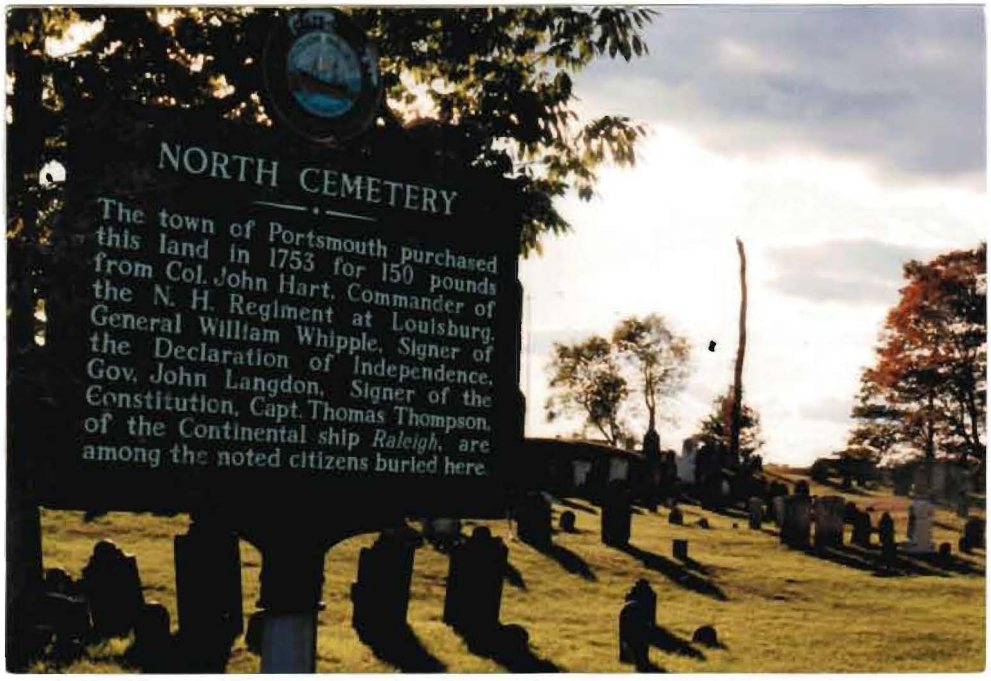
Gravestones: A Reflection on American Lifestyles



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ABSTRACT

There is a direct relationship between the usage of classical images in the eighteenth century and the new democratic consciousness that hit America at this time. Iconography was ushered across the Atlantic by engravers who borrowed English images to be used in their own pamphlets and papers. It had become fashionable to use a classical prototype in high art paintings and popular art alike. These classical images taken from the ancient Republics of Greece and Rome took on greater meaning in the colonies that were yearning for greater freedom and eventual independence. In the colonists' minds, the classical images reflected a society designed for good living and virtue and represented their own burning desire for such a nation.

It is interesting to note how many aspects in a society change as ideas change. All fabrics of society are interwoven, one strand pulled affects the whole. There were many shifts in ideology during the pre-Revolutionary era and there were many reasons for these new perspectives. In addition to discussing changing iconographic images, this paper discusses broad changes in society in general to help unite art historical research and historical trends in culture. It is particularly relevant to the art historian to understand changes in the politics and religion of early America to see how the United States developed into an important entity in the art scene today. It is also beneficial

to the historian to recognize how art reflects our cultural development. The two fields of study cannot be separated for they are overlapping views on our world. Through art one can follow the development of a society's particular values and beliefs. Through the examination of the history of art, such as that found on gravestones, we can hopefully find the expression of the average persons' state of mind. We therefore must approach art, particularly gravestone art, as only a product of society, therefore demonstrating the society as a whole.

Through an analysis of history, I will show why classical images overcame Puritan iconography.

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PART ONE: EARLY NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORY

New England served as a main cultural, economic and religious center in the colonies. This study deals particularly with the society in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Though not representative of early America as a whole it can be examined as one of the many different elements that impacted America's great social and military Revolution.

Portsmouth was the capital of New Hampshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was a thriving seaport town like many coastal towns in the American colonies. The town depended economically on the export of masts, ships and lumber which were to be traded for spices and raw materials as well as finished goods. Portsmouth was the heart of New Hampshire, a colony faced with a vast wilderness and an obsessive desire to use their land to create a thriving commercial base in the New World. Tiny communities dotted the countryside in this northern land of plenty, but most were basically too small to even have their own church. Dover, Exeter and Durham relied on Portsmouth to represent them on any and all national and international levels.

At the start, New Hampshire had fewer connections with England than any other colony. John Mason had originally set up his plantation at Strawbery Banke (now Portsmouth) in the early seventeenth century through a proprietary grant from the king of England. The Banke became somewhat self sufficient, relying on

the land's natural resources to develop a prosperous farming community. Businesses soon thrived as the town grew up around the Mason mansion on the coast. However, after Mason's death, neighboring townsmen split up Strawbery Banke amongst themselves, effectively eradicating the town's existing social structure.

Portsmouth was culturally and socially barren. It needed support after Mason's death. The people had not only lost their founder, but had lost the man who helped support their livelihoods. In 1640, the colony at Massachusetts Bay provided the assistance that New Hampshire needed. The Bible Commonwealth now joined their government with that of New Hampshire. The move gave the stronger Massachusetts much power and influence that would superficially affect New Hampshire's ideology. Eagerly, Massachusetts offered to reform their unreligious northern neighbors who had previously, they believed, been a threat to the moral fabric of New England. " Massachusetts' watchful eye was constantly on the religious practices of its New England neighbor. Massachusetts' experiment with a Bible Commonwealth was not going to be jeopardized either by religious freedom (heresy) or open hostility to Puritanism ... as near by as New Hampshire, if the Boston theocracy had anything to say about it."[1]

This tie to Massachusetts is quite important to this study. It explains the reason for the similarities in gravestone images

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[1] Howard Tredonnick Oedel, Portsmouth New Hampshire- The Role of the Provincial Capital in the Development of the Colony. 1960 (phd dissertation Boston University) p. 24.

between Portsmouth and Boston. Portsmouth society took up a bit of the Puritan ideals of the Bay colonists, but the colony of New Hampshire remained Anglican at heart. The willingness of New Hampshire to adopt Puritan ideals came about perhaps because it was easier to adapt the religion of their zealous protectorate than to fight the strong will of the fanatical. It was a question of the easiest way New Hampshire could get on its feet and this required a light footed step so as not to anger the helpful Massachusetts. The minor importance of religion, in the lives of Portsmouth inhabitants especially, was not yet a major concern. However, the face of religion was apparent on the New Hampshire scene. Though art was in the extremely raw stages during this period, it reflected a value that we today regard as typical of early New England culture. Whether or not Puritan practices and beliefs had a strong foothold in the minds of seventeenth and eighteenth century Americans is still being researched by historians. It is, however, impossible to debate that Puritan values were reflected quite abundantly in art. It is difficult for historians to differentiate between the superficial creations of the society, and art that is truly representative of the cultural frame of mind during this period.

In 1679, the descendants of John Mason fought to regain their claim on New Hampshire. The crown decided that it was best to split the colonies once again to satisfy the Masons. But more importantly, the English government thought that the separation was beneficial to the monarchy because it would curb a growing

spirit of independence in Massachusetts. However, the Mason claim versus Massachusetts' control remained up in the air until the eighteenth century when Mason agreed to sell the land to the wealthy of New Hampshire who returned it to the people. New Hampshire had originally protested the Mason claim because it wanted Massachusetts' protection and influence to further aid the prospering Portsmouth. Here we see the first sign of opposition to the royal government in northern New England. In fact, there was no clear royal government policy here, which further aggravated the issue.

Over the years, England had at will created policy involving the colonies. They tried to keep the colonists happy, yet it always seemed that they made rules that benefitted the motherland and ignored the colonists true wishes. Colonists were suffering. England was discouraging the production of manufactured goods in the colonies so that colonies would instead get these goods from the motherland in exchange for raw materials. The economy in the colonies would soon be dying. Finished goods were coming in, but money was not.

In 1740, the royal government settled a distinct boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, taking land away from New Hampshire people that they had gained through charters for properties that were on the colony's border. These properties were put under Massachusetts jurisdiction. Needless to say, New Hampshire was not pleased with the decision. The set boundaries between the two colonies caused New Hampshire to return to its

state of virtual self reliance. On the good side, this helped the business and growth of Portsmouth that was no longer in the shadow of Boston. But the former direct influence of Massachusetts would never die and the trends that were passed between cities continued as the Revolution approached.

PART TWO: THE INFLUENCE OF PURITAN SOCIETY

"Portsmouth's religious experience was different from that of other communities."[2] Here organized religion got off to a slower start. People approached religion with less fervor and fanaticism than elsewhere. The town was settled by people who were most interested in making a living. They were not escaping religious persecution as colonists from other areas had been. In Portsmouth, religion was only indulged after the work was done. The residents were regarded as a "carefree lot who took pleasures where they found them."[3] Liberal Anglican influences dominated the society socially and religiously.

However, the First Church of Portsmouth, which was an Anglican congregation set up in 1637, was suppressed when New Hampshire fell under Massachusetts jurisdiction. In 1641, Puritan ministers replaced Richard Gibson of the Portsmouth church and Puritan influence gained a firm foothold in New England.

The Puritans, despite belonging to a group that emigrated from their old homeland to escape religious persecution, were very intent on spreading their beliefs among the general colonial populace. Though the Puritans did not entirely agree on theology among themselves, as suggested by David Watters in his book titled, With Bodilie Eyes, their main ideology was the same.

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[2]Oedel, p. 324.

[3]Oedel, p. 359.

"Whatever doctrinal differences may divide early New England communities or class, a common resource of biblical imagery unifies them." [4] David E. Stannard states in his book, The Puritan way of Death, that the Puritans believed in a Divine mission, to live and work under God. The idea of an afterlife was the primary focus of their daily lives and routines. Death was regarded as the beginning of immortality with hopes that they would be accepted to heaven as the chosen of their Lord. Stannard quotes a seventeenth century English Puritan named John Robinson who stated, "The Godly are truly both happy in life and death: The wicked in neither." [5] By performing good deeds and living by the protestant ethic, Puritans believed that their fellow mortals would regard them as the chosen of God. In such a role they were also convincing themselves of such a happy fate.

Man indeed feared death. He feared what would happen to him if he did not achieve salvation. God and heaven quelled fears of deterioration in hell, but at times this was not enough. The creation of gravestone images served to release tension from the minds of the people. They served as a direct and graphic confrontation with death. Images persisted despite the insistence of the church that its people must not create graven images. Man's attempt to relate to God or explain his ways

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[4]David H. Watters, With Bodilie Eyes- Eschatological Themes in Puritan Literature and Gravestone Art. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI REsearch Press, 1981. introduction.

[5]David E. Stannard, The Puritan Way of Death- A Study in Religion, Culture and Social Change. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. p. 26.

through gravestone art was generally overlooked by the church hierarchy as the church did not participate in the erection of the stones.

It was completely unacceptable for the Puritan to make an image of the soul or saint. Men sought to explain the experience of death in other ways. Images represented the body as it rotted in the grave. Death's head, which was the most popular image, sought to show man what would happen to his flesh as he became separated from it after death. (Plate 1-4) Man recognized this image as something good, showing the journey to heaven as the soul became separated from the mortal remains. The epitaph on the tomb of Rene de Chalons cited by Stannard, which was carved in the sixteenth century, best explains this view. "And though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God."[6] The image of a skeleton with decaying flesh , handing its heart to God, caps the meaning of the poem. (Plate 5)

The stones were generally in the shape of the gates of heaven, further symbolizing the journey. Carvers adopted images from other craft traditions which is a practice that goes all the way back through history as we see the similarity between images on the vases and murals of our Greek ancestors. Any images that connected the earthly and heavenly church were acceptable as long

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[6] Stannard, p. 25.

Plate 1. Mrs. Elizabeth Martin, Phipps, d.?

Plate 2. Mrs. Hannah Gookin, 1702, Cambridge

Plate 3. Ann Kilcup, 1694, Granary

Plate 4. The Gills, Copp's Hill, 1666, 1671

Plate 5. Sixteenth century tomb of Rene of Chalons "Powerfully suggestive of the transcendent glory of salvation."[7]

as they didn't represent the immortal directly. Hearts symbolized the temple for the spirit of Christ. Angels were

[7]Stannard, p. 25. Picture taken from page 24 of Oedel's book.

often shown carrying a heart to heaven. A Peacock with open feathers symbolized resurrection while one with feathers closed symbolized mortal death, another way of reminding one of decaying flesh. Mermaids (or dagons) spoke of the ancient myth of these creatures that carried man's remains to heaven in an urn. Fruits and gourds showed God's work on earth and his gift of abundance to his people. The vegetation also showed the fruits offered in the temple of heaven. An image of the sun shined the rays of Christ's body. Images of imminent death, such as hourglasses, scythes and crossbones proliferated the stones as the era of rigid Puritanism showed its toothsome grin. (Plate 6-9)

Portsmouth practiced the harsh civil and religious codes of Puritanism "without the benefits of a devoted Puritan society."[8] The Puritan gravestone images were taken up by the society, but the religious practices generally were not. The Puritan faith harbored 85 members in the town of Portsmouth in the year 1702. Though the Portsmouth people welcomed the influence of Massachusetts in their economic world, they most assuredly didn't welcome the influence in their religious world. England's role in this situation was great. New Hampshire inhabitants sought to gain favor with the English as the New Hampshire/Massachusetts boundary dispute continued. If England were to separate the

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[8] Stannard, p. 93

Plate 6. Elias Row, Phipps, 1686
Cupid images with death's head, hourglass

Plate 7. Saregent Richard Kettli, Phipps, 1668?
crossbones, scythe, shovel, coffin, hourglass

Plate 8. Ruth Carter, Granary, 1697/98
skeletons, vegetation

Plate 9. Thaddeus Maccarty, Granary, 1705
vegetation with rondelle leaves

PART THREE: THE DEATH OF PURITANISM AND GROWTH OF PORTSMOUTH

The struggle of Anglicanism was eliminated when New Hampshire was returned to its old state of independence with the ending of the boundary dispute in 1740. Puritanism had brought law and order to a floundering community. Portsmouth's economy was soon booming as the fishing, timber and ship building industries flourished. The cultureless community gained a sense of identity thanks to Massachusetts' input. But new social life did not come into play until that same input was lost. The trading of liquor became an important asset to the economy when fire and brimstone theology that was against such activity was eliminated. Taverns became a main center for socializing. Inns became important to entertain, since, according to Raymond A. Brighton in his book They Came to Fish, foreigners were coming because of trade expansion. The foreign presence would bring new ideology from the outside world that would promote the eradification of strict religious doctrine. Portsmouth now would develop into a cultural highspot in the new world reflecting those of the European community.

Puritanism began losing its hold when English royal authority began asserting itself in the colonies. Indeed, Puritanism was doomed to fail in a commercial environment. In a business environment, men had little time to be concerned with religion. Portsmouth residents had always been more concerned with money making. As England sought greater productivity from all of its

colonies, people would reject the trappings of a religion that controlled their whole lives.

Portsmouth had undergone its greatest expansion between the years 1715 and 1740. The threat of Indian invasion was eased during the French and Indian wars and people began settling on the rich New England shores to establish a better lifestyle for their families. A political and economic aristocracy emerged furthering the anti-Puritanist sentiment. Wealthy merchants such as Theodore Atkinson controlled big business operations. The new New Hampshire government, established with the boundary settlement, appointed worthy men, such as Governor Benning Wentworth, to government positions. This created another set of wealthy, influential families in New Hampshire.

Any Puritan attitudes could not be maintained in such an environment. Puritanism could not adopt to the new way of life that was soon to spread throughout New England. Man was seeking to focus on life on earth rather than an afterlife. The strict religious concern with death could not endure amongst a people who sought to explain their purpose as men. Man was filled with an optimism for his mortal future. This emerging liberal orthodoxy required a harmonious system of religious belief. Man still feared death as we do today, but he could not tolerate such an all consuming focus on that aspect of life. "A culture, no less than an individual, cannot long endure such pressure."[9] The need for comforting counsel after the death of loved ones was not

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[9]Stannard, p. 93.

provided by the Puritan faithful. The emerging emotional outpouring in society required a more understanding theology.

The influence from the outside world, mentioned earlier, included new logical ideas more favorable to the common man. With the coming of the age of reason, man was turning to the philosophy of men such as John Locke, who promoted the cause of the common man in his world. The ideas of Charles Darwin, promoting the evolution of the species and survival of the fittest, helped man react to an alternative way of approaching his survival besides his reliance on God. Excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum brought ideas of ancient lands and lost republics.The Europeans brought literature bespeaking new ways to look at death. Man was becoming more optimistic in his outlook toward life and death.

Emphasis on the individual and individual freedoms was taking hold. People were striking out against oppression and the last thing they needed was a religion that hindered that outlook. The Puritan way of life was much too far removed from this new lifestyle. It soon not only lost its hold, but it lost its purpose.

By 1736, the Puritan oligarchy in Massachusetts was fading. New Hampshire had already gained a true democratic spirit, the first of its kind. Massachusetts was now to learn something from the little colony to which it had taught so much. Puritan ways took one last gasp after a religious revival that was begun after the major earthquake of 1727 that reestablished peoples' fears

and reminded them of God's presence. The Reverend George Whitefield encouraged the revival of faith in God. Leaders, such as the Reverend Arthur Browne of Portsmouth, tempered the movement and enabled more liberal religions to maintain their position. Browne fought against the more fanatical religious bigwig by calling Whitefield and his followers "A crack brain'd bunch of zealots."[10] Developing religions ranged anywhere from the radical Sandiminian faith to the lenient Universalist religion.

[10]Oedel, p. 386.

PART FOUR: THE IDEAL OF INDEPENDENCE

According to the October 1960 edition of Profiles, it was after the split of Massachusetts and New Hampshire that the skull and crossbones and death's head icons were completely replaced by a more cheery, inspirational winged cherub. (Plates 10 and 11)

Plate 10. Mrs. Persis Jenkins, Granary, 1777

Plate 11. Mr. Joseph Taylor, Cambridge, 1775

This image was perhaps more suited to the liberal Anglican teachings. The cherub further emphasized the importance of leading a virtuous life so as to be accepted by God into the

heavenly kingdom. The idea of predestination was replaced with man getting to heaven through good deeds.

The drab, non-ceremonious, puritanical burial ceremony was also replaced with a more upbeat, elaborate scene. Mourning took on a social aspect as friends and neighbors gathered and ate at the gravesites of their departed loved ones. Rings and other funerary items were given as gifts to all those in attendance at the ceremonies. Prayers at the gravesite were previously considered superstitious and idolatrous. The absence of ceremony and restraint of emotion required by the Puritan faith contradicted a growing sense of patriotic spirit leading to an inner celebration of individualism.

This drastic change in outlook on death was part of the snowballing effect occurring in eighteenth century culture. All elements involved point to the total transformation of a society that was destined for independence. No one outstanding element overshadows the rest for causing the rise of a desire for colonial separation with England. Indeed, one may even see Britain itself contributing to the overwhelming sense of a destiny of freedom that was taking root in the American colonies. The British were missing signals of unrest and continued to tax the unwilling colonists. The matter of distance between the two lands, a dissenting tradition in religion and the fall of enemies on the colonial western front all weakened Britain's psychological control over the colonists. England could not relate to the new needs and new outlook of their colonies and,

therefore, furthered the colonists aspirations of independence unknowingly.

The general outlook was toward individuality as there was a "rising middle class, self made and jubilant at the new opportunities opening up to them." [11] A democratic ideal was pushing religion aside. This ideal developed with the onset of capitalism and the booming importance of trade with foreign nations. Portsmouth residents such as the Atkinsons, Wentworths and Jaffreys were becoming quite wealthy. Americans were discovering a vast world of plenty before them and sought to move west to conquer new lands to satisfy their rising individual spirit.

The idea of man as a subject under God was eradicated with the shift in cultural values. Man did not want to be a subject of anyone and his concern to gain favor with his king by practicing the king's religion was vanishing in New Hampshire. New Hampshire's original content with the monarchy was becoming eradicated with ideas of conflict in the Empire in general. Man desired separation from his king for greater freedom and he desired the same distance from his God. Emphasis was placed on the individual in charge of his own destiny. The old belief that the human race was corrupted by the original sin and that man was naturally bad was replaced with the idea that men were born good and were "corrupted by evil institutions forced on them by

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[11] James T. Flexner, History of American Painting- The Light of Distant Skies. (Vol. 2 of three) New York: Dover Pub. Inc., 1954. p.6.

kings... The object of life was to be good and of art to teach virtue."[12] (Plates 12 and 13)

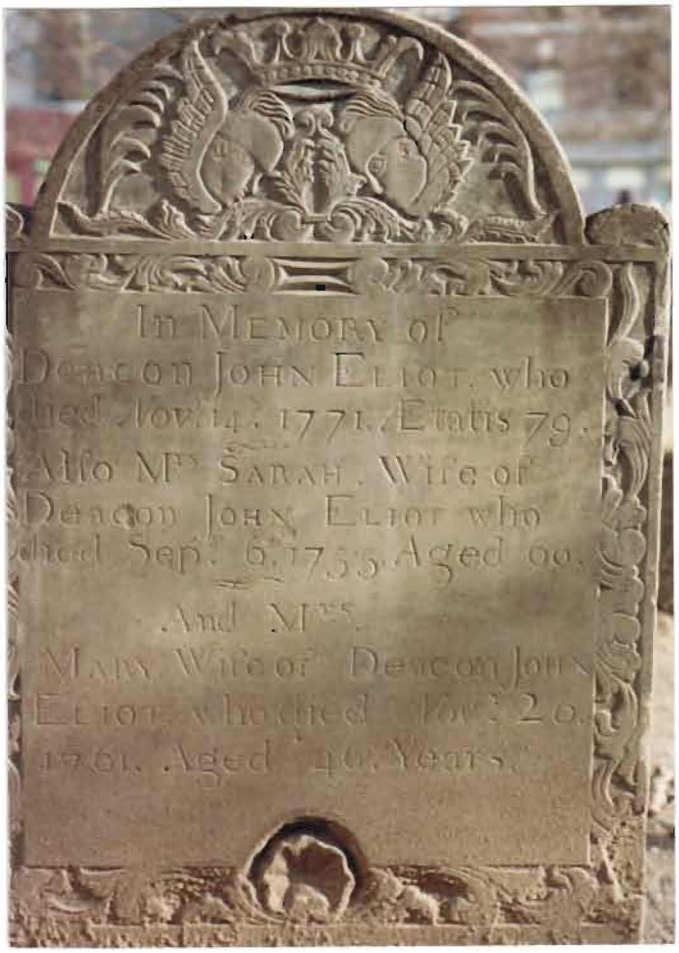

Plate 12. John Eliot, Granary, 1755

Plate 13. Mr. William Evans, Mrs. Mary Savage, Granary, 1775
These plates exhibit what was to become a vanishing focus on Christ as King

Britain of course desired to maintain its Maternal like hold on the colonies. It regarded the colonists as being in business for England's gain. After the French and Indian War England was required to pay back much debt. They looked to their colonies and began to raise taxes aimed to combat the financial troubles

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[12]Flexner p.6.

brought on by the war. In so doing, Britain decided to review its imperial policies in general. Tighter laws were enforced to protect trees and the natural resources of American lands. The colonials who were not used to such restrictions were outraged and were financially stressed.

Colonials regarded themselves as Englishmen and believed that they should be treated in the same way as their European English counterparts. They felt that the restrictions and taxes were aimed solely at them and that they did not receive adequate representation in their own Parliament to voice any complaint. In the beginning, Americans did not wish to separate from England. They only desired adequate representation (a democratic ideal) and the freedoms that they had earlier maintained.

The idea of independence did not develop until after the European trend of Neoclassicism was transferred to the colonies through England. The growing interest in old classical, republican forms of art and politics was taken up enthusiastically by the colonials in search of a new way for explaining their existence. Ideas were transferred across the ocean through printed images and things such as silverware and dishes that were intricately carved in England and bought by the rising American upper middle class society. High art mediums such as painting also began to show a classical frame of mind in Europe. As American painters travelled abroad to improve their abilities, they returned to their homeland with a new artistic interest in antiquity.

England was close enough to influence the colonies stylistically in art, but were too far away to have any direct political control. By the time news travelled between the two lands it was too late to have an effect. Art may have lagged a few months behind, but laws reacting to things going on in the colonies could not. Americans tried to maintain their self sufficiency contrary to England's desires to have the colonies rely on them for finished goods and services. America functioned best as a virtual independent and their realization of this grew during the eighteenth century. Colonists desired home rule by people who were more aware of their needs as a community of individuals. In addition, antagonism toward the royal government grew in reaction to Parliamentary acts that stifled New England's economy. America had always possessed a relative degree of equality among its people as compared to the rest of the world and England could not understand this. Many Americans could no longer see royalty as a step above common man. As population rose drastically here, England became more out of touch with colonists needs to expand into the forbidden west which was deemed Indian country and off limits by the crown. How could King George forbid an American from moving into his own wilderness? War would become inevitable to protect colonists traditional lifestyle and beliefs from the outside world. War would also give rebirth to virtue that seemed to have dwindled with the death of Puritanism.

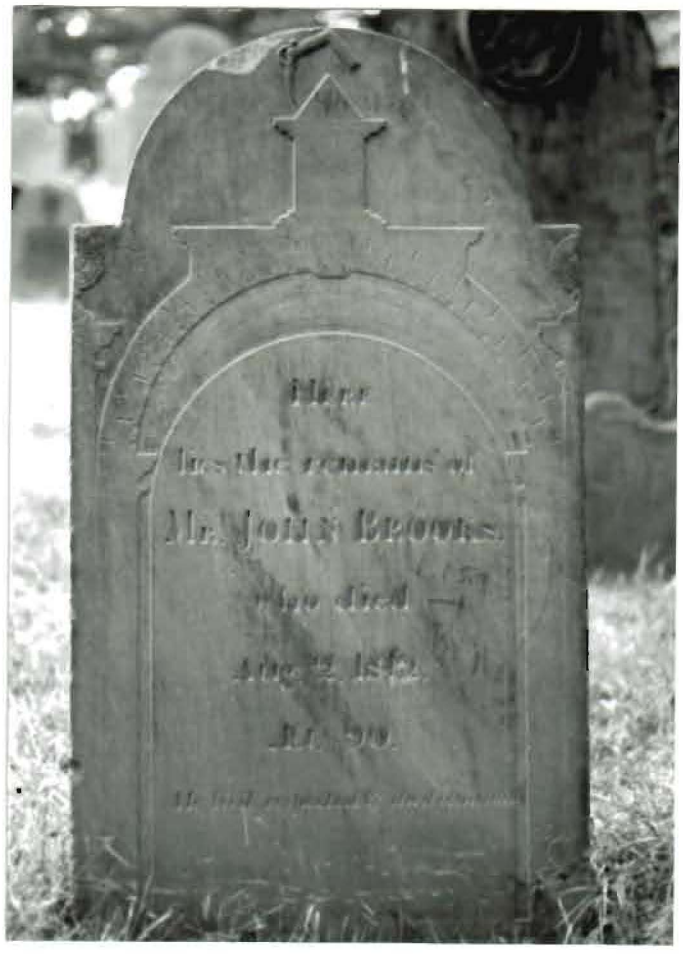

Plate 14. Mr. John Brooks, Concord, 1812
The symbol of the Concord minuteman, the arm with sword, reveals the colonists concern with liberty

New Hampshire, at first, had been less involved in the problems with England than any other colony. The first major political restrictions placed on the colonies had little effect on New Hampshire. New Hampshire had little hand in the sugar and molasses trade so the sugar tax of 1764 was of little concern to the colony's residents. However, in 1765, the introduction of the stamp act, putting a tax on all paper products caused an uproar. Bells were tolled in town to denote the decease of liberty. A notice was displayed inviting people to attend her funeral. A parade was held in Portsmouth as townsmen walked down

the main avenue carrying a coffin with a sign that said, "Liberty Aged 145, Stampt."[13] Indeed this is evidence that death still played an important part in the lives of New England residents, including those of New Hampshire. But ideas of death now related to ideas of liberty rather than a concern with possible salvation.

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[13]Oedel, p. 500.

PART FIVE: THE IDEAL OF VIRTUE

The idea of virtue played an important part in the minds of late eighteenth century New Englanders. As virtue and honor had been important to the Romans, so it was for Americans. Virtue was regarded as the key for success. In civil power was the manifestation of virtue and it was toward this civil power that American citizens were striving. Arthur I. Harriman's book, Praises on Tombs in the Old North Burial Ground, describes the ambition of such men as seen through the epitaph of James Hill of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. It reads,

Praises on tombs are titles vainly spent.
Man's good name is his best monument.

People were honoring the integrity, loyalty and patriotism of the deceased rather than looking to see if one was among God's chosen. Another example of such an outlook is contained in the epitaph of Mr. John Fernald, also buried in the North Burial Ground in Portsmouth.

Thr'O all this large extended hollow ground
Where sleep the rich, the poor, the humble and the brave
Not one more honest or more friendly ever was found
Than he who sleeps in the silent grave.

The Independent Congregational society was begun in 1757 after the religious revival which encouraged the growth of new religions. Reverend Samuel Drawn led this parish made up of members that were dismissed from the North and South churches of

Portsmouth. This congregation, fighting against the liberalism found in other churches, became active in the cause for freedom as the Revolution approached. Laurence A. Craig in his book, Three Centuries of Religious Living, describes the plight of the new Portsmouth churches in their struggle to maintain the balance of civil virtue and religious virtue. In 1773, the Universalist Church, led by Reverend John Murray professed the liberal Gospel stating, "God is father of all; his infinite love and mercy embrace the entire family of mankind, salvation is promised to every man without fear of eternal punishment and damnation and not reserved for the chosen few within the commune of the established churches." Man's own virtue was to be contained in his heart. God would not watch over every move, but one must remain virtuous to satisfy the needs of the inner self. Happiness was equated with this virtue rather than with self gratification. Americans were setting the groundwork for a virtuous republic which could supply the "greatest happiness for the greatest number," according to the last civilian royal governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson. This happiness from virtue would in turn instill greater virtue in a never ending loop.

The virtue of a woman was contained in her patriotism and faith. A woman was not regarded as a free citizen of the forming democracy. Her character virtue was represented by her role as a "republican mother." It was regarded that a woman's role in society was to raise boys to become democratic minded and free

loving citizens of America. A girl was to be raised to be a good democratic minded being who would help her husband and retain a sense of moral dignity for her future as a "republican mother." The epitaph of Desire Bongs, buried in the Old Burying Ground in Brewster, Massachusetts, recounts the virtue of such a lady.

Dear to her children
loved by all who knew her
her memory will be charrished (sic.)
So long as these survive.
But for immortality
Vain are monuments, Vain were
The Historian's pen
The Painter's or the poet's pencil,
VIRTUE has made it sure.

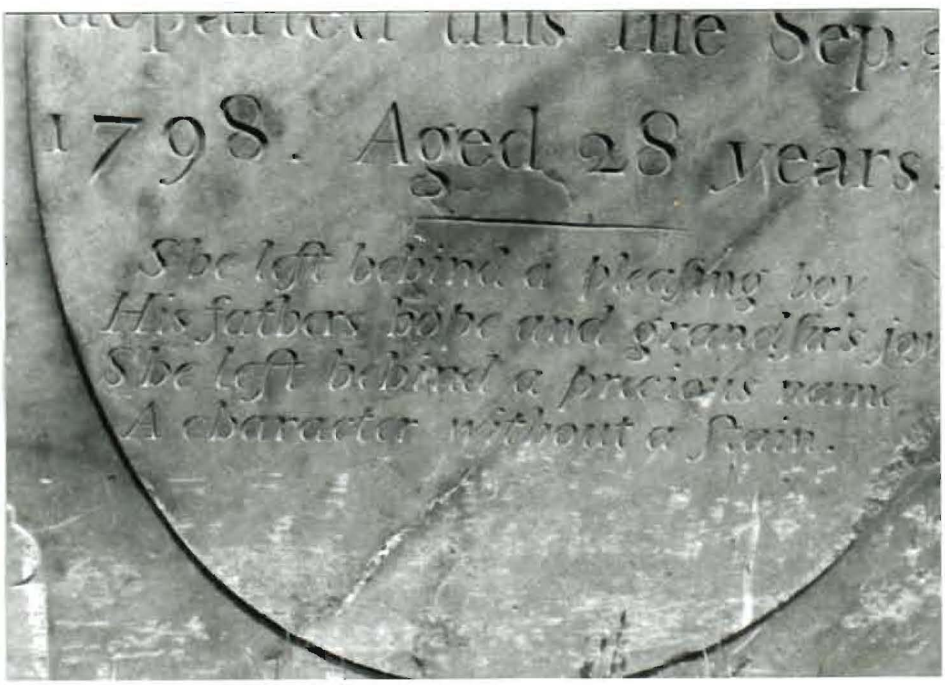

Plate 15. Epitaph of a virtuous woman located in Concord

PART SIX: FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND THE TRANSITION OF IMAGES

It is difficult to pinpoint a precise date when Puritanism was totally rejected and its morbid images with it. However, it is easy to recognize the drastic sweep of change during the eighteenth century. Early in the century images of death's heads and skulls and cross bones predominated. The main images late in the century were the more jovial depictions of cherubs, as classical urns and willows also were gaining tremendous popularity. Still, it was not unheard of, for example, to find an image of skull and crossbones as the Revolution approached, such as that found on the stone of Sarah Sargent at the Point of Graves in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. (Plate 16)

Plate 16. Sarah Sargent, Point of Graves, 1771

It was, however, very rare to find the more sobering and realistic image of death's head which virtually went totally against all aspirations of democratic thought.

Plate 17. Tobias Lear, Point of Graves, 1781

The stone of Tobias Lear from 1781 at the Point of Graves most clearly displays the evolution of thought that sometimes brought with it a clashing projection of ideals. Here we see an accepted icon from the early part of the century carved atop the stone. (Plate 17) The lower portion features the newly arrived icon of willow and urn from Europe. One may speculate that the

carver was introducing a new fad into gravestone art. It is quite possible that the image of skull and cross bones at the top was carved many years earlier almost in a mass production like way. The bottom was left to be filled in and was done so with the latest style, ignoring the ideological clash between the more morbid, heaven looking icon and the more earthly one. Lear's stone when compared to that of the nearby stone of Sarah Sargent, which displays the shielding skull above, by the hand of the same carver, shows the development of one artist's style as well as the development of his profession as a whole.

Often images were brought to the new world by way of the old. It is, therefore, easy to understand why what seems to be a mismatched combination of ideology, is often just a projection of a fading fad-like symbolism alongside its replacement icon. Many Irish, Scottish and English carvers came to the new world and made part of their living carving gravestones. Sonia Marshall's article titled Early New England Gravestones, in the September 1964 edition of American magazine, cites the influences of Celtic tradition on American gravestones. She believes that these men may have been looking back to their medieval roots as perhaps Englishman looked to Ancient Rome, the Holy Roman Empire or the Renaissance. Foreign influence, according to Marshall, brought such symbolism with it as the Scottish thistle blossom which meant, "I will never forget thee." The image of a pinecone or pineapple found on Gershom Flagg's stone dated 1771 in the Granary in Boston, is perhaps another bit of foreign influence.

(Plate_18) Even Death's head may find its prototype from Scotland as one may cite early Scottish gravestones with the image

Plate 18. Mr. Gershom Flagg, Granary, 1771

Plate 19. Mr. Jonathan Whitney, Concord, 1735

Stones "provide a perfect microcosm for the study of the spread of artistic styles in preindustrial society."[14] Allan I. Ludwig's book, Graven Images, shows pictorially the foreign influences on American gravestone carving. English influence in

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[14]Allan I. Ludwig, Graven Images. Wesleyan University, 1966. foreword.

America was always strong due to the status of the people as English colonists and citizens. One of the most famous stones from the pre-revolutionary period is that of Joseph Tapping, found at the Granary in Boston. The stone, carved in 1678, bares striking similarity to the engraving from Francis Quarles' Hieroglyphiques of the Life of Man from London in 1638, as pointed out by Ludwig. The image of Father Time fighting death from snuffing out the candle of life became a well liked and meaningful image for early colonials. Ludwig's study further parallels the development of gravestone iconography with engravings from London. The detail of Isaac Watts' from the Horae Lyricae of 1727, is worth comparing to the John Watson stone of 1753. (Plate 19)

The development of classical ideas and styles were not consistent in eighteenth century America. Coastal cities were more in tune with newly developing ideology from Europe and were more aware of European fads. The frontier was more suited to rough Geometric carving. (Plate 20) According to Ludwig, "evolution of style" took place unconsciously. We were getting classical designs from Europe as we had done with previous designs and as before, images were transformed to fit with American lifestyles and their new sense of individuality. Classicism reflected American ideas so well that it was taken up more enthusiastically and quickly then earlier forms. Often, as we saw earlier with the Tobias Lear stone, (Plate 17) the image was used before the ideology behind it was completely understood. But, as the threat of war grew closer, images were soon reformed to truly fit the new outlook towards a new republic.

A.

B.

Plate 20. Above: Detail of Joseph Tapping stone compared to image from Hieroglyphiques of Man.
Below: Detail of Isaac Watson stone compared to engraving from Horae Lyricae.

PART SEVEN: THE EXPRESSION OF CAPITALISM AND THE PORTRAIT

One reason for the downfall of Puritanism was its inability to assimilate to the international scene. Puritan portraiture, including that by the famous Freake Limner, was no match for the updated styles that began to better suit the taste of a society oriented toward riches and status. "Such simple likenesses, or even the enchanting anachronisms of the Freake Limner, could not monopolize the art market in the bustling waterside metropolis (Boston) linked by a flying shuttle of ships to the Old World. Trade made men rich and gave them knowledge of transatlantic elegance."[15] In such an environment the more unpolished folk arts would not be accepted.

Neoclassicism was an expression of bourgeois thought first brought to the New World from Rome by the American painter Benjamin West. According to Flexner in volume two of his series History of American Painting, West brought the neoclassical vernacular to America with his painting Agrippina Landing at Brindisium with the Ashes of Germanicus. (Plate 21) This image , presenting the nobility from Agrippina's time, began the acceptance of a contemporary portrayal of the ideals of honor, bravery and ethics which appealed to the defenders of American democracy. American painters seeking to make money in their homeland had always found the art of creating likenesses

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[15]James T. Flexner, History of American Painting- First Flowers of Our Wilderness. (Volume 1 of three) New York: Dover Pub. Inc., 1954. p. 17.

beneficial to their careers. It was found that the neoclassical style could be used to display virtue in American portraits. With the death of Puritanism a new emphasis on individual achievement developed. Portraiture reached new heights with growth in emphasis on popularity, riches and fame among the rising middle class. Capitalism was overcoming religion. People wanted to be remembered on earth for posterity and their was no better way for one's existence to be preserved than through a portrait. Portraiture had been a symbol of prestige and a way to identify with the mother country. Now a rising sense of individuality required a new definition of the portrait and a heightened expression of particular traits and personalities.

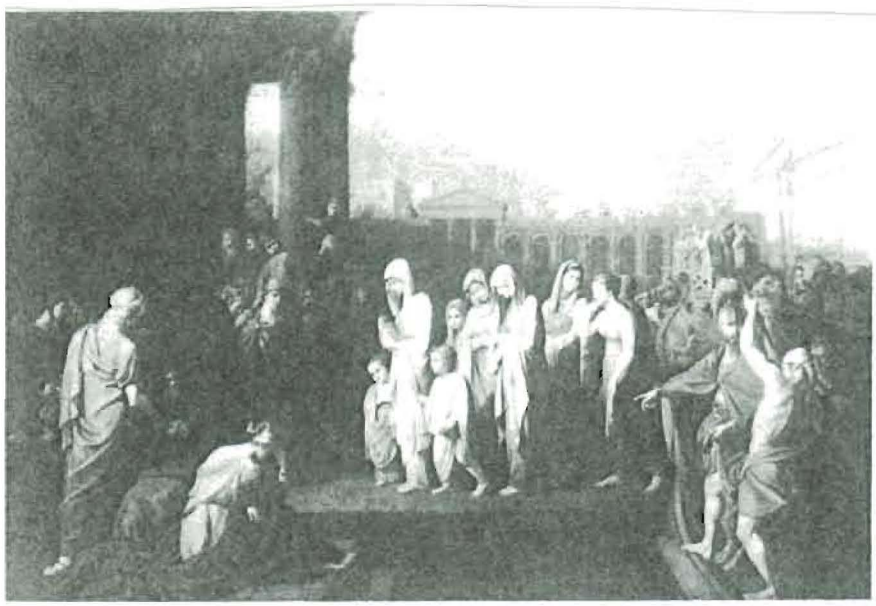

Plate 21. Benjamin West, Agrippina Landing at Brindisium with the Ashes of Germanicus

America had been attempting to copy the "high art" styles of Europe up until the end of the eighteenth century. However, "Contact with the Western world had always been at third or

fourth hand."[16] New England artists copied imported works from England that remained inferior to the ones that Englishmen kept home. As the Revolution approached Americans began disconnecting themselves with the monarchy and with what they regarded as the evil institutions that corrupted humanity and therefore they sought a style more suitable to native tastes. Through painting American artists began depicting the greatness of the common man rather than just relying on the commissions of the aristocracy.

There was much money to be made in the field of portraiture as the working man began choosing painters who would record their likeness with exactitude, recording one's personality and vision as well as his achievement. Painters like Gilbert Stuart were commissioned by the upper class who could afford the luxury of the most meticulous painted image. Men chose to be portrayed with their possessions, gained during a lifetime of great achievement and hard work. Painters like John Singleton Copley used a linear style with crisp, clear line to focus on the "thingness" of America and to show man in his every day work clothes. This style was criticized by Europeans who regarded this setup as undignified and primitive. But Americans desired to be remembered for their gains. Each man was to be given the opportunity to achieve and could do so with dedication, persistence and virtue. Although achieving a high status was desirable, portraying yourself in a greater light was not.

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[16]Flexner, vol. 1 p.144.

Plate 22. John Singleton Copley, painting of Mrs. John Amory, showing the American linear style

Plate 23. Mrs. Anna Burrill, Salem, 1702
Keen likeness of a Republican woman carved in stone

If the common man were to commission but one work of art in his lifetime it would be his gravestone. The desire for one's image to be carved in stone fit in with the discoveries in Italy where the images of Roman citizens had been carved in stone and thus preserved for centuries. The rebirth of classicism in the eighteenth century was ushered strongly into American society after the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The ideology of a past culture, proud and honorable, suited Americans' desires. Ideas of Republican virtue would be transferred from Roman art to American via contemporary European society. Americans were to transform the classical image to fit the lifestyle of a culture

separated from its motherland by three thousand miles. The high esteem held by a prospering people fit the ancient ideal which had advocated restraint and balance to keep the society flourishing. Thus, New Hampshire could most eagerly accept Roman forms to procure the newly established stability in their colony.

Plate 24. Capt. Ephraim Jones, Concord, 1756
Effigy created in style typical of Lamson

The first move toward portrait carving was made by Joseph Lamson, the first of the famous carvers in the Lamson family in the late seventeenth century. Lamson broke away from an art style that relied heavily on symbolism and revealed a stronger

sense of real life form. As early American folk painters had shown "us not people, but symbols representing people... a conception more abstract and naive,"[17] so too did the American gravestone carver. Joseph Lamson was the first carver to use his own ingenuity when he broke away from the practice of copying symbolic engravings brought over from Europe. Lamson's contribution to American gravestone art was immeasurable as he is established as the creator of the soul effigy. This image transformed that of the Puritan death's head into a gentler more promising image of a winged cherub. Lamson toyed with modelled forms and opened the passage toward the acceptance of the pure portrait in American burial art.

Plate 25. Sign in Portsmouth, N.H. showing Lamson influence in that northern colony

[17]Flexner, vol. 1 p. 7

Plate 26. Rev. Shear Jashub Bourne, Roxbury, 1768

"The rise of the portrait stone is an indication of the slow movement away from religious themes and it is ironic to note that the ministers as a class led the way."[18] As during the Renaissance, eighteenth century man suppressed the graphics of death, creating an optimistic image showing the affirmation of a kindly God in death. The Reverend Shear Jashub Bourne stone of 1768 in Roxbury Massachusetts was among those that followed the lead of the Lamson stones began in the 1750s. (Plate 26) If Puritans had carved such images they would have been considered idol-like. Religious men now found such images to be favorable to freedom and the growing patriotic spirit that was to lead to the break out of war in 1775. The Reverend Samuel Drown of the Independent Congregational Society led his parish in actively promoting the cause of freedom. Others chose to display their image in everyday patriotic attire to stand as symbols of a movement toward capitalism and democracy. Stones such as that of

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[18]Ludwig, p. 316.

Plate 27. Concord, Portrait with Contemporary costume, skull

Plate 28. Colonel John Buttrick Concord, 1775, effigy, swords

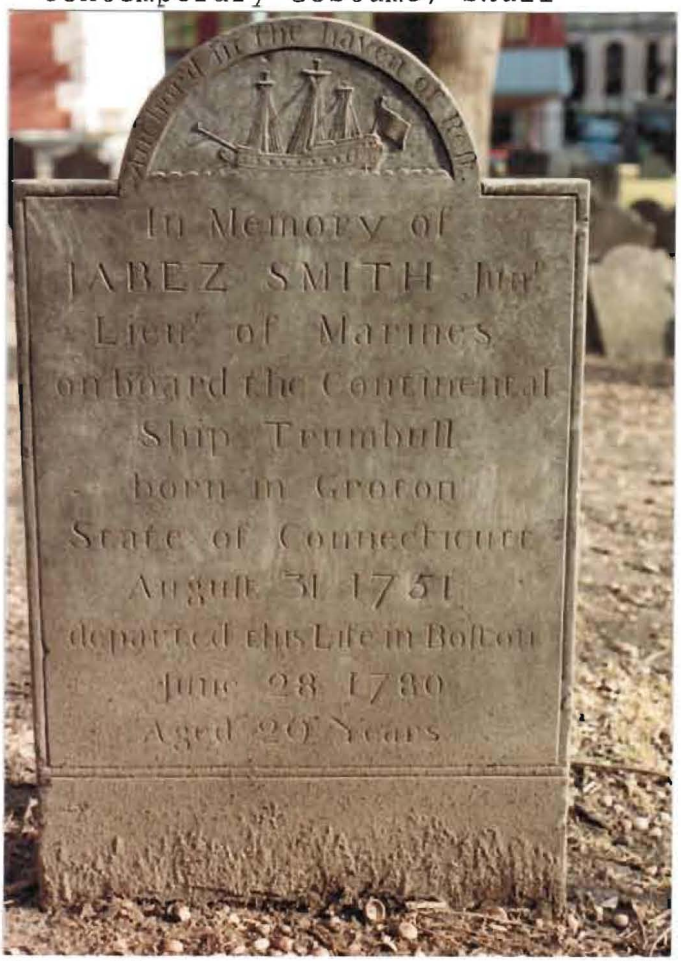

Plate 29. Jabez Smith, Granary, 1780

Plate 30.Family crest, Granary

A.

Plate 31. Elizabeth Morton, Plymouth, 1790 and Mary Brown, 1782

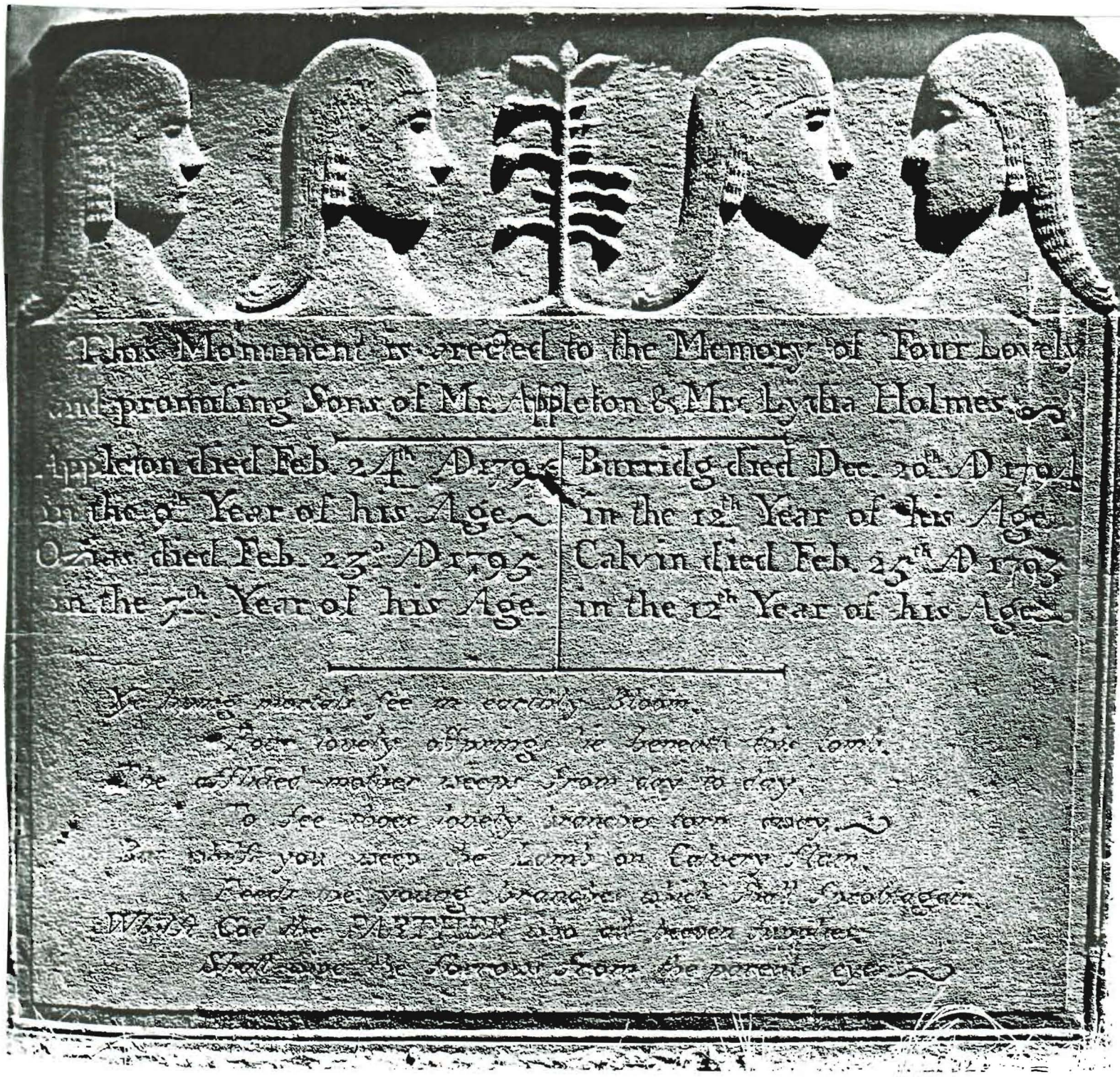

Plate 32. The Holmes children, East Glastonbury, 1795

PART EIGHT: THE CLASSICAL MOTIF, THE WILLOW AND THE URN

The Nathaniel Waldron stone of Newport, Rhode Island (Plate 33) is a prime example of America's conversion to the classical setting. "Europe did not sink under the ocean; Europe sent successive waves of influence to the new world."[19] Nowhere is the impact of European discoveries more clearly seen than in this stone with "stola-clad female figures on the border panels of the Captain Nathaniel Waldron stone, 1769. Such classicizing motifs could not have been invented. Indeed the stone is the earliest in New England to bear the neoclassical style."[20] According to Ludwig, such an easy acceptance of this fresh style was the mark of "culturally provincial people... (who) become the slaves of one imported fashion after another. "[21] Instead, the ability of America to transform this new trendy image into something more suitable to its own culture should be regarded as the genius and flexibility of a civilization coming to grips with its own individuality.

New artistic styles were being swept across America before its citizens realized the significance behind the images. Death's head had been replaced by Lamson's effigy as the result of the American eagerness to absorb new ideas. When the

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[19]Flexner, vol. 1 p. 145.

[20]Ludwig, p. 326.

[21]Ludwig, p. 337.

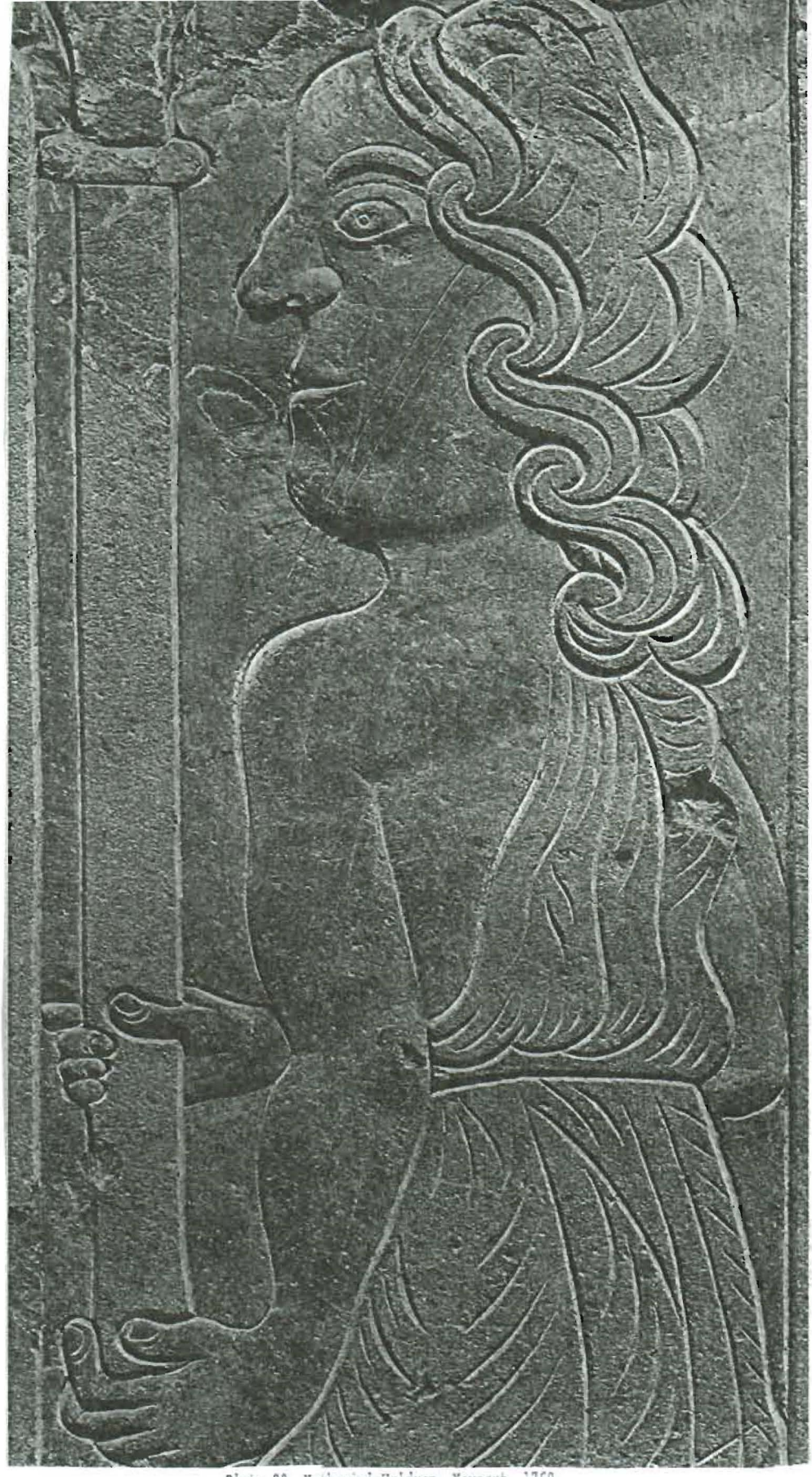

Plate 33. Nathaniel Waldron, Newport, 1769

ramifications behind the image of mortal man depicted in an immortal type of way was understood, it became clear to the American that this form icon fit the new ideology of a society moving away from its religious restraints. The portrait image and then the profile could be regarded as a mutation of the effigy, allowing the nation to further separate itself from its rigid past.

Plate 34. Phipps Cemetery detail showing overlapping of effigy and willow and urn styles

If a style could not fit into the new lifestyle of the society it would most assuredly be rejected as a useless art form. Man would not assimilate into his culture a form that had little significance to his value system. Images transported from Europe were rarely brand new styles that could not be related to a style that came before it. As society changes it needs to change its art to better represent it. However, it is doubtful

that any society can totally reject its past to bring in a brand new system of thinking that has no relation to what man knows and with what he is comfortable. Indeed, it is not only portrait carvings that related back to Puritan values, but it is all new "republican" images that became part of the art of gravestone carving in the eighteenth century. Mixing the idea of democracy and death on gravestone images helped people carry the fight for independence with them to the afterlife. The reality of independence was to become imbued with meaning through the monumental neoclassical art style.

Plate 35. Capt. Timothy Wheeler, Concord, 1795

Mrs. Lucy Barrett, Concord, 1798,
Stones represent the introduction of classical architecture to American gravestone art

One element of the style is that of classical architecture, which served to frame the stones. Architecture had been a very important element to house the dead all through history. The Puritans used it as an indication of heavens doorway when they shaped their stones. The use of a rectangular stone with a semicircle placed atop as a doorway arch was begun in the seventeenth century and persisted into the eighteenth. Within the decade of the American Revolution, classical architecture began to be carved into the stone in addition to shaping the stones in the way the Puritans had done. Columns and curtains abounded as carvers created what they perceived to be the forms of ancient Rome and Greece. Such forms would still represent their dead as housed in God's land. The moral implications of Puritanism and the stone shaped as the gates of heaven could soon be totally abandoned with the onslaught of the next century's focus on industrialism and capitalist interests. (Plates 35 and 36)

One of the biggest shifts in imagery was the depiction of the willow and the urn. America seemed to be totally abandoning the ways of the past, preferring a more international flavor to their outdated continental icons. However, People were just looking to update the style, not to abandon it all together. With the introduction of the romantic era and shifts in the painting world to the historical mode of John Trumbull and the fanciful painting of Washington Allston, gravestone carving

sought a more emotional image. The archaic mythological images and religious symbols were soon to be replaced by forms having a simpler yet more meaningful purpose to the mortal human spirit.

Religion was not dead in America, yet its place in society was changed to better fit the life of a commercial people. It was a religion that Portsmouth residents had been seeking a century before. The portrayal of dagon with urn climbing to heaven, such as we see on the Mary Holyoke stone at the Granary in Boston, (Plate 37) was an image reflecting a society more focused on heavenly beings. The myth of the mermaids who carry the dead to heaven was not fitting to a society that was more in tune with philosophy of the earthly world. Carvers did not totally choose to abandon the idea of mans soul contained in a pitcher to be ushered to heaven. Instead, artists were able to adopt the European urn as an image to be presented on their headstones. (see Plate_38) Though the idea of burning the dead and placing the ashes in an urn was foreign to America, the idea of containing the soul in such an object was not.

The initiation of the willow into American society has a similar story to that of the urn. The willow is not a tree indigenous to the American continent. Instead, its history is purely European and therefore was foreign to most Americans who were generations out of touch with the banks of the motherland. However, the depictions of the beautiful weeping tree, found in mourning pictures brought over from Europe, were reminiscent of the tree ideology found in religious texts and previously used as gravestone iconography. A Christian dictionary defines trees as,

Plate 37. Mrs. Mary Holyoke, Granary, 1655

Plate 38. The Gormans, Granary, 1791,1793

"Every person, man or woman, good or bad," according to Ludwig. But in Revolutionary America the tree represented not people, but the emotion within the people who mourned the deaths of their loved ones. "The tree of life has had symbolic significance since at least Sumerian times and has been steadily used by a number of cultures to symbolize spiritual values to the present day. The New Englander borrowed the symbol from European sources and created a great many tree variants throughout the eighteenth century."[22] The willow so greatly contained the romantic overtones that abounded the popular American art of the era, that it quickly overtook portrait carving as the most prominent icon on American gravestones. The willow stands as the most updated representation of man's attitude toward death, showing the preserved memory of the deceased as well as the emotional outpouring of the survivors.

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[22]Ludwig, p. 109.

PART NINE: THE CREATIVE MIND AND ITS DEVELOPMENT OF THE WILLOW

With the coming of the Revolution, Americans sought to refocus their nationalism toward their native land rather than England. People were seeking independence in the social forum as well as in the political. Men sought lifestyles true to their own needs and sought an art true to their lifestyles. Art was to no longer mimic that of their European cousins. Art took off in its own direction, following the talents and whims of the native creators who disregarded the European masters to find their own artistic personalities.

Many question the authenticity of a true American art style. American art tended to not be structured or learned. Art was done individually and was formed by individuals who followed their hearts with their art rather than adhering to the teachings of great painters. America did not have the influence of an academy or the luxury of extensive patronage of anything other than portraits. Soon Americans were to learn that these differences between them and Europe had a great impact on the art between the two continents. The English courtly style demonstrating realism, modified by the pomp splendor and grace of Flemish Baroque art, was never fully accepted by a culture that elementarily valued the simplicity that they found in their prevalent woodcut engravings. We are to see the disjunct styles of Europe's Baroque and America's linear come together to form a soft yet stolid American icon; the gravestone willow.

The American artist could never fully move away from linearity

of style. In the 1760s as artists began going abroad in hopes to update their artistic creations, men like John Singleton Copley found it difficult to abandon a style with which they had lived all their lives. Though Europeans criticized the Americans for their inability to depict a more real image that focused less on emphasis of forms and flesh, the linear tradition should not be seen as a failed art that could not reach European expectations. Instead, the linearity found in American art is a reflection of the creative innovation in the mind of the native artist. Americans were doing more than copying what they saw. Artists were interpreting what they saw and emphasizing what they considered important. Indeed, Copley played up the flesh tones of his subjects and emphasized their material wealth with line and solid form instead of sticking more true to life colors and soft lines that would allow the subject to blend in with his surroundings rather than stand out.

The pulsating American society and the minds that kept thoughts of revolution vibrating required the quick impatient art of artists such as Gilbert Stuart. The massive and weighty European baroque style was out of touch with American appreciation.

The willow came to America via the Baroque style as seen on the famous John Hurd stone made in 1784 located in the Granary in Boston. (Plate 39) However, due to the nature of stone carving it is easy to see how the stonecarver could easily adopt a more linear style to his work. Following the grain of the rock a drooping willow would be easier to depict in a linear fashion than in a fleshy way. Carving was to come to grips with an individual American style before painting which did not follow a specific

grain. In addition, though many Americans considered painting a craft rather than "art," even more regarded gravestone creation as such a trade. Therefore, while painters tried to copy European styles, gravestone makers had no such ambition and created what they wanted, not what the art community would find acceptable.

Plate 39. John Hurd, Granary, 1784

The John Hurd stone was one of the first in New England to use neoclassical devices. It, therefore, demonstrates a style that is more closely European than American, considering that it was erected before the carving community had a chance to adapt the willow and urn form to fit the American vision. The Hurd stone is unbalanced with an enlarged urn, not allowing this image to be

accepted as totally classical. John Hurd is honored on his stone as a good friend and son, showing the values of the American society at the time. The simple ideal of man's virtue was soon to become more prominent in the icon of the willow and urn itself, rather than just showing its importance in a man's epitaph.

Plate 40. Mrs. Polly Loring, King's Chapel, 1792

Stones located in the port cities of Massachusetts struggled with the transformation of the baroque style well into the 1790s. The Polly Loring stone located at King's Chapel, like that of John Hurd, uses the Baroque style. (Plate 40) However, it is evident here that the artist is struggling with a more simplistic rendition of the urn than the carver of the Hurd stone. The urn here is large and a bit out of place under the tiny sloping willow. This urn, unlike the one seen previously, has little decoration and little attempt at three dimensional presentation. The Hurd stone with its downward sloping cover and rounded body is most clearly

attempting to show the urn's projection in space, whereas the Loring stone presents itself like a cookie cutout mounted aboard the flat backdrop of the stone. The willow has changed little from that seen earlier. Perhaps the depiction of this tree in this way was so popular because of its resemblance to the tree of life used by the Puritans.

Plate 41. Detail of tree of life which bears striking similarity to the classical willow image

New Hampshire more quickly took on the classical Willow and urn motif than Boston. Though the style seems to have come to Portsmouth later than it did to Boston, when it did come it seemed to transform itself into a more strictly classical vocabulary than in Massachusetts. Presumably, the reason for this is that the style was transported from Boston after it had shed its Baroque connotation. Another reason could be that New Hampshire skipped the stage that Massachusetts went through when the willow could have been related to the tree of life. Due to New Hampshire's early shedding of Puritan views it was not necessary to relate the image back to something with a religious connotation.

Plate 42. Mrs. Elizabeth Blunt, point of Graves, 1802

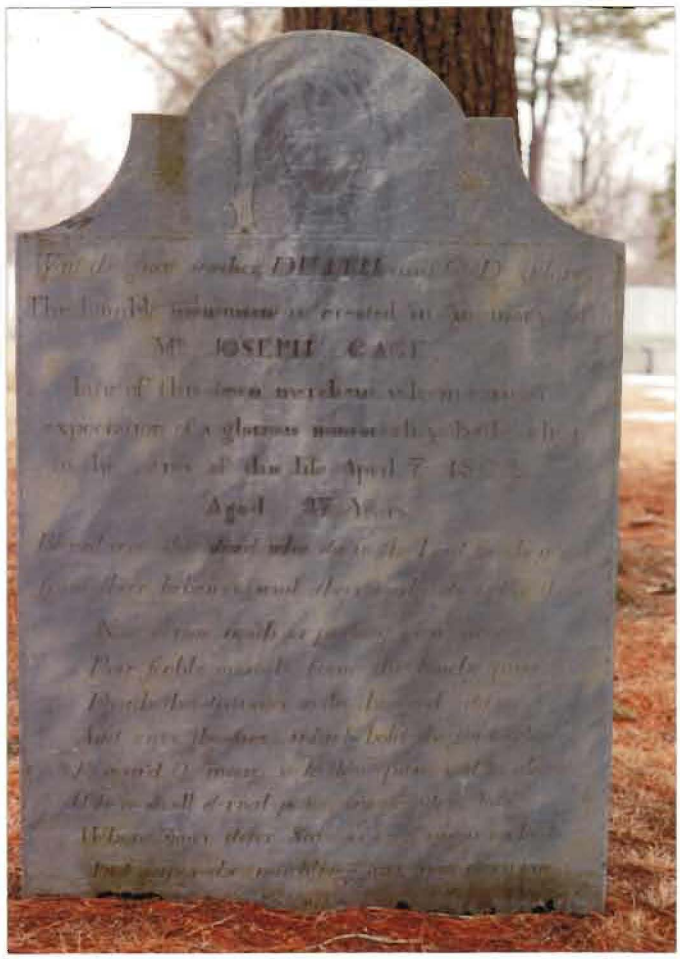

Plate 43. Mr. Joseph Gage, Dover, 1802

The earliest New Hampshire willow and urn depictions occurred at about the turn of the century. the depictions are quite decorative and aesthetically pleasing. It is evident that the New Hampshire artist sought to incorporate the willow and urn with a standard decorative motif, using flowers and vegetation that were well liked and accepted by the New Hampshire society. The Elizabeth Blunt stone made in 1802, located at the Point of Graves in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, shows classical balance with the urn centralized uptop and a drapery arched above. (Plate 42) The addition of the pecked marks that were used as a decorative element as far back as the medieval period in Europe shows the importance of conservative artistry to the society. The omission of the willow could be a result of its inability to support the balance required by the artist. However, the Joseph Gage stone of Dover , New Hampshire includes the willow and manages to retain the same balance and symmetry. (Plate 43)

The most unusual depictions of willow and urn also occur in New Hampshire, but these images clearly show America's transition to a linear utilization of this form. Stones in Portsmouth and Dover show an overemphasized linearity as the artists adjusted their depictions. In the Rebecca Gage stone from Dover the tree trunk looks like a single branch and the branches sprout off of it like new shoots from a dormant tree. Perhaps this resemblance is significant, showing a new life in heaven taking off from the old. The achievement of linearity and simplicity in form alone is a statement of American individuality. Another example of this simplistic focus is seen on the Elizabeth Salter stone located at

the Old North Burial Ground in Portsmouth. The tree trunk is very stylized and decorative, yet its function as a base for the trees linear shoots keeps the image quite innocent and quite un-baroque.

The final phase of willow and urn adaptation occurred around 1820 when the forms were fit into a purely classical consciousness. The willow as a weeping, romantic icon with the symbolic urn at its foot, standing atop the etching of columns and capitals was an image that was to last up until the civil war. The image was found all over the northeastern coast showing the meshing of cultures that were once so foreign, united in a cause for independence and virtue. Religion pitted against religion became virtually insignificant in art if not totally in society. New Hampshire and Massachusetts had never been more closely tied in ideology and focus.

America was well established as an independent nation and everyone could recognize the significance of classical icons to its existence as a successful nation apart from England. Artists had experimented with classical renditions that were unpopular to the nation, such as Horatio Greenough's statue of George Washington seated in a toga from 1835. And the Federalist period brought new buildings built like classical temples. Painters experimented with the illustration of classical stories, such as Benjamin West's "Ashes of Germanicus." But it was the depiction of the classical image on the gravestone that became classicism's most popular usage. The idea of one taking the cause of patriotism with him to his death bed had totally replaced the image of man praising death with his last gasp.

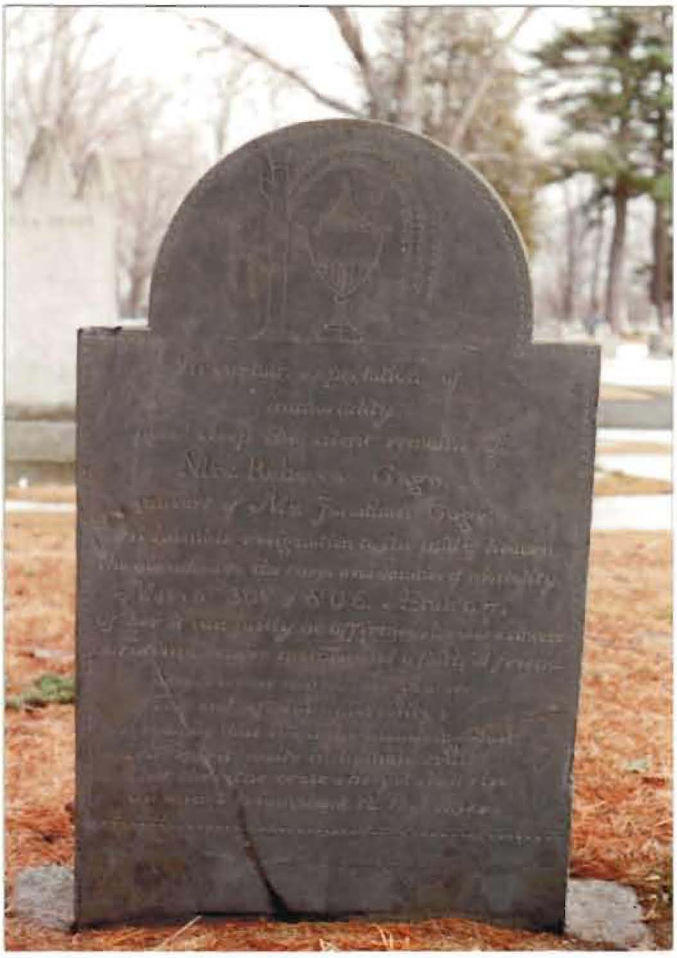

Plate 44. Mrs. Rebecca Gage
Dover, 1806

Plate 45. Mrs. Elizabeth Salter
Portsmouth North, 1805

Plate 46. Betsey Woodman
durham, 18??

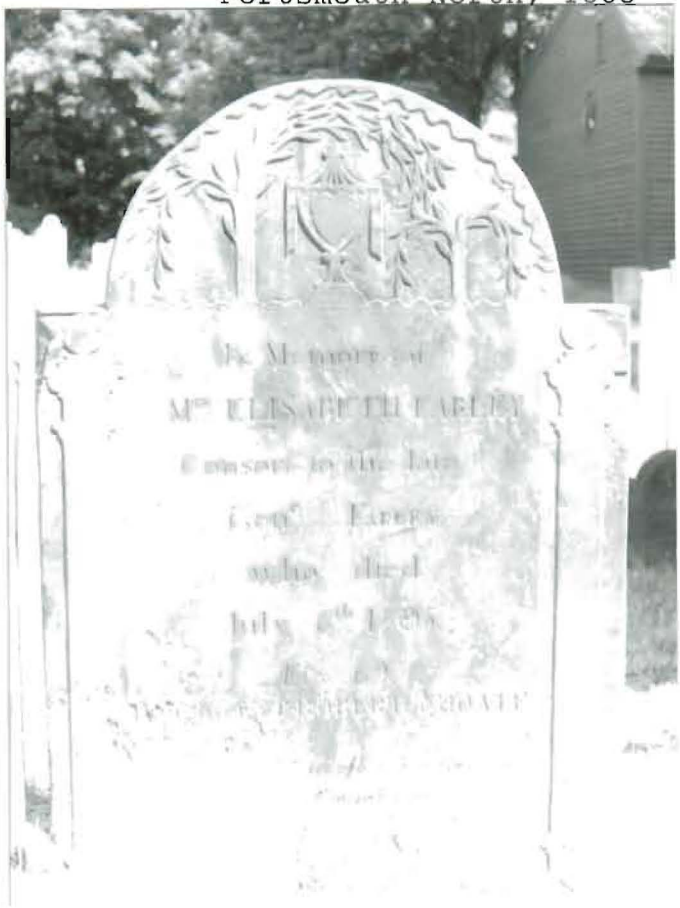

Plate 47. Mrs. Elizabeth Farley
Ipswich 1795

(Plate 48) and the Lakemans (Plate 49), both from Ipswich, Massachusetts, we see the tree once again used with a religious connotation. Smith's epitaph states,

> Thou hast given him
> his heart's desire
> On either side of the river
> was there the tree of life.

Plate 48. William Otis Smith, 1908, Ipswich

Plate 49. The Lakemans, 1900, 1922, Ipswich

The tree of life stands as a symbol of fortitude and freedom. To William Smith it was a sign of the good life. To Mr. and Mrs.

CONCLUSION

Classical images overcame Puritan iconography due to the shifting ideology of the American people from a focus on religion to a greater focus on commercialism and democracy. The shift occurred as a result of a rising discontent among the common man to his station in life. As a result of events in Europe, including new discoveries of the scientific age and the excavations in Italy, the American people were becoming acquainted with a way of life that they believed would better suit their desires than their lives that had previously been controlled by an autocrat. Classical images, a result of archaeological findings, were sent across the Atlantic by England and were copied by the Americans in paintings, sculpture, drawings and gravestone carving. These images were a prime force in molding the outlook of a people who soon fought for the freedoms that once were the pride of ancient Rome.

As iconography changed so did society. One will cite major historical events that altered history during the periods when drastic iconographic change occurred on gravestones. Gravestone iconography, as well as the often more appreciated art that we may find in museums (such as painting and sculpture) are expressions of a people. Art can not be studied independently of its creator, nor should the creator be studied without the inclusion of his art. Art history and history must be studied concurrently and the study of man through both these fields must be regarded a logical way to achieve true understanding of ourselves and our past.

The image of the tree is an image that still holds significance today. As we see on the stones of William Otis Smith

Lakeman the tree stands as a symbol of Christ. It is acknowledged as something holy and beyond the work of mere mortals. The tree will always be a symbol of grace, splendor, goodness, triumph, immortality and holiness. A tree can be used in connection to death because of its natural wonder that is beyond man's handiwork. A tree remains a mysterious creation under the hands of God, just as death is a mysterious strike by that same hand. The seeds of a tree bring new life, just as man hopes that with death there will be a new beginning in God's heavenly kingdom.

While doing my research it was quite disheartening to find some of New England's historical graveyards in horrendous condition. Broken and weathered images leave many stones as unrecognizable traces of ancestry and American history. Some of these graveyards can not be helped, but there are others that are slowly being lost due to neglect and if something is not done they too will soon become lost pieces of valuable information. My greatest agitation came upon my visit to Gloucester, Massachusetts where I expected to find some spectacular stones in a city that obviously values its seaport history. However, one of the main graveyards was so overgrown and obviously abandoned that its significance in our country's history seemed to have been forgotten. It is my hope that through further gravestone studies, people will become more aware of the importance of these markers to those that made them and the importance they still carry for us today to remember our ancestors. If these stones are valued as pieces of history as is the sailor monument at the shore in Gloucester, boasting that the town historical society wishes to

preserve the sailors' memories, perhaps people will find the means to preserve gravestones that serve as a key to history given to us directly by those who lived it.

Plate 48. Damage at Gloucester Burial Ground

Plate 49. Damge at Gloucester Burial Ground

Plate 50. Damage at Phipps Cemetery

Plate 51. Damage at Phipps Cemetery

Plate 52. Lichen Damage at Granary Burial Ground

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Plate 53. Point of Graves

Plate 54. Durham Burial Plots

Plate 55. Phipps Cemetery

Plate 56. Ipswich Burial Ground

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PLATES

Frontispiece: Old North Burial ground, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Plate

1. Stone of Mrs. Elizabeth Martin, d.?, Phipps Burial Ground, Charlestown, Mass.
2. Stone of Mrs. Hannah Gookin, 1702, Harvard Burial Ground, Cambridge, Mass.
3. Stone of Mrs. Ann Kilcup, 1694, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.
4. Stone of the Gill Family, 1665, 1666, 1671, Copp's Hill Burial Ground, North Boston, Mass.
5. Sixteenth century tomb of Rene of Chalons, from David E. Stannard, The Puritan Way of Death, p. 24.
6. Stone of Elias Row, 1686, Phipps Burial Ground, Charlestown, Mass.
7. Stone of Sargent Richard Kettle?? d.?, Phipps Burial Ground, Charlestown, Mass.
8. Stone of Mrs. Ruth Carter, 1697/98, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.
9. Stone of Thaddeus Maccarty, 1705, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.
10. Stone of Mrs. Persis Jenkins, 1777, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.
11. Stone of Mr. Joseph Taylor, 1775, Harvard Burial Ground, Cambridge, Mass.
12. Stone of Deacon John Eliot, 1771, and Mrs. Sarah Eliot, 1755, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.
13. Stone of Mr. William Evans, 1775,and Mrs. Mary Savage, 1775, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.
14. Stone of Mr. John Brooks, 1812, Old Hill Burying Ground, Concord, Mass.
15. Stone representing virtuous woman, 1798, Old Hill Burying ground, Concord, Mass.

Plate

16. Stone of Mrs. Sarah Sargent, 1771, Point of Graves Burial Ground, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

17. Stone of Cap. Tobias Lear, 1781, Point of Graves Burial Ground, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

18. Stone of Mr. Gershom Flagg, 1771, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.

19. Stone of Mr. Jonathan Whitney, 1735, South Burial Place, Concord, Mass.

20. Detail from Joseph Tapping stone, Granary, Engraving from Francis Quarles' Hieroglyphiques of the Life of Man, 1638, Detail of John Watson stone, 1753, Plymouth, Mass.
Detail from Isaac Watts' Horae Lyricae, 1727, taken from Allan I. Ludwig, Graven Images, p. 276.

21. Benjamin West, Agrippina Landing at Brindisium with the Ashes of Germanicus, 1768, taken from Barbara Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century, p. 39.

22. John Singleton Copley, Mrs. John Amory, 1763, taken from James T. Flexner, History of American Painting vol. 1, p. 215.

23. Stone of Mrs. Anna Burrill, 1702, Salem, Mass.

24. Stone of Ephraim Jones, 1756, Concord, Mass.

25. Sign from Point of Graves Burial Ground, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

26. Stone of the Reverend Shear Jashub Bourne, 1768, Roxbury, Mass., taken from Allan I. Ludwig, p. 313.

27. Stone of colonial in contemporary dress. Old Burying Ground, Concord, Mass.

28. Stone of John Buttrick, 1775, Old Burying Ground, Concord, Mass.

29. Stone of Jabez Smith, 1780, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.

30. Family crest stone from the Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.

31. Detail of Elizabeth Morton stone, 1790, Plymouth, Mass., and Mary Brown stone, 1782, Plymouth, Mass. Taken from Allan I. Ludwig, p. 172.

32. The Holmes children stone, 1795 , East Glastonbury, Conn. taken from Allan I. Ludwig, p. 343.

33. Detail of Nathaniel Waldron stone, 1769, Newport, Rhode Island, taken from Allan I. Ludwig, p. 329.

34. Detail of stone showing overlap of effigy and willow and urn, Phipps Burial Ground, Charlestown, Mass.

35. Stone of Cap. Timothy Wheeler, 1795, Concord, Mass.

36. Stone of Mrs. Lucy Barrett, 1798, Concord, Mass.

37. Stone of Mrs. Mary Holyoke, 172? (below ground level) Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.

38. Stone of Amelia Gorham, 1790, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.

39. Stone of John Hurd, 1784, Granary Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.

40. Stone of Polly Loring, 1792, King's Chapel Burial Ground, Boston, Mass.

41. Detail of the Muzzy stone, 1764, Lexington, Mass., taken from Allan I. Ludwig, p. 120.

42. Stone of Mrs. Elizabeth Blunt, 1802, Point of Graves Burial Ground, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

43. Stone of Mr. Joseph Gage, 1802, Dover, New Hampshire.

44. Stone of Mrs. Rebecca Gage, 1806, Dover, New Hampshire.

45. Stone of Mrs. Elizabeth Salter, 1805, Old North Burial Ground, Portsmouth, New Hamphire.

46. Stone of Betsey Woodman, 18??, Durham, New Hampshire, family Burial plot on the grounds of the University of New Hampshire.

47. Stone of Mrs. Elisabeth Farley, 1795, Ipswich. Mass.

48. Damage at Gloucester Burial Ground

49. Damage at Gloucester Burial Ground

50. Damage at Phipps Cemetery

51. Damage at Phipps Cemetery

52. Damage at Granary Burial Ground

53. Point of Graves

54. Durham Burial Plots

55. Phipps Cemetery

56. Ipswich Burial Ground

CEMETERIES VISITED

Durham Burial Plots

Portsmouth- North Burial Ground

Portsmouth- Point of Graves

Dover

Boston- Granary

Boston- King's Chapel, The Burying Place

Boston- Copp's Hill

Charlestown- Phipps

Cambridge- Harvard

Salem

Gloucester- Centennial Street

Ipswich (2 cemeteries)

Concord- South Burial Place

Concord- Old Hill Burying Ground