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DISCOVERING DOMESTIC CEMETERIES: HISTORY, PRESERVATION, AND
EDUCATION

By

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B.A., Western Kentucky University, 2006

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

December 2013

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EDUCATION

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A Thesis Approved on

November 20, 2013

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my Granny, Anna Louise Adams. Thank you for indulging me with trips to the family cemeteries and countless hours of looking through family photographs. Your stories and patience helped mold my passion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am lucky to be surrounded by so many extraordinary people.

Dr. Vivian, Dr. Mackey, and Professor DiBlasi – You all provided insight, direction and support. Thank you for believing in my work.

Susan Andrews, Matt Prybylski, Nancy Ross-Stallings, and fellow AMEC coworkers – I am forever grateful for your ideas, suggestions, and patience throughout this experience. Thank you for letting me pilfer your bookcases.

Mariah and Meredith – Thank you for those late night gripe sessions, stressed rantings, and “I’m drowning” conversations. Your listening skills, advice, and support have helped me make it through.

Dad – You have always helped me stay positive and find the humor in every situation. I got my love of history and cemeteries from you. Thank you for always telling me how proud you are of me, and thank you for all the old stories you love to tell.

Mom – Your endless supply of love, support, advice, comfort, and motivation have helped me survive this journey. Thank you for always believing in me, proofreading my work, and keeping me calm.

John – I am so grateful to have you in my life. You endured every step of this with me, and your love and support never wavered. You have always believed that I could do great things and pushed me to do so. I love you with all of my heart.

ABSTRACT
DISCOVERING DOMESTIC CEMETERIES: HISTORY, PRESERVATION, AND
EDUCATION

Savannah L. Darr

November 20, 2013

Historic cemeteries and graveyards hold the history of the people and community in which they were built. The inscriptions, iconography, and epitaphs on gravemarkers provide insight into the family, religion, social status, and culture of those interred within a specific cemetery or graveyard. They are primary resources for historical research, as some of the information on a gravemarker may not be found anywhere else. Few scholars have recognized the value of small domestic graveyards, which typically have fewer interments and tend to be more isolated in location. For these reasons, domestic graveyards are the most fragile and their preservation is vital. This thesis argues for the preservation of historic cemeteries for their role as a historic research tool as well as an educational tool. Furthermore, a case study uses the Farnsley Cemetery, a domestic cemetery in southwest Jefferson County, Kentucky, to illuminate community history.

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INTRODUCTION

“Two centuries of interaction between the cemetery and American society has left the cemetery, once central to the urban scene, a necessary, but not necessarily desirable, neighbor in the suburbs.”

David Charles Sloane¹

Historic cemeteries have long had an appeal to people for many different reasons. They are often settings for scary stories and movies about people buried alive, zombies, or widows searching for their lost loves. Some people flock to cemeteries for the potential of ghostly encounters, while others may choose to avoid cemeteries altogether for that very reason. Some people seek them out to mourn or reflect on those they have lost while others are transfixed with the history and beauty within. As Helen Chappell states in her book,

There is a romantic, nostalgic, pleasantly melancholy feeling to old cemeteries that is hard to define but easy to experience. Perhaps it is because we can feel the direct link to our past that no history books, no movie, no historical fantasy can ever convey. These stones and these unkempt grounds are the hard evidence of lives that came before us. Once, these people lived and breathed, loved, worked, fought, hoped and despaired, and experienced their triumphs and failures just as we do today.²

¹ David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 1-2.

² Helen Chappell, *The Chesapeake Book of the Dead: Tombstones, Epitaphs, Histories, Reflections, and Oddments of the Region* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), vii.

Authors mention this feeling of connectedness to the past in prefaces to cemetery literature, and amateur bloggers note the same when recounting visits to historic cemeteries. Those with an interest in history understand the information that can be gleaned from cemeteries. In fact, in a 1959 movie titled *It Happened to Jane*, which starred Doris Day and Jack Lemmon, Day's character takes a local visitor of her small town in Maine to the local cemetery so that he can understand the history of the town. However, those who have never done historical research or seen the historical value of cemeteries do not understand that they are primary sources and through interpretation, the history of a community can come alive in a cemetery.

Cemetery preservationist Lynette Strangstad and David Charles Sloane, professor of public policy at the University of Southern California, have created widely accepted cemetery nomenclature that is widely accepted. While some of their terms differ slightly, together their nomenclature is the authority and is used in this thesis. Strangstad defines a cemetery as "a place set apart for burying the dead. The word . . . became popular in the nineteenth century."³ She defines a graveyard as "an early cemetery . . . to differentiate between burial grounds of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries."⁴ In this thesis, the term "cemetery" will be used when referring to burial grounds from the nineteenth century, and "graveyard" will refer to burial grounds from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Sloane uses burial ground, cemetery, and graveyard interchangeably, but he has the best nomenclature for differentiating between the kinds of cemeteries.

³ Lynette Strangstad, *A Graveyard Preservation Primer* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 1995), 6.

⁴ Ibid.

Sloane divides burial grounds into eight different categories: frontier graves, domestic homestead graveyard, churchyard, potter's field, town/city cemetery, rural cemetery, lawn-park cemetery, and memorial park. The two types that are used in this thesis are domestic homestead graveyard and rural cemetery. However, the term "domestic cemetery" will be used instead of domestic homestead graveyard, which is typically a family-owned cemetery on a farm or homestead property. A rural cemetery was common from 1831-1870s and refers to a specific type of cemetery that was privately owned and constructed as a park like landscape.⁵ Additionally, the terms "headstone," "gravemarker," and "tombstone" all refer to an above ground object that describes the interment below. Strangstad also clearly defines the terms "preservation," "conservation," and "restoration" in terms of cemeteries not buildings. Preservation is the process of "protecting, maintaining, and saving" cemeteries "as well as the procedures applied to the stones themselves."⁶ The process of stabilizing and repairing gravemarkers, protecting them from deterioration, and preserving their historical integrity is conservation. Whereas restoration involves "reconstructing, repairing, renewing" elements of a cemetery.⁷

The role of cemeteries in American society is always changing. Colonial churchyards and city graveyards have evolved into domestic and rural cemeteries, which typically lie outside of the city center. Today cemeteries are more commonly known as memorial parks or gardens to lose any "morbid connotations" from the word cemetery.⁸

⁵ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 4.

⁶ Strangstad, *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*, 6.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 2.

The type of cemetery, its layout, gravemarkers, and vegetation are indicative of a culture's attitude toward death. Former geography professor at Slippery Rock University, Thomas Hannon stated that cemeteries do not face the same modifications that plague other portions of the built environment; therefore, in cemeteries "one can observe a preserved microcosmic representation of a region's history and characteristics in its cemeteries."⁹

This history connects people to cemeteries and has the potential to create a sense of place or belonging. American society is transient and fewer people live in their hometowns. However, people still search for a sense of place and belonging in their new cities, and a cemetery can be the answer to that search. A cemetery conveys the history of the community in which it was built. Therefore, this community history can be used to connect people to that place. This concept is the same for most historic sites that discover that people will care about and steward those sites once this connection is developed. These connections will not be familial. They can be ethnic but are community-based. Stewardship of historic sites creates an ethos of caring and belonging, which can easily happen in a historic cemetery.

Historic cemeteries and graveyards hold the history of the people and community in which they were built. The inscriptions, iconography, and epitaphs on gravemarkers provide insight into the family, religion, social status, and culture of those interred within a specific cemetery or graveyard. They are primary resources for historical research, as some of the information on a gravemarker may not be found anywhere else. Historic

⁹ Thomas Hannon, "Western Pennsylvania Cemeteries in Transition: A Model for Subregional Analysis," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard Meyer (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992), 237.

cemeteries and graveyard are educational tools for schoolchildren and the general public to learn about their community's history. In order for this use to occur, cemeteries must be preserved, and they have to be preserved *in situ*. When gravemarkers are moved out of context, they lose a portion of their historical significance, which means that they are not as valuable as educational or historical tools.

Many scholars have written about the historical value of cemeteries and many of the examples are of larger cemeteries with famous burials or specific ethnic groups. Few scholars, however, have recognized the value of small domestic graveyards, which typically have fewer interments and tend to be more rural in location. For these reasons, domestic graveyards are the most fragile and their preservation is vital. Scholars have also produced literature on the benefits of using cemeteries as laboratories for science, social studies, math, literature, and art courses. However, no one has connected the education potential of cemeteries with the argument for preservation. One cannot say something must be preserved for the sheer fact that it is historic, as people will ask why. This thesis will argue the preservation of historic cemeteries for their role as a historic research tool as well as an educational tool. The multiple uses of cemeteries keep them relevant in modern culture as well as educating the public and schoolchildren about cemeteries. Chapter 3 uses the Farnsley Cemetery in southwest Jefferson County, Kentucky as a case study for education and historic research.

CHAPTER I

CEMETERIES: WHAT HAS BEEN SAID?

“The gravestones are like rows of books bearing the names of those whose names have been blotted from the pages of life; who have been forgotten elsewhere but are remembered here.”

Dean Koontz¹⁰

Scholars in a variety of fields, including art history, medicine, history, archaeology, anthropology, folklore, geography, planning, historic preservation, and education have devoted extensive attention to cemeteries. Preservation, medical history, iconography, cultural landscapes, community history, the death industry, history of cemeteries, cemeteries and education, and archaeology/anthropology have all been major areas of interest. However, five main categories—cemetery preservation, history of cemeteries, archaeology/anthropology, community history, as well as cemeteries and education—have received a disproportionately high share of scholarly attention. At the same time, the full educational potential of cemeteries has not been explored and the relationship between preservation and education has yet to receive serious consideration.

Cemetery Preservation

Many scholars have written articles, books, and theses on cemetery preservation. For every known cemetery, many cemeteries are lost or forgotten. Abandonment,

¹⁰ Dean Koontz, *Fear Nothing* (New York: Bantam, 1998).

encroachment, development, apathy, environment, theft, and vandalism all contribute to the decline and decay of cemeteries. David Lowenthal, retired professor of Geography at the University College London and Secretary for the American Geographical Society, states, “When we cherish something old or venerable, we usually seek to preserve it from the further ravages of time, halting deterioration and extending life as long as possible.”¹¹ Therefore, preservation laws and methods were established to save those historic sites, buildings, and cemeteries from further damage.

A large body of literature focuses on cemetery preservation and restoration. As part of the managerial role over the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), the National Park Service (NPS) has produced and distributed a series of “National Register Bulletins” written after the passage of National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. They are supplemental guides aimed to interpret policy about evaluating the significance of historic properties in the United States. However, these publications focused exclusively on historic structures. It was not until 1992 that the NPS published National Register Bulletin 41, entitled *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places*, to focus on how to nominate cemeteries for the NRHP. Written a full decade after the other bulletins, Potter and Boland’s work gave recognition to cemeteries as historic resources potentially eligible for listing on the National Register.¹² Unfortunately, the importance of small rural cemeteries is underemphasized in this

¹¹ David Lowenthal, “Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 112.

¹² Elizabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland, *National Register Bulletin 41, Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992).

bulletin. However, ever since National Register Bulletin 41 was published, large numbers of authors have shown the vast potential for research cemeteries can provide.

In 1993, Thomas C. Meierding published his article “Marble Tombstone Weathering and Air Pollution in North America.” Meierding stipulates that aside from vandalism, “an aggressive atmospheric environment” causes most monument decay. Carbonate- based stones, such as limestone, marble, some sandstones, and concrete were the most commonly used stones for gravemarkers. According to Meierding, these stones are the most susceptible to air pollution (most likely sulfur dioxide), “which has been responsible for more deterioration of carbonate building stone and statuary than any other weathering processes.”¹³ Studies on marble decay by air pollution were conducted in twenty cities, including Louisville, Kentucky. However, the author provides no solution to the problem of monument decay.

Lynette Strangstad’s book *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*, published in 1995, is one of the most influential cemetery preservation works. This work expanded on the National Park Service’s Bulletin 41 by conveying the importance of preserving cemeteries and the difficulties associated with it. Furthermore, Strangstad is one of the first professionals to define and publish a cemetery nomenclature. This book provides vital information on the documentation of cemeteries across different multi-disciplinary fields and is essential to analyzing the problem of degradation that historic cemeteries continue to face.¹⁴

¹³ Thomas C. Meierding, “Marble Tombstone Weathering and Air Pollution in North America,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 4 (1993): 568-588.

¹⁴ Strangstad, *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*.

Following in Strangstad's footsteps a few states published their own cemetery preservation guideline books that summarize Strangstad's work. States such as Texas, Illinois, South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, and Michigan, for example, have good how-to guides that are available to the public at no cost. These guides discuss the cemetery laws in their respective states and provide general preservation information with lists and links to better and more in-depth resources.¹⁵ Interestingly, in 1989, the Georgia Genealogical Society published *The Cemetery Book: Cemetery Preservation, Restoration, and Recording*. While many of the methods are outdated, it is unique to see an organization fighting for cemetery preservation before any other fundamental works were published.¹⁶ Many other states, such as Virginia, Indiana, and Washington, have detailed information on their state preservation websites but no published materials.¹⁷

¹⁵ Texas Historical Commission, *Preserving Historic Cemeteries: Texas Preservation Guidelines* (Austin: State Agency for Historic Preservation, 2001); Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, *Illinois Historic Cemetery Preservation Handbook: A Guide to Basic Preservation* (Springfield: Authority of State of Illinois, 2008); Susan H McGahee and Mary W Edmonds, *South Carolina's Historic Cemeteries: A Preservation Handbook* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1997); Tammie Trippe-Dillon, *Grave Concerns: A Preservation Manual for Historic Cemeteries in Arkansas* (Little Rock: Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, 2000); Christine Van Voorhies, *Grave Intentions: A Comprehensive Guide to Preserving Historic Cemeteries in Georgia* (Atlanta: Historic Preservation Division of Georgia Department of Natural Resources, 2003); Gregg G. King, Susan Kosky, Kathleen Glynn, and Gladys Saborio, *Michigan Historic Cemetery Preservation Manual* (Saline: McNaughton and Gunn Inc., 2004).

¹⁶ Ted O. Brooke, *The Cemetery Book: Cemetery Preservation, Restoration, and Recording* (Atlanta: Georgia Genealogical Society, 1989).

¹⁷ "Cemetery Preservation," *Virginia Department of Historic Resources*. Accessed July 28, 2013, http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/homepage_general/faq_cem_presv.htm; "Cemetery Preservation," *Indiana Department of Natural Resources*. Accessed July 28, 2013, <http://www.in.gov/dnr/historic/3744.htm>; "Cemetery Preservation Guidance," *Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation*. Accessed July 28, 2013, <http://www.dahp.wa.gov/programs/human-remains-program/cemetery-preservation-guidance>.

Also following Strangstad's lead, in 1998, Tamara Anson-Cartwright of the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture wrote *Landscapes of Memories: A Guide for Conserving Historic Cemeteries*. Her guide is more concise than previous works and offers more insights into Canadian cemeteries and laws. Many preservation guides and online resources cite this work as it is accessible to the public and provides information on identifying materials, getting started on a cemetery restoration project, and the top ten most common headstone repairs.¹⁸ However, this book still focuses on the broader goals and aspects of cemetery preservation. It does not address specific issues that people are likely to encounter.

The Association for Gravestone Studies (AGS), which was founded in 1977, aims to “foster appreciation of the cultural significance of gravestones and burial grounds through their study and preservation.”¹⁹ The organization holds an annual conference and publishes a quarterly newsletter, scholarly journal, and field guides. The AGS field guides are short, concise publications on a variety of topics. For example, AGS Field Guide No. 12 offers *The Care of Old Cemeteries and Gravestones*, and Guide No. 15 focuses specifically on old gravestones.²⁰ These preservation guides provide useful information on all aspects of cemeteries, including cleaning masonry monuments and creating a new base for a stone. They were the first books on cemetery preservation that

¹⁸ Tamara Anson-Cartwright, *Landscapes of Memories: A Guide for Conserving Historic Cemeteries* (Toronto: Ministry of Citizenship, Culture, and Recreation, 1998).

¹⁹ “Home” *The Association for Gravestone Studies*. Accessed July 28, 2013, <http://www.gravestonestudies.org/>.

²⁰ Lance R. Meyer, *The Care of Old Cemeteries and Gravestones*, AGS Field Guide No. 12 (Greenfield, MA: Association for Gravestone Studies, 2003); Jessie Lie Farber, *Recommendations for the Care of Old Gravestones*, AGS Field Guide No. 15 (Greenfield, MA: Association for Gravestone Studies, 2003).

dealt with very specific circumstances for people who are actually doing the preservation.²¹

In 2003, Lynette Strangstad wrote a pamphlet titled *Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds* for the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP). The NTHP designed the publication to meet the need for information on cemetery preservation for both the public and professionals. Little was published about cemetery preservation practice or the historic context of cemeteries prior to 2003. Some states prepared guides based on Strangstad's first book, but they were general. The AGS was also publishing field guides to cemetery topics; however, those were not well circulated. Therefore, the NTHP saw a need for this pamphlet, which covers many aspects of cemeteries including analysis of the landscape and all features outside of headstones.²²

Frank Matero and Judy Peters, historic preservation professors at the University of Pennsylvania restored the St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 in New Orleans. Through the project, they developed and published guidelines for preservation and restoration of aboveground cemeteries.²³ In 2003, based on a portion of their work, they published an article entitled "Survey Methodology for the Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds and Cemeteries." The article summarizes different methodologies used when surveying and developing a cemetery preservation plan. However, the authors also include an entire

²¹ Tracy C. Coffing and Fred Oakley, *Cleaning Masonry Burial Monuments*, AGS Field Guide No. 4 (Greenfield, MA: Association for Gravestone Studies, 2003); Fred Oakley, *How to Create a New Base*, AGS Field Guide No. 14 (Greenfield, MA: Association for Gravestone Studies, 2003).

²² Lynette Strangstad, *Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds* (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2003).

²³ Frank G. Matero, Curtis J. Hinchman, and Judy Peters, "Guidelines for Preservation and Restoration," *Dead Space: St. Louis Cemetery No. 1*, last modified July 2002, <http://cml.upenn.edu/nola/14history/L4historypgglines.html>.

section on digital documentation and digitized site maps. Through geographic information systems (GIS), cemeteries can be mapped and analyzed based on the information that is found. For example, using GIS software graves it is more efficient to find patterns within the placement of gravemarkers.²⁴

Other scholars, such as Steven Burg, have written articles on specific cemeteries as case studies for cemetery preservation. “From Troubled Ground to Common Ground”: The Locust Grove African-American Cemetery Restoration Project: A Case Study of Service-Learning and Community History” uses the Locust Grove Cemetery in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania to illustrate what can happen to a cemetery when it is ignored and the trials that follow once preservation has begun.²⁵ This case study lends invaluable information to other programs that wish to begin preservation on a long neglected cemetery. However, this article also addresses the public attitude toward cemeteries and ways to overcome that with education. This is the first article that ties public education and public history into cemetery preservation.

One large issue plagues works on cemetery preservation—why? Why should cemeteries be preserved? What value do they have? Typically, in books and articles on cemetery preservation one sentence exists on the value of historic cemeteries and that sentence focuses on a famous burial, special gravemarkers, or an ethnic group. Additionally, many preservationists focus on the importance of early northeastern cemeteries but do not mention the value of others throughout the country. Strangstad

²⁴ Frank G. Matero and Judy Peters, “Survey Methodology for the Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds and Cemeteries,” *APT Bulletin* 34, no. 2/3 (2003): 37-45.

²⁵ Steven B. Burg, “‘From Troubled Ground to Common Ground’: The Locust Grove African- American Cemetery Restoration Project: A Case Study of Service-Learning and Community History,” *The Public Historian* 30, no. 2 (2008): 51-82.

argued in her 1995 book that early gravemarkers are valuable resources that historians can use to learn more about history. She even mentioned their potential use in education.²⁶ However, the author did not explain how to do such work or why this is necessary. One small paragraph in a 126-page book does not make a strong case for cemetery preservation on the basis of cemeteries as a tool for history. In fact, many of the authors want to preserve historic cemeteries for the sheer fact that they are old and a part of a city's heritage. Strangstad is the only author who attempted to make stronger arguments but still falls short. It is as though the authors assume that if a person is reading their work then they must know the historic value of cemeteries and do not need any further explanation. This assumption may be true to an extent but in order to keep cemeteries preserved their relevance and importance must be addressed. Furthermore, keeping something for the sheer fact that it is old is antiquarian. Serious scholarship and thought into the possible uses of cemeteries will be the determining factor of their preservation.

History of Cemeteries

The largest body of cemetery literature concerns the history of cemeteries. These histories discuss different types of cemeteries and broader cultural trends that led to their creation. A vast body of literature exists focused on the broad history of cemeteries while some focus on specific time periods, types of cemeteries, regions, and cultural groups. In general, the broader histories are better for this study because they include smaller

²⁶ Strangstad, *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*, 6.

cemeteries like domestic ones, which are less studied. Broader histories also provide insight into the cemetery context as a whole. However, a couple of specific cemetery histories will be addressed for the insight they provide into particular time periods within cemetery history, applicable to the Farnsley Cemetery.

Passing: The Vision of Death in America is a 1977 collection of essays edited by Charles O. Jackson. The volume provides a concise body of work that provides insights into death in American culture. Divided by broad time periods, the book only possesses two chapters that relate to cemeteries. “Death’s Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees,” written by Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, analyzes Colonial American headstones. The authors stipulate that literate people whose history is known crafted these stones, and the markers can show variations in design. Therefore, the changes in the headstones reflect the changes in the society that produced them.²⁷ Neil Harris’s essay “The Cemetery Beautiful” discusses the origins of the rural cemetery movement in the mid nineteenth century. Before the rural cemetery, most people were buried in crowded churchyards that tended to be in city centers. As society became more interested in visiting the dead and the churchyards became too full, the rural cemetery was created to be a park like space where people could visit their dead in a refined and beautiful atmosphere.²⁸ Individually these essays focus on specific types of cemeteries and specific time periods, but together, they illustrate broader cultural changes that are reflected in cemetery practices.

²⁷ Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, “Death’s Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees,” in *Passing: The Vision of Death in America*, ed. Charles O. Jackson (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977), 48-59.

²⁸ Neil Harris, “The Cemetery Beautiful,” in *Passing: The Vision of Death in America*, ed. Charles O. Jackson (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977), 103-111.

Cultural geographer Terry G. Jordan's 1982 book, *Texas Graveyards*, was the first book on the cemeteries of the southern United States, which is focused geographically than Jackson's book. Jordan divided his book into four sections. The first discusses the significance of necrogeography, or the geography of the dead.²⁹ The next sections cover southern "folk" cemeteries (including African Americans and Native Americans), Mexican burial traditions, and German immigrant burial practices. Based on his research, Jordan surmises that race and ethnicity change burial customs, and that cemeteries only represent conservative features of their respective cultures. Additionally, the author discusses the endangerment of cemeteries from rural depopulation, vandalism, acculturation, and lack of preservation.³⁰

Michel Ragon takes a different approach in his 1983 book, *The Space of Death*, which is divided into three parts: "The Houses of the Dead," "Funerals, of the Grand Finale," and "Thanatos and the Goddess of Reason, or Rational Death."³¹ The first part of the book is the most relevant to the history and types of cemeteries. It begins with a review of burial traditions in ancient civilizations and leads to the planning of European cemeteries. Ragon cleverly labels cemeteries as "villages and cities of the dead," and discusses the different types of cemeteries across the world. Furthermore, Ragon labels cemeteries as modern museums along with old towns and districts as there are

²⁹ Frank G. Matero, "Necrogeography," *Dead Space: St. Louis Cemetery No. 1*, 2003, <http://cml.upenn.edu/nola/14history/L2historypgnecro.html>.

³⁰ Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982).

³¹ Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983).

guidebooks for tourists on specific cemeteries, such as Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, France.

In their prolific 1989 work, *Silent Cities*, Kenneth Jackson and Camilo Jose Vergara blur the lines between an art book and scholarly work. Vergara's beautiful photographs dominate the book with Jackson's keen historical accounts woven throughout. The chapters are short but insightful and cover a wide range of cemetery types as well as specific cemeteries, such as Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati and Arlington National Cemetery, which each get their own chapters. A large portion of the book examines the role of ethnicity in American cemeteries. Separate chapters on Irish, German, Italian, Hispanic, Jewish, and Bohemian Americans focus on the ways in which cemeteries and their components provide insight into cultural assimilation and retention.³²

The most influential work on the historical development of cemetery designs and the American perception of cemeteries is David Charles Sloane's 1991 book *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*. Sloane identifies eight different types of American cemeteries. Culture influenced each of these cemeteries and how people perceived death over the course of history. To demonstrate, Sloane provides a number of figures that depict the transformations of cemeteries by showing how the views of death affected cemetery design and placement over time. Sloane's book was the first real cemetery history with straightforward information on a specific topic. His clear

³² Kenneth T. Jackson and Camilo Jose Vergara, *Silent Cities: The Evolution of the American Cemetery* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989).

diagrams, illustrations, and descriptions have made this book the most used resource in cemetery history.³³

The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art, written by Peggy McDowell and Richard E. Meyer in 1994, discusses the history of specific styles of headstone and funerary art. McDowell and Meyer group the monument types into three broad categories: classical revival, which includes Greco-Roman revival, Beaux Arts, and Renaissance revival; Gothic revival; and Egyptian revival.³⁴ While this book focuses on the art history of the high-style monuments, it also places them in the larger social context. It is this broader context that also shapes the layouts of cemeteries and their uses. Therefore, this work is more than just that of art history.

James K. Crissman's 1994 book, *Death and Dying in Central Appalachia*, explores the cultural perspective on death and burial in the Appalachian regions of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. While this focus is narrow, the author provides an insightful chapter on "Grave Markers and Other Forms of Memorialization."³⁵ This chapter covers gravemarkers in other cultures and in early America before discussing those found in Central Appalachia. By doing so, the author's narrow focus becomes a lens into the broader historical context. Additionally, little has been written on cemeteries in rural areas as most authors focus on the large ornate cemeteries of the nineteenth century.

³³ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*.

³⁴ Peggy McDowell and Richard E. Meyer, *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1994).

³⁵ James K. Crissman, *Death and Dying in Central Appalachia: Changing Attitudes and Practices* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 118-144.

Few pieces of cemetery literature explain the elements the makeup specific types of cemeteries. Julie Rugg's 2000 article "Defining the place of burial: what makes a cemetery a cemetery?" is one of those works. Rugg defines a cemetery nomenclature so that the message remains clear. The author stipulates that the most distinct features of cemeteries are their physical characteristics; meaning and ownership; relationship to community and personal identities; and their sacred nature. Riggs believes that time is the only thing that can change the meaning of individual cemeteries. Obviously, the physical characteristics will alter as landscapes mature and memorial designs changes. A change in ownership of the cemetery and management can change how the dead are interred, whether the rituals and practices become more religious or more secular.³⁶

Ken Warpole's 2003 book, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West*, broadens ideas introduced by Sloane by discussing the development of the western cemetery beginning with those in Europe and moving to the American forms. Additionally, Warpole presents several issues that have affected further development of cemetery architecture and design today, including cremation and marginalization. Warpole considers marginalization to be the elimination of all evidence of death from the minds of the general public. This marginalization of death influences the significance placed on cemeteries and their importance as historical resources.³⁷ Warpole's work was a reflection of the growing interest in cemetery architecture and iconography and how these can provide a deeper look into a culture.

³⁶ Julie Rugg, "Defining the place of burial: what makes a cemetery a cemetery?" *Mortality* 5, no. 3 (2000): 259-275.

³⁷ Ken Warpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003).

The American Resting Place, Marilyn Yalom's 2008 book, covers a broad history of cemeteries, including prehistoric and early European influences. The first four chapters discuss broad historical themes on how colonial settlers began American cemeteries, the evolution of wooden and stone markers, religious and ethnic groups in cemeteries, and how cemetery history reflects broader cultural phenomena. This history includes several different types of cemeteries, such as national military, modern, and churchyards. Twelve case studies illustrate the features and symbolism found in each of those regional cemeteries as well as their context in the broader cemetery movement. The black and white photographs by the author's son, Reid Yalom, dominate the book, and the analysis is not as in depth or noteworthy as other works.³⁸

Rather than covering as much history as Yater, Sarah Rutherford's 2008 book, *The Victorian Cemetery*, focuses on a specific time period. The head of English Heritage's Register of Historic Parks and Gardens, Rutherford led a project that assessed the significance of England's cemeteries. She created this book from her observations and research on Victorian cemeteries. Rutherford explains the history of these cemeteries and their components: size, planting, design, and monuments, while tying the visual and architectural qualities to the Victorian customs of death. Furthermore, she discusses how some have survived while others are neglected.³⁹

Keith Eggener's 2010 book, *Cemeteries*, has over 600 historic photographs and plans to illustrate the differences in monuments and cemetery architecture. To better explain all of the topics associated with cemeteries the book is divided into of four

³⁸ Marilyn Yalom, *The American Resting Place: Four Hundred Years of History Through Our Cemeteries and Burial Grounds* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008).

³⁹ Sarah Rutherford, *The Victorian Cemetery* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2008).

sections: “American Burial Grounds from Churchyards to Memorial Parks and Beyond,” “Buildings and Other Architectural Elements,” “Grave Markers, Sculpture, Monuments, and Mausoleums;” and “Comings and Goings in the Silent City.”⁴⁰ *Cemeteries* examines the history and development of cemeteries, including the burial grounds themselves and the many different practices and traditions associated. Much like Jackson and Vergara’s *Silent Cities*, this book illustrates a vast array of ethnic and social groups. However, unlike other works, Jackson includes a large discussion on the architectural elements of cemeteries including chapels, family mausoleums, crematories, and cemetery gates and fences. Furthermore, the author discusses the trends in these elements in the broader cultural history.

Works on the history of cemeteries cover many different types of cemeteries across many different time periods. Some try to be all-inclusive in that they cover early cemeteries as well as modern memorial gardens and military cemeteries. While others focus on a specific region, culture, or time period within cemetery history. However, problems exist with both kinds of literature. The all-inclusive works have so much to cover that very few cemetery types are discussed as well as they should be. For example, Eggener’s 2010 book covers all types of burials in American cemetery history but leaves a lot to be desired. His introductory essay covers the key changes and cemetery types over time, but the rest of the book, which contains numerous black and white photographs, relies on captions to tell the rest of the story.⁴¹ While the book is interesting and covers a number of topics, it leaves the reader having to conduct more research to

⁴⁰ Keith Eggener, *Cemeteries* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010).

⁴¹ Ibid.

understand the history. Of course, the downfall with more specific cemetery histories is that they are narrow in scope, but if they cover the information desired, these specific histories can be a great resource. Interestingly, these works on the history of cemeteries do not discuss preservation or the potential uses of cemeteries today. Neither do they discuss the research and educational potential of cemeteries.

Archaeology/Anthropology

Data collected from the archaeological excavation of cemeteries and other human burials is one of the most prolific sources of information about historic cemeteries. According to archaeologist Lewis Binford, “Human burials are one of the most frequently encountered classes of cultural feature observed by archeologists.”⁴² In archaeology, a feature is any physical element or structure created or modified by humans but cannot be removed from a site like an artifact. Burial practices illuminate a culture’s attitudes toward death and life; therefore, the study of these practices can divulge important insights on a specific society. As archaeologist Joseph Tainter has stated, “Indeed, to the extent to which a mortuary population contains individuals who held membership in the various structural components of a system, one can expect the

⁴² Lewis R. Binford, “Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Their Potential,” in *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, vol. 25 of *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, ed. James Allison Brown (Washington: Society for American Archaeology, 1971), 209.

mortuary population to reflect the structure of the extinct society.”⁴³ Although Tainter is concerned with prehistoric burials, the same claims can be made for historic cemeteries.

Archaeologists excavated the Elko Switch Cemetery, a historic black cemetery, near Huntsville, Alabama between 1987 and 1988. Only fifty-six burials were excavated as those were in the highway interchange construction area. The history of the cemetery was an enigma for the archaeologists. Despite its large size (approximately 150 burials) and age, the cemetery was unrecorded and unknown. Farmers removed the markers circa 1920 for agricultural purposes, which helped further remove the cemetery from record. Therefore, the archaeologists analyzed and dated the artifacts and coffin hardware to date burials in the excavated portion of the cemetery. Interestingly, the archaeologists discovered two different populations in their excavations: a slave group and a more affluent freedmen population.⁴⁴ Without historical records, the archaeologists provided insight into the history of the community and its culture through analysis of the artifacts. Had the cemetery been preserved in the 1920s, the history could have been clearer.

Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, a compilation of nine essays with an annotated bibliography, explores culture and ethnicity through the study of burial practices and memorialization among Native American and immigrant populations in the United States. In his introductory essay, Richard Meyer states, “the ethnic cemetery (indeed, any cemetery) represents one of the most culturally conservative focal points in

⁴³ Joseph Tainter, “Modeling Change in Prehistoric Social Systems,” in *For Theory Building in Archaeology: Essays on Faunal Remains, Aquatic Resources, Spatial Analysis, and Systemic Modeling*, ed. Lewis R. Binford (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 329.

⁴⁴ Michael G. Shogren, Kenneth R. Turner, and Jody C. Perroni, *Elko Switch Cemetery: An Archaeological Perspective* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1989).

the community. As historian Kenneth T. Jackson points out, ‘ . . . for immigrants, cemeteries fostered a sense of identity and stability in a new country characterized by change.’”⁴⁵ Each of the case studies exemplifies how the ethnic differences that have shaped American society are expressed and commemorated in cemeteries.⁴⁶

Shelley Saunders and Ann Herring’s edited volume, *Grave Reflections*, is a collections of papers presented at “The Comparison of Skeletons and Records from Historic Cemetery Studies,” a symposium held at the American Association of Physical Anthropologists’ 62nd annual meeting in 1993. Most of the chapters focus on skeletal analyses without also analyzing historical records or material culture. Only two chapters utilize these last two things. The first article by Aubrey Cannon asserts that adding the analysis of material culture with skeletal analysis can help determine whether the remains are part of the large culture or a subculture. Through studying 3,500 headstones in fifty rural villages in Cambridgeshire, England and comparing them to parish records, Cannon discovered only a fraction were recorded, mostly males and more affluent adults. Therefore, a presence of women and children does not necessarily mean a demographic change in the burials, it means that they were not recorded.⁴⁷ Chapter two, which was written by Margaret Cox, explains the need to include historians in skeletal analysis from historic cemeteries. Cox studied burials from the vaults of the Christ Church Spitalfields

⁴⁵ Richard E. Meyer, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Ethnic Cemeteries in America," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 4.

⁴⁶ Richard E. Meyer, ed., *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993).

⁴⁷ Aubrey Cannon, "Material Culture and Burial Representativeness," in *Grave Reflections: Portraying the Past through Cemetery Studies*, ed. Shelley R. Saunders and Ann Herring (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 1995), 3-17.

in London, and argues that different conclusions could have been made about the demographics and culture of these people depending on the sources used by the researcher. By only using secondary sources, such as other osteological and archaeological reports, assumptions could be made about the people that are very different from what primary sources indicate.⁴⁸

Freedmen's Cemetery, an edited report, discusses the primary burial place for the entire African American community of Dallas, Texas between 1869 and 1907. A team of researchers spent almost three years in the 1990s exhuming 1,157 individuals in one acre of the cemetery because of highway construction. Researchers discovered that highway construction in the 1940s paved over almost one acre of the site. With the discovery of more burials, Freedmen's Cemetery became one of the largest cemeteries ever excavated by archaeologists in the United States. Further research proved that the cemetery was the only public burial ground for African Americans in Dallas. Therefore, the individuals interred range from the poorest to the most elite, which were identified by their elaborately trimmed burial containers. No other African American cemetery has yielded the history or cultural information as the Freedmen's Cemetery.⁴⁹

From 1993 to 1995, Alexandria Archaeology performed an archeological investigation of a Quaker cemetery on the property of the Kate Waller Barrett Library in Alexandria, Virginia. The property, which was historically known as the Quaker Burying

⁴⁸ Margaret Cox, "A Dangerous Assumption: Anyone can be a Historian! The Lessons from Christ Church Spitalfields," in *Grave Reflections: Portraying the Past through Cemetery Studies*, ed. Shelley R. Saunders and Ann Herring (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 1995), 19-29.

⁴⁹ Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow, *Freedmen's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas* (Plano, Texas: Geo-Marine, Inc., 2000).

Ground, was utilized by the Alexandria Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends from 1784 until the 1890s. The City of Alexandria rented the property from the Meeting in 1937 for a period of ninety-nine years. As municipal authorities planned to alter the library, an archaeological investigation was required to excavate the graves that would be disturbed by the construction. Archaeologists cooperated with current members of the Meeting, who still own and care for the cemetery. The members stipulated that most of the burials should remain in situ, or untouched. Analysis on the remains and artifacts coupled with historical research offered information on an important sector of Alexandria's population in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as Quakers worked as merchants and had a significant impact on the economy.⁵⁰

Never Anything So Solemn was the first detailed account of a cemetery excavation of a nineteenth century middle class population. When the city of Grafton, Illinois was flooded in 1993, the Federal Emergency Management Agency relocated the community from the floodplain to a higher elevation. This relocation included the Grafton Cemetery, which provided the opportunity to "rediscover the history of Grafton."⁵¹ Much like the Elko Switch Cemetery, farmers removed the headstones to plant crops, and few historical records existed to provide insight into the cemetery's history. However, through the archaeological investigation and artifact analysis, the archaeologists could provide insights into the middle class population.

⁵⁰ Francine W. Bromberg, Steven J. Shephard, Barbara H. Magid, Pamela J. Cressey, Timothy Dennee, and Bernard K. Means, *"To Find Rest From All Trouble" The Archaeology of the Quaker Burying Ground Alexandria, Virginia* (Alexandria: Office of Historic Alexandria, 2000).

⁵¹ Jane E. Buikstra, Jodie A. O'Gorman, and Cynthia Sutton, *Never Anything So Solemn: An Archaeological, Biological, and Historical Investigation of the Nineteenth-Century Grafton Cemetery* (Kampsville, Illinois: Kampsville Archaeological Center, 2000).

Maryland's Anne Arundel County has an ongoing archeological investigation of the non-operational seventeenth century tobacco port in London Town known as the Lost Towns Project. The article, "Stories Dead Men Tell: Geophysical Survey in the All Hallows Graveyard, Anne Arundel County, Maryland," summarizes the relationship between the residents of London Town and the church through research of the All Hallows churchyard. The archaeologists used ground-penetrating radar, not excavation, to locate new burials. This technique coupled with historical research helped the team "reconstruct the colonial community of London Town by associating existing structures and sites with their past context and use... This type of historical research, married with archeological techniques, puts the history in historical archeology."⁵²

Robert Mainfort, Jr. and James Davidson's 2006 report entitled *Two Historic Cemeteries in Crawford County, Arkansas*, summarizes the excavation and reinterment of the Becky Wright and Eddy cemeteries in Fort Smith, Arkansas due to expansion of Lake Fort Smith. The archaeologists considered the cemeteries as potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which is why archaeologists performed the excavation over removal by a funeral director. The archaeologists recreated the general layouts of both cemeteries, and used the original headstones and footstones to mark the graves. The editors discuss the importance of cemeteries "as components of local communities,

⁵² Mechelle Kerns-Nocerito, "Stories Dead Men Tell: Geophysical Survey in the All Hallows Graveyard, Anne Arundel County, Maryland," *Maryland Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2002): 17.

cemeteries affirm historical, kinship, and social ties between and among the living and dead.”⁵³

The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) published an entire journal issue on the topic “Historical Archaeology of Religious Sites and Cemeteries” with guest editors. Only four of the nine chapters deal directly with the archaeology of a historic American cemetery and the interpretations that archaeologists can make from the recovered artifacts.⁵⁴ Timothy Riordan’s article “‘Carry Me to Yon Kirk Yard’: An Investigation of Changing Burial Practices in the Seventeenth-Century Cemetery at St. Mary’s City, Maryland” discusses the analysis of the coffins, copper pins, and hand placement, which showed change over time reflecting larger changes in English burial practices.⁵⁵ The next article summarizes the excavation of an early eighteenth century German Lutheran cemetery in New Jersey. Analyses allowed archaeologists to conclude that the social organization of the Lutherans shifted over time.⁵⁶ Richard F. Veit’s article focuses on the early nineteenth century gravemarkers in central New Jersey. These markers have monograms and neoclassical designs rather than the urns and willows of the period. The author argues that these different markers show an increasing

⁵³ Robert C. Mainfort, Jr. and James M. Davidson, ed., *Two Historic Cemeteries in Crawford County, Arkansas* (Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, 2006), 1.

⁵⁴ Sherene B. Baugher, Gerard P. Scharfenberger, and Richard F. Veit, ed. *Historical Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2009).

⁵⁵ Timothy B. Riordan, “‘Carry Me to Yon Kirk Yard’: An Investigation of Changing Burial Practices in the Seventeenth-Century Cemetery at St. Mary’s City, Maryland,” *Historical Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2009): 81-92.

⁵⁶ John W. Lawrence, Paul W. Schopp, and Robert J. Lore, “‘They Even Threaten the Sick That They Will Not Be Buried in the Churchyard’: Salvage Archaeology of the Raritan-in-the-Hills Cemetery, Somerset County, New Jersey,” *Historical Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2009): 93-114.

significance of consumerism and market for gravemarkers and memorials.⁵⁷ A study of seventeenth and eighteenth century gravemarkers from Long Island proved that “gravestones are an enduring and traditional part of a people’s culture, and the cemetery is a nodal point of the social landscape.”⁵⁸

The SHA also published an edited volume containing a collection of articles focused around specific themes. The fourth volume on “Mortuary and Religious Sites” consists of six parts, including an introduction, investigation methodologies, landscapes, material culture, commemoration, and human remains and grave goods. Some of the articles include those listed above in “Historical Archaeology of Religious Sites and Cemeteries.” Despite their many different topics, these articles all use an aspect of archaeology to create a lens into different cultures. However, only a small fraction of the articles deals with cemeteries, and they are in “Part V: Commemoration” and “Part VI: Human Remains and Grave Goods.”⁵⁹

The edited volume, *Uncovering Identity in Mortuary Analysis*, summarized the excavation and analysis of 1,200 interments from the Alameda Stone Cemetery in Tucson, Arizona. From approximately 1860 to 1880, residents of that growing town used the cemetery and interestingly, had a large Hispanic population. Moreover, this project was a collaboration with a diverse group of stakeholders, including descendants of some

⁵⁷ Richard F. Veit, “‘Resolved to Strike Out a New Path’: Consumerism and Iconographic Change in New Jersey Gravestones,” *Historical Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2009): 115-141.

⁵⁸ Gaynell Stone, “Sacred Landscapes: Material Evidence of Ideological and Ethnic Choice in Long Island, New York, Gravestones, 1680-1800,” *Historical Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2009): 142-159.

⁵⁹ Richard F. Veit and Alasdair M. Brooks, *Perspectives from Historical Archaeology: Mortuary and Religious Sites* (Rockville, Maryland: Society for Historical Archaeology, 2011), vol. 4.

of the interred individuals. The authors present their methodology in uncovering the identity of the burials with grave goods, biological affinity, manner of burial, osteological signatures, and spatial relationships among graves. Furthermore, all of these clues were compared with the historical research that documented the population of Tucson in the late nineteenth century and the different cultures and ethnicities within.⁶⁰

Archaeology reports, chapters, and articles are a critical part of the cemetery literature because they are a special kind of investigation into the information that a cemetery can provide. Combining historic research with mortuary and artifact analysts, archaeologists can create a thorough history of the people interred within a specific cemetery. These reports can be useful for a historian researching a similar cemetery. However, these works are site specific meaning they have little historical information outside of the state or region in which the investigation took place. In other words, these works have a narrow focus, which may be better used in comparative studies or as a guide for how to conduct proper research. However, the report on the Freedmen's Cemetery in Dallas, Texas is going to be little help in researching the Farnsley Cemetery in Louisville, Kentucky.

Community History

Until the 1960s, few American history scholars showed interest in early New England gravestones, much less gravestones from other regions. Even with this new

⁶⁰ Michael P. Heilen, ed., *Uncovering Identity in Mortuary Analysis: Community-Sensitive Methods for Identifying Group Affiliation in Historical Cemeteries* (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2012).

interest, scholars focused on the styles of markers and their symbolism and tying these into the Puritan way of life. It was not until the 1970s that scholars began seeing cemeteries as windows into other aspects of history, including community development patterns, burial practices, memorial traditions, and other aspects of a community's culture and history.

Harriet M. Forbes was the first to study early New England gravestones. In the 1920s she photographed and catalogued hundreds of them to analyze as cultural artifacts made in America. It was believed that the stones were made in England and exported. Furthermore, Forbes aimed to identify and understand individual carving styles to then establish a list of New England stone carvers. Forbes published her research in 1927 as *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them 1653-1800*, which was an early milestone in American cemetery study.⁶¹ Regardless of Forbes' groundbreaking efforts, more than thirty years passed before scholars began studying cemeteries again.

Allan Ludwig's 1966 book, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815*, shed light on early American gravestones, which captured the attention of scholars and the public. Ludwig notes that while the Puritans withheld adornment from their public buildings and homes, they did not do the same with their gravestones, which they embellished. *Graven Images* discusses the varied motifs and contains 156 photographs as well as several detailed maps with the locations of important burial grounds. However, Ludwig offers in-depth, complex interpretations of these

⁶¹ Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them 1653-1800*, vol. 4 of *Architecture and Decorative Art*, ed. Adolf K. Placzek (New York: De Capo Press, 1967).

symbols that were created by sometimes uneducated although talented stone carvers.

More research into historical records could have aided the author in his suppositions.⁶²

In his 1971 article, “The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape,” Richard V. Francaviglia uses gravemarkers to trace social development in five Oregon cemeteries that span a century in use. He assessed the iconography and epitaphs as well as the shape and height of each marker. In order to standardize his research, Francaviglia placed the markers into nine categories: gothic, obelisk, cross-vault obelisk, tablet, pulpit, scroll, block, raised-top inscription, and lawn-type. He then measured the stone’s date of occurrence and created four distinct time periods: Pioneer, Victorian, Conservative, and Modern. Through his research, the author also discovered two patterns of community growth, including concentric growth around an older core and asymmetrical growth, which was restricted by cultural or natural features. In his conclusion, he states that cemeteries “suggest that architectural form and settlement patterns are so deeply ingrained in the genre de vie that they even affect relatively sacred places.”⁶³

Between 1981 and 1996 Ruth Little collected cemetery data through specific gravemarker surveys, historic structure surveys, and intensive surveys of all historic cemeteries in selected counties in North Carolina. Little published a small portion of her findings in an article in 1989 and then published in a larger volume in 1998 entitled *Sticks and Stones*, which will be discussed later. Her 1989 article “Afro-American Gravemarkers in North Carolina” Little discusses the results of analyzing 51 Afro-

⁶² Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1966).

⁶³ Richard V. Francaviglia, “The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, no. 3 (1971): 509.

American gravemarkers in three counties: Cumberland, Davidson, and New Hanover. The author viewed gravemarkers as artifacts of a culture much like an archaeologist would. In her analysis two dichotomies emerged—the folk vs. popular and the black vs. white—which led Little to conclude that black grave mounds and enclosures are much different from those of the white population. This information works as a lens into Afro-American people in North Carolina and their history.⁶⁴

In 1992, Richard E. Meyer edited a collection of essays that originated at a conference sponsored by the “Cemeteries and Gravemarkers” department of the American Culture Association. The essays in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* are grouped under four major categories: icon and epitaph, origins and influences, ethnicity and regionalism, and business and pleasure. This collection emphasizes the information that can be learned by studying cemeteries. However, each of the authors takes a different methodological approach in how they gather and interpret the information. For example, Thomas J. Hannon used tombstone data in western Pennsylvania to examine settlement patterns.⁶⁵ This book is one of the most influential works and was the first to use cemeteries as a resource for examining social history.

In *Sticks & Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers*, Ruth Little provides a detailed and insightful history of North Carolina burial grounds through the North Carolina Gravemarkers Survey, which recorded approximately 1,200 markers in 550 graveyards. She conducted the two-year survey in thirty-four out of 100 North

⁶⁴ M. Ruth Little, “Afro-American Gravemarkers in North Carolina,” *Markers* 6 (1989): 102-134.

⁶⁵ Richard E. Meyer, ed., *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992).

Carolina counties in cemeteries spanning three hundred years. Little examined markers associated with three distinct groups, British, Germans, and Africans, with deeper analysis into the English and the Africans in the Eastern region, the Scots Highlanders in the Sandhills region, and the Germans and Scots-Irish in the Piedmont region. Little asserts that her research was more difficult to conduct than that of New England scholars as the South has an abundance of family graveyards whereas the northeast has village burial grounds. Little links the diverse gravestones to the various cultural groups that have populated North Carolina.⁶⁶

Helen Chappell's 1999 book, *The Chesapeake Book of the Dead: Tombstones, Epitaphs, Histories, Reflections, and Oddments of the Region*, discusses the many different types of cemeteries in the Chesapeake Bay region and uses them as primary sources to uncover the history of the area. The author includes larger cemeteries with prominent burials as well as smaller rural ones in desperate need of preservation many of which date to the 1600s. Furthermore, the book contains essays on death culture, such as mourning fashion, deathbed practices, cemetery ghost stories, diary entries of a nineteenth century doctor, and cemetery preservation.⁶⁷

A member of the Board of Certified Genealogists, Sharon DeBartolo Carmack has published several guides on genealogy research for those seeking to find their ancestors. While these books are written for the general public, Carmack provides information pertinent to historians conducting research. Her 2002 book, *Your Guide to Cemetery Research*, first discusses the many types of records associated with an individual's death,

⁶⁶ M. Ruth Little, *Sticks & Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

⁶⁷ Chappell, *The Chesapeake Book of the Dead*.

such as death certificates, autopsy reports, death notices, obituaries, wills and probate records, funeral home records, and mortality schedules. Through an overview of cemeteries and headstones, Carmack explains how cemeteries can help fill the gaps in historical research. Furthermore, the book contains an overview of American burial customs and attitudes toward death as well as appendices that examine iconography and define medical terms found on death records.⁶⁸

Shannon Applegate, the sexton of the Applegate Pioneer Cemetery in Yoncalla, Oregon, shares personal anecdotes, travel stories, and detailed accounts of Oregon's history and geology in her book *Living Among Headstones*. The author also weaves this information with funerary and memorial practices in both America and internationally. According to the author, the Applegate Pioneer Cemetery is not the oldest or most impressive cemetery in Oregon, however, its association with an important pioneer family and its evolutionary pattern make it worthy of study. The Applegate family originally created the cemetery for members of the family but it was expanded for the growing rural community. This pattern has yet to be thoroughly researched by scholars and while this book does not attempt to study the pattern, it does provide important insight into a process that is still ongoing.⁶⁹

Cemetery Walk by Minda Powers-Douglas, an amateur historian, reads more like a memoir than a historical account of cemeteries. Powers-Douglas inserts her own beliefs and opinions into discussions on the different types of cemeteries and the history

⁶⁸ Sharon DeBartolo Carmack, *Your Guide to Cemetery Research* (Cincinnati: Betterway Books, 2002).

⁶⁹ Shannon Applegate, *Living Among Headstones: Life in a Country Cemetery* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2005).

within them. Furthermore, some of the chapters focus on superstitions, ghost stories, and taphophiles.⁷⁰ According to the Urban Dictionary, a taphophile is “one who practices taphophilia. Someone who is interested in funerals, gravestone art, epitaphs, cemeteries. Known to play a part in Goth subculture, although interest in one does not mean interest in both.”⁷¹ However, the author does some great things in this book. First, she interviews historians, preservationists, and genealogists about their work with cemeteries and why it is important. To the average reader, this information provides a new insight into cemeteries. Second, through her discussion of different aspects of cemeteries, such as epitaphs and headstones, the author presents brief connections to community histories surrounding her cemetery examples.

In her article, Phyllis Roberson Hoots notes that the bulk of research on cemeteries originates in the northeastern United States, which is unfortunate as other histories have been yet to be told. Hoots states that cemeteries reveal many aspects of culture, such as ideologies on death and burial and even social relationships. While the headstone may reflect a single moment in that individual’s life, it reflects much more about the society that produced it. All aspects of the cemetery can shed light onto the society that created it. Unlike other authors, her research divides cemetery history into distinctly different periods such as “The Great Awakening” and “Republicanism.” Hoots calls for more in depth study of cemetery artifacts, including landscape design and marker production, and using her analogy of cemeteries as outdoor museums, she calls

⁷⁰ Minda Powers-Douglas, *Cemetery Walk: A Journey into the Art, History and Society of the Cemetery and Beyond* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2005).

⁷¹ “Taphophile,” *Urban Dictionary*. accessed August 16, 2013, <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Taphophile>.

for better preservation and protection. Hoots see cemeteries as repositories of culture and history that need protection from the apathy of today's society.⁷²

David Kyvig and Myron Marty's 2010 book *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* discusses the importance of local history and reviews the types of evidence that may be available to researchers. Furthermore, the book offers research methods and questions for researchers to ask when conducting research. The case studies, photographs, and documents throughout the book help the reader understand the basics of researching local history. An interesting facet of this book is its inclusion of cemeteries as unpublished documents to use in research. The headstones can provide vital information, such as birth, death, and sometimes marriage data. The authors emphasize that headstones may possess information that cannot be found in any archive or library. Furthermore, the epitaph, iconography, and layout of the cemetery may provide the researcher with valuable information.⁷³

Heroes, Scoundrels, and Angels by local historian Ron Melugin is a thoroughly researched account of the lives of two hundred people buried in the Fairview Cemetery in Gainesville, Texas. Melugin states, "This cemetery is a gold mine of local history, serving the living as well as the dead. Tombstones serve as bookmarks to people's lives. . . . Those 'bookmarks' may be simple; they may be ornate. They may be accurate; they

⁷² Phyllis Roberson Hoots, "Cemeteries as Outdoor Museums," *Forsyth County Historical Association*, 2009, accessed August 8, 2013, www.forsythnchistory.com/files/cemeteries.pdf.

⁷³ David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2010).

may be inaccurate.”⁷⁴ Melugin acknowledges that his selection of people is biased due to gaps in historical records or lack of “historical significance; unique, interesting life experiences; unusual causes of death; or unusual gravemarkers or epitaphs.”⁷⁵ However, his book demonstrates the use of headstones as primary sources to develop an understanding of a community’s history. By using the headstones, Melugin also draws attention to the Fairview Cemetery itself and ignites an interest in cemeteries and the history they possess.

Linda Levitt’s 2008 dissertation, “Hollywood Forever: Culture, Celebrity, and the Cemetery,” examines how sites of sites of memory, such as cemeteries, are used by people to connect to history and cultural memory. Levitt focuses on the Hollywood Forever Cemetery in Los Angeles, California, in which celebrities like Rudolph Valentino, Mel Blanc, and Marion Davies are buried along with thousands of other people. Levitt argues, “Cemeteries are more significantly sites of personal or individual memory than cultural memory, yet Hollywood Forever, by virtue of who is buried there, becomes a site of cultural memory as well.”⁷⁶ Hollywood Forever is seen as a tourist attraction due to its celebrity burials. Visitors tour the cemetery to remember people they did not know yet still feel connected to because of stardom. The author stipulates that, “Spending time at a historic site, contemplating its landscape, and listening to its stories can be a powerful means of determining one’s place in relation to the past.”⁷⁷ In order to

⁷⁴ Ron Melugin, *Heroes, Scoundrels, and Angels: Fairview Cemetery of Gainesville, Texas* (Charleston: The History Press, 2010), 17.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Linda Levitt, “Hollywood Forever: Culture, Celebrity, and the Cemetery” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Florida, 2008), 2.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 3.

stay relevant, the cemetery holds an outdoor film series known as Cinespia, a Day of the Dead celebration, and annual memorial services and commemorative events to honor the celebrities interred there. Therefore, Hollywood Forever becomes a social space for visitors not just a cemetery.⁷⁸

The literature that surrounds cemeteries as a lens for community history appeals to many different groups of readers. However, most of these histories are focused in that they are community-specific. Furthermore, many of these histories are written by amateur historians, which may have problems with research and factuality. On the other hand, amateur historians have an interesting perspective that is enthusiastic and passionate about a given topic. These works can provide professional historians with new and different ideas of how to conduct their own research. Unfortunately, a lot of the literature does not draw connections to preservation of cemeteries despite the connections to the many uses of cemeteries. Furthermore, the authors focus on larger cemeteries not on smaller domestic ones, which have just as much historical information to offer.

Cemeteries and Education

While the idea of using cemeteries in education is not a new one, few scholars have written about the topic. Some preservation organizations that conduct public education on a region's historical sites, such as the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, have developed cemetery curriculum and activities for schools. The History Channel and the Public Broadcasting Service's (PBS) show History Detectives also

⁷⁸ Ibid.

developed cemetery curriculum for teachers. However, much of the information on cemeteries and education has been published in education journals. Little to no articles on this topic have been published in history or anthropology journals.

Karen L. Hansen's 1989 article "Tombstones as Textbooks" was among the first to discuss the cemetery as a laboratory for students. Hansen discusses using cemeteries to teach community history, science, art, and literature. Her lesson plan for community history begins with individual students recording graves of a specific family and creating a family tree from their findings. Then, in small groups, the students can research those families in the local libraries and historical societies in order to tie them into the larger historical context. The information the students gather can also answer questions about that society on mortality rates, life spans, and any death patterns. Additionally, students' observations of plants, erosion, tilted monuments, and weathered stone can be tied into science curriculum. Hansen also suggests that students record interesting epitaphs to analyze. What do epitaphs say about the deceased? About their family? Then students can write their own epitaphs for cartoon characters or historical figures.⁷⁹

"Cemetery Mathematics," written by Ernest Woodward, Sandra Frost, and Anita Smith, discusses an eight day graphing unit that used data the students collected from a local cemetery. During their visit, teachers gave students headstone shaped cards in which they had to fill in the deceased's name, birth date, death date, spouse, and age at death. The students then took these cards to create a class bar graph that traced the number of people who died in different decades. The students created a variety of other graphs including bar graphs by sex and line graphs by death month and birth month. The

⁷⁹ Karen L. Hansen, "Tombstones as Textbooks," *Learning* 18, no. 3 (1989): 27-29.

teachers believed that the students learned and cared more in this activity because they gathered the data themselves and drew connections to the deceased.⁸⁰

When developing new activities for her high school 3D art class, Lorraine Sopp decided to have her students create headstones from clay, as she believed cemetery art was unnoticed and underappreciated. Sopp first took her students to a local cemetery to do headstone rubbings so that they could understand and appreciate the artistry in the stones.⁸¹ Then the students began creating their own headstones in clay and then carving and painting them. This activity was an easy way for Sopp to incorporate an underappreciated form of art and history into a great learning experience for her students. Furthermore, just by introducing her students to cemeteries, they may be more likely to have an interest in them later.⁸²

“A Tale of Two Cemeteries: Gravestones as Community Artifacts,” an article by Suzanne Mitoraj, connects cemeteries to language arts. Mitoraj taught Colonial American literature and searched for better ways to connect her students to the literature. In their town of Wallingford, Connecticut, which was settled in 1670, many descendants of the first settlers are buried in the local cemetery and still live in the town. After being immersed in the literature, students then explore the cemetery and do rubbings of specific headstones to study the iconography and epitaphs. Throughout the lesson, the teacher draws parallels between the literature, the cemetery, and the colonial mind. Students

⁸⁰ Ernest Woodward, Sandra Frost, and Anita Smith, “Cemetery Mathematics,” *The Arithmetic Teacher* 39, no. 4 (1991): 31-36.

⁸¹ It should be noted that many cemetery preservationists believe that headstone rubbings actually damaged the stone. See Jessie Lie Farber, *Gravestone Rubbings for Beginners*, AGS Field Guide No. 5 (Greenfield, MA: Association for Gravestone Studies, 1986).

⁸² Lorraine Sopp, “Gravestone Graphics,” *Arts and Activities* 124, no. 2 (1998): 29.

begin to see how the cemetery changes as colonial thoughts change. This lesson also allows students to better understand their community and local history.⁸³

Albert Hamscher's article "Talking Tombstones: History in the Cemetery" promotes cemeteries as an important source for researching a large range of topics, including the beliefs and outlooks of past cultures. The author uses iconography and epitaphs as examples of clues to the cultures as well as the physical layout of a cemetery, which "can reveal as much about prevailing business practices as it does about the evolution of the landscaper's craft."⁸⁴ Furthermore, Hamscher encourages a cross-disciplinary approach to give students the opportunity to use their research in creative writing assignments. Hamscher states, "The recognition that a cemetery is an outdoor museum, an archive fashioned in stone and bronze, awakens curiosity and opens numerous possibilities for historical research. Research in the cemetery can be integrated into traditional courses of broad scope, and local findings can illuminate larger regional and national trends and developments."⁸⁵

The educators and authors of "If Stones Could Talk . . ." established a community-based partnership of the same name, which was a science and technology after school club. This club provided new ways for students to learn mathematics and science through investigations of inquiry using modern technology and the Greenwood Cemetery. Working with archaeology students and professors from the University of Missouri-St. Louis and the Friends of the Greenwood Cemetery, the after school club

⁸³ Suzanne O. Mitoraj, "A Tale of Two Cemeteries: Gravestones as Community Artifacts," *The English Journal* 90, no. 5 (2001): 82-87.

⁸⁴ Albert N. Hamscher, "Talking Tombstones: History in the Cemetery," *OAH Magazine of History* 17, no. 2 (2003): 40.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

helped clear debris and brush from the cemetery and inventoried the headstones. The information included inscription, iconography, size of the stone, material of the stone, condition, and surrounding plants. The students then entered their records into the cemetery's database and used the data to answer historical questions about age, birth dates, death dates, and relationships, which they then used to create presentations to the class.⁸⁶

Linda M. Easley, in her article "Cemeteries as Science Labs," discusses the many uses of cemeteries in education of mathematics, social studies, science, language arts, and archaeology. The article also includes activities written by the author that can illuminate the nature and processes of science in the cemetery. The pre-visit activity includes an experiment on headstone weathering in which students make a model of a headstone and test the different physical and chemical weathering using soft drinks, vinegar, and bleach. During their visit students participate in two different activities. The first is a scavenger hunt in which students have to find different types of stones used in gravemarkers as well as different iconography and marker types. In the second activity, students must find different markers that represent different time periods in the cemetery in order to understand how the stone used in gravemarkers changed over time and how they have weathered. The students are also prompted to make observations of the landscape and setting of the cemetery much like an archaeologist would. It is clear that these activities

⁸⁶ Patricia E. Simmons, Monya Ruffin, Joseph Polman, Crissie Kirkendall, and Tim Baumann, "If Stones Could Talk..." *The Science Teacher* 70, no. 5 (2003): 52-54.

tries to incorporate earth sciences with archaeology, which in turn includes social studies.⁸⁷

Patricia Lowry and Judy McCrary's article "Science and History Come Alive in the Cemetery" introduces the premise that a field trip to the cemetery meets the *National Science Education Standards* as long as students understand scientific inquiry in various kinds of investigations. The authors developed an activity for students to conduct in the cemetery that is based on observation and addresses both scientific and historical questions. For example, some of the science questions include questions about why the headstones might be tilted, why the graves might be sunken, whether or not a stone is weathered, and the kinds of plants in the cemetery. Their historical questions revolved around inscriptions, child graves, relationship between husbands and wives, and occupations. The authors draw a link between historic cemeteries and the history of a community and believe that by spending time in a cemetery students will connect with that history. This activity will also provide a successful curriculum experience, which is the core of a teacher's goal.⁸⁸

A social studies teacher in Hope, Indiana sought to teach her third grade class about their local history, community, and culture. Ronald Morris's article "The Land of Hope" discusses the experiment and its results. Barbara Johnson, the teacher, designed an inexpensive field trip that centered on a walking tour of the town with stops at the town square, local history museum, and cemetery. Johnson had her past fifth through

⁸⁷ Linda M. Easley, "Cemeteries as Science Labs," *Science Scope* 29, no. 3 (2005): 28-32.

⁸⁸ Patricia K. Lowry and Judy H. McCrary, "Science and History Come Alive in the Cemetery," *Science Scope* 29, no. 3 (2005): 33.

twelfth grade students research primary sources and oral histories to create characters that would give first person interpretations during her class's tour. However, little was discussed about the cemetery itself and what it tells students about different cultures. It was simply used as a background for some of the older students' presentations.⁸⁹

Laura Suchan, author of "Memento Mori: Bringing the Classroom to the Cemetery" and executive director of the Oshawa Community Museum and Archives in Ontario saw a need in the 1990s to connect the local cemetery to her museum. She designed her cemetery education program to highlight headstones as primary historical resources and the importance of primary research. The author argues that headstones provide insight to life in a specific time, as they are forms of expression. This insight can be applied on a community and national level. Suchan provides four different activities for students as well as worksheets to gather data and a lesson plan for the teacher. After their cemetery visit, students are also encouraged to conduct more research in the local library or archives. While other educators have touched on the importance of cemeteries few have clearly explained cemeteries as primary sources for historical research.⁹⁰

Steven Branting's article, "Digitizing a Heritage of Faded Memories," outlines his history project using the six components of the *National Historical Thinking Standard 4* (Historical Research Capabilities). These components include formulating research questions from historical documents; obtaining historical documents from many different sources; analyzing data through the cultural and social context it was created; identify

⁸⁹ Ronald V. Morris, "The Land of Hope: Third-Grade Students Use a Walking Tour to Explore Their Community," *The Social Studies* 97, no. 3 (2006): 129-132.

⁹⁰ Laura Suchan, "Memento Mori: Bringing the Classroom to the Cemetery," *The History Teacher* 42, no. 1 (2008): 41-53.

and fill the gaps in data; use quantitative analysis to understand changes in demographics, economy, wealth, and migration; and support arguments and interpretations with historical evidence. This cemetery project began as a middle school GIS assignment to plot and analyze any spatial patterns. The students combined the GIS data with historical research to better understand the cemetery. Other students remained on the project through high school to locate a supposed unmarked mass grave in the cemetery. They worked with federal agencies to locate grave shafts in the cemetery and continued historic research. This case study is a prime example of what cemetery research can explain about a community's history.⁹¹

Lauren Schoellhorn's 2012 thesis, submitted to the School of Education of Webster University, includes activities for middle and high school social science educators. The unit, entitled "St. Louis, the Civil War and a Cemetery," aims to use Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis, Missouri, to teach skills and content dictated by the curricular standards at the local, state and national level. The thesis includes a case study of educators who used the unit and had success showing that "a historic cemetery can encourage inquiry, increase student engagement and promote the development of twenty-first century skills, which are necessary factors in the creation of life-long learners."⁹² Researchers have stressed the need for primary sources to be included the social science classroom to improve student literacy and create new learning skills. However, the inclusion of primary sources can also be ineffective if the teacher does not use them in a

⁹¹ Steven D. Branting, "Digitizing a Heritage of Fading Memories: A Case Study on Extending Historical Research Capabilities," *The History Teacher* 42, no. 4 (2009): 457-475.

⁹² Lauren Schoellhorn, "'Bringing History to Life' Exploring the Historic Cemetery as a Primary Classroom Resource" (master's thesis, Webster University, 2012), iii.

way that promotes inquiry, encourages student engagement, and creates relevant historical meaning. The unit in this thesis “seeks to show that voices from a historic cemetery, and even the cemetery itself, can be used as human and engaging primary sources through the development of a full curricular unit.”⁹³

Educators see the benefits of cemeteries as educational tools in a variety of fields. Like many historians, social studies educators understand gravemarkers to be primary sources from which their students can learn and continue research into primary sources. However, educators have not made the connection between the educational value of cemeteries and preservation. Without preservation of historic cemeteries, no gravemarkers would exist for their students to study. Educators have not addressed the fact that the information gleaned from a cemetery may not be the entire picture. Over time as cemeteries age, some gravemarkers maybe too damaged to read or missing altogether and unsuccessful preservation efforts also damage the integrity of cemeteries by inaccurately replacing gravestones. Therefore, a slight disadvantage exists in focusing on gravestones in cemeteries for research. Students must also conduct research into other primary sources to get the most accurate portrayal of the past.

⁹³ Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE POSSIBILITIES AND USES OF CEMETERIES

“Show me your cemeteries and I will tell you what kind of people you have.”
Benjamin Franklin⁹⁴

Like many families, every Memorial Day my grandmother and great aunts travel to the family cemetery in Gilstrap, Kentucky. They place new flowers on the family graves and reminisce about their loved ones interred there. As these traditions are passed down, children like me learn respect for the dead and for cemeteries and acquire an appreciation of history. However, people are much more mobile and families are spread across the country leaving family graves behind than in previous generations. Not continuing this tradition of stewardship causes a disassociation from cemeteries, and when children do not grow up with an appreciation for their family history, or history in general, cemeteries lose their status as a place of respect or reverence.

Cemeteries, especially small ones in rural areas, are fragile. Over time environmental processes such as moles, tree root growth, undergrowth, and soil erosion can displace and damage gravemarkers. People, however, are the biggest threat to cemeteries. With growing air pollution, acid rain causes serious damage to markers.

⁹⁴ Douglas Keister, “The Tapestry of Cemeteries and Mausoleums,” *Forever Legacy*, last modified April 5, 2013, <http://www.mausoleums.com/the-tapestry-of-cemeteries-and-mausoleums/>.

Additionally, farmers remove gravemarkers from small domestic cemeteries so they can plow the land, and vandals steal and damage gravemarkers in cemeteries.

Larger city cemeteries and churchyards with nonprofit organizations or caretakers tend to fare better than the small domestic cemeteries that can be rural and isolated in location. These small cemeteries tend to have few if any documents associated, and serve a small percentage of the population. However, their preservation is still vital. As Lynette Strangstad says in her article, “By bringing back children—and adults, alike—to cemetery preservation, we reconnect with the sense of respect and history which can be learned in cemeteries much as, years ago, we learned it simply by belonging to our families.”⁹⁵ The president of Forest Lawn in Buffalo, New York, Joseph P. Dispenza has said, “The most disrespectful thing to do to the dead is to forget them. Surrounding the dead with the living and with museum-like activities ensures the dead will not be forgotten.”⁹⁶

Simply put, cemeteries are parcels of land that house the dead, but they are also much more. Since the late 1980s, educators have used cemeteries as laboratories for their classrooms. Math teachers, language arts teachers, science teachers, art teachers, and history teachers have shown students the valuable information that can be gleaned from cemeteries. Teachers help their students develop a respect and appreciation for cemeteries and the history within them. Additionally, historians, folklorists, archaeologists, and anthropologists have studied cemeteries and those buried within to

⁹⁵ Lynette Strangstad, “Directions in Graveyard Preservation: A Look Back and Some Suggestions to Start the New Millennium,” *AGS Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (1999): 3.

⁹⁶ Jane L. Levere, “Art and History Among the Dead,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), Mar. 20, 2013.

better understand and interpret specific cultures and populations. A culture's attitude toward death is revealed in how they buried and memorialized their dead. A reflection of the culture can also be seen in cemetery details such as vegetation, gravemarkers, fences, walls, and orientation. Genealogists also record and study cemetery information to research and understand their family and community histories.

The idea that a cemetery has multiple uses is not new. As author Keith Eggener explains:

Cemeteries we built for ourselves, increasingly after 1830, were places with winding roads and picturesque vistas. The idea being that you leave behind the mercantile world outside the gates and enter into the space where you can meditate, where you can come into contact with spirituality and concentrate. They were quite important spaces for recreation as well. Keep in mind, the great rural cemeteries were built at a time when there weren't public parks, or art museums, or botanical gardens in American cities. You suddenly had large pieces of ground, filled with beautiful sculptures and horticultural art. People flocked to cemeteries for picnics, for hunting and shooting and carriage racing. These places became so popular that not only were guidebooks issued to guide visitors, but also all kinds of rules were posted.⁹⁷

Rural cemeteries in the United States were the first cemeteries designed for multiple uses by the living and the dead. It was fashionable for the nineteenth-century tourist to visit such cemeteries and the press printed many articles about their romanticism and beauty. Historic photographs and engravings depict families riding, walking, and playing in rural cemeteries.⁹⁸

Professors of history, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen conducted a structured telephone survey in the early 1990s to ascertain how Americans understood and used the

⁹⁷ Rebecca Greenfield, "Our First Public Parks: The Forgotten History of Cemeteries," *The Atlantic*, March 16, 2011, <http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2011/03/our-first-public-parks-the-forgotten-history-of-cemeteries/71818/>.

⁹⁸ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 56.

past. Their book, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, details this survey and its results. The researchers interviewed a random sample of 808 people nationwide, in addition to interviewing 645 Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Oglala Sioux from the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. The researchers' questions focused on five main themes: participation in past-related activities; a sense of connection to the past; credibility of sources of information about the past; the significance of multiple pasts, including familial, racial/ethnic, communal, and national; and demographic information.⁹⁹

The authors concluded that contrary to popular opinion, everyday Americans care about history, especially if it involves their family or racial/ethnic history. Furthermore, the authors determined that when their interviewees participate in some type of activity related to the past they prefer to interact with history as an "unmediated experience" rather than through the classroom.¹⁰⁰ In fact, "studying history in school" rated the lowest on a scale that measured how interviewees felt "connected to the past." However, fifty-six percent of interviewees said they felt "connected to the past" while visiting history museums or historic sites. Moreover, they considered these sites to be the most trustworthy source of history.¹⁰¹

Rosenzweig and Thelen's study suggests that a genuine interest in history exists, especially if it can be connected to an individual's family and/or race/ethnicity. The understanding of how people connect with history can provide historians, educators, and

⁹⁹ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 22.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 21.

cemetery organizations ways to connect this interest to cemeteries. Through this connection people can begin to develop a respect for and interest in cemeteries and their history. American society is transient. Providing people with a sense of place, connection, and history can allow them to feel connected to a place that they may not call their home. Cemeteries are valuable for creating such connections. Strangstad offers a variety of ideas about public education, including college courses on cemetery preservation, teaching schoolchildren about cemeteries, events in cemeteries like Victorian ice cream socials and 5K runs, and living history tours in cemeteries.¹⁰²

Fortunately, many cemeteries are undertaking these kinds of events. David Charles Sloane said that the events many cemeteries offer give them “ways to advertise their services as well as to reestablish their cultural relevance.” He goes on to say, “Art and culture have become important parts of America’s economy. Cemeteries are, along with the museums and historic sites, simply recognizing the potential for visibility based on their resources.”¹⁰³ The Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia, for example, hosts a Victorian festival with carriage rides, a 5K road race called “Run Like Hell,” and Halloween ghost tours. These events help raise funding for the historic cemetery and draw attention to the history and art within. Curator at the Atlanta History Center, Donald R. Rooney noted, “Within the confines of those brick and stone walls, there’s hardly a chapter of our city’s history that cannot be told.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Strangstad, “Directions in Graveyard Preservation,” 5.

¹⁰³ Levere, “Art and History Among the Dead.”

¹⁰⁴ Robbie Brown, “Atlanta Saves Battered Gem, a Home for the Dead That’s Prized by the Living,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), Oct. 10, 2008.

In order to celebrate its sesquicentennial, the Woodlawn Cemetery and Crematory in the Bronx, New York, is planning an exhibit at Columbia University for the fall of 2014. It will display stained glass, bronze work, sculpture, and items from the cemetery's archives, including interment records. The Woodlawn Conservancy is a non-profit organization that helps preserve the cemetery through educational programs, specialized tours, concerts, and lectures. For example, Woodlawn offers tours emphasizing Latino and Hispanic Heritage, memorials with astronomical designs, bird watching, urban mushroom hunting, cemetery restoration, graves of famous stage actors, and unsolved mysteries.¹⁰⁵

Vice president for cemetery and visitor services at Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Bree Harvey sought a way to set her site apart from others in the area. According to Harvey, all history and cultural non-profit organizations in Boston and Cambridge vie for the same funding and supporters. Under her direction, Mount Auburn has more than doubled its educational and cultural programs. It now offers approximately 130 programs. These programs include lectures, concerts, and tours that focus on a wide variety of topics such as horticulture, entymology, bird watching, gravestone iconography, burials of Boston shipbuilders, visionaries and eccentrics, African American heritage, the Civil War and Boston, and art and artists.¹⁰⁶ Founder of the Historic Cemeteries Alliance and former president of Mount Auburn, William Clendaniel said programs in cemeteries are “fulfilling the need and desire on people’s

¹⁰⁵ Levere, “Art and History Among the Dead;” “Current and Upcoming Events,” *Woodlawn Conservancy*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.woodlawnconservancy.org/index.php/visit/programs>.

¹⁰⁶ Levere, “Art and History Among the Dead;” “Events,” *Mount Auburn Cemetery*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.mountauburn.org/category/events/>.

part to learn more about these places on all levels. We are outdoor museums, and like all museums, part of our mission is education.”¹⁰⁷

Spring Grove Cemetery and Arboretum in Cincinnati, Ohio, which opened in 1845 following a cholera epidemic, has followed the trend of offering a wide variety of events and programs. For example, the cemetery hosts a car show every fall for owners of cars older than thirty years. According to Gary Freytag, president and chief executive, the 2012 car show brought in roughly 23,000 visitors. While this event may not relate to the cemetery’s inhabitants, Freytag justifies that, “We’re a repository of a lot of Cincinnati history and we want to find ways to share it. The perception is we only bury the rich elite and that we’re full, but neither is true. We want to build awareness and our relationships with people of Cincinnati, so when or if they have need for a cemetery or funeral services, they will call us.”¹⁰⁸

Cave Hill Cemetery in Louisville, Kentucky, presents a classic example of a rural cemetery and is the only cemetery in the city that has educational programs for the public. The Cave Hill Heritage Foundation is the non-profit organization that aims to preserve and restore the historic buildings and monuments in the cemetery as well as the arboretum setting. Furthermore, community education and awareness is part of the organization’s mission. However, the only events that are offered are tours focused on history, ghosts, horticulture, art and artists, and the Civil War.¹⁰⁹ Cave Hill is behind its contemporaries in other major cities when it comes to public education despite it being

¹⁰⁷ Levere, “Art and History Among the Dead.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ “Guided Tours,” *Cave Hill Heritage Foundation*. accessed August 23, 2013, http://www.cavehillheritagefoundation.org/tours_and_presentations/guided_tours/.

part of its mission. The wide variety of tours and activities, such as car shows, bring a wide variety of people to cemeteries that may not go for any other reason. All of the cemetery program examples discussed above are at cemeteries that have prominent people buried within and have considerable endowments to support them. Small domestic cemeteries, however, are more easily forgotten and thus little has been done for them. What these large rural cemeteries are doing for all cemeteries is keeping people interested in the past and acquainting them with cemeteries. As Strangstad has said, fewer people are growing up taking trips to cemeteries with their families. The more people are introduced to what cemeteries can offer, the more they may be willing to become involved with smaller ones that need their help.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) is a privately-funded nonprofit organization with a mission to save America's historic places. The organization, which once received government funding, developed several programs that promote preservation: the National Main Street Center, Community Partners, rural preservation, heritage tourism, and statewide organization development. Furthermore, the NTHP publishes educational materials on all kinds of preservation, including cemetery preservation, and the NTHP blog posts articles on the same subjects for further dissemination to the public.¹¹⁰ However, Strangstad argued in her article, that planning

¹¹⁰ "Brief History of the National Trust," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*. accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.preservationnation.org/who-we-are/history.html>; "[10 on Tuesday] How to Preserve Historic Cemeteries and Burial Grounds," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*. accessed August 25, 2013, <http://blog.preservationnation.org/2013/08/20/10-on-tuesday-how-to-preserve-historic-cemeteries-and-burial-grounds/#.UhprLX92kyK>; "[10 on Tuesday] 10 Tips for Researching Historic Cemeteries and Burial Grounds," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*. accessed August 25, 2013,

departments and local and state agencies must get involved in public education through cemeteries for change to occur.¹¹¹ It is on this local or regional level that awareness of small domestic cemeteries can be developed. While information from a national organization is current and relevant, it is not specific to regional preservation issues or concerns and cannot promote local work as effectively as state and local agencies.

According to Jeannie Regan-Dinius, Director of Special Initiatives for Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology (DHPA), a grassroots lobbying effort, which began around 1996, sought changes in the Indiana state cemetery laws. The public was becoming increasingly concerned with the deteriorated condition of historic cemeteries and the number of vanishing cemeteries or cemeteries that were in eminent danger of being lost. For these reasons, the Indiana General Assembly passed IC 14-21-1-13.5 in July 2000, which authorized the Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology to locate and record every cemetery in the state. With the raw data from the surveys, the DHPA then created a registry of all cemeteries and burial grounds in the state. Around 2007, this data was placed online and has been used mostly by genealogists but also by archaeologists, construction companies, and local governments.¹¹² A statewide database is a great tool for anyone doing research on any size cemetery. However, databases alone do little to educate the public. The DHPA also has a website on which they talk about the importance of cemeteries and encourage educators to use them in schools by providing

<http://blog.preservationnation.org/2013/07/09/10-on-tuesday-10-tips-for-researching-historic-cemeteries-and-burial-grounds/#.UhprFH92kyJ>.

¹¹¹ Strangstad, "Directions in Graveyard Preservation," 5.

¹¹² Jeannie Regan-Dinius, e-mail message to author, August 22, 2013.

links to those who do. Additionally, the DHPA hosts workshops about the state of cemeteries Indiana, laws regarding cemeteries, and methods of identifying cemeteries.¹¹³

Executive director of the Metro Historical Commission in Nashville, Tennessee, Tim Walker works mostly with the Nashville City Cemetery, which is owned and managed by the city. Burials rarely occur there as no family or individual plots have been sold since the 1870s. This cemetery has been the subject of a number of different types of surveys conducted including a conditions assessment survey, a GPS location survey, and an inscriptions survey. The surveys allowed the commission to plan for the cemetery's restoration and document historical information. Much like DHPA, the Metro Historical Commission created a database to house the information, and is used by descendants, genealogists, and the general public. Walker adds, "Historians are also interested as it helps us tell our city's story. Plus some of the gravestones were designed by artisans and architects."¹¹⁴ While the Metro Historical Commission does work with the City Cemetery, its focus is on architectural preservation. The only public education events the Commission hosts are related to architectural preservation. The Nashville City Cemetery also has a non-profit organization that helps with programming and education in the cemetery.¹¹⁵

In the founding documents of the Ohio Genealogical Society, cemeteries are defined as a major focus for the organization. Library director of the Ohio Historical

¹¹³ "Cemeteries," *Indiana Department of Natural Resources*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.in.gov/dnr/historic/2807.htm>.

¹¹⁴ W. Tim Walker, e-mail message to author, August 20, 2013.

¹¹⁵ "Historical and Historic Zoning Commissions," *Metro Government of Nashville and Davidson County*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.nashville.gov/Historical-Commission.aspx>; "Events," *Nashville City Cemetery Association*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.thenashvillecitycemetery.org/events.htm>.

Society, Tom Neel explains, “We completed a book *Ohio Cemeteries* in 1981 and did the *Ohio Cemeteries 1803-2003*, a revision about three times the size, as an Ohio Bicentennial project.” The Society’s cemetery database was used to compile the book and was placed online at the request of the Ohio Historic Preservation Office. The database is used by the following for a variety of personal and professional reasons: genealogists, local historians, funeral directors (to locate cemeteries in their area), county engineers, the Ohio Real Estate Division, veterans groups (such as the American Legion), patriotic societies (such as the DAR), botanists, artists, and Findagrave.com and enthusiasts of similar websites, botanists, and artists.¹¹⁶ The Ohio Genealogical Society also hosts annual cemetery workshops to teach preservation and restoration techniques.¹¹⁷

The Kentucky Historical Society (KHS) strives to assist families and communities across the commonwealth with the preservation of cemeteries. KHS hosts cemetery workshops that teach about laws regarding cemeteries, gaining access to family cemeteries and descendant’s rights. KHS also introduces other programs associated with cemetery preservation, including a cemetery database, the Pioneer Cemetery Marker Program, and the Adopt-a-Cemetery program. The KHS database of registered cemeteries is a continuation of work started by the Attorney General’s Office in 2000. KHS also continued another project started by the Attorney General’s Office in 2001, the Cemetery Task Force. In 2001, Attorney General Ben Chandler’s office was contacted about a serious violation of funeral law with regard to the Eastern Cemetery in Louisville. After the issue was resolved, Chandler sent out a task force to perform

¹¹⁶ Tom Neel, e-mail message to author, August 20, 2013.

¹¹⁷ “3rd Annual OGS Cemetery Restoration & Preservation Workshop,” *Ohio Genealogical Society*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.ogs.org/cemworkshop.php>.

cemetery surveys in all 120 counties to better understand that status of Kentucky's cemeteries. The result was the database, which documents over 11,000 cemeteries.

According to Ann Johnson of the cemetery preservation program at KHS, people who use the database are people doing genealogy. She goes on to say, "What is online on our web site is not necessarily all the information I have on any particular cemetery. Many people sent in family information, photos, etc. when they submitted the survey forms. It is my hope that these files will make their way into the library here for the general public to see and use as a research tool for their family."¹¹⁸

KHS also established the Pioneer Cemetery Marker Program, which allows families and groups to apply to designate a cemetery as a "Pioneer." The criteria for such cemeteries are: the cemetery was established by 1842; has individuals that were living in Kentucky prior to 1800; has clearly defined boundaries; has at least ten percent of the burials who died before 1850; has been mapped; and has been cleared of debris. However, this program is exclusive and somewhat elitist in its rules and regulations. Finally, KHS established an Adopt-a-Cemetery program that allows individuals and groups to care for endangered cemeteries with the help of KHS.¹¹⁹

The statewide nonprofit historic preservation organization, Preservation Kentucky hosted a cemetery preservation workshop in October 2013. The workshop is a two part series entitled *Preservation 101—Preserving Kentucky's Historic Cemeteries and Cemetery Preservation 102—A Hands-On Cemetery Preservation Workshop*. The Preservation 101 workshop features a roundtable discussion of cemetery laws in

¹¹⁸ Ann G. Johnson, e-mail message to author, August 24, 2013.

¹¹⁹ "Cemetery Preservation," Kentucky Historical Society. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://history.ky.gov/portfolio/cemetery-preservation/>.

Kentucky, a question and answer session with cemetery professionals, and tours of local cemeteries. The Preservation 102 workshop is more hands-on and features preservation expert Jonathan Appell, from West Hartford, Connecticut, who will educate participants on different preservation techniques.¹²⁰

These state and local agencies have many programs and educational opportunities that energize and encourage local work and participation in cemetery preservation and research. However, few of these agencies discuss the importance of cemeteries. They advocate preservation because they are historic or because of the genealogical information they can yield. However, a significant portion of the discussion should be on how cemeteries can connect people to a place and history. This idea can reach more people than the genealogists who are generally the ones attending these workshops. Furthermore, the discussion should include the potential historical interpretations and uses of cemeteries, which are also a valuable tool to perform historical research and interpretation of the past. One small nonprofit organization has made good progress in the region on cemetery preservation and interpretation.

The James Harrod Trust (JHT) in Harrodsburg, Mercer County, Kentucky is a historic preservation nonprofit that strives “to protect and promote the cultural, natural, historic, architectural, and archaeological heritage of Harrodsburg and Mercer County to

¹²⁰ “Preservation 101--Preserving Kentucky's Historic Cemeteries,” *Preservation Kentucky*. accessed October 3, 2013, <http://www.preservationkentucky.org/pages.php?id=37>; “Learn Cemetery Stone Preservation with National Expert Jonathan Appell,” *Preservation Kentucky*. accessed October 3, 2013, <http://www.preservationkentucky.org/pages.php?id=36>.

enhance the quality of life for this and future generations.”¹²¹ Board member Nancy Ross-Stallings stated that historic cemeteries have always been an initiative of the trust. The JHT has a number of projects they have accomplished that deal with cemeteries. They sponsor a biennial cemetery preservation workshop as well as the Harrodsburg Driving Tour that includes signage on many historic buildings, houses, and other locations in Harrodsburg. Each September, on the third weekend, the JHT hosts “History Underfoot,” where actors interpret interesting people who are buried at Spring Hill Cemetery. The interpreters sit on the site of the person’s grave and tell about that person’s life, while dressed in period costume. This event is an educational tour that is well attended.¹²²

However, the organization’s largest project was developing interpretive signage at the two city cemeteries, Maple Grove Cemetery and Spring Hill Cemetery. In the case of Maple Grove, an accessible cemetery registry was also a long-standing problem. As the African American cemetery in town only some of the graves are marked, but after extensive research, the trust accessed records that noted the burial locations of more people. The sign at Maple Grove features historic photographs, a cemetery map, and a box that contains a copy of the listed burials. A similarly designed sign is located near the entrance of Spring Hill Cemetery. It also contains a book that has the names and burial locations of the decedents. The outgrowth of the Maple Grove sign, gave JHT further impetus to obtain a grant from the Kentucky Oral History program in Frankfort to conduct oral interviews of elderly African Americans in Mercer County. Ross-Stallings

¹²¹ “What We Do,” *The James Harrod Trust for Historic Preservation*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.jamesharrodtrust.org/WhatWeDo.html>.

¹²² Nancy Ross-Stallings, e-mail message to author, August 23, 2013.

explained that “People come to Mercer County to visit their ‘roots’ and the Harrodsburg Historical Society has one of the best genealogy rooms in this region of Kentucky, with a large collection of family files. The Mercer County Public Library also has an extensive genealogical room with even more family files. Inevitably people then want to visit the cemeteries.”¹²³

The work that the JPH has accomplished is incredible considering the size of Harrodsburg, whose population was 8,321 in 2011. That’s almost three percent of Cincinnati’s (296,223), half of a percent of the Bronx’s (1,392,000), and two percent of Atlanta’s population (432,427).¹²⁴ Furthermore, the Maple Grove Cemetery only has 99 registered interments and the Spring Hill Cemetery has 4,849, which is significantly less than Spring Grove in Cincinnati (226,534), Mount Auburn in Cambridge (14,454), Oakland in Atlanta (19,004), Woodlawn in the Bronx (8,630), and Cave Hill in Louisville (44,616).¹²⁵ The interpretive signs are an education tool that any community or group can place at a small cemetery to draw attention to its history and individuals buried there. The success of this organization is greater as it focuses on a single city rather than trying to help the entire commonwealth. JHT’s next goal should be to incorporate the cemeteries into the local schools, which can reach the children and their parents who may not visit cemeteries just for the history or fun of it.

It is clear that an interest in the history and preservation of cemetery from the number of state agencies and nonprofit organizations that work to educate the public.

¹²³ Nancy Ross-Stallings, e-mail message to author, August 23, 2013.

¹²⁴ “Population Estimates,” *United States Census Bureau*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.census.gov/popest/index.html>.

¹²⁵ *Find A Grave*. accessed August 23, 2013, <http://www.findagrave.com/index.html>.

Even though most people who are interested tend to be genealogists, it is certainly still a strong motivation to keep cemeteries relevant to today's society. In their study, Rosenzweig and Thelen ascertained that, "almost every American deeply engages the past, and the past that engages them most deeply is that of their family."¹²⁶ The ongoing question is how to appeal to this potential engagement. Rosenzweig and Thelen also observed, "The people we interviewed wanted to approach the broader past on their own terms. Only by getting close to the experience could they see the ambiguities, multiple perspectives, and transformative potential they had learned to expect in their intimate worlds."¹²⁷ A local historian and a member of a local historical society found a way to connect cemeteries to the public through conveying a sense of urgency.

Deborah Lord Campisano and Katrina Epperson of Okolona, Kentucky were determined to restore their community's long-abandoned and long-forgotten African American cemetery. The Cooper Chapel Cemetery holds approximately 100 African American interments but only twenty unmarked fieldstones remain. According to Campisano, "Even though there aren't stones with inscriptions, it's important to preserve it because it's one of the few remaining symbols of the story of that community, which is rapidly changing. We don't know our history. As our institutions dissolve and our buildings fall down, these little community cemeteries are the last things left that say anything even existed. That's why it's so important."¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Rosenzweig and Thelen, *The Presence of the Past*, 22.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 90.

¹²⁸ Margaret Foster, "Volunteers Restore African American Cemetery in Kentucky," *Preservation*, February 17, 2011, <http://www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2011/story-of-the-day/african-american-cemetery-kentucky.html>.

In 2009, Epperson founded the Cooper Chapel Cemetery Restoration Project and began work in 2010. She explained, “I just thought it was an honor to the people that was buried there. I figured if I don't do anything now, nobody else will, and the cemetery could be gone in 10 years, and nobody would know it was there. It's been rewarding. It's turned out to be a real community project, which I wanted it to be.”¹²⁹ Students of the nearby Laukhuf Elementary School helped with fundraising and seventy-five third graders helped clean up the cemetery in May 2011.¹³⁰ The community-level effort can be strong when there is a sense of urgency to save something. The group furthered their goals by including the school kids in their project in order to educate them about cemeteries and their community's history.

Another way to spark an interest in cemeteries is through education within the school system. Since the late 1980s to early 1990s, some educators have utilized cemeteries as laboratories for their classrooms. Many state and local agencies as well as nonprofit organizations have published cemetery lesson plans for all ages on their websites. Those lesson plans also range in subject, such as social studies, mathematics, science, geography, language arts, archaeology, and anthropology. The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program published one of the best lesson plans, “Historic Cemeteries: ‘History Written in Stone.’” According to the lesson plan, “The purpose of studying a cemetery is to encourage an appreciation of its unique historical significance. History ‘comes alive’ when students realize that the people buried there actually lived

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

and helped make their community what it is today.”¹³¹ The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program has a great article on their website entitled “Over 100 Things to Do in a Cemetery,” which includes some themed tours, educational activities, preservation activities, and bird watching, horticulture, and history activities.¹³²

Popular forums for history, such as PBS and the History Channel also highlight and publish lesson plans on cemeteries. The PBS show *History Detectives* explores “historical mysteries” by researching facts and myths and connecting them to local folklore, family legends, and interesting artifacts. *History Detectives* created a cemetery lesson plan for teachers so that students (grades 6-12) can become history detectives to discover clues about their local history.¹³³ In 2005, The History Channel awarded the Three Village Historical Society and the Minnesauke Elementary School, the Save Our History Classroom Award for their Save Our History project. Working with the historical society, students learned the history of their community by exploring a local cemetery in Setauket, New York. The elementary school students recorded headstone data while visiting the cemetery and assembled, organized, and graphed their data back in the classroom. Their data showed changes in population patterns, mortality rates, and

¹³¹ “Historic Cemeteries: ‘History Written in Stone,’” *Arkansas Historic Preservation Program*. accessed August 25, 2013, http://www.arkansaspreservation.com/%21userfiles/editor/docs/youth_education/cemetery_lesson_plan_2011.pdf.

¹³² “Over 100 Things to Do in a Cemetery,” *Arkansas Historic Preservation Program*. accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.arkansaspreservation.com/preservation-services/youth-education/100cemetery.aspx>.

¹³³ “Cemetery Information,” *History Detectives*. accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/educators/technique-guide/cemetery-information/>; “Taking A Field Trip,” *History Detectives*. accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/educators/technique-guide/taking-a-field-trip/>.

lifespans. With help from the historical society, students also reviewed primary sources to understand the data. This lesson plan is available online for other teachers to use.¹³⁴

Jon Hunner, a public history professor at New Mexico State University, proposes the use of Historic Environment Education (HEE), which offers an educational experience in which the students take an active role in learning more about their community's history. HEE uses living history, oral history, archaeology, and heritage preservation to supplement education in both classrooms and museums. In his article, Hunner asserts, "if teachers can create an experience of the ambiguous and complex past by using familial and local history as the entry point, their students can see that the past has relevance in their lives that history is not something that happens to other people far away."¹³⁵ Many students enjoy assignments where they can interview an older member of their family or research their community's history. Students may become more interested in broader historical topics if one of their family members was part of a bigger historic event, such as a war or the civil rights movement. This interest can then lead to a desire to continue exploring history.

Hunner suggests that teachers use a technique known as time traveling, which Swedish educators created in the early 1980s. Time traveling requires interpreters and students to participate in first-person interpretation of life in a time period including

¹³⁴ "Teaching From The Grave: Community History at the Local Cemetery: A Save Our History How To Project Guide," *Indiana Department of Natural Resources*. accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.in.gov/dnr/historic/files/cemetery.pdf>; "Teaching From The Grave: An Interdisciplinary Lesson Plan for Middle School Students," *The History Channel*. accessed August 25, 2013, http://www.history.com/images/media/pdf/teach_from_grave_SG.pdf.

¹³⁵ Jon Hunner, "Historic Environment Education: Using Nearby History in Classrooms and Museums," *The Public Historian* 33, no. 1 (2011): 35.

reenacting the methods in which people would have lived, worked, and recreated.

Furthermore, time travel activities focus on nearby historic sites to engage students on their community's heritage. Perhaps the most notable example of this teaching technique is Colonial Williamsburg, which has offered a first-person interpretation of life to school groups for seventy years. Hunner states, "Once your students step into the Historic Area they are fully immersed in 18th-century Virginia's colonial capital city, which is one mile long and a half mile wide. They will see and experience life as the founding families did in the 1700s."¹³⁶

In addition to the time travel and oral history projects, Hunner also suggests that teachers engage students in heritage preservation "to identify, save, and revitalize ruins, buildings, sites, and traditions that were important in the past."¹³⁷ Activities involving heritage preservation can include visiting an old courthouse, cooking an old family recipe, and analyzing the historic landscape around the school. While they seem varied, all of these activities involve parts of the past that can bring history to life. However, one has to be careful not to look superficially at the past as there is a need for real exploration and investigation. The author further explains:

Walking around a school's neighborhood and analyzing the landscape for its historical content identifies what is historically significant about the location as well as how the environment has changed over time. Because history is partially about how humans have changed their environment and themselves over time, studying those nearby changes brings the lesson close to home. Even in new subdivisions, the landscape has its history embedded in how the streets run, how the landscape patterns change, and where people site their houses. Other productive questions to ask of the

¹³⁶ "Tours for School and Youth Groups," *Colonial Williamsburg*. accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.history.org/History/teaching/groupTours/SchoolandYouth/index.cfm>.

¹³⁷ Hunner, "Historic Environment Education," 42.

local landscape include when houses were built, what architectural styles fashioned the buildings, and where the businesses and community services were located. All of these decisions were made by people whose reasons reflected the current practices of that time, providing a window into how people thought and acted at an earlier time.¹³⁸

Although Hunner does not use cemeteries as an example of historic sites that can teach nearby history in classrooms, they certainly fit the criteria. Many cemeteries, such as the Spring Hill Cemetery in Harrodsburg, have events where people engage in first-person interpretation by dressing in period costume and taking on the role of someone who is buried there. This activity can engage students in the history of that particular cemetery, individual, and community. Furthermore, cemeteries are a representative example of heritage preservation in many ways. Burial traditions of a culture can be interpreted from the cemetery's layout, information on the headstones, and iconography. Moreover, the location of the cemetery is part of a larger landscape that Hunner refers to in his article. How and why that cemetery came to be in that location can illuminate much about the history of the community. Cemeteries are a clear tool for historical inquiry and research and through that can encourage a sense of place and connection to the past.

The Farnsley Cemetery in Louisville, Kentucky is a perfect example of a historic site that can illuminate nearby history. The Farnsley Cemetery located on the west corner of Lees Lane and Cane Run Road in an area of Louisville known as Valley Station. Jefferson County Public Schools currently owns the cemetery and Farnsley Middle School sits on that property, northwest of the cemetery. All of the interments are connected to the Farnsley family, who built the Farnsley-Kaufman House, which sits on

¹³⁸ Ibid.

the same property, south of the cemetery. With a well-maintained cemetery on school property, teachers of Farnsley Middle School should be including the cemetery into lesson plans. Following Hunner's suggestions, students can observe and analyze the historic landscape around the school, which includes a nineteenth century house, outbuildings, and a cemetery, as well as a mid-twentieth century subdivision to the north. These elements lend themselves to the study of nearby history.

As this chapter has outlined, a cemetery has a great many uses of which people in many different fields of study have acknowledged for decades. However, these resources, especially small ones, are easily lost and forgotten. Without public education of their uses and special qualities, they become less and less important to future generations with weakening ties to cemeteries. Larger cemeteries with funding are taking it upon themselves to develop programming to bring new and returning visitors to their cemeteries. However, this programming is not always possible for smaller, domestic cemeteries which are more fragile in nature and do not have parent nonprofit organizations. State and local agencies as well as preservation organizations strive to bring attention to those less known cemeteries through website information, publications, programs, and cemetery databases. Unfortunately, these programs still reach only a small number of people that are generally genealogists, but as Rosenzweig and Thelen concluded, an interest in the past must start by connecting it to an individual's family or race/ethnicity. It is from these individual researchers that larger programs grow, such as the Cooper Chapel Cemetery Restoration Project in Okolona, Kentucky. An important step in public education is reaching schoolchildren. Through field trip activities and lesson plans, educators can teach children (and by association their parents) the many

uses of cemeteries and the information that can be gleaned from them. This public education can save those cemeteries that would be forgotten from such a fate.

CHAPTER III

THE FARNSLEY CEMETERY'S INTERPRETIVE VALUE

“Dead men may tell no tales, but their tombstones do.”

Douglas Keister¹³⁹

The Farnsley Cemetery is situated on the property of Farnsley Middle School, southeast of the main school building (**Figure 1**). All of the interments are connected to the David Farnsley family, who built the Farnsley-Kaufman House, which sits to the south of the cemetery on the same property. The Farnsley family is also associated with the historic house museum, Riverside, The Farnsley-Moreman Landing, which sits approximately seven miles to the south on the Ohio River. The main dwelling at Riverside and was constructed by Gabriel Farnsley, brother of David Farnsley. The cemetery is a domestic or homestead graveyard and contains thirteen interments and three possibly undocumented ones. Five children and eight adults comprise the documented internments. The undocumented interments are believed to be two adults and one child.

In 1997, archaeologists Pamela A. Schenian and Stephen T. Mocas conducted a Phase I Archaeological Survey of the cemetery and surrounding area. A Phase I Survey identifies cultural resources within a given project area and defines the site boundaries. Jefferson County Public Schools hired the archaeologists to test the area around the fenced-in cemetery to ensure that there were no unmarked graves outside of the fence that

¹³⁹ Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2004), 11.

surrounds the cemetery. The survey was required for the widening of Lees Lane and installation of sidewalks and a concrete drainage channel. The report from that survey contains grave and marker information and recommended that construction take place as scheduled.¹⁴⁰ In 2007, the Friends of Farnsley-Kaufman, a non-profit organization, hired Mike Riegert, a monument conservator, to restore the Farnsley cemetery. Riegert cleared the overgrown cemetery, and, after thorough research, repaired and realigned the broken headstones and footstones.¹⁴¹ It is important to note that not all cemetery preservation efforts are beneficial or even correct. The following information on the cemetery and its graves is based on the current condition of the cemetery after preservation efforts. This information may not be accurate, as stones may have been moved to incorrect locations.

Schenian and Mocas's work, as well as Riegert's, has helped save the Farnsley Cemetery from fading into oblivion. While there has not been a study on the number of cemeteries that become abandoned and are then bulldozed, one hears stories of these events. However, through preservation and public education, destruction does not have to be the future for historic cemeteries. The Farnsley Cemetery is a prime example of a small domestic cemetery that can yield historical information on Jefferson County and life in the nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁰ Pamela A. Schenian and Stephen T. Mocas, *A Phase I Archaeological Survey of the Cemetery and Buffer Zone within the Proposed Williams Middle School Tract, Jefferson County, Kentucky* (Louisville: Pamela A. Schenian, 1997).

¹⁴¹ Steve Chaplin, "Cemetery's mysteries are unearthed," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), November 25, 2004; Darhiana M. Mateo, "Restoring a family's final rest," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), August 8, 2007.



Figure 1. 2013 Google aerial showing the location of the Farnsley Cemetery.

A domestic cemetery is typically geometric in design, located in the farm's field, and contains some iconic wooden or stone markers.¹⁴² Sloane described domestic cemeteries as follows:

Whether open for pasturing or enclosed by a stone wall, the graves were shaded by the trees ringing the field. Markers were placed irregularly around the small enclosure, with an occasional child's grave disturbing the line of the row because of the small size of the grave. The farmer periodically cut away the overgrown grass, and his wife tended any flowers planted inside the wall.¹⁴³

The American custom of burying the dead in a domestic setting rather than in a churchyard was a noticeable contrast to European contemporaries who buried their dead in this manner only rarely. Sloane hypothesized that the rise of domestic cemeteries was due to the scattered nature of early populations and the distance from places of worship.¹⁴⁴

The Farnsley Cemetery fits Sloane's description of a domestic cemetery. The plot of land is square and consists of four rows of burials that are mix of adults and children. The rows run north to south with the graves facing east, following Christian tradition. According to the Association for Gravestone Studies, "The earliest settlers had their feet pointing toward the east and the head of the coffin toward the west, ready to rise up and face the 'new day' (the sun) when 'the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised' or when Christ would appear and they would be reborn."¹⁴⁵ The practice of this tradition in the Farnsley Cemetery is evidence of the Farnsley family's religion and

¹⁴² Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 4-5.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 14-15.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 17.

¹⁴⁵ "FAQ," *The Association for Gravestone Studies*. accessed July 3, 2013, <http://www.gravestonestudies.org/faq.htm>.

possibly their belief in tradition. The family planted a cedar tree in the center of the cemetery possibly as a memorial or as part of the original plan of the burying ground. A cedar is a traditional cemetery plant along with pines, hollies, spruce, crape myrtles, oaks, and maples. Perennial flowers, such as irises, lilies, and peonies, are also common.¹⁴⁶ However, no such planting can be observed at the Farnsley Cemetery.

The majority of the headstones in the cemetery are tablet style, but there is one obelisk style and one tripartite style. The tablet style headstones have straight sides, a rounded top, and are made of marble (**Figure 2**). Obelisks are vertical shafts of marble with ornaments at the top reminiscent of Ancient Egypt. The one in this cemetery has a pyramidal point (**Figure 3**).¹⁴⁷ Tripartite style headstones, prevalent in the northeast, were typically carved from slate. A rounded tympanum¹⁴⁸ in the center with smaller, rounded shoulders comprises a tripartite or three-lobed headstone.¹⁴⁹ However, the one in the Farnsley Cemetery was carved from marble (**Figure 4**). Only five of the twelve total headstones contain iconography (**Figure 2**). These symbols include roses, weeping willows, laurel, and an angel flying with a child.

Flowers and plants have been used as symbols of remembrance since the Egyptians began memorializing the dead. Flowers remind people of the brevity and beauty of life. The rose, for example, became a Christian symbol for martyrdom and purity. A rose facing downward or hanging from a broken stem symbolizes an innocent

¹⁴⁶ Strangstad, *Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds*, 5.

¹⁴⁷ Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," 502.

¹⁴⁸ Tympanum is the term for the center semi-circle at the top of the headstone.

¹⁴⁹ Yalom, *The American Resting Place*, 12.

life ending too soon.¹⁵⁰ The Virgin Mary is frequently seen with roses for this reason. While the form of the weeping willow conjures feelings of grief and sorrow, in many cultures the tree symbolizes immortality. In Christianity, “it is associated with the gospel of Christ because the tree will flourish and remain whole no matter how many branches are cut off.”¹⁵¹ Laurel is another flower that is found on headstones. Usually in wreath form, laurel represents immortality, chastity, and eternity. As its leaves never wilt or fade, the Laurel is eternal. The flower was also consecrated to the Vestal Virgins, thus its relationship with chastity.¹⁵² An angel flying can symbolize rebirth, but an angel flying with a child likely represents a guardian angel.¹⁵³



Figure 2. Tablet style headstone for Georgie C. Williams (Grave No. 5).

¹⁵⁰ Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone*, 54; Debi Hacker, *Iconography of Death: Common Symbolism of Late 18th Through Early 20th Century Tombstones in the Southeastern United States* (Columbia, South Carolina: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 2001), 35.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 67.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 48.

¹⁵³ “Cemetery Stories: Suggested Pre and Post Visit Materials,” Geneva Historical Society. accessed July 10, 2013, <http://www.genevahistoricalsociety.com/PDFs/Cemetery%20Stories/Symbol%20List.pdf>



Figure 3. Obelisk style family stone for The Lloyd Family (Grave No. 6).



Figure 4. Tripartite style headstone for David Arthur Williams (Grave No. 3).

The Farnsley Cemetery is associated with the Farnsley-Kaufman House, 4816 Cane Run Road, which sits on the school's property. David Farnsley built the two-story

house circa 1812 as a single-pen log house.¹⁵⁴ Farnsley was the son of James J. Farnsley, a Revolutionary War veteran, who migrated to Louisville from Pittsburgh in the spring of 1786. He brought with him his wife and two children, Rebekah and David. The family lived in Fort Nelson in Louisville on present day Main Street between Sixth and Eighth Streets. Following the end of several attacks by Native Americans, the family settled in Shively in the 1790s. Between 1784 and 1802 James Farnsley and his wife, whose name is lost to history, had six children.¹⁵⁵

David Farnsley was most likely born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, on November 24, 1785, just before his family moved to Louisville. He bought and sold several properties in Indiana with his brother Joshua before purchasing the property on which the Farnsley-Kaufman House and cemetery sit on July 27, 1812.¹⁵⁶ David married Sarah “Sally” Lewis Meriwether on January 2, 1814.¹⁵⁷ According to the 1820 Census, Farnsley and his wife had three children, two males, and one female, all under the age of ten. They also had eleven slaves: five males under the age of fourteen, one male between fourteen and twenty-five years of age, two females under the age of fourteen, and three females aged forty-five and over.¹⁵⁸ By 1830, three more children existed in the family, two more males and a female. The number of slaves also increased to sixteen.¹⁵⁹

According to a biographical sketch of his son James Martin, David Farnsley was a farmer

¹⁵⁴ Mary Jean Kinsman, “The David Farnsley House,” National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, 1983; Jean Farnsley Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana* (Utica, KY: McDowell Publications, 1999), 18.

¹⁵⁵ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 6-8.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 17; Deed Book 9: Page 406-09, Jefferson County Clerk’s Office, Louisville, Kentucky.

¹⁵⁷ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 17.

¹⁵⁸ United States Census Bureau, United States Federal Census, 1820.

¹⁵⁹ United States Census Bureau, United States Federal Census, 1830.

as well as a harness-maker.¹⁶⁰ Farnsley and his wife Sarah Lewis Meriwether Farnsley had a total of six children: Mary Rebecca, James Martin, David Henry, William Joshua, Martha Elizabeth, and David Albert.¹⁶¹ The family tree below illustrates the David Farnsley family.

- David FARNSLEY b: Apr 27, 1786 d: Jun 16, 1833
 - +Sarah Lewis MERIWETHER b: Sep 9, 1794 d: circa 1851
 - Mary Rebecca FARNSLEY b: Dec 28, 1814 d: Nov 20, 1900
 - +David PHILLIPS b: circa 1814 d: Jul 29, 1833
 - +William M. ROBBINS b: circa 1814 d: circa 1835
 - +Dr. John LLOYD b: Dec 9, 1809 d: Aug 14, 1872
 - Sarah Virginia LLOYD b: Feb 15, 1796 d: Sep 13, 1881
 - Laura Eugenia LLOYD b: Aug 28, 1841 d: Nov 1, 1865
 - Henry Clay LLOYD b: Mar 26, 1844 d: Jun 15, 1833
 - Martha Elizabeth LLOYD b: Dec 26, 1848 d: Jul 19, 1852
 - Florence LLOYD b: circa Jul 1854 d: unknown
 - George Nelson LLOYD b: Dec 19, 1854 d: Jul 19, 1857
 - James Martin FARNSLEY b: May 9, 1817 d: Jan 3, 1905
 - +Margaret Cornelia NEILL b: Aug 25, 1820 d: Jun 19, 1864
 - Holby George FARNSLEY b: Nov 30, 1842 d: May 16, 1919
 - Eurah T. FARNSLEY b: Oct 14, 1844 d: Jul 10, 1925
 - Julia N. FARNSLEY b: May 4, 1846 d: circa 1920
 - Virgil B. FARNSLEY b: Jun 5, 1849 d: Nov 22, 1866
 - Alice P. FARNSLEY b: May 7, 1851 d: circa 1935
 - Elizabeth Rachel FARNSLEY b: Jul 13, 1854 d: Jan 30, 1934
 - Martha G. FARNSLEY b: Jun 23, 1857 d: circa 1946
 - +Margaret Ellen KESSINGER b: Dec 15, 1845 d: Nov 20, 1924
 - Lucy Hawes FARNSLEY b: Nov 10, 1865 d: Oct 7, 1956
 - Jobe K. FARNSLEY b: Jan 13, 1867 d: Dec 3, 1880

¹⁶⁰ F.A. Battey Co., *Counties of White and Pulaski, Indiana: Historical and Biographical* (Chicago: F.A. Battey Co., 1883), 727.

¹⁶¹ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 21-22.

- Harriet Caroline FARNSLEY b: Jan 4, 1869 d: Dec 26, 1967
- Valentine W. FARNSLEY b: Feb 14, 1870 d: circa 1872
- Dewitt K. FARNSLEY b: Nov 12, 1871 d: circa Dec 1871
- Leah Ann FARNSLEY b: Mar 6, 1873 d: May 21, 1964
- Euphemia Brower FARNSLEY b: Jul 27, 1874 d: Mar 9, 1966
- Rachel B. FARNSLEY b: Dec 9, 1875 d: circa Sep 1967
- Mildred FARNSLEY b: Nov 8, 1877 d: Oct 9, 1973
- Albert Rutledge FARNSLEY b: Oct 22, 1880 d: Feb 8, 1955
- Adam Elston FARNSLEY b: Feb 8, 1882 d: Aug 15, 1882
- Eve Elston FARNSLEY b: Feb 8, 1882 d: Sep 2, 1937
- Eltha Glenn FARNSLEY b: Jul 9, 1884 d: Mar 4, 1984
- David Henry FARNSLEY b: Sep 24, 1819 d: circa 1821-1830
- Mary Elizabeth FARNSLEY b: Aug 10, 1825 d: Nov 28, 1883
- +George C. WILLIAMS b: circa 1814 d: circa 1895
 - Albert Merritt WILLIAMS b: Dec 17, 1849 d: Jan 6, 1854
 - David Arthur WILLIAMS b: circa 1850 d: circa 1854
 - Georgie C. WILLIAMS b: Jun 26, 1852 d: Feb 1, 1854
 - Mary L. WILLIAMS b: circa 1856 d: unknown
 - Sallie S. WILLIAMS b: circa 1858 d: unknown
- William Joshua FARNSLEY b: Sep 24, 1827 d: Dec 3, 1847
- David Albert FARNSLEY b: Feb 25, 1828 d: circa Apr 1855
- +Maria Olivia MITCHELL b: circa 1834 d: circa 1919
 - Olivia Albertina FARNSLEY b: Oct 2, 1855 d: circa 1901

In 1832, Farnsley began adding a two-story, three-bay brick section to the end of the house rather than the front, which was then uncommon. Ebenezer Williams, a carpenter, was a business partner of Farnsley's brother Gabriel and performed the work on the house. However, the brick section was not completed until 1833, after Farnsley's death.¹⁶² The house was considered a "utilitarian" and "working class" farmhouse as it

¹⁶² Kinsman, "The David Farnsley House."

epitomized farming at that time.¹⁶³ Before his death, David had owned 35 oxen, 44 sheep, 82 pigs and hogs, 30 loads of hay, 2,000 slabs of bacon, 500 bushels of corn, and 18 slaves. The slaves had an appraised of \$4,610 and his total estate was valued at \$5,443.¹⁶⁴ David Farnsley died on June 16, 1833, at the age of 47. He was the first interment in the Farnsley Cemetery (**Table 1**). His tablet style headstone (**Figure 5**) contains weeping willows at the top and reads “In memory of/DAVID FARNSELEY/who departed this life/Jun. 16, 1833/Hope of a glorious immortality/Aged 47 years, 1 month/& 20 days.” It appears that a fieldstone was used as Farnsley’s footstone. It is in line with the other footstones in that row and does not have another purpose.



Figure 5. Headstone of David Farnsley (Grave No. 2).

¹⁶³ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 19; Gregory A. Luhan, Dennis Domer, and David Mohney, eds., *Louisville Guide* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 16.

¹⁶⁴ Inventory and Settlements Book 9: Page 96-98, Jefferson County Clerk’s Office, Louisville, Kentucky.

Farnsley's widow Sarah married Ebenezer Williams, the carpenter, in 1837. Together, they had two daughters: Sarah Ebenezer, and Leah Anne.¹⁶⁵ According to family lore, the second interment in the Farnsley Cemetery was Sarah Lewis Meriwether Farnsley Williams who died in 1851.¹⁶⁶ No headstone or footstone for Sarah exists, but space is available in the cemetery for unmarked graves along the western edge. No record of Sarah's death or any other burial information was found. It is possible that she was buried there since she continued to be associated with the farm until circa 1850. In 1850, the federal census listed her and Ebenezer as living in Louisville on the north side of Broadway between Sixth and Seventh streets.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, her first husband, children, and grandchildren were buried in the cemetery. The family tree below illustrates Sarah and Ebenezer's children together.

- Ebenezer WILLIAMS b: circa 1794 d: Nov 2, 1857
 - +Sarah Lewis MERIWETHER b: Sep 9, 1794 d: circa 1851
 - Leah Anne WILLIAMS b: May 26, 1834 d: Dec 30, 1876
 - +Charles Pawson ATMORE b: Feb 28, 1832 d: May 29, 1900
 - William Ebenezer ATMORE b: Nov 28, 1853 d: Jan 5, 1901
 - Charles Pawson ATMORE b: Dec 5, 1855 d: unknown
 - Mary Lloyd ATMORE b: Dec 8, 1858 d: Jun 27, 1859
 - Annie ATMORE b: Dec 8, 1859 d: unknown
 - Carrie ATMORE b: Sep 8, 1860 d: unknown
 - George William ATMORE b: Jun 22, 1862 d: circa 1926
 - Sarah Ebenezer WILLIAMS b: Nov 17, 1837 d: Nov 23, 1857
 - +Samuel Taylor SUIT b: Jul 13, 1832 d: Oct 1, 1888
 - Ebenezer Williams Weller SUIT b: Nov 21, 1857 d: Nov 26, 1857

¹⁶⁵ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 21.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid; "Reunion 2001 Tours," *The Meriwether Society*. accessed July 7, 2013, <http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~meriweth/reunion/2001/TourInfo.pdf>.

¹⁶⁷ United States Census Bureau, 1850 United States Federal Census.

David Farnsley and Sarah Farnsley Williams' daughter Martha Elizabeth married her stepbrother George C. Williams on March 31, 1845.¹⁶⁸ Together they had six children, three of which are buried in the Farnsley Cemetery (**Table 1**). Their son Albert Merritt died on January 6, 1854 at the age of 4 (**Figure 6**). His tablet style headstone contains roses at the top and reads

ALBERT MERRITT/SON OF/GEO. C. & MARTHA E.
WILLIAMS/DIED JAN. 6, 1884/ AGED 4 YRS. & 20 DYS./BENEATH
THIS STONE IN SWEET REPOSE,/IS LAID A MOTHER'S FIRST-
BORN PRIDE;/A FLOWER THAT SCARCE HAD WAKED TO
LIFE;/AND LIGHT AND BEAUTY, ERE IT DIED;/GOD IN HIS
WISDOM HAD RECALLED/THE PRECIOUS BOON HIS LOVE HAD
GIVEN,/AND THOUGH THE CASKEY MOULDER'S HERE,/THE
GEM IS SPARKLING NOW IN HEAVEN./E. NEEDHAM

The "E. NEEDHAM" at the end of the inscription is a maker's mark for the headstone.

Edgar Needham was a marble dealer on Jefferson Street in Louisville in the 1850s and 1860s.¹⁶⁹ George and Martha's third son, Georgie C., has a tablet style headstone with roses very similar to Albert Merritt's (**Figure 2**). Georgie C. died on February 1, 1854, a little over the age of one. He too has a detailed headstone that reads

GEORGIE C./SON OF/G.C. & M.E. WILLIAMS/DIED FEB. 1,
1854/AGED 1 YEAR 7 MOS./& 6 DYS./ERE SIN COULD BLIGHT OR
SORROW FADE,/DEATH CAME WITH FRIENDLY CARE;/THE
OPENING BUD TO HEAVEN CONVEYED,/AND BADE IT
BLOSSOM THERE.

Their son David Arthur's headstone is the only tripartite marker in the cemetery and has a tree growing around it (**Figure 4**). Therefore, the inscription below his name is illegible.

According to Schenian and Mocas, his headstone stated that he was four-and-one-half

¹⁶⁸ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 51.

¹⁶⁹ C.K. Caron, *Caron's City Directory of Louisville for 1861* (Louisville: C.K. Caron, 1861), 183.

years old when he died in late 1854. Furthermore, the archaeologists hypothesized that the death of these three children may have been caused by the cholera epidemic that effected Kentucky from 1848 to 1854.¹⁷⁰



Figure 6. Headstone of Albert Merritt Williams (Grave No. 4).

David Farnsley and Sarah Farnsley Williams' daughter Mary Rebecca married Dr. John Lloyd, a Virginian physician, on October 11, 1836. They lived across Cane Run Road from the Farnsley-Kaufman house.¹⁷¹ Together they had six children, of which at least three, and possibly four, are buried in the Farnsley Cemetery. Mary and John are both also buried in the cemetery (**Table 1**). The obelisk style headstone is actually a family stone that demarks the Lloyd family members buried in the cemetery (**Figure 3**). Each of the members has their own simple tablet headstone and footstone marking their actual burial locations except Dr. Henry Clay Lloyd, who will be discussed later. The

¹⁷⁰ Schenian and Mocas, *A Phase I Archaeological Survey*, 12; Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 104.

¹⁷¹ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 43.

headstones all have the person's first name inscribed on the top and the footstones have their initials (**Figure 7** and **Figure 8**). The east side of the obelisk lists John and Mary. Their son Henry is the only name listed on the west side, and the south side lists three of their children: Laura Eugenia Farnsley Rogers, Martha Elizabeth Lloyd, and George Nelson Lloyd. However, Martha does not have a headstone and footstone marking her burial. There is space near her siblings for her grave, so it is possible that it is unmarked. Schenian and Mocas hypothesize that her markers were some of the displaced ones found in their survey.¹⁷²



Figure 7. Headstones of Mary Rebecca and John Lloyd (Grave Nos. 7 and 8).

¹⁷² Schenian and Mocas, *A Phase I Archaeological Survey*, 10-11.



Figure 8. Headstones of George Nelson and Laura Eugenia “Jennie” Lloyd (Grave Nos. 12 and 13).

Ebenezer and Sarah Williams’ daughter Sarah Ebenezer married Samuel Taylor Suit, a distiller, and bore one child, Ebenezer Williams Weller (**Table 1**). He died on November 26, 1857, when he was only five days old. According to family lore, Sarah and Samuel were only married a few months when she died on November 23, 1857, one day before her son.¹⁷³ Sarah and her son Ebenezer share a tablet headstone and possibly a grave in the cemetery (**Figure 9**). Their headstone depicts a flying angel holding a child and flowers line the rounded top. The front of the headstone reads “SALLIE E./&E.W.W./WIFE AND ONLY CHILD/OF/S.T.SUIT/I HAVE LOVED THEM ON EARTH/I WILL MEET THEM IN HEAVEN.” The back of the stone reads “SALLIE E./WIFE OF/S.T. SUIT/AND DAUGHTER OF/E. & S. WILLIAMS./BORN NOV. 17, 1837/ DIED NOV. 25, 1857./ALSO/E.W.W. SUIT/ INFANT SON OF/AND ONLY CHILD OF/S.T. & S.E. SUIT./BORN NOV. 21, 1857/DIED NOV. 26, 1857.”

¹⁷³ Jack Sullivan, “The Life and Loves of S.T. Suit: A Jug-filler’s Story,” *Bottles and Extras* 15, no. 2 (2005): 66-69.



Figure 9. Headstone of Sallie E. and E.W.W. Suit (Grave No. 1).

Sarah Farnsley Williams' husband Ebenezer died on November 2, 1857 of fever, days before his daughter and grandson. According to family lore, he is also buried in the Farnsley Cemetery.¹⁷⁴ No headstone or footstone for Ebenezer exists, but space is available in the cemetery for unmarked graves along the western edge. A record of his death was found, but no other burial information is known to survive. It is possible that he was buried there as he and Sarah continued to live on the farm until circa 1850.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, several members of his family were buried in the cemetery.

William J. Farnsley, the son of David Farnsley and Sarah Farnsley Williams, died on December 3, 1847, at the age of 20. He was unmarried, so in his will he bequeathed all of his property to his brothers and sisters. His possessions included a slave girl,

¹⁷⁴ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 21; "Reunion 2001 Tours," *The Meriwether Society*. accessed July 7, 2013, <http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~meriweth/reunion/2001/TourInfo.pdf>.

¹⁷⁵ United States Census Bureau, 1850 United States Federal Census.

pistols, and a watch.¹⁷⁶ His tablet style headstone contains a wreath with berries at the top and reads “SACRED/ to the memory of/WILLIAM J. FARNSLEY/who died Dec. 3, 1847/Age 20 years 2 months/& 9 days/So teach us to number our days/that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom./Psalm 90 verse 12.” William’s headstone is laid flat on the ground with a modern border around it. It is likely that the base of his stone could not be repaired or was missing (**Figure 10**).



Figure 10. Headstone of William J. Farnsley (Grave No. 10).

Dr. Henry Clay Lloyd, the son of John and Mary Lloyd is listed on the Lloyd family obelisk and like his other family members has a headstone and footstone to denote his burial place. However, Henry’s tablet stone is much larger than that of his siblings and is inscribed on the east side (**Figure 11**). Henry died on June 15, 1883 at the age of 39. His head stone reads “IN MEMORY OF MY BELOVED SON/DR. HENRY CLAY LLOYD./BORN/MARCH 26, 1844./DIED JUNE 15, 1883./Pool & Broeg” John S. Pool

¹⁷⁶ Tribble, *The Farnsleys of Kentuckiana*, 49-50.

and John J. Broeg were marble dealers on Jefferson Street in Louisville in the 1880s.¹⁷⁷

Henry Clay Lloyd married Isabella Thompson on September 8, 1870, and together they had two children: Jennie Belle in 1871, and Vivian Alfred in 1872. Jennie Bell died when she was just a year old, and Vivian Albert lived to be fifty years old with a wife and two kids. Lloyd and Thompson divorced before 1880 as they are listed as such on separate census documents. Thompson and her children are buried in Cave Hill Cemetery.¹⁷⁸



Figure 11. Headstone of Dr. Henry Clay Lloyd (Grave No. 9).

¹⁷⁷ C.K. Caron, *Caron's City Directory of Louisville for 1883* (Louisville: C.K. Caron, 1883), 617.

¹⁷⁸ "Kentucky, Marriages, 1785-1979," *Family Search*. accessed July 8, 2013, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/F4QD-Z2D>; Certificate of Death File No. 14020, Office of Vital Statistics, Frankfort, Kentucky; United States Census Bureau, 1880 United States Federal Census; "Henry Clay Lloyd," *Ancestry*. accessed July 8, 2013, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/56986491/person/32016370389>; "Cave Hill Cemetery," *Findagrave.com*. accessed July 8, 2013, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=73354>.

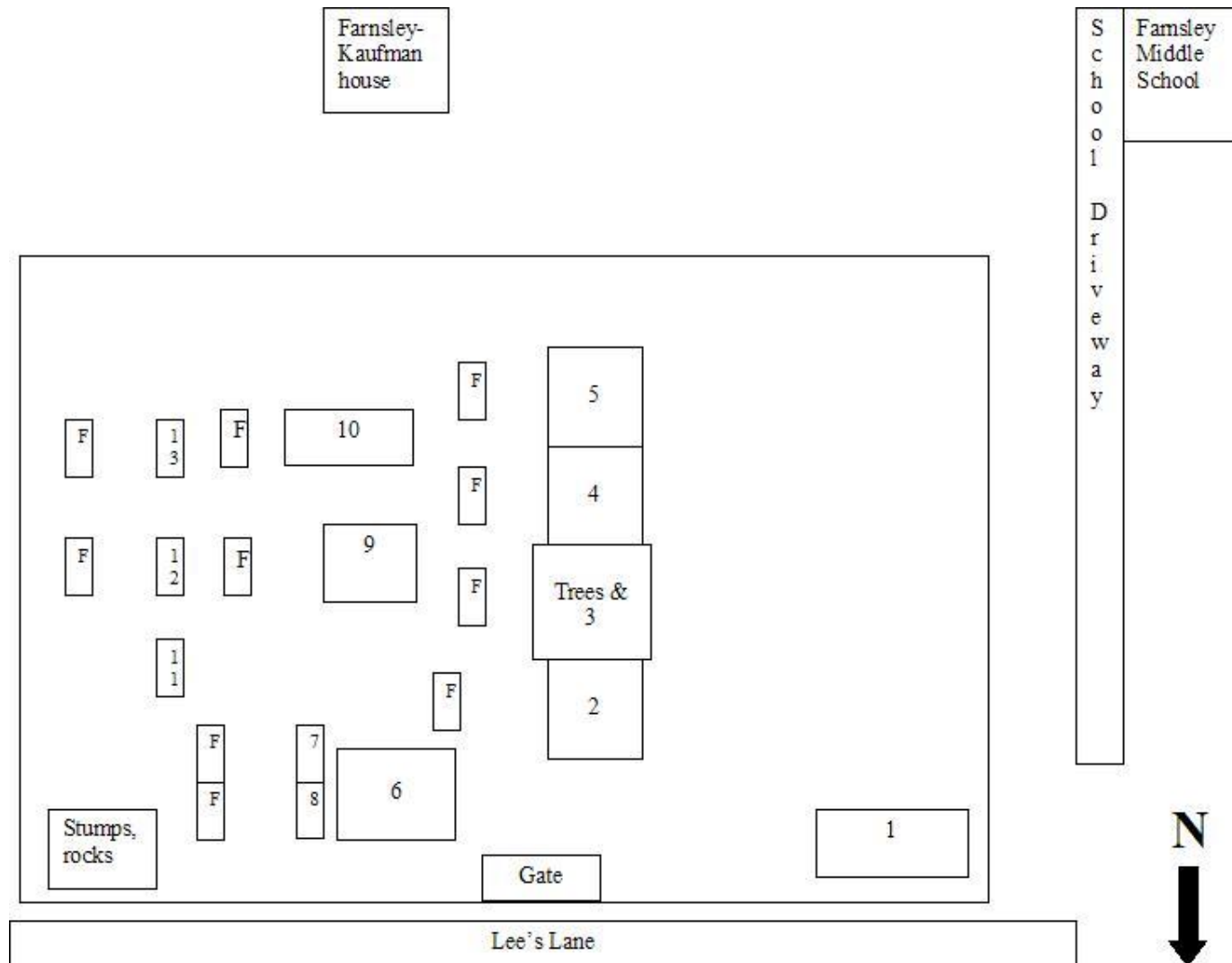


Figure 12. Diagram of the Farnsley Cemetery. The graves are numbered and footstones are labeled with “F.”

Table 1. Graves in the Farnsley Cemetery.

Grave No.	Name	Birth	Death	Relation	Inscription	Symbols	Headstone Type
1	E.E.W. Suit	11/21/1857	11/26/1857	Son of Sarah E.W. Suit	"I have loved them on Earth and I will meet them in Heaven"	angel with child	tablet
1	Sarah Ebenezer Williams Suit	11/17/1837	11/25/1857	Daughter of Sarah L.M. Williams, mother of E.E.W. Suit	"I have loved them on Earth and I will meet them in Heaven"	angel with child	tablet
2	David Farnsley	4/27/1786	6/16/1833	Husband of Sarah L.M. Williams, father of Mary R.F. Lloyd	"In memory of . . ."	weeping trees	tablet
3	David Arthur Williams	-	-	Grandson of David Farnsley and Sarah L.M. Williams	"At Rest, In memory of . . ."	-	tripartite
4	Albert Merritt Williams	12/17/1849	1/6/1854	Grandson of David Farnsley and Sarah L.M. Williams	"Beneath this stone in sweet repose, is laid a mother's first-born pride; a flower that scarce had waked to life; and light and beauty, ere it died; God in his wisdom hath recalled the precious boon his love had given, and though the casket moulder's here, the gem is sparkling now in heaven."	Rose	tablet
5	Georgie C. Williams	6/26/1852	2/1/1854	Grandson of David Farnsley and Sarah L.M. Williams	"Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade, Death came with friendly care; The opening bud to heaven conveyed, And bade it blossom there."	Rose	tablet
6	Lloyd Family Stone	-	-	-	Lists John Lloyd, Mary R.F. Lloyd, George N. Lloyd, Laura E.L. Rogers, Henry C. Lloyd, and Martha E. Lloyd	-	obelisk
7, 6	Dr. John Lloyd	12/9/1809	8/14/1872	Husband of Mary R.F. Lloyd, father of Henry C. Lloyd, George N. Lloyd, Laura E.L. Rogers, and Martha E. Lloyd	-	-	tablet
8, 6	Mary	12/26/1814	11/20/1900	Wife of John	-	-	tablet

	Rebecca Farnsley Lloyd			Lloyd, mother of Henry C. Lloyd, George N. Lloyd, Laura E.L. Rogers, and Martha E. Lloyd			
9, 6	Dr. Henry Clay Lloyd	3/28/1844	6/15/1883	Son of John and Mary R.F. Lloyd	"In memory of my beloved son . . ."	-	tablet
10	William J. Farnsley	9/24/1827	12/3/1847	Son of David Farnsley and Sarah L.M. Williams	"Sacred in memory of..." "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. Psalm 90 verse 12"	leaves with berries	tablet
11	broken stone	-	-	-	-	-	-
12, 6	George Nelson Lloyd	12/19/1854	7/19/1857	Son of John and Mary R.F. Lloyd	-	-	tablet
13, 6	Laura Eugenia Lloyd Rogers	8/28/1841	11/1/1865	Daughter of John and Mary R.F. Lloyd	-	-	tablet

With a cemetery as old as the Farnsley Cemetery, it is common for markers to become broken, displaced, or removed. Several of the headstones in the cemetery were repaired in 2007, but years of neglect cannot be reversed. A broken fragment occurs in line with George Nelson Lloyd and Laura Eugenia Lloyd Rogers' headstones (**Figure 13**). The fragment is not incised and is too fragmented to determine its shape. It is possible that this stone marks the burial place of their sister Martha E. Lloyd, but it is also possible that this is just a displaced stone. In the northeast corner of the cemetery east of John and Mary Lloyd's footstones is a pile of broken marble. It is clear these pieces once belonged to something, but it is impossible to determine what. These fragments could be portions of the missing headstones for the unmarked burials.



Figure 13. Possible location of Martha E. Lloyd’s headstone, north of Grave no. 12.

Schenian and Mocas surveyed the cemetery when it was in serious disrepair in 1997. Many of the headstones and footstones were already displaced and broken. However, their survey report provides some insights into the cemetery that are not visible today. For example, the inscription on David Arthur Williams’ headstone was more visible then than today. Their recordation of the stone provides information that is unobtainable today, as a tree has encased the stone.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, the archaeologists discussed a shallow trench around the cemetery, which most likely contained a wooden fence. This trench is no longer present and a modern aluminum fence surrounds the cemetery.¹⁸⁰ Schenian and Mocas believed there were “several unmarked sunken graves with only footers or broken headstone bases, or blank spots between recognizable graves

¹⁷⁹ Schenian and Mocas, *A Phase I Archaeological Survey*, 12.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 14.

large enough to contain a grave.”¹⁸¹ Sarah Farnsley Williams, Ebenezer Williams, George C. Williams, and Martha Farnsley Williams are absent from this cemetery when their immediate family were all buried there. No record of their burial exists elsewhere, so it is possible they have unmarked graves.

Schenian and Mocas also observed that a slave cemetery had yet to be found. No other information on this cemetery or its associated house mentions the fact that there would be a slave cemetery on the property. With David Farnsley owning nineteen slaves himself in 1830, it is unlikely that in the fifty years from the farm’s establishment to the conclusion of the Civil War that no slaves died.¹⁸² Lastly, the archaeologists noted a second obelisk in the cemetery for the Williams family. It was not inscribed but there was a large base stone for the obelisk near the grave of Georgie C. Williams.¹⁸³ No second obelisk occurs in the cemetery today. It is possible that the archaeologists were incorrect in their observations or that the obelisk went missing prior to restoration in 2007.

The headstones in the Farnsley Cemetery are primary sources for investigation of topics in nineteenth century American history. The placement of the cemetery on the Farnsley-Kaufman property indicates that the cemetery is a domestic cemetery, which tells a history about the people of southwest Jefferson County. The inscription and presence of an epitaph on a headstone is a window into the cultural and religious beliefs of the Farnsley family. The family inscribed Psalm 90, verse 12 on William Farnsley’s headstone. Psalms are “a collection of sacred poems forming a book of canonical Jewish

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 16.

¹⁸² Ibid, 17.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 11.

and Christian Scripture.”¹⁸⁴ The inclusion of psalms on the headstone reinforces the family’s Christian beliefs. Georgie C. Williams’ headstone contains an epitaph from a poem by Samuel Taylor Coleridge entitled “Epitaph on an Infant.” Coleridge, an English poet, was a leader of the Romantic movement in England with William Wordsworth in the early nineteenth century.¹⁸⁵ Either the family chose the epitaph for its relevance to infant burials or for their appreciation for Coleridge, which provides insight into their education and culture. A maker’s mark inscribed on a headstone is a window into the funerary industry in Louisville.

The names, birth dates, death dates, and familial relationships are the last major historical information gained from a cemetery. In their book *Nearby History*, Kyvig and Marty assert, “Cemeteries can supplement vital records as well as substitute for them during periods before the latter were kept. It may be difficult to think of a cemetery as an archives or a tombstone as a document, but the marker may have information carved on it that appears nowhere else.”¹⁸⁶ The Farnsley Cemetery contains three family groups that all stem from David Farnsley or Sarah Farnsley Williams. The information on their headstones is important as early Kentucky records are unreliable. As early as 1852, Kentucky law required counties to record births, marriages, and deaths. However, this law was repealed in 1862, and registration was not attempted again until 1874 to 1879

¹⁸⁴ “Psalms,” *Merriam-Webster*. accessed July 8, 2013, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/psalms>.

¹⁸⁵ “Epitaph on an Infant,” *Poem Hunter.com*. accessed July 8, 2013, <http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/epitaph-on-an-infant-3/>; “Samuel Taylor Coleridge,” *Poets.org*. accessed July 8, 2013, <http://www.poets.org/poet.php/prmPID/292>.

¹⁸⁶ Kyvig and Marty, *Nearby History*, 106.

and intermittently from 1892 to 1910.¹⁸⁷ Georgie C. and David Arthur Williams, for example, both died in 1854. There is no state or county record of their birth or death. Moreover, neither boy was enumerated on a census, so there is no official record of their short lives other than their headstones. Without the Farnsley Cemetery, it is likely that the story of Georgie and David Williams would have died with their immediate family members.

From historic records, it is clear that David Farnsley was a farmer in southwest Jefferson County. By researching agricultural practices in nineteenth-century Jefferson County, connections can be made to how the Farnsley family would have lived. Southwest Jefferson County had been an agrarian society since settlement. The first settlers to the area knew that in order to survive they had to establish their farm. While most of the farms only produced enough for the family to survive plus a little to sell, as other larger farms continued to prosper their owners purchased more acreage just as David Farnsley did. By the mid nineteenth century, the majority of the farms in Jefferson County were only 100 acres or less. These farms produced corn, grains, fruits, vegetables, hemp, cattle, and hogs.¹⁸⁸ David Farnsley's estate records show he owned pigs, hogs, oxen, hay, corn, and sheep. Farnsley also owned eighteen slaves at the time of his death who would have worked his farm and taken care of the cooking and

¹⁸⁷ "Kentucky Vital Records," *Family Search*. accessed July 11, 2013, https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/Kentucky_Vital_Records#Introduction_to_Vital_Records.

¹⁸⁸ Leslee F. Keys and Donna M. Neery, eds., *Historic Jefferson County* (Louisville: Jefferson County Historic Preservation and Archives, 1992), xiv.

cleaning.¹⁸⁹ By reviewing census records, tax records, and historic maps, a historian can determine how the Farnsley farm compared to others in the area.

Thanks to their location along the Ohio River, farmers in southwest Jefferson County did not need to be as self-sufficient as other farmers in Kentucky. Areas such as Valley Station and Pleasure Ridge Park, which were near the Farnsley farm, had access to a larger regional market. Some of these farms had their own markets with boat landings on their riverfront property. Alanson Moreman, who owned Gabriel Farnsley's Riverside, was successful because he traded directly with shipping vessels, which bypassed an intermediary.¹⁹⁰ While the Farnsley's did not have riverfront property, they were close to the river and could have easily sold their goods at those markets.

By comparing the census records of Farnsley to other farmers in the vicinity, it is clear that Farnsley was in the upper end of the socioeconomic spectrum. In 1820, Farnsley owned eleven slaves. Of the fifty people enumerated on the census page, forty of them owned fewer slaves than Farnsley, and one man owned eleven as well. Only eight men owned more slaves than Farnsley, but those numbers were two to four times as many.¹⁹¹ This data suggests that these men owned farms larger than the Farnsley's and were wealthier as the number of slaves typically correlated with wealth. By 1830, Farnsley's number of slaves had increased to sixteen, moving him up in status. Of the twenty-seven people enumerated twelve owned fewer slaves than Farnsley and one

¹⁸⁹ Inventory and Settlements Book 9: Page 96-98, Jefferson County Clerk's Office, Louisville, Kentucky.

¹⁹⁰ Patti Linn and Donna Neery, *Riverside, The Farnsley-Moremen Landing: A Restoration of a way of Life* (Louisville: Jefferson County Fiscal Court, 1998).

¹⁹¹ United States Census Bureau, United States Federal Census, 1820.

owned fourteen more.¹⁹² Ebenezer Williams who owned the farm upon Farnsley's death was enumerated with seventeen slaves in 1840. Of the thirty people on the census page, twenty-six owned fewer slaves than Williams.¹⁹³ The Farnsley farm owned more slaves than many of its immediate neighbors. Generally, the higher the number of slaves the more affluent the family. By this standard, the Farnsley family was most likely upper middle class as there were also families more affluent than them.

Jefferson County tax lists inventoried property each year in the county with appraised values. **Figure 14** contains a bar graph showing how the Farnsley farm changed over the time of the family's occupancy. According to those tax lists, David Farnsley owned 325 acres of second rate land, or lower quality land, that was valued between ten and twelve dollars an acre in 1826 and 1830.¹⁹⁴ An estate inventory from Farnsley's death in 1833 said Farnsley owned 35 oxen, 44 sheep, 82 pigs and hogs, 30 loads of hay, 2,000 slabs of bacon, 500 bushels of corn, and 18 slaves. The slaves were appraised for \$4,610 and his total estate was valued at \$5,443.¹⁹⁵ However, the tax list from 1833 listed 20 slaves valued at \$4,000, 300 acres valued at \$3,000, and a total value of \$7,200.¹⁹⁶ Although David Farnsley died in 1833, his family continued working his farm. Farnsley's widow and her husband, Ebenezer Williams, saw the farm rise to its

¹⁹² United States Census Bureau, United States Federal Census, 1830.

¹⁹³ United States Census Bureau, United States Federal Census, 1840.

¹⁹⁴ Jefferson County Tax List for 1826, Louisville Metro Archives, Louisville, Kentucky; Jefferson County Tax List for 1830, Louisville Metro Archives, Louisville, Kentucky.

¹⁹⁵ Inventory and Settlements Book 9: Page 96-98, Jefferson County Clerk's Office, Louisville, Kentucky.

¹⁹⁶ Jefferson County Tax List for 1833, Louisville Metro Archives, Louisville, Kentucky.

peak despite having fewer acres. By 1840 the value of the Farnsley farm had doubled, totaling \$16,080 with 20 slaves and 288 acres.¹⁹⁷

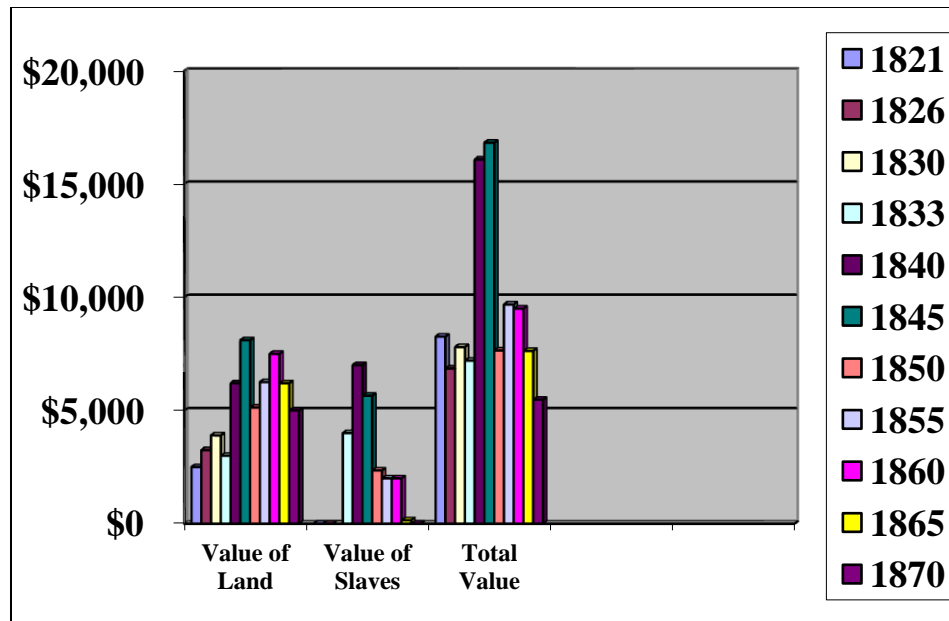


Figure 14. Bar graph showing tax list values during Farnsley family occupancy.

The development of better transportation routes in Jefferson County, including the railroad occurred in the 1850s. Larger regional markets were accessible to all farmers in Jefferson County, and the introduction of advanced machinery boosted productivity creating a food surplus. This agricultural expansion and subsequent growth of wealth allowed farmers to build larger, elaborate houses and outbuildings. Thus, agriculture became more of a business than a way of life.¹⁹⁸ Records show that Farnsley's daughter Martha and her husband George C. Williams operated the family farm. Under their occupation, the house was modified in the Greek Revival style. Williams continued to occupy the farm until 1872 when he sold over 100 acres of the farm to Bernard

¹⁹⁷ Jefferson County Tax List for 1840, Louisville Metro Archives, Louisville, Kentucky.

¹⁹⁸ Donna Neery, ed., *Historic Jefferson County* (Louisville: Jefferson County Fiscal Court, 2000).

Kaufman.¹⁹⁹ Between 1845 and 1860, the family began selling off acreage and lessening their number of slaves. It is unclear as to why this happened. The nation's economy was rising from 1835 to 1860 and transportation routes were added to the area making agriculture more profitable. **Figure 15**, an 1858 map, shows George C. Williams as the property owner. Property lines show that by 1858, the farm was smaller than many of the others around it.²⁰⁰



Figure 15. G. T. Bergmann's Map of Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1858.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Chambers, Murphy & Burge Restoration Architects, *Preservation Plan: Farnsley-Kaufman House & Farm, Shively Vicinity, Louisville, KY, Report #2257* (Louisville: Chambers, Murphy & Burge Restoration Architects, 2006).

²⁰⁰ The analysis and narrative of the Farnsley family stops with the last generation of Farnsleys that owned the property, George C. and Mary Williams. I chose this narrow focus to discuss the social and political context of specific members of the Farnsley family.

²⁰¹ G.T. Bergmann, "1858 Map of Jefferson County, Kentucky : showing the names of property holders, division lines of farms, position of houses, churches, school-houses, roads, water-courses, distances, and the topographical features of the county," The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky.

Agriculture is just one example of a type of history that can be connected to the Farnsley Cemetery and the history of Jefferson County. Other possible topics include religion, slavery, and other aspects of nineteenth-century culture. This cemetery is ideal for educators to use in their classes. There are distinct family groups for small groups to focus on and combine with their classmates to understand all of David Farnsley's family. Even though the entire family is not buried in the cemetery, those who are absent lend themselves to good research questions. Moreover, the Farnsley Cemetery is on the property of Farnsley Middle School, which means the field trip would be free. There would be no transportation costs or a need for substitute teachers to monitor those students who could not go on a typical field trip. The cemetery perfectly fits Hunner's school landscape analysis activity that was discussed in Chapter 2.

This case study has focused heavily on public education of the Farnsley Cemetery through the education of schoolchildren. However, the Friends of Farnsley-Kaufman could follow the model of the James Harrod Trust, which was also discussed in Chapter 2. The James Harrod Trust produced information signage for their cemeteries and holds biennial cemetery preservation courses and annual first-person interpretations of one cemetery. The Friends of Farnsley-Kaufman could produce signage for the cemetery and also have the interpretations for the public and schoolchildren. The Farnsley Cemetery underwent a significant preservation project and that information could be helpful to others wishing to learn about the topic. A desire exists for these workshops as the James Harrod Trust, Kentucky Historical Society, and Preservation Kentucky all host them. The Farnsley Cemetery has a great partner in Riverside, the Farnsley-Moreman Landing, a well-established historic house museum approximately seven miles to the south on the

Ohio River. The Friends of Farnsley-Kaufman could work with Riverside to promote events and organize joint events as both sites tell a part of the Farnsley family history.

The Farnsley Cemetery is a fortunate cemetery. The land on which it sits was cared for by the Farnsley and Kaufman families as well as Jefferson County Public Schools. Even though the cemetery was in disrepair at one point, it did not suffer the same fate as other small domestic cemeteries. Furthermore, the Farnsley Cemetery has valuable interpretative potential that can shed light on the history of the everyday people of southwest Jefferson County. Its location next to Farnsley Middle School also provides better opportunities for students to use the cemetery in various courses. The potential for use of the cemetery by schoolchildren and the general public will keep the cemetery relevant and provide an additional reason for its ongoing care and preservation.

CONCLUSION

“Cemeteries and gravemarkers as material culture, as outdoor museums, portray the past, in that they reflect a brief sketch of an individual’s life, contemporary taste, and symbolic expression.”

Phyllis Roberson Hoots²⁰²

Historic cemeteries and graveyards are a significant resource for historians, genealogists, educators, archaeologists, and many other fields of interest. A cemetery’s design, landscaping, architecture, and gravemarkers offer an insight into a culture and its view of death as well as the history of a community. Furthermore, the iconography, epitaphs, and inscriptions on gravemarkers help piece together these insights. However, a cemetery must be preserved with all of its elements *in situ* to provide the most valuable and accurate information. This thesis has discussed the many uses of a cemetery that maintain its relevance in an ever-changing society and increase its value for that society. Additionally, this thesis has drawn attention to the value and fragility of small domestic cemeteries, which are frequently overlooked by many, as they tend to be smaller, more rural in location, and contain interments of seemingly ordinary people.

Chapter 1 discussed the historiography of cemeteries. Many scholars have written about cemeteries in a variety of subjects. However, five main categories—cemetery preservation, history of cemeteries, archaeology/anthropology, community history, and cemeteries and education—have received disproportionate share of scholarly attention.

²⁰² Hoots, “Cemeteries as Outdoor Museums.”

At the same time, the full educational potential of cemeteries has not been explored and the relationship between preservation and education has yet to receive serious consideration. Those works in the cemetery preservation category focus on actual preservation practices with little explanation of why cemeteries should be preserved. Many different cemetery histories exist. Some cover the broad history of how the different types of cemeteries changed over time while others focus on the specific types or time periods. These are useful for contextualizing cemeteries while conducting cemetery research. Archaeologists and anthropologists have long studied cemeteries to understand the cultures and societies that built them and are interred within. This category of literature contains a considerable amount of archaeology reports from the Section 106 process. However, these works do not advocate for preservation or public education. Some authors have used cemeteries as a lens into or jumping point to discuss the history of a community. However, many of these are done by amateur historians and do not make connections with preservation or public education. Educators not historians have written the majority of works in the cemeteries and education category. These include journal articles on how educators can incorporate cemeteries into classrooms as laboratories for social studies, science, mathematics, language arts, and art classes. However, none of these scholars have connected preservation and education.

Chapter 2 focused on keeping cemeteries relevant in a modern and transient American society. Larger city cemeteries and churchyards with nonprofit organizations or caretakers tend to fare better than the small domestic cemeteries that can be very rural in location. These small cemeteries tend to have few if any documents associated, and serve a small percentage of the population. However, their preservation is still vital.

Rosenzweig and Thelen's study proves that there is a genuine interest in history, if it can be connected to an individual's family and/or race/ethnicity. The understanding of how people connect with history can provide historians, educators, and cemetery organizations ways to connect this interest to cemeteries. Through this connection, people can begin to develop a respect for and interest in cemeteries and their history. Providing people with a sense of place, connection, and history can allow them to feel connected to a place that they may not call their home. Cemeteries are valuable for creating such connections. Large rural cemeteries, such as Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta and Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, have developed successful public education programs and offer rental space to local organizations to keep themselves relevant. State and local agencies and organizations also provide public education programs on cemetery laws and preservation techniques to continue interest in historic cemeteries.

Chapter 3 is comprised of a case study that uses the Farnsley Cemetery, a domestic cemetery situated in southwest Jefferson County, Kentucky. The Farnsley Cemetery case study exemplifies how a small domestic cemetery can illuminate a history of a community. Little research on the communities in southwest Jefferson County or on the extremely fragile domestic cemeteries exists. By examining David Farnsley's family farm, one can understand the agricultural history of the area. A historian can also compare his farm to the broader state or regional agricultural history. However, that is only one topic that can be explored using the cemetery as a primary source. A historian could also address a series of topics on the nineteenth century: women, family life, doctors, slavery, migration, and many others. If it were not for the Farnsley Cemetery, it is likely that the story of Georgie and David Williams would have died with their

immediate family members, as there were no official records of their births, deaths, or lives.

Historical investigation of the Farnsley family is connected to the Farnsley Cemetery, as there are no primary sources other than headstones for some members of the family. However, there are limitations to using cemeteries to conduct historical research. Some of the information carved into the markers may be inaccurate and needs to be validated with other sources when possible. Furthermore, focusing on just the people buried within a cemetery creates a microhistory meaning the focus is narrow. That microhistory must be placed into a larger historic context on the surrounding neighborhood, area, city, region, etc. However, this can also be difficult as secondary sources about agricultural history, community history, and the development of southwest Jefferson County are limited. Investigation of the Farnsley family and their neighbors suggests potential for an examination of community and local history.

The location of the Farnsley Cemetery and its association with a nearby historic house museum, Riverside the Farnsley-Moreman Landing, make the cemetery a good example of how it can be utilized in a new way. As a part of the Farnsley Middle School campus, the Farnsley Cemetery is the perfect laboratory for social studies, science, language arts, mathematics, and art classes from the middle school and there would be no transportation costs that affect typical field trips. Many organizations provide cemetery lesson plans online that can be tailored to fit the Farnsley Cemetery as well as the state education standards. The cemetery's association with Riverside, which already attracts a regular visitor base, allows for a partnership that can draw more of the general public to the Farnsley Cemetery. The two could also create a variety of tours and classes that no

one else provides in Louisville. Working with the community can keep the Farnsley Cemetery relevant and help keep it preserved for future generations. The Farnsley Cemetery case study is meant to be a model for other cemeteries with stewards who desire to keep them relevant in an ever-changing society.

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Grady Clay, Landscape Architect
Interview, Transcription, and Editing
Museum Methods II, University of Louisville
Spring 2013

Roscoe Goose House, Louisville, Kentucky
National Register of Historic Places Nomination
Intro to Historic Preservation, University of Louisville
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