

## **ABSTRACT**

Title of thesis: REFLECTIONS ON THE FUNERARY MONUMENTS  
AND BURYING GROUNDS OF EARLY NEW  
ENGLAND

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This thesis comprises a considerable revision of the scholarship on the burying grounds and funerary monuments of early New England. It analyzes numerous objects and texts as yet unstudied in the literature on these topics, arguing for a cultural historical recontextualization of objects and spaces. My research pays attention to both the material realities and material imagination of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The themes of the paper include the following: the status of funerary monuments and burying ground meditations in the materially ambivalent Puritan milieu; the impulse to order as it relates to burying grounds as parcels of colonial landscape; the idea of the “good name”; the purifying “texts of self” that constitute the content of funerary monuments; and the pilgrimage, a prime metaphor for the Protestant life. The project stands between history and fiction, depending upon archival evidence and extensive primary documentation, on the one hand, and suspicious local histories and the playful propositions inherent of the interpretive enterprise, on the other.

**REFLECTIONS ON THE FUNERARY MONUMENTS AND BURYING  
GROUNDS OF EARLY NEW ENGLAND**

by

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Any evaluation of the major scholarly works on early New England gravestones must begin with Harriette Merrifield Forbes's *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them*, published in 1927. Forbes's book is an impressive study of the material, particularly in view of its date. She provides a contextualization and cultural historical treatment of early New England gravestones, presenting information about stone carvers, the carvings on the stones, and the conditions under which the stones were produced and received.<sup>1</sup>

Allan I. Ludwig's *Graven Images* was published in 1966 and remains the most popular book length study of the gravestones, in part because it includes hundreds of black-and-white photographs. Ludwig is mainly concerned with iconographical analysis, and he situates gravestones within the context of religious history. He is also among the first scholars to attempt to reconcile the iconoclasm of the Puritans with the abundant pictorial representations on their gravestones. He details the stylistic progression in stones made between 1650 and 1815, the culmination of that progression being neoclassicism. Pictorial portraits and "urn-and-willow" motifs are for him the essential neoclassical expressions. Although Ludwig argues that profound religious expression exists on stones as late as the early nineteenth century, he also seems to believe that New England gravestones embody a general trajectory of religious decline: "The rise of the portrait stone is an indication of the slow movement away from religious themes."<sup>2</sup>

In the same year that Ludwig's book appeared, Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz published an influential article entitled "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," in the journal *American Antiquity*. Based on the designs appearing atop gravestones in eastern Massachusetts, the authors propose a tripartite framework for understanding the objects, which depends upon changing attitudes toward religion through time. According to the scheme promoted by Dethlefsen and Deetz, "death's heads" were the earliest motifs, which the authors equate with seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Puritanism. Between 1740 and 1760 carvers began to substitute "cherubs" for death's heads, and by 1760 cherubs were the most popular motif at the tops of stones. Dethlefsen and Deetz associate the rise of the cherub with the Great Awakening, and they claim that "the end of the Great Awakening" was also "the final demise of Puritanism."<sup>3</sup> Urn-and-willow motifs replaced cherubs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The New Englanders' attitude toward death softened over time, or became increasingly optimistic, the authors argue, and a "depersonalization" is observable in gravestones by the early nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> They associate the change in motif with the advent of Unitarianism and Methodism. In 1967 Deetz and Dethlefsen published another, related article in the journal *Natural History*.<sup>5</sup> Deetz later revisited and refined ideas explored in these articles, suggesting that urn-and-willow stones evince a greater worldliness and that they likely "indicate a secularization of religion."<sup>6</sup>

It seems to me that Ludwig's book and Deetz's and Dethlefsen's articles have been and remain most responsible for coloring both scholarly and popular attitudes toward the funerary monuments of early New England. Several other works that have

come after them, however, have attracted substantial attention and deserve mention here. Dickran and Ann Tashjian's *Memorials for Children of Change* was published in 1974. The Tashjians treat Puritan gravestones as "works of art" and describe burying grounds as "museums without walls."<sup>7</sup> They also contribute to the discourse initiated by Ludwig concerning Puritan iconoclasm and funerary monuments. They argue that Puritans would have understood gravestones as civil memorials and burying grounds as public spaces, physically and conceptually outside the realm of the ecclesiastical, which itself forbade substantial imagistic display.<sup>8</sup> They are also the first scholars to locate gravestones within a matrix of many other forms of early New England material culture. They consider the relationships between gravestones and objects such as mourning rings, prints, various types of furniture, textiles, firebacks, and paintings.

Peter Benes published *Masks of Orthodoxy* in 1977. He deals therein with the gravestones of Plymouth County, Massachusetts, dating between 1689 and 1805, and he contends that the symbols carved at the tops of Plymouth County stones "ran a parallel course with the weakening of Puritan orthodoxy in the former Plymouth Colony area between 1690 and 1800."<sup>9</sup> He equates skull motifs with Puritan orthodoxy and their decline with the decline of that religious system. Benes writes, "The demise or stylistic corruption of the symbol [i.e. the skull] in a given neighborhood was usually the sign of parish disharmony and the successful encroachment of separatist or competing Protestant sects."<sup>10</sup> Angels and portraits eventually would become the preferred decorations at the tops of stones in the late eighteenth century and evinced the demise of the Puritan ethos. With angels and portraits came a world less religious, a world ever more worldly.

“Vernacular” or “folk” traditions were ultimately abandoned, and the “mutually supportive tie between religion and the culture of death” was broken.<sup>11</sup>

Valuable books and articles postdate the works I describe above, the writings of David H. Watters in particular, though I will end my brief introduction to the scholarship here. The aforementioned pieces are the seminal works, laying the foundation for and shaping most subsequent inquiries, whether the authors of later inquiries have recognized it or not. The studies I have mentioned (i.e. dating after Forbes) have a number of things in common. The authors all focus on the pictures on early New England gravestones, mentioning the textual content of the objects almost not at all. When the inscriptions and epitaphs of stones are mentioned, the authors do not demand much of them—that is to say, the pictorial representations always shape their arguments.<sup>12</sup> The authors all at least imply, if not stating outright, that through time New England became less religious (and therefore more secular) and that the stones reflected this cultural change. Puritanism went away, and the stones indicate this. Further, these authors almost never consider funerary monuments besides upright gravestones in their arguments. This is undoubtedly because the many horizontally oriented slabs, tombstones, and tablestones of early New England, though they often bear lengthy texts, rarely carry pictorial representations.

Whereas the pictures on early New England gravestones are certainly important for their meaning, I believe we as scholars should not focus on them to the extent that we then ignore their texts. And whereas we cannot deny that the symbols atop New England gravestones change through time, we can question whether the change necessarily means anything. David D. Hall has critiqued the methods of Ludwig, Deetz, and Benes, stating that “to identify” gravestone motifs and religious trends “as parallels does not explain

what they mean, or what causes them.”<sup>13</sup> It is important to recognize that Deetz’s career as a scholar was marked by a fascination with cultural-historical change. It is possible, therefore, that in many of his studies he overlooked continuities adhering in the cultures and things he studied. He may have seen more structure in the changes he was charting than was empirically available. Anyone who has visited the burying grounds of New England realizes that the tripartite system of cultural change he and Dethlefsen correlate with motifs on stones is misleading. There are many sorts of stones they leave out, and the three types of stones with which they are concerned do not exist in all areas. The chronologies they chart are ultimately forced and artificial.

After composing *Masks of Orthodoxy* and several articles in which he asserted that pictorial representations on early New England gravestones correlated with changing belief systems, Benes would critique his own method of inquiry. In writing of “revival” motifs on eighteenth-century New England stones, he is puzzled over why such motifs are not found on gravestones in towns where religious revivals originated.<sup>14</sup> It may be because Benes, desiring to explain what he thinks about the past in terms of gravestone imagery, has invented the motif. Revival motifs probably never existed for the Puritans. That is, the Puritans would not have recognized the motifs Benes identifies as correlating with religious revival. Questioning whether or not changing gravestone iconography can be related to “genuine religious statements,” he writes, “The answer is not known and may never be known. At a distance of two hundred years, we cannot be surprised if objects speak indistinctly; the wonder is that they speak at all.”<sup>15</sup>

Because of the image-centered treatments of the colonial funerary monuments of New England, the objects are regularly regarded, as in the Tashjians’ book, as “works of

art,” and the spaces they occupy are regarded as “museums without walls.” Efforts to preserve early grave markers have given rise to signage warning visitors not to touch or rub the stones. In a few cases communities have moved particular stones to museums, replacing originals with some sort of reproduction.<sup>16</sup> Scholars for a long time now have been excited to find that the iconoclastic Puritans have pictures, and this has blinded them to other features of funerary monuments and burying grounds that would likely have been important to the colonists. In addition to looking past the texts on funerary monuments, the above writers have been inattentive to the fact that the burying grounds are actually landscapes, as the frequently repeated phrase “museums without walls” indicates. Furthermore, they do not acknowledge that the burying grounds when in the colonial landscape were very different from the burying grounds as they appear today. Inaccuracies and things taken for granted in these authors’ accounts, repeated in many later works, have become accepted as truths for most who investigate this subject.

I will try in this paper to provide a number of new insights into the funerary monuments and burying grounds of early New England. My thesis is, in the main, a thesis about materiality. In one sense, it is about the material realities of the colonial situation. It deals with the challenges colonists encountered upon moving to a frontier New England and the various material solutions at which they arrived. It recognizes and takes into consideration the fact that the majority of New Englanders in the colonial period participated, in one way or another, in agriculture, and were therefore closely bound to the land physically, emotionally, and intellectually.<sup>17</sup> It is also a thesis about the material imagination, and here it pursues paths also taken by Sally M. Prome in her recent work on the material practice of Puritan piety in relation to notions of the self.<sup>18</sup> It



attempts to account for the material ambivalence of the Puritans and to explain the ideological background and practical circumstances leading them to embrace certain ideas about and forms of materiality while dismissing others. My analysis depends on everything from the hard proof of the archive to the hearsay of legend and local history. It is a reconfiguration in which I acknowledge the kinds of things the colonists might have been experiencing, seeing, reading, and/or thinking. In this sense it draws inspiration from L.P. Hartley's (now famous) statement: "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there."<sup>19</sup> It is an effort to re-imagine a New England that has long since vanished.<sup>20</sup> It is a thesis standing at some ambiguous location between history and fiction.<sup>21</sup>

If we want to properly re-imagine the colonial condition, burying grounds should be understood as a part of the colonial landscape, a part of a world rather different than our own, subject to different material circumstances. Dead bodies that could be seen or smelled filled the spaces. Wild and domesticated animals and people alike frequented the burying grounds. Unlike museums, the burying grounds were also subject to differing conditions of weather. Standing outside in a landscape, their monuments erode or resist change, enduring extremes of temperature and weather and the changing of the seasons.<sup>22</sup> Without returning to a reductionist, logocentric model of Puritan culture, I will also argue that the texts inscribed on early New England funerary monuments are central to their meaning. In a recent survey of colonial American art, Elizabeth L. Roark carries on with the image-centered tradition of the writers I have mentioned, stating that early New England gravestones are designed "to teach a lesson about death visually rather than textually or verbally."<sup>23</sup> I mean to question this sort of statement, which is altogether too

common in both popular and scholarly literature. Monuments without pictures were plentiful in colonial New England; there were few without texts.

The method of choosing objects of the above scholars is problematic. Those monuments studied for their pictorial interest rarely include texts that are as interesting. Scholars often reproduce pictorial details rather than whole stones in their publications, or worse yet line drawings, leading the reader to believe that the stones' texts are of no consequence whatsoever. In contrast, I have selected many of the objects in this study primarily for their textual interest. I have chosen monuments bearing texts that participate in traditions of writing common during the colonial period—including texts about meditation and self-examination, character writing, biography, and history. Without taking anything away from the masons and stone carvers who made them, I will argue that the funerary monuments of early New England are better understood as material “texts of self,” to borrow a term used by Greg Dening, than as “artworks” in the modern or postmodern sense of the word.<sup>24</sup> They are objects largely of and about premodern notions of selfhood. Following Robert Blair St. George, among others, I consider New England as still “colonial” well after the end of the Revolutionary War, still substantially dependent upon Puritanism for its sense of identity.<sup>25</sup>

As Promey has recently demonstrated, the scholarly mythologies of modernization and secularization have historically gone hand in hand. Promey writes, “Most succinctly, secularization theory contends that modernization necessarily leads to religion’s decline, that the secular and the religious will not coexist in the modern world, that religion represents a premodern vestige of superstition. The conflation of the processes of secularization and modernization with their imagined consequences for

religion defines the terms of the theory.”<sup>26</sup> Unlike Ludwig, Deetz and Dethlefsen, and Benes, and like Promey, I detect continuity in the funerary monuments of early New England, objects participating in traditions of representation derived from Puritanism with formidable staying power.<sup>27</sup> The monuments I will consider, therefore, date between the mid-seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century.

In formulating this thesis and thinking of the objects about which I write, I have found useful George Kubler’s theory of “prime objects and replications,” one of his models for studying the “history of things.” Kubler writes, “Prime objects resemble the prime numbers of mathematics because no conclusive rule is known to govern the appearance of either, although such a rule may someday be found. . . . Their character as primes is not explained by their antecedents, and their order in history is enigmatic.”<sup>28</sup> The landing of settlers in New England, or perhaps the point at which the earliest burying grounds were laid out and the first grave markers hewn, is the prime time for my study. In the early grounds and monuments we can observe the salient characteristics of these objects and spaces for the entire colonial period. Of one manner of replication, Kubler writes, “Many sorts of replicas reproduce the prime object so completely that the most sensitive historical method cannot separate them.”<sup>29</sup> Although later monuments in colonial New England are not necessarily “replicas” of earlier monuments in the strictest sense of the word, the sorts of representations they carry possess continuities from the mid-seventeenth century through the early nineteenth century.

From the founding of New England, the Puritans were culturally hegemonic. Anglicans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and others settled there and brought with them their own competing systems of value, though the English Puritans remained the

most responsible for shaping the region's identity. David Hackett Fischer makes this argument for New England in *Albion's Seed*.<sup>30</sup> The tenets of Puritanism would define the forms and content of the majority of funerary monuments produced and received in New England through the early nineteenth century. The Puritans controlled the largest burying ground in most towns in New England. The one New England colony that was perhaps too diverse and religiously free from its founding to fit well into the scheme I describe is Rhode Island.<sup>31</sup> A few scholars have investigated the material cultures of death of other groups. John L. Brooke, for example, has explored the relationship between Congregationalist and Baptist ideologies of death on the "Massachusetts Near Frontier."<sup>32</sup> David H. Watters has composed a wonderful study of Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism and the gravestones of John Wight, a carver who lived and worked in southern New Hampshire in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup> No one has yet written a study of the Anglican stones of colonial New England, though Louis P. Nelson has produced a valuable account of Anglican stones in South Carolina.<sup>34</sup> We must not forget that many of these groups, as Protestants, held beliefs in common, and that in a lot of cases members of other denominations had monuments alongside those of Puritans.

The in-depth considerations of textual aspects of funerary monuments in early New England are few. Malcolm A. Nelson and Diana Hume George have published two pieces in which they address the scholarly over-attention to images and inattention to epitaphs. They write, "There is more to learn from gravestones than the closest study of icons can yield. Epitaphs comprise the still untold story. Until we began studying epitaphs with the same kinds of techniques that we bring to the study of other literature, epitaphs were the province of collectors of the quaint, the outrageous, the unintentionally

hilarious.”<sup>35</sup> They point out, importantly, that the epitaphs of early New England enact communication between the dead and the living, and that “most epitaphs depend on the use of generic conventions.”<sup>36</sup> Tom and Brenda Malloy have studied the stones of the Congregational ministers of north central Massachusetts, devoting many pages to their epitaphs.<sup>37</sup> They are the only writers to date to deal with a considerable number of tablestones and tombstones in their analysis. The Malloys document an impressive number of funerary monuments for Puritan ministers in north central Massachusetts, and they suggest that monuments in this region distinguish ministers as eminent, powerful personages through their elaborate programs of pictorial and (especially) textual representation.

Most of the text-based studies of early New England funerary monuments that have appeared are comparatively unimpressive. Scholars have argued that important cultural content exists in the lines most commonly initiating the funerary monument inscriptions of early New England. Deetz writes, “‘Here lies the body of . . .’ is replaced by ‘In Memory of . . .’ or ‘Sacred to the Memory of . . .,’ statements that have very different meaning from those used earlier. The earlier stones are markers, designating the location of the deceased—at least in their mortal form. In contrast, “‘In Memory of . . .’ is a memorial statement . . .”<sup>38</sup> Deetz makes the case that the funerary monuments of New England are not actually memorials during the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century. They are not about memory but about the location of a body, and the usual textual opening (i.e. “Here lies the body of . . .”) is evidence of this. He would assert that it is not until the late eighteenth century that New Englanders began to think of monuments as “memorials” rather than as “markers.”

Robert K. Fitts has argued that studying New England “gravestone inscriptions can contribute more to our understanding of cultural beliefs than icons.”<sup>39</sup> Expanding on Deetz’s theory about markers and memorials, Fitts asserts that change in the first line of inscriptions is evidence of the transformation from Puritan to Yankee culture. He bases his argument upon the idea that Puritanism is religious and communitarian, whereas the Yankee is about secularism and individualism.<sup>40</sup> Engaging Noam Chomsky’s concept of the “rules of generative grammar,” Fitts identifies “two styles of gravestone inscriptions, called Markers and Monuments.”<sup>41</sup> He traces the development from the phrases “Here lies buried the body of Name Variable . . .” and “Here lies the body of Name Variable . . .” to “In memory of Name Variable . . .,” “Sacred to the memory of Name Variable . . .,” and “Erected in the memory of Name Variable . . .”<sup>42</sup> After testing a number of hypotheses, he concludes, “Analysis indicates that the shift from Marker to Monument Inscriptions was caused by a change from Puritan to Yankee attitudes to death.”<sup>43</sup>

Although I admire their efforts to account for the change in the words beginning monument inscriptions, I am persuaded by neither Deetz’s nor Fitts’s ideas. It is true that the opening line of inscriptions on funerary monuments in New England changes gradually over time. I do not dispute this observation. Simply recognizing textual changes and pairing them with cultural changes, however, does not prove anything—as Hall has noted with the pairing of gravestone pictorial and cultural change. Furthermore, as I understand it, the purpose of all funerary monuments is commemoration. They are all always about memory. Most monuments are also about marking a body. Cenotaphs exist in the seventeenth and eighteenth century as well as in the nineteenth century, but most monuments in New England from all periods stand near or above dead bodies. I do not

believe the change in the first line of inscriptions is necessarily meaningful.<sup>44</sup> I also do not understand how the change from “Here lies the body of . . .” to “Sacred to the memory of . . .” or “In memory of . . .” can be construed as evidence of declension of religion or of a secularization of outlook. How could the addition of the word “Sacred” to an inscription be proof of less religious sentiments?

I should point out at this time that due to the liquidity of grammar, spelling, punctuation and capitalization in the period with which I am dealing, numerous texts contained in this thesis either contain or appear to contain errors. Noah Webster would release his *American Spelling Book* in 1783. The *Compendious Dictionary* came along in 1806. This was followed by his magnum opus, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1828. Webster’s works standardized American spelling. I have done my best to transcribe period texts precisely, whether on funerary monuments or from other sources, without correcting their idiosyncrasies. With most of the epitaphs I cite in the body of the thesis, I have made an effort to maintain their character as they are laid on grave markers. I indent them like any block quotation, though I attempt to preserve their specific spacing. Also, in order to distinguish them from other citations, I set them in 12-point font. Several things I have changed—I have brought down to the normal line level most superscribed characters and made all of the f-like letters “s” regular “s”s. I have included an appendix with additional transcriptions of epitaphs about which I did not have space or time to write. All of the epitaphial excerpts I have appended relate directly to themes I explore in the thesis.

### **On Reflection**

On a hillside in Bradford, Massachusetts, stands a modest burying ground containing several hundred funerary monuments. Two among them, the lichen coated John Watson stone, dated 1699, and the Philip Atwood stone, dated 1700, share this remarkable feature: the letter Ns in their inscriptions are reversed.<sup>45</sup> The John Watson stone [**Figures 1a and 1b**], for example, bears backward Ns in the words “JOHN,” “WATSON,” and “IN.” In downtown Hartford, Connecticut, stones in the Ancient Burying Ground exhibit similar instances of textual reversal. The Hopkins Gorton stone, dated 1725, displays a reversed G at the beginning of the word “GORTON” [**Figures 2a and 2b**]. This reversal is all the more peculiar as the G occupies a space on the stone squared off and planed away, usually evidence of a carver’s correction. In the Old South Burying Ground in Billerica, Massachusetts, stands the Margarett Cumings stone, dated 1790 [**Figures 3a and 3b**]. The stone’s tympanum bears a representation, carved in low relief, of an angelic trumpeter. The trumpet emits a banner inscribed with the words “Arise ye dead,” this time with the text of the entire phrase cut backward, as if seen in a mirror. The maker of this stone, probably a member of the Lamson family, carved a similar motif upon other gravestone tympana.<sup>46</sup> Four of this or a related carver’s stones in the burying ground in Wakefield, Massachusetts, including that of Elizabeth Lambert of 1775, bear the words “Arise ye dead” lettered “properly,” issuing left to right from a trumpet bell [**Figures 4a and 4b**].<sup>47</sup>

The Margarett Cumings stone marks the culmination of an occasional practice of colonial gravestone carvers. Textual reversals can be found here and there, strewn on stones throughout New England.<sup>48</sup> Whereas such reversals might be understood as merely the work of careless or semi-literate carvers or perhaps inept apprentices, I would like to



suggest another reading of mirrored lettering.<sup>49</sup> It may be argued that mirrored letters, whether or not deliberately carved as such, constitute a formal evocation of one of the primary functions of the funerary monuments of early New England. That is, the stones were sites of reflection, and like mirrors, they facilitated self-examination.<sup>50</sup> While my argument developed contemporaneously with and independently of hers, Promey has applied these ideas to the interpretation of colonial New England gravestone carving and portraiture.<sup>51</sup> Scholars have often correlated the production of mirrors during the Renaissance with the rise of the modern individual.<sup>52</sup> It was not this self, however, that early New Englanders sought in the stones. The modern self, defined by difference, was an emerging and ultimately competing form of being-in-the-world. Puritans believed the true self was realized only as one tended toward the divine image. Self-perfection depended upon identification with Christ, who was known as the “mirror of election.”<sup>53</sup> All those who lived lives reflecting Christ’s virtues functioned as a part of “sacred history.”<sup>54</sup> They themselves became examples worthy of imitation and were sometimes called “mirrors of Piety.”

In devising a metaphor for “Early America” in a collection of essays devoted to colonial identity, Greg Dening has relied upon the following passage from Paul’s first epistle to the Corinthians:

For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known. (1 Cor. 13:9-12)<sup>55</sup>

Dening calls attention to the early American striving to know the self by knowing the deity. While on earth the Puritans were able only to see the self and God, the standard by which the self was measured, “through a glass darkly.” As we will soon see, the Puritans

devised meditational exercises that afforded them greater access to themselves and to the divine. As Promey has lately contended, the visitation of burying grounds was among the most important of all the practices associated with self-examination.<sup>56</sup> Upon settlement, virtually every town in New England would set aside land for burials, and these spaces became fixtures of the colonial landscape. To walk in the midst of the graves was to inspect oneself and others, others who because they had died and received monuments were usually understood as among the elect and therefore as saints. The monuments represented the deceased as akin to the divine image if not becoming it fully. For visitors to the burying grounds, the mirror-like saints did not quite clearly reflect the image of God, though they did approximate it. Denning sums up well the probable rationale for visitation: “Those who have not seen themselves in a mirror dimly, however, have not seen themselves at all.”<sup>57</sup>

The idea that God, Christ, and the Bible were mirrors was important for Protestant thought and ubiquitous in Puritan writings. In “The Excellency of the Gospel Above the Law,” a work first published in London in 1639, Richard Sibbes explains the New Testament in terms of the mirror:

This glass of the gospel hath an excellency and an eminency above all other glasses. It is a glass that changeth us. When we see ourselves and our corruptions in the glass of the law, there we see ourselves dead. The law finds us dead, and leaves us dead. It cannot give us any life. But when we look into the gospel and see the glory of God, the mercy of God, the gracious promises of the gospel, we are changed into the likeness of Christ whom we see in the gospel. It is an excellent glass, therefore, that hath a transforming power to make beautiful. Such a glass would be much prized in this proud world; such a glass is the gospel.<sup>58</sup>

John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, first published in 1678 and among the most popular texts after the Bible in the English-speaking world between the seventeenth and nineteenth century, contains a scene that we might consider as analogous to that of burying ground visitation and funerary monument inspection.<sup>59</sup> In the book’s second part,

which initially appeared in 1684, Christian's wife Christiana and their children undertake a pilgrimage. Rather late in the narrative they arrive at a palace to which shepherds they have befriended along the way have led them. Mercy, the neighbor and then daughter-in-law of Christiana, becomes enamored with a "looking-glass" (or mirror) that hangs in the dining room of the palace. Bunyan describes the looking-glass:

Now the glass was one of a thousand. It would present a man, one way, with his own feature exactly, and turn it but another way, and it would show one the very face and similitude of the Prince of pilgrims himself. Yea I have talked with them that can tell, and they have said, that they have seen the very crown of thorns upon his head, by looking in that glass, they have therein also seen the holes in his hands, in his feet, and his side. Yea, such an excellency is there in that glass that it will show him to one where they have a mind to see him, whether living or dead, whether in earth or heaven, whether in a state of humiliation, or in his exaltation, whether coming to suffer, or coming to reign.<sup>60</sup>

Mercy is with child and believes that she will miscarry if the shepherds should deny her the "great glass." The shepherd named Sincere gladly fetches the mirror and presents it to her, quelling her fears. Mercy bows her head and thanks God, saying, "By this I know I have obtained favour in your eyes."<sup>61</sup> A series of day books exists for the Stevens shop of Newport, Rhode Island, including information about several generations of gravestone carvers of that name. In the first of these, John Stevens III includes a list of books that he has labeled "read by me." He notes that the list was "Begun AD 1766," and in addition to "The History on the Death of Able," "The Passionate Pilgrim," and "Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musick. By Mr. Wm. Shakespeare, the Great Poit, of England," he includes "The Pilgrims Progres."<sup>62</sup>

In a text probably published around 1690, Thomas Pierce describes the transformation that saints would undergo upon arrival in heaven:

Now our Persons in Heaven will be so polished, (*when this Corruptible shall have put on Incorruption,*) that we shall be in respect of God, what Looking-Glasses are in respect of Us; we receiving *his* likeness, as they do *ours*. We reflecting His *Beauty*, as they do our *wants* of it. We shall be Mirrors exactly made; a kind of Looking-glasses with Eyes; whilst by *seeing* as we are *seen*, and *representing* the *Image* of what we *see*, we shall therefore be *like* unto God himself, because *we shall see him as he Is*.<sup>63</sup>

The looking-glass as constructed by Bunyan reflects both the human who gazes upon it and somehow, at the same time, the image of Christ. The glass unites the earthly and heavenly realms.<sup>64</sup> Pierce details the saints' becoming like the deity. As "Mirroirs exactly made," they receive the likeness of God. God is a mirror and the saints are mirrors. It is precisely this enigmatic dichotomy, articulated by both Bunyan and Pierce, to which the funerary monuments of early New England refer. The textual reversals to which I have called attention are a formal indication that the stones were mirror-like, and there are additional indications that this is so. Consider the following historical coincidence: both Pierce's passage and the epitaph of Margaret Cumings reference a biblical verse (1 Cor. 15:53) related to (or playing on) the notion of reversal. Pierce includes the phrase "*when this Corruptible shall have put on Incorruption*"; the lower portion of the Margaret Cumings stone bears the lines, "*This corruptible must put on incorruption, / and this mortal must put on immortality.*"<sup>65</sup>

Reflection upon one's spiritual state was the primary activity taking place in the burying grounds. The central question in the life of the Puritan had to do with salvation. As followers of the tenets of John Calvin, Puritans professed belief in the doctrine of predestination, the idea that election or damnation was predetermined from eternity by God. Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe writes, "The Puritan's goal was always to know God's will for the soul: Am I among the elect or not? Am I experiencing the benefits of that election in union with Christ?"<sup>66</sup> It would seem that predestination would induce resignation in believers, who were screened from a fate already sealed. This was, however, not exactly the case. Hambrick-Stowe continues, "Death was at once a source of anxiety and a source of hope, both impelling and attracting New Englanders to greater

piety.”<sup>67</sup> The Puritans developed a rigorous program of devotional exercises through which they constantly searched themselves for the marks of the sinner and the marks of the saint.<sup>68</sup> The believer’s sense of his or her own salvation could vary widely, from day to day or year to year. Exercises in self-examination might cause some to despair, furnishing proof of a shabby state of preparation for death. For others, the exercises could effect spiritual progression, successive approximations toward the desired goal of assurance of election. Although the Puritan believers sought it, complete assurance was unattainable.

As early as the seventeenth century, Puritan devotional manuals describe the valuable practice of visiting burying grounds. In *The Great Concern: Or, A Serious Warning to a Timely and Thorough Preparation for Death*, Edward Pearse writes, “*The meditation of Death (saith one) is Life: it is that which greatly promotes our Spiritual Life; therefore walk much among the Tombs, and converse much and frequently with the thoughts of a Dying-hour.*”<sup>69</sup> In one of his sixty-four *Daily Meditations*, begun in 1666, Philip Pain echoes the sentiment of Pearse:

How often have I view’d the graves, and gone  
Unto that place, and yet returned home  
Again unto my house: The time will bee  
When I must go, but not returning see.  
Lord, give me so much grace, that I may be  
ever-more mindful of Eternitie.<sup>70</sup>

Samuel Sewall recorded visiting his family tomb on Christmas Day, 1696. He comments, “‘Twas an awfull yet pleasing Treat.”<sup>71</sup> Cotton Mather also composed lines encouraging burying ground devotions. In his poem, “The Child seeing the Funeral of another Child,” he shows that such meditations were edifying for youths, that they were not only relevant to those advanced in years:

I in the *Burying Place* may see

Graves not so long as I.  
 From *Deaths Arrest* no Age is free;  
 Young Children too may Dy.  
 My God, may such an awful sight  
 Awakening be to me!  
 Oh! that by *Early Grace* I might  
 For *Death* prepared be.<sup>72</sup>

Treatises encouraging burying ground devotions continued into the eighteenth century. Among the most popular of the later treatises was James Hervey's *Meditations Among the Tombs*, first released in England in 1746-7, which would appear in a number of American editions. Hervey is particularly attentive to the therapeutic value of studying the lives and monuments of virtuous individuals:

Now, madam, lest my meditations set in a cloud; and leave any unpleasing gloom upon your mind; let me once more turn to the brightening prospects of the righteous. A view of them, and their delightful expectations, may serve to exhilarate the thoughts; which have been musing upon melancholy subjects, and hovering about the edges of infernal darkness. Just as a spacious field, arrayed in cheerful green, relieves and reinvigorates the eye; which has fatigued itself by poring upon some minute, or gazing upon some glaring object.<sup>73</sup>

Thus funerary monuments can be seen to have offered a visual purification, a way of seeing the world anew, or a sort of re-vision. We should first consider, however, the conditions under which early New Englanders would have viewed the monuments. How would the world in which they lived have impacted such viewing? What were their frames of reference? What were their frames of mind?

### **Ambivalence and Material Practice**

Scholars interested in Puritan gravestones have also long been concerned with the Puritan relationship to iconoclasm. If the Puritans were iconoclasts, as image destruction in England and many writings indicate, they ask, how is it that their funerary monuments came to bear pictures? Scholars have proffered a variety of answers. Ludwig suggested simply that the Puritans could not help it. They were iconoclastic, but they still wanted

and needed religious pictures. He writes, “It is a need so ingrained that even when the mind dreads imagery for fear of idolatry, religious art endures.”<sup>74</sup> As mentioned, Dickran and Ann Tashjian mounted the first challenge to Ludwig, arguing that burying grounds were spaces controlled by civic authorities and that funerary monuments were civil memorials and as such sanctioned by religious leaders.<sup>75</sup> Watters has also chimed in on this subject, taking a stance between Ludwig and Tashjian, claiming that gravestones “fell somewhere in between civil and religious use.”<sup>76</sup> The preoccupation of these authors, once again, is with the pictorial aspects of the stones. A better proposal, I believe, is to consider the monuments and the act of viewing them in terms of an overall conflictedness related to material practice(s) in early New England. The act of standing and inspecting objects, whether they bore pictures or not, would have been a highly charged experience for many Puritans. They must have been anxious. They must have wondered at questions like the following for which there was no clear answer: What should be included among the reasonable acts of material devotion and meditation? Where did admissible devotional practice end and superstition or idolatry begin?

Calvin was ambivalent when it came to the place of images in the Reformed tradition. In many passages in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, issued in 1536, he exhibits such disdain for imagery, one might be led to believe he finds no pictures of any kind to be valuable or permissible. He counters this notion, however, writing, “I am not. . . .so superstitious as to think that all visible representations of every kind are unlawful. But as sculpture and paintings are gifts of God, what I insist for is, that both shall be used purely and lawfully.”<sup>77</sup> He elaborates upon this point: “Visible representations are of two classes—viz., historical, which give a representation of events, and pictorial, which

merely exhibit bodily shapes and figures. The former are of some use for instruction or admonition. The latter, so far as I can see, are only fitted for amusement.”<sup>78</sup> Among the types of pictures that Calvin begrudgingly accepts are portraits, and it will be important to keep this in mind as we consider funerary monuments, which constitute composite portraitures, part textual and part pictorial. Representations of believers formed the core of the textual and pictorial production of Protestants.

A number of scholars have explicated the ambivalent feelings of Puritans toward various forms of artistic expression and materiality. Lynn Haims was perhaps the first to articulate this ambivalence, through a study of an assortment of forms of Puritan “sensual expression,” including poetry, sermons, and gravestone carvings.<sup>79</sup> Ann Kibbey has argued that the notion of the *figura* or “material shape” was a major theme in Puritan thought. She centers her discussion on the influential Puritan preacher John Cotton, and the Pequot War and Antinomian Controversy of 1637, contending that Puritans embraced certain forms of materiality while rejecting others.<sup>80</sup> The Puritans understood materiality as a kind of liquidity, through which people and things, bodies and objects, the living and the defunct were metaphorically related. The literal could become the figurative, and the figurative could become the literal. Promey has provided a theoretical framework through which to consider American Protestants and their relationship to pictures. She writes, “Pictorial ambivalence is a term that more plausibly describes the visual imagination, piety, and practice of American Protestantism. I mean the word ‘ambivalence,’ quite simply, to characterize a set of relations between people and images that manifests, variously, both attraction and repulsion, admiration and rejection.”<sup>81</sup> To look at pictures is mentally and emotionally involving, and it can be at once positive and negative.



Scholars within other specializations have adopted ambivalence as a paradigm that allows for a more complex understanding of cultures in which iconoclasm plays a part. Bruno Latour has coined the term “iconoclash” to denote situations in which there is ambiguity or tension between destructive and constructive impulses related to images. He writes, “*Iconoclasm* is when we know what is happening in the act of breaking and what the motivations for what appears as a clear project of destruction are; *iconoclash*, on the other hand, is when one does not know, one hesitates, one is troubled by an action for which there is no way to know, without further inquiry, whether it is destructive or constructive.”<sup>82</sup> Joseph Leo Koerner has recently published the most substantial inquiry to date dealing with the complex and conflicted attitudes toward images in a single Protestant culture. In *The Reformation of the Image*, Koerner deals with sixteenth-century German Lutheran ideas about and actions toward images, images produced in a cultural situation (like the Protestant cultures of early New England) in which there was a constant tension between the verbal and the visual. He probes the ways in which German Lutherans reconstituted and reformed pictures after a period of energetic image destruction. And he claims that the history of art is a series of iconoclasms and reformations of the image, with the concept of ambivalence undergirding his claims.<sup>83</sup>

There were material forms in early New England that offended and/or were subject to ritual destruction. St. George has documented the widespread practice of attacking houses and destroying effigies, for example.<sup>84</sup> Anti-Catholic sentiment attained its most overt expression in the Guy Fawkes (or Pope’s) Day holiday. Celebrations took place every November 5, beginning as early as 1623, and they commemorated the thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot against James I of England in 1605. The king was

inconsistent in his policies toward English Catholics, and Guy Fawkes and five fellow Catholic conspirators were arrested, tried, convicted, and hanged for attempting to blow up Parliament. In New England the celebrations were especially popular in the seaports, and from the early eighteenth century, effigies of the pope and devil (and also sometimes politically disfavored persons) were paraded on stages throughout the region. The effigies were often tarred and feathered. Along the way, people verbally or gesturally mocked the effigies or pelted them with projectiles, before committing them to giant bonfires.<sup>85</sup>

Isaiah Thomas, a printer's apprentice during the 1750s and 1760s who participated in the Boston celebrations, later described the appearance of the stages:

On the front of these stages, was placed in proportion to the dimensions of the Stage, a large lantern framed circular at the top and covered with paper. Behind this lantern was placed an effigy of the pope sitting in an armed Chair. Immediately behind him was the imaginary representation of the Devil, standing Erect with extended arms. . . .The larger Effigies had heads placed on poles which went thro' the bodies & thro' the upper part of the stages which were formed like large boxes, some of them not less than 16 or 18 feet long, 3 or 4 feet wide and 3 or 4 feet in depth. Inside of the Stages and out of sight sat a boy under each effigy whose business it was to move the heads of the Effigies by means of the poles before mentioned, from one side to the other as fancy directed.<sup>86</sup>

Children who followed the procession might torment their own miniature effigies of the pope. Thomas writes, "Little boys had them [popes] placed on shingles, bigger boys on a piece of board, some no bigger than one boy could carry in his hands, others would require two or more boys and so on."<sup>87</sup> The heads were carved from small potatoes.<sup>88</sup> In Boston a rivalry developed between the North End and the South End, neighborhoods that paraded separate popes. After the parades, there was typically a violent confrontation between the groups, during which each group fought for possession of the other group's stage.<sup>89</sup> Of interest for this study, the North End's stage would be destroyed, at least sometimes, at Copp's Hill, also the locality of one of Boston's largest burying grounds.<sup>90</sup> By the period of the American Revolution, the Pope's Day celebrations were dying out.

As part of an early Colonial Revival, New Englanders remembered the holiday in the early nineteenth century. On November 5, 1821, in Boston, over a hundred vehicles carrying effigies of the pope paraded through the streets, commemorating a colonial holiday which had become, for the most part, a distant memory.<sup>91</sup>

Iconoclastic acts directed at objects in churches, if rare, were probably not unknown in the colonies. In his lengthy *History of York Maine*, Charles Edward Banks relates a tale of iconoclasm perpetuated by one of York's patriarchs, the Puritan minister Samuel Moody. Banks writes,

One of his successors has aptly said that Parson Moody 'was of heroic mould.' When seventy years of age, when most men are seeking the comforts of the fireside, he went with the Provincial troops as Chaplain in the expedition under Col. William Pepperell to Cape Breton in 1745, which resulted in the capture of Louisburg, and was the beginning of the downfall of French power in America. When the fortress was surrendered he was prepared to express his Protestantism in the Roman Catholic chapel. Armed with an axe, which he called the 'Sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' he proceeded to demolish all the 'graven images' and other objects of 'papal idolatry.' The victory was now complete. Here was a disciple of Cromwell, after the Protector's own heart, an hundred years after the Puritan Commonwealth.<sup>92</sup>

For those interested in the New England Puritans and iconoclasm, Banks's story points toward an area for further study. The relationship between the Catholic culture of New France and New England Protestant culture has gone essentially unprobed by scholars of art history and material culture.<sup>93</sup> These settlements were geographically adjacent, and trade and military conflicts led to important instances of cultural interaction and confrontation. If the story that Banks recounts is true, it is part of a larger narrative of material ambivalence related to Moody's life. If today one visits the Old Burying Ground in York, Maine, one can see Moody's gravestone of 1747 [**Figure 5**]. The stone bears at its top the image of a wide-eyed cherub within a tympanum. Such stones were sanctioned material expressions, existing in competition and tension with the "graven images" that Moody is said to have destroyed in the Catholic chapel in Louisburg.<sup>94</sup> In his account of

the Siege of Louisburg published in 1747, Samuel Niles incorporates a section titled “*On the Modes of Devotion, among the French, when thus Distrest and in great Fear.*” Niles catalogues the devotional mispractices of the French and includes the lines: “Saints Statues they adore, Im’ges numberless, / . . . / To *Crosses, Cruc’fixes, Relicts* of Saints they bow / But now Besieg’d on *Pilgrimage* can’t go, / The *Shrines* of Saints, to pay their homage to. / . . . / Th’ implicit Faith, that Sons of *Rome* profess, / Is faithless Fraud, which wants words to express.”<sup>95</sup> Obviously he is writing from the perspective of New England Puritanism.

Other objects, including funerary monuments, would have given rise to a hesitancy in Puritans, if not leading to outright destructive impulses. The biblical text from which this material anxiety arose was the second commandment, found in Exodus 20:4. In the Geneva Bible, popular among New England Puritans in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the passage reads, “Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, neither any similitude *of things* that are in heauen aboue, neither that are in the earth beneath, nor that are in the waters vnder the earth.” The marginal note for the passage in numerous versions of the Geneva Bible refers the reader to Leviticus 26:1: “Ye shall make you none idoles nor grauen image, neither rear you vp any pillar, neither shal ye set any image of stone in your land to bow downe to it: for I am the Lord your God.”<sup>96</sup> In *A Testimony from the Scripture against Idolatry & Superstition* of 1672, Samuel Mather makes two distinctions concerning the prohibition of graven images, as laid out in the second commandment:

1. *That it is not meant of Images for Civil use, but for worship; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them.* For the Civil use of Images is lawful for the representation and remembrance of a person absent, for honour and Civil worship of any worthy person, as also for ornament, but the scope of the Command is against Images in State and use religious.

2. Neither yet is it meant of all Images for religious use, but *Images of their own devising*, for God doth not forbid his own Institutions, but only our inventions . . .<sup>97</sup>

This juxtaposition of allowable and disallowable representations can be found time and time again in various writings from England and New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Some writers stated outright their disapproval of any sort of devotional act related to the dead. In 1707, Increase Mather argued that “to praise the dead is to praise corruptible flesh. . . .to praise memory is to worship the dead.”<sup>98</sup>

In most cases, though, representations for “remembrance of a person absent, for honour and Civil worship of any worthy person” were understood as permissible, and funerary monuments would have fallen into this class of objects. As we will see, many monuments from colonial New England refer either textually or pictorially to the deceased as a “pillar,” and all of the monuments still standing are made of some sort of stone. This begs the question, then, of how early New Englanders, most of who knew the Bible well and were therefore undoubtedly familiar with the above passages and/or ministerial interpretations of them, would have approached funerary monuments. Would they have stood, bowed, or knelt before them to inspect the images and inscriptions? Or would they have wondered if they were committing an idolatrous act by assuming such postures? How would they have felt and what would they have had on their minds?

The British poet and antiquarian John Weever, not a Puritan but certainly a Protestant, composed some interesting lines concerning the utility of and risks involved with surveying funerary monuments. His *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments*, published in London in 1631, is among the first comprehensive collections of information about funerary monuments in the English language.<sup>99</sup> Then, as now, funerary monuments disappeared and were obliterated at a staggering rate, and Weever attempted to record

and recover all that he could. The majority of the text comprises a collection of English, Scottish, and Irish epitaphs, about which Weever writes:

Of all funerall honours (saith *Camden*) Epitaphs haue alwayes beene most respectiue; for in them loue was shewed to the deceased, memorie was continued to posteritie, friends were comforted, and the Reader put in minde of humane frailtie: and indeed the frequent visiting, and aduised reuiewing of the Tombes and monuments of the dead (but without all touch of superstition) with the often reading, serious perusall, and diligent meditation of wise and religious Epitaphs or inscriptions, found vpon the tombes or monuments, of persons of approued vertue, merit, and honour, is a great motiue to bring us to repentance.<sup>100</sup>

In the midst of a description of the value of spending time looking at monuments, Weever inserts the phrase, “but without all touch of superstition.” How might one look at an object “without all touch of superstition”? How does one pay homage to the content of the funerary monument, that is to say, to the life of the virtuous individual or individuals that the monument represents, without worshipping the monument itself? Weever goes on to relate the following story:

I reade in the Storehouse of Times, *lib.8.cap.12. Part.1.* that a Master bearing his Slaue neere to the Temple of *Apollo*; the Slaue fled from him, and knowing that the Temple afforded refuge, ranne thereinto, and mounting vp to the Altar embraced the image His Lord pursued him, and hauing forcibly recouered him from the Statue without any reuerence of the place, began againe to giue him many Bastonadoes. The seruant fled from him once more, and ranne to saue himselfe at the Tombe of his Lords deceased Father: but then, in meere paternall dutie, he left punishing him any more, and pardoned him the fault which hee had committed. In such reuerend and religious regard the very Pagans had the Tombes of their Ancestours.<sup>101</sup>

Weever attempts to show that even pagans, culturally inferior beings to the majority of seventeenth-century Protestants, could understand the difference between idolatry and appropriate devotional material practices. For embracing the statue of a god in a temple, a master beats his slave. When the very same slave flees and seeks refuge at the tomb of his master’s father, the master not only does not beat him, he additionally forgives him for running away. The moral of the story, clearly, is that some acts of material devotion are permissible or even virtuous, whereas others are not.

As someone who studies and writes about funerary monuments, Weever surely wants to make the claim that it is okay to do so, and we must bear this in mind. We must also recognize that antiquarians in Protestant cultures themselves became the subject of critiques—and they were even labeled idolaters. Consider portions of the description of “An Antiquary” contained in an English book of characters dating to 1633: “He is of our Religion, because wee say it is most ancient; and yet a broken Statue would almost make him an Idolater. . . .Hee will goe you forty miles to see a Saints Well, or a ruin’d Abbey, and if there be but a Crosse or stone footstoole in the way, hee’l be considering it so long, till he forget his journey.”<sup>102</sup> Because he was an antiquarian, we may consider Weever to have been more materialistic than the average Protestant. This should not necessarily lead us, though, to disqualify the relevance of his comments for Protestants in the colonies. As far as I can tell, he is a Protestant believer, and he thought there were important distinctions between different kinds of objects and practices. The frontispiece in *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments* includes an engraved portrait by Thomas Cecill, in which Weever appears with his left hand resting upon a skull **[Figure 6]**. We might regard the lines below the portrait as explaining Weever’s endeavor in terms of vocation, a task at once scholarly and personal: “*Lancashire gave him breath, / And Cambridge education. / His studies are of Death. / Of Heaven his meditation.*” The portrait recalls the *Self Portrait* of Thomas Smith, dating to about 1680 and in the Worcester Art Museum, among the best-known paintings of a seventeenth-century New Englander. The Smith *Self Portrait* has been the subject of several interesting studies. Roger B. Stein, Max Cavitch, and, most recently, Promey, have analyzed the portrait in terms of the sitter’s relationship to death and various period modes of self-representation.<sup>103</sup>

Weever returns to the complexities of material practice for his contemporaries, seventeenth-century British Protestants, his final comment on this subject:

But to come to our selues; What concourse of people come daily, to view the liuely Statues and stately Monuments in Westminster Abbey? wherein the sacred ashes of so many of the Lords anointed, beside other great Potentates are entombed. A sight which brings delight and admiration, and strikes a religious apprehension into the mindes of the beholders.

We desire likewise to behold the mournfull ruines of other religious houses, although their goodly faire structures bee altogether destroyed, their tombes battered downe, and the bodies of their dead cast out of their coffins; for that, that very earth which did sometimes couer the corps of the defunct, puts vs in minde of our mortalitie, and consequently brings vs to vnfaigned repentance. What numbers of Citizens and others at this very time, go to Lesnes Abbey in Kent, to see some few coffins there lately found in her ruines, wherein are the remaines of such as haue beene there anciently interred; of which, when I come to speake of her Foundation.

Neither can we passe by, but with yearning hearts looke vpon that fattened soile (the fertile seed-plot of the Church) which in former times hath beene sprinkled with the blood, blackt with the cinders, and strawne with the ashes, of those blessed Saints, who for the profession of the Gospell, by sword, fire, and fagot, haue suffered most cruell martyrdom: giuing reuerence and honour to their memories, because by their sufferings true Religion was propagated, and all idolatrie demolished: which we may lawfully do, as vnto Gods chiefe champions standing vnto death for the truth. And as vnto men whom God hath aduanced into the society of his Angels in heauen; giuing also thanks, at these Martyrs and Saints solemne feasts, to God for their victories, endeauoring the attainment of such crownes and glories as they haue already attained; with other religious performances due vnto them, as ornaments of their memories. Prouided alwayes that we do not intermixe our deuotions with superstitious adoration.<sup>104</sup>

The closing note here, as in the two preceding passages we have examined, is one of exhortation. Protestants should pay visits to the tombs of family members, friends and others, but they should be careful about what they do there. They might enact “religious performances” for the deceased; they should not, however, “intermixe deuotions with superstitious adoration,” whatever that means. One discerns a kind of nervousness in Weever, due to his repeating the exhortation in several different places in his text. It seems likely that other Protestants, whether in old or New England, would have shared his sense of anxiety. That those meditational practices taking place in burying grounds, whether reading the monuments or meditating on skulls, would have been both emotionally and intellectually charged.



One document has come down to us in which a known Puritan, John Cotton, explains the ambivalence that could be involved in meditating on human remains in a burying ground. Cotton discusses this practice in the context of a debate over “set formes of prayer”—whether, or in which contexts, standardized prayers or certain kinds of material help for prayer were admissible:

A man passing through a burying place may see a dead mans scalpe cast up, and thereby take occasion from the present object to meditate (for the present) on his mortality, and to prepare for like change: but if he shall take up, and keepe that dead mans scalpe in his Closet, or Bed-chamber, to be an ordinary helpe to him, to put him in minde dayly of his mortality: Now in so doing he maketh an Image of it, to himselfe, by setting it a part to be an helpe to him in Gods worship; which not being sanctified and set a part by God for that end, it now becomes a sinne to him against the second Commandement in the former case, he tooke occasion to fall into a present good meditation of mortality by the present sight of an object of mortality as it was set before him occasionally by Gods providence, wherein he did well according to the 2d. *Commandement*, not to passe by such a passage of Gods providence in vaine: But in the latter case in setting it a part to be an ordinary helpe to him in such meditations or injoyning the same to others; He in so doing maketh it to him and them an Image it not being instituted, or sanctified by God but devised and set a part by man for such a spirituall end, which is forbidden in the second *Commandement*.<sup>105</sup>

Cotton’s circuitous explanation may not have been that of the average Puritan, but it shows the ways in which thinking about and articulating the differences between acceptable and unacceptable material practices could leave both mind and pen in knots. That there were skulls, bones, or other pieces of human corpses in burying grounds in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in both England and New England is undeniable, and they were surely available for this practice. In 1689, Samuel Sewall wrote in his diary of an English graveyard, “We saw several Graves open and Bones thick on the Top.”<sup>106</sup> We know little, however, about the specific uses of skulls. We do not know, for example, whether people would have taken skulls inside their homes as an aid to their devotions, the practice against which Cotton cautions. This point leads us, though, to begin to acknowledge the differences in the material realities of the burying ground landscape for early New Englanders. For those of us who visit the grounds today, there are no skulls or

bones lying around. Bodies were typically buried only two or three feet deep during the colonial period and could be exposed by frost heaving, or digging animals. This is one of a number of important differences between past and present. And I would now like to turn to the colonial landscape.

## CHAPTER II: THE BURYING GROUND AS COLONIAL LANDSCAPE

The burying grounds of early New England were not designed, at least not in the sense that later American cemeteries were. The colonists did set aside land for burials, usually not long after settling in a particular area, though there seem to have been no preconceptions for the spaces and no ground plans were ever drawn up. The spaces and their arrangement were locally variable and developed without deliberate charting. The main burying grounds in most New England towns and cities belonged to the Puritans, and these can be seen on early maps of the region. A map of Cambridge, Massachusetts, of about 1742, depicts the Old Burying Ground as filled with stick figures or tree-like forms.<sup>107</sup> James Wadsworth's map of New Haven of 1748 includes a representation of that city's burying ground as it originally stood in the centermost square of a nine square plan [**Figures 7a and 7b**]. The square in question is littered with gravestones, tombstones, and tablestones, sprawling, irregularly grouped and uncontained.<sup>108</sup> Ezra Stiles depicted the New Haven burying ground in a map entitled "A Plan of New Haven and Harbour 1775." Stiles's representation includes an octagonal enclosure, surrounding the stones and better defining the space.<sup>109</sup> Henry T. Blake records that the enclosure was a "plain board fence painted red."<sup>110</sup> That mapmakers included the burying grounds indicates their being not only literally a part of the land, but also a part of land as it was reconceived and represented as something knowable and subject to mental consumption.

The history of the New England landscape after the English landing was characterized by a ravenous deforestation. Upon arrival in the early seventeenth century, the colonists “conquered” the forests, chopping down trees at an alarming rate.<sup>111</sup> Land accrued value only as it was “improved,” and thus the trees came down, becoming buildings, fences, firewood, and an important export.<sup>112</sup> The great majority of colonial New Englanders were involved in agriculture, and the land was turned over to crops and livestock. Between 1630 and 1800, William Cronon estimates that New Englanders burned more than two hundred and sixty million cords of firewood.<sup>113</sup> He writes, “A typical New England household probably consumed as much as thirty or forty cords of firewood per year, which can best be visualized as a stack of wood four feet wide, four feet high, and three hundred feet long.”<sup>114</sup> In the words of Francis Higginson, writing in 1630, “A poor servant here [i.e. in New England] that is to possesse but 50 Acres of land, may afford to give more wood for Timber and Fire as good as the world yeelds, then many Noble men in *England* can afford to do.”<sup>115</sup> The settled landscape quickly became basically devoid of trees, and this would have impacted the colonial burying ground experience. Whereas today New England’s burying grounds often include flowers, shrubs and/or small groups if not groves of shady trees, the burying grounds were originally vacuous when it came to substantial plant life. There may have been grasses, weeds, mosses, or bramble.

Rudy J. Favretti has demonstrated that a highly orchestrated “ornamentation” of towns, burying grounds, and cemeteries with plants and trees would not come about until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>116</sup> As opposed to the burying ground, the conception of the cemetery in New England would depend on the idea of ornamentation.

An elderly man, mindful of the labor that went into bringing down the region's forests, commented on the program of organic ornamentation in Litchfield, Connecticut: "We have worked so hard in our day, and just finished getting the woods cleared off, and now they are bringing the trees back again!"<sup>117</sup> The bringing back of trees has left its mark on many of New England's burying grounds, the Old Burying Ground in Chester, Vermont, being one example. One can see there an early gravestone embedded in a large tree [Figure 8]. The tree was probably positioned as a sapling, originally with plenty of room between itself and the gravestone. As the tree matured, developing its trunk and thick root structure, it found there was no place to grow but through the gravestone. Monuments partially embedded in trees can be found in burying grounds all over New England, an indication that trees commonly came later.<sup>118</sup> Several articles exist dealing with the New England burying ground as landscape. As I see it, though, none of these does justice to the full range of relevant issues.<sup>119</sup> Two topics that are among the most important for understanding the burying ground as colonial landscape are in need of further consideration: colonial fencing practices and wolf stones. I focus on these topics in the pages that follow.

### **To Fence, To Improve**

In addition to the monuments filling the colonial burying grounds, the other most significant material expression found there was the ground's enclosure. The bulk of such enclosures were wooden fences of various kinds, given the aforementioned supply of native lumber. Stone walls sometimes served in the place of wooden fences, though they were not widely built until after the period of the American Revolution.<sup>120</sup> For colonists

fences were both functional and symbolic structures. To fence the land was, generally speaking, to improve it. Robert Blair St. George has documented the different types of land in seventeenth-century New England. Land was not uniformly valuable, but became more or less valuable depending upon its state of improvement. He writes,

In seventeenth-century town rates, different values attached to lands marked as ‘wastes,’ ‘unbroken,’ ‘broken,’ or ‘improved.’ . . . Of greater value was broken land, fields that had been meticulously surveyed, subdivided, cleared, plowed, and manured, but that at the particular time of valuation lay fallow, their potential at rest. Improved land, or land currently in cultivation and thus showing the hours of labor spent by the yeoman in its preparation and upkeep, was worth the most. Improved land was land that was properly ‘dressed.’ An apt metaphor for productive lands, ‘improvement’ was also the goal of the moral life: to exploit to the fullest that which God had provided.<sup>121</sup>

St. George also notes that “‘fenced lands’ were typically worth twice the value of ‘unfenced land.’”<sup>122</sup> The double notion of improvement to which he refers is especially relevant for understanding the burying grounds as pieces of fenced land. Improvement was the aim of both material existence and moral life. Fenced land was improved land, and early New Englanders went to the burying grounds to improve themselves. Although all burying grounds were not always immediately fenced, through time the erection and upkeep of the grounds’ fences became a major priority. Susan Allport asserts, “Fencing of all kinds came to be seen as an unquestionable good, proof of man’s intention to improve his lot.”<sup>123</sup>

To fence was also to protect. Fences could protect that which was within, whether it be crops, livestock, or other property, from that which was without, or vice versa. Anne Stillman writes, “For the early colonists of New England, the fence was a fundamental element of survival. High fences enclosed the earliest settlements and protected them from attack. Of equal importance, fences protected the food supply from being devoured by domestic animals.”<sup>124</sup> Allport has called New England’s fences and walls the “*sine qua non* of a mixed husbandry of crops and domesticated animals.”<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, the

claim to land ownership was directly related to whether or not land had been fenced. “Common” land, in contrast, was unfenced, and it was both everyone’s and no one’s.<sup>126</sup> Stillman claims, “Fences also became part of a complex legal argument the colonists used to justify their claim to Native American land.”<sup>127</sup> John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, exploited this connotation of fencing:

That which lies common, and hath never beene replenished or subdued is free to any that possess and improve it. . . .As for the Natives in New England, they inclose no land, neither have any settled habytation, nor any tame Cattle to improve land by, and soe have no other but a Naturall Right to those Countries, soe as if we leave them sufficient for their use, we may lawfully take the rest, there being more than enough for them and us.<sup>128</sup>

After a fashion, the Native Americans were forced either to adopt the colonists’ ideas about fencing or to face continuing confiscation of lands unfenced. In many towns in colonial New England, communal fences were built to enclose large planting fields, and individuals or families were each provided with a piece of land and were responsible for erecting a section of fence. Local and colony-wide laws would soon demand that fences be well maintained.<sup>129</sup>

Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, first published in 1719, is an excellent account of the tasks and experiences associated with colonial husbandry, and it contains several remarkable passages concerning the uses and meanings of fencing.<sup>130</sup> Consider, for instance, the following paragraphs:

I was now in the months of November and December, expecting my crop of barley and rice. The ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great; for, as I observed, my seed of each was not above the quantity of half a peck; for I had lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season; but now my crop promised very well, when on a sudden I found I was in danger of losing it all again by enemies of several sorts, which it was scarce possible to keep from it; as first, the goats, and wild creatures which I called hares, which, tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and ate it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalks.

This I saw no remedy for but by making an enclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil; and the more, because it required a great deal of speed; the creatures daily spoiling my corn. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it totally well fenced in about three weeks time, and shooting some of the creatures in the daytime, I set my dog to guard it in the night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long; so in a little time the

enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen apace.<sup>131</sup>

Not long after his successful hedging endeavor, birds come after Crusoe's crops, demonstrating one limitation of his sturdy, earthbound enclosure. The hedge stands, nevertheless, as a structure that orders the land and protects the crops. Without it the crops would not mature, and Crusoe would not attain a sense of security about the basic human need for food. Later in the book Crusoe organizes and rears a flock of goats, and in the process of domesticating them once again discovers the value of the fence:

But then it presently occurred to me, that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only way for this was to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced either with hedge or pale, to keep them up so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in.<sup>132</sup>

Crusoe wants to keep the civilized goats from the uncivilized goats here, realizing that those animals with no sense of decorum might also lead the others back to a state of wildness. The fence stands as a mechanism of separation and order. To maintain a fence and to maintain order was an enormous task, which Crusoe shows in speaking of the fence he has built for the goats:

Adjoining to this I had my enclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats: and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and enclose this ground, I was so uneasy to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till with infinite labour I had stuck the outside of the edge so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to a put a hand through between them, which afterwards, when those stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong, like a wall; indeed stronger than any wall.<sup>133</sup>

Like all constructions standing outside, fences were subject to the weather, including extremes of hot and cold, as well as precipitation. And animals fenced in or out would regularly damage colonial fences. Such conditions demanded that the owners of fences constantly attend to them and keep them in good repair. One's material welfare depended largely upon the state of one's fences.



Maintenance of the burying ground enclosures of colonial New England is the most popular topic related to these spaces in the archival record. In virtually every town history, one can find the story of how a burying ground came to be selected and then fenced, and of the ensuing battle to maintain it.<sup>134</sup> Gordon E. Geddes writes, “The town assumed responsibility for the care of the graveyard. Primarily this meant fencing the area to keep out the swine whose rampant rooting was a perennial problem in New England towns, and preventing the area from becoming overgrown with weeds.”<sup>135</sup> Various animals were allowed to graze in the burying grounds to the latter end. The town of Dorchester, Massachusetts, designated its first burying ground in 1633, and it was originally enclosed “with doble rayle and clere bord pale.”<sup>136</sup> In his will of 1661, William Blake gave “unto the Town of Dorchester twenty shillings to be bestowed for ye repairing of ye Burying Place so yt swine and other vermine may not anoy ye graves of ye Saints.”<sup>137</sup> The town of Dorchester decided to replace its wooden fence in 1674, always in need of repairs, with a stone wall.<sup>138</sup> Geddes has pointed out that maintenance of the burying grounds and their enclosures was “often obtained by the town in exchange for allotting the use of the land for grazing to some party, usually for a period of four or five years.”<sup>139</sup> Thomas Allen acquired this right in Middletown in 1658. He received four years of grazing rights, at the end of which he was contracted to leave “a good sufficient fence of post and rayle” that was to be kept “from any damage by swine.”<sup>140</sup> In Milton, Massachusetts, Josiah How agreed to “improve our Burying Place for the space of five years, by feeding of sheep to subdue the bushes and briars that are therein.”<sup>141</sup>

Blanche Linden-Ward has documented additional agreements concerning the upkeep of burying grounds in and around Boston. She points out, for example, that in

1703 the city of Boston charged George Ripley with the responsibility of “watering the bulls” kept “by night in the burrying place.” In 1713 James Williams persuaded the selectmen “to Lett unto him the grass of Ye South burying place” for forty shillings. He agreed, in return, to pay for any damage “wch may happen to the graves by reason of the Cows going there.” In 1718 William Young paid the city fifteen shillings “for his Cows grazeing in the Old Burying place the Last Summer.” In 1758 John Ramstead paid three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence for rights to the “Herbage” in the South burying ground.<sup>142</sup> The town of Roxbury, in the vicinity of Boston, has records of a similar letting out of its burying ground. In that town in 1654, it was recorded that following “a voat consarning the burying place Mr John Alcok was granted liberty to fed the burying place he keping the sayd burying place in good and sufficyent fenc and a gate with a locke and two kieas.”<sup>143</sup> The Roxbury burying ground became overcrowded in 1725, when Colonel Joseph Lamb “donated a quarter of an acre of land at the northwestern corner to enlarge the burying ground, reserving the right to the ‘herbage thereof.’”<sup>144</sup> Again in the mid-eighteenth century, those in charge of Roxbury would vote to “Lett as Usual the Herbage” in the burying ground.<sup>145</sup>

According to Allport, there were also “fence viewers” during colonial times, appointed officials who periodically inspected the town’s fences to “see that the fence be sett in good reparaire, or else complain of it.”<sup>146</sup> These officials would undoubtedly have inspected burying ground enclosures. Grazing animals were put to pasture, keeping short and tidy the plant life in the burying grounds of New England until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. By that time many of the grounds had become drastically overused and/or in disrepair. The people of New England began to believe that “issues of

sanitation if not public health” demanded the separation of the living (including animals) and the dead.<sup>147</sup> In 1794 the town selectmen in Roxbury, for instance, voted that the burying ground would no longer be “fed with Creatures.”<sup>148</sup> With the rural cemetery movement, the spaces of the dead were to be moved to the outskirts of cities and towns and were carefully planned from their beginnings. Towns continued to repair many burying ground enclosures, even if the grounds themselves were no longer used for burials. During the town of Roxbury’s 1794 vote just mentioned, the selectmen also decided that the burying ground’s fence should be fixed.<sup>149</sup>

A large number of the earliest grave markers in New England, like most burying ground enclosures, were made of wood. Recall the abundant supply of native timber in colonial New England. Not one of these markers now survives, though there is extensive archival evidence for wooden grave markers, and examples still exist in the southern colonies and in England.<sup>150</sup> Frederick Burgess has noticed that “Georgian topographical engravings of churchyards” include “monuments of wood, resembling a rail between two uprights, which at first sight seem part of a broken fence.”<sup>151</sup> I have yet to come across any of these engravings, however. Benno M. Forman was the first scholar to uncover primary sources referencing wooden markers in New England. In 1968 he published a short article based on a handful of documents from Essex County, Massachusetts, in which wooden grave markers are mentioned. One document is the account book of John Gould of Topsfield, which dates between 1697 and 1724. On July 13, 1710, Gould entered as a credit to the account of Samuel Symonds, a joiner from Rowley Village, the following items: “to two frams set on fathers and mothers grave— 0-16-0 I must pay for the frams aboue sd.”<sup>152</sup> Forman finds additional references to wooden grave markers in

the probate records of Essex County. Among the items for the burial of William Woodcock and his son, which took place in November 1669 in Salem, were “posts for the graves, 14 s.”<sup>153</sup> In June 1680, the payment for the burial of Joseph Armitage of Lynn includes “coffin rail and digging the grave, 14 s.”<sup>154</sup>

Benes extended Forman’s study in 1975, recovering additional evidence about wooden grave markers in the Suffolk and Middlesex County (Massachusetts) probate records, as well as offering some of his own projections and reconstructions. Benes notes that many of the immigrants to Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex County came from the “heavily wooded southeastern counties” of England, “where grave boards were most common.”<sup>155</sup> It is probable, therefore, that the tradition was simply transplanted to New England, where wood was also plentiful. The earliest mention of wooden markers in these records dates to 1675, though there are also references to even earlier purchases. The records include the following phrases that seem to refer to wooden markers: “for Rayles Carrying & other Charges” (Dorchester, 1658); “For a coffin and Raile” (Boston, 1660); “Coffinne & Raile” (Boston, 1664); “Coffinne & Rayles” (Roxbury, 1664); “Post c. Rayles” (Boston, 1665); “for a chest & coffin posts & rayles” (Boston, 1668); “For a coffin & Railes for the Grave” (1669); “For a Coffin and Post” (1669); “To a coffin & rayles” (1669); “to Mr. Carter Joiner for the Coffine posts” (1672); “To a Coffin & Rayle” (Boston, 1673); “To a Coffin & Posts” (1675); “To Lt. Remington for 2 posts” (Cambridge, 1679).<sup>156</sup>

Based on the textual references he has assembled, Benes hypothesizes that most of the wooden markers in New England “closely resembled a fence segment.”<sup>157</sup> He also maintains that “for every pair of posts and rails mentioned in the Suffolk and Middlesex

probate records, there were probably one or two hundred (or more) that were not.”<sup>158</sup> He imagines the scene of burying grounds populated with wooden markers:

It was a field of waist-high, wooden posts standing singly or in pairs, some pairs connected by rails or by boards. Most of the posts were probably crude logs; but some may have been turned on a lathe, or square hewn, or shaped and decorated according to current architectural fashion. Initials and dates may have been carved on the posts; names, dates, doggerel verse, and mortality or spirit symbols may have been carved or painted on the connecting rails. To walk among them was to walk in a garden of signposts, signboards, and fence sections arranged in rows and occasional clusters.<sup>159</sup>

It must have been this type of monument that Samuel Sewall encountered when in 1702 he stopped to view the burying ground in Plymouth. He writes of seeing “Mr. Walley’s Epitaph on a Rail broken off and tumbled about.” He then read and recorded the epitaph, though only with great difficulty.<sup>160</sup> Although we cannot be certain, it seems probable that some wooden markers survived well into the eighteenth or nineteenth century, across the entire period with which I am dealing in this essay.

A visual dialogue existed between wooden markers and the burying grounds’ fences. As we have seen, the fence form itself, of uprights and rail courses, had several important meanings for early New Englanders. Fences were indicators of structure and improvement. They stood for protection and organization, and they endowed land with value. If they divided parcels of land one from another, it was for the good of both individual property holders and the community at large. Individual wooden markers might be seen as like unto the fences framing them. As a fundamental part of the burying ground, they were about improvement, order, and value. The colonists who went there could consider the lives of the individuals now deceased and see in the form of their monuments that such meditations could effect their own improvement. This was true whether or not wooden markers carried instructive epitaphs or pictures. The formal echo of fence in marker would itself have enacted St. George’s and Allport’s point that fencing

was about “productive lands” and “improving one’s lot.” Just as the fences organized the grounds, so the markers organized lives, past, present, and future. The dead were improved to the point of perfection, and the living who viewed the monuments of the dead could order or improve themselves by following their examples.<sup>161</sup> On a related note, Burgess has recorded that in England local landowners were responsible for fencing the churchyards in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The responsibility there was distributed among many men, and the fences sometimes bore personal markings: “For instance, at Cowfold, 1636, the fence was maintained by eighty-one individuals whose initials were cut on their particular rails.”<sup>162</sup>

Nineteenth-century observers found New England’s burying grounds to be emblematic of disease and disorder, and they used the grounds’ latter-day shabby appearance to argue for burial space reform. In *Travels in New England and New York*, Timothy Dwight makes various criticisms of the state of Connecticut’s burying grounds around the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1796 Dwight describes in derogatory terms New Haven’s burying ground, an image of which we observed in James Wadsworth’s map of 1748. Dwight is pleased to report that “a preparation is in this instance happily made for removing finally the monuments in the ancient burying ground, and thus freeing one of the most beautiful squares in the world from so improper appendage.”<sup>163</sup> In 1795 the Reverend John Pierce writes of the New Haven green: “The beauty of the green is greatly impaired by the Burial ground in the centre, which, it is contemplated, to hide from public view by weeping willows.”<sup>164</sup> The monuments were removed in July 1821 and relocated to the new Grove Street Cemetery, the plan for which was highly influential and widely copied in the nineteenth century. Dwight also describes the

burying ground in Guilford, Connecticut, where he traveled during the year 1800: “[Guilford’s] square, like that in New Haven, is deformed by a burying ground, and to add to the deformity is unenclosed. The graves are therefore trampled upon and the monuments injured both by men and cattle.”<sup>165</sup> After complaining of how “familiar” the burying ground renders death, Dwight goes on to raise the question of health: “Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the proximity of these sepulchral fields to human habitations is injurious to health. Some of them have, I believe, been found to be offensive and will probably be allowed to have been noxious.”<sup>166</sup>

Whereas earlier writers seem to emphasize the spiritual value of looking upon the remains of deceased persons, whether skulls, bones, or otherwise, in the late eighteenth century towns in New England began passing laws to cleanse burial sites of such overt evidence of corporeal decay. In 1786, Boston selectmen ordered that henceforth coffins must be buried at least three feet deep. The legislation also stated that “no Bones or part of Skelletons are suffered to remain on the surface or Tombs & Graves left open to injure the health or the feelings of the Inhabitants, or to offend the Eye of a Stranger who may incline to take a view of our Burial Places.”<sup>167</sup> Was a concern for physical health trumping or supplanting a concern for spiritual health? Were science and modernity encroaching on religion and the premodern?

A short piece that appeared in the August 1805 issue of *The Literary Magazine, and American Register*, contains another, similar diatribe against the burying grounds. Someone identified only as “W.” composed the article, which contains the following lines wherein the “rustic cemetery” is preferred to the burying ground:

When I walk amidst the woods and groves which have been reared and fostered by my own care, there is a pleasing melancholy in the thought of reposing beneath their protecting shade, when the hand that planted them lives no more. How different an

asylum to that with which the crowded churchyard presents us; where the avarice of the living confines within narrow limits the repository of the dead; where the confused medley of graves seems like the wild arrangement of some awful convulsion of the earth. Humanity recoils at the thought of lying down amidst so confused a multitude, and sighs for a peaceful grave!<sup>168</sup>

The most important recorder of epitaphs in nineteenth-century New England, Thomas Bridgman also complained of the state of the burying grounds. In the introduction to a volume of epitaphs from Copp's Hill Burying Ground in Boston, Bridgman writes,

There was a period in the burial history of our country which reflects no honor on a Christian land; especially when we remember that the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, and even the Turks, in their cypress-planted cemeteries, ever honored the ashes of the dead. It seemed not enough to erect temples to God, without regard to any order of architecture, without form or comeliness, looking like steepled barns, and then to use them for unholy purposes and town meetings; but, in too many instances, the very churchyards were neglected, unfenced and uncared for, the graves exposed to horses, cattle, and dogs, not a tree nor a flower suffered to shade or bloom there, and neither walk nor path laid out among the falling, stragglng stones, for the pensive mourner to muse over a loved one, or drop a tear over his grave. The sexton appeared to be the only frequent visitant to the spot; the first with his spade and pick to disturb the solitude of the scene after the funeral procession had buried the dead out of their sight and gone home. This is no colored nor fanciful description of hundreds of village churchyards, within twenty years past, on the hills and in the valleys of New England. Are there not, even at this day, such desecrated spots of burial in some of our neighboring cities? Let Worcester and Roxbury answer!<sup>169</sup>

Bridgman is clearly not familiar with, neither does he care about, the writings of Pearse, Pain, Mather, or Hervey that I have cited above, writings that imply that early New Englanders likely undertook material meditations in the burying grounds. The sexton would not have been the grounds' "only frequent visitant."

There are many other written examples of the nineteenth century's distaste for the state of colonial burying grounds. William Bentley of Salem, Massachusetts, described one of the burying grounds in Portsmouth, New Hampshire: "Grave point has an antient graveyard in the greatest confusion and tho' the monuments of the best families are to be found in it they are in the utmost neglect."<sup>170</sup> In 1831 another writer commented that "the burying place continues to be the most neglected spot in all the region, distinguished from other fields only by its leaning stones and the meanness of its enclosures, without a



tree or shrub to take from it the air of utter desolation.”<sup>171</sup> John Carver wrote in 1842 that New England’s “places of sepulture” are “as a common thing. . . .too much neglected.”<sup>172</sup> Like these others, John Greenleaf Whittier composed verses without regarding the values of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. He laments (what he perceives as) an empty Puritan aesthetics in the opening stanzas of his poem “The Old Burying-Ground”:

Our vales are sweet with fern and rose,  
Our hills are maple-crowned;  
But not from them our fathers chose  
The village burying-ground.

The dreariest spot in all the land  
To Death they set apart;  
With scanty grace from Nature’s hand,  
And none from that of art.<sup>173</sup>

Artless, dreary, desolate, neglected, confused, and the list goes on. These adjectives are used time and time again by nineteenth-century writers to describe the burying grounds of early New England. Such writers were not so much concerned with how it was for the colonials as they were with how it was for them. They anticipated and then celebrated the materialization of two new cemeteries that would become models for many others, not only in the northeast but throughout the United States: Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven, founded in 1796, and Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, established in 1831. Both cemeteries were planned from the beginning, included carefully arranged trees and other plant life, individuated family plots, as well as paths, railings, benches, and other features that colonial burying grounds lacked.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, local governing bodies and private individuals instituted programs to alter burying grounds to conform to new sensibilities. Bridgman discusses changes made to several of Boston’s burying grounds. He writes of Copp’s Hill in 1851:

Since the appearance of Copp's Hill in 1630, as described by Dr. Snow, the features of the place have undergone a great change. . . .The grounds have been laid out in regular alleys and gravel paths, and embellished with a great variety of native forest-trees, some of which are of stately growth. The gravestones of many generations have been raised up, and numerous seats located under shady branches, where the aged and weary may pause, and the mourner find a quiet resting-place. Yet it is to be lamented, that the mounds and hillocks of the dead have been cut down to an unnatural level, and so many stones misplaced to form a geometrical row on the borders of the paths.<sup>174</sup>

The nineteenth century had its own methods of ordering burial spaces, including installing paths and benches and planting trees.<sup>175</sup> As Bridgman attests, nineteenth-century New Englanders also liked to move funerary monuments in order to reorganize them into neat rows. In the 1630s, Copp's Hill was the home of a large windmill and called Windmill Hill by the earliest settlers; it must have had no or next to no trees at that time. By the 1870s, due to "city-led beautification projects," no less than one hundred and eighty shade trees grew in the burying ground.<sup>176</sup> Bridgman writes of the Granary in 1856:

The most striking feature of the Granary Burial Ground, is the fine row of trees which fronts it on Tremont Street, eleven in number. . . .These beautiful trees are said to have been planted by Major Adino Paddock and Mr. John Ballard in 1762. . . .But though admirably shaded in front by these fine trees, the ancient burial ground itself was, till about thirty years since, destitute of any similar ornament. It has within that period been greatly embellished by a dense plantation of trees and shrubbery, made at private expense, under the superintendence of Mr. Andrew Belknap.<sup>177</sup>

The burying grounds must have looked very different to the colonists, before all of these changes took place.<sup>178</sup>

Later scholars have taken up the point of view of nineteenth-century observers vis-à-vis burying grounds, and they have also created misleading interpretations of the spaces. John R. Stilgoe is one writer who has unwittingly assumed the stance of the nineteenth-century critic of colonial culture. He writes,

The Roxbury graveyard was a wilderness in the midst of shaped space and structure, a chaos that gave every passerby a terrible reminder of death. Weeds and English grass obscured the stones except where paths were worn, and many markers leaned half-topped by frost. A graveyard such as that so carelessly abandoned in Roxbury was more than a memento mori. It was a carefully articulated emblem of the wildness of

personified death. To the Puritan, life was represented by the town, by the cleared and cultivated land; death was represented by the wilderness. Every graveyard, then, was intentionally chaotic, intentionally representative of sudden pierces, stranglings, great disorders, darkness, and horror.<sup>179</sup>

Stilgoe's commitment to the mytho-poetics of writing and interpretation regularly comes at the expense of historicity. A fine line divides mythology from lies, and it is perhaps no accident that he cites no documents from the period to confirm his interpretations. Such comments, from both the nineteenth century and later, say more about contemporary concerns and the reinvention(s) of the colonial past than they do about colonial situation itself. The neo-Gothic version of early New England, reflected in many of the passages I have cited, derives from the works of nineteenth-century authors like Nathaniel Hawthorne.<sup>180</sup> The neo-Gothic sensibility stressed only the finality and horrors of death; for early New Englanders, however, death was also an entrance to another world, a promising new beginning.

Many of the scholars I have cited make virtually no attempt to understand the burying grounds as the colonists would have understood them; this is not the project of most of these authors, in any case. For the colonists who built and used burying grounds, the grounds were not "intentionally chaotic" or "intentionally representative of sudden pierces, stranglings, great disorders, darkness, and horror." They were, on the contrary, evocative of the need or will to order. The grounds were spaces of and about stability and orderliness. Just as the nineteenth-century communities had particular ways of ordering cemeteries, whether through organic ornamentation, installing benches and walks, or putting stones in neat rows, early New Englanders made regular efforts to order their burial places. Countless archival references to repairing fences and allowing animals to graze in burying grounds indicate this. Almost every archival mention of the grounds

predating the late eighteenth century is related to fencing and/or ordering them—and the fence is a material form, like many in early New England, with both practical and symbolic dimensions. Whether or not the colonists always succeeded in maintaining order in their burying grounds is a different question. I think what matters most here is that they were all the time concerned with or in the process of establishing order. Indeed, as we have seen in probing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century comments about the grounds, narratives and negotiations of improvement become the very basis for the burying grounds' histories.

### **Wolf Stones**

The colonial impetus to order that I have described assumed material forms in addition to fences, of which wolf stones are one of the most important. Wolf stones are sometimes mentioned in the literature on early New England burying grounds and gravestones, though they remain as yet unstudied in any kind of depth. Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel are among the authors who mention wolf stones: “Another early manner of marking graves was with a large, flat, horizontal stone. Such slabs, or ‘wolf stones’ as they were sometimes called, were placed over a newly dug grave to prevent animals from disturbing the burial. The vast majority of them were left uncarved and in fact may have been moved from burial to burial as the need arose.”<sup>181</sup> In reference to the burying grounds of the New Hampshire seacoast, Glenn A. Knoblock observes, “Also common were plain stones, placed over a fresh grave to prevent animals from disturbing the remains. These ‘wolf stones’ were moved from place to place as needed.”<sup>182</sup> And Christopher J. Lenney comments, “Slabs or ‘wolf stones’ may have also been laid down

to protect graves from the depredations of animals (Examples exist in Dorchester and Salisbury MA).”<sup>183</sup> Nothing more substantial than passages such as these has found its way into the scholarly literature. As an extension of the preceding discussion of burying grounds and fencing, in what follows I will provide a more considerable discussion of wolf stones. I take into consideration the realities of the colonial landscape and try to reconstruct what these objects would have meant to the colonists. I focus on wolf stones still in situ and on a nineteenth-century drawing of a burying ground that appears to include wolf stones. I have relied on local sources, including histories, to attempt to piece together a better picture of these objects and their place in the colonial world.

John Weever is one early writer who elaborates on the protective function of funerary monuments. He develops what seems to be a fanciful etymological play on the word “monument” itself, locating the root (or at least one connotation) of the word in the term “muniment,” which refers to anything serving as means of defense or protection.

Weever writes,

Now to speake properly of a Monument, as it is here in this my ensuing Treatise vnderstood, it is a receptacle or sepulchre, purposely made, erected, or built, to receiue a dead corps, and to preserue the same from violation. . . .And indeed these Funerall Monuments, in foregoeing ages, were very fittingly called muniments, in that they did defend and fence the corps of the defunct, which otherwise might haue bene pulled out of their graues by the sauage brutishnesse of wilde beasts: for as then none were buried in Townes or Cities, but either in the fields, along the high way side (to put passengers in minde, that they were like those so interred, mortall) vpon the top, or at the feet of mountaines.<sup>184</sup>

Of course Weever is writing of Great Britain rather than colonial New England, and this accounts for his implication that monuments doubled as muniments only “in foregoeing ages.” James Edmund Harting relates, “So far as can be ascertained, it appears that the wolf became extinct in England during the reign of Henry VII (1485-1509); that it survived in Scotland until 1743; and that the last of these animals was killed in Ireland

according to Richardson in 1770, or according to Sir James Emerson Tennant subsequently to 1776.”<sup>185</sup> In colonial New England, however, wolves remained a major concern well into the eighteenth century. By the end of the colonial period, they still existed in northern New England, though they were by that time more or less eradicated from the southern section of the region.<sup>186</sup>

For the first hundred and fifty or so years after their arrival, New Englanders experienced the conditions of living on a frontier. To establish order was not easy, and the colonists dealt with numerous contingencies. Many communities offered bounties for wolves, because they preyed on domesticated animals and therefore posed a threat to anyone owning livestock—a large segment of New England’s population. Hunters received bounty for delivering the heads or pelts of wolves they had killed. The bounty might take any of a number of different forms: “sometimes twopence, sometimes ten shillings, sometimes a few bushels of corn, sometimes (for Indian wolf hunters) an allotment of gunpowder and shot.”<sup>187</sup> Jon T. Coleman has recently completed a dissertation entitled “Wolves in American History,” much of which has to do with the meanings of wolves for colonial New Englanders.<sup>188</sup> Coleman argues that the wolf (its head in particular) was an important symbol, both natural and cultural, that the colonists wished to eliminate for a variety of complex reasons. Wolves not only attacked livestock, threatening the material prosperity of the colonists, they also acted the part of devilish fiends in the Bible. In Matthew 7:15, Christ mentions wolves during his Sermon on the Mount: “Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.” In Luke 10:3, Christ addresses his disciples, “Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.”<sup>189</sup> Valerie Fogleman argues that the

colonists “identified with the sheep and lambs that were the wolves’ Biblical prey.”<sup>190</sup> The notion of the wolf as a corrupting force also gained currency through the speeches and writings of many of early New England’s ministers. One minister was warned to look after “Christ’s little flock, in pastures fresh them feed / The worrying wolves shall not thy weak lambs catch . . .”<sup>191</sup> John Winthrop called himself “a poor shepherd. . . among the small flock of sheep I daily fold in this distant part of the wilderness. . . to secure them from the wild rapacious quadrupeds of the forest . . .”<sup>192</sup>

Although later writers might have us believe that the colonists were negligent when it came to efforts to preserve the bodies of the deceased, in point of fact they endeavored to protect the remains of the dead. As we have seen, the fence was one of these measures.<sup>193</sup> Wolves may have come into settlements in search of food, and because the bodies of the colonial dead were often only buried a few feet deep, extra measures were needed in some situations to prevent disinterment. Linden-Ward has contended that “wolves must be acknowledged as one factor influencing differences in the built environments of death.”<sup>194</sup> Of European encounters with the wolf, she writes, “The ubiquitous European wolf had a greater impact on landscape and design of towns than has previously been acknowledged. It was to keep out such animals as well as men with bad intentions that a French edict of 1695 required that all cemeteries be enclosed by solid walls with locked gates. In addition, city walls on the Continent were defensive, whereas those in England were often only administrative.”<sup>195</sup> What Linden-Ward says of the relationship to wolves on the European mainland can also be said of colonial New England. In the 1840s, a Massachusetts resident recalled, “It is a well established fact that it was the custom of our ancestors, in many localities, to fill up the grave after interment

with stones that the remains might thus be protected from wolves.”<sup>196</sup> This person refers to piles of smaller stones; extant wolf stones are large and monolithic.

Among the wolf stones still in place in New England, Wequetequock Burial Ground in Stonington, Connecticut, boasts several. James A. Slater has written of this location: “It is a spot of much historical importance, for the four founders of Stonington are buried here—two of them under wolf stones! (Can you stretch your imagination and envisage the colonial fear of the yellow eyes of *Canis lupus* watching from the woodlands of this tourist-ridden area?)”<sup>197</sup> One of the founders to whom Slater refers is Walter Palmer, whose wolf stone is pictured in **Figure 9**. Palmer’s wolf stone probably dates to around 1661, the year of his death and burial. The blue-gray granite slab must weigh several tons. It is formally an oblong rectangle, being approximately one and a half feet square on the ends and between seven and nine feet long. It bears only a brief inscription at one end: “Wm PALmER.” The letter P in the word “PALmER” is backward, looking more like a large, lowercase letter q.<sup>198</sup> A descendant of Palmer, Dr. Orlando Brown, recalled hearing from his great-grandmother Mary Palmer around 1837 that Walter Palmer “was of great size, being six feet and six or seven inches in height.”<sup>199</sup> Being of such an unusual stature, it is implied, Palmer would need a special, extra large stone to protect his corpse. Since he was one of the pillars of his community, it comes as no surprise that stories of Palmer-as-giant would enter circulation. Whether or not he was truly a giant, the massive slab resting upon his burial plot serves as a fine memorial to such an important man, and it surely would have rendered his corps inviolable. One source has noted that it almost certainly “must have required the combined force of several teams of oxen to transport [the slab] from its natural bed.”<sup>200</sup>



The other town founder to whom Slater refers is Lieutenant Thomas Minor, whose wolf stone of 1690 is illustrated in **Figure 10**. The inscription facing us in this aged black-and-white photograph is for Minor's wife, Grace Palmer Minor, daughter of Walter Palmer: "HIS WIFE 1608 GRACE PALMER 1690." The inscription for Thomas Minor, on the other side of the stone, reads, "HeRe Lyes THE BODY OF LIVTENANT / THOMAS MINOR AGED 83 DEPARTED / 1690." Like Walter Palmer's wolf stone, that of the Minors is quite long and hewn of granite. In contrast to Palmer's slab, which lays low and fairly flat, that of the Minors sits up, with a crest and a subtle sinuousness running its length. The surface of the stone is rather rough and jagged. The editors of *The Diary of Thomas Minor* offer a brief narrative of questionable authenticity to go with the wolf stone: "the most touching of all in that old consecrated ground [i.e. Wequetequock Burial Ground] is the stone over the grave of Thomas Minor, a piece of broken ledge said to be taken by his own selection from his own farm, of about the length of a man's body, with rudely cut letters said to have been done by one of his sons . . ." <sup>201</sup> As with the story of Walter Palmer being a giant, we must take the editors' suggestion for the source of the Minor wolf stone with a grain of salt. Small, private quarries can be found throughout New England, however, so it is at the very least possible that Minor chose the stone from his own property. Thomas Minor's son, Manasseh, is recorded to have carved gravestones in addition to other tasks he performed on the Minor farm, and Craig Miner has suggested that the wolf stone may be his work. <sup>202</sup> We also have evidence that Thomas Minor hunted wolves near his property in order to preserve his livestock—protection from wolves, therefore, may have been important to him as much in death as in life and may have led him to select this particular type of monument. <sup>203</sup> Although Thomas Minor

was a Puritan, few of the entries in his diary, among the earliest we have from colonial New England, have to do with religion or the state of his soul. His diary is mainly about his farm. Miner writes, “His Puritan conscience was to take a second place there to the problems of a New England farm, and the practice of the therapy of hard work . . .”<sup>204</sup>

In addition to the Palmer and Minor wolf stones, the Wequetequock Burial Ground is home to another, unidentified wolf stone **[Figure 11]**. This slab is formally interesting—it is composed of two portions of stone, a lower piece that is encased in a shell-like upper section. The majority of wolf stones originally in place in New England burying grounds were probably, like this one, uninscribed. Let us now turn to the second of the burying grounds I would like to consider in this section—the Old Burying Ground in York, Maine—which retains an uninscribed wolf stone somewhat similar to those in Stonington.

Like the wolf stones in Stonington, the slab that lays upon the burial plot of Mary Nasson is much longer than it is wide (approximately 71 in. x 18 1/2-21 in.) **[Figure 12]**. Unlike the wolf stones in Stonington, it is sandwiched in between two upright gravestones—a headstone and a footstone. Most gravestone carvers and dealers in colonial New England offered stones in pairs: a larger stone that would mark the place of the head of the body and a smaller stone that would mark the place of the foot.<sup>205</sup> Footstones generally bear little or no text or imagery, and all of the gravestones I discuss in this thesis, with the exception of the Nasson footstone and perhaps one stone from Plymouth, Massachusetts, are headstones. Because persons using modern lawn mowing equipment have seen footstones as a nuisance, they have removed footstones or piled them next to a wall in many burying grounds. In any case, Mary Nasson’s grave site

retains headstone and footstone, as well as a wolf stone.<sup>206</sup> The wolf stone is smaller than those in Stonington. The headstone gives Nasson's death date as 1774, so both the headstone and footstone are from around that time. The wolf stone itself, however, has been the subject of some controversy over the years. Not only is its date in question, but its function is, too. Popular opinion holds that Mary Nasson was a witch, and that the slab was placed over her body to suppress her spirit, which she could send out from the grave.

The source of this legend is unknown, though it may derive from one of the people responsible for the Colonial Revival in York, which took place there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>207</sup> Mary Sowles Perkins is one candidate, as she was a major player in the restructuring and creation of "Old York," to this day a prime example of the Colonial Revival's efforts to construct New England's past.<sup>208</sup> One aim of the Revival, in a broad sense, was the creation of an authentic vision of old New England that would attract tourists. A story about a witch in the village burying ground certainly could not hurt. Indeed, Joseph A. Conforti has described the "interplay of innovation and preservation in the colonial revival reinvention of Old York."<sup>209</sup> The idea that Nasson was a witch may also derive from someone's conflation of her grave site's appearance with stories of accused witches in early New England who were tortured or pressed to death in a procedure known as *peine forte et dure*. Rocks were piled on the body until the accused either confessed or expired. Giles Corey of Salem Village is perhaps the most famous example of someone who died this way.

Charles Edward Banks mentions the "Witch's Grave" in his town history of York, originally published between 1931 and 1935, questioning the evidence for this notion: "There is also the 'Witch's Grave' so-called, for no discoverable reason. It marks the last

resting place of the wife of Samuel Nason, the saddler, and has a large flat stone laid horizontally over it from headstone to foot-stone. This is enough to give it an unusual character.”<sup>210</sup> Franklin D. Marshall is one of several individuals who prepared and edited the second volume of the York town history for publication after the death of Banks. He has entered the following footnote for the foregoing quotation: “An explanation, as given by an old resident, long since dead, is as follows: Mr. Nason, the widower, was about to move from town and to prevent the hogs, ‘well yoked and ringed as the law directs and allowed to go at large,’ from disturbing the grave, he considerably placed the heavy stone across it.”<sup>211</sup>

Marshall’s footnote contains a number of important points. One is the idea that wolf stones functioned to protect the remains in the grave not only from wolves, but also from other animals, including dogs and pigs. Indeed, the source of the term “wolf stone” is unknown, and the colonists may have called the slabs something else. In many communities pigs were “allowed to go at large,” and they would sometimes root in burying grounds if not somehow prevented from doing so. Second is the point about Samuel Nason leaving York. We have documentation dating to November 24, 1778, concerning Nason “resigning his commission as Captain of a company of matrosses in the brigade under John Frost, Esq., on account of having changed his residence from York to Sanford [Maine].”<sup>212</sup> There is the likelihood, therefore, that the “old resident” in question was right about the function of the slab. Karen Wentworth Batignani, who has written a book on Maine’s coastal cemeteries, agrees with the “old resident.” She writes, “In local lore, Mary’s grave is referred to as the ‘witch’s grave’ because it was believed that the large slab was needed to keep her spirit from rising to haunt the living. . . .In

reality, Nasson's husband probably placed it there to keep animals from digging it up or to protect it after the family moved to Sanford."<sup>213</sup> Batignani cites no sources, however, to support her opinion.

Another important document exists related to the Old Burying Ground in York and the question of wolf stones. A drawing in pen in the collection of the Old York Historical Society depicts the village center of York as it would have appeared at some point during the nineteenth century [**Figure 13a**].<sup>214</sup> This drawing has been reproduced in only a few publications to date and has not been considered in the literature on early New England burying grounds and gravestones.<sup>215</sup> It is inscribed in pencil in the lower right, "Pen sketch by / D.B. Harris / many years ago," and is attributed to Daniel Harris (1830-1905) of the Seabury section of York.<sup>216</sup> Numerous other features are labeled in pencil by the same hand. In the upper part of the picture, from left to right, stand the "Old Congregational Parsonage," "Old Congregational Church," and "Court House." In the lower-middle and lower-right portions of the drawing stands the "Old Cemetery," ringed by a stone wall made composed of highly geometric building blocks, with a wooden gate and adjacent well sweep. The small building to the right of the burying ground is "Capt. Wilcox's Tavern." The buildings in the drawing are marked by their linearity and boxiness. Except for a few small trees, the burying ground is devoid of any natural ornamentation. The most interesting feature of the drawing for our discussion is the representation of the grave sites within the burying ground: virtually all of the graves in the drawing appear to be covered with slabs of stone like that still resting upon Mary Nasson's grave [**Figures 13b and 13c**]. Like Mary Nasson's plot, most of the graves include upright headstones and footstones in addition to horizontal slabs. Bowed lines

define the top edges of the slabs, and hatching fills the bodies of the recumbent stones. One of the monuments toward the left is enclosed in a transparent box.

Arriving at a precise date for the drawing is difficult given the information we have. If the drawing is actually by Daniel Harris, it must be from during his lifetime, and we know that he lived between 1830 and 1905. Virginia Spiller has proposed that the artist has depicted York from memory, and that the date of the drawing's execution is not the same as the date being represented. An older individual, representing the town as he or she knew it in his or her youth, may have made it.<sup>217</sup> The depiction has been dated to circa 1828 in one publication, though it is unclear how the authors of that publication arrived at this approximation.<sup>218</sup> The building labeled "Capt. Wilcox's Tavern," today the property of Old York and known as the Emerson-Wilcox House, would have received that name only after Captain David Wilcox purchased it. Banks states that Wilcox moved from Connecticut to York around 1816. Sometime around this date, perhaps in 1817, Wilcox bought the structure, formerly owned by members of the Emerson family and Jonathan Sayward Barrell and employed as a tavern from 1781 to 1788.<sup>219</sup> The *terminus post quem* for the representation is at or about 1816 or 1817.

By looking into the history of the Old Congregational Church, also called the First Parish Church, we can determine a *terminus ante quem* for the depiction. The church was built in 1747 and was originally oriented as shown in the drawing. The building was renovated and remodeled in 1881-1882.<sup>220</sup> Describing the project, Banks writes, "The building was turned at right angles to its former position so that the tower and steeple faced the road."<sup>221</sup> Conforti also mentions this change: "The meetinghouse was finally rotated so that it now had the more modern front-to-back design and faced the road and

the old cemetery . . .”<sup>222</sup> Since the church appears with the older orientation in the drawing, we know that the village center depicted therein must predate 1882. All we can conclude, then, is that someone likely made the drawing in the nineteenth century and that the prospect of York depicted probably dates between 1816/17 and 1882.

Although there is not enough evidence to definitively prove the idea, I find compelling Spiller’s notion that the drawing constitutes a scene remembered, and I myself have come to think of the picture this way. The phrase “many years ago” in the inscription smacks of memory. The picture’s forms are mostly schematic, residing between physical reality and artistic simplification and imagination. The basic characteristics and the relative positions of the assorted features of the drawing correspond to the location of the same properties in York today. The tavern never existed in the form it takes in the drawing, however, and the stones of the burying ground wall were never so rectilinear. It is a representation in which it is difficult to disassociate fact and fiction. Other nineteenth-century American artists composed landscapes from memory. William Giles Munson painted his *View of New Haven Green in 1800*, which belongs to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, around the year 1830.<sup>223</sup>

For all of its potential fictions, the York drawing dangles its share of exciting historical possibilities. What of the slabs lying upon the graves in the Old Burying Ground? Were they ever really there? If they were there, what happened to them? In York, as in many of the New England towns at which we have looked, the history of the burying ground is one of ongoing attempts to order the space. Banks writes, “It was fenced in 1735, not to prevent those in there from getting out, or to discourage anyone from going in, but to keep out cattle. In 1813 a committee was appointed to take charge

of it, particularly to cut down the bushes and prevent cattle and hogs from using it as a feeding ground. In 1822 the fence was renewed.”<sup>224</sup> If Samuel Nasson were in fact so concerned about protecting his wife’s remains upon leaving York that he would arrange for the placement of an enormous stone on her grave, it would make sense that other members of the community felt the same way and went to similar lengths to protect the remains of their family members. We might infer that the slabs in the drawing were, like Mary Nasson’s wolf stone, material devices of preservation.

The wall in the drawing has stones, all more or less the same size, and stacked three high. It includes no capstones or coping. If one visits the Old Burying Ground in York today, the ground’s wall differs from that in the drawing. Its lower stones are not nearly so neatly arranged or of uniform height, and it now includes a coping, comprised of rough slabs of granite **[Figure 14]**. In Banks’s town history, the author mentions that the burying ground wall is “now appropriately set off by a stone coping.”<sup>225</sup> Between the period of York’s history that the drawing represents and the time of the publication of Banks’s town history, 1931-1935, the burying ground must have undergone extensive changes, requiring a great deal of labor. I have examined the stones constituting the coping of the burying ground wall, and they are approximately the size and shape of Mary Nasson’s wolf stone and like unto the stones shown in the drawing. It is possible, therefore, that the coping is made of retired wolf stones.<sup>226</sup> This relocation of the stones would have solved several problems at once. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the burying ground was not used anymore for new burials. The dead therein were by then long dead. Also, there were no longer wolves or loose pigs around that might dig up the bodies. Wolf stones were not needed. The burying ground was probably



plowed and seeded with grass, like most in New England, sometime in the nineteenth century. The wolf stones would have been obstacles for caretakers who mowed the grass. Furthermore, the romantic construction of the stone walls of New England was mainly a product of the Colonial Revival. With the renovation of the village and the creation of Old York, a fine stone coping was no doubt desirable. Wolf stones, on the other hand, had no place in the revivalist ideal of the colonial.

Although it seems highly likely that the slabs we have considered were wolf stones, which functioned to provide protection and stability in burying grounds subject to animal molestation, we should not rule out other interpretations of the objects. James Kences, a local historian, has hypothesized that Mary Nasson's burial site was "Nasson's attempt to imitate the boxlike monuments, or mock sarcophagi, that was a common English style used by wealthier colonists."<sup>227</sup> Although I am not entirely sure what kind of monuments Kences means, there are a number of English monument types remarkably similar to that Nasson's and those illustrated in the York drawing. In *English Churchyard Memorials*, Burgess writes about "bodystones" and "coffin-stones," stone blocks that lay horizontally and are longer than they are wide [Figure 15]. Number eleven illustrates a bodystone between a headstone and footstone, and number twelve depicts a coffin-stone likewise arranged. As Burgess's line drawings indicate, the stones could be fitted between headstones and footstones. In some cases, though, they would appear on their own.<sup>228</sup> Having never come across monuments looking precisely like these in New England burying grounds, it seems improbable to me that Nasson's monument or those in the York drawing constituted efforts in imitation. If they were modest versions of more expensive or high-status grave markers, though, they still may have operated as wolf

stones. We might also consider the possibility that the hatched forms in the York drawing represent piles of overturned turf and soil, either evidence of freshly dug plots or characteristic of the land massing sometimes assembled upon graves.

At the end of this discussion, centered on two specific locations, we should consider what that which we have seen here might imply for New England in general. First, wolf stones were objects that were probably used in one or another location all throughout the colonial period. The Palmer and Minor wolf stones are of the seventeenth century, whereas the Nasson wolf stone is from the late eighteenth century. The unscribed slab at Stonington and the other slabs at York may have been installed at any point from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. There seems to be, therefore, continuity throughout the colonial period with regard to the employment of these objects. The continuation of the use of wolf stones was contingent upon early New Englanders' interaction with and knowledge of their environment. Wolf stones were material forms that squelched both cultural fears about the wilderness and the possibility of the post-mortem corporeal despoliation of loved ones.

If the wolf stones shown in the York drawing were really at one time in the burying ground and subsequently moved, as it seems they must have been, we might consider the possibility that the same thing has happened other places in New England. The Old Burying Ground at York, of medium size, contains no less than forty-five wolf stones as depicted in the Old York Historical Society's drawing. There may have been hundreds or even thousands of stones like this resting upon graves in New England by the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. This would have made for burial spaces very different than those we encounter today. If crammed into a small burying ground, many

wolf stones may have become like a pavement. Such slabs would have served well at a later date for many building projects—for the foundations or exteriors of buildings, chimneys, hearths or ovens, door steps, fortifications, wells, town pounds, and especially stone walls. Slabs that performed in former days as wolf stones may yet grace stone wall copings throughout New England.

### CHAPTER III: THE EXEMPLARY SELF

If we were to judge by the biographies and portraiture upon the greater part of the funerary monuments of early New England, we might believe that our forebears were perfect. It is perhaps because the epitaphs are so laudatory and idealizing that they have been overlooked—they seem to tell us next to nothing about the “real” or “actual” individuals whose lives they commemorate. The excessive praise wrought in the monuments, though, is very much a part of its time. In this section, I will consider colonial funerary monuments in terms of their participation in frameworks for knowing the self.<sup>229</sup> I will first discuss the Puritan notion of edification, which derives from the Pauline epistles, as it relates to the stones. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, writers regularly referred to Puritan saints as “living” or “lively stones.” I will then discuss the “good name,” the most basic text of the colonial funerary monument. To establish and maintain one’s “good name” in early New England was among the prevalent measures of self-actualization. Finally, I will explore the texts on funerary monuments as they relate to writing traditions of the time, including character writing, biography, and history. Whereas in the preceding chapters I have written about few objects, from this point onward I will consider many more.

Burying grounds were spaces of communication. Hebrews 11:4 is the biblical passage that best sums up the role of the dead vis-à-vis the living during the colonial period. It appears on the undated J.B. stone in Plymouth, Massachusetts **[Figure 16]**.<sup>230</sup>

The inscription reads, “THOUSANDS OF YEARS AFTER BLEST ABELLS FALL / TWAS SAID OF HIM BEING DEAD HE SPEAKTH YET / FROM SILENT GRAVE, METHINKS J HEAR A CALL / PRAY FELLOW MORTALL, DON’T YOUR DEATH FORGET / YOU THAT YOUR EYES CAST ON THIS GRAVE / KNOW YOU A DYING TIME MUST HAVE.” Because God preferred Abel’s sacrifice to Cain’s, Abel’s example lived on even after his death. The funerary monuments of early New England more or less all fit this mold—the dead continued to communicate and functioned as examples to survivors of how to live. Cotton Mather alludes to this idea at the end of his elegy for Ezekiel Cheever: “But if Base men the Rules of Justice break, / The *Stones* (at least upon the *Tombs*) will speak.”<sup>231</sup> And, according to Mather, the stones did not lie: “And know, reader, that though the stones in this wilderness are already grown so witty as to speak, they never yet that I could hear of, grew so wicked as to lye.”<sup>232</sup> John Norton’s biography of John Cotton is based on the line from Hebrews.<sup>233</sup>

The efficacy of burying ground meditations was contingent upon a viewer’s capacity for sympathy. Burying ground meditations depended on a visitor’s ability to identify with the deceased—to imagine themselves as having died, to imagine their names inscribed on the stones of others.<sup>234</sup> Michel Foucault defines sympathy:

Sympathy is an instance of the *Same* so strong and so insistent that it will not rest content to be merely one of the forms of likeness; it has the dangerous power of *assimilating*, of rendering things identical to one another, of mingling them, of causing their individuality to disappear – and thus of rendering them foreign to what they were before. Sympathy transforms. It alters, but in the direction of identity, so that if its power were not counter-balanced it would reduce the world to a point, to a homogenous mass, to the featureless form of the Same.<sup>235</sup>

David Morgan writes of the importance of “empathy” and “sympathy” in the history of visual piety. He splits the Foucauldian sympathetic into two concepts which he claims are related but distinct. Empathy is “projecting oneself into the situation of another,” and

sympathy is “the correspondence or harmony of feelings among people.”<sup>236</sup> Morgan asserts that empathy “remained the principal emotional framework in the devotional lives of many Christians in Europe and North America from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.”<sup>237</sup> As the preceding definitions indicate, these concepts walk a fine line between imitation and identification. Both concepts function through muddling the categories of self and other, living and dead, mortal and immortal. To sympathize or empathize erases difference and distinction, rendering the individuated indivisible.

The funerary monuments of early New England are, by and large, analogical representations. In the words of Barbara Maria Stafford, they are founded upon “the vision of ordered relationships articulated as similarity-in-difference.”<sup>238</sup> She writes:

This order is neither facilely affirmative nor purchased at the expense of variety. Analogues retain their individual intensity while being focused, interpreted, and related to other distinctive analogues and the prime analogue. We should imagine analogy, then, as a participatory performance, a ballet of centripetal and centrifugal forces lifting gobbets of sameness from one level or sphere to another. Analogy correlates originality with continuity, what comes after with what went before, ensuing parts with evolving whole. This transport of predicates involves a mutual sharing in, or partaking of, certain determinable quantitative and qualitative attributes through a mediating image.<sup>239</sup>

For the Puritans the “prime analogue” was Christ. The saints achieved their virtues and salvation by conforming to Christ’s image. It was only as they tended toward him that they attained their perfection. As Promey has recently demonstrated, the viewers of colonial funerary monuments were able to envision themselves as fully Christ-like, through the “mediating image” of the saints.<sup>240</sup> To copy, to pattern, to exemplify, to imitate, to do likewise—these are the most important verbs for understanding New England burying ground meditational practice.

### **“Living Stones”/Edification**

The New England Puritans wanted to be stones. As Kibbey and St. George have pointed out, colonial New England was a metaphorically dense environment. The material imagination loomed large. Christ was the cornerstone, the beginning of the foundation, the basis from which all else was built. Those deceased believers described as “living” or “lively” stones were of several buildings at once, existing at three different points in time—past, present, and future. The stones were a part of Solomon’s Temple as described in the Old Testament. They were also pieces of the foundation of the Reformed church in New England. And they were, additionally, part of the heavenly Temple of the New Jerusalem.<sup>241</sup> The Puritan saints were the stones that constituted these edifices. The verse of 1 Peter 2:4-5 reads, “To whom coming, *as unto* a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God *and* precious, Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.” Upon receiving stone monuments commemorating their lives, the Puritan saints encouraged others to become stone-like themselves, strong and enduring.<sup>242</sup>

The Thomas Kendel stone in Wakefield, Massachusetts, probably dating to the 1670s, bears an inscription related to this notion [Figure 17]. The lower portion of the stone reads as follows: “HERE IN ye EARTH IS LAYD ON OF ye 7 OF THIS CHURCH FOUNDATION / SO TO REMAIEN TELL ye POWRFUL UOICE SAY RIS INHERIt A GLORIS / HABITATION / A Patarn of Piati & Love & For Peace) Here We Mourn & Mourn We Moust / But Now Alas How Short His Race) To Se Zion Stons Lik Gold Now Layd / In Dust.” Kendel is one of “Zion Stons Lik Gold,” an ideal building block for both the community of Puritans on earth and the community of the elect in the afterlife. The saints were Peter-like, chosen by Christ, and the collection of individual

believers was the foundation of Puritan religion. The Puritans (quite obviously) rejected the Catholic belief that the pope was the figure who carried on Peter's status as rock for Christian religion. John Cotton utilized the trope of stone-as-self in writing of Samuel Stone of Hartford in 1652:

How well (dear Brother) art thou called *Stone*?  
 As sometimes Christ did *Simon Cephas* own.  
 A *Stone* for solid firmness, fit to rear  
 A part in *Zions* wall : and it upbear  
 Like *Stone* of *Bohan*, Bounds fit to describe,  
 'Twixt Church and Church, as that 'twixt Tribe and Tribe.  
 Like *Samuel's Stone*, erst *Eben-Ezer* hight;  
 To tell the Lord hath helpt us with his might.  
 Like *Stone* in  *Davids* sling, the head to wound  
 Of that huge Giant-Church, (so far renownd)<sup>243</sup>

Samuel Stone becomes many different biblical stones, both attacking and replacing those of the Catholic church. Another writer ("E.B.") punned Stone's name: "A *Squared Stone*, became Christs Building rare; / A *Peter's Living lively Stone*, (so Reared)."<sup>244</sup> The elect Puritans formed a Temple building that competed with and triumphed over more worldly temples. Cotton Mather contends that a group of recently deceased young Puritans are superior to Hagia Sophia in Istanbul:

*Low* these were always in their own *Esteem*,  
 But the more *highly* we Esteemed them.  
*Low-roof'd* the *Temples*, but more Stately than  
 St. *Sophy's*, built by Great *Justinian*,  
 The *Proud* might trample on them as on *Earth*,  
 But glorious *Mines of Worth* lay underneath.<sup>245</sup>

However paradoxically, the humility of the dead persons in question made them "more Stately." They may have been "*Low-roof'd Temples*," yet (or rather because of their low-roofedness) they surpassed one of the architectural marvels of the world.<sup>246</sup>

The idea of the living or lively stone had its lesser counterpart: the "dead" stone. A very interesting manuscript survives at the Connecticut Historical Society wherein the latter term is used. Adam Blakeman and Thomas Hanford, ministers in Stratford and



Norwalk, Connecticut, respectively, coauthored a long letter to the Connecticut General Court in the winter of 1664-65 concerning the membership policy for the Congregational church. The Court was attempting to liberalize membership by approving the so-called “Half-Way Covenant.” This would allow children of the second generation of Puritans to attain church membership because their parents had themselves “covenanted.” Blakeman and Hanford were conservatives and did not agree with the Half-Way Covenant. They wrote the following, voicing their opinion:

But if the 2d Generation, doe reteine their membership, by virtue of their first Parents Couenancing for them in their minoritye, then in case all those Proparents be deceased, the 2d Generation would bee a true Church without any farther act or Couenancing; If they bee a true Church then, they haue full power to transact all church affaires, & acts of discerning; but from those acts they are excluded (by some) yet accounted Compleat members; which is as much as to say there is a Compleat Church where there is nothing but a company of dead stones, & no Possibility of acting in Church affaires: And will not this make way or Classes, & to exercise the power of Churches, which (according to christ) should be exercised within themselues & so the ordinance of christ be made of none effect? against which the Churches haue testified both in profession & practise. And if we build againe the things wee haue destroyed, shall wee not be Transgresors?<sup>247</sup>

To be a “company of dead stones” was merely to assume the empty appearance of the collective building blocks of the true temple. It was to be part of an improper sort of building. It is not clear whether those who embraced the Half-Way Covenant would have argued that being so covenanted they were as much potential living stones as the fully covenanted were. The Puritans who were labeled “dead stones,” whatever the reason for being so labeled, were thought of as surface without substance.

Many gravestones possess qualities which communicate well the liveliness of the deceased Puritan “stones” who they commemorate. A large number of New England’s slate stones, for instance, are laced with veins. One can see such veins in the backs of stones in the Old Burying Ground in Cambridge, Massachusetts [**Figure 18**]. There are green and bluish-purplish slates with wavering beige, gray, pink, and white bands of

varying thickness. Although we would hardly expect these rugged stones to get up or move around, the veins lend the stones a certain energy. They are akin, both in name and form, to the vessels that enable human life. The veins in the stones would never carry blood, though they may have suggested those veins that do. For today's viewers, dramatically sinuous veins might evoke the lines created by a cardiograph. They could be the faint lines produced by the heartbeat of a person hardly living—an indication of a life force scarcely there, barely detectable.

Other stones in New England are similar to the precious stones adorning the Temple. Lenney has documented some of the varieties of stone available at quarries in early New England: “Windsor CT was noted for bright red sandstone, Portland CT for chocolate brown; Harvard MA for dark black slate, Braintree MA for purple-banded slate, and Wrentham-North Attleboro MA for shaley slates layered with gray, olive, rose, orange, or cobalt blue, which could be contrastively exposed to create a cameo effect.”<sup>248</sup> It is surprising that early New England is often thought a dreary, colorless world given the material realities of the time.<sup>249</sup> Part of the problem in gravestone scholarship has to do with the fact that images in publications are almost always black-and-white.<sup>250</sup> In person or in color reproduction stones are anything but gray or black. H.L. Mencken famously described Puritanism as “a haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy.”<sup>251</sup> The types of colored stone that Lenney describes, however, openly proclaim that the Puritans’ was a world not only gray. There was joy and beauty then. In fact, the stones used in colonial New England were much more colorful than those of the nineteenth century. Although all colors do not appear in a single area, the colonists considered collectively made monuments in almost every color of the rainbow.

The Bible and Puritan ministers discussed the brilliance of Temple stones. In

“Images of Divine Things,” Jonathan Edwards considers colored stones:

'Tis is a sign that the beautiful variety of the colors of light was designed as a type of the various beauties and graces of the Spirit of God, that divine and spiritual beauties and excellencies are so often represented in Scripture by beautiful colors. . . .So it was in the colors of the precious stones of the breastplate of the high priest, in which were red, yellow, green, blue and purple, and by the colors of the precious stones of the foundations and gates of the new Jerusalem, in which were all those same colors (see Chambers' *Cyclopedia*). The foundations, gates, windows and borders of the church, of the City of God, are said to be of such precious stones in Is. 54:11-12; and God there promises to lay her foundations on fair or beautiful colors. So the temple of Solomon was beautified with precious stones of various beautiful colors (I Chron. 29:2). God's appearance is said to be as of a jasper and sardine stone (Rev. 4:3): a jasper is green, sometimes red, sometimes purple, sometimes of many colors (see Chambers), and a sardine, which is red. So the light of the new Jerusalem is said to be as of 'a stone most precious, even a jasper stone' (Rev. 21:11).<sup>252</sup>

Edward Taylor, the Puritan poet with perhaps the most baroque pictorial imagination, describes the New Jerusalem Temple:

Now here the foundation is a Pretious stone [Christ], & therefore the superstructure ought to be pretious stones. The foundation is a Pearl of great prise Mat. 13 48 & therefore the building must not be of pebles or paultry stones. Nay, but God saith they shall be with fair colours, of Agates, & Saphires Isa 54: 12. God will have a proportion attended in his building. Where the windows are of agats, the Gates shall be of carbuncles & all the borders of Pretious stones. Where one [dore?] is Saphires, an other shall be Jaspers, &c, where each Gate is Smagardine or sparkling \* \* \* the streets are pure gold. Rev. 21: 19 20: 22.<sup>253</sup>

The Israel Smith stone, dating to 1783 and in Glastonbury, Connecticut, resembles the “sparkling” gates that Taylors references [**Figure 19**]. The stone is made of granite or quartzite, and its mica-covered surface sparkles when lit by the sun.<sup>254</sup> Many stones of this type are located in the colonial burying grounds of Connecticut. In attempting to re-imagine early New England, an object like the Israel Smith stone is significant proof against the claims of writers such as H.L. Mencken. The world was not only gray—the world even sometimes glittered. And Israel Smith—what a fitting name indeed, an ideal typological combination—to evoke the Temple in America. Many of the Connecticut gravestones of Obadiah Wheeler bear diamond-patterned frames, perhaps a pictorial

solution for stones that literally did not sparkle.<sup>255</sup> The Josiah Baker stone of 1726 in Lebanon, Connecticut, is one example [Figure 20]. The diamonds in the borders of the Baker stone, given their concentric rendering, almost seem to pulse—another fine representation of the liveliness attributed to early Puritans as stones.

The metaphor of self-as-stone was inherently communal. The Temple edifices that the living stones constituted were many stones, stones working together that were supportive of one another.<sup>256</sup> In his writings on Plymouth Plantation, William Bradford utilized this concept as a part of a rhetoric of history. He describes the Pilgrims' rationale for leaving Leiden and coming to America: "Lastly (and which was not least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel in the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work."<sup>257</sup> As historical objects, the stones commemorating the lives of the early Puritan settlers were ancient. They were the very beginning. In this spirit the Puritan burial spaces are sometimes called "ancient burying grounds." The coming generation, potentially future stones themselves, would depend upon the stones that came before; they would tread on them as "stepping-stones," using them to continue their "Temple-work," building the edifice ever higher.

The pillars that stood in the Temple as described in the Bible are named Jachin and Boaz. They were architectural forms personified, representing the uprightness and strength upon which the Temple was founded. The New England Puritans are frequently described as pillars on their funerary monuments.<sup>258</sup> The Capt. John Brown stone of 1717 in Wakefield, Massachusetts, is one such example [Figure 21]. The inscription reads:

To the Memory of Capt John Brown  
 Esqr. Who after He had served his generation  
 By the will of God fell Asleep  
 March the 11<sup>th</sup> 1717 Aged near 83 Years  
 Witty yet wise grate good amonge ye best  
 Was he (The memory of ye Just is Blest)  
 Prudent a pattern Pillar and more say  
 A harty morner for the Sins of an Day  
 Blest God When Dying That he feard not Deth  
 His pious soul Took Wings, gave up her Breath  
 Dropt here her Mantle in the silent Dust  
 Which Waits the Resurrection of the Just.

A “pattern Pillar” was an implement worthy of imitation. Like the stepping-stones that Bradford describes, which would propagate later stones, Brown is represented both as a pillar himself and a means to manufacturing additional pillars. We should not forget the relationship between earthly and heavenly pillars. Brown was a pillar in the heavenly Temple; but he was also one in the community to which he belonged on earth. Many early New England funerary monuments commemorate persons, almost exclusively men, who were responsible for founding, building, and administering congregations and towns.<sup>259</sup> It is in a similar sense, though one hopefully less gender-biased, that we call people “pillars of their community” today.

Heaven’s gain was the earthly community’s loss, and writers in early New England refer to the death of an important community member as a missing and/or displaced pillar. Samuel Willard writes, “When a Saint *Dies* there is manifold ground of mourning; there is then a Pillar pluckt out of the Building, a Foundation Stone taken out of the Wall.”<sup>260</sup> Upon the death of Thomas Savage of Boston, Willard wondered, “When the Pillars are gone, how shall the building stand? . . . When the Wall is pluckt down and the hedge is removed, who shall keep out the Bore of the Wilderness.”<sup>261</sup> He incorporates an interesting reference to the ordering capacity of the hedge, juxtaposing it with the

ordering power of a person pillar. One writer hailed Governor Winthrop of Connecticut a “pretious Pillar in his earthly station.”<sup>262</sup> Charles Chauncy termed John Davenport a “strong pillar” or “validam. . . .columnam” who had fallen.<sup>263</sup>

The textual label “pillar” had its pictorial counterpart. Images of pillars appear in the borders of innumerable gravestones of men, women, and children, especially in the greater Boston area. Take, for instance, the Mary Lock and children stone of 1710 in Lexington, Massachusetts [Figure 22]. Columns of leaves and breasts (or gourds) are capped with human heads. The carvers who employed these motifs cleverly expressed numerous important dichotomies with this form: living/dead, subject/object, and person/architecture. By including clusters of breasts, I wonder whether the carvers intended to communicate the material ambivalence of the place and time. On the one hand, the breasts can be understood as life images, related to nurturing and growth. To practice devotions before such a positive, moralizing image would seem permissible. On the other hand, the inclusion of bunches of breasts on a humanized statuesque form evokes the Artemis of Ephesus, a most notorious pagan idol. The carvers’ pillar forms may have been an exhortation, like that of Weever: “do not intermixe our deuotions with superstitious adoration.”

Being nourished by breasts had divided and competing connotations for the Puritans. To suck the spiritual milk of the Gospel (or the Word) and/or the milk out of Christ’s breasts was unmistakably good.<sup>264</sup> Breasts appear on monuments for men and women, and writings regularly portray ministers as having breasts. Puritan writers also reference, however, the breasts and the vicious sucklings of idols. Henry Ainsworth, for instance, writes,

And as it was with *Iudah*, so was it also with the ten Tribes of *Israel*; who sucked the milk of Idoll superstition in the days of *a Ieroboam* sonne of *Nebat*, whereunto they were adicted *b* alwaies after, so long as their Common-wealth did stand; even throughout the raign of nineteen Kings, who added unto their fore-fathers sinnes, and drew the people to most horrible impieties, for which the land did spew them out, *o* and Heathens came to dwell in their stead. As these are *d* ensamples to us, to the intent that we should not be idolaters like them; and are written *e* to admonish us . . .<sup>265</sup>

We should recognize the suspended breasts forming the bodies of pillars on early New England gravestones, I submit, as both positive and negative “ensamples” for their original audience. They were the breasts of Christ, the saints and the virtuous, but they were also the breasts of “Idoll superstition” and a warning against pious devotions gone wrong. They held complex, conflicted, and competing meanings.

The self-representation as pillar was important for funerary monuments into the early nineteenth century. In **Figure 23**, the red sandstone monument for William Wolcott, dating to 1799 and in South Windsor, Connecticut, bears the following epitaph:

Sacred to the memory of  
WILLIAM WOLCOTT ESq.  
who died May 22d. 1799.  
aged 88 years.

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*He possessed an enlightened mind,  
Aided by A liberal education.  
And in early life dedicated himself  
To the service of God & of mankind.  
He sustained several important  
Offices in this state & discharged  
The duties of them with fidelity.  
Throughout A prolonged life  
He was A pillar of the Church & an  
Ornament to his christian profession.  
The memory of the Just is blessed  
His life was peace beneficent, approv'd  
Of God & man & happy was his end.*

One quickly notices the change from the skull motif of the John Brown stone to the urn-and-willow motif on the Wolcott stone. Although more than eighty years separate the

objects, the texts, hailing the men as virtuous pillars, are remarkably similar. I have included additional inscriptions using the word pillar in the appendix. See, for example, excerpts from the Abigail Frost stone of 1742 in Newcastle, New Hampshire, and the Thomas Henderson stone of 1801 in Bennington, Vermont. The appendix is not intended to be comprehensive, but simply a sampling of additional, related epitaphs. If tabulated, the total number of monuments in New England with textual and pictorial references to the pillars in the Temple would be startling.

John S. Coolidge has argued that edification is among the most fundamental ideologies of Puritanism. He writes, “It is not too much to say that the whole, subtle but radical difference between the Puritan cast of mind and the Conformist appears in their different ways of understanding the verb ‘to edify’.”<sup>266</sup> The “Conformist” view of edification was relatively straightforward. Coolidge comments, “Conformist usage of the word ‘to edify’ tends to approximate to the simple sense which the word has today of imparting a message calculated to improve the hearer.”<sup>267</sup> Edification and order went hand in hand for the Puritans, and neither preceded the other—they were mutually constitutive. But the Conformist conceived “of edification as subsequent to order. When the vessel has been shaped, the Spirit, he trusts, will come to fill it.”<sup>268</sup> For the Puritans the idea of edification was tied to order generally or social order in particular. Coolidge writes, “The Puritan thinks of order in the Church as coming into being by the process of edification. As the individual member of the body grows in the strength of his new life in Christ, he communicates that strength to others . . .”<sup>269</sup>

Paul is responsible for the metaphor of the Christian community as Temple. With Christ’s coming the body of Christ becomes the Temple, rather than an actual building as



in the Old Testament. Puritan believers together make up his body.<sup>270</sup> Christ is always the head. Coolidge writes, “Although at first it might seem that living people had become frozen, like Niobe, into stone, it soon appears that, on the contrary, the building has become a living, growing thing.”<sup>271</sup> The church is made of the living stones we have discussed—it was only by sticking together that they constituted the edifice. Their identity was of necessity collectively and communally attuned. According to Coolidge, “Dismemberment will cause the destruction of this living body . . .”<sup>272</sup>

The notion of “building a house,” which first appears in the Old Testament, is related to the metaphor of the Christian community as the Temple. In view of the nomadic lifestyle of the Israelites, it is not surprising that “house” came to refer to a lineage rather than an actual habitation. Coolidge states, “The Old Testament conceives of communal identity entirely in terms of the patriarchal family or ‘house’. Procreation, considered as the strengthening and maintaining of the patriarchal family, is the ‘building’ of the patriarchal house.”<sup>273</sup> Paul further developed the idea in the New Testament. Coolidge claims that Paul uses the verb “to build a house” or “to build” and the noun “building” “in a manner for which there is no exact precedent.”<sup>274</sup> He goes on to point out that the “to build” and “to plant” are “much the same,” and that together “the compound idea is set off against the idea of destruction.”<sup>275</sup> He thus ties building and patrilineage together, suggesting that the family name serves as a device of edificial preservation. To have children and/or material documents that carry on one’s name was extremely important to the Puritans. This is a significant idea for the study of colonial funerary monuments, though the topic has received little attention. I would now like to leave our living stones behind to discuss the importance of the name.

### **The Good Name**

Colonial funerary monuments may lack extensive epitaphs and/or impressive pictorial programs; however, they virtually never lack the name of the deceased. This may seem so basic an observation as to be meaningless, but I am convinced of its critical importance. The solitary outstanding study to date on the significance of the name as it relates to early New England material culture is Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's chapter entitled "Hannah Barnard's Cupboard: Female Property and Identity in Eighteenth-Century New England." Ulrich provides a complex reading of a cupboard brightly painted, carved with geometric shapes including hearts, and inscribed with a woman's name. The art world has co-opted the object as a piece of "folk art," but Ulrich attempts to understand the cupboard within its original context.

In eighteenth-century New England, women could not officially hold property or pass on their maiden names as surnames to their children. Ulrich writes, "Hannah's cupboard is neither a protofeminist statement nor a valentine in furniture. It is an index to the shifting sources of female identity in early America. Surviving through three centuries, it exposes the contradictions in our inherited notions of family and the potent mix of violence and refinement in our history."<sup>276</sup> The inscription of the name is of principal importance. Ulrich continues,

Whether or not she willed it, [Hannah Barnard's] name asserts her identity as an educated person, an heir to the material wealth of an ambitious family, and the future mistress of a household. . . . Hannah's cupboard tells us that, in a world where most forms of wealth were controlled by male heads of household, certain objects were in some sense owned by women. Ownership of precious household goods offered the power not only to shape a material environment but to build lineages and alliances over time. Yet Hannah's cupboard is also a sign of the fragility of life and the transience of female identity in a world circumscribed by the cycles of marriage, childbearing, and death. When Hannah Marsh gave birth to a daughter, then died, her cupboard became both a monument and a knotted puzzle for future generations.<sup>277</sup>

In this section on the name, I will be rather less concerned to tease out distinctions based upon gender than Ulrich, though we should certainly keep gender distinctions in mind. Neither am I particularly interested in questions of holding property given the objects that I am studying. Funerary monuments were purchased, sometimes at great expense, never to be sold or exchanged again. As Margaretta M. Lovell has pointed out, the funerary monument was not an “exchangeable investment commodity.”<sup>278</sup> A monument could not be passed down from generation to generation the way a cupboard could.

Many gravestones appear much as the Elizabeth Swift stone of 1677 in Dorchester, Massachusetts [**Figure 24**]. A minimal amount of precisely incised text on the smooth surface of a polished slate stone—just her name, age, and date of death. It would seem there is little or nothing to say about such an object. The name, however, was the fundamental text of the self in early New England.<sup>279</sup> Of the close relationship between the name and portraiture, Richard Brilliant writes, “A real, named person seems to exist somewhere within or behind the portrait; therefore, any portrait is essentially denotative, that is to say, it refers specifically to a human being, that human being has or had a name, and that name, a proper name, identifies that individual and distinguishes him or her from all others.”<sup>280</sup> He adds, “The lack of a name and of the name’s reference makes the visual representation, or portrayal, of such a subject both futile and pointless.”<sup>281</sup>

Unlike most painted portraits, there is no guessing when it comes to names on funerary monuments. The names are out in the open. The colonials were concerned to achieve and preserve a good name at all costs. To suffer slander or libel was to have one’s name tarnished. People with tarnished names risked either official or unofficial banishment from the community. The relatives of persons with tarnished names could

experience social marginalization, and the disfavor could carry, like an inheritance, across generations.<sup>282</sup> Public shaming punishments, such as whipping, the stocks, the pillory, and the wearing of signs and symbols could thoroughly ruin a person. Being so humiliated, it would be next to impossible to recover one's reputation.<sup>283</sup> A popular adage stated, "He that hath an ill name is halfe hanged."<sup>284</sup> Whereas the verse of Proverbs 22:1 places a good name above material wealth: "A Good name *is* rather to be chosen than great riches, *and* loving favour rather than silver and gold."

There are only good names in the burying grounds. The makers of funerary monuments carved nothing ill of the deceased. They appended a number of short biblical passages to stones which illustrate the sanctity of the names we encounter there. One popular inscription derives from half of Proverbs 10:7: "The memoriall of ye iust *shalbe* blessed."<sup>285</sup> Carvers changed the word "memoriall" to "memory," and they used the word "is" rather than "*shalbe*." Otherwise the line appears essentially as in the Bible on hundreds or even thousands of stones made in New England from the seventeenth century through the early nineteenth century. A good example is the Hannah Stower stone of 1698/9 in Charlestown, Massachusetts [**Figure 25**]. The line there reads "THE MEMORY OF ye JUST IS BLESSED." The Stower stone also bears wonderful swirling lollipop-like forms on its shoulders. The text on the William and Susannah Humphreys stone of 1813/1821 in Dorchester, Massachusetts [**Figure 26**], a spare neoclassical stone, is nearly identical: "*The memory of the Just is blessed. / Prov. X. 7.*"<sup>286</sup> The meaning of the inscription is enhanced for those able to recall its biblical context. As Sally M. Promey has recently suggested, the average colonist walking among the tombs probably would have been familiar with the latter portion of the passages.<sup>287</sup> The complete text of

Proverbs 10:7 reads, “The memoriall of ye iust *shalbe* blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rotte.”<sup>288</sup>

A second, related epitaph became popular from the middle of the eighteenth century. It comes from Psalms 37:37: “Marke the perfect man, and behold the vpright: for the end of that man is peace.”<sup>289</sup> As with the preceding epitaph, the inscriptions derived from this passage vary somewhat, depending upon carver and location. The William Reed and family tombstone, built in 1771 in Lexington, Massachusetts, bears the phrase “*Mark the perfect man and Behold the upright*” at the end of a much longer epitaph for William Reed [**Figures 27a and 27b**]. The Joseph Tilton stone of 1779 in Hamilton, Massachusetts, is similar to the Reed family tombstone in that the line from scripture is embedded within a lengthy epitaph [**Figure 28**]. Part of the inscription reads: “Mark ye perfect man & Behold ye upright / for the end of that man is Peace.”<sup>290</sup> Every bit as idealizing as the text from Proverbs 10:7, this line finds a similar biblical context. The full text of Psalms 37:37-8 reads: “Marke the perfect man, and behold the vpright: for the end of that man is peace. But the transgressours shall be destroyed together: the end of the wicked shalbe cut off.” Although not quite so explicit in terms of the name as Proverbs 10:7, the statement that “the end of the wicked shalbe cut off” nevertheless implies nominal obliteration.

One additional, brief biblical passage used for inscriptions is like those I have mentioned. It comes from Revelation 14:13: “And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.” I have not illustrated stones including this inscription here, but those with it date early and late,

like the stones with the line from Proverbs 10:7.<sup>291</sup> Once again, the biblical context is very important if we want to recover the meaning of this inscription for the biblically savvy colonists. Verses preceding Revelation 14:13 describe the fate of the damned. Revelation 14:11: “And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receive the mark of his name.” We see again a nominal competition between the saved and the damned. The good names of the saved are always embalmed for posterity. In contrast, the names of the damned are not embalmed—they either “rotte” or are “cut off.” They are sometimes displaced by the “mark of [the beast’s] name.” Many of the monuments I discuss in the thesis carry one of these phrases—the Capt. John Brown stone and William Wolcott stone in the preceding section, for example, as well as stones the inscriptions of which I have transcribed in the appendix.

The good name became the theme of numerous funeral sermons. The verse of Ecclesiastes 7:1 served as one the most popular biblical bases for such occasions: “A Good name *is* better than precious ointment, and the day of death than the day of one’s birth.” With the allusion to ointment, we can see again the idea that the name works to embalm or preserve a person or lineage. Naphtali Daggett based his sermon for Job Lane, delivered in 1768 in New Haven, Connecticut, on the passage from Ecclesiastes. It is entitled *The Excellency of a Good Name*. He writes, not surprisingly, that the “sweet perfumes” of the good name “will be lasting.”<sup>292</sup> He defines a good name: “Now a good name is that *character* or *reputation*, to which a person is justly intitled, in the estimation of mankind, on account of truly excellent and valuable endowments possessed by him, or worthy and noble actions done by him.”<sup>293</sup> Whereas being responsible in work and with

regard to others is important, Daggett asserts that “That which completes a good name is, our becoming truly religious towards God.”<sup>294</sup> He goes on, “The things which have been mentioned before, will do much towards securing a good name: but this last mentioned finishes the character. . . .so that a person doth not ultimately seek his own honour and glory; but the Glory of him who hath sent him into the world.”<sup>295</sup>

Closing his discussion of the good name, Daggett references the line from Proverbs 10:7 appearing on so many funerary monuments: “We may therefore conclude, upon good evidence, that the endearing our name to posterity is a natural good, desirable in itself, suited to gratify an innocent passion or desire in human nature, and that it is one of those blessings whereby the righteous are, and will be, distinguished from the wicked, whose names shall rot, Prov. 10. 7.”<sup>296</sup> Daggett also counters and complicates the point I have made about name transferability across generations. He writes,

A prodigal heir may soon waste the largest estate that a frugal industrious father can leave him. But a good name is more of a personal, unalienable property, and not equally in the power, or at the disposal of a degenerate child. The son of a worthy and virtuous father may indeed be a vicious, ignoble wretch; and be said, in some sense, to disgrace his father; while in reality the degenerate baseness of his character and conduct may rather serve as a foil to set off the Lustre of his father’s. The truth is plainly this, that every thing which a wise and good man leaves behind him in this world is at the disposal of his heirs, excepting his good name, which is not equally left within their power.<sup>297</sup>

The good name as Daggett defines it is more transcendent than Ulrich suggests in her study of Hannah Barnard’s cupboard. Ulrich leans toward a materialist reading of the cupboard, considering only the earthly connotations of the name. In an examination of funerary monuments, we are able to take into account both the worldly and heavenly significance(s) of the name. The good names inscribed on funerary monuments were in one respect out of range. They stood beyond the reach of post-mortem defilement by negligent relatives who also bore them.

The most popular forenames inscribed on the funerary monuments of New England communicate the virtues of the deceased. A number of scholars of onomastics, the study of names, have issued articles on this subject for the colonial period. Names, they argue, are connected to personal, familial, and cultural identity. Fischer writes, “The founders of New England introduced a distinctly Puritan naming pattern that differed radically from old English Customs.”<sup>298</sup> Parents in New England favored names used in the Bible, grace names, and hortatory names.<sup>299</sup> Mothers and fathers commonly shared their first names with multiple children, enacting a familial bond across generations in both forename and surname. Daniel Scott Smith has argued for the continuity of naming practices in New England. He has asserted that the secularization of naming traditions developed very gradually in the region, and that from the time of arrival through the late eighteenth century the Puritan traditions of naming remained most influential. The turn from tradition toward the modern and expressions of overt individuality in naming only began during the years 1770-1820.<sup>300</sup> Smith writes, “As late as 1790, the frequency of biblical forenames sharply differentiated New England from other regions in the United States.”<sup>301</sup> Based on the data he has found in the history of naming, Smith argues that the “proportion of biblical names” should be thought of as an “index of commitment to Puritan practice.”<sup>302</sup> He writes, “The slow retreat from biblical names did not become a rout until the early decades of the nineteenth century.”<sup>303</sup> This kind of naming should be considered in relation to the idea of the good name. When inspecting the tombs in the colonial burying grounds, the number of names from the Bible (e.g. John, Samuel, and Joseph for males, and Mary, Elizabeth, and Sarah for females) and names based on virtues (e.g. Experience, Faithful, Grace, Patience, Prudence) is striking.<sup>304</sup>



In very rare circumstances the surname is missing from monuments altogether, and the first name alone bears the burden of communicating the deceased's goodness. This is the case with one of the earliest monuments in the region, the square tombstone for Abel and Svbmite, dating to 1644 and 1648, in Dorchester, Massachusetts [Figure 29].<sup>305</sup> The stone carries the following inscription:

ABEL · HIS · OFFERING · ACCEPTED · IS ·  
 HIS BODY · TO · THE · GRAVE · HIS · SOVLE · TO · BLIS ·  
 ON · OCTOBERS · TWENTYE · AND · NO · MORE ·  
 IN · TIE · YEARE · SIXTEEN · HVNDRED 44 ·

SVBMITE · SVBMITED · TO HER · HEAVENLY · KING ·  
 BEING · A FLOWER · OF · THAT · ÆTERNAL SPRING ·  
 NEARE · 3 · YEARS · OLD · SHE · DYED · IN · HEAVEN · TO · WAITE ·  
 THE · YEARE · WAS · SIXTEEN · HVNDRED · 48 ·

The carver of this epitaph plays on the biblical name Abel in defining the character of the Abel he commemorates. “ABEL · HIS · OFFERING · ACCEPTED · IS ·” refers to Abel's lamb sacrifice described in Genesis 4:4. God preferred this sacrifice to that of Cain, who brought him “fruit of the ground.” The Abel who died in New England in 1644 is thereby transformed, in a sense, into the biblical Abel who was thought to have lived near the beginning of time.<sup>306</sup> The epitaph for Svbmite functions similarly. The carver uses the words “SVBMITE · SVBMITED · TO HER · HEAVENLY · KING ·” to indicate that the virtuous action of submission was inherent in the child's name. The redundancy or echo of verb in noun is critical for this poetic line. It is an effective pun.<sup>307</sup> The meaning of Svbmite's name to a Puritan living in the seventeenth century is encapsulated in a statement made by William Jenkyn: “A good name is a thread tyed about the finger, to make us mindful of the errand we came into the world to do for our Master.”<sup>308</sup> The name could delimit and define a person's character.

The full name of colonists became a formal basis for the story of a life in the acrostic. In this poetic form, a person's name functioned as the vertical basis for the horizontal lines of verse. Although the acrostic is technically the most challenging of all early New England's poetic forms, writers produced a large number of acrostics in the colonies. The James Humfrey tombstone of 1686/1731 stands, like the Abel and Svbmite tombstone, in Dorchester, Massachusetts [**Figures 30a and 30b**]. The inscription reads:

HERE LYES INTERRED ye BODY  
 OF Mr JAMES HUMFREY, HERE-  
 TOFORE ONE OF ye RULING  
 ELDERS OF DORCHESTER; WHO  
 DEPARTED THIS LIFE Ye 12<sup>th</sup>  
 OF MAY 1 6 8 6; IN ye  
 78<sup>th</sup> YEAR OF HIS AGE.

---

I nclos'd within this shrine is Precious Dust,  
 A nd only waits for th' Rising of the Just  
 M ost Usefull while he Liv'd Adorn'd his Station,  
 E ven to old Age Serv'd his Generation:  
 S ince his Decease tho't of with Veneration.

H ow great a Blessing this Ruling Elder he,  
 U nto this CHURCH & TOWN & PASTORS Three.  
 M ATHER he first did by him Help recieue  
 F LINT he did next his Burthen much relieue:  
 R enowned DANFORTH did he Assist with skill.  
 E steemed High by all: Bear Fruit untill  
 Y ielding to Death his Glorious Seat did Fill.

1 7 3 1

The verses that spring from Humfrey's name include the additional names "MATHER," "FLINT," and "DANFORTH." Humfrey and his name are thereby placed in the company of other virtuous persons and their names. The three men mentioned were influential ministers from the area. The subject of Humfrey's epitaph becomes the significance of names themselves.

Jeffrey A. Hammond asserts that acrostics “found precedent in the alphabetical verses of Lamentations and in nine Psalms in which each line begins with the succeeding letter in the Hebrew alphabet (Psalms 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145).”<sup>309</sup> He also discusses anagrams, which he claims became the most popular name-form of poetry associated with death. The letters of the deceased person’s name, if unscrambled, could reveal instructive yet previously hidden messages.<sup>310</sup> Hammond provides several colonial examples: Benjamin Tompson’s anagram on Elizabeth Tompson: “o i am blest on top”; John Wilson’s three anagrams based on the Latin form of John Norton’s name: “Nonne is honoratus?” (“is he not to be honored?”); “Jesu! Annon Thronos?” (“Jesus! Is not [yours] the throne?”); “Annon Jesu Honor Sit?” (“Is there not to be honor to Jesus?”); and Wilson’s English anagram for Norton: “Into Honnor.”<sup>311</sup>

Another sermon based on Ecclesiastes 7:1 is that by Samuel Langdon, delivered at the funeral of John Winthrop, a Harvard professor, in Boston in 1779. Winthrop was a devotee of Isaac Newton and, after Benjamin Franklin, the next most important scientist in the colonies. He conducted significant research in the fields of astronomy, physics, and seismology. Like Daggett before him, Langdon refers in his sermon on Winthrop to both Proverbs 10:7 and to the concept that a name preserves one’s existence even during and after the body’s decomposition.<sup>312</sup> Also like Daggett, Langdon emphasizes that worldly successes, of which Winthrop enjoyed many, were in themselves insufficient for the attainment of a good name. He writes, “Therefore to all other shining qualities and distinguished actions must be added *exemplary religion*, to make up that *good name* which is preferable to the richest perfume, and changes the melancholy day of death to a joyful birth-day into the light and felicity of heaven.”<sup>313</sup> Later in the sermon, subsequent

to a lengthy consideration of Winthrop's earthly achievements, Langdon adds, "But with all these honors, *Religion* especially gave him a *Name*."<sup>314</sup>

Langdon goes on to frame the pursuit of the good name in terms of material ambivalence:

What the heathen vainly sought after from their idol *Fame*, the servants of God really obtain, when their virtues enlighten and bless the world. They have praise of men to which they pay but an inferior regard, and their memories are blessed. Their names also are registred in heaven. . . .And is not this far more than the honor of embalming the body, or descending to the grave with the splendid funeral pomp of Princes, or having monuments of brass or marble erected to perpetuate the name through future ages?"<sup>315</sup>

He derides idols and funerary monuments, arguing that names "registred in heaven" are superior to both. The Bible speaks of the destruction of names alongside idol worship in Zechariah 13:2: "And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord of hosts, *that* I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered." At the same time, however, Langdon details Winthrop's lineage, seeming to contradict his own claim that earthly perpetuation of the name is unimportant:

Dr. Winthrop descended from an antient and worthy family in England, of which it may be remarked, that thro' the various civil commotions and revolutions there since the reformation from popery, that family always took part on the side of the liberties of the people. One of his ancestors was for several years in the chair of government in this state of the Massachusetts-Bay, soon after the infant colony was formed; and gained a deep interest in the affections of the people by his learning, piety, peculiar goodness of disposition, and wise and prudent administration. And the sons of that worthy governor were advanced to the principal honors in this and a neighbouring colony. Such a line of ancestors deserves some notice, as it may be looked upon as a long intail of blessings on those who have had an eminent character, as the servants of God, and friends to mankind. But Dr. Winthrop acquired honor independent on progenitors. His own character was merited by such an assemblage of shining qualities as rarely meet in one man.<sup>316</sup>

Langdon wants it both ways. He wants to claim that the earthly honors that provide part of the basis for a good name do not matter, to suggest that the name as lineage is not particularly meaningful, while at the same time specifying the accolades of relatives of Winthrop. He cannot escape the meaningfulness of family lineage, however. Monuments sometimes explicitly reference the importance of the perpetuation of the name. The

tombstone of Theophilus Eaton (who died in 1657) in New Haven, Connecticut, includes the phrase: “This name forget New-England never must.”<sup>317</sup> And the Ebenezer Robinson stone of 1789 in Durham, Connecticut, includes the following words in its inscription: “*his name is perpet- / uated with honour on earth . . .*”

Although I do not have space to explore fully the relevance of family lineage to the names inscribed on funerary monuments, I want to mention one object that typifies many others: the Samuel Sewall stone of 1769 in York, Maine [Figure 31]. Part of the stone’s inscription reads: “(four generations in a lineal descent distant, from / HENRY SEWALL *Esqr.*, / some time *Mayor of Coventry* in O. England) / whose Grandfather HENRY / first came to N. England, 1634. / . . . / His *seven* surviving Sons, with the approbation / of his *four* Daughters, / this stone / erected. / *Let brotherly love continue.*” The carver references past, present, and future. The text tells us where Samuel Sewall came from, who he was, and who he produced to perpetuate his name. The idea of the familial house, discussed earlier, is in play here. We see the conflation of building and planting in this stone.<sup>318</sup> The combination of moldings and plant forms in the borders of the stone substantiates this pictorially. On a related note, the coat of arms is a feature of funerary monuments that warrants further consideration in terms of its relation to the family name.<sup>319</sup> Heraldic devices appear on many New England stones, and they seem, above all, to be pictorial counterparts to textual surnames.<sup>320</sup> Indeed, the iconography of such devices regularly played on the last name. Coats of arms were indices of lineage—and proof of personal and/or familial entitlement(s) and history. There is evidence, too, of coat of arms iconoclasm in New England.<sup>321</sup> We should always keep in mind that the building and planting that the Puritans were doing in New England developed in tandem

with the destruction of native populations. Jeremiah 1:9-10: “Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth. See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.”

The good name was personal and familial, related to material and social considerations on earth as well the promise of salvation. The latter notion of the name was perhaps the most important for funerary monuments. The epitaph on the Samuel Lanman stone of 1794 in Plymouth, Massachusetts, conveys this well: “In thy fair book of life divine, / My God inscribe my name, / There let it fill some hmbly place, / Beneath the slaughter’d Lamb.” In the Bible, the names of the saved always endure. The names of the damned are always destroyed. Daniel 12:1 contains the following end times prophecy: “And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation *even* to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.” The theme of the good name remains a presence in the literature of New England through the early nineteenth century. An author identified as “O.M.” composed a piece entitled “On the Importance of a Good Name” in the March 1824 issue of *The Guardian, or Youth’s Religious Instructor*. The article aims to prepare children to enter a world in which reputation is paramount.<sup>322</sup>

The concluding section of Naphtali Daggett’s funeral sermon for Job Lane supplies a nice transition into a consideration of ways in which the funerary monuments of New England participated in premodern forms of self-definition. Directly addressing

the reader, Daggett summarizes the purpose of the sermon, explaining its relevance to the living and the dead:

And now to inforce these directions, and quicken you to a compliance with them, I would in a few words recal to your view the character and late death of the amiable and much esteemed Mr. Lane, lately a Tutor of this College. His character and example will serve for your direction, while his much lamented Death may justly quicken us all to an imitation of him. The dear Name, I am sure, remains fixed in your minds in indelible impressions of esteem, love and veneration. He had obtained that good name spoken of in the Text; the agreeable perfumes of which remain fresh, while his flesh is consuming in the grave. This public mention of him, with a brief sketch of his character, is a piece of indisputable justice to the dead, and may be serviceable to the living.<sup>323</sup>

What precisely does Daggett mean by the terms “character” and “example”? Why does he say that Lane’s death should “quicken us all to an imitation of him?” Why do words like character, example, and imitation continually appear in early New England biographical texts, including diaries, funeral elegies, histories, and hundreds (if not thousands) of epitaphs? What were the principal measures of a life in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in New England? What was the nature and purpose of biography in that context? I address these and other associated questions in the following section on early biography.

### **Early Biography**

The tombstone of Thomas Bailey, dated 1688, stands in the Old Burying Place in Watertown, Massachusetts [Figure 32]. Its inscribed surface is now difficult to read, a flat, purplish-pink, pitted sandstone slab lying horizontally on a rectangular red brick base. After a good deal of inspection, one can make out the epitaph:

HERE LIES Ye PRECIOUS DUST OF  
*Thomas Bailey.*

|                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| A painfull preacher, | A most desirable Neighbour, |
| An exemplarey liver, | A pleasant Companion,       |
| A tender Husband,    | A common Good,              |

|                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| A carefull Father,       | A cheerfull doer,          |
| A brother for Adversity, | A patient Sufferrer,       |
| A faithfull Friend,      | Lived much in little time. |

A good Copy for all Survivors.  
Aged 35 years,  
*Slept in Jesus Jan 21 1688.*

Whereas the epitaph includes a few specifics about Bailey, reminding us that he was an individual, personal idiosyncrasies are conspicuously absent. Bailey's name, age, and date of death are his own. The qualities that define him, however, might well be extended to any good Puritan. In short, a distillation occurs in the inscription, and Bailey becomes like a character embodying a lengthy list of virtues.

The writer of Bailey's epitaph participated in the premodern tradition of biography, which was an extension of allegorical character writing. Characters were personifications of virtue or vice, and they possessed general traits that were easily recognized and understood. Biography goes one step beyond character writing, connecting these qualities to the lives of particular individuals. Josephine K. Piercy has described the "use" of character in early New England as "a most important beginning of the biographical essay, for the portrait of an individual representing a great or a good man—or even a wicked man—emerged really as biography."<sup>324</sup> It was "a great or a good man" whose life became the subject of a funerary monument. The ancient Greek philosopher Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle, composed the first book of characters around the year 319 B.C. The discovery of the works of Theophrastus (and their translation) led to the publication of the first English character books.<sup>325</sup> Joseph Hall, Sir Thomas Overbury, and John Earle became three of the most widely read English character writers during the seventeenth century.<sup>326</sup>



Sacvan Bercovitch calls early American biography “transitional,” and he places it firmly between hagiography and modern biography.<sup>327</sup> Cotton Mather, the first American to use the word “biography,” believed the genre should bring together “discrete fact” and “moral generality.”<sup>328</sup> Bercovitch writes, “Though it insists on details, it forces them into the framework of the ideal. Its aim is to teach by use of examples.”<sup>329</sup> At his death, therefore, Thomas Bailey becomes “a tender Husband,” “a faithfull Friend,” and “a common Good,” among other things. He is not represented as set apart, an order unto himself, existing only in the memories of friends and family members who knew him well. Anyone who came to view his tomb could benefit from his example. As his epitaph states, he is “a good Copy for all Survivors.”

Character writers often criticized those who did not conform to the Christological (or biblical) model of personhood. Writing in the late 1660s, Samuel Butler describes “The Self Conceited or Singular” character: “Is a separatist from the rest of mankind, that finds nobody fit for him to comply with but his own dearly beloved self. . . .He envies no man, for envy always looks upward, and he believes all men below him, and fitter for his contempt, than emulation.”<sup>330</sup> Earle also gives the character of “A SELFE-CONCEITED MAN”: “IS one that knowes himselfe so wel, that he does not know himselfe. . . .He is now become his owne Booke, which he poares on continually, yet like a truant-reader skips over the harsh places, and surveyes onely that which is pleasant.”<sup>331</sup> This sort of person, who measured him- or herself without respect to a model, would become the modern individual. Modern individualism did not take hold of New England on a grand scale until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The modern individual was his or her “owne Booke.” Being Christ-like, on the other hand, made one a virtuous

“copy,” “pattern,” or “example.” Imitating Christ was the best thing one could do, and it created a person who, especially after death, was worthy of imitation by all of those who still survived.

Colonial New Englanders, decidedly Protestant, would continue to read several important Catholic devotional manuals. One of the most popular of these was Thomas à Kempis’s *The Imitation of Christ*.<sup>332</sup> Hambrick-Stowe points out that “more than 60 editions in at least six translations of this work appeared in English before 1640, with 18 more editions before the end of the century.”<sup>333</sup> And Bercovitch records that *The Imitation of Christ* was the only “Popish” work that Cotton Mather “approved and valued.”<sup>334</sup> In his diary, Mather notes, “It may of some good Consequence for me to read a Chapter in that Book, the last Thing I do, every Night.”<sup>335</sup> In Chapters 1 and 2, Thomas à Kempis writes, “Whoever desires to understand and take delight in the words of Christ must strive to conform his whole life to Him. . . .A true understanding and humble estimate of oneself is the highest and most valuable of all lessons. To take no account of oneself, but always to think well and highly of others is the highest wisdom and perfection.”<sup>336</sup> In Chapter 11, he writes, “If only we were completely dead to self, and free from inner conflict, we could savour spiritual things, and win experience of heavenly contemplation.”<sup>337</sup>

In his *Christographia*, Edward Taylor makes a number of valuable comments on the importance of the imitation of Christ—indeed, on the imitation of Christ as a necessary condition of self-fulfillment and self-realization. In the first sermon he writes,

We were made, and formed with an Imitating Principle in our Nature, which cannot be Suffocated, or Stifled, but will act in Imitating Some Example; God to prevent us from taking wrong Patterns to follow, hath presented us with a perfect Pattern of right practice in our own nature in Christ, which is most Exemplary, being a most Exact Coppy, written by the Deity of the Son of God, with the Pen of the Humanity, on the milk white Sheet of

an Holy Life. Hence our Imitation of him is His due, and our Duty, and to leave this Pattern, is to dishonour him, deform our Lives, to Deviate from our Pattern, and to Disgrace our Selves.<sup>338</sup>

Conformity is everything in the Puritan model of the world. It is not the evidence of a personal flaw or of insecurity. As Taylor says, “to Deviate from our Pattern” would be “to Disgrace our Selves.” In the third sermon Taylor takes up a similar argument:

[W]ilt thou leave this so perfect and divine a Copy? dost thou run to other courses? and follow other things and such that this Example leads thee from? This is the best Example that can be: it is a Coppy written by the pen of perfect Manhood, in the Unerring hand of Godhead, in Christ and wilt thou not endeavour to Write by this Coppy? Consider what thou dost.<sup>339</sup>

And in the fifth sermon Taylor writes,

For he that would indeed have the best Copy to write after must take Christs life, for an Example. Here is no blot, nor blux in it, no trip, nor Stumble, no fret nor gaule in this Web. . . . This Obedience is ever highest in the Ascendent, and so is most compleate, and perfect, and so the most perfect Coppy to write after. O let us then write after this Coppy. Copy out this life by ours, and then as this was rightly called the life of God: so will ours indeed by transcribing out this in it be also the life of God.<sup>340</sup>

Taylor insists on conformity, rather than difference, as the primary measure of self. To be like others who were good, whether it be Christ, characters in the Bible, or the men, women, and children buried in one’s local burying ground was to live a good life. Being different from these people, setting oneself apart from them, was seen as vicious and selfish. The perfect self was empty of self—and at the same time full of the other.

The Bible was the “pattern book” for the premodern self. To conform to its narrative and history as laid out in its pages was to become perfected. One could measure progress only with respect to the model. As John A. Alford has shown, this idea of self-measurement, the “scriptural self,” attained prominence during the Middle Ages: “Through assimilation to a biblical exemplar, one could learn properly to think, to feel, actually to achieve a self.”<sup>341</sup> He states that “to conform to a pattern” in the Middle Ages was “to be somebody,” whereas “not to conform [was] to be nobody.”<sup>342</sup> The idea of the

Bible as pattern book is not only Medieval. It was very important in Reformation England and early New England, as well. The Lydia Bailey tombstone of 1691 stands next to the Thomas Bailey tombstone in the Old Burying Place in Watertown [Figure 33]. The two were presumably relatives. Although not quite so overtly laudatory as Thomas Bailey's epitaph, Lydia Bailey's epitaph references her "scriptural self":

PIOUS LYDIA MADE & GIVEN  
BY GOD AS A MOST MEET  
HELP TO JOHN BAILEY  
MINISTER OF ye GOSPELL

Good Betimes x Best At Last  
Lived By Faith x Dyed In Grace  
Went Off Singing x Left Us Weeping  
Walk'd With God Till Translated  
IN ye 39 YEARE OF HER AGE.

APRIL ye 16. · 1 6 9 1.

READ HER EPITAPH  
In Prov. 31. 10, 11, 12, 28, 29, 30, 31.

The closing lines instruct the burying ground visitor to look for Lydia Bailey's epitaph in the Bible. It is as though her life was written long ago and she is merely acting a part. The verses from Proverbs 31 detail the qualities of the virtuous woman:

Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price *is* far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil. She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life. . . .Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband *also*, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all. Favour *is* deceitful, and beauty *is* vain: *but* a woman *that* feareth the Lord, she shall be praised. Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates.

We looked at the Samuel Moody stone earlier, during a discussion of material ambivalence [Figure 5]. He was the zealous iconoclast of York, Maine. The final lines in his epitaph read, "*For his further Character you / may read 2 Cor. 3. the six first verses.*"

Again, if we go the Bible and read the lines in question, we get a “further” description of Samuel Moody’s “Character”:

Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need we, as some *others*, epistles of commendation to you, or *letters* of commendation from you? Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men: *Forasmuch as ye are* manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart. And such trust have we through Christ to Godward: Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency *is* of God; Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

The funerary monuments of colonial New England emphasize, over and over again, that the individuals interred beneath them were insufficient in themselves. They only became selves through their relationship to God and the Bible. I will consider the historical and temporal collapse that is necessary for this model of selfhood shortly.

We should think here about the potential relationship of a reference in the preceding passage from Corinthians to funerary monuments: “not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.” I have garnered a greater appreciation for the importance of the heart in the culture of Puritan New England through conversations with and awareness of the work of Sally M. Promey.<sup>343</sup> Many colonial monuments bear large representations of hearts, often with biographical information inscribed upon them. The Major General Daniel Gookin tombstone of 1686/7 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is one example [**Figures 34a and 34b**]. The Hannah Bartlett stone of 1710 in Plymouth, Massachusetts, is another [**Figure 35**].<sup>344</sup> Hambrick-Stowe has emphasized the importance of “heart religion” for Puritan New England.<sup>345</sup> The heart was a site of constant struggle, and the location could be purified through conscientious meditational practice. Cotton Mather describes meditations in his diary: “In these Exercises my Heart was rapt into these heavenly Frames, which would have turned a Dungeon into a

Paradise.”<sup>346</sup> Thomas Shepard writes of a meditational exercise that it “gave [him] much light and set [his] heart in a sweet frame.”<sup>347</sup>

Writing in the context of burying ground meditations, James Hervey pleads with Christ to erect a monument to himself within the hearts of believers:

Then build thyself a monument, most gracious IMMANUEL, build thyself an everlasting monument of gratitude in our souls. Inscribe the memory of thy matchless beneficence, not with ink and pen; but with that precious blood, which gushed from thy wounded veins.—Engrave it, not with the hammer and chisel; but with that sharpended spear, which pierced thy sacred side. Let it stand conspicuous and indelible, not on outward tables of stone; but on the very inmost tables of our hearts.<sup>348</sup>

Authors focusing on the transformative powers of meditational exercises often juxtapose tables of stone and “fleshy” tables of human hearts. We might imagine that colonial New Englanders, many of whom were familiar with texts like these that I have been citing, would have understood well the relationship between the stone hearts standing in burying grounds and their own hearts, which could be purified there. We should not forget that the heart was also home to idolatrous impulses. Ainsworth describes how idolatry clings to the heart:

Finally, the *Lord*, to teach us how fast this sinne cleaveth unto us, saith by his Prophet of the Idolatry of *Iudah* (his own professant *people*,) *h* that it was written with a pen of *iron*, and with the point of a *diamond* graven upon the tablet of their *heart*; shewing that the *inmost affections* are most deeply and continually *infected* with this *vice*, and *addicted* unto it; from which, no kind *perswasion*, no earnest *dehortation*, nor dreadfull *threatning* will turn them.<sup>349</sup>

Believers could not easily perfect their hearts. To do so was a struggle lasting a lifetime, and though early New Englanders hoped that Christ would live in their hearts, sinfulness and the devil also stopped by, the quintessential unwelcome houseguests for the Puritan. The heart was, in any case, a battleground.

Having introduced the reader to Daniel Gookin’s tombstone, I should take this opportunity to point out an important difference between my interest in biography and the

biographical interests of many art historians who have written about early New England. We know many facts about Daniel Gookin's life, but those have not and will not enter into my analysis of the meaning of his tombstone. He was a significant figure in the early history of Massachusetts. We know, for example, that Gookin was an associate of John Eliot. Eliot is known as "Apostle to the Indians," and his famous translation of the Bible into Massachusett, an Algonquian language, was issued between 1661 and 1663. Gookin is said to have made great efforts to protect the Christian Indians in Massachusetts. We find no such details about his life on his tombstone, however.

This simple observation raises what is possibly a critical point about the study of material self-representations in colonial New England, whether they be funerary monuments, painted portraits, or other forms of expression. Biography in the modern sense, which includes everything that we do or can know about a person's life, whether good or bad, is regularly used in the study of colonial self-fashionings.<sup>350</sup> The frameworks for understanding selfhood in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, though, had little to do with the specific facts of a person's life. Self-imaging in funerary monuments was highly idealized. Individuality in the modern sense did not become critically important in New England until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. I believe, too, that there is a popular sense that modern biography "really" tells about people, whereas from this perspective the type of biography I am describing is seen as wishful thinking and little more than a pile of exaggerations if not lies. To believe this, however, is to misunderstand the premodern tradition of biographical writing. To believe this is to judge premodern biography by the standards of modern biography. The premodern model of selfhood, if different from our own, was a major force shaping the

ways in which early New Englanders understood and approached the world.<sup>351</sup> Whereas we must identify these constructions of self as such, it does little good simply to judge the people of the past by our own standards.

A number of writers have worked to correct the well-rooted but erroneous notion that colonial portraiture is, by and large, a tradition of representation committed to realism or naturalism. Fifteen years ago, Lovell called for scholarship attentive to the fictional character of self-presentation in the colonies: “To be useful, to suggest *cultural* meaning (as distinct from individual episodic meaning), the basically *fictive* and cumulative nature of [colonial] portraits needs to be acknowledged and pursued more vigorously.”<sup>352</sup> She goes on, “Just as a single epitaph can tell us little about an individual, but a graveyard of such remarks can tell us a good deal about the values by which a society lives, so a single portrait is enigmatic, while a cumulative gathering of these images is culturally eloquent.”<sup>353</sup> Since Lovell issued this imperative, she has contributed invaluable pieces to the discourse on colonial portraiture. Her remarks on the invention of self and memory in colonial portraits have been of particular importance.<sup>354</sup> Claudia Brush Kidwell and Leslie Kaye Reinhardt have focused their attention on “invented dress” in eighteenth-century portraits of women. Artists regularly employed such clothing during studio sessions as a means to idealizing the appearance of sitters. Sitters would never have worn invented dress, however, in “real life.” On the purpose of invented dress, Reinhardt writes, “Because women’s portraits showed imagined ideals, they related to the sitter in a less direct or personal way than we would expect. . . . Yet it seems clear that at the time sitters or patrons expected images of women to conform to ideal types rather than to express individual difference.”<sup>355</sup> Most recently, Promey has argued



convincingly that idealization is key for understanding the meaning of a variety of material forms of Puritan self-presentation.<sup>356</sup>

To borrow a term from Stafford, the Israelites of the Old Testament were an important “mediating image” for the Puritans. The juxtaposition of the Puritan life with that of a biblical exemplar was both a technique of biography and a framework for understanding history. Like the Puritan saints, the Israelites were thought of as “types” of Christ. As the “antitype,” Bercovitch writes, “[Christ] stood at the center of history, casting His shadow forward to the end of time as well as backward across the Old Testament.”<sup>357</sup> The Israelites only signified perfection as they were linked to Christ’s existence in eternity and his future coming.<sup>358</sup> Like the Israelites, the New England Puritans constantly struggled and suffered displacement. As the first governor of Massachusetts, Cotton Mather hailed John Winthrop as “Nehemias Americanus.” The biblical Nehemiah was a “model magistrate,” who “led the Israelites back from Babylon to their promised land.”<sup>359</sup> In the course of Winthrop’s biography, Mather also compares him to Job, focusing on the trials and “exemplary justness” of both men.<sup>360</sup> The Bible functioned for the Puritans in a temporally complex way. It was a means for structuring their lives in the terms of the lives of others who lived long ago. The distinction between the recent and distant past and present collapsed. Biography and history intermingled, and Puritans came to identify themselves in terms that were already recorded in the Bible.

As we have seen with the stones of Lydia Bailey and Samuel Moody, the epitaphs of many monuments testify to such conceptions of biography and history. The Abigail Manning stone, dated 1770, in Scotland, Connecticut, goes a step further than these others [**Figure 36**]. The epitaph reads:

Her Lyes ye Body  
 of Mrs. Abigail Wife  
 to Capt. John Man-  
 ning Who Depart-  
 ed this Life July  
 30<sup>th</sup>, 1770 in ye 73d  
 year of her Age

The Daime that Sleeps  
 Beneath this Tomb had  
 Rachels face, and Leahs  
 Frutefull Womb, Abigails  
 Wisdom, Lydias Jenirus  
 Hart, Marthas Just Care  
 & Marys Better part.

The wording of Manning's epitaph bears witness to the temporal collapse I have described. Her epitaph goes beyond comparison, suggesting an equation of identity between Abigail Manning and various biblical figures. She did not merely imitate the biblical exemplars but became them. The qualities she assumes are not only abstract, such as "Abigails Wisdom." She is also said to possess, for example, "Rachels face," "Leahs Frutefull Womb," and "Lydias Jenirus Hart." In his 1704/5 elegy on Sarah Leveret, Cotton Mather describes the deceased in similar terms:

Long did I Vex in Vain at Stupid Man,  
 That e're Men found out Painting, so long Ages ran.  
 Fain would I *Painted* to the Life have seen  
 The *Heroines* that in past Times have been.  
 O could we Present that bright SARAH View,  
 Who *Mortals* charm'd, and who pleas'd *Angels* too.  
 Or that brave MIRIAM, She of whom tis said,  
 The *Israels* Daughters in Devotions *Led*:  
 Could *glorious* DEBORAH appear agen,  
 And to true *Glory* Quicken Slothful Men:  
 Could *Prayerful* Hannah once again be shown,  
 Prostrate in *Prayer's* before the Sapphire Throne:  
 Could *Pious* MARY with her inward worth,  
 And all her *Piety* again come forth:  
 We'd *Love* the *Painter*, and admire the skill;  
 But tis our *Grief*, we want that *Painting* Still.  
 And courteous *Dorcas*, we complain of Thee  
 We can't thy Face wrought with thy *Needle* see.  
 But now there is an end of all complaints;  
 ONE Matron gives a sight of *all* the *Saints*.

Our LEV'RET is of all a curious Draught:  
 Oh! what an one! by what fine Pencil wrought  
 So on one *Cherry-Stone*, true Fame avers,  
 Vienna shows an Hundred Pourtraiters.  
 So *Hamborough* does of an *Agate* tell,  
 Where *Europes* Princely Faces all do dwell.  
 The *Siamese* their Golden Image prize  
 Whose Price does to Twelve Million *Livres* rise.  
 VIRTUE a Nobler Image did Erect  
 In our Incomparable LEVERET.  
*Vain Jews*, The *Palaces* no more Divide  
 Where Holy Women do in *Heav'n* reside:  
*Four Presidents* assign to them no more;  
 Or say, a *Fifth's* now added to the Four.  
 She shall be *Ourson Earth* at least; and we  
 By this our HULDAH will directed be.  
 You, Ladies, that were *Tutoreses* to  
 The Ancient Sages, *did*, what she shall do.<sup>361</sup>

Mather places Leveret in the company of numerous biblical heroines. He expresses his despair that no paintings exist of the virtuous women of the Bible, ultimately concluding, however, that Sarah Leveret puts “an end to all complaints” and that she (in herself) “gives a sight of *all the Saints*.” During my discussion of the idea of living stones, I quoted Mather as comparing Solomon’s Temple with Hagia Sophia. And, of course, the Temple won out. In this case, Sarah Leveret is an image preferable to a famous collection of portraits in Vienna, an obscure agate in which viewers can see the faces of European princes, and the golden idol of “The *Siamese*.”<sup>362</sup> To be a reincarnation of sorts of the great characters from the Bible was to achieve true self-fulfillment. Leveret was virtuous because she imitated ancient women, not because she was herself.

The laundry list of virtues, like that we observed in Thomas Bailey’s epitaph, was also used to describe the lives of deceased women. Consider the virtues of Hannah Moody, whose gravestone of 1727/8 stands in York, Maine [Figure 37]:

Mrs. Hannah Moody Consort  
 of ye Revnd. Mr. Samuel Moody  
*An Early & Thoro Convert, Eminent  
 For Holiness, Prayerfulness, Watchfull-  
 ness, Zeal, Prudence, Sincerity, Humil*

*ity, Meekness, Patience, Weanedness From  
ye World, Self deniall, Publick-spirited-  
ness, Diligence, Faithfulness, & Charity,  
Departed this life in Sweet  
Assurance of a Better Janry. 29<sup>th</sup>  
1727/8 Ætat. 57.*

*Follow ym Who Thro Faith & Patience Inherit ye Promises.*

Reflecting on the response of modern or postmodern readers to this epitaph, Ulrich writes, “[W]e smile, wondering what she was *really* like.”<sup>363</sup> Ulrich goes on to make an important point: “It is difficult for us to approach a world in which neither innovation nor individuality was celebrated, in which the rich particulars of daily life were willfully reduced to formulaic abstraction. Yet the purpose of an epitaph was not to commemorate, but to transcend, personality. A good wife earned the dignity of anonymity.”<sup>364</sup> I agree with Ulrich’s suggestions, apart from her final statement. I would argue that it is not anonymity exactly, a “namelessness” that the epitaph effects. Virtuous traits define the life of a single self, who existed in history, and both lived and died. Such epitaphs represent a focused, if conflicted, form of selfhood.<sup>365</sup> It was still an individual’s soul that was saved or damned. As we have already discussed, the name itself was very important. The biographical presentation of the Puritan life is a delicate balance of self-effacement and self-realization. If devout individuals wished to be “unselfed,” they also desired that their names be preserved, that evidence of their existence endure.

The extent of idealization is not always so great in the biographies on early New England funerary monuments. The Mary Holt stone, dating to 1760 and also in York, displays a more modest list of virtuous characteristics [**Figure 38**]:

Here lies the Body of  
Mrs. Mary Holt,  
wife of Elder Joseph Holt,  
who Died Novr. 15<sup>th</sup>. 1760.  
In the 78<sup>th</sup> Year of her Age.

She was a good Wife,  
 an affectionate Mother,  
 a very kind Neighbour,  
 and exemplary Christian.  
 lived desired and died lamented.

A single burying ground in New England usually boasts numerous monuments with inscriptions like these. We should consider, therefore, the phenomenology of surveying such monuments. The one-after-another character of the experience reinforces the impression of sameness.<sup>366</sup> As much as the connoisseur of colonial funerary monuments might appreciate the subtle differences he or she discerns from stone to stone, the carvers, generally speaking, produced pictures and epitaphs very much alike from monument to monument. One does see highly individualistic expressions from time to time, but they are the exception rather than the rule. The stones embody relative rather than absolute replication, but sameness is the point nevertheless.

The Old Hill Burying Ground in Concord, Massachusetts, includes many stones describing the deceased by means of premodern biographical conventions. The monuments bearing these texts date from the late seventeenth century through the early nineteenth century. The life of Rebeckah Minott, deceased in 1734, is commemorated in the following inscription [**Figure 39**]:

Here is Interred ye Body of Mrs  
 REBECKAH MINOTT ye Vertuous  
*Consort of JAMES MINOTT Esqr.,*  
 (& Daughter of Capt. TIMOTHY  
 WHEELER) *She was a Person of*  
*Serious Piety, & abounding Charity,*  
*of great Usefulness in Her Day, &*  
*a pattern of Patience & holy Sub*  
*mission under a long Confinement,*  
*& resigned Her Soul with Joy in*  
*Her Redeemer* Sept. 23d, 1734 Æt. 68

Minott is a “pattern of Patience,” among other things, and those observing her could imagine themselves transfigured, waxing ever more Christ-like by looking into the mirror of her perfection. Hervey writes of burying ground meditations in similar terms:

Such a seasonable reflection, might regulate the labours of the toilet; and create a more earnest solicitude, to polish the jewel, than to varnish the casket. It might then become their highest ambition, to have the mind decked with divine virtues; and dressed after the amiable pattern of their Redeemer’s holiness. And would this prejudice their persons, or depreciate their charms? quite the reverse. It would spread a sort of heavenly glory, over the finest set of features; and heighten the loveliness of every other engaging accomplishment.<sup>367</sup>

The Mary Minot stone of 1760 is adjacent to the Rebeckah Minott stone [Figure 40]. The inscription emphasizes Minot’s status as virtuous model:

In Memory of  
Mrs MARY MINOT late Consort  
of TIMOTHY MINOT A.M. Who  
Departed this life *Feb* 15 1760 Æ 31.  
A person truly of great worth, eminent in  
Piety, Justly amiable for her Wisdom, Modesty,  
Meekness, Patience, fidelity, & Charity  
Exemplary in the graces & vertues, which  
belong to the christian life The woman that  
feareth the Lord she shall be praised

The inscription on the Abigail Brown stone of 1794, also in the Old Hill Burying Ground in Concord, goes beyond implication. It does not include terms like copy, pattern, or example. Instead, it directly commands the reader or viewer to leave the burying ground, to return to the world, and to imitate the virtuous deceased [Figure 41]:

In memory of  
Mrs. Abigail Brown  
relict widow of Deacon Eph. Brown,  
who died Dec. 13, 1794, aged 84.

She excelled in the virtues of  
a good wife, parent and neighbour,  
and more in those of a  
christian.  
Being meek and lowly in heart,  
she was pious

without affectation,  
 and charitable  
 without ostentation.  
 She had imbibed largely of the spirit of Christ,  
 which rendered her very  
 amiable, useful and respectable,  
 and assures us,  
 she hath entered  
 into rest.

*Reader go thou and do likewise.*

If it seems as though I have given enough examples of the ways in which funerary monuments participate in premodern traditions of biographical writing, if the inscriptions seem mostly the same, in a sense you understand my point. The epitaphs of early New England funerary monuments were not innovative texts, exciting stories of the adventures of the colonists. Epitaph writers and carvers were not interested in unique forms of expression. The texts are deliberately generic and redundant. They attempt to impress the viewer with an overwhelming sense of sameness.

So far we have examined the role of premodern models of selfhood and biographical writing in shaping epitaphs on stones in Massachusetts and southern Maine (which was officially part of Massachusetts until 1820). Epitaph writers and stone carvers all over New England, however, participated in the premodern biographical tradition. While it is true that certain regions or towns have more or less monuments with epitaphs like those I have been considering, and that individual carvers could be more or less interested in this type of writing, the impression I have after three years of travel and photo-documentation, is that the premodern model of selfhood and its accompanying epitaph type are important for New England as a whole. Like Massachusetts, Connecticut is home to countless monuments upon which are inscribed epitaphs that depend upon the

Christological measure of selfhood. The inscription on the Eunice Storrs stone of 1779 in Mansfield Center, Connecticut, is a good example **[Figure 42]**:

In Honour & to ye, Memory  
of Mrs, Eunice Storrs; ye,  
amiable & virtuous Con-  
sort of Mr, Huckens Storrs  
who Departed this Life  
Febr, 21 · 1779 : in ye, 67<sup>t</sup>  
year of her Age.  
A Shining Example of  
conjugal affection of  
muternal Tendernes  
& a faithfull Servant  
of JESUS CHRIST

Next to the Eunice Storrs stone stands the Mary Storrs stone, dating to 1783. Mary is likely related to Eunice and may have known and admired Eunice's monument. Her stone, four years later in date, carries almost exactly the same epitaph **[Figure 43]**:

In Honour, & to the  
Memory of Mrs, Mary  
Storrs; ye amiable &  
virtuous Consort of  
Capt, Samuel Storrs  
who Departed this  
Life Oct, 23d, 1783: in  
ye, 80<sup>th</sup>, year of her  
Age. A Shining Exam-  
ple of conjugal affecti-  
on of muternal Tender-  
nes & a faithfull Serv-  
ant of JESUS CHRIST

Both monuments allude to the preciousness of the virtuous women they commemorate. Eunice and Mary Storrs are not merely examples, but “shining examples.” This expression evokes the precious stones of the Temple that we discussed earlier. There is an excellent pictorial play in these monuments which alludes to the deceaseds' personal preciousness. The winged figures in the upper portions of the stones don abstracted,



curvilinear crowns. The crown forms are repeated in the outlining of the stones' tops. Crowns and stones become the monuments' subjects, both textually and pictorially.

The reader may be wondering at this point about the socio-economic status of the individuals whose monuments we have been surveying. Are the observations I have been making about premodern biographical writing relevant for the monuments of all the strata of early New England society? Or are my observations relevant only for the monuments erected by and for wealthier people? These are interesting and important questions—they are also complicated ones. Poverty had no place in the lists of virtues describing the deceased in early New England epitaphs. Material prosperity in the context of Puritanism meant having many children, a fine house, and fine things. Materiality was not of necessity at odds with religion—the two were in some ways mutually supportive.<sup>368</sup> Epitaphs sometimes describe the deceased as charitable to the poor, but the dead are never termed “poor” themselves. Material successes provided evidence of God’s having bestowed his grace upon believers. And so, in a sense, being wealthy could make one a better person. Without money there would be no monuments.

That being said, it remains unclear precisely how wealthy one needed to be to afford the various types of monuments. From extant records, we can be sure that tombstones and tablestones were the most costly of all monuments. Gravestones with substantial pictorial and textual elements were the next most expensive. The greater the number of pictures and letters on a monument, the more it cost.<sup>369</sup> And then “homemade” stones would have been the cheapest. The decision to spend a great deal of money on a monument does not necessarily indicate that one was wealthy all throughout one’s life, however. If having a nice monument were a priority, a poorer person might set aside

money over a period of time so that when he or she died, he or she could afford a monument above his or her station in life. Conversely, persons wealthy while living could descend into squalor and be unable to purchase any monument at the time of their death. In general, I would be apt to say that the stones standing in New England burying grounds commemorate individuals of at least middle-class status, and the majority of monuments are likely for persons of the upper-middle class or upper class. For a more in-depth consideration of this issue, St. George has published the best studies to date dealing with funerary monuments as status symbols.<sup>370</sup>

An article in the December 1795 issue of *The Massachusetts Magazine* addresses the significance of the relationship between cultural and socio-economic status and self-presentation. Written by one “C.H.” and entitled “On *the Small Proportion of Eminent Characters*,” the article focuses on the scarcity of persons “distinguished from the general mass by moral or intellectual excellence, or by any kind of pre eminence which mankind are willing to acknowledge.”<sup>371</sup> That is to say, despite the rhetoric of uniformity attached to the premodern, Christological notion of selfhood, few imitators of Christ were to emerge, becoming themselves worthy of popular imitation. The author writes, “Of all studies, biography may be reckoned the most instructive. . . .and he who gives his time and attention to the lives of eminent men, without himself becoming wiser and better, is either to be pitied for his insensibility, or condemned for his obdurate neglect of improvement.”<sup>372</sup> C.H. continues, “It is in every persons power, by a regular discharge of the duties of common life, to acquire *esteem*, which will render his situation comfortable, and to cultivate principles which will render his death happy. More than this he *may* attain, but more than this is not in the common lot even of the most deserving, and

therefore not to be expected by a wise, nor desired by a good man.”<sup>373</sup> The truth is, however, that for a writer to have bothered to call someone a “good man” or a “good woman” in literature or on a monument meant those persons being wealthy. It also meant being white and Protestant. Native Americans, African slaves, and other “Others” were, for the most part, ineligible for “eminent Character” status. C.H. writes, “We shall yet greatly abridge our list of persons worthy of notice, if we reflect that those nations only, who have made considerable progress in civilization, have produced such men, and that nations benighted in ignorance and superstition leave no traces of intellectual worth, or individual moral excellence.”<sup>374</sup> In a comparable spirit, Daniel Gookin writes of the importance of the Indians’ conversion to Christianity: “Here we may see, as in a mirror, or looking glass, the woful, miserable, and deplorable estate, that sin hath reduced mankind unto naturally.”<sup>375</sup>

To return to our objects, the premodern model of selfhood is in evidence on monuments through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The impact of Puritanism on New England culture was great and long-lasting. Thus does the gravestone of Jonathan Lyman, deceased in 1792, in Lebanon, Connecticut, refer to its subject in terms of exemplification and patterning [**Figure 44**]:

In MEMORY  
of  
MR. JONATHAN LYMAN,  
*Who, content in private Life,  
Long & well exemplified  
The relative duties of Man:  
A Pattern of Gospel Obedience,  
He adorned the Religion of CHRIST:  
Satisfied with living,  
And anticipating his Reward,  
Leaning on the Arm  
Of his SAVIOUR & FRIEND,*

He went to Rest,  
 July 28, A.D. 1792.  
 In the LXXXI Year  
 Of his Age.

The Samuel Allen stone of 1805 in Columbia, Connecticut, uses the term “uniform” in defining the life of the deceased [**Figure 45**]:

Here lies the remains of  
 a christian Samuel Allen  
 whom meekness and  
 charity adorn'd his profess-  
 ion & practice were one.  
 & his uniform life of piety  
 did honour to the gospel  
 & brought him to the  
 grave in a good old age  
 like a shock of corn fully  
 ripe he died March 31<sup>st</sup>  
 1805: in the 88<sup>th</sup> year  
 of his age.

Allen’s epitaph also characterizes his self-realization in terms of agricultural prosperity. The words “& brought him to the grave in a good old age like a shock of corn fully ripe” derive from Job 5:26. Considering the importance of agriculture in the lives of colonial New Englanders, it is somewhat surprising that stone carvers and epitaph writers did not commonly utilize this biblical passage.

The monument to the Reverend Thomas Brockway, who died in 1807, is a stone’s throw from the Samuel Allen marker [**Figure 46**]. Brockway’s epitaph is equally as generic and laudatory as the others at which we have looked. It also incorporates a phrase that I believe to be meaningful in terms of the phenomenology of the burying ground:

In Memory of the  
 Rev. THOMAS BROCKWAY: AM  
 He died July 5<sup>th</sup> AD 1807  
 in the 36 Year of his ministry  
 and in the 63 Year of his age.

As an Husband he was tender,  
 as a Father affectionate,  
 and as a Friend sincere.  
 As a minister of Christ,  
 he shunned not to declare,  
 all the counsel of God,  
 and was wise in turning men  
 to righteousness.  
*Be thou faithful unto death,  
 and I will give thee  
 a crown of life.* Rev. Ild 10<sup>th</sup>

---

Virtually every upright gravestone produced in colonial New England is carved on only one side. Because stones have been so often displaced, rearranged, and reorganized, there is no way to know if the colonists favored any particular orientation in their original placement of monuments. That the stones are carved on only one side, however, forces burying ground visitors to regularly turn around to see stones' faces. To walk past and then turn back. The notion of being "turned around" is also an important metaphor for the Protestant life. The Christian was sinful by his or her very nature and often headed in the wrong direction. The stones' one-sidedness would order the bodies of burying ground visitors, just as their pictorial and textual devices worked to organize perceptions and actions. "To turn around" means "to convert," as well. Also notice with the Thomas Brockway stone that it bears a beautiful, fully rounded relief of an urn-and-willow at its top. The motif spells the end of neither religion nor the premodern model of selfhood, as is clear if one reads the epitaph.

Before concluding this discussion of funerary monuments and early biography, I would like to return to Massachusetts to look at three additional monuments. The seaside town of Plymouth has become the site most associated with the origins of New England (or for that matter America) in the popular consciousness. The Puritan Pilgrims, sailing

on the ship *Mayflower*, landed there in 1620. Plymouth is home to “Plymouth Rock,” a large boulder hypothesized as the point of first contact between the Pilgrims’ feet and America. It is interesting that this rock has become so central to the mythology of America—remember William Bradford’s description of the Pilgrims in *Of Plymouth Plantation*—they were “stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.” Bradford began writing *Of Plymouth Plantation* in 1630, and though unpublished until 1856, it is among the first and most important of New England’s histories. Of Bradford’s aims in creating the history, Jesper Rosenmeier writes, “In his mirror, Bradford hoped, the ancient virtues would be so literally and brightly reflected that they would act as an irresistible model for imitation. Consequently, Bradford fashioned *Of Plymouth Plantation* to make the strongest possible impression on the younger generation.”<sup>376</sup> Rosenmeier goes on, “As historian, Bradford’s aim is not to portray the past with the fullest possible objectivity but to resurrect a bygone holiness; a holiness that, he knows and never loses sight of, must be resurrected by and in his audience.”<sup>377</sup> Among the most valuable tools in Bradford’s historical toolbox was biography.

The funerary monuments on Burial Hill participate in the same traditions of biography and history that Bradford, a member of the first group of Puritans to come to America, employed in writing *Of Plymouth Plantation*. The epitaph to John Atwood, deceased in 1754, appears through white-wavy-veined purple slate [**Figure 47**]:

*The memory of ye Just is Blessed.*  
 Here lyes the Body of  
 Mr JOHN ATWOOD Who Died  
 on the 6<sup>th</sup> of *August A.D.*  
 1754 *Ætatis* 70 Years.  
 He was a Man of Piety & Religion  
 Adorned with every Christian grace  
 & Virtue & therefore well qualified

for ye office of a *Deacon* which he  
 discharged in ye first *Church* of  
 Christ in this *town* for about 40  
 Years with Honesty & uprightness  
 and in the Course of his Life  
 adorned ye Doctrine of his Saviour  
 by a [                      ] Conversation.

On Burial Hill, there is an outstanding group of transitional markers, dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, bearing witness to a budding fashion for the neoclassical in Plymouth. The markers are thin sheets of stone cut with obelisk-shaped profiles. Real, three-dimensional obelisks were at that time still difficult to come by. True obelisks would probably have been extremely expensive, as well. The Rachel Cotton stone, dated 1808, is one example [Figure 48]. The inscription reads:

I  
 am erected  
 by  
*Josiah Cotton Esq*  
 in remembrance  
*of Rachel*  
 his pious and Virtuous  
 Wife  
 who died Janu 17<sup>th</sup> 1808  
 aged 30 years

*In belief of Christianity I lived,  
 In hope of a glorious Resurrection I died*

Rachel Cotton's epitaph, if somewhat simplified, expresses the deceased's religiosity and virtue. It is much as the other monuments at which we have looked in this respect. The William Watson stone of 1815 is another, similar example [Figure 49].

In  
 memory  
 of  
 HON. WILLIAM WATSON,  
 faithful in public trust,  
 in every relation  
 exemplary,

this stone is erected,  
 with grateful recollections  
 of  
 his kindness and worth,  
 by  
 his surviving children.

---

Born May 6 AD 1750. OS.  
 Died April 27 AD 1815.

---

The form that Watson's monument takes could not be more attuned to New England tastes in the early nineteenth century. The funerary monuments of this period are increasingly classical and spare in both text and imagery. The remnants of the premodern biographical tradition, though, are clear enough in Watson's epitaph. Watson is "faithful in public trust" and is said to have possessed the characteristics "kindness and worth." The word "exemplary" appears in the center of the oval surface of the stone—even if we want to we cannot ignore it. In considering so many objects in this section, I should reiterate that I have attempted to reproduce the experience of viewing monuments in a burying ground. It is one-after-another-after-another. The feeling of sameness becomes tremendous for the burying ground visitor.

The modern self had encroached upon the premodern self by the time of the erection of the William Watson stone at Plymouth. Modern biography would soon displace the Christological biographical model. The books sometimes identified as the earliest examples of modern biography, such as Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, written between 1771 and 1790, were actually a complex mixture of the premodern and the modern.<sup>378</sup> In time, difference, heterogeneity, and newness would take the place of patterning, exemplification, and imitation as the desirable characteristics of a life. Rather



than regularity and continuity, change would become usual. As John Demos has recently argued, the linear model of time, life, and history was replacing the circular model in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>379</sup> The Puritan view of the world was circular. With every generation of Christian births, the Biblical times were reenacted. The Bible theoretically contained all time and events, prewritten. The burying grounds of New England, dense with historical and biographical texts, urged each succeeding generation to be like the last. And round and round we go. As late as 1892, Bradford Kingman would think it relevant to include the following (and by then curiously outdated) moral imperative in his book about the funerary monuments at Burial Hill in Plymouth:

Stranger!—As from this sacred spot, hallowed by the remembrance of the true-hearted, who sleep beneath its turf, you cast your eyes around and view scenes unsurpassed in interest and beauty,—while you behold flourishing towns and villages abounding in industry, prosperity, and happiness, where once all was dreary, inhospitable, and desolate; think of the self-sacrificing forefathers, learn to emulate their virtues, and firmly resolve to transmit unimpaired, to the latest posterity, the glorious lessons of their noble examples.<sup>380</sup>

Demos convincingly demonstrates that the line typifies the modern view of the world. Rather than clinging to one's origins (i.e. as outlined in the Bible) and circling them, the modern self assumed a linear trajectory of singularity and progress, desiring distance from its beginnings. Each person also paradoxically became his or her own origin. The self measured the self. Christ and the Bible no longer circumscribed possibility for New Englanders. This does not mean that religion went away or that Christ and the Bible became unimportant for people. What it means is that there were other, sometimes competing and additional means of self-fulfillment.

## CHAPTER IV: THE PILGRIM

We have previously discussed some of the material realities of the colonial landscape. In this chapter I would like to reflect on the important role of the imagined landscape in the culture of early New England. Although the metaphorical landscape appears in many writings in this context, by far the most widely read of such sources was John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, first published in London in 1678. The Catholic pilgrimage, for Reformation-era Protestants a chief symbol of the church's corruption, had both a worldly point of departure and a worldly destination. The Puritan pilgrimage, in contrast, was metaphorical, and though it began from the world of the flesh, it had heaven as its end. The paradox for the Puritan pilgrim was that though he or she strove to move constantly away from the world, he or she could not reach heaven without first having been in the world.<sup>381</sup>

In the minds of Protestants, Catholics went on pilgrimage in order to pay homage to objects in idolatrous and superstitious rather than appropriately devotional ways. How then did the pilgrimage become such an important trope for Protestants? N.H. Keeble writes, "Whence came all this talk of walking and of pilgrimages? Curiously, it was encouraged by that very antipathy to pilgrimages that was so marked a feature of early Protestantism. This hostility did not expel *pilgrimage* from the religious lexicon; rather, it appropriated it to new purpose."<sup>382</sup> Keeble continues, "In early English Protestant writing this distinction between true and false pilgrimages became a distinction between the

figurative and the literal, with the literal unexpectedly associated with the false.”<sup>383</sup> As with so much else we have observed in the culture of early Protestantism, there is a fundamental ambivalence about the pilgrimage. Actual travel to churches with relics and shrines, or to places associated with the lives of holy people, was not preferable. On the other hand, to imagine one’s life, through the process of meditation and self-examination, as a rigorous journey with a heavenly end, was desirable. Keeble indexes an impressive number of Protestant texts (“sermons and works of practical divinity”) that “configure the Christian life as a perambulation, a progress, a journey.”<sup>384</sup>

*The Pilgrim’s Progress* is an allegory related “in the similitude of a dream,” and it describes the journey of Christian, the main character, from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City. The way is populated with virtuous and vicious characters, some who try to help Christian and some who try to turn him out of his way. Names clearly indicate affiliation: Piety, Charity, and Prudence, for example, represent virtues; and Obstinate, Pliable, and Ignorance represent vices. The route is often treacherous, and it is only by negotiating difficult obstacles, remaining constant, and staying on the “strait and narrow” path that Christian safely arrives at the Celestial City. The frontispiece in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* depicts Christian, above the so-called “sleeping portrait” of Bunyan, traversing a landscape. I have reproduced a woodcut frontispiece from a 1740 edition of the book published in Boston [Figure 50].<sup>385</sup> When viewed in person, the woodcut has wonderful, swirling, energetic lines, and one can imagine how the picture would have enlivened the text for the eighteenth-century reader. A small skull-and-crossbones and a lion in a cave appear in front of Bunyan. In the background, Christian bears a heavy burden on his back, reads a book, and carries a

pilgrim's staff. He leaves the City of Destruction behind him to the lower right and heads toward the Celestial City in the upper left. The enormous label "Mr. *John Bunyan*." hardly does justice to the complexity of the representation it accompanies.

The epitaphs of many of New England's funerary monuments evoke the pilgrimage. The Elizabeth Watson stone, dated 1770, in Hartford, Connecticut, is a good example [Figure 51]. Its inscription reads:

Here lies Interr'd  
 the Body of  
 Mrs Elizabeth Watson  
 wife of Mr Ebenezer  
 Watson, Printer  
 who departed this life  
 April 11 1770 AET 28

---

*Teach me some Genius  
 from on high  
 Like her to live  
 Like her to die  
 To emulate the paths  
 she trod All humane  
 generous grate and good*

Watson's pilgrimage functions in two ways. It serves as a structure for interpreting her life, a means of communicating her virtues. Like Christian's journey in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, her life is also held up as a model for others to follow. The epitaph encourages the viewer to imitate Watson, "To emulate the paths she trod." Indeed, the inscription is as much about the reader as it is about Watson herself. Like the epitaphs we have already considered, Watson's epitaph effects identification. It equates object and subject, self and other. This idea is particularly interesting if we imagine the state of the Ancient Burying Ground in Hartford in colonial times. Before the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the only paths in burying grounds would have been those made by the regular

passing of people there. When one went to a burying ground, then, one would necessarily walk in the footsteps of others. Cotton Mather employs the same language in his elegies. In his reflections on the life of Urian Oakes, Mather writes, “Nay! Then, Good Reader! Thou and I must try / To *Tread* his *Steps*! Hee walk’t *Exemplar’ly*!”<sup>386</sup> And of Nathanael Collins, Mather says, “*Like COLLINS let us live, like COLLINS dy.*”<sup>387</sup> Many funerary monuments briefly reference the pilgrimage. The Lieutenant Nathan and Rhoda Camp stone of 1767 in Durham, Connecticut, contains the line: “Let a wise walk in wisdoms road . . .” And the Deacon Ezra Baldwin stone of 1792, also in Durham, states that the deceased “*left so bright a Path behind.*”

Protestant writers consistently enjoin readers to imagine themselves passing through difficult landscapes in pursuit of the ultimate goal (i.e. heaven). An eighteenth-century English broadside, entitled *Saint BERNARD’S VISION; Or, The Narrow and Broad Way to HEAVEN and HELL*, is a typical devotional print in this tradition [Figure 52a]. The first version of the picture was published in 1700, and this impression dates to around 1750. As Sheila O’Connell has shown, the engraving is based on a seventeenth-century German broadside with the Latin title *Scala Coeli Et Inferni Ex Divo Bernardo*.<sup>388</sup> The print depicts a variation on a passage from Christ’s Sermon on the Mount, as related in Matthew 7:13-14: “Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide *is* the gate, and broad *is* the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait *is* the gate, and narrow *is* the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.” When Christian begins his journey in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, he enters at the “Wicket Gate,” Bunyan’s version of the “strait gate” described by Christ. The passage from Matthew has been spliced in the conception and execution of the English broadside

with one of the most popular representations dealing with the theme of virtue and vice: *Hercules at the Crossroads*. The picture's title, however, also indicates that it is a representation of a famous vision of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux.

Bernard was one of a few Catholic writers, like Thomas à Kempis, whose works the New England Puritans read. The English print references his treatise *On the Steps of Humility and Pride*. Bernard lists therein the virtuous characteristics of humility and the vicious characteristics of pride. The traits of the proud man or woman include the following: "Trying to be different: claiming special rights"; "Thinking oneself holier than others"; and "Feeling free to sin." And the qualities of the humble man or woman: "Regarding oneself as having no special rights in the community"; "Thinking oneself less holy than others"; and "Desiring no freedom to exercise one's will."<sup>389</sup> The listing of the steps of pride is numbered up as it descends down the page. The listing of the steps of humility is numbered higher and higher as it ascends up the page. Whereas the proud person goes down to hell, the humble person climbs up to heaven. The ladder of humility to which Bernard refers is also that which appears to Jacob in Genesis 28:12: "And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it."

Despite the reference to Bernard in the title and in some of the print's verses, the broadside has been thoroughly Protestantized. The generic virtuous takes the place of most of the specifics as laid out in Bernard's treatise. The opening three stanzas at the bottom of the broadside read:

Once on a Time, as Father BERNARD sat,  
Contemplating on the frail State of Man,  
He fell asleep, and to his Thought appear'd  
The following strange, yet visionary Plan.

A Mountain high, the Way which to ascend  
 Was strew'd with Thorns and Briars on each Side;  
 Between which lay a Cross of Trial sore,  
 Whose Epitaph did GLORY sure betide.

Upon a Mountain stood a Ladder high,  
 Which reached up unto God's bright Abode,  
 Whose steps were pav'd with many Virtues, which  
 Gave Favour to the Men who trod that Road . . .

A man named “Mr. Seek-Truth” stands at the center of the composition, pausing in order to make his decision. To his left stands a winged woman called “Truth,” and to his right “Presumption,” a sort of Whore of Babylon. The cross of “Faith” leads up “The Mountain of VIRTUE,” strewn with thorns and briars. A ladder constructed of various virtues ascends even higher into the clouds, heaven, and then “GOD.” The stairs of vice descend into the monstrous, smoky, fiery mouth of hell. The steps of the ladder are not those of Bernard. They simply include a big list of virtues [Figure 52b]. The long, thin boards defining the sides of the ladder also have virtues: “HUMILITIE” and “PATIENCE.” There is a lengthy history of representations of “The Ladder of Life.”<sup>390</sup> In the New England Puritan context, this virtuous ladder stood in contrast to self-constructed ladders to greatness. Michael Wigglesworth described the ranks of the damned: “You thought to scale Heav'ns lofty Wall / by Ladders of your own.”<sup>391</sup>

A number of published sermons exist from colonial New England based on Matthew 7:13-14. In 1729 Joshua Gee had printed (in Boston) *The Strait Gate and the Narrow Way, Infinitely Preferable to the Wide Gate and the Broad Way. Two Sermons Upon Matth. VII. 13, 14*. Gee appends poems to the sermons, one of which is titled “*The Pilgrimage of the Saints; or, Earth and Heaven*.” Referring to the earthly world, the first stanza reads, “LORD! What a wretched Land is this, / That yields us no Supply? / No cheering Fruits, no wholesome Trees, / Nor Streams of living Joy.”<sup>392</sup> Later in the poem,

Gee compares the world to a maze: “Our Journey is a thorny Maze, / But we march upward still; / Forget these Troubles of the Ways / And reach at *Zion’s* Hill. / See the kind Angels at the Gates: / Inviting us to come; / There Jesus the Fore-runner waits / To welcome Trav’llers home.”<sup>393</sup> Gee’s poem is almost a description of the broadside we have just considered. The metaphor of the pilgrimage is so significant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we find geographical, phenomenological, and landscape-bound descriptions of the Protestant life virtually everywhere.

Like other Puritan writers, Bunyan conceives the world as a wilderness, through which the Christian can make it to heaven only by a concerted ordering and re-ordering of him- or herself. The way to heaven is not only narrow, like a balance beam, it is also completely straight. The straight line, representing the directed, unerring, and focused existence, becomes the most important, if also the most schematic, image of the Protestant life. Near the beginning of his book, Bunyan relates a conversation between Christian and “Good Will.” Good Will explains to him the value of straightness: “Good Christian, come a little way with me, and I will teach thee about the way thou must go. Look before thee; dost thou see this narrow way? That is the way thou must go. It was cast up by the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles, and it is as straight as a rule can make it. This is the way thou must go.” Christian then asks, “Is there no turnings nor windings, by which a stranger may lose the way?” Good Will answers, “Yes, there are many ways butt down upon this; and they are crooked, and wide; but thus thou may’st distinguish the right from the wrong, that only being straight and narrow.”<sup>394</sup> The world is constantly crooked, confusing, and labyrinth-like in Puritan writings. The Puritan was in need of a counter-schema to the muddle of the maze.



The straight line is a feature, as yet overlooked by scholars, that appears on many of the funerary monuments of early New England. In fact, some of the earliest stones still standing utilize the line as the dominant decorative feature. The Samvel Danforth stone of 1653 in Roxbury, Massachusetts, is an early extant example of this kind of monument [Figure 53]. As with other line-incised stones from the mid-late seventeenth century, the three lines on the Samvel Danforth stone do not function to organize the text that they enclose.<sup>395</sup> They are inscribed free of the text, floating above and below the letters and numbers. On the right side of the stone, the middle line terminates with a curious character. It seems to be a kind of head of an arrow, a device directing the viewer to follow the text from one line to the next. Or we might read it as imperatively indicating that the viewer should him- or herself follow the straight line. It is possible that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visitors to the burying ground in Roxbury understood the stone in these terms. The triangular form I read as an arrowhead can also be understood as a delta—the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet, symbolizing the concept of change. The Danforth stone predates Bunyan’s book, but there were earlier popular Protestant texts that expounded on the value of linear life.

One widely distributed depiction of straightness can be found in Francis Quarles’s *Emblemes*, first published in London in 1635. In composing his book of English emblems, Quarles depended heavily on the *Pia Desideria* of Hermann Hugo, a Latin emblem book. Edmund Arwaker later translated Hugo’s text into English.<sup>396</sup> Although Quarles was not a Puritan, many New Englanders knew his works.<sup>397</sup> *Emblem II* in Book IV of Quarles is based on Psalms 119:5 [Figure 54]. The caption beneath the engraving, executed by one “W. Simpson,” reads, “O that my wayes were Directed to keepe thy

Statutes.” And lines 13 and 14 of the verse on the facing page: “The world’s a Lab’rinth, whose anfractious wayes / Are all compos’d of Rubs, and crook’d Meanders.”<sup>398</sup> The engraving depicts a pilgrim, staff in hand, in the middle of a labyrinth. The labyrinth represents the world, “all compos’d of Rubs and crook’d Meanders.” Several tiny figures have fallen into the labyrinth, and several more are unsuccessfully attempting to scale the rocky crag upon which the heavenly tower rests. A seeing-eye dog leads a blind man, whose attribute is also a staff, through the maze. It will not be long before he too falls in. The pilgrim holds the end of a rope, which extends over the labyrinth to an angel in the heavenly tower, representing salvation. The straight line of the rope represents the pious, steadfast life, a journey without worldly detours.

There are many biblical passages upon which Quarles (and Hugo before him) are drawing. Proverbs 2:15 describes those “Whose ways *are* crooked, and *they* froward in their paths.” And Proverbs 4:19: “The way of the wicked *is* as darkness: they know not at what they stumble.” Proverbs 12:28 reads, “In the way of righteousness *is* life; and *in* the pathway *thereof there is* no death.” Isaiah 40:3-4: “The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.” And Isaiah 59:7-10:

Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts *are* thoughts of iniquity; wasting and destruction *are* in their paths. The way of peace they know not; and *there is* no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace. Therefore is judgment far from us, neither doth justice overtake us: we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, *but* we walk in darkness. We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if *we had* no eyes: we stumble at noon-day as in the night; *we are* in desolate places as dead *men*.

This last passage from the Book of Isaiah implies that to walk a straight line is to have both life and vision. This idea is part and parcel of the Protestant metaphor of the linear

life. To be snared in the labyrinth of the world is to be among the dead and blind, and Bunyan picks up on this idea. He describes the Pilgrims' arrival at "Mount Caution":

Then I saw that they had them to the top of another mountain, and the name of that is Caution, and bid them look afar off; which when they did, they perceived, as they thought, several men walking up and down among the tombs that were there. And they perceived that the men were blind because they stumbled sometimes upon the tombs, and because they could not get out from among them. Then said Christian, 'What means this?'"<sup>399</sup>

The shepherds provide Christian with the moral of the story: "*He that wandereth out of the way of understanding, shall remain in the congregation of the dead.*"<sup>400</sup> Bunyan alludes here to 1 Peter 2:6-8.<sup>401</sup> When Peter describes the saints as "living stones," he goes on to detail Christ's assorted characteristics as "chief corner stone":

Wherefore also it is contained in the scripture, Behold, I lay in Si-on on a chief corner stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded. Unto you therefore which believe *he is* precious: but unto them that be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, And a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, *even to them* which stumble at the word, being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed.

Given the fact that many seventeenth-century Puritans found the act of walking among the tombs spiritually valuable, it is interesting that the one reference to the practice in Bunyan's book has to do with blindness rather than sight. The point of visiting burying grounds, though, was always returning to the world, somewhat purified, and ready to be a better person. To remain there, like the blind men in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, would be to misunderstand the purpose of burying ground reflections.

In Book II of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle first formulated the notion of virtuous straightness that Bunyan, Quarles, and others would later explore. Aristotle writes, "Excellence, then, is a kind of intermediacy, in so far as it is effective at hitting upon what is intermediate. Again, there are many ways of going astray (for the bad belongs to what is unlimited—as the Pythagoreans used to say by analogy—the good to

what is limited), whereas there is only one way of getting it right.”<sup>402</sup> He adds that “missing the mark is easy, but hitting it is difficult.”<sup>403</sup> The idea of “missing the mark” is important in Christian theology. The Greek word “hamartia,” which means “to miss the mark,” appears regularly in the New Testament. It is translated into English as the verb “to sin.”<sup>404</sup> The good life, right on target, is without sin. The image best representing virtue for Aristotle is the straight line: “for single and straight is the road of the good; the bad go bad every which way.”<sup>405</sup> Aristotle concludes, “Hence excellence, in terms of its essence, and the definition that states what it is for excellence to be, is intermediacy, but in terms of what is best, and good practice, it is extremity.”<sup>406</sup> Although I will not discuss them in detail in this thesis, many early New England gravestones bear concentric circles or target-like forms in their framing devices or on their shoulders. It is possible that carvers meant to express the idea that the lives of the saints had hit the mark. Even if all Puritans had sinned at times during their lives, their post-mortem self was a self-perfected. The stones carrying targets might be read like stones with straight lines. Both forms were about excellence and perfection.

Other seventeenth-century stones streaked with straight lines include the Timothy Andrew stone of 1674 in Cambridge, Massachusetts [**Figure 55**]. The word “ANDREW” in the inscription incorporates a backward letter N. This gravestone is interesting also because it brings together straight lines with an upper circle and a lower square form. Nelson has made the case that colonial gravestones, combining the circle and square, bring heaven and earth together through form. Although Nelson is writing about the gravestones of Anglicans in South Carolina, the stones in question were produced in New England.<sup>407</sup> We might read the Timothy Andrew stone, then, as a material argument that

Puritans could unite heaven and earth by living a linear life. Eighteenth-century funerary monuments, slate markers in particular, also exhibit lines. By the later period, carvers were using lines to organize the text on their stones. Carvers presumably pre-incised the lines in order to ensure a straight inscription. The lines on these monuments usually do not show up well in photographs. When one visits a burying ground in person, however, the lines are most visible. The Stivens children stone of 1756-1759 in Marblehead, Massachusetts, is one example of the later use of lines [Figures 56a and 56b]. Although on later stones the lines functioned as “guidelines,” we should not necessarily assume that they no longer evoked the route to salvation: “as straight as a rule can make it.”<sup>408</sup> The lines remain a visual allusion to order. The connotations of rule are (and were) multiple. A rule is a prescribed guide for conduct or action. It is a law or regulation. To rule is to make straight, to curb or to restrain. To rule is also to exercise control or to have authority over others. A rule is something that one can follow in order to achieve some desired outcome. For those who believe in the rule, no deviation from it is permissible. There can be no compromises.

Writing to former parishioners in England in 1632, the pastor Thomas Weld of Roxbury underlines the importance of the notion of “the rule” for the first New England Puritans. He allies the idea of the rule and self-perfection: “Conceive us not as if we went about to justify ourselves or dream of perfection, no God knows we think ourselves the poorest and unworthiest of all his servants justly else he might spew us out of his mouth [Rev. 3:16]. Only we desire to breathe after perfection and to know what is the rule and to walk in it.”<sup>409</sup> Weld lived in the same town where we find the line-covered gravestones of Samvel Danforth and others. In 1645 Thomas Shepard writes of the inflexibility of

“God’s rules”: “crook not God’s rules to the experience of men. . . .but bring men unto rules, and try mens estates herein by that. . . .We are not in this or any other point to be guided by the experience of men only. . . .attend the rule. . . .stand or fall according to the rule.”<sup>410</sup> Although salvation for Calvinists was not guaranteed by doing good works, good works were evidence one’s having been elected. In Ephesians 2:10, Paul writes of the godly self: “For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.” Good works assumed an ambiguous place in the Calvinist mentality. Like the rule they could “walk in” “good works.” By conforming to the rule, one gained assurance of goodness.

The reader may be asking him- or herself the following question at this point: If the line is, as according to John Demos, a fitting representation of the modern view of the world, how is it that the line is also central to the premodern world view of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestants? Are the two similar? Or are these concepts different? My answer would be that the line for premodern Protestant culture is rather a different thing from the Demosian line of modernity. What the two sorts of lines have in common is their relation to an ideal of progress. Despite the fact that the premodern world view was essentially circular, the Bible told a story impelling historical time toward its end. This is the “end times” foretold in certain books of the Old Testament, and given its final version in the Book of Revelation. Demos writes of this “strong linear component” of Puritanism: “Thus a line, or perhaps an arrow, pointed from a highly deficient *here* toward a transcendently glorious *there*.”<sup>411</sup> The Puritans were mindful of the forthcoming “end of the line.” The rule or the straight line was, above all, the picture of orderliness and discipline. Later Protestants would also find the line a useful, moralizing image.

Nineteenth-century Protestants involved in the Temperance movement employed the line as an icon of moderation.<sup>412</sup> In composing the popular country music song “I Walk the Line” in the middle of the twentieth century, Johnny Cash found in the line the figure of fidelity. It comes as no surprise that the primary audience for Cash’s music in America was Protestant.

By separating this chapter on the imagined landscape from the section of my thesis treating the material realities of the burying ground as colonial landscape, I do not mean to suggest that the two were mutually exclusive. The power of metaphor, in fact, lies in its conflation of the literal and the figurative. In the metaphorically dense environment of early New England, the literal could become the figurative and the figurative the literal. Hambrick-Stowe writes, “In spiritualizing the pilgrimage tradition Puritans did not altogether abandon geography, but they transformed it. Although the old holy places were banned, and pilgrimage to them rejected as pagan and vain, the New Englander was still a geographical as well as a spiritual traveler.”<sup>413</sup> The colonists had occasion, both literally metaphorically, to inquire about their location. Where have I been? Where am I now? Where I am going? This directive inclination gave rise to material manuals of spiritual direction, such as devotional tracts, diaries, elegies, biographies, histories, and funerary monuments. It also gave rise to the other major colonial expression in stone: the milestone—a significant though understudied feature of the early New England landscape.<sup>414</sup>

In conducting my research for this thesis, I have discovered only one published work about the milestones of early New England: a short documentary piece issued in 1987 by James B. Stone and titled “Ancient Milestones of Essex County.”<sup>415</sup> Stone

provides basic information regarding the milestones still standing along a main road in this Massachusetts county. He states that the “old Bay Road” was “laid out” during 1639 and was “the first highway authorized by the general court in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.”<sup>416</sup> The road’s milestones were erected during the “very early 1700s.”<sup>417</sup> Another wonderful resource for the study of New England’s milestones, albeit to date mainly unexplored, is the Historic American Buildings Survey collection at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Beginning in 1933, the “Survey” set out to document every aspect of the “built environment” of America. The Survey continues to operate today. A large portion of the collection documents the material culture of early New England, and there are numerous photographs and measured drawings of milestones. Included among these are two eighteenth-century milestones from Dorchester and Mattapan, Massachusetts, the surfaces of which carry carvings of large hearts.<sup>418</sup> They recall the heart carvings we have considered on funerary monuments. There is also a fine group of photographs and drawings of milestones from Groton, Massachusetts. Known as the “Doctor Oliver Prescott Milestones” and erected in 1787, three of the stones are carved with a motif of a pointing hand.<sup>419</sup> Other milestones indicate the distance to some important location. In the greater Boston area, for example, there are several stones documented by HABS that give notice of the distance to the Town House.<sup>420</sup>

Most milestones provide at least basic information about geographical position, such as distance (in miles, of course) to and from other locations. A milestone still standing near Harvard Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is typical in this respect. One side of the marker is inscribed “OSTON / 8 MILES / I734 / A.I.” **[Figure 57a]**. Many milestones bear the name or initials of the person who paid for or executed them,



and “A.I.” is probably the patron or the craftsman. The Cambridge milestone is unusual in being carved on two sides. The reverse of the stone, carved sixty years later, reads, “CAMBRI / New BRIDG / 2 1/4 Miles / J794” [Figure 57b]. Milestones often incorporate pictorial elements, sometimes abstract and sometimes figurative, as in the case of the heart milestones of Dorchester and Mattapan. They also may include textual passages, though such texts appear infrequently. A milestone in Wenham, Massachusetts, hewn of pinkish-brown granite and positioned 7 miles from Ipswich and 20 miles from Boston, is inscribed with the following passage: “IOB THE 3023 / IKNOWTHATTHO / WILTBRINGME / TODEATHANDTO / THEHOVSE ~ ~ / APPOINTED FOR / ALL LIVING / I 7 I 0” [Figure 58]. The milestone refers to Job 30:23. The verse appears in the context of a group of passages about death. Job 30:22 reads, “Thou liftest me up to the wind; thou causest me to ride *upon it*, and dissolvest my substance.” And Job 30:24: “Howbeit he will not stretch out *his* hand to the grave, though they cry in his destruction.” The Wenham milestone is all about the meaning of place in colonial New England. It explains physical location, and it alludes to the idea of spiritual location. It brings together the real, physical landscape and the metaphorical landscape.

For this study, it is interesting that milestones sometimes appear adjacent to burying grounds. As with gravestones, New Englanders have relocated many milestones over time, so it is difficult to be certain of original positions. Both the Cambridge and Wenham milestones I have illustrated stand at the edges of the main burying grounds for their respective towns. The Cambridge milestone is positioned just inside the black wrought iron fence enclosing the burying ground, and the Wenham marker is built into the wall of the Wenham burying ground. The juxtaposition of the two types of stones

commands our reflection. How are stone funerary monuments like milestones? Or are they? The Wenham marker, with its framing lines and rounded top, manifestly echoes the forms of the early gravestones nearby. But the milestone in Cambridge does not—it is a different sort of stone. Thomas Bridgman is a nineteenth-century writer who recognized the milestone-like qualities of colonial funerary monuments:

Distinct from the respect and affection we owe to our friends who have gone, there is another consideration of weight – the benefit which a preservation of such memorials may confer. They may enable heirs, in some instances, to prove their descent and trace their genealogy; they may excite the young to emulate the deeds of their honored ancestors; and they teach us, amidst the bustle and business of the hour, that the glory of this world passeth away. They stand like road-guides in the journey of life, casting their long shadows over the whole path to another world.<sup>421</sup>

I suppose Bridgman's closing comment in this passage is something like what I myself have come to believe, having thought a great deal about the possible relationships between early New England grave- and milestones. There was, indeed, no reason for the creator of the Wenham milestone to carve a passage from the book of Job on the marker. The carver's having done so is evidence of a fully formed cultural consciousness and a highly developed material imagination. The milestone is a remarkable statement about the need for material reminders of place during the colonial period. It both poses and answers the questions: Where have I been? Where am I now? Where am I going?

## CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to recontextualize colonial burying grounds and funerary monuments. Part of the impetus for such reconfiguration has to do with the fact that many other writers have overlooked the particular contexts that interest me, including the colonial landscape, traditions of self-examination and self-presentation, and so on.<sup>422</sup> I would like to briefly consider, as a portion of my conclusion, a number of individuals, both colonial and extra-colonial, who have, in one way or another, already digested and expressed many of the points I have made. I would like to think about the possible temporal and/or geographical extensions of this study. Although I have been critical of many previous writers in this thesis, I do not mean to lead you to believe that every writer of later periods has misunderstood colonial New England.

In his poem “The Jewish Cemetery at Newport,” Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, for example, captures the ambivalence that I suggest typifies the colonial burying ground. The poem includes the lines: “And these sepulchral stones, so old and brown, / That pave with level flags their burial-place, / Seem like the tablets of the Law, thrown down / And broken by Moses at the mountain’s base.”<sup>423</sup> Moses, of course, destroyed the tablets upon coming down from the mountain to find the Israelites engaged in the idolatrous worship of the Golden Calf.<sup>424</sup> Longfellow beautifully expresses the material conflictedness of the Jews, who like the Puritans have variously accepted or rejected material practices and pictorial representations. Longfellow’s poem is at once the story of permissible colonial

representations (existing in time) and of a biblical narrative which for Jews embodies a tension related to representation. I have located no sources providing evidence of a tradition of Jewish burying ground devotions in the colonies, though most Jewish funerary monuments are akin to those of Protestant groups. The burying ground in Newport, Rhode Island, contains stones that except for their Hebrew script could be mistaken for Protestant monuments.

Longfellow's passage begs the question of whether ideas I have explored in my study might be relevant to other groups in the colonies. Previous writers have identified relationships between monuments and burying grounds in New England and those in other areas, including Long Island, New York, South Carolina, and Georgia.<sup>425</sup> Francis Hopkinson, a native of Pennsylvania (who also lived in New Jersey), alludes to a burying ground meditation similar to those that I have described for New England. In his elegy entitled "To the Memory of Mrs. Mary M'Kean," written in 1773, Hopkinson details an imaginary visit to a burying ground in sympathetic terms:

Oft when the moon with placid ray  
Gleams o'er the dew-bespangled green,  
Here shall my silent footsteps stray,  
Here shall my pensive form be seen.

Thy worth, dear saint, shall then arise  
All bright to contemplation's view:  
Review thy life with weeping eyes,  
And weeping strive to copy you.<sup>426</sup>

Although I identified a Pennsylvanian as the author of this passage, it might also have been written by a New Englander. Were the material practices in other colonies like those in New England? Were the primary notions of selfhood the same? Were the traditions of self-presentation the same? Or were there similarities and differences? A comparative study of material self-fashioning in the colonies would be a worthwhile undertaking.

The playwright Arthur Miller appropriated Puritan culture in composing *The Crucible*, first staged in 1953. Writing during the cold war, amidst a climate of staunch anti-Communism, Miller was interested in the “naming names” that went on during the Salem Witch Trials. His play deals with this event. Having been accused of impurity early in the play, a character by the name of Abigail cries, “My name is good in the village! I will not have it said my name is soiled!”<sup>427</sup> Abigail has engaged in sexual acts with John Proctor, a married man, and his wife Elizabeth has cast her out. Abigail was formerly a servant in their house. Abigail later exclaims, “She [Elizabeth] is blackening my name in the village! She is telling lies about me!”<sup>428</sup> As the play goes on, more and more characters’ names are “blackened,” and they are brought forth as witches. A mass hysteria ensues, not unlike that which developed during the cold war in America under the direction of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Many Americans accused of being members of the Communist party or Communist sympathizers were “black-listed,” and this more or less ruined their lives. In Miller’s play, John Proctor afterward admits to his adulterous act before the judges: “I have made a bell of my honor! I have rung the doom of my good name . . .”<sup>429</sup>

Proctor is also accused of witchcraft, and like the other accusers he is given the option to confess or to face condemnation. At first he decides to confess in order to save his life, but the judges then demand a written confession. Proctor says, “I have confessed myself! Is there no good penitence but it be public? God does not need my name nailed upon the church! God sees my name; God knows how black my sins are! It is enough!”<sup>430</sup> Proctor soon loses all control of his emotions at the thought of forsaking his good name. Upon being prodded as to why he will give an oral but no written confession, he exclaims

“with a cry of his whole soul”: “Because it is my name! Because I cannot have another in my life! Because I lie and sign myself to lies! Because I am not worth the dust on the feet of them that hang! How may I live without my name? I have given you my soul; leave me my name!”<sup>431</sup> Destroying his written confession, Proctor chooses the rope over life with a soiled name.

### **Re-viewing Amos Doolittle’s *A View of the Town of Concord***

Amos Doolittle (1754-1832), an engraver of New Haven, Connecticut, created four now famous views of the Battle of Lexington and Concord, an engagement in those Massachusetts towns that initiated the Revolutionary War. One scholar has described the engravings as an “honest presentation of one of the most significant events in American history,” an “accurate and detailed visual account” of the events of April 19, 1775.<sup>432</sup> They were published in December of 1775, eight months after the battle, and advertised in the *Connecticut Journal*.<sup>433</sup> The second plate in the group, entitled *A View of the Town of Concord*, comprises one of the only extant pictorial representations of a New England burying ground executed and distributed during the colonial period [Figure 59a]. Since Doolittle created the four engravings in a series, scholars have always interpreted them together. I would like to offer a reading of the second plate in line with the themes of this thesis. As a rare look at an important feature of the colonial landscape, I will argue, the engraving is a complex commentary on the nature of the space. A new interpretation is possible if we suspend associational reasoning and the thematic hermeneutic.

The burying ground is positioned, like an anchor, in the bottom third of the composition, separated from the main road by a stone wall. In the middle ground, lining

the main street, stand identifiable buildings. The meetinghouse is to the left, in the center Wright's Tavern, and to the far right the courthouse. At the center the town recedes, and the diminution of buildings and people draws us toward the horizon line. We then meet the sky, which occupies the upper portion of the picture. In the bottom margin Doolittle has included a legend, identifying seven aspects of the landscape. It describes ranks of British troops on the road as "Companies of the Regulars marching into Concord" and "Companies of the Regulars drawn up in order." It identifies the redcoats standing among the gravestones as "Colonel Smith & Major Pitcairn viewing the Provincials, who were mustering on an East Hill in Concord" [Figure 59b]. Because numbers four and five in the legend, naming Smith and Pitcairn, are paired together, it remains somewhat unclear who is who. It seems probable, however, that Smith, as the commanding officer, occupies the more prominent position. He is likely the person to the right, leaning on a staff and gazing directly out of the picture. Pitcairn stands to the left, in profile, peering through a spyglass back toward Smith and out the right side of the composition.

Doolittle enacts a number of clever dialogues here, and he underlines his own playfulness through the child-like renderings of the features in the engraving. He links the gravestones in the foreground to the British soldiers on the road. Although the stones mark individual graves, they do not bear inscriptions in the engraving. Some are a bit larger and some a bit smaller. Some are leaning here and there, but they more or less stand in organized rows. Like the omission of the epitaphs from the grave markers, the soldiers' uniforms confer similitude. The soldiers certainly have their own identities, names and ranks that distinguish them from others. To an even greater extent than the gravestones, they are "drawn up in order," tightly arranged in rectangular groups and

poised to operate as a unit. The funerary monuments that we have examined utilize the very same rhetoric embodied in this print. The “uniform” for Puritans, the “one shape,” was Christ, and early New Englanders understood election and self-perfection as “a putting on of Christ.”<sup>434</sup> Stone carvers employed this concept in epitaphs, as well. The terms regularly used to describe the deceased, such as copy, pattern, and example, are all about conformity to a model. Also recall the epitaph for Samuel Allen, which speaks about “his uniform life of piety.” The elect were known as the “army of saints,” and a Puritan’s spiritual life was likened to “combat” or “warfare.” One of the most popular Puritan devotional manuals was John Downname’s *The Christian Warfare*, initially issued in London in 1604.<sup>435</sup>

There are additional points of interest in Doolittle’s engraving. I am particularly concerned with the connotations of the belongings of Smith and Pitcairn. Smith holds a staff in his right hand, an object associated with status and leadership. The staff identifies him as the one in charge, as the highest-ranking person identified in the picture. The staff is also an item a traveler carries and one of the key attributes of a pilgrim. Remember the stick the man employs in Quarles’s earthly maze and that which Christian utilizes in the frontispiece to *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. Pitcairn’s attribute is the spyglass, and Doolittle states that he and Smith are “viewing the Provincials, who were mustering on an East Hill in Concord.” The use of burying grounds as lookouts was common during the American Revolution, as many of them are built on hills. As we have seen, from the time of arrival the colonists enacted a major program of deforestation. Coupled with the modest scale of colonial architecture, deforestation would have afforded the colonists panoramic vistas even from small hills.



In *A View of the Town of Concord*, Doolittle has constructed a picture enabling the viewer to see far beyond the town to what appear to be distant mountains. As Richard Becherer has noted, the burying grounds in colonial seaside towns would have permitted expansive views of the ocean.<sup>436</sup> One can still experience such a prospect at Burial Hill in Plymouth, Massachusetts [Figure 60]. Trees and buildings in Concord today completely disallow the view that Doolittle presents. In general, burying grounds can be understood as spaces allowing one to “see further.” Whereas one could literally see farther in towns like Concord, it was figuratively true everywhere. I believe Doolittle plays on this notion in his depiction of Pitcairn. The spyglass, like the staff, commonly appears in devotional literature. It is designated by a variety of names, including “perspective glass” and “optic glass.” In *Resolues: Divine, Morall, Politicall*, published in 1623, Owen Felltham writes, “*Meditation is the souls Perspective Glasse: whereby in her long remove, shee discerneth God, as if hee were nearer hand.*”<sup>437</sup> Quarles makes use of the spyglass metaphor in his *Emblems. Emblem XIV* in Book III is based on Deuteronomy 32:29. It is a conversation between “the Flesh” and “the Spirit.” They compare worldly and spiritual glasses, with “the Spirit” concluding that the spiritual spyglass is better. Whereas the worldly glass distorts one’s sight, the spiritual glass allows perfect vision.<sup>438</sup>

Bunyan utilizes the metaphor in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. Following a scene in which the Shepherds show Christian and his companion Hopeful a frightening “by-way to Hell,” Bunyan describes their presenting the heavenly counterpart:

By this time the pilgrims had a desire to go forwards, and the shepherds a desire they should; so they walked together towards the end of the Mountains. Then said the shepherds one to another, ‘Let us here show to the pilgrims the Gates of the Celestial City, if they have skill to look through our perspective glass. The pilgrims then lovingly accepted the motion: so they had them to the top of an high Hill called Clear, and gave them their glass to look. Then they essayed to look, but the remembrance of that last thing that the shepherds had showed them made their hands shake; by means of which

impediment they could not look steadily though the glass; yet they thought they saw something like the Gate, and also some of the glory of the place.<sup>439</sup>

Bunyan's depiction is skillful. He not only details the virtues of the glass, but also the Pilgrims' inability to fully take advantage of the instrument. Because they are afraid and feeble, they cannot hold the glass still. They are only capable of seeing "something like the gate" and "some of the glory of the place." This is perhaps the most one could ever hope to see in the burying grounds, as well.

In *Our Town*, a play first produced in 1938, Thornton Wilder references the colonial practice that Doolittle pictures. Set in the fictional town of Grover's Corners in southwestern New Hampshire, the third act of the play takes place in the town cemetery, a space in the spirit of the colonial burying ground. At the opening of the act, the Stage Manager, functioning as the narrator, describes a familiar scene:

This is certainly an important part of Grover's Corners. It's on a hilltop—a windy hilltop—lots of sky, lots of clouds,—often lots of sun and moon and stars.

You come up here, on a fine afternoon and you can see range on range of hills—awful blue they are—up there by Lake Sunapee and Lake Winnepesaukee. . . .and way up, if you've got a glass, you can see the White Mountains and Mt. Washington—where North Conway and Conway is. And, of course, our favorite mountain, Mt. Monadnock, 's right here—and all these towns that lie around it: Jaffrey, 'n East Jaffrey, 'n Peterborough, 'n Dublin; and

*Then pointing down in the audience.*

there, quite a ways down, is Grover's Corners.

Yes, beautiful spot up here. Mountain laurel and li-lacks. I often wonder why people like to be buried in Woodlawn and Brooklyn when they might pass the same time up here in New Hampshire.<sup>440</sup>

Wilder so clearly evokes Doolittle's engraving that it appears he must have known the picture. Aside from later copies of *A View of the Town of Concord*, I know of no other images in which a person looks through a glass in a burying ground in order to take in some distant prospect.<sup>441</sup> Writing of a New England that was by the 1930s mythologized and made into a place where one could still experience the romantic rural and colonial past, Wilder's feelings of nostalgia are evident. Wilder's is not so much a misreading of

history, however, as it is a revitalization. He appropriates Doolittle's pictorial strategy, making it relevant to an American audience who, though very different from earlier New Englanders, were interested in history and proud of their country's origins.

The most fascinating thing about Doolittle's engraving is his combining of the various elements: soldiers and gravestones, burying ground and larger landscape, Smith and Pitcairn. I would like to conclude with several observations about our feature couple that brings us back to notions of selfhood, self-examination, and the practice of visiting burying grounds. There exists an inconsistency in the textual and pictorial descriptions of the pair; the print seems to challenge the limiting capacity of captions. Whereas the print's caption works to define or constrain pictorial meaning, there is tension between what the picture shows and what the caption says it shows. Neither Smith nor Pitcairn appears to be viewing the "Provincials." Smith looks out at us, and Pitcairn points his spyglass directly at Smith. Unless he looks in one of Smith's ears and out the other, it is ultimately at Smith himself that he is looking. Like the monuments for colonial New Englanders, Smith stands as our man of high status and pilgrim. As the inferior officer, Pitcairn looks up to Smith as a model. Pitcairn's spyglass bridges the gap between Smith and himself. Doolittle delineates the glass as two parallel horizontal lines, resembling an equal sign. Smith and Pitcairn participate in the notion of uniformity that I have explored in this essay. Doolittle sets them apart, through physical separation and by identifying them by name. Their uniforms and the spyglass/equal sign, however, insist on their similitude. The colonists went to the burying grounds to view the monuments of the saints, in hopes of one day becoming saints themselves. Inscriptions honored the dead as copies and patterns, as Christ-like and worthy of imitation. New Englanders wandered

there seeking direction and the image of Christ, looking into themselves by looking into others. The Battle of Lexington and Concord was a turning point in American history, however. Doolittle's is an image that seems to teeter between two worlds with two different models of selfhood (premodern and modern). The decidedly democratic and difference-embracing "all men are created equal" of the Declaration of Independence would officially enable a new individuality.

The Concord Museum owns a large, painted copy of Doolittle's engraving [Figure 61a]. For years, writers believed that Doolittle based his prints on drawings or paintings executed by Ralph Earl and that the Concord Museum painting was therefore by that artist.<sup>442</sup> Earl was a skillful landscape painter. His panoramic *Looking East from Denny Hill* (1800) in the Worcester Art Museum provides evidence of his ability, as do the many small landscapes incorporated into his portraits. Several scholars have argued more recently that Doolittle designed and executed the engravings and that the Concord Museum painting is a later copy after Doolittle's original.<sup>443</sup> For a number of reasons, this is the more convincing explanation. First, no painted versions are known for Doolittle's other three engravings of the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Second, the painting in the Concord Museum has a yellow band around its perimeter, which though it does not show up in my reproduction, seems to be original. It therefore may be an imitation of the border of Doolittle's print.<sup>444</sup> Third, nowhere in the eighteenth-century advertisements for the engravings is Earl mentioned. Fourth, the engravings bear Doolittle's signature but no textual allusion to Earl.

I am interested in the Concord Museum painting because of a small, but key difference between it and Doolittle's engraving. This has to do with the treatment of the

figures of Smith and Pitcairn [Figure 61b]. Writing in 1935, William Sawitzky observed some of the differences between the engraving and painting:

Upon studying the [painting] in detail, one perceives its superiority to the Doolittle engraving in artistic feeling, balance, draftsmanship, and technique. There is, first of all, the great difference in the placing and treatment of the figures of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn in the foreground. While not particularly well drawn, the two British officers, as painted by Earl, look convincingly like human beings, one viewing through a spyglass the Provincial troops outside of Concord, the other holding a tall cane quite naturally, and facing his brother officer as if in conversation. The very pose of this second officer brings to mind some of Earl's later portraits, among them his William Floyd, Elias Perkins, and General Gabriel Christie. In the Doolittle engraving the two figures violate all our standard conceptions of human anatomy, and the officer at the left, on legs that resemble those of a black-crowned night heron, turns his spyglass not toward the enemy on a distant hillside, but into the peculiarly swollen face of his companion, who seems in consequence to be retreating beyond a gravestone, and turns away in noticeable embarrassment.<sup>445</sup>

Although I do not agree with Sawitzky when it comes to his judging the painting to be superior to the engraving, I do agree that there is a major difference between these two pictures. In the engraving, as we have seen, one soldier looks through the spyglass right at the other. In the painting, the one looks past the other. If this slight alteration is any indication, the copyist, probably working between 1775 and 1825, has overlooked Doolittle's neat figural grouping. Or perhaps he recognized what Doolittle had done, but did not like it. He may have thought the grouping a mistake or an inferior rendering and therefore "corrected" it. Between 1775 and 1825 much had changed with the built environment of death in New England. In the popular imagination an ever-widening chasm between people and things developed. Monuments became bigger and bigger, the appearance of the rural cemetery one of motley assortment rather than uniformity.<sup>446</sup> Similitude went out of style. Doolittle's commentary was no longer relevant to the modern self—distinguished above all by being different from others.

The figural grouping in the Concord Museum painting should serve as a fitting emblem for the end of my thesis. The soldier holding the spyglass there looks past the

soldier next to him. The copyist who painted the picture plainly looked past what Doolittle had done in his engraving with regard to that grouping. And scholars ever since have looked past the reasons why Doolittle may have designed *A View of the Town of Concord* as he did. After all, there are innumerable ways the artist might have treated the subject. In this essay, I myself have focused on things that many others have looked past. I add my voice to the chorus of scholars, past and present, who have devoted their energy to making sense of the material culture of early New England. I hope to have convinced the reader, at the very least, that the funerary monuments and burying grounds of colonial New England are subjects worthy of our attention and our further consideration. At one time spaces and surfaces of reflection for the colonists, the grounds and stones continue to merit our reflections today.

**FIGURES** (omitted)

## APPENDIX

### Connecticut

Nathaniel Bingham stone, 1754, Scotland, Connecticut. “Such was / his Meekness  
humility Mo- / desty & Peaceableness Such / his Friendship to Order ye / worship of  
Gods house / Such his Example & Useful- / ness that he Lived Much belou- / ed & died  
Greatly lamented.”

Rev. Ashbel Woodbridge stone, 1758, Glastonbury, Connecticut. “A Great / Scholer, an  
Excellent Divine, / a Faithful Minister, a wise Peace / maker; He shone with uncommon /  
Lusture in Every Station of / Life . . .”

Gov. William Pitkin tablestone, 1769, East Hartford, Connecticut. “*In Religion without  
Affectation / Chearfull Humble and Temperate / Zealous and bold for the Truth /  
Faithfull in Distributing Justice / Scattering away Evil with his Eye / An Example of  
Christian Virtues / A PATRON of his Country / A Tender Parent & Faithfull Friend . . .*”

David Atwater stone, 1777, New Haven, Connecticut. “a noted Apothecary, / a valuable  
Member of Society, / just & upright in his Dealings, / generously beneficent to the Public,  
/ definitively charitable to the Poor, / a kind & amiable Husband, / a faithfull Friend, / &  
a firm Advocate for his Country . . .”

Ebenezer Watson stone, 1777, Hartford, Connecticut. “His heart was benevolent, he / was  
kind to the distressed & an / advocate of the injured his life / exhibited the Marks of an  
honest / Man Friendship to the rights of / human nature At his death which / happened in  
the years of vigor & / usefulness he received the distinguished / Eulogy the undissembled  
grief / of a numerous acquaintances.”

Col. John Dyer stone, 1779, Canterbury, Connecticut. “Thes / Posts he Sustained With /  
Emblemashed Carrecter” “A Man of Sound Judg / ment & Unbyased Integ / rity . . .”

Noah Andrus stone, 1780, Farmington, Connecticut. “a / young gentleman of good  
geniues, an / accomplished scholar, evangelical prea / cher, amiable friend, & exhibited a  
bright / example of ye virtues, & graces of ye Chri / stian character.”

Deacon Jonathan Allen stone, 1783, Middletown, Connecticut. “*He was a kind & tender /  
Husband, an affectionate and faithful / Father, a most valuable Friend & exampl- / ary  
Christian. Mark the perfect / man and behold the upright for the / End of that man is*



*Peace.*”

Deacon Thomas Lyman stone, 1783, Columbia, Connecticut. “He was / a man of great Experience in ye / Christian religion. Few in our world / have enjoyed a more constant cum / munion with Heaven: or at Intervals / had greater discoveries of Divine / things. His life was Zealous & ex- / emplary: his death was peacefull & / triumphant. He did great honour to / religion while he lived but greater / when he died. In his last moments / were seen ye power of ye divine life, & / ye most convincing proof to ye truth / of ye christian religion . . .”

Deacon Samuel Huntington stone, 1785, Lebanon, Connecticut. “an / Early professor of Reli- / gion, firmly Establishd / In the Caluinistick Doc- / trines of the Gospel / his Exemplary piety / Benevolence & genero- / sity are worthy the imi / tation of his numerous / descendents & Acquaint- / ances . . .”

Phinehas Spelman stone, 1783, Durham, Connecticut. “*He was a kind Husband and / an affectionate Parent . . .*”

Amelia West stone, 1786, Tolland, Connecticut. “*Much Respected & Beloved in / her Life and Greatly Lamented / in her Death. / She was truely Amiable / & Virtuous and well / Adorned the Christian / Character in every Station / and Relation of her Life.*”

Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey stone, 1787, New Haven, Connecticut. “With eminent natural / talents and human acquirements he / united a firm attachment to the princi / ples of civil and religious liberty. He / inculcated the doctrines of grace as / motives to holiness, constantly taught / and in various relations exemplified, / the *more excellent way*; and, having / discharged with fidelity and dignity / the duties of the pastoral office, closed / his useful life with a full hope of / immortality . . .”

Dr. David Adams stone, 1790, Mansfield Center, Connecticut. “Endowed by Nature, with strong / Mental powers, which he greatly / improved by reading and reflection; / Distinguished for good sense, Phy- / lanthropy & Patriotism. He was / eminent as a Physician. And / died in hope of a happy immortal / ity.”

Sarah Johnson stone, 1790, Durham, Connecticut. “*An amiable Disposition, a friendly Heart, / a cheerful temper, engaging Manners, / a virtuous Behaviour, filial Piety / and conjugal Tenderness / made all her Friends lament her Death / with inexpressible Grief.*”

Sarah Lyman stone, 1791, Lebanon, Connecticut. “A person / of an agreeable disposition / a serious contemplative / mind, Peculiarly dear to her / relatives & friends; / Who a Divine Wisdom plea / sed to make an example of / an early preparation for / Death . . .”

Deacon Booz Stearns stone, 1796, Mansfield Center, Connecticut. “once / of superior natural abili- / ties, & a person who ex- / erted himself for ye beni- / fit of civel & religious so- / ciety.”

Mary Lyman stone, 1797, Columbia, Connecticut. “She lived a yousful / and exemplary life.”

Ezekiel Loomis stone, 1801, South Windsor, Connecticut. “An honest and laborious / man. And an examplary / Christian.”

## Maine

Hannah Moulton stone, 1761, York, Maine. “a Gentlewoman Eminent for her Piety / and every Christian & Social Virtue / Justly Esteemed when Living and Greatly / lamented at her Death”

Nathaniel Donnell stone, 1780, York, Maine. “He was strictly just universally charitable / & eminently pious Patient & chearful in / adversity and without pride or vanity / in prosperity: In high estimation of all his / acquaintance in every stage of life. / May his descendents imitate his virtues and / perpetuate his name with honour to posterity.”

Jonathan Sayward stone, 1797, York, Maine. “Amiable and social in address, / instructive and entertaining in conversa / tion, benevolent, charitable and pious, / uniting the gentleman and christian. / Various offices, Civil, Judicial and / Ecclesiastical with honour & reputation / he sustain’d.”

Edward Emerson stone, 1803, York, Maine. “Capacious was his mind / Benevolent was his heart / Spotless was his character / Generous, humane, and just. / But alas! how frail is man.”

Sarah Holt stone, 1810, York, Maine. “*She was Industrious, Prudent, and / Benevolent led an Exemplary Life, / and we trust is gone to recieve the / Reward of the Righteous.*”

Lydia Preble stone, 1842, York, Maine. “*Her ardent piety and love of holiness, / her christian charity and strong faith / in her Redeemer, her devotion to the interests / of religion and her delight in the ordinances / of God’s house, made her truly a “Mother / in Israel.” Having put on the whole armour / of God at an early age, she accomplished her / warfare and entered into her rest.*”

## Massachusetts

John Taylor stone, 1680s, Cambridge, Massachusetts. “HE WAS A USEFULL MAN IN HIS / GENERATION, A LOVER OF PIETY / A LOVER OF LEARNING A FAITHFUL / SERVANT OF HARVARD COLLEDG / ABOUT 40 YEARS”

Rev. Jonathan Pierpont stone, 1709, Wakefield, Massachusetts. "A Fruitful Christian; And a pastor Who / Did good to all, and lov'd all good to do. / A tender Husband; and a parent Kind. / A Faithful Friend, Which Who, oh Who can find / A preacher, that a bright Example gave / Of Rules he preach'd, the Souls of Men to save / A PIERPONT All of this, here leves his dust, / And Waits the Resurrection of the Just"

Rev. Joshua Gardner stone, 1715/6, Haverhill, Massachusetts. "A MAN / GOOD BETIMES, & FULL OF ye HOLY GHOST / & OF FAITH, OF AN EXCELLENT TEM / PER OF GREAT INTEGRITY, PRUDENCE / & COURAGE, PAST OF ye Chh IN HAV- / ERHILL 5 YEARS WHO HAVING FAITH / FULLY IMPROVED HIS TALENT FELL / ASLEEP IN JESUS, & WENT TRIUM / PHANTLY TO RECEVE HIS REWARD / IN HEAVEN . . ."

Lydia Larkin stone, 1719, Charlestown, Massachusetts. "Thy Dust O Saint to Christ is swet / For he the grave hath Sanctifyd / And thy Salvation hel Compleet / When in his Saints hes glorfyd / Yea in the Resurrections morn / When from ye Dust thy Dust shall rise / With Glory Christ shall thee adorn / And Wholly thee Immortalize"

Elizabeth Munroe stone, 1750, Concord, Massachusetts. "left a Sorrowfull Hus- / band & Ten Children, was Emenently / Meek in her behaviour, Virtuous & / Exemplary in her Conversation in / ye Various Relations which She Sus- / tained, & hath left a Testimony that / She is indeed blessed as are ye Dead / which Die in ye Lord, who rest from / their Labours & their works Do follow them"

Rev. Daniel Bliss tombstone, 1764, Concord, Massachusetts. "The Duties of the various Characters he sus- / tain'd in Life, were perform'd with great / Strictness, & Fidelity. As a private Christian, / he was a bright Example of Holiness in Life, & / Purity in Conversation . . ."

Rev. William Hobby stone, 1765, Wakefield, Massachusetts. "Learned vigilant & faithful. He was a Preacher / of the Word of God deservedly commended / for his pure Evangelical Doctrine Replenished / with Erudition & Piety together with solid Judgment / And Eloquence . . ."

Jonathan Butterick stone, 1767, Concord, Massachusetts. "He liv'd a Reputable & usefull Life, In the / Field a good officer; In ye Church a / Deacon-grave-& not duple tongued. In / Private Life a good Christian, a Loving / Husband, a kind Father, a friendly neight / bour. And was honor'd at death, being / follow'd to his grave by his aged widow / and 13 well Instructed Children."

Hannah Brown stone, 1768, Concord, Massachusetts. "*She was a Gentlewoman of / a pious mind, and was Remar- / -kably conversant with and / knoing in the Holy Scripture.*"

Tilly Merrick stone, 1768, Concord, Massachusetts. "He was a Gentleman of Great / Industry, Justice & Success in his / Business, A Loving Husband, a kind / Father, a

Frindly neighbour, a / Silent giver to the Poor & had an / Excelling art in Family / Government. / *Things Virtuous & Praise worthy / Shoud be thot on & / Imitated by all.*”

Lt. Daniel Hoar stone, 1773, Concord, Massachusetts. “By Honest Industery & Prudent / OEconomy he acquired a hand / som Fortune for a man in Privet / Carrecter He Injoy’d a long Life / & uninterrupted state of health, / Blessings that Ever attend Excer / sies & Temperance . . .”

Jonathan Child stone, 1774, Watertown, Massachusetts. “whose Examples & piety are worthy / the practice of all the living / . . . / *Blessed are the Dead that die in the LORD / Yea saith the Spirit they rest from their / labours & their works do follow them . . .*”

Esther Buttrick stone, 1775, Concord, Massachusetts. “*She was a loving wife, a desireable / Companion, a tender & loving Mother, / A peaceable kind & good Neighbour / Insomuch that she gaind a good report, / & love of all her Neighbours, in Many / Things she was Exemplary / Being in her a Meek & Humble Sperit / Given to acts of Charity & kindness; / Liberal to the poor, in her Life she / Seem’d to behave like a Christian, & / Towards her latter End endured long / Sickness with Remarkable patience . . .*”

Jonathan Buttrick stone, 1775, Concord, Massachusetts. “*He was a kind & loving Compan / ion tender & full of Compassion to / his Children, friendly peaceable & / kind to all his Neighbours . . .*”

Col. James Barrett stone, 1779, Concord, Massachusetts. “In public & privet life, he was courteous, benevo- / lent & charitable. His fidelity, uprightness and / ability in various offices & employments justly / procured him esteem. For many years he repre- / sented this Town in General Court. He early stept / forward in ye contest with Britan, & distinguished / himself in ye cause of America. His warm attach- / ment to & careful practice of ye religion of Christ / compleated his worthy character, & with his / other virtues will preserve his memory, & rank / it with that of the just which is blessed.”

Deacon Thomas Barrett stone, 1779, Concord, Massachusetts. “In him the Christian graces shone uncom- / monly bright. Unfeigned love & distributive / charity ran through his sentiments and / actions. The blessing of the widow, the father- / less, the poor and those ready to perish / came upon him. His talents as a Deacon & / private christian were superior, and so / exercised as to leave behind him a sweet / remembrance of his name so nearly did he / imitate his Saviour that it may be said with / truth he had the spirit of Christ, which the / Judgment day, we trust, will better shew / than any human testimony.”

Elizabeth Maynard stone, 1785, Concord, Massachusetts. “*She was a kind & a prudent wife ~ / an Indulgent parent ~ Benivolence was / in all her actions towards her Neighbours ~ / but above all things chose that better / part that Shall never be taken from her. / The Memory of ye Just is Blessed.*”

Rev. Ebenezer Grosvenor tablestone, 1788, Harvard, Massachusetts. “of such endowments as rendered him / an ornament & blessing / in the various relations which he sustained / he was a good steward in the house of God, / and discharged the duties of his pastoral office / with prudence & impartiality, care & fidelity / he was a man of polite address / and peculiarly formed for social life / a tender & loving husband, / an affectionate & kind parent, / an agreeable friend & pleasing companion, / he was much beloved & respected in life, / & in death greatly lamented / and is we trust receiving the reward of his / labours in the kingdom of his Lord, / his bereaved & grateful people have erected / this stone the monument of his virtues, / & their affection. / . . . / *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, / for they rest from their labours & their works / do follow them.*”

Mary Hunt stone, 1790, Concord, Massachusetts. “She was loving & obedient to her husband / careful for the bodies and souls of her Children / and for herself chose ye good part with Mary. / She looked well to her own house / and meddled not with ye affairs of others. / Piety to God & kindness to men seemed as her meat & drink / She eminently obtained of men this Plaudit / Well done good and faithful: / and it is firmly believed / her final Judge adds to this. / Enter into the joy of your Lord. / Her price is far above rubies. / Solomon.”

Deacon Simon Hunt stone, 1790, Concord, Massachusetts. “In private & public he sought ye honour of God, / the interest of ye Chh, and ye good of his country. / As a Deacon, he conducted with honour & usefulness / By his knowledge in ye Scriptures, constant devotion, / love for ye Chh, charity to ye poor, joy in believing & faithful / endeavours to promote ye reformation & salvation of men / he evinced great progress in religion, / and that he was ‘stedfast, immoveable, / abounding in the work of the Lord.’ / He met death with entire composure, / and to his last moments, recommended religion, / and encouraged christians by ye word & promises of God / He calmly fell asleep in lively hope of future glory. / Mark ye perfect, behold ye upright, his end is Peace. / Psalmist.”

Rebekah Hunt stone, 1796, Concord, Massachusetts. “Her virtues / social, conjugal, parental & Christian / commanded respect, rejoiced acquaintance, / sweetened life, consoled in holiness, / made a friend of death & confirmed / the hope of celestial glory. / This inscription / perpetuates her memory / and invites / imitation . . .”

Martha Mirick stone, 1817, Charlestown, Massachusetts. “*She was a kind and tender Mother, / a faithfull and affectionate friend, / and a firm believer in the Gospel of / our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, / and died in full hope of a glorious / immortality beyond the grave.*”

James Davenport stone, 1824, Dorchester, Massachusetts. “Beloved as a husband & father, / esteemed as a neighbour / and friend, / valued as a useful member / of society, / honoured as a master mason, / and respected as an exemplary / christian . . .”

Bathsheba James stone, 1830, Plymouth, Massachusetts. “*She was an affectionate Wife, a / dutiful Daughter, a happy Mother, / a kind and sincere friend. Alas / sweet Blossom*

*short was the period / that thy enlivening virtues / contributed to the Happiness of / those connections; But oh how long / have they to mourn the loss of so / much worth and Excellence.”*

### **New Hampshire**

Rev. Nathaniel Gookin stone, 1734, Hampton, New Hampshire. “He was A Judicious DIVINE, A / Celebrated Preacher, A most Vigilant / & [ ] PASTOR A bright Ornament / Of Learning and RELIGION & / An Excellent Pattern of PIETY, / CHARITY & Hospitality.”

Abigail Frost stone, 1742, Newcastle, New Hampshire. “Her FAITH all Trials did endure, / Like a Strong PILLAR Firm and Sure, / Did adverse Waves tempestuous roll, / HOPE was the ANCHOR of her Soul / We by the OLIVE in her Hand / Her PEACEFUL End may understand, / And by the CORONET is Shown / VIRTUE at last shall Wear the CROWN.”

Rev. Nicholas Gilman stone, 1748, Exeter, New Hampshire. “He was endow’d with many amiable & useful / Accomplishments. His Manners were grave / easy and pleasant. He was exemplary / in extensive Charity and Beneficence, / eminent in Piety Self-Denial & Victory / over ye World. A servent sound perswasive / Preacher abounding in the work of / the Lord. He is now departed and / (as we hope) sleeps in Jesus. Let us follow / Him wherein He followed Christ.”

### **Vermont**

Mehetabel Hubbel stone, 1770, Bennington, Vermont. “Who / finished a life of exemplary / Piety . . .”

Thomas Henderson stone, 1801, Bennington, Vermont. “[ ]ose life was an example of / [ ] and Benevolence and in / his death the Town and Society / lost an able Friend and Supporter / and the Church of GOD an Important Pillar.”

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<sup>1</sup> Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1927).

<sup>2</sup> Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815*, 3d ed. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 316.

<sup>3</sup> Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," *American Antiquity* 31:4 (1966): 508.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow," *Natural History* 76:3 (1967): 28-37.

<sup>6</sup> James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*, exp. and rev. ed. (New York: Anchor Books, 1996), 99-100.

<sup>7</sup> Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1974), xiii-xiv.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 3-12. Also see Dickran Tashjian, "Puritan Attitudes Toward Iconoclasm," in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1979), 37-45.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Benes, *Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), 151.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 194. Works identifying monuments with pictorial representations of recognizable human beings as "portrait stones" include the following: Harriette Merrifield Forbes, "Early Portrait Sculpture in New England," *Old-Time New England* 19 (April 1929): 159-173; Ludwig, 305, 316, 338, 341, 350; Dickran and Ann Tashjian, 108-144; Benes, *Masks of Orthodoxy*, 133-148; Laura Byers, *Till Death Do Us Part: Design Sources of Eighteenth Century New England Tombstones* (New Haven: Yale Center for American Art and Material Culture, 1978); and Diana Williams Combs, *Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 131-179. Laura Byers writes, "The transition from the cherub's head to portrait was the logical conclusion of the evolution of eighteenth century tombstones. The idealized features of the cherub were replaced by genuinely human characteristics in what amounted to a new secular realism. For the most part, however, these effigies were realistic only to the extent that they portrayed the age, sex, and social status of the commemorated individuals. Otherwise, features were general and detail was often copied directly from engravings" (19).

<sup>12</sup> In characterizing her book on the colonial gravestones of Georgia and South Carolina, Diana Williams Combs writes, "Following a precedent clearly established by the New England studies, I decided to focus on stones of iconic or imagistic significance." See Combs, x.

<sup>13</sup> David D. Hall, "The Gravestone Image as a Puritan Cultural Code," in *Puritan Gravestone Art*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1977), 32. Hall argues in this piece that pictures on early New England gravestones are not connected to Puritanism; he believes the pictures are part of a broader Western moral tradition. It seems improbable that he would make this argument today.

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<sup>14</sup> Peter Benes, “‘Distinguishing Signs of Truly Gracious and Holy Affections’: Revival Motifs in Eighteenth-Century New England Gravestone Carvings,” in *Mirror and Metaphor: Material and Social Constructions of Reality*, ed. Daniel W. Ingersoll, Jr. and Gordon Bronitsky (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 147-148.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>16</sup> The John Foster stone (1681) was removed from the Dorchester North Burying Ground (Massachusetts) and installed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in the 1980s. A replica took its place in 1986. The same thing has happened to the Exercise Conant stone (1722) in Mansfield Center, Connecticut, among the finest examples of the work of Obadiah Wheeler. A replica now stands in the burying ground there.

<sup>17</sup> Through a number of conversations, Albert Zambone has contributed to my appreciation of the agricultural character of colonial America.

<sup>18</sup> See Sally M. Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame’: Early New England Material Practice and Puritan Piety,” Lecture delivered at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Colloquium CLXXXVI, November 6, 2003. A published version of this lecture, somewhat modified, will appear in the first issue of *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*, scheduled for release in March 2005.

<sup>19</sup> L.P. Hartley, *The Go-Between*, rpt. (Chelsea, Michigan: Scarborough House, 1990), quoted in Christopher J. Lenney, *Sightseeking: Clues to the Landscape History of New England* (Hanover, NH: University of New Hampshire/University Press of New England, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> Promey also emphasized the importance of re-imagining in “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’”

<sup>21</sup> The categories “history” and “fiction” constitute the primary division in the scholarship in the field of American art history. Are the events of the past recoverable or not? Should history be the recording of facts? Is some measure of historical objectivity possible? Or is objectivity ultimately impossible? Most Americanist historians, in my estimation, either wittingly or unwittingly, make claims for facticity and recoverability; the scholarship of Americanist critics, on the other hand, especially a number of influential scholars trained under Jules Prown at Yale University, embraces the fictional character of history writing. For an excellent discussion of this topic, see Jules David Prown, “The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?” in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, ed. Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 1-19. John Davis has recently described the methodological climate of American art history at present, and some of what he has written relates to the division in the field that I have identified. See John Davis, “The End of the American Century: Current Scholarship on the Art of the United States,” *Art Bulletin* 85 (September 2003): 544-580. For an additional discussion of history and fiction, especially as these categories relate to narrative structure, see William Cronon, “A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative,” *Journal of American History* 78:4 (1992): 1347-1376. In this thesis, I endeavor to establish a dialogue between the historical and fictional attitudes and approaches. I do not intend the thesis as a methodological reconciliation, but as a commentary on the division, and (variously) on the plausibility and implausibility of such a resolution.

<sup>22</sup> Gordon E. Geddes has pointed out that when it rained the colonial tombs occasionally filled with water. See Gordon E. Geddes, *Welcome Joy: Death in Puritan New England* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 148. Cf. Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’”

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth L. Roark, *Artists of Colonial America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 58.

<sup>24</sup> *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, 157-162. On page 159, Denning writes, “Texts of self are everywhere—in monument, in art, in sermon, in the canon of

literature, in sacred history, in ritual—everywhere where the relationship between self and otherness is performed. Saying that texts of self are everywhere, however, can mean that they are nowhere to be seen. In movements of historical understanding, ‘discovery’ is usually a re-seeing, a re-vision.” In “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame,’” Promey applied Tom Webster’s notion of “technologies of the self” to her interpretation of early New England meditational practice and gravestone carvings. See Tom Webster, “Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality,” *The Historical Journal* 39:1 (1996): 33-56.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 12-13. Conversely, one might be able to trace the roots of modernity in funerary monuments, moving as far backward in time as possible. I have seen relatively little that would enable such a possibility in my research, however. Focusing on various changes taking place between 1680 and 1770, Jon Butler has argued that America was in the process of becoming modern long before is traditionally supposed. See Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

<sup>26</sup> Sally M. Promey, “The ‘Return’ of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art,” *Art Bulletin* 85 (September 2003): 584.

<sup>27</sup> Promey writes, “In each of these sorts of gravestone imagery, the represented emblem distilled an essential aspect of the individual in relation to his or her mortal (and immortal) remembrance.” See Sally M. Promey, “Pictorial Ambivalence and American Protestantism,” in *Crossroads: Art and Religion in American Life*, ed. Alberta Arthurs and Glenn Wallach (New York: The New Press, 2001), 200. Also see *ibid.*, 596.

<sup>28</sup> George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 39.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>30</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 6-7, 13-205.

<sup>31</sup> Butler has made a compelling case that Puritanism should not serve in the writing of history as the “major force in shaping religion in America.” He does concede, however, that New England’s culture owes much more to Puritanism than other regions of the country. See Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 2.

<sup>32</sup> John L. Brooke, “‘For Honour and Civil Worship to Any Worthy Person’: Burial, Baptism, and Community on the Massachusetts Near Frontier, 1730-1790,” in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 463-485.

<sup>33</sup> David H. Watters, “‘Fencing Ye Tables’: Scotch-Irish Ethnicity and the Gravestones of John Wight,” *Markers* 16 (1999): 174-209.

<sup>34</sup> Louis P. Nelson, “The Material Word: Anglican Visual Culture in Colonial South Carolina,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2001), 1:327-398.

<sup>35</sup> Malcolm A. Nelson and Diana Hume George, “Grinning Skulls, Smiling Cherubs, Bitter Words,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 14:4 (1981): 634.

<sup>36</sup> Diana Hume George and Malcolm A. Nelson, *Epitaph and Icon: A Field Guide to the Old Burying Grounds of Cape Cod, Martha’s Vineyard, and Nantucket* (Orleans, MA: Parnassus Imprints, 1983), 3. Also see Diana Hume George and Malcolm A. Nelson, “Resurrecting the Epitaph,” *Markers* 1 (1980): 85-98.

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<sup>37</sup> Tom and Brenda Malloy, "Gravemarkers of the Early Congregational Ministers in North Central Massachusetts," *Markers* 14 (1997): 34-85.

<sup>38</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 99.

<sup>39</sup> Robert K. Fitts, *Puritans, Yankees, and Gravestones: A Linguistic Analysis of New England Gravestone Inscriptions*, Volumes in Historical Archaeology 15 (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1990), 12. On page 10, Fitts observes, "During the past twenty-five years, scholars have used gravestones as a source for investigating the cultural beliefs of colonial Americans." He continues, "However, these studies have focused on the stones' icons and not their inscriptions." And on page 12 he remarks, "Despite the many studies of gravestones, there are few, if any, linguistical studies of gravestone inscriptions."

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, ii.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. Also see 37.

<sup>44</sup> For a more textured analysis of the epitaphial introduction in early New England, see Michel Vovelle, "A Century and One-Half of American Epitaphs (1660-1813): Toward the Study of Collective Attitudes about Death," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22:4 (1980): 541-542.

<sup>45</sup> Both stones were likely carved by John Hartshorne, who sometimes reversed Ns. Only the Philip Atwood stone, however, has been attributed to him. See James A. Slater and Ralph L. Tucker, "The Colonial Gravestone Carvings of John Hartshorne," in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes, 137.

<sup>46</sup> Ralph L. Tucker, "The Lamson Family Gravestone Carvers of Charlestown and Malden, Massachusetts," *Markers* 10 (1993): 191-192, 213.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* Also see the stones of Thomas Lambert (1753), Thomas Nichols (1765), and Elizabeth Nichols (1778). On the Jonathan Pool stone of 1791, also in Wakefield, the phrase "think on death" is blown forward out of a trumpet bell.

<sup>48</sup> Other stones with reversed letters include the following: Katharine Chauncy stone, 1667, Cambridge, Massachusetts (backward Ns in "KATHARINE," "CHAUNCY," and "IAN"); Timothy Andrew stone, 1674, Cambridge, Massachusetts (backward N in "ANDREW"); Phebe Marvil stone, 1707, Old Lyme, Connecticut (backward Ns in "RENNVL," "IN," "ONLY," and "RESTING"; backward Gs in "AGE" and "RESTING"); John Huling stone, 1709, Glastonbury, Connecticut (backward Ns in "JOHN," "HULING," and "NOVEMBER"); Sibil Eells stone, 1773, Glastonbury, Connecticut (backward N in "BUCKLAND" and "NOVBR."); Abigail Meriek stone, 1773, Glastonbury, Connecticut (backward N in "BUCKLAND"); Thomas Smith stone, 1773, Glastonbury, Connecticut (backward N in "IN"); Benjamin Judd stone, 1774, Glastonbury, Connecticut (backward Ns in "BENJAMIN"); Deacon Booz Stearns stone, 1796, Mansfield Center, Connecticut (backward Z in "BOOZ"); John Skinner stone, buried date, Hartford, Connecticut (backward Ns in "JOHN" and "SKINNER").

<sup>49</sup> In the case of the Margaret Cumings stone, Deetz has argued against the notion that an "illiterate apprentice" reversed the design. See James Deetz, Foreword to *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), xi-xii.

<sup>50</sup> The following essay, suggested by Melanie Cornelisse, engendered my thinking on this topic: James H. Marrow, "'In Desen Speigell': A New Form of 'Memento Mori' in Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Art,"

in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann On His Sixtieth Birthday* (Doornspijk, Netherlands: Davaco, 1983), 154-163. Marrow explores the “image of death, seen as a skull in a mirror” (154). The representation is common in the context with which Marrow is concerned, and the gravestones of colonial New England, many of which bear images of skulls and the phrase “memento mori,” should be similarly conceived. Like Marrow, I am also interested in the “skull in a mirror” as it relates to the process of self-examination.

<sup>51</sup> See Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’”

<sup>52</sup> Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 14.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Hoffman, Sobel and Teute, eds., 3. Denning cites the King James Version of the Bible.

<sup>56</sup> See Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’”

<sup>57</sup> Hoffman, Sobel and Teute, eds., 347. Denning is speaking of practices of self-examination generally; he does not refer here to visiting burying grounds in particular.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Sibbes, *Works of Richard Sibbes*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1983/2001), 4:270. Thomas Hooker understood his sermons in terms of the mirror: “here you have a clear looking glass, wherein you may be able to judge of the faces of the state and temper of your souls. I beseech you consider it well. . . .either you have Christ in you, or you have him not in you.” See Andrew Thomas Denholm, “Thomas Hooker: Puritan Preacher, 1586-1647” (Ph.D. diss., Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1961), 203, quoted in *Puritans in the New World: A Critical Anthology*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 76.

<sup>59</sup> During the eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin stated that the book “has been more generally read than any other Book except perhaps the Bible.” See Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography*, intro. Daniel Aaron (New York: Vintage Books/The Library of America, 1990), 22. Kathleen M. Swaim writes, “For at least the first two centuries after its publication, John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678) belongs among the most formative and beloved books England has contributed to the Western tradition, second only in popularity and influence to the English Bible . . .” See Kathleen M. Swaim, *Pilgrim’s Progress, Puritan Progress: Discourses and Contexts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 1.

<sup>60</sup> John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, ed. and intro. Roger Sharrock (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 256. It is noteworthy that in house interiors in early New England portraits and mirrors often hung together. St. George writes, “The parlor was also the locus of social reflexivity, and, if their owners could afford such luxuries, looking glasses and portraits were always hung here.” See Robert Blair St. George, “‘Set Thine House in Order’: The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth-Century New England,” in *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 2:169.

<sup>61</sup> Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1987), 256.

<sup>62</sup> John Stevens, *John Stevens, His Book, 1705* (Newport, RI: Preservation Society of Newport County, 1953), 89 (numbered 72 by Stevens). For further information on the Stevens shop, see Vincent F. Luti, *Mallet and Chisel: Gravestone Carvers of Newport, Rhode Island, in the 18th Century* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2002).

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<sup>63</sup> Thomas Pierce, *Death Consider'd as a Door to a Life of Glory* (London, n.d.), 116. I thank Sally Promey for calling this passage to my attention.

<sup>64</sup> Samuel Mather writes of artistic expression in terms of selfhood and the mirror: "All the Arts are nothing else but the beams and rays of the Wisdom of the *first Being* in the Creatures, shining, and reflecting thence, upon the glass of man's understanding." Samuel Mather, quoted in Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 233.

<sup>65</sup> This particular translation of this passage appears in versions of the Geneva Bible.

<sup>66</sup> Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 45.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>68</sup> Hambrick-Stowe's great achievement has been the recovery of the devotional strain of Puritanism. He writes, "Historians have long treated New England Puritanism as an intellectual and a social movement. At its heart, however, Puritanism was a devotional movement, rooted in religious experience." See Hambrick-Stowe, vii. In *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Tessa Watt explores the emergence of Protestant devotional practice in England. She is attentive to continuities with Catholic traditions, as well as to the ways in which English Protestants set themselves apart. She writes in the abstract at the beginning of the book: "Protestantism is seen, in common with print, as modifying rather than as replacing traditional culture. . . . Although there was increasing suspicion of some types of religious imagery, English walls were still decorated with little woodcut Christs and biblical tales. The extent of national 'iconophobia' should not be exaggerated." She goes on, "The dissemination of Protestant ideas will be used as a focus for this investigation. However, to describe these ballads, woodcuts and chapbooks as thoroughly 'Protestant' would be to overlook the way they blended the new ideas with older attitudes to religion and morality, just as they embraced existing oral and visual traditions." See Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 8. Watt discusses the devotional use of texts and pictures especially in Chapter 5, called "Stories for Walls," 178-216.

<sup>69</sup> Edward Pearse, *The Great Concern: Or, A Serious Warning to a Timely and Thorough Preparation for Death*, 5th ed. (London, 1678), 86-87. Promey also cited this passage in "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>70</sup> Philip Pain, *Daily Meditations; or Quotidian Preparations for, and Considerations of Death and Eternity* (Cambridge, 1668), 24, quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, 234.

<sup>71</sup> Samuel Sewall, quoted in Geddes, 149.

<sup>72</sup> Cotton Mather, *Cotton Mather's Verse in English*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 106. A similar poem, possibly taken from that of Mather, appears in editions of *The New-England Primer*, which was the most popular book used to teach children to read in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The book allies religion and moral instruction with education. The earliest surviving copy of the *Primer* dates to 1727.

<sup>73</sup> James Hervey, *Meditations Among the Tombs; Tending to Reform the Vices of the Age; And To Promote Evangelical Holiness* (Montpelier, VT, 1810), 136-137.

<sup>74</sup> Ludwig, 4.

<sup>75</sup> See note 8.

<sup>76</sup> David H. Watters, "With Bodilie Eyes": *Eschatological Themes in Puritan Literature and Gravestone Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 36.

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<sup>77</sup> Calvin, quoted in Alain Besançon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 188.

<sup>78</sup> Calvin, quoted in Besançon, 189.

<sup>79</sup> Lynn Haims, "The Face of God: Puritan Iconography in Early American Poetry, Sermons, and Tombstone Carving," *Early American Literature* 14 (1979): 15-47. Haims's excellent study, however, is rarely referenced in the scholarship on early New England gravestones.

<sup>80</sup> Ann Kibbey, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study in Rhetoric, Prejudice, and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-5.

<sup>81</sup> Sally M. Promey, "Pictorial Ambivalence and American Protestantism," 192.

<sup>82</sup> Bruno Latour, "What is Iconoclasm? Or is There a World Beyond the Image Wars?" in *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion, and Art*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 14.

<sup>83</sup> Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

<sup>84</sup> St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 205-295.

<sup>85</sup> There are several good sources on the Pope's Day celebrations. See, for example, Francis D. Cogliano, *No King, No Popery: Anti-Catholicism in Revolutionary New England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 23-39; Peter Benes, "Night Processions: Celebrating the Gunpowder Plot in England and New England," in *New England Celebrates: Spectacle, Commemoration, and Festivity*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 2002), 9-28; J.L. Bell, "Du Simitière's Sketches of Pope Day in Boston, 1767," in *The Worlds of Children, 1620-1920*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 2004), 209-217; and *The Folklore of American Holidays*, ed. Hennig Cohen and Tristram Potter Coffin (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1987), 317-320 (November 5/"Guy Fawkes' Day" entry).

<sup>86</sup> Isaiah Thomas, *Three Autobiographical Fragments* (Worcester, MA, 1962), 22-23, quoted in Cogliano, 25-26.

<sup>87</sup> Thomas, 22, quoted in Cogliano, 25.

<sup>88</sup> An article in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* for 9 November 1821, dealing with the history of the colonial Pope's Day celebrations, reports, "When the frolic was carried on by day-light, the elder apprentices of mechanics exhibited a pageantry of similar kind called a tender on a smaller scale. The younger apprentices still smaller; and so it descended in gradations to boys in petticoats, who swarmed in the streets and ran from house to house with little Popes in their hands, on pieces of board and shingle, the heads of which were carved out of small potatoes." Quoted in Benes, "Night Processions," 26.

<sup>89</sup> This fact is mentioned in all of the sources in note 85.

<sup>90</sup> The article in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* for 9 November 1821 includes the following lines: "At sundown the north-end Pope and tender was carried to Copps Hill and burnt, and the south end Pope and tender to Fort Hill. At length a competition arose—formidable mobs collected, and furious battles were fought with fists, clubs, stones and other missiles." Quoted in Benes, "Night Processions," 26.

<sup>91</sup> Benes notes, "In some places such as Portsmouth and Marblehead, the custom was carried on much later and eventually was absorbed into the popular ceremonies of Halloween." Benes, "Night Processions," 25.

<sup>92</sup> Charles Edward Banks, *History of York Maine in Three Volumes* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1967), 2:137-138.



<sup>93</sup> For an interesting group of essays comparing and contrasting the cultures of New England and New France, see *The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings 1989: New England/New France, 1600-1850* ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1992). Peter and Jane Montague Benes make a number of valuable points in the Foreword concerning the material rivalries between New England and New France. They write, "The first bell erected in the seventeenth-century meeting house in Beverly, Massachusetts, was taken as booty after the burning and destruction of a Catholic mission at Port Royal, Nova Scotia, in 1656. In a later period, a cruciform spire retrieved as booty at the fall of Louisburg in 1745 has for many years been taken for granted as a catalogue item in the collection of the Harvard College Library" (5-6). The "cruciform spire" mentioned is also known as the "Louisburg [or Louisbourg] Cross." Made of wrought iron, the object is about 34 in. high and 22 in. wide, and it weighs about ten pounds. The transverse arms and peak of the Cross terminate in fleurs-de-lis. It was probably presented to Harvard University sometime before the year 1800. Early articles discussing the Cross include Daniel Denison Slade, "The Louisburg Cross," *The Bostonian* (March 1896): 551-558, and Robert Magrane, "The Louisburg Cross," *The Harvard Illustrated Magazine* 2:3 (1900): 69-74. Magrane cites the historian Francis Parkman on the Siege of Louisburg: "The New England soldier, a product of sectarian hot-beds, fancied that he was doing the work of God, and was the object of his special favor. The army was Israel, and the French were Canaanitish idolaters. Redhot Calvinism, acting through generations, had modified the transplanted Englishman; and the descendent of the Puritans was never so well pleased as when teaching somebody else his duty, whether by pen, voice, or bombshell. The ragged artilleryman, battering the wall of papistical Louisburg, flattered himself with the notion that he was a champion of gospel truth" (71). The Cross was returned to Louisburg in 1995. For articles dealing with the restoration of the object to Canada, see David Arnold, "Not-So-Rugged-Cross: Harvard Exchanges Colonial Artifact for Canadian Good Will," *The Boston Globe*, Thursday, 29 June 1995, and Alison D. Overholt, "University Returns Louisbourg Cross to Canada: 'Permanent Loan' Is Part of 250th Anniversary Celebration," *The Harvard Crimson*, Friday, 30 June 1995, News section. Photographs of and records concerning the history of the object exist in the collections of the Harvard University Archives. See HUA 896.6 Box 50. The object and its history make it an ideal candidate for an in-depth, cross-cultural analysis. For a recent study explicating the complexity (and violence) of the relationship between New England and New France, including attention to the role of Native American populations therein, see Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003).

<sup>94</sup> An important early Congregationalist, Henry Ainsworth (1571-1622) considered the tension between sanctioned and unsanctioned imagery. He wrote specifically of the permissibility of images of cherubim and other representations found in Solomon's Temple, contrasting these with improper images. See Henry Ainsworth, *An Arrovv Against Idolatry* (Nova Belgia, printed 1640), 52-56. The Samuel Moody stone, which stands next to the Hannah Moody stone, has an interesting cherub. Possibly carved by Henry Emmes, the cherub's eyes aim slightly to the side, away from the skull hewn atop the Hannah Moody stone. It is almost as though Samuel Moody's cherub refuses to look at the neighboring image.

<sup>95</sup> Samuel Niles, *A Brief and Plain Essay on God's Wonder-Working Providence for New-England, In the Reduction of of Louisburg, and Fortresses Thereto Belonging on Cape-Breton* (N. London, [CT], 1747), 15-16.

<sup>96</sup> Robert Daly, *God's Altar: The World and the Flesh in Puritan Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 46.

<sup>97</sup> Samuel Mather, *A Testimony from the Scripture against Idolatry and Superstition* (Cambridge, 1672), 6, quoted in Tashjian, 43.

<sup>98</sup> Increase Mather, *Meditations on Death* (Boston, 1707), no page given, quoted in Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 25.

<sup>99</sup> The epitaph collections of John Stow and William Camden predate Weever's.

<sup>100</sup> John Weever, *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments* (London, 1631), 8-9.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 37. The text to which Weever refers is Thomas Milles, *The Treasvrie of Avncient and Moderne Times*, 2 vols. (London, 1613-1619). The passage Weever cites can be found on page 770 in Booke 8, Chapter 12.

<sup>102</sup> John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie Or, A Piece of the World Discovered; In Essayes and Characters*, printed from the 6th aug. ed. of 1633 (London: Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 1903), 16-17.

<sup>103</sup> See Roger B. Stein, "Thomas Smith's *Self-Portrait*: Image/Text as Artifact," *Art Journal* (Winter 1984): 316-327; Max Cavitch, "Interiority and Artifact: Death and Self-Inscription in Thomas Smith's *Self-Portrait*," *Early American Literature* 37:1 (2002): 89-117; and Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'" One of the best points in Stein's essay is buried in a closing endnote: "'Biography,' the word that defines the life of an individual, appears in the English language at just this moment—the first usage noted by the OED is in Dryden's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* (1683)—as the sense of the importance of the uniqueness of a life, of a self, begins to emerge from the moral exemplum, the visual *figura*, the ideal image of the period" (327, n. 38). Both Cavitch and Promey think about the *Self-Portrait* in terms of the mirror, and Promey situates the picture within the context of Puritan meditational practice.

<sup>104</sup> Weever, 41-42.

<sup>105</sup> John Cotton, *A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Balls Discourse of Set Formes of Prayer* (London, 1642), 20. Promey cited a part of this quotation in her lecture "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'" She used the quotation to construct a similar argument.

<sup>106</sup> Samuel Sewall, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, ed. M. Halsey Thomas (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 1:227, quoted in David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 160.

<sup>107</sup> This map is illustrated in Linden-Ward, 21. Linden-Ward provides no source for the map.

<sup>108</sup> For a commentary on the map, see *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 1:29-30 (entry by David Grayson Allen). Thomas Kensett produced a copy of the map in 1806, entitled "A Plan of the Town of New Haven, With all the Buildings in 1748," a version of which belongs to the New Haven Colony Historical Society. For a reproduction and basic information, see Peter Benes and Philip D. Zimmerman, eds., *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630-1850: A Loan Exhibition held at The Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire* (Boston: Boston University and The Currier Gallery of Art for The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, 1979), 6 and 125.

<sup>109</sup> The map is illustrated in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), plate 3 (between 310 and 311). The map is in the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. A schematic reproduction exists in Henry T. Blake, *Chronicles of New Haven Green, From 1638 to 1862* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Press, 1898), between 32 and 33.

<sup>110</sup> Blake, 250.

<sup>111</sup> William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 122-126.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 121.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>115</sup> Francis Higginson, *New-Englands Plantation*, *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* 62 (1929): 314, quoted in *ibid.*, 25.

<sup>116</sup> Rudy J. Favretti, "The Ornamentation of New England Towns: 1750-1850," *Journal of Garden History* 2:4 (1982): 325-342.

<sup>117</sup> Alain C. White, *The History of the Town of Litchfield, Connecticut, 1720-1920* (Litchfield, CT, 1920), 168-177, quoted in Favretti, 332.

<sup>118</sup> For an additional discussion of deforestation, see Robert M. Thorson, *Stone by Stone: The Magnificent History in New England's Stone Walls* (New York: Walker and Co., 2002), 75-99.

<sup>119</sup> See Ian W. Brown, "The New England Cemetery as a Cultural Landscape," in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, ed. Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, 140-159, and Richard Becherer, "Placing the Dead: Burial Sites in Early Boston, and Beyond," *Modulus* 17 (1984): 85-105.

<sup>120</sup> There are, to date, two fine studies of the stone walls of New England: Susan Allport, *Sermons in Stone: The Stone Walls of New England and New York* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1990) and Thorson. On page 89, Allport writes that "numerous factors combined to make the years between 1775 and 1825 the most active period of wall building that this area [i.e. New England and New York] has ever experienced." Thorson's account of the history of New England's stone walls is a fascinating composite of natural and human history. On page 100, Thorson writes, "The Revolutionary War, a defining event in American history, dragged along between 1776 and 1783, and its aftermath had an enormous impact on the New England landscape, especially with respect to its stone walls."

<sup>121</sup> St. George, "'Set Thine House in Order,'" 2:161.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Allport, 26.

<sup>124</sup> Anne Stillman, "Fences and the Settlement of New England," in *Between Fences*, ed. Gregory K. Dreicer (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 11.

<sup>125</sup> Allport, 25.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 34-35. The author writes that with a body of laws about fencing crops to protect them from animals, beginning in the 1630s, "it also came to be accepted that any land not enclosed and not planted in crops was suitable pasture ground for livestock, regardless of its ownership. This land, extending to the roads and highways, was treated as common."

<sup>127</sup> Stillman, 11.

<sup>128</sup> John Winthrop, quoted in *ibid.*, 13.

<sup>129</sup> Stillman, 15. Other useful discussions of early American fencing include John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 188-192, and Cronon, 119-120, 130-132, 134-138.

<sup>130</sup> I thank Bernard Herman for suggesting *Robinson Crusoe* as a source dealing with the complexities of colonial fencing practices.

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<sup>131</sup> Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (Oxford, 1840), 1:136-137.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:173.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:181.

<sup>134</sup> I am concerned mainly with large, communal burying grounds in this thesis. In colonial New England, families sometimes buried loved ones on their own property and cared for such plots themselves. Geddes provides information about several familial burying grounds. See Geddes, 147.

<sup>135</sup> Geddes, 147.

<sup>136</sup> Quoted in "Boston's Historic Burying Grounds Initiative," *Markers 7* (1990): 78.

<sup>137</sup> Quoted in Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England*, 50.

<sup>138</sup> *History of the Town of Dorchester, Massachusetts* (Boston: Ebenezer Clapp, Jr., 1859), 34, 226, quoted in Geddes, 147.

<sup>139</sup> Geddes, 147.

<sup>140</sup> *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 15 (1861): 161, quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> Albert K. Teele, *The History of Milton, Mass., 1640 to 1887* (Boston: Press of Rockwell and Churchill, 1887), 471, quoted in Geddes, 147.

<sup>142</sup> *Historical Sketch and Matters Appertaining to the Granary Burial-Ground* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1902), 8, and *Historical Sketch of King's Chapel Burying-Ground* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1903), 41 and 52, quoted in Linden-Ward, 25. Linden-Ward implies that the burying ground referred to in all of these primary quotations was that which has become known as the "Granary."

<sup>143</sup> *Historical Sketch of the First Burying Place in Roxbury* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1904), 41-45, quoted in Linden-Ward, 26.

<sup>144</sup> Francis S. Drake, "Roxbury in the Colonial Period," in *Memorial History of Boston*, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston, 1880), 1:97, quoted in "Boston's Historic Burying Grounds Initiative," 67.

<sup>145</sup> *Historical Sketch of the First Burying Place in Roxbury*, 41-45, quoted in Linden-Ward, 26.

<sup>146</sup> Allport, 44.

<sup>147</sup> Linden-Ward, 25-26.

<sup>148</sup> Henry May, "Historical Sketch of the First Burying Place in Roxbury, also Inscriptions on all Gravestones and Biographical Notes," *Annual Report of the Cemetery Department*, Document No. 8 (1903-1904), 46, quoted in "Boston's Historic Burying Grounds Initiative," 67.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> A wooden grave marker dating to about 1775 exists in Charleston, South Carolina. For an image of it, see Elizabeth A. Crowell and Norman Vardney Mackie III, "The Funerary Monuments and Burial Patterns of Colonial Tidewater Virginia, 1607-1776," *Markers 7* (1990): 117 (figure 6). Many wooden markers still exist in England, where they were made into the nineteenth century and beyond. See Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), 116-118 and 148 (note 47). Burgess calls the markers "grave-boards" and states that the earliest extant English memorial of this kind is that of

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Thomas Greenwood, 1658, Sidlesham (Sussex). For an illustration of a later example, see the lower right corner of the page of images in Burgess between 176 and 177.

<sup>151</sup> Burgess, 117.

<sup>152</sup> Account book of John Gould, quoted in Benno M. Forman, "A New Light on Early Grave Markers," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 104 (April 1968): 127.

<sup>153</sup> *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, 1916-1920), 2:163, quoted in Forman, 129. The letter "s" in this quotation and the one that follows stand for "shillings."

<sup>154</sup> *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 3:367, quoted in Forman, 129.

<sup>155</sup> Peter Benes, "Additional Light on Wooden Grave Markers," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 111 (January 1975): 54.

<sup>156</sup> From various entries in the Suffolk and Middlesex county probate records, quoted in *ibid.*, 55.

<sup>157</sup> Benes, "Additional Light on Wooden Grave Markers," 61.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>160</sup> Samuel Sewall, quoted in Geddes, 147.

<sup>161</sup> Benjamin Colman writes of the importance of order, "of the natural and moral World, the Usefulness of things in it and the Felicity of the Creatures, depend upon the excellent Order that GOD has constituted. . . .Decency and Order go together, and so do Order & Right. Everything is beautiful and right in its time and order. . . .The whole Law of God to us is comprehended in this one word Order." Benjamin Colman, *Death and the Grave Without Any Order* (Boston, 1728), quoted in Geddes, 186-187.

<sup>162</sup> Burgess, 23.

<sup>163</sup> Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, ed. Barbara Miller Solomon with Patricia M. King (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 1:138.

<sup>164</sup> Charles C. Smith, "Manuscript Journal of Reverend John Pierce," in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d ser. (Boston, 1886), 3:48, quoted in David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 30.

<sup>165</sup> Dwight, 2:360.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.* On the overcrowding and unsanitary conditions of burying grounds c. 1800, also see Linden-Ward, 149-166. Authors of the first half of the nineteenth-century regularly complain that burying grounds, often centrally located in towns, were too "familiar." At the dedication ceremony for Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1832, then seen to be the antithesis of the burying ground, Judge Joseph Story remarked, "Why should we expose our burying grounds to the broad glare of day, to the unfeeling gaze of the idler, to the noisy press of business, to the discordant shouts of merriment or to the baleful visitations of the dissolute?" Joseph Story, quoted in Kenneth T. Jackson and Camilo José Vergara, *Silent Cities: The Evolution of the American Cemetery* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), 18.

<sup>167</sup> Boston Record Commissioners, *Report* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1894), vol. 25, 149, 268, 305-306, quoted in Stannard, 160. Also see Geddes, 148-149.

<sup>168</sup> W., "A Rustic Cemetery," *The Literary Magazine, and American Register* 4 (August 1805): 127-128.

<sup>169</sup> Thomas Bridgman, *Epitaphs from Copp's Hill Burial Ground, Boston* (Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1851), xviii.

<sup>170</sup> William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D . . .*, rpt. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1962), 2:389-390 (entry for Dec. 4, 1801), quoted in Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and The 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 71.

<sup>171</sup> William O. Peabody, "Mount Auburn Cemetery: Report of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society upon the Establishment of an Experimental Garden and Rural Cemetery," *North American Review* 33 (October 1831): 405, quoted in Sloane, 45.

<sup>172</sup> John Carver, *Sketches of New England, or Memories of the Country* (New York: E. French, 1842), 260.

<sup>173</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier, *The Complete Poetical Works of Whittier* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1894), 153-154.

<sup>174</sup> Thomas Bridgman, *Epitaphs from Copp's Hill Burial Ground, Boston*, illegible page number in the introduction.

<sup>175</sup> See Favretti.

<sup>176</sup> "Boston's Historic Burying Grounds Initiative," 91-92.

<sup>177</sup> Thomas Bridgman, *The Pilgrims of Boston and Their Descendants: With an Introduction by Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D. Also, Inscriptions from the Monuments in the Granary Burial Ground, Tremont Street* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1856), xii-xiii.

<sup>178</sup> About 1836, John Warner Barber designed an engraving of the burying ground in North Haven for inclusion in a book on Connecticut's history. In his depiction, three diminutive trees stand in the burying ground, probably recently planted and the beginning of a program of ornamentation. See John Warner Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections, Containing a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c., Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Connecticut, with Geographical Descriptions* (New Haven, CT: J.W. Barber, 1836). Two preliminary drawings exist for the engraving in the John Warner Barber Collection at the Connecticut Historical Society, again including a few small trees. Their accession numbers are 1953.5.208 and 1953.5.209.

<sup>179</sup> Stilgoe, 227. On page 231, at the conclusion of his discussion of burying grounds, Stilgoe writes, "The graveyards did not order the land; no roads converged on them and no villages grew about them. But they ordered residents' perception of the land and gave identity to every neighborhood."

<sup>180</sup> Promey has made this point rather forcefully. See Promey, "Pictorial Ambivalence and American Protestantism," 197-198.

<sup>181</sup> Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, *Gravestone Chronicles: Some Eighteenth-Century New England Carvers and Their Work* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1990), 5.

<sup>182</sup> Glenn A. Knoblock, *Historic Burial Grounds of the New Hampshire Seacoast* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1999), 7.

<sup>183</sup> Lenney, 272.

<sup>184</sup> Weever, 5.

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<sup>185</sup> James Edmund Harting, *British Animals Extinct within Historic Times* (London, 1880), 204, quoted in Stanley Paul Young, *The Wolf in North American History* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1946), 19.

<sup>186</sup> Cronon, 134.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>188</sup> Jon T. Coleman, “Wolves in American History” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2003), esp. 26-98. For ideas about wolves in colonial America, also see Young, 59-74.

<sup>189</sup> These passages are taken from the King James Version of the Bible. Also see Matthew 10:16 and Acts 20:29. Unless otherwise noted, all biblical citations from this point forward are from the KJV.

<sup>190</sup> Valerie M. Fogleman, “American Attitudes Towards Wolves: A History of Misconception,” *Environmental Review* 13:1 (1989): 66.

<sup>191</sup> Edward Johnson, *The Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour* (1654), ed. J. Franklin Jameson, rpt. (New York, 1967), 196, quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> “Letter from John Winthrop to Cotton Mather” (September 12, 1717), in *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, ed. Kenneth Silverman (Baton Rouge, LA, 1971), 247, quoted in Fogleman, 66.

<sup>193</sup> Stanley Paul Young discusses “early systems of wolf control,” and he mentions fences but not wolf stones. See Young, 74-86.

<sup>194</sup> Linden-Ward, 20.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>196</sup> Edward Doubleday Harris, “Introduction,” in *Epitaphs from the Old Burying Ground in Watertown*, by Thaddeus William Harris (Boston, 1869), ii, quoted in *ibid.*, 20.

<sup>197</sup> James A. Slater, *The Colonial Burying Grounds of Eastern Connecticut and the Men Who Made Them* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1987), 274. For a brief account of the lives of the “four founders” of Stonington, Connecticut, see Geraldine A. Coon, “In Search of the First Settlers,” *Historical Footnotes: Bulletin of the Stonington Historical Society* (November 1999): 5-9.

<sup>198</sup> A small pamphlet was issued in 1900 following the dedication of a modern monument to Stonington’s first settlers the preceding year. There is a lengthy discussion therein of whether this wolf stone “be a memorial stone or not” and if it actually marks the grave of Walter Palmer. The slab’s inscription is said to have been at that time very difficult to decipher, though a number of older people of (or at least once of ) Stonington claim to have read Walter Palmer’s name and even portions of a date upon the slab earlier in the nineteenth century. See *The Wequetequock Burying Ground Association, Stonington, Conn., With an Account of the Services at the Dedication of the Monument Erected in Memory of William Chesebrough, Thomas Minor, Walter Palmer, Thomas Stanton, the First Four Settlers of the Town of Stonington. August 31, 1899* (Westerly, RI, 1900), 25-28. There is the possibility, then, that the inscription upon the wolf stone today, which is fairly easy to read, was recut or “restored” since the publication of the pamphlet in question.

<sup>199</sup> *The Wequetequock Burying Ground Association*, 28.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>201</sup> Thomas Minor, *The Diary of Thomas Minor*, ed. Sidney H. Miner and George D. Stanton, Jr. (New London, CT: Press of the Day Publishing Co., 1899), 17. This quotation is also reproduced in *Stonington Graveyards: A Guide* (Stonington, CT: Stonington Historical Society, 1980), 20.

<sup>202</sup> Craig Miner, "The Minor Farm, 1653-1720," *Historical Footnotes: Bulletin of the Stonington Historical Society* (February 1975): 2 and 5.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. Miner writes of Thomas Minor: "He hunted and killed bears and wolves to keep them away from his livestock . . ."

<sup>204</sup> Miner, 5. We should consider, however, that Minor may have kept a separate spiritual diary.

<sup>205</sup> Records for the John Stevens shop indicate that most gravestones they sold were in pairs. On page 24 (numbered 23 by Stevens), for example, the 1726 entry for "John Clark Gunn Smith" reads "to one pair of Graves Stones for your wife & Epotaph" and "to one pair for your Child & Epotaph." See Stevens.

<sup>206</sup> Tucker attributes Mary Nasson's headstone and footstone to the Lamsons. See Tucker, 213.

<sup>207</sup> Joseph A. Conforti, *Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 234-248. This section is entitled "The Colonial Revival and the Creation of Old York, Maine."

<sup>208</sup> Conforti, 234, 242-248.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>210</sup> Banks, 2:166-167.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>212</sup> Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War*, 17 vols. (Boston, 1896-1908), entry for Nasson, Samuel. Sanford is a town northwest of York.

<sup>213</sup> Karen Wentworth Batignani, *Maine's Coastal Cemeteries: A Historic Tour* (Camden, ME: Down East Books, 2003), 29. Batignani suggests that Elizabeth Perkins, another of the important figures for the Colonial Revival in York, may have invented the legend of the "witch's grave." For an additional discussion of the competing interpretations of Mary Nasson's grave site, see Karen Dandurant, "Hauntings and Spooky Tales of York Survive from the 1600s," *Portsmouth Herald*, Saturday, 25 October 2003.

<sup>214</sup> I thank Thomas Johnson for introducing me to the drawing.

<sup>215</sup> See, for example, Benes and Zimmerman, 107 and 117.

<sup>216</sup> Object file for 1977.77, Old York Historical Society, York, Maine.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>218</sup> Benes and Zimmerman, 107 and 117.

<sup>219</sup> Banks, 2:326.

<sup>220</sup> The object file for the drawing at Old York (1977.77) contains notations indicating that the church was turned to face the road c. 1839, leading some people to arrive at a faulty *terminus ante quem*. There was a committee formed for the remodeling the church in 1838, but the building was not turned at that time.



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<sup>221</sup> Banks, 2:109.

<sup>222</sup> Conforti, 240.

<sup>223</sup> Munson depicts New Haven green with its fenced burying ground, brick statehouse and two wooden meetinghouses. He even includes cattle. By the time he made the picture, downtown New Haven would have appeared completely differently. Among other changes, the Center Church had been built where the burying ground once stood, and the monuments from the burying ground were either removed to Grove Street Cemetery or incorporated into the basement of the church. For an illustration of and basic information about the painting, see Benes and Zimmerman, 18 and 114.

<sup>224</sup> Banks, 2:166.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> I first arrived at this possibility during a conversation with Thomas Johnson, who being familiar with the drawing of York village center, had come to a similar conclusion. I took measurements of the stones in the Old York Burying Ground on September 2, 2004. The Mary Nason stone measures 71 in. long, 18 1/2-21 in. wide, and 3-5 in. thick (sitting above the ground). The 36 stones comprising the coping of the southwest wall of the burying ground measure 98 in. long on average, whereas the 21 stones making up the southeast wall's coping measure an average of 79 in. long. Generally speaking, the slabs on the wall are about 16 in. wide and 8 in. thick. One characteristic of the slabs constituting the coping leads me to question whether they are the wolf stones we see in the nineteenth-century drawing. The Nason wolf stone is soft and quite rounded on its edges, apparently smoothed or worn with time; the edges of the granite slabs on the wall are sharp. They appear to have been quarried at a later date. The stones upon the grave sites in the drawing appear more like Nason's—rounded rather than squared off.

<sup>227</sup> Batignani, 29.

<sup>228</sup> Burgess, 128-130. "Coped stones" are formally similar to bodystones and coffin-stones.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>230</sup> This stone may be a footstone, which would account for its lack of a date and the appearance of initials rather than a full name.

<sup>231</sup> *Cotton Mather's Verse in English*, 93.

<sup>232</sup> Cotton Mather (1693), quoted in Dethlefsen and Deetz, 502.

<sup>233</sup> John Norton, *Abel Being Dead Yet Speaketh: Or, The Life & Death of That Deservedly Famous Man of God, Mr John Cotton, Late Teacher of the Church of Christ, at Boston in New-England* (London, 1658).

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>235</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 23-24.

<sup>236</sup> David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 59. I do not agree with Morgan's claim that empathy and sympathy are different ideas. On page 84, he states that empathy allows complete "identification" with something "other," whereas sympathy is analogical, attending to likeness while preserving difference. Under what set of circumstances, I wonder, is complete identification with or transformation into an other possible? Are not both empathy and sympathy processes of imagination?

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>238</sup> Barbara Maria Stafford, *Visual Analogy: Consciousness as the Art of Connecting* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1999), 9.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> See Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>241</sup> David H. Watters was the first writer to discuss the idea of "living" or "lively" stones. See David H. Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes, 25-36, and "With Bodilie Eyes," 89-98.

<sup>242</sup> For a valuable discussion of the materiality and phenomenology of stones, see Christopher Y. Tilley, with the assistance of Wayne Bennett, *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology I* (Oxford: Berg, 2004). I thank Flora Vilches for introducing me to this book.

<sup>243</sup> John Cotton, "To my Reverend Dear Brother, M. Samuel Stone, Teacher of the Church at Hartford," in *A Congregational Church Is a Catholike Visible Church. Or An Examination of M. Hudson His Vindication Concerning the Integrality of the Catholike Visible Church*, by Samuel Stone (London, 1652), no page number.

<sup>244</sup> Kenneth Silverman, ed., *Colonial American Poetry* (New York: Hafner, 1968), 143, quoted in Jeffrey A. Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy: A Literary and Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 114.

<sup>245</sup> *Cotton Mather's Verse in English*, 84-85.

<sup>246</sup> Describing the "Humble man" in *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608), Joseph Hall writes, "He is a lowly valley sweetly planted and well watered; the proud mans earth, whereon he trampleth; but secretly full of wealthy Mines, more worth than he that walkes over them; a rich stone set in Lead; and lastly, a true Temple of God built with a low rooffe." See Joseph Hall, *Heaven vpon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1948), 153.

<sup>247</sup> The Connecticut Historical Society, MSS General Assembly, Folder 1631-1699, quoted in G. William Beardslee and William M. Baillie, "'A Company of Dead Stones': The Half-Way Covenant and Conservative Dissent," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 57:3-4 (1992): 135.

<sup>248</sup> Lenney, 276-277.

<sup>249</sup> Wayne Craven represents the traditional assessment of Puritan New England: "Life on earth for the Puritans was a gray existence; many of their visual images and much of their literature expressed their preoccupation with death. Uninhibited joy had no part of any art that developed within Puritan society." See Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America, From the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968), 3. Several authors have argued against the notion of the colorless colonial New England. John Demos has written about the vibrant "daily garb" of the Puritans. See John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 53-54. Benes has demonstrated that New Englanders often painted meetinghouses with bright colors. See Peter Benes, "Sky Colors and Scattered Clouds: The Decorative and Architectural Painting of New England Meeting Houses, 1738-1834," in *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630-1850* ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1979), 51-69. Promey has made the same point. See Promey, "Pictorial Ambivalence and American Protestantism," 200-202, and "The 'Return' of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art," 596. Ship's figureheads, though rarely discussed in scholarly works on early New England material culture, should also be a part of the "recoloring" of this history. I doubt anyone could observe the

multicolored colossal figureheads in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, for example, and still think of the colonies as “a gray existence.”

<sup>250</sup> Some sources, usually popular rather than scholarly, include color reproductions of gravestones. See, for example, Gregory Thorp, “Farewell, Bright Soul,” *Smithsonian* 31:8 (2000): 102-106.

<sup>251</sup> H.L. Mencken, quoted in Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 65. Mencken’s derogatory comments about Puritanism were part of a large corpus of writing in which he critiqued tradition and American life.

<sup>252</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Typological Writings, The Works of Jonathan Edwards Volume 11*, ed. Wallace E. Anderson and Mason I. Lowance, Jr., with David H. Watters (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 67-68 (#58).

<sup>253</sup> Edward Taylor, “Publick Record of the Church at Westfield . . .,” manuscript at the Westfield Athenaeum, Westfield, Massachusetts, 90, quoted in Watters, “A Priest to the Temple,” in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes, 26.

<sup>254</sup> In the context of burying ground meditations, Hervey writes, “Are not the bodies of the saints the Almighty’s property? Were they not once the objects of his tender love? Are they not still the subjects of his special care? Has he not given commandment concerning the bones of his elect, and charged the ocean, and enjoined the grave, to keep them until that day? When rocks bright with gems, or mountains rich with mines, are abandoned to the devouring flames; will not these be rescued from the fiery ruin? Will not these be translated into Jehovah’s kingdom, and, conjointly with the soul, made ‘his jewels;’ made his ‘peculiar treasure;’ made to shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever?” He clearly references the precious-stone-like qualities of the saints here. See Hervey, 73.

<sup>255</sup> The best treatment of Wheeler’s production is Ernest J. Caulfield, “Connecticut Gravestones XVII: The Colonial Gravestone Carvings of Obadiah Wheeler,” *Markers* 8 (1991): 270-309.

<sup>256</sup> On the collective nature of Puritan selfhood, see William J. Scheick, “Standing in the Gap: Urian Oakes’s Elegy on Thomas Shepard,” *Early American Literature* 9:3 (1975): 301-306. Also see Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’”

<sup>257</sup> William Bradford, quoted in *Puritans in the New World*, ed. David D. Hall, 19.

<sup>258</sup> Watters discusses pillars at length. See Watters, “A Priest to the Temple,” in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes, 25 and 30-31, and “*With Bodilie Eyes*,” 20, 52-53, 72, 91-93, 96.

<sup>259</sup> As Josephine K. Piercy has demonstrated, courtesy books are important sources of information for understanding the self-as-pillar. Baldassare Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier* (1528) and Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531) are influential works related to power and self-fashioning that the Puritans may have known. Piercy writes, “In both [above books], it is acknowledged that all men are not equal, that some possess greater talent or grace than others, that it is necessary for the superior to govern the inferior, that the superior derive their powers from God and must govern in His likeness, and that the one most superior must invest others with subordinate powers. And both agree in the qualities of a good ruler: He must have knowledge and wisdom, fortitude and moral honesty. He must be righteous and just, and in this he is closest to Divinity. He must think always of public rather than private interests. Above all he must be an example to his people in virtue and in obedience to the law.” See Josephine K. Piercy, *Studies in Literary Types in Seventeenth Century America (1607-1710)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), 217. Piercy also discusses election sermons. She suggests that the following works were important for defining the “civil ruler” in early New England: Desiderius Erasmus, *A Book Called in Latin Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, and in English *The Manual of the Christian Knight* (London: Methuen and Co., 1905); Henry Peacham, *Peacham’s Compleat Gentleman, 1634* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906);

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Samuel Willard, *The Character of a Good Ruler* (Boston, 1694); Ebenezer Pemberton, *The Divine Original and Dignity of Government Asserted* (Boston, 1710); and Increase Mather, *The Excellency of a Publick Spirit Discoursed* (Boston, 1702). She quotes Thomas Elyot on the civil ruler's life: "They shal also consider that by their pre-eminence they sitte, as it were on a pillar on the toppe of a mountaine, where all the people do beholde them." Thomas Elyot, *The Governour* (London: J.M. Dent, 1937), 119, quoted in Piercy, *Studies in Literary Types*, 225. Samuel Willard states that he "*reckoned nothing more proper, than to represent, as in a Glass, the fair face of a Well-ordered Government . . .*" Willard, *The Character of a Good Ruler*, To the Reader.

<sup>260</sup> Samuel Willard, *The High Esteem Which God Hath of the Death of His Saints* (Boston, 1685), in *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings*, ed. Perry Miller and Thomas E. Johnson (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 371-374, quoted in Linden-Ward, 106.

<sup>261</sup> Same as preceding note, quoted in Linden-Ward, 107.

<sup>262</sup> Ola E. Winslow, ed., *American Broadside Verse*, rpt. 1930 (New York: AMS Press, 1974), 9, quoted in Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy*, 114.

<sup>263</sup> Charles Chauncy, quoted in Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy*, 114.

<sup>264</sup> Several writers have mentioned the positive meanings of breasts on Puritan gravestones. See Ludwig, 155 and 160, and Watters, "With Bodilie Eyes," 108-109, 116.

<sup>265</sup> Ainsworth, 25-26.

<sup>266</sup> John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 27.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.* In his narrative of the organization of the congregation at Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1637-1638, John Allin writes of the Puritan commitment to edification and love: "to all such Christian and spiritual duties of love as flows from that union with Christ and one another; as to exhort admonish privately comfort, to communicate and improve any gift received to mutual edification, to relieve the wants of each other, etc."; "the spiritual condition of every Christian is such as stand in need of all instituted ordinances for the repair of the saints and edification of the body of Christ"; and "so that the communion may be spiritual[ly] edifying and the persons knit firmly in the band of love . . ." See *The Records of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths, and Admissions to the Church . . . in the Town of Dedham, Massachusetts*, ed. Don Gleason Hill (Dedham, MA, 1888 [Dedham Records 2]), 1-15, quoted in *Puritans in the New World*, ed. David D. Hall, 55-56.

<sup>270</sup> Coolidge, 33-35.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>276</sup> Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Hannah Barnard's Cupboard: Female Property and Identity in Eighteenth-Century New England," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, 241. For a later version of this chapter, see *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of An American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 2001), 108-141.

<sup>277</sup> Ulrich, "Hannah Barnard's Cupboard," 273.

<sup>278</sup> Lovell writes the same of colonial portraits. See Margaretta M. Lovell, "The *Terre Inconnue* of the Colonial Face," *Winterthur Portfolio* 24:1 (1989): 69.

<sup>279</sup> William J. Scheick writes, "One's very name is the definitive elegy or epitaph comprising the enigmatic text of the self, the text to which the non-consoling funeral elegy yields up its own text and which is to be deciphered (as much as it can be in this world) in terms of Scripture and the collective self informing the pattern of internalization evident in certain colonial funeral elegies on ministers." He also adds, "In the Puritan view, the true name of something reveals its essence." See William J. Scheick, "Tombless Virtue and Hidden Text: New England Puritan Funeral Elegies," in *Puritan Poets and Poetics: Seventeenth-Century American Poetry in Theory and Practice*, ed. Peter White (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 297.

<sup>280</sup> Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 46.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 174. Promey has argued for the importance of the name in discussing early New England gravestones and the Thomas Smith *Self-Portrait*. See Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>282</sup> Jane Kamensky has explored the history of "governed" and "ungoverned" (conceived as "good" and "bad" or "right" and "wrong") speech in colonial New England. Among topics she considers are personal reputation, libel, and "defamatory speech" or slander. She writes, "The court of everyday life offered ample proof of the Bible's maxim stating that 'a good name is better than precious ointment.' And was a good name ever more vulnerable than when it was invoked in the loose talk of others? Thus for ordinary folks and cultural elites alike, talk was anything but cheap, and words were to be taken seriously indeed." See Jane Kamensky, *Governing the Tongue: The Politics of Speech in Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 18-19.

<sup>283</sup> When I began researching the idea of the good name, I was struck by the similarity between the "death's head" and cherub motifs at the top of gravestones and the appearance of the head and hands of individuals as secured in a pillory. I was further intrigued by this similarity, because there is evidence that texts were suspended from the necks of those standing in pillories, just as texts appear beneath the images at the tops of gravestones. I had considered the possibility that the visual resemblance may have seemed dialogical to the colonists. And, indeed, what funerary monuments were to nominal praise, the pillory was to nominal destruction. Upon learning of the relative rarity of the use of the pillory as a punishment in colonial New England, however, I now wonder whether this comparison bears any kind of value. Kathryn Preyer has searched archival records in various colonies for evidence concerning the regularity of "corporal punishments" such as the "stocks, pillory, wearing of labels or symbols and so forth." She writes, "Though hardly in disuse, those punishments so dear to the lore about colonial America are, from the data we have at present, clearly not a very characteristic mode of punishment." Preyer agrees, however, that the pillory and like punishments usually caused irreversible damage to the reputation of those persons so punished. She asserts that "carting and pillory had serious permanent consequences of future civil disabilities and were therefore little used by the judges except for crimes such as larceny, counterfeiting, receiving stolen goods, jailbreak, attempted murder, violent wounding." She continues, "Be that as it may, these penal measures seem to have been used only sparingly and perhaps too much attention has been paid to them for the wrong reasons." She goes no further in explaining the "wrong reasons." See Kathryn Preyer, "Penal Measures in the American Colonies: An Overview," *American Journal of Legal History* 26:4 (1982): 349, 350. For a related discussion, see David Hackett Fischer on the "order ways" of early Massachusetts. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 189-196.

Since the pillory seems rarely to have been used, it may perhaps come as no surprise that artists infrequently depicted scenes of pillory punishment. From Georgia Barnhill, I have learned of one interesting picture in the collection of prints in the Worcester Art Museum. Dating to 1762 and issued in Boston, it depicts two individuals who, having been convicted of counterfeiting, are receiving public punishments. One fellow's name is Seth Hudson, while the other's surname is How. A profile portrait of Hudson appears in the center of the composition, ringed with the following text: "SETH HUDSON.1762. ↓THE TRUE PROFILE.OF THE NOTORIOUS DOCTOR." At the left, there is a scene in which Hudson stands on a scaffold with a pillory. At the right, How stands at the whipping post. Large groups of people crowd around them, and objects lying on the scaffold indicate that the crowd has been throwing things at Hudson. The title appears below the engraving: "*H-ds-n*'s SPEECH from the Pillory." The dashes that take the place of vowels in Hudson's name seem to indicate the nominal trauma he is undergoing. His good name is being crossed out. Four verses attributed to Hudson accompany the engraving. The second verse reads: "Well—for my Roguery here I stand, / A Spectacle to all the Land : / High elevated on this Stage, / The *greatest Villain* of the Age. / My Crimes have been both great and many, / Equal'd by very few, if any : / And for the Mischiefe I have done / I put this *wooden Neckcloth* on." The fourth verse reads: "Now all ye who behold this Sight, / That ye may get some profit by't, / Keep always in your Mind, I pray, / These few Words that I have to say. / Follow my Steps and you may be / In Time, perhaps, advanc'd like me ; / Or, like my fellow Lab'rer *HOW*, / You'l get at least a *Post* below." We should see punishments like these as negative exemplifications, didactic events about reformation, as much about personal imperfection as colonial funerary monuments are about self-perfection. The print in question is remarkable in that it is an image that takes as its subject "false" images. Hudson and How were counterfeiters and as such created fake representations of money. They themselves became false images or negative examples; they are not to be imitated. But then we are presented with the "TRUE PROFILE" of Hudson. The print, then, is a true image depicting various false images.

<sup>284</sup> Quoted in John J. Waters, "Naming and Kinship in New England: Guilford Patterns and Usage, 1693-1759," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 138 (July 1984): 161.

<sup>285</sup> This translation of Proverbs 10:7 comes from the Geneva Bible (London, 1587).

<sup>286</sup> Other stones bearing no substantial epitaph beyond the opening line from Proverbs 10:7 include the following: Ann Carter stone, 1679, Charlestown, Massachusetts; Capt. Timothy Wheler stone, 1687, Concord, Massachusetts; Edmund Angier stone, 1692, Cambridge, Massachusetts; William Dickson stone, 1692, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Ensigne Nathaniel Goodwine stone, 1693, Wakefield, Massachusetts; Richard Austin, Sr. stone, 1703, Charlestown, Massachusetts; Anna Fowle stone, 1709, Charlestown, Massachusetts; Mary Barrett stone, 1713, Concord, Massachusetts; William Pitkin tablestone, 1723, East Hartford, Connecticut.

<sup>287</sup> See Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>288</sup> Promey discussed this passage's appearance on Puritan gravestones and local knowledge of biblical context in "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>289</sup> This translation of Psalms 37:37-8 comes from the King James Bible (London, 1611).

<sup>290</sup> One monument for which this inscription stands alone as the epitaph is the Candace Case stone, 1789, Farmington, Connecticut.

<sup>291</sup> The following are some examples: Abigail Bancroft stone, 1716, Wakefield, Massachusetts; Capt. William and Ruth Rous stone, 1721 and 1722, Charlestown, Massachusetts; Hannah Cotton stone, 1800, Plymouth, Massachusetts; Elizabeth Diman stone, 1807, Plymouth, Massachusetts; Amasa and Charles Pierce stone, 1838 and 1826, Dorchester, Massachusetts; Sally and John Edwards stone, 1848 and 1850, Charlestown, Massachusetts; Elizabeth Faunce stone, 1859, Plymouth, Massachusetts.

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<sup>292</sup> Naphtali Daggett, *The Excellency of a Good Name. A Sermon Delivered in the Chapel of Yale-College, in New-Haven, December 4th, 1768. Occasioned by the Death of Mr. Job Lane, One of the Tutors of the College; Who Departed this Life at New-Haven, September 16, 1768, in the 27th Year of his Age* (New Haven, 1768), 13.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>298</sup> David Hackett Fischer, "Forenames and the Family in New England: An Exercise in Historical Onomastics," in *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History*, ed. Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Ralph J. Crandall (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 217. Also see Fischer's later discussion of Puritan "naming ways" in *Albion's Seed*, 93-97.

<sup>299</sup> Fischer, "Forenames and the Family in New England," 218.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 231 and 235.

<sup>301</sup> Daniel Scott Smith, "Child-Naming Practices, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641 to 1880," *Journal of Social History* 18:4 (1985): 543.

<sup>302</sup> Daniel Scott Smith, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Puritan Naming: Massachusetts, 1771," *William and Mary Quarterly* 51:1 (1994): 69.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.* Through a study of naming trends during the period 1780-1850 in the town of Charlemont, Massachusetts, David W. Dumas has argued that a "secularization of outlook" and a "reintegration into British popular culture" with regard to naming took root in New England by the middle of the nineteenth century. See David W. Dumas, "The Naming of Children in New England, 1780-1850," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 132 (July 1978): 203. Gloria L. Main sees the demise of Puritan naming practices arising partially out of the "freer choice" associated with the mid-eighteenth-century religious revivals. See Gloria L. Main, "Naming Children in Early New England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27:1 (1996), 25.

<sup>304</sup> The biblical names I cite were, according to Smith, the most common names for men and women in Massachusetts during 1771. See Smith, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Puritan Naming," 72-73. Fischer also states that these were among the most popular scriptural names in New England. See Fischer, "Forenames and the Family in New England," 221. David D. Hall has argued that Puritans considered assigning a "godly name" to a child to be a device of protection and/or purification. See David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 153 and 218.

<sup>305</sup> It is possible that this slate stone was larger originally and that an upper section might have included parents' names and therefore the surname of the children Abel and Svbmite. See W.B. Trask, "Epitaphs at Dorchester," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 2 (1848): 382. One source suggests that Abel and Svbmite were the children of Thomas Clarke. See "Boston's Historic Burying Grounds Initiative," 82.

<sup>306</sup> Also see Hebrews 11:4 with its reference to Abel as the speaking dead.

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<sup>307</sup> Hammond considers similar puns appearing in colonial funeral elegies. See Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy*, 175-176.

<sup>308</sup> William Jenkyn, *An Exposition of the Epistle of Jude* (London, 1656), 4, quoted in Waters, 162.

<sup>309</sup> Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy*, 172. Hammond provides examples of acrostics on 172-173.

<sup>310</sup> Hammond maintains, “The line between the New England dead and the poems that commemorated them was as thin as the line between self and Scripture. In keeping with the Puritan assumption that careful reading was a precondition for proclaiming the saint’s glory, the elegist became a decoder of secrets not unlike a minister explicating the ‘darker’ portions of Scripture. The most common site for such decoding was the deceased’s name. . . .When applied to elegy, such devices as puns, acrostics, and anagrams were thought to be considerably more than mere ornament. Puritans saw them as extensions of the deceased’s textual legibility, and the verbal ingenuity required to discover them was equated with the spiritual insight demanded by proper mourning.” *Ibid.*, 172-173. Hammond includes examples of anagrams on pages 173-175.

<sup>311</sup> *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England*, ed. Kenneth B. Murdock (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 9; *Early American Latin Verse, 1625 1825: An Anthology*, ed. Leo M. Kaiser (Chicago: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1984), 14; and Murdock (as in this note), 90-91. All quoted in Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy*, 173.

<sup>312</sup> Samuel Langdon, *The High Value of a Great and Good Name, and Death, An Entrance into Perfect Life. A Sermon Delivered in the First Church in Cambridge, May 9th, 1779. Being the Lord’s Day after the Interment of the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq; Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard-College, Cambridge, L.L.D. & F.R.S. Who Departed this Life May the 3d, 1779, in the 65th Year of his Age, and in the 41st of his Professorship* (Boston, 1779), 6.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>317</sup> *The New - Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine* 3:12 (27 March 1788): 1. Blake records the line: “This name forget, N. England never must.” See Blake, 264.

<sup>318</sup> I thank Sally Promey for discussing the Abrahamic covenant with me and for suggesting the Brown and Hall piece cited below. Genesis 17:7: “And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.” For an important discussion of the complex relationship between the “Abrahamic” or “intergenerational” covenant (linked to continuity and family preservation) and the “covenant of grace” within the New England Puritan milieu, see Anne S. Brown and David D. Hall, “Family Strategies and Religious Practice: Baptism and the Lord’s Supper in Early New England,” in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 41-68. The authors write, “Marking out a middle way of their own, lay men and women thus accommodated two very different realms of meaning, though always having to acknowledge that the inheritance of spiritual goods was far less certain than the inheritance of land and cattle” (58). In conclusion, they note, “Above all, lay people valued the continuity of the ‘seed,’ and in turning to church membership to abet this continuity, affirmed the ongoing corporate role of families and churches, working together” (62). Increase Mather explicates the Abrahamic covenant: “In that the vein of election doth run through the loins of godly parents for the most part. Though it be not wholly, and only so, that elect parents have none but elect children, or that elect children are always born to elect parents yet God hath seen meet to cast the line of election so, as that



generally elect children are cast upon elect parents, John directs one of his epistles [2 John 1], to the elect lady and her children, whom he also found walking in the truth. . . . There are some families in the world, that God hath designed to shew peculiar mercy to them, from generation to generation. And if an account should be taken concerning all the godly men that are now alive in the world, doubtless it would be found, that the greatest part of them are sprung from godly parents. Though there may be many converted ones in the world, whose parents did not fear God, yet for the generality of true believers they are such as have descended from believing parents." See Increase Mather, *Pray for the Rising Generation* (Boston, 1678), quoted in *Puritans in the New World*, ed. David D. Hall, 99-100. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has invoked the Abrahamic covenant in discussing the material culture of early New England. See, for instance, Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun*, 64 and 98.

In the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan allies the exemplary pilgrimage to the preservation of the family house and name: Gaius: "Then said Gaius, Whose wife is this aged matron? And whose daughter is this young damsel?" / Great-heart: "The woman is the wife of one Christian, a pilgrim of former times, and these are his four children. The maid is one of her acquaintance; one that she hath persuaded to come with her on pilgrimage. The boys take all after their father, and covet to tread in his steps. Yea, if they do but see any place where the old pilgrim hath lain, or any print of his foot, it ministereth joy to their hearts, and they covet to lie, or tread in the same." / Gaius: "Then said Gaius, Is this Christian's wife, and are these Christian's children? I knew your husband's father, yea, also his father's father. Many have been good of this stock, their ancestors dwelt first at Antioch. Christian's progenitors (I suppose you have heard your husband talk of them) were very worthy men. They have above any that I know, showed themselves men of great virtue and courage, for the Lord of the pilgrims, his ways, and them that loved him. I have heard of many of your husband's relations that have stood all trials for the sake of truth. . . . 'Twould be impossible, utterly to count up all of that family that have suffered injuries and death, for the love of a pilgrim's life. Nor can I but be glad, to see that thy husband has left behind him four such boys as these. I hope they will bear up their father's name, and tread in their father's steps, and come to their father's end." / Great-heart: "Indeed sir, they are likely lads, they seem to choose heartily their father's ways." / Gaius: "That is it that I said, wherefore Christian's family is like still to spread abroad upon the face of the ground, and yet to be numerous upon the face of the earth. Wherefore let Christiana look out some damsels for her sons, to whom they may be betrothed, etc. that the name of their father and the house of his progenitors may never be forgotten in the world." / Honest: "'Tis pity this family should fall and be extinct." / Gaius: "Fall it cannot, but be diminished it may; but let Christiana take my advice, and that's the way to uphold it." See Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1987), 231-232.

The portrait of William Stoughton (1631-1701) in the Harvard University Portrait Collection, dating to about 1700, both deals with and complicates the notion of building and planting I have been discussing. Living in Dorchester, Massachusetts, Stoughton was a minister, politician, and judge. He graduated from Harvard College in 1650. He never married or had children. In 1698-9, near the end of his life, he donated a building to Harvard which was named Stoughton College. It was constructed, at least partly, of bricks from the dilapidated Indian College which had been erected in 1655. The oil painting presumably commemorates Stoughton's donation. An aged Stoughton stands in the middle of the composition, wearing a black cape trimmed in gold and a loose white collar. His white hair cascades from beneath a small, tight-fitting, black cap. His left arm is tightly bundled in his cape and presumably akimbo on his left hip. Stoughton gazes out at us, extending his right arm with bare, fleshy hand toward the lower left corner of the picture. To the right and behind him is an indistinguishable darkness. To the left, a window opens onto a rather benign and curvilinear mountainous landscape, seemingly shown at sunset. A rectilinear red brick building with white trim, representing Stoughton College, sits incongruously in the middle of the landscape. Stoughton's building donation (and the portrait recording it) appears a material act of nominal preservation. With no children and therefore no familial house to carry on his good name, Stoughton built because he had not planted. Incidentally, Stoughton's tombstone stands in Dorchester North Burying Ground, and it would be important to consider the monument in a lengthier study of Stoughton's self-fashioning(s). One would also take into account the silver cup Stoughton donated to Harvard in 1701, as well as Samuel Willard's published funeral sermon for Stoughton: *Prognosticks of Impending Calamities. Delivered in a Sermon Preached on the Lecture at Boston, July 17. 1701. Occasioned by the Death of the Truly Honourable, William Stoughton Esq. Lieutenant Governour, &c of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England* (Boston, 1701). I thank Sandra Grindlay for

arranging for me to view Stoughton's portrait. I also thank Bryan Zygmunt for discussing the picture with me and for pointing out that Stoughton died unmarried, having produced no offspring.

<sup>319</sup> Several authors have attended to heraldic devices. Forbes contends that the coat of arms was "first in importance" as an indicator of "station in life or the occupation of the deceased." She writes, "From this early period [i.e. the late seventeenth century] until the close of the nineteenth century there are many such sculptures in our burying-grounds. The majority of them are on the flat tombstones or on the tablestones of the well-to-do." See Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England*, 118, and Figures 20, 45, 46, 61, 67, 72, 96, 124, 129, 137, 142, 176. In addition to Forbes, Loyd Grossman published a short article on heraldry and gravestones in 1973. See Loyd Grossman, "Heraldic Design on New England Gravestones," *Old-Time New England* 64 (October/December 1973): 55-60. The Tashjians mention a couple of stones with coats of arms. See Dickran and Ann Tashjian, 220-222. For the most extensive study to date on heraldry and funerary monuments in colonial New England, see Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, *Gravestone Chronicles II: More Eighteenth-Century New England Carvers and an Exploration of Gravestone Heraldica* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1997).

<sup>320</sup> Richard Gough relates a story which implies that names were more important than coats of arms as indicators of one's history and identity on funerary monuments. He writes, "Mr. Lethieullier proceeds to observe, that 'some knowledge in Heraldry is very necessary in searches of this nature. A coat of arms, device, or rebus, very often remains where not the least word of an inscription appears, and where indeed very probably there never was any; for I am apprehensive, that a vanity in surviving friends, who imagined a person eminent in their time could never be forgotten, induced them frequently not to put any on his monument. And it is not uncommon to find a pious ejaculation, or text of Scripture, by way of epitaph, without the least mention of the person who lies there interred.'" See Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* (London, 1786), 1:cv.

<sup>321</sup> On September 18, 1792, Samuel Dexter recorded in his diary a remarkable reflection on the coat of arms. He writes of procuring a coat of arms, of later feeling vain for having done so, and of his plan to destroy the device. He also suggests that the coat of arms and republicanism do not go together. I am interested to find out if there are other instances of coat of arms iconoclasm in early New England and what the attitudes were, broadly speaking, toward these representations. As a side note, Dexter also appears to reference in the following quotation the Thomas Smith *Self-Portrait*. We know that Dexter is descended from a Thomas Smith, though I do not believe the passage below has made its way into the scholarship on the *Self-Portrait*. It may be, in fact, the earliest textual reference to the painting. Dexter writes, "Since the revolutions in America and France I have considered what, in the language of heraldry, are called Arms, Coats of Arms, and Coat Armour, as very ridiculous things. They were at first borne on the apparatus of war, and at tournaments; both the disgrace of human nature. They were given, or authorized by absolute sovereigns, the tyrants of the world. The idea is abhorrent from a republican spirit. In the peaceful walks of life that private gentlemen should have introduced the custom of bearing arms, as it is expressed, cannot be accounted for, but from that pride of heart which all possess, in a greater or less degree. More than thirty years ago, because a number with whom I was acquainted had what were called family arms, and valued themselves upon the circumstance, I became as much of a fool as any of them, and wished for a ? to hang up in my room. I wrote to the merchants in London, with whom I corresponded, upon the matter. On application none belonging to the family of Dexter were to be found. My mother has the arms of an ancestor of her's, of the name of Smith. She has his portrait too, daubed by himself, with some lines in verse at the bottom, of his own composing, in the style of the day. He was an officer in Cromwell's army, and had also the command of a fort, or garrison. From her family arms the field of mine was taken. The crest and the motto were as Mr Artist pleased, and the Vellum was, in other respects, bedecked and bedizened according to his fancy. I despise it, and myself for having procured it. I have concealed it at present in a trunk, in my closet, and, probably, its end will be to be burned; and if some literary vanities, already condemned, yet not under sentence of death, should be added, it will be the larger bonfire. I have an engraving of these arms on a seal. It is affixed to my last will, and there properly expressed to be my useful seal. But I think to melt it down, and get one that will make a different impression. It is proper that private men, as well as public officers, corporations, and States, should have peculiar and distinguishing seals. If the symbolical marks, devices, emblems, hieroglyphics, &c used, for political purposes, should be

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continued till the period of all earthly things, it will answer a good end; and let them be denominated Arms, with all my heart; but what has a private man to do with such Insignia?" See Samuel Dexter, "Samuel Dexter Commonplace-Book," 1763-1809, Massachusetts Historical Society, Ms. SBd-219/Microfilm P-201, 276-277.

<sup>322</sup> O.M. writes, "Let me seriously recommend to my young readers to obtain and preserve a good name. It is easily obtained by a correct course of conduct, and may as easily be preserved. But when it is once lost, it cannot be easily recovered." O.M., "On the Importance of a Good Name," *The Guardian, or Youth's Religious Instructor* 6 (March 1824): 76.

<sup>323</sup> Daggett, 23.

<sup>324</sup> Piercy, *Studies in Literary Types*, 168. Also see Josephine K. Piercy, "The 'Character' in the Literature of Early New England," *New England Quarterly* 12:3 (September 1939): 470-476. Charles Taylor argues for the relationship between selfhood and goodness: "Selfhood and the good, or in another way selfhood and morality, turn out to be inextricably intertwined themes." He continues, "The Puritan wondered whether he was saved. The question was whether he was called or not. If called, he was 'justified'. But if justified, he might still be a long way from being 'sanctified': this latter was a continuous process, a road that he could be more or less advanced on. My claim is that this isn't peculiar to Puritan Christianity, but that all frameworks permit of, indeed, place us before an absolute question of this kind, framing the context in which we ask the relative questions about how near or far we are from the good." See Taylor, 3 and 45.

<sup>325</sup> Benjamin Boyce, *The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 3-4. Boyce states that Theophrastus wrote only negative characterizations or "bad types." The virtuous characters were an innovation of English character writers.

<sup>326</sup> Joseph Hall's *Characters of Vertues and Vices* was published in London in 1608. He was deeply interested in the writings of Seneca and a devotee of Neostoicism. In the dedication he writes, "I Have undertaken a great taske, to teach men how to be happy in this life: I had undertaken and performed it: wherein I have followed Seneca, and gone beyond him; followed him as a Philosopher, gone beyond him as a Christian, as a Divine." He explains his imitative method: "As one therefore that in worthy examples hold imitation better than invention, I have trod in their paths, but with an higher & wider step; and out of their Tablets have drawn these larger portraitures of both sorts." See Joseph Hall, 19, 84, 144.

<sup>327</sup> Bercovitch, 4.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. Samuel Clarke writes, "The true History of exemplary Lives, is a pleasant and profitable recreation to young persons; and may secretly work them to a liking of Godliness and value of good men, which is the beginning of saving Grace." Samuel Clarke, *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (1683), quoted in Swaim, 132. And Samuel Johnson: "The principal intention of epitaphs is to perpetuate the examples of virtue, that the tomb of a good man may supply the want of his presence, and veneration for his memory produce the same effect as the observation of his life." Johnson, quoted in J.B. Jackson, "The Vanishing Epitaph: From Monument to Place," *Landscape* 17:2 (1967-1968): 23.

I have benefited from numerous secondary works dealing with premodern notions of biography and history, most significantly Bercovitch's *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. Other valuable works include the following: Reginald E. Watters, "Biographical Technique in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series 2 (1945): 154-163; Kenneth B. Murdock, "Clio in the Wilderness: History and Biography in Puritan New England," *Church History* 24 (1955): 221-238; Mason I. Lowance, Jr., "Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* and the Metaphors of Biblical History," in *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 139-160; Jeffrey A. Hammond, "'Make Use of What I Leave in Love': Anne Bradstreet's Didactic Self," *Religion and Literature* 17:3 (1985): 11-26; Thomas H. Luxon, *Literal Figures: Puritan Allegory and the Reformation*

*Crisis in Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1-33. I thank Guy Jordan for calling to my attention the Murdock article.

William R. Manierre II describes Cotton Mather's use of the "biographical parallel," an expansive form of the typological representation that was central to the Puritan model of selfhood. The biographer could equate deceased Puritans to biblical persons, but he might also go further, comparing the dead with great figures throughout all history, including the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as the Church Fathers. Manierre II claims that God remained the "prototype" in all cases of Puritan parallel biography. See William R. Manierre II, "Cotton Mather and the Biographical Parallel," *American Quarterly* 13:2 (1961): 153-160. On the biographical parallel and early New England, also see Murdock, 232-233. This parallelism begins with Plutarch, who in *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* juxtaposed biographies of major historical figures from ancient Greece and Rome. In his biography of Timoleon, Plutarch invokes the mirror: "It was for the sake of others that I first commenced writing biographies; but I find myself proceeding and attaching myself to it for my own; the virtues of these great men serving me as a sort of looking-glass, in which I may see how to adjust and adorn my own life." See Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. John Dryden, ed. and rev. Arthur Hugh Clough (New York: Modern Library, 1992), 1:325.

Reed Whittemore has assembled a study around five collections of early biographies: Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*; Aelfric's *Lives of the Saints*; Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*; Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*; and Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. He describes biography until the eighteenth century as a kind of "beast-purification." He writes, "The subjects of biography had to be superior beings, persons an audience could look up to and be purified by." See Reed Whittemore, *Pure Lives: The Early Biographers* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 1, 4, and 5.

Mitchell Robert Breitweiser has described exemplification in the context of mourning. See Mitchell Robert Breitweiser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning: Religion, Grief, and Ethnology in Mary White Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990). He writes, "Exemplification was not only, however, Puritanism's implicit *means of representation*: it was also a constant *object of representation*, symbolized by/as *death*, which was discursively constructed in such a way as to signify the cancellation of potentially confusing or diversionary aspects of the dead person's individuality in order to reveal his standing with respect to the absolute, his status as example, whether pious or abominable, his *instantiation of type*" (53-54). He continues, "Were this accomplished, one would be *in essence* a perfect duplicate of others renowned for achievement: like Puritan biography, Puritan identity is rigorously generic" (54). Breitweiser quotes James Fitch, "We should mark the Upright by way of imitation; if we do not in this sense mark them we mark them in vain, and behold them to no good purpose; the Lord requireth us to mark the life of the Upright as a living example, that may live with us, and that when they are dead; and to consider the end of their conversation, that we may live and die as they." James Fitch, *Peace the End of the Perfect and Upright* (Cambridge, 1672), 1-9, 13, quoted in Breitweiser, 68.

Stephen Carl Arch has explored the relationship between history writing and identity formation in seventeenth-century New England. He argues that histories were deeply fictional and constructed, intended to effect change in the audience that consumed them. See Stephen Carl Arch, *Authorizing the Past: The Rhetoric of History in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994). Arch writes of the "colonial historian-artist who creates authoritative examples or models for the community" (161-162). In the second chapter, entitled "Edifying History: Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*," he explains how Johnson unites the idea of edification and history. He writes, "The purpose of Johnson's history is. . . to provide 'publicke edification' concerning New England's mission in the New World and to describe the 'harmony' of and 'unity' within New England. Along those lines, Johnson's many references to 'edifying' the temple of Christ can be seen as representative of a larger, culture-wide refiguration of identity" (65). He specifies the connotation of edification for the Puritans: "The word *edification* means enlightenment, but for the seventeenth century the word had other implications deriving from the Latin *aedes* ('dwelling') plus *ficare* ('to make'), thus meaning 'building' (both concretely and figuratively); and, in religious use, 'the building up of the church. . . in faith and holiness' (see 'edification,' *OED*). All three uses are in play here" (67). He concludes, "Examples for the living must be 'made' to be useful; the events of the past must be 'made' to fit a useful purpose. New England must be 'made.' The historian's job is to construct the past. The reader's job is to 'dwell' within that construction, to be edified by and assumed into it . . ." (82). See Edward Johnson, *Johnson's Wonder-Working*

*Providence, 1628-1651* ed. J. Franklin Jameson (1910; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959). Arch goes on to discuss Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* as it relates to twin themes of continuity and progress: "One purpose of *Magnalia*, wrote John Higginson in his 'Attestation,' is 'That the *Names* of such Eminent Persons as the Lord made use of [in New England]. . . may be embalmed, and preserved, for the Knowledge and Imitation of Posterity.'" Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702; New York: Arno, 1972), vii, quoted in Arch, *Authorizing the Past*, 146. In his "General Introduction," Mather writes, "I. . . introduce the *Actors* that have, in a more exemplary manner served those *Colonies*; and give *Remarkable Occurrences*, in the exemplary *LIVES* of many *Magistrates*, and of more *Ministers*, who so *Lived*, as to leave unto Posterity, *Examples* worthy of *Everlasting Remembrance*." Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, xix, quoted in Arch, *Authorizing the Past*, 153. Arch writes, "In the introduction to Book III, Mather asks his audience to admire the figures in the biographies that follow, for '*They are offered unto the Publick, with the Intention sometimes mentioned by Gregory . . . : That Patterns may have upon us the force which Precepts have not*.'" Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 3:1, quoted in Arch, *Authorizing the Past*, 154. In his biography of Sir William Phips, Mather writes, "When we . . . in a *Book*, as in a *Glass*, reserve the History of our Departed *Friends* ; and by bringing our *Warm Affections* unto such an History, we revive, as it were out of their *Ashes*, the true *Shape* of those *Friends*, and bring to a *Fresh View*, what was *Memorable* and *Imitable* in them." Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 2:37, quoted in Arch, *Authorizing the Past*, 165.

Ian Donaldson has interpreted the uses of biography in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. See Ian Donaldson, "National Biography and the Arts of Memory: From Thomas Fuller to Colin Matthew," in *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography*, ed. Peter France and William St. Clair (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2002), 67-82. He cites Thomas Fuller: "It hath been the lawful desire of men in all ages to perpetuate their Memories, thereby in some sort revenging themselves of Mortality, though few have found effectual means to perform it. For Monuments made of Wood are subject to be burnt; of Glass, to be broken; of soft stone, to moulder; of Marble and Metal (if escaping the teeth of Time) to be demolished by the hand of Covetousness; so that in my apprehension, the safest way to secure a memory from oblivion is (next to his own Vertues) by committing the same to writing to Posterity." Reverend Doctor Thomas Fuller, *A History of the Worthies of England* (1662), 1-2, quoted in Donaldson, 75. Donaldson calls Fuller's book "the most significant dictionary of national biography to be attempted in early modern times" (70). He goes on, "Fuller's biographical work was none the less driven by a clear ideology of remembrance; an ideology succinctly expressed by the biblical text quoted on the title page of his 1651 publication *Abel Redivivus, or the Dead Yet Speaking: The Lives and Deaths of Modern Divines*. The text is from Proverbs 10,7: 'The memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rot'. In determining which names were to be blessedly remembered and which would be left to rot, the biographer here acts like the recording angel in Milton's vision, writing and fiercely amending the great book of life" (78). We can observe similar motivation in the *Biographia Britannica*, whose editors write: "[I]t was in order to collect into one Body, without any restriction of time or place, profession or condition, the memoirs of such of our countrymen as have been eminent, and by their performances of any kind deserve to be remembered. We judged that this would be a most useful service to the publick, a kind of general MONUMENT erected to the most deserving of all ages, an expression of gratitude due to their services, and the most probable means of exciting, in succeeding times, a spirit of emulation, which might prompt men to an imitation of their virtues. This was the first and great motive to the attempting of such a collection, towards which, indeed, we saw there were considerable materials ready prepared, though no sign of such building's being ever traced, or that there had ever been a thought, either to the expediency or possibility of erecting such a structure; a BRITISH TEMPLE OF HONOUR, sacred to the piety, learning, valour, publick-spirit, loyalty, and every other glorious virtue of our ancestors, and ready also for the reception of the WORTHIES OF OUR OWN TIME, and the HEROES OF POSTERITY." *Biographia Britannica* (1747), 1:viii, quoted in Donaldson, 78.

<sup>330</sup> Samuel Butler, *Characters*, ed. and intro. Charles W. Daves (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970), 309-310.

<sup>331</sup> Earle, 26. On page 21, Earle describes "A MEERE FORMALL MAN": "When you have seene his outside, you have lookt thorow him, & need imploy your discovery no farther. His reason is meereley example; and his action is not guided by his understanding, but hee sees other men doe thus, and he

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followes them.” Although empty exemplification is a topic I do not pursue here, it would be an important consideration in a lengthier study of the subject.

<sup>332</sup> Hambrick-Stowe writes, “Puritans knew and used classic Catholic devotional works. The most popular, judging from the number of editions, were the works of St. Augustine, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas à Kempis’s perennial *The Imitation of Christ*, and the primers (anthologies of religious direction for lay use). Some of these, especially *The Imitation of Christ*, began appearing in Protestant editions.” See Hambrick-Stowe, 28.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 n. 8.

<sup>334</sup> Bercovitch, 34.

<sup>335</sup> Cotton Mather, quoted in *ibid.*, 34.

<sup>336</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. and intro. by Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin Books, 1952), 27, 29.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>338</sup> Edward Taylor, *Edward Taylor’s Christographia*, ed. Norman S. Grabo (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 34, quoted in David G. Miller, *The Word Made Flesh Made Word: The Failure and Redemption of Metaphor in Edward Taylor’s Christographia* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1995), 111.

<sup>339</sup> *Edward Taylor’s Christographia*, 102, quoted in Miller, *The Word Made Flesh Made Word*, 112.

<sup>340</sup> *Edward Taylor’s Christographia*, 167-168, quoted in Miller, *The Word Made Flesh Made Word*, 113. Michael Wigglesworth writes similarly: “I have before thine eyes, / An humble gracious Saint, / Bearing the Cross upon his Back, / Endeavoured to paint. / Now strive to immitate, / After this Copy write: / This is the onely end for which, / I did the same endite.” Michael Wigglesworth, *Meat Out of the Eater* (Boston, 1717), 138, quoted in Jeffrey A. Hammond, *Sinful Self, Saintly Self: The Puritan Experience of Poetry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 65.

<sup>341</sup> John A. Alford, “The Scriptural Self,” in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 20. I thank Melanie Cornelisse for introducing me to this piece.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>343</sup> See Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’” In her lecture, Promey discussed Puritan gravestones with hearts, and she brought to my attention several of the heart-related passages that I cite in this thesis.

<sup>344</sup> Other monuments bearing representaions of large hearts include the following: Sarah Long stone, 1674, Charlestown, Massachusetts; Mary Long stone, 1681, Charlestown, Massachusetts; Lydia Wood stone, 1712, Charlestown, Massachusetts; John Hunt stone, 1716, Rumford, Rhode Island; Margaret George stone, 1734/5, South Attleborough, Massachusetts; Priscilla Foster stone, 1739, Dorchester, Massachusetts; Beulah Foster stone, 1741, Dorchester, Massachusetts; Davenport children stone, 1745 and 1753, Boylston, Massachusetts; Dr. John Dunsmoor and children stone, 1747, Lancaster, Massachusetts; Thomas Spooner stone, 1762, Plymouth, Massachusetts; Mary Pratt stone, 1767, Abington, Massachusetts.

<sup>345</sup> Hambrick-Stowe, 23-53.

<sup>346</sup> Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather* (New York: F. Ungar Publishing Company, 1957), 1:110, quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, 36.

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<sup>347</sup> Thomas Shepard, *God's Plot: Puritan Spirituality in Thomas Shepard's Cambridge*, ed. Michael McGiffert, rev. and exp. ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 123, 167, or 87-88, quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, 199.

<sup>348</sup> Hervey, 83.

<sup>349</sup> Ainsworth, 32.

<sup>350</sup> In a discussion of scholarly trends in the study of colonial portraiture, Ellen G. Miles writes, "The biographical approach to the artist and his or her work has traditionally dominated the field." She means, of course, the "modern" biographical approach. See Ellen G. Miles, "Introduction and Commentary," in *Painting and Portrait Making in the American Northeast*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1995), 11.

<sup>351</sup> In the mid-eighteenth century, Conyers Middleton described the method of biographers: "[They] work up their characters as painters do their portraits, taking the praise of their art to consist, not in copying, but in adorning nature; not in drawing a just resemblance, but in giving a fine picture. . . . it is natural for us to cast a shade over. . . . [the subject's] failings, to give the strongest colouring to his virtues, and out of a good character to endeavour to draw a perfect one." Conyers Middleton, Preface to *The Life and Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (1741), quoted in Charles A. Le Guin, "The Language of Portraiture," *Biography* 6:4 (1983): 334.

<sup>352</sup> Lovell, "The *Terre Inconnue* of the Colonial Face," 72.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.* In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan describes a portrait of Evangelist as the ideal pastor, "a very grave person." We might apply his description to the large number of portraits of New England ministers that survive from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Often difficult to read on their own, they are perhaps best understood as variations on a single theme. Interpreter: "Then said the Interpreter, Come in, I will show thee that which will be profitable to thee. So he commanded his man to light the candle, and bid Christian follow him; so he had him into a private room, and bid his man open a door, the which when he had done, Christian saw a picture of a very grave person hang up against the wall, and this was the fashion of it: it had eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of books in its hand, the law of truth was written upon its lips, the world was behind its back; it stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over its head." / Christian: "Then said Christian, What means this?" / Interpreter: "The man whose picture this is is one of a thousand; he can beget children, travail in birth with children, and nurse them himself when they are born. And whereas thou seest him with his eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of books in his hand, and the law of truth writ on his lips, it is to show thee that his work is to know, and unfold dark things to sinners even as also thou seest him stand as if he pleaded with men; and whereas thou seest the world as cast behind him, and that a crown hangs over his head, that is to show thee that slighting and despising the things that are present, for the love that he hath to his Master's service, he is sure in the world that comes next to have glory for his reward. Now, said the Interpreter, I have showed thee this picture first, because the man whose picture this is, is the only man whom the Lord of the Place whither thou art going hath authorized to be thy guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way; wherefore take good heed to what I have showed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen, lest in thy journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death." See Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1987), 28.

<sup>354</sup> See, for example, Margaretta M. Lovell, "Bodies of Illusion: Portraits, People, and the Construction of Memory," in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 270-301.

<sup>355</sup> Leslie Reinhardt, "'The Work of Fancy and Taste': Copley's Invented Dress and the Case of Rebecca Boylston," *Dress* 29 (2002): 14. Also see Claudia Brush Kidwell, "Are Those Clothes Real? Transforming the Way Eighteenth-Century Portraits are Studied," *Dress* 24 (1997): 3-15, and Leslie Kaye Reinhardt,

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“Fabricated Images: Invented Dress in British and Colonial American Portraits,” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003).

<sup>356</sup> See Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’” A forthcoming article in *Winterthur Portfolio* by Wendy Jean Katz takes up similar questions with regard to idealization and colonial portraiture. I thank Sally Promey for informing me of Katz’s article.

<sup>357</sup> Bercovitch, 36.

<sup>358</sup> For a general discussion of typological thought, see Ursula Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 20-33.

<sup>359</sup> Bercovitch, 1.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>361</sup> *Cotton Mather’s Verse in English*, 80-81. I thank Sally Promey for sharing this reference.

<sup>362</sup> In his elegy on Nathanael Collins, Mather similarly asserts that even the greatest painter of the ancient world (Apelles) would be powerless to capture Collins’s virtue. He writes, “O that *Apelles* were my servant now / To *limn* this *Hero*, but his utmost *All* / Would blush, and draw a *vail* upon the *Brow* / Below whose *Majesty* his *skill* would fall.” *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>363</sup> Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 3.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>365</sup> Promey argued for a similarly conflicted form of selfhood in “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’”

<sup>366</sup> Tom Webster has written about the significance of the idea of redundancy for early modern spirituality. In particular, he is interested in the devotional practice of keeping a spiritual journal. See Webster, 33-56. In a discussion of New England Puritan meditational practices, including burying ground visitation, Promey utilized this notion of redundancy in “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’” Hammond has asked related questions of Puritan elegies: “Why did they write so many of them? Why are the poems so much alike? Why are the commemorated dead variations on a single personality?” Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy*, 7-8.

<sup>367</sup> Hervey, 101-102.

<sup>368</sup> For a classic account of the relationship between Protestant culture, economics, and the drive for material wealth, see Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Routledge, 1992). Christine Leigh Heyrman has composed a wonderful study of the interrelation of Puritanism and capitalism in the colonial culture of Gloucester and Marblehead, Massachusetts. She writes, “Rather than being at odds with the ideals of Puritanism or the ends of communitarianism, commercial capitalism coexisted with and was molded by cultural patterns of the past.” See Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1984), 19. Wayne Craven has made valuable comments on the relationship between Protestantism and colonial portraiture. He writes, “For many years I realized, in no small amount of frustration, that some door to comprehending the colonial American portrait remained closed to me. The initial key was finally found in the writing of the great religious reformer John Calvin, in which one gains insight into the complex Protestant personality. Most colonial Americans were Protestants and, therefore, to explain their portraits we must understand the Protestant perspective.” Craven argues that the religious values of early American Protestants directly influenced their pursuit of material things and their desire for certain kinds of (materialistic) representations of themselves. The merits of Craven’s book



are overpowered by its weaknesses, however. Unfortunately, like most writers on early New England gravestones, Craven insists on a trajectory toward secularization. Although in the beginning of the book he argues strongly that religion and materialism are not at odds in colonial America, by the middle and end of the book he seems to believe that America has become too materialistic to be truly “religious” anymore. He writes, “In Part I the virtues defined by John Calvin were identified as the guiding principles of both religious and secular life for Protestants, from the mid-sixteenth century to the late seventeenth century, and they accordingly found their way into painted portraits. In Part II we saw an exemplary American minister, Cotton Mather, uphold those virtues and objectives but become concerned over an increased worldliness during what we now observe as a transitional period. Now, in Part III, we will observe – especially through the philosophy and writings of Benjamin Franklin – the thorough secularization of the goals and virtues that had been advocated by Calvin and Mather. . . . What had been primarily religious concerns for Calvin and Mather now became essentially secular and moral concerns for colonists of Franklin’s era.” There is some inconsistency in his argumentation, though, because in the conclusion he also writes, “The materialistic drive in Franklin’s society was so powerful, it was essential that materialism not be antithetical to piety. Since the days of Calvin the doctrine of God’s blessing on diligence at one’s secular calling had prevailed, and the result of that diligence was material prosperity. . . . But neither John Calvin nor Cotton Mather nor Benjamin Franklin condemned the pursuit of material pleasures if the pursuit were properly moderate.” Craven also mistakenly argues that “truthful naturalism” rather than “artificial idealization” is the main mode of representation in colonial New England. Nothing could be further from the truth. Furthermore, Craven’s is a narrative of progress culminating in the artists he believes to be the quintessential “American” portraitists, John Singleton Copley and Charles Willson Peale. I think the problem with this notion is clear. See Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture*, xv xvi, 27-28, 254, 383, 403.

<sup>369</sup> For a primary source dealing with colonial funerary monument contracts and prices, see Stevens. He documents orders for “Grave Stones,” “Tomb Stones,” “Bricks,” “stones for the foundation,” “Bushels of Lime,” “Sand,” “to carting the Tomb Stone & Stuff,” “to Setting up the Tomb Stone,” “to getting ye stuff together & Building ye Bases,” “to Cutting two Cherobims heads,” “to Cutting the Cwoat of armes,” and “to Cutting ye Epoteph.”

<sup>370</sup> See Robert Blair St. George, “Artifacts of Regional Consciousness in the Connecticut River Valley, 1700-1780,” in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 343-345, and *Conversing by Signs*, 389-395.

<sup>371</sup> C.H., “On the Small Proportion of Eminent Characters,” *The Massachusetts Magazine* 7 (December 1795): 561.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, 563.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, 561.

<sup>375</sup> Daniel Gookin, “Historical Collections of the Indians of New England,” *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 3rd series, 1:223, quoted in Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1998), 6.

<sup>376</sup> Jesper Rosenmeier, “‘With My Owne Eyes’: William Bradford’s *Of Plymouth Plantation*,” in *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 86-87.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>378</sup> One can trace the subtle and complex transformation from premodern to modern selfhood in Benjamin Franklin’s *Autobiography*. Part of Franklin’s narrative remains bound up with premodern biographical conventions. He states at the very beginning of the book, for example, that he believes his life is “fit to be

imitated,” and this is part of the reason he has bothered to write. The book is dedicated to his son William. The terms “Character” and “Example” are sprinkled throughout the text. On the other hand, much of what he writes about his life runs against the grain of conservative or communal values. He voices complex and individualistic moral and religious views. In describing a project wherein he strives toward “moral Perfection,” Franklin writes that he should in “Humility” “Imitate Jesus and Socrates.” In so doing, he throws a wrench into the Christological world view and model of selfhood. In other places, Franklin delights in his own pride and vanity. The text is, however, ultimately intended as instruction. See Franklin, 3, 79, 81.

For discussions of the transition from premodern to modern biography in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century America, including commentaries on Franklin’s *Autobiography*, see David Seed, “Exemplary Selves: Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin,” in *First Person Singular: Studies in American Autobiography*, ed. A. Robert Lee (London: Vision Press, 1988), 37-56; Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Stephen Carl Arch, *After Franklin: The Emergence of Autobiography in Post-Revolutionary America, 1780-1830* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001). Seed compares the *Autobiography* of Franklin with Jonathan Edwards’s *Personal Narrative* (1730s). He writes, “Where Edwards advocates stringent self-examination and the submission of the self to theological pattern, Franklin dramatizes the liberation of the self from prior allegiances—whether in the family or in religion. . . .The pattern, he implies can be repeated” (54). Howe focuses on the synthesis of the approaches of Franklin and Edwards in American autobiography. He writes, “For Franklin, the process of self-construction was secular, deliberate, and highly individualistic. For Edwards, self-construction was at best a preparation for divine grace that would be necessary to fulfill the promise of rebirth; it was a preparation for a divine grace that would be necessary to fulfill the promise of rebirth; it was a preparation undertaken within the tutelage and discipline of a local church community. Franklin encouraged people to feel pride in their accomplishments, however partial; Edwards deplored human pride. Surprisingly, however, after their deaths the intellectual history of self-construction in America developed in the direction of synthesizing their approaches rather than leaving them as mutually exclusive alternatives” (44). He asserts, “Out of the synthesis of Protestantism and the Enlightenment expressed in faculty psychology came a powerful normative model for what a properly constructed self should be like: the balanced character” (260). Arch compares and contrasts “self-biography” and “autobiography”: “I argue, broadly, that in this half century autobiography emerged as a distinctive kind of story with its own generic conventions and expectations out of a whole range of what I call ‘self-biographical’ narratives (memoirs, confessions, histories, narratives, personal relations, conversion narratives, novels, etc.). These ‘self-biographies’ were written by individual authors about themselves, but the self they wrote about was always, in some fashion, depersonalized, unselfed. In self-biography, the self is imagined as a type or a kind of representative example, not as a unique and original entity. The emergence of autobiography is thus one example of (or site for) the self *as* self, of the individual as a unique and original entity. It is one site, among many, at which Western culture in the nineteenth century was becoming modern” (xi).

Ruth A. Banes has explored the concept of exemplary selfhood in a short study of the autobiographies of John Woolman, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin. She writes, “By continuing a tradition which seventeenth-century spiritual autobiographers had established, eighteenth-century autobiographers were able to justify the act of writing of oneself to an audience which was not yet familiar with the distinct and identifiable form, known today as autobiography. . . .The spiritual autobiographer located values through introspection and intuition; the secular autobiographer defined his values by observing the results of his actions. In both cases, the exemplary self emphasizes universal principles, while diminishing an individual’s importance. Although each autobiography records a unique history, the self-conception each author presents is a cultural model or ideal type, rather than a unique individuality.” See Ruth A. Banes, “The Exemplary Self: Autobiography in Eighteenth Century America,” *Biography* 5:3 (1982): 227.

Other texts testify to the long life of premodern selfhood. The “Samuel Dexter Commonplace-Book” in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a significant source of information about premodern selfhood in early New England. Born in Dedham, Massachusetts, Samuel Dexter (1726-1810) was in his early life a successful merchant in Boston. The fortune he amassed from his activities in trade enabled him to retire to Dedham at age thirty-six. Beginning in the 1760s, he became a major figure in Massachusetts politics. He quitted public life in 1775, moving to Woodstock, Connecticut, where he

resumed his mercantile business. He returned to Massachusetts in 1784, and though he sometimes dabbled in politics, turned his attention almost fully to religion. Dexter's diary contains entries from 1763-1809. The entries are lengthy, yet he typically composed only a handful of them each year. He virtually always wrote on both New Year's day and his birthday. His attention to religion and the state of his soul's preparation for death is accompanied by an insistent embracing of privacy and the *vita contemplativa*. The world and public life become for him repositories of vanity, though his attitude toward materiality is ultimately conflicted. His sense of self in the diary mainly revolves around his desire (and inability) to conform himself to Christ. He seems to want nothing more than to empty himself of self.

The diary includes abundant references to the premodern model of selfhood: "O great Father of all, who art Love, & dwellest in Love, teach me to imitate thy perfect and universal Goodness!" (29); "Teach me to hearken to his divine Instructions; to copy after his spotless Example, to approach to Thee by him, as my great Mediator . . ." (32); "I have not made it my constant Endeavour to imitate the Example of my blessed Saviour as I ought. But, if I have divine Assistance afforded me, I am not yet too old to learn of Him to be meek and lowly, to be kind and benificent, to be patient and heavenly minded. I blush when I think of my past Life. Who can understand his Errors!" (200); "The year past has been full of trouble & affliction to me, on various accounts; yet I have abundant reason to acknowledge the divine goodness. May it lead me to repentance of all I have done amiss, and engage me to employ the residue of my time on earth in a manner worthy of my christian character" (233); "Let me with a constant evenness and uniformity of Spirit, embrace all thy disposals . . ." (248); "If I could imitate, tho' in a small measure, the benevolent Saviour of the World, in going about to do good, it would be worth while to continue here even to extreme old age. But 'I am not sufficient of myself.' – 'Sufficiency is of God'" (252); "Through the goodness of Providence I have a competency, and am therewith content. But I would not be satisfied with any degree of virtue to which I may hope I have attained. May I be enabled to be perfecting holiness in the fear of God!" (258); "I wish for a growing conformity to the divine will during my remaining time on earth . . ." (281); "May I be a pattern to others of the Christian graces and virtues. May others from my example glorify their heavenly Father" (318).

On page 172, Dexter transcribed a letter he had written to his son on August 28, 1777. He signed the end of the letter "Memento Mori." On page 210, he writes about the need for exemplary public leadership following the Revolutionary War and upon the founding of the new nation: "Yet while there is so great a Want of Attention to the peculiar Circumstances of a newly founded Commonwealth, in men who ought to possess the Spirit of the Chief Magistrates among our worthy Ancestors, who first settled in this Land of Liberty and Religion while such Excess, Prodigality and even Riot prevails, and is countenanced by the Example of those who should be patterns of the contrary Virtues . . ." Upon the death of his mother in 1797, Dexter expresses an intention to compose her biography: "After her interment I published the following account in the Dedham, and in two of the Boston newspapers; persuaded that it was a part of filial duty to attempt a representation of the moral excellencies of my deceased parent." He writes, "On the 10th day of June instant, died at Dedham, Mrs Catharine Barnard, aged 95 years; an eminently good and pious christian. From youth her life had been exemplary. Towards its close it became, in an increased degree, instructive. . . .By all who were acquainted with her she was greatly loved and respected; particularly by the friendly inhabitants of the place where she was the kind companion of their much esteemed minister. . . .As one generation passed off, the succeeding inherited the same affections. . . .The surviving sons and daughters, impressed with the ideas of her tender care of them in their early years, her serious instructions, her engaging example, and her fervent prayers for their welfare, with tears, mingled with those of her more remote descendants, and relatives of every description, committed her to the dust; with one consent pouring forth blessings on her memory. . . .To one who had lived so long, and to such good purposes, to one, who, though free from pain, was enfeebled by years, and exhausted with the travel of life, 'Death was but the repose of wearied nature'; from which she will ere long arise to complete her journey to that holy city of which such glorious things are spoken, there to be 'numbered with the children of God, and have her lot among the Saints'" (296-299). On March 27, 1806, Dexter's eightieth birthday, he compares himself to a biblical figure: "When Barzillai, the generous friend of King David, was fourscore years old, he was called 'a very aged man'. 'How long have I to live'? said he to the King, in answer to his invitation to go to Jerusalem, and reside with him at his Court. What an interesting thought is involved in the old man's response! I have but a very short time to live is virtually comprised in the expression. May the thought sink deep into my heart, who am this day as old as Barzillai was. Such aged persons have reason to expect sorrow, and that they shall soon be cut off from the land of living, and fly

away to an unexplored region, 'from whose bourn no traveller returns.' These things are with God. 'May his merciful kindness be great towards me, through Jesus Christ.' Amen" (325-326).

<sup>379</sup> John Demos, *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). Of the premodern world view, he writes, "History—their ideas about, and attitudes toward, history—can be fitted to the same [i.e. cyclical] model. Invariably, they stressed the educative function of history, its value as a storehouse of lessons and examples. In this way of thinking, the past generally prefigured and predicted both present and future" (22). On pages 33-34, Demos quotes Cotton Mather on the purpose of his *Magnalia*: "that the true original and design of this plantation may not be lost. . . .but [may be] known and remembered forever . . . ; that the names of such eminent persons as the Lord made use of. . . .for the beginning and carrying out of this work. . . .may be embalmed and preserved for. . . . posterity . . . ; that this present history may stand as a monument, in relation to future time, of a fuller and better reformation of the church of God than hath yet appeared in the world." Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), repr. Thomas Robbins, ed., 2 vols. (Boston, 1853-1855), 1:1. On the long life of the premodern, Demos writes, "But the vast majority of eighteenth-century Americans retained their conservative and cyclical mentality, even as their experience began to move in fresher, more linear, channels" (45).

<sup>380</sup> *Pilgrim Almanac*, quoted in Bradford Kingman, *Epitaphs from Burial Hill, Plymouth, Massachusetts, from 1657 to 1892* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1977), xv. Kingman was not alone in invoking the earlier model of selfhood when writing about New England's burying grounds in a later period. Of Copp's Hill, Bridgman writes, "The preservation of the memory of our ancestors by tombstones and monuments in hallowed spots is honorable to our nature, and conducive to the cultivation of better and holier feelings. We are too apt to forget the lives and characters of those who adorned the circle of another generation; and, amidst the cares of life, and the absorbing pursuits of the hour, friends and connections once dear to society, when they have left us, are too often buried in the grave of oblivion. Every step, therefore, which tends to bring them up to memory, and recall their actions when alive, though it may appear a humble labor in itself, is valuable in its influence." See Bridgman, *Epitaphs from Copp's Hill Burial Ground, Boston*, viii.

<sup>381</sup> Hambrick-Stowe writes, "The principal metaphor running through Puritan spirituality and devotional practice was the pilgrimage." Hambrick-Stowe, 54. U. Milo Kaufmann provides a productive discussion of the "character-as-example" and devotional practice as related to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. See U. Milo Kaufmann, *The Pilgrim's Progress and Traditions in Puritan Meditation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 80-105, 133-150.

<sup>382</sup> N.H. Keeble, "'To Be a Pilgrim': Constructing the Protestant Life in Early Modern England," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 242. Hambrick-Stowe also teases out the complexities of the Protestant appropriation of the Catholic notion of pilgrimage. See Hambrick-Stowe, 54-90. For a discussion of the Catholic and Protestant predecessors upon which Bunyan may have drawn, see James Blanton Wharey, *A Study of the Sources of Bunyan's Allegories* (New York: Gordian Press, 1968). The book was originally published in 1904.

<sup>383</sup> Keeble, 244.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, 242. For another text by Bunyan dealing with the imagined landscape, see *The Heavenly Foot-Man*, first published in 1698, after the author's death. John Bunyan, *The Barren Fig-Tree; The Strait Gate; The Heavenly Foot-Man*, *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, vol. 5., ed. Graham Midgley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 131-178. It contains the following passages: "Though the way to Heaven be but one, yet there are many crooked Lanes and by-paths shoot down upon it, as I may say" (155); "Yet if thou do not find that in the very middle of the Road, there is Writing with *the Heart-Blood of Christ, that he came into the World to save Sinners, and that we are justified, though we are Ungodly*; shun that way" (155-156); and "And in thy Race Remember Lot's Wife, and remember her Doom, and remember for *what*

*that Doom did overtake her, and remember that God made her an Example, for all lazy Runners, to the end of the World, and take heed thou fall not after the same Example”* (177).

<sup>385</sup> For a brief discussion of the title pages and frontispieces to early editions (from 1678 into the 1680s and beyond) of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, see the “Introduction” to John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come*, ed. James Blanton Wharey, 2d ed, rev. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), xix-ciii. I have surveyed the frontispieces in editions of the *The Pilgrim's Progress* at both the American Antiquarian Society and the Library of Congress. The frontispieces retain the basic elements of the “sleeping portrait” of Bunyan, lion and skull in the foreground, and Christian crossing the landscape in the background until around the year 1800. There are subtle variations on the theme, to be sure, but the content remains essentially the same. An edition of the book in the collection of the Library of Congress, published in Boston in 1805, however, has a completely new frontispiece. The “sleeping portrait” is gone. Christian and Evangelist move into the foreground, becoming the focus of the picture. Evangelist points with one hand, directing Christian, and they hold a sheet with the words “Flee from Wrath to Come.” The slogan under the picture reads, “Evangelist directing Christian which way he should fly from the City of Destruction.” The LOC call number for this book is PR3330.A2S4 1805. An 1817 edition in the Library of Congress, published in Hallowell, Maine, contains virtually the same frontispiece as the 1805 Boston edition. Its LOC call number is PR3330.A2S4 1817. Promey has recently discussed several late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century versions of this frontispiece, comparing them to the similarly emblematic materializations of selfhood in early New England gravestones and in the Thomas Smith *Self-Portrait*. See Promey, “Seeing the Self ‘in Frame.’”

<sup>386</sup> Cotton Mather's *Verse in English*, 58.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>388</sup> Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 70. Also see William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century* (Baden-Baden: Verlag Librarie Heitz GMBH, 1967), 1:182, 2:plate 108 (number 299).

<sup>389</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Works*, trans. G.R. Evans (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 100.

<sup>390</sup> See Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 201-225.

<sup>391</sup> Michael Wigglesworth, quoted in Hammond, *Sinful Self, Saintly Self*, 44.

<sup>392</sup> Joshua Gee, *The Strait Gate and the Narrow Way, Infinitely Preferable to the Wide Gate and the Broad Way. Two Sermons Upon Matth. VII. 13, 14* (Boston, 1729), 98.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>394</sup> Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1987), 27.

<sup>395</sup> Other early stones with pronounced lines include the following: Mary Danforth stone, 1659, Roxbury, Massachusetts; Isaac Moril stone, 1662, Roxbury, Massachusetts; Katharine Chauncy stone, 1667, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Samvel Bridge stone, 1672, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Thomas Danforth stone, 1672, Roxbury, Massachusetts; Thomas Bridge stone, 1673, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Mehetabel Gearfeild stone, 1675, Watertown, Massachusetts; Abia Clarke stone, 1725, Middleborough, Massachusetts; Rvth Nelson stone, 1726, Middleborough, Massachusetts.

<sup>396</sup> Edmund Arwaker, *Pia Desideria, or Divine Addresses, in Three Books* [Written in Latine by Herm. Hugo] (London, 1686).

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<sup>397</sup> Hambrick-Stowe, 29. For an article about the importance of emblem books for colonial American artists, see Roland E. Fleischer, "Emblems and Colonial American Painting," *American Art Journal* 20:3 (1988): 2-35.

<sup>398</sup> Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* (1635) and *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (1638), intro. Karl Joseph Hölting and John Horden (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993), 189.

<sup>399</sup> Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1987), 106.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> Hammond references 1 Peter 2:8 in the context of Anne Bradstreet's poem "As Weary Pilgrim." See Hammond, *Sinful Self, Sainly Self*, 32.

<sup>402</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Christopher Rowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 117:1106b27-32.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid., 117:1106b33.

<sup>404</sup> I express gratitude to Carlton Hughes for discussing this etymology with me.

<sup>405</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 117:1106b35.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid., 117:1107a6-9.

<sup>407</sup> See Nelson, 1:327-330.

<sup>408</sup> Examples of stones with the later type of lines include the Lucia Appleton stone of 1738 in Haverhill, Massachusetts, and the Captain William Shearer tombstone of 1763 in Watertown, Massachusetts. Because there are so many, to document all of the stones with "guidelines" would be virtually impossible.

<sup>409</sup> Thomas Weld, "To His Former Parishioners at Terling," in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 13 (1912): 130-131, quoted in *Puritans in the New World*, ed. David D. Hall, 35.

<sup>410</sup> Thomas Shepard, *The Sound Beleever in The Works of Thomas Shepard First Pastor of the First Church, Cambridge, Mass.: With a Memoir of His Life and Character* (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1853), 1:140, quoted in Webster, 43. Similar usage of the term "rule" continues at least through the eighteenth century. Dexter mentions the idea of the rule several times in his diary. On April 3, 1776, he wrote, "I have had too keen a Sense of Injuries and Affronts, and retaliated in Words, Writings, and other Ways, contrary to that Meekness which is recommended in the Gospel, and inconsistently with my blessed Saviour's Golden Rule." And on March 27, 1782: "O God increase & multiply upon me thy Mercy, that Thou being my Ruler and Guide, I may so pass through Things temporal, that I finally lose not the Things eternal!" "Samuel Dexter Commonplace-Book," 115 and 223.

<sup>411</sup> Demos, *Circles and Lines*, 23.

<sup>412</sup> Guy Jordan, currently writing a dissertation that deals with visual culture in nineteenth-century America as it relates to Temperance and the Second Great Awakening, directed my attention to the continuing importance of the trope of the straight line in the context that he is researching.

<sup>413</sup> Hambrick-Stowe, 70-71.

<sup>414</sup> As Demos has pointed out, almanacs were a very important type of book in early America. Almanacs were calendars containing information about natural or seasonal rhythms and a range of things practical. They also served as diaries for many New England colonists. Blank pages were interleaved therein, upon

which almanac owners could make regular entries. See Demos, *Circles and Lines*, 8-9, 62. Almanacs contained information about roads and distances between towns. It could happen, then, that diary entries, records concerning the world and the facts of a person's life, would appear on pages facing information about roads and travel. We can observe in these almanac diaries a confluence of texts concerning "place."

<sup>415</sup> James B. Stone, "Ancient Milestones of Essex County," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (July 1987): 278-286. There are some informative electronic resources about colonial milestones. There exists, for example, a webpage dealing with milestones set up along the "Boston Post Road" in 1763. Benjamin Franklin was in charge of the project, as he was deputy postmaster general of the colonies at that time. The website is fittingly entitled "Franklin Mile Markers," and the address is [www.samnet.net/esso/Fmm.htm](http://www.samnet.net/esso/Fmm.htm). I thank Jimmy Witherbee for informing about the site.

<sup>416</sup> James B. Stone, 278.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

<sup>418</sup> The identification number for the images of these milestones is HABS, MASS, 13-BOST.V, 1-. They are illustrated within a group of 28 measured drawings.

<sup>419</sup> The identification number for seven measured drawings and six photographs of the Groton milestones is HABS, MASS, 9-GROT, 2-. The identification numbers for photographs of two of the Groton milestones are HABS, MASS, 9-GROT, 5-, and HABS, MASS, 9-GROT, 6-.

<sup>420</sup> These four milestones are dated 1734 or 1735. The identification number for measured drawings of the objects is HABS, MASS, 13-BOST.V, 1-. As above, they are illustrated within a group of 28 measured drawings. Bernard L. Herman has written a soon-to-be-released book on Town Houses. Entitled *Town House: Architecture and Experience in the Early American City*, it is published by the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press.

<sup>421</sup> Bridgman, *Epitaphs from Copp's Hill Burial Ground, Boston*, x. Bridgman writes elsewhere of the monument-as-example: "It may not be that this silent enclosure, half walled out from the public gaze, can exert any powerful influence on the thoughts of the living. And yet, it shall sometimes awaken a more serious thought. It remains unchanged in the centre of this Maelstrom of busy and fevered life which whirls around it. It says to the restless and toiling multitude, Here soon shall be your home. Between these graves, pride and ambition, pleasure and selfishness and worldliness, shall sometimes walk, and have the mind raised to higher and better thoughts. The burial-place of the dead, so far as it has any influence, is on the side of virtue and religion. It is associated with hallowed and affectionate memories. Its voice is one of perpetual rebuke to folly and sin. It warns men to serve God in lives of usefulness and righteousness and piety, while it directs the thoughts to that tribunal before which each man shall give account of the deeds done in the body." See Thomas Bridgman, *Memorials of the Dead in Boston; Containing Exact Transcripts of Inscriptions on the Sepulchral Monuments in the King's Chapel Burial Ground, in the City of Boston* (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey and Co., 1853), 19-20.

<sup>422</sup> Promey has effected a similar recontextualization. See Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame.'"

<sup>423</sup> Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Selected Poems*, ed. Lawrence Buell (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1988), 361.

<sup>424</sup> See Exodus 32:19.

<sup>425</sup> See Richard F. Welch, *Memento Mori: The Gravestones of Early Long Island, 1680-1810* (Syosset, NY: Published by the Friends for Long Island's Heritage, 1983); Richard F. Welch, "The New York and New Jersey Gravestone Carving Tradition," *Markers* 4 (1987): 1-54; Combs; and Nelson, 1:327-398.

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<sup>426</sup> Francis Hopkinson, *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq.* (Philadelphia, 1792), 3:162.

<sup>427</sup> Arthur Miller, *The Crucible* (New York: Bantam Books, 1959), 10.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>432</sup> Ian M.G. Quimby, "The Doolittle Engravings of the Battle of Lexington and Concord," *Winterthur Portfolio* 4 (1968): 83.

<sup>433</sup> They were advertised on December 13, 20, and 27, 1775. For color images of one complete set of the engravings, see *American Printmaking: The First 150 Years* (New York: Museum of Graphic Art, 1969), 33-34 and plates 49-52. The set illustrated there was part of the collection of the Ambassador and Mrs. J. William Middendorf II. Sold at auction at Sotheby-Parke-Bernet, New York, 18 May 1973, the set was acquired by the Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>434</sup> Bercovitch, 14.

<sup>435</sup> John Downname, *The Christian Warfare* (London, 1604).

<sup>436</sup> He writes, "The eminences upon which are located the graveyards of Plymouth, Ipswich, Newburyport, and Marblehead, Massachusetts, provide dramatic, far-ranging vistas into surrounding landscapes. These views are today somewhat confined by modern habitation; in the colonial period, however, they must have been extensively panoramic, and free of human intervention." See Becherer, 87.

<sup>437</sup> Owen Felltham, *Resolues: Divine, Morall, Politicall*, 7th ed. (London, 1647), 44.

<sup>438</sup> For a very brief discussion of this emblem, see John M. Steadman, "The Iconographical Background of Quarles' 'Flesh' and 'Spirit,'" *Art Bulletin* 39 (September 1957): 231-232.

<sup>439</sup> Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1987), 107.

<sup>440</sup> Thornton Wilder, *Three Plays: Our Town, The Skin of Our Teeth, The Matchmaker* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), 80. Catherine Howett has mentioned this passage from *Our Town* in an article about New England cemeteries. See Catherine Howett, "Living Landscapes for the Dead," *Landscape* 21:3 (1977): 9.

<sup>441</sup> Quimby refers to several sets of reproductions of Doolittle's engravings, including Edward G. Porter's *Four Drawings of the Engagement at Lexington and Concord Reproduced from Doolittle's Original Copperplate Engravings with an Explanatory Text* (Boston, 1883), and Sidney Lawton Smith's color copies, published by Charles E. Goodspeed in an edition of seventy-five (Boston, 1903). The Boston Athenaeum owns a set of the Smith engravings. See Quimby, 107-108.

<sup>442</sup> In *History and Antiquities of New Haven*, published in 1831, John Warner Barber was the first writer to attribute the design of Doolittle's engravings to original works completed by Earl. For other works picking up on Barber's attribution, see Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions, 1927-1930*, vol. 27 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1933), 157-160, as well as William Sawitzky, "Ralph Earl's Historical Painting, 'A View of the Town of Concord,'" *Antiques* 28 (September 1935): frontispiece and 98-100. Barber designed two pictures based on Doolittle's *A View of the Town of Concord*. They can be found in Barber's *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, an impressive compilation of the histories of



towns in that state that was issued in several editions. Like Doolittle, Barber resided in New Haven. An important historian of early New England, he was familiar with Doolittle's life and works. The first of Barber's pictures is relatively small. It appears in the middle of a page of text, and it is labeled "North-western view in Chatham." Barber describes the view: "The above shows the appearance of the principal village in Chatham, as it is seen from the ancient burying-ground, about two and a half miles distant." The second picture, entitled "South View of Charlestown, Mass.," takes up an entire page. It includes the following attribution: "Drawn by J.W. Barber—Engraved by S.E. Brown, Boston." The caption accompanying the engraving reads, "This view was taken from the burying-ground on *Copp's Hill*, in Boston. Bunker Hill Monument, in its unfinished state, on Breed's Hill, and Bunker Hill, a little to the northward, are seen in the distance in the central part of the view. A part of the buildings connected with the U.S. Navy Yard are seen on the extreme right." A man and two children stand in the burying ground. The man wears a top hat and long coat and points with a big stick to the unfinished Bunker Hill Monument. He also holds the hand of a little girl, who herself holds the hand of a little boy. They stand among the dark, leaning monuments, replacing the two British soldiers in the foreground of Doolittle's engraving. The people in Barber's picture no longer dialogue with the monuments as in the Doolittle print. The subject/object distinction, suspended or questioned in Doolittle's picture, is not the theme of Barber's composition. People and things have grown apart: consider the extreme distance between the man and the Bunker Hill Monument. See John Warner Barber, *Massachusetts Historical Collections, Being a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c., Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Massachusetts, with Geographical Descriptions* (Worcester, MA: Dorr, Howland and Co., 1839), 39 and the page between 364-365.

<sup>443</sup> Quimby was the first to attribute the design of the works to Doolittle. He writes, "The most obvious explanation for the existence of the painting is that it was copied from the engraving by a local artist who improved on the Doolittle view." See Quimby, 102.

<sup>444</sup> Quimby writes, "The painting is outlined by a strip of yellow paint about a quarter inch wide, a feature which is not included in the photographs of the painting and which may be significant if related works are discovered." See Quimby, 105. A sheet in the object file for the painting, with the Concord Antiquarian Museum header and dated April 27, 1984, includes the following note: "Betsy Kornhauser, Research Curator at the Wadsworth Atheneum, has written a dissertation on Ralph Earl. Thorough examination of the CAM painting has revealed, in her opinion, that the apinting [*sic*] is not by Ralph Earl, but is done in the early 19th century. Many aspects indicate that the painting was based on a print: The yellow banding about the perimeter (it is original) mimics the border of a print. The figures are laid out and detailed in a fashion more like sculpted, engraved figures than flowing painted figures."

<sup>445</sup> Sawitzky, 100.

<sup>446</sup> Other writers have made this point. J.B. Jackson notes, "The array of headstones and markers, though by no means uniform in design or size, had none of the motley of the 19th Century cemetery. And this was not only because there was little money to spend ostentatiously; it was also because the function of the markers was less ornamental than instructive." See J.B. Jackson, 23. In a great study of the history of burial spaces in Hanover, New Hampshire, Lynn Rainville writes, "In the late-eighteenth-century graveyards, the importance of community relationships was reinforced by uniform slate headstones. Accordingly, between 1770 and 1790 all twenty-seven headstones in the Hanover Center Cemetery were carved of slate and resembled two-dimensional doorways. In contrast, Hanover's mid-nineteenth-century deathscapes were decorated with a multitude of urns, pillars, tables, marble blocks, and obelisks. The earlier uniformity of community identity, idealized in rows of slate headstones, disappeared in the wake of increased economic distinctions." See Lynn Rainville, "Hanover Deathscapes: Mortuary Variability in New Hampshire, 1770-1920," *Ethnohistory* 46:3 (1999): 569-570.