

RESEARCHING CONNECTICUT'S HISTORIC CEMETERIES: AN ANNOTATED REFERENCE GUIDE



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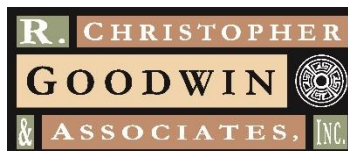
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Cover: Cypress Cemetery, Old Saybrook, Connecticut (2018). Photo by Scott V. Goodwin

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This annotated bibliography focuses on the burial grounds and cemeteries of Connecticut established from European settlement to the twentieth century. It was designed to assist in the informal and scholarly exploration of those multifaceted heritage sites, and is meant to encourage further investigation into local, regional, and national funerary history.

The resources compiled and summarized in the subsequent chapters deal with a range of topics relevant to cemetery research. The first chapter, **Understanding Cemeteries in Cultural Context**, introduces the subject of cemetery studies through texts on the social and cultural history of death and burial in the Americas and in European traditions. The second chapter, **The Design and Landscaping of Burial Spaces**, looks at common types of historic cemeteries found in Connecticut through an exploration of burial-space design movements in American history. The third chapter, **Funerary Art and Architecture: Monuments, Markers, and Memorials**, addresses the history, identification, and evaluation of designed cemetery objects, and the artisans who created them. A chapter on **Funeral, Burial, and Mourning Customs** deals with practices that occurred in and around Connecticut cemeteries that may have influenced cemetery development. The fifth chapter, **Laws and Bylaws**, considers the legal framework for the regulation of burial spaces. The sixth chapter chronicles **Resources for Cemetery-Specific Research** in Connecticut's four coastal counties.¹ The seventh and final chapter reviews salient literature on developing **Preservation, Documentation, and Conservation** strategies for historic cemeteries. In each chapter, the resources chosen either inform or directly contribute to the understanding of cemeteries in Connecticut.

A variety of resource types were considered. Books, periodicals, articles, pamphlets, document indices, technical briefs, photograph collections, and survey reports are all cited in the bibliography. Most of these resources are available from major public libraries, and many of the citations have been digitized and can be viewed on websites such as www.archive.org (including periodicals like *Markers: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* and *Park and Cemetery*) or in online version of books such as J.J. Gordon's *Cemetery Management*. It should be noted that the citations compiled here represent only part of the literature on New England cemeteries and an even smaller portion of the literature on individual cemeteries in Connecticut. Many of the works cited in the following chapters have bibliographies that can assist readers in exploring specialized topics. For researchers focusing on individual cemeteries, town libraries and historical societies remain the best resources for research into local history and local historical sites.

¹ This document is specifically concerned with burial grounds and cemeteries in the lower four counties of Connecticut (Fairfield, New Haven, Middlesex, and New London), owing to parameters laid out by the Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office's Hurricane Sandy Disaster Relief Assistance Grant program, funded by a grant from the National Park Service's Emergency Supplemental Historic Preservation Fund. Nonetheless, many resources cited here are broad in scope and may be useful for research elsewhere in the state.

One important resource for Connecticut cemetery research that has not been given an individual entry in this document is **the Charles R. Hale Collection of Connecticut Cemetery Inscriptions**. The Hale Collection contains headstone inscriptions from more than 2,000 cemeteries in Connecticut that were surveyed as part of a Works Progress Administration (WPA) initiative directed by Charles R. Hale from 1932 to 1935. It is an invaluable source of vital statistics. Because it is used primarily as an aid in genealogical research, it does not fit well within the framework of this bibliography. Cemetery researchers, nevertheless, should be aware of the Hale Collection. It is a useful guide to locations of often-overlooked Connecticut cemeteries and burial grounds; it provides a way of quickly locating significant interred individuals; and it is a useful source of data for comparative site analysis. The Hale Collection is available in print at the Connecticut State Library and is a public domain resource also made available via online genealogy services (e.g., New Horizons Genealogy 2008). It also has been republished frequently in cemetery guides that may be found in local libraries.

CHAPTER II

UNDERSTANDING CEMETERIES IN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Connecticut's cemeteries are repositories of local history. They serve important roles in our communities as places of memory and archives of family histories. But they also function as museums of cultural artifacts. Those artifacts can teach us about how we have viewed death, practiced religion, made art, designed landscapes, built structures, and even run businesses throughout history. Different ways of interpreting burial places are discussed in the chapters of this guide. To understand the meaning of Connecticut's cemeteries and their constituent features, however, we first must consider "the cemetery" in its larger cultural and geographic contexts. Just as cemeteries reflect local histories, they also represent patterns of change across borders and across time. Consequently, we often must look beyond our immediate setting to recognize the historical significance of a cemetery or of monuments, markers, or landscape features therein.

The literature reviewed in this chapter provides two perspectives for cemetery comprehension: **Part A** describes four cultural studies on death and commemoration in the Western tradition, including Philippe Aries's *The Hour of Our Death* and Michel Ragon's *The Space of Death*. **Part B** highlights texts that trace changing American conceptions of death and the evolution of the American cemetery from the time of European settlement to the present, including David Charles Sloane's comprehensive survey titled *The Last Great Necessity*.

A. Death and Memorialization in the Western Tradition

Aries, Philippe
The Hour of Our Death (translated from the French by Helen Weaver)
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981

In *The Hour of Our Death*, social historian Philippe Aries chronicles the history of Western attitudes toward death from the early Middle Ages to the present. Citing funerary practices, architectural designs, last wills and testaments, medical writings, and works of visual art and literature as evidence of "collective" psychological trends, Aries argues that Westerners experienced and understood death and dying in five sequential stages since the early Middle Ages. His chronology of paradigms spans "tame death," "the death of the self," "remote and imminent death," and "the death of the other," and culminates with the "invisible death" of the present. In each stage, Aries finds that changing notions of individuality, nature, evil, and the afterlife contributed to a distinct understanding of death. He saw cemeteries and memorials as reflections of those understandings. The broad approach to historical analysis taken in *The Hour of Our Death*, which considers more than 1,000 years of Western thought and social custom, has been critiqued since the book's publication. But the breadth of content in Aries's book makes it an especially useful introductory survey on the social history of death in the West.

Curl, James Stevens
A Celebration of Death
London: B.T. Batsford, 1993

James Stevens Curl's *A Celebration of Death* introduces the history of funerary architecture from ancient cultures to the present. This volume addresses the following topics as they pertain to the architectural tradition of Western Europe: mortuary artifacts of ancient cultures; buildings, cemeteries, gardens, and sculptures from the Greco-Roman world; funerary art of the Middle Ages; sepulchral designs of the Renaissance and Baroque periods; the churchyard and cemetery reform; the first modern cemetery and the garden cemetery movement; American rural cemeteries; the architecture of cremation; and war cemeteries and memorials. Curl uses examples of historic architecture to elucidate his analyses of design approaches from each period in question. He also points to social, cultural, and religious design influences. Although the work contains limited information specific to American funerary architecture, as he explains, Anglo-American designs were heavily influenced by European practices in the nineteenth century. Those seeking a long-term perspective on the architecture of death in the West will benefit from reading *A Celebration of Death*.

Ragon, Michel
The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism (translated from the French by Alan Sheridan)
Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983

The Space of Death is an historical analysis of the architecture, decoration, and urbanization of death from ancient Egypt to the present. Michel Ragon argues that people historically have conceived of death and speculated about the afterlife in spatial terms. Therefore, Ragon reasons that understanding the history of our attitudes toward death can be achieved through the analysis of man-made spaces and spatial practices. Specifically, he believes that history is reflected in designed spaces of death and commemoration, in performances of death and mourning, and even in depictions or descriptions of death and the afterlife. He reviews and interprets practices, objects, and historical events to answer fundamental questions such as: How have cultures approached death throughout history? And what might those approaches mean? Although psychologists, sociologists, historians, and philosophers have sought to answer these questions, Ragon applies a unique architectural perspective interlaced with urbanist and art historical points of view. *The Space of Death* is a recommended starting point for those interested in funerary art and architecture, funerary customs and traditions, and mortuary landscapes from either long-term or theoretical perspectives.

Worpole, Ken
Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West
London: Reaktion, 2003

Ken Worpole's *Last Landscapes* is a history of the Western cemetery. While tracing the evolution of interment methods, burial arrangements, funerary architecture, monumentation, and commemorative landscaping from the Middle Ages to the present, Worpole considers the cultural meaning of mortuary practices and sepulchral designs. He believes that certain historical artifacts reflect the genealogy of attitudes toward death. *Last Landscapes* differs from Aries's, Curl's, and Ragon's work in that Worpole limits the scope of his analysis to an expanded notion of "the cemetery," an approach that focuses on commemorative landscapes and suggests a common and continual ancestry to our modern cemetery form. This book examines Etruscan burial sites, the catacombs of Rome, landscape-lawn cemeteries, crematoria, modern gardens of remembrance, and other European and North American approaches. The volume provides a broad survey of cemetery design in the West, including recent developments, and introduces a number of paradigms for their interpretation.

B. Death and Memorialization in America

Farrell, James J.

Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830–1920

Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980

Inventing the American Way of Death is a study of religion and cultural and social change in the United States from 1830 to 1920. That period, James Farrell argues, was when Americans defined death as a modern cultural event. Farrell believes that important patterns in American socio-cultural life are revealed through historical analysis of the ideas and institutions concerned with death in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Specifically, he recognizes “the disappearance of the thought of death as an influence bearing upon practical life,” also viewed as fear of death grounded in religiosity “being replaced with a joy of life.” The book explores the intellectual history of death and dying in America and the scientific challenges to traditional thought about death. Farrell also examines institutional approaches to death and commemoration, including funerals, and garden and lawn cemeteries. The volume concludes with an account of historical changes in particular American communities. In this way, *Inventing the American Way of Death* chronicles the lineage of contemporary American approaches to death, dying, mourning, and burial.

Jackson, Charles O., ed.

Passing: The Vision of Death in America

Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977

Charles Jackson collected 15 essays that together provide a historical perspective on death in American culture from the colonial period to the present. These essays explore three topics: social and cultural understandings of death as an event; social responses to death; and the cemetery as a cultural institution. Topics include Puritan visions of death, funerary customs in colonial New York, Civil War-era attitudes toward death, nineteenth century funerals, the rural cemetery movement, death and urbanism in the twentieth century, contemporary fear of death, and the modern park cemetery. Among the contributions are canonical works on death and commemoration, such as the excerpt “Forbidden Death” from Philippe Ariès’s 1974 *Western Attitudes Toward Death*, and James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen’s “Death’s Heads, Cherubs and Willow Trees.” *Passing* introduces the reader to the diverse scholarship on the history of death in America and to a variety of resources for further exploration. Some of the essays in *Passing* are reviewed individually in this annotated bibliography, since they pertain to relevant topics of cemetery study.

Mytum, Harold

Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period

New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2004

Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period is an academic reference book that describes historic-period monuments and burial spaces in North America and Britain from an archaeological perspective. This volume also includes a history of mortuary archaeology and its scholarship, and it explores a range of interpretive approaches forwarded by archaeologists and historians over the past half-century. Unlike other works in the field of cemetery studies that often give preference to readily visible features of burial spaces, Harold Mytum describes out-of-sight artifacts (such as coffins and buried memorials) that evolved over time in parallel with above-ground monuments. His typologies of cemetery elements, spatial designs, symbols, and materials are useful for understanding how cemetery features developed. Moreover, Mytum’s transatlantic perspective provides insight into exported funerary practices that arrived in America during the early colonial period. Because

of its academic approach and format, this work is best suited for those already familiar with cemetery studies.

Sloane, David Charles

The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991

The Last Great Necessity is a comprehensive and accessible history of the American cemetery from the seventeenth century to the present. Author David Charles Sloane traces the evolution of cemeteries through four common burial ground forms, each associated with an historical period: the early American cemetery, the rural cemetery, the lawn-park cemetery, and the memorial park. Sloane explains each cemetery type within its historical milieu and discusses the social, cultural, and economic trends that influenced their rise. Cemetery design and cemetery management are explored in detail. Sloane also addresses peripheral trends significant to understanding American burial history, including the rise of the landscape architect and cemetery superintendent professions, the commercialization of the cemetery, and popular acceptance of cremation. This resource is a recommended starting point for any researcher interested in the broad patterns of American cemetery history. Sloane's extensive bibliography and example-oriented historical approach also may prove useful to researchers interested in specific cemeteries and cemetery movements.

CHAPTER III

THE DESIGN AND LANDSCAPING OF BURIAL SPACES

Graveyards and cemeteries are designed spaces of commemoration and interment. Different types of burial grounds—e.g., colonial graveyards, nineteenth century rural cemeteries, and twentieth century memorial parks—represent differing spatial formulations of beliefs about the appropriate disposal and remembrance of the dead. Although we first might take notice of artistically designed monuments and memorials during a cemetery visit, “cemetery design” encompasses the design of burial grounds themselves. This includes the grouping and arrangement of the dead; the spacing of burial plots; the size and location of the cemetery; and the aesthetics of the natural environment. These fundamental questions of cemetery design date from the seventeenth century, with differing design solutions offered during distinct historical periods.

This chapter reviews resources on cemetery design and landscaping to provide researchers with a foundational understanding of specific cemetery types, and their associated historical movements, that developed in Connecticut. Researchers interested in landscape architecture also should direct their attention to the literature reviewed below. This chapter is divided into five sections. The first three parts (**Part A-C**) correspond to major periods of cemetery design in American history, while the fourth (**Part D**) describes religious and ethnic variations on and divergences from dominant Anglo-American design forms. The fifth section (**Part E**) describes military, national, and state cemeteries. Although the annotations below provide some explanatory context, David Charles Sloane’s *The Last Great Necessity*, reviewed in the previous chapter, is a good introduction to the historical categories that frame this chapter.

A. Early American Cemeteries (17th–19th c.)

Blake, Henry T.

Chronicles of New Haven Green from 1638 to 1862: A Series of Papers Read Before the New Haven Colony Historical Society

New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Press, 1898

Early urban burial grounds in New England often were located on a central commons, or adjacent to a community meetinghouse. Henry Blake investigates the history of New Haven’s public commons in eight papers delivered from 1894 to 1898. Each essay addresses an historical aspect of the New Haven Green, including its evolving design and landscape; its use as a civic forum; its religious, military, and educational functions; its use as a marketplace; and its use as a place of burial. “Chronicles of New Haven Green” and “The Green as a Place of Burial” directly relate to the topic of early American burial ground design and landscaping. Architectural historians have recognized the importance of the New Haven Green as a seminal site in the development of urban landscaping practices and town ornamentation in New England. As Blake explains, the New Haven Green not only demonstrates those landscaping practices (later applied to “formal garden,” or grid-plan, burial grounds like the New Haven Burying Ground) but also exemplifies colonial sepulchral design. Blake interweaves historical

documents, including colonial-era maps, while summarizing the evolving function and setting of the New Haven Green.

Brown, Ian W.

“The New England Cemetery as Cultural Landscape”

In *History from Things: Essays in Material Culture*, Steven Lubar and David Kingery, eds., 140–59. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.

Ian Brown considers the spatial arrangement of gravestones in one early New England burial ground, the Old Burying Ground in Watertown, Massachusetts. He argues that the study of burial spaces as cultural landscapes—and not merely as collections of unrelated cultural objects—imparts historical knowledge inaccessible through other means. Brown finds that the network of monuments in the Old Burying Ground reveals patterns of social relationships that could not be gleaned through the study of individual markers outside their spatial context or through the historical record. For Brown, the locations of individual interments (i.e., the clustering or spacing of family members) were design choices made across generations that have specific historical meaning. This essay provides one model for reading early American burial-ground designs and for interpreting their landscapes.

Favretti, Rudy J.

“Ornamentation of New England Towns, 1750–1850”

Journal of Garden History 2:4 (1982): 325–42

Rudy Favretti’s article investigates the beginnings of town improvement and landscaping practices in New England. He describes the transition of colonial New England’s urban spaces from austerity to ornamentation, highlighting two towns, New Haven and Boston, that catalyzed a regional beautification movement that took shape in the eighteenth century. After livestock had left common spaces like the New Haven Green bare and muddied for decades, tree-planting initiatives led to a growing interest in landscaping and maintenance of community space. By the late nineteenth century, and as improvement societies began to clear, grade, enclose, and ornament common land, that trend spread throughout New England. This article uses specific examples to portray colonial settings and to characterize common landscape alterations undertaken during this period, including descriptions of historical New Haven and a visual depiction of colonial New Canaan. Favretti’s history reveals how changing opinions regarding the appearance of common spaces influenced new burial practices and burial-ground designs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Stilgoe, John R.

Common Landscape of America, 1580–1845

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983

John Stilgoe explores the history of the American landscape from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. While tracing the evolution of planting, agriculture, national and community design, and industry, Stilgoe emphasizes the intrinsic conflict between landscape—the man-made environment—and wilderness. During his discussion of graveyard landscapes, however, landscape and wilderness become intertwined. Stilgoe investigates the European origins of American graveyard design, concluding that religious and folk beliefs about death and the afterlife had a significant influence on the way early Americans conceived of burial spaces. He asserts that colonial populations, like their European ancestors, viewed graveyards as part landscape and part wilderness because they belonged to the dead and not the living. For this reason, design decisions were implemented that separated those spaces from the rest of the community. Such decisions were manifest in burial-ground siting, built barriers like walls and fences, and landscape maintenance (or, specifically, a lack thereof). Strategies, however, varied

among communities, especially those with different religious traditions. *Common Landscape of America* offers theory and documentary history in its discussion of America's earliest cemeteries.

Stilgoe, John R.

“Folklore and Graveyard Design”

Landscape 22:3 (1978): 22–28.

In a 1978 article in the journal *Landscape*, Stilgoe addresses early American burial grounds and their European antecedents using research that, years later, was incorporated in *Common Landscape of America, 1580–1845*. This article contains some information not included in Stilgoe's book and might be preferred by certain researchers because the subject is addressed without reference to broader themes in American landscape history. In “Folklore and Graveyard Design,” Stilgoe discusses the folk beliefs that influenced the design and maintenance of burying grounds from the Middle Ages to the rise of the nineteenth century American cemetery. His 1978 article addresses graveyard consecration, burial exclusivity, late Middle Ages design, the decline of the graveyard, Puritan burying grounds, and the emergence of cemeteries. Stilgoe's survey of Puritan burying grounds is particularly helpful in understanding the design of colonial-era burial spaces common to Connecticut and New England.

B. The Rural Cemetery Movement (1831–1870s)

Bender, Thomas

“The ‘Rural’ Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature”

The New England Quarterly 47 (1974): 196–211

The rural cemetery movement was a mid-nineteenth century cultural phenomenon characterized by the establishment of designed, park-like cemeteries at the peripheries of urban areas. That movement, also called the garden cemetery movement, materialized at a moment of social and cultural change, as patterns of urban life and attitudes toward death and commemoration were undergoing transformation. In the 1960s and 1970s, historians working in the emerging field of cemetery studies considered the potential of rural cemeteries—e.g., their landscapes and monuments—as keys to understanding society and culture in the nineteenth century. Thomas Bender contributes to that growing body of literature with this paper, arguing that rural cemeteries were not “rural” at all. Instead, he claims that garden cemeteries were born of out of urban concerns and were designed with the intent of serving urban communities. He posits that historians often “have ignored [rural cemeteries’] ideological background and their place in the emerging urban culture.” In doing so, he argues, historians have overlooked their importance in the urbanization of America. Bender's essay offers an important perspective for historical interpretation of rural cemeteries.

Etlin, Richard A.

The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris

Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1984

The Architecture of Death is a study of the architectural designs and the social and cultural conditions that redefined “the cemetery” in Paris in the eighteenth century, and that inspired the design of the world's most famous rural cemetery, Père Lachaise. This volume explores the 60-year-long Parisian cemetery reform movement, which not only realized transformative approaches in designing for death but also reflected radical changes in Western attitudes toward death. Richard Etlin shows that the origins of the American rural cemetery movement are found in Parisian architectural experiments, planning imperatives, political transformations, and social exigencies of the eighteenth century, as well as in English gardening styles and other European cultural currents. This book incorporates historical

narrative and formal design analysis. It is divided into two parts: “The Architect and the Cemetery,” which explores sepulchral designs of the early modern period and the architects who sought to redesign those troubled forms, and “The Landscape Gardener and the Cemetery,” which examines the role of nature and landscape in designing for death. Although Etlin deals directly with the Anglo-American rural cemetery only in the final chapter, this resource is essential reading for those interested in the historical lineage of the garden cemetery. Abbreviated versions of this text can be found in the *Journal of Garden History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1984, as “Père Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery,” and in the Spring 1977 issue of the journal *Oppositions*, as “Landscapes of Eternity: Funerary Architecture and the Cemetery, 1793–1881.”

French, Stanley

“The Cemetery as a Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the ‘Rural Cemetery Movement’ ”

American Quarterly 26:1 (1974): 37–59

Stanley French argues that unlike burial grounds of the colonial period, the first American rural cemetery was designed “not only to be a place of interment, but to serve as a cultural institution” that facilitated public involvement in life and death. The founding of Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, marked a dramatic shift in prevailing attitudes about death and burial, a shift apparent in the newly popularized term “cemetery” (from the Greek *koimeterion*, meaning “sleeping place”), which replaced “burial ground” as the descriptive title of these new spaces. According to French, individuals and institutions in Boston synthesized new ideas about death, memory, and commemoration, and designed a new institution to embody their ideals. The rural cemetery landscape reflected Victorian sentimentality; it corresponded to popular notions of the picturesque. It also was a patriotic museum of American ancestry, with monuments “commensurate with the ideals of a republic”—ideals that became mirrored in the cemetery’s corporate structure. Rural cemeteries also were open-air exhibits of funerary art where visitors could appreciate horticulture and sculpture, much as they would in the public art museums of the late nineteenth century. This essay analyses those functions of rural cemeteries, as well as their physical characteristics and cultural origins.

Harris, Neil

“The Cemetery Beautiful”

In *Passing: The Vision of Death in America*, Charles O. Jackson, ed., 103–11

Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977

Neil Harris’s essay is perhaps the most successful account of the rural cemetery movement that is reviewed in this annotated bibliography. It manages to highlight succinctly the most significant characteristics of the rural cemetery as they pertain to changes in American culture in the first half of the nineteenth century. Unlike other authors who have examined the origins of the garden cemetery movement, Harris does not focus on the founding of one cemetery, nor does he offer a history of the social conditions leading to or design approaches resulting from cemetery reform initiatives. Instead, he characterizes the cultural inclinations that gave rise to the rural cemetery and the specific aspects of the cemetery form that fit the national mood. For instance, Harris describes the rural cemetery as “an open-air church,” offering more “certain means of communing with the dead” during a period where “hopes of future immortality grew less distinct.” He also makes note of less apparent historical developments associated with the movement, like the emergence of cemetery professionals and cemetery associations, and the commercialization of death.

Linden-Ward, Blanche

Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery

Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988

Mount Auburn Cemetery was America's first rural cemetery, and its history represents in microcosm the rise of that cemetery form. In *Silent City on a Hill*, Blanche Linden-Ward describes how individuals and institutions in Boston, who found inspiration in the Parisian cemetery reform movement and in English gardening techniques, developed a new type of cultural institution that was part burial ground, part park, part museum, and part commercial enterprise in response to social concerns and cultural inclinations of the time. While other writings on the rural cemetery movement generally examine the origins, characteristics, and uses of garden cemeteries, this study offers detailed particulars. Linden-Ward's narrative reveals the complex interrelationship of historical events and individual entrepreneurs, artists, architects, horticulturists, and patrons that influenced the design and function of Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Linden-Ward, Blanche

"Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries"

In *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard Meyer, ed., 293–328. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992

This essay is a history of American rural cemeteries that is concerned principally with the recreational use of cemeteries by the public. Garden cemeteries served as naturalistic retreats and refuges from city life for many nineteenth century Americans. However, their popularity as leisure parks, or "pleasure grounds," wrought changes within cemetery institutions and eventually contributed to the decline of the rural cemetery form. Blanche Linden-Ward, who also wrote the authoritative history of Mount Auburn Cemetery, examines that Boston area cemetery and others to characterize the common recreational uses of rural cemeteries and to interpret the historical appeal of their landscapes. This essay takes note of important shifts in cemetery management, like the practice of ticketed entry, which resulted from growing cemetery attendance. Linden-Ward also discusses how unseemly conduct on cemetery grounds provoked the establishment of cemetery regulations such as fines for discharging firearms or vandalizing plantings or memorials.

Morgan, Keith N.

"The Emergence of the American Landscape Professional: John Notman and the Design of Rural Cemeteries"

Journal of Garden History 4:3 (1984): 269–89

Keith Morgan describes how the rural cemetery movement led to the rise of a new type of landscape professional in America through an intertwining of gardening and architecture. He argues that John Notman, the man responsible for the design of Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery (1835), was the first architect to achieve prominence through the design of a rural cemetery and was one of the first to design any public landscape in America. Morgan finds that rural cemeteries paved the way for designers like Frederick Law Olmsted to define the profession "landscape architect" a generation later. He explores the planning of Laurel Hill Cemetery, revealing how architects approached large-scale landscape design in the early nineteenth century. Although Notman did not design cemeteries in Connecticut, his work at Laurel Hill, Spring Grove (Cincinnati), and Hollywood (Richmond, Virginia) served as models for cemetery designs across the country. This article contributes to our understanding of how the rural cemetery movement influenced new approaches to landscape design and gave rise to a professional class of landscape designers.

Rotundo, Barbara

“Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution”

Journal of Garden History 4:3 (1984): 255–67

“Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution” assesses a series of social and cultural conditions that brought about the American rural cemetery movement. Barbara Rotundo considers subjects similar to those in Blanche Linden-Ward’s *Silent City on a Hill*, David Charles Sloane’s *The Last Great Necessity*, and Stanley French’s “The Cemetery As Cultural Institution.” However, Rotundo’s account gives special attention to landscape. This article describes nineteenth century popular interest in the picturesque and the cultural institutions, such as horticultural societies, that sought to establish natural public spaces in urban areas. She also discusses plantings and landscape design at Mount Auburn Cemetery. Rotundo observed that Mount Auburn represented a dramatic change in American attitudes about nature, death, and recreation, concluding that “the Bostonians who started Mount Auburn Cemetery were more like us than their stern ancestors.”

Schuyler, David

“The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History”

Journal of Garden History 4:3 (1984): 291–304

David Schuyler’s article provides a brief social history of the rural cemetery movement’s beginnings in America. He defines the historical forces that drove the rise of the rural cemetery and draws distinctions between its American and British forms. This article traces the transatlantic transmission of garden-cemetery aesthetics from the gardens at Ermenonville and Père Lachaise in France, both popular tourist destinations. Schuyler then demonstrates how urban growth and public-health concerns solidified the rural cemetery as an alternative approach to traditional burial-ground design. The author also identifies a number of social and cultural factors that may have caused the delay between the foundation of Père Lachaise in Paris (1804) and the establishment of America’s first rural cemetery at Mount Auburn (1831), a subject rarely considered in other discussions of the rural cemetery movement. Schuyler’s concise survey conveys the broad social patterns and cultural inclinations that allowed the rural cemetery to proliferate in America and Britain in the mid-nineteenth century.

Smith, J. Jay

“Rural Cemeteries”

The Horticulturist, and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste 11:6 (Aug., Sept., Oct. 1856): 23, 26, 29

Nineteenth century authors recognized the cultural significance of the rural cemetery, considered its widespread appeal, and attempted to define its characteristics. Writers at *The Horticulturist* explored this phenomenon in 1856, at the height of the rural cemetery movement. A series of articles in the journal outline the history of the rural cemetery and examined common features of garden cemeteries, their plans, circulation patterns, and horticultural components. These articles contemplate the success of certain approaches to the design of cemeteries, laying out a set of ideal qualities for future rural cemeteries. This resource provides an historical entry point for further primary-source research on American rural cemeteries and offers insight into the ways these burial spaces were understood contemporaneously.

C. Landscape-Lawn Cemeteries (1855–1920s) and Memorial Parks (1917–Present)

Blaney, Herbert

“The Modern Park Cemetery”

In *Passing: The Vision of Death in America*, Charles O. Jackson, ed., 219–26
Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977

This resource describes the common features of memorial parks, the most prevalent cemetery design type of the late twentieth century, drawing comparisons between modern design decisions and the approaches of the past. Herbert Blaney addresses the general plan, circulation patterns, monument styles, and plantings common to that form, using the example of Park Hill Cemetery in Bloomington, Illinois. This essay points out similarities between memorial park design and modern approaches to town planning and real estate development, suggesting a relationship between cemetery design and modern urban design theory. Blaney makes his position as a proponent of the “park cemetery” form clear from the outset, but his lack of critical detachment does not detract from the historical value of this essay. In fact, in praising design elements, Blaney reveals what qualities were desirable in cemeteries of the recent past. The essay can be read as a primary source that identifies unique aspects of park cemetery design and contemporary notions of the “ideal” cemetery.

Farmar, Alfred

“The Modern Cemetery: The Perpetual Care Lawn Plan”

Overland Monthly 29 (1897): 440–47

In the 1897 essay “The Modern Cemetery: The Perpetual Care Lawn Plan,” Alfred Farmar describes the landscape-lawn cemetery model and expresses support for its fundamental principles. Landscape-lawn cemeteries supplanted rural cemeteries in the late nineteenth century as public opinion shifted about the design, patronage, and management of rural cemeteries. The first lawn-plan cemetery, Spring Grove in Cincinnati, pioneered a lawn-oriented aesthetic and a new model of grounds management. Farmer praises the approaches employed at Spring Grove as a remedy to the troubled rural cemetery model. He feels that “stringent rules and regulations should be adopted and observed [in modern cemeteries], without which it would be impossible to make the cemetery a harmonious whole.” Moreover, Farmer notes that perpetual care, a financial practice that emerged with the lawn-cemetery model whereby plot owners purchased landscape maintenance from cemetery management for their property in perpetuity, was convenient and honorable, and an essential feature of modern cemeteries. This resource illustrates a late nineteenth century perspective on the emerging lawn-plan cemetery.

Gordon, J.J.

Cemetery Management

Chicago: Cemetery Beautiful Publishing Co., 1915

Cemetery Management, published in 1915, is a guide to contemporary theories and practices in the organization, design, and management of lawn-plan cemeteries, a form the author refers to as “the modern cemetery.” The guide defines “modern cemetery” in relation to its necessary elements, including transportation, “character of the ground,” roads, entrances, buildings, drive systems, drainage, beautification and landscape development, “honest use of material,” water effects, and trees and shrubs. The author recommends ways in which these elements should be incorporated into new modern cemeteries and presents strategies for modernizing old cemeteries. The guide also discusses perpetual-care funds, proper accounting, and cemetery ownership. This resource offers an image of the ideal cemetery during the lawn-plan period from the perspective of the mortuary industry.

Tobey, George B.

“Adolph Strauch, Father of the Lawn Plan”

Landscape Planning Quarterly 2:4 (1976): 283–94

George Tobey’s essay in *Landscape Planning Quarterly* provides a brief biographical sketch of landscape designer Adolph Strauch as well as a review of his most significant contribution to American landscape architecture: the landscape-lawn, or “lawn-plan,” cemetery. Tobey describes Strauch’s innovative perspective on the memorial landscape of modern cemeteries and the ways in which his ideas were implemented at Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati. This essay also examines Strauch and Spring Grove Cemetery’s influence on the design of cemeteries across the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as their role in the formulation of the “memorial park” cemetery design that rose to prominence later in the twentieth century. For a further examination of Strauch and his national impact on cemetery design, see David Charles Sloane’s *The Last Great Necessity*.

Weed, Howard Evarts

Modern Park Cemeteries

Chicago: R.J. Haight, 1912

Howard Evarts Weed’s 1912 *Modern Park Cemeteries* is a treatise on the design of modern cemeteries in the modern lawn-plan style. After recounting a brief history of burial customs and cemetery design in America, Weed considers the principal features of well-designed and -managed landscape-lawn cemeteries. He offers a “best practices” outline for the design of cemeteries through an exploration of the “proper location for a cemetery,” the cemetery landscape and circulation plan, general construction work, road construction work, “landscape development,” and monuments and memorials. Other portions of the text address the corporate structure of successful contemporary cemeteries, the role of the superintendent, and governing rules and regulations. Illustrations, plans, and photographs complement Weed’s examination of circulation patterns, landscape features (i.e., ponds, natural topography), and monuments. This resource provides an in-depth portrait of the landscape-lawn cemetery and its landscape features in the early twentieth century.

Park and Cemetery (also called *Park and Cemetery and Landscaping* and *Modern Cemetery*)

Chicago: R.J. Haight, 1891–1933

Park and Cemetery, published from 1891 to 1933, is dedicated to the design, landscaping, monumentation, and management of municipal parks and cemeteries. Because the period of its publication corresponds to that of the landscape-lawn, or lawn-plan, cemetery’s peak popularity, *Park and Cemetery* is uniquely suited to the study of that form. However, the periodical also considers rural cemeteries, early American graveyards, and early memorial parks as they were conceived of, updated, expanded, or deemed historically relevant. It contains editorials about trends in landscaping and design, as well as criticism of cemetery and park designs and monuments. Advertisements and editorials also described new technologies and commercial products for gardeners, monument makers, conservators, landscape architects, and potential patrons. This periodical contains a wealth of information on plantings, memorials, and existing cemeteries across the country. A “Best Monuments of the Year” annual review offers insight into stylistic developments in funerary art and architecture. Cemeteries and monuments in Connecticut are considered occasionally. *Park and Cemetery* is an important primary resource through which researchers may obtain information about individual cemeteries and cemetery features, commercial products, trends in design and horticulture, landscape architects and designers, and the significant relationship between the cemetery and the municipal park in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

D. Ethnic and Religious Variations

Gundaker, Grey

“At Home on the Other Side: African American Burials as Commemorative Landscapes”

In *Places of Commemoration: Search for Identity and Landscape Design*, Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, ed., 25–54

Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001

Grey Gundaker writes that the individual burial plot, while often overlooked in research studies that favor funerary markers, stylistic timelines, typologies, and European American symbolism, is the “unit of commemorative landscape that matters most” for family and friends of the deceased. Especially in African American communities, burial plots are where “grief, memory, and obligation converge on a place and on a network of actions done or left undone that create visible relations between the grave and the rest of the world.” For Gundaker, comparative study of African American commemorative spaces, including burial plots and yards, reveals patterns and distinctions through which cultural meaning may be extracted. This essay considers material practices, such as the arrangement of commemorative objects, and their significance. Household materials, plantings, and gates are described as having symbolic or protective characteristics. Burial-plot and commemorative yard arrangements also represent the memory of an individual or a family. *Places of Commemoration* is essential reading for any study regarding the design of twentieth century or contemporary African American memorial sites.

Malloy, Thomas A., and Brenda Malloy

“The Disappearing Shaker Cemetery”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 9 (1992): 257–74

Thomas and Brenda Malloy’s essay is about the unique design characteristics of Shaker cemeteries in the American Northeast. The Shakers (The United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing) were members of a religious sect that broke away from the English Quakers, developing a distinguishing spiritualism. The authors argue that Shaker cemeteries are reflections of their unique beliefs and social practices. For example, the Shakers’ celibate lifestyle was represented symbolically through segregation of male and female interments. And because Shakers did not believe in the resurrection of the body, burials were simple and mortal remains were given minimal attention. Since the decline and collapse of the Shaker Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Shaker cemeteries have become increasingly endangered. Many existing burial grounds have been altered. At the Shaker community in Enfield, Connecticut, which existed from 1790 to 1917, the cemetery’s individual monuments were mortared together and reconstituted as a single rectangular monument.

Meyer, Richard E.

Ethnicity and the American Cemetery

Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1992

Ethnicity and the American Cemetery is a collection of essays that together constitute a survey of non-Anglo American burial practices and approaches to monumentation and cemetery design in the United States. This collection explores a range of cultural practices, including Italian-American memorials; Ukrainian-American monumentation; Czech cemetery design in Nebraska; Scottish, Irish, and Roma Gypsy burial customs; American Jewish commemoration; Mexican-American funerary traditions; contemporary Native American practices; and Asiatic and Polynesian mortuary designs. *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* also represents a variety of academic disciplines and methodologies, including archaeology, landscape architecture, and cultural history. It also explores a range of ethnic cultural practices. Author Richard Meyers also incorporates a useful annotated bibliography on “The Literature of Necroethnicity in America.”

Tashjian, Ann, and Dickran Tashjian

“The Afro-American Section of Newport, Rhode Island’s Common Burying Ground”

In *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard Meyer, ed., 163–96

Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992

The Common Burying Ground in Newport, Rhode Island, has long been of interest to historians because it contains a rare early example of an African American burial ground where slaves and free people of color were memorialized within a larger community cemetery. Ann and Dickran Tashjian provide an historical and environmental description of the site and consider the features that make it unique. As they note, colonial African American burial grounds are uncommon because slaves most often were buried without monumentation. The Common Burying Ground is exceptional, both because it contains a larger number of memorialized African Americans and because many of the monuments erected in memory of slaves and free people of color were carved by some of Newport’s best gravestone engravers, like John Stevens II and John Stevens III. Moreover, burials continued in that cemetery section into the twentieth century. The authors consider what might be learned from the burial site about colonial African American life and conceptions of race in colonial Newport. Researchers will find this resource relevant to interpretation of other colonial African American burial sites in New England.

E. National and Military Cemeteries

MacCloskey, Monro

Hallowed Ground: Our National Cemeteries

New York: Richards Rosen Press, 1968

Hallowed Ground tells the story of the National Cemetery System from its origins to the late twentieth century, including discussions of changing National Cemetery policies and approaches to administration and burial. The narrative begins in 1862, when Congress authorized the purchase of land for burying Civil War dead. Monro MacCloskey recounts the growth of a national cemetery system in the late nineteenth century, explores the impacts of both world wars, describes the establishment of overseas memorials and cemeteries, and discusses the structure of the contemporary National Cemetery Administration. Interment practices at national cemeteries, including eligibility standards for burials, are reviewed, along with unique memorial rituals, such as those performed at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers in Arlington National Cemetery. Furthermore, MacCloskey describes the design and operation of specific cemeteries in the continental United States and overseas. Although there is no national cemetery in Connecticut, *Hallowed Ground* will benefit researchers of the state’s veterans cemeteries, which are related historically and are similar with regard to administration, policy, and design.

Steere, Edward

“Shrines of the Honored Dead: A Study of the National Cemetery System”

Reprinted with permission of the *Quartermaster Review* (1953, 1954)

Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, Office of the Quartermaster General, n.d.

Edward Steere’s history of the National Cemetery System originally appeared in the magazine *Quartermaster Review* in 1953 and 1954 as a series of articles that traced the National Cemetery System’s development from the Civil War to the mid-twentieth century. Each article emphasized Steere’s military-historical perspective. The first, “Early Growth of the National Cemetery System,” includes details about wartime battlefield cemeteries; it quotes individual officers who influenced the creation of a national cemetery network during the mid-nineteenth century. Later articles describe in similar detail the evolution of NCS in the decades after the Civil War, and the transformations in the

system “that accompanied the nation’s emergence as a world power.” Steere’s history focuses on the people and events that drove development of the NCS, but it offers less insight into the design and operation of individual cemeteries.

Stern, Michael A.

“The National Cemetery System: Politics, Place, and Contemporary Cemetery Design”

In *Places of Commemoration: Search for Identity and Landscape Design*, Joachim Wolshke-Bulmahn, ed., 107–30

Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001

The National Cemetery System (NCS) was reorganized in 1973 and was relocated from the Department of Defense to the Department of Veterans Affairs. That year the NCS undertook a program to build ten cemeteries. In *Places of Commemoration*, Michael Stern considers how those cemeteries represent contemporary relationships between politics and design and reflect changing attitudes regarding group versus individual commemoration. Following an historical review of NCS approaches to site planning and cemetery design, Stern analyzes the next generation of NCS cemetery designs, noting a shift from classical geometric organization to curvilinear arrangements that mimic popular civilian commemorative spaces. He argues that that shift reflects institutional and cultural changes.

CHAPTER IV

FUNERARY ART AND ARCHITECTURE: MONUMENTS, MARKERS, AND MEMORIALS

Most cemeteries and graveyards host multitudes of architectural features, each with its own historical and stylistic meaning. Markers, monuments, sculptures, mausoleums, crypts, gates, and decorative fencing all are examples of funerary art and architecture. Architectural elements can be read individually or considered collectively in cemetery study. Individually, they can teach us about memorialized individuals or represent an important artistic work. For example, a monument's transcription may tell us about the life (and death) of an individual, while its design may convey an understanding of that person's faith or social status. Alternatively, the monument's artistic merit might be enough for study or for preservation. But when taken together, elements of funerary art and architecture can cast light on innumerable aspects of local, regional, or even national cultural history. For example, historical investigations into a cemetery's architecture can be framed in terms of architectural style, materials usage, or religious symbolism. Monuments and material types also can inform our understanding of historical economies and infrastructure, including trade routes.

Cemetery monumentation in Connecticut has been the subject of a number of academic studies, especially regarding gravestone carving in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This chapter provides researchers with descriptions of these and similar sources as well as others pertaining to style, symbolism, production, and materials from the seventeenth century to the present. For organizational clarity, this chapter is divided into three sections. **Part A** describes a variety of sources on mortuary architecture (including gravestones and monuments), funerary art, and symbolism. **Part B** reviews writings about the makers of funerary architecture and funerary art. **Part C** includes sources about materials commonly found in cemetery monumentation. And **Part D** discusses inscriptions and epitaphs found on cemetery monuments.

A. Form, Style, and Symbolism

Agosta, Lucien L.

“Speaking Stones: New England Grave Carving and the Emblematic Tradition”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 3 (1984): 47–70

Lucien Agosta observes that while it is well known that educated Puritans were familiar with the English emblematic tradition (including specific English books of emblems), students of New England gravestone carving rarely have interpreted Puritan funerary symbolism from an emblematic perspective. Agosta's article “Speaking Stones” compares emblems from English texts, such as George Wither's *A Collection of Emblems* (1635) and Francis Quarles *Emblems* (1635) and *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (1638), with gravestone imagery found in the colonial burial grounds of New England, including Connecticut. Agosta interprets symbolic meaning through comparative study, drawing conclusions about why “iconophobic” Puritans might have filled their burial grounds with imagery during the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. “Speaking Stones” is a useful exploration of European influences in funerary art during the colonial period.

Ames, Kenneth

“Ideologies in Stone: Meanings in Victorian Gravestones”

Journal of Popular Culture 14:4 (1981): 641–56

Kenneth Ames examines the material culture of American cemeteries—or, in his words, “deathscapes”—to extract an understanding about Victorian attitudes toward death. Like other historians of the period, Ames asserts that the nineteenth century “necropolis” reflected the complexity and dynamism of contemporary urban life. Ames recognizes five characteristics common to those landscapes that represent specific patterns of Victorian life: specialization; an emphasis on symbolic and visible manifestations of hierarchical social order; a fascination with variety and height; the glorification of family and kinship; and a search for permanence and the denial of death. His essay addresses how these notions are exhibited in nineteenth century monumentation and explicates certain parallels between designs for the dead and the society of the living. Ames’s work provides a summary of interpretive approaches to the nineteenth century American cemetery.

Benes, Peter

The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689–1805

Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977

The craftsmen of the former Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies included some of the first skilled gravestone carvers in the American colonies. As a result, examples of emergent Massachusetts carving traditions (especially of the Boston School) can be found in burial grounds throughout New England, and often in eastern Connecticut. Author Peter Benes explores the styles and techniques of carvers who practiced in Plymouth County from 1689 to 1805, and he interprets the religious and cultural meaning of the symbols they employed. He argues that carvers in the region used a Puritan “folklore or sign language” through which attitudes and expectations about death were expressed. Benes also examines the historical record to tie gravestones to their responsible artists. *The Masks of Orthodoxy* is a useful resource for the study of early New England (often slate) gravestones in the Massachusetts styles, as well as for carver identification.

Bergenren, Charles

“Folk Art on Gravestones: The Glorious Contrast”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 2 (1982): 171–83

Charles Bergenren considers the patriotic, Revolutionary-era notion of a “glorious contrast” between English and American culture in which Americans believed their folk culture embodied honesty and simplicity, while England’s was ostentatious and undemocratic. By that definition, any art object that exhibited European stylistic tendencies was viewed as elitist and in disharmony with the spirit of American culture. Bergenren asserts that gravestone styles from the eighteenth century often are interpreted today incorrectly as fulfilling the glorious contrast, which claims a strict binary opposition between folk and elite forms. For instance, he suggests that if any Baroque feature exists on a gravestone, it almost always is interpreted as “high style,” even if other formal features suggest a folk lineage. He argues that a simple interpretive approach undermines our ability to read gravestones’ historical meaning and may lead us to draw incorrect conclusions about, say, the economic or social standing of an individual or community. Instead, Bergenren forwards a nuanced approach to gravestone analysis that considers a spectrum wherein folk and elite forms may be blended to varying degrees. That approach can reveal how social, cultural, and economic histories are reflected in stone with great accuracy. This article addresses a number of designs found in Connecticut.

Carrott, Richard G.

The Egyptian Revival: Its Sources, Monuments, and Meanings

Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978

Egyptian Revival monuments, mausoleums, cemetery gates, and ornaments are found throughout New England. Nineteenth century funerary artists and architects adopted recognizable forms from Egyptian antiquity such as obelisks, pyramids, and sphinxes in Europe and America. Richard Carrott explores the history of the Egyptian Revival style, its origins, its proliferation, and its permutations. He uses visual and literary analysis to uncover the sources of Egyptian Revival forms, and to draw conclusions about what cultural attitudes toward the past or toward death their use might represent. Carrott addresses American understandings of the Egyptian Revival and highlights individual works in the style, such as the cemetery gate at Old Burying Ground in Farmington, Connecticut, and the Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven.

Ciregna, Elise Madeleine

“Museum in the Garden: Mount Auburn Cemetery and American Sculpture, 1840–1860”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 21 (2004): 100–47

“Museum in the Garden” considers the relationship between the garden cemetery movement and the rise of an American school of sculpture in the nineteenth century. Author Elise Madeleine Ciregna regards garden cemeteries not only as “America’s earliest public repositories of academic sculpture, but also as a crucial catalyst for the development of academic sculpture in America.” The article focuses on Mount Auburn Cemetery and its collection of memorial sculptures. Ciregna argues that Mount Auburn’s founders and lot owners were the first patrons of an emerging school of American sculpture, and that the commercial market for artistic memorials at Mount Auburn established certain sculptors and sculptural forms within a cultural canon. She considers how the garden cemetery form, as well as its organizational and commercial structure, transformed the burial ground into a new kind of American cultural institution, which she calls the “museum in a garden.” This article—an essential read for researchers considering rural cemetery monumentation and the funerary arts of the nineteenth century—highlights the historical interconnectivity of death, landscape design, commercial markets, leisure, and art forms.

Clegg, Frances

“Problems of Symbolism in Cemetery Monuments”

Journal of Garden History 4:3 (1984): 307–15

Frances Clegg points to a number of challenges facing researchers seeking to discern the symbolic meaning of artistic elements found on monuments and memorials of the Victorian era. Warns Clegg: “As time passes we become more divorced from the unwritten knowledge of earlier generations, and so our attempts to understand their interpretations of symbols becomes increasingly speculative.” But even when written accounts of symbolic meaning are available, complications may arise. Regional meanings of symbols often differ, and as Clegg explains, different symbolic meanings even may exist within individual communities. The author finds floral symbolism of the Victorian period especially troubling. Certain stone engravers cataloged advertised monuments with floral designs and noted each design’s symbolic meaning; however, interpretations of common symbols often differed from catalog to catalog. Clegg notes that even well-researched investigations into symbolic meaning may not result in a definitive understanding. However, Clegg does not believe that symbolic study is a hopeless endeavor. He argues that comparative and regional studies of memorial symbols, coupled with a considered approach to their interpretation, can contribute to the understanding of funerary art.

Deetz, J.F., and E.S. Dethlefsen
“Death’s Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow”
Natural History 76:3 (1967): 29–37

“Death’s Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow” is a landmark study of funerary art in early New England conducted from an archaeological perspective. The authors forward a data-oriented analysis of popular gravestone designs and draw conclusions about their periods of prevalence and patterns of dissemination. As indicated in the title, Puritan carvings and early neoclassical motifs are considered. Some historians of funerary art, however, have presented dissenting opinions on J.F. Deetz and E.S. Dethlefsen’s definition of design forms and their symbolic meaning. For example, Allan Ludwig complicated Deetz and Dethlefsen’s categorical framing of “winged deaths heads” and “winged cherubs” in his study of funerary symbolism and religious belief titled *Graven Images*, reviewed elsewhere in this research guide. Although “Death’s Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow” should be checked against other studies of funerary art in colonial New England for accuracy of terminology and symbolic meaning it remains an important methodological treatise that provides a telling analysis of broad trends in early New England regional funerary design.

Forbes, Harriette M.
“Symbolic Cemetery Gates in New England”
Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 7 (1990): 3–18

Harriette Forbes, who wrote the first definitive book on early American gravestones, also researched the symbolism of cemetery gates in New England. In 1990, *Markers* republished a 1933 article written by Forbes about cast-iron fences and gates and included a number of unpublished photographs from her collection. This article discusses the design of cast-iron cemetery fences around family plots and burial grounds, which were popular from 1830 to 1880. Although most gates and fences employed conventional forms, Forbes writes, some unique sepulchral symbolism was utilized. She discusses a number of examples of gates found around New England, including Connecticut, and examines common Victorian fencing motifs. An addendum to the article illustrates a number of cast-iron gates photographed during Forbes’s research, each expressing a set of noteworthy visual characteristics. This article should be paired with Blanch Linden-Ward’s “The Fencing Mania,” found in the same issue of *Markers*, which provides historical context to Forbes’s subject matter.

Gabel, Laurel K.
“Ritual, Regalia and Remembrance: Fraternal Symbolism and Gravestones”
Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 11 (1994): 1–27

“Ritual, Regalia and Remembrance” examines the emblematic imagery of fraternal benefit societies found on American gravestones. Gabel argues that death and funerary regalia held “special importance in the complex rituals” of fraternalism and were integral to etiquette and custom at burials of fraternal order members. This article describes the regalia and customs of groups like the Freemasons, the Independent Order of the Odd Fellows, the Improved Order of the Red Men, and the Knights of Columbus. The author explains that a fundamental relationship between fraternal orders and death existed historically because many functioned as benefit societies—predecessors to welfare and insurance programs—and offered funerary assistance or end-of-life insurance. That close relationship is apparent in the common presence of fraternal symbolism in cemeteries across the country. This article provides an introduction to fraternal symbolism and the history of benefit societies. Its bibliography includes a number of resources for further study into this subject.

Gardner, Albert TenEyck

Yankee Stonecutters: The First American School of Sculpture, 1800–1850

Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968

Albert TenEyck Gardner writes in *Yankee Stonecutters* that perhaps the most astounding fact about the American school of sculpture is that it “sprung full panoplied upon the scene in the brief space of about twenty years.” Indeed, as we know from Elise Madeleine Ciregna’s “The Museum in The Garden,” the coterminous rise of the American school of sculpture and the American rural cemetery movement was no coincidence. Gardner, however, explores the variety of other factors that birthed that sculptural movement. He considers the intersections of monument making, politics, institutional patronage, leisure, mechanization, and commercialization in a series of essays about that school, pointing out innovative figures, institutions, artists, and sculptures along the way. *Yankee Stonecutters* also includes three indexes regarding the school’s sculptors. Researchers who seek baseline information about nineteenth century funerary sculpture or about individual sculptors should consult *Yankee Stonecutters*.

Gerds, William H.

American Neo-Classic Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection

New York: Viking Press, 1973

American Neo-Classic Sculpture is an overview of the common thematic forms of American nineteenth and twentieth century marble sculpture that may be useful in the identification and interpretation of funerary art in historic cemeteries. This book begins with an historical review of the “marble resurrection” and the origins of neoclassical sculpture in America. William Gerds then explores sculptural forms, including the male and female nude, relief sculpture, funeral monuments, and fountain sculpture. He explicates a number of stylistic themes, including angels, goddesses, music, water, portraits, poetry, hands and feet, and animals found in the sculptural genre. The volume examines famous works that may have served as reference images for funerary artists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and describes the popular symbolic meaning of artistic imagery.

Gillon, Edmund V., Jr.

Victorian Cemetery Art

New York: Dover Publications, 1972

One way to learn about historical funerary art is simply to observe it with a critical eye. That is the concept behind Edmund Gillon, Jr.’s *Victorian Cemetery Art*, a photographic compendium of nineteenth century American memorials. This publication reviews more than 260 sepulchral monuments of the Victorian period, representing a range of styles and artistic approaches from across New England and the United States. Although they correspond to unique designers and geographies, the memorials exhibited in the volume deal with similar subject matter. Gillon groups like monuments together, and thereby reveals that artisans and consumers of the period preferred certain forms and images to describe death, mourning, and memory in the cemetery. Rustic tree trunks, framed portraits in relief, female mourners, angels, and sphinxes, all in white marble, are examples of popular subjects illustrated in this book. *Victorian Cemetery Art* contains only a brief introductory text. The photographs, many of which were taken in New Haven cemeteries, are left to speak for themselves. Researchers may find this resource helpful as an introduction to Victorian funerary art or as a reference for comparing memorial designs.

Gillon, Edmund V., Jr.
Early New England Gravestone Rubbings
New York: Dover Publications, 1981

Edmund Gillon, Jr. uses “pictorial documentation” instead of scholarly analysis to explore gravestone carving in New England during the colonial period. This volume includes more than 150 gravestone rubbings grouped by the following categories: “Deaths Heads, Angels & Portraits,” “Willows & Urns,” and “Decorative Motifs, Symbols & Oddities.” Gillon also presents 50 gravestone photographs. The rubbings and photographs were accumulated from throughout New England, and many are from Connecticut. Like his book *Victorian Cemetery Art*, *Early New England Gravestone Rubbings* contains only a brief introduction and lacks other commentary. However, an index with some descriptive information about gravestone locations, materials, and size is included. This resource assembles a great number of New England gravestones in one volume, without preference for one regional style or carver. Other resources with similar content, like *Carved in Stone: The Artistry of Early New England Gravestones* by Thomas E. Gilson (2012) and *Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs* by Francis Y. Duval (1978), are omitted from this bibliography to avoid redundancy.

Hall, David D.
“The Gravestone Image as a Puritan Cultural Code”
In *Puritan Gravestone Art*, Volume I of *The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife: Annual Proceedings*, 23–30
Boston: Boston University Press, 1976

In a 1976 paper, David Hall challenges the cultural historical interpretations of Puritan funerary markers forwarded by leading gravestone scholars Deetz, Allen, and Benes, each of whom viewed funerary imagery as symbolic expressions of Puritan religious beliefs. Hall argues that past interpretations were misguided because they employed reductive and stereotypical understandings of Puritanism and claims causation only when correlation is present. Hall posits an alternative to the belief that gravestone imagery reflected Puritan theology: He suggests that gravestones were designed to be agreeable with customers who shared similar social attitudes toward death across regions and religious affiliations. Hall’s presentation provides a counterpoint to a prevailing position in New England gravestone studies—that colonial funerary art was symbolic of specific religious beliefs about death and the afterlife.

Hamscher, Albert N.
“Pictorial Headstones: Business, Culture, and the Expression of Individuality in the Contemporary Cemetery”
Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 23 (2006): 6–35

Albert Hamscher considers the individualized pictorial monuments of the late twentieth century. Those memorials typically contain visual references to the deceased through portraiture, representational imagery, and text. As the author curtly summarizes: “Ken’s Gone Fishin’...and his stone is likely to depict a body of water, a boat, tackle and gear, a leaping fish or two, and perhaps even Ken’s smiling face.” Hamscher argues that contemporary memorials reproduce contemporary attitudes toward death and commemoration and reflect changes in the monument-making industry. Hamscher asserts that the monument industry developed a commercial strategy involving novelty memorials in the second half of the twentieth century, and that concomitant technological developments allowed the proliferation of certain types of visual representations and the process of “individualization.” Moreover, he claims that personalized stones resonated with consumers because their secular, identity-oriented approach appealed to Americans. This article provides detailed information about technological advances in monument production, including new etching techniques and computerization. It also reviews broad social trends that influenced contemporary memorial style.

Harris, Cyril M., ed.
Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture
New York: Dover Publications, 1983

Reading, interpreting, and documenting the architecture of tombs, mausoleums, columbariums, and other sepulchral structures requires an architectural vocabulary. Because sepulchral structures most commonly were built in the revival styles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—see McDowell and Meyer, *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art*—researchers equipped with an historic-architectural vocabulary will be best suited to recognize and describe structural and ornamental forms employed by funerary architects. Cyril Harris's *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture* is a useful resource for the identification of architectural features, one that provides the appropriate terminology. This reference book does not address American sepulchral architecture as a unique subject, however—it defines elemental features of ancient Greek and Hellenistic, Roman, early Christian, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Islamic, Mesoamerican, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and modern architecture, allusions to which are found in cemeteries across Connecticut. This resource may assist in the analysis of individual-built resources.

Heathcote, Edwin
Monument Builders: Modern Architecture and Death
Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.: Academy Editions, 1999

Edwin Heathcote's *Monument Builders* is a history of modernism and funerary architecture. Writes Heathcote: "Modernism has always had a deep and profound problem with the architecture of death," a problem that he seeks to unpack through the examination of modern designs for death. Heathcote provides a brief introduction to sepulchral architecture from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. He considers why the design of family monuments, tombs, and gravestones remained rooted in tradition and in commercial production, even as architects and academicians in the twentieth century developed national monuments with innovative theoretical and practical approaches. The book also discusses how notions of monumentation and memorialization were blended in the wake of two world wars and the Cold War, resulting in a kind of large-scale, monumental architecture of death. The second half of *Monument Builders* describes and interprets recent memorials, monuments, places of worship, and places of meditation. Although Heathcote does not address vernacular funerary architecture directly, researchers of twentieth century sepulchral design will find his history of design since 1800 useful.

Kasson, Joy S.
Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990

The female form frequently was the subject of nineteenth century funerary art. Mourning women and feminine angels sculpted in marble, commonly adorned with symbolic objects or posed in a symbolic manner, can be found in most cemeteries of the Victorian era. In *Marble Queens and Captives*, Joy Kasson considers sculptural approaches to the female form, their public reception, and their literary and cultural meanings in nineteenth century America. Her analysis of the common feminine roles represented in sculpture reveal how art objects may have contributed to the cultural construction of gender identity. Kasson uses sculptural examples that only occasionally represent funerary art; however, her analyses of the era's sentimental fascination with death is insightful for its understanding of the types of female forms used in memorials found in American cemeteries. Kasson's book, especially the chapter on "Death and Domesticity," will be of interest to researchers interested in interpreting nineteenth century memorials.

Linden-Ward, Blanche

“‘The Fencing Mania’: The Rise and Fall of Nineteenth-Century Funerary Enclosures”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 7 (1990): 35–58

Blanche Linden-Ward investigates the short-lived fencing phenomenon of the nineteenth century, which saw the erection of family burial-plot enclosures in cemeteries across America, including Connecticut. As the author explains, prior to the privatized cemeteries of the nineteenth century, burial grounds rarely were organized into perpetual family burial lots. As a result, enclosures were uncommon in burial grounds. However, the freehold family plot gained traction as the rural cemetery movement began in 1830, and the practice of delineating cemetery real estate became commonplace thereafter. “The Fencing Mania” describes the rise of cemetery fencing, its transformation, and its decline. The author discusses the use of cast-iron fences and gates in the 1830s and 1840s, the preference toward low stone curbing in the 1850s and 1860s, and the rejection of enclosures in the 1880s. She also relates how new theories of cemetery design, changing fashions, and wartime material shortages led to the removal of fences and curbing from many cemeteries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Linden, Blanche M.G.

“The Willow Tree and Urn Motif”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 1 (1980): 148–55

In her article on the willow tree and urn funerary motif for *Markers*, Blanche Linden recognizes that an historian who analyzes the relationship between a symbol and society occupies a precarious position. She states that although colonial craftsmen and gravestone purchasers likely did not “ponder the intellectual nuances of the stones’ symbols in decorative elements,” a symbol must have some iconographic resonance, or it would not have been accepted popularly. Linden views the rise of the urn and willow motif not as a reflection of specific romantic ideas or as proof of Americans’ adherence to the tenets of neoclassicism but rather as an indicator of broad social changes. Linden believes that the motifs’ popularity represents changing American attitudes toward death. This brief article is unlike Deetz and Dethlefsen’s “Death’s Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow” because it provides cultural context, including historical trends and events in both America and Europe for the motifs’ emergence and proliferation. Linden’s work is helpful for understanding how symbols and styles spread in popular culture and in marketplaces.

Ludwig, Allan I.

Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650–1815

Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1966

Graven Images is one of the earliest treatises on Puritan memorial art in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Allan Ludwig documents cemeteries across Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, and formulates the art-historical narrative that structures this text. He explores the evolution of Puritan headstone engraving and argued that certain mortuary markers represent an emergent form of religious art distinct from, albeit evolutionarily related to, the European tradition. Importantly, the engravers of these unique markers employed symbolism that reflected changing beliefs within the Puritan communities they memorialized. *Graven Images* reviews Puritan religious doctrine to explain certain symbols employed by stone carvers. Ludwig also describes a range of traditional and neoclassical mortuary symbols in addition to the Puritan “soul effigy” motif that was his focus. This volume contains a collection of reference photographs and writings about individual stone carvers and their stylistic idiosyncrasies. It also includes a number of useful maps that describe the locations of graveyards, engravers, and stone quarries, as well as the diffusion of styles and the usage of common materials. Many of the headstones, engravers, and Puritan communities discussed are directly relevant to Connecticut’s cemeteries.

Mayer, Lance R.

“An Alternative to Panofskyism: New England Grave Stones and the European Folk-Art Tradition”
In *Puritan Gravestone Art*, Volume II of *The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife: Annual Proceedings*, 5–17. Boston: Boston University Press, 1978

Lance Mayer wonders in this 1978 paper whether contemporary gravestone scholars did not too often fall into the trap of Panofskyism—the inclination to explicate the often complex and subtle symbolic meanings of artworks—while trying to assign elaborate cultural meaning to funerary iconography with underwhelming evidence. Using an argument reminiscent of David D. Hall’s “The Gravestone Image as Puritan Cultural Code,” Mayer claims that the colonial gravestones of Connecticut suggest a European folk-art lineage, which would contradict prevailing scholarly interpretations of gravemarkers as religious art, and of their imagery as Puritan symbolism. He believes that when gravestones are considered from a “folk” perspective, stylistic developments in rural Connecticut as well as in surrounding urban areas begin to make more sense. Using the work of Connecticut carvers such as the Thomas Johnsons and Ebenezer Drake as examples, Mayer offers a compelling case for a reinterpretation of the “symbolic tradition” of colonial funerary artists—one that considers gravestones as potential folk-art objects and their engravers as folk artists.

McDowell, Peggy, and Richard E. Meyer

The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art

Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993

This volume explores the history and forms of the revival styles in American memorial art and architecture. The authors explain that eighteenth century artists and designers found inspiration in the art and architecture of antiquity, which was seen to reflect timeless aesthetic and intellectual ideals. By the nineteenth century those designs were applied widely in the funerary arts. Through the revival styles, designers associated a past life with antiquity, symbolically tying all individual memory to a greater historical memory. But commercially, the memorial also asserted a stylistic immortality that comforted potential buyers. Authors Peggy McDowell and Richard Meyer trace the lineage of revival-style monuments and described the particular history and influences of the Classical Revival, Medieval (or Gothic) Revival, and Egyptian and Near Eastern Revival styles. Other forms examined include temples, canopies, sarcophagi, altars, columns, and exedras in the Classical Revival style; canopies, mausoleums, towers, gates, and mock ruins in the Gothic Revival style; and obelisks, pyramids, temples, and sphinxes in the Egyptian Revival style. This text is a helpful introduction to the revival styles found in cemetery memorials. It provides a large number of images for visual comparison.

Ridlen, Susan

“Tree-Stump Tombstones: Traditional Cultural Values and Rustic Funerary Art”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 13 (1996): 44-7

Susan Ridlen’s article examines the tree-stump-style tombstone, which was common in nineteenth and twentieth century cemeteries, to understand the symbolic and historical meaning of that form. Tree-stump monuments, traditionally carved of marble or limestone, are shaped in the image of an incomplete tree, stump, logs, or even log cabins, and often have flaking bark and branches. The author sees those monuments as exemplifying stylistic “rusticism,” which developed in England and the United States in the eighteenth century and which existed in different forms into the twentieth century. This article considers some examples of rustic architecture and ornamental design before turning to examples of rusticism in the funerary arts. Ridlen describes how tree-stump monuments are used variably and in conjunction with other symbols to convey ideas of family and home, religiosity, agrarianism, patriotism, and occupation.

Thomson, George

“Scottish Discoid Gravemarkers: The Origins and Classification of a Rare Type of Mortuary Artifact”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 25 (2008): 44–65

George Thomson investigates the lineage of “discoid” (ovoid or circular) funerary monuments found in parts of the United States, including southeastern Connecticut. He explains that although discoid memorials can be found throughout Europe, they predominate in Scotland, where examples can be found dating from the Middle Ages. Thomson theorizes that the American ovoid forms are descendants of “pre-discoid” Celtic crosses. He promotes a developmental typology that includes pre-discoid, cross type, disk and shaft, necked discoid, double discoid, and ovoid forms that may have proliferated across Europe, and then across the Atlantic Ocean. Thomson’s article considers Scottish discoid gravestones and some rare American examples of ovoid markers such as one found in Groton, Connecticut, that dates from 1711.

Vlach, John Michael

The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts

Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978

John Michael Vlach’s book, published in 1978, is an historical survey of Afro-American traditions in the decorative arts, including basketry, musical instruments, wood carving, quilting, pottery, boatbuilding, blacksmithing, architecture, and graveyard decoration. In his chapter on graveyard decoration, Vlach argues that Afro-American cemeteries are “where we find the strongest material demonstration of African-inspired memories” in the United States. He reviews burial practices as they relate to grave decoration, since these aspects of funerary custom are intrinsically linked, and describes decorative elements and memorial forms found in burial spaces. The spiritual meaning and historical origins of decorative motifs and their constituent elements, as well as their arrangement, are interpreted. Vlach uses examples of graveyards in Alabama, South Carolina, and the Georgia Sea Islands, as well as African antecedents, to elucidate his historical summary of Afro-American funerary art.

B. Stone Carvers, Designers, and Memorial Manufacturers

Caulfield, Ernest

“Connecticut Gravestones Articles by Dr. Ernest J. Caulfield”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 8 (1991): 1–338

The 1980 issue of *Markers* is dedicated entirely to the writings of Ernest Caulfield on colonial Connecticut gravestones and their carvers. It contains eighteen essays published by Caulfield and more than 300 pages of research and analysis. Each essay addresses an individual carver or carving shop. Subjects include “George Griswold (1633-1704)”; “The Stanclift Family (1643–1785)”; “Ebenezer Drake (1739–1803)”; “The Glastonbury Lady”; “The Thomas Johnsons”; “Joseph Johnson (1698–1783?)”; “The Bat”; “The Manning”; “The Collins Family”; “Charles Dolph (1776–1815)”; “The Lambs (1724–1788)”; “John Hartshorn (1650–ca. 1738) vs. Joshua Hempstead (1678–1758)”; “The Kimballs”; “The Bucklands”; “Three Manning Imitators”; “The Loomis Carvers”; “The Colonial Gravestone Carvings of Obadiah Wheeler”; and “Wanted: The Hook-and-Eye Man.” In each article, Caulfield describes the lives and works of carvers through archival research, visual analysis, and field survey. As the *Markers* editorial board explained, Caulfield’s writing formed the basis for almost all research that followed on Connecticut’s sepulchral monuments. As a result, this compendium is a valuable resource for gravestone research. It may be most helpful to researchers who have identified a carver of interest.

It also can be useful in carver identification, especially if paired with sources such as the Kelly and Williams index described below.

Presbrey-Leland Studios

The Book of Presbrey-Leland Memorials

New York: Presbrey-Leland Studios, 1932

This resource is a trove of information about the products of Presbrey-Leland Monument Co., a significant producer of funerary monuments in New England in the early twentieth century. It also offers insight into the commercial strategies of monument producers and the proclivities of consumers. Perhaps most important, it serves as a guide to the types of memorials available at the time of publication. It describes in detail the symbolic and representational meaning of certain architectural and artistic forms, descriptions that were written to help the consumer choose their ideal monument. The publication comprises four parts: first, a network of corporate studios and quarries are described, including a studio in Hartford. Next, the author provides the reader with “a systematic procedure for selecting a memorial.” Subsequently, memorial types, classified by function and design, are explored through existing memorials with images. Architects and designers commonly are identified. Last, a directory “of more than 30,000 Presbrey-Leland memorials” is appended, organized by state and patron name. The directory includes the locations of hundreds of Connecticut monuments made by the company. This resource would benefit those researching Presbrey-Leland, individual Presbrey-Leland memorials, or early twentieth century funerary art and architecture in general.

Farber, Jessie Lie, ed.

“Stonecutters and Their Work”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 4 (1987): 131–76

“Stonecutters and Their Work” is a collection of brief articles about colonial carvers and the gravestones they produced. Originally published in the news letters of the Association for Gravestone Studies, they were printed in the *Markers* journal. Some who were active in Connecticut are introduced in short works titled “Jonathan and John Loomis of Coventry, Connecticut” by James A. Slater; “James Stancliff” (of East Middletown, Connecticut) by Sherry Stancliff; and “Enos Clark, Vermont Gravestone Carver” by Margaret R. Jenks. Each piece provides descriptions of the carvers’ works, along with photographs and historical background. Other New England carvers addressed include William Young of Tatnuck, Massachusetts; John Anthony Angel and William Throop of the Narragansett Basin; James Wilder of Lancaster, Massachusetts; and the Felton family of New Salem, Massachusetts.

Forbes, Harriette Merrifield

Gravestones of Early New England (And the Men Who Made Them)

Boston: Center for Thanatology Research, 1927

Harriette Forbes’s 1927 book is the foundational work on New England gravestones and their carvers. Forbes was the first to have undertaken a historical study of American gravestones, which she thinks of both as cultural objects capable of teaching us about colonial society and as art objects representing the earliest form of American sculpture. The book explores the origins of the carving tradition, its craftsmen, styles, symbols, and materials. The majority of *Gravestones of Early New England* pertains to individual carvers and regional carving traditions. That discussion is divided into the following subjects: the seventeenth century stonecutters of Boston; the Lamson carvers of Charleston; the Forster carvers of Dorchester; the eighteenth century stonecutters of Boston; the stonecutters of Groton and Harvard; the Thistle-Carver of Tatnuck; the Gravestones of Rhode Island; and the Gravestones of Connecticut. Although recent carver studies contain more accurate historical data, readers will appreciate Forbes’s influential discoveries and historical perspective.

Kelly, Sue, and Anne Williams

“ ‘And the Men Who Made Them’: The Signed Gravestones of New England”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 2 (1982): 1–103

Researchers of New England gravestones long have sought to develop a comprehensive catalog of carvers and their designs that would represent the complicated network of artists and artworks that define this early American tradition. However, accurate attribution is often difficult to obtain, since engravers rarely signed their work. Identification can require extensive archival research or comparative visual study. Authors Sue Kelly and Anne Williams recognize that rare signed markers are the key to carver identification, and they compile a visual index representing 85 carvers active in New England from 1670 to 1800. Their index includes more than 100 pages of headstone rubbings, each of which bears a representative design and a rare identifying mark or signature. Its index is one of the few references available that was designed for quick carver identification. A large number of Connecticut carvers are included. Researchers should consult this source when seeking identification through design characteristics. If a match is achieved, the writings of Caulfield, Forbes, and others described in this bibliography can provide further information about individual carvers.

Luci, Vincent F.

“Eighteenth Century Gravestone Carvers of the Upper Narragansett Basin,” Part I. Gabriel Allen and Part II. George Allan

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 20 (2003): 76–109; 22 (2005): 108–59

According to Vincent Luci, colonial gravestones found in the Narragansett Basin, an area that encompasses eastern Connecticut, Rhode Island, and southeastern Massachusetts, share a uniquely cohesive style. In his series “Eighteenth Century Gravestone Carvers of the Upper Narragansett Basin,” Luci investigates the work of two gravestone carvers, Gabriel Allen and George Allan, both of whom produced stones found in burial grounds in the Narragansett Basin, including Connecticut. In so doing, Luci contributes to the body of knowledge about this regional style. The two articles of the series contain biographical information and present design typologies for the carvers’ work. Visual analyses of individual stones and ornamental features pertain to symbolism and artistic development. In the case of both carvers, formal evolution is apparent over time, as European emblematic symbols transitioned into baroque ornamentation and cherubic effigies in the eighteenth century. Researchers investigating eastern Connecticut’s colonial burial grounds should find Luci’s research of interest.

Luci, Vincent F.

Mallet & Chisel: Gravestone Carvers of Newport Rhode Island in the Eighteenth Century

Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2000

Mallet & Chisel is an extensive history of the Newport Gravestone Carving School, which produced or influenced the production of eighteenth century gravestones in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and eastern Massachusetts. Vincent Luci describes the origins of that school and examines the work of pioneering slate gravestone producers at the Stevens Shop: John Stevens I, John Stevens II, John Stevens III, William Stevens, and related craftsmen. This book explores the evolution of their styles and promotes typologies of their designs, while indicating the ornaments, typographic flourishes, and engraving techniques that set each of them apart. Gravestones made by the Stevens shop often are found in the burial grounds of coastal Connecticut, especially in New London County. Researchers studying gravestones in that geography will find this resource especially useful.

Petke, Stephen

“A Chronological Survey of the Gravestones Made by Calvin Barber of Simsbury, Connecticut”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 10 (1993): 1–52

Stephen Petke writes about the Simsbury, Connecticut, stone carver Calvin Barber, who produced a considerable volume of sandstone and marble markers in Hartford County in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although Barber did not sign his work, he left an “extraordinary record” of his carving enterprise, including two account books now held by the Simsbury Historical Society. Those books served as the foundation of Petke’s exploration of Calvin Barber’s life and practice, including the carving shop he operated and the stones he designed. This article relates the evolution of Barber’s style, investigates the origins of his materials, and evaluates the growth of his commercial practice. As Petke notes, Barber’s gravestones are neither artistically nor technically exceptional. However, his work contributes to the historical understanding of the stone-carving profession in the early period of mass production.

Shepardson, Ann F.

“John Huntington, Gravestone Carver of Lebanon, Connecticut”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 13 (1996): 142–222

Ann Shepardson’s article is a study of the work of Connecticut stone carver John Huntington, who was active in the mid-eighteenth century but who largely had been ignored by gravestone scholars. Shepardson conducts formal and comparative analyses of Huntington’s stones and examines previous historical studies to develop a comprehensive typology of that significant funerary artist’s work. This article addresses in detail Huntington’s stylistic development, tracing his evolving approaches to lettering, gravestone shape, central motif design, border ornamentation, and the spiraling shapes that were common to his markers. Shepardson uses photographs and hand-drawn graphics to describe the significant features of Huntington’s work. This article includes a wealth of information about John Huntington that would be useful to any researcher engaged in burial-ground and gravestone research in Lebanon, Connecticut, or surrounding areas.

Slater, James A.

“Principles and Methods for the Study of the Work of Individual Carvers”

In *Puritan Gravestone Art*, Volume I of *The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife: Annual Proceedings*, 9–13. Boston: Boston University Press, 1976

In this essay from *Puritan Gravestone Art*, James Slater explains the importance of carver identification in gravestone studies and offered methodological advice to researchers. He notes that the misidentification of carvers by some of the most notable scholars of Puritan funerary art, such as Forbes and Allen, have led to field-wide confusion about the symbolic origins and evolution of eastern Connecticut carving styles. Slater explains how he was able to correct some misidentifications in the New England gravestone literature by employing data collection, management, and organizational practices. He recounts his methodology as it relates to his studies of the Connecticut River Valley ornamental style. This brief work will benefit any researcher conducting carver studies or seeking to identify the makers of individual gravestones.

Slater, James A.

“Jotham Warren, The Plainfield Trumpeter”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 13 (1996): 1–43

James Slater investigates the blue-slate gravestones of Jotham Warren that are found in and around Plainfield, Connecticut. His article explores the notable features and historical development of Warren’s engraving style and offers biographical information about the carver. Slater provides a typology of Warren’s stones and includes images and distributional charts that describe stylistic changes across time. An index locates Warren’s stones. Slater describes the “doll-like trumpeting angels” common to early Warren gravestones and the soul effigies with stylized eyes that appear on his later markers. Neoclassical designs are reviewed alongside signature border-paneling ornaments and stylistic variants. Slater argues that Warren was innovative in his use of angel imagery, starburst shapes, and vine designs. Researchers seeking information about Warren stones should consult this resource.

Slater, James A.

The Colonial Burying Grounds of Eastern Connecticut and the Men Who Made Them

Vol. XXI of *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, July 1987

Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, Shoe String Press, 1987

This resource examines Connecticut’s colonial burial spaces, their monuments, and their artists. Author James Slater asserts that burial grounds have the potential to illuminate significant, often overlooked historical truths and to inform our understanding of “interrelationships of colonial communities, of trade routes, of comparative wealth...and of cultural and spiritual expression.” Using colonial funerary art as a point of departure for further historical analysis, Slater considers burial grounds east of the Connecticut River dating from earliest settlement to the end of the colonial carving tradition around 1805. Two lines of questioning are central to the text. First, the author asks: What are the major categories of burial grounds in eastern Connecticut, and how are they defined? And second: Who carved which monuments, and how might a carver’s work be recognized? The first portion of the book includes a categorical discussion of carving traditions and of individual carvers and their materials. The second half discusses individual burying grounds in each town in eastern Connecticut. Slater uses maps and distributional charts to indicate where, and how many, stones of certain types and by certain carvers are present. This is a must-read for any researcher interested in Connecticut’s early monument styles, funerary artists, and their materials. It also is an essential resource for identifying colonial gravestone carvers.

Sweeney, Kevin M.

“Where the Bay Meets the River: Gravestones and Stonecutters in the River Towns of Western Massachusetts, 1690–1810”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 3 (1985): 1–46

“Where the Bay Meets the River” is an essay about the gravestones and gravestone carvers of western Massachusetts, where in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries funerary art shared more in common stylistically with the Connecticut Colony than with Boston. Author Kevin Sweeney finds, however, that changes in the design of burial grounds and the approaches of local artists toward the end of the eighteenth century reflect a cultural realignment of western Massachusetts toward Boston, a shift motivated by commercial, infrastructural, political, and social factors. Sweeney explains that “ties of family, trade and communication bound the settlers of western Massachusetts to the residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, Connecticut” since the first days of settlement but that over the course of the eighteenth century links with the Bay grew in importance. Sweeney’s study provides insight into the commercial and cultural exchanges taking place along the Connecticut River during the colonial period.

Tucker, Ralph L.

“The Joshua Hempstead Diary”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 12 (1995): 118–43

Ralph Tucker argues that little is known “in the way of hard facts” about the matter in which gravestone carvers actually worked, aside from what has been gleaned from gravestones, quarry marks, and probate records. The diary of the stone carver Joshua Hempstead (1678–1758), however, provides rare documentary evidence into the daily life and working practices of Connecticut’s early monument engravers. Tucker explores Hempstead’s diary, providing excerpts and analysis. Hempstead’s journal, begun when Hempstead was 33 in 1711, offers insight into his daily working schedule, his commercial exchanges, and his transport of materials and finished products. Hempstead, however, worked in numerous trades and had multiple careers during his life. Even so, the diary provides a glimpse into his gravestone lettering process, which was recorded separately from his time spent doing ornamental engraving, also recorded in the diary. “The Joshua Hempstead Diary” is a helpful resource for the study of Hempstead stones and for understanding the working practice of eighteenth century Connecticut carvers. Joshua Hempstead lived out his life at the Hempstead House in New London, which today is an historic house museum listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The New London Historical Society reproduced “The Joshua Hempstead Diary” in its entirety. Both the society’s collections and the house museum could benefit from further research into the life of this Connecticut carver.

Williams, Grayra, Jr.

“By Their Characters You Shall Know Them: Using Styles of Lettering to Identify Gravestone Carvers”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 17 (2000): 162–205

Although gravestone research most frequently has focused on imagery and decoration, Grayra Williams, Jr. argues that carved lettering, including numerals and typographical symbols, is worthy of equal scholarly attention. Lettering is a superior tool for carver identification, he contends, because it is less likely to vary from one example of an artist’s work to another or to have changed over time because of weathering or erosion. In “By Their Characters You Shall Know Them,” Williams introduces the significant features of colonial carved lettering and presents a methodology for identifying carvers through character elements. He explores stylistic variations of characters such as the lower-case g, the capital A, the lower-case y, the numeral 8, the numeral 5, and the numeral 4, as well as special characters and other alphanumeric forms. He also provides a set of criteria for determining whether a specific character will be useful in carver identification. This article discusses character analysis as a means of separating the work of one carver from another, or for determining whether works with different designs were produced by the same carver.

Williams, Meredith M., and Grayra Williams, Jr.

“Md. by Thomas Gold’: The Gravestones of a New Haven Carver”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 5 (1988): 1–59

The New Haven City Burial Ground has a collection of gravestones that predate the Grove Street Cemetery’s 1796 incorporation, which were relocated from an earlier New Haven burial site. More than 170 of those early stones share a distinctive engraving style attributed to the carver Thomas Gold. In “Md. By Thomas Gold,” Meredith and Grayra Williams, Jr., investigate the life and work of the carver responsible for those early New Haven Burial Ground stones, along with many others found throughout the state that were produced from 1770 to 1800. The authors trace the stylistic evolution of Gold’s work around the turn of the nineteenth century from common soul effigy motifs to neoclassical symbolism. They argue that Gold’s work can teach us about the rise of romanticism and neoclassicism in Connecticut culture. They provide an in-depth portrait of the prolific Connecticut carver and his work, including

images and useful charts that describe the geographic and chronological distribution of his work, as well as the materials he employed.

C. Materials

Blachowicz, James

“The Origins of Marble Carving on Cape Cod” Series, Part I. William Sturgis and Family and Part II. The Orleans and Sandwich Carvers

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 19 (2002): 64–173, 20 (2003): 196–279

James Blachowicz writes about the early use of white marble tablets in New England. He argues that the subject of his essay too often has been overlooked, since most scholarly attention has been directed to archaic stones and to Victorian sculpture. In a series for the journal *Markers*, Blachowicz traces the history of early marble carving in New England using, as examples, two early carving families on Cape Cod. Part I of the essay discusses the Sturgis family carvers, and Part II describes the Orleans and Sandwich carvers. The articles investigate how carvers came to use white marble in their work and explore the artistic and technical approaches they brought to the material. Blachowicz considers newspaper advertisements from the nineteenth century and probes the commercial appeal of the emerging memorial material. Photographs of marble gravestones exhibited in the articles portray evolving carving styles, ranging from simple inscribed tablets to elaborate neoclassical markers.

Brayley, Arthur

History of the Granite Industry of New England

Boston: Authority of the National Association of Granite Industries of the United States, 1913

Arthur Brayley’s 1913 publication provides an historical survey of New England’s granite industry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Brayley highlights the business enterprises and corporate figures responsible for the industry’s growth. He also discusses specific commercial products, such as monuments, memorials, and buildings, and provides information about quarries, stonecutting and infrastructural technologies, labor, and individual granite types. A short section is dedicated to Connecticut granite. Neighboring industries that supplied stone to Connecticut builders and craftsmen, such as important granite producers in Rhode Island, are considered at greater length. *History of the Granite Industry of New England* offers readers an understanding of how capital, technology, and infrastructure influenced the construction of granite building and monuments along the Atlantic Seaboard.

Dale, T. Nelson

The Commercial Granites of New England

U.S. Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey Bulletin 738. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1923

The Commercial Granites of New England is a technical report on the types of granites and granite industries found in the New England states in 1923. It first describes in scientific terms the mineral composition, chemical composition, texture, structure, and physical properties of New England granites, then offers an “economic discussion” of quarries, granites, and products by state. The chapter on Connecticut outlines the state’s geological history and the related geographic distribution of granite types. Perhaps most useful to cemetery historians, the bulletin describes the state’s existing granite quarries and their products by town. Each quarry town in each county in Connecticut is reviewed. Individual quarry descriptions include detailed data about the location of each quarry, often with maps

of their locations and associated shipping routes. This USGS Bulletin also examines the stones in terms of their physical composition and with regard to aesthetic quality and practical application. *The Commercial Granites of New England* is an ideal resource for researching Connecticut's quarries, stone industry infrastructure, and specific granite types from the early twentieth century.

Rotundo, Barbara

“Monumental Bronze: A Representative Company”

In *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard Meyer, ed., 263–92. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992

Monumental bronze, also called white bronze, was a material used to make monuments and memorials that was popular from the late nineteenth century until the 1930s. Only one firm was responsible for the manufacture of white bronze sepulchral memorials found today in cemeteries across America: Monumental Bronze Co. of Bridgeport, Connecticut. Barbara Rotundo's essay traces the history of monumental bronze and of the Monumental Bronze Co. The author describes how that corporation was representative of the many small industries that grew rapidly in the post-Civil War period, only to fail during the Great Depression. The essay describes how white bronze (which is not bronze, but zinc) was applied to monument making, and how it gained popularity before declining decades later. Researchers interested in monumental bronze or the role of Connecticut in the modern memorial industries should refer to “Monumental Bronze: A Representative Company.”

D. Epitaphs and Inscriptions

Edgette, J. Joseph

“The Epitaph and Personality Revelation”

In *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard Meyer, ed., 87–102. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992

“The Epitaph and Personality Revelation” considers the epitaph as a commemorative tool that can relate information about a deceased individual's personality in perpetuity. In cemetery and gravestone studies, researchers often point to collections of epitaphs that reflect social or cultural changes. Author J. Joseph Edgette asserts that the study of certain kinds of epitaphs also can reveal historical information about deceased individuals—specifically, about their presented or perceived personality. For explanatory purposes, Edgette groups epitaphs into several categories “based on their structural denotation and/or their implied function.” He sees scriptural epitaphs, plea-like prayers, certain poetic versification, and brief expressions of grief, for example, as referring specifically to the event of death. However, another type of epitaph is the primary focus of his work: inscriptions that seek to characterize individuals. This article interprets a range of strategies employed to express personality in inscribed text and warns of interpretive challenges that often cloud the meaning of epitaphs.

George, Diana Hume, and Malcolm A. Nelson

“Resurrecting the Epitaph”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 1 (1979/1980): 84–95

Diana Hume George and Malcom Nelson argue that “the central focus of modern gravestone studies is the carved icon, not the words on the stones.” “Resurrecting the Epitaph” seeks a methodology for the study of American epitaphs. The authors propose a two-part emphasis for future scholarly work: the study of the linguistic effect, literary lineage, and symbolic significance of epitaphs; and a holistic approach to gravestone research that includes complete and comparative analysis of iconographic features, epitaphic features, and other formal qualities. The article argues that epitaphs have significant

research potential, and the authors provide examples of the types of historical information that may be gleaned from their study. A number of examples provided by the authors consider the relationships between iconography and epitaph on individual stones. George and Nelson contend that epitaphs, like visual symbols and engraving styles, not only provide insight into the lives of memorialized individuals but also offer information about religious and social communities and historical patterns across time.

Krüger-Kahloula, Angelika

“Tributes in Stone and Lapidary Lapses: Commemorating Black People in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 6 (1989): 32–100

The majority of antebellum African Americans were buried in potter’s fields with no monuments. However, as Angelika Krüger-Kahloula explains in “Tributes in Stone and Lapidary Lapses,” exceptional African American memorials provide insight into inter-ethnic relations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Krüger-Kahloula argues that because white patrons or slave owners largely were responsible for the erection of African American sepulchral monuments, the inscriptions often represent white formulations of black identity. The inscriptions, which sought to delineate race in text, frequently describe faithfulness and domestic dedication while ignoring familial relationships in favor of ties to employers or masters. The first portion of the paper assembles epitaphs that reflect the production of African American identity in stone from an Anglo-American perspective. The article then addresses inscriptions through which contradictory concepts of “personhood and chattel slavery, devalued status and esteem” are made to agree. Krüger-Kahloula, who describes the work as an introduction to black American grave inscriptions, also considers fundamental questions regarding commemoration and rarity, and notes problems that African American stones pose for genealogical study.

CHAPTER V

FUNERAL, BURIAL, AND MOURNING CUSTOMS

Although funeral, burial, and mourning customs may appear tangential to our discussion of cemeteries' physical attributes, without question those cultural practices affected Connecticut's cemeteries tangibly at points across history. Physical expressions of mortuary customs are present in cemeteries throughout the state in a variety of forms, some more recognizable than others. Certainly, religious beliefs informed the location of burial places, and even the geographic orientation of the dead. But different manners of funeral procession (horse-drawn, automobile) also influenced plot spacing and the pathway designs of cemeteries in the four coastal counties. Similarly, the growing popularity of cremation altered cemetery design and funerary architecture. By studying ways of celebrating, burying, and mourning the dead, subtle reflections of our history in the cemetery landscape can be recognized. Research even may reveal significant geographic departures from regional customs or may elucidate a cemetery's relationship to a moment of change in regional or local tradition.

This chapter outlines studies of mortuary customs from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries in Connecticut, New England, and across America, including discussions of folklore, cremation, and the funeral industry, in texts like Margaret M. Coffin's *Death in Early America* and Jessica Mitford's *The American Way of Death*.

Coffin, Margaret M.

Death in Early America: The History and Folklore of Customs and Superstitions of Early Medicine, Funerals, Burials and Mourning

Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1976

In *Death in Early America*, Margaret Coffin investigates the beliefs and practices that surrounded death in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The author draws on diaries, newspapers, correspondences, business ledgers, and material culture studies to explain historical trends and non-standard practices. The approach is personal and anecdote-driven. As a result, the book serves as a collection of folk beliefs, lore, and customs. It explores the following themes: early death; superstitious warnings of death; funeral and mourning customs; coffins and hearses; burial places; gravestones and memorials; folk medicine; and epitaphs. Coffin's discussions of customs and superstitions illuminate noteworthy ethnic and regional variants of common beliefs about death. Her explorations of death-related material culture, such as caskets and hearses, includes design review and social history. *Death in Early America* is an easy-to-read overview of early American mortuary customs and of the superstitions that commonly influenced them.

Curl, James Stevens

The Victorian Celebration of Death

Stroud, Gloucestershire, U.K.: Sutton, 2000

James Stevens Curl explores funeral, burial, and mourning practices in the Victorian era in Britain and the United States and investigates the cultural origins of changing perspectives about death and

commemoration that swept the Western world during that period. Poetry, painting, architecture, and landscape design are a few of the disciplines that Curl argues influenced the rise of the Rural Cemetery and of romantic and sentimental notions about death in the nineteenth century. Curl is concerned primarily with Britain, but he also addresses Victorian influence in the United States. This resource is useful for understanding the beliefs and practices of the Victorian period, and how those beliefs may be represented in burial spaces or in the historical record in the United States.

Habenstein, Robert W., and William M. Lamars
The History of American Funeral Directing
Milwaukee: National Funeral Directors Association, 1981

The History of American Funeral Directing is an historical survey of funerary and mortuary practices and traditions in America. Robert Habenstein and William Lamar focus primarily on twentieth century developments, but they also describe funerary customs of the past to “give selective historical depth and meaning” to the beliefs and practices of today. The book is divided into three parts: “Early Mortuary Behavior,” “Rise of American Funeral Undertaking,” and “Organization of Modern Funeral Services.” Researchers of American cemeteries and funerary customs will find the second and third sections most useful. There the authors explore the topics of colonial funeral customs; early American undertaking; coffins and caskets; embalming; modes of transportation of the dead, from carriages to automobiles; late nineteenth century funerals; cemetery associations; modern funeral homes and cemetery associations; and modern funeral practices. This book reviews common traditions, technologies, managerial approaches, and commercial products common to the performance and management of death. It also includes numerous visual aids and valuable citations.

Holloway, Karla F.C.
Passed On: African American Mourning Stories
Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003

Passed On is a history and analysis of African American ways of dying, mourning, and managing death in the twentieth century. In author Karla Holloway’s words, the book “explores a century’s worth of experience with black death and dying to argue that African Americans’ particular vulnerability to an untimely death in the United States intimately affects how black culture both represents and is represented.” The author is especially interested in the funeral industry and its “culturally inflected business practices” as a way of introducing and interpreting the experience of death in African America. Holloway’s work is built on individual narratives, such as the stories of black undertakers presented in the book’s first chapter, and collective experiences, such as deaths from lynching, police violence, and disease, that shaped community narratives of “how we die” during the period in question. Throughout *Passed On*, specific funeral, burial, and mourning customs are also explored.

Mitford, Jessica
The American Way of Death
New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963

Jessica Mitford’s bestselling *The American Way of Death* is an explosive, critical examination of the American funeral industry, which led to Federal Trade Commission investigations of the industry after it was published in 1963. Mitford describes the services and business practices common to the funeral and mortuary industries of the mid-twentieth century, uncovering a culture of greed, manipulation, and deceit in an industry that sought to profit from grief and loss. Her book invites readers to consider the commercialization of death in America, and to reflect on the social and cultural conditions that perpetuate an increasingly impersonal system of end-of-life consumer services. Because *The American Way of Death* largely deals with transactions between business and customers, it paints a useful portrait

of mid-twentieth century funerary customs and economics. Its reader learns about the preferred mortuary services and products of the era, as well as their cost. Mitford also discusses a number of non-corporate bodies that further bureaucratized the dying process (e.g., national associations for funeral industry professionals) or sought to provide an alternative to funeral industry care (e.g., grief counselors).

Pike, H. Marcus V., and Janice Gray Armstrong

A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in 19th Century America

Stony Brook, New York: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1980

A Time to Mourn is the published companion to a 1977 exhibition at the Museums at Stony Brook that explored the history of Victorian-era mourning customs on Long Island, New York. This volume contains seven scholarly essays by social historians, art historians, and anthropologists on topics such as death rituals, mourning costumes, and remembrance practices in the nineteenth century. The essays are organized within the following themes: “custom and change,” “the cemetery and the funeral,” and “in memoriam.” The volume also includes a visual compendium of cultural artifacts pertaining to mourning customs. Mourning rings and other attire, memorial portraiture, funeral bills, embroidery, and hearse designs are among the host of objects examined in the catalog. Notably, many of the artifacts were sourced from private or public collections in Connecticut. While the writers in *A Time to Mourn* focus on Long Island, that is no disadvantage to readers interested in the Connecticut coast, since social customs were similar across the Long Island Sound.

Stannard, David E.

The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture and Social Change

New York: Oxford University Press, 1977

David Stannard explores how New England’s Puritan communities “approached the problem of death” through an historical analysis of early American ways of life. Following a brief survey of the European and proto-European funerary customs that influenced Puritan practices, the author directs our attention to the “perceived cosmological and physical environments” that gave meaning to Puritan beliefs, behaviors, and traditions. First, Stannard interrogates the intersection of death and childhood. He argues that certain realities of early American life, i.e., high infant mortality rates and limited life expectancy, largely influenced social attitudes toward death. Those attitudes were reinforced (and justified) via religious understanding. *The Puritan Way of Death* also addresses Puritan burial practices and some aspects of funerary design. Last, Stannard writes about the decline of Puritan funerary customs during the mid- to late eighteenth century. He concludes his work with a discussion of post-Revolution developments in American funerary custom. This book is a helpful consideration of easily overlooked social, religious, and environmental factors that shaped Puritan approaches to death, dying, mourning, and remembrance.

The Urn: A Monthly Journal Devoted to the Interests of Cremation

New York: Louis Lange, 1,892–95

Cremation was perhaps the most significant innovation in mortuary custom of the twentieth century. Although too few historical investigations exist, primary sources offer insight into the practice’s increasing prevalence. The journal *The Urn* is one such resource. Its 1892 inaugural editorial begins with the following affirmation of an emerging mortuary movement: “To Friends of our Cause! Cremation has come to stay, and so has this paper.” In following issues, *The Urn* reports on the theoretical, practical, political, and commercial developments regarding cremation in America. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the public largely was unaware of cremation as an alternative to sepulcher burial, and the practice was met with opposition in communities where the topic first was addressed. By the early 1880s, however, the concept had gained traction, and a newly incorporated New York Cremation Society set out

to “promote sound knowledge concerning cremation, and upon written request, to incinerate the bodies of its members.” Around that time, such interest was duplicated in other parts of America, including Connecticut. *The Urn* provided a national forum for the advancement of cremation, where scientists, entrepreneurs, and advocates could discuss innovations in cremation and examine the debates on the practice. It also offered avenues for collective fundraising and political lobbying. Today, *The Urn* represents an invaluable collection of historical data about the early development of a defining end-of-life practice in contemporary America, which includes reviews of crematory architecture and design.

CHAPTER VI

LAWS AND BYLAWS

America's first privately incorporated cemetery, the New Haven City Burying Ground (Grove Street Cemetery), was established in 1796. That graveyard, now a National Historic Landmark, represented a radical shift in American cemetery history: Laws and bylaws (private policy) effectively supplanted religious doctrine and local custom as the official forces that governed cemetery formation and operation. To this day, cemetery bylaws regulate landscaping, design, architecture, and—through lot sale or religious restrictions—the demography of the interred. Similarly, state law informs the location of cemeteries and defines proper methods of burying the dead, a legal lineage that began with public-health initiatives in the nineteenth century. Moreover, town ordinances define local approaches to the regulation of cemeteries. Given those important functions, it is imperative that we consider the laws and bylaws governing an individual cemetery in our historical evaluations. Cemetery bylaws may reflect the interests (political or aesthetic) of its board members or of the community at large, providing insight into local history. Additionally, cemetery law and bylaws also may represent significant national trends and events.

This chapter provides researchers with the means to investigate both lines of questioning. Two essential resources for understanding cemetery law in Connecticut and the bylaws of individual cemeteries incorporated in Connecticut are included below: A.L.H. Street's *American Cemetery Law* and the *General Index to the Private Laws and Special Acts of the State of Connecticut: 1789–1943*. Digital indexes produced by the state's Judicial Branch Law Library Services are also notable. Other resources reviewed in this chapter explore relevant topics in the relationship between cemeteries and the law, including segregation and integration, or provide historical “snapshots” of mortuary law.

Connecticut Law About Funerals and Cremation

State of Connecticut Judicial Branch, Law Library Services, Digital Index
<https://www.jud.ct.gov/lawlib/Law/funeral.htm>

The Connecticut Judicial Branch's Law Library Services organized a digital index to state laws concerning “Funerals and Cremation,” including laws that pertain to cemeteries and burial grounds. For researchers interested in changes in the law over time, the index contains hyperlinks to selected Connecticut General Statutes that deal with those subjects, where the current language of statutes is accompanied by references to the statutes' legislative history. Hyperlinks to specific public acts and case law also are included in the digital index. Furthermore, research guides produced by the Connecticut Office of Legislative Research are available, including one 2017 report on “Statutes Concerning Cemetery Associations.” This resource is a useful starting place for understanding Connecticut's contemporary laws regarding burial, funerals, cemeteries, and crematoria, and for conducting research into statutory history.

Connecticut Ordinances and Charters by Town

State of Connecticut Judicial Branch, Law Library Services, Digital Index
<https://www.jud.ct.gov/lawlib/ordinances.htm>

While state laws regulate cemeteries and burial practices across Connecticut, cities and towns further define local approaches to the establishment, management, and upkeep of burial spaces in their town

ordinances. Town ordinances vary in their discussion of burials and burial space, both in subject matter and in breadth. New Haven's General Ordinances, for instance, deal extensively with cemeteries and burial practices, while some smaller towns do not draw specific legal guidelines for their communities with regard to cemeteries, monuments, or burials. Because local regulations have the potential to shape cemetery development, it is important for researchers to consult town ordinances, charters, and other regulations, depending on the task at hand and the cemetery in question. This resource is an index of Connecticut ordinances and charters by town, listed alphabetically. It is organized and updated by the Connecticut Judicial Branch's Law Library Services, and it contains hyperlinks to the texts of town charters, ordinances, and zoning or planning regulations. Because some town charters and ordinances may become out of date as cited, the index also includes telephone numbers for the Town Clerk's office in each municipality so individuals might acquire research materials directly from the town.

Perley, Sidney

Mortuary Law

Boston: George B. Reed, 1896

In the 1896 volume *Mortuary Law*, Sidney Perley presents contemporary American common law regarding death, burial, memorializing, burial space, and cemetery operation to reveal "the principles that underlie all law concerning dead human bodies." Perley describes the cases that set legal precedent and examined the implications of the law in specific and general terms. Thus, his volume provides a comprehensive historical snapshot of mortuary law in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. It is a valuable resource for understanding how the laws governing burial and cemeteries were developed and perceived with regard to death, interment, commemoration, and commerce during a century of radical changes. *Mortuary Law* includes chapters on the following topics relevant to cemetery research: "Monuments, Gravestones, etc."; "Cemeteries: Tombs, What Constitutes A Cemetery, Establishments of Cemeteries, Kinds of Cemeteries"; "Prohibition of Cemeteries"; "Acquirement of Cemetery Lands"; "Cemeteries as Nuisances"; "Cemeteries as Charities"; "Sale, Mortgage, and Partition of Cemetery Property"; and "Care and Conduct of Cemeteries." Other chapters of potential interest to researchers include "Record of Deaths and Burials"; "Disposition of Dead Bodies"; "Funerals"; "Permits to Transport, Bury, and Exhume Dead Bodies"; and "Opening of Highways Through Cemeteries." Some of the cases described were decided in Connecticut courts, and relate to specific cemeteries.

Redrick, Frances Burke, Secretary

A General Index to the Private Laws and Special Acts of the State of Connecticut: 1789–1943

Connecticut General Assembly, Special Act 541, 1945

This resource provides an alphabetized index of all private laws and special acts enacted by the Connecticut General Assembly from the late nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, as accumulated in a related series of published volumes. Researchers can locate private cemetery associations' articles of incorporation through this index. This is an especially useful tool, since corporate charters often include significant information about the structure and mission of a cemetery organization. Furthermore, the volume refers to information regarding monument appropriations, cemetery rights of way, property conveyance, and cemetery extension approvals. Because Special Acts of the General Assembly may pertain to municipal bodies, a researcher interested in the establishment of a town's public rural cemetery, for example, should refer to this index for related legal material. This resource and the volumes to which it refers are available to the public digitally through the Connecticut State Library in keyword-searchable format at cslib.cdmhost.com. Additionally, an index to Special Acts from 1944 to 2015 can be obtained through the same web address.

Rogers, Kitty

“Integrating the City of the Dead: The Integration of Cemeteries and the Evolution of Property Law, 1900–1969”

Alabama Law Review, 56:4 (2005): 1,153–66

Kitty Rogers’s article “Integrating the City of the Dead” is a brief introduction to the legal history of cemetery segregation and integration in the United States. Rogers notes that in the late 1930s “it was estimated that around 90% of all public cemetery rules and regulations nationwide contained some sort of racially restrictive covenant.” In the decades that followed, cemetery segregation was challenged in the courts. As the article argues, those challenges reflected a broader legal and political struggle for the property rights of African Americans. Rogers reviews noteworthy court cases from the second half of the twentieth century and identifies disputes regarding race, burial, and property rights from the nineteenth century that influenced later legal trajectories. Those early cases demonstrate how civil rights, property rights, and burial rights were related at an early point in American history. “Integrating the City of the Dead” offers insight into the history of cemetery segregation, the legal history of cemetery integration, and the role that cemeteries played in the fight for civil rights and the property rights of African Americans. The article also illustrates how an historic cemetery might derive its significance from its role in court cases that reflect an important process or event in American history.

Street, A.L.H.

American Cemetery Law

Madison, Wisconsin: Park and Cemetery, 1922

American Cemetery Law is a legal compendium published in 1922 by the proprietors of the periodical *Park and Cemetery*. The volume contains a general reference section and a section on state laws and decisions. The general reference section describes a range of topics including the legal standards of cemetery management; the legal status of the cemetery; “the color line at the grave”; operating a cemetery for profit; regulations for enforcing lot care; removal of unpaid monuments; and laws restricting cemetery locations. The second section reviews laws, amendments to statutes, and important decisions by state. An abstract of cemetery law in Connecticut recounts the general statutes for the state and describes two significant decisions regarding the condemnation of lands for cemetery purposes and the rights of cemetery lot owners. *American Cemetery Law* is a convenient resource for referencing Connecticut law regarding cemeteries from the early twentieth century, for exploring seminal court decisions nationally, and for drawing historical comparisons across state lines.

CHAPTER VII

RESOURCES FOR CEMETERY-SPECIFIC RESEARCH

Although many of the resources described in earlier chapters discuss Connecticut's cemeteries as part of regional case studies, this chapter outlines texts dedicated to individual cemeteries or cemetery groups in the state's four coastal counties (Fairfield, New Haven, Middlesex, and New London). Scholarly articles, published lectures, and National Register of Historic Places nominations are among the resources outlined below. Although much of the written material on Connecticut cemeteries is the result of marker-transcription efforts over the past two centuries, inscription surveys and records are not included here unless they contain further information about the cemetery's history or other kinds documentation (such as photographic records, survey maps, and condition assessments). Researchers seeking transcription collections or other resources for genealogical work or related studies should refer to the **Charles R. Hale Collection**, an exhaustive survey of Connecticut's cemetery markers conducted as part of the Works Progress Administration's (WPA) efforts in the early 1930s.

The scope of this project means that many relevant cemetery-specific sources have been excluded by necessity. While the resources in this research guide may serve as a departure point for individual cemetery study, it is imperative that researchers investigating a specific burial place explore local historical societies, libraries, and cemetery association archives, which frequently catalog relevant archival materials (records, correspondences, photographs, and newspaper clippings) pertaining to local burial grounds. The resources below, organized alphabetically by county, explore the historical development of individual cemeteries in Connecticut to supplement archival research.

A. Fairfield County

Ballard, Caroll, and Kelly Ballard

New Fairfield Cemetery

Fairfield, Connecticut: New Fairfield Historical Society, 2006

The New Fairfield Historical Society, Caroll Ballard, and Kelly Ballard produced a digital compendium of photographic documentation from the New Fairfield Cemetery. For that project, each monument in the cemetery is photographed, and those photographs are compiled on a CD-R now available at the Connecticut State Library. Monuments are plotted on a map of the cemetery, and a location index is found in an association tour book for New Fairfield Cemetery.

Beach, E. Merrill

They Face the Rising Sun: A Comprehensive Story with Genealogical Material and Complete Charting of Unity Burial Ground—Oldest Cemetery in Trumbull, Connecticut, 1730–1971

Chester, Connecticut: Pequot Press, 1971

They Face the Rising Sun is a short history of the Unity Burial Ground in Trumbull, Connecticut. This book also includes a complete survey of the cemetery's monuments. Author E. Merrill Beach describes in limited detail the early history of Trumbull and its burial ground, and the origins of the documentation project that produced this publication. Beach considers the east-west orientation of gravestones at the site and seeks to understand the origin of this traditional design feature as seen in graveyards throughout New England. The book reports the findings of its cemetery survey, including the location of individual graves, and the distribution of gravestone materials, shapes, and symbolism. Death's heads, cherubs, and urn and willow motifs each are tabulated and discussed. A full collection of tombstone inscriptions, as recorded by Samuel Orcutt around 1885, is included, along with limited photographic documentation.

Curtis, Ellwood Count

The Unity Burial Ground: Trumbull, Fairfield County, Connecticut

Cedar Falls, Iowa: Galactic Press, 2003

Ellwood Count Curtis's 2003 *The Unity Burial Ground* builds off Samuel Orcutt's 1885 memorial inscription project published in *They Face the Rising Sun*, which records the history of interments at the Trumbull Unity Burial Ground. Curtis extends the existing documentation of that burying ground to include a full photographic inventory of monumentation therein. He also provides a brief biography of each individual interred there. The volume also includes photographs of the cemetery's landscape from the early twenty-first century.

Jennings, Peter

Buried in Our Past: A Historical Presentation on Westport's Burial Grounds

Westport, Connecticut: Westport Historical Society, 2005

Buried in Our Past is a publication of the Westport Historical Society on thirteen of the town's burial grounds and cemeteries. Some of the cemeteries include Greens Farms Church Upper and Lower Cemeteries; Burying Hill Beach; Assumption Cemetery; Gray's Cemetery; Compo Colonial Cemetery; the Old Burying Ground; and Willowbrook Cemetery. Cartographic sketches of the burial grounds and their surrounding environs accompany brief histories of each site. This publication provides biographical notes on important interred individuals and describes significant works of funerary art. Sketches of gravestone designs and gravestone rubbings are included.

Mountain Grove Cemetery Association

The Mountain Grove Cemetery Association, Bridgeport, Conn.

Bridgeport, Connecticut: William S. Pomeroy, 1853, 1864, 1921

This is a series of annual reports of the Mountain Grove Cemetery Association, including its articles of association, bylaws, regulations, and reviews of its annual meetings. The 1853 report includes a detailed, artistic rendition of the cemetery plan and a transcription of the address given at the cemetery's dedication. The 1921 report also includes a map with photographic documentation of noteworthy monuments and landscape views. That report also describes the scale of burial lot pricing in 1921 and the structure of the cemetery's perpetual care offerings. A history of the Mountain Grove Cemetery Association and a list of its past officers are included.

Park Cemetery Association

The Park Cemetery Association: At North Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn.

Bridgeport, Connecticut: Standard Association, 1878

The Park Cemetery Association published this brief report during its first year in operation. The 1878 pamphlet outlines the organization's articles of association, its bylaws, and the rules and regulations that govern the cemetery grounds. This resource offers glimpses of the intent behind the creation of the Park Cemetery Association and the management of its property.

Whittlesey, Marilyn

A Handbook of Cemeteries, Brookfield, Connecticut (including portions of New Milford and Newtown), 1745–1985

Brookfield, Connecticut: Old South Cemetery Association, 1986

This volume, published by the Old South Cemetery Association, describes the cemeteries of Brookfield, Connecticut, their history, their monuments, their landscapes, and their interred. Primarily, it is a collection of gravestone inscriptions from nine cemeteries, but the brief descriptions of each burial site also provide historical background. This volume also contains photographs of monuments and cemetery landscapes. The following cemeteries are reviewed: Central Cemetery; Gallows Hill Cemetery; Huckleberry Hill Cemetery; Land's End Cemetery (Newtown, Connecticut); Laurel Hill Cemetery; Merwin's Brook Cemetery; Northrop Cemetery; Old South Cemetery; and Saint Paul's Memorial Garden.

B. New Haven County

Abbott, Morris

Old Tombstones in Milford Cemetery: or Styles in Stele

Milford, Connecticut: Morris W. Abbott, 1974

Morris Abbott, inspired by the work of Harriette Merrifield Forbes and Allan Ludwig, composed this manuscript on the funerary art of Milford Cemetery. In *Old Tombstones in Milford Cemetery*, he analyzes the style, symbolism, and material of carved tablets, and he identifies responsible funerary artists. Individual gravestone rubbings are presented alongside descriptions of their characteristics and interpretations of their symbols' origins and meaning. Stone carvers discussed in the document include the Manning family, the Stevens family, the Johnson Family, and Thomas Gold, among others. Abbott relates the history of the Milford Cemetery through an analysis of its individual monuments.

Brown, Edwin R.

Old Historic Homes of Cheshire, Connecticut; With an Account of the Early Settlement of the Town, Descriptions of its Churches, Academy and Old Town Cemetery

New Haven: Press or Ryder Printing House, 1895

Edwin Brown's *Old Historic Homes of Cheshire* chronicles the history of Old Town Cemetery, as well as thirty-five homes, three churches, an academy, and other noteworthy sites such as mines, farms, landscapes, and landscape features found in Cheshire. The book begins with a brief history of the town's early settlement, which provides context for a discussion of Cheshire's earliest burial space. A chapter on the development of Old Town Cemetery begins with the designation of that burial space in 1725 and continues through the nineteenth century. Land purchases for the expansion of the cemetery are detailed, along with descriptions of noteworthy design features such as gates and monuments. *Old Historic Homes of Cheshire* also relates personal histories of interred individuals of significance.

Clouette, Bruce

“Grove Street Cemetery”

National Historic Landmark Inventory, Nomination Form. Public Archaeology Survey Team. September 22, 1999

New Haven’s Grove Street Cemetery was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 2000. The National Historic Landmark nomination form describes the cemetery site, as well as its architectural and landscape features, and states the argument for its historical significance. The author argues that the cemetery has national historical significance because it was the first privately incorporated cemetery in the country, and because it represents a paradigm in cemetery organization. Moreover, the burial space’s landscape design, architecture, and monuments encapsulated national trends in mortuary design. Some architectural elements, like the cemetery’s Egyptian Revival entrance designed by Henry Austin, are regarded as some of the country’s leading examples of their styles. The NHL form is accompanied by photographic documentation of the site.

Elliott, Janice L., and David Ransom

“Riverside Cemetery”

National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Form. Riverside Cemetery Association. September 20, 1988

The National Register of Historic Places Registration (NRHP) Form for Riverside Cemetery in Waterbury outlines the landscape design, monumentation, and architecture of that nineteenth century cemetery. The site was nominated to the NRHP for its artistic merit, as reflected in its rural cemetery landscape plan, its collection of late Victorian monuments, and the architecture of the Hall Memorial Chapel, a Gothic-style granite church on the cemetery grounds. An historic context is provided for the cemetery, and maps and photographic documentation of its significant features are included.

Evergreen Cemetery Association

Evergreen Cemetery Association: Its Origin and History, By-Laws and Regulations, Catalogue of Names of Proprietors, Reports of Officers for the Past Year

New Haven: Punderson, Crisand & Co., 1868, 1871, 1878, 1881, 1890, 1899

This is a series of annual reports published by the Evergreen Cemetery Association from 1868 to 1899 that outline the cemetery’s bylaws, rules, regulations, and scale of lot prices at the year of each publication. However, only select years of the reports survive in state archives. According to the 1868 account, reports of this nature were developed as part of an initiative to “find a solid foundation upon which to build up” the Association anew, after failing to keep accurate property and spending records in years prior. Annual reports thereafter catalog the lots sold during each year and listed the names of proprietors, also indicated on a map of the cemetery in some cases. Annual reports also include the individual reports of certain Association officers, such as the cemetery treasurer and director. Those reports describe improvements undertaken during the year, funds acquired by lot or services sales, and funds allocated for Association projects or maintenance. When read together, these reports provide insight into the changing operations of the cemetery, as well as of the development of its grounds.

Fairhaven Union Cemetery Association

Fairhaven Union Cemetery Association: Its Origins, History, By-laws and Regulations and Catalogue of Lots and Names of Owners, New Haven Connecticut, 1894

New Haven: Fair Haven Union Cemetery Association, 1894

The Fairhaven Union Cemetery Association published reports on its history and contemporary operations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An 1894 report contains a history of the

cemetery, including the initial purchase of its property, the design of its grounds, its first burials, and its use by the general public in celebration and mourning. The Association's initial charter and revisions to that charter are printed in the 1894 report and the later report from 1896. Similarly, bylaws are reviewed, including those relating to perpetual care and annual care. A list of lot holders and a map of the cemetery grounds also are included. Later reports include statements by cemetery association officers regarding their activities. Some individual memorials or memorial events are described.

Furnival, Gloria H.

On the Green: The Old Center Cemetery in North Haven, Connecticut, 1732–1882

North Haven, Connecticut: North Haven Historical Society, 2000

On the Green is about the history of the Old Center Cemetery in North Haven. The book includes a collection of monument inscriptions, a review of tombstone styles, and a directory of monument locations. This volume introduces the history of the cemetery and its grounds before addressing monument styles and recognizable funerary artists. Tablet markers erected from 1723 to 1790, which the author dubs the “Early Years” of the cemetery, are described alongside photographic documentation. Many carvers responsible for those stones’ production are identified, and their designs are interpreted. Memorials erected during the “Later Years” of 1790 to 1882, including neoclassical tablets and monuments, are described. The book provides a record of cemetery inscriptions and considers a number of stones that have gone missing since early documentation efforts. The author also appends a list of existing monuments to war veterans.

Bouley, Jane Peterson, and Martha Bradshaw

Damascus Cemetery, Branford, Connecticut

Branford, Connecticut: Branford Historical Society, 2004

Jane Bouley and Martha Bradshaw’s *Damascus Cemetery* is a report on Branford’s Damascus Cemetery, its monuments, and its historical development. With surveys of each monument in the cemetery, it is a comprehensive portrait of the cemetery and its condition. Surveyors photographed each stone in the cemetery, documented their inscriptions, measured their height, and recorded their condition. The findings of the survey are located on a site map. In addition to the 2004 survey, this volume includes a collection of land records pertaining to the site, the history of the Damascus Cemetery Trust, an overview of the Hale Collection’s documentation of the cemetery, and a list of burials since 1934. Gravestone carvers identified at the site also are considered.

Pine Grove Cemetery Association

Rules and Regulations of Pine Grove Cemetery Association, Ansonia, Conn.

Ansonia, Connecticut: *Naugatuck Valley Sentinel*, 1881

A little more than two decades after the Pine Grove Cemetery Association organized in 1858, the cemetery’s rules and regulations were revised. This resource is the published revision to those rules and regulations, which also includes a brief history of the cemetery and the cemetery association, as well as the text of its bylaws. A list of lot holders and an associated directory to the cemetery is included. The pamphlet also makes an appeal to lot holders or their relatives for the purchase of perpetual care packages, to ensure the proper upkeep of cemetery lots.

Prichard, Katharine

Ancient Burying-Grounds of the Town of Waterbury, Connecticut: Together With Other Records of Church and Town

Waterbury, Connecticut: Mattatuck Historical Society, 1917

Ancient Burying-Grounds of the Town of Waterbury describes the history of ten burial spaces in and around the town of Waterbury and documents gravestone inscriptions from each burying ground. As author Katharine Prichard explains, “Ancient Waterbury,” also known as Mattatuck, was an extensive area that today includes the incorporated towns of Watertown, Plymouth, Wolcott, Middlebury, Prospect, Naugatuck, and Thomaston. The book addresses each burial space within the historical bounds of Mattatuck, including: Grand Street Cemetery; Pine Hill Cemetery; Hillside Cemetery; Wooster Cemetery; Gunntown Cemetery; Thomaston Cemetery; Northbury (Plymouth) Cemetery; Farmington (Wolcott) Burying-Ground; Middlebury Burying Ground; and Prospect Burying Ground. Brief histories describe the earliest known record of burials at each site, the associated land history, and the cemeteries’ development.

Proceedings of the City of New Haven in the Removal of Monuments from its Ancient Burying Ground and in the Opening of a New Ground for Burial

New Haven: Gray & Hewit, 1822

The Ancient Burying Ground in New Haven was used as a common burial space from 1638 until 1795. But in the years after the opening of New Haven’s Grove Street Cemetery, it was decided that a large number of monuments would be relocated from the Ancient Burying Ground to the new burial ground. However, some monuments remained in their original locations, since a church had been built over a section of the old burying ground. This document recounts proceedings of the City of New Haven regarding monument removal. It lists the monuments that were relocated or enclosed within the new church. The document also locates the relocated monuments on a map of the New Haven Burying Ground (Grove Street Cemetery) and describes family plot purchases in the new cemetery by the survivors of the Ancient Burying Ground’s interred.

Townshend, Henry Hotchkiss

The Grove Street Cemetery: A Paper Read Before the New Haven Colony Historical Society, October 27, 1947

New Haven: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1948

Henry Hotchkiss Townshend’s 1947 paper on the Grove Street Cemetery provides a historical review of that landmark cemetery. The Grove Street Cemetery is recognized as the first planned American cemetery (1797), and Townshend provides the historical context for the development of that plan, as well as an interpretation of the social and cultural influences that led New Haven residents toward a private cemetery model. The paper includes a history of property acquisition pertaining to the cemetery grounds and describes the initial charter. The cemetery’s plan, including its circulation pattern and plot structure, are reviewed, as are that plan’s intended effects. Townshend describes how the cemetery developed through the nineteenth century, and what improvements were made to its grounds, including the erection of enclosures, like stone walls, iron fences, and the Egyptian Revival-style gateway. Plantings also are reviewed. Townshend’s history ends with the sale of the final unclaimed lots in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Ransom, David F.

“Center Street Cemetery”

National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Form. August 1, 1997

The National Register of Historic Places nomination form for Center Street Cemetery in Wallingford provides a narrative description of the burial site and an argument for its historic significance. The cemetery was deemed eligible for inclusion in the National Register for its collection of funerary artwork, which represents changing trends in mortuary design from around 1670 into the twentieth century. The form includes a description of individual monuments and a brief history of the cemetery’s development. Photographic documentation is associated with the nomination form.

Riverside Cemetery Association

The Articles of Association, By-Laws and Rules and Regulations, of Riverside Cemetery, at Waterbury, Conn. with the Dedicatory Exercises, Address, & c. September 24th, 1853

Waterbury, Connecticut: Press of E.B. Cooke & Co., 1853

This resource contains the original 1850 articles of association for Waterbury’s Riverside Cemetery Association, alongside the bylaws, rules, and regulations for the cemetery penned in the same year. The document also describes the addresses given during the dedication of the cemetery in 1853.

St. Lawrence and St. Bernard Cemetery Association

Manual, St. Francis Orphan Asylum Corporation and St. Lawrence and St. Bernard Cemetery Association, 1893

New Haven: J.J. Kiernan, 1893

The St. Lawrence Orphan Asylum Corporation and the St. Lawrence and St. Bernard Cemetery Association published a report in 1894 about the function of both corporations, which describes the history and contemporary structure of their organizations and includes their bylaws, rules, and regulations. Despite the fact that these are separate cemeteries in separate cities—St. Lawrence Cemetery is in New Haven and St. Bernard Cemetery is in West Haven—they are governed by one organization. The report on the two cemeteries includes detailed records pertaining to the incorporations, property purchases, and even legal decisions regarding their organizations. The portion of the pamphlet pertaining to the St. Bernard Cemetery Association describes the property boundaries of the burial space and recounts a challenge in determining the cemetery plan: The cemetery’s location, as initially defined, was in conflict with a state law that required adequate distance between burial spaces and ice ponds for public-health purposes. The text of a Superior Court decision on the matter is reproduced in the pamphlet, along with related material.

Williams, Gray, Jr., Daniel Farber, and Jessie Lie Farber

“The Center Church Crypt of New Haven, Connecticut: A Photographic Essay”

Markers: The Annual Journal of Association for Gravestone Studies 9 (1992): 79–104

Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber and Gray Williams, Jr. explore the New Haven Center Church Crypt on the New Haven Green in a photographic essay containing 24 images and associated text. The New Haven Center Church was built after the First Society of New Haven outgrew its old meetinghouse in 1812. It was decided that the new church would be located at the site of the old city burial ground, but there was strong community objection to the relocation of graves. Church interests and community members achieved an unusual compromise: The church was built on top of the existing burial ground. Its first floor was designed as a six-foot-high crypt that enclosed approximately 130 gravestones. The crypt structure was completed by 1814. The photographic essay describes the interior of the crypt and many of the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century gravestones found on the site. The designs and

materials employed, as well as the responsible carvers, are reviewed. Some notable interred individuals also are discussed.

C. New London County

Burdick, Frederick E.

Avery-Morgan Burial Ground, Groton, Connecticut

Stonington, Connecticut: F.E. Burdick, 2006

Frederick Burdick surveyed and documented the Avery-Morgan Burial Ground in Groton, Connecticut, in 2005; this resource presents his findings. Burdick recorded the size, shape, style, symbolism, and material of each monument in the burial ground, along with the name and death date for each individual interred. Conditions assessments for each gravestone also are included. The documentation is presented in chart form alongside a locator map. Transcribed inscriptions or epitaphs from each monument are appended to the survey report, and biographical sketches are provided in certain cases. A CD-R with digital photographic documentation of individual stones and of the burial ground landscape is associated with the print resource.

Gales Ferry Cemetery Association

The Gales Ferry Cemetery

Ledyard, Connecticut: Gales Ferry Cemetery Association, 1890

The Gales Ferry Cemetery is a pamphlet published in 1890 by the Gales Ferry Cemetery Association with the express purpose of informing those interested in Gales Ferry Cemetery, who might know someone interred there, that “there is further opportunity for all who are so disposed to aid in protecting, repairing, and beautifying in a proper manner... a place which possesses many advantages and conveniences as a place of civilized and Christian burial.” The pamphlet outlines the contemporary practices of the Cemetery Association (including bylaws and regulations), lists the names of lot owners in the cemetery, and recommends the purchase of perpetual care, so the cemetery might use those funds for upkeep and other improvement projects. The resource is brief, but it provides a historical snapshot of the cemetery’s operations in 1890.

Porter, George Shepard

Inscriptions from Gravestones in the Old Burying Ground, Norwich Town, Connecticut

Norwich, Connecticut: The Bulletin Press, 1933

George Porter documented more than 1,000 gravestone inscriptions in the Old Burying Ground at Norwich Town. Those inscriptions were purchased from his estate from the Society of the Founders of Norwich in 1913, and subsequently published in 1933. This volume also contains considerable photographic documentation of the graveyard, including a quantity of individual stones, many of which are noteworthy for their age or artistic merit.

Porter, George Shepard

The Old Burying Ground at Norwich Town

Norwich, Connecticut: George S. Porter, 1903

The Old Burying Ground at Norwich Town is an address delivered by George Porter at the dedication of that cemetery’s entrance gates, known as the Hubbard Gates, installed in 1903. The text of the address is preserved in the form of a short pamphlet that contains a wealth of information about the burying ground’s foundation and development. In his address, Porter relates a comprehensive history of the

burying ground, beginning with the first recorded death of a Norwich resident in 1661. He describes how the town acquired the burial ground property and outlines subsequent land acquisitions used for its expansion. A brief review of Norwich's early history provides context. The address describes individual monuments and recounts how residents used the burial ground during funeral ceremonies and celebrations. The address also relates how petitions circulated in Norwich town led to the improvement of the Old Burying Ground in the nineteenth century.

Prentis, Edward, and Frances Manwaring Caulkins
Ye Antient Buriall Place of New London, Conn.
New London, Connecticut: Day Publishing Co., 1899

This resource provides a brief history of and an inscription collection from Ye Antient Buriall Place in New London, as compiled by Edward Prentis in 1899. The author notes that the artistic carvings and inscriptions on monuments in the burial space were all "fast becoming prey to the elements" by the turn of the twentieth century. Therefore, this collection, which is supplemented by photographic documentation, is an important early record of the burial ground and its monumentation. Prentis reviews the history of the site, which he argues is the "oldest place of interment in the eastern part of Connecticut," with burials beginning in 1645. He relates changes in the burial ground's design, including aspects of its landscaping, and considered its individual monuments. In one instance, Prentis describes how the implementation of a city ordinance led to the burial ground's enclosure in 1855. Biographical sketches of certain individuals interred at the site also are provided in the book.

Ransom, David F.
"Kinne Cemetery"
National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Form. April 12, 2001

The Kinne Cemetery National Register of Historic Places nomination provides a descriptive overview of this historic graveyard site in Griswold, Connecticut. Author David Ransom reviews the cemetery's development and outlines the property's major architectural and landscape features. By design, National Register nominations include statements of historical significance. These analyses are useful for understanding historic sites in context. In the case of the Kinne Cemetery, the graveyard's historic importance stems from its association with important individuals and from its noteworthy collection of funerary art. The nomination describes at length important individuals associated with the cemetery and some of the atypical memorials found there. Additionally, this document contains a listing of major bibliographical references and refers to a number of photographs taken of the site.

Rogers, Ernest E., and New London Cemetery Association
Cedar Grove Cemetery
New London, Connecticut: New London Cemetery Association, 1931, 1941

This resource includes multiple volumes of reports prepared by Ernest Rogers and the New London Cemetery Association, the proprietor of Cedar Grove Cemetery. The reports provide a chronology of the cemetery's development and an outline of the history of its Cemetery Association, including biographical sketches of its former presidents and superintendents. Its bylaws and regulations also are presented, alongside information about the pricing of lots. Brief articles are included about notable interred individuals, and about family burial plots. On occasion, noteworthy monuments or landscape features are reviewed. The second volume (1941) includes historical descriptions of three community burial grounds that were incorporated within the Cedar Grove Cemetery plan. The second report also includes a list of war veterans buried on its grounds.

Stonington Historical Society

Stonington Graveyards: A Guide

Stonington, Connecticut: Stonington Historical Society, 1980

Stonington Graveyards is a useful guide for the study of old burying grounds and cemeteries in Stonington, Connecticut. This resource, produced by the local historical society, is divided into three sections. The first provides background information on gravestone styles, symbols, and funerary artists; it reviews best practices for conducting cemetery research, employing the Hale Collection and site visits. The second section, a brief description of each cemetery in Stonington, includes some historical information, which is accompanied by a locator map. The final portion of the guide contains reprinted Hale Collection documentation of each buried individual in Stonington. The guide reviews more than sixty burial grounds in Stonington, including family burial spaces and large community cemeteries. They include Evergreen Cemetery (Stonington Cemetery), Wequetequock Burying Ground, St. Michael's Cemetery, St. Mary's Cemetery, Indian Cemetery, and Whitehall Yard. Sketches of some of the graveyards and monuments are included.

Wequetequock Burying Ground Association

The Wequetequock Burying Ground Association, Stonington, Conn.: with an account of the services at the dedication of the monument erected in memory of William Chesebrough, Thomas Minor, Walter Palmer, Thomas Stanton, the first four settlers of the town of Stonington: August 31, 1899

Westerly, Rhode Island: Geo. H. Utter, Printer, 1900

This resource documents dedication services for a monument erected in 1899 at the Wequetequock Burying Ground that memorializes the founding settlers of Stonington, Connecticut. Addresses given by Samuel Chesebrough, president of the Wequetequock Burying Ground Association, as well as by descendants of the town's founding settlers, are recorded and give historical context both to the monument and to the "ancient burying ground" at Wequetequock. Personal histories of individuals interred at the site are reviewed, along with brief descriptions of certain monuments and burial practices. The document also includes the bylaws of the Burying Ground Association from 1899–1900, and photographic documentation of the burying ground from that year.

D. Middlesex County

Goodwin, Frederic J., and Joseph Barratt

The Addresses Delivered at the Dedication of the Indian Hill Cemetery: With the Articles of Association, By-Laws, &c.

Middletown, Connecticut: C.H. Pelton, 1850

This document contains the text of Frederick Goodwin's dedication address at the Indian Hill Cemetery, the articles of Association of the Indian Hill Cemetery Association, and the bylaws, rules, and regulations that governed that cemetery as published in 1850. In his address at the dedication ceremony, Goodwin shared a personal and a public history of Indian Hill Cemetery. The articles of association and the cemetery bylaws show how the cemetery was organized and managed in the mid-nineteenth century.

Gildersleeve, Ferdinand

The Portland Burying Ground Association and its Cemetery

Middletown, Connecticut: Middlesex County Printery, 1897

This book by Ferdinand Gildersleeve on the Portland Burying Ground compiles information from the records, maps, and papers of the Portland Burying Ground Association from the second half of the nineteenth century. It describes the early history of that organization and the cemetery it governs. The book presents the history of the Association, which was organized in 1845, and provides the text of its articles of association, as well as the cemetery's bylaws, rules, and regulations. A history of the cemetery's development follows. Lot owners are listed, as are the number of burials at the site per year from 1869 to 1897. The book also lists each person buried at the cemetery in alphabetical order.

Shortell, David

Riverside Cemetery, Middletown, Connecticut

Middletown, Connecticut: D. Shortell, 2007

Riverside Cemetery is David Shortell's survey report and documentation of Riverside Cemetery in Middletown Connecticut, as recorded in 2007. Shortell documents each stone photographically and records the inscriptions and conditions for a gravestone database reproduced in the report. Shortell also records gravestone carvers when successfully identified. Using the database, the author produces distribution charts that describe the activity of individual gravestone carvers over time. Graphs also describe the number of deaths by age and the number of burials by decade. Military burials and notable inscriptions also are noted.

Whittemore, Henry

History of Middlesex County, Connecticut, with Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men

New York: J.B. Beers & Co., 1884

Henry Whittemore's encyclopedic county history, published in 1884, contains brief histories of cemeteries and burying grounds in Middlesex County's largest towns. It addresses Middletown, Chatham, Chester, East Haddam, Essex, and Saybrook. The following cemeteries in Middletown are reviewed: Old Cemetery (Riverside Cemetery); Old Cemetery in Maromas; Old South Farms Cemetery; Washington Street Cemetery; New Maromas Cemetery; Cemetery in North District No. 2; Mortimer Cemetery; Cemetery in South District, No. 4; Old Westfield Street Cemetery; Miner Cemetery; Cemetery in West District, No. 3; Indian Hill Cemetery; and Farm Hill Cemetery. Whittemore's descriptions of Chatham, Chester, East Haddam, Essex, and Saybrook's cemeteries are less extensive, although he does note the establishment date for certain burial spaces. Cemetery descriptions are located within broader town histories, which may prove useful to some researchers.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESERVATION, DOCUMENTATION, AND CONSERVATION

The final annotated chapter of this research guide outlines resources on the preservation of historic cemeteries, including their documentation, conservation, and management. Some are written for the layperson interested in preserving local cultural heritage, while others offer detailed, long-term preservation models for cemetery managers or present technical reporting on material-deterioration problems, gravestone repair, and restoration for cemetery conservators. Resources that address topics in preservation generally are included alongside relevant regional case studies. These citations were chosen to provide a range of background information and to highlight the variety of ways in which individuals can contribute to the preservation of these important cultural resources in Connecticut. **Part A** considers books, articles, and U.S. Department of the Interior briefs that deal with burial-place preservation strategies, including Lynette Strangstad's *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*. **Part B** describes sources pertaining to one of the most important aspects of cemetery preservation: documentation. Documentation techniques, from gravestone rubbing to digital mapping and database building, are reviewed. **Part C** deals with cemetery and monument conservation; it provides citations that will aid in the identification of deterioration problems and possible treatment strategies.

It is important to note that some of the publications listed below may recommend preservation strategies, conservation treatments, or documentation techniques that are outdated, not approved by professionals, or that may conflict with the specific needs of historic objects or sites given their specific environmental or historical contexts. Before intervening in a historic cemetery, preservation or conservation specialists should be consulted. Professionals are best suited for identifying conservation issues and potential solutions for historic cemeteries and their monuments. They also will be able to aid in the development of long-term preservation strategies and maintenance plans.

A. Preservation and Management

Mayer, Lance R.

“The Care of Old Cemeteries and Gravestones”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 1 (1979/1980): 119–41

Lance Mayer noted that the deterioration of gravestones caused by natural weathering and pollution poses a pressing threat to cultural heritage. He insisted, however, that cemeteries and their significant features can be preserved not only through documentation but also by other means. In “The Care of Old Cemeteries and Gravestones,” Mayer presents a series of approaches to cemetery preservation, from conservation to community action. He explains how fostering local involvement and discouraging theft can be as significant as long-term preservation planning, repair, or restoration. The article does not contain technical descriptions of conservation treatments. Instead, it explains in plain language varying approaches to cemetery care, as well as the necessary considerations and potential consequences that are associated with each approach. Readers will find this article to be a useful introduction to potential

cemetery preservation strategies. Additionally, its bibliography includes a number of citations regarding specific conservation methods.

Birnbaum, Charles A.

Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes
Preservation Briefs 36

Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Technical Preservation Services, 1994

This National Park Service (NPS) Preservation Brief provides a “step-by-step process for preserving historic designed and vernacular landscapes,” two kinds of cultural landscapes defined by the United States Department of Interior. Burial grounds and cemeteries are cultural landscapes that may be considered either historic designed landscapes or historic vernacular landscapes, depending on their historic context and character. Charles Birnbaum presents a methodology for identifying and evaluating these types of cultural landscapes and reviews preservation strategies for their documentation, management, and treatment. Specifically, the document explores historical research methods; the preparation of period plans, existing condition plans, and element inventories; the interpretation of cultural landscapes; and the development of maintenance plans. This resource is a useful introduction to cultural landscapes and their preservation.

Boston Parks and Recreation

The Boston Experience: A Manual for Historic Burying Grounds Preservation

Boston: Boston Parks and Recreation, 1989

In the 1970s the Boston Parks Department joined with the Boston Landmarks Commission, the Bostonian Society, and the Massachusetts Historical Commission, among other organizations, to develop collaboratively a preservation program for the city’s burial grounds and cemeteries. By 1985 a master plan had been developed, and documentation and treatment commenced soon thereafter. This resource chronicles the development of the Boston burying ground preservation program. It outlines the methodologies employed, including grave marker inventory and analysis, material conservation, site rehabilitation, and management and maintenance. It also describes strategies for contracting workers, fundraising, and promoting stewardship. *The Boston Experience* can serve as a case study for the design and implementation of cemetery preservation programs in New England, including Connecticut, where burial grounds spaces and monuments may pose similar challenges for heritage preservation.

Meier, Lauren, and Betsy Chittenden

Preserving Historic Landscapes

National Park Service Reading List Series. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Preservation Assistance Division, 1990

Preserving Historic Landscapes is an annotated research guide to American historic landscapes, their interpretation, and their preservation. This resource is designed to assist those planning and implementing preservation programs on historic landscapes by collecting an array of available guidance on the subject in a single document. The annotated bibliography is divided into the following sections: Landscape History, Inventory, and Evaluation; Preservation Approach and Treatment; Historic Landscape Types; Historic Landscape Features; and Reference Materials. The resources highlighted in the document would aid in the research of historic landscapes, both in general and particular terms, and in the development of preservation strategies.

Potter, Elizabeth Walton, and Beth M. Boland

Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places

National Register Bulletin 41. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992

Because individual graves and cemeteries often are viewed with “a sense of reverence and devout sentiment that can overshadow objective evaluation,” burial places typically are not considered eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places unless they meet special requirements. This *National Register Bulletin* discusses the types of historic sites or landscapes that might meet those requirements and thereby qualify for NRHP listing. The authors first present a summary of American cemetery history, including a review of landscape design, monuments, and managerial structure. A typology of burial places and associate features follows. Guidelines for evaluating, documentation, and registration of historic cemeteries conclude the document. A glossary of useful terms and a bibliography of recommended research materials are appended.

Schuyler, David, and Patricia O’Donnell

“The History and Preservation of Urban Parks and Cemeteries”

In *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, Arnold R. Aladen and Robert Melnick, eds., 70–93. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000

David Schuyler and Patricia O’Donnell narrate the history of cultural landscape preservation in the United States since the 1960s, focusing on how preservation practices have evolved in response to changing contexts. Their essay primarily considers past and contemporary preservation initiatives applied to urban parks. But other landscapes, like burial grounds and cemeteries, are examined. The authors use contemporary examples to pose questions about how preservationists might respond to new threats or develop new approaches in light of changing attitudes toward different types of public spaces. Past and present work in rural cemeteries, as well as New England burial grounds, are reviewed. This resource provides a helpful context for understanding recent developments in the preservation of historic cemeteries and other cultural landscapes.

Strangstad, Lynette

A Graveyard Preservation Primer

Nashville: American Association for State and Local History with Association for Gravestone Studies, 1988

A Graveyard Preservation Primer is a useful introductory resource for preservationists and researchers interested in understanding preservation strategy, cemetery maintenance, and the proper organization of documentation, conservation, or educational initiatives at cemeteries. Lynette Strangstad explains the importance of graveyards as heritage and memory sites and suggests a variety of approaches to their preservation. Documentation and data collection methods, including gravestone rubbing, architectural survey, and archeology are reviewed. Instructions for resetting, cleaning, and repairing stones are included, along with approaches to landscape preservation. The *Graveyard Preservation Primer* is an easy-to-read guidebook, with plenty of instructional images, that seeks to address common questions about protecting the cultural heritage found in American cemeteries.

B. Documentation

Baker, F. Joanne, and Farber, Daniel with Anne G. Giesecke
“Recording Cemetery Data”

Markers: The Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies, 1 (1980): 99–117

Joanne Baker, Daniel Farber, and Anne Geisecke believe the documentation of cemeteries has become a matter of urgency, since age, weather, pollution, and vandalism threaten “one of our most valuable” American cultural resources: old gravestones. To ensure that these resources are adequately recorded for posterity, the authors urge the use of systematic procedures while collecting cemetery data. The documentation system described in this article has four components: a master survey card, which provides information about the location, size, general condition, stylistic composition, and historical background of a cemetery; an individual record card, which describes individual markers in similar terms; a compass-oriented diagram, which visually accounts for the organizational structure of the cemetery, along with individual marker location and orientation; and photographic documentation, which includes the imaging of individual gravestones. The article provides sample survey cards and describes best practices for documentation (including potential cleaning strategies for illegible stones). Photographic strategies also are described in detail, including recommended camera positioning.

Bodor, John J.

Rubbings and Textures: A Graphic Technique

New York: Reinhold Book, 1968

Although gravestone rubbing is prohibited in many burial grounds today because of its potentially harmful effects on fragile funerary artworks, this technique has been the chosen documentation method for many gravestone scholars and enthusiasts of the past. In *Rubbings and Textures*, John Bodor presents a history of rubbing (for gravestones and other decorative objects) as a documentation strategy and describes five techniques for producing detailed rubbings. Those procedures include a “dry technique,” a “wet technique,” a “carbon technique,” a “dabbing technique,” and a “foil technique.” One chapter addresses early New England gravestone rubbings. The book also recommends classroom techniques for educational programs about rubbings. A bibliography provides further reading on the subject.

Liebens, Johan

“Map and Database Construction for an Historic Cemetery: Methods and Applications”

Historical Archaeology 37:4 (2003): 56–68

Johan Liebens writes in *Historical Archaeology* about mapping historic cemeteries using global positioning systems (GPS) and geographic information systems (GIS), a process by which digital databases are created that can aid in research, evaluation, maintenance, and management of burial spaces. His paper focuses on one mapping and inventorying project at St. Michael’s Cemetery in Pensacola, Florida, where the resulting digital archive informed research into “architectural trends and influences, historical social issues, evolving funerary customs, demographic trends, and cemetery management matters.” Through the digital database, the author creates distribution charts regarding materials usage and grave orientation by historic period. “Viewshed analyses” allow the author to analyze lines of sight from entranceways and along circulation corridors. Although some data-collection techniques have evolved since the paper’s publication, Liebens makes a strong case for GPS and GIS as documentation and analysis tools for cemetery studies.

Matero, Frank G., and Judy Peters

Survey Methodology for the Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds and Cemeteries

Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin 34:2-3 (2003): 37–45

Frank Matero and Judy Peters, in collaboration with the University of Pennsylvania Historic Preservation Studio, presented an “integrated program of digital surveying and mapping” for analysis, conservation, and management of historic burial spaces. The authors, however, see digital data collection, databases, and imaging as only one part of a successful preservation program. The paper presents a multifaceted approach to documentation and preservation planning, which was developed for St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 in New Orleans. The authors describe methodologies for documentation and recordation, condition survey and assessment, emergency and phased treatment programs, and digital representation and analysis. This paper reflects contemporary strategies in cemetery documentation, using a range of digital technologies and analytical approaches.

Mytum, Harold

Recording and Analysing Graveyards

Practical Handbooks in Archaeology 15. York, England: York Council for British Archaeology, 2000

Harold Mytum’s *Recording and Analysing Graveyards* outlines a methodology for documenting, evaluating, and interpreting burial spaces. The book’s first chapter, which provides background for the recordation strategies that follow, describes common cemetery elements and examines their meaning from differing analytic perspectives. Subsequent chapters titled “Carrying Out a Project” and “Recording the Memorials” offer approaches for planning and carrying out cemetery surveys. Documentation practices are reviewed, and sample survey forms are provided. The final chapter details techniques for mapping burial spaces. Although this volume was written for a European audience and deals almost exclusively with graveyards and monuments in Britain, the methods presented are applicable to cemeteries in the United States.

C. Conservation

Anson-Cartwright, Tamara, ed.

Landscape of Memories: A Guide for Conserving Historic Cemeteries

Toronto: Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, 1997

In *Landscape of Memories*, Tamara Anson-Cartwright addresses the preservation of funerary monuments and provides technical information about conserving tombstones and other memorials. This volume deals directly with the monument stock of Ontario, Canada, but serves as a useful overview of materials and treatments, which in certain cases may be applied to New England cemeteries and burial grounds. The author explores monument materials (stone and metal, specifically) and procedures for their cleaning. Subsequent chapters describe ten common gravestone repairs and highlight the preparation and application of mortars. The volume includes a glossary for cemetery and masonry terms, as well as an extensive bibliography containing resources on conservation, monument treatments, and cemetery study.

Grimmer, Anne E.

A Glossary of Historic Masonry Deterioration Problems and Treatments

Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Preservation Assistance Division, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1984

Anne Grimmer defines a range of deterioration problems that affect historic masonry and explores preservation treatments that can address those problems. Twenty-two terms defined in the first section of the text characterize all levels of deterioration. Blistering, crazing, efflorescence, erosion, salt fretting, and sugaring are among the problems considered. The second section of the text divides a review of preservation treatments within the subheadings “Maintenance,” “Cleaning Methods,” and “Repair.” The application of protective surface coatings, cleaning procedures, stone consolidation, epoxy repair, and repointing are covered in the volume. The book contains a bibliography for further reading.

Grimmer, Anne E.

Keeping It Clean: Removing Exterior Dirt, Paint, Stains and Graffiti from Historic Masonry Buildings

Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Preservation Assistance Division, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1988

While Anne Grimmer’s earlier publication on historic masonry focused on deterioration problems and treatments, this resource focuses on masonry cleaning techniques. Specifically, it addresses removing dirt, stains, paint, graffiti, pollution, and other substances from exterior masonry. In the first section, Grimmer provides information about how to identify substances to be removed, how to plan a cleaning project, and how to minimize hazards of cleaning. In a second section, cleaning techniques are examined within the following categories: water cleaning to remove dirt, chemical cleaning to remove dirt, chemical cleaning to remove paint and other coatings, poulticing to remove stains, and cleaning to remove bird droppings. The volume concludes with a useful summary chart of cleaning techniques and a selected reading list for further research.

Hosley, William, and Shepherd M. Holcombe

By Their Markers Ye Shall Know Them: A Chronicle of the History of Restorations of Hartford’s Ancient Burying Ground

Hartford: Ancient Burying Ground Association, 1994

This resource describes restoration and conservation programs undertaken at Hartford’s Ancient Burying Ground from 1985 to 1990. It reviews deterioration issues at that historic burial space prior to the preservation initiative (especially its sandstone monuments) and outlines the restorative techniques and treatments used. Monuments were cleaned, consolidated, patched, recarved, reinstalled, and replicated over five years. This book includes appendices that summarize each technical procedure. It also contains a table of treatments applied to stones in the burial ground, indicating the stone and the date on which certain treatments were applied. The restoration program at Hartford’s Ancient Burying Ground is an essential case study in Connecticut cemetery conservation. Because deterioration issues found there are often similar to those found throughout the state, *By Their Markers Ye Shall Know Them* serves as a guide to potential preservation approaches.

Striegel, Mary F., Frances Gale, Jason Church, and Debbie Dietrich-Smith

Preserving Grave Markers in Historic Cemeteries

Preservation Briefs 48

Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Technical Preservation Services, 2016

Preserving Grave Markers in Historic Cemeteries is a brochure published by the National Park Service's Technical Preservation Services about the treatment and protection of monuments in U.S. cemeteries. The document identifies types of historic monuments and their materials, then explores the potential threats that face historic cemeteries today such as weathering and vandalism. Conditions assessments, maintenance, restorative treatments, and protective treatments all are considered as parts of long-term solutions to abating those threats and to preserving grave markers. This NPS Preservation Brief describes the following treatments in detail: cleaning, graffiti removal, repointing, and resetting. Vegetative threats to historic cemeteries also are considered. A bibliography points readers to in-depth studies in cemetery preservation, conservation, and management.

Striegel, Mary F., and Jason Church

Best Practice Recommendations for Cleaning Government Issued Headstones

Natchitoches, Louisiana: National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, 2011

This brief document provides guidance for cleaning government-issued headstones, based on research conducted by the National Park Service and funded by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs National Cemetery Administration. The authors define different types of soiling agents and accumulations, then offer cleaning methodologies. The document identifies cleaning procedures known to harm gravestones and warns that cleaning regimens, even as developed in agreement with this document, need to be tailored to individual contexts, given potential environmental considerations such as humidity, biological growth rates, tree cover, and precipitation.

CHAPTER IX

BIBLIOGRAPHIC INDEX

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About the Author

Scott V. Goodwin is an historian with five years of experience in applied historical research and cultural resource management with R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. He meets the Secretary of the Interior's Qualifications Standards as a professional historian (36 CFR Part 61, Appendix A). Goodwin began work with the firm during Hurricane Katrina recovery efforts in New Orleans, where he participated in the survey and documentation of numerous historic buildings and districts, including systematic architectural resurveys of the Uptown New Orleans and Bywater National Register Districts. He also participated as an historian in Section 106 compliance efforts for the Department of Veterans Affairs' recently opened New Orleans Medical Center (VANO-MC). A graduate of Oberlin College with a BA in history, Goodwin's thesis examined relationships between trade, urban development, and heritage tourism in the Caribbean, and garnered the George and Carrie Life Fund Prize for excellence in American history. He also holds a Certificate in Geomatics (GIS) from Pratt Institute in New York. Recently, Goodwin has conducted extensive research and authored an historic context pertaining to a range of historic properties in coastal Connecticut relating to World War I, World War II, and Cold War industrialization and workforce needs. He also was the primary author of the nomination of Stonington Cemetery to the National Register of Historic Places.



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