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Necrogeography: A geographic analysis of the cemeteries of Coles County, Illinois

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This research is a product of the graduate program in [Geography](#) at Eastern Illinois University. [Find out more](#) about the program.

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NECROGEOGRAPHY:
A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF
THE CEMETERIES OF
COLES COUNTY, ILLINOIS

DAVID E. HECKEL

NEGROGEOGRAPHY: A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF
THE CEMETERIES OF COLES COUNTY, ILLINOIS
(TITLE)

BY

DAVID E. HECKEL

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES v.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS vi.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION 1

 Statement of Purpose

 Methodology

 Review of the Literature

CHAPTER II: THE SITE AND UTILIZATION OF CEMETERIES 10

 Site Factors

 Utilization Factors

CHAPTER III: THE TYPE AND SIZE OF CEMETERIES 32

 Cemetery Types

 Undeveloped Plot Type

 Family Plot Type

 Rural Center Type

 Urban Center Type

 Status and Number of Burials

 Chi-Square

CHAPTER IV: MEMORIALS AND MONUMENTS 44

 Type and Market of Memorial Stone

 Styles of Memorials and Monuments

 Demographic Studies

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS 63

 Summary and Conclusions

 Recommendations for Further Research

BIBLIOGRAPHY 68

APPENDIX 72

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Epidemics Causing Cluster Years of Death	23
II. Cemetery Types	33
III. Memorial Stone Produced in the United States 1948 - 1968	48

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Types of Cemeteries in Coles County, Illinois . . .	11
2. Cemeteries and Glacial Features in Coles County, Illinois	13
3a. Cemetery located on a knoll	14
3b. An overgrown and abandoned cemetery	14
4. Cemeteries and Drainage Patterns in Coles County, Illinois	16
5. Cemeteries and Soil Associations in Coles County, Illinois	17
6. Chronological Progression of Cemetery Placement in Coles County, Illinois	21
7a. Undeveloped Type of Cemetery (20 graves or less).	35
7b. Family Plot Type of Cemetery (21 to 100 graves) .	35
8a. Rural Center Type of Cemetery (101 to 500 graves)	37
8b. Urban Center Type of Cemetery (501 graves or more)	37
9a. Hillhouse Plan of a Cemetery	39
9b. Memorial Garden Plan of a Cemetery	39
10. Size Grouping of Cemeteries in Coles County, Illinois	41
11. United States Memorial Granites and Marbles Distribution of Deposits	46
12a. Sandstone Slabs (1830 - 1840)	52
12b. Marble Monuments (1840 - 1885)	52
13a. Marble Obelisk (1870 - 1895)	54

Figure	Page
13b. Marble Heart (1895 - 1905)	54
14a. Rough Granite Block (1920 - 1950)	56
14b. Smooth Granite Block (1950 - 1972)	56
15a. Bronze Plate (1950 - 1972)	58
15b. Glacial Erratic (1965)	58
16a. Glacial Erratic (1934)	59
16b. Ornate Religious (1922)	59
17. Memorial Dealer by Dodge Grove Cemetery Mattoon, Illinois	61

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Much thought has been given to the geography of the living with their population patterns, cultural features, and history. But the land use and spatial distribution of the dead is an area of study that is handled gingerly, almost to the point of exclusion from geography. To show that many relationships between man and his land exist, a geographic analysis of the cemeteries in Coles County, Illinois, will be undertaken. Out of this study, the pursuit of necrogeography, the geographic analysis of the dead, will be shown to be a valid, if not necessary, inclusion in the study of man's action on and use of his land.

A review of the literature proved that little research of a geographic nature had been done on cemeteries. One article in particular was the impetus in performing this research. The article was by Larry Price and dealt with cemeteries as a total cultural landscape, something that had not been done in previous research on cemeteries.¹ A perusal of the literature on the subject showed that many in-

¹Larry W. Price, "Some Results and Implications of A Cemetery Study," The Professional Geographer, XVIII, No. 4, (1966), pp. 201-207.

terrelated ideas and thoughts could be tied together. These thoughts were from sociologists, archeologists, geographers, urban planners, historians, and laymen with an interest in the fact and folklore of cemeteries.

Methodology

Coles County, Illinois, was chosen as the study area because it was accessible to the author and because it comprised different physical and cultural areas. Physically, Coles County is split into two parts by the terminal moraine of the Wisconsinan glaciation of the Pleistocene Period.² Historically, Coles County has been settled in various time periods from the 1820's to the present. These two factors enable Coles County to be diverse in spatial areas, rather than being a homogeneous study area.

A check list was devised with the intent to include all necessary factors that would be inherent to the study. (See Appendix I.). As the field research began, certain items that had not been considered at first were included in the study. The field research was by far the most enjoyable part due to the fascination that cemeteries hold, espe-

²For an informative study of the Pleistocene Period in Illinois, see H.B. Willman and John C. Frye, Pleistocene Stratigraphy of Illinois, Illinois State Geological Survey Bulletin No. 94 (Urbana, Illinois: Illinois State Geological Survey, 1970).

cially those that have been disused or abandoned for over 100 years.

After a cemetery was located, the data sheet was completed. Cemeteries were located by a combination of four sources, plat maps, topographic maps, the general highway map, and word of mouth. The most reliable source was the highway map, and the least was the plat maps, which showed inadequacies and incorrect locations. When a few cemeteries had been researched, patterns began to appear, and by the time the field research was completed, there were other patterns and results that had not even been anticipated. The data sheets were then compiled and tabulated. All of the patterns were arranged and will be presented in the successive chapters.

The compilation and drafting of the maps to be used was accomplished by the use of one acetate original to produce the clear, black line diazo copies. This proved to be a savings, both in time and expense. By completing the maps first, some of the relationships of the cemeteries to the land became even more evident.

An outline was prepared to afford a framework to follow for the presentation of the findings of this study. Following the introductory chapter, the next chapter deals with the site and utilization of the cemeteries. Included

is a site analysis of the physical characteristics associated with cemeteries, and a description of man's utilization of a cemetery depending upon his economic, social, and historical needs. The third chapter deals with the type and size of the cemeteries. This chapter makes it clear that the cemeteries have a definite classification and distribution. Memorials and monuments that are erected in the cemeteries form the subject of the fourth chapter. They are important as economic and cultural features, as much demographic, sociological, and historical data can be gleaned from them. The final chapter consists of the summary, conclusions, and recommendations for further research in necrogeography.

Review of the Literature

The first article on cemeteries to appear in a geographical publication in the United States was by Pattison (1955), dealing with the land use of cemeteries in Chicago, Illinois.³ Cemeteries as a cultural landscape was the subject of Price (1966).⁴ This article was the first to take into account various factors that tie cemeteries, land, and man together. Kniffen (1967), wrote a short article in

³William D. Pattison, "The Cemeteries of Chicago: A Phase of Land Utilization," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XLV, No. 3 (1955), pp. 245-257.

⁴Price, "Cemetery Study," pp. 201-207.

which he related previous work that had been done in necrogeography.⁵ The cemetery as a place was given attention by Jackson (1967-68).⁶ His main premise was that a cemetery holds a place in the landscape of man, and should be considered as such. After the decision was made to work on this subject, an article appeared by Francaviglia (1971) that carried necrogeography a step further, by combining geography, architecture, landscape, sociology, and history.⁷ One facet of necrogeography is urban land use and value. Hardwick, Claus, and Rothwell (1971), related cemeteries to urban structure theories and to land value in an urban area.⁸ Along the same vein of thought, some other non-geographic sources dealing with cemeteries as an urban land use are: Fisher (1970), which concerns cemeteries as a factor in urban planning;⁹ Drewes (1964), a book on planning, construc-

⁵Fred Kniffen, "Necrogeography in the United States," Geographical Review, LVII, (1967), pp. 426-427.

⁶J.B. Jackson, "From Monument to Place," Landscape, XVII, No. 2, (1967-68), pp. 22-26.

⁷Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery As An Evolving Cultural Landscape," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LXI, No. 3, (1971), pp. 501-509.

⁸W.G. Hardwick, R.J. Claus, and D.C. Rothwell, "Cemeteries and Urban Land Value," The Professional Geographer, XXIII, No. 1, (1971), pp. 19-21.

⁹Partha Fisher, "Cemeteries Becoming Critical Factor In Land-Use Planning As Urban Areas Grow," Journal of Housing, October, 1970, pp. 527-529.

tion, and operation of a new cemetery;¹⁰ and American City, a magazine which deals with cemeteries as an urban problem.¹¹

Man is usually concerned with death, but only after it occurs. Articles written by sociologists include Kephart (1950), which is about the status of people as they proceed along the path from the moment of death to the grave,¹² and Young (1960), which is a study of social structure of people in their graveyards.¹³ Cemeteries are a concern in rural areas, mainly regarding improvement and restoration of abandoned or neglected cemeteries. Sanderson and Polson (1939)¹⁴ and Waugh (1914),¹⁵ include cemeteries in just that light. Tombstones are an important feature of cemeteries, since much genealogical, demographical, historical, and archeological

¹⁰Donald W. Drewes, Cemetery Land Planning (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Matthews Memorial Bronze, 1964).

¹¹American City, published monthly, deals with the urban area and its problems. Various articles on cemeteries have been included in this magazine.

¹²William M. Kephart, "Status After Death," American Sociological Review, XV, (1950), pp. 635-643.

¹³Frank W. Young, "Graveyards and Social Structure," Rural Sociology, XXV, No. 4, (1960), pp. 446-450.

¹⁴Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, Rural Community Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939), pp. 267-268.

¹⁵Frank A. Waugh, Rural Improvement (New York: Grange Judd Company, 1914), pp. 111-113 and 214-215.

data is made available from them. Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966, 1967), study tombstones to obtain such data.¹⁶ Out of the study of tombstones comes an interesting work on epitaphs by Wallis (1954).¹⁷ Memorials and monuments as an industry is covered by Bowles (1955), in a circular on the sources and uses of memorial stone.¹⁸

As a background for this study of cemeteries, funeral customs throughout history were studied. Some works on this subject are Puckle (1926),¹⁹ Habenstein and Lamers (1962),²⁰ and Mitford (1963).²¹ The latter is an excellent book dealing with the total American concept of death. Laws

¹⁶James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archeology in Colonial Cemeteries," American Antiquity, XXXI, (1966), pp. 502-510; and "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow," Natural History, March, 1967, pp. 29-37.

¹⁷Charles L. Wallis, Stories On Stone (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954).

¹⁸United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Memorial Stone, by Oliver Bowles, Information Circular 7720 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955).

¹⁹Bertram S. Puckle, Funeral Customs: Their Origin and Development (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1926; re-issued by Detroit, Michigan: Singing Tree Press, 1968).

²⁰Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, The History of American Funeral Directing (Revised edition; Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Bulfein Printers, Inc., 1962).

²¹Jessica Mitford, The American Way of Death (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963).

and statutes concerning cemeteries are dealt with by Bernard (1966)²² and the Illinois Revised Statutes 1969 (1970).²³

For other sources of material on necrogeography consult the Bibliography at the end of this paper or the bibliography on Cemeteries and Urban Land Use (1971).²⁴ This paper does not try to cover all of the available literature on necrogeography, but it does attempt to bring the most conclusive and interesting ideas into play.

The fear of death in the United States evokes the belief that the subject of death is not to be talked about or studied. Just as prudishness about sex, venereal disease, and homosexuality has been substantially modified in the past few decades through a conscientious presentation of the facts, the matter of death, burial, and cemeteries as a morbid subject will also be modified. Although the author occasionally was considered to be morbid, weird, and out of place to study patterns of the dead, the study has proven to be in-

²²Hugh Y. Bernard, The Law of Death: and Disposal of the Dead (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1965).

²³Illinois Revised Statutes 1969, (State Bar Association Edition; St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1970), Vol.I, pp. 551-575.

²⁴Evelyn M. Leasher and Robert E. Millward, Cemeteries and Urban Land Use: A Preliminary Bibliography, Exchange Bibliography No. 248 (Monticello, Illinois: Council of Planning Librarians, 1971).

teresting and informative chiefly because so little work has been done in this field of necrogeography.

CHAPTER II

THE SITE AND UTILIZATION OF CEMETERIES

Having both a site and a utilization factor, a cemetery has various characteristics that make it an unusual landscape feature. The site factor deals with the physical characteristics that invite the location of a cemetery on a specific site. These characteristics are landforms, soil, drainage, vegetation, and orientation to the compass. Man can act independently of these physical characteristics, but more often than not he follows them. As a contrast, the utilization factor depends on how man uses a cemetery. Depending on economic, social, and historical needs, man's utilization of cemeteries can be different than what the physical characteristics of the site of a cemetery dictate. His plans can be altered by geographic changes, relocation, and the laws and statutes of the government.

Site Factors

When a cemetery is established, man usually looks for well-drained, accessible land that is easily excavated and is able to support vegetation. In Coles County, which is located in east-central Illinois, 200 miles south of Chicago (Fig. 1), during the Wisconsinan stage of the Pleisto-

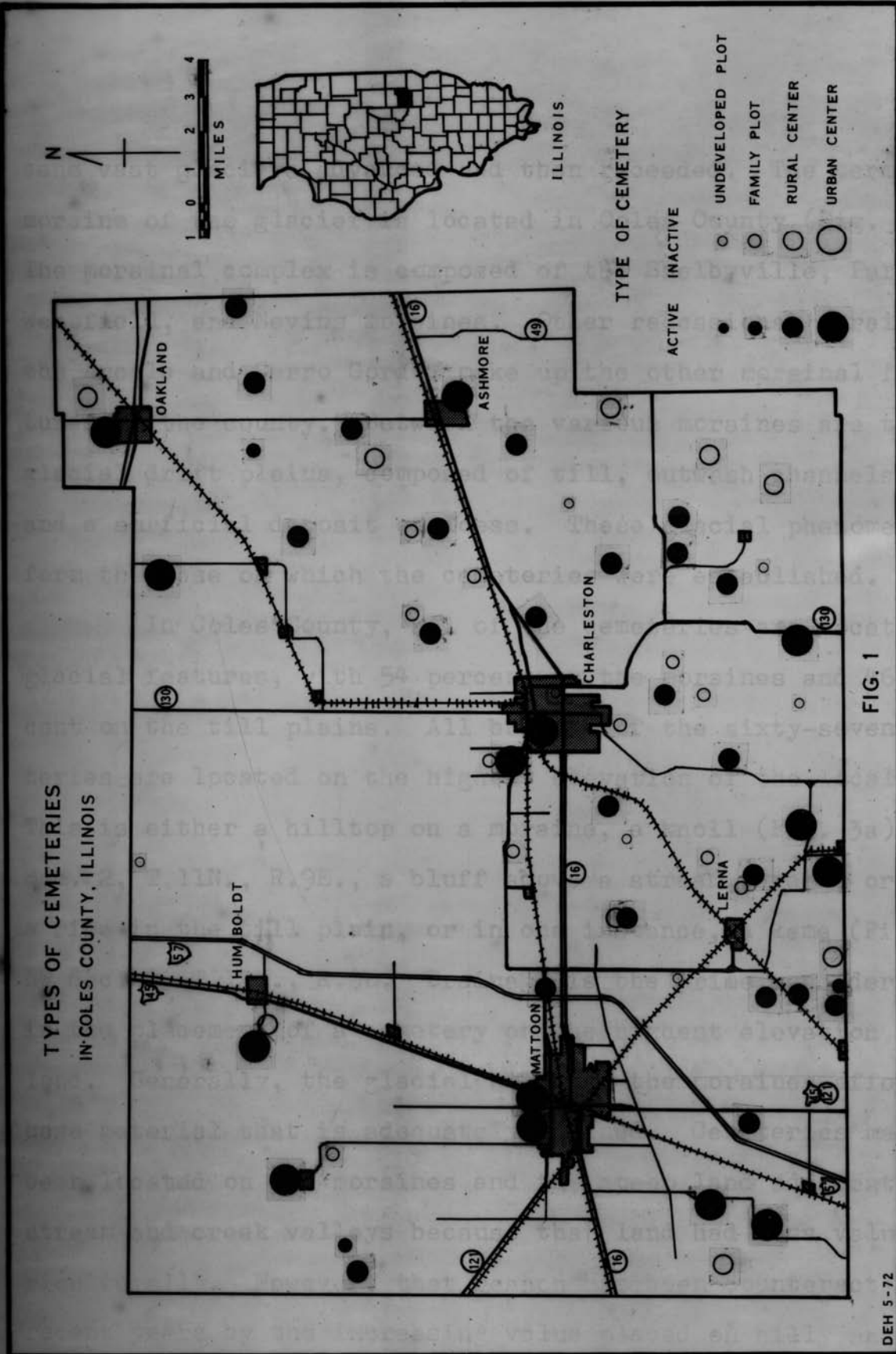


FIG. 1

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cene vast glaciers advanced and then receded. The terminal moraine of the glacier is located in Coles County (Fig. 2). The morainal complex is composed of the Shelbyville, Paris, Westfield, and Nevins moraines. Other recessional moraines, the Arcola and Cerro Gordo, make up the other morainal features in the county. Between the various moraines are the glacial drift plains, composed of till, outwash channels, and a surficial deposit of loess. These glacial phenomena form the base on which the cemeteries were established.

In Coles County, all of the cemeteries are located on glacial features, with 54 percent on the moraines and 46 percent on the till plains. All but six of the sixty-seven cemeteries are located on the highest elevation of the local area. This is either a hilltop on a moraine, a knoll (Fig. 3a), NE Sec. 2, T.11N., R.9E., a bluff above a stream, creek, or river, a rise in the till plain, or in one instance, a kame (Fig. 8b), NW Sec. 9, T.12N., R.9E. Drainage is the prime consideration in the placement of a cemetery on the highest elevation of the land. Generally, the glacial till and the moraines afford a base material that is adequately drained. Cemeteries may have been located on the moraines and the steep land adjacent to stream and creek valleys because that land had less value agriculturally. However, that reason has been counteracted in recent years by the increasing value placed on hilly and steep land for residential use.



Fig. 3a--Cemetery located on a knoll



Fig. 3b--An overgrown and abandoned cemetery

The importance of drainage to cemeteries can be shown on the map of the drainage patterns (Fig. 4). Adequate drainage is considered to be essential to cemeteries. If the land is not well-drained, artificial drainage could be installed, but since the early settlers and residents of Coles County did not have the resources or time to artificially drain the land, they utilized the land that was already well-drained. Standing water, or a high water table, would certainly hinder the operation of a cemetery. All but 6 percent of the cemeteries are located within 100 yards of a drainage artery. By being so close to drainage arteries, the land drains well. In the county, the north-central portion between Routes 45 and 130, was artificially drained for agricultural purposes near the end of the 19th century. This flat land was inadequate for cemetery use because of the lack of natural drainage. Only one cemetery is located in this area (Fig. 1), and it was used for only twenty-three years, probably because of the poor natural conditions, no slope and an ill-drained soil.

Soil plays a role in the site of a cemetery. Using the soil association map (Fig. 5), 93 percent of the cemeteries are located on three of the soil associations. All three of these soil associations are well-drained and are not susceptible to frost heave, which is important in the

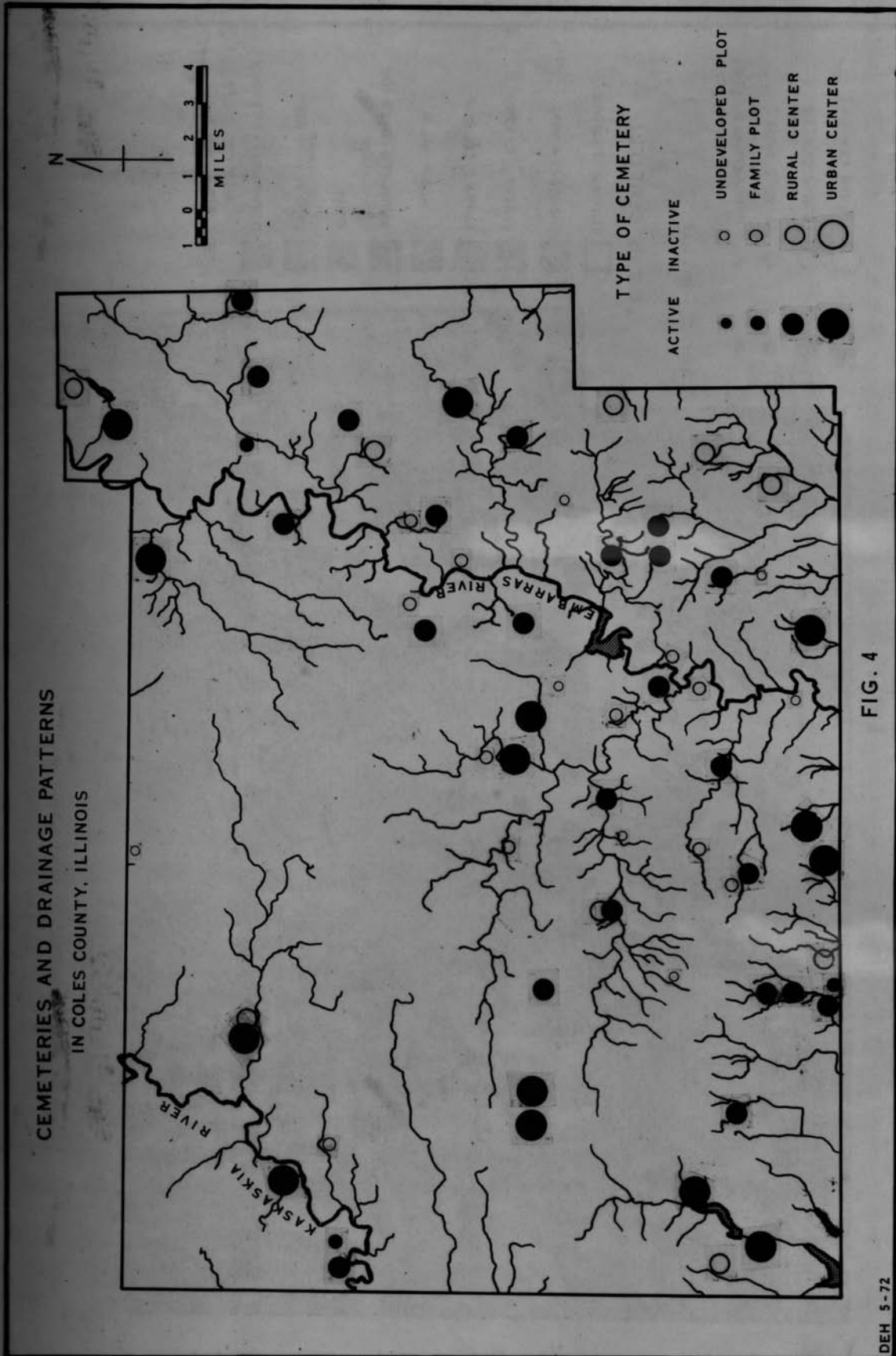


FIG. 4

CEMETERIES AND SOIL ASSOCIATIONS
IN COLES COUNTY, ILLINOIS

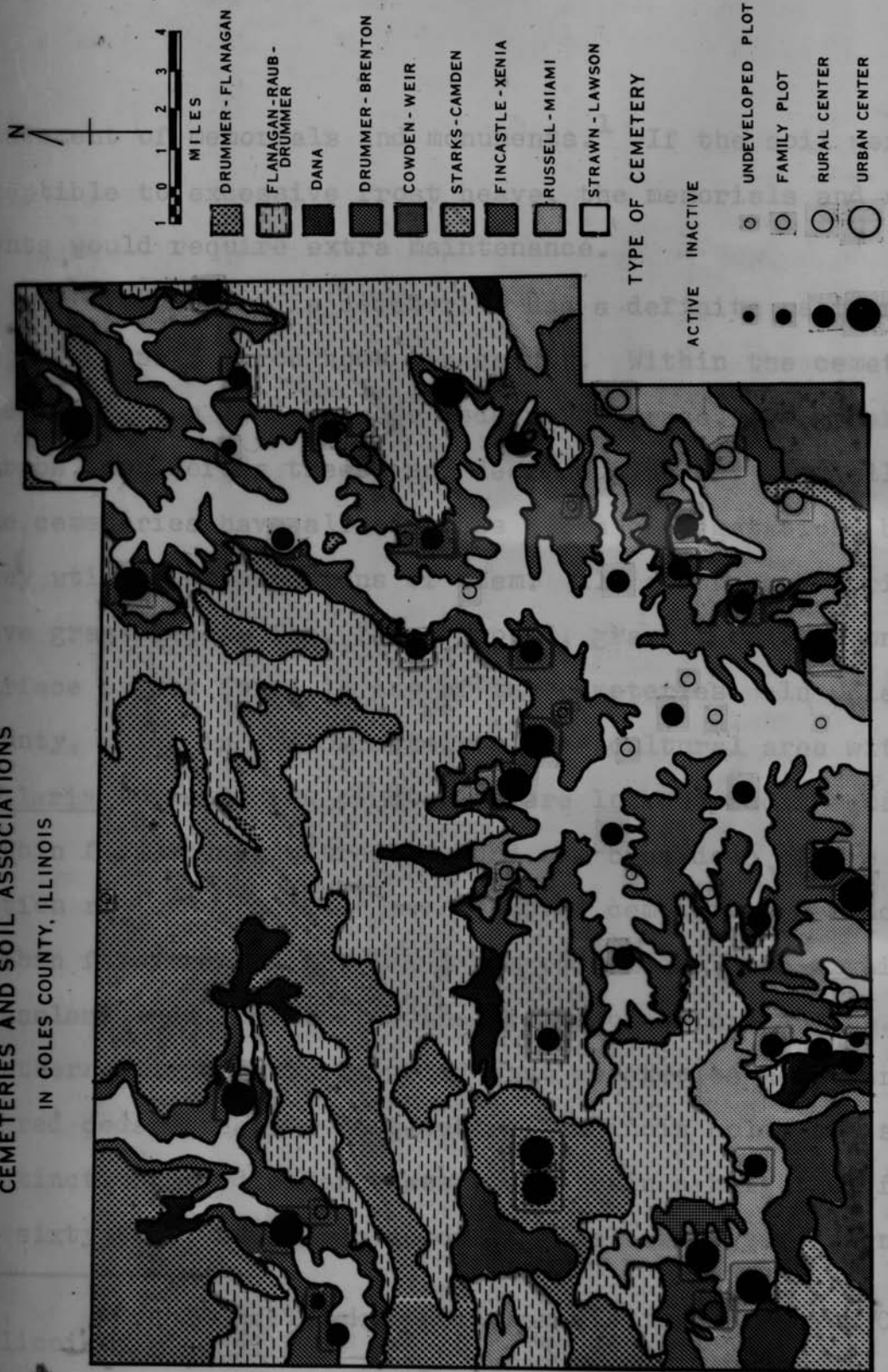


FIG. 5

placement of memorials and monuments.¹ If the soil were susceptible to excessive frost heave, the memorials and monuments would require extra maintenance.

Vegetation in cemeteries has a definite pattern that repeats itself throughout the county. Within the cemeteries, the vegetation landscape is made up of grass, evergreen shrubs, coniferous trees, and deciduous trees. Not all of the cemeteries have all of these types of vegetation, but they utilize combinations of them. All of the cemeteries have grass vegetation. Bare ground, gravel, or rock on the surface is not found in any of the cemeteries. In Coles County, which is predominately an agricultural area with galleria forests, the cemeteries are located about equally within farmland and forested land. A breakdown of the vegetation regions show that twenty-seven cemeteries are located within farmland, twenty-six in forested land, ten within grassland, and four inside the limits of an urban area. In Southern Illinois, Price noted that cemeteries were marked by red cedar trees.² East-central Illinois holds the same distinction. Red cedar trees that attain a height of forty to sixty feet, usually planted in rows, are a sure sign of

¹Donald Hallbick, "Soil Associations of Coles County, Illinois," General Soil Map of Coles County, Illinois, April, 1968.

²Price, "Cemetery Study," p. 202.

a cemetery (Fig. 7b), NE Sec. 1, T.11N., R.8E. The evergreen and fragrant characteristics of this tree, along with the fact that they grow well in this area when planted on well-drained soil, makes the red cedar a symbolic and ornamental type of vegetation in a cemetery. With the red cedar, evergreen shrubs, expanses of green lawn, the naturally occurring vegetation of oaks, hickories, and maples, and occasional large white pine trees, man has created a garden or pastoral landscape. This type of open, restful area makes vegetation important to the location of a cemetery. Evergreens are usually found in cemeteries because they provide color even in the bleak winter months. Perhaps the evergreen color symbolizes everlasting life to the visitors of the cemetery.

One physical characteristic of the location of a cemetery is the orientation to the compass. All of the cemeteries are laid out in an east-west direction. This seems to be unimportant, but the religious ramifications and spiritual belief behind it will become evident in the next part on the utilization of cemeteries.

Either by coincidence or by knowledge of the physical characteristics, man has placed cemeteries on proper sites. This well adjusted use of the land in its physical nature, can be altered by the utilization of a site to fit the needs of man.

Utilization Factors

Cemeteries in Coles County have a definite pattern of evolution through time (Fig. 6). The first white settlers entered the county in the 1820's. The first white settler, as ascertained by the tombstone is Levi Doty, who is buried in Doty Cemetery (Fig. 7b), NE Sec. 1, T.11N., R.8E. They settled in the southwestern and south-central parts of the county, which was comprised of various prairies that attracted the first settlers who began farming the flat, fertile, cleared land. As the need for cemeteries arose, they were established where the concentrations of people were located.

The decade of 1830 saw cemeteries being started in a dispersed pattern near each of the new towns and villages. Family cemeteries, located on rural farms, were started during the 1840's when the original settlers began to die. Wanting to be buried on their land, these settlers began a plot for the family's personal use. Concentrated in the south-central part of the county, these cemeteries are in the time period when most cemeteries were established. The 1850's saw a continuation of the small family cemeteries, but there were more started in the northern half of the county as that area was beginning to be settled and farmed. These first three decades saw almost three-fourths of all the cemeteries in the county incorporated to accept burials. Through

CHRONOLOGICAL PROGRESSION OF CEMETERY PLACEMENT IN COLES COUNTY, ILLINOIS

the next four decades, from 1800 to 1900, the number of cemeteries begun declined quickly, until only two cemeteries were initiated between 1800 and 1900. After the turn of the century, only three cemeteries were started (Fig. 6). One was a family plot, begun in 1915 and active for thirty years, for the use of ten members of one family. The other two were started in 1945 and 1949. One, the former, is a churchyard begun by the congregation, and the latter is a memorial garden, the only modern style cemetery in the county.

Historically, the chronological progression of cemetery placement shows that the people placed cemeteries near towns at first for convenience, then began family plots on individual farms, and finally these cemeteries grew and expanded and were abandoned. This progression has shifted in accord with the way that the population has settled the county.

Some cemeteries received more burials in certain years. These cluster years caused cemetery expansion and even establishment of new cemeteries to handle the larger number of burials. The reasons behind these years having more deaths is the occurrence of epidemics. Table I shows the cluster years and the associated epidemic that led to more burial in the cemeteries.

A number of infant deaths in 1870 led to the search for reasons behind cluster years. It was the year of a chol-

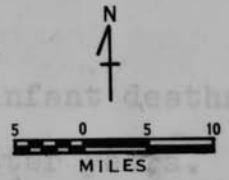
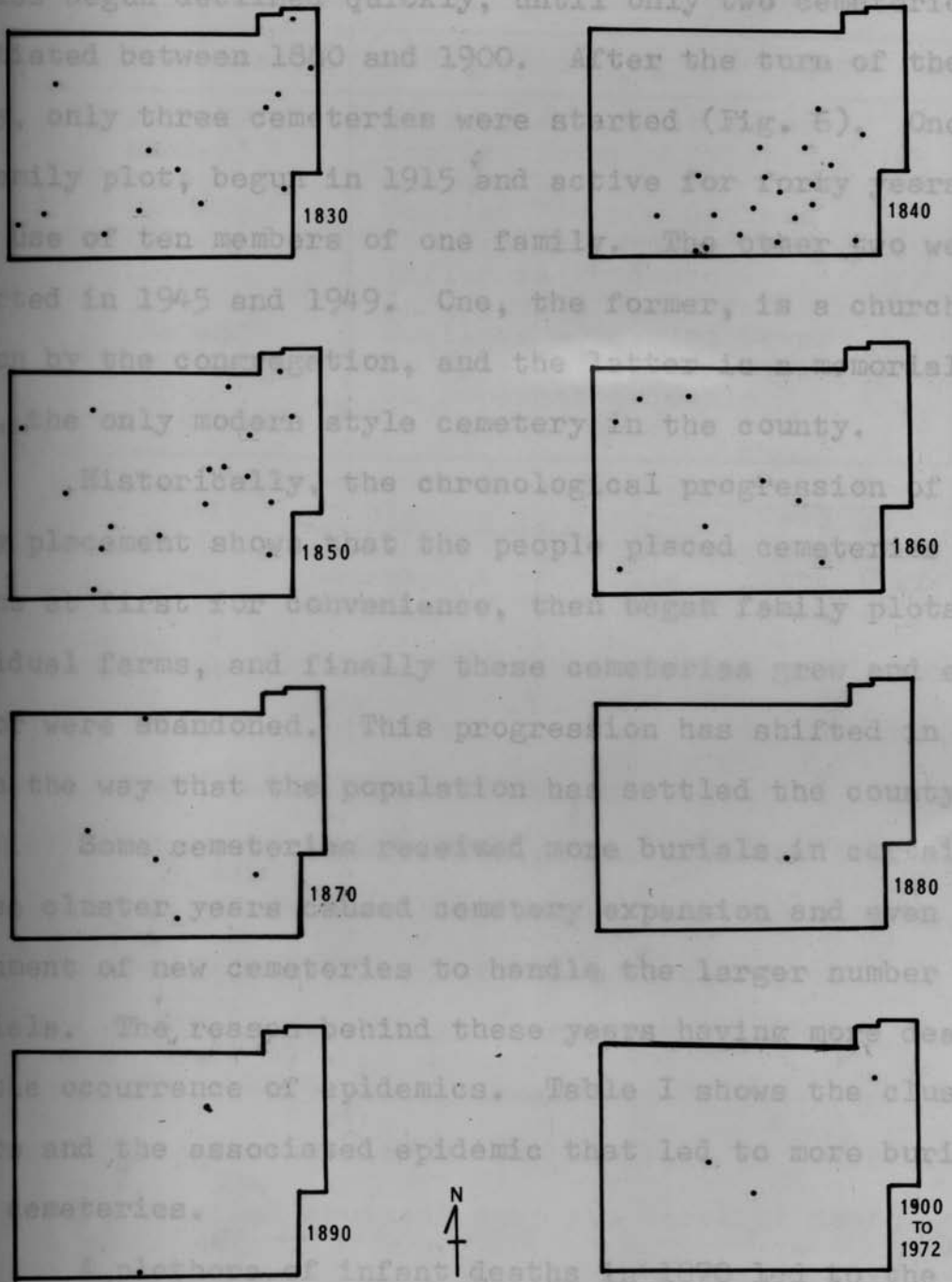


FIG. 6

the next four decades, from 1860 to 1900, the number of cemeteries begun declined quickly, until only two cemeteries were initiated between 1880 and 1900. After the turn of the century, only three cemeteries were started (Fig. 6). One was a family plot, begun in 1915 and active for forty years, for the use of ten members of one family. The other two were started in 1945 and 1949. One, the former, is a churchyard begun by the congregation, and the latter is a memorial garden, the only modern style cemetery in the county.

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TABLE I

EPIDEMICS CAUSING CLUSTER YEARS OF DEATH

Cluster Years	Epidemics (Major - Minor)
1851-52	Cholera - Scarlet Fever
1862-63	Scarlet Fever - Typhoid Fever
1866	Cholera
1868-69	Scarlet Fever - Cholera
1870	Cholera Infantum - Influenza
1873	Influenza Pandemic
1875	Influenza - Scarlet Fever
1880-82	Smallpox - Scarlet Fever
1899	No apparent epidemic
1909	No apparent epidemic
1917-18	Influenza Pandemic

Source: Issac D. Rawlings, The Rise and Fall of Disease in Illinois, Vol. I, (Springfield, Illinois: The State Department of Public Health, 1927).

era epidemic that seriously affected infants. Other important years with a considerable increase in deaths are 1880-82 and 1917-18, two famous and deadly epidemics. The years that do not have an apparent epidemic, could be a coincidence or the result of exceptionally severe seasonal weather. Deetz and Dethlefsen bring out the possibility of more deaths of older people in the winter months and young children in the summer.³ Through casual observance of dates on tombstones, this pattern seems to be prevalent in Coles County, but a more detailed study of ages and dates of death would need to be undertaken. Another quite prevalent pattern with

³Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Colonial Cemeteries," p. 509.

older married couples is the occurrence of death four to six weeks apart. When one partner dies, the other gives up the will to live and passes away shortly thereafter.

The utilization of land by cemeteries in the past was conservative. Located on the steep and unproductive agricultural land, the cemetery was near the outskirts of the city. After the cemetery was incorporated, the city expanded and surrounded it. The value of this land rose and sometimes the cemetery was relocated to utilize the land to the best economic advantage. Presently, cemeteries are located outside of urban areas where the land is inexpensive compared to urban land. This land is distant enough from the urban area so that urban expansion will not soon encroach upon it. A cemetery is planned usually to the site available. Much alteration of the physical characteristics can occur, so that man can have a cemetery layout designed to best suit his needs.⁴

After a cemetery has been incorporated, it can be relocated. Cemeteries in Chicago have been relocated in the past due to urban encroachment.⁵ Street widening, sanitary reasons, and the construction of lakes and reservoirs also

⁴For an explanation of the planning, construction, and operation of a cemetery see, Drewes, Cemetery Land Planning.

⁵Fattison, "Cemeteries in Chicago," p. 249.

are reasons for relocation. Here in Coles County, eleven cemeteries will be affected by the proposed construction of Lincoln Lake. The seasonal pool elevation of Lincoln Lake (596') will cover or isolate six cemeteries and the flood pool elevation (629') will affect five cemeteries. Those cemeteries that will be covered by the reservoir will have to be relocated to higher ground, and those that might be affected during flood stage will either need partial relocation or the building of a levee to protect the low-lying graves.

There are eight cemeteries that have little or no maintenance in Coles County. The other fifty-nine, have good or excellent care. An example of an abandoned cemetery that has not been in use since 1879 is shown in (Fig.3b), SE Sec. 8, T.11N., R.10E. The heirs of the people buried in abandoned cemeteries are long gone, so the lack of maintenance and vandalism of the graves goes on unheeded. Those cemeteries that are abandoned, should be included in the township cemetery funds allocated for maintenance. Other means of providing maintenance are supplied through perpetual care funds, trusts, or endowments. In rural areas, cemeteries are sometimes renovated as a community project or as a Memorial Day Observance.⁶ A recent

⁶Sanderson and Polson, Rural Community Organization, pp. 267-268.

study by the Department of Housing and Urban Development rehabilitated an "abandoned and derelict" cemetery in Pulaski, Tennessee, into a landscaped, memorial park.⁷

A cemetery today is valuable as a type of green space in the urban system. As a green space, a cemetery provides an open, parklike, landscaped area. In Coles County, the urban areas are surrounded by open land, so here the cemetery, as a green space, is not presently valid, but in the future it might be. This urban land that has a cemetery on it is worth considerably more than rural land. As an urban land value, it can be worth more than the land in the Central Business District.⁸ Most cemeteries operate as a business concern with the objective to make money. Land bought on the urban fringe may cost \$5,000 to \$10,000 per acre. The cemetery is laid out, and lots are sold for \$200 to \$10,000 for a six by three foot plot. One acre of land can accommodate approximately 3,000 cemetery plots. So at a conservative \$1,000 a plot, a cemetery may gross \$3,000,000 per acre or \$68 per square foot. This cost for cemetery lots may be as high or higher than the cost for land at the peak value intersection of the CBD. As an urban land value, cemeteries

⁷Fisher, "Cemeteries in Land-Use Planning," pp. 527-529.

⁸Hardwick, Claus, and Rothwell, "Cemeteries and Urban Land Value," p. 19.

are the most expensive, most stable, and longest lived form of land use.

From its origin in Greek, a cemetery means a sleeping place. The restful and serene atmosphere that a cemetery holds is the basis of man's sentiment towards cemeteries. Cemeteries are a place of ghosts, Halloween night pranks, and scary stories to many children and even adults. Morbidity and weirdness of the burial place repulses the average American, except to bury the dead or to pay homage to them. On the other hand most people will agree that a cemetery's hallowed ground is the only proper place to dispose of the dead. Therefore, there is a conflict between the repulsiveness of a cemetery and the absolute need to bury the dead there. With the advent of more practical and open-minded thinking, cemeteries in general and memorial parks in particular are trying to make the "necessary evil" of a cemetery more appealing. By the liberal use of landscaping, the cemetery is planned to be eternal, using the timeless features of the landscape, evoking the feeling of a beautiful and spacious harmony between the living, the dead, and their God.⁹ But for a cemetery to achieve a more common appeal, instead of appall, the fear of death in the United States will have

⁹John Ormsbee Simonds, Landscape Architecture, (New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1961), p. 92.

to be eliminated.

Although a few cemeteries in Coles County have been vandalized by unthinking persons, generally a cemetery is not molested or disturbed. People recognize the spiritual as well as the physical existence of a cemetery. In some rural areas of Southern Illinois, Price notes that certain cemeteries on farms have had the markers removed and the land put back into cultivation.¹⁰ Only one known cemetery in Coles County is almost to that point now. Having only nineteen graves, the markers have been vandalized, and are lying broken on the ground. The farmer cultivating the ground has plowed to within inches of the markers, and it will only be a matter of time until the markers are stacked around a lone maple tree and the remaining ground plowed under. However, there is a general reluctance to disturb cemeteries.

Various religious beliefs that pervade cause a cemetery to be placed and utilized in certain ways. Early Judeo-Christian beliefs required that the dead be buried. Hill or mountaintops are spiritual locations in the history of the early Jews and Christians. Most of the important events in the Bible occurred at such places. These hill and mountaintops became the choice spiritual locations for the cemeteries. Religious beliefs of Christians held that when the Judg-

¹⁰Price, "Cemetery Study," p. 206.

ment comes, it will be from the East, followed by the resurrection of the body. From this comes the orientation of the graves in a cemetery. The bodies of the dead will be placed with the feet towards the East. This orientation is important not only spiritually, but also to the site selection of the cemetery. So as to provide enough room for graves, the cemetery is placed with an adequate vista to the East. An interesting religious point connected with churchyards in England, but not common in Illinois is related by Puckle:

An interesting point to note in a churchyard is that whilst south, east, and west of the church the gravestones are packed as closely as space will allow, on the north very often no headstones are to be seen. In some cases we may find that additions to the structure of the church have been made on this side only, for the simple reason that there were no graves to disturb, thus leaving the ground free for building operations. Here then, they buried their outcasts, the murderer on the north, his victim in a place of honour, east, west, or south.

In order to understand the matter we must know that the north or left-hand side of the altar which is, of course, in the chancel in the east end of the church, is known as the Gospel side, whilst the right or south side of the altar is called the Epistle side.

Before the Reformation, this country conformed to this Roman Catholic practice. The underlying idea of this is that the Gospel was preached to "Call not the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Hence the side from which the Gospel is read was delegated to those who, having committed crimes, were in greater need of salvation, and those so buried were said to be "out of sanctuary." 11

¹¹Puckle, "Funeral Customs," pp. 149-150.

As an offshoot of religious beliefs comes religious discrimination in cemeteries. Pattison notes that in Chicago, Illinois, one-third of all cemeteries operate with segregation of the dead on religious grounds.¹² There are eighteen cemeteries in Coles County that have active churches adjacent to them, and also one that is Roman Catholic. That makes 31 percent of the cemeteries in Coles County segregated on religious grounds compared to 33 percent in Chicago. Discrimination does not stop at religion, but also extends to nationality and race. There are many nationality and Negro cemeteries in Chicago, but there are none in Coles County. Certain sections within commercial cemeteries in Coles County have been set aside for various fraternal and veteran groups.

Man can act with the physical site factors, he can alter them to any given situation, but where and what he does is controlled by statutes and laws. Cemeteries are subject to regulation by law so that there can be public health and safety considerations. In Illinois, various acts and amendments are applied to cemeteries. They cover the following areas: In General, Public Graveyards, Ownership and Transfer of Land, Organization and Ownership of Cemetery Associations, Burial Places of War Veterans, Neglected Graves and

¹²Pattison, "Cemeteries in Chicago," p. 251.

Cemeteries, Perpetual Trusts, Cemetery Care Act, Cemetery Maintenance Districts, and National Cemeteries.¹³ Covering subjects from gravestones, land, and ownership, to a fine for shooting a weapon in a cemetery, the statutes cover everything including the fact that cemeteries cannot be incorporated within a mile of a city, village, or incorporated area.¹⁴

Cemeteries are definite landscape features that are explained by phenomena both physical and spiritual. These phenomena explain where, why, and how a cemetery is utilized. They also explain the cemetery as a planned, not resultant, type of landscape feature. As an expression of death, these physical and spiritual characteristics of cemeteries reveal man's action on and use of his land.

¹³Illinois Revised Statutes, pp. 551-575.

¹⁴Illinois Revised Statutes, pp. 551-575.

CHAPTER III

THE TYPE AND SIZE OF CEMETERIES

By classifying the cemeteries of Coles County by type and size, it became apparent that there were similarities and differences among the classified cemeteries. Various schemes were tried and a classification that best suited Coles County evolved. These different types enable the various cemeteries to be compared. The cemeteries are classified by the number of burials that exist. Size pertains to both the number of burials in each cemetery and also to the amount of land that the cemeteries occupy. How a cemetery was established, grew, or became abandoned can be related to its type and number of burials. In a spatial distribution, the cemeteries show a definite pattern that can be verified through the use of a statistical technique, chi-square.

Cemetery Types

In an attempt to group the cemeteries into different classifications the method used by Price was utilized for the data sheet.¹ (See Appendix I). After the field research began, it became apparent that the cemeteries did not fit

¹Price, "Cemetery Study," p. 201.

Price's classifications. The reason was that Coles County has an appreciably larger population than Price's study area in Southern Illinois, therefore, more burials. Altering the size limits given by Price for the type of cemetery gave a better grouping for the cemeteries in Coles County. Each of the four types and their associated size limits, time periods, and status, have various reasons that caused its delimitation in the scheme of classification.

TABLE II

CEMETERY TYPES

Undeveloped Plot	(1860-1880)	(20 graves or less)
Family Plot	(1840-1920)	(21 to 100 graves)
Rural Center	(1850-1972)	(101 to 500 graves)
Urban Center	(1850-1972)	(501 graves or more)

Undeveloped Plot Type

The undeveloped plot type of cemetery was utilized to its greatest extent from 1860 to 1880. This type is actually part of the family plot type, but to separate the two, a division by size was used. These cemeteries began as small family plots, and they never increased in size. Of the seven cemeteries in this type, the average number of burials is ten. Not one of this type is in active use today, and only two are maintained. No maintenance is undertaken in the other five, where vandalism and heavy growth of weeds and brush are prevalent (Fig. 3b). One of the undeveloped plot

cemeteries is located in the middle of an athletic field near the Charleston Junior High School (Fig. 7a), NE Sec. 14, T.12 N., R.9E. Only because of its historical significance has it survived. It is the grave of Nathan Ellington, the second City Clerk of Charleston, and his wife. An undeveloped plot cemetery was really the start of a family plot, but had few burials and then became abandoned. They were separated in this study from the family plot type because all of the family plots were utilized for longer periods of time and in many cases eventually became the rural and urban center cemeteries.

Family Plot Type

Most of the cemeteries that have less than 100 graves were utilized from 1840 to 1920 as a family cemetery, started on a small plot on some secluded part of a farm (Fig. 7b), NE Sec. 1, T.11N., R.8E. There are many family plots scattered over the county because poorly developed transportation routes had some limiting effect on the distance that a body could be carried from home. The family plots either grew into a rural or urban center cemetery or became inactive. This growth can be attributed to the road pattern and the concentrations of people. Early roads that became the main arteries of transportation formed the access to these cemeteries. As the wagon ruts became hard surfaced roads those cemeteries nearer to these roads developed and grew into the rural center ceme-



Fig. 7a--Undeveloped Plot Type of

Cemetery (20 graves or less)



Fig. 7b--Family Plot Type of

Cemetery (21 to 100 graves)

teries. Those cemeteries that did not have adequate access slowly became inactive. As a dividing line between a family plot and a rural center, 100 graves was chosen because family plot cemeteries are usually located off the main roads, and rural center cemeteries are located on the main roads.

Rural Center Type

Located near a church, a small town, a crossroads, or a rural concentration of people, the rural center cemetery began as a family plot and grew from 1850 to the present. The addition of a church or hard surfaced road nearby enabled these cemeteries to expand and provide more burial space (Fig. 8a), NW Sec. 12, T.12N., R.10E. Having excellent maintenance, these rural center cemeteries still accept burials. People today will usually bury their dead in places that are accessible and still maintained.

Within rural and urban center cemeteries, is a distinct pattern of burial. Starting out as a small family plot, the cemetery grows around that nucleus. On a hill or high elevation, the initial graves of the family are located. More graves are added symmetrically around and proceeding down off the hill. Thus, the extreme boundaries have the most recent burials. Francaviglia noted this occurrence in his work on cemeteries and also notes that if a natural or man-made barrier stops the symmetrical growth, such as a river,

road, or boundary, the growth will flow out from the central nucleus in the growth pattern can be found in the agricultural form of the end of the road to the other



Urban or town or near the city since the end of the 19th century (Fig. 8b), NW Sec. 9, T.12N., R.9E. As the cemeteries were received two basic styles by James Hill the dead are stone curbs



Urban cemeteries are laid out in Plan, developed block patterns, surrounded by low NW Sec. 9, T.12N., R.9E. Even in these neighborhoods. The repetitive plots, on the top of the hill or where the view is beautiful, are the locations of the promi-

Fig. 8a--Rural Center Type of Cemetery (101 to 500 graves)
Fig. 8b--Urban Center Type of Cemetery (501 graves or more)

²Francaviglia, "Cemetery is A Landscape," p. 504.

³Jackson, "From Document to Place," p.25.

road, or boundary, the growth will flow out from the central nucleus in the available directions.² This growth pattern can be found in most other cemeteries, either in the symmetrical form or in a form where the first graves are at one end of the cemetery and the following graves fill the cemetery to the other end.

Urban Center Type

Urban center cemeteries are usually located in a city or town or near the fringes of the urban area. Cemeteries near the cities have grown since 1850, and even more rapidly since the end of the 19th century (Fig. 8b), NW Sec. 9, T.12N., R.9E. As the rural population shifted to the urban areas, the cemeteries nearest the cities were more convenient and therefore received more burials. Large cemeteries are laid out in two basic styles. The first is the Hillhouse Plan, developed by James Hillhouse.³ Laid out with streets and block patterns, the dead are buried in square plots usually surrounded by low stone curbs or wrought iron fences (Fig. 9a), NW Sec. 9, T.12 N., R.9E. Even in death, people are segregated to social class neighborhoods. The expensive plots, on the top of the hill or where the view is beautiful, are the locations of the promi-

²Francaviglia, "Cemetery As A Landscape," p. 508.

³Jackson, "From Monument to Place," p.23.

ment, well-to-do, leaders of the community and society.⁴ A

curving road
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five percent of all burials in Dallas County.

Fig. 9a--Hillhouse Plan

Status of a cemetery Burials

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⁴A study of social consciousness is W. L. Warner, The Living and the Dead, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. of a cemetery 1939), pp. 28-320.

⁵Active means that a burial has occurred within the last two years, or that plots are still being utilized even if they have all been sold. Inactive means that burials have not occurred for two years, or that the cemetery is not used anymore or it has become abandoned.

ment, well-to-do, leaders of the community and society.⁴ A curving road pattern, an absence of monuments, and an expanse of grass mark the other style of urban cemeteries (Fig. 9b), NW Sec. 16, T.12N., R.8E. Coles County has only one of this type, and it is the most recently established cemetery. Only flush with the ground markers are allowed and this enables lawn mowers to mow over, not around, any monuments. Today the fourteen urban center cemeteries receive about seventy-five percent of all burials in Coles County.

Status and Number of Burials

An important relationship between the type and size of the cemeteries is the status of those cemeteries.⁵ All of the cemeteries that have less than fifty burials are inactive today (Fig. 10). Only three of the fourteen family plot cemeteries are active today. The rural center cemeteries have nine inactive and twenty-three active cemeteries. All of the urban center cemeteries are active today. There are forty active and twenty-seven inactive cemeteries in

⁴A study of cemeteries as they relate to social consciousness is W.L. Warner, The Living and The Dead, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 280-320.

⁵Active means that a burial has occurred within the last two years, or that plots are still being utilized even if they have all been sold. Inactive means that burials have not occurred for two years, or that the cemetery is not used anymore or it has become abandoned.

SIZE GROUPINGS OF CEMETERIES IN COLES COUNTY, ILLINOIS

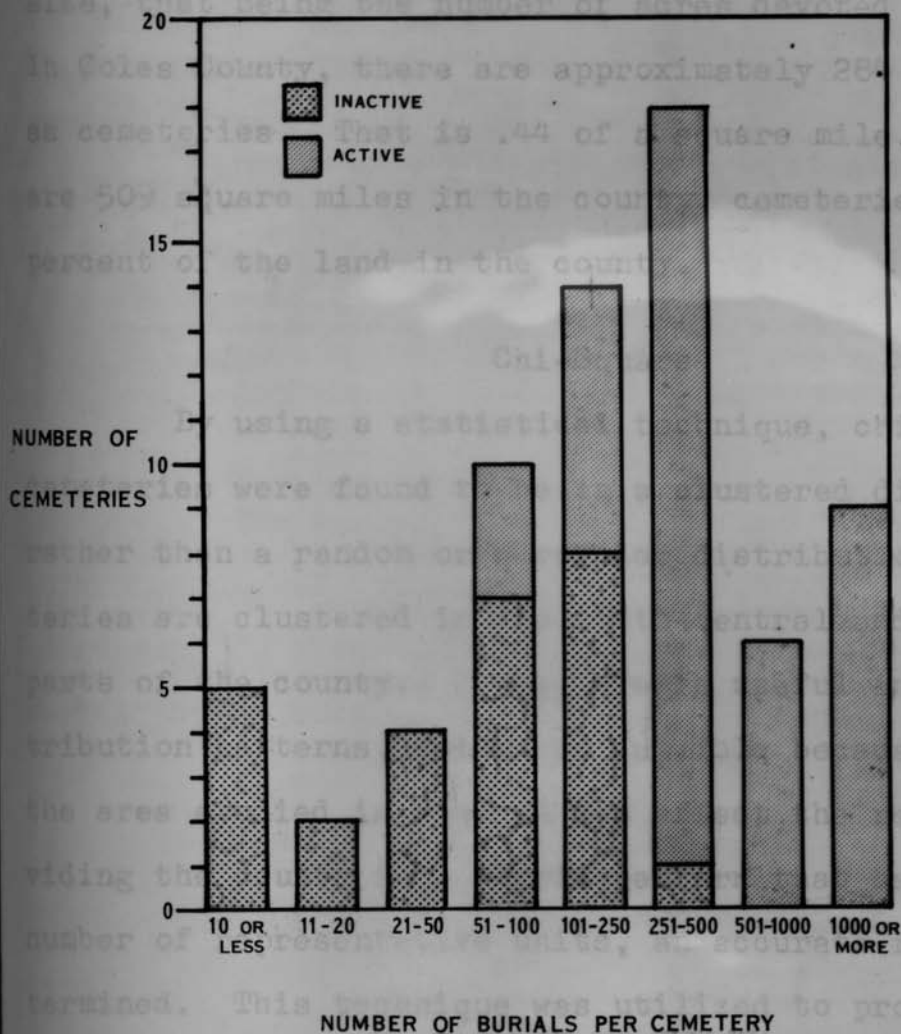


FIG. 10

Coles County. A trend has developed according to the number of burials. As a cemetery increases in the number of burials, it is more apt to be active. Cemeteries also have another size, that being the number of acres devoted to cemetery use. In Coles County, there are approximately 284 acres utilized as cemeteries. That is .44 of a square mile, and since there are 509 square miles in the county, cemeteries occupy .09 percent of the land in the county.

Chi-Square

By using a statistical technique, chi-square, the cemeteries were found to be in a clustered distribution, rather than a random or a regular distribution. The cemeteries are clustered in the south-central and south-eastern parts of the county. Chi-square is useful in showing distribution patterns, but it is fallible because the way that the area studied is divided can affect the results. By dividing the county into a grid pattern that had the maximum number of representative units, an accurate result was determined. This technique was utilized to provide additional verification of the clustered pattern of the cemeteries, rather than relying on possible biased visual observation.

Various types and size limits, applied to the cemeteries in Coles County, show that there are relationships among the various cemeteries. These types divide the ceme-

teries into more easily definable groups, so that the different types can be compared. These comparisons show that a cemetery's function can be explained by the number of burials, the fact that it is active or inactive, and their utilization throughout the county.⁶

⁶Perhaps an explanation of the statistical technique chi-square would be in order. The formula for chi-square is:

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum (O - E)^2}{E}$$

X^2 = chi-square
 \sum = sum of
O = what one actually observes in a field survey
E = what is expected to be in the zones or grids of the survey

An area is divided into a grid pattern that has no more than 30 zones. The various variables are calculated, the result is referred to a chi-square table, and the final result is interpreted. If the final result is near 0.0, the distribution is clustered, near 0.5, it is random, and near 1.0, it is regular or even. Chi-square is a statistical technique that is used to determine if there is a specific type of spatial distribution.

CHAPTER IV

MEMORIALS AND MONUMENTS

A segment of the study of necrogeography is the dimension stone that is quarried, cut, carved, and polished into either plain or elaborate memorials and monuments for the dead. Along with other types of memorials, these are placed in cemeteries to give the dead lasting immortality instead of anonymity. Since ancient times, man has been erecting memorials and monuments for his dead. These items probably began as cairns raised over the graves of the dead, presumably to protect the remains from desecration by marauders. Next came the tombs of the Pharaohs, the Pyramids, the fifteen million dollar Taj Mahal, and eventually the modern granite or marble stone to mark and commemorate the dead. Presently memorials are also being made of such varied and surprising materials as bronze, brass, cement, fiberglass, and even plastics. Memorials and monuments have a source, a function, a market, a style preference that varies through time, and demographic features that enable them to be an important part of necrogeography.

Type and Market of Memorial Stone

In the United States, the most prominent types of

memorials and monuments are produced from granite and marble dimension stone that is specially selected for uniformity, flawlessness, and the ability to take a high polish. Both granite and marble are found in the United States, with the main producing areas shown on the accompanying map (Fig. 11). The main reason granite and marble are utilized for memorials and monuments is their enduring quality. This is the chief selling point of a certain stone. As the advertising pamphlet for the Rock of Ages Corporation of Barre, Vermont relates:

Only a SEALMARK Rock of Ages Monument shows the character and individuality of the person or family it commemorates and carries the message to generations yet unborn. Generation to generation, everlasting! ¹

Associated to durability, one must consider that granite is a mixture of minerals that contract and expand at different rates with temperature changes, and thus will slowly disintegrate. Marble is soluble in water that contains carbon dioxide. So over a period of years, any granite or marble will disintegrate or dissolve. The United States Bureau of Mines discuss this in its Information Circular on Memorial Stone. They take a middle-of-the-road position.

¹"Memorials by Rock of Ages Corporation - Barre, Vermont," (Guide Book of the Memorial Display at the Craftsman Center and Tourist Reception Center), undated, p. 15.

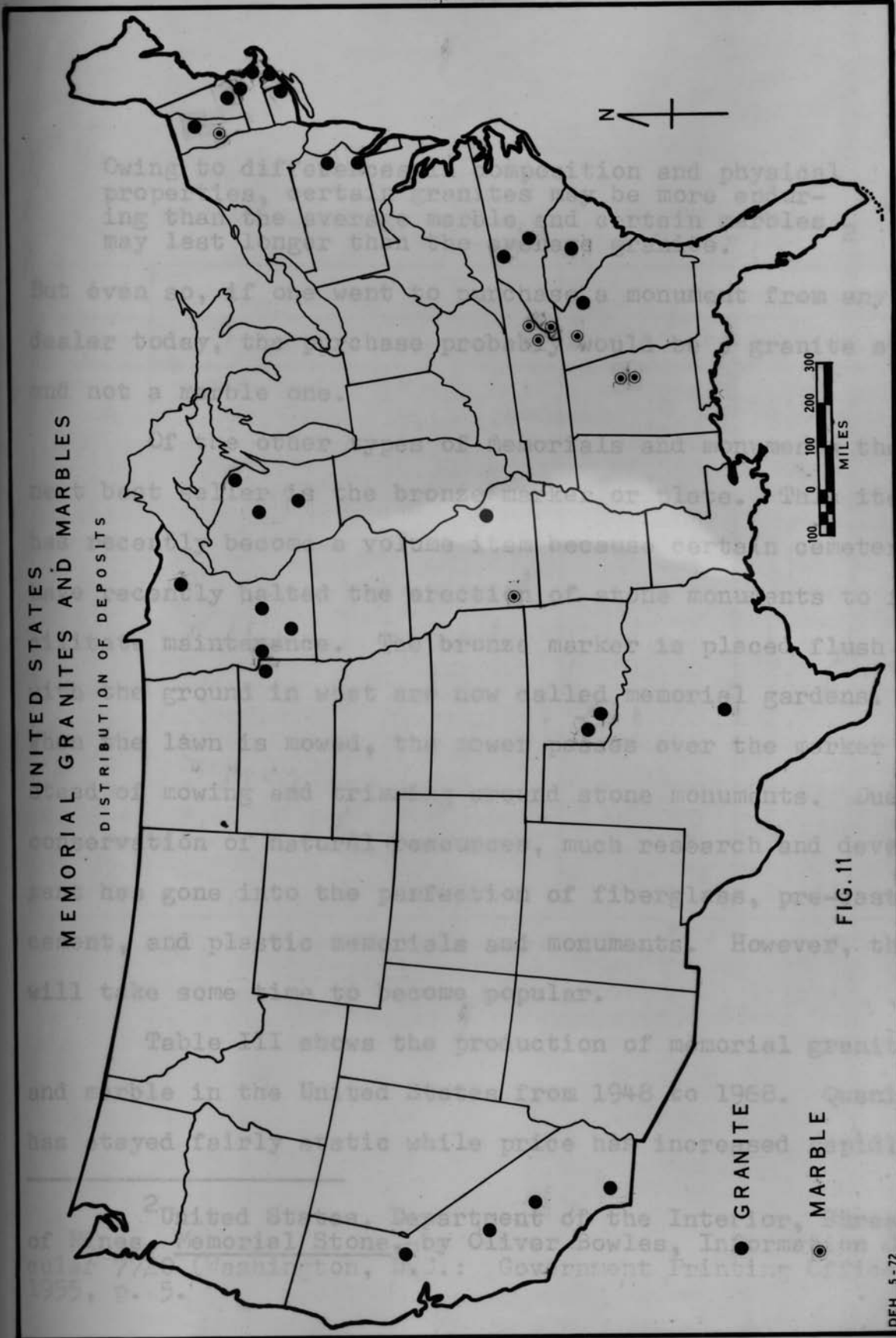


FIG. 11

DEH 5-72

Owing to differences in composition and physical properties, certain granites may be more enduring than the average marble and certain marbles² may last longer than the average granite.

But even so, if one went to purchase a monument from any dealer today, the purchase probably would be a granite stone and not a marble one.

Of the other types of memorials and monuments the next best seller is the bronze marker or plate. This item has recently become a volume item because certain cemeteries have recently halted the erection of stone monuments to facilitate maintenance. The bronze marker is placed flush with the ground in what are now called memorial gardens. When the lawn is mowed, the mower passes over the marker instead of mowing and trimming around stone monuments. Due to conservation of natural resources, much research and development has gone into the perfection of fiberglass, pre-cast cement, and plastic memorials and monuments. However, these will take some time to become popular.

Table III shows the production of memorial granite and marble in the United States from 1948 to 1968. Quantity has stayed fairly static while price has increased rapidly.

²United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Memorial Stone, by Oliver Bowles, Information Circular 7720 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955, p. 5.

TABLE III
MEMORIAL STONE PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES
1948 - 1968

Year	GRANITE		MARBLE	
	Cubic feet	Value	Cubic feet	Value
1948	3,326,990	\$16,458,601	397,260	\$4,082,470
1949	2,772,580	15,100,149	352,720	3,657,710
1950	2,666,710	14,946,508	296,120	2,878,374
1951	2,609,134	14,606,453	242,553	2,244,771
1952	2,508,994	14,458,426	284,695	2,658,634
1953	2,853,833	17,200,458	263,103	2,455,049
1954	2,601,136	15,442,632	241,320	2,662,453
1955	2,576,451	13,972,579	359,931	3,321,699
1956	2,575,064	14,755,609	257,925	3,260,537
1957	2,694,548	15,242,758	291,688	3,698,862
1958	2,592,000	13,889,000	251,000	3,368,000
1959	2,680,000	15,199,000	151,000	2,501,000
1960	2,518,000	16,409,000	156,000	2,691,000
1961	2,567,000	15,912,000	169,000	2,728,000
1962	2,529,000	15,962,000	205,000	3,140,000
1963	2,847,000	16,729,000	489,000	7,294,000
1964	2,724,000	16,629,000	216,000	3,835,000
1965	3,006,000	16,885,000	215,000	4,017,000
1966	2,890,000	18,261,000	212,000	3,835,000
1967	2,697,000	19,415,000	221,000	4,000,000
1968	2,773,000	22,502,000	96,000	2,118,000

Source: United States, Department of Interior, Minerals Yearbook, 1948 through 1968, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948 through 1968), Stone Chapters.

The memorial display of the Rock of Ages Corporation has twenty-eight different monuments of which the average price is \$1,285.³ Matthews Memorial Bronze of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania supplies their markers for \$75 to \$180, ". . . inscribed with the name of the deceased and his dates of birth and demise."⁴

Dealers of memorials and monuments are located a short distance from the cemetery gates, usually for convenience to the cemetery, but also to be located near the available market. Older people, who are more apt to visit cemeteries, see the dealers operation and make pre-need purchases, so that when they pass on, their arrangements are already prepared. One source of competition to the dealers occurs when two establishments both occupy the trade area in front of the cemetery's gates. But the real source of competition is "Tombstones By Mail." Sears, Roebuck and Company offers their line of memorials and monuments either by mail or delivery to the cemetery of your choice. Prices start at \$88.88 and installment plans may be arranged, or a buyer can "Charge It."

Memorial stone industries are highly raw material

³"Memorials by Rock of Ages," pp. 3-14.

⁴Witford, The American Way of Death, p. 142.

oriented. The rough stone is quarried, sorted, inspected, and sized to reduce bulk before it is shipped. Then at the manufacturing center the stone is cut, polished, buffed, and finally carved before it is crated and shipped to the retail dealers. From the quarry to the retail dealer takes, on the average, three months. Transportation is a large portion of the ultimate price, which the consumer has to bear.

Styles of Memorials and Monuments

Style plays an important part to the memorial and monument industry. Through time, the desires of people change and the styles of stones change with them. Price notes that marble monuments ". . . first appeared about 1840 and were used until about 1900."⁵ In his study area of Southern Illinois, granite became popular after 1900 and by 1930, ". . . most stones were of granite."⁶ Price delineates only five monument styles; 1) hand carved sandstone slab, 2) marble slab, 3) marble obelisk, 4) modern granite, and 5) bronze plate. Francaviglia divides monuments into nine categories, which are variations on Price's classification.⁷ In Coles County, there are twenty-one variations of Price's basic five styles. Illustrations and explanations

⁵Price, "Cemetery Study," p. 205.

⁶Price, "Cemetery Study," p. 205.

⁷Francaviglia, "Cemetery As A Landscape," pp. 502-504.

of the ten most commonly occurring styles will follow.

All of the monument styles in Coles County are widely distributed. Since the early settlers formed a homogeneous group, their preferences in monuments were also homogeneous. There are exceptions and unique styles, but generally most of the styles can be found throughout the county.

The earliest style of monument is the rough sandstone slab that was quarried locally (Fig. 12a), SE Sec. 6, T.11N., R.7E. These monuments are from the period of 1830 to 1840. When the county was being settled, transportation routes were not yet well developed and the local sandstone was utilized before transportation systems brought marble into the area. Marble was said to have been brought from Europe as ballast in the sailing ships.

Various types of marble were used from 1840 to 1900 throughout the entire county (Fig. 12b), NE Sec. 30, T.12N., R.11E. In the center of the illustration are marble slabs, either square-topped or pointed. This style was popular from 1840 to 1880, recording usually the date of death, the name of the deceased, a kinship term (Father, Mother, Wife, Son, Daughter), age in years, months, and days, sometimes a place of origin (County and State), sometimes a cause of death, and a motif. Common motifs are a pointing index finger upwards, symbolizing the ascent to Heaven and God; a dove, sym-



Fig. 12a--Sandstone Slabs
(1830 - 1840)



Fig. 12b--Marble Monuments
Left foreground - Coffin (1870)
Center - Slabs (1840 - 1880)
Right - Arch (1880 - 1885)

around the world, v. 1, Gravestone Rubbing, Dover Publications, Inc., 1968.

bol of constancy, devotion, and innocence; twin trees, symbol of marriage until one tree has fallen, symbolizing the death of one partner; and a rope and anchor, a Christian symbol of eternity and death.⁸ Other motifs are a lamb for an infant or child, and a clenched flag for a soldier killed in combat. In another style a man and wife are symbolized by a marble arch, where each supporting pillar symbolizes one of the partners and the lintel joins the two together even in death. This style was popular from 1880 to 1885. Also in (Fig. 12b), is a marble coffin which is a unique type of monument. After the Civil War, the height and elaborateness of monuments increased to a peak in the Victorian Period during the 1890's. The obelisk was popular from 1870 to 1895. Marble obelisks took many shapes and forms, the square obelisk in front and the eight sided obelisk in the rear (Fig. 13a), NE Sec. 30, T.12N., R.11E., represent two common forms. There are also round, six-sided, flat-topped, draped-top, ball-topped, pyramidal-topped, and gabled obelisks. Marble began to lose its popularity to granite at the turn of the century, but one final style of marble closed out the period. A heart shaped stone was produced by a local stone carver for a period of ten years from 1895 to 1905 (Fig. 13b), NW Sec. 14, T.11N.,

⁸Edmund Vincent Gillion, Jr., Early New England Grave-Stone Rubbings, (New York; Dover Publications, Inc., 1966).



...the same type of lettering,
 ...be found throughout the country,
 ...graves of infants and children.

Fig. 13a--Marble Obelisks gran-
 ... (1870 - 1895) deceased
 ... styles changed and smaller, more
 ... came into vogue.

...the 20th century, both marble
 ... use. But by 1920, most monuments

were carved from granite. A wide variety of patterns and
 colors were available to various firms, rather than the plain
 white or gray marble. Lettering was no longer changed into
 plain geometric shapes. Slabs
 were the styles from 1900 to 1
 rough sides, top, and back was
 SE Sec. 8, T.11N., R.7E. The
 were kept down by polishing on
 data is carved. Ornamentation
 stone were reduced, and by the
 plain polished sides, with only
 and death (Fig. 14b), SE Sec.
 is the most popular monument in
 in the newer sections of the

Fig. 13b--Marble Heart
 (1895 - 1905)



...follows
 ...back with
 Fig. 14a)
 ...stone
 ...the
 ...the
 ...assumed
 ...of birth
 ...today
 ...found

As the public view of these monuments are practical,

R. 10E. This particular style has the same type of lettering, design, and size, and it can be found throughout the county. It was used primarily for the graves of infants and children. Signifying the end of the opulent Victorian Period, the grandiose monuments that represented immortality of the deceased were slowly being phased out. Styles changed and smaller, more conservative granite monuments came into vogue.

With the beginning of the 20th century, both marble and granite monuments were in use. But by 1920, most monuments were carved from granite. A wide variety of patterns and colors were available to choose from, rather than the plain white or gray marble. Lavish ornate forms were changed into plain geometric shapes. Blocks, cylinders, and short obelisks were the styles from 1900 to 1930. A basic granite block with rough sides, top, and back was popular in the 1930's (Fig. 14a), SE Sec. 8, T.11N., R.7E. The costs of producing the stone were kept down by polishing only one face, that on which the data is carved. Ornamentation and flourishes carved on the stone were reduced, and by the 1960's the granite block assumed plain polished sides, with only the name and the dates of birth and death (Fig. 14b), NE Sec. 12, T.11N., R.8E. Granite today is the most popular monument in use, where it is usually found in the newer sections of the cemeteries.

As the public view of death became more practical,

economy and prudence made possible the use of the bronze plate, set in a rough granite block. This is a common sight in the SW Sec. 16, T.12N., R.3E. P. 12W. This type of monument enables the landscape to be less spoiled and the view of the death shifted to a more reserved scene. One common type of monument in Coles



Fig. 14a--Rough Granite Block (1920 - 1950)

County, is the use of glacial erratics (Fig. 15a and Fig. 16a), SW Sec. 34, T.12N., R.10E. and SW Sec. 16, T.11N., R.3E. Brought down by the glaciers, these large stones provide material for a monument that is found on one's property.

The date is attractive and common in the cemeteries of Coles. Roman Catholic cemeteries in Coles have many monuments and memorials and Christ's Crucifixion is a common sight.



Fig. 14b--Smooth Granite Block (1950 - 1972)

the Archangel, the resurrected dead at the Gates of Hell, and the Final Judgment (Fig. 16b), SW Sec. 12, T.12N., R.7E.

Memorial and monument dealers are located near the gates of large urban cemeteries as previously explained. Both

economy and prudence made possible the use of the bronze plate, set flush with the ground (Fig. 15a), NW Sec. 16, T.12 N., R.8E. Placed in the memorial garden, the bronze plate enables the cemetery to achieve a parklike, unspoiled landscape. By shrinking the size of the memorial, the view of death shifted from that of the Victorian Period to a more reserved commemoration of the dead.

One interesting type of monument, common to Coles County, is the use of glacial erratics (Fig. 15b and Fig. 16a), NW Sec. 34, T.12N., R.10E. and SW Sec. 16, T.11N., R.8E. Brought down by the glaciers, these large stones provide material for a monument that is free, if found on one's property. The data is simply carved onto a smoothed surface, and an attractive monument is created.

Ornate religious monuments are not common in the cemeteries of Coles County, except in Calvary, the Roman Catholic cemetery in Mattoon. Here a unique motif exists. Nearly all memorials and monuments have a cross form on them, symbolizing Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection from the Dead. Michael, the Archangel, some presume, will greet all of the resurrected dead at the Gates of Heaven at the final Judgment (Fig. 16b), SW Sec. 12, T.12N., R7E.

Memorial and monument dealers are located near the gates of large urban cemeteries as previously explained. Both



Fig. 15a--Bronze Plate
(1950 - 1972)



Fig. 15b--Glacial Erratic
(1965)



Fig. 16a--Glacial Erratic
(1934)

gravestones are probably unique in exhibiting the ethnological and correlated changes in religious, personal and societal values, and organization under absolute domination. Full historical record and results for accuracy.

The data gathered can give the power of the people to the area. Gravestones can give a spatial and these records will last.

Fig. 16b--Ornate Religious
(1922)



As long as we are dying,

⁹T.H. Hollingsworth, *High*
New York: Cornell University

¹⁰Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones," p. 503-510; and

¹¹Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Colonial Gravestones," p. 507.

of the large urban cemeteries in Mattoon and Charleston have dealers near their gates (Fig. 17), SE Sec. 11, T.11N., R.7E.

Demographic Studies

Memorials and monuments lend themselves to demographic studies. As a source of data, cemeteries can provide demographic statistics.⁹ Deetz and Dethlefsen have written two articles on historical, archeological, and cultural phenomena of gravestones.¹⁰

It can be seen that gravestones are probably unique in permitting the anthropologist to investigate interrelated 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 11 results for accuracy.

The data gathered can give the social standing, wealth, and power of the people in the area. Geographically, the study of gravestones can give a spatial distribution of the styles of monuments, people, and their settlement patterns. Carved onto stone, these written records will prove to be a key to man's past.

As long as man is dying, there will be the desire to

⁹T.H.Hollingworth, Historical Demography, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 43.

¹⁰Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Colonial Cemeteries," pp. 502-510; and "Death's head," pp. 29-37.

¹¹Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Colonial Cemeteries," p. 503.



Fig. 17--Memorial Dealer
by Dodge Grove Cemetery
Mattoon, Illinois

memorialize him. The market for memorials and monuments will therefore increase. Memorials and monuments are an economic venture where man provides a needed service for his fellow man, while providing a living for himself. They tend to be the main focus of attention in a cemetery, and rightly so, because of the wealth of information about man that they hold.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

In Coles County, man has established cemeteries on the basis of a proper site. Landforms, drainage, soils, and vegetation are important in the site selection of a cemetery. A cemetery is usually located on the highest elevation of a landform, either on moraines or on glacial till. Needing good drainage, a cemetery is located near a drainage artery and also on a soil association that is well-drained. Red cedar trees are an important type of vegetation that is found in cemeteries, along with the wide expanses of grass. In making a decision as to the location of a site for a cemetery, these various items are taken into account. Man's utilization of cemeteries depends upon his need for a cemetery, the proximity of a cemetery to a road or church, the possibility of relocation, the abandonment through disuse or inaccessibility, and his spiritual and religious needs. These site and utilization factors express the characteristics that make cemeteries unusual landscape features.

In classifying cemeteries into various types, they were compared and contrasted. Four types were selected and then were delimited by the number of burials in each cemetery.

They are: 1) Undeveloped Plot (20 graves or less); 2) Family Plot (21 to 100 graves); 3) Rural Center (101 to 500 graves); and 4) Urban Center (501 graves or more). The classifications indicated that an undeveloped plot began as a family plot and never grew, that the family plot stayed under 100 burials in size due to inaccessibility and poor roads, that a rural center began as a family plot and became larger when a hard road or a church was placed nearby, and that an urban center was near a city and grew due to its accessibility. Whether a cemetery was inactive or active was related to its size and type, with the undeveloped and family plots being inactive and the rural and urban centers being active.

Memorials and monuments perform a function to man in giving him lasting immortality. They are an important means of conveying his social status, wealth, and cultural background. In their various styles, they show man's preferences through time. As man's attitudes change, so do the styles of monuments, from the early crude sandstone slabs, used because it was available locally, to marble, for its ostentation and popularity in the Victorian Period, to granite, for its simplicity and attractiveness, and finally to the bronze plate, for its reserved commemoration of the dead. Memorials and monuments have a source and a market throughout the United States. They are available from the Atlantic to the Pacific and can be purchased from a retail dealer who is usually located near a ceme-

tery's gates. A monument can be utilized for the written records carved on them, to provide an important key to man's past.

There are three conclusions that were reached regarding necrogeography. They were:

1) In the past, other geographers such as Price and Kniffen stated there was a need for further research in necrogeography. After studying the cemeteries of Coles County, ideas for more research were developed. They are demographic studies and settlements patterns derived from data gathered from tombstones and land use studies aimed to utilize the land to its optimum.

2) In Coles County, the location of cemeteries is related to the land. This conclusion was reached when it was discovered that they are usually on the highest elevation of the land in the local area, they are located near a drainage artery, they are located on three soil associations that are well-drained, and that the cemeteries have a distinct type of vegetation, this being red cedar trees and wide expanses of grass.

3) Necrogeography is a valid way to present the facts and implications of cemeteries as a part of the study of man's action on, and use of, his land, because it helps to give him a better understanding of his world.

Recommendations for Further Research

A need for studying cemeteries has been presented, and the potential for further research exists. It can be either

in demographic studies, in the development of a settlement pattern, or in a land use study. These three areas portend possibilities for further research.

The first, demographic studies, has been outlined by Deetz and Dethlefsen. They plan to study the style, type, and size of tombstones. The data carved on the stones will also be considered. Such as: kinship terms, causes of deaths, epidemics determined by dates of death, seasonal variations of death, genealogies, social status, place of origin, and the development of settlement patterns. An analysis of the data available on tombstones could reveal these and possibly other relationships about man's past.

The second research possibility is the development of an accurate settlement pattern based on data from tombstones. By utilizing nationality names or places of origin, influxes of different groups of people might be identified by data gathered from cemeteries.

As a third research possibility, cemeteries could be studied with regard to their land use. In a large urban area, they can be a large consumer of space, where there may be difficulties in getting more space due to the price of adjoining land or the prevailing zoning laws. Relocation and abandonment of cemeteries are definite problems of land use, especially when there are legal problems associated. Restoration of ceme-

teries is one area of this study that can become consequential. The information about those abandoned cemeteries could be turned over to the proper authorities, and thus be restored to a more presentable state. Also one final idea associated with land use is the planning of future commercial cemeteries. Since physical characteristics enter into the planning, construction, and operation of a cemetery, possibly more descriptive information could be made available by a geographer to a prospective or a present cemetery operator.

These directions for further research are just some of the ways that necrogeography can be utilized. Perhaps one of the most important reasons behind the pursuit of necrogeography, is to bring the facts, folklore, implications, and fascination that cemeteries hold, into a valid and useful study relating man to his land. It is hoped that in some measure this study has contributed to that end.

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APPENDIX I

Checklist and Data Sheet
for Cemetery Study

Checklist for Cemetery Study

Name: _____

Location: _____ Section _____; Township _____; Range _____

Type: Public _____; Private _____; Catholic _____; Other _____

Status: Active _____; Inactive _____

Church: Yes _____; No _____

Access: None _____; Unimproved _____; Improved _____; Hard Road _____

Maintenance: None _____; Poor _____; Good _____; Excellent _____

Approximate Size: _____ acres

Topographical Location: _____

Vegetation: _____

Soil Type: _____

Vegetation Region: Cropland _____; Grassland _____; Forest _____

Type by Size: Undifferentiated (²⁰10 graves or less) _____
 Family Plot (²¹11 to ¹⁰⁰50 graves) _____
 Rural Center (¹⁰¹51 to ⁵⁰⁰250 graves) _____
 Urban Center (⁵⁰¹251 graves or more) _____

Number of Grave Markers: _____

Number of Burials: _____

Earliest Grave Marker Date: _____

Latest Grave Marker Date: _____

Cluster Years: _____, _____, _____, _____, _____

Date Range of 75% of Graves: _____ to _____

Number of Military Burials: _____

Predominant Family Names: _____

Monument Material: Glacial Erratics _____; Sandstone _____; Marble _____;
 Granite _____; Cement _____; Other _____

Monument Style: Rough Stone _____; Sandstone Block _____; Marble Slab _____;
 Marble Arch _____; Round Obelisk _____; Square Obelisk _____;
 Gabled Obelisk _____; Rough Granite _____; Smooth
 Granite _____; Flush Slab Granite _____; Tree Motif _____;
 Ornate Religious _____; Bronze Plate _____; Mausoleum _____;
 _____; _____;

Unusual Epitaphs: _____

Remarks: _____

Data Sheet

Years	Number of Graves	Tombstone Material
1825-29	_____	Glacial Erratics: _____
1830-34	_____	Sandstone: _____
1835-39	_____	Marble: _____
1840-44	_____	Granite: _____
1845-49	_____	Cement: _____
1850-54	_____	Other: _____
1855-59	_____	
1860-64	_____	
1865-69	_____	
1870-74	_____	
1875-79	_____	
1880-84	_____	
1885-89	_____	
1890-94	_____	
1895-99	_____	
1900-04	_____	
1905-09	_____	
1910-14	_____	
1915-19	_____	
1920-24	_____	
1925-29	_____	
1930-34	_____	
1935-39	_____	
1940-44	_____	
1945-49	_____	
1950-54	_____	
1955-59	_____	
1960-64	_____	
1965-69	_____	
1970-	_____	

Tombstone Style

- Rough Stone: _____
- Sandstone Block: _____
- Marble Slab: _____
- Marble Arch: _____
- Round Obelisk: _____
- Square Obelisk: _____
- Gabled Obelisk: _____
- Rough Granite: _____
- Smooth Granite: _____
- Flush Slab Granite: _____
- Tree Motif: _____
- Ornate Religious: _____
- Bronze Plate: _____
- Mausoleum: _____
- : _____
- : _____
- : _____

Earliest Grave: _____

Latest Grave: _____

Number of Military Burials: _____