond recognition.

While the change from traditional symbols to neoclassic or plain markers proceeded more rapidly in New York than in New Jersey, the transformation was not

immediate. The decrease in the number of symbol-cut stones was pronounced, but some were carved into the nineteenth century. Some uncommon types appeared during the transitional period of the 1780s and 1790s. One of these is the impressive soul effigy/military symbol found on the Major Thomas Pell stone (Fig. 37). This appears to be an attempt at the provincial Baroque style by a carver who did not possess the requisite technique. More unusual are a small number of soul effigies which appeared in the Albany-Schenectady area at this time. These images, as seen on the Magdalene Quackenbots stone, are egg-shaped, with small, neat wings carved in low relief (Fig. 38). The carver handled both Roman and Italic lettering with facility. Everything about these markers--sandstone medium, lack of analogs in New England--suggests a New York City area provenance. However, nothing like them is known below Albany. Perhaps the loss of certain burial grounds in the City has obscured their origins, or a stonecutter in Albany ordered blanks from the Newark quarries and finished them in his own style. Despite the attractiveness of the unknown craftsman's work, he could not compete with the marble stones coming into the Albany region from Vermont, and his stones do not appear after 1803.



Figure 37. Major Thomas Pell, 1784, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.



Figure 38. Magdalene Quackenbots, 1790.

The Lower Hudson River valley gravestone carving tradition began in New Jersey around 1720. About 1750, a New York school emerged which captured the area east of the Hudson, thus forming two related but distinctive regional patterns. Both traditions were influenced by the New England carvers and, later, and especially in New York, by British sources. The latter were introduced by emigrant carvers from Britain and Ireland, who arrived in New York between 1764 and 1796. As was true of the New England carvers, New York-New Jersey craftsmen first made mortality images and then, after 1750, concentrated on soul effigies. However, mortality motifs remained surprisingly popular. The Revolutionary War and changing popular taste led to the abandonment of the soul effigy and the use of neoclassic designs. Especially in New York, this transition was overshadowed by the greater tendency to adopt unadorned markers. By 1820 traditional symbols had fallen from popular favor. A decade later they were extinct. By this time the intellectual and cultural mentality which had expressed itself through the traditional symbols had itself disappeared. Increasing mechanization and a radically altered market demand was changing gravestone cutting from a craft to a small industry. In gravestones, as in so much else, an era had passed.

Appendix

Gravestone Cutters in the New York and New Jersey Area New Jersey

Elizabeth

Jonathan Akin,	fl., 1760-1800	(traditional)
Elias Darby	fl., 1780	(Price/Osborne imitator)
David Jeffries	fl., 1760-1800	(traditional)
E. Norris	fl., 1820	(neoclassic)
Noah Norris	fl., 1810-1820	(unadorned)
Ebenezar Price	1728-1788	(traditional)
Aaron Ross	fl., 1790-1810	(unadorned/Price imitator)

Isaac Ross	fl., 1790-1810	(unadorned)
Abner Stewart	fl., 1760-1815	(traditional)
<u>Newark</u>		
William Grant	fl., 1740-1800	(traditional)
Uzal Ward	1726-1796?	(traditional)
W. Schenck	fl., 1820	(neoclassic)
<u>New Brunswick</u>		
L. Silcock	fl., 1825	(traditional)
<u>New Providence</u>		
A. Willcox	fl., 1810	(neoclassic)
<u>Rahway</u>		
John Frazee	fl., 1810-1820	(neoclassic)
<u>Scotch Plains</u>		
Jonathan Hand Osborne	fl., 1770-1810	(traditional)
William Osborne	fl., 1820	(neoclassic)
<u>Westfield</u>		
J. Tucker	fl., 1780	(Osborne imitator)
<u>Woodbridge</u>		
Henry Osborne	fl., 1770-1810	(traditional)
<u>Location Unknown</u>		
Ezekiel Ludlam	fl., 1810-1820	(unadorned)
----- Turner	fl., 1730-40	(traditional)

New York

New York City

P. D. Braisted	fl., 1810-1820	(neoclassic)
Nathaniel Brown	fl., 1764-1796	(traditional)
Thomas Brown	fl., 1764-1791	(traditional)
William Valentine	fl., 1770	(traditional)
John Zuricher	fl., 1745-1784	(traditional)

The following men advertised themselves as grave-stone cutters in eighteenth century New York City newspapers. While they are not yet definitely identified with a particular style, they are likely to prove responsible for several types presently unattributable. Dates are those of their advertisements.

Charles Bromfield, 1770

Alexander Campbell, 1803, 1804

Arthur and John Darley, 1796

Anthony Dodane, 1768, 1769

Robert Hartley, 1771

George Knox, 1803, 1804

George Lindsay, 1785, 1804

Rockland County

Thomas Smith	fl., 1800-1810	(unadorned)
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Sag Harbor (Suffolk County)

Ithiel Hill	fl., 1780-1821	(traditional and neoclassic)
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John C. Hill	fl., 1810	(neoclassic)
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Phineas Hill (also at Huntington, Hempstead and Riverhead)	1788-1844	(neoclassic)
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NOTES

The author would like to thank J. Richard Welch for the line drawings used for illustration.

¹Henry R. Stiles, History of the County of Kings and City of Brooklyn, Vol. 1 (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1884), 49.

²For a discussion of the relationship of Christian ideas of metamorphosis and the development of the soul effigy, see Allan I. Ludwig, Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815 (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966); Dickran and Ann Tashjian, Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1974); Peter Benes, The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805 (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977); David H. Watters, "With Bodilie Eyes": Eschatological Themes in Puritan Literature and Gravestone Art (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981). James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefsen, in "Death's Head Cherub Urn and Willow," Natural History 73:3 (1967), 28-57, related the shift from death's head to soul effigy to the Great Awakening. For discussions of their theory, see Benes, Masks, and Watters, "With Bodilie Eyes." Its application to New England has long been challenged, most recently by Kevin M. Sweeney, "Where the Bay Meets the River: Gravestones and Stonecutters in the River Towns of Western Massachusetts, 1690-1810," MARKERS III: The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1985), 1-46.

³A similar situation was reported by Paul Joseph McLeod in a study of Monmouth County, New Jersey memorials. He found both mortality and winged face designs carved continuously from 1720 to 1795 with the death's heads always more numerous. Paul Joseph McLeod, "A Study of the Gravestones of Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1716-1835. Reflections of a Lifestyle" (Xerox Typescript, 1979, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston).

⁴Rita S. Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776. Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers. New-York Historical Society Collections, 1938 (New York: New York Historical Society, 1938), 231.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., 229.

⁷H. Garret and R. Crode, "Gravestone Inscriptions from St. Eustatius, N.A., 1686-1930" (Typescript, 1976, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston).

⁸Will of Henry Osborne. New Jersey Abstracts. New Jersey Colonial Documents. Calendar of Wills, 32, 240.

⁹"Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York, 1731-1800," Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1968 [reprint]), 117.

¹⁰Will of John Zuricher, April 26, 1781. Mss. Queens College Historical Documents Collection.

¹¹Office of the State Comptroller, New York in the Revolution as Colony and State, II, (Albany: J. B. Lyon and Co., 1904), 67.

¹²Gottesman, 229-32.

¹³Ibid., 231.

¹⁴Ibid., 228-229.

¹⁵Ibid., 229.

¹⁶Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799. Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 1948 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1948), 200.

¹⁷New York City Directories, 1784-1800.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800-1804. Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 1949 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1949), 203.

²⁰Gottesman, 1777-1799, 204.

Rural Southern Gravestones:

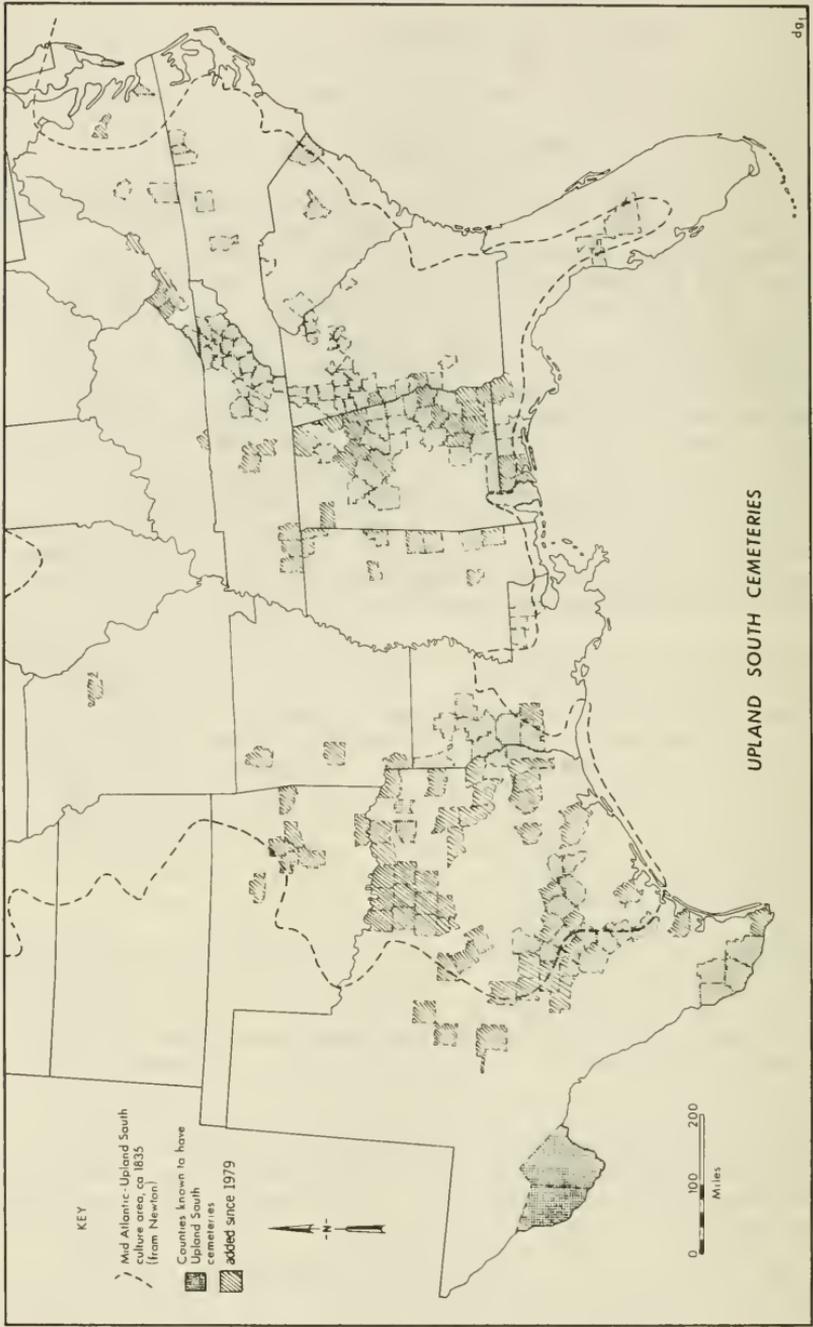
Sacred Artifacts in the Upland South Folk Cemetery

Gregory Jeane

The rural South has been the focus of social research for a number of years. Interest has been variously focused upon architecture, the institution of slavery, the impact of textile milling upon the region's economy, and the devastation wrought by overemphasis on cotton production. Within the realm of folk studies, interest has focused most sharply upon folktales, folk songs, and, within recent years, upon the cultural geography of various landscape elements in the South.¹ This paper continues the as yet young tradition of geographic investigation of the Southern cultural landscape. As such, the paper should be considered as an introduction. The information presented in these pages is based on nearly fifteen years of direct field observation and is further substantiated by oral histories acquired by interviews and correspondence.

The data presented and the generalizations offered pertain to rural cemeteries only. Until the end of World War II, the South was predominately rural. The advent of urbanism is better researched and understood in relation to economic changes, residential mobility, and other social factors. The importance of Southern urban areas as foci of cultural innovation and change is recognized, although the mechanism of the transfer of urban originated culture traits to the rural areas is imperfectly known.²

The focus of this paper is upon gravestones as one important culture trait in the rural Southern cemetery. Observations of hundreds of rural graveyards indicate a highly repetitive association of features that I refer to as the Upland South folk graveyard. It has definitive characteristics which indicate that it may be recognized as a distinctive type of cemetery and that it appears to be geographically extensive only within the South.³ The Upland South folk graveyard is a cemetery type widely dispersed across the South and is identified among other things by its small size, hilltop location, east-west grave orientation, scraped ground, and preferred species of vegetation (Map 1). It is important, therefore, to think of the rural cemetery in the South as a culture trait complex that can be analyzed trait by trait but that is best understood when



Map 1. Upland South Cemeteries.

all of the various elements are studied in their proper context. Research on this folk graveyard type appears to indicate that it was even more widespread historically than at present. Given the lateness of some settlement within the South, it is not unrealistic to proffer that, for at least some areas of the region, cemetery traditions remain very much the same as they were at the time of initial occupancy by settlers.⁴ Since much of the South was not settled until the 1830s or later, the survival of traditional customs into the mid-twentieth century is not unusual.⁵ I believe that the reluctance to disturb burial grounds in the rural South has made it possible to observe traditional folkways longer than might be the case in other areas of the country.⁶ The general reluctance to disturb sacred space allowed the Upland South cemetery complex to remain the most typical rural cemetery in the South until after World War II.

In the traditional Upland South cemetery, grave-stones were not especially common. Where they are found, they serve as important artifacts that give insight into the economic and social fabric of the community. They are, therefore, significant and can be used as a cultural index. Gravemarkers of material other than commercially prepared stone are also culturally significant.

As is generally recognized, gravestones and grave markers serve a variety of functions. Obviously they contain valuable genealogical information, some more than others. They may be used as well to corroborate studies of the diffusion and distribution of known epidemic diseases, to analyze cycles of mortality, or to explain other death-related phenomena. Epitaphs and artistic symbols may be used as well to gain insight into attitudes toward death among local folk.

The Traditional Model

In order to appreciate the changes in use of grave-stones that have taken place within the Southern rural cemetery, it would be instructive to have some idea of the traditional cemetery complex at the time of initial settlement. Field evidence indicates that the folk cemetery went through an evolution of forms beginning with a traditional stage (emphasized in this paper) that lasted from initial occupancy until approximately World War II, with remnants widely extant even today. A transitional stage began in some areas of the South

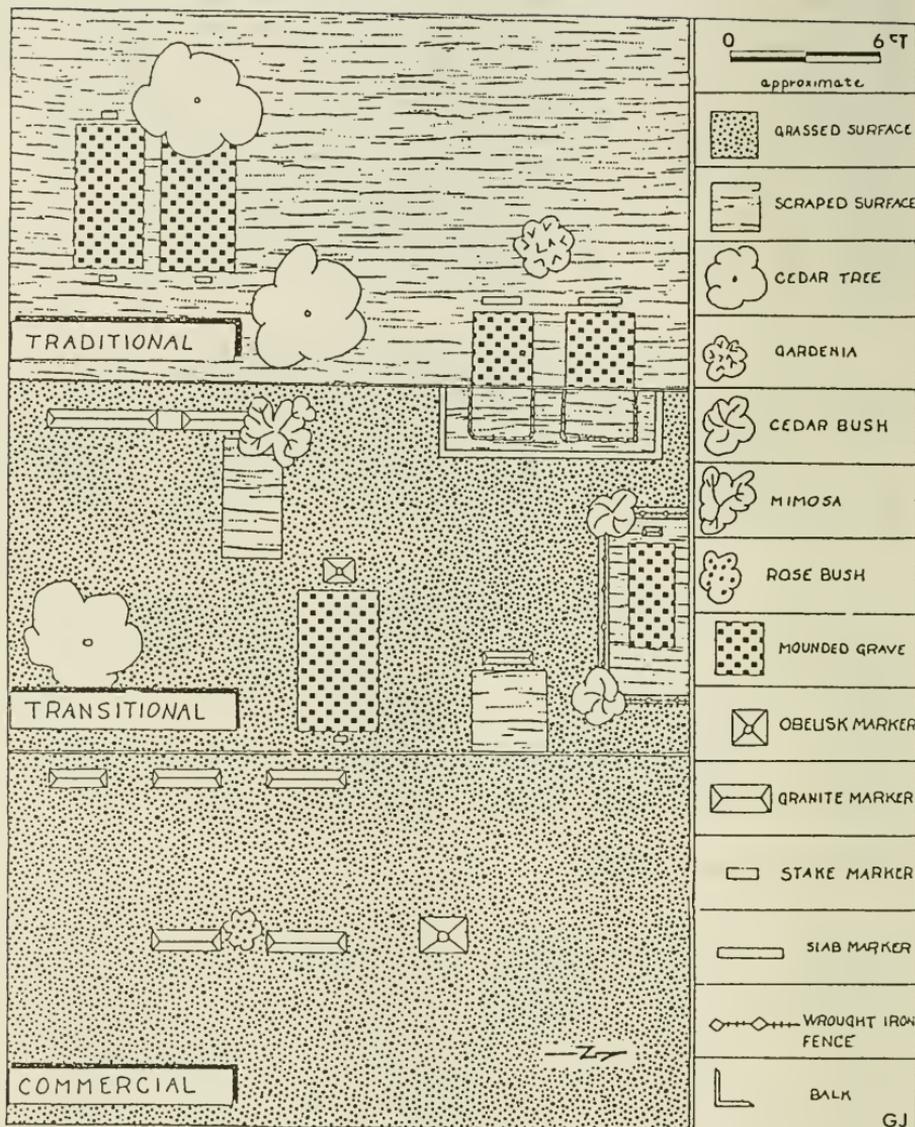


Diagram 1. Changes in the Upland South Cemetery.



Figure 1. Bear Creek Methodist Church Cemetery, Carroll County, Georgia, 1974. Note the lack of grass, hilltop location and use of field stone for markers.

in the 1930s and is widespread currently. The commercial, or memorial garden stage is a phenomenon of the 1960s onward (Diagram 1). Figure 1 illustrates some of the definitive characteristics of the folk cemetery as evidenced by the scraped ground, the hilltop location, the mounding of the graves, and the use of noncommercial gravestones. The mounding of graves has been attributed to Indian influence, but there does not appear to be significant Indian cultural impact on the manner in which the earlier settlers formally disposed of their dead.

Data from several hundred cemeteries in nearly 200 Southern counties reveal that the traditional rural cemetery was a small piece of land situated on the top of a hill or, where possible, upon an elevated piece of land (Map 1). The graveyard was stripped of most all vegetation, including grass, shrubs, and trees, leaving a startling "scar" on the landscape.⁷ Within this sacred space preferred species of vegetation were added that had symbolic meaning for settlers in the area. When

trees were left standing, evergreen species dominated. Symbolic of immortality, evergreen species varied, obviously, from one geographic locale within the South to another. The most common tree was the cedar (Fig. 2); it became known widely as the cemetery tree and can still be effectively used as a landscape indicator of abandoned or overgrown cemeteries (house sites as well). Other species of evergreen included pine and oak, as well as magnolia in the extreme South.

Additional preferred species of vegetation included crape myrtle, spirea, gardenia, rose, azalea, and lilies. The community went to considerable length to insure that no other species of vegetation encroached within the graveyard. Thus, an annual or semiannual event of considerable importance was the graveyard work-day.⁸ On this occasion all members of the community having kin buried in the cemetery, as well as others who formerly lived in the area but had moved away, gathered to spend long hours hoeing all grass and weeds from the cemetery, replanting shrubs or trees that had died or fallen over, and, in general, sprucing up the burial ground. This cult of piety continues to the present in some areas, even to the point of some communities reestablishing the practice after a period of discontinuance (Fig. 3; Map 2).



Figure 2. Cryer Cemetery, Vernon Parish, La., 1969.



Figure 3. Union Baptist Church Cemetery, Mt. Pleasant, Titus County, Tx., 1968, in the process of being reconverted from a grassed one to the traditional folk model.



Map 2. Distributional Map of Cemeteries in Three North-east Georgia Counties, 1970.

The traditional cemetery also had other distinguishing characteristics. All graves were mounded. This served the purpose of preserving graves, whether marked with a stone or not. In addition, there were diverse forms of decoration, but few gravestones. One of the most unusual decorative forms was the use of shells to either outline the grave, cover it completely, or mark a line down the ridge of the burial (Fig. 4). Another important culture trait was the presence of grave shelters (Fig. 5); some cemeteries would have none, others several or, in a few instances, virtually one for every burial. All graves were, in addition, aligned on an east-west axis; random directional burial was not common.

Thus, the sighting of a traditional Upland South rural cemetery today presents a striking appearance to the casual observer--a small, clean piece of earth situated on the high ground with mounded graves neatly placed in rows, one or several evergreen trees and other scattered plants of symbolic significance to the local group, an occasional grave house, and the presence of shells strewn about on many of the burials, among other traits. One of the most obvious characteristics would be a noticeable absence of gravestones.

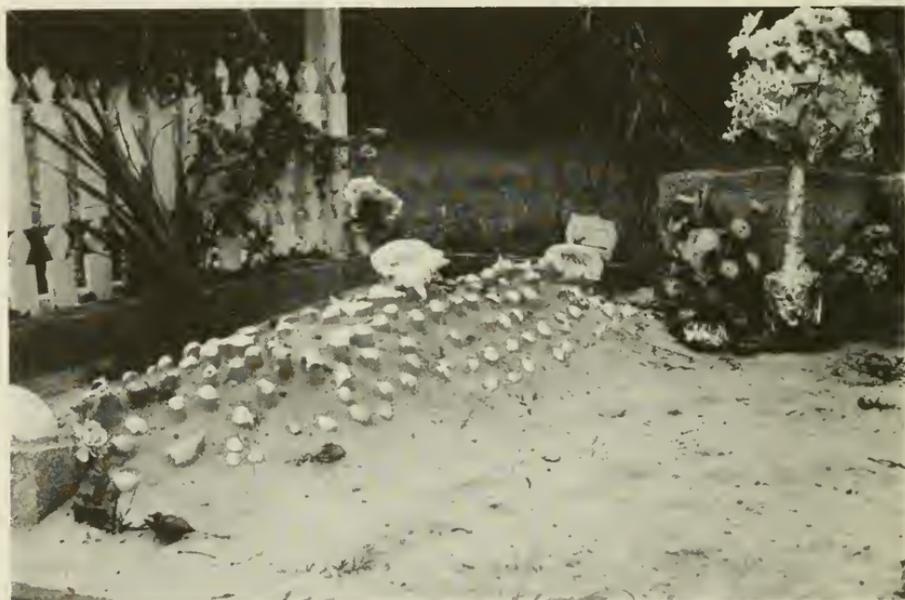


Figure 4. Prewitt's Chapel, Vernon Parish, La., 1967.



Figure 5. Franklin County, Alabama, 1982.

Categories of Markers

The absence of gravestones in the traditional rural cemetery has persisted to the present day in only the more conservative communities. Some cemeteries in the uplands of northeastern Georgia, and others observed in eastern Texas and western Louisiana in the 1970s, still had few commercial stones. Commercial stones, however, became increasingly available during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and today such stones predominate, even in cemeteries that were formerly maintained in the tradition described.

The preference for commercial stones began in earnest around the 1890s and became especially prevalent after World War II. Why the change? Partly, one must take into consideration that the composition of communities changes over time. People from other areas were moving into the South, and, like new settlers anywhere, they brought with them new ideas and ways of doing things. People from urban environments, even small ones, would bring different ideas and demands for certain items that would be considered essential in their new environment. In addition, through the de-

cedes the age matrix of the community would change. Fewer old folks irrevocably tied to doing things "the way grandpa did" became subordinate to a younger generation who was not only better schooled, but relatively better traveled. The younger generation in the South has consistently accepted traditions in conflict with those of their elders. Attitudes about death and preferences for grave adornment and maintenance have changed along with other culture values.

There is considerable variety in Southern gravestones and markers. First, there are markers made from found materials. These may be pieces of native field stone (Fig. 6), a piece of cedar or heart pine (either a slab or a stob), or some material chosen by the individual because it could be crafted to resemble a gravestone.⁹ In western Louisiana and eastern Texas, for example, some folk stacked discarded clay turpentine cups to create a type of "tombstone" (Fig. 7). Turpentine cups became available when some of the saw mill operations in that area ceased operations in the early twentieth century.



Figure 6. New Hope Cemetery, Paulding County, Georgia, 1972. Note that grass is being maintained on some plots.



Figure 7. Toro Creek Cemetery, Vernon Parish, La., 1969.

Homemade gravemarkers form a second category. Other than stone, wooden markers appear to be among the earliest efforts to identify graves. Informants in communities across the South relate that their earliest remembrances of gravemarkers were a piece of stone or wood placed at each end of the grave. A common response was that "folks were too poor to buy a tombstone." One may infer that wooden markers were probably used from initial occupancy, circa 1835. They were still being used in the 1930s, but evidence begins to diminish considerably in the 1940s and later. The cataloging of the occurrence of wooden markers variously scattered in folk cemeteries from Texas to the Carolinas would suggest that the practice was formerly common throughout the South.

The best woods for a gravemarker were cedar or heart pine, since these woods resisted rot and were particularly suited to the damp Southern environment. Sometimes the wooden slab would have the basic information of name, birth and death date. Others would have only a name or a name and death date. Few of these slabs ever contained an epitaph. Weathering of wood is so rapid that no extant wooden markers observed have

retained any information.

Several different shapes of wooden markers have been observed. Some consist of a narrow shaft, from three to six inches wide, with the top of the marker rounded to form a circle (Fig. 8). Some blacks have indicated that markers were thus formed to look like the head and body of a human. No whites interviewed have ever offered an explanation for the shape of the marker. A variant of the same is to have the top of the wooden stake carved in a diamond-shape. Geometric-shaped head and foot stones were observed in rural cemeteries in Godmersham, Kent, England and in a number of rural cemeteries in the Yorkshire Dales during a cemetery reconnaissance of Great Britain in 1981. Most of them bore no marking and were placed at the foot of a grave. In the South, the same shapes in wood were placed both at the head and foot of graves. The English stones were associated most often with burials from the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰ In some rural Southern cemeteries, there are wooden grave shelters built over graves that have served the dual purpose of protecting the grave from erosion and from animal depredation, as well as preserving wooden grave markers. Even in those instances, there has never been a marker with recorded information on it. It may have never had any, or, the writing may have faded over the decades. No wooden markers have been observed with information carved into the surface.



Figure 8. Prewitt's Chapel, Vernon Parish, La., 1969.

A third type of wooden marker has been observed in the panhandle of Florida and in Mississippi. It consists of a rectangular slab of wood, generally heart pine, about twelve to fifteen inches wide and from twenty to twenty-four inches high. The wooden slab is anchored in a rectangular wooden base that has been carved to accept the slab. It very much resembles the technique of mortise and tenon construction used in architecture and furniture making.¹¹

Another type of homemade stone is the concrete marker. The use of concrete appears to be a twentieth-century phenomenon; most of the concrete gravestones observed date from the 1920s and 1930s. It is possible to find an occasional one made in the 1950s, but they are scarce after this time. As with the wooden markers, the use of concrete is widespread in rural Southern cemeteries, particularly common in black cemeteries, but it can be observed in white graveyards as well. A recent use of concrete was observed in the reestablishing of the folk cemetery at East Bethel Baptist Church in eastern Alabama; concrete had been used to fashion a small cross for each grave that had never had a commercial stone.¹²

Generally crude in design, these stones are either slab or block in form and of modest size (Fig. 9). Inscriptions are most often made while the concrete is still wet and carved with a tool such as a screwdriver or a stick. A few such stones have been observed where the family tried to create a more sophisticated look by forming a shallow depression in the face of the block for a glass plate. In these instances, the biographical data about the deceased was either written on a piece of paper placed under the glass or occasionally written with punch-out letters.

Both the wooden markers and the concrete stones might rightfully be thought of as folk markers. In the same manner that decorations in Southern rural cemeteries express an art of "making do," so also do the more traditional gravemarkers. Decoration of these stones is expressive as well. Variations in decorating concrete stones run the gamut from covering the stone with aluminum paint to having the name of the deceased spelled with embedded marbles.

A third category of Southern gravestones is the commercial stone. The use of commercial stones appears to have become popular in the South in the last quarter



Figure 9. Rosemere Cemetery, Opelika, Lee County, Alabama, 1985.



Figure 10. Houston County, Alabama, 1981.

of the nineteenth century (Fig. 10). By that time stones could be obtained from monument dealers in the county seat or even by catalog from such institutions as Sears, Roebuck and Company. Commercial stones became very popular and within a short time were ubiquitous. Because monument dealers, or sources, were influenced by whatever was currently popular across the nation, styles popular outside the South became widely distributed. Beyond the direct observation, it is dangerous to generalize about the distribution of commercial stones. One must be sensitive to the fact that the resistance to change expressed in the persistence of the traditional cemetery complex described is reflected in the choice of gravestones as well. Styles popular in other parts of the nation before the turn of the century still reflected contemporary taste in some Southern communities at mid-twentieth century. In those rural graveyards where commercial stones are not particularly abundant, one need not necessarily assume that local folk are ignorant of current popular gravestone styles. Rather, they may be exercising a cultural prerogative by rejecting what is currently in vogue in favor of traditional styles or in favor of familiar, traditional practices that eschew gravestones.

Gravestone Motifs

Many, if not most, of the popular Southern motifs can be found in other parts of the United States as well.¹³ One is struck by the predominance of a few motifs which may express regional taste. The dove, symbolic of the spirit or the Holy Spirit, the open Bible (Fig. 11), the finger pointing to Heaven, the gates of Heaven, the broken rose, the broken link of chain, and the cross and the crown, are particularly widespread in Southern rural graveyards and appear to be expressive of strong fundamentalist religious interpretation of death and the life hereafter.

The use of these symbolic motifs is a phenomenon of the mid-nineteenth century in the rural South and appears to have been a trait that originated in the urban areas, evolved there, and diffused widely throughout the rural countryside. There are, for instance, no motifs placed on folk markers or gravestones. Rather, they begin to appear with the spread of commercial stones in the late nineteenth century, stones that were manufactured in urban locales and distributed by various means across the South. Thus, the very best examples of the use of motifs from an artistic reference



Figure 11. Self Cemetery, Vernon Parish, La., 1969.



Figure 12. Friendship Methodist Church, Vernon Parish, Louisiana, 1972.

are to be found in the various urban cemeteries scattered across the South. One need not interpret urban as meaning a major metropolitan area. In fact, some of the most beautifully executed works are found in the graveyards of the local county seat.

Generally speaking, the use of motifs falls into two distinct patterns--those on the graves of children and those adorning the gravestones of adults. The symbols most commonly used on children's graves were and, to a certain extent, continue to be the sleeping lamb, the lamb at rest, the dove, and an angel transporting the deceased to Heaven. The lamb is the most common motif (Fig. 12). At times these lambs are lightly incised on the face of the stone. More commonly they are sculpted in bas-relief or are fully sculpted on the top of the stone. The dove is generally sculpted in bas-relief within a shallow disc carved out of the face of the stone. Less common are the motif of a broken flower stem, most often a rose, the open Bible and the gates of Heaven.

The motif of a celestial being, such as an angel winging its way to heaven with a child or young adult in its arms, is infrequently observed. Most often associated with families of financial means, as evidenced by the size of the stone, the skill of the artistic effort, and the kind of stone (polished granite or fine white marble, for example), such monuments were done outside the region and imported or imported from outside the region and carved in a Southern urban center. It is difficult to locate the sources of these monuments since artisans seldom signed their work, and stone manufacturers did not always put a trademark on their products.

Adult gravestones represent a much greater variety of symbolic motifs and size. Unlike gravestones for children, which are most often rather small, the monuments placed for adults range from simple slabs to elaborate obelisks and mausoleums. The size of marker is a factor of wealth, a fact that is easily observed regardless of whether one is in a rural or urban setting or a particular geographic region. Large tombstones in the rural South were commonly placed on the graves of planter families (Fig. 13), but other citizens such as doctors, lawyers, or merchants also acquired them. Another feature of stones for adults is that one often sees a single massive stone placed in a family plot with all names inscribed upon it, along with some ap-



Figure 13. Vicksburg City Cemetery, Vicksburg, Miss., 1982.

appropriate epitaph for the principal family members. While adult names appear on these large stones from about the age of fifteen, babies and other young children almost always have separate stones.

Among motifs used for adults, one finds such items as flowers, either as a broken-stemmed, single element (sometimes a lily or bouquet instead of a rose) (Fig. 14), or as a wreath or garland. Most of the garlands and wreaths are obviously Victorian decorative designs and carry little specific religious meaning. Other plants may find expression as well, particularly the use of the willow tree. The willow became very popular in the United States, and in Europe, during the Romantic era of the early nineteenth century. In the South this gravestone motif is widely scattered and dates mostly from the immediate pre-Civil War period to the early 1870s. After that it is infrequently encountered. The sheaf of wheat is seldom used, and interestingly enough, neither is the cedar tree or other evergreen species of vegetation--this in spite of the fact that the cedar tree is nearly ubiquitous in Southern graveyards.



Figure 14. Ford Cemetery, Newton County, Texas, 1983. Note metal marker, dating from late nineteenth century, and mason jar flower holder.

More common are the motifs which convey explicit religious messages such as the dove in flight (the Spirit set free, or the soul winging its way to Heaven); the finger pointing heavenward (remindful that there is but one final home for the faithful); the cross laid on an open Bible (belief in the Crucifixion and the fulfillment of the promise through God's word); the gates of Heaven, sometimes in association with the skyline of the holy city Jerusalem (the reward of the faithful servant); and the clasped hands (interpreted as a farewell most often, but by some as a greeting from the Lord) (Fig. 15). Rarely does one find motifs that indicate professional occupations: on the other hand, fraternal symbols are very common, especially the Masonic emblem. For women, the emblem of the Order of the Eastern Star is frequently encountered.

Another very widespread gravestone motif is the logo of the Woodmen of the World (Fig. 16), a semi-fraternal insurance company with headquarters in the Midwest. One of the benefits of the policy with this company was an optional rider providing a cash payment

toward purchase of a stone for the policyholder's grave, a benefit that continues in force although it now provides only for the use of the logo on a stone of the family's choice, or a small bronze plaque if the family cannot provide a stone at all. The Woodmen stones are stylized tree trunks (Fig. 17), and as such are one of the most easily recognized gravestone styles found in the South. The wide geographic distribution of these markers may be indicative of the success of the Woodmen of the World Insurance Company. The company was willing to write policies in an area where older, more established, firms were unwilling to take insurance risks because of high mortality rates and generally poor health conditions. The result was that rural Southerners loyally supported the company and its fraternal organization, and few rural communities were without a Woodmen's Lodge. Consequently, the landscape expression of that organization is found in the stylized tree trunk gravestone in the hundreds of rural cemeteries which pepper the region.

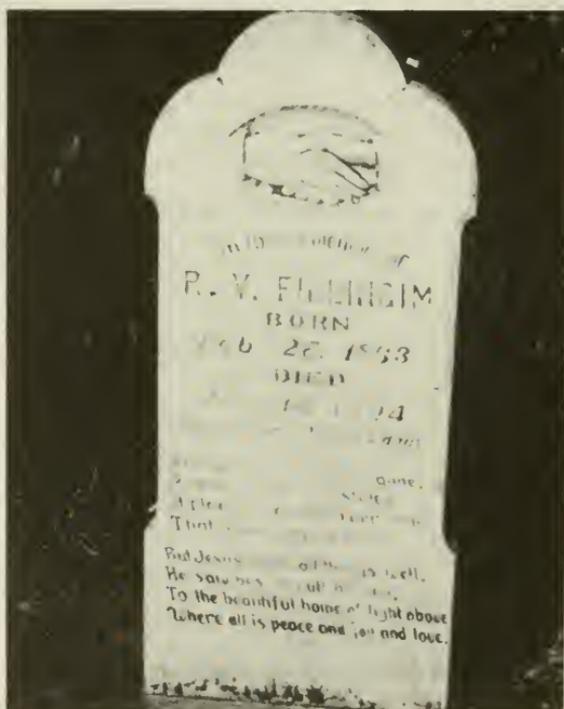


Figure 15. Pleasant Hill Baptist Church Cemetery, Escambia County, Florida, 1985.

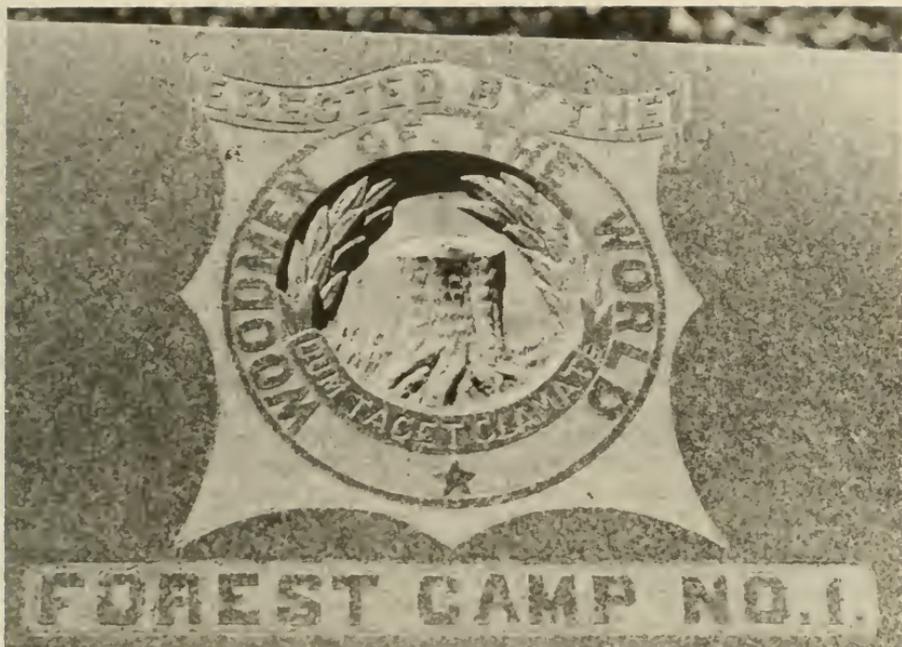


Figure 16. Magnolia Cemetery, Mobile, Alabama, 1983.



Figure 17. Loachapoka Cemetery, Lee County, Ala., 1985.

Epitaphs

Southern epitaphs have much in common with gravestone inscriptions in other regions of the United States. The Bible is an especially important source of material, indicative of a fundamentalist belief in the Christian doctrine of life after death and its attainment. One infrequently finds, for example, gravestones with any lengthy moral lesson or family history. Some epitaphs are long, but they are the exception rather than the rule. Reference to marriage, a perfect mate, a devoted wife and mother, and to the deceased "At Rest" are some non-religious examples. Most have some religious connotation, however, such as "Asleep in Jesus," "I will lift mine eyes unto the hills," or "An angel called Home." Epitaphs sometimes give a sectarian message, such as "Died in the Faith and Defence of the Primitive Baptist Church."¹⁴

There is much to be done in the systematic study of Southern epitaphs, but four categories of epitaphs are tentatively offered here:

- a. biblical inscriptions
- b. religious memoria (often biblical paraphrases)
- c. biographical
- d. poetic

The most common category is biblical inscriptions, which is to be expected considering the region's religious history. Epitaphs based on the Scriptures are plentiful because memorization of the Scriptures was popular as a religious pastime of settler families (as it continues to be among certain groups to this day). Thus, there was lifelong familiarity, and the lines were obviously favored as a final tribute to the deceased. An example often encountered from Revelations is "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." Other examples of popular biblical inscriptions include: "The Lord is my Shepherd," "I have kept the faith," and "Suffer little children to come unto me."

Epitaphs having strong religious overtones would be a second major category. The lines are vaguely familiar, having a decided biblical thrust, but the lines are either paraphrased or often written in biblical prose style. For example, "Twas hard to give thee up, but Thy will, O God, be done." Another would be, "He is not dead but glorified." Yet another is, "To be with Jesus is life." A very popular inscription for

children is "Asleep in Jesus." One teenager who died in the 1850s had an epitaph that read, "The young shall also die." Other epitaphs of this category that are popular include variations of the following:

- a. God's finger touched him, and he slept.
- b. On the last page of his life, the angels wrote peace.
- c. Having finished life's duty, he now sweetly rests.

Motherhood is practically a sacred institution within traditional Southern culture, and this is well illustrated by epitaphs used on the wife's grave. Many of these fall within this category of religious paraphrase. More importantly, they convey the very strong feelings of the special position of the woman in the family. For example, "Sleep, mother, sleep; till the resurrection morn." Perhaps more pointedly, "Her children arise up and call her blessed, her husband also, and he praiseth her." Other epitaphs specifically oriented to motherhood or the special role of the female fall in other categories and are obvious as tribute to the special social status of women.

A third type or category of epitaphs might be labeled biographical in that they convey something about the life, the work, the values, or some other pertinent information concerning the individual. Interestingly, they also indicate a strong loyalty to social institutions prevalent in the life of the deceased. Two very excellent examples are as follows:

She was brave with the high spirit of the Old South which she typified, and generous and sympathetic from a great love and understanding of life, her greatness of soul won the love and reverence of all who knew her "To have known her was a liberal education."

"A lady of the old school" of kindness, culture and dignity; loyal to her family and to her church, and to the manners and memories of the Old South.¹⁵

Other epitaphs are less descriptive of the deceased individual's "Southernness," but are instructive as to character:

Wonderful woman, charming companion, marvelous

mother, faithful friend, Christian character

A kind husband
A devoted father
A faithful friend
A true churchman

She was an earnest Communicant
of Emanuel Church:
As wife, mother, friend,
She was ever faithful.
She hath done what she could.

A fourth category of inscriptions is poetic in form. Some are fairly simple in content and style, others are more involved. Many aptly express the agony of the bereaved and evoke pathos in the observer. Those poems found on childrens' graves are among the most poignant. For example:

Tender shepherd, Thou hast stilled
Now Thy little lamb's brief weeping
And how peaceful, pale and mild
In its narrow bed it's sleeping.

Another form asleep
And a little spirit gone;
Another little voice is hushed
And a little angel born.

Some of the epitaphs found on the graves of adults are not less poignant as expressed in the following three examples:

Warm summer sun shine kindly here
Warm southern wind blow lightly here
Green sod above, lie light, lie light,
Good night dear heart
Good night, good night.

I think of you, from every pain and sorrow free
And coming down from heaven's slope with hands
Held out to me.

Farewell dear papa, sweetly thy rest,
Weary with years and worn with pain
Farewell til in some happy place
We shall behold thy face again.

There are, of course, many gravestone inscriptions that do not fall neatly into an obvious category or adjust easily to some arbitrary classification scheme. Yet, some of these lines are also reflective of the strong religious background of local folk. Others are simply interesting in the message they convey. "I break away, like bird uncaged on a summer day," is an epitaph that states clearly the deceased one's attitude toward life's fetters. "She is now a part of all the loveliness which she once made more lovely" is yet another that speaks reverently of the esteem in which the dead individual was formerly held. General examples of miscellaneous, but frequently occurring, epitaphs are as follows:

Tho lost to sight, to memory dear.

A loving, patient, gentle mother.

Loved ones remember you.

She hath done what she could.

Another angel in heaven.

We will meet again.

We miss you.

Conclusion

This paper should be considered an introduction to the as yet little studied realm of the Southern landscape of the dead. There has been a growing interest among geographers, anthropologists, sociologists and folklorists about the need to study our attitudes about death and their social expressions, both tangible and otherwise. The majority of literature available on death in America, however, deals with the trauma of death and dying and how to cope psychologically. At the other end of the spectrum are highly general studies of a purposefully non-scholarly approach that deal with the humorous or curious nature of man's feeling toward the dead, particularly the famous.¹⁶ While these works are helpful in acquiring a balanced view of the phenomenon of death, serious American studies lag.¹⁷

Rural Southern gravestones as a specific phenomenon are virtually unstudied, as indeed are all Southern gravestones. As a cemetery artifact they represent one

trait of a larger culture trait complex associated with the traditional Southern cemetery. The South, however, has for some years been in transition, and as it changes from a predominantly rural to increasingly urban society, there are going to be numerous changes not only in gravestone design but also in numbers. Southern gravestone motifs and epitaphs reflect the vibrant, fundamentalist religious belief system characteristic of the Protestant Bible Belt. Although there are some stones which have shapes or symbols specifically representing fraternal organizations, the majority have symbolic artwork representing Christian attitudes toward death. It should not be construed that the lack of these symbols in great number in other regions is indicative of any less fervent religious belief. Rather, the rural South has been an area of open, vocal expression of the importance of religion in all aspects of life, and this is clearly evident in the material expression of the living toward the dead. Like other areas of the country, gravestones in the South can be used as an index of social prominence or wealth, but the real value of studying the stones is not in their size or sophistication of craftsmanship, rather for the insight they afford into the character of Southern folk.

NOTES

¹See Medora Field Perkinson, White Columns in Georgia, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1952); W. Darrell Overdyke, Louisiana Plantation Homes: Colonial and Ante Bellum, (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1965); and John Linley, Architecture of Middle Georgia: The Oconee Area, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1972) as representative examples of regional architectural interests. The slavery issue has thousands of pages written about it. Representative of some of the articles and books published would be: Wendell H. Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter in the Old South, (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1938) and W. T. Jordan, "The Elisha F. King Family, Planters of Alabama Black Belt," Agricultural History XIX (1945), 152-162. A major geographical interpretation of cotton production and related industry is John Fraser Hart's "The Demise of King Cotton," Annals, Association of American Geographers 67 (1977), 307-322. The most important recent work dealing with the environmental impact of abused Southern soil is Stanley W. Trimble, Man-Induced Soil Erosion on the Southern Piedmont, 1700-1970, (Ankeny, Iowa: Soil Conservation Society of America, 1974). Two articles by a geogra-

pher dealing with folk-life include E. Joan Wilson Miller's "Ozark Superstitions as Geographic Documentation," Professional Geographer 24 (1972), 223-226 and "The Ozark Culture Region as Revealed by Traditional Materials," Annals, Association of American Geographers 58 (1968), 51-77. A Southern folk classic is Ray B. Browne's Popular Beliefs and Practices from Alabama, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955). Nearly any of the publications of Vance Randolph on Arkansas or Richard M. Dorson on American folklore will illustrate the emphasis upon song and legend as research foci. For recent geographical articles on the cultural landscape of the South see Terry G. Jordan, "'The Roses So Red and the Lilies So Fair': Southern Folk Cemeteries in Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 8 (1980), 227, 258. See also Terry G. Jordan, "The Traditional Southern Rural Chapel in Texas," Ecumene 8 (1976), 6-17. A major sourcebook on material culture is Henry Glassie's, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia: University of Press, 1968).

²It is commonly accepted among culture scientists that urban areas wherever found are major foci of innovation and culture transfer. The mechanism of transfer, the path(s) of diffusion, and the chronological framework are All elements in the reconstruction of historic landscapes that often elude quick discovery or explanation.

³Donald Gregory Jeane, "The Traditional Upland South Cemetery," Landscape 18 (1969), 39-41; "The Upland South Cemetery: An American Type," Journal of Popular Culture 11 (1978), 895-503; and "Cemetery Traditions," American Cemetery (1982), 18-22.

⁴One of the advantages of studying cultural phenomena in the South is that direct observation can still be made of traditional rural lifeways that have long ceased to exist in more urbanized areas. Interviews with older folk during the late 1960s and early 1970s would seem to bear out the conclusion that in some rural areas little change in cemetery practices and maintenance had occurred within the memory of the people being interviewed.

⁵It has been established that the historic base for settlement of more than one million square miles of Southern territory is around 1825-1835. The dominant culture spread across the South at this time was that

the Upland South. See Milton B. Newton, Jr., "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South," in Man and Cultural Heritage, Geoscience and Man Series, Vol. 5 (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience Publications, 1974), 143-154.

⁶Fred B. Kniffen, "Necrogeography in the United States," Geographical Review 57 (1967), 426-427.

⁷The establishment of some traditional cemeteries was recalled by people interviewed about their graveyard memories. Once the undesired vegetation was removed, certain flowering, low-maintenance species of plants such as bridal wreath or lilies would be planted. Annual workdays were instituted as a communal effort to remove grass and weeds. The institution of graveyard workday persists to the present day and has been observed in eastern and southern Alabama, in eastern Texas and western Louisiana, and in northeastern Georgia. William Humphrey's description of graveyard workday on the Texas plains in The Ordways (New York: Bantam Books, 1966) indicates that it was already an old tradition when northeastern Texas was settled and that it had been brought westward along with other traditions important to the settlers. As a native Texan, Humphrey is claimed to have written his description of the churchyard and workday from personal associations.

⁸Graveyard work day is not as regular nor widespread as it was before World War II. Interviews conducted with ministers and community leaders in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, and Georgia establish that it still exists though in an abbreviated form. Rather than an entire community being involved today, it is more likely that one will find individual families who maintain the tradition by cleaning family plots. The result is a checkerboard look to some rural cemeteries where you have both grassed and ungrassed plots within the same graveyard. Perhaps the best evidence is that one can see the results in cemeteries scattered across the South. Freshly mounded graves, hoe and rake marks and the absence of any grass is clear evidence that the plot has been worked. The author witnessed a graveyard cleaning in south Alabama in 1979 and in east Alabama in 1984. In the cemetery of East Bethel Baptist Church, Randolph County, Alabama, the congregation has turned the grassed cemetery back into a completely scraped graveyard with all graves mounded and covered with white sand. A similar instance was observed in Titus County, Texas, in 1968 where the congregation of Union

Baptist Church, established in 1835, was using rotary tillers to turn the grass under, leaving a cemetery bare of grass and with large cedar trees as the only vegetation.

⁹ See Fred B. Kniffen and J. McCarter, "Louisiana Iron Rock," Economic Geography 29 (1953), 299-306.

¹⁰ Similar stones are discussed in a number of places in Frederick Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials (London: SPCK, 1979). In England the stones with a rounded top appear as early as Anglo-Norman times and appear to have association with Celtic designs. The inference is made as well that the carved stones were the survival of an earlier tradition of carving the markers in wood.

¹¹ The occurrence of wooden markers, wooden grave shelters, and associated folk cemetery traits are recorded in a lengthy survey done for the Tennessee Valley Authority of the Normandy Reservoir area of central Tennessee. See Norbert F. Riedl, Donald B. Ball and Anthony P. Cavender, A Survey of the Traditional Architecture and Related Folk Culture Patterns in the Normandy Reservoir, Coffee County, Tennessee (Knoxville, Tennessee: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1976). A detailed study of graveshelters is Donald B. Ball's "Observations on the Form and Function of Middle Tennessee Gravehouses," Tennessee Anthropologist 2:1 (1977), 29-62. See also Donald B. Ball, "Wooden Gravemarkers: Neglected Items of Material Culture," Bulletin, Tennessee Folklore Society 43 (1977), 167-185.

¹² The use of a cross as a motif in Southern Protestant cemeteries, either rural or urban, is not common. See Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), 1-31. It might be that these were fashioned after the simple cross form often used in military cemeteries. One cannot overlook as well the importance of the cross as a symbol today to fundamentalist religious groups, regardless of historic association with Catholicism.

¹³ Phil R. Jack, "Gravestone Symbols of Western Pennsylvania," in Two Penny Ballads and Four Dollar Whiskey (Ed. by Kenneth S. Goldstein, Hatboro, Pa: Published for the Pennsylvania Folklore Society by Folklore Associates, 1966), 165-173.

¹⁴Others are humorous. One such epitaph from south Georgia supposedly seen by one person interviewed is: "Ma loved Pa / Pa loved women / Ma caught Pa with one in swimmin, / Here lies Pa." Another humorous epitaph was observed in 1983 on a commercial stone in a small cemetery in southern Baldwin County in Alabama which read: "We did it our way."

¹⁵Both of these women died in the period from 1930 to 1950. Both were born prior to 1880. Many young ladies in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century attended "finishing schools" or academies in rural towns across the South. A substantial part of their training was antebellum in origin and focused upon learning how to be a proper Southern gentlewoman.

¹⁶Robert B. Dickerson, Jr. Final Placement: A Guide to the Deaths, Funerals, and Burials of Notable Americans (Algonac, Michigan: Reference Publications, Inc., 1982); Barbara Rubin, Robert Carlton and Arnold Rubin, L.A. in Installments: Forest Lawn (Santa Monica, California: Westside Publications, 1979); Derek Pell, Doktor Bey's Book of the Dead (New York: Avon Books, 1981); and John Francis Marion, Famous and Curious Cemeteries: A pictorial, Historical, and Anecdotal View of American and European Cemeteries and the Famous and Infamous People Who are Buried There (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1977).

¹⁷Both the French and the British have produced admirable works on the subject of death and its landscape expression. See Philippe Aries, The Hour of Our Death (New York: Vintage Books, 1981) and Vaughn Cornish, The Churchyard Yew and Immortality (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1946).

"Safe in the Arms of Jesus":

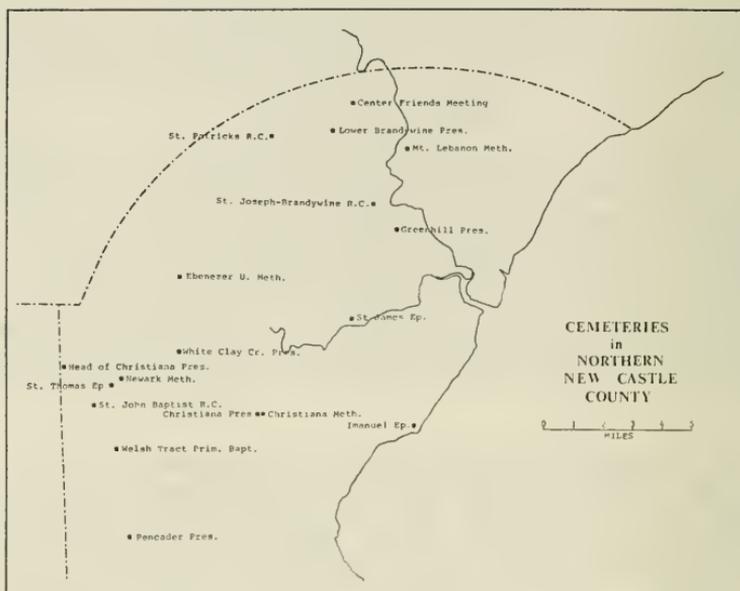
Consolation on Delaware Children's Gravestones, 1840-99

Deborah A. Smith

In Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present, Philippe Aries has argued that nineteenth-century attitudes toward death were profoundly influenced by changing concepts of family affection.¹ Earlier traditions, described by David Stannard and others, emphasized a constant awareness of one's own depravity and mortality. Children no less than parents were urged to strive continually for the soul's salvation because death was imminent and God's mercy uncertain.²

In contrast to this memento mori tradition, a "cult of memory" flourished in the Victorian era. Survivors, unable to bear the thought of separation, found solace by refusing to let go, venerating the memory of the dead in a manner now regarded as sentimental and even morbid.³ In this stage of the evolution of attitudes about death, the survivors' comfort becomes paramount over other concerns, such as the uncertain status of the dead infant's soul. It follows, then, that messages on children's gravestones, usually selected by survivors to communicate their own sentiments, reflect the survivors' needs for consolation.

A study of children's gravestones in Delaware supports Aries's argument that nineteenth-century death sentiments reveal more about the survivors than the deceased. The study examined 905 children's markers located in eighteen churchyard cemeteries in northern New Castle County, dating between 1840 and 1899 (Map 1). The churchyard cemetery was the predominant form in New Castle County during the nineteenth century. At least one of the eighteen was open to non-members, so they may have functioned as public burial grounds. The largest public graveyard in the area, Wilmington and Brandywine Cemetery located in the city of Wilmington, was purposely avoided because of its location, design (an example of the "rural" cemetery movement), and the difficulty of determining demographic characteristics of its users. The churchyard cemeteries were all in a non-urban setting and were used by a white, middle-class Christian population representing the major denominations of the county: Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Baptist, Quaker, and Roman Catholic.⁴ The study



Map 1. Cemeteries in Northern New Castle County, Delaware.

Key to Map

Name/Place	Organized/ Present site	Stones
White Clay Creek Presbyterian Newark	1722/1752	113
Head of Christiana Presbyterian Newark	ca. 1708/ ca. 1708	136
Welsh Tract Primitive Baptist Newark	1703/1703	27
St. Thomas Episcopal/Newark	1842/1845	11
St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic/ Newark	1866/1887	12
Newark Methodist (New Street) Newark	1813/1813	37
Ebenezer United Methodist Corner Ketch	1824/1824	12

Pencader Presbyterian/Glasgow	ca. 1710/ca. 1710	62
Christiana Methodist/Christiana	1827/1858	17
Christiana Presbyterian/Christiana	ca. 1730/ca. 1730	49
St. James Episcopal/Newport	ca. 1767/ca. 1770	50
Immanuel Episcopal/New Castle	1689/1703	53
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Ashland	1881/1881	12
Centre Friends Meeting Centreville	1690/1711	12
Lower Brandywine Presbyterian Centreville	1720/1773	73
St. Joseph on the Brandywine Roman Catholic/Greenville	1841/1844	80
Green Hill Presbyterian Greenville	1844/1851	107
Mt. Lebanon Methodist/Rockland	1833/1834	42

Source: Frank R. Zebley, The Churches of Delaware (Wilmington: by the Author, 1947)

included decedents to age 21 based on the assumption that parents probably chose the gravestone design and epitaph for anyone under that age.

From this sample, a number of generalizations can be made concerning the memorialization of Victorian children (Table 1). As could be expected, the death of a child is difficult to accept in any era, and the nineteenth century is no exception. A majority of the stones (468 or 51.71%) communicated the survivors' sentiments through words, images or a combination. The remaining 437 (48.28%) had only names of the deceased and the parents, date(s) and/or age, with no attitudinal information.⁵

Second, the prevailing fashion during the year of death had some bearing on whether parents were more likely to choose a sentimental stone or a strictly documentary one. Gravestones expressing survivor atti-

	Pictorial	Written	Combination	Total with Communication	Documentary (No communication)	Total
Boys	46 (9.97)	98 (21.25)	89 (19.3)	233 (50.54)	228 (49.45)	461
Girls	47 (10.90)	94 (21.80)	86 (19.95)	227 (52.66)	204 (47.33)	431
Unknown		5	3	8	5	13
0-23 mo	46 (12.10)	65 (17.10)	66 (17.56)	177 (46.57)	203 (53.42)	380
2-6	25 (11.68)	39 (18.22)	51 (23.83)	115 (53.73)	99 (46.26)	214
7-11	8 (10.52)	15 (19.73)	14 (18.42)	37 (48.68)	39 (51.31)	76
12-16	6 (9.52)	15 (23.80)	10 (15.87)	31 (49.20)	32 (50.79)	63
17-21	4 (2.94)	53 (38.97)	27 (19.85)	83 (61.76)	52 (38.23)	136
Unknown	4	10	10	24	12	36
1840-49	9 (12.00)	21 (28.00)	4 (5.33)	34 (45.33)	41 (54.66)	75
1850-59	22 (14.76)	29 (19.46)	37 (24.83)	88 (59.06)	61 (40.93)	149
1860-69	25 (15.15)	35 (21.21)	36 (21.81)	96 (58.18)	69 (41.81)	165
1870-79	14 (8.91)	31 (19.74)	35 (22.29)	80 (50.95)	77 (49.04)	157
1880-89	9 (5.48)	33 (20.12)	36 (21.95)	78 (47.56)	86 (52.43)	164
1890-99	5 (3.47)	36 (25.00)	16 (11.11)	57 (39.58)	87 (60.41)	144
No Date	9	12	14	35	16	51
Total	93	197	178	468	437	905

Table 1. Forms of Gravestone Communication Categorized by Sex, Age, and Decade.

tudes held a clear majority between 1850 and 1869. The situation had reversed by the 1890s, when more stones recorded factual information only. This is explained in part by the fact that beginning around 1880 it became fashionable to erect only one monument in the family plot, with minimal information on each family member. As James Farrell has noted, this tendency in cemeteries to emphasize the collective family over the private individual was paralleled by the rise of many collective institutions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century: church, state, corporation, club, and benevolent society. By the close of the century, personal grief for individual losses, expressed in mourning iconography and epitaphs, was not to transcend a collective Christian joy.⁶ The trend toward single family monuments may obscure earlier preferences. In the Delaware sample, 207 of the data-type stones appear to be replacement markers. Given the fact that sentiment-type stones were more common in mid century, it is likely that the earlier memorials expressed survivor sentiments which are now lost.

Third, the age of the deceased was another factor in the method and frequency of communication. Older children and young adults were more likely to have a gravestone message than were infants, perhaps because of high infant mortality rates led some parents to a fatalistic acceptance. Lewis Saum has described how Victorian parents sometimes tried to comfort one another upon the loss of a child by reminding the bereaved that death should not have been unexpected.⁷ Another possible explanation for the lower rate of gravestone messages for the very young is that a shorter life means less information to record. However, next to children who had nearly reached the age of independence, children aged two to six were the most likely group to receive a gravestone message.

Although age and date of death were factors in the manner of memorialization, sex was not. There were no significant differences reflecting a preference for pictorial or written memorials for boys vs. girls in any age group or decade. Differing treatments in children's material culture which are linked to sex have been discovered by Karin Calvert and others, in such areas as costume, toys and portraiture,⁸ but these sex-linked distinctions do not appear to extend beyond the life of the child.

	Decedant Focus	Survivor Focus			Total w/ Pictorial	Total
		Written	Pictorial	Combination		
Boys	35 (15.02)	63 (27.03)	46 (19.74)	89 (38.19)	135 (57.93)	233
Girls	37 (16.29)	57 (25.11)	47 (20.70)	86 (37.88)	133 (58.59)	227
Unknown	5			3	3	8
0-23 mo	27 (15.25)	38 (21.46)	46 (25.98)	66 (37.28)	113 (63.84)	177
2-6	13 (11.30)	26 (22.60)	25 (21.73)	51 (44.34)	76 (66.08)	115
7-11	6 (16.21)	9 (24.32)	8 (21.62)	14 (37.83)	22 (59.45)	37
12-16	5 (16.21)	10 (32.25)	6 (19.35)	10 (32.25)	16 (51.61)	31
17-21	22 (26.19)	31 (36.90)	4 (4.76)	27 (32.14)	30 (35.71)	84
Unknown	4	6	4	10	14	24
1840-49	4 (11.76)	17 (50.00)	9 (26.47)	4 (11.76)	15 (38.23)	34
1850-59	13 (14.77)	16 (18.18)	22 (25.00)	37 (42.04)	59 (67.04)	88
1860-69	13 (13.54)	22 (22.91)	25 (26.04)	36 (37.50)	61 (63.54)	96
1870-79	11 (13.75)	20 (25.00)	14 (17.50)	35 (43.75)	49 (61.25)	80
1880-89	13 (16.66)	20 (25.64)	9 (11.53)	36 (46.15)	45 (57.69)	78
1890-99	16 (28.07)	20 (35.08)	5 (8.77)	16 (28.07)	21 (36.84)	57
No Date	7	5	9	14	23	35
Total	77	120	93	178	271	468

Table 2. Gravestones with Survivors' Communications Categorized by Sex, Age and Decade.

The final set of generalizations from this sample concerns the 468 stones which expressed a response to death (Table 2). A minority of these responses (77 or 16.45%) were statements which could be explained solely in terms of depth of feeling for the child. These sentiments might be expressions of affection, pride, pain, or possession; praises of childhood virtues; or simply facts about the child's birth, death, and family role. Examples of this type of epitaph include that on the shared stone for Benjamin and Henry Pierce, which records the place of death (Immanuel Episcopal churchyard, 1850/51, ages 9 months and 5 years). The epitaph for Bessie Mote refers to the deceased in terms of pride and affection: "She was the sunshine of our home" (White Clay Creek Presbyterian, 1893, age 18). The family of James Guthrie expressed pain at his unfulfilled potential: "Buried Hopes" (Ebenezer United Methodist, 1876, age 16). The epitaph for Frederick Averill Porter is a quotation of dying words, a type rarely encountered in the sample: "His last words Jesus lover of my soul" (Welsh Tract Primitive Baptist, 1876, age 7). The stone for Hannah Ford speaks of her place in the family and her virtues: "An affectionate daughter" (Pencader Presbyterian, 1858, age 17). Theodore Boulden's stone expresses a similar theme: "A beloved son and brother" (Pencader Presbyterian, 1864, age 21). Some examples reveal deep anguish, as in the stone for Levi Davis: "Go little Levi, go / your parents hearts can tell / and none but them can full know / how hard to say farewell" (Mt. Lebanon Methodist, 1862, age 2). Two very unusual examples reject all euphemism and any attempt at comfort. The stone for Anna Sink is one of the most poignant in the sample: "Gone from our gaze / from our presence fled / our rosebud sweet / Anna is dead" (Immanuel Episcopal, 1871, age 4). The stone for Willie Miller is exceedingly blunt and cheerless: "My dear my lovely boy is dead" (Christiana Methodist, 1864, age 3).

The above examples, which express sentiments directly related to the deceased child, might be termed "decedent-focused" epitaphs, and share three characteristics. First, they are all in written form. Second, they tend to be short, only one line or sometimes only one word. Only six epitaphs of this type were more than one line. Most significantly, decedent-focused epitaphs are characterized by a total lack of comfort for the survivors. In comparison, the other 83.54% of the stones which express sentiments are very much concerned with the consolation of parents. Both types of

epitaphs express love for the child and pain at the loss, but a survivor-focused statement incorporates some means of assuaging the pain. Survivor-focused statements tend to be longer, and they may also be either written or pictorial in form.

Comfort may be brought to the survivor in one of four ways, although combinations of types within one epitaph are frequent. One approach is to rationalize that the child is better off than when alive. Epitaphs may suggest the child is now free from pain, as in the verse for Sarah E. Groce: "Her languishing heart is at rest / Its thinking [?] and aching are o'er / Her quiet immoveable breast / Is heaved by affliction no more" (Lower Brandywine Presbyterian, 1867, age 18). Another type of rationalization might suggest that the child has left this world of woe before sin could corrupt its pure spirit. An example of this type is the epitaph for Robert E. Steele: "Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade / Death came with friendly care / The opening bud to heaven conveyed / And bade it blossom there" (Head of Christiana Presbyterian, 1863, age three months). A similar type of motivation suggests that the child was but an angel of heaven, given for a brief time before returning to the heavenly home.⁹ The epitaph for Hattie Boulden is of this type: "She was lovely she was fair / and for a time was given / an angel came and claimed his own / and bore her home to heaven" (Welsh Tract Primitive Baptist, 1863, age 23 months).

A second means of promoting comfort for the survivor is to transform the emotions of bereavement into an occasion for moral uplift. Daniel Walker Howe has argued that didacticism and self-improvement were two key characteristics of the Victorian era.¹⁰ Stanley French has also pointed out that an important function of the Victorian "rural" cemetery movement was to be an institution of cultural reform for the uneducated masses.¹¹ A park-like setting and artistic monuments were meant to control taste and emotions. In similar fashion, death itself could be manipulated for moral uplift when paradise was upheld as the reward of Christian virtue. The epitaph for George B. Silver illustrates this kind of comfort: "Now he is comforted / Weep not for the spirit now crown'd / With the garland to faithfulness given / Oh weep not for him he has found/his reward and his refuge in heaven" (Christiana Presbyterian, 1945, age 20). In this approach, heaven is seen as a better place where one may hope to meet the child again. The stone for Walter K. Smith provides comfort by sugges-

ting a future reunion: "How sweet to sleep in Jesus / Our darling Walter smileing [sic] / face we will greet on earth no / more but in that bright and hap / py home we will greet to part no more" (Head of Christiana Presbyterian, 1897, age 10 months). The child's death may even be seen as an inspiration to help one live a better life on earth in expectation of that glorious reunion. The stone for James L. Vansant is partially buried but the message is clear: "We trust his spirit dwells with God/Above this world of care/Lord help us by thy holy word/ That we may [join him there?]" (Head of Christiana Presbyterian, 1877, age 12).

A third kind of comfort is related to the moralizing type in the last example but differs by stressing that the Christian parent must submit to God's superior wisdom. One of the most popular epitaphs for children accepts divine judgment this way: "Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest / God called thee home, He thought it best" (Rebecca K. Lindsey, White Clay Creek Presbyterian, 1860, age 2). Another common example is seen on the stone for Mary W. Smith: "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord" (Pencader Presbyterian, 1877, age 17). An unusual example seems to deny comfort altogether. The stone for Samuel Ross calls for Old Testament submission without the New Testament mercy: "PEACE!--tis the Lord Jehovah's hand / That blasts our joys in death / Changes the visage once so dear / And gathers back the breath" (Welsh Tract Primitive Baptist, 1884, age 21). More commonly, this approach suggests comfort is possible if only the bereaved will turn to God, as in the verse for Hannah R. Prettyman: "Dearest daughter thou hast left us / And thy loss we deeply feel / But tis God who has bereft us / He can all our sorrows heal / Gone but not forgotten" (Head of Christiana Presbyterian, n. d., age 23 months).

The fourth means of providing comfort is the most extreme approach, one which denies death altogether. We have already seen two manifestations of this approach in the verses for Walter Smith and Rebecca Lindsey, which refer to sleep, not death. Aries points out that denial of death is an important characteristic of the era, indicative of the much greater difficulty people had accepting the loss of a loved one.¹² The sleep metaphor and other euphemisms help to provide comfort, and the epitaphs in the sample abound with such references. For Martha T. Tweed we find, "She is not dead but sleepeth" (White Clay Creek Presbyterian,

1881, age 17); for Mary E. Poole, "Asleep in Jesus" (Lower Brandywine Presbyterian, 1864, age 9); for J.S. McDonnell, "Sweetly Sleeping" (St. Jame Episcopal, 1880s, age illegible); and for Harry Slaw, "Sleeping with Mama" (St. James Episcopal, 1888, age 19 Months). The ubiquitous "Rest in Peace" is perhaps the most obvious example of this type of denial epitaph.

These written messages with their tone of comfort and hope are not difficult for modern observers to understand. Indeed, bereaved families today continue to rely on the belief in a future reunion or the acceptance of divine will as a means of solace. However, as indicated earlier, survivor-focused messages may also be visual in form, and these pictorial symbols were an equally important means of consolation. Victorian gravestone iconography has often been ignored, largely because of the difficulty in interpreting motifs that have lost their once commonly understood symbolism. Fortunately, the interpretation of many can be documented in written sources of the period.

The iconography for the 93 stones with only pictorial communication includes rosebuds, full flowers, lambs, birds, religious symbols, hands, one willow tree, miniature obelisks and broken columns, and a peculiarly Victorian form that resembles a small bed (Table 3). Pictorial symbols flourished from 1850 to 1879, then began to decline. By 1890, mourning iconography could be found on only 36.84% of the stones. Parents chose visual means of communicating their sentiments more often for young children. Only 35.71% of the young adults aged 17 to 21 had iconography on their stones, and only four in that age group had pictorial symbols with no epitaphs at all.

That parents in Victorian America intended to convey a message of comfort through these visual means can be documented in a number of period sources. In the case of flowers, for example, Victorians assigned an entire vocabulary to their symbolism. Books on the language of flowers were very popular in the nineteenth century and readily available, beginning as early as 1844 with Sarah Carter Mayo's The Flower Vase, Containing the Language of Flowers and their Poetic Sentiments. A generation later, etiquette books and children's books also helped to disseminate the lists, such as John H. Young's Our Deportment, or the Manners Conduct and Dress of the Most Refined Society (1879) or Kate Greenaway's Language of Flowers (1884). From such

	Rosebud	Flower	Hand	Bird	Obelisk	Bed	Willow	Religious	Lamb	Total
Boys	23	1	1	3	2	4	1	7	4	46
Girls	14	7	1	2	7	5		6	5	47
Unknown										
0-23 mo	13	6	1	5	3	6		6	6	46
2-6	15		1		3	3		2	1	25
7-11	3				2			3		8
12-16	3	1			1			1		6
17-21		1					1	1	1	4
Unknown	3								1	4
1840-49	3				4		1	1		9
1850-59	11	2	2	2				4	1	22
1860-69	12	1		1	3	1		2	5	25
1870-79	3	1		2	2	4		2		14
1880-89	3	2				3			1	9
1890-99	2					1		2		5
No Date	3	2						2	2	9
Total	37	8	2	5	9	9	1	13	9	93

Table 3. Gravestones with Pictorial Communication Categorized by Sex, Age and Decade.

books we can readily ascertain the significance of lilies (modesty and purity), a garland of roses (reward of virtue), and weeping willows (forsaken).¹³

Consolation literature, a popular Victorian genre devoted to the comfort of the bereaved, is another good source to verify the meaning of pictorial symbols. One author described his walk through a cemetery as a comforting experience, mentioning the lambs, doves and other carved symbols he saw as "emblems of hope and love."¹⁴ Guidebooks to rural cemeteries also offer clues to the meaning of certain forms. The Victorian fashion of imitating the architecture of ancient Egypt for cemetery gates, mausoleums and monuments extended to children's markers in the shape of miniature obelisks (Fig. 1). Although the early Egyptians were not Christians, the author of a guidebook to Mt. Auburn argued that one should look beyond the appearance of a symbol to "the right development of its original idea." The same writer claimed that since Egyptian sculpture was "undoubtedly symbolical of the final resurrection of the soul, a fear of the final judgment and a belief in the Omnipotent justice," the use of these forms was entirely appropriate for Christian burials.¹⁵

Epitaphs also provide evidence that pictorial messages were meant to alleviate the pain of mourning. Gravestones with a symbolic motif and a written message specifically referring to that symbol are perhaps the best means of interpreting stones with unaccompanied symbols, although there may be multiple meanings. For example, rosebuds, the single most popular motif for children in this sample, appear with a number of interpretations. The stone for Annie Ashton reads: "A floweret snatched from earth to bloom in heaven" (Fig. 2). Her broken bud symbolizes the unfulfilled potential of an early death. The stone for Rachel Ann Scott reads: "Thus we are cut down like the grass that knoweth not when the mower cometh" (White Clay Creek Presbyterian, 1865, age 18). Her broken bud is a symbol of human mortality, a type of epitaph more common in the seventeenth century.¹⁶ Buds are also used to convey visually the number of deaths. The stone for Jane and Robert Kennedy, who died on the same day, has two broken buds on one stem (Green Hill Presbyterian, 1865, ages 1 and 6). Finally, buds also convey the idea of youth, since children's stones are more likely to have buds than mature flowers.



Figure 1. Hervey Clinton Beale, 1876, Christiana Presbyterian.



Figure 2. Annie Ashton, n.d., Christiana Presbyterian.

Flowers are not the only motifs to have parallel epitaphs. Clasped hands may have signified departure, or a belief that parted loved ones would meet again, as indicated on the gravestone of Elizabeth Egbert. "Meet me in Heaven" is inscribed above a pair of shaking hands (New Street Cemetery, n. d., age 19). Doves apparently refer to the biblical covenant between God and mortals, an assurance that God will not forget those who worship him (Fig. 3). The stone for Hattie Golden Pearson bears a carved dove and the following inscription: "Like the dove to the ark / Thou hast flown to thy rest / From the wild sea of strife / To the home of the blest" (Friendship Community, 1890, age 20 months).¹⁷ The sample included several examples of carved angels with written references to angels on the same stone, all of which seem to signify a belief that the child has gone to a heavenly paradise. One of the more redundant examples is for Eva Eriella Haines: "The angel of our household / Her voice was music her motion grace / An angel beauty was in her face / And she seemed an angel here" (Fig. 4). Her stone has a carved angel flying upward with a small child on its back who carries a bud.

The bed form, defined as having headboard, footboard, and side rails, seems to be a visual denial of death; the child is at rest, only sleeping (Fig. 5). The author of one of the most popular volumes of consolation literature, written after the death of his son, describes a visit to the "sleepers" at Brooklyn's Greenwood Cemetery, calling the cemetery a "vast and exquisitely beautiful dormitory."¹⁸ Epitaphs on the bed markers further support the visual message of sleep. The footboard for Elsie M. Brown's bed reads: "At Rest" (White Clay Creek Presbyterian, 1887, age 9 months). The headboard for Jeannette Sterling's bed reads: "She is not dead but sleepeth" with references to Christ as the Good Shepherd, in particular the passage from St. Luke assuring parents that Christ's love also extended to children (Fig. 6). The stone for Sarah Jennie Brown, accompanied by a carved lamb, reads: "Safe in the Arms of Jesus" (White Clay Creek Presbyterian, 1872, age 15 months). The stone for William O. Hammond, also with a lamb, quotes the bible verse verbatim: "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not for of such is the kingdom of God" (Immanuel Episcopal, 1861, age 2).

Based on the presence of these correlated images and epitaphs, when hands, doves, angels, lambs and beds appear without written interpretation, we can assume



Figure 3. Rebecca Montgomery, 1862, Green Hill Presbyterian.



Figure 5. William Dean Hill, 1876, Newark Methodist (New Street Cemetery).

that Victorians understood a message of hope and comfort was intended. Indeed, it seems plausible that parents who chose uncorrelated imagery and inscriptions for their children (for example, a carved dove with a "rosebud" epitaph) were actually making two separate statements: an expression of confidence in God's salvation and also an expression of pain that the child's life was cut short.

Whether made through words or images, the inclusion of a comforting statement is the significant factor. Combination types, as in the above example, were intended to be more than a memorial to the deceased. We can conclude, based on the fact that messages of solace are in the great majority of all stones with sentiments, that communication on children's gravestones was intended to promote comfort for the survivors more often than to eulogize the child. It is clear that the need to find consolation upon the loss of a child is itself an indication of the important status children held, but children's gravestones are artifacts created by adults for adult needs--the very human need to find peace during a traumatic time.



Figure 6. Sallie E. Matthias, 1873, Christiana Presbyterian.

The images found on children's gravestones are often deceptively simple, but interpreting them as they were in their time reveals a broad range of consolation motifs. The iconography found in this study is also virtually ubiquitous. If future studies of Victorian children's memorials utilize the same kind of data, we might be able to begin charting the age at which epitaph and image patterns change in different communities. The death practices of an earlier century are reliable evidence of social attitudes, and further study can only lead to a better understanding of the past.

NOTES

¹(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

²David E. Stannard, "Death and the Puritan Child," Death in America, ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975), 9-29.

³Aries, 55-82.

⁴Every family plot which included a child who died between 1840 and 1899 was recorded. The information included name of the child or children, evidence of plot demarcation, number of stones, number of burials, date each stone was erected, age of the deceased, family relationships, pattern of burials, and the composition, size, shape, decoration and inscription of the stones. While it is not the intention of this article to discuss theological influences on gravestones, it should be noted that the three Roman Catholic cemeteries and the one Friend's cemetery showed definite differences from the mainstream Protestant churchyards. Stones in the Roman Catholic cemeteries tended to have religious iconography (cross and crown, IHS symbol) more often than any other form of decoration. They were also the only gravestones to have the "Rest in Peace" epitaphs. Markers in the Friends burial ground were overwhelmingly plain. Frequently only the initials of the deceased appear and only the year of death rather than full dates. In the other fourteen churchyards, the several denominations were most remarkable for their homogeneity.

⁵Economic considerations probably account for the 48.28% of the gravestones which simply recorded names and dates without epitaphs or carving. Laurel Hill, Greenwood, Mt. Hope and other large, urban cemeteries

patronized by the more affluent seem to have a higher percentage of ornate, expensive monuments for children. However, the dangers should be obvious about speculating whether parents loved their children more or less based on the kind of gravestone erected.

⁶James J. Farrell, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mt. Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," Death in America, 64, 93.

⁷Lewis O. Saum, "Death in the Popular Mind of Pre-Civil War America," Death in America, 38-39.

⁸Karen Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture, 1670-1810," William and Mary Quarterly 39 (1982), 87-113.

⁹Whether or not parents believed their flesh and blood offspring were literally spirits is debatable, but there is ample evidence that Victorians endorsed the angelic metaphor. Poetry, music, fiction, epitaphs, prints, and decorative objects depicting children as innocent cherubs abounded in the nineteenth century, a distinct change from previous eras which considered children innately sinful. For a discussion of the evolution of children from depraved vipers to blank slates to envoys from heaven, see Peter G. Slater, Children in the New England Mind in Life and Death (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977).

¹⁰Victorian America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 22-25.

¹¹French, 89.

¹²Aries, 68-70.

¹³John H. Young, Our Deportment, or the Manners, Conduct and Dress of the Most Refined Society (Detroit: F. B. Dickerson & Co.), 417, 420, 422. On a related subject, the use of flower symbolism in posthumous portraiture, see Phoebe Lloyd, "Posthumous Mourning Portraiture," in Pike and Armstrong, eds., A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America (Stony Brook, NY: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1980).

¹⁴McCarty asks the reader:

'But as you walked there, amid the marble

slabs and grassy mounds, where old and young, poor and rich, friend and stranger lay buried together in that equality which the grave gives; and as these solemn surroundings impressed themselves upon you, did there not also come to you a feeling of hope which sweetened the sadness? . . .

There, on one tombstone, was a finger pointing upward, which told of the hope cherished by some stricken heart. And again, on the headstone of a little grave was carved a lamb or a dove, symbol of innocence. Here, too, were choice flowers, expressions of love, emblems of the soul's immortality. As you strolled about the weeping willows, and read the epitaphs, and saw the emblems of hope and love, you felt a strange drawing toward the better life which lies beyond the boundary of our present vision.' (14-15)

¹⁵Cornelia M. Walter, Mount Auburn Illustrated (New York: R. Martin, 1847), 18-19.

¹⁶For examples, see Peter Benes, The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977) or Allan I. Ludwig, Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966). Only six examples of the "prepare for death and follow me" style of epitaph were found in the entire sample.

¹⁷This example is the only epitaph cited which is not in the original sample. Friendship Community Church is located in Warren County, Kentucky, near Alvaton.

¹⁸Theodore Cuyler, The Empty Crib: The Memorial of Little Georgie (New York, n. p., 1873), 158, 173.

Death Italo-American Style:

Reflections on Modern Martyrdom

Robert L. McGrath

It has been observed that modern man's disdain for death is equally a measure of his attitude toward life. The twentieth century, to be sure, is neither comfortable with the idea of death nor much given to memorializing the dead, either for their own sake or for that of the living. For those as well as many other reasons, the funerary monument has with a few significant exceptions ceased to be for the modern world a significant vehicle for the expression of social, cultural or aesthetic values.

One intriguing exception to these observations is found in Barre, Vermont's Hope Cemetery, where a life-sized monument to the immigrant Italian stonecutter Louis Brusa affords an interesting and instructive study in cultural contrast and continuity (Fig. 1). Strangely at home in Vermont's best known late Victorian necropolis, the Brusa monument represents simultaneously the death of an individual and, through its conscious symbolism, the circumstances and plight of an immigrant workers community. Designed by Brusa himself, the monument was carved by the Barre sculptor Donato Coletti in 1937, the year of Brusa's death, and installed the following year. Brusa and Coletti were among the thousands of immigrant quarriers, stonecutters and sculptors who came to work in the Barre granite industry from the northern provinces of Italy during the late nineteenth century. Today the Brusa monument bears witness not only to their aesthetic values but also to the cause for which Louis Brusa gave his life. Qualitatively, it is a remarkably imaginative work and, in this writer's judgment, one of the most forceful comments on death in twentieth-century American sculpture.

Expiring against a slab of rough, unfinished granite, the intractable matter to which he both devoted and sacrificed his life, Brusa is attended at the moment of his death by his wife. The group, eternally conjoined by their poignant gestures, is elevated upon a high pedestal, a convention that mediates between the worlds of art and actuality, while simultaneously accenting the virtues of the protagonists. Together Brusa and his wife enact a moving tableau of death before the spectator, a kind of modern memento mori and an evocative



Figure 1. Donato Coletti, Funerary Monument of Louis Brusa, 1937, Hope Cemetery, Barre, Vermont.

comment upon the act of dying itself.

The style of the work--simple, and naturalistic, approaching the vernacular in its reductiveness--is appropriate both to the time and place of its execution. Brusa and his wife are represented as common people, dressed in the attire of workers. Their respective gestures are restrained but emphatic. Extraneous detail is suppressed in the interest of broadly conceived forms, and all hint of ornament or decoration is absent. The stark, bold inscription of the name "BRUSA," upon the pedestal, similar to the dedication "A MARAT" in one of the work's more 'conscious' models (Fig. 2), provides a striking verbal contrast to the figural composition.

In most respects the aesthetic of the Brusa monument fits conveniently into the realist movement in art of the 1930s in this country. At the same time it appears stylistically to be a worthy descendent of the late nineteenth-century movement of "verismo" in Italian funerary sculpture where such artists as Vincenzo Vela and Giovanni Duprè first rejected the timeless and idealized aesthetic conventions of Antonio Canova, the greatest nineteenth-century Italian artist and the most influential funerary sculptor of the modern world. The realistic impulse, seen everywhere in western art in the later nineteenth century, found a welcoming home in America where during the 1930s it reemerged in such movements as Regionalism to advocate the cause of naturalism against formal abstraction. As such, the Brusa monument, a late manifestation of Italian "verismo," is happily conjoined with native American realism of the twentieth century without stylistic incongruity or cultural disjunction. Visitors to American cemeteries will recognize the rarity of this unusual stylistic union in light of the thousands of grieving figures inspired by Canova that so incongruously grace our modern funerary monuments.

Through its symbolism, in particular the poses of the figures, the artist sought further to evoke a number of significant cultural references as a form of homage to the great artistic traditions of Europe. From the solicitous gesture of the wife to the conspicuously low slung arm of the deceased, the artist has sought to invest the event of a worker's death with the dignity and pathos normally reserved for the saints and martyrs of Christianity. Through these deliberately contrived poses of the figures, an informed observer is led to recall such baroque representations of the Pietà or



Figure 2. Jacques-Louis David, Death of Marat, 1793, Brussels. Courtesy of Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.



Figure 3. Annibale Carracci, *Pieta*, ca. 1630, London. Courtesy of the National Gallery.

Lamentation as Annibale Carracci's painting of about 1630 in London (Fig. 3). Hovering on the edge of eternity, the figure of Brusa, like the dead Christ, is intended to elicit strong physical and emotion empathy from the observer.

What cause or circumstances, we might well ask, would induce a modern man consciously to represent his death within this sacred tradition? To begin with, Brusa's seemingly radical gesture of reformulating his own death to parallel that of Christ's was already anticipated during the late eighteenth century by the French neoclassic painter Jacques-Louis David whose portrait of the political martyr Jean-Jacques Marat in Brussels is one of the best known products of the French Revolution (Fig. 2). In this powerful, ascetic image David was among the first artists to glorify the modern secular hero through reference to traditional religious iconographies. Astringent and self-contained, David's forceful icon is the first salient monument of the modern religion of politics which began to displace traditional orthodoxy during the period.

In the nineteenth century David's apotheosis of the secular martyr was subjected to a further process of transformation and democratization, eventuating in such late Romantic sculpture as the *Volontè* monument of about 1890 by the Italian sculptor Emilio Quadrelli in the Cimitero Monumentale in Milan, where a grieving wife bids her last impassioned farewell to the deceased (Fig. 4). Here David's specific reference to political ideology yields to a more generalized emotion of grief.

It is perhaps fitting that Brusa was inspired by both the French and Italian traditions in fashioning his own memorial. The pose of the grieving wife is derived from the Italian Romantic tradition, while the idea of secular martyrdom is evoked by the pose of Brusa. In drawing upon the former convention, however, the artist emphatically rejected the exaggerated rhetoric of Romanticism in order to embrace a more restrained and decidedly modern expression.



Figure 4. Emilio Quadrelli, *Volontè Funerary Monument*, ca. 1890, Cimitero Monumentale, Milan.

In fine, the cause to which Brusa sacrificed his life and dedicated his memorial was the plight of the immigrant stone workers who suffered and died in large numbers from the lung diseases of tuberculosis and silicosis during the early decades of the twentieth century. Induced by the inhalation of granite dust which was in turn caused by the introduction of pneumatic drills in 1903, silicosis was the major occupational hazard faced by the stoneworkers. It was only in the 1920s--too late for Brusa and many of his contemporaries--that the invention of the modern suction device put an end to the tragically high incidence of lung disease among the granite workers. As such, the Brusa monument bears testimony to a now largely forgotten chapter of American immigrant history. For us today, however, it remains a cultural truth beyond the little remembered actualities of time and place.

New Mexico Village Camposantos

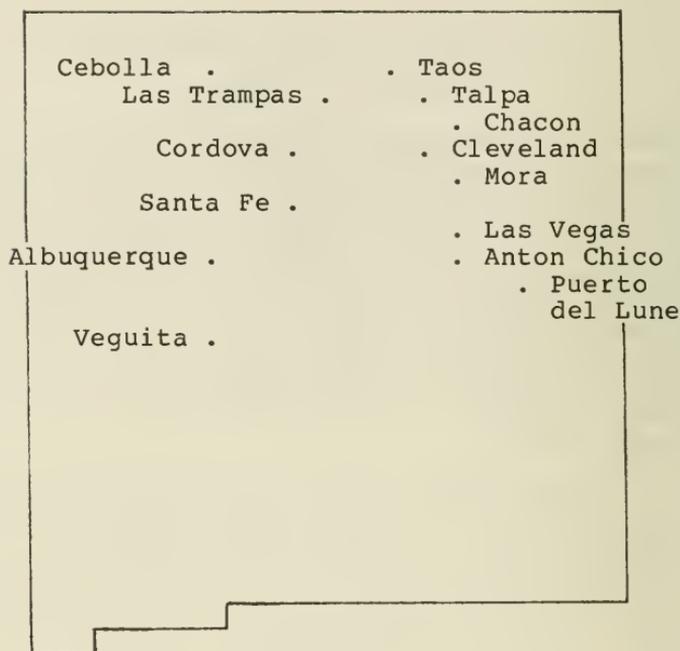
Nancy Hunter Warren

New Mexico had no tradition of grave art during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From 1598, the first year of the Spanish colony, until the early nineteenth century when it became a territory of the United States, life in the small Hispanic villages was governed by their isolation from the rest of the Spanish empire and by the constant threat of hostile Indians (Map 1). Interment was beneath the floor of the church because of the possibility of grave desecration by the Indians. In 1933, a resident of Las Trampas gave this account of the town's history as it had been passed down through the generations:

In the olden days the church was used for a graveyard and the planks were removed while the grave was dug. The body was wrapped in a rug and lowered into the grave, which was filled and the boards replaced. This custom prevailed until the entire space was filled with the dead. The floor logs now are twisted and the floor uneven, but it is as solid apparently as ever.¹

A person's social status or wealth often dictated the location of the burial--the closer to the altar, the higher the status of the individual. But no special markers were erected and often no records were made of exactly where an individual lay. The Roman Catholic rites for the dead were primarily concerned with the soul, so the exact location of the earthly remains was less important. The church itself served as a collective monument for everyone. Eventually, when the space inside the church was full, a new camposanto (holy field) was consecrated a short distance from the church.

Around 1824, the first wagon trains of Anglo traders came over the Santa Fe Trail bringing wood-working tools from the east. This was an event of great significance to the isolated colonists. Access to modern planes, saws and axes allowed them to cut moldings and shape decorative trim for the first time. Then, in 1851, the United States Army began to set up posts to protect the villages from the hostile Indians. These events opened the way for the beginning of a mortuary art. It is likely that the idea was introduced by the



Map 1. Locations of New Mexico Camposantos in Study.

elaborate markers erected in memory of the early traders and military men, as well as from the desire to protect the remains of a loved one with the symbol of the cross now that they no longer lay within the church.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the tradition of Hispanic native grave art started to grow. The camposantos began to resemble gardens of silvery gray weathered crosses--simple cruciform shapes planted in the barren earth, surrounded by clumps of delicate wild iris and the silence of a remote area.

In the 1880s, when commercial paints and milled lumber were readily available in the villages, painted designs and new shapes appeared in the cemeteries as the village craftsmen asserted their creative instincts in designing memorials for their departed loved ones. Of particular interest are the wooden picket fences which encircled the graves to protect the burials from wild animals (Figs. 1-2). These became popular in imitation of the cast iron versions brought to New Mexico by railroad for the wealthier families. The intricate arrangements of cutout crosses, curves, geometrics and spindles in these handmade grave fences are perhaps the



Figure 1. An old camposanto with rock walls to protect the graves from animals.



Figure 2. A highly decorated wooden grave fence probably built to imitate iron ones; Veguita.

crowning artistic achievement of the early twentieth-century funerary folk artists.²

Inspired by itinerant stone masons brought into the new American territory after 1880 to work on public buildings in the capital city of Santa Fe, the village craftsmen imitated the commercial marble and granite monuments made by these skilled stonecutters by shaping tablets of local sandstone or flagstone on which they carved or pecked various motifs (Figs. 3-7). The most popular symbols were the crucifix, the sacred heart, flowers, doves, lambs, images of the Virgin and Santo Nino, and a variety of geometric shapes. The type of design was usually dictated by the material used. Sandstone received a simple bold design, while a finer grained flagstone was incised with a more intricate pattern. Names and dates in Spanish were often written on the stones, although sometimes with little skill.

By the 1920s, the wooden grave fence had lost popularity in many areas, and ornate versions of the cross became fashionable (Figs. 8-12). The simple crosses of earlier years blossomed into ones of endless shapes. The basic cross outline ranged from Roman to Maltese with many variations. Cutouts, notches and moldings, as well as inscriptions and painted designs were added to the original shape. Flowers, hearts, diamonds and small crosses were cut into the ends of the cross arms, and, sometimes, commercially manufactured religious medals or crucifixes were added to the centers.

By the 1930s, molded concrete became another medium for grave markers, opening up new avenues of shape and design (Figs. 13-16). It was discovered that "found" objects could be embedded in the wet cement in interesting ways and that three-dimensional sculptures of human or saintly figures could be formed. Today, the elaborately carved pine cross that was so popular early in the century is seldom made.

Most grave markers were made by the village farmers who had the carpentry skills and tools needed to make markers for their own families. However, there is some evidence that at least a few early santeros (carvers of the saints) made grave markers for the cemeteries. It is conjectured that the santero José Benito Ortega, born in 1858 at La Cueva, carved grave markers in the areas of Mora and Las Vegas, and it is known that the carver José Dolores Lopez of Cordova who worked in the early twentieth century made ornate wooden crosses for the

camposantos in addition to making furniture and holy images for the church. In general, it is seldom possible to identify the artisan. Nevertheless, it is apparent that many of the markers in a given graveyard were made by the same hand. For example, camposantos in one area contain markers painted with similar stylized flowers. This could be evidence of an artisan who specialized in this type of work, or it might simply have been the local fashion preferred by each family.

Village camposantos are unique to their Hispanic village heritage. Overall, they are very similar, and the mixture of weathered pine crosses with old stone slabs and the more recent concrete markers decorated with pieces of colored glass could be found in most graveyards. Yet in northern and central New Mexico, despite their similarities, each has its own special character--small individual differences of style or skill that speak of people and human qualities, as well as such practical matters as the kind of local rock available for the stone slabs.

Although dates as early as the 1880s are still visible on many of the stone slabs, it is difficult to date the old wood grave markers. The dry climate and high altitude of the southwest have prevented decay, but the years of wind and sun have eroded the wood of names or dates. Occasionally, partial words or letters which had been stenciled on with paint protecting the underlying wood from the weather have been left in high relief as the surrounding surface wears away. And, while it is sometimes possible to estimate the approximate age of an old wooden cross by its proximity to surrounding dated stone or concrete markers, most evidence of a temporal or human nature has left. The relentless effects of time and weather have depersonalized the old pine markers, transforming them into universal symbols of faith and hope.

The village camposantos are scattered across the landscape of New Mexico. They are usually located near the church or on the edge of the village in areas of little habitation, surrounded by mountains and sky. There is usually no apparent preconceived plan for their use and no rigid orientation of the graves. The area has been filled as needed, and left in a natural state. There are no green lawns or planted shrubbery--only the bare earth, relieved by occasional indigenous growth and the ubiquitous modern day plastic flowers. Formerly, the consecrated area was protected from roaming cattle

or wild animals by fences of piled rock, but now barbed wire is more likely to be used.

In the past few decades, the use of unimaginative commercial monuments has increasingly diluted the joyful creativity of an Hispanic camposanto. The venerable wooden crosses and grave fences, which are still the glory of many of today's graveyards, are beginning to respond to the years of wind and sun. But, for a little longer, perhaps, they will continue to survive the elements to remind us of an earlier way of life.



Figure 3. Hand-etched designs of the Sacred Heart and the Cross.



Figure 4. An unusual carved stone marker; eastern New Mexico.



Figure 5. A small stone slab; 1897.



Figure 6. Angel with lions; Puerto del Luna.



Figure 7. A simple stone slab with flowers and the Crucifixion.



Figure 8. The remnants of a floral design and lettering are still visible on this marker; Cebolla.

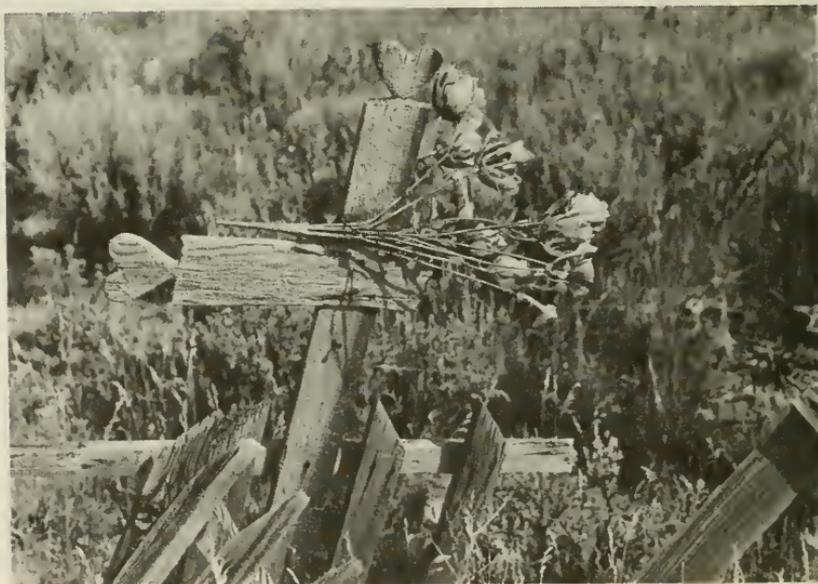


Figure 9. The popular heart design; Cebolla.



Figure 10. Pine cross; Cebolla.



Figure 11. Pine cross; Anto Chico.



Figure 12. Pine cross; Talpa.



Figure 13. Concrete marker with design found only in area of Cleveland.



Figure 14. Concrete triple cross.



Figure 15. Late concrete cross with head of Christ, flowers and photograph of deceased; Cebolla.



Figure 16. Typical concrete slab decorated with heart.

NOTES

¹Ely Leyba, "The Church of the Twelve Apostles," New Mexico Magazine (June, 1933).

²For discussions of the art and history of the camposantos, see E. Boyd, "Crosses and Camposantos of New Mexico," in Dorothy Benrimo, ed., Camposantos: A Photographic Essay (Forth Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1966); Lorin W. Brown, Hispano Folklife of New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978), 211-12; Roland F. Dickey, New Mexico Village Arts (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 208-12.

Stonecutters and Their Works

Edited by Jessie Lie Farber

Since 1979 the Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies has featured a series of short articles, contributed by its readers, called "Stonecutters and Their Works." Each of the articles is a brief introduction to a gravestone carver. MARKERS is pleased to reprint a selection of them in this issue. The Newsletter series has no geographic or period restriction on the stonecutters it introduces, and it has included carvers from outside the United States as well as within who worked in a number of time periods. Most of the articles, however, have featured men who worked in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in New England, and we have decided to reprint articles on stonecutters from that group whose work has not been treated in fuller presentations in MARKERS.

Some of the original articles have been revised and brought up to date as a result of recent research findings. Others have not. In a few instances two articles have been combined. All are illustrated more fully on these pages that was possible in the Newsletter printing. The original purpose of the series was to interest readers in carver attribution and thereby to encourage additional research. Our reprinting is offered with the same intent. Submissions by our readers of unpublished research about gravestone carvers should be sent to Laurel Gabel, AGS Research Clearing House, 205 Fishers Rd., Pittsford, New York 14534.

Jonathan and John Loomis of Coventry, Connecticut

James A. Slater

One of the fascinating aspects of gravestone study is the attempt to discover who carved the old colonial stones. In addition to the famous carvers whose work is well known, widespread and much appreciated, there are many more carvers whose work is relatively little known and is usually restricted to a limited geographical area.

The Loomis family of Coventry, Connecticut, is such a group. While I was studying the work of eastern Connecticut's early master carver, Obadiah Wheeler (Fig. 1), I was struck by the presence in several cemeteries of stones that had somewhat the appearance of

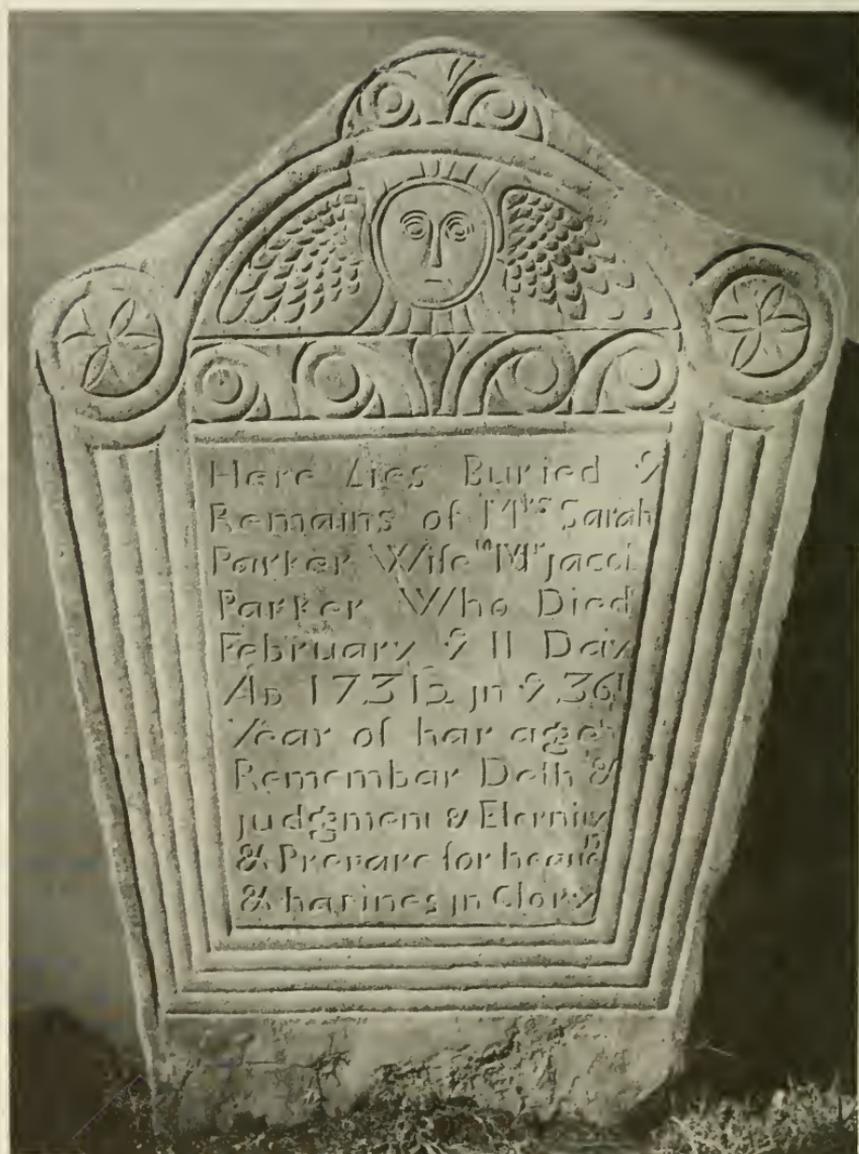


Figure 1. Sarah Parker, 1732, Ashford, Ct.

Wheeler stones but were obviously not the work of his hand and were also dated somewhat later.

When one is interested in discovering who carved Connecticut gravestones, one always turns to the great wealth of unpublished material accumulated by the late Dr. Ernest Caulfield, and one usually finds that Caulfield had important information. Thanks to the generosity of Peter Benes, Caulfield's unpublished material was made available to me. The biographical data given below and the first identification of the carvers, as is so often the case, were painstakingly worked out by Dr. Caulfield.

In the two major Coventry cemeteries there are seventy-one schist stones, often of large size, with rather sleepy, half-closed eyes, that Caulfield, in his usual, inimitable way, called "hybrid stones." The "hybridization" is due to the stones usually incorporating a face pattern in the tympanum and a horizontal border below the tympanum consisting of a central heart and lateral six-rayed rosettes that are obviously derived from the style of Obadiah Wheeler (Fig. 2). At the same time, the stones have a series of three to six curl-like wings in the tympanum and frequently a series of what I somewhat facetiously refer to as double-anchors in the border panels. These last motifs are just as obviously derived from the style of Gershom Bartlett, the famous "hook and eye" carver (Fig. 3). Indeed, the earliest of these stones, in the Coventry South Cemetery, have somewhat swollen noses, even further strengthening their resemblance to the stones of the old "hook and eye" man. Dr. Caulfield was able to establish by probate evidence from the stone for Joseph Miner, 1774, a stone in poor condition in a small cemetery on Silver Street, Coventry, just south of the junction with Route 44a.

Jonathan Loomis was born in 1722 and raised in Lebanon, Connecticut. He moved to Coventry in 1744 with his wife Margaret, and there his three children were born. In 1750 he bought an acre of quarry land in Bolton "at a place commonly called the notch of the mountain." Interestingly, this land was purchased from Edmund Bartlett, brother of the carver Gershom Bartlett. Gershom owned adjacent land and Dr. Caulfield believed that Jonathan Loomis probably worked for him. Little else is known about Jonathan Loomis other than land purchases he made in the Coventry area. He died in 1785 and his son John inherited the quarry.

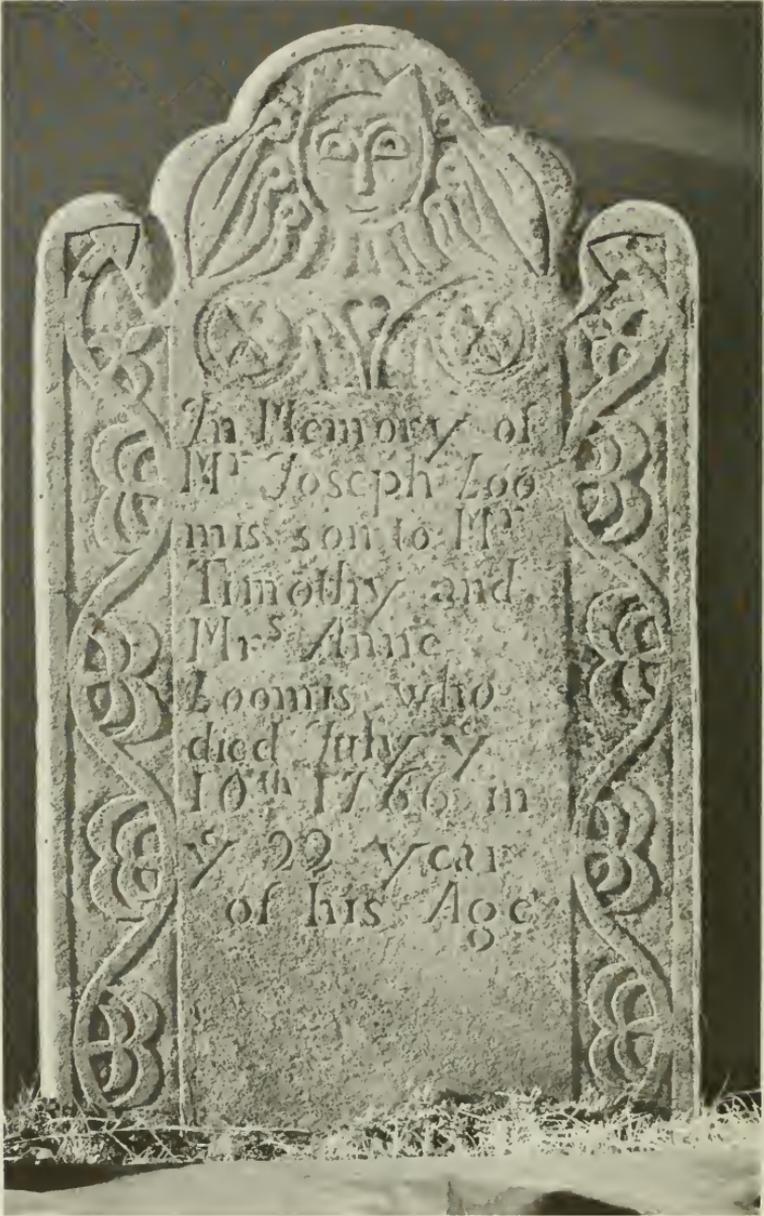


Figure 2. Joseph Loomis, 1766, Coventry, Ct.

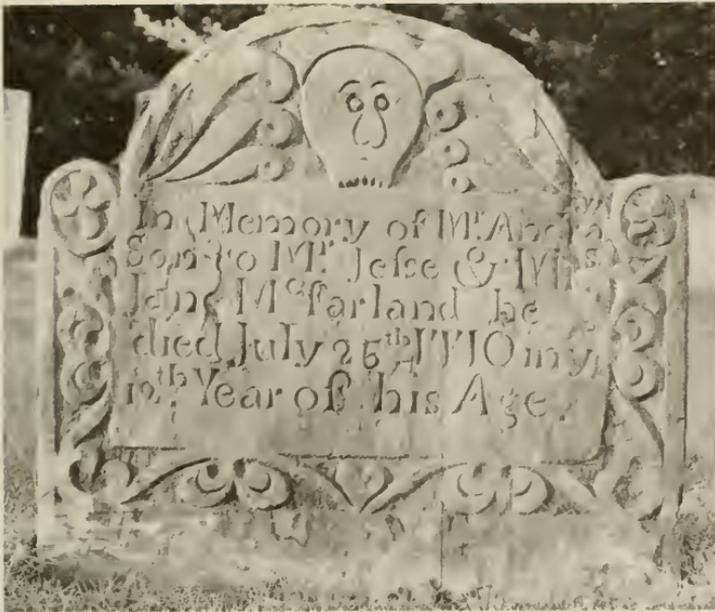


Figure 3. Andrew McFarland, 1770, Bradford, Vt.

There is no probate evidence relating to grave-stones nor any signed stone to prove directly that John Loomis was a stonecutter. His own probate papers indicate that he surely was. When he died in 1791, his estate contained compasses, chisels, two stone hammers, a stone pick and six pairs of gravestones. Dr. Caulfield believed he was also a woodworker as his estate contained eighty feet of maple boards and some joiner's tools.

Evidence from the Coventry stones themselves support the belief that John Loomis succeeded his father as a gravestone carver. Loomis-style stones continued to be carved after the father's death in 1785 until 1790, when production abruptly stopped. A total of eight stones were made in that five year period, three of them in 1790. Loomis stones began to change stylistically in the 1770s, when serrated and undulating rope-like borders began to supersede the double anchor, and strange hair-like streaks appeared above the face and snowflake-like designs below the tympanum, all indicating that a second carver (presumably John) had entered the trade with his father (Fig. 4). Loomis stones occur in eastern Connecticut in Scotland, Colchester, Colum-

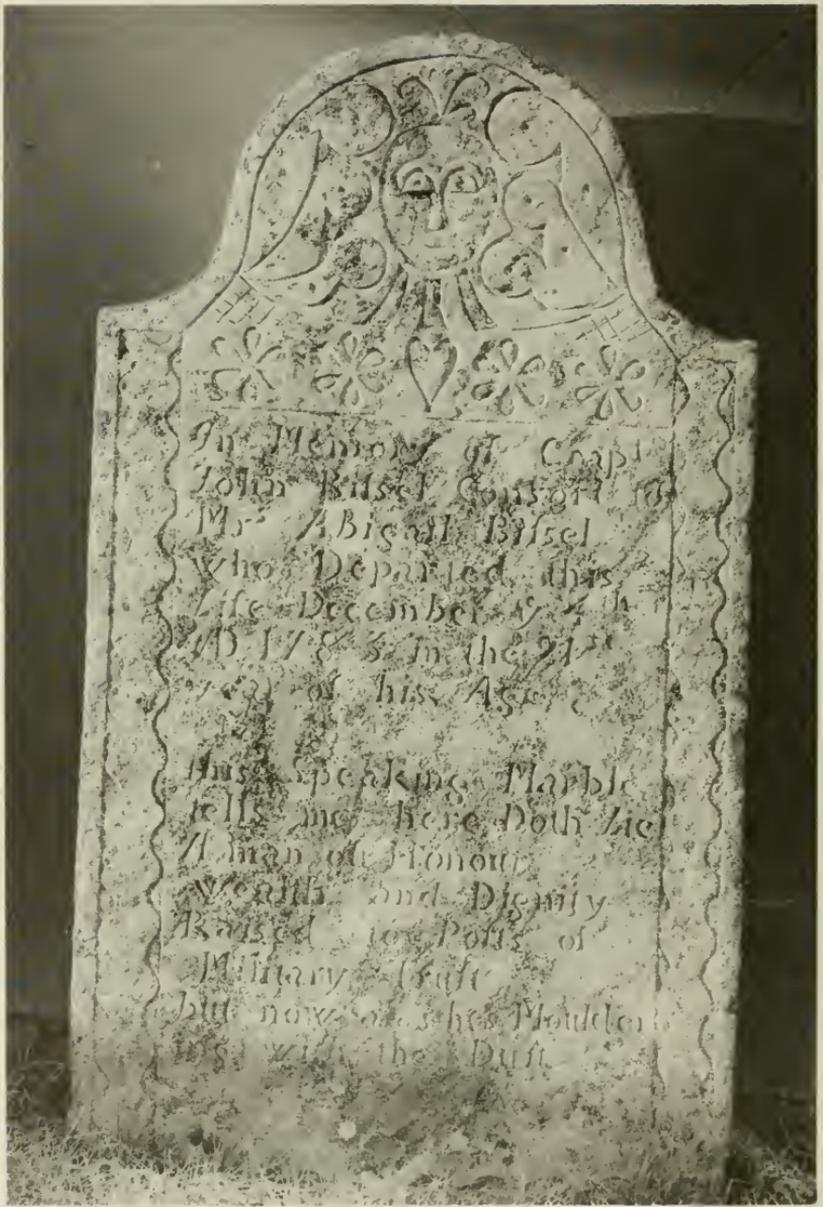


Figure 4. Capt. John Bissel, 1783, Coventry, Ct.

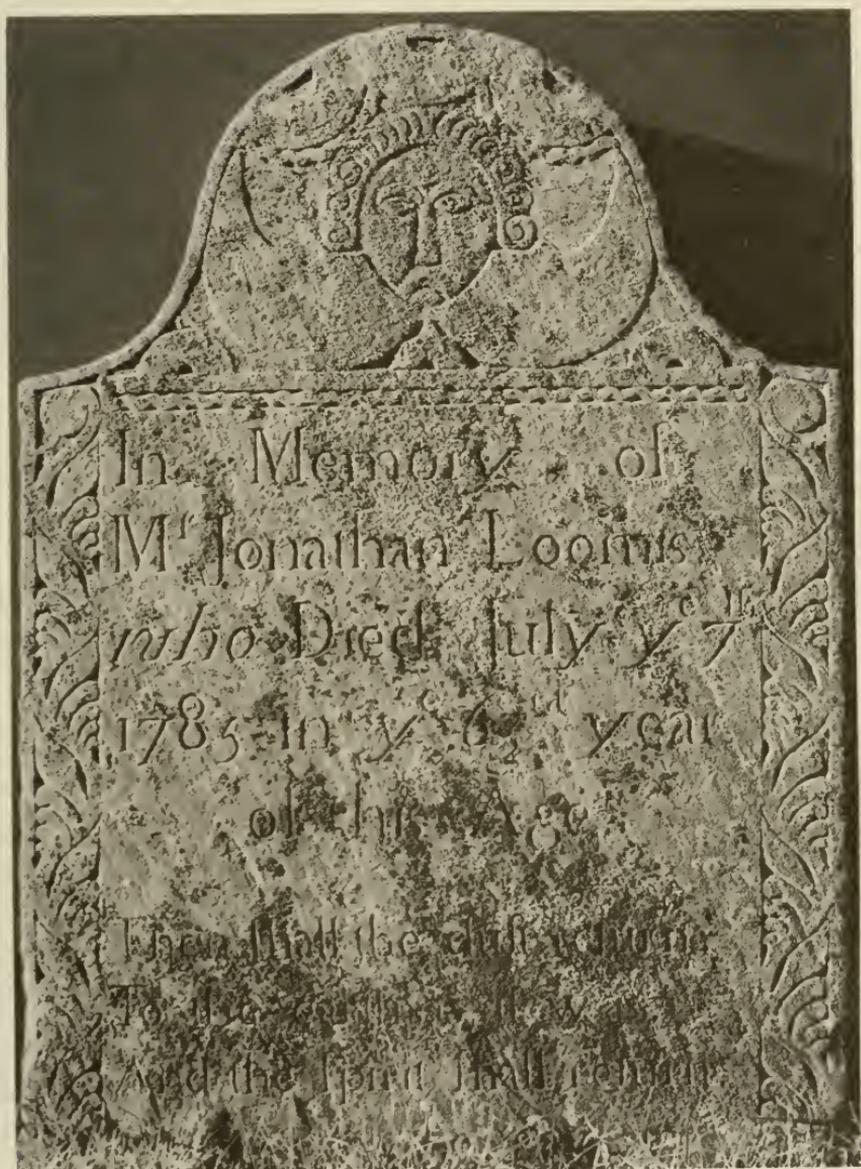


Figure 5. Jonathan Loomis, 1785, Coventry, Ct.

bia, Lebanon, Andover, Storrs, Mansfield (three cemeteries: Pink Ravine, Mansfield Center and Storrs), Tolland, Hebron, Windham Center, Hanover and New London.

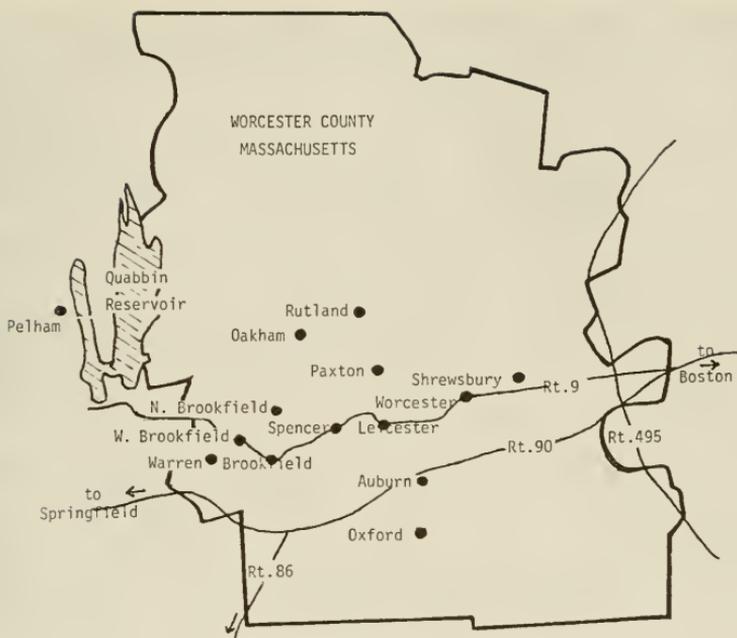
John's widow Irene sold the quarry to John Walden, Jr. John's son Amasa was left the stone hammers, compasses and chisels, and Amasa also became a well-known carver. The graves of Jonathan Loomis and John Loomis are both in the South Street Coventry Cemetery. Their stones appear to have been carved by Thatcher Lathrop (Fig. 5). It is difficult to understand why John Loomis did not carve his father's stone. That he did not suggests that both stones may have been produced after John's death in 1791. His son Amasa, born about 1773, may not have been an active carver by 1791. Stones attributable to Amasa show no stylistic influence from Jonathan or John but are influenced by the Manning school of gravestone carvers.

I am in the process of studying these stones in detail to trace the evolution of style and, if possible, to separate the work of Jonathan from that of his son John. As always, interesting problems of attribution arise with certain stones. Also involved may be an additional and as yet unidentified earlier carver who appears to have influenced Jonathan Loomis. Possibly this carver was Julius Collins, the son of Benjamin and brother of Zerubbabel Collins, of Columbia, Connecticut.

William Young of Tatnuck, Massachusetts

Mary and Rick Stafford

William Young came to Worcester from Ireland in 1718 at the age of seven with his parents David and Martha, and his paternal grandparents John and Isabel. The family settled in nearby Tatnuck (now part of Worcester) and prospered. William grew up, became actively involved in the political life of Worcester, married and raised a family, which was to number twelve children, of whom eight were alive when he died in 1795 at age 84. His active profession was farming; he acted as head of many Revolutionary committees and was a justice of the peace after the Revolution. He was Worcester's town surveyor and moderator of the town meetings. His gravestone cutting seems to have been an avocation rather than a true profession, but it was a lifelong interest.



Map 1. Locations Cited in Study.

The earliest stone that can be attributed to him is that of Joseph Ayres, 1768, Brookfield; the latest is that of Irenna Wiswall, 1792, Worcester. More than 145 stones in the Worcester County area have been attributed to him (Map 1), although there may in some cases be a stylistic confusion between the work of Young and that of the Soule family of gravestone carvers (Fig. 1). In general, characteristics of Young's carving style are: round-faced effigies with simple, almost helmet-like hair (men's effigies wear a wig; women's a bonnet); round, staring eyes; straight-line mouths; frequent use of thistle-like floral designs to the sides of the effigies; and, in the text, a capital A with a "v" for its cross-bar (Figs. 2-3). Young was an unusually creative carver. There is a great deal of variety in his designs; no two are alike. In addition to stylistic points, the stones of William Young can often be recognized by the quality of the stone: a rough, rusty slate that breaks easily.

Harriette Merrifield Forbes attributed many grave-stones to William Young of Tatnuck, whom she called "The Thistle Carver." These attributions were based on similarities of workmanship to three stones for which



Figure 1. Grace Stearns, 1774, Paxton, Mass.

she found probate records. One was for Samuel Crawford, of Rutland District, whose estate paid in 1772 "William Young for a pair of gravestones £ 1.40." The estate of Robert Goddard of Sutton in 1766 paid "to Wm. Young Esquire for gravestones £ 2.2.0," and in 1795 the estate of James Tanner of Worcester "pd Esquire Young for gravestones 0.48.0."

Forbes photographed the Goddard stone which stands in the Dwinel Cemetery, Millbury. She shows no photograph for Samuel Crawford, and she never saw the Tanner stone, for she says, "this stone is preserved for future generations under the turf of Worcester Common, but the two which we can see are enough to settle the identity of the Thistle Carver." In 1968 the stone of James Tanner was exhumed from Worcester Common and removed to Hope Cemetery, where it was again interred. While it was above ground, it was photographed by Daniel Farber. There are two Samuel Crawford stones, one dated 1760 in Rutland, and one dated 1770 in Oakham. The probate record of 1772 probably refers to the Oakham monument, but either of the Crawford stones serve the purpose of authentication, as they are obviously from the same hand. Forbes documents the life of Young admirably in

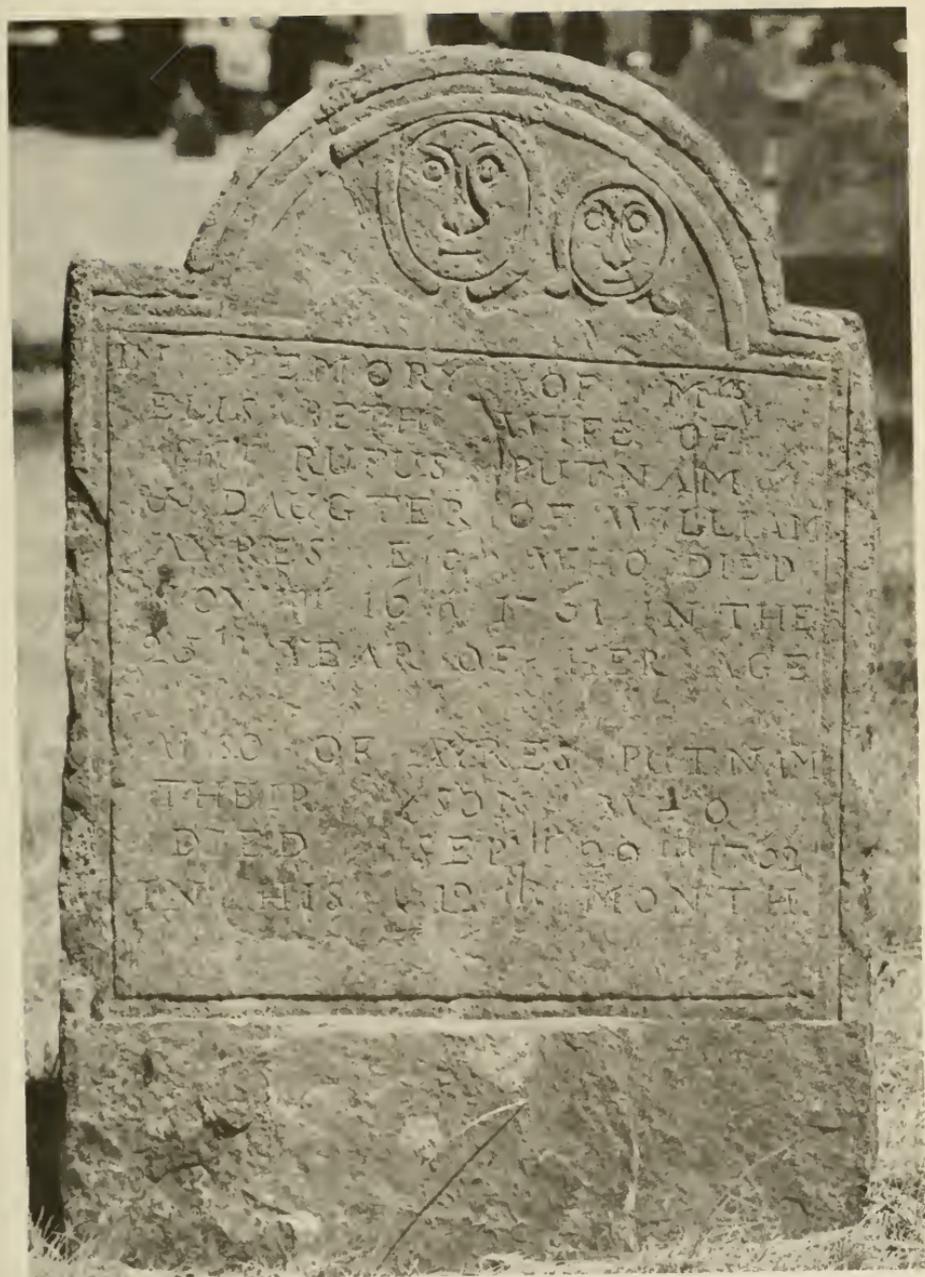


Figure 2. Elizabeth and Ayres Putnam, 1767, 1762, Brookfield, Mass.



Figure 3. David Thurston, 1777, Auburn, Mass.

her book, and in a monograph delivered to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. Given the prominence of the man in his time and the relative lack of mention of him in later historical works, some extended research in diaries of the area from his period would be of interest. Another source of information could be probate wills of all those gravestones presumed to be from his hand. Although payment is not often recorded, Young often acted as executor or surveyor of the decedent's property. Much information on his life and friendships may be found by this research.

John Hartshorne and the Mulicken Family

Ralph Tucker

Born in 1650 in Reading, Massachusetts, and an early settler of Haverhill, Massachusetts, John Hartshorne was a weaver, a tailor, and a clerk. He became a lieutenant in the militia and was active in the Indian Wars. A step-brother of the carver Joseph Lamson, John at about the age of fifty began carving gravestones in Haverhill, where he was that town's first carver. His early stones all have elongated unframed faces in the



Figure 1. Sary Michel, 1705, Haverhill, Mass.

tympanum, with solid bars of varied designs on either side of the face. The pilaster design is usually a series of crude bell-like shapes (Fig. 1). About 1708 the faces become rounder and are framed, and the bars become segmented and more delicate. The side borders also become more varied and lighter (Fig. 2). Large circled rosettes then enter the tympanum alongside the face and the segmented bars are pushed to the corners (Fig. 3).

About 1723, Hartshorne went to Connecticut where his work is devoid of rosettes and the face is decorated with either halo-like bars or "rabbit-ear" bars. His work is interesting in that it does not portray a death's head (skull with wings) but instead presents simply a face or "soul-mask" and thus is not a copy of the gravestone design prevalent among other eastern Massachusetts carvers. His best work is found in Haverhill and Ipswich, Massachusetts, and in Lebanon, Connecticut (Map 1).

The Bradford (now Haverhill), Massachusetts, family of Robert Mullicken learned carving from Lt. John Hartshorne and filled the Merrimack River Valley towns with



Figure 2. Abraham Kimball, 1708, Bradford, Mass.

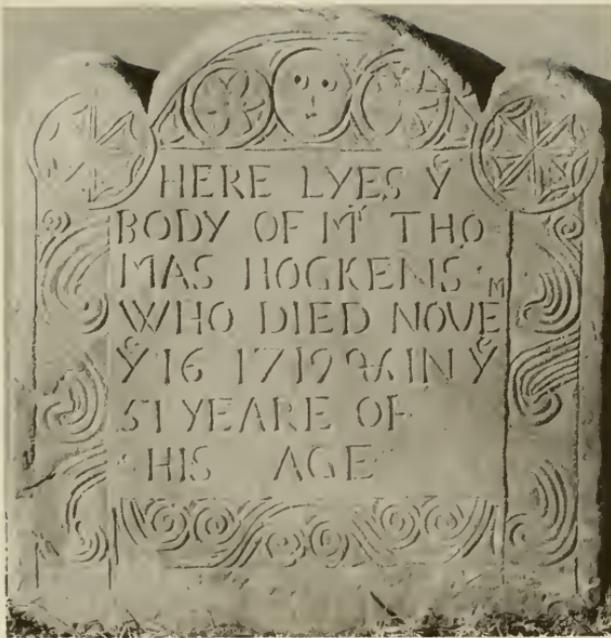


Figure 3. Thomas Hogkens, 1719, Ipswich, Mass.



Map 1. The Merrimack River Valley.

their stones for over fifty years. After the Indian raid in 1708, when Hartshorne's wife, son, and three grandsons were killed, Hartshorne removed to Salisbury, and while he occasionally made stones for the Haverhill-Bradford area, the Mulicken family became the prominent cutters. Their stones resemble Hartshorne's with a central, framed face. They add a connecting band from the top of the face to the border of the stone and a variety of tree shapes immediately under the chin. They do not use segmented bars as Hartshorne did, but they do use rosettes and other emblems in circles on either side of the face (Fig. 4). The corners of the tympanum usually have some simple decoration. The carvers rapidly develop a variety of side borders, and they employ distinctive footstones which often include coffins, hour-glasses, rosettes, and other decorative devices (Fig. 5). While their stones are omnipresent in the Merrimack River Valley and are easily recognized, the Mulickens occasionally produced an atypical stone recognized only by a border design or the lettering. Some of the early lettering is quite good, but some of the late lettering is a confused mixture of upper and lower case letters with abominable spelling.



Figure 4. Sarah Barker, 1726, North Andover, Mass.

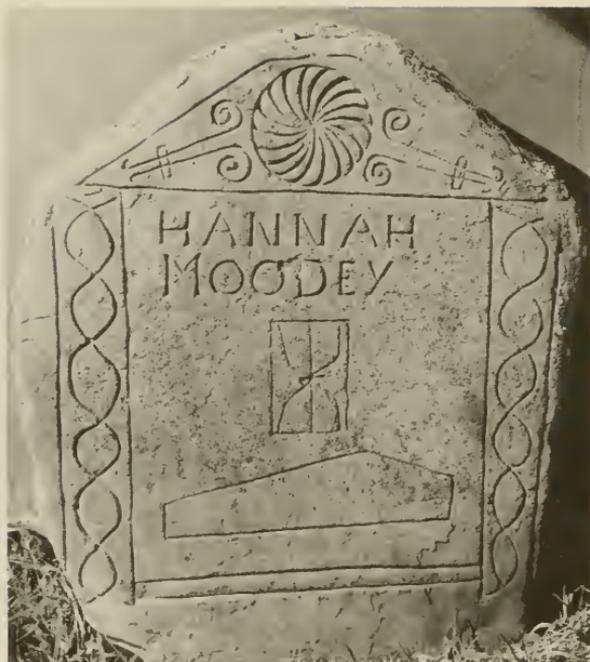


Figure 5. Hannah Moodey footstone, 1719, Newbury, Mass.



Figure 6. Moses Pilsbery, 1738, West Newbury, Mass.



Figure 7. John Barker, 1751, North Andover, Mass.

The Mulickens also produced a version of the winged skull (Fig. 6), and in the 1740s, a winged variety of face appears in both a round and an inverted pear-shaped variety (Fig. 7). These are apparently efforts to copy the popular Boston style of death's head, but it remains more like the folk style than the sophisticated work of the urban carvers. Mulicken stones can be found in towns along the Merrimack River from Concord, New Hampshire, downstream to the Atlantic, from Portsmouth, New Hampshire to Hamilton, Massachusetts.

John Anthony Angel and William Throop:

Stonecutters of the Narragansett Basin

Vincent F. Luti

In her Early New England Gravestones and the Men Who Made Them, Harriette Merrifield Forbes speaks briefly of John Anthony Angel (1701-56), a stonecarver of Providence, Rhode Island. At the time her book was published in 1927, Mrs. Forbes had seen Angel's will, but she did not know his work. Today the man himself remains somewhat obscure, but his work is fairly easy to identify.

From his own gravestone in the North Burial Ground in Providence, we learn that he died April 6, 1756, at the age of fifty-five. He carved the design of this stone himself, and his epitaph states that he came from the "Citty of Coplins in ye Electore of Trear," which would be the modern city of Koblenz, Germany. His will calls him a stonemason, and the inventory of his meager estate lists tools and gravestones. His tools were left to Seth Luther, his "brother-in-law," a clue that led to the discovery that Luther, too, was a stonecarver.

Most of Angel's stones date from the 1750s. A few, some of which may be backdated, have dates in the 1740s. We do not know when he arrived from Germany. His unusually clumsy lettering and spelling, which single his stones out, indicate that he struggled with the English language.

The identification of Angel's carving style is based on the carving on two probated stones for John Edwards, Attleboro, and Peter Mawney, Providence, and on the design carved on his own marker. A significant aid in spotting his work is his poor spelling and his lettering style, which mixed upper and lower case letters and words at random. His stones are found principally in Providence. Others radiate to surrounding towns as far north as Medfield, Massachusetts and as far south as Bristol, Rhode Island.

The typical New England "bedboard-shaped" stone is uncommon in Angel's work. His usual stone shape is either rectangular or has sloping, curved shoulders. Occasionally the outline of the stone shape has a series of reverse curves in the Baroque style. Generally, the stones are carved in a very low to medium relief with little or no modeling, which, in combination with the peculiar, crumbling, black stone he used, make them easy to overlook. But they are decidedly distinctive in design. One striking characteristic of Angel's stones is the almost complete absence of figurative effigies, human or angelic. On the other hand, his stones do share designs in common with other carvers in the Narragansett Basin and elsewhere in New England. A handful of his stones have helmet-like skulls in profile, usually cut in low relief (Fig. 1). In Providence there are a few--less than a dozen--stones with heraldic designs. But what relates his work most closely with that of his contemporaries in the Basin is his

taste for foliate material in his designs. A curled, unfolding acanthus leaf predominates in the borders and often around the tympanum arch (Fig. 2). Another floral motif, occurring often at the top or bottom of the stone, is one or more large, spread, roughly triangular acanthus leaves, suggesting wings. Sometimes his border design is a kind of tulip vine. Heavily cut petaled rosettes, often within a ring, occur regularly in the upper areas of the stones (Fig. 3). Simple classical Greek foliage undulations or "crimping" is not uncommon around the edges of the stones. His unique stippling technique creates a rough but fine granular background to the smooth surface designs.

In the Massachusetts and Rhode Island towns bordering the head of the Narragansett Bay stand a considerable number of stones carved by William Throop (1739-1817). Throop, son of Thomas and Mary Throop, was born June 13, 1739. He married twice, first to Althea Fales, and then to a woman named Mary. A son William, born in 1771, probably carved gravestones in the early nineteenth century.



Figure 3. Joseph Randle, 1753, Cranston, R. I.



Figure 4. Zebedee Luther, 1773, Warren, R. I.

From 1776 to 1781, Throop served in the Bristol, Rhode Island, company of militia, earning the rank of lieutenant. He died February 26, 1817. A Bristol deed refers to him as "yoeman." His stonecarving career seems to have begun after his military service. Documentation for Throop's markers is found on signed stones for Elizabeth Bullock, 1786, Rehoboth, Massachusetts, and Hanna Thomas, 1790, Swansea, Massachusetts. Probate records show payment to Throop in the year indicated for gravestones for:

Mary Allen, 1786, Rehoboth, Massachusetts. 1788.
 Lois Martin, 1787, Rehoboth, Massachusetts. 1789.
 Abigail Burr, 1803, Warren, Rhode Island. 1806.
 Caleb Barton, 1809, Warren, Rhode Island. 1813.

The signed Elizabeth Bullock stone and the probated Mary Allen stone clearly show Throop to be working with or copying the designs of John and James New, of Attleboro, Massachusetts. Confined to Rehoboth, Massachusetts, these New-type Throop markers are for: Annah Bullock, 1771; Hannah Moulton, 1778; Simon Burr, 1783; Daniel Barney, 1784; and Seth Bullock, 1784. One can observe the progress of Throop's skills, and his

imitation of other carvers, from the very early stone for Zebedee Luther, 1773, Warren, Rhode Island (Fig. 4) to the markers for Hannah Thomas and Deborah Carpenter, 1787, Rehoboth, Massachusetts (Fig. 5), which are in the style of the popular Gabriel Allen of Providence, Rhode Island. In the 1790s, Throop turned for inspiration to the Stevens shop of Newport, Rhode Island.

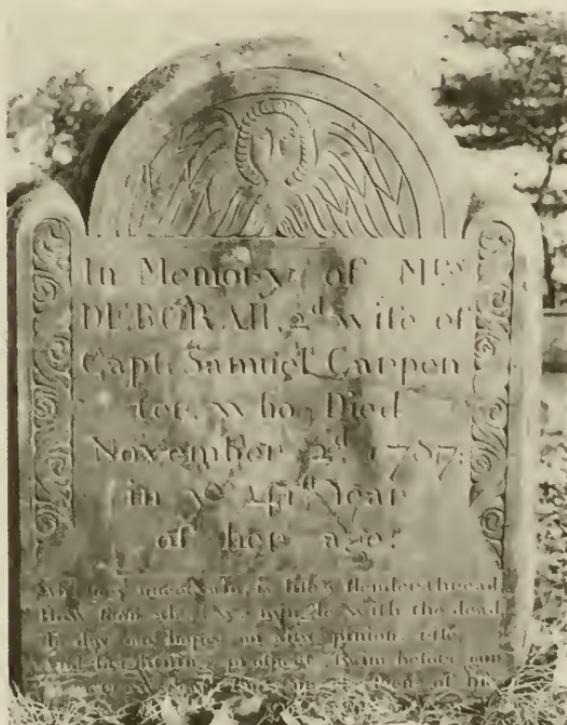


Figure 5. Deborah Carpenter, 1787, Rehoboth, Mass.

James Stanclift

Sherry Stancliff

James Stanclift (1639-1712) was the first permanent settler of East Middletown, Connecticut, later named Portland. He is listed on the Middletown records as an English stone mason. James first lived in Lyme, Connecticut, about 1676. He married the widow Mary (Tinker) Waller about 1685. Mary was born July 2, 1653, in Boston, the daughter of John and Alice (Smith) Tinker. James and Mary had two daughters and two sons. Both of the sons, William, born 1686, and James, born 1692, became stonecutters.

In an effort to attract artisans to their area, the selectmen of Middletown offered James Stanclift a grant of land "upon the rocks in est Middletown" in return for his services to the town. James purchased additional land adjacent to the grant and opened the Stanclift Brownstone Quarry in 1690.

The earliest date I have found on a stone cut by James is 1676. This stone was cut for Lt. Reynold Marvin and is located in the Duck River Cemetery in Lyme, Connecticut. James continued to cut gravestones until the time of his death in 1712 at age seventy-three.

James Stanclift preferred a simple rounded arch shape with a chamfered back edge on his brownstones. Occasionally he used the square shoulder, sloping shoulder, and the traditional tripartite shapes. He always used large capital letters with serifs and covered the entire face of the stone (Fig. 1). He frequently made dots or tiny diamonds between the words. The letter "A" is the most distinctive of his letters, having a horizontal bar or canopy at the top. James abandoned the canopy on a few stones cut between 1700 and 1711, but most of his work bears this mark.

According to Dr. Ernest Caulfield, James Stanclift was the first Connecticut artist to depict a skull. At first glance, these skulls seem primitive, but study of his work as a whole reveals a surprising sophistication of design. The decorations used by James were an integral part of the shape or over-all design of each stone. The skull on the stone of Richard Smith, Jr. creates an almost abstract effect with an admirable economy of line (Fig. 2). His decorative carving designs were not

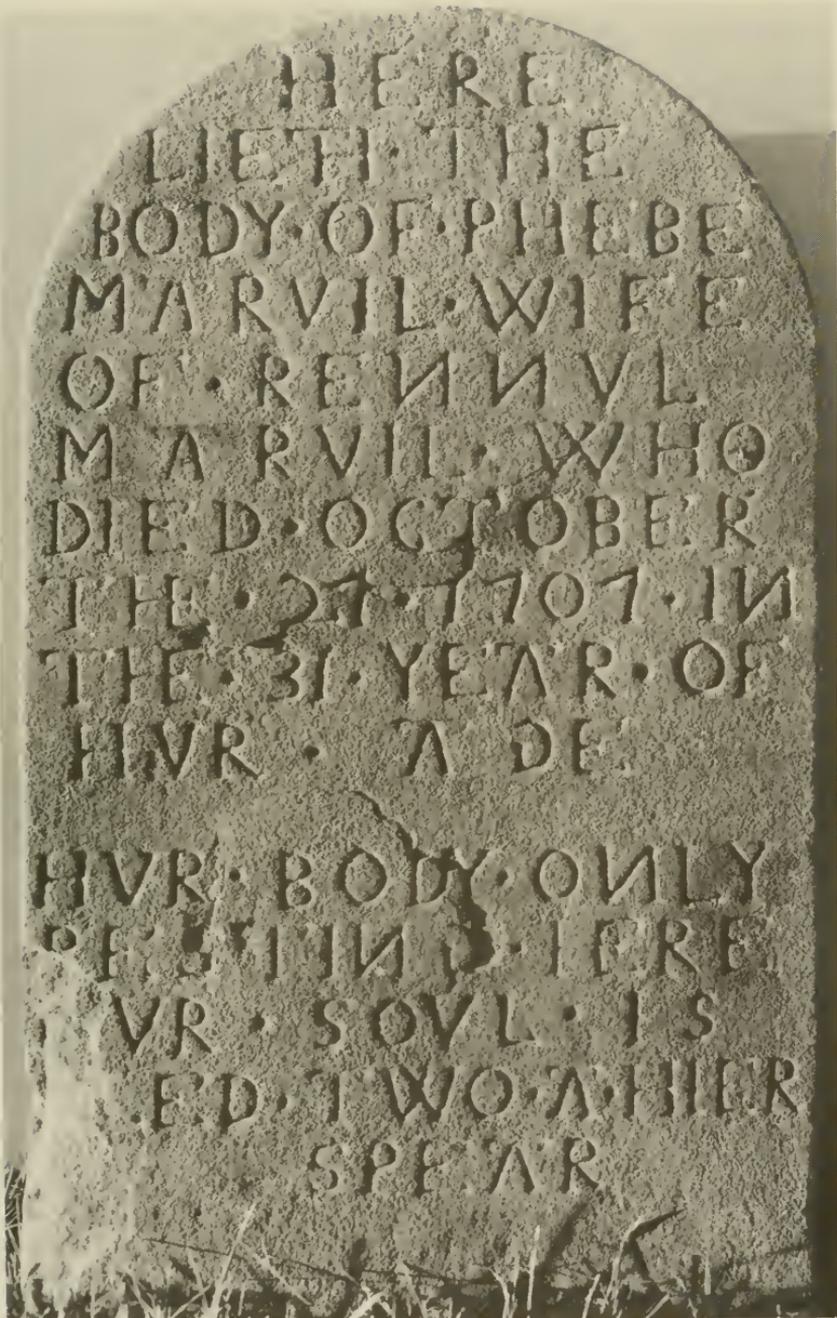
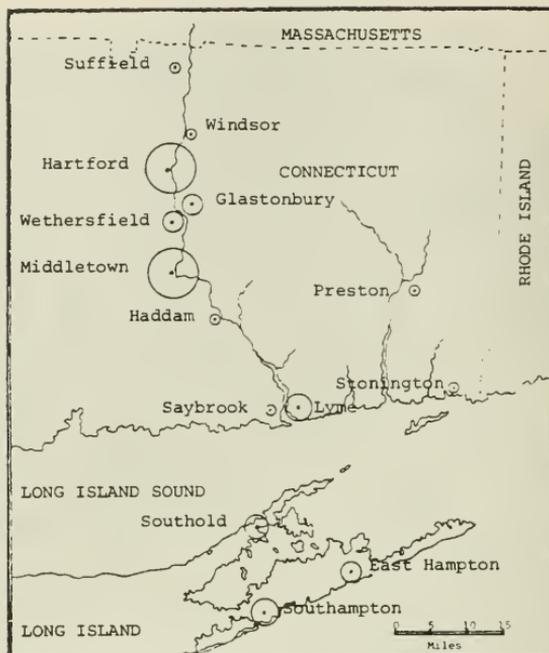


Figure 1. Phebe Marvil, 1707, Old Lyme, Ct.



Map 1. Locations of Stanclift Stones.

limited to skulls. He used a portion of the Howell coat-of-arms on the stone for John Howell, 1692, Southampton, Long Island. On the tablestones for Lt. Col. John Allyn, 1696, Hartford, Connecticut, and for Joseph Conklyn, 1694, Southold, Long Island, James used the inscription to form a border around the outside edge of the stone and finished the inscription in the center in the usual way.

To date, I have found about sixty stones cut by James Stanclift. The majority of these are in the Middletown and Hartford areas. A number are in Lyme, Glastonbury, and Wethersfield, Connecticut, and in Southold, Southampton, and East Hampton, Long Island, New York. There are single stones in Suffield, Preston, Saybrook, Stonington, and Windsor, Connecticut. Research to provide authentication of the work of James Stanclift has been difficult. James used agents to conduct his business--John Hamlin in Middletown and Matthew Griswold in Lyme. I have found entries in the diary of Manasseh Minor of Stonington that provide evidence that James did cut the stones attributed to him. Minor wrote, "March 12, 1702 Rebeccah Minor died . . . Apraill 29, 1702 Saciant [an Indian] brote Grave Stons

. . . Apraill 30, 1702 We sat grave Stones on Rebeka her grave . . . June 17, 1703 payed Stancleef." The stone for Rebbecah Minor is located in the Wequetequock Cemetery, Stonington, Connecticut, and it is typical of Stanclift's work. James Stanclift used the mark "F" to sign his documents and to identify the stone boundary markers of his land, but I have yet to find this mark on one of his gravestones.

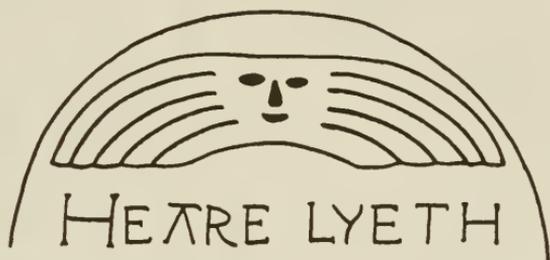


Figure 2. Richard Smith, Jr., 1703, Glastonbury, Ct.

Daniel Hastings of Newton, Massachusetts

Daniel Farber

Daniel Hastings (1749-?) made gravestones from about 1770 to about 1797. In her Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, Harriette Merri-field Forbes shows as his work the stone for John Holyoke, 1775, Newton, Massachusetts (Fig. 1). From that likeness, a large group of gravestones in central and eastern Massachusetts has been attributed to Hastings. Some doubt exists as to the credibility of these attributions, all based on resemblances to that one stone. However, in 1980, Laurel Gabel discovered that concealed on the back of many of these stones are what appear to be initials, in two forms. One form is a large, roughly cut capital letter "H" hiding among the chisel markings. The other is a combination of the lower case letters "d" and "h" placed sideways (Fig. 2). If these letters are accepted as Hastings's signatures, they confirm many attributions credited to him.



Figure 1. John Holyoke, 1775, Newton, Mass.



Figure 2. Hastings' Initials, Nathaniel Maynard, 1779, Wayland, Mass.



Figure 3. Hannah Rice, 1794, Millbury, Mass.

Mystery surrounds Hastings's late work. Suddenly, in 1790, his typical carving disappears, and a new design which could be described as "lowbrow" appears. There is considerable evidence that "lowbrow" stones are not the work of Hastings: the appearance of the design is different, a geometric border is often used which never before was employed by Hastings, and the stone itself is a much lighter color and a finer grained slate. However, probate records found by the writer and Charles Bouley show that payment for the stone for Hannah Rice, 1794, Millbury, Massachusetts, was made to Daniel Hastings (Fig. 3). The Rice stone is a typical "lowbrow" design.

Hastings's stones are concentrated in the Newton area and have been seen by the writer as far north as Ipswich, Massachusetts, and as far west and south as North Brookfield, Massachusetts, and West Woodstock, Connecticut. Nothing has yet been published about Hastings the man. It would be good to know the personal and professional background of the individual responsible for these large, beautifully executed stones, those handsome faces with their furrowed brows and powerful dignity, and those earnest, straight-haired, wide-eyed angels.

Samuel Dwight: Vermont Gravestone Cutter

Nancy Jean Melin

Discovering the identity of the witty and imaginative carver of the 1771 Elisabeth Smith gravestone has been an intriguing challenge to students of gravestone art, particularly since 1977, when AGS adopted the effigy carving from this Williamstown, Massachusetts, marker as its logo design (Fig. 1). Although no probated data has yet been found which links the Vermont carver Samuel Dwight with this stone, a great deal of factual and circumstantial evidence does. Whether or not the distinction belongs to Dwight, his place of importance among early gravestone carvers is secure, and his story as a stonecutter is an interesting one.

He grew up in Thompson, Connecticut, the grandson of one Josiah Dwight, who played an important role in the town history of nearby Woodstock. That part of eastern Connecticut is just north of the region where stonecutters Obadiah Wheeler and Benjamin Collins adapted and fostered the Essex County style, brought there by John Hartshorn from Massachusetts' Merrimack River Valley. Characteristics of this inventive and ingenious style are prominent in Dwight's work.

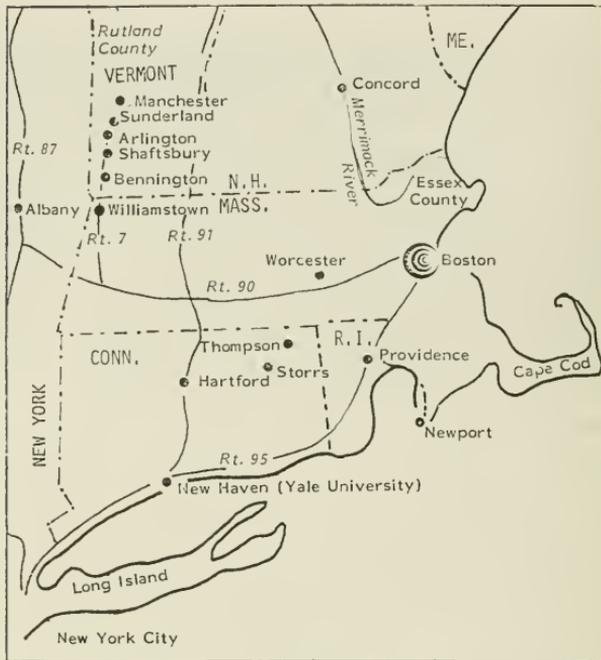


Figure 1. Elisabeth Smith, 1771, Williamstown, Mass.

The Dwight family genealogy notes that Samuel was a twin and that through his grandfather, Josiah, he was related to Timothy Dwight, a president of Yale College. Samuel was himself a student at Yale College, graduating in 1783, in the class with Nathan Hale. Following his graduation, Dwight remained in the New Haven area. His activities there are for the most part unknown, although he is supposed to have composed a song for a later graduating class. Records show that during this period he married the widow of one Michael Todd, and Dexter's Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College records with an admonition that he "absconded" and left her in New Haven when he moved to Vermont.

His name appears in the Vermont census for 1790, the same year he announced in the Bennington Vermont Gazette the "reopening of Clio Hall, an academy for youth." He described that institution as offering training in Greek, Latin, logic, arithmetic, grammar, and "all other branches which are usually taught in academies." Dwight's career as a schoolmaster there was brief; before 1792 the school was closed again. Aside from a signed gravestone in Manchester, Vermont, and another one in Rutland County, Vermont, and a notice in the 1800 Vermont Gazette disavowing further association with a second wife, few certain signs of him remain other than his charming yet sophisticated stonecarving in the graveyards of Bennington County. The greatest concentration of his mature work is in the Arlington and Shaftsbury, Vermont, burial grounds (Map 1).

Dwight's work is identified by its distinctive lettering style and the repetitive use of symbolic heart, hand, vine, and flower motifs. His stones are of white marble, large in size, excepting those for children, and the tympanums are usually cut in a characteristic double S curve configuration. This tympanum contour may have been borrowed from Zerubbabel Collins, another prominent carver working in the area. Dwight's earliest effigy carvings (1790-96) resemble the simple stick and cylindrical figures common to children's drawings (Fig. 2). Some of his stones are back-dated, evidenced by his frequent use of two dates on a stone, one the death date and the other presumed to be the date of the stone's commission. Dwight's second phase (1796-1800) was characterized by the use of rounded, more developed portrait-like effigies, the addition of border designs, and the continued use of the tympanum contour described previously (Fig. 3). Dwight's work



Map 1. Locations Cited in Study.



Figure 2. Mary Merwin, 1777, Arlington, Vt.



Figure 3. Penelope Olin, 1795, Shaftsbury, Vt.

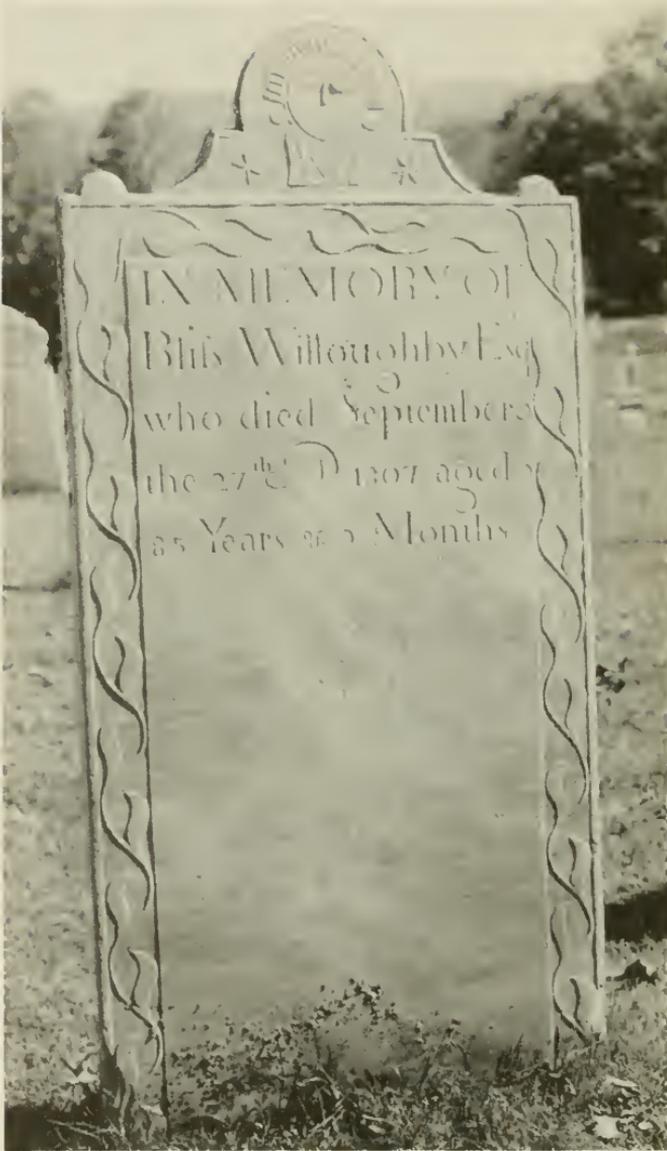


Figure 4. Bliss Willoughby, 1807, Shaftsbury, Vt.

entered a third phase (1800-10) in which he further simplified his style while retaining his favorite symbolic motifs (Fig. 4). His last marker, which date to the 1820s, are noteworthy examples of the popular urn and willow genre.

I believe the Elisabeth Smith stone to be a back-dated example of Samuel Dwight's early period. My attribution of this stone to Dwight is based largely upon lettering peculiarities, the distinctive ampersand sign, and the elaborate "AD" (Anno Domini) used with the birth and death dates. The Smith stone bears a resemblance to other stones in the same northwest Massachusetts area. One of these is the South Williamstown stone for Dwight's brother, Captain Hamlin Dwight, who died in 1786, the year Samuel left Connecticut for Vermont (Fig. 5). That stone's lettering and its unusual effigy design--a profile portrait--are carved in the characteristic Dwight style.

The last probated record of Samuel Dwight is in the Vermont census of 1830, where he is listed as a resident of Sunderland, Vermont. Town records note that he signed over his property--one red cow, one feather bed and bedding--to the township in exchange for continued public support. Dwight appears to have died a single man, childless and destitute. Ironically, despite his formidable contribution to gravestone art, no stone marking his gravesite has yet been found.



Figure 5. Hamlin Dwight, 1786, Williamstown, Mass.

James Wilder of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1741-1794

Laurel Gabel and Theodore Chase

A seven-month study of gravestones in forty-one central Massachusetts town has confirmed the identity of James Wilder as the cutter of a small body of handsomely carved, often striking markers in the Lancaster-Sterling area. The attributions are derived from a search through probate records for 250 names of deceased whose graves are marked by this cutter's stones. The search turned up fifty recorded accounts of administration, only nine of which show payment to any known stonecutter. Those nine were all to James Wilder, in amounts appropriate to cover the cost of gravestones.

James Wilder's work spans just over three decades, the most productive of which was the 1770s, during which he produced close to 100 stones. He used a dark, iron-stained slate from a quarry near his home, a material which has held up well. In most of his tympanums he carved bold faces with detailed hair and open, staring eyes. His designs are of four types. First were skulls, conventional but well executed (Fig. 1). Second is a youngish face with tightly-wound curls (Fig. 2). The third style is a longer, more stylized face with ringlets at the sides and straight hair on the top of the head (Fig. 3). The fourth style is an older face with a straight, rolled-back wig, a more bulbous nose, and a rather stern expression (Fig. 4). Characteristic elements are his use of a double-eight knot as a filler, a six-petal flower in the shoulder finial, and some distinctive letters and numerals (g, 7, 5). Wilder's work has similarities to that of the Fisher/Farrington school (whose faces were rounder and were cut on a different slate), and to the work of William Codner, in whose Boston shop Wilder may have apprenticed. Though one would not rank Wilder as one of New England's leading cutters from the point of view of innovative style or quantity of work produced, one respects the strong, clean work of this fine craftsman.

Wilder was a member of a large and well-to-do family. He had eight children by his wife, Jemima Johnson, and an illegitimate son by a distant cousin, March Wilder (who successfully sued him for support). It is fairly certain that he served in the Revolution. While he did not achieve the prominence of some other members of the family, he did serve his community in various capacities, including the boarding of indi-



Figure 1. Timothy Rice, 1761, Northboro, Mass.



Figure 2. Julia Whitney, 1772, Northboro, Mass.



Figure 3. Jennet Crage, 1776, Princeton, Mass.

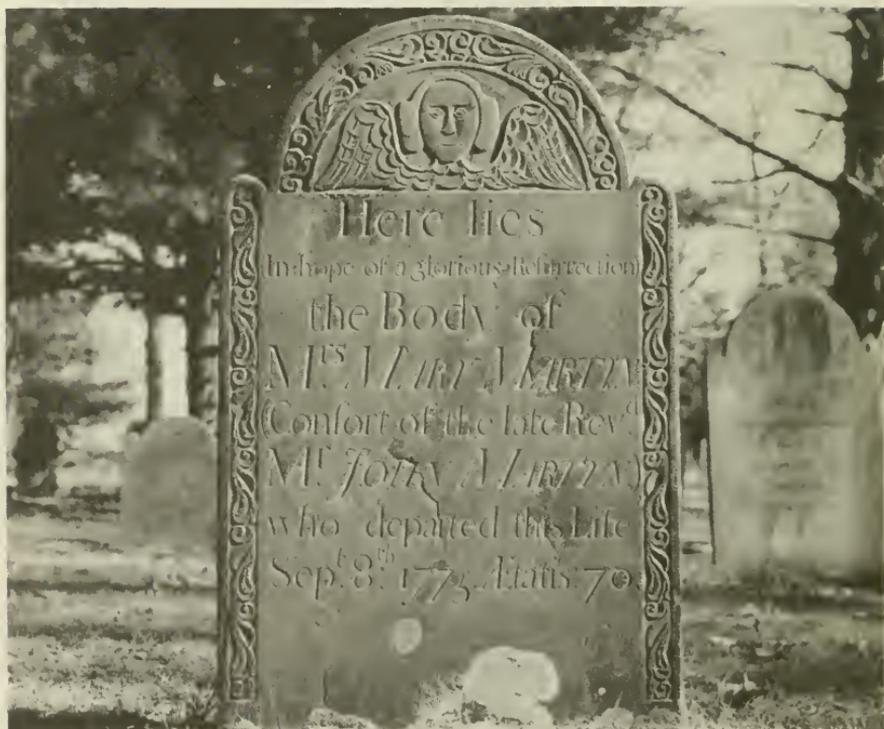


Figure 4. Mary Martyn, 1775, Northboro, Mass.

gents, or town wards. He was a devoted Mason, serving as Lodge Secretary from 1785 through 1793. He is described in the Masonic records as quiet in manner, retiring in disposition, not ambitious, "nor endowed with those facilities through the exercise of which money is added to the purse." Records written in his hand are preserved in the Grand Lodge of Masons in Boston; his concise minutes are the work of an educated man. Although he inherited considerable wealth from his father in 1780, it was about this time that misfortune began to overtake him in the form of poor health, the deaths of two sons, and a fire. His gravestone production dropped markedly. He died of consumption in 1794 at fifty-three, insolvent. His fellow lodge members attended his funeral "in regular procession" and voted "that the expenses of attending Br Wilder's funeral be discharged from the funds of the Lodge." He was buried within walking distance of his house. His grave has not been found.

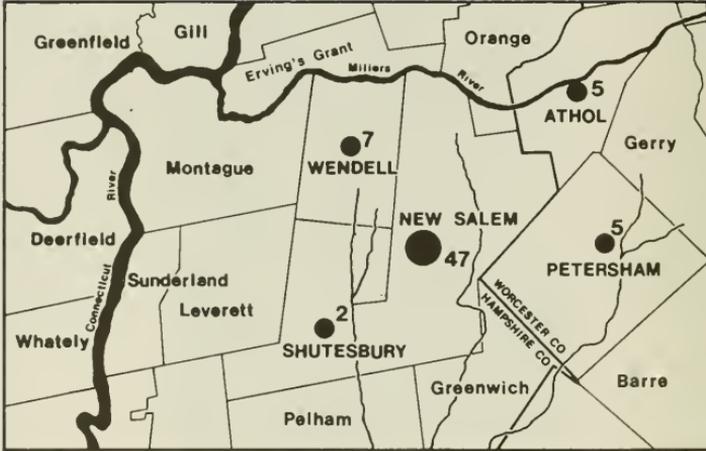
The Feltons of New Salem, Massachusetts

Robert Drinkwater

Bold, evocative images populate the graveyards of New Salem and adjoining towns of central Massachusetts (Map 1). Designs similar to the one carved on William Page's stone are most numerous (Fig. 1). All of these stones bear some resemblance to work attributed to the Sikes family cutters. However, with varying degrees of certainty, all can now be attributed to members of the Felton family of New Salem.

Harriette Merrifield Forbes reported in Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them that Ebenezer Felton of New Salem was paid for gravestones. Recently, I found corroborative evidence: a record of payment for the headstone and footstone for Samuel Cady, 1799, Shutesbury Center, Massachusetts. On Cady's headstone is a somewhat simplified version of the image carved on the Page stone.

It appears that Ebenezer Felton was Ebenezer, 2nd: grandson of Ebenezer, Sr., nephew of Ebenezer, Jr., son of David and Sarah. He was born in New Salem, ca. 1741. His father and his grandfather were house carpenters. The Feltons, like many of New Salem's early settlers, were from Salem, Massachusetts. They moved to New Salem about 1740. At present we know very little about Ebenezer Felton. He married Hannah Page in 1762. They had



Map 1. Location of Felton Stones.



Figure 1. William Page, 1794, New Salem, Mass.



Figure 2. Hannah Felton, 1773, New Salem, Mass.

four children who reached adulthood, a daughter and three sons: David, born in 1767; Robards, baptized in 1771; Nathaniel, date of birth unknown. Ebenezer's wife died in 1773. It appears he never remarried. His name is listed in the 1800 census, but not in the 1810 census. When and where he died are unknown.

Entries in the account book of Nathaniel Chamberlain, a blacksmith and neighbor of the Feltons, suggest that Ebenezer's son, Robards, was also a stonecutter. Three entries are of particular interest: "to sharpening gravestone chisels" (two entries, March, 1804) and "to oxen to draw gravestones up hill" (February, 1808). Other entries, though less explicit, may also pertain to stonecutting. The earliest entry is dated March 22, 1797; the last entry, February 16, 1808. Robards Felton left New Salem between 1808 and 1810. He died in Hamilton, New York, in 1825.

Six of the stones I have attributed to the Feltons mark the graves of relatives. The earliest stones commemorate Ebenezer's wife, Hannah, 1773, New Salem Center (Fig. 2), and a daughter, Hannah, 1767, New Salem Center. The stones for Ebenezer's parents, David and



Figure 3. Nathaniel Graves, 1796, New Salem, Mass.

Sarah Felton, 1790, 1792, New Salem Center, resemble that cut for his wife, but they have detached, wing-like forms at the sides of the head. The stone for his mother-in-law, Sarah Page, 1784, New Salem Center, resembles that for his father-in-law (Fig. 1).

All of the stones attributed to the Feltons are of the same material, gneiss, a foliated stone which may resemble granite or schist, depending on where it is split. Most may be Ebenezer's work; as few as four may be Robard's work. Three phases can be distinguished: an early phase, a transitional phase, and a late phase. The Hannah Felton stone (Fig. 2) is an example of the early phase. There are eighteen examples; most date from the 1780s. Stones of this early phase might be confused with the work of the Sikes family; however, Felton's faces are shorter and rounder, and on most examples there is no mouth. Border patterns and lettering style provide other characteristics for distinguishing Felton stones from Sikes stones.

There are five examples of Felton's transitional phase. All date from the early 1790s. On these stones, Felton adapted design elements used during his early

phase to the format characteristic of his late phase. Examples include the Lt. Amos Foster stone, 1793, New Salem Center, and the stone for the Calhoun children, 1791, Petersham Center, Massachusetts. Of thirty-eight examples of the late phase, all but a few date from the 1790s. Some have stylized floral borders, on others, such as the Nathaniel Graves stone, 1796, New Salem Center, slender columns flank the inscription (Fig. 3). In New Salem Center there are four stones which, though similar to the Graves stone, are clearly the work of a different stonecutter. On three, the date of death is legible, and these date from the early 1800s. The latest of these is the William Giles stone, 1806 (Fig. 4). These stones may be the work of Robards Felton. If so, five urn and willow stones of the same material at Wendell Center, Massachusetts, may also be his work.



Figure 4. William Giles, 1806, New Salem, Mass.

Enos Clark, Vermont Gravestone Carver

Margaret R. Jenks

With numerous ancestors buried in the East Poultney, Vermont, cemetery, I became interested in the stones there. William Buckland (1727-1795) of East Hartford, Connecticut, my ancestor and a carver of many Connecticut gravestones, is buried in North Poultney, and I hoped to find some of his work in the area. Although I found no stones bearing any resemblance to those he cut in Connecticut, I did find William Buckland's own stone, that of his son Ebenezer, his daughter Hannah, and his father-in-law John Barret. All these stones are the work of an interesting previously unknown carver, Enos Clark.

In the last several years, I have copied and published cemetery inscriptions for the Rutland County, Vermont, townships of Wells, Poultney, Middletown Springs, Ira, Pawlet, and Tinmouth. In the process, I have photographed many of the beautiful old stones. Among these is the gravestone for Mindwell Grant, 1800, East Poultney, Vermont, with the signature "EC" about three inches the ground level and about six inches from the right edge of the stone. The more pictures I took of other stones of this type, the more variety I found in the carving style and the more interested I became in discovering the man who carved them. Dr. Ernest Caulfield speculated that EC might be Edward Collins, a son of the gravestone carver Zerubbabel Collins, who worked in Shaftsbury, Vermont, between 1778 and 1797 ("Connecticut Gravestones IX," The Bulletin of the Connecticut Historical Society 28 [1963], 22-29). I investigated this possibility.

Using a list I compiled of EC-type stones for adult males, I searched the Rutland County probate records. Only two of the names on my list showed probated estates, Joseph Rann and Zebediah Dewey. Among the many pages of their inventoried estates there was a one-page administrator's account for Zebediah Dewey, who died October 28, 1804, aged 78 (Fig. 1). The account was dated October 17, 1806, and in it were two items of interest: "to Jonas Clark for Toom stones \$20.50," and "to digging graves \$1.25" (Rutland County Probate, Rutland District 5:146). Who was Jonas Clark?

Since the majority of EC stones are in East Poultney and Middletown Springs, it seemed likely that the



Figure 1. Zebediah Dewey, 1804, East Poultney, Vt.



Figure 2. Harley Clark, 1804, Middletown Springs, Vt.

carver lived in that area. A search of the census and vital records failed to show any Edward Collins in Rutland County. However, in my Middletown Springs book of inscriptions, I found two Jonas Clarks: Jonas Clark, Sr. (1741-1814) and "General" Jonas Clark (1774-1872). Either of these Jonas Clarks could have been the one paid for Dewey's stone. An examination of Barnes Frisby's History of Middletown, Vermont in Three Discourses (1867) yielded the information that Jonas Clark came from Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1790 with his son Jonas Jr., and that two other sons, Enos and Theophilis, had come to Middletown about two years earlier. According to Frisby, Jonas Jr. and Enos both were masons, an occupation that could easily have led to gravestone carving. However, Jonas Jr. studied law and was admitted to the bar at about age thirty. Enos Clark's occupation was not given. Enos Clark died April 12, 1815, in his fifty-first year. My records show that the EC stones date only to about 1809.

Herbert Davison, the Middletown Springs historian, referred me to a manuscript genealogy, "Genealogy of the Clark Family, 1639-1891," dated February 11, 1891, by Merritt Clark, the son of Jonas Jr. Merritt Clark wrote, "Enos was a stone cutter--some of his work may be seen at the old cemetery at Middletown on grave stones and generally ornamented with the head of a Seraph or weeping willow. He was also a House builder --and possessed a remarkable memory. He kept no Books of account but was always found correct." Merritt Clark was twelve years old when Uncle Enos died, so this statement may be taken as first hand knowledge, and we may reasonably attribute the EC stones to Enos Clark of Middletown, Vermont.

Enos Clark used two distinct styles of lettering. He often employed a flourish with the "IN" of "IN memory of," and he often used italics for the name of the deceased. The effigy's wings are usually smooth, but the wing shape varies in his later work. The face is always oval, with a hair style similar to that used by Zerubbabel Collins, except that Clark often carved three curls on each side while Collins carved only one. Clark also combined cherub and urn and willow, and he carved a variety of urn and willow designs late in his career (Fig. 2). Several questions remain. Where did Enos Clark learn his craft? Was he an apprentice of Zerubbabel Collins, or did he learn from Jonas Sr.? Were the payments for stone to Jonas Clark made to Enos's father or to his brother acting as an agent?

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