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**NUTTY, COLEEN LOU
CEMETERY SYMBOLISM OF PRAIRIE PIONEERS:
GRAVESTONE ART AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN STORY
COUNTY, IOWA.**

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY, M.S., 1978

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Cemetery symbolism of prairie pioneers:
Gravestone art and social change in Story County, Iowa

by

Coleen Lou Nutty

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xii
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
General Background	1
Statement of Purpose	3
Plan of Presentation	4
CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH	6
CHAPTER III. INDIVIDUAL CEMETERIES OF STORY COUNTY: DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY	18
Brief History of Story County	19
General Background of Individual Cemeteries	26
CHAPTER IV. METHODOLOGY	75
Discussion of Approach	75
Research Techniques	75
CHAPTER V. EPITAPHS: THE SYMBOLISM OF LANGUAGE	133
Story County Epitaphs	134
CHAPTER VI. CORRELATION OF SELECTED VARIABLES OVER TIME	163
CHAPTER VII. GEOGRAPHIC CORRELATIONS	187
CHAPTER VIII. CORRELATION OF VARIABLES AGE AND SEX	204
CHAPTER IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	210
Conclusions	211

	Page
BIBLIOGRAPHY	221
APPENDIX: DEFINITIONS OF MORTUARY TERMS	227

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1. A generalized map of Story County, Iowa, showing known cemeteries in relationship to major towns, rivers, and streams	22
Figure 2. Specific characteristics of the thirty cemeteries in the sample	27b
Figure 3. Chart showing distribution of early churches according to township in Story County, Iowa	42
Figure 4. Photographs of Zearing, East Bergen Church and Pierson Cemeteries	70
Figure 5. Photographs of abandoned cemeteries	72
Figure 6. Photographs of Arrasmith, Pleasant Grove, University and County Poor Farm Cemeteries	74
Figure 7. Illustrations of the variations in form of standing tablet gravestones	96
Figure 8. Illustrations of the variations in form of column gravestones on bases	99
Figure 9. Illustrations of the variations in form of idiosyncratic gravestones	101
Figure 10. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments	117
Figure 11. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments	119
Figure 12. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments	121
Figure 13. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments	123
Figure 14. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments	125

	Page
Figure 15. Photographs showing selected examples of different gravestone forms	127
Figure 16. Photographs showing selected examples of war memorials, metal markers and a new stone replacing an illegible stone	129
Figure 17. Photographs showing selected examples of a variety of cemetery practices	131
Figure 18. Illustrations of secular symbols associated with sodalities and war	132

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1. Summary of frequency percentages for variables 7 with 6, 8 and 10	164
Table 2. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with kinship terms	166
Table 3. Summary of frequency percentages by decades with family groupings	168
Table 4. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with components of vital statistics	170
Table 5. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with size of gravestone	171
Table 6. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with standing tablet gravestone	173
Table 7. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with the column gravestone	175
Table 8. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with the block gravestone	175
Table 9. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with idiosyncratic gravestones	177
Table 10. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with techniques of surface treatment	179
Table 11. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with symbols	179
Table 12. Summary of frequency of percentages for date of death with epitaphs	186
Table 13. Summary of frequency percentages for cemetery with kinship terms	189
Table 14. Summary of frequency percentages for cemetery with size of gravestone	193
Table 15. Comparisons of more significant symbols with cemeteries	196

	Page
Table 16. Summary of frequency percentages for age at death with sex	205
Table 17. Summary of frequency percentages for age at death with size of gravestone	205
Table 18. Summary of frequency percentages for sex with age at death	208

PREFACE

For many people and for many reasons, old cemeteries are fascinating places. The spectrum of interested people ranges from the curious who are interested in objects of a bygone age, to the genealogist studying the gravestones of ancestors, to the botanist interested in the last vestiges of native prairie grasses, and to the cultural anthropologist interested in historical processes and culture change as reflected in the cemetery. This author is one of the latter who for some time has been interested in performing an anthropological study of the old portions of cemeteries with unique and often elaborate gravestones bearing birth and death dates, as a device for temporal control, with familiar (often unfamiliar) religious symbols, and with combinations of sentimental, maudlin, or humorous epitaphs. What better way to examine the products of human behavior than in the controlled and easily accessible context of a cemetery? Funeral paraphernalia are the artifacts of death and, therefore, of legitimate concern to the cultural anthropologist and particularly to the archaeologist who traditionally deals with dead peoples and their cultural remains.

In the past few years the media, in the form of television, newspaper and magazine articles, have reflected an increasing nostalgia for those with an interest in local history or in their own origins. A culmination of this phenomenon is observed in the remarkable success of Alex Haley's Roots, published in 1976, that had

an unbelievable impact as a television series. Another contributing factor was the Bicentennial Year of 1976 that sparked a latent interest in local history and perhaps also provided an avenue of expression for those who have quietly pursued this interest through the years. Both state and county bicentennial commissions in Iowa were active in promoting surveys of cemeteries before the year 1920 for the purpose of the preservation of historical information. The results of these surveys are deposited in the Iowa records collection in the Iowa Historical Library, Des Moines, Iowa.

Genealogical societies became more active with increased membership. During my own research in county deed records, I was sometimes compelled to compete with people using these records to search out their own genealogies and the activities of their families several generations back. Finally, many historical societies have attempted to solicit interest in the promotion of a local museum for their particular area. In all these situations the local cemetery was looked upon as a source of information and as a supplement to documentary evidence.

Recently articles have appeared in Iowa newspapers reporting the activities of people who revealed a concern for rescuing old, abandoned cemeteries from underbrush, farm animals, and hunters. Local historical societies raised their collective voices in protest when old cemeteries were threatened by housing developments and even by a motorcycle race-track, as was described in one article. Often individual pioneer graves became the focal point of local controversy when county officials

decided to widen county roads. Pioneer people, realistic and practical, sometimes buried members of their families in the corner of a cultivated field next to the road. In my husband's family the story was related of a great grandmother, who in the 1880s, was buried alongside the road when a sudden blizzard prevented the family's journey to the nearby cemetery.

Environmentalists are also making their concerns known through newspaper publicity. An Iowa botanist was concerned that well-meaning historical societies, in cleaning up old cemeteries, would destroy some of the best remnants of Iowa's original prairie vegetation. As a vestige of the former prairies, the cemetery even has been used as a source of information for the college classroom. In northern Iowa, a biology professor and his students studied the ecology and sociology of death and disease, as well as the influence of death and disease on history. A final facet to these interesting events is the fact that a state folklorist in Minnesota used tombstone epitaphs in area cemeteries as a source of knowledge about folklore traditions.

As the final draft of this study was being written, an editorial appeared in The Des Moines Register (February 22, 1978, Des Moines, Iowa). The editor's comments might prove to be the harbinger of a new change in cemetery art. The editorial notes that cemetery art is recognized by social and cultural historians as a useful index to an era's tastes and values. They report that a Newton, Iowa, grave monument company has asked the Des Moines Parks and Recreation Board to allow colored fiberglass markers in city cemeteries. The editorial

appears to support this request suggesting that families who want to break from tradition should be given the right of free expression and if such gleaming orange or pink headstones seem appropriate to someone's survivors then they could be grouped in designated areas.

The above instance is cited here as it perhaps heralds a new era in cemetery art--a reaction away from the simple, uniform, assembly-line cemetery marker of the past fifty years. It is also a further reflection of our technological society that depends more and more on man-made materials. This possible trend of the future is an example of the kind of evidence of culture change which will be examined in this study in a historical perspective.

The above circumstances are but a few of the examples that continue to appear with some regularity in newspapers and journals showing that historical cemeteries have recently become of topical interest. An increased interest on the part of Americans for the preservation of their cultural resources serves as a personal incentive for my interests in this project, the documentation of a regional-culture history for central Iowa. The compilation of this data and the solution of problems for one geographical area may be utilized in finding the solution of similar problems in other areas. Such information, hopefully, may be useful to other social scientists working in other situations and in general add to the methodology and theory of anthropology.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Because of the unusual nature of the subject matter of this thesis material, special problems were inherent for which the author required additional assistance and direction. For this help and support, I wish to express my appreciation and thanks to my major professor, Dr. David M. Gradwohl. He is also one who years ago encouraged an incipient interest on my part in archaeology and now is helping to see this interest to its fruition. Also, special thanks to my graduate committee, Dr. Richard Herrnstadt, Department of English, Dr. Dennis M. Warren and Dr. John Bower, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, for their suggestions and assistance.

I wish to thank Dr. Lewis St. Peter, recently of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University, for his invaluable help in selecting, advising, and arranging a computer analysis for the data collected. Without his help this aspect of the study would have been impossible.

I am grateful to Dr. Chalmer Roy, Professor Emeritus, Department of Earth Sciences, for his time and effort in identifying the stone material of the gravestones. I am also indebted to Dr. Sidney Robinson, Department of Applied Art, for assistance in the setting up of a classification system for form and design of gravestone styles used in the study. My thanks to Mrs. Lawrence Larson and her friend, Miss Matilda Tesdale, of rural Cambridge, Iowa, who translated the Norwegian epitaphs one afternoon over a kringla and cup of coffee, and

also to Martha Williams of the Iowa State University Archaeological Laboratory who was responsible for the drawings of the gravestone forms.

Last but certainly not least, my special appreciation to my husband, John Nutty, who gave up many a summer Sunday to help search for and record old cemeteries, only to be rewarded on several occasions by poison ivy and near heat stroke.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

General Background

The decade of the 1960s saw many changes in traditional American thought. Some of these changes were associated with concerns about the impact of an increasing human population on the finite resources of the planet earth and of an increasingly sophisticated human technology. Public projects in the form of river dams, super-highway constructions, and large building developments (to name a few) were seen as having both a physical and cultural impact on the environment. These concerns culminated in various pieces of congressional legislation (Historic Preservation Act of 1966, National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, Moss-Bennett Bill of 1974) designed to provide historic preservation programs in each state and to encourage an inventory of all cultural resources within areas affected by construction projects.

Meanwhile central Iowa became the focus of several proposed federal dam construction projects, two of which were the Ames Dam and Reservoir and the Saylorville Dam and Reservoir. At the time of this writing the Ames Reservoir project has not materialized; however, during 1971 and 1972, the National Park Service and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers sponsored a project carried out by the Iowa State University Archaeological Laboratory under the direction of David M. Gradwohl and Nancy Osborn which involved the systematic surveying, assessment of environmental impact, and recommendation of mitigative operations in the proposed Ames Reservoir along the Skunk River in

Story County, Iowa (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972). Included in their survey of the cultural resources of the area were several historic Euro-American pioneer cemeteries. Gradwohl advised me that one of the problems in this survey of cultural resources was the lack of a precedent in archaeological methodology as to how to approach the problem of old, often abandoned, cemeteries. To my knowledge, no work has been done in recording and analyzing old cemeteries in a scientific manner outside the eastern United States.

On the eastern coast of the United States, studies have been done on cemeteries by a few social scientists interested in using regional cemeteries as a laboratory for observing how cultures change over time and how social relationships of the living are reflected in their burial practices (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1972; Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977; Warner 1959). Their research and theories, summarized and reviewed in Chapter II, propose that gravestones, symbolic ornamentation, and epitaphs decrease in size and elaborateness with the increased complexity of modern civilization. Others propose that religious fervor, religious symbolism, and concern for death decrease as human society becomes more technological and mechanistic due to the changes brought about by such historical events as industrialization and urbanization of the western world (Jones 1967; Morley 1971; Mitford 1963; Curl 1972).

Statement of Purpose

Within the framework of the general background just discussed, the goals of this thesis are several: (1) to compile research materials which would add to the documentation of a regional-culture history for central Iowa, (2) to devise a methodology for the description, recording, and analysis of gravestones through time and space, (3) to test and analyze concepts and propositions of other researchers using regional cemeteries in Story County, Iowa, for observing how cultures change over time and how social relationships of the living were reflected in burial practices on the prairie frontier. Specifically, the generalizations of the social scientists cited would serve as a conceptual framework or model for testing through computer analysis conclusions already reached by others. By isolating discrete units for tabulation there would be both a quantitative as well as a qualitative dimension to analysis of the data. Finally, the study would contribute a model or methodology for field documentation in collection procedures, methods, and data analysis of old cemeteries. Such information would be important to research workers in allied disciplines and in other regions who deal with local history and the many aspects of culture resource management.

Plan of Presentation

The following discussion is divided into the remaining eight chapters followed by an appendix. Chapter II deals with a rather extensive review and discussion of related research since the findings supplied by these social scientists provide evidence bearing upon the problem and are important in providing a model for the regional analysis of the study. Against a brief historical perspective of the area's history, Chapter III presents descriptive material concerning individual cemeteries in Story County with particular emphasis on those selected as a sample. The content is purposefully anecdotal to illustrate in a regional sense many of the generalizations made by the authors cited in the related research. The legends and folk histories provided in this chapter lend to the data a qualitative flavor which does not appear in the quantitative analysis of Chapters VI, VII and VIII.

Chapter IV describes the methodology and research techniques used for field documentation. This includes attempts to set up a consistent terminology and principles for a typology of the variables for grave-stones to be studied. Finally, there is an explanation and rationale for the computer programs used.

Chapter V attempts to provide an informal and impressionistic analysis of the epitaphs recorded in Story County cemeteries. These epitaphs, offered in full, provide samples of the range of epitaphs and how they are classified. An analysis of the words used illustrates

how frontier-prairie conditions were reflected in the epitaphs. Another rationale for the inclusion of the epitaphs is to provide a place for the preservation of these literary folk traditions.

The formal analysis of the three subsequent chapters examines and explains the results of statistical procedures used to obtain quantitative data using the electronic computer. Chapter VI examines correlations of selected variables over time, Chapter VII deals with correlations having to do with space and geographic location, and Chapter VIII looks at the correlations of age and sex with certain variables. Chapter IX is a summary of the evidence presented and the conclusions based upon this evidence. This includes a discussion of how the data collected in this regional study supports or does not support the findings of other social scientists. Finally, statements are included concerning the value of the methodology, its difficulties, and possible alternative ways of performing it. The appendix provides definitions of mortuary terms used by the mortuary industry. These are considered important supplementary materials to the main text.

CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH

Many studies of mortuary systems have been conducted by anthropologists. One summary of these investigations of cross-cultural mortuary practices has been written by Lewis R. Binford (1972) who is known as a leading spokesman for the so-called "new or processual archaeology". He traces the philosophical perspectives of past investigators and suggests that these works provide the general intellectual context in terms of which anthropologists have approached mortuary studies.

Many of these investigators provided a description of the basic components of the social personality which are symbolized through burial treatment: age, sex, social status within a given social unit, and social affiliation in terms of membership units within the society. Mortuary ritual is appropriate to the deceased's membership in the social unit. Unusual circumstances surrounding the death of an individual may be perceived by the remaining members of a society as altering the obligations of the survivors to acknowledge the social personality of the deceased (Binford 1972:209-213).

Binford reviewed data on mortuary rites in order to determine their potential for evaluating the scientific value of many propositions and assumptions around which much of contemporary archaeological interpretation is oriented. He concluded that variability in cultural practice must be understood in terms of the organizational properties of the culture systems themselves and not in reference to past

contacts or influences among peoples (Binford 1972:239).

Research using Euro-American cemeteries as a subject is somewhat limited and has often been ignored. For example, Binford neither cites nor discusses any of the literature pertaining to Euro-American mortuary practices. There are, however, several studies that have contributed some interesting insights on how Euro-American society reflects its structure in the artifacts dealing with death (Warner 1959; Mitford 1963; Ludwig 1966; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Jones 1967; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1972; Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977).

Perhaps the most definitive general work is that of W. Lloyd Warner (1959) published in a monograph entitled, The Living and the Dead. Warner is a sociologist whose thorough description of cemeteries is based on data obtained through interviews, cemetery documents, and analysis of both secular and sacred symbols. From this he establishes a history of the dead and studies the process of culture change. Basic to Warner's (1959:32) central thesis is the concept that the symbolism of funeral rites and artifacts provides a basis for understanding the significance of how people approach the fact of death. He contends that the grave and its stone headpiece are the visible and permanent signs of a sacred ceremony. The funeral symbolically translates the body from the world of the living to that of the dead and helps reestablish the relation of living members of the group to each other and to the memory of the dead. Thus, gravestones and the cemetery are two powerful

symbols relating what Warner terms the secular living to the sacred dead. At the same time these symbols reaffirm our respect for traditions.

Warner's monograph provides the important concepts which I have used in structuring my own research and offers a model for relating these findings to other investigations. These pertinent concepts are summarized in the following points (Warner 1959:289-297):

1. Cemeteries are collective representations which reflect and express many of the community's basic beliefs and values.
2. The social boundaries of the sacred dead and the secular world of the living are defined physical limits marked by walls, fences, and hedges. Rituals of consecration have transformed a small part of the common soil of the town into a sacred place; however, when cemeteries no longer receive fresh burials which continue to tie the emotions of the living to the recently dead, the graveyards must lose their sacred quality and become objects of historical significance.
3. Cemeteries are divided into lots of varying sizes which are the property of particular families and are referred to by the surnames of families who own them. Cemeteries reflect family organization as a primary unit of social structure. Relative position of family burials is thus; father is often in the center of the burial plot, or father and mother hold an equal position in the center. The use of stone borders to outline and define the separate family plot emphasizes the basic unity and primary importance of the elementary family.
4. Location of the dead in time (death dates on gravestones) and space (individual grave) helps to maintain a reality to those who wish to continue their relationship to the dead. The individual grave is marked so that the living can approach it as something that belongs to a specific person and is not merely a symbol that refers generally to all the dead.

5. The sacred aspect of the graveyard is to provide suitable symbols to refer to and to express one's hope of immortality through the sacred belief and ritual of religion. This serves to reduce anxiety and fear about death as marking the end of a personality and those who are loved.
6. Cemeteries reflect, in miniature, the past life and historic eras through which the community has passed, so contemporary graveyards symbolically express the present social structure.
7. The basic recognition of the superior and inferior statuses of males and females in society is reflected in the graveyard. The superordinate males are often given preference with larger and more prominent headstones in keeping with their historic status as head of the family. Male inscriptions often express the sense of respect and duty. Female inscriptions usually are filled with deeper sentiments of attachment.
8. Age grading is symbolized in graveyards. Children's stones are small in keeping with their length of life and size, the inscriptions of sub-adult children are likely to be filled with expressions of love similar to those of adult females. The purity and innocence of a child are stressed. The symbols of age unconsciously express the subordinate role of the child, sub-adult, female, and the superordinate role of the adult male. The social personality of young people and women is less developed and less important than the social personality of male adults.
9. The place of the church in the community is symbolized in the cemetery by a variety of usages. Protestant churches have common burial grounds. Catholics and Orthodox Jews usually have separate graveyards hallowed by their own rituals of consecration.
10. Ethnic groups tend to leave definite marks on cemeteries reflecting the dual cultural character of such communities. Inscriptions often appear both in English and the ethnic language. The more recently arrived the ethnic group the greater the likelihood that ethnic variations will appear in the mortuary art; the older the ethnic group the less difference from that of the more Americanized part of the cemetery. One of the more significant symbolic variations is a greater use of the American flag on all ethnic graves. There seems to be an association of the American flag "in American soil" that gives the living a greater claim to being American nationals as revealed in the burial practices of one's relatives.

11. The function of the Memorial Day rite is in the form of a cult of the dead but not just of the dead as such. There are symbols which elaborate the sacrifice of men's lives during war for their country and these symbols are identified with the Christian Church's sacred sacrifice to the incarnate God. The deaths of such men in turn become sacred powerful symbols which organize, direct, and continually revive the collective ideals of the community and the nation.
12. The elaborate associational structure of a community also becomes a symbolic part of the cemetery and adds strength to the cemetery as a collective representation. Such civic and social associations as the Masons, American Legion, Elks, Moose provide symbolic plaques for placement on the graves of members. Such practice often indicates the devotion of the deceased to the organization and the wish to be permanently identified with it.

Recently a few archaeologists have conducted studies using cemeteries in the eastern United States as indicators of social differentiation and of such mechanisms of culture change as diffusion and serialization. For example, Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz (1966) performed a pilot study in which they tabulated the design types in a number of cemeteries in eastern Massachusetts using temporal limits from about 1680 to the early years of the 19th century. Their perspective and goals were summarized as follows:

It can be seen that gravestones are probably unique in permitting the anthropologist to investigate interrelated changes in style, religion, population, personal and societal values, and social organization under absolute chronological control with a full historical record against which to project results for accuracy. As such, they form a valuable laboratory in which to test many of the inferential methods employed by the archaeologist who works with material culture (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:503).

Dethlefsen and Deetz stated that their ultimate purpose would be to expand their research to include all of New England and ultimately

the entire eastern coast seaboard area which formed the sphere of 17th and 18th century English Colonial development.

This original study discussed above provided the model for later studies published by Deetz and Dethlefsen (1972; originally published in 1967) and Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977). The research of these archaeologists has added impetus to the use of historical archaeology in the goal of reconstructing the ideological systems of past cultures from those of the present. Their interest has been in the relationship between material culture and behavior. The justification for doing such a study using gravestones from a historic period is that any set of archaeological data in which controls are available is potentially of great importance to the development and testing of explanatory models in archaeological theory, which can then be used in uncontrolled contexts of prehistoric periods. They further suggest that gravestones provide the archaeologist with a laboratory situation in which to measure cultural change in time and space and relate such measurements to the main body of archaeological methods. Gravestones provide three dimensions of measurement: location in space, use in time, and physical attributes of form. The different ways in which these dimensions show variations and change is the concern of archaeologists (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1972:402-403).

While these initial sociological and archaeological studies were in process, other individuals were looking at burial practices from different perspectives. Barbara Jones (1967) wrote an unusual book

called Design for Death in which she examines the artifacts of death in both England and the United States. It is her position that the artifacts of death are now badly designed because people today are less interested in death than they used to be. She states that in primitive societies death is accepted and respected because it is everywhere evident. However, in small rural communities where nothing much happens in peace-time except farming, death has high entertainment value. She goes on to state that urbanization does away with the acceptance of death, and today death is hardly talked of and is, indeed, seen as a taboo subject. Jones believes there are three main reasons for the decline of death's importance in the western world: first, death is further from us than it used to be since disease and starvation are more controlled; second, everyone's life is much fuller, even if only with television; third, we now have less community life and less sharing of each other's lives (Jones 1967:12-13).

John Morley (1971) considers death and its artifact in terms of how the attitudes of the Victorian Age in England affected the end of life. Since the Victorian Age of the last half of the 19th century left its imprint on much of the world's cultures, it seems appropriate to consider Morley's findings. Morley (1971:14) states that Romanticism provided the background for early Victorian sensibility. It was England's literary writers who provided the sources for its gothicism and melodrama. It was this Romanticism in Victorian family life that produced the keepsake and sentimental ballad and found further

sentimental expression in objects, poems, ceremonies, and clothes in remembrance of the deceased. For example, Morley points out that Queen Victoria in her "grand grief" for the Prince Consort assembled an array of mourning objects almost Egyptian in their comprehensiveness, ranging from the handkerchief embroidered with tears and the firescreen painted with the family mausoleum. Morley further declares that Romanticism was responsible for the personalization of death and the Victorian funeral which "carries a strong whiff of the theatre" (Morley 1971: 16).

Morley (1971:17) states there was great stress laid upon feeling, and the display of feeling became a necessary part of the social equipment of every polite person; thus, a show of exaggerated grief became a mark of would-be gentility. He finally asserts that with the passing of the Victorian Age and lessening of the act of religious faith, there were created social changes which resulted in the fact that death is now no longer celebrated as it was in Victorian times (Morley 1971:111).

After the collection of the data for this study had been completed in 1976, Edwin Dethlefsen and Kenneth Jensen published a paper in 1977 entitled "Social Commentary from the Cemetery" in which they trace the changes that have taken place in cemeteries of the eastern United States from Revolutionary times to the present. Their findings were very helpful in understanding and interpreting my own data from mid-western Iowa.

In this article Dethlefsen and Jensen begin by observing, "An old and popular New England tradition, for resident and visitor alike, is a relaxing walk through one of our historical cemeteries" (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977:32). It is interesting that they use the term "historical" which reminds us of Warner's observation that cemeteries lose their sacred quality in time and become objects of historical significance (Warner 1959:319).

Dethlefsen and Jensen suggest that the old cemetery is a remarkably sensitive record of change, representing successive generations, each with its own distinctive set of values and ways of perceiving the environment. They go on to state:

Haphazard rows of slate tablets give way in time to simple marble tablets bearing urn and willow motifs. The latter in turn lose popularity to marble gravestones of a variety of sizes and shapes and often arranged in groups or family plots. The heyday of ornate marble memorials lasted into the 1920s, when measured rows of uniformly sized granite blocks replaced them (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977:32).

A more detailed discussion of this data base revealed that the winged death's head was the most popular motif before 1760 in Colonial America followed by winged cherubs representative of the immortal soul. By 1800 the urn and willow motif had replaced all other pictorial references to the dead. Epitaphs which memorialized the living personality rather than marking its demise were also typical of the late Revolutionary and early Federalist periods. However, some inscriptions, were also short and contained no more than vital statistics, with an occasional phrase to remind us that death awaits us all.

For the sake of brevity, it seems appropriate to encapsulate the

main points of Dethlefsen and Jensen's study (1977:35-39) which include observed descriptions of changes in design, shapes, arrangement of words on gravestones, references to groups of which the deceased was once a part, differences in materials of construction, gravestone decorations - all indicative of changing cultural patterns. The changes noted by Dethlefsen and Jensen includes the following trends:

1. Burial patterns of early America usually involves one grave-stone for a single individual. Formal family plots began to appear in the mid 1800s suggesting the social attitudes of the living community. The erection of ornate marble monuments in the family plots of upper class families may be an expression of the increasing social and economic stratification that occurred with the industrial expansion of the 19th century. After the 1920s there was a return to simplicity and uniformity in the cemetery marker and plot. Granite headstones took the form of rectangular blocks inscribed either on their vertical faces, on flat, slanted, or vaulted tops, or on polished horizontal slabs. Elaborately sculptured marble and flowery epitaphs faded to be replaced by stark and massive blocks of polished granite which is much more durable than either marble or slate. These changes were possibly prompted by the decline of social Darwinism and by a movement toward egalitarianism in which the wealthy no longer cared to call attention to their wealth.
2. Gravestones of slate, common during Colonial times, gave way by the mid 19th century to marble. The physical structure of slate does not lend itself to being quarried in blocks and to elaborate sculpture: thus, slate gravestones are necessarily tabular in form. Marble was also used for tabular forms which survived into the Victorian period when this stone material was accompanied by increasing numbers of pulpit and obelisk forms, scrolls, crosses, and a variety of statuary. While a family plot often included a large obelisk representative of the following as a whole, the individual grave was also marked.
3. The message of epitaphs also changed over time. The Colonial period, which witnessed the dwindling of Puritanism, produced epitaphs which were terse and accepting of death. Those of the Victorian period were more eulogistic of the deceased or worshipful of God. The urn and willow was a symbol that

depersonalized death and epitaphs appear to deny death altogether. Common ones were "Asleep in Jesus", "At Rest", "Not Dead but Sleeping", and "In My Father's House Are Many Mansions". After the 1920s epitaphs are no longer common. When they do occur, they are usually reduced to a few, remarkably unoriginal phrases such as "At Rest", "In Memory Of", or "Gone But Not Forgotten". Also, at this time references to God and heaven are rare. These repetitious phrases convey the suggestion that they are used as secular formalities rather than meaningful ideals.

4. Kin references to wife, son, daughter, and brother are popular during the Victorian period, suggesting that the family was more important than the community in the individual ideals and loyalties of the time. The terms "son" and "daughter" have now all but disappeared from the cemetery. With the marked decrease in infant mortality of recent times, perhaps children grow up to move away and establish their own families.
5. The winged death's head was the most popular symbol before 1760 and represented the mortal remains of the deceased. This motif was followed by winged cherubs which represented the immortal soul. By 1800 the ethereal, but impersonal, urn and willow, had replaced most other pictorial references to the deceased individual. The Victorian period continued the urn and willow motif but they now competed with lambs, doves, flowers, angels, crowns, crosses, heavenly gates, wreaths, and bibles.

The Victorian cemetery was not a reflection of regimentation in the society of that time but rather reflected competitiveness and creativity as prime virtues. An example of this was the biggest and most elaborate memorial in the cemetery was erected over the burial place of the most important man of the community. Dethlefsen and Jensen also note another gravestone type that is indicative of culture change and this is the one provided by the United States Government for veterans. This form is a simple granite, marble, or bronze tablet ". . . and is a specific indicator of what we know to be an important

aspect of culture change in America--the increasing paternalism of government" (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977:38).

Dethlefsen and Jensen suggest that a side effect of twentieth century cultural development has been the increase in life expectancy. Married couples spend their final years in childless homes which in turn emphasizes the strong husband-wife relationship and this is reflected in the high proportion of shared memorials. They further suggest that the community cemeteries which began with the Pilgrims is now at an end. The geographical mobility of our present population causes a situation where most Americans will not be buried with their ancestors. This fact is reflected in the increase of memorial parks where there appears to be a total denial of individuality:

Instead emphasis is on a peaceful, quiet environment, where the dead may rest in all but anonymity in the egalitarian ranks of a multistoried mausoleum or in a memorial lawn, marked only by a flat tablet set at ground level to allow unimpeded passage of a lawnmower (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977:38).

As is shown in the following chapters, many of the above discussed trends and associations noted by Warner, Deetz, Dethlefsen, and others for cemeteries in the eastern United States can be paralleled with forms and processes observed in the cemetery symbolism of prairie-pioneers in Iowa.

CHAPTER III. INDIVIDUAL CEMETERIES OF STORY COUNTY:
DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

The written historical accounts of early Story County are important supplementary materials in understanding when and where these early people settled and why they chose particular areas for settlement. These accounts note the early ethnic composition of the population and discuss the enclaves formed by the Norwegians, Irish, Germans, English, and Danes in early Story County. As will be seen in later chapters the cemetery data either supports or discredits these early accounts through information recorded on the gravestones in the form of family names, linguistic factors, and birth-death dates; also noted is the location of cemeteries as an aspect of human settlement patterns and activity areas. Religious affiliations, churches, and the intellectual community are documented in these early histories which are again reflected in the cemetery data.

In this chapter there is an attempt to point out the discrepancies which are found between the written historical records and the cemetery data of the study. In terms of archaeological methods and theory and the goals of reconstructing the unrecorded life-ways of past cultures, the description of these discrepancies is important for checking of accuracy and predictive value of other archaeological research. It has been pointed out by Deetz and Dethlefsen (1972:402) that information taken from undisturbed cemeteries is "controlled data" which is a high priority for the archaeologist as a scientist.

Brief History of Story County

The history of Story County is well-documented in several publications beginning with William G. Allen's A History of Story County, Iowa, written in 1887; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Story County, Iowa, published in 1890 by the Goodspeed Publishing Co.; and W. O. Payne's A History of Story County, Iowa written in 1911. There are several community and church histories of local areas in Story County commemorating anniversaries and the Centennial which provide interesting material as historical sources.

Payne (1911:6) describes the area as essentially a flat country with one large river, the Skunk River, passing through it. In the early days this river was notable not for the large volume of water it contained but for the impassable bogs that bordered it. He relates that the county had a reputation of being swampy, flat, and undesirable which retarded the settlement and growth of the country compared to the progress of surrounding counties such as Polk, Boone, Jasper, and Marshall. However, in time this land was drained and became the desirable agricultural land it is today.

Payne (1911:29) also notes that the first settlers were believed to have come from neighboring counties and states in search of cheaper lands. Desiring the accessibility to fuel, water, and materials for shelter, they sought the wooded streams and groves, rather than the open prairie. These ecological factors which affected human settlement patterns in terms of building their homesteads along rivers and

uplands are also reflected in the positioning of early cemeteries.

Figure 1 shows the proximity of the early pioneer cemeteries to the major rivers and streams of Story County: Pierson, Sowers, Born, Baldus, M'Michael, Arrasmith, Bloomington, Cory, Walnut Grove, and Maxwell, to name a few.

The Blackhawk War of 1832 legally opened Iowa to settlement but according to these histories there were few Euro-Americans in the area that is now Story County before Iowa became a state in 1846. Allen (1887:38) relates that in 1848, Dan W. Ballard and brother, Norman, made their claims and moved their families into a grove just north of the present town of Huxley in the southwestern part of the county. This area subsequently became known as Ballard's Grove. Simon Ballard, their father, came in the fall of 1848 (Allen says 1838 but this appears to be incorrect). He died two years later and was buried at the grove, this being the first recorded death for an Euro-American pioneer in the county. The possibility of this burial site being located in an unrecorded abandoned cemetery just north of Huxley is discussed later in this chapter.

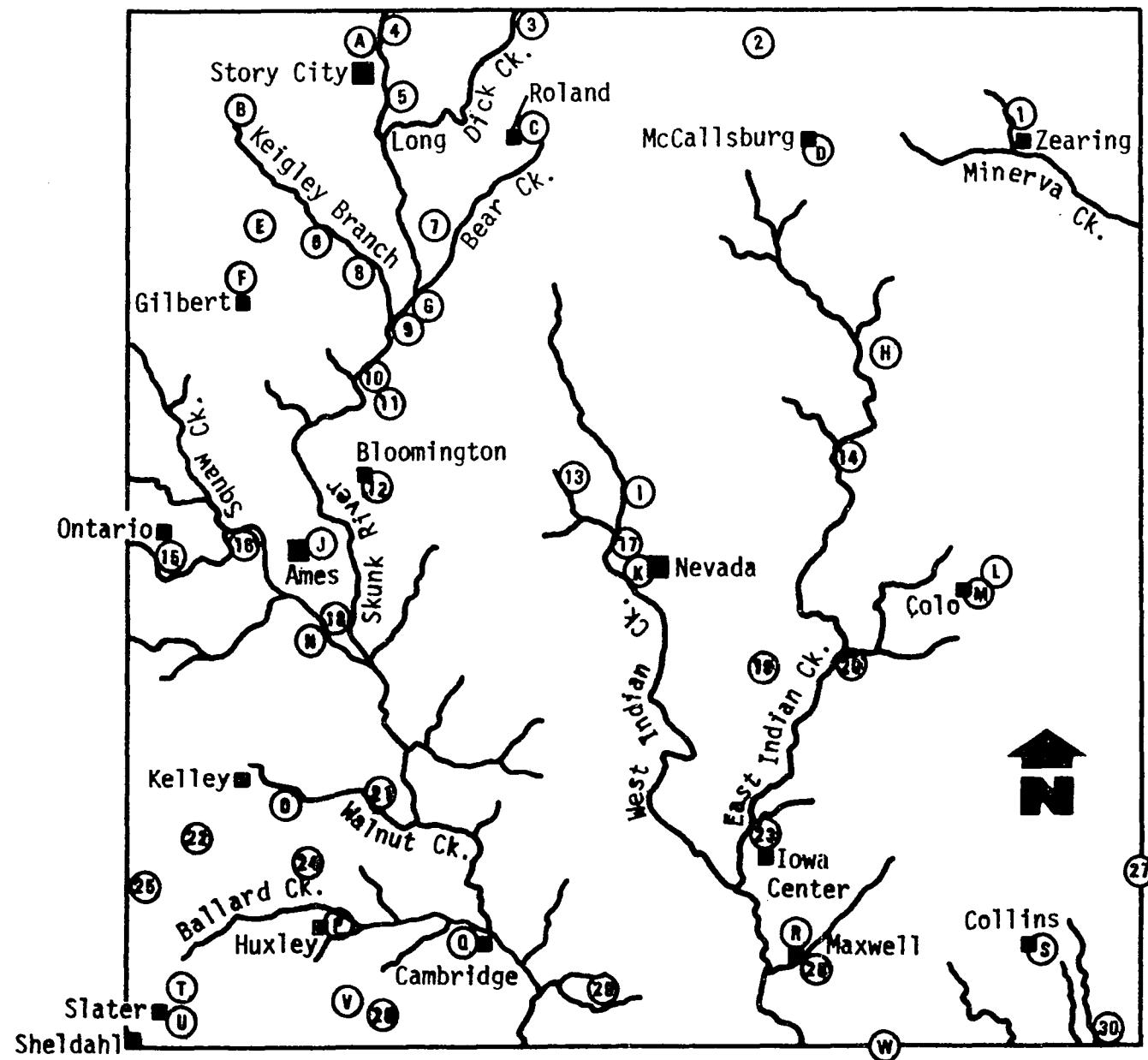
Mr. William Parker is said to have located within the limits of Story County as early as April 14, 1849, near the Jasper County line in the eastern part of the county. Apparently neither family had knowledge of each other's presence in the beginning of the settlements.

KEY: ■ TOWNS

- ① Cemeteries used in this study
Ⓐ Cemeteries not used in this study

1. Zearing Municipal	26. Maxwell (old)	A - Story City Municipal
2. East Bergen	27. Day	B - Center
3. Wilkinson	28. Palestine	C - Roland Municipal
4. Pierson	29. Center Grove	D - McCallburg Municipal
5. Sowers	30. Deeter	E - South Petri
6. Baldus		F - Gilbert Municipal
7. Sheffield		G - Brouhard
8. Born		H - Oak Hill
9. Pleasant Grove		I - Evergreen Memorial Gardens
10. M'Michael		J - Ames Municipal
11. Arrasmith		K - Nevada Municipal
12. Bloomington		L - Colo Municipal
13. County Poor Farm		M - St. James Cathol.c
14. Micah French		N - Story Memorial Gradvns
15. Ontario		O - Hawks
16. University		P - Ballard Grove
17. St. Patrick		Q - Cambridge Municipal
18. Cory		R - Maxwell (new)
19. Mullen		S - Collins Municipal
20. Mound		T - Bethlehem Lutheran
21. Walnut Grove		U - Slater Municipal
22. Bethany		V - Fjelberg
23. Woodland Iowa Center		W - Peoria
24. Lincoln		
25. Sheldahl Lutheran		

Figure 1. A generalized map of Story County, Iowa, showing known cemeteries in relationship to major towns, rivers, and streams



The Ballards opened the first farms, raised the first crops, and furnished food and shelter to many of the early settlers who made their homes in the west part of the county. . . . Settlements were begun at Ballard's Grove, Walnut Grove, Iowa Center and all along the Skunk River, and Squaw and Indian Creeks, and the principal groves of the county, in 1851 and 1852 (Allen 1887:38).

Payne further notes that the Ballards remained in the locality for about thirty years but that "they were not the sort of men to harmonize with Norwegian settlement, which in time completely surrounded them, and ultimately they sold out and went farther West" (Payne 1911:30). Payne describes the coming of the Norwegians during the first decade of settlement as a happening that was more influential than any other upon the character of the county and its population. It was not a struggling movement but a matter of deliberate colonization. He summarizes:

An emigration from Norway to Illinois had been started a few years before and considerable numbers of Norwegians had located in Northern Illinois, but they were looking for lands at near the government price, and their numbers had become such as to make practicable a concerted effort at colonization, and they sent a committee out into Iowa to see what they could find. This committee looked over the Country, just how much of it, we are unable to say; but after looking around quite thoroughly and enough to satisfy them of the soundness of their judgment, they picked out a tract in what is now Howard Township and there founded the village of Roland and to that locality removed their Illinois settlement. Not long after, a similar, but perhaps more individual movement, was made by Norwegians from Illinois and Wisconsin and Norway into Palestine Township, and from these two settlements have spread the Norwegian colonies in the county (Payne 1911: 23).

The first pioneer settler on the Skunk River was John H. Keigley who in November 1851, located in the northeastern part of Franklin

Township near a stream which now bears his name. For some years settlements were primarily in the two distant parts of the county, the southeast and the west (Allen 1887:39). The first great infusion of population was from 1854 to 1857 and settlers tended to populate all areas except the northeastern section where timber was less plentiful (Allen 1887:175). Zearing, located in the northeast corner of the county, was one of the last towns to be settled in 1881.

Other ethnic groups who came to Story County included a few Danes in the northwest area of the county in 1869 (Christiansen 1952:79). Settlers from Germany were fairly numerous in the northeast part of the county, especially in the Zearing area (Allen 1887:170-174; Grimm 1956). Allen (1887:47) notes that some Irish Catholic families came to the county as early as 1853 and a Catholic Church was first erected in Nevada in 1870. He added that many Catholic families were living near Colo in the eastern part of the county at the time of his history.

In 1853 Nevada was selected for a county seat and Cambridge also came into being with a saw mill and a general store. Some of the first towns were Fairview (later Story City); Iowa Center in August 1855; Collins in 1857; Colo and Ames in 1865; and finally Zearing in 1881 (Allen 1887:52-53).

During this same period a few small towns were laid out but later abandoned either due to changes in railroad connections or differences in trading needs as in the case of the early saw and grain mills. One of the earliest settlements in the northern part of the county was

located on the east side of the Skunk River by James Smith and sons, plus a few other families. James Smith is reported to have built a mill on Long Dick Creek, and a short distance north of the mill is an old recorded village called Smithfield. Gradwohl and Osborn (1972:16) in their archaeological survey of the Ames Reservoir report that today no trace of the mill or residences can be found. Franklin Township had several small towns of which Ontario (1869) and Gilbert (1880) are still functioning although closely allied with Ames. The townsite of Bloomington (1857) several miles northeast of Ames is now defunct never having flourished. Allen also mentions Zenorville which was a trading point near a valley of coal situated on some banks in Boone County a short distance from the western edge of Franklin Township (Allen 1887:193). Other defunct towns include New Philadelphia, Prairie City, Sheffield, and Summit in northwest Story County (D. Mott 1931:122-123). Palestine and Elwell in south central Story County and Defiance and New Albany in the southeast section add to the list of abandoned settlements (Allen 1887:250-286). The town "Collegeton" near the agricultural farm of early Ames was laid off in 1863 but was not recorded, again, due to a change in the location of the railroad (Allen 1887:235).

General Background of Individual Cemeteries

Specific characteristics of the thirty cemeteries in the sample are shown in Figure 2. In reference to the type of cemetery which appears as one of the columns in Figure 2, it should be pointed out that many of the early cemeteries originally associated with an early church or family have eventually through the years become the responsibility of the township in which they are located or of a local cemetery association and are ordered in reference to the township in which they are located; thus, on a township plat map we begin with Zearing in the northeast corner and continue according to range and section. As stated previously, in 1972 a preliminary survey and appraisal of archaeological resources in the Ames Reservoir was done by Iowa State University under the auspices of the National Park Service (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972). Euro-American pioneer cemeteries surveyed in this area were assigned site numbers in the Smithsonian Trinomial System (13 specifies Iowa, SR denotes Story County, and the subsequent number refers to the specific site within the county). Where this is the case I have included that number in parentheses after the popular name of the cemetery.

Zearing Cemetery

The original tract of land for a community cemetery was deeded by S. W. Dakins for \$100.00 on December 29, 1883 (Land Deed Book 36, p. 330, Story County Recorder's Office). The cemetery borders the town

Figure 2. Specific characteristics of the thirty cemeteries in the sample

<u>CEMETERY</u>	<u>LEGAL DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>EARLIEST GRAVESTONE DATE</u>	<u>EXTANT</u>
Zearing	SW ¼ SE ¼ S16 T85 R21	Municipal	1868	Yes
East Bergen	S3 T35 R22 NW ¼ NE ¼	Church	1889	Yes
Wilkinson	S3 T85 R23 NE ¼ NW ¼	Church	1853 or 59	No
Pierson	S6 T85 NR23W NW ¼ NW ¼	Township	1881	No
Sowers	S18 T85 NR23W NW ¼ NE ¼	Township	1854	No
Baldus	Sec 35 T85 NR24 W NW ¼ NW ¼	Family	1861	No
Sheffield	S32 T85 R23 NW ¼ NE ¼	Township	1858	Yes
Born	S1 T84N R24W NE ¼ NE ¼	Church	1863 or 68	No
Pleasant Grove	S7 T84 R23 SE ¼ NW ¼	Church	1851 or 54	Yes
M'Michael	S13 T84N R24W SE ¼ SE ¼	Township Family	1865	No
Arrasmith	S13 T84 R24 NE ¼ NE ¼	Township	1851 or 54	No
Bloomington	S36 T84N R24W N ¼	Township	1854	No
Poor Farm	S35 T84N R23W SE ¼ NE ¼	Poor Farm	Unknown	Yes
Micha French	S26 T84 R22 NW ¼ SW ¼	Township	1861	Yes
Ontario	S5 T83 R24 NW ¼	Township	1854	Yes
University	S4 T83 R24W NW ¼	University	1875	Yes
St. Patrick	S7 T83 R22W NE ¼	Church	1867	Yes
Cory	S14 T83 R24W NE ¼ SE ¼	Township	1855	No
Mullen	S21 T83 R22 SE ¼ NE ¼	Church	1858	Yes
Mound	S23 T83 R22 NW ¼	Township	1851	No
Walnut Grove	S1 T82 R24 SE ¼	Township	1855	Yes
Bethany	S5 T82 R24 SE ¼ NE ¼	Church	1894	Yes
Woodland Center	S9 T82 R22	Lot owners	1854	Yes
Lincoln	S11 T24 R82	Church	1877	Yes
Sheldahl	S32 T82 R24 NE ¼	Church	1881	No
Maxwell	S27 T82 R22W NE ¼	Church	1856	No
Day	S25 T82 R21 NE ¼	Township	1861	Yes
Palestine	S36 T82 R24 NE ¼ SE ¼	Church	1862	Yes
Center Grove	S26 T82 R23 SE ¼	Church	1855	Yes
Deeter	S35 T83 R22	Township	1858	No

of Zearing (Lincoln Township) on the northeast perimeter. Being an extant municipal cemetery it is mowed frequently and well-tended. See Figure 4A. In the center of the cemetery is a huge flag pole and nearby is a block of poured cement in which are embedded on all four sides metal plaques with the insignia of each of the major wars of the United States. Here is an example to support Warner's (1959:28?) observation that cemeteries reflect in miniature the past life and historic eras through which a community has passed. In keeping with this same theme Warner (1959:279) points out that the Memorial Day rites common in American culture serve as unifying and integrating symbols of a cult of the dead but that these rites show particular respect and honor to those who were killed in battle, "fighting for their country". These symbols commemorating the war dead and past wars are apparent in the Zearing Cemetery and appear in many of the larger extant municipal cemeteries. For an example of a rather typical war memorial see Figure 16B.

At the west end of the cemetery stands a large mausoleum which was built in 1912 with money raised by the advanced sale of vaults (see Figure 17C). Many prominent residents of the community were buried in the Zearing Mausoleum (Grimm 1956:73). Here again, the social and status structures of the living community are reflected in the cemetery (Warner 1959:287). Some of the prominent, well-to-do, higher positioned people of Zearing chose the mausoleum for their burial plans.

It is also reported that a Henry Orthmann was the first person buried in the cemetery, his body having been moved from the Illinois Grove Cemetery not far from Zearing. It is probable that most of the early burials here were bodies moved from other places (Grimm 1956: 71-72). An interesting side-light to this fact is Allen's reference to a Henry Orthman, a German, living near Zearing who committed suicide by shooting off the top of his head with a shot-gun, ". . . it seems he was tired of living and so took this method of ending his existence. November, 1882" (Allen 1887:170).

Allen lists a total of twenty burials before 1887 including eleven known and nine unknown. Allen (1887:418), perhaps not understanding the German language, records Mr. Orthman as "Orthman, Hier R., 54". The stone reads thus with the translation on the right:

Hier Ruht	(Here Lies)
Matthias Heinrich Orthman	
Geb. Den	(Born)
15, Oct. 1828	
Gest. Den	(Died)
20, Nov. 1882	

This serves as a good example of the inaccuracies often encountered in early written records. The stones in this cemetery, more than any other encountered, are badly crusted with a substance that resembles lichen which of course made them especially difficult to read (see Figure 13B).

East Bergen Church Cemetery

East Bergen Church, a small cemetery in Warren Township, is not visible from the county road and it is necessary to follow a short road to the site which is bounded on all sides by corn fields (see Figure 4C). However, it is mowed and shows signs of care. It is devoid of trees, has a few lilac bushes, and is approximately an acre in size. Many of the stones are in Norwegian. At the entrance to the drive a very tall flag pole stands with the American flag in association with a stone boulder monument surrounded by flowers (see Figure 4D). On the monument is a brass plaque which provides us with the following statement:

With deepest gratitude and devotion
This monument is dedicated to the men
And women who erected the East Bergen
Lutheran Church on this site in 1894,
And where they faithfully served A-
mighty God until 1957. These hardy
Pioneers from Norway brought with them
A firm trust in God and a determination
to rear their children in the Chr-
istian faith.

"To God the Father Glory be,
and to his only son.
And to the Spirit, one and three
while endless ages run. "Amen"

This monument expressing both ethnic and religious ideals accompanied by the American flag seems to support a finding of Warner who makes the following statement regarding ethnic symbolic variations:

Perhaps one of the more significant symbolic variations is a greater use of the American flag on all ethnic graves. Whereas American tradition is likely to assign the use of the flag to the graves of soldiers, recent ethnic groups often make no such distinction. The flag seems to imply for many of them that the deceased was a citizen, or the family believes he wanted to be. Some ethnic associations are particularly active in making sure that the American flag appears on the graves of their members. There also seems to be some feeling that burials of members "in American soil" gives the living a greater claim to being American nationals (Warner 1959:296).

Wilkinson Cemetery

Wilkinson Cemetery in Howard Township is situated on a fairly high knoll, containing several large old pine trees, adjacent to the county road and is approximately an acre in size. Many of the stones are broken and lying on the ground. Slung in the branch of a tree is an iron piece used to hold broken tablets together. It appears that the area is mowed infrequently. The stones are old, weathered and difficult to read. The weeping willow motif used here has a different design than elsewhere in the county. Some of the inscriptions are in Norwegian. The only land transfer records that can be found in reference to this cemetery is land that Clara Hauptly deeded to Earl B. Thompson and Betty J. on March 2, 1949, with the exception of "church and cemetery lots" (Land Deed Book 79, p. 581, Story County Recorder's Office). This suggests that a church might have stood at the cemetery site in the past. Allen (1887:430) lists the cemetery with three burials among whom are Lyman Wilkinson, died 1859 age 45, and John Wilkinson, died 1863 age 56. Allen notes them as "old settlers of the county--settled prior to January 1, 1858" (Allen 1887:369).

The Wilkinson brothers are listed among "neighbors who lived on Long Dick June 1st, 1854 from Joliet, Ill." (Story City Anniversary Number 1940:57).

Pierson Cemetery (13 SR 143)

Pierson Cemetery, a small, hard-to-locate cemetery in Howard Township is approximately two miles north of Story City located between the county road and Interstate Highway 35. It is situated on a small knoll less than an acre in size surrounded by an old rusty fence. It is completely over-grown with bushes, weeds, and small trees, and because of the density of the underbrush it was impossible to know whether all the gravestones had been located. What is there, is broken and difficult to read and some of the stones are in Norwegian (see Figure 5B). I could find no record in the Town and Township Cemetery Plats (file located in the Story County Recorder's Office). Gradwohl and Osborn (1972) record that the site consists of four marked graves: I observed the same number. The cemetery is not listed in Allen (1887).

Sowers Cemetery (13 SR 139)

Sowers Cemetery, also in Howard Township, is located just south of Story City and in order to find it one must be guided there by the landowner. It is situated on a high bluff just east of the Skunk River and is approximately an acre in size, very over-grown with weeds and brush. However, the stones are in remarkably good condition with little weathering, probably due to the protection of the density of trees. Greg Volga, son of the landowner, stated that a Mr. Sowers of

Story City takes an interest in the cemetery. He also added it is rumored by older residents that there are unmarked graves here, one of whom is supposed to be "an Indian boy" (Personal communication, July, 1976).

On November 23, 1891, a warranty deed was issued from Robert Bracken and wife to Lafayette Township for the sum of \$1.00 a piece of land for the express purpose of a public burying ground which shall be used for no other purpose than that above described (Deed Record Book 43, p. 365, Story County Recorder's Office). Allen (1887:412) lists 15 graves as of 1887. The Iowa State University reconnaissance crew noted 12 to 18 graves, the oldest of which was that of Melinda Sowers dated 1856 (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972:85). I noted 14 graves as did a Mrs. John Sass who also did a survey on September 22, 1958 (Story County Grave Records, Iowa Historical Library, Des Moines, Iowa). Neither the ISU survey crew nor Mrs. Sass recorded what I found as the earliest grave:

Jane

Wife of

J. C. Smith

Died

May, 1854

Aged 53 Y 4 M 8 ds.

The burial is also recorded by Allen (1887:413). Another interesting side-light to this gravestone is a personal reminiscence in the Story

City Herald 1940 Anniversary Number which states:

The first death among the settlers was that of old Mrs. Smith, wife of "Uncle Jimmy Smith". As no lumber was to be had to make a coffin, a Mr. Daniel Brown and my father, H. L. Boyes, both mechanics, went to the timber, felled and split a large black walnut tree, hewed and planed the boards, and made in a single day a coffin that would compare very favorably with many furnished at the present time (Story City Herald 1940 Anniversary Number 1940:59).

I suggest that this is one and the same person and it is interesting to note that at the relatively early age of 53 she was considered as "old", although perhaps this is yet another example of the difficult lives led by the early pioneers and the short life spans of the time.

Baldus Cemetery (13 SR 147)

Baldus Cemetery in Lafayette Township is located on a ridge above the right bank of Keigley Creek adjacent and east of a road leading to a farm house. The site is less than an acre in size and appears to be mowed and maintained. A woman residing in the farm house states that many stones are missing; when one becomes broken or falls down an elderly man in Gilbert, whose grandfather was buried here, takes them for repair or safe keeping. He is also the person who maintains the little cemetery. The woman pointed out a new red polished stone among the old tablets bearing the name and dates of Louise Baldus 1836-1861. The will of a relative living in Story City, who formerly owned the land, provided for a new stone for his sister to be erected upon his death. Here is an example of relatives replacing old grave-stones with newer ones. She related that there is a history behind this old cemetery in the form of a tragedy. A diphtheria epidemic

wiped out the children of a Baldus family. Examination of the stones shows that between the dates of January 5 and February 20, 1879, four children died, aged 9, 3, 5, and 11 years. The children's parents, Theo. and C. Baldus, are listed in Allen (1887:358) as early settlers before 1858. The cemetery is reported in Allen (1887:429) as the Baldus or Decob Cemetery and he lists 16 people interred as of 1887 and 7 persons of unknown names. I recorded 14 graves as did the ISU survey crew (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972:97).

On May 3, 1937, members of the Baldus family deeded to Lafayette Township ". . . a strip of ground. . . . Purpose of the conveyance to convey to the grantee herein the plot of ground including the highway abutting now used and known as the Pioneer Cemetery and this conveyance is made to the grantee herein with the understanding that said plot except for the highway thereon, shall perpetually be devoted and used for cemetery purposes" (Land Deed Book 71, p. 544, Story County Recorder's Office). Also filed for record on December 15, 1966, is a diagram of the cemetery showing burials with inscriptions drawn by John J. Springmen; a person who apparently took the interest to record this information of a pioneer cemetery for safe-keeping (Miscellaneous Book 104, p. 57, Story County Recorder's Office). There is one German inscription in the cemetery.

Sheffield Cemetery

Sheffield Cemetery in Howard Township bears the same name as the abandoned town of Sheffield. It is located adjacent to a county road and may be seen from Interstate 35 looking east. It is approximately two to three acres in size, mowed, and well-kept. On June 18, 1864, A. A. Sheffield deeded to Howard Township land to be used for a "burying ground" with the specification that whenever said land ceases to be used for such purposes it shall revert back to the grantors (Deed Book I, p. 32, Story County Recorder's Office).

There are several memorial statements in this cemetery which give it a sense of history. The first is one erected by the Sheffield Cemetery Association in honor of N. N. Sheffield who donated the ground for this cemetery in 1858. The earliest stone reads: John N. Son of N. N. and M. Sheffield Died Dec. 6, 1858 Aged 20 Yrs. 7 Mo.

The second memorial is a rock taken from the Henry Jacob's farm on which a bronze marker has been attached (Story City Herald Anniversary Number 1940:99). It reads:

In Memoriam

In October 1860 the Schwerington Family of five came from Ohio in a covered wagon to take a claim near Ft. Dodge, Ia. Enroute they perished in a prairie fire near Story City. The father, barely alive reached the Hoover home and reported the tragedy. He died soon after. The charred remains of his wife and two children were interred here and a few days later those of the father. The skull of the third child was later found on the prairie and buried there.
(Names of those who contributed: forty-two listed)

Dedicated May 29, 1938

Allen (1887:67,411) recorded the cemetery noting that several early settlers were buried here with 65 known names and 10 unknown as of 1887.

Born Cemetery (13 SR 158)

Born Cemetery in Lafayette Township is located southwest of Keigley Creek on the south side of a county gravel road. It is approximately one acre in size and completely overgrown with grass, weeds, and trees. The stones are broken, many partly covered with sod, and some have been placed in a pile against a tree (see Figure 5D). Allen (1887:428) lists forty-five known burials and fifteen unknown. The Iowa State survey crew found 39 extant marked graves and of these, only five post-dated Allen's tally (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972:107). I recorded forty-one stones. There are several deep depressions in the cemetery which suggest that some bodies may have been removed. On December 6, 1870, Ole S. Olson and wife deeded to the St. Paul Congregation of the Lutheran Church of Story County one-half acre for the sum of \$20.00 (Deed Book Q, p. 313, Story County Recorder's Office). The inscriptions on most of the stones in this cemetery are a mixture of Norwegian and English.

Pleasant Grove Cemetery

This cemetery in Milford Township is situated adjacent to a white clapboard building, bearing the name Pleasant Grove Methodist Church 1873, next to County Road E23, approximately one mile west of Interstate 35. It is mowed and well-tended, approximately an acre in size

(see Figure 6B). On December 6, 1877, T. R. Hughes deeded lots to the Trustees of Pleasant Grove M. E. Church for \$20.00 (Plat Book 1, p. 28, Story County Recorder's Office). Allen (1887:410) records 44 burials of known persons.

In this cemetery is a family plot consisting of nine burials in which are illustrated in minuscule many of the concepts provided by Warner (1959) that are analyzed in this study: changes in gravestone form and style over time; correlations between size of gravestone and age at death; family status relationships and family cohesiveness revealed in the area bounded by a curbed cement border (see Figure 17B). In the center of this raised plot of ground is a large white column with an ornate top. On the face of the gravestone is inscribed:

1. Wesley Arrasmith / Died Ap. 16, 1893 / Aged 65 Y's 9 M's 20 D's
On the back side of the column is inscribed:

2. Catherine / His Wife / Nov. 5, 1836 / No. 1, 1914

On either side are flanked tablets commemorating their family in the following order beginning at the north end:

3. Esther Marie / Dau. of Mr. & Mrs. Arrasmith / Died July 16, 1911/ (small heart-shaped marker)
4. Lucy M. / Dau. of W. & C. Arrasmith / Died June 3, 1859 /
Aged 11 M's 28 D's /
(small tablet)
5. Thomas J. / Son of W. & C. Arrasmith / Died May 16, 1851 /
Aged 1 Yr. 10 M /
(small tablet)
6. Oliver F. / Son of W. & C. Arrasmith / Died Nov. 14, 1894 /
Aged 24 Yrs. 9 Mos. 19 Ds. /
(large tablet)

7. Emma May / Dau. of W. & C. Arrasmith / Died Sept. 15, 1885 /
Aged 17 Yrs. 10 Ms. 21 Ds. /
(medium tablet)
8. James L. / Son of W. & C. Arrasmith / Died Dec. 10, 1881 /
Aged 16 Yrs. 6 Mos. 28 Dys. /
(medium tablet)

The infants have small tablets, the 24 year-old son merits a large tablet, while two teen-age children merit a medium-size stone. The burials before the 1890s are primarily of the tablet type while father and mother have a stone column monument typical of the late 19th century. One daughter buried in 1911 has an altogether different stone, a heart-shaped standing tablet, which is also typical of the turn of the century. Father and mother are buried in the center of the plot with father's inscription dominating the front of the large stone, a comparable position to the one he had held in life as head of the family. Only the inscriptions before 1900 show age at death. The rather large number of children who did not live past young adulthood is yet another indicator of the high mortality rates among infants and children. Finally, Wesley C. Arrasmith is listed in Allen (1887:200) as a well-known early settler before 1858, a person who enjoyed status in his own time.

One gravestone reads Ulysses S. G. / Son of T. R. and ? Hughes / Died Aug. 27, 1861 / Aged 5 ms, 9 ds. Observing the date one might suggest that here is an example in stone of American's propensity to name their children after famous figures of the time.

Buried here is a German family by the name of Randau in which

the inscriptions are a mixture of German and English. This family apparently felt some pride in their original homeland as all were inscribed with their birthplace: Julia Randau, born 1801 in Eschershausen, Germany and died 1877; Johanna Randau, her daughter, born 1840 in Alfeld, Germany and died 1877; William Randau, born 1826, in Alfeld Provience, Hannover [sic], Germany died 1892.

M'Michael Cemetery (13 SR 116)

M'Michael Cemetery in Franklin Township is located in a wooded area on a terrace above the east bank of the Skunk River. It is so overgrown with trees and brush that it was necessary to obtain a local resident as a guide. Except for three stones which are enclosed in a cement curbing and iron railing, most of the stones are broken and lying on the ground (see Figure 5C). Allen refers to the cemetery as the M'Michael Cemetery and lists 19 known names and 5 unknown burials. He also observed that "one-half, from appearance has been taken up and moved away" (Allen 1887:429). I also observed many depressions and found 7 gravestones. The Iowa State University survey crew (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972:52) observed the cement platform and portions of several more gravestones and some 20 to 25 observable depressions. The wives of two early settlers, Samuel Rich and S. W. Adams (Allen 1887:357-364) are buried here. Elizabeth Rich's stone had an unusual epitaph and one not found elsewhere in my sample.

Why should we weep for her was she not ready
Oil in her lamp and her bridal robes on
Waiting in faith with a hope firm and steady
The Good Shepard's call and the plaudits well done

The reference to "bridal robes" in this epitaph appears to be a carry-over from Puritan times in New England when death was conceived of as a marriage between Christ and the Soul, while corporeal marriage was its earthly counterpart (Ludwig 1966:61).

Again, this cemetery is a reflection of the early settlers of Franklin Township that appears to have been settled by peoples from the British Isles or New England judging from the names appearing both in Allen and on the gravestones: Keigley, Cotton, McMichael, Grove, Hunter, Barnes, Jones, Cameron, Eckard, Briley, Evans, Craig, and Miller to name a few (Allen 1887:194). The prominent churches of the area are the Presbyterian, Methodist, Christian, and Congregation as shown in Figure 3. It should be noted here that for the time period in question and for the cemeteries studied there is no evidence for any other religion than Christianity in Story County.

Arrasmith Cemetery (13 SR 150)

Arrasmith Cemetery in Franklin Township is located on a hilltop southeast of the Skunk River approximately a mile southeast of the M'Michael Cemetery. The area is a pasture and cattle wander freely over the stones which are all lying on the ground and many broken (see Figure 6A). However, when I visited the site in October 1977, I noticed that a new metal fence had been erected. Allen (1887:101) lists 11 names and 2 children of unknown names. The Iowa State

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHURCHES IN THE COUNTY.

CHURCH BUILDINGS AND DENOMINATIONS.

TOWNSHIPS OF THE COUNTY.	N. S. Presbyterian.	Cumb. Presbyterian.	M. E. Church.	M. Prot. Church.	Baptist Church.	Christian Church.	Congregational Church.	Evangelical Lutheran.	U. Brethren Church.	Church of God.	Lutheran Church.	Catholic Church.	Total No. of Churches in County.	Total members reported —A meagre report.
Lincoln													1	53
Warren													2	1400
Howard								1					2	1100
Lafayette								1					5	30
Franklin	1	2			1	1							2	40
Milford		1			1								2	81
Richland		1					1						2	30
Sherman													4	30
New Albany		1	1					1					7	586
Nevada	1	1	1	1			2						6	500
Grant													4	...
Washington			1	2		2	1						2	78
Palestine			1				1			3			2	133
Union			1				1						2	37
Indian Creek			1				1						41	4068
Collins			1											
Total each denom.	12	11	1	3	2	3	8	3	5	2	41			

Figure 3. Chart showing distribution of early churches according to township in Story County, Iowa (taken from Allen 1887:301)

University survey crew (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972:101) noted 13 grave-stones as well as some plot section markers. I noted the same number of stones. This is indeed a pioneer cemetery and contains a number of old stones bearing death dates of 1856 (1), 1854 (6), 1853 (1), 1860 (1), 1863 (2), and 1865 (1).

Massey Arrasmith, who is buried here, is mentioned frequently in Allen (1887) in his role as an early settler. An example of the individuality of early gravestone cutters, Massey Arrasmith's epitaph reads (note misspelling):

As a husband; devoted;
As a father, affectinate;
As a friend, ever kind and true

On his wife; Lucy's gravestone the name is spelled "Arra Smith". Such individuality of these early craftsmen disappeared with the advent of the mass produced polished and hammered, stencil-cut gravestones of modern times which is discussed later in the study.

Bloomington Cemetery (13 SR 159)

Bloomington Cemetery in Franklin Township is located northeast of the present Isaak Walton League Park bounded by a newly erected fence and corn fields. I had visited this cemetery ten years previously at which time it was hidden in a grove of small trees, with a broken-down fence, completely overgrown with weeds and brush, with evidence that stones had been scattered about. However, at the time of this study, the site shows signs of someone's interest; the brush and small trees have been removed and stones are propped against trees.

Allen (1887:430) lists 34 names and 26 unknown burials. The Iowa State University survey crew (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972:116) records 22 graves and notes some of these graves are among the earliest in western Story County. The ISU crew also notes what would seem to be the earliest grave stone date, that of Lucy E. Pocock, an infant who died December 24, 1851. I believe this date to be actually 1854 as the bar "1" in "4" is more deeply grooved than the crossbar part of the "4" which means it does not weather smooth as quickly. Using cornstarch, one may see the faint outline of the "4". However, the majority of the stones are dated in the 1850s and 1860s. The site is associated with the abandoned town of Bloomington which was laid out in 1857, ". . . but does not seem to improve" (Allen 1887:193). The Methodist and Baptist churches were early congregations of Bloomington (Allen 1887:194-47) as shown in Figure 3.

Otho French listed in Allen (1887:360) as an important early settler before 1858 has an epitaph on his gravestone which is found frequently in Story County cemeteries and according to other records is a popular epitaph that goes back to the 14th century in Europe (see Figure 11D). It reads:

Remember age as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death and follow me

County Poor Farm Cemetery

County Poor Farm Cemetery in Milford Township is located on the present site of the Story County Poor Farm (now known as the Story County Farm Home), in the northeast corner of the farm adjacent to a gravel county road. There is a sign bearing the name Knoll Cemetery. It is less than one-half acre in size, unfenced, and is presently mowed and cared for. At the east end of the area is a row of small cement square blocks just large enough to be etched with a number as shown in Figure 6D. There are eight such blocks ranging in a row from south to north. Further west on the site are 19 gravestones ranging in death dates from 1956 to 1972; all are small, block-shape, polished and hammered stones of the modern type with a name and death date.

An interview with the Story County Farm Home Superintendent, Don Anderson, revealed that the records having to do with the cemetery were lost in a fire in 1917. He believes that the small numbered stones were residents of the County Home whose names are now lost due to the fire (Personal Communication, July 1976). Allen (1887:431) records ten burials as of 1887, all being adults except for a 10 month-old baby and he adds, ". . . for the use of paupers" (Allen 1887:199).

Mr. Anderson further stated that Mrs. Grindem, the previous superintendent, was the person responsible for returning the area to its use as a cemetery. Apparently, before 1956, the site had been used as a pen for keeping pheasants. She felt this was inappropriate and saw to it that the cemetery was restored to its original purpose

with burials of residents being resumed in 1956.

Micah French Cemetery (Murphy)

Micah French Cemetery in Richard Township is several acres in size, mowed and well-tended. It is surrounded by a fence, adjacent to a county road; and placed over an old-fashioned iron gate is a sign, Murphy Cemetery. Allen (1887:429) has it listed as Micah French Cemetery with seven named burials. Among the early settlers buried here are members of the Poole family and particularly, Micah French, a prominent hero of the War of 1812, mentioned many times in Allen (1887). One such event had to do with the occasion of the Annual Reunion of the Federal Soldiers in Story County held August 12 and 13, 1886. For language and sentiment used in support of our country's war heroes for that time, Allen's description cannot be improved upon:

The speeches were appropriate to the occasion, at times pathetic and eloquent, strong in their affection for and loyalty to the Old Flag, full of love for their comrades of the war, and patriotic in their devotion to the country. Both gentlemen were loudly cheered during and at the conclusion of their remarks.

At the close of General Geddes's speech Colonel Scott, in a burst of eloquence, introduced Micah French, a hero of the War of 1812, who has carried British lead in his body since that memorable struggle, and who is now past ninety years of age. During the last session of Congress Mr. French applied to Congress for a pension and was refused. Major Conger, taking off his hat to the veteran of 1812, proposed three cheers for him, which was given by the multitude with full lung power (Allen 1887:155).

The United States Congress' refusal of a pension for a hero of the War of 1812 is an indication that the "increasing paternalism of government" observed by Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977) had not as yet

occurred in this time period (1886). Mr. French was refused a pension for living, let alone a special gravestone for dying.

Another stone commemorating a fallen war hero reads: Milo T. Son of / K. A. & C. A. Corbin / Born May 2, 1875 / Enlisted Mar. 22, 1894 in C. Troop. First U.S. Cav. Reg. / Died at Elcany, Cuba / Aug. 6, 1898 / In Honor of his Country. This again points up Warner's suggestion that the death of a soldier in battle is believed to be a "voluntary sacrifice" by him on the altar of his country and is one aspect of the rituals of the cult of the dead that serve to unify groups in the community (Warner 1959:279).

Ontario and New Philadelphia Cemetery

Ontario Cemetery is located in what is now the west edge of Ames, near the small community of Ontario, which is immediately north of and adjoining New Philadelphia, a now abandoned town. Two early churches were associated with Ontario, one a Christian Church and the other a Methodist Episcopal, as shown in Figure 3. Allen (1887:420) records 171 total names and approximately 100 unknown burials as of 1887. A Cemetery Association Survey Plat was recorded on December 10, 1956 (Land Deed Book 90, p. 246, Story County Recorder's Office). It is a fairly large cemetery in size, mowed, and well-tended. On the far side is a Veteran Memorial Monument adjacent to a flag pole. The memorial is in the form of a cement triangular column in which are embedded on all three sides iron emblems of United States war veterans; Civil War, Cuba - Phillipines - Porto Rico [sic], World War I, and

World War II.

At the time of my survey, a maintenance man volunteered the information that the City of Ames has now taken over the care of the cemetery. When this occurred they found many stones broken, lying on the ground, and the local children were using the headstones as "bases" for their baseball games in a nearby empty lot. From old records they attempted to replace the stones as nearly as possible. He also explained why the rows of gravestones in the old part of the cemetery are in irregular rows. Apparently in earlier times a family would buy a large plot of ground and when family members died they were interred where it suited them. Now individual lots are sold in a pre-determined, measured way and there are cemetery rules about the placement of headstones.

There are many burials here of the Zenor family listed in Allen (1887:369) as important early settlers of Story County. Here again is an example of a baby named U. S. Grant / Son of G. W. and L. A. Taylor / Died Feb. 26, 1864 / Aged 7 Mos. 24 dys. I found this to be a not uncommon occurrence in other cemeteries, a reflection of the Civil War and General Grant's popularity of the time.

One observation that appears fairly consistent in early decades is the use of double tablets for the immediate members of a family such as siblings or husband and wife. However, one burial had a small double tablet in which on one side was inscribed / ? Mort / Died Aug. 30, 1876 / Aged 45 Ys 6 Ms 17 Ds and on the other half / Peter

N. Rice / Died Aug. 30, 1876 / Aged 29 Ys. 11 Ms. My curiosity aroused concerning the common tablet and date of death, difference in ages and names, I referred to Allen (1887) hoping for some explanation. There is a notation which states, "Peter N. Rice member of an Indiana regiment, suffocated in a coal pit at Zenorville by an explosion of fire damp August 30, 1867 and buried at Ontario" (Allen 1887:437). Note the difference of 9 years in date of death between the stone and Allen's quotation. This might be an act of the switching of "6s" and "7s". Apparently, Mr. Mort suffered the same fate and they were buried together under one stone.

University Cemetery

University Cemetery is considered to be one of two in the United States maintained by an educational institution. It is located on Pammel Drive in Ames northwest of Iowa State University proper on the brow of a hill which is wooded and secluded, approximately five acres in size. It is characterized by huge stone monuments in comparison to other cemeteries in Story County. These large monuments are associated with six of the early past presidents of the university. Besides college presidents, over 100 faculty members, three students, a night watchman, and a janitor's son are buried here (see Figure 6C).

An examination of a file of old newspaper clippings compiled on the University Cemetery, located in the archives of Iowa State University Library, disclosed the following facts. No one seems sure of the cemetery's early history as no authentic records were kept until

the 1930s. Nowhere in the history of the University is there a reference to it nor to early burials. Old residents of Ames believed it to be a community project that was perhaps abandoned when the city of Ames was built away from the school. Only two students are buried in the cemetery and they are foreign-born Chinese. One of the students was killed in an auto accident in 1929, and claimed to be a seventeenth direct lineal descendant of Confucius. The stones for these graves were made in the mechanical engineering foundry and two brass plates with Chinese inscriptions were affixed. On one is inscribed in English "Above all nations is humanity", expressing an ideal of the University community.

The first burial on the present site was in Winter, 1875. Tom Lee Thompson, a member of the first graduating class of 1872 had been delegated as a caretaker of Old Main during Winter vacation. Because the building was having a heating problem at the time, Tom developed a cold which turned into pneumonia from which he died. Another early burial is that of Bertie Woods, age 4 Y's, 8 M's, and 7 d's died May 11, 1878, the child of a janitor (there is some confusion in these newspaper accounts as to whether Bertie was a boy or girl).

In 1876 a five-acre plot of land surrounding the Thompson grave was selected and surveyed as a formal college cemetery and was put under the care of the grounds department. By 1958, the remaining space of one and one-half acres was placed under the supervision of a board of faculty members who made rulings restricting the number of burials.

At the present time, regulations permitting burials specify that those persons who have served the university continuously for a period of at least 15 years and who have attained the rank of assistant professor (or equivalent nonacademic rank) or higher are eligible for burial along with their spouse and any unmarried children who have not established a home of their own. Markers must be of low profile design and are to be set so as not to protrude above the ground level of the grave. This regulation is not applicable to the memorial reservation section of the cemetery which is reserved for deceased presidents of the university and their families (printed regulations provided by the Grounds and Building Department, Iowa State University). A 1947 issue of the Iowa State Daily Student spoke of the cemetery inhabitants in this way.

The great and the small, presidents, a night watchman, missionaries, students, botanists, they bespeak the life of a college which was built in the wilderness (Iowa State Daily Student, Sat. June 7, 1947).

One can not help but reflect on a certain irony of these words: even though Iowa State University emerged out of the egalitarian values of the settling of a wilderness, the cultural continuity of privilege and status characteristic of settled social structures reflects itself in the huge monuments commemorating past college presidents, the pinnacle of academic status. An example of such a monument is shown in Figure 15B.

St. Patrick Catholic Cemetery

St. Patrick Catholic Cemetery is located on the western edge of Nevada adjacent to Highway 30. It is quite large, being several acres in size, mowed and well-tended. It is managed by the St. Patrick Cemetery Association (Articles Book 8, p. 149, Jan. 30, 1961, Story County Recorder's Office). The majority of the interred are decidedly of Irish extraction having such names as McCoy, Wheelock, Kielly, Hall, Harrigan, Wilkins, Monahan, Mulcahy, McNickols, McCoy, McDonald, Doyle, Murphy and Daily, to name a few. Bridget and Mollie are common female names and Patrick, James, and Thomas common male names. There are several gravestones denoting the fact that persons had been born in such places as Abby Fale County Limerick, Ireland, or County Wexford, Ireland.

In recording the data in this cemetery, as opposed to other cemeteries, I became more aware of the prevalent use of kinships terms such as mother, father, grandmother, and uncle without the use of the person's name on the stone or date of death. This suggested to me at the time that family ties were more important than the individual himself. This seemed especially true of the mother-father relationship. Another phenomenon which was evident in this Catholic cemetery was the use of the Latin Cross either in the shape of the gravestone itself or symbolized on the stone as shown in Figure 9A and Figure 14A and B. There will be further discussion of these observations in the section dealing with the computer analysis.

Two small stones bear the diminutive names Freddie and Little Joe. Nearby is a large family monument listing the names of the family buried in this plot. On this large stone, probably added at the last death in 1918, is engraved Frederick M. / Feb. 26, 1893 / Mar. 2, 1893 /; Joseph R. / Jan. 14, 1897 / July 19, 1897: A more formal and less emotional treatment of the deaths of these children after the passage of time. Finally, I noted that the small prayers "May his (her) soul rest in peace", are more prevalent than in other cemeteries.

Cory Cemetery (Also known as Billy Sunday Cemetery)

Cory Cemetery is an old family cemetery located directly northwest of the Ames Water Pollution Control Plant on an elevation overlooking new U.S. Highway 30. This area was originally part of the Squire Cory homestead, a prominent early settler who was one of the founders of Iowa State University and a donor of land to the early college. It is a very small area enclosed by a white board fence and there is evidence that some upkeep has been attempted. Many of the stones are broken and lying on the ground or propped against the fence. I recorded 15 gravestones of which 3 are illegible. Mrs. John Sass, in November 1962, recorded 9 stones with names and possibly three illegible stones. She also noted that the gravestones of Squire Corey and wife, Charlotte Lyman, should be found there but were not (Story County Grave Records, W. P. A. Class 977.7, Vol. 2, Tombstone Records of Story County, Iowa, Iowa Historical Library). However, when I recorded the site in July,

1976, a large white old tablet was inscribed thus: Squire M. / Husband of / Charlotte A. Corey / Died / October 8, 1882 / Aged / 70 Ys 3 Ms 18ds.

The cemetery is known for another reason and because of this was the subject of some heated publicity during the Bicentennial in 1976. Billy Sunday, a famous evangelist at the turn of the century, was a son of Mary Jane Cory, daughter of Squire M. Cory. It so happened that a ball park in Nevada was named for him in honor of his career as a professional baseball player. It was thought by some that the cemetery should be moved to Nevada near the park and a controversy arose. But the Ames American Revolution Bicentennial Commission recommended to the city council, Spring 1976, that the cemetery should remain in its present location (Ames Daily Tribune, June 24, 1976). It is perhaps also ironic that Billy Sunday is not even buried here. Cory Cemetery is not listed in Allen's Cemetery Index, but he reports that there is an unknown soldier's grave in the "Cory Burying Ground" (Allen 1887:439).

Mullen/Pleasant Run Cemetery

Mullen Cemetery is located adjacent to County Road S 27 in Nevada Township southeast of Nevada. It is approximately two acres in size surrounded by an iron fence and appears to be mowed infrequently. Allen (1887:418) records the name as Mullen Cemetery with 71 known and 31 unknown burials. Directly to the south and adjacent to the cemetery is a deep depression filled with debris, the foundation of what appeared to be a building. A search of Allen revealed this

statement, "There is an Evangelical Church one-half mile south of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Mullen Cemetery" (Allen 1887:220). Perhaps this building foundation is the site of the above mentioned Evangelical Church.

Mound Cemetery

Mound Cemetery is located on the crest of a high hill approximately a half mile west of a county road and due east one mile from the Mullen Cemetery. It is approximately two acres in size surrounded by a rusty iron fence and overgrown with weeds and grass. Many of the stones are broken and lying on the ground, and some are covered with sod. One must cross a corn field to reach the site. In the middle of the cemetery at the high point of the hill is a tall obelisk which juts against the horizon and when viewed from a distance gives one an eerie but compelling urge to visit the place.

Allen (1887:419) records the name as Mound Cemetery (it has the appearance of a huge mound) with 57 known and 17 unknown burials. On March 4, 1870, Sam McDaniel deeded to Trustees Mound Cemetery in consideration of one dollar, 2.22 acres of land (Deed Book R, p. 270, Story County Recorder's Office). Again many of the early settlers are buried here such as Utterback, McDaniel, Dye, and See. The George Dye family lost four children during the years 1854 to 1857: William 1854, age 7; James 1854, age 13; Jackson 1856, age 1; Sarah 1857, 7 Ms. Isaac died in 1865, age 12 and another son, Jacob, died in 1879, age 36. This is yet another example of the high mortality rates in many

pioneer families. The victim of one of Story County's first murders, about 1853, was buried in this cemetery. A Mrs. Lowell was murdered by her husband, Barabas Lowell; however, her gravestone could not be located. An interesting account of this murder is described in Allen (1887:55). Her name appears on Allen's Cemetery Index (Allen 1887: 420).

Walnut Grove Cemetery

Walnut Grove Cemetery is probably the prettiest in Story County, set back in a wooded area in Washington Township two miles east of Kelley adjacent to a county road. It is several acres in size, surrounded by a new chain link fence, is mowed and well-tended. Although the cemetery has many early gravestones, it was not recorded by Allen. This cemetery has many small curbed plots in the old part, overgrown with iris and peony plants, weeds and small trees and in some of these plots the stone markers are missing. All broken stones have been repaired.

In this cemetery is a type of burial practice which I did not find common elsewhere: that of commemorating the person even though the body is elsewhere. One exception is in the University Cemetery where one of the presidents of the University has listed on his monument the names, birth, and death dates of his five children; however, it appears that only his wife and six-year old son are buried there with him. In Walnut Grove Cemetery is a gravestone that is somewhat perplexing. It reads: At Rest / Wife and Children of E. A. Reasoner / Mary E. /

Died Nov. 16, 1894 / Aged 41 Ys. 11 Ms. 13 Ds. / George H. / Died July 23, 1878 / Aged 1 Ys. 3 ms. 10 ds. / Buried near Ruben, Kans. The other side reads: Margaret A. / Died Mar. 27, 1884 / aged 12 Ys 4 ms. / Levi W. / Died Apr. 7, 1884 / aged 2 Ys 7 ms 5 ds / Buried at West Des Moines/ Gone But Not Forgotten. In the immediate vicinity there is no evidence of burials for any other members of the family.

Another example of a burial practice which I noted in this cemetery, and also in many others, is the act of placing a modern stone inscribed with name and date in front of the old stone in which the inscriptions are badly weathered. No attempt is made to copy the old style of inscription (see Figure 16D).

Bethany Cemetery

Bethany Cemetery is several acres in size with no gravestones earlier than 1894. It is located next to a gravel road one mile south of Kelley, is mowed and well-tended. The gravestones recorded here are mostly a combination of English and Norwegian. The cemetery is associated with the Lutheran Church (see Figure 17A).

Woodland Center Cemetery

Woodland Center is a large cemetery in Indian Creek Township and is located on the northern outskirts of the small town of Iowa Center next to County Road S27. It is mowed and broken stones have been repaired. Allen (1887:434) records 165 known and 83 unknown burials. Several important early settlers are buried here; Jeremiah Cory,

Elisha and Mariah Alderman, and Adolphus Prouty (Allen 1887:275).

There is an interesting story which emerges in researching some of these names (in fact, it is difficult not to become involved in wondering about the personal lives of these long gone people). One stone reads: Adolphus / Husband of / J. A. Prouty / Died Aug. 9, 1877 / Aged 61 Ys 10 Ms / and on the other side: Julia A. Prouty/ Died July 26, 1889 / Aged 70 Ys 19 Ds. Allen has an item in his book apparently taken from the local newspaper which states "Miss Julia Prouty met with almost a fatal accident last week by falling upon a butcher knife in her own hands. The knife entered over the heart, striking a rib it glanced upward, missing her heart, thereby saving her life. Rumor says it was an attempt at suicide. Doctor Farrar is in attendance with hopes of a speedy recovery. - (Oct. 2, 1873)" (Allen 1887:211). If one will note the date of the item (1878) and the date of death of Mr. Prouty it would appear that Julia Prouty had been a widow about a year. Could this have been the reason for a suicide attempt - one wonders? It is also curious that she is referred to as Miss Julia Prouty. She appears to be the same person and she lived another 11 years.

Toward the end of a day of recording gravestones, I came upon a very large imposing polished-granite, columnar stone with an ornate roof-like top, and carrying secular symbols of both the Odd Fellows and the GAR. The thought occurred to me that this had to be the grave-stone of a very important person. Later research revealed that Commodore Perry McCord / Born Oct. 10, 1826 / Died / Oct. 2, 1886 was the first

County Auditor of Story County. This also supports Dethlefsen and Jensen's (1977:38) observation that memorials to the successful are evident far beyond the cemetery as well as in it. The burial place of the man who had endowed the local library was usually marked by the most impressive monument in the cemetery. Commodore Perry McCord was an important man in the political life of early Story County. His sense of personal values and self-worth are also expressed in the secular emblems of the Odd Fellows and the GAR.

Lincoln Cemetery

Lincoln Cemetery, less than an acre, adjacent to Highway 69 just north of Huxley in Palestine Township is mowed and well-tended. No fence surrounds the area and a nearby landowner states that it is only in the past few years that the cemetery has been maintained by an occasional mowing and clipping. Until ten years ago, the site was often overgrown with weeds. County deed records show that on October 24, 1883, Thore Olson and wife deeded to the Lincoln Evangelical Lutheran Church one lot for sum of "one dollar in hand" (Land Deed Book 34, p. 607, Story County Recorder's Office). Some of the stones are in both Norwegian and English.

Sheldahl Lutheran Cemetery

Sheldahl Lutheran Cemetery in Palestine Township is located two miles north of Slater on County Road R38 and one mile west on the north side of a gravel road. It is less than an acre in size surrounded by corn fields. There is an old iron fence and gate typical of early

country cemeteries. The site has a few pine trees, many weeds, few gravestones, and a generally forlorn and abandoned look about it. County deed records show that on July 8, 1880, land was sold from Osmund Sheldahl and wife to Halvor Tesdahl for the sum of \$840.00 but reserving one-half acre for the purposes of a graveyard (Land Deed Book 31, p. 594, Story County Recorder's Office). The inscriptions are both in Norwegian and English. Reverend O. Sheldahl, one of the few people buried here, is listed in Allen (1887:39) as a prominent early Lutheran minister.

Maxwell Cemetery (Old)

Maxwell Cemetery is not listed on a Story County map of cemeteries which may be obtained in the office of the Story County Board of Supervisors. I became aware of its existence through Allen's index of cemeteries (1887:425) where he records both the new cemetery north of Maxwell and the old cemetery south of town, just east of the high railroad overpass. Allen comments, "The old cemetery in the southeast part of town it is presumed will be moved ere long. Some of the graves will be hard to find. I found about sixty-five graves, but I think there is more" (Allen 1887:277).

The cemetery is located adjacent to the railroad south of town on the north side of the tract and it was necessary to get to the site by going through the landowner's back yard. It is small, less than one-half acre in size, with very old stones, some standing and others piled in the brush at the side of the area in the trees. It is mowed

by the landowner's children who are paid for this service by the United Brethren Church. The landowner believed that the use of the cemetery was discontinued when the railroad bed was relocated nearby. County deed records show that on June 13, 1901, the German Baptist Brethren Church sold some land containing the site of the old cemetery to a Mr. Clark McLain (Title Land Deed Book 46, p. 557, Story County Recorder's Office).

Day Cemetery

Day Cemetery is incorrectly located on the Story County map of cemeteries cited above and is actually a mile south and a mile east of where it is shown on the map in question. The cemetery is set back from the gravel road, in a wooded scenic area over an acre in size, surrounded by an old fence. There are many interesting old gravestones with unique epitaphs of which many have been repaired and reset in cement so that they stand up and are not lying on the ground to be eventually covered with sod. A nearby farmer, Mr. Merle Brown, who directed me to the site, stated that his great grandparents were buried here. The cemetery was abandoned for years but after his complaints to the Marshall County Board of Supervisors, it was cleaned up and has been mowed fairly regularly. The site appears to straddle the county line but apparently is maintained by Marshall County.

There are many stones in the cemetery that bear aspects of human interest. One stone has the inscription of a 24-year-old wife and we are informed "Infant babes in the grave with their mother". Lying in

the weeds next to the fence covered with debris another stone is broken and on it is inscribed: Catherine / Wife of / J. Crouch / Died / May 19, 1883 / Aged / 44 Ys. 6 Ms. / We never will forget you. Another stone which also with time has been tinged with irony is: Myra / Wife of Frank M. Hulse / Died June 6, 1880 / Aged 27 Ys. 1 Mo. 11 ds. / May you come to my grave my husband dear / Your deceased wife is buried here / Rember [sic] that all are born to die / And you soon beside me lie. Try as I might, I found no evidence of the husband's grave.

Palestine Cemetery

Palestine Cemetery is located in Palestine Township (also site of the abandoned town of Palestine, 1857) just south of the Palestine Lutheran Church on Highway 210 a mile and a half east of Highway 69. It is a fairly large cemetery, several acres in size, mowed and well-tended with most of the old stones in the south one-third of the cemetery along with the usual pine trees. On these old stones is a combination of Norwegian and English inscriptions.

This church had its centennial in 1955 and in honor of this event a church history was published which relates interesting history of the Norwegian settlement in south Story County Centennial and Dedication: Palestine Lutheran Church 1855-1955. County deed records show that on March 2, 1878, land was deeded from Oscar Larson and wife to Norwegian Lutheran Church for the sum of \$9.00 (Land Deed Book 27, p. 443, Story County Recorder's Office).

Center Grove Cemetery

Center Grove Cemetery is a small, well-tended country cemetery in the south central part of the county, Union Township, and is several acres in size. The older part of the cemetery has pine trees and is located on a higher elevation than the newer part which slopes down to the entrance next to a gravel road. Allen (1887:411) records 81 known and 44 unknown burials. Again there are a number of early pioneers buried here. One gravestone reads:

James W. Davis

Born April 5, 1840

Enlisted in the 8th Iowa

Calvary

July 8, 1863

Was Captured

July 30, 1864

Was released from

Andersonville Prison

April 8, 1865

Died

August 25, 1865

The inscription was followed by a 12 line illegible epitaph. Story County deed records show that on February 10, 1973, a strip of land adjoining the west side of the old cemetery approximately one-half acre was deeded to the Palestine Congregation for the sum of \$89.13

(Land Deed Book 78, p. 287, Story County Recorder's Office).

Here is a further illustration of some of the inaccuracies encountered in written records. Allen (1887:59), in discussing the military history of Story County and particularly Civil War Veterans, provide some erroneous facts.

But the following, who will always live in the memories of their friends and comrades, who went forth with strong hands and brave hearts but will never return, biz: . . . and Thomas M. Davis. Some of them died in battle, others of disease, and one, the last named, succumbed to the horrible treatment at Andersonville Prison (Allen 1887: 59).

However, elsewhere in his book Allen lists "Jas. W. Davis - was a prisoner at Andersonville" (Allen 1887:440).

Deeter Cemetery

Deeter Cemetery is an old family cemetery probably located in one of the more picturesque areas of the county. It is less than an acre in size situated on a promontory overlooking to the south a wide wooded valley. One can almost hear Mrs. Mary Deeter instructing her family that when she dies she wants to be buried on that particular spot, as indeed she was at the age of 89 years in 1889. An unimproved road cuts the bank at a right angle at the base of the hill and it is difficult to locate because of high weeds and trees. Only when looking back at a distance can one see a column type stone jutting against the horizon. No fence bounds the area except a small area to the immediate north where one single blank white gravestone is located. The other four stones are just to the south of the fenced area on the

brow of the hill. All stones are broken and lying on the ground except for Mrs. Deeter's and one other. The only mention of a Deeter family in Allen is thus, "S. C. Deeter, of Jasper County, has traded his farm for a stock of goods and will bring them to Collins. This will give another store to Collins" (Allen 1887:281). The cemetery is not listed in Allen nor are there records of land transfer.

Discussion of isolated and unrecorded burials

There is one small cemetery I came upon by accident. It is not recorded in county records as a cemetery nor is it listed on the Map of Story County Cemeteries. On one occasion a man driving by stopped to inquire what I was doing and thus offered the information that there is an abandoned cemetery north of Huxley that probably few people knew about. He suggested I contact the landowner, Harold Sharpnack, who subsequently took time off from his work to guide me to the spot. It is just northeast of Huxley approximately two miles. We crossed a pasture and continued on through some timber to a bluff overlooking Ballard Creek. We were only able to find two stones since it was late summer and weeds and brush were high. Mr. Sharpnack stated that he had not been on the site for some time but on the last occasion he noted 7 or 8 stones. He had heard from some of the older residents that one local woman had removed some of the stones and had used them in her rock garden, but pressure from her neighbors prompted her to replace them. Mr. Sharpneck believed that the Ballards, who settled Ballards Grove, were buried here and that it was a family cemetery.

Allen does not list this cemetery but there is a reference in his book which states that Simon Ballard, father of Dan and Mormon Ballard, considered to be one of the first settlers in Story County died about two years after the family's arrival and ". . . was buried at the Grove", his death being the first Euro-American in the county (Allen 1887:38 and 441). County records do show a survey and a notation "Grave-yard surveyed by request of Ole Nurnes. Surveyed by M. C. Allen in December 1866" (Surveyor's Record Book A, p. 231, Story County Recorder's Office).

The Iowa State University archaeological survey crew reported a solitary grave of a child in a pasture:

Anna
Dau of
J. & T. Brouhard
Died Mar. 28, 1856
Aged 11 Y 10 M 18 D

The grave is associated with archaeological site 13 SR 145 which is located on an upland slope south of Bear Creek, upstream from its junction with the Skunk River, and east of Interstate Highway 35, NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 5, 84N, R 23W (Gradwohl and Osborn 1972:92-94).

There is another solitary grave located in Washington Township in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 35 T 83 NR 24 W. The burial is on the right bluff above Walnut Creek in a timbered area approximately 100 yards north of the barn, land, and property of James Mulvihill. The stone marker is a fairly large square top tablet, devoid of symbols

and ornamentation with the inscription: Robert Hawks / Born 1818 / Died January (?) 22, 1855.

Donald M. Grimm in his book Community History of Zearing, Iowa has a few comments on "Pioneer Burial Grounds" in the Zearing area. He states that many members of pioneer families in Iowa were either buried near the family home or taken to distant cemeteries. In 1956 one of these pioneer burial grounds could be located by going to the corner east of the Zearing Cemetery proceeding north on the east side of Section 16 for almost one-half mile and in the field on the west side of the road is a small hill, a short distance from the road. This hill was known to be a pioneer burial ground and was located on the Solomon W. Dakins farm. He believed that it was possible that one body remained buried there in 1956. Of the four bodies, according to family sources, three were removed to the Zearing Cemetery after it was established. The three known burials were:

Rebecca Guthrie - died August 1876

Kate Cahill Dakins - died May 11, 1881

John Belden - died June 20, 1881 (Grimm 1956:70-71)

When I visited the site in July 1976, I observed the small hill in the cultivated corn field but at the time there was no evidence of burials.

Grimm notes other pioneer burials. One such could be located in 1956 by going to the Lincoln Township line at the northwest corner of Section 3, Sherman Township, traveling approximately one-half mile south on the west side of Section 3, Sherman Township, the burials were made in the field near the east side of the road. It is the opinion of

early residents that the bodies were never removed. These burials were believed to have been the children of an Ingalls family who had buried one or more of their children in the yard of their farm (Grimm 1956: 71). Finally, "Little Frankie James Sparrow" was buried in the yard of his father's farm in Section 2, Sherman Township. There is also a story of graves on the Harry Wolford farm in Section 13, Lincoln Township which Grimm had been unable to prove (Grimm 1956:71). Fortunately, Grimm took the time and interest to record these early burials in his community history and one can only wonder how many more such sites are now lost to present knowledge having died with the oral histories of families and communities.

- A. Zearing Municipal Cemetery. Note well-cared for appearance, evergreens, large upright grave-stones in older area at the rear of the picture, and new flat gravestones in the foreground
- B. Pierson Cemetery. Photograph shows the recording of an abandoned cemetery on a hot summer day - broken, illegible stones, brambles and poison ivy
- C. East Bergen Church Cemetery, a small rural Lutheran Church cemetery surrounded by corn fields. A former nearby church has burned down
- D. East Bergen Church memorial placed at the entrance to the cemetery in the rear, note metal plaque on granite boulder with adjacent American flag

Figure 4. Photographs of Zearing, East Bergen Church and Pierson Cemeteries



- A. Sowers Cemetery. Note row of linear standing tablets
- B. Pierson Cemetery. Note old fence, a few standing gravestones and overgrowth of weeds and small bushes
- C. M'Michael Cemetery. Note gravestones enclosed by iron railing and cement posts
- D. Born Cemetery. Note unmowed appearance with broken stones propped against Juniper trees

Figure 5. Photographs of abandoned cemeteries



- A. Arrasmith Cemetery situated on a knoll of a small hill with majority of stones lying in sod. Note grazing cattle in background
- B. Pleasant Grove Cemetery. Example of the rural church cemetery which is situated in the rear and to the side of the Methodist Church
- C. University Cemetery. The large massive monuments in the background are examples of gravestones commemorating university presidents
- D. County Poor Farm Cemetery. Note small square numbered stones in the middle foreground of picture reflecting the status of "paupers". These two photographs, C and D, depict social stratification as reflected in the cemetery

Figure 6. Photographs of Arrasmith, Pleasant Grove, University and County Poor Farm Cemeteries

D

CHAPTER IV. METHODOLOGY

Discussion of Approach

The general approach to this study is the use of the scientific method in attempting to isolate and to explain relationships between the variables selected. It is primarily a descriptive analysis concerned with cultural forms which are plotted in both time and space. The relationships between cultural forms are defined and classified, and frequencies correlated through computer analysis for the purpose of discerning changes from one time period to another regarding social and culture patterns and in terms of geographical patterns.

Research Techniques

After researching Story County land deed records and published histories of Story County in order to become familiar with the history of the cemeteries and the area, the next procedure was the determination of units of observation to be selected for data collecting.

In order to gain this perspective, I talked with Mr. Paul Coe, the Rock of Ages Monuments and Markers representative in Ames, Iowa, who provided me with several publications which serve as manuals of information for the memorial industry and their dealers. The most helpful of these was one compiled by the American Monument Association Inc., Memorial Symbolism, Epitaphs and Design Types. The definitions provided in the discussion of variables for both sacred and secular symbols are abridged from this booklet. Another important publication

was a Glossary of Monument and Mausoleum Terms offered by the Rock of Ages Monument Company. The definition of mortuary terms, in the Appendix, is taken from this source. A journal article which was particularly helpful in setting up categories and noting trends over time was Eileen Mueller's "Two Hundred Years of Memorialization" (1976).

A "trial run" to a nearby cemetery was made in order to determine the range of gravestone types locally and to select the variables to be investigated based upon the purposes of the study. At this time, I also talked with Mr. Harold A. Clark, Superintendent of the Ames Municipal Cemetery, who offered personal observations and insights which are incorporated into this study. Classification of gravestone forms proved to be a perplexing problem since the monument manual did not provide the clear-cut distinctions needed for the study. Dr. Sidney Robinson, Assistant Professor of Applied Art, Iowa State University, suggested a classification system based upon basic elements of form and design. The classification of epitaphs also presented a problem area since the assignment of meaning was done on an arbitrary basis. Using the categories provided by the monument manual, I assigned each epitaph to a category based upon what seemed to me the primary message. The difficulty with this was the fact that the majority of epitaphs depicted several messages and almost all had some reference to immortality as a way of ending the verse. Samples of epitaphs are included in Chapter V. For example, on page 151 under the category of sorrow, epitaph number two depicts both sorrow and rest and epitaph number nineteen depicts sorrow and paradise.

One of the purposes of this survey was to record every gravestone from 1850 to 1900 as it was believed that this time span was sufficient to show the stylistic evolution of gravestones and the social dimensions reflected in the cemetery for this region, yet be within reasonable limits of the researcher's time and resources. On the basis of the above, the starting point for the survey in each cemetery was selected at the corner of the oldest part of the cemetery.

In the case of family plots where date of death on an individual gravestone or a family monument was later than 1900, this information was recorded with the rest of the family stones as a means of sampling gravestones after 1900. Perhaps it is appropriate here to point out an error in judgement in the original research plan which only was realized after the data had been collected. As stated above the purpose was to record gravestones between 1850 and 1900; however, in retrospect, a research plan using fewer cemeteries with a time span from 1850 to 1920 would have provided more inclusive data for determining trends into the modern era. Therefore, it should be stressed again that the limited and biased sampling of stones after 1900 can only serve in a suggestive and impressionistic capacity.

The documentation of the data began with form and size proceeding to techniques of surface treatment, components of vital statistics, symbols, epitaphs, name of gravestone cutter, and military or sodality metal marker, sometimes found in association with the gravestone (see Figure 16A). A sketch map was drawn of each cemetery.

The recording of old and often illegible gravestones is a difficult

task. One knows the information is there if one just has the patience to decipher what often looks like so many "chicken scratches". Numbers 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 9 are especially difficult. June and July, Mar (March) and May are tricky. The letters C and G cause problems and lettering styles change over time. The task of obtaining information from badly weathered stones was greatly helped by a suggestion from the Iowa American Revolution Bicentennial Commission Cemetery and Allied Records Project. Ordinary kitchen cornstarch rubbed into the stone causes the lettering to be discernible in most cases.

Another problem in recording stones of abandoned cemeteries was the fact that so many were broken and lying on the ground partly covered by sod, missing, or placed next to a tree or fence (see Figure 12B). Often the larger piece was buried upright in the ground so that only the symbols at the top showed (see Figure 12C). Then comes the decision of whether enough sod can be scraped away to get at the vital statistics without breaking cemetery laws about disturbing the stones.

There are some anomalies in the data that should be discussed since these factors do affect, perhaps not in a significant way, the analysis of the data. An interesting phenomenon occurred occasionally in many of the cemeteries, particularly the extant ones. Sometimes an old stone became so worn with time and weathering that the living members of the family replaced the old stone with a modern type. I could observe the base of the missing old stone or even on occasion the new stone placed in front of the old stone (as shown in Figure 16D). Sometimes the faded

information on an old stone was included on a new family monument which listed the more recent family members buried there. I attempted to understand the frequency of this practice by a computer analysis of the percentage of polished and hammered granite stones before 1890. This date was chosen since the use of this new surface treatment technique came into vogue about that time (Paul Coe, personal communication, June 1976). The results of this analysis showed that before the year 1889, 9.6% of the stones were of the polished and hammered technique which shows that the practice discussed above occurred in almost 10% of the cases before the year 1889.

It should be pointed out that Deetz and Dethlefsen (1972:403) also observed the occurrence of this situation and suggested that such temporal precision (date of death on stone and erection of stone shortly after death) makes it possible to single out most of the stones that were erected at some later date. For example, if a red polished granite monument with sandblasted lettering on the surface giving a death date of 1861 appears in the old part of a cemetery, we know that it is not a stone typical of the 1860s but rather has been placed there possibly after the 1890s.

Another problem was the identification of the stone materials used in the gravestones. Since I am not qualified to identify the stone in individual gravestones, I asked Dr. Chalmer Roy, Professor Emeritus of Geology, Iowa State University, to accompany me to a municipal cemetery where there is a wide range of stones in terms of the time

factor. Typical categories of gravestones were selected for him to identify and except for the polished granite stones, he believed that all other stones were either of a limestone or marble material. I directed his attention to the crust-like substance, often copperish in color, which is sometimes prevalent on older stones, especially in some cemeteries. He concluded that the substance was probably a lichen which of course contributes further to the destruction of the stone.

At the beginning of my research, in several old abandoned cemeteries, I attempted to do rubbings of the older stones. It soon became evident that while this was a good technique to preserve information on old stones, it would also take up too much research time. Therefore, numerous photographs and colored slides of typical examples of the categories used in the study were taken.

One observation is that often my data did not correspond with the written historical records. After completing the survey of a cemetery, I compared my figures with Allen's (1887), History of Story County, in which he recorded many of the cemeteries of Story County and their burials. Often there was a discrepancy between his findings and mine. This could be due to honest error committed by either of us or to the passage of almost ninety years.

Obtaining access to old cemeteries can also be a problem. Several cemeteries only could be reached by going through a farmer's field of corn, through a pasture where resided his prize bull, and in several instances "back in the timber" where one had to be guided by

the helpful farmer taking time off from his work to do so. In all cases, the landowner was very protective of the cemetery on his land and interested in the historical nature of its past.

Working in the cemeteries is not all quiet and solitude. I had two types of visitors, people and cows - both very curious. There were many inquiries as to what I was doing. One such conversation led to the location of an unrecorded cemetery and one woman volunteered to translate Norwegian epitaphs. Another neighboring man suggested that two Indians were buried in the old part of Woodland Iowa Center Cemetery and to him this seemed very unusual for those pioneer times. In checking this piece of information, I found that it is a fact Daniel and Nancy Wolfkill were buried in 1874 and 1876. There is a reference in Goodspeed (1890:369) to a Margaret Wolfkill, daughter of Daniel and Nancy Snider Wolfkill, who originally came from Ohio. It seems more likely that the association of the name Wolfkill with Indians makes an "interesting local myth". This anecdote appears to point up the process by which a local legend has evolved and the danger involved where historians, in some instances, have been prone to accept these local myths as "true fact".

A phenomenon which often occurs in older country cemeteries is that quite old stones may be found hidden in a large clump of lilac bushes. Originally a small lilac bush was planted beside the grave but in time the bush completely enveloped the grave. In Micah French Cemetery four old stones were found in one large lilac bush (see Figure 17D).

Discussion of sample

Story County has a total of fifty recorded cemeteries to which have been added three more that are not included on a map of Story County cemeteries provided by the office of the county supervisors. Also, the Story County Recorder's Office has a "cemetery file" which records the sources of land deed records for cemeteries in which land transactions have taken place over the years. Because of this factor not all cemeteries are listed in this file. The unrecorded cemeteries and the inclusion of officially unrecorded pioneer graves were discussed under the historical descriptions of individual cemeteries in Chapter III.

For the purposes of this study a cemetery is defined as a place for burying the dead whether it be one burial or more. In order to do a numerical analysis, a sample of thirty cemeteries was selected with certain criteria in mind, again based upon the purposes of the study. The criteria include the following:

1. Cemeteries in danger of destruction and/or abandonment.
2. Cemeteries in association with now abandoned pioneer towns.
3. Cemeteries associated with ethnic and/or church groups.
4. Cemeteries which represent geographical distribution from all parts of the county.
5. Cemeteries which represent a range of class and social status such as the University Cemetery and the County Poor Farm Cemetery.

Since predictions and probability statements were not included in the objectives of the study, strict random sampling was not considered

necessary. The total number of cases in the study was 1,969.

Discussion of computer method

A system of computer programs designed for the analysis of social science data, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, better known as SPSS was used for the study. The basic unit of analysis (case) was the gravestone for which a set order of variables was assigned with designated values for each variable. The terms variable and value as used in this study are based upon the definition provided by SPSS and is stated as the following:

The term variable means a certain attribute which can be determined or measured, and it must be carefully distinguished from the term variable value (or value), which means the value determined or measured for a variable in a particular case (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Brent 1975:17).

For example, one variable for a gravestone is its size. Therefore, the variable would be termed "size of gravestone" and the variable values would include such determinations as "small tablet", "medium tablet", or "large tablet" as the situation warranted.

The numbers assigned to each variable value were coded in a fixed-column format, key-punched and entered into the computer system. Initial computer runs were performed to note inconsistencies in the data and to correct such errors, after which the independent and dependent variables to be analyzed were selected. Since the purposes of the study were more descriptive than predictive, it was decided to analyze the data by investigating sets of relationships through the procedure of one-way frequency distribution tables. Other procedures for creating tables

on the computer print-out were not possible because of the large number of variables. Using the information on these print-outs, it was necessary to set-up my own tables for analysis of patterns of interrelationships.

The frequency tables provided by the computer print-out contain the raw or absolute frequencies associated with each variable value, the relative frequencies with missing variable values included in the percentages, adjusted relative frequencies with missing variable values excluded from the percentage base, and the cumulative adjusted frequency based on nonmissing variable values (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent 1975:198). In analyzing the data, tables were constructed using the relative frequencies with missing variable values included in the percentages since I wished to know frequencies for missing values. The relative frequency for a class is defined by Mendenhall, Ott, and Larson (1974:63) to be the frequency for that class divided by the number of the sample size.

A cross tabulation procedure was used to analyze family groupings through time. CROSSTABS produces a sequence of two-way tables displaying the joint frequency distribution of two variables and frequency count can be expressed as a percentage of the row total, columns total, table total, or combinations (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Bent 1975:7). It was feasible to use CROSSTABS in this instance since the variables to be analyzed did not amount to more than ten.

In order to analyze trends through time, it was necessary to

recode the independent variable "date of death" (this assumes that the gravestone was erected within a short time after death) into ten-year periods up to 1900. Specifically the time categories were 1850 to 1859, 1860 to 1869, 1870 to 1879, 1880 to 1889, 1890 to 1900. Since a few gravestones after 1900 are included in the study they are grouped as follows: 1900 to 1909, 1910 to 1919, 1920 to 1947. 1920 to 1947 was grouped on the basis that previous studies show the year 1920 ushered in the "modern era" (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977:38). The rationale for using ten-year time periods was based on the fact that it eliminated having to use too many variable values in the computer analysis. Mueller (1976:6), in discussing two hundred years of change in gravestone styles, grouped gravestones (beginning with the middle 19th century) by decades according to date of death for easier classification and comparison. Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) also used 10 year periods in their initial study of Massachusetts cemeteries.

For the analysis of age groupings, the variable "age at death" was recoded into the following age categories: birth to 2 years = infant, 2 to 13 years = child, 13 to 21 years = sub-adult, 21 to 50 years = adult, 50 to 90 years = middle and old age.

Now follows a listing of the variables and their individual variable values;

Variable 1: Cemeteries

A total of thirty cemeteries was documented and they are listed using the names recorded both in current and historical records:

1. Zearing Municipal
2. East Bergen Church
3. Wilkinson/Fosen
4. Pierson
5. Sowers
6. Baldus/Decob
7. Sheffield
8. Born
9. Pleasant Grove
10. M'Michael
11. Arrasmith
12. Bloomington
13. Knoll/County Poor Farm
14. Micah French/Murphy/Fernald
15. Ontario/New Philadelphia
16. University/College
17. St. Patrick Catholic
18. Cory/Billy Sunday
19. Mullen/Pleasant Run
20. Mound/Hickory Grove
21. Walnut Grove

22. Bethany
23. Woodland Iowa Center
24. Lincoln/Midvale/Hauge
25. Sheldahl Lutheran
26. Maxwell (old)/Brubaker
27. Day
28. Palestine
29. Center Grove
30. Deeter

Variable 2: Type of cemetery

The category for type of cemetery is based upon who has or had use of and responsibility for the cemetery.

1. Municipal
2. Township
3. Church
4. University
5. County Poor Farm
6. Family
7. Undetermined

Variable 3: Status of cemetery

The cemeteries documented are classified on the basis of whether they are or are not being used for current burials.

1. Nonextant
2. Extant

Variable 4: Case number

Each gravestone documented is given a case number.

Variable 5: Date of birth

The coding of missing values is handled by assigning specific numbers to values where it was not possible to obtain a number. For example, in Variable 5, "date of death", the number 700 was assigned for the value "not recorded on stone" since 1700 was not expected to be used as a date of birth for any case. Only the last three numbers of date of death were used in coding.

699 Date possibly there but unavailable due to breakage or fading of stone

700 Not recorded on stone

Variable 6: Manner of indication of date of birth

The variable date of birth is recorded by observing the following distinctions:

1. Recorded on stone
2. Computed from age and death dates, recorded on stone
3. Cannot be determined because data not recorded by researcher
4. Cannot be determined because dates illegible, buried, or broken
5. Only death date recorded on stone, cannot be computed

Variable 7: Date of death

Only the last two numbers of date of death are used. Again, note use of specific numbers for missing values. Possibilities for date of death range from 1850 to 1947.

- 48 Data there but unavailable due to breakage or fading of stone
- 49 Not recorded on stone

Variable 8: Manner of indication of date of death

The variable date of death is recorded by observing the following distinctions:

1. Recorded on stone
2. Computed from birth and age dates, recorded on stone
3. Cannot be determined because data not recorded by researcher
4. Cannot be determined because dates illegible, buried, or broken

Variable 9: Age at death

Note the use of specific numbers for the instances where it was not possible to obtain a number or where an infant died under one year of age.

- 000 Birth to one year
- 998 Data possibly there but unavailable due to breakage or fading of stone
- 999 Not recorded on stone

Variable 10: Manner of indication of age at death

The variable age at death is recorded by observing the following distinctions:

1. Recorded on stone
2. Computed from birth and age dates recorded on stone
3. Cannot be determined because data not recorded by researcher
4. Cannot be determined because dates illegible, buried, or broken
5. Only death date recorded, cannot be computed

Variable 11: Sex

Sex is usually determined by a kinship term such as husband, wife, daughter, or son. Usually the Christian name given is common for one sex such as Thomas or Mary. If such indicators were not present the sex was coded as undetermined.

1. Male
2. Female
3. Undetermined

Variable 12: Kinship terms

At times two different kinship terms for the same person were recorded on the stone, usually in the vital statistics and then in the epitaph as shown in Figure 10B.

1. Father
2. Husband
3. Father and Husband

4. Mother
5. Wife
6. Mother and Wife
7. Consort
8. Son
9. Brother
10. Son and Brother
11. Daughter
12. Sister
13. Daughter and Sister
14. Grandmother
15. Grandfather
16. Aunt
17. Uncle
18. Not recorded on stone
19. Illegible
20. Children or child
21. Baby or infant
22. Unknown due to missing part of stone
23. Our family
24. Father and Mother
25. Twins
26. Wife and Daughter

Variable 13: Components of vital statistics

The different components of information about the deceased placed on the face of the gravestone took a variety of forms. The vital statistics components used in this study are as follows, with selected examples illustrated as indicated below:

1. Vital statistics only (including name) (see Figure 15C)
2. Vital statistics plus design motif (including name) (see Figure 13A)
3. Vital statistics, design motif, and epitaph (including name) (see Figure 11D)
4. Vital statistics and epitaph (including name)
5. Name only
6. Name only plus design motif
7. Number only (see Figure 15D)
8. Military designation, name and design (see Figure 16A)
9. Military designation, name, vital statistics
10. Military designation, name, vital statistics, and design motif
11. Military designation plus name, vital statistics, and epitaph
12. Illegible
13. Christian name only
14. Kinship term only
15. Broken stone or buried (see Figures 12B and 12C)
16. Name only plus kinship term
17. Vital statistics plus professional or occupational status

18. Kinship term only plus vital statistics
19. Name, design motif, plus epitaph
20. Christian name, kinship term, and vital statistics

Variable 14: Size of gravestone

The size of gravestone is an arbitrary designation set up by the researcher relative to the different forms being studied.

1. Small tablet under 18 inches (see Figure 11D)
2. Medium tablet between 1½ and 3 feet (see Figure 12B)
3. Large tablet over 3 feet (see Figure 10A)
4. Small column under 3½ feet
5. Medium column between 3½ and 6 feet (see Figure 13C)
6. Large column over 6 feet (see Figure 15B)
7. Small block under 3 feet (see Figure 15C and 15D)
8. Medium block between 3 and 6 feet
9. Large block over 6 feet (see Figure 15A)

Variable 15: Standing tablet gravestone

The basic form of the standing tablet is a flat linear slab, narrow in breadth, involving a number of differences which entails primarily the top of the stone (see Figure 7 for selected illustrations of this form)

1. Square top
2. Square top ornamented
3. Segmented top

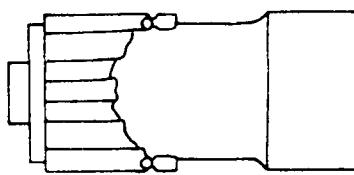
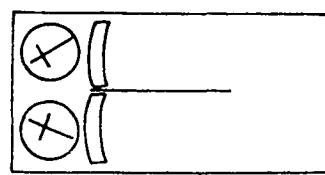
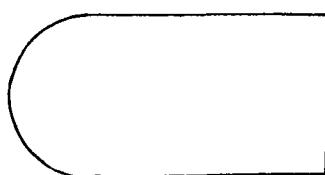
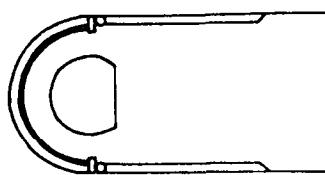
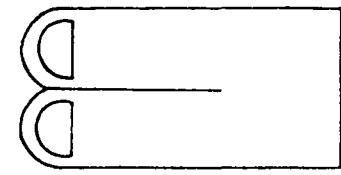
4. Segmented top ornamented
5. Rounded top
6. Rounded top ornamented
7. Indented circle
8. Indented circle ornamented
9. Pointed top
10. Pointed top ornamented
11. Multiple tablet square top
12. Multiple tablet square top ornamented
13. Multiple tablet segmented top
14. Multiple tablet segmented top ornamented
15. Multiple rounded top
16. Multiple rounded top ornamented
17. Multiple pointed top
18. Multiple pointed top ornamented
19. Pointed ornamented finial
20. Top broken off or buried
21. Researcher failed to record

Variable 16: Column gravestone

The basic form of the column gravestone is in the form of a vertical pillar usually supporting a roof-like top or finial except in the case of the obelisk (see Figure 8A through 8E for selected illustrations of this form).

- A. Square top
- B. Square top ornamented
- C. Multiple square top
- D. Rounded top
- E. Rounded top ornamented
- F. Multiple rounded top
- G. Segmented top
- H. Segmented top ornamented
- I. Indented circle
- J. Indented circle ornamented
- K. Pointed top
- L. Pointed top ornamented

Figure 7. Illustrations of the variations in form of standing tablet gravestones



F

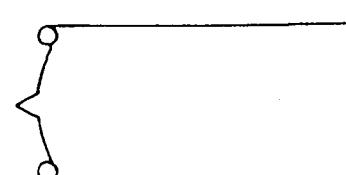
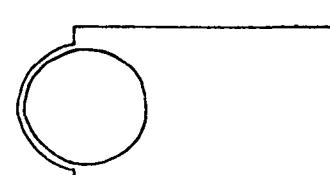
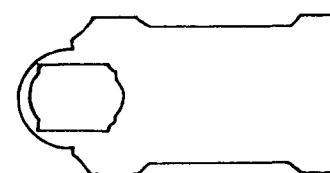
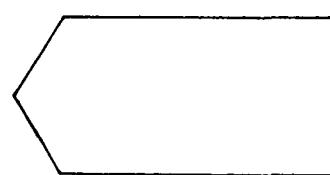
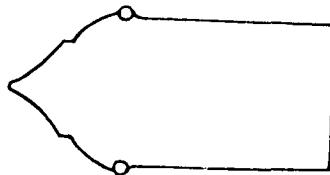
E

D

C

B

A



L

K

J

I

H

G

1. Square gabled or roofed
2. Square gabled with finial
3. Square ornamented
4. Obelisk
5. Obelisk ornamented
6. Combination square and rounded obelisk
7. Multiple column with finial
8. Square with top broken off
9. Failed to record

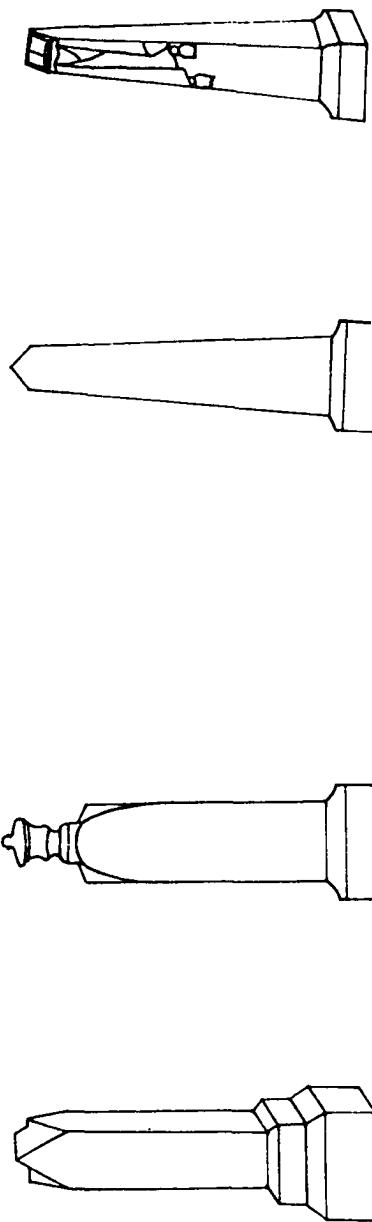
Variable 17: Block gravestone

The basic form of the block gravestone is characterized as a solid piece of stone more equal in width, breadth and length than being long and uniformly narrow (see Figure 8F through J for selected illustrations of this form).

1. Family monuments
2. Horizontal single block flat surface
3. Horizontal block rounded surface
4. Horizontal multiple block flat surface
5. Beveled block
6. Multiple beveled block
7. Horizontal block flush with the ground (grass markers)
8. Square numbered block (approximately 6 inches by 6 inches)
9. Upright thick block of stone with no capital
10. Failed to record

- A. Square gabled
- B. Square gabled finial
- C. Obelisk
- D. Obelisk ornamented
- E. Family monument on base
- F. Horizontal single block flat surface
- G. Horizontal multiple block flat surface
- H. Horizontal single block rounded surface
- I. Beveled block
- J. Square numbered block

Figure 8. Illustrations of the variations in form of column gravestones on bases (A through D); variations of block gravestones (E through J)



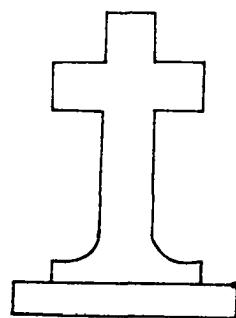
Variable 18: Idiosyncratic types of gravestones

Idiosyncratic type gravestones are characterized as having their own singular and unique traits which do not necessarily fall into the other categories of gravestone forms (see Figure 9 for selected illustrations of this form).

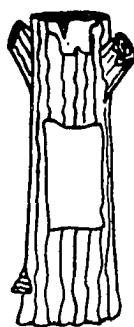
1. Stone cross
2. Stone pillow
3. Heart
4. Diamond
5. Tree trunk
6. Small tablet with inscription on paper under glass

Variable 19: Techniques of surface treatment

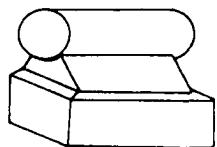
The lettering on the gravestones associated with the variable value "chiseled incised" often involved so many different varieties on one stone that it was impossible to sort these styles into any consistent categories. On the stones in question each line could be made up of different types of lettering. For example, the different lines of a stone might be a combination of chiseled, incised, raised or indented lettering of English Gothic, American Gothic, Classic or Modified Roman, or block types with the epitaph almost invariably in incised script writing (as shown in Figure 10A). The modern technique of forming letters with a stencil by sandblasting lines on a polished surface with the polish blown off between the lines did away with this interesting variety of lettering styles. The latter is the value which



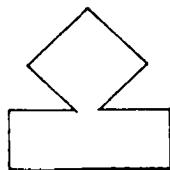
A



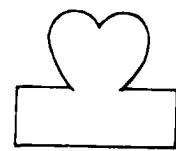
B



C



D



E

- A. Stone cross on base
- B. Tree trunk
- C. Stone pillow on base
- D. Diamond on base
- E. Heart on base

Figure 9. Illustrations of the variations in form of idiosyncratic gravestones

is termed "polished and hammered" in the following variable values.

1. Chiseled incised with classic or gothic lettering
2. Chiseled incised, classic or gothic lettering, and bas-relief sculpture (see Figure 11B)
3. Etched only (scratched on cement)
4. Polished and hammered with outline frosted letters formed by a stencil (see Figure 15C)
5. Written on paper under glass
6. Worn away or missing part
7. Failed to record

Variables 20, 21, 22, 23, 24: Symbols

The meaning of the following symbols found in Story County cemeteries is taken from several sources; American Monument Association, Inc.'s Memorial Symbolism, Epitaphs, and Design Types (1947) and Frederick P. Weber's Aspects of Death and Correlated Aspects of Life in Art, Epigram and Poetry (1971). Each symbol and form of the symbol was given a separate number for coding purposes. The symbols are separated into categories: both sacred and secular. The symbols used in the study are as follows with selected illustrations as indicated below.

The Father

1. Pointing finger

The Hand of God; a symbol of Deity and the Trinity properly enclosed by a circle (nimbus). In Story County cemeteries this took the form of a hand with the first finger pointing upward with either the palm facing the observer or facing away, often the hand is cuffed as well as plain. Pointing finger symbolizes benediction (see Figures 10D and 12A and 12B).

The Son

2. Banner

Triumph. Victory. In Story County the banner was often used as a background for the inscription, name, or epitaph (see Figure 11B).

3. Crown and Cross

Symbol of the sovereignty of the Lord. In Story County the crown was sometimes combined with leaves or rays of light forming a background.

4. Rosette

The Lord, messianic hope, promise, and love.

5. Wheat, grape, and vine

The Holy Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ. In Story County a bundle of wheat was most frequently used.

Passion symbol: The Holy Ghost

6. Descending dove

The Holy Ghost. Peace. Purity. Meekness. Humility. In Story County cemeteries representations of the dove were placed flying in a horizontal line usually facing to the left sometimes with an olive branch in the beak or with its head tucked under the wing (see Figure 10B).

The Mother

7. Fleur-de-lis

Mother of Jesus.

8. Mystic Rose

Rosette or conventional rose is an appropriate symbol for The Mother.

9. Madonna Lily

Also called *Lilium Candidum* - symbol of the Annunciation and Purity. The lily is also a floral symbol that stands for Easter, purity, innocence, heavenly bliss, and The Blessed Virgin.

The Trinity

10. Triangle

Three persons of the Trinity. The three-leaved *fleur-de-lis* and shamrock are also appropriate for the Trinity. In Story County flowers were usually depicted with three leaves on the stem (see Figure 10C).

Sacred monograms

11. IHS

This is a Latinized contraction of the name Jesus (IHCYC) in Greek (see Figure 14C).

The Cross

12. Cross

Finished redemption. The Passion. Faith. In ecclesiastical and commemorative art, the cross is the predominant Christian symbol and emblem. The Latin Cross is the basic form and is sometimes referred to as the "True Cross", but authorities differ on the actual shape of the original cross upon which Jesus was crucified. Other crosses found in Story County cemeteries included Maltese Cross, Cross of Iona, St. James Cross, Latin Cross Fleuree. Each of these cross forms was given a separate coding number (see Figures 14A and 14C).

Emblems of saints

13. Shield

Protection. Faith. The emblems of the Apostles and Saints were often positioned on shields and many Christian names are derived from the Sainthood; thus, in Story County cemeteries the deceased was often commemorated by placing the name and

vital statistics on the basic outline of a shield either raised or indented, particularly on military gravestones (see Figure 11C, Figure 16A).

Nimbus

14. Circle

Eternity. Completeness. Perfection. The circle is a pre-Christian symbol of perfection in ecclesiastical art and is accepted as a symbol of eternity. The circle usually contains some other symbol or monogram although it is frequently used in the form of Nimbus, which is positioned over or behind the heads of the Saints. In Story County the circle was a commonly used boundary or frame for other symbols (see Figure 10C).

Winged symbols

15. Angel

God's messenger. A recurrent symbol in Christian art and the most familiar of all winged symbols is the angel. Since early times, man has associated the spreading wings of birds with a life beyond.

Flowers, fruits, and plants

16. Rose

The rose is a floral symbol for love, wisdom, and beauty. In Story County it was found in many contexts; for example, as a single flower with three leaves, as a stem of three roses, or as a hand holding a rose (see Figure 12A).

17. Oak leaves

Symbol of courage, strength, and endurance.

18. Ivy

Symbol of memory, fidelity, and immortality (see Figure 13A).

19. Morning glory

Floral symbol for bonds of love and affection

20. Daisy

Floral symbol of innocence and hope (see Figure 13C).

21. Vine

Christ and his followers

22. Lily of the valley

Purity, humility (especially referring to children), The Virgin Mary, and brides.

23. Tree of life

Eternal life. In Story County this symbol was found at times with one of the branches broken and hanging downward (see Figure 13B).

24. Fern or palm

Spiritual victory.

25. Calla lily

Majestic beauty and marriage.

26. Olive branch

Peace.

27. Iris

Eloquence, protection.

28. Acanthus

Symbol of "heavenly gardens". The acanthus is one of the oldest of all ornamental motifs in classical architecture.

29. Pansy

Remembrance; humility; the Holy Trinity.

30. Primrose

Lasting love; memory; youth and sadness.

31. Stylistic leaf

In Story County, on the column gravestones of the later decades of the 1800s, this motif was used often in the form of a repetitive, conventionalized trailing leaf or flower (see Figure 15A).

32. Basket of flowers

33. Vase of flowers

34. Hand holding bouquet (see Figure 10C)

35. Undetermined flower

Whenever it was possible to determine that the symbol was a flower but due to weathering or indistinctness, it was impossible to identify the symbol, the above designation was used for coding purposes.

36. Symbols on stone but illegible due to weathering or breakage

A number was assigned to this designation for coding missing values.

Wreaths, festoons and garlands

37. Wreath

Both the garland and the wreath are ancient forms of enrichment for both civic and private memorials, particularly in classical architecture. The leaves or flowers used in the wreaths vary in significance according to the following: ivy, conviviality; oak, strength; laurel, distinction in the arts; olive, peace or victory; bay leaves, mourning; willow, bereavement; cypress, mourning; yew, immortality. In Story County the wreath was often used as a background to enclose vital statistics or other symbols.

Church symbols

38. The quatrefoil

This symbol is a familiar motif in Gothic architecture; the four lobes or cusps may designate the Four Gospels or the four Evangelists. This symbol was used occasionally in Story County as a background or frame for other symbols.

39. Scallop shell

Baptism, baptism of Christ, Christian pilgrimage and marine affairs.

Miscellaneous symbols

40. Harp or lyre

In Old Testament symbology the harp is associated with David and the Psalms; St. Cecilia, patron saint of musicians; an emblem of Ireland; music and minstrels; poets and poetry.

41. Five pointed star

Star of Jacob; divine guidance and protection (see Figure 10B).

42. Draped urn

Traditional symbol of sorrow.

43. The rising sun or sunburst

Dawn of life (see Figure 13A).

44. The anchor

Symbol of hope; maritime symbol (see Figure 12D).

45. The lamb

A symbol of the Good Shepherd; it has long been a favorite symbol in commemorating small children (see Figure 11C).

46. Weeping willow

Grief. In Story County the symbol is sometimes combined with a woman and obelisk or just the obelisk (see Figure 12C).

47. Rope

A passion symbol. Judas' death. In Story County the rope is often knotted.

48. Urn

Symbol of destiny; eternal life in the hands of the Divine Potter. In Story County the urn is a popular motif in the form of a sculptured finial for column gravestones (see Figure 14B).

49. Clasped hands

Holy matrimony. In Story County the hands were often cuffed in the clothing styles of the late 19th century with the woman on the left and the man on the right. Many times the right fore finger of the man is pointing downward (as shown in Figure 12B), perhaps a symbol of benediction (Weber 1938:170).

50. Draped curtain and tassels

A popular motif in New England cemeteries. In Story County cemeteries it was often used as background for other symbols such as the open book and also used as the ornamental carving for the tops of stones (shown in Figures 11D and 13D).

51. Scroll or rolled page

Symbol of the divine law. Advent. In Story County this symbol was most often used as background for inscriptions, raised in sculpture, or etched.

52. Gates of Heaven

Gate of the Virgin. This motif was often accompanied by a flying dove and five-pointed stars (see Figure 10B).

53. Open book

The Bible or the Word. In Story County this symbol took several forms; the book was lying open, sometimes with Holy Bible etched on the open pages or it was closed. At times the book was held by a hand or placed on a tasseled curtain. (see Figures 11D and 13D).

54. Broken chain of links

This motif was often depicted alone or sometimes held by a hand. It usually was combined with the phrase "Our family circle is broken" (see Figure 12D).

55. Mansions in the sky

This motif is an interesting collection of symbols apparently depicting the phrase from the Bible "In my Father's house there are many mansions" (St. John xiv:2). The setting is the sky with clouds billowing in a circle around what appears to be castle-like buildings, as shown in Figure 13A.

56. Family monogram

This motif is in the form of a circle with the family initial internalized (see Figure 15A).

57. Crossed banners

This motif was found on gravestones in Story County in association with a military designation of some kind whether it be symbol or epitaph.

58. Flag pole

This motif was rare in Story County but was associated with a military designation.

59. Two birds perched on a bird bath

Purification; fountain of life.

Secular emblems and insignia There are countless civic, social, educational, religious, fraternal, and military organizations in American society. The following were found in Story County cemeteries before 1900:

60. Independent Order of Odd Fellows (see Figure 18B)
61. Masonic (see Figure 18A)
62. Woodman of the World
63. Order of the Eastern Star (see Figure 18D)
64. D.A.R. (Daughters of the American Revolution) (see Figure 18E)
65. PEO
66. American Legion War of 1812
67. American Legion Mexican War
68. American Legion Civil War (GAR; Grand Army of the Republic)
69. American Legion Spanish American War

Variable 25: Epitaphs

Examples of epitaphs placed in the following categories may be found in Chapter V.

1. Familiar
2. Inspiration
3. Prayers
4. Immortality (heavenly home)
5. Patriotism, work, and victory
6. Tribute
7. Rest
8. Consolidation
9. Paradise (mansions)
10. Love
11. Sorrow
12. Memory
13. Unique
14. No epitaph
15. Unreadable
16. Not known due to buried or broken stone

Variable 26: Language

Discussion of the various ethnic groups and languages of early Story County is found in the historical sketches of Chapter III.

1. English
2. Norwegian (see Figure 14D)

3. English and Norwegian
4. German
5. English and German
6. Latin
7. English and Latin
8. Unreadable

Variable 27: Birthplace

Some gravestones listed the birth place of the deceased if they were not American-born. The exception of New York is to be found in St. Patrick's Catholic Cemetery.

1. England
2. Scotland
3. Ireland
4. Germany
5. Norway
6. Denmark
7. New York
8. Not recorded
9. Unreadable

Variable 28: Gravestone cutter

The name of the gravestone cutter is often incised in the right hand corner of the gravestone or on the base. The following names are listed as they appeared on the stone.

1. Not recorded
2. F. M. Havens, Boone
3. SW & Co., Marshall
4. Dodge & Baker, Webster City
5. Woods & Marshall
6. Noe & Co., Oskaloosa
7. Sherlock Marshall, Ia.
8. J. U. Miller
9. McNeely & Co., Marshall, Ia.
10. W. B. Thompson, Oskaloosa
11. Chapman, Iowa Falls
12. Woods & Sherlock, Marshall
13. H. ?, Webster City
14. Viquesney Dodge, Webster City
15. S. Perkins, Des Moines
16. B. S. Holmes, Iowa City
17. Fox Brothers, Des Moines, Ia.
18. F. M. Spain, Newton
19. Des Moines M & M Co.
20. F. W. McCall & Co., Oskaloosa
21. "Government Issue" (term does not appear on gravestone but is a gravestone provided by the United States for the veterans of foreign wars) (see Figure 16A)
22. W. U. Cadd, Boone
23. Smith & Utz, Marshalltown, Iowa
24. Webster & Co., Des Moines, Iowa

25. E. F. Wenger, Lisbon
26. Woods McNeely & Co., Marshall, Ia.
27. Greenland, Des Moines

Variable 29: Metal marker

Metal markers denoting civic, military, and social associations of the deceased are often placed in the ground near the gravestone. The occurrence of this fact is recorded.

1. Yes
2. No

Variable 30: Metal marker military

The possible military markers are indicated here.

1. War of 1812 (see Figure 16C)
2. Mexican War
3. Civil War (see Figure 16A)
4. Spanish American War

Variable 31: Metal marker sodality

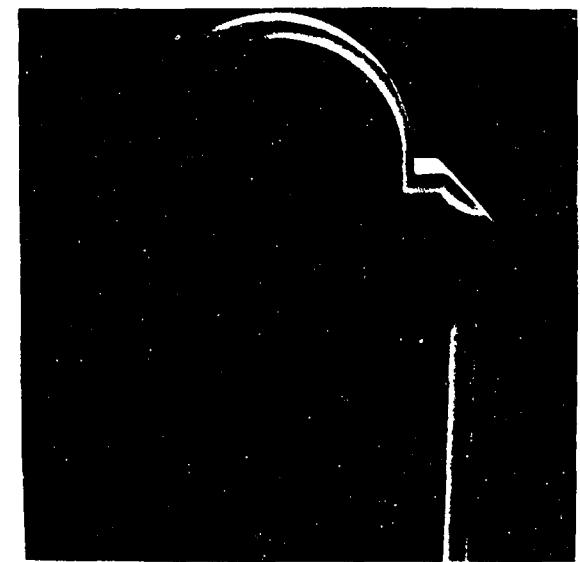
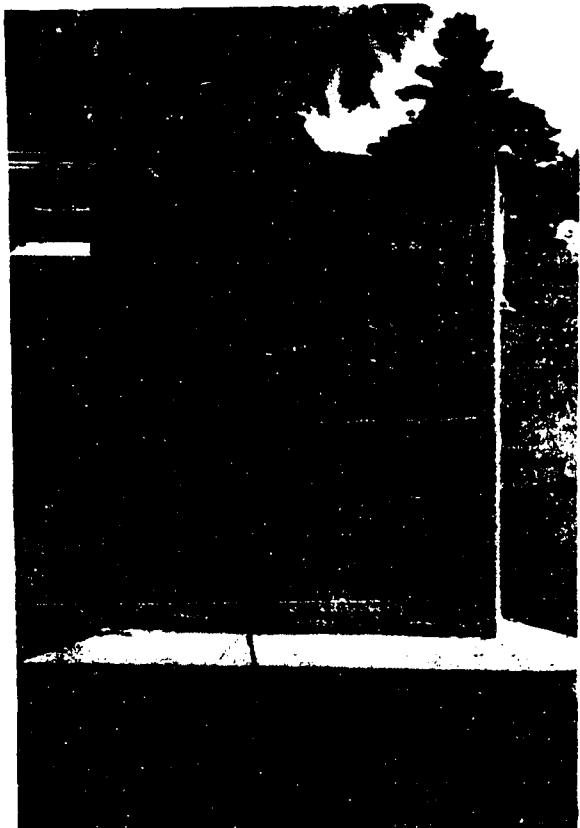
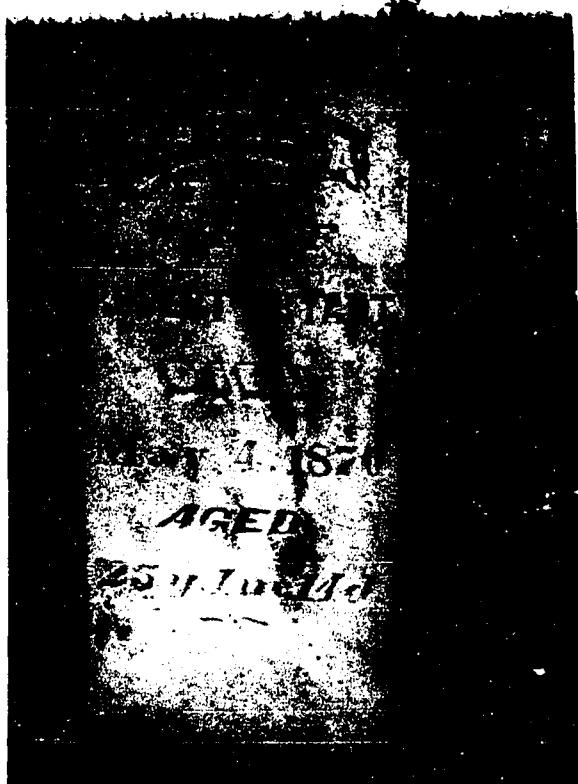
1. Daughters of the American Revolution
2. Order of the Eastern Star
3. Masonic
4. Independent Order of Odd Fellows
5. PEO

Variable 32: Family groupings

As was stated previously, each gravestone was assigned an individual number. However, in order to record family groupings, means were provided for coding this data for computer analysis. When gravestones were encountered in a family plot bounded by a cement curb or if an area contained gravestones with a common family name, these groupings of gravestones were provided with the same case number as the first gravestone encountered in the group, thus keeping family groups together for later analysis. This meant that each gravestone had either one or two case numbers, an individual case number and also a family case number if so indicated.

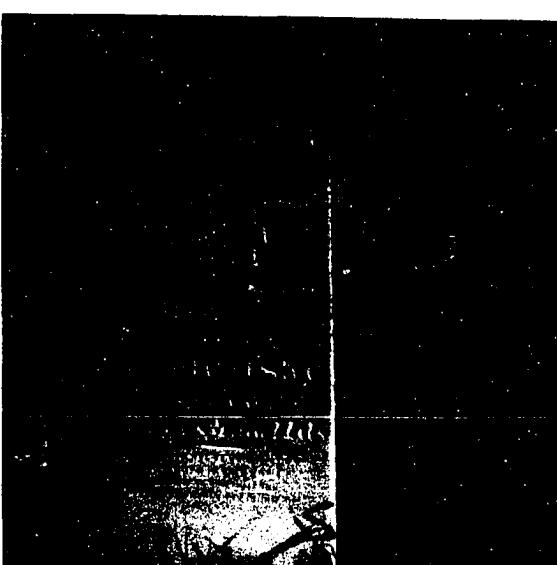
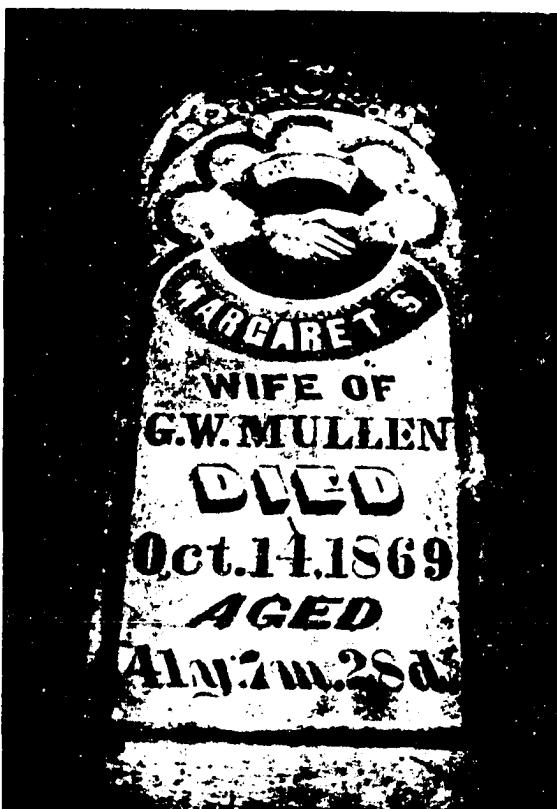
- A. Detail of a square top tablet. Techniques of surface treatment include chiseled, raised, and incised with classic, gothic, and script lettering (Mullen Cemetery)
- B. Detail of a segmented top tablet ornamented. Symbols include gates of heaven, five-pointed star, cross, circle and flying dove. This gravestone typical of late 1800s and probably erected then by a son of the deceased (Woodland Iowa Center Cemetery)
- C. Detail of an indented circle top tablet. Symbols are trinity (in the form of three leaves and three flowers), morning glory, and wild rose bordered by circle all in bas-relief carving
- D. Detail of an indented circle top tablet ornamented. Symbols are pointing finger and Latin Cross all in bas-relief carving (St. Patrick Catholic Cemetery)

Figure 10. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments



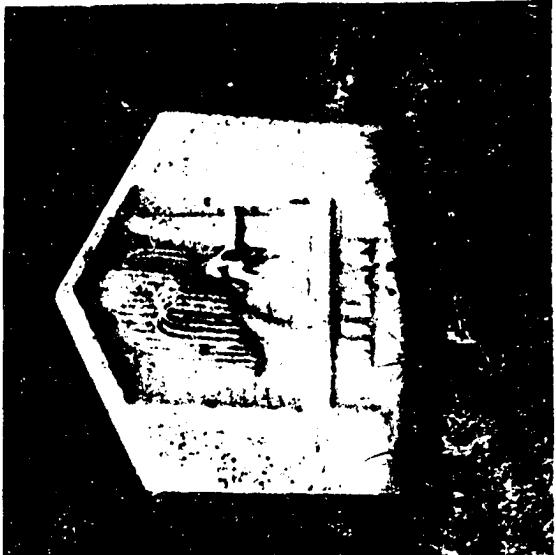
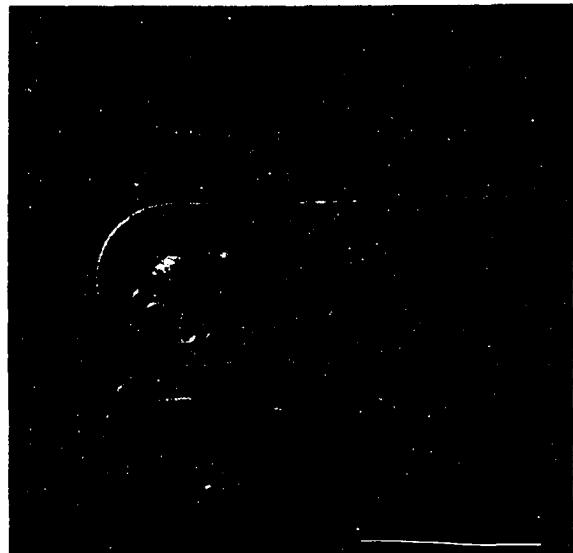
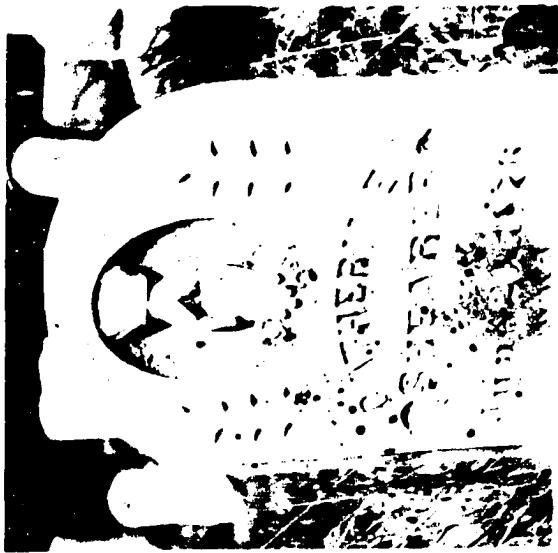
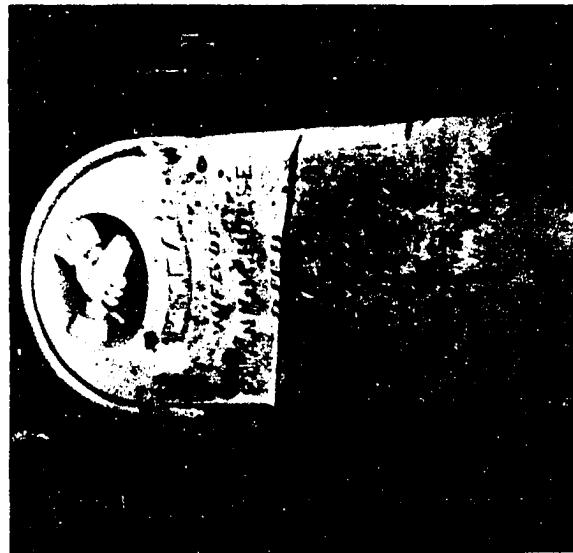
- A. Detail of a square top tablet showing ornate surface treatment. Symbols are weeping willow, crown, and shield placed in a portal-shaped border with ornately carved roses and three leaves groupings in the corners (Mullen Cemetery)
- B. Detail of a rounded top tablet, bas-relief carving of roses, banner, clasped hands in a scallop border design. Note kinship term, varied styles of lettering with exact age at death in terms of years, month, and day (Mullen Cemetery)
- C. Detail of a small square top tablet commemorating an infant. Note varied lettering and epitaph referring to rest with the symbol resting lamb (Bloomington Cemetery)
- D. Detail of a square top tablet. Symbols are draped curtain and open book (Bloomington Cemetery)

Figure 11. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments



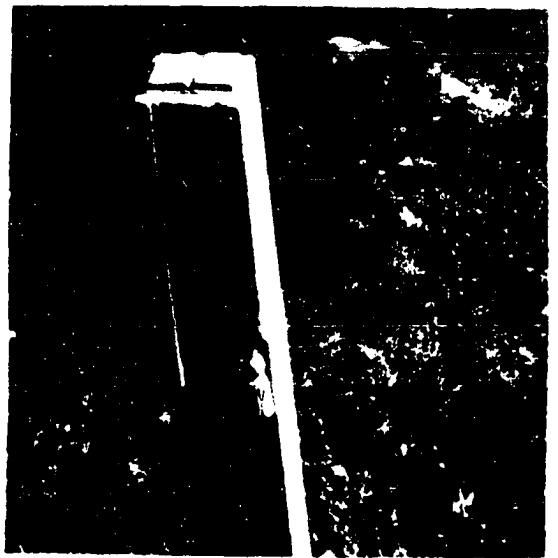
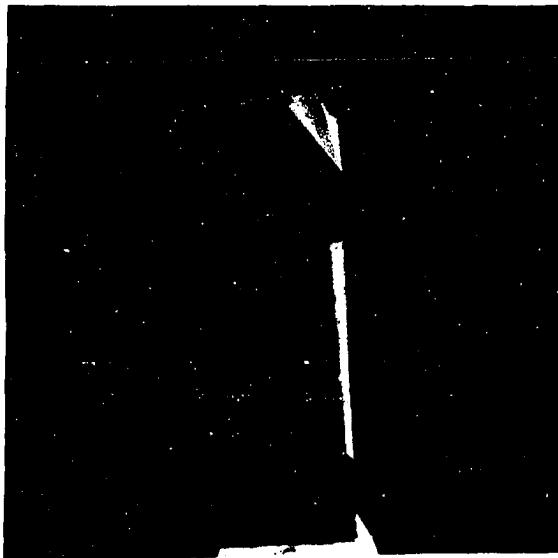
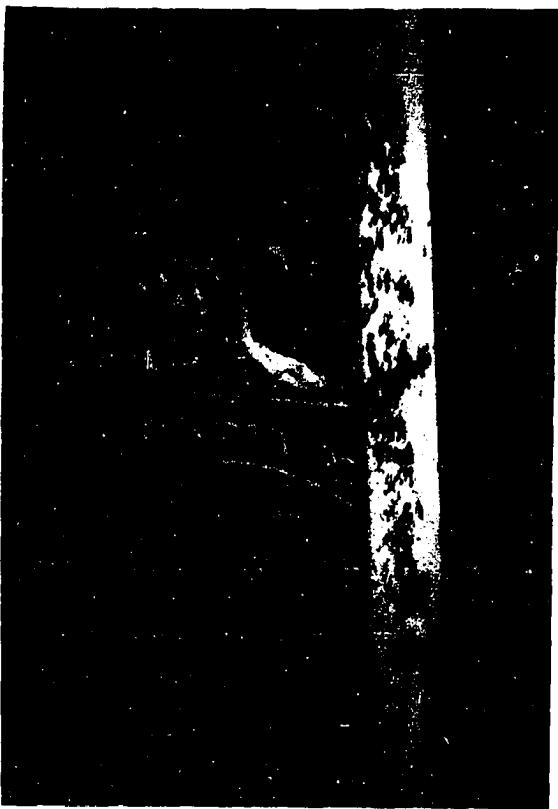
- A. Detail of a multiple rounded top tablet commemorating two small children. Symbols are hand holding an open book and pointing finger holding a rose carved in bas-relief
- B. Detail of a rounded top tablet ornamented. Components include vital statistics, design motif, and epitaph. Symbols are clasped hands with pointing finger. Note clothing styles of 1880s and the broken stone lying in the sod (Day Cemetery)
- C. Detail of a pointed top tablet, half-buried in which inscription is covered. Symbols are weeping willow with a mourning woman leaning against obelisk (Ontario Cemetery)
- D. Detail of a rounded top tablet. Symbols are hand holding a broken chain and anchor (Day Cemetery)

Figure 12. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments



- A. Detail of a square gabled column made of granite. The surface treatment is polished and hammered with stencil cut lettering and design. Symbols are mansions in the sky, crown with sunburst (rays) and ivy. Design has been covered with cornstarch for visual relief (Micah French Cemetery)
- B. Detail of a column gravestone. Symbol is tree of life with a broken branch. Note lichen on right side of column (Collins Cemetery)
- C. Detail of a square gabled column gravestone with symbols of trinity (three flowers) daisy, lily, and rose. Note how surface treatment and lettering used on tablets of earlier decades have extended into the later decades on column gravestones (this gravestone 1894). The use of polished and hammered treatment did away with this type of surface treatment (Wilkinson Cemetery)
- D. Detail of an obelisk column ornamented. Many gravestones, both tablet and column, were often ornamented with the draped curtain and book open or closed

Figure 13. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments



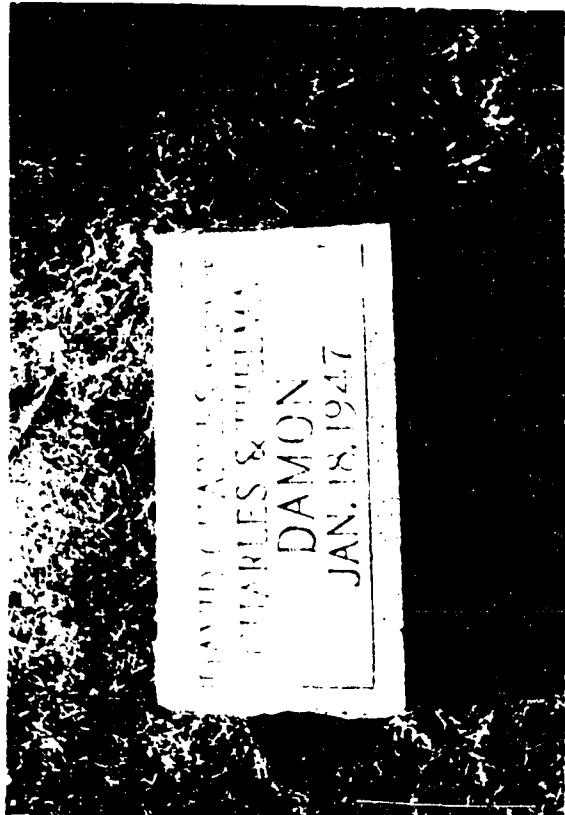
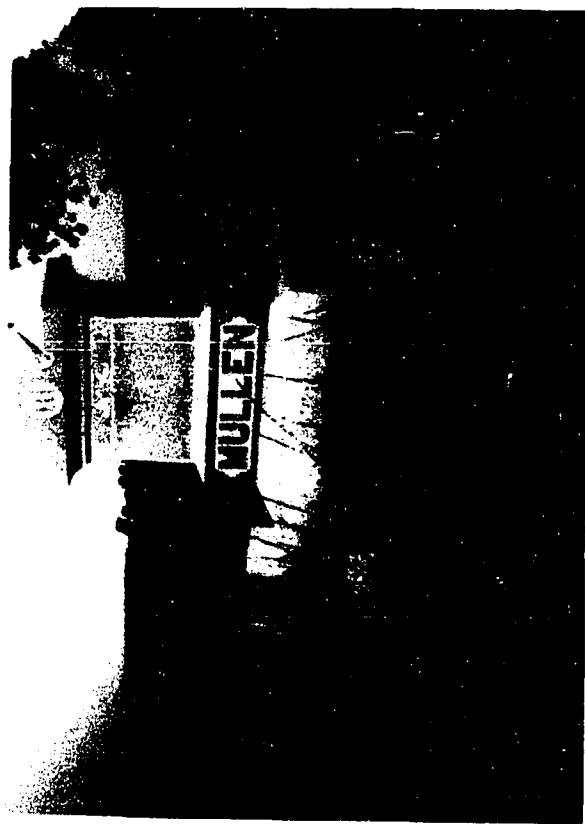
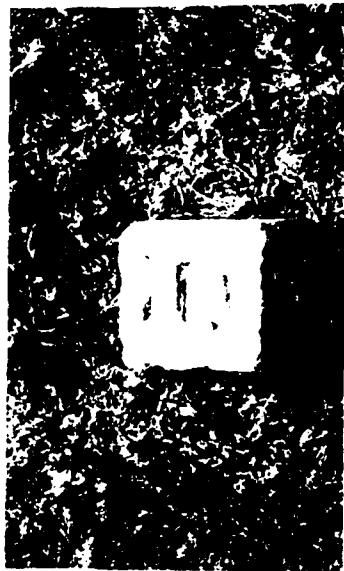
- A. Square column (with a hint of a gable) and a finial in the form of a Latin Cross Fleuree. Cross is repeated on column surface. Note Irish name at the base (St. Patrick Catholic Cemetery)
- B. Typical example of a square gabled column made of limestone with a finial depicting an urn or vase. The year of death is 1889 (Woodland-Iowa Center Cemetery)
- C. Example of the Latin Cross Fleuree with the symbol IHS used as a finial on a square column. These are common symbols in St. Patrick Catholic Cemetery
- D. Detail of a square gabled column with Norwegian inscriptions. Symbols are family monogram and ivy. Gravestone is made of granite with polished and hammered surface treatment (Palestine Cemetery)

Figure 14. Photographs showing selected examples of different symbols and surface treatments



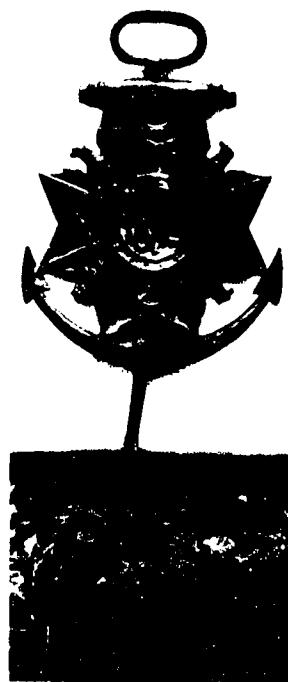
- A. Example of family monument block gravestone surrounded by small individual markers for family members. Symbols are family monogram and stylistic vine. Monument made of granite with polished and hammered surface treatment (Mullen Cemetery)
- B. This huge 30 foot obelisk is the most impressive in the University Cemetery and commemorates President A. S. Welch (1821-1889) and his wife, Mary Beaumont Welch (1841-1923). Written on the monument is a statement that President Welch was the first president of Iowa State Agricultural College and his wife the founder of the Home Economics Department. The only symbol is a family monogram
- C. Detail of a horizontal single block flat surface made of granite. The surface treatment is polished and hammered with stencil-cut outline letters. Note lack of symbols, ornamentation, and epitaphs for the year 1947 (Ames Municipal Cemetery)
- D. Detail of a small square numbered block stone found in the County Poor Farm Cemetery. The attitudes toward paupers for this time period (late 1800s) are reflected in this small cemetery. Burials after 1950 reflect no differences from other cemeteries typical of the county

Figure 15. Photographs showing selected examples of different gravestone forms



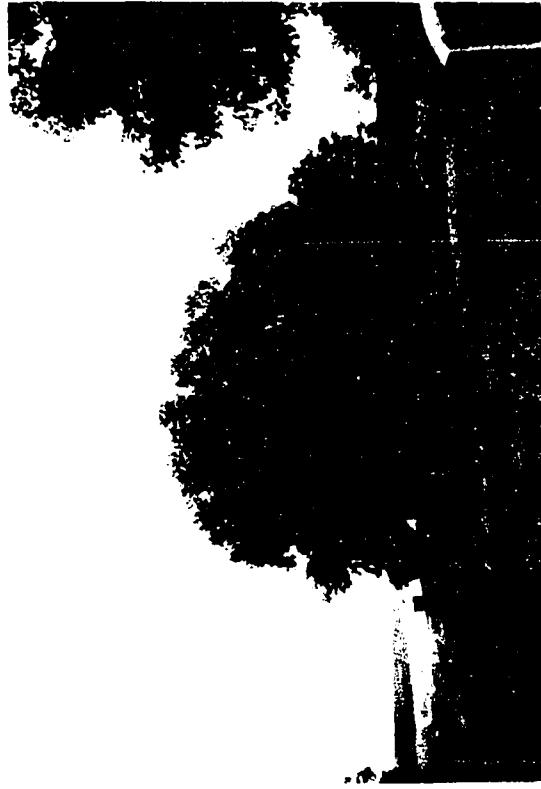
- A. Example of a "government issue" gravestone with adjacent GAR metal marker and American flag. Surface treatment includes name and military designation all enclosed in a shield (Sowers Cemetery)
- B. Example of one kind of war memorial found in many larger cemeteries. Note elevated position of the memorial, the American flag, symbol of crossed banners, "Fallen Heroes" 1861-1865
- C. Example of an 1812 metal marker containing symbols of the eagle, crossed cannons, crossed sabers, crossed rifles, and the anchor (Micah French Cemetery)
- D. Example of a new polished and hammered, granite, beveled block gravestone placed in front of an old weathered pointed top tablet (Walnut Grove Cemetery)

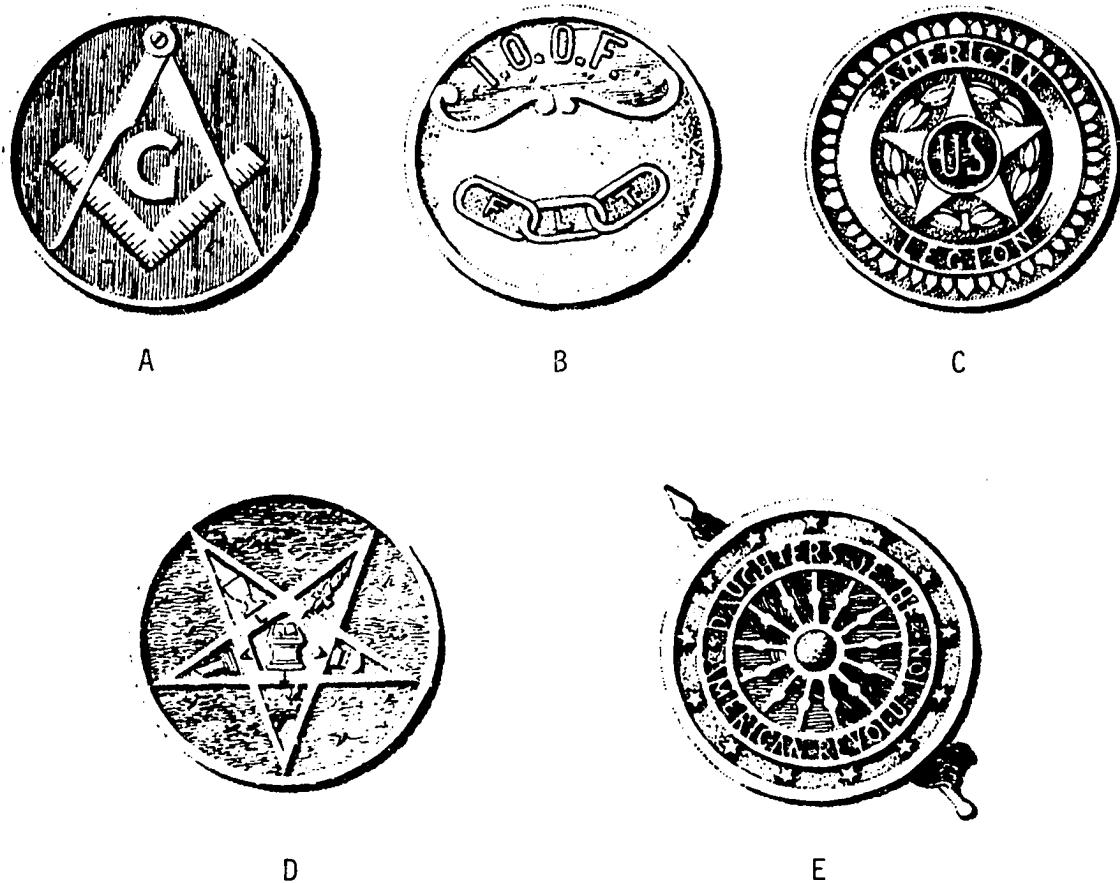
Figure 16. Photographs showing selected examples of war memorials, metal markers and a new stone replacing an illegible stone



- A. Bethany Cemetery. Example of a typical rural cemetery with ornamented gate suggesting a portal with a cross at the apex. Area is bounded by a fence setting it off from the nearby fields
- B. Example of a family plot curbed by a cement border containing a variety of grave-stone forms reflecting age at death, family position, and family solidarity (Pleasant Grove Cemetery)
- C. Zearing Mausoleum located at the west end of Zearing Municipal Cemetery built in 1912
- D. Example of a lilac bush whose uncontrolled growth over the years eventually covered the location of four early gravestones (Micah French Cemetery)

Figure 17. Photographs showing selected examples of a variety of cemetery practices





- A. Masonic Lodge
- B. Independent Order of Odd Fellows
- C. American Legion
- D. Order of Eastern Star
- E. D.A.R.

Figure 18. Illustrations of secular symbols associated with sodalities and war ("Memorial Symbolism, Epitaphs and Design Types", American Monument Association, Inc., 1947)

CHAPTER V. EPITAPHS: THE SYMBOLISM
OF LANGUAGE

This chapter contains most of the epitaphs recorded during the field research and they are presented in full for several reasons. As a literary resource of folk traditions, epitaphs are vanishing at a rapid rate due to the destruction and wearing away of old stones. The relative percentage of illegible stones is discussed in Chapter VI. As noted in the preface, such literary specialists as a state folklorist found epitaphs a good source of knowledge about local folklore traditions. Deetz and Dethlefsen (1972:404) offer an important archaeological rationale for recording and analyzing epitaphs. They suggest that epitaphs provide a unique literary and psychological dimension to periods of time being studied and from this, literary controls become available. They note that epitaphs reflect a change over time from a stress on decay and life's brevity, to stress on resurrection and heavenly reward, to a Calvinistic emphasis on hard work.

The epitaphs in the following pages succinctly express the relation of the living to the dead all in the context of a belief in a supernatural world. These verses stress in repetition the wish, hope, and belief that the dead still live in a happier land where the living will someday join them. The expression of these verses ranges from the familiar bible verses to the sometimes unusual thought. A characteristic of these verbal patterns is in the form of a sentimental ballad

which in some manner commemorates that individual on the gravestone. The Victorian era which reached its zenith in the late 19th century was very much expressed in the symbolism and epitaphs of Story County Cemeteries. To most contemporary Americans this way of thinking and expressing one's emotions is overly sentimental and maudlin (Morley 1971). Again, note that many of the epitaphs express more than one message, such as the expression of sorrow, but ending with the consoling fact of eternal rest or heaven. The following epitaphs are copied directly from Story County gravestones including misspelling and other errors.

Story County Epitaphs

Familiar

There are many quotations from sacred and secular literature which have long appeared as favorite messages for inscriptions. Many verses come from the bible and are associated with children's graves:

1. Suffer little children to come unto me
Forbid them not for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven
2. He shall gather the lamb with his arms and carry them
in his bosom. Is 40.11(?)
3. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away
Blessed be the name of the Lord. Job i:21
4. Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted
5. Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God

6. Search for the scriptures; for
In them ye think ye have eternal
Life; and they are they which testify of me. St. John 5 Ch 39
Ver.
7. Blessed are the dead who
Die in the Lord for they rest
from their labours and their
works do follow them. Apocalypse of St. John XIV:13
8. Yea though I walk through
the Valley of the Shadow Death
I will fear no evil for thou art
with me, thy rod and thy staff
they comfort me.
9. The Lord is my shepherd I shall not want
10. The Lord giveth and the Lord hath taken away. Job i:21
11. He that believeth in me shall not
Perish but shall have everlasting life
12. For as in Adam all die, even so in
Christ shall all be made alive. I Cor. 15:22
13. Come onto me all
Ye that labor and
Are heavy laden and
I will give you rest
14. Therefore be ye also ready; for in
such an hour ye think not
the son of man cometh. Matt 24:44
15. Blessed are all they that
have their trust in him. Psalm 2:12
16. He was not of an age but for all time

Inspiration

These epitaphs are designed to inspire reverence, faith and hope.

1. Come to Jesus
Come to Jesus
Come to Jesus
Just now just
Now come to Jesus

2. Religion filled her
 Soul with peace
Upon a dying bed.
Her faith looked up
 sorrow
We let _____ Christ (blank spaces are illegible words)

3. She has lived the life of a Christian and
Has gone home to reap her reward

4. For me to live in Christ and to die is gain

5. Blessed and holy are
They that take part in the
First resurrection

6. Follow me as I followed Christ

7. Pray for us

Immortality

It is interesting to note the descriptive words having to do with both the natural world and the sacred world. The sacred world or heaven is described by positive words that denote superiority and purity in both quality and place: better land, higher place, white, fair, kind, sweet, glory, blessed, joy, gently, calm, lustrous, sovereign, ascend, brighter and good. The Chastening Rod of God, however, reminds people that God can be vengeful and, therefore, it behooves mortals to lead a good

life in preparation for that day of reckoning.

Word symbols taken from the natural world describe children as buds who have not had the opportunity to lose their innocence by the natural process of aging - blooming and fading away into decay. This in itself is a kind of consolation. The word "home" is often a euphemism for "Heaven" and appears to satisfy persistent human longings that at the end of life's journey he/she will return to the safe familiar place of one's beginning.

1. Passed to a higher place
2. Gone to a better land
3. Gone Home
4. Gone but in heaven
5. In innocence she passed to her God
6. Is my name written there,
On the page white and fair
In the book of thy kingdom
Yes, my name's written there
7. Kind angels watch her sleeping dust
Till Jesus comes to raise the just
Then may she wake with
Sweet surprise
And in her saint's image rise

8. A little thing _____ spent
Till God for him his angel sent
And then on time he closed his eyes
To wake to glory in the skies
9. Not lost blest thought
but gone before
where we shall meet
to part no more

10. When he comes a voice
From Heaven shall
Pierce the tomb, come
Ye blessed of my father
Children come to me
11. Til again we hope to meet thee
When the day of life is fled
Then in Heaven with joy to greet thee
Where no farewell tear is shed
12. The golden gates were opened
A gentle voice said come
And with farewells unspoken
She calmly entered home
13. We hope not Lord who next may fall
Beneath thy chastening rod
One must be first but let us all
Prepare to meet our God
14. Break from his throne
 lustrous morn
Attend, O earth his
 sovereign word
Restore thy trust a
 glorious form
He must ascend [sic] to
 meet his Lord.

Some verses were common for infant and children's graves:

15. Budged on earth to bloom in Heaven
16. This little bud so young and fair
Has gone to heaven to blossom there
17. Earth counts a mortal less
Heaven an angel more
18. We yielded him in his childhood life
To a brighter home in Heaven
19. Willie thou art flown
Like the summer buds again
Willie thou art gone to dwell
Where the good angels stay

Patriotism - work - victory

The epitaphs below suggest and reinforce the sentiments that attend the concepts of solemn dignity and personal sacrifices to the cause of God, country, and a life of hard work, again an example of the same Protestant-Calvinistic inheritance of earlier times. The symbolic word clusters used to convey such images are honor, servant of God, duty well done, glorious warfare, battle fought, victories won, and glory. Service to country is equated with service to God as is introduced by the verse which suggests that a crown, symbol of reward in heaven, awaits the servant of God who fought and won warfare's battle (Warner 1959:279).

1. Died at Elcancy, Cuba Aug. 6, 1898
"In honor of his country"
2. Servant of God, well done
Thy glorious warfare's past
The battles fought the victory's won
And thou art crowned at last
3. His toils are past, his work is done
And he is fully blessed
He fought the fight the victory won
and enters into rest
4. He sleeps his last sleep
He fought his last battle
No sound can awake him to glory again

Tribute

Since the time of recorded history we know that man has felt a need to eulogize the recently deceased person. In the verses below we note the importance of family and kinship relationships and what attributes

were considered as ideals in their individual characters. For the husband, father and man such adjectives as the following were used: devoted, amiable, true and affectionate. A wife, mother, and woman was kind, affectionate, valiant, enduring in sickness, loving, and fond. A son was devoted; a brother affectionate; a sister mild, lovely, gentle, fair, and often too good for this cold world of pain. A friend was faithful, kind, true, loved, and respected; a Christian had graces. The age-old admonition to "Honor thy Father and Mother" reinforces the ideal of duty towards parents. On the other hand, parental fondness was revealed by love and duty to children - all reinforcing family solidarity. Past toils, finished work, the fight and victory won all speak of a hard and difficult life on the pioneer prairies and the desire of a person's family to recognize this effort and its just reward of eternal rest.

1. Sister thou was mild and lovely
Gentle as the summer breeze
Pleasant as the air of evening
When it floats among the trees.
2. She was too good, too gentle and fair
To dwell in this cold world of pain
but yet we never dare think
Her own might beckon her again
3. Loved and respected by friends and neighbors
4. A devoted son and affectionate brother
A faithful friend and a true man
5. Is a husband devoted
Is a father affectionate
Is a friend ever kind and true
In life he exhibited all the graces of a Christian
In death his redeemed spirit to God who gave

6. Loved of my better days
None knew thee but to love thee
None named thee but to praise
7. A loving wife a sister dear
A faithful friend that _____ true
In love she lived, in peace she died
And now with Christ is glorified
8. An affectionate mother
9. Our Darling
10. Honor thy father and mother
11. Always kind and affectionate as a wife, in sickness
Valient and enduring; without example; in
Death triumphant throug [sic] Jesus name. Matilda
Rest in Heaven
12. The light _____ angels
only those can tell
Who've bid the dearest
And the best farewell
The parting with our
_____ once our pride
More prized and honored
Than the world beside
13. An amiable father
here lies at rest
Is ever God with his
image blest.
The friend of man the
Friend of truth
The friend of age the
Guide of youth
14. She was a kind and affectionate wife
A fond mother and friend to all
15. A loving wife, a mother dear
A Christian friend lies buried here
16. She was lovely she was fair
And for awhile was given
An angel came
And claimed his own
And took her home to Heaven

17. No _____ marble to her name _____
This humble stone bespeaks thy praise
Parental fondness did thy life attend
A tender mother and faithful friend
18. Amiable and beloved husband
Farewell, thy years were few, but
Thy virtues many; they are reco-
rded not on this perishing stone,
but on the book of life in
the hearts of thy affected friends
19. Gone thou art in youthful sweetness
20. Our dearest sister

Rest

Through time and cross-culturally, people have likened the end of life as a transition into a final rest from life's labors; the loved one is not dead but only "sleeps". As is shown in the computer analysis this theme of a final rest is the most common epitaph in Story County cemeteries.

These verses are very poignant reminders that the loss of a loved one and finally one's own life is a "bitter pill to swallow" and in order to cope with the anxiety, dread, and apprehension that are associated with death people seek the solace of religion and the assurance of an afterlife. These verses vividly describe the contrast of a heavenly paradise where kindred will meet again and shed the cares of an earthly existence. Word clusters used to describe eternal rest in heaven include: peaceful slumber, peaceful dead, gone to rest, silent slumber, quiet sleep, blessed sleep, happy place, a glorious dawn. Words used to describe an earthly existence emphasize the negative aspects of life:

darkened skies, mortal pang, stormy blast, toils and tears, pain,
suffering, distress, burdens, worn with pain, trials and temptation.
If a loved one is only at rest, not dead but "sleepeth", or asleep in
Jesus then that person is not lost forever to the one who remains
behind - the finality of death is softened.

1. Asleep in Jesus - Blessed sleep
2. At Rest
3. She is gone to rest
4. Not dead but sleepeth
5. Our Vinnie sleeps
6. Mother has gone to rest
7. Father is resting in peace
8. We left him sleeping
9. Sleep on and take thy rest
10. Sleep mother sleep and take thy rest
Thou art in Heaven among the blest
Oh loved one you from us have gone
An angel of death has called you home
11. Father thou are gone to rest
Thy toils and cares are o'er
And sorrow, pain, and suffering now
Shall never distress thee more
12. We shall sleep but not forever
There will be a glorious dawn
We shall meet to part no never
On the resurrection [sic] morn
13. Rest mother rest in quiet sleep
While friends in sorrow o'er thee weep
And here their heartfelt offerings bring
And near thy grave thy requiem sing

14. Dear Mother thou art gone to rest
Thy toils and tears are o'er
And so not pain and suffering now
Shall never distress thee more
15. Asleep in Jesus blessed sleep
From which none ever wake to weep
Reader prepare to meet thy God
16. Thou art gone to rest dear Mother
Glistening sunbeams thy guide shall be
While in our memory thou shall live
With tender thoughts of heaven and thee
17. Farewell, dear father, sweet thy rest
Weary with years and worn with pain
Farewell till in that happy place
We shall behold thy face again
18. Asleep in Jesus far from
Thy kindred and their graves
But thine still a blessed sleep
From which none ever wake to weep
19. Gone but only sleeping
Will meet our loved ones there
20. Happy infant, early blest
Rest in peaceful slumber rest
21. Dare not weep for the peaceful dead
Slumbering beneath the sod
22. These little lambs have gone to rest
To dwell with him who gave
23. Softly, stranger, softly tread for
Mother sleeps below (St. Patrick Cemetery)
24. Rest here sweet child til that bright day
When God shall wipe all tears away
Then in his image true arise
And mount above the darkened skies
25. Peaceful be thy silent slumber
Peaceful in the grave so low
Thou no more shall join our number
Thou no more our song shall know

26. Sleep on Brother, thy work is done
The mortal pang is past
Jesus has come and borne thee home
Beyond the stormy blast
27. Brother thou art gone to rest
Thine is an early tomb
But Jesus summoned thee away
Thy savior called thee home
28. Here I lay my burden down
29. Ly [sic] still dear child and take thy rest
For such as thee the savior blest
30. Rest little Alice and Francis in happiness rest
Singing with angels we know thou art blest
For from the trials that tempt us to stray
Find in his mercy has called thee away
31. Sleep on dear wife (little one, sweet babe, etc.)
Take thy rest
God called thee home
He thought it best (This is a very common epitaph for all ages)

Consolation

An epitaph also has the purpose of consoling the bereaved and providing consolation for those who visit a cemetery. This is an aspect of the human condition that seemingly must be shared with one's fellow man.

These verses continue the dichotomy of heaven and earth and the consolation heaven provides. Heaven is pure, free from earthly stain; there is joy in heaven with bright hopes far from the storm of life where life's long warfare brought labor, sorrow, afflictions, pain, sickness, and finally the pains of death and farewell tears. The family solidarity is symbolized by "our circle" and the visual symbol of the broken chain but which will be restored in heaven. There is protection

and comfort in the knowledge that "God gave, He took and He will restore" and "We shall meet again".

1. Jesus love is pure and holy
2. Free from all earthly care
Pure from all earthly stain
O who could wish her back again
3. Yet again we hope to meet thee
When the storm of life is fled
Then in heaven with joy to greet thee
Where no farewell tear is shed
4. Take the little lamb said He
And lay them on my breast
Protection they shall find in me
And be forever blest
5. Short was the little stranger's stay
He came but as a guest
He tasted his life and then-
6. Go home my friends dry your tears
I will arise when Christ appears
7. The pains of death are past
Labor and sorrow cease
And Life's long warfare closed at last
This soul is found in peace
8. God gave He took He will restore
He doeth all things well
9. This lovely bud so young and fair
Called ____ by early doom
Just came to show how sweet a flower ____
10. A loved one is gone from our circle
On earth we shall meet her no more
She has gone to her home in heaven
All her afflictions are o'er
11. In youth her heart to Christ was given
In death her hopes were bright in heaven
12. We shall meet again

13. Our little girl so full of love
Is now from pain and sickness moved
Has left a world so full of care
And gone where all is bright and fair

Paradise

We know from archaeological research that early peoples believed in a life after death for they provided the dead with everything from a bowl of grain to favorite possessions, weapons, clothing, slaves, and on some occasions a man's favorite wife or concubine. The concept of a "Happy Hunting Ground" or "Paradise" has been an important aspect of most cultures through time. Story County cemeteries have many epitaphs and visual symbols which refer to Paradise in one context or another. On numerous occasions the reference to mansions on a gravestone would be accompanied by a quite elaborate and graphic engraving of "Mansions in the Sky" as shown in Figure 13A.

Paradise to a Christian of the late 19th century appears to have its basis in a phrase from the Bible "In my Father's House there are many mansions". Other references include bright mansions, the palace of eternity, blooming in paradise, a happy home above built by God, a happier shore, a land of sweeter bliss, mansions of glory above, the kingdom of love, blissful shore, a better home on that bright shore, and finally a land of pleasure. Such phrases summon to mind wish fulfillment to the ultimate. An archaeologist in the 21st century might well wonder about the quality of life in late 19th century Iowa.

1. In my Father's house are many mansions

2. Thou art gone little Jesse
Sweet child of our love
From earth's fairy stand
To bright mansions above
3. There is a land of pleasure
Where peace and joy forever call
Tis there I have my heaven
And there I love to rest my soul
But darkness dwelt around me
With scarcely once a cheering ray
But since the savior found me
The light has shown along my way
4. Death is the golden key that unlocks the palace of eternity
5. This lovely bud so young and fair
Called hence by early doom
Came to show how sweet a flower
In paradise might bloom
6. There is a happy home above
Beyond the _____
Built by the God he loves
And earth _____ temple
Where _____
7. Oh yes there is a happier shore
A land of sweeter bliss
and beautiful
And lovlier far than this
8. Her soul has taken its flight
To mansions of glory above
To mingle with angels of light
And dwell in the Kingdom of love
9. Soon I hope to glory
At they side to stand
Make _____ To meet thee
In that happy land
10. Our darling one
Hath gone before
To greet us on
The blissful shore
11. A loved one has gone to a better home
On the other bright shore

Love

Expressions of love are found in many epitaphs along with other sentiments.

1. Live in right and love
strict to be
Kind and loving to each other
As I have been to thee (Gravestone of a mother)
2. I have loved them on earth
I will meet them in heaven
3. We loved you in life, miss you in death
4. We loved this darling little one
And would have
Wished her stay
But let our Father's
will be done
She shines in endless day

Sorrow

Other than epitaphs whose primary message is eternal rest, the most frequently found epitaphs in Story County have to do with expressions of sorrow. The use of analogies and metaphors appear more prevalent in this group of verses. Perhaps the use of analogy such as likening a little bud broken from its parent stem to loss of an infant, or the thought of an infant being pillowed on the Savior's breast rather than the earthly mother lessens the painful emotion of grief at losing a small child. Other interesting analogies used to make grief and loss more bearable are life's slender cord so easily broken by death; the chain that bound us is likened to the love and mutual concern that binds families together; flowers too good for earth's sinful ways bespeak of childhood's innocence and purity being preserved for a better, less

contaminating environment; in the springtime of rebirth and new life the soul winging its way to lofty planes where as a star beyond evening's sole event or the end of life can look down on the rest of humanity and its tears.

Also, this group of verses deals more with cognate terms. Parents are admonished not to weep for their children; parents in turn are missed by their children; a dear wife and mother is taken from the family's side; a father sends a farewell to his wife and children dear; a dear son leaves hearts touched with pain; a place is vacant in our home that never can be filled; and finally a family circle is broken. It is interesting to conjecture that should the institution of the family die out at some distant time, future archaeologists could well reconstruct these relationships from the epitaphs and other information provided by gravestones. Another interesting use of cognate terms is the use of "papa and mama" which is rather uncommon today but was prevalent before World War I. The use of such words conjure up images of a rural, old-world way of speaking.

One more analogy worth observing is the implied comparison of length of life on earth to the space of one day. These phrases include "evening" which designates the approach of death, "morning" which denotes youth, "the day of life is fled" which indicates that life has run its course. Finally, "oil in her lamp" describes a way of life no longer familiar to our times and of course would be one of those indicators of cultural change to that mythical future archaeologist already mentioned.

1. A family circle is broken
A dear face missed from
Its accustomed place, but
Cleansed and saved and perfected by grace
2. Dear Father and mother are gone
They are beneath the sod
Dear parents tho we miss you much
We know you rest with God
3. How slender is life's slender cord
How soon tis broken here
Each moment brings a parting word
And many a falling tear
4. Death has been here and borne away
A dear wife from our side
Just in the morning of her day
As young as we she died
5. Farewell dear wife and children dear
Farewell all but do not mourn
For we shall meet together
With Christ _____ God
6. Farewell my husband children all
From you a mother Christ doth call
Mourn not for me: it is in vain
To call me to your sight again
7. Yet again we hope to meet thee
When the day of life is fled
Then in heaven, with joy to greet thee
Where no farewell tear is shed
8. Dear Son we part with you
Hath touched our hearts with pain
But though our loss is great we trust
Tis your eternal gain
9. Weep not for me only look to Jesus
10. Why should we weep for her, was she not ready
Oil in her lamp and her bridal robes on
Waiting in faith with a hope firm and steady
The good Shepard's call and the plaudits well done

11. Weep not father and mother for me
For I am waiting in glory for thee
12. Our dear wife and mother is gone
But not forgotten
A place is vacant in our home
That never can be filled
13. Just in the morning of his day
In youth and love he died
14. This languishing head is at rest
Its thinking and aching are o'er
This quiet immovable breast
Is heaved by affliction no more
15. Tis hard to break the tender cord
When love has bound the heart
Tis hard, so hard to speak the word
We must forever part
16. Death has rent the chain that bound us
17. Oh weep not for me loved ones
So early from thee driven
Twas but the flowers to [sic] good for earth
Transplanted to Heaven
18. Weep not papa and mama for me
For I am waiting in Heaven for thee
19. Weep not for her
In the springtime she flew
To that land where the wings of the soul are unfurled
And now like a star beyond evenings sole event
Looks radinally [sic] down on the tears of this world
20. Husband and children I must leave you
Leave yes leave you all alone
But my blessed savior calls me
Calls me to a heavenly home
21. Just as the morning of her life
If as opening into day
The young and lovely spiret [sic]
From earth and grief away

22. Weep not for when you stand by my grave
Think who died his beloved to love
Praise ye the Lord that I am freed from all cares
Serve ye the Lord that my bliss ye may share
23. Go home dear husband and children
Dry up your tears
Here I must lie till Christ appears
Oh then we can meet one another again
24. Dearest father, thou hast left us
Here thy loss we deeply feel
But tis God hath bereft us
He can all our sorrows heal
25. Lo; where the silent marble weeps
A friend, a wife, a mother sleeps
A heart with in whose sacred
The peaceful virtues loved dwell
26. Just like an early rose
in infant bloom
before
Death lays it in the tomb
27. Yet while my mind with anguish
Mourns, loved, and lost, for thee
I raise my tearful eye to heaven
And hope that thou art free
28. We miss thee from our home
We miss thee from thy place
A shadow over our life is cast
We miss thee the sunshine of thy face
29. While we weep for you dear father
Standing on times fearful shore
Life's sad _____ to us keep singing
You have gone forever more.
Shall we meet you on that morning
When we wake from our last sleep
Is that day for us now dawning
When we shall no longer weep

30. Weep not for us children dear
We are not dead but sleeping here
For we're not yours but Christ's above
He loved us dear and took us home
31. A previous one from us has gone
A voice we loved is stilled
A place is vacant in our home
Which never can be filled.
God in his wisdom has recalled
The boon his love had given
And though the body slumbers here
The soul is safe in heaven (A very popular epitaph in Story County)
32. Weep not dear parents
Disturb not my rest
My savior has called me
He loved me best
33. This little bud the precious gem
is broken from its parent stem
34. Loving friends weep not for me
I long to be at rest
How happy happy I shall be
When pillow'd on my Savior's breast
Here he's missed - missed by parents
With age so bent
But will not wish him back on
earth again to battle with sorrow
and sickness and sin
35. Weep not for me my friends, so dear
I am not dead but sleeping here

Memory

1. Gone but not forgotten
2. In memory of our Father
3. Loved in life, in memory cherished
4. In remembrance of our Father and Mother
5. Annetta, we never will forget thee

6. In loving remembrance

Miscellaneous

There were a few epitaphs in the Story County cemeteries which could have been included in the above categories but were so individual and unique that they seemed to require separate comment. It is difficult for the passerby not to feel the heartbreak of these parents:

1. And can it, can it be
Our only child
Our darling Claude
Our arms no more will hold
He's gone to live with God

We know from literature that the bereaved often project special significance into the last words of their dying one and this mother is no exception:

2. Her last words, I am going, dear Mother,
but Jesus' will be done

In the following epitaph one is struck with the bewilderment and sense of loss felt by this wife who must face the loss of love and from a more practical standpoint in this pioneer community -- a breadwinner:

3. He has gone from his dear
ones, his children, his wife
whom he willingly toiled
for and loved all his life.
Oh, God, how mysterious and
how strange are thy ways
to take from us this loved
one in the best of his days

Here is a verse that reinforces the moral and religious code of that time and place:

4. Although she sleeps her memory doth live
And cheering comforts to her mourners give
She followed virtue as her honest guide
Lived as a Christian, as a Christian died

The following is a verse that takes the form of analogy and religious language of the Bible to make a personal tribute to a child:

5. Among the beautiful pictures that
hang on memory's wall is that of
Bertha May McConnell, that semeth
the best of all

Here again we have a picture of loving parents who, in spite of all they could do, lost their child anyway and one cannot help but feel their frustration and sense of loss:

6. Beneath this stone in sweet repose
Is laid a parent's fondest pride
If love or care could her have saved
Our darling child would not have died

Here is an epitaph which individualizes the child by noting the resemblance to his mother:

7. We loved him picture of the mother
was our sweet bud and darling brother

In writing down these epitaphs cemetery by cemetery, the field worker cannot but stop and exclaim with amusement over an occasional verse. The following verse fits that description and, as previously noted, no evidence of the husband's grave was to be found in this vicinity:

8. May you come to my grave my husband dear
Your deceased wife is buried here
Remember [sic] that all are born to die
And you soon beside me lie

Finally, one verse is especially common in Story County cemeteries which carries a curious message and invariably causes an amused reaction in its readers. Interestingly enough, the verse has been traced back to the 14th century. Jones (1967:148) documents the verse from Wolfpits, Connecticut, 1830:

9. Remember me as you draw nigh
As you are now, so once was I.
As I am now, so must you be,
Prepare for death and follow me

The version most common in Story County is as follows and one will note very little change in transition from Connecticut to Iowa over a period of forty years:

10. Remember friends as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death and follow me

There is a quality of kinship and identification in the foregoing verse; today's dead are yesterday's living and today's living are tomorrow's dead. The fact that each is identified with the other's fate with no escape is the spark of recognition that moves those who read this epitaph and perhaps explains its popularity through the centuries. Is there also a touch of sadistic humor in this verse?

Norwegian epitaphs

Both Mrs. Larson and Miss Tesdale, my Norwegian informants and translators, explained that their translations are more free and figurative rather than literal because of the difficulty they had with the words and sentence structure of the Norwegian language. Also my

transcriptions of the epitaphs, more often than not, were incomplete and inaccurate due to the difficulty of copying weathered stones, plus my unfamiliarity with the language. The most popular epitaph is the following:

1. Salig er de döde som dör I Herren Aab 13-14
Blessed are they who die in the Lord

This epitaph is also popular on American gravestones. In general it was found that the content of the Norwegian epitaphs was quite similar to those in English, most having to do with the belief in an eternal home and immortality through Jesus Christ. There is reference to suffering on earth, release from sin and reward in heaven and the hope of meeting one's loved father, mother, sisters, and brothers in heaven where angels sing.

The following are a few examples with accompanying free translations:

2. Na skal jrg vist i Himmelens
Fad mode far og mor igjen
Og siskende og Englefipk
O der skal

Now shall I visit in Heaven
My mother and father again
And brothers and sisters where
The angels are singing

3. Herre omvend as tol dig at
vi maa omvendes

Lord turn us to thee
that we may be converted

4. O Jesus for din pine for din uskyldige
Död forlad nug syn derne mine
frr mig fra den evige did

Oh, Jesus, for thy suffering for the
innocent death forgive my sins
for your eternal death
5. Jesu krish Guds
son, bold renser af
al synd

Jesus Christ God's son
His blood cleanses of all sins
6. Freit med der
stov velsegnet
ren del minde

Free me from my dust
Bless thy memory
7. Bleve ved didën Bortkalder

With death he was called home
8. Jig lad pad moders
brost og bleu afluende ammel
Nu er min sjet
For lost og dier host af lammel

Laid on mother's breast and was saved
and now is my soul lost in a host of angels
9. Grodedad med hvans og
Pahne staar hun der Blennel
Hel gene og Engles hor

Standing in the Host of angels
Amongst the heavenly angel's choir
10. Herren er min Hyrde, Mig
skal ikke Fattes

Heaven is my home I shall not want

11. O! tank doy Havor glade
 Smauboneu staa
 For him henes throne med guldkrone
 pose - og stikker sine straalende
 an sigter frem - O moder: O Sader!
 Naar kommer du Hyem

Think of the day of goodness
 Small children stand
 For him his throne's golden crown
 to show the way and come forth
 Oh mother, oh sister, when are you coming home?

12. Jeg Haver Stridt Den Gode
 Strid, Ful kommet Lobet
 Bevarettroen

I have fought the good fight
 I have kept the faith

13. Hendes siste dage var
 en moie hun korset
 skulde baere her og
 sin Jesum at faa
 Folge tel himlens fryd
 Og salighed hun synger
 Ny saa glad saa glad

Her last days were a trial and suffering
 To receive Jesus is a reward
 And heaven's freedom
 Now she's singing, so glad! so glad!
 (grave of a six year old child)

14. Britta Gjerts
 datter Landa
 lun var föd i March 1800
 og død den I Februar 1874
 Enke 34 Aar Hun var moder
 Born hvor of 4 döde Hendes
 Aand telli gemed hundes oldsle
 Norge og handes yorge to Saa

Britte Gjerts
 daughter Landa
 Widow at 34 Years, she was a sensitive mother
 born of a family of 4
 and her soul went home to heaven
 Husband and son buried at sea

15. Paa gaar den Bauge
 Bergen stift Norge
 Lived on a farm in Bergen, Norway
16. Herren er min Hyrde, mig
 Skal ikke Fattes
 Heaven is my home
 I shall not want
17. O, salig den Guds
 Ord har hort nevanet
 Og til nytte fort!
 han daghg visdom
 erle fra Lystel lys
 han vandre han og han
 vets provc stand en
 salve for sit hjeerte mod
 Al sin mod og smrerte
 Oh Blessed is God's word
 We've heard it often
 His daily wisdom
 God's word is necessary
 He wanders here and there
 God's word is balsam and ointment
 for sufferings
 all our heart's daily needs
18. Her under viler
 Stövet of
 Elizebeth Kanuttle Lande
 Födt Den 12, Dec. 1868
 Döde Den 18, Sept. 1892
 Til min fader hjem jig gaar
 Der er hvilen söd og rolig
 og jeg ved det vist, der staar
 og saa mig beredt en Bolig
 Hör met suk, og gjem min aand
 Herre Jesu, I din haand!

Here rests (lies)
the body of
Elizebeth Kanutte Lande
Born Dec. 12, 1868
Died the Sept. 18, 1892
To my father's house I go
There I'll rest sweet and quiet
Yes, I know it
Here I stand prepared and ready
Hear my sigh and take my hand
Holy Father, your hand

Deetz and Dethlefsen (1972:404) noted that early stones in New England began by describing the state of the deceased: "Here lies" or "Here lies buried" being typical early examples of what they termed "literary controls". This phrase was frequently used in the Norwegian cemeteries suggesting perhaps the direct diffusion of the practice from Europe. It was also used on one German grave in Zearing. Although the content of the Norwegian epitaphs has much similarity to the American epitaphs and are easily sorted into categories, the verses per se are not similar to others found in Story County indicating that the epitaphs were based upon the language patterns of the Norwegian culture.

CHAPTER VI. CORRELATION OF SELECTED VARIABLES

OVER TIME

This chapter examines the computer output of the data base using selected variables over time. Frequencies were run for recoded variable 7, date of death, with the following variables: variable 6, manner of indication of date of birth; variable 8, manner of indication of date of death; variable 10, manner of indication of age of death; variable 12, kinship terms; variable 13, components of vital statistics; variable 14, size of gravestone; variable 15, standing table gravestone; variable 16, column gravestone; variable 17, block gravestone; variable 18, idiosyncratic type gravestone; variable 19, techniques of surface treatment; variables 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, symbols; variable 25, epitaphs. Note that there are five separate variables for symbols. This was necessary as a gravestone could have anywhere from one to five different symbols. Another factor is that stones which have no "date of death" will not show in correlations using the latter variable.

As was discussed in the section on methodology, variable 7, date of death, was first recoded in 10 year periods and for sake of convenience they are again summarized here for easy referral:

1850 through 1859 = period 1

1860 through 1869 = period 2

1870 through 1879 = period 3

1880 through 1889 = period 4

1890 through 1899 = period 5

1900 through 1909 = period 6

1910 through 1919 = period 7

1920 through 1947 = period 8

Table 1. summarizes the manner in which birth dates, death dates, and age at death changed over time.

Table 1. Summary of frequency percentages for variables 7 with 6, 8 and 10

Time periods	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Date of birth	10.3	15.1	20.5	42.4	62.1	89.3	94.4	98.0
Date of death	100.0	99.6	100.0	99.8	100.0	99.1	100.0	100.0
Age at death	75.6	81.1	73.1	59.2	37.7	18.8	14.8	2.0

The frequency percentages for recording the date of birth climbed consistently from a low of 10.3 in the earliest time period to 98.0 in the last time period and the recording of date of death shows high percentages for all time periods. This shows that while death dates were always considered important to be recorded on gravestones, birth dates were not used to any great extent until later time periods.

In comparison to the use of birth dates, the reverse is true of recording the age at death which has its highest percentages in the earlier time periods. In recording the age of death, the gravestone cutter chiseled the actual age of the deceased by the year, the month, and the day. For example, such a stone would read: Aged/25y 1m 14ds or 25Yrs 1Mo 14days or possible different combinations of abbreviations (as shown in Figure 10A). This chronicling of the exact years, months,

and days of one's life appears to be further evidence of a preoccupation with the fact of death. The higher frequency percentages for both birth and death dates in later time periods suggests that their usage in combination was on the ascendancy and that such an individual fact as "age at death" was going out of style which supports the observations of some writers that towards the end of the 19th century death was becoming increasingly depersonalized and unsentimental (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977; Jones 1967; Morley 1971).

Significant changes in kinship references occurred over time. These changes are summarized in Table 2. In this table the first value to be noted is "not recorded on stone" which refers to the absence of kinship terms on gravestones. It will be observed that the nonusage of kinship terms increases with each time period. Thus, the use of family relationships as recorded on gravestones decreased over time.

Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:38) state that kin references to wife, son, daughter, and brother were popular during the Victorian period (1837-1901), suggesting that the family was taking greater ascendancy over community in the individual values and loyalties of the time. The data presented here appear to confirm their observation with the exception of "brother".

Table 2 shows that the most popular kinship term based on relative percentages were wife, son, daughter, and father in that order. Noting the wide difference in the use of the term "wife", as opposed to "husband", it would appear that for all time periods studied it was more important for a woman to be remembered as the wife of the man rather than a man

Table 2. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with kinship terms

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Father	1.3	0.7	1.1	2.6	3.8	5.4	3.7	8.0
Husband		0.4	3.3	1.4	1.6	0.9		
Father-husband				0.2				
Mother		1.8	0.8	1.7	3.5	7.1	5.6	6.0
Wife	11.5	14.0	12.7	18.5	19.0	6.3	20.4	16.0
Mother-wife		1.4	1.4	1.0	1.4			
Consort		2.5						
Son	32.1	29.8	19.4	16.3	11.7	3.6	5.6	6.0
Brother				0.2				
Son-brother			0.3					
Daughter	25.6	20.0	19.9	11.0	11.4	5.4		4.0
Sister								
Daughter-sister		0.4	0.3	0.2				
Grandmother				0.2				
Grandfather								
Aunt					0.3			
Uncle								
Not recorded	20.5	18.6	30.2	37.6	39.6	67.0	64.8	60.0
Illegible	2.6	1.4	0.6	0.5				
Child	5.1	6.0	6.6	5.5	4.6	1.8		
Infant	1.3	2.1	1.9	2.4	3.0	1.8		
Unknown	0.7	0.3	0.2					
Our family	0.4							
Father-mother			0.3					
Twins					0.3			
Wife-daughter				0.8	0.2		0.9	

being remembered as the husband of a woman.

Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:38) state that a related side effect of 20th century cultural development has been a 30 to 40 percent increase in life expectancy adding greatly to the numbers of married couples who, having lived to old age, spend their later years in childless homes. They suggest that the consequential increase in the importance of the wife-

husband relationship is visible in the high proportion of shared memorials. This may be a valid assumption, but my data suggest that the husband-wife relationship has always been important and has not increased in importance after the decline of devotion to God and family of Colonial and Victorian times. Table 2 shows fairly high frequencies for husband-wife terms all through the latter half of the 19th century along with son and daughter. I suggest the advent of the family monument in the 1890s and 1900s (Table 8) served to concentrate kin terms of not only husband and wife but children on shared memorials. The high frequencies for son and daughter during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s are perhaps a reflection of the high infant and child mortality rates of those difficult early pioneer years. The use of these two terms decreases steadily with the decades. Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:38) note that son and daughter terms have all but disappeared from the cemetery but they do not specify when this trend started. My data show a marked decline after 1900 but the terms were still being used with less frequency. Because of the limited sample collected after the time period of 1900 the conclusion is perhaps more suggestive than conclusive.

It is interesting to observe the use of the term "consort" in the decade of the 1860s. Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria, died in 1861 and much was made at the time of Victoria's intense grief and prolonged mourning. Could it be that the use of this term is another example of the psychological phenomenon of identification and empathy with well-known and popular figures of the time?

Another dimension of kinship that was investigated had to do with the spatial grouping of family burials. Variable 32 has been entitled "family groupings". During the recording of the data I attempted to record stones in family groups when this seemed applicable. Often families set off their burial plots by constructing a rectangular cement curbing bounding the area. Stones that carried the same name and were buried in proximity to each other were recorded as family units. Of course later in time the family monument with its satellites of small markers denoted a family unit. A cross tabulation table disclosed how family groupings were correlated with the recoded time variable. In Table 3, the row percentages begin in the 1850s with 4.0 and climb steadily peaking in the 1880s and then steadily decline after 1890. However, it should be pointed out that the figures after 1900 are not valid for these purposes since I recorded only those stones which were associated with family groupings whose death dates were before 1900. Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:35) observe that a large proportion of burials, from Colonial times through the 1920s, were in family groupings. Now, in modern cemeteries with infant and child mortality rates almost

Table 3. Summary of frequency percentages by decades with family groupings

Time periods	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Family groupings	4.0	14.5	18.3	21.1	18.8	5.7	2.7	2.5

eliminated, it is suggested that perhaps children live to simply move away to establish families of their own. They make another interesting point, which appears to be borne out by the data described above. They state:

The appearance of formal family plots in the mid-nineteenth century suggests the social attitudes of the living community. The erection of ornate marble monuments in the family plots of upper-class families, as opposed to the simpler memorials erected by less wealthy people, may be an expression of the increasing social and economic stratification that occurred with the industrial expansion of the nineteenth century (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977:35).

In light of their statement, the 4.0 in the 1850s for Story County could be a reflection of the early settlement process and unsettled conditions of early pioneer days. The increased family groupings of the 1870s and 1880s, evidenced by the table, would support Dethlefsen and Jensen's theory. This was a time of "settling in" on the Iowa frontier establishing life styles, business and home and leading to social and economic stratification of varying degrees.

The use of vital statistics on gravestones with varying components shows changes through time. In Table 4, the variable value of "vital statistics only" without the accompanying symbols, carvings, and epitaphs shows a swing of 48.7 in the 1850s decreasing during the 1860s and 1870s and then rising slowly until the beginning of the 20th century when it increases rather sharply. "Vital statistics only" denotes simplicity and uniformity in the cemetery marker. Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:38) observe that after 1920, which they believe marked the beginning of the modern period in cemetery change, there was a general return to simplicity and uniformity that had been characteristic of

Table 4. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with components of vital statistics

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Vital statistics only	48.7	18.2	18.8	30.2	30.6	46.4	48.1	68.0
Vital statistics, design	24.4	33.7	37.4	29.3	31.2	39.3	37.0	24.0
Vital statistics, design, epitaph	7.7	33.7	35.2	29.7	27.9	8.0	7.4	4.0
Vital statistics, epitaph	9.0	7.0	5.0	8.6	7.9	2.7		
Military, vital statistics					0.3	0.9	3.7	2.0
Military, vital statistics, design				0.3	0.2		0.9	
Military, vital statistics, epitaph		1.1				0.8		
Illegible				0.3	0.5			
Broken stone	10.3	6.0	2.8	1.0				
Vital statistics, occupation		0.4			0.2		0.9	2.0
Family relationship, vital statistics						0.5	0.9	

pre-Victorian gravestone treatment. Again, my date appear to confirm their observation.

While the 1850s were considered to be a part of the Victorian Age, for Story County, Iowa, it was the beginning of pioneer settlement and a harsh environment to be overcome; thus, the excesses of the Victorians

were not appropriate for these early settlers who had not the time, means, nor inclination for things beyond the simple necessities. This perhaps explains the high percentage of "vital statistics only" during the 1850s. However, this was beginning to change by the 1860s when "vital statistics plus design and epitaph" was becoming increasing popular peaking in the 1870s. Thereafter, it will be noted there is a steady decline in the more elaborate use of design and epitaph. Vital statistics plus some form of design remains fairly constant over the decades.

Major changes in the size and bulk of gravestones occurred over time. Table 5 shows that the vertical tablet form of gravestone was most popular during the decades of 1850, 1860, and 1870 following trends that

Table 5. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with size of gravestone

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Small tablet	46.2	43.9	38.0	17.3	7.6	2.7	1.9	4.0
Medium tablet	20.5	21.4	17.7	8.6	3.0	4.5		
Large tablet	14.1	14.0	11.9	5.3	1.1	1.8		
Small column	2.6	2.8	5.5	11.3	12.5	0.9	5.6	
Medium column	3.8	7.4	7.8	21.8	24.1	22.3	11.1	4.0
Large column	6.4	3.5	5.8	11.3	15.4	7.1	11.1	10.0
Small block	3.8	3.9	9.4	16.8	18.7	24.1	42.6	42.0
Medium block	2.6	1.8	2.8	6.2	13.3	30.4	18.5	22.0
Large block		1.4	1.1	1.4	4.3	6.3	9.3	18.0

were popular during the 18th and early 19th centuries of Colonial America (Mueller 1976:42; Ludwig 1966). The column type of monument reached its zenith during the 1880s and 1890s. The figures appear to confirm Mueller's (1976:42) observation that late 19th century monuments came in all sizes and shapes but they could be characterized by their mass and height. I suggest that for early Story County the use of the thin vertical tablet characteristic of Colonial America was again a situation of a western frontier where earlier styles from the East had just arrived with the settlers. Note that the small horizontal block steadily increases from 3.8 in the 1850s to 42.6 in the 1910s, the early beginning of the modern period.

The evolution of the standing tablet gravestone form is shown in Table 6. The plain square top which is a simple treatment of the stone was most popular in the 1850s and 1860s dwindling to the end of the 19th century. Ornamentation of the square top was most prevalent from 1870 to 1900. In fact, it will be observed that this is true of all the values of variables having to do with ornamentation of the tops of the stones. The segmented, indented circles, and rounded tops were used most in the 1870s with the rounded top having the greatest popularity. The pointed top which suggests arches and portals appears to be popular in the 1880s. Mueller (1976:8) states there was an architectural significance in the shape of New England stones. Because the Puritans viewed death as something through which they must pass to enter eternity, the shape of these stones suggest portals. This design in Story County cemeteries

Table 6. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with standing tablet gravestone

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Square top	66.7	40.0	13.3	1.9	0.8			
Square top ornamented			2.2	0.5	0.3			
Segmented top	1.3	2.5	4.7	3.4	2.2	0.9		
Segmented top ornamented		0.4	0.6	0.2	0.3	3.6		
Round top	5.1	17.9	19.4	10.6	1.9	3.6		4.0
Round top ornamented		2.1	3.0	1.0				
Indented circle		3.2	4.4	2.2	1.1		1.9	
Indented circle ornamented	1.3	1.8	8.0	3.1	0.3			
Pointed top	1.3	2.1	2.8	3.4	0.5			
Pointed top ornamented		1.1	1.1	0.5				
Multiple square top	1.3	1.1						
Multiple round top		1.4	3.3	1.0				
Multiple round top ornamented								
Multiple pointed top								
Multiple pointed top ornamented				0.2				
Multiple indented circle	1.3	2.1	1.4	0.5				
Pointed top finial			0.6					
Top broken	2.6	2.1	1.4	0.2				
Not recorded		1.8	1.7	2.2	1.4	0.9		

would appear to be a hold-over from earlier Puritan gravestones.

A reverse emphasis in the evolution of column styles occurs in which the simple square gabled top peaked in the 1890s and was by far the most popular. Table 7 shows that ornamentation was most popular from 1860 to 1890. That the obelisk shows popularity from the 1850s through the 1880s is an observation made by Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:37). In relative percentages, the square gabled column reached its peak in the 1890s with 35.0, square gabled with finial in the 1880s with 11.5 and the obelisk from the 1850s to the 1880s ranging from 9.0 to 6.5. These figures again support Mueller's (1976:24) statements that during the Victorian period monumental art is illustrated in the growing popularity of the urn, pedestal, stile column, and obelisk. Gothic revival architecture, which produced Victorian gingerbread houses, was mirrored in the gabled roof tops superimposed over pedestals and the excessive use of ornamentation. These figures show that the finial type of ornamentation was going out of style after the 1880s being replaced by the more simple gabled top.

The block style of gravestone, both vertical and horizontal, does not appear much before the 1890s when the new techniques of a polished surface with sand-blasted, stenciled lettering came into popularity. The use of granite, being a hard igneous rock, was far more suitable for these new techniques. This fact appears to be confirmed by the low frequencies of the block type of gravestone before 1890 which appear in Table 8. The family monument, usually a large marker that commemorated the family name or included many family members incised on the surface, began its popularity in the 1890s rising continuously in the next

Table 7. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with the column gravestone

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Square gable	2.6	2.8	2.8	17.5	35.0	17.9	16.7	6.0
Square gable finial	1.3	4.2	3.9	11.3	9.8	9.8	7.4	6.0
Square ornamented				0.8	0.5	0.8		1.9
Obelisk	9.0	4.9	7.2	6.5	1.9			2.0
Obelisk ornamented			1.1	2.2	1.4	1.1	1.8	
Combined square, round ornamented			0.4		1.2			
Multiple column finial					0.5			
Top broken				1.9	3.8	2.4		
Not recorded					0.5		0.9	
Inverted gable					0.2			
Obelisk finial					0.2			

Table 8. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with the block gravestone

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Family monument		2.1	3.6	5.0	13.6	25.9	24.1	36.0
Horizontal, flat block		0.7	4.4	5.5	7.3	7.1	11.1	22.0
Horizontal block, rounded top	2.6	0.4		0.7	0.3	0.9	1.9	
Horizontal multiple flat block		0.4	0.8	2.2	1.1	0.9	3.7	2.0
Beveled block	1.3	1.8	3.3	7.7	10.0	16.1	22.2	12.0
Multiple beveled block								
Horizontal block flush		0.7	0.3	1.0	1.6	1.8	1.9	6.0
Square numbered stones								
Vertical block no top		1.1	0.6	2.9	1.9	8.0	3.7	4.0
Not recorded					0.3		1.9	

decades. Usually associated with the family monument were smaller stones for individual family members noting name only or name and vital statistics with an occasional design. These smaller markers took many forms: tablet, horizontal flat block, beveled, or pillow shaped. Horizontal and beveled single block markers gained the highest popularity after the 1900s. The horizontal block, flush with the ground, does not gain popularity until the last or modern period when power mowers came into common use in the maintenance of cemeteries. Here is an excellent example of an advance in a technological method, from the hand mower to power mower for the cutting of grass and weeds, which caused the form of a cultural product, the gravestone, to change in response to a different way of doing things. The figures in Table 8 just discussed appear to support the observations of Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:38) that after 1920 elaborately sculptured stones are replaced by stark, massive blocks of polished granite where assembly line industry takes the place of handcrafting. They note that granite headstones took the form of rectangular blocks inscribed either on their vertical faces, on their flat, slanted or vaulted tops and on polished horizontal slabs.

Mueller (1976:42) also makes similar observations and noted the popularity of the pillow and cushion types between 1870 and 1920. Table 9 shows that the stone pillow (symbolic of eternal sleep) was utilized in Story County during the Victorian period but not to any great extent; however, it does appear to be the most used of the idiosyncratic types, with the stone cross and heart to a lesser degree.

Table 9. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with idiosyncratic gravestones

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Stone cross				0.2	0.3			
Stone pillow		0.4	0.3	0.2	1.4		1.9	
Heart				0.2	0.5			
Diamond					1.4			
Tree trunk	2.6				0.3			
Paper-glass					0.3			

Techniques of surface treatment evolved with the use of different stone materials which interestingly enough have evolved full circle. Mueller (1976:10) states that many of New England's earliest stone markers were merely granite boulders into which dates and initials were cut. However, late in the 17th century slate, which was good for engraving, replaced the granite boulders. Slate was plentiful and easier to work than granite, given the tools that were available at the time. By the middle 1800s marble was also introduced since the properties of slate were not suited to ornamental carving and sculpturing. During the 1800s limestone, as well as marble, was popular and persisted until granite again became popular in the latter part of the 19th Century. The primary problem produced by the soft limestones and some marbles was the problem of weathering and wearing away of surface treatments. This fact is supported by my data when one looks at Tables 2, 4, 10, 11, and

12 where the variables values of "illegible" are concentrated in higher relative frequency percentages for the years between 1850 and 1880 when limestone, sandstone, and marble were used exclusively.

Mueller (1976:10) continues with the information that technology by the end of the 19th Century had evolved a technique of polishing the granite surface into which could be inscribed, through sandblasting, stencil-cut letters and design. Such lettering was perfectly formed and almost impervious to time and weather. However, such assembly line techniques spelled the death knell of the individual handcrafting of stonecutters and did away with such interesting characteristics as misspelling of words, misspellings of family names, and errors in judgment of how to center the message of an epitaph so that all words will end up on the stone. My data also revealed this same phenomenon. Samples of the above are provided in Chapter V on the epitaphs of Story County. Looking at Table 10 one will note that the "chiseled incised" technique remains fairly constant with some fluctuations until the modern period around 1920. "Chiseled incised sculptured" was most prevalent during the 1860s and 1870s finally dying out entirely by the modern era. The frequencies for "polished and hammered" make a sharp increase by the turn of the century.

The use of symbols and the different kinds of symbols on gravestones evolve and change over time having distinctive periods of popularity. Table 11 depicts how the more popular symbols are correlated with designated time periods. First to be discussed are symbols that were used as background or a frame for name, vital statistics, or other

Table 10. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with techniques of surface treatment

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Chiseled incised	60.3	29.8	22.7	46.0	55.3	33.0	22.2	8.0
Chiseled incised, sculptured	32.1	60.7	63.2	25.7	2 2	3.6		
Etched				0.2				
Polished hammered	5.1	8.1	13.3	27.6	42.3	63.4	77.8	92.0
Paper under glass					0.3			
Illegible	2.6	1.4	0.8	0.2				
Not recorded				0.2				

Table 11. Summary of frequency percentages for date of death with symbols

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Pointing finger	2.6	7.1	10.6	3.6	0.3			
Banner	1.3	4.4	4.9	4.0	1.9	.9	1.9	
Crown			0.6	0.4	1.8	0.9	1.9	
Rosette				0.4	0.3			
Wheat			0.3	0.7	0.6			
Fleur-de-lis		0.4	0.9	2.8	4.4	1.8		
Trinity	1.3	6.4	3.1	2.1	3.6	1.8		2.0
Family monogram		0.8	0.8	1.0	4.9	5.4	9.3	4.0
IHS					1.7		1.9	2.0
Latin Cross		1.1	3.6	2.8	3.8	.9	1.9	10
Shield		3.9	6.7	2.3	.5	1.8		2.0

Table 11 (Continued)

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Angel		0.4	0.6					
Scroll		0.4	0.9	.9	3.2	2.7		
Rose	2.6	10.0	12.8	4.1	2.2	1.8	3.9	
Lily		0.7	1.7	1.9	1.7			
Oak leaves		0.7	1.2	2.6	4.9	2.7		
Morning glory	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.4	.3			
Daisy		1.2	0.3	0.5	1.1			
Vine		1.5	5.0	5.0	7.3	2.7	13.0	6.0
Lily of valley				0.7				
Tree of life		0.4		0.2	.8			
Fern		2.2	0.3	5.3	5.4	0.9	1.9	2.0
Calla lily			0.6	0.2	1.3	1.8		
Acanthus		0.4			0.3		3.7	
Iris				0.4				
Laurel wreath		1.1	2.0		0.5			
Shell			0.3					
Harp				0.2	0.3	0.9		
Star		0.8	1.2	0.2				
Rays		0.4		0.2	1.0			
Urn		2.1	1.7	4.3	1.1	0.9	1.9	
Anchor			0.3	0.2				
Resting lamb	12.8	16.5	16.4	6.2	0.5			
Weeping willow	6.4	4.0	1.7					

Table 11 (Continued)

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Open book	2.6	7.4	4.6	1.12		0.9		
Closed book				0.6	0.2	0.5	0.9	
Flying dove	3.9	7.1	6.2	2.4	0.3	0.9		
Clasped hands		3.9	6.7	6.5	1.1			
Broken chain		1.1	1.4	0.2				
Draped curtains	1.3	0.7	2.7	1.7	0.5	0.9		
Gates of heaven		0.4		0.2	2.4	3.6		
Mansions					1.1	0.9		
Knotted cord			0.3	0.2				
Rope	1.3		0.6	0.2				
Scallop				0.2				
Masonic			0.3	0.9		0.9		
Eastern Star								
Odd Fellows	2.6		0.3	0.7		4.0		
Woodman of World					0.3			
Crossed flags		1.1						
Stylistic leaf		4.3	5.3	12.9	18.1	8.0	14.9	4.0
Illegible	1.3	0.4	2.2	0.4				
Ivy		0.4	0.6	0.7	6.8	1.8	5.6	4.0
Tulip					0.3			
Basket, flowers	0.4				1.1		1.9	
Pansy		1.1	0.9	0.7	0.9			
Undetermined flower		2.5	3.0	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.9	

Table 11 (Continued)

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Primrose		0.8		0.2	1.4		1.9	
Hand and bouquet				0.6				
Vase flowers				0.3				
Spiral design	1.3	4.3	4.4	2.9	2.5	0.9	1.9	
Cross Ione					0.5	0.3		
Latin fleuree					0.5			
Flag pole					0.2			
Stars crescent	2.6							
FHC					0.5			

carved symbols in bas-relief. These included the banner, shield, scroll, triangle, wreath of flowers, quatrafoil, and four-leaf clover. Other background symbols included the circle, half-circle, rectangle, and oval. These latter symbols were not all systematically recorded but in retrospect perhaps should have been. The banner often used as a base for ornate work was the most popular spanning the years when bas-relief symbolic carvings were most popular. Tables 6, 7, and 19 show that ornamentation was most popular in the 1870s and this correlates with the higher percentage frequency of the banner. This is also true of the shield, another popular background symbol used especially for the vital statistics. The cross used from 1860 on is most popular in the 1890s. I would suggest that the use of the circle,

semi-circle, oval, and triangle would have correlated in frequencies with the banner and shield in the 1860s and 1870s but unfortunately this can only be an impressionistic statement.

Table 5 shows that the peak decades for the standing tablet were from the 1850s through the 1870s. The symbols which show higher frequencies for these decades were the pointing finger, hand holding a rose, a bouquet, trinity, Latin Cross, angel, rose, morning glory, vine, pansy, vase of flowers, flying dove, resting lamb, weeping willow, open book, clasped hands, hand holding a broken chain, draped curtain with tassels, and anchor.

Table 5 also shows that the peak decade for the column type of gravestone concentrated in the 1880s and 1890s carrying over into the early 1900s. The symbols associated with this form are the crown (coupled with a cross, leaves, or rose), rosette, wheat, fleur-de-lis, family monogram, IHS, Latin Cross, Maltese Cross, Cross of Ione, lily, oak leaves, vine design, tree of life, fern, calla lily, acanthus, iris, harp, urn (both draped and undraped), gates of heavens, mansions in the sky, stylistic leaf (especially associated with the 1890s), ivy, tulip, basket of flowers, primrose, and flag pole.

Secular symbols such as the Masonic emblem, Odd Fellows, and Woodman of the World also appear on the columnar types. Eastern Star, DAR, PEO, which are secular symbols associated with female organizations, also, fall within this time period of the column gravestones but they do not appear quantitatively on the computer print-out. This is due to the fact that the symbol was usually in the form of a metal

marker in association with a gravestone that had inscribed the female's name or family relationship only and thus could not be correlated with a date of death. This was also true of American Legion symbols in association with military gravestones whose components usually did not provide a date of death.

Symbols which were popular in the early decades and carried over into later periods were the pointing finger, banner, trinity, Latin Cross, shield, rose, morning glory, daisy, fern, clasped hands, draped curtain with tassels, pansy, primrose, and spiral design. Symbols which had early popularity but died out after the 1870s include particularly the weeping willow, angel, shell, hand with broken chain, hand holding bouquet and vase of flowers. It is especially interesting to note that the weeping willow design which was so popular in Colonial America diffused to the Iowa frontier where it was very popular in the 1850s gradually dying out by the end of the 1870s. The weeping willow took on various forms by adding an obelisk with a mourning woman standing nearby or in some cases just one of the two in association with the weeping willow. These variations were traditional symbols of grief in Victorian England (Curl 1972:13).

Symbols which seem to have popularity over time are the banner, fleur-de-lis, trinity, family monogram, Latin Cross, shield, scroll, rose, oak leaves, vine design, fern, urn, draped curtain with tassels, stylistic leaf, and spiral design.

Ludwig (1966) shows that such symbols as the heart, vine, tree of

life, palm, cross and crown, cross, hand holding flowers, sun and stars, open book, bird, geometric rosettes, sunburst, and draped curtain and tassels were all popular symbols in New England cemeteries during the period of 1650 to 1815. It may be seen that most of the above symbols later became popular on the Iowa frontier.

An analysis of the epitaphs based upon my impressionistic groupings revealed no discernible patterns and because these epitaphs were arbitrarily assigned into categories, it is doubtful regarding the validity or meaning of the figures. Samples of the categories of epitaphs are provided in Chapter V. However, in Table 12, the value "no epitaph" does bear out earlier conclusions that the stones of the 1850s showing higher frequencies for no epitaph were of a more simple, less complex and ornate variety. From 1860 to 1900 stones showed more frequencies of epitaphs which dropped thereafter. Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977:38) state that epitaphs of the Victorian times were either eulogistic of the deceased or worshipful of God and that later on new stone forms and epitaphs appear to deny death by comparing it to sleep or rest or immortality in the form of mansions. Table 12 shows percentages of "tribute" are slightly higher in the 1860s and 1870s, "paradise" gains slightly in the 1870s and 1880s. "Rest" appears popular from the 1860s on to the 1900s which does not completely support Dethlefsen and Jensen's observation that "rest" epitaphs are more diagnostic of the period following the Victorians.

Table 12. Summary of frequency of percentages for date of death with epitaphs

Time period	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910-	1920-
Familiar	2.6	3.5	4.7	4.1	6.2			2.0
Inspiration			0.8	0.2	0.8		1.9	
Prayers		0.4						
Immortality		4.2	4.2	3.8	1.9	2.7		
Work, victory, patriotism		0.4	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.9		
Tribute	1.3	2.1	2.2	1.4	1.1			
Rest	1.3	10.5	5.3	7.2	8.4	5.4	1.9	
Consolation	3.8	5.6	3.9	2.4	0.5		1.9	
Paradise	1.3	0.4	0.8	0.7	0.5			
Love		1.4	1.1	0.5	0.3			
Sorrow	1.3	3.9	3.6	5.3	5.1	0.9		
Memory		3.2	1.4	3.6	4.9	0.9		
Unique	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.0	0.3			
No epitaph	75.6	53.3	57.1	60.2	62.9	88.4	94.4	96.0
Unreadable	3.8	6.7	10.0	8.9	6.5	0.9		
Buried stone	7.7	3.2	3.3	0.5				

CHAPTER VII. GEOGRAPHIC CORRELATIONS

In the preceding chapter the time variable was analyzed. The geographic variable is now examined, again with specific variables chosen for correlation. Frequencies were run using variable 1, name of cemetery, with the following variables: variable 12, kinship terms; variable 14, size of gravestone; variables 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, symbols; variable 25, epitaphs; variable 26, language; variable 27, birthplace; variable 28, gravestone cutter; variable 29, metal marker; variable 30, metal marker military; variable 31, metal marker sodality.

Of the kinship terms appearing on gravestones the most frequently used are relationships of the nuclear family: father and mother, son and daughter, and the conjugal relationship of husband and wife. The sibling terms of brother and sister are used but with much less frequency. Relatives such as uncle, aunt, and grandparents are used but again infrequently. The terms infant and children have a high frequency because of the high mortality of young children before the event of modern medicine and health practices.

Table 13 shows that the terms son and daughter are perhaps the most frequently used terms in almost all cemeteries, again reflecting the high mortality of young people before 1900. As an example, the cemeteries showing a high frequency of the term child or children are the early pioneer cemeteries such as Wilkinson (3), Sowers (5), Baldus (6), Born (8), Pleasant Grove (9), M'Michael (10), Micah French (14), Mound (20), and Walnut Grove (21). The term infant appears with high

Table 13. Summary of frequency percentages for cemetery with kinship terms

	Cemetery																	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
Father	11.5						5.5		1.5					3.4	3.8	3.8	5.8	
Husband		1.3						1.1		14.3					1.6			
Mother	10.3	10.0	4.3					1.1		1.5				2.3	3.2	3.8	6.6	
Wife	11.5	10.0	13.0	25.0	25.0			18.7	10.6	11.9	28.6		15.8	11.5	14.0	3.8	7.4	
Consort															1.3			
Son	16.7	40.0	8.7				18.8	46.7	18.7	12.8	14.9		38.5	26.3	13.8	14.6	19.2	5.8
Daughter	10.3	20.0	13.0				6.3	20.0	12.1	21.3	14.9	14.3	38.5	31.6	11.5	14.3	7.7	5.0
Gr. M.																.8		
Gr. F.															.3			
Aunt																.3		
Uncle																.8		
Not Rec.	30.8	20.0	34.8	75.0	37.5	20.0	38.5	17.0	38.8	14.3	15.4	15.8	100.0	39.1	36.8	57.7	60.3	
Illegible	1.3							1.1	14.9					1.6		.8		
Infant	1.3							1.1		1.5		7.7			2.2		1.7	
Child	3.8		26.1		12.5	13.3		21.3	11.9	14.3				14.9	1.9		3.3	
Unknown								2.1						1.1				
Father																		
Fa.-Mo.																		
Mo.-Wife									1.5					14.5				
Wife-Dau.																		

Table 13 (Continued)

	Cemetery												
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Father		4.5				5.6	3.4			1.0	3.7		
Husband		2.7		0.8		2.8			1.4	2.0	0.9		
Mother	7.7	5.4				4.8	3.4	14.3		1.0	5.5		
Wife	7.7	14.3	14.0	13.6	9.1	18.2	6.9	14.3	22.7	17.4	14.1	16.5	20.0
Consort				1.6		.3					.9		
Son	23.1	18.8	26.3	24.8	18.2	15.1	27.6		13.6	18.8	9.1	12.8	20.0
Daughter	38.5	12.5	19.3	15.2	9.1	9.0	13.8	7.1	9.1	17.4	16.2	12.8	
Gr. M.								1.4					
Gr. F.													
Aunt													
Uncle													
Not Rec.		36.6	28.1	28.0	63.6	34.5	44.8	64.3	22.7	30.4	47.5	33.0	20.0
Illegible	15.4	.9		4.0		1.1			13.6	2.9	2.0	3.7	40.0
Infant		1.8		3.2		3.9			9.1	1.4	1.0	7.3	
Child			7.0	7.2		2.5			4.5	5.8	5.1	2.8	
Unknown		1.8	5.3										
Father	7.7												
Fa.-Mo.		0.9											
Mo.-Wife			.8		1.7			1.4	1.0				
Wife-Dau.			.8		0.3								

frequency in Arrasmith (11), Maxwell (26) and Center Grove (29).

It is significant to note the contrast in the use of the terms husband and wife. The frequent use of the term wife over husband has already been discussed but one will observe that this fact is again borne out in the figures of Table 13. An interesting occurrence of the higher frequency of both terms used is in M'Michael Cemetery where husband is used 14.3 and wife 28.6, father and mother not at all, with daughter and children having higher frequency. The ethnic background of M'Michael Cemetery, Franklin Township, was primarily of the British Isles with Protestant-Calvinistic religious inclinations (as shown in Figure 3). There is not sufficient data here, but I might suggest this to be a possible reflection of the stronger economic emphasis which the Protestant-work ethic places on the husband-wife relationship as an economic unit.

In the St. Patrick Catholic Cemetery (17) one will note that the variety of kinship relationships appear with slightly more frequency; for example, the terms aunt, uncle, and grandmother. The terms father and mother have higher frequencies while husband has none perhaps again a reflection of the high value placed upon parenthood by the Catholic Church. In recording the cemetery I felt an awareness of what I thought at the time to be an excessive number of kinship terms used in comparison to other cemeteries. In the solitude of the cemetery one fantasizes about the significance of the data and I was prepared to discuss this Catholic cemetery in terms of stronger family relationships and importance of the parental role as reflected in

their burial practices; however, one will observe that 60.3 of the stones did not record kinship terms which is a higher figure than for many other cemeteries. The moral of this story is, of course, that impressions are not necessarily borne out by the empirical data.

Table 14 shows the small tablets have their highest frequencies in the older pioneer cemeteries such as Baldus (6), Born (8), Arrasmith (11), Mound (20), Bloomington (12), Walnut Grove (21), and Center Grove (29). The medium tablet appears most frequently at other old cemeteries such as Wilkinson (3), Sowers (5), M'Michael (10), Bloomington (12), and Maxwell (26). The large tablet appears most frequently at Sheffield (7), M'Michael (10), Bloomington (12), and Cory (18). The figures merely confirm the fact that the above cemeteries are older and except for a few are nonextant.

The small column gravestone appears most frequently in the cemeteries of East Bergen Church (2), Pierson (4), Pleasant Grove (9), Bethany (22), Maxwell (26), and Palestine (26). The medium column gravestone appears more often in Zearing (1), East Bergen Church (2), Wilkinson (3), Sowers (5), Sheffield (7), Micah French (14), Woodland Center (23), Bethany (22), Lincoln (24) and Deeter (30). The large column gravestone has high frequencies in Zearing (1), Pleasant Grove (9), Ontario (15), University (16), St. Patrick Catholic (17), Mound (20), Bethany (22), Woodland Center (23), and Center Grove (29). The column form of gravestone appears to be more correlated with those extant cemeteries which sprang up around the successful towns and rural communities of the 1880s. By the 1880s the cemeteries associated

Table 14. Summary of frequency percentages for cemetery with size of gravestone

	Cemetery																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Small tablet	10.3	20.0			12.5	73.3	19.8	68.1	16.4	14.3	76.9	36.8		21.8	27.0	3.8	
Medium tablet	1.3		47.8	75.0	43.8		13.2	12.8	3.0	42.9	7.7	36.8		3.4	12.7		
Large tablet	1.3					6.7	14.3	2.1	3.0	28.6	15.4	26.3		4.6	2.2		
Small column	5.1	30.0		25.0	12.5	6.7	2.2	4.3	17.9	14.3				6.9	6.3	3.8	
Medium column	32.1	30.0	26.1		31.3	6.7	24.2	6.4	9.0					20.7	10.8		
Large column	19.2					4.4		13.4						6.9	10.5	11.5	
Small block	17.9	10.0	26.1			13.2	6.4	23.9						100.0	17.2	17.1	26.9
Medium block	9.0	10.0				6.7	8.8		10.4					17.2	8.6		
Large block	3.8							3.0						1.1	4.8	53.8	

Table 14 (Continued)

	Cemetery													
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Small tablet	19.0	23.1	25.9	52.6	40.0	9.1	20.2	13.8	7.1	22.7	29.0	19.2	34.9	
Medium tablet	5.0	23.1	14.3	12.3	12.8	9.1	9.5	10.3	14.3	40.9	20.3	15.2	6.4	
Large tablet	1.7	23.1	9.8	8.8	11.2		8.4			13.6	13.0	3.0	9.2	
Small column	4.1	7.7	2.7	1.8	11.2	18.2	4.2	6.9	7.1	18.2	8.7	17.2	8.3	
Medium column	8.3		9.8		8.8	54.5	20.7	20.7		4.5	2.9	15.2	11.9	
Large column	9.9		6.3	12.3	3.2	9.1	11.5	6.9		5.8	5.1	9.2		
Small block	29.8	23.1	22.3		10.4		15.1	31.0	50.0		4.3	13.1	7.3	
Medium block	14.0		8.0	10.5	2.4		7.6	6.9	21.4		13.0	10.1	10.1	
Large block	8.3		.9	1.8			2.8	3.4			2.9	2.0	2.8	

with such unsuccessful towns as Bloomington and also family cemeteries were abandoned for more socially acceptable cemeteries associated with towns and churches.

In the block category two interesting figures appear in stark contrast. University Cemetery has a 53.8 frequency for large block and the County Poor Farm has a 100.0 frequency for small block. This indeed is a reflection of social attitudes in American culture of the late 1800s. University presidents were commemorated by large impressive stones whereas paupers were allotted a small square stone with a number on it.

Table 15 shows comparisons of the more significant symbols with individual cemeteries. There are a few discernible patterns in relation to the type of cemetery and kinds of symbols found. The symbols IHS and Latin Cross have a higher correlation with St. Patrick Catholic and the Latin Cross to a lesser degree with some cemeteries of Lutheran association, East Bergen Church (2) and Lincoln (6). Baldus (6) with a high correlation frequency of 53.3 for the Latin Cross might have been German Catholic but this is unconfirmed. The fleur-de-lis has associations with almost half of the cemeteries but particularly the Lutheran Church, East Bergen Church (2) and Bethany (22).

Another interesting contrast which has to do with those cemeteries of opposing social status, the County Poor Farm and the University Cemetery, is the fact that neither has symbols of a religious nature incised on the gravestone. However, there are metal markers of

Table 15. Comparisons of more significant symbols with cemeteries

	Cemetery															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Pointing finger			13.0	25.0	6.3		3.3	10.6			15.8		4.6	3.5		
Banner	2.6			25.0	12.5		8.8	2.1	1.5		10.6		3.4	1.2		
Fleur-de-lis	3.8	10.0					3.3	2.1	4.5				3.4	4.4		
Trinity	2.6	10.0					9.9	2.1	3.0	14.3			4.5	4.4		
Family mono.							1.1		3.0				2.3	4.1		
IHS																
Latin Cross		10.0					53.1	1.1						0.3		
Rose		10.0	8.7		6.3	6.7	4.4	2.1	3.0	14.3	13.0		13.0	4.5		
Oak leaves	7.7						6.7	5.5		3.0			2.3	1.9		
Vine	10.3	20.0	8.7		12.5		8.8	4.3	6.0				3.4	3.8		
Fern		10.0			6.3	6.7	4.4					5.3	2.3	3.2		
Urn		10.0					2.2		1.5				6.9			
Lamb	2.6		4.3		13.3	3.3	21.3	6.0			15.8		5.7	10.5		
Weeping willow			8.7				3.3			14.3	15.4			1.0		
Open book				6.3			3.3	2.1		28.6		10.6	1.1	3.2		
Flying dove					6.7	2.2	2.1	4.5			5.3		5.7	1.9		
Clasped hands						5.5	8.5	3.0					3.4	1.3		
Drape tassels								3.0			5.3		9.2	0.3		
Gates Heaven	1.3												1.1	1.3		
Stylistic leaf	20.5	30.0	8.7	25.0	12.5		7.7		13.5		5.3		24.0	8.9		
Ivy							2.2		7.5				4.5	3.6		
Shield	1.3				12.6		2.2		4.5				4.5	5.4		
Illegible	1.3					6.7	1.1	8.5			5.3		0.6			

Table 15 (Continued)

	Cemetery													
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Pointing finger	0.8		6.3	3.6	4.8		2.9			4.5	11.9	9.1	4.5	
Banner		1.6		2.7	5.3	1.6		3.9		4.5	4.7	3.0	2.7	
Fleur-de-lis							9.1	0.9	3.4		1.4	1.0	20.0	
Trinity				0.9	1.8	3.2	9.1	3.1	6.8		4.3	3.0	6.4	
Family mono.				0.9	5.3			2.8	7.1		2.9		5.5	
IHS		9.9												
Latin Cross		33.1					21.4							
Rose		1.6	7.7	6.3	4.3	2.4		5.6		14.3	4.5	8.6	4.0	
Oak leaves							6.4	27.3	0.9			4.3	1.8	
Vine		5.8		5.3	7.1	0.8	27.3	1.8	3.4		4.2	4.0	3.6	
Fern		3.2		1.8	1.8	4.0	9.1	2.9			2.9	4.0	2.6	
Urn		1.7		5.4		4.0		0.6					2.8	
Lamb		1.7	7.7	8.9	17.5	10.4	3.4	7.0		27.3	13.0	4.0	10.1	
Weeping willow		15.4	1.8	1.8	0.8		0.6			4.5	2.8	1.0		
Open book			0.9	4.3	2.4		2.2				2.9			
Flying dove			0.9	1.8	9.6	3.4	1.2				2.8		2.8	
Clasped hands			2.7	2.6	2.4	10.3	3.9			9.1	17.3	5.1	3.7	
Drape tassels			2.7				2.2			2.8			1.8	
Gates Heaven	0.8			3.5	0.8	9.1	2.2			1.4	2.0			
Stylistic leaf	10.7		5.4		4.8	9.1	1.3	17.2	14.2	9.0	4.3	20.2	9.2	
Ivy		2.3					1.9		7.1		6.1	3.7		
Shield		3.3		3.6		7.2		2.8		4.5	2.9	4.0	6.4	
Illegible	0.8	7.7			2.4		0.3	6.9		22.7		1.0	1.8	

a secular nature associated with gravestones. The explanation is again a ventured guess. In the case of the County Poor Farm the pauper status explains this lack but in the case of the University one can only surmise that the name of the prominent person and the magnificence of the monument is enough to commemorate the memory of that person. A college president is well-known in life and his life is commemorated in the history of the University.

Foreign languages which reflected the early ethnic background of certain townships appeared on a number of gravestones and were limited to the following cemeteries:

Norwegian: East Bergen Church, Wilkinson, Pierson, Born,
Bethany, Lincoln, Sheldahl Lutheran, Palestine

German: Zearing, Baldus, Pleasant Grove

Latin: St. Patrick Catholic

Birthplaces were sometimes included on gravestones and these appeared as follows:

England: Center Grove

Scotland: Woodland-Iowa Center

Ireland: St. Patrick Catholic

Germany: Pleasant Grove

Norway: Palestine

Denmark: Walnut Grove

New York: St. Patrick Catholic

The documented ethnic factors cited above support Allen (1887), Payne (1911), and other county historians who discuss the early ethnic

populations of Story County as provided in Chapter III.

Gravestone cutters often cut their individual or company name at the base of the stone on the right hand corner. By far, the most popular gravestone cutter before 1900 was F. M. Havens of Boone, Iowa. His stones appeared in nearly half of the cemeteries recorded. Twenty-seven more monument companies were recorded and they left their names in the following cemeteries:

S W & Co. Marshall: Zearing

Dodge & Baker Webster City: East Bergen Church, Sheffield

Woods & Marshall: Wilkinson

Noe & Co. Oskaloosa: Sheffield, M'Michael, Ontario, Woodland Center

Sherlock Marshall, Ia.: Sheffield, Palestine

J U Miller: Sheffield

McNeely & Co Marshall Ia.: Sheffield, Mullen

W B Thompson Oskaloosa: Sheffield

Chapman Iowa Falls: Sheffield, Born

Woods & Sherlock, Marshall: Born

H. ? Webster City: Born

Viquesney Dodge, Webster City: Born

S Perkins Des Moines: Bloomington

B S Holmes Iowa City: Bloomington

Fox Brothers, Des Moines Ia.: Bloomington, Walnut Grove,
Woodland Center, Center Grove

F M Spain Newton: Micah French, Mullen, Woodland, Maxwell

Des Moines M & M Co.: Micah French, Mullen, Mound, Walnut Grove,
Center Grove

F W McCall & Co. Oskaloosa: Micah French, Mullen, Mound, Walnut
Grove, Center Grove

"Government Issue": Ontario, St. Patrick, Woodland Center, Center
Grove

W U Cadd Boone: Ontario

Smith & Utz Marshalltown Iowa: Ontario, Day

Webster & Co. Des Moines, Iowa: Cory

E F Wenger Lisbon: Mullen

Woods McNeeley & Co. Marshall, Ia.: Walnut Grove

Greenland, Des Moines: Woodland Center

The counties of gravestone cutters represented in the above list are Boone, Polk (Des Moines), Mahaska (Oskaloosa), Jasper (Newton), Marshall, Linn (Lisbon), Johnson (Iowa City), Hamilton (Webster City), and Hardin (Iowa Falls). All these counties are to the east, south, and north of Story County except for Boone and Hamilton to the west. An analysis of the geographical location of gravestone cutters points up some interesting facts. First of all, it will be noted that for the time period before 1900 there is no gravestone cutter from Story County who put his name on gravestones. This would seem to bear out the historical sources of Allen (1887); Payne (1911) who state that Story County was settled later than the surrounding counties, even to the west. Having been settled later the population perhaps did not support the need for such craftsmen.

The counties which provided gravestone cutters are represented

in the cemeteries as follows: (1) Marshall County (east): Zearing, Wilkinson, Sheffield, Palestine, Mullen, Walnut Grove, Born, Ontario, Day (2); Hamilton County (northeast): East Bergen, Sheffield and Born; (3) Mahaska County (southeast): Sheffield, M'Michael, Ontario, Woodland Iowa Center, Micah French, Mullen, Mound, Walnut Grove, Center Grove; (4) Hardin County (northeast): Sheffield, Born; (5) Polk County (south): Bloomington, Walnut Grove, Woodland Iowa Center, Center Grove, Micah French, Mullen, Mound, Corey; (6) Johnson County (east): Bloomington; (7) Jasper County (southeast): Micah French, Mullen, Woodland Iowa Center, Maxwell; (8) Lynn County (east): Mullen; (9) Boone County (west): Zearing, Sowers, Sheffield, Born, Pleasant Grove, Bloomington, Micah French, Ontario, St. Patrick Catholic, Mullen, Walnut Grove, Woodland, Lincoln, Center Grove. It would appear that for the most part, these pioneers used gravestone cutters who were situated geographically the closest to them.

American Legion Military markers, in association with gravestones, were recorded in the following cemeteries:

War of 1812: Sheffield, Micah French, Walnut Grove

Civil War: Zearing, Sowers, Micah French, Ontario. St. Patrick

Spanish American: Zearing, Micah French

There appears to be no particular geographical significance in the correlation of military markers with cemeteries; however, as Warner (1959:287) points out these military markers reflect the historic eras which the United States has gone through. Story County, per se, did not experience the War of 1812 except in the experiences and memories

of the pioneers who settled here from the East in their later years.

Sodality metal markers in association with gravestones were recorded in the following cemeteries:

Odd Fellows: Zearing, Woodland Iowa Center

Masonic: Woodland Iowa Center

PEO: University

Allen (1887):48-49) records that the first Masonic Lodge of Free Masons was organized on January 15, 1857, in Nevada, Iowa, (county seat) while The Odd Fellows was organized on June 20, 1857, also in Nevada. The Nevada Municipal Cemetery was not included in this study but it will be remembered from the history of Story County that Iowa Center was one of the earliest settlements (Allen 1887). It was a lonely life in these early years and we see voluntary organizations, sodalities, and the church coming in to meet social and spiritual needs. The fact that the Odd Fellows and Masonic Lodge were organized so soon after the influx of settlers to the county would appear to be another indication of the particular social needs of these local prairie pioneers.

At the present time, PEO, is known as a prestigious organization for women based on Christian religious principles whose purpose is educational and cultural improvement; therefore, it is interesting to note the correlation of this emblem with the University Cemetery. The significance of this observation appears to be further evidence of higher status individuals associated with the intellectual community reflected in the cemetery (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1972:406).

Warner (1959:295) notes how the elaborate associational structure

of a community becomes a symbolic part of the cemetery. Often a member's devotion to an organization is so strong he/she wishes to be permanently identified with it in the form of a separate metal emblem or emblem incised on the gravestone. The above findings support his observations.

CHAPTER VIII. CORRELATION OF VARIABLES AGE AND SEX

This chapter examines the variables of age and sex with other selected variables. Frequencies were run for the age categories with the following variables: variable 11, sex; variable 14, size of stone; variable 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, symbols; variable 25, epitaphs; variable 26, language. The variable 9, age at death, was recoded into age categories as described on page 85.

In Table 16 where age at death is correlated with sex, one will note that males had a lower death rate than females except in infancy and later years. The interesting facts to emerge from this table are that during adulthood, females had a significantly higher death rate than males perhaps as a consequence of high maternal deaths during childbirth and also greater exposure to disease when caring for family members who were ill. During pioneer times, especially in rural areas, the care of the sick was often left to the women of the family which included one's own family as well as friends and neighbors. Historically, we know this to be true but they are factors which no longer operate in American society today; therefore, this inference is a valid analogy for the time period being researched.

In Table 17 there appears to be a definite correlation between age at death and the size of gravestone. Small tablets were used for babies and children, medium tablets for young adults and to a somewhat smaller percentage for adults. The large tablet has the highest percentage

Table 16. Summary of frequency percentages for age at death with sex

	Age Categories				
	Infant	Child	Sub-adult	Adult	Middle old age
Male	55.0	44.0	40.4	36.9	48.1
Female	38.1	48.0	54.4	57.1	44.9
Undetermined	6.9	8.0	5.1	6.0	7.0

Table 17. Summary of frequency percentages for age at death with size of gravestone

	Age Categories				
	Infant	Child	Sub-adult	Adult	Middle old age
Small tablet	59.9	42.3	10.3	4.5	3.8
Medium tablet	5.4	9.1	22.1	15.6	9.9
Large tablet	0.7	1.1	10.3	14.5	8.5
Small column	9.7	13.7	8.1	6.8	3.5
Medium column	8.2	8.0	19.9	23.0	19.2
Large column	3.0	7.4	7.4	9.4	16.0
Small block	13.1	14.3	11.0	16.5	17.2
Medium block	2.2	2.9	6.6	7.7	16.2
Large block	0.7	1.1	4.4	2.0	5.6

frequency in the adult range. The small column is used fairly consistently at all age levels but predominates for children, infants and young adults. The medium column peaks at the adult level with a lower percentage in the young adult and old age levels. The large

column definitely peaks for middle and old age burials. These figures again support Warner's (1959:294) discussion of the association of gravestone size with age at death. The consistent frequencies in age span for small block confirms the fact that after 1890 the small granite rectangular block was increasingly used for all burials regardless of age or sex.

There are certain symbols which have a decidedly higher frequency in certain age categories than others and the more popular of these will be presented and discussed. Pointing finger is used in all age categories with low frequencies except for the young adult which shows a 10.3 figure. The banner shows a 4.4 for young adult and a 5.7 for the adults. The shield at 4.4 is also associated with the young adult: the scroll at 2.1 is highest for the adult category. The family monogram at 5.1 is highest for the middle-old age category probably being associated with the family monument which is usually erected with the death of an older person. The rose and lily are used in all age categories but peaks with the young adult at 11.8 and 4.4. The fern is used in all age categories but is highest with adults and middle-old age. In fact, flower symbols are used rather extensively for all age categories with more or less homogeneous frequencies. The urn is used in all age categories but more so with young adult and adult at 3.6 and 2.9. The "resting lamb" has a high frequency in the infant and children age category with 24.3 and 14.9; it is not used for young adults and adults but there is a 0.3 for middle-old age. The "weeping willow" is used primarily for adults at 2.0 and middle-old age at 2.2. The "open book" is not used for infants

or children but rather equally for young adults at 3.0, adults at 3.2 and middle-old age at 2.1. The "flying dove" symbol has a higher frequency for infants at 5.5 and children at 4.6. The "clasped hand" symbol is used primarily for young adults 6.6 and adults at 8.3 symbolizing married love. "Gates of Heaven" symbol is used for all age categories but is highest for young adults at 3.2. "Mansions in the Sky" motif is only used for adults and middle-old age. Secular symbols such as the Mason, Odd Fellows, Woodman of the World, DAR and PEO are used with adult and middle-old age; crossed flags with young adults and adults. A higher frequency of symbolism appears for the young adult in some categories. Again it might be conjectured that the death of a young adult lost to a family at the beginning of his/her productive life is difficult to bear and thus more intense mourning is reflected in the symbolism on gravestones.

Regarding epitaphs, the familiar, mortality, paradise, inspiration, and rest categories show homogeneous frequencies for all age categories. Tribute, love and memory have higher frequencies for adults; consolation for children and infants. "Patriotism, work and victory" is used for the three adult categories being slightly higher for adults. Sorrow has a decidedly higher frequency for the young adult at 8.1 and 4.0 for infants.

Frequencies for variable 11, sex, run with certain selected variables show some interesting correlations. These variables include the following: variable 9, age at death; variable 12, kinship terms; variable 14, size of gravestone; variables 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, symbols;

variable 25, epitaphs; variable 30, military marker; variable 31, sodality marker. A summary of mortality rates for males and females from birth through old age is shown in Table 18. Male infants have a higher death rate but starting in childhood, females take the lead showing a decided increase in adult life and ending up the life span approximately even with males. The significantly higher death rate among adult females is yet another figure to support the premise of the hazards of pregnancy, child birth, and diseases of that time.

Kinship terms show no particular variances except for the term

Table 18. Summary of frequency percentages for sex with age at death

	Male	Female
Infant	25.4	17.4
Child	8.8	9.5
Sub-adult	6.3	8.4
Adult	14.9	22.7
Middle old age	31.5	29.2
Data not there	5.0	3.4
Not recorded	8.1	9.4

"consort" which has a higher frequency for males than females, perhaps another supporting statement for an association with Prince Albert of England discussed earlier. Size of gravestone shows no significant variances for the sexes.

Of the symbols, there appear to be no real differences between

male and female. One factor contributing to this lack of difference is the use of multiple stones and placement of several individuals on one stone. The shield, crossed flags, and flagpole, symbols often appearing on military associated stones, have a somewhat higher incidence for males, while the rose and lily are higher for females.

Epitaphs also show no particular variances except that "patriotism, work, and victory" is higher for males. As for military and sodality markers, the American Legion, Mason and Odd Fellows are correlated with male while DAR, Eastern Star and PEO with females.

CHAPTER IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of cemeteries in Story County, Iowa, has been performed with several goals in mind: to provide a methodology for description, recording, and analysis of gravestones through time and space using gravestones from a selected sample of cemeteries in a limited region; to compile research materials which would add to the overall regional-cultural history of central Iowa; and, finally, to test concepts and propositions of other researchers who have performed grave-stone studies in the eastern United States and to relate their findings to the burial practices of the prairie pioneers of central Iowa.

The first portion of the paper attempted to carry out the compilation of research materials for a regional-culture history. This was done by first assembling the existing written historical records both public and archival for the area as a whole and for each cemetery in the sample. This information was examined and compared with my own findings and first-hand impressions. Secondary resources often have misleading or incomplete information and, therefore, a by-product of this synthesis of primary and secondary information was the discussion of the discrepancies between the written records and my own data. This portion of the study attempted to provide a more qualitative perspective to the research data as a framework to the more quantitative analysis done in the computer analysis which followed.

The next portion of the study attempted to break down and to isolate the concept of gravestone into its basic elements for tabulation

in the field documentation. Out of this process, a methodology was devised in which a classification system was produced and variables selected to demonstrate the relationships pertinent to the goals of the study. For testing data in a quantitative way a computer program was selected, carried out, and the results were analyzed in the final portion of the paper.

Conclusions

During the process of this study it was found that the cemetery data obtained from the field documentation tended to support and confirm the broad general claims of the written historical records and generally the findings of other cemetery researchers. In Story County, settlers from surrounding counties, where land was getting scarce, were moving in and settling along the major streams and rivers of the county where water and fuel were plentiful. A study of the geographic location of these early gravestones and cemeteries situated along the river routes and tributaries of Story County reflect these early settlement patterns. These burial places are in close association with now abandoned towns and the early rural concentrations of settlers in the groves of Story County.

The early settlers tended to choose high ground for their cemeteries, usually on an elevated hill or mounded area with good water drainage. They often planted these areas with evergreens, a tree which in itself is symbolic of the immortality of the soul. In fact, this

diagnostic trait was often the clue to difficult to locate abandoned cemeteries. These rural cemeteries were often bounded by an iron fence with a swinging gate. Over the gate the name of the cemetery was also framed in an iron structure. In some of these abandoned cemeteries the former boundary markers have been replaced by a more modern fence usually of posts and wire. Except for a few abandoned cemeteries, all were set apart from the secular world by a fence or hedges (Warner 1959).

It was found that many early cemeteries were in association with a nearby church which now no longer exists except for the indication of a foundation, memorial, or mention in the county land deed records. The church-associated cemetery followed burial patterns typical of Colonial times and before that English custom. The church cemeteries were usually expressions of the ethnic groups who moved into Story County. The majority of the church-associated cemeteries were Lutheran reflecting the Norwegians who populated the northern and southern portions of the county during the 1850s and 1860s. Catholic cemeteries near Nevada and Colo (not included in sample since there were no death dates before 1900) reflected the Irish who settled in these areas according to the historical records. German names and German birthplaces appeared in cemeteries of northeastern Story County while the English and Scotch are reflected in cemeteries around the Ames area and to the south and southeast. The dual nature of the ethnic enclaves are expressed in the early cemeteries in the form of both languages appearing in the inscriptions, the native language and English, mention of birthplaces in the

inscriptions, and symbols associated with the religion practiced. It was found that during the time period being studied there was no evidence of any other religion besides Christianity in Story County. Many of these church cemeteries became abandoned but some of the larger ones are flourishing to this day; for example, St. Patrick Catholic, Palestine, and Pleasant Grove.

As early settlements associated with abandoned towns died out, so did the cemeteries become abandoned which confirmed Warner's finding that burial grounds lose their sacred quality when fresh burials are no longer being made by the living community. The Bicentennial of 1976 was responsible for a renewed interest in Story County's "historical" cemeteries. As the county became more settled and less rural, cemeteries associated with the more prospering communities became the accepted place for burying one's kin. Often relatives moved their dead from family burying places to the town cemetery especially if such a place happened to be on the high ground of a prospective corn field.

The cemetery data revealed that gravestone styles do form peaked popularity curves over time as found by the archaeologists Deetz, Dethlefsen and Jensen. Beginning in the 1850s with the commencement of Story County settlement, gravestones were of the tablet form made of marble or limestone, square top, with little or no ornamentation. In subsequent decades the tablet form differentiated into tops that were rounded, peaked, or indented. The inscriptions were a combination of printing styles; incised (often raised) in gothic or classic lettering with the epitaph invariably done in incised script writing. Individual

graves in these early cemeteries were not placed in measured intervals as is true of later cemeteries but rather placed haphazardly as it suited the people of the time. Members of a family were buried along side each other with individual stones but with no seemingly conscious attempt at the designation of a family plot set off by cement curbing as is typical of the later decades of the 19th century. These styles of the 1850s and 1860s in Story County showed a simplicity that appeared to reflect the hardships and struggles of first settlement on the prairie.

The inscriptions contained such vital statistics as the Christian name followed by a kinship relationship such as "son of" or "wife of", the closest important relative, followed by date of death, age of death, and an epitaph. In the early decades, date of birth was seldom included; however, this practice increased with the years while age at death declined after the 1860s. Date of death remained consistently important for all time periods. The above changes evolving into only birth and death dates around 1900 suggested that death was becoming increasingly depersonalized and unsentimental as proposed by Jones (1967), Mitford (1963) and Morley (1971). Ornamentation both on the top of gravestones and on the face reached its peak in the 1870s. The elaborate use of ornamentation in design, lettering and sculpture declined steadily after this peak period which coincided with the Victorian age and confirms Dethlefsen and Jensen's findings (1977).

It was shown that kinship references decreased over time, another example of the depersonalization of death. My research showed a greater

use of the term "wife of" indicating the importance of that role for women and was yet another expression of the superior and inferior statuses of males and females as mentioned by Warner. The more frequent use of child relationships in the early decades reflected the high infant mortality rates of pioneer times. The use of son and daughter decreased steadily over the years and Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977) suggest that this phenomenon was due to the fact that children merely grew up to move away and form their own families. I suggest that another factor also contributed and that is again the depersonalization of death which occurred after Victorian times when the only information offered was the name plus birth and death dates or even less. The increased family groupings (curbed plots dominated by a family memorial), of the 1870s and 1880s in Story County supported Dethlefsen and Jensen's theory, that family memorials were an expression of increasing social and economic stratification of the 19th century. The above decades coincided with Story County's period of increased growth and settlement.

Evolution in form and size of gravestones included the following changes: (1) from the single thin standing tablet of the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, to (2) the column type monument made of marble or limestone or granite in the 1880s and 1890s and finally to (3) the small, horizontal, polished, granite block of a rectangular form which appeared in the 1890s and gained increasing popularity with time. The popularity of the latter style was given impetus by cemetery rules which discouraged the use of large upright family monuments in order to facilitate

the use of a new technological tool in the form of the power mower. The impressive column monument style peaks in popularity in the 1880s and 1890s which again confirms Dethlefsen and Jensen's proposition that this was a reflection of social and economic stratification that was occurring with the industrial expansion of the 19th century. For Story County this reflected a more settled, economically stable community after the earlier years of struggle and hardship. The data shows that the column style is more highly correlated with the larger extant cemeteries of Story County.

Warner's discussion of the association of gravestone size with the age of both males and females was found to be true in this study. Small tablets and columns were used for infants and children, medium tablets and columns for young adults and adults, while the large tablet and column were used for middle and old age. The homogeneous figures for small block indicated the use of the small rectangular block for everyone after the 1890s regardless of age, sex, or social status. Warner, Deetz, Dethlefsen, and Jensen all noted the correlation of social and educational status with gravestone size. These observations were supported by the data from the University Cemetery (large impressive monuments), the Story County Poor Farm (small numbered stone), the mausoleum of Zearing Cemetery (a more costly burial method), and such individual graves as certain prominent settlers (the first county auditor).

Symbols also changed over time and certain symbols had peak periods of popularity. The shield and banner were popular background

symbols for vital statistics on the early gravestones and correlated with those periods of ornamentation of the 1870s and 1880s. Symbols which were popular for the earlier periods were primarily religious symbols. This is in keeping with the findings of Warner, Jones, Morley, Dethlefsen, and Jensen who suggested religious fervor and concern for immortality played a more important role in Victorian times. Later in time, the family monogram associated with family monuments, and the stylistic flower or leaf became popular which was so stylized in treatment that it almost seemed to have lost any sacred meaning in contrast to the elaborate rendering of the rose and other flowers in earlier decades. This suggested that the stylistic treatment of floral motifs was merely for decorative purposes rather than having sacred meanings inherent in the symbols of earlier times. This is yet another evidence of the denial of death that came with modern times and a lessening of the acts of religious faith.

The appearance of secular symbols for civic, social, and military organizations in association with the column form of gravestone again shows increasing differentiation of society in the decades of the 1880s and 1890s. Epitaphs change over time from tribute and euphemistic ideas of paradise in the earlier decades to the denial of death by comparison to sleep or rest, which bears out Dethlefsen and Jensen's findings. Evidence in the geographical analysis revealed that symbols reflected religious orientation especially that of the Catholic Church. An interesting finding was in the University Cemetery and County Poor

Farm Cemetery, two opposite ends of the status scale, having no religious symbols for entirely different reasons. Symbols associated with age and sex confirm other findings of Warner. The lamb and the flying dove denoting innocence were popular for infants and children; the urn, clasped hands, gates of heaven, crossed flags for young adults and adults; the weeping willow and mansions in the sky for adults and old age. Consort is associated with male. Masons, Odd Fellows, Woodman of the World, DAR, and PEO are used with adult and old age categories in keeping with adult values and interests. Flower symbols appear for all ages but more in young adults. In fact symbols generally seem more predominant for young adults perhaps reflecting the loss of a potentially productive young life. The fern was associated with adult and old age.

It was found that there was a proliferation of gravestone cutters in central and eastern Iowa who left their names in Story County cemeteries before 1900. However, the fact that none were from Story County appears to reflect the history ascertained from written records that Story County was settled later than surrounding counties perhaps also indicating a lack of an increased population to support certain specialists. Probably due to the limited and slow travel means of the late 19th century, people used the gravestone cutters who were in closest proximity. Civic, social, and military associations were represented in Story County and bore out suggestions by Warner, Deetz, Dethlefsen, and Jensen, that the associational structure is reflected symbolically in the cemetery.

Frequencies of age at death and sex showed significant facts about mortality rates again supporting known historical facts. Contrary to the modern age, adult women in the late 19th century had a higher death rate than men due to maternal deaths and the nursing of the sick. Death dates for men were not significantly higher than women after 50 years of age indicating a different statistical fact from modern times where men do not have as long a life-span as women.

Perhaps one final word about the advantages and difficulties of the processes attempted in the study are appropriate here. One of the difficulties encountered included working with too large a sample. Cemetery data appear to be quite homogeneous and it is believed that a smaller sample based on the objectives of the researcher would save him/her some unnecessary work. A systematized form to be used in recording cemeteries is presently being worked out. Should a researcher wish to survey the cemeteries in a given area (to note the type and range of gravestones) such a form would, first of all, help in delimiting the cemeteries selected to be studied. Secondly, this form would simplify the actual recording of each gravestone and the subsequent coding for computer analysis if such is the goal of the data collector.

The typology system as set up appeared to work quite well; however, there is a need for the researcher to devise a method for including gravestones which have no date of death. Such stones are not included in correlations dealing with changes over time. The researcher of cemetery data should also keep in mind the practice of

families of replacing old gravestones with new gravestones after the passage of years and how this affects the goal of temporal control and precision sought by the archaeologist. Hopefully, the value of this study and the methodology offered will aid social scientists in their approach to how to deal with information gained from cemetery study.

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APPENDIX: DEFINITIONS OF MORTUARY TERMS

(Abridged from Glossary of Monument and Mausoleum Terms, n.d., Published by Rock of Ages, Barre, Vermont)

Base	The bottom part of a two-piece monument, usually associated with columnar and block forms of gravestones. Early tablets usually inserted in ground but later repairs inserted in a cement block
Bas-relief	Sculpture in low relief
Bevel	A slanting top
Block	A rectangular piece of stone material
Canopy	An ornamental or roof-like covering supported by columns
Cap	Usually applied to the top part of a three or four piece monument
Capital	The uppermost part of a column or pilaster which serves as a crown to the shaft
Column	A pillar supporting a roof or canopy
Curbing	Fence or low enclosure for cemetery lots
Cushion Top	Shaped like a cushion without miters
Epitaph	An inscription or writing engraved on or suited to be on a tomb or monument
Die	The main part of the monument
Face	The front of a monument or front of a slant-face marker
Frost	To remove the polish by sand-blasting
Gable Top	Top of a monument shaped like the roof of a house, often called two-way top
Granite	A hard igneous crystalline rock composed of quartz, feldspar, hornblende and biotite

Grass Marker	A flat top marker set approximately level with the ground
High Relief	Sculpture in which the projection of the figures from the background is half or more than half the natural circumference
Lettering	Classic or Modified Roman: types of letters based on the Roman alphabet English Gothic or Lombardic: a type of letter based on early Christian or ecclesiastical alphabet American Gothic: uniform in style and without heads or serifs on the letter
	Outline Frosted: letters formed by sandblast lines on polished surface with polish blown off between the lines
Raised	Square or rounded raised from a panel or front surface
Marker	A small headstone usually used in conjunction with a family memorial
Mausoleum	A structure containing above ground tombs or crypts for the dead
Memorial	A monument or marker
Monolith	A single stone without a base
Obelisk	A square or tapering shaft of impressive height
Ornament	A broad term used to describe carving, screening or other ornamentation
Oval Top Dies With the top cut as a part or segment of a circle	
Panel	Sunken or raised or flush compartment with a moulding or other margin, as in faces of monuments
Polished	A high gloss finish
Posts	Corner boundary markers for cemetery lots
Rolls	A short column placed in a horizontal position with ends finished to any specification

Rubbing	The impression of a carved, lettered or contour surface obtained by rubbing with crayon over paper when applied to surface
Sculpture	A carving in full relief, statuary
Slant	An extreme bevel usually with a nosing at the top and bottom
Top	The top surface of a die or monolith