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Using historic rural church cemeteries as a material culture resource in heritage education

Betterly, Richard D., D.A.

Middle Tennessee State University, 1991

USING HISTORIC RURAL CHURCH CEMETERIES

AS A MATERIAL CULTURE RESOURCE

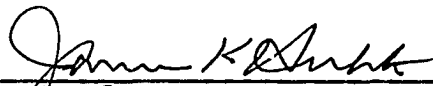IN HERITAGE EDUCATION

Richard D. Betterly

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty of Middle Tennessee State University
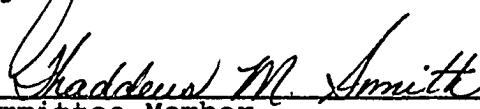in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Arts

December 1991

USING HISTORIC RURAL CHURCH CEMETERIES

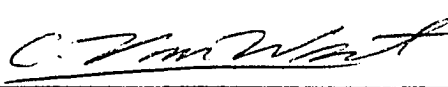## AS A MATERIAL CULTURE RESOURCE

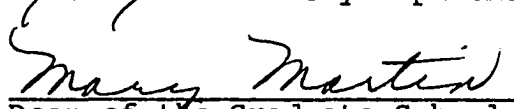## IN HERITAGE EDUCATION

APPROVED:

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Committee Member

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Head of the History Department

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Dean of the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

USING HISTORIC RURAL CHURCH CEMETERIES

AS A MATERIAL CULTURE RESOURCE

IN HERITAGE EDUCATION

Richard D. Betterly

This dissertation provides the university history
instructor with a student-centered instructional model
utilizing the historic rural church cemetery as a material
culture artifact. However, the model is applicable to other
academic disciplines at both the collegiate and secondary
education levels. The heritage education plan involves a two-
part cemetery survey methodology. First, a reconnaissance
survey locates cemeteries and collects data within a
specified geographic region. Second, a comprehensive survey
documents a cemetery's grave markers and other significant
features.

To evaluate the survey methodology and to illustrate
various approaches for using the results of surveys, St.
John's Episcopal Church Cemetery in Maury County, Tennessee,
serves as a case study. The history of the cemetery and
significant people buried there illustrates how teachers can
incorporate historical context into the results of a cemetery
survey. The St. John's comprehensive survey also provides
information on changing patterns of Victorian funerary art
and architecture in Middle Tennessee. The correlation

Richard D. Betterly

between grave markers and the cultural transformations in nineteenth century Victorian America provides a basis for understanding how funerary art and architecture serves as a teaching tool. A reconnaissance survey of similar rural graveyards located within a fifty-mile radius of St. John's Cemetery offers a regional context and comparison of Middle Tennessee's transitional gravestone style.

The dissertation is more than an analysis of how a rural church cemetery serves as a resource for heritage education. The processes to evaluate the physical conditions of such sites and to remedy problems associated with this type of material culture artifact also are detailed. The study reviews the literature dealing with preservation techniques and the legal protection afforded burial sites. By synthesizing the existing studies on cemetery preservation and by refining previous cemetery survey methods, the dissertation serves the nonacademic needs and concerns of public historians involved with preserving historic burial grounds. The dissertation's primary emphasis, however, is to encourage university instructors to adapt and apply its cemetery survey methodology and case study to other cemetery sites.

Dedicated to the memory of my father,
and to the love and encouragement of my mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is indebted to a great many people and institutions for help in the research and writing of this dissertation. The St. John's Memorial Association not only allowed the author access to the cemetery but also provided a grant to help finance the cost of the cemetery's survey. Likewise, through the History Department at Middle Tennessee State University, especially its late chairman Dr. William B. McCash, two Doctor of Arts Fellowships assisted with travel and research expenses. Susan Kidd and John Hildreth from the Southern Regional Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation allowed the author to use data collected by the Burial Sites Task Force. Donna Flowers of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History supplied information on that state's cemetery survey program.

Many individuals and friends helped in various capacities. The author wishes to thank Richard Quin, the former preservation officer of the Southcentral Tennessee Development District. To my friend and colleague Susan Cabot, preservation officer for the Boone County (Kentucky) Historic Preservation Review Board, thanks are due for the materials furnished on that agency's cemetery preservation efforts and survey. The author owes a special debt of gratitude to Caneta Hankins who generously provided the twelve students to field test the comprehensive survey

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Also, the students deserve credit for a well done effort and for providing significant feedback on the survey methodology. To my friend and fellow doctoral candidate Leo Goodsell, the author is indeed grateful for his help on completing the cemetery survey at St. John's.

The staff of the Center for Historic Preservation at MTSU was of great assistance throughout this project, especially providing needed equipment and supplies to field test the survey methodology. The author is especially appreciative of the advice given by Ed Johnson of the Center in preparing the CADD mapping of the St. John's Cemetery. Special thanks are also due to student research assistants Leslie Sharp and Mike Floyd and student worker Terri Haynes as well as the Center's secretary, Nancy Smotherman.

Although it is impossible to list everyone who helped with this dissertation adequately, the author would be remiss if he did not thank dissertation committee members Drs. Carroll Van West, Charles Babb, and Thaddeus Smith for their time, effort, and constructive criticism while reading and editing the manuscript. A great many aspects of this dissertation could not have been accomplished without the material resources, aid, and counsel provided by Dr. James K. Huhta, the committee chairperson and director of the Center for Historic Preservation, to whom the author owes more than can be adequately expressed in words.

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INTRODUCTION

Heritage education incorporates the natural and built environment and material culture resources to improve and enrich education in K-12 and higher education by developing what is best described as "built environment literacy."[1] Heritage education, therefore, requires instructors who are able to teach with such nearby history resources as buildings, personal artifacts, and gravestones. Future decisions affecting America's historic and cultural resources depend on an educated citizenry understanding and appreciating the value of preserving material culture of local and national significance. This dissertation focuses on preparing students in higher education to assume responsibility for making such decisions.

The dissertation develops, tests, and examines a methodology for using the material culture of rural church cemeteries as a student-centered, active learning experience in higher education. The teaching methodology designed for university history courses is not limited to this academic discipline or even to higher education. Yet, the methodology's emphasis on surveying, recording,

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[1]National Council for Preservation Education, Ad Hoc Committee on Elementary-Secondary Education, A Heritage at Risk: A Report on Heritage Education (K-12) (Burlington: University of Vermont Historic Preservation Program, 1987), 1. Hence cited as Heritage at Risk.

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and interpreting grave markers is an applied history project best suited to students in higher education.

University history departments, various social science disciplines, and teacher training programs are all developing and utilizing active learning situations in recent years. Student-centered activities that incorporate a community's resources in classroom instruction include taking students into the local community to study the architectural style of buildings, the funerary art of the graveyard, and other resources that constitute what is commonly termed nearby history. Applied history projects provide teachers and students an opportunity to interact in ways not common in traditional history instruction. This dissertation provides a model for using material culture as a student-centered instructional tool.

The cemetery survey methodology can be applied to areas other than higher education; however, the primary concern is that university instructors will utilize material culture resources in their courses. The specific goal of the methodology is to demonstrate to the university professor the educational aspect of historic preservation by using the cemetery, a material culture artifact, in an applied manner. Undergraduates in teacher training programs as well as those entering other professional fields need to know and appreciate the value of preserving historic buildings and cemeteries as artifacts of the nation's heritage. Still,

the cemetery survey can be adapted and modified for use in secondary education. In addition, public historians working with endangered historic cemeteries can utilize the reconnaissance and comprehensive cemetery surveys developed for this teaching methodology.

The comprehensive survey was tested at St. John's Episcopal Cemetery in Maury County, Tennessee, using a team of undergraduate and graduate students. The St. John's Churchyard serves as the case study for the dissertation primarily because of its size. Compared with other rural church cemeteries in Middle Tennessee, St. John's Cemetery is a medium-size graveyard. For example, there are approximately 336 grave markers located in St. John's Cemetery compared to over 800 in nearby Zion Presbyterian Cemetery, another Maury County burial ground, and 174 grave markers at the Bear Creek Cumberland Presbyterian Cemetery in Marshall County. Based on the results of surveying a medium-size rural graveyard like St. John's Cemetery, an instructor can adapt the methodology to smaller or larger cemeteries.

Another reason for choosing St. John's Cemetery as the case study is because the grave markers document a cultural transformation of funerary architecture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The cemetery exhibits various sizes, shapes, styles, and carving motifs on its many grave markers. Several gravestones at St. John's Cemetery match earlier dated examples found at sample cemeteries

located within a fifty-mile radius of St. John's Cemetery. Data from the sample cemeteries comes from a reconnaissance survey of the study area illustrated in Figure 1. Other grave markers at St. John's Cemetery exemplify the elaborate styles favored by Victorian Americans, especially the economically prosperous, from the 1840s through the early 1900s.

The dissertation is organized and structured into three distinct but interrelated parts. Part One, Material Culture as a Heritage Education Teaching Resource, reviews recent concepts concerning heritage education and applies the growing K-12 emphasis on using nearby history resources to history instruction in higher education. The rural church cemetery is used to illustrate how university instructors can utilize such material culture resources from the local community to teach heritage education. Providing student-centered, active learning experiences for history students in higher education involves such applied history projects as a cemetery survey.

Part Two, The Cemetery Survey: Tales the Tombstones Tell, introduces a two-part cemetery survey methodology and evaluates the comprehensive cemetery survey with a field test. Data from the field test at St. John's Cemetery provides the basis for additional research on the history of the graveyard and significant people buried there. The church and cemetery are used in a case study that demonstrates various approaches teachers can utilize to place
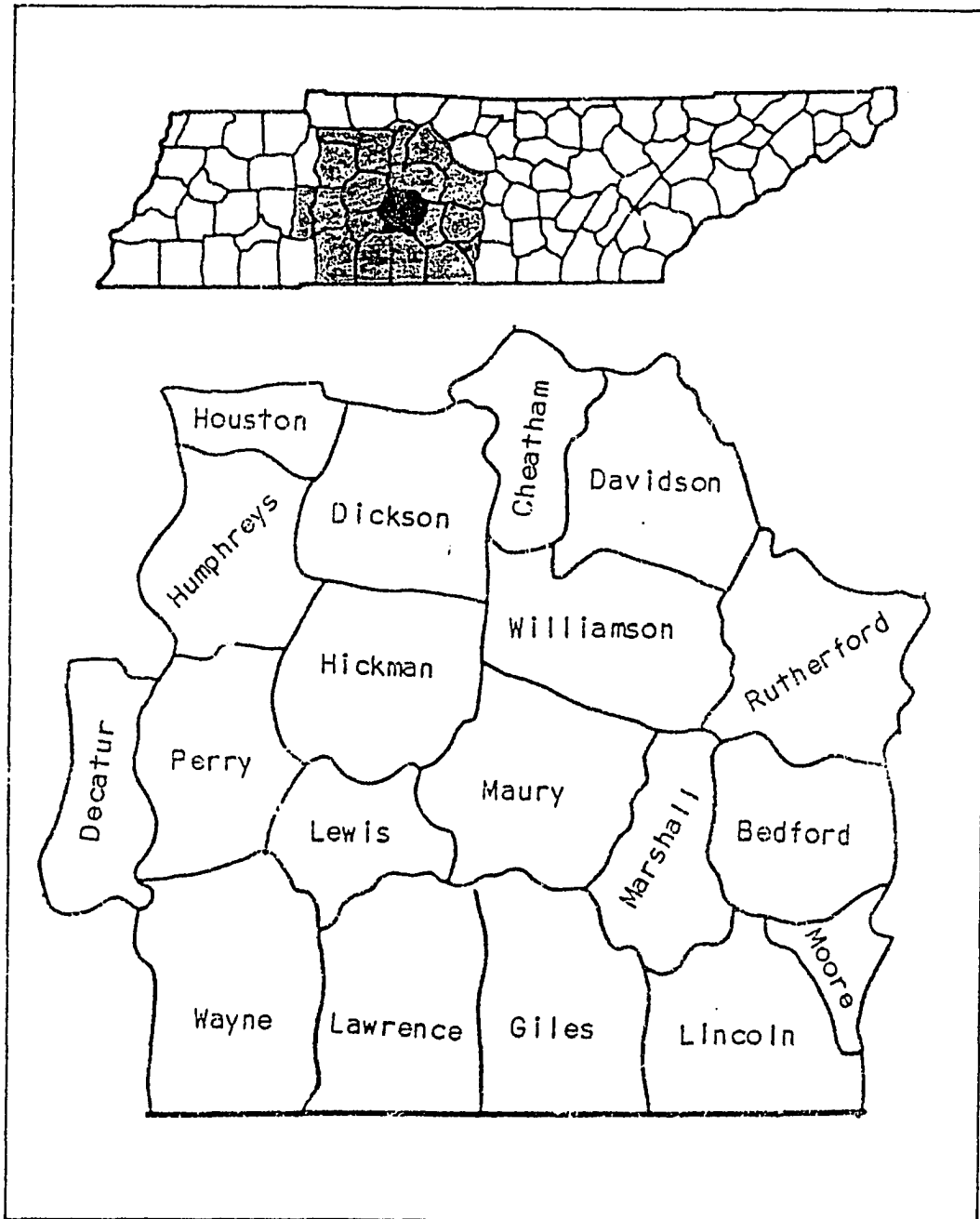
Fig. 1. The reconnaissance survey region encompasses a study area located within a fifty-mile radius of St. John's Cemetery, Maury County, Tennessee.

a cemetery survey into historical context. Nineteenth century cultural transformations regarding cemetery funerary art and architecture are part of the case study's historical inquiry. In addition, a transitional gravestone style evident at St. John's Cemetery and sample cemeteries within a broader study area provides a regional context for the case study. The correlation between material culture and the society responsible for making and using it provides a basis to understand how funerary art and architecture can serve as a teaching tool.

The importance of material culture resources to heritage education implies a responsibility to preserve, protect, and conserve these tangible artifacts of the past. Part Three, Preserving the Material Culture of Rural Cemeteries, explains why and how to preserve historic rural cemeteries as well as the technical and legal aspects of cemetery preservation. The Epilogue reaffirms the dissertation's thesis: rural church cemeteries are significant material culture artifacts, deserving of preservation, that can be used to create a heritage education plan incorporating survey recordation and historical interpretation.

PART ONE

MATERIAL CULTURE AS A HERITAGE EDUCATION

TEACHING RESOURCE

CHAPTER ONE

THE CONCEPT OF HERITAGE EDUCATION

Despite growing support for preserving America's
historic resources, many people do not understand or
appreciate the value of historic preservation. Efforts
to preserve for future generations such material culture
resources as historic neighborhoods and landmark properties
face the proposition that tearing down the old and replacing
it with the new is progress and prosperity. What holds
true for buildings also is a problem for historic rural
church cemeteries. Neither the regulatory powers of
government nor grant monies and tax incentives alone
guarantee the preservation of material culture and the
built environment. Heritage education teaches people to
understand and to appreciate the diverse, rich heritage
of the built environment and the material culture arti-
facts found in local communities.[1] A sense of heritage,
the history and cultural experiences of a people, is
fundamental if Americans are to become conscious of the

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[1]Maurie Van Buren, "Heritage Education: A Cultural
Resource Planning Tool," in The Best of Both Worlds: The
Challenge of Growth Enhancement in the Mid-South ed., Carroll
Van West (Murfreesboro, TN: A Critical Issues Fund report
prepared at the Center for Historic Preservation, Middle
Tennessee State University for the National Trust for
Historic Preservation, 1988), III.74, photocopied. Hence
cited as Van Buren, "A Cultural Resource Planning Tool."

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need to preserve valuable historic resources for future generations.

The purpose of heritage education is to teach about the past through oral histories, family and community studies, and such tangible remnants of the built environment and material culture as historic buildings and cemeteries. The increased emphasis on providing heritage education at the K-12 level coincided with the emergence of public history programs on the campuses of American universities in recent years. Actually, the term public history refers to several specialized fields such as archival administration, historic preservation, and museology. Careers in public history involve work outside the academy such as in libraries, museums, historical societies, government agencies, and even private corporations. Public historians adapt and apply historical research and writing skills and the insights and outlook of interpreting historical context directly to serve and benefit private and public enterprises.[2] For example, one aspect of public history is the management of historic resources: saving, caring for, and encouraging the use of material culture resources. As a consequence, the adaptive reuse of old buildings is an increasingly important role that historic preservation plays in helping to conserve the

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[2] Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., "Public History and the Academy," in Public History: An Introduction, eds., Barbara J. Howe and Emory L. Kemp (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., Inc., 1986), 11-12.

environment, revitalize a downtown's economy, and hold down
construction costs.[3]

Future efforts to preserve the nation's heritage not
only depend on an enlightened citizenry realizing the value
of saving the material culture remnants of the past, but also
on a citizenry more interested in all issues effecting the
future of their communities. Educating the citizenry is the
best means to achieve these goals.[4] The schools and univer-
sities can implement heritage education through a broad
range of academic concerns including the humanities, fine
arts, social sciences, and the natural sciences. The
multidisciplinary perspective of heritage education involves
a comprehensive and connected study of the history and
culture of communities, regions, and the nation as a whole.
The study of nearby history, a primary aspect of heritage
education, fosters stewardship and understanding about
the built environment and material culture resources of
a people's heritage.[5]

The interpretation of national and world history
involves identifying common threads and general patterns

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[3]David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, Nearby History:
Exploring the Past Around You (Nashville: American
Association for State and Local History, 1982), 11.

[4]Heritage at Risk, 1-2.

[5]National Forum on Heritage Education, "The National
Center for Heritage Education: A Master Plan (Draft C),
1989 (?)" TMs [photocopy], p. 3, Center for Historic
Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University,
Murfreesboro, TN. Hence cited as "Master Plan."

to create a coherent picture; however, the rich diversity of local settings and experiences are often overlooked. The experiences of a particular family or community can illuminate what history courses traditionally seek to teach: greater understanding and appreciation of the past.[6] Meanwhile, the skills of critical thinking, interpretation, and writing are reinforced and student interest heightened through the investigation of nearby history. Studying the architectural styles of homes during a neighborhood walking tour, for example, helps to relate the everyday experiences of local communities, neighborhoods, and families to the great historic events and sweeping cultural movements of the past.

Heritage education teaches the value of contemporary memories as part of a future legacy. In essence, teaching with resources from the local community provides a reference point for the experiences of the common people who are part of America's dynamic, diverse, and mobile society.[7] Material culture artifacts as physical evidence, much like written historical records, document events and moments from the past. History is the accumulation of many separate elements; therefore, not only are national and world developments part of all human history, so too are the activities of local communities. For example, the decisions of the President of the United States may affect the entire world, while the

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[6]Kyvig, Nearby History, 7.   [7]"Master Plan," 3.

decisions of a community's mayor may only affect one neighborhood. Still, the local event is significant because of its long term impact on the community, a family, or an individual.[8] Preserving the remnants of a people's history, such as historic rural church cemeteries, bequeaths to future generations a cultural inheritance.

To prepare future generations to accept the responsibility for preserving the nation's heritage, university instructors need creative and motivating teaching tools and methodologies that bring the community into the classroom and send the classroom into the community.[9] As a consequence, both past and present students in higher education have a stake in preserving the nation's historic resources just as much as the professional preservationist and academician. Heritage education, therefore, is not an elitist concept relegated to the confines of the academy. Those who will live and work in local comunities need to be taught to appreciate nearby history. Higher education can provide some of the stimulus for this approach and concern with the built environment and material culture.[10]

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[8]Kyvig, Nearby History, 6. Also see "Master Plan," 2.

[9]Van Buren, "A Cultural Resource Planning Tool," III.76.

[10]National Trust for Historic Preservation, Preservation: Toward an Ethic in the 1980s (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1980), 134-35. Hence cited as Toward an Ethic.

The appeal of heritage education comes from the emotional rewards of learning about the past in an applied manner that is seldom duplicated with any other type of historical inquiry.[11] Applied history instruction requires identifying existing educational models and creating them when missing, working within the existing educational system, and establishing better communication between instructors and professionals in the field. Activist volunteers and community organizations, with the assistance of universities and other cultural institutions, must play a critical role teaching about the value of historic preservation.[12]

A major goal of heritage education is to invoke a general awareness, appreciation, and concern for preserving historic resources from all aspects of society. People need to understand that something can be done to save historic and cultural resources. If students going through higher education today gain knowledge, awareness, and appreciation for nearby history, then heritage education creates a sense of responsibility for conserving and preserving that heritage. Active learning experiences involving historic and cultural resources will help students to make more intelligent decisions today to preserve the past for the future.[13]

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[11]Kyvig, Nearby History, 12.   [12]Toward an Ethic, 28.

[13]Van Buren, "A Cultural Resource Planning Tool," III.74-III.76. Also, see Toward an Ethic, 133.

Successful use of heritage education in the classroom is best achieved in a course that can function as a research seminar. To develop critical thinking and applied history research skills requires a course in which time can be devoted to teaching students these skills, helping students define their research goals, and developing strategies for conducting the practical or applied research. Segments of an existing course can be set aside for such a purpose; indeed, the cemetery survey model developed for this dissertation is intended for just this purpose. The negative aspect of using the traditional course in which other content has to be covered is the tendency to focus very narrowly on the local history research project. The result is that the project loses some of its value for developing skills. The ideal situation is to provide a separate course that incorporates sufficient time for students to learn about community resources while investigating one or two topics such as cemetery studies. Using the seminar approach, some class sessions could be devoted to specific aspects of the community such as its architectural history while other sessions could be used for group or individual discussions about the research assignments.[14]

One of the areas of heritage education at the university level is career oriented, which is best accomplished

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[14]Fay D. Metcalf and Matthew Downey, Using Local History in the Classroom (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 13.

through degree programs in curricula specifically designed to train public history professionals. A related objective of this career focus is to provide continuing education and training programs for practicing professionals and active volunteers.[15] Continuing education involves developing craft training programs, advanced training to provide the professional expertise needed in the field, professional development programs, and educational opportunities for both volunteers and practicing professionals. To meet these needs, existing agencies, organizations, programs, and networks must be utilized for reasons of economy, efficiency, and practicality.[16]

The university's role as a leader in the business of education is to participate at all levels of the educational hierarchy. The university and its faculty are part of a much larger community than just the campus. They both must actively participate in the teaching, research, and public service missions of higher education. Heritage education not only provides the possibility for local community and university interaction through applied teaching and research, it can serve all three of the university's missions. Unfortunately, this type of change and innovation is hard to achieve. The university's departmentalized curriculum causes resistance to change due to a conservative nature that

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[15]Toward an Ethic, 216-17.

[16]Ibid., 28-29.

reflects the dominant or consensus elements of a department's faculty wishing to maintain the status quo.[17]

A history department's faculty members impart the events, beliefs, values, and traditions that shape the nation's heritage. The majority of these instructors, however, have little or no formal training in either public history or the use of nearby history resources. If heritage education is to be successful in higher education, it requires either individual retraining or some form of in-service training. Even if professors acquire adequate help in locating and using heritage education methodologies in their courses, the problem of integrating this type of resource into the curriculum remains a challenge. Heritage education has a long standing rationale that using nearby history trains critical thinking. While the critical thinking process is an avenue into larger areas of historical experience, using nearby historic and cultural resources helps students understand preservation problems common to most communities.[18]

Despite the long-standing interest of K-12 teachers in using resources from the local community in the classroom, these types of resources have not played a large role in traditional history curricula of higher education. The

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[17]James Perkins, ed., <u>Higher Education: From Autonomy to Systems</u> (New York: International Council for Educational Development, 1972), 10.

[18]Metcalf, <u>Using Local History</u>, 12.

major reservation that many university professors voice about using nearby history is the ease in which it becomes either parochial or filiopietistic. For example, amateur local historians and genealogists are enraptured with recording community events and collecting local memorabilia without regard to historical analysis or interpretation. The academic community's opposition to nearby history research indicates concern about the social and intellectual value of such research.[19]

The use of nearby history never quite found a secure place in higher education's curriculum because of two major obstacles. First, there was a lack of educators trained to use nearby history resources. Second, the inability to effect reform in the university curriculum that would train a new generation of educators in the use of built environment and material culture resources from the local community created a Catch 22 scenario.[20] Underlying these two obstacles was a general lack of support from the historical profession. For example, a joint committee of the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (now known as the Organization of American Historians), and the National Council for the Social Studies recommended in 1944 that regional, state, and local history be used as examples to enrich the content of the United States history survey course. Despite its positive stance,

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[19]Ibid., 6-7.   [20]Ibid., 10.

the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges
fell short of suggesting that nearby history occupy any
significant part of a student's time in either the class-
room or the curriculum.[21]

Nearby history, public history, and heritage education
have all benefited from the changes in historical scholarship
between the 1950s and 1980s. The traditional view of history
from the great man and great event perspective began to give
way in the 1950s and 1960s to a new form of historical
inquiry referred to as social history. The call to study
American history from the bottom up was due to such
developments as the civil rights movement, a growing
awareness of the plight of the economically disadvantaged,
and the rise of feminism. To better understand the nation's
history, scholars looked not only at the leadership elites
and their decisions, but also investigated the experiences of
other social groups. While still using traditional methods
of historical research and documentation, social historians
utilized techniques from other disciplines such as
quantitative and applied research.[22]

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[21]American History in Schools and Colleges, The Report
of the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges
of the American Historical Association, Mississippi Valley
Historical Association, and National Council for the Social
Studies (New York: Macmillan, 1944), 81-82.

[22]Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A
Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville:
University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 5-9. Also see Fishel,
"Public History and the Academy," 15-17.

To help students integrate knowledge from varied disciplines, history professors need to move away from higher education's traditional dogmas about instruction and learning. Lectures remain the preferred teaching strategy of most university instructors; however, considerable value exists in shifting the emphasis from total dependence on verbalizing to other means of animating, reinforcing, and illustrating instruction through activities that involve active rather than passive learning.[23] Instead of using an interdisciplinary approach, universities are regimented into departmentalization and specialization which defeat the goal of integrating knowledge. The idea that the lecture method results in an accumulation of facts and information that can be used later to solve problems is also a misconception. Research indicates that learning is an individual, internal activity that involves learning as an active verb, not just a noun. Students and teachers must interact in diverse situations, not just the classroom, using activities that reflect the changing nature of society.[24]

In A Nation at Risk, former Secretary of Education Terrel H. Bell reported that the United States was not competing with foreign nations because of the redistribution

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[23]Kenneth Eble, The Craft of Teaching: A Guide to Mastering the Professor's Art (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1988), 40.

[24]Ohmer Milton, Alternatives to the Traditional: How Profs Teach and How Students Learn (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972), 10-12.

of trained capabilities. Success in the Information Age
depends on learning. A democratic society needs to develop a
common understanding through a shared education and common
culture if its citizens are to participate in the nation's
life.[25] Since the nation's heritage is the collective
values, beliefs, traditions, and experiences of its people;
preserving the natural and built environment and material
culture provides a visible, tangible record of a people's
history and culture. This heritage is a powerful and lasting
reflection of a people's inheritance, and preserving it
creates continuity by connecting each generation to those who
came before.[26]

The growing importance of nearby history in society is
largely a cultural phenomenon due to the transitory, mobile
nature of modern society. The neighborhood, town, or city
and the family or ethnic group to which one belongs are
social realities providing individuals, except the most
rootless of Americans, with a sense of identity.[27] Public
history courses, through the use of nearby history, train
students to synthesize information and then address it to a
particular client's problem. Educational reformers such as
Patricia Cross reinforce this concept of training students

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[25]National Commission on Excellence in Education, A
Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform
(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), 2.

[26]"Master Plan," 2.

[27]Metcalf, Using Local History, 1-2.

in higher education to select from all the information available to them in order to put an argument together or solve a problem. Reformers such as Cross are critical of higher education's overt reliance on the traditional teaching formula or well-organized lectures emphasizing content and analysis.[28] Heritage education does go beyond the mastery of facts and historical concepts and encourages the learner to move from ideas to actions.[29]

When nearby history is used in a traditional history course, it is usually as a component to illustrate some aspect of course content. For example, an instructor's reference to the building of the local high school as a New Deal public works project is a very unsophisticated use of nearby history. Of far more value are student activities that directly involve the students as active rather than passive learners through the use of material available in the community. As shall be detailed later, the advantage of this type of student-oriented activity is that an instructor can use it on a selective basis.[30] The comprehensive cemetery survey developed as a heritage education tool in Part Two of the dissertation can be

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[28]Patricia K. Cross, "Education for the 21st Century," NASPA (National Association of Student Personnel Administrators) Journal 23, no. 1 (Summer 1985): 10-14.

[29]"Master Plan," 5.

[30]Metcalf, Using Local History, 14-15.

introduced and developed over several semesters or an even longer period of time.

A significant obstacle for implementing heritage education is the lack of teaching materials. Because most heritage education programs are in their infancy and lodged with preservation agencies and organizations, their instructional materials tend to be short-lived or only locally circulated.[31] Educators need to become involved in assisting heritage education programs develop teaching models that use nearby history resources. Once instructional materials are developed, a way must exist to distribute them and make instructors aware of their availability.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Waterford Foundation have joined in a partnership with the preservation and education communities and other relevant agencies and institutions to form the National Center for Heritage Education. The Center, headquartered at the national historic landmark village of Waterford, Virginia, serves as a clearinghouse of information on heritage education. It seeks to foster appreciation and stewardship for the nation's heritage by encouraging and supporting a variety of educational strategies that involve the values and principles of heritage education. While the Center's first priority is K-12 education, it also supports and encourages professional educators and volunteers engaged in teaching

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[31]Heritage at Risk, 5.

about the history and culture of the United States to all age
levels and in many different settings.[32]

Another source for instructors interested in materials
and ideas on how to use the built environment and material
culture as teaching tools is the Educational Resources
Information Center (ERIC). The ERIC system now includes
heritage education as a general category, providing
assistance to educators interested in scholarship on the
subject.

Workshops conducted by paid consultants can provide
information useful in the classroom. However, the best time
to teach educators about the value of heritage education is
while they are doing their initial educational training.
Public historians and other professionals in the field can
work with higher education serving as guest lecturers,
providing university libraries with heritage education
information and resources, or establishing local scholarship
funds for students with an interest in heritage education.[33]

Heritage education activities make substantial demands
upon the instructor's time. Assignments requiring students
to go out into the community to examine buildings or ceme-
teries of historical importance require careful preparation
and considerable research to collect data and to integrate

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[32]"Master Plan," 6.

[33]Van Buren, "A Cultural Resource Planning Tool,"
III.84. Also see Heritage at Risk, 8.

that new material into a course. Time and effort must be spent organizing the course and bringing the instructor's historical knowledge up to date. A poorly prepared assignment can succumb to parochialism and ancestor worship.[34]

When using nearby history in the classroom, instructors must decide how much depth and detail of knowledge is desirable and how much effort is necessary. The neophyte using heritage education methods cannot be expected to proceed as fast or as far as one who is experienced. Part of the process of choosing instructional tools to teach heritage education is setting realistic goals based on student capabilities and interests. The amount of time and available resources for developing teaching techniques and pursuing inquiries differs widely. Only by assessing the purpose and scope of an inquiry can research models be adequately formulated. A focus is essential to determine what information is worth gathering, examining, and analyzing in order to answer the particular questions.[35]

Those involved with heritage education must carefully use nearby history resources for purposes that increase understanding rather than to fabricate an ideal of the past. Educators Fay Metcalf and Matthew Downey state in Using Local History in the Classroom:

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[34]Metcalf, Using Local History, 7-15.

[35]Kyvig, Nearby History, 14-15.

> The current popular interest in community history may be part of a cultural backlash to the traumatic national events of the Vietnam and Watergate era. . . . [a] nostalgic retreat from the larger, national community to which we belong toward a simpler and partly mythical past in which local communities played a larger role in people's lives.[36]

The recent past is no less susceptible to parochialism and ancestor worship than any other period of American history in which historic resources are interpreted in a sanitized, rose-colored perspective that historian and geographer David Lowenthal decries in his work The Past Is a Foreign Country. To avoid the tendency to regard the built environment and material culture as parochial and filiopietistic, using nearby history materials requires the same critically honest inquiry that is central to any scholarly work.[37]

The more complex society becomes; the more heritage education becomes a tool for stimulating pride and distinctiveness by comparing the experiences of people and events often overlooked in traditional historical inquiry. Historical study has become more than telling stories from the written records. The resources of the natural and built environment and material culture convey not just the general story but the many individual aspects of the nation's history.[38]

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[36]Metcalf, Using Local History, 8.

[37]David Lowenthal, The Past Is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3-34.

[38]Kyvig, Nearby History, 5-6.

Applied teaching and learning experiences are not just applicable at the K-12 level since such student-centered learning in higher education is needed to prepare future K-12 educators and public historians to use nearby history resources. The team approach that public history adopted from other disciplines exemplifies how traditional and innovative techniques can be used to develop heritage education methodologies like the dissertation's cemetery survey model. Seeking data and framing conclusions in concert with others in a team effort, a cooperating group, is a common practice for public history projects especially those in historic preservation.[39] Although heritage education is not limited to either public history courses or teacher training programs, the goal of this dissertation is to provide incentive for implementing active, student-centered learning experiences in higher education. To achieve this goal, the material culture of historic rural church cemeteries provides a catalyst for additional innovations using other types of material culture as heritage education tools.

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[39]Fishel, "Public History and the Academy," 12-13.

CHAPTER TWO

MATERIAL CULTURE RESOURCES

Studying material culture involves scholarly
investigation of the artifacts of a community or society
that reflect that group's values, ideas, attitudes, and
assumptions at a particular time. The term material culture
is applicable to the artifacts which serve as a primary
source for investigators in various academic disciplines.
Objects made or modified by people are a reflection of the
beliefs of the individual who created, produced, purchased,
or used them. As a consequence, the objects (material
culture artifacts) are an extension of the beliefs of the
larger society to which they and the individual belong.[1]
Examining changing patterns in the funerary art of a
cemetery's grave markers reflects, and thus helps the
researcher understand, other similar patterns of change
affecting the culture and time period responsible for
making the gravestones.

Material culture provides a means to learn from the
anonymous men and women who left little or no written records
yet played a role in past events. For example, historical

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[1]Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction
to Material Culture Theory and Method," in <u>Material Life in
America, 1600-1860</u>, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston:
Northeastern University Press, 1988), 18.

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inquiry often neglected African Americans and women because they either produced a few written records or little is left of what they did express in writing. Material culture provides a realistic aspect to such peoples' past.[2] According to David Lowenthal, artifacts are physical remains that prove that there really was a past. Material culture, as evidence of the past, provides a bridge between the then and now that can confirm or deny scholarly interpretations of the past.[3] Appreciation for studying material culture sources has grown in proportion to the nation's industrialization. The changing perception of the value for material culture study is due to diverse and often contradictory motives, not merely as a consequence of sentimentalism.[4]

A good illustration of such changing perceptions is the Arts and Crafts Movement's denunciation of the Eclectic Movement's use of historic architectural traditions in the late nineteenth century. After the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition, the Eclectic Movement stressed the correct interpretation of European classicism that influenced earlier American building styles. The informal Arts and Crafts

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[2] Henry Glassie, "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies," in Material Life in America, 1600-1860, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 70-74. Hence cited as Glassie, "The Artifact's Place."

[3] Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country, xxiii.

[4] James Marston Fitch, Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1982), 13. Hence cited as Fitch, Curatorial Management.

Movement was a regressive response that idealized hand-
crafted goods and preindustrial architecture's rustic
aesthetics. The movement had its origins in Great
Britain and was based on the ideas of writer and critic
John Ruskin and his follower William Morris. Although the
bungalow architectural style popularized by the movement
was of southern California origin, it spread throughout
the country during the early twentieth century due to such
magazines as House Beautiful, Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home
Journal, and especially the Craftsman. Indeed the bungalow
style is often referred to as Craftsman due to the influence
of the magazine founded and edited by furniture designer and
manufacturer Gustav Stickley. The Arts and Crafts, or
Craftsman, ideology coincided with the beginnings of an
age of unprecedented scientific and technological means for
construction and destruction.[5] Little did this generation of
architects, designers, artists, and reformers realize that
America's earlier architectural classicism, the precedent for
the Eclectic Movement's revival of traditional order in
architecture, would be in short supply near the end of the
twentieth century. America in the 1990s risks losing the

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[5]David P. Handlin, American Architecture (London:
Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1985, 162. Also, see Virginia
McAlester and Lee McAlester, A Field Guide to American
Houses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 454. An excellent
study of the Arts and Crafts Movement is Robert J. Clark,
The Arts and Craft Movement in America, 1876-1916 (Princeton:
Princeton University Press, 1972).

natural and built environment and material culture of its
past either piecemeal to the bulldozer or instantaneously due
to the ravages of modern warfare.[6]

Society and culture are inextricably intertwined. Each
society, any group of interdependent individuals that form
a community, has a culture reflecting its beliefs. Social
historians seek to uncover the relationships between
individuals or groups of individuals in a society. Such
historians base their studies on patterns and details of
the daily existence of large subgroups defined by class,
race, religion, wealth, place of residence, and other
factors. Cultural historians study a society's peculiar
characteristics, especially those of an intellectual nature,
such as art, science, technology, and religion.[7]

Both types of historical investigation have significant
overlapping areas. Cemetery studies can be placed in this
context of social and cultural history. As social history
cemetery artifacts reflect patterns of class, wealth, race,
and religion through architecture and burial plot location
within or outside the graveyard's boundary. Likewise, grave
markers are distinctive cultural expressions of society's
regard for death and characterize specific time periods
and even localities or regions of the country. The cemetery

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[6]Fitch, Curatorial Management, 22-23.

[7]Prown, "Mind in Matter," 22.

provides an excellent focal point to study social and
cultural history.

Material culture provides evidence that cultural
modification of the physical environment has occurred.
Cultural anthropologist and archeologist James Deetz writes:
"Culture is a transmitted system of rules for socially
acceptable behaviors and ways of thinking about and doing
things. We learn culture from the teachings and examples of
elders as well as peers. . . ."[8] Objects made and used to
cope with the physical world, the products of a culture, show
how men and women modify the world around them through
behavior determined by their culture.[9] The basic premise of
the study of material culture is that each object serves some
aspect of the culture that created, produced, and used it.
Careful and imaginative study is necessary to understand the
cause and effect relationship of the object to its culture.
Consequently, the fundamental concern of material culture
studies is the artifact itself since it embodies a society's
cultural patterns of belief. The process of the artifact's
fabrication is a manifestation of human behavior. To
understand patterns of belief and behavior affecting
artifacts requires an awareness of such broader concerns
as cultural geography, folklore, and folk life.[10]

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[8]James Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten: The
Archaeology of Early American Life (New York: Anchor Press,
Doubleday, 1977), 24. Hence cited as Deetz, In Small Things.

[9]Ibid., 24-25.   [10]Prown, "Mind in Matter," 23-24.

Henry Glassie's and Fred Kniffen's studies on folk material culture emphasize the concept that folk society coexists in a state of participation with the greater society. Glassie and Knifen focused attention on the folk society existing throughout the eastern United States. Glassie sees contemporary regional patterns of material folk culture as being conservatively oriented parts of a larger single society dominated by a popular culture endorsed by the government and economic systems. For example, the distinctly conservative Old Order Amish might be overcome by the larger society unless it remains strong enough to resist and persist.[11] Kniffen's approach focuses on the migration of people from three Atlantic coast cultural hearths which have their own cultural patterns and traits. Kniffen suggests that as people left these hearths and moved westward, aspects of the patterns and traits from each hearth were taken along that reflected the differences and origins of settlers. Thus, regional diversity was created that can be measured through either the built environment or material culture. Kniffen studied eighteenth and nineteenth century patterns and traits of house and barn types to outline his regional locations that spread out from the hearth zones along the Atlantic Seaboard. His concept is adaptable to

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[11]Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 3-4.

other forms of material culture such as cemetery grave markers.[12]

Simon Bronner, a folk and cultural historian, regards artifacts as part of the culture in which they are produced and consumed. Bronner claims that an uneasy relationship exists between the folk objects of a communal society like the Amish and those of the dominant technological society. If the folk culture succumbs to the dominant society's influence, then folk objects are no longer visible. Touchstones or good luck pieces are good illustrations of Bronner's argument. With these objects, a folk society's ideas may still find expression in community and family reactions to nature, machines, and the greater society.[13]

Popular or folk beliefs of a society are generally accepted but never articulated; therefore, these beliefs are perceived through stylistic evidence in the configuration or form of things expressed verbally, behaviorally, or materially. What a society produces, especially mundane or utilitarian objects like construction tools, expresses culture in a less self-conscious, more truthful manner.[14]

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[12]Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," in Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture, eds., Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 3-26.

[13]Simon J. Bronner, Grasping Things: Folk Material Culture and Mass Society in America (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 5-20.

[14]Prown, "Mind in Matter," 21.

The past must be examined not only through the writings of people who communicate their own particular view of the world, but also in a broad, general way in which human actions affect the material world.[15]

Total objectivity cannot be expected in the writings of an individual since the interpreter will reflect his or her personal interests, biases, and attitudes. Recognizing the subjectivity of human judgment, material culture provides a more objective source of information about America's past. The arrangement and designs of gravestones in a cemetery, for example, are evidence of the community whose dead lie beneath the ground. The meaning in the patterns of belief and behavior found in the graveyard makes grave markers primary sources with great objectivity and subtlety. Grave markers are one type of material culture that James Deetz refers to as "the small things forgotten" that capture the essence of human existence; and, they offer a different way to appreciate what was in the past.[16]

Henry Glassie points out that only a small percentage of the world's population is and has been literate; in addition, those people who write literature or keep diaries are atypical. A much broader cross section of the population uses objects; therefore, artifacts of material culture are a

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[15]Deetz, In Small Things, 158.

[16]Ibid., 160-161.

more representative source of information than words alone.[17]
Without the benefit of their material culture artifacts,
common people, past and present, tend to be otherwise
inaccessible unless through some impersonal written records
like the census or from the view of literate
contemporaries.[18]

The written record is accused of being slanted toward
the viewpoints of a society's elite. Yet, material culture
is also representative of the life and styles of the social
elite. Scholarly experience and tradition in art,
architecture, and the decorative arts usually focused
on high-style artifacts because they are often made of
precious materials and fabricated with great technical skill.
Consequently, high-style artifacts are widely admired and
preserved. In contrast, cruder objects and vernacular styles
designed with economy in mind lack the same quality of
material and craftsmanship as the high-style objects. Thus,
a wooden spoon when compared to a piece of fine silverware
may either deteriorate faster or be discarded as junk. Even
objects with religious and filiopietistic association can
become disposable if they lose their associational value.[19]
Rural church cemeteries, for example, can lose their
spiritual value if the church affiliation is discontinued

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[17]Glassie, "The Artifact's Place," 82-85.

[18]Prown, "Mind in Matter," 20.

[19]Ibid.

when membership declines. Likewise, the cemetery's filiopietistic value declines when families die out or migrate away from the community. As a consequence, the grave markers in isolated, neglected, and abandoned church graveyards are left to either natural decay or to the possibility of vandalism.

Grave markers are also a prime example of a large special category of material culture, namely, artifacts that are works of art. While all tangible works of art are a form of material culture, not all material culture resources are works of art. Gravestone architecture is commonly overlooked as a tangible art form and is regarded merely as serving a utilitarian purpose. Yet, gravestone carving represents both aesthetic and spiritual or iconic dimensions. Carved motifs directly and intentionally express cultural belief regardless of whatever utilitarian purpose gravestones also happen to fulfill.

When interpreting the cultural beliefs associated with an artifact, the interpreters' beliefs pervade their assumptions unconsciously. As products of a different cultural environment than the people who produced and used the objects being studied, students of material culture must be aware of their own cultural biases. When reading the epitaphs on Victorian grave markers, the tendency is to overtly romanticize the inscribed sentiments unless the Victorian Era is put into proper perspective in relation to gravestone style and sentimentality.

James Deetz warns against the tendency to think of Americans in other time periods as being simpler versions of ourselves. Students of material culture must recognize that there is a contrast between society in the present and that of the past. People of a previous age should be viewed in terms of that society's social, economic, and cultural patterns rather than imposing categories upon them that reflect patterns of today. Failing to recognize this difference often results in romanticizing interpretations of the past to such an extreme that things are viewed as being prettier, problems seen as fewer, life perceived as simpler, and people envisioned with kinder dispositions toward others. Of course, these characteristics do not accurately portray the past. Colonial Williamsburg, for example, tends to present some aspects of America's colonial past in such a distorted way that people regard today's situations in far more desperate and severe terms than they truthfully are.[20]

Fortunately, the study of material culture does offer several scholarly approaches that are more trustworthy than simply being aware of culturally biased and distorted interpretations. By identifying with a past culture through a sensory, visual and touch, approach that incorporates elements of scientific methodology, the material objects of that culture are studied more objectively. Systems to

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[20]Deetz, In Small Things, 156-158.

categorize artifacts help increase awareness of the interpretive biases that occur when studying an artifact. Categorizing one type of artifact helps to achieve objectivity in subsequent investigations of other objects of the past.[21]

E. McClung Fleming of the Winterthur Museum in Delaware developed the classic, comprehensive model for devising questions to categorize artifacts. Fleming designed a model for disciplined artifact study involving five classifications of basic properties of artifacts: history, material, construction, design, and function. The model then performs four operations on the basic properties: identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation. Fleming's concept gives artifacts a value as art, culture, and history all by themselves and not just as illustrative appendages.[22]

Fleming's model is predicated on the identification operation which provides information about the five properties and verifies artifact authenticity. The historical integrity of gravestones is seldom questionable because stones have a high degree of geographic permanence. Inscriptions and epitaphs document where and when a grave marker was made, for whom, and sometimes by whom. Made of such materials as wood, stone, and metal, grave markers

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[21]Prown, "Mind in Matter," 19-21.

[22]E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," Winterthur Portfolio 10 (1975), 155-156.

reflect workmanship and techniques indicative of historic periods and geographic settings. Structure, form, style, iconography, and other design elements of funerary art transcend a gravestone's utilitarian function as a burial marker and include its aesthetic and communication functions. Fleming's model criticizes classification systems for being unsystematic, but his model also fails to provide a uniform and exact classification scheme. As a consequence, Fleming's model is not a practical method to evaluate characteristics on a cemetery survey form. It is therefore necessary to examine other systems of artifact classification.[23]

Jules Prown's model of artifact classification arranges a sequential listing by function that progresses from the more decorative or aesthetic to the more utilitarian. The following list is arranged along such a progression of function: (1) art, (2) diversions, (3) adornments, (4) modifications of the landscape, (5) applied arts, and (6) devices. According to this system of classification, grave markers would either be classified as art or modifications to the landscape.[24] The art category involves drawings, prints, photographs, and sculptures; gravestone carving does represent a form of sculpture. Because the intent of this category is to focus on objects with purely aesthetic functions, gravestones

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[23]Ibid., 159-161.

[24]Prown, "Mind in Matter," 19.

may not be entirely applicable since they do possess a utilitarian function by marking the place of a burial.

When using Prown's classification system, a dilemma occurs over its application to gravestones. Grave markers cause a modification to the landscape when considering that an entire graveyard is a necropolis, or city of the dead, that impacts upon the landscape just as significantly as building construction and town planning. While the grave marker is closely associated with a modification of the landscape, its utilitarian function as a device to mark the place of burial and its aesthetic qualities as an art form are more succinct. The difficulty in properly classifying grave markers and the dilemma between their artistic versus utilitarian functions are not uncommon occurrences. Many objects straddle categories, but classification for purposes of manageability and discussion should not effect the actual process of material culture analysis.[25]

Rather than making random queries when examining an artifact, it is preferable to approach each artifact with a knowledgeable, systematic set of questions. Robert Chenhall suggests that artifacts are salient carriers of information about the past. His method of categorizing objects uses the following ten categories: (1) structures, (2) building furnishings, (3) personal artifacts, (4) tools and equipment, (5) communication artifacts, (6) transportation artifacts,

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[25]Ibid.

(7) art objects, (8) recreational artifacts, (9) societal artifacts, and (10) packages and containers.[26] With Chenhall's system, grave markers would not be appropriately designated as art objects since his definition for this category states: "Intended for aesthetic purposes or as a demonstration of creative skill and dexterity; the essential requirement is that the artifact was created for no apparent utilitarian purpose."[27]

Grave markers are either societal or personal artifacts under Chenhall's classification system. Grave markers are societal artifacts because they are "made to be used in carrying on governmental, fraternal, religious, or other organized and sanctioned societal activites."[28] Marking the place of burial is a societal activity regardless of whether the graveyard is associated with a specified church or religious sect. New England's Puritan burial grounds, for example, involved both secular and religious sanctioned activities. Likewise, it can be argued that the proper classification for gravestones is personal artifacts. While this category's definition stresses objects designed to serve the personal needs of individuals, it also notes one of those needs as being symbols of belief or achievement.[29] Since the

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[26]Robert G. Chenhall, Nomenclature for Museum Cataloging: A System for Classifying Man-Made Objects (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1978), 42-53.

[27]Ibid., 44.   [28]Ibid.   [29]Ibid.

definition does not require the individual to be alive to have these needs satisfied, it can be argued that the grave marker is a symbol of a deceased individual's beliefs and often includes in the inscription or epitaph something about his achievements.

This dissertation contends that gravestones are as much works of art as societal and utilitarian artifacts. By marking the burial place of an individual or several individuals, the gravestone serves a prescribed social activity that is also utilitarian in function. Yet, the grave marker is not a device in the same sense as an implement, tool, utensil, machine, or instrument. According to Jules Prown:

> It is characteristic of an implement that a change or modification affecting the way it accomplishes its task does not alter its essential nature as a particular type of implement. But a change, even a minor change, in any of the properties of a work of art transforms it into a different work of art.[30]

Prown's distinction between an implement and work of art based on a change in the object's essential nature does little to abate the difficulties over classifying grave markers. The form, style, and material used in gravestone architecture can be changed and still not alter the essential nature of the object as a burial place marker. Changing all or some of its properties does not change the gravestone's function. Neither does such change alter its

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[30]Prown, "Mind in Matter," 32.

art form since the gravestone remains a specific type of art work regardless of whether it is made of metal, limestone, sandstone, granite, or marble. The carving motif and style of inscription or epitaph writing may change to reflect differences between the tastes from one period of time to another, but so do various stylistic periods of painting and sculpture change to reflect differences between impressionism and cubism.

Art objects are the products of the needs of belief; so too are tombstones which serve as iconoclastic determinants of sanctioned religious and societal impressions of death. Although people do not use gravestones in the same way as devices such as hammers or coffee pots, the grave marker is an object used externally to identify and remember the dead. People also internalize or perceive grave markers just as they do works of art. Indeed, virtually all objects, even the most utilitarian of devices, have an artistic dimension. Most devices will incorporate some aesthetic elements or even serve as a piece of abstract sculpture when completely separated from any utilitarian use.

Like other artists, the stone carver had a single purpose, a unifying intention, that may be interpreted in different ways by different people. It is unrealistic to expect that everyone will perceive an artifact with equal understanding about the purpose that the object's maker intended. Still, any maker must have a definite purpose

for making the object. Like a form of language, objects convey and communicate meaning regardless of whether they are devices or works of art. The significant point is that devices are communicative signs that relate to some external function while works of art are artistic signs in and of themselves. As an art work, the gravestone establishes a certain attitude on the part of the viewer toward the reality of death, not to the given case of a particular marker. A gravestone evokes from the perceiver a certain attitude toward death that resonates with the carver's attitude toward the reality of death.[31]

Difficulties over classifying grave markers are due to the trouble determining the exact function of a gravestone. Cemeteries and their grave markers are indeed modifications of the landscape that also serve utilitarian purposes by marking the location of the dead and recording information about individuals buried in a graveyard. However, this dissertation contends that the aesthetic qualities of gravestone architecture are indicative of the creative skill and dexterity of the stone carvers. The carver's artistic renderings present evidence of a time period's views on death gleaned from the style, form, and content of gravestone sculpture, inscriptions, epitaphs, and other decorative or iconic embellishments.

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[31]Ibid., 31-32.

Although the systems developed by Fleming and Chenhall do categorize and analyze material culture resources, the methodology suggested by Jules Prown proved to be a more suitable way to avert potential culturally biased, distorted interpretations of cemetery artifacts. Prown's methodology involves three progressive stages: description, deduction, and speculation. Analysis begins with the object's description based on what can be observed in the object itself, that is, its internal evidence. Beginning with the larger, more comprehensive observations, this stage progresses systematically to more detailed, specific observations. An artifact is interpreted at a moment in time that is not identical to that in which it was fabricated; therefore, caution must be taken to guard against subjective assumptions or conclusions. At this stage, no consideration is given to the artifact's condition or to technological, iconographic, and stylistic influences.

For grave markers, Prown's first stage involves a substantive analysis of the physical dimensions, materials, and articulation (the way in which the materials are put together in fabricating an object). Next, the markers are described according to the content, the overt representation of the icon. This analysis might include decorative designs or motifs, inscriptions, or coats of arms engraved, embossed, or inscribed on the markers. Prown's first stage is the basis for the items included on the comprehensive cemetery

survey form developed in the next chapter and field tested
at St. John's Episcopal Church Cemetery in Maury County,
Tennessee.

The deduction stage of Prown's analysis involves
interaction between the object and perceiver. By touching
the grave marker, the observer gains a sensory perception of
its texture, size, configuration, and even weight. The
gravestone may trigger certain emotional responses for the
observer such as revulsion, awe, curiosity, or fright; yet,
it is not uncommon to discover that one person's subjective
response is widely shared.

The analysis finally proceeds to the speculation
stage in which questions and hypotheses are formed, tested,
and resolved. At this stage, the observer uses as much
creative analysis as possible. The only limitation on the
free association of ideas and perceptions is the observer's
common sense and judgement. For example, family relation-
ships based on gravestone location, style, and size can be
extrapolated from survey maps and on site observations.

After reviewing the descriptive and deductive stages,
hypotheses are formulated summing up what the internal
evidence gleaned from the gravestones themselves can teach
the observer. The observer's cultural bias now comes into
play, but it should not cause a distorting effect since the
objective and deductive evidence is already in hand from the
first two stages. Now, the observer's cultural perspective

is an asset because it fuels the creative thinking process.[32] While an observer's cultural perspective makes it impossible to interpret the gravestones in exactly the same way as their makers, this distance precludes affective conflict between beliefs systems that are in variance with those of the observer.

Because gravestones have a formal design element, tracing stylistic influence and the dispersion of styles might lead to significant understanding of how formal information is disseminiated in a given culture. In essence, culture and its patterns of diffusion can be made visible using gravestones. Anthropologists James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen conducted such an analysis of the evolution and spread of gravestone styles using New England's colonial graveyards. Deetz and Dethlefsen investigated the rate of cultural diffusion in colonial New England based on the growth and decline in popularity of three designs carved on headstones: the death's head, the cherub, and the urn and willow. To determine the numerical diffusion of each style from 1700 through 1839, Deetz and Dethlefsen conducted surveys in several sample cemeteries. The resulting graphs for each cemetery showed distinct battleship-shaped seriation curves. These seriations indicate the changing popularity from the death's head to the cherub to the urn and willow

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[32]The preceding paragraphs discussing Jules Prown's methodology for progressive stages of artifact study are from Prown, "Mind in Matter," 24-27.

symbols. Based on their results, Deetz and Dethlefsen suggest that the death's head was popular when orthodox Puritanism was universal in New England. As religious rules became less strictly enforced during the early eighteenth century, the more cheerful cherub design appeared with greater popularity reflecting the optimistic outlook of New Englanders. The urn and willow became popular with the rise of intellectual religions such as Unitarianism which came to fruition near the beginning of the nineteenth century.[33]

Material culture artifacts should not be removed from their original location unless they cannot be studied there or removal is essential for their protection. The prime directive in conducting material culture research is not to damage, disturb, or destroy any material that is potentially a subject for archaeological or historical study. The authenticity of an artifact is an essential quality, after the object's survival, for the study of material culture. In this respect, gravestones are an optimum artifact since they

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[33]Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," American Antiquity 31, no. 4 (1966): 502-510. The same information also appears in James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen, "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn, and Willow," Natural History 76, no. 3 (March 1967):28-37. Deetz's and Dethlefsen's research is compatible with Allen Ludwig, Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815 (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1966) which remains the leading work on Puritan gravestone symbolism. Ludwig details the changing religious structure of New England society as orthodox Puritanism experienced upheaval from within its membership as well as the external forces of New England's non-Puritan religious groups.

are geographically rooted and are attended by a great deal of primary source information from inscriptions and epitaphs. Gravestones, architecture, town planning, and other aspects of cultural geography possess the quality of permanence that ties artifacts to a particular fabricating culture.[34]

Not all artifacts accurately represent their time periods because the study of material culture is limited due to a variety of factors that favor the survival of certain objects while others disappear. For example, museum collections usually give a false impression of the past by projecting a richer level of material wealth than was the actual case. Most museum collections reflect the unusual and valuable objects of the past's material culture. Often, the common place, everyday object is consigned, then as well as now, to the junk pile or dump.[35]

Historic preservation, until only recently, was upper-class and urbane in its emphasis. The field's inherent bias was an outgrowth of its historical origins and reflected the study and conservation of artifacts of great men and great events. Since the emphasis always dealt with the activities of great men, the experiences of the common people were neglected. As an example, traditionally historians focused their attention on Virginia's Tidewater plantation aristo-cracy, especially such individuals as Washington and

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[34]Kyvig, Nearby History, 156-157.

[35]Deetz, In Small Things, 6.

Jefferson, rather than the slaves. Consequently, the architecture of Mount Vernon and Monticello dominated the interests of the first generation of preservationists. More common buildings, vernacular architecture, and even the contextual settings of the great plantation houses went unnoticed or ignored. The consequence of this narrow focus was the exclusion of whole categories of artifacts from national inventories which also limited their prospects for being preserved.[36]

Some historians contend that although many people were unable to record their experience, the literate minority often wrote about the masses or at least provided written documentation about them through official records concerning birth, marriage, death, taxation, land deeds, probates, and wills. Such an array of official records leaves many gaps in understanding the past, especially the everyday life styles of the common people. However, the past's great, near great, and obscure people left material residue behind that helps to enlighten understanding about past people's existence. To most effectively study the past, written records and material culture are used to complement each other.[37]

Modern society is acutely aware of the relationship between mankind and the environment. As a result of this

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[36]Fitch, Curatorial Management, 23-24.

[37]Deetz, In Small Things, 7-8.

environmental awareness, material culture is imbued with
significance because it is evidence of the human past. An
issue of special concern for those entrusted with caring for
the artifacts of the nation's heritage is the effort to keep
ahead of the technological manipulation of the landscape.
The built environment and material culture, if not saved, are
at least being documented before they disappear. Still, the
general tendency of developers and planners is to dismiss
efforts to protect historic resources as sentimental
impediments to their ideas about progress. Comprehensive
protection for the artifacts of our past and the scholarly
examination of the theories and techniques which produced
them are important if material culture is to survive into the
future.[38]

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[38]Fitch, Curatorial Management, 23.

PART TWO

THE CEMETERY SURVEY: TALES THE TOMBSTONES TELL

CHAPTER THREE

THE CEMETERY SURVEY'S METHODOLOGY

The data gathered from cemetery research may be the only evidence available to uncover aspects of the past lost through other sources. For example, records on early vital statistics are generally incomplete as are newspaper files before 1900. Even when such files do exist, the information is often superficial. Lost Bible records or documents stored in forgotten boxes in attics further complicate the restoration of family history. The use of the cemetery survey can help to fill these gaps, but its usefulness as a source for data depends on the survey's completeness and availability.[1]

While the models and methods suggested here for surveying are aimed primarily at rural church cemeteries, for which formal records may no longer exist, they can aid any researcher in locating and accurately documenting all types of cemeteries. When examining the material culture evidence of individual cemeteries or groups of cemeteries within regions and subregions of the United States, the present generation of researchers and scholars must not merely collect, collate, and interpret their own data but

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[1] John J. Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing: Preparations and Procedures," American Association for State and Local History Technical Leaflet 9, in History News 26, no. 5(May 1971), 97.

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also document the cemeteries studied for use by future
generations for whom the actual gravestones may no longer
exist. The guidelines suggested here for using the cemetery
as a teaching tool in higher education can be applied and
adapted to the needs of academic and nonacademic concerns.

Surveys must be conducted to quantify, identify, and
classify the graveyard's material culture when developing
a comprehensive policy for the care of historic cemeteries
and grave markers. Preparing national inventories like
the National Register of Historic Places and the Historic
American Buildings Survey, which survey and record the
nation's architectural heritage, involves more than just
a recording process designed to preserve the knowledge that
these artifacts existed. The goal of historic preservation
is to use the results of surveys to help preserve the built
environment and material culture. Unfortunately, the survey
process is caught in a dilemma that James Fitch refers to as
"the process of keeping one jump ahead of the bulldozer to
at least record what it is in the process of destroying
forever."[2] The process of recording buildings and material
culture artifacts results in a survey becoming a self-serving
activity documenting cultural resources before destruction
rather than preserving such resources.

Rural development, rapid urbanization, industrial
pollution, and other threats are particularly destructive

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[2]Fitch, Curatorial Management, 307.

of resources ignored by existing national policy or inventory program. Unfortunately, most cemeteries fall into this category. Some states, such as North Carolina, have active, on-going cemetery survey and inventory programs and cities such as New Orleans and Boston have conducted local inventories. Yet, documenting the material culture of the cemetery remains a disorganized ad hoc action of local organizations and special interest groups, at best, or is totally neglected. The Association for Gravestone Studies, founded in 1977, is a potential repository for cemetery data, but its true role has not been clearly defined and communicated to even those in the field of cemetery studies.

Since field surveys are conducted at the local level, the first step in preparing a survey cemetery survey is consulting maps, local histories, and deed records. Initial research probably will not uncover all the cemeteries in a study area since small family or abandoned burial sites may not be recorded in any of the existing sources. The location for about 80 percent of a country's cemeteries can be supplied from maps. Early county maps, popular in the 1850s and 1860s, which indicate the level of development in a county often indicate a number of private cemeteries in heavily populated areas. County atlases, which first appeared between 1870 and the 1920s, also list the majority of cemeteries. Comparing early and later editions of a county atlas uncovers trends in population density as

well as cemetery locations. County highway maps are
especially invaluable for finding routes to cemeteries
located in rural areas. The United States Geological
Survey's topographic maps, drawn from aerial photographs,
display forested areas, roads and trails, streams, most
cemeteries, and even buildings within a quadrangle of
7.5 x 8.5 square miles. Index maps exhibit the names of
the quadrangles that make up a state. Both index and quad
maps are available at conservation departments, state
libraries, many city libraries, and most universities.[3]

Several other sources are available to uncover the many
abandoned graveyards hidden in wooded areas and uncharted
by cartographers. References to graveyards in a country's
early records and local histories might uncover some
uncharted cemeteries. Old newspaper obituaries and area
farmers are sources of information about little known family
cemeteries. The country deed records are the best authority
for additional information or to identify cemeteries that no
longer physically exist. Often the deeds cite virtually all
cemeteries by indicating when they were excluded at the time
the land was sold or transferred. A cemetery's exact size
and legal location, by section or specific terms of degrees,
may be determined from the deed and plat records. By
limiting the deed search to the Grantor indices, checking

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[3]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 97-98.

the exception and description columns, deed records can be examined quickly.[4]

Knowledge about an area's local history and geography can facilitate the search of deed records. For example, cemeteries founded within twenty-five years of a county's formation are located close to river beds that early settlers followed into the virgin lands as they migrated away from the Atlantic Seaboard's cultural hearths. Ethnic traditions also suggest cemetery locations. Pennsylvania's German settlers normally had their own church cemeteries. Rarely does one find evidence of private or family cemeteries in these early German settlements unless another nationality, like the English, previously settled the area. The pattern continues to be evident as Pennsylvania's Germanic people migrated south in the eighteenth century along the Great Valley and across the Appalachian Mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky.[5]

Based on the results of the initial research to identify where cemeteries are or might be located, a study area is established followed by fieldwork surveying the designated zone. The survey has a standardized methodology regardless of whether the focus of the study is on building

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[4]Ibid., 98.

[5]Ibid. Also see Edward A. Chappell, "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement," in Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture, eds., Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 27-29.

architecture or cemetery gravestones. Survey teams in the
field employ printed forms that provide for such salient
facts as the name, location, and date of founding or
construction. The forms call for a photograph, a plot plan,
some written description of stylistic features, and whatever
historical information is readily available. Of course, the
more complete the information included on the form, the more
valuable the inventory becomes.[6]

An effective cemetery survey employs a two-part
methodology. First, a reconnaissance survey is conducted
within the study area. Each cemetery previously located by
means of maps, deeds, or local histories is evaluated using a
simple form designed to identify and locate the cemetery (see
Appendix A). A reconnaissance survey includes a brief record
of each grave marker focusing on name, date of birth, date of
death, and a particular concern such as the type of stone
used for the marker. From the initial survey, researchers
analyze the forms and select the more significant or most
endangered cemeteries for further examination. A second
survey, the comprehensive survey, completely documents each
grave marker in the cemetery including a measured plat of
the cemetery identifying the location of each marker,
photographic and written documentation of each burial
plot, and a precise transcript of the information recorded
on each grave marker. The comprehensive survey also

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[6]Fitch, Curatorial Management, 308.

specifies problems or potential dangers to the entire burial ground and any of the individual gravestones.

Because survey evaluations involve subjective judgment, a graphic rather than verbal system of identification is required. Information from a form composed of graphics is easily stored on a computer facilitating retrieval and identification of all gravestones within a particular cemetery or all cemeteries within a specified area. Such a recall procedure provides quick access for locating cemeteries that might lie in the path of a proposed development project endangering the burial site or the spatial environment of the rural cemetery.[7] Although the comprehensive cemetery survey form prepared for this dissertation contains a verbal system of identification, the form also incorporates the use of small-scale line drawings for some characteristic elements of gravestones to facilitate identification in the field. A survey team using graphics matches visual elements in the field with the appropriate diagram on the form. Such a recording technique guarantees that a minimum of subjectivity enters into the description of gravestone characteristics.

An accurate survey of an old graveyard serves many purposes. In the preservation planning process, a survey provides a working document containing accurate data about the number of grave markers, types of materials, historical

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[7]Ibid., 312.

and artistic significance, and existing conditions of the
individual gravestones as well as the entire burial site.[8]
The survey helps to protect the burial ground from
encroaching buildings, roads, and other development.
The comprehensive survey by identifying the stones that
belong in the cemetery and their positions in the yard also
assists in the study and appreciation of the graveyard and
makes it possible to identify a removed grave marker.[9]

Surveys of a number of cemeteries in a county, state,
or region likewise provide a body of comparative information
to make broader assessments beyond the data collected from
one cemetery. The broad assessments can be reinforced,
modified, or even altered based on interpreting data
collected from comprehensive surveys of many more cemeteries
within the reconnaissance survey's study area. Used as a
long-term project, expanding the initial reconnaissance
survey increases knowledge about cemetery resources within
a broader study area. Likewise, completing additional
comprehensive cemetery surveys expands the records stored
on computer files for use by future researchers.

Cemetery surveys tend to ignore archaeological investi-
gation which is unfortunate since the burial ground may be

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[8]The Boston Experience: A Manual for Historic Burying
Grounds Preservation, 2nd ed., (Boston: Boston Parks &
Recreation Department, 1989), 17.

[9]Lynette Strangstad, A Graveyard Preservation Primer
(Nashville: American Association for State and Local History,
1988), 37.

the oldest relatively undisturbed land for miles and might

yield important archaeological data. Expense is the main

reason for bypassing archaeological work. Cemetery

archaeology initially involves taking a sampling to determine

if there are significant features, evidence of earlier

structures or activity, that warrant further exploration.

Remnants of foundations, metal, pottery, and china shards

found along the perimeter of a graveyard are a valuable

source of information about neighboring buildings and

activities. Within the graveyard, unrecorded or unmarked

graves may be found through the discovery of post molds, the

imprints left after wood posts have disintegrated or been

removed and the holes filled in with earth or decayed matter.

For example, it was common among some early settlers to use

grave rails, two wood posts and a crosspiece that spanned the

length of a grave, as a predecessor to stone markers.[10]

Likewise, building gravehouses, small frame structures held

up by posts, was customary among affluent families during the

middle and late nineteenth century.[11] Because post molds are

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[10]Ibid., 37-41.

[11]The typical gravehouse was a small frame structure
covered with shingles and bargeboards, held up with posts
joined by wooden palings, and covered with a gable roof. The
practice originated with affluent families during the middle
and late Victorian Eras; however, gravehouses became a folk
tradition copied by less well-to-do people throughout the
rural South. The purposes for building these little houses
over one or more graves apparently was to protect the graves
from the elements, loose stock, and rooting animals. Although
examples of this once common funerary practice were erected
as late as the 1970s, the practice is no longer common and few

discernible long after the wood posts are gone, a careful observer might recognize the post mold of such early grave rails or gravehouses while cutting away a shovelful of earth during a preservation or conservation project. Archaeologists should check any such unusual formations before proceeding with work on the site.

Whether or not the archaeological work is conducted, researchers should address some personal safeguards before beginning a comprehensive cemetery survey. Regardless of the season of the year, survey workers should dress in thick, protective clothing such as denim jeans and a substantial shirt with long sleeves. Layers of clothing allow, especially during colder seasons, for easy adaptation to changing weather conditions during the day's survey. Work gloves and sturdy boots or rubber "muckers" with non-skid soles protect the hands and feet from many potential hazards of working in the cemetery. Dress should also include a warm wool hat in winter and a wide-brim hat for summer.

Survey team members also should exercise care while working in any graveyard since they are havens for poison ivy and poison oak, foxtails, mosquitoes, ticks, chiggers, snakes, and other wildlife. The necessities of a field kit include: drinking water, first aid supplies, snakebite kit, insect repellent, and poison ivy preventative ointment.

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gravehouse structures remain from the nineteenth century. Source: Nick Fielder, "Gravehouses: Mortuary Folk Architecture," The Courier 21, no. 1 (October 1982):4-5.

Poison ivy flourishes even in winter, as a consequence, hands must be washed immediately after visiting the cemetery to prevent against infection. In the field, a boraxo waterless hand cleaner or ordinary alkali yellow laundry soap and plenty of rags serves this purpose. It may be necessary to sit or lie on the ground while transcribing gravestone inscriptions or while taking photographs; therefore, an old blanket to cover the ground protects surveyors from some of the cemetery's potentially harmful elements. Additional dangers of cemetery fieldwork include slipping and falling on irregular surfaces, stepping into woodchuck holes or soft spots in the ground, and being hurt if loose or broken stones fall.[12]

Although specific materials and equipment necessary to make measured plats and take photographs are discussed in more detail later, a survey team should bring some basic items to the cemetery. Exploring the soil with a thin probing bar helps to locate stones buried six inches to several feet. To unearth sunken tombstones or to serve as a lever for fallen stones, a garden spade is useful. Other additional equipment for fieldwork includes a small machete for cutting weeds and vines, a hatchet for chopping fallen tree limbs, a masonry hammer for use as a small pry-bar, and pruning shears to trim grass around stones.[13]

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[12]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 100-101.

[13]Ibid., 99.

Discerning the grid system used in measuring and locating grave markers requires one-foot high wooden stakes or flag markers (about fourteen for a 100 x 80 foot area). Because some survey projects involve more than one team of surveyors, longer three-foot high wooden stakes mark separate survey sections of the cemetery. In multiple team survey projects, essential equipment for each team includes: two tape measures (100 foot each) for triangulating, a compass to determine accurate direction, a clip board with survey forms, graph paper to make a section plat, several pencils, a mechanical drawing compass, and a large 9 x 11 inch envelope to store the completed survey forms. To help read and photograph inscriptions, each team needs a soft bristle brush and either soft white chalk or baking flour.

After securing permission from cemetery or church officials and setting a date for access to the graveyard, preliminary survey work involves checking likely sources for any existing cemetery transcriptions, maps, and plats. If the graveyard is or has been associated with a church, the ideal place to begin research is with the church records. If no church records exist, the researcher consults local government records, historical societies, libraries, and individuals in the area who have interest in and knowledge about activities concerning the burial ground. Thorough research may uncover transcriptions and photographs of the entire yard or at least parts of it. Old photographs

may reveal an epitaph no longer readable, locate a stone that
no longer exists, indicate the earlier condition of a
particular stone, and even suggest the layout and general
appearance of the landscape in the past. Existing gravestone
transcriptions should be checked against the original stones
to correct any mistakes by previous transcribers.[14] Any
existing maps and plats of the cemetery should be updated.
Such older maps and plats might indicate the location of
stones that are now out of place or missing. The plat books
in the recorder's office of the county court house are the
best source to search for a detailed plat of the cemetery
that provides the lot numbers and the owners' names.[15] Old
plats also suggest where missing stones are buried since
broken stones remaining in their original location gradually
become covered with sod.[16] Thorough preliminary research
uncovers valuable background material to document the burial
site's development, early families, landscaping, and other
improvements or changes to the site. Likewise, additional
follow-up research in archives after the fieldwork can
supplement information missing from illegible, damaged, or
sunken grave markers.[17]

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[14]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 23-24.

[15]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 103.

[16]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 24.

[17]The Boston Experience, 20.

After conducting preliminary research on the cemetery, the survey team begins work at the site with a site map indicating the cemetery's location according to county, township, or quarter section; and listing all roads and their distances from a town or state highway to the cemetery. The team measures the exact size of the cemetery, and draws a rough map noting such features as buildings, roads or paths, walls, fences, and gates within the environs of the cemetery.[18] An accurate map of the graveyard is a necessity for future researchers.

Using a grid system and conscientiously measuring each stone from two fixed points, a process known as triangulating, ensures a reasonably accurate mapping of grave markers. Triangulating begins by establishing a baseline that follows a boundary of the yard such as a wall or a building. If a fixed boundary is not available, a baseline is prepared using a line of string, a compass, and a one hundred foot tape measure. After establishing a straight line with the string and compass, distance along the baseline is marked off in twenty- or thirty-foot intervals using wood stakes (see Fig. 2). Permanent landmarks along the baseline, such as the corners of a building, or the wood stakes serve as the fixed points to triangulate the positions of individual gravestones.

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[18]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 101.

Fig. 2. One-foot high wood stake marking interval along baseline.

Surveyors plot and scale the baseline and the perimeter of the cemetery on graph paper. From the fixed points, they can establish the location of any buildings, major monuments, large trees, and other major landmarks within the cemetery. To determine the location of each grave marker, surveyors make measurements using any two of the interval markers along the baseline as fixed points. Plotting each of these locations on the map provides a reasonably accurate record. The simplest method to do this mapping is to set a mechanical drawing compass to the appropriate distance on a ruler according to the scale and then mark two arcs on the paper at the appropriate distance from the fixed points. Where the arcs intersect provides an accurate position of the grave marker (see Fig. 3).[19]

If several teams are involved in the survey, each team uses wooden stakes and string to define their assigned sections of the cemetery. Each section has a baseline of a hundred or more feet with three foot stakes at each end and other smaller ones placed at either twenty or thirty foot intervals. One of the corner stakes is designated as the prime stake for each section and measured in relation to two fixed points on one of the site's permanent landmarks in

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[19]The concept for establishing baselines comes from Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 36-37. The basics of using triangulation in archaeology are applied to the cemetery mapping of grave markers using information from Jane McIntosh, The Practical Archaeologist: How We Know What We Know About the Past (London: Paul Press, Ltd., 1986), 82-84.
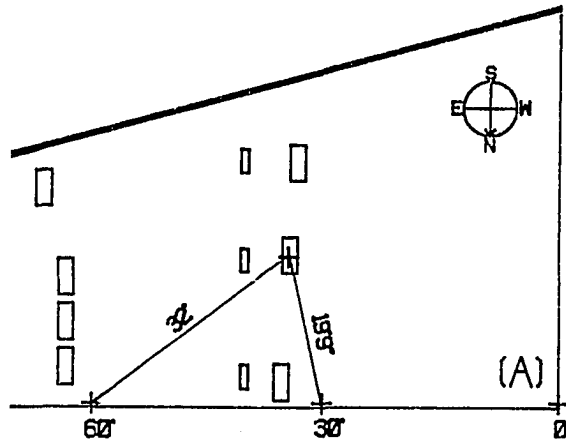
3a. Triangulate from baseline to center of grave marker.

(A)

60' 30' 0
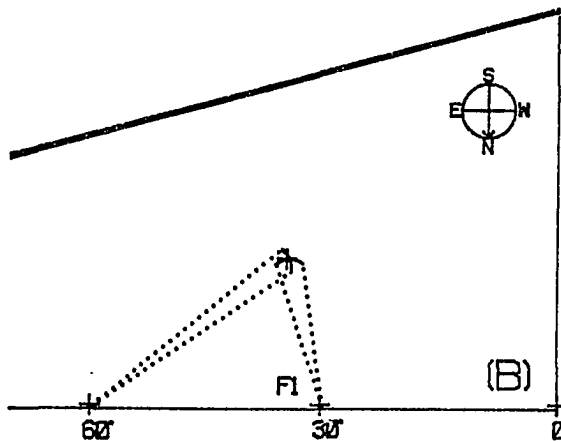
3b. Plot position of marker on scaled site map using a mechanical compass.

F1

(B)

60' 30' 0
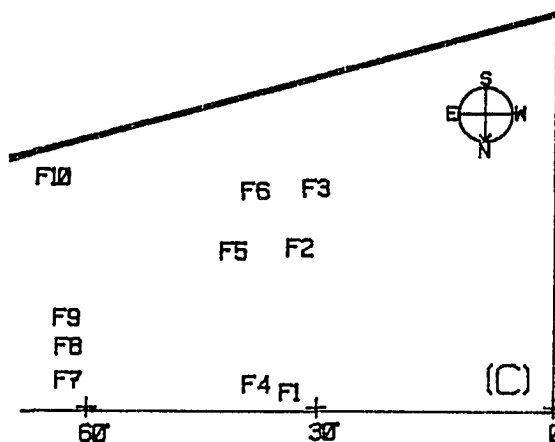
3c. Site map with each marker's reference number indicated.

F10

F6 F3

F5 F2

F9
F8
F7   F4 F1

(C)

60' 30' 0

KEY
—— Survey boundary line and baseline
▬ Stone wall
A58 Grave reference number
✛ 60' Baseline foot markers

Fig. 3. Triangulating grave marker locations from in the field to site map.

relation to two fixed points on one of the site's permanent landmarks such as a church building. In this manner, the sections become separate, individual cemetery plats that follow the same process for positioning grave markers as prescribed above. Researchers draw individual maps for the cemetery sections indicating the position of all visible gravestones from each section's fixed points. Later, they coordinate these section maps to formulate one complete cemetery map providing a full graveyard overview (see maps in Appendix H).[20]

Because the stakes that delineate each section of the cemetery are all measured from the same fixed permanent land-mark, the final map or plat will accurately measure the positions of other major landmarks, each gravestone, and the cemetery's boundaries. It is also possible to use an overview map to show the separate cemetery sections, the location of only the major landmarks, and the extent of the cemetery's boundaries. Figure 4 provides an example of how such an overview map is used to display the location of vegetation, trees and large plantings, in St. John's Episcopal Cemetery. The individual section maps are used for studying and locating particular stones through a simple system of symbols or numbers to denote the location of the gravestones.

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[20]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 37.

St. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CEMETERY
SURVEY OF VEGETATION

F

D   C   B   A

E

G   CHURCH

KEY

O   Tree or large planting

....   Removed section of wall

—   Survey boundary line

▬   Stone wall

▬   Brick walk

=   Unfinished road

/   Chain link fence

25   50'
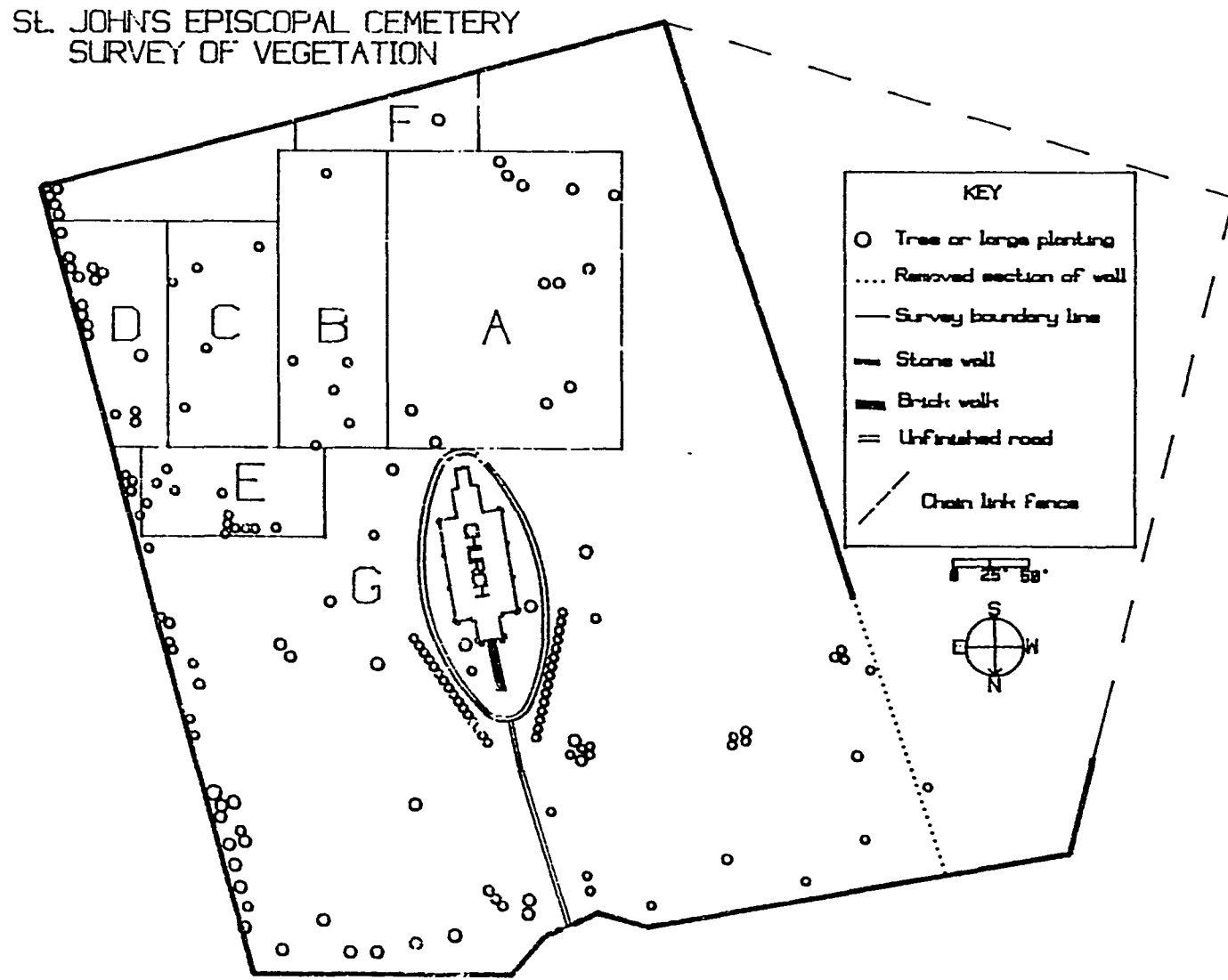
Fig. 4.   St. John's Episcopal Cemetery Survey of Vegetation

A numerical system is the best method to identify
and locate individual grave markers. Numbering of the grave
marker on the plat map(s) proceeds by rows; for example:

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1  2  3  4  5     6     7  8  9  10  11  12  13
   14  15             16  17   18  19   20 etc.
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The system is refined when separating the cemetery into
several small sections. Letters designate each section
and numbers identify each headstone, footstone, crypt, box
tomb, and monument. Thus, a letter and number identify the
cemetery's markers. Using the family or surname of the
deceased, researchers prepare an alphabetized index with
the grave marker map reference number placed after the name.
The survey maps and indices help to pinpoint the exact
position of one grave in relation to the others while also
indicating family groupings. For large cemeteries, creating
a numerical listing of the stones and alphabetical listing of
the names of the deceased will cross-reference the graves.
Cross-referencing facilitates locating a stone on the map and
in the yard both numerically and alphabetically (see cross-
referenced indices with maps prepared for St. John's Cemetery
in Appendices G and H). The record includes such burial
indicators as fieldstones, depressions, and mounds denoting
size and relationship with nearby tombstones. A plat map
containing such burial indicators might exist and is helpful
if the cemetery was previously cleaned and field stones
removed. Although only a few such signs may exist, they

need to be mentioned in the survey records and final
report.[21]

No standardized cemetery survey form exists although
such a form would be useful to researchers making
compilations and comparisons involving many graveyards.
The predominant type of survey form in use involves just
documenting the existence of a cemetery, not the individual
markers within it. Because graveyard preservationists
realize the value of documenting each piece of a burial
site's material culture, several different forms are
available for recording detailed information about each
grave marker in a cemetery survey. Although no form has been
generally accepted as the best, graveyard conservator Lynette
Strangstad suggests that a form should include the following
information:

> Date of record
> Name and location of yard
> Type of marker: headstone, footstone, crypt, vault,
>   obelisk, etc.
> Size of marker: above ground height, width, thickness
> Type and color of stone: such as pink granite, red
>   slate, white marble, yellow sandstone, etc.
> Identification number for each stone to correspond with
>   map
> Location of the marker within the graveyard
> Condition of the stone: excellent, good, fair, poor.
>   Specify problems, such as 'missing right shoulder,'
>   'face spalling,' etc.
> Name of deceased and death date
> Name of carver, if known
> Ornamental carving: description and location on the stone
>   of any generic motifs such as skull, winged angel, urn

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[21]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 102. Also see
Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 37.

and willow, or other identifiable but less common
motifs, such as corn, ivy, serpents, etc.
Other characterizing information.[22]

To decrease the amount of subjectivity, surveyors could

incorporate some of Strangstad's characteristics into graphic

form such as line drawings of different headstone shapes.

Making the survey form as objective as possible reduces

inconsistency due to subjective and inaccurate responses from

surveyors. Inaccuracy due to subjective responses is a

serious limitation of many existing survey forms including

the City of Boston's form for inventorying sixteen city owned

historic cemeteries (see Appendix C).

Graveyard survey forms should include blank spaces

to write inscriptions and epitaphs. Inscriptions are

transcribed directly from the markers. Working in pairs,

with one person reading aloud and the other recording,

accomplishes transcribing best. The reader should take care

to note the ending of one line and beginning of another,

capitalizations, nonstandard spellings, nonstandard

lettering, abbreviations, punctuation marks and their

absence, raised letters, words that are out of alignment

or that wrap around the margin of the lettering, or other

idiosyncrasies of the carving style.

While the most accurate way to copy an inscription

is to print it exactly as it appears on the tombstone

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[22]Strangstad, <u>Graveyard Primer</u>, 27.

line-by-line including such peculiarities as arched lines,

the American Assocation for State and Local History

recommends the following alternative:

(5) EADS, H._____, In Memory of/HENRY EADS/born/in
                    the year 1755/died /August 23, 1843.
                    (Stone broken at base and between "in the
                    year" and "1755". The "In Memory of" is
                    arched. On the same stone with Mary
                    Eads. Was a Rev. War soldier.)[23]

The AASLH's recommended style for transcribing recognizes

that recording the inscription exactly as it appears

line-by-line can be costly in space and money when publishing

large cemetery records. Note in the above example that

corrections and any additional data gathered from sources

other than the stone are enclosed in parentheses after the

inscription. The entry is listed alphabetically with the

numerical map reference number preceding the surname. For

large cemeteries with many numerical reference numbers,

surveyors use cross-referenced alphabetical and numerical

listings.

Careful attention is needed when recording inscriptions

off grave markers. Common errors are confusing numbers,

letters, and abbreviations. For instance, the number "4"

is confused with a "1". Other number combinations easily

confused include: 8, 5, 6, 3, 9, and 2. Depending on the

lettering style and amount of weathering to the stone's face,

sometimes distnguishing between "C" and "G" is difficult.

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[23]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 24.

It is important to copy accurately the months as they appear on the stone being particularly careful not to confuse abbreviations for "Mar." with "May" and "Jan." with "Jun". In the latter's case, January is frequently abbreviated but June rarely is abbreviated. Inscriptions containing lettering styles and peculiarities of specific time periods should be accurately transcribed. For example, eighteenth-century lettering favored the use of a long S, the use of abbreviations with raised letters such as "E^f q^r" or "6th", as well as the mixing of uppercase and lowercase letters. Transcriptions should make reference to incomplete inscriptions due to weathering, illegible writing, or partially buried stones and inscriptions.[24]

In copying tombstone inscriptions and epitaphs, the surveyor serves as a transcriber and not as an interpreter. Abbreviations, shorthand codes, and symbols are not used. What appears as a mistake, such as "daughter" spelled "daugter", is recorded as indicated on the grave marker. It is imperative to record all possible information from stones damaged due to lichen, moss, frost, pollutants, and other aspects of weathering. Further deterioration of such stones could result in the total loss of the remaining information on the grave marker.[25]

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[24]Ibid., 101-106.

[25]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 24.

Several methods easily enhance a gravestone's readability. A light brushing of the stone's face can highlight the inscription. Only a soft bristle brush should be used to remove surface dirt, moss, lichen, and vines since wire brushes are harmful to stone. Gentle brushing not only assists in reading and photographing gravestone inscriptions, but it also helps to conserve the marker and to prevent cracking, chipping, and flaking. Care is exercised with deteriorating stones as a vigorous brushing causes further damage and creates new damage due to hidden stress fractures or fissures. Another way to enhance readability is rubbing baking flour or soft white chalk onto the stone's surface followed by either gently blowing or brushing away the excess material (see Fig.5). If highlighting the stone does not improve its readability, it is possible to date the badly worn or illegible grave marker by comparing its shape with other similarly shaped gravestones whose inscriptions are legible.[26]

The material composition of a badly worn grave marker also provides evidence of its approximate time period based on similarity to other nearby gravestones. The basic materials used for old gravestones include slate, sandstone, marble, gray granite, and polished granite. A cemetery frequently has gravestones made from a variety of these

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[26]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 99-100.
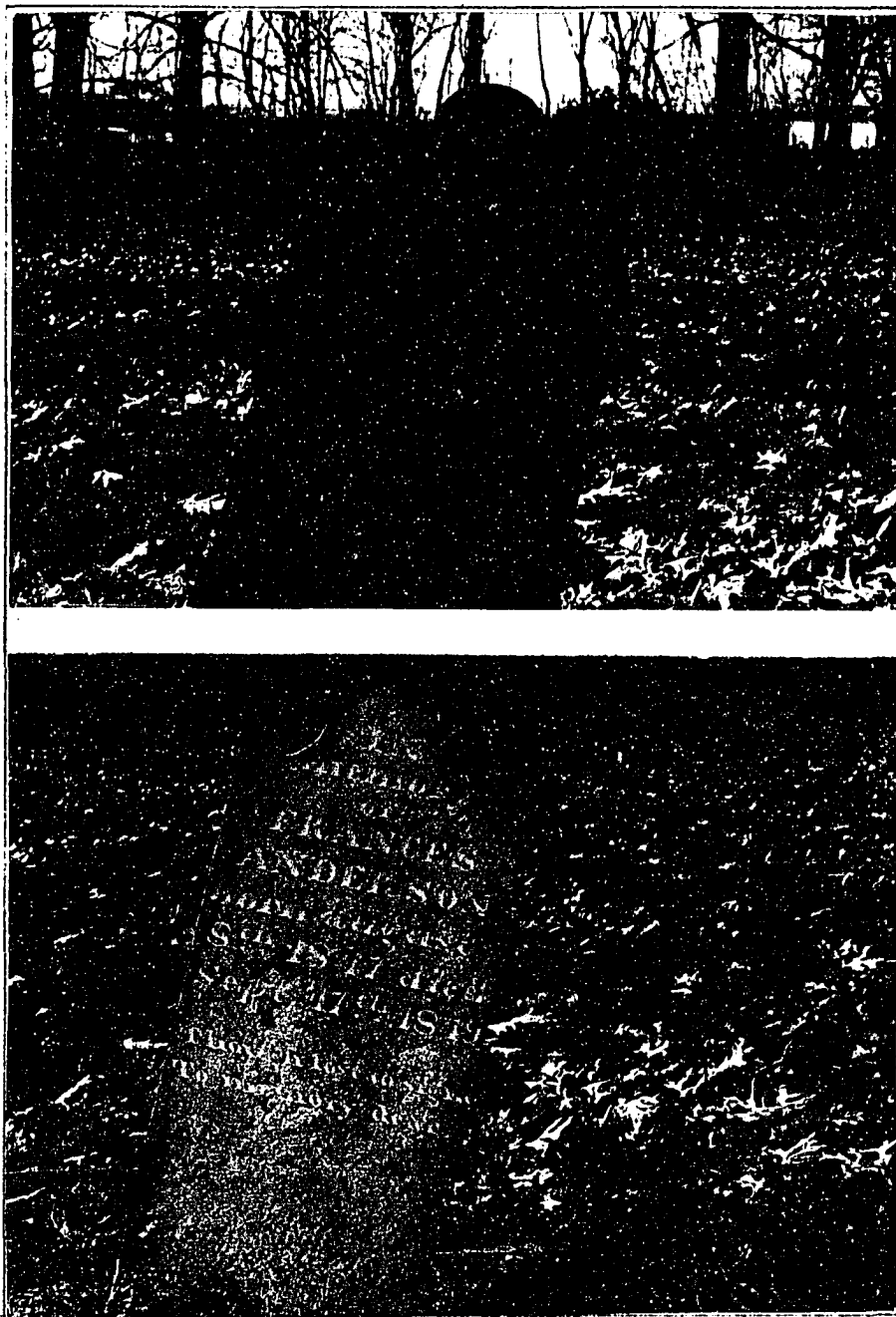
Fig. 5. Comparison of headstone before (top) and
after (bottom) using flour to highlight the
inscription. (Gravestone of Frances Anderson in
St. John's Cemetery)

materials, and with a little experience surveyors can become proficient enough to distinguish each. Simple shaped slate and sandstone markers, both in use before 1850, date from a cemetery's earliest time period. Such stones often exhibit the stonecutter's talents but these stones also easily weather. Marble stones date from the 1830s through the 1870s. White marble markers stained easily and have badly weathered inscriptions. Square, towering marble monuments, dating from the 1860s and 1870s, also show signs of severe weathering and are often the hardest type of gravestone to read. Gray granite stones, common from the 1880s through the 1910s, are highly susceptible to lichen and moss. Polished granite stones, in use since the 1890s, offer the least problem in copying inscriptions. If a polished granite stone dates earlier than the 1890s, it is a replacement stone and may have less data than the original.[27]

Determining a gravestone's attribution is easily achieved if the carver's signature is found. In addition to the carver's name or initials, the words "carver" or "engraver," as well as the city of residence may appear, as indicated in figure 6, along the bottom right-hand corner of the carved side of the stone. The signature occasionally appears on another part of the grave marker such as the top, back, edge, or even in the tympanum. Another method to determine attribution is through probate records of the

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[27]Ibid.
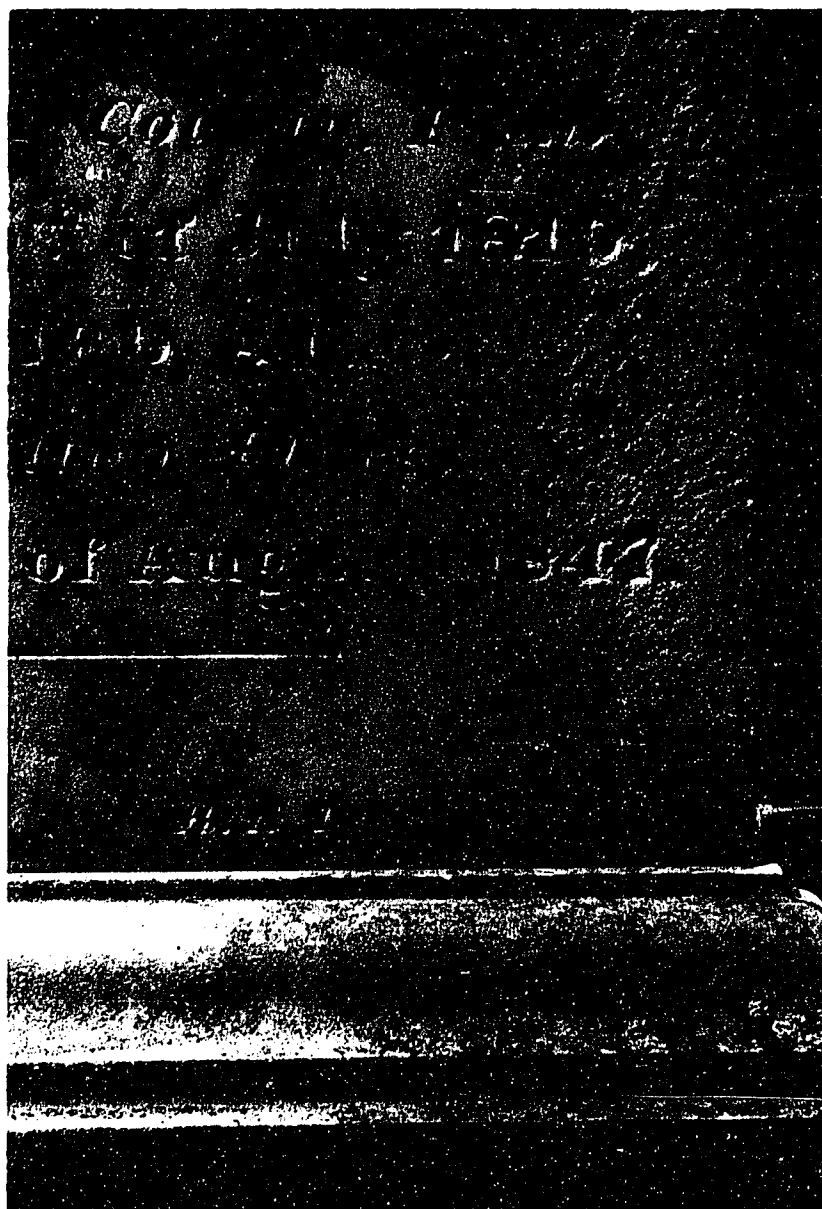
Fig.6. Signature of New York gravestone carver
R. E. Launitz. (Obelisk marker for Mary Ann Polk
in St. John's Cemetery.)

deceased which often indicate a sum of money being paid to a carver for cutting the tombstone. Although determining a gravestone's attribution by identifiable characteristics of known carvers is of dubious merit, common elements and carving idiosyncrasies are often evident. Peculiar flourishes to certain letters, words capitalized in an unusual but consistent manner, and repeated use of the same border motif or footstone motif provide identifiable characteristics of a carver. However, care must be taken as carvers often worked together or copied features of earlier and contemporary carvers more skilled, innovative, or better known.[28]

Photography enhances the overall value of the completed survey record and provides visual evidence of gravestones. Artistic photographs are not necessary; instead, high-contrast photographs that clearly show lettering, decorative carving, and the stone's condition are needed. Excellent results are obtained using a 35 mm single-lens reflex camera. Through-the-lens focusing assures precision and many 35 mm SLR's even allow extreme close-ups with precision focusing; however, the eye-level viewing requires the photographer to do considerable bending and kneeling. Photographing a carver's signature might require some interesting physical contortions. The standard lens, usually a 50 mm lens, on most reflex cameras is sufficient for almost all fieldwork.

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[28]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 33.

To photograph close-ups of details such as motifs, lettering, or a carver's signature, one or more auxiliary lenses or extension tubes can be used.[29]

Black-and-white film is recommended for all survey work. First, black-and-white film records detail and texture better than color film. Second, black-and-white film has greater stability and is the only archivally acceptable film. Negatives properly processed and stored have a longer shelf-life and they can be duplicated if signs of deterioration occur. While color slides are useful for illustrating lectures, they should be used only as a secondary file since their images are less stable than black-and-white photographs. Polaroids are never used because they lack archival quality and must be copied on to black-and-white film for preservation. An ASA rating of 125 (Kodak's Plus X) for black-and-white film is fast enough to permit hand-held exposures and slow enough to be extremely fine grained. Color film with an ASA rating of 64 (Kodachrome 64) is ideal for similar reasons and is slightly more stable than higher speeds.[30]

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[29]Mary-Ellen Jones, "Photographing Tombstones: Equipment and Techniques," American Association for State and Local History Technical Leaflet 92, in History News 32, no. 2 (February 1977):43-46.

[30]There is a new superior slide film on the market, Kodachrome 200, which may be even better than using color film with an ASA rating of 64. Results from using this film cannot be verified since it was not tested in any of the photography for the dissertation.

Rather than cutting 35 mm negatives into separate exposures, they are left in strips. Each strip of four or five frames should be placed in cellulose acetate or polyethylene jackets inside an envelope. Alphabetical filing is not possible; therefore, each strip is assigned a single number and the separate frames are identified using the edge number and gravestone name, for example, 1:12 Eads, Henry. The number 1 refers to the negative strip while the frame number is 12 and the gravestone is that of Henry Eads.[31]

Other photographic equipment needed for the survey include a hand-held light meter, lens filters, a tripod, and a cable release. Even if a camera is equipped with an automatic photocell-controlled lens and build-in-meter, some photographers recommend that a hand-held light exposure meter be used at the gravestone because the amount of light hitting the photocell differs from that hitting the stone. Although more accurate readings and precise exposures result, using a hand-held meter is a matter of personal preference. Lens filters also can improve photographs. For sunlit days under a blue sky, a yellow (K2) filter helps to record a stone's natural qualities while a red (A) filter enhances its texture. It is necessary to open the lines one f-stop with the yellow filter and three f-stops with the red. Using a skylight (1A) filter requires no increase in exposure to reduce the bluishness of stones photographed

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[31]Jones, "Photographing Tombstones," 49.

in color on heavily overcast days or in open shade. A
polarizing filter darkens blue skies and enriches color.
Most tripods are not short enough to be of value, and
hand-held exposures are quicker and easier to make. Still,
when using a camera close to the ground, either a tripod made
from bean bags or a commercially available sixteen-inch
tripod are recommended. A cable release is helpful for
slower shutter speeds but the cable release is not necessary
or practical unless a tripod is used to steady the camera for
long exposures. Complete familiarity with the camera, films,
and accessories saves time and prevents costly mistakes when
conducting fieldwork.[32]

The photography involved in survey fieldwork does not
require professional quality photographic equipment. Good
quality photographs are the result of a photographer's
ability to compose the subject rather than the sophistication
of camera equipment. Readily available and relatively
inexpensive "point-and-shoot" cameras with automatic,
through-the-window light metering are excellent choices for
a team of students to take documentary photographs of grave-
stones. Gravestones are best photographed at a distance of
three to four feet being certain that the entire stone is
centered in the view-finder. Lowering the camera to the
level of the stone keeps the lens parallel with the stone's
face. Because it is necessary to lie flat on the ground when

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[32]Ibid., 46.

using cameras equipped with eye-level viewing, grass and weeds are trimmed from the front of the stone before making an exposure. The best photographic results are obtained on a hazy or overcast day when the light hits all areas with equal intensity. Strong sunlight at a twenty- to thirty-degree angle to the stone can produce high-contrast photographs.[33] When there is doubt about the correct exposure, two additional exposures are made to bracket the first: one being two f-stops down and the other, two f-stops up from the original exposure. One of these three exposures will be correct.[34]

Artificial lighting with a flash is seldom useful when photographing gravestones, but mirrors and strobe lights help when photographing shaded or poorly lit grave markers. Flash photography produces a hot spot where the flash reflects off the stone, especially polished granite.[35] Mirrors are useful to reflect light onto a shaded or deteriorated stone; however, to light the entire face of a stone requires a mirror as tall as the stone. To reflect the light, a partner holds a lightweight door mirror some distance from a stone and reflects sunlight while the photographer makes the exposure. Another technique for photographing poorly lighted gravestones incorporates a strobe light. Using an extension

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[33]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 104.

[34]Jones, "Photographing Tombstones," 46.

[35]Ibid.

wire, the camera is positioned in front of the gravestone and the strobe flash is positioned on a tripod at a twenty to thirty degree angle to achieve the necessary high-contrast photograph.[36]

Informational guides, placed by the grave marker, can be useful when viewing a photograph later. A ruler placed upright by a marker can serve as a scale in the photograph. To indicate a stone's compass orientation, a pointer that always faces north is placed in each photograph. Identification numbers near the stone help to locate it within the graveyard using the plat map and cross-referenced numerical-alphabetical listings. All such informational guides should be freestanding alongside each grave marker.[37] If such guides are not available, researchers identify each photograph in a written log by map reference number, name of the deceased, and compass orientation (see photograph logs at the end of Appendices D and E). Researchers individually photograph the stone and mark it in the log at the same time that they measure the stone for the plat map and record it on the survey form. After completing all work on one stone, the surveyor moves on to the next and begins the entire process over again.

Past heritage education programs have encouraged gravestone rubbing which involves reproducing on paper

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[36]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 35-36.

[37]Ibid.

the surface of reliefs, carvings, and incised surfaces as a record of the built and natural environment. This dissertation rejects technique of recordation. Cemetery surveying does not require this controversial technique for the preservation of burial grounds. Each year gravestone rubbers at historic graveyards do permanent damage to grave markers.[38] Because most gravestone rubbers appreciate this form of material culture, Lynette Strangstad believes the damage to grave markers occurs for three reasons. First, novice gravestone rubbers are unfamiliar with the fragility of early gravestones and assume that all stones are impervious to damage or that damaged stones are easily repaired. Second, some people do not know the proper procedures to make stone rubbings. Third, large school groups of inadequately supervised children forget earlier cautions and instructions given by adults.[39]

Many graveyard authorities, recognizing the potential harm from stone rubbings, prohibit or limit this activity. Curtailing gravestone rubbing produces negative results: a few people will violate the prohibitions and others will harbor resentment towards those imposing the regulations. Outright banning of gravestone rubbing also stymies the two

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[38]Cecily Firestone, an advocate of rubbing landmarks, realizes the damage that gravestone rubbers can cause. Firestone states, "You can feel these old stones crumble beneath the paper as you rub." See Cecily Barth Firestone, "Rub a Landmark," Historic Preservation 30, no. 4(October-December 1978):3.

[39]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 11-12.

major goals of cemetery preservation: fostering better community support and public education. Although prohibiting rubbing is ill-advised, regulations are highly appropriate and recommended for those who enjoy the privilege of rubbing these artifacts.[40]

Some cemetery officials require stone rubbers to complete a registration form, and other officials charge a small rubbing-fee for the privilege of using the cemetery's gravestones. The registration form contains the rubber's name, address, group association if any, and a signed statement acknowledging responsibility for any damage done while rubbing stones. Collecting the rubbing-fees is troublesome and impossible to enforce in many cemeteries, especially small, isolated rural burial grounds. Many popular urban graveyards post signs instructing rubbers to sign in and pay at either a parsonage or caretaker's quarters. Serious stone rubbers, realizing that it is in the best interest of all concerned, are more than willing to pay the fees which help to care for the yard. Those who are not inclined to pay the fees are usually less interested in the care of the stones and yard. The popularity of rubbing gravestones and relief brasses in Europe brought about replicating the most important, and most often rubbed, brasses. Unlike Europe, American graveyards do not provide rubbers with replicas of their finest, most frequently

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[40]Ibid., 12-13.

rubbed stones. The idea, however, bears merit and serious consideration.[41]

Proponents of using cemeteries as a K-12 classroom activity support the use of stone rubbings in conjunction with other activities intended to use the cemetery as an outdoor classroom.[42] Cemeteries are rich in action-oriented experiences and discoveries that involve students in active learning situations. Seventh and eighth grade students at one of Philadelphia's inner city middle schools, for example, use a local cemetery for interdisciplinary environmental and sociological study involving science, math, language, values discussions, and social studies. In this instance, the stone rubbings provide reading and research material. Data collected from the cemetery is used in the classroom to tabulate and compare the average ages of death for men and women in the 1800s and 1900s which leads the students to more research on various historical eras.[43] Likewise, eighth grade art teacher Evelyn Alexander uses stone rubbings purely for their artistic and aesthetic values. Alexander's art class uses stone rubbings from a local cemetery as models

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[41]Ibid.

[42]Gravestone rubbing is primarily a K-12 instructional activity. The literature on the subject of stone rubbing as a classroom activity is oriented toward elementary and middle school students. The author's criticism of the practice in the dissertation is intended also to be a deterrent to implementing stone rubbing in higher education.

[43]Edward L. Stanix, The Cemetery: An Outdoor Classroom (Philadelphia: Con-Stran Productions, 1974), 66-67.

for designing their own imaginative gravestone replicas.[44]
The point here is not to criticize Alexander and her
colleagues who use stone rubbings as a cemetery studies
activity. Yet, the possibilities of improper application or
poor supervision when using stone rubbing as a learning tool
merit a disclaimer. The repeated use of the same yard and
gravestones for rubbings is deterimental since each use
causes additional irreversible damage. The practice also
promotes an unacceptable conditioning, especially with young
children, in which any form of material culture is regarded
as being accessible for touching. The practice of gravestone
rubbing sets a bad precedent not just regarding gravestones,
but also other material culture artifacts.

When recording inscriptions during survey work, Lynette
Strangstad believes that "rubbings are generally not of great
help in the reading of deteriorated inscriptions, partic-
ularly if the marker has a grainy surface . . . [or] if the
face of the stone is in poor condition. . . ."[45] Good burial
ground documentation does not require stone rubbings; indeed,
storage and retrieval of hundreds of large sheets containing
the images from rubbings is impractical. Even applying a
fixative to the waxen image does not preserve the paper
indefinitely. Photographic negatives and prints are

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[44]Evelyn Alexander, "Graven Images," Arts and
Activities 79, no. 5 (June 1976):17.

[45]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 24.

more permanent, less bulky to store, and are easily copied

long after the stone has ceased to exist. Photography also

records motifs and relief details of nineteenth-century

stones that cannot be rubbed.[46]

The final task after conducting the comprehensive

cemetery survey is to compile the data into an organized

record that is published or copied for storage and retrieval.

The final report begins with an introduction describing

whether the cemetery is family, church, or public; and,

indicating the location, size, and present condition of the

burial ground. The history of the family or church, if

known, also is given in the introduction. Following the

history, researchers explain limitations affecting the

research such as illegible inscriptions. Researchers also

note unmarked graves, unidentifiable ground depressions and

mounds, and graves marked by fieldstones. Finally, they

place a site map recording all features of the cemetery

in the report before the grave marker data and the cross-

referenced indexes.[47]

Researchers should distribute copies of the report to

several institutions. A copy of the report is kept locally

on the site with any existing cemetery association, church,

or caretaker for others who want to locate specific stones.

Copies of the survey record are also housed in safe and

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[46]Jones, "Photographing Tombstones," 43.

[47]Newman, "Cemetery Transcribing," 104-108.

accessible permanent repositories such as the state archives, a local historical society, a local museum, a public library, or a nearby university library. To be accessible to researchers nationwide, a copy of the report is filed with the permanent archives of the Association for Gravestone Studies.[48] It is important to keep in mind that a comprehensive cemetery survey is not a complete record of all graves since people might be buried in the cemetery without any indication of the fact. If done correctly, however, the results of a comprehensive survey will provide a written and graphic image of the graveyard and its gravestones at the time of the survey.

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[48]The Association for Gravestone Studies can be contacted at 46 Plymouth Road, Needham, Massachusetts, 02192.

CHAPTER FOUR

FIELD TESTING THE SURVEY MODEL

The comprehensive cemetery survey model developed in

Chapter Three was tested at St. John's Episcopal Church

Cemetery, Maury County, Tennessee,[1] with the aid of a team

of twelve Middle Tennessee State University undergraduate

and graduate students. The students were enrolled in the

"Introduction to Historic Preservation" course, one of

several historic preservation courses taught at the

University. The major purpose for the exercise was to test

the comprehensive survey model and to make corrections to

the design based on student feedback after surveying the

cemetery. A second purpose of the exercise was to document

the graveyard for later analysis of the material culture

artifacts at St. John's Cemetery.

While focusing on grave markers, the comprehensive

survey also involved other major features of the graveyard

including the stone wall enclosing the yard, trees and other

vegetation, burial depressions, roads and paths, and the

church building. These features were located, measured, and

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[1]St. John's Cemetery is located on U.S. highway 43
between the county seat at Columbia and the smaller city of
Mt. Pleasant to the southwest. The church and cemetery are
located two miles south of the Columbia city limits.
Traveling from Columbia on Highway 43, the church building
is visible on the left-hand side of the road. The cemetery
is located behind the church to its east and southeast.

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recorded on a site map of the entire cemetery. From the site map, separate maps were prepared for each of the graveyard's seven survey sections indicated in figure 7 as letters A through G.[2]

The graves lie primarily east and southeast of the church building. Since the number of grave markers, approximately 336, was too large to conduct a survey of the entire site using one reference map, the cemetery was separated into the seven smaller sections to facilitate the overall survey. These sections were intended to be relatively equal in the number of grave markers surveyed regardless of the actual area that each section covered. But, because the survey involved footstones, family plot markers or posts, and assorted vegetation, all of which were measured and recorded, the actual quantity of materials to be surveyed did not turn out to be equal from one section to another.

The students were divided into four teams composed of three people. Each three person team was responsible for one or more of the cemetery's survey sections with approximately an equal amount of work to be accomplished. It was impossible to determine how such variables as the size of gravestones, the clarity and ease of reading inscriptions

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[2]Maps detailing each survey section's cemetery features and grave markers are found in Appendix H after the appropriate section's numerical reference listing of grave markers.

St. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CEMETERY
SURVEY SECTIONS A - G

F

D   C   B   A

E

G   CHURCH

KEY

.... Removed section of wall
— Survey boundary line
▬ Stone wall
▬ Brick walk
= Unfinished road
/ Chain link fence

0 25' 50'

S
E ⊕ W
N
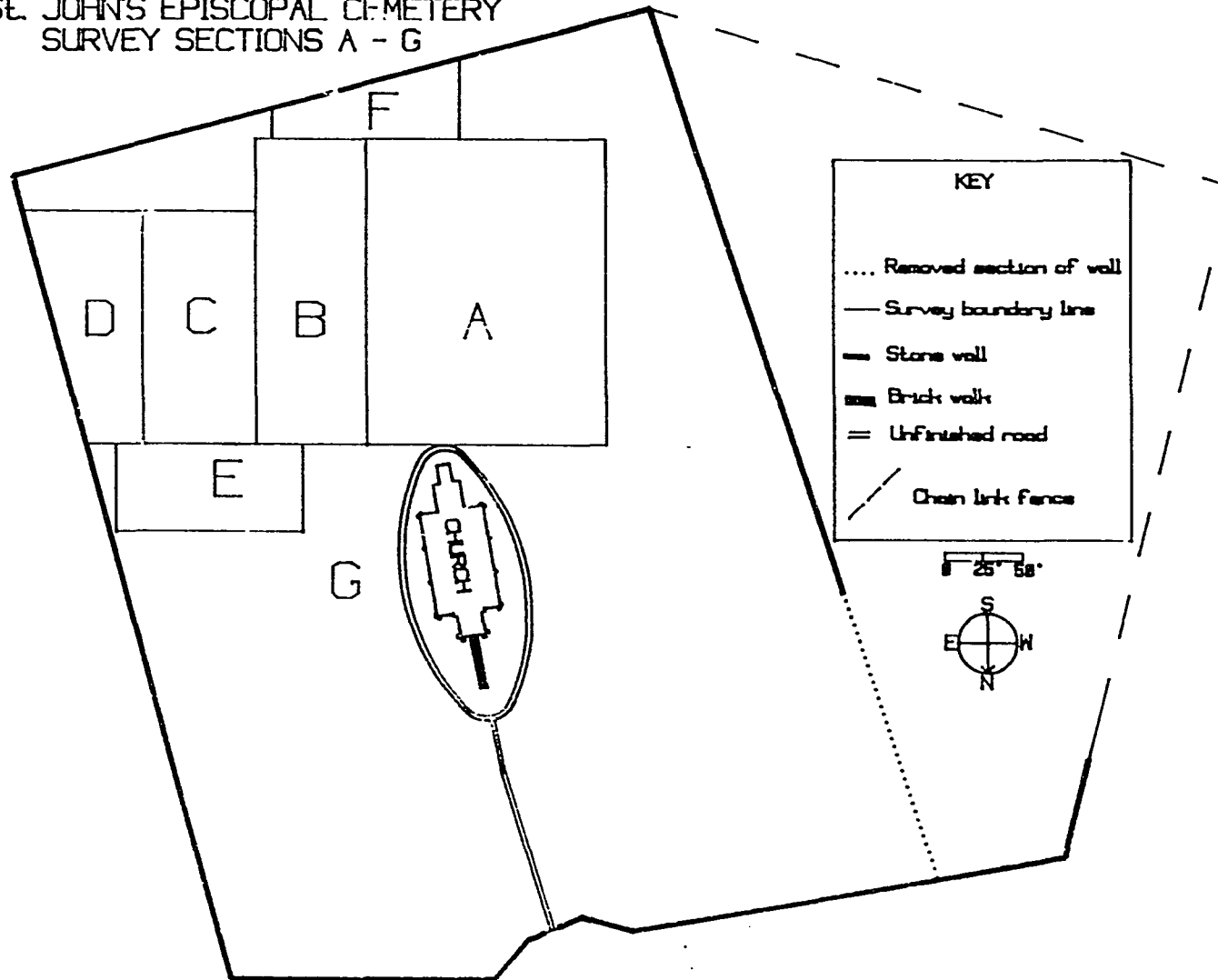
Fig. 7.   St. John's Episcopal Cemetery Survey Sections A - G

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and epitaphs, and the amount of information to be recorded from each stone would impact upon each team's work rate. In the older areas of the cemetery, Sections B and C, the grave markers are set close together. Because the gravestone density is especially high in Section B, it took that team much longer to make its triangulation measurements than originally planned when preparing for the survey. In addition to the problems associated with gravestone density, considerable difficulty reading worn and almost illegible inscriptions and epitaphs occurred with many of the old slate, limestone, and marble gravestones. The amount of work required of each sections's survey team is illustrated on the chart and site map found in Appendix I. The chart, used in conjunction with the site map, demonstrates the location, size, and shape of each survey section.

The exact number of gravestones in each survey section was unknown at the time the divisions were made. Visual estimates made on site determined where to separate each of the seven survey sections. Three survey teams were responsible for Sections A, B, and C; one section each being assigned to a team. The fourth team was assigned Sections D, E, and G to give them a comparable number of markers as the other teams. Two major problems arose due to these judicious separations. First, the team working Section A covered an area twice as large as the other teams and took much longer to lay out its baseline and perimeter lines for the section's

grid. Section A is composed primarily of modern gravestones that should have taken less time to record on the survey forms. The last assumption proved to be incorrect. Second, located within the relatively small area of Section B were a large number of old gravestones. Many of the markers were large monuments or slab crypts that involved recording lengthy inscriptions and epitaphs. A majority of the markers were difficult to read because of discoloration and weathering.

The four teams' completion rates during the same six hour period vary considerably. Despite having the largest number of markers to record, including many badly deteriorated stones, Section B's survey team finished map locations and survey forms for 35 of the 89 stones, a 39.3 percent completion rate.[3] The team working Section C surveyed 32 of 65 grave markers, a 49.2 percent completion rate which is the best of the four teams. Although all 30 stones in Section D were completed, the team was unable to begin either of its other assigned sections. As a result, the team doing Sections D, E, and G surveyed only 30 of 77 stones, a 38.9 percent completion rate. Section A, as noted above, was larger in area than the other sections and also had the second largest number of markers to survey. In

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[3]Completion rates for the survey teams are calculated by dividing the total number of grave markers in a section into the number of markers with completed survey forms. For example, Section B's 39.3 percent rate is determined by dividing 89 into 35.

addition, the members of Section A's team had considerable trouble laying down their baseline due to the larger area. This team, also, was not able to establish a working routine and pace to compare with the other teams. Consequently, Section A's team surveyed only 22 of 88 stones, a completion rate of 23.7 percent.

Determining how many grave markers a team might complete within a six-hour period required a mock-up survey using one of the seven sections as a test case. Results from a preliminary test using Section F, the smallest section, indicated that one person could prepare a 120-foot baseline in fifteen minutes and triangulate gravestone locations as well as complete survey forms for seventeen stones in two hours.[4] Since one person prepared a baseline and surveyed seventeen stones in less than two and one-half hours, it seemed reasonable that a three-person team could complete a section with sixty to seventy stones during the six hours planned for surveying St. John's Cemetery. The process for triangulating requires that two members of a survey team handle the tape measure while a third records the figures. Likewise, the process for completing the survey forms depends on two people reading and recording information off gravestones while the third is taking the photographs.

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[4]When working alone, three foot wood stakes with a nail hammered six inches from the bottom are used to hook the tape measure onto when laying out the baseline and triangulating each gravestone.

The results of the fieldwork did not confirm the preliminary test's assumptions. All of the teams took longer to prepare the baselines and perimeter lines than anticipated. The best time was just under an hour while the worst was almost double that. It took the teams, especially Section A, considerable time to establish a working pattern and pace. One factor that might account for such a problem is a lack of student-centered and group-oriented activities employed in most higher education courses. For example, student-centered activity in a college history course is typically individualized, such as a research paper using traditional library and archival sources.

Another problem that became apparent during the field test concerned how well prepared the students were for conducting the survey. The one-hour classroom briefing, four days before the fieldwork, proved to be a weak point in the project. Although the briefing did clarify the purpose and goals of the project and explained the students' role in the project, it failed to adequately prepare the students for their assigned tasks. Part of the difficulty involved limitations placed on a guest lecturer when taking time away from the regular course instructor's class schedule. If the regular course instructor coordinated the survey, more time could be devoted to preparing the students for the fieldwork. For example, several students did not have a clear under-standing of the different gravestone materials; thus, they could not distinguish slate, sandstone, and limestone.

An audio-visual presentation could eliminate many of the problems encountered during the field test. A slide presentation should be part of the pre-fieldwork briefing. The variety of gravestone styles and forms and the different materials used in gravestone architecture are best illustrated with 35 mm color slides. A slide presentation demonstrates peculiarities that cannot be adequately described such as the urn-and-willow motif. To conduct the survey or to analyze the findings from the data gathered in the survey does not require outside reading. However, outside reading does help some students to better appreciate cemetery studies and preservation. A suggested reading list includes such basic reference sources as Lynette Strangstad's, <u>A Graveyard Preservation Primer</u> and the <u>Boston Experience: A Manual for Historic Burial Grounds Preservation</u>. A well prepared survey project includes adequate preparation of the team members before beginning the fieldwork. Audio-visual materials provide the foundation of this preparation.

Another practical suggestion that emerged from the field test is to provide either in the classroom or on the campus a demonstration of plotting grid lines and triangulating grave marker locations. Time should be set aside to walk the students through these processes before they go on their own to plot and triangulate. The potential for triangulation errors and inaccurate marker placement on

the reference map increases unless the instructor pays close attention while students are laying out the baseline and the fixed interval points along the line. If a baseline is not perpendicular to the perimeter lines, any measurements taken to triangulate gravestones using one fixed point on the baseline and another on a perimeter line are inaccurate enough to distort gravestone locations plotted on the site reference map.

The dissertation's comprehensive survey model did work despite the project director incorrectly estimating the number of grave markers a survey team could complete in six hours. The preliminary test case using Section F resulted in an estimate that one team could survey and record seventy stones per six hours of field work; however, the reality was only thirty stones per six hours, a 5:1 ratio. There are two possibilities for correcting the error: increase the number of people needed for the survey, or increase the amount of time allotted for the survey. Using the 5:1 ratio of stones to hours as a guide, a one-day survey of 336 markers in the St. John's Cemetery requires eleven, three-person survey teams working sections with approximately thirty stones. The alternative is to use four teams but to conduct the survey over a two- or three-day period. Depending on the number of students and the quantity of grave markers to be surveyed, an instructor would adjust the time and number of teams or sections to accomplish the survey. Based on the

results from the St. John's Cemetery survey, it is
recommended that at least one additional hour be added for
preparation of the baselines and perimeter lines when
estimating the maximum work rate for survey teams.

The objective of the survey is not the quantity of work
completed, but rather the quality and understanding gained
for the process involved with surveying. Understanding the
survey process and learning from the evidence collected are
the true measures of the project's success as a heritage
education tool. Judging from a tape recorded debriefing of
the St. John's Cemetery field team, students in the test case
did gain understanding about the survey process and did
develop an appreciation for the value of cemetery material
culture as an artistic and historic resource that helps to
better understand such historic periods as the Victorian Era.

The survey form prepared for the field test was flawed
(see Appendix D). The form devised to record various data
about individual grave markers did have legitimate problems
that the debriefing disclosed. The students' most common
complaint was the duplication of gravestone information on
a two-sided form. The solution was to modify the form for
completion on one side of a page. A revised survey form
appears in Appendix E in which the following sections on the
original form are removed: the name, sex, birth date, death
date, comments under condition of marker, and photo negative
number. Moving the inscription to the front of the form

eliminates listing separately name, sex, birth date, and
death date data. The space for comments under the condition
of marker is eliminated because most problems associated
with stone deterioration are listed while other problems
can be clarified in the space provided after "Other." The
photograph log form (see the last pages of Appendices D
and E) was an adequate record of grave marker photographs.
Each exposure included a negative number, film roll
identification, and the name on the gravestone. Therefore,
including the photograph negative number on the survey form
was not necessary.

The results of the survey's field test are assessed
quantitatively. The twelve-person project team recorded 117
markers out of a total of 319 (this figure eliminates the
seventeen stones in Section F used as the test sample) which
is a completion rate of 36.6 percent.[5] It took six hours for
the survey teams to prepare their baselines and record the
117 stones. Including Section F, the sample section, 134
markers out of a total of 336 were recorded and mapped.
Although this represents 39.8 percent of the markers in the
cemetery, the remaining 202 markers were surveyed without the
aid of the field team.

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[5]The term "marker" refers to any type of grave marker
including headstones, footstones, monuments, obelisks, family
plot markers, slabs, and box tombs. The percentages are
calculated from the total number of grave markers on site
compared to the number of markers for which survey forms were
completed.

Twenty mapping problems occurred with the 117 markers inventoried. All the mapping problems existed in Section D's grid due to an initial error in laying its perimeter lines. The team members did not set down two perimeter lines perpendicular to the baseline and measure the distances between the fixed points to determine if the lines were at right-angles to the baseline. As a result, the acute angle of the perimeter line caused distortions for all map measurements using one fixed point on the baseline and another on the perpendicular perimeter line. Because all baselines and other grid lines remained in place after the field test to complete the survey's mapping, the error was easily rectified. Two solutions were possible. First, the perpendicular line could be reset and new triangulations made. Second, the angle of error could be determined and a new angled (parallelogram) grid be added to the site for this section of the cemetery. Using the second solution, several stones were spot checked for accuracy and the site map corrected to reflect the new grid.

Double-checking the completed survey forms on a return visit to the cemetery revealed a second group of errors involving minor inaccuracies with survey form data. Of the seventeen errors discovered, three involved a misreading of the inscription or epitaph and the remainder were due to teams failing to copy the inscription and epitaph writing exactly as it appeared on the gravestones. The problem of

inaccurate transcribing involved either capitalizing all the lettering when the grave marker had mixed upper and lower case lettering or vice versa. There was only one case where the transcriber corrected on the form an inscription error appearing on the gravestone itself.

Another problem involved footstones. Little was mentioned regarding footstones in the pre-field test briefing; therefore, footstones were recorded as separate grave markers on individual survey forms. Recording footstones in such a manner was the proper and logical course of action because the instructions specified that each and every grave marker be handled as a separate artifact. Unfortunately, the procedure failed to consider noting the footstone's association with a headstone. The situation was easy to rectify on the forms by including a brief notation in parentheses to identify each footstone's correlating head-stone by name and map reference number.

The field test's mapping and recording problems indicate significant error rates.[6] The inaccuracies involving transcribed data represent a 14.5 percent error rate. The percentage indicates that students did not comprehend the written and oral directions for recording inscriptions and epitaphs. The twenty stones with distorted

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[6]Error rates are calculated by dividing the total number of grave markers the students surveyed (117) into the number of errors. For example, the seventeen transcription errors divided by 117 results in a 14.5 percent error rate.

measurements from Section D have an error rate of 17 percent. The total number of mapping and recording errors is 37 which results in a total error rate of 31.6 percent. The total error rate, therefore, indicates that a problem occurs with one out of every three grave markers surveyed. The survey errors were not the results of a faulty methodology. Each error was a failure of compliance with instructions concerning specific details of the survey process. Some students complied with the general instructions dealing with the overall aspect of their assignment, but they failed to carry out detailed components of the assignment. The solution is diligently checking the progress of the student teams during survey work to prevent deviation from the prescribed instructions.

After evaluating the survey's data and the feedback from the students, 202 markers remained to be recorded on survey forms and located on the separate section maps. In addition, trees and vegetation outside the seven survey sections but within the graveyard's boundary also remained to be located on the site map. The boundary of the site, using the stone wall as a guide, and the church building also remained to be located on the site map in relation to the cemetery's other major features.

Measurements for the church building existed prior to the comprehensive survey. In the Spring of 1990, a team of graduate students in the Historic Preservation Program at

Middle Tennessee State University documented the building as part of a course project. The purpose of the project was to determine the building's condition and recommend solutions for moisture and rising damp problems associated with the vegetation growing too close to the building's walls and its poorly maintained drainage systems. From measurements taken on site by members of the team, the author prepared the floorplan of the church in Figure 8 using AutoCADD.[7] Even before fieldwork began on the comprehensive graveyard survey, work was progressing to alleviate the building's problems based on recommendations in the students' historic structures report.[8]

While the three-person teams survey grave markers in their assigned sections of the cemetery, one or two small teams should prepare the site map, locate auxiliary features, and establish the cemetery's physical boundary. The St.

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[7]AutoCADD is one of several commercially available systems for doing Computer-Aided Drafting and Design (CADD). CADD has been around since 1964; however, only since 1982 have such systems been available on microcomputers as opposed to mainframes and minicomputers. The purpose of CADD is to make drafting easier, more accurate, intelligent, and customized. CADD enables the user to create drawings faster and easier than with traditional hand-drafting methods. Like word processing, CADD makes editing much easier since the user simply "cuts and pastes" objects in the drawing. Unlike word processing, CADD is used to create visual models of an imagined object.

[8]For additional information of the historic structures report see Richard Betterly and others, "St. John's Episcopal Church: A Historic Structures Report" (Murfreesboro, TN: Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, 1990), photocopied.
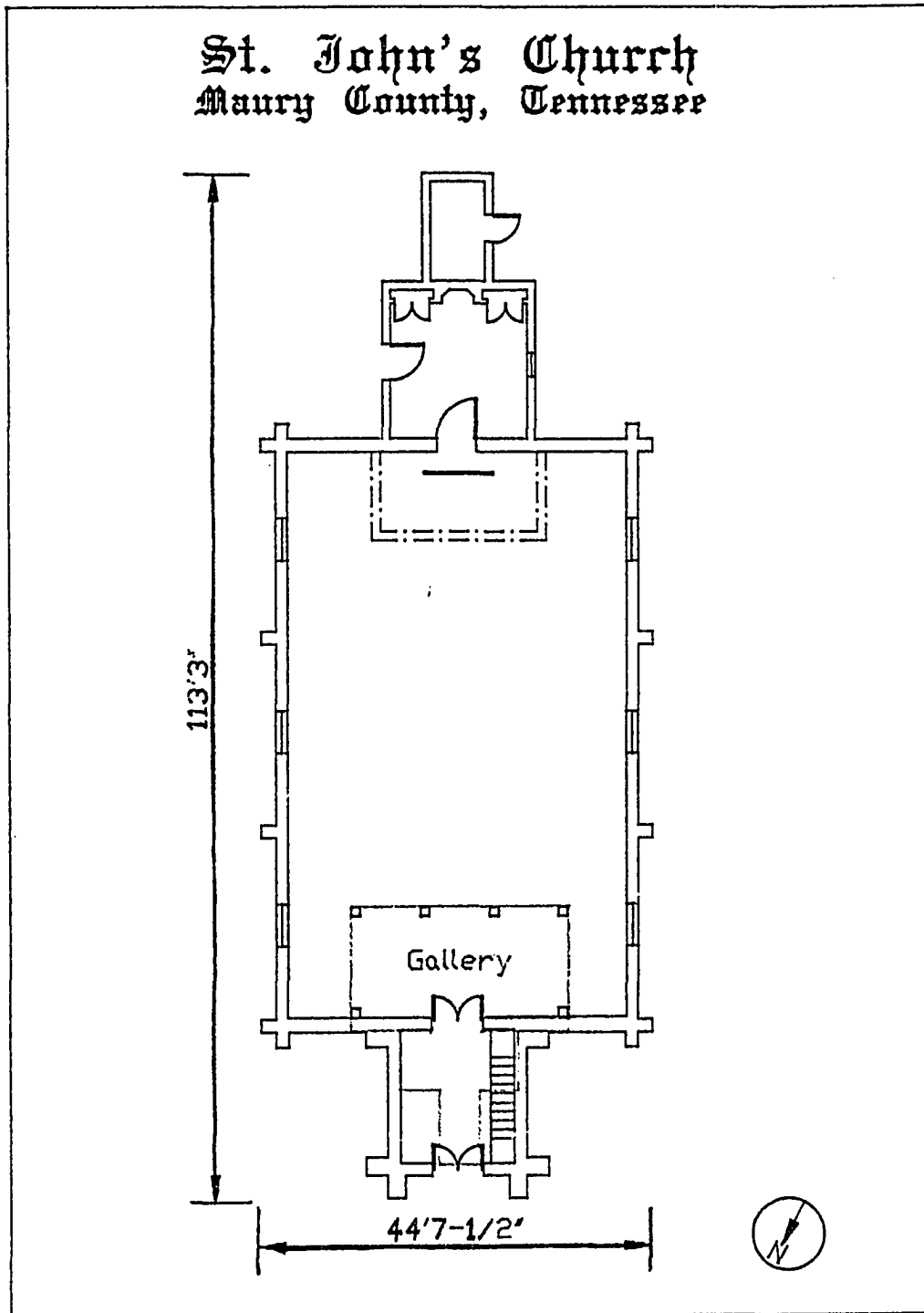
Fig. 8. AutoCADD drawn floorplan of St. John's
Episcopal Church.

John's Cemetery field test was not composed of enough people to execute a survey of cemetery features outside the seven survey sections. Pressed for time and without the benefit of survey teams or an assistant, establishing the site's boundary and locating all other major features within the cemetery involved the same technique used to triangulate and to set the baseline for the Section F sample survey.

Without benefit of a cemetery plat,[9] the boundary is calculated using the existing stone wall (circa 1874) that indicates the original cemetery's boundary. Additional acreage acquired in the 1950s, enclosed by a chain-link fence, is located next to the west wall and also is included on the site map. Using three-foot wood stakes with nails placed six inches from the bottom, the stone wall and all vegetation within one hundred feet of the wall are measured and plotted on the scaled site map. A tape measure is extended between two wood stakes and attached to the nails. With the tape stretched out on the ground between the two wood stakes, the survey team places as fixed points several smaller stakes with nails at intervals along the tape. Triangulating from any two fixed points along the tape produces a fairly accurate map location for each tree

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[9]Despite several sources claiming that such a plat did exist for St. John's, a thorough search of the records in the Maury County Courthouse at Columbia turned up no indication that any plat existed for this site. The only map that did exist was the tax map which does not show any details, such as individual burial plots, within the property lines of the site.

within one hundred feet of the stone wall. The team measures

remaining trees and vegetation from fixed features such as

the church building or by simply locating them in relation to

other trees.

The seven individual section maps are synthesized into

one complete site map by measuring their distances from a

permanent landmark within the cemetery. Each section's

baseline begins where a three-foot wood stake is driven into

the ground. Surveyors triangulate these prime stakes from

fixed points along the east wall of the church building.

Once they establish the building's location using the

cemetery gate and corners of the stone wall as fixed points,

the surveyors calculate and draw each survey section's

location on the site map. They then transform the roughly

drawn site map into a finished form using a GenericCADD[10]

computer generated map. From the site map of St. John's

Cemetery, Sections A through G are individually drawn to

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[10]GenericCADD is another commercial CADD system.
Although easier to use than AutoCADD, the GenericCADD system
also lacks some of the more complex features of AutoCADD.
For the needs of this dissertation, the GenericCADD proved to
be the better choice. All of the site maps and survey
section maps in the dissertation, either in the text or as
appendix material, were prepared from measurements made on
the site that the author transformed into CADD drawings.
Although a student activity using a cemetery survey does not
need to include such finished drawings in the final report,
site maps and survey section maps are necessary in any final
report of a comprehensive cemetery survey. CADD drawings are
much cleaner and look more professional, but these maps could
be hand-drawn.

show the detailed position of each grave marker, tree and bush, and family plot post.[11]

Despite the difficulties resulting from overestimating the amount of data a survey team could accomplish in one day, the comprehensive cemetery survey model was a successful means of documenting a cemetery's material culture artifacts. Comments from students involved with the survey provided help to improve the survey form and disclosed weaknesses in the briefing phase of the project. The results of the field test are not discouraging because they provide a practical and realistic measure of what to expect when conducting similar projects.

The true test of the methodology's success is its value to heritage education. Field testing proved that the concept of cemetery surveying is a valid method of teaching students about nearby history. Problems associated with implementing a new teaching activity become less significant after repeated use with students in subsequent classes. Likewise, an instructor's abilities to prepare students better and estimate student-to-gravestone ratios also improves with practice. Large cemeteries might take several semesters to survey, but each group of students can achieve the objectives of the project: to understand the survey process and appreciate the material culture of a cemetery.

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[11]The cross-referenced listing of gravestones by section in Appendix H includes a reference map at the end of each survey section's numerical listing of gravestones.

Having documented the St. John's Cemetery site, Chapter Five interprets the data to determine what the tombstones tell researchers about St. John's Church and the people buried in the historic rural church cemetery. Chapter Six interprets Victorian aesthetic and cultural characteristics evident in the era's funerary art. In addition, graveyard architecture is placed into a regional context by relating cemetery material culture data gathered during reconnaissance surveys of several sample cemeteries located within a fifty-mile radius of St. John's Episcopal Church and Cemetery.

CHAPTER FIVE

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH CEMETERY AS

A MATERIAL CULTURE ARTIFACT

The variety of historical inquiries made in Chapter Five illustrates the value of St. John's Episcopal Churchyard as a material culture artifact. The church, constructed between 1839 and 1842, exemplifies the prevailing Gothic Revival architectural style used for Episcopalian churches in the antebellum South. Built by five sons of William Polk, a successful North Carolina planter who speculated in western lands following the American Revolution, the building is modeled after a small chapel in Devon and the Chapel of the Cross at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where many of Polk's sons attended the University of North Carolina. The Gothic Revival building is one of the best surviving examples of unaltered ecclesiastical architecture in Middle Tennessee.[1] The adjacent church cemetery is significant for its gravestones, tombs, and monuments reflecting the variety of forms that funerary art exhibited in Middle Tennessee from the 1840s through the 1910s. The church cemetery is primarily a family graveyard because the majority of graves are for the Polk brothers' families, descendants, and extended relations.

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[1]"St. John's Episcopal Church," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, TN.

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William Polk's sons migrated to Maury County during the 1830s and 1840s and established plantations on tracts of land given by their father. Polk's sons were not the first of their name to settle in Maury County. Some of the area's earliest setlers included William Polk's cousins, Samuel and Jane Knox Polk, whose son, James Knox Polk, became the eleventh President of the United States. The rugged pioneer period of Maury County was over when the five Polk brothers migrated and claimed shares of their father's land during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The Polk brothers came to Maury County at the beginning of its plantation era when a more comfortable style of living was possible. Refined styles of architecture were replacing the hewn log cabins of the frontier years. The Polks became social and economic leaders in Maury County accumulating large fortunes based on land and slave ownership.[2]

Descended from Scotch-Irish ancestors, William Polk's family in America can be traced back to Robert Bruce Pollock. Fearing reprisals for his previous service under Parliamentary forces against Charles I, Pollock fled to America with his wife and eight children after the restoration of Charles II in 1660. Pollock landed on Maryland's East Shore and acquired extensive land

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[2]Jill K. Garrett, "St. John's Church, Ashwood," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 29, no. 1 (Spring 1970):4. Hence cited as Garrett, "St. John's."

holdings. Gradually, the Pollock surname became Anglicized to Polk.[3]

In the early 1750s, William Polk's father Thomas Polk settled in the area of North Carolina's back country that became Mecklenburg County. Father and son supported the patriot cause during the American Revolution and served as officers in North Carolina Regiments. The military careers of Thomas and William Polk distinguished them as men of prominence in the new state of North Carolina. Thomas Polk retired from public service following the war to work his lands until his death in 1794.[4] His son achieved prominence following the war both in public affairs, serving in the North Carolina legislature, and in private business, speculating in western (Tennessee) lands. Like many others with distinguished service in the Revolution, William Polk received North Carolina land grants in the middle district of the three units the legislature established to administer North Carolina's western lands in Tennessee. The state legislature also appointed Polk surveyor-general of the middle district, a favorable position to acquire land warrants at bargain prices from other North Carolina

[3]Mary Winder Garrett, "Pedigree of the Pollock or Polk Family," American Historical Magazine 3, no. 1 (January 1898):42-45.

[4]Joseph H. Parks, General Leonidas Polk, C.S.A.: The Fighting Bishop, Southern Biography Series, ed. T. Harry Williams (Kingsport, TN: Kingsport Press and Louisiana University Press, 1962), 4-5.

veterans. Polk's position as surveyor-general enabled him to buy entries and veterans' warrants on some of the most fertile land in the middle district.[5]

The history of St. John's Church Cemetery and the four Polk plantations, located along a broad expanse of rich farmland between Columbia and Mt. Pleasant known as Ashwood (see Fig. 9), are interwoven with the tract of land called Rattle and Snap. William Polk won the Rattle and Snap tract during a game of dice in which the stakes included scrip that North Carolina issued to its Revolutionary war soldiers for land in Tennessee.[6] Containing more than 5,000 acres, the northern boundary of Polk's tract adjoined the 25,000 acre land grant the North Carolina legislature gave to Revolutionary War hero Nathanael Greene.[7] William Polk separated his Rattle and Snap property into four sections for his sons Lucius J., Leonidas, Rufus K., and George W. St. John's Church is located where the brothers' plantations intersected at the corner of Leonidas Polk's plantation, Section 5 in Figure 9. The impetus for establishing the church came from Leonidas Polk, an Episcopal clergyman (see Fig. 10), who conceived the idea, donated the land, drew

[5]Ibid., 8-10.

[6]Mary Polk Branch, Memoirs of a Southern Woman "Within the Lines" and a Genealogical Record (Chicago: Joseph C. Branch Publishing Co., 1912), 79.

[7]North Carolina Land Grants, Book A, p. 71 no. 148, Warrant no. 453, 11 April 1789, DS [photocopy], Yeatman-Polk Collection, Manuscript Section, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

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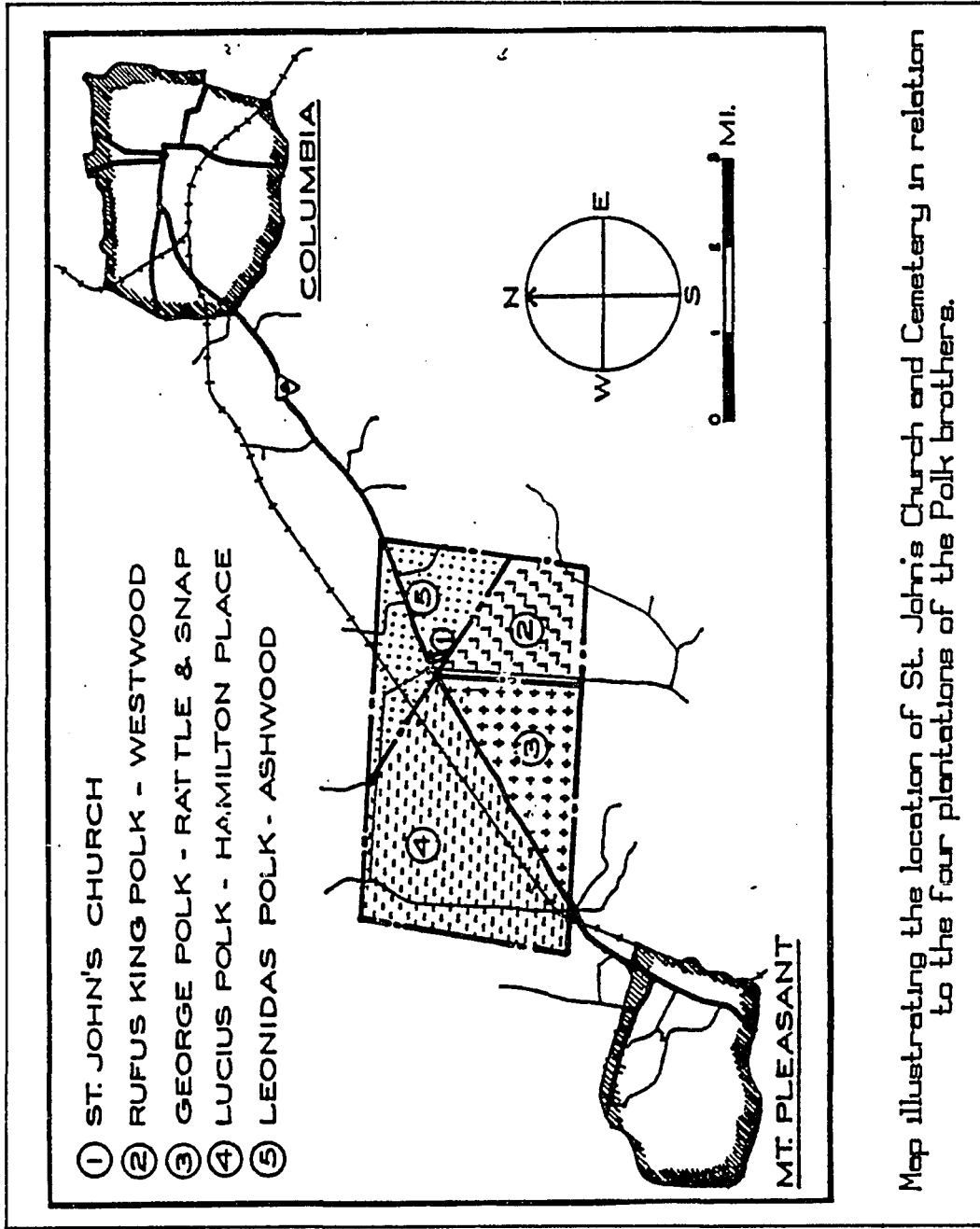
Figure 9. (Source: Garrett, "St. John's," 2.)

Map illustrating the location of St. John's Church and Cemetery in relation to the four plantations of the Polk brothers.

① ST. JOHN'S CHURCH
② RUFUS KING POLK - WESTWOOD
③ GEORGE POLK - RATTLE & SNAP
④ LUCIUS POLK - HAMILTON PLACE
⑤ LEONIDAS POLK - ASHWOOD

COLUMBIA

MT. PLEASANT

Fig. 10. Leonidas Polk photographed as Bishop of the Southwest. (Courtesy of the University of the South, Sewanee, TN)

the plans, and supervised the construction.[8] All of the

brothers, including half-brother Dr. William J. Polk whose

plantation was north of Columbia,[9] contributed financially

and materially to the church's construction.

Although religious commitment was not a characteristic

of the Polk family in North Carolina, Leonidas Polk's

Episcopalian convictions prevailed on his brothers in

Tennessee. Leonidas Polk surprised his father in 1827 by

pursuing a career in the ministry rather than the military.

A few years after his 1831 ordination as an Episcopal priest,

the young clergyman established a plantation on his share of

the Rattle and Snap tract while serving as rector of St.

Peter's Episcopal Church in Columbia. The combined careers

of planter and clergyman strained Polk's health and he

resigned his duties to the Columbia parish in 1835 to

concentrate on working his plantation. Still, he conducted

regular services for his own family, the families of his

brothers, and the slaves on all four Polk plantations.[10]

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[8]Parks, General Leonidas Polk, 69. Also, see Garrett, "St. John's," 3-4.

[9]Dr. William Julius Polk was a half-brother and one of two children born to William Polk from his first marriage to Griselda Gilchrist. In 1836, William J. Polk settled with his wife on a tract of his father's land north of the Duck River. Fred Lee Hawkins, Jr., comp., Maury County, Tennessee, Cemeteries: With Genealogical and Historical Notes (Columbia, TN: By the author, 509 Pawnee Trail, 1989), 581.

[10]Parks, General Leonidas Polk, 19-70.

A letter written in the summer of 1839 by Leonidas Polk to his mother in North Carolina explained his motivation for constructing the family chapel:

> We design putting up a neat Gothic chapel, not larger than enough for our households and neighbors, yet sufficiently large to make us comfortable.
> It is hoped that in the making of this wilderness bud and blossom as the rose, it would not be wholly out of place to say to our Carolina friends . . . that kind remembrances will not be forgotten.[11]

The entire church construction was a local enterprise from building materials to labor. Though outside skilled craftsmen sent by William Polk from North Carolina built Lucius Polk's Hamilton Place and Leonidas Polk's Ashwood Hall, the Polk slaves did all the labor-intensive work on the church including skilled blacksmiths who forged the hand-cut nails. Slaves cleared the land and quarried limestone for the foundation from a knoll behind George W. Polk's Rattle and Snap plantation. Clay for the dark red brick came from a nearby pit and the master brickmason for all the masonry work was a Polk slave. Timbers for beams and rafters were hand hewn from poplar trees on the site. Later, they were cut into appropriately sized lumber at a mill that Leonidas Polk established during the construction of his Ashwood Hall home. A large black cherry tree, located where the present altar

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[11]Leonidas Polk, Ashwood Hall, to Sarah Polk, Raleigh, 28 July 1839, LS, George Washington Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

stands, provided the wood for the reredos and chancel appointments.[12]

Leonidas Polk's architectural design for the church exemplifies a rural simplification of the ecclesiastic Gothic Revival style that was popular in America between the 1830s and 1870s. Gothic Revival architecture, based on medieval precedents, was an alternative to the prevailing Greek Revival's classicism which dominated American architecture through much of the first half of the nineteenth century. The most prominent advocate of ecclesiastic Gothic Revival was Richard Upjohn whose Trinity Church in New York (circa 1839) was the first truly Gothic building in the United States. Trinity Church was emphatically an urban church reflecting a correct version of the Gothic style which flourished during the medieval period when Christianity was in its prime. However, Upjohn also pioneered another type of Gothic ecclesiastical structure, the small parish church. Leonidas Polk's architectural design for St. John's Church is compatible with Upjohn's designs for small parish churches since they both emulate the unpretentious quality of churches in small English villages. Polk's church incorporates Upjohn's use of highly evocative elements such as a steeply pitched roof, bold buttresses, and an austere interior covered by a roof with exposed beams and trusses. Unlike

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[12]"St. John's Episcopal Church," Tennessee Historical Commission.

Upjohn, however, Polk retained the symmetrical influence of colonial parish churches by centering the placement of the entrance and bell tower on the church's front facade.[13]

St. John's Church reflects the practical and aesthetic qualities of rural ecclesiastical architecture. Narrow slit vents are placed in the limestone foundation to allow the undercroft to breathe. A Flemish bond pattern is used on the sixteen-inch-thick outside walls. For support, four buttresses are placed on each of the side walls (see Fig. 11). The fifty-foot central tower adorning the front of the building is braced by narrow buttresses. The top of the tower's three-story design incorporates a low parapet with corbelled crennels at each corner that resembles a medieval castle's battlements (see Fig. 12). Pointed arches over the doorway and the mullioned windows provide an image of looking upward toward Heaven. The interior of the church, designed to be very simple, is adorned with white plaster walls and a small end gallery. Polk's arrangement of pews in the nave with two side aisles and no central aisle is an atypical feature for an Episcopalian church.[14]

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[13]Handlin, American Architecture, 87-90. Also see McAlester, A Field Guide, 177; 200. For a detailed analysis of Gothic Revival ecclesiastical architecture see Phoebe B. Stanton, The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968).

[14]"St. John's Episcopal Church," Tennessee Historical Commission. Also, see Garrett, "St. John's," 7.

Fig. 11. The west wall of St. John's Episcopal Church as viewed from a position northwest of the building. Note the buttresses and arched windows.

Fig. 12. The front facade of St. John's Church illustrates
how Gothic Revival's architectural features tend to make
the viewer look up toward Heaven.

In November 1840, Leonidas Polk reported to his mother that work on the building's exterior was complete with the exception of a portion of the bell tower. Polk intended to finish the inside woodwork during the inclement winter months and have the plastering completed by early spring. He expected the church to be ready for consecration in time for the Tennessee Episcopal Convention's scheduled meeting in Columbia during the summer of 1841. The work, he concludes:

> . . . has required a large force, a great deal of wagoning & my constant supervision to keep everything up and going. We feel thankful . . . & hope that ourselves and children and distant [unintelligible words] may have the reason to thank God for the protection & comfort of such a refuge.[15]

However, Polk's 1839 appointment as missionary bishop to the Southwest kept him away from Ashwood with such frequency that work on the church was not completed until the summer of 1842.[16] On Sunday, September 4, 1842, Bishop James Otey presided at the church's consecration with assistance from Bishop Polk and the Reverend Frank Gillette Smith of the Columbia Institute. Reverand Thomas Horrell, Otey's assistant at St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Columbia, also attended as did the Reverends William Leacock and H. P. Sanders, the rectors from St. Mark's Episcopal Church,

[15]Leonidas Polk, Ashwood Hall, to Sarah Polk, Raleigh, 26 November 1840, LS, Leonidas Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[16]Parks, General Leonidas Polk, 75.

Williamsport, and St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Franklin.

More than five hundred people attended the church's

consecration. Whites were seated first near the chancel,

and slaves filled all the space available throughout the

remaining pews and aisles in the nave, the stairs and

doorways, gallery, and even the vestry room.[17]

The Polk brothers presented the church to the Episcopal

Diocese of Tennessee free of any debt with stipulations that

it be used for public worship, that no pews be rented or sold

(contrary to the common practice in Episcopalian churches of

that era), and that the congregation provide financial

support for the chapel's rector. Leonidas Polk transferred

the tract of land by simply stating in the deed that the

property was given "for the consideration of one dollar and

the love and affection he [Leonidas Polk] has for the church

of which said James H. Otey is Bishop."[18]

Although the church's consecration took place on

September 4, 1842, dates on the gravestones and in the church

register indicate that the first burial or burials occurred

earlier. Further investigation demonstrates how cemetery

research can be used to disprove local myths and legends

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[17]Garrett, "St. John's," 13. Also, see Donald Smith
Armentrout, James Hervey Otey: First Episcopal Bishop of
Tennessee (Knoxville: Episcopal Diocese in Tennessee, 1984),
179.

[18]Maury County, Tennessee, Register's Office, Deed
Book 1, p. 291. The deed was dated 15 November 1842 but was
not filed until 13 September 1843.

such as a Polk family legacy that Rufus Polk, one of the founding brothers, was the first person buried in the cemetery.[19] Rufus Polk died on February 25, 1843, more than five months after the church's consecration. The unfortunate loss of the parish register in a fire that consumed Ashwood Hall in 1874 makes verifying much of the early church membership and such church rites as burial impossible to document. However, the first volume of the register for the years 1842 through 1848 somehow escaped the fire. The parish register indicates that the first interment was a Mrs. Martha Pannill who died May 18, 1842, four months before the church's consecration and nine months before Rufus Polk's death.[20]

Martha Pannill's relationship to Bishop James Otey explains the reason for her being interred at St. John's Courtyard. Martha Pannill was Otey's mother-in-law. In 1816, Isaac Otey of Bedford County, Virginia, sent his sixteen-year-old son James to study at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. After graduating in 1820 with the degree of Bachelor in Belle Lettres, James Otey tutored Latin and Greek at the college while living in Chapel Hill with the Pannill family. He married Eliza

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[19]Trezevant P. Yeatman, "St. John's: A Plantation Church of the Old South," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 10, no. 4 (December 1951):340-341. Hence cited as Yeatman, "A Plantation Church."

[20]St. John's Parish Register, 1842-1848, Yeatman-Polk Collection, Manuscript Section, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Davis Pannill, one of the Pannills' daughters in 1821.[21]

Martha Pannill was either visiting or living with the Oteys

in Columbia when she died in 1842.

The written records concerning Martha Pannill

corroborate her grave marker located at map reference number

B-23 (see map for survey Section B in Appendix H).[22] Martha

Pannill's grave is located within an area where a large

number of Polk family markers are concentrated. For example,

Martha Pannill's headstone is approximately four or five

yards from Rufus Polk's grave marker (B-38).[23] Despite proof

that Martha Pannill's burial predates that of Rufus Polk,

neither of these two people was the first interment at the

graveyard. The inscription on the box tomb in Figure 13,

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[21]Sara S. Morrow, "St. Paul's Church, Franklin,"
Tennessee Historical Quarterly 34, no. 1 (Spring 1975):
3-5.

[22]Throughout the remaining chapters of Part Two,
various individuals and their grave markers from the St.
John's comprehensive survey will be identified using the map
reference number assigned to each grave marker. A gravestone
identified as Narcissa Martin Pillow (D-4) indicates that
this is the gravestone for Narcissa Martin Pillow and that it
can be located on the survey map (Appendix H) for Section D
at marker number 4.

[23]A close relationship between James Otey and the Polks
is evident from the graveyard. First, the geographic
location of the Otey family's graves so close to those of the
Polks might be construed as evidence of a more than cordial
relationship. Second, only a few people outside of the Polks
and their relations through marriage are buried in the
cemetery during the nineteenth century. Most outsiders such
as Martha Pannill and Robert Meston (discussed later in this
chapter) had some direct link to the Polks or were neighbors
who probably worshipped at the church.
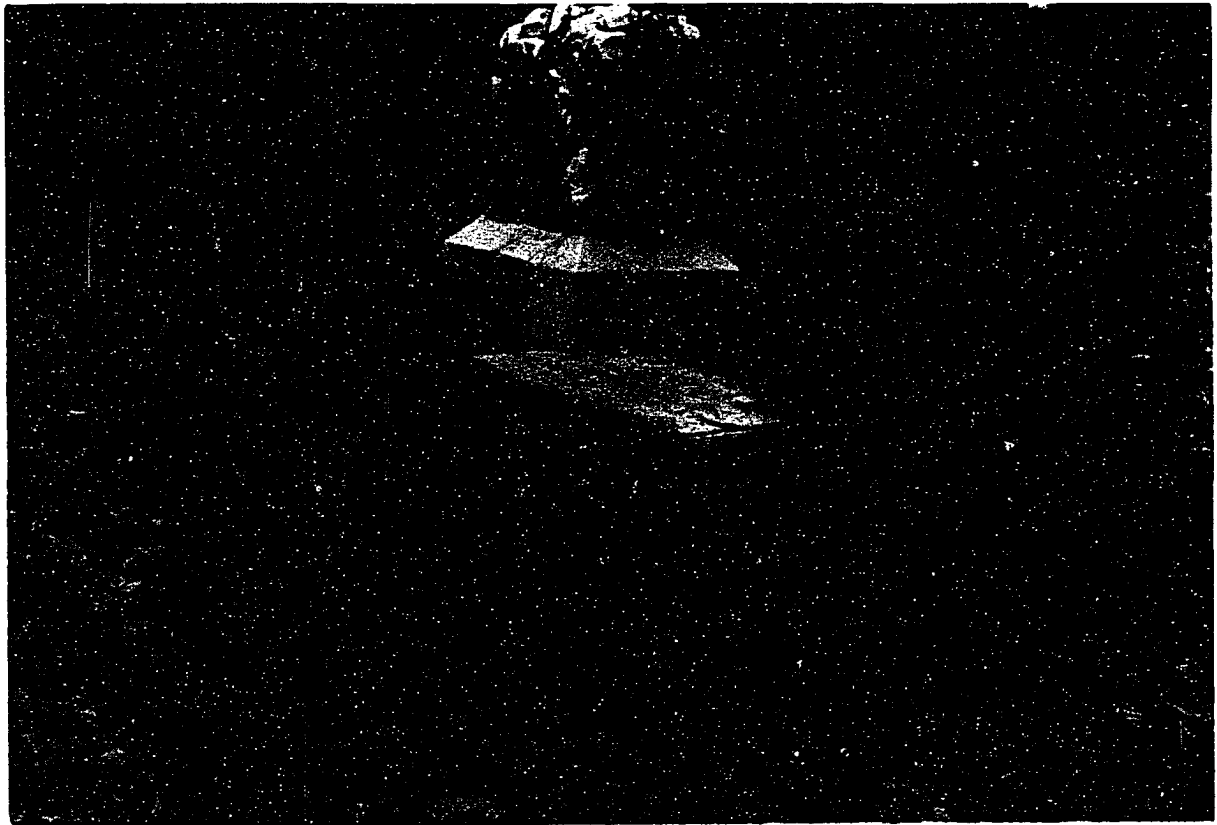
Fig. 13. Box tomb dated 1841 marking the grave for the infant sons of Leonidas and Frances Polk.

located at B-25 in the midst of the Polk markers, indicates that two infant sons of Leonidas and Frances Polk died in 1841. Since the inscription specifies no names for the infants and merely notes their death date as 1841, it indicates that the grave was for twins who died not long after birth or were perhaps stillborn. It seems unlikely that Polk buried his infant sons at another location on his Ashwood Hall plantation and reburied them later at St. John's after the consecration ceremony in the fall of 1842.

Written documentation also discounts claims concerning Rufus Polk's burial. Corroborating the physical evidence from grave markers B-25 and B-23 is a letter to the editor of the Columbia Guardian dated October 15, 1842. The letter's writer, an unidentified visitor from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who witnessed the consecration of St. John's Church, commented that "already do the bones of the servant rest in the same enclosure as those of the master's children and his friends. . . ."[24] The writer's reference includes the graves of Polk's infant sons buried at marker B-25, his friend James Otey's mother-in-law buried at marker B-23, and those of several slaves, although the survey recorded no grave markers for slaves dating earlier than 1849. The Philadelphian's letter establishes that several

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[24]Columbia (TN) Guardian, 15 October 1842, Leonidas Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

burials took place in the graveyard well before Rufus Polk's death in 1843. As the first of the major figures associated with the building of the church to die, Rufus Polk's grave marker is still significant although he was not the first person buried in the graveyard.

The second church founder to be buried at St. John's was Dr. William J. Polk. He received his medical degree from the Philadelphia Medical University and settled in Maury County with his wife in 1836. Although William Polk's plantation was north of the Duck River, the doctor built a home in the city of Columbia to better conduct his medical practice. Polk did not have any direct association with the plantation community established by his half-brothers on the Rattle and Snap tract of land; yet, he contributed to the building of St. John's Church by providing funds for the roof.[25] Identical limestone obelisks (B-82 and B-81), located side-by-side mark the grave of William J. Polk and his wife.

The third brother interred at St. John's was Lucius J. Polk in 1870. He received his education at the University of North Carolina and was the first son to settle on a part of William Polk's Rattle and Snap property in Maury County. Lucius Polk married Mary Ann Eastin, grand niece of Rachel Jackson, in a White House ceremony during the presidency of

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[25]Hawkins, <u>Maury County Cemeteries</u>, 581.

Andrew Jackson. The marriage produced eight children including the two youngest, George and Susan, who were twins. Mary Polk died August 1, 1847, one month after the birth of the twins.[26] Lucius Polk married Frances Ann Pope six years later. Polk constructed, with skilled craftsmen from North Carolina, an impressive Georgian style home called Hamilton Place for his first wife Mary Eastin. Lucius Polk's Hamilton Place was the first of the four homes constructed by the brothers on equal shares of the original Rattle and Snap tract. To make their plantations relatively self-sufficient, Lucius Polk and his brother Leonidas Polk built lumber and grist mills and a hemp factory to make bagging for cotton. Upon his death at Hamilton Place in 1870, Lucius Polk became the first Knight Templer buried in the county.[27]

The last of the church's founders to settle in Maury County and the last to die was George W. Polk. He constructed one of Middle Tennessee's grandest plantation houses called Rattle and Snap after the name of the original tract of land. Polk lost the house and land not long after the Civil War to the Granbery family when he defaulted on the payment of various debts. In 1892, George W. Polk died at

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[26]George Polk, "Some Reflections and Reminiscences," TMs [photocopy], p. 14c, George Washington Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Hence cited as Polk, "Reminiscences."

[27]Columbia (TN) Herald and Mail, Obituary section, 1 October 1870.

Mecklenburg Hall, the St. John's Church rectory.[28] The George W. Polk family plot is located in the northwest corner of survey Section C. Large granite slabs mark the graves of Polk, his wife, children, and family servant Mammy Sue.

Of the five brothers who founded St. John's Episcopal Church, Leonidas Polk is the only one not buried at St. John's. Ironicially, he was also the only brother to express a desire to be buried in the graveyard at St. John's Church. Despite stipulating his burial request in his 1849 will, Leonidas Polk is buried in New Orleans, Louisiana.[29] The circumstances involving Polk's death and burial are directly related to the Civil War. Leonidas Polk accepted a general's commission in the Confederacy from his friend Jefferson Davis following Tennessee's secession from the Union in May 1861.[30] Serving as a corps commander with the Army of the Tennessee, Polk was killed June 14, 1864, while reconnoitering enemy positions during Federal General William T. Sherman's advance on Atlanta. The "Fighting Bishop" was buried initially in a crypt beneath the chancel of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Augusta, Georgia. However, the Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana, for which Polk served as the first missionary

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[28]Yeatman, "A Plantation Church," 341.

[29]Parks, General Leonidas Polk, 111.

[30]Several Polks, in addition to Leonidas Polk, served with the Confederate army including two of George W. Polk's sons and the eldest son of Lucius J. Polk. Dr. William J. Polk's son Lucius E. Polk became a general.

bishop, claimed his body for reburial in Christ Church Cathedral, New Orleans.[31]

During the Civil War, events near Ashwood changed St. John's from being primarily a family cemetery to a community graveyard. The war had a direct impact on the Ashwood district and St. John's Church and Cemetery. When Confederate General John Bell Hood marched the Army of the Tennessee north to Nashville in November 1864, advancing units of Nathan Bedford Forrest's Confederate cavalry and a force of Federals occupying Columbia briefly skirmished along the road from Mt. Pleasant to Columbia. St. John's Church marked the center of this skirmish, known locally as the Battle of Ashwood.[32] At least one of the Confederate soldiers buried in the northeast corner of survey section A, an area referred to as the Confederate Cemetery, died in this skirmish. Private Andrew J. Comer's white marble marker is inscribed, "killed near Ashwood/on the morning/of the 29, Nov. 1864/ Private in Capt Higgs/Scouts Genl Forrest Cav/Born Sept. 15, 1837" (A-30). Comer may have been the dead man reported by another Confederate soldier, John Johnston, who remembered: "We stopped in front of the fine residence of Col. [Andrew] Polk. . . . Just at his front

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[31]Yeatman, "A Plantation Church," 341.

[32]Garrett, "St. John's," 17-18.

gate one of our poor fellows was lying dead, having been shot in the head a few minutes before."[33]

After the skirmish and the subsequent battle at Franklin, St. John's Church served as a hospital for about a dozen men. The wounded and sick were soon taken south with Hood's army during the retreat from Nashville.[34] However, St. John's contains the graves of three soldiers mortally wounded while fighting in Columbia and at least one of them died at the church. Lieutenant John Harper's tombstone reads: "Co. K. 30, ALA.REGT/wounded in Battle at Columbia Ten/Nov. 29, 1864/died at St. John's" (A-17).

St. John's Churchyard once contained the remains of three Confederate generals and two aides killed or mortally wounded in the November 1864 Battle of Franklin, Tennessee. On December 2, 1864, Generals Patrick R. Cleburne, Otho French Strahl, and Hiram Bronson Granbury and aides Colonel R. B. Young and Lieutenant John Henry Marsh were first laid to rest in Columbia's Rose Hill Cemetery.[35] Army chaplin Charles Todd Quintard and the Reverend David Pise, the rector of St. Peter's, performed the burial services. When it was discovered that the bodies were buried in pauper coffins in

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[33]William T. Alderson, Ed., "The Civil War Reminiscences of John Johnston, 1861-1865," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 14, no. 1 (March 1955):69.

[34]Polk, "Reminiscences," 11b.

[35]Maury (TN) Democrat, 18 October 1894.

the potter's field of Rose Hill, Lucius Polk offered space at

St. John's for the reburial of these Confederate officers.

Quintard made arrangements for the December 6 disinterment

and reburial of the generals and their aides at St. John's.

Elijah Neelley, a local undertaker, constructed handsome

walnut coffins for the occasion.[36] Only the graves of

Colonel R. B. Young (A-20) and Lieutenant John Henry Marsh

(A-29) remain at St. John's as all three of the generals were

removed to other locations.[37] Identified on the survey maps

as A-39, the former burial site of the three generals at St.

John's has not been used again.

During the Civil War, Bishop James Otey, like his

friend Leonidas Polk, died and was buried far from the

graveyard at St. John's. Otey originally planned to be

buried with his wife in two crypts built into the under-

croft of St. Paul's, the church he established and

constructed in Franklin, Tennessee; however, these crypts

were never used. Otey's original intention changed following

his December 1835 move to Columbia, Tennessee, where the

people were more receptive to his educational views and

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[36]Garrett, "St. John's," 18. In 1908 Neelley
reminisced that necessity forced him to make the coffins for
the first burial from weatherboard off an old house because
of the great demand for coffins following the battle. By the
sixth of December, according to Neelley, the rush was over
and he had better material available. Columbia (TN) Daily
Herald, 15 January 1908.

[37]In April 1870, Cleburne's remains were exhumed and
sent for reburial to Helena, Arkansas. The condition of

where he was better able to support his family. As the first bishop of the Episcopal Diocese in Tennessee and rector at St. Peter's in Columbia, Otey reaffirmed an earlier acquaintance with Leonidas Polk which developed into a life-long friendship. Otey's wife and two daughters preceded him in death and were buried close to Columbia at St. John's, the family church cemetery established by his colleague and personal friend, Leonidas Polk. Because James Otey died in Memphis while Federal troops occupied that city, his burial at St. John's was delayed until after the war.[38] Otey's elaborately hand-carved sandstone box tomb (B-28) is shaped like a cathedral with a bishop's cope and miter on top (see Fig. 14).

After the reburial of Bishop James Otey at St. John's in September 1865, the graveyard became the burial ground for other bishops and priests of the Episcopal Diocese in Tennessee. James Mathew Maxon, the fourth Bishop of Tennessee and Coadjutor Bishop, was buried at St. John's in November 1948 (A-57). Theodore Nott Barth, the sixth Bishop of Tennessee, was laid to rest here in 1961 (B-22). Like his predecesor, John Vander Horst, the seventh bishop,

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Granbury's grave in 1893 so appalled a delegation of Texans that the remains were removed to Granbury, Texas. In 1901, Strahl's remains were disinterred and taken to Dyersburg, Tennessee. G[eorge] W[ashington] Polk, "St. John's, Ashwood," Tennessee Historical Magazine 7, no. 3 (October 1921):153.

[38]Morrow, "St. Paul's Church," 8-10; 18.

Fig. 14. James Hervey Otey's cathedral-shaped sandstone marker and Eliza Davis Otey's marble gravestone are located next to each other in survey Section B.

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was interred at the cemetery in 1980 (B-20). In addition, Suffragan Bishop William Frederick Gates, Jr. was buried at St. John's in 1987 at reference number A-14. The only rector of St. John's buried in the churchyard is the Reverend Richard N. Newell. Newell was a Roman Catholic priest until 1854 when the church proclaimed the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Unable to accept the proclamation, he joined the Anglican Communion. Seventy-five year old Richard Newell became rector of St. John's in 1872 and remained until his death fifteen years later. His worn and broken slab grave-stone (G-1) near the steps to the door of the sacristy honors Newell's request to be buried as close as practical to the church.[39]

A small plantation church like St. John's never had a large membership; however, it was common for whites and slaves to worship at St. John's as evident from baptism and burial records. Slaves were baptized, attended religious services, and received Christian burials at St. John's. For example, the parish register indicates that 116 family servants were baptized between 1842 and 1848.[40] The Reverend E. H. Cressey, third rector of St. John's Church, reported to the 1848 annual diocese convention that forty-seven blacks and ten whites were baptized while nine whites and three

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[39]Yeatman, "A Plantation Church," 341-342.

[40]St. John's Parish Register, 1842-1848.

blacks were laid to final rest.[41] The following year,

thirty-seven blacks and six whites were baptized, and

six blacks and six whites were confirmed to full church

membership.[42] By 1850, the church's total regular member-

ship was twenty-nine whites and twenty-four blacks.[43]

Located at the back of St. John's Cemetery, south of

the church building, is a part of the graveyard's original

slave section. Although slaves were accorded Christian

burials, it was common practice to either bury them at

separate slave cemeteries or in a segreated section to the

rear of public and church cemeteries.[44] The graves of slaves

are usually marked with fieldstones that, at best, contain

initials. Slaves being buried in such a manner at St. John's

is evident from five unmarked burial depressions in survey

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[41]Journal of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the
Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Tennessee (n.p.
1848), 19.

[42]Journal of the Twenty-First Annual Convention of the
Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Tennessee (n.p.
1849), 23.

[43]Journal of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the
Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Tennessee (n.p.
1850), 27.

[44]The topic of separate burial sections for slaves and
freemen within the common burial ground at Newport, Rhode
Island, is covered in Ann Tashjian and Dickran Tashjian,
"The Afro-American Section of Newport, Rhode Island's Common
Burying Ground," in Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of
American Culture, ed. Richard E. Meyer, with a Foreword by
James Deetz (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Research Press, 1989), 162-
196. The Tashjians' study provides an interesting comparison
to the slave cemeteries and segregated sections of family or
community cemeteries in the South.

Section D. Located at the back of the cemetery, these burial depressions indicate grave sites that once had fieldstone markers. It is possible that these fieldstones were used to build or to repair the stone wall located a few feet from the burial depressions. The annual reports of rectors indicate the existence of more slave burial sites at St. John's than the present number of gravestones. Many more slaves are interred outside the existing enclosure, a circa 1874 stone wall.

Sixteen gravestones and bases for broken tablets remain in the slave section of the cemetery which includes all of survey Section F and the southern most area of Section B. Three of the sixteen slave gravestones are not identifiable. Grave markers B-56 and B-57 are either fieldstones or the remaining bases from broken tabletstones. The tabletstones at B-58 shows no visible evidence of an inscription. The remaining identifiable grave markers are of slaves closely associated with the Polk families such as household servants.

Written documentation combined with the cemetery's material culture artifacts provides additional information about slaves buried at St. John's Cemetery. The comprehensive cemetery survey recorded the following inscription and epitaph from marker F-1: "JINNY/wife of Manuel/ Donelson/ Born 1810. Died/April 15, 1864./Say 'Live for ever, wond/rous King!/Born to redeem, and/strong to save!'/ Then ask the monster/Where's thy sting?'/And, 'where's they victory/

boasting grave?'" George Polk explains more about Jinny

Donelson:

> My mother died August 1, 1847, or less than one month
> after my birth. My twin sister and myself were brought
> up under the fostering care of our old nurse and 'Mammy',
> Virginia or Jinny as she was called an [sic] her daughter
> Sarah Jane. 'Mammy' was a dark copper colored woman,
> with straight black hair, which led to the belief of many
> that she had a strain of Indian blood in her veins, which
> she always affirmed. At all events she was as devoted to
> us as any 'Black Mammy' could have been. . . . 'Mammy' is
> buried in St. Johns [sic] Churchyard. Sarah Jones left
> the old place after the close of the war.[45]

Jinny Donelson is buried in the separate, segregated area to

the rear of the Polk plots. Her husband Manuel or Emanuel

was the regular gardener and carriage driver at Hamilton

Place. According to George Polk, Emanuel "guarded the

precincts of his domain--the garden--especially during

watermelon time, and would allow very few to come any where

near the great pear tree which stood near the center of the

garden."[46] No grave marker exists for Emanuel Donelson who

apparently left Hamilton Place after the war and his

emancipation.

Except for Mammy Sue and Calvin Polk, African Americans

buried in the graveyard of St. John's Episcopal Church are

located in the segregated section. Mammy Sue died in 1873

and is buried in the northeast corner of the George W. Polk

family plot at reference number C-1. The inscription on her

grave marker reads: "Mammy Sue/Died/January 24, 1873/Faithful

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[45]Polk, "Reminiscences," 1a.   [46]Ibid., 17a.

to every trust/The Tender Loving Nurse/of the Eleven Children/of George & Sally Polk." Mammy Sue's granite slab gravestone is the exact style and quality as the rest of the family's burial markers (see Fig. 15). The marble tablet-on-base style headstone of Calvin Polk (B-16) marks the grave of another former slave who remained with one of the Polk families after emancipation. Calvin Polk's marker reads: "In Loving/Memory/Calvin Polk/a slave/faithful and/devoted through/five generations/Died 1913." According to George Polk, Calvin or Cal was the son of Uncle Ike who was the ox driver and coon hunter. Focusing on devotion and faithful service, George Polk's describes Calvin as "honest, faithful and devoted to his white people." Polk's assessment of Calvin continues: "He was field hand, stable boy, hostler and all around reliable servant. . . . [He] attended to his duties during the entire war serving us faithfully, refusing after the war to enter the service of any one not a member of or connected with the family."[47]

Archival research uncovered written evidence for only a third of the slaves buried at St. John's with inscribed gravestones. Not all the evidence from these sources relates directly to an individual slave's grave marker. Some of the information provides supplemental details or makes an indirect connection to one of the descendants. For example,

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[47]Ibid.
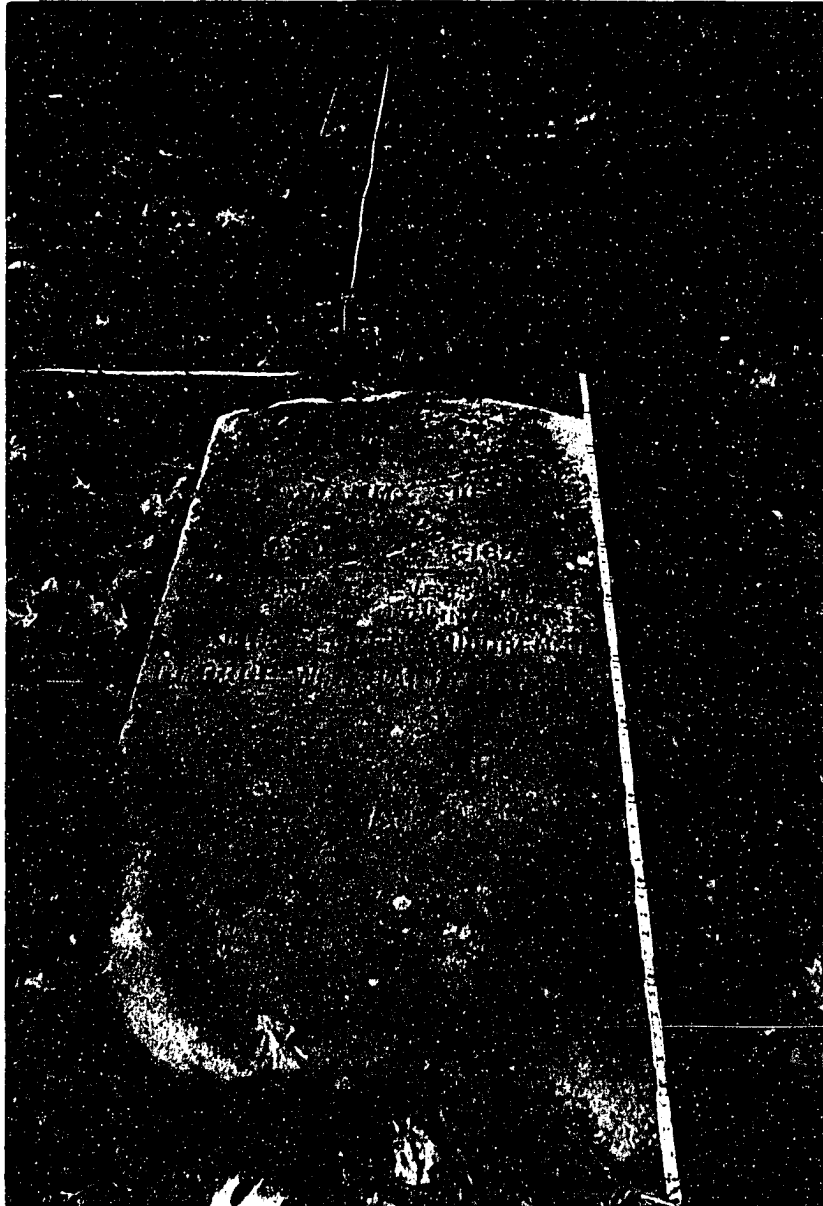
Fig. 15. Family servant Mammy Sue's slab gravestone is located in the George W. Polk family plot at St. John's Cemetery.

records do not mention directly a slave named Eveline Jett, buried at marker number B-47. The information provided by Eveline Jett's headstone indicates that she was born October 10, 1833, in Caswell County, North Carolina. She died at the age of twenty-six years and seven days; therefore, her death date can be calculated as October 17, 1859. The gravestone's epitaph makes reference to a loved one, her husband Jefferson Jett, who was left to mourn.

From George Polk's written reminiscences about ante-bellum life at Hamilton Place, however, a little more is discernible about the Jetts. Of the various forms of entertainment available in the neighborhood, Polk was particularly fond of dancing. He would ride several miles to participate in quadrilles, cotillions, lancers, contra dances, and the old Virginia Reel. According to Polk, "the music was furnished by negro [sic] musicians, usually composed of the fiddler, accompanied by the triangle, tambourine and flute. They acquired wonderful skill in their dance tunes." One of the best fiddlers on the Polk plantations was Davy Littlejohn, who belonged to Polk's uncle, George W. Polk, the owner of Rattle and Snap. Another slave named Simon performed on the triangle. The final member of the musical trio was Andrew Polk's slave Jefferson Jett who played the flute.[48] Polk's reminiscences help clarify that the Jetts were slaves

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[48] Ibid., 8d.

owned by Andrew Polk. Since Eveline was born in North Carolina, she was one of the many slaves brought to Middle Tennessee when Andrew Polk and his wife migrated in the late 1840s. Perhaps the Jetts were part of Rebecca Van Leer Polk's contingent of slaves given to the newly wed couple as a wedding gift by her parents.[49]

Just as combining written documents with the grave markers of slaves on the Polk family plantations provides a useful means to apply historical context to the graveyard's material culture artifacts, history instructors can investigate the topic of immigration in a similar manner. While information on immigrants is gleaned from passenger lists, naturalization records, and the census; the graveyard provides an informal record of immigrant settlement within regions or communities such as Middle Tennessee's rural Ashwood district. Despite limitations, a graveyard ethnic census is an easy means of learning about a community's ethnic settlement patterns.[50]

The surnames on grave markers by themselves are not proof that a decedent was an immigrant. An Irish surname may indicate that the individual was either an immigrant or several generations removed from an ancestor who immigrated

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[49]Parks, General Leonidas Polk, 103.

[50]David Weitzman, Underfoot: An Everyday Guide to Exploring the American Past (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 75.

to America. However, some gravestones provide definite proof
that an individual was an immigrant. For example, the
cemetery at St. John's Episcopal Church contains two grave
markers that attest to the foreign births of their
descendants. The first, a large white marble pedestral
monument to the memory of Edward Sheegog, his wife, and an
infant daughter (A-24), notes Ireland as Edward Sheegog's
birthplace. In this example, a marker with the Irish surname
Sheegog also verifies the man to be an immigrant. The second
example, the grave marker for Robert Meston (A-40), states
that he was "of the ocunty of Surry/England. Died May 17th/
1856, aged 45 years./ Erected by/Lucius J. Polk." Meston was
buried due to the kindness of Lucius Polk, but the gravestone
does not explain why Robert Meston's demise was of concern to
Polk. Likewise, the gravestone does not explain how Meston
came to be in Maury County at the time of his death. Was he
merely traveling through the area while touring America, a
common practice since the colonial period, or was there some
connection between Polk and Meston? The tombstone tells
nothing more about the circumstances behind Lucius Polk's
act of Christian generosity.

Robert Meston's gravestone is a source for many
speculative assumptions concerning the circumstances that
brought the Englishman to his final resting place at St.
John's. Research of individual gravestones often reveals

little other than genealogical information. However, Meston's mysterious burial is explained in other sources. Meston's fate is not revealed in any local nineteenth century newspapers such as the Columbia Guardian or the Columbia Herald. However, a March 1839 letter from Frances Polk, the wife of Leonidas Polk, to her mother-in-law reveals that Lucius Polk recently returned from New Orleans with blooded horses imported from Europe as well as with an Englishman recommended to operate the steam engine powering the Polk brothers' grist and saw mills.[51] Meston was twenty-seven years old when Lucius Polk brought him to Maury County in 1839. Frances Polk expressed some reservations about Robert Meston's recommended abilities: "I hope he will do well & . . . [that] Lucius (who is very kind) will keep him straight." However, she acknowledged that Meston must be given "time to be acquainted with the working of the engine before he can do much."[52]

The shape and carving style of Robert Meston's gravestone and the marker's location within the cemetery are indications of his position as a hired employee. The deeply cut Roman lettering, the shape, and the dimensions of Neston's gravestone are exactly like those used to mark the

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[51]Frances Polk, Ashwood Hall, to Sarah Polk, Raleigh, 25 March 1839, LS, Gale-Polk Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[52]Ibid.

graves of Polk slaves in Section F.[53] The Meston Grave is located at the back of the cemetery, northwest of the slaves buried in survey Section F. Meston's burial site is much farther to the west than any of the markers dating from the 1840s and 1850s. His grave marker is away from the slave section because Meston was a hired white employee. Unlike the Oteys, Meston was not a close family friend; thus, his burial site in survey Section A is also at a distance from the Polks. Although Section A contains many recent twentieth century burials, it was a distinctly separate part of the graveyard at the time of Meston's death.

Studying grave markers in relation to the time periods in which they were made enlightens understanding about the history and culture of distinct time periods, such as Victorian America, and specific geographic regions, such as the Middle Tennessee study area. Because an entire cemetery is a material culture artifact, students gain significant understanding and appreciation for how society responds psychologically and aesthetically to death, burial, and remembrance. Changes in gravestone designs and symbolism reflect similar transitions occurring within the culture

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[53]The gravestone used to mark Meston's burial site is a transitional style found throughout sample cemeteries in the reconnaissance survey region. The transitional gravestone style normally is not found on the graves of whites after 1840; however, its use to mark the graves of slaves continued until the 1860s. Chapter Six discusses the transitional style gravestones in greater detail.

that produced and used these artifacts. As a consequence, funerary art and architecture illustrate discernable cultural trends and patterns of specific historical time periods and geographic regions. The focus of this chapter was to demonstrate how teachers can incorporate a cemetery research project into course instruction through the use of St. John's Church and Cemetery as a case study. The next chapter places Middle Tennessee's rural church cemeteries into a broader historical context with regional and national implications. Chapter Six, in essence, takes the individual gravestones beyond the confines of St. John's Cemetery through broader cultural interpretations.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FUNERARY ART OF ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY,

1841-1900

Gravestone art in Middle Tennessee is composed of many different images and themes derived primarily from both English and American sources. The ceremonial aspects of burial, including marking the place in a church related graveyard, are primarily of English origin. Most of the survey region's early stone carvers used English sources for their images including furniture, engravings, woodcuts, bookplates, and architectural pattern books. Few individual carvers can be personally identified; however, sometimes an individual carver's style is clearly evident from the use of favorite symbols, or subtle differences in lettering and relief rendered repeatedly in his own style. However, nineteenth century gravestone symbolism is often obscured in the twentieth century because the burial ground no longer serves its instructional and moral function.[1]

The preferred site for early American cemeteries was on a hilltop. In the Northeastern United States, the preference for locating cemeteries at the highest or next-to-highest elevation was customary among Native Americans, the French,

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[1]Diana Williams Combs, _Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina_ (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 85-86.

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and the English. The hilltop preference is often interpreted
spiritually as being closer to Heaven; however, a more
practical reason for the preference is that the hilltop was
less arable farmland during a period when the economic
mainstay was farming.[2] The only sample cemetery within the
reconnaissance survey's study area with a hilltop location
is the Bear Creek Presbyterian Church Cemetery in Marshall
County.[3] Yet, other sample cemeteries located on the
relatively flat land of Middle Tennessee's Central Basin are
located on the highest elevation in their immediate area.
For example, St. John's Cemetery's location is on a slight
rise above the surrounding landscape.

Similar to the tradition of hilltop locations, the
geographic orientation of gravestones in an easterly
direction has both practical and spiritual implications.
Inherent in this practice is the sacred belief that on the
Day of Judgement the dead will rise to face Jesus Christ who
will appear from the east.[4] Another explanation is that

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[2]Thomas J. Hannon, "Western Pennsylvania Cemeteries in
Transition: A Model for Subregional Analysis," in Cemeteries
and Gravemarkers; Voices of American Culture, ed. Richard E.
Meyer, with a Foreword by James Deetz (Ann Arbor: U.M.I.
Research Press, 1989), 245. Hence cited as Hannon,
"Cemeteries in Transition."

[3]The church building is located on Bear Creek Road just
south of the Lewisburg-Columbia Highway and about a mile and
a half beyond the community of Mooresville. Bear Creek
Cemetery is on the hillside across the road (west) from the
church building.

[4]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 65.

forces of weathering are less severe from the east; there-
fore, an easterly orientation for tombstones was a wise
choice for tombstone longevity. Cultural geographer
Thomas Hannon, who has studied graveyards throughout the
Northeastern United States believes that the majority of
tombstones are oriented toward the east. The only exceptions
that Hannon noticed were circa 1870s cemeteries from the
rural cemetery movement and the more recent memorial garden
cemeteries.[5] All of the sample cemeteries surveyed in Middle
Tennessee had a distinct east-to-west orientation of grave
markers. For example, the St. John's comprehensive cemetery
survey revealed that: 271 gravestones faced east, 53 faced
west, and 12 faced north.

Burial in an easterly orientation was also common
practice for the solitary grave sites and family burial
grounds existing throughout the survey area.[6] Because of
remoteness and great distances between early settlements
during Tennessee's frontier era, uncovering an isolated
grave along a country road or deep within the forest is
not uncommon. Burial with a crudely marked grave at or near
the place of death was common practice in America during a
region's early frontier years. Isolated burial grounds,

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[5]Hannon, "Cemeteries in Transition," 247.

[6]Of the 435 cemeteries located in Maury County alone,
only forty-one are church related and thirty of these are
rural. See Hawkins, Maury County Cemeteries, 2-5.

nevertheless, gave way to cemeteries as an area's settlement patterns became more permanent. However, families living on homesteads far from towns and villages usually chose as a burial site a corner section of the farm. Many isolated and neglected family burial grounds remain as mute testimony to the past because of land ownership, occupancy, and use changes since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[7]

The appearance of church-related cemeteries in rural Middle Tennessee during the 1830s coincided with the end of the region's frontier era. Nineteenth century rural church cemeteries surveyed within a fifty-mile radius of St. John's follow Colonial American precedents for burial grounds established in the Atlantic Seaboard's cultural hearth zones.[8] Colonial burial grounds used a grid pattern, rows of graves facing the same direction from head to foot, that was merely a continuation of European practices. Until the end of the Civil War, the grid pattern continued with westward progression of the frontier.[9]

A new cemetery morphology, the rural cemetery movement, reached its zenith by the 1870s as an outgrowth of congested urban churchyards and their danger to public health. The rural cemetery movement began in 1831 with the creation of

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[7] Hannon, "Cemeteries in Transition," 244.

[8] Kniffen, "Folk Housing," 10-12.

[9] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, "From Monument to Place: The Vanishing Epitaph," Landscape 17 (Winter 1967-1968):23. Hence cited as Jackson, "The Vanishing Epitaph."

Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts; however, it did not become popular in other cities until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Landscape architects and nurserymen transformed the urban burial ground's geometric rigidity into rustic showplaces for the living through informal plantings, circuitous forms of streets, and cul-de-sacs.[10] The rural cemetery movement indirectly influenced the softening of the rigid rectangular patterns common to all cemeteries since the colonial period. A marked departure from the constrictions of eighteenth century graveyards, middle and late nineteenth century Victorian graveyards inspired the living as well as housed the dead.[11] After 1800, memorializing the dead with mourning related jewelry, embroidery, lithographs, and portraits fostered a visual and conceptual appreciation for the pastoral burial site. This cult of memory captured the popular imagination and helped encourage acceptance of the rural cemetery movement.[12]

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[10] Neil Harris, "The Cemetery Beautiful," in Passing: The Vision of Death in America, ed. Charles O. Jackson (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 103-106. Also see Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature," in Material Life in America 1600-1860, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 506-507.

[11] James J. Farrell, Inventing the American Way of Death 1830-1920 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 110-120.

[12] James Stevens Curl, The Victorian Celebration of Death (Devon: David and Charles, 1972), 38-45. Also see Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, "The Pattern of

The rural cemetery movement's influence on softening eighteenth century geometric patterns is seldom evident in the nineteenth century rural graveyards of Middle Tennessee. However, Middle Tennessee's rural church graveyards illustrate a transition in gravestone styles between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These transitional gravestones are part of the cultural patterns and traits from the Atlantic coast cultural hearths which moved westward. Middle Tennessee's early grave markers, especially the transitional gravestones, are either made from New England slate or from indigenous sandstone. Reconnaissance surveys of sample cemeteries within the study area found examples of the transitional style grave marker for gravestones dating until the middle of the nineteenth century. Although used to mark the graves of whites until the 1840s, the style, form, and material of the transitional gravestone in figure 16 continued to be used to mark the graves of Polk slaves until the 1860s.

The transitional shape and carving style for headstones and footstones occurs repeatedly for slaves and some whites buried at St. John's from 1842 to 1864. The earliest slave gravestone at St. John's Cemetery is for Agnes (F-10) who died July 14, 1849, while the latest is Jinny Donelson (F-1) who died April 15, 1864. The same style of gravestone also

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Late Nineteenth Century Funerals," in Passing: The Vision of Death in America. ed. Charles O. Jackson (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 95-101.

marks the graves of some whites buried in the 1840s and 1850s
such as the circa 1842 headstone and footstone of Martha
Pannill (B-23 and B-30), shown in figure 16, and the circa
1856 headstone and footstone for Robert Meston (A-40 and
A-39).

The relationship of Middle Tennessee's transitional
gravestones to colonial antecedents in the church cemeteries
of Charleston, South Carolina, and the Puritan burial grounds
of New England, is significant. Historian Diane Combs argues
that the New England style of colonial gravestone carving was
transplanted in the eighteenth century to Charleston first
through commercial contacts and later through the southward
migration of various New England stone carvers.[13] Middle
Tennessee's grave markers from the 1810s through 1830s
contain elements of form and style typical to the Carolina
origins of the region's early settlers. However, these early
nineteenth century gravestones lack the symbolism associated
with their colonial antecedents. None of the gravestones
from the sample cemeteries display the death's head, cherub,
or willow and urn images associated with the grave markers of
colonial New England and South Carolina.[14] Although the
willow and urn images do not appear together on gravestones,
they are present as separate motifs for gravestones such as
the weeping willow relief on the Caroline Anderson headstone

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[13]Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 22-23.

[14]Deetz, "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn, and Willow,"
28-37. Also see Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 20-30.

Fig. 16. Transitional gravestone style used to mark the graves of both whites and blacks in the sample cemeteries until the 1840s; however, the style is persistent until the 1860s for slave grave markers. (Martha Pannill headstone in St. John's Cemetery)

(F-7) and similar weeping willow examples on other grave-
stones surveyed at sample cemeteries (see Fig. 17). The urn
motif is a recurring theme for Victorian funerary art, but it
is most commonly displayed in the surveyed cemeteries as
sculptures on monuments, obelisks, and shafts rather than as
relief carvings on tablet-on-base and tabletstone style grave
markers.

Transitional gravestones depart from older, familiar
gravestone designs brought to Middle Tennessee from the
cultural hearth zones of early settlers. As a consequence,
the transitional grave marker reflects the movement away from
the stark realities of death in colonial American pronounced
in the death's head effigy of Puritan gravestones. The
religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening strengthened
death's stark reality along the early nineteenth century
frontier; however, the revival's impact on funerary art
declined as Victorian romanticism began to dominate cemetery
architecture, design, and motifs after 1840.[15] Victorian
society's emphasis on using emotional funerary art to express
its belief in the inherent goodness of mankind is often
implied in the epitaphs inscribed on these transitional
stones. For example, the circa 1849 headstone for Frances
Anderson (F-8) reads: "Though lost to sight/To memory dear."
The headstone for Joe Parmer (F-2) illustrates another common
epitaph which mentions a bereaved loved one left to mourn:

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[15]Farrell, Inventing the American Way to Death, 35.

Fig. 17. The weeping willow motif displayed on transitional style headstone for a Polk slave. Note similarities between the above stone at that for Martha Pannill in figure 16. (Caroline Anderson marker in St. John's Cemetery)

"Died April 21, 1863/in the triumph of/faith. An affectionate/wife is left to mourn." Such sentimentalism reflects the Victorian period's revolt against the rationalism of the Age of Enlightenment with its emphasis on reason and intellect.[16] The transitional gravestones in Middle Tennessee cemeteries establish a bridge between the earlier eighteenth century iconography of the cultural hearth zones and the nineteenth century's Victorian sentiment.

Grave markers for whites buried after 1840 reflect the rich, complex legacy of commemorating death that emerged after the transitional phase of Middle Tennessee's earlier gravestones and those of the Polk slaves. Victorian America between 1840 and 1900 nurtured the idea of a final resting place where homely piety and heavenly reward were inextricably bound. Women's publications such as Good Housekeeping, Collier's Weekly, and Godey's apotheosized the American woman, according to Diane Combs, "as a madonna of the hearth." Combs asserts that Victorian popular arts and literature "extended the framework of domestic felicity to embrace a long-awaited heavenly home."[17]

The Victorian Era's new designs and materials for funerary art and architecture coincided with the transportation revolution that linked the former frontier with

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[16]Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Avon Books, 1978), 231-243.

[17]Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 4.

the established urban sections of the East.[18] The
Tennessee and Alabama Railroad constructed a line from
Columbia to Nashville in the early 1850s. The railroad
company also constructed a branch line from Columbia to Mt.
Pleasant which traversed the Ashwood plantations of Lucius
and Leonidas Polk.[19] Some of the grave markers at St. John's
Cemetery dating after 1850 carry the names of carvers or
monument companies from distant cities such as New York,
Philadelphia, and St. Louis. For example, the Annie P.
Branch monument (D-3) identifies the maker as "Rose & Neill,
N.Y." in the bottom right-hand corner. Two identical marble
shafts produced by "L. H. & J. B. Fuller/St. Louis" mark the
graves of William J. Polk (B8-2) and his wife Mary Rebecca
Long Polk (B-81). In the rural church graveyards of Middle
Tennessee, the grave markers of economically prosperous white
families became more and more elaborate, romantic, and
ostentatious between 1840 and 1900.

Railroad access directly influenced the size and type
of material used for grave markers in the local cemeteries.
White limestone and marble, representing the hope and joy of
resurrection, replaced the sandstone and slate used for
earlier grave markers.[20] A preference for limestone during

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[18]Hannon, "Cemeteries in Transition," 247-251.

[19]Polk, "Reminiscences," 13.

[20]Barbara Jones, Design for Death (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1967), 214-233.

the 1850s changes completely to marble by the 1870s and

1880s. Marble monuments, shafts, and obelisks actually began

to gain popularity in the cemeteries for St. John's Episcopal

Church and Zion Presbyterian Church[21] soon after completion

of the railroad. Granite markers, a popular material for

urban cemeteries in the early 1880s, did not make a serious

impact on the study area until 1890 which indicates that the

popularity of older forms of material culture lasted longer

in rural America than urban America.[22] Changes in stone

material also parallel changes in taste as to size and shape

of burial plots and grave markers.

The grid burial pattern originally used in the rural

church cemeteries of Middle Tennessee was a continuation of

the late eighteenth century practice of subdividing a burial

ground into uniform, square lots. The distinct grid patterns

at Zion and St. John's Cemeteries in Maury County illustrate

the study area's tendency to plan burial grounds in squared

plots. Sometimes distinguished by surrounding low copings or

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[21]Located two miles northwest of St. John's, Zion
Presbyterian Cemetery contains over 800 grave markers.
Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish descent migrated westward
from the Williamsburg district of South Carolina and
established the Zion community in 1807. Susquicentennial
Celebration, 1807-1907 (Zion, TN: Zion Presbyterian Church,
1907), 7-8. To find Zion Presbyterian Church and Cemetery,
go west from the city of Columbia on Highway 99 for six miles
and then turn south on Zion Road. The church and cemetery
are a mile farther, on the right-hand side of the road.

[22]Margaret M. Coffin, Death in Early America: The
History and Folklore of Customs and Superstitions of Early
Medicine, Funerals, Burials, and Mourning (Nashville: Thomas
Nelson, Inc., 1976), 166.

chain posts about the perimeter, these plots are sized to fit a family grouping. The concept for the family plots in St. John's Churchyard originated with James Hillhouse's landscape design for the New Haven (Connecticut) Cemetery. Hillhouse's unique concept established a carefully planned design of parallelogram shaped family plots with railings to designate ownership. The proprietor's name was marked on the railing around the plot and the grave markers were located in the center.[23] Family plots in Victorian cemeteries are not designated with Hillhouse's railings; instead, the plots are delineated by means of low marble copings or chain posts.

Low marble coping and chain posts distinguish the family plots at St. John's. Although the plots are either rectangles or squares, they are not all the same exact size. The Granbery family plot in survey Section A contains thirteen grave markers dating between 1882 and 1977. The low marble coping visible in figure 18 designates the Granbery plot. Three foot high posts, probably used to support a chain that is no longer present, designate similar family plots in Sections B, C, and D. For example, George W. Polk's family plot, extending seventy-five feet north to south and about forty feet east to west, is distinctly discernable on the survey map for Section C (see section map in Appendix H). Typical of rural cemetery movement, the family plots in

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[23]Jackson, "The Vanishing Epitaph," 23.

Fig. 18. The Granbery family plot at St. John's is designated by a surround-
ing low marble coping.

Sections B and C include ornamental trees such as shortleaf pines, chinquapin oaks, and copper beeches.

The tacit recognition of the family through the division of the cemetery into family plots, or at least some parts of it as in St. John's, resulted in a new kind of marker to designate the area. These grave markers were larger, more imposing, and more individual in design. As symbols of wealth and taste, these obelisks, draped urns, columns, statues, or shafts were to be admired and envied. The most conspicuous feature of the inscription was the family name such as POLK or MARTIN that seemed almost baronial in its simple elegance and precision (see Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). Inscribed around the base of these large family monuments or on smaller individual headstones were the names and dates of deceased family members. Inscriptions on either the family marker or the separate headstones often contain only the names and dates with a brief Biblical citation. The circa 1854 MARTIN monument (D-4) in Figure 20 includes the names and dates for George Martin and his wife Narcissa Pillow Martin and a short Biblical quote: "He had this testimony, that he/pleased God Heb. XI.5."

Tombstone citations were either dispensed with or they ceased to point to a moral during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Instead, the reference focused on the individual's death as a sleep, rest, or returning to the
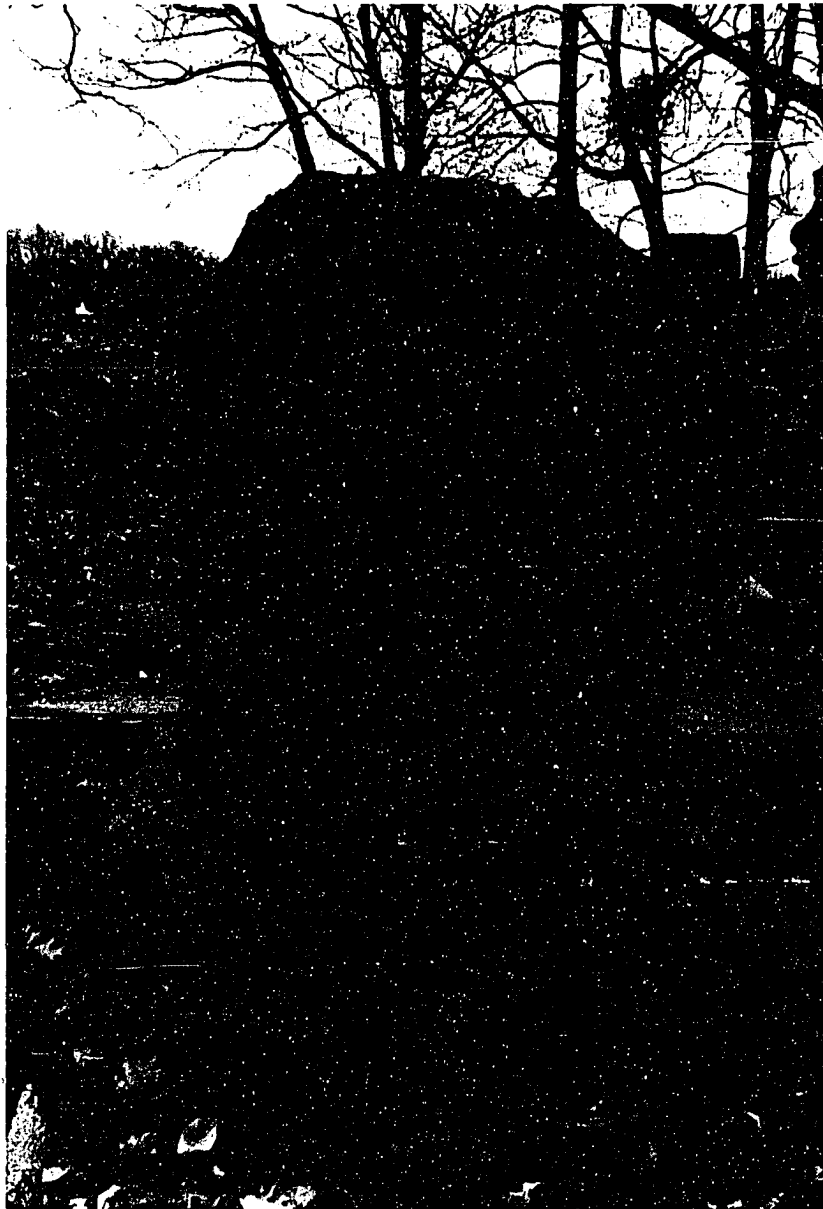
Fig. 19. Polk family marker at reference number B-73 denoting one of several rectangular family plots at St. John's Cemetery.

Fig. 20. The elaborate Martin family marker is inscribed plainly with the names and dates of George and Narcissa Martin and a short Biblical quote.

fold. The large marble shaft marking the grave of Mary

Rebecca Long Polk (B-81), who died September 20, 1885,

has neither a long epitaph nor a Biblical message. The

inscription states after her name and dates "At rest." By

the end of the nineteenth century, the exhortative quality

of eighteenth and early nineteenth century tombstone motifs

and epitaphs all but vanished as grave markers ceased to be

a public warning about death; instead, grave markers were

assertions of family wealth and piety.[24] The last line of

the epitaph to Martha Louise Sheegog (A-24) states, "And thou

art now at rest;/Not lost, but gone before." The spiritual

optimism about a heavenly reunion with the departed

exemplifies funerary iconography's attempt to enfold death

in homey comfort. The gravestone anticipates and prepares

the family for the eventual reunion in a heavenly home filled

with domestic order and harmony.[25]

The relationship between the reconstituted family

in Heaven and the cherished ideals of domesticity, a

characteristic of the rural cemetery movement in urban

America, coincided with the late nineteenth century's

attempts by ministers and female writers to buttress the

family unit against the ever increasing complexity of

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[24]Ibid., 23-24.

[25]Edmund V. Gillon, _Victorian Cemetery Art_ (New York: Dover, 1972), 70-71.

industrial society.[26] In rural environments like Middle Tennessee's Ashwood district, the industrial threat to rural agribusinesses was negligible. Like other Victorian Americans, the residents of the rural Ashwood district perceived the home as a loving, protective sanctuary of duty, patriotism, and piety which contrasted sharply with the sanguine world of business. Victorian men continued to glorify women for their stronger domestic sentiments.[27] In the cemetery at St. John's, this domesticity appears in the form of monuments that incorporated sleeping babies, female mourners, and images of last farewell.[28]

Historian Ann Douglas has argued that Victorian America's attitude towards children emerged out of a concern over rapid changes due to technological advances, urbanization, expansive entrepreneurship, and a swelling population. Seventeenth and eighteenth century adults perceived children as inherently depraved until the advent of a religious conversion experience. In contrast, the

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[26]Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America; Culture and Society in the Gilded Age, American Century Series, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Hillard Wang, 1982), 129. Also see Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 188.

[27]Nancy Cott, ed., Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., Inc., 1972), 12.

[28]Gillon, Victorian Cemetery Art, 64-80.

Victorian child represented innocence and a separateness from the adult insincerity of the marketplace.[29]

The concept of childhood innocence, because of its close association with the home, was a cherished value in Victorian America. Society assigned to women the role of counteracting the competitive, unchristian economic sphere where men toiled. The unbreakable bond between women and the home provided men with a safe, secure, and pure sanctuary from the workplace.[30] Children solidified their position in the Victorian social order through death because of their close association with the cult or domesticity. Dying before entering the adult marketplace, in essence untouched by outside forces, insured children with perpetual purity. Consequently, funerary art portrayed children in a manner that would have not been accorded them if they were adults.[31]

Children's grave markers assumed a variety of forms. The most common markers appeared plain with images such as doves, lambs, and flowers. For example, the circa 1867 white marble tablet-on-base marker for ten-month-old Cleora L. Polk (B-77) includes a relief sculpture of a lamb, the symbol of

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[29]Douglas, Feminization of American Culture, 240.

[30]Ibid. Also see Gwendolyn Wright, Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983; Random House, Pantheon Books, 1981), 108-109.

[31]Ellen Marie Snyder, "Innocents in a Worldly World: Victorian Children's Gravemarkers," in Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture, ed. Richard E. Meyer, with a Foreword by James Deetz (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Research Press, 1989), 11-13.

Jesus Christ, resting on a pillow (see Fig. 21). The pairing
of a child's grave marker with the lamb, common in rural
cemeteries, symbolized that children were close to nature.[32]
Nearby is a limestone grave marker for Robin ap. William Polk
(B-80) who died in 1848. In Figure 22, a large rose relief
appears on the front of the tombstone symbolizing the promise
of regeneration synonymous with Christian assurance of
salvation. The rose motif also often used in conjunction
with children, first appeared in the eighteenth century as
high funerary art.[33] Here, however, the rose or rosebud
affirms the image of childhood innocence. The rose, plucked
by God for perpetual cultivation in the heavenly garden, is
presented without thorns since only after man's fall from
grace did the rose take on thorns, a reminder of man's
committed sins.[34]

The three-dimensional sculptured representations of
children on grave markers are rarely discovered in rural
cemeteries. Indeed, motifs employing such elaborate
sculptures are also rare in urban cemeteries because such
memorials were more expensive than plain markers. At St.
John's, for example, the finely detailed sculpture of a
sleeping child displayed in Figure 23 is uncommon in rural

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[32]Ibid., 18. Also see Farrell, Inventing the American
Way of Death, 30-35.

[33]Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 201-205.

[34]Snyder, "Innocents in a Worldly World," 13-14.

Fig. 21. The relief sculpture of a lamb on a child's gravestone symbolized Christ and children's closeness to nature. (Cleora L. Polk marker in St. John's Cemetery)

Fig. 22. The large rose motif on the gravestone of a six-year-old boy symbolizes the innocence of childhood.
(Robin ap. William Polk marker in St. John's Cemetery)

Fig. 23. The sleeping child sculpture portrays a recurring Victorian theme emphasizing childhood innocence in the simple act of sleeping. (Ellen Cantrell Polk marker in St. John's Cemetery)

church cemeteries. Due to the expense of sculpturing child
motifs, such gravestones were only available to affluent
middle and upper class families. Consequently, the discovery
of this motif on two-year-old Ellen Cantrell Polk's marker
(B-44) indicates that the Polks represent a more affluent
class within the social and economic structure of the survey
region, especially the Ashwood district. While any form of
sculptured child motif is rare, the sleeping child on Ellen
Polk's circa 1895 tombstone is the most common form of three-
dimensional child sculpture. The child motif reflects a
common Victorian theme which emphasizes childhood innocence.
Few Victorian images were as symbolic and romantic as the
simple act of a sleeping child.[35]

Gravestones of slave children buried at St. John's
Cemetery between 1849 and 1864 do not reflect the common
Victorian imagery. The tabletstones for slave children
located in survey Seciton F are similar in size, shape,
and style to their adult counterparts (see Fig. 24). For
example, the headstone for one-year-old Martha Anderson (F-9)
is similar to the headstone marking the grave of her mother
Caroline (F-7), except for the weeping willow relief
sculpture on the mother's stone. However, the similarity
between grave markers for slave children and adults is a
pattern with the pre-1840 transitional style grave markers
of whites surveyed in other cemeteries of the study area.

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[35]Ibid., 14-18.

Fig. 24. Grave markers for slave children, the two sunken stones, are similar in size and shape to the adult gravestone in the foreground. (Anderson family grave markers in St. John's Cemetery)

For example, the grave markers for children and adults buried at Bear Creek Cemetery between 1818 and 1830 match each other in size, shape, and lettering style.

Bear Creek's transitional style gravestones sustain an earlier contention that eighteenth century adults regarded children differently than Victorian adults. The painted portraits of pre-Revolutionary American families display images of children as smaller versions of adults. Children are not perceived in the eighteenth century as being distinctly separate from the adult world.[36] Like the paintings of children, their grave markers were usually indistinguishable from their adult counterparts.[37] Remembrance, meditation, prayer, and mourning in the home assumed a physical reality within the symbolism of cemetery architecture. As a microcosm of the community, the value placed on domestic virtues applied to death itself through the selective manipulation of funerary art.

The most widely employed and enduring memorial motif for adults is the urn, which is a memorial within the monument itself. Interwoven with the acts of death and commemoration, the urn motif's spiritual evocation inspires

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[36]Dickran Tashjian and Ann Tashjian, Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1974), 142.

[37]Martha V. Pike and Janice Gray Armstrong, A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America (Stony Brook: Museums at Stony Brook), 1980.

the living. The ashes of the dead are symbolically contained within the urn; however, the resurrection theme of the epitaph implies that on the Day of Judgment the ashes will be reconstituted. The appearance of the urn motif throughout the sample cemeteries originated in the Carolina background of many of the region's early settlers. Introduced to Charlestonians in the 1790s, this form of gravestone art, with origins in Greek and Roman antiquity, often included a woman mourner in a gesture of grief.[38] For example, the rear panel of an urn-topped shaft monument for Frances Ann Polk (B-9) contains a relief sculpture of a woman mourner (see Fig. 25.) Figure 26 displays an elaborate example of the woman mourner motif: a five-foot-tall, three-dimensional statue (A-32) located in the southwest corner of the Wright-Sheegog family plot.[39]

Assimilating neoclassical motifs such as the urn into mortuary art produced numerous variations. In the coastal areas of Georgia and South Carolina, the urn appears separately on locally carved gravestones dating from the last two decades of the eighteenth century.[40] The earliest

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[38]Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 183-185.

[39]The three-dimensional statue of a woman mourner is as uncommon for a rural cemetery as the three-dimensional sculptures of children. Like the lone example of the sleeping child gravestone motif, the appearance of the woman mourner statue suggests a higher social and economic class for most of the people buried at the St. John's Churchyard.

[40]Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 194-195.

Fig. 25. A common motif with origins in Greek and Roman antiquity is the mourning woman displayed above in relief on a rear panel of a shaft monument. (Frances Ann Polk marker in St. John's Cemetery)
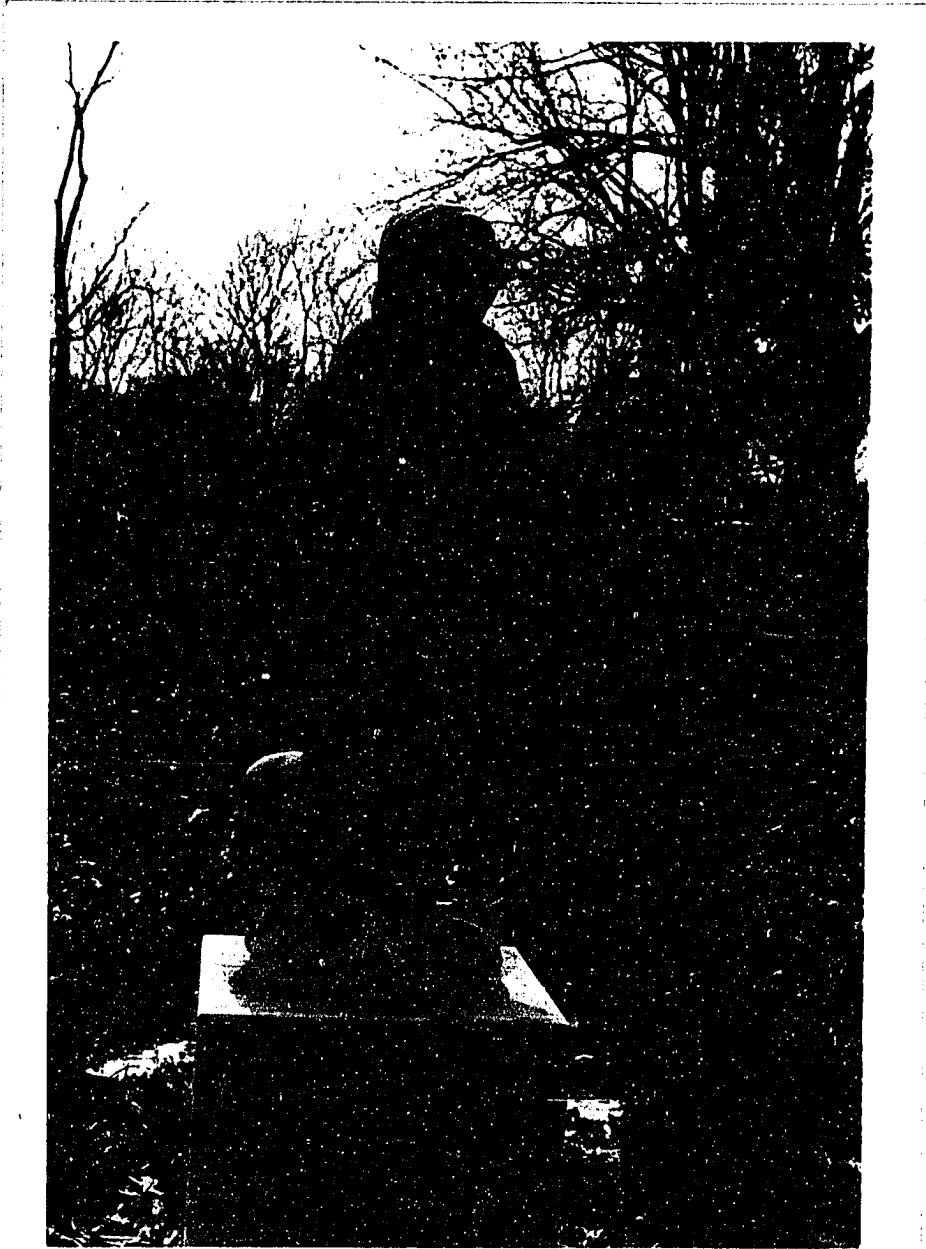
Fig. 26. The woman mourner statue is a rare form of funerary art for rural cemeteries. (Wright-Sheegog family plot in St. John's Cemetery)

example in the cemetery at St. John's is a sculptured urn

sitting atop the limestone monument for Mary Ann Polk (B-35)

who died in 1847 (see Fig. 27). The corresponding use of

drapery in figure 28 implies a resurrection theme that

emulates the celestial glory that would radiate when raising

the draped curtain on the Day of Judgment.[41] Dating from the

1860s, draped urn sculptures appear on the Mary Martin Pillow

monument (C-6) and the identical twin shafts marking the

graves of William J. and Mary Rebecca Polk (B-82 and B-81).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Christian

theme of salvation exemplified by the cross took precedence

over the urn in the graveyard at St. John's. The grave

markers for William (B-33) and Rebecca Polk (B-32), circa

1902 and 1875 respectively, are sculptured crosses. Her

white marble monument is carved to represent the tree limbs

in the shape of a cross with a wreath of roses and lilies for

added symbolism of impermanence and the purity of the Virgin

Mary (see Fig. 29). Aligning human mortality with the

imagery of a cross made from cut tree limbs asserts the

metaphorical severing of family ties in death is less

painful because of the Christian belief in the resurrection

and eternal life.[42] William Polk's simple granite cross

standing on a base is less symbolic; however, the cross motif

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[41]2Ibid., 184-185.

[42]Gillon, <u>Victorian Cemetery Art</u>, 90-94.

Fig. 27. The sculptured urn atop an obelisk or shaft monument appeared during the second half of the nineteenth century as a mainstay of Victorian funerary art. (Mary Ann Polk marker in St. John's Cemetery)

Fig. 28. Drapery, often used in conjunction with the urn motif, implies a resurrection theme. (Mary Rebecca Polk marker in St. John's Cemetery)

Fig. 29. A cross motif of carved tree limbs symbolizes death severing family ties but also the Christian belief in resurrection and eternal life. (Rebecca Polk marker in St. John's Cemetery)

leaves no question about how the gravestone is to be interpreted.

The fundamental preoccupation of family life by the middle of the nineteenth century extended to death and commemoration. Since the material prosperity created by the workplace was at odds with nineteenth century Christian ideals, Victorian America faced the dilemma of Heaven versus the shop.[43] Men admonished the qualities perceived in female domesticity which offset the corruptible effects of the world of business into which Victorian males ventured. Consequently, the home and the workplace were separate and distinct entities, especially in suburban communities.[44] Likewise, cemetery funerary art expressed the Victorian male's desire to keep his family and home intact. The grave site became an extension of the home environment.[45] Providing furnishings for prolonged visits and picnicking at the family grave site were not considered morbid, ostentatious, or overtly sentimental practices of communing with the dead. Such activities represented traditional communal values of piety and reverence for the dead. The monument marking a burial place symbolized the family's spiritual reunion and softened the incomprehensible,

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[43]Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 208.

[44]Wright, Building the Dream, 96-113.

[45]Curl, Victorian Celebration of Death, 88-90.

irrevocable loss of a loved one. Separation was a prelude to an eternal family bliss.[46]

The idea of the unbroken household was more than an urban phenomena; it was also a recurring theme disseminated to the rural church cemetery through women's and family periodicals from the 1830s to the 1890s. Mourning prints inspired the Victorian motifs displayed on the gravestones in nineteenth century cemeteries.[47] The sample cemeteries surveyed in Middle Tennessee illustrate that a gravestone transition occurred as the colonial influences of cultural hearth zones declined and the popularization of Victorian images filtered down to the grave markers of the region's rural church cemeteries during the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[46]Combs, Early Gravestone Art, 189-191. Also see Gillon, Victorian Cemetery Art, 64-80.

[47]Period lithographs are illustrated in Pike, A Time to Mourn, 54-69.

PART THREE

PRESERVING THE MATERIAL CULTURE

OF RURAL CEMETERIES

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONSERVATION TECHNIQUES FOR

RURAL CEMETERIES

As a significant material culture artifact, the rural cemetery is an important instructional tool for heritage education. However, the rural church cemetery faces several threats to its survival such as the spread of suburban development, neglect when church affiliation ceases, and abandonment when a rural community's population moves away. The teacher who uses the rural church cemetery as a teaching resource needs a working knowledge of the techniques for preserving rural cemetery art and architecture. Without knowing how to preserve, the very resource teachers need will disappear. Information on stone conservation technologies applicable to grave markers is limited; however, research is in progress to develop better techniques for stone conservation. As a result, professional stone conservators, anticipating better solutions in the near future, suggest that it is best to use methods of care and repair that are neither radical nor irreversible. Grave markers are seriously damaged when out-dated or improper conservation techniques are applied. For example, efforts to remove graffiti from marble using acids in turn causes the marble to deteriorate.[1]

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[1] The Boston Experience, 16.

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Consequently, this chapter reviews the principal factors of cemetery conservation: preparing a master plan, raising funds, conducting regular maintenance, and using specific gravestone preservation techniques.

After completing a comprehensive cemetery survey such as the one for St. John's Episcopal Church Cemetery, the preparation of a conservation conditions report is the first step in planning and decision making process for the cemetery's preservation. The severity of each gravestone's condition, as indicated in the conservation conditions report, determines which grave markers require priority treatment.[2] Grave markers are assigned to one of three priority categories based on the risk of losing material due to accelerated decay, instability of the carving or inscription, and imminent danger of theft or negligence. First, if a gravestone is unlikely to survive another year exposed to the elements without some major damage to its historic fabric resulting, it is classified as needing urgent treatment. Second, if repair can be delayed three to five years, the gravestone is classified as needing immediate treatment. Third, a gravestone requiring only cosmetic work that can be delayed at least five years is classified as needing future treatment. Since stone deteriorates slowly, changing conditions are systematically recorded with periodic surveys to determine the extent of deterioration.[3]

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[2]Ibid., 29.   [3]Ibid., 73-74.

Conditions affecting stone deterioration vary from one cemetery to another; therefore, no single master plan is best for all preservation projects. A comprehensive survey is necessary to develop the master plan for preserving a rural graveyard. First, recommendations based on the conditions report are developed regarding the course of action for restoring and protecting gravestones, landscape features, and structures before launching into any actual preservation activities. Second, budgets are prepared to accompany planning recommendations so that restoration, conservation, and maintenance projects can be phased in stages as funding permits. Third, fund-raising strategies are developed around the master plan to provide a basis for developing annual capital improvement budgets and grant proposals.[4] The master plan serves as a prospectus to show potential supporters the results of a solid, well conceived preservation planning process.

Planning a cemetery preservation project coincides with developing strategies to raise funds that continue to be implemented and revised throughout the various stages of the cemetery's master plan. Funding is a common, critical problem facing rural cemetery preservation regardless of whether the burial ground is church related or nonsectarian. There is no national funding program for cemetery preservation because gravestones are neither buildings nor museum

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[4]Ibid., 30.

artifacts. Likewise, it is hard to generate interest and financial support from overburdened local government agencies. Communities or cemetery associations sometimes procure funds through private, philanthropic or commercial sources.[5] Grant money, an important source of funding, is often pursued from private foundations, especially those headquartered locally since they may restrict funding to local projects. Also, state historic preservation offices can advise of applicable government grants.

All criteria must be carefully studied to meet a grantor's special requirements regardless of whether the source of grant money be through a public or private agency. For example, documenting significant cemetery features, historic events associated with the site, and prominent people buried at the graveyard helps when applying for grant monies. Although National Register of Historic Places designation of a graveyard not contiguous with a related historic building or event is unusual, any National Register listing related to the cemetery, such as the church building or grave of a prominent individual, is mentioned in grant applications.[6] Granting agencies also want to know about available community resources before committing themselves to funding a project. A grantor, for example, may offer

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[5]Elizabeth Morse-Cluley, "Cemetery Art Fights for Life," Historic Preservation 33, no. 4 (July-August 1981): 32-33.

[6]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 20-21.

matching funds based on a ratio of how much the local organization or community can raise itself.[7]

Other sources of fund-raising are necessary since grant monies are limited and competitive. Creative approaches at the local level include the solicitation of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a community historical society, and businesses or industries that might benefit from the good public relations. A brochure about the cemetery's significance, the scope of the preservation project, and the anticipated cost helps to sell the project to potential contributors. Descendants of people buried in the graveyard are another possible source for funds. An offer to share information regarding a family history, to provide copies of epitaphs, or to photograph family tomb-stones may bring about a positive response form descendants. Although activities such as selling note cards, guides, rubbings, or photographs do not raise significant funds, such activities do help educate the public and increase awareness about the project.[8]

Initial work surveying and cleaning a cemetery can begin in conjunction with planning and fund raising. Workers surveying and cleaning the cemetery must be careful to note broken fragments, missing and buried gravestones, evidence of walks, foundation remains, and even plant materials. The

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[7]The Boston Experience, 75.

[8]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 21-22.

location of derelict materials might indicate missing grave-
stones, walls, or building foundations. All volunteers
involved with the cleanup need to be taught not to throw
anything away without expert evaluation.[9] Untrained,
inexperienced volunteers can cause permanent damage to a
cemetery; therefore, it is essential to provide training
workshops. Regardless of a project's size and complexity, a
coordinator is needed to set timetables, schedule volunteers,
assign appropriate tasks to volunteers, and check to see that
each task is accomplished within a reasonable time so as not
to delay subsequent steps in the process. The coordinator is
responsible for insuring that each volunteer understands the
goals and priorities of the project and his or her role
within the overall plan.[10]

Before proceeding with any cleaning or repair work on
gravestones, workers note each grave marker's physical
condition, especially if the stone is tilted, sunken, or
fallen over. They record any damage to a marker's form, such
as the loss of a shoulder or tympanum, indicating the number
of fragments and where broken pieces are located. A stone
conservator should assess the condition of grave markers;
however, people concerned with preserving historic old
cemeteries should not be discouraged from doing anything
because the project can not afford to hire a conservator.

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[9]Fitch, Curatorial Management, 315-318.

[10]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 14-15.

Reference guides such as Lynette Strangstad's A Graveyard Preservation Primer are useful to diagnose previous stone repairs; the presence of graffiti, biological growth, stains, and efflorescence; and flaking, blistering, or exfoliation due to weathering.

Cemetery maintenance is a basic aspect of cemetery preservation. A regular maintenance schedule prevents the graveyard from becoming a public embarrassment that is likely to become a meeting place for vandals and a refuge for derelicts.[11] Graveyard maintenance, just like the initial cleanup, utilizes volunteers from civic organizations, business associations, church groups, a local historical society, or a graveyard association. Sustaining a permanent maintenance crew of unpaid volunteers requires responsible supervision, periodic renewal of enthusiasm, money for equipment, and continual vigilance for the site's proper care.[12]

Good cemetery maintenance does not imply a manicured appearance. Actually, controlled growth of wildflowers and grasses enhances the atmosphere of old rural graveyards. The use of chemical herbicides containing salts or acids harmful to most types of stone is discouraged. As a consequence, mowing and trimming are the primary methods of landscape maintenance. Grave markers in historic, old cemeteries are set so close together that workers cannot precisely control

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[11]Ibid., 43.   [12]The Boston Experience, 12.

riding mowers from damaging the stones. Rubber bumpers
fashioned from discarded inner tubes and a blade guard are
placed on power mowers to protect stones from mower damage.
Workers may use a "weedwacker" nylon whip for close trimming
around most types of grave markers; however, they should clip
by hand grass around unstable stones.[13] A ten-day mowing
schedule is typical in the summer for rural cemeteries.
Workers perform grading and reseeding during the fall using
new, slow-growing strains of grass that help with mainte-
nance. They fertilize lawns twice a year and lime them every
third year. Since the cost and potential damage to
gravestones prohibits installing irrigation systems, summer
lawn watering during the dry months is impractical.[14]

Although trees and shrubbery enhance the appearance of
a graveyard, they also cause serious threats to gravestones
if poorly maintained. For example, dense foliage keeps
stones, especially sandstone, so damp that it accelerates the
process of deterioration. Trees must be maintained free of
potentially harmful dead limbs. Trees and tree roots growing
around and enveloping or dislodging the stones destroy many
fine, old gravestones. Dead trees and those endangering
gravestones need to be cut as close to the soil as possible
leaving the roots and stump in place to decompose. Chemicals
are never used to speed decomposition since they cause

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[13]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 47-48.

[14]The Boston Experience, 63.

problems for nearby grave markers. Trees and shrubbery can be replaced but old gravestones cannot. The rule-of-thumb is to remove foliage and trees when in doubt about any adverse effects to the gravestones. However, it is better to remove or relocate a stone rather than take down a centuries old live oak tree or shrub that is historically relevant to either the person interred or the cemetery itself.[15]

A grave marker moved from its original location or removed completely from the cemetery setting alters the graveyard's original appearance and the stone's historic integrity. A gravestone is historically significant in its original location. Once moved, a gravestone no longer indicates proper historical context by marking the site of a burial; instead, it becomes merely a memorial to the decedent.[16] Removal is an optional method to preserve significant grave markers seriously threatened by their fragile condition or by their location in vandal prone areas. Legal problems usually occur whenever gravestone removal is contemplated since grave markers are not considered collectible historic and cultural artifacts.[17] The acquisition of gravestones for personal collections is theft. Sometimes an urgent situation justifies the removal

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[15]Ibid., 65-66.   [16]Strangstad, _Graveyard Primer_, 48.

[17]The question of whether or not a descendant or church even owns individual plots and gravestones is often unclear under state laws. Even if ownership can be established, an individual may not have the right to do whatever he or she wants with a gravestone. (See Chapter Eight for specific

and relocation of a gravestone. For example, removal is preferable to such alternatives as a site being put to the bulldozer, a river channel infringing upon the burial ground, or increasing pollution causing stone deterioration.[18]

Workers should never remove a gravestone unless a museum agrees to accept, move, catalog, and make it available for study and display like any other artifact in its collections. The museum considers whether the gravestone's period, decorative style, inscription, or carver fit logically into its collections and exhibition program. Storing several 500-pound gravestones is not feasible for many museums due to weight and space limitations. Yet, the appropriate removal of gravestones with exceptional historic or artistic significance does insure that future generations will have the opportunity to see and study these artifacts.

Removal, on the other hand, begins the dismantling of a graveyard one stone at a time and may encourage well meaning individuals, acting alone, to remove other grave markers for safekeeping. Until all other options are exhausted, the removal of a marker is the last resort. The objective of cemetery preservation is to retain historic integrity by preserving gravestones in their original cemetery setting. Once a gravestone is removed, some marker should remain in

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aspects concerning state and local restrictions dealing with the removal and destruction of cemeteries and grave markers.)

[18]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 86-87.

the yard to indicate where the original was located and where it can now be found. A replica of the original stone can be used if properly identified as such with the year erected and the location of the original inscribed on the back. However, a simple plaque inscribed with information about the original stone serves the purpose.[19]

Gravestones, unlike museum artifacts, are constantly exposed to forces of unchecked attrition. Gravestone attrition is primarily due to weathering, natural forces playing upon the stone, and pollutants, man-made destructive agents in the air. Heat, water, wind, vibration, acid rain, and gravity illustrate deterioration by natural forces. Stones are oxides that wear away due to chemical changes in their structure and mechanical actions like the freeze-thaw cycle. Preservation maintenance proposes to slow down the process of deterioration, not eliminate it. As natural products themselves, gravestones will succumb to environmental forces, decay, and disappear in time. Only under the controlled environment of the modern laboratory can these forces be absolutely abated. Techniques used to avert deterioration with some museum artifacts will not work with gravestones. For example, maintaining a uniform temperature in the outdoor environment of the graveyard is impossible. The combustion of fossil fuels by automobiles, buses, and

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[19]Ibid., 88-93.

airplanes contributes pollutants into the air that are a significant cause of stone decay.[20]

Additional causes of gravestone attrition result from either exposure to the public causing wear and tear or vandalism and theft. Modern heritage tourism creates a situation in which large crowds walk around, into, through, and over monuments and rural sites not designed to support such traffic. Although the resulting damage to the physical fabric of artifacts from overcrowding is not vandalism, such abuse does constitute a downward spiral of attrition which, unless constantly corrected, leads to vandalism. The theft of artifacts for pecuniary gain is not restricted to museum collections. Collectors, dealers, and souvenir hunters remove gravestones from cemeteries and monuments from historic sites because of perceived artistic or historic value. The application of police power through the legal system and a citizenry more cognizant of the value of material culture are the only effective deterrents.[21]

More effective cemetery laws dealing with the problems of protecting historic rural cemeteries and the efforts presently being advanced regarding heritage education can help combat future or ongoing abuses to the nation's historic cemeteries. Better maintenance and preservation techniques will retard further damage to the resources.

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[20]Fitch, Curatorial Management, 326-329.

[21]Ibid.

However, existing damage due to decades of gravestone attrition, both natural and man-made, also needs to be addressed. A gravestone's durability, although not absolute, depends on the type of stone and the environment. Urban environments are rich in sulfur, nitrous oxides, and carbon dioxide which cause stones to decay rapidly. Likewise, rural areas under pressure from developers are beginning to experience similar adverse effects to the material culture artifacts of rural graveyards. The purpose of stone preservation should be to reverse the processes causing decay so that a stone is structurally regenerated and cleaned.

Sulfur and nitrogen oxides in the atmosphere have become prominent agents of stone decay. While the effects of sulfur dioxide on stone are well known, there is little information on the effects of nitrous oxides. Sulfur dioxide transforms calcite, the primary mineral in marble and limestone and a bonding agent for the quartz in sandstone, into gypsum which is much more soluble in water. In regions where driving rains are frequent, gypsum is continually washed off the surface of stone causing fresh stone to be laid bare for further attack. In drier regions, gypsum accumulates on stone surfaces and eventually obliterates relief carving and inscribed lettering. In addition, new gypsum continually forms underneath, on the stone's surface layer.[22]

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[22] K. Lai Gauri, "The Preservation of Stone," Scientific America 238, no. 6(June 1978):122.

Efforts to preserve gravestones begin with cleaning the encrustation formed by recrystallized calcite, gypsum, fly ash, and carbon materials from air pollutants. Water soluble salts crystallize on the surface of stone, a process known as efflorescence, producing simple discolorations. When water combines (hydrates) with the crystal structure of efflorescence behind or within the stone's surface, the gravestone literally shatters.[23] Cleaning old gravestones helps deter and retard some of the forces that cause adverse effects. Clean grave markers do not detract from the rich character of the historic graveyard because of the variety of shapes, materials, and carving styles. A clean marker can reveal characteristics hidden or obscured by pollutants and dirt. However, a warning must be observed: even the most careful cleaning procedures may damage surface lettering and decorative carving.[24]

Cleaning stones requires care and familiarity with stone materials. Conservators first test stable grave markers in a small, unnoticeable area to determine if any problems might occur before continuing to clean the entire marker. Such a test can indicate the most effective cleaning solutions and give an idea of the results that may be obtained.[25] Conservators employ only those methods that

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[23]Ibid., 127.

[24]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 60.

[25]Ibid., 61.

cause the least amount of disturbance to original materials. They use reversible techniques whenever feasible since the emphasis must be to stabilize the artifact's physical integrity without cosmetic reconstruction. Conservators do not recreate features that no longer exist; instead, they retain the existing profile of a gravestone. Neither recruiting inscriptions nor rebuilding lost elements with contemporary materials is considered appropriate if the integrity of the artifact is to be maintained. Repair materials must be compatible with the original, existing fabric of grave markers. Badly deteriorated, illegible markers are part of the cemetery's historic context; therefore, they should remain as they are, awaiting future conservation techniques.[26]

Tilted and sunken grave markers can not await the development of better conservation techniques in the future. To prevent the loss of such markers, resetting is sometimes necessary. Although volunteers and regular maintenance staff can reset stones with on-site training, carefully chosen professional conservators should reset particularly significant gravestones.[27] Gravestones are not reset merely to straighten a minor tilt or to make neat, straight rows. Resetting is an option to consider if a stone is tilted to such an extreme state, a tilt of more than fifteen degrees,

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[26] The Boston Experience, 36.

[27] Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 65-66.

that it is at risk of breaking off at ground level due to
its own weight (see Fig. 30). An inscription significantly
obscured due to a marker's sunken condition is another
example of when resetting might be considered appropriate.[28]
A gravestone in moderate need of resetting, especially if
unstable or fragile, can end up with a major repair problem;
therefore, it might be better off not to attempt the
procedure. After carefully considering that the risks do
warrant resetting, the changes to each reset gravestone must
be carefully documented.[29]

A special problem occurs when a tabletstone breaks off
at ground level and the base becomes lost below ground. The
large surface fragment can not be reset in the same manner
as an intact tabletstone. A separate base is formed, similar
to nineteenth century tablet-on-base markers, to support the
broken fragment. Although not an ideal solution, the base
provides an alternative to leaving the fragments lying above
ground or in an inadequate storage facility. Early
gravestones are never set directly into modern wet cement
since the softer early stones are not compatible with the
much harder modern cements. Modern cement will cause
efflorescence in porous stone as soluble salts are wicked
up into the gravestone.[30]

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[28]The Boston Experience, 46.

[29]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 65.

[30]Ibid., 69-71.

Fig. 30. Gravestones in survey Section F of St. John's Cemetery need to be reset to prevent the markers from breaking due to their extreme tilt.

Nothing should be discarded when workers find broken and dislodged stones in a cemetery since each fragment is a significant piece in a larger puzzle. Cemetery surveyors identify each broken or dislodged gravestone and all fragments according to their location within the yard, position in relation to the original marker, and the appropriate headstone's name and map reference number (see Fig. 31). Then they label unidentifiable pieces according to where they are found and note their original or probable locations, if known. The best way to handle any gravestone fragment is to document the piece and secure its safe storage in a dry repository that allows for easy retrieval of the fragment when the time comes to make repairs.[31]

Little has been written on specific techniques for gravestone conservation and preservation. Since cemetery preservation has only recently become a recognized aspect of historic preservation, researchers will develop better conservation techniques in the near future. For now, the materials cited in this chapter provided the best available sources for preserving historic grave markers and cemeteries. The best techniques to choose for any cemetery preservation project are those that do not cause further damage and are not irreversible in the event that better methods become available in the future. Lynette Strangstad strongly advocates two rules for cemetery preservation. First,

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[31]The Boston Experience, 84-85.
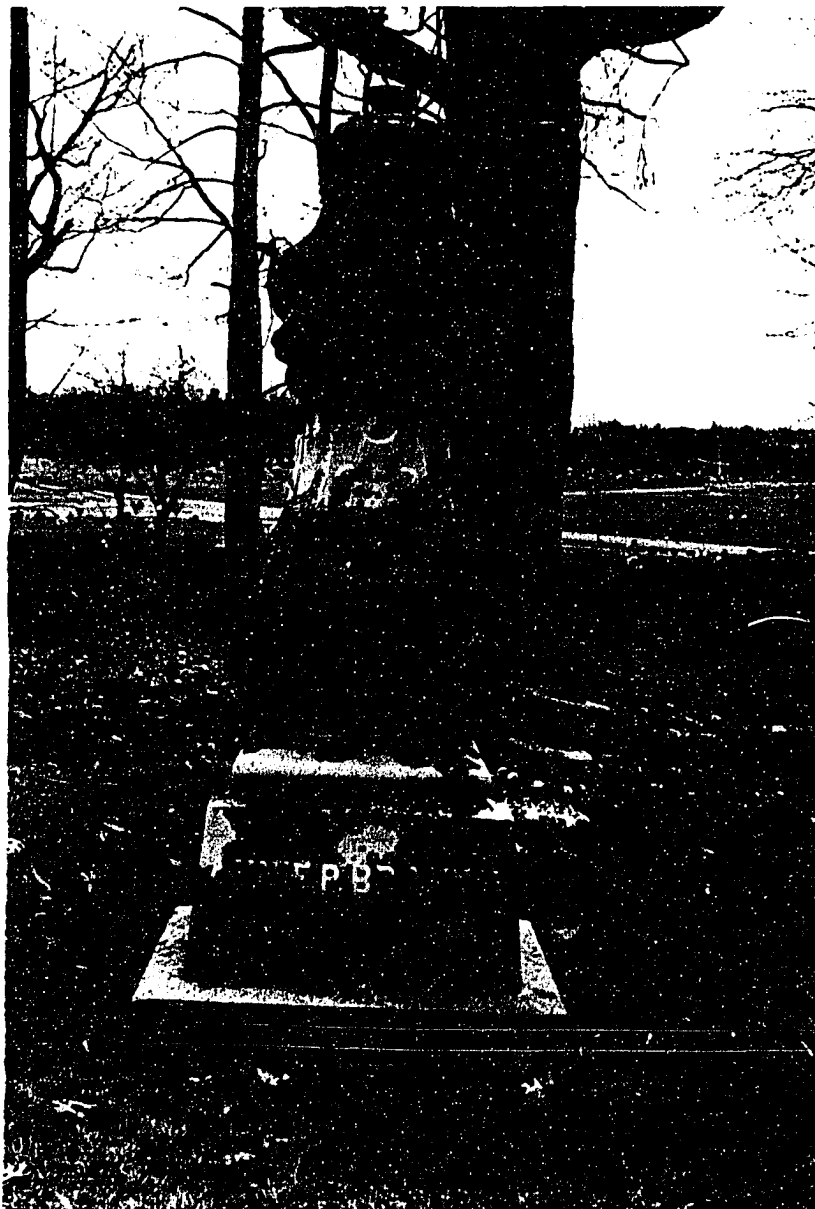
Fig. 31. Large stone fragment documented with a photo-
graph indicating its position in relation to the rest of
the monument style grave marker. (Annie P. Branch marker
in St. John's Cemetery)

preservationists should retain the original form and fabric
of a cemetery. They should avoid unnecessary changes and
only perform those alterations that solve problems with the
least possible destruction to the historic integrity of the
graveyard. Second, preservationists should use only
appropriate materials and techniques to stabilize and
preserve gravestones and other cemetery features.[32]

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[32]Strangstad, Graveyard Primer, 51-52.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LEGAL PROTECTION FOR RURAL CEMETERIES

Despite increased awareness and appreciation for the
cemetery as a material culture artifact, graveyards often
remain unprotected and vulnerable to vandalism, theft,
and land development. Rural graveyards need federal legal
protections similar to those for historic buildings and
structures under the 1966 National Historic Preservation
Act and the protection accorded other material culture
artifacts under such later federal legislation as the 1978
American Indian Religious Freedom Act or the 1979
Archaeological Resources Protection Act.[1] Unlike buildings,
cemeteries lack the national inventory process created
through the impetus of the National Register of Historic
Places and the project impact review procedure of the NHPA's
Section 106. For example, a gravestone does not meet with

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[1]The 1966 NHPA was an outgrowth of President Johnson's
Great Society. The act revolutionized preservation by
extending the federal government's commitment to preservation
to the local and state levels through State Historic
Preservation Offices and an Advisory Council. The act, along
with its later amendments, establishes the foundation for a
national preservation policy. Under the auspices of the
First Amendment, the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom
Act can prevent the adverse effects of federal undertakings
to protect Native American culture's religious sites and
objects. The 1979 Archaeological Resources Protection Act
amended weaknesses in the 1906 Antiquities Act, especially
regarding the pilfering of artifacts on federal lands. The
act's various fines and penalties help to protect historic
and cultural resources that are at least one hundred years
old.

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the criteria for evaluation to be eligible to the National Register unless it is the only remaining evidence of an historic person. An individual cemetery, however, can either be listed with a church building that is eligible for the National Register or as a contributing element of a district nomination.

A resource listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register is not guaranteed unlimited protection; instead, it triggers federal agencies to comply with the NHPA's 106 process. The Section 106 review process delays harmful federal undertakings, any project or program with potentially adverse effects on historic properties by direct or indirect action or licensing by a federal agency, until a federal agency attempts to mitigate any adverse effects and provides the Advisory Council with a reasonable opportunity to comment. In 95 percent of the cases, the agency and such affected interests as the state historic preservation office, a public or private organization, and Indian tribes reach agreement on how to mitigate the harmful effects and sign a memorandum of agreement. However, it is important to realize that compliance with Section 106's review process does not prevent the federal undertaking from either destroying or adversely impacting on the National Register property if successful mitigation does not result from the review process. Likewise, compliance with Section 106 does not affect any non-federal project. Some states therefore have

established their own mini-106 procedures for projects involving state undertakings, but these have the same intrinsic limitations as the federal 106 process. As a consequence, cemetery preservation primarily relies on either local ordinances or state statutes.

State cemetery laws are usually inadequate to deal with private and public development interests. State statutes regarding cemeteries normally regulate the creation and maintenance of new cemeteries. The level of protection cemeteries receive from statutes that regard removal, desecration, vandalism, or other actions related either to cemetery property or human remains and monuments as a crime vary from one state to another (see Appendix F). Statutes enacted specifically to protect cemeteries are often too inadequate to protect existing cemeteries. In addition, not all legislation enacted under the auspices of cemetery protection serves the interests of cemetery preservation.

Tennessee's Title 46 illustrates how a state's cemetery statutes can become a janus when considering the potential impact on abandoned or neglected rural cemeteries. Title 46 involves terminating the use of land as a cemetery and specifies procedures for the removal and relocation of graves. Section 46-4-101 applies to any burial ground in Tennessee that a chancery court determines to be unsuitable for further use as a burial ground. The court can terminate such land use if a cemetery is no longer suitable as a burial

place because the site is abandoned, neglected, or impugned
by activities near the site that are inconsistent with
further use as a burial ground. In essence, the court can
justify terminating a site's use as a burial ground on the
basis that it is unsuitable to properly memorialize the dead
buried on the site.[2] Any interested person or any county in
the state can bring suit or join in suit to terminate such a
cemetery at the chancery court in which the burial ground is
located. Section 46-4-103 specifies that the person or
persons bringing suit must follow these provisions for
removal, reinterment, and land disposal:

> 1. To have the remains of all deceased persons buried
> in such ground removed therefrom and reburied in a
> suitable repository to be obtained for that purpose
> before their removal from such burial ground;
> 2. To terminate the use of and all rights and ease-
> ments to such ground as a burial ground . . .
> 3. Thereupon to partition or sell for partition the
> ground if the court finds that it belongs to two (2) or
> more persons and if any one (1) or more of the owners
> thereof shall apply for such partition.[3]

Removal and relocation of a burial site, under Section
46-4-1010 and Section 46-4-103, alters any original intent
regarding the location of a family or individual burial site
on a farm or other private landholding and affects the
integrity of both the original and relocated burial sites.
The original land for the burial ground is no longer used
for the purpose that a previous generation had intended.

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[2]*Tennessee Code, Annotated* (1983 with 1988 Supplement)
46-4-101.

[3]Ibid., 46-4-103.

Likewise, the relocated human remains and grave marker provide incorrect data regarding the history of the graveyard.

Relocated graves and tombstones can impair conclusions made from information collected during a comprehensive survey. Surveyors might incorrectly record a relocated grave marker as being original to the graveyard unless it is identified, either on site or through public records, as being removed and relocated from another burial site. Consequently, the historical context of other grave markers in a cemetery is tarnished if a relocated grave and its marker are incorrectly identified as being original to the cemetery. For example, in 1969 the box tomb for John "Devil" Polk and his wife Elizabeth was relocated to St. John's Cemetery from its original burial site on Carter's Creek Pike, an area of northern Maury County under development by phosphate mining companies.[4] The inscription on the Polk tomb (E-19) is misleading since Elizabeth Polk's death in 1829 predates the founding of the church and cemetery in 1842. Likewise, the location of the marker in the cemetery does not coincide with other markers dating from the earliest period of the cemetery's history. The box tomb of John and Elizabeth Polk, if not properly documented, might distort data collated regarding family relationships based on the

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[4]Hawkins, Maury County Cemeteries, 580-581. Also see Columbia (TN) Daily Herald, 30 May 1972.

placement of grave sites (grave markers) within the cemetery.[5]

Tennessee's statutory protection for rural cemeteries has had dubious success since enactment in the early 1980s. Several incidents involving disturbances at the Roberts-Porter Cemetery in Maury County provide useful illustrations. General Isaac Roberts, the so-called Father of Maury County, was a Revolutionary War soldier and general in the War of 1812. He was active in county and state politics and signed the petition that established Maury County. Land formerly owned by Roberts was purchased at auction in 1970, almost ten years before Tennessee first enacted its protective cemetery legislation. The land included a family category where various members of the Roberts and Porter families are buried. At the time of the auction sale, twelve grave markers stood in the cemetery. The new owners claimed that many of the gravestones were broken and had fallen down previous to the sale; therefore, the owners claimed that removing such stones was merely part of their effort to clean the cemetery. The Maury County Historical Society did not interpret this cleanup in the same light; instead, they regarded the action as a desecration of the graves of General

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[5]Although some grave markers may only be preserved through a removal and reinterment process, Chapter Six already discussed why it is preferable to keep a marker, like buildings and structures, on the original site so as to retain integrity and proper historical context.

Roberts, his wife Mary Johnston Roberts, and members of the

Roberts and Porter families.[6]

Thirty years earlier, another disturbance to the

Roberts Cemetery occurred when William Brown Taylor owned the

land. Taylor wrote to Maury County Judge W. B. Turner in

December 1950 about a problem he had with the Tennessee

Valley Authority in 1942. According to Taylor:

> All of the Roberts slaves were buried around the grave
> yard that was once surrounded by arock [sic] wall which
> finally collapsed and was replaced by a wire fence.If
> [sic] you want to find out how much respect T.V.A. has
> for the dead you should reveiw the Federal Court Records
> . . . in the case U.S.A. ex rel T.V.A. vs W.Brown [sic]
> Taylor,et [sic] al. . . .
> . . . amony [sic] other evidence of T.V.A.'s ruthless
> invasion of my property rights ran a pipe line through
> that part of the Roberts grave gard [sic] where slaves
> were buried and simply piled the bones aside and later
> dug one hole and put all bones in it.1 [sic] put into the
> record pictures of the whole thing.[7]

Taylor also explained his efforts to get the Daughters of

the American Revolution to take over the Roberts Cemetery.

"I offered to deed the burying ground to them," he wrote,

"including a rodd [sic] to it if they would take it over

and care for it, but nothing ever came of it."[8] It is

unfortunate that the arrangement William Taylor tried to

establish with the D.A.R. did not happen. Consequently,

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[6]Colene Cates, "Graves of Maury Pioneer Disturbed,"
Columbia (TN) Daily Herald, 18 May 1970.

[7]William Brown Taylor, Minneapolis, to Judge W. B.
Turner, Columbia, 2 December 1950, TLS [photocopy],
Southcentral Tennessee Development District, Columbia,
Tennessee.

[8]Ibid.

the later destruction of the historic cemetery's integrity and desecration of graves occurred.

The present owners of the land around the Roberts Cemetery developed the Three Oaks Trailer Park in 1986. The trailer park is so close to the site of the cemetery that some of the caravan-type trailers are within the burial ground. As Taylor indicated in his letter to Judge Turner, the original cemetery included slave graves and a rock wall surrounding the Roberts graves; thus, the size of the cemetery was much larger than the area presently marked. The result is that one of the trailer park's roads and a least one of the caravan-type mobile homes are on top of graves. The trailer park's developer used the rest of the historic Roberts-Porter family cemetery as a dog run. Although the Maury County Historical Society brought the problem to the attention of District Attorney Mike Bottoms, he chose not to take any action.[9]

District Attorneys are not always reluctant to protect rural cemeteries from developers and private interests. Two years before the Three Oaks Trailer Park incident, Assistant District Attorney Robert Sands notified a property owner near Columbia that it was against the law for him to disturb, remove, or damage the tombstone of Benjamin Bowen nor the ground around it. The 27 x 19 foot burial site is clearly

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[9]Richard Quin, "Status Report to the Maury County Regional Planning Commission," (Columbia, TN: Southcentral Tennessee Development District, 11 August 1986), photocopied.

delineated on the plat for the deed included with a letter

Sands sent to property owner Joe Heflin. Sands states: "The

grave nor the ground around it is not your property. . . .

In addition to the notice in the deed, you had actual notice

as you saw the tombstone and took it down for your own

convenience." Sands continues, "it seems to me your

liability for the replacement and repair of the tombstone

is clear under the law."[10]

Merely enacting cemetery vandalism laws and other

elated statutes does not necessarily deter an individual from

violating the law. Those who willfully or maliciously

violate the law must be prosecuted. Unfortunately, damage or

desecration to a cemetery or individual markers must first

occur before criminal prosecution takes place. The objective

of cemetery statutes is not only to prosecute those who

violate the law, but to deter potential offenders through

public education about the laws and the significance of

cemeteries to the historic and aesthetic heritage of a

community. Educating the public about the law is necessary

to promote understanding and appreciation for the value of

this type of material culture resource, especially with

respect to those who deal with property sales, land

development, zoning, and other activities with potentially

harmful consequences for burial sites.

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[10]Assistant District Attorney Robert Sands, Columbia,
to Joe Heflin, Columbia, 16 July 1984, TLS [photocopy], Maury
County Courthouse, Columbia, Tennessee.

To help rural cemeteries survive, the best solution comes at the local level and begins with the county's land-use planning process. Planning agencies at the local level need to document and assess the problems that new development causes for existing cemeteries. Surveys are needed, like those done for buildings, to identify and locate known cemeteries. County government agencies can provide legal research, make recommendations, and formulate policies on preservation techniques, cemetery relocation, funding, development restrictions, documentation and surveying, maintenance and security measures. Ideally, planning agencies will include public education through material produced specifically to describe cemetery preservation laws, procedures, relocation measures, and local zoning restrictions.[11]

The cemetery provisions in local zoning ordinances generally involve the creation of new cemeteries, multiple use, and maintenance.[12] For example, the zoning ordinance for Macon County, Georgia, stipulates:

> 1. The site proposed for a cemetery shall not interfere with the development of a system of collector or larger streets in the vicinity of such site. In addition, such site shall have direct access to a thoroughfare;
> 2. Any new cemetery shall be located on a site containing no less than twenty (2) acres;

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[11]Kevin P. Costello, ed., Boone County (KY) Cemetery Preservation Plan (Burlington, KY: Boone County Historic Preservation Review Board, 1989), 8.

[12]Ibid., 5; 19.

3. All structures shall be set back not less than twenty-five (25) feet from any property line or street right-of-way line;

4. All graves or burial plots shall be set back not less than twenty-five feet from any property line or minor street right-of-way line and not less than fifty (50) feet from any collector, arterial, expressway, or freeway right-of-way line; and

5. The entire cemetery property shall be landscaped and maintained.[13]

The potential for conflict between the presence of historic rural cemeteries and new development influenced Macon County to enact its ordinance, but few other county and municipal governments have enacted similar protective ordinances.

Along with direct damage from the adverse effects of new development, the rural cemetery also must contend with indirect impact to visual and aesthetic elements involving a site's integrity. For example, Tennessee's statutes do not protect the integrity of burial sites from new development which may occur to the edge of a grave marker or cemetery. Such development alters those intangible elements associated with a cemetery's environment that people in the past chose with care and reverence. As a consequence, in 1986 Maury County amended its zoning ordinance with a cemetery setback requirement. The amendment prohibits erecting buildings or structures within fifteen feet of a cemetery's perimeter, or boundary, unless the building's principal use is for the cemetery's maintenance or operations.[14] The locations of the

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[13]Georgia, Macon County Zoning Ordinance (1982) sect. 23.16.

[14]Tennessee, Cemetery Setback Requirements, Maury County Zoning Ordinance (amended 1986), sect. 3.080.

county's burial grounds are marked on planning maps, property assessment maps, and related planning aids to make sure that the county's planning review process keeps cemeteries in mind. Any applicant for a building permit or zoning change must avoid destroying a burial site or cemetery on their property. Maury County is one of the few local governments to implement such a setback requirement in the zoning ordinance. Maury County is part of the Southcentral Tennessee Development District which maintains a fairly complete inventory of cemeteries and grave sites throughout the county. Other counties wishing to adopt similar setback requirements for zoning ordinances may need to expend considerable time, effort, and money to conduct a countywide cemetery survey.

Not only are local government agencies remiss in locating cemeteries through survey work, only a few states have statewide surveys to locate and record burial sites and cemeteries. Some local governments like Boone County, Kentucky, and the city of Boston, Massachusetts, have developed their own survey and inventory programs; however, the vast majority of local and state governments are not actively engaged in any type of cemetery survey. Without such vital information, the plight of the isolated rural cemetery will continue on a downward spiral despite the good intentions of protective statutes and ordinances.

North Carolina has one of the few successful, ongoing cemetery survey programs at the state level. Since 1979, the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources has coordinated efforts with private individuals and organizations to locate and record abandoned cemeteries. North Carolina's Abandoned Cemetery Survey is interested in locating and preserving abandoned burial sites for their historical, sociological, and demographic information. As a counterpart to its survey, the state also strengthened the criminal and civil statutes to protect cemeteries from urban development, agricultural activity, lumbering operations, vandalism, and neglect. The North Carolina survey program originally intended to make just a reconnaissance survey to assess the condition of cemeteries in order to strengthen North Carolina's protective legislation. However, a second phase of the project shifted the focus in 1984 to a more comprehensive survey that includes recording information off to each cemetery's grave markers dating before 1913. Until 1913, North Carolina did not keep vital statistics; therefore, cemetery grave markers prior to 1913 provide data that is otherwise unavailable.

The survey project, now known as the North Carolina Cemetery Survey, is a joint effort between the state and the counties. The survey presently involves ninety-five of the state's one hundred counties. Each county sets up a committee with a county coordinator to oversee volunteers who

actually conduct the survey using forms supplied by the
Department of Cultural Resources. In addition to completing
the survey forms for the county's unrecorded cemeteries, the
committee also plots each cemetery on USGS maps provided by
the Division of Archives and History. One copy of the map is
kept in the county and another, with each cemetery plotted by
numbers corresponding to numbers on the survey forms, is sent
to the Archives. Eventually, all of the information from the
cemetery survey will be put into a computer creating a state-
wide index. Of the ninety-five counties involved with the
survey, only half are actively pursuing the second phase of
the project while the other half are still involved with
initial surveys to locate abandoned cemeteries.[15]

Although the two cemetery survey models developed in
the dissertation are intended for use in the college
classroom as a teaching tool, state or local government
agencies may adapt them to conduct surveys of cemeteries
within their geo-political boundaries. The purpose of the
reconnaissance survey was to locate, identify, and record

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[15]The information on the North Carolina Cemetery Survey
is courtesy of Donna K. Flowers, State Coordinator, North
Carolina Cemetery Survey. Flowers provided samples of the
state's survey (Appendix B) and other information on the
progress of the survey. Much of the information on the
history and impact of the cemetery survey came from a
letter between Flowers and the author found in Appendix B.
Researchers wishing further information on the North Carolina
Cemetery Survey can contact the coordinator at the North
Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of
Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North
Carolina 27601-2807.

preliminary information about rural church cemeteries within a county or subregion of a state. A state or local agency can modify this survey to include all types of cemeteries in a specified survey area. The comprehensive survey used to record the grave markers, church building, vegetation, and other cemetery features of rural church cemeteries is easily applied to any type of cemetery. Surveying historic rural cemeteries is a necessary inventory process to document the cemetery's material culture before the artifacts disappear. Documenting the cemetery as a material culture artifact also implies a responsibility to preserve it as a resource for future generations to study and enjoy.

EPILOGUE

The rural church cemetery, a material culture artifact deserving of preservation, is a useful instructional tool that involves students and teachers in an active learning experience. The survey recordation and historical inter-pretations of the graveyard at St. John's Episcopal Church provided a field test for this thesis. Likewise, St. John's serves as a case study for teachers to use when conducting their own cemetery projects or as a stimulus to encourage teachers to utilize other nearby history resources in their courses. Although students can learn to appreciate the historical and cultural value of the cemetery through an applied history project, they also need to understand what conservation methods are safe to use with these tangible resources of the past and the legal means available to protect rural cemeteries for future study and enjoyment.

Defining the success of an applied history project is dubious if the teacher falls prey to pedantic determinants such as the quantity of work completed during a survey. For example, the case study's surveyors failed to completely document St. John's Cemetery during six hours of fieldwork. Yet, the exercise proved a valuable lesson: a cemetery project's success is not based on the number of grave markers recorded, but on whether or not the students understand the survey process and can place the survey's results into a

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local, regional, or national context. For instance, the
study area's transitional gravestones indicate that the
migration patterns and traits evident in the material culture
of Middle Tennessee had a cultural background in the Carolina
origin of the early settlers. Tracing these traits and
patterns in gravestones to their Carolina heritage uncovered
an indirect connection to colonial New England's stone
carvers.

A comprehensive cemetery survey provides teachers with
a means to combine traditional documentary research with
material culture artifact study. The funerary art and
architecture of sample cemeteries in the study area are a
stimulating resource to teach students about the changing
social and economic structure of American society during the
Victorian Era. Cemeteries are primary sources for
corroborating scholarly arguments about how the perceived
threat of industrial capitalism influenced Victorian
America's changing attitudes about women, the home, and the
children. The cult of domesticity is evident when studying
changes in gravestone art between the eighteenth and
nineteenth centuries. In essence, the use of nearby history
resources in higher education is neither filiopiestic nor
parochial if historical analysis and interpretation are
applied to the artifacts.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE OF RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY

The following reconnaissance survey form is based on a suggested form found in <u>A Graveyard Preservation Primer</u> by Lynette Strangstad. The purpose of a reconnaissance survey is to gather general statistics and data on cemeteries throughout a survey area. It does not involve detailed documentation of each grave marker in the cemetery. The form may include information on the quantities of different gravestone characteristics such as type of material or specific motifs.

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MIDDLE TENNESSEE

CEMETERY RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY

_____
Name of cemetery

_____
Survey date

_____
Religious affiliation, if any

_____
Recorder

_____
Person or group in charge

_____
USGS coordinates

LOCATION

Terrain: (check)
_____ level
_____ hilly-moderate
_____ hilly-steep

_____
Nearest street/road/junction

_____
Nearest city/town   County

. Bounded by:
_____ fence   _____ hedge
_____ wall   _____ other

Access into cemetery: (check)
_____ by foot   _____ by car

Lighting:
_____ mostly shaded
_____ mostly unshaded

Orientation: most stones face
_____ N _____ S _____ E _____ W

SIZE: Approximate number of markers
(check)
_____ over 2000   _____ 1000
_____ 2000   _____ 500
_____ 1750   _____ 250
_____ 1500   _____ 100
_____ 1250   _____ under 100

Approximate area size

_____ft X _____ft
or
_____meters x _____meters

AGE: _____ earliest date

_____ most recent date

Approximate number of markers w/dates from:

_____ 17th century   _____ 19th century

_____ 18th century   _____ 20th century

CONDITION OF GROUNDS

Overall evaluation (check)
_____ generally excellent
_____ generally good
_____ generally fair
_____ generally poor

Specific problems (check)
_____ overgrown vines
_____ overgown grass
_____ overgrown shrubs
_____ unpruned trees
_____ fences, walls in poor repair
_____ other(s)

CONDITION OF MARKERS

Overall evaluation
(check)

_____ generally excellent

_____ generally good

_____ generally fair

_____ generally poor

Specific problems
(give approximate number)

_____ badly tilted stones

_____ fragments on ground

_____ broken but standing

_____ damaged surface

Restorations
(give number)

_____ metal supports

_____ set in concrete

_____ enclosed in concrete

_____ painted to protect

_____ other(specify): _____

Footstones
(check)

_____ none, or very few

_____ reset behind headstone

_____ in original position

MATERIALS of which markers are made: Approximate number of markers for each:

_____ slate; _____ marble; _____ sandstone; _____ limestone; _____ granite;

other(s) _____

DECORATIVE CARVING on the markers. Approximate number of stones with these motifs:

_____ skulls; _____ faces; _____ urns and/or willows; _____ flowers; _____ hands;

other(s) _____

APPENDIX B

NORTH CAROLINA CEMETERY SURVEY

The North Carolina Cemetery Survey form and its two
page instruction guide in this appendix are reproduced
courtesy of Donna K. Flowers, State Coordinator, North
Carolina Cemetery Survey and William S. Price, Jr., Director,
North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of
Archives and History.

According to the North Carolina State Department of
Cultural Resources, the objectives and goals of the state's
cemetery survey are:

1. To identify, map, and describe every cemetery
    (particularly pre-1913) regardless of shape, size,
    type, or other physical characteristics.
2. To permanently record data on abandoned or
    otherwise uncared for cemeteries.
3. To preserve genealogical, historical and cultural
    data contained in said cemeteries, including
    epitaphs, and photographs, whenever possible.
4. To update and fill in gaps evident in the W. P. A.
    cemetery survey.
5. To enter all the data into a computer within the
    Department of Cultural Resources for public access.

The letter from Flowers to the author in the appendix
provides additional background information on the state's
survey project.

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North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources

James G. Martin, Governor
Patric Dorsey, Secretary

Division of Archives and History
William S. Price, Jr., Director

January 22, 1991

Mr. Richard D. Betterly
910 South Tennessee Blvd.
Apt. Q-8
Murfreesboro, TN 37130

Dear Mr. Betterly:

Thank you for your letter of January 15th requesting information about the North Carolina Cemetery Survey.

Since 1979, the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources has been coordinating an effort with private individuals and organizations to locate and record cemeteries. The department is interested in their location and preservation for historical, sociological and demographic information. As a result, the state initiated the survey project and strengthened its criminal and civil statutes to protect cemeteries from the threat of urban development, agricultural activity, lumbering operations, vandalism, and neglect.

As a part of this study, a survey was begun in several counties to gather the facts surrounding the condition of these cemeteries. This survey was continued and has now expanded to include ninety-five of our one hundred counties. Each county sets up its own committee with a county coordinator and work is done on a grassroots, voluntary basis.

The program originally was concerned with making a general "survey" of cemeteries to determine their condition and to strengthen protective legislation. Since that time, however, as cemeteries continue to disappear, it has become increasingly necessary to record as much information from the stones themselves as possible. Therefore, the data from the tombstones is recorded, including vital statistics, epitaphs, maps, and photographs.

The whole project is a joint effort between the state and the counties. Basically I oversee the work of county coordinators, who direct volunteers to unrecorded cemeteries and keep track of what work has already been done. In addition, committee members complete survey forms and plot each cemetery on USGS maps provided by the Division of Archives and History. One copy of the maps is then kept in the county and one copy, with the cemeteries plotted by numbers corresponding to numbers on the survey forms, is sent to the Archives.

In order to provide you with more details pertaining to our survey efforts, I have enclosed several materials. Included is a set of guidelines given to each county coordinator for conducting a county-wide cemetery survey, survey forms and instructions, a recent news release, and a map showing which counties are participating in the project.

109 East Jones Street • Raleigh, North Carolina 27601-2807

It is my hope that eventually all of the information gathered as part of the North Carolina Cemetery Survey will be put into our departmental computer for a statewide index. North Carolina was not required to keep vital statistics prior to 1913; therefore, tombstone records provide data that is otherwise unavailable.

Since you are particularly interested in the recording of church cemeteries, I have also enclosed copies of data gathered on Lutheran cemeteries statewide and on Rowan County churches and cemeteries. The Lutheran data was provided by Johanna Mims, former Archivist of the NC Lutheran Synod Archives. Her current address is given below in case you would like to contact her for more specifics about her survey. The Rowan County data was provided by Dr. Kenneth Sell and his address is enclosed.

Ms. Johanna Mims
9119 Robert Frost Lane
Charlotte, NC 28213 .
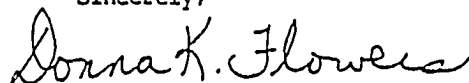
For more information on the documentation process, including surveying and mapping, I have enclosed copies provided by the American Association for State and Local History and by the Association for Gravestone Studies. I would recommend contacting them for further assistance. Their addresses are given below.

American Assoc. for State & Local History
172 Second Avenue North
Nashville, TN 37201

Association for Gravestone Studies
c/o Rosalee Oakly, Executive Director
46 Plymouth Road
Needham, MA 02192

I hope the enclosed information will be informative and useful to you. If in the future I can be of assistance, please contact me by phone at (919) 733-3952 or write to me again.

Sincerely,

Donna K. Flowers
State Coordinator
North Carolina Cemetery Survey

DKF:dkf

Enclosures

NORTH CAROLINA CEMETERY SURVEY

1. **Location**

   a) Name or names of cemetery_____ b) County_____

   c) City, town, community, or township_____

   d) Specific location_____

   _____

   _____

   e) Property owned by_____

   f) U.S.G.S. Topographic Map: Quadrangle_____

   1) Cemetery coordinates: Latitude___°___'___"___ Longitude___°___'___"___

   2) Cemetery number on map_____

2. **Classification**

   a) Public: ___Municipal ___County ___State ___Federal

   b) Private: ___Family ___Church (denomination_____) ___Fraternal

   ___Other, explain_____

   c) Status: ___Abandoned ___Maintained, but not used ___Currently being used

   d) Size: Approximate number of graves_____ Approximate size of cemetery_____

   e) Type: ___American Indian ___Black ___Slave ___White

   ___Other, explain_____

3. **Accessibility To Public**

   a) ___Unrestricted   b)___Restricted, explain_____

4. **Condition**

   a) ___Well maintained and preserved   b) ___Poorly maintained

   c) ___Overgrown, easily identifiable   d) ___Overgrown, not easily identifiable

   e) ___Not identifiable as a burial site, but known to exist through tradition or

   other means. Explain_____

   _____

   _____

5. Cemetery Enclosure

    a) Is the cemetery enclosed by a wall, fence, hedge, etc.?_____ If yes, specify

    how it is enclosed_____

    b) State condition of wall, fence, hedge, etc._____

6. Tombstones Or Markers

    a) Are stones or markers present?_____ b) If yes, are they inscribed?_____

    c) Number of readable stones or markers_____ d) Date of last known burial_____

    e) Date of earliest known burial_____ f) Are there unusual stones?_____ Describe

    them._____

    _____

    g) Have markers been damaged?_____ If yes, by farm animals?_____ Vandalism?_____

    Farming operations?_____ Industrial operations?____Custodial care?_____

    Other means? Explain_____

7. Note any hazards imperiling the cemetery's existence_____

    _____

8. Has this cemetery been listed in an existing published or unpublished cemetery sur-

    vey?_____ If yes, explain_____

9. Historical or other special significance of cemetery, if any_____

    _____

    _____

10. Any other information_____

    _____

    _____

Canvasser_____Date_____

Organization_____

Address_____

This form has been prepared for use by the Committee for the Study of Abandoned Cemeteries, a group created in 1978 by the North Carolina General Assembly to study the number, nature, and condition of North Carolina's cemeteries. Inquiries concerning the study should be addressed to Cemetery Survey, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611

INSTRUCTIONS

NORTH CAROLINA CEMETERY SURVEY FORM

The "North Carolina Cemetery Survey" form is designed to aid those individuals who are gathering information on cemeteries in North Carolina — especially those that are old and apparently abandoned or are in danger of becoming abandoned. Untold numbers of these graveyards have been lost and numerous others are on the verge of disappearing. It is, therefore, crucial that a thorough search be made to locate them and to record the individual names and dates from the tombstones. This is the chief focus of the statewide survey. A cordial and earnest invitation is extended to all to join in this worthwhile project.

General instructions for the individuals canvassing are provided below. Please make sure that any information listed is both accurate and as complete as possible. It may be that some bit of information may not be known or easily obtained. In such cases, simply write in "NOT KNOWN" or leave it blank.

In cases where additional information is available and is included to explain or clarify a point, please list it under item #10 and refer to the item number being explained or clarified. If the information is more general than specific in nature, write it under item #10 without referring to an item number.

At specific intervals, to be set by the county coordinator and/or the county committee, completed survey forms (with vital statistics information attached) should be forwarded to the county coordinator or to the state coordinator. The information received from all canvassers will then be consolidated.

The following is an item by item enumeration of instructions for completing the North Carolina Cemetery Survey form:

1. a) Provide the name or names applied to the graveyard over the years, beginning with the present. Use the most commonly known name, the most prevalent family name, the church name, "Unknown," or "Slave," for instance.

   b, c) Self-explanatory

   d) Give detailed directions as to the location of the cemetery or graveyard using road names and numbers, recognizable landmarks, and mileage to and from the site.

   e) List the owner of the property on which the cemetery is located, including any deed references. Many cemeteries have reservation or exemption clauses inserted in deeds.

   f) The name of the quadrangle is given in both the upper and lower right-hand corners of the map.

      1) Use the ruler to determine the latitude and longitude.

      2) Assign continuous numbers for each cemetery.

2. a, b, c) Self-explanatory

   d) Indicate if the count is actual or estimated. Also, indicate the size of the cemetery in acres or give the dimension in linear feet.

   e) Self-explanatory

3. Is the cemetery open to visitors, restricted to family members, or is visiting forbidden entirely?

4. Select the choice that best describes the condition of the graveyard.

   e) Although tradition indicates that graves did exist at one time, in some cases there may be no physical evidence of a burial site. Record as much information as you can collect from owners, neighbors, relatives, etc.

5. Indicate the approximate dimensions of the enclosure in linear feet.

6. Tombstones or markers vary in physical type. They may be a loose pile of field stones, a single field stone at the head and/or foot, wooden markers, metal funeral home markers with typed cards, or family name stones.

   a) If only sunken areas or depressions exist, give an approximate number.

7. Many cemeteries are facing an uncertain future because of some hazard. Some are on the verge of being lost because of road construction, lake construction, shopping center or residential construction, farm or industrial operations, or because of some other reason. Please list the specific hazard, if any exists.

8. Self-explanatory

9. In this category, graves of prominent people, such as Revolutionary or Civil War soldiers, statesmen, industrialists, inventors, or other individuals who excelled or were well-known in their profession should be noted. Also, it may be that in addition to the famous, the infamous may be worthy of note as well.

10. This item should be used for general remarks as well as for specific ones. If the remarks made are continuations from other items, please list the item number to which they refer. Family relationships, when known, should be given along with source information. General family information can be given under this item, or on an attached sheet(s).

Attach a separate sheet, giving the vital statistics information from the individual tombstones. Bracket any data that does not come from the markers; for example, names or dates that come from family Bible records. If possible, include a map or sketch of the cemetery's layout, noting any unmarked graves. Also, photographs, if available, would be useful.

Please provide your name, address, and phone number and the date of the survey for future reference.

Should you have any questions, please consult your county coordinator or the state coordinator at the address on the reverse of the survey form.

APPENDIX C

BOSTON CITY HISTORIC BURYING GROUND

INVENTORY

The City of Boston uses the following cemetery inventory form to prepare a written and photographic record of the grave markers in sixteen historic cemeteries located within the city's jurisdiction. Included with the burial ground inventory form is a descriptive instruction guide for completing the form's separate parts. The source for this form is The Boston Experience: A Manual for Historic Burying Grounds Preservation produced by the Boston Parks & Recreation Department. It is reproduced here courtesy of Lawrence A. Dwyer, Commissioner, Boston Parks & Recreation Department.

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BOSTON CITY HISTORIC BURYING GROUNDS INVENTORY FORM

Loc./Ref.No. _____
Record Date _____

_____ . _____ — _____
last   first   middle

Weather _____

Date _____

Examined by _____

Motif:	2d Motif:	Border:	Carving:	Shoulder:
1. Skull	1. Hourglass	1. Typical	1. Mint	
2. Face .	2. Crossbones	2. Elaborate	2. Clear but worn	
3. Urn/Willow	3. Coffin	3. Simple	3. Mostly Deciph.	
4. None	4. Tools	4. Plain	4. Traces	
5. Other:	5. Other:	5. Other:	5. Other:	

_____   _____   _____   _____

Marker Type: HS   FS   T   M   Other: _____

Orientation: N   W   S   E   Materials:

Dimensions: W ____H____D____

Bedding: _____

Materials:
1. Slate
2. Granite
3. Marble
4. Sandstone
5. Brick
6. Other: _____

Rating: 1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

CONDITIONS
Soiling: _____
Stains: _____
Efflorescence: _____
Graffiti: _____
Biological Activity: _____
Erosion: _____
Blistering/Flaking/Scaling: _____
Delamination: _____
Cracking: _____
Tilted/Fallen/Sunken: _____
Open Joints: _____
Fragmented: _____
Losses: _____
Other Damage: _____

PREVIOUS REPAIR
Fills/Replacements: _____
Adhesive Repairs: _____
Reinforcing: _____
Coatings: _____
Enframements/Footings/Beds: _____   (place photo of marker here)
Other: _____
Photo Negative # _____

At the top of the form, the location/reference number specifies the location of the grave marker. The first letters are abbreviations for the burying ground. The letter and number after the slash indicate section and grave marker number. For example, DN/C-35 denotes that this marker is located at Dorchester North Burying Ground and is the 35th marker in section C.

Record Date: Date the form was prepared in the field.

Weather: Brief description of weather on recording day.

Examined by: Initials of recording team member.

Name: Name of interred. If several names are carved on the same marker, the earliest dated or most prominent name is recorded and reference is made on the reverse side of the form for additional names.

Date: Death date(s) as inscribed. Method of recording is similar to that used for name.

Motif: Traditional decorative carvings found on Boston grave markers are listed on the form and are checked-off as applicable. These motives are:

skull	(17th and 18th centuries)
face	(18th and 19th centuries)
urn and willow	(19th century)
none	(17th century and footstone)
other	(heraldic or other imagery)

Primary motives are usually the largest, carved in the tympanum, the semi-circular uppermost part of the gravestone. Secondary motives are displayed in conjunction with the primary image or elsewhere on the marker.

Border: The carved decorative margin around the inscription.
    Typical   -The leafy-spiral border often found on local grave markers, typical to Boston.
    Elaborate   - Unusual or rare decorative motives, sometimes including fruit and other naturalistic details. This category also is used for foliates and other ornamentation executed with particular skill.
    Simple   - Curvilinear or geometric patterns.
    Plain   - Single or multiple enframing lines.
    Other   - Figurative elements, architectural forms, or designs not included in above descriptions.

Carving: The condition of the carved decoration and inscription.
    Mint   - Sharp and clear. Inscription can be read easily.
    Clear but worn   - Edges are smooth, not crisp.
    Mostly
    Decipherable   - Areas are discolored or lost, but most of the inscription can be read.
    Illegible   - Inscription is substantially lost.

Type of Grave Marker:
    Headstone   - Predominant in Boston graveyards, usually displaying a full inscription

and decorative carving.

Footstone — Usually smaller than headstone, may include only initials or a name, sometimes the death date. Carved decoration is rare.

Tomb — Either an above-ground or below-ground structure which may include several chambers for multiple burials; often marked with a horizontal table-top slab on a masonry base or by brick or granite-walled construction.

Orientation: The direction the marker's primary carved surface faces. If a grave marker is horizontal, the direction noted is the one it would face if upright. For tombs, the slab's axis is noted; i.e., N-S or E-W.

Dimensions: Measurements for width are taken side-to-side at the widest point; height is measured from ground level to the highest point of the grave marker; depth is the average thickness of the marker from front to back. Additional measurements for tombs and monuments are also recorded.

Bedding: Record stone material's bedding planes; i.e., slate has parallel planes ($=$), other materials may have planes at an angle to the surface (indicated by $/$).

Material:

Slate — Most grave markers in Boston's historic burying grounds are carved of slate, a smooth-grained stone with even bedding planes running parallel to the stone's face.

Granite — Crystalline texture and dappled coloration, with no discernible bedding planes. Generally grey with black, white or pink flecks. Often used for monuments and tombs.

Marble — White or grey-white, often eroded. Marble is associated with 19th century headstones and monuments.

Sandstone — Tan or red-brown with fine, grainy surface, often eroded or flaking.

Other — Includes greenstone, a thick green-grey stone used for 17th century markers; brick; concrete; and metals.

Condition: This portion of the inventory form provides a list of standardized terms to record the physical condition of grave markers. Judgment concerning cause of damage is not made. The terms were developed by a masonry conservator as part of a pilot conservation program .... Condition data is used to plan conservation programs. (See Glossary of Terms for definitions and standardized abbreviations.)

Negative # Reference number for location of separately filed photo negatives.

Inscription: Record the inscription on the reverse side of the inventory form, always verbatim, i.e.

HERE LYES Ye BODY   not   Here lies the body of
of Mr PAUL PRATT   Paul Pratt

Whenever necessary, and possible, any portion of the inscription buried beneath ground level can be gently excavated. Information derived from sources other than the grave marker's presently legible inscription, whether inferred from fragments or determined from research, is displayed within brackets and the source noted on the form.

APPENDIX D

ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY INVENTORY OF MARKERS

The comprehensive cemetery survey of St. John's Episcopal Church Cemetery involved using the following inventory form and instruction guide to record data from individual grave markers. The form received a thorough "shake-down" during fieldwork at the graveyard to determine the entire survey methodology's effectiveness as an applied history project. However, it was the author's intention that the form would need revising to correct any unforeseen weaknesses that a field test might uncover. The revised version of the inventory form is found in Appendix E.

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St. John's Cemetery INVENTORY OF MARKERS

1. Section _____ 2. Marker Number (from grid) _____ 3. Photo Negative Number _____

4. Marker Type: A. Tabletstone _____ B. Tablet on Base _____ C. Cradle ____ D. Crypt (slab) _____

E. Extended (box) Crypt _____ F. Monument _____ G. Other _____

5. Material: A. Slate _____ B. Sandstone _____ C. Limestone _____ D. Marble _____ E. Gray

Granite _____ F. Polished Granite _____ G. Other _____

6. Name _____ 7. Age _____

8. Sex: A. Male _____ B. Female _____ 9. Birth Date _____ 10. Death Date _____

11. Dimensions (to nearest 1/2 inch): A. Height to Ground _____ B. Width _____

C. Thickness _____ 12. Direction Marker Faces: N S E W NE SE NW SW

13. Condition of marker: A. Sound _____ B. Chipped _____ C. Cracked _____ D. Crumbled _____

E. Broken _____ F. Discolored/stained _____ G. Moss/lichen _____ H. Replacement _____

I Sunken _____ J. Tilted _____ (angle of tilt _____) K. Other _____

14. Comments _____

_____

15. Inscription: A. Mint _____ B. Clear but Worn _____ C. Mostly Legible _____ D. Traces _____

E. Illegible or Destroyed _____ 16. Carver _____

17. Carving Technique Used: A. Incised _____ B. Relief _____ C. Three Dimensional _____

18. Carving Motif: A. Winged Skull _____ B. Winged Head _____ C. Urn & Willow _____ D. Border _____

E. Rosette(s) _____ F. Hourglass _____ G. Lettering only _____ H. Other _____

19. Carved Surfaces (one or more): A. Front _____ B. Back _____ C. Top _____ D. Side Panels _____

20. Footstone present: A. Yes _____ B. No _____ C. Distance from headstone _____ Inches

21. Stone Shape (in outline): A. _____ B. _____ C. _____ D. _____ E. _____ F. _____ G. _____ H. _____

I. _____ J. _____ Other _____

22. Epitaph Condition: A.Clear _____ B. Blurred _____ C. Illegible _____ D. None present _____

23. Write the epitaph and inscription _exactly_ as they appears on the stone, line by line, noting characteristics in parentheses (such as being arched, in Italics, Gothic lettering, etc) at the end.

INSCRIPTION

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

EPITAPH:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

RECORDING CEMETERY DATA

Instructions for recording Information on the survey form. All Information MUST BE PRINTED.

1. SECTION: Print a capital letter for the section of the cemetery your team is working.

2. MARKER NUMBER: Copy the number the gravemarker has been assigned on your grid map.

3. PHOTO NEGATIVE NUMBER: Record the exposure(s) you took of this gravemarker by roll and frame numbers (example = 1:5 - meaning roll number 1; frame number 5)

4. MARKER TYPE: Place an X after the appropriate designation based on the line drawings.

Tablelstone · Tablet on Base · Cradle · Crypt · Extended · Monument (Column, spire, obelisk)
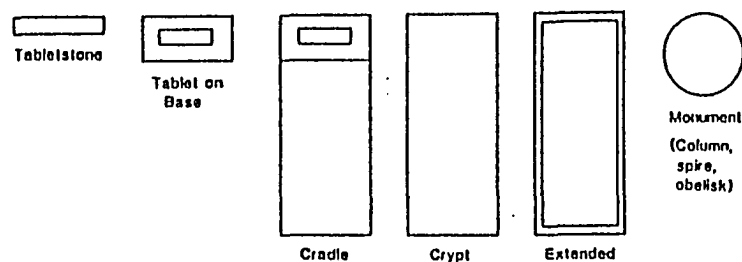
5. MATERIAL: Place an X after the appropriate designation. If Other, be specific (bronze, etc)

6. NAME: Record the full name of the person interred as it appears in the text on the stone.

7. AGE: This information is either stated on the stone or can be determined from other information on the stone and then calculated. In other words, how old was the person at his/her death.

8. SEX: Place an X after the appropriate designation.

9. BIRTH DATE: Record this information, if available, using the form day/month/year.

10. DEATH DATE: See above.

11. DIMENSIONS: Fill in the appropriate information. Measure to the nearest 1/2 inch.

12. DIRECTION MARKER FACES: Circle the appropriate direction that the headstone's inscribed surface (the stone's front panel) faces. Use a compass to make the determination.

13. CONDITION OF MARKER: Place an X after the appropriate designation, fill in any information.

14. COMMENTS: Provide any additional information relating to the condition of the stone.

15. INSCRIPTION: Place an X after the appropriate designation for its condition.

16. CARVER: Record the name of the carver, if possible, look on the bottom, right of the face.

17. CARVING TECHNIQUE USED: Place an X after the appropriate designation.

18. CARVING MOTIF: Place an X after the appropriate designation, be specific if "Other".

19. CARVED SURFACES: Place an X after each of the surfaces of the stone with any carving.

20. FOOTSTONE PRESENT: Place an X after A or B; If present then write the measured distance in C.

21. STONE SHAPE: Place an X after the appropriate letter for the basic outline shape of the stone based on the following line drawings. Pick the shape that is closest to the actual shape; however, if none of these fits at all, then describe and/or draw the shape after "Other".

A   B   C   D   E

F   G   H   I   J
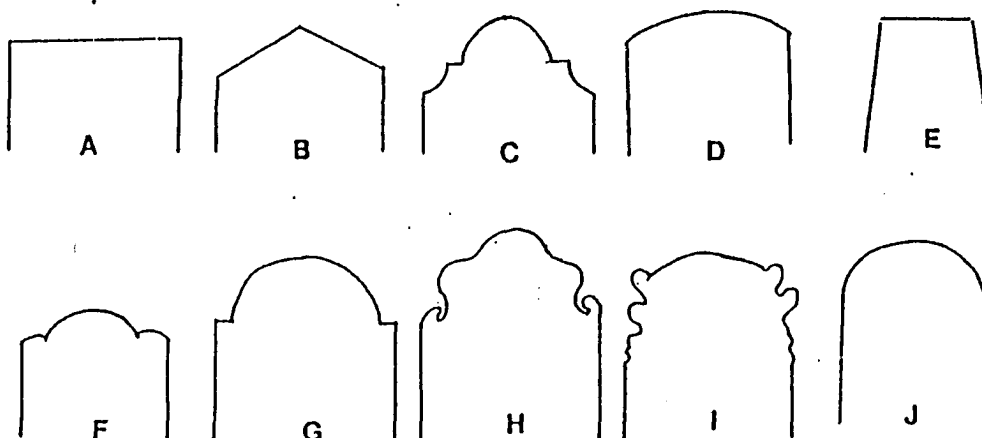
22. EPITAPH CONDITION: Place an X after the appropriate designation.

23. Under the epitaph column print the complete epitaph, if there is one, exactly as it appears on the stone. Make no corrections to any errors or stylistic form. Any additional information can be added at the end of the epitaph by placing it in parentheses. Under the inscription column, print the inscription as it appears on the stone, line-by-line. Each line on the form should be used for a separate line of the inscription. If the inscription is too long to fit on the form line-by-line, then use the following style: Mary Smith/died April 4, 1822/wife of John Smith/born Mecklenburg County/ North Carolina/ June 1, 1790

PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD

Section Letter _____ Film Roll Number _____ Recorder's Name_____

Instructions: After each number, record the NAME (last, first, middle) of the interred and the stone's section:grid reference location. For example: SMITH, MARY (A:23 meaning section A: stone number 23).

1. _____ 22. _____

2. _____ 23. _____

3. _____ 24. _____

4. _____ 25. _____

5. _____ 26. _____

6. _____ 27. _____

7. _____ 28. _____

8. _____ 29. _____

9. _____ 30. _____

10. _____ 31. _____

11. _____ 32. _____

12. _____ 33. _____

13. _____ 34. _____

14. _____ 35. _____

15. _____ 36. _____

16. _____

17. _____

18. _____

19. _____

20. _____

21. _____

APPENDIX E

ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY REVISED INVENTORY

OF MARKERS

The results of the field test conducted at St. John's
Cemetery during March 1991 confirmed the author's assumption
that the cemetery inventory form originally developed for the
comprehensive survey would need some revising. Students who
participated in the fieldwork at St. John's provided both
positive and negative feedback based on their experiences
with the survey's methodology. The following revised version
of the inventory form corrects problematic areas the students
ascertained in the original inventory form (see Appendix D).

St. John's Cemetery REVISED INVENTORY OF MARKERS

1. Marker I.D. (from grid)_____ 2. Direction Marker Faces: N S E W NE SE NW SW

3. Marker Type: Tabletstone _____ Tablet on Base _____ Cradle _____ Crypt (slab) _____

    Extended (box) Crypt _____ Monument _____ Angular Marker on Base _____

    In-Ground _____ Angular Marker without Base _____ Other _____

4. Material: Slate _____ Sandstone _____ Limestone _____ Marble _____ Gray Granite _____

    Polished Granite _____ Other _____

5. Stone Shape (in outline): A. _____ B. _____ C. _____ D. _____ E. _____ F. _____ G. _____ H. _____

    I. _____ J. _____ Other _____

6. Condition of marker: Sound _____ Chipped _____ Cracked _____ Crumbled _____

    Broken _____ Discolored/stained _____ Moss/lichen _____ Replacement _____

    Sunken _____ Tilted _____ (angle of tilt in degrees /direction _____)

    Other _____ 7. Footstone present: Yes _____ No _____

8. Inscription:

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

9. Inscription Condition: Mint _____

    Clear but Worn _____ Traces _____

    Illegible or Destroyed _____

10. Carving Technique: Incised _____

    Relief _____ Three Dimensional _____

11. Carved Surfaces: Front _____

    Back _____ Top _____ Sides _____

12. Carving Motif: Urn _____ Willow _____ Urn & Willow _____ Border _____ Rosette(s) _____

    Hourglass _____ Lettering only _____ Other _____

13. Carver: _____ 14. Age of Deceased: _____

15. Dimensions: Height _____; Width _____; Thickness _____ 16. Epitaph: _____

RECORDING CEMETERY DATA

Instructions for recording information on the survey form. All information MUST BE PRINTED.

1. MARKER IDENTIFICATION: Copy the section letter and number the grave marker has been assigned from the map grid.

2. DIRECTION MARKER FACES: Circle the appropriate direction that the headstone's inscribed surface (the stone's front panel) faces. Use a compass to make the determination.

3. MARKER TYPE: Place an X after the appropriate designation based on the line drawings.

Tabletstone

Tablet on Base

Cradle   Crypt   Extended

Monument (Column, spire, obelisk)
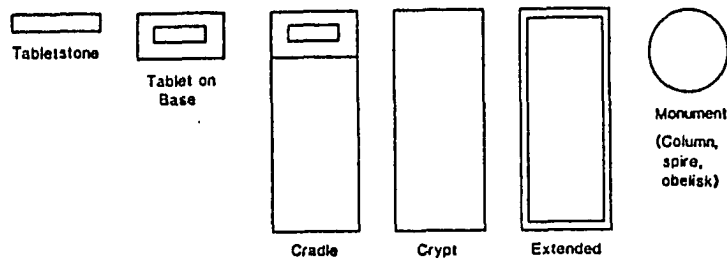
4. MATERIAL: Place an X after the appropriate designation. If Other, be specific (bronze, etc)

5. STONE SHAPE: Place an X after the appropriate letter for the basic outline shape of the stone based on the following line drawings. Pick the shape that is closest to the actual shape; however, if none of these fits at all, then describe and/or draw the shape after "Other".

A   B   C   D   E

F   G   H   I   J
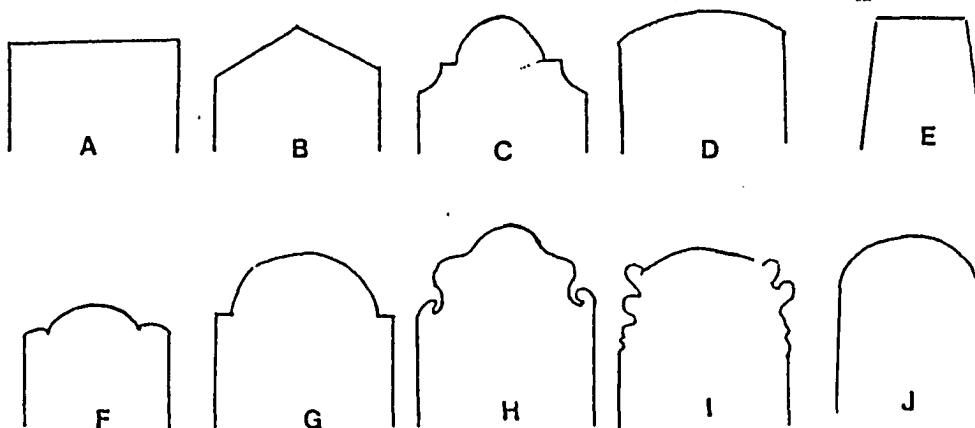
6. CONDITION OF MARKER: Place an X after the appropriate designation, fill in any information.

7. FOOTSTONE PRESENT: Place an X after Yes or No.

8. Print the inscription as it appears on the stone, line-by-line. Each line on the form should be used for a separate line of the inscription. If the inscription is too long to fit on the form line-by-line, then use the following style: Mary Smith (arched)/died April 4, 1822/wife of John Smith/born Mecklenburg County/ North Carolina/ June 1, 1790. Note any special conditions of the inscription, such as a line being arched, in parentheses after the place on the inscription where that condition appears. Continue on the back of the form if necessary.

9. INSCRIPTION: Place an X after the appropriate designation for its condition.

10. CARVING TECHNIQUE USED: Place an X after the appropriate designation.

11. CARVED SURFACES: Place an X after each of the surfaces of the stone with any carving.

12. CARVING MOTIF: Place an X after the appropriate designation, be specific if "Other".

13. CARVER: Record the name of the carver, if known; look on the bottom right of the stone's face.

14. AGE OF DECEASED: Record the age from the information on the stone or calculate from the birth and death date data.

15. DIMENSIONS: Fill in the stone's measurements to the nearest 1/2 inch. Measure the height of the stone from ground level to the highest point and the width at the widest point on the stone.

16. EPITAPH: Place an X on the line if an epitaph is included on the stone. On the back of the form write the epitaph exactly as it appears on the stone. Make no corrections to any errors or stylistic form. Any additional information or comments, such as noting that a line is arched or that the lettering is italicized, should be placed in parentheses.

PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD

Film Roll Number _____   Recorder's Name _____

Instructions: After each number, record the LAST NAME of the interred and the stone's section and grid reference location. For example: SMITH – A:23 (meaning section A: stone number 23).

1. _____   22. _____

2. _____   23. _____

3. _____   24. _____

4. _____   25. _____

5. _____   26. _____

6. _____   27. _____

7. _____   28. _____

8. _____   29. _____

9. _____   30. _____

10. _____   31. _____

11. _____   32. _____

12. _____   33. _____

13. _____   34. _____

14. _____   35. _____

15. _____   36. _____

16. _____

17. _____

18. _____

19. _____

20. _____

21. _____

APPENDIX F

STATE PROTECTIVE STATUTES

The chart created for this appendix compares the statu-
tory protection afforded to cemeteries by those states with
laws concerning cemetery vandalism. The material presented
here does not address any other statutory provisions for acts
dealing solely with grave robbing, disinterment, or corpse
abuse. Thirty-six states and the District of Columbia have
criminal statutes for the destruction of grave markers and
other similar acts of cemetery vandalism. Because cemetery
vandalism is a criminal offense under all thirty-six
statutes, penalties include fines, imprisonment, or both.
In most states, violators of the criminal statutes are also
liable for civil actions brought before the court by a
surviving spouse, the next of kin, or even the state on
behalf of the decedent.[1]

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[1]The author synthesized information in Glorie P.
Sugars, CRS Report for Congress: Summaries of State Statutes
on Cemetery Vandalism (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress,
Congressional Research Service, American Law Division, 10
June 1987), 1-13, CRS, 87-546 A.

State Statutes on Cemetery Vandalism

State	Classification	Penalties
Alabama	Class A misdemeanor	Not more than one year imprisonment in the county jail or hard labor for the county.
Arizona	(1) Class 4 felony if property damage amounts to $10,000 or more. (2) Class 5 felony if damage amounts to more than $1500 but less than $10,000. (3) Class 6 felony if damage amounts to $100 or more but less than 1500. (4) Class 1 misdemeanor for all other conditions.	Only specifies that a Class 1 misdemeanor is punishable with a maximum of six months imprisonment in a place other than the department of corrections.
Arkansas	Misdemeanor	Fine of not less than $10 nor more than $100.
California	Not specified but classified as a crime.	Not to exceed one year imprisonment in the state prison or county jail.
Colorado	Class 1 misdemeanor	Minimum six months imprisonment, $500 fine, or both, up to a maximum 24 months imprisonment, $5000 fine, or both.
Connecticut	Class D felony	Not less than one year nor more than five years imprisonment.
Delaware	Misdemeanor	Fine of not less than $1000 nor more than $10,000.

District of Columbia	Misdemeanor	Fine of not more than $100. When the incident is done with the intent to deprive any person of equal protection under the law, the punishment is a fine of up to $500 or imprisonment of up to one year, or both.
Florida	(1)1st degree misdemeanor if damage is less than $100. (2) 3rd degree felony if damage exceeds $100.	(1) Fine of $1000 or imprisonment not to exceed one year. (2) Fine not to exceed $5000 or imprisonment not to exceed five years.
Idaho	Misdemeanor	Imprisonment not to exceed six months in a county jail or a fine in an amount not to exceed $300.
Illinois	(1)Class 3 felony provided damage is a least $300. (2) Independent of criminal prosecution, the party suffering damage may bring civil action for damages.	(1) Imprisonment of not less than two years nor more than five years.
Iowa	Simple misdemeanor	Imprisonment not to exceed 30 days or a fine not to exceed $100.
Kansas	Class A misdemeanor	Confinement in the county jail not to exceed one year.
Kentucky	Class A misdemeanor	Maximum 12 months imprisonment, a maximum fine of $500, or both.
Louisiana	Not specified	(1) Fine not to exceed $500 or imprisonment for not more than six months or both if damage is less than $500. (2) Fine not to exceed $1000 or imprisonment, with or without hard labor, not more than two years or both if damage amounts to $500 but not more than $50,000. (3) Fine not to exceed $10,000 or imprisonment, with or without hard

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labor, not less than one nor more than ten years or both if damages exceed $50,000.

Maine	Class D criminal offense	Fine not to exceed $1000. If committed by an organization the fine shall be $5000.
Maryland	Misdemeanor	Fine of not more than $2000 or imprisonment for not more than three years, or both.
Massachusetts	Not specified	Imprisonment in the state prison for not more than five years or in the jail or house of corrections for not more than two and one-half years and a fine of not more than $5000.
Michigan	Felony	Imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine not to exceed $2500, or both if damages exceed $100.
Minnesota	Gross misdemeanor	Maximum fine of $3000 or a maximum imprisonment of one year.
Mississippi	Not specified	Not more than one year imprisonment in the county jail or fine not to exceed $500, or both. The court may order restitution as it deems appropriate.
Montana	Criminal mischief	Make restitution in an amount and manner set by the court, fined a maximum of $500 or imprisonment in the county jail for not more than six months, or both. If the offense causes pecuniary loss in excess of $300, injures or kills a commonly domesticated hoofed animal, or impairs public services; a maximum fine of $50,000, imprisonment in the state prison for not more than ten years, or both. Violators are also liable in civil action.
Nebraska	Class 3 misdemeanor	Maximum three months imprisonment or $5000 fine, or both. Offender is also liable in a civil trespass action.

New Jersey	(1) Disorderly person offense for actions damaging any public premises. (2) 4th degree crime if offense involves a private premise.	(1) Fine not to exceed $1000, make restitution and/or imprisonment not to exceed six months. (2) Fine not to exceed $7500 or an order to make restitution, or both.
New Mexico	Petty misdemeanor	Imprisonment for six months or less.
New York	Only specifies that parents or legal guardians of infant over ten but less than eighteen years old is liable in civil actions brought by the cemetery or next of kin.	Nothing except restitution as provided by statute.
North Carolina	(1) Misdemeanor if damages are less than $1000. (2) Class 1 felony if damages exceed $1000.	(1) Fine not to exceed $500, imprisonment of not less than sixty days not more than one year, or both. Court shall consider restitution or reparation as a condition of probation and as an alternative to the imposed fine, jail term or both. (2) Imprisonment of up to five years, or a fine, or both.
Ohio	Felony of the 4th degree if damages exceed $300.	Maximum fine of $2500, imprisonment between a minimum term of eighteen months, two years, thirty months, or three years, and a maximum term of five years.
Oklahoma	Misdemeanor	Fine of not less than $5 nor more than $500 or imprisonment in the county jail for no more than six months, or both.
Oregon	Class C misdemeanor	Maximum term of imprisonment of thirty days or a fine not to exceed $500.

Pennsylvania	2nd degree misdemeanor	Not more than two years imprisonment.
Rhode Island	Felony	Fine not to exceed $10,000 or imprisonment not to exceed five years, or both.
South Carolina	Misdemeanor	(1) Fine of not less than $50 nor more than $100 or imprisonment for not less than twenty days nor more than thirty days for injury to a public or private monument or tombstone or the wilful trespass upon the grounds. (2) Minimum fine of $2000 and confined to county chain gang or state penitentiary for not more than five years, or both when the offense obliterates a grave, shrubbery, decorations, or cemetery enclosures.
Tennessee	(1) Misdemeanor if the action is malicious. (2) Felony of the action is willful.	(1) Imprisonment in the county jail or workhouse for not more than eleven months and twenty-nine days, or a fine not to exceed $500, or both. (2) Fine of $3000 or imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.
Vermont	Not specified	Up to five years imprisonment or fine of up to $2000 but not less than $10, or both.
Virginia	Class 1 misdemeanor	Confinement to jail for not more than twelve months and a fine of not more than $1000 or both.
Washington	Gross misdemeanor and also liable in civil action.	Pay all damages for repair and restoration of the property injured or destroyed.
Wisconsin	Not specified	(1) For disturbing an uncatalogued burial site, a fine of not less than $500 nor more than $1000. (2) For an owner to disturb an uncatalogued burial site, fine of not less

than $1000 nor more than $5000.
(3) For disturbing a catalogued burial site without statutory permit, fine of not less than $1000 nor more than $5000.
(4) For disturbing a burial site for commercial gain, fine of two times the gross value gained or two times the gross loss caused by the disturbance, plus court costs and costs to investigate and prosecute, or imprisonment up to one year in the county jail, or both.

APPENDIX G

ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY CROSS REFERENCE

LISTING: ALPHABETICAL

From the information recorded on the inventory forms
during the comprehensive survey at St. John's Cemetery, the
following alphabetical list was prepared.[1] Used in
conjunction with the listing of markers by map reference
numbers in Appendix H, these cross referenced lists provide a
visitor to the St. John's Cemetery with two means of locating
grave markers in the graveyard. Checking for a decedent's
name in this list provides a map reference number indicating
a grave marker's location in the cemetery based on the
individual survey section maps included with Appendix H.
For example, the reference number for Walter Martin Albright
is G-6 indicating that the grave marker for the decedent can
be found using the Section G survey map and locating marker
number 6.

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[1]Richard Betterly, "St. John's Episcopal Cemetery:
A Comprehensive Cemetery Survey-Inventory Report"
(Murfreesboro, TN: Center for Historic Preservation,
Middle Tennessee State University, 1991), photocopied.

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Alphabetized Lisitng of Grave Markers in St. John's Cemetery

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Agnes ˙	. . . .	14 July 1849	F-10
Albright, Walter M.	13 Dec. 1904	9 Oct. 1984	G-6
Alexander, Mariah L.	12 Jan. 1832	14 Feb. 1853	F-16
Anderson, Caroline	. . . .	3 Oct. 1853	F-7
" , Frances	8 Aug. 1847	17 Sep. 1849	F-8
" , Martha	23 Mar. 1853	1 Aug. 1854	F-9
Andrews, George Davis	8 Feb. 1861	11 Feb. 1945	A-13
" , Mary Purvis	3 July 1880	30 Dec. 1959	A-12
Baagoe, Elizabeth Darden	1900	1986	C-38
" , Knud	1903	1971	C-38
Barnett, James Leon	1924	(10 Aug.) 1977	G-19
Barth, Elizabeth Pike	12 May 1901	25 July 1973	B-21
" , Theodore Nott	11 July 1898	22 Aug. 1961	B-22
Beckham, Robert F.	6 May 1837	5 Dec. 1864	A-18
Bedon, Hyder Davie	5 Mar. 1835	2 Oct. 1897	A-2
" , Rosa Jackson	22 Mar. 1855	11 Dec. 1912	A-2
Bethell, Hattie L.	4 Dec. 1866	30 Oct. 1867	C-36
Bland, James Harden	. . . .	5 Nov. 1857	A-36
" , Martha Elizabeth	. . . .	21 Apr. 1853	A-37
Branch, Annie Pillow	8 Sep. 1829	11 Sep. 1854	D-3
" , Joseph Gerald	1865	1952	E-7
" , Joseph	3 Aug. 1817	23 Nov. 1867	E-10
" , Lawrence O. B.	25 Mar. 1862	26 Aug. 1936	E-8
" , Mary Polk	28 Nov. 1830	2 Dec. 1918	E-9
Brown, Campbell	27 Nov. 1840	30 Aug. 1893	B-6
" , George Campbell	25 Sep. 1871	23 July 1912	B-4
" , Gertrude Plunkett	1883	1936	B-76
" , James Plunkett	1909	1913	B-85
" , Lizinka Campbell	6 Apr. 1874	28 Aug. 1899	B-5
" , Lucius Polk	1 Aug. 1867	5 Apr. 1935	B-3
" , Percy, Sr.	1874	1934	B-74

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Brown, Percy, Jr.	1912	1964	B-71
" , Susan M.	10 Sep. 1872	23 Nov. 1950	B-2
" , Susan Polk	7 July 1847	19 Feb. 1922	B-6
Burril, Letty	. . . .	1 Dec. 1859	F-3
Brownell, Harold S.	26 July 1899	12 Dec. 1982	B-24
Bryant, Joseph Andrew	13 Oct. 1849	30 Oct. 1849	C-58
Carpenter, Louise S.	3 Sep. 1901	16 Apr. 1986	G-14
Coffey, John Shelby	23 May 1909	5 Dec. 1978	A-81
Comer, Andrew J.	15 Sep. 1837	29 Nov. 1864	A-30
Connelly, Bonnie G.	25 Nov. 1918	. . . .	A-33
" , Horace M.	4 May 1906	. . . .	A-33
Cooper, Charles Jordan	1899	1970	G-11
" , Elvira Polk	1856	1923	B-8
" , Helen Page J.	1900	. . . .	G-11
" , Horace Polk	1887	1945	B-10
Craik, Gertrude B.	. . . .	31 Jan. 1904	C-50
" , Joel Tucker	. . . .	28 Apr. 1906	C-49
Criddle, Edward S.	25 May 1899	29 July 1960	A-69
" , Ernestine D.	3 Oct. 1904	5 Aug. 1960	A-68
Crockett, Holcombe R.	3 May 1894	10 Nov, 1987	A-25
Cromwell, Edward R.	27 June 1844	20 Dec. 1847	B-11
Dallas, Hugh Douglas	9 May 1900	22 Sep. 1978	B-55
" , P. D., Jr.	1915	1989	B-54
Davis, Starling P.	11 Feb. 1924	. . . .	C-51
" , Winfred J.	26 Dec. 1917	30 Jan. 1982	C-52
D'Heur, Allard F. Karl	17 May 1958	31 Aug. 1970	G-8
Donelson, Jinny	1810	15 Apr. 1864	F-1
Douglas, Edward H.	. . . .	7 Jan. 1849	C-55
" , Elizabeth J.	9 Apr. 1851	30 July 1851	C-53
" , Inf. dau. (David and Mary)	. . . .	28 Jan. 1848	C-54
" , Mary R.	20 Jan. 1820	6 Oct. 1856	C-57
Dubose, Joel	. . . .	29 Nov. 1864	A-19

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Fiedler, George Adolph	15 Apr. 1898	. . . .	A-15
" , Marie C.	22 June 1901	3 Aug. 1987	A-15
Foster, Hugh	2 Apr. 1871	31 Oct. 1934	A-51
Foster, James Granbery	31 Aug. 1898	5 June 1957	A-52
" , Nettie Granbery	28 Dec. 1873	22 Mar. 1957	A-51
Fraser, Margaret Cathey	1 Oct. 1907	23 Mar. 1971	A-58
Fraser, William C.	1 Dec. 1906	. . . .	A-58
Gaines, John D.	26 Feb. 1891	21 Jan. 1966	E-15
Garrett, Jill	. . . .	. . . .	D-30
" , Ted	. . . .	. . . .	D-30
Gates, William F.	12 Mar. 1912	29 Dec. 1987	A-14
Gilchrist, Mary Lane	19 Feb. 1919	18 Dec. 1979	A-76
Glass, Leonidas Polk	1898	1965	G-13
" , Marie Fitzhugh	1902	(1 Sep.) 1986	G-13
Graham, Joseph	18 Nov. 1914	3 Aug. 1973	E-2
" , Nancy Abbay	10 Oct. 1916	18 Sep. 1974	E-2
Granbery, H. D.	. . . .	1 July 1922	A-45
" , Harry Pointer	25 Dec. 1878	11 July 1940	A-41
" , James Brown	3 Oct. 1861	28 Jan. 1922	A-43
" , James T.	22 June 1891	25 Dec. 1968	A-46
" , John J.	. . . .	2 Jan. 1882	A-50
" , Joseph	14 Feb. 1866	15 July 1908	A-48
" , Kathleen F.	22 Nov. 1878	15 Jan. 1899	A-44
" , Llewellyna	24 Apr. 1895	11 Mar. 1977	A-46
" , Margaret T.	16 May 1864	19 Apr. 1950	A-53
" , Robert Lee	8 Oct. 1870	26 Dec. 1922	A-42
" , Susan Brown	30 Dec. 1841	25 Aug. 1920	A-49
" , William L., Sr.	11 Feb. 1863	19 Nov. 1929	A-53
" , William L., Jr.	19 July 1889	29 May 1932	A-54
Grant, Dr. Edwin	9 Feb. 1809	22 Feb. 1866	B-15
Gray, Daniel Roger (Sr.)	16 Nov. 1878	25 July 1955	B-87
" , Daniel Roger, Jr.	19 Oct. 1916	4 June 1990	B-89
" , Elizabeth W.	9 Oct. 1876	12 Nov. 1967	B-88

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Grigsby, Annie O.	1888	1967	C-17
" , John C.	1886	1950	C-17
Grissom, Ava Wilson	26 July 1897	14 Apr. 1960	G-5
" , Roy Jack	15 June 1891	9 Oct. 1962	G-4
" , Victor W.	19 Aug. 1924	14 Jan. 1986	G-3
Hall, Carmen Irwin	26 June 1947	25 May 1973	E-26
Hales, Virginia W.	8 May 1925	22 Aug. 1988	A-56
Hann, Rose G. (unmarked)	June 1889	25 Sep. 1978	G-18
Hardeman, Mary M. M.	1 Dec. 1805	30 Sep. 1890	C-26
" , William	8 May 1801	28 Mar. 1863	C-26
Harper, John	. . . .	29 Nov. 1864	A-17
Harrison, Anna R.	. . . .	. . . .	G-9
" , Hansel N.	12 May 1897	11 July 1966	G-9/G-16
Hemphill, Frankie P.	1889	1963	C-63
" , Mary Polk	1851	1922	C-61
" , Mary Polk	10 Oct. 1887	18 Sep. 1889	C-62
Higgins, Alice M.	2 Nov. 1880	23 Jan. 1958	D-18
" , Edward	1 July 1819	25 June 1901	D-16
" , Katherine	1836	1926	D-17
" , Thomas L.	10 Sep. 1867	12 Oct. 1948	D-18
Hilliard, Edwin S.	5 Oct. 1850	12 Dec. 1920	C-16
" , George W.	1822	1864	C-25
" , Isaac H., Sr.	7 Sep. 1811	25 June 1868	C-15
" , Isaac H., Jr.	25 Mar. 1849	16 June 1882	C-11/C-14
" , Isaac H.	20 Oct. 1881	13 Apr. 1882	C-10
" , Mary H. & Sister	. . . .	. . . .	C-4
" , Mary Moore	9 Mar. 1786	1 Mar. 1848	C-34
" , Miriam Brannin	5 Aug. 1824	24 Aug. 1853	C-15
Howard, Anne Craige	26 Sep. 1906	27 Mar. 1973	E-3
" , Elizabeth	20 Feb. 1787	21 Feb. 1846	E-21
" , Gerald Branch	29 Dec. 1889	24 Dec. 1973	E-4
" , James	4 Nov. 1750	7 Mar, 1849	E-22
" , John William	27 Apt. 1847	14 Oct. 1921	E-6/E-18

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Howard, Laurence B.	20 Aug. 1900	2 Mar. 1959	E-13
" , Lucia Branch	7 Apr. 1864	7 Nov. 1949	E-5/E-18
" , Nancy Jane C.	8 Jan. 1928	1 Dec. 1968	E-14
Huger, Leonide Polk	3 July 1865	11 Aug. 1866	B-62
Hull, Mary Karen	13 Dec. 1942	20 Oct. 1981	A-74
Hynds, Constant H.	. 4 June 1917	26 Dec. 1988	G-12
Jack, Louise C.	1902	(15 Mar.) 1982	B-72
" , Walter G.	1894	. . . .	B-72
Jett, Eveline	10 Oct. 1833	17 Oct. 1859	B-47
Jewell, Charles W.	1912	1990	D-19
Johnson, Anita O'Fallon	29 Apr. 1930	4 Sep. 1982	G-20
" , Isom "Ike" A.	18 Dec. 1840	31 July 1913	C-65
" , Little Louise	6 Mar. 1901	27 June 1902	C-64
" , Martha Ann C.	24 Apr. 1862	16 Feb. 1941	C-65
Jones, Rebecca Edwards	1857	1933	B-26
" , Sarah Rachel P.	24 Jan. 1833	12 June 1905	B-37
King, Cornelia A.	26 Jan. 1896	29 May 1989	A-64
" , Nobal Eugene	5 June 1892	12 Sep. 1959	A-65
Lafferty, Eleanor A.	9 Sep. 1903	16 June 1976	A-70
" , Paul Joseph	22 Aug. 1899	12 Nov. 1975	A-70
Littlefield, John Eastin	30 Apr. 1871	19 Mar. 1955	A-4
" , Mamie F.	15 Nov. 1874	11 Dec. 1856	A-3
" , William	1 Feb. 1845	15 Sep. 1899	A-5
Long, Cynthia B.	13 Jan. 1868	22 Sep. 1869	C-27/C30
" , Eunice Rawls	1889	1984	C-8
" , Lemuel	1827	1906	C-19
" , Martha P.	1838	1902	C-18
" , Mary P.	29 Mar. 1871	16 Aug. 1879	C-28/C31
" , Maude	1860	1908	C-20
" , W. Bethell	1878	1959	C-7
Lyon, Chesney Hughes	26 Mar. 1901	26 May 1965	B-17
Malone, Joseph B.	14 July 1834	18 Aug. 1849	C-56
Manson, Clara Tunison	6 Oct. 1906	7 Mar. 1982	A-82

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Marks, Clifford H.	1904	1964	G-15
" , Sara K.	1907	1983	G-15
Marsh, John Henry	. . . .	. . . .	A-29
Martin, Branch	8 Dec. 1849	21 Dec. 1905	D-7
" , George S.	3 Jan. 1840	23 Sep. 1863	D-6
" , George W.	1 Feb. 1808	19 Aug. 1854	D-4
" , Larissa Kittrell	3 May 1842	5 Sep. 1904	D-12
" , Narcissa	17 Jan. 1811	28 Apr. 1883	D-4
" , Narcissa Pillow	. . . .	27 Dec. 1854	D-2
Martin, Thomas G.	27 Sep. 1831	10 Aug. 1912	D-13
Maxon, Blanche Morris	1876	1973	A-62
" , James M. (Sr.)	(1 Jan.) 1875	(8 Nov.) 1948	A-57
" , James M., Jr.	1908	1941	A-63
McClain, Iris Hopkins	15 May 1900	19 Dec. 1987	D-29
McClinchey, Frances	. . . .	4 Nov. 1850	D-24
" , Lucius P.	. . . .	. . . .	D-25
" , W. Lewis	1860	(30 Oct.) 1941	D-26
MacDonald, Martha S. Long	1904	1983	C-22
McKee, Florence W.	8 Apr. 1905	. . . .	A-66
" , Herbert A.	5 May 1902	14 Feb. 1979	A-66
McMurray, Welborn S.	24 Nov. 1843	25 Mar. 1864	A-21
Meston, Robert	. . . .	17 May 1856	A-40
Meyer, Helen Rumler	1903	1962	G-17
" , William H.	1903	1972	G-17
Minnigan, Nicholas	. . . .	. . . .	A-55
Mitchell, Baker Adams	20 Sep. 1908	25 Apr. 1984	A-26
Moore, Tom White III	29 Sep. 1969	12 Aug. 1990	A-78
Mosley, Joel Ilia, Jr.	17 May 1901	13 Nov. 1987	B-1
Newell, Richard N	30 Nov. 1796	8 Oct. 1889	G-1
Northrup, Susan E.	22 Sep. 1878	30 Nov. 1941	A-1
Orr, Annie Long	1862	1946	C-21
", Ella Long	16 Mar. 1859	7 July 1890	C-12
Otey, Eliza Davis	31 Mar. 1800	4 June 1861	B-29
" , Frances Jane	23 Sep. 1838	6 Feb. 1848	B-27

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Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
" , James Hervey	27 Jan. 1800	23 Apr. 1863	B-28
" , Sarah McGavock	30 June 1830	28 May 1847	B-27
Pannill, Martha	. . . .	18 May 1842	B-23
Parmer, Joe	. . . .	21 Apr. 1863	F-2
Peebles, Grace Jackson	29 Mar. 1914	. . . .	A-87
" , Thomas H., Jr.	21 Jan. 1911	8 Apr. 1989	A-88
Perry, Charles A.	24 Nov. 1901	7 Nov. 1984	A-67
" , Josephine K.	29 Apr. 1907	12 Jan. 1982	A-67
Pillow, George M.	17 July 1839	30 Aug. 1872	D-5
" , Mary Martin	2 Apr. 1812	4 Oct. 1869	C-6
Po[lk], Betsey (worn)	1807	1862	B-53
Polk, Andrew Jackson	26 Sep. 1850	28 Apr. 1852	C-39
" , Calvin	. . . .	1913	B-16
" , Cleora L.	28 Aug. 1866	15 July 1867	B-77
" , Daisy Cantrell	29 July 1890	21 Jan. 1982	B-31
" , Eliza Eastin	. . . .	3 July 1893	B-7
" , Elizabeth	. . . .	24 Nov. 1829	E-27
" , Ellen Cantrell	15 Mar. 1893	10 May 1895	B-44
" , Frances Ann	23 Feb. 1823	28 May 1858	B-9
" , George B. M.	15 Dec. 1848	25 Mar. 1877	C-32
" , George W.	12 July 1817	8 Jan. 1892	C-23
" , George W.	1847	1924	B-34
" , Inf. son of Andrew J. & Rebecca	. . . .	1846	C-39
" , Inf. twins of L. J. & M. A.	. . . .	25 Mar. 1845	B-36
" , James Knox	14 Jan. 1882	13 Feb. 1912	B-42
" , John	. . . .	24 May 1845	E-27
" , Katie J.	13 Jan. 1887	23 Aug. 1888	B-45
" , Kitty Kirkman	18 Sep. 1852	13 Feb. 1857	C-39
" , Leouidas [sic]	9 Dec. 1856	3 Apr. 1859	C-40
" , Lucius E.	(10 July) 1833	(1 Dec.) 1892	B-40
" , Lucius E.	23 Mar. 1870	18 May 1904	B-41

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Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Polk, Lucius J.	16 Mar. 1802	3 Oct. 1870	B-18
" , Lucius J.	14 Aug. 1854	30 Sep. 1923	B-43
???, Mammy Sue	. . . .	24 Jan. 1873	C-1
" , Maria Beach	June 1860	Aug. 1860	B-61
" , Maria O.	17 Aug. 1839	3 Apr. 1840	B-78
" , Mary Ann	25 July 1810	1 Aug. 1847	B-35
" , Mary Rebecca	10 Mar. 1797	20 Sep. 1885	B-81
" , Rebecca	. . . .	30 Nov. 1875	B-32
" , Robin Ap. Wm.	3 Apr. 1842	21 Nov. 1848	B-80
" , Rowan	10 Jan. 1835	1 Apr. 1844	B-79
" , Rufus King	15 May 1814	25 Feb. 1843	B-38
" , Rufus K.	31 Oct. 1843	27 Aug. 1902	C-33
" , Sally Hawkins	18 June 1845	18 Nov. 1914	C-9
" , Sally L.	26 Nov. 1819	2 July 1894	C-24
" , Sally Moore	1844	1925	B-40
" , Sarah M.	1864	1865	B-39
" , Sarah Moore	29 Sep. 1819	19 July 1888	B-46
" , Thomas Gilchrist	1825	1877	B-83
" , Two inf. sons of Leonidas & Frances	. . . .	1841	B-25
" , William	1 Feb. 1839	5 Apr. 1906	B-33
" , William Glass	28 July 1912	15 May 1975	B-86
" , William Hawkins	27 Jan. 1839	26 Mar. 1896	C-13
" , William J.	21 Mar. 1793	27 June 1860	B-82
" , Winny Hilliard	. . . .	8 Aug. 1864	B-52
Porter, Cheairs Mayes	12 June 1906	14 June 1986	A-27
Purvis, George Edward	21 Sep. 1836	3 Apr. 1908	A-11
" , Susie Eastin	19 July 1853	4 Mar. 1923	A-10
Ridley, Mary Webb	17 Sep. 1792	23 Jan. 1852	D-28
" , William	23 Aug. 1815	30 Sep. 1839	D-20
" , Willis	29 Sep. 1786	5 Oct. 1834	D-27
Robinson, Francis	1910	1980	A-47
Roche, Amanda Paine	31 July 1813	14 Oct. 1855	A-6

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Roche, Edward Paine	15 Jan. 1836	21 July 1841	A-7
" , Frank Gurney	2 Sep. 1849	8 May 1851	A-7
" , James Paine	1 May 1840	19 July 1841	A-7
" , Kate Paine	4 Apr. 1844	29 Sep. 1855	A-6
" , Robert Paine	2 Jan. 1846	2 Sep. 1847	A-7
Ross, William M., Jr.	10 Nov. 1953	4 July 1972	A-86
Russell, Julia Ann	12 Sep. 1960	19 Sep. 1960	G-7
Seymore, J. A.	17 Feb. 1837	21 Nov. 1864	A-28
Sharp, Homer Stroud	24 Aug. 1919	4 Oct. 1961	G-2
Sharpton, Elizabeth H.	. . . .	25 July 1984	A-80
Sheegog, Edward	10 May 1810	14 Nov. 1893	A-24
" , Jane	4 Dec. 1847	27 Dec. 1847	A-24
" , Martha Louisa	15 Oct. 1821	17 Dec. 1847	A-24
Sims, Catherine B.	14 Oct. 1948	8 Aug. 1986	A-16
Smith, Mary	1771	7 June 1836	D-21
Stempfell, Ellen H.	12 Oct. 1906	7 Oct. 1968	E-12
Thomas, Avarilla	1828	1917	B-14
" , James H.	22 Sep. 1808	4 Aug. 1876	B-13
" , Margaret M.	10 Dec. 1810	12 Aug. 1849	B-12
Thompson, Joe Frank	18 Apr. 1909	13 Jan. 1975	E-1
" , Ora Graham	21 Jan. 1913	. . . .	E-1
Thrasher, Anna Patton	1905	1968	A-8
" , Thomas R.	1909	(9 Jan.) 1971	A-8
Trabue, Thomas M.	15 Aug. 1912	18 Oct. 1983	D-10
" , Thomas M. III	7 Apr. 1966	7 Oct. 1984	D-11
Tracy, Jane Ouellette	31 Jan. 1916	. . . .	A-75
" , Thomas Daniel	26 Oct. 1913	8 Sep. 1984	A-75
" , William Ernest	2 Apr. 1957	14 Aug. 1978	A-74
Trotter, Edna Carson	28 Feb. 1898	18 May 1986	A-59
Vander Horst, John	10 Jan. 1912	19 Apr. 1980	B-20
Wade, Annie Brown	10 Nov, 1880	6 Nov. 1881	D-14
Weaver, Anna Marie Bell	11 Sep. 1900	20 June 1983	A-61
Webster, Delia Arnold	1893	16 Nov. 1986	E-23

Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Reference Number
Webster, Hugh Lee	1888	1962	E-24
" , Hugh Lee, Jr.	(26 Aug.) 1918	(29 Aug.) 1935	E-25
" , Mildred Gaines	4 Apr. 1915	17 Sep. 1978	E-16
" , Natalie Arnold	1929	1934	E-19
" , William J.	31 Aug. 1916	9 Mar. 1977	E-17/E-20
Wells, Olivia Morris	24 Mar. 1959	8 Jan. 1979	A-83
Wharton, Anne Louise	1885	(27 Sep.) 1973	B-60
Whelchel, Clarence A.	9 Sep. 1899	4 Nov. 1972	G-10
" , Sibyl E. Aiken	13 Sep. 1900	17 Apr. 1985	G-10
Wright, Anna Turner S.	24 Nov. 1892	5 Jan 1983	A-31
" , Malvern Hill	10 Sep. 1888	4 Aug. 1959	A-31
Yeatman, Harry, Jr.	2 Mar. 1866	20 Dec. 1897	B-63
" , Henry C.	22 Sep. 1831	1 Aug. 1910	B-68
" , Jenny Bell	3 Mar. 1874	3 Aug. 1957	B-67
" , Lucia Polk	7 Aug. 1877	2 May 1908	B-66
" , Mary B.	25 Mar. 1835	27 Mar. 1890	B-65
" , Mary Wharton	5 May 1883	22 Mar. 1970	B-70
Yeatman, Russell, H.	28 Apr. 1869	16 Apr. 1893	B-64
" , Trezevant P.	13 Oct. 1871	14 Apr. 1959	B-69
Young, Sherrod Long	8 Sep. 1839	26 May 1855	F-15
" , R. B.	. . . .	30 Nov. 1864	A-20

APPENDIX H

ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY CROSS REFERENCE LIST:

GRAVE MARKER REFERENCE NUMBERS

BY SECTION WITH MAPS

The following map reference number list[1] used in conjunction with the alphabetical listing of markers in Appendix G provides a means to cross reference the grave markers in the cemetery. Each of the seven survey sections has a reference number map and numerical listing of markers. The map reference numbers correspond to the names of the decedents listed numerically. For example, the reference number G-6 on the map for Section G correlates to the grave marker of Walter Martin Albright. Preceding the reference number lists and section maps, a site map is provided to indicate the locations of Sections A-G in the cemetery. A second map displays the distribution of grave markers throughout the seven survey sections. In addition, a large key to clarify the symbols incorporated in the maps precedes the numerical listings and section maps.

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[1]Betterly, "St. John's Episcopal Cemetery: A Comprehensive Cemetery Survey-Inventory Report."

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ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CEMETERY
SURVEY SECTIONS A - G

F

D C B A

E

G CHURCH

KEY

.... Removed section of wall

—— Survey boundary line

▬▬ Stone wall

▬▬ Brick walk

= Unfinished road

/ / Chain link fence

0 25 50'
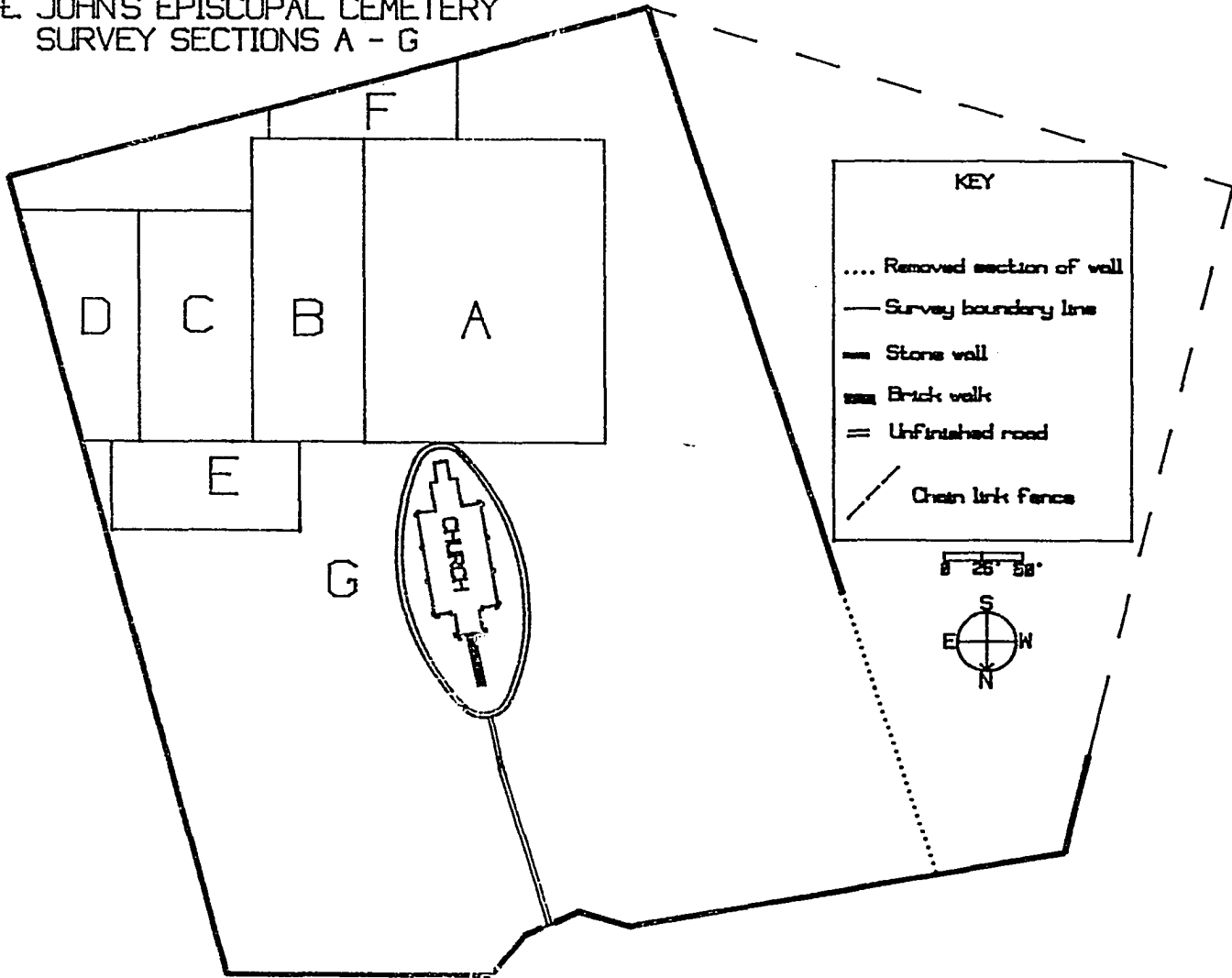
St. John's Cemetery
Gravestone Distribution

KEY

.... Removed section of wall

Survey section

— Family plot coping
Stone wall

= Unimproved dirt road

O Tree or large planting

. Family plot post

ABC Grave reference number

▫ Burial depression

\ Chain link fence

S
E ⊕ W
N

0   25   50
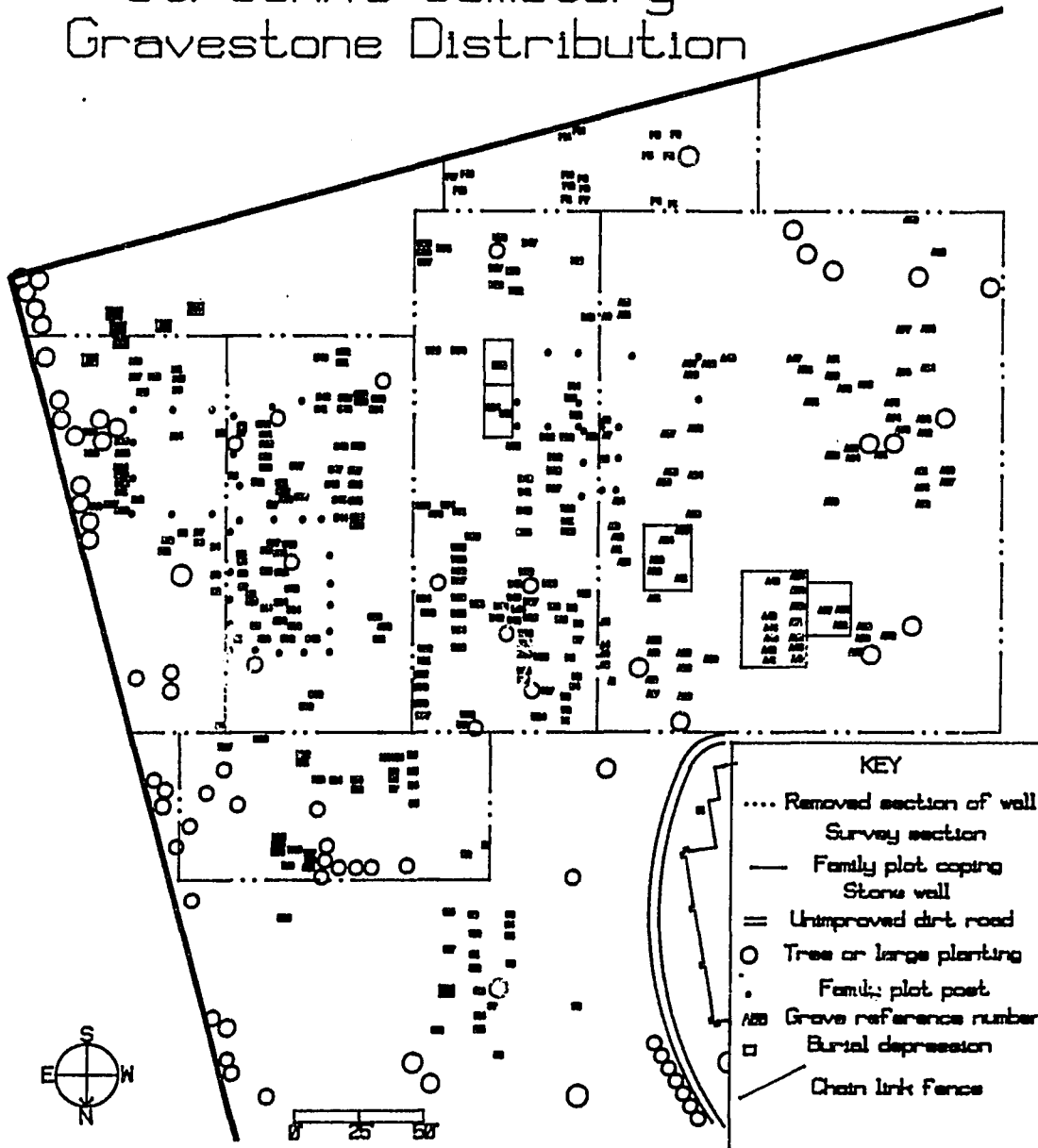
Key to Section Maps A - G

Symbol	Description
··········	Removed section of wall
——	Family plot coping
▬▬	Stone wall
═	Unimproved dirt road
○	Tree or large planting
∘	Family plot post
A58	Grave reference number
[DA]	Burial depression
⁄ ⁄ ⁄	Chain link fence

Survey Reference Number Lisiting of Grave Markers in St. John's
Section A

Number	Name	Number	Name
A-1	Northrup, Susan B.	A-24	Sheegog, Edward
A-2	Bedon, Hyder Davie	"	, Jane
	" , Rosa Jackson	"	, Martha L.
A-3	Littlefield, Mamie F.	A-25	Crockett, Holcombe
A-4	Littlefield, John E.	A-26	Mitchell, Baker A.
A-5	Littlefield, William	A-27	Porter, Cheairs M.
A-6	Roche, Amanda Paine	A-28	Seymore, J. A.
	" , Kate Paine	A-29	Marsh, Lieut. J. H.
A-7	Roche, Edward Paine	A-30	Comer, Andrew J.
	" , Frank Gurney	A-31	Wright, Malvern Hill
	" , James Paine		" , Anna Sheegog
	" , Robert Paine	A-32	Woman Mourner Statue
A-8	Thrasher, Anna Patton	A-33	Connelly, Bonnie G.
	" , Thomas R.		" , Horace M.
A-9	Footstone for A-14	A-34	Mitchell family marker
A-10	Purvis, Susie Eastin	A-35	Porter family marker
A-11	Purvis, George E.	A-36	Bland, James Harden
A-12	Andrews, Mary Purvis	A-37	" , Martha Elizabeth
A-13	Andrews, George D.	A-38	No markers – historic
A-14	Gates, William F., Jr.		burial site of three
A-15	Fiedler, George A.		Confederate generals
	" , Marie C.		killed at Franklin, TN
A-16	Sims, Catherine B.	A-39	Footstone for A-40
A-17	Harper, Lieut. John		marked R.M.
A-18	Beckham, Col. Robt. F.	A-40	Meston, Robert
A-19	DuBose, Pvt. Joel	A-41	Granbery, Harry P.
A-20	Young, Col. R. B.	A-42	Granbery, Robert Lee
A-21	McMurray, Lieut. W. S.	A-43	Granbery, James Brown
A-22	Footstone for A-31	A-44	Granbery, Kathleen F.
	marked A.S.W.	A-45	Granbery, H. D.
A-23	Footstone for A-31	A-46	Granbery, James T.
	marked M.H.W.		" , Llewellyna

Number	Name	Number	Name
A-47	Robinson, Francis	A-68	Criddle, Ernestine D.
A-48	Granbery, Joseph	A-69	Criddle, Edward S.
A-49	Granbery, Susan B.	A-70	Lafferty, Eleanor A.
A-50	Granbery, J. J.	"	, Paul Joseph
A-51	Foster, Hugh	A-71	King family marker
	" ,Nettie G.	A-72	Criddle family marker
A-52	Foster, James G.	A-73	Footstone for A-82
A-53	Granbery, Margaret		marked C.T.M.
	" , William L.	A-74	Tracy, William Ernest
A-54	Granbery, Wm. L., Jr.	A-75	Tracy, Jane Ouellette
A-55	Minnigan, Nicholas		" , Thomas Daniel
A-56	Hales, Virginia W.	A-76	Gilchrist, Mary Lane S.
A-57	Maxon, James M.	A-77	Hull, Mary Karen
A-58	Fraser, Margaret C.	A-78	Moore, Tom White (III)
	" , William C.	A-79	No marker, new grave
A-59	Trotter, Edna Cathey	A-80	Sharpton, Elizabeth H.
A-60	Hales family marker	A-81	Coffey, John Shelby
A-61	Weaver, Anna Marie B.	A-82	Manson, Clara Tunison
A-62	Maxon, Blanche Morris	A-83	Wells, Olivia Morris
A-63	Maxon, James M., Jr.	A-84	Gilchrist family
A-64	King, Cornelia A.		marker
A-65	King, Nobal Eugene	A-85	Hull family marker
A-66	McKee, Florence W.	A-86	Ross, William Meadow
	" , Herbert A.	A-87	Peebles, Grace Jackson
A-67	Perry, Charles A.	A-88	Peebles, Thomas Henry
	" , Josephine K.		

St. John's Survey
Section A

A78

A86

A16
A9 A15

A77 A85

A37 A39 A40   A47 A61
A36   A58   A60   A78 A84
A66 A70

A55   A75

A8   A74 A83
A7   A27 A35   A73 A82
A65
A59 A64 A71

A6   A81 A88
A26 A34   A80 A87
A25

A14   A58   A79

A33

A13   A32
A12   A24
A11
A10   A23
A22   A31

A21

A5   A46 A54
A53
A45   A52   A57 A63
A44 A51   A62 A69
A4   A20   A43 A50   A68 A72
A3   A19 A30   A42 A49   A67
A2   A29   A41 A48

A1   A18
A17 A28

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E   W
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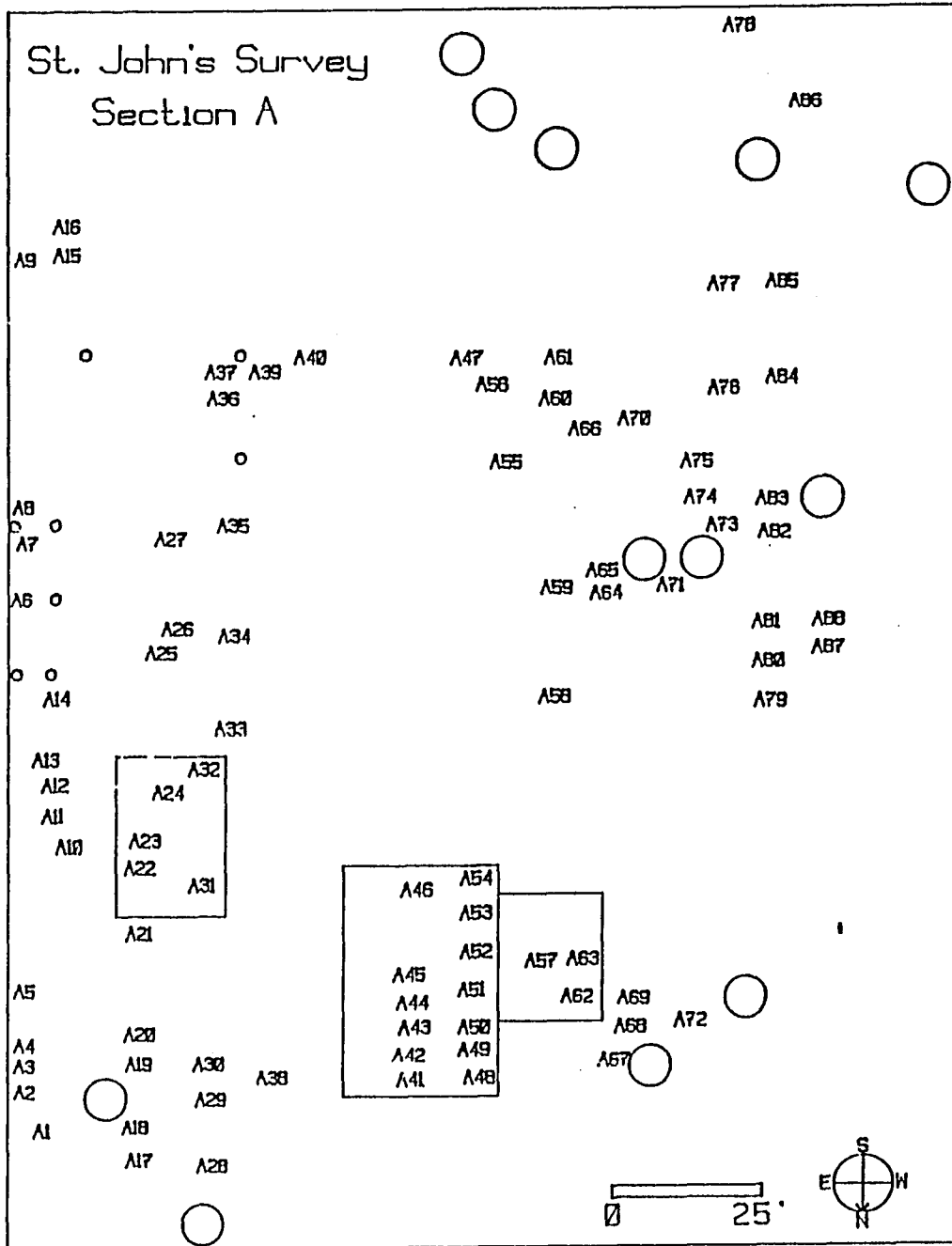
Survey Reference Number Lisiting of Grave Markers in St. John's
Section B

Number	Name	Number	Name
B-1	Mosley, Joel Ilia, Jr.	B-29	Otey, Eliza Davis
B-2	Brown, Susan M.	B-30	Footstone for B-23
B-3	Brown, Lucius Polk	B-31	Polk, Daisy Cantrell
B-4	Brown, George C.	B-32	Polk, Rebecca
B-5	Brown, Lizinka C. B.	B-33	Polk, William
B-6	Brown, Campbell	B-34	Polk, George W.
	" , Susan Polk	B-35	Polk, Mary Ann
B-7	Polk, Eliza Eastin	B-36	Infant twins of
B-8	Cooper, Elvira Polk		L.J. & M.A. Polk
B-9	Polk, Frances Anne	B-37	Jones, Sarah R. P.
B-10	Cooper, Horace Polk	B-38	Polk, Rufus King
B-11	Cromwell, Edward	B-39	Polk, Sarah M.
B-12	Thomas, Margaret M.	B-40	Polk, Gen. L. E.
B-13	Thomas, James H.		" , Sally Moore
B-14	Thomas, Avarilla	B-41	Polk, Capt. Lucius E.
B-15	Grant, Dr. Edwin	B-42	Polk, James Knox
B-16	Polk, Calvin	B-43	Polk, Lucius J.
B-17	Lyon, Chesney H.	B-44	Polk, Ellen Cantrell
B-18	Polk, Lucius J.	B-45	Polk, Katie J.
B-19	Footstone for B-37	B-46	Polk, Sarah Moore
	marked S.R.P.J.	B-47	Jett, Eveline
B-20	Vander Horst, John	B-48	Footstone for B-43
B-21	Barth, Elizabeth P.E.		marked L.J.P.
B-22	Barth, Theodore N.	B-49	Footstone for B-44
B-23	Pannill, Martha		marked E.C.P.
B-24	Brownell, Harold S.	B-50	Unknown box crypt
B-25	Two infant sons of	B-51	Cross monument
	Leonidas & Frances	B-52	Polk, Winney Hillard
	Polk	B-53	Po--, Betsey
B-26	Jones, Rebecca E.	B-54	Dallas, P. D., Jr.
B-27	Otey, Frances Jane	B-55	Dallas, Hugh Douglas
	" , Sarah McG.	B-56	Unknown, fieldstone
B-28	Otey, James Hervey	B-57	Unknown, fieldstone

Number	Name	Number	Name
B-58	Unknown, illegible	B-73	Polk family marker
B-59	Yeatman family marker	B-74	Brown, Percy, Sr.
		B-75	Gray family marker
B-60	Wharton, Anne L.	B-76	Brown, Geertrude P.
B-61	Polk, Maria Beach	B-77	Polk, Cleora L.
B-62	Huger, Leonide Polk	B-78	Polk, Maria O.
B-63	Yeatman, Harry, Jr.	B-79	Polk, Rowan
B-64	Yeatman, Russell H.	B-80	Polk, Robin Ap. Wm.
B-65	Yeatman, Mary B.	B-81	Polk, Mary Rebecca
B-66	Yeatman, Lucia Polk	B-82	Polk, William J.
B-67	Yeatman, Jenny Bell	B-83	Polk, Thomas G.
B-68	Yeatman, Henry C.	B-84	Square cement base
B-69	Yeatman, Trezevant	B-85	Brown, James P.
B-70	Yeatman, Mary W.	B-86	Polk, William Glass
B-71	Brown, Percy, Jr.	B-87	Gray, Daniel Roger
B-72	Jack, Louise C.	B-88	Gray, Elizabeth W.
	" , Walter G.	B-89	Gray, Daniel Roger, Jr.

St. John's Survey Section B

B69 B68 B75 B67

B58 B47

B16

B57 B53

B56 B52

B15

B86 B73

B55

B14
B13
B12

B54 B51

B30 B23 B11

B50

B29
B28

B42
B41 B27

B65 B74 B76 B71

B40

B22
B21
B20

B60

B33

B70
B69
B68
B67

B38
B46 B26

B10

B84 B66
B83 B65

B59 B45 B37
B49 B44
B48 B43 B36

B19 B9
B18 B8

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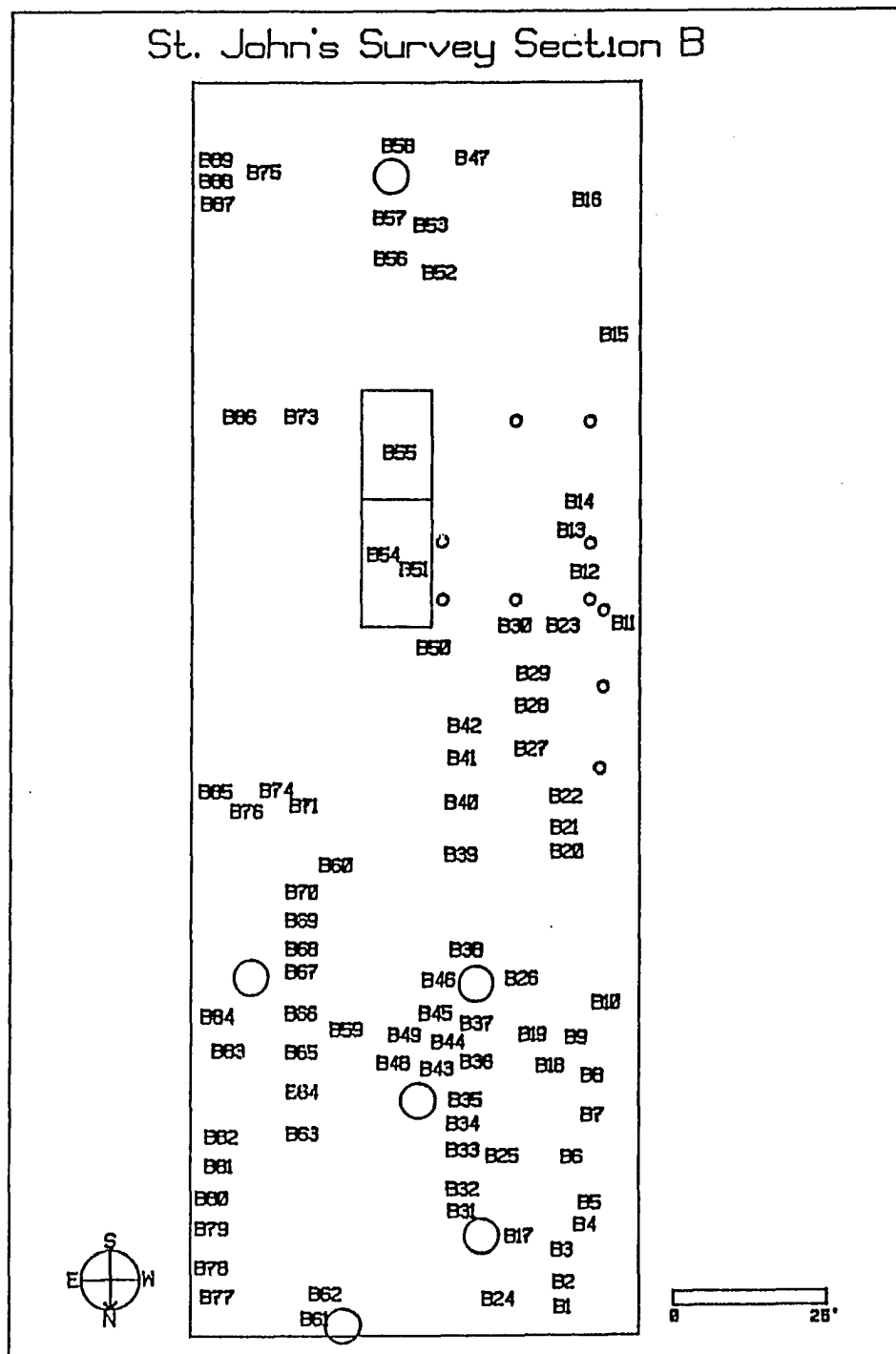
Survey Reference Number Lisiting of Grave Markers in St. John's
Section C

Number	Name	Number	Name
C-1	Mammy Sue	C-28	Long, Mary P.
C-2	Footstone for C-15 marked FATHER	C-29	Footstone for C-36 marked H.L.B.
C-3	Footstone for C-15 marked MOTHER	C-30	Long, Cynthia B. modern replacement for original C-27
C-4	Hilliard, Mary H.		
C-5	Footstone for C-16 marked E.S.H.	C-31	Long, Mary P. modern replacement for original C-28
C-6	Pillow, Mary Martin		
C-7	Long, W. Bethell	C-32	Polk, George B. M.
C-8	Long, Eunice Rawls	C-33	Polk, Rufus K.
C-9	Polk, Sally Hawkins	C-34	Polk family marker
C-10	Hilliard, Isaac H.	C-35	Hilliard, Mary Moore
C-11	Hilliard, Isaac H. Jr.	C-36	Bethell, Hattie L.
C-12	Long, Ella	C-37	Long family marker
C-13	Polk, William	C-38	Baagoe, Elizabeth D.
C-14	Hilliard, Isaac H.		" , Knud
C-15	Hilliard, Isaac H. Sr. " , Miriam B.	C-39	Polk, Andrew Jackson " , Kitty Kirkman " , An infant son All are children of Andrew and Rebecca
C-16	Hilliard, Edwin S.		
C-17	Grigsby, Annie O. " , John C.		
C-18	Long, Martha P.	C-40	Polk, Leouldas [sic]
C-19	Long, Lemuel	C-41	Footstone for C-49 marked J.T.C.
C-20	Long, Maude		
C-21	Orr, Annie Long	C-42	Footstone for C-50 marked G.B.C.
C-22	MacDonald, Martha		
C-23	Polk, George W.	C-43	Davis family marker
C-24	Polk, Sally L.	C-44	Unmarked footstone for C-54
C-25	Hilliard, George W.		
C-26	Hardeman, William " , Mary M.	C-45	Footstone for C-55 marked E.H.D.
C-27	Long, Cynthia B.		

Number	Name	Number	Name
C-46	Footstone for C-56 marked J.B.M.	C-56	Malone, Joseph B.
C-47	Footstone for C-57 marked M.R.D.	C-57	Douglas, Mary R.
C-48	Footstone for C-58 marked J.A.B.	C-58	Bryant, Joseph A.
		C-59	Footstone for C-65 marked MAMA
C-49	Craik, Joel Tucker	C-60	Footstone for C-65 marked DADY
C-50	Craik, Gertrude B.	C-61	Hemphell, Mary Polk
C-51	Davis, Starling P.	C-62	Hemphell, Mary P.
C-52	Davis, Winfred J.	C-63	Hemphell, Frankie P.
C-53	Douglas, Elizabeth	C-64	Johnson, Little Louise
C-54	Infant dau. of David & Mary R. Douglas	C-65	Johnson, Isom Andrew
			" , Martha Ann C.
C-55	Douglas, Edward H.		

St. John's Survey Section C

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       C51

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C42   C50 C60 C65
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C41   C49   C64

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C8   C22
C7   C21

C20   C48 C58

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C19

C18   C37   C47 C57

C6
  ○ C12 C31   C46   C56
        C30
      C29 C36   C45 C55
  C17

  ○   ○   ○ ○ C44 C54
                      C53
○

       C27 C28
    C16 C26
C5
C4   ○
○ C3 C15 C25

C2   C35   ○
  C11
○ C10   ○
    C14 C24
        C34

      C23   C63
○ C9   C33   ○   C62

C1 C13 C32 C40   C61
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     C38

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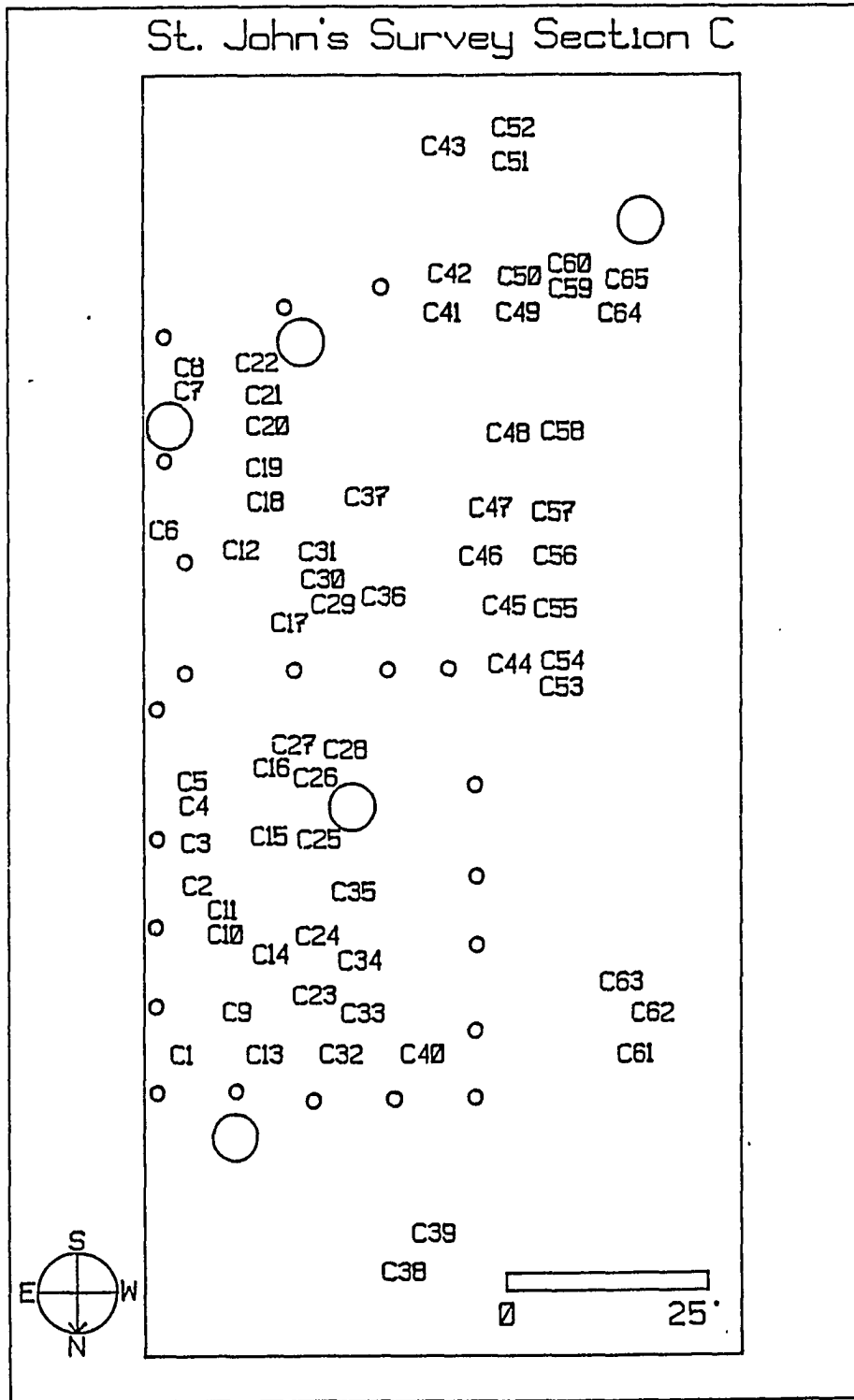
Survey Reference Number Lisiting of Grave Markers in St. John's
Section D

Number	Name	Number	Name
D-1	Barbini, Gladys M.	D-17	Higgins, Katherine
D-2	Martin, Narcissa P.	D-18	Higgins, Alice M.
D-3	Branch, Annie P.		" , Thomas L.
D-4	Martin, George W.	D-19	Jewell, Charles W.
	" , Narcissa	D-20	Ridley, William
D-5	Pillow, George M.	D-21	Smith, Mary
D-6	Martin, George S.	D-22	Footstone for D-24
D-7	Martin, Branch		marked F.Mc.C.
D-8	Footstone for D-7	D-23	Footstone for D-19
D-9	Unidentified/blank		marked M.S.
D-10	Trabue, Thomas	D-24	McClinchey, Frances
D-11	Trabue, Thomas III	D-25	McClinchey, Lucius P.
D-12	Martin, Larissa K.	D-26	McClinchey, W. Lewis
D-13	Martin, Thomas M.	D-27	Ridley, Willis
D-14	Wade, Annie Brown	D-28	Ridley, Mary Webb
D-15	Trabue family	D-29	McClain, Iris Hopkins
	marker	D-30	Garrett, Jill
D-16	Higgins, Edward		" , Ted

St. John's Survey Section D
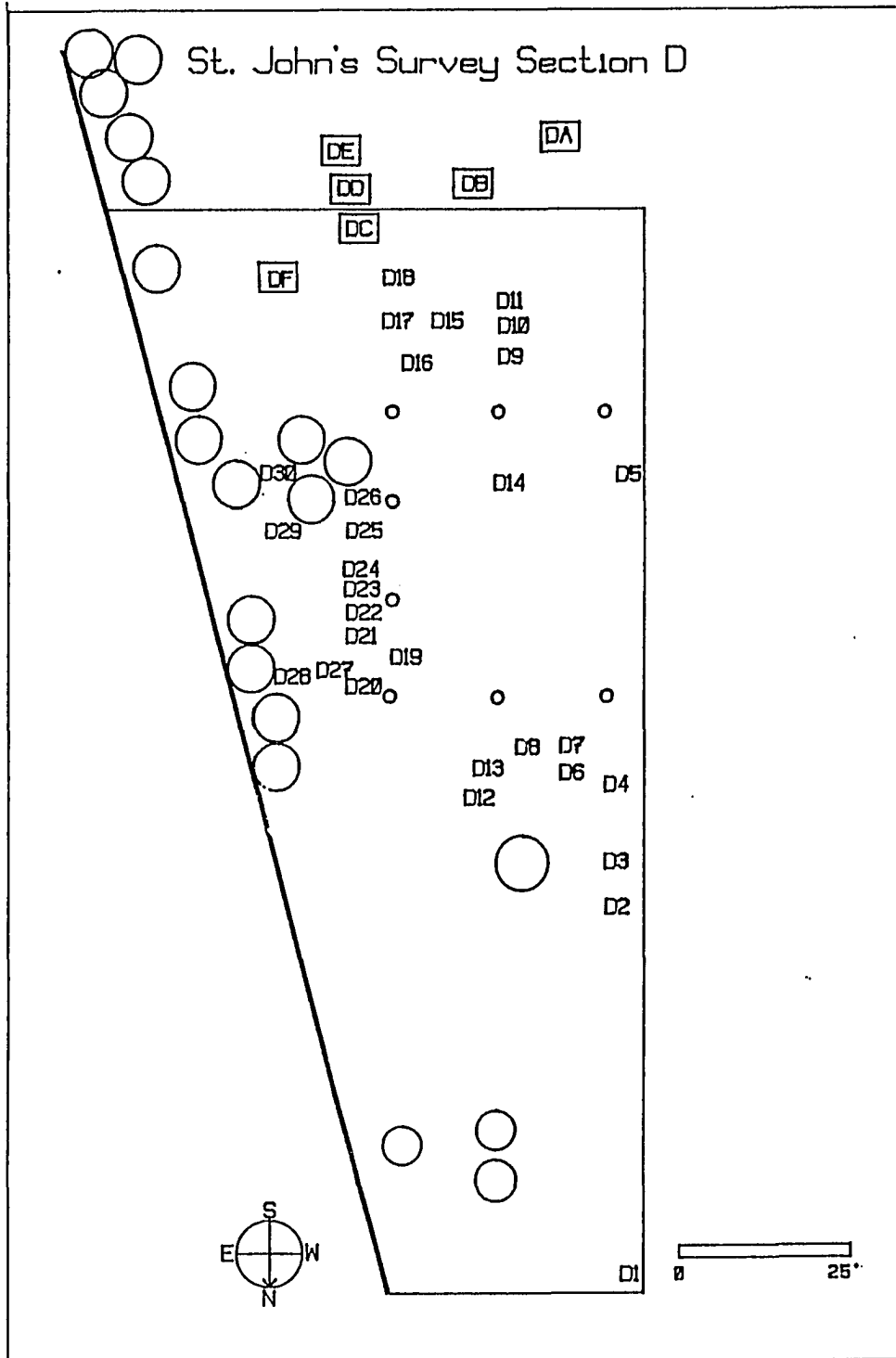
Survey Reference Number Lisiting of Grave Markers in St. John's
Section E

Number	Name
E-1	Thompson, Joe Frank
	" , Ora Graham
E-2	Graham, Joseph
	" , Nancy Abbay
E-3	Howard, Anne Craige
E-4	Howard, Gerald Branch
E-5	Howard, Lucia Branch
E-6	Howard, John William
E-7	Branch, Joseph Gerald
E-8	Branch, Lawrence O. B.
E-9	Branch, Mary Polk
E-10	Branch, Joseph
E-11	Footstone for E-10
	marked J.B.
E-12	Stempfell, Ellen Howard
E-13	Howard, Laurence Branch
E-14	Howard, Nancy Jane Caviness
E-15	Gaines, John D.
E-16	Webster, Mildred Gaines
E-17	Webster, William Jonathan
E-18	Howard, John William (same as E-6)
	" , Lucia Branch (same as E-5)
E-19	Webster, Natalie Arnold
E-20	Webster, William Jonathan (same as E-17)
E-21	Howard, Elizabeth
E-22	Howard, James
E-23	Webster, Della Arnold
E-24	Webster, Hugh Lee
E-25	Webster, Hugh Lee, Jr.
E-26	Hall, Carmen Irwin
E-27	Polk, John
	" , Elizabeth

St. John's Survey Section E

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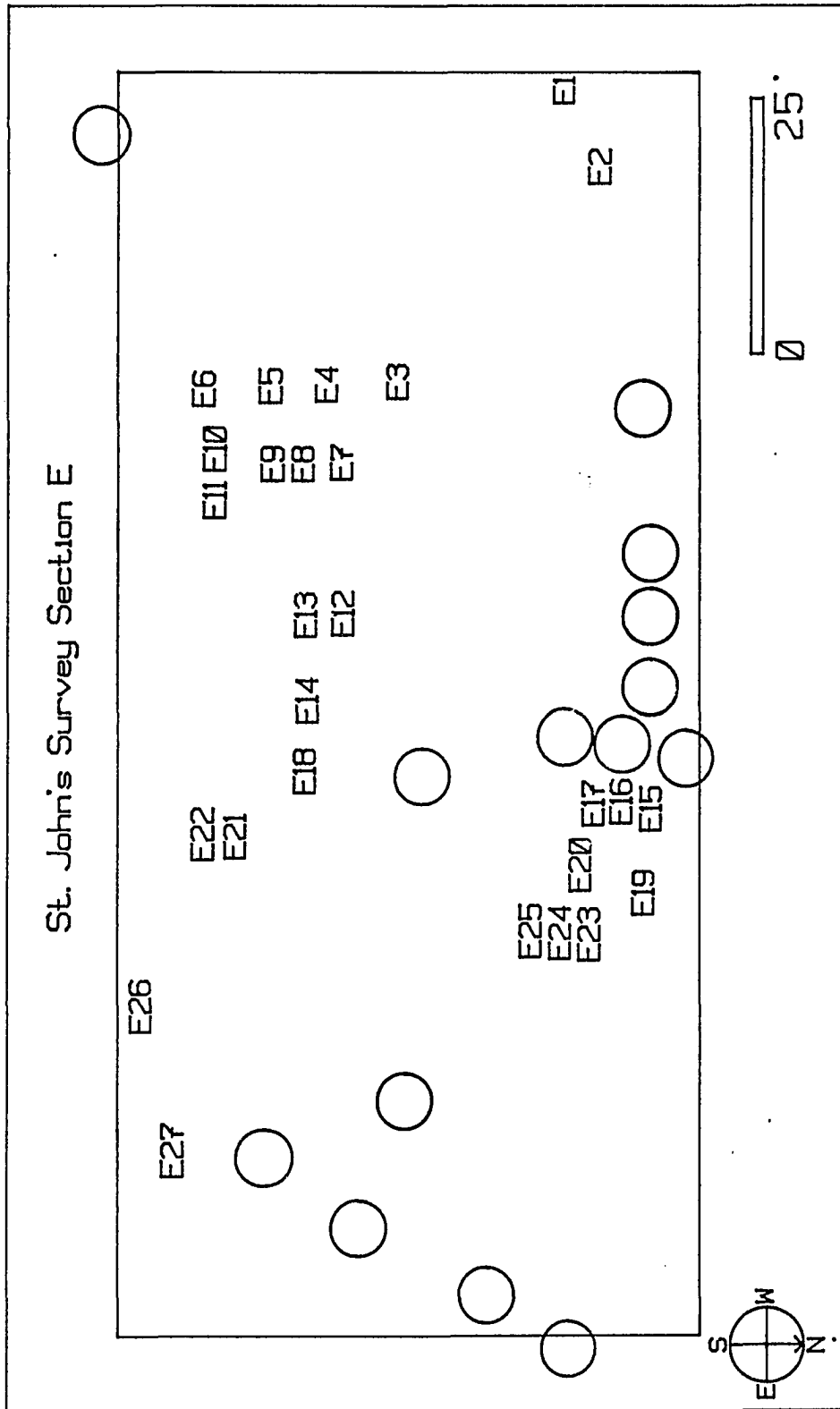
Survey Reference Number Lisiting of Grave Markers in St. John's
Section F

Number	Name
F-1	Donelson, Jinny
F-2	Parmer, Joe
F-3	Burril, Letty
F-4	Footstone for F-1 marked J.D.
F-5	Footstone for F-2 not marked or worn
F-6	Footstone for F-3 not marked or worn
F-7	Anderson, Caroline
F-8	Anderson, Frances
F-9	Anderson, Martha
F-10	Agnes
F-11	Broken footstone for F-7
F-12	Footstone for F-8 marked F.A.
F-13	Footstone for F-9 marked M.A.
F-14	Broken footstone for F-10
F-15	Young, Sherrod Long
F-16	Alexander, Mariah Lugenia
F-17	Probable footstone for F-16 broken, face down in ground

St. John's Survey Section F

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F5   F2

F4   F1

F14 F10

F13 F9
F12 F8
F11 F7

F17 F16
     F15

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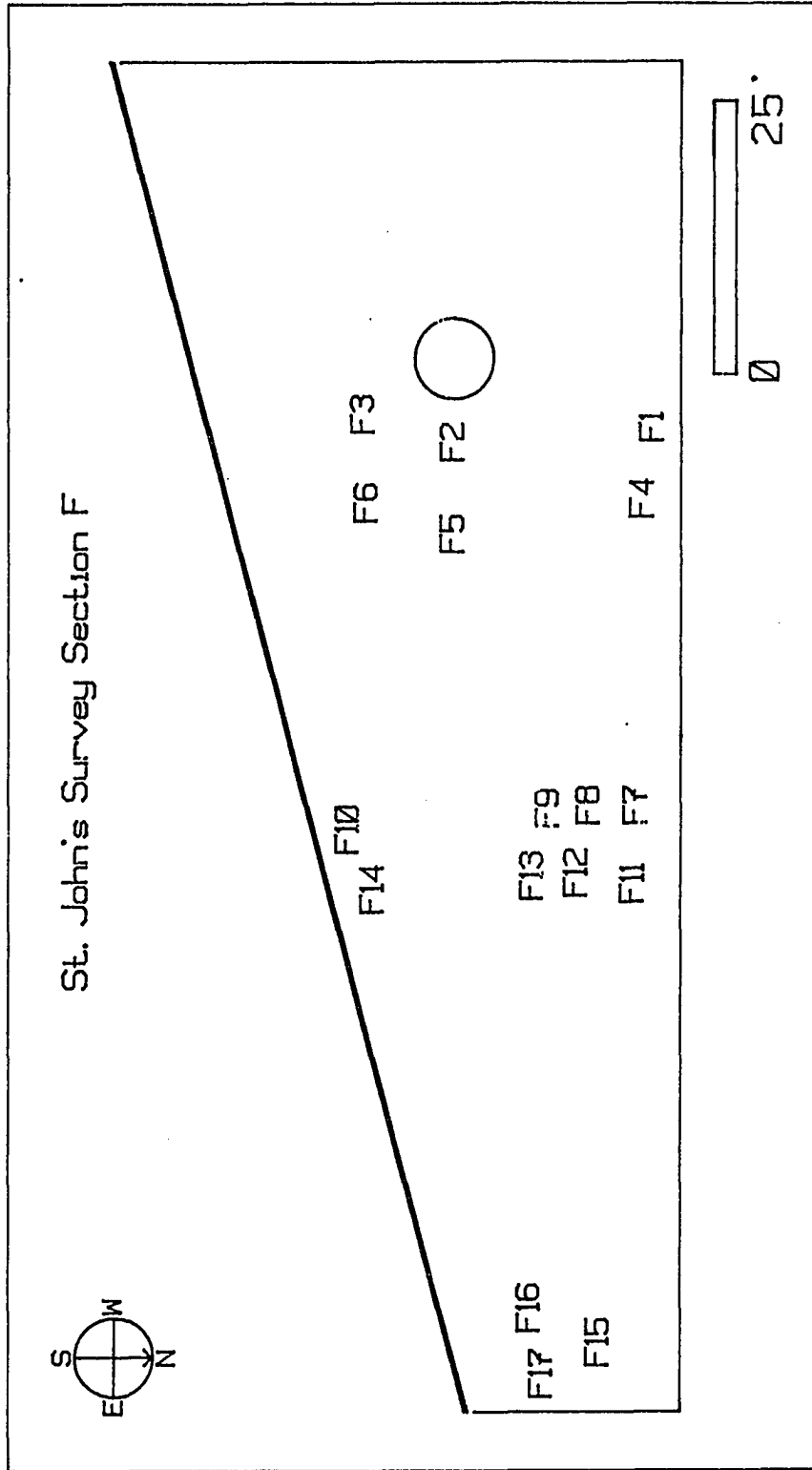
Survey Reference Number Lisiting of Grave Markers in St. John's
Section G

Number	Name
G-1	Newell, Richard N.
G-2	Sharp, Homer Stroud
G-3	Grissom, Victor W.
G-4	Grissom, Roy Jack
G-5	Grissom, Ava Wilson
G-6	Albright, Walter Martin
G-7	Russell, Julia Ann
G-8	D'Heur, Allard F. Karl
G-9	Harrison, Anna R.
	" , Hansel N.
G-10	Whelchel, Clarence Anthony
	" , Sibyl E. Aiken
G-11	Cooper, Charles Jordan
	" , Helen Page J.
G-12	Hynds, Constant H.
G-13	Glass, Leonidas Polk
	" , Marie Fitzhugh
G-14	Carpenter, Louise S.
G-15	Marks, Clifford H.
	" , Sara K.
G-16	Harrison, Hansel N. (see also G-9)
G-17	Meyer, William H.
G-18	Unmarked burial depression
G-19	Barnett, James Leon
G-20	Johnson, Anita O'Fallon

St. John's Survey Section G
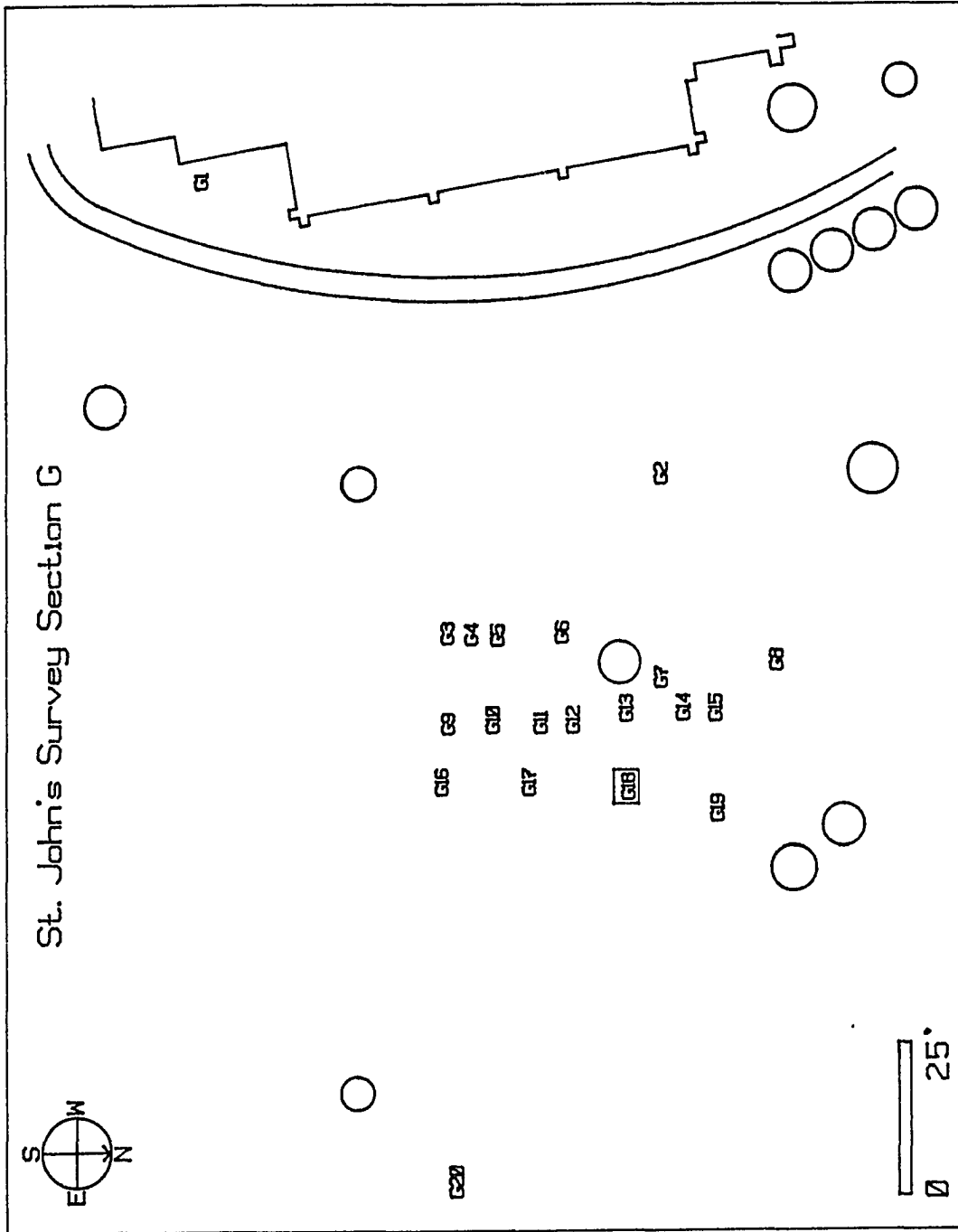
APPENDIX I

COMPARISON OF THE QUANTITY OF MARKERS

AND SIZE OF EACH OF THE SEVEN SURVEY

SECTIONS AT ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY

The quantitiy of cemetery features and grave markers that comprise the material culture in each of the seven survey sections varies. Therefore, a comparison of each section's size and quantity of grave markers is provided to help the reader understand and appreciate the amount of work facing each survey team. Variables associated with the survey process but not calculated in this comparison include the amount of surface weathering to the stone, the style of lettering used for inscriptions or epitaphs, the length of inscriptions or epitaphs, and the mapping of any vegetation or family plot posts.

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Quantity of grave markers and size of survey sections at St. John's Cemetery

Section	Number of Markers	Percent of Total	Length	Width
Section A	88	26.2	196' 9"	153' 0"
Section B	89	26.5	196' 9"	71' 3"
Section C	65	19.3	150' 0"	72' 0"
Section D	30	8.9	150' 0"	*35' 0"
Section E	27	8.0	55' 7"	120' 0"
Section F	17	5.0	14' - 51'	120' 0"
Section G	20	5.9	. . . .	. . . .
Total N	336			

Note: The symbol (*) indicates that Section D runs to the stone wall and its width varied from place to place since the wall is not parallel to the section but at an angle; the figure here represents the distance to the wall from the prime marker on the baseline. Because Section F ends in the back of the cemetery where the stone wall runs at an angle to the gravestones, the length from the baseline to the wall varied. The symbol (. . . .) indicates that precise measurements of length and width were not taken. The large and irregularly shaped area covered by Section G is used for a small number of modern burials immediately northeast of the church building. The church's east wall provided a baseline from which to make the triangulations for this section; therefore, it was not necessary to stake out perimeter lines in order to plot the locations of these grave markers.

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