

MARKERS XX

Display



Edited by
Richard E. Meyer

Markers XX

Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies

Edited by
Richard E. Meyer

Association for Gravestone Studies
Greenfield, Massachusetts



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**MARKERS: ANNUAL JOURNAL OF
THE ASSOCIATION FOR GRAVESTONE STUDIES**

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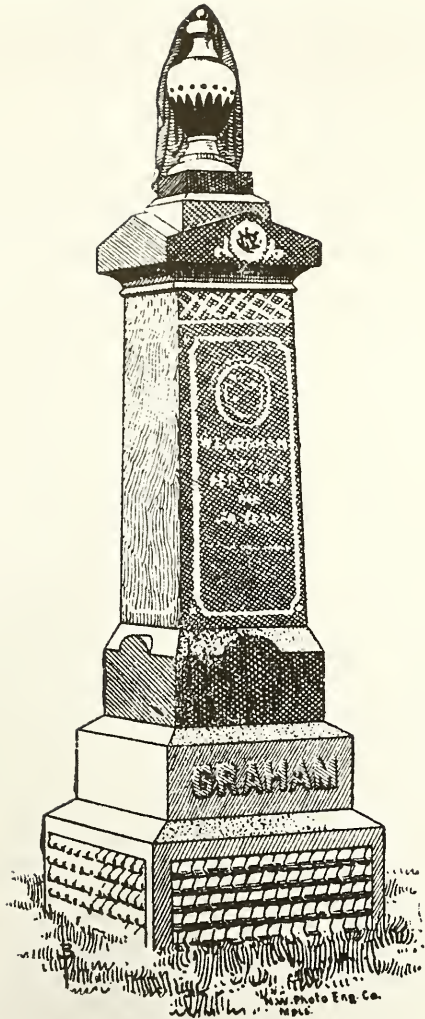
More than a decade has now passed since I first assumed the editorship of *Markers*, marvelous years for me, filled with joys, discoveries, and immense satisfactions. With the current issue I shall bring this period to a close, as new editor Gary Collison begins his duties in preparation for the publication of *Markers XXI*. I feel both privileged and honored to have had the opportunity to work with this journal and the splendid organization which stands behind it. Over the years I have accumulated a massive debt of gratitude to the many who have helped and assisted me in this task, from the technical support of persons such as Fred Kennedy and Patti Stephens, to the meticulous evaluative efforts of the members of the editorial board, to the scholarly and creative efforts of those dozens of contributors whose work has graced and en-

hanced these pages. And above all, let me say one last time, as I have so often before, that it is Lotte Larsen Meyer, my wife and closest friend, who has provided the love, the inspiration, and the emotional support I have found so critically essential to my work. I thank you all more than I can ever say.

Markers XX represents, in my view, all the very best of which this fine journal is capable. In its pages you may travel from the American military cemeteries of France and Belgium to the funerary landscapes of ancient and modern Greece, explore, respectively, the fraternal and religious iconography of Woodmen of the World and Mormon gravemarkers, examine the work of gravestone carvers from two seminal periods in the history of American memorial style, marvel at the splendor of a truly unique example of mausoleum architecture, and experience in a variety of ways the creative element in funerary literature. It is such diversity, underscored by the very highest standards of research and creativity, which has made and continues to make this annual journal unique among scholarly publications.

Articles published in *Markers* are indexed in *America: History and Life*, *Historical Abstracts*, and the *MLA International Bibliography*. Information concerning the submission of manuscripts for future issues of the journal may be found in the "Notes for Contributors" printed at the conclusion of this issue. Address queries concerning publication in forthcoming issues to: Gary Collison, Editor, *Markers: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, Penn State York, 1031 Edgecomb Avenue, York, PA 17403 (Phone: 717-771-4029 / E-Mail: glc@psu.edu). For information concerning other Association for Gravestone Studies publications, membership, and activities, including the Annual Conference, write to the Association's offices, 278 Main Street, Suite 207, Greenfield, MA 01301, call 413-772-0836, or email info@gravestonestudies.org. Readers are urged as well to visit the AGS web site at www.gravestonestudies.org.

R.E.M.



A WOODMAN MONUMENT.

On and after Aug. 16, 1892, such a monument is to be placed upon the grave of every beneficiary member of the order who was in good standing at the date of his death.

Fig. 1. The Pacific Jurisdiction Woodmen of the World announced its new monument program in 1892 with this standard draped-urn Woodman marker.

THE WOODMEN OF THE WORLD MONUMENT PROGRAM

Annette Stott

Introduction

A fair amount of attention has been paid to the large number of stone trees scattered among real ones in Nineteenth-Century cemeteries. Authors have noted in passing that many of these monuments carry an inscription to the Woodmen of the World and owe their existence to that fraternal organization's commitment to marking the graves of its deceased members.¹ A fuller exploration of Woodmen of the World monuments reveals a wide variety of forms, and imagery rich in symbolic and social significance. Because these markers were not erected to heroes and famous people, but to everyday workers in towns and cities throughout the country, an examination of the Woodmen of the World monument program provides a clearer understanding of one of the roles that sepulchral sculpture played in the lives of ordinary people at the turn of the twentieth century. Such a study also provides the opportunity to focus on an aspect of gravestone studies too often taken for granted – patronage. This is the story of what was perhaps the largest corporate patron of cemetery sculpture in the United States at the turn of the century.²

Any serious discussion of Woodmen monuments must take into consideration the complex history and organizational structure of the Woodmen of the World. In this article I have chosen to focus on the oldest regional branch of the order, the Pacific Jurisdiction. By studying the archives of this Denver-based branch and analyzing the monuments it produced, a solid understanding of Woodmen patronage and of the social and cultural function of the monuments emerges.

History

Joseph Cullen Root, a dedicated fraternalist, was already a member of the Freemasons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and similar brotherhoods when he started a new fraternal order in 1883. After hearing a sermon about the pioneers chopping down trees to build cabins for the protection of their families, he named his organization the Modern Woodmen of America. Its main purpose was to protect families through a life insurance plan, and most of its symbolism derived from the image of the pioneer woodsman. Neither it, nor its successors, had anything to do with the lumber industry.

Within the first decade, a divisive struggle for power emerged between Root and the order's Head Physician, both of whom were eventually expelled from the Modern Woodmen of America. In addition, the state charter granted by Iowa prohibited the organization from spreading beyond specified states in the West and Midwest. Early in 1890, Root met in Denver, Colorado with F.A. Falkenburg, an active organizer of the Modern Woodmen in Colorado, to discuss the creation of a new organization that would eventually be called the Woodmen of the World. They conceived of it as a worldwide fraternity that would absorb the Modern Woodmen of America, thus giving Root back control of his order and overcoming the legal restriction on growth that the Modern Woodmen faced.³

The Woodmen of the World incorporated at a meeting in Omaha, Nebraska in June, 1890.⁴ They planned to have 12 regions, or jurisdictions, in the United States, with others abroad. Each region would be financially and governmentally independent, but tied to the Omaha headquarters, known as the Sovereign Camp, through shared rituals and common goals. The first region to organize was the Pacific Jurisdiction, with its headquarters, or Head Camp, in Denver.⁵ F.A. Falkenburg assumed charge, as Head Consul, of this region that embraced the states of Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California, and Colorado, and the territories of Utah and Idaho. The Canadian region was organized in 1893, and the Woodmen began operating in Mexico two years later. No other regions were ever chartered. The Head Camp, Pacific Jurisdiction claimed 10,000 members by 1895, while the Sovereign Camp in Omaha, which included all the rest of the United States and Mexico, numbered only twice that many.

The Woodmen of the World, like other fraternal orders, was organized into local camps that held regular meetings filled with secret rituals. Membership was limited to white males between the ages of 21 and 50, who were encouraged to purchase life insurance for the protection of their dependents.⁶ Upon the death of any beneficiary member, the entire membership of the jurisdiction was assessed a payment to fulfill that insurance obligation. In this way Woodmen were meant to be like the pioneers, ensuring the support of their widows and children after their deaths through neighborly aid. The Sovereign Camp Woodmen of the World went a step further by including in its 1890 constitution the statement that every member would also receive a monument at his death. Although the Pacific Jurisdiction did not amend its constitution to fol-

low suit until two years later, it too decided that a monument should be part of the ritual of remembering members.⁷

The Monument Program

Delegates from each camp throughout the Pacific Jurisdiction met in an annual Head Camp Session to revise laws and discuss the growth of the order. The official record of the 1892 Head Camp Session in Pueblo, Colorado makes it clear that Falkenburg and the delegates intended to implement the same monument plan that the Sovereign Camp was using. The Jurisdiction announced in the next issue of its paper, *The Woodman*: "On and after Aug. 16, 1892, such a monument (Fig. 1) is to be placed upon the grave of every beneficiary member of the order who was in good standing at the date of his death." The same illustration had appeared earlier that year in the *Sovereign Visitor*, the journal of the Omaha-based Sovereign Camp. It depicted a draped urn monument on the grave of Sovereign Camp member William Leeds Graham, in Ontario.⁸

Despite this beginning, the Pacific Jurisdiction monument program rapidly took a different direction when a Denver monument business approached Head Consul Falkenburg with a proposition. The firm of Helmbrecht and Farrington suggested that they provide a monument valued at \$100 for every deceased member, including shipping and setting anywhere in the territory. They offered to provide one free monument for every ten purchased, so that members who had died before the constitutional amendment could also be recognized with markers. In return, the Pacific Jurisdiction Woodmen of the World would give Helmbrecht and Farrington its business and a free advertisement to run in *The Woodman* for as long as the contract remained in force. According to Helmbrecht's proposal, each camp would be allowed to choose between two different designs: a six-and-a-half-foot monument consisting of a shaft surmounted by a draped urn "of same stone and style as erected by the Sovereign Jurisdiction," or a seven-and-a-half-foot tree trunk with the Woodmen of the World emblems carved in high relief (Fig. 2). The Head Managers authorized the contract and appropriated \$1,500 for the first fifteen monuments.⁹

This contract removed each camp's power to work with a local stone carver and limited its choice to two designs, but the Head Managers believed that their contract with Helmbrecht and Farrington would ensure a consistently higher quality of carved monuments.¹⁰ The end results, they stated, justified any deviation from the letter of the constitution, and their

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Fig. 2. When Helmbrecht and Farrington received the Woodmen monument contract, they added the option of a hand-carved tree trunk as depicted in this advertisement in *The Woodman*. Note that the typesetter incorrectly set Henry Helmbrecht's last name in the advertisement.



Fig. 3. Robert H. McKelvey tree trunk monument, 1893, limestone. Fairmount Cemetery, Denver, Colorado.

plan remained within its spirit. Thus, the Sovereign Camp, Woodmen of the World was the first fraternal group to provide a monument for each member upon his death, and the Pacific Jurisdiction was the first to mandate a specific provider and to offer the tree trunk option.

Helmbrecht and Farrington erected the first draped-urn and tree trunk monuments between February and June of 1893. By all accounts, the members of the local camps receiving the monuments were thrilled with the beauty of these memorials.¹¹ The Robert H. McKelvey Monument (Fig. 3) demonstrates the high quality of the early work. The bark is rendered as a believable texture; the ferns at the base of the tree stump stand out clearly; and the insignia of the order are carved in such high relief as to be nearly full round. McKelvey had died of apoplexy at the time of the second Head Camp meeting. Delegates were informed by telegram and appropriate remembrances were spoken, but because he died before the delegates had voted on the monument program, he did not automatically receive one. Instead, his was the first free monument provided by W.R. Farrington & Co., successors to Helmbrecht and Farrington.

Camps of Woodmen throughout the Northwest reported their delight with the impressive carved stones as the first monuments were shipped to them. However, there were some concerns with the procedure. Many camps counted a carver or monument dealer among their members and wanted to allow him to design and create memorials for their members. The first official change in procedure occurred at the Head Camp meeting in August, 1894, when the program was two years old. That year the constitution was amended to allow local camps to erect a monument through their own choice of monument firms, providing that the widow or family agreed. Upon seeing proof that a monument worth at least \$100 had been erected, the head office would reimburse the monument maker. This policy change resulted in a greater variety of designs, and monument companies from Portland, Oregon to Boulder, Colorado now advertised in the *Pacific Woodman*.¹² But the struggle among central administration, local camps, and heirs for control over the monuments continued.

In 1896, a group of delegates to the annual meeting requested that all money for monuments be paid directly to the local camps and that, whenever possible, the camps engage a local carver. Instead, the constitution was changed to give the widow or heir decision-making power over the choice of provider and design. The local camp continued to order the work on behalf of the family.¹³ Sometimes dissatisfaction with the pro-



Fig. 4. F.A. Falkenburg monument, 1907, bronze and granite. Fairmount Cemetery, Denver, Colorado. The base was originally decorated with a relief carving of a man chopping down a tree.



Fig. 5. Duane McKercher's small granite marker (top) was designed to match that of his wife (bottom).

cess resulted in both family and Woodmen putting up a monument. Ironically, this was the case when Head Consul Falkenburg died. His daughter erected a sarcophagus monument to the memory of both her parents in 1906. The Woodmen erected a life-size bronze statue in the same cemetery in 1907 (Fig. 4). Falkenburg was buried in the family plot at the insistence of his daughter, who was angered by the order's refusal to allow her to be buried with her parents in the Woodmen plot where the bronze memorial stands.

As families became more involved, and inflation reduced the value of a \$100 monument, adjustments were made to accommodate the desire for bigger and better memorials than the Woodmen's \$100 appropriation could buy. Soon the monument program was functioning in many camps as a subsidy to the family's purchase. For this reason, the wording required on the monuments changed in August, 1898 from "Erected by the Woodmen of the World" to "Here Rests a Woodman of the World."



Fig. 6. The elaborate relief carving on Jonathan Schaeffer's large monument cost considerably more than the \$100 contribution made by the Woodmen of the World.

Examples of the wide variety of Woodmen memorials that resulted from this loosening of the procedures can be seen in the McKercher (Fig. 5, top) and Schaeffer (Fig. 6) monuments.¹⁴ Duane McKercher and Jonathan Schaeffer died within two weeks of one another in 1902. Both of their monuments were provided by the Denver Marble and Granite Company, one of the oldest monument makers and dealers in Denver. McKercher's wife had predeceased him, so his mother received his Woodman insurance benefit and it was probably his mother who ordered the low granite draped-urn marker to match that of Duane's wife (Fig. 5, bottom). Jonathan Schaeffer's widow, Anna, ordered a more ambitious design for her husband, a man who had for eighteen years been foreman of Hallack & Howard Lumber Company. The die of this large granite sarcophagus-style memorial is nearly covered with a relief carving of the interior of a carpenter's shop. On the back wall, the Woodmen of the World seal is joined by the seal of the Brotherhood of American Yeomen. The high relief table holds a saw, plane, chisel, and hammer, while lumber is piled under the table and in a corner of the room. Both monuments are unique. The Schaeffer relief references the fact that Jonathan was a woodman by profession as well as fraternal affiliation.

Other monuments erected by the Woodmen of the World assume a variety of popular forms. The George A. Pullen monument (Fig. 7) is a large granite stone with a rock face treatment giving way to the refined carving of a corner column entwined with roses. It is further decorated with a cross, crown, and lily. This nationally-known design was especially popular in Denver's Fairmount Cemetery. The Pullen monument is interesting because the inscriptions all appear on the back. Under the notice, "Here Rests a Woodman of the World," are the names of George and (so far) eleven other members of his family. He died in November, 1908, more than eight years after the Woodmen had mandated that this inscription and the order's seal must appear on the *face* of each monument.

The emphasis on representing the order on the face of the memorial came about owing to a desire to advertise. When Falkenburg first argued for the monument program in the fall of 1892, he had declared that permanent memorials carved with the name of the order would help build up membership. Thereafter, the Woodmen regularly cited its monuments as a major factor distinguishing it from other fraternal orders and from mainline insurance companies.¹⁵ But an Idaho Woodman complained that the required inscription "looks too much like advertising to be at all in place ... If there is any place where a violation of good taste strikes

one more glaringly than elsewhere, it is on a gravestone ... I would as soon advertise the Woodmen of the World on my gravestone as the Ma-



Fig. 7. George A. Pullen's family erected this elaborately carved granite marker in 1908, placing the Woodmen inscription on the back. Fairmount Cemetery, Denver, Colorado.

sons, or Pear's Soap."¹⁶ Cemetery superintendents in Denver pronounced a ban on names appearing on monuments for the purpose of advertisement at the same time that the Woodmen mandated a more prominent location for their name.¹⁷ The cemeteries lacked a means of enforcing the ban, however, so inscriptions and insignia continued to appear on Woodmen memorials.

By 1905, the Pacific Jurisdiction Woodmen of the World had erected 2,385 stone and zinc monuments throughout the Northwest. During that time the program evolved through a variety of rules and procedures as its constituent groups struggled for control, but the most influential aspect of the program in determining the appearance of Woodmen sepulchral sculpture was the organization's attention to the financial bottom line. One hundred dollars, no more and no less, would be appropriated for each monument throughout the thirty-six-year existence of the program. This adherence to a single price resulted in a steady decline in the size and complexity of the monuments.

Ironically, the Pacific Jurisdiction Woodmen of the World based many of their decisions about the monument program on their desire for high quality. The 1892 agreement with Helmbrecht and Farrington had been justified on the grounds of maintaining control over quality. In 1896, when questions arose over the value of a monument erected by the Bills Brothers company in Florence, Colorado, the head managers sent one of their number to investigate.¹⁸ The claim was paid, but the managers' ongoing fear that camps were not getting their money's worth led to another change in procedure. Thereafter, the head camp requested that builder's specifications and a drawing be sent to Denver headquarters to prove that each proposed monument would be worth one hundred dollars. Monument proposition forms were provided by the head camp for this purpose. In addition, the head managers required that officers of the local camp inspect each monument in the cemetery for quality and report to the head finance committee before any payment could be made. The awareness that these memorials would be seen by visitors to the cemetery and would represent the order to the world underlay the desire to present only the highest quality.

Despite the popularity of the monument program, it was an economic burden almost from the start. The officers had never called an assessment for the monuments, but had attempted several times to initiate a special fee. Finally in 1913, new members wanting the monument benefit were required to pay a small monthly sum into a monument fund.

The benefit from the fund could be put toward a monument or toward funeral expenses. After 1928, no insurance certificates were issued with a monument benefit, and in 1932, with no new money going into the monument fund, it was decided to distribute to each member still holding a monument agreement the exact amount that they had paid in, plus interest. That ended the program.

Stone Trees

By the 1894 head camp meeting, Helmbrecht and Farrington and its successor, W.R. Farrington Co., had erected twenty-four monuments, two of them free ones for members who died before the monument program was started. Since the monuments are scattered throughout the nine states of the Pacific Jurisdiction, it is difficult to determine which of the two Helmbrecht and Farrington designs was more popular, the draped urn or the tree.

In any case, the tree stump model was a particularly fortuitous symbol of the order, suggesting both the name "Woodmen" and the notion of woodcraft. Woodmen of the World dedicated themselves to a creed of self-improvement and neighborliness that included these objectives, according to the 1890 constitution: "to promote true neighborly regard and fraternal love; to bestow substantial benefits upon the widows, children and relatives of deceased members; ... and to comfort the sick by neighborly ministrations in times of sorrow and distress." Woodmen referred to this creed of moral development, charity, and good works as Woodcraft.

Adolph Munter, a member of a Pacific Jurisdiction camp, delivered a speech in 1896 entitled "The Stump of the Tree, An Emblem of Woodcraft." He likened the growth of an acorn or pine burr into a beautiful and mighty tree to the growth of an infant into "beautiful womanhood or mighty manhood," and noted that "it therefore behooves us, in view of this stump, this emblem of our order, to pledge ourselves to cultivate, by correct lives, the grain in our moral development and growth, permitting no knot holes and no rot."¹⁹ Monthly Woodmen rituals, held around a tree stump in the middle of the meeting house, were part of the means of teaching woodcraft. So were the unveiling rituals held around the funerary monuments.

One of the earliest examples of a Woodman tree trunk monument, erected for Andrew H. Lamb in 1893 (Fig. 8), demonstrates the high quality of the carving and materials in the first monuments. The Indiana



Fig. 8. Andrew Lamb tree trunk monument, 1893, limestone.
Fairmount Cemetery, Denver, Colorado.



Fig. 9. This detail of the Lamb memorial reveals the intricacy of carving on the earliest Woodmen markers.

limestone was intricately carved with a detailed ivy vine winding up one face, three fern fronds spreading out from the base, and rough bark. On the face of the tall tree trunk, a high-relief still life reveals the insignia of the order: the axe, beetle (mallet), and wedge are carved from a single block of stone to look as if stuck into a log placed crosswise on the tree trunk (Fig. 9). As was most common on these early tree trunks, the carving mimicked bark peeled away to reveal the inscription carved into the "wood." No two monuments are exactly alike in their details, but all follow quite closely the general design published in *The Woodman*. Henry Helmbrecht was a dealer, not a carver, and it is almost certain that the first tree trunks were carved in Indiana and shipped to Colorado.

By 1895, a change in the quality and design of the stones can be seen. It is not clear whether this was due to Farrington's use of a different supplier or simply a different grade of stone. Unlike the Lamb tree, the William E. Carter memorial (Fig. 10) shows considerable erosion and flaking. Enough remains to reveal that the still life arrangement of axe, beetle, and wedge was carved on a much smaller scale and in a different position than on the earlier examples. Tree bark is peeled above and below, and the tree branches are treated differently as well. Farrington was a trained carver, but no evidence has yet surfaced to reveal whether he or his staff carved any of the Woodmen monuments he supplied. Limestone was not yet readily available in Colorado, but there were a few sources, and other local stone carvers imported limestone and sold it wholesale. A few feet away from the Carter monument, the Robert C. Seymour tree trunk (Fig. 11), also erected in 1895, has eroded so badly that all inscriptions and much of the bark are obliterated. What remains suggests the same hand as the Carter memorial.

By the end of the century, Helmbrecht and Farrington's original tree trunk design had been replaced by much shorter, "stumpier" models. The three-foot granite example erected in 1904 for Clayton Tammany is fairly typical (Fig. 12). The inscriptions are carved into the stone's smooth top surface and a smooth rectangle below, instead of attempting the illusion of peeling bark. An incised seal replaces the high-relief still life of earlier monuments, and uniform, stylized, shallowly-carved bark replaces the realism of earlier efforts. The greater hardness of granite, as opposed to limestone or marble, combined with the rising cost of labor, meant that monument makers had to cut costs in order to meet the Woodmen's price of \$100. This resulted in the smaller, simpler designs and shallower, less detailed carving.



Fig. 10. William E. Carter tree trunk monument, 1895, limestone. Fairmount Cemetery, Denver, Colorado.



Fig. 11. While trees, water sprinklers, and other factors play a role in erosion, they cannot explain the severe deterioration of this tree trunk memorial for Robert C. Seymour. It stands a short distance from the Carter and Lamb stones.



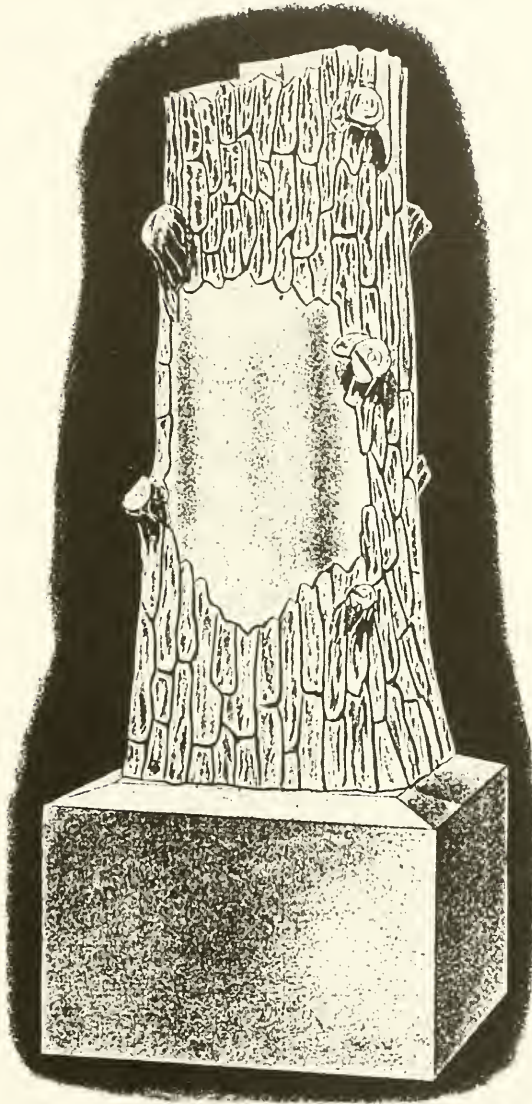
Fig. 12. Both the harder composition of granite and changing economic conditions caused the monuments of Clayton Tammany and his contemporary Woodmen of the early Twentieth Century to assume the shape of short, shallowly carved stumps.

As the Woodmen organizations grew, so did the demand for tree stump tombstones. Statues in the form of cut and stacked logs, sometimes carrying a globe, sometimes supporting a tree stump, also became popular. Stone carvers' manuals typically included instructions for carving the Woodmen of the World seal, and all the major monument companies carried one or two designs for Woodmen monuments. It should be noted that the official seal of the Pacific Jurisdiction (Fig. 13) varied from that of the Sovereign Camp, and both changed over time. The Sovereign Camp also regulated the appearance of their monuments more rigidly. For example, they specified in their 1907 Constitution that the circles and letters of their seal must be carved with a "V"-shape cut not less than one-eighth of an inch deep, and that the image of the stump must be raised not less than three-eighths of an inch.²⁰ The Pacific Jurisdiction, while concerned about quality, did not go to quite such lengths to ensure uniformity. In both cases, however, variations on the official seal appeared as carvers created their own interpretations. In general, neither local nor national monument companies understood the differences in the two Woodmen monument programs' requirements.



Fig. 13. The Pacific Jurisdiction seal can be seen in this detail from the Tammany marker.

THIS STURDY, GRAND TRUNK OF A TREE FOR \$28.75
AND UPWARDS



Catalogue Nos. 22P900 to 22P905 See opposite page for full description.

Fig. 14. The rectangular shape of the original stone block can be seen by examining the base of this Sears, Roebuck and Co. carved tree trunk, where it meets the square base block.

In 1902, Sears, Roebuck and Co. advertised a tree stump monument in three sizes, ranging from a four-foot blue marble stump for \$28.75 (Fig. 14) to a four-foot ten-inch white marble stump for \$48.57. Carved at a quarry in Rutland, Vermont, the Sears, Roebuck monuments represent the ultimate reduction in quality and price in order to accomplish a democratic distribution to people of lesser means. Unlike the Helmbrecht and Farrington tree trunks, mail-order company sculptures tended to retain the shape of the original block of quarried stone. These tree stumps often look more rectangular than cylindrical. They did not meet the Woodmen criteria for quality, and would not have been accepted for reimbursement.²¹ They do, however, represent the widespread popularity of rustic monuments among the general populace.

Tree stump funerary sculpture carried associations with the tree of life, a symbol recognized by most world religions as signifying continuity of life after death.²² The majority of Woodmen were Christians and Jews, whose religions invested in the symbolism of the tree of life. The family tree, an image of particular importance for Woodmen, with their well developed sense of family obligation, was referenced in some monuments as well. Names of individuals were sometimes carved onto individual branches and, though rarely used, the opportunity existed to suggest a branch of a family tree cut off and other such genealogical notions. These significations, together with the general turn toward nature seen in the change from churchyard and secular burial grounds to rural park-like cemeteries, had made tree stumps popular motifs in cemetery sculpture well before the Woodmen of the World existed.²³ As a contemporary landscape gardening manual pointed out, "cut stone is more permanent and needs less care than shrubs and flowers, which are not only difficult to select to-day, but liable to perish to-morrow."²⁴ Stone tree stump monuments furnished the cemetery with imperishable botanicals. Tree stump monuments gained popularity for all of these reasons.

The Woodmen invested these popular tree trunk sculptures with the additional meaning of the central enterprise of their order. Carved with the name Woodmen of the World, the tree trunk monument was meant to suggest the basic premise that men must die and leave unprotected their widows and children, unless they joined together fraternally for mutual aid and the protection of their family obligations after death. Each time the woodmen gathered at a cemetery to carry out the Woodman funeral rites, they were reminded of this special meaning of the tree stump

in the words of the camp's Adviser Lieutenant, whose duty it was to recite:

Like the trees of the forest our Neighbor has sprung into life – a prattling babe, a tiny shrub – has grown to be a man, like the vigorous sapling, around which the ivy and the vine have loved to cling and find a safe protection, and now, like the tree, he is cut down and the ivy and the vine feel the crushing blow. The tree can never on earth be their support again; but in that better life, toward which we cast our longing eyes: there shall be no parting there.²⁵

One might wonder how a widow and her children felt at the burial, being referred to as clinging ivy without support, but no doubt the image of the man as a solid tree trunk was a comforting one to the deceased's fellow Woodmen. It certainly embodied late Nineteenth-Century definitions of masculinity. Historian Mark C. Carnes has theorized that a major purpose of fraternal ritual was to reassert manliness in an era of change and doubt.²⁶ The stone trees of the Woodmen accomplished the same goal.

The tree stump allowed for all kinds of additional references. F.A. Falkenburg once gave an address entitled "The altar of Woodcraft is a Stump," in which he stated that:

a plain, old-fashioned, every-day, North American stump ... fitly symbolizes the fallen neighbor who is carried to his last resting place by loving hands, but it also means much more ... It was from that platform, the stump, that the Puritan Father spoke. It was from that rostrum that was first announced upon this soil, under the silent skies, the inalienable rights of man and his absolute equality with his fellow man.²⁷

Such patriotism also suited the Woodmen's notions of moral fiber and American manhood.

Women of Woodcraft, the female auxiliary of the Pacific Jurisdiction Woodmen of the World since 1898, also maintained a monument program.²⁸ Woodmen who purchased additional insurance through the Women of Woodcraft were expected to place the emblem of that organization on their monuments, along with the Woodmen of the World insignia. Women of Woodcraft also erected monuments to their sisters, of which the Bertha Wolff monument (Fig. 15) is a strong example. It is not as tall as the earliest Woodmen trees and bears a seal rather than high relief emblems. While tree stump monuments erected by Women of Woodcraft for their sisters could certainly reference "perfected woodcraft," all association with masculinity or support of women and children was obviously lost in these monuments.



Fig. 15. The Bertha Wolff monument of 1906 is a good example of the monuments erected by the Women of Woodcraft. They assumed the same forms as those of the Woodmen of the World.

Social Significance

Although the tree stump and other Woodman memorials stand silent and largely forgotten today, they once played an active role in the life of the community. On June 4th, 1900, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported:

Every person in Denver knew that yesterday was Memorial Sunday for the Woodmen of the World. Four thousand followers of woodcraft marched through the business streets in the afternoon, accompanied by bands and flags and flowers and later the cemeteries were thronged with members of the camps decorating the graves of over 150 deceased neighbors of the order who sleep in Mount Olivet, Fairmount, and Riverside. There are fourteen camps and 5,300 Woodmen in the city. Nearly every member of the order appeared with his comrades to pay respects to the dead.

The streets of the business section were crowded with spectators and the long procession was greeted frequently with applause. At Fourteenth and Champa streets the parade was reviewed by Governor Charles S. Thomas, Mayor Henry V. Johnson and the resident head officials of the Pacific Jurisdiction of the order ... The parade, headed by a platoon of police under Sergeant Means, formed at Sixteenth and Welton Streets ... followed by the Denver City band. Denver Camp No. 1, which included 1,400 members, followed, the drill team uniformed in attractive suits of black and scarlet, leading the way with its handsome silk banner, which they won as champion team of the city. A second team of Camp No. 1 was resplendent in white duck suits trimmed in red. Rocky Mountain camp No. 7 was followed by the drill team of Colorado camp No. 13, whose uniforms of white duck trousers and caps with red military blouses were especially pleasing to the spectators. At this point Lohmann's band furnished music for the marchers ...

This parade, which had grown every year until it reached the major event described above, was merely the prelude to the primary activities of the Woodman's Memorial Day, the unveiling and dedication of all monuments erected since the previous June and the decoration of graves. While the woodmen paraded through the streets and struggled for an hour at Union Station to get loaded on the rail cars that would take detachments of them to the cemeteries, the Women of Woodcraft and families of the deceased had gone ahead to the cemeteries with additional flowers.

When a procession arrived at a cemetery, it went to each new monument in turn to perform the unveiling ritual. The Woodmen formed a wedge shape encompassing the monument at its point. Only officers, a designated orator, the camp quartet, and relatives were allowed to stand inside the wedge. After the quartet sang an appropriate hymn or Woodman song, the Consul Commander of the camp recited a speech reminding everyone that what they did now was "the fulfillment of an

obligation which all Woodmen have taken, to protect the good name of each other while living and mark well his grave when dead." More music and poetry preceded the unveiling of the monument, which had previously been draped in a black cloth or the American flag. Finally, the Woodmen dedicated the monument with a series of rituals involving tree branches, salt, oil, water, and recitations.²⁹ Every year thereafter, the Woodmen would revisit the grave, decorating it and the monument with flowers. The magnitude of the Woodmen Memorial Day and the pomp and ceremony surrounding the unveiling ritual suggests the important role the monuments played in the lives of Woodmen.

The motto of the order, *Dum Tacet Clamat*, appeared on each monument and was referenced in the unveiling ritual. Usually translated "though silent I speak," the motto also bears testimony to the importance of the monument as a silent representation of what the Woodman stood for in life. One part of the ceremony proclaimed: "The passer-by will pause and read the name of a good man and a true Neighbor. It will be an inspiration to emulate his life, that the passer-by may become worthy of such a tribute."³⁰

While the motto and the monument were silent, the ritual was not. Not only were thousands of Woodmen descending on the cemeteries at once, but these parades attracted crowds of followers. It was often impossible to avoid trampling a wide path across other graves in attempting to gather everyone around the monument to be dedicated. By the end of the century, cemetery superintendents in Denver had joined together in an effort to ban fraternal rituals at the gravesite.

When in a speech Falkenburg had likened Woodmen to "plain, old fashioned everyday North American stumps," he evoked an image of middle-class America. Some Woodmen were leaders in their communities – doctors, lawyers, and politicians. Most were blue collar workers, not the people to whom society normally erected public monuments. Membership in Woodmen of the World made ordinary people special. It lifted them through ritual and display to become the focus, for a short time, of the community. The monument marked the graves of ordinary people, testifying to their character and to their worthiness of remembrance.

As a patron of cemetery art, the Woodmen of the World sponsored visual symbols of the community values it espoused. Each monument served as a memorial to an individual, an advertisement for the order, and the physical embodiment of Woodmen beliefs, upon which those

beliefs were reaffirmed annually through rituals. The Woodmen of the World attempted to promote high quality in their sepulchral art through centralized administration of the program, but they were ultimately foiled by the economics of their endeavor.

NOTES

I am very grateful to Mr. David Wilson, President of the Woodmen of the World of Denver, to Mr. Frank Hegner, President of the Fairmount Cemetery Association, and to the Omaha Woodmen of the World Insurance Association for allowing me to examine their old journals, records of annual meetings, and other documents. Without such generous access, this article would not have been possible. Figure 14 is reproduced courtesy of the Winterthur Library, Printed Book and Periodical Collection, whose staff was wonderfully helpful with my research. All photos of monuments *in situ* are by the author.

1. See, for example, Warren E. Roberts, "Notes on the Production of Rustic Monuments in the Limestone Belt of Indiana," *Markers VII* (1990), 173-193; Susanne S. Ridlen, "Tree-Stump Tombstones: Traditional Cultural Values and Rustic Funerary Art," *Markers XIII* (1996), 44-73; and Susanne S. Ridlen, *Tree-Stump Tombstones: A Field Guide to Rustic Funerary Art in Indiana* (Kokomo, IN: Old Richardville Publications, 1999).
2. Other major patrons of cemetery markers include the U.S. government, which places simple (rarely sculptural) markers on the graves of military personnel, and the Roman Catholic Church and its orders.
3. Early accounts vary on the events leading to the creation of the Woodmen of the World from the Modern Woodmen of America, but all cite Root's own account about the sermon reference to pioneers inspiring the names. See W.A. Northcott, *The Woodman's Handbook: A Comprehensive History of the Modern Woodmen of America* (Modern Woodmen of America, 1894); *Modern Woodmen of America, The Complete Revised Official Ritual* (Chicago, IL: Ezra A. Cook, 1925); Este E. Buffum, *Modern Woodmen of America: A History*, 2 vols. (n.p.: Modern Woodmen Press, 1927); Leland A. Larson and James R. Cook, *The Woodmen Story: Our First 100 Years* (Omaha, NE: Woodmen of the World Life Insurance Society, 1991); Alvin J. Schmidt, *Fraternal Organizations* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); "The Woodmen of the World," a brief history included in all early issues of *The Woodman* (1890-1891). Woodmen of the World never absorbed the Modern Woodmen of America entirely, although the latter eventually went out of business. The take-over effort was more successful in the West than elsewhere. In Colorado, all but two camps of MWA joined WOW at its inception.
4. When the new group first organized in Omaha, it called itself the Sovereign Camp of the World, Modern Woodmen of America. Threat of a legal battle with the Iowa group led it to change its name to Sovereign Camp, Woodmen of the World.
5. The Pacific Jurisdiction, Woodmen of the World was authorized at the same meeting as the Sovereign Camp. For more information, see Woodmen of the World, *Fundamental Laws of the Woodmen of the World for the Government of Head and Local Camps* (Denver, CO: W.W. Slack, 1890).

6. The age requirements later changed, but this was the rule recorded in *Fundamental Laws*, p.11. Many high-risk occupations were prohibited from membership in order to make the insurance scheme feasible.
7. This constitutional change is recorded in *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Head Camp, Pacific Jurisdiction, Pueblo, Colorado, August 11-16, 1892* (Denver, CO: Merchants Publishing Company, 1892): 18; 54; 97-98.
8. *The Woodman* 2 (1892): 2. "Unveiling a Monument," *Sovereign Visitor* 2 (1892): 1.
9. "Meeting of the Head Managers," *The Woodman* 3 (1893): 5. The article reproduces part of the contract proposed by Helmbrecht and Farrington.
10. See articles in *The Woodman* 3 (1892): 3; and 3 (1893): 5. See also the *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Head Camp, Pacific Jurisdiction, Woodmen of the World held at Portland, Oregon, Aug. 14-21, 1894* (Denver, CO: Merchant's Publishing Co., 1894), 18; 46; 60.
11. Descriptions of monuments and grave side ceremonies regularly appeared in *The Woodman* (after 1894 called *The Pacific Woodman*). Typically, Sequoia Camp of Sacramento reported that the monument erected for Ernest Rupa "far surpassed the expectations of our members, who were one and all delighted with it.": 5: 4 (1895).
12. Between 1894 and 1896, the Head Camp recorded 90 payments for monuments, about one third of them to D.B. Olinger, successor to W.C. Farrington. The rest went to monument companies throughout the jurisdiction. About one-third of eligible beneficiaries were also reported as not having ordered a monument, many because they had not yet decided whether to accept the \$100 monument or build a more expensive one. See *The Pacific Woodman* 5 (1895): 2; and *Proceedings of the Fourth Session of the Head Camp, Pacific Jurisdiction, Woodmen of the World at Helena, Montana* (Denver, CO: The Merchants Publishing Company, 1896), 82-84.
13. *Proceedings of the Fourth Session*, 179-181; and *Constitution of the Head Camp, Pacific Jurisdiction, Woodmen of the World ... adopted at Fourth Biennial Session, August 20, 1896 at Helena, Montana*, 62. After the fifth Biennial Session in San Francisco and after executive council amendments in 1898, the constitution went even further and required families of deceased members to file application for monuments.
14. When each member died and the membership was assessed, the notice of assessment in the *Pacific Woodman* carried his name, age, camp, date of original membership, date and reason for death, name of attending physician, beneficiary, and the amount and date of insurance payment. Schaffer [sic] and McKercher both appeared in "Assessment No. 142 for the Month of May, 1902," *Pacific Woodman* 12 (1902): 4. Payment for the Shaeffer and McKercher monuments to Denver Marble and Granite is recorded in *Pacific Woodman* 12 (1902): 4; and 13 (1903): 7.
15. *The Woodman* reported that the eleven Denver camps had chosen a plot at Fairmount Cemetery and were incorporating the Woodmen Cemetery Association in order to provide burial space at no cost to members. "This, in addition to the beautiful monument which the head camp erects upon each neighbor's grave, completely refutes the charges of old line life insurance companies, that the Woodmen of the World is nothing more than an

insurance organization." 3: 8 (1893): 1. For unknown reasons, the Woodmen Cemetery Association was never incorporated, and Fairmount has no record of its plot.

16. J.M. Aldrich, "Respecting Monuments," *The Pacific Woodman* 8 (1901): 3.
17. Rule #85, "Monumental firms and others are prohibited from placing their names on any work with a view to advertising": *Rules and Regulations Governing the Cemeteries of Fairmount and Riverside and Suggestions to Lot Owners* (Denver, CO: n.p., 1900).
18. The dispute over the Wetmore monument was reported in *The Pacific Woodman* 7 (1896): 4.
19. Adolph Munter, "The Stump of the Tree, An Emblem of Woodcraft," a speech delivered July 27, 1896 at Camp 99 and reported in *The Woodman*, 6 (1896): 3.
20. *Monumental News* 25 (1913): 54.
21. Sears, Roebuck and Co., *Tombstones and Monuments* (Chicago, IL: 1902), 56-57.
22. For a general overview of the tree as a sign in world cultures, see Roger Cook, *The Tree of Life: Image for the Cosmos* (London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1974). Of course, each use of the tree as a monument carried its own symbolic significance and it would be a mistake to assume that all meanings applied in any instance.
23. Some of the earliest imagery on tombstones and mourning pictures of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries was the weeping willow. Although an image of a tree, it carried different signification than later tree stump monuments. The weeping willow was meant to evoke emotions of grief and mourning; it did not reflect the tree of life or the family tree. It also did not suggest moral fiber or manly support of women and children the way later Woodmen tree stump monuments did. Weeping willows had lost popularity in sepulchral imagery by the 1860s.
24. Samuel Parsons Jr., *Landscape Gardening* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1891; 1900), 303.
25. *Ritual of the Pacific Jurisdiction Woodmen of the World* (Omaha, NE: Beacon Press, 1897), 79-80.
26. Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).
27. F.A. Falkenburg, "The Altar of Woodcraft is a Stump," *The Woodman* 11 (1900): 1.
28. C.C. van Orsdall, *The Story of Woodcraft: Women of Woodcraft* (Leadville, CO: Leadville Publishing & Printing Co., 1903), 5-23, tells how the Pacific Circle Women of Woodcraft became officially recognized at the 5th Head Camp Session in San Francisco, August 26-September 2, 1898, after a 5-year history.
29. *Ritual of the Pacific Jurisdiction*, 63-72.
30. *Ibid.*

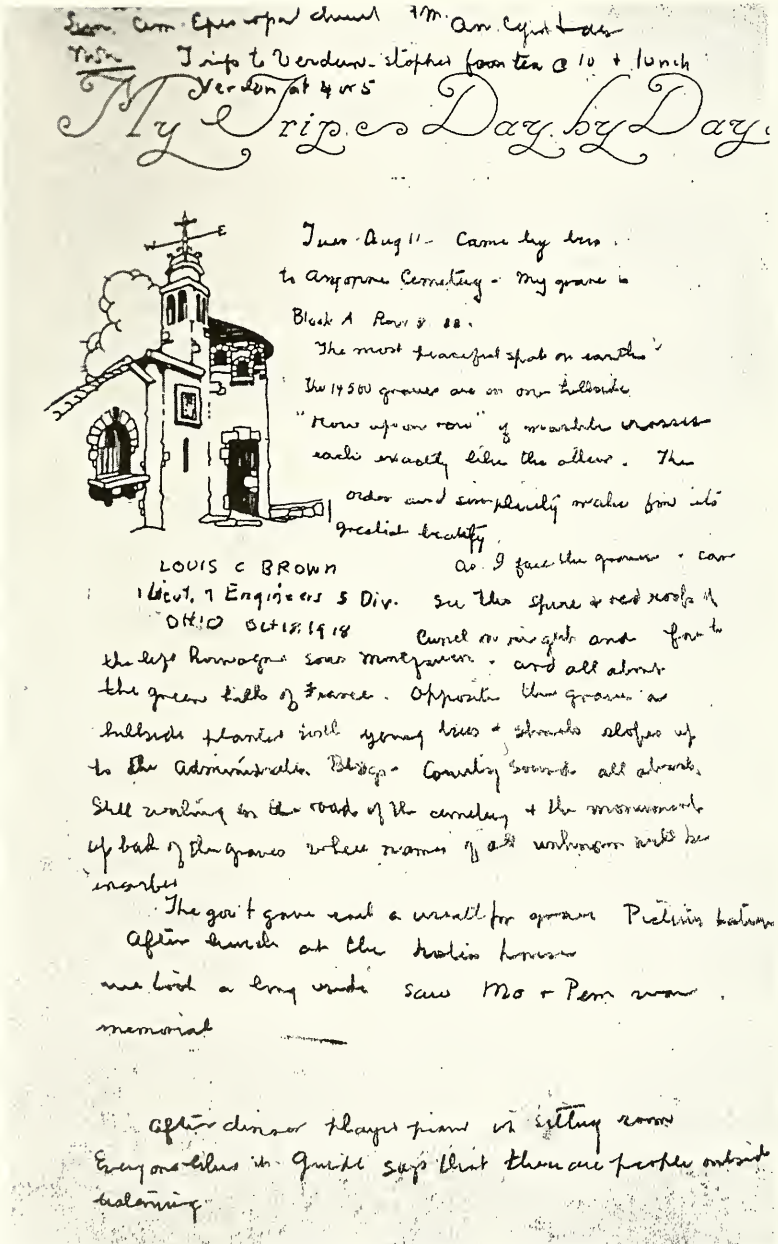


Fig. 1. Marion Brown's diary entry, August 11, 1931, during her Gold Star Pilgrimage to France.

MOURNING IN A DISTANT LAND: GOLD STAR PILGRIMAGES TO AMERICAN MILITARY CEMETERIES IN EUROPE, 1930-33

Lotte Larsen Meyer

Looking at her husband's grave in northern France for the first time on August 11, 1931, Marion Brown wrote in her diary (Fig.1), "The most beautiful spot on earth ... row upon row of marble crosses each exactly like the other. The order and simplicity make for it's greatest beauty." Facing his grave, she copied the words inscribed on his cross, "Louis C. Brown, 1 Lieut, 7 Engineers 5 Div. Ohio Oct 18, 1918," and went on to describe the landscape she saw to the right, left, and opposite of the grave. And she noted, "the government gave each a wreath for grave. Pictures taken."¹

Background

Marion's trip from Shreveport, Louisiana to the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery, located near the village of Romagne-Gesnes, was part of an unprecedented and emotional journey of mourning called the Gold Star Pilgrimage. U.S. Congressional legislation passed in March, 1929 invited 16,486 unmarried widows and mothers of American soldiers, sailors, and marines interred in American military cemeteries in Europe to travel abroad between 1930 and 1933 as guests of the United States government.²

Their final destination was the grave of a son or husband located in one of the eight World War I American military cemeteries in Europe (see Fig. 2) : six in France, and one each in England and Belgium. A few women were also escorted to isolated graves in Sicily, Romania, Ireland, Gibraltar, and southern France. Over \$5 million was appropriated (\$850 per person) to cover transportation, lodging, meals, medical needs, and touring costs of the four-week round trip from New York (including rail expenses from a woman's home town) . The U.S. Army's Quartermaster Corps, which had gained considerable experience supplying, transporting, and providing logistical support for the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) during the war, was directed to organize, guide, and manage the Pilgrimage.

Widows like Marion in their 40s, and mothers, mostly in their mid-60s, formed a community of mourners on a unique tour that took them from the far corners of America to Europe. Over a period of four years,

6,674 women from all walks of life, with varying health problems, some of whom had never traveled before or who spoke no English, shared seasickness, sightseeing, and new foods, roomed together in first-class accommodations, stood at the grave (Fig. 3) of a son/husband for the first time, and took away a wide variety of memories. For each woman it was a personal mission, and for the government that funded it, and the Army that directed it, the first opportunity to showcase their nearly completed war cemeteries and monuments overseas to a large group of civilians.

Marion's diary entries, along with letters, scrapbooks, and souvenirs from Bessie Shellenbarger, a Nebraska stepmother, and Alvaretta Taylor and Caroline Short, mothers from Washington and Oregon, shed light on how women recorded the Pilgrimage. Together with thousands of other women's voices recorded in newspaper stories, magazine articles, congressional testimony, government reports, and photographs, these materials capture a largely forgotten chapter in Depression-era history

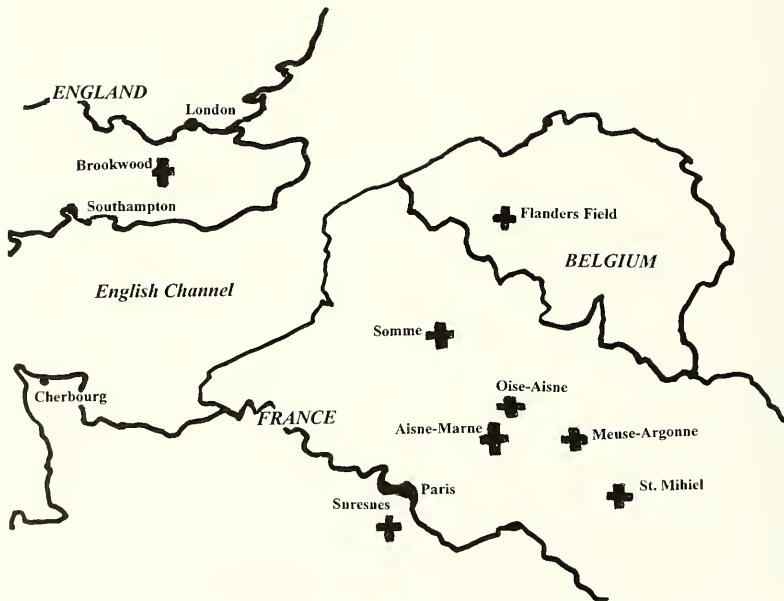


Fig. 2. Map of WWI American military cemeteries (marked with crosses) in France, Belgium, and England visited during Gold Star Pilgrimages, 1930-1933.



Fig. 3. Caroline Short by the grave of her son, Lloyd Short, at the Oise-Aisne American Cemetery, near Fere-en-Tardenois, France, July, 1930.

about how the nation commemorated its war dead in an organized Pilgrimage and how the pilgrims themselves reacted to it.³

Gold Star History

Marion Brown was a Gold Star Widow, but more than 95% of the pilgrims were Gold Star Mothers, so subsequent references in this essay to “Gold Star Mothers” will mean both mothers and widows. “Gold Star” meant that a husband, son, or daughter died serving in the American armed forces. The idea originated with the Women’s Committee of the Council for National Defenses, who suggested to President Woodrow Wilson in the Fall of 1918 that a gold star be added to the traditional black mourning armband to honor those who had made the supreme sacrifice for their nation. The gold star complimented the already existing blue star service flag which hung in home, school, and business windows to indicate that someone was on active duty in the armed forces. As soldiers died, the gold stars replaced blue ones on the service flag. In 1919, it was the image of a Gold Star Mother that the Victory Liberty Loan Committee chose for a fund-raising poster (Fig. 4). Praying to her service flag (which in this instance depicted his grave as well), she implored the nation to make sure “that that boy, and those other thousands, shall not have died in vain.”

Between 1918 and 1929, mothers of living, deceased, or disabled veterans founded organizations to remember their sons’ heroic actions, care for the disabled, and promote the needs of their mothers. Groups such as American War Mothers (AWM), Gold Star Association of America (GSAA), and American Gold Star Mothers (AGSM) promoted the erecting of war monuments in the United States and encouraged the care and maintenance of American military cemeteries overseas. Veterans organizations such as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars supported the work of all these groups, and during the Pilgrimage they gave mothers hundreds of wreaths to place on France’s Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on behalf of Legion chapters. Mothers were honored when Legion or VFW chapters chose their son’s name, if he had been the first soldier from their city killed in the war, for post names (such as, for example, the Delbert Reeves Post of Silverton, Oregon).

Various commemorative activities were sponsored in the 1920s by war mothers, as members of these groups were often called. Doughboy statues and other war monuments were erected across the country by AWM chapters, such as one in Salem, Oregon (Fig.5), J. Paulding’s “Over



In Honor of the Gold Stars

"My star—that turned to gold when my boy laid down his life to defend his mother, and all mothers. My golden star that my old eyes will always see shining in God's sky. And always when I lift my face to ask the Heavenly Father for strength to bear my burden, I see my boy's face smiling back to me across the grave.

"He did his duty! And how I prayed God that he might be strong even to the end."

Oh, Americans, make sure, by your self-sacrifice, that that boy, and those other thousands, shall not have died in vain. Do your duty, too, in an overwhelming subscription to the Victory Liberty Loan.

The war is won, but the bills must be paid. The success of the Victory Liberty Loan is our job. We are only lending, not giving, our money and our Government guarantees its return with interest. Buy today.

VICTORY LIBERTY LOAN COMMITTEE

Fig. 4. 1919 Poster, "In Honor of the Gold Stars," for the Victory Liberty Loan.



Fig. 5. Doughboy statue, "Over the Top to Victory,"
Salem, Oregon. Sculpted by J. Paulding.

the Top to Victory." Dedicated on Armistice Day, November 11, 1924, the names of Marion County's war dead were engraved around the pedestal. Surrogate gravestones, these statues became community grieving places, draped with wreaths and flags on Memorial Day and Armistice Day. The mothers of Delbert Reeves and Fay Walling, two of those named on the pedestal, went on the 1930 Pilgrimage, along with several other Marion County mothers. In May of 1925, AWM began its annual tradition of commemorating Mother's Day by laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery, and the following year they were given the right to fly a service flag, with a blue and gold star, over the U.S. Capitol on Armistice Day. During the same time period, District of Columbia Gold Star Mothers decorated the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Memorial Day (Fig. 6). The GSAA raised funds in 1924 to rebuild a school in Bony, France (Fig. 7) in memory of the soldiers that had fought or died in the 1918 Somme offensive (many of whose remains lie nearby in the Somme American Cemetery). In 1925 they organized a tour for 15 Gold Star Mothers to see American cemeteries and battlefields in Europe.

Pilgrimage Legislation

The Pilgrimage bill enacted in March, 1929 (Public Law 592) ended a decade of congressional debate on the topic. From 1919-1927, representatives from New York and Pennsylvania (where large numbers of Gold Star Mothers lived) introduced several different bills in the House Committee on Military Affairs, most of which died in committee for lack of consensus over questions of need, costs, who to include as pilgrims, and whether the Red Cross or the Army should organize it. The success of a bill introduced in September, 1927 and passed in March, 1929 owed everything to timing. Testifying in 1928, one mother urged that the Pilgrimage not occur "'till all the marble crosses are up in place."⁴ By early 1929, when the legislation was passed, work and landscaping on the eight American military cemeteries, which had begun in 1920, was nearly complete; unfinished were non-sectarian chapels at each one, on which the names of the missing in action were to be engraved on interior walls. Cemetery property was located on the same battlefield grounds American troops had fought and died on, and the nearby eleven war monuments, honoring particular campaign victories, were well along in their construction, though not all were completed. From the government's point of view, and probably most importantly from the Army's point of

view, since it had predicted ten years earlier that overseas battlefield cemeteries would become pilgrimage sites, the Pilgrimage was not only about visiting cemeteries. It was equally a pilgrimage to see the battlefields themselves, as was noted on the back of the Medal given to mothers when they sailed to France, and about honoring and paying respect to the mothers of fallen heroes.

The names of Mathilda Burling, Ethel Nock, and Effie Vedder are long forgotten, but they were eloquent spokeswomen for AWM and GSSA, lobbying Congress relentlessly for a decade to fund a trip for all mothers, like themselves, who had left a son overseas, many of whom were too poor to afford European travel. The trip was cast as a debt the nation owed mothers for having saved taxpayers millions by not repatriating bodies, and for the suffering, sacrifice, and sorrow mothers endured in the name of national defense. Burling testified that "it was the mothers who had won the war. America would not have had men and women ... to go forth if it had not been for mothers."⁵ Mothers were curious about

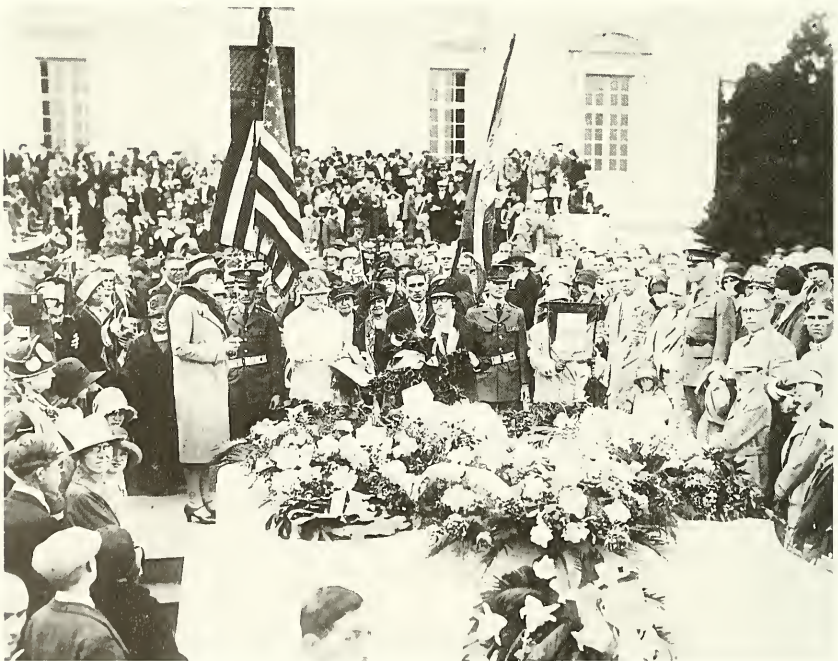


Fig. 6. District of Columbia Gold Star Mothers shown placing wreath on Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington National Cemetery, Memorial Day, 1927.

what the country their sons had fought for looked like, and they believed that their presence, together with the war mothers of France, would be a powerful catalyst for peace and the improvement of foreign relations with France.

Mothers who had already been abroad testified as to their feelings. One recalled that, upon seeing her son's grave, "I felt sorrow drop from me,"⁶ while another noted that when "I looked at those 14,000 crosses of young men, I thought surely our country must have been purified by their sacrifice, and I believe every mother will feel that."⁷ In 1924, Mrs Vedder pointed out "the mothers see all the time in the papers about the graves not being taken care of," and testified that they needed to verify that the government had not "broken faith" with them in caring for the graves of their sons. Congressmen vowed that the trip shouldn't be a "junket," and in response to that point Mrs. Vedder suggested a very simple itinerary: "I would like her to rest two nights at the cemetery and to have one night's rest in Paris, and then be brought back again. They do not care about the fine things of Europe; they never heard of them, most of them."⁸



Fig. 7. School (now the City Hall) built in Bony, France with funds raised by the Gold Star Association of America in 1924.

Outnumbering widows, Gold Star Mothers clearly saw themselves as the rightful beneficiaries of a pilgrimage. Mrs. Nock questioned whether remarried widows remained loyal to the memory of those who had died, and stated "... widows are not worthy. They married at the last moment. I fear that many of the widows are going with the thought of Paris." Explaining why widows had been left out of the 1924 bill, one congressman implied that wives' relationship with husbands "paled by comparison with the ones mothers had with their sons."⁹

These derogatory remarks about widows reflect the continuing influence in America of the "cult of motherhood." When Mother's Day became an official holiday in 1914, mothers were raised on a pedestal, and their stature only increased during the war, as motherhood and patriotism were linked in numerous ways. Many popular wartime songs – e.g., "I'll Return Mother Darling, to You" (1917), "A Mother's Prayer for Her Soldier Boy" (1918), etc. – stressed the importance of mother love, and General John J. Pershing reaffirmed the sanctity of motherhood by ordering all 500,000 AEF troops to send a Mother's Day letter home in 1918. Even the organizational names of AWM, GSAA, and AGSM stressed mothers (not wives, parents, or families), and their special observances at Arlington National Cemetery on Mother's Day (and later on Gold Star Mother's Day) connected mothers and war dead.

Restrictions in the 1929 bill disqualified remarried widows, anyone who had traveled to the grave before, fathers or those *in loco parentis*, and the families of aviators, army nurses, and the unknown and "missing in action" who died on land or were buried at sea (in ships that were torpedoed). The servicemen must have served in the American Expeditionary Forces and died between April 5, 1917 and July 1, 1921 (corresponding to the wartime service dates used to calculate WWI veterans benefits). The mother of American war poet Alan Seeger, who died in 1916 fighting with the French Foreign Legion at the Battle of the Somme, was ruled out of the pilgrimage by these means. Amendments passed in 1930 and 1931 added most of the disqualified groups back, though not remarried widows.

Cemetery Construction

Never before had the U.S. Congress paid for relatives to visit the distant graves of servicemen. Until the First World War, servicemen who died abroad were routinely returned to the United States for burial. In 1919, however, the War Department gave families of the 78,000 U.S. war

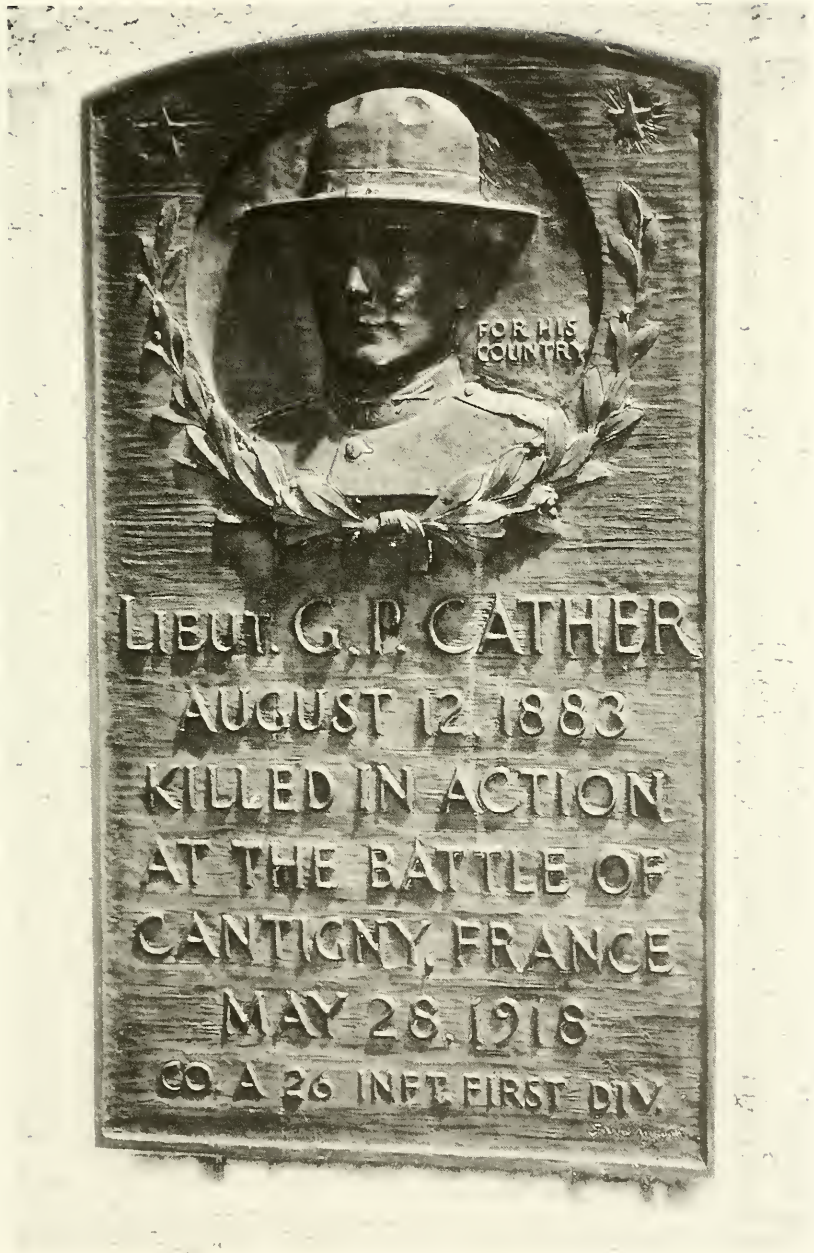


Fig. 8. Bronze plaque on gravemarker of G.P. Cather, East Lawn Cemetery, Bladen, Nebraska. Note the gold stars flanking the portrait.

dead a choice between repatriation or final burial overseas, resulting in a spirited national debate between the two factions, often referred to respectively as the “Bring Back the Dead Soldier League” and the “Field of Honor Association.”¹⁰ Between 1919 and 1922, 46,000 (or sixty percent) of the fallen were returned and reburied across America, with the government funding all repatriation costs, estimated to be between \$500 and \$1000 per body. Gravestones erected by families for repatriated bodies in hometown cemeteries ranged from simple to considerably elaborate, as for example the granite and bronze monument (Fig.8) for G. P. Cather, cousin of author Willa Cather, who served as the model for the hero, Claude Wheeler, in her Pulitzer Prize-winning 1922 novel about WWI, *One of Ours*. The monument for Cather, the first Nebraska officer to be killed in action, features a large bronze plaque with a bust of Cather in uniform, inscribed with specific information about how and where he died.

Families chose to let the other 30,792 (forty percent) remain overseas, often citing former president Theodore Roosevelt’s decision to let his son Quentin’s body remain in a French field where he died when his



Fig. 9. Memorial Stone for Private Charles J. Moser, Riverview Cemetery, Portland, Oregon. Moser’s body is buried in the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery, near Romagne-Gesnes, France.



Fig. 10. Marble crosses at Suresnes American Cemetery, near Paris, France, as seen in the 1990s.

airplane went down, saying “where the tree falls, let it lie.” His grave became a pilgrimage site to returning veterans, and later to the Gold Star Mothers.¹¹ Though a body was left overseas, many families still erected memorial stones in U.S. homeland cemeteries (e.g., Fig. 9), indicating how important it was to have a designated, accessible spot for mourning and remembrance. Edith Moser, mother of the fallen soldier commemorated in Figure 9, ultimately made the 1930 Pilgrimage to his real grave in the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery.

The “beautiful” cemeteries (e.g., Fig. 10) that the Gold Star women visited in the 1930s took ten years to complete. Work was initially carried out by the Army’s Graves Registration Service (GRS), a division of the Quartermaster Corps. Between 1919 and 1923, 2,400 hastily erected battle-field cemeteries were consolidated into eight, each grave marked by a wooden cross painted white (see Fig. 11). In 1923, the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) coordinated the final design, construction, and administration of the military cemeteries and nearby war monuments. Ranging in size from the largest with 14,000 graves (Meuse-Argonne in northern France) to the smallest with 366 (Flanders



Fig. 11. Wooden markers, painted white, that were adopted by a French woman (standing right). Suresnes American Cemetery, near Paris, France, Memorial Day, 1919.



Fig. 12. Upright tablet gravemarker for WWI soldier in Fort McPherson National Cemetery, Maxwell, Nebraska.

Field in Belgium), they serve, in the words of General Pershing, as a “perpetual reminder to our Allies of the liberty and ideals upon which the greatness of America rests.”¹²

Seeing rows of “pure white crosses” left a dramatic and indelible image upon the pilgrims, who had never seen any cemeteries like these before. Initially, the ABMC had planned to use the upright tablet design of the type used to mark war dead in domestic U.S. military cemeteries (e.g., Fig.12), but, under pressure from various groups, in 1924 they selected the cruciform shape. This configuration was deemed appropriate for its strong symbolic value, both patriotic and religious, denoting sacrifice, suffering, resurrection, and redemption.¹³ The crosses (Fig. 13), or, in the case of Jewish soldiers, Stars of David, were over three feet high and carved from white Carrara marble, with known graves inscribed with a set of uniform information and the crosses of unknown dead inscribed with the phrase “Here rests in honored glory / An American soldier / Known but to God.”

Care and maintenance of the graves was the responsibility of the GRS until 1923, after which date it was continued by the ABMC. At the same time many graves, especially at the Suresnes American Cemetery near



Fig. 13. Carrara marble crosses, with Star of David marker behind to the left. Suresnes American Cemetery, near Paris, France.

Paris, were “adopted” by French women (see Fig.11), schoolchildren, or whole towns. In 1920, a non-profit group in Paris, the American Overseas Memorial Day Association, began soliciting funds to decorate overseas graves and monuments with wreaths and flags. Nevertheless, as Mrs. Vedder pointed out in the Congressional hearings cited earlier, concern about cemetery neglect was a very real worry for relatives far away.

Throughout the 1920s, Gold Star relatives visited the cemeteries (which until 1930 would have been in various stages of construction and reburial), obtaining exact burial plot and location information from the Paris headquarters of the GRS: seven decades later, their database of war dead can be accessed on the ABMC website (www.abmc.gov). Doing research for her novel *One of Ours* in France in 1920, Willa Cather photographed her cousin’s grave ten miles from Cantigny, so that his mother could see the location before his repatriation. She stayed in a home registered with the Society for French Homes, a group which helped Americans find lodging in areas where there were no hotels.¹⁴ The Paris branch of the YWCA, concerned that American women would be fearful of traveling alone and unable to find lodging in rural France, offered their services as guides and operated several lodging facilities, called rest houses, near the cemeteries; these also served light meals.

Certain visitation similarities existed in the case of other Allied nations following the war. British relatives made numerous pilgrimages to the graves of their war dead, all of whom had been interred in a large number of small cemeteries near where they fell. They were aided by the St. Barnabas Society, founded in 1919, which ran inexpensive hostels near cemeteries and drove pilgrims to and from graves. A 1928 tour led by the British Legion, attracting 10,000 mothers and widows, was one of the largest.¹⁵ The French veterans ministry provided free transportation for any French war mother or widow to see the graves of their loved ones.

Pilgrimage Concept

As early as 1919, the War Department predicted that the new American military cemeteries in Europe would become “... a shrine which will be the object of pilgrimages for thousands of Americans now living.”¹⁶ But early pilgrimage bills used the phrase “transport for mothers,” or called on the Secretary of War to “arrange tours,” and not until 1927 did “to make a pilgrimage” become part of the language of the bill. Shortly before the legislation was introduced, the term “pilgrimage” was widely used in conjunction with the 25,000 American Legionnaires who came

to Paris in 1927 for their annual convention. General Pershing called it "the greatest good will pilgrimage in history," while others termed it a "pilgrimage of remembrance."¹⁷

The pairing of the word "pilgrimage" with Gold Star Mothers added religious and patriotic associations that "transport" and "tour" lacked. In articles, speeches, photograph captions, and editorial cartoons, the Pilgrimages were often called "holy" or "sacred"; the graves were "shrines" or "sacred dust"; soldiers were "heroes"; and the cemeteries were "hallowed" or "consecrated" grounds. The noble mothers were "pious pilgrims" in "solemn procession," on a "journey of devotion" or "journey of hope." More importantly, "pilgrimage" captured the notion of quest and longing.

War grave pilgrimage, according to Tony Walter, is "less a religious experience and more an emotional catharsis."¹⁸ But the preceding examples show that war graves and military cemeteries do take on sacred overtones, a form of "civic religion" honoring the sacrifices of the war dead. Pilgrimage implies a powerful longing to see something, a separation and journey away from home, a shared experience and widening of horizons in a foreign setting, and a catharsis or relief that heals the longing. Individually, each mother just wanted to see a grave, but collectively, in a community of mourners grieving for soldiers who died in an Allied victory, she represented much more to the nation. In this sense, mothers were pilgrims "remembering and honoring" the fallen heroes.¹⁹

The Pilgrimage occurred in three stages: (1) departure by train to New York and ocean voyage to France; (2) arrival and realization of the quest via sightseeing in Paris and visiting cemeteries and battlefields; and (3) return home. As it was intended to be a "pilgrimage of remembrance," the army insured that throughout the trip ceremonies would honor and remember all the fallen heroes of the United States and France, and also that itineraries would include sites associated with the war and show how the war was being commemorated by the U.S. and France for generations to come. Except for Brookwood (in England) and Suresnes (just outside of Paris), all the cemeteries lay in the former battle zones, so each group was able not only to see the spots where their sons or husbands fought and died, but also places such as Verdun, The Sacred Way, and the battleground of The Lost Battalion, legendary WWI pilgrimage sites in northern France. The primary goal was always remembrance and honoring the dead, individually and collectively, with sightseeing sec-

ondary. But in the way the trips were organized, the two became intertwined and blurred, so that sightseeing formed a necessary step in making the Pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage Itineraries

In February of 1930, Congress appropriated more than \$5 million for the trips. A random drawing by President Herbert Hoover's wife determined which state delegations would leave first, and the Quartermaster Corps began final preparations for the pilgrimages to begin May 7, 1930. First-class accommodations in trains, hotels, and passenger liners were booked, and more than fifty army officers, drivers, interpreters, guides, nurses, and doctors were specially selected for tact, courtesy, and patience to accompany the groups.

All pilgrimages followed the same itinerary. State delegations traveled by train from their hometowns to New York City, where they enjoyed a day of sightseeing. They were combined with other state delegations to form parties of 100-250 pilgrims and boarded passenger ships, owned by the United States Lines, that sailed from Hoboken, New Jersey to Cherbourg, France (or Southampton, England, if going to Brookwood). In 1930, ships left the U.S. every two weeks from May through August. At Cherbourg, trains took them to Paris, where they were divided into smaller groups of 14-30 based on cemetery destination. Five to seven days of ceremonies, sightseeing, and resting in Paris were interspersed with five to seven additional days spent visiting cemeteries and battlefields. Returning by train to Cherbourg, they boarded a ship back to New York, and from there caught trains home. Not counting train travel in the U.S., the trip lasted about one month. Twenty pilgrimage trips, also called parties or contingents, and identified alphabetically A through T, were taken in 1930; succeeding years had fewer trips as fewer women participated.

Tender, loving care went into packing treasured objects that would be left at the graves. Advised in advance that cemetery regulations did not permit artificial flowers, many mothers brought flowers with them, knowing they would wither and fade, but would be a reminder of something "from home." One brought flower seeds to plant, only to be disappointed later upon learning that cemetery regulations prohibited grave personalization in this way. Some mothers also took letters from their sons' former girlfriends, or framed mottos and photographs, and women from Minnesota brought tiny boxes of state soil, as did pilgrims from

Florida. One widow brought a flask of water from her husband's favorite swimming hole.

The women became celebrities in their hometowns. Local papers gave substantial front page coverage to their departures and returns, and often published their pictures standing at graves. At bon voyage parties, sponsored by groups like the American Legion Auxiliary, they received travel gifts, such as diaries and money to purchase additional flowers for graves. In her diary, Marion Brown noted the gifts she had received – money, several flower bouquets, fresh fruit, a wristwatch, stationary, and a “box of gifts to be opened each day from the ‘Goldfinch Club.’” Women in Minneapolis were advised at a luncheon on what to wear, and to bring cameras, keep diaries, and save souvenirs.

Wearing special Gold Star identification badges (Fig.14), mothers boarded trains for New York, embarking on the first stage of the Pilgrimage. Many were accompanied by younger relatives – daughters, daughters-in-law, sweethearts of their sons – who paid their own way. Alvaretta Taylor noted that “twelve of us mothers from Spokane occupied one sleeping car ... and we enjoyed every bit of scenery.”²⁰ Marion



Fig. 14. Gold Star Pilgrimage ID Badge (left), and commemorative medal (right).

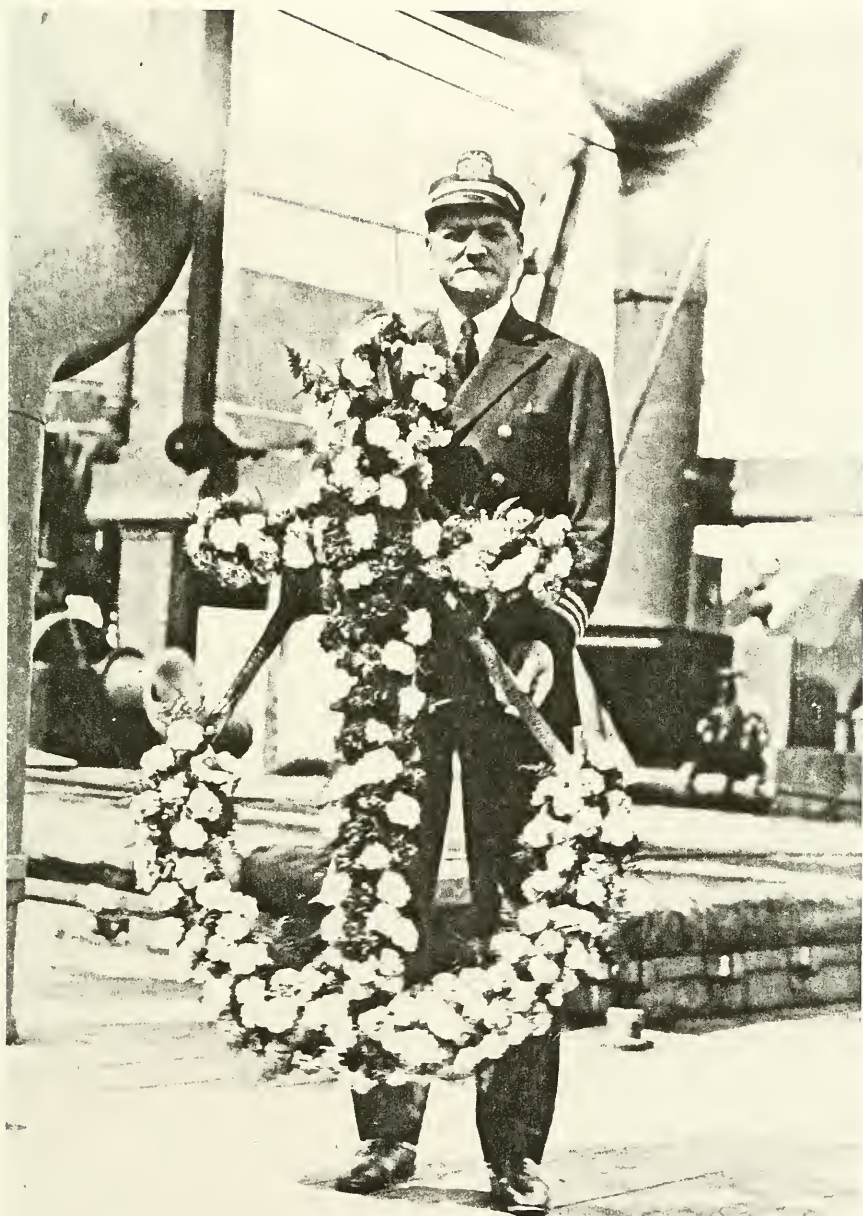


Fig. 15. Floral anchor wreath honoring all servicemen lost at sea, dropped in the Atlantic ocean May 30, 1930 from the S.S. Roosevelt.

Brown described how “the city of New York gave each one of us – one at a time – a small silk American flag.”

The week-long ocean voyage to France was filled with entertainment and ceremonial occasions. Marion described how each woman was presented with a medal (see Fig.14), a gift from the U.S. Lines, with the words “Mrs. ... it is an honor to present you with this medal.” Designed by Tiffany, the front of the medal shows a gold star above a ship sailing between the Statue of Liberty and the Eiffel tower, as well as the year of the pilgrimage. Wording on the reverse side reads, “Gold Star Pilgrimage to the Battlefields of the World War.” Earlier Marion had sung hymns such as “Onward Christian Soldiers” and “Holy Holy” and listened to prayers and a bugler playing taps at a ceremony honoring all servicemen lost at sea. “Impressive” was Alvaretta’s reaction to the same ceremony on her ship, and she saved a photograph (Fig.15) of the anchor-shaped poppy wreath that was dropped in the ocean by the oldest mother. Many mothers missed activities because of seasickness, but



Fig. 16. Gold Star Mothers at the wreath-laying ceremony at France’s Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Paris, 1933.



Fig. 17. Completed in 1923, the Memorial Cloister in the American Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Paris commemorates the services of all Americans who served in WWI.

others enjoyed concerts, masquerades, movies, and festive dinners with the captain.

Disembarking at Cherbourg for a train to Paris, they began the second stage: ceremonies, receptions, sightseeing, and cemetery and battlefield visits. On the train through Normandy, Caroline Short was amazed that the “scenery was beautiful, so unlike anything I had seen” and that she got “glimpses of the red poppies.”²¹ Bessie Shellenbarger received a picture of her party laying a wreath at France’s Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris (Fig. 16) on behalf of the Gold Star Mothers of America, a ceremony repeated by every party.²² Marion Brown described the ceremony: “we stood in a rectangular formation while it was done ... everything was very quiet and dignified.” At an official welcoming reception at Café Laurent, where Alvaretta Taylor says “French war mothers met us,” each mother was given a tiny parcel of French soil wrapped in flags of the United States and France. Caroline wrote that various American and French dignitaries “spoke to us with touching gratitude of our boys.” Speakers, including General Pershing and the American ambassador, thanked them for leaving their sons and husbands overseas, reassuring them that graves were well cared for, and that the Pilgrimage would bring France and America closer together, thereby echoing themes aired at earlier hearings for the Pilgrimage.

In addition to the cemeteries, the tour itinerary was carefully selected to promote understanding of America’s role in the War, and to illustrate the long-standing Franco-American friendship. They saw the railway car near Compiegne where the armistice was signed, the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles, where President Wilson signed the Peace Treaty, and they toured restoration projects financed by John D. Rockefeller, Fontainebleau, Rheims Cathedral (which had been heavily damaged in the War), and Versailles. In Paris, they were given a tour of the Memorial Cloister (Fig.17) at the American Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, viewing the plaques dedicated to all the American troops and volunteers who had served in WWI, and they were driven past a monument that symbolized the beginning of Franco-American friendship – Bartholdi’s 1873 statue of General Washington and General Lafayette shaking hands.

About Paris, Bessie wrote: “Paris is great – no wood buildings ... Everything is lovely ... but everything here is strange and any way it isn’t home.” Like their sons and husbands before them, as tourists the mothers saw all the major sights, but as Alvaretta lamented, “we just had two hours” at the Louvre. Caroline’s complaint that “they don’t serve

our kind [of coffee] in France. I can't drink it" was very common, leading to one headline which read, "U.S. Mothers can't Stand Paris Coffee."²³ In Rheims, located in the center of the Marne Valley's champagne-producing area, both Bessie and Marion walked in the champagne cellars, but since the Pilgrimage years occurred during Prohibition, many other women rejected the champagne tour, as they did wine and desserts laced with rum. However, as had been predicted in the hearings, the sights and shops of Paris were not really important: as one mother put it, "I'm not here to buy clothes. I came here to see the grave of my boy ..."²⁴

Seeing that "special" grave was the highlight for most of the pilgrims. Organized into small groups of 14-30 mothers whose sons were buried in the same place (Fig. 18), they were driven by cars (accompanied by nurses, guides, and army officers) to the American cemeteries whose names they had long been trying to pronounce: Oise-Aisne, Suresnes, St. Mihiel, Meuse-Argonne, Flanders Field, Somme, and Aisne-Marne. Staying in hotels near their cemetery destination, each mother was given



Fig. 18. Gold Star pilgrims who accompanied Bessie Shellenbarger (far left, second row) to the Somme American Cemetery, near Bony, France, in 1933.

four to five visits to the cemetery. Afterwards, tea or lunch was served at hostess houses constructed at three of the cemeteries or at a nearby café. Some towns, like St. Quentin, near the Somme cemetery, held receptions for each group and presented each mother with a souvenir certificate such as the one Bessie pasted in her scrapbook (Fig. 19). Besides seeing their "special" graves, most groups visited several other American military cemeteries, and many were driven to the village of Chamery, where they picked wild poppies and placed them on Quentin Roosevelt's isolated grave.

Arriving at the cemetery for the first of several visitations, an officer gave each woman a complimentary wreath, saying to her, "I have the privilege of presenting you with this wreath in the name of the U.S. government in honor of the services of your son," and then escorted her to the appropriate grave, which already had been decorated with French and American flags. Camp chairs were available to sit by the grave. Mothers paid for subsequent wreaths or used those given to them at receptions. Bessie's group, for example, was given flowers by the King of Belgium, and her group "asked to have the flowers from the King placed on some of the unknown graves." Each woman was photographed at her grave as a souvenir, and these photos appeared in numerous U.S. newspapers. Aside from photographers, and nurses and officers discreetly standing in the background, women were left alone to pray and place treasured objects from home upon the grave. The multiple visits were appreciated because at the first visit they were overcome by grief, but in subsequent visits were better able to appreciate the time spent there. The bittersweet nature of the last visit was noted by Marion – "our last trip to the Argonne Cemetery" – and Bessie – "it's hard to think it would be for the last time – which it will – for the most of us."

The superintendent at each cemetery gave a tour. At the Meuse-Argonne Cemetery, Alvaretta learned that "at present trees and shrubs are planted among the graves, but when the Pilgrimage is all over, they are going to remove them, for fear that the constant shadow might cause the marble to turn grey." In 1931, Marion saw unfinished chapels "where all the names of the unknown [i.e., those missing in action] will be inscribed, " but by 1933 Bessie saw completed chapel walls (e.g., Fig.20) "with the names of the unknown soldiers carved in gold on the walls."

"A part of each day," Alvaretta noted, "we spent driving over some of the battlefields, viewing shellholes, trenches, and dugouts. We saw acres of land with the barbed wire entanglements still up." Bessie wrote:



Fig. 19. Bessie Shellenbarger (top) at grave of her stepson, Abraham Shellenbarger, in the Somme American Cemetery, near Bony, France. A certificate (bottom) was presented to her by St. Quentin's City Hall.

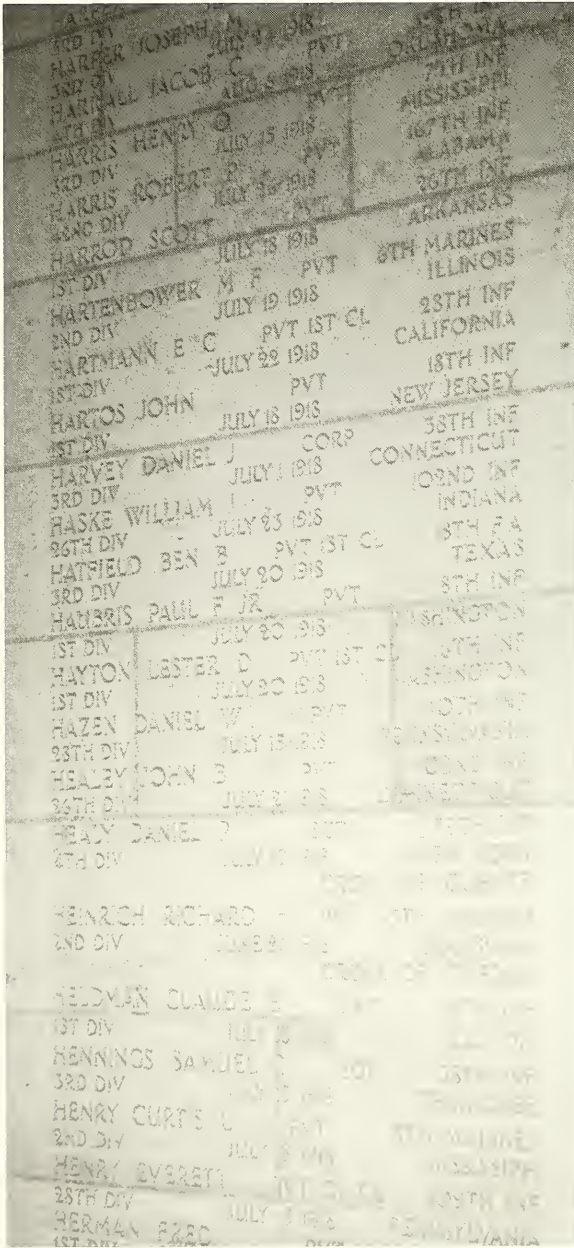


Fig. 20. The names of soldiers missing in action engraved on the chapel wall at the Aisne-Marne American Cemetery, near Belleau, France.

"passed by the battlefield yesterday where Abie [her stepson, Abraham Shellenbarger] was killed, saw the monument erected in honor of First Division. His name is on the monument." Marion described driving past the place where her husband had been mortally wounded: "Captain Lake told me just where Andom Creek is and knew all about the work of the 7th Engineers on October 16, 1918 [two days after her husband was wounded, and two days before he died] ... that bridge [where he had been wounded] was in Romagne near the road we traversed."

Photographs and drawings of Gold Star Mothers standing or kneeling at crosses became the dominant image associated with the Pilgrimage. Even on the covers of contemporary sheet music, such as that for the 1930 song, "Gold Star Mother" (Fig. 21), the image appeared, and in this instance it was repeated in the lyrics, sung by a deceased son to his mother: "Mother of mine, kneel beside my cross and whisper love as of old."²⁵ Numerous editorial cartoons published either in early May at the beginning of the Pilgrimage, or near the Memorial Day weekend, also depicted solitary kneeling mothers at a cross, or in some cases a group of standing women approaching crosses with wreaths in their arms.

As the hearings had predicted, the Pilgrimage brought about renewed pleas for peace. The sight of so many crosses led many mothers to urge women everywhere to visit the cemeteries to understand the devastation of war, and they felt that the acres of graves were a statement for peace. Alvaretta was shocked by what she saw: "No one has any idea what those French people suffered unless you go and see. My heart ached for them." Seeing crowds of French war mothers weeping at Cherbourg when they disembarked helped Gold Star Mothers realize a common bond. Two poems, published in newspapers near Memorial Day, 1930, also included peace themes. Edward Markham's "Our Pilgrim Mothers in France" ends with the lines "swear now that battle bells shall cease / swear in his name, whose name is Peace!" Another poem, "To Kiss the Cross," concludes with a couplet emphasizing the same pair of rhymed words: "And on all lips a silent prayer that war's grim toll shall cease / that men will tend with watchful care the precious doves of peace."²⁶ For others, the Pilgrimage was a signal for isolationism. As one Memorial Day editorial stated:

... too many acres of white crosses ... too many mothers ... each mother must come home leaving there her son killed in a quarrel America did not start in a war that was not our war ... our country wants no traitorous nonsense

about 'guaranteeing the peace of Europe' which could mean killing the sons of other American mothers in the quarrels of foreigners.²⁷

GOLD STAR MOTHER

WORDS AND MUSIC
By
RUSSELL B RUTTER



Fig. 21. Sheet music cover for song "Gold Star Mother", written in 1930.

Even before the War was over, crosses and poppies had become inextricably linked as symbols of the soldier dead with the lines "In Flanders Fields the poppies blow / between the crosses, row on row" from John McCrae's famous 1915 poem. Familiar with the poem and the paper "buddy poppy" sold on Memorial Day since the early 1920s to benefit disabled veterans, mothers were delighted to actually see real poppies. Caroline saw them from the train, as did Bessie, who noted: "nice fields of poppies everywhere – no wonder they call this Flanders Field." At cemeteries, they picked poppies to take home as pressed souvenirs or to place on Quentin Roosevelt's grave, and during the battlefield tour Alvaretta noticed that "wild poppies abound throughout this section of the country." Those mothers that left home before Memorial Day wore paper poppies on their coats, were given poppy wreaths by delegations that met their trains, watched airplanes drop thousands of paper poppies over the first ship to depart on May 7, 1930, and laid poppy wreaths from hometown veterans organizations at France's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Inevitably, newspaper headlines such as "Row on Row, They Await the Pilgrims" linked the Pilgrimage with the poppies as well.²⁸

For a few, the quest was not to be realized. Some died on the way to France, or were hospitalized immediately after arriving, returning home without having visited the cemeteries. One mother's last wish was granted: before falling into a coma and dying, she told doctors she hoped to die in the country where her son lay. Even for those who achieved their goal, a few had heart attacks or died within days of seeing the grave, while others fractured bones and ankles. Supported by a nurse and an officer, one woman visited her son's grave the day after a heart attack.

Return and Aftermath

The return voyage marked the final Pilgrimage stage: review and assessment of what the experience had meant. Sailing back, mothers frequently distributed and read poems about what the Pilgrimage had meant to them, and Caroline saved an untitled poem (Fig. 22) that someone in her group had written. Just before returning, she wrote to a relative, "I'm so glad I came and so is everyone else they did."²⁹ At the same time, like most tourists after a hectic tour, Alvaretta reflected: "we had seen so much ... were eager to be home again, just to rest, we were so tired."

Treasured souvenirs were carefully unpacked. From gravesites they took away pressed flowers, grass, stones, soil, and flags. All received official photographs taken during their visit, and many, like Caroline,

*Written for the
Gold Star Mothers of Group K., No. 11.*

As a band of Gold Star Mothers
 We crossed the deep blue sea,
 To view the spot of our loved ones
 Who sleep in France so peacefully.

Our boys were ours for a few short years
 They were so manly, true and brave,
 Strong minded, alert and quick to perceive
 Their help was needed, our Country to save

As the cry of war rang o'er our land
 Our hopes and fears within us grew,
 We prayed alone to God above
 That he might spare our boys so true.

We watched them in their eagerness
 To volunteer to go and fight,
 To save the homeland, which they loved
 From cruel power as dark as night.

And as we neared the sacred spot
 Of those we held so dear,
 We prayed to God to give us strength
 And help us now our grief to bear.

We placed a wreath of lovely flowers
 Upon the sod which covers o'er
 A youthful form in memory
 Now gone from us for evermore.

As we leave behind us beautiful France
 The land where the Poppies grow,
 Our hearts and minds will ever be
 With the people there, we learned to know

This Pilgrimage was planned for us
 By the courtesy of Uncle Sam,
 And we want to thank him heartily
 For all the eggs and bacon and ham.

So let us be joyful, as home we go
 Remember our boys used to say,
 "We'll go Over the Top with a big hurrah
 For the proud old U. S. A."

Poetry written by
 Mrs. Sophia Harrison York, Pine River, Minne-
 Gold Star Mother.
 On Board
 S. S. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Fig. 22. Untitled poem, "Written for the Gold Star Mothers of Group K, No. 11," by Mrs. Sophia Harrison.

brought back a packet of postcards from the places they had seen. In Paris, they might have purchased a souvenir doughboy tin hat that said "Souvenir of the Gold Star Visit." Marion's souvenirs included her diary, unidentified flowers she pressed in her diary, and a postcard from Verdun where she had stayed (Fig. 23). In the diary she listed gifts she bought in Paris for friends and relatives – twelve handkerchiefs, two spoons, five bottles of perfume, and two dolls.

Grateful mothers returned home to write thank you letters to President Herbert Hoover (and President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933), the Quartermaster Corps, and the Secretary of War about their "wonderful, unforgettable, and grandest time of my life" experiences. Marion's handwritten letter to Secretary of War Patrick Hurley speaks for them all:

I cannot refrain from expressing my thanks and appreciation individually. Nearly three months have passed since our return ... I realize more the benefits – both to my spirit and health – received from that sacred journey. Those of you who planned and executed it all made it ever delightful and interesting beyond my greatest expectations ... I should like to ... praise ... the officers of our army who were our escorts ... they left nothing undone for our welfare and seemed always alert to do all possible for our interests and pleasures as well.³⁰

Eager to share their memories, they were featured speakers at chapter meetings of AWM, and submitted articles to the organization's monthly magazine, *American War Mother*. Local newspapers, anxious to cover local heroines, published numerous accounts. One of the few mothers to be personally escorted to a remote grave in southern France was Mrs. Mary Walling. Her son, Fay, whose name is inscribed upon the Salem, Oregon Doughboy monument (Fig. 5), had married a Frenchwoman and was buried in her town. Mrs. Walling's "wonderful but sad" trip, as recounted in a local newspaper, "was all very new and very strange ... there was much sadness in it all ... [France] is so far behind us ... I would rather live in Oregon."³¹ Mrs. Fred Reeves, whose son's name is also inscribed upon the base of the Salem Doughboy, was pleased at "seeing the places in France which in her imagination she had so often pictured," and the cordial reception where "[we were] received with open arms and tears of love from a kindred sorrow in the hearts of mothers of France ..."³²

Participation and press coverage dropped dramatically after 1930. Of the 6,674 women that went on the Pilgrimage, 3,600 went in 1930, 1,766 in 1931, 566 in 1932 and 712 in 1933. In 1930, only those whose sons had an

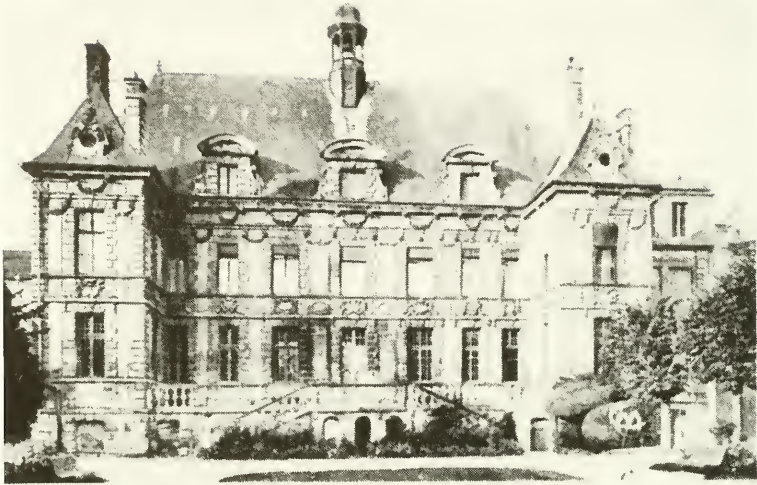


Fig. 23. Souvenirs from Marion Brown's 1931 Gold Star Pilgrimage: postcard from Verdun, and unidentified pressed flowers.

identified grave participated; but beginning in 1931, eligibility rules changed to allow for mothers whose sons had no marked graves (the missing at sea or on land) or whose aviator sons were buried at the Lafayette Escadrille monument to aviators. Of the total eligible for the Pilgrimage, a greater number declined than participated, and it is interesting to speculate as to why 9,812 women chose not to go. Factors might have included health, not wanting to reopen painful memories, and economic issues such as not being able to afford a month away from a job or being the primary breadwinner or caregiver for older husbands or disabled sons.³³

The Pilgrimage was not without protests and complaints. Just as black soldiers had been segregated during the war into separate divisions, their mothers suffered similar treatment. Of the forty-eight individual pilgrimages, six were made up exclusively of black mothers. The Army's decision to transport, house, and give them "separate but equal" tours damaged race relations and led to many cancellations, a protest petition to President Hoover, and considerable press attention and criticism. The situation inspired black poet James Weldon Johnson to dedicate a new poem, "St. Peter Relates an Incident at the Resurrection Gate", to the Gold Star Mothers. In the poem, St. Peter discovers that the Unknown Soldier buried at Arlington National Cemetery is black.³⁴

Critics of the Pilgrimage charged that mothers could have repatriated bodies like everyone else, and during the 1929 hearings called it "a flagrant misappropriation of public funds," arguing that "Our government should not attempt to perform so sentimental and questionable a service which is highly objectionable to American ideals."³⁵ In 1930, one mother said, "many of us feel that we would be better off if we just had the money instead or part of it," alluding to a failed suggestion to give \$850.00 to mothers who chose not to go.³⁶ Other failed amendments would have included trips for Gold Star Mothers whose loved ones were buried in distant graves in the United States or for mothers of disabled veterans to compensate them for their loss. The Gold Star Mothers who brought their sons home – and who greatly outnumbered the ones who went on the Pilgrimage – received no compensation whatsoever. In letters to the editor, writers condemned money spent on mothers instead of disabled veterans, and in 1933, at the height of the Depression, asked, "Is there no way to stop this squandering of public funds? Many of us are actually hungry and insufficiently clothed."³⁷

The Gold Star Pilgrimages ended in 1933. That summer the phenomenon was reexamined through the lens of Hollywood. John Ford's film



Fig. 24. Peace Monument dedicated to the Gold Star Mothers, Greenwood, Wisconsin. Sculpted by Ernest During.

Pilgrimage, adapted from a 1932 short story with the same title, showed, in soap opera fashion, how the Pilgrimage transformed and redeemed one Gold Star Mother's life.³⁸ In 1936, Congress designated the last Sunday in September as Gold Star Mothers Day, allowing members of the AGSM to continue the commemoration they had held unofficially since 1930 of placing a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery on behalf of the Unknown Mother. Residents of Greenwood, Wisconsin dedicated a Peace Monument (Fig. 24) to the Gold Star Mothers in 1937. When the U.S. Postal Service issued the Gold Star Mothers stamp on September 21, 1948, to coincide with Gold Star Mothers Day, some first day covers recalled the facts of the Pilgrimage on a gold star service flag (Fig. 25). Two new organizations, The Blue Star Mothers of America (1942) and Gold Star Wives (1945), were founded to address constituencies without organizations. However, by the 1990s membership in AWM and AGSM had dwindled to 850 and 2,000 for the respective organizations.

Conclusion

Besides being pilgrims, the mothers had been tourists, much like their sons were "as much tourists as soldiers ..."³⁹ Just as Mrs. Wheeler, the fictional Gold Star Mother in Willa Cather's *One of Ours*, learned from her son's letters that "France [was] better than any country can ever be,"⁴⁰

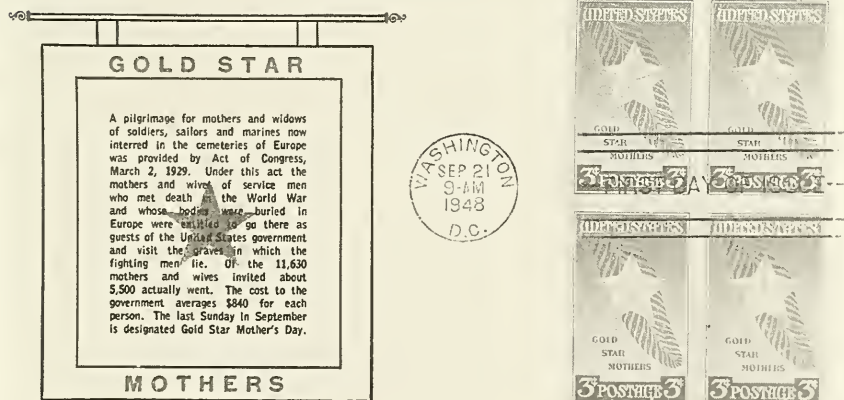


Fig. 25. First day postal cover for Gold Star Mothers commemorative stamp, issued Sept. 21, 1948.

real Gold Star Mothers like Bessie Wells of Portland, Oregon first learned about France from her sons letters: " ... The French worship the Americans ... I can speak enough French to get a good square meal ... last night I had a delightful time ... investigate[d] a beautiful chateau ..."⁴¹ Twelve years later, Mrs. Wells discovered France on her own in the 1930 Pilgrimage.

"The most beautiful spot on earth." Over and over, words similar to what Marion Brown had written were echoed by other women in other WWI American military cemeteries. "This cemetery," said one, "so beautifully and carefully tended, is worthy of the government for which he died. I want to send a message to all Mothers in America that I am proud of the place where my son lies."⁴² It is important to remember that most mothers had never seen a cemetery anything like St. Mihiel (Fig. 26) or any of the other American military cemeteries overseas. The "order and simplicity" that Marion noted did make them stand out as dramatic statements. Back home in America, cemeteries were a visual hodgepodge of gravestone designs and types of stone, and while marble stones were common, they were seldom carved in the form of crosses. Nor were lush green lawns and carefully planned landscaping and fountains always found in American small town cemeteries. Comparing the cramped rows of tightly packed thin wooden crosses, laid out in rows back to back at Suresnes American Cemetery in 1919 (Fig. 11), with the spacious layout of marble crosses in the same cemetery in 1930 (Fig. 10), it is clear that had the pilgrimage bill passed before the cemeteries were complete pilgrims would not have been impressed nearly so much.

The "wonderful, though sad" act of finally standing at graves they had longed to see for twelve years or more brought solace, and satisfaction that their sons were not forgotten and would receive perpetual care in a dignified setting. And, it provided relief, in the poetic words of Sophia Harrison (Fig. 22) "to let us be joyful as home we go." The Gold Star Pilgrimages of the 1930s were, from the pilgrims' point of view, a stunning achievement, ending a decade-long quest. Both the concerns and desires aired in the Congressional hearings were dealt with. What mothers said to reporters, wrote in diaries, or put in thank you letters to the government showed that they returned relieved that the cemeteries were "in lovely shape," as Bessie Shellenbarger put it, that the government had not "broken faith" with them, and that, by seeing France, they were satisfied to know where a son's last months or years were spent. As pilgrims had done for centuries, they achieved their quest by seeing, walk-

St. Mihiel American Cemetery and Memorial



The American Battle Monuments Commission

Fig. 26. Brochure for the St. Mihiel American Cemetery,
Thiaucourt, France.

ing, meeting new people, and being tested. They saw the waste of war, and many monuments commemorating their sons' heroic victories. All the mothers walked to the graves of their sons, and were tested by strenuous scheduling, new foods and beverages, seasickness, different surroundings and customs, endless ceremonies, and by being surrounded by strangers in a land many of them called strange. While having satisfied the desire to see a grave, the pilgrimage would never erase the pain of having lost a loving son or beloved husband.

As unifying symbols of a country, flags played an important symbolic role throughout the Pilgrimage. In New York, flags were lowered to half mast when the mothers arrived at City Hall to receive tiny silk American flags. Official photographs on board the passenger liners show all mothers waving large U.S. flags. Arriving at Cherbourg, they noticed buildings and train stations decked with French and American flags and bunting. The Café Laurent in Paris, where all mothers went for their first official reception, was "flag draped." As they arrived at each cemetery, mothers would have seen an American flag flying on a central flagpole, and the grave they walked to was marked by French and American Flags. When Oregon's Mrs. Reeves returned from the Pilgrimage, she, like others, sent a form to the Quartermaster Corps to receive an eleven by five inch complimentary U.S. flag.

"All honor to the mothers of victory"⁴³: General Pershing's remarks to the Gold Star Mothers at the first official Paris reception combined three words that reflected the government's goals during the pilgrimage – honor, mothers, and victory. Since 1919, the War Department had wanted to design overseas cemeteries that would honor the dead, recognize American victories, and attract pilgrims, and in the Gold Star Pilgrimages they realized their goals of showcasing their achievements for the first time to a large audience. And credit should be given to General Pershing, who like most of those in the Army opposed repatriation, and who, by moving from being Commander-in-Chief of the AEF to Chairman of the ABMC, played a large role in shaping the War Department's dream. In another speech at the same reception, the mothers were promised that "Our government, rendering homage to the sacrifices that you have made ... wishes to do all in its power to make your welcome worthy of your noble efforts."⁴⁴ The government showered the pilgrims with gratitude for the sons and husbands who had died in a victorious war, in a multitude of ways that made them feel like special dignitaries: through speeches like those cited above that recognized the sacrifices the moth-

ers made; by including the word “honor” in official ceremonies; by honoring their fallen sons or husbands with impressive cemeteries and monuments; through the provision of first-class travel arrangements; and by providing, courtesy of the Quartermaster Corps, the highest quality of attentive care. The French also honored the women, telling them over and over how grateful they were that their sons or husbands had helped to save France.

Although Congress never introduced another pilgrimage bill, the legacy of the Gold Star Pilgrimages continues, albeit not to see graves, since overseas military burial has not been practiced since the aftermath of World War II. Working with the American Gold Star Mothers, various private donors, including many Vietnam veterans, have financed trips, such as Operation Gold Star, to allow a small number of Gold Star Mothers to tour Vietnam or visit the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C.

Though Marion, Caroline, Bessie, Alvaretta, and all the other Gold Star pilgrims died long ago, their words, descriptions, and souvenirs have remained, allowing them to share with generations to come a story about an unforgettable Pilgrimage. Together, these women formed a unique community of mourners in a distant land – pilgrims from cities and small towns all across America who came together to stand beside the graves of their loved ones who had died in this country’s first large-scale commitment to a war waged upon foreign soil.

NOTES

This article is dedicated to my husband, Richard Meyer, whose work on and travels to World War One cemeteries in France and Belgium inspired my own interests in the Gold Star Pilgrimages, and to the Gold Star women who carefully recorded their observations and saved valuable souvenirs of an unforgettable experience. I am deeply appreciative of Richard’s unwavering support and enthusiasm for turning what began as a conference paper into a lengthy research article, his generosity in locating source material such as medals, sheet music, and posters, and his thoughtfulness in making me aware of the diary owned by Sam Harper, all of which have been critical in expanding and developing my focus. The author wishes to thank the following individuals or institutions for their permission to quote from or use photographs from the Gold Star Pilgrimage diaries, scrapbooks, letters, and other materials in their collections: Sam Harper of Tullahoma, Tennessee, for Marion Frost Brown’s diary and letters of her 1931 Pilgrimage, shown in Figures 1 and 23; Arleen Weaver of Salem, Oregon, for Bessie Shellenbarger’s scrapbook of her 1933 Pilgrimage, shown in Figures 16, 18, and 19; the Norwegian-American Historical Association (St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota), for Caroline Short’s letters and photographs of her 1930 Pilgrimage, shown in Figures 3 and 22; the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture / Eastern Washington State Historical Society (Spokane, Washington), for Alvaretta Taylor’s typed “My Trip to France May 23, 1930” and the photograph shown in Figure 15; the American Battle Monuments Commission, for

photographs and brochures shown in Figures 11 and 26. Thanks as well to Richard E. Meyer for his photos shown in Figures 5 and 17, and for permission to use the Gold Star Mothers sheet music, poster, and first day stamp cover from his personal collection. I am indebted to Sue Payton of Western Oregon University's Instructional Media staff for her excellent work in producing a number of the photographs associated with these materials. All other photographs are by the author. I would also like to recognize the kindness and attention that all the Superintendents of the American Military Cemeteries in France and Belgium showed me in the Summer of 1995 during tours of their cemeteries. Gabrielle Mihaescu, Administrative Assistant at Suresnes American Cemetery, was especially thoughtful in locating a photograph that showed French women at their adopted American graves (Figure 11). Earlier versions of this article appeared as conference papers at annual meetings of the Popular Culture / American Culture Association (1996) and The Association for Gravestone Studies (2000).

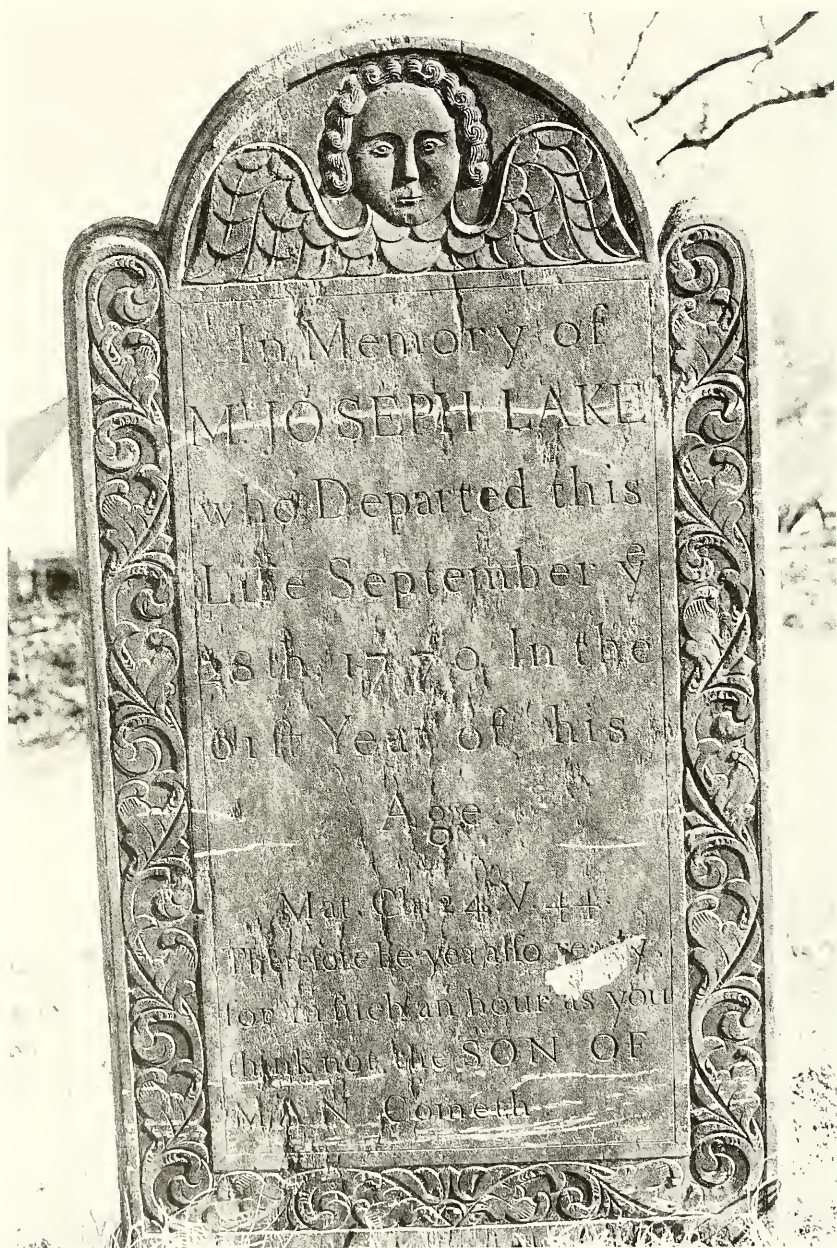
1. Entry of August 11, 1931, from Diary of Marion Brown (Shreveport, Louisiana) of her 1931 Gold Star Pilgrimage to France. All subsequent references to Marion's words are from the same diary.
2. Several good summaries of the Gold Star Pilgrimage (and its legislative history) are available. See for example, Charles A.F. Hughes, "Pilgrims," *Quartermaster Review* (May-June, 1931), 29-40; John J. Noll, "Crosses," *American Legion Monthly* (September, 1930), 14-17; G. Kurt Piehler, "The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 168-183; William Stevens Prince, "Gold Star Legislation," in *Crusade and Pilgrimage: A Soldier's Quest, A mother's Pilgrimage and a Grandson's Quest* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1986), 73-85; Louis C. Wilson, "The War Mother Goes 'Over There,'" *Quartermaster Review* (May-June, 1930), 21-25.
3. In addition to the four primary sources cited above in the acknowledgments (at head of Notes section), other sources consulted include Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; and Henrietta Haug's *Gold Star Mothers: A Collection of Notes Recording the Personal Histories of the Gold Star Mothers of Illinois* (Brussels, IL, 1941). Newspapers browsed for the years 1930-33 included *Billings (Montana) Gazette*; *Ironwood (Michigan) Daily Globe*; *Minneapolis Journal*; *Minneapolis Tribune*; *New York Herald* (Paris edition); *New York Times*; (Portland) *Oregon Daily Journal*; (Portland) *Oregonian*; (Salem, OR) *Capitol Journal*; (Salem, OR) *Oregon Statesman*; *Seattle Times*; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*; as well as the issues of *American War Mother*.
4. The final bill, referred to as Public Law 592, passed March 2, 1929. Testimony made at U.S. Congress. Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs, *To Authorize Mothers and Unmarried Widows of Deceased World War Veterans Buried in Europe to Visit The Graves: Hearing*, 70th Congress, First Session, May 14, 1928, 9.
5. Statement read by Mathilda Burling: *Ibid.*, Second Session, February 12, 1929, 26.
6. Testimony by Mrs. John Gallagher: *Ibid.*, First Session, May 14, 1928, 10.
7. Testimony by Ethel Nock: *Ibid.*, 9.

8. Testimony by Mrs. Effie Vedder: U.S. Congress. House Committee on Military Affairs, *To Authorize Mothers of Deceased World War Veterans Buried in Europe to Visit the Graves: Hearing*. 68th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 19, 1924, 15-16. Neglect at U.S. military cemeteries was cited in numerous 1923 documents, including a letter published in the *U.S. Congressional Record*, March 3, 1923, 5521-5523, and several newspaper stories: "Belleau Wood Cemetery" [editorial], *New York Times* (October 7, 1923), II, 6; "War Graves Well Tended," *New York Times* (October 24, 1923), 32; and "Few Flowers on Graves of Dead in France," *New York Times* (November 4, 1923), IX, 6.
9. Testimony about widows by Ethel Nock: U.S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs, *To Authorize Mothers ... Hearing*. 70th Congress, First Session, May 14, 1928, 10. Additional anti-widow remarks cited in Piehler, *The War Dead and the Gold Star*, 177.
10. For a summary of arguments over repatriation see Mark Meigs, "'A Grave Diggin' Feelin' in My Heart': American War Dead of World War I", Chapter 5 of *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1997), 143-187; 241-245, and Piehler, "The War Dead and the Gold Star."
11. After Quentin's older brother, Theodore, Jr., died during the 1944 Normandy invasion, Quentin's body was reburied next to his brother in the Normandy American Cemetery at Omaha Beach. The stone that marked his grave in Chamery, seen by many Gold Star mothers, was moved to the Roosevelt Home at Sagamore Hill, New York.
12. For an excellent summary of the creation of WWI cemeteries see Richard E. Meyer, "Stylistic Variation in the Western Front Battlefield Cemeteries of World War I Combatant Nations," *Markers XVIII* (2001), 188-253; General Pershing's quote is found in "Leave our War Dead in France, Advises General Pershing," *New York Times* (August 21, 1919), 15.
13. The cross controversy is summarized in G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 101.
14. Cather's trip is cited in James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 311.
15. Further information on British pilgrimages can be found in Tony Walter, "War Graves Pilgrimage," in *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*, ed. Ian Reader and Tony Walter (Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1993), 63-91; and Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 52.
16. "France Bars Moving all Soldier Dead," *New York Times* (July 30, 1919), 15.
17. Pershing's remark is cited in William Pencak, *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919-41* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 98; the other remark is found in "Legionnaires Guests at Farewell Lunch," *New York Times* (September 24, 1927), 3.
18. Walter, "War Grave Pilgrimage," 82.

19. Civic Religion, as part of a "cult of the war dead," is discussed in Antoine Prost, "Monuments to the Dead," in *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past: Volume II: Traditions*, ed. Pierre Nora (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997), 328.
20. The account by Alvaretta Taylor (Spokane, Washington) of her 1930 Pilgrimage was typed as "My Trip to France." All subsequent references to Alvaretta's words are from the same account.
21. The handwritten notes and letters by Caroline Short (Portland, Oregon) of her 1930 Pilgrimage. Unless noted otherwise, all subsequent references to Caroline's words are from the same notes.
22. The scrapbook/diary by Bessie Shellenbarger (Beaver City, Nebraska) of her 1933 Pilgrimage included many photographs and postcards saved from her trip. All subsequent references to Bessie's words are from the same scrapbook.
23. "U.S. Mothers Can't Stand Paris Coffee," *Seattle Times* (May 17, 1930), 1.
24. Nancy Mattox, "Mother Recounts her Experiences in Reaching Paris," *New York Herald [Paris Edition]* (May 18, 1930), Section II, 1.
25. "Gold Star Mother," lyrics and music by Russell B. Rutter (Uniontown, PA, 1930).
26. Poems published in newspapers during the Pilgrimage, as in the examples quoted here, frequently touched on peace themes: Edward Markham, "Our Pilgrim Mothers in France," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (May 30, 1930); Isabel Rothrouk, "To Kiss the Cross," [*Portland Oregonian* (May 25, 1930), Magazine Section, 1.
27. Editorial, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (May 30, 1930), 26.
28. "Row on Row, They Await the Pilgrims," *New York Times* (May 11, 1930), 5:4.
29. Caroline Short, letter dated July 20, 1920.
30. Marion Brown, letter to Secretary of War Patrick Hurley, dated November 24, 1931.
31. "'Wonderful, but Sad' is Description of Visit to France by War Mothers," [*Salem*] *Oregon Statesman* (August 5, 1930), 5.
32. "War Mother Given Flag," *Silverton [Oregon] News* (October 10, 1930), 3.
33. The number of eligible pilgrims varies in different sources from 11,000 to 17,000. I have cited information from the Quartermaster Corps final figures printed in "War Pilgrimage Ends," *New York Times* (August 25, 1933), 18. The initial document of eligibility, *Pilgrimage for the Mothers and Widows of the Soldiers, Sailors and Marines of the American Forces now Interred in the Cemeteries of Europe, as Provided by the Act of Congress*, of March 2, 1929 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930) listed 11,000, but figures cited in 1933 total 17,389, so between 1929 and 1933, more eligible pilgrims must have been

located. In addition, not all women who said they would go during a specific year actually did. For example, many sources say that over 5,000 would go in 1930, but only 3,600 actually went.

34. Two articles focus on the trip made by a black mother: see Constance Potter, "World War I Gold Star Mothers Pilgrimages, Part I," *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives* 31:2 (1999), 140-145; and Constance Potter, "World War I Gold Star Mothers Pilgrimages, Part II," *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives* 31:3 (1999), 210-216.
35. U.S. Congress. Senate Subcommittee of the Committee On Military Affairs, Hearing. 70th Congress, Second Session, February 12, 1929, 23.
36. Giving mothers \$850.00 if they didn't want to go was raised by an Oregon mother in "Gold Star Mother Starts on Trip to Grave of Son," *Woodburn [Oregon] Independent* (July 17, 1930), 1; the issue was also raised in a *Boston Post* editorial that was inserted into the *Congressional Record* (April 9, 1930), 6765.
37. Letter to the Editor, "War Mothers Pilgrimage," *New York Times* (January 17, 1933), 18.
38. *Pilgrimage*, directed by John Ford, 20th Century Fox, 1933; adapted from the short story by I.A.R. Wylie, "Pilgrimage," *American Magazine* (November 1932), 44-47.
39. Soldier tourism is discussed in David Kennedy, *Over Here: the First World War and the American Society* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980), 205.
40. Willa Cather, *One of Ours* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1971), 390.
41. Mrs. Frank Wilmot, *Oregon Boys in the War* (Portland, OR: Glass and Prudhomme, 1918), 63.
42. "Mothers Kneel at Graves of Sons in Belleau Wood," *New York Herald* [Paris edition] (May 22, 1930), 9.
43. "Mothers of War Dead Bow at Unknown Soldier's Tomb," *New York Herald* [Paris edition] (May 18, 1930), 10.
44. *Ibid.*



Frontispiece. Joseph Lake, 1770, Newman Cemetery,
 East Providence, Rhode Island.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GRAVESTONE CARVERS OF THE UPPER NARRAGANSETT BASIN: GABRIEL ALLEN

Vincent F. Luti

Biography

Gabriel Allen was born of George and Mrs. Sarah Spring in Rehoboth, Massachusetts (now East Providence, Rhode Island) on April 20, 1749.¹ Soldier, merchant, stonemason, public official, he died a respected member of the Providence, Rhode Island community on April 3, 1824.²

The first reference to Gabriel Allen in the Providence/Rehoboth area that I could find was that a Gabriel Allen served in Major Peck's Company in 1762 during the French and Indian Wars.³ If this is the same Gabriel Allen who was to become a stonemason, then he was only thirteen years old at the time. No other Gabriel Allen appears in records of this area of the Narragansett Basin during the Eighteenth Century. There was a Gabriel Allen in Connecticut whose son's stone, oddly enough, was probably carved by Gabriel Allen of Providence. At best, these two Gabriels might have been cousins. The Connecticut Gabriel was born in 1753, making him but nine years old in 1762. I think the 1762 Gabriel was, indeed, the Rehoboth, Massachusetts figure serving, perhaps, not as a fighting soldier but in some other hometown capacity. Gabriel Allen, the stonemason, did lead a distinguished military life in later years.

The next appearance of Gabriel Allen in public records is on May 11, 1771, when the following advertisement appeared in the *Providence Gazette*:

The Subscribers beg leave to inform the Public, they have just set up, and are now carrying on, in all its Branches, the stone-cutting Business, at the Sign of the Stone-Cutter's Arms on the West Side of the Great Bridge, in Providence ... Gabriel and William Allen.

Apparently they did not deal solely in stonemasonry, for on June 6, 1772, in the same paper, they ran an advertisement as follows:

Gabriel and William Allen at the shop on the West side of the Great Bridge, in the House of Samuel Butler Esq.: a compleat Assortment of English India, and Hardware ... Goods, which they are determined to sell ... NB said Allens carry on the STONE-CUTTING BUSINESS, as usual ...

Gabriel's father died January 20, 1774, leaving no will. On October 14, 1774,⁴ Sylvester Allen relinquished his part of the inheritance to his broth-

ers, including Gabriel, and sister; and they in turn sold off all the land and buildings of their father to Humphrey Palmer on April 27, 1778.⁵

Beginning on June 16, 1774, when he is listed as a member of a Military Club,⁶ Gabriel Allen shows up in many military records: 1776, second lieutenant; 1776, first lieutenant; 1778, captain; 1781, ensign;⁷ and, according to a biography of 1860, a commission of major in the state militia.⁸ Curiously, he does not appear in the Revolutionary War Pension Records in the National Archives, but these records were destroyed by fire around 1800 and apparently his widow, Nancy, did not have them reconstituted as was the case with other pensioners and their widows after the fire.

In the Congregational Church Records “of the West side of the River,” we find a listing of Gabriel’s marriage to Nancy West, daughter of Benjamin West, December 17, 1775.⁹ This Benjamin West was a prominent figure in Providence, postmaster and amateur scientist. Gabriel Allen’s name also appears on tax records, deeds, birth, death and marriage records, and in a good number of probate records in Providence and Warwick, Rhode Island, and in Bristol County, Massachusetts he is listed as receiving payments for gravestones.¹⁰ On April 26, 1787, he placed an advertisement in the *Charleston (South Carolina) Morning Post*, in which city he had opened for two months a temporary shop to take orders for all kinds of stoneware, including slate tombstones and gravestones (of which there are extant a fair number).¹¹ In 1802, at a time when his gravestone production dropped off, he was appointed Assistant Postmaster



Fig. 1. Harriet Allen, 1790, Swan Point Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island.

in Providence under his father-in-law, Benjamin West, Postmaster. In 1813 he became Postmaster himself.

A son, George, was born and died in 1776. Another son, George William, was born in 1780 and died in 1814.¹² Six children lived only months, as their gravestones' death dates attest in Swan Point Cemetery, Providence: Benjamin, 1783; infant, 1787; Harriet, 1790 (Fig. 1); Polly, 1791; Sally, 1792; Maria, 1794. Gabriel Allen was outlived by his wife, Nancy, and his daughter, Nancy, wife of Christopher S. Carpenter. His gravestone, carved by David Bolles, is in Swan Point Cemetery. His obituary appeared in both the *Providence Gazette* and the *Providence Journal*.¹³

The Work of Gabriel: Laying to Rest "G. Allen"

There are a good number of gravestones in New England, and a few elsewhere, that are signed "G. Allen." No one has yet found a stone where this "G" is spelled out, yet any number of scholars, following Harriette Forbes blindly, have not hesitated to assign the name "George" to the "G." George Allen (Senior) did sign three of his markers with a "G," but after his death the "G. Allen" continued to appear on stones.¹⁴ Forbes did find a probate payment for gravestones to George Allen, Jr. From this she must have deduced that all "G. Allen" stones thereafter referred to George Allen, Jr. What she didn't know was that George, Sr. had another son called Gabriel, another "G," in fact. There are at least fourteen stones that bear the name Gabriel Allen in probate payments. Upon checking closely the work on these stones, we find they are identical in style and execution to *all* the stones signed "G. Allen," those attributed by Forbes to George, Jr. If father and two sons were all carving, why is "G. Allen" sufficient to identify the carver to the populace of the time? My answer is simply that only one was living and carving at any given time, hence no real confusion could arise. The only possibility of this arises between 1770-1774 when George, Sr. and Gabriel were both alive and carving (George, Jr., I believe, must have been dead or removed from the scene). But the father was now seventy-five years old and carving very little. It is also most likely that those stones signed "G. Allen" between 1770 and 1774 were carved by Gabriel after the death of George, Sr. and backdated, hence not causing any confusion at all as to whom the "G" referred to in the minds of the public of the time.

So, what about George Allen's other son, George, Jr., for whom there is one gravestone payment and one general payment in probate records? My calculations are that George, Jr. most surely died about 1764 (see V. F.

Luti ms. paper on “The real George Allen Jr.”). So after 1770-1774, “G. Allen” was an understood in the Providence community: Gabriel Allen. Was he just a middleman? No, for in his biography of 1860 he is called “stone cutter” (see Appendix A).

Style

Gabriel Allen had what amounts to only two effigy designs. There were also a few other designs, and at the end of his career some very elegant urn work. His work is very easy to identify given so many specific and general probate payments, at least twenty, and a good number of signed stones (see Appendix III). That might be the sum total and end of it were it not for the disconcerting fact that another carver produced what appears to be the exact duplicate of his effigy II designs. This was Levi Maxcey of Attleboro, Massachusetts. The connection between the two men is still to be explained, as is the reason Maxcey would duplicate another carver’s work. Fortunately, Maxcey did not copy Gabriel Allen’s very fine, elegant lettering style, which helps, but not in every single case, to make attributions. Did Maxcey buy Allen’s cut effigies and then do the lettering himself? The fact that he apparently copied other carv-



Fig. 2. Nathaniel Metcalf, 1775, Swan Point Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island.

ers' work, besides Allen's, adds to the mystery. Further research on Levi Maxcey has been undertaken by Laurel Gabel and Theodore Chase.¹⁵

Effigy Type I

When we look at the late work of George Allen, Sr., we see the details of a new effigy design emerging, which might be collaboration with another hand (see Frontispiece). Someone was working with him, probably Gabriel, who was then about twenty-one years old. It is quite possible that his elderly father, in his seventies, initiated or helped initiate a new effigy type for his son, for when Gabriel does go into business for himself, his design is fully realized and fixed for mass production and unlike his father's.

We might describe George Allen, Sr.'s work as baroque in its dramatic realism and aggressive relief style. The Type I effigy of Gabriel Allen is a complete reversal: stylization as opposed to naturalism, low relief as opposed to deep relief, etc. His rather classical disposition of stylized, low relief detail on a flat architectural surface suggests the term rococo. I'm sure Gabriel's work appeared very modern for the time and sold well. It has a cold, formal look today. The Type II effigy that comes



Fig. 3. Jamima Carpenter, 1775, Dexter Street Cemetery, Cumberland, Rhode Island.

later would considerably change this character. These later stones have a charming, cherubic face in high modeling.

Type I effigies were mass produced in the decade of the 1770s and hardly vary in detail. The Nathaniel Metcalf stone, 1775 (probated 1775), represents them all, stylized in every aspect: the tight, coiled peruke, the upswept eyebrows, the severely cut, almond-shaped eyes with button pupils, the triangular nose, and the pinched mouth (Fig. 2). The wings usually sweep out from a feathered neck collar. The border panels for the Metcalf stone represent a typical column design, entwined with a floral vine. An even better example, though not probated, is the 1775 marker for Jamima Carpenter (Fig. 3).

The most popular border design, however, was a floral scroll with “carrot” flowers in the axils. Sometimes this scrollwork is richly described with relief and etch work; other times it is very flat, plain and stylized, as on the 1773 stone for Stephen Rawson (Fig. 4). Rarely, a remarkably skilled,



Fig. 4. Stephen Rawson, 1773, Oakland Cemetery, Cranston, Rhode Island.



Fig. 5. Elizabeth Thurston, 1776, North Burial Ground, Providence, Rhode Island.



Fig. 6. Molly Manning, 1770, Swan Point Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island.

raised stippling fills the tympanum background (Fig. 5). I know of no other carver except Gabriel's father who achieved the skill for this extraordinary texture. A few tympani are filled solely with a bound acanthus spread (e.g., Fig. 6). The lettering on these stones is always exceedingly well done, with the most delicate, slanted, slightly hooked serifs (sometimes just barely) that are best observed in rubbings, since in photographs or first hand observation they can be all but invisible. This is where the work of Levi Maxcey critically differs. His lettering is very square, mechanical, and always has flat serifs.

In the early 1780s, there appeared signs of change in the effigies: softer, rounder cherubic qualities in greater relief, and new wig types of less severe design. Examples may be seen in the signed stones for Mary Parker, 1781 (Fig. 7) and Rosabellah Chace, 1781 (Fig. 8), both in St. John's Cemetery, Providence, as well as the 1785 marker for Mary Handy in Newport's Common Burial Ground (Fig. 9).

Effigy Type II

From 1782 to 1804 the dominant design from Gabriel Allen's shop in Providence is a cherubic effigy often highly modeled, with softer, plumper



Fig. 7. Mary Parker, 1781, St. John's Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island.



Fig. 8. Rosabellah Chace, 1781, St. John's Cemetery,
Providence, Rhode Island.



Fig. 9. Mary Handy, 1785, Common Burial Ground,
Newport, Rhode Island.



Fig. 10. Sarah Hunt, 1799, Newman Cemetery, East Providence, Rhode Island.



Fig. 11. Elizabeth Godfrey, 1793, St. John's Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island.



Fig. 12. Joseph Bucklin, 1790, North Burial Ground, Providence, Rhode Island.



Fig. 13. George Corliss, 1790, Bluff Street Cemetery, Cranston, Rhode Island.



Fig. 14. Parssis Bacon, 1795, Oakland Cemetery,
Cranston, Rhode Island.



Fig. 15. Nathan Miller, 1784, North Burial Ground,
Warren, Rhode Island.



Fig. 16. Chad Brown, 1665 (stone erected in 1792),
North Burial Ground, Providence, Rhode Island.



**Fig. 17. William Checkley, Esq., 1780,
Swan Point Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island.**



**Fig. 18. William Corliss, 1789, North Burial Ground,
Providence, Rhode Island.**

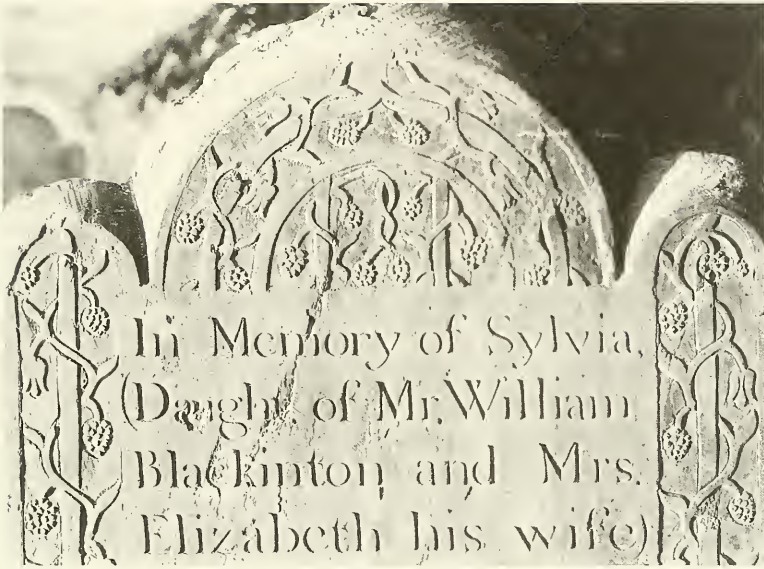


Fig. 19. Sylvia Blackinton, 1790, Woodcock Cemetery, North Attleboro, Massachusetts.



Fig. 20. Thomas Andrew, 1769 (backdated), Pontiac Cemetery, Rte. 5, Cranston, Rhode Island.

features, livelier, somewhat more naturalistic eyes, and natural looking hair in bangs. Quilting is often seen in the space where the wings join at the chest. Examples are provided by the signed 1799 stone for Sarah Hunt (Fig. 10), and the markers for Elizabeth Godfrey, 1793 (Fig. 11), Joseph Bucklin, 1790 (Fig. 12), George Corliss, 1790 (Fig. 13), and Parssis Bacon, 1795 (Fig. 14). In the latter instance, note the reversion to Type I style and the zig-zag in the wings.

On rare occasions he turns the head rather credibly to a slight three-quarter position, as may be seen on the 1784 stone for Nathan Miller (Fig. 15) and, as well, on the 1792 marker for Seth Paine in Brooklyn, Connecticut. Border designs are the same as in previous work.

The next most common design in this period is a tiny, exquisitely detailed rising sun (see Fig. 16). There are also a few rose sprig tympani, including one on a signed 1793 marker for Mary Crowell in West Yarmouth, Massachusetts. There is one very handsome 1780 heraldic stone (see Fig. 17) for William Checkley, Esq. in Swan Point Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island; another elaborate one for Richard Atwell, 1767 (backdated), in Attleboro, Massachusetts; and yet another for David Cheesebrough, 1782, in Stonington, Connecticut. The 1789 William Corliss stone is a good example of his elegant urn and fauna design (Fig. 18). The unique 1790 Sylvia Blackinton stone (Fig. 19) should probably be attributed to Gabriel Allen based on the lettering and skill of the design work, an interlaced, trellis grapevine running up the borders and filling the tympanum.

A follower, apprentice, or even son, produced a Gabriel Allen Type II cherub, but with much less elegance and with very peculiar nostrils cut as circles. The wing feathers often have zig-zag veining (Figs. 20 and 21). They occur rarely, mostly in the immediate Providence area from 1790-1802. No work, as far as I know of, has been done on this carver.

William Allen

In this light I would like to address the question of whether William Allen, son of George Allen and brother to Gabriel, born March 27, 1752, was a stonemason. He is not to be confused with another William Allen, contemporaneous and living in Rehoboth, who died in 1791 and is the probable author of the fine account book in the Rhode Island Historical Society library. The William Allen who died in 1815 is listed as "general," which suggests a military career parallel to his brother Gabriel's,

and his obituary in the August 19, 1815 edition of the *Providence Patriot* and the *Columbian Phenix* says he continued his service up to the “restoration of peace,” suggesting he was occupied in that service rather than carving stones, even though earlier in 1771 and 1772, as we have seen, his name was associated with Gabriel’s in two newspaper advertisements for the manufacture and sale of gravestones along with dry goods. He was also sheriff of Providence County for a while. In the account for estate number A 1546, Providence, 1795, a William Allen is listed as receiving payment for funeral charges, and on another paper of 1797 in the same account, Gabriel is listed in connection with funeral expenses.

In any case, William’s name is quite often linked with Gabriel’s in what was apparently a partnership relationship, as indicated in the two advertisements and various deeds dealing with business properties in Providence. However, no stone is ever signed “W. Allen” or “William Allen,” and no probate payment for gravestones bears his name, nor is his name included in the South Carolina advertisement. I suspect from all this that his function in the partnership was reserved for the dry goods or stoneware part of the business. If indeed William did have a hand in



Fig. 21. Unknown (stone damaged), 1796, Manton-Tripp Cemetery, Johnston, Rhode Island.

H. Nicholas Brown		To Gabriel Allen
1790	To a slate hearth for keeping Room	1. 16. 0
Set 7 1791	To a 1st Grave Stone for Hope Brown	2. 13. -
	226 Letters Extra cut thin on Cd P	18. 10
	To a 1st Gravestone for Hope Brown 2	1. 16. -
	To a 1st Ditt for Chad Brown	2. 7. 9
	To a 1st D ^o for Joanna Brown	5. 6. -
257	Letters Extra	1. 1. 5
	To a 1st Gravestone for Mijep Brown Jun	5. 6. -
428	Letters Extra	1. 15. 8
	To 1 1st Gravestone for Rhoda Brown	3. 19. 9
74	Letters Extra	0. 6. 2
	To a 1st Gravestone for Juncher Brown	1. 19. 8
	To 1 1st for Nancy Brown	19. 4
	To 1 1st for John Brown Jun	1. 19. 7
208	Letters Extra	17. 4
	To a Marble Tombstone for Nicholas Brown Esq ^r	21. -
	including 100 & 50 Letters	
	To cutting on 1050 Letters more 22	8. 15. -
	To 40 freestones for under lining & freight	5. 4. -
	Commission on them	0. -
	To a Marble hearth for parlor	4. 5. 6
	To marble Chimney piece for keeping Room	5. 0. 0
	1 slate front of hearth in keeping Room	11. 11. 11
Supra		177
Dec. 19	By Am ^o of Braint & Parsons two Acanthus' m ^o into Ditto	29. 18. 9
	By 1 Tombstone rec ^d from Phil ^o (und) with Charges	9. 3. 4
	Wing up to Matthews	38. 6. 11
	By 1 slab on wall	
	Errors excepted Dec 27 1791	11-9
	Intolerance	
	Gab Allen	

Fig. 23. Gabriel Allen's invoice to Nicholas Brown for family gravestones.

the gravestone production, there is not a shred of evidence to indicate what it was he did.

Conclusion

Special mention should be made of the number of Gabriel Allen stones, many signed, in the cemeteries of South Carolina and Georgia as documented in Dianne Williams Combs' dissertation (see Note 14) but unfortunately attributed to a mythical "George Allen, Jr." Effigies, urns, floral designs, borders, etc. are just as in the work described above, but in some instances quite elaborately done, more so than in the New England versions. Otherwise, Gabriel Allen's stones are distributed mainly in the cities and towns around the Narragansett Basin, with a major concentration in Providence. Others have been reported in eastern Connecticut.¹⁶

Gabriel Allen's work is in great part done on fine-grade gray slates and is mostly in very good condition, though not always. He did try to introduce marble to his clients, and there are documented examples apparently beginning as early as the 1780s. Others are probated for the Aborn family at the Arnold Cemetery in Warwick, Rhode Island, and some are billed to Nicholas Brown, Providence (see Fig. 22).¹⁷

NOTES

This paper was originally delivered in abbreviated form at the 1984 Association for Gravestone Studies Annual Conference, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. Photos are by the author.

1. Rehoboth *Town Records*, 2:190.
2. Gravestone in Swan Point Cemetery, Providence, RI.
3. H. M. Chapin, *List of RI Soldiers and Sailors in the old French and Indian War, 1755-1762* (Providence, RI, 1918), 26.
4. Bristol County Deeds (Taunton, MA), 60:320.
5. *Ibid.*, 60:317.
6. *Publications of the RI Historical Society*, 3:187.
7. Bartlett, *Colonial Records of Rhode Island*, 8:79, 404, 408, 512; 9:399, 404; 10:24; and Benjamin Cowell, *Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island* (Baltimore, MD, 1973), 356.
8. See Appendix II.

9. James Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island, Town and Church* (Providence, RI: Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1898), X:197.
10. See Appendix III.
11. The advertisement reads:

The subscriber respectfully informs the public, that he has for sale, at his shop, no 92 Meeting Street, Charlston, a variety of Slate and Marble Slabs, suitable for hearth stones and tables, printers, painters, curriers stones, and also, a few Slate Tomb Stones and Gravestones, of an excellent quality, which he will finish with inscriptions only, or ornament with coats of arms, crests, or other sculpture, in an elegant manner, and on reasonable terms. And having lately discovered a new quarry of fine marble, consisting of black, white variegated and dove colored, is ready to contract for any sort of inside or outside work for houses, as well as every kind of monument to be done in any of the above stone. Constant attendance will be given at his shop for two months from the date hereof, for the purpose of receiving orders and finishing the above work. G. Allen April 26th, 1787. [Note that it only says "G. Allen," not George or Gabriel]

Amanda Burdan in her paper, "In an Elegant Manner and on Reasonable Terms: Gabriel Allen's Gravestones in the North and South" [ms. sent to this author], reports another advertisement in the *Charleston Morning Post*, 31 March 1786, and the *Daily Advertiser*, 31 March 1786, of a similar nature but dated from his shop "Providence Rh. Island, Feb. 1786," i.e., before he left for Charleston.

12. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island* (1903), XIII:114.
13. *Providence Gazette*, April 7, 1824:

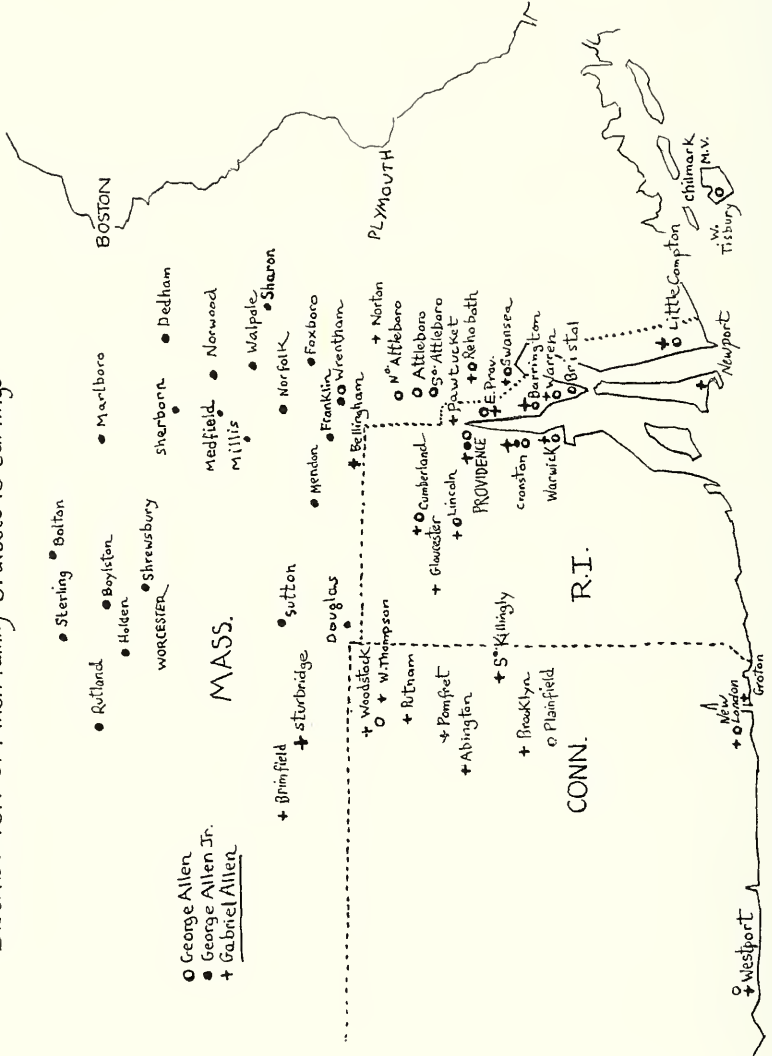
Died in this town Gabriel Allen Esq. Postmaster, in his seventy-fifth year. He was a patriot of the Revolution and a highly respected member of the Cincinnati Society. For fourteen years he discharged with approved fidelity the duties of Postmaster in this town. In private life he was deservedly beloved and respected for his many virtues.

14. Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men who Made Them 1653-1800* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 1967), 98-99. Dianne Williams Combs, in *Eighteenth Century Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina* (Emory University, 1978, dissertation) elaborates on Forbes' error even further by compounding it with another from Alan Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 322-325. All the biographical information and attribution work is seriously flawed in all three authors. Unfortunately, all the documentable evidence exists and is readily available, but none of these authors apparently sought to dig it out, simply relying on each other or their imagination. It is also unfortunate that Forbes' important pioneering book has no citation or documentation to bolster many of her conclusions, particularly regarding Narragansett Basin carvers, neither in the book itself nor in her notes collection at the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, MA. For the life and work of George Allen (Sr.) see V.F. Luti ms. paper "George Allen."

15. Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, *Gravestone Chronicles II: More Eighteenth-Century New England Carvers and an Exploration of Gravestone Heraldica* (Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1997), 434-495.
16. By 1774, a brother, Sylvester, was living in Voluntown in eastern Connecticut, as indicated in Bristol County Deeds, 60:320. Further evidence of trade with Connecticut is seen in *Genealogies of Rhode Island Families from Rhode Island Periodicals vol. II* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 846, footnote 17: "Gabriel Allen of Providence Rhode Island who learned the gravestone trade from his father, that superb 'sculptor' of Rehoboth made the horizontal tombstone for the grave of Godfrey Malbone, Jr." A bill in the Malbone Papers shows that the cost of the stone was £50-10-04, plus £4-00-06 for crating and transportation charges from Providence to Pomfret, Connecticut. The *Providence Sunday Journal* of 9 November 1947 shows a picture of this tomb in an article entitled "Church built by Godfrey Malbone."
17. Lance Mayer, "Gabriel Allen of Providence and the Beginnings of Marble Gravestone Carving in New England," paper delivered 23 June 2000, Association for Gravestone Studies Annual Conference, Brown University, Providence, RI. Mayer's research also turned up a silhouette profile portrait of Gabriel Allen which does, indeed, bear a resemblance to George Washington (see Appendix II). The Aborn probate is at the Warwick, R. I. town hall in Wills:182. I am indebted to Amanda Burdan and to Robert Emlin, curator and senior lecturer at Brown University, for the copy of Allen's bill to Mr. Nicholas Brown (Fig. 22) for family gravestones, the John Carter Brown Library, Brown Family Papers, box 846, folder 10. It is reproduced here by kind permission of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.
18. It is almost certain from a probate record to deduce that Asa Fox was an apprentice or helper in Gabriel Allen's shop. In the Providence City Hall Archives, case #A1363, the account of John Foster, Esq., died 1791, is registered. In the probate papers of John Foster, July 25, 1795, Asa Fox is paid for "one pair of Grave Stones for Mrs. Rachel Fox 4-16-0." Another entry says "1795 cash paid to Grave Stones and Setting ... 4-3-9." John's stone is a Gabriel Allen cherub, Rachel's stone (by Fox) is a pallid Gabriel Allen imitation, probably erected upon John's death.
19. Chase and Gabel, *Gravestone Chronicles II*, 434-495.

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Allen Family Gravestone Carvings



APPENDIX II

An account of the Seventy-first Anniversary of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, held Feb. 28, 1860, prepared by Edward M. Stone (Providence, RI: Anthony Knowles & Co. printers, 1860), 58-59:

Gabriel Allen was the son of George Allen, who emigrated from England to Boston, at the age of about 21 years, and opened a writing school. He afterwards removed to Seekonk, and practiced stone cutting. He also engaged in a project to produce perpetual motion. He died and was buried in this last chosen home.* Gabriel came to Providence from Seekonk, and established himself in the business pursued by his father. He married a daughter of Dr. Benjamin West, and acted under him, as assistant postmaster. After Dr. W.'s (sic) decease, in 1813, the office was given to Mr. Allen, which he held until his death. Mr. Allen became a member of the Mechanics Association December, 14, 1789, and in 1795, was chosen Secretary. In person, he was tall and commanding, and is said to have borne a strong resemblance to Washington. He was a man of active habits, and took a prominent part in political affairs. He held the commission of Major in the State militia. His death occurred April, 3, 1824, in the 75th year of his age.

A writer on the Journal of April 5, says:- 'He was one of the few surviving patriots of the revolution. He was an honorable and highly respected member of the Cincinnate Society, and for about 14 years past he held the office of the postmaster in this town, which, like the many offices of importance which he held during the revolution, he has filled with honor to himself, and fidelity to his country ... By his death, the loss of an affectionate husband is deeply lamented; an only surviving daughter is deprived of a kind and provident father, and society mourns the departure of one of its brightest ornaments and most valuable citizens ...'

* *This Seekonk was originally, in Allen's lifetime, part of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, only to become, eventually, the modern city of East Providence, Rhode Island. Part of this state land swapping is still called Seekonk, Massachusetts.*

APPENDIX III

Documented Stones

Signed "G. Allen" stones (sometimes with word "sculpt")

Name	Died	Location
Moses Cohen	1762	Old Jewish Cem., Charleston, SC
Mary Munro	1770	New London, CT
Hannah Spalding*	1771	So. Killingly, CT
Nathaniel Sessions	1771	Pomfret, CT
Ebenezer Larned*	1779	Putnam, CT
Esther Wayne	1780	St. Philips Churchyard, Charleston, SC
Elizabeth Angell	1780	No. Burial Ground, Providence, RI
Mary Parker	1781	St. John's Cem., Providence, RI
Rosabella Chace	1781	St. John's Cem., Providence, RI
Mary Dagget*	1781	Tower Hill Burying Ground, Edgartown, MA
Anne Hopkins	1782	No. Burial Ground, Providence, RI
Benjamin Cady*	1783	Putnam, CT
Mary Smith	1785	Prince George Cem., Georgetown, SC
Jane Postell	1786	St. Philips Churchyard, Charleston, SC
John Savage	1789	Congregational Churchyard, Charleston, SC
Seth Paine*	1792	Brooklyn, CT
Mary Crowell	1793	West Yarmouth, MA
Mary Smith	1795	Congregational Churchyard, Charleston, SC
Daniel Trowbridge*	1795	Abington, CT
Sarah Hunt	1799	Newman Cem., E. Providence, RI
Richard Savage	1789	Congregational Churchyard, Charleston, SC
Richard Warham	1779	Congregational Churchyard, Charleston, SC
Chloe Wilkinson	1795	Swan Point Cem., Providence, RI

*from Sue Kelly and Anne Williams, " 'And The Men Who Made Them': The Signed Grave-stones of New England," *Markers II* (1983), 1-103.

Probate Payments to Gabriel Allen for gravestones

Name	Died / PP	Location
Nathaniel Metcalf	1775 1775	Swan Pt. Cem., Providence, RI
James Brown	1775 1775	Oakland Cem., Cranston, RI
Joseph Olney	1777 1784	No. Burial Ground, Providence, RI
John Bucklin	1791 1791	Newman Cem., E. Providence, RI
John Bullock	1788 1791	Little Neck Cem., E. Providence, RI
Johnathan Ellis	1785 1794	Swan Pt. Cem., Providence, RI
Joseph Comstock	1795	not located
Sebelah Olney	1796	not located
William Dexter	1796	not located
Samuel Aborn	1761 1801	Arnold Cem., Warwick, RI
Thomas Aborn	1763 1801	Arnold Cem., Warwick, RI

Name	Died / PP	Location
Phebe Aborn	1770 1801	Arnold Cem., Warwick, RI
Sarah Rhodes	1777 1801	Arnold Cem., Warwick, RI
Mary Aborn	1797 1801	Arnold Cem., Warwick, RI
Co. Samuel Aborn	1801 1801	Arnold Cem., Warwick, RI
Samuel Warren, Jr.	1803	not located

Unspecified probate payments to Gabriel Allen

Ebenezer Fuller	1773 1775	Palmer River Cem., Rehoboth, MA
William Dexter	1778	not located
Gov. Nicholas Cook	1786	not located

Family stones

George Allen	1774	Newman Cem., E. Providence, RI
infant daughter	1787	Swan Pt. Cem., Providence, RI
Harriet Allen	1790	Swan Pt. Cem., Providence, RI
Polly Allen	1791	Swan Pt. Cem., Providence, RI
Harriet Allen	1792	Swan Pt. Cem., Providence, RI
Maria Allen	1794	Swan Pt. Cem., Providence, RI

Gabriel Allen's bill to Nicholas Brown (see Fig. 22) lists stones for:

Hope Brown	Jenckes Brown
Chad Brown	Nancy Brown
Joanna Brown	John Brown, Jr.
Moses Brown, Jr.	Nicholas Brown, Esq.
Rhoda Brown	

APPENDIX IV

List of Gabriel Allen stones documented for this study

It should be borne in mind that among the Type II effigy stones I am attributing to Gabriel Allen's shop that are not documented, there is the very real possibility that Levi Maxcey had a hand. He was born in 1770, in Attleboro, Massachusetts, a short distance north of Providence, the city in which Allen had set up shop around 1770. Not until 1782 did Allen develop his Type II effigy that Maxcey would copy. If Maxcey apprenticed to Allen, it would be in 1782 at the earliest, at age twelve. Maxcey opened his own shop in Salem, Massachusetts, a good distance away, in 1792 at age twenty-two. If Maxcey carved Allen "fakes," they would appear, probably, only after the late 1780s the period in which attributions would become uneasy, especially where the stone did not adhere to the well documented stereotypical work of Allen.

However, I am assigning Type II effigy stones to Allen, no matter who actually carved them, if they have: a charming, soft-contoured, cherubic effigy with bangsy hair; elegant slant serifs on very well done lettering; no use of "ye;" and, other than occasional border columns or a design taken from his father's work, a flat, low-relief, cyma curve of coil-and-spray foliate material in the side panels. There are ample documented stones of this description to make further detailed analysis unnecessary as no other carver did work like Allen's, except Maxcey (and one bland documented imitation by Asa Fox for Rachel Foster, 1784, Providence, Swan Point Cemetery).¹⁸ Maxcey's Salem period work in the manner of Allen is hard and metallic in the effigy and lettering (see Chase and Gabel¹⁹ for further biographical material and production).

Around the solid body of Allen stones there is a fringe of a number of stones that have Allen-like effigies not up to what one would expect of him: distortions of facial features, flat-ruled serifs, border designs not remotely his or his father's, and an occasional "ye." Perhaps these are Maxcey's or another apprentice in Allen's shop, or some unknown copier.

For the sake of demonstration, I am listing a few of these Type II effigy stones that defy clear-cut attribution to either Allen or Maxcey, along with some annotations. Oddly enough, all the towns are nearer to Maxcey's North Attleboro than to Allen's Providence:

Smith Maxcey	1791	North Attleboro, MA	face not cherubic
Nathan Tyler	1790	South Attleboro, MA	huge flanking frond coils in the tympanum that are startlingly non-Allen
Hopestill Corbett	1768 (back-dated)	North Bellingham, MA	effigy is clearly Allen, border design is a copy from George Allen, Sr., but it's the flat-ruled serifs that are troubling – Maxcey's hand?
Nathan Adams	1794	Medfield, MA	the little border trees are foreign to any Allen work
Ezekiel Adams	1777 (back-dated)	Medfield, MA	beady-eyed face, not cherubic, and text contains a Maxcey "ye" (deduced from his Salem production)
Silvanus Braman	1782	Norton, MA	beautifully done face, but squashed and metallic looking, borders unusual but can be traced back to a George Allen, Sr. design, serifs flat-ruled as in later Maxcey work
David Razey	1783	Cumberland, RI	beady-eyed face, not cherubic, serifs flat-ruled, Maxcey "ye"
Sarah Emerson	1778	Cumberland, RI	beady-eyed attempt at 3/4 view with mashed face, Maxcey "ye," flat-ruled serifs
Thomas Rawson	1802	Mendon, MA	beady-eyed non-cherubic face, weak lettering neither Allen nor Maxcey

An aforementioned and illustrated beautiful small stone with grape trellis borders and grape arbor tympanum for Sylvia Blackinton, 1790, North Attleboro, Massachusetts (Fig. 19) is unique. A nearly duplicate border grape trellis is found on a stone by Allen's father, George, for Mary George, 1730, South Attleboro, Massachusetts. I would easily attribute it to Gabriel Allen for its conception, handsome lettering and, especially, its tiny grape clusters made of meticulously raised, rounded dots (the same dots used as raised background stipling on known Allen work), except for the disturbing "ye," but not the Maxcey type. However, in Allen's much earlier Type I effigy period it does occur a couple of times, after which it is dropped entirely for "the." For now, the lovely Blackinton stone can provisionally be attributed to Gabriel Allen, until further evidence to the contrary comes to light.

A number of factors could account for these “impure” Allen-derived stones: Allen himself having a bad day or trying a design element of someone else; some other young carver apprenticing in his shop (Asa Fox comes to mind); or collaboration on a stone with an apprentice-carver. There’s even the very remote possibility that his brother, William, did, in fact, do some carving. It’s unlikely we’ll ever know the answer to these questions.

Died	Name	Town	Cemetery
1760	Jabez Lyon	Woodstock, CT	—
1761	Samuel Aborn	Warwick, RI	Arnold
1762	Moses Cohen	Charleston, SC	Old Jewish
1763	Thomas Aborn	Warwick, RI	Arnold
1763	Mary Waterman	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1763	Elizabeth Ormsbee	Warren, RI	Kickemuit
1765	Hannah Martin	Swansea, RI	Old Baptist
1765	Nancy Bacon	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1765	Samuel Westcot	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1767	Alexander Black	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1767	Richard Atwell	Attleboro, MA	Peck
1768	Hope Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1768	Hopestill Corbett	Bellingham, RI	Oak Hill
1769	Sarah Goulding	Midway, GA	—
1769	Thom. Nightingale	Charleston, SC	—
1769	Mary Mawney	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1770	Phebe Aborn	Warwick, RI	Arnold
1770	Gordon Ledyard	Groton, CT	—
1770	Deborah Richmond	Little Compton, RI	Commons
1770	Molly Manning	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1770	Benjamin Mason	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1770	Thomas Peck	Swansea, RI	Old Baptist
1770	Elizabeth Kingsley	Swansea, RI	Old Baptist
1770	Mary Munro	New London, CT	—
1770	Mary Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1770	Nath’l Gladding	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1771	Jerusha Trowbridge	Abington, CT	—
1771	Isaac Cushing	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1771	Nehemiah Ward	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1771	Nancy Bennett	Westport, CT	—
1771	Nathaniel Sessions	Pomfret, CT	—
1771	Elisabeth Sabin	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1771	Robert Stonehouse	Providence, RI	St. John’s
1771	Hannah Spaulding	So. Killingly, CT	—
1772	Henry Paget	Providence, RI	St. John’s
1772	Eunice Hills	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1772	Abigail Angel	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1772	Cyprian Sterry	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1772	Alice Page	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground

1772	Thomas Westcot	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1773	Mary Hoppen	Cumberland, RI	Dexter
1773	Stephen Rawson	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1773	Ebenezer Fuller	Rehoboth, MA	Palmer River
1773	Joanna Child	Warren, RI	Kickemuit
1773	Rebecca Demount	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1773	Abigail Crawford	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1773	Sarah Comstock	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1773	Elisabeth Westcot	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1773	Barbara Frothingham	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1774	Mary Taylor	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1774	Benjamin Bacon	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1774	Samuel Watson	W. Thompson, CT	—
1774	George Allen	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1774	Joseph Carpenter	Charleston, SC	St. John's
1775	Sarah Creighton	Charleston, SC	St. Philip's
1775	Jamima Carpenter	Cumberland, RI	Dexter
1775	Nathaniel Metcalf	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1775	James Brown	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1775	Mary Millard	Rehoboth, MA	Burial Place Hill
1775	John Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1775	Aaron Walker	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1775	Mary Bacon	E. Woodstock, CT	—
1776	Nathaniel Chace	Providence, RI	St. John's
1776	Elisabeth Thurston	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1776	Mary Angel	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1776	Sarah Semple	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1776	Ephraim Hunt	Rehoboth, MA	Village
1776	Sarah Waterman	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1776	Timothy Balch	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1776	Lydia Jackson	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1777	Sarah Rhodes	Warwick, RI	Arnold
1777	Joseph Olney	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1777	Amey Ellis	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1777	Zeriah Bucklin	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1778	Sarah Emerson	Cumberland, RI	Abbott Run
1778	Thomas C. Wayne	Charleston SC	—
1778	Martha Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1778	Chad Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1779	Sarah Mathewson	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1779	Martha Jacobs	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1779	Sarah Howland	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1779	Samuel Rhodes	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1779	Anne Greene	Warwick, RI	Cem. #66
1779	Ebenezer Larned	Putnam, CT	—
1780	John Dexter	Lincoln, RI	Spring
1780	Elisabeth Angel	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1780	William Checkley	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1780	Esther Wayne	Charleston, SC	St. Philips
1780	Thomas Wayne	Charleston, SC	St. Philips

1780	Mary Smith	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1780	Lucillah Barton	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1781	Joshua Bicknall	Barrington, RI	Prince Hill
1781	James Hawkins	Cranston, RI	#36
1781	Mary Parker	Providence, RI	St. John's
1781	Rosabella Chace	Providence, RI	St. John's
1781	Keziah Angel	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1781	Patience Thurber	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1781	William Cranston	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1781	Mary Daggett	Edgartown, MA	Tower Hill
1782	Sylvanus Braman	Norton, MA*	—
1782	Anne Hopkins	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1782	Samuel Wiswall	Edgartown, MA	—
1782	David Chesebrough	Stonington, CT	Wequetewock
1782	Polly Mathewson	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1782	Betsey Jones	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1782	Coomer Haile	Providence, RI	St. John's
1782	Sylvanus Martin	Rehoboth, MA	Burial Place Hill
1782	Henry Tillinghast	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1783	David Razey	Cumberland, RI	Abott Run**
1783	Amy Russell	Providence, RI	St. John's
1783	Freelove Winsor	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1783	Benjamin Cadz	Putnam, CT	—
1783	Israel Stillwell	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1783	Samuel Angel	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1783	Nancy Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1784	Uranah Thompson	Lincoln, RI	Great Rd.
1784	Ruth Allin	Barrington, RI	Bay Spring
1784	David Kennedy	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1784	Sarah Brayton	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1784	Nathan Miller	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1784	Mary Smith	Georgetown, SC	—
1784	Benjamin Bowen	Providence, RI	St. John's
1785	John Carr	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1785	Gardner Gibbs	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1785	Polly James	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1785	Stephen Jenks	Pawtucket, RI	Mineral Spring
1785	George Gray	Providence, RI	St. John's
1785	Gilbert Deblois	Providence, RI	St. John's
1785	Hannah Green	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1785	Ezra Ide	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1785	Mary Handy	Newport, RI	Common Burying Gr.
1785	Mary Smith	Georgetown, SC	Prince George
1785	Jonathan Ellis	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1785	Joanna Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1785	Sylvanus Gladding	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1785	Asa Lyon	E. Woodstock, CT	—
1786	Abigail Winsor	Gloucester, RI	#33
1786	Jane Postell	Charleston, SC	St. Philip's
1786	Nathaniel Gladding	Providence, RI	Swan Point

1786	John Cross	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1787	Ann Handy	Providence, RI	St. John's
1787	Allen infant	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1787	Alexander Sessions	Brimfield, MA	—
1787	Rhoda Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1787	John Carpenter	Providence, RI	Swan Pt.
1787	Wm/Mary Sutton	Charleston, SC	—
1787	John Angell	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1787	Polly Cross	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1787	Mary Gibson	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1787	Mrs. Russell Hoskins	Providence, RI	St. John's
1787	Ann Handy	Providence, RI	St. John's
1788	John Bullock	E. Providence, RI	Little Neck
1788	Mary Salisbury	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1788	Stephen Westcot	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1788	Sally Bowen	Providence, RI	St. John's
1789	William Corliss	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1789	Samuel Smith	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1789	Mary Taylor	Newport, RI	Central Burial Ground
1789	Richard Savage	Charleston, SC	Congregational
1789	Charlotte Allen	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1789	Christopher Smith	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1789	Freelove Bozworth	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1789	Anna Thurber	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1789	Robert Carr	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1789	John Savage	Charleston, SC	Congregational
1789	Metcalf Bowler	Providence, RI	St. John's
1790	Harriet Allen	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1790	Mary Remington	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1790	Joseph Bucklin	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1790	Sanford Mason	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1790	George Corliss	Cranston, RI	Bluff St.
1790	Martha Westcot	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1790	Sally Richmond	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1790	John Bucklin	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1790	Phoebe Hoar	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1791	Josiah Love	N. Attleboro, MA	Woodcock
1791	Polly Allen	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1791	Elisabeth Allen	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1791	Moses Brown	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1791	Thomas Quarterman	Midway, GA	—
1791	Anne Andrews	Cranston, RI	#34
1791	Hannah K. Smith	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1791	Betsey Gladding	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1791	James Warner	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1791	Sarah Gibbs	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1791	William Allen	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1791	Ann Graves	Providence, RI	St. John's
1791	Jerusha Trowbridge	Abington, CT	—
1792	Sally Allen	Providence, RI	Swan Point

1792	James Hull Allen	Westport, CT	—
1792	Mary Smith	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1792	Israel Stillwell	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1792	Harriet Arnold	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1792	Gregory Dexter	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1792	Charles Freeman	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1792	Priscilla Jenckes	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1792	James Holroyd	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1792	Israel Sheldon	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1792	Seth Paine	Brooklyn, CT	—
1793	Molly Humphrey	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1793	Sarah Bently	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1793	Susannah Pell	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1793	Edward Dexter	Providence, RI	St. John's
1793	Benson Mitchell	Providence, RI	St. John's
1793	Andrew Thornton	Cranston, RI	#34
1793	Lydia Tillinghast	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1793	Deborah Paget	Providence, RI	St. John's
1793	Elisabeth Godfrey	Providence, RI	St. John's
1793	Lydia Dexter	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1793	Sally Low	Warwick, RI	Carder
1793	Marcy Crowell	W. Yarmouth, MA	—
1793	Abijah Learned	Putnam, CT	—
1794	Nathan Adams	Medfield, MA	**
1794	Maria Allen	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1794	James Sayles	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1794	Thankful Penniman	Medfield, MA	**
1794	John W. Low	Warwick, RI	#28
1795	Esther Bowen	Providence, RI	St. John's
1795	Daniel Trowbridge	Abington, CT	—
1795	Reuben Winslow	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1795	Mary Smith	Charleston, SC	Congregational
1795	Sally Arnold	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1795	Mary Vanderlight	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1795	Sabrina Hunt	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1795	Parssis Bacon	Cranston, RI	Oakland
1795	Josiah Bowen	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1795	Phillip Carr	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1795	Daniel Trowbridge	Abington, CT	—
1796	Harriet Allen	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1796	Joshua Winsor	Gloucester, RI	#33
1796	Lydia Carr	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1796	Huldah Arnold	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1797	David Franklin	Huger (?), SC	—
1797	Mary Aborn	Warwick, RI	Arnold
1797	Martha Townsend	Newport, RI	Common Burying Gr.
1797	John Gibbs	Providence, RI	Swan Point
1797	Pardon Bowen	Warren, RI	No. Burial Ground
1797	James Arnold	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1797	Joseph Arnold	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground

1797	Lois Bacon	Sturbridge, MA	—
1798	Sally Gladding	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1799	Sarah Hunt	E. Providence, RI	Newman
1799	Thomas Rawson	Mendon, RI	Old Burial Ground
1800	Jemima Field	Providence, RI	St. John's
1801	Col. Samuel Aborn	Warwick, RI	Arnold
1801	Whitmore	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1801	Mary Everett	Norwood (?), MA	—
1803	Sarah Low	Warwick, RI	BPOE
1803	Benjamin Gladding	Providence, RI	No. Burial Ground
1804	Abigail Wakeman	Westport, CT	—
1806	John Hunt	E. Providence, RI	Newman

*The lettering is definitely Levi Maxcey, and the effigy?

**Maxcey?



Fig. 1. Marker covering ashes of Carl Sandburg, Galesburg, Illinois, with epitaph "... for it could be a place to come and remember."

DO-IT-YOURSELF IMMORTALITY: WRITING ONE'S OWN EPITAPH

Karl S. Guthke

Many reasons make it necessary for the wills of deceased persons to be literally observed, tho' some instances of this kind do little honour to the deceased.

Samuel Richardson, *Familiar Letters*, no. 155.

* * * * *

Let no man write his epitaph.

Gravemarker of Will Kemna,
Queen's Park Cemetery, Calgary

I

"It is always Judas who writes the biography."¹ There must be some truth in Oscar Wilde's quip, or else autobiography would hardly exist. Much the same may be said about the epitaph, that "seed of biography," as the *Atlantic Monthly* called it long ago.² Old-fashioned biographies, whether of writers or of statesmen, tend to culminate not in the description of the death scene, as modern life-writing seems to prefer, but in the citation of the epitaph featured on the subject's grave, suggesting that it is the last word on the life described.³ No wonder, therefore, that since the dawn of time, or shortly thereafter, thoughtful exemplars of our species have written their own epitaph and done their utmost to get it chiselled on their gravemarker. There is, to be sure, an inherent contradiction in this effort to secure the precise nature of one's own survival after death. For, on the one hand, it is a time-honored conviction that a person's true self is revealed only at the very end of life, when, as we like to think, its pattern has been completed and the self has fully come into its own;⁴ hence any self-devised epitaph would almost by definition be premature and therefore inaccurate. Yet, on the other hand, this conviction has been accompanied throughout by that ubiquitous, peculiarly and touchingly human desire for survival after death in the form of remembrance, recognition, fame, or "immortality." One of the earlier voices testifying to this urge is Cicero's, who, in his *Tusculan Disputations*, relates it to burial monuments and epitaphs (1.14.31 – 1.15.35). Benedick in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* took the cue: "If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in monument than the

bell rings and the widow weeps" (V: 2, 79-82). Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard" is a prime exhibit, and in the Twentieth Century, Paul Tillich has reminded us that the fear of death is at bottom the fear of being "eternally forgotten."⁵

Be this as it may, the contradiction between a widely shared conviction and an equally common desire has not stopped all future-conscious individuals from formulating their epitaphs well before their last words. Some have given this project all the serious attention it deserves. After all, as Jonathan Swift warned, "it is dangerous writing [epitaphs] on marble, where one cannot make errata, or mend in a second Edition,"⁶ except perhaps after Resurrection, when, of course, it would hardly matter much longer. This finality has, however, its brighter side, which in turn reinforces the endeavor to articulate one's epitaphic legacy with absolute accuracy, completeness, and perfection of style. That is the historical fact, which humanity must have been aware of since a very early date, that we are, more often than not perhaps, remembered by our epitaphs. The genre of anthologies of epitaphs, flourishing ever since Antiquity, is ample proof of this; everybody knows some epitaphs of the great and good and famous, be it Thomas Jefferson or John Keats, Jonathan Swift or John Gay, Robert Louis Stevenson or William Butler Yeats – all of whom, incidentally, composed their epitaphs themselves. And with how many general readers would the neo-Latin poet Giovanni Pontano ring a bell if it were not for Dr. Samuel Johnson's quoting his self-chosen epitaph ("I intreat thee to know thyself") in *The Rambler*.⁷ Articulating, in the more fortunate cases, the sum total of a life's charm and wisdom, epitaphs tend to become quotable quotes, "winged words": it is not uncommon for collections of familiar quotations – reference works, after all – to contain a section on epitaphs.⁸

When in 1631 John Weever published his magisterial collection of British epitaphs, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, in an effort to preserve essential documents of national history, he included in his lengthy introduction a discussion of "the reasons wherefore so many have made their owne Monuments in their life-time" – monuments being *inscribed* gravemarkers of one sort or another.⁹ Oddly enough, the reasons Weever cites do not include the fear of being buried without an epitaph – which for some might be the ultimate curse (as it was assumed, to cite just one example, after the restoration of the monarchy, in a Royalist ditty wishing Oliver Cromwell "this Epitaph; *that he has none*").¹⁰ For others, to be

sure, the missing grave inscription might be the ultimate blessing: Irish Revolutionary Robert Emmet's remark in his speech on his conviction for treason in September, 1803, is by now proverbial:

Let there be no inscription upon my tomb. Let no man write my epitaph. No man can write my epitaph. I am here to die. I am not allowed to vindicate my character; and when I am prevented from vindicating myself, let no man dare to calumniate me. Let my character and motives repose in obscurity and peace, till other times and other men can do them justice.¹¹

Though Weever, then, ignored the possibility of the absence of an epitaph (which in our days seems to be growing in popularity with the increasing frequency of ashes being scattered to the winds, on the sea or flower beds), he nonetheless had the motivation for "Let no man write my epitaph" in mind when he stated what he believed had since time immemorial been the primary reason for devising one's own grave inscription: fear of misrepresentation by posterity. "Persons of especial ranke and qualitie," he says, have set up their own tombs and monuments "because thereby they thought to preserve their memories from oblivion" (p. 18). Absalom is his earliest "case," but Absalom is only an example, as "every man like *Absolon* desires a perpetuity after death" (p. 18). Weever cites Tertullian as his authority for this view and refers to the mausoleum-building of Roman emperors as well as to King Henry VII, who built "that glorious faire Chappell at Westminster, for an house of buriall, for himself, his children, and such onely of the bloud-royall, as should descend from his loynes" (p. 20). Unfortunately, however, history teaches, Weever reports, that trusted heirs and executors will "interre both the honour and memory of the defunct, together with his corps: perfidiously forgetting their fidelity to the deceased" (p. 19). In support of this worldly wisdom, he cites no spiritual authority but, among others, the more down-to-earth testimony of an "old inscription depicted upon a wall within S. Edmunds Church in Lumbard-street, London":

Man, the behovyth oft to haue yis in mind,
Yat thow geueth wyth yin hond, yat sall thow fynd,
For widowes be sloful, and chyl dren beth vnkynd,
Executors beth couetos, and kep al yat yey fynd.
If eny body esk wher the deddys goodys becam,
Yey ansquer
So God me help and halidam, he died a poor man.
Yink

On yis (p. 19)

This is followed by examples of sepulchres erected, according to their inscriptions, during the life-time of the persons interred in them, sometimes with the stipulation, chiselled in stone, that their wives or heirs should not share the last resting place with them: the self-chosen epitaph will have no rivals.

Weever does not quote any of the self-chosen epitaphs of the high and mighty who successfully warded off *post mortem* misrepresentation. No doubt he thought that the need for such precaution was self-evident and that the fashioners of their own (and reputable) immortality were not necessarily paranoid. For deprecation was not unheard of at the time on gravemarkers written by survivors, and the practice was to continue for centuries, as any representative anthology of epitaphs will demonstrate all too embarrassingly. Some of these collections will gather such nasty if probably truth-loving parting shots in separate chapters, where they function like an avalanche burying, if that is the word, all belief in the justice of history. (One example is Ernest R. Suffling's *Epitaphia* [London: L. Upcott Gill, 1909], with its chapter on "Denunciation and Invec-tive"). In other anthologies, epitaphic deprecations of the dead are spread over the entire volume, where they form islands of possible truth in a sea of sepulchral eulogy, or else sand banks of egregious viciousness in settling life-long accounts. Only rarely are such epitaphs tempered with what may pass for humor. Here is one example of posthumous denunciation that did not make it onto a gravestone but illustrates the motivation for do-it-yourself epitaph-writing all the more persuasively. It comes from Nicholas Rowe's "Account" of the life of Shakespeare, prefixed to his 1709 edition of Shakespeare's *Works* and then reprinted by several Eighteenth-Century editors of Shakespeare. Among the gentlemen in his Warwickshire neighborhood whose friendship Shakespeare enjoyed, Rowe tells us, there was a certain Mr. Combe, "an old Gentleman noted thereabouts for his Wealth and Usury," with whom he "had a particular Intimacy":

It happen'd, that in a pleasant Conversation amongst their common Friends, Mr. Combe told *Shakespear* in a laughing manner, that he fancy'd, he intended to write his Epitaph, if he happen'd to out-live him; and since he could not know what might be said of him when he was dead, he desir'd it might be done immediately: Upon which *Shakespear* gave him these four Verses.

*Ten in the Hundred lies here ingrav'd,
'Tis a Hundred to Ten, his Soul is not sav'd:
If any Man ask, Who lies in this Tomb?
Oh! ho! quoth the Devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.*

But the Sharpness of the Satyr is said to have stung the Man so severely, that he never forgave it.¹²

It is not known whether the hapless Mr. Combe saw to it that his eventual funeral monument proclaimed that his methods of acquiring his wealth were god-fearing and his soul worthy of heaven. But among the many who did ensure their posthumous reputation in this lapidary manner there are some rare birds indeed. Some of the more telling cases have been saved for posterity by an anonymous historian of human self-perpetuation and self-delusion, in an article entitled "Preparing for the End," published in *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature* in 1872. Not one of these insurers of their posthumous reputation takes to heart the quizzical admonition of an epitaph one finds in this or that anthology: "Prepare to be forgotten." On the contrary, they take the normal desire for memorable closure to an extreme that may strike some as flirting with absurdity:

Sure of his reward was William Huntington, the once notorious "inspired coal-heaver": when he felt the end drawing near, Huntington took his pen in hand and wrote: "Here lies the coal-heaver, who departed this life ___ in the ___ year of his age; beloved of his God, but abhorred by men. The Omniscient Judge, at the Great Assize, shall ratify and confirm this, to the confusion of many thousands; for England and its metropolis shall know that there hath been a prophet among them. – W.H., S.S." and these vain-glorious words were duly placed above the resting-place of the Sinner Saved at Lewes.

[...]

Job Orton, son of the inventor of Stilton cheese, an innkeeper at Kidderminster, put up a tombstone in the churchyard there, inscribed:

Job Orton, a man from Leicestershire,
When he dies, he will be buried here.¹³

Apparently Mr. Orton took it for granted that the world would always know that his surname is inextricably linked to one of the few delights of British cuisine. And then there was:

a worm-doctor named Gardner [who] built himself a tomb in the churchyard of St Leonard's, Shoreditch, on which passers-by could read "Dr J. Gardner's last and best bedroom." Those who saw it naturally concluded that the doctor was taking his last long sleep there, and he soon found patients grow scarce in Norton-Folgate. This was paying too dearly for his joke, so he set matters right by amending the inscription by the addition of the word "intended." Pat Power of Kilkenny, we suppose, had no customers to lose, when, confident in his prophetic instinct, he chose his grave in the chapel-yard, and set up a

headstone, twelve months before date, upon which appeared: "Erected in Memory of Patrick Power, of Maudlin Street, Kilkenny, who died in 1869, aged 73 years. May his soul rest in peace. Amen!" Pat paid regular visits to the place to say his prayers over his own grave; but whether his presentiment was fulfilled, or whether he lives to laugh at it, is more than we know. The poor Irishman's simplicity excused his folly; but there was no question of simplicity in the egregious absurdity perpetrated by one who was a statesman, if filling offices of state entitles a man to be so called. This vain specimen of humanity had his monument put up in the church of St Helen's, Bishopsgate, four years before his death and sculptured thereon a deed, signed and sealed, running thus: "To all Christian people, to whom this present writing shall come, know ye, that I, Julius Dalmare, alias Julius Cæsar, Knight, Doctor of Laws, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and one of the Masters of Requests to Queen Elizabeth; Privy Councillor to King James, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, have confirmed or granted by this my personal writing, that I will, with the Divine assistance, willingly pay my debt to nature, whenever it shall please God. In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal. Dated the 27th of February 1635." (p. 231)

Not all such best-laid plans do succeed, unfortunately, or fortunately:

Farrazine, the shrewd button-maker of Ghent, who, in 1697, took the quartering and provisioning of Marlborough's army off the hands of the troubled authorities of the city, to their immense relief, and the making of his own fortune, had a soul above buttons, his ambition taking the unusual shape of a desire for posthumous rather than present honour. He erected a magnificent monumental tomb for himself in the church of the Capuchin Friars, and when it was finished, Farrazine resolved to rehearse his obsequies, so that there might be no mistakes or shortcomings when they were celebrated in sad earnest. For a handsome consideration, the holy brotherhood consented to act their share in the mock ceremonial. The button-maker provided a sumptuously adorned coffin, for which the friars found bearers in their novices, while they themselves marched in solemn procession before it. It was a proud day for Farrazine when he took part in his own funeral rites, amidst a profusion

Of velvet, gilding, brass; and no great dearth
Of aught save tears.

Tears were necessarily lacking: the hero of the hour, although officiating as chief-mourner, was too elated to shed them, as he walked triumphantly to the tomb and saw his coffin deposited in the place it was intended to occupy when a more serious performance came off. Alas for the hopes of vanity! Farrazine had not measured the rapacity of his Capuchin friends aright; and although he did not forget them in his will, the legacy he bequeathed fell so much below their expectations, that, in angry disgust, the brethren demolished the monument, and bundled coffin and all out of their church; refusing even to perform a single mass for the poor fellow's soul, whose body, after all his pains, found a grave in the yard of an obscure chapel. (p. 231)

Whether contaminated with involuntary comedy or not, all such stories about efforts to ensure meaningful closure point to a distinguishing

and not ignoble characteristic of our species: the desire for a *personal* final assessment and for the preservation of that assessment “forever.” This is indeed not only a significant facet of the culture of *homo sapiens* but also a feature of popular culture – then and now. Writing epitaphs for oneself “before need,” as a more or less serious literary exercise, must have been well established by the Middle Ages, at the latest. François Villon, famously, wrote a poem purporting to be his “Épitaphe”: “Ci gît et dort en ce solier / Qu’Amour occit de son raillon / Un pauvre petit écolier / Qui fut nommé François Villon [...]”. (Here in this place lies and sleeps one whom love killed with its arrow, a poor little scholar named François Villon). Not surprisingly, Humanists took up the convention of preparing one’s own grave inscription, sometimes drawing on classical antecedents.¹⁴ Nor was it uncommon in orthodox (or at least god-fearing) Christian circles to seal one’s life with a self-chosen (sometimes self-important) epitaph (see Note 55), though much care was normally taken to expire with a pious last word as well.

In Restoration England, on the other hand, writing one’s own epitaph became a parlor game, a frivolous, if witty, sport. Yet considering how undignified and unmemorable a closure real life, or rather real death, would so often impose, even on the deserving, there may have been some seriousness behind the façade of levity. “In some cases, [...] the composition of personal epitaphs was considered as necessary a task as writing a will”¹⁵ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. The fashion of writing “Premature Epitaphs”¹⁶ for oneself continues to this day. Discretion is required about spirited conversations in the faculty clubs of various respectable universities, but one may surely mention the universally known cases of Dorothy Parker (“Excuse my dust”) or Franklin Pierce Adams (“Pardon me for not rising”). These have the ring of the party-game about them, and a party-game epitaph writing surely was, in some circles, in the Twentieth Century:

For a long time Hollywood has been the centre of America’s glittering society life and hostesses there have spared no expense to entertain their guests.

During the 1930s one bright, twittering society dame thought up the idea of amusing her guests by commissioning a witty author to compose humorous epitaphs for them. The hostess, who had been an actress herself and much married, set the ball rolling by having her epitaph written. As it was read out by the author at one of her famous parties, however, the hostess’s face was seen to change colour for he had written:

At last she sleeps alone!¹⁷

A potentially significant feature of present-day culture, popular or otherwise, is the habit, widespread at least in Anglo-Saxon countries, of asking the old and the young and those in between not only about their prospective last words but also about their preferred epitaph. Sometimes a press interview does not seem to be complete without an answer to that question.¹⁸ More seriously, American school-children are nowadays required in some schools to write their own epitaphs (also wills and even suicide notes). This caused a considerable stir on the Internet in 1999/2000 when it was related to the terrorist shooting spree in a high school in Columbine, Colorado.¹⁹ But the worthwhile educational purpose of the exercise, at least of writing one's own grave-inscription, cannot be denied:²⁰ it amounts to a self-assessment of one's individuality, which must be salutary and constructive at any age. How better to become aware of one's unalienable selfhood than by looking at oneself from the ultimate perspective. Indeed, even other people's gravemarkers may have the educational function of opening one's eyes to one's own life pattern that one would so dearly like to see completed. "There are epitaphs we would choose for those we know," says William Henry Beable about his ramblings among the graves, and then there are "epitaphs we would perhaps like to have inscribed on our own tombstones."²¹ This brings up the delicate question of whether stealing someone else's epitaph is theft – or a sort of *furtum honestum*, like lifting a passage out of the Bible (which still leaves us with the quandary of whether the theft of a Gideons' Bible from a hotel room is lawful or not). Alexander Pope, master extraordinaire of the premature epitaph, stumbled upon this problem in a letter to Henry Cromwell: "I fear I must be forc'd, like many learned Authors, to write my own Epitaph, if I wou'd be remember'd at all; Mons. de la Fontaine's wou'd fitt me to a hair, but 'tis a kind of Sacriledge [...] to steal Epitaphs?"²²

II

Be this as it may, what has been said about the role of epitaph-writing in popular culture suggests that a more important distinction than that between first-hand and second-hand epitaphs (original and "stolen") should be made. That is the distinction of status: epitaphs written upon oneself in the spirit of a party-game or conversational culture cannot be mentioned quite in the same breath as those self-designed epitaphs that actually do appear on gravestones (where, of course, the epitaphic "I" is not necessarily that of the deceased himself). More often than not, to be sure, the author of his own epitaph may in fact *not* have control over the

wording that appears on his gravestone, especially if his chosen text should be somewhat unconventional, or (God forbid) humorous, or even offensive to others (who, in the worst-case scenario, might prefer a form of deprecatory commemoration). Epitaphic legacies and even deathbed requests are known to have been ignored. Conversely, a self-chosen epitaph may be revoked, reduced from public to private, or from authentic to literary status (Matthew Prior specifically ruled out one of his epitaphs on himself as the text for his actual sepulchral marker.)²³ It was Dr. Johnson who perceived the larger problem of private vs. public commemoration involved here. In his essay on John Gay's self-chosen epitaph that was actually inscribed on his sepulchral memorial in Westminster Abbey, Johnson said:

Matters of very small consequence in themselves are often made important by the circumstances that attend them. Little follies and petty weaknesses, of no moment in common life, may, when they enter into the characters of men in high stations, obstruct the happiness of a great part of mankind. A barbarous inscription or disproportioned busto deserves no notice on account of the statuary who carved it or the writer who composed it; they were only private follies in the study or the shop; but erected in a temple, or engraved on a column, they are considered as public works, and censured as a disgrace to a nation. For this reason I have been often offended with the trifling distich upon Mr Gay's monument in Westminster Abbey:

Life is a jest, and all things show it;
I thought so once, but now I know it.

[...]. If I might be indulged in making conjectures on a question of such weight, I should conceive it to have been a drunken sally, which was perhaps, after midnight, applauded as a lively epigram, and might have preserved its reputation had it, instead of being engraved on a monument at Westminster, been scribbled in its proper place, the window of a brothel.

There are very different species of wit appropriated to particular persons and places; the smartness of a shoeboy would not be extremely agreeable in a chancellor, and a tavern joke sounds but ill in a church, from which it ought to be banished, if for no other reason, at least for that which forbids a drunken man to be introduced into sober company. [...]

A childish levity has of late infected our conversation and behaviour, but let it not make its way into our churches. Irreligion has corrupted the present age, but let us not inscribe it on marble, to be the ruin or scorn of another generation. Let us have some regard to our reputation amongst foreigners, who do not hold either fools or atheists in high veneration, and will imagine that they can justify themselves in terming us such from our own monuments. Let us therefore review our public edifices, and, where inscriptions like this appear, spare our posterity the trouble of erasing them.²⁴

Literary auto-epitaphs or *authentic* ones, private or public memorialization – the matter comes up in our own days whenever a recently deceased prominent person is said to have expressed a wish for a particular epitaph. In *The New York Times* of 15 May 2001, for example, Robin Pogrebin reported the passing of Jason Miller, the playwright and actor, in a lengthy article which did not spare the reader this tidbit:

The Associated Press reported that Mr. Miller described his own epitaph last year in an interview with *Electric City*, a free entertainment weekly, for the Pennsylvania Film Festival: "On my tombstone I'll put, 'It's all [only?] a paper moon.' All the philosophies and all the -isms and all the religions are contained in that."²⁵

Interesting – but was the text (a widely known popular American song) eventually put on his gravestone, if any? Did it remain private and literary, or did it become public and authentic, a part of cultural life and the cultural heritage? In some cases one does know. Let us look at the negative answers first. For they, too, have their light to throw on this curious facet of cultural history – the do-it-yourself epitaph designed to guarantee custom-made immortality.

Not on the gravestone were most of those self-chosen memorial texts (usually witty) that certain anthologies of epitaphs will feature, sometimes in a special section.²⁶ It would be humorless to check whether Emperor Joseph II really got his supposed wish for an epitaph realized: "Ich wünschte, man schriebe auf mein Grab: 'Hier ruht ein Fürst, dessen Absichten rein waren, der aber das Unglück hatte, alle seine Entwürfe scheitern zu sehen'" (I would like to have written on my gravestone: "Here rests a prince whose intentions were pure, though he had the misfortune to see all his plans come to nothing") or whether Baudelaire was immortalized in stone with his couplet "Ci-gît qui, pour avoir par trop aimé les gaupes, / Descendit jeune encore au royaume des taupes" (Here lies one who for having been too much in love with streetwalkers, descended into the realm of moles at a young age). Nor does Lloyd George sleep under his suggested

Count not my broken pledges as a crime,
I MEANT them, HOW, I meant them at the time.

(There is, incidentally, no inscription at all on the huge boulder that serves as his tombstone on the bank of River Dwyfor in the village of Llanystumdwy). And, of course, neither did George Gershwin or Michael Arlen or Jacob Epstein get their jocosely epitaphs realized:

Here lies the body of
 George Gershwin
 American Composer.
 Composer?
 American?

* * * * *

Here lies
 Michael Arlen
 As usual.

* * * * *

From life's grim nightmare he is now released
 Who saw in every face the lurking beast.
 'A loss to All', say friends both proud and loyal,
 'A loss', say others, 'to the Café Royal'. (Epstein)

Still, these humorous self-epitaphists who failed to perpetuate themselves – Dorothy Parker, buried in the Memorial Garden at the NAACP national headquarters in Baltimore, is another one, of course, as is Gloria Swanson (“She paid the bills”) – are not all that unfortunate: their unrealized epitaphs “live” in the epitaph books of popular culture. Famously, the most enduring lines of Eighteenth-Century dramatist and satirist Alexis Piron are “Ci-gît Piron qui ne fuit rien, / Pas même académicien” (Here lies Piron, who was nothing, not even an academician): they made it into the *Oxford Book of Death*, but they did *not* adorn his grave.²⁷ This failure is shared by many renowned authors who wrote (and rewrote) well-known, thoughtful, and often poetic or witty last words for their gravestones: Ariosto, Thomas More, John Donne, Andreas Gryphius, Robert Herrick (whose grave is unknown, anyway), Alexander Pope, Walter Savage Landor, H. L. Mencken,²⁸ etc., etc., and, in a sense, even Thomas Gray (Gray was buried in the family vault in 1771 and commemorated by an unobtrusive tablet on the exterior wall of Hastings Chapel in the Stoke Poges churchyard; a hundred yards outside the churchyard, a monument, erected in 1799, features verses from the “Elegy,” but *not* from its concluding “Epitaph”²⁹).

Some cases of “opportunity spurned or missed” by posterity are more poignant than others. Joshua Scodel, in his standard work on the literary epitaph (see Note 4), discusses the epitaph that Robert Grosseteste (Groshead), the renowned scholar and bishop († 1253), “commanded [...] to be engraven on his Tombe,” according to William Camden’s *Remaines Concerning Britaine* (1605). It was “Quis sim nosse cupis? Caro putrida, nil nisi, vermis; / Quisquis es, hoc de me sit tibi scire satis” (You want to know

who I am? Nothing but rotten flesh for worms; whoever you are, this is all you need to know about me) – the very model of Christian self-effacement (p. 56). All the more shocking the sorry truth which Scodel does not need to reveal, since his is a purely literary study: Camden confides that the searcher for anonymity was actually buried (in the south-east transept of Lincoln Cathedral) under a gravemarker recording his full name (p. 43). But even if one succeeds in reverting to self-chosen epitaphic namelessness in death, the epitaph may flaunt the anonymity so intriguingly or teasingly that, sooner or later, the identity will be revealed, even in anthologies. Beable (see Note 21) discloses that the *anonymus* buried in 1713 in Shottesbrooke, Berkshire, under the words “*Hic Jacet Peccatorum Maximus*,” as he had stipulated (Here lies the greatest of sinners), was “a Mr. Francis Cherry” (p. 229); and he also tells us that the famous self-chosen “*Miserrimus*” in the Cloister of Worcester Cathedral, immortalized by Wordsworth’s poem, was (if only allegedly) “a Rev. Thomas Morris,” a staunch Jacobite (p. 228). Queen Elizabeth I fared little better. Of course, she could not very well have hoped for anonymity, nor would she have seriously wanted it. Still, in 1559, more than forty years before her death, she concluded her first speech to Parliament with a request for an eventual epitaph: “And in the end, this shall be for me sufficient, that a marble stone shall declare that a Queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin.” She was in fact commemorated as a mother, on her £765 monument in Westminster Abbey, ordered by James I: the Latin inscription calls her “the mother of this her country, the nurse of religion and learning; for perfect skill of very many languages, for glorious endowments, as well of mind as of body, a prince incomparable.”³⁰

The most celebrated American case is the nearly proverbial one of Benjamin Franklin. Sixty-two years before need, the printer in him wrote his famous and frequently imitated epitaph by which he is universally remembered:

The body of
B. Franklin, Printer
(Like the Cover of an Old Book
Its Contents Torn Out
And Striped of its Lettering and Gilding)
Lies Here, Food for Worms.
But the Work shall not be Lost;
For it will (as he Believ'd) Appear once More
In a New and More Elegant Edition
Revised and Corrected
By the Author.

But when he died in 1790 at the age of eighty-four, he was buried in Philadelphia's Christ Church Burial Ground, his tomb bearing the unassuming wording he provided for in his will: "Benjamin and Deborah Franklin: 1790."³¹

However, the non-plus-ultra in reductive brevity must be Bertolt Brecht's "Bertolt Brecht" on the rough boulder marking his burial place in Berlin's Dorotheen-Friedhof, where he had wanted to be interred. Whether he had wanted the simple, even dateless, inscription, is another question entirely. In a poem of ca. 1926, "Verwisch die Spuren," he opted for total anonymity, rejecting a tomb that "verrät, wo du liegst / Mit einer deutlichen Schrift" (reveals where you lie, in clear lettering). On the other hand, his proposed epitaph, written shortly before his death in 1955, runs in its final, much-revised wording:

Ich benötige keinen Grabstein, aber
 Wenn ihr einen für mich benötigt
 Wünschte ich, es stünde darauf:
 Er hat Vorschläge gemacht. Wir
 Haben sie angenommen.
 Durch eine solche Inschrift wären
 Wir alle geehrt.³²

I need no gravestone, but
 If you need one for me
 I wish it would say:
 He made suggestions. We
 Accepted them.
 Such an inscription
 Would honor us all.

In these and similar cases, whatever message the deceased had hoped to perpetuate as a lasting memorial to beliefs or achievements is categorically negated. Brecht's actual inscription even anticipates or exemplifies the withdrawal of epitaph-writing into that silence and non-communication that is believed to be a striking feature of present-day cemeteries. Contrary to his final – modest – wishes, there is not even a hint of that celebration of human values that constituted the classical epitaphic heritage, which was ignored during the Christian Middle Ages, only to be revived by the Humanists and finally placed on the pedestal of epitaphic propriety by Dr. Johnson. Johnson did not fail to pronounce on the moral impact that a properly epitaphed forbear might have on the living:

The design of epitaphs is rational and moral, being generally to celebrate the virtues of the dead, and to excite and awaken the reader to the imitation of those excellencies which he sees thus honoured and distinguished, of which kind almost every sepulchral monument affords us an example.³³

III

But what about the luckier ones among self-epitaphists – those whose self-formulated wisdom of a lifetime did in fact end up on their gravemarkers? Alexander Pope, already mentioned, may serve as an introduction to the complexity of what might otherwise seem to be a straightforward state of affairs. Throughout his life, Pope wrote numerous poetic epitaphs not only for friends and associates but also for himself: “epitaphic self-portraits”³⁴ inspired by concern for a posthumous image undistorted by slander or flattery. But when it came to dying, Pope preferred to have none of these engraved on his tombstone. He directed instead in his will that his body be interred near the monument to his parents in Twickenham Parish Church and that the only commemoration, apart from his death date and age, should be an “et sibi” (and to himself) to be added to the epitaph of his father and mother, and in due course this was done:

D.O.M.
ALEXANDRO POPE, VIRO INNOCUO
PROBO, PIO, QUI VIXIT ANNOS LXXV, OB. MDCCXVII.
ET EDITHAE CONJUGI INCULPABILI, PIENTISSIMAE,
QUAE VIXIT ANNOS XCIII OB. MDCXXXIII.
PARENTIBUS BENEMERENTIBUS FILIUS FECIT, ET SIBI.

To God the Creator and best of Beings, / To *Alexander Pope*, a Gentleman of Honesty, Probity and Piety, Who Liv'd LXXV. Years, died M. DCC. XVII. / And to *Editha*, his Excellent and truly Pious Wife, who lived XCIII. Years, died M. DCC. XXXIII. / To his well-deserving Parents the Son erected this, and to himself.³⁵

Scodel comments: “Pope proclaims to the public that no matter how they might define him, he will affirm unto death his humble role as a dutiful son.”³⁶ However, in 1761, seventeen years after Pope's death in 1744 at the age of fifty-six, William Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, had a medallion portrait and the following lines placed on a monument to Pope on the north wall of the Twickenham Parish Church:

For One who would not be buried in Westminster Abbey

Heroes, and kings! your distance keep:
In peace let one poor Poet sleep,
Who never flatter'd Folks like you:
Let Horace blush, and Virgil too.³⁷

Early biographers unanimously condemned the verses as a prime example of episcopal “bad taste,” adding that “parading these careless and petulant lines on the walls of a church, near the poet’s grave, is too glaring to require comment. Any such inscription was a direct violation of the wishes and feelings of Pope as expressed in his will.”³⁸ This condemnation is a little curious: was it not known that “Epitaph. For One who would not be buried in Westminster Abbey” is one of Pope’s several epitaphs on himself? Pope published it in 1738. Scodel discusses it extensively with a view to its literary merit, its covert references to the literary English epitaph culture of the time, and its reaction to the classical literary heritage (pp. 264-274). But as a literary historian he does not need to point out the fact of interest to the cultural historian: that these lines appear near the poet’s place of burial, thereby establishing an image of Pope that is, in effect, somewhat different from the self-effacing one of the dutiful son and modest parishioner that he *ultimately* chose for himself. *Habent sua fata epitaphia*. There is no modesty in those presumptuous lines; how would Pope, given his will, which was surely not written as an exercise in false modesty, have felt about this poem, which “was never allowed by the poet to be a self epitaph,” being paraded as “the last word?”³⁹ Here, then, we have the sorry case of refusing one’s own epitaph and having it, too.

From here it is only a small step to burial under an epitaph composed not by the deceased but at his suggestion. This was what the neo-classical poet Matthew Prior requested in his will, made out shortly before his death in 1721. Much to the satirical delight of his contemporaries, he left £500 for a sepulchral monument in Westminster Abbey which was to bear an inscription by Dr. Robert Freind – a florid accolade that tourists can still cringe at as “a sad instance of pride beyond the grave” (Samuel Richardson). It is this text that Pope probably had in mind when he wrote his near-proverbial

Friend! For your Epitaphs I’m griev’d,
Where still so much is said,
One half will never be believ’d,
The other never read.

Prior’s enduring document of vanity is all the stranger as Prior was an accomplished epitaphist himself. He had even composed more than one sepulchral last word for himself, including the amusing, if arrogant lines that may have inspired Pope’s own “Heroes and kings”:

Nobles, and Heralds by Your leave,
 Here lyes what Once was Matthew Prior,
 The Son of Adam and of Eve,
 Can Stuart, or Nassaw go higher.⁴⁰

By not having this self-appraisal engraved on his tombstone but directing someone else to heap fulsome sepulchral praise on him, Prior contrived to achieve on his own what was accorded to Pope contrary to his expressed wish.

Pope's posthumous misadventure may give us the cue for a brief excursus on those writers who rest under lines from their own works without having expressly chosen them as their epitaph – which obviously raises questions about how appropriate posterity's choice was. There is, famously, Heinrich Heine in Montmartre Cemetery, Paris, whose white marble monument of 1901, topped by his bust, features his poem "Wo?":

Wo wird einst des Wandermüden
 Letzte Ruhestätte sein?
 Unter Palmen in dem Süden?
 Unter Linden an dem Rhein?

 Wird ich wo in einer Wüste
 Eingeschart von fremder Hand?
 Oder ruh ich an der Küste
 Eines Meeres in dem Sand?

 Immerhin! Mich wird umgeben
 Gotteshimmel, dort wie hier,
 Und als Totenlampen schweben
 Nachts die Sterne über mir.

Where?

Wander-weary, where will I
 Find that final rest of mine?
 Where the Southern palms soar high?
 Under lindens on the Rhine?

 Will I die in some wild land
 Buried by a stranger, or
 Will I rest beneath the sand
 Of some distant ocean shore?

 Well, no matter? God's same sky
 Will be round me, there as here,
 And at night the stars on high
 Will be lamps to light my bier.

On Willa Cather's simple white tombstone in the old cemetery at Jaffrey Center, New Hampshire, there is a sentence from *My Ántonia* (1918) (which she had finished in her beloved Jaffrey): "That is happiness; to be

dissolved into something complete and great," identified as "from *My Antonia*." Thomas Wolfe, in Riverside Cemetery, Asheville, North Carolina, is buried under two citations, one from *Look Homeward, Angel*: "The Last voyage, the longest, the best," and one from *The Web and the Rock*: "Death bent to touch his chosen son with mercy, love and pity, and put the seal of honor on him when he died." Karl Marx lies under an imposing monument in London's Highgate Cemetery proclaiming: "Workers of all Lands Unite" – rather too obvious a choice perhaps. Carl Sandburg was a great oracle of folk wisdom, but the words on the rock marking the interment of his ashes (Fig. 1) in his birthplace in Galesburg, Illinois, though taken from his novel *Remembrance Rock*, are somewhat disappointing: "... for it could be a place to come and remember." Emily Dickinson, in the West Cemetery in Amherst, Massachusetts, was "Called back," according to her headstone – words from her last letter, to her cousins Louise and Frances Norcross. In their original context, the words do not appear to be in any way symbolical ("Little Cousins, Called back. Emily" is the complete text of the letter) – unless one wants to assume that the writer had the title of one of her favorite books in mind, a novella by Hugh Conway, with the reclusive protagonist of which she is believed to have identified. Such a private allusion would, of course, make the inscription doubly esoteric and inaccessible. How much wiser the choice of "Quand même" (all the same) for Sarah Bernhardt in Paris' Père Lachaise: it was her motto, "a phrase her stationery also bore." How much more telling also the words chosen for Ralph Waldo Emerson: his rose quartz tombstone in Concord's Sleepy Hollow Cemetery features the lines from his poem "The Problem": "The passive Master lent his hand / To the vast soul that o'er him planned" – which his biographer Ralph L. Rusk called "fitting symbols of only two of the many discordant elements which [...] were harmonized in Emerson." The list goes on and on: Edith Sitwell, T. S. Eliot, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Paul Robeson, etc.⁴¹ Sometimes a favorite quotation will do better than an excerpt from the deceased's own writing; after all, the quotation *was* self-chosen, if not as an epitaph, and may therefore be considered to be of equal rank with a self-chosen "last word." Thus Klaus Mann, Thomas Mann's son, was buried, in exile in the south of France, under a biblical quotation he was fond of citing in defense of suicide, which was his way of leaving the world. And Martin Luther King, Jr. is commemorated on his sepulchral monument (Fig. 2) with lines from the slave spiritual that was the culmination point of his most famous speech.⁴²

Before turning to the cases of well-known intellectuals who expressly penned the lines for their burial monuments, one more aspect of the complexities of posthumous self-perpetuation needs to be considered. Some of the best-known epitaphs adorning the graves of truly major figures cannot be shown with absolute certainty to have been authored by the persons commemorated, nor can their wish to have that particular text on their gravemarker be documented by anything more than time-honored hearsay.

Let's start with a local celebrity, Dr. John Caius, co-founder of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, a self-assured Humanist who died in 1573.



Fig. 2. Monument of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia, with epitaph, "Free at last, Free at last, / Thank God Almighty / I'm Free at last."

Nikolaus Pevsner reports in his volume on *Cambridgeshire* (London: Penguin, 1954) that Caius's epitaph on his monument in the college chapel – a lapidary statement of almost unChristian pride harking back to ancient times: “Fui Caius” (I was Caius), accompanied by “Vivit post funera Virtus” (virtue lives on after burial) – was “chosen no doubt by Caius who was always more interested in honour than in humility” (p. 66). “No doubt,” *because* Caius was known to be a proud man and therefore likely to be interested in his survival after death in a classical rather than a Christian sense? Scodel is probably right in transforming Pevsner's conjecture into a statement of fact: Caius died “after designing his tomb and composing his inscription.” “The audacity of this brief epitaph [noted around 1600 by the Society of Antiquaries] lies in its implication that Caius's name alone is praise enough, that nothing more specific need be said about him since the passerby will know upon reading ‘Fui Caius’ just how much greatness was lost and how much glory remains upon the death of this very successful academic” (p. 53-54). In Cambridge, this may be true to this day, but was it Caius himself who was so self-assured about his afterlife?⁴³

In any case, Caius would have been flattered to know that he shares such vagaries of posthumous fame with the greatest of the great: Virgil, Petrarch, Shakespeare. Virgil's ashes were buried along a roadside outside Naples, as was the custom at the time: his tomb and the road have long since subsided and slipped into the sea; but the epitaph is recorded in his biography known as the *Vita Donatiana*, which is the source (based on a lost account by Suetonius) of all later biographies, and it is beyond dispute:

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces.⁴⁴

Mantua bore me, Calabria tore me away, Naples now
Holds me; I sang meadows, fields, leaders.

At issue is whether this distich, whose concluding words sum up the poet's three main works (including the *Aeneid*, which he wanted destroyed), was authored by “some friend”⁴⁵ or by Virgil himself. “The sepulchral distich Virgil is said to have composed himself”⁴⁶ is as far as scholars are now willing to commit themselves. Not a word on whether the poet wanted it on his sepulchre.

Petrarch, foremost among post-classical writers to emulate Antiquity, was destined to a similar posthumous predicament. When he died in 1374, he was first buried in the parish church of Arquà; six years

later, his son-in-law had a sumptuous tomb built just outside the church. It bears the hexametric inscription which was still legible in the early Twentieth Century:

Frigida Francisci lapis hic tegit ossa petrarce
 Suscipe virgo parens animam sate virgine parce
 Fessaque iam terris celi requiescat in arce.⁴⁷

This stone covers the cold bones of Petrarch.
 Receive his soul, virgin mother; forgive it, [Jesus] born of a virgin;
 And may it, weary of the earth, rest in high heaven.

But is this Petrarch himself speaking from his grave? C.L. Fernow in 1818 would merely concede that the inscription "was said" to be his own words (p. 311), which of course leaves moot the further question of whether Petrarch wanted them to be on his grave, no matter who might have composed them. Another early biographer does not even mention an author, but it seems unlikely that he would attribute to the master those "bad Latin lines, the rhyming of which is their greatest merit."⁴⁸ Somewhat more recently, however, at least one biographer has flatly stated that the triolet on Petrarch's grave monument was "composed by himself," though he too did not seem to think much of its "jingling Latin."⁴⁹ Still, two later life-writers revert to "presumably written by Petrarch," without commenting on the quality of the verses.⁵⁰

Finally, Shakespeare. He was honored with what is generally agreed to be one of the most distinguished literary epitaphs in the language, by John Milton:

What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones,
 The labour of an age in piled stones?
 Or that his hallowed reliques should be hid
 Under a star-ypointing pyramid?
 Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
 What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
 Now in our wonder and astonishment
 Hast built thyself a life-long monument.
 For whilst, to th' shame of slow-endeavouring art,
 Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart
 Hath, from the leaves of thy unvalued book,
 Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
 Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
 Dost make us marble with too much conceiving;
 And so sepulchred, in such pomp dost lie
 That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

"Piled stones" the bard did receive, or at least one, the slab (not marble, though) in the chancel by the north wall of Holy Trinity Church in

Stratford-upon-Avon, where he was laid to rest. It proclaims the much-quoted preventive malediction:

GOOD FRENDE FOR JESUS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DUST ENCLOSED HEARE:
BLESTE BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES,
AND CURST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES.⁵¹

As for authenticity, a popular anthology of familiar quotations may confidently state that the words were chosen, though probably not written by Shakespeare.⁵² Scholarly caution, however, advises no more than "Several reporters in the late seventeenth century affirm that Shakespeare himself devised this epitaph, and ordered it to be cut on his tombstone," and "whether or not actually written by Shakespeare, the malediction has effectively accomplished its purpose, for no sexton, clerk, or crank has moved the bones enclosed there."⁵³

IV

Turning now to the successful organizers of their own posthumous fame or image, one quickly notices that not all of them chose a personalized "last word" worth enduring. Popular culture yields its share of quaint examples that may be of passing "human interest." They include American poet Sara Teasdale's wish that her marker should read "Sara Teasdale Filsinger," as it indeed does on her grave in St. Louis's Bellefontaine Cemetery, even though she had divorced Ernst Filsinger four years before her death in 1933 on grounds of extreme cruelty.⁵⁴ Minor players may speak interestingly to us effusively from their gravestones,⁵⁵ while historical figures do not necessarily see the writing of their own epitaph as an opportunity for originality. Thus, Alcuin, the renowned master of Charlemagne's palace school, was buried underneath a bronze tablet engraved with a Latin epitaph of his own creation which hardly differs from the standard Christian sepulchral sentiments of the time.⁵⁶ Among later high-ranking dignitaries, Sir William Temple, the statesman and patron of Jonathan Swift, may come to mind. He stipulated in his will that he be buried in the west aisle of Westminster Abbey, alongside his family, "with this Inscription," which merely states that he had this monument erected:

Sibi suisque charissimis [*sic*],
DIANAE TEMPLE dilectissimae Filiae,
DOROTHEAE OSBORN conjunctissimae Conjugi,
Et MARTHAEE GIFFARD optimae Sorori,
Hoc quaecunque Monumentum
Poni curavit
GULIELMUS TEMPLE, Baronettus.

Not much to write home about, or is the implication that posterity's memory will not need to be jogged to remember in perpetuity who Sir William was? In any case, his instructions were followed meticulously; the memorial was set up exactly as specified in 1722, after the death of his sister, Lady Giffard.⁵⁷

Other famous statesmen did appreciably better, notably Thomas Jefferson, as is well known on one side of the Atlantic. He left a note, preserved among the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress, in which he expressed his wish to be buried under an obelisk, with "the following inscription, and not a word more," "because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to be remembered":

Here was buried
Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of American Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
and Father of the University of Virginia.⁵⁸

Jefferson's request was honored. The epitaph can still be admired in the family cemetery on the hillside at Monticello. As most American school children know, the most interesting aspect of this self-assessment is that Jefferson did not bother to mention that he served twice as President of the United States. This curious circumstance makes it appropriate to mention Sherwood Anderson in the same breath. For he, too, when it came to summing up his life in his *Memoirs*, failed to mention what is by common consent his greatest accomplishment, his novel *Winesburg, Ohio*. The paragraphs entitled "For the End" in his unfinished *Memoirs* characterize his career, in which he had been "panned and praised by critics," as "what has seemed to me a very good life." This comes as a surprise from the man who for decades after *Winesburg, Ohio* bedevilled himself with the fear, fuelled by critics, that he was "finished." The final self-assessment focuses instead on his having been "healthy and strong," enjoying "thoroughly my friends, women, food, drink, sleep," indeed "persistent youth." It culminates in: "When I die I would like this inscription put on my grave: LIFE NOT DEATH IS THE GREAT ADVENTURE." By the time Anderson died – suddenly and in the prime of life, in Panama in 1941 while on a good-will tour of Latin America – he would not have wanted to change a word of this legacy. It was duly engraved on his tombstone in Round Hill Cemetery in Marion, Virginia.⁵⁹

Not unexpectedly, poets can be less prosaic about such consequential business. Several conveyed their wishes for a memorial in poems in

which their own grave, complete with epitaph, is described in sufficient detail to leave no uncertainty in the minds of friendly survivors about what had to be done – even though there was no formal testamentary request. The poem was the “last will.” A famous “botanical” example is Alfred de Musset’s entreaty, in his poem “Lucie:” “Mes chers amis, quand je mourrai, / Plantez un saule au cimetière” (My dear friends, when I die, plant a willow in the cemetery). The request was honored in Père Lachaise, Division 4, even though the sandy soil there is unsuitable for willows, so that the struggling tree has to be replaced periodically. But even this mismatch has been thought to be eminently fitting, on a symbolical level. “De Musset certainly never got anything that he wanted in life,” Willa Cather has written, “and it seems a sort of fine-drawn irony that he should not have the one poor willow he wanted for his grave.”⁶⁰

The least problematic case among those testamentary poems that specify text, rather than vegetation, is the well-known one of Robert Frost. His poem “The Lesson for Today,” published in his collection *A Witness Tree* (New York 1942), ends with the testamentary lines:

And were an epitaph to be my story
I'd have a short one ready for my own.
I would have written of me on my stone:
I had a lover's quarrel with the world. (p. 52)

The final verse appears indeed on the slab marking the resting place of Frost's ashes in the Old Bennington Cemetery in Vermont (Fig. 3). Of course, a lover's quarrel is a spat that is quickly made up with hugs and kisses. So those of Frost's biographers who felt that he was a “monster” might snicker; but there are others, and Frost may have had the last word after all.⁶¹

The grave of the prolific satirical poet Charles Churchill, famous in his lifetime and then largely ignored after his death, is a more intricate case in point. His final resting place, the “humblest of all sepulchres,” is perhaps remembered from Lord Byron's poem “Churchill's Grave” (1816), with its quotable final lines on the transitoriness of renown: Churchill's was a life “in which there was Obscurity and Fame, / The Glory and the Nothing of a Name.”⁶² His gravestone, in the churchyard of St. Mary the Virgin in Dover, where he was buried in 1764 after his short life was ended in Boulogne by “a military fever,” bears an inscription to suit his libertine life and writing (if not his earnest political pursuits articulated in his poetry): “Here lie the Remains of the celebrated C. Churchill. Life to the last enjoy'd, Here Churchill lies.”⁶³ As the epitaph rather academi-



Fig. 3. Grave slab marking ashes of Robert Frost (and also commemorating others of his family), Bennington, Vermont, with epitaph "I had a lover's quarrel with the world."

cally reminds the forgetful, the second sentence is a line from Churchill's poem *The Candidate* (1764), a satire on a Cambridge University non-event in which he anticipates his own sepulchral glorification by proposing that these words be his epitaph.⁶⁴ The text stands in striking contrast to Churchill's reported, but also disputed, last words, "What a fool I have been!"⁶⁵ – thus demonstrating the sorry truth that one cannot choose one's epitaph too late! Even more embarrassing is the context: the epitaphic line "tells only half the story."⁶⁶ For poor Churchill's vanity, understandable enough in one so idolized, raises its ugly head in the lines that follow "Here Churchill lies" in *The Candidate*; they in effect mandate Churchill's immortality: "Whilst (O, what joy that pleasing flatt'ry gives) / Reading my Works, he [a passer-by] cries – here Churchill lives." Still, who *would* look up the context?

Robert Louis Stevenson was rather more circumspect in his testamentary poem, "Requiem," written ten years before his death when he was seriously ill:

Under the wide and starry sky,
Dig the grave and let me lie
Glad did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me;
"Here he lies where he longed to be;
Home is the sailor, home from sea,
And the hunter home from the hill."

When he died on Samoa in 1894, he may well have considered his life as well-rounded and well-achieved as the "Requiem" anticipates. The two stanzas are indeed to be found on the plinth that was placed on his grave on the summit of Mount Vaea three years after his death.⁶⁷ For the man who roamed to the ends of the earth in search of a congenial life and habitat and who let his imagination roam farther still, the notion of coming "home" to a remote island far removed from his homeland is a poignant final word indeed. And it generated a touching echo. A second plaque on the plinth bears the words of Ruth to Naomi, in Samoan, "thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God; where thou diest, will I die" – a welcome to "Tusitala," as Stevenson was called in Samoa, from the destination of this memorable homecoming (Ruth 1:16-17).

One of the most famous testamentary poems in the language is W. B. Yeats's "Under Ben Bulbin," written on 4 September 1938, less than half a year before he died, and revised as late as "two days before death"⁶⁸:

Under bare Ben Bulben's head
 In Drumcliff churchyard Yeats is laid.
 An ancestor was rector there
 Long years ago, a church stands near,
 By the road an ancient cross.
 No marble, no conventional phrase;
 On limestone quarried near the spot
 By his command these words are cut:

*Cast a cold eye
 On life, on death.
 Horseman, pass by!*

Yeats died in the South of France on 28 January 1939. He was buried there, in Roquebrune, though there was never any doubt that he would eventually find his final resting place in Drumcliffe Churchyard. But it was not until 1948 that, in a national ceremony, his remains were re-interred there, in his ancestral ground in County Sligo, under Ben Bulben's head.⁶⁹ His epitaphic legacy was duly carved on his gravestone. A strange epitaph it is. Instead of the expected "Stranger, stop and cast an eye, / As you are now, so once was I,"⁷⁰ that is, instead of the usual appeal to a "viator" to stop and read the epitaph, to mourn the deceased and appreciate his merits or, for that matter, to use the occasion for a contemplation of mortality, Yeats addresses a horseman. He thereby evokes the noble and "heroic past"⁷¹ of his literary world, the "heroic centuries" of "Under Ben Bulben." More importantly, he chooses an admonition that inverts the "conventional phrase": do *not* remember, he implies, "pass by!" The paradox, then, of Yeats's epitaph, self-chosen through the wording of his testamentary poem, is that it presents the poet as one who wants to be remembered as not wanting to be remembered. If this is a final withdrawal from the vulgar world of the "pedestrian" present ("Scorn the sort now growing up" [line 70]), then it is, perversely, also a very public withdrawal – which does communicate something memorable, in spite of "pass by!"

Other major writers did not resort to the medium of poetry to indicate their wishes concerning their epitaph. Fulke Grenville, Jonathan Swift, John Gay, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats, Edward Fitzgerald, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Nikos Kazantzakis, among others, all chose more straightforward, but equally effective directives for the wording of their epitaphs. Testamentary statements saved them the need to write testamentary poetry. The result ranges from the sublime to the ridiculous, or at least to the would-be humorous.

To start with the latter, Will Rogers, whose sense of humor made him a national figure, was entertaining until the last. The *Boston Globe* reported his wishes on 16 June 1930:

When I die, my epitaph or whatever you call those signs on gravestones is going to read: 'I joked about every prominent man of my time, but I never met a man I didn't like.' I am so proud of that, I can hardly wait to die so it can be carved. And when you come to my grave you will find me sitting there proudly reading it.⁷²

His final resting place, in the Will Rogers Memorial, in Claremont, Oklahoma, bears the inscription: "I never met a man I didn't like." Marcel Duchamp, of "ready-made" art fame, was predictably more sophisticated and intriguing. His ashes lie in the family vault in Rouen's Cimetière Monumental. He "wrote his own epitaph, which appears on the flat headstone: "D'ailleurs c'est toujours les autres qui meurent" (Besides, it is always the others that die).⁷³ One would have expected no less from the master of puns and double-entendres who often elevated wordplay to the very substance of his works and revelled in paradox, such as the two-way door in his rue Larrey apartment which was always both open and closed. Others die, but the dead Duchamp lives in his works: not for nothing was he obsessed during his final years with the preservation, distribution, and optimal accessibility of his works, with his posthumous life, in other words. More notorious, indeed near-proverbial was John Gay's previously mentioned announcement from his sepulchral monument in Westminster Abbey:

Life is a jest, and all things show it;
I thought so once, but now I know it.

It raised more than a few eyebrows, not only on account of its lack of piety but also because of its "buffoonery" or "childish levity." Thus the criticism of Dr. Johnson, who felt such frivolous lines to be more appropriate for "the window of a brothel" than for "temples and [...] tombs" where we would expect to have our thoughts turned to solemnity and epitaphic wisdom.⁷⁴ Yet, the levity is Gay's own, a levity mixed with bitterness, to be sure – which may make it worthier of the author of *The Beggar's Opera*. For when Gay wrote to Alexander Pope several years before his death, asking him to see to it that these words would appear on his gravestone, he was dejected about his failure to secure a satisfactory position at the court.⁷⁵ Pope was a reliable friend, but he must have foreseen the embarrassment. So he added an epitaph of his own to Gay's

monument, which, as Scodel has shown, attempts to forestall criticism by presenting Gay as a man of "Simplicity, a Child," fully deserving the esteem of "the Worthy and the Good." Even so, it is curious that critics should have been so harsh on "self-inflicted" levity at a time when satire and downright buffoonery on epitaphs was entirely acceptable.⁷⁶

If Gay appeared to his contemporaries to be too lighthearted about such grave matters as one's own epitaph, Jonathan Swift was taken to task at the time for being too severe in his judgment of both himself and mankind in the epitaph he carefully crafted in his will and "desired" to be "deeply cut, and strongly gilded" on "a black marble" to be "fixed to the wall" near his grave under the great aisle of Dublin's St. Patrick's Cathedral, "on the south side."⁷⁷ What caused offense in this inscription, written some five years before Swift's death in 1745 and still to be seen in St. Patrick's, was the very "indignation" about life and mankind that, according to a Cambridge undergraduate in one of Yeats's plays, makes it "the greatest epitaph in history":⁷⁸

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
 JONATHAN SWIFT, S.T.P.
 HUIUS ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS
 DECANI,
 UBI SAEVA INDIGNATIO
 ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.
 ABI, VIATOR,
 ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
 STRENUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.

Or, in W. B. Yeats's free translation:

Swift has sailed into his rest;
 Savage indignation there
 Cannot lacerate his breast.
 Imitate him if you dare,
 World-besotted traveller; he
 Served human liberty.

In an analysis spelling out the subtle references to Swift's passionate fight for freedom, his classical satirical heritage, and his moralist persuasion, Maurice Johnson (see Note 77) has shown the complex ways in which these widely familiar lines are a sincere "epitome" of the author's career and life-long concerns. While Gay, as at least Pope saw it, through his posthumous flippancy missed his chance to do justice to himself, Swift, a man of many moods, not all of them pleasant, succeeded in formulating a monument to himself that preserves what was worthiest about him – without that mendacious flattery that is so endemic in epitaphs writ-

ten by survivors. At the same time, the final, no doubt bitter lines make his life a legacy to posterity: “imitare, si poteris.” Surely a fitting closure to a life well (if not always admirably) lived.

Swift was a man of the cloth, buried in his church – yet one would be hard pressed to hear any specifically Christian overtones in his epitaph. The opposite is true of three writers who, like Swift, wrote the epitaphs that appear on their graves: Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Edward Fitzgerald, and Edith Wharton, none of them a cleric, of course. Coleridge, with whom theology was no more than the passing obsession of his earliest student days, took great interest not only in the design of his own tombstone but particularly in the lines to be chiselled on it. “Aware, with the strange clairvoyance that he seemed to possess, that this would be his last winter,”⁷⁹ he composed them on 9 November 1833. He died the following July, and his “epitaph can now be found gravely incised on a memorial flagstone in the nave of St Michael’s Church, Highgate [London], where it is regularly walked over by numerous schoolchildren, a circumstance which would have surely pleased him.”⁸⁰ The surprise is that the man of “this world,” to whom humility did not come naturally, chose devoutly Christian sentiments for his summing up:

Stop, Christian passer-by! – Stop, child of God,
And read, with gentle breast. Beneath this sod
A poet lies, or that which once seem’d he.
O, lift one thought in prayer for S.T.C.;
That he who many a year with toil of breath
Found death in life, may here find life in death!
Mercy for praise – to be forgiven for fame
He ask’d, and hoped, through Christ. Do thou the same!

The self-effacement is remarkable, unless, of course, “life in death” would also refer to the afterlife of his writings – which would be Coleridge’s own afterlife, comparable to that of Duchamp, whose epitaph left dying to “the others” (the delicious ambiguity of “for” in the penultimate line – meaning “for” or “instead of” – may suggest that the worldly-wise Christian had it both ways).⁸¹

A similar surprise is offered by the pointedly religious signet over the grave of Edith Wharton, who had made her mark as a novelist featuring an unambiguously worldly society. She was laid to rest in the Cimetière des Gourds at Versailles in 1937 under a self-designed marble cross bearing the self-chosen inscription: “O crux spes unica” (O cross, my only hope). Grace Kellogg alone among biographers is not “baffled as to [the words’] meaning”:

They had nothing to do, I think, with her exploration into the dogma of Catholicism.

We may perhaps tie them in with something Grandma Scrimser says in *The Gods Arrive* – that final novel which contains so much of the author's own inner experience.

The old lady has always preached the doctrine of not trying to evade pain. On her deathbed she is left alone with Vance, who has come many miles to bid her farewell. As he kneels by the bed, his face on her hands, her voice comes, hardly audible, "Van, there's something I wanted to say to you ... Maybe – we haven't made enough of pain – been too afraid of it – don't be – afraid of it." It is her last word. I think it was Edith Wharton's last word.

It was the note which the writer had sounded repeatedly in her fiction. In the woman's long and self-contained life it was the dominant one. Suffering courageously borne – the only hope for human beings. This is, I believe, the true interpretation of her epitaph.

*O crux spes unica.*⁸²

Edward Fitzgerald, one might extrapolate from his spectacularly successful translation of *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (1859), would be likely to sleep his last sleep under an exuberant admonition to drink and make merry. But the words that greet the viator to his grave in tiny St. Michael's Churchyard in the village of Boulge, Suffolk, is even more self-effacingly Christian than Coleridge's at least seems to be. Like many others, ranging from Charles Lindbergh to Ellen Glasgow,⁸³ the man whose fame rests on what are, strictly speaking, not his own words, chose someone else's words, rather than his own, for his ultimate testament in stone. It is the third verse of Psalm 100, engraved on a granite slab: "It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves" – a text "which had always appealed forcibly to [Fitzgerald], and which he often used to quote."⁸⁴ In fact, Fitzgerald – a modest man of simple tastes, relishing his retired life in the country, whom only posterity draped in the garb of the sophisticated libertine – "not long before his decease [in 1883], expressed a wish [to his friend Francis Hindes Groome] that if any text were put upon his tombstone, it should be one which (as he said) he did not remember ever to have seen similarly used," whereupon he quoted the lines just cited.⁸⁵ As one stands at Fitzgerald's grave in austere East Anglia, one wonders about the relationship of the self-willed image of pious modesty to the icon of cultured hedonism that Fitzgerald had become in the minds of his readers.

Less surprising, in fact strikingly consistent with his lifelong iconoclastic attitudes, is the Cretan novelist Nikos Kazantzakis's self-chosen and self-composed epitaph. It is engraved on a starkly minimalist rectangular slab marking his grave on the ramparts of the imposing fortress

above Iraklion: "I hope for nothing. I fear nothing. I am free." What could be more fitting for the man (+1957) whom the Greek Orthodox clergy refused a funeral mass, whose novel *The Last Temptation* (1955) was put on the Index of the Roman Catholic Church, and whose *Zorba the Greek* (1946) was an exhilarating experience of liberation for millions of readers and movie-goers.⁸⁶

The ultimate in such consistency in life, death, and epitaphic afterlife may be Rainer Maria Rilke's self-chosen inscription on his gravestone by the old church in Raron, in the Swiss canton of Valais. On 27 October 1925, over a year before his death, he penned a testamentary statement in which he requested, among other things, that on his gravestone, an "old" one as he specified, the following lines, previously unknown, should appear, along with his name and the Rilke family crest:

Rose, oh reiner Widerspruch, Lust,
Niemandes Schlaf zu sein unter soviel
Lidern.

Rose, oh pure contradiction, delight
in being nobody's sleep under so many
eyelids.

Taken as a legacy, this poem has been analysed most extensively. It does indeed bring together key words of the poet's life-work, where the image of the rose functions as the "comprehensive symbol of his poetry, his being, and his world." No more fitting summary of Rilke's poetic existence, and its enigmas, could be imagined.⁸⁷

What Kazantzakis and Rilke (and many others) share with most of the successful self-epitaphists discussed in this essay is the urge to shape their posthumous image. In a sense, Yeats is the exception: he chose the paradox of wanting to be permanently remembered as wanting not to be remembered, an unspoken "Prepare to be forgotten" hanging eerily and provocatively about his boulder in Drumcliffe Churchyard. The paradox is, in fact, not as unusual among self-epitaphs as one might assume.

Sir Fulke Greville, first Baron Brooke (1554-1628), was not only a respectable poet but also a major figure at the courts of Elizabeth and James I, as well as a satellite of the stars of cultural life, such as Bacon, Sidney, and Camden. Such prominence has earned him a considerable entry in the *Oxford Companion to English Literature* – complete with the citation of his epitaph (which is a rare distinction indeed, in any reference work). Some three years before his slow death from a stab-wound inflicted by a servant, he had had a modest tomb built in St. Mary's Church in Warwick,

a stone's throw from his castle, and "his last piece of writing was the brief epitaph on his tomb," which, as a recent biographer tells us, "summarized the vision of his life."³⁸ One would expect as much of a self-written epitaph, of course. But a strange epitaph it is:

FVLKE GREVILL
SERVANT TO QVEEN ELIZABETH
CONCELLER TO KING JAMES
AND FREND TO SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

Etched in "a sombre and weighty black stone," these words capture "the most illustrious relationships of his earthly life." Fair enough, but they are followed by "TROPHAEVM PECCATI" – a monument (or indeed a trophy) of sin. The two words are a verdict on a life epitomized by the lines preceding them: a statement of glory, power, and accomplishment on the face of them, these lines are taken back forthwith in the spirit of Christian "omnia vanitas." This, then, is summing-up at its severest, a reminder of the transitoriness of life and its putative triumphs, and yet the self-congratulatory wording was carefully planned and executed to last forever. Conceptually, the epitaph on the monument is a self-destructing artifact, but materially, it is a permanent marker of the self-confessed sin of vanity. A contemporary of Greville got it right: "The inscription condemneth the tomb, the words despise the deeds."⁸⁹

John Keats' well-known self-willed epitaph, also recorded in the thumbnail biography in the *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, is comparable in its paradox. True, it does not feature a similar internal contradiction in so many words; rather, the paradox rests in the contrast between the message and its medium: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water," engraved in the stone of Keats's sepulchral monument in Rome's Protestant Cemetery. Hard to say whether the poet, as he lay dying in the house at the foot of the Spanish Steps, "listening night after night to the constant play of water in the fountain outside,"⁹⁰ actually intended the paradox when on 14 February 1821, a little over a week before his death, he asked his friend, the painter Joseph Severn, to ensure that this line be engraved on his tombstone in the camposanto that he knew would be his final resting place.⁹¹ To be sure, Keats had apparently also told Severn that he did not want his name on his tomb⁹² – but is one really to believe, and could Keats really have believed, that his nameless tomb would not be known as *his*? Only if this question is answered in the affirmative would the teasing paradox be non-existent – Keats wishing to be remembered as the non-remembered. Be this as

it may, the inscription placed on the gravestone by Severn two years after Keats's death runs as follows:

This Grave contains all that was Mortal of a Young English Poet, Who on his Death-Bed, in the Bitterness of his Heart, at the Malicious Power of his Enemies, Desired these Words to be engraven on his Tomb Stone

"Here lies One Whose Name was writ in Water."⁹³

No name – but the paradox is there for anyone to see; the implied challenge to inquiry does not go unheard. Had the desire for anonymity been uncompromising, it might have occurred to the dying poet to have his ashes scattered over the sea or in the campagna. As it is, Keats's paradox remains one of the most intriguing and moving indications of the power of a poet's words to survive time and place against all odds.

V

If awareness of mortality is the defining characteristic of *homo sapiens*, the desire to circumvent the inevitable is a trait that is just as constitutive of human nature. Such attempts to outwit death take many forms. Most prominent among them, and of great interest to the historian of (popular) culture, are self-written epitaphs, whether they actually appear on gravestones or not, which, as some of the "case histories" indicate, occurs more often than the unsuspecting *morituri* imagined. On the other hand, if self-written epitaphs do appear on gravestones in Western cultures, there is often a nagging doubt whether they were in fact either self-composed or intended – and intended *when?* – to be chiselled in stone, or both. Many, to be sure, succeeded at epitaphic self-commemoration, some well-known figures of Western cultural history among them. What, then, are their "last words"? A summation is usually intended, and posterity may be delighted by the "truth" of such self-assessment from the ultimate perspective – or surprised by the unexpected self-image. One way or the other, the final summing up should be an incentive to look again: what is it that *really* mattered in a life that ends with the chosen, and surely well-considered, last words?

NOTES

The photos used in this essay are by Richard E. Meyer.

1. Quoted in Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (London, England: H. Hamilton, 1987), 170. The second motto quoted above is from Nancy Millar, *Remember Me as You Pass by: Stories from Prairie Graveyards* (Calgary, Alberta, Canada: Glenbow Museum, 1994), 66.
2. "Epitaph and Biography", *Atlantic Monthly* 97 (1906), 430.
3. Compare, for example, the older Pope biographies cited in Note 37 with Maynard Mack's compendious *Alexander Pope: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), or Ralph L. Rusk's *Emerson* (see Note 41) with Robert D. Richardson, *Emerson: The Mind on Fire: A Biography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).
4. Karl S. Guthke, *Last Words: Variations on a Theme in Cultural History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), ch. 2. Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 251-252, cites Samuel Johnson and Alexander Pope on this point – which explains why last words will not infrequently appear on gravestones.
5. Paul Tillich, *The Eternal Now* (London, England: SCM Press, 1963), 24. On Cicero, see Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 355.
6. Letter to Philip Chamberlain, 24 May 1731: *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, vol. 3 (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1963), 469.
7. No. 28; I owe this information to Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 343.
8. One example: Franklin Pierce Adams, *FPA Book of Quotation* (New York, NY: Funk and Wagnalls, 1952).
9. John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, England: Thomas Harper, 1631), 18-20.
10. I am indebted to Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 209, for this information.
11. Emmet's words may be found in most dictionaries of familiar quotations. Robert Southey's poetic paraphrase is entitled "Written Immediately after Reading the Speech of Robert Emmet on his Trial and Conviction for High Treason, Sept. 1803" (*Poems*, ed. Maurice H. Fitzgerald [London, England: Oxford University Press, 1909], 396-397).
12. Shakespeare, *Works*, ed. Nicholas Rowe (London, England: J. Tonson, 1714), vol. 1, xxxvi-xxxvii.
13. *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature*, no. 433, 13 April 1872, 229.
14. Iiro Kajanto, *Classical and Christian: Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Helsinki, Finland: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1980), 50; Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1942), 227-228. These are cases of inscriptions on grave monuments erected during the lifetime of the future occupant of the grave.

15. Raymond Lamont Brown, *A New Book of Epitaphs* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England: Frank Graham, 1973), 78. See also John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment* (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1981), 329. Among the better known instances is Charles II's playful epitaph on himself, written in reply to Rochester's (Geoffrey N. Wright, *Discovering Epitaphs* [Princes Risborough, Bucks., England: Shire, 1996], 76). Entire monuments, too, would at that time be "set up by the people commemorated or in accordance with their detailed instructions" (Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750* [Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1998], 369); cp. Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 16; Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 118-119. The practice dates back to Antiquity (see, e.g., Hieronymus Geist and Gerhard Pfohl, *Römische Grabinschriften* [München, Germany: Heimeran, 1969], 17; cp. Note 14 above). Philippe Ariès claims it was still very much alive in the mid-1900s (*The Hour of Our Death* [New York, NY: Random House, 1981], 600).
16. This is the title of a volume of fictitious, "literary" epitaphs on the famous still living at the time, by a joker who called himself Kensal Green, subtitled "written mostly in malice" (London, England: Cecil Palmer, 1927); the victims are an odd lot: Churchill, Lady Astor, Charlie Chaplin, Theodore Dreiser, Mussolini, Albert Einstein ("Here Einstein lies; / At least they laid his bier / Just hereabouts - / Or relatively near," 31), Calvin Coolidge of "I do not choose" fame ("His name was Calvin. / What would you expect / From one whose namesake / Was of God's elect?", 22), the Bishop of London ("Here Dr. Ingram lies removed / From all he so much disapproved," 13). The volume concludes with "Kensal Green, his skin to save, / Here takes refuge in the grave" (63).
17. Raymond Lamont Brown, *A New Book of Epitaphs*, 82.
18. *Royal Gazette Magazine* (Hamilton, Bermuda), Nov. 1999, 14. The classic case is that of W. C. Fields, who was asked that question by a writer for *Vanity Fair* ("Here lies W. C. Fields. I would rather be in Philadelphia"); see John Francis Marion, *Famous and Curious Cemeteries* (New York, NY: Crown, 1977), 71.
19. www.google.com: "Epitaphs and suicides."
20. Abraham Blinderman, "My Students Write Their Epitaphs," *Humanist* XXXVIII: 2 (1978), 4-5.
21. William Henry Beable, *Epitaphs: Graveyard Humor and Eulogy* (New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1925), 7.
22. *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn, vol. 1 (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1956), 87 (17 May 1710).
23. Francis Bickley, *The Life of Matthew Prior* (London, England: Isaac Pitman, 1914), 283.
24. *Samuel Johnson*, ed. Donald Greene (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1984), 51-53.
25. www.nytimes.com/2001/05/15/obituar...

26. An example is Raymond Lamont Brown's *A New Book of Epitaphs* (see Note 15), 78-84, from which I am taking the epitaphs (cited in this paragraph) on Lloyd George, Gershwin, Arlen, Anderson, and Epstein; Joseph II's comes from Eduard Burckhardt, *Kaiser Joseph der Zweite in seinem Leben und Wirken* (Meiben, Germany: F. W. Goedsche, 1835), 399 (Joseph's tomb in the Vienna Capuchin Vault merely identifies him); Baudelaire: see *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Claude Pichois (Paris, France: Gallimard, 1961), 198. See also E. K. Shushan, *Grave Matters* (New York, NY: Ballantine, 1990), 193-204. As early as 1712 André François Deslandes complained about the "mauvais goût" of Persian king Darius, who on his deathbed asked for this epitaph: "J'ai pû boire beaucoup de vin & le bien porter" (*Reflexions sur les grands hommes qui sont mort en plaisantant*, nouvelle édition, [Amsterdam, Netherlands: Wetstein, 1732], 110). One of the probably very few cases of self-willed epitaphic humor that actually made it to the gravestone is that of Major Charles Child-Pemberton, whose punning ("It is well with the child") is, to be sure, of biblical inspiration. See my discussion in "Laughter in the Cemetery," *Fabula* 43 (2002). Beable, *Epitaphs*, 11: "Perhaps the best pun – a touching and beautiful pun – ever achieved in a self-epitaph is that on a grave in South Africa. On the night before Spion Kop, Child, of South African Horse, gave instructions that *when* (not *if*) he fell on the morrow the words 'It is well with the Child' should be graven on his tombstone."
27. *The Oxford Book of Death*, ed. D. J. Enright (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1983), 324; Paul Chaponnière, *Piron* (Genève, Switzerland: Jullien, 1910), 104.
28. Ariosto: *Renaissance Latin Verse: An Anthology*, ed. Alessandro Perosa and John Sparrow (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 182: "never inscribed on A.'s tomb," which is preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Ferrara. Mencken: Marion, *Famous and Curious Cemeteries*, 235.
29. Robert L. Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 7; 15. For a photo, see Douglas Greenwood, *Who's Buried Where in England* (London, England: Constable, 1999), 244.
30. Elizabeth's wish is cited from Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 53; for the epitaph in the Abbey and its cost, see Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London, England: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 441.
31. *Benjamin Franklin: His Life as he Wrote It*, ed. Esmond Wright (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 274-275. His well-known literary epitaph is preserved on a tablet near his burial site; for a photo, see Jean Arbeiter and Linda D. Cirino, *Permanent Addresses* (New York, NY: M. Evans, 1993), 150.
32. Bertolt Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke in 20 Bänden* (Frankfurt, Germany: Suhrkamp, 1967), vol. 8, 268; vol. 10, 1029. For a photo of Brecht's grave, see Marianne Kesting, *Bertolt Brecht in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Hamburg, Germany: Rowohlt, 308-315. Taus., 1983), 148.
33. Samuel Johnson, "On Gay's Epitaph," in *Samuel Johnson*, ed. Greene (see Note 24), 52. Similar statements are found in Johnson's "An Essay on Epitaphs" of 1740.
34. Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 252; see Scodel, ch. 8, for Pope's lifelong concern with epitaphs.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 257; translation: Pope, *The Prose Works*, II, ed. Rosemary Cowler (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 505.
36. Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 257; 259.
37. Alexander Pope, *Minor Poems*, vol. 6 of the Twickenham edition, ed. Norman Ault and John Butt (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1954), 376. For the circumstances of the poem's appearance on Pope's gravemarker, see George Paston, *Mr. Pope: His Life and Times* (London, England: Hutchinson, 1909), 697; Robert Carruthers, *The Life of Alexander Pope*, 2nd ed. (London, England: Bohn, 1857), 403-404.
38. Carruthers, *The Life of Alexander Pope*, 404; cp. Paston, *Mr. Pope*, 697: "tasteless."
39. Pope, *Minor Poems*, 376.
40. Bickley *The Life of Matthew Prior*, 281; Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 273-274; Samuel Richardson, *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions*, ed. Brian W. Downs (London, England: Routledge, 1928), 211.
41. Wolfgang Hädecke, *Heinrich Heine: Eine Biographie* (München, Germany: Hanser, 1985), 531-532; translation: Heine, *The Complete Poems, A Modern English Version* by Hal Draper (Boston, MA: Suhrkamp, 1982), 806; James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 505; Nancy Eills and Parker Hayden, *Here Lies America: A Collection of Notable Graves* (New York, NY: Hawthorn, 1978), 7 (Wolfe); Arbeiter and Cirino, *Permanent Addresses*, 134 (Sandberg; confirmed by "The Carl Sandberg Birthplace," Galesburg); *An Emily Dickinson Encyclopedia*, ed. Jane Donahue Eberwein (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998), 38, and *Letters*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), vol. 3, 1046; Alfred Habegger, *My Wars Are Laid Away: The Life of Emily Dickinson* (New York, NY: Random House, 2001), 625-626; Tom Weil, *The Cemetery Book* (New York, NY: Barnes and Noble, 1993), 56 (Bernhardt); Emerson, *Works, The Standard Library Edition* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1883-1893), vol. 9, 17; Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, NY: Scribner's, 1949), 508; Lynn F. Pearson, *Discovering Famous Graves* (Princes Risborough, Bucks., England: Shire, 1998), 84, 97 (Sitwell, Eliot); Robert B. Dickerson, *Final Placement: A Guide to Deaths, Funerals, and Burials of Notable Americans* (Algonac, MI: Reference Publications, Inc., 1982), 73, 200 (F. Scott Fitzgerald, Robeson). Other cases include Arno Holz, who is buried under a stone inscribed with the final lines of his *Phantasus*: "Mein Staub verstob; wie ein Stern strahlt mein Gedächtnis" (Städtischer Friedhof Heerstrabe, Berlin; see Klaus Hammer, *Historische Friedhöfe und Grabmäler in Berlin* (Berlin, Germany: Stattbuch, 1994), 173). George Du Maurier's gravestone in Hampstead's St. John's churchyard features the closing lines of *Trilby* (1892), the novel he is famous for: "A little trust that when we die / We reap our sowing! And so – good-bye." See Michael Kerrigan, *Who Lies Where? A Guide to Famous Graves* (London, England: Fourth Estate, 1998), 273; see *ibid.*, 371 for Felicia Hemans's grave in St. Ann's churchyard, Dublin ("Calm on the bosom of thy God ..."). On Walter Benjamin and Heinrich von Kleist, see Karl S. Guthke, "Epitaphs on Suicides," *Grenzgänge: Festschrift für Hans-Jörg Knobloch*, eds. Helmut Koopmann and Manfred Misch (Paderborn, Germany: Mentis, 2002), 433-459.

42. On King, Harry Harmer reports: "On his gravestone were the words of the old slave song, the words with which he had concluded his most eloquent speech: 'Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, I'm free at last'" (*Martin Luther King*, [Stroud, Gloucs., England: Sutton, 1998], 101); the speech is the address at the Lincoln Memorial given as part of the March on Washington in August 1963. On Klaus Mann, see Guthke, "Epitaphs on Suicides."
43. For a similar (if witty, rather than ponderous) case of humanist pride expressed in a "probably" self-written epitaph (John Marston), see Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 57.
44. Vergil, *Landleben [...], Vergil-Viten*, ed. Karl Bayer (München, Germany: Heimeran, 1970), 224; transl.: Theodore Ziolkowski, *Virgil and the Moderns* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 28.
45. Tenney Frank, *Virgil: A Biography*, (New York, NY: Holt, 1922), 193.
46. Bayer, ed., *Vergil-Viten*, 674.
47. Ugo Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca* (Rome, Italy: Laterza, 1987), 439; C. L. Fernow, *Francesco Petrarca*, ed. Ludwig Hain (Altenburg and Leipzig, Germany: Brockhaus, 1818; rpt. Amsterdam: Netherlands: Grüner, 1972), 311. "Still legible": H. C. Hollway-Calthrop, *Petrarch* (London, England: Methuen, 1907), 303.
48. Thomas Campbell, *Life of Petrarch* (Philadelphia, PA: Carey and Hart, 1841), 406.
49. Hollway-Calthrop, *Petrarch*, 303.
50. Ernest H. Wilkins, *Petrarca's Later Years* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1959), 271; Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca*, 439: "che si vuole dettati dallo stesso poeta" ("presumably dictated by the poet himself").
51. Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1977), 306.
52. Adams, *FPA Book of Quotations* (Note 8), 296.
53. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, 306; 307. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, "Lapidary Verse," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 45 (1959), 242: "May not the modest quatrain have been Shakespeare's own? Need we suppose that when it was time to contemplate his own tomb, he felt like composing another exercise in elegiac sophistication like *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, or another melodious lyric such as the dirge in *Cymbeline*? May he not have rejected the splendours of 'defunctive music', and written something perfectly plain and simple – commonplace perhaps, but perhaps a cry from the heart? I think it may be so; and indeed it was pointed out, by that fine scholar John Semple Smart, that the lines agree perfectly, in rhythm and cadence and rhyme, with the epilogue to *The Tempest*, the last lines of Shakespeare's last play."
54. William Drake, *Sara Teasdale: Woman and Poet* (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1979), 259; 293. For other cases, see John Gary Brown, *Soul in the Stone: Cemetery Art from America's Heartland* (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 20; 36; 129; Frederic

W. Unger, *Epitaphs* (Philadelphia, PA: The Penn Publishing Company, 1905), 163; Bertrand Beyern, *Guide des cimetières de France* (Paris, France: Le Cherche midi, 1994), 201; Willi Wohlberedt, *Verzeichnis der Grabstätten bekannter und berühmter Persönlichkeiten in Grob-Berlin und Potsdam mit Umgebung*, 4. Teil (Berlin, Germany: privately publ., n.d. [1952]), preface and 368; see also Klaus Hammer, *Historische Friedhöfe*, 148. In the Cimiterio de Staglieno in Genoa, there is the sumptuous monument erected by a peddler, Caterina Campodonico, with the following inscription, in the Genoese dialect:

By selling my wares at the sanctuaries of Acquasanta,
Garbo, and St. Cipriano, defying wind, sun and rain
in order to provide an honest loaf for my old age I
have also put by enough to have myself placed, later on,
with this monument, which I, Caterina
Campodonico (called the Peasant) have erected while
still alive.

1881. Oh, you who pass close to this my tomb, if you
will, pray for my peace. (Marion, *Famous and Curious Cemeteries*, 34).

55. The self-written epitaph of Anthony Kingscote, who “fell a sleepe in the Lord” in 1654, on his sepulchral monument in Kingscote, Gloucs., reads:

Mistery of Misteryes, thou art hee:
Whose like was not, nor ere shall bee:
That Maiesty divine was ioyned in
With loathsome carckess of sinn:
That God of glory dayned to take
Curse, death and torments for our sake.
Hee did refuse the Angells state
And Abrahams seed upon him take.
To dye for enimyes and those
Who were becomde his utter foes:
To dye for us to make us good
Who all in curst corruption stood
To rayse us out of graves and hell
With him in light and life to dwell
Tremble with joy to thinke upon
This most misterious union
Glory to God mercy to man
Is Heavens proclamation
Anto: Kingscot
So thought
So wrote
Which doth declare his faith and prove
His part in God’s eternall love:

Quoted from Kenneth Lindley, *Of Graves and Epitaphs* (London, England: Hutchinson, 1965), 165. For other cases, see Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 118-120 (1566, 1623); Wright, *Discovering Epitaphs*, 85 (1927); Maeve Friel, *Here Lies: A Guide to Irish Graves* (Dublin, Ireland: Poolbeg, 1997), 60; 209; 224 (1845, 1889, 1798); Silvester Tissington, *A Collection of Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions* (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall, 1857), 495 (1837); Thomas F. Ravenshaw, *Antiente Epitaphes* (London,

England: Joseph Masters, 1878), 132; 174 (1689, 1793); Charles L. Wallis, *Stories on Stone A Book of American Epitaphs* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1954), 225 (1891); H. P. V. Nunn, *Christian Inscriptions* (New York, NY: Philosophical Library, 1952), 29 (ca. 150).

56. Translation:

Here, I beg thee, pause for a while, traveler,
 And ponder my words in thy heart,
 That thou mayest understand thy fate in my shadow:
 The form of thy body will be changed as was mine.
 What thou art now, famous in the world, I have been, traveler,
 And what I now am, thou wilt be in the future.
 I was wont to seek the joys of the world in vain desire:
 Now I am ashes and dust, and food for worms.
 Remember therefore to take better care of thy soul
 Than of thy body, because that survives, and this perishes.
 Why dost thou look for possessions? Thou see'st in what a little cavern
 This tomb tells me: Thine will be equally small.
 Why are thou eager to deck in Tyrian purple thy body
 Which soon in the dust the hungry worm will devour?
 As flowers perish when comes the menacing wind,
 So also thy flesh and all thy glory perish.
 Give me, I beg thee, O reader, a return for this poem,
 And pray: "Grant, O Christ, forgiveness to thy servant."
 I implore thee, let no hand profane the holy rights of this tomb,
 Until the angelic trumpet announces from Heaven high:
 "Thou who liest in the tomb, rise from the dust of the earth,
 The Mighty Judge appears to countless thousands."
 My name was Alcuine, and wisdom was always dear to me.
 Pour out prayers for me when thou quietly readest this inscription.

From Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), 264-265. For the original Latin, see 256-257; for the tablet (now lost), 255.

57. *The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart. in Two Volumes. Volume the First. To Which is prefixed, The Life and Character of Sir William Temple. Written by a Particular Friend* (London, England: J. Round, 1740), vol. 1, xii.
58. Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 349.
59. *Sherwood Anderson's Memoirs: A Critical Edition*, ed. Ray Lewis White (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 560; Arbeiter and Cirino, *Permanent Addresses*, 123.
60. Quoted from Weil, *The Cemetery Book*, 51. On the willow on the grave, see Bertrand Beyern, *Guide des tombes d'hommes célèbres* (Paris, France: Le Cherche midi, 1998), 141.
61. See the account of the vicissitudes of Frost's image in Jay Parini, *Robert Frost: A Life* (New York, NY: Holt, 1999), 449-458. An amusing instance of using the epitaph as the last

word in a longstanding controversy is that of American poet John A. Joyce († 1915). Even though Ella Wheeler Wilcox had published the much-quoted lines "Laugh and the world laughs with you / Weep and you weep alone" in her poem "Solitude" in 1883, Joyce claimed priority of oral authorship. He had the text engraved with the by-line "Joyce" on his tombstone in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, D.C., well in advance of his demise. See Eills and Hayden, *Here Lies America* (Note 41), 38-39.

62. Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann, vol. 4 (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1986), 2.
63. Wallace Cable Brown, *Charles Churchill: Poet, Rake, and Rebel* (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1953), 196; Raymond J. Smith, *Charles Churchill* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1977), 13.
64. *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill*, ed. Douglas Grant (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1956), 355.
65. Ferdinand Putschi, *Charles Churchill: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Wien, Austria, and Leipzig, Germany: Braumüller, 1909), 20.
66. Brown, *Soul in the Stone*, 216.
67. Frank McLynn, *Robert Louis Stevenson* (London, England: Hutchinson, 1993), 505. On the date and circumstances of the composition of the "Requiem," see Rosaline Masson, *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York, NY: Stokes, 1923), 223-224.
68. I cite the text from *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach (New York, NY: Macmillan, fifth printing, 1971), 640. Yeats dated the poem himself, thereby making the date an integral part of the text. On Yeats's revision of the poem shortly before his death, see A. Norman Jeffares, *W. B. Yeats* (Dublin, Ireland: Gill and Macmillan, 1996), 273.
69. Keith Alldritt, *W. B. Yeats* (London, England: Murray, 1997), 356-357.
70. As seen, for example, with recognizable variants, on literally hundreds of gravemarkers from the Seventeenth Century onwards. See, as well, e.g., Shushan, *Grave Matters*, viii. G. Walker Jacobs entitles his "Guide to Gravestones" *Stranger Stop and Cast an Eye* (Brattleboro, VT: Greene, 1973). One thinks also of Nancy Millar's title *Remember me as You Pass by* (Note 1). Closer to Yeats is an epitaph in Kersey Churchyard, Suffolk:
- Reader pass on nor waste thy time
On bad biography or bitter rhyme
For what I am this humble dust enclose,
And what I was is no affair of yours. (Kerrigan, *Who Lies Where?*, 145)
- A similar one is recorded by Wright, *Discovering Epitaphs* (note 15), 85; yet another by Janet Greene, *Epitaphs to Remember* (Chambersburg, PA: Alan C. Hood, 1993), 34.
71. Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 410. I am indebted to Scodel's discussion of the inversion of the conventional epitaphic pattern.

72. Bryan B. Sterling and Frances N. Sterling, *Will Rogers and Wiley Post: Death at Barrow* (New York, NY: M. Evans and Co., 1993), 267. For the actual epitaph, see Dickerson, *Final Placement*, 204.
73. Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography* (New York, NY: Holt, 1996), 450; ill.: Beyern, *Guide des tombes d'hommes célèbres*, opp. p. 133. On the next sentence, see Tomkins, 3; 221; 231; 461, and (concerning the door) 277; 395; 400.
74. Samuel Johnson, ed. Greene (Note 24), 51-53 (see the citation, above); Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 302, n. 94, on contemporary criticism of the epitaph, which includes Myles Cooper's "Be never merry more than wise" (*Poems on Several Occasions* [Oxford, England: W. Jackson, 1671], 23).
75. Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 301. The letter is from 1727 or 1729 (Scodel, 301-302, n. 90); Gay died in 1732.
76. See Karl S. Guthke, "Laughter in the Cemetery," *Fabula* 43 (2002).
77. Maurice Johnson, "Swift and 'the Greatest Epitaph in History,'" *PMLA* 68 (1953), 814-827; the will: 818; criticism: 818; 820. I quote the epitaph from 818, Yeats's "translation" from *The Variorum Edition* (Note 68), 493.
78. William Butler Yeats, *The Words upon the Window-Pane*, in *Wheels and Butterflies* (London, England: Macmillan, 1934), 45.
79. Walter Jackson Bate, *Coleridge* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1968), 235. On the date, see James Dykes Campbell, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Highgate, England: Lime Tree Bower Press, 1970), 276. On Coleridge's interest in his tombstone, see Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Darker Reflection, 1804-1834* (London, England: HarperCollins, 1998), 556.
80. Holmes, *Coleridge*, 557.
81. *Ibid.*: "For all his self-doubts, Coleridge had some confidence that his work would now endure." This, however, is not offered as an interpretation of the epitaph. The "Epitaph" is quoted from *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1912), vol. 1, 491-492. Commenting on the penultimate line of the epitaph in an undated letter to J. G. Lockhart (5 November 1833), Coleridge wrote: "N.b. - 'for' in the sense of 'instead of'." See *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, vol. 6 (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1971), 973, Note 2.
82. Grace Kellogg, *The Two Lives of Edith Wharton: The Woman and Her Work* (New York, NY: Appleton-Century, 1965), 308.
83. Lindbergh, a meticulous planner of his funeral and his burial place, chose Psalm 139:9: "If I take the wings of the morning, And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea." The words appear on his marble tombstone in the Kipahulu Churchyard on Maui, Hawaii (A. Scott Berg, *Lindbergh* [New York, NY: Putnam's, 1998], 557). Ellen Glasgow chose as her epitaph the lines from Milton's "Lycidas": "Tomorrow to fresh woods and pastures new" (Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, VA; see Susan Goodman, *Ellen Glasgow: A Biography* [Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998], 250).

84. Thomas Wright, *The Life of Edward Fitzgerald* (London, England: Grant Richards, 1904), 220; see also Alfred McKinley Terhune, *The Life of Edward Fitzgerald, Translator of The Rubáiyát of Omar Kayyám* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1947), 345.
85. John Glyde, *The Life of Edward Fitz-Gerald* (Chicago, IL, and New York, NY: H. S. Stone, 1900), 314.
86. On Kazantzakis' wish for his epitaph, see Peter Bien, *Kazantzakis: Politics of the Spirit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), xxiv.
87. For the "testament," see Rilke, *Briefe an Nanny Wunderly-Volkart*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, Germany: Insel, 1977), 1192. For the actual gravestone, see Rilke, *Werke*, ed. Manfred Engel et al., vol. 2, (Frankfurt, Germany: Insel, 1996), 853; for critical analyses, see *ibid.*, 853 and 772-775. Quotation: 774 ("umfassende[s] Dichtungs-, Daseins- und Weltsymbol"). Translation: Donald Prater, *A Ringing Glass: The Life of Rainer Maria Rilke* (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1986), 383.
88. Ronald A. Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke* (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1971), 317 (date of the tomb); xxv ("last piece"); 312 ("vision"). The wording of the epitaph is taken from Rebholz, 318; the quotations following the epitaph are from 317.
89. Quoted by Rebholz, *Ibid.*, 318, from a ms. among the Greville papers.
90. Walter Jackson Bate, *John Keats* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1967), 694.
91. Robert Gittings, *John Keats* (London, England: Heinemann, 1968), 428; Douglas Bush, *John Keats* (London, England: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 198. On the possible sources of the wording (Elizabethan, ancient Greek), see *The Keats Circle*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), vol. 2, 91, N. 72, and Oonagh Lahr's note in the *Keats-Shelley Journal* 21-22 (1972-73), 17-18.
92. Bate, *John Keats*, 694; Andrew Motion, *Keats* (London, England: Faber and Faber, 1997), 564-565. Like Gittings, both of these authors state that Keats wanted only the by now famous line. This may be implied, but is not explicitly stated in Severn's letter to Charles Brown of 14 February 1841, which is the "foundational" text in this respect (*The Keats Circle*, vol. 2, 91); but this is apparently not the only version of this letter (*The Keats Circle*, vol. 2, 89, n. 69).
93. Bush, *John Keats*, 200. Bate, *John Keats*, 694 summarizes the controversy among Keats' friends about the wording. For a photo of the grave, see Motion, *Keats*, fig. 72.



**Fig. 1. Thomas Foster Memorial, Uxbridge, Ontario, Canada,
as viewed from entrance gates.**

THE THOMAS FOSTER MAUSOLEUM: CANADA'S TAJ MAHAL

Sybil F. Crawford

Introduction

Unless forewarned, first-time visitors to the Uxbridge, Ontario countryside will have little reason to suspect they are about to see a mausoleum (Fig. 1) that has emerged as a veritable tourist attraction for which visitors are willing to pay an admission charge. Located approximately 75 miles from Toronto, the mausoleum is situated on property adjoining Zion Cemetery, where its rural location belies its metropolitan grandeur (Fig. 2). Driving eastward from Toronto on Highway 401, north on Highway 38, and east again on Highway 37, motorists will reach Uxbridge. Turning north on Durham Regional Road 1 and driving about 6.5 miles in the direction of Leaskdale, the dome of the mausoleum will soon be glimpsed above the treetops to the right.

The mausolea of such tycoons as F. W. Woolworth, Louis Sherry, and the Getty, Belmont, and Wainwright families (to name but a few) have long been publicized as architectural gems, yet they seem relatively unostentatious and somewhat dwarfed when compared with the mauso-



Fig. 2. Panoramic view of the Foster Memorial and adjoining Zion Cemetery.

leum of the lesser known Foster (Fig. 3). Researching memorials (simple or grandiose) leads to the discovery of how, when, where, and why persons were memorialized as they were – and by whom. While descriptions of memorials, their material, size, ornamentation, and symbolism, have their place, determining if there is any correlation between the “man” and the “memorial” can be a far more fascinating exercise. Dissection of a personality often leads us toward an answer, as is the case with Thomas Foster, whose memorial, at first glance, contradicts almost everything known about this complex individual.

The Man

Born near Toronto on July 25, 1852, Foster spent his early years in Scott Township, York County, where his father and a brother ran the Leaskdale Hotel.¹ After the death of his mother, the young man was sent to live with an uncle in 1867. For three years, he served an apprenticeship at the butcher shop of Richardson Brothers in Toronto, then opened his own shop. Learning quite by accident that the owner of the property was about to sell it, he bought his own building – a fortuitous introduction to the opportunities abounding in real estate. After eighteen years in the butcher business, he retired at age 39, a rich man, and entered



Fig. 3. Close-up, angled view of the mausoleum.

politics at the municipal level. In 1893, at age 41, the comfortably-settled Foster married Elizabeth McCauley. The couple's daughter, Ruby, their only child, died in 1904 at age 10.

Foster's "Honest Tom" nickname, earned during his butchering days, resulted from his reputation for fair-dealing with shop customers. It stayed with him for the balance of his life – no small feat for a politician.

First elected a Toronto alderman in 1891, the year of his retirement from trade, he appeared at his initial City Council meeting in formal evening attire – striped trousers and white tie – at 10 a.m.² While this was almost certainly rented garb, he is known to have owned a short, ill-fitting velvet coat for wear on state occasions. This coat disappeared somewhat mysteriously (or was discreetly withdrawn from service) after the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee celebrations of 1897, perhaps prompted by a stinging reference by Alderman O. B. Sheppard to "Solomon in all his glory."³ Foster was described as "a vain man, keenly conscious of his success." As a young man, he had an unusually luxuriant head of hair, made even more noticeable by the great quantities of hair oil he applied. His desire to be noticed was also evidenced by his use of what has been described as a "flaming red" silk handkerchief flowing casually from his breast pocket.⁴

He was frequently elected alderman from 1891 until 1909, when he returned to City Hall as Controller, serving from 1910 to 1917. During this time, he was involved in countless civic debates, not the least of which was the May, 1913 debate concerning the granting of more Canadian civil knighthoods. On a less exalted plane, he was in favor of daylight savings time and suffrage for women! A great supporter of hydro-electric power, he quite rightly recognized cheap electricity as being an important requirement for promotion of Ontario's industry.⁵ Closer to home, one of his most valuable contributions to Toronto's growth was his promotion of a street-paving program.

Moving up in the political world, he was elected to serve as East York's representative in the Federal House of Commons and served there from 1917 (as a Conservative) until 1921 (when he was defeated as an Independent). After his wife died in 1920, he sought solace in outside activities and, with the federal service behind him, he returned to Toronto, serving as Controller for another three years. In 1925, Foster ran a successful first race for the mayor's post and served in that capacity in 1925, 1926, and 1927. Given Toronto's role as one of Canada's major cities, the mayoral post was not insignificant.

In his capacity as Toronto's mayor, Foster was often called upon to take a prominent part in the visits of dignitaries such as the Prince of Wales or the homecomings of sports figures such as George Young, the marathon swimmer hailed as a hero upon his return from a swimming victory at Catalina. A social *faux pas* which gained considerable public notice occurred when Viscount Willingdon paid a visit to Toronto. Greeting the Viscount, Foster asked quite bluntly and with a total disregard of his pronunciation, "Are you the vice-count?" We can only wonder if he was unaware of proper dress, conversation, and protocol or was knowingly making "newspaper copy."⁶

Frugality, learned in his youth, was one of his lifelong traits and gives rise to a bit of oft-repeated Foster lore. He had been saving money for quite some time when a circus came to town. Rather than treat himself to a circus outing, as might be expected of any typical teenager, he and three friends (Will Ryrie, Jack Reid, and Johnny O'Neill) invested their savings in a peanut stand near the entrance. Shortly after setting up the booth, it was knocked over by a rampaging loose elephant and the entire stock of peanuts eaten.⁷ This was said to be his first and last "foolish" investment. (Like Foster, his three young friends would later enjoy success. Ryrie would become a famous Canadian jeweler, Reid a prominent lumberman, and O'Neill a prospering manufacturer and hotelier.)

Foster's penchant for thrift, which began at home, would eventually make him famous, and stories of his penny-pinching are legion. When butter was required for home use, Foster walked more than a half-mile to a dairy, insisting on purchasing a half-pound only. The dairy obligingly catered to his whim, refrigerating the other half in anticipation of his return when more was needed.⁸

Sam Lee, his houseboy of many years, worked for \$40 per week, but had his wages cut to \$35 during the 1930s, "hard times" being his employer's excuse for doing so.⁹ A 1959 newspaper article claimed that a former chauffeur had an even less pleasant experience and, in 1947, sued the Foster estate for back wages.¹⁰ If taken at face value, it is difficult to envision the tight-fisted Foster having a chauffeur in his employ, and our instincts would be correct. After investigation of the Foster estate records, it is clear that the newspaperman gave only half the story and was somewhat less than accurate in his reporting. The "chauffeur" was, in fact, Foster's nephew, Robert Foster, Jr., and he filed a \$25,000 claim (not a suit) against the estate. The claim, later withdrawn, outlined services young Foster rendered his uncle from 1914 until his death. While

an essentially simple document, a reading of the claim is valuable for the additional insights it offers.

By 1914, Foster had purchased an automobile of his own, and his nephew taught him to drive that year. Robert, Jr. drove his uncle about the City of Toronto on many occasions during his campaigning days and also distributed election literature and posters. On occasions when Foster was absent from the city, he collected rents and mortgage money, but was never paid for doing so. For a period of fourteen years (1920 to 1934) Foster was frequently driven to his nephew's farm, always returning home with great quantities of fruit and vegetables. As construction of the Memorial got under way, Foster made frequent visits, and his nephew claimed that he drove Foster to Uxbridge on no less than twenty occasions each year for the next ten years. As age began to take its toll, Foster placed his car in storage and nephew Robert acted as his driver, using his own automobile and bearing all the expense of gas, oil, tires, and general wear and tear on the vehicle. A single reimbursement is evidenced by a receipt for \$163 "on account of automobile expenses in 1943." We might at first suspect that Robert, Jr. was a favorite nephew, as he accompanied Foster on various outings over the years and was in constant attendance, day and night, at the time of his uncle's last illness (of seven weeks' duration).¹¹ This is not supported by the terms of his uncle's will, however, as young Robert seemingly fared little better than his siblings and cousins.

Not one to waste money on a rental agent, Foster collected the rent from his many tenants himself. If plumbing problems or the need for a paint touch-up were reported on such occasions, he stepped out to his car, located the appropriate tools, and handled the matter personally and on the spot.¹²

His frugality was quite as much in evidence in public life as in his personal enterprises, and during his three years as mayor it is said that his economies saved the city \$2,000,000. Annexation was a pet peeve, and none occurred during his term of office, probably because he fore-saw it as a drain on city resources.¹³ One of his ploys was to have all municipal vehicles boldly marked with "City of Toronto" to ensure they were not used for non-business purposes. During one of his campaigns, he was accompanied by a singer who chanted, "He's a daisy, he's a daisy, he's a watchdog just now."¹⁴ Whatever its obscure meaning, the phrase somehow seemed to send a positive message to the voters.

In spite of all his saving ways, Foster was never predictable. When Toronto City Hall was new, it lacked a flagpole, a shortcoming he rem-

edied out of his own pocketbook “and hang the cost.” A gift of \$1,000 to a war widow was another of his unexpected generosity, made after the woman’s claim for her husband’s city insurance was disallowed. As he wrote the check, he noted that “the poor woman has had enough troubles and litigation.” He was no stranger to litigation himself and, paradoxically, had just been awarded that exact amount in a libel action.¹⁵ C. Alfred Maguire, an ex-mayor of Toronto, observed that on a trip to New York City to inspect its harbor, Foster bought expensive cigars and entertained members of the delegation “lavishly.”¹⁶ If true, it was certainly most uncharacteristic.

For one who appeared to be a product of this none-too-kind world and continually obsessed with money, many were surprised to find that he had quite another, gentler side. During his days as Toronto’s mayor, his office was almost always fragrant with bouquets of fresh flowers from Allan Gardens. A snip of geranium (his favorite flower) was seldom absent from the buttonhole of his coat. When the pavilion at Allan Gardens burned, he was quick to push for rebuilding it as an elaborate greenhouse. He is also credited with being the promoter of the Royal Winter Fair.¹⁷

Life was never dull if Foster was around. He had an unsuspected flair for showmanship and publicity, and even the most ordinary occasion could be turned into a newsworthy event. The ideas were ostensibly his own, as he did not have a public relations man (nor would he have paid the price) to think up quirky attention-getters. When he took his first airplane flight in September of 1927, not content to simply enjoy his lofty view of the city below, he dropped ten \$1 bills with Union Jack flags attached. Persons finding these bills were instructed to return them and have them redeemed for a brand-new \$5 bill.¹⁸

A Toronto City Clerk, James W. Somers, recalled Foster donning a cowboy suit and wide-brimmed hat and riding on horseback from the Canadian National Exhibition grounds to City Hall with performers from a visiting rodeo in tow. The horse was ridden up the City Hall steps and back down before Foster dismounted and placed a wreath on the City Hall Cenotaph.¹⁹ Another Somers recollection tells of a journey the two took to Ottawa on official city business, with Foster carrying his “wardrobe” in a paper sack (he apparently believed an ample supply of throw-away celluloid collars made a change of shirts unnecessary). A slip-on tie was another of his inexpensive time-savers and, until he became mayor,

Foster never owned a suit of formal wear.²⁰ Somers was on this same trip vigorously upbraided by the mayor for booking two separate rooms, thereby doubling the cost of the stay.²¹ For his later international travel, he made the slightest of bows to convention and carried a single piece of luggage. His few items of travel apparel included two hats – a black derby for land excursions and a peaked cap for wear at sea.²²

Always expecting to reign victorious and accustomed to having his own way, he could become belligerent if thwarted. On one occasion, during his stint as City Controller, he was fined \$20 for assaulting an alderman (after calling the alderman a liar, Foster invited him to step outside the Council chambers for an exchange of fisticuffs).²³

Foster's political ambitions and promotion of civic frugality were greatly aided by a newspaper photo taken by a *Telegram* reporter showing W. W. Hiltz, the incumbent mayor and seeker of another term, with his long, sleek, city-furnished limousine and liveried chauffeur. Hiltz was an ardent temperance advocate and Foster let it be known that he himself was somewhat more flexible on the liquor question. Given his stand on these two issues, Foster's appeal to the electorate and his election to office were assured.

"Fighting Sam" McBride was Foster's opponent in his 1928 (and fourth) bid for the mayor's post, and what a contest it was! The *Telegram*, backing Foster, deftly drew public attention to a judicial inquiry into the sale of \$296,000 worth of lumber to the Toronto Harbor Board by Samuel J. McBride Lumber Company while McBride was a City Council member. The *Star*, on the other hand, supported McBride, making Foster's refusal to increase the size of the police force a major issue. During the 1920s, when Toronto's municipal politics were in disarray, Foster led a businessmen's revolt against such an increase, suggesting tongue-in-cheek that it would be far less expensive for the city to reimburse individuals, banks, or businesses that were robbed than to add further to what he perceived to be the city's already bloated law enforcement payroll.²⁴ There was one element of the citizenry that may actually have been pleased with the shortage of police officers. A *Star* staff writer of later years, John Brehl, reported that there was no tally of how Toronto's mobsters voted in 1928, but McBride nevertheless won by 15,500 votes. In describing Foster's last day in office, the *Star* relented a little and generously pronounced Foster an imposing figure, "looking like a retiring Roman consul giving his valedictory to the conscript fathers ..."²⁵

The Inspiration

Defeated by “Fighting Sam” McBride in his 1928 bid for the mayor’s post, and finding his life empty, Foster surprised his friends by announcing that he intended to seek escape in travel. In 1931, he made the first of three trips around the world. The trips, made when he was in his late seventies and older, included a visit to India’s Taj Mahal. Located on the Junna River in Agra, the famous structure was built by Shah Jahan, who succeeded his father as Mughal emperor and ruled from 1652 to 1658, as a mausoleum for his beloved and favorite wife.²⁶ One of the world’s most stunning buildings, it is said to represent the throne of God in Paradise. Although construction was begun in 1631, shortly after his wife’s death, it was not completed until seventeen years later and required the work of more than 20,000 laborers. It soars some 187 feet from its platform, featuring domes and high portals.²⁷ Its pure white marble contrasts pleasantly with its red sandstone neighbors, and the mausoleum’s beautiful proportions and lush landscape obviously caught Foster’s eye. With a fortune at his command, he promptly decided he wanted a similar memorial for his wife and daughter, both of whom were originally buried at St. James Cemetery, located on Parliament Street in Toronto. His devotion seemingly called for something on a grand scale, and upon his return to Toronto he wasted no time in making the vision become a reality.

The Planning and Construction

The principal architect for the project was J. H. Craig (1889-1954), who worked with architect H. H. Madill (1889-1988). Classmates at the University of Toronto’s School of Architecture, from which both received degrees in 1912, they later formed the architectural firm of Craig & Madill. James Craig was born in Owen Sound, Ontario, rendered service in World Wars I and II, and was president of the Ontario Association of Architects in 1931 and 1932. He succumbed to a heart attack at age 65. Henry Harrison Madill was born in Beaverton, Ontario, and, like Foster, grew up in the Uxbridge area. Later moving to Toronto with his family, he, too, served in World Wars I and II. As second head of the University of Toronto’s School of Architecture, he taught there for 23 years, until his retirement in 1957, aged 68. Madill was still alive and a wonderfully alert 97-year-old when the mausoleum was rededicated in 1986.²⁸ The original architectural drawings for the Memorial, once believed lost, have been found and the Friends of the Thomas Foster Memorial plan to reproduce them (suitable for framing) and sell them as a fund-raiser.²⁹



Fig. 4. Central floor design, a mosaic depiction of the mythical River Styx.

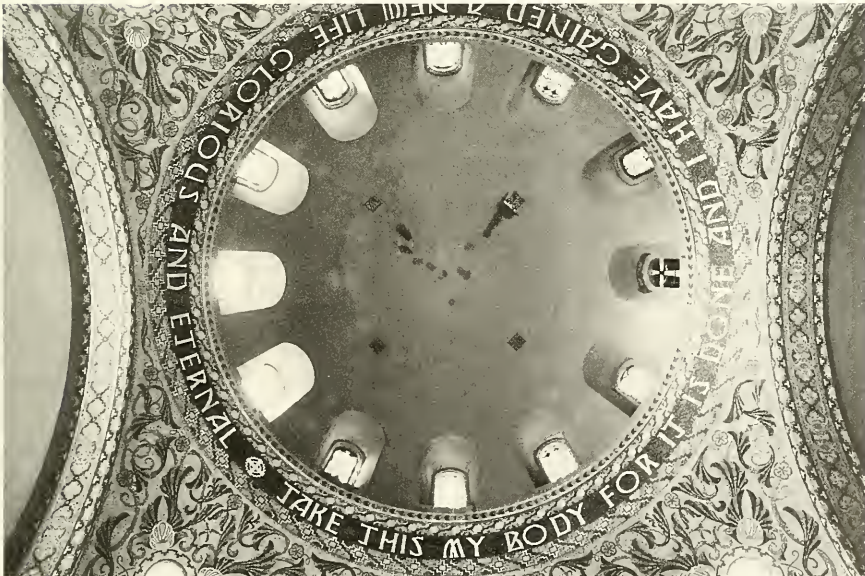


Fig. 5. Gold-lettered inscription on shaded blue mosaic field encircles dome.

General contractors for the Memorial were Messrs. Witchall and Son of Toronto,³⁰ and firms and residents of the local area were employed whenever possible – a boon to the lagging economy.³¹ Constructed over a three-year period, the Memorial cost approximately \$250,000. The original estimate had been \$100,000, but Foster’s frequent add-ons quickly escalated the cost. When interviewed years later, Madill laughingly said Foster “wanted everything” but did not want to pay for it. One scholarly study of the archaeological significance of mausolea has stated that the cost for pre-1930 mausolea ranged between \$15,000 and \$25,000.³² The cost of the Foster mausoleum (a product of the mid-1930s) obviously exceeds these figures many times over, and is made even more impressive by the absence of inflation during this Depression period. When compared to the “averages,” the cost itself suggests size and ornamentation far exceeding the norm. If built today, it has been estimated that the Memorial’s cost would range between \$4,500,000 and \$5,500,000. At the same time, we must also recognize that it would be virtually impossible to secure craftsmen capable of workmanship equal to the original.³³

While the Taj Mahal’s beauty was appealing to Foster and the architects, they felt its Mogul architecture was not suitable to the Ontario lo-



Fig. 6. View into dome, showing pendentive heavily decorated with floral and geometric designs.

cation, and it was translated into something more Christian, employing forms of the Byzantine Empire, with an all-new and original design. Both interior and exterior were accorded equal attention, although true Byzantine architecture tends to downplay the importance of exterior appearance and enriches the interior. While the architecture of the Foster mausoleum may be Byzantine-inspired, faint traces of the Taj Mahal can nevertheless be perceived even by the untrained eye.

More than a private mausoleum, the structure was planned to serve as a community chapel for funeral services as well. The enduring materials of the Foster Memorial were intended to express the beauty and permanence of the Christian faith, and the Indiana limestone exterior is beautifully complemented by a white marble interior.

The Interior

Steel-reinforced doors covered with tile were chemically treated to produce a permanent green surface, and the floors, of terrazzo and marble, are embellished with symbolic designs. Visitors entering the mausoleum find themselves crossing a mosaic depiction of the River Styx, treading lightly over water-lilies and lily pads (Fig. 4).

Circling the lower part of the dome, above the arches, the words "Take this my body for it is done and I have gained a new life, glorious and eternal" are inscribed in gold letters on a field of shaded blue mosaics (Fig. 5). Under the great dome, the Greek "Alpha and Omega" letters flank "IHS" (standing for "In Hoc Signo [Vinces]" and used as a Christian symbol and monogram for Jesus). Translating into "By this sign thou shalt conquer," it takes its meaning from the story that before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, just north of Rome, in 312, the Roman Emperor Constantine claimed he saw a cross in the sky emblazoned with this inscription. When he was victorious in battle, he took it as a sign that he should free the Christian religion in the Roman Empire. The Edict of Milan in 313 gave Christians rights of worship, and the sign is, therefore, essentially a symbol of the cross. The central motif is enclosed by a laurel wreath, perhaps representative of victory over death. The mosaic tiles were handcrafted by Italian artisans commissioned to produce them specifically for this job.

A handsome dado of Bois-Jourdain marble, shot with red and inlaid with gold mosaic, surrounds the interior. The pendentives under the dome, soffits, and returns of the arches feature glass mosaics in floral and geometric patterns executed in brilliant, harmonious colors (Figs. 6 and 7).



Fig. 7. A soaring pendentive, flanked by multi-colored marble columns.

The marble altar and pulpit (Fig. 8) are approached from the raised apse by three travertine steps and add to the temple-like qualities. The marble reredos, emblazoned with gold cross and "IHS," is a departure from the canopied altars of early church forms, but more appropriate to present-day services. The pulpit of Rochester marble features a carved frieze and inlay of gold mosaic. The southern transept contains three crypts, holding the remains of Foster, his wife, and his daughter (see Fig. 9). Above each crypt is a window bearing a modest memorial shield.

The ceilings, with exceptional acoustical qualities, are azure blue. It is this feature that has made the mausoleum so appropriate for present-day classical music concerts and is not the only such acoustical masterpiece credited to the architects Craig and Madill. Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition Bandstand is their work as well and was constructed at about the same time as the Foster Memorial.

The mausoleum's original pump organ remains in place, although an electric organ has since been donated by Uxbridge's lady mayor, Gerri-Lynn O'Connor. Manufactured by Heintzman and Co., Ltd. in Toronto, the pump organ is identified as their "Vocalion" model.



Fig. 8. Marble altar and pulpit backed by marble reredos and emblazoned with gold cross.

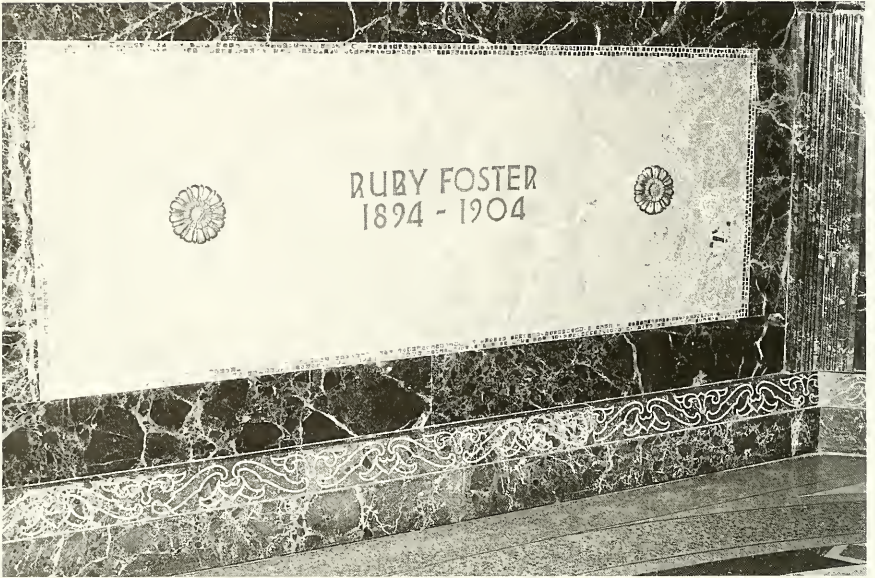


Fig. 9. Marble crypt of Ruby, ten-year-old daughter of Thomas Foster, in south transept.



Fig. 10. Temporary storage crypts in mausoleum's sub-structure.

There are no light fixtures on the exterior of the mausoleum and, as a consequence, outdoor evening events are seldom scheduled. The interior was wired for lighting at the outset, the 60-ampere system calling for 300-watt bulbs with bases having a diameter of nearly 1 3/4 inches. With the passage of time, as bulbs burned out, it became difficult, and then impossible, to find replacements. It was eventually necessary to adapt the original large sockets to accommodate modern large-base 100-watt high-intensity bulbs. One of the few old 300-watt bulbs that was salvaged whole is said to be a prized memento of an electrician who worked on revamping the light sockets. In updating the electrical system, some of the building's original commercial-grade copper wiring has been replaced. Decorative rood screens such as were used in medieval times were intended to divide the areas designated for the general public and the priests and dignitaries. These designs were adapted in brass to cover the old-style bulbs above the interior arches.³⁴

Harsh Ontario winters often prevent immediate burial, and six under-floor crypts (see Fig. 10) were included in the plan to accommodate temporary storage. Three removable floor slabs facilitate the lowering and raising of the caskets from the main floor. There is, however, an entrance to the sub-structure which provides an alternate access from the outside. A cable and pulley system, operated from this area, permits opening and closing of the windows in the dome.³⁵

The mausoleum is heated throughout the winter season, but, because of its naturally pleasant summer temperature, air-conditioning has never been considered necessary. A unique air circulation system keeps the temperature constant within the mausoleum: air slots (about the size of today's conventional air registers) are connected behind the walls of the building from the basement upward to the top of the dome.³⁶

Not intended to be simply ornamental, the Memorial was designed to be used, and so it has, although until recently relatively few local residents had ever been inside. The wooden rush-seat chairs are the originals, the attached kneelers adding a "high church" touch. For concerts and similar public events, there is a seating capacity of approximately 155. If a performing group requires an unusual amount of up-front space on the main floor, chairs can be added in two raised areas just off the front entrance and in the north transept³⁷ (the three identical Foster family crypts, with the names and dates incised thereon, are situated in the south transept).

The Heraldic Devices

Under each of four great arches, a marble screen separates the crossing from transepts, apse, and nave. Sixteen marble columns, four to each screen, support the arches with pierced marble tympana above. The columns of vari-colored Italian marble have carved Devon stone capitals.³⁸ H.H. Madill stated that the marble used atop the columns was imported from England and hauled from the Uxbridge railway station by oxen. Each capital is unique, utilizing the heraldic symbol of a Saint or Apostle (Fig. 11). Among the Memorial's archival documents is a listing of the heraldic devices and their symbolic meaning.³⁹

Simon Peter is symbolized by two keys crossed in the form of the letter "X." The keys take their meaning from a promise made by Jesus to Simon Peter in Matthew 16:19, "I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." One key is gold and the other silver, the two keys representing the power to bind and absolve (loose). They also represent the spiritual authority of the church, as referenced in Matthew 18:18.



Fig. 11. Columns are topped by Devon marble capitals sculpted to depict symbols of various Saints and Apostles.

Symbolizing Phillip is a cross with two loaves of bread on each side. The cross is representative of his successful missionary journeys among the barbarians in Upper Asia and Phrygia, where he spread knowledge of Christianity and the cross of Christ. The loaves of bread (as noted in John 6:5) recall a remark made by Phillip to Jesus when confronted by a hungry multitude, "How are we to buy bread, so that these people may eat?"

Andrew was a fisherman, as was his brother, Simon Peter. The martyred Andrew was bound to a cross, rather than nailed, in order to prolong his suffering. The most common symbol of Saint Andrew is a cross shaped like an "X," and two fish with their tails turned upward are often placed thusly to form the design. Illustrations frequently show Andrew with the two fish in his hands, identifying him as a fisherman, and it was he who asked the boy with two fishes and a loaf of bread to give them to Jesus. After being blessed by Jesus, the two fishes and single loaf were multiplied sufficiently to feed five thousand in the wilderness.

Thomas is symbolized by a carpenter's square and a spear. He is said to have built a church in India with his own hands and was later persecuted there, killed with a spear wielded by a pagan priest.

A Bible and flaying knife are the symbols of Bartholomew. According to Biblical tradition, Bartholomew won the King of Polymus of Armenia to Christianity, but so angered the king's brother that he had him flayed, crucified with his head facing downward, then beheaded. The flaying knife refers to his martyrdom, and he is often pictured with an open Bible and a flaying knife pointed upward.

The symbols of the writers of the Gospels have received attention as well: Matthew, the evangelist, is portrayed as a winged man, it being thought that his Gospel dwells more on the human side of Jesus than those of the other Gospel writers. Mark is symbolized by a winged lion. The lion, as king of the beasts, represents the royal character of Jesus and refers to the opening verses of the Gospel according to Saint Mark. The eagle represents John, soaring heavenward to the throne of God. Because Luke's Gospel opens with the sacrifice of Zacharias, he is symbolized by a winged ox, emphasizing the sacrificial death of the Savior.

The Stained Glass Artist

The drum of the dome features twelve magnificent stained glass windows through which the light filters brightly. Unlike what one might expect, the windows are handpainted and fired leaded glass, not conventionally crafted colored glass. An east window is particularly fine,

taking the form of a gold cross on a rich blue ground. Because of their situation within the dome, more than fifty feet above eye level, few photographs are available of the windows. Both these windows and the mosaic floors utilize various symbols as decorative features. The massive, compartmented stained glass window above the entrance doors features geometric designs with a striking use of red (Fig. 12).

Yvonne Williams, designer of the Memorial's windows, was born in Trinidad, where her parents were in business. A graduate of Ontario College of Art, her early emphasis was on sculpture but she later turned to stained glass. While a student, she was awarded the Governor General's Gold Medal for excellence in drawing and design. Finding instruction unavailable in Toronto, the twenty-two-year-old set off for Boston, where she studied in a glass studio for two years. Upon her return to Toronto in 1930, she set up a studio on her own and enjoyed great success. Some 150 churches and chapels in Canada feature her work. Still alive in 1986 when the mausoleum's 50th anniversary took place, the octogenarian remained active and was experimenting with the effect of light through layers of glass and the possibility of promoting its thermal qualities for commercial purposes. "Church Windows," designed by Williams, was



Fig. 12. Stained glass windows above main entrance doors bear strong red and turquoise geometric designs on an opaque field.

used by Canada Post in 1976 for its Christmas stamp.⁴⁰ Assisting the artist in the leading of the windows was George London.

The Exterior

“Built for the ages,” the Memorial has a reinforced concrete frame, clad in limestone. Laid in a 17½-inch-wide course, the main blocks are 33 to 50 inches wide and range from 8¾ to 17 inches deep.⁴¹

Viewed from the outside, the eye is first drawn to the domed cupolas, roofed in patterned copper, a product of Anaconda Brass Company (Fig. 13). A curved, segmented ladder was cleverly designed for storage within the roof area, allowing workmen easy access to the finial which tops the dome. Local residents whose memories extend into the distant past seem to recall that the finial was once topped by a gold-plated ball. If so, it has not yet been located.⁴²

The Memorial’s octagonal terrace, upon which the building rests, is 87 feet wide and 92 feet long. The building itself is 55 feet wide and 60 feet long. From the ground below the terrace to the top of the finial on the central dome is a height of 60 feet (as a frame of reference, it is about one-third as tall as the Taj Mahal). The inside diameter of the dome is 23 feet.



Fig. 13. Domed cupolas are roofed in patterned copper, weathered to a soft green patina.

Foster did not hesitate to offer suggestions or make his opinions known. An entrance arch was designed, originally intended for placement at the main entry to the Memorial property. Foster was quick to veto this location, anxious that nothing detract from the building's initial impact upon visitors. The arch was instead erected at the southwest property corner (Fig. 14).

The Public's Reaction

Dubbed "Foster's Folly" by vocal critics, its expense was ridiculed by those who felt the money might have been better spent to meet a community need – notably a hospital – and some are said to remain embittered to this day. Shortly after the Memorial was completed, perhaps about 1937, a now-deceased Toronto resident (and one of Foster's fellow-Presbyterians) visited the Memorial with his family. A son recalls that his father labeled it "sheer lunacy." There were others, however, who were extremely grateful for the employment opportunities the Memorial offered, particularly those engaged in manual labor and the class hardest hit by the depressed economic conditions of 1935 and 1936.⁴³



Fig. 14. Decorative fencing and cast iron arch, originally intended for use at main entrance to the property.

The Dedication

On Sunday, October 25, 1936, the Memorial was dedicated at 3:00 p.m. with more than 2,000 in attendance.⁴⁴ In planning the program, a large number of local clergymen were involved. The invocation was given by Rev. P. T. Meek, followed by a hymn, "O God Our Help in Ages Past." The chairman's address by Rev. P. G. Powell preceded a scripture reading by Rev. W. Murray and a prayer offered by Rev. E. S. Bishop. Foster, then in his eighties, made a brief address before a second musical selection, "O God of Bethel." The dedicatory address by Rev. John Gibson Inkster, B.A., D.D., climaxed the activities of the afternoon. The cornerstone (Fig. 15) reads, "This stone was laid / by Thomas Foster / October 22nd, 1935 A.D." A third and final hymn, "Abide With Me," preceded the benediction by Rev. J. C. Robinson, closing this well-attended event.

In 1986, the fifty-year-old Memorial was rededicated.

The Community Effort

In the years immediately following its dedication, the Memorial was left unlocked, open to visitors at all hours and entirely without supervision. After Foster's death in 1945, the Memorial fell into a state of gradual

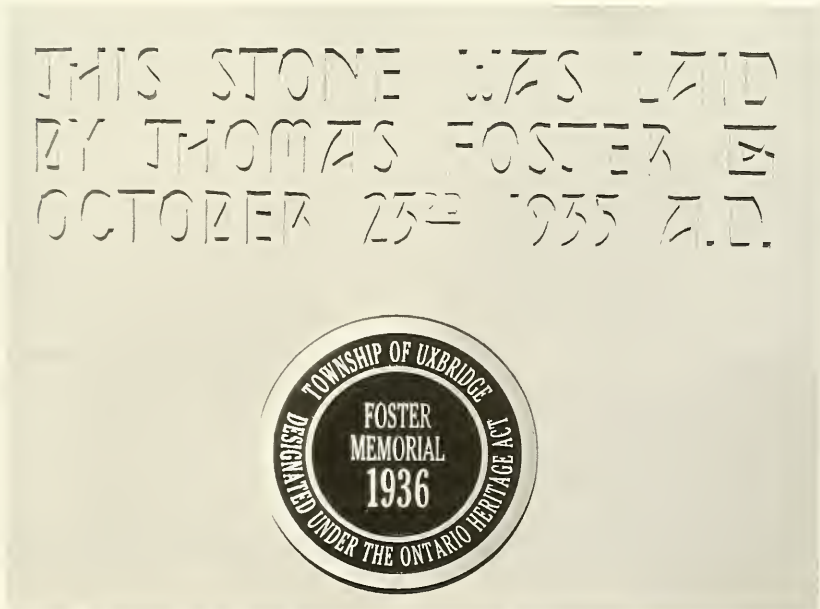


Fig. 15. Mausoleum cornerstone set in place on October 23, 1935.

disrepair and, as funds dwindled, maintenance was sharply curtailed. The doors were then locked and remained so for several decades. By the 1980s, however, the public's awareness of preservation tactics and restoration technologies was growing, and it was this knowledge that kindled the desire of local preservationists to step forward boldly and save this national treasure.

In 1992, the Township of Uxbridge assumed stewardship of the Memorial, the property on which it was built, and the adjacent Zion Cemetery, from the trust company Foster entrusted with funds for their maintenance. The cemetery, though small, remains in use for occasional burials. A handsome iron fence, with a fleur-de-lis motif decorating the top of each slender post, divides the Memorial and cemetery properties. Restoration of the cemetery and the fence were paid for by Foster during his lifetime. "Thomas Foster Memorial Cemetery" appears on current signage (Fig. 16). The \$80,000 legacy he made for maintenance of the Memorial must have seemed a very large sum at the time, but inflationary pressures were at work in the years following his death and this amount seriously underestimated the cost of its upkeep in perpetuity. When the interior of the dome required attention in the early 1990s, it



Fig. 16. Current signage at Zion Cemetery, adjoining the Thomas Foster Memorial property.

was discovered that the trust company's funds for that purpose had been depleted. Friends of the Thomas Foster Memorial was subsequently organized (in 1993) for the purpose of raising funds for repairs. By the end of 2002, the Friends had spent more than \$150,000 on repairs, with significant additional expenditures anticipated. The community has been quick to respond to the organization's call for monetary assistance, and in-kind gifts have been welcomed as well. A precast concrete company donated attractive stone planters for the site, and a merchant donated the soil and plants. Two matched iron candelabra add a touch of warmth to the interior, contributed by a local gift shop.⁴⁵

In spite of years of disuse, the interior was in remarkably good condition. Roof leakage was first believed to be the cause of discoloration of the domed ceiling, but upon investigation proved to be the result of condensation. This was, fortunately, a less serious and far easier problem to remedy. Master craftsmen employed to handle needed repairs are upholding today's high standards of building preservation. More mundane work was required as well. The original oil furnace was inefficient, and lingering soot and oil odors have since been eliminated.⁴⁶

Working toward making the Memorial self-sufficient, the Friends now produce revenue from private functions, weddings, and classical music concerts. The latter are held on Sunday afternoons, tastefully handled and well attended. There is a standard charge (as of 2002) of \$150 plus deposit for use of the chapel for weddings. Rules have been established for such occasions, forbidding the use of nails, tacks, or any materials not in keeping with the ambience of the surroundings. Special events on the landscaped mausoleum grounds, sponsored by the Friends, have included strolling minstrels, chamber music ensembles, artists painting and sketching, and the act of a magician (in top-hat and tails) has been a great favorite with both children and their elders. Reasonable admission charges make it possible to attract a large audience. The organization's outreach has been accomplished with minimum cash outlay and all-volunteer help. When a "festival" was held by the Friends in 1994, Members of Parliament (Federal) and Members of the Provincial Parliament (Ontario) were invited, and 200 invitations sent to architectural firms alone.⁴⁷

Open for general visitation on the first and second Sundays of June, July, August, and September, from 1:00 to 5:00 p.m., there is a small admission fee for adults (\$2 in 2002); children are admitted free if accompanied by an adult.

On September 21, 1996, the mausoleum received a special historical designation, with the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (LACAC) unveiling a plaque from the Province of Ontario that focuses on the mausoleum's uniqueness.

On December 31, 2000, a "Time Capsule Program" was held at 2:00 p.m., sponsored by the Friends. As at the 1936 dedication, music was an important part of the program. The processional was piped by Deborah Clements and Jason Stewart and Todd O'Connor served as drummer, all members of the Royal Canadian Legion Pipe Band, Branch 170, of Uxbridge. Town crier Bill McKee alerted the guests to assemble for the official welcome by Sylvia Robb. The assigned crypt (located in the sub-structure) was opened by Brad Shortt and Howie Herrema for storage of the memorabilia. Three youngsters – Brigitte Herrema, Mathew Jones, and Derek Gould – placed the box of memorabilia into the millenium time capsule, which was then placed in the crypt. The three have promised to remain in touch with Uxbridge Township and preside at the capsule's opening on December 31, 2050. After remarks by Uxbridge's mayor, Gerri-Lynn O'Connor, the time capsule was closed and she placed a plaque thereon. Elsie Wood pronounced the benediction, and an official toast, offered by Uxbridge Township Councillor Beverly Northeast, brought the ceremony to a formal close.⁴⁸

The Last Years

After Foster's retirement from public life, he gradually dropped from sight, and by the 1940s the name was no longer familiar. His scrimping ways were no secret in the neighborhood but, until his death, when his will was made public, few of even his closest neighbors knew that he was once Toronto's millionaire mayor.

There is a prevalent theory among cemetery and gravestone researchers that the deceased's memorial (in size, magnificence of materials, and ornamentation) often mimics the residence he occupied in life. In Foster's case, his Victorian-styled eight-room brick residence at 20 Victor Avenue in Toronto's Riverdale area was entirely adequate for his family's needs but certainly far from mind-boggling.⁴⁹ The 3,465 square feet of living area were spread over three floors. The lots in Toronto's middle-class neighborhoods of the early 1900s were woefully small and the cramped Foster homesite failed to showcase the home's few distinctive features (several bow windows and a turret) to best advantage. His memorial obviously makes a far bolder statement than his residence. His

neighborhood, where the Don Jail is located, was (and is) far from stylish. In his last years, he would spend no money on the house and it became something of an eyesore. Draperies faded in the sun, wallpapers were soiled, and springs and stuffing protruded from the upholstered furniture. He constantly argued with his Chinese houseboy about the high cost of food and urged that he purchase in sufficiently large quantities to assure the best price. Those who had known Foster when he was in the public eye no longer recognized him when he made one of his rare appearances on the street in his patched clothing, his trousers held up with the aid of a huge safety-pin.⁵⁰

Ill only briefly, Foster's death occurred at his home on Victor Avenue on December 10, 1945. The funeral was held from the Ralph Day Funeral Parlors on Danforth Avenue, Toronto, on Thursday, December 13, at 1:30 p.m., conducted by Foster's long-time friend, Rev. John Gibson Inkster, pastor emeritus of Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto.⁵¹ Foster's will had called for Inkster and Rev. F. E. Powell of St. Barnabas Church (Episcopal) to officiate, but Powell predeceased Foster, leaving Inkster to act alone (receiving \$50 as an honorarium). The will called for the funeral to take place from Foster's residence, but it was undoubtedly so dirty and shabby by the time of his death that it was not considered fitting to honor his request. The simple service was attended by civil officials, friends, and four former mayors. The dark mahogany casket was then transported to Uxbridge and placed in the Memorial's waiting crypt in the presence of a small group of family and friends. Listed among the chief mourners were Robert Foster (a half-brother), nephews Robert Foster, Jr., William R. Foster, and Frank Foster, and a niece, Mrs. Myrtle Kellickey. Also seated with the chief mourners was Foster's houseboy, Sam Lee. Pallbearers were either kinsmen or close friends: William R. Foster, Gus Poynton, Albert Kellickey, Percy Dallimore, A. L. Smoke, and W. D. Robbins (a former Toronto mayor).⁵²

The Amazing Will

The reading of Foster's will is said to have evoked a variety of responses – laughter, tears, and considerable celebration.⁵³ The will was described in an undated newspaper clipping as “not the work of an eccentric,” but “legally sound and carefully scripted.” Executors named were Canada Permanent Trust Company, represented by W. L. Knowlton, Manager, and Arthur L. Fleming, K. C.,⁵⁴ of Smoke, Fleming and Mulholland. This same newspaper source states that the will was writ-

ten by Foster just eight weeks prior to his demise, a statement contradicted by the recorded copy of the will itself, which bears the date of May 23, 1939, some six years earlier.⁵⁵ It would seem that a careless reporter confused the issue by mistakenly referring to the date of a codicil executed October 4, 1945.

When probated, the estate was inventoried at slightly in excess of \$1.5 million. While not a great deal in today's dollars, it was a truly impressive sum at the time. To better understand this figure in present-day terms, an Ontario historian has suggested that the inventory valuation might be multiplied by twenty, translating into an estate of \$30 million. Given the fact that much of his estate consisted of real property, subject to inflationary spirals, he further speculates that this multiplier is likely far too conservative.⁵⁶ The estate consisted of \$191,000 in mortgages held by the deceased, \$571,000 cash on hand and in the bank, \$404,000 in real estate, composed of sixty-five properties (most in Toronto's East End), and \$1,600 in book debts. For reasons not clarified, the Foster Memorial was assigned a market value of \$1. Certainly, if added even at its book value, the inventory valuation would have been significantly higher.

It is Foster's will, perhaps more than any other single document or action, that tells us most about the man, his priorities, and varied interests. Its provisions are well worth noting.

Thirty-seven family members were remembered with modest bequests, a total of \$175,000 in all. Half-brother Robert received \$5,000; nephew Robert, Jr., \$5,000, plus \$500 per year for overseeing maintenance of the Foster Memorial; other of Robert's children (including niece Myrtle Kellickey) received \$1,000 each. Frank and William Robert (sons of the late George Foster, another half-brother) received \$5,000 each. The will makes mention of unnamed living children of two sisters, Eliza Blythe and Susan Foster, who were to receive \$5,000 each, but does not indicate if the sisters were still living. The children of brother John T. Foster were left \$5,000 each, with the exception of nephew Russell, whose share was \$1,000. No reason is given for the uneven hand with which he made gifts to the nephews and nieces. Possibly some had received gifts during Foster's lifetime and the smaller legacies simply equalized the distributions. Also to receive \$500 per year for monitoring maintenance of the Memorial was the son of his oldest friend, the late William Percival Dallimore. Gus Poynton, a special friend, received \$2,000. Sam Lee, Foster's Chinese houseboy was not mentioned in the will, perhaps having been provided for previously in some alternate manner. In his usual

no-nonsense fashion, Foster directed that any individual who contested the will would be automatically disinherited (no one did so).

During Foster's lifetime, the younger Dallimore performed numerous unreimbursed services for him, and a claim for \$4,500 was presented to the estate on August 22, 1946. He had often driven the latter's automobile or his own and acted as secretary-treasurer and a trustee of the Thomas Foster Memorial Cemetery during Foster's lifetime. For serving in this latter capacity, he was promised \$500 per year, but his claim indicates that 1939 was the only year in which he received such a payment, although additional payments were continually promised.

The remaining bequests ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous, but none was quite such an oddity as the cash award to be given to the Toronto woman bearing the most children in a decade, with the winner receiving \$1,250. Prizes of \$800 and \$450 were stipulated for the second and third place contestants, respectively. Most of the winners produced either nine or ten infants in any given ten-year cycle. Echoing his sense of morality, the births had to be formally registered and the children were required to be born "in lawful wedlock." Called a "Stork Derby" by detractors, the event attracted much attention. Although the idea was not new, this was seemingly his way of encouraging an increase in the local birthrate, Canada's population having dropped significantly during the World War II years. Awards were given in 1955, 1958, 1961, and 1964, in compliance with his wishes. While one would guess that Foster intended the prize money to add a bit of sunshine to the winning mother's life, one winner reportedly used the proceeds (perhaps with a little coercion) to purchase a gravestone for her recently deceased mother-in-law.

Other gifts are more easily understood, and he clearly wanted to remember the people of Toronto, a city that had been good to him. As though he felt compelled to explain his gift-giving, he states in his will that the bequests were "to mark my appreciation of my citizenship in Toronto and to place in the way of some citizens or their children opportunities for health and advancement which might not otherwise be theirs."⁵⁷

Thousands of dollars were given to various churches and Sunday School classes, often with unusual provisos and attendant confusion. Gifts of \$5,000 each were made to an Anglican and a United Church.⁵⁸ The will called for sites for both the Anglican Mission for Eskimos and the Northern Ontario United Church Mission to be selected by Dr. W. J. Cody (an Anglican) and Dr. J. G. Inkster (Presbyterian). No one could

quite understand why the locations for Anglican and United Church missions were to be selected with the assistance of a Presbyterian minister, but Dr. Inkster speculated that Foster "was just trying to be funny." He found little humor in it personally, but it was he who had the last laugh as he died before it came time to make the site selection. The Anglican mission was ultimately built at Tuktoyaktuk, an Arctic settlement northeast of Aklavik. The United Church mission, built in 1948, was located at Virginiatown in Ontario's Larder Lake District.⁵⁹

Set aside for pupils of the Presbyterian Church Sunday School at Leaskdale, near his birthplace, was \$2,000, to be doled out as "the Thomas Foster Prizes ... to be distributed after a short address describing how and by whom the said prizes have been provided."⁶⁰ Every child who attended Sunday School at this church was given a Bible as a Christmas gift, each with Foster's name stamped therein. It should by now be evident that Foster wanted the provenance of all his gifts, of whatever nature, to be made known publicly and, whenever possible, with his name attached, inscribed, or stamped thereon.

Some gifts did not find ready takers. The executors had great difficulty finding boys at Toronto's Knox Presbyterian Church on Spadina Road who were not theology students, were over 18, regular church attendees, and methodically memorizing scripture passages. There was also an unexplained lack of interest on the part of the city's newsboys in the money available to them for setting up a business. These funds remained untouched in 1958.⁶¹

The \$5,000 Elizabeth McCauley Foster and Ruby Foster Scholarship was created in memory of Foster's wife and daughter to provide educational training in domestic or household science in the vocational or technical schools of Toronto. Scholarships for public school children were to be funded by a \$15,000 trust, with prizes to be presented by Toronto's mayor and the Chief Inspector of Public Schools.

Each of Foster's forty-two tenants who had been on his rent roll for five years or more received one month's free rent. He made it clear that this was a perk intended for month-to-month tenants only, not those occupying their premises under a lease agreement.

A fund of \$3,000 was left to be divided among the charwomen who cleaned Toronto's office buildings at night. Recipients were to be selected by the Toronto branch of the Canadian Red Cross Society, regardless of race, color, or creed, yet we sense a mixed agenda in his add-on that "not less than 50% shall go to gentiles."⁶²

A gift of \$500 was made to the Canadian Red Cross Society, Toronto Branch, without any restrictions as to its use.

The Riverdale Salvation Army, Canada East, located on Toronto's Broadview Avenue, received \$500 to buy or repair musical instruments for their band.

A man somewhat ahead of his time, Foster obviously had some environmental priorities: a gift of \$5,000 was made for the feeding of Toronto's wild bird population, administered by the Toronto Humane Society at the main feeding grounds on Centre Island and the Toronto lakeshore. A \$500 gift to this same organization was given without restrictions as to its use. Money from the \$15,000 wildlife fund established by the will was intended to prevent wanton destruction of wild animals, wild birds, and game fish. Some of this money was spent for the counting of woodland caribou and, by 1960, part of the money was being used to pay Indians for collecting information on the movement and habits of these animals⁶³ (the survey indicated their numbers to be on the increase). The Jack Miner Migratory Bird Fund was given \$2,000, entirely consistent with the donor's wildlife interests.

Many of the trees seen today along Highway 401 can be credited to Foster, purchased from a \$100,000 trust fund. He thought it important that visitors enter and leave Toronto with a good impression of "his" city. Who else would have gone so far as to designate the precise species of trees to be planted and exactly where? Foreseeing that some trees would be lost, he even made provision for replacements.

There is good reason to believe that children held a special place in Foster's heart and his philanthropies to local orphans knew no denominational bounds. The Loyal Orange Lodge's True Blue and Orange Home at Richmond Hill received a \$500 gift accompanied by a meddling suggestion that they reconsider their policy of refusing to place their wards in foster homes⁶⁴ (the Loyal Orange Lodge, an organization unfamiliar to many non-Canadians, had some subtle religious and political overtones dating back to the days of William of Orange). A like sum was left to the Catholic Children's Aid Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Toronto.

Toronto's Central Technical School was remembered with a 45-foot wooden flagpole at a cost of \$3,500. He ordered that it be constructed of Canadian timber of the best and most permanent quality "with a suitably inscribed plate attached thereto." In spite of being known for his great attention to detail, he was seemingly unaware that the school did not have a flag.

A gift of \$10,000 to the Toronto Hospital for Incurables (Parkdale) was for the purpose of providing automobile outings, motion picture projectors, radios, and similar entertainment for its patients. Independent himself, Foster encouraged independence in others as well. A \$5,000 gift to this same institution was slated for division among patients without income, stipulating that the money "be spent as they may, in their absolute discretion, see fit."⁶⁵ Known locally as the "Home for Incurables" at the time, being condemned to go there was regarded as a death sentence. Today, this institution is called Queen Elizabeth Hospital, evidencing considerably more sensitivity to the feelings of patients and their families.

A \$25,000 trust fund was created for the maintenance of Thomas Foster wards in a Toronto hospital, exclusively for the treatment of consumptives. The ward was to have a minimum of 250 beds, available to such patients at no charge. If no hospital of this sort existed at the time, such wards were to be maintained in the interim at Toronto Free Hospital for Consumptives, Weston.⁶⁶

The "Tommy Foster Picnic" for Toronto school children is still an annual affair. He made a specific plea that Toronto's mayor or a clergyman be there whenever possible to make the principal address, a request the mayors continue to honor. They were instructed to explain "by whom and in what manner" the picnics were provided. Perhaps recalling a bleak childhood, he asked that the picnic event include ice cream, hot dogs, milk, music, clowns, and pony rides, all to be paid for from a \$100,000 trust fund. In conjunction with the picnic, he requested that a 10-mile race be run, the winner to receive a "Foster Memorial Cup."⁶⁷ While a joy to the children, no doubt, these picnics could not have been popular with the city's Parks Department personnel who were responsible for the advance preparations, monitoring of the event itself, and, worse yet, the massive cleanup.

The first of the annual picnics for Toronto school children (both public and parochial school students) were, in fact, held before Foster's death, and he always made it a point to be in attendance. At one such event, Foster's fragile ego suffered some slight but unintentional damage when City Clerk James W. Somers playfully suggested that the youngsters try to guess their host's age. Foster was hoping they would think him to be about 40: the more generous pegged his age at 55 or 60; some thought about 90; others supposed that he was 100. This picnic was reportedly shorter than customary.⁶⁸ The 1953 picnic was held at the Canadian National Exhibition grounds and attended by over 5,000 children, trans-

ported to their destination in fifty chartered street cars paid for from the trust fund. Because of the city's heavy school enrollment, students from different sets of schools were invited each year.

A trust fund of \$1,000 was set aside for the Royal Canadian Humane Association's use in providing medals for honoring persons who had saved a human life.⁶⁹

Foster instructed that the balance of his estate (approximately \$600,000 and his largest single bequest) be granted the Banting and Best Institute at the University of Toronto to fund a search for a cancer cure. In 1958, the \$600,000 fund was throwing off approximately \$20,000 in income per year and \$250,000 had already been expended for research purposes.⁷⁰ Like all mankind, hopeful that a cancer cure was imminent, he stipulated that any funds remaining after such a discovery be directed to the Canadian Medical Association or a similar medical body for educational training of doctors and nurses in the more remote parts of Canada.⁷¹

The Assessment

Having considered the Memorial, its component parts, and Foster himself, we have to ask, "Why?"

Perhaps not nearly so eccentric an individual as he has been characterized, Foster was one of those persons seldom plagued with indecision. Fortunate enough to know exactly what he wanted, he also had the means to bring his dreams to fruition. Living nearly another ten years after the Memorial's dedication, he doubtless derived a sense of pleasure therefrom. This might also serve as a reminder that placement of a memorial is not necessarily something that need await our demise.

The Memorial is a very visible embodiment of the Foster enigma. Was his love for his wife and daughter so great that only the very best would do, or did he crave the Memorial's splendor for his own aggrandizement as well? After Elizabeth's death, he did not marry again, but does that necessarily signify ongoing devotion? Given his disinclination to spend money, he may have considered a second marriage a luxury he could easily forego. Had his wife lived on, would she have tempered the eccentric spending habits of his later years? We observe that his penuriousness was countered by generosity, particularly toward those less fortunate. Outside of the not unexpected bickering with political adversaries, he was seemingly loved by all. Did his hardened outer shell enclose a gentle heart, just as the Memorial's limestone exterior gives little hint of the hidden beauty within?

Grandiose, the Memorial was constructed with an eye for economy. A beautiful structure, it was built with the intent that it also be enduring. Though economy was his lifelong trademark, at his death he was “moved to generosity both by caprice and design.”⁷² It could not have been said better.

Both the man and the Memorial defy easy explanation but, whatever his rationale for desiring such a lavish memorial, how many individuals are still remembered kindly and often 150 years after their birth? The Foster Memorial, his monumental legacy, has kept his name alive, and generations yet unborn will continue to wonder at his singular story. This may, indeed, have been the old gentleman’s intent.

NOTES

Special thanks are due Dale Armstrong for all of the photographs accompanying the text. A graduate student at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, his work has appeared in a number of Canadian journals. Beverly Northeast, an Uxbridge Town Councillor and a leader in the Friends of Thomas Foster Mausoleum effort, was generous in sharing her considerable knowledge. Ruth M. Burkholder of Stouffville, Ontario, a friend and professional records researcher, cut through a mass of bureaucratic red tape in securing a copy of the Foster will without delay. Knowing of my long-time interest in gravestone studies, it was Dr. Fred. H. Armstrong, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Western Ontario, London, who first brought the Thomas Foster Mausoleum to my notice. He later directed my attention to printed materials in various Toronto library collections and took time from a busy schedule to critique the preliminary manuscript. Two very useful sources for biographies of Canadians who lived in the first half of the 20th century are sets of scrapbooks containing newspaper clippings. One was kept by William S. Wallace, who was for many years the librarian of the University of Toronto and one of Canada’s most respected historians. Originally called “The Wallace Necrology,” it is now maintained in the Reference Room of the Robarts Library at the University and designated as “Canadian Biographies.” The second set, known as the “Biographical Scrapbooks,” was kept by the Toronto Public Library staff and is now maintained in the Baldwin Room of the Metropolitan Toronto Library (MTL) on Yonge Street. Both collections are accompanied by a card index, a fortunate circumstance as the order in which the clippings were mounted is not readily apparent. In three or four instances, the quality of the microfilming made newspaper issue dates illegible. Despite what would appear to be a common purpose and a reliance upon the same Canadian newspapers, the two collections are surprisingly unlike, and neither pretends to be complete. As an aid to future researchers, the conventional endnote material which follows is accompanied, where appropriate, by the location of the individual entries.

1. *Star* (Toronto), undated clipping. Scott Township became part of Uxbridge Township in the 1970s.
2. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 Dec 1945, Vol. 31, p. 120. (Robarts)
3. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), 5 Jan 1925, Vol. 5, p. 657. (MTL)

4. *Ibid.*
5. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 662. (MTL)
6. *Star* (Toronto), 1 Feb 1966, Vol. 51, p. 143. (MTL)
7. *Star* (Toronto), 5 Jan 1925, Vol. 5, p. 657. (MTL)
8. *Weekly Globe* (Toronto), 18 Apr 1958, Vol. 19, p. 355. (MTL)
9. *Telegram* (Toronto), 28 Jan 1959, Vol. 19, p. 359. (MTL)
10. *Ibid.*
11. Exhibit "A" to the affidavit of Robert Foster, Jr., filed with Surrogate Court of the County of York [Ontario], 23 Aug 1946. The claim was abandoned in its entirety 18 Oct 1946.
12. *Star* (Toronto), 12 Dec 1945, Vol. 31, p. 120. (Robarts)
13. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
14. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), 3 Feb 1968, Vol. 53, p. 257. (MTL)
15. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
16. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 662. (MTL)
17. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 Dec 1945, Vol 31, p. 120. (Robarts)
18. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol 3., p. 659. (MTL)
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
21. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), 1 Feb 1966, Vol. 51, 143. (MTL)
22. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 Dec 1945. (MTL)
23. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945. (MTL)
24. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), 29 Jun 1953, Vol. 3, p. 661. (MTL)
25. *Star* (Toronto), 3 Feb 1968, Vol. 53, p. 257. (MTL)
26. 1995 *Grolier's Multimedia Encyclopedia*, Version 7.0.2; Keyword: Taj Mahal.
27. Illustrations of the Memorial and brief descriptive text available at:
<http://www.uxbridge.com/org/ffosterc.html>

28. *Uxbridge Times-Journal* (Uxbridge), 16 Jul 1986, p. 39.
29. Letter dated 6 Mar 2001 from Beverly Northeast, Township of Uxbridge Councillor, Ward 1, to author.
30. *Uxbridge Times-Journal* (Uxbridge), 16 Jul 1876, p. 39.
31. *Details*, a Friends of Thomas Foster Memorial handout, Special Edition, 18 June 1994, p. 4. Employed in their various areas of expertise were: Heritage Consultant – Ian Woods, FRICS, a principal of I. K. Woods & Partners, Inc., Chartered Surveyors, Unionville, Ontario; Historical Consultant – Allan McGillivray, Curator, Uxbridge Museum; Uxbridge, Ontario; Roofing Coppersmiths – Heather & Little, Ltd.; Stonemasons – Everett Restorations; Electricians – Paynel Electric, Ltd.; Fencing – Doug Woods; Coating and Paint Consultant – Craig Bell of Sherwin-Williams; Property and Landscaping– Parks and Works Department, Township of Uxbridge.
32. J.B. Richardson III and R. C. Carlisle, "The Archæological Significance of Mausoleums," *Markers I* (1980), 162.
33. *Details*, p. 4.
34. Letter dated 6 Mar 2001 from Beverly Northeast, Township of Uxbridge Councillor, Ward 1, to author.
35. *Details*, p. 2.
36. Letter dated 6 Mar 2001 from Beverly Northeast, Township of Uxbridge Councillor, Ward 1, to author.
37. *Ibid.*
38. A detailed description of the interior and exterior of the Foster Memorial appeared in an unidentified newspaper, the clipping dated Uxbridge, 22 Oct 1936 (at the time of the Memorial's original dedication).
39. A copy of the referenced listing accompanied a letter dated 6 Mar 2001 from Beverly Northeast, Township of Uxbridge Councillor, Ward 1, to author.
40. Undated clipping from unidentified newspaper under Isobel St. John by-line (based on content of the article, it was almost certainly from an Uxbridge newspaper and dated just previous to the 1986 rededication of the Memorial). St. John is mentioned as being an Uxbridge resident and a relative of the Foster family.
41. *Details*, p. 2.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 3
43. *Star* (Toronto), 11 Jul 1986, p. 9.

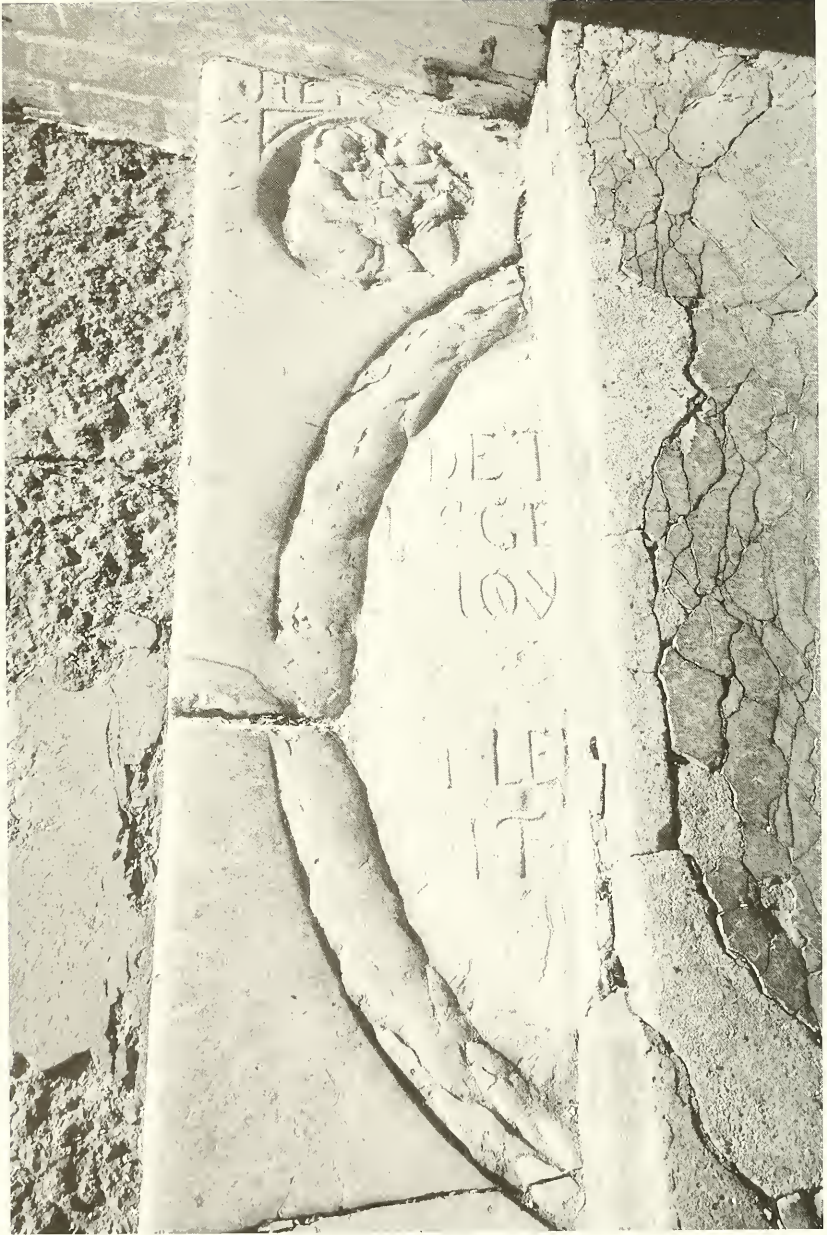
44. *Star* (Toronto), undated clipping, but, based on content, after 1993 formation of "Friends" group.
45. Donors: Newmarket Pre-Cast Concrete, Uxbridge; Canadian Tire Store, Uxbridge; Presents, Presents, Presents Gift Shop, Uxbridge.
46. *Details*, p. 3.
47. *Uxbridge Weekender*, 11 Jun 1994, p. 12.
48. A booklet entitled "Thomas Foster Memorial Time Capsule Program" was distributed to attendees on 31 Dec 2000; *Uxbridge Tribune* (Uxbridge), 5 Jan 2001, p. 3. Robb, Wood, and Northeast, participants in the Time Capsule Program, were all members of the Friends of the Thomas Foster Memorial executive committee. Directors identified in the printed program were Maureen Mayr, Hilary Balmer, Barbara Johnson, and Faith Neumann.
49. The size of Foster's Victor Avenue residence was reported variously in the press: in the inventory and valuation of his estate, signed by the executors, Foster's personal residence was described as consisting of eight rooms.
50. *Star* (Toronto), undated clipping.
51. *Star* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
52. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 15 Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 660. (MTL). The "Kelickey" surname appears in some records as "Kellackey."
53. *Weekly Globe* (Toronto) 18 Apr 1958, Vol. 19, p. 355. (MTL)
54. For non-Canadian readers who may not be familiar with the term "K.C.," it identifies the individual as an attorney with certain special rights to practice and stands for King's Counsel. When a Queen reigns, as at the present, such persons are designated as a "Q.C."
55. Archives of Ontario, York County Surrogate Court, Estate File #11292, probated 15 Mar 1946, Thomas Foster (Microfilm #MS 584, Reel 628).
56. Dr. Fred. H. Armstrong, Emeritus Professor, History, University of Western Ontario.
57. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 662. (MTL)
58. The United Church of Canada was the result of a 1925 merger of all of Canada's Methodists and Congregationalists, and *some* Presbyterians (the latter being far from unanimous in their support of union).
59. *Weekly Globe* (Toronto), 18 Apr 1958, Vol. 19, p. 355. (MTL)
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*

62. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
63. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), 5 Mar 1960, Vol. 19, p. 360. (MTL)
64. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
65. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol 3, p. 662. (MTL)
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Star* (Toronto), 18 Oct 1958, Vol. 19, p. 357. (MTL)
71. *Star Weekly* (Toronto), ___ Dec 1945, Vol. 3, p. 659. (MTL)
72. *Star* (Toronto), 18 Oct 1958, Vol. 19, p. 357. (MTL)

APPENDIX

Important to a proper understanding of ecclesiastical architecture are the meanings of a number of terms which appear in (or relate to) the foregoing text.

Apse	a projecting part of a building (as a church) that is usually semicircular in plan and vaulted.
Chancel	the part of a church containing the altar and seating for clergy and choir.
Clerestory	an outside wall of a room or building that rises above an adjoining roof and contains windows.
Frieze	a sculpted or richly ornamented band (as on a building or item of furniture).
Nave	the main part of the interior of a church and, more particularly, the long, narrow central hall in a cruciform church that rises higher than the aisles flanking it to form a clerestory.
Pendentive	one of the concave triangular members that supports a dome over a square space.
Reredos	an ornamental or stone screen or partition wall behind an altar.
Rood	a crucifix on a beam or screen at the entrance to a chancel of a church.
Soffit	the underside of a part or member of a building (as of an overhang) or an interior curve of an arch.
Transept	the part of a cruciform church that crosses at right angles to the greatest length between the nave and the apse or choir.



Old gravestone, cut in half and used as step, Ebeltoft, Denmark.
Photo: Richard E. Meyer

THE OLD GRAVESTONE

Hans Christian Andersen

In a house, with a large courtyard, in a provincial town, at that time of the year in which people say the evenings are growing longer, a family circle were gathered together at their old home. A lamp burned on the table, although the weather was mild and warm, and the long curtains hung down before the open windows, and outside the moon shone brightly in the dark blue sky.

However, they were not talking of the moon, but rather of a large, old stone that lay below in the courtyard not very far from the kitchen door. The maids often laid the clean copper saucepans and kitchen vessels on this stone, that they might dry in the sun, and the children were fond of playing on it. It was, in fact, an old gravestone.

"Yes," said the master of the house, "I believe the stone came from the graveyard of the old church of the convent which was pulled down, and the pulpit, the monuments, and the gravestones sold. My father bought the latter: most of them were cut in two and used for paving stones, but one stone was preserved whole and laid in the courtyard."

"Anyone can see that it is a gravestone," said the eldest of the children. "The representation of an hour-glass and part of the figure of an angel can still be traced, but the inscription beneath is quite worn out, except for the name 'Preben,' and a large 'S' close by it, and a little farther down the name of 'Martha' can be easily read. But nothing more, and even that cannot be seen unless it has been raining, or when we have washed the stone."

"Dear me, how singular! Why that must be the gravestone of Preben Schwane and his wife."

The old man who said this looked old enough to be the grandfather of all present in the room.

"Yes," he continued, "these people were among the last who were buried in the churchyard of the old convent. They were a very worthy old couple. I can remember them well in the days of my boyhood. Everyone knew them, and they were esteemed by all. They were the oldest residents in the town, and people said they possessed a ton of gold, yet they were always very plainly dressed, in the coarsest stuff, but with linen of the purest whiteness. Preben and Martha were a fine old couple, and when they both sat on the bench at the top of the steep stone steps in

front of their house, with the branches of the linden tree waving above them, and nodded in a gentle, friendly way to passers by, it really made one feel quite happy. They were very good to the poor: they fed them and clothed them, and in their benevolence there was judgement as well as true Christianity. The old woman died first. That day is still quite vividly before my eyes. I was a little boy, and had accompanied my father to the old man's house. Martha had fallen into the sleep of death just as we arrived there. The corpse lay in a bedroom, near to the one in which we sat, and the old man was in great distress and weeping like a child. He spoke to my father, and to a few neighbors who were there, of how lonely he should feel now that she was gone, and how good and true she, his dead wife, had been during the number of years that they had passed through life together, and how they had become acquainted, and learnt to love each other. I was, as I have said, a boy, and only stood by and listened to what the others said: but it filled me with a strange emotion to listen to the old man, and to watch how the color rose in his cheeks as he spoke of the days of their courtship, of how beautiful she was, and how many little tricks he had been guilty of, that he might meet her. And then he talked of his wedding day, and his eyes brightened, and he seemed to be carried back by his words to that joyful time. And yet there she was, lying in the next room, dead – an old woman, and he was an old man, speaking of the days of hope, long passed away. Ah, well, so it is: then I was but a child, and now I am old, as old as Preben Schwane then was. Time passes away, and all things change. I can remember quite well the day on which she was buried, and how old Preben walked close behind the coffin."

"A few years before this time the old couple had had their gravestone prepared, with an inscription and their names, but not the date. In the evening the stone was taken to the churchyard and laid on the grave. A year later it was taken up, that old Preben might be laid by the side of his wife. They did not leave behind them wealth; they left behind them far less than people had believed they possessed. What there was went to families distantly related to them, of whom, till then, no one had ever heard. The old house, with its balcony of wickerwork and the bench at the top of the high steps under the linden tree, was considered by the road inspectors too old and rotten to be left standing. Afterwards, when the same fate befell the convent church, and the graveyard was destroyed, the gravestone of Preben and Martha, like everything else, was sold to whomever would buy it. And so it happened that this stone was not cut

in two as many others had been, but now lies in the courtyard below, a scouring block for the maids, and a playground for the children. The paved street now passes over the resting place of old Preben and his wife: no one thinks of them any more now."

And the old man who had spoken of all this shook his head mournfully and said: "Forgotten! Ah, yes, everything will be forgotten!" And then the conversation turned to other matters.

But the youngest child in the room, a boy, with large, earnest eyes, mounted upon a chair behind the window curtains and looked out into the yard, where the moon was pouring a flood of light on the old gravestone – the stone that had always appeared to him so dull and flat, but which lay there now like a great leaf out of a book of history. All that the boy had heard of old Preben and his wife seemed clearly defined on the stone, and as he gazed on it, and glanced at the clear, bright moon shining in the pure air, it was as if the light of God's countenance beamed over His beautiful world.

"Forgotten! Everything will be forgotten!" still echoed through the room, and in the same moment an invisible spirit whispered to the heart of the boy, "Preserve carefully the seed that has been entrusted to thee, that it may grow and thrive. Guard it well. Through thee, my child, shall the obliterated inscription on the old, weather-beaten gravestone go forth to future generations in clear, golden characters. The old pair shall again wander through the streets arm-in-arm, or sit with their fresh, healthy cheeks on the bench under the linden tree, and smile and nod at rich and poor. The seed of this hour shall ripen in the course of years into a beautiful poem. The beautiful and the good are never forgotten: they live always in story or in song."

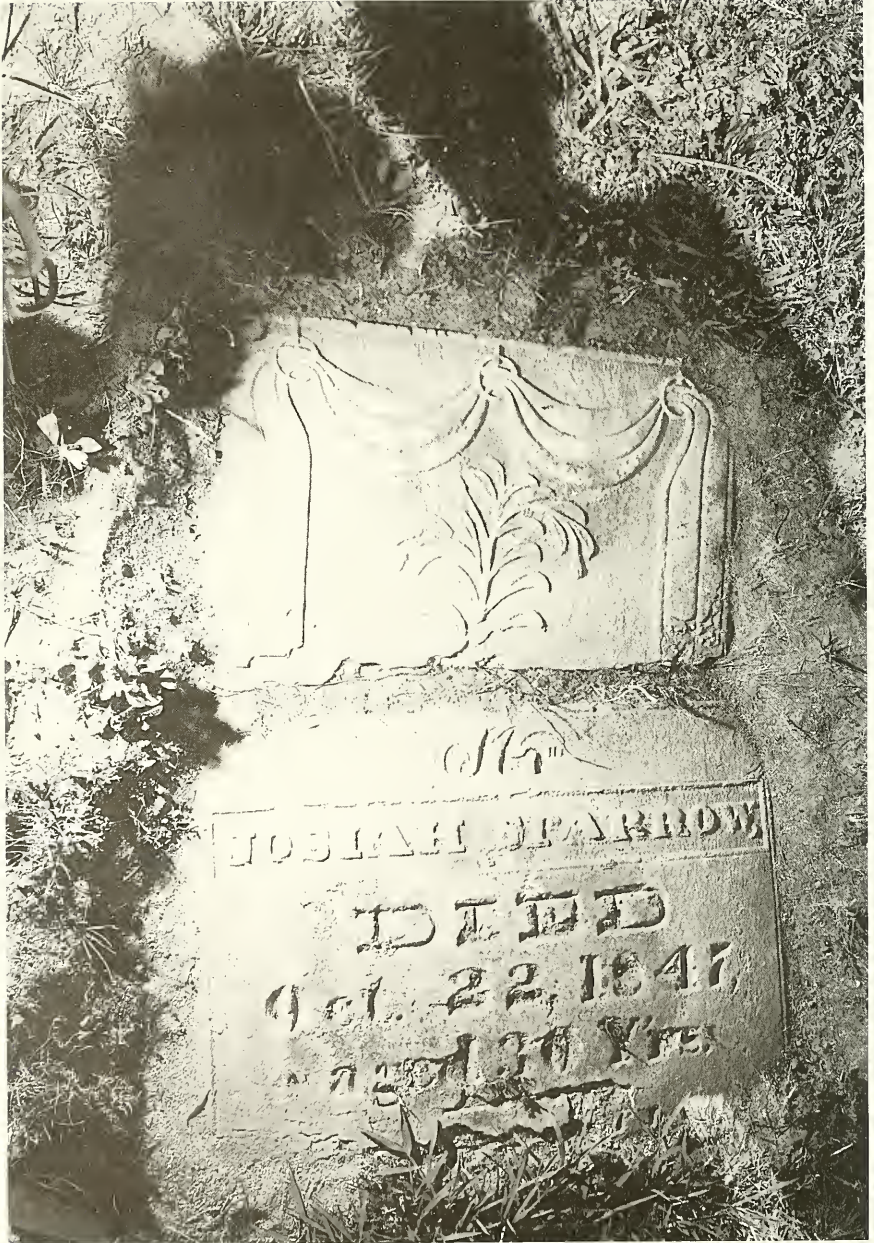


Fig. 1. Josiah Sparrow II, 1847, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Carved by Oliver N. Linnell.

THE ORIGINS OF MARBLE CARVING ON CAPE COD, PART II: THE ORLEANS AND SANDWICH CARVERS

James Blachowicz

In Part I of this study, which appeared in *Markers XIX* (2002), I examined the work of William Sturgis, his son Josiah, his son-in-law Jabez M. Fisher, and his grandson William S. Fisher. These men, as well as Ebenezer D. Winslow of Brewster, established the marble carving industry on Cape Cod. I now move to the nine carvers who emerged in Orleans and Sandwich, Massachusetts in part because of Sturgis' influence. Although the work of these carvers settles into rather undecorated conventionality, it at least affords us a more complete picture of the directions in which mid-to-late Nineteenth-Century designs were proceeding. Further, we shall find more evidence of important changes in the stonecutting trade itself.

Introduction

In the 1830s, Cape Cod was divided into three carving zones, with Nathaniel Holmes of Barnstable taking the lion's share in the center, Ebenezer D. Winslow established to the near east of Holmes (Brewster and beyond), and William Sturgis, for a time, providing stones to the far east (Orleans) and the far west (Sandwich, Falmouth). By 1850, there were still more or less three zones, but with somewhat different boundaries and different proprietors: the Fishers now occupied the middle (but based at Yarmouth, not Barnstable), with Winslow's clientele now claimed partly by the Fishers to the west and partly by a new group of carvers in Orleans to the east, and Sturgis' former customers now served partly by these Orleans carvers and partly by the Sandwich monument shop which succeeded him in the west.

In the late 1840s and early 1850s, there were no fewer than thirteen carvers on the Cape, some ending their careers and some just beginning. This was in sharp contrast to just forty-five years earlier, when the Cape had no resident carvers at all. With growing populations, some towns acquired their own carvers where before they had none; and some could now support more than one shop, or at least more than one carver in a given shop. Under these new circumstances, we begin to find true competition, not only among stonecutters from neighboring towns, but between local carvers and the larger firms in more distant towns such as Boston, Providence, and Taunton. We also find a growing sharing and

standardization of design, stretching across wide regions of New England and extending west into the younger states. We find, in short, a commercial situation increasingly like that which had enveloped other trades earlier and which has much more in common with Twentieth-Century business than with the craft system of earlier times. Beyond the scope of this study lies an even later stage of this development – the growing dominance of very large manufacturing firms in the largest cities and the decline of local production.

The Orleans Carvers

Josiah Sparrow II: Biography

Josiah Sparrow II was born in Orleans on December 28, 1817, the eighth of ten children of Isaac Sparrow and Mercy Snow, who were married in Eastham on December 31, 1801.¹ Isaac, who may have been Josiah Sturgis' agent in Orleans for a time (it may also have been Josiah's brother Isaac), died in 1843, and Josiah Sparrow bought part of his father's estate from his sister Emeline.²

Josiah Sparrow II is listed as a "tombstone cutter" in both his marriage and death records. On February 3, 1842, he married Lucinda Linnell in Eastham. She was the daughter of Josiah Linnell and Elizabeth Nickerson and a younger sister of Oliver Nickerson Linnell, another carver whose work I shall consider shortly. Lucinda died nine months after their marriage, however, and Josiah remarried three years later, to Hannah S. Stephens, on June 7, 1845, in Orleans.³

It was in October of 1844 that Josiah Sparrow ran his ad for his stonecutting shop in East Orleans and Chatham (see Part I, in *Markers XIX*, Fig. 28). His competition with Jabez Fisher, as we have seen (Part I, Fig. 29), lasted a brief three years before Josiah Sparrow died "of consumption" in Orleans on October 22, 1847, not quite thirty years of age. Two months before his death, he sold a portion of the upland abutting his own property to an Azariah Snow; this record lists his occupation as "wheelwright."⁴ His gravestone in Orleans, carved by Oliver Linnell, is broken and lying flat on the ground (Fig. 1). The year after his death, his property was sold at auction.⁵

Josiah Sparrow had owned one-eighth of a grist mill in common with a Daniel Higgins and some others. This may be the father of Daniel Higgins, Jr., another Orleans carver who died at an early age (to be discussed below). The 1858 Wallings map of the Cape shows a "marble shop" on the west side of Monument Road just south of Uncle Vicks Way (on a

modern map). Just north of this marble shop is the property of a D. Higgins – perhaps the Daniel Higgins mentioned in the deed. This may have been the location of Josiah Sparrow’s shop.

Simeon Deyo’s 1890 history of the county reports that Sparrow’s business was continued by Thomas A. Hopkins.⁶ Hopkins in turn sold the shop to Winthrop M. Crosby in 1862 (Deyo, p. 762), and Crosby later passed it on to his son Orville. Yet Oliver N. Linnell must have played a part in this story – a part about which Deyo is silent.

Josiah Sparrow II: Gravestones

I uncovered three probate records with payments to Josiah Sparrow for gravestones: the first two, dated 1844, are for stones in Eastham and Yarmouth, and the third, dated 1848, is for a marker in Harwich. In addition, I found two signed stones (see Appendix IIa).

I have not been able to determine exactly when Josiah Sparrow began carving. It was certainly by February of 1842, for his marriage record of that year records him as a “tombstone cutter.” One of his probated stones, for John F. Anderson, is dated 1835, but this was a full nine years before the probate settlement. Anderson died in Boston and it may have taken some time to settle his affairs; and so the stone is probably backdated. The modest willow and urn (Fig. 2) are cut rather shallowly, and with the encrusted lichen it is not easy to make out all the details, but the lettering is at least consistent with what Sparrow was to provide on later stones.

Early on, Sparrow cut a few reddish slate stones, such as his signed markers for Jeremiah Newcomb (1842) and Hannah Freeman (1844). Some have solitary willows and others feature small urns as well. In the later (1843) probated stone for Joshua P. Atwood (Fig. 3) in Eastham, however, we find the very palpable influence of William Sturgis. Besides the obvious debt we see in the urn, compare the drapery on this stone with that on Sturgis’ stone for William J. Freeman (1840) in Sandwich (Part I, in *Markers XIX*, Fig. 19). Sturgis had placed at least twenty-three gravestones in this area of the Cape (Orleans, Chatham, Harwich) dated between 1825 and 1841, and so Sparrow could have simply picked up Sturgis’ style from what he had observed in these burial grounds, but it is more likely that he was trained by Sturgis. One of these twenty-three Sturgis stones was for Josiah Sparrow’s older brother Richard, who died in 1830, when Josiah was thirteen; and there are two other Sturgis stones for other members of the Sparrow family.

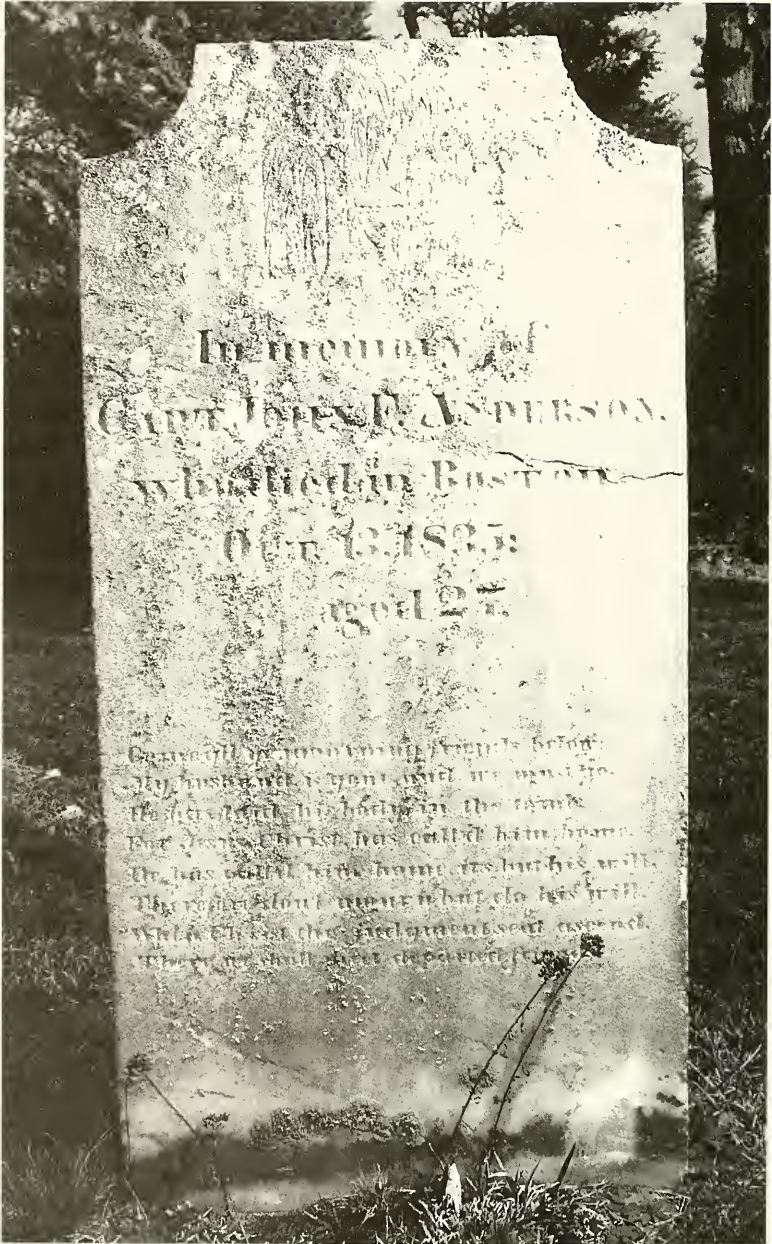


Fig. 2. John F. Anderson, 1835, Chatham, Massachusetts.
Early stone probated to Josiah Sparrow.

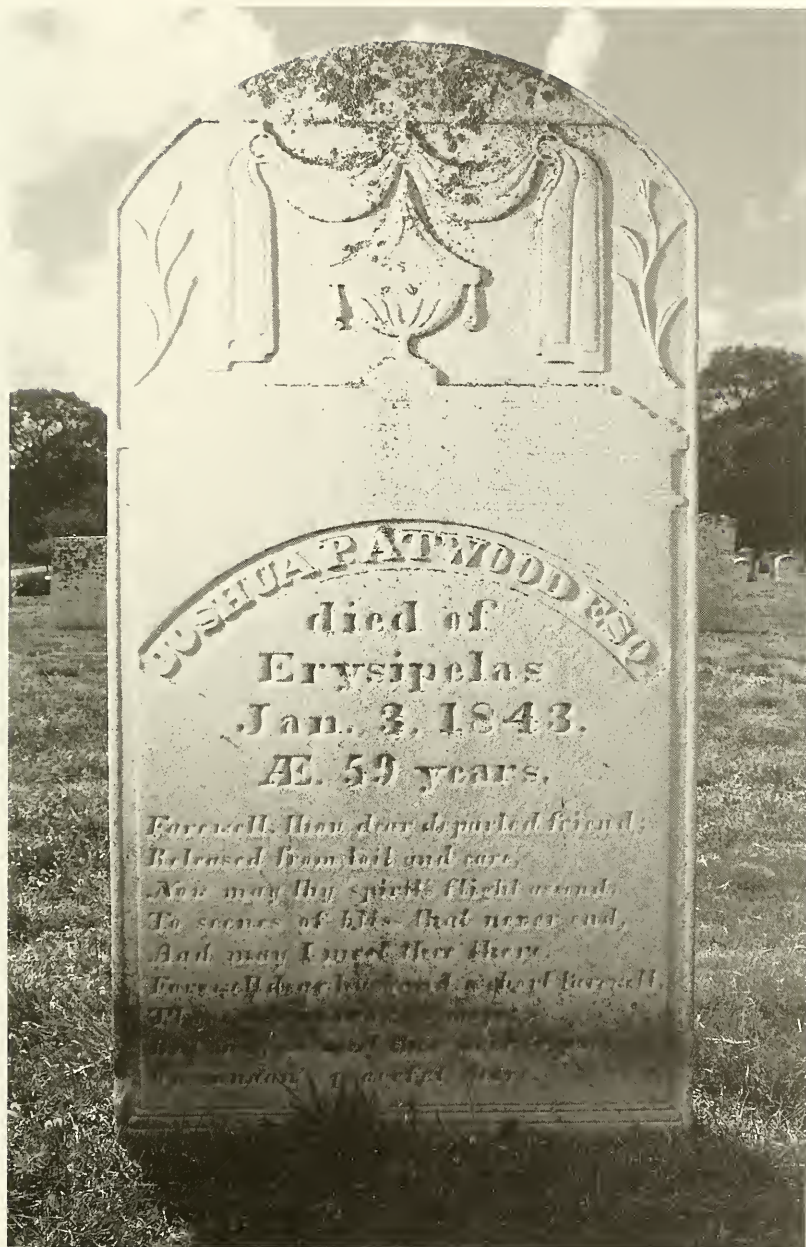


Fig. 3. Joshua P. Atwood, 1843, Eastham, Massachusetts. Probated to Josiah Sparrow; carved in the style of William Sturgis.

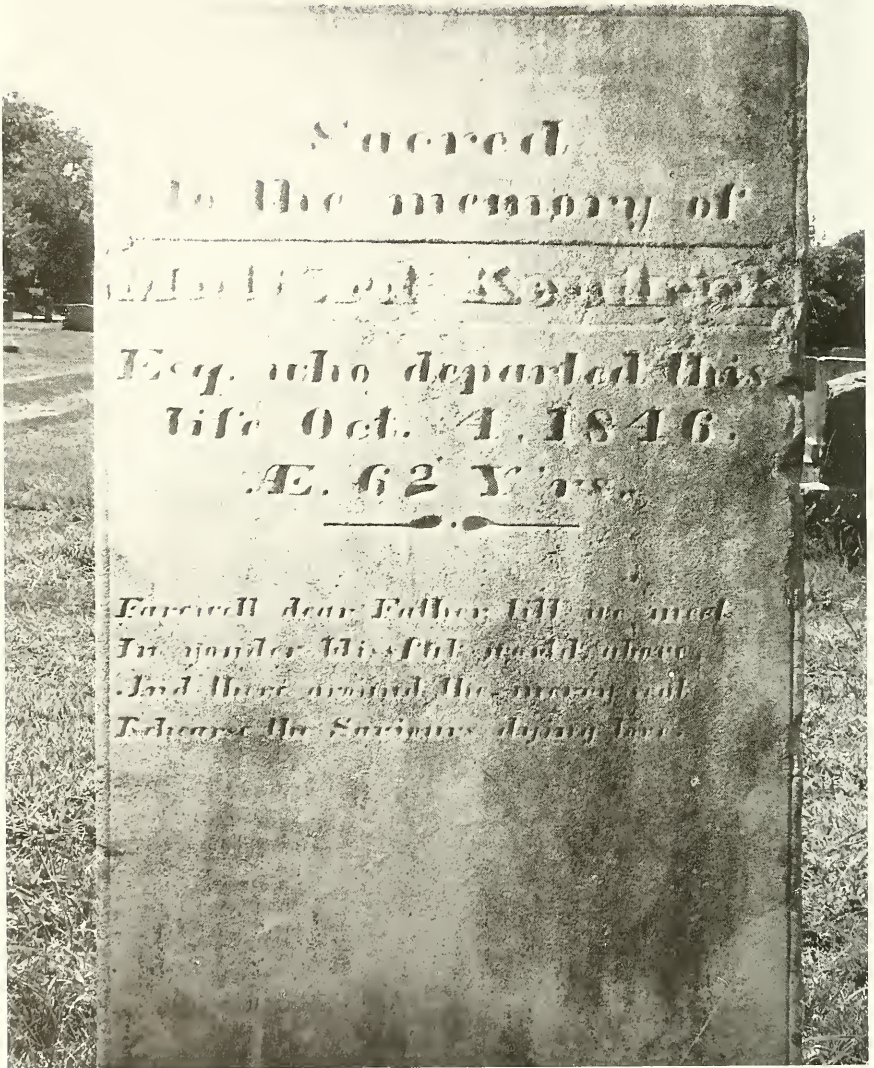


Fig. 4. Mulford Kendrick, 1846, Harwich, Massachusetts.
Probated to Josiah Sparrow.

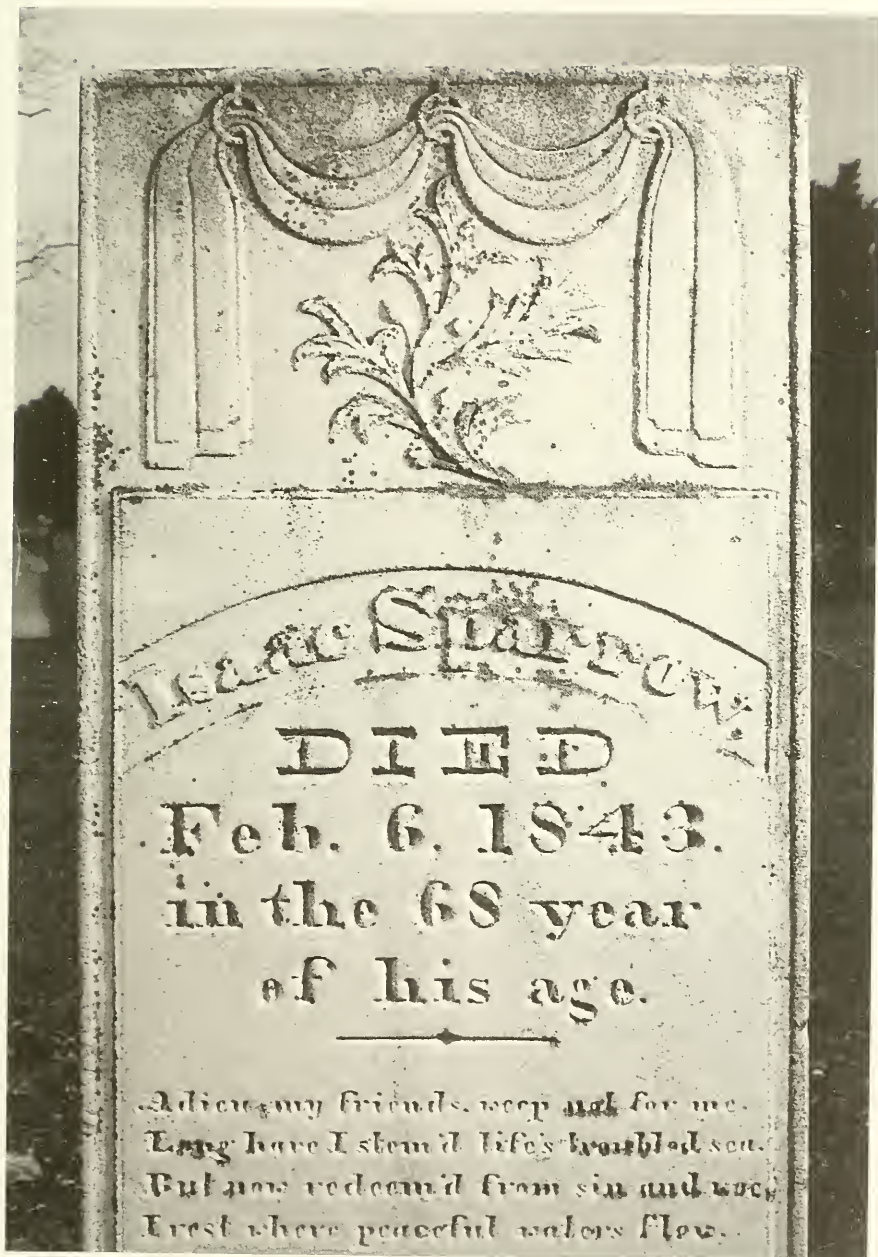


Fig. 5. Isaac Sparrow, 1843, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Carved by Josiah Sparrow for his father.

We should recall at this point that when Josiah Sturgis advertised his Harwich shop in 1839, he included as his Orleans agent Isaac Sparrow – either Josiah Sparrow’s father (who would have been sixty-four) or his brother (who would have been thirty-one). Further, a property transaction between Jabez Fisher and William Sturgis in 1840 lists William as “of Orleans.” It was during this brief stay in Orleans that William Sturgis probably taught Josiah Sparrow to carve. Sparrow was already twenty-two in 1839, only eight months younger than Josiah Sturgis. Josiah Sparrow may even have been Josiah Sturgis’ real agent in Orleans, acting under his father Isaac’s name. It would have been natural for him to have been tutored by Sturgis rather than Holmes: Holmes was the slatecarver; Sturgis worked in marble, and marble was obviously the future of the business.

The third probated stone we have for Josiah Sparrow, the 1846 marker for Mulford Kendrick (Fig. 4), shows a plainer style.

It is difficult to ascribe very many more stones to Sparrow before 1847, the year of his death, because they are so much like the early stones of his brother-in-law Oliver N. Linnell. While they undoubtedly exist in greater numbers, I have not attempted a more comprehensive survey of Sparrow’s body of work. We are probably safe in giving to him, however, the two markers for his parents, Mercy Sparrow (1846) and Isaac Sparrow (1843) (Fig. 5). We have the Sturgis-type drapery again, but this time hanging over a nicely carved branch. Josiah Sparrow’s mother, Mercy, died in December of 1846; Josiah himself was to die less than a year later.

Oliver N. Linnell: Biography

Oliver Nickerson Linnell was born in Orleans on August 5, 1816, the second of eight children of Josiah Linnell and Elizabeth Nickerson.⁷ Josiah was listed as a carpenter in the 1850 U.S. Census. Oliver married Adaline G. Rogers, the daughter of Freeman Higgins Rogers and Margery Crowell, in Eastham on November 30, 1843. They had nine children.⁸ As we have seen, Oliver’s sister Lucinda married Josiah Sparrow II in January of 1842, but she died the following November. It is after Josiah Sparrow’s death in 1847 that Oliver Linnell’s gravestones begin to appear. It is not clear, however, whether Linnell had any part in his former brother-in-law’s business, for Deyo (1890) tells us that it was Thomas A. Hopkins who continued Sparrow’s business after his death (p. 762) and Sparrow’s wife (Linnell’s sister) had died five years before. While it’s possible Linnell may have learned carving from Sparrow, it seems more likely that he

had learned with Sparrow from William Sturgis. In any case, Linnell ultimately opened a shop of his own in South Orleans.

I uncovered twenty-one probate payments for gravestones to Oliver Linnell: one in Dennis, seven in Harwich, including the earliest, dated 1849, and the other thirteen in Chatham, the last dated 1867 (see Appendix IIa). I did not search these records past 1870. A sales receipt for another stone (in Chatham) is in the possession of the Chatham Historical Society. In addition, I found thirty signed stones, dated 1845 through 1875. His house (and his shop as well?) is shown on the 1858 Wallings map of the Cape in Namequoit, in South Orleans – today on the east side of Rte. 39, about a quarter of a mile south of the junction with Rte. 28. Although he lived in South Orleans, Linnell's clientele was concentrated in Chatham. The 1852 *Massachusetts Register* lists a "Geo. Linell" as a marble manufacturer in South Orleans: this is either an error or perhaps a reference to Oliver's younger brother, George Washington Linnell, born March 17, 1824. George married an Elizabeth Kelley and died in Olneyville, RI. Perhaps Oliver let his younger brother run the shop at this time. But in the 1855 state census (p. 4), the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory*, the 1865 state census, and the 1871 *New England Business Directory*, it is Oliver who is listed as a marble-worker.

Oliver was involved in a controversy in 1884 concerning the handling of his brother Josiah's remains after his death. Josiah, who was two years older than Oliver, had died on December 1st in the town almshouse after having resided there for twenty years. The selectman Freeman Doane informed Oliver of the arrangements for his brother's funeral, but then changed the time because of another funeral that had been scheduled. Doane's notification of this change was sent to Oliver in the mail, but Oliver did not collect it in time. The Cape Cod *Item* of December 19th published a letter from Oliver and two others complaining of the town's neglect. Selectman Doane responded by explaining the circumstances, wondering where Oliver had been while his brother's remains were being prepared and, more generally, "where has he been for the last twenty years that he has not made at least one visit to the almshouse to see that his brother was properly cared for and made as comfortable as possible in his unfortunate position." Oliver responded to Doane a week later, noting that his brother Josiah traveled freely from the almshouse, and had visited Oliver once and sometimes twice a week.

Oliver Nickerson Linnell died (of cirrhosis) in Orleans on May 4, 1892, not quite seventy-six. His son, Oliver Herbert Linnell, who was executor



Fig. 6. Oliver N. and Adaline Linnell, 1892, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Obelisk possibly carved by their son, Oliver H. Linnell.

of his father's estate, was also a marble-worker. Deyo's (1890) history records that Oliver Herbert was born in 1849 and took up the trade in 1869. There are three stones, dated 1864, 1871 and 1872, signed "Linnell & Son," indicating that he and his father were in business together for a time (the first stone is probably backdated). Oliver Herbert opened a shop in Wellfleet in 1873 (Deyo, p. 820) and is listed as a marble-worker in his marriage that year to Augusta Knowles. I found four stones signed "O. H. Linnell"; one of these, dated 1879, includes "Orleans" after his signature. But he moved to another location in Wellfleet in 1879, adding an undertaking business (Deyo, pp. 806-7). In 1885, he bought a new place of business, which was still in operation in 1890. He signed the thick, sculpted marble marker for Thankful Snow (1883) in the Methodist Cemetery in Truro; and perhaps he carved the marble obelisk for his father and mother that marks their graves in Orleans Cemetery (Fig. 6).

Oliver N. Linnell: Gravestones

As was the case with Josiah Sparrow, I have not determined exactly when Linnell started to carve gravestones. He was a year older than Sparrow and might have learned to carve at the same time, perhaps also from William Sturgis. He carved Josiah Sparrow's own 1847 gravestone (Fig. 1) while still in his twenties. We can see how close his design and lettering are to those of Sparrow: compare his stone for Sparrow to Sparrow's marker for his father Isaac Sparrow (Fig. 5). Although it is not very evident on these two stones in particular, one subtle difference between Sparrow's and Linnell's draperies may be in the space each carver allows below the left and right rings: Sparrow tended to straighten out the left and right drapes, that is, resume a vertical line, earlier than did Linnell.

Besides what looks like a tree branch, Linnell also used a more plant-like (ivy?) sprig for his main decorative feature, as on the 1851 probated stone for Lumbert Nickerson (Fig. 7). Note also the curved serif at the top of the "1": this is also helpful in distinguishing Linnell's from Sparrow's lettering, where a straight serif is used.

Linnell's large 1854 stone for Lusha Snow (Fig. 8) in Orleans is initialed (Linnell would initial or sign many of his stones). Besides the very carefully carved features and long epitaph, it bears a rather simplified Sturgis-style urn, a plain willow, Linnell's characteristic drapery, and a rectangular panel for the deceased's name which has a border that resembles stitching.⁹ This border is a common feature on his stones, but



Fig. 7. Lumbert Nickerson, 1851, Chatham, Massachusetts.
 Probated to Oliver N. Linnell.

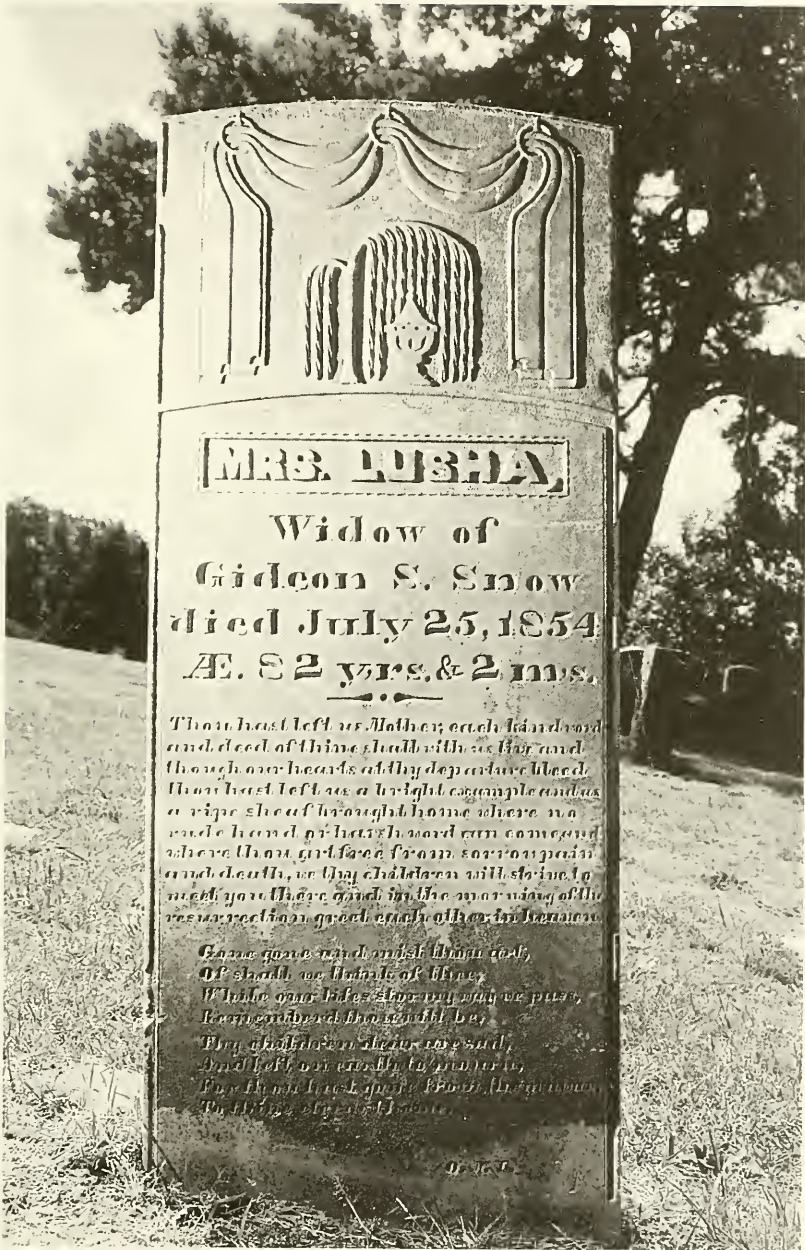


Fig. 8. Lusha Snow, 1854, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Signed (initialed) by Oliver N. Linnell.

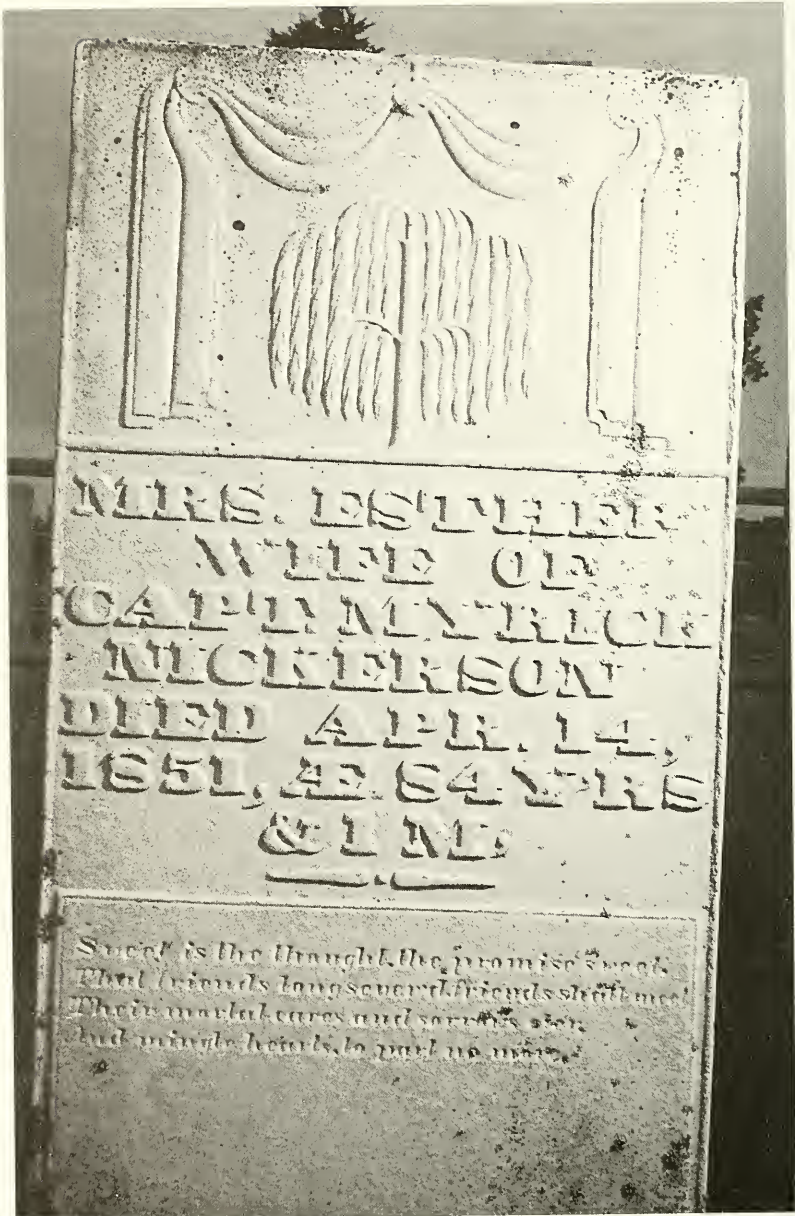


Fig. 9. Esther Nickerson, 1851, Chatham, Massachusetts.
Linnell stone with positive-relief lettering.



Fig. 10. Abner Rogers, 1878, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Late Linnell willow.

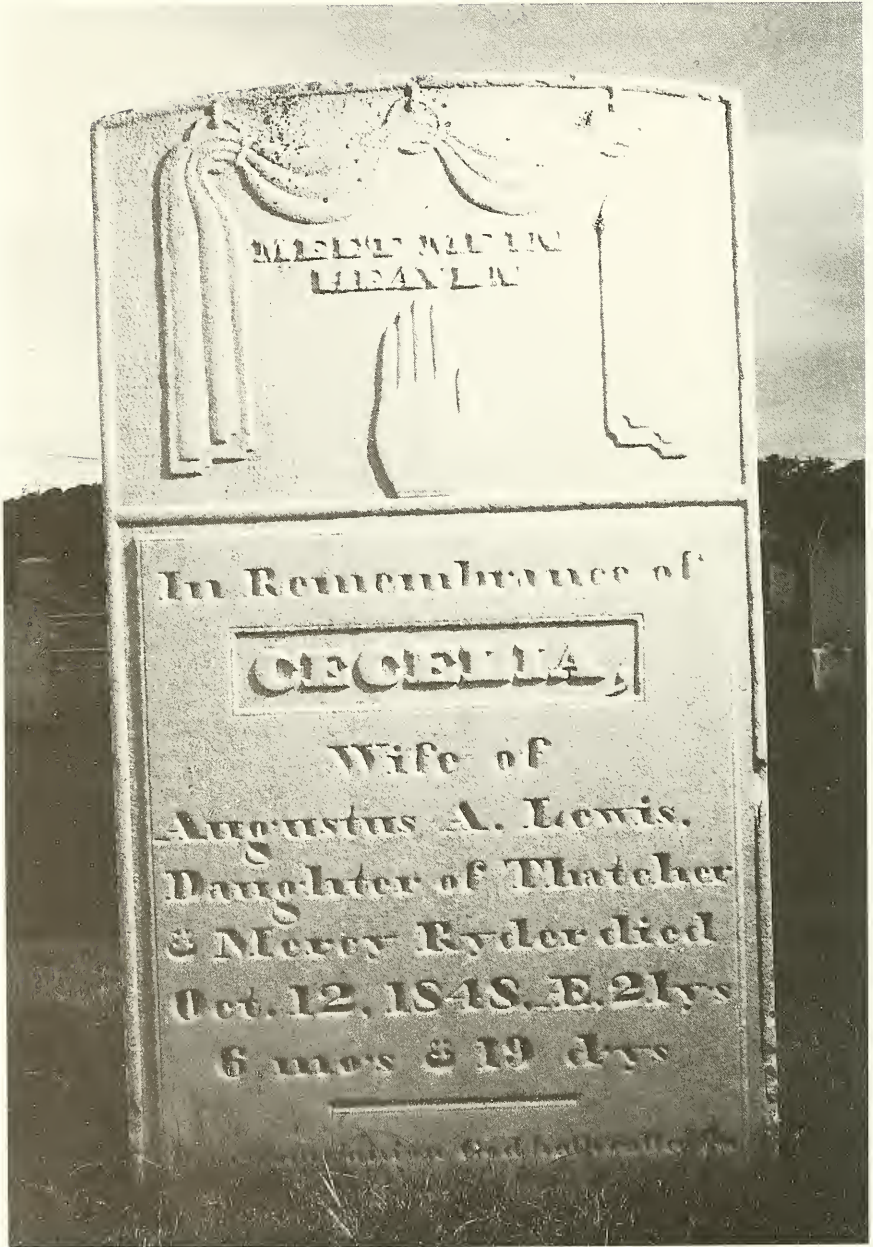


Fig. 11. Cecelia Lewis, 1848, Chatham, Massachusetts.
Probably carved by Oliver N. Linnell.

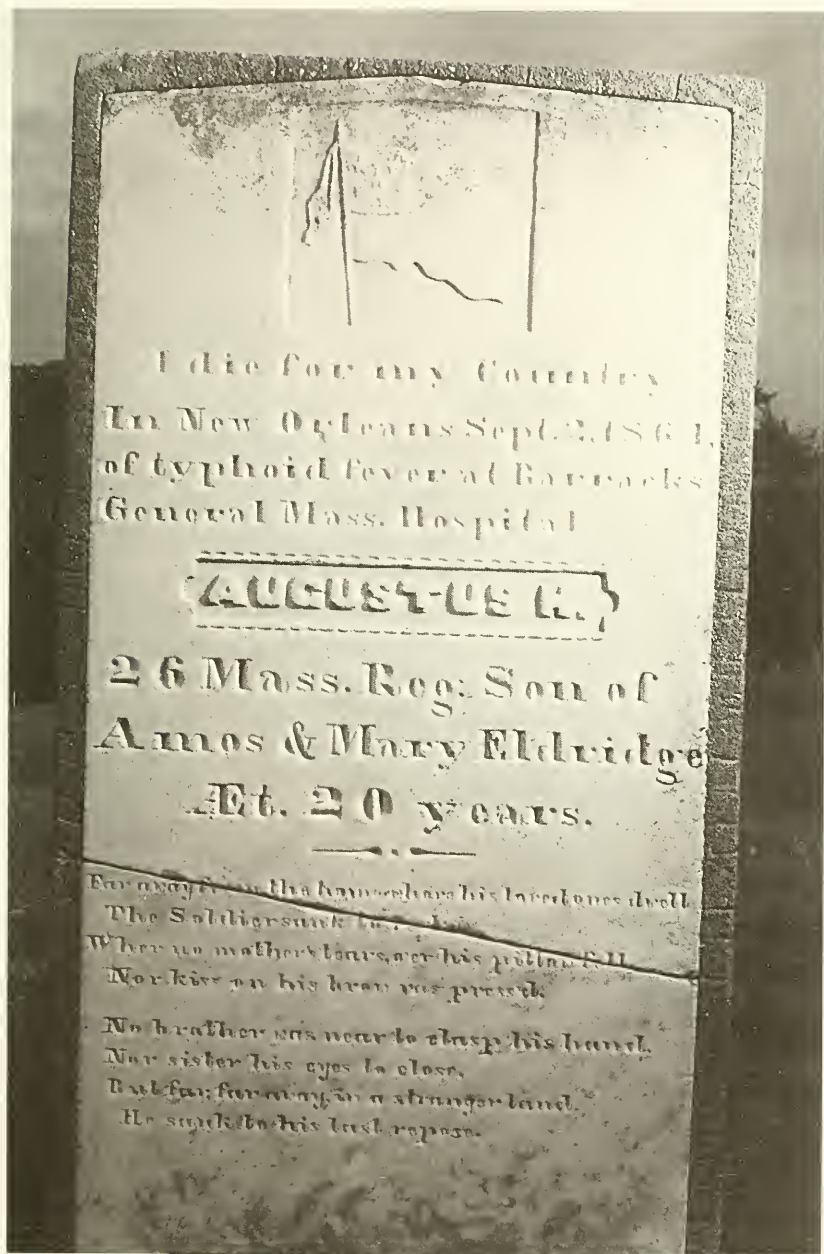


Fig. 12. Augustus H. Eldridge, 1864, South Chatham, Massachusetts.
Probably carved by Oliver N. Linnell.

Thomas A. Hopkins also uses it. We saw that Jabez Fisher carves a similar urn and willow on at least two stones around 1839; while I assume that Linnell was here imitating Sturgis' style directly, it is not impossible he was under Fisher's influence.

It is difficult to distinguish Linnell's work from that of Thomas A. Hopkins, as we shall shortly see. What may be a help is the horizontal device Linnell uses to separate the date from the epitaph on the Lusha Snow stone as well as on many others.

On a great many of his gravestones, Linnell does not chisel out the lettering, but chisels the stone away from the letters, leaving the entire inscription in high (positive) relief, such as on the 1851 stone for Esther Nickerson (Fig. 9) (William Sturgis had produced a few such stones as well). This certainly produces a distinctive effect, but it also involves considerably more work – which may explain why he abandons this technique later. We can also note the nice symmetrical willow he places on this stone, another Sturgis-inspired design. He uses this willow frequently, even on some differently-shaped later stones, such as that for Abner Rogers (1878) (Fig. 10), which he carved at the age of sixty-two. The shape of this marker closely resembles that which Jabez Fisher had used in the 1850s, such as on the 1857 stone for Samuel S. Crocker (Part I, in *Markers XIX*, Fig. 43). We also find this type of tree on the 1857 marker for Daniel Higgins, Jr. (see Fig. 16). Linnell shares with Jabez Fisher the distinction of having carved the gravestones for at least two other stonecutters: Holmes and Sturgis in the case of Fisher; Sparrow and Higgins (and possibly Winslow as well) in the case of Linnell.

From time to time, Linnell used additional decorative devices in his work: he has a quite realistic human hand on his 1848 stone for Cecelia Lewis (Fig. 11), an American flag with six stars (but no stripes) on his 1864 marker for a Civil War soldier, Augustus H. Eldridge (Fig. 12), and a flag on the signed 1864 stone for Benjamin F. Bassett, another Civil War casualty, in Chatham. He may also be responsible for the fine masted sailing vessel on the marker for Capt. Samuel Eldridge (1850) in Harwich. His final stones into the 1880s, however, tend to be plain, with fewer decorative features.

Thomas A. Hopkins: Biography

Thomas Arey Hopkins was born in Orleans in 1826, the third of at least four children of Elisha Hopkins and Sukey Arey, who were married in Orleans on March 2, 1815.¹⁰ Thomas married Ezildah Taylor¹¹ in Orleans

on December 11, 1848.¹² They had at least three children.¹³ Deyo tells us that Hopkins continued Josiah Sparrow's marble factory after Sparrow's death in 1847 (p. 762). Hopkins would have just turned twenty-one and was ready to assume principal responsibility for his own business. The 1850-51 *Massachusetts State Directory*, the 1852 *Massachusetts Register*, and the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory* each list Thomas Hopkins as a marble manufacturer in Orleans – the latter two entries specifying “East” Orleans. In the 1855 state census, Hopkins is a “mechanic.”

It is strange that Deyo does not also mention Oliver N. Linnell. The fact that Linnell's style is so close to both Sparrow's and Hopkins' suggests a professional relation among these three men. Since Hopkins' designs owed much to Linnell, it may have been Linnell who took over Sparrow's shop rather than Hopkins, at least at first. Perhaps Deyo, writing forty years after the fact, did not quite get the whole story.

The 1858 Wallings map of the Cape shows the house of T. A. Hopkins on the south side of Tonset Road, about an eighth mile west of the junction with Hopkins Lane. In 1861, however, Thomas Hopkins bought an acre of land with a house, barn, and other buildings from his father for \$2,100 – today just south of Main Street and about an eighth mile southeast of Tonset Road.¹⁴ This was probably the family homestead. It was in 1861 that Hopkins also served as town clerk, according to Deyo (p. 759).

In the 1860 U.S. Census, Hopkins, listed as a marble-worker, is shown as living with his wife and his children Eldora and Nathaniel; in this household as well is Winthrop M. Crosby, aged twenty, also a marble-worker (Deyo, p. 874). In 1862, Deyo reports (p. 874) that Hopkins sold his marble factory to Crosby. Although my sampling of Hopkins' markers was not very large, it is perhaps significant that the latest of his stones I have listed is dated 1860. Hopkins may in fact have given up stonecutting altogether after he sold his shop to Crosby.

In 1865, Thomas Hopkins mortgaged his home for \$1200.¹⁵ This was only about a quarter mile north of the marble shop shown on the Wallings map. In 1866, he appears to have mortgaged it again to a Reuben Chapman,¹⁶ and the same year yet again to James F. Eldridge,¹⁷ selling it outright to Eldridge in 1899.¹⁸ In this last transaction, Hopkins signed the documents in Brockton, Massachusetts. I have not determined whether he was residing there at the time.

Thomas A. Hopkins died in 1909 at the age of eighty-three and is buried with his wife beneath a granite monument in the newer section of Orleans Cemetery.

Thomas A. Hopkins: Gravestones

I found eleven payments to Thomas A. Hopkins in Barnstable County probate records through 1870 (see Appendix IIa). Five of these stones were in Orleans, four in Truro, and one each in Brewster and Wellfleet. These records are dated from 1849 through 1862. I was able to find eight of these stones, and located ten signed stones as well.

It is apparent that Hopkins' work is very much like that of Sparrow and Linnell. Hopkins was ten years younger than Linnell, however, and may not have been old enough (thirteen) in 1839 to have had a chance to learn stonecutting from William Sturgis. Yet I think it was probably Hopkins who carved the stone for Joanna Smith (1842), which is very similar to his probated stone for Knowles Smith (1849). The Joanna Smith marker features a symmetrical willow very like Linnell's and lettering that could be either Sparrow's or Linnell's. It seems almost too well carved to have been made by Hopkins in 1842, when he was sixteen; perhaps it is backdated.

Hopkins' membership in the Sturgis-Sparrow-Linnell school of design is obvious, however, in his probated 1854 stone for Sarah Doane (Fig. 13). Besides the drapery, the urn and willow seem almost a copy of Linnell's work on his 1854 marker for Lusha Snow (see Fig. 8), dated the same year – suggesting that Hopkins worked most closely with Linnell. The same features reappear on Hopkins' 1853 probated stone for Archelaus Smith (Fig. 14). The squared-off bottom of the "7" here is also found in Linnell's work.

The very close similarity in their styles of carving and lettering is evident from a comparison of Linnell's probated Lusha Snow stone (Fig. 8) with Hopkins' probated Sarah Doane stone (Fig. 13): without the probate documentation, one would easily judge both stones to have been the work of the same man (of course, it is also possible that one of the two carvers lettered a number of the other's stones). One small element that might be used as a means for distinguishing Linnell from Hopkins is the horizontal design element each carver uses beneath the date: on most of Linnell's stones (such on the Lusha Snow marker), this device is made up of a drill point flanked on the left and right by a kind of horizontal tear-drop; on Hopkins' stones (such as on the marker for Archelaus Smith), on the other hand, we find two small diamond-shaped incisions connected by a horizontal line that extends both left and right beyond the diamonds.

Hopkins also used the symmetrical willow Linnell favored; we find it



Fig. 13. Sarah Doane, 1854, Wellfleet, Massachusetts.
Probated to Thomas A. Hopkins.



Fig. 14. Archelaus Smith, 1853, Truro, Massachusetts.
 Probated to Thomas A. Hopkins.

on two of Hopkins' signed stones. In general, Linnell's willow is wider (squarer) than Hopkins', with thicker branches.

Daniel Higgins, Jr.: Biography

Daniel Higgins, Jr. was born in Orleans on May 6, 1837, the youngest of four children born to Daniel Higgins and Elizabeth Sparrow.¹⁹ Daniel, Sr. appears in a few records as a carpenter, but in the 1855 state census (p. 12) he is listed as a farmer, and Daniel, Jr., aged eighteen, is listed as a marble-worker. Daniel Jr. did not marry and died on October 8, 1857 – the only fatality among the twenty-two passengers aboard the schooner *Harriet Maria*, which was rammed by the steamer *Niagara* in Boston harbor. The *Boston Herald* of October 9th reported the incident (see Fig. 15). Daniel was twenty years old. The Jesse Sparrow who was also a passenger on the schooner may have been Daniel's brother-in-law, who married Daniel's sister Betsy; and Elisha Hopkins was probably either the father or brother of the stonecutter Thomas A. Hopkins. The Orleans record of Daniel's death lists his occupation as "stonecutter." His gravestone in Orleans Cemetery (Fig. 16) was carved by Oliver Linnell.

Daniel Higgins, Jr.: Gravestones

I uncovered a single probate payment to Daniel Higgins for gravestones – this, despite the fact that he was under twenty-one at the time (unless it was his father who was being paid for his work?). I also found three signed stones (see Appendix IIa).

The 1855 probated stone for Thomas Watkins (Fig. 17) bears no decoration. His signed 1855 marker for Thomas Higgins (Fig. 18), dated only about one week after the Watkins stone, is more carefully carved. Note the shape of the rectangular panel in which the deceased's name is inscribed and compare this to the panel used by Thomas Hopkins on his stone for Sarah Doane (Fig. 13). All of these stonecutters were living in Orleans. It is quite likely that young Daniel Higgins, Jr., only eighteen in 1855, had studied with Linnell and/or Hopkins. Higgins signed the fairly large marble obelisk for Lottie M. Howes (1856) in Chatham. While the monument itself is fairly simple, there is a mourning drapery carved in high relief on one of the sides of the base.

Winthrop M. and Henry T. Crosby: Biography

The 1860 U.S. Census records that Withrop M. Crosby, then twenty years of age, was living in the household of Thomas A. Hopkins; and

AFFAIRS ABOUT HOME.

Sad Accident in the Harbor.

ONE MAN DROWNED AND TWENTY-ONE RESCUED. The schooner *Harriet Maria*, Capt. S. N. Smith, from this port yesterday afternoon for Orleans, Cape Cod, was struck amidships when within a mile of the outer light, by the steamer *Niagara*, on her way to this port from Halifax, causing her to sink in a few minutes. There were twenty-two persons on board the schooner, all of whom, with the exception of Mr. Daniel Higgins, of Orleans, were saved. The names of those saved are Jonathan Higgins, Elisha Hopkins, Jonathan Young, Rev. Mr. Atkinson, Jesse Sparrow, Josiah Knowles and wife, Jesse C. Snow, and Jesse C. Snow, Jr., all of Orleans; Mrs. Lucy Snow and daughter, and Henry Knowles, of Eastham; Solomon Croby, steward; Sylvanus Freeman, seaman; and David King. They saved nothing but what they stood in. At the time of the collision the passengers, for the most part, were in bed, and the shock threw them violently from their berths. Isaac Leunell, mate of the schooner, immediately lowered the boat and took them all aboard. It is said that Capt. Smith had no light out at the time of the disaster. His vessel was about 65 tons burthen, and two years old. She was owned by various parties at Orleans, and was not insured. The cargo was valued at \$5000, and was uninsured. The steamer did not see the schooner until quite upon her. The engines were at once reversed, and every effort that the circumstances required was made.

Fig. 15. Notice of the shipwreck which took the life of Daniel Higgins, Jr., 1857.

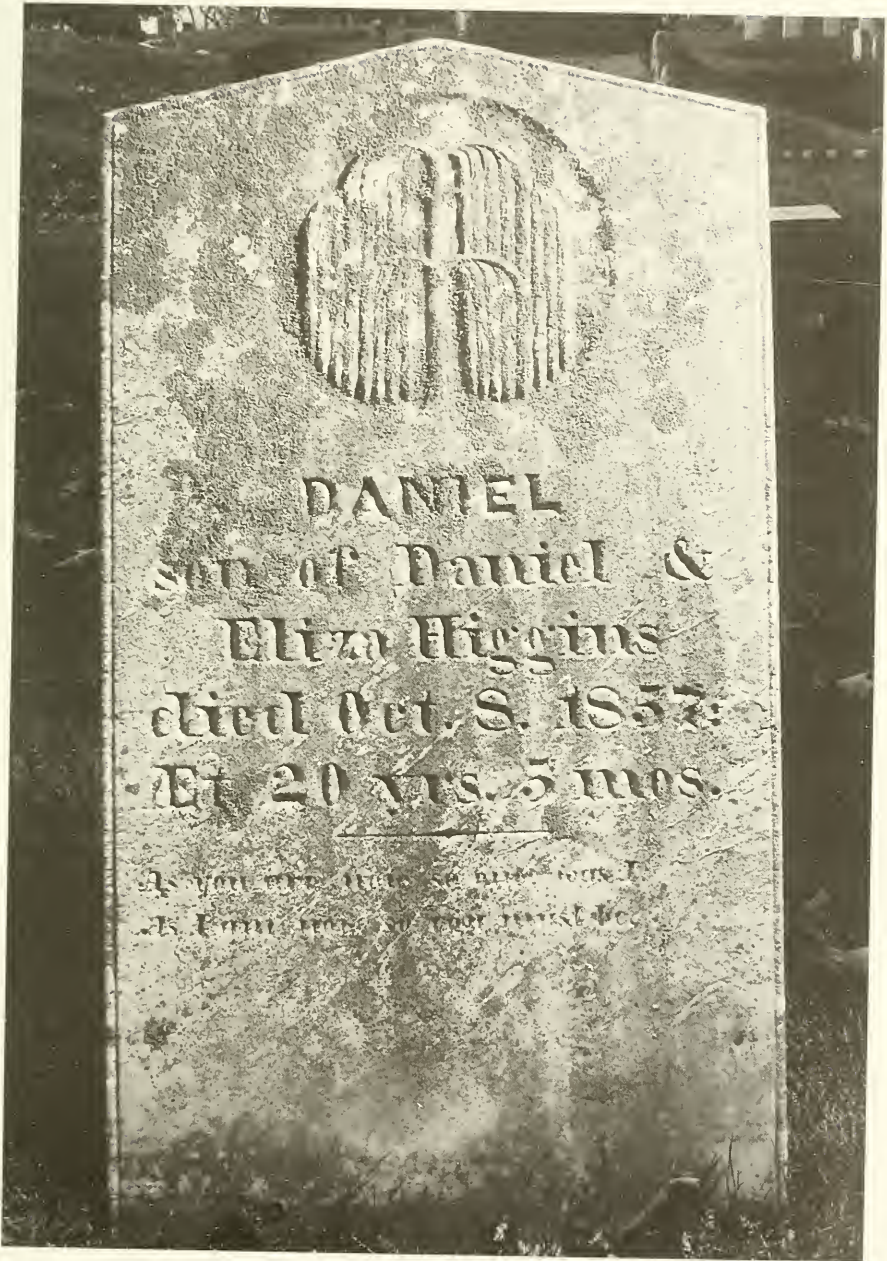


Fig. 16. Daniel Higgins, Jr., 1857, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Carved by Oliver N. Linnell.

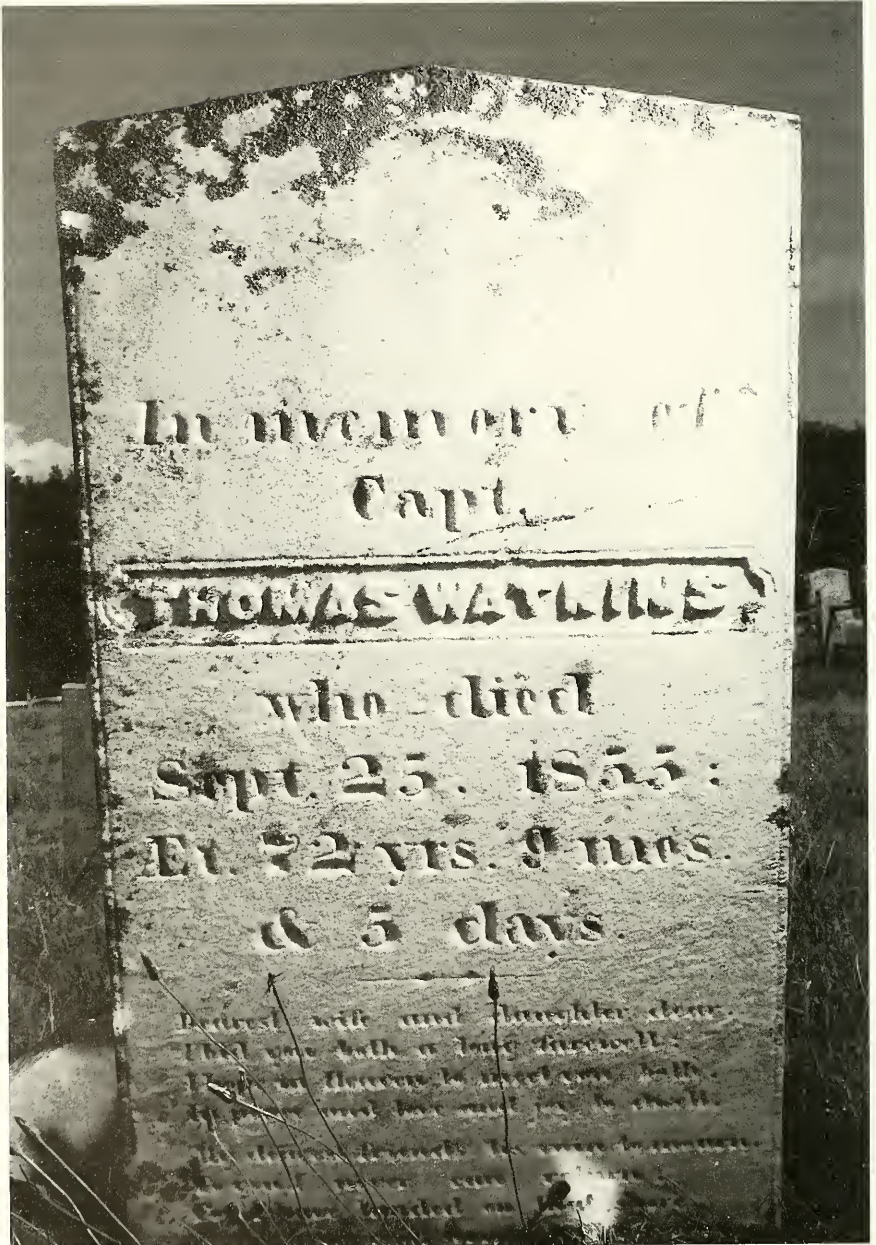


Fig. 17. Thomas Watkins, 1855, Truro, Massachusetts.
 Probated to Daniel Higgins, Jr.

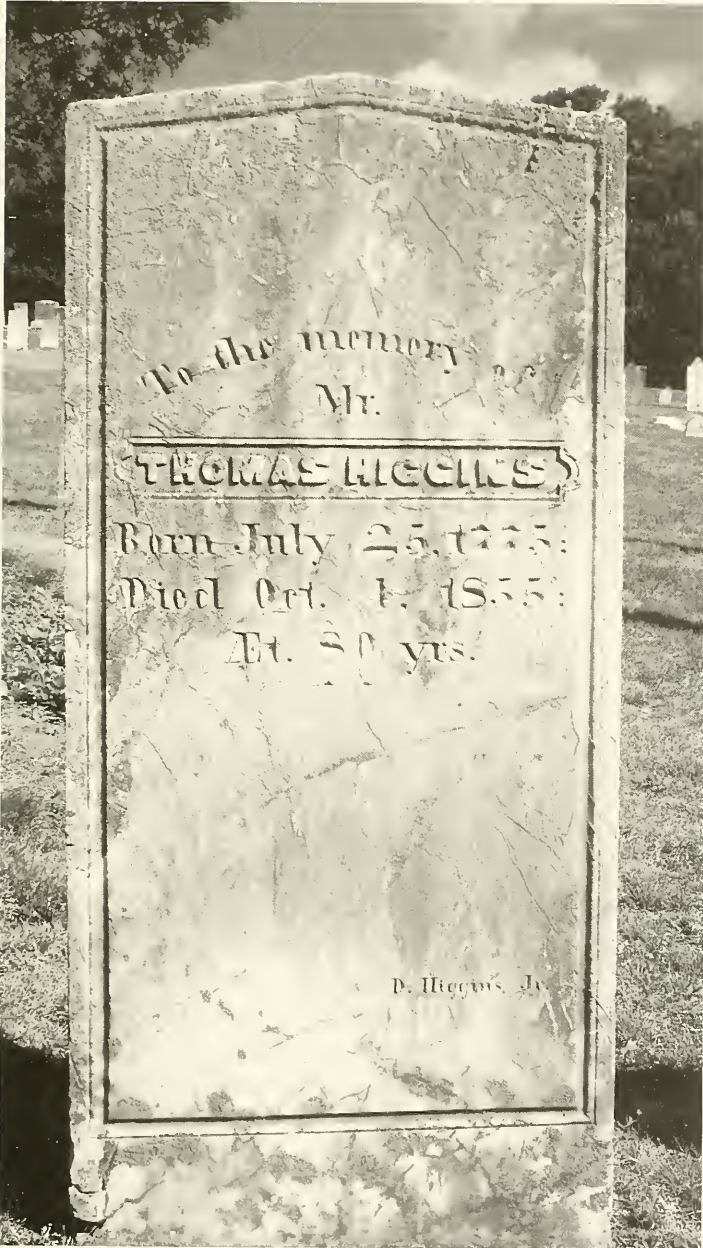


Fig. 18. Thomas Higgins, 1855, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Signed by Daniel Higgins, Jr.

Deyo, as we have seen, reports that Thomas A. Hopkins sold his stonecutting shop in Orleans to his apprentice Crosby in 1862 (p. 762). At the time of the sale, Hopkins would have been only thirty-six, while Winthrop would have been twenty-two and his brother Henry seventeen. Winthrop was born in 1840, the eldest of at least three children of Joshua Crosby and Thankful Baker, who were married on November 3, 1829.²⁰ Joshua was born November 22, 1809. According to Deyo, his father and grandfather were also named Joshua – the father having served with Commodore Perry on Lake Erie. Winthrop Crosby married Etta (Marietta) F. Ryder, who was born in 1846; as of 1890, according to Deyo, they had one son, Orville W. (p. 768), who was born in 1867.

Winthrop Crosby had been in the marble and granite business in Orleans, Deyo says, since 1860,²¹ that is, from the time he was living with Hopkins. Perhaps Hopkins took Winthrop on in 1857, when Winthrop was seventeen, in order to replace Daniel Higgins, Jr., who had died tragically that year at the age of twenty. Crosby lived near Hopkins, buying a right-of-way across Hopkins' land in 1870 from the same man Hopkins had earlier mortgaged his property to.²²

Winthrop Crosby remodeled the shop in 1886 and it was still there in 1890 (the year of publication of Deyo's history). We also learn from Deyo that Winthrop served as town selectman from 1882 through 1891 and that he passed on his marble shop to his son Orville (p. 759). Winthrop Crosby died in 1912 at the age of seventy-two and is buried in Orleans Cemetery.

Winthrop's younger brother, Henry Thomas Crosby, born in Orleans on September 21, 1845, was also a stonecutter. In 1873, according to Deyo, he moved to Harwich and opened a marble and granite shop, a business in which he was engaged since 1866 (pp. 850; 870). The Harwich shop was located on Great Western Road a little west of the lane that runs north into Island Pond Cemetery. It is still in operation today at 672 Main St. and still bears the name "Henry T. Crosby & Son" on its front.

Henry married Eliza Doane Snow in 1870 and had three sons: Wilfred Henry, Bertram D., and Orwell S. In 1896, Henry mortgaged for \$1,800.00 a property in Harwich that included a lot with a house and other buildings, a second lot that included his marble shop, a cranberry bog, and a third lot in the village of Whitman.²³ Henry Crosby died on March 7, 1915, not quite seventy, and is buried in Island Pond Cemetery in Harwich.²⁴ There is a payment for his monument in his probate papers to his son Bertram, who himself became a stonecutter.

There is a stone dated 1876 which is signed “Crosby Bros., Harwich” (see below): this does not necessarily mean, however, that Winthrop had come to join Henry in Harwich. They could still have been partners running two shops, one in Harwich and one in Orleans.

Winthrop M. and Henry T. Crosby: Gravestones

I found four probate payments to the Crosbys, three to Winthrop and one to a “B. Crosby,” probably Henry’s son Bertram, for the monument for Henry’s own grave. One of the first three probated stones is also signed by Winthrop; this is the 1861 marker for Capt. Stephen Collins (Fig. 19) in the Methodist Cemetery in Truro. I also found fifteen other markers signed by the Crosbys – enough to get a fairly good idea of their work.

Henry Crosby signed the stone for George W. Nickerson (1864) in Chatham; this features a nicely sculpted anchor. Henry must have carved it at about the time he turned twenty-one. There is a rather plain 1874 marble stone for Levi Long (Fig. 20) in the burial ground adjoining the Congregational Church in Harwich which is signed “Crosby, Harwich” – evidently the work of Henry. This features an Old English letter “L” within a medallion at the top – the same device used on the 1876 marker for Albert F. Wixon in Dennis Port’s Swan Lake Cemetery. But the Wixon stone is signed “Crosby Bros., Harwich.” Henry also signed the marble obelisk for Capt. Davis Wixon (1875) in Harwich and the large granite monuments for Nathaniel Doane (1895) in Harwichport and William Handren (1897) in Dennis Port.

According to a late Nineteenth-Century advertisement for the Orleans Monumental Works in a celebratory volume for the town, Winthrop was responsible for the large Civil War monument (a bronze statue of a soldier) erected near the town hall in Orleans in 1883 (Fig. 21). No doubt he fashioned only the large stone base, and was not responsible for the bronze. The business, the ad informs us, is now run by Orville W. Crosby, Winthrop’s son.

I only recently came across three marble markers signed “E. E. Crosby” in Harwich and Chatham. Two of these signatures, on stones dated 1863 and 1878, designate “H. Port” (no doubt Harwichport), while the third, dated 1879, shows “Orleans.” There was an Elijah E. Crosby born to Elijah Crosby of Chatham and Emeline Taylor after 1841 (Deyo, p. 611), but I have not determined whether this is the carver or how he might be related to the earlier Crosbys.

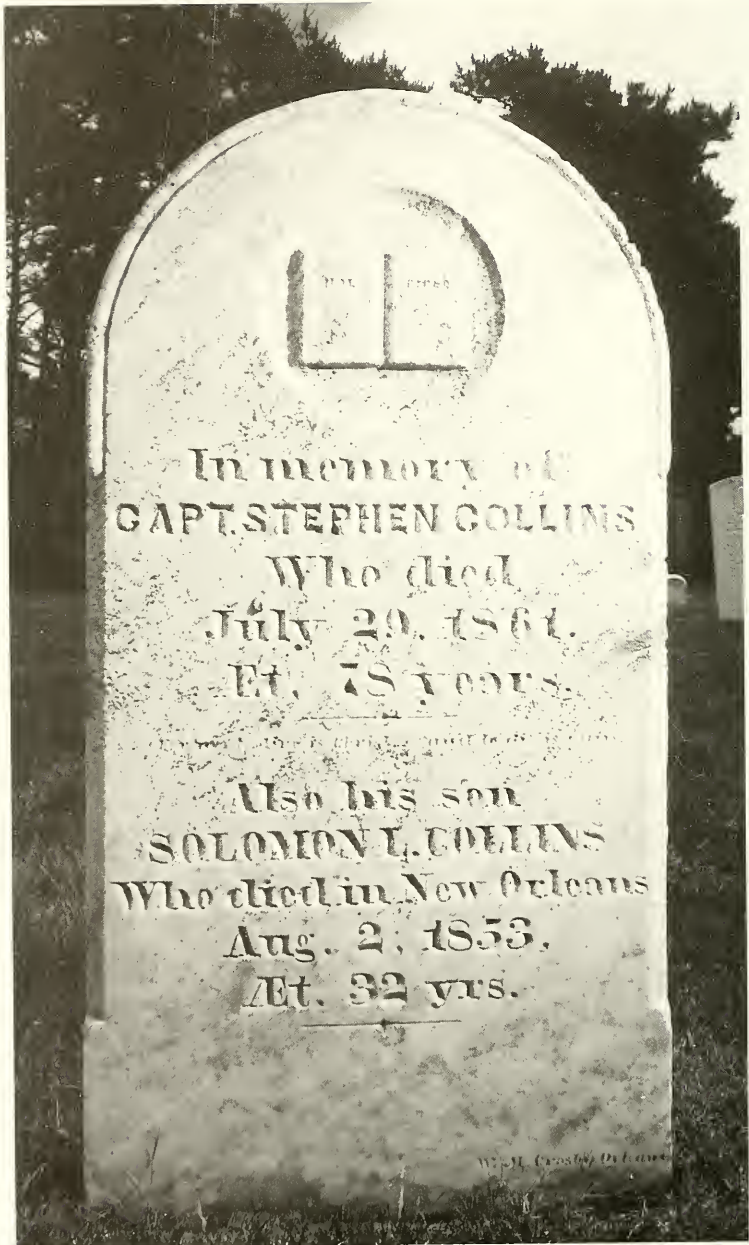


Fig. 19. Capt. Stephen Collins, 1861, Truro, Massachusetts.
Signed: "W. M. Crosby, Orleans".

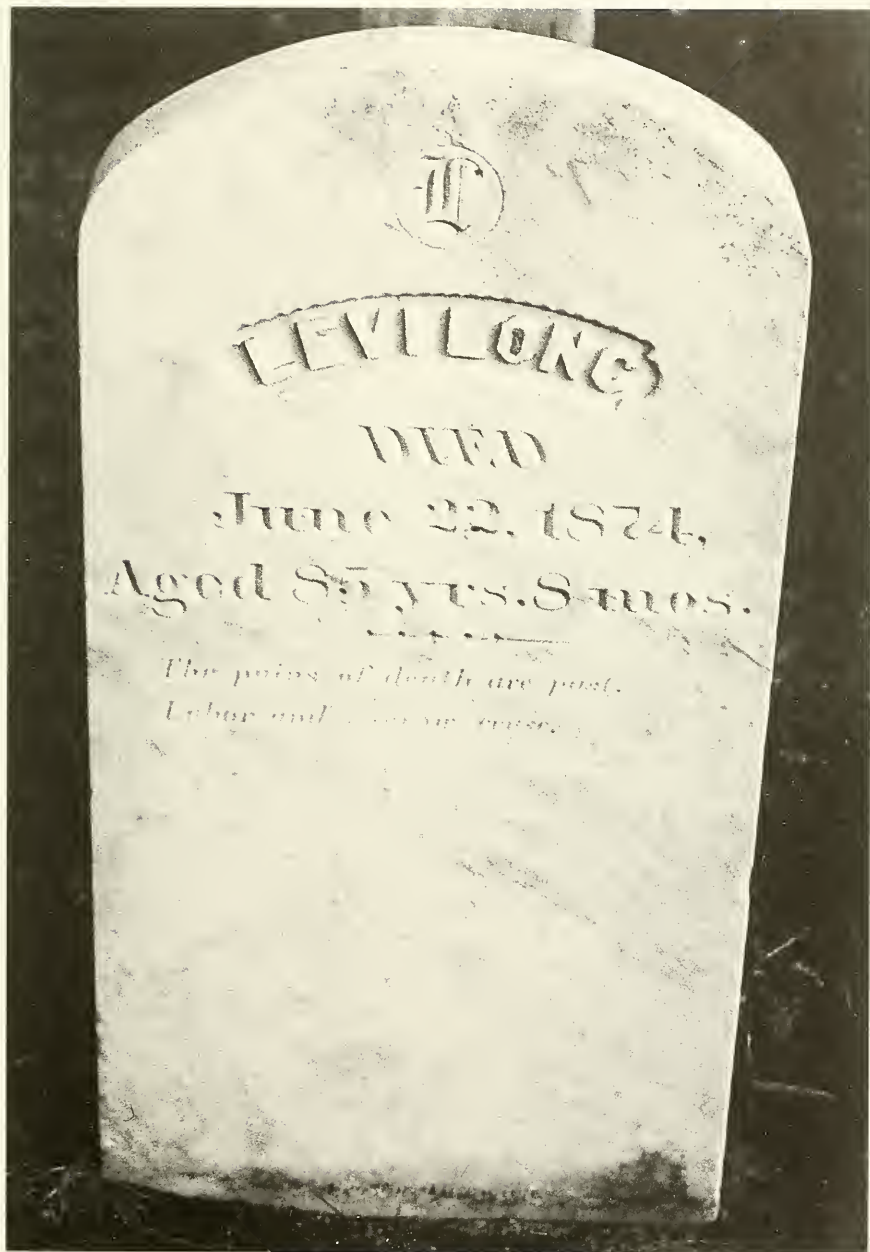


Fig. 20. Levi Long, 1874, Harwich, Massachusetts.
Signed: "Crosby, Harwich"; probably Henry T. Crosby.

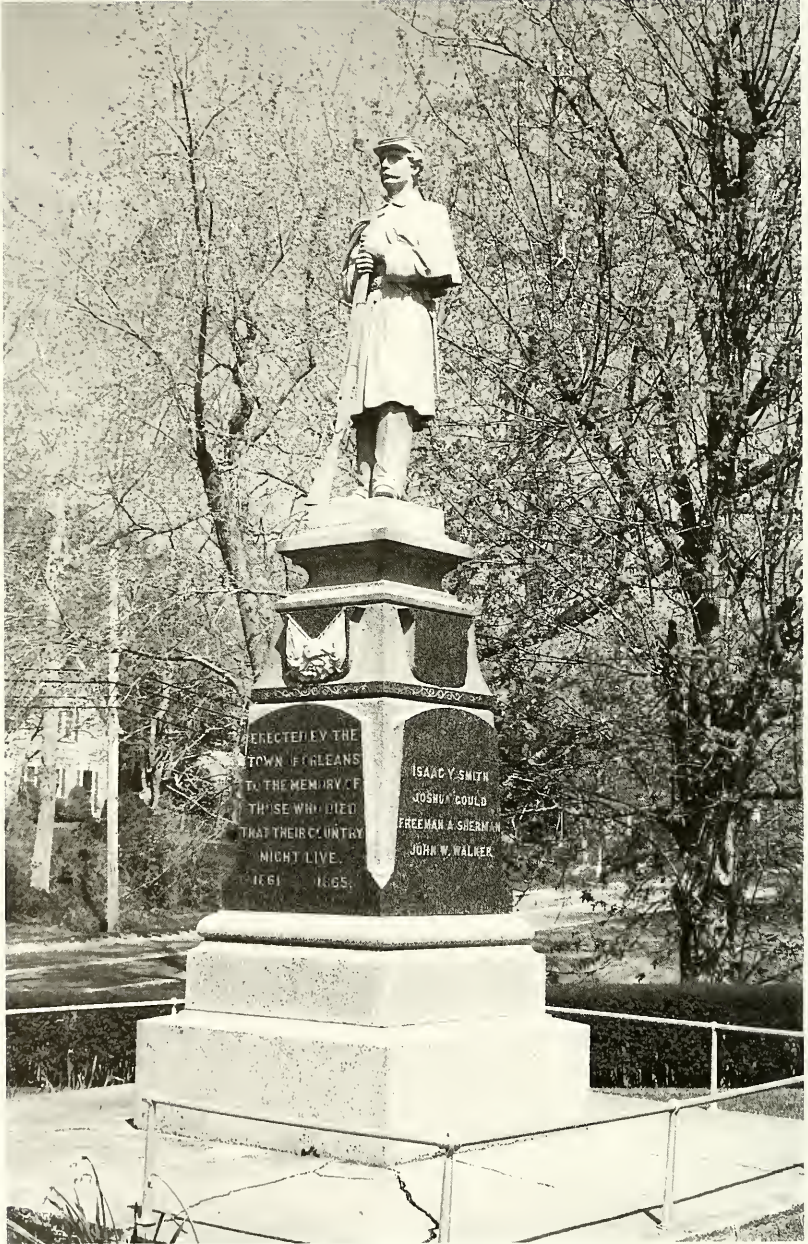


Fig. 21. Soldiers Monument, 1883, Orleans, Massachusetts.
Stone base made by Winthrop M. Crosby.

The Sandwich Carvers

James Thompson: Biography

A "J. Thompson, Sandwich" signed the stone for Abby P. Linnell (1851) in the Congregational Church Cemetery in Centerville, on the Cape. Another stone in Centerville shows "J. T., Sandwich." There are also thirteen probate citations, dated 1851 through 1866, which pay James Thompson: eight in Dukes County records are for stones on Martha's Vineyard, three in Barnstable County records are for stones in Falmouth, and two in Plymouth County records are for a stone in Plymouth (Chiltonville) and another in Kingston (see Appendix IIa; as we shall see, however, not all of these stones were carved by Thompson himself). The 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory* includes a listing for a marble shop in Sandwich belonging to James Thompson. Other records confirm that this was the James Thompson born in Kingston on September 5, 1826. His younger brother Harris was also a stonecutter, but he died in Kingston in 1849, having just turned twenty-one (he is included in my discussion of the carvers of Kingston, which appeared in *Markers XVIII*). James and Harris were the fourth and fifth of at least eight children of Solomon Thompson and Harriet Thompson (same surname), who were married in Halifax on November 2, 1817.²⁵ Harriet was the youngest child of the Middleboro carver Isaac Tomson/Thompson and the sister of the carver George Thompson. She gave birth to twins in 1833; they died two weeks later, and Harriet died three weeks after that. Solomon Thompson remarried less than a year later, in Plympton, on July 20, 1834, to Mary MacLauthlen, widow of Peleg Simmons.

I have not determined from whom James and Harris Thompson learned to carve. It may have been from their uncle George Thompson in Middleboro; but as far as I can tell, the brothers were residents of Kingston. It is quite possible, therefore, that Hiram Tribble of Kingston was their teacher.

The fact that Harris signed a stone in Kingston (dated 1848, but probably carved in 1849 just before he died), despite being only twenty-one and two years younger than James, indicates that James had already left for Sandwich in or shortly before 1849. This is confirmed by James' property transactions in Sandwich, as we shall see. Yet James is still shown as officially residing in his father's house in Kingston in the 1850 U.S. Census (where he is listed as a "stonecutter"; p. 49). He would not legally transfer his residence to Sandwich until 1852. It is possible that James was accompanied by some or all of his family: his younger sister Harriet

would marry in Sandwich in 1856, and his older sister Maria Louisa would die there in 1903. Or perhaps they joined him later.

It was also in 1849 that the *New England Mercantile Union Business Directory* included a listing for "John Sturgis & Co." in Sandwich – the only listing for a marble shop in the town. As we saw in Part I of this study (*Markers XIX*), it was William Sturgis who had a marble shop in Sandwich from about 1840 through 1845. William's son John and John's partner Elisha Eveleth of Bridgewater probably took possession of this shop (or at least its stock) afterwards, but neither man very likely resided in Sandwich. It was probably James Thompson who first ran, and then bought, this shop. Some weak evidence for this is found in the fact that the stone for Elisha Gifford (1849), while it bears a Sturgis-type urn, perhaps carved by William, is nevertheless probated to James Thompson. There is a transaction dated December 3, 1849 in which James Thompson ("of Sandwich") mortgages for a year to the firm of Hyde, Fuller and Hyde of Castleton, Vermont, 125 marble slabs ("all the marble in the shop used and occupied by me in Sandwich").²⁶ This transaction was witnessed by Elisha Eveleth, more evidence that Thompson was running the Sturgis/Eveleth shop. Although he does not appear on the Sandwich tax rolls until 1852, he could have been operating the shop in Sandwich as an employee with no taxable land of his own.

Nye's (1920) description²⁷ of the Dexter Grist Mill on Mill Pond (Shawme Lake) in Sandwich adds one more important fact to this account. It mentions the erection in 1800 of a woolen mill (the "old fuling mill") on the east side of the grist mill. This was taken down in 1830; but:

... later somewhere about 1849 the present building was erected on the site of the old fuling mill by James Thomas [sic] for marble works. In the basement large blocks of marble were sawed in shape for tombstones and polished and lettered in the room above. This discontinued about 1859 or 1860. After a short time it was leased to L. B. Nye who carried on the business of a wheelright. (p.7).

The 1858 Wallings map of the Cape shows this "marble shop" at the junction of Grove and Water Streets, at the northernmost point of Mill Pond, just north of the old burying ground, and near the town hall. This account also affirms that Thompson built the marble shop, no doubt bankrolled by John Sturgis and Elisha Eveleth. This implies that William Sturgis may have earlier had only a modest shop in Sandwich (at another location?).

James Thompson married Abigail T. Faunce in Sandwich on April 29, 1852; this is also the first year that he appears on the Sandwich tax rolls. Abigail died in Sandwich two years later, on May 8, 1854. It was also in 1854 that James Thompson was taxed for one half of a "marble factory": he had apparently by this time become able to buy half of the Sturgis/Eveleth property. In 1855, James mortgaged to his cousin Zebulon Thompson in Rochester (for \$600.00) "my shop for working marble with the waterwheel and machinery connected therewith."²⁸ This money apparently enabled James to open the shop under his own name, for the following year, he was taxed for the entire property, having acquired the rest of it, most likely, from the other of the two partners. Zebulon was himself a marblecarver, as we shall see.


From October 20, 1855 (six months after the mortgage), James Thompson advertised himself in the *Cape Cod Advocate and Nautical Intelligencer* as a "manufacturer of Tomb Stones & Monuments, and Dealer in American & Italian marble, near the Town House, Main St." The ad continued through 1857. He also ran an ad in the (Martha's) *Vineyard Gazette* in 1855, informing its citizens that he had "taken a Shop near the Steamboat Wharf, in Edgartown, where he is prepared to furnish all kinds of Monumental work of the best of Italian marble." He notes that orders may be left at the shop, or with his agent, S. L. Pease. It is possible, therefore, that this "shop" was more than just a contact point for shipping his work from Sandwich.

James' younger sister Harriet may have come down with him to Sandwich when she was eighteen in 1848. She married Joshua T. Faunce, brother of James' deceased wife, in Sandwich in 1856. Joshua came to work in his brother-in-law's shop. In the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory*, the only marble shop listed for Sandwich belongs to James Thompson. He remarried, to Lucy Hyde Bassett, in Sandwich on June 26, 1856. He appears on the Sandwich tax rolls as a resident for the last time in 1857. On August 11, 1857, James and Lucy, "now or recently of Sandwich," as well as some of Lucy's siblings, sold a number of small tracts of land in Harwich that they had apparently inherited from Lucy's mother, Lucy Fessenden Bassett.²⁹ James and Lucy signed this document in Bristol, Rhode Island on September 1, 1857. They must have either just moved or were in the process of moving to New Bedford, Massachusetts, for their first child, Harris, was born there about a month later. Their second and third children were also born in New Bedford, in 1860 and 1865.³⁰

In each of these three children's birth records in New Bedford, James Thompson is listed as a marble worker. He is also listed as such in New Bedford city directories for 1859 and 1865 and in the 1860 U.S. Census for New Bedford (p. 710). The census entry includes his wife, his young son Harris, a John Bassett, hatter, aged seventy-six (probably his father-in-law), and an Isaac Carlton, aged nineteen, who is listed as a "marble worker's apprentice."

He continued to advertise his product late in 1859 to the residents of Martha's Vineyard with almost the same language as in his earlier ad in 1855, including a reference to his Edgartown "shop." After three years in New Bedford, James Thompson finally put his Sandwich marble works up for sale. In an ad placed on January 21, 1860 in the *Cape Cod Advocate and Nautical Intelligencer* (Fig. 22), he invites any interested party to contact Joshua T. Faunce, who was apparently operating the shop at the time. This ad is also noteworthy in that it describes the size of the building and the power of the water wheel which drove the marble saws. He notes that the machinery had been in use "about 6 years"; this would date it back to about 1853, that is, to the time James Thompson began to be listed on the Sandwich tax rolls. Had the shop been built in 1849, and then refurbished with new machinery in 1853?

For sale at a Bargain!

 The subscriber offers for sale, on the most favorable terms, the valuable property in the village of Sandwich, used as a Marble Manufactory, consisting of a building in complete order, 32 by 22 feet, with water wheel of 8-horse power. The wheel and other property is in good-working order, having only been in use about 6 years.

For further particulars inquire of JOSHUA T. FAUNCE, on the premises, or

J. THOMPSON.

New Bedford, Jan. 21, 1860. *6m

Fig. 22. James Thompson's advertisement for the sale of his Sandwich marble shop, 1860.

Early in 1861, Thompson issued a new ad in the *Vineyard Gazette*, listing his address as “the corner of William and Bethel Sts., New Bedford.” His ad in the *Gazette* in 1863 and 1864 is headed with “Steam Marble Works,” at the same location. Finally, he announces: “From this date, April 17, 1865 [three days after Abraham Lincoln’s assassination], I shall sell all kinds of marble work at reduced prices.” By April of 1868, a T. W. Cole informs the residents of the Vineyard that he has taken over Thompson’s New Bedford shop.

James Thompson’s carving career in Sandwich lasted only about eight years; and he had apparently spent about the same number of years in New Bedford afterwards. A cursory examination of New Bedford cemeteries did not reveal his signature on any gravestones. His move there was probably not very wise: he arrived at about the same time that oil was discovered in Pennsylvania, a development which would lead to the end of New Bedford’s whaling industry. He and his family would move on to western New York shortly after 1865. He is not listed in New Bedford city directories for 1867-68.

Lucy Bassett Thompson died in Evans, New York (now “Evans Center,” on Lake Erie, about twenty-five miles south of Buffalo) on June 19, 1876. Her obituary in Sandwich’s *Seaside Press* reports that she was the wife of James Thompson, “late of New Bedford, and formerly of Sandwich.” One of Lucy’s brothers, Gustavus Bassett, was listed as a resident of Buffalo in the deed in which they sold their Harwich properties; perhaps it was Gustavus, twelve years older than Lucy and James, who invited his sister and her family to western New York, an area that had developed quickly after the opening of the Erie Canal. James Thompson may have worked at the Gates Marble Works in Evans. I have not determined whether he carved any gravestones there.

The obituary in the *Sandwich Independent* for James Thompson’s sister Harriet Faunce, who died in Sandwich on April 16, 1909, reports that she is survived by a “brother James, of Chatham.” Thus, James had apparently made his way, shortly after 1865, from New Bedford to Evans, New York, and then, sometime after 1876, from Evans to Chatham, Massachusetts. According to the town clerk’s records of Chatham, he died there (a resident of the town) on October 5, 1909 of “apoplexy” (stroke) at the age of eighty-three. This record confirms that he was a marble-worker and that his parents were Solomon and Harriet; it also states that he was buried in Kingston, his birthplace.³¹ His name appears below his parents’ on the stone which marks his family vault in Kingston’s Old



Fig. 23. Elisha Gifford, 1849, Falmouth, Massachusetts.
Willow and urn probably carved by William Sturgis;
probated to and probably inscribed by James Thompson.

Burial Ground. A stone on the opposite side of the vault door, which James carved, commemorates his brother Harris.

James Thompson: Gravestones

There is a problem in identifying Thompson's work. I suspect that another, younger man working in his shop, Edwin B. Nye (to be discussed below), may have been responsible for most of the gravestones the shop produced, even most of those probated to (and signed by) Thompson. There is also some question as to whether Joshua T. Faunce, who apparently took over Thompson's shop briefly after Thompson left for New Bedford, was himself a carver, as we shall see.

We can probably attribute to Thompson the inscription on the 1849 stone for Elisha Gifford (Fig. 23), probated to him. Although Thompson might have imitated a Sturgis urn here, this marker was most likely carved by William Sturgis and then left behind when he went back to Lee. This part of William's stock was no doubt acquired by his son John when he and Elisha Eveleth formed their partnership and began their Sandwich operation. But the letters are not William's; that it was James Thompson who carved the inscription is made more likely by the resemblance between the few letters on this stone and those on the 1849 marker for James' brother Harris Thompson (Fig. 24) in Kingston, one which James no doubt carved himself. These two gravestones are dated only a day apart, and James Thompson probably carved them at about the same time. We find a characteristic uneven spacing of some of the letters and numerals, and a "2" which differs somewhat from that of some other contemporary carvers. These features are also present on two other stones probated to Thompson, those for Francis Johnson (1850) in Kingston and George Bramhall (1853) in Plymouth. Neither of these markers bears any decoration. This is precious little, of course, on which to establish a style. The later, probated stone for Frederick Davis (1862) in Falmouth is also undecorated. Since Thompson was in New Bedford well before 1862, it is likely that the Davis stone is the work of Edwin B. Nye, with Thompson (still the owner of the shop in 1862) being paid for it. I located four of the eight stones on Martha's Vineyard for which Thompson was paid in probate records: three of them may well have been carved by Edwin B. Nye (and the fourth may not be the stone for which Thompson was paid).

Even Thompson's signed 1851 stone for Abby P. Linnell (Fig. 25) in Centerville is suspect. The letters here do resemble those on the other two Thompson stones mentioned above, but the panel containing the

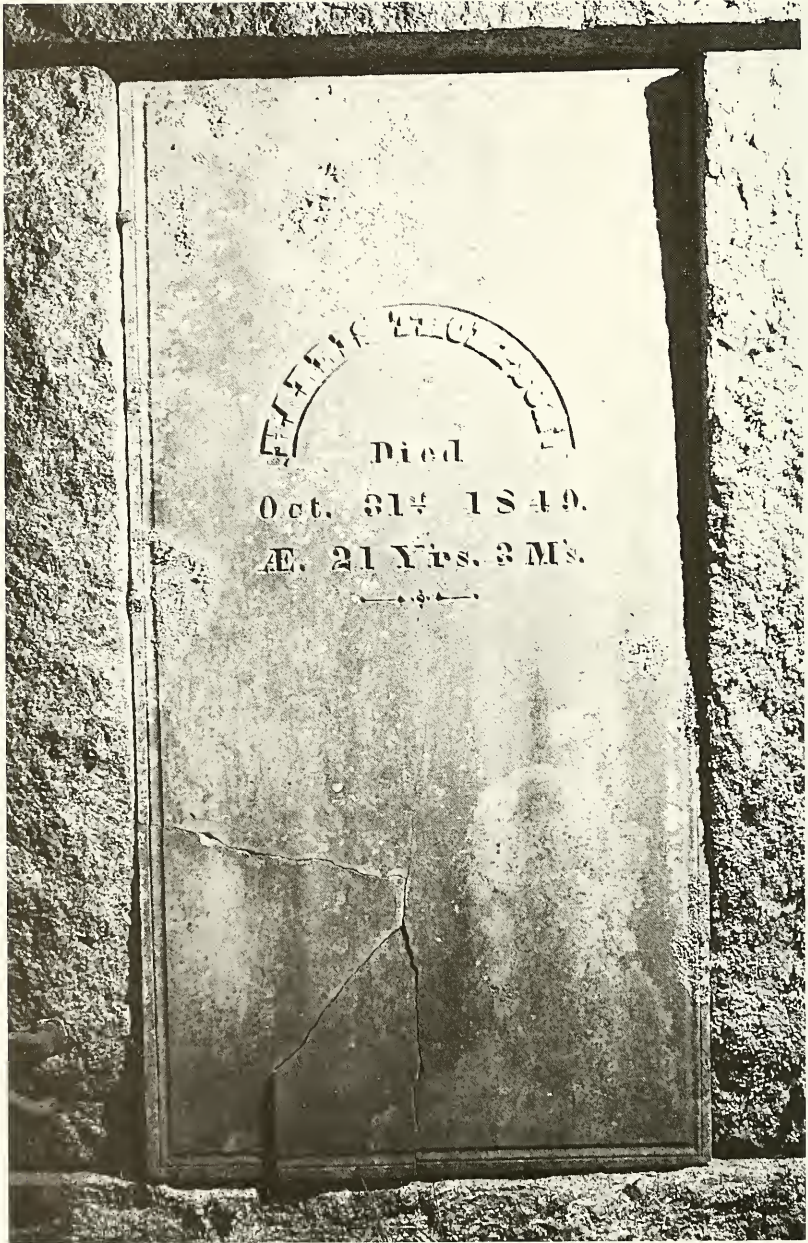


Fig. 24. Harris Thompson, 1849, Kingston, Massachusetts.
Probably carved by James Thompson.



Fig. 25. Abby P. Linnell, 1851, Centerville, Massachusetts.
Signed: "J. Thompson, Sandwich."

“ABBY P.” in positive relief closely resembles a type Edwin B. Nye used later, such as, for example, on Nye’s signed stone for Sylvia L. Quinnell (1851). While it is possible Nye executed the panel and name, and Thompson completed the inscription, I will keep it in Thompson’s column. Thompson’s other signed stone, dated 1849, also in Centerville, displays a leafed flower – again, of a type Nye was to execute many times later.

But the Abby Linnell stone was signed by Thompson. Why should we suspect the authorship of a signed stone? As we move to the mid-Nineteenth Century, a signature on a stone may serve more as a shop-manufacturing mark: that is, the man who carved the stone may have been working in the shop of the man who signed it. Such vicarious attribution sometimes occurs in the case of probate payments (seven stones carved by the Kingston carver Bartlett Adams in the 1790s, for example, were probated to his master Bildad Washburn); now we seem to see it in the case of signatures – even where the man who carved the stone is over twenty-one. There was the similar case of Josiah Sturgis signing a stone carved (and perhaps inscribed as well) by his father William – that for Walter Baxter (1838) in Hyannis.

We face another problem with the 1850 stone for Sylvanus Hammond (Fig. 26), probated to James Thompson. It is difficult to relate the letters here to those on Thompson’s other stones since they are block-capitals and italics with no Roman lower-case letters at all. But this marker does have a distinctive upward-pointing hand. Very much the same sort of hand appears on at least six other stones in the area.³² The lettering on the later four of these six stones closely resembles that on Edwin Nye’s signed stones. And so I suspect that the hand on the stone probated to Thompson may have been carved by Nye, even if Thompson did letter this stone (which is itself not certain).

Note also the series of dots (or drill-points) at the very bottom of the Hammond marker. I found this device on three other stones – those for Prince L. Dimmick (1850), also in Falmouth, and for Lois Swift (1850) in Cedarville and Elisabeth Quinn (1851) in Sandwich. The decoration on this last stone, which features a Catholic “IHS” and cross, is the same as that on the marker for Susan McAlinney (1856), nearby, which displays unmistakable Nye letters. I would guess, therefore, that this entire set, including the Hammond stone probated to Thompson, was really carved and lettered by Nye. This must remain, however, an unconfirmed hypothesis.



Fig. 26. Sylvanus Hammond, 1850, Falmouth, Massachusetts.
 Probated to James Thompson.

The stones of Edwin B. Nye are rather numerous and easy to spot around Sandwich: his lettering is fairly distinctive. The same cannot be said for Thompson, for whom I was unable to find any stones with lettering similar to that on the two or three markers we can attribute to him. There are also two or three Nye stones in James Thompson's home town of Kingston: is it possible that Nye was also responsible for the Kingston and Plymouth stones that looked to be safe for Thompson? Nye was about sixteen when the earliest of these stones was carved – perhaps old enough.

Thompson continued to be listed as a marble worker even in New Bedford. But when such listings may indicate little more than that the man mentioned owned or ran a shop, it becomes difficult indeed to insure that the products of that shop were the work of the owner/operator and not his employees.

Joshua T. Faunce: Biography

Joshua T. Faunce was born in Sandwich on October 21, 1833 to James H. Faunce and Mary Tobey, who were married in Sandwich on October 27, 1828.³³ He would have been sixteen in 1849, when James Thompson built and ran the new marble shop (still partly owned by Sturgis and/or Eveleth); perhaps that is when he joined Thompson as an apprentice. As we have seen, Thompson had married Joshua's sister Abigail in 1852, but she died in 1854. Joshua married James Thompson's sister Harriet Marinda Thompson in Sandwich on October 23, 1856. He signed the stone for James P. Lawrence in Falmouth, dated the same year. Joshua and Harriet had at least three children, all born in Sandwich between 1859 and 1864.³⁴

Joshua Faunce is listed as a marble-worker in the 1855 state census; Faunce's father and brother Robert appear as masons in this census (p. 19). It is Faunce who is still operating the shop in 1860, the year that James Thompson advertizes it for sale and refers prospective buyers to Faunce "on the premises." Yet it is only Nye and not Faunce who is listed as a marble-worker in the 1865 state census and in an 1871 business directory. In the 1870 U.S. Census, Joshua Faunce and his father James are both listed as masons (#332).

The 1880 U.S. Census lists Joshua, his wife, his son Robert, and also his father James and aunt Mary Bourne Faunce all living with him. Joshua T. Faunce died in Sandwich on December 9, 1893, at the age of sixty. His wife Harriet, buried with him in Sandwich's Old Burying Ground, died on April 16, 1908.

Joshua T. Faunce: Gravestones

The only stones that could possibly be ascribed to Faunce are his signed 1856 marker for James P. Lawrence (Fig. 27) in Oak Grove Cemetery in Falmouth and his probated stones for Isaac Ewer (1861) and his two wives in Osterville. But there is practically nothing on these stones to suggest that they had been carved by anyone but Edwin B. Nye. I think the explanation may be the same as before: because it was Faunce who was apparently running Thompson's shop between 1857 and 1860, it was his name that appeared on the stone and in the probate records, even though it was probably Nye who was the actual carver. Although two of Nye's fourteen signed stones are dated 1851, the remaining twelve are dated 1861 through 1869. It is possible, therefore, that the first two are backdated and that Nye didn't really sign any stones until 1860, the year that Thompson put his shop up for sale; it was this move, perhaps, that took Faunce out of the picture and allowed Nye, finally, to sign his own work in his own shop.

Edwin B. Nye: Biography

While I didn't find any probate payments to Nye in Barnstable County records, I did find fourteen gravestones signed "Nye, Sandwich" or "E. B. Nye, Sandwich" (see Appendix IIb). He is listed as a marble-worker in the 1855 (p. 15) and 1865 Massachusetts state censuses (in the latter, he and his family are shown as living with his parents), as well as in the 1871 *New England Business Directory*. He is also listed as a stonecutter in two of his children's birth records.

Edwin Bourne Nye was born in Sandwich on August 25, 1834, the eldest of four children of Lemuel Bourne Nye³⁵ and Eliza Sears.³⁶ He married Susan M. Woodward in Sandwich on October 21, 1856, and they had at least three children born between 1858 and 1871.³⁷ Susan died in 1885, and Edwin remarried to Susan M. Gale of Wareham.

James Thompson erected his marble works on Shawme Lake, beside the old mill, in 1849. The fact that it is only James Thompson who is listed in an 1856 business directory as having a marble shop in Sandwich suggests (as I said earlier) that both Joshua T. Faunce and Nye, who were each listed as marble workers in the 1855 state census, were employed in Thompson's shop. Faunce would have been only twenty-three and Nye only twenty-two. Nye, like Thompson, acquired one of William Sturgis' late stones and inscribed it in 1856.



Fig. 27. James P. Lawrence, 1856, Falmouth, Massachusetts. Signed: "J. T. Faunce, Sandwich"; but possibly carved by Edwin B. Nye.

Thompson's shop was apparently discontinued sometime after he left the area in 1857. The Sandwich source that reports this fact, as well as Deyo's history of Barnstable County, both agree that this building was later leased by an L. B. Nye – Edwin's father Lemuel – where "he carried on wheelwrighting and pounding clay for the Cape Cod Glass Works until 1871" (Deyo, p. 270). It is likely that Edwin retained some part of this building for stonecutting, for in May of 1870 he advertised his marble shop in the *Cape Cod Gazette* as "near the Town Hall," which is where Thompson's shop was located. He advertised again in *The Weekly Review* in February of 1882 (Fig. 28), his location once more given as "near the Town Hall." However, in 1874 (between these two ads) a Howard K. Swift, who had himself recently dissolved his partnership with Robert Clark of Plymouth, their Plymouth shop having been advertised from 1871 through 1873, announced that he had taken over the shop "formerly occupied by E. B. Nye." Does this mean that Swift and Nye were simultaneously in business at different shops, or had Nye left the stonecutting business for a time, giving his shop (the former Thompson shop) over to Swift, only to get it back again in the late 1870s or early 1880s?

Edwin B. Nye died of "consumption" on October 25, 1889 at the age of fifty-five. His obituary records that he lived on River Street in the village of Sandwich.

E. B. NYE,
MARBLE WORKER,
 NEAR THE TOWN HALL,
 Sandwich, Mass.

Monuments, Headstones, Tablets, and all kinds
 of Cemetery Work furnished at short notice.
 Stones Cleaned, Reset, and Lettered at the yard.
 Satisfaction guaranteed. Terms Cash.

Fig. 28. Advertisement for Edwin B. Nye's marble shop, 1882, Sandwich, Massachusetts.

Edwin B. Nye: Gravestones

The most interesting of Nye's fourteen signed stones is his 1860 signed marker for Lott Crocker in Hyannis (Fig. 29). The sculptural, almost three-dimensional modeling of the flower recalls similar stones of Jabez M. Fisher of Yarmouth: they point ahead to a style of marble funerary art that was to develop in the following decades. The flower here is a bud, since the stone was for a three-year old child. A fully bloomed flower appears on the 1855 stone for Mary Hatch (Fig. 30) in Falmouth, which is also probably Nye's work. Jabez Fisher had also placed a few stones in Hyannis with similarly sculpted flowers.³⁸ Three of these are contemporaneous with Nye's stones and it is somewhat difficult to tell them apart. I have relied on the following clues: Nye's leaves are rounder; Nye ends the strokes on his "2" and "5" with a curl, whereas Fisher ends them with a drill point; the top serif on Nye's "1" is horizontal, whereas Fisher's usually has a slight curve; the "ear" on Nye's "g" is positioned more at the top center of its upper loop; Nye's lettering also seems a bit shorter vertically (more squashed) than does Fisher's. These features also suggest that it was Nye who lettered the stone for Daniel Weston (1856) in Sandwich, whose decorative features – a bible and two small willows – appear to be the work of William Sturgis. Nye no doubt acquired this stone from Sturgis' old stock (through Thompson).

Nye also has two stones which feature doves bearing cut flowers as their principal decorative elements.³⁹ He carved and signed the family obelisk for Maj. Charles Chipman (1864), which bears a sculpted Masonic symbol. Among other decorative features found on Nye's stones are lilies on the stone for Sarah Freeman (1852), an upward-pointing hand on the markers I've already described, and a Catholic "IHS" with cross and heart on the stone for Susan McAlinney (1856). The majority of his markers, however, appear to be undecorated.

Nye's first signed stone is probably the one dated 1860 (the two 1851 signed stones are very likely backdated), when he was already twenty-six. Yet he was, as I have already explained, probably responsible for many stones in the area from the early 1850s, including the stone probated to Joshua T. Faunce and the stone signed by Faunce, as well as most of the stones probated to James Thompson.

Although I found no very late signed stones, Nye's newspaper advertisements indicate that he continued carving through the 1880s, up to the time of his death.

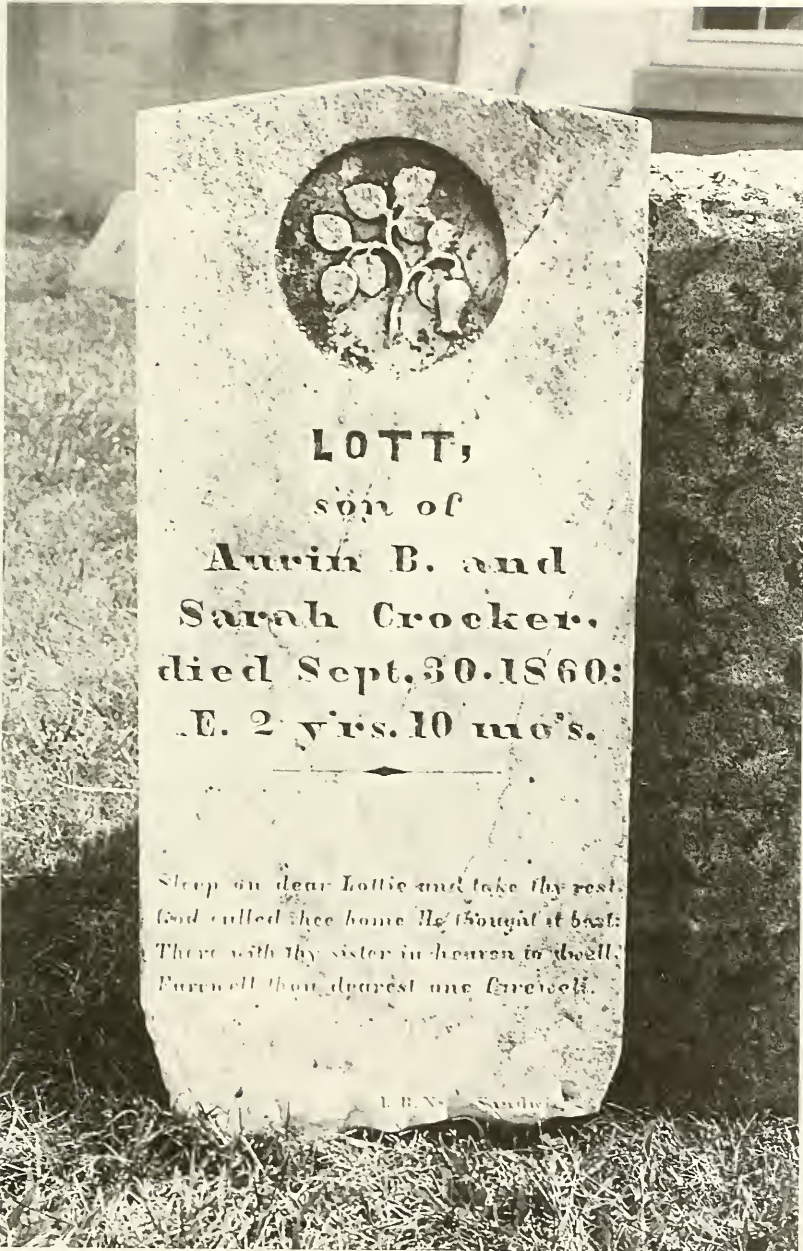


Fig. 29. Lott Crocker, 1860, Hyannis, Massachusetts.
Signed by Edwin B. Nye.



Fig. 30. Mary Hatch, 1855, Falmouth, Massachusetts.
Probably carved by Edwin B. Nye.

Other Thompson Family Stonecutters

There are two probate records in Plymouth County, dated 1830 and 1833, that pay a James Thompson for gravestones. These are too early to attribute to the James Thompson born in Kingston in 1826. One of these probated stones (1824) was for Eunice Bumpus (Fig. 31) in the Little Neck Cemetery in Marion. The letters on this stone can be linked to those on many others in the area from Rochester to Falmouth, as well as to many we find on Nantucket in the 1810s and 1820s. At present, I attribute a total of 175 stones to this carver (there are undoubtedly more): about fifty are on Nantucket, and about seventy-five are in the Rochester/Wareham area. This work is of high quality, with fine lettering, nice decorative features and some imaginative components including anchors, an upward-pointing hand, two very detailed doves,⁴⁰ and in four instances, including the 1817 stone for Judith Folger (Fig. 32) in Nantucket's Old North Cemetery, a willow and urn and a large flying angel with an open book. Especially important in identifying his lettering style are the "f," "y," and an occasional, unusual ampersand in which he places a "v"-like sign within a small circle.

Because these stones seem to disappear in the late 1820s, and many are found on Nantucket, it is tempting to identify the carver as the James Thompson born (according to his gravestone on Nantucket) on March 1, 1782. According to property records, Lakeville was the location of his family homestead. He moved to Nantucket, perhaps with his brother Isaac, in about 1815. He died on Nantucket at the age of fifty on April 23, 1832 and is buried there in Prospect Hill Cemetery.⁴¹ I have not been able to determine his lineage beyond his parents. He was probably a brother both to the Nathaniel Thompson III who married Joanna Tinkham in Middleboro in 1805 and to the Isaac Thompson II who married Sally Robinson in Middleboro in 1808. Four other siblings were probably Samuel, who died as a child, Amasa, and two unmarried sisters, Phebe and Sarah. These seven were most likely all children of the Nathaniel Thompson I who married Phebe Jones in Middleboro in 1767. Although it may seem unlikely that these Thompsons would not be part of the vast Thompson family whose members lived mostly in Halifax and Middleboro, neither Charles Hutchinson Thompson's (1890) comprehensive genealogy of this family nor Wood's (1996) more recent account contains any of these nine individuals, and vitals records in the area contain none of their births.⁴² Perhaps the loss of records from the church in that part of Lakeville known as Precinct accounts for these gaps.

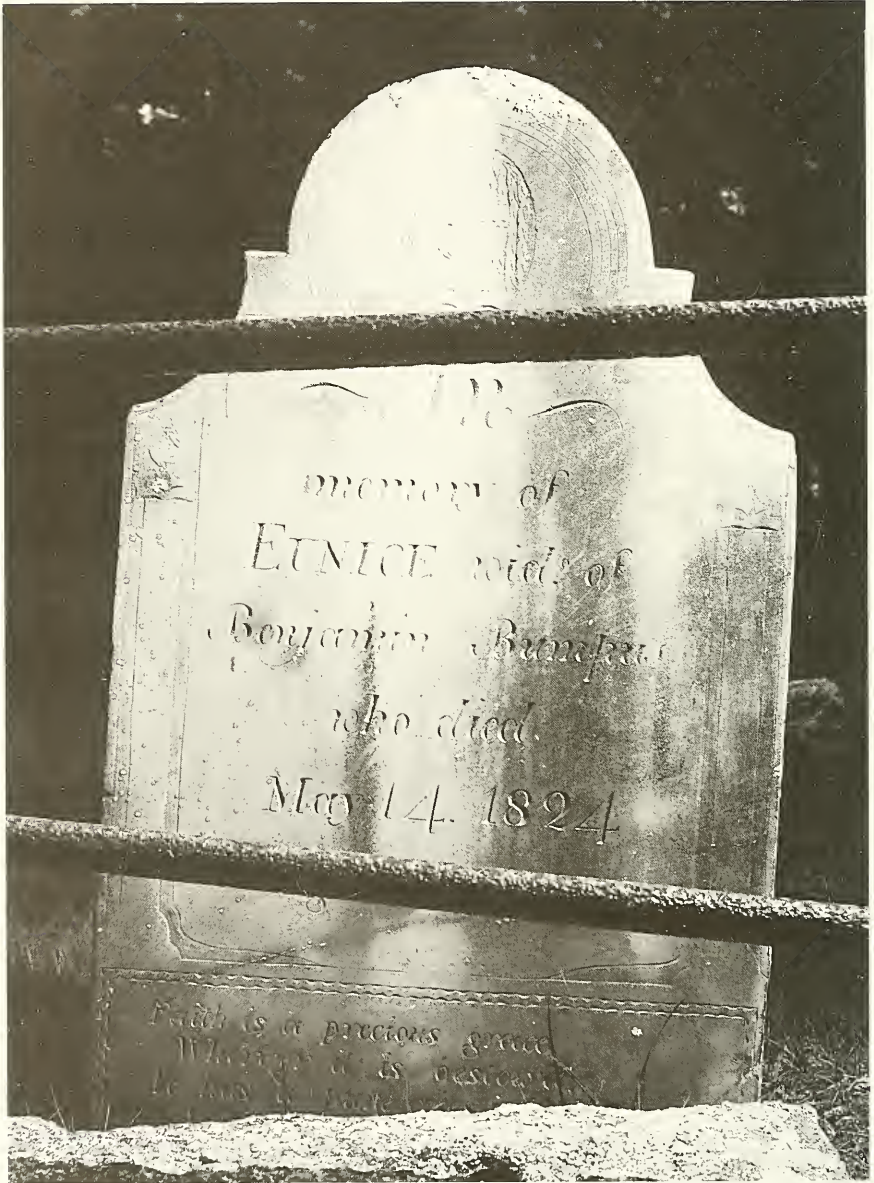


Fig. 31. Eunice Bumpus, 1824, Marion, Massachusetts.
 Probated to a James Thompson, but possibly carved
 by Isaac Thompson, Jr.

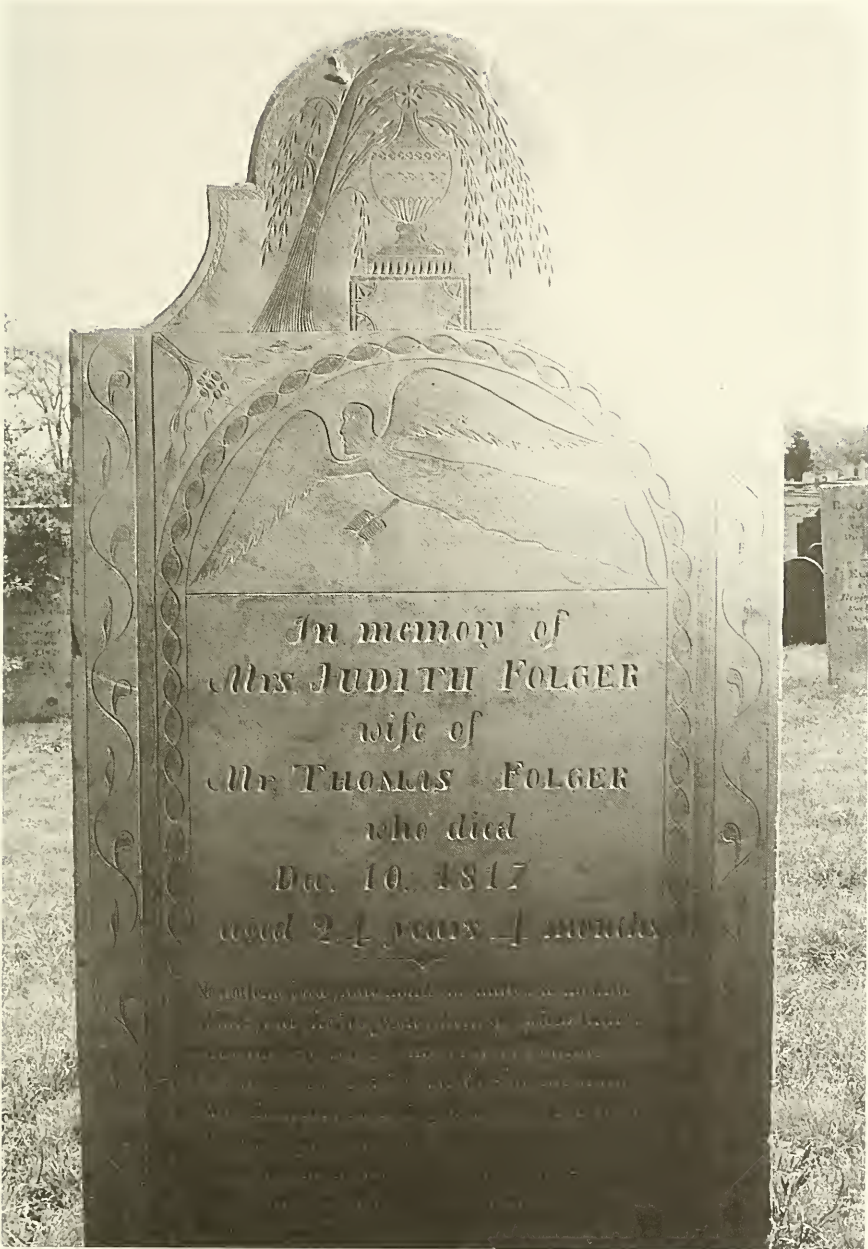


Fig. 32. Judith Folger, 1817, Nantucket, Massachusetts. Possibly carved by Isaac Thompson, Jr.

Despite the apparent good fit between this James Thompson's vital facts and our mystery carver, there is powerful counter-evidence. There is another stone that is part of this body of work, that for Silence Burt (1818) in Rochester, whose probate pays an *Isaac* Thompson for grave-stones. Further, the second of the two stones for which James Thompson is paid in probate records, that for William Boles (1827) in Marion, was carved by George Thompson of Middleboro. To make matters even more complicated, there is another stone probated to Isaac Thompson, that for Salsbury Blackmer (1825) in Acushnet, which was also carved by George Thompson. Although, as we shall see, there is some evidence from Isaac Thompson's estate record that he was a stonecutter, more research will be necessary to determine whether it was he or James Thompson of Nantucket who was responsible for this substantial and significant body of work. I should add that George Thompson himself is not a candidate, for he can be tied through many probated stones to an extensive body of work that is closely related to the stones in question, but is distinct.

The Isaac Thompson cited in these records was most likely *not* the Isaac, brother of James of Nantucket, but the Isaac, brother of George of Middleboro. This latter Isaac, who came to settle in Rochester and Fairhaven, was the son, the brother, and the father of gravestone carvers. His father was Isaac Thompson, Sr. (1746-1819) and his brother was George Thompson (1788-1865), both of Middleboro.⁴³ Isaac, Jr. was born in Middleboro on November 7, 1781; he was thus only four months older than James Thompson of Nantucket. He married Abiah Haskell in Middleboro on November 30, 1808. Isaac and Abiah had at least eight children between 1809 and 1824. Their third child was Zebulon Haskell Thompson, born (either in Middleboro or in Rochester), in February of 1813. Zebulon would later become a very productive carver in the Rochester/Carver area. Isaac Thompson, Jr. died in Rochester on March 26, 1835, not quite fifty-four, and is buried in Rochester's Center Cemetery. The inventory of his estate (#20564) includes "four hundred seventy feet of marble" valued at \$170.00 (the most valuable item of the estate). The estate also includes a "slate" valued at \$5.50 and a payment to "Richard Gurney for freight of marble: 22.50." This entry, and his concrete connections with other family stonecutters, probably makes Isaac, Jr. a better candidate for our mystery carver than James Thompson of Nantucket.

I have not, however, been able to identify any marble stones that may be Isaac, Jr.'s work. It is possible that, by the time of his death in 1835, his

son Zebulon, who would have been twenty-two, had already taken some major responsibility for the family business. Zebulon appears to have carved exclusively in marble. Or perhaps Isaac, Jr. helped supply his brother George in Middleboro: George's marbles are widely distributed over the region. Although Isaac, Jr. was the older brother, it seems that it was George who inherited his father's clientele in the Middleboro/Carver/Wareham area, while Isaac, Jr. supplied stones mostly to Rochester, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket.

I cannot discount the possibility that James Thompson of Nantucket was involved in some way in the stonecutting business. He was, after all, paid for gravestones twice in probate records, even if he didn't carve them (I should note that I found no other James Thompson living in the area who could have been a recipient of these payments). And there is also the fact that many of these gravestones – and the most intricately carved ones at that – are found on Nantucket. James died in 1832 and Isaac, Jr. died in 1835; whichever of them was the carver of this significant body of work, his death opened up the markets on the islands and allowed William and Josiah Sturgis to establish themselves there.

Isaac, Jr.'s son Zebulon, of course, filled the vacuum left in the Rochester area. Zebulon is listed as a marble-worker in Rochester in the 1850 U.S. Census⁴⁴ (p. 265), and as a marble manufacturer in Rochester in the 1852 *Massachusetts Register* and the 1856 *Massachusetts Business Directory*. He was a first cousin to young James Thompson, the Sandwich carver, through James' mother, and, as we have seen, had some financial dealings with James as well. I found twenty-six probate payments to Zebulon. His marker for Charles Bonney (1834) in Rochester features an open bible; those for Huldah Thatcher (1836) and Elnathan H. Haskell (1845) have willows with rather thick boughs; and his probated stone for Samuel Shaw (1858) displays a broken-obelisk figure. According to a short history of Fairhaven (Spinner Publications, p. 61), Zebulon in turn trained an Edward Greenleaf Spooner, who moved to Fairhaven in 1885 and opened a marble works at Middle and Bridge Streets.

Table 1 shows the relationships among the nine known stonecutters of the Thompson family. I include the branch of the Thompsons, not yet connected to the main family, which contains James Thompson of Nantucket; I also include Cephas Thompson, later a prominent portrait painter, who inscribed the stone for Robert Strobredge (1790) in Lakeville with "Cephas Tomson, sculpt."

John Thomson (1614-1696); Plymouth/Middleboro	m. Mary Cooke
John (1649-1725); Middleboro/Middleboro	m. Mary Tinkham
Shubael (1686-1733); Middleboro/Middleboro	m. Susanna Parlour 1713, Middleboro
John (1717-1766); Middleboro/Middleboro	m. Lydia Wood
Isaac (1746-1819); Middleboro/Middleboro	m. Lucy Sturtevant 1774, Halifax
Isaac (1781-1835); Middleboro/Fairhaven	m. Abiah Haskell 1808, Middleboro
Zebulon (1813-1896); Middleboro/Rochester	m. Deborah P. Clarke 1826, Middleboro
George (1788-1865); Middleboro/Middleboro	m. Solomon Thompson 1817, Halifax
Harriet (1795-1833); Middleboro/Kingston	m. Abigail Faunce 1852, Sandwich
James (1826-1909); Kingston/Chatham	rm. Lucy Hyde Bassett 1856, Sandwich
Harris (1828-1849); Kingston/Kingston	unmarried
Harriet (1830-1909); Kingston/Sandwich	m. Joshua T. Faunce 1856, Sandwich
Jacob (1662-1726); Plymouth/Middleboro	m. Abigail Watsworth 1693, Middleboro
Caleb (1712-1787); Attleboro/Middleboro	m. Abigail Crossman 1736, Taunton
William (1748-1816); Middleboro/Middleboro	m. Deborah Sturtevant 1770, Halifax
Cephas (1775-1856); Middleboro/Middleboro	m. Olive Leonard 1802, Bridgewater
William H. (1807-1837); /Savannah, GA	m. Mary G. Ogden 1843, Bridgewater
Cephas Giovanni (1809-1888); Middleboro/	
Charles F. (1816-1839); /Effingham Co., GA	m. Hannah Thomas 1775, Middleboro
Nathaniel II (1750-1833); Middleboro/Rehoboth	m. Mary Perkins
Caleb (1752-1821); Middleboro/	

(this branch perhaps related to the above)	
Nathaniel Thompson I (-aft 21 Aug 1815)	m. Phebe Jones 1767, Middleboro
Samuel (1773-1774); /Middleboro	unmarried
Sarah (aft 1774-aft 1815)	unmarried
Phebe (c1777-1850); /Middleboro	m. Joanna Tinkham 1805, Middleboro
Nathaniel III (c1778-1856); /New Bedford	m. Sally Robinson 1808, Middleboro
Isaac II (1778-bt 1840/1850); /Nantucket	rm. Deidamia Elliot 1811
Amasa (aft 1774 -)	
James (1782-1832); /Nantucket	m. Diana Clark Gibbs 1813/1814

Different generations are in different columns; those mentioned as stonemasons in various records are in **bold**; places of birth and death follow birth and death dates; not all siblings are shown.

Table 1. The Thompson Family

Other Cape Carvers

There were, of course, a number of other carvers working on Cape Cod independently of the traditions established by William Sturgis and his family. I have already mentioned Ebenezer D. Winslow of Brewster, who came to the Cape from Berkley in about 1814. I provide an account of his life and work in a forthcoming, more comprehensive treatment.⁴⁵ A few others, such as the five I include below, either carved very few stones or worked well beyond 1870, which is the chronological limit of my study.

In Yarmouth, there is a very plain stone in Woodside Cemetery for Prince Howes (1841), probated to an Edward Hallet. He may also have carved the three other similar stones for other members of the Howes family nearby, the latest of which is dated 1851.⁴⁶ This may have been Edward B. Hallet, born in 1798, the oldest of nine children of Ansel Hallet and Anna Eldridge. Edward married a Rebecca and had nine children of his own, dying in Yarmouth in 1878.⁴⁷ This man advertises his hardware store in the *Yarmouth Register* in 1857; still, as we have seen in other cases, stonecutting may have been a sideline. I doubt that the Fishers had much competition in Yarmouth once they opened their shop there in 1844. In Hyannis, there is a J.W. Macy, who advertises his marble shop in the *Barnstable Patriot* in 1873.

In West Dennis, James H. Jenks, born in Providence in 1832, operated a marble shop just off Main Street, from at least 1866.⁴⁸ The stone for Paulina B. Edwards (1864) in Swan Lake Cemetery in Dennis Port is signed "J.H. Jenks, Prov." – indicating that he was working in Providence as late as 1864. Among a number of other stones in the area, he signed the 1869 marker for Betsie C. Nickerson (Fig. 33) in the Congregational Church Cemetery in Harwich. James Jenks died in 1915. His son J. Harvey Jenks (that is, J.H. Jenks, Jr.), born in Providence in 1858, continued his father's shop. Although most of the stones signed by the Jenks family carvers have only the word "Jenks," there is a stone in the same Dennis Port Cemetery for Elizabeth Howes (1878) signed "H. Jenks, Jr., W. Dennis" – a stone made, perhaps, as the son turned twenty-one. Deyo (1890) tells us that in 1889 J.H. Jenks, Jr. was postmaster of West Dennis (p. 532) and secretary of the Odd Fellows (p. 533). He died in West Dennis in 1933.

J. Harvey Jenks, Jr. in turn came to employ Robert Clinton Baker, born in West Dennis in 1867; it was either Jenks or Baker who was responsible for the Civil War obelisk in Chatham Green.⁴⁹ Baker and Jenks are pictured in their workshop in about 1890 in a family photograph



Fig. 33. Betsie C. Nickerson, 1869, Harwich, Massachusetts.
Signed by James H. Jenks.



Fig. 34. J. Harvey Jenks (right) and Robert Clinton Baker (left) in their West Dennis, Massachusetts shop in about 1890.

The Voice of Our Patrons:

The following are a few of the many testimonials we are in receipt of:

JAMES H. JENKS, JR.,

DEALER IN . . .

∞ MARBLE - AND - GRANITE, ∞ WEST DENNIS, MASS.

I take pleasure in saying that the work done by you for me has given perfect satisfaction and has been exactly as contracted for.
Yours truly,
FRED. CROWEEL,
South Yarmouth.

Mr. Jenks's total capacity as administrator of estates, I have employed Mr. Jenks on several occasions, and am pleased to testify that his work has been very satisfactory.
Respectfully,
CHAS. G. BAKER,
South Dennis.

Mr. Jenks's skill and workmanship furnished by you were of the highest order.
Very truly yours,
LUTHER B. CROWEEL,
West Dennis.

Mr. Jenks:
The monumental work you finished for me I am pleased to say is of a high class, and I believe it a very reasonable price.
Respectfully,
FREMAM RYDER,
North Harwich.

Mr. Jenks:
The monument furnished by you is in every way satisfactory and price much less than I could have obtained elsewhere. We would advise purchasing of you and save the time and expense of looking around.
Respectfully,
ISAAC D. PIERCE,
Dennisport.

Mr. Jenks:
Your granite monument you set for me three years ago has proved very satisfactory to myself and family, it being a very fine piece of work.
Yours respectfully,
ELISHA SNOW,
West Harwich.

Mr. Jenks:
We are pleased to say the work furnished our cemetery is perfectly satisfactory and strictly in accordance with our contract.
WATSON B. KELLEY,
FREMAM E. BURGESS,
Directors,
Harwichport.

Mr. Jenks:
The monument you have just erected for us is entirely satisfactory. We consider it a very fine piece of work.
Yours truly,
MRS. ABNER SMALL,
DAVID L. SMALL,
Harwich.

Mr. Jenks:
We are more than pleased with the work you have done for us. We have heard others speak in terms of praise of it.
Yours very truly,
JOSEPH N. BUCK,
South Chatham.

Mr. Jenks:
Having returned from Chatham, we are pleased to say that the work done on our monument, also in the manner the foundation was first laid. The markers, corner posts and steps are fine, and we thank you for your faithfulness in carrying out our order.
Respectfully yours,
MR. and MRS. GEO. W. YOUNG,
Boston.

5% DISCOUNT FOR DECEMBER. 5%

According to a custom adopted by us for several years we will allow a discount of 5 per cent. on all orders received during the month of December (for spring delivery) Considering our present low prices, this insures the lowest price ever offered for first-class work.

Fig. 35. Advertisement for J. H. Jenks, Jr.'s marble and granite shop. West Dennis, Massachusetts, 1898.

(Fig. 34) supplied to me by Robert Clinton Baker's great-grandson, Burton Derick. Robert C. Baker's father was Nathan Foster Baker, a sea captain, but, according to Derick, Robert loathed the sea and preferred working with his hands. Robert C. Baker married Hattie Barstow in 1887 in Harwich; he died in 1956 and is buried in West Dennis, his grave marked by a gravestone he had cut himself.

It is significant that in Swan Lake, a post-Civil War cemetery in Dennis Port, there are no fewer than eleven gravestones signed by the Jenks family carvers, but there are eighteen signed by "Burt" or "D. A. Burt" of Taunton – as can be determined from Burton Derick's (1993) detailed record of Dennis Cemetery inscriptions.⁵⁰ Burt's signed stones are in fact found throughout the Cape; they are a sign that, with improved roads and railways, local carvers who had faced limited competition from distant marble shops in previous decades needed to be alert to market demands as the century drew to a close. The elaborate nature of an advertisement (Fig. 35) placed by J. H. Jenks, Jr. in the *Yarmouth Register* in December of 1898 is evidence of the predicament of these later marble shops which had to deal with greater competitive pressures.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study, presented over the last two issues of this Journal, has been twofold: First, to bring to light the remarkable contribution of William Sturgis to the development of mid-to-late Nineteenth-Century marblecarving in eastern Massachusetts. This man, in a period of only ten years, as he aged from sixty-two to seventy-two, directly influenced both the careers and carving styles of no less than eleven subsequent stonecutters on Cape Cod. Secondly, to uncover, in the Sturgis family and in the development of the distinct regional marble shops it affected, evidence of important changes in the nature of the stonecutting trade. There are at least four aspects of this development that can be distinguished:

- (1) The transition from slate to marble gravestones.
- (2) The move from tablet-shaped gravestones (first slate, then marble) to monuments with more three-dimensional modeling. We find this not only in the obelisks of the Fishers' Yarmouth shop, but also in those smaller stones which were inscribed and/or sculpted on both front and back.
- (3) A growing standardization of design. Willows, flowers, pointing hands, and other common decorative motifs seem to be less and less

individualized as we move past the 1850s. Further, many if not most of these stones bear no decoration whatsoever. This may indicate a decline in creativity in part caused by the rise of very large gravestone manufacturing centers in the largest cities. More study will be needed to confirm this possibility.

(4) Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we find in the period from the 1830s through the 1850s evidence of the transformation of the nature of labor itself, with the craft apprentice system giving way to more recognizably contemporary forms of business activity. It is probable that neither John Sturgis nor Elisha Eveleth actually worked at the Sandwich marble shop they established; their partnership was apparently directed toward ownership and profit without any hands-on operation. Further, we found at least two and perhaps three cases in this study of signatures on gravestones in all probability representing not the man who actually carved the stone, but the man who owned and ran the shop in which the carver was employed. That is, the more abstract concept of *ownership* was coming to replace the older concept of *mastership* as the directing force of the trade. Owners no longer needed to be craftsmen involved in the physical operation of the business. It was no longer the stone artifacts but the marble-carving shops themselves which became commodities, to be quickly bought and sold – tokens in a game of shifting and often brief “partnerships.” *Business* in a contemporary sense was thus forming at a level distinctly above that of the manufacture of the material product: the medium of the businessman was not so much the product itself as the process of marketing, supplying, and expanding. Earlier craftsmen made artful objects; businessmen made sales. And because it was in sales that real money was to be had, it was inevitable that businessmen would ultimately hold the real power in manufacture.

The logic of business becomes more entrenched, of course, as centralized suppliers begin to dominate the stonemasonry trade. Toward the end of the century, customers were even able to obtain their monuments from Sears, Roebuck and Co. through mail catalogs. By 1905, according to David L. Cohn, Sears and Roebuck’s “tombstone business was already so important that its memorial department issued a special tombstone catalog, while gravemarkers were listed in the general catalog.”⁵¹ “As we have often seen on other occasions,” Cohn continues, “the catalog and the local dealer indulge in violent battles, and now we find them wrestling for life in the cemeteries of the dead.”⁵² I found no such advertisements in the 1897 Sears catalog, but in the 1902 catalog Sears informs its

customers that "We offer you the handsome Marble Markers shown on this page at half the prices you can buy them at your nearest marble dealer" (p. 809). These monuments were all sent via rail from Sears' quarry in Vermont and the buyer could select four different kinds of stone material. The catalog also emphasized that its monuments were made, not on a piece-work basis, but by "day labor," that is, not by independent contractors, but by workers employed as needed by the company. In the 1910 catalog, the competitive language is fierce: "A revolution in prices and a revelation to you, telling you how memorials in granite and marble have heretofore been a fat field for profit for those doing business under the old fashioned selling methods, with their large selling expenses and long profits, who for a century past have found the highest of high prices to be essential to their methods."⁵³

I have not explored this phenomenon in the present study. These larger manufacturers were corporate businesses in a more contemporary sense, and no doubt were able to supply markers to individual customers and local retailers at reduced cost, undercutting the local shops. If this practice followed the same pattern we have witnessed in more recent history, where local pharmacies, bookstores, clothing and hardware stores have been forced out of business by the more efficient larger chains and franchises, then we should expect to see fewer independent monument shops as we move into the Twentieth Century, as well as a marginalization of local craftsmen. This, as well as new production methods, such as the introduction of the stone-planer in the 1890s, no doubt significantly reduced the number of stonecutters or at least caused their numbers to lag behind population growth.

But there is another side to the marginalization phenomenon. Truly individualized and creative stonecutting could survive by providing what mass-production methods could not – more elaborate and uniquely sculpted marble monuments, which would only be available, however, to wealthy customers. This is also true today, of course, where "designer" fashion and "hand-crafted" jewelry, pottery, furniture, and architecture are marketed to those select few who can afford to pay for them. In this context, the artisan is less a local craftsman serving a town and more an artist with a wider upper-class clientele. While some aspects of this phenomenon were also present from the earliest times in the American colonies, there were always colonial craftsmen marketing their goods to a fairly broad economic spectrum of society. Mass-production methods had not yet reduced their number and the variety of their designs.

It is in search of some relief from both the homogeneity of the standardized products of Twentieth-Century manufacture and the “art” of the privileged classes that many of us have looked to the past, to the historical study of earlier crafts – even the craft of gravestone carving. For here we can find more diverse and individualized forms of human design whose excesses were kept in check by a more democratic market.

NOTES

My acknowledgment of various individuals who contributed to this study was provided at the beginning of the Notes for Part I in *Markers XIX*. However, because Part I had gone to press, I was not able to include my thanks to Ernest Rohdenburg III of the Chatham Historical Society, who located three stones signed by Oliver Linnell in the Union Cemetery of Chatham, a fourth in Peoples Cemetery in Chatham and a sales receipt paying Linnell for another Chatham stone. And I am grateful to Bonnie Snow of the Orleans Historical Society for the information she provided both on the houses owned by some of the later Cape carvers and on a published controversy involving Oliver N. Linnell. Photo in Fig. 34 with permission of Burton Derick. All other photos in this installment are by the author.

1. Orleans vital records have these children, all born in Orleans: Marcy (25 Nov 1803 - ?); Mercy (25 Jul 1806 - ?); Isaac (15 Apr 1808 - ?); Isaac (16 Mar 1810 - ?); Mary (11 Aug 1812 - ?); Richard (26 May 1813 - 30 June 1830); Phebe (2 Nov 1815 - ?); Emeline (13 Sep 1820 - ?); Susan (12 July 1823 - ?).
2. \$54.00 from Thomas S. and Emeline S. Snow; Vol. 41, p. 482. This involved part of the Sparrow homestead in Orleans as well as a woodland in Brewster.
3. Orleans vital records.
4. Vol. 43, p. 319.
5. Vol. 66, p. 179.
6. Simeon L. Deyo, ed., *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts*, 1890 (New York, NY: H. W. Blake & Company, 1890).
7. Other children, all born in Orleans: Josiah (29 Oct 1814 - ?), married Naomi Allen Harding in 1840; Elizabeth (16 Feb 1819 - 5 Jan 1838), married Franklin Gould in 1837; Lucinda (17 Jun 1821 - 24 Nov 1842), married Josiah Sparrow in 1842; George (1823 - 1823), died as an infant; George Washington (17 Mar 1824 - ?), married Elizabeth Kelley, died in Olneyville, RI; Julia Maria (24 Aug 1827 - Dec 1910), married Warren Dill in 1846, then Alden Rogers, died in Malden MA; Jerusha (Elizabeth) (20 Nov 1830 - 1909), married Franklin Skinner in 1853, died in Boston (this information gathered from Orleans vital records and from Burton Derick).
8. Lucinda Adelaide (29 Sep 1845 - ?), married Zebena Harrison Higgins in 1862 and lived in Boston; Hercelia Gibbs (11 Oct 1846 - 5 Nov 1848); Israel Mayo (19 Sep 1848 - 8 Oct

- 1848); Oliver Herbert (28 Sep 1849 - ?), married Augusta Knowles of Wellfleet in 1873; Cecilia Marie (21 Mar 1852 - ?), married Alberto Sylvester Nickerson in 1871 and lived in New Bedford; Adelaide Elsie (20 Aug 1854 - 30 Jun 1861); Walter Chester (25 Aug 1856 - 4 May 1898), married Laura Merrick Rogers in 1877; Arthur Ellsworth (11 Jul 1862 - ?), married Eva May Snow in 1881 and settled in Quincy; and Addie Bell (21 Apr 1864 - ?), married Weston Linnell Taylor in 1882 (from Orleans vital records and Burton Derick).
9. Similar urns and willows are found on Linnell's stones for Ezra Nickerson (1837), Mary Ann Taylor (1854), Patrick McDonald (1858), and Amanda Kelley (1860). I assign these to him rather than to Fisher because of the lettering – the curved serif on Linnell's "l," for example.
 10. Orleans vital records. Other children: Elisha, Jr. (ca. 1822 - ?), married Mehitable Walker in Orleans in 1847; John M. (ca. 1825 - ?), married Catharine Snow in Orleans in 1848; Silvester (19 Jul 1833 - 2 Oct 1884).
 11. Daughter of Bangs Taylor and Olive (Orleans vital records).
 12. Orleans vital records.
 13. Eldora Josephine (27 Jan 1850 - ?), who married Dean Taylor of Boston in 1871; Irene Thomas (19 Jul 1853 - 2 Jul 1858) (these two listed in Orleans vital records); and Nathaniel W. (ca. 1856 - ?), listed in the 1860 U.S. Census.
 14. Vol. 86, p. 311.
 15. To an Ensign B. Rogers; Vol. 86, p. 312; Vol. 89, p. 157.
 16. May 14th; \$1500.00; Vol. 90, p. 454.
 17. June 5th; \$1200.
 18. November 19th; Vol. 241, p. 428.
 19. Orleans vital records. Daniel Higgins, Sr. married Elizabeth Sparrow in Eastham on January 3, 1826. Besides Daniel, Jr., their other three children were: Eliza H. (23 Aug 1829 - 22 Sep 1858), married a Crosby(?); Mary B. (10 Feb 1832 - 1890), married Edmund Crosby; and Clara Ann (14 Sep 1834 - ?). Another sister may have been Betsy S. (ca. 1827 - 11 Dec 1852), who married Jesse Sparrow in 1848. Elizabeth Sparrow Higgins died on January 15, 1839 (gravestone in Orleans), and Daniel, Sr. then remarried, to Mercy Smith in Eastham the following April 12th. Mercy died December 27, 1869. Although the records for Daniel, Jr. and the other three children mention Mercy as their mother, she was their stepmother. Daniel Higgins, Sr. died on February 19, 1876 at age seventy-six (gravestone in Orleans).
 20. Besides their sons Winthrop and Henry, they also had a daughter, Abigail, born October 25, 1842. The Crosby brothers' grandfather Joshua was born in Orleans on January 6, 1779, and married Sally Freeman; their great-grandfather Joshua had married Thankful Cole.

21. Marietta Crosby died in 1926. Winthrop and Marietta's son Orville married a Celia H. (1868 - 1948) and died in 1929. Much of this vital information was provided by Burton Derick from cemetery records of Orleans Cemetery.
22. Barnstable Co. Deeds, Vol. 126, p. 402. This was obtained from Ensign B. Rogers for \$50.00 on September 3rd.
23. Barnstable Co. Deeds, Vol. 221, p. 412. The four-year mortgage was to Lenora P. Crowell, wife of Emmett H. Crowell of Dennis. The mortgage was paid off on January 12, 1905 (Vol. 270, p. 218); Lenora Crowell then a resident of Taunton.
24. Henry's wife Eliza was born June 16, 1845 and died July 4, 1923; she is also buried in Island Pond Cemetery, Harwich. Their son Wilfred was born January 2, 1872 and died August 18, 1937 (also buried in Island Pond). They also had another son, Ray Causten, born October 24, 1890 (when Eliza was forty-five) and died the following April 11th (buried in Island Pond). This information, taken from cemetery records of Island Pond Cemetery, Harwich Center, was also provided by Burton Derick.
25. Other children of Solomon and Harriet, besides Harris, James, and Harriet were: Maria Louisa (13 Aug 1818 - 8 Nov 1903), unmarried, who died in Sandwich; Elvira (29 Aug 1821 - ?); Albert (26 Nov 1824 - ?); and the twin girls Lucy (13 Aug 1833 - Aug 1833) and Lydia (13 Aug 1833 - Aug 1833).
26. For \$200.00; Chattel Mortgages; Vol. 1, p. 352. This information uncovered by Barbara Gill of the Sandwich archives.
27. Provided me by Barbara Gill of the Sandwich archives.
28. Barnstable County deeds; Vol. 57, p. 446. This mortgage, dated March 2, 1855, also mentions that James Thompson was leasing the land occupied by his shop.
29. Barnstable County deeds; Vol. 66, p. 100. These properties were sold to William Fessenden, who was probably Lucy Fessenden Bassett's uncle.
30. Lucy was born in Sandwich to John Bassett and Lucy Fessenden on July 26, 1826. The New Bedford Clerk's office has Harris born in "October, 1857" (no day), a female born October 8, 1860, and Frank, born December 26, 1865. The Mormon Church IGI database lists three children of James and Lucy, namely, Harris (3 Nov 1857 - ?), Helen Maria (8 Oct 1860 - ?) and Franklin Herbert (26 Dec 1865 - ?); but their birthplace is incorrectly listed as Sandwich. There is no record of these births in the Clerk's office at Sandwich.
31. The informant for this record was a Gertrude P. Thompson of Hopedale, Massachusetts (about twenty miles southeast of Worcester). Perhaps she was a granddaughter. I have not determined with whom James Thompson may have been living in Chatham.
32. Prince L. Dimmick (1850) and Hannah Hammond (1854), near the probated Hammond stone in Falmouth, and those for Hatsel K. Handy (1851) in Hyannis, Shadrach Freeman (1854) in Sandwich, Thomas Richardson (1855) in Hatchville, and Fear Jones (1861) in Falmouth.

33. James and Mary's other children were: Abigail Tobey (3 Jan 1830 - 8 May 1854); married James Thompson; Elizabeth (8 Aug 1831 - 22 Jun 1833); and Robert T. (11 Jan 1836 - 5 Mar 1857).
34. These were: Robert H. (17 Jan 1859 - 25 May 1908), who was a physician; Abby T. (16 Jul 1860 - 16 Jul 1860); and Lucy A. (21 Nov 1864 - 18 Jul 1866). This information from Sandwich vital records and the family tombstone in Sandwich's Old Burial Ground.
35. Lemuel Bourne Nye was himself the son of Levi and grandson of Thomas Nye.
36. His siblings: Sarah Delia (May 12, 1837 - ?), William Lapham (15 Sep 1839 - ?), and Levi Stephen (26 May 1842 - ?), who married Martha Ann Bracket in 1867. This and other genealogical information was gathered from *A Genealogy of the Nye Family, 1907*, compiled by George Hyatt Nye and Frank E. Best, edited by David Fisher Nye and published by Nye Families of America Association.
37. William E. (5 Sep 1858 - ?), married Annie M. Heffeman in 1886; Franklin H. (17 Jan 1862 - 21 Aug 1862), who died in infancy; and Lizzie A. (4 Sep 1871 - ?).
38. The signed stone for Mary Bearse (1844), and those for Sophia H. Bearse (1850), Sally S. Hallet (1852), Nella P. Baxter (1854), and Eliza H. Hallet (1857).
39. Elizabeth Baker (1855) and Eliza Baker (1859).
40. Anchors adorn the stone for Mary Swain (1810), the hand is on the stone for Irad Jenkins (1820), and the doves are on the marker for Priscilla Stubbs (1822) – all on Nantucket.
41. His gravestone is now broken in half. His death in Nantucket is reported in the *Nantucket Inquirer*. The *Columbian Centinel* (erroneously?) reports his age as 46. He died intestate and his estate was administered by his widow (Vol. 13, p 325). Three years after his death, she also petitioned the court of probate to allow her to sell "several pieces of meadowland" in Polpis and Pocomo (Vol. 14).
42. Charles Hutchinson Thompson, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of John Thomson of Plymouth, Mass.* (Lansing, MI: Darius D. Thorp, printer and binder, 1890). A more recent update can be found in Ralph V. Wood, *Francis Cooke of the Mayflower: The First Five Generations* (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1996).
43. Peter Benes provides a very brief discussion of the these two men in *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977).
44. Besides his widowed mother, Abiah, this census includes two other individuals living in Zebulon's household: John C. Dexter and John C. Scott, both eighteen years of age, and both listed as marble-worker apprentices (Dexter born in Rochester; Scott born in Charleston, SC).
45. *An American Craft Lineage: The Gravestone Carving Traditions of Plymouth and Cape Cod: 1770-1870*, forthcoming.

46. These other stones are for Prince and Abigail Howes (1832, 1833), Patience Howes (1834), and Capt. Ebenezer Howes (1851).
47. Yarmouth vital records. This Edward B. Hallet was born March 16, 1782 and died September 9, 1874 (gravestone in Woodside Cemetery, Yarmouth).
48. James H. Jenks, son of Stephen B. and Cynthia Jenks, married Emeline Crowell in Dennis on February 8, 1855. He is listed as a marble-cutter in an 1856 Providence city directory. His son, J. Harvey Jenks, was born in Providence in 1858. He apparently did not reside in Dennis until at least October 15, 1866, when his son was born there. His son, James H. Jenks, Jr. (or J. Harvey Jenks), married Clara A. Crowell in West Dennis on June 30, 1881; he is listed as a "marble worker" in the marriage record. All this information, taken from Dennis vital records, was provided to me by Burton Derick.
49. Burton Derick reports that his great-grandfather Robert Clinton Baker often pointed out the Chatham obelisk as they rode past it, proud of what was the most challenging carving he had executed up to that time. Yet the money for this monument was appropriated in 1869 (when Baker was only two years old), and it is signed by Jenks. Still, if it was erected, say, eighteen years after the appropriation, it is just possible that Baker did carve it.
50. Burton Derick, *Cemetery Inscriptions of Dennis, Massachusetts* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1993).
51. David L. Cohn, *The Good Old Days: A History of American Morals and Manners as Seen through the Sears, Roebuck Catalogs: 1905 to the Present* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1940), 233.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, 134-135.

APPENDIX I

Relevant Burial Grounds

All are in Massachusetts.

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

NOTE: These burial grounds are numbered differently from those in Appendix I of Part I (in *Markers XIX*).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Brewster (First Parish) | 23. Hyannis (Universalist) |
| 2. Cedarville (Herring Pond Rd.) | 24. Kingston (Evergreen) |
| 3. Centerville (Beechwood) | 25. Kingston (Main St.) |
| 4. Centerville (Congregational) | 26. Orleans (Meeting House Rd.) |
| 5. Chatham (People's) | 27. Osterville (Hillside) |
| 6. Chatham (Seaside) | 28. Plymouth (Chiltonville) |
| 7. Chatham (Union) | 29. Provincetown (Old) |
| 8. Chilmark | 30. Sagamore |
| 9. Cotuit (Old Mosswood) | 31. Sandwich (Bay View) |
| 10. Dennis Port (Swan Lake) | 32. Sandwich (Freeman) |
| 11. Eastham (Evergreen) | 33. Sandwich (Mt. Hope) |
| 12. East Harwich (Evergreen) | 34. Sandwich (Old) |
| 13. East Harwich (Union) | 35. South Chatham |
| 14. East Sandwich (Cedarville) | 36. South Harwich |
| 15. Edgartown (Westside) | 37. Truro (First Cong. Ch. & Snow) |
| 16. Falmouth (Oak Grove) | 38. Truro (Old North) |
| 17. Falmouth (Old Burying Ground) | 39. Truro (Methodist) |
| 18. Forestdale (Rte. 130) | 40. Truro (Pine Grove) |
| 19. Harwich (Cong. Ch.) | 41. Wellfleet (Duck Creek) |
| 20. Harwichport (Mt. Pleasant) | 42. West Harwich (Baptist) |
| 21. Hatchville (East End) | 43. West Tisbury (West Tisbury) |
| 22. Hyannis (Baptist) | |

APPENDIX II

Probated and Signed Gravestones

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

*Records which specifically mention gravestones.

(a) The Orleans Carvers:**Josiah Sparrow II:**

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

*Joshua P. Atwood (61:511; 1843, 1844),
Eastham
*John F. Anderson (61:528; 1835, 1844),
Yarmouth

*Mulford Kendrick (77:143; 1846, 1848),
Harwich

Signed:

Jeremiah Newcomb (1842), Wellfleet

Hannah Freeman (1844), Wellfleet

Oliver N. Linnell:

Documented: (sales receipt in possession of Chatham Historical Society)

*Lt. Franklin D. Hammond (1864), Chatham

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

*John Bassett (77:210; 1848, 1849), Harwich
Jesse Nickerson (77:306; 1848, 1850),
Chatham
*Sabina Nickerson (77:365; 1841, 1851),
Chatham
*Benjamin Nickerson (77:460; 1850, 1852),
Chatham
Lumbert Nickerson (77:518; 1851, 1853),
Chatham
*Nathan Rogers (85:87; 1853, 1854), Harwich
*Christopher Smith (85:131; 1854, 1855),
Chatham

*Enoch Smith (85:194; 1854, 1856), Chatham
*Enoch Bassett (85:199; 1854, 1856),
Chatham
*Susan Berry (85:370; 1856, 1858), Chatham
*Sylvanus Chase (#4072; , 1861), Harwich
*James Baker (#4392; , 1862), Harwich
*Benjamin G. Bearse (#4538; 1862, 1863),
Chatham
*Jacob Crowell (#4560; , 1864), Harwich
*James Hawes (#4592; 1862, 1864), Chatham
*Mary A. Chaffee (#4845; 1865, 1866),
Chatham

Signed:

(infant) Nickerson (1845), E. Harwich
 Stephen Turner (1848), E. Harwich
 Eliza Tripp (1852), Harwich
 Nathan Rogers (1853), E. Harwich
 Edmund Long (1854), E. Harwich
 Lusha Snow (1854), Orleans
 Benjamin B. Smith (1858), Chatham
 Polly Chase (1859), Harwich
 Rhoda Crowell (1859), E. Harwich
 Woodbury Norcross Gardner (1859), E.
 Harwich
 Flora Jan Tripp (1860), Chatham
 Otis Allen Cahoon (1861), E. Harwich
 Benjamin G. Bearse (1862), Chatham
¹Benjamin F. Bassett (1864), Chatham
 Elijah Lincoln (1865), E. Harwich

¹"Linnell & Son"

Oliver H. Linnell:*Signed:*

Elisha Howes (1853), Chatham (Seaside)
 Joseph Whorf (1872), Truro (Snow)

Anna Higgins (1879), Eastham (Soldiers)
 Thankful Snow (1883), Truro (Methodist)

Thomas A. Hopkins:*Probated: (Barnstable Co.)*

*Fanny Crosby (77:247; 1821?, 1849),
 Brewster
 *Franklin Hopkins (77:362; 1851, 1851),
 Orleans
 Joshua Small (77:486; 1850, 1852), Truro
 *Sarah Doane (85:113; 1854, 1855),
 Wellfleet
 *Archelaus Smith (85:118; 1853, 1855),
 N. Truro

*Atkins Dyer (85:210; 1854, 1856), Truro
 *Knowles Smith (85:240; 1849, 1856),
 Orleans
 Henry Kingman (97:180; , 1860), Orleans
 *Matthew Kingman (#4132; , 1860),
 Orleans
 *Allen Hinckley (#4300; 1861, 1862), Truro
 *Solomon Hurd (#4305; , 1862), Orleans

Signed:

Capt. Thomas W. Shaw (1831), Truro
 Mehitable Anderson (1851), Truro
 Abijah Gill (1853), Eastham
 Chloe Kemp (1853), Wellfleet
 Ephraim D. Rich (1853), Truro

Matilda K. Atkins (1854), Truro
 Capt. Isaiah Cole (1854), Wellfleet
 John N. Kemp (1854), Wellfleet
 Samuel Kemp (1856), Wellfleet
 Volney Rider (1858), Truro

Daniel Higgins, Jr.:*Probated: (Barnstable Co.)*

*Thomas Watkins (85:317; 1855, 1857), Truro

*Signed:*Thomas Higgins (1855), Orleans
Lottie M. Howes (1856), Chatham

Thankful M. Newcomb (1856), Wellfleet

Winthrop and Henry Crosby:*Probated: (Barnstable Co.)*¹Stephen Collins (#4408; 1861, 1863),
Truro¹*Daniel A. Knowles (#5546; , 1869), Truro¹Elnathan Snow (#5118; , 1867),
Orleans²*Henry T. Crosby (#17420; , 1915),
Harwich¹payment to Winthrop Crosby²payment to "B. Crosby," probably Henry's son Bertram*Signed:*¹Mercy Crosby (1842), Chatham¹Essie May Howes (1871), Chatham²Capt. Stephen Collins (1861), Truro¹Huldah A. Atkins (1872), Truro³George W. Nickerson (1864), Chatham⁴Cyrus Weeks (1872), Harwichport¹Thankful Nickerson (1866), Truro⁴Levi Long (1874), Harwich⁴Polly Doane (1868), Harwichport⁵Albert F. Wixon (1874), Dennis Port¹Harriet N. Smith (1870), Chatham⁴Cambyes Philips (1875), Harwichport¹Sarah Eldredge (1871), Chatham³Nathaniel Doane (1895), Harwichport¹"Crosby, Orleans"²"W. M. Crosby, Orleans"³"Henry T. Crosby"⁴"Crosby, Harwich"⁵"Crosby Bros., Harwich"**E. E. Crosby:***Signed:*

Temperance Nickerson (1863), Harwichport [Mt. Pleasant]

Cyrus C. Gould (1878), Chatham [Seaside]

Hannah Allen (1879), Harwichport [Mt. Pleasant]

(b) The Sandwich Carvers:

James Thompson (of Sandwich):

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

- *Sylvanus Hammond (77:356; 1850, 1851)
Falmouth
- *Elisha Gifford (85:99; 1849, 1854),
Falmouth

- *Frederick Davis (#4418; 1862, 1866),
Falmouth

Probated: (Dukes Co.)

- *Ephraim Pool (21:252; 1854, 1856),
Chilmark
- *Elijah Luce (21:340; , 1856), Tisbury
- *Josiah Tilton (21:463; 1856, 1858),
Chilmark
- *Shubael Norton (21:537; 1842?, 1858),
Tisbury
- ¹*Daniel Fellows (21:551; 1832, 1858),
Edgartown

- *William Stewart (22:119; 1859, 1860),
Chilmark
- *Almira Jernegan (22:146; 1860, 1861),
Edgartown
- *Charlotte Norton (22:172; , 1861),
Tisbury

¹carved by William Sturgis

Probated: (Plymouth Co.)

- *Francis Johnson (#11482; 1850, 1851),
Kingston

- *George Bramhall (#2661; 1853, 1857),
Plymouth

Signed:

Abby P. Linnell (1851), Centerville

Charlotte Lewis (1849), Centerville

Joshua T. Faunce:

Probated: (Barnstable Co.)

- ^{1,2*}Isaac Ewer (#4091; 1859, 1861), Osterville
- ^{3*}Wendall Lewis (#4140; 1859, 1862),
Barnstable

- Thomas L. Swift (#4200; 1860, 1862),
Falmouth

Signed:

²James P. Lawrence (1856), Falmouth

¹payment also for two additional gravestones for his wives

²probably carved by Edwin B. Nye

³stone not located

Edwin B. Nye:*Signed:*

Abby B. Nightingale (1851), Cedarville
 Sylvia L. Quinnell (1851), Sandwich
 Lott Crocker (1860), Hyannis
 Isaac Hodges, Jr. (1861), Osterville
 Ellis Nightingale (1862), Cedarville
 George H. Bearse (1863), Centerville
 Maj. Charles Chipman (1864), Sandwich

Joseph C. Scudder (1864), Osterville
 Betsey Nye (1865), E. Sandwich
 Fanny Nickerson (1866), Cotuit
 Capt. Daniel B. Nye (1866), Sandwich
 Abby S. Thayer (1867), Sandwich
 Zebiah C. Richards (1868), Sandwich
 Zenas Nye (1869), E. Sandwich

(c) Other carvers Relevant to this Study:**E. Busby:***Signed:*

Capt. Ezra and Sally Nickerson (1837, 1877), Harwich (Congregational Church); "E. Busby, H-Port"

Edward Hallet:*Probated: (Barnstable Co.)*

*Prince Howes (77:370; 1841, 1851), Yarmouth (Hillside)

James H. Jenks and J. Harvey Jenks:*Signed:*

¹Pauline B. Edwards (1864), Dennis Port
 (Swan Lake)
 Betsie C. Nickerson (1869), Harwich
 (Cong. Church)
 Remark Wixon (1870), Dennis Port
 (Swan Lake)
 Thomas Howes (1871), Dennis Port
 (Swan Lake)
 Susanna Sears (1874), Dennis (Quivet)
²Elizabeth Howes (1878), Dennis Port
 (Swan Lake)
 Zephaniah Eldredge (1880), Chatham
 (Peoples)

Frances Harding (1881), Chatham (Seaside)
²Sarah A. Rogers (1881), Harwichport
 (Mt. Prospect)
 Elisha Hammond (1882), Chatham
 (Seaside)
 William W. Cole (1897), Harwichport (Mt.
 Prospect)
 William T. Handren (1899), Dennis Port
 (Swan Lake)
 Emma Chase (1901), Dennis Port
 (Swan Lake)
 Ann Kelly (1904), Dennis Port (Swan Lake)

Sidney A. Sears (1905), Dennis Port
(Swan Lake)
Mary A. Howes (1908), Dennis Port
(Swan Lake)
Mary Elizabeth Sears (1914), Dennis Port
(Swan Lake)

Emelyn L. Hart (1918), Dennis Port
(Swan Lake)
Polly Chase (1925), Dennis Port
(Swan Lake)
Samuel L. Robbins (1939), Dennis (Quivet)
³[Civil War obelisk, Chatham green]

¹ "J. H. Jenks, Prov."

² "H. Jenks, Jr., W. Dennis"

³ Signed by Jenks; probably carved by Jenks, but possibly carved by Jenks' assistant Robert Clinton Baker, according to a family tradition.

George Thompson:

Probated: (Bristol Co.)

*Edward Paull (66:135; 1826, 1828),
Taunton
*Martin Dean (68:260; 1828, 1830),
Raynham
Nathan King (69:296; 1828, 1831),
Taunton

*Abel R. Caswell (69:218; 1826, 1831),
Taunton
*Joseph Tisdale (72:114; 1831, 1832),
Taunton

Probated: (Plymouth Co.)

*John Fuller (43:437; 1809, 1811),
Middleboro
*Irad Thomas (43:449; , 1811),
Middleboro
*Israel Thomas (43:449; 1809, 1811),
Middleboro
*Ebenezer Vaughn (43:460; 1810, 1811),
Middleboro
*William Bennet (44:92; 1809, 1812),
Middleboro
*Susanna Cobb (45:246; 1813, 1814),
Middleboro
*Philip Bennet (45:408; 1810, 1814),
Middleboro
*Elisha Cox (45:502; 1813, 1814),
Middleboro
*Martha Darling (45:529; 1812, 1814),
Middleboro
*Nathan Darling (45:530; 1812, 1814),
Middleboro
*Ebenezer Thomson (47:141; 1813, 1815),
Halifax

*Nathan Weston (47:395; 1814, 1815),
Middleboro
*Patience Tinkham (47:403; 1814, 1815),
Middleboro
*Edmund Weston (48:29; 1814, 1816),
Middleboro
*John Soule (48:391; 1815, 1817),
Middleboro
Jeremiah Bennet (49:100; 1815, 1817),
Middleboro
*Israel Thomas (49:283; 1814, 1818),
Middleboro
*Joseph Bump (49:360; 1817, 1818),
Middleboro
*Abraham Miller (49:364; 1817, 1818),
Middleboro
*Daniel Darling (49:367; 1814, 1818),
Middleboro
*John Murdock (49:523; 1817, 1818),
Middleboro
Peter Shurtleff (50:251; 1818, 1819),
Carver

- *Hushai Thomas (50:388; 1818, 1819),
Middleboro
- *Josiah Vaughn (50:409; 1814, 1819),
Middleboro
- *Elisha Thomas (53:84; 1814, 1820),
Middleboro
- *George Vaughn (53:194; 1816, 1820),
Middleboro
- *Thomas Nelson (53:408; 1819, 1821),
Middleboro
- *Levi LeBaron (54:432; 1820, 1822),
Middleboro
- *Silvanus Tillson (57:30; 1822, 1823),
Middleboro
- *Zachariah Weston (58:59; 1819, 1824),
Middleboro
- *Jonathan Phinney (58:100; , 1824),
Middleboro
- *Mercy Bennet (63:422; 1826, 1827),
Middleboro
- *Greenleaf Pratt (67:431; 1824 , 1829),
Middleboro
- *John McCully (69:496; 1829, 1830),
Middleboro
- *Alvan Makepeace (76:320; 1833, 1834),
Middleboro
- *James Cobb (77:203; 1833, 1835),
Middleboro
- *Barnabas Bates (79:191; 1835, 1837),
Wareham
- *Ebenezer Leach (79:455; 1834, 1837),
Bridgewater
- *Silvanus Thomas (80:146; 1814?, 1838),
Middleboro
- *Obed McCully (81:524; 1838, 1839),
Middleboro
- *Unite Kinsley (82:162; 1833, 1840),
Middleboro
- *Elkanah Cook (83:21; 1839, 1841),
Kingston
- *Benjamin Shaw (84:202; 1837, 1842),
Carver
- *William Canady (84:355; 1836, 1842),
Middleboro
- *Josiah C. Reed (85:317; 1842, 1843),
Rochester
- *James Jackson (86:205; 1840, 1844),
Middleboro
- *Edward Thomas (87:463; 1844, 1845),
Middleboro
- *Dr. Joseph Clarke (88:462; 1843, 1846),
Middleboro
- *William W. Nelson (89:297; 1844, 1847),
Middleboro
- *Thomas Steles (89:302; 1835, 1847),
Middleboro
- *Francis Atwood (#584; 1853, 1855),
Middleboro

Signed:

Joseph Hale (1813), Raynham
 Capt. Noble Canedy (1829), Lakeville
 Andrew Cole (1830), Lakeville
 Lydia Murdock (1830), Carver

Anna W. Shaw (1830), Carver
 John Townsend (1835), Lakeville
 Joshua Haskins (1849), Lakeville
 Thomas Savery (1856), Middleboro

Harris Thompson:

Probated: (Plymouth Co.)

*Abigail Lucas (#13313; 1849, 1849), Carver

*Samuel W. McLauthlen (#13852; 1848, 1849), Kingston

Signed:

Samuel McLauthlen (1848), Kingston

Isaac Thompson, Jr.:

Probated: (Bristol Co.)

¹Salsbury Blackmer (67:160; 1825, 1829), Fairhaven

¹probably carved by George Thompson of Middleboro

Probated: (Plymouth Co.)

*Silence Burt (50:129; 1818, 1819), Rochester (old parish, N. Rochester)

James Thompson (of Nantucket):

Probated: (Plymouth Co.)

¹*William Boles (69:181; 1827, 1830), Marion

¹Caleb Cushing (69:490; 1829, 1830), Wareham

²*Eunice Bumpus (74:173; 1824, 1833), Rochester

¹probably carved by George Thompson of Middleboro

²possibly carved by Isaac Thompson, Jr. of Middleboro/Rochester

Zebulon H. Thompson:*Probated: (Plymouth Co.)*

- *Charles Bonney (78:223; 1834, 1836),
Rochester
- *Alpheus Barrows (78:300; 1834, 1836),
Rochester
- *Hallett Swift (78:428; 1835, 1836),
Wareham
- *Huldah Thatcher (81:417; 1836, 1839),
Rochester
- *Galen Bennet (82:393; 1839, 1841?),
Rochester
- *Seth Hammond (84:370; 1841, 1842),
Rochester
- Samuel Mandall (85:247; 1841, 1843),
Rochester
- *Oliver Allen (86:342; 1843, 1844),
Bridgewater
- Ebenezer Ellis (87:513; 1845, 1845),
Rochester
- *Elnathan H. Haskell (88:144; 1845, 1846),
Rochester
- *Achsah Bumpus (88:343; 1845, 1846),
Wareham
- *William D. Boodry (89:225; 1838, 1847),
Rochester
- *Reuben Dexter (89:478; 1846, 1847),
Rochester
- *James Gammons (90:94; 1846, 1848),
Middleboro
- Wilson Barrows (#1141; 1853, 1854), Carver
- John Bent (#1937; 1853, 1855), Carver
- Lucy Sherman (#18154; 1854, 1855), Carver
- Joseph Shaw (#17972; 1855, 1856), Carver
- John C. Vail (#21488; 1859, 1859), Carver
- *Joseph Alden (#290; , 1860), Marion
- Lothrop Barrows (#1118; 1857, 1860),
Carver
- Rebecca Atwood (#614; 1863, 1864),
Middleboro/Carver
- *Samuel Shaw (#18027; 1858, 1864), Carver
- Asaph Atwood, Jr. (#575; 1864, 1866),
Middleboro/Carver
- Elizabeth Colby (#4644; , 1868), Carver

APPENDIX III

Gravestones of the Orleans Carvers (partial list)

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

Probated stones are in **bold**. Signed stones are in *italics*.

Years in parentheses are dates of probate, not death (stones not examined).

For stones with multiple burials, the name of the person with the latest date of burial is listed.

Josiah Sparrow II:

1835 Anderson, John F.	Chatham (7)		
1841 Newcomb, Joanna	Wellfleet (41)	1843 Atwood, Joshua P.	Eastham (11)
1841 Rider, Dea. David	Provincetown (29)	1843 Small, Huldah	Truro (39)
1842 Atwood, Deliverance H.	Wellfleet (41)	1843 Sparrow, Isaac	Orleans (26)
1842 <i>Newcomb, Jeremiah</i>	Wellfleet (41)	1844 <i>Freeman, Hannah</i>	Wellfleet (41)
1842 Sparrow, Josiah [son]	Orleans (26)	1846 Atkins, Josiah D.	Truro (39)
1842 Swett, Thankful	Wellfleet (41)	1846 Kendrick, Mulford	E. Harwich (13)
		1846 Snow, Joseph	Truro (39)
		1846 Sparrow, Mary	Orleans (26)

Oliver N. Linnell:

1837 Nickerson, Capt. Ezra	Harwich (19)	1849 Crowell, Bethiah	Chatham (7)
1841 Nickerson, Sabina	Chatham (5)	1850 Eldridge, Capt. Samuel	Harwich (19)
1844 Hurd, Polly	Orleans (26)	1850 Hopkins, Walter A.	Orleans (26)
1845 [<i>infant</i>] <i>Nickerson</i>	E. Harwich (13)	1850 Nickerson, Benjamin F.	Chatham (5)
1845 Nickerson, Rebeckah J.	Chatham (5)	1851 Doane, Mary Ann	Harwich (19)
1846 Taylor, Lucretia	Chatham (5)	1851 Nickerson, Esther	Chatham (6)
1847 Sparrow, Josiah	Orleans (26)	1851 Nickerson, Lumbert	Chatham (5)
1847 Wixon, Heman	W. Harwich (42)	1851 Taylor, Christopher [son]	Chatham (6)
1848 Bassett, John	Harwich	1851 Taylor, Lucretia	Chatham (5)
1848 Eldridge, Betsey H.	S. Harwich (36)	1852 Eldredge, Betsey Ann	S. Chatham (35)
1848 Lewis, Cecelia	Chatham (5)	1852 Hopkins, Susan J.	Orleans (26)
1848 Linnell, Hercelia	Orleans (26)	1852 Kendrick, Henry	Chatham (5)
1848 Linnell, Oliver [son]	Orleans (26)	1852 Nickerson, George H.	Chatham (7)
1848 Nickerson, Jesse	Chatham (5)	1852 <i>Tripp, Eliza</i>	Harwich (19)
1848 Nickerson, Simeon	Chatham (5)		
1848 Small, Mercy B.	Chatham (5)		
1848 <i>Turner, Stephen</i>	E. Harwich (13)		

1853 Batchelor, Lenora	Chatham (5)	1862 Winslow,	Brewster (1)
1853 <i>Rogers, Nathan</i>	E. Harwich (13)	Ebenezer D.	
1854 Bassett, Enoch	Chatham	1864 <i>Bassett, Benjamin F.</i>	Chatham (5)
1854 <i>Long, Edmund</i>	E. Harwich (13)	(1864) Crowell, Jacob	Harwich
1854 Smith, Christopher	Chatham (7)	1864 Eldridge,	S. Chatham (35)
1854 Smith, Enoch	Chatham (6)	Augustus H.	
1854 Smith, Polly	S. Harwich (36)	1864 Hammond,	Chatham (7)
1854 <i>Snow, Lusha</i>	Orleans (26)	Lt. Franklin D.	
1854 Taylor, Mary Ann	W. Harwich (42)	1865 Chaffee, Mary A.	Chatham (5)
1856 Berry, Susan	Chatham (5)	1865 <i>Lincoln, Elijah</i>	E. Harwich (13)
1856 Chase, Elizabeth P.	S. Harwich (36)	1866 <i>Cahoon, Mabel C.</i>	E. Harwich (13)
1857 Higgins, Daniel	Orleans (26)	1867 <i>Nickerson, Deborah</i>	E. Harwich (13)
1858 Harding, Sally	Chatham (7)	1868 <i>Gould, James F.</i>	Chatham (6)
1858 McDonald, Patrick	W. Harwich (42)	1868 <i>Leonard, Henry</i>	Chatham (6)
1858 <i>Smith, Benjamin B.</i>	Chatham (7)	1868 <i>Nickerson, Patia</i>	E. Harwich (13)
1858 Taylor, Elizabeth	Chatham (5)	1869 <i>Kelley, Job</i>	Dennis Port (10)
1859 Baker, Thankful Y.	Orleans (26)	1869 Taylor, Christopher	Chatham (5)
1859 <i>Chase, Polly</i>	E. Harwich (13)	1870 <i>Baker, Polly Ann</i>	Harwichport (20)
1859 <i>Crowell, Rhoda</i>	E. Harwich (13)	1870 <i>Gorham, Martha W.</i>	Chatham (6)
1859 <i>Gardner,</i>	E. Harwich (13)	1871 <i>Linnell, Josiah F.</i>	Chatham (7)
<i>Woodbury N.</i>		1871 Rogers, Lucy	Orleans (26)
1860 Bassett, Emily L.	Harwich (19)	1872 <i>Taylor, Joseph A.</i>	Chatham (7)
1860 Kelley, Amanda	W. Harwich (42)	1873 <i>Gross, Charles E.</i>	Chatham (5)
1860 Small, Melinda E.	S. Harwich (36)	1873 Jones, Gershom	Chatham (6)
1860 <i>Tripp, Flora Jane</i>	Chatham (6)	1875 <i>Baker, Sylvanus</i>	Harwichport (20)
1861 <i>Cahoon, Otis Allen</i>	E. Harwich (13)	1875 <i>Bassett, Isaiah C.</i>	Chatham (5)
(1861) Chase, Sylvanus	Harwich	1875 <i>Crosby, Abijah</i>	Chatham (5)
1861 Darling, Lydia	Orleans (26)	1878 Rogers, Abner	Orleans (26)
1861 Eldridge, Elizabeth	S. Chatham (35)	1881 Linnell, Josiah	Orleans (26)
1861 Eldridge, Joseph F.	S. Harwich (36)	1885 Linnell, Solomon	Orleans (26)
(1862) Baker, James	Harwich	1888 Nickerson, Catherine	Chatham (7)
1862 <i>Bearse,</i>	Chatham (7)		
<i>Benjamin G.</i>			
1862 Hawes, James	Chatham (7)		

Daniel Higgins, Jr.:

1855 <i>Higgins, Thomas</i>	Orleans (26)	1856 <i>Newcomb,</i>	Wellfleet (41)
1855 Watkins, Thomas	Truro (38)	<i>Thankful M.</i>	
1856 <i>Howes, Lottie M.</i>	Chatham (5)		

Thomas A. Hopkins:

1821 ¹ Crosby, Fanny	Brewster (1)	1853 Rich, Hannah	Truro (40)
1831 Shaw, Capt. Thomas W.	Truro (37)	1853 Smith, Archelaus	Truro (38)
1842 Smith, Joanna	Orleans (26)	1854 Atkins, Matilda K.	Truro (37)
1849 Paine, Hannah	Truro (37)	1854 Cole, Capt. Isaiah	Wellfleet (41)
1849 Smith, Knowles	Orleans (26)	1854 Davis, Apphia	Truro (37)
1850 Small, Joshua	Truro (38)	1854 Doane, Sarah	Wellfleet (41)
1851 Anderson, Melitabile	Truro (37)	1854 Dyer, Atkins	Truro (37)
(1851) Hopkins, Franklin	Orleans	1854 Kemp, John N.	Wellfleet (41)
1851 Winslow, Chauncey	Truro (37)	1856 Kemp, Samuel	Wellfleet (41)
1852 Dyer, Ebenezer	Truro (37)	1858 Smith, Winslow	Truro (39)
1853 Gill, Abijah	Eastham (11)	1858 Rich, Sally	Truro (40)
1853 Kemp, Chloe	Wellfleet (41)	1858 Rider, Volney	Truro (37)
1853 Rich, Ephraim D.	Truro (40)	1860 Paine, Sally	Truro (40)
		1861 Hinckley, Allen	Truro (37)

¹probate is dated 1849; stone is weathered; perhaps carved by Ebenezer D. Winslow

Winthrop M. Crosby and Henry T. Crosby:

1842 Crosby, Mercy	Chatham (6)	1872 Atkins, Huldah A.	Truro (39)
1861 Collins, Capt. Stephen	Truro (39)	1872 Weeks, Cyrus	Harwichport (20)
1864 Nickerson, George W.	Chatham (5)	1874 Long, Levi	Harwich (19)
1866 Nickerson, Thankful	Truro (37)	1875 Philips, Cambyses	Harwichport (20)
1868 Doane, Polly	Harwichport (20)	1875 Wixon, Capt. David	W. Harwich (42)
1870 Smith, Harriet N.	Chatham (6)	1876 Wixon, Albert F.	Dennis Port (10)
1871 Eldredge, Sarah	Chatham (6)	1883 ¹ [Soldiers monument]	Orleans
1871 Howes, Essie May	Chatham (6)	1895 Doane, Nathaniel	Harwichport (20)
		1897 Handren, William	Dennis Port (10)

¹near the Town Hall; identified as Winthrop's work in an advertisement for the Orleans Monumental Works in a celebratory volume (undated) published by the town. No doubt Winthrop produced only the elaborate stone base, not the bronze.

APPENDIX IV

Gravestones of the Sandwich Carvers (partial list)

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

Probated stones are in **bold**. Signed stones are in *italics*.

For stones with multiple burials, the name of the person with the latest date of burial is listed.

James Thompson:

1849 ¹ Gifford, Elisha	Falmouth (17)	1854 Pool, Ephraim	Chilmark (8)
1849 <i>Lewis, Charlotte</i>	Centerville (3)	1855 Luce, Elijah	W. Tisbury (43)
1849 Thompson, Harris	Kingston (25)	1856 Tilton, Josiah	Chilmark (8)
1850 Johnson, Francis	Kingston (24)	(1858) Fellows, Daniel	Edgartown (15)
1851 <i>Linnell, Abby P.</i>	Centerville (4)	1859 Stewart, William	Chilmark (8)
1851 Norton, Shubael	W. Tisbury (43)	1860 Jernegan, Almira	Edgartown (15)
1853 Bramhall, George	Plymouth (28)	(1861) Norton, Charlotte	W. Tisbury (43)

¹probably carved by William Sturgis and inscribed by James Thompson

Joshua T. Faunce:

Although there is a stone with Faunce's signature and three more for which he is paid in probate records (see Appendix 1), these stones may really have been carved by Edwin B. Nye; they are listed under Nye, below.

Edwin B. Nye:

1831 ¹ Ewer, Mercy	Osterville (27)	1853 Mayhew, Parnel A.	Chilmark (8)
1836 ¹ Ewer, Hannah	Osterville (27)	1854 Fish, Chloe	Forestdale (18)
1837 Baker, Emma Jane	Hyannis (22)	1854 Freeman, Shadrach	Sandwich (32)
1850 Dimmick, Prince L.	Falmouth (17)	1854 Hammond, Hannah	Falmouth (17)
1850 ² Hammond, Sylvanus	Falmouth (17)	1854 Tilton, Joseph E.	Chilmark (8)
1850 Swift, Lois	Cedarville (2)	1855 Baker, Elizabeth	Hyannis (22)
1851 Handy, Hatsel K.	Hyannis (22)	1855 Hatch, Mary	Falmouth (17)
1851 <i>Nightingale, Abby B.</i>	Cedarville (2)	1855 Richardson, Thomas	Hatchville (21)
1851 Quinn, Elizabeth	Sandwich (34)	1856 Dunham, John T.	Chilmark (8)
1851 <i>Quinnell, Sylvia L.</i>	Sandwich (31)	1856 ³ Lawrence, James P.	Falmouth (16)
1852 Freeman, Sarah	Sandwich (32)	1856 Lawrence, Thomas	Falmouth (16)
1852 Pratt, Mary T.	Kingston (25)	1856 McAlinney, Susan	Sandwich (33)
1853 Bagnell, Mary E.	Kingston (25)	1857 Swift, Cynthia	Sagamore (30)
1853 Hayden, Sarah A.	Plymouth (28)	1859 Baker, Eliza	Hyannis (22)
		1859 ¹ Ewer, Isaac	Osterville (27)

1859 Winslow, Hattie F.	Falmouth (16)	1864 <i>Chipman,</i>	Sandwich (32)
1860 <i>Crocker, Lott</i>	Hyannis (23)	<i>Maj. Charles</i>	
1860 Manwaring, Nancy	Falmouth (17)	1864 <i>Scudder, Joseph C.</i>	Osterville (27)
1860 ¹ Swift, Thomas L.	Falmouth (16)	1865 <i>Nye, Betsy</i>	E. Sandwich (14)
1861 <i>Hodges, Isaac Jr.</i>	Osterville (27)	1866 <i>Nickerson, Fanny</i>	Cotuit (9)
1861 Jones, Fear	Falmouth (16)	1866 <i>Nye, Capt. Daniel B.</i>	Sandwich (32)
1862 ² Davis, Frederick	Falmouth (16)	1867 <i>Thayer, Abby S.</i>	Sandwich (33)
1862 <i>Nightingale, Ellis</i>	Cedarville (2)	1868 <i>Richards, Zebiah C.</i>	Sandwich (32)
1863 <i>Bearse, George H.</i>	Centerville (3)	1869 <i>Nye, Zenas</i>	E. Sandwich (14)

¹although probated to Joshua T. Faunce, these stones were probably carved by Nye

²although probated to James Thompson, this stone was probably carved by Nye

³although signed by Joshua T. Faunce, this stone was probably carved by Nye



Fig. 1. Detail of Mycenaean funerary stèle depicting chariot race in honor of the deceased.

**“... DO NOT GO AND LEAVE ME BEHIND UNWEPT ...”:
GREEK GRAVEMARKERS HEED THE WARNING**

Gay Lynch

Introduction

Since “the mists of time” gravemarkers and other funerary artifacts in Greece have articulated the full language of lament ritual practices. These practices are advocated in numerous literary works. For example, Elpenor admonishes Odysseus, “do not go and leave me behind unwept”¹; Electra cries out in horror at her mother’s crime, “O cruel, cruel / all daring mother ... / with all sorrow for him forgotten / you dared bury your unbewept lord”²; and Margaret Alexiou offers us this modern Greek proverb, “What is he doing in Hades unwept, and without memorial?”³

Lament ritual is an extremely ancient, rhetorically complex tradition of funerary practices involving multiple expressions. Among these expressions are lament poetry, the oldest recorded type of song in Greece;⁴ emotive techniques of the body; and prescribed funerary rites in a traditionally-approved sequence. The gravemarkers in Greece, from Mycenaean times to the present, has recorded and, in a sense, has ritually inscribed these practices. Alexiou has noted that the survival of each funerary act in this complex tradition has depended upon the collective ritual practices of which it is a part.⁵ I would add that the gravemarkers contribute significantly to the survival of this tradition, for the marker has instantiated these vital practices for 3,500 years. In other words, Greek funerary monuments themselves not only commemorate, but actually perform funerary ritual.

Before exploring the visual evidence, it is important to recognize that at some level there must exist a mutual interdependence between ritual and eschatology. A characteristic feature of both ancient and modern Greek eschatology is the belief that the dead are reachable by the living in the vicinity of the grave. The gravemarkers, thus, operate within a funerary ideology in which the dead are capable of registering ritual acts addressed to them. These acts assure transition of the soul into afterlife and ensure the living a reprieve from the wrath of the dead. This is to say that appropriate funerary ritual practices are crucial for the soul’s safe passage and to the health of the living community. Gravemarkers in Greece encode these all-important ritual enactments: noble, simple funerary practices that Aeschylus calls the “heart’s food.”⁶



Fig. 2. Funerary amphora with geometric patterning and depiction of *próthesis*, the laying out of the corpse.

Representative Artifacts

Ancient Greece

Funeral games (*agónes*) are noted in Hesiod, Homer, Plutarch, and others, but are also clearly depicted in this detail (Fig. 1) from a Mycenaean limestone gravemarker [1550 B.C.E.]. In the visual assemblage, we see a man standing in a one-horse chariot: he is stooping and holding the reins, while in front of the horse a male figure is picking up an object, possibly a shield. Scholars agree that this is a chariot race, held in honor of the dead, the public ritual through which the community mourned, valorized, and commemorated the deceased. Funerary rites were the first occasion for games in Greek culture.⁷

The open-mouthed amphora shown in Figure 2 served as receptacle of libation offerings and had a distinctly monumental function as a gravemarker. “Essential stations”⁸ of funerary ritual action are spread out between the two handles of this geometric funerary artifact. In close-up (Fig. 3), one may see the *próthesis*, the laying out of the corpse, depicted in the center, flanked on either end by standing mourning figures. These are women in the ritual act of lamentation, *thrênos*, iconographically expressed in the rending of the hair, the two-hand mourning attitude. The four figures under the bier are professional mourners, as indicated by the figure with only one hand raised, who is the leader of the chorus. At the *próthesis*, the formal lamentation of the dead begins.⁹ Gudrun Ahlberg notes that “these scenes were drawn with the purpose that the ritual actions should be understood by the contemporary onlooker ...”¹⁰ “for whom the underlying associations were fresh and active.”¹¹

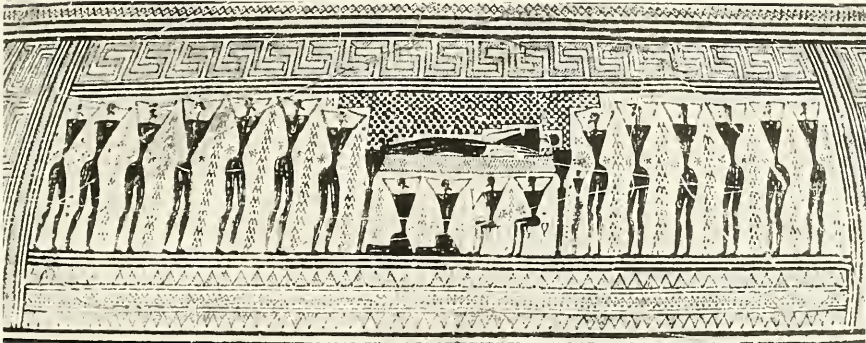


Fig. 3. Central detail of amphora shown in Figure 2.

In the Archaic Period [650-500 B.C.E.], the *loutrophoros*, a vase used for pre-marital bathing rituals, was also used to mark the graves of those who died unmarried (see Fig. 4). Lament ritual practice justifies this marriage vase as a gravemarker, for, like the act of adorning the dead in wedding garment, the act of pouring from the marriage vase was a gesture of hope for a life of wedded happiness in an unseen world. Both ancient literature and modern laments develop the analogy between death rites and marriage rites;¹² gravemarkers are inspired by these rites. Although somewhat difficult to distinguish, the detail of the vase's neck shown in Figure 4 illustrates women by a grave mound topped by a *loutrophoros*; the body of the vase shows the coffin being lowered into the ground.

White-ground *lekythoi*, oil vessels, served as gravemarkers during the High Classical Period [460s-410s B.C.E.].¹³ With a marked uniformity, scenes on many of these *lekythoi* gravemarkers (e.g., Fig. 5) are realistic renderings of funerary ritual practices. In this example, we see the deceased upon the bier, a heavily mantled man who stands at the head of the bier, and in the center a woman in the two-hand mourning gesture. Her hair has been cut short as a sign of mourning. The man offers respect and conceals his grief; the woman laments openly. Excluding *agónes*, since earliest times responsibility for funeral ritual has rested with women. Note also the ribbons dangling from the sides of the bier, traditional signs of respect and reverence. The gravemarker presents us with a visual record of ritual gestures.

The *lekythos* gravemarker shown in Figure 6 depicts a woman on the right side of a *stêlê* who has fallen to her knees and is beating her breast with her right hand – *kommós* – a formalized, ancient ritual gesture of the body that enables the expression of the inexpressible and states the intensity of relationship to the dead. Ritual laments are encoded with specific somatic gestures. Gravemarkers, in turn, encode these gestures and perpetuate them.

Elements of lament ritual are symbolically embedded in a striking late-Fifth Century sculpted grave monument marking the deaths of a sister and her younger brother (Fig. 7). The inscription on the epistyle tells us it was erected by their parents. In this tableau, the sister holds out a bird to the small, naked boy. Certain genres of lament poetry, as well, narrate everyday scenes, such as this one, that point to the tragedy of death and memorialize the sweetness of life. The marker, in this case, like the lament, poignantly and eternally captures the lost essence of the loved ones.



Fig. 4. Three views of a loutrophoros, used for both marriage and funerary rituals.

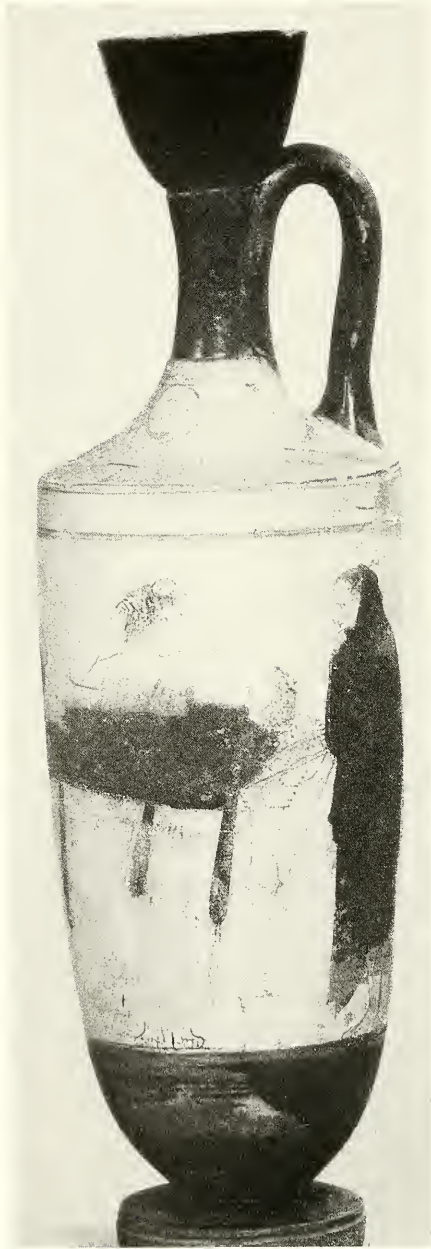


Fig. 5. Lykthos (oil vessel) gravemarker depicting ritual mourning scene.



Fig. 6. Lykthos gravemarker depicting woman in ritualized mourning gesture before a stêlê.



Fig. 7. Sculpted grave monument commemorating a sister and her younger brother.

The lekythos illustrated in Figure 8 shows that part of lament ritual is to beribbon, to bewreath, and to anoint the gravemarker. These two women have prepared their reed baskets and are proceeding to the grave. Of ritual significance are the tubular fillets (on the right) which were laid, in a circular position, on the base of the stêlê like a wreath, and the flat ribbons (on the left) which were wound around the stêlê and then tied into a knot or a bow (e.g., see Fig. 9). In the baskets we also see lekythoi intended for ritual libations. The gravemarker shows us that the visit to the grave is no "token pilgrimage,"¹⁴ but a carefully controlled ritual enactment.

In the dramatic scene pictured on Figure 9, the woman on the left dries her tears and presents her offering as she stands before a beribboned stêlê. Visible on the right is part of a basket brought by another woman. In the field, on either side, hang lekythoi. When garlanded and anointed, gravemarkers, by now, served as objects of ritual devotion, that is, objective correlatives for the dead themselves, no longer accessible to touch or communication. Greek gravemarkers convey a treasury of ritual attitudes toward death not articulated elsewhere.

Figure 10 illustrates another lykthos gravemarker upon which we see depicted a girl holding a *hydria* in a pouring position by its two horizontal handles. A common image in Greek laments is that of the cool flowing water the dead have left behind. The thirst of the dead is a well known characteristic of Greek eschatology. As much a part of funerary rites as wreaths, ribbons, and oil vessels is the offering of water at the grave. The pouring of water on the ground or on the grave itself plays an important part in Greek death rituals. As it flows from the world of the living to the world of the dead it mediates the opposition between life and death.

Modern Greece

The grave has been perceived as the house of the deceased since Mycenaean times.¹⁵ This perception of the tomb as house is implicit in the earliest Greek epitaphs,¹⁶ is stated explicitly by Herodotus in Book 9 of *The Histories*, and is alluded to in a significant number of laments.¹⁷ We know that funerary practices are enduring expressions of cultural continuity. In modern day Greece, through specific ritual practices, women maintain the grave as an extension of their domestic realm. These ritual practices play a notable role in the configuration of the gravemarker.

Today, one often sees the word *oikos* (house) on the grave monument (Fig. 11). Women are known to sleep next to it and cover it with blankets



Fig. 8. Lykthos gravemarker depicting women preparing for ritual gravesite decoration.



Fig. 9. Lykthos gravemarker depicting female mourner at gravesite.



Fig. 10. Image on Lykthos gravemarker of female mourner preparing to offer water at gravesite.



Fig. 11. The word *oikos* (house) inscribed on modern Greek marker identifies the grave as dwelling place of the dead.



Fig. 12. Example of roofed enclosure as modern Greek gravemarker.

in cold weather.¹⁸ Such behavior supports Loring Danforth's observation that not only is the grave the house of the deceased, it is also a second home of the bereaved woman.¹⁹ In Greece, the "good death" is marked by the presence of mourners at this house. Roofed enclosure, in the form of the gravemarker (Fig. 12), indicates the erection of socialized spaces. Again, it is also a symbol of the "good death." Women gather to ritually wash and scrub marble gravemarkers with sponges and steel wool. Since these items are used with regularity, the markers are often designed with glass enclosures for their easy accessibility (Fig. 13). Danforth's field studies have revealed that through these practices women feel they are "keeping the dead company;"²⁰ and, on the gravemarker, as in lamentation song, the dead may speak back to the living (Fig. 14):



Fig. 13. Modern Greek marble gravemarker with front glass enclosure.

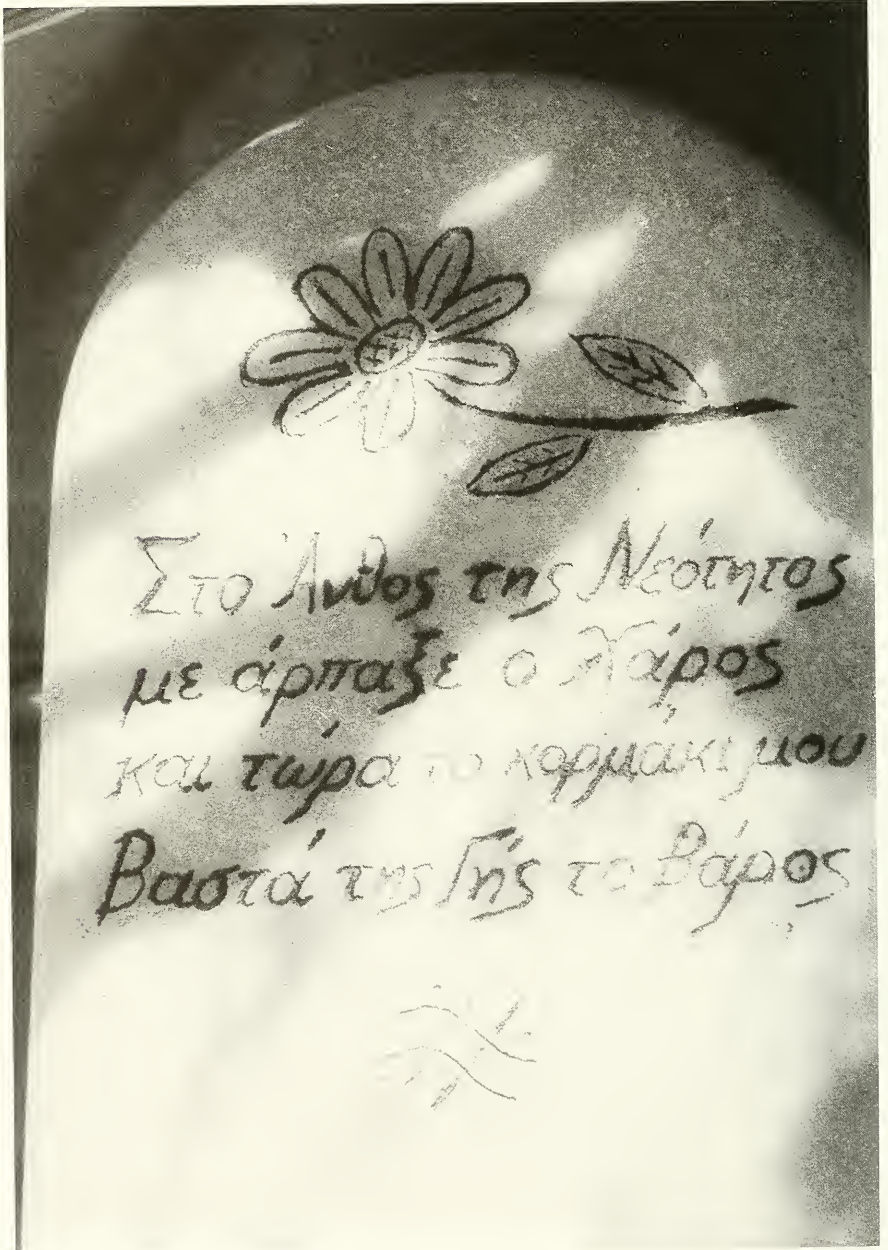


Fig. 14. Modern Greek "speaking stone" epitaph.



Fig. 15. "Sleepless Lamp" – *tó akimito kantili* –
in contemporary Greek cemetery.

Sto Anthos tis Neótitos
 Me árpaxe o Cháros
 ke tóra tó kormáki mou
 Bastá tis Gís tó Báros

[In the flower of youth
 Death seized me
 And now my body
 Holds the weight of the earth]

One of the most striking examples of the gravesite as conveyer of ritual enactment is the “sleepless lamp” – *tó akinito kantili* (Figs. 15 and 16). The maintenance of this oil lamp is a well known ritual in modern Greece. Some of these are like doll-houses with gabled windows. The image of light as homecoming has ancient roots in Greek tradition.²¹ As she lit the lamp before his gravemarker, this woman (Fig. 16) in Olympia told me that this was the house of her husband. And then she added, “As long as we’re together in the house, we’re together.”



Fig. 16. Ritual lighting of the “Sleepless Lamp.”

Conclusion

From the examples surveyed in this essay, we may see the close connection between funerary ritual and gravemarker that has existed in Greece from the earliest times to the present. Gravemarkers in Greece concretely and performatively represent ritual acts that are linked to the oldest and longest surviving of Greek traditions – graveside ritual lament. From this brief survey I hope it has become clear that these funerary stones or vases do not statically commemorate, but rather actively continue to mourn the dead. The Greek gravemarker is performative. It laments even when no human beings are present to do so.

Finally, the gravemarker in Greece, since the “mists of time,” shows us that funerary ritual is a primary resource for the creation and dissemination of aesthetic form: community; empathy; poetry; a system of continuous dialogue and the transformation of tears into song – this is the essence of lament out of which emerges a living oral tradition. The markers of Greece, whether ancient or modern, show us that death is a cue for the remarkable achievement of aesthetic creativity.

NOTES

Grateful acknowledgment is extended for permission to reproduce the following illustrations: Figure 1 – from *National Museum: Illustrated Guide to the Museum*, Ekdotike Atheneon S.A.; Figures 2-4, 6-7, 9 – National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece; Figure 5 – The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, Rogers Fund, 1907 [07.286.40]; Figure 8 – Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI, Edna G. Dyar Fund and Fairchild Foundation Fund purchase [70.2]; Figure 10 – The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, Gift of Julius Sachs Estate, 1934 [34.32.2]. All other photos are by the author.

1. Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Albert Cook (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1967), book xi, line 72.
2. Aeschylus, *The Libation Bearers*, trans. Richmond Lattimore, in *Greek Tragedies*, vol. 2, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1960), lines 429-433.
3. Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 36.
4. *Ibid.*, xi-xii.
5. *Ibid.*, xiii.
6. Aeschylus, *The Libation Bearers*, line 26.
7. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 105-106.
8. *Ibid.*, 192.
9. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, 6.
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11. *Ibid.*, 287.
12. Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. 111 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 370-396.
13. Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 108.
14. *Ibid.*, 119.
15. Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 48.
16. Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971), 261.

17. Loring Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 81.
18. C. Nadia Seremetakis, *The Last Word* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 186.
19. Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, 133.
20. *Ibid.*
21. e.g., see Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, trans. Richmond Lattimore, in *Greek Tragedies*, vol. 1, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1960), lines 281-316.



An abandoned, overgrown cemetery, Douglas County, Oregon.
Photo: Richard E. Meyer

POETS AMONG THE STONES

Kenneth Pobo

The American poets perhaps most associated with graveyards are two Edgars: Edgar Allan Poe and Edgar Lee Masters. Many of Poe's poems are informed by a direct confrontation with death – usually that of a beautiful woman. Poe felt that a beautiful woman's death would inevitably move readers (as if there is more tragedy in a woman's death if she is beautiful). The presence of death turns reality upside down; the real cannot be distinguished from the dream, or as Poe says in one of his lyrics, "Is *all* that we see or seem / But a dream within a dream?"¹

One of Poe's gorgeous dead ladies is Annabel Lee, who ends up "In the sepulchre there by the sea, / In her tomb by the sounding sea."² What remains for the bereaved lover is the grave and nature. For him there is no other reality, nor will there ever be. Love resides in a tomb. As she is in the grave, he lies down beside it. Only the earth separates them. The lover can find no comfort by the tomb – but he has no other place to go, no other life to return to. Nearness to the grave is all he understands.

Edgar Lee Masters lets the dead finally have a chance to speak the truth about their lives in his collection of poetic monologues, *Spoon River Anthology*. Unlike Poe's more formal poetic forms, Masters employs free verse, which makes the individual poems sound conversational, as if, somewhat in the manner of the old "Hearken, Stranger ..." epitaphs of the Colonial period, the dead are directly addressing us. The dead in this Illinois graveyard are itching for their own truths to come out. If Annabel Lee is shut up, Master's characters, whose monologues bear their names, are more than ready to speak. The often sugary epitaphs found upon their stones need the correction that only the dead themselves can provide. Life above ground was based on lies and secrets; the cemetery is their liberator, a place where they can speak without fear of reprisal. They exist beyond laws, definitions, and roles. In Masters' work, death isn't the problem. The lives of his characters were marked by appearances; many of them still seethe, even in the grave, unable to rest until they can reclaim their identities. Ollie McGhee feels "avenged" in death,³ and Amanda Barker in eight fierce lines implicates her husband as the one who caused her demise.⁴

Contemporary American poets often remain fascinated by death and by graveyards. Annabel Lee feels more like a representative beautiful

woman, though supposedly she is based on Poe's wife, Virginia Clemm, and Masters based many of his portraits on former residents of Lewistown and Petersburg, Illinois. Many contemporary poets, on the other hand, are less interested in creating these types of representations than in sharing with readers an intimate and personal portrait of loss – we feel we are present in the speaker's mourning, present at the grave. And if we are not present at the grave, we may be present in the graveyard or on the journey to it. Annabel Lee was in a mythical and unnamed "kingdom by the sea": more poets today create myths from their personal situations and observations, constructing kingdoms out of their daily lives.

Three contemporaries who have woven the cemetery into their work are Jean Valentine, Gary Soto, and Gregory Orr. While all three prefer free verse, their approaches to the subject of the cemetery often differ. The poet discloses his or her feelings without artifice. Traditionally, cemeteries are referred to as a final resting place. A picture of a shady place with mowed grass, flowers, and birds provides comfort, perhaps, for us. Such an image is preferable to Poe's moody "sepulchre by the sea." Yet even a graveyard which advances this relaxing imagery may be full of surprises. Masters' cemetery sound like a final resting place – yet the dead who reside there are not at rest; they cannot rest without getting the truth of their lives out into the open.

The visitor to the cemetery knows the dead will not actually speak: still, it is our fantasy that the people we loved will somehow be able to speak to us if we visit them there, in their final resting place. Though the finality of the stone is daunting, we may speak to them, perhaps, in our imaginations, recreate them, attempt to make them live again, if only briefly. Jean Valentine describes a visit to her mother's grave. While there, questions come to the surface. The speaker is not looking for pity; rather, she feels a need to be there in the cemetery, by her mother's grave, remembering, wondering. Gary Soto's poems of efforts required to get to cemeteries suggest that the cemetery itself is not just a place, but part of a journey, one that is often not easy, but one which we do not turn back from. Gregory Orr's cemetery raises other kinds of concerns. Unlike Valentine's poems with a specific mother and daughter or Soto's poems where the cemetery is a real presence even if difficult to get to, Orr's abandoned cemetery helps us to confront our own fears of abandonment in death. If the final resting place disappears, what will happen to us? At least in Masters' cemetery the dead, angry as they often are, can

speak – they are present, identifiable. This is not the case with the cemetery Orr describes to us.

Jean Valentine writes movingly of her mother's end days and her struggles with letting go in a series of poems found in her 1992 collection, *The river at Wolf*. Most of these poems are sonnets in free verse. Form helps to provide meaning. Only after the speaker visits her mother's grave is the free verse sonnet abandoned – and then just for one five-line poem about going through her mother's things. "Death's Asphodel" returns us to the form which returns and fades, returns and fades.

Valentine's subject may move us because most readers feel empathy for a daughter writing about the loss of a mother. However, her intention is not to evoke pity. Rather, she is writing to better understand herself in relation to her mother – and her mother's death – and the proof of that death which is the grave. The events which surround her mother's death come to us almost as photographed moments of the soul: the morning of the mother's death, the mother's body, the visit to the grave.

"At My Mother's Grave" begins with an unnamed voice: someone has told the speaker to "Go away."⁵ Is this her mother's voice? The groundskeeper at the cemetery? An internal voice which could be telling her not to be in the cemetery to see her mother's grave? The speaker does not go away. Instead, she ponders what remains now that much of her own experience is absence: the mother's voice, the mother's body. Gifts the mother had given the daughter replace a "dark space on the road"⁶ which the speaker figures was a deer. The memory of the mother's "hazel eyes"⁷ comes to her by the grave, something to hold on to, something no grave can remove.

In the third stanza the speaker asks, "What day did she go away?"⁸ Here, the "go away" phrase reappears from line two. Grief has broken down the speaker's sense of time. She does not say, "What day did she die?" "Go away" has a more liquid quality, less final. It is too soon to be able to let her go.

In the graveyard, the living are unable to lift the speaker beyond the grief. The experience focuses upon the grave and the speaker: it is as if no other graves exist or that others could be sorting through similar feelings elsewhere in the cemetery. Pain carves out such isolation.

She turns to three poets, all dead, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, and Pablo Neruda, to be present for her. Whitman is described as a visitor, as if he too is visiting the mother's grave with the speaker. Dickinson offers transportation, "a canoe of light."⁹ As Dickinson becomes light,

she can now offer others a place in her canoe. Neruda, a “radio flier,”¹⁰ is a transporter as well. The speaker does not ask to be flown out of the graveyard. Instead, she tells Neruda to fly her in.¹¹ Neruda, Dickinson, and Whitman are all in the light. That is where the speaker wants to be. These earlier poets can perhaps offer a comfort that the living cannot. Their clarity, their words, provide a way in darkness. The cemetery roots the speaker to earth, to loss, but this triumvirate of poets offers hope – which comes through movement.

As Valentine’s speaker wants to be flown in, Gary Soto’s speakers in “Looking for a Cemetery” and “Who Will Know Us?” are on journeys to get to the cemetery, which, in the first of these two poems, is tough to find. To get to the cemetery and then to find a specific grave is like a test. The speaker and someone he is with will have to wander for a while; they can’t find the grave too easily. In the “looking” is the quest.

The setting around the cemetery is hardly beautiful, marred by broken asphalt, barbed wire, and fence posts. This is not the conventional final resting place image; it is neither a comforting or comfortable landscape. The car can’t get them to it, so they have to walk on gravel. The sound of their steps on the gravel comforts them, unlike the bottles, cellophane, and sheet metal around them. Gravel is of the earth. The sound introduces other images from Nature: birds, and a rabbit.

They believe they are close to the cemetery and continue their journey. Still lost, they feel “cheated by” their “dollar map.”¹² The map has proven useless; to get to the cemetery requires entering a new landscape. They need to see the cemetery not as something mapped – a place that exists as much in the imagination as it does in reality. The speaker takes comfort in the fact that even if it takes a long time to find the cemetery, “The dead can’t get up and just go.”¹³ We may be lost, but the cemetery is a fixed point for the dead.

Finally, the cemetery appears. Again, Nature gives them a strong sense of it. Suddenly they feel wind, see a sparkling leaf, and “guess” three oak trees.¹⁴ Manmade objects such as cellophane and maps couldn’t help them. Nature provides clarity.

The last line of the poem, “The grass grew tall enough to whisper at our thighs,”¹⁵ echoes Emily Dickinson’s image of two persons who died, respectively, for Beauty and Truth, entombed but still talking to each other. What they say cannot stop the moss from ultimately reaching their lips and covering up their names, the last hold they had on life.¹⁶ Soto’s grass keeps growing as they move through it – and into the graveyard.

Its whisper reminds them that they too shall be here, that the journey they are on today will lead them here for keeps. However, this ending does not inspire fear or a desire for escape. As before, where the three oak trees provided location, now grass provides welcome – and a hint that death is always walking nearby.

Soto's "Who Will Know Us?", written for Jaroslav Seifert, again presents a journey toward a cemetery. The speaker here is not on foot, but on a train. The dead are a living presence as they "Breathe through the grass" – and through the speaker.¹⁷ Perhaps this line echoes Carl Sandburg's dramatic monologue employing the voice of the grass which covered all.¹⁸ No clear dividing line between living and dead exists. Stone and breath mingle.

The journey in "Looking for a Cemetery" required movement through the detritus of civilization. The half comical, half frightening images of the conductor in "Who Will Know Us?" emphasize the speaker's isolation. The conductor has "loose buttons" and a "mad puncher."¹⁹ The speaker realizes that he is not someone who can provide comfort.

The outside world is winter-like, with a "slate of old snow," "icy coal," and a "shivering horse."²⁰ Death is everywhere. The speaker describes his country as "white with no words" and imagines places such as Paris or Athens. Those cities are far away, while the visit with the dead is here and now. Also, Paris and Athens have for centuries been the home of great writers, men and women who worked with words – unlike the country's white wordlessness.

As he fantasizes of other places and that someday he might "open like an umbrella,"²¹ the train reminds him of his journey to the cemetery. The umbrella image is rich – umbrellas protect from rain and snow, just as grass protects the coffin in the cemetery. According to popular superstition, umbrellas, when opened indoors, can also bring bad luck. And, they are often black, the color of mourning.

In the poem's concluding lines it is a "Red coat of evil. / We are its passengers ..."²² We cannot get off this train until we arrive at the destination – the cemetery. The other passengers are on the same journey, "old and young alike."²³ The shape of a train car suggests that of a coffin. Its movement toward the cemetery, then, suggests the body being carried to a grave.

The reality of death is confirmed once again for both speaker and reader in the last line. The speaker wonders, "Who will know us when we breathe through the grass?"²⁴ Soon he too will be like those others

who, in the first stanzas, breathed through the grass. The question he poses is not a comforting one, as one answer is that perhaps nobody will know us. The train will move along and we will be forgotten. Other winters will pile up, and we cannot know who will come by to see us in the cemetery – or if they will have a sense of our own breathing as they visit. However, the question comes with an element of hope, too. We cannot know who will know us. Perhaps people we do not or cannot know will know us. And like us, they too one day will have to pose the same question. Everyone gets on board the same train. The destination is certain.

The cemetery in Gregory Orr's "An Abandoned, Overgrown Cemetery in the Pasture Near Our House" is more easily gotten to than those in the Soto poems. Its presence is inescapable since it is so close to the house. Orr sets the poem in Virginia; the time is March, when Spring is beginning to sweep in, though the seer of winter still remains. Two parts separate the poem, each with a single stanza. Cattle "trample" the cemetery, which is protected by a "low stone wall."²⁵ Cows are the closest thing to visitors that this cemetery has.

An abandoned cemetery immediately raises questions. What happened to it? Did the families or friends of those who were buried there care enough about it, or had they long ago moved on to new lives, forgetting those left behind?

In Orr's poem, as we have seen before, the image of the cemetery as a place of rest may be severely challenged: "... vines cover the five / small cherry trees; brambles everywhere ..."²⁶ The vine-covered cherry trees might conceivably be beautiful in a different context – in a garden or an orchard, perhaps – but here they create unease. No groundskeeper will come to remove those brambles. The idea of an "abandoned" cemetery discomforts because of the fear that, in death, we shall one day be abandoned, too.

Orderliness in a space for burials suggest respect for the dead, but Orr's cemetery challenges that desire for order with "... the abyss / with its lips of weather ..."²⁷ Life abandons us, and what survives is the abyss. This cemetery brings us to a startling confrontation with that abyss. The poet implies that years of harsh weather have made it impossible to read the names on the stones. With the disappearance of those names go the dead ones' last hold on identity. They are now part of the abyss. The "lips of weather" metaphor has a sensuous quality, but as these lips kiss, they also erase. The kiss is without feeling, just as sunlight or rain are without feeling even if poets often personify them and make them seem to feel.

After the image of the erased names, the first section of the poem, with no identifiable speaker, is complete. The loss of human names reflects the abandonment of the cemetery. Section two begins with a first-person speaker who is at work clipping stalks by the stone wall. He will keep his wall neat even if others have let the cemetery become overrun by vines and brambles.

As he works, he is coming more alive. The act of work rejuvenates him – and it is work connected with nature, and with ordering that which has overrun the cemetery. In *Winter*, the speaker describes himself as a torpid snake, but now he is getting free of that state. A torpid snake looks almost dead, but now that Spring is almost here life is returning. Skin must be shed. The warm day contrasts with the emptiness and abandonment of the cemetery.

In work comes discovery: the speaker finds a wren's nest. Like the dead in the cemetery, we have no idea what happened to the wrens. Did they too abandon the nest? Abandoning a cemetery, then, resembles abandoning a home. Did wind steal it from them? This particular nest is one from which ghosts drink. The cemetery, before, remains alive. Ghosts abound. However, this awareness of present ghosts is no comfort. The ghosts live on human tears. The cup of the wren's nest offers a paradox: it is both full and empty at the same – just like the cemetery, which holds the bodies of the dead but lacks visitors. These ghosts only feast on tears.

What is frightening about the end of Orr's poem is the same sentiment that frightens at the end of Soto's "Who Will Know Us?" Both poems suggest that abandonment may be our ultimate end. Nothing can stop Soto's train, and nothing can stop Orr's ghosts from sipping human tears from a wren's nest.

Valentine asks in "At My Mother's Grave," "So what is left?"²⁸ In her poem, a daughter remembers her mother. She is left at the grave to remember and to answer her own question. Any difficulty in getting to the cemetery, if indeed there was any, is not spoken of. The dead in Orr's poem could easily ask the same question. What is left for them is cattle watching them without any sense of who they were, and a stranger working nearby on a warm Spring day.

The question of "What is left" informs all of these contemporary poems as well as Poe's poem of the lost Annabel Lee whose death becomes a definition for the rest of the speaker's life. Masters' graveyard teems with life. Only in death and joined together in the graveyard can the dead rout the lies told about them. Valentine swerves us painfully close

to the loss of a mother, inviting us into a private moment. Soto postulates the cemetery as part of a journey, a destination which demands work to find. Orr's abandoned cemetery suggests that we, like the ghosts, come to a cemetery, even an abandoned one, because "... it's empty / always it's filled to the brim."²⁹

NOTES

An earlier, and shorter, version of this essay appeared on the poetry web site, www.ForPoetry.com.

1. Edgar Allan Poe, "A Dream Within a Dream," in *The Complete Tales and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Hervey Allen (New York, NY: The Modern Library, 1938), lines 23-24.
2. "Annabel Lee," *Ibid.*, lines 40-41.
3. Edgar Lee Masters, "Ollie McGhee," in *Spoon River Anthology: An Annotated Edition*, ed. John E. Hallwas (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press), line 11.
4. "Amanda Barker," *Ibid.*, lines 1-8.
5. Jean Valentine, "At My Mother's Grave," in *The River at Wolf* (Cambridge, MA: Alice James, 1992), line 2.
6. *Ibid.*, line 4.
7. *Ibid.*, line 6.
8. *Ibid.*, line 7.
9. *Ibid.*, line 11.
10. *Ibid.*, line 13.
11. *Ibid.*, line 14.
12. Gary Soto, "Looking for a Cemetery," in *New and Selected Poems* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1992), line 22.
13. *Ibid.*, line 20.
14. *Ibid.*, line 24.
15. *Ibid.*, line 26.

16. Emily Dickinson, "449 / I died for Beauty ...," in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, vol. 1, ed. Ronald Gottesman, et al. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), lines 1-12.
17. Gary Soto, "Who Will Know Us?," in *New and Selected Poems*, line 4.
18. Carl Sandburg, "Grass," in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, vol. 2, ed. Ronald Gottesman, et al. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), lines 1-11.
19. Soto, "Who Will Know Us?," lines 9-10.
20. *Ibid.*, lines 8, 11, 14.
21. *Ibid.*, line 26.
22. *Ibid.*, lines 37-38.
23. *Ibid.*, line 39.
24. *Ibid.*, line 40.
25. Gregory Orr, "An Abandoned, Overgrown Cemetery in the Pasture Near Our House," in *The Morrow Anthology of Younger American Poets*, ed. Dave Smith and David Bottoms (New York, NY: Quill, 1985), lines 2, 4.
26. *Ibid.*, lines 7-8.
27. *Ibid.*, lines 9-10.
28. Valentine, "At My Mother's Grave," line 3.
29. Orr, "An Abandoned, Overgrown Cemetery in the Pasture Near Our House," lines 23-24.



Fig. 1. Salt Lake City Temple. Salt Lake City Cemetery, Salt Lake City, Utah.

MORMON TEMPLE REPRODUCTIONS ON CEMETERY MARKERS

Jacqueline S. Thursby

Introduction

Cemetery visitors and scholars have noted an increasing number of gravestones depicting Mormon temples (Fig. 1) in the past twenty years. Though the temple motif has been used occasionally in the Western states on cemetery markers during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries, it is now appearing in cemeteries world-wide with more frequency. Folklorist George H. Schoemaker and other scholars have written about symbols in Mormon tombstone art in the Intermountain West,¹ but the temple image itself, which has become a presence in many cemeteries throughout the world, has received little specific attention. What does the image of a Latter-day Saint temple on a burial stone symbolize? Who does it represent? Why the variety of temples represented? Why are such stones increasing in number? The following discussion will address those questions and also examine the historical background and



Fig. 2. Manti Temple with sealing date. Ely Cemetery, Ely, Nevada.

meaning of several other common symbols used in cemetery markers by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Mormon Memorialization and Symbolism

The presence of a temple on a gravestone has deep significance to Latter-day Saint families. The temple itself represents eternal relationships and a link between heaven and earth. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (nicknamed "Mormons," after the Book of Mormon) was founded in the United States by Joseph Smith in 1830. It now has a membership of nearly eleven million worldwide, and the temple is the location for the central, culminating elements of "Mormon" religious practice. Mormons believe that ordinances performed in the more than one hundred temples scattered throughout the world "seal" (Fig. 2) couples and families together "for all time and eternity."

The intense genealogical research engaged in by Mormons worldwide culminates in an ordinance performed only in the temple and called "baptism for the dead." It is believed that vicarious baptisms performed in the temple provide an option for membership in the Latter-day Saint faith for spirits already passed from mortal life. Because of the firm belief in an eternal family unit, contracted by covenant through "sealings" in the temple, the message of hope for eternal family associations is thought by some members to be symbolized by the presence of a temple on a gravemarker. While temple stones are neither promoted nor discouraged by the church leadership, the temple image on the stone nonetheless represents eternal links between covenanted family members, past and present, and it implies that family members "resting" there will be resurrected in worthiness and reunited with their families upon the return of Jesus Christ to the earth.

People who choose to have their burial place marked with a temple stone believe that their faith and commitment to the religion is, therefore, clearly communicated to their posterity. The temples represented usually have various personal significance to the deceased. Perhaps they received their first sacred instructions there (called an endowment). Or, perhaps a couple whose names are written on the stone were married in the particular temple represented (Figs. 1 and 3); that temple would thereby hold memories held sacred throughout their lifetime.

Though most temple stones mark the grave of deceased couples, there are occasionally other occasions when it may be used. Children who are members of the LDS church are allowed to begin performing baptisms

for the dead when they reach the age of twelve. A teen or young adult's grave may be marked with a stone representing a temple where they had performed vicarious baptisms. Young missionaries receive their endowments just before the beginning of their mission training. Most young men of the Latter-day Saint faith serve two-year proselyting missions for the church beginning around the time of their nineteenth birthday; young women may choose to go on an eighteen-month mission when they are

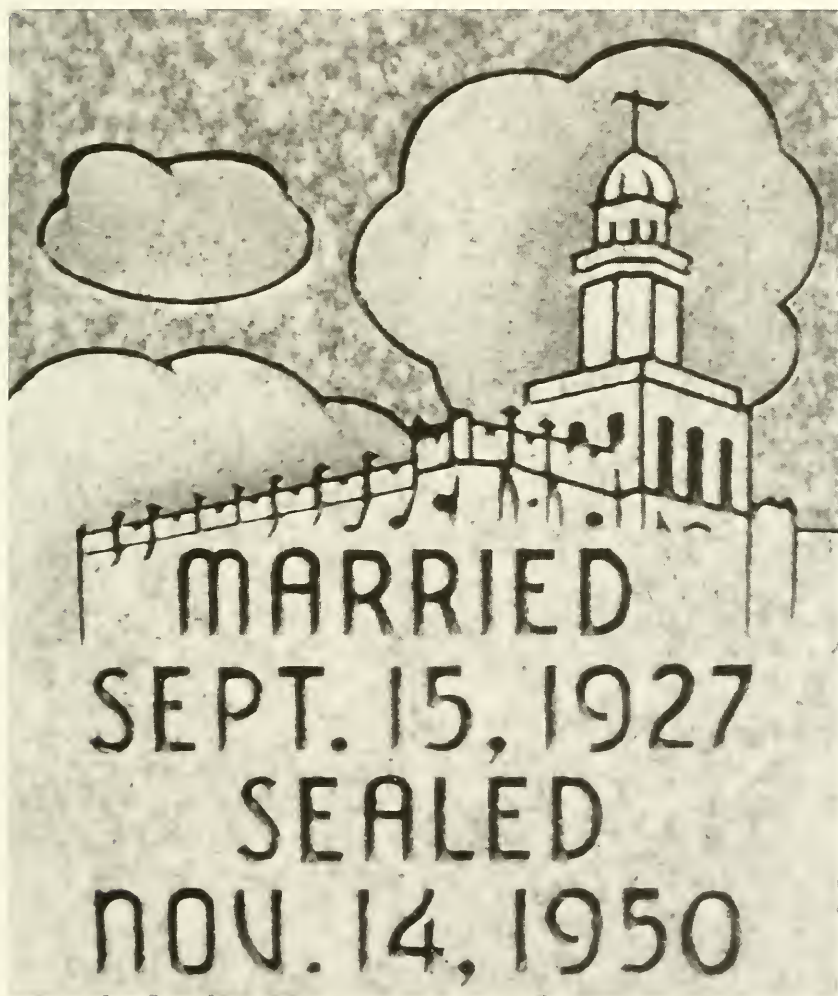


Fig. 3. St. George Temple with marriage and sealing dates.
Milford Cemetery, Milford, Utah.

twenty-one. If the young missionary should die while serving a mission, the family may choose a monument representing either the temple where the deceased received their endowment or possibly the temple closest to where he or she were assigned. Rather than temples, members of the Latter-day Saint faith who die while in the military are more likely to have their graves marked with stones or bronze plaques adorned with a figure representing Moroni, an angel whose figure enhances the central spire on many Mormon temples (Fig. 4).

Modern technological methods have increased options for memorializing the dead. Monuments ranging from imported marble to durable granite, in all their varieties, can be etched, engraved, sculpted, hand-tooled, sand-blasted, and/or photo-blasted to accommodate almost any request. Computer technology and transportation practices make it relatively convenient to replicate individual monument designs and to ship a monument almost anywhere in the world. Monument picture books and on-line advertising have increased accessibility for making choices and customizing designs. Memorial stones of nearly every material representing any of the worldwide temples can be produced and shipped anywhere in the world. As the LDS membership and the number of temples increase, it is likely that more and more “temple stones” will appear in cemeteries throughout the world.

In states where the early populations were predominately Mormon, cemeteries were usually arranged in a grid-like pattern. Bodies were of-

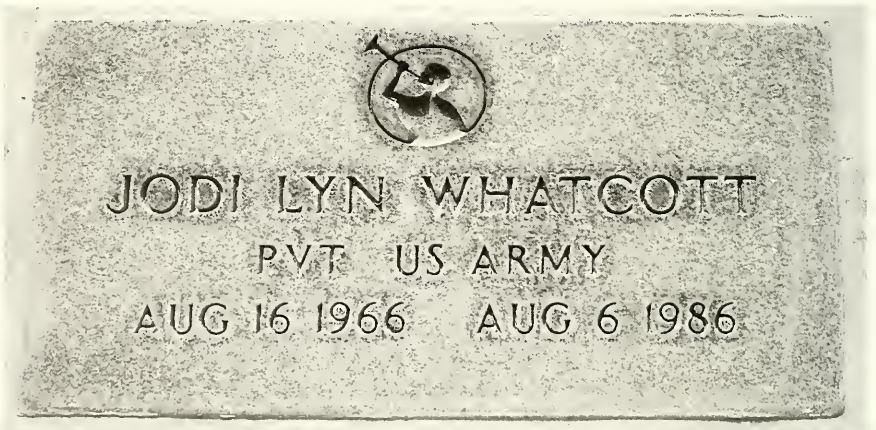


Fig. 4. Military marker with image of the angel Moroni.
Provo City Cemetery, Provo, Utah.

ten buried with the heads pointed toward the West so that on resurrection morning the awakened would rise and face toward the East. Though some temple stones can be found in the old cemeteries, they are not common. Most gravestones found there are relatively simple and have a variety of symbols on them, but there never was a wide use of familiar Mormon icons (all-seeing eye, beehive, Book of Mormon [although see Fig. 5 for a contemporary example], seagull, sego lily) on gravemarkers. Occasionally, on older stones – or their modern replacements – verbal references to the emigrant experience, along with appropriate visual symbols (handcarts, pioneer wagons, etc.) are prominently featured (e.g., Figs. 6 and 16). For the most part, however, the symbols on the older stones have been similar to those common in the United States as a whole at that time: rose, open book, cornucopia, wheat sheaf, tree of life, oak cluster, lamb, willow tree, and most particularly, the clasped hands motif. The depiction of the angel Moroni, discussed earlier in connection

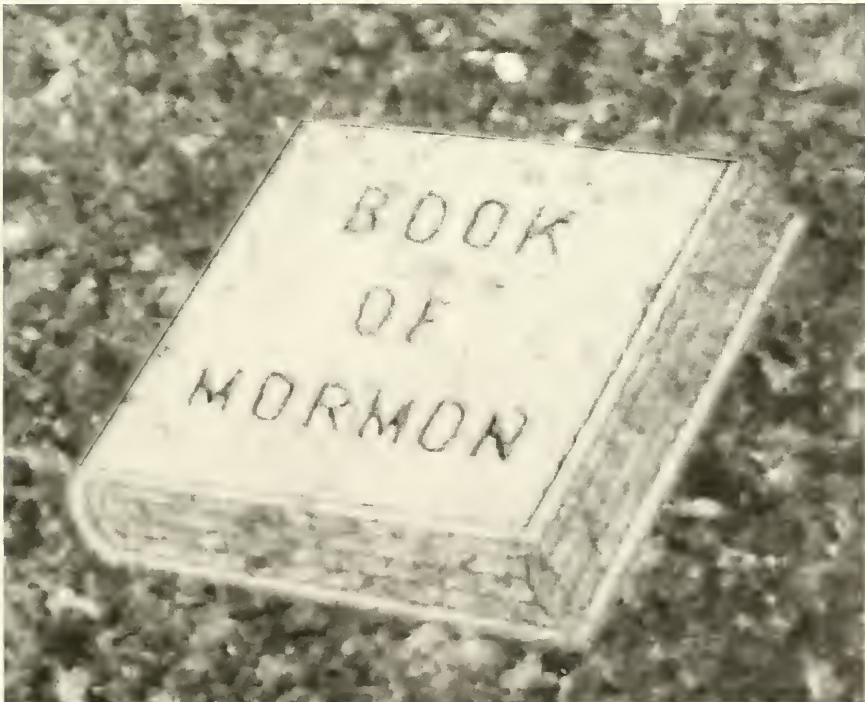


Fig. 5. Book of Mormon depicted on contemporary marker.
Idlewild Cemetery, Hood River, Oregon.

with military markers, deserves special mention. According to one contemporary scholar:

Victorian funeral art in the United States often includes a side view of an angel flying, although such are not found on Mormon gravestones. Pictures of the angel Moroni figure used on the Nauvoo Temple show a statue carved in a horizontal flying position [e.g., see Fig. 7] almost identical to those found on headstones of the time. Don F. Colvin, "Nauvoo Temple" in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1001-3, claims that this horizontal position was 'doubtless inspired by the prophecy in Rev. 14: 6-7.' This prophecy refers to another angel flying in heaven and may well be the origin of the idea of an angel flying, but the angel Moroni's remarkable similarity to the angel Gabriel (presumably ... and angel at least) on headstones of the region may be an equally likely source for the inspiration of the artist who created the angel on the temple. Completion of the Salt Lake Temple more than fifty years later was associated with adoption of a very different view of the angel Moroni, who now appears in a standing position blowing his trump [e.g., see Fig. 8].²

Mormon Temple Stones

Before 1869 and the arrival of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory Point in Utah, gravestones were locally made and were very simple. After that time, obelisks, urns, and other more complex markers became



Fig. 6. Pioneer wagon with LDS and emigrant data. Wellsville Cemetery, Wellsville, Utah.

popular. Richard H. Jackson, a Professor of Geography at Brigham Young University, has stated that "... with the completion of the St. George Temple in 1877, temples began to be used as a symbol on Mormon gravestones. Dedication of the Manti Temple in 1888 augmented the use of temples on headstones in the southern and central Utah areas."³

Folklorist Carol Edison maintains that "gravestones featuring an image of a Mormon temple . . . began to appear about 1910" and that "the first temple stones displayed a recognizable Salt Lake Temple, but that for the next fifty years, aside from an occasional metal plaque, the image of the temple was not commonly used on gravestones."⁴ Jackson, in a discussion concerning the predominance of the Salt Lake Temple on early stones, suggested that:

Not until the last half of the twentieth century did customizing headstones with the temple begin to dominate [Mormon] gravestone art. Early stonemasons used patterns available in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, patterns that depicted traditional Christian funerary art. The early use of the temple as a symbol on headstones is relatively rare, and each depiction of the temple is very individualistic.⁵

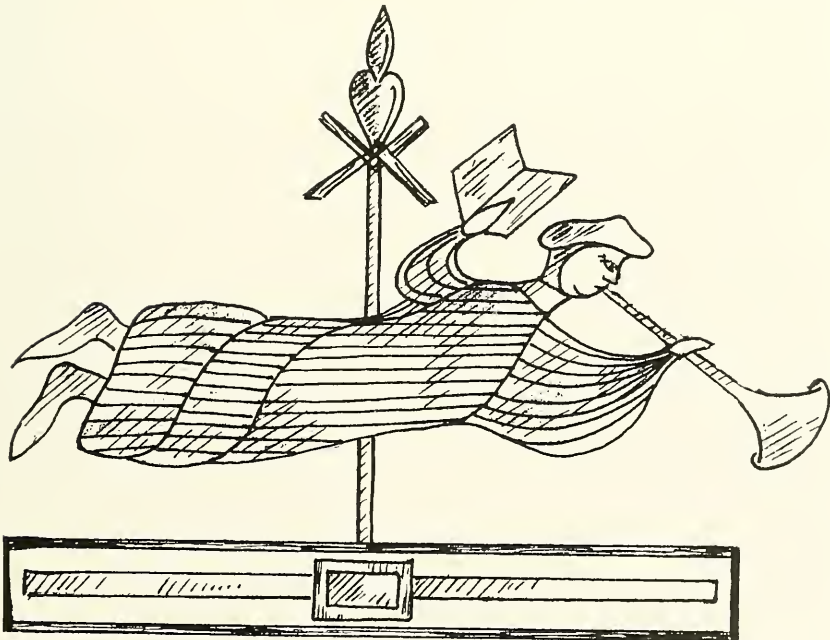


Fig. 7. Image of the angel Moroni as used atop original Nauvoo Temple.



Fig. 8. Image of the angel Moroni as used atop Salt Lake City and other LDS temples.

Early travel in rural southern Utah was difficult, and it was often easier to take a train to the temple in Salt Lake City than to attempt travel to St. George or Manti over unpredictable roads. Therefore, until the road improvements of the mid-Twentieth Century, many if not most Utah Mormons went to the Salt Lake Temple for their ordinances and sealings. Though there are not many temple stones from the Nineteenth Century and early Twentieth, the most common temple among those depicted is the Salt Lake Temple.

In the present era, memorialization has become a sensitive part of a cemetery stone maker's (or memorialist's) repertoire of skills. In an interview with Ryan Walker, a third generation memorialist in Provo, Utah, I was told that for several decades stones with a temple motif have been, by far, the most popular style in the Utah County region. Georgia Grey is the most popular granite, and there are few requests, he said, for unusual motifs or even epitaphs.⁶ When the family of a deceased person approaches a manufacturer of gravestones, it is usually at an emotional time, and it is often with concern about the cost and durability of the marker to be designed or chosen. The memorialist sometimes has a difficult task in helping the bereaved to represent and honor their dead appropriately. On some occasions it takes several months for a family to decide exactly what way is best to memorialize their loved one. Mr. Walker said people making the decision often spend a long time looking at pictures of stones which represent simple to elaborate styles and also vary widely in cost. For the most part, he said, they choose simple, durable stones and generally avoid any custom ordering.

Some, however, do design very personal stones, such as one I saw in Ephraim, Utah. On one side of that granite marker were the names of the deceased couple and the Salt Lake Temple and a group of dates. On the other side, the couple was pictured dancing and there was a picture of a man on a horse in one corner. In an entirely different vein, there is a stone in the Provo City Cemetery, literally a large, uncarved rock. The story associated with the rock is that a farmer, who had spent much of his life picking stones from his fields, wanted to be memorialized with one of his own stones.

As regards religious symbolism, one scholar has noted:

Symbols form bridges between the material experiences of the senses and that which lies or reaches beyond. . . . Religious symbols express a divine or heavenly reality through things taken from a created world. They possess a profound capacity to reveal the meaning of something that outstrips our capacity to frame neatly in words.⁷

Not unlike belief systems around the world, the Latter-day Saints have many symbols that extract meaning from a variety of relationships. The beehive, an ubiquitous symbol in the state of Utah (Brigham Young's main home in Salt Lake City was named "The Beehive House"), can represent industry, harmony, order, and/or frugality. It appears occasionally on gravestones but was never used frequently. The clasped hand motif is more common in Utah and Idaho stones, but it is also seen in cemeteries across the United States. There is another, more specific application, however. The Mormons are a hand-shaking people, and the clasped hands



Fig. 9. St. George Temple with clasped hands motif.
Mountain View Cemetery, Beaver, Utah.

on their gravestones (Fig. 9) can represent covenant-making, wholeness, completion, and even perfection. The “All Seeing Eye” appears on some early stones, and it is a representation of an all-seeing/all-knowing God and a reminder to behave wisely at all times. Also, many markers are partially covered with a graceful, usually draped, veil. The veil represents separation and can be interpreted many ways: possibly it represents detachment of the spirit from the body, the sacred divided from the profane, truth veiled against confusion, or perhaps it delineates the afterlife from mortal existence.

It is common to see the words “Families are forever” carved upon Mormon tombstones (Fig. 10). Again, this is representative of the Mormon belief that the family unit extends into the eternities. Ancient legacies and connections are believed to someday be restored, and huge family assemblies will become almost like nations unto themselves. When vicarious work for deceased spirits is performed, they are the same as ordinances for the living: baptism, confirmation, initiatory, endowment,



Fig. 10. Salt Lake City Temple with “Families are forever” inscription. Elgin Cemetery, Green River, Utah.

and sealing. "In the temple," Richard G. Oman has stated, "we are taught how we should live."⁸ And it is through the representations of the temple on gravestones that the deceased intend to communicate to posterity that they have attempted to live as they were taught.

There are also cemetery stones in Utah that represent the heritage of converts to the church. It is difficult to abandon ancient beliefs and traditions, and converts are encouraged to treasure and preserve the beauty of their own heritage. Symbols of their past traditions and belief systems are used in some contemporary memorialization. At the East Lawn Cemetery, in Provo, Utah, there are two particularly interesting stones which represent earlier traditions of converts. On one stone, ancient Asian calligraphy is combined with the graceful flying seagulls of Utah. The other memorial stone, elaborately engraved, represents a Jewish convert's desire to express his roots as well as his belief in the restored gospel. On the upper left the stone says "Judaism is the foundation," on the upper right,



Fig. 11. Logan Temple. Logan City Cemetery, Logan, Utah.

“Mormonism is the continuation.” Hebrew lettering above the symbol of the Menorah reads: “Holiness to the Lord.” The Menorah itself has the names of each of the deceased man’s children. The date of his marriage ordinance, performed in the temple, is also engraved on the large granite tombstone.

As I traveled around the state of Utah and visited cemeteries, I found many, many temple stones, mostly dating from the 1960s onwards. The style became more popular as time and the diamond point pneumatic drill technique advanced and became more accurate. I have seen various temples represented: Salt Lake (Figs. 1 and 10), St. George (Figs. 3



Fig. 12. Idaho Falls Temple. Ely Cemetery, Ely, Nevada.

and 9), Logan (Figs. 11 and 16), Manti (Fig. 2), Alberta, Hawaii, Idaho Falls (Fig. 12), Los Angeles (Fig. 13), Provo (Fig. 14), Arizona (Fig. 15), and Odgen, and I know there are others. The temple most represented, from Smithfield in the north to St. George in the south, is the Salt Lake Temple.

Not unlike the ordinances performed on the inside, the exterior of temples of the Latter-day Saints are richly symbolic. For instance, the Salt Lake Temple has three towers in the east and three towers in the west. The east towers are higher and represent the Melchizedek Priesthood: those offices are led by the President of the Church, Gordon B. Hinckley, and his two counselors. The west towers are not as high, and they represent the Aaronic Priesthood: those offices are held by the Presiding Bishop and his two counselors.⁹ The Salt Lake Temple also features replicas of the Big Dipper (Ursa Major) on the west central tower and also the North Star. There are other heavenly bodies, including the moon, sun, and stars, carved into granite on the outside of the Salt Lake Temple. I did see one stone with a sun but I could find no cemetery stones with the moon or stars represented.

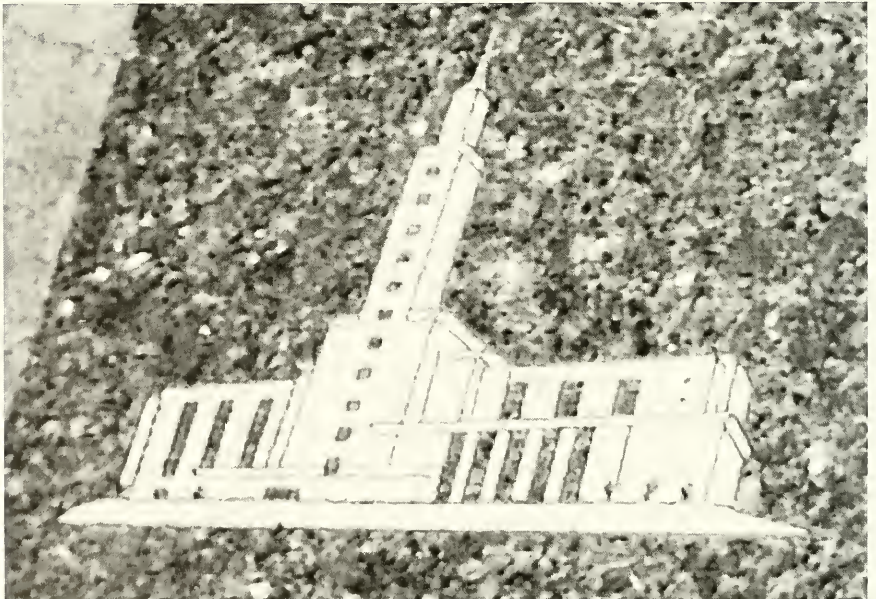


Fig. 13. Los Angeles Temple.
Idlewild Cemetery, Hood River, Oregon.

Boyd K. Packer, one of the leaders of the church, has stated:

Much of the teaching relating to the deeper spiritual things in the Church, particularly in the temple, is symbolic. We use the word *keys* in a symbolic way. Here the keys of priesthood authority represent the limits of the power extended from beyond the veil to mortal man to act in the name of God upon the earth. The words *seal* and *keys* and *priesthood* are closely linked together ...¹⁰

Mircea Eliade has further suggested that the temple represents the *axis mundi*, the center of the world around which the earth pivots.¹¹ The temple is thus a place where Mormons believe that heaven and earth, in a symbolic sense, meet. The temple is a place where Mormons go for sanctuary, and the replication of a temple on the cemetery stone also represents a presence of peace and an absence of earthly anxiety. James E. Faust, another Church leader, has stated that "... Our temples provide a sanctuary where we may go to lay aside many of the anxieties of the world. Our temples are places of peace and tranquillity. In these hallowed sanc-

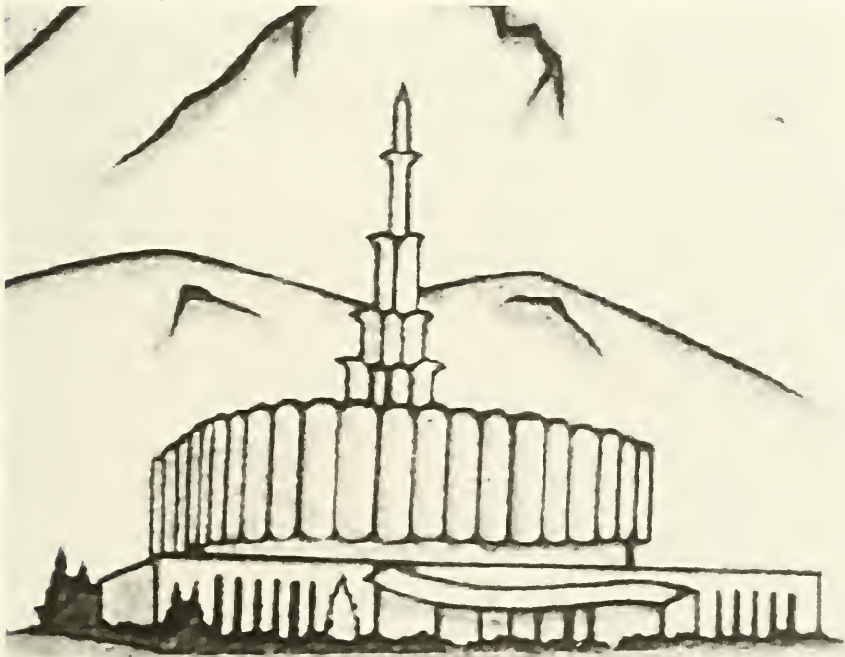


Fig. 14. Provo Temple. Logan City Cemetery, Logan, Utah.

tuaries God ‘healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds’” (Psalms 147:3).¹²

Architectural designs of the temples have changed over course of the Twentieth Century:

As design concepts and building technologies changed, so did the designs of Latter-day temples. The most noticeable difference was the absence of any towers or spires [in temples built in the early Twentieth Century], a design feature reintroduced in mid-20th Century temples ... today’s temples continue to utilize the finest in new materials and technologies as they become available.

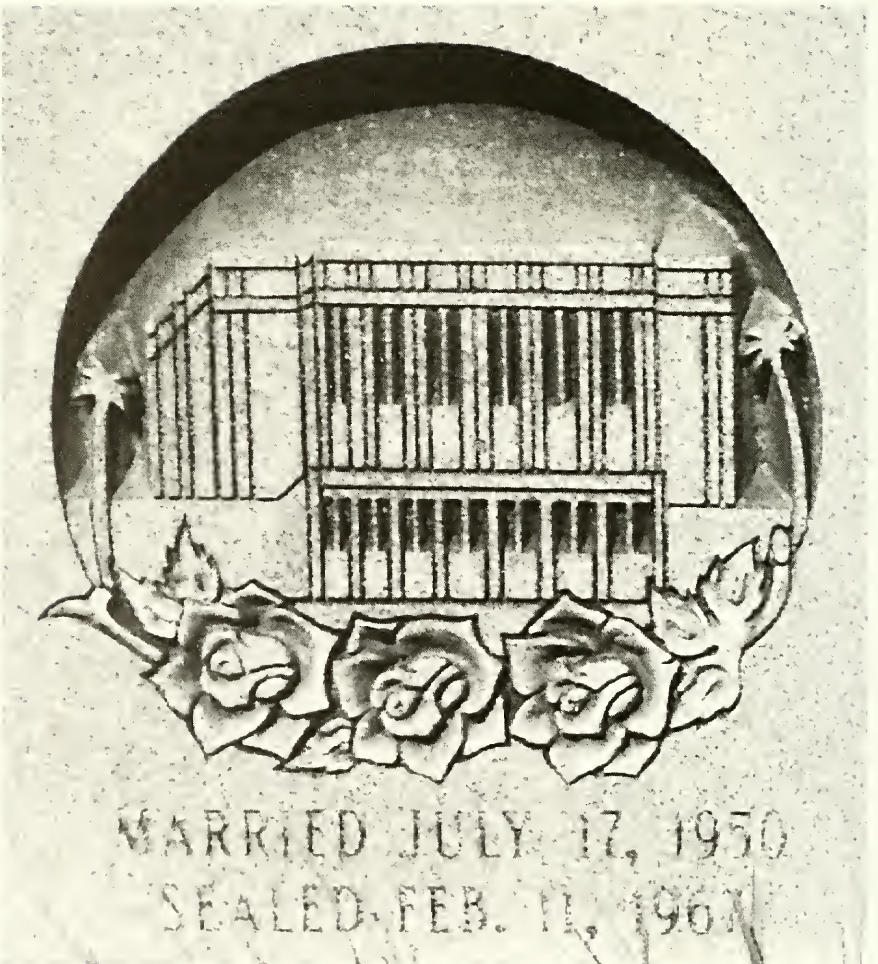


Fig. 15. Mesa (Arizona) Temple. Kanab Cemetery, Kanab, Utah.

Building materials used in recent temples include reinforced concrete, steel superstructures, precast concrete panels, and precast fiberglass for decorative details. In the 1960s escalators and elevators were early signs of new technology. Today new electronic systems for the endowment presentation are used, and computers prepare ordinance materials, record completed ordinances, and otherwise simplify record keeping.¹³

Further, many small buildings are being adapted for use as temples because of the rapid growth of the Church and the need for the membership to attend local temples.

Continuing Belief

Temple symbols on new cemetery stones of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will probably continue long into the future. Rodney Stark, a sociologist from the University of Washington, has done studies of Mormon growth from the first six members in 1830 to 4,638,000 members in 1980. Stark (non-LDS) has stated that "... it wasn't patterns of past Mormon growth that drew so much attention. . . . What stirred up interest (and controversy) was my attempt to project Mormon growth, world wide, for the next century: 1980-2080."¹⁴ He suggests that if the Church continues to grow as it has in the past, by 2080 his high estimate is a membership of 267,452,000 and a low estimate of 63,939,000. As stated earlier, the current membership of the Church stands at around 11,000,000.

The presence of temple stones in cemeteries around the world represent a believing people who want to boldly testify to their posterity, and to those who happen by their grave, that there is eternal significance in their religion. These temple symbols in stone represent a view toward eternity not unlike the mirrors that hang on opposite walls of the sealing rooms in the temples. "The stunning effect produced by these mirrors," it has been noted, "is a reflection that seems to go on endlessly in both directions."¹⁵ The mirrors, and the iconographical replications of the temple on Mormon gravestones (Fig. 16), are reminders of the eternal goals of this deeply spiritual and symbolic faith.



Fig. 16. Logan Temple and pioneer wagon.
Wellsville Cemetery, Wellsville, Utah.

NOTES

All photographs in this essay are by Richard E. Meyer. The drawings in Figs. 7 and 8 are by the author.

1. See George H. Schoemaker, "The Shift from Artist to Consumer: Changes in Mormon Tombstone Art in Utah," in *The Old Traditional Way of Life: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Roberts*, ed. Robert E. Walls and George H. Schoemaker (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 130-145; and "Acculturation and Transformation of Salt Lake Temple Symbols in Mormon Tombstone Art, *Markers IX* (1992), 197-213. See also Carol Edison, "The Gravestones of Parowan," *Folklore Society of Utah Newsletter* 17 (1983), 1; "Motorcycles, Guitars, and Bucking Broncs: Twentieth-Century Gravestones in Southeastern Idaho," in *Idaho Folklife: Homesteads to Headstones*, ed. Louis W. Attebery (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1985), 184-189; "Custom-Made Gravestones in Early Salt Lake City: The Work of Four English Stonecarvers," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988), 310-330; and "Mormon Gravestones: A Folk Expression of Identity and Belief," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (1989), 88-94. See as well Austin E. Fife and Alta Fife, "Gravestone Imagery," in *Utah Folk Art*, ed. Hal Cannon (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980); and "Western Gravestones," in *Exploring Western Americana*, ed. Alta Fife (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1988). Also of interest are Hal Cannon, *The Grand Beehive* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1980); Keith Cunningham, "Navaho, Morman, Zuni Graves: Navajo, Mormon, Zuni Ways," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989), 197-215; and Richard C. Poulsen, *The Pure Experience of Order: Essays on the Symbolic in the Folk Material Culture of Western America* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).
2. Richard H. Jackson, "Mormon Cemeteries: History in Stone," in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 405-498.
3. *Ibid.*, 412.
4. Edison, "Mormon Gravestones: A Folk Expression of Identity and Belief," 90.
5. Jackson, "Mormon Cemeteries: History in Stone," 412.
6. Ryan Walker. Personal Interview. Provo, Utah. 15 January 1997.
7. Steven Epperson, "Symbolic Stones and the Salt Lake Temple," unpublished paper quoted by Richard G. Oman in "Exterior Symbolism of the Salt Lake Temple: Reflecting the Faith That Called the Place into Being," *Brigham Young University Studies: A Multidisciplinary Latter-Day Saint Journal* (1996-97), 7-68.
8. Oman, "Exterior Symbolism of the Salt Lake Temple," 28.
9. *Ibid.*, 15.
10. Boyd K. Packer, "Temple Blessings: On Earth And In Eternity," in *The Ensign of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (June, 1997), 7-8, and *Ensign* (February, 1995), 34.

11. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return; or, Cosmos and History*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series XLVI (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 12.
12. James E. Faust, "Temple Blessings: On Earth And In Eternity," in *The Ensign of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (June, 1997), 7-8, and *Ensign* (May, 1992), 7.
13. Brad Westwood, "Houses of the Lord," in *The Ensign of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (June, 1997), 9-17.
14. Rodney Stark, "So Far, So Good: A Brief Assessment of Mormon Membership Projections," in *Review of Religious Research* (December, 1996), 175-178.
15. Paul Thomas Smith and Matthew B. Brown, *Symbols in Stone: Symbolism on the Early Temples of the Restoration* (American Fork, Utah, 1997), 173.

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

Richard E. Meyer

This annual feature of *Markers*, inaugurated in 1995, is intended to serve as an ongoing, working bibliography of relevant scholarship in the interdisciplinary field which is ever more consistently coming to be known as Cemetery and Gravemarker Studies. Categorized entries, listed in alphabetical order by author, consist to a large extent of books and pamphlets and of articles found within scholarly journals: excluded are materials found in newspapers, popular magazines, and trade journals (though, as any researcher knows, valuable information can sometimes be gleaned from these sources), as well as the majority of genealogical publications (there are exceptions in instances where the publication is deemed to be of value to researchers beyond a strictly local level) and cemetery "readings," book reviews, electronic resources (e.g., World Wide Web sites), and irretrievably non-scholarly books (i.e., things along the order of the recently published, "revised" edition of a book with the grotesque title, *The Definitive Guide to Underground Humor: Quaint Quotes about Death, Funny Funeral Home Stories, and Hilarious Headstone Epitaphs*). Revised or subsequent editions of previously published works are noted. Beginning with *Markers XIV*, the listing has included a much larger selection of relevant foreign language materials in the field, formal master's- and doctoral-level theses and dissertations (important research often not published in the traditional manner but nonetheless frequently obtainable through interlibrary loan), and, upon occasion, valuable unpublished typescripts on deposit in accessible locations. In addition, from *Markers XVI* onwards, it has included publications on war, holocaust, and disaster memorials and monuments (their essential function as cenotaphs relating them to the general field of gravemarkers), as well as formal papers presented at academic conferences which are relevant to the major themes covered by this bibliography. Commencing with *Markers XVIII*, entries have been separated into several large categories representing basic types of publication or other presentation. Commencing with *Markers XIX*, a new category has been added for videotaped material.

With its debut in *Markers XII*, "The Year's Work" attempted to fill gaps in existing bibliographic resources by actually covering the year's 1990 through 1994 (for work prior to 1990, readers are advised to consult

the bibliographic listings found at the conclusion of my *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, first published in 1989 by UMI Research Press and reissued in 1992 by Utah State University Press). This same format was utilized in *Markers XIII* and again in *Markers XIV*, adding in each instance previously unreported work from 1990 onwards as well as the year just completed. Although a few references from the 1990-1995 period have undoubtedly gone unnoticed, it may at this point be safely assumed that the bibliographic record covering these years is relatively complete. Starting with *Markers XV*, therefore, "The Year's Work" has restricted itself to the two years immediately preceding the journal's annual publication date (thus, in this instance, the years 2001 and 2002): previously reported work from the earlier of these two years will not be repeated (unless the original publication date was in error). To help facilitate this ongoing process, the editor continues to welcome addenda from readers (*complete* bibliographic citations, please) for inclusion in future editions. Although every effort is made to insure accuracy in these listings, the occasional error or omission may occur, for which apologies are sincerely offered. For reviews of gravestone- and cemetery-specific books and other materials, the reader is invited to consult the various issues of the Association for Gravestone Studies' *AGS Quarterly*.

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- Ashurst, Nicola. "Graffiti Removal and Management." Conference on the Care and Conservation of War Memorials." London, England, January 31, 2001.
- Austin, Ryan F. "Neighborhoods and Necro-Geography: Spatial Connections in a Rural 19th-Century Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Baird, Scott. "Gravemarkers vs. Burial Records: Grieving Families vs. Sleepy Clerks." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Benton-Short, Lisa M. "The Brawl Over the Mall: Politics, Parks and the World War II Memorial." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- Bishir, Catherine. "'And the Women Win': Contingency, Conflict and the North Carolina Confederate Monument." Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Richmond, VA, April 17-21, 2002.
- Bodaya, Mary Ann. "Customs and Celebrations: Life in the Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Brackner, Joey. "Alabama's 'Day of the Dead': Decoration Day and the Changing Cemetery Landscape." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Bremborg, Anna D. "The Dead Body, Public Spaces, and the Professionalism of Swedish Funeral Directors." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Brown, Ian W. "Aspects of Life Revealed in Death: A Survey of Cemeteries in Northern Tuscaloosa County, Alabama." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Buckland, J. Alexander. "Conservation of Broken and Crumbling Old Gravestones." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.

- Byrd, Caroline. "Links to the Dead: A Hispanic Cemetery – I." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Calidonna, Frank. "Cemeteries, Gravestones, and Kids: Teachable Moments." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Carden, Pam. "Both Sides of the Coffin: Spatial Control and the Discourse of 'Dead'." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Cartier, Robert R., and Morgan, Christopher. "The Kell Cemetery: An Historic Cemetery in San Jose." Annual Meeting of the Society for California Archaeology, Modesto, CA, March 23-25, 2001.
- Cassaniti, Jarrett F. "American Ways of Death." Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Hartford, CT, March 29-31, 2001.
- Chapman, C. Thomas. "The Madison Family Cemetery at Montpelier: A Founding Father's Final Resting Place." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Ciregna, Elise Madeline. "From Artisan to Artist: America's Garden Cemeteries and Early American Sculptors, 1825-1875." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Clarke, Anthony O. "The Cult of the Dead in Old Europe and Related Sacred Space in Portugal." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- Coletta, Charles A., Jr. "Lakeview Cemetery in the Millennium." Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Popular Culture / American Culture Association, Pittsburgh, PA, November 1-3, 2002.
- Collison, Gary. "Pennsylvania German Culture in Transition: Gravestones in Berks, Lebanon, and Schuylkill Counties, 1750-1850." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- _____. "They Bury Horses, Don't They?" Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Popular Culture / American Culture Association, Pittsburgh, PA, November 1-3, 2002.
- Cooley, Francis Rexford. "A Wit and a Merchant: The Gravemarkers of Lemuel Hopkins and Jeremiah Wadsworth." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Corbett, Joyce. "The 'Merry Cemetery' of Sarpanta, Romania: Folk Expression, Folk Phenomenon." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.

- Coyle, Kathy, and Krause, Kari. "Providing an Historical Context for Archaeological Investigations at the Former Locations of the Celeste Plantation and the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex (16IV49), Iberville Parish, Louisiana." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Cutting, Rose Marie. "Links to the Dead: A Hispanic Cemetery – II." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Davies, Douglas. "Locating Hope: The Dynamics of Memorial Sites." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Davies, Penelope J.E. "Creating Memory Museums: Dynamics and Manipulation in Roman Republican Tombs." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- de Giorgio, Joshua, and Mytum, Harold. "Colonist and Native in the Mediterranean: Commemorative Practices in Gibraltar and Malta." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Desmond, Jane. "On the Margins of Death: Pet Cemeteries and Mourning Practices." Annual Conference of the International Society for Anthrozoology, London, England, August 20-21, 2002.
- Donahue, Katherine C. "Firemen and Bond Traders: Commemoration and the Creation of Heroes after September 11, 2001." Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Bridgewater, MA, March 14-16, 2002.
- Edge, Kay. "The Architecture of Atonement, the Space of Repentance." Conference – "Apologies: Mourning the Past and Ameliorating the Future," Claremont, CA, February 8-10, 2002.
- Edgette, J. Joseph. "Back to 'Titanic': Death Sites of Her Rich and Famous." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- _____. "Floaters from 'Titanic': Anatomy of their Recovery and Documentation Process." Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Rochester, NY, October 16-20, 2002.
- _____. "Ninety Years Later: The Untold Story of Titanic's Victims." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Emke, Ivan, and Hunt, Barb. "'Attention must be paid...': An Artist and a Sociologist Consider Rituals of Remembrance." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Erasmio, Mario. "The Poetics of Latin Epitaphs." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Fahey, Kathy. "How to Beautify Your Cemetery Lot: Historic Landscape Furnishings at Mount Auburn Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.

- Farbes, Kwali. "Past Potter's Field to Cemeteries in the 'Dins and Shanties of the Suburbs': Critical Regionalism, Community, and 19th Century Philadelphia." Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Rochester, NY, October 16-20, 2002.
- Fenster, Tovi. "Belonging, Memory and Spatial Planning in Israel." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- Flannery, Colleen D. "Let No (Tomb)Stone Go Unturned: Unearthing the Roots and Legacy of Savannah's Capt. John Flannery." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Futch-Nash, Jennifer. "Death in the Garden: Bonaventure Cemetery and the Rural Cemetery Movement." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Gabel, Laurel K. "First Person Narratives of Death, Burial, and Memorialization in Colonial New England." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- _____. "Fraternal Emblems and Grave Markers." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Gale, Christopher. "Pacemaker Explosions at Crematoria." Annual Conference of the Cremation Society of Great Britain, Bournemouth, England, July 11-13, 2001.
- Galley, Janet McShane. "'If You Lost Everything You Loved the Most in this World': Myths and Realities of Laurel Hill's 'Mother and Twins' Monument." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- George, David R., and Vanwert, Kristin. "Archaeological Testing and Evaluation of the Brazier Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex (16IV49), Iberville Parish, Louisiana." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Godwin, Luke, *et al.* "Dating of Burial Practices in Central Queensland: Continuity and Its Implications for Native Title." Australian Archaeological Association Annual Conference, Hervey Bay, Queensland, Australia, December 6-8, 2001.
- Goodall, Maggie. "The Friends of War Memorials and Its Work." Conference on the Care and Conservation of War Memorials, London, England, January 31, 2001.
- Gordon, Bill. "Coffin Plates: For the Dead or for the Living?" Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Gorman, Rebecca. "Religious Contrasts in Mortuary Behavior and Cultural Ideology of Nineteenth Century Cemeteries in St. Augustine, Florida." Annual Conference of National Collegiate Honors Council, Salt Lake City, UT, October 30 - November 3, 2002.
- Grainger, Hilary J. "Building the Gates to Elysium: The Architecture of Post-War British Crematoria." Annual Conference of the Cremation Society of Great Britain, Torquay, England, July 10-12, 2002.

- Graves, Thomas E. "Remembering the Unknown: Rural Cemeteries in Central Kentucky." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Greenfield, Marianne. "Gravestones, Cemeteries, and Burial Customs of Iceland." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Groce, W. Todd. "Historic Cemeteries of the South: A Photographic Tour." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Hailey, Tommy Ike. "Snatched from the Brink of Obscurity: A Comparative Geophysical Survey of the Sandiferd Cemetery, a Rural 19th-Century Burial Site in North-Central Louisiana." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Hall, Danielle. "Cemeteries and Grave Markers as Historical Documents." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Hannibal, Joseph T., *et al.* "Why are There So Many Marble Gravestones in the Midwest?: Documenting the Rise and Fall of Marble Use in Northeastern Ohio Cemeteries." Joint Annual Meeting of the North-Central and Southeastern Sections of the Geological Society of America, Lexington, KY, April 3-5, 2002.
- Hannon, Thomas. "Mistakes in Stone: Reflections of Illiteracy in Frontier Era Pennsylvania," Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Hanson, Margery. "The Hour of Death and the Victorian Child." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal." York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Harrington, Susan J. "A Grave Responsibility: Publishing Cemetery Information on the Web or in Print." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Hecht, Lea. "A Walk Through the Cemeteries of Elmira, Concord, and Salem." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Heywood, Janet. "By Their Works You Will Know Them: Professions and Passions on Gravestones." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- _____. "Eternal Images – Stereoviews of Cemeteries." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Hite, Gerron. "Historic Buildings, Historic Cemeteries: Similar Materials and Problems." Annual Meeting of the Texas Historical Association, Houston, TX, March 1-3, 2001.
- Hobbs, June Hadden. "Angels in the Home, Angels in the Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.

- _____. "The Cowboy Cemetery of Kenton, Oklahoma." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Hodge, Christina J. "Meaningful Ambivalence: Mimicry and Appropriation in Late 17th- and Early 18th-Century Native Christian Burials in Southeastern New England." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Howell, Ann Chandler. "Funerary Bronze Portraits of Joseph A. Bailly." Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Popular Culture / American Culture Association, Pittsburgh, PA, November 1-3, 2002.
- Hughes, Geoffrey. "Towards a Practice Theory of Salem's [NC] Gravestones." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Hughes, Michelle A. "St. Phillip's Graveyard [Salem, NC] as a Reflection of an Ideology of Slavery." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Hummer, Mark A. "The Ecclesiastic Orientation of Churches and Cemeteries in Late Nineteenth Century Rural Southwestern Ontario." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- Hunt, Barb. "Roadside Memorials in Newfoundland: Maintaining 'Living' Links with the Dead." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Ingham, Karen. "Uncanny Tomb of Memory." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Ireland, Tracy, and Mackay, Richard. "The Randwick Destitute Children's Asylum Cemetery, Sydney: Issues Arising from the Excavation and Re-Burial of Nineteenth Century Non-Indigenous Human Remains. Annual Conference of the Australian Archaeological Association, Townsville, Queensland, Australia, November 17-22, 2002.
- Katen, Brian. "Evolution of the Confederate Memorials in America's National Military Parks." Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Richmond, VA, April 17-21, 2002.
- Kavadias, Dionisious K. "Trinity Cemetery: The Living Necropolis." Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Wilmington, DE, October 17-20, 2002.
- Kazmier, Lisa. "A Symbolic Space: Rural Myth, The Great War, and the Growth of Cremation." Annual Conference of the Cremation Society of Great Britain, Bournemouth, England, July 11-13, 2001.
- Kennedy, Linda. "Markers, Carvers, and Cast Iron of Columbus, Georgia's Linwood Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.

- Krueger, Vanessa. "Mortuary Archaeology and Sociopolitical Boundaries: An Examination of the Maya Burials at Copán, Honduras." Australian Archaeological Association Annual Conference, Hervey Bay, Queensland, Australia, December 6-8, 2002.
- Kunesh, Tom. "A New Old Thing: The Slot & Tab Tombs of Northeast Georgia." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Lawrence, John W., Schopp, Paul W., and Lore, Robert. "Raritan-in-the-Hills: Salvage Archaeology of a Pre-Revolutionary War German Lutheran Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Leader, Jonathan M., and Marcil, Valerie. "The Buzzard Family Cemetery: Sealed for Eternity." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Leith, Ian. "Monumental Art: A Context." Conference on the Care and Conservation of War Memorials, London, England, January 31, 2001.
- Leonard, Angela M. "Death and Memory at African Slave Gravesites." Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Popular Culture / American Culture Association, Pittsburgh, PA, November 1-3, 2002.
- Lesniak, Matthew, and Philips, Sharon M. "Forgotten in Life, Forgotten in Death: Rediscovering an Almshouse Cemetery in Albany, New York." Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Wilmington, DE, October 17-20, 2002.
- Leveillee, Adam. "Discovery and Rediscovery of a Remnant 17th Century Narragansett Burial Ground in Warwick, Rhode Island." Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Hartford, CT, March 29-31, 2001.
- Liebens, Johann. "Mapping and Managing a Historic Cemetery with the Help of a Geographic Information System." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Linton, Anna. "German Lutheran Funeral Verse for Bereaved Parents in the Seventeenth Century." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Loran, Shelby. "Reconstructing Cemetery History at Akwesane." Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Bridgewater, MA, March 14-16, 2002.
- Macaya, Maria. "Nadar and Death in Nineteenth Century Paris." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Malloy, Brenda. "Identification of Children in Stone." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Malloy, Thomas A. "What Was Killing the Children in Agrarian New England." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.

- Marchant, Charles. "'Stones and Bones': Using a Cemetery as an Educational Resource." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- McCarthy, John P. "African-Influenced Burial Practices: Material Expressions of 'Magic' and 'Religion' in African-American Spiritual Life." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Meli, Frederick. "Emergency Grave Site Conservation." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Meyer, Richard E. "Oradour-sur-Glâne: A Site of Memory in Southern France." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Miller, Hanna. "An Investigation of Mexican-American Graveyards in Santa Cruz County, Arizona." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Mitchell, Michael J. "The War Between the States: Confederate Burial Customs." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Murray, Lisa. "'A Place of Festive or Pensive Resort': The Nineteenth Century Cemetery as a Public and Private Space." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Mytum, Harold. "From Grave to Memorial: Similarity and Difference Below and Above Ground." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Nance, Cindy Ann. "Razing the Dead: Cemetery Abandonment and Changing Burial Traditions." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- Newton, Jennifer I.M. "Death at Ipiutak." Annual Meeting of the Alaska Anthropological Association, Anchorage, AK, April 4-6, 2002.
- Olsen, Susan. "The Final Break of the Jazz Greats of New York." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Palmer, Mark H. "A Fragment of Kiowa Memory Set in Stone: Interpreting the Monument at Cutthroat Mountain." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- Pantzer, Denise. "An Index of Native American Burials in New Hampshire." Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Bridgewater, MA, March 14-16, 2002.
- Paraskevas, Cornelia. "Prestige Assignments: A Comparison Between Greek Cemeteries and Their U.S. Counterparts." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.

- Pate, F. Donald, Owen, Tim, and Lawson, Ewan. "AMS Radiocarbon Dating of Bone Collagen: Establishing a Chronology for the Swanport Aboriginal Burial Ground, South Australia." Annual Conference of the Australian Archaeological Association, Townsville, Queensland, Australia, November 17-22, 2002.
- Patrick, Maureen. "'Gone from Our Home But Not from Our Hearts': Nineteenth Century Epitaphs from Selected Florida Rural Cemeteries." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Pelletier, J.B., Lowthert, William. "Remote Sensing of the Brazier Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex (16IV49), Iberville Parish, Louisiana." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Pfeiffer, Maria Watson. "San Antonio's Old City Cemeteries: The Evolution of Powder House Hill from Spanish Colonial Lookout to National Register District." Annual Meeting of the Texas State Historical Association, Houston, TX, March 1-3, 2001.
- Poston, Jonathan H. "Commemorating a Broader and More Selective Past: Charleston Monuments in the Post-Bellum Period." Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Richmond, VA, April 17-21, 2002.
- _____. "The Material Culture of Death in Early Charleston: Tombs, Vaults, and Markers in Charleston Burial Grounds, 1680-1830." Annual Meeting of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, Williamsburg, VA, May 18, 2002, and Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Prangnell, Jon, Smith, Tam, and Rains, Kevin. "University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit's Salvage of the North Brisbane Burial Ground." Australian Archaeological Association Annual Conference, Hervey Bay, Queensland, Australia, December 6-8, 2001.
- Pravisan, Roberto L. "Reclaiming Death As Part of Life: Rediscovering the Wholeness of the Funeral Process." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Rainville, L. "Relicts, Amiable Wives, and Tender Mothers: Critiquing the Accuracy of the 'Cult of Domesticity' as Illustrated on 18th- and 19th-C. American Gravestones." Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, LA, November 20-24, 2002.
- Ramsay, Ronald. "The Architectural Legacy of Life and Death on the Northern Great Plains." Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Richmond, VA, April 17-21, 2002.
- Rice, Julie A. "Battling the Forces of 'Deep Regret': Contemporary Efforts at Memorializing Wounded Knee." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- Richman, Jeff. "The Monumental Bronze Company's Cast Zinc at Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.

- Riley, Sheila. "Southern Cemetery Highlights." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Riordan, Timothy B. "'Carry Me to Yon Kirk Yard': Changes in Colonial Burial Practices Through the 17th Century." Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Wilmington, DE, October 17-20, 2002.
- Rotundo, Barbara. "Symbolism." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Russell, Joy. "English Heritage Grants for the Repair and Conservation of War Memorials." Conference on the Care and Conservation of War Memorials, London, England, January 31, 2001.
- Russell, Matthew A. "Preserving an American Icon: Continuing Research on USS Arizona, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Sabatos, Terri R. "'Poor Baby Is Gone': The Image of the Empty Crib in Victorian Visual Culture." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Sauers, Richard A. "Another December Mourning: The Halifax Explosion." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Schafer, Cyril. "Multinationals, the Funeral Industry, and Funerary Practices in New Zealand." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Seidemann, Ryan M., and Seidemann, Ericka L. "Folk Art and Works of Necessity in the Predominantly African American Indigent Holt Cemetery in New Orleans, Louisiana." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Shlasko, Ellen. "Material Culture and Cultural Memory in South Carolina." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Sledge, John. "Cities of Silence: Mobile, Alabama's Historic Cemeteries." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, Georgia, June 25-30, 2002.
- Smith, Roger. "Savannah's Unique City Plan." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Stewart, David. "Material Culture and Remembrance in Anglo-American Maritime Communities." Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Rochester, NY, October 16-20, 2002.
- Strangstad, Lynette. "Preserving America's Cemeteries: A Case Study. Colonial Park in Savannah." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.

- Stringfield, Margo S. "St. Michael's Cemetery: A Democracy of the Dead." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Thorton, Meg L., and Labadia, Catherine. "A Preliminary Assessment of Mortuary Practices at the Braziel Baptist Cemetery." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-10, 2002.
- Thursby, Jacqueline S. "Ghost Town Cemeteries in Utah: A Pioneer Legacy." Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 13-16, 2002.
- Trinkley, Michael. "The Threat to African American Cemeteries in South Carolina." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Turner, Robert. "The Conservation of Bronze." Conference on the Care and Conservation of War Memorials, London, England, January 31, 2001.
- Van Scoy, F., Jarrell, J., and Wagaman, G. "Cemetery Preservation and Laser Scanning." International Conference on Virtual Systems and Multimedia, Berkeley, CA, October, 2001.
- Varner, Eric R. "Eternal Rome and the Semantics of Death on a Season Sarcophagus in the Michael C. Carlos Museum." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2004.
- Vastokas, Joan. "St. John's Lithuanian Cemetery, Toronto." Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, Savannah, GA, June 25-30, 2002.
- Veit, Richard F. "'In Amerika Komen': 18th-Century German Language Grave Markers in Northern New Jersey." Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Mobile, AL, January 8-12, 2002.
- Volkan, Vamik. "Mourning, Linking Objects, and Monuments: When Does It Become Possible for a Society to Forgive Its Enemy?" Conference – "Apologies: Mourning the Past and Ameliorating the Future," Claremont, CA, February 8-10, 2002.
- Walker, Joseph N., Jr. "Ashes to Ashes and Dust to Dust: Human Skeletal Taphonomy at Two Historic Cemeteries in the Northeastern United States." Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Bridgewater, MA, March 14-16, 2002.
- Wayland, Scott. "Funerary Poetry and Changing Conceptions of Life After Death in Early Modern England." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Weir, Daniel R. "No Place to Die: Roadside Death Memorials in Mexico." Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-23, 2002.
- West, Sharon Cook, and McKerns, Joseph P. "Witch-Hunters and Funeral Directors: The Political Backlash Against Jessica Mitford's *The American Way of Death*." Annual Meeting of the Southwest – Texas Popular Culture / American Culture Association, Albuquerque, NM, February 13-17, 2002.

- Westerhof, Danielle. "Resting in Pieces: The Politics of Aristocratic Multiple Burial in Late Thirteenth Century England." 6th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying, and Disposal, York, England, September 5-8, 2002.
- Willett, Clara. "The Conservation of Stonework and Sculpture." Conference on the Care and Conservation of War Memorials, London, England, January 31, 2001.
- Wood, Juliette. "Giants In The Earth: Geoffrey on Monmouth, Strange Burials, and Ancient Monuments in Welsh Folk Studies." Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Rochester, NY, October 16-20, 2002.
- Zipf, Catherwine W. "Perpetual Victory: The Architecture of the National Cemetery System." Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Richmond, VA, April 17-21, 2002.

CONTRIBUTORS

Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875), Danish poet, novelist, and prolific writer of tales and sketches, overcame the poverty of his youth to become one of the world's most beloved and well-known writers. Often called the "father of the literary fairy tale," Andersen's power of description and sense of fantasy underlie many of his most recognizable tales – "The Little Mermaid," "The Ugly Duckling," "The Red Shoes," "The Snow Queen," "The Emperor's New Clothes," "The Princess and the Pea," and "Thumbelina," among others – but his interest in the more commonplace elements of life may be found as well in many of his lesser-known works, such as the selection reprinted in this issue.

James Blachowicz, Professor of Philosophy at Loyola University, Chicago, became interested in early American gravestones during a summer in Falmouth, Massachusetts in 1972, but didn't discover the Association for Gravestone Studies until 1994. He has contributed three papers to the *AGS Quarterly*, and four of his studies on the gravestone carving traditions of Plymouth, Kingston, and Cape Cod have appeared in *Markers XV* (1998), *Markers XVII* (2000) (in collaboration with Vincent F. Luti), *Markers XVIII* (2001), and the first part of the present essay in *Markers XIX* (2002). He has recently completed a book, *An American Craft Lineage*, which greatly expands his work on these carving traditions, focusing on twenty-seven stonecarvers in the two regions active from 1770 through 1870. His book in philosophy, *Of Two Minds: The Nature of Inquiry* (State University of New York Press), appeared in 1998.

Sybil F. Crawford has lived in both the United States and Canada. She attended what is now the University of Arkansas - Little Rock, and served as documentation coordinator for an international commercial lender in Dallas, Texas prior to retirement. Her interests have tended to be eclectic. In 1993, she authored *Jubilee: The First 150 Years of Mount Holly Cemetery, Little Rock, Arkansas*. A large number of articles and books have been published on cemetery/gravemarker, local history, Old West, and fine arts subjects. In 1993, she received the Arkansas Historical Association's award for "Best Biography" and placed first in the 2001 F. Hampton Roy History Award competition for her paper dealing with the *faux bois* sculptor Dionicio Rodriguez. A completed book manuscript, *The Veiled Persona: Memorializing Our Legends of the Old West*, awaits publication.

Karl S. Guthke is Kuno Francke Professor of German Art and Culture at Harvard University. Among his books are *The Last Frontier: Imagining Other Worlds from the Copernican Revolution to Modern Science Fiction* (1990), *B. Traven: The Life Behind the Legends* (1991), *Last Words* (1992), and *The Gender of Death: A Cultural History in Art and Literature* (1999). His most recent publication is *Goethe's Weimar und "Die grosse Öffnung in die weite Welt"* (2001), which discusses the growing awareness on the part of central Europeans of the non-European "other" around 1800. Having published several articles dealing with various aspects of epitaphs, he is currently working on a book on "Epitaph Culture in the West."

Vincent F. Luti, 1997 recipient of the Association for Gravestone Studies' Harriette M. Forbes Award for excellence in gravestone studies, has contributed greatly to our understanding of early gravestone carvers of the Narragansett Basin area, including studies of Seth Luther published in *Rhode Island History* and of Stephen and Charles Hartshorn in *Markers II*. His in-depth analysis of the carvers John and James New appeared in *Markers XVI*, and he contributed to James Blachowicz's study of carver William Coye in *Markers XVII*. His latest major publication (2002) is *Mallet and Chisel: Gravestone Carvers of Newport, Rhode Island, in the Eighteenth Century*. He is Professor Emeritus of Music at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth.

Gay Lynch completed a Master in Theological Studies degree at Harvard Divinity School in 1995, the same year in which her article, "Contemporary Gravemarkers of Youths: Milestones of our Path through Pain to Joy," appeared in *Markers XII*. She is currently a doctoral Student in the Cultural and Historical Study of Religion program at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California. Her research is in ancient and modern Greek lamentation ritual and in Greek funerary monuments. Her dissertation is focused upon showing how ancient Greek ritual lament practices are directly attested through and vitally encoded by archaeological remains.

Lotte Larsen Meyer, Associate Professor Emeritus at Western Oregon University, holds advanced degrees in history and in library science, and served as a reference librarian and head of university archives for twenty-two years at WOU. In 1986, she founded the "Protest Issues and Actions" permanent section of the Popular Culture Association, and has

served as chair of the section ever since. Published works include a Peace Bibliography and an article about the use of Yellow Ribbons during the Gulf War which appeared in the *Journal of American Culture*. She is currently completing a book about the popularity of French Impressionist painter Claude Monet in the United States.

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

Kenneth Pobo is an Associate Professor of English at Widener University in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he teaches courses in creative writing, minority literature, and contemporary poetry. He writes poetry, short stories, and essays, and his research interests include gay studies, women writers, and contemporary poets. His most recent (2001) published collection of poetry is *Ordering: A Season in My Garden* (Higganum Hills Books); earlier collections include *Cicadas in the Apple Tree* (Palanquin Press), *Yes: Irises* (Singular Speech Press), and *Ravens and Bad Bananas* (Oscric Press). An essay on May Swenson appeared in *Heaven Bone*, and another on British writer Jeanette Winterson will be featured in a forthcoming anthology published by Red Hen Press. His poem, "Key West Cemetery" was published in *Markers XIX*.

Annette Stott serves as Director of the School of Art and Art History at the University of Denver, where she is an associate professor of art history. She is the author of the book *Holland Mania: The Unknown Dutch Period in American Art and Culture* (1998) and numerous articles concerning Nineteenth-Century American art. She presented an earlier version of the essay found in this volume at the 1999 Annual Conference of the Association for Gravestone Studies, and a somewhat expanded version will become a chapter in her current book project, *Sculpture Gardens of the West: Denver's Early Cemeteries*.

Jacqueline S. Thursby, Associate Professor of English and Folklore at Brigham Young University, has presented numerous scholarly papers on cemetery and gravestone studies at annual conferences of the American Culture Association. She completed her graduate studies in Folklore and American Studies at Utah State University and Bowling Green State University, and has published a number of articles relating to American Studies and Ethnography. Her first book, *Mother's Table, Father's Chair: Cultural Narratives of Basque American Women*, was published by Utah State University Press in 1999. She is currently working on a book, underwritten by a grant from the Religious Studies Department at Brigham Young University, which discusses funerary and burial practices of Utah Mormons, past and present.

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**NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS TO
MARKERS: ANNUAL JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION
FOR GRAVESTONE STUDIES**

Scope

The Association for Gravestone Studies was incorporated as a non-profit corporation in 1978 as an outgrowth of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife. The first volume of the Association's annual scholarly journal, *Markers*, appeared in 1980. While the charter purposes of AGS are broad, the general editorial policy of *Markers* is to define its subject matter as the analytical study of gravemarkers of all types and encompassing all historical periods and geographical regions, with an emphasis upon North America. Gravemarkers are here taken to mean above-ground artifacts that commemorate the spot of burial, thereby in most instances excluding memorials or cenotaphs (exceptions may, however, be made to this latter prohibition, and prospective authors are urged to consult the editor if they have any questions concerning this matter). Articles on death and dying in general or on other aspects of death-related material culture would not normally fall within the journal's purview unless clearly linked to the study of gravemarkers. Particular cemeteries may form the basis of study if a major focus of the article is on the markers contained therein and if the purpose of the article is more than simply a non-analytical history or description of the cemeteries themselves. Finally, articles submitted for publication in *Markers* should be scholarly, analytical and interpretive, not merely descriptive and entertaining. Within these general parameters, the journal seeks variety both in subject matter and disciplinary orientation. For illustration of these general principles, the prospective author is encouraged to consult recent issues of *Markers*.

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Submissions to *Markers* should be sent to the journal's editor, Gary Collison, Penn State York, 1031 Edgecomb Avenue, York, PA 17403 (Telephone: 717-771-4029 / E-Mail: glc@psu.edu). Manuscripts should be submitted in triplicate (original and two duplicate copies) and should include originals of any accompanying photographs or other illustrations. Generally, articles in *Markers* run between fifteen and twenty-five 8 1/2 x 11 typescripted, double-spaced pages in length, inclusive of notes and any

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AGS JOURNALS

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

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

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

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

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

MARKERS X Markers carved by Calvin Barber of Simsbury, CT; Chinese markers in a midwestern American cemetery; carving of Charles Lloyd Neale

of Alexandria, VA.; Jewish cemeteries of Louisville, KY; 4 generations of the Lamson family carvers of Charlestown & Malden, MA; & the Protestant Cemetery in Florence, Italy. [254 pp.; 122 illus.]

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

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

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

MARKERS XIV Amerindian gravestone symbols; ministers' markers in north central MA; a modern gravestone maker; Charles Andera's crosses; Pratt family stonemasons; African-American cemeteries in north FL; & "The Year's Work." [232 pp.; 107 illus.]

MARKERS XV Sephardic Jewish cemeteries; Herman Melville's grave; carving traditions of Plymouth & Cape Cod; Czech tombstone inscriptions; Aboriginal Australian markers; Kansas cemeteries & The New Deal; Chinese markers in Hong Kong; & "The Year's Work." [350 pp.; 166 illus.]

MARKERS XVI Daniel Farber obituary; Narragansett carvers John & James New; celebration in American memorials; "Joshua Sawyer" (poem); Harriet Ruggles Loomis' gravestone; Scotch-Irish markers of John Wight; murder in MA; & "The Year's Work." [281 pp.; 142 illus.]

MARKERS XVII Warren Roberts obituary; Italian-American memorial practices; carver William Coye of Plymouth, MA; "The Quaker Graveyard" (poem); developing technologies & cemetery studies; carver John Solomon Teetzle & Anglo-German markers in NJ; carvers & lettering styles; & "The Year's Work." [253 pp.; 150 illus.]

MARKERS XVIII William Quantrill gravesites; Egyptian Revival at Brooklyn's Green-Wood; "A Cemetery" (poem); Kingston, MA carvers; Czech-Moravian gravesites in TX; WWI battlefield cemeteries; & "The Year's Work." [301 pp.; 160 illus.]

MARKERS XIX James Deetz & Ivan Rigby obituaries; samplers & gravestones; Poland's Remu Cemetery; early Cape Cod marble carvers, pt. 1; Czech acculturation in TX cemeteries; "Key West Cemetery" (poem); Rule family carvers; flower imagery in Victorian cemeteries; & "The Year's Work." [335pp; 126 illus.]

