AMERICAN GRAVESTONE: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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> How often have I viewed the graves, and gone
> Unto that place, and yet returned home
> Again unto my house: The time will be
> When I must go, but no returning see.
> Lord, give me so much grace, that I may be
> ever-more mindful of Eternitie.
>
> Philip Pain, "Meditation Twenty-One," from Daily Meditations, published in 1668.

The study of the American gravestone has often been regarded as the concern of folklorists only, for the striking and esthetically satisfying designs of the old colonial New England stones are certainly grand examples of American folk art. Nevertheless, a representative number of studies and regional surveys now available indicate that many major aspects of the field--including, and in addition to, folk aspects--are being covered. This annotated bibliography records the literature of this field.

Many studies have been published in the last ten years, perhaps reflecting the great boom in the popularity of "gravestone art" and stone-rubbing. Fortunately, the interest in gravestone images as art and as examples of material culture are complementary: the techniques of "collecting" and analyzing the images by photography and stone-rubbing are common to both craftsperson and researcher.

Although the study of the American gravestone needs no defense, Henry Glassie reminds us of its importance: "The ideal artifact for studies of diffusion, of change and persistence through time, has been as yet insufficiently exploited, except in New England. Gravestones reflect culture--often folk, though more often popular--and each is set literally in place, is dated, and has associated with it names and tastes."*

Glassie's distinction between "folk" and "popular" indicates

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*"Introduction" in Forms Upon the Frontier, ed. Austin and Alta Fife and Henry Glassie (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1969), p. 4.

that the matter of terminology is of some concern, since the study of the American gravestone crosses not only disciplinary lines but cultural maps as well. I have used the terms "folk," "popular," and "elite" to designate three kinds of culture or cultural artifacts. (See the items by Glassie in Section I.) No study of gravestone imagery has yet offered an analysis which clearly differentiates "folk" images from "popular" images, although Deetz's and Dethlefson's studies (II.A.6-7, below) have begun this task. Studies of both the "popular" and "elite" aspects of gravestone images have been included in this bibliography in the hopes of expanding the range of analysis beyond examples of colonial "folk" images.

Other problems in terminology persist. I have, therefore, followed Panofsky's (and others') practice of designating any visual datum as an "image," while reserving the term "icon" for any image which has acquired additional significant and specific meaning. Two other terms, "symbol" and "sign," may yet prove helpful, although they are not used consistently by all writers. "Symbol" can be helpful in designating images of private but cummunicable meaning: the Masonic symbol of a carpenter's square, for example, found on stones around 1800, which represents rectitude. Even "sign" may well have value: the carved hammer on a carpenter's nineteenth century gravestone in Milwaukee is a "sign" or realistic representation of the deceased's occupation.

To supply some historical background and a broad inter-disciplinary perspective, I have included items from studies in local history, folklore, popular culture, art history, sociology, and geography. The bibliography is divided into the following sections:

I. Studies in Cultural Theory, History, Esthetics, and Iconography.

II. Regional Studies of Gravestone Imagery.
   A. New England.
   B. Mid-Atlantic.
   C. South.
   D. Midwest.
   E. West.

III. Geographical and Sociological Aspects of Cemeteries.

IV. Stonework, Sculpture, and Decorations.

V. Epitaphs.

VI. Methods of Field Study.

If an item concerns gravestone images in a specific region, it has been included in Section II; if an item concerns any other aspect of gravestones or cemeteries, even if that item's examples are drawn from one region, it has been included in one of the other sections.

I have examined every item in this list. To keep the list within reasonable bounds, I have excluded newspaper articles. If a magazine article, pamphlet, or book does not appear below, the exclusion is accidental rather than judgmental. (I would appreciate references or copies of any items I have missed: c/o Department of Literature, Northern Kentucky State College, Highland Heights, Kentucky 41076.)

I have followed the MLA Style Sheet for bibliographic entries. For articles, please note that when only one Arabic number is recorded, it is the volume number; a second number, also Arabic, is included only if pagination is not continuous in each volume.

A special note of appreciation goes to Northern Kentucky State College Librarians Mary Ellen Ryan and Deborah Bogenschutz who with skill and graciousness located many of the items included here. I would also like to thank Dora Lee Szewczuga of the Wisconsin State Old Cemetery Society for providing some kind assistance. I have benefited as well from the work of Peter Benes, whose article on wooden grave markers brought the poem by Philip Pain to my attention and who provided me with some references to Ernest Caulfield's studies of Connecticut gravestones.

I. Studies in Cultural Theory, History, Esthetics, and Iconography

1. Benes, Peter. "Additional Light on Wooden Grave Markers." Essex Institute Historical Collections, 111 (January, 1975), 53-64.
Benes argues that wooden grave markers were common, in large numbers, throughout the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Neither the markers nor any illustrations of them survived. Using some historical detective work, however, Benes suggests and illustrates a "conjectural reconstruction of a 'post and rails' grave marker; wood, 1650-1680." He also outlines a "conjectural evolution of New England headstone profiles," beginning with "stylized versions" of the "post and rails" which, when made of stone, resembled bedboards (with a characteristically curved middle section, flanked with two "bedposts"). Benes' article is a fuller treatment of the subject covered earlier by Forman (see below).

2. Burgess, Frederick. English Churchyard Memorials. London: Lutterworth Press, 1963.
Although the uniqueness of American rural stonecarving has been assumed by many, Burgess' book offers convincing evidence that there are some British prototypes for American gravestone images. His book in itself is an excellent survey of burial ground stones (as opposed to monumental brasses, church tombs, etc.), concentrating on the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries; with his analysis and illustrations of certain stones (especially death's heads and winged angels), he provides helpful comparisons for the American stones of the eighteenth century.

3. Chin, Roberta. "English Tombstones: An Attempt to Trace their Relationship to Social Attitudes and to the Tombstone Trends of Colonial New England." Unpublished typescript, Tozzer Library of Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1963.
A preliminary study of English and Colonial New England images, Chin's paper presents some of the evidence for a "correlation of trends" between England and New England; she appends a bibliography of mainly British sources.

4. Forman, Benno M. "A New Light on Early Grave Markers." Essex Institute Historical Collections, 104 (April, 1968), 127-129.
Forman's brief article argues, from manuscript records, that wooden grave markers "were used in Essex County[Massachusetts] as early as 1669, and as late as 1710."

5. Gillon, Edmund V. Victorian Cemetery Art. New York: Dover Publications, 1972.
The subtitle of Gillon's book might have been "a collection of photographs from New York and New England": it is the only available book which concentrates on post-1800 gravestones and monuments, but except for the name and location of the cemeteries and some data which may be garnered from the stones in the photographs the book does not deliver sufficient information to be helpful as a complete research tool. It does provide numerous examples of what can be considered the "popular" images of one region in the nineteenth century--urns, logs, trunks of trees, baskets of flowers, lodge emblems, etc.--since these Victorian designs became standardized, mass-produced (by stencils or patterns), and "distributed" widely.

6. Glassie, Henry. Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968; reprinted, 1971.
Glassie's book is a valuable aid for studying the diffussion of various examples of material folk culture from the East Coast to the South and Midwest; he differentiates and maps six major material folk regions (North, Mid-Atlantic, Midwest, Upland,

Upland South, and Lowland South), but he adds that any attempt to define regional borders on a map is a "process of constant compromise."

7. Glassie, Henry. "Artifacts: Folk, Popular, Imaginary and Real." Icons of Popular Culture, ed. Marshall Fishwich and Ray B. Browne. Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1970.
Glassie's contribution to this volume is an "extensively revised" section from his Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States: he raises the crucial question of the differentiae among folk, popular, and elite cultures. Since the study of the American gravestone involves both popular and folk elements (and often elite elements as well), a careful consideration of Glassie's thesis in this essay is necessary; Glassie argues that while we need to break down categories of culture for scrutiny we must also be aware of their interaction:

> The idea at the base of the division into progressive, normative, and the conservative--elite, popular, and folk--may be of assistance to scholars in their task of bringing order into the phenomenal culture chaos they encounter (or should be encountering) constantly. The three words do not refer to entire societies or cultures (and they have nothing to communicate about economic level); their value comes during the process of breaking culture and its manifestations down for scrutiny. The mind of every man is apt to include ideas which can be classed as elite, popular, and folk; at least there is no one in America who does not carry both folk and popular culture. And, as the mind is a compound of ideas from various sources, the objects we can touch may be purely of one category, or they may represent syntheses--often, very complicated syntheses.

8. Hart, Innes. "Rude Forefathers." The Architectural Review (Surrey, England), 86 (November, 1939), 185-188.
Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century folk images on English stones in East Sussex, West Kent, and parts of Surrey are featured in this descriptive and detailed article; the images may be profitably compared to the colonial New England images of the same period. Of particular note are the heads or soul effigies ("soul discs") and stones carved in the profiles of human forms; the former are typical of the southern Vermont images in burial grounds such as Rockingham.

9. Panofsky, Erwin. "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction

to the Study of Renaissance Art" (1939). Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955; New York: Anchor Books, n.d. Pp. 26-54.
Although Panofsky's studies are usually in the "high" or elite traditions of art, his methodology is of value in analyzing constructs of visual art regardless of their origins. Panofsky correlates three aspects of the "object of interpretation" with corresponding "acts of interpretation"; in the following simplified version of his chart, I have added a third column with an example he analyzes:

object of interpretation	act of interpretation	example
1. "Primary or natural subject matter. . .constituting the world of artistic motifs."	pre-iconographical description	"an excited dinner party"
2. "Secondary or conventional subject matter, constituting the world of images, stories, and allegories."	iconographical analysis	The Last Supper
3. "Intrinsic meaning or content, constituting the world of 'symbolical' values."	iconological interpretation (or synthesis)	the religious meaning and function of Christ's interaction with the Apostles

For a fuller, more detailed development of Panofsky's methodology, the reader should consult Panofsky's own chart and text.

10. Panofsky, Erwin. Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini, ed. H. W. Janson. New York: Abrams, 1964.
Panofsky's study of the funerary sculpture of the European and Mediterranean world from the Egyptian pharaohs to the Italian counter-reformation provides us with numerous examples of "graven images" in the elite or cultivated tradition. The text is accompanied by numerous illustrations; of particular interest to students of American colonial images are the "double-decker tombs" of the fifteenth century in French, Franco-German, and English culture: these tombs have a representation of death "below" and a representation of life "above," reinforcing the earthly body/regenerated soul dualism.

11. Puckle, Bertram S. Funeral Customs: Their Origin and Development. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1926.
An anecdotal, occasionally sensational, but wide-ranging history of "funeral customs" from ancient through modern times, Puckle's book concentrates upon English examples. He includes background

information on memorial cards, epitaphs, and rings, all of which may be of aid for research into similar American traditions.

12. Russo, David J. Families and Communities: A New View of American History. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1974.
Russo elaborates Page Smith's thesis in As a City Upon a Hill: The Town in American History (1966) that (in Russo's words) "the basic form of organization," excepting the family and the church, "experienced by the vast majority of Americans up to the early decades of the twentieth century was the small town." Russo argues that the political entity of the "nation" was to Americans "an abstraction whose significance to their lives was far less than that of their town or city or state. Much more often than not, the national community has become their primary frame of reference only in this century." Russo's work may prove to be of importance for the study of colonial gravestone iconography because of the tendency of certain kinds of images and carving styles to localize even when the general type of image or style retains "national" or "regional" characteristics.

13. Stannard, David E. "Death and Dying in Puritan New England." American Historical Review, 78 (December, 1973), 1305-1330.
In his historical study, valuable for establishing the attitudes of devout Puritans toward their final moments, Stannard's essay argues that there were tensions within Puritan religion "between religious ideal and religious experience"--specifically between the traditional Christian belief that death releases the soul from earthly cares and the intense Puritan fear of death (based on their doctrines of the depravity of the soul, the omnipotence of God, and the "terrors of hell"). Although there are illustrations from Ludwig's Graven Images, there is very little attempt to develop the concepts of the essay in concert with Puritan gravestone icons.

14. Watkins, Laura Woodside. "The Byfield Stones--Our Earliest American Sculpture?" Antiques, 84 (October, 1963), 420-423.
A rarity in non-funerary American folk sculpture, the "Byfield stones" of South Byfield, Massachusetts, contain stylized portraits of a man and a woman with additional decorative and (possibly) symbolic or iconic motifs. Locally regarded as "witch stones," the stones date as early as 1636; the author notes that one would expect similar portraits and motifs on local gravestones, but she found none.

15. Yentsch, Anne. E. "Design Elements in Scottish Grave-Stones." Unpublished typescript, Tozzer Library of Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1963.
A companion study to Chin's "English Tombstones" (I.3., above), Yentsch's paper surveys "the development of Scottish engraved

stone memorials from the Celtic Cross of the 10th century down through the grave-stones of the 18th century with particular reference to those found in the Scottish Lowlands because of their similarity to those found in New England graveyards of a comparable age." Yentsch uses data from the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (bibliography provided in her paper).

II. Regional Studies of Gravestone Imagery

A. New England

1. Benes, Peter. "Nathaniel Fuller, Stonecutter of Plympton, Massachusetts." Old-Time New England, 60(Summer, 1969), 13-30. Benes analyzes the career of a stone carver whose heart-shaped skulls (whose mouths, in turn, were often shaped as little hearts or heads) represent a mid-eighteenth-century example of a craftsman caught between two styles--that of the older death's heads and that of the "newer" soul effigies. This article forms part of Benes' book-length study of Plymouth County (Massachusetts) gravestone iconography, "The Masks of Orthodoxy," forthcoming from the University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, probably in 1976.

2. Benes, Peter. "Lt. John Hartshorn: Gravestone Maker of Haverhill and Norwich." Essex Institute Historical Collections, 109 (April, 1973), 152-164.
Benes' study of one carver's set of characteristic icons from northeastern Massachusetts (illustrated in the text with photographs and drawings) reveals not only the typical eighteenth-century winged cherub but also some distinctive local variants: in Hartshorn's work, the spirit of the departed is represented by a circular or geometric face flanked by "a pair of flight or sky symbols such as two stars, two wings, or two birds." Benes includes an analysis of Hartshorn's stylistic deviations from the norms of Boston and Charlestown, the major centers of stone-carving in the eighteenth century.

3. Benes, Peter. "John Wight: The Hieroglyph Carver of Londonderry." Old-Time New England, 66 (Fall, 1973), 30-41.
This is another carefully researched article by Benes on an eighteenth-century southern New Hampshire stonecarver. John Wight seems to occupy a unique spot in New England stonecarving because his designs "consisted of a row of symbols arranged like hieroglyphs across the top of a stone"; one such series consists of a coffin, star, and heart: in Benes' interpretation,

the star represents the spirit, caught in the dramatic tension between death and resurrection. Wight used no death's heads or faces of any kind.

4. Benes, Peter. "Abel Webster, Pioneer, Patriot, and Stonecutter." Historical New Hampshire, 28 (Winter, 1973), 221-240. Benes, in this analysis of the various kinds of images carved by Abel Webster, argues that this stonecutter provided the "New Light" (or "awakened") parishes during the revivals of the 1750s and 1760s with smiling or "awakened" faces but presented the "Old Light" or doctrinally conservative parishes with scowling or "unawakened" faces. His study provides some further evidence of the close relationship between gravestone iconography and the "ecclesiastical history of the region at a parish level."

5. Caulfield, Ernest. "Connecticut Gravestones," a continuing series. Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin: No. I is in 16 (January, 1951), 1-5; No. II is in 16 (October, 1951), 25-31 and in 17 (January, 1952), 1-6; No. III is in 18 (October, 1953), 25-32; No. IV is in 19 (October, 1954), 105-108; No. V is in 21 (January, 1956), 1-21; No. VI is in 23 (April, 1958), 33-39; No. VII is in 25 (January, 1960), 1-6; No. VIII is in 27 (July, 1960), 76-82; No. IX is in 28 (January, 1963), 22-29; No. X is in 30 (January, 1965), 11-17; No. XI is in 31 (January, 1966), 24-29; No. XII is in 32 (July, 1967), 65-79. The essays will continue to appear posthumously, edited by Peter Benes: No. XIII is in 40 (April, 1975), 33-45.
Caulfield's series of articles on Connecticut gravestones provide a wealth of data on the stones and on their carvers. The first of the series is a noteworthy example of an analysis of a very early carver's work on the basis of his distinctive lettering (the stones had no images); Caulfield identifies the stonecutter as George Griswald (1633-1704), the "earliest stone sculptor in the American colonies to be definitely identified." Profiles of numerous Connecticut stonecutters and analyses of their work make up the substance of Caulfield's series of articles.

6. Dethlefsen, Edwin, and James Deetz. "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries." American Antiquity, 31 (1965-1966), 502-510.
The first of two model studies by Dethlefsen and Deetz, this article covers gravestone imagery from 1680 to 1900 in eastern Massachusetts. The importance of the study of gravestone images is summarized in the authors' list of criteria for comparing the "change of material objects" with the "changes in the society which produced them": the stones (1) are "true folk products," (2) are localized, (3) are dated and are therefore chronologically controlled, (4) have design patterns, (5) carry valuable demographic information, (6) reveal attitudes and values through

epitaphs, and (7) have a decorative function which relates to religion. The essay offers a methodology and some preliminary findings which are of crucial importance: for example, their analysis reveals a definite intensification of localized instead of regional images between 1740 and 1760, the period of the "Great Awakening"--such local variations as "medusa heads" and birdlike death's heads replace the usual death's heads. The quantification of data and photographic collection are only two of the areas of study proposed for this ambitious project; the other areas of study are: design analysis, demographic study, kinship patterns, genealogies, individual stonecutters, rate of stylistic change, tests of seriation methods, town-to-town relationships, reconstruction of extinct political boundaries, and old world antecedents.

7. Dethlefsen, Edwin, and James Deetz. "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow." Natural History, No. 76 (March, 1967), 28-37. Even with the publication of Ludwig's and the Tashjians' studies (see below), this survey of New England images has lost little of its value, for it sets out in a number of clear charts the occurrence of the three major normative patterns of New England icons.

8. Forbes, Harriette Merrifield. Gravestones of Early New England: And the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1927; reprinted, Princeton: Pyne Press, 1973. Although Ms. Forbes' book has been superceded in various areas (especially iconographical analysis), her research on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century stonecarvers remains significant.

9. Forbes, Harriette Merrifield. "Early Portrait Sculpture in New England " Old-Time New England, 19 (April, 1929), 159-173. Forbes briefly surveys the crafts of wood- and stone-carving in Colonial New England before turning to a study, with illustrations and historical data, of a number of gravestones with clearly defined portrait-heads.

10. Foster, Stephen C. "Gravestone Carving and Artistic Intent in Essex County." Old-Time New England, 66 (Fall, 1973), 42-54. An important critique of Ludwig's Graven Images, Foster's article argues that both styles covered by Ludwig--the "provincial" (urban Boston) and the "rural"--were departures from the English stonecarving tradition; Foster therefore criticizes the unique status given to the American rural style: "In the absence of norms, motifs tended to acquire an inbred and eccentric-looking character, but the fact that one can refer these changes to limitations at all weakens the notion that the stones' figural motifs were the purposeful inventions of unspoiled folk

artists. . . .There is every reason to believe that the carvers were attempting to approximate English prototypes, at least in the early stages, but lacked the ability to do so." This statement represents the strongest position in the literature that the celebration of the early carvers is in part another example of the twentieth-century attraction to the primitive. Foster also offers some brief but revealing comparisons between gravestone images and designs from furniture and household items in New England Puritan culture.

11. Gillon, Edmund Vincent. Early New England Gravestone Rubbins. New York: Dover Publications, 1966.
Although a fine photographer (and rubber), Gillon provides incomplete data in this collection. Like his Victorian Cemetery Art (I.5., above), this volume has only limited data on the location and dates of a considerable number of the stones that he depicts. Often only from the photograph can we determine a stone's date; about half of the stones have their origins labeled.

12. Grossman, Loyd. "Heraldic Design on New England Gravestones." Old-Time New England, 64 (October-December, 1973), 55-70.
Grossman studies a hitherto unexplored area, the use of "heraldic design" (perhaps the most obvious example of the sophisticated or urban style of carving). Noting that in England "by the mid-seventeenth century heraldry was well on its way to becoming a recognized affectation of gentility," Grossman analyzes a small sample of American stones and concludes that "American heraldic design in the eighteenth century compared quite favorably with English practice."

13. Kull, Andrew. New England Cemeteries: A Collector's Guide. Brattleboro: Stephen Greene Press, 1975.
Kull offers a unique guide, in scope and data, to the New England burying grounds. Organized by state, and then by towns within each state, Kull's guide also provides the reader with information on specific cemeteries and the kinds of markers to be found (his categories: "Interesting Carving," i.e., pre-1800; "Famous People"; "Unusually Picturesque"; "Grand Style," i.e., the elaborately landscaped Victorian cemeteries such as Boston's Mt. Auburn). There are 260 cemeteries listed; every region of the country deserves such a careful and comprehensive guide.

14. Ludwig, Allan I. Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1966.
Ludwig's profusely illustrated and extensive study is considered the standard book of the field. No summary adequately describes its contents; to list its major chapters gives an indication of

its scope: I. "Puritan Religion," with an emphasis on Puritan symbolism; II. "Iconography," with an extensive survey of gravestone images; III. "Sources and Definitions of the Major New England Styles," with analyses of stonecarvers' work and the origins of images in analogous arts (engraving, woodcuts, and emblem books) and with the definitions of certain "styles" of carving. Ludwig isolates three principal styles: (1) the "ornamental" or style of "rural New England stonecarving which was relatively free from the influences of European art until late in the eighteenth century"; (2) the "provincial baroque" or style based on "the highly naturalistic, active, illusionistic Italianate and Flemish forms of sculpture and graphic art. . .which formed the urban background of both English stonecarving and popular art" and which were "diluted and reduced to cold formulas of frontality and stiffness by local New England carvers"; (3) the "neoclassical" or the "popular" style of urns and willows which superceded both the native ornamental style and the urban "provincial baroque" style. His text closes with concluding statements on the "vernacular" tradition (the pre-1815 native American style) and the nature of the indigenous "American" qualities of rural stonecarving. In addition, Ludwig's book has eight maps on such subjects as the diffusion of particular styles and locations of the work of known stonecarvers.

Ludwig's book has received some criticisms. Avon Neal's review (New England Quarterly, 39, 1966, 547-549) calls the book one of the standard references on Puritan art but questions some disparaging remarks made by Ludwig about rubbing and his "complicated symbolic interpretations" which Neal finds "difficult to accept." Stephen Foster's critique (II.A.10., above) calls into question the independent artistic value of the rural stones. In Memorials for Children of Change (II.A.17., below), while indebted to Ludwig's work, the Tashjians argue that Ludwig still accepts the idea that stonecarving flourished despite Puritan iconoclasm; they argue, instead, that "gravestone carving was considered a civil craft, practiced with the tacit consent of the religious authorities. . . .Iconoclasm was unequivocably reserved as an ecclesiastical concern."

15-16. Norris, Wilfred A. "The Old Burying Ground at Watertown, Massachusetts," Old-Time New England, 16 (July, 1925), 3-9; "The Gravestones in the Old Burying Ground at Watertown, Massachusetts: Their Decorative Carving, Lettering and Symbolism," Old-Time New England, 16 (October, 1925), 65-74.
Although both of these articles are mainly a record of the Watertown stones, Norris does attempt some analysis of the borders and other decorations in the second article.

17. Tashjian, Dickran and Ann. Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1974.

The Tashjians have presented a number of revealing and convincing statements about the Puritan tradition in stonecarving. Although not as encyclopedic as Ludwig's book, Memorials for Children of Change is certainly the other major book in the field. Some, but not all, of the Tashjians' original analyses include: (1) the traditional view of the Puritans as iconoclastic applies only to ecclesiastical matters, therefore, "the gravestone with its images and designs was thus exempt from charges of idolatry since it was erected as an integral part of the funeral ritual, explicitly defined as a civil event, while retaining a dual cultural function, both religious and social"; (2) the second generation of Puritan leaders could only welcome the didacticism of gravestone art for it helped "create a memorial of the past" when the original piety of the New England settlement was pure and strong; (3) three aspects of the Puritan death ritual (elegy), funeral sermon, and the gravestone) must be examined, not only for their intrinsic differences, but also for the "area of commonality" in which all three participate; (4) the essence of Puritan stonecarving styles was the use of "linear abstraction" rather than the three-dimensional or naturalistic representation of traditional funerary sculpture; related to this linear quality, the surface of the stone slab seems to be typically handled as if it were a page from a book or a broadside sheet--the architectural surface recreates (embodies) a planar surface.

18. Taylor, Erich A. O'D. "Slate Gravestones of New England." Old-Time New England, 15 (October, 1924), 58-67. Taylor's very early article simply records examples of Newport (Rhode Island) stones.

B. Mid-Atlantic

1. Barba, Preston A. Pennsylvania German Tombstones. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Vol. 18, 1954. Barba's book consists of a selection of eastern Pennsylvania stones (drawings only accompany the text) and short introductory passages describing the key Pennsylvania German images (the sun symbols--swastikas, stars and circles, spirals, the ur-bogen or descending arc of the sun; the tree of life; the tulip; the heart; and the tree of life-animal complex). There are some important stones illustrated--especially those which combine the Pennsylvania German images with what we consider the traditional colonial images of skulls and cross-bones. These stones bear more study because they can serve as a test-case for the study of localized images versus cross-regional images. One very fine stone--a portrait of a woman (1713-1750) in traditional eighteenth-century "costume" with angel wings, from Berks County--is noteworthy, for such realistic portrayal of full figures is rare.

2. Jack, Phil R. "Gravestone Symbols of Western Pennsylvania." In Kenneth S. Goldstein and Robert H. Byington, eds., Two Penny Ballads and Four Dollar Whiskey. Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1966. Pp. 165-173.
Actually quite sparse in terms of detailed examples from western Pennsylvania stones, Jack's article concentrates on images which would be considered popular, mainly from the second half of the nineteenth century. The article raises the difficulties of studying and categorizing the images--that is, whether they should be classified as to form, meaning, or function; it is, however, only a preliminary statement of the difficulties, not a sustained thesis.

3. Smith, Elmer L. Early American Grave Stone Designs. Lebanon, Pa.: Applied Arts Publishers, 1968; reprinted, 1972.
This is a collection of interesting images, mainly of the "Pennsylvania German" tradition of the eighteenth century, collected primarily from Pennsylvania and Virginia, although there are one or two examples from New Jersey and West Virginia.

4. Wasserman, Emily. Gravestone Designs: Rubbings and Photographs from Early New York and New Jersey. New York: Dover Publications, 1972.
An excellent study, both in scope and execution. Since Wasserman limits her collection to New York and New Jersey and because she gives complete data (as far as possible) on the stones, their locations, the stonecutters (an especially well-done section), and the prevailing styles from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, her book stands as a distinctive contribution to the field. Although she includes some stones of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, her study concentrates on those of the eighteenth century.

C. South

1. Georgia Writers' Project (WPA). Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coast Negroes (1940). Garden City: Anchor Books, 1972.
This reissue of a WPA study of the survival of African customs and material culture among American slaves contains a few tantalizing but significant bits of information about burial customs and grave markers among the Georgia coast Negroes. Especially noteworthy are the (unfortunately brief) selections about wooden and clay images (of birds, snakes, human figures) and the personal possessions of the deceased which all marked the graves.

2. Jeane, Donald G. "The Traditional Upland South Cemetery." Landscape, 18 (Spring-Summer, 1969), 39-41.
This is a somewhat impressionistic, generalized description of

gravestones and cemeteries in Arkansas, Texas, and Lousiana, emphasizing customs of care (the "scraping" or clearing of vegetation) and decoration (shells, insulators, scrap iron); no empirical data or catalog of customs or kinds of images are presented.

3. Tarpley, F. "Southern Cemeteries: Neglected Archives for the Folklorist." Southern Folklore Quarterly, 27 (1963), 323-333.
Tarpley emphasizes some of the legends associated with certain Southern cemeteries; and he cites some examples of unusual tombs and epitaphs: this is not a systematic, but a suggestive essay on the need to explore this area of folk studies.

4. Wust, Klaus. Folk Art in Stone: Southwest Virginia. Edinburg, Va.: Shenandoah History, Publishers, P.O. Box 98, Edinburg, Va. 22824, 1970.
Wust's beautifully photographed study of the mainly German stones in southwest Virginia includes some commentary on local stonecutters. The images may be compared to those of the German settlements in Pennsylvania (see Barba, II.B.1., above).

D. Midwest

1. Perret, Maurice E. "Tombstones and Epitaphs: Journeying Through Wisconsin's Cemeteries." Wisconsin Academy Review, 21, 2 (Spring, 1975), 2-6.
The primary value of Perret's essay lies in calling attention to the very special data supplied by the gravestones in a state like Wisconsin which has been settled by different waves of non-English immigrants throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Perret supplies examples from areas of research which are important in such a state: the languages spoken in the region, predominant religions, sources of names for local areas, and the process of anglicization of foreign names.

E. West

1. Florin, Lambert. Boot Hill: Historic Graves of the Old West. New York: Bonanza, 1966.
Florin provides a comprehensive text and photographic collection of markers (stone and wood) and sites in Washington, Oregon, California, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Idaho, Montana, Texas, South Dakota, and British Columbia. The author's wide survey includes designs and decorations of both folk and popular origins, mainly of the nineteenth century; an additional feature is a series of examples from American Indian and Mexican culture during the same period.

2. Haseltine, Maury. "A Progress Report on the Pictorial Documentation of Early Utah Gravestones." In Austin and Alta Fife and Henry H. Glassie, eds., Forms Upon the Frontier: Folklife and Folk Arts in the United States. Logan: Utah State University Monograph Series, Vol. 16, 1969. Pp. 79-88.
A preliminary report on the images of Utah gravestones which contrasts folk designs with those which probably originated in pattern books, Haseltine's study argues that since Utah was settled relatively late, folk motifs persist throughout the nineteenth century; only a few designs are pictured, but some of these do support Haseltine's thesis.

III. Geographical and Sociological Aspects of Cemeteries

1. Francaviglia, Richard V. "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 61 (September, 1971), 501-509.
An excellent survey of the types of monumental stones and patterns in five Oregon cemeteries, Francaviglia's article also attempts a correlation between cemetery landscaping and features of the countryside or cityscape.

2. French, Stanley. "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement." American Quarterly, 26 (March, 1974), 37-59.
French's work provides a model study of the relationship between the "rural cemetery" (that is, the urban cemetery designed as a park) and the cultural values of an era--in this case, early nineteenth-century Boston. Perhaps the only major omission in this essay is an analysis of the images of the stones in the cemeteries of this "movement."

3. Kniffen, Fred. "Necrogeography in the United States." Geographical Review, 57 (1967), 426-427.
Kniffen briefly surveys the field of "necrogeography," with some additional points made concerning the differences between burial practices in northern Louisiana (below ground) and southern Louisiana (above ground).

4. Pattison, William D. "The Cemeteries of Chicago: A Phase of Land Utilization." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 45 (1955), 245-257.
Pattison's exhaustive and empirical study of the placement of cemeteries in Chicago from 1850 to 1950 emphasizes the somewhat excessive land allocated for cemetery use, the choice of sites, and the distribution of sites.

5. Price, Larry W. "Some Results and Implications of a Cemetery Study." The Professional Geographer, 18 (July, 1966), 201-207.
Price's empirical study of 214 cemeteries in southeastern Illinois analyzes the types of sites according to this scheme: (1) undifferentiated, ?-1860, 10 graves or less; (2) small family plot, 1860-1880, 20 graves or less; (3) rural activity focus, 1880-1900, 250 graves or less; (4) population center, 1900-1950, 250 graves or more. Price also provides a helpful diagram of tombstone styles as an aid for "profiling" (correlating styles and dates of stones).

6. Rotundo, Barbara. "The Rural Cemetery Movement." Essex Institute Historical Collections, 109 (July, 1973), 231-240.
Covering the same subject as French's article (III.2., above), Rotundo's essay is the briefer and less complete of the two, although she quotes some revealing remarks from those opposed to the rural cemetery movement.

7. Young, Frank W. "Graveyards and Social Structure." Rural Sociology, 25 (December, 1960), 446-450.
Young's analysis of the stratification of society (based on the value and location of stones) and familism (relationships of family size and stability, based on name and kinship analysis) of two small Canadian seacoast towns is typical of a somewhat strictly sociological form of gravestone studies.

IV. Stonework, Sculpture, and Decorations

1. Craig, James H., ed. The Arts and Crafts in North Carolina, 1699-1840. Winston-Salem: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1965.
Craig's compilation includes not only newspaper ads but also county court minutes and apprentice indenture papers. Although there is no separate list of stonecutters or stonecarvers, there are some references to gravemarkers which are of interest because of the different kinds of tradespeople who advertised their services: the ad of a "Watch and Clock Maker" (Salisbury, 1834) states that "Engraving of every description (including Tomb-Stones,) will be executed with neatness and accuracy, at short notice"; the ad from a "Manufactory of Chairs and Bedsteads" (Salisbury, 1833) states that "he will make head and foot boards for Graves complete; lettered or plain."

2. Dow, George Francis. The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775. Topsfield, Mass.: Wayside Press, 1927; reprinted, New York: Da Capo, 1967.
In terms of stonecutters, for this volume Dow has collected only

the ads from Henry Christian Geyer, a Boston stonecutter whose activities from 1762 to 1772 included cutting headstones, hearth-pieces, jambs, and marble tables. He also went into the "Art and Manufactory of a fuser Simolacrorum, or the making of all sorts of images" of royalty, literary figures, and animals from Plaster of Paris. Geyer's stone for Susannah Jayne of Marble-heard is illustrated in this volume. A provocative, but somewhat cryptic, description of Geyer's stone for Robert Sandeman is found in a 30 July 1772 ad in the Boston News-Letter: "it is executed in the Composite Order with twisted Pillars, and the other proper Ornaments, having a Cherub's Head on wings, and the following label from his Mouth, Rev. XIV. 6,7."

3. Dunlap, William. "John Frazee." In A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, Vol. II, Part I (1834); reprinted, New York: Dover Publications, 1969. Pp. 266-269.
This biographical sketch is noteworthy by virtue of its omissions: Dunlap chooses to emphasize only the elite sculptures of Frazee, with only a half-line reference to his "making headstones in winter." See "Frazee's Autobiography," IV.5., below.

4. Forbes, Harriet M. "Symbolic Cemetery Gates in New England." Old-Time New England, 24 (October, 1933), 46-58.
Forbes analyzes the use of iron cemetery gates and fences in New England in the pre-Civil War decades (although she points out that their actual period of use extends from about 1830 to 1885). The dominant images of nineteenth-century stones--the willow, the lamb, birds, torches--are re-created in these cast-iron pieces; Forbes also documents the presence of images from the mid-nineteenth-century Egyptian "fad"--such pieces include asps, sphinxes, and a serpent with his tail in his mouth.

5. Frazee, John. "The Autobiography of Frazee, the Sculptor" (Chapters 2-4 only). The North American Quarterly Magazine, 6, 31 (July, 1835), 1-22.
Frazee's "Autobiography" (which seems to consist of only three chapters) is a rare and special document, for it provides a glimpse into the development of a New Jersey man whose occupations were bricklaying, stonecutting (gravestones), and sculpting (busts). Wasserman's book (II.B.4., above) analyzes Frazee's career as he moved from occupation to occupation, but it should be noted here that his tenure as a stonecutter occurs in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, at the crucial moment when "popular" images replace "folk" images on the East Coast on a massive scale. Frazee emphasizes that he knew nothing of the "symbols, images and attributes that had their origin in the classic ages, and that lived and breathed in the beautiful sculptures upon the tombs and sarcophagi of Egypt and Greece." Later on (c. 1825), when he overcame this "ignorance," he became

a sculptor whose busts were placed in such buildings as New York's Trinity Church and The Academy of Fine Arts.

During his career as a carver of gravestones, Frazee rejected the use of his contemporaries' "copper patterns" for "beads and diamonds" to decorate the borders of stones, instead favoring "vines of ivy and flowers" for they had their origins in "nature." Frazee's self-analysis is a tantalizingly brief but important statement on the interaction of popular and elite styles. Unfortunately, there seems to be no current research or identification of stones that Frazee actually cut.

6. Gottesman, Rita S., ed. The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers. New York: New York Historical Society Collections for 1936, 1938; reprinted New York: Da Capo, 1970.
This collection contains some data on the men who carved gravestones: the ads reveal the range of activities--chimney pieces, gravestones, and tombs being the main items. The work is mainly functional, with only a rare reference to purely decorative items such as statues or vases.

7. Lewis, Don and Bennie Lee. "Graveyard Pots." Ceramics Monthly, 15 (April, 1967), 20-21.
This article, with photographs, is a short but fascinating excursion into the products of potters which decorate the graves (1830s to 1900) in South Carolina. These pots, with occasional flower designs, may symbolize the traditional funerary urn, and they probably were used to hold flowers.

8. Prime, Alfred Coxe, ed. The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina, 1721-1785 ("Gleanings from Newspapers"). Topsfield, Mass.: The Walpole Society, 1929.
In this collection, the advertisers of gravestones and other (mainly functional) items such as chimney-pieces, door jambs, steps, etc., called themselves "stone cutters"; a fair number of the men in this sample are "lately arrived from London"--a fact which would indicate that this area was certainly in touch with British stonecutting traditions.

9. Prime, Alfred Coxe, ed. The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina, 1786-1800, Series Two ("Gleanings from Newspapers"). Topsfield, Mass.: The Walpole Society, 1932.
These newspaper ads from 1786 to 1800 distinguish between "carvers" who made not only gravestones but also decorative items (tables, statues, busts, etc.) and "stone cutters" who were mainly engaged in making gravestones and functional items (door jambs, chimney-pieces, etc.). There are some exceptions to this pattern, but from the sample in this volume a tentative conclusion may be drawn: "carving" becomes the more "artistic" term. (Prime himself divided, not always accurately, the ads

into two groups, "Stone Carving" and "Stone Cutters.")
A few ads reveal trends which may indicate how the "folk" tradition begins to "disappear": Mr. William Stiles, "stone-cutter," announced in 1792 a "new invented patent machine, by Mr. Mullikan. . .for sawing, rubbing and polishing marble and stone" ; in another ad, Thomas Walker, a "stone cutter" from Edinburgh, announced in 1793 that in addition to selling grave-stones, he has opened an evening school for teaching the rules of Architecture." The first example indicates the beginning of the decline of free-hand work, while the second example fore-shadows the regularizing of a stone-cutting "profession."

10. Tombstones and Monuments, Sears Roebuck retail catalog. Chicago: Sears Roebuck and Co., c. 1907.
This catalog sums up a century's national homogenization of gravestone shapes, images, and even epitaphs. Such matters, standardized and handled by this growing mailorder firm, reveals the mass uniformity of graveyards throughout the country. The mimicry of elite tomb traditions is also evident, for example, in Sears' "Art Renaissance Monument"--"Royal in its simplicity; grand in its Renaissance Art."

11. Smith, Elmer L. "Ceramic Tombstones." In his The Folk Art of Pennsylvania Dutchland. Lebanon, Pa.: Applied Arts Publishers, 1966; reprinted, 1971. P. 16.
This brief entry, with photographs, describes the rare use of glazed clay for grave markers. (Stone is, of course, the most common, followed only on occasion by wood and iron.) The ceramic markers discussed are in Shenandoah County, Virginia, made by local potters for members of their families, and are made of clay with the characteristic stoneware potters' grey glaze and cobalt blue lettering.

12. Sweet, Joy and Gordon. "Island Iron." Magazine of Art, 38 (March, 1945), 89-91.
The Sweets' article on the cemeteries of Edgartown (Martha's Vineyard) complements Forbes' article on the same subject (IV.4., above): the cast iron burial plot enclosures of the pre-Civil War decades. The Sweets provide some information on retail cast iron catalogs which indicates one way in which the illusion of "individual choice" dominates popular taste in the nineteenth century: the manufacturers of the cast iron pieces expected the customers to "mix and match" various pieces to suit their taste.

V. Epitaphs

1-2. Mann, Thomas C. and Janet Greene. Over Their Dead Bodies

(1962); Sudden and Awful (1968). Both published by Stephen Greene Press, Brattleboro, Vt.
These are two pleasant collections of New England epitaphs, but they are not as comprehensive as Wallis' book (next entry).

3. Wallis, Charles L. American Epitaphs, Grave and Humorous. New York: Dover Publications, 1973. Originally published by Oxford University Press in 1954 with the title Stories on Stone; this 1973 edition has a "new selection of illustrations." Wallis' book is probably the best collection of epitaphs available, not only because of its historical and geographical range, but also because the selection includes a wide cultural range--folk, popular, and somewhere in-between ("The boiling coffee did on me fall, / And by it I was slain, / But Christ has bought my liberty, / And in him I'll rise again"--1843). The epitaphs were either verified by the author or by those the author regarded as reliable and close to the scene (local historians, genealogists, etc.). There is also a bibliography of forty-five books on American and English epitaphs.

VI. Methods of Field Study

1. Cotter, John L. "Above Ground Archaeology." American Quarterly, 26 (August, 1974), 266-280.
Prepared by Cotter for publication by the Government Printing Office for the American Revolution Bicentenniel Commission, this text has received imprimitur from the Society for American Archaeology, the American Association of Museums, and the American Society for State and Local History. The information covered is designed for students on the secondary school level and contains simple but important advice on collecting materials, record-keeping, and interpretation of sites, all of which could be applied to work in cemetery sites.

2. Jacobs, G. Walker. Stranger Stop and Cast an Eye: A Guide to Stones and Rubbing. Marblehead: Oldstone Enterprises, 1971, 2nd ed., 1972.
"Rubbing" remains an essential supplementary technique for gravestone analysis, since this ancient method of transferring the image from a surface carved in relief to paper often reveals features that photography or close observation misses. Of the handful of how-to-do-it pamphlets available, Jacobs' work is one of the best. She includes a section on "The History of Stones and Rubbing" (with a short but helpful glossary of gravestone symbols and icons) with her descriptions of various "Rubbing Techniques." (Two other pamphlets cover similar ground: Richard Friswell, Faces in Stone (c/o author, 88 Beech St.,

Belmont, Mass., 1971; 2nd ed., 1973); and Melvin G. Williams, The Last Word: The Lure and Lore of Early New England Graveyards (Oldstone Enterprises, 77 Summer St., Boston, 1973).

3. Journals from the Gloucester Experiment: A School Community Partnership Project. Gloucester Community Development Corporation, P.O. Box 15, Gloucester, Mass. 01930, 1974.
A helpful guide to the restoration of old cemeteries, emphasizing laws and regulations governing historical cemeteries, landscape preservation, and stone conservation.

4-6. Neal, Avon and Ann Parker. "Archaic Art of New England Gravestone." Art in America, June, 1963, 96-105; "Carvers in Stone." Vermont Life, Autumn, 1964, 40-47; "Graven Images: Sermons in Stone." American Heritage, August, 1970, 18-29.
While none of these popular magazine articles offer new insights into the imagery or background of New England stonecarving, they (as well as the exhibits of gravestone rubbings that Neal and Parker have mounted over the years) represent a very important effort by Neal and Parker to bring the purely artistic values of rubbing to the fore.

7. Newman, John J. Cemetery Transcribing: Preparation and Procedures. History News Technical Leaflet 9, from 26, 5 (May, 1971), available as a separate leaflet from American Association for State and Local History, 1315 Eight Ave., South, Nashville, Tenn. 37203.
An invaluable guide to the techniques of recording data from cemeteries, Newman's work is especially helpful on the details of record-keeping, as well as providing methods for reading difficult or damaged stones.

8. Oesting, Marie. "How to Find Cemeteries and Gravesites. Pp. 2, mimeographed, Marie Oesting, 1717 Roblee Road, Baraboo, Wis. 53913.
This brief outline (available for 20¢) develops in depth the only area which Newman's Cemetery Transcribing (entry above) covers too briefly--locating cemeteries and gravesites which have been "lost" or ignored. Oesting emphasizes also the importance of locating individual and family gravesites.

9. Old Cemetery Societies. Newsletters available from addresses at end of entry.
At least three states have active associations for the location and preservation of cemeteries of all kinds (that is, not simply "historically" important sites). All three publish newsletters, with helpful information on the locations and conditions of

sites and various other matters pertaining to the material culture of the American gravestone. They are also a helpful source for inquiries and genealogical research.

(a) Vermont Old Cemetry Association
Mrs. Ethel Billings, Treasurer
R.D. 3, Middlebury, Vt. 15753

(b) Maine Old Cemetery Association
Dr. Hilda M. Fife, Membership Secretary
6 Sherwood Drive
Eliot, Maine 03903

(c) Wisconsin State Old Cemetery Society
c/o F. Winston Luck
4319 North 70th St.
Milwaukee, Wis. 53216