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A REFLECTION OF LIFE: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY OF CEDAR
GROVE CEMETERY, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Masters of Arts

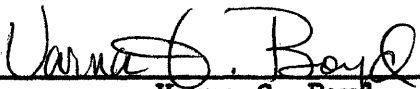
by
Varna G. Boyd

1988

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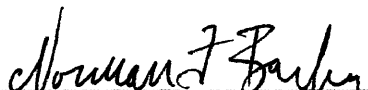
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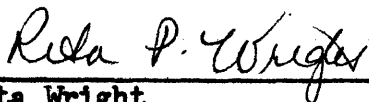
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Rita Wright

To my parents, Harold B. and Margaret M. Boyd for their constant understanding, support, and love.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis demonstrates how social and economic aspects of life are reflected in the cemetery. Cedar Grove, a 19th - 20th century cemetery located in Williamsburg, Virginia was chosen as the data base for this study. In Chapter I previous books, papers, and articles dealing with cemeteries, or related topics, demonstrate the usefulness of cemetery studies in anthropological research. In the following chapters the data for this thesis is presented.

Chapter II examines Cedar Grove as the archaeological site, including a description of the layout of the cemetery.

Analysis of gravestones and plots is the concentration of Chapter III. Examination of these two aspects found in the cemetery give many important clues to past lifeways. They detail not only individual lives but trends in the community as well. Information available on gravestones, as well as plot size and distribution, are noted to be important indicators of kinship, as well as social and economic status.

Chapter IV deals with the documentary evidence, from the sample years of 1880 to 1940, that support contentions made in previous chapters and answer many questions about how and why certain changes occur. A brief history of Williamsburg indicates possible answers to questions posed in the previous chapters. The documents used in this chapter are mainly wills and obituaries. Wills are used as economic indicators, and include inventories of property and possessions, thus giving a good clue to economic status within the community. Obituaries are used as indicators of social status, and demonstrate that the vast majority of people buried in Cedar Grove between the years of 1880 and 1940 were on the upper end of the social scale. They also demonstrate that people inter-related in life are usually inter-related in death. The results of this study suggest that cemeteries can be, and are, important resources in anthropological research.

A REFLECTION OF LIFE: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY OF CEDAR
GROVE CEMETERY, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

INTRODUCTION

It has long since been accepted by prehistorians that mortuary behavior is worthy of close examination. However, few historical archaeologists have dealt with mortuary practices, and those that have, have dealt almost exclusively with Colonial gravestones. It is the contention here that later, 19th to 20th century, cemeteries are also worthy of close examination. Understanding past lifeways and cultural processes are two of the main goals of archaeology and this should not be limited to societies or cultures in the distant past. After all, this is the premise for historical archaeology, but too often it is cut off at, or before the Civil War. Cemetery studies in the later historical periods can aid the anthropologist as much as prehistoric or Colonial cemetery studies have, and as such should be considered more often and more thoroughly. Historical archaeologists can contribute greatly to understanding the more recent past that is too often assumed to be understood; and as will be demonstrated, cemeteries are one way of gaining information that may lead to insight in regard to past lifeways and cultural processes.

Why study cemeteries? What can a cemetery tell us about the culture from which it was created. These are two important questions addressed in this thesis. To accomplish this a community

cemetery is examined to determine if the living community is reflected in the cemetery.

The study area for the thesis is Cedar Grove Cemetery in Williamsburg, Virginia, which dates from approximately 1860 to the present. Through examination of the cemetery, as well as documentary evidence, it will be demonstrated that the community cemetery reflects the social organization of the community, as well as local and national historical events. The events examined in Cedar Grove Cemetery are World War I, the Depression, and the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg.

To accomplish this, gravestones as well as distributional patterns of the gravestones and plots, will be examined. Documentary evidence such as wills and obituaries are used as an aid in determining social and economic factors, and also to support contentions made from the physical data.

By walking through Cedar Grove three patterns were at once evident. First, it was noted that there were areas that were created at different times, based upon the size of plots. Some areas had large family plots, some had smaller family plots, and still others contained mostly individual burials. The primary problem was to determine how and why this change in plot size occurred and to also determine if this pattern of variability in plot size reflected the history of the community. If this pattern did reflect changes in the community it would then be necessary to understand and explain these changes and the results they had on the community.

Secondly, it was noted that certain areas had large quantities of stones while others had small quantities. This brought to mind questions regarding social and economic factors. Do racial differences account for some of this variability? Is there a distinction between sections in regard to class, for instance is one section representative of the upper class, or wealthy, and another representative of the lower class, or poor? These questions will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

Thirdly, within the vast majority of family plots the individual gravemarkers followed one style, regardless of the varying dates of death. Some questions raised by this homogeneity were: Did this reflect a close-knit kinship pattern? Why wasn't this pattern evident in all areas of the cemetery? And, what did the pattern say about the community of Williamsburg? Again, the answers to these questions will be examined in the following chapters.

Chapter I is a review of the literature that closely relates to the present study. By starting with this brief review it is hoped that the reader will understand what has been done with cemeteries, and how it has assisted anthropologists in attempting to understand different societies and cultures. These studies are also presented to support the contention that cemeteries can be indicators of many facets of culture, such as kinship, politics, social status, and religion; and as such should not be neglected.

Chapter II and III will deal with the cemetery as a whole, starting with a discussion of the changes and variations of stones

and plots in Cedar Grove. It is here that it will be demonstrated that the cemetery is a reflection of the living community. To accomplish this, style, size, and quantity and distribution of plots and stones will be examined. To create a workable unit of study a number of sampling strategies were employed and these will be examined briefly. These chapters contain the archaeological component in the study as they examine settlement patterns and material culture in the cemetery.

Chapter IV will deal with one time period, 1880 to 1940. The usefulness of documents such as wills and obituaries will be demonstrated, and it will be shown how these documents can support contentions made in previous chapters. This chapter also contains a short history of Williamsburg that explains some of the changes in Cedar Grove Cemetery. The emphasis here will be largely historical, relying on documents to support the arguments.

The overall method used in this thesis is anthropological, archaeological, and historical, and attempts to attain the best possible data base.

Finally, the conclusion will sum up the data that has been presented, resulting in a more thorough understanding of cemetery studies and the potential they have as cultural indicators. It will be shown that the cemetery is a good place to gain information about a culture or community because it is "a restricted, tangible, and controllable body of data" (Dethlefsen, 1981:138).

CHAPTER I

Literature Review

This chapter deals with the literature relevant to method and theory in cemetery studies. More specifically it deals with works relevant or influential to the study of Cedar Grove Cemetery in Williamsburg, Virginia, the subject of this thesis. It begins with a discussion of theoretical works that pertain to this topic and argues for the importance and usefulness of cemetery studies in the field of anthropology and the sub-field of archaeology. Most of these works deal with social organization, a factor of specific relevance to the present study. Following the review of the more theoretical studies, works demonstrating varying methodologies will be discussed, including the use of documents, general description of stones and cemeteries, and seriation. Many of the works discussed fall within both categories and their separation into one category or another was based on their relevance to the present study.

THEORETICAL STUDIES

The following works were selected because they specifically dealt with the question of social organization in the cemetery, an important aspect of the Cedar Grove Cemetery study, though it is by no means an exhaustive review of the literature. Rather, what these

works have in common, is the importance placed on inferring social organization from the study of cemeteries. The works to be discussed are: Chapman and Randsborg's The Archaeology of Death (1981), Stannard's introduction to Death in America (1975), and Pearson's "Mortuary practices, society and ideology: an ethnoarchaeological study" (1982).

In the introduction to The Archaeology of Death (1981) Robert Chapman and Klavs Randsborg discuss many theories related to the subject of death as it is studied from an archaeological point of view. They suggest that the study of the archaeology of death has shifted, along with the rest of archaeology, from speculative and chronological approaches to the more cultural ones. This cultural approach is associated closely with the "new archaeology" paradigm of the early 1960's. Previously it was believed by many archaeologists that the social organization of any past culture was unobtainable information. But in the early 1960's Lewis Binford (1962) contended that archaeological knowledge was not limited to technology and economics, and questions in regard to social organization should be considered. Binford's suggestion provides a major impetus to the present study, as many dimensions of culture, including social organization, can be determined from examining gravestones and cemeteries.

Chapman and Randsborg (1981:15) state that "what the archaeologist is aiming for is the definition of spatial patterns which can be interpreted as the result of conscious or unconscious

human behavior." These patterns give the archaeologist, as Binford contends, more than just information on technology and economics, it gives information that can reveal many social dimensions of a culture or community.

Taking this one step further they (1981:15) discuss social status in the cemetery, asking "what is the nature of the changing relationship between the availability of space within the cemetery and the decisions taken by the living community about the form and location of interment of different age, sex and status groups? Indeed by such decisions the community may or may not choose to reflect social affiliation or status through the spatial dimensions." As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, it is the contention here that these decisions do make clear statements about social and kin relationships.

In Death in America, David Stannard (1975:x), emphasizes the social aspect of mortuary studies. His work relies heavily on the ideas of Robert Hertz (1907), who's principal contention is that the death of an important person damages the social fabric of the community or culture (Stannard 1975:x). This is particularly relevant to the Cedar Grove study. As will be demonstrated through the use of documents, most people buried in Cedar Grove between the years of 1890 and 1930 were prominent in the community, and to a much less degree many still are.

In "Mortuary practices, society and ideology: an ethnoarchaeological study", Michael P. Pearson discusses mortuary

practices and social systems.

He states (1982:99) in his introduction that certain assumptions must be made:

Firstly, the deceased is given a set of representations of his or her various social identities or roles when alive so that their status or social position may be given material form after death, e.g. gravegoods, monuments, place of burial etc. Secondly, the material expressions of these roles may be compared between individuals. Thirdly, the resulting patterns of role differentiation may be ranked hierarchically as divisions existing within the society under study.

Pearson uses Cambridge as an example to support his thesis. From this he (1982:109) concludes a number of things; first, that gravestones commemorate the deceased and recognize them in the living world. Second, that in the 20th century social position is less overt (a finding also substantiated in Cedar Grove). Third, in the 20th century there is a marked decline in ceremony, as demonstrated by changes in clothing, rites, and simplification of monuments (also found in Cedar Grove). Pearson (1982:112) concludes by stating that the "archaeologist can investigate the social placing (or categorization) of the dead as constituted through the material evidence of the archaeological record by developing general principles which relate material culture and human society."

METHODOLOGICAL STUDIES

The following works are principally methodological, although many also contain a theoretical component. They are; Forbes' Gravestones of Early New England (1927), Ludwig's Graven Images

(1966), Deetz and Dethlefsen's "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries" (1966), Benes' The Masks of Orthodoxy (1977), Dethlefsen's "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethnographic Perspective" (1981), and Mackie's "By works of Faith made perfect: A seriation study of Cedar Grove Cemetery" (unpublished 1984). All of these works stress the importance of cemetery and, or, gravestone studies in gaining information in either the reconstruction of past lifeways and, or, cultural processes.

The first work to be discussed is Harriette Forbes' Gravestones of Early New England, first published in 1927, but later reprinted in 1967, a time when many archaeologists were giving serious thought to cemetery studies in historical periods. Forbes' study was the first of its kind and has been a footing for many, if not all, colonial gravestone studies. Some of the methods employed by Forbes have been influential in the present study, specifically the use of documents to support hypotheses. Though Forbes was not an archaeologist or anthropologist her work is a classic because she is one of the first, if not the first, to ask questions about the reflection of life in historic cemeteries. She deals with many aspects of gravestones, including material, symbolism, and individual stonecutters.

Through the use of analyses of gravestones in addition to documentary resources, Forbes (1967:5) explores questions about the production of gravestones, followed by questions relating to the

source of stone, the men who produced them and the source of inspiration for motifs and designs. She found that very few stones were imported from overseas, as was inferred from the lack of records of shipments or bills, records of orders, or inventories. In addition to this it was noted that documents were lacking that would indicate that stones were imported uncarved. With the aid of geologists she determined that all the gravestones could have been quarried locally, as slate is found in the Massachusetts bay area and "greenstone" in Boston.

Forbes turns to documents, specifically probate records, for information regarding the buying and selling of stones. Earlier records were of little or no assistance, but she found that after 1693 records show cutter fees quite often paid to a middleman, thus consequently the cutter's name was rarely mentioned.

Also through the use of documents she found that most men who made gravestones were stonecutters only as a second occupation. They held diverse primary occupations such as mason, bricklayer, slater, cordwainer, surveyor, woodcarver, farmer, deacon, captain, judge, and so forth; seemingly no limit as to who could carve stones for gravemarkers. However, it is important to note that each carver had his own style, and this style was, like ones' handwriting, unique. Even when it is obvious that a copy was being attempted there was still a difference that shined through, though often these distinctions, or trademarks, were not intentional. To make matters more difficult for researchers today, few carvers signed their work.

Perhaps the greatest contribution Forbes made was the study of the stonecutters themselves. She asked who they were, where they came from and what characterized their individual styles. The answers to these questions came from the examination of the gravestones in addition to documents. A few of her examples of stonecutters will be mentioned here to demonstrate the kind of information she was obtaining.

The first is known simply as "The stone cutter of Boston", dating to 1653. His trademark, according to Forbes, was simple, clear, crisp and beautiful rosettes, but later he added oddly shaped deathsheds with hooked eyebrows, broad jaws, lots of teeth, and wings that were well over the ears. Other symbols of death such as the hourglass, cross-bones, pickaxe, and spade were also used.

The second carver is William Mumford, who by 1681 was well known as a quality cutter, though his name does not appear in probate records until the 1693 yellow fever epidemic. His trademark was the death symbol with round eyes, calm, untroubled vision, teeth carefully cut, and two triangles, one inside the other, for the nose. In addition to this he was known for adding rosettes at the tops of the borders and using all capital letters.

The third carver, popular in the Boston area around 1700, is known only by the initials found on all his stones, JN. His trademarks include unusual lettering, crossing his E's and F's with triangles, and U's being like U's of today, not the typical V's of his period. But most of all he is known for his use of lilies and

peacocks.

Other well-known stonecutters of the 18th century were the Lamsons of Charlestown; the Fosters of Dorchester; Nathaniel Emmes, Williams Codner, Henry Christian Geyer, John Homer, and Daniel Hastings, all from the Boston area and all leaving sons to follow in their footsteps.

Forbes discussion of the symbolic meanings behind the carvings also shows the great detail in which she performed her study. The results of this aspect of her study will not be examined here since symbolism is not a focus of the present study.

Forbes realized the great amount of data that can be obtained through cemetery studies, and she also realized early on that documents can be invaluable to the researcher.

Allan Ludwig's Graven Images (1966), is another work that has been a stepping stone for many cemetery studies. As with Forbes, Ludwig's work is important because of the emphasis placed on the information, found in cemeteries, available about life. Ludwig stresses the influence of the Puritan religion on stonecutting, and on symbolism. He notes, as did Forbes, that the Puritans did not allow images in meetinghouses, so they "released" this urge on gravestones, and this imagery shows a deep strain of passion and delight in mystical symbolism. It was only in death rituals that the Puritan community, as a whole, could indulge in imagery, and thus, only in the graveyard the average Puritan found any quantity of visual art. Since the funeral was often an important community

function, great amounts of money were spent, often costing as much as a years salary. Later, laws were passed that restricted the amount spent so the poor could afford to bury their dead, though this change was not a welcomed one, as many of the Puritans desired to leave this world with fanfare and ritual, perhaps to compensate for something they had little of during their lifetime.

Ludwig goes into detailed analysis of the symbolism involved in graven images, but as before it will not be detailed here since symbolism is not a principal interest in the present study, though it should be noted for those interested in symbolism that both Forbes and Ludwig have a great deal to contribute.

The third work to be examined is James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen's (1966), "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries." In this paper Deetz and Dethlefsen emphasize that significant changes in culture can be determined by gravestones. In addition to being useful in the study of kinship, demography, stylistic changes, and religious change, they argue that gravestone studies can also be helpful in determining values and morals. As Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966:503) state:

"It can be seen that gravestones are probably unique in permitting the anthropologist to investigate inter-related changes in style, religion, population, personal and societal values, and social organization under absolute chronological control with a full historical record against which to project results for accuracy."

The methodology employed in their study involved a spatially

delineated area. In addition temporal limits were set from 1680 to the early 19th century.

Deetz and Dethlefsen note three basic designs within these spatial and temporal limits. (Although others are noted they are considered local traditions and variations of one of the original three.) The following are the three designs discussed by the two authors. First, the Death's Head, a winged skull, sometimes combined with bones, hourglasses, coffins, and palls, the more simple the design the later it would be dated. Secondly, the Cherubs, human faces with wings. As with the death's heads, the more simple the design the later the date. Thirdly, the Urn and Willow, the appearance of which signals the end of the slate-gravestone tradition in New England.

One of the methods used to document and define their study was photography. They photographed each stone and then numbered and coded each. In addition to demographic data, epitaphs were also recorded. The second important method used was seriation. The sample was quantified, broken down by decade and put into graph form, and from this emerged a battle-ship shaped curve, indicating that the seriation was successful. The death's heads preceded the cherubs, which in turn preceded the urn and willow designs. Though this pattern is constant, the times and rates at which it occurred in different geographical areas vary.

Overall the designs cluster into three periods, the first spans from 1680 to 1740, the second from 1740 to 1760, and the third,

from 1760 to 1820. The death's heads are found in the first and second periods, cherubs in the second and third periods, and the urn and willows, in the third period only; showing how one universal motif replacing another over the whole area is a function of change in religious values, combined with shifts in views regarding death (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:506).

The death's head is seen as representative of the Puritan view and symbolizes mortality, with little or no mention of the afterlife.

The epitaphs are morbid, including phrases about worms, dust, and decay. The cherubs, on the other hand, were more hopeful and the epitaphs usually lighter, and there is usually mention of God or the afterlife. The death's heads represent mortal remains whereas the cherub represents the immortal, but both are personalized representations. Later, when the urn and willow design becomes popular the memorial is depersonalized. The change from 1740 to 1760 is seen as reflective of the Great Awakening. Stress is put on the joy of the afterlife and resurrection instead of mortality and judgement. By 1760 there is an increase of Unitarianism and Methodism which reflects the shift to the urn and willow patterns, the hallmark of the later Victorian era.

As stated earlier many aspects of previous cultures can be learned from this type of study. An example Deetz and Dethlefsen use is kinship. They discovered that before 1800 stones for males bore their name only, no kin affiliation was present. But with women and children, a kin affiliation is indicated; such as wife of,

or child of. After 1800 this breaks down to Mr. and Mrs., or the name only. They note (1966:509) that "it may well be that gravestones are one of the richest sources of information regarding changes in the cognitive aspect of kin terminology through time in American Culture." This part of their paper relates to the Cedar Grove study as kin relations will be examined closely.

They finalize their paper by stating (1966:510) that "colonial gravestones provide the anthropologist with a highly complex pattern of material change, in which the dominant theme is the highly integrated nature of the various aspects of culture change."

Much of Deetz and Dethlefsen's study has been influential to the present study. In particular, many of the methods they employed such as photographic record keeping; as well as their general premise that a cemetery can reflect many aspects of culture, and in particular, social organization.

In The Masks of Orthodoxy (1977), Peter Benes discusses the relationship between stonecutters and the Puritans. As have most of the previous writers Benes states that stonecutting was usually a second job for the men. But a point he makes that many have neglected, perhaps thinking it too obvious, is that to write or carve stones, one had to be literate. This is an important aspect to consider when examining stones in light of social organization or status since it really put stonecutting into the hands of one class, the educated. This surely had a profound influence in stonemaking and makes one wonder what gravestones would have looked like if

they had been carved by the uneducated classes. This is something that is left to speculation but it would seem that perhaps many aspects of stones would be different.

Many of his views are very similar to others expressed already, with a few notable differences. His main thesis (1977:1) is that the cutters in Plymouth County were "motivated by a far greater degree of conscious intent than has been previously supposed." He follows this with three propositions (1977:1-2); first, he states that the skull images were not symbols of death but of ghosts and spirits released by death. Second, that facial caricatures were deliberate puns, the purpose being to illustrate concepts of grace, resurrection, and salvation. And third, that these caricatures are part of the Puritan folk-lore or sign language which represented religious attitudes and expectations.

What Benes wanted to do was find the names of carvers and then locate any remaining stones made by those carvers. To accomplish this he used Deetz and Dethlefsen's method to code photographs by technical, stylistic, genealogical, demographic, and designated-use criteria. He contends that by studying diffusion, through seriation, one can possibly determine the extent to which religious attitudes influenced headstone designs. He also states that conversely, one might be able to infer religious opinions where documents are lacking.

Benes believes the 1740 religious revival had a tremendous influence on the attitudes of the people, and stated that the Puritan

concept of uncertainty was vanquished, assurance could now be gained through good and hard work. Secondly, he states that whereas political sinews had been previously bound by the regions Congregational churches, these were now broken up.

As have many others, he deals with the Puritans' preoccupation with death. Death and religion are seen as mutually supportive, gravestone images reminded the Puritans that their time was short and death was inevitable, but they had hope in resurrection.

Finally he, like Forbes, lists and discusses many stonecutters. For each of these he gives a brief history and their distinctions in stonecutting. Unlike some of the earlier works Benes asks questions about social organization, not just religion.

One of the most influential archaeologist dealing with the topic of gravestones or cemeteries is Edwin Dethlefsen. In Modern Material Culture- The Archaeology of Us (1981), Dethlefsen contributes "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethnographic Perspective." In it, Dethlefsen (1981:137) argues for the value of cemetery studies and contends that the cemetery mirrors the living community, calling it "a community of the dead." This work is particularly relevant to the present work as it deals with similar temporal limits, and many of the findings are similar as well. But one difference between the two studies is that in the present study there is documentation to support the hypotheses.

Dethlefsen divides the last one hundred years into three periods

and briefly discusses the characteristics of each. The first period is defined as an "Industrial Period" and is found in cemeteries beginning in the 1890's. During this period family plots become most popular, often having iron or stone borders around them. This phenomena will be noted in the present study. In addition, obelisks become more popular as well as "pulpits", what will be referred to in proceeding chapters as slant markers. Another switch during this period is from the paternalistic terminology, i.e. wife of, to references to father, husband, friend, suggesting a time of greater equality. The period is characterized mostly by strong familial ties.

The second period is the "Reform Period". Dethlefsen uses a sample from an area in Florida, dating from 1920 to the 1930's. This period is characterized by a reduction in family plots and children being banished to the "nursery" or "singles" areas. Very few epitaphs exist and those that do are very reduced, such as "At Rest". Rarely is religious symbolism found in this period.

The last period discussed is the "Lonely Crowd Period". Here, Dethlefsen (1981:156) demonstrates that the previous period becomes even more "fixed, but complemented by changes in new directions, representing new culture-systemic adjustments". During this period he found that wedding dates often occurred on stones, and emblems associated with clubs, organizations, and occupations became more popular. Characteristics of all of these periods are present in Cedar Grove though some, for example the

nursery or singles areas, occur at somewhat later dates.

Dethlefsen's work has been the most influential and relevant in the present thesis and is one of the very few dealing with community and culture change in the 19th and 20th centuries as reflected by cemeteries. Much of the present study follows the trends outlined by Dethlefsen as the "Industrial", "Reform", and "Lonely Crowd" periods, though occasionally the dates vary somewhat, usually occurring later than Dethlefsen found. This is not surprising since it is expected that trends will differ in varying degrees in regard to geographical factors.

The last work to be examined deals with an important method used in cemetery studies, seriation. Seriation is one of the most, if not the most popular method of studying culture change in the cemetery. Norman Mackie's (1984 unpublished) paper "By works of Faith made perfect: A seriation study of Cedar Grove Cemetery" demonstrates how seriation is used and why it is an important method in cemetery studies. In this study he utilized many of the same methods that were used by Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966) in their study of Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees. Mackie uses seriation as a tool to organize and define change through time in his sample period of 1860 to 1930. Gravestones are looked at not only in light of raw material but also form, design, inscription and epitaph. By using graphs and plotting his findings at five year increments he was able to demonstrate the changes in gravestones over time, noting not only the presence, but also the absence of,

attributes.

His conclusions are as follows. There were principally three types of stones found, marble, granite, and sandstone. Within his study area he found 50 marble stones, 64 granite stones, and only 1 sandstone. The peak for the marble stones was 1905 to 1909, whereas granite was found to be consistently used from 1880 to 1930.

In his study of the form of gravestones he notes that the most recurrent were the plaque, lecturn, round and slight round types. These different types of gravestones are found during specific periods. The lecturns were the type most prevalent in the sample area, first appearing in the 1880's and continuing in small numbers throughout 1919 and then increasing during the period of 1920 to 1930. The plaque type occurred in small numbers before 1904 but, like the lecturns, were quite popular in the 1920's through the 1930's. There were only 19 headstones found in his sample, seven round, dating from 1865 to 1915, and 12 slight round, with no dates available.

In regard to epitaphs Mackie found that in the sample area 32 had generally simple and short ones while 80 had none at all. Stones with epitaphs presented a slender curve, gradually increasing with wild fluctuations until 1905 to 1909, where it reached its peak. During this peak 22% of the stones had epitaphs (1984:8).

In summarizing the information Mackie states that a number of changes occurred during the period of study. The predominant

material used for gravestones in the third quarter of the 19th century was marble, and later granite took over. The full round and slight round stones were distributed evenly through the sample period, but the trend was toward shortening and eventually eliminating the epitaphs. There were only a few stones with epitaphs over two lines and these were generally grouped around the turn of the century, but by 1925 to 1930 100% of the gravestones in his sample have no epitaphs (1984:8). Mackie suggests that the size of the stone and the decrease of inscription were possibly the result of the use of granite. Granite is the most durable of the stones and with increased technology it gave the stonecutters a feasible alternative.

Mackie (1984:11) concludes by stating "the benefit of such a study of modern gravestones coupled with available ethnographic information allows for practical explanation of gravestone form and distribution beyond the unverifiable information of earlier studies."

It is hoped that the present study will demonstrate the validity of the last statement.

The use of cemetery studies should by now seem obvious. Through these studies one can determine many dimensions of previous lives, communities, and cultures, including economics, social organization, kinship, demography, religion, values or morals, and folk-ways. As John O'Shea (1981:39) states, "mortuary behavior is an extremely valuable archaeological resource, since it represents the direct and purposeful culmination of conscious

behavior, rather than its incidental residue."

In the remaining three chapters it will be clear that many of the works previously discussed have influenced the present study.

CHAPTER II

Data Analysis of Cedar Grove Cemetery

This chapter has as its' main theme the study of Cedar Grove Cemetery as representative of a changing community. As generations pass, inevitable changes occur in a society. These changes can be seen in many facets of life and should be reflected in the way people handle death and burial practices. These changes can be found by examining several aspects of cemeteries. They include epitaphs; size, form and material of stones; and distributional patterns of stones plots. Guy Gibbon (1984:139) succinctly sums up the basic ideal behind the present study in the following statement:

Since the interactions of members of groups are governed by sets of cultural norms, people should interact in more or less patterned ways. If people's social behavior is patterned, facilities should be constructed and materials discarded or lost in patterned ways, too. Therefore, by identifying pattern in the archaeological record, archaeologists should be able to reconstruct, through a chain of inferential reasoning, a community's social organization and some of the rules of its social structure.

A basic assumption of this study is that cemeteries reflect ideals regarding religion, kinship, life, death, values, morals, and social organization. These ideals, in turn, are reflected in gravestones and in plot arrangements and are subject to changes

that occur in the culture. Dethlefsen (1981:137) has stated that "A cemetery should reflect the local, historical flow of attitudes about community. It is, after all, a community of the dead, created, maintained and preserved by the community of the living."

The first section of this chapter deals with the physical appearance of Cedar Grove Cemetery and is followed by a discussion of the spatial limitations of the study and its sampling strategy. A final section contains a typology of the gravestones. This typology will then form the basis for a discussion of the changes and distribution of gravestones.

THE SITE

Cedar Grove is a 17 acre cemetery located on South Henry Street in Williamsburg, Virginia. When approaching the cemetery on South Henry St. an old brick wall is visible. This wall probably dates back to the 1860's, though the exact date is unknown. There are three entrances from South Henry Street; the old entrance is in the center of the brick wall along the street and two newer entrances exist on each end of the wall.

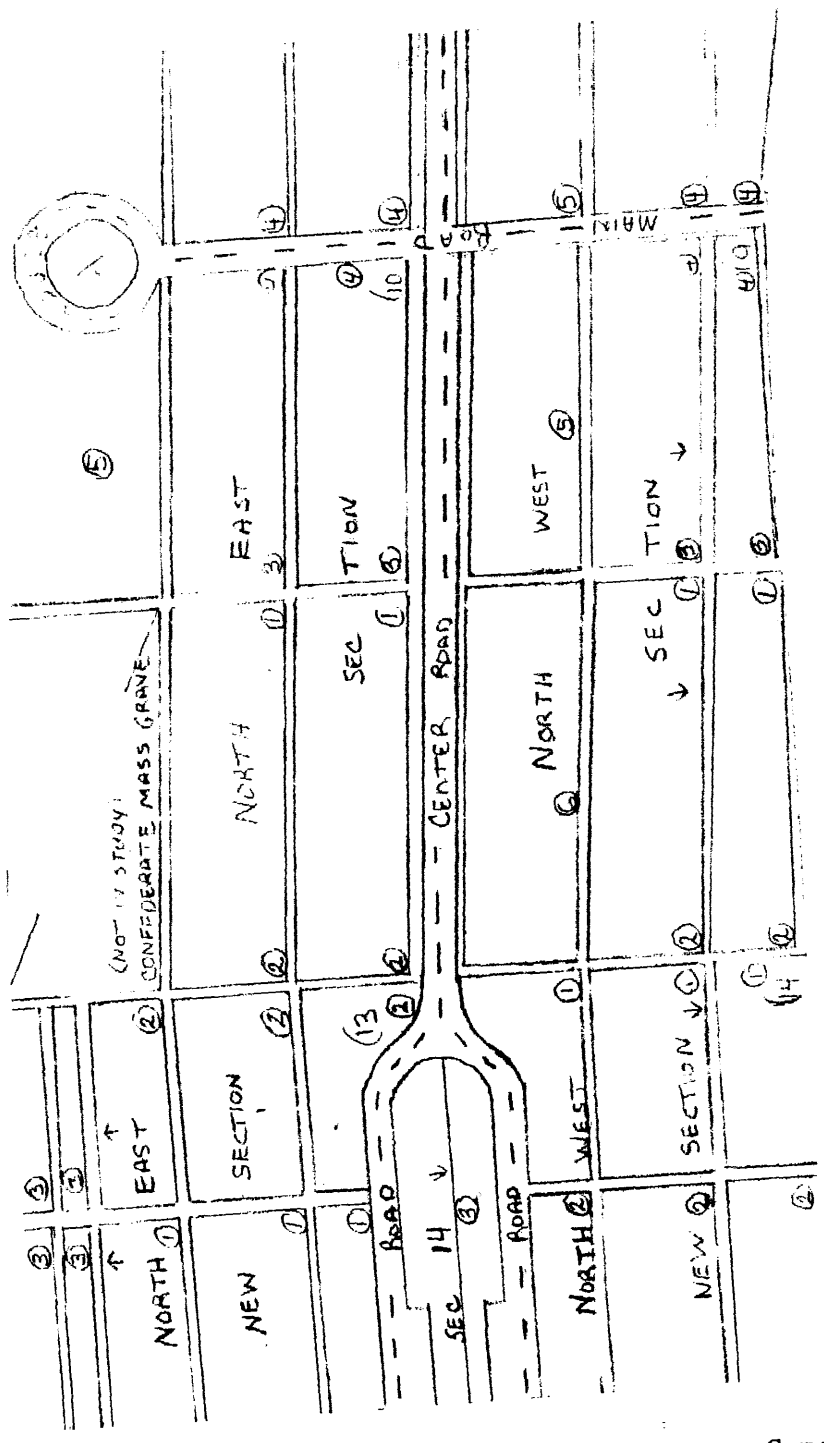
Once inside the cemetery a number of differences between the inside and outside of the walls are evident. The oldest sections of the cemetery are within the walls, the outside being the result of a 1962 addition. Outside the walls the landscape is stark and bare, with the exception of the occasional flowers on the graves; whereas inside the walls it looks more like a small park, with trees, bushes, shrubs, and flowers. Another difference is that the outside of the

walls are not densely occupied by gravestones, since it is the most recent area and has a large number of plots that are unoccupied. Inside the walls there are literally gravestones from wall to wall. Another contrast between the outside and inside of the walls are the orientation of graves, within the walls, graves are oriented east to west, but on the outside of the walls the burials seem to accommodate the space available, some running east to west and others north to south.

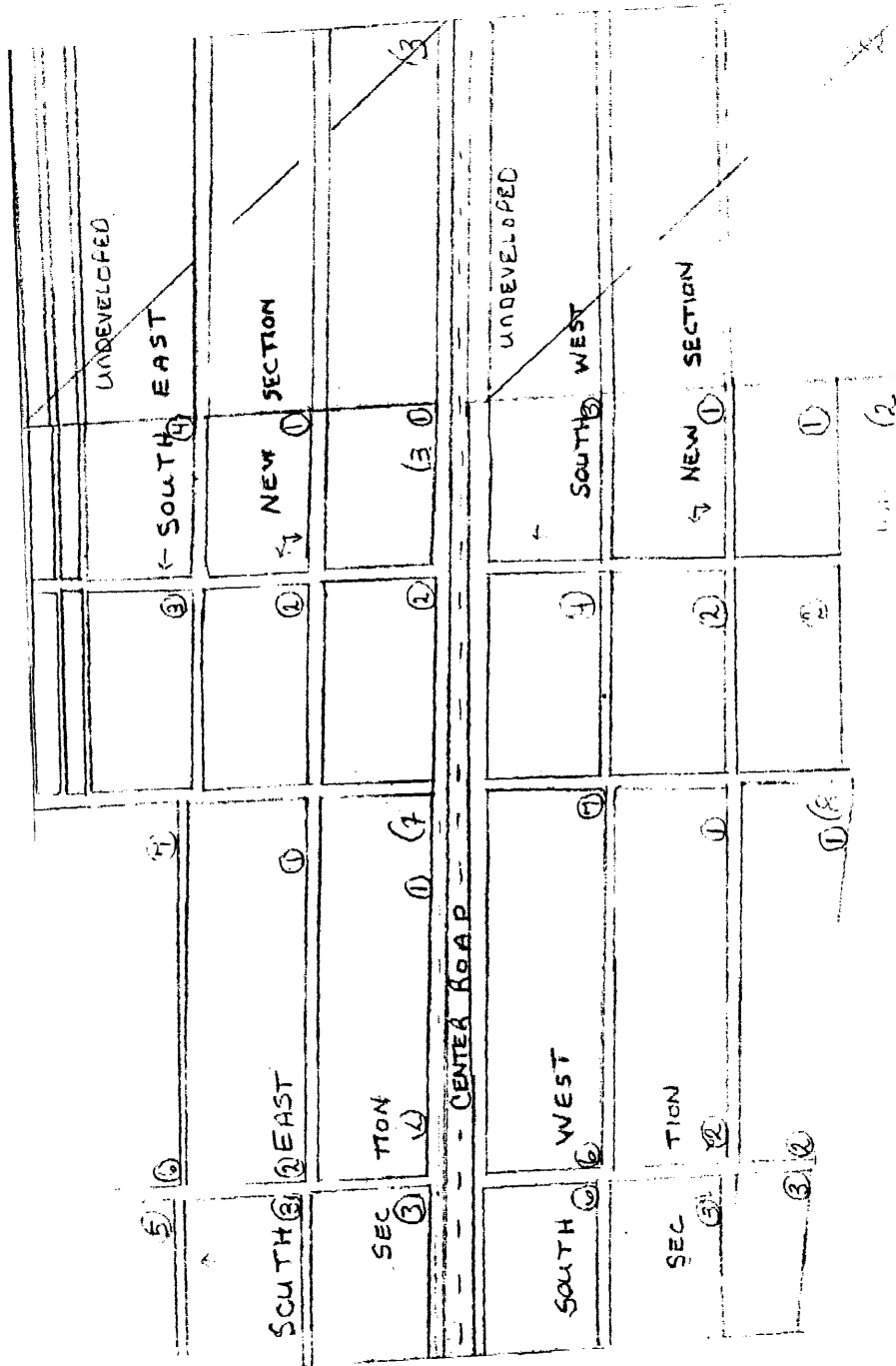
SAMPLING STRATEGIES

The first problem encountered was how to make Cedar Grove a manageable unit of study. To do this a number of sampling strategies were employed. "Sampling is viewed as a tool to aide the archaeologist in selecting units of investigation and in generalizing to larger entities" (James Mueller, 1975:ix). The first decision was to exclude the 1962 addition, leaving six areas that are within the brick walls, as well as two areas that are fenced extensions of the brick walls. (See maps 1 and 2 for the overall view of the sample area.)

To further sample this large area a number of strategies were examined to determine which one would best contribute to the research design. Lewis Binford is one of many archaeologists that supports the use of sampling strategies. He states (1975:257) that "any archaeologist who is going to perform even at minimal acceptable levels in modern archaeology must be concerned with sampling procedures and how best to make use of them." Thus, it



Map 1. Overall North half of Cedar Grove Cemetery.



Map 2. Overall South half of Cedar Grove Cemetery.

was necessary to find a sampling strategy that would be accurate and reflective of the entire area under study. An attempt was first made to sample forty random plots from the entire sample area, this failed for two reasons. First, the size of plots varied, giving an unbalanced view of the cemetery. Second, as the result of a random sample, there were many plots in some areas of the cemetery and few, or even none, in others. Therefore this strategy did not appear to accurately reflect the data available in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

To solve the first problem 20' x 20' units were chosen. This unit of measure was used because the cemetery plots were laid out according to the same dimensions. Some 20' x 20' units contained one family plot, some contain two, and still others contain up to twelve individual, unrelated burials. By employing 20' x 20' sample areas large family plots were examined as well as smaller ones, giving a consistent amount of space to be studied within each section.

In answer to the second problem five 20' x 20' areas from each of the eight sections of the original sample area were chosen, instead of forty from the entire sample. The 20' x 20' areas were chosen randomly, by the numbers represented on the blueprints for Cedar Grove Cemetery. (Available from the City of Williamsburg.) If a family plot extended outside the sample 20' x 20' unit this area was considered, as long as at least half of the family lot was contained within the sample plot. It should also be noted that 20' x

20' units with no burials within them were not included and this affects the sample in section 7, to be discussed later. The sample encompasses 298 burials, out of approximately 1000 possible burials in all of Cedar Grove Cemetery.

As stated earlier the sample area contains eight sections. Even without benefit of the blueprints provided by the City of Williamsburg these eight sections are visibly distinct. They are bordered by roadways, paths and white posts. By examining the blueprints it was discovered that these sections are designated by the city as 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 14 (Again, see maps 1 and 2 for the overall sample area). These eight sections are the basis for this thesis. (See appendix 1 for notes, photographs, and maps of each section and sample plot.)

Sections 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 14 are within the confines of the brick walls. Sections 2 and 3 are the fenced extension areas, located next to sections 8 and 7 respectively. Sections 7, 8, 9, and 10 represent the oldest areas of the cemetery and still occupy a central position in Cedar Grove. Section 7 is located in the southeast, section 8 in the southwest, section 9 in the northwest, and section 10 in the northeast. Section 13 and 14 are located next to sections 10 and 9 respectively. The cemetery seems to have been set up with four main sections, 7, 8, 9, and 10. Then extensions were made to the north, 13, and 14, and then to the south, 2 and 3.

UNITS OF STUDY

A brief discussion of these individual sections follows. They

will be discussed in regard to stones and plots in a subsequent section. The oldest areas, sections 7, 8, 9, and 10 will be examined first, followed by the later sections, 13, 14, 2 and 3.

Section 7

The first section discussed is 7. Walking through the cemetery it is immediately clear that there is a difference between this section and others. Section 7 (see figure 1) has very few stones present for the amount of known burials, per city records. Even without the benefit of the City records one should be able to deduce that either social and, or, economic factors were involved. Almost immediately one realizes that the area must have been a paupers area or, as the case was, the old black section of the cemetery. Why doesn't this section have as many stones? Why are there virtually no family stones? Why isn't there a consistency of individual gravestones within a family plot, as is the case in other sections? The obvious answer to the first question is economic. This section, by dates taken from stones, dates from at least 1874 to 1979, with the majority dating from 1874 to the 1930's. Surely it is assumed that Blacks, at this time in particular, were on the lower end of the social and economic ladder. (As will be demonstrated later, this is not always the case.)

The second and third questions however, are more difficult to answer. As will be demonstrated with other sections, a pattern develops in regard to the style of individual gravestones within a family plot. But little pattern exists in section 7. Take for



Fig. 1. Overall view of section 7, with section 3 visible in the background.

example the Harris plot. (See photograph, section 7, 20' x 20' #1, in appendix 1.) This plot is marked off by piped borders, showing distinctly that the people within the borders belong together, but within these borders there is little consistency. The childrens stones are consistent, all being small rounded marble headstones, but the adult markers have individual styles. Why is it that in the Black section there is no pattern? It is probably not economic. This most likely reflects the culture of the Black's in Williamsburg as well as their views on life and death. Could it be that they saw life as individual and this was carried over into death? This could possibly explain why the childrens stones are similar. Was there not enough time in their lives to make themselves known as distinct personalities or individuals? Many of these questions would be theses in themselves and are much too involved to consider here, but should be kept in mind for further research in this area.

Section 8

Section 8 (see figure 2) is characterized by family plots and family stones. The dates for this section, again by stones, is from the 1860's to the present with the majority dating between the years 1900 and 1950. Here one finds that most plots have family stones and that there is a consistency of individual grave markers. For example, in the Dennis plot all stones are granite slant markers with polished borders, the same type of print, and they follow the same pattern of information. (See photograph, section 8, 20' x 20' # 5 in appendix 1.)

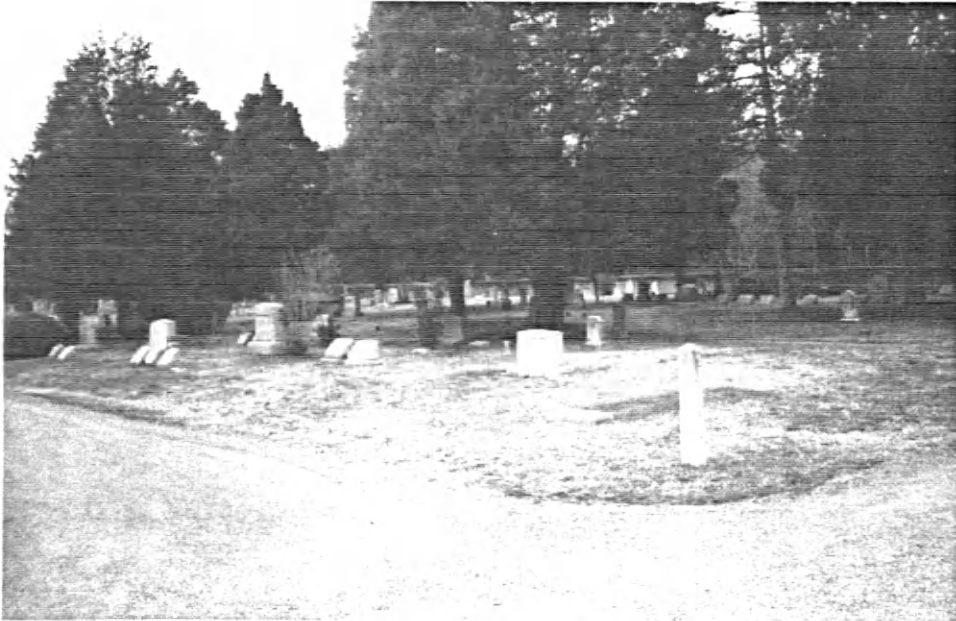


Fig. 2. Overall view of section 8. The wall in the background runs parallel to S. Henry St.

One interesting phenomenon in section 8 is that plots are divided and used by two related families. (This phenomena can also be found in some other sections.) For instance the Gage/Dula plots are two family plots, obviously related, joined by a common family stone. (See photograph, section 8, 20' x 20' # 2 in appendix 1.) This stone has Gage on one side and Dula on the other. Is this a question of economics, kinship, or both? Do families who share stones and lots save by dividing? This is obviously true. But is this the only factor involved? There could be strong kin ties that account for this and can be seen to solve problems within a family as to where and how an individual is buried.

Section 9

Section 9 (see figure 3) is also characterized by large family plots with a consistency of individual grave markers. Here there is less emphasis on a family stone, but the overall atmosphere is homogeneous. This is evidently one of the oldest sections of Cedar Grove dating from the 1860's to present, the majority of stones dating from 1890 to 1940. There are a large number of family plots that have piped or stone borders, as well as posts that mark the corners of the plot, keeping families separate from one another.

Section 10

Section 10 (see figure 4) is very similar to section 9 in that it is characterized by large family plots with consistency of individual gravemarkers. There are more family stones in this section, relatively speaking, than in section 9, but less so than in section 2,



Fig. 3. Overall View of Section 9 and a little of section 10 to the right.



Fig. 4. Overall view of section 10.

13, and 14. A confederate mass grave and memorial is located on the east side of this section.

Sections 13 and 14

Sections 13 and 14 are newer sections of Cedar Grove, as stated earlier, but they are still within the confines of the brick walls. This indicates that Cedar Grove evolved outwardly. Both sections 13 and 14 date from the 1930's to the present. These sections are characterized by smaller plots with family stones.

In section 13 there is one notable difference. The "nursery", as Dethlefsen (1981:155) calls it, is located at the east side of this section. This area is an area where small children and infants are buried. This definitely indicates changes in the values and the way our culture deals with death. Now, in part anyway, it is considered a matter of economics. A child's burial is cheaper in the nursery. (If a family wants to bury the child in the regular area of the cemetery it would cost the same as an adult burial. City regulations state that only one burial can be placed in a 3' x 10' area, regardless of the sized of the individual.) But this could also reflect changes in the lifestyles of people. Few people today invest in family plots, possibly reflecting a more transient culture.

Section 2

Section 2, similar to sections 13 and 14, is characterized by smaller plots with a large amount of family stones. This area was evidently the last area to be added. The stones in this section date from the 1950's to the present.

Section 3

Section 3 is an area that is very similar to section 7. Few stones are visible for the amount of known burials. Though this area has not been used to capacity, as section 7 had, it is lacking stones for the majority of burials. It was determined through interviews with Mr. Ankney and an anonymous informant that plots in this section are purchased most often by Blacks. Since it is now against the law to segregate, this seems to reflect a desire to remain separate and distinct, at least in this regard. It is especially interesting since section 3 is directly south of section 7, actually being an extension of section 7. Do the Blacks want to be separate, and distinct from the Whites? Does this reflect how they feel about life, thus it is reflected in death? Possibly so.

GRAVESTONES AS MATERIAL CULTURE

"A fundamental premise in processual archaeological research holds that human behavior is a patterned part of a system with cultural, social, political, and environmental components. This patterned behavior is reflected in a patterning of material culture" (Michael Collins, 1975:26). This premise is the basis of the following discussion. What follows is an analysis of the material culture evident in Cedar Grove Cemetery, the gravestones.

When someone dies many rites of passage occur. The obvious is of course the rite of separation. But rites of transition and incorporation should not be forgotten or overlooked. Relating to death, Arnold Van Gennep (1960:146) states "rites of separation are

few in number and very simple, while the transition rites have a duration and complexity sometimes so great that they must be granted sort of autonomy." When looking at gravestones and cemeteries one should not ignore the ideals, regarding life and death, that are represented. Van Gennep (1960:147) goes on to say that "it is a transitional period for the survivors, and they enter it through rites of separation and emerge from it through rites of reintegration into society." It must not be forgotten that the cemetery, and the stones present in it, are a result of the living community, and as such gravestones and monuments help fill a void that a death creates. Gravestones give the living something to cling to. In this manner, among others, we try to cling to the deceased as long and hard as possible. (This is not to say that those without stones were not loved or missed.) Gravestones, like many funeral rites, help the survivors through rites of transition. Another rationale for gravestones has to do with concepts of individuality, as many people do not want their loved ones to be anonymous for eternity. Erecting gravestones validates the existence of a person and their importance. It also gives the family a sense of permanence by acting as a "bond with the living" (Van Gennep, 1960:163). This bond prolongs the transition and provides a vehicle for periodic renewal by the living (Ibid:163).

TYPOLGY OF GRAVESTONES

This section will briefly demonstrate how gravestones have changed over time by examining the typology of gravestones found in

Cedar Grove Cemetery. Some of the terminology used in this typology will vary from works by other authors, as the terminology used here is the one employed by those making and selling gravestones today.

Table 1 illustrates the different types of gravestones or monuments most common in Cedar Grove. Other terms used for the same type are noted in parenthesis. The range of dates are given also, though no seriation will be formally done here. (See the review of Norman Mackie's paper, "By Works of Faith Made Perfect", in Chapter 1.)

Table 2 illustrates the types and quantities of stones by section. Also see the photographs, figures 5 through 22, on the proceeding pages, for illustrations of the different types discussed. (It may also be helpful to look at the appendices for additional photographs of stones.)

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DATES REPRESENTED</u>
Rounded headstone	1874-1890
Early Serpentine headstone	1876-1935
Slight round headstone	1890-1919
Hickey(apex)	1891-1950's
Obelisk	1895-1910
Slant(lecturn, podium)	1896-1974
Flat	1900-1985
Rounded square	1911-1938
Serpentine	1921-1974
Footstone like	1930
Ledger	1932-1971
Military slight round headstone	1937
Military flat	1939-1975
Double flat	1953-1975

Table 1. Types of individual stones, by date, most common in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

TABLE 2. Types and quantities of individual stones, by section.

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>SECTION</u>														<u>TOTAL QUANTITY</u>
	2	3	7	8	9	10	13	14							
<u>Rounded headstone</u>			3			1								4	
<u>Early serpentine</u>					7									7	
<u>Slight round headstone</u>			8		1	6								15	
<u>Hickey</u>			2	8	10	12	8							40	
<u>Obelisk</u>			1		4									5	
<u>Slant</u>			2	1	15	7	4	5						37	
<u>Flat</u>	15	11	5	1	5		14	20						71	
<u>Rounded square</u>		3		4				7						14	
<u>Serpentine</u>	2	1					1	2						6	
<u>Footstone-like</u>					4									4	
<u>Ledger</u>			2		1	4		2						9	
<u>Military slight round h.s.</u>							1							1	
<u>Military flat</u>	3	1			2	1	3	1						11	
<u>Double flat</u>		2				2								4	

Total stones: 228



Fig. 5. Rose colored granite slant marker with scroll design.
From section 10.



Fig. 6. Granite slant marker with tree motif. From section 13.



Fig. 7. Granite ledger marker. From section 7.



Fig. 8. Granite ledger marker with floral design.
From section 10.



Fig. 9. Granite flat marker with gothic window design and family initial. From section 14.



Fig. 10. Granite flat marker with lamb motif and picture of the deceased infant. From section 2.



Fig. 11. Granite flat military marker. All military markers have crosses with circles. From section 2.



Fig. 12. Granite flat markers with polished borders. The one on the right with an open book motif and the one on the left with floral design and dates around the flowers. From section 14.



Fig. 13. Granite hickey marker with polished borders and rocked sides. From section 10.



Fig. 14. Marble hickey marker with raised letters. From section 10.



Fig. 15. Granite double flat marker with floral design. From section 10.



Fig. 16. Marble obelisk, victorian style with urn and drapting. From section 9.

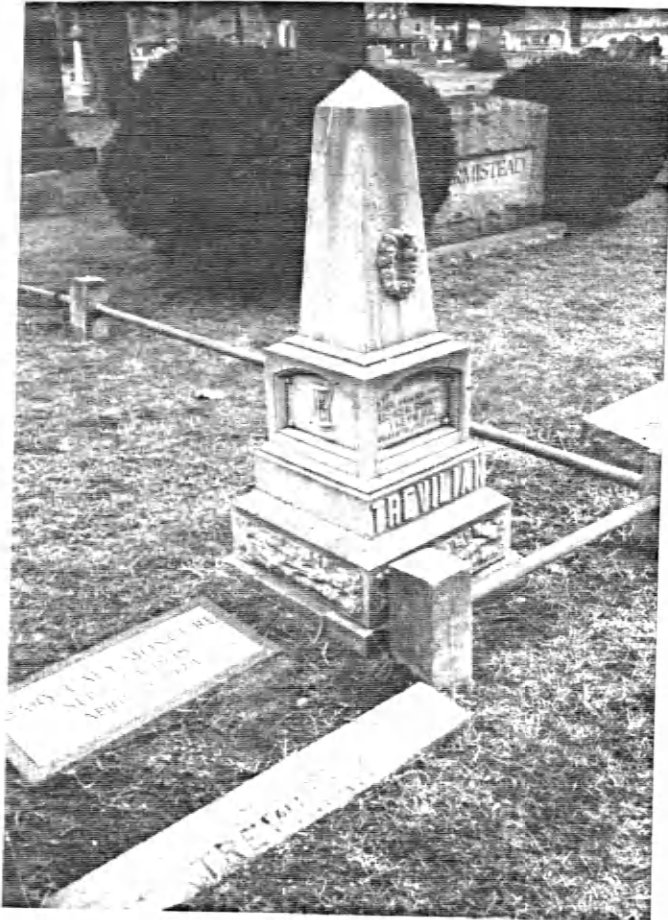


Fig. 17. Bronze obelisk with hourglass, anchor, cross and crown, and flowers. From section 9.

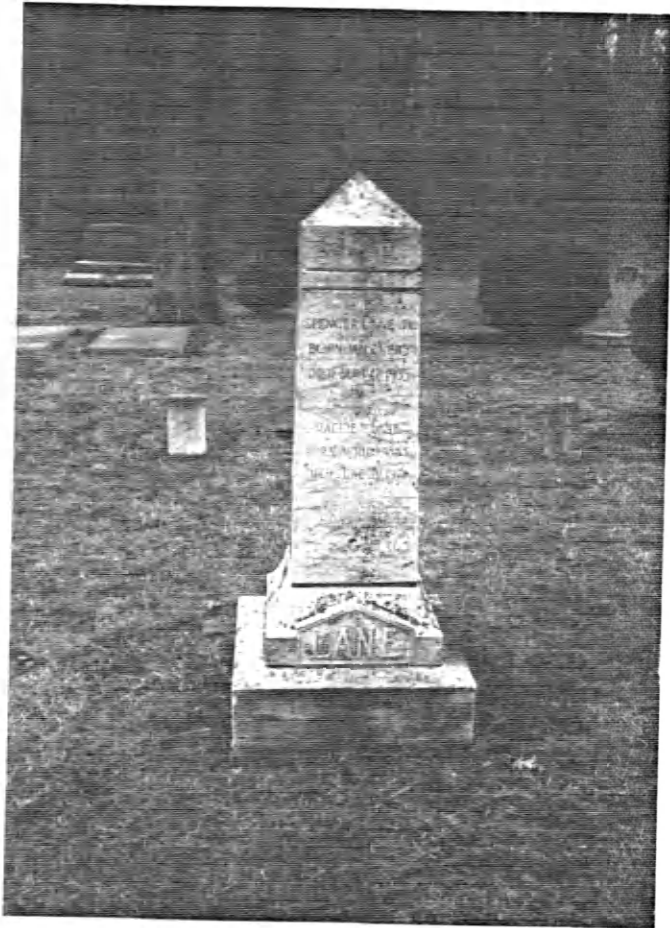


Fig. 18. Marble obelisk. From section 9.



Fig. 19. Marble round headstone. From section 7.



Fig. 20. Marble early serpentine headstone. From section 9.

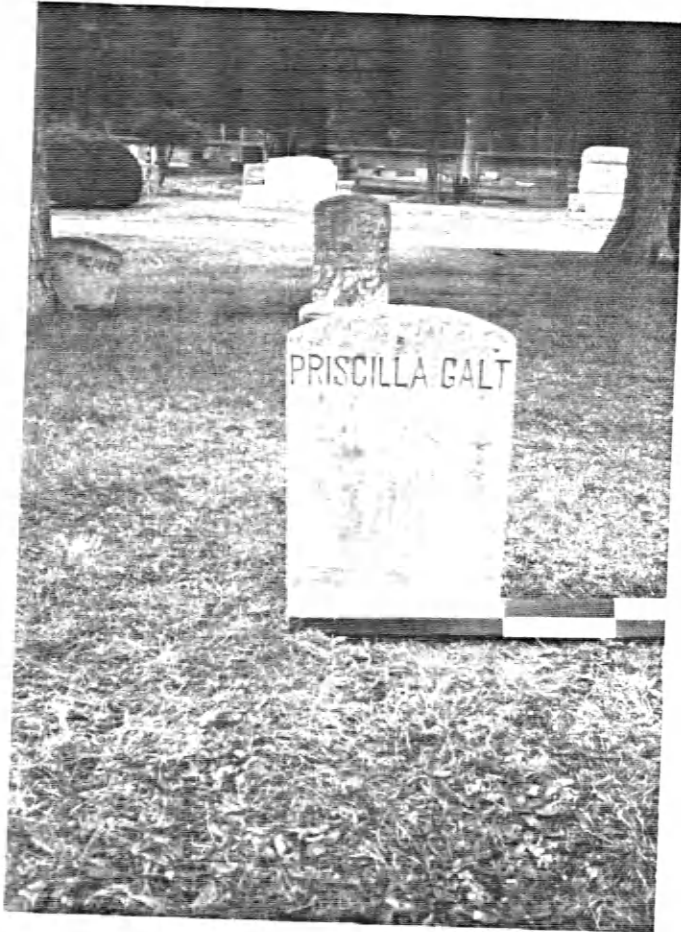


Fig. 21. Marble slight round headstone. From section 7.



Fig. 22. Marble slight round headstone with base.
From section 10.

Gravestones can be divided into separate parts for descriptive purposes. Most modern stones are in two parts: the die and the base. The die is the upper portion that has the name and other data, where applicable. For example all serpentine stones, family and individual, are in two parts. On the other hand most headstones have no base, and stones such as flats and hickies usually do not have a base.

The most common type of stone material in Cedar Grove is granite, and there are three finishes for granite. The first is a steeled finish. This is granite that is unpolished and dull, but smooth. It is quite common in Cedar Grove. The second type of finish is polished and is used most often along borders on flat markers. Polishing gives a smooth, shiny finish. The last type is rock pitched, which gives a rough and jagged appearance. It is most frequently used on sides or bases, but is occasionally found on the entire surface. (See photograph, section 8, 20' x 20' #1 in appendices.) The polished finish costs more than the steeled but the rock pitched finish is by far the most expensive, 20% more (personal communication, Robert Page, Bucktrout Funeral Home).

The present prices for stones vary greatly. The flat marker sells for approximately \$125.00, basic lettering included. (Military flat markers are free of charge to any veteran.) The standard size of the flat marker is 2' x 1' x 4". This type of marker is now preferred and encouraged by the city, due to the ease of maintenance. The serpentine stones, most commonly used as family stones, range from \$500.00 to \$1000.00, depending on the size and finish (personal

communication, Robert Page). The hickey marker is similar to the flat marker but raised 6 - 10 inches above the ground, and is also occasionally slightly slanted on the top. The most expensive of the markers are the ledgers, also called grave covers. These are usually 3' x 6', and are priced from \$900.00. All prices quoted are before a 50% mark-up (personal communication, Robert Page).

Today the city regulates that no stone may be placed in Cedar Grove unless one like it already exists and dates before 1956. With the 1962 addition many regulations came into existence, which is one reason it was excluded from the sample area. (See appendix 2 for an example of the City of Williamsburg's Certificate of Location.) The size and location of stones are now dictated by the city, and piped or stone borders, as well as posts (corner markers), are also no longer allowed. There has been a great effort in the past years to have the borders or posts removed, so much so that advertisements were placed in the newspaper asking for families to contact the city. As a result relatively few piped borders exist.

The 1960's regulation will not allow ledger types in the new sections, though they are still permitted in the old sections since many already exist. The city claims that these types of markers present difficulties in maintaining the grounds. (personal communication, Mr. Allison, City of Williamsburg, Office of the City Manager.) For this reason bronze markers are also prohibited.

Now that a general description of the cemetery and the sections have been given a more detailed analysis of the gravestones and plots

will follow.

CHAPTER III

Analysis of Gravestones and Plots

DATA ANALYSIS: GRAVESTONES

What do these stones tell us? Most obviously they tell us who is buried and when he, or she, died. But more importantly, anthropologically speaking, they can tell us about the community which created them.

In the oldest sections of Cedar Grove one will find mostly slant and hickey markers. To this is also added the older headstone types; round, slight round, and the early serpentine. Very few flat markers exist in these sections. Could this indicate that the people from these sections were more concerned with appearances than economics? Or possibly it could simply indicate trends in the types of gravestones represented in the cemetery. In any case, there is a greater sense of community when looking at sections 8 through 10.

Sections 7 through 10 have considerably less family stones than sections 2, 13, and 14. But, as will be demonstrated, there is still very much a sense of family in these old sections. Within most of the plots all individual stones follow one pattern, as stated earlier. For example if a person died in 1920 and a slant marker was erected all those buried thereafter will also have slant markers. This consistency is simply adhered to. To make sure that all

aspects of a stone are the same, a tracing is done of the stone (personal communication, Robert Page).

Sections 2, 13, and 14 are similar to one another not only in the years they represent, but also in the stone types they represent. The most common gravestone for all three of these sections are flat markers. There is also a very large number of serpentine family stones. The stones present in the family plots most often follow the pattern described for section 8 through 10. According to Robert Page, of Bucktrout Funeral Home, the people buying stones today want a harmonious atmosphere in and around their plots, and little or no effort goes into competing with the "neighbors". Once again a sense of community comes through, even before the 1960's regulations restricting the types of stones erected.

In these sections, 2, 13, and 14, it is more common to find stones with military, club, organization, or professional symbols. There are examples of nurses, Doctors, and masonic emblems. Epitaphs also, occasionally, mention the deceased profession, be it cobbler or professor of law.

In regard to the data carved on the stones the following was noted. In all sections both the surname and given names most often appeared. The presence or length of epitaph varied some throughout the cemetery. In appendix 3 the most popular "verses" are listed. (Courtesy of Robert Page of Bucktrout Funeral Home.) The following data will be given, as before, by section.

Section 2

Within section 2 nicknames appear in addition to the full name. In this section full dates of birth and death were used most frequently. The familial references on the stones belonging to females include; "Beloved Mother", "Devoted Wife", "Wife of", "Infant Daughter of (followed by the father's name and then the mothers)". This all points to paternalistic kinship, though it is less obvious in other sections. Epitaphs are rare in section 2 and those existing are somewhat religious, i.e. "Rest in Thine".

Section 3

In section 3 it is found that for the most part only the years of birth and death are given, leaving out the months and days. The epitaphs tend to be more religious, such as "In God's Care", but there are also the typical "Gone But Not Forgotten" epitaphs. In this section no references to kin were located.

Section 7

Only about 50% of the stones in section 7 have full dates, others have only the years of birth and death. Kin terms are only occasionally found, such as, "Mother", "Husband", and "Beloved Wife". Most of the epitaphs present are mournful and, or, religious. An example is, "Oh Death where is they sting, Oh Grave where is thy victory." One stone, in the Galt plot, notes that the deceased was the "sexton of Bruton Parish Church for thirty years." (As briefly noted earlier, it should be kept in mind that the sample from section 7 reflects sample areas with stones, though the vast majority of

the section does not have any gravestones whatsoever. Thus, the sample reflects the wealthier individuals in the section. This is the only section where this is a factor to be considered and taken into account.)

Section 8

Section 8 is characterized by full dates and few epitaphs, and those that do exist tend to be mournful. Kin terms are restricted to "Father", "Mother", and "Wife of".

Section 9

Section 9 stands out in the number of kin references present. There are a larger number of "Wife of" references. Others include; "Mother", "Father", "Son of (followed by the mothers name first)", and "Son of (followed by the fathers name first)". The epitaphs in this section are hopeful and, or , religious. An example follows; "He has passed over the River to Rest in the Shade of the trees." There are mostly full dates on these stones.

Section 10

Section 10 is also characterized by a large quantity of kin references. They include; "His Wife", "Wife of", "Husband", "Mother", "Father", "Dad", "Mother of", "Son of (followed by the fathers name first)", and "Daughter of (followed by the Fathers name first)". The epitaphs that exist are usually religious. "Thy Lord is my shepherd" is one example. There are usually full dates given on these stones.

Section 13

Section 13 contains stones with full dates. Nicknames are also

found on these stones. Kin references include; "Father", "Mother", "Wife of", "Daughter of (followed by the fathers name first)", "Daughter of (followed by the mothers name first)", and "Son of (followed by the mothers name first)". In this section there is one reference to occupation, a nurse. There are no epitaphs in the sample for this section.

Section 14

Lastly, section 14. The majority of stones in this section have only the years, but there are some with full dates or simply the date of death. There are a number of instances where the occupation of the deceased is mentioned. For example, "Member of Law Faculty for 15 years at the College of William and Mary". Kin references include; "Father", "Mother", "Daughter of (followed by the fathers name first)", "Son of (followed by the mothers name first)", and "Son of (followed by the fathers name first)".

What does all this tell us? In section 8 through 10 there is a strong feeling of community, as well as family unity. Many names on the stones can be related to families that continue to be prominent in the community. For example there are a number of Casey's, Binns, and Armisteads.

In section 2, 13, and 14 one finds that there is a slight shift, with more emphasis on the small family. Family stones overwhelm these areas. But none-the-less, it is a sterile representation. The majority of the family stones are the same style, designed in modern serpentine, whereas in the older sections there is a larger

degree of variation. Many styles can be found from plot to plot, but as stated earlier there is a consistency within plots.

Possibly it the case that in the old sections there was a little more competition, which could account for the greater variety of stones. Were the "old families" of Williamsburg trying, subtly, to one up each other? It is important to note that many members of these families are still being buried in the old areas, and are still following patterns that started as many as one hundred years ago.

The stones in the old sections are much less functional than in the newer sections. Does this change simply reflect ease of maintenance? Or doesn't it also reflect less overt concern regarding death rituals? Since a change is noted prior to the 1960's regulations the latter answer seems most reasonable.

One of the most distinct differences between the old and new sections is in kin references. The older sections refer to kin more often and these references are often longer. In the newer sections when references are made they are usually short, like "Mother".

All of the above data points to the old sections reflecting the small, close-knit, family oriented community.

DATA ANALYSIS: PLOTS

Plots will be examined next, in particular the size of plots and their change over time. By noting these spatial differences, along with what has already been learned about stones, one can make many statements about the cemetery as a community and how it reflects the living community. Though many scholars have examined

cemeteries none, to the present authors knowledge, have seriously considered plots size and distribution. This section of this thesis will concentrate on this issue.

In Anthropological Archaeology Guy Gibbon (1984:140) states that there are:

"Three working hypotheses: (1) spatial concentrations of artifacts and features in settlements correspond with spatially organized social activities in past communities; (2) spatial patterning of artifacts and features was formed by individuals and groups having cultural models of appropriate and expected patterns of social interaction; and (3) changes in the way space was used in a site universe correlate with past changes in social organization."

Though he was not speaking specifically about cemeteries or gravestones as artifacts, these hypotheses fit nicely into the study of plot distribution and plot size. Hypothesis number 3 is particularly pertinent to this thesis, as the study indicates that plot size reflects changes in the living community.

Table 3 reflects the various sizes of plots, by section. This chart shows that the 10' x 10' size plot was by far the most common throughout most of the cemetery (excluding sections 3 and 13).

Although sections 2, 8, and 9 have very comparable figures for these plots, trends start at different times. The old sections have a large number of plots that date to the same period as sections 2 and 14. This accounts for some of the overlap. But it seems fairly obvious, by examining the chart, that plots in the old sections have

Table 3. Size and Distribution of plots, by section. The first figure indicates plots with burials. The second figure indicates plots without burials. Where a single figure is present it indicates plots with burials.

SIZE	SECTION														Total
	2	3	7	8	9	10	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	
4' x 2.5' (infant)												46/17			46/17
3' x 10' (single)	5	362/238										123/9			490/247
3' x 20'										2					2
10' x 10'	22/2	10/2			6					2	2	4	9		53/4
10' x 15'					2			1					25		28
10' x 20'	66	34/7	24/7	60/3	66/5	35/4						50	36		371/26
10' x 30'												1	3		4
15' x 20'			17/6	17/1	20/5	15/1							3		72/13
15' x 30'			4												4
20' x 20'			36/15	29/3	21/2	36/3						5	10		137/23
20' x 30'			7		3	1							1		12

gone from the very large, 20' x 30', to the medium size plots, 10' x 20', over time. Whereas the trend in the newer sections starts at the middle point, 10' x 20', and moves to 10' x 15 or 10' x 10' plots, and in some cases, as in sections 3 and 13, to the 3' x 10' plots.

In Cedar Grove the older sections of the cemetery represent the "old families", where stress is put on the large family unit. While in the newer sections the stress is on the smaller families, couples, or singles.

This difference is a reflection of changing patterns in Williamsburg. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries a major emphasis was on keeping families together. In the plots in the old sections one usually finds the maximum number of burials, 12, whereas in the newer sections, even where the plots are the same size as before, there are fewer burials. This means that people were buying family plots, usually for four to six burials, but only one or two are usually buried in these plots. Why does this happen? Possibly the plots were purchased at a time when the family was still an organized whole, but over time family members have moved away leaving the family plots emptier.

Observable changes also reflect alterations in conceptions of kinship. It does not seem that close family ties, at least in regard to funeral rites, are as important as they once were. Possibly this is the result of a very mobile society, where it is not reasonable to expect all family members to remain close enough to be buried

together, and more and more "couples" are the family found in the cemetery.

Sections 3 and 13 reflect the even more recent change to individual burials, child or adult. This shows how the large families are breaking up, possibly due to the recent concern about large families and population control. No longer is it important to most couples to have 6, 8, or even 12 children. It is much more likely that couples have 2 or 3 children, thus making the family a smaller unit, reducing the size of plot needed.

Economics is certainly a factor in the switch to individual burials. Today if someone living in Williamsburg wanted to buy a single plot it would cost them \$100.00. (If they live in James City County the cost would be \$200.00. People outside these two areas are not permitted to purchase plots in Cedar Grove Cemetery.) To buy a 10' x 10' plot for three burials it would cost \$275.00. It would seem that buying larger plots would be beneficial financially, saving \$25.00 by buying three plots. But if the nuclear family no longer lives together they can not be expected to be buried together.

Thus, economics and kin affiliation combine to explain the changes found in Cedar Grove. No longer does a family expect 12 members to live close enough to be buried together. A change then occurred, lessening the size of plots from the 20' x 20' to the 10' x 20'. But as was demonstrated, even this size plot was too much. Thus, what occurs for the most part presently, are single or couple burials, as Dethlefsen (1981:156) says this is the "Lonely Crowd".

A look at the distribution of plots shows that in sections 8, 9, 13, and 14 the largest plots, the 20' x 20', are found near the roadways or borders. In section 8 they are found at the north end of the section, closest to section 9. In section 9 the same occurs, that the largest plots are on the north end of the section, bordering section 14. Were these the earliest boundaries of the cemetery? Probably so, though there is no documentary evidence of such. In section 13 and 14 the largest and usually the earliest plots are found bordering the roadways, again possibly indicating the earliest borders of the cemetery. In sections 2 and 3 there are no 20' x 20' plots. But in section 2 the largest plots, 10' x 20', are usually found by the borders of the roadways and paths. In section 3 the same occurs. The 10' x 20' and 10' x 10' plots are near the roadway, with the individual, or single, burials at the rear of the section. Sections 7 and 10 are less clear. The plots are very mixed, having no apparent pattern.

Thus, with the exception of section 7 and 10, all large plots relative to each section, are found to be on the borders, roadways or paths. As stated earlier this may point to the growth pattern of the cemetery, starting on the outside and working inward.

Many patterns found in Cedar Grove coincide with those Dethlefsen found in his Northern Florida study (1981), where he also looked at late 19th and early 20th century cemeteries (see the review of this paper in Chapter I).

One pattern that Dethlefsen (1981:154) found that is not evident

in Cedar Grove is the age-sex pattern of design, and, or, size of markers. In Cedar Grove there is virtually no difference between age or sex in regard to size and design of gravemarkers. As stated before the families tend to follow one style, though occasionally one will find that the children's stones are smaller versions of the adult stones.

Within sections 2, 13, and 14, and in 8 through 10 occasionally, one can also note that a change occurs around the 1930's. A more socialistic feeling is apparent, especially in the newer sections. The stones are all very similar, family stones are usually the serpentine style and individual stones are usually the flat style. In section 2, 13, and 14 in particular floral motifs become most popular.

Finally one can see the change to what Dethlefsen calls the "Lonely Crowd period", as discussed in Chapter 1. This is most evident in section 2, but is also found in sections 13 and 14. This period, beginning in the late 1950's, is characterized by many couples. Less and less are there other members of the family present. And occasionally the living is "represented along with the dead" (Dethlefsen 1981:156). This is also the period where symbols affiliated with clubs, organizations and professions are most commonly found.

In this chapter it has been demonstrated that changes occurred to the stones and plots in Cedar Grove Cemetery that are reflective of changes in the community. Over time, Williamsburg has gone from a

small, close-knit, family oriented community, to one that has smaller family units and a greater influx and outflux of people influencing the community. Thus, the cemetery reflects a community population that is ever-changing; no longer, with few exceptions, do families stay in one location long enough to establish a family burial ground, and this constant influx and outflux is reflected in the cemetery, especially in regard to plot size.

In the following chapter these changes in the cemetery are placed within the context of changes that occurred in Williamsburg. These changes are most evident for the sample period from 1880 to 1940.

CHAPTER IV

Analysis of Documentary Evidence: 1880 - 1940

The importance of documents in supporting and explaining the observations made in the previous chapter will be the main focus of this chapter. It will be shown that the majority of families in the old sections were socially and economically active in their community. By looking at various documents, it will also be shown that these families were tied together in life as well as in death.

In order to place these conclusions in a proper context, it is necessary to briefly outline the history of Williamsburg in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This history should correlate with many of the phenomena found in Cedar Grove. Three principal events occurred during the study period: These are World War I, the Depression, and the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg.

The primary sources for documentation are wills, important as evidence of economic status; and obituaries, which have been used to determine to what degree these people were important in the community, and to each other.

THE COMMUNITY

Once again a sample was selected to reduce Cedar Grove Cemetery to a manageable unit of study. The years 1880 to 1940 were chosen for a number of reasons. The first, and primary reason

was that these years encompass many known national and local historical events. Secondly, after examining the data found in the cemetery it was discovered that one of the biggest changes occurred by 1930. By including the years up to 1940 there would hopefully be a before and after picture.

Williamsburg is a community that has endured many changes in its' long history. In the last quarter of the 19th century Williamsburg was still recovering from the Civil War and all the havoc it wrought. But it wasn't too long before "the Quiet again resumed at Williamsburg; but it was Quiet not of Peace alone, but also of Poverty" (R. G. Gent, 1936:122). In his book Williamsburg in Virginia, R. G. Gent (1936) recounts what the city was like throughout the many periods of change it went through. He noted, as well as others such as W. O. Stevens (1941) and R. Goodwin (1941), how drab and gloomy life was in the city at the end of the 19th century. Gent (1936:122) stated that the gardens, once so known for their beauty, "now fell to Weeds and Ruin", and that no longer was tobacco a major crop, since the slaves were no longer working in the fields. Corn replaced tobacco as a main crop "so that the same genteel families lived on at Williamsburg" (Gent 1936:122).

In 1893 the College of William and Mary came into more money "thus there was one trembling little spark of life amid the encircling gloom of Williamsburg." (William O. Stevens, 1941:261) During this same period C & O Railroad brought its business into

Williamsburg. This resulted in some changes in Williamsburg, but most of the Williamsburg residents resisted change as it was an unwelcomed reminder of the outside world.

P. Coleman (Gent 1936:123-124), once the Mayor of Williamsburg, summed up nicely how the city must have looked in the last years of the 19th century.

"... Williamsburg on a Summer Day! The straggling Street, Ankle deep in Duft, grateful only to the Chickens, ruffling their Feathers in perfect Safety from any traffic Danger. The Cows taking Refuse from the Heat of the Sun, under the Elms along the Sidewalk. Our City Fathers, assembled in friendly Leisure, following the Shade of the old Court House around the Clock, sipping cool Drinks, and discussing the Glories of our Past. Almost always our Past! There were Men and Women who strained every Nerve, every Means in their Power, to help the Williamsburg of the present Day, to supply the Necessities of Life to poorer Neighbors, to build up the College and procure Means of Education for their Children, but even they shrunk from looking toward the Future. The Past alone held for them the Brightness which tempted their Thoughts to linger happily..."

This is how Williamsburg was in the late 19th century and little changed until World War I. Stevens (1941:264) stated that "Rip Van Winkles slumber was a mere forty winks beside the deep and dreamless sleep of this village."

For a century or more prior to World War I, Williamsburg had succumbed to "poverty, drabness and decay." (Stevens, 1941:264) This period is known by many as the "Drab Hundred Years".

Stevens (1941:266) described Williamsburg much as Gent did,

though his description is of a Williamsburg that had come into the 20th century.

"As for Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg in the nineteen-tens, it was a dismal tract of dust ankle-deep, or mud much deeper, with a more or less grassy plot between, in which was stuck a long row of telegraph poles. On each side were abominable frame shops with false fronts. Nobody cared."

Then, with the outbreak of World War I, the city once again became active and interested in its future. Williamsburg was greatly influenced by World War I which brought in a large concentration of armed forces, even more so than before. Centers for the manufacture and storage of Army and Navy ammunition and supplies abounded, and Williamsburg prospered for a time. This period of prosperity brought about a new attitude in the community, with plans of enlarging the city and adding new sub-divisions (Goodwin, 1941:93).

During this time the town of Penniman sprouted up. It was a base for supplies and brought with it 15,000 inhabitants. This was a time when Duke of Gloucester Street really flourished, stores and shops were popping up all over, and Stevens (1941:266-267) noted:

"Concrete was poured along Duke of Gloucester Street. Shacks and shops and filling stations sprang up on every side to catch the dollars that dropped from a government employee's hands, or shall we say the pennies from Penniman? But these things made the aspect of Williamsburg only worse, for to sheer ugliness was added a raw, jerry-built newness that consorted ill with Bruton Church, the Wren Building, and the St. George Tucker Houses. Then with the close of the War in 1919 the town of Penniman disappeared like April snow, leaving

Williamsburg a collection of ugly shacks and blasted dreams of affluence."

Once again the community fell prey to a drab and gloomy existence. But in 1926 it was rescued from a dim and dreary future. Here is where the history of the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg begins.

In 1927 Rockefeller gave his financial backing to W.A.R. Goodwins' dream of restoring Williamsburg. With the coming of this, "the long, dark age was over and the renaissance of classic Williamsburg was begun"(Stevens, 1941:268). Rutherford Goodwin (1941:97) stated that "In a few short years it had ceased to be an isolated and pleasingly decayed colonial city. Outwardly it had become a Highway Town in which the Ancient and the Modern were mingled in an Effect of peculiar Aggravation."

With the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg came an influx and outflux of people which affected Williamsburg, as a community, greatly. As contracts were drawn up for the restoration work, money flowed into Williamsburg. Though the restoration work brought prosperity and hope it also took away much of the close-knit community of past times.

Another change that affected Williamsburg was the growth of the College of William and Mary. Between these two institutions, the College and Colonial Williamsburg, many outsiders were brought into the community. Though Williamsburg is still a small community it does not reflect such a close-knit and family oriented

community as it once had.

THE CEMETERY AS A REFLECTION OF THE COMMUNITY

These changes are reflected in Cedar Grove to varying degrees. The worse side of World War I, the death of thousands, is not evident in Cedar Grove. Instead one can find evidence of the prosperity it brought. Though the stones are not ostentatious there is still a feeling of wealth reflected, large family plots abound. During the periods prior to the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, the family was still a close-knit group, as was the community. This is reflected by the number of larger family plots and the number of burials within them. With the influx and outflux of people as a result of the restoration, this breaks down. By the 1930's one can see that families are moving in different directions. This is reflected in the large amount of plots with only a few burials. And reflected even more so now with the popularity of the single burial.

The depression does not seem evident in Cedar Grove. Perhaps this is due to the restoration. With Rockefeller's money flowing into Williamsburg it was probably saved from too many adverse affects from the Depression.

Through the examination of the history of Williamsburg a pattern emerges. Local events, or local reactions to national events, are evident and reflected in the cemetery. Whereas the larger picture of World War I and the Depression fails to be seen. Again, this reflects the importance of the community and it may be assumed

that it would be true in other communities as well. What is most easily seen is what has directly affected the small community, not the nation.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

This section will present data that indicates social and economic factors in the community and how they are reflected in Cedar Grove. To accomplish this wills, obituaries and various other documents relating to individuals who were buried in Cedar Grove between the years 1880 and 1940 will be examined.

Wills, Inventories, and appraisals

The first documents to be examined are wills, inventories and appraisals, good economic indicators as many indicate what was bequeathed, often listing properties or assets held by the deceased.

For the period 1880 to 1940 the sample contained 107 individuals. Of these 107, 34 were on record at the courthouse. It should be kept in mind that many of the 107 were children, women, or young adults that would not have had wills, though a surprising amount of wills for women were located. It is believed that the information proceeding is a reflective and accurate sample. These will be examined section by section and then the overall picture will be brought forth. The first section to be examined is section 7.

Section 7

For section 7, the old black section, there are a number of courthouse records. Samuel Harris, 20' x 20' #1, died in 1904, leaving a considerable fortune. He owned a prosperous mercantile

business as well as a number of private properties. In his will, dated 1903, he bequeathed the following properties; a house with land on Duke of Gloucester Street, known as the Charles Richardson lot; a lot on the same street known as the Hofheimer lot; a house and lot on Scotland and Chesapeak Streets, known as the Creasy house; the house and store lot; Bloxtons Farm; Chandlers Farm; Sam Smiths Farm; 50 acres of oyster ground in the York River; and 22 various other lots in Williamsburg. In addition to this it is noted that he left one son \$1000.00. The inventory and appraisement records show that his assets, not including property, were valued at \$32,601.71. This was a considerable sum of money and this, with the properties, made Samuel Harris a very wealthy Black man.

When JoAnna Harris, wife of Samuel, died in 1920 her will, dated 1912, listed a number of properties not mentioned above. These included a house and lot on Prince George Street and a house and lot on Cheasapeak Street, called the Bull House. Her will as well as her husbands indicated stock in the Peninsula Bank.

Obviously this family was one of wealth and it is reflected in Cedar Grove. The Harris plot is a 20' x 20' plot with piped borders and a marble entrance placque with the family name. Samuel's stone is a large, unusual stone. (See figure 33, section 7, 20' x 20' #1 in appendix 1) JoAnna's, though smaller and different, still reflects the wealth in which they lived. As was stated earlier, most of the stones in this plot differ from one another, but all reflect wealth.

Though the Canady lot, 20' x 20' #2, is large it looks disjointed. There is no real connection between the stones present. In this plot James and Mary Greenhow were buried. Each has a different type of stone though they are buried next to one another. A feeling of wealth does not come across in this plot and their joint will indicates this. The inventory and appraisal, taken after the death of James, indicates that their debts exceeded their assets. Their debts were totaled as \$950.00 whereas their assets were totaled as only \$784.00. As before the wealth, or in this case the lack thereof, is reflected in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

The Baker plot, 20' x 20' #3, reflects many stylistic changes. There are two small slight round headstones, both small but carved with flowers and epitaphs. These stones represent two women who had an average income for their time. Irene B. Ross' appraisal totaled \$4665.43 and Sallie Baker's appraisal totaled \$3887.86. The case here is that the stones reflect their average income and are characteristic for their time. Also in this plot are two ledgers. As stated before these are the most expensive types of stones. Ann Eliza Baker's ledger reflects her status. Upon her death in 1935 she had over \$4000.00 cash in deposit in her bank account. This, added to personal property, again shows the average wealth of this family is considerable, and it is reflected in the cemetery.

The last plot to be mentioned for this section is the Galt plot, 20' x 20' #5. As stated on his stone, William Galt was a sexton for Bruton Parish, though not being a high paying job it was steady and

respected in the community. Upon his death William Galt had a house and lot on Prince George Street, which he left to the St. Luke's Society. He also had a number of personal items included in his inventory, one being a 1924 model 5 passenger Cevrolet automobile, valued at \$400.00 at his death. His total assets were valued at \$4975.41. One interesting note regarding his will is his request that the insurance money "be used to put tombstones on the graves of Jane Weaver, Priscilla Galt, Maggie Galt, Pauline Ragsdale and on my own grave." (City of Williamsburg courthouse will book number 3, page 185.) His stone, as well as his wife's, is a large marble stone with floral carvings and epitaphs. The stones requested for family members are small stones with only the names engraved. Does this possibly say something about who had the money in the family? By looking at Pauline Ragsdales inventory and appraisal it is evident that she was not wealthy or even middle class. At her death her assets were totaled at \$8.82, a considerable difference from William Galt. Had it not been for William Galt she, like the majority in section 7, would have been without a gravestone.

The plots in the section 7 sample reflect only those with stones, but these reflect the economic status of the people buried within them. Aren't the lack of stones in section 7 reflective of the economic status of the majority of blacks? It is my contention that they are.

Section 8

Section 8 also shows that stones or plots reflect economics,

supported by documents. The Jones' plot, 20' x 20' #1, is a large plot with a large family stone. The family stone has been rock pitched, the most expensive finish for granite.

When John and Lucy's individual wills and inventories are combined we find that they had a total of over \$12,000 plus a house and lot on Scotland Street. Once again wealth in life is reflected in death.

The Gore stones also reflect wealth, but there is less evidence in this case to support this. The only will available was W. A. Gore Sr.'s, 20' x 20' #3, and no inventory was done. His will reflects many personal items with an ending clause stating that the rest be divided into a certain number of equal parts. Some of the personal items include a clock given to him by the C & O railroad employees, victrola records, and a picture he painted.

On the other hand George E. Waltrip's will and inventory reflects a fairly wealthy man, though his individual stone is quite simple. The family stone is more elaborate, being tall with floral carvings and it is both polished and rock pitched granite, 20' x 20' #4. According to courthouse records, George Waltrip had personal property including one lot on York Street and 168 acres in Jamestown. He also held 10 shares in the Peninsula Bank and Trust Co. An interesting note here is that he requested in his will to be buried in Cedar Grove, and the inventory list a debt to Bucktrout Funeral Home for \$188.00. Mr. Waltrip's wealth is not reflected in his individual marker per se, but perhaps the fact that the family

marker is more elaborate, combined with the large plot, points to family money instead of, or as well as, individual wealth.

Section 9

In section 9 again we find that wealth is indicated. Mary Garnett Lane Peachy is buried in the Peachy plot, 20' x 20' #1. In her will she lists a number of lots and houses including a residence and lot on the corner of Courthouse Green and Duke of Gloucester Streets; a house and lot on Nicholson Street and Courthouse Green, known as the Chapman House; and another house and lot on Palace Green and Duke of Gloucester Streets called the Neal property. When Mary Peachy died in 1929 she left assets appraised at \$33,842.50, a considerable amount of money for that time. In the Peachy plot one finds a very large serpentine family stone that is rock pitched in certain areas. Is this indicative of their wealth? Possibly so.

The Lanes, 20' x 20' #2, were also quite wealthy. Levin W. Lane owned a number of properties including a house and lot, a 5 acre residence, a house and lot on Walter Street, the Raleigh Tavern lot, and a farm containing 375 acres, known as Lanesville. In his will he bequeathed the following; \$12,000 to one son and daughter, jointly; \$12,000 to another daughter; each grandchild received \$500.00; and servants received \$100.00 each. To all of this is also added 35 shares in State Planter's Bank and 123 liberty bonds worth \$13,435.80. Does the family plot or stones reflect all this wealth? Yes, the plot is a large one with a marble obelisk in the center. The

names of all persons buried in the plot are carved on the obelisk, along with the dates and occasionally epitaphs. Footstones with the initials were placed at the graves. Below Levin Lanes name and dates the following appears: "Captain of James City Calvry. He was a Patriarch Among his People Beloved by all the Community A Gallant Soldier of the Confederacy He has passed over the River to Rest in the Shade of the trees." Rarely in Cedar Grove is a longer or more glorious tribute found. This would seem to be a good indication of his wealth, as well as his status, in the community.

Section 10

In section 10 it will be demonstrated that the trend continues. After W. H. Littlefield's death his assets were appraised at \$6,358.87, including 6 shares in Hopkinton Bank and 8 shares in Peninsula Bank. To this was added property sold for \$9,986.18. Listed among his debts are \$136.83 to Bucktrout Funeral Home and \$135.00 to the Nelson Monument Co. This plot is a large one, 20' x 20' #1, and though the stone is a joint one it is elaborate, being polished and rock pitched. Two footstones with initials for each are also in the plot.

The Ayers plot, also 20' x 20' #1, reflects wealth. Four of the stones present are ledger types and two of those four have long epitaphs, and all have floral carvings. Charles F. Ayers' will states that in addition to the house and property \$3000.00 went to his wife, and each grandchild received \$1000.00. As well as the money mentioned and the residence, a 120 acre farm was owned in James

City.

The Warburton family plot, 20' x 20' #3, also reflects great wealth. There is a tall monumental family stone and this, as well as the individual stones, are an unusual rose colored granite. In Letita Warburton's will she lists a number of properties including a house and lot on Scotland and North Henry Streets; 3 lots and bungalows on North Henry Street; and 6 lots in Norfolk county. She also mentions the "family portraits", surely an indication of wealth. She bequeathed \$4000.00 to one nephew, a diamond cluster ring to a niece, and a diamond cluster ring with a garnet center to a grandniece. One interesting note regarding her will is that she gave only to relatives living in Williamsburg. Though others are mentioned kindly they received no inheritance. This is quite a statement about the old family in Williamsburg.

Edmund Ware Warburton's inventory lists an office and residence as well as St. Georges' Farm, the Main Farm, and a saw mill. The inventory indicated that the family bought all the properties to make sure they stayed in family hands. The total sum given for his real estate and business operations was \$106,594.79, this is not including other personal assets. It is noted among his debts that \$751.00 was paid to Couper Marble Works for the family monument.

The Casey name, 20' x 20' #5, is still well known in Williamsburg in association with the establishment on Duke of Gloucester Street. But the only information available is an appraisal for Milton Casey, totaling his assets at \$8,814.76. This plot and the stones within it

reflect more wealth than this indicates. The family marker is a large, unusual marble stone. The individual markers are also in marble and the letters are raised. Since the Casey's are still known and their business is still prospering, it can be assumed that the above is by far a small reflection the the family's wealth.

Section 14

The Peebles plot, 20' x 20' #1, is the last to be examined. Peter Paul Peebles was a lawyer in Williamsburg who died in 1938 leaving a very large mansion house; an apartment building; part of an estate in Greensboro, N.C.; and a number of various houses that he rented out. It is mentioned in the appraisal that a property on Frances Street was sold for \$28,000. He also held shares in the family business, Peebles. To this is also added 24 shares of capitol stock in Peninsula Bank and Trust Co. The Peebles plot is a 20' x 20' lot that has no family stone, but has a marble entrance placque. It also contains a large marble planter in the center of the plot. On P. P. Peebles stone it states that he was "a member of Law Faculty for 15 years at the College of William and Mary."

With just the sample of data available from wills and inventories it should be evident that the majority of people in the old sections, and occasionally in the new, were wealthy. Surely it is not coincidental that all these plots are 20' x 20' size plots. This again reflects the family orientation of the period from at least 1900 to approximately 1930.

After examining these documents it became quite clear that the

majority of properties listed were around the center of town, around Duke of Floucester Street.

Obituaries

Obituaries are a rich resource when looking for indicators of social status. For the sample period of 1880 to 1940, 37 obituaries were located. This is a reasonable amount considering the number of years that the Virginia Gazette was out of print. Though other newspapers were examined only one other, the Richmond Times-Dispatch, had an obituary for a resident of Williamsburg. All references to obituaries are from the Virginia Gazette unless otherwise noted.

It is believed that these obituaries reflect the social importance of many of the people buried in Cedar Grove, and also prove that those who are associated in life are associated in death. As before I will look at these section by section.

Section 7

As stated previously, Samuel Harris, 20' x 20' #1, was a very wealthy man. In the June 25, 1904 edition of the Virginia Gazette Samuel Harris' obituary appeared. It stated that he was "one of the best known colored men in eastern Virginia, and a leading and wealthy merchant of this city". It went on to describe how he started out poor but "By dint of hard work he amassed a considerable fortune. He was a good citizen and a pushing and energetic businessman."

On July 7, 1906 an obituary was run for Lizzie Moton, daughter of

Samuel Harris. It stated, in part, that she "was always held in high esteem by not only the people of her own race, but by white people as well."

An obituary for James Galt, 20' x 20' #5, was found in the July 30, 1914 edition, stating that "He was one of the oldest and most widely known men of his race in this city", going on to tell how he accumulated a considerable amount of money during his lifetime.

These obituaries distinguish these Black families in the City of Williamsburg, as do their plots and stones in Cedar Grove.

Section 8

John W. Jones', 20' x 20' #1, obituary from January 18, 1935 stated that he was a retired lumberman and a life long resident of Williamsburg.

The Gores, 20' x 20' #3, may have been one of the older families of Williamsburg. Jane Gore's obituary from June 21, 1902 refers to her as "an esteemed lady". Ida Gore's obituary from October 28, 1920 reads almost the same; "She was highly esteemed in this city." William Gore's obituary, from February 13, 1904, states that he was a "Highly respected citizen". His son's obituary from November 15, 1940 also indicates their importance in the community. They refer to W. A. Gore as "an old pioneer resident of Williamsburg".

Section 9

Every plot from section 9 has at least one example of a person that was held in high esteem by the community.

The Peachy family, 20' x 20' #1, is represented by Bathhurst D.

Peachy. His obituary appeared on the front page of the Virginia Gazette on July 27, 1916. This eight paragraph obituary, taking up a full column, abounds with tributes to B. D. Peachy. It stated that "His death is not only a great loss to his family but to the community." He had served as the Attorney for the Commonwealth and also taught Law at the College of William and Mary.

The wealth and status of the Lanes are reflected in the large number of obituaries associated with this family, 20' x 20' #2. These include obituaries for Spencer, Spencer Jr., Walter, Oscar, Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr., and Mrs. L. W. Lane, Sr. All of these obituaries reflect the popularity of the family. In regard to Spencer Jr., in the September 13, 1935 edition they said he was a "well known and popular young man" and in regard to Walter it was said that few were more "generally esteemed than he." (Va. Gazette, January 5, 1902) In the Richmond Times-Dispatch it is stated that Spencer Lane, Sr. was a "widely known business man of Williamsburg." They also note that his father, the wealthy L. W. Lane, was president of the First National Bank, going on to state that he was "a member of a prominent Virginia family, widely known in the Tidewater section." (Richmond Time-Dispatch, February 8, 1927, front page.) The obituaries regarding both Mrs. Lanes were lengthy, the June 25, 1904 Virginia Gazette column stated that Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr. was "one of our favorite citizens".

Mrs. Archie Brooks, 20' x 20' #3, is cited as "one of the pioneer residents of Williamsburg." (Va. Gazette, June 23, 1939) The

Trevilians, 20' x 20' #3, are also among those counted as prominent. In a lengthy front page obituary headlining "Prominent Citizen Passes Away", the Virginia Gazette, April 18, 1918, gives a life history of Capt. Charles B. Trevilian. He was a confederate officer who later became supervisor of Eastern State Hospital. The headlines for his wife's death read "Prominent Woman Passes away." (Va. Gazette, February 12, 1914.)

Robert A. Bright, also 20' x 20' #4, was a well known man who served in the Civil War. "Few men were more widely known than Capt. Bright." (Va. Gazette, March 19, 1904) Also in this family plot are the Mercers. John L. Mercer's obituary headlined "Distinguished Citizen Dead" (Va. Gazette, December 14, 1911), noting that he was once a mayor of Williamsburg and a prominent citizen. This lengthy obituary, 8 long paragraphs, recounts his ancestry, back to General Hugh Mercer from the time of the Revolutionary War. It also recounts his marriage to Jean Bright. The obituary for Mrs. Mercer, May 31, 1917, states that "The news of her death came as a great surprise, and shock to the entire community."

The last obituary to be examined for section 9 is Sarah Mahone's, 20' x 20' #5. The headline read "Old Time Resident Dies Christmas Day". (Va. Gazette, December 30, 1938) It states that she "was the daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth Badkins Powell, two of the oldest families in the Old Dominion." Both the Badkins and Powell family burial grounds are be found in Cedar Grove.

Section 10

Four out of five sample areas in section 10 represent prominent families in the Williamsburg community.

The passing of C. F. Ayers, 20' x 20' # 1, is recounted on the front page of the Virginia Gazette, July 15, 1932. They state that his passing "marks the death of one of James City county's most respected citizens."

The Warburtons, 20' x 20' #3, like the Lanes of section 9, are one of the most wealthy and prominent families found in Cedar Grove. There are a large number of obituaries relating to Warburton family members. These include Ware, Rosa, E. W. , and Lettie Warburton.

Ware Warburton's obituary covered two columns of the front page of the Gazette, March 23, 1916. Sadly, most of his obituary recounted his tragic suicide. In the column they refer to his father, Mayor Warburton. E. W. Warburton's obituary also covered the front page of the paper, March 20, 1919. The headlines read "Widely Known Citizen Dies". They recounted his life, noting how he recovered from the Civil War and "amassed a considerable fortune, owning some of the finest property in the city and county". He was chairman of the Democratic executive committee, city councilman, and twice mayor of Williamsburg. It also states that he was President of the Peninsula Bank and Trust Co., a company whose name has come up in many wills in the older sections of Cedar Grove Cemetery. His sister, Lettie, was also well known in the community. In her obituary, February 27, 1931, they state that "her

influence has been felt in the community through many years."

The Vaidens, 20' x 20' #4, must have also been important. Four obituaries were found in the paper; Edward, November 30, 1901; Mary, September 27, 1902; Minnie, April 14, 1906; and Jacob Vaiden, October 27, 1906. These obituaries are not as lengthy and flowery as some but in Jacob Vaidens obituary it is stated "He was one of the oldest and most prominent citizens of the county." The other obituaries mostly stress that they were children of Jacob Vaiden.

The Casey's, 20' x 20' #5, as mentioned earlier, are still well known in Williamsburg. On the front page of the Virginia Gazette, September 19, 1918, the sub-title reads, "Williamsburg's Pioneer Merchant Dies Suddenly at His Home Here. Attended Lecture Sunday Night. Great Shock." The long obituary, a full column, recounts the history of his business and contributions to the community. "Mr. Casey was at one time a valued member of the city council and was always deeply interested in civic affairs." Another incident which indicated the prominence of Robert T. Casey was that "Out of respect to his memory, all the stores of the city closed their doors during the funeral."

Section 14

For the new sections there is only one obituary. It was for George W. Holmes, section 14, 20' x 20' #2. The headline for the obituary read "Valued Employee of East. State Hospital Dies." (Va. Gazette, December 27, 1940) He was with Eastern State "for over

30 years where he was a valued employee."

These obituaries tell us, quite emphatically, that many of the people buried in Cedar Grove were prominent and often wealthy. (It should be noted that the excessive use of the word prominent is due to the fact that the newspapers stressed this word, not the present author.) This in itself says something about the social status of the people buried in Cedar Grove.

Though the sample years were 1880 to 1940, it is interesting to note that the majority of the obituaries date from 1900 to 1920, which in part includes the period of prosperity mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

These documents tell us more than just that they were important in the community. They also give lists of family members and friends serving as pallbearers. Both of these indicate that these families were not just tied to the community, but also to each other. For example, the Peachy plot is adjacent to the Lane plot. Through the obituaries, and in this case also the stones themselves, it is discovered that they were related through marriage (Mary Garnett Lane Peachy). The Warburtons and Armisteads, well known families in Williamsburg, were also related through marriage. In the obituary for Mr. Holmes, section 14, it states that his sister was Mrs. Ralph Johnston, buried in the plot adjacent to the Holmes. Also in section 14 it is discovered through the will that the Peebles and the Bucktrouts are related. Though the Bucktrouts and Armisteads are not in the sample their family burial grounds are

located in Cedar Grove, in sections 14 and 9 respectively. One of the wills examined for section 7 states that Catherine Baker was married to a Harris, perhaps one of Samuel Harris' sons?

By looking at the active and honorary pallbearers listed one can find many of the same names, over and over again. Table 4 reflects the findings. The deceased name is at the top, the pallbearers below this. Behind each name, in parentheses, is the section where they are located. Note that the names with asterisks are families that are located in Cedar Grove but not in the sample.

Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr. (s9)

Brooks(s9)
 Warburton(s10)
 Mercer(s9)
 Henley*(s9)
 Spencer*(s9)
 Hankin*(s9)

Mrs. Mary Trevilian(s9)

Warburton(s10)
 Binns(s14)
 Brooks(s9)
 Johnston(s14)
 Lane(s9)
 Henley*(s9)
 Spencer*(s9)
 Hankins*(s9)

J. L. Mercer(s9)

Brooks(s9)
 Trevilian(s9)
 Hankins*(s9)
 Armistead*(s9)

J. T. Casey(s10)

Jones(s8)
 Brooks(s9)
 Binns(s14)
 Waltrip(s8)
 Spencer*(s9)
 Henley*(s9)
 Hankins*(s9)

L. G. Warburton(s10)

Peachy(s9)
 Jones(s8)
 Armistead*(s9)

C. F. Ayres(s10)

Vaiden(s10)

J. W. Jones(s8)

Armistead*(s9)

S. Mahone(s9)

Armistead*(s9)

Table 4. Individuals underscored are in the sample. The names underneath represent names of pallbearers listed in the obituaries. The names followed by an * are not in the sample but are in Cedar Grove Cemetery. The number in parenthesis indicates the section in which the family plot is located.

Businessmans Association of Williamsburg

Other documents such as the minute book, number 2, from the Businessmans Association of Williamsburg, indicate how these families were interwoven in the community. Members of the Executive Committee included, L. W. Lane, Jr.; J. L. Mercer; R. T. Casey; E. W. Warburton; and B. D. Peachy. In article I, Novemeber 1899, they state their purpose is to "advance the business interests and general welfare of the City of Williamsburg and its vicintiy." (Archives, Swem Library, Book 2, Businessmans Association of Williamssburg, 1899, page 6) Other names that appeared as signers of the constitution for the association included all those named above plus, Armistead, Bozarth, Spencer, Henley, Jones, Bucktrout, and Trevilian. By October 8, 1902, A. Brooks and G. Vaiden were also members. In 1912 Julian Casey and R. W. Mahone (possibly related to Sara from the sample) were also added as members.

By examining these documents, as well as the front page of various editions of the Virginia Gazette, one finds that in the 1920's there is less and less written about the community, national news taking the place of local events. This is noticed in the obituaries as well. Previously, to about 1920, the obituaries are long and flowery. After this they are shorter and more succinct. In the early 1930's a change is also noted. The College of William and Mary headline the front pages frequently, and topics such as the Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, art, and the theatre become

important.

By examining the brief history given at the beginning of this chapter it can be seen that these trends in the newspapers and in the cemetery followed what happened to Williamsburg as a community. By the 1930's the city was trying to look outside itself, trying to become more cosmopolitan. In the 1930's obituaries were rare, and most of the existing ones were even shorter than those of the 1920's.

SUMMARY

The data presented in this chapter shows how important documents can be in complementing or supporting contentions previously made. Many trends were noticed in the cemetery, but the documents answered many of the "why" questions. With the aid of documents it is no longer necessary to speculate about what caused many of the changes in the cemetery.

By now it should be clear that the living community is reflected in the cemetery. We have seen how documents can illuminate social and economic facets of a community and, or, individuals. By examining documents for a period extending from 1880 to 1940 it has been shown that the cemetery reflects the community's history, World War I, the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, and the Depression being the examples used here.

It was determined that the effect of World War I, as seen in the cemetery and in the documents, was a financially positive one. With

the settlement of Penniman money started flowing into Williamsburg, which at that time was in great need of financial support. It also brought back life to the otherwise gloomy city, but then the War ended and Penniman vanished, putting Williamsburg back into its gloomy and non-prospering state.

Williamsburg was once again brought out of its "depression" by W. A. R. Goodwin's dream of restoring Colonial Williamsburg. With the financial backing of John D. Rockefeller, Goodwin's dream became a reality. As was the case with Penniman, this brought new blood, as well as dollars, into Williamsburg, and this is quite apparent in Cedar Grove Cemetery, the financial security and hope of a brighter future are evident in the cemetery.

By examining the documents, as well as looking at the cemetery itself, it was determined that the Depression had less of an impact on Williamsburg than one would normally assume. One can speculate that perhaps the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg helped many residents of Williamsburg through the hardships normally associated with the Depression.

By examining the documents many social and economics factors were illuminated. The wills indicated that the majority of the families buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery, during the sample period of 1880 to 1940, were, if not wealthy, at least well to do.

Obituaries shed light on the social status of many of the people, or families, buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery. It was determined that the vast majority of people were upper-middle class to upper

class, and that families that were tied together in life were also tied together in death. It is often the case that families that were related through marriage had plots directly next one another. Also evident is that families that were tied together by friendships or business relationships were also tied together in death. Many plots are closely related, geographically that is.

Some of the ways and means of changes in Williamsburg have been examined closely, and it has now been demonstrated how and why Williamsburg, and Cedar Grove Cemetery as a result, has changed over time.

CONCLUSION

In Chapter I, some of the available literature was reviewed to demonstrate how and why cemetery studies are important. In particular, theoretical works dealing with the issue of social organization were examined briefly. These works, chosen because of their relevance to the present study, delineated some of the questions behind cemetery studies, and particularly dealt with the question; can we know more about a culture than just it's technology or economics?

It has been seen through the review of relevant literature, as well as in the data presented here, that questions regarding social organization can be addressed in addition to those of economics, technology, and so on. It was demonstrated that archaeologists can obtain information on more than technology; aspects of culture such as social stratification, kinship, religion, values, morals, etc., can be defined and understood.

The following chapters dealt with the cemetery as an indicator of culture change, and it was demonstrated by examination of the cemetery as a whole, the gravestones themselves, and, importantly, the plots, that Cedar Grove Cemetery is an ever-changing community.

The first step in achieving this goal was to briefly discuss the

cemetery as a site and then go into the differences between certain areas of the cemetery. The observations of these areas resulted in the following sampling strategy. The first decision was not to include the 1962 addition area. This left a sample area that was contained within the brick walls and the fenced extensions of these walls. This sample area was divided into eight sections (per City of Williamsburg cemetery blueprints). Within each of these eight sections, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 14, five 20' x 20' units were randomly chosen, totaling 40 units altogether.

It was noted here that these eight sections often had very different physical appearances. Sections 7 and 3 were noted to have much fewer gravestones than the other sections. It was concluded that this was due to the fact that section 7 was the "old Black section" and most of the people buried here were on the lower end of the social and economic scale. Section 3, it was discovered, is also primarily a Black section, though unlike section 7 it seems to be the choice of those buried there, or their families, not a matter of forced segregation. Section 3 is also characterized by a large number of single burial plots, and very few family plots. Due to the fact that the vast majority of graves in section 7 are unmarked, one may also conclude that they were also, for the most part, single burials.

Sections 2, 13, and 14 were noted to be fairly similar, not only in the years represented by the stones, but also in the types of stones and patterns of stones found within these three sections. In

these sections there is a sterile atmosphere, though family stones abound. The vast majority of family stones in these areas are serpentine styles and the vast majority of individual stones are the flat types.

There is little variance within these sections, though finishes on the granite family stones often vary. The size of plots were also very similar, most being the 10' x 20' size. In these sections there were many references to occupation, organization membership, and club affiliation. It should be noted that section 13 varied somewhat in that it had the "nursery" and a larger number of single burials than sections 2 or 14, but none-the-less still seemed to fit into the general pattern found within the other two sections. Thus, it has been concluded that the emphasis in these sections was on the small family, or couples.

Sections 8, 9, and 10 (the oldest sections of the cemetery along with section 7) were noted to be very similar in that each section was characterized by large family plots. These family plots seem to indicate that the "old White community" was buried in these sections (supported later by documentary evidence). In these sections, 8, 9, and 10, a strong feeling of community and family comes through. Here slant and hickey markers were prevalent, with older types of headstones also evident. It was also noted in these sections, as well as sections 2, 13, and 14, that most individual stones within family plots followed one type. In these sections there are fewer family stones than in sections 2, 13, and 14, but

within the plots, as stated, a pattern exists. There is greater variance from plot to plot, but a consistency within plots. In sections 8, 9, and 10 plots tended to be larger, often 20' x 20' or even 20' x 30'. Many plots contain up to as many as 12 burials, indicating a large family or kinship network. The largest plots were found near the perimeters of most of the sections, possibly pointing to development patterns.

In sum it can be said that in the old sections, 8, 9, and 10, there is a feeling of large family units, community closeness, and wealth. In the newer sections, 2, 13, and 14, there is still a feeling of family but it is disjointed, and, or, small. The community feeling is not as prevalent and there seems to be little difference economically. In the older sections there is homogeneity within the individual family plots but not throughout the entire section. In the newer sections, 2, 13, and 14, the plots all look the same and there is somewhat less homogeneity within family plots.

Sections 3 and 7 stand alone in the high number of unmarked graves, and within each of these sections a feeling of low economic status prevails.

Perhaps one of the most interesting findings was related to the plots, specifically their location and size. The study of gravestones has been carried out by many scholars, but plots have been ignored. It is the contention here that plots can often yield information as important, if not more important, than gravestone analysis. As was demonstrated here, plot analysis can lead to information regarding

kinship patterns, family size, wealth, relationships during life, and the evolution of the cemetery itself. By noting the change in plot size and location over time a marker of culture change was discovered. Plots dating to the 19th and early 20th centuries were found to be much larger, usually 20' x 20', than those of later dates.

Chapter IV examined some possible causes for these changes. Historical events, both local and national, were examined. Through documents, as well as physical evidence from Cedar Grove, it was determined that World War I had a monetarily positive affect on Williamsburg as a community. With the creation of the town of Penniman a great deal of money came into Williamsburg, bringing it out of its' "poverty, drabness, and decay" (Stevens, 1941:264). Unfortunately, for Williamsburg, this lasted only as long as World War I. Once Penniman ceased to exist so did the prosperity, and the community once again fell prey to a drab and gloomy existence.

W. A. R. Goodwin, with financial backing from Rockefeller, helped bring Williamsburg out of this period of drabness. It has been demonstrated that one of the greatest changes in the community, reflected in the cemetery, occurred with the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. With the restoration came an influx and outflux of both people and money. This changed Williamsburg greatly, and its' result can be seen in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Various documents have demonstrated, for the sample period of 1880 to 1940, that the people buried in the old sections, 8, 9, and 10, of Cedar Grove were important both socially and economically to

the community. Obituaries were examined to demonstrate the social prominence of most of the people buried in the old sections of Cedar Grove Cemetery. Wills demonstrated again, that many of the people buried in the old sections were wealthy. Many "pioneer" families of Williamsburg were found to be buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery. Thus, the history of Williamsburg and the changes it went through are reflected in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Though not always stated explicitly, one of the primary methods used by many archaeologists, including the present author, is pattern recognition. It is through pattern recognition, combined with other methods, that cultural processes and laws can be discovered, as was demonstrated here.

In this thesis it has been demonstrated that the cemetery can reflect the community. It has also been shown that even without benefit of documents, many aspects of culture can be defined. (Though it is the author's contention that documents should be used whenever, and wherever possible to support hypotheses.)

In conclusion, it is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated to the reader how the historic cemetery can enlighten cultural anthropologists and archaeologists about many dimensions of culture, and in particular the dimensions of social organization and economics. It is a resource that should not be neglected.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

NOTES, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND MAPS BY SECTION

(Maps taken from City of Williamsburg blueprints of Cedar Grove in addition to author's observations.)

NOTES FROM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 2

20' x 20' #1- Strupel/Lokey Plots

Strupel plot, marble split serpentine family stone with planter in the middle, family name on both sides, floral design, posts.

1. Frank E. Strupel; military marker; Missouri Pvt Camp Supply Det. QMC World War I; Oct 31 1889; April 21 1959; flat granite marker with cross.

2. Nona A. Strupel; Beloved Mother; March 8, 1898; April 25, 1961; flat granite marker.

Lokey plot, granite slight round family stone with base, family name blocked off.

1. George William Lokey; July 29, 1894; January 13, 1972; flat granite marker.

2. Margaret Lee Lokey; August 27, 1899; November 14, 1959; flat granite marker.

20' x 20' #2- Nixon/Denoy(Glass) plots

Nixon plot, elaborate granite serpentine family stone with floral design, polished and rocked stone, family name on both sides.

1. Stacy S. Nixon; May 29, 1884; Oct. 28, 1966; Devoted Wife and Mother; granite flat marker with polished borders.

2. Nathan J. (Jack) Nixon; Aug. 7, 1877; Mar.22, 1959; Rest in Thine and Sweet Remembrance Ours; granite flat marker with polished borders.

Denoy plot, (according the the blueprint it is the Glass plot but the family stone states Denoy.), granite serpentine family stone with floral design, small.

1. Lisa Ann Curtis; Infant Daughter of Richard & Sally A. Curtis; June 18, 1969; June 18, 1969; granite flat marker with polished borders and lamb design; oval picture of the infant is present in the

marker.

2. Bart John Denoy; military marker; Pennsylvania Cpl 589 AAA AW BN CAC World War II BSM; Jan 29 1921; July 29 1958; flat granite marker.

20' x 20' #3- Slater/McMillan/Steele plots

Slater plot, granite serpentine family stone with polished finish, Slater is on one side of the stone and McMillan on the other side, posts.

1. William Leon Slater; 1885-1955; (per the blueprints the date of death was 03-23-55); granite flat marker.

2. Elizabeth Harrington Slater; January 20, 1903; October 3, 1976; granite flat marker.

3. John Calhoun Slater; Oct. 5, 1898; Sept. 7, 1970; granite flat marker.

4. Slater; per blueprint date of death was 09-06-84; no stone or marker in the cemetery; crematorium.

McMillan plot, granite serpentine family stone with polished finish, Mcmillan is on one side of the stone and Slater on the other side.

1. Allan J. McMillan; 1904-1984; granite flat marker with polished borders.

2. Ethel Clarke; wife of Allan John McMillan; Jan 19, 1904; June 18, 1955; granite flat marker, rough looking.

Steele plot

1. John Wesley Steele; Jan. 22, 1876; April 13, 1958; granite flat marker with polished borders.

2. Mamie Goodman Steele; Feb. 11, 1879; June 20, 1955; granite flat marker with polished borders.

3. C. Steele; per blueprint date of death was 12-26-61; no stone or marker in cemetery.

20' x 20' #4- Farthing/Noble plots

Farthing plot

1. Frederick C.; Farthing; May 7, 1889; March 19, 1956; Anna V.; Feb. 13, 1886; June 28, 1974; one stone for husband and wife; granite serpentine stone with floral design; polished and rocked stone.

Noble plot

1. Viola Tenney; Noble; 1869-1951; Samuel George; 1868-1952; one stone for husband and wife; marble serpentine with floral design; on the other side of the stone is Newman; Genevieve Eleanor; Feb 10, 1950; Nov 13, 1951.

2. Genevieve Eleanor Newman; marble flat marker; see above.

20' x 20' #5- Gooch/Hardie plots

Gooch plot, granite rocked serpentine family stone

1. William S. Gooch Jr.; military marker; Virginia Commander USNR World War I & II; March 1, 1895; April 6, 1966; granite flat marker with cross.

Hardie plot, granite polished and rocked serpentine family stone.

1. Thornton J. Hardie; 1903-1961; granite flat marker.

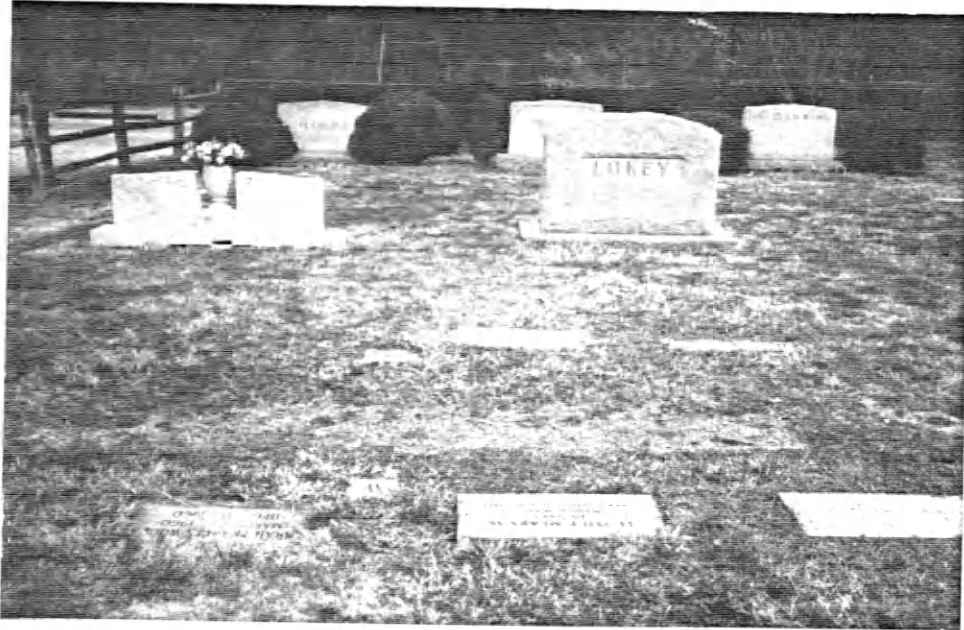


Fig. 23. 20' x 20' #1 from section 2. Strupel/Lokey plots.



Fig. 24. 20' x 20' #2 from section 2. Nixon/Denoy plots.



Fig. 25. 20' x 20' #3 from section 2. Slater/McMillan/
Steele plots.



Fig. 26. 20' x 20' #3 from section 2. Slater/McMillan/
Steele plots.



Fig. 27. 20' x 20' #4 from section 2. Farthing/Noble plots.

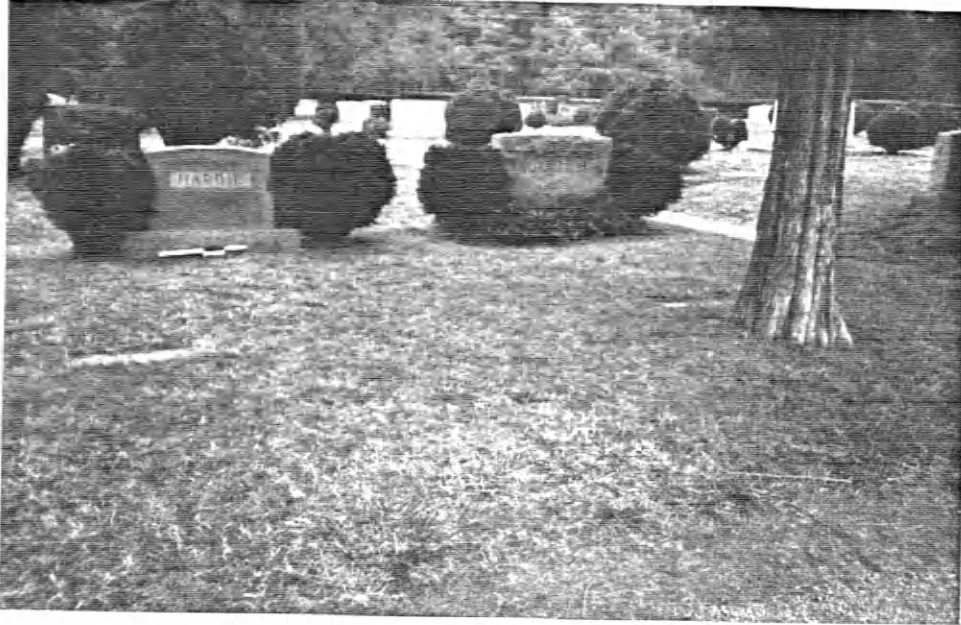
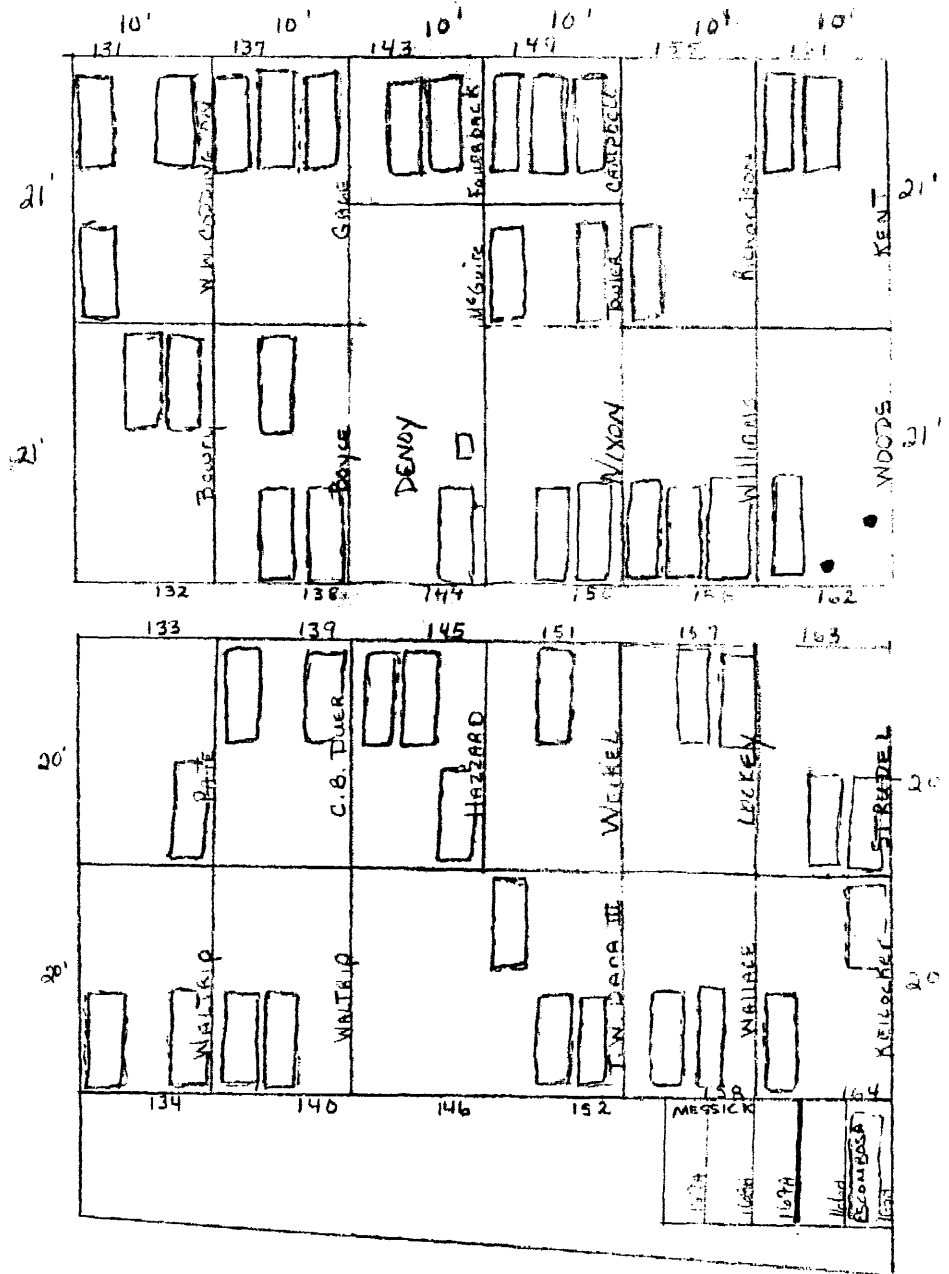
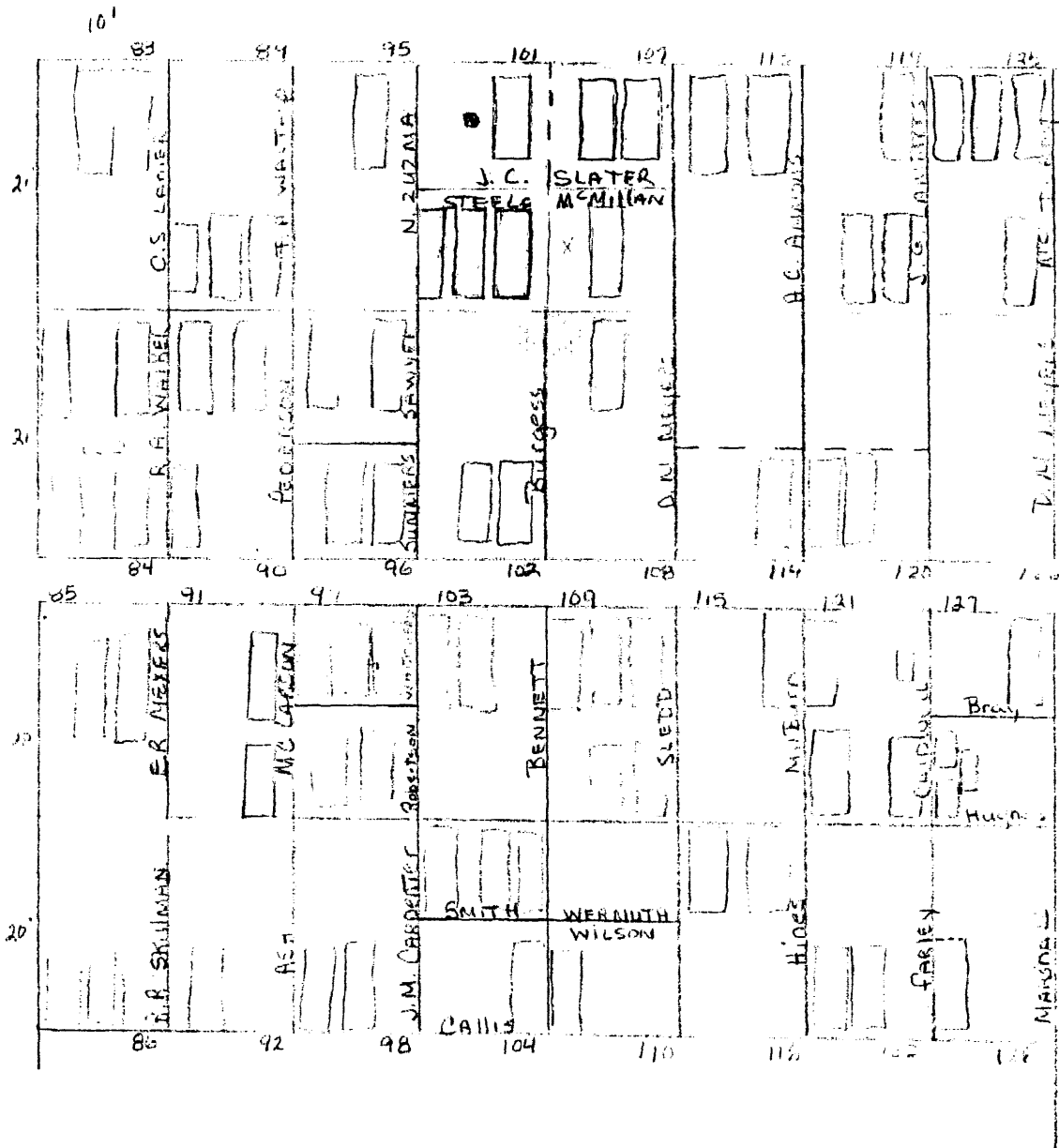


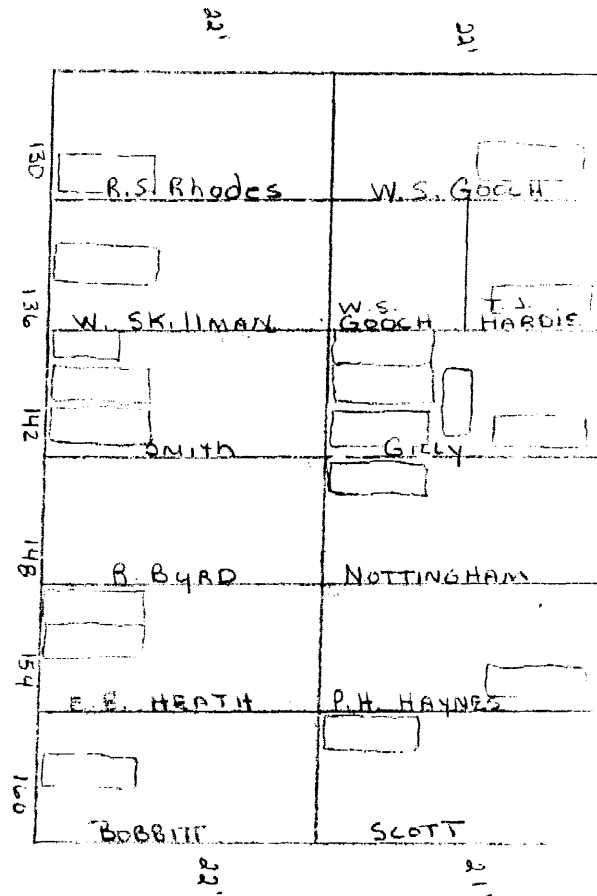
Fig. 28. 20' x 20' #5 from section 2. Gooch/Hardie plots.



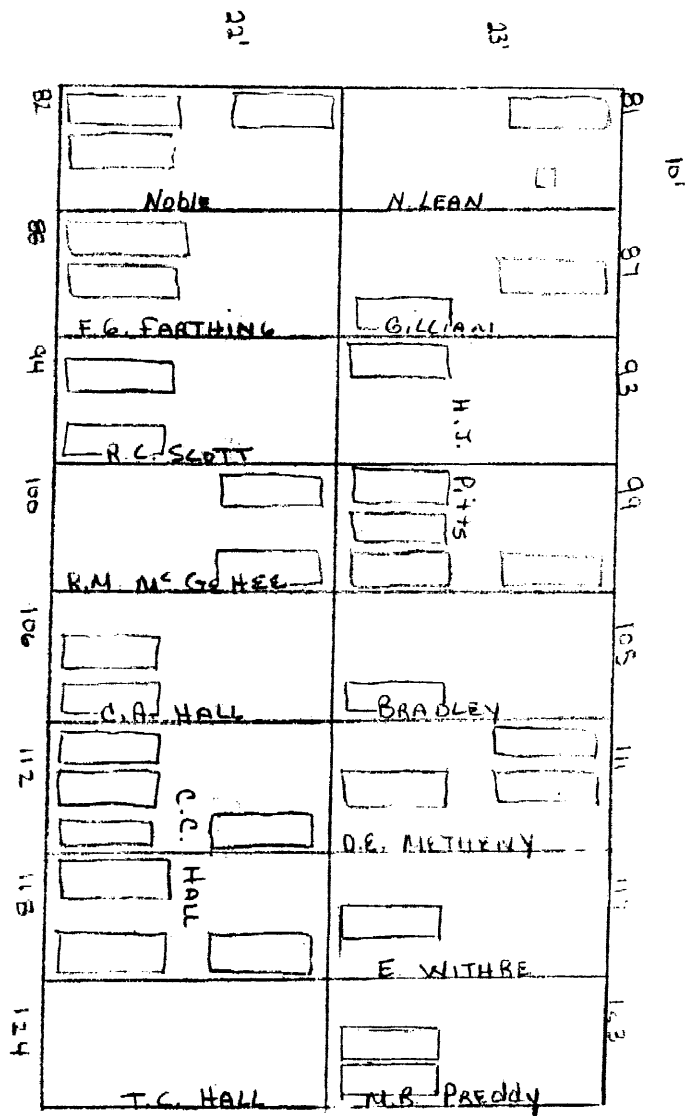
Map 3. Section 2 Map 1 of 4.



Map 4. Section 2 Map 2 of 4.



Map 5. Section 2 Map 3 of 4.



Map 6. Section 2 Map 4 of 4.

NOTES FROM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 3

20' x 20' *1- Crutchfield/Smith plots

Crutchfield plot

1. Thomas W.; Crutchfield; 1888-1953; Septivia A.; 1888-1973; one stone for husband and wife; granite double flat with floral design.

Smith plot, granite polished serpentine family stone with floral design, name on both sides.

1. Elizabeth Carey Smith; Aug 18, 1871; June 3, 1959; granite flat marker with polished borders.
2. Robert Smith; July 17, 1861; Feb 12 1947; granite flat marker with polished borders.
3. Annette C. Smith; 1918-1979; granite flat marker; plain.
4. Meribah S. Roberts; 1907-1985; granite flat marker; plain.

20' x 20' *2- Brown/Epps plots

Brown plot

1. Ada Cumber Brown; Mar. 17, 1885; Dec. 1, 1940; granite slant marker.
2. John Henry Brown; Mar. 10, 1877; Apr. 10, 1940; granite slant marker; will.

Epps plot

1. Mamie; Epps; 1892-1971; Mollie; 1868-1956; Peter; 1864-1939; one long short marble serpentine die with base; floral design.
2. Alfred Epps; per blueprint date of death 06-04-1979; no stone or marker.

20' x 20' *3- Various individual burials

1. Annie E. Taylor; June 2 1908; April 18 1968; (per blueprint date of death was 04-22-68); granite flat marker with cross between dates of birth and death.
2. Rosetta W. Callen; 1904-1978; granite flat marker with floral design and polished.

3. Queen Spratley; per blueprint date of death 03-06-84; no stone or marker.
4. Imogene Cooke; per blueprint date of death 02-17-22; no stone or marker.
5. Sarah Carrow; per blueprint date of death 05-31-72; no stone or marker.
6. T. E. Nelson; per blueprint date of death 05-23-66; no stone or marker.
7. F. Holloway; per blueprint date of death 01-16-69; no stone or marker.
8. N. R. White; per blueprint date of death 05-18-66; no stone or marker.
9. Jerry Nornings; name per blueprint, no date, no stone or marker.
10. Eliz. Crocker; per blueprint date of death 03-08-66; no stone or marker.
11. G. Ashlock; per blueprint date of death 02-18-66; no stone or marker.

20' x 20' #4- Various individual burials

1. D. Underwood; per blueprint date of death 11-17-72; no stone or marker.
2. E. Weathers; per blueprint date of death 09-30-67; no stone or marker.
3. Joe Betts; per blueprint date of death 05-14-70; no stone or marker.
4. Charles Willis; per blueprint date of death 01-16-70; no stone or marker.
5. Catherine E.; Speight; July 10, 1905; Nov 8, 1967; Charles H.; no dates on stone ; one granite double flat marker for husband and wife; per blueprint date of death for Charles was 05-05-78; floral design; open book design.
6. C. C. Williams; May 17, 1895; Dec 1, 1970; granite flat marker with polished borders.

7. Richard Lee Spikes, Jr.; military marker; Virginia Col US Army Vietnam; May 25, 1949; April 3, 1972; granite flat marker.
8. Marie W. Stowes; per blueprint date of death 06-20-73; no stone or marker.
9. Odell Oliver; Apr. 2, 1935; July 9, 1980; Gone but no Forgotten; granite flat marker with polished borders.
10. Mrs. E. Oliver; March 24, 1913; Jan 16, 1971; Gone but not Forgotten; granite flat marker with floral design and polished borders.

20' x 20' #5- Various individual burials

1. E. Ashlock; per blueprint date of death 07-14-79; no stone or marker.
2. Levi Stephens; name per blueprint, no dates; no stone or marker.
3. Viola W. King; per blueprint date of death 07-05-73; no stone or marker.
4. E. Silver; per blueprint date of death 11-09-82; no stone or marker.
5. John E. Robinson; per blueprint date of death 12-14-73; no stone or marker.
6. Devetta Chapman; per blueprint date of death 08-23-75; no stone or marker.
7. Page; per blueprint date of death 08-20-82; no stone or marker.
8. Willie L. Frazier; per blueprint date of death 03-14-74; no stone or marker.
9. Mary E. Cumber; per blueprint date of death 10-26-75; no stone or marker.
10. Mattie Ethel Ashlock; March 24, 1897; July 10, 1973; In God's Care; marble flat marker.
11. Paul E. Ashlock; Jan 9, 1914; April 24, 1975; granite flat marker.
12. Arma T. Carter; 1907-1985; (per blueprint date of death was 04-27-85); granite flat marker with floral design and polished borders.



Fig..29. 20' x 20' #1 from section 3. Crutchfield/Smith plots.



Fig. 30. 20' x 20' #1 from section 3. Crutchfield/Smith plots.



Fig. 31. 20' x 20' #2 from section 3. Brown/Epps plots.

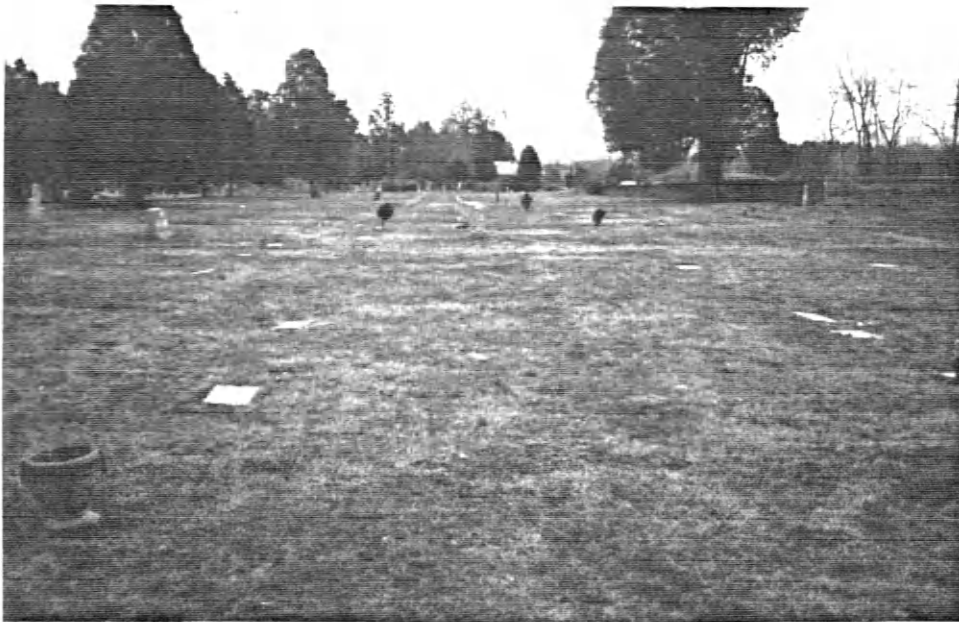
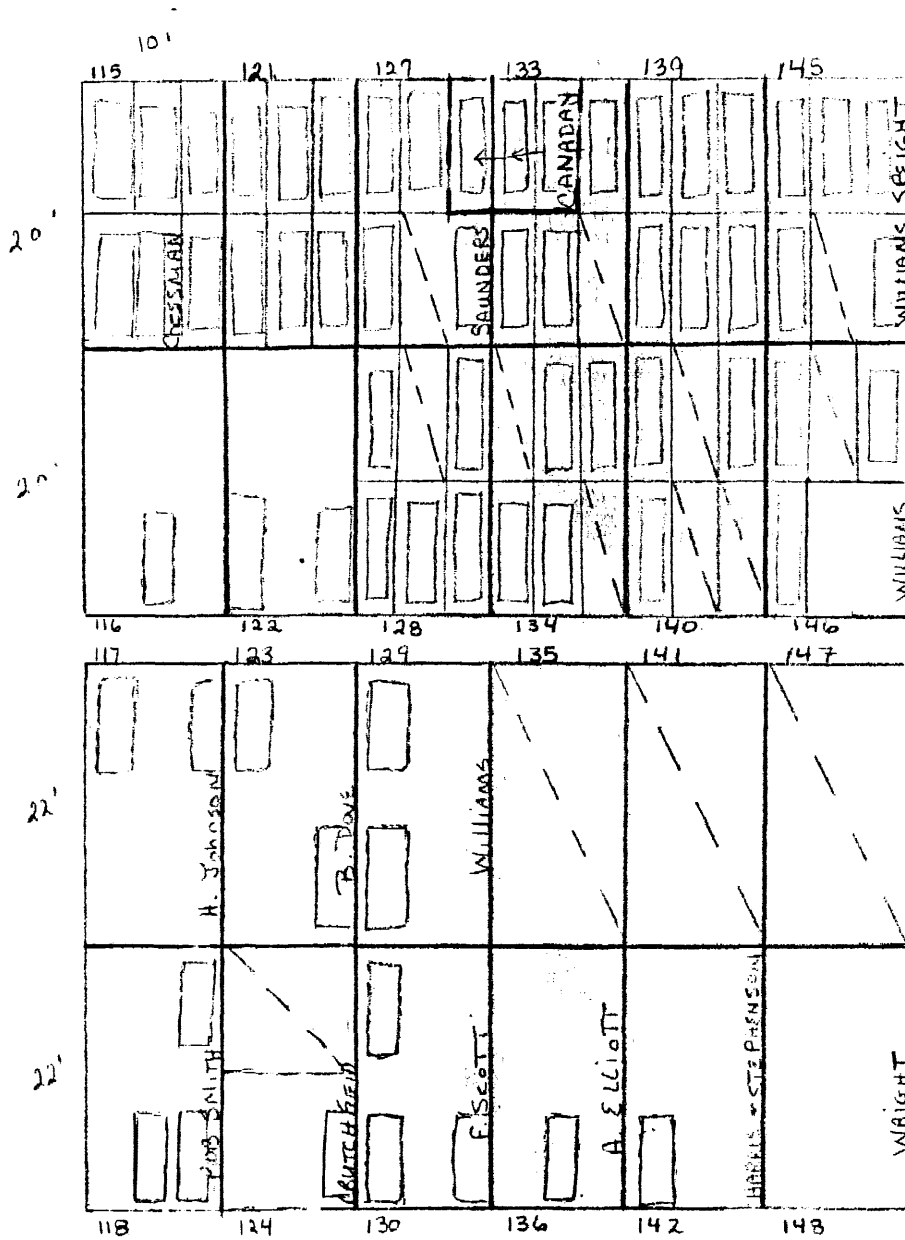
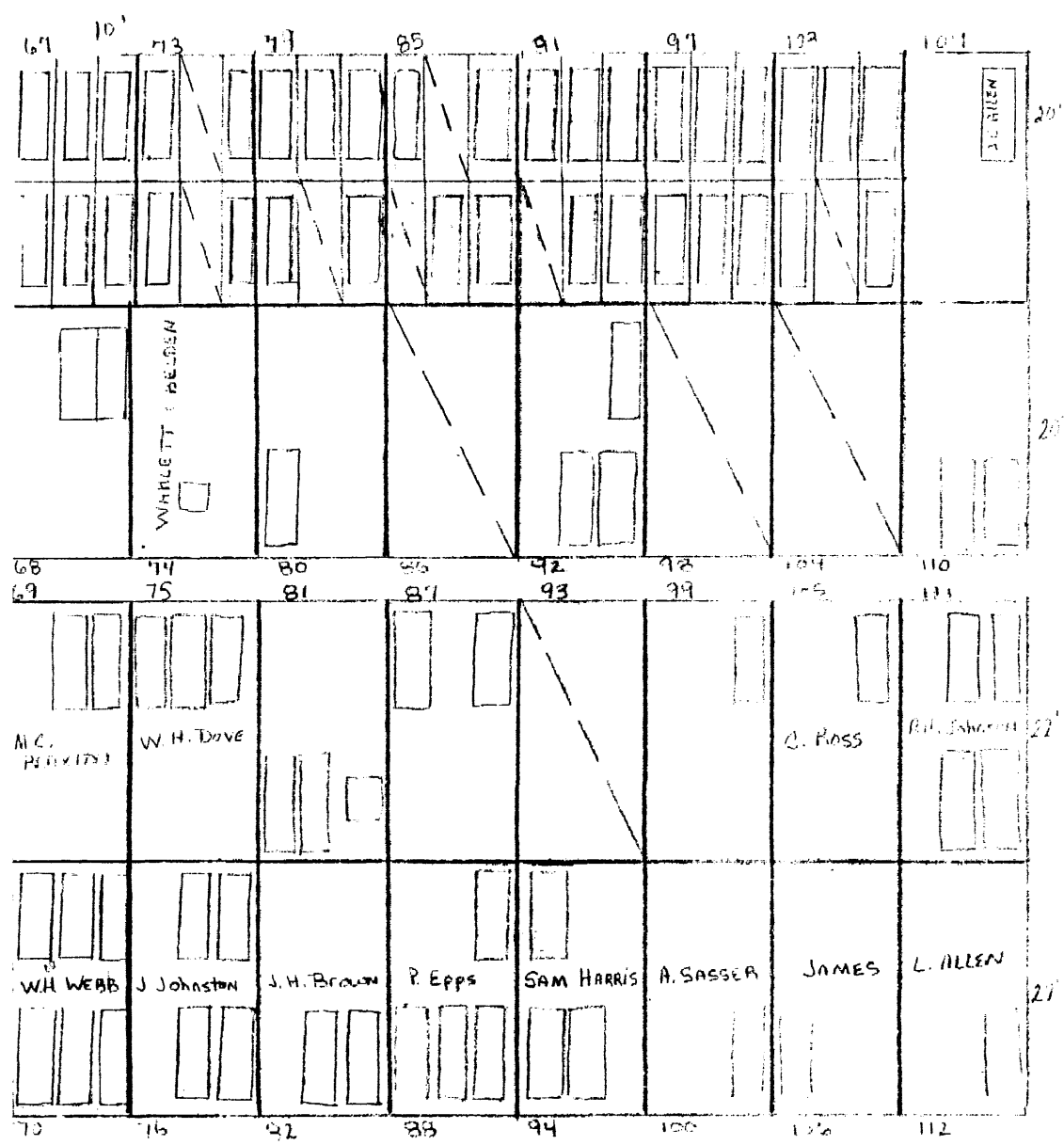


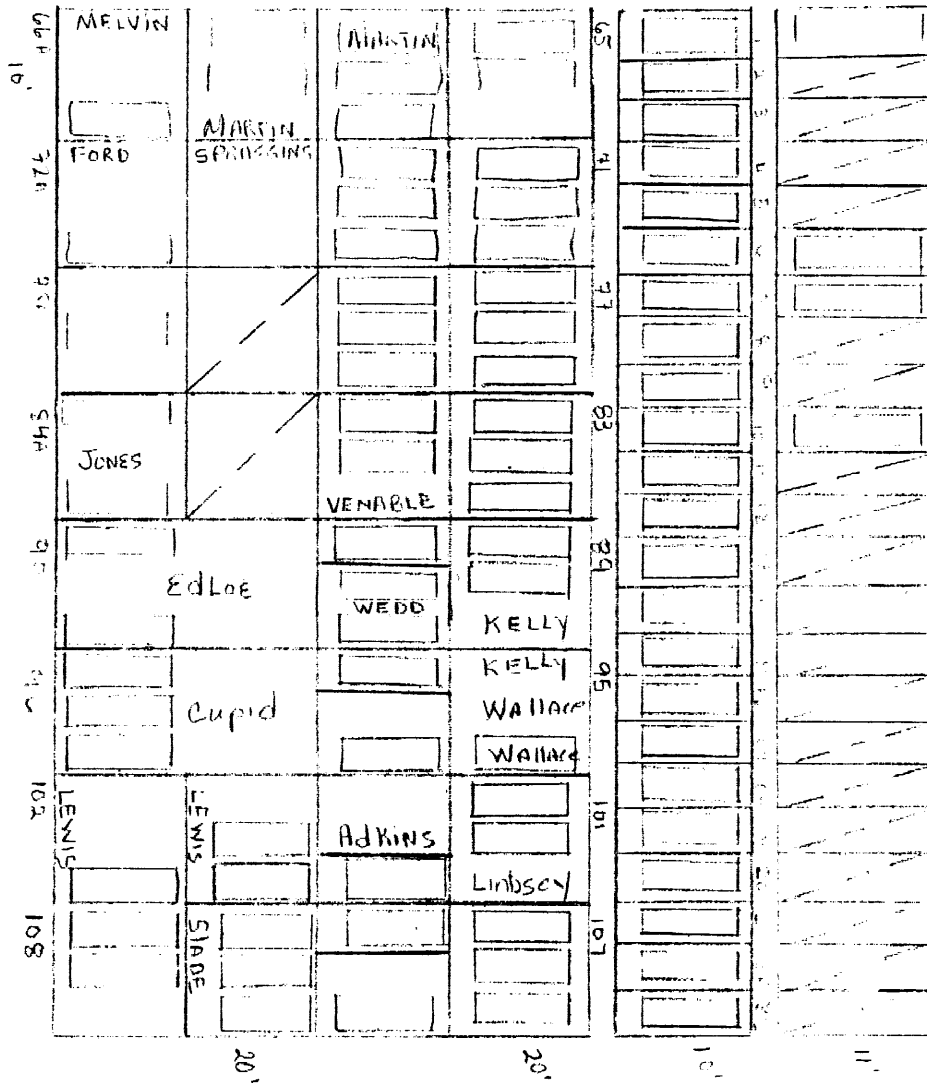
Fig. 32. Overall view of back of section 3 which includes 20' x 20' plot #'s 3, 4, and 5.



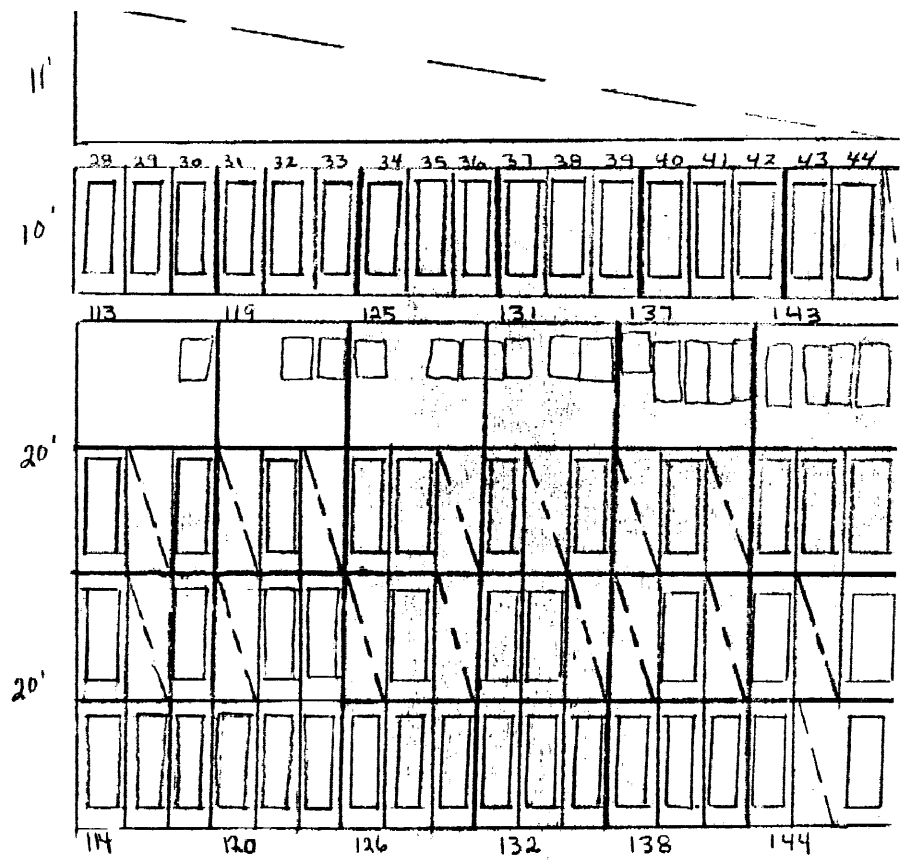
Map 7. Section 3 Map 1 of 4.



Map 8. Section 3 Map 2 of 4.



Map 9. Section 3 Man 3 of 4.



Map 10. Section 3 Map 4 of 4.

NOTES FROM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 7

20' x 20' #1- Harris plot

Harris plot, marble entrance name, pipe borders.

1. Samuel Harris; Dec. 20, 1852; June 24, 1904; He Giveth His Beloved Sweet Sleep; large granite stone, steeled and rocked finish; die irregularly shaped with fern carvings, base has HARRIS in large print; obituary; will.
2. JoAnna B. Harris; 1858-1920; granite stone, steeled and rocked die, raised flower and scroll design on die; quite a bit smaller than Samuel Harris'; no family name on base; will.
3. Arthur D. Harris; 1881-1937; Asleep; granite slant stone; name in rectangle with floral design on top; smaller than JoAnna Harris' stone; family name at top of stone.
4. Elizabeth Hunt; Daughter of Samuel & Joannah Harris; wife of Robert Russa Moton; Born March 7, 1878; Died July 5, 1906; Love is All and Death is naught; slight round marble stone; no decoration; two bases; larger than JoAnna Harris' but smaller than Samuel Harris' stone, obituary.
5. Fannie D. Harris; In Memory of Our beloved daughter; Who fell Asleep in Jesus; July 29, 1892; Born Nov. 11, 1879; round marble headstone, no decoration.
6. Thomas W. Harris; May 16, 1908; Sept. 29, 1923; None Know thee but to love thee; stone similar to E. Hunt but smaller with floral design; marble slight round stone with only one base.
7. Joanna C. Harris; In Memory of Our Beloved Daughter; Born Aug. 31, 1883; Died Feb. 24, 1890; round marble headstone, no decoration.
8. In Memory of Our Devoted Children; Florance Harris; Born Feb. 15, 1873; Died May 16, 1974; Emealia J. Harris; Born May 5, 1871; Died Sept. 26, 1875; round marble headstone; no decoration.

20' x 20' #2- Canaday plot

Canaday plot, posts with C-G

1. Rachel Thurston Canaday; Mother; 1863-1892; granite hickey marker with floral design.
2. Elizabeth C. Watson; At Rest; 1840-1891; granite hickey marker with floral design.
3. James I. Greenhow; Husband; 1877-1938; Till Morning breaks; granite slight round die with base; joint will with Mary T. Greenhow.
4. Mary T. Greenhow; August 20, 1869; July 11, 1969; At Rest; granite slant marker with floral design.

20' x 20' #3- Baker plot

Baker plot, posts with B

1. Sallie M. Baker; Sacred to the Memory of; Born Aug. 20, 1875; Died June 22, 1906; marble slight round headstone with floral design; will; obituary.
2. Irene B. Ross; Born June 15, 1888; Age 27 years; Gone but not forgotten; Mother; marble slight round headstone with floral design; will.
3. Ann Eliza Baker; Sacred to the Memory of Mother; Born July 2, 1843; Died December 1, 1935; She was a devoted mother and had the respect of all who knew her. Oh Death where is thy sting; Oh Grave where is thy victory; Erected by her Children; granite ledger with no design; will.
4. Florence Taylor; Beloved wife of John P. Baker; 1891-1942; Baker at the top of the stone with floral design; granite ledger; Abide with me, Fast Falls the even Tide; The Darkness deepens, Lord with me abide; When other helpers fail, and comforts flee, Help of the helpless, Oh abide with me.
5. John P. Baker; 1886-1952; granite flat marker; no design.
6. William H. Baker; 1879-1960; granite flat marker; floral design.
7. Clara B. Baker; 1886-1979; granite flat marker; floral design.

20' x 20' #4- Brown plot

Brown plot, marble entrance name, pipe borders, posts with B

1. Elie Brown; 1883-1932; granite flat marker with floral design.
2. Ernest Jensen; Sept. 30, 1900; marble flatt marker with punctations around the edge of the stone; obituary.
3. Lucy Brown; Born 1850; Died Jan 12, 1924; Bunny Brown; Born 1893; Died Nov. 8, 1910; both names on one marble obelisk; Brown on base.
4. L. Allen; per blueprint date of death 04-19-55; no stone or marker.
5. Evelyn T. Brown; per blueprint date of death 10-31-74; no stone or marker.

20' x 20' #5- Galt plot

1. Maggie Galt; marble slight round headstone; no decoration.
2. William Galt; Died Nov 9, 1926; Age 60 yrs.; Sexton of Bruton Parish Church for thirty years; marble stone, rounded square die with base; floral design; Galt at the top of the stone; will.
3. E. (initial per blueprint); Wife of Wm. Galt; Died Feb. 24, 1919; Age 50; Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; marble stone, rounded square die with base; floral design; Galt at the top of the stone.
4. Priscilla Galt; marble slight round headstone; no decoration; will.
5. Pauline Ragsdale; marble slight round headstone; no decoration; will.
6. Jane Weaver; marble slight round headstone; no decoration.
7. James Galt; Born Oct 16, 1843; Died July 23, 1914; marble slight round with base, obituary.



Fig. 33. 20' x 20' #1 from section 7. Harris plot.



Fig. 34. 20' x 20' #2 from section 7. Canaday plot.



Fig. 35. 20' x 20' #3 from section 7. Baker plot.



Fig. 36. 20' x 20' #4 from section 7. Brown plot.

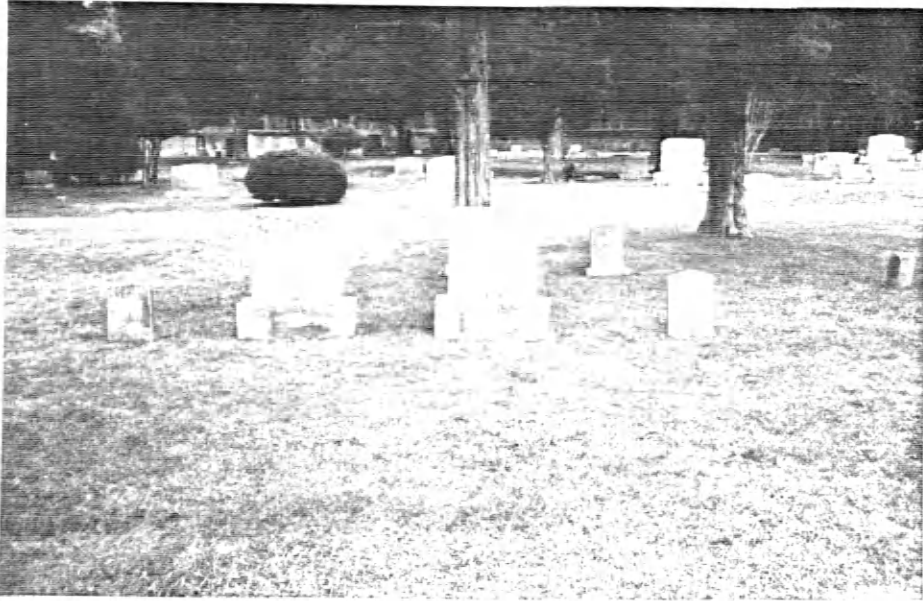
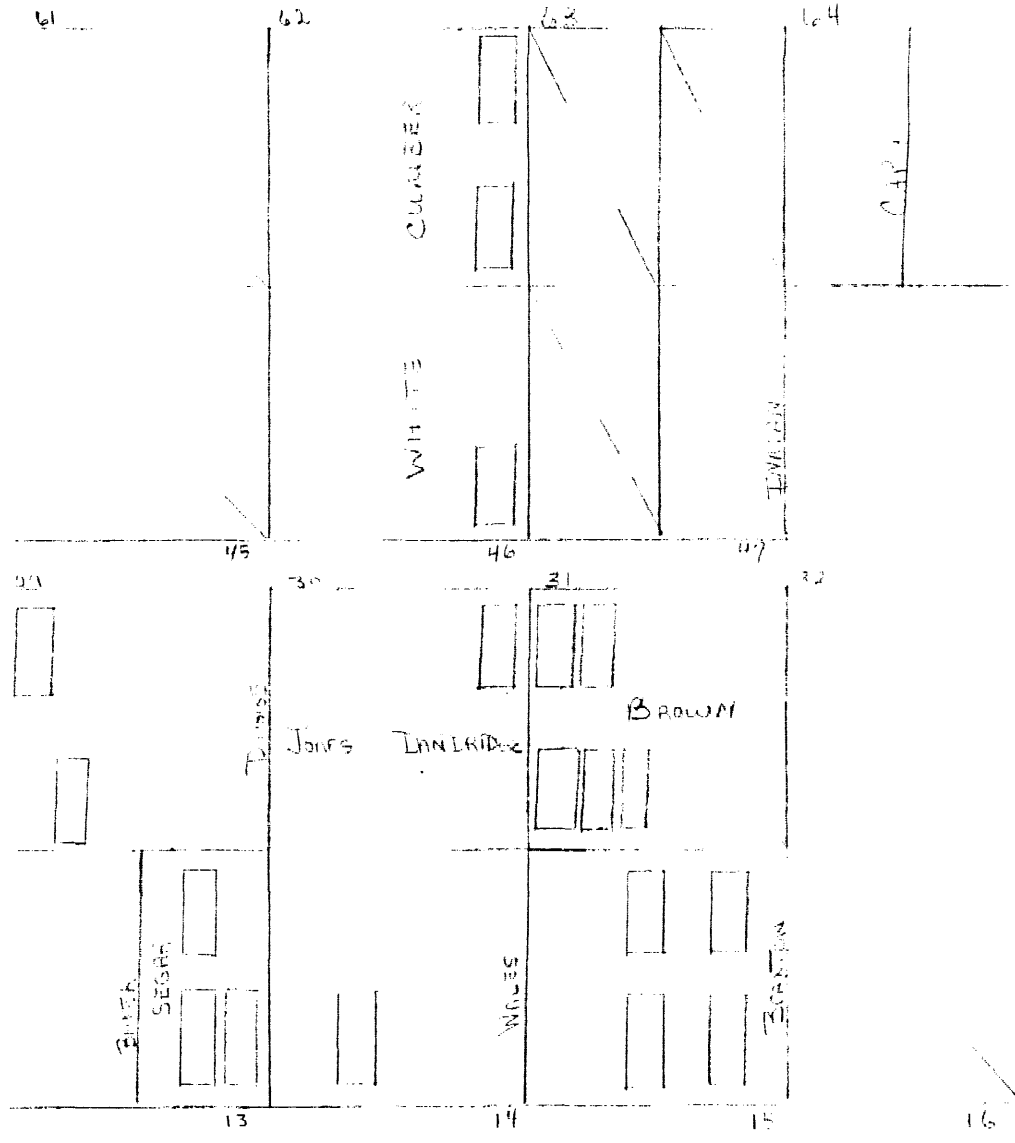
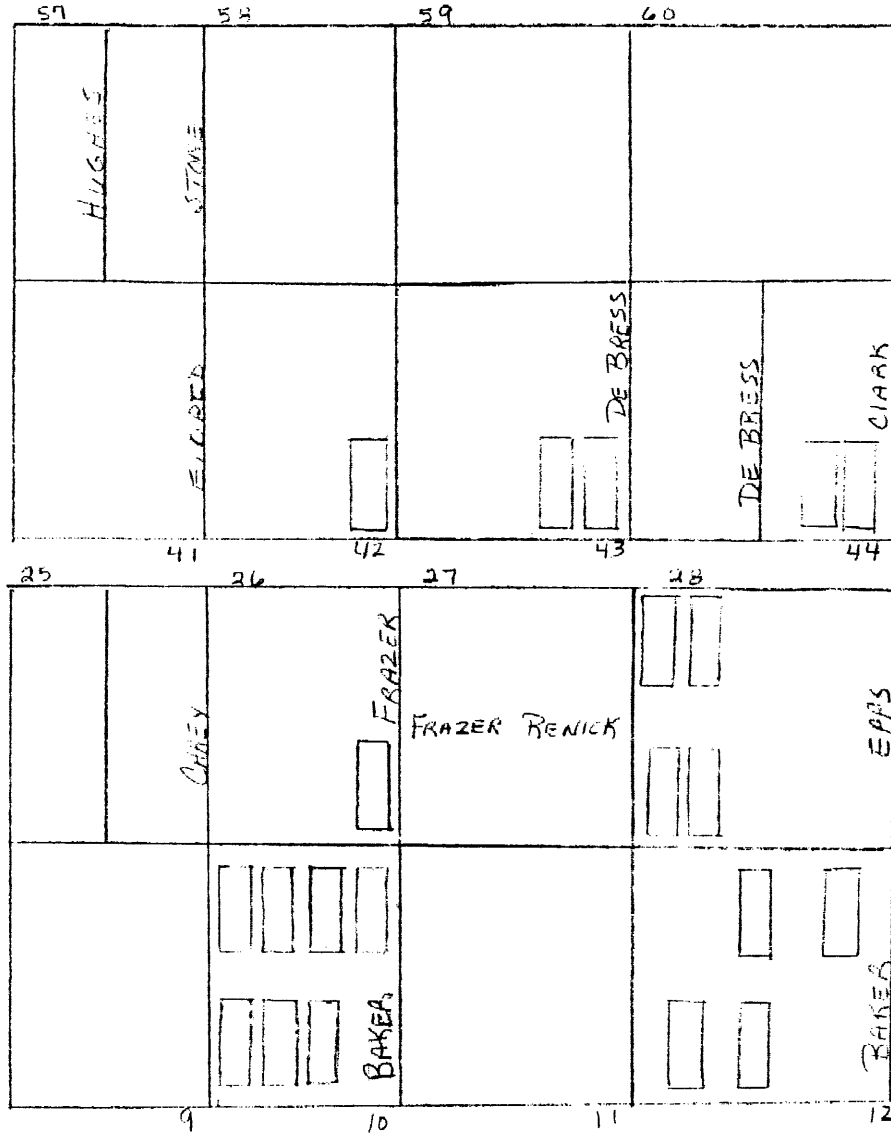


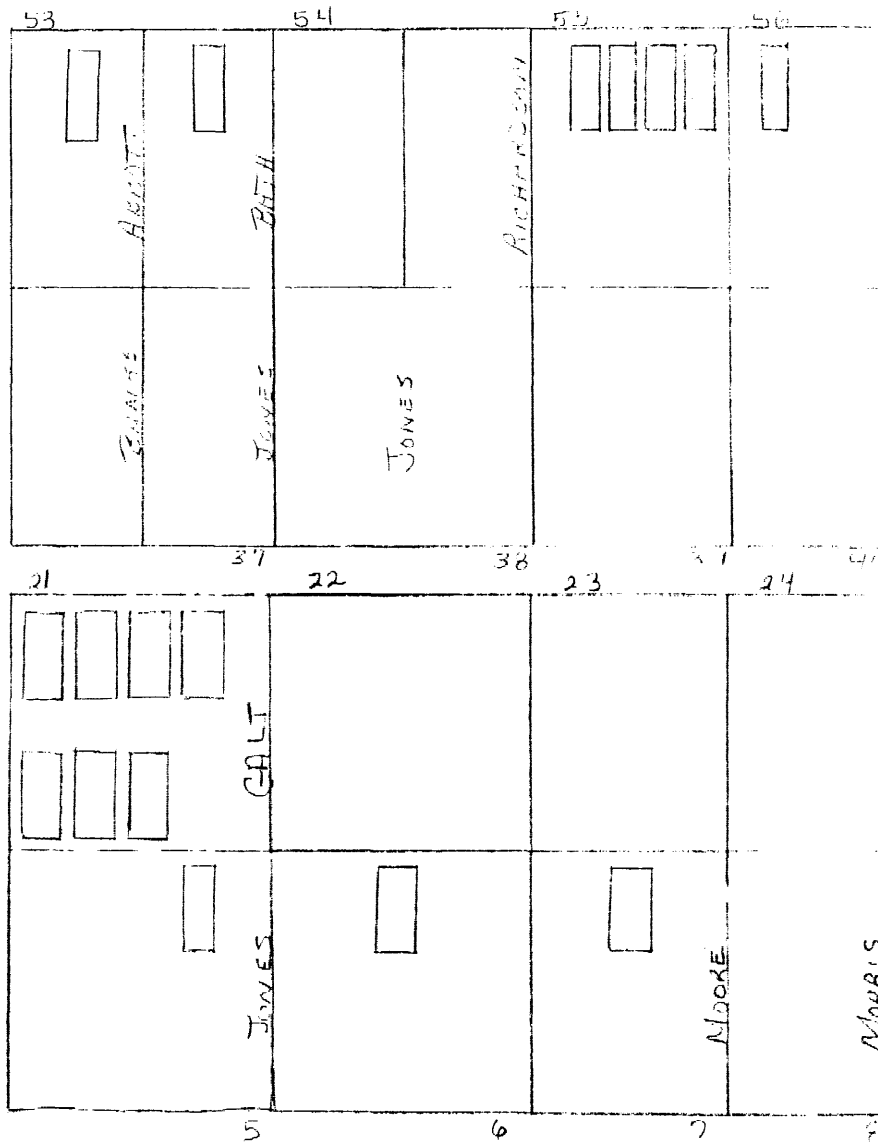
Fig. 37. 20' x 20' #5 from section 7. Galt plot.



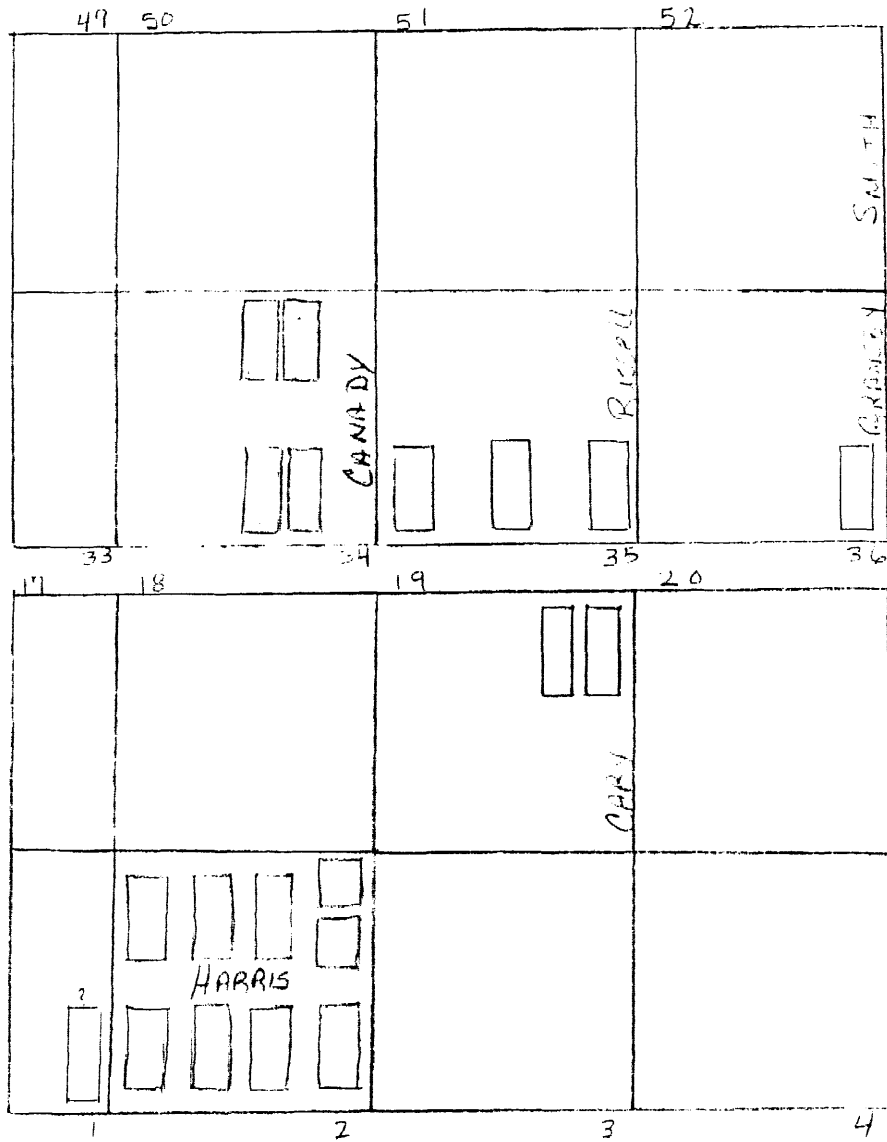
Map 11. Section 7 Map 1 of 7.



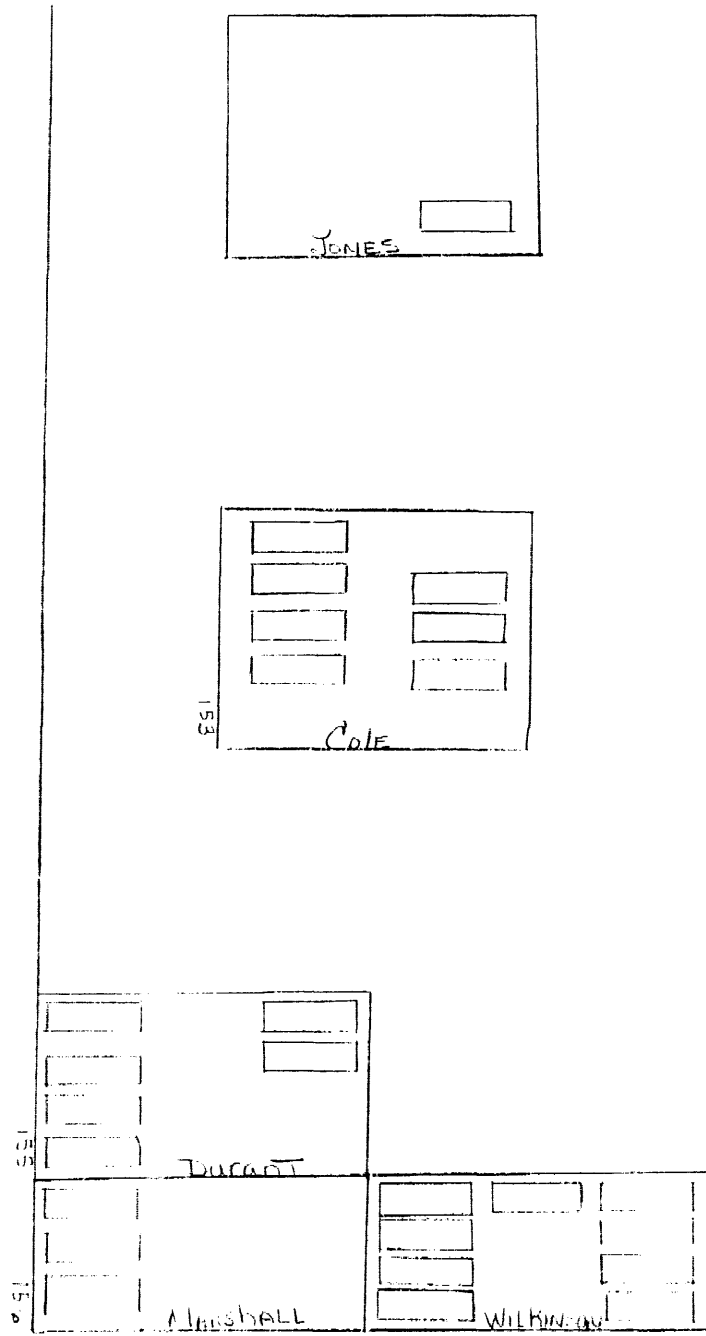
Map 12. Section 7 Map 2 of 7.



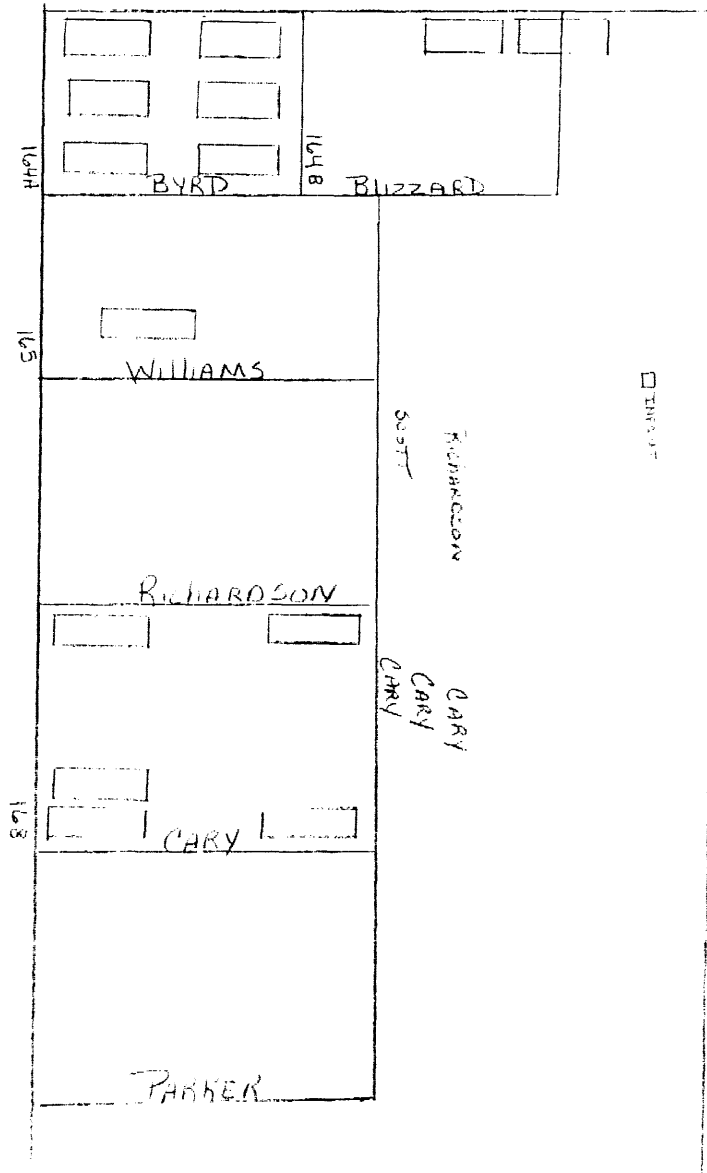
Map 13. Section 7 Map 3 of 7.



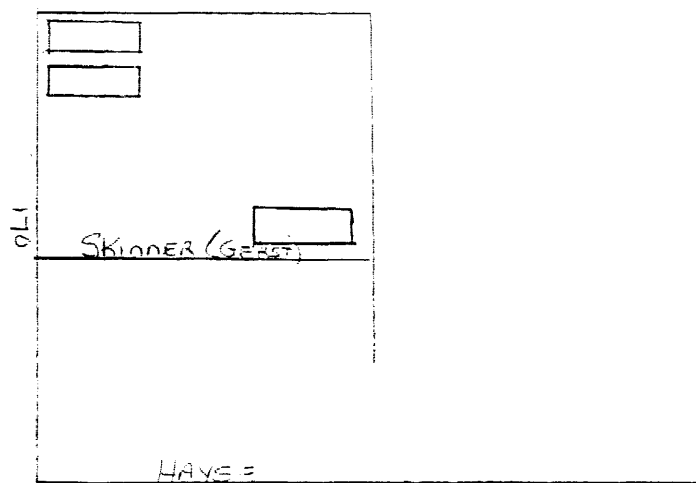
Map 14. Section 7 Map 4 of 7.



Map 15. Section 7 Map 5 of 7.



Map 16. Section 7 Map 6 of 7.



Map 17. Section 7 Map 7 of 7.

NOTES FROM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 8

20' x 20' #1- Jones plot

Jones plot, posts with J.; granite, rocked family stone with John W. Jones on the die; square die with base.

1. John W. Jones; Father; 1857-1935; rocked granite slant marker; will; obituary.
2. Lucy H. Jones; Mother; wife of John W. Jones; 1858-1929; rocked granite slant marker; will.
3. Fred M. Jones; 1885-1972; rocked granite slant marker.

20' x 20' #2- Gage/Dula plots

One large family stone with Gage on one side and Dula on the other. Serpentine style granite die with planters and base.

1. George E. Gage; May 17, 1900; Feb 3, 1964; granite slant marker with polished borders; floral design.
2. Mary Dula Gage; Sept. 20, 1907; May 19, 1964; granite slant marker with polished borders; floral design.
3. Joanna E. Dula; Mother; Dec 11, 1890; Sept 17, 1928; granite slant marker with polished borders; floral design.
4. George H. Dula; July 6 1883; Jan 2, 1958; granite slant marker with polished borders; floral design.
5. Andrew Jackston Tennis; 1904-1951; Masonic emblem; granite hickey with polished borders; small area marked with T. post, possibly not related to Gage or Dula but in their plot according to blueprint and in 20' x 20' plot.
6. Cora Lee Tennis; 1904-1955; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

20' x 20' #3- Gore plot

1. William Gore; Born May 24, 1824; Died Feb. 11, 1904; Jane Leith Gore; Born Sept. 9, 1822; Died June 15, 1902; Oh For The touch of the vanished hand, and the sound of the voice that is still; one stone for

husband and wife; large granite stone; top is slanted with family name on it; floral design; stone cut to look like two individual slight round headstones; obituary for both William and Jane Gore.

2. Wm Arthur Gore, Sr.; Father; May 16, 1853; Nov. 13, 1940; Ida Duke; Mother; wife of W. A. Gore; June 1, 1854; Oct 25, 1920; one stone for husband and wife; large marble stone with family name at base; scroll design at the top with monogram and carvings; larger and different than previous stones in plot, obituary for both Wm. A and Ida Duke; will for Wm. Arthur Gore.

3. Margaret Gore Boxley; Feb 18, 1883; Feb 10, 1973; small individual flat granite stone; no decoration.

20' x 20' #4- Waltrip plot

Waltrip plot, tall round granite family stone with floral design, polished and rocked.

1. R. L. Waltrip; Waltrip; Born Nov. 22. 1845; Died Sept. 22. 1917; S. V. Waltrip; Born Aug 28. 1844; Died Feb 20. 1920; Gone But not Forgotten; tall round square marble stone with floral design; different than family stone.

2. Emily W. Waltrip; Mother; 1864-1934; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

3. George E. Waltrip; Father; 1866-1936; granite hickey marker with polished borders, will.

4. Thomas L. Waltrip Sr.; July 18, 1893; Jan 31, 1950; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

5. Daisy P. Waltrip; April 22, 1891; Aug 24, 1973; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

6. Thoms L. Waltrip, Jr.; May 27, 1919; March 14, 1980; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

7. Russell Sherwood Reynolds; Oct 15, 1920; April 10, 1982; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

20' x 20' *5- Dennis plot

1. Bertie D. Campbell; Mother; Wife of Ray Z. Mallory; May 6, 1902; Aug 6, 1957; granite slant marker with polished borders.
2. Ray Zenas Mallory; Father; June 19, 1895; Sept 8, 1963; granite slant marker with polished borders.
3. John W. Dennis; Oct. 19. 1881; Oct. 18. 1970; granite slant marker with polished borders.
4. Bess E. Dennis; Sept. 6. 1885; March 278. 1974; granite slant marker with polished borders.
5. Bettie J. More; Apr. 18. 1849; Mar 13. 1925; granite slant marker with polished borders; will.
6. Louise E. Dennis; Nov. 16, 1844; Apr. 6, 1928; granite slant marker with polished borders.
7. John P. Dennis; Father; Jan 3, 1841; Dec 30, 1929; granite slant marker with polished borders.
8. Mary A. More; Mother; wife of John P. Dennis; Oct 5 1852; June 1 1937; granite slant marker with polished borders; obituary.
9. W. T. Becker; per blueprint date of death 07-01-83; no stone or marker; crematorium.



Fig. 38. 20' x 20' #1 from section 8. Jones plot.

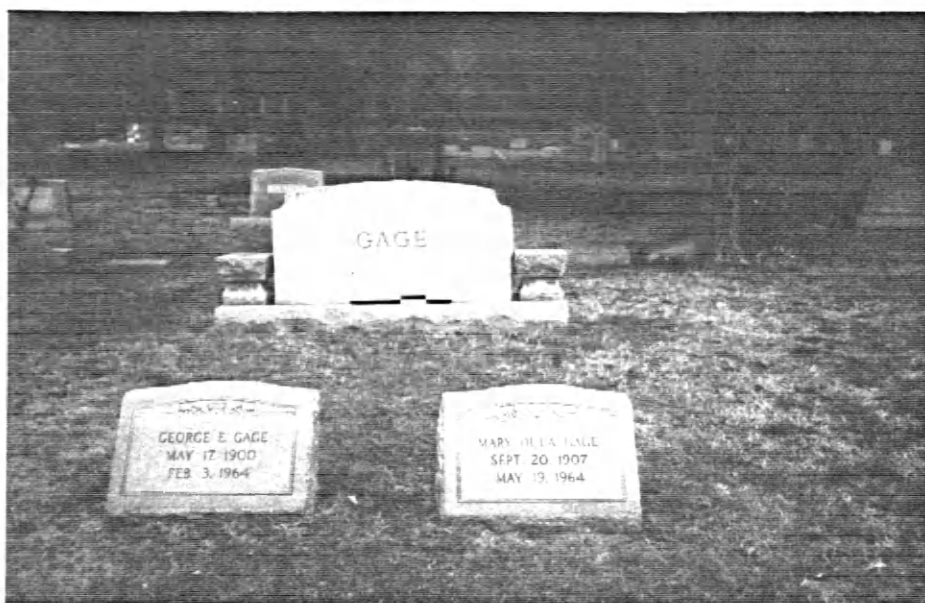


Fig. 39. 20' x 20' #2 from section 8. Gage/Dula plot.

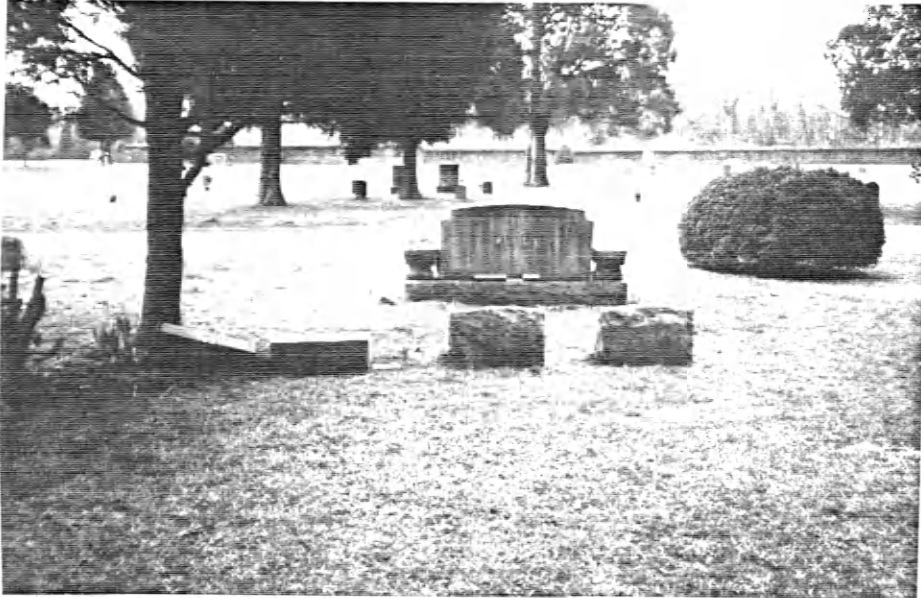


Fig. 40. 20' x 20' #2 from section 8. Gage/Dula plot.



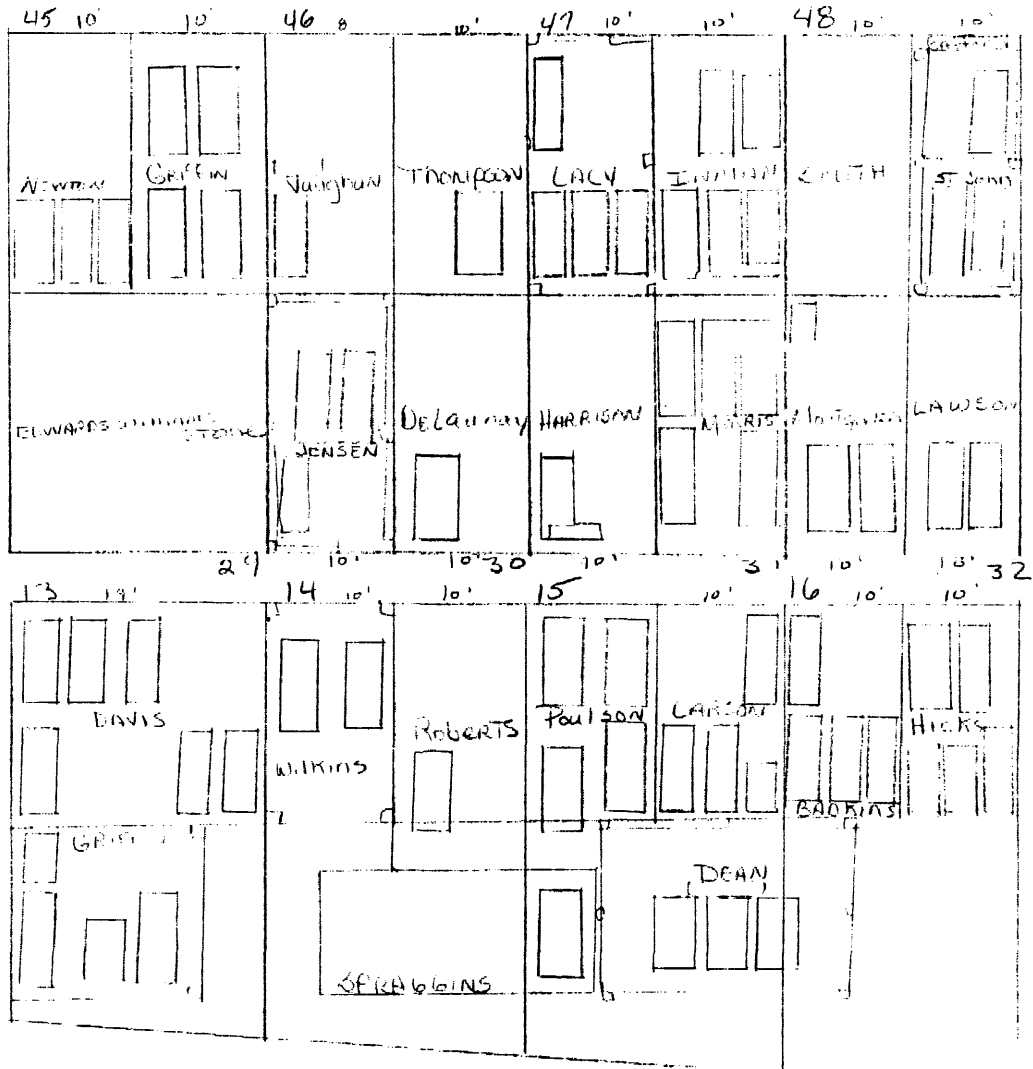
Fig. 41. 20' x 20' #3 from section 8. Gore plot.



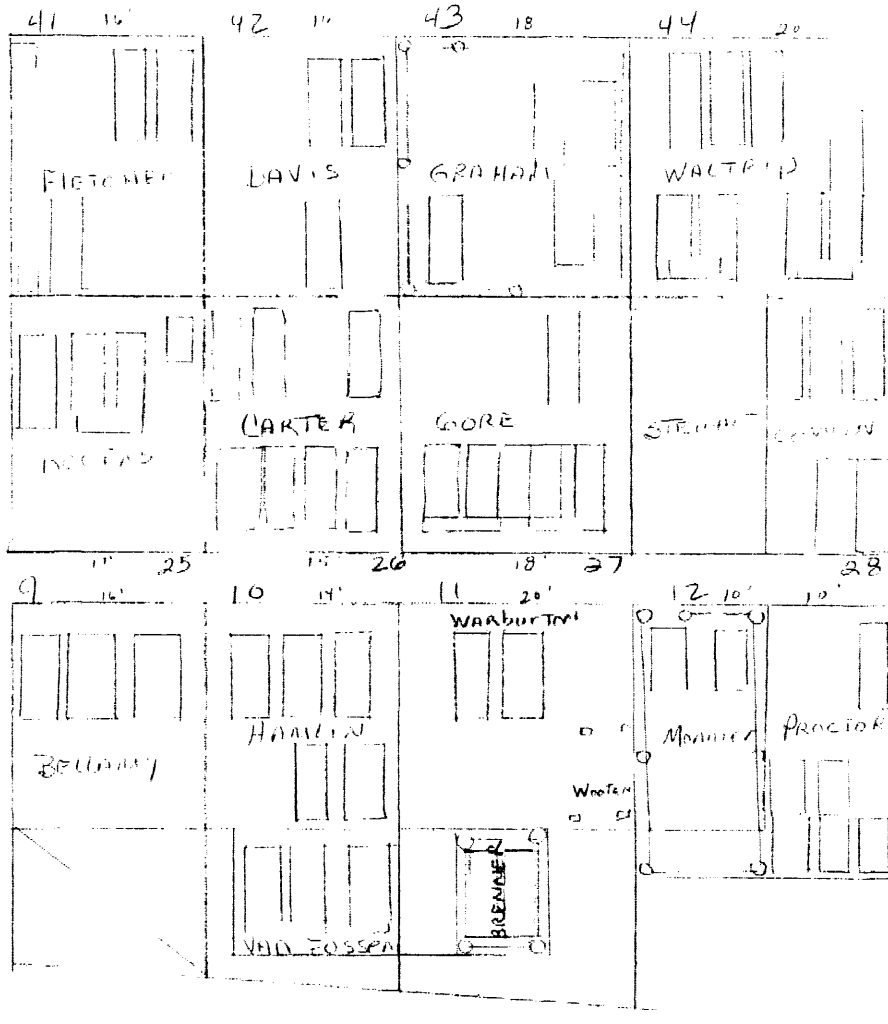
Fig. 42. 20' x 20' #4 from section 8. Waltrip plot.



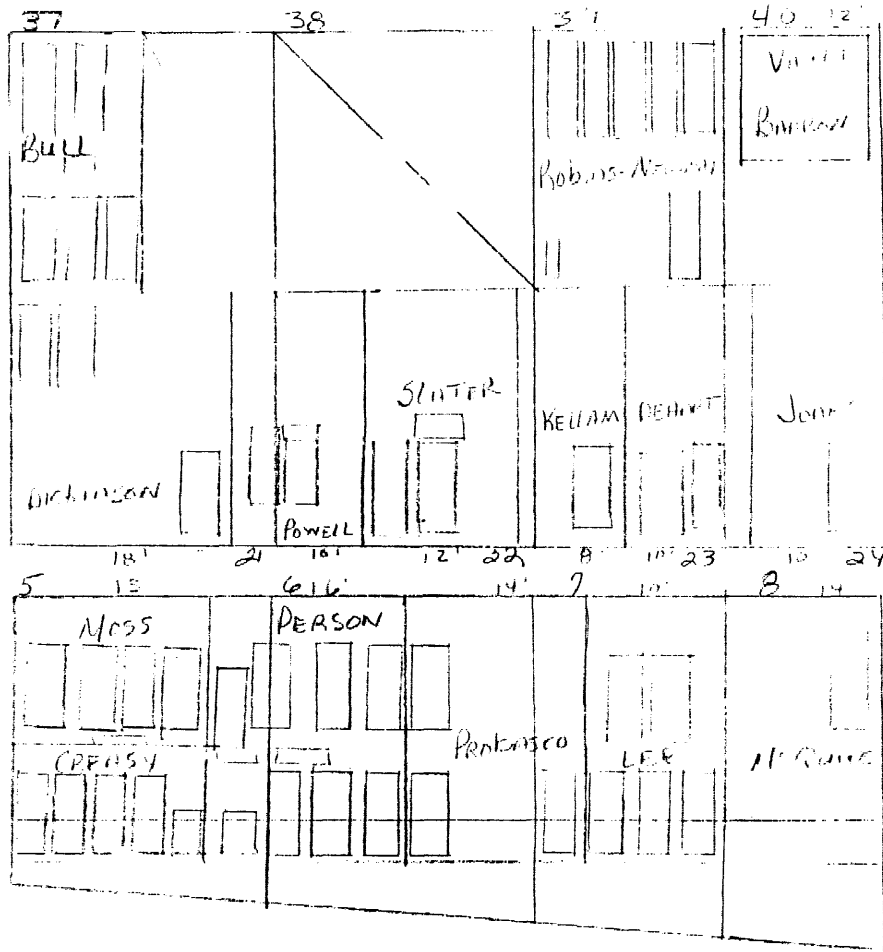
Fig. 43. 20' x 20' #5 from section 8. Dennis plot.



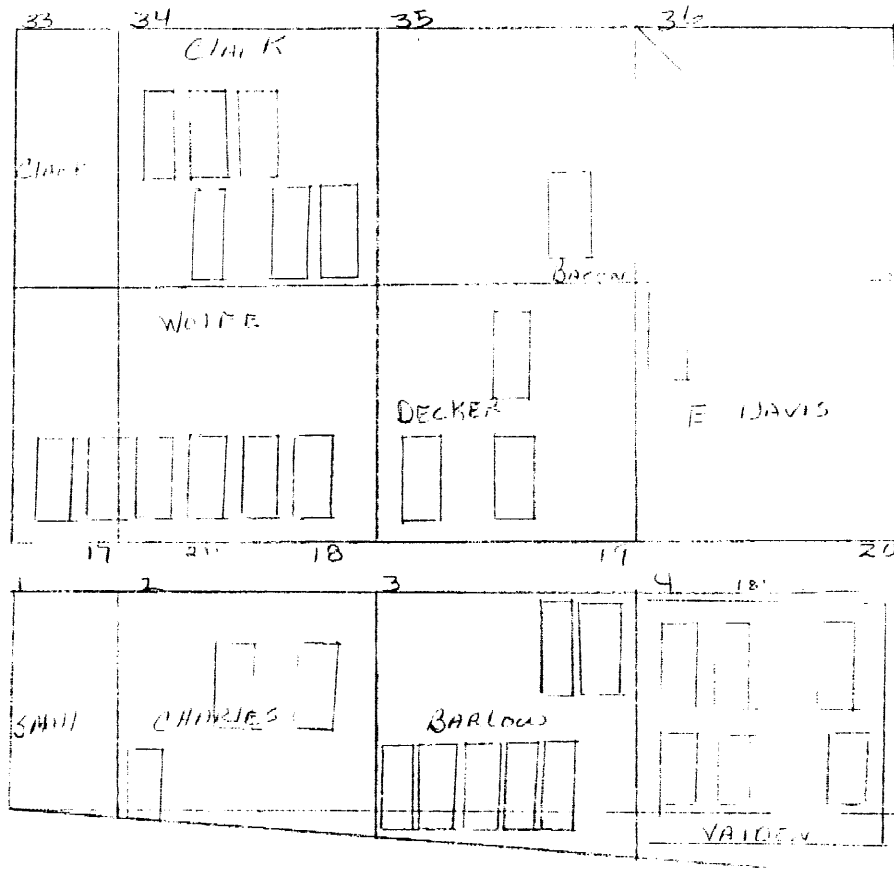
Map 18. Section 8 Map 1 of 7.



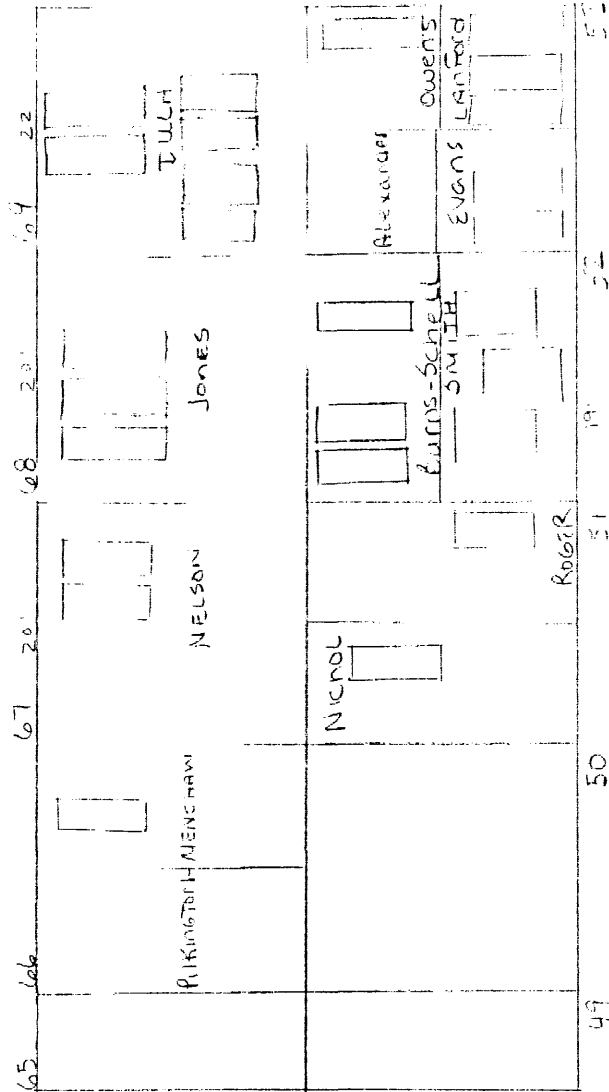
Map 19. Section 8 Map 2 of 7.



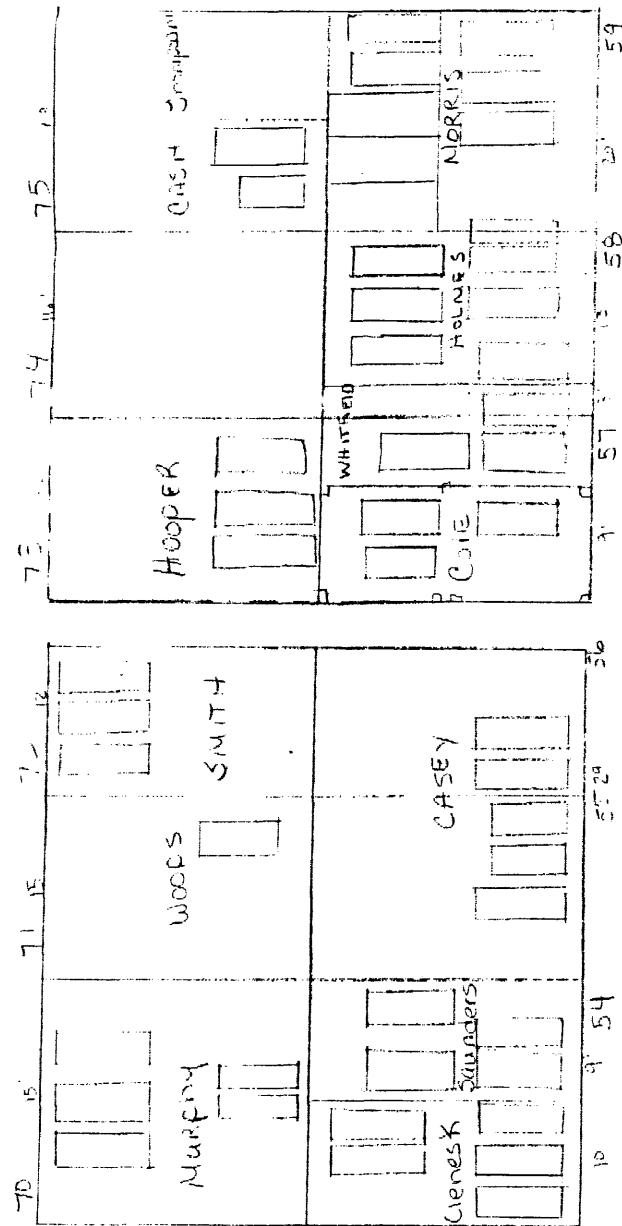
Map 20. Section 8 Map 3 of 7.



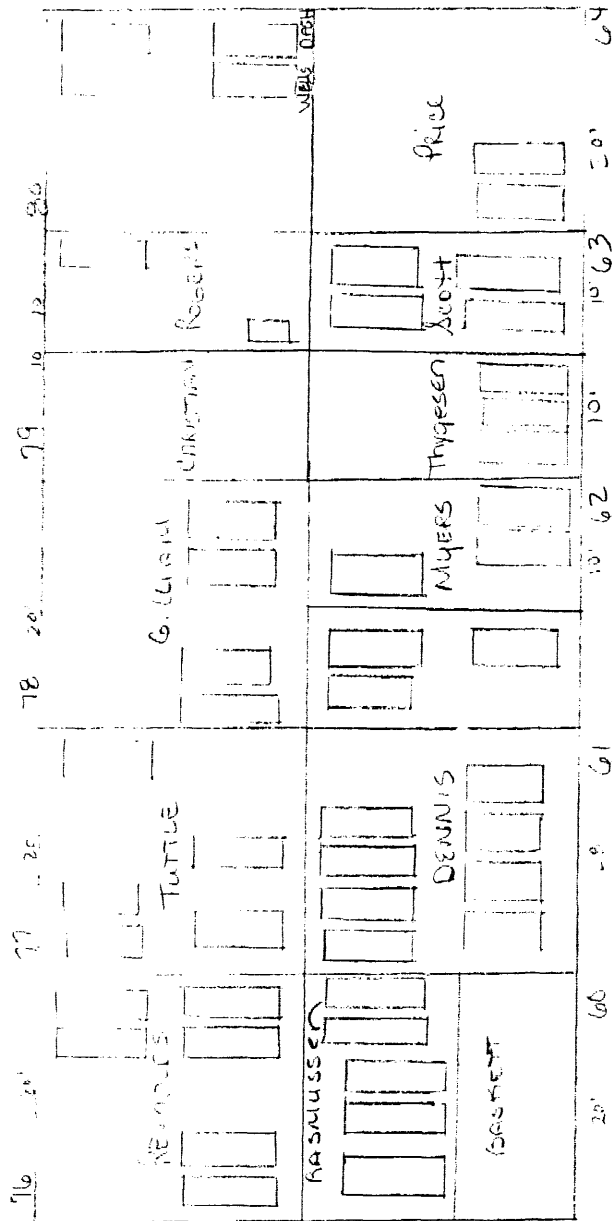
Map 21. Section 8 map 4 of 7.



Map 22. Section 8 Map 5 of 7.



Map 23. Section 8 Map 6 of 7.



Map 24. Section 8 Map 7 of 7.

NOTES FROM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 9

20' x 20' #1- Peachy plot

Peachy plot, posts, very large granite serpentine family stone, base rocked granite.

1. Grace Bozarth Peachy; Sept 4, 1894; Jan 26, 1985; granite hickey marker.
2. Bathurst Daingerfield Peachy II; July 5, 1893; April 29, 1953; granite hickey marker.
3. Bathurst D. Peachy; 1858-1916; granite hickey marker; obituary.
4. Mary Garnett Lane; wife of Bathurst D. Peachy; 1871-1929; granite hickey marker; will.
5. Virginia D. Peachy; wife of Theodore F. Rogers; 1890-1946; granite hickey marker.
6. Theodore F. Rogers; 1879-1951; granite hickey marker.

20' x 20' #2- Lane plot

Lane plot, one large obelisk stone with the family name at the base but with individual names carved on the four sides, footstones indicate individual graves, both obelisk and footstones are marble. Numbers one through seven indicate names and information on the obelisk.

1. Spencer Lane Jr., Born Jan. 23 1915; Died Sept. 12 1935; obituary.
2. Mackie Y. Lane; Born April 1, 1883; Died June 30, 1971; also has a granite flat stone with the following: Mackie Young Lane; April 1, 1883; June 30, 1971; Wonderful One.
3. Spencer Lane; Born Dec 5, 1881; Died Feb 7, 1927; will; obituary.
4. Martha S. Lane; wife of L. W. Lane; Born Dec 16, 1842; Died July 19, 1916; obituary.
5. Levin Winder Lane; son of Anne Ransone and John Henry Lane; Born Jan 6, 1839; Died Apr 27, 1933; Captain of James City Cavalry; He was a Patriarch among his people Beloved by all the community A Gallant Soldier of the Confederacy He has passed over the River To

Rest in the Shade of the trees.; will; obituary.

6. Oscar Lane; Born Feb 11, 1877; Died Jan 24, 1904; obituary.

7. Walter Gardner Lane; Born June 21, 1863; Died Jan 5, 1902; obituary.

8. Ashton Dowell; son of Lucy Bond and Early B. Powell; Born, Madison County, Virginia; June 8th 1885; Died, Richmond, Virginia; Oct. 28, 1949; raised granite ledger.

9. Lizzie Littleton; Daughter of Lizzie L. & L. W. Lane, Jr.; Born Aug 30, 1889; Died Aug 31, 1890; marble slight round headstone with base and floral design.

10. Lizzie L. Jordon; wife of L. W. Lane Jr.; Born Dec 31, 1867; Died June 21, 1904; marble obelisk similar to Lane family; name at base; footstone marks the grave.

11. Cora Denmead; Died July 3, 1897; marble obelisk with urn, floral and drape designs, victorian looking.

20' x 20' *3- Bright/Mercer plots

Bright/Mercer plots, granite border wall.

1. Alexander McCauley Bright; Born April 12th 1878; Died January 23rd 1918; That Peace which the world cannot give; early serpentine marble headstone; footstone with initials, also serpentine style.

2. Robert A. Bright; Died March 18th 1904; "In this world knowledge of thy truth and in the world to come life everlasting.;" early serpentine marble headstone; footstone with initials, also serpentine style with the following: "Until the day Break and the shadows flee away.;" obituary.

3. Nannie Mumford Bright; Died December 18th 1881; "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.;" early serpentine marble headstone; footstone with initials, also serpentine style with the following: "The peace of God which passeth all understanding.;" will.

4. Caroline de Beelenlovet Bright; Born Aug 29th 1867; Died June

- 22nd 1933; Strong in faith giving glory to God; early serpentine marble headstone; serpentine footstone with initials.
5. Douglas Southall Bright; Born Aug 17th 1896; Died May 30th 1935; He had no malice or hatred in his heart; early serpentine marble headstone; footstone with initials.
6. John Mumford Bright; Born Nov 16, 1873; Died Oct 29 1877; early serpentine marble headstone smaller than previous stones; square marble footstone with initials.
7. Frances MacCaulay Bright; Born Oct 14, 1875; Died June 17, 1876; early serpentine marble headstone, smaller than previous stones 1 through 5; square marble footstone with initials.
8. Jean Sinclair Bright; wife of John Leyburn Mercer; Dec 20, 1851; May 30, 1917; The Cross of Christ & our Crown; rounded square marble die with base; square footstone with initials; obituary.
9. John Leyburn Mercer; August 2, 1849; December 13, 1911; Crux Christi Nostra Corona; rounded square marble die with base; square footstone with initials; will; obituary.
10. Jean C. S. Mercer; December 23, 1876; January 23, 1957; flat granite marker with polished borders; no footstone.
11. Louise Harrison Mercer; wife of Thomas Hugh Mercer; March 19, 1887; September 10, 1958; flat granite marker with polished borders; no footstone.
12. Thomas Hugh Mercer; November 6, 1879; November 10, 1956; flat granite marker with polished borders, no footstone.

20' x 20' #4- Trevillian/Brooks plots

Trevillian plot, pipe borders, marble entrance name.

1. Capt. Charles B. Trevillian; Co. F 4th Va. Calvary; Born Sept 14, 1838; Died Apr 17, 1918; rounded square marble die with base; family name on back of stone; obituary.
2. Mary S. Houston; wife of Capt. C. B. Trevillian; Born April 1, 1838; Died Feb. 7, 1914; rounded square marble die with base; family name on back of the stone; will; obituary.

3. Blanche Elbert Trevilian; wife of Dr. James Dunlop Moncure; November 23, 1870; May 5, 1951; The Lord is my Shepherd; unusual marble stone with cross; floral design, stacked blocks with cross on top.
4. Mary Cary Moncure; Sept. 20, 1898; April 9, 1974; flat granite marker with polished borders.
5. Gardiner Houston Trevilian; To the Memory of our Darling Boy; Aug 31, 1873; June 3, 1895; bronze memorial; obelisk; fairly tall; family name at base; flowers, hourglass, anchor, and cross and crown are symbols found on the memorial, this marker is the only bronze one in the cemetery.

Brooks plot, polished granite serpentine family stone with floral design.

1. Archie Brooks, Jr.; son of Archie & Lucy Brooks; Born Feb. 6, 1866; Died Mar. 22, 1892; marble serpentine headstone with leaves and scroll designs; footstone with initials.
2. Lucy Jones Brooks; Died June 22, 1939; Granite hickey marker with polished borders; will; obituary.
3. Archer Brooks; Died March 24, 1942; granite hickey marker with polished borders.
4. Buck H. Brooks; 1902-1978; temporary marker; no stone.
5. Edna; Daughter of Lucy Jones and Archie Brooks; Died Aug. 14, 1948; granite hickey marker with polished borders.
6. Claudia Alma Brooks; Nov. 26, 1891; June 2, 1964; granite hickey marker; no polishing as before.

20' x 20' #5- Mahone/Allard plots

Mahone plot, posts, granite entrance name.

1. Harry; small square stone that looks like a footstone; granite with sides rocked.
2. Milton; as in #1.
3. John Milton; April 23, 1929; Jan 18, 1930; as in #1 and 2.
4. Powell; as in #1, 2, and 3.

5. Sarah E. Mahone; Mother; Aug 13, 1850; Dec 25, 1938; granite slant marker with some rocking; will; obituary.
6. Thomas B. Mahone; Father; Dec 2, 1848; May 6, 1924; granite slant marker with some rocking.

Allard plot

1. Per blueprint grave exists, no information.
2. Per blueprint grave exists, no information.
3. Robert Herman Allard; military marker; Virginia Pvt 504 PRCHT Inf 82 ABNDIV World War II BSM-PH; Oct 12 1923; Oct 19 1961; flat granite marker with cross.
4. Robert Lee Allard; military marker; Virginia Pvt 34 Co 155 Depot Brigade World War I; June 8 1893; June 5 1952; flat granite marker with cross.
5. Charles Edward Allard; Apr. 16, 1889; Sept. 30, 1973; granite slant marker with floral design, polished borders and base.
6. David Long; In Loving Remembrance; Died July 31, 188?(2 or 7); Aged 13 months; marble block with statue of a child on top.



Fig. 44. 20' x 20' #1 from section 9. Peachy plot.



Fig. 45. 20' x 20' #2 from section 9. Lane plot

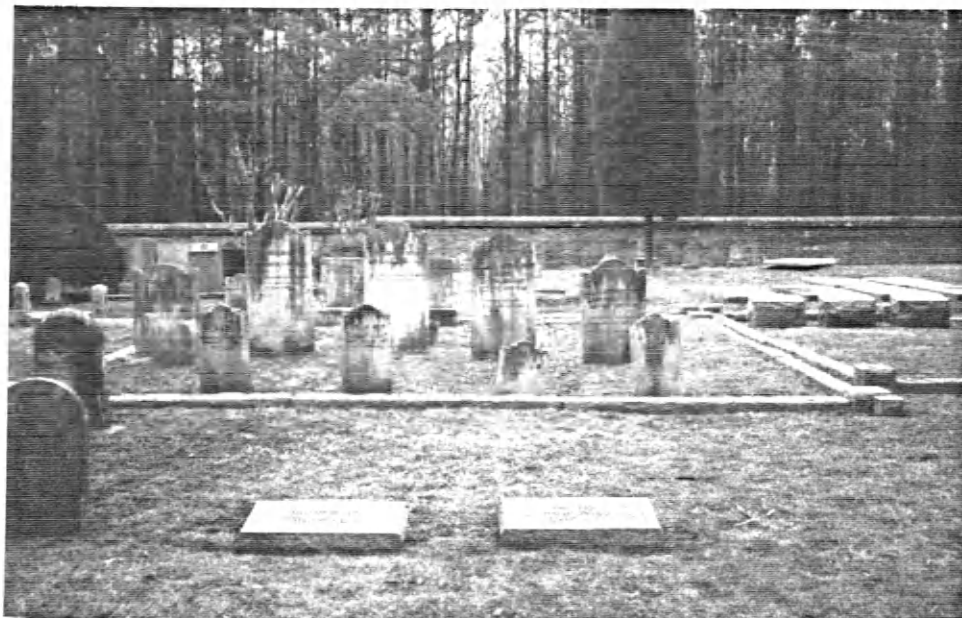


Fig. 46. 20' x 20' #3 from section 9. Bright-Mercer plot.

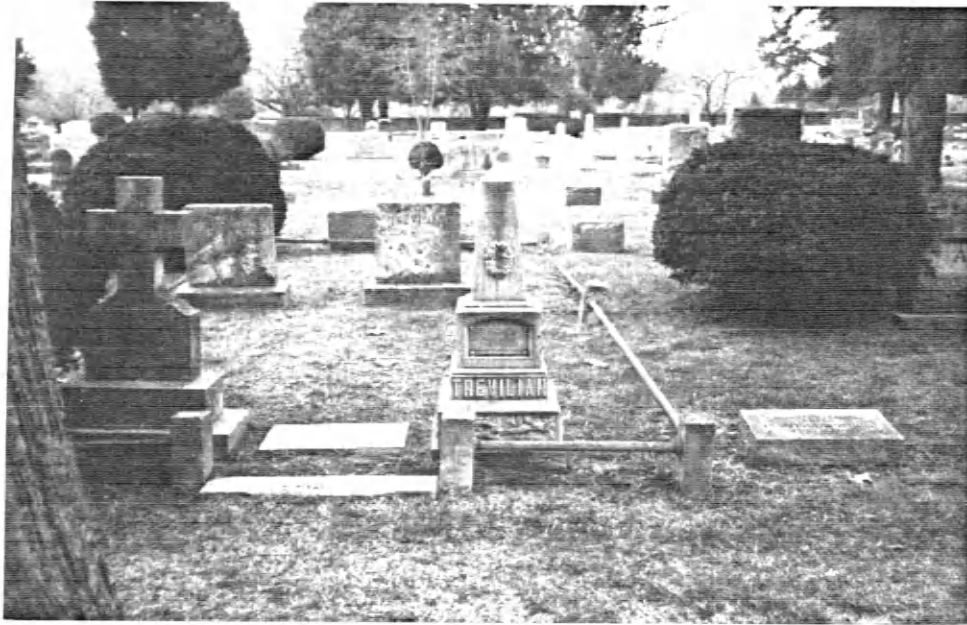


Fig. 47. 20' x 20' #4 from section 9. Trevilian/Brooks plots.



Fig. 48. 20' x 20' #4 from section 9. Trevilian/Brooks plots.

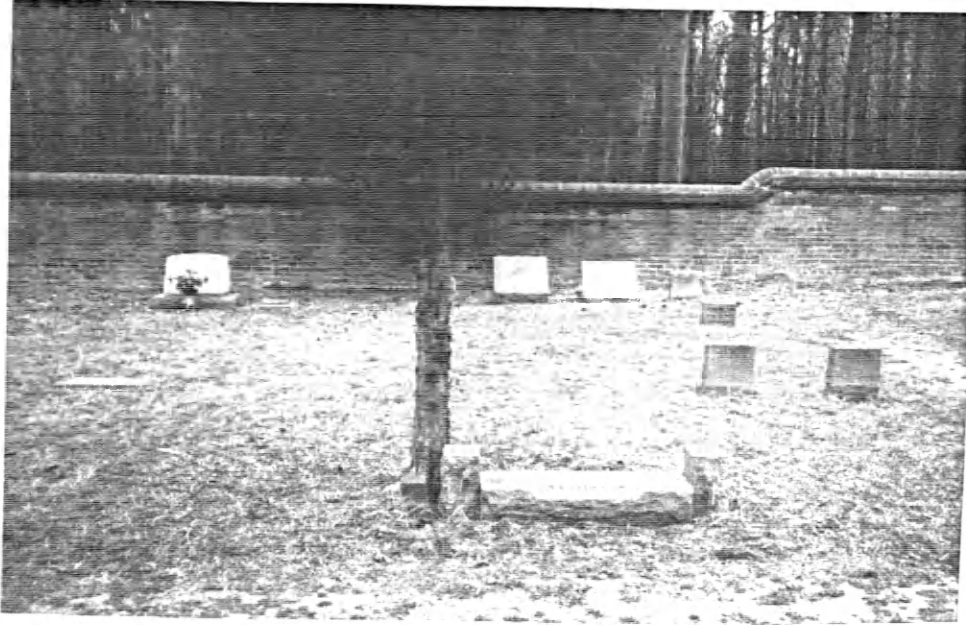
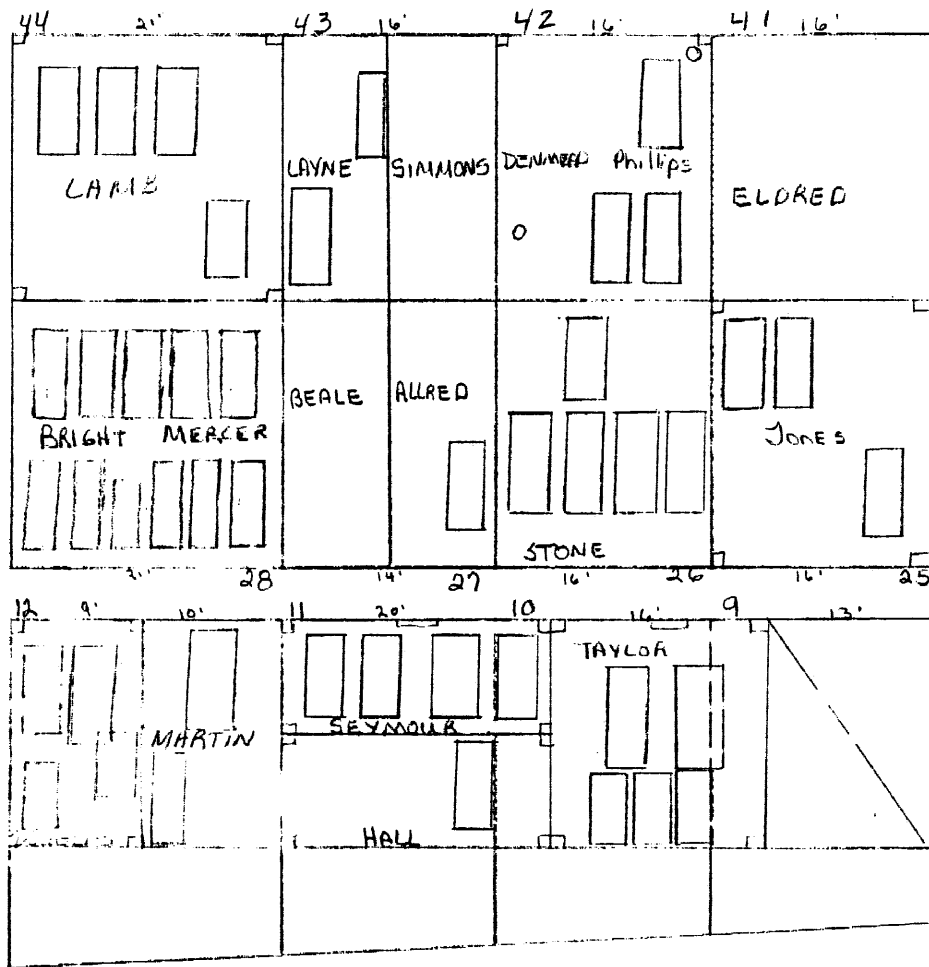
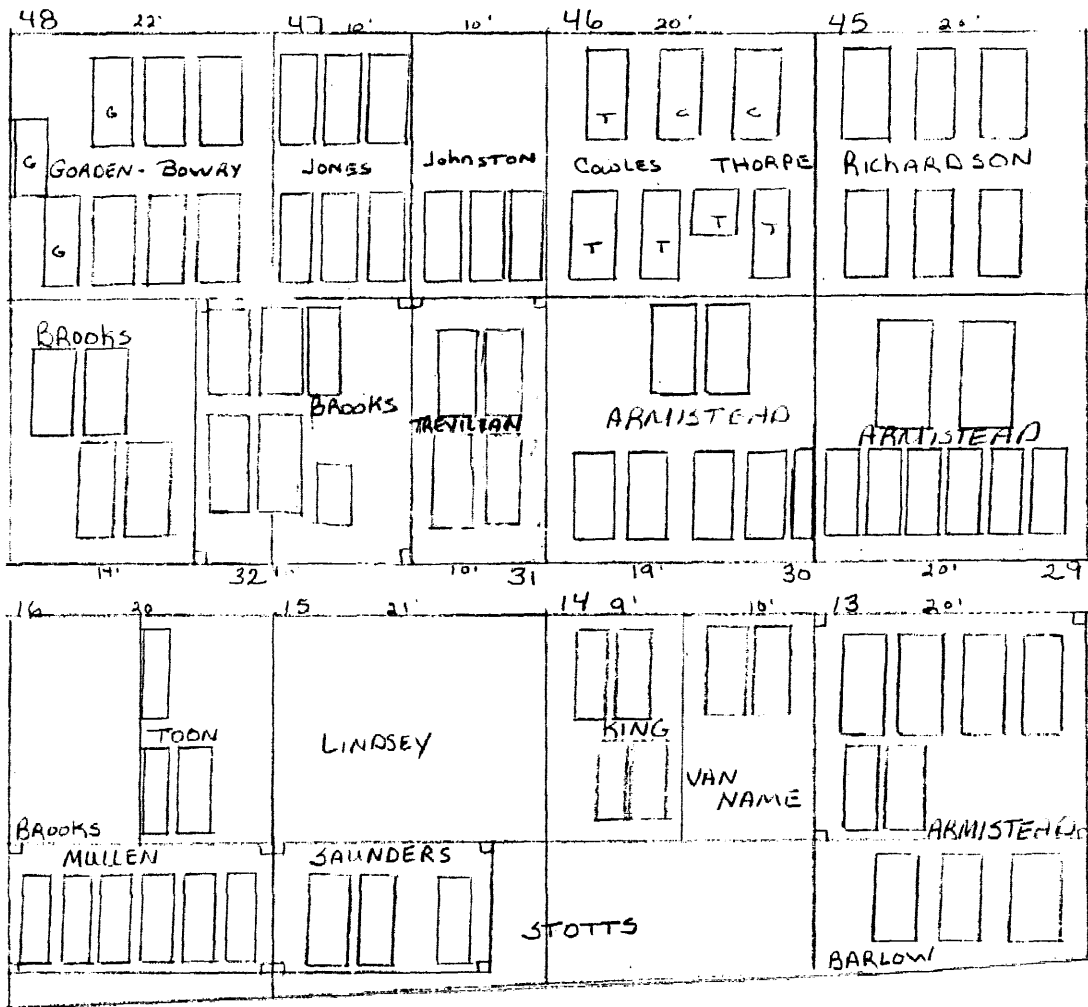


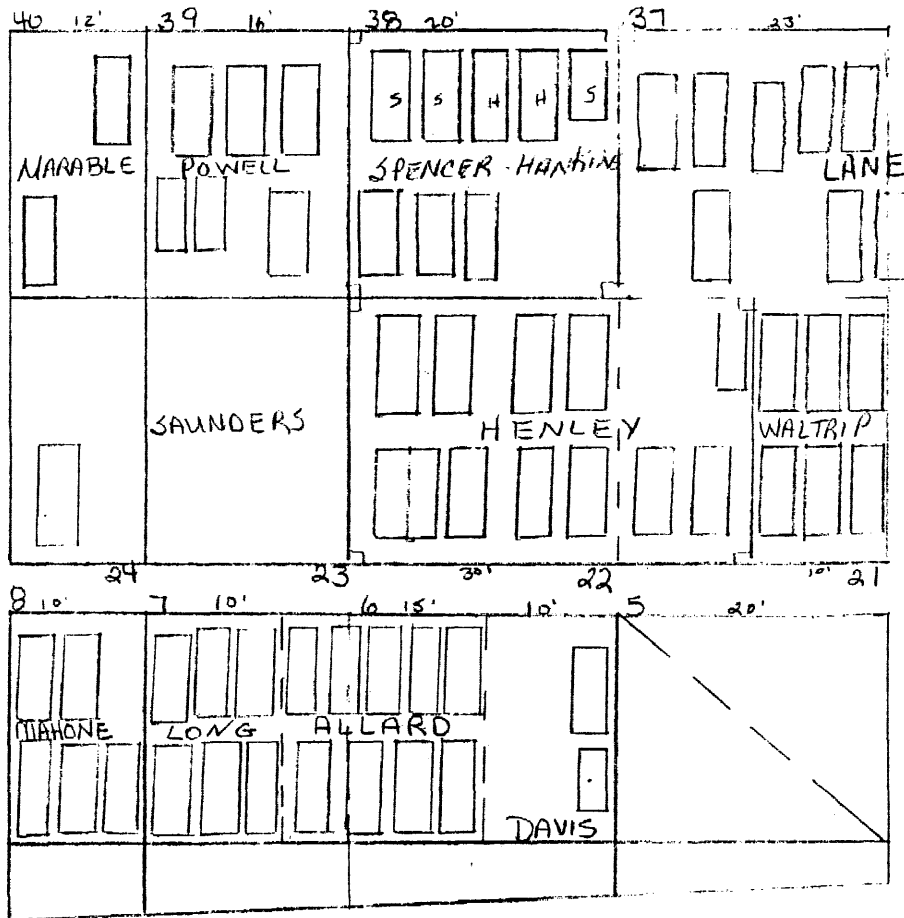
Fig. 49. 20' x 20' #5 from section 9. Mahone/Allard plots.



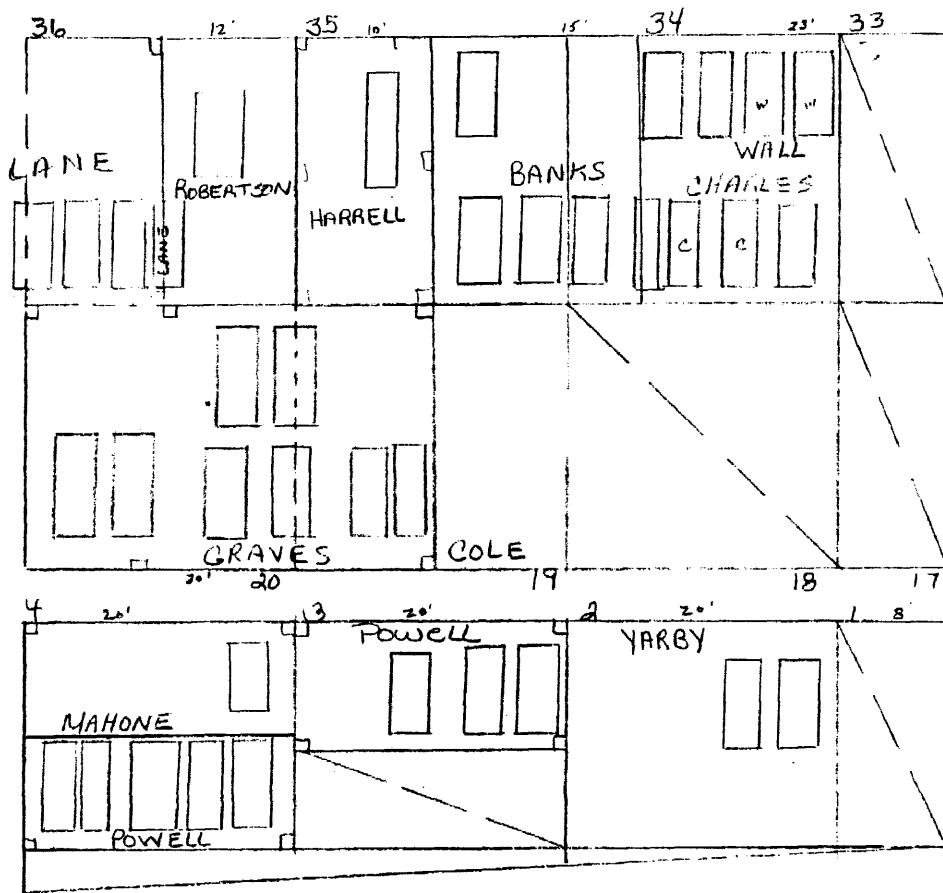
Map 25. Section 9 Map 1 of 6.



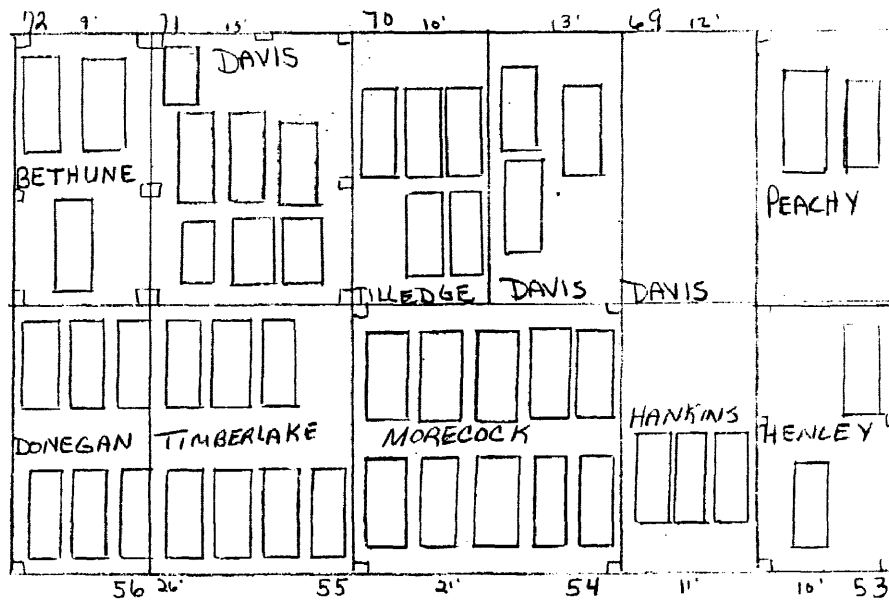
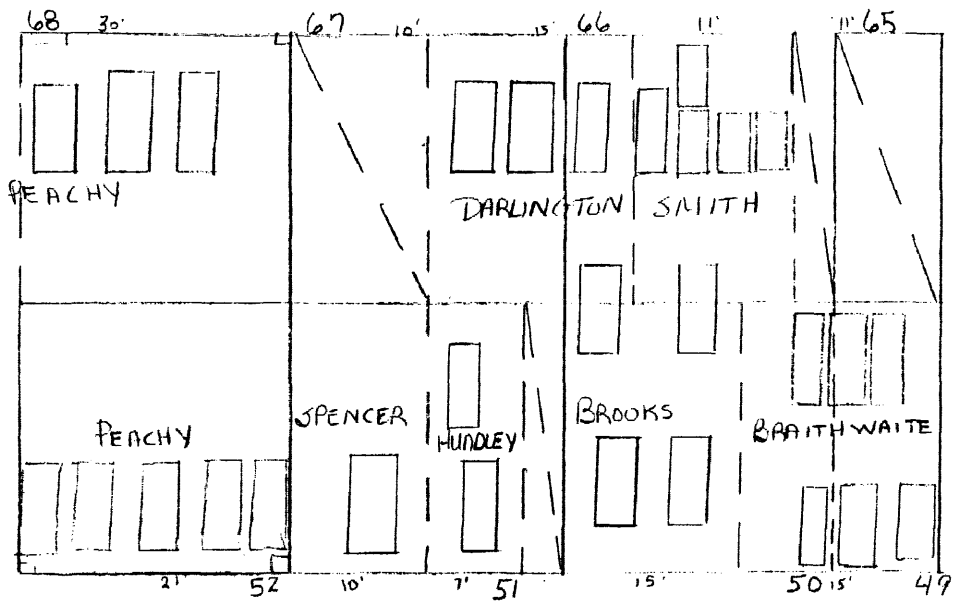
Map 26. Section 9 Map 2 of 6.



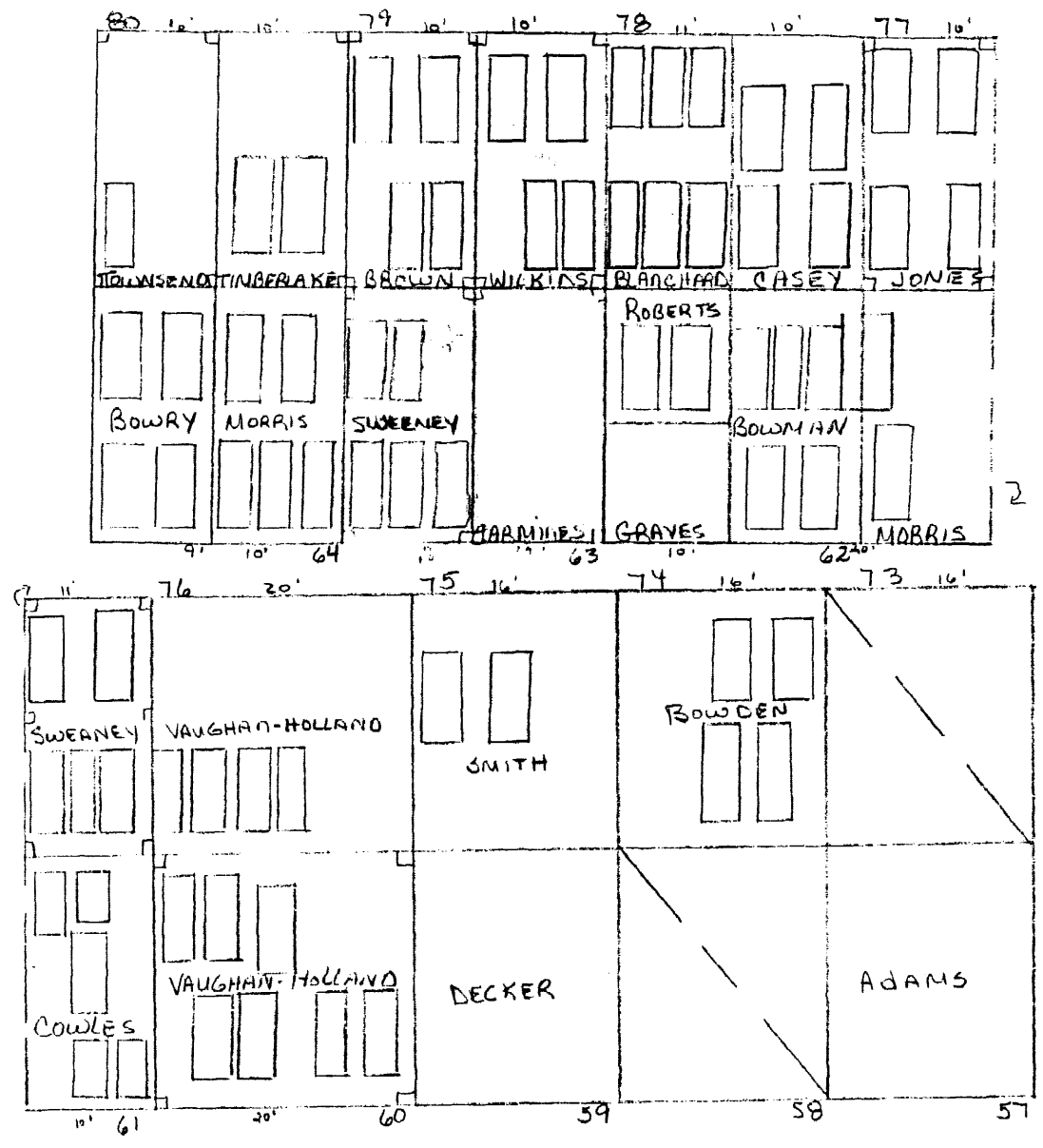
Map 27. Section 9 Map 3 of 6.



Map 28. Section 9 Map 4 of 6.



Map 29. Section 9 Map 5 of 6.



Map 30. Section 9 Map 6 of 6.

NOTES FORM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 10

20' x 20' #1- Littlefield/Ayers plots

Littlefield plot

1. W. H. Littlefield; Littlefield; April 23, 1843; June 27, 1922; At Rest; Diantha Davis; His Wife; 1845-1929; one stone for husband and wife; tall square die with base; polished and rocked granite; two footstones with initials W. H. L. and D. D. L. ; joint will.

Ayers plot

1. Julia Tunstall Ayers; Mother; 1881-1959; "The Lord is my Shepherd; "Preparedness on the Hills of life means sunshine in the Valleys."; (per blueprint date of death is 07-20-59); granite ledger with floral design; planter between Julia and Arthur Ayers.

2. Arthur Lowell Ayers; Dad; 1882-1942; "I need thee every hour"; Home is the sailor Home from sea and the hunter home from the Hill.";

granite ledger with floral design; planter between Julia and Arthur Ayers.

3. Mary Pratt Ayers; 1856-1935; Mother; granite slant marker with floral design; one base for Mary Ayers and Charles Ayers but separate dies; planter between the two; will; obituary.

4. Charles F. Ayers; 1853-1932; Father; granite slant marker with floral design; one base for Mary Ayers and Charles Ayers but separate dies; planter between the two; will; obituary.

5. Lena DeShzo Ayers; wife of Lowell Ayers; Mother of Gene Carson Ayers; 1907-1965; (per blueprint date of death 10-12-65); granite ledger with floral design and planter; like number 2 and 3.

6. Gene Carson Ayers; Daughter of Lowell and Lena Ayers; 1942-1964; (per blueprint date of death 03-23-64); granite ledger with floral design and planter; like number 2, 3, and 5.

7. Lowell Carson Ayers; 1907-1979; temporary marker, no stone; cremains per blueprint.

8. Slauon; Lura Littlefield; 1877-1956; Mother; Edward Marvin;

1872-1963; Father; double flat granite marker with floral design separating the two names.

9. Hayes; Lela Blanche; 1908- ; Wife; David Joseph; 1899-1975; Husband; double flat granite marker with floral design separating the two names.

20' x 20' #2- Goddin plot

Goddin plot, marble entrance names, piped borders.

1. Joshua Morris; Born Oct 7, 1818; Died June 7, 1881; slight round marble headstone; no decoration.
2. Minerva A. Morris; In Loving Memory of our Mother; more writing that is illedgible; Born Dec. 18 182?; Died 18??; John Morris; Born 18??; Died 188? (per will 1886); round marble headstone with floral design; will for John Morris.
3. Alice Morris Goddin; Mother; wife of Randolph Harrayson Goddin; Born July 7, 1849; Died Feburary 5, 1912; Dearest Mother, How we Miss you since from Earth you passed away. An our hearts are aching sorely, as we think of you each day. tall square die with slanted top; base; polished and rocked granite.
4. Randolph Harrison Goddin; 1852-1938; granite hickey marker with polished borders.
5. Mitylene Alice G. Daougherty; 1876-1938; granite hickey marker with polished borders.
6. James Wesley Moore; 1880-1954; masonic emblem; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

20' x 20' #3- Warburton plot

Warburton plot, large monumental family stone, rose colored granite with floral design, family name on both sides.

1. Letitia Gregory Warburton; September 2, 1856; February 20, 1931; rose granite slant marker with scroll design; will; obituary.
2. Rosa Lee Jones; Wife of Edmund Ware Warburton; August 4, 1865; February 3, 1896; rose granite slant marker with scroll design;

obituary.

3. Edmund Ware Warburton; son of Robert Warburton and Martha Gregory Ware; October 3, 1861; March 14, 1919; rose granite slant marker with scroll design; will; obituary.

4. Edmund Ware Jr.; son of Edward Ware Warburton and Rosa Lee Jones; August 24, 1894; March 18, 1916; rose granite slant marker with scroll design; obituary.

5. Lillian; Infant daughter of Edmund Ware Warburton and Rosa Lee Jones; rose granite slant marker with scroll design.

6. John G. Warburton; military stone, Virginia S2 USNRF World War I; Jan 23 1896; Oct 18 1966; granite flat marker with cross.

7. M. Weeks; per blueprints date of death 03-28-30; no stone or marker.

8. J. Weeks; per blueprints date of death 01-12-24; no stone or marker.

20' x 20' *4- Vaiden plot

1. Rebecca T.; wife of J. Vaiden; Born Apr 13, 1836; Died Feb 6, 1891;

tall slight round marble headstone with base; no decoration; footstone with initials.

2. Jacob Vaiden; Born June 5, 1830; Died Oct 26, 1906; tall slight round marble headstone with base; no decoration; footstone with initials; obituary.

3. Minnie H.; Daughter of J. & R. T. Vaiden; Born July 22, 1871; Died Apr. 7, 1906; tall slight round marble headstone with base; no decoration; footstone with initials; obituary.

4. Mary A.; Daughter of J. & R. T. Vaiden; Born July 20, 1879; Died Sep. 20, 1902; tall slight round marble headstone with base; no decoration; footstone with initials; obituary.

5. John Edward; son of J. & R. T. Vaiden; Born Dec 28, 1857; Died Nov. 30, 1901; tall slight round marble headstone with base; no decoration; footstone with initials; obituary.

20' x 20' #5- Casey plot

Casey plot, tall marble family stone, unusual.

1. Selina Jester; Sept. 25, 1839; May 8, 1936; marble hickey marker with raised letters.
2. Robert L. Casey; Sept. 25, 1876; Dec. 21, 1934; marble hickey marker with raised letters; will; obituary.
3. Anna E. Casey; Sept. 2, 1871; Mar. 19, 1958; marble hickey marker with raised letters.
4. Robert T. Casey; Mar. 22, 1848; Sept. 15, 1918; marble hickey marker with raised letters; obituary.
5. Milton S. Casey; Feb. 26, 1892; Aug. 22, 1931; marble hickey marker with raised letters; will.
6. Elizabeth D. Casey; Feb. 4, 1856; Jan 11, 1941; Marble hickey marker with raised letters.
7. Clarence T. Casey; Sept. 30, 1878; Jan. 30, 1948; marble hickey marker with raised letters.
8. Olive D. Casey; Nov 8, 1897; Sept. 9, 1983; marble hickey marker with raised letters.
9. Carlton C. Casey; July 12, 1884; June 10, 1982; marble hickey marker with raised letters.



Fig. 50. 20' x 20' #1 from section 10. Littlefield/Ayers plots.



Fig. 51. 20' x 20' #1 from section 10. Littlefield/Ayers plots.



Fig. 52. 20' x 20' #2 from section 10. Goddin plot.



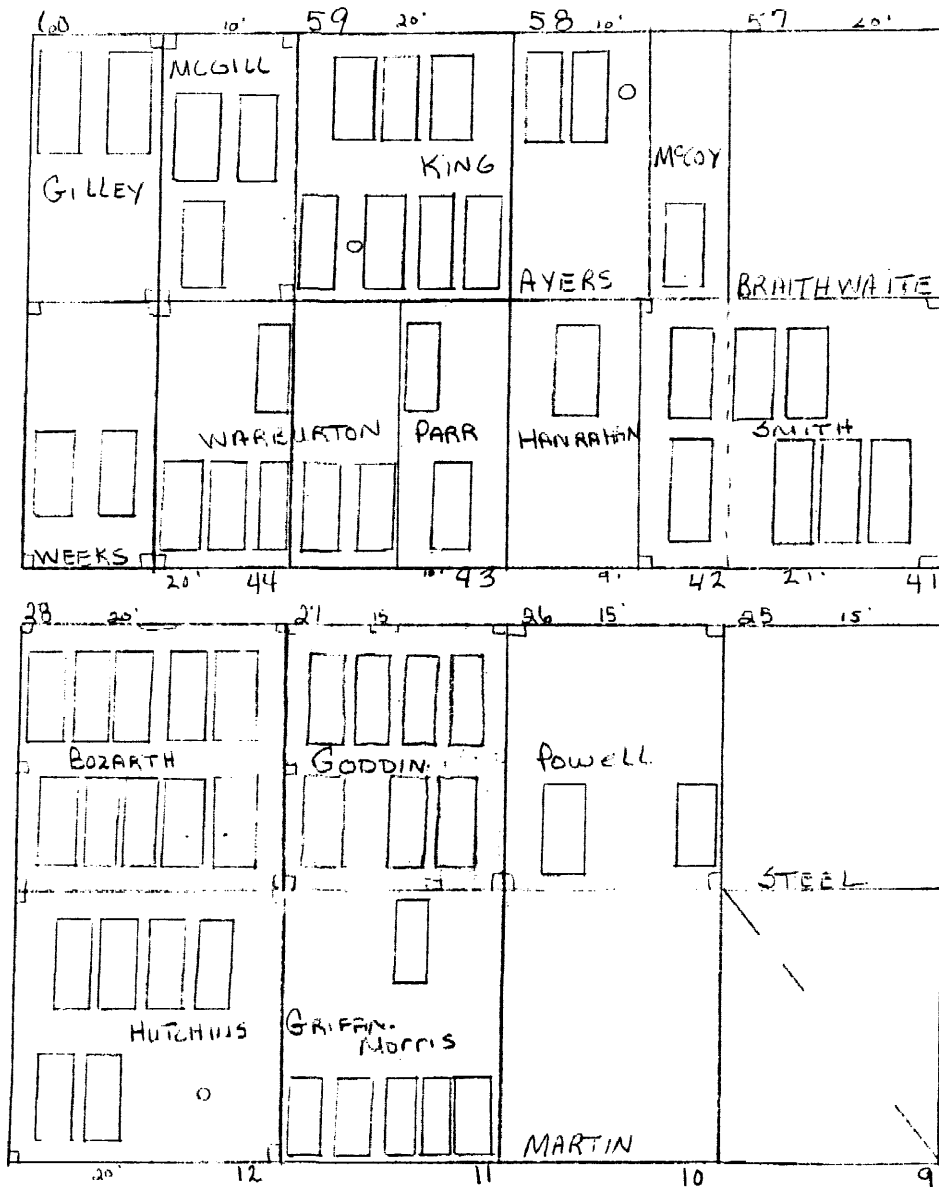
Fig. 53. 20' x 20' #3 from section 10. Warburton plot.



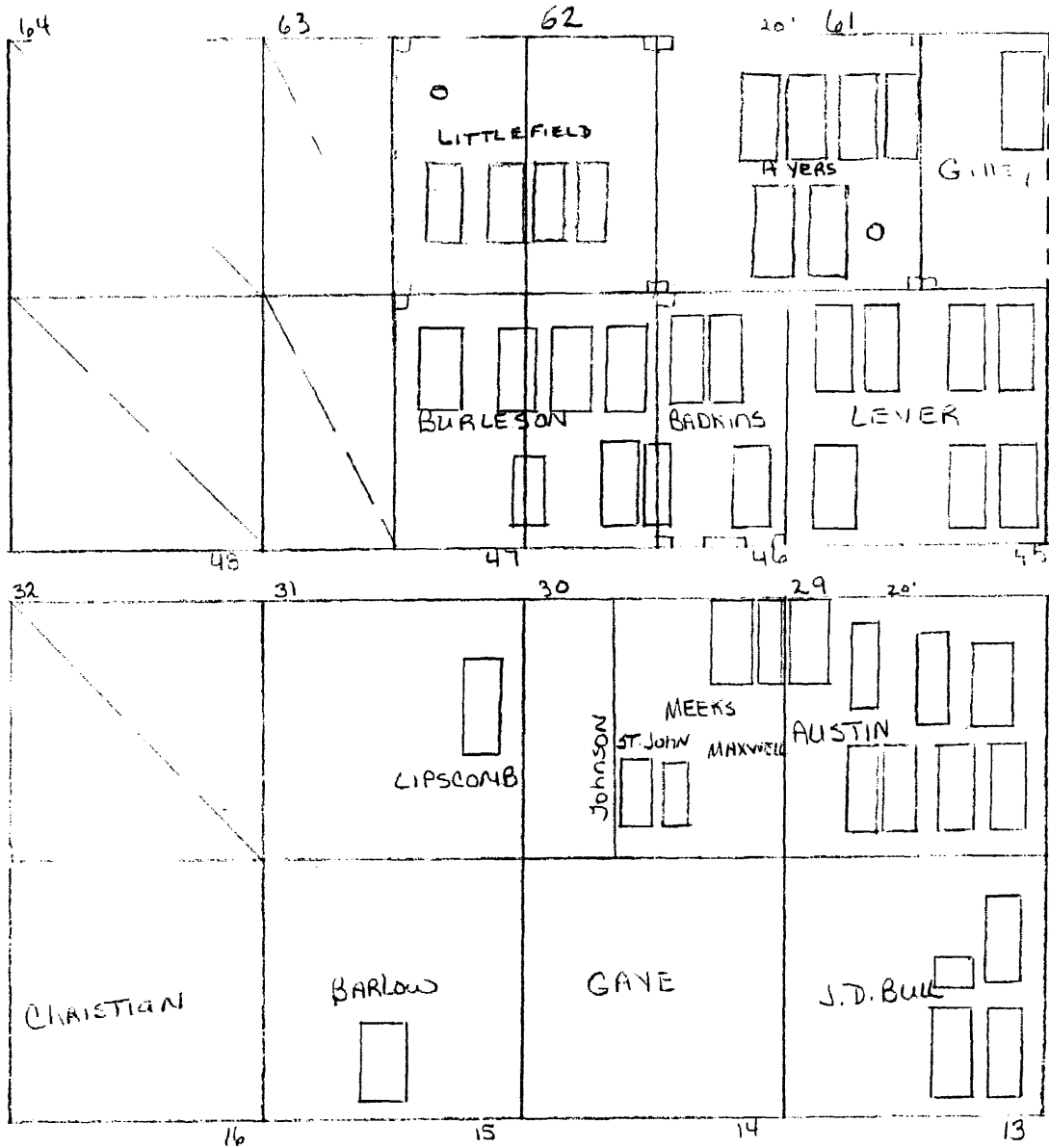
Fig. 54. 20' x 20' #4 from section 10. Vaiden plot.



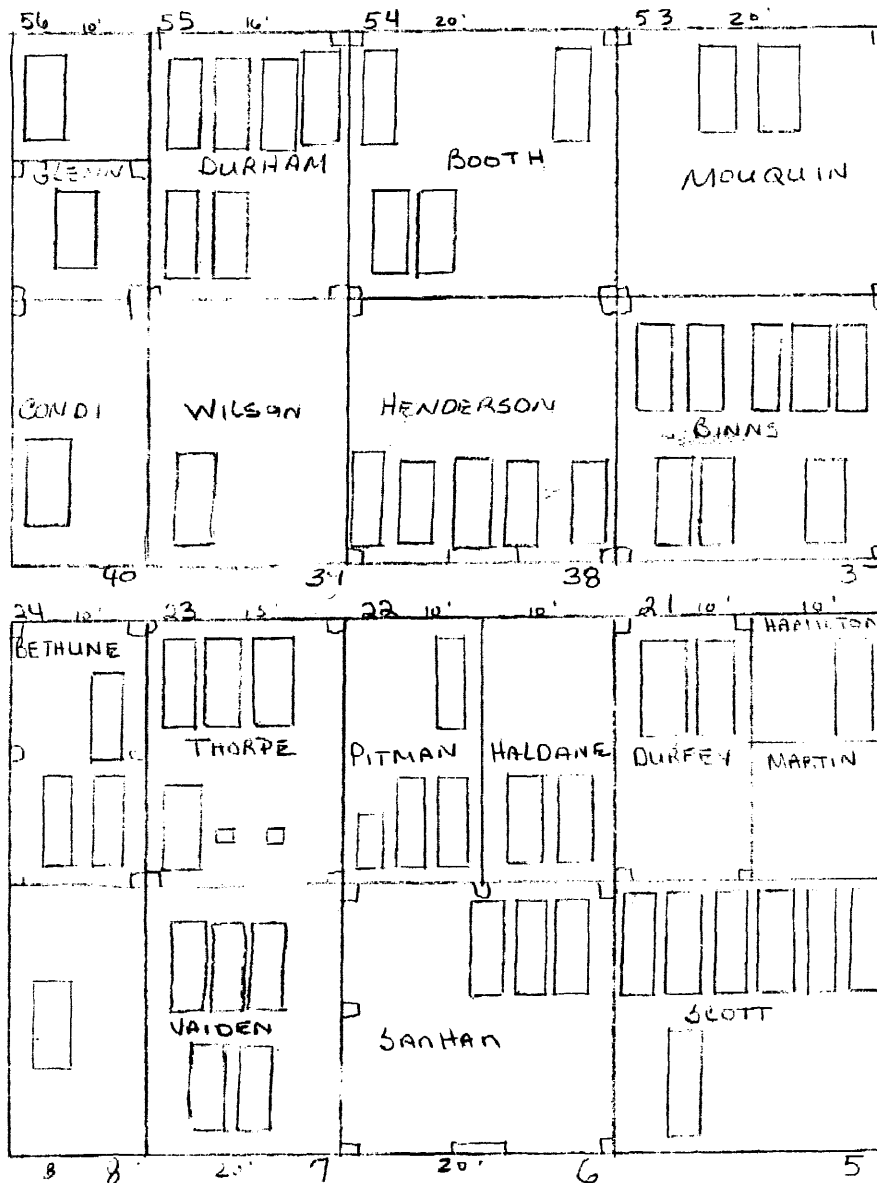
Fig. 55. 20' x 20' #5 from section 10. Casey plot



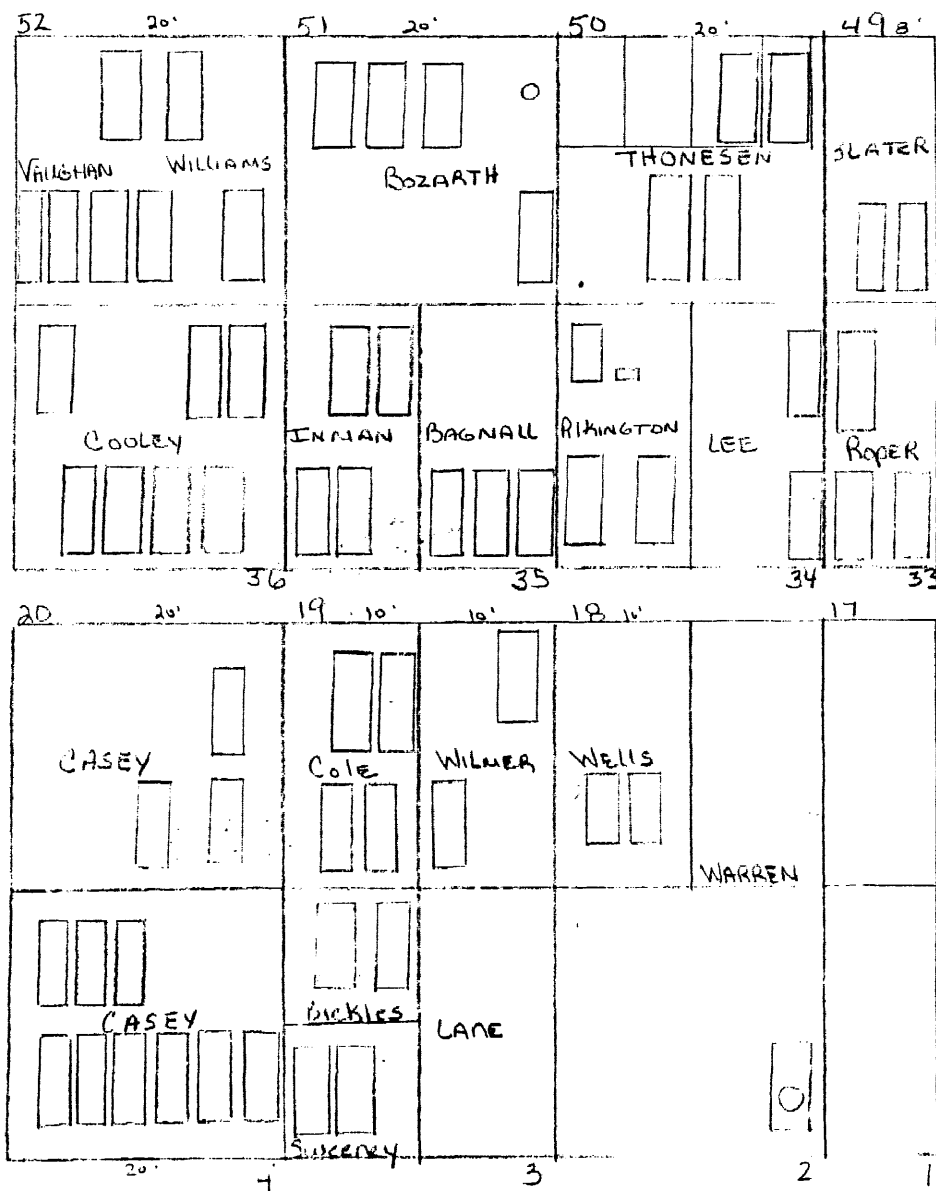
Map 31. Section 10 Map 1 of 5.



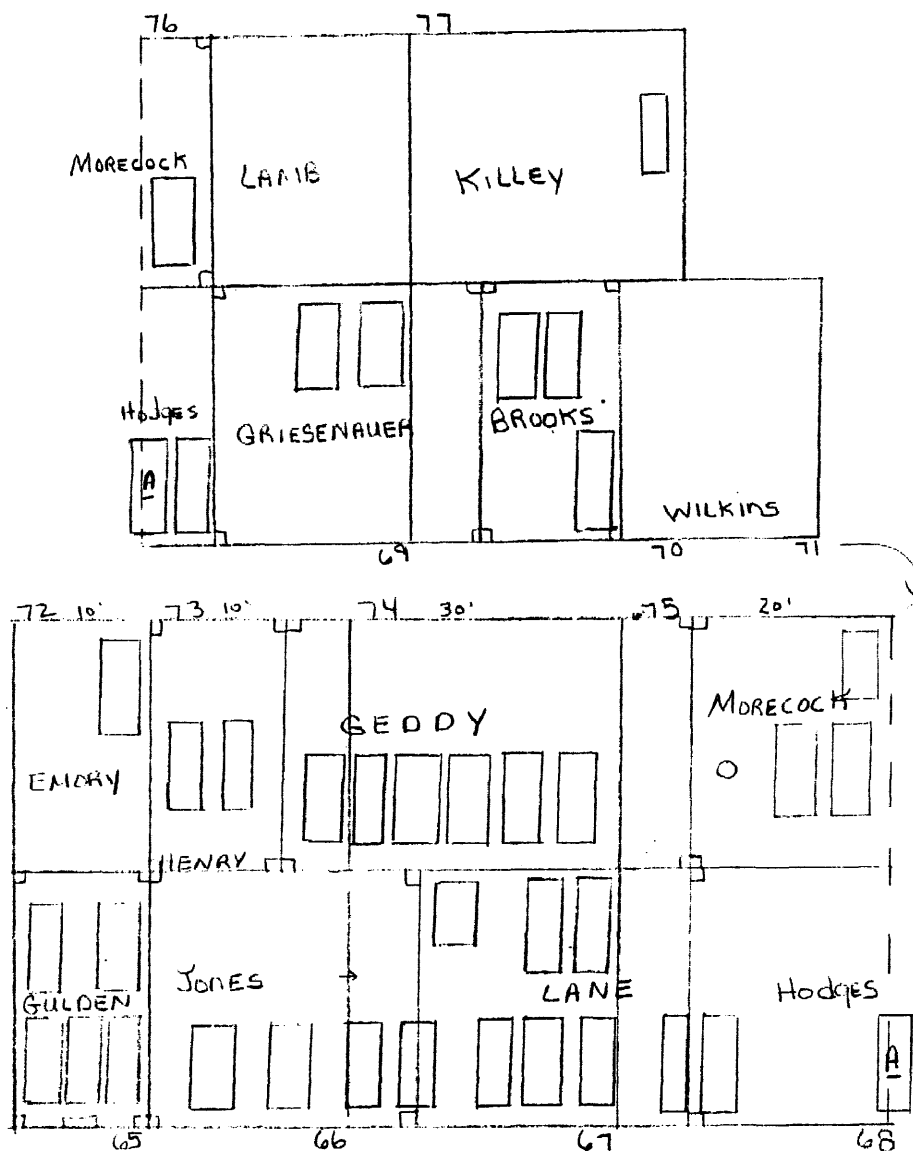
Map 32. Section 10 Map 2 of 5.



Map 33. Section 10 Map 3 of 5.



Map 34. Section 10 Map 4 of 5.



Map 35. Section 10 Map 5 of 5.

NOTES FROM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 13

20' x 20' #1- Various individual plots

1. Edgar W. Meigs; Aug 15, 1865; June 23, 1937; marble serpentine die with base and rough floral design; size of a family stone.
2. Edward William Meigs; military marker; Massachusetts SGT US Marine Corps; June 23, 1937; slight round marble headstone; looks like a civil war military marker.
3. Albert Sidney Baker; Nov. 21, 1890; Jan 14, 1935; flat granite marker with polished borders.
4. Scammon; Ina Augusta; 1880-1969; granite hickey marker.
5. Scammon; Howard Madison; 1880-1948; granite hickey marker.
6. Lella Lane Stanley; Aug 25, 1900; Sept 2, 1950; granite hickey marker with polished borders.
7. Brown; per blueprint, no information, no stone or marker.
8. Scammon; per blueprint, no information, no stone or marker.
9. Scammon; per blueprint, no information, no stone or marker.
10. Campbell; per blueprint, no information, no stone or marker.
11. Campbell; per blueprint date of death 02-24-50; no stone or marker.

20' x 20' #2- Minor/Binns plots

Minor plot, granite serpentine family stone with floral design, polished and rocked, posts.

1. Lavina Armistead Minor; Dec 6, 1884; Feb 9, 1945; granite hickey marker with polished borders.
2. John A. Minor; April 21, 1884; July 17, 1950; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

Binns plot, granite serpentine family stone with cross, floral design; posts.

1. Arbela Booth Binns; wife of R. J. Binns; Nov. 26, 1880; Feb. 16, 1960; granite flat marker.
2. Annah Madge Driver; military marker; Virginia Nurse Army Nurse

Corps World War I; July 11, 1881; July 29, 1969; granite flat marker with cross.

3. James Glenn Driver; military marker; Aug 10, 1889; Oct 2, 1975; granite flat marker with cross.

4. A. B. Binns; per blueprint date of death is 12-14-44; no stone or marker.

20' x 20' *3- Smith/ Lee plots

Smith plot, posts.

1. Robert W. Smith; June 19, 1881; March 31, 1947; granite flat marker with polished borders.

2. E. Leona Smith; June 23, 1877; November 11, 1956; granite flat marker with polished borders.

3. Omie Lucille Pitts; March 5, 1905; October 4, 1971; granite flat marker with polished borders.

Lee plot, granite polished and rocked serpentine family stone with floral design; name on both sides but decoration only on one side.

1. Louise Engle Lee; wife of Edward Myers Lee, Jr.; Oct 5, 1906; June 19, 1971; granite flat marker.

2. Kathryn M. Miller; Daughter of Philip Mershon and Dorothy Arpp; April 5, 1912; Nov 4, 1964; granite flat marker.

3. Peticolas Lee; Daughter of Caroline Barlow and Edward Myers Lee; July 15, 1904; August 12, 1955; granite flat marker.

4. Richard Henry Lee; son of Caroline Barlow and Edward Myers Lee; July 31, 1907; July 9, 1949; granite flat marker.

20' x 20' *4- Gore/ Goan/ Parker plots

Gore plot, granite serpentine family stone, polished and rocked, floral design; posts.

1. "Booby"; Lewis F. Gore; April 7, 1919; Sept 27, 1966; granite flat marker with polished borders. (Note: "Booby" is not a typing error.)

2. "Skippy"; Lewis F. Gore, Jr.; June 26, 1943; Feb 13, 1958; granite

flat marker with polished borders.

3. Emma Chiles Gore; April 30, 1889; Feb 22, 1966; granite flat marker with polished borders.

4. William H. Gore, Jr.; July 28, 1885; May 10, 1968; granite flat marker with polished borders.

Goan plot

1. William Audley Goan, military marker; Virginia VT 901 QM Service Co AVN World War II; June 2, 1900; May 26, 1959; granite flat marker with cross.

Parker plot, granite serpentine family stone, rocked and polished, plants and bush planted around family stone, posts.

1. Ella Mae Stinson Parker; July 5, 1924; Jan. 24, 1983; granite flat marker.

20' x 20' *5- Holland/Nightengale plots

Holland plot

1. Edward H. Woosley; 1903-1963; granite slant marker with tree and

leaf design.

2. Janie E. Holland; Mother; 1902-1949; granite slant marker with tree and leaf design.

3. B. Poindexter Holland; Father; 1887-1945; granite slant marker with tree and leaf design.

4. Evelyn Woosley; 1908-1965; granite slant marker with tree and leaf design.

5. Grave per blueprint; no name, no information, no stone or marker.

Nightengale plot, posts.

1. Velma Nightengale Benz; April 15, 1916; October 27, 1982; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

2. Mabel H. Nightengale; July 29, 1884; August 24, 1972; granite hickey marker with polished borders.

3. Robert C. Nightengale; August 27, 1876; February 25, 1948;

granite hickey marker with polished borders.

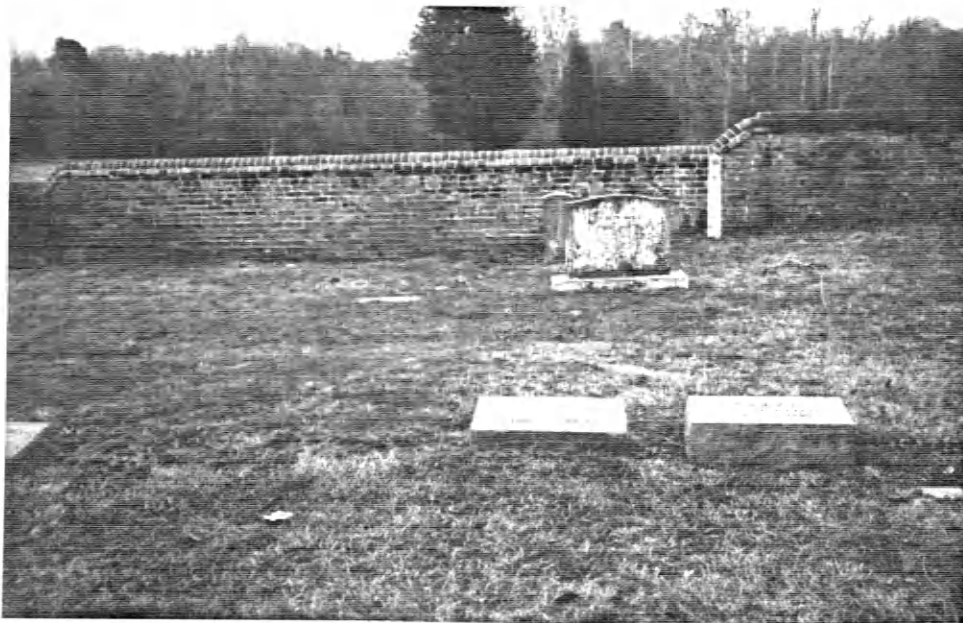


Fig. 56. 20' x 20' #1 from section 13. Various individual plots.



Fig. 57. 20' x 20' #2 from section 13. Minor/Binns plots.



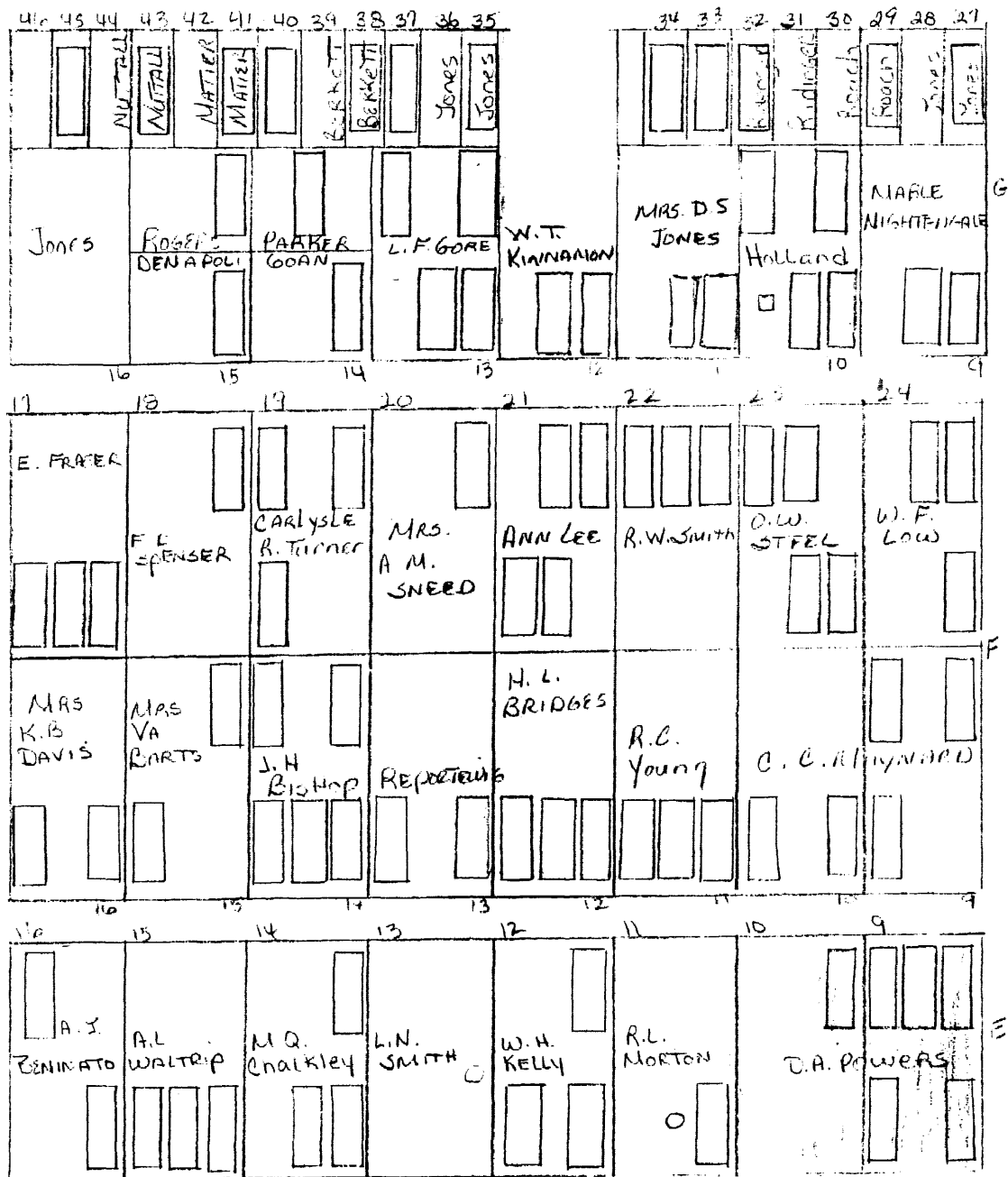
Fig. 58. 20' x 20' #3 from section 13. Smith/Lee plots.



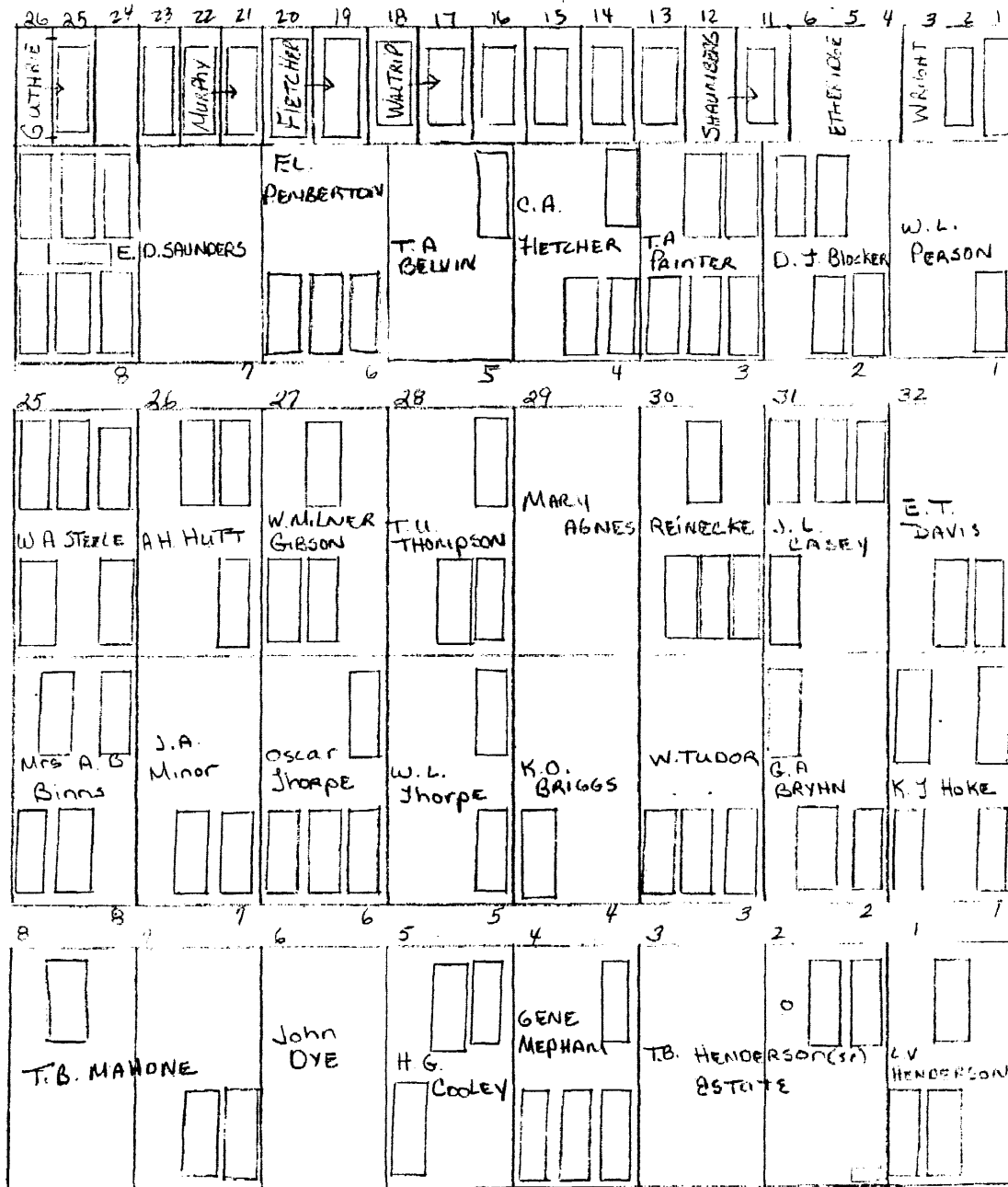
Fig. 59. 20' x 20' #4 from section 13. Gore/Goan/Parker plots.



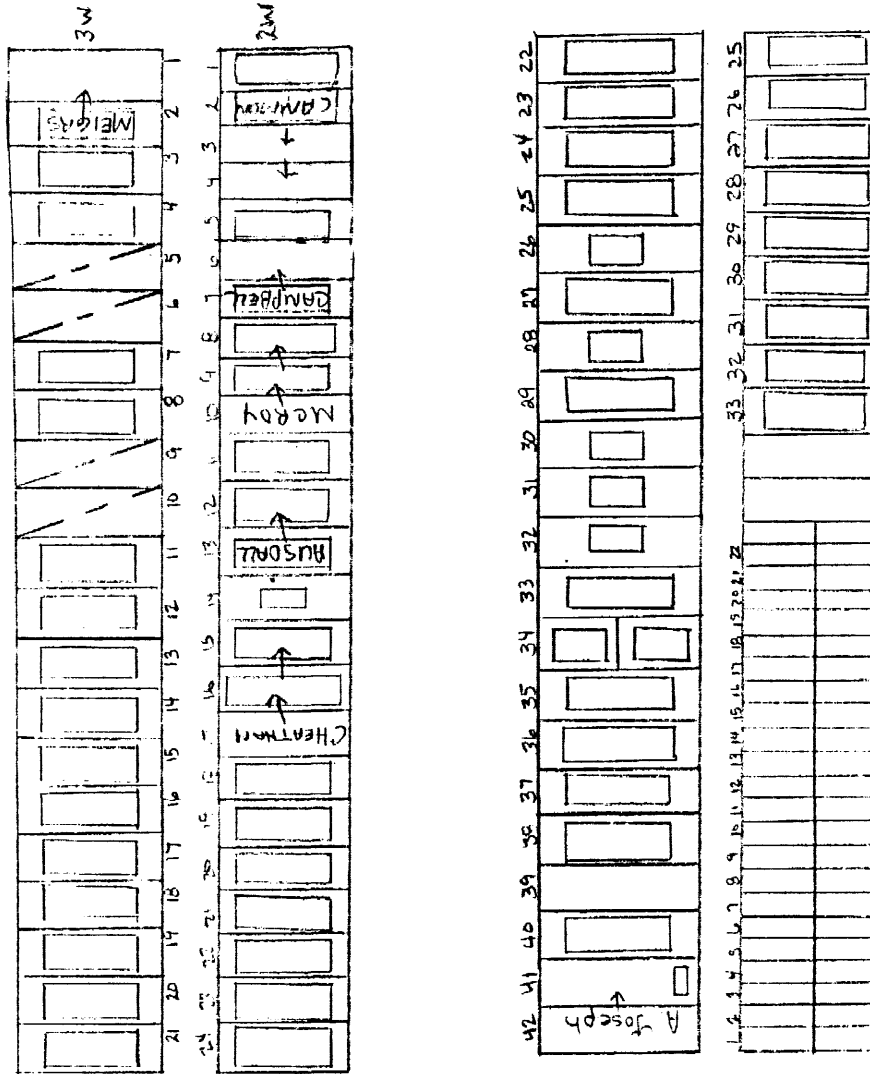
Fig. 60. 20' x 20' #5 from section 13. Holland/Nightengale plots.



Map 36. Section 13 Map 1 of 3.



Map 37. Section 13 Map 2 of 3.



Map 38. Section 13 Map 3 of 3.

NOTES FROM CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY-SECTION 14

20' x 20' #1- Peebles plot

Peebles plot, granite entrance name, planter at center of plot, no borders or family stone.

1. Nelson Braithwaite Peebles; December 4, 1905; February 26, 1932; granite slant marker with floral design.
2. Paul Ballard Peebles; 1910-1948; (per blueprint date of death 03-08-48); granite slant marker with floral design.
3. Ruth Braithwaite Peebles; December 15, 1884; October 12, 1969; granite slant marker with floral design.
4. Peter Paul Peebles; 1881-1938; Member of Law Faculty For 15 years at the College of William and Mary; granite slant marker with floral design; will.
5. Mason B. Peebles; 1909-1949; (per blueprint date of death 05-05-49); granite slant marker with floral design.

20' x 20' #2- Johnston/Holmes plots

Johnston plot, polished and rocked granite serpentine family stone with floral design.

1. Laura Holmes Johnston; 1893-1967; granite flat with polished borders.
2. Ralph Elroy Johnston; military marker; Virginia 305 Engrs. 80 Div.; 1891-1939; granite flat stone with cross; will.
3. Calvin K. Johnston; 1925-1971; May the Roads Rise with you and the Wind be always at your back and the Lord hold you in the hollow of his hand; granite flat stone with polished borders.
4. Betty Lee Johnston; R.N.; Nov. 17, 1944; Dec 5, 1976; Nursing emblem between dates of birth and death; granite flat marker with polished borders.

Holmes plot, polished and rocked granite serpentine family stone with floral design.

1. Clyde Ellis Holmes; December 28, 1903; April 23, 1979; granite

flat marker with polished borders.

2. George W. Holmes; Oct 1, 1881; Dec 26, 1940; granite flat marker with polished borders; obituary.
3. Amy Louise Holmes; March 6, 1879; Oct. 30, 1964; granite flat marker with polished borders.

20' x 20' #3- Wickre/Farris plots

Wickre plot, rocked granite slight round, with base, family stone; design on sides that looks like gothic window with a W in them.

1. Ernest J. Wickre; son of Julia Larson and John Wickre; July 24, 1902; March 13, 1956; granite flat marker.
2. John Wickre; Father; 1862-1934; granite flat marker with gothic window with W inset to match family stone; will.
3. Julia M. Wickre; Mother; 1869-1941; granite flat marker with gothic window with W inset to match family stone.
4. M. ?Pardis; per blueprint only; date of death 1937; no stone or marker.

Farris plot, marble serpentine family stone with name and floral design on both sides.

1. Margie Jane Farris; Died January 30, 1937; marble flat marker.
2. James William Farris; Died January 7, 1958; marble flat marker.
3. Frank C. Farris; Died September 15, 1960; marble flat marker.
4. John B. Scott; Died July 7, 1938; marble flat marker.
5. Maude Ellen Garner Pryor; Died February 17, 1968; marble flat marker.
6. F. Pryor; per blueprint only; no stone or marker.

20' x 20' #4- Scheie/Campbell plots

Scheie plot

1. Scheie; Jacob W; 1855-1938; Nellie E; 1871-1921; one marker for husband and wife; polished granite serpentine with floral design; family name at top; will found for Nellie E. Scheie.
2. Leif Ericson Scheie; 1893-1974; masonic emblem; granite flat

marker with polished borders; open book carving with data on inside.
 3. Marietta A. Lewis; 1905-1971; granite flat marker with polished borders; floral design; open book carving with data on inside.

Campbell plot

1. David E. Campbell; 1945-1964; granite flat marker with floral design and polished borders.
2. Thomas Campbell; 1923-1983; granite flat marker with floral design and polished borders.
3. Gertrude E. Clarke; 1904-1985; temporary marker; no stone.
4. Herbert Owen Clarke; 1903-1966; granite flat marker with floral design and polished borders.

20' x 20' #5- Binns/Creasy plots

Binns plot

1. Binns; William T.; Feb. 7 1865; Oct. 28 1957; Alice G.; Oct 29, 1873; Oct 14, 1938; one marker for husband and wife; polished granite serpentine stone with floral design and stained window design; family name at top.
2. Henry C. Binns; Died 16, 1898; Dec 2, 1979; granite flat marker with polished borders.

Creasy plot

1. Boyd Creasy; son of James A and Anna Rhodes Creasy; Husband of Jakie Olivia Hicks Creasy; 1886-1971; granite ledger.
2. Jakie Hicks Creasy; Daughter of John Edward and Emma Badkins Hicks; wife of Boyd C. Creasy; 1882-1936; granite ledger.
3. Emma Katherine Creasy; Daughter of Boyd C and Jakie H Creasy; 1908-1971; flat granite marker.



Fig. 61. 20' x 20' #1 from section 14. Peebles plot.



Fig. 62. 20' x 20' #2 from section 14. Johnston/Holmes plots.



Fig. 63. 20' x 20' #2 from section 14. Johnston/Holmes plots.



Fig. 64. 20' x 20' #3 from section 14. Wickre/Farris plots.



Fig. 65. 20' x 20' #4 from section 14. Scheie/Campbell plots.

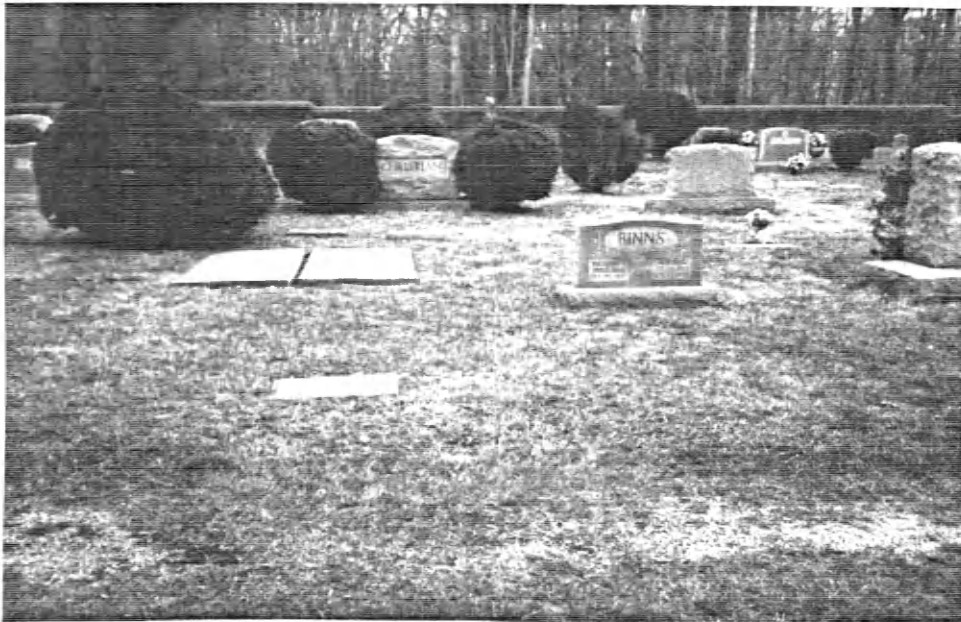
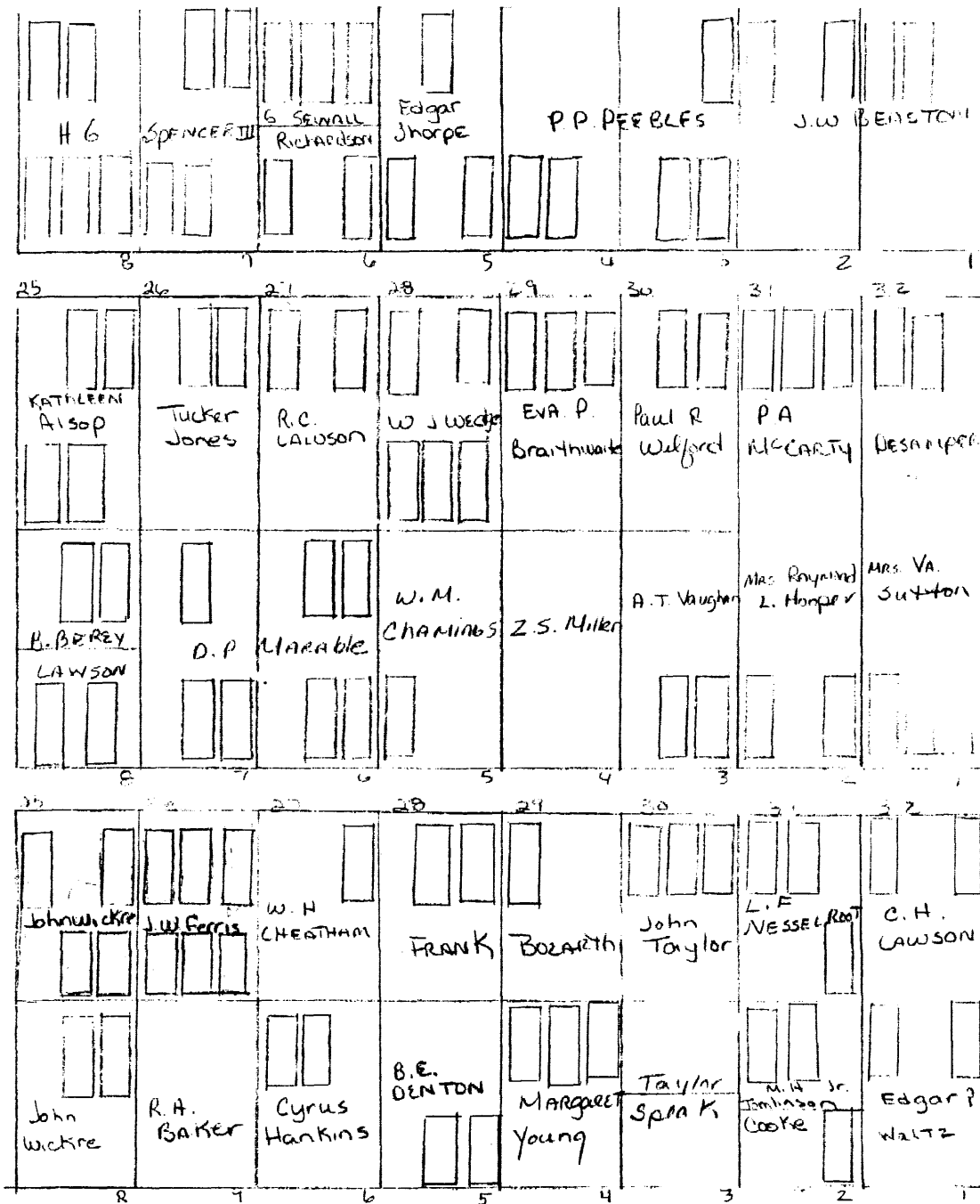
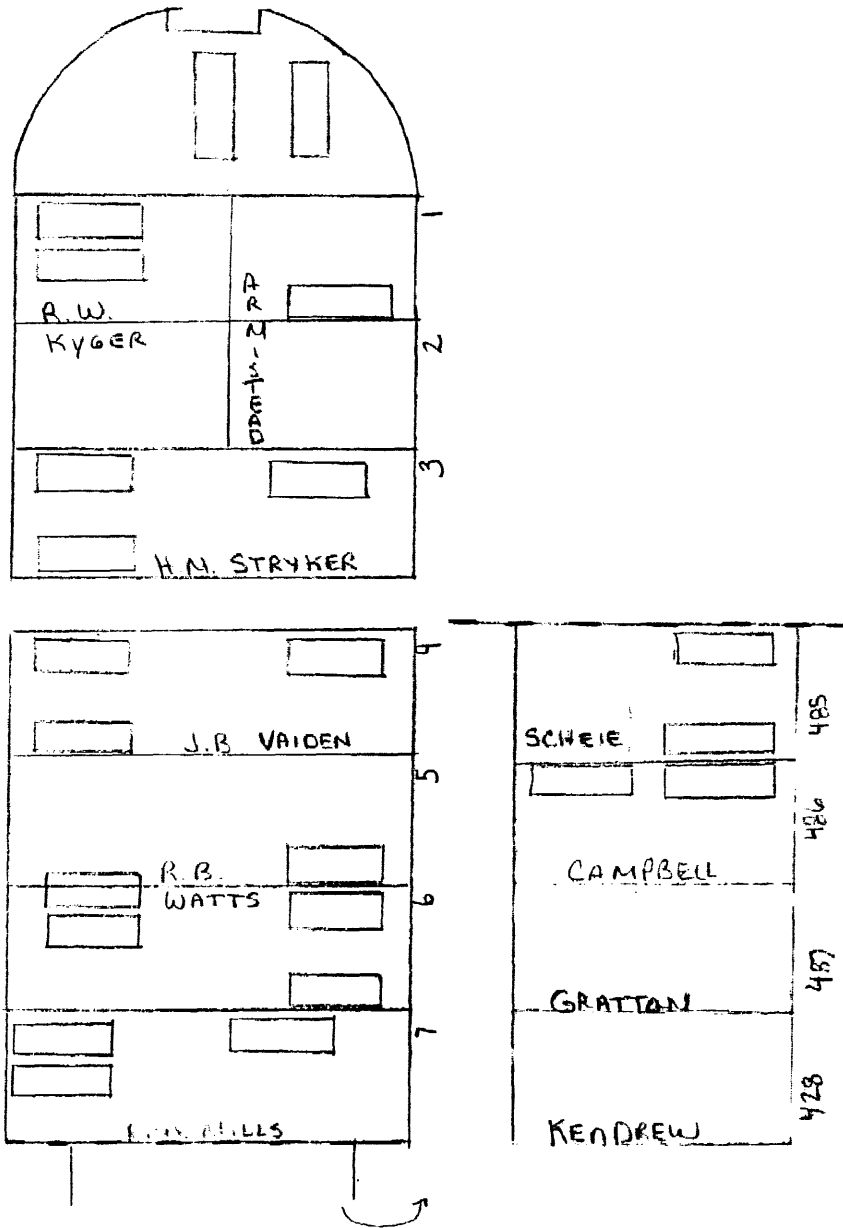


Fig. 66. 20' x 20' #5 from section 14. Binns/Creasy plots.



Map 39. Section 14 Map 1 of 3.



Map 41. Section 14 Map 3 of 3.

APPENDIX II

Certificate of Location
(Courtesy of the City of Williamsburg)

CERTIFICATE OF LOCATION

This is to certify that, in consideration of \$ _____,
_____ is entitled to _____

as shown on the official plat of Cedar Grove Cemetery, on file in the office of the City Manager, Williamsburg, Virginia, as a burial place of _____. The right hereby vested in the said _____ shall not be resold, transferred or assigned, except as provided in the following section of the Code.

Section 8-6. Transfer of Title -

No lot or part thereof shall be sold or transferred by the holder of a certificate of location, except to the city. The city may, at its election, purchase from the holder of a certificate of location all rights, title and interest in and to any unused lot or part thereof, at the then current price, and the certificate of location shall be assigned by the holder thereof, his heirs, devisees or personal representatives, to the city as evidence of such purchase.

This Certificate is issued and accepted on the following terms and conditions:

(1) Definitions.

- (a) The word "lot" shall be construed to mean an area sufficient in size for six (6) graves.
- (b) The word "half-lot" shall be construed to mean an area sufficient in size for three (3) graves.
- (c) The word "plot" shall be construed to mean an area sufficient in size for one (1) grave.

(2) All monuments, tombstones or grave markers placed on any lot, half-lot or plot shall be set upon adequate foundations placed by the City or its designated authority for such purpose.

(3) Not more than one monument or family tombstone shall be erected on any lot or half-lot. Such monument or family tombstone shall not exceed 50 inches in height (above ground), 72 inches in width and 24 inches in thickness. Only a grave marker, as described in paragraph (5) below, shall be permitted on any plot.

(4) It shall be lawful to erect on any lot, half-lot or adjoining plots a tombstone or grave marker similar in type, design and dimensions to any tombstone or grave marker which has been lawfully erected on such lot, half-lot or adjoining plot prior to March 1, 1956. This provision shall not be construed as permitting more than one family monument or family tombstone on any such lot, half-lot or plot, as provided in paragraph (3) above.

(5) All grave markers shall be of marble or granite 24 inches in length, 12 inches in width and 4 inches in depth, and shall be set flush with the surrounding surface of the ground, in a manner to be approved by the City or its designated agent.

(6) It shall be lawful to erect a double grave marker for two adjoining plots, provided such marker is not more than 48 inches in length, 18 inches in width, 4 inches in depth and set flush with the surface of the surrounding area, in a manner to be approved by the City or its designated agent.

(7) Where four contiguous lots, forming a rectangle 20 feet by 40 feet are owned by one person and it is the desire of such person to erect one family memorial thereon, it shall be lawful to erect one family memorial in the approximate center of the rectangle, with a granite or marble base not exceeding 96 inches in length, 24 inches in width and 12 inches in height above the level of the ground. The over all height of the monument, including the granite base, shall not be higher than 50 inches above the level of the ground.

Such monument shall consist of a slab with base, and the slab shall not be more than 12 inches in width or thickness. No other tombstone shall be erected on any of the plots forming the rectangle but all graves therein may be marked with grave markers in accordance with paragraph (5) of this Certificate.

(8) All persons desiring to place monuments, tombstones or grave markers on any lot, half-lot or plot in Cedar Grove Cemetery shall file with the City Manager an application for permission to do so, on forms furnished by the City for the purpose, showing the design and dimensions and such design and dimensions shall be approved by the City or its designated agent as to conformity with this Certificate before any work has been commenced.

(9) All coping on the interior sides of any lot, half-lot or plot shall be flush with the ground, and such coping on the exterior sides of such lot, half-lot or plot shall not be more than 6 inches higher than the level of the walkway.

(10) No plating, grading or elevating of graves above the normal surface of the area thereabout shall be permitted, other than that done by the City or with the authority of the City or its designated agent, in writing first obtained.

(11) The City of Williamsburg shall have the right to prevent the growth of and to remove weeds, grass, debris or anything prejudicial, in the opinion of the City or its designated agent, to the interest of other holders of lots within the Cemetery, and also the right of general supervision over the whole grounds for the protection of such holders.

(12) Upon proof of loss or destruction of a Certificate, the City or its designated agent shall issue a new Certificate to the original purchaser or holder thereof.

(13) There shall be kept on file in the Office of the City Manager a record showing the name of the holder, location of the lot, half-lot or plot and the date of the issuance of all Certificates of Location.

(14) Certificates of Location shall pass by inheritance and the laws of the State of Virginia.

Given under my hand this _____ day of _____ 19__.

City Manager

I, _____, the undersigned, hereby accept this Certificate of Location including the terms set forth above.

Signature of Purchaser

APPENDIX III

VERSES

(Courtesy of Robert Page, Bucktrout Funeral Home, Williamsburg)

Verses

Prices include lettering the names and dates. Any other lettering including verses will be charged at \$1.75 NET per letter.

FOR CHILDREN

- 1 - *Gone so soon.*
- 2 - *Our loved one.*
- 3 - *Gone to be an angel.*
- 4 - *Gone to a better land.*
- 5 - *Darling, we miss thee.*
- 6 - *The lovely flower has faded.*
- 7 - *"Blessed are the early dead."*
- 8 - *"Of such is the kingdom of heaven."*
- 9 - *"He carries the lamb in his bosom."*
- 10 - *"Suffer little children to come unto Me."*
- 11 - *Asleep in Jesus, blessed thought.*
- 12 - *A fairer bud of promise never bloomed.*
- 13 - *How soon fades the tender flower.*
- 14 - *A sunbeam from the world has vanished.*

FOR MEMORIALS

- 15 - *At rest.*
- 16 - *In Heaven.*
- 17 - *Gone home.*
- 18 - *My trust is in God.*
- 19 - *Forever with the Lord.*
- 20 - *They are not dead.*
- 21 - *Death is another life.*
- 22 - *We will meet again.*
- 23 - *Absent, not dead.*
- 24 - *Gone, but not forgotten.*
- 25 - *In after-time, we'll meet her.*
- 26 - *Christ is my hope.*
- 27 - *To die is gain.*
- 28 - *God defends the right.*
- 29 - *May he rest in peace.*
- 30 - *Thy God has claimed thee as his own.*
- 31 - *He has gone to the mansions of rest.*
- 32 - *There is rest in heaven.*
- 33 - *With Christ in heaven.*
- 34 - *Not my will, but Thine be done.*
- 35 - *In my Father's House are many mansions.*
- 36 - *He has kept the faith.*
- 37 - *One worthy of remembrance.*
- 38 - *Sleep undisturbed within this peaceful shrine.*
- 39 - *They gave their today for our tomorrow.*
- 40 - *I triumph in death, as in life.*
- 41 - *Forever honour'd and forever mourn'd.*

- 42 - *Love illumines the realms of night.*
- 43 - *To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die.*
- 44 - *Death—That golden key that opens the palace of Eternity.*
- 45 - *Death loves a shining mark.*
- 46 - *His record is on high.*
- 47 - *Tho' lost to sight, to memory dear.*
- 48 - *Death is the crown of life.*
- 49 - *Not lost, but gone before.*
- 50 - *Asleep in Jesus.*
- 51 - *Beloved one, farewell.*
- 52 - *Meet me in heaven.*
- 53 - *His memory is blessed.*
- 54 - *Resting till the resurrection morn.*
- 55 - *Prepare to meet me in heaven.*
- 56 - *Earth's brightest gems are fading.*
- 57 - *He is not dead, but sleepeth.*
- 58 - *Dying is but going home.*
- 59 - *He is at rest in heaven.*
- 60 - *None knew thee but to love thee.*
- 61 - *She was the sunshine of our home.*
- 62 - *Thy trials ended, thy rest is won.*
- 63 - *Resting in hopes of a glorious resurrection.*
- 64 - *How desolate our home bereft of thee.*
- 65 - *He died as he lived—a Christian.*
- 66 - *Let our Father's will be done.*
- 67 - *In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust.*
- 68 - *He was beloved by God and man.*
- 69 - *May he find joy in the life everlasting.*
- 70 - *Sheltered and safe from sorrow.*
- 71 - *Thy life was beauty, truth, goodness and love.*
- 72 - *Death is eternal life, why should we weep?*
- 73 - *An honest man's the noblest work of God.*
- 74 - *A tender mother and a faithful friend.*
- 75 - *We trust our loss will be her gain and that with Christ she's gone to reign.*
- 76 - *The rose may fade, the lily die, but the flowers immortal bloom on high.*
- 77 - *She faltered by the wayside and the angels took her home.*
- 78 - *Faithful to her trust, even unto death.*
- 79 - *What hopes have perished with you, my son.*
- 80 - *In sure and certain hope of the resurrection.*

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