"Indications . . . of Progress in Taste and Refinement": The Lancaster and Woodward Hill Cemeteries

By David Schuyler

In June 1850 a writer in the *Lancaster Intelligencer & Journal* asserted: "There is nothing in the present age that more strikingly exhibits a progress in refinement and good taste, than the attention that is being paid to beautifying and adorning the final resting places of the dead." This had been a recent development, the writer recalled. Only a few years earlier, Lancaster's burial grounds, like those of other eastern cities, had been a disgrace rather than a source of community pride. Due to their "neglected and desolate looking condition," the city's graveyards "were repulsive in the extreme, and a sombre melancholy pervaded throughout—weeds and briers hiding from view the humble tombstones, the graves themselves being trampled upon with sacrilegious feet, and in many instances the monuments erected over departed worth mutilated in the most shameless manner." Fortunately, throughout the Anglo-American world some community leaders had begun to seek alternatives to the practice of interment "in grave yards located in the heart of densely populated cities or flourishing towns." Like their contemporaries elsewhere,

Lancastrians had recently established several cemeteries in the outskirts of the city which, this writer predicted, "will be an ornament to the place, and highly creditable to the public spirit of our citizens."[1]

There were numerous justifications for locating cemeteries some distance from residential neighborhoods. Following the yellow fever epidemic of 1823 and the outbreak of Asiatic cholera in 1832, for example, numerous physicians attributed the spread of disease to the proximity of cemeteries. Moreover, a changing attitude toward death, reflected both in sentimentality and a desire for permanence in burial, highlighted the inadequacies of urban interment and the need for an alternative. But most immediately, the growth of the urban population exhausted the supply of available graves in older churchyards, while the physical expansion of the city made it economically advantageous to develop ground once set aside for burial.[2]

The late 1840s and early 1850s were unusually prosperous years in Lancaster. As the city's economy recovered from the effects of the Panic of 1837, new industries, most notably the Conestoga Steam Cotton Mills on South Prince Street, as well as institutions, such as Fulton Hall and the recently merged Franklin and Marshall College, began to change the physical geography of the community. New governmental structures—the county courthouse, designed by Samuel Sloan, and the prison, constructed following plans drawn by John Haviland—similarly attest to a vibrant economy. Population growth reflected these developments: between 1830 and 1840 Lancaster's population increased by 8%, the following decade by 32%, and during the 1850s by 30%. What in 1830 was a small community of 7,704 residents had more than doubled to 17,603 persons by 1860. This demographic explosion meant that the city's traditional churchyards, several of which were more than a century old, could not possibly accommodate the sheer number of new burials (fig. 1). At the same time, the insatiable demand for urban land threatened the existence of older cemeteries. The Nissly and Musser family burial plots, for example, located in the northeast quadrant of Lancaster, had been displaced when the Pennsylvania Railroad laid tracks entering the city, as was the old Quaker Cemetery. A similar fate surely would befall other graveyards as urban growth continued.[3]

Thus in the middle decades of the nineteenth century two churches in Lancaster acquired land on the outskirts of the city for use as cemeteries. By 1846 the German Reformed congregation had outgrown the burial ground adjacent to its church on East Orange Street, and early the following year purchased approximately ten acres of land along the New Holland Turnpike, northeast of the city, from David Longenecker, a member of the congregation. On March 8, 1847, it received a charter from the state legislature granting tax exempt status and, undoubtedly in response to the violation of older cemeteries, guaranteeing the perpetual occupancy of the dead. Similarly, the

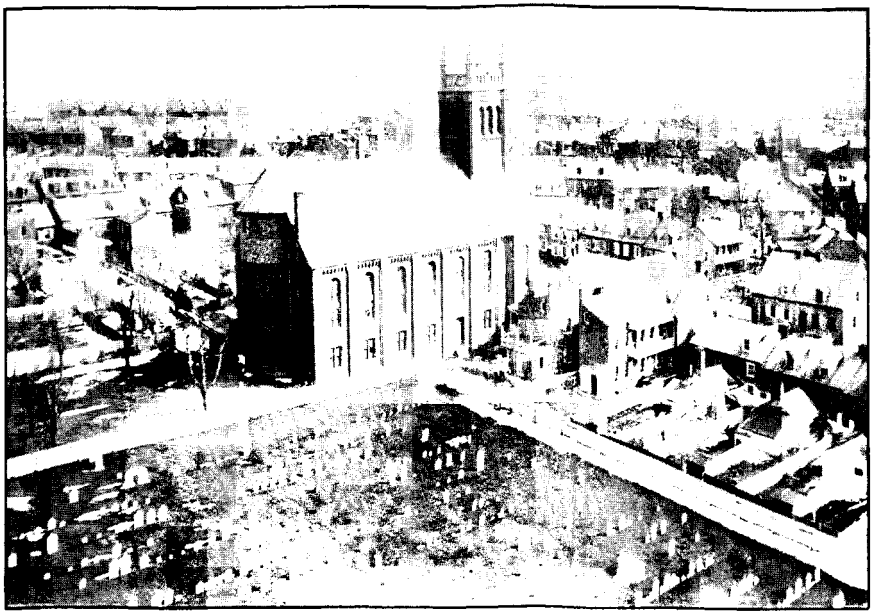

Fig. 1. Churchyard, Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, view from steeple looking southeast, n. d.

churchyard of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, on South Duke Street, soon proved inadequate, and in early 1850 the congregation purchased twelve and a quarter acres from Emanuel C. Reigart as well as a smaller adjoining parcel from Jacob Greiner, located south of the city overlooking the Conestoga River. Like the German Reformed Church, the following year Trinity Lutheran secured a legislative charter ensuring that "the grounds are protected from invasion for any purpose."[4] These initial purchases were supplemented by the acquisition of additional sites that, over time, brought each cemetery to its modern dimensions. Lancaster Cemetery, for example, bought two separate five-acre parcels in 1851, while Woodward Hill purchased additional land, most notably that fronting South Queen Street, which it acquired from Andrew J. Steinman in a series of transactions extending from 1880 to 1904.[5]

Although Lancaster's two mid-century rural cemeteries were established by churches, each quickly became a public corporation managed by a board of directors elected by lot owners. On April 26, 1850, a new charter transformed Lancaster Cemetery into a joint stock company, which repaid the German Reformed Church the initial purchase price of the land and other incidental expenses. The following year Trinity Lutheran began steps that would result in a similar arrangement; for the sum of $2800 it transferred the land to an independent board of directors while reserving fifty lots for use by the con-

gregation. The lot-holders' charters had created legally nondenominational institutions, but these cemeteries nevertheless functioned within the mainstream of nonsectarian Protestantism, as Catholic and Jewish congregations within the city retained their consecrated burial grounds.[6]

For the design of its cemetery (fig. 2), the German Reformed Church turned to its minister, the Reverend Nathaniel A. Keyes, who laid out the relatively flat grounds using what appears to have been a ruler and compass. From the entrance opposite East Lemon Street, a formal drive led to a circle, flanked by circles to the left and right, while other drives and walks followed either straight or gently curving lines to provide access to the lots. A contemporary recalled in 1873 that Keyes's design of the cemetery had been inspired by "a burial ground which he had seen in Palestine," where he had been a missionary some years prior to arriving in Lancaster. A second circle, on an axis directly northeast from the first, was added sometime before 1875 to embellish the additional ground the cemetery had acquired. Trinity Lutheran's vestry employed an otherwise unnamed "landscape surveyor" to establish the paths and drives of Woodward Hill (fig. 3), a much hillier site overlooking the Conestoga River. The cost of grading and landscaping the grounds as well as constructing roads, paths and necessary structures such as a superintendent's cottage account for a slow pace of improvement during the early years of each cemetery. Nevertheless, one contemporary described Lancaster Cemetery in late

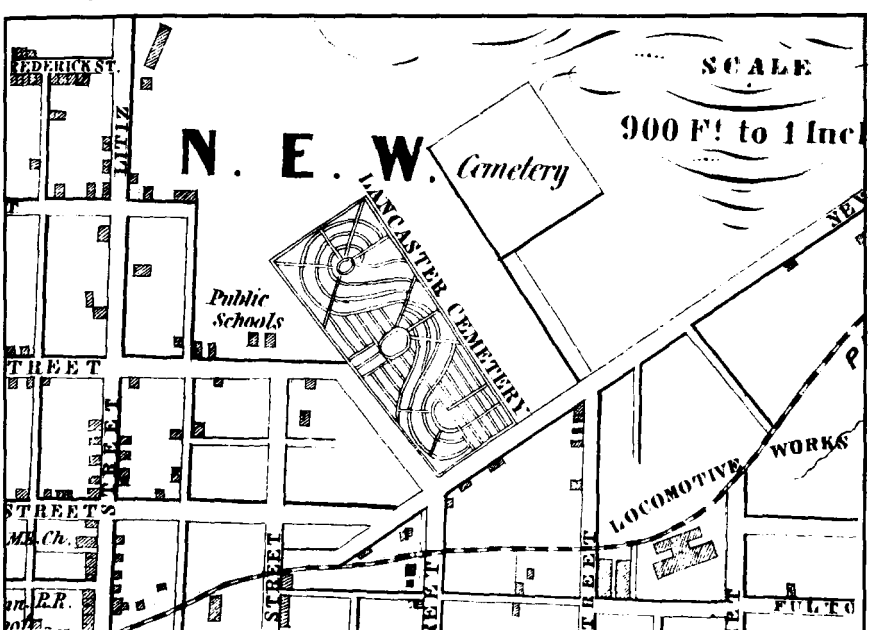

Fig. 2. Lancaster Cemetery, from *Bridgen's Atlas of Lancaster Co., Penna.* (Lancaster, 1864).

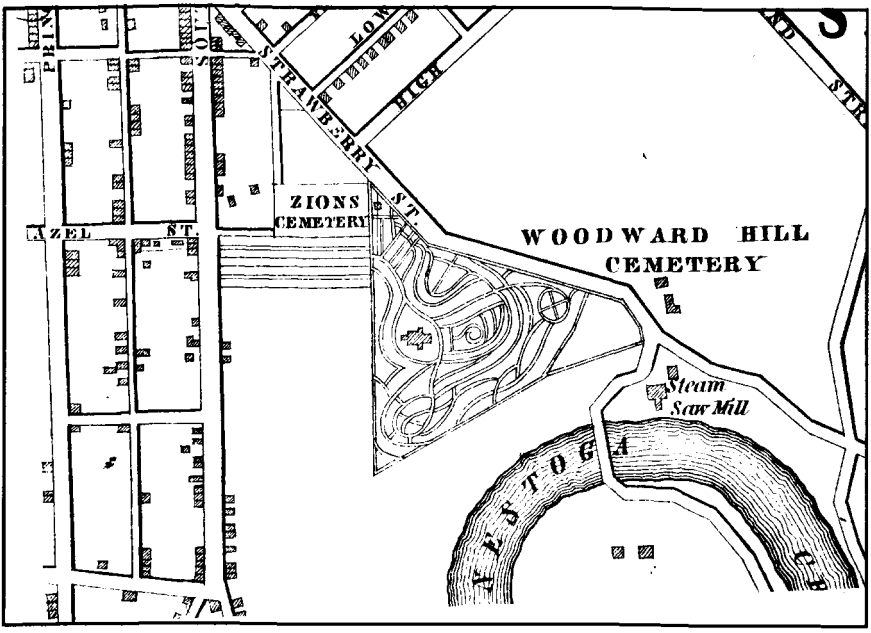

Fig. 3. Woodward Hill Cemetery, from *Bridgen's Atlas of Lancaster Co., Penna.* (Lancaster, 1864).

1849 as being "laid off in beautiful walks, and tastefully decorated with shrubbery and trees, evidencing an unusual degree of taste." The more picturesque Woodward Hill site, another wrote the following year, "far surpasses the famous Laurel Hill Cemetery at Philadelphia in its graceful slopes, and abrupt declivities; while the views presented in different directions, embody beauty, romance and sublimity; and the whole, even without the associations connected with the place, is calculated to inspire feelings of awe and reverence."[7]

Although in neither case was the cemetery the work of a well-known designer, each had been established before the emergence of the professions of landscape architecture or cemetery design and maintenance. Thus Lancaster Cemetery turned to an amateur who apparently had an enthusiasm for horticulture, as was John Jay Smith, who designed Laurel Hill Cemetery, and Elias Leavenworth, who laid out Oakwood Cemetery in Syracuse, New York. Similarly, the "landscape surveyor" who platted Woodward Hill was probably an engineer, as were Alexander Wadsworth and David B. Douglass, who laid out Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge and Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, respectively. Lancaster's rural cemeteries, then, are part of a vernacular tradition in American landscape design which, while drawing upon the tenets of English aesthetic theory popularized in the United States by the horticulturist and landscape gardener Andrew Jackson Downing, were nevertheless the work of nonprofessionals who adapted widely accepted precepts of taste to local conditions.[8]

DESIGN CXXI.

Cemetery Entrance.

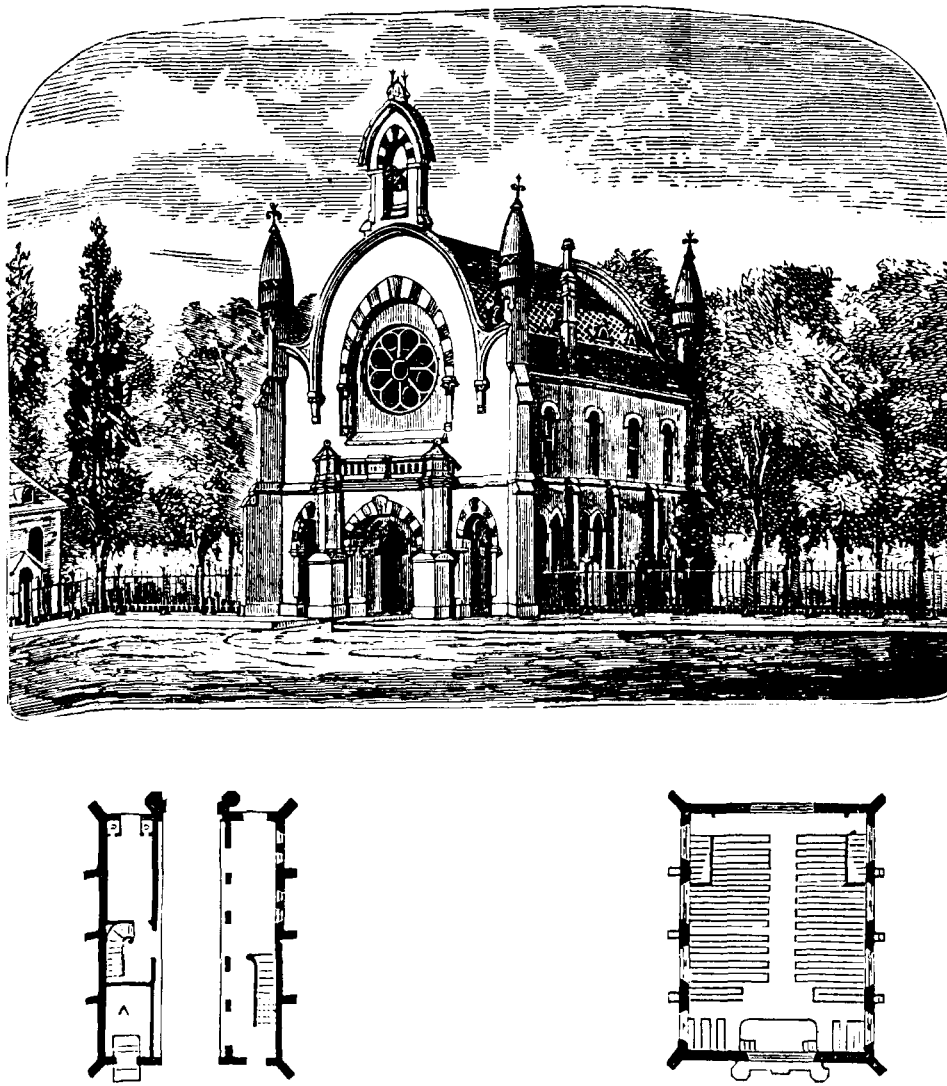

Fig. 4. Entrance and Chapel, Lancaster Cemetery, designed by Isaac H. Hobbs, 1873, from Isaac H. Hobbs and Son, *Hobbs's Architecture: Containing Designs and Ground Plans for Villas, Cottages, and other Edifices, Both Suburban and Rural, Adapted to the United States,* 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1876).

The same was true of the structures initially erected at each cemetery. In 1849 Lancaster Cemetery erected a superintendent's house, but apparently did not construct a formal gateway and chapel until 1873. This High Victorian Gothic structure (figs. 4, 5), which employed constructional polychromy in the arches above the entrances and the rose window, was designed by Philadelphia architect Isaac Hobbs. It contained a receiving vault and office on the ground floor and a chapel above, as well as a carriage drive through the middle of the first story. In the text accompanying the published design of the chapel Hobbs praised its "quiet, silent, reverential beauty" as well as its "clear proportion" and especial "fitness for its purpose."[9]

Woodward Hill's board, with the assistance of Trinity Lutheran, built a sexton's house on the grounds in 1851, the same year it began construction of a small Gothic chapel and receiving vault (fig. 6). Perhaps it was at this time that the cemetery's board erected the handsome wrought iron entrance on South Queen Street, and planted the rows of trees along the drive and flanking walks that led visitors to the heart of the cemetery (fig. 7).[10]

In each case Lancaster's promoters were following the precedent of earlier "rural" cemeteries, not only in their reliance on amateurs for architectural designs but also in their choice of specific historical styles to embellish the grounds. Mount Auburn Cemetery, for example, had erected physician Jacob

Fig. 5. Entrance and Chapel, Lancaster Cemetery, c. 1900, from *Art Work of Lancaster, Harrisburg and York. Published in Nine Parts* (Chicago, 1901), part 7, n. p. Note the size of the evergreen and deciduous trees that embellished the landscape.

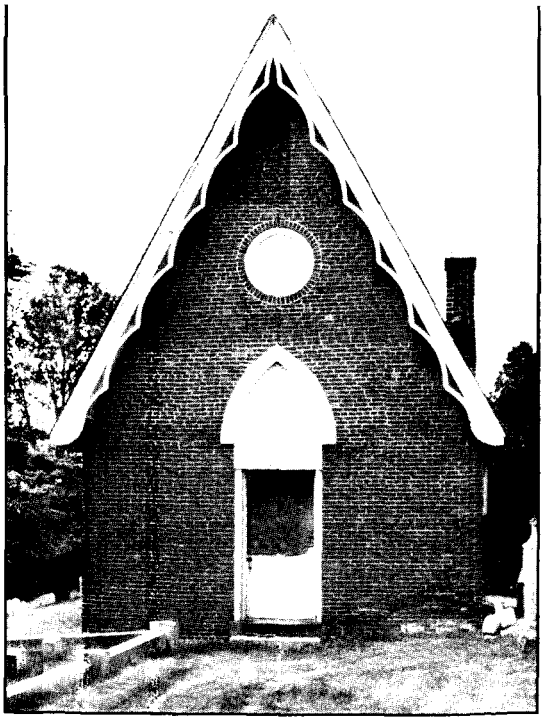

Fig. 6. Chapel, Woodward Hill Cemetery, c. 1851.

Fig. 7. Entrance to Woodward Hill Cemetery, undated postcard, showing mature plantings adjacent to the drive and walks that led visitors from South Queen Street into the cemetery.

Bigelow's design for a "protestant Gothic" chapel in the mid-1840s. The chapel functioned as a repository for marble busts and statues unsuited for placement in the landscape as well as a shelter for burial services during inclement weather. (The Gothic was also a favorite choice of professional designers in cemetery design: see, for example, the handsome chapel architect John Notman designed for Laurel Hill Cemetery). Many contemporaries considered the Gothic Revival style especially appropriate for cemeteries because of its strong associations with traditional Christianity. Henry Russell Cleaveland, for example, praised the use of the Gothic for funereal purposes in 1836 because of its promise of "the joys of life beyond the grave."[11]

As was true of the design of cemetery buildings, the monuments erected in family plots similarly attest to the cultural and social ideals of the middle and upper classes during the mid-nineteenth century. Christian Kieffer, a prominent Lancaster businessman, mayor, and first president of Woodward Hill's board, enclosed his family plot with a handsome iron railing and framed the entrance with two standing female figures (fig. 8). A visitor to the local marble yard of Messrs. Leonard & Bear praised the statues, carved by a Mr. Cannon of Pictou stone, for their "elegance of design and high finish." The Kieffer plot was not only a credit to the community but was "humanizing and

Fig. 8. Standing female figures, carved by a Mr. Cannon, and wrought iron gate, Kieffer family plot, Woodward Hill Cemetery, 1852.

productive of taste and good influences." The Reigart family plot, also in Woodward Hill, included by late 1850 at least five generations of family members whose bodies were disinterred from other burial grounds and placed in the new cemetery. The oldest stone, dated 1766, stood adjacent to more recent monuments in widely disparate styles. Such plots suggest the pervasiveness of the culture of domesticity, the celebration of home and family, among the middle class in the mid-nineteenth century: they were carefully demarcated private spaces within a public place that testifiy to a family's search for continuity in death even as it confronted enormous changes in life.[12]

The importance of these cemeteries as a permanent location of burial is evident in a number of prominent monuments. The obelisks Julian Augustus Beck[13] carved for John N. Lane in Lancaster Cemetery (fig. 9) and former governor John Andrew Shulze in Woodward Hill (fig. 10), for example, consciously employed the Egyptian Revival style as a way of reassuring survivors that the dead they buried in cemeteries would be revered and secure. Contemporaries believed that Egypt was the oldest civilization, and frequently chose Egyptian forms for cemetery art because that civilization's greatest monuments—the pyramids—were tombs. Other commemorative art, in virtually every conceivable size and architectural style popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, make these cemeteries veritable museums of outdoor sculpture, most of it carved locally.[14]

In their landscape design, structures, monuments, even in nomenclature, these cemeteries attest to a changing attitude toward death that was evident in the middle of the nineteenth century. The older burial grounds that had become crowded and had fallen into disrepair often suggested the harsh fatality of death, as did the iconography of their tombstones (fig. 11). "Why," asked Washington Irving, the nation's best known writer in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, "should we thus seek to clothe death with unnecessary terrors, and to spread horrors around the tombs of those we love?" Instead, he reasoned, graves "should be surrounded by every thing that might inspire tenderness and veneration for the dead, or that might win the living to virtue." By the time Irving penned these words, the imagery of gravestones had become more expressive of hope (fig. 12), but the condition of most cemeteries remained deplorable. The handsome landscaping and embellishment of mid-century rural cemeteries, a word based on the Greek for sleeping chamber, suggests that death had become a "transition from life to eternal life." The inscription "at rest" or "just sleeping" on numerous tombstones (fig. 13) suggests that the dead were waiting for the celestial fanfares that would awaken them to glorious resurrection.[15]

These cemeteries were also "part of a larger civic culture under development in the antebellum period." Christopher Hager, one of the incorporators of Woodward Hill, was also an investor in the Conestoga Steam Cotton Mills, a director of several banks, owner of Fulton Hall, and a trustee of Franklin

Fig. 9. Monument to John N. Lane, Lancaster Cemetery, carved by Julian Augustus Beck, 1857.

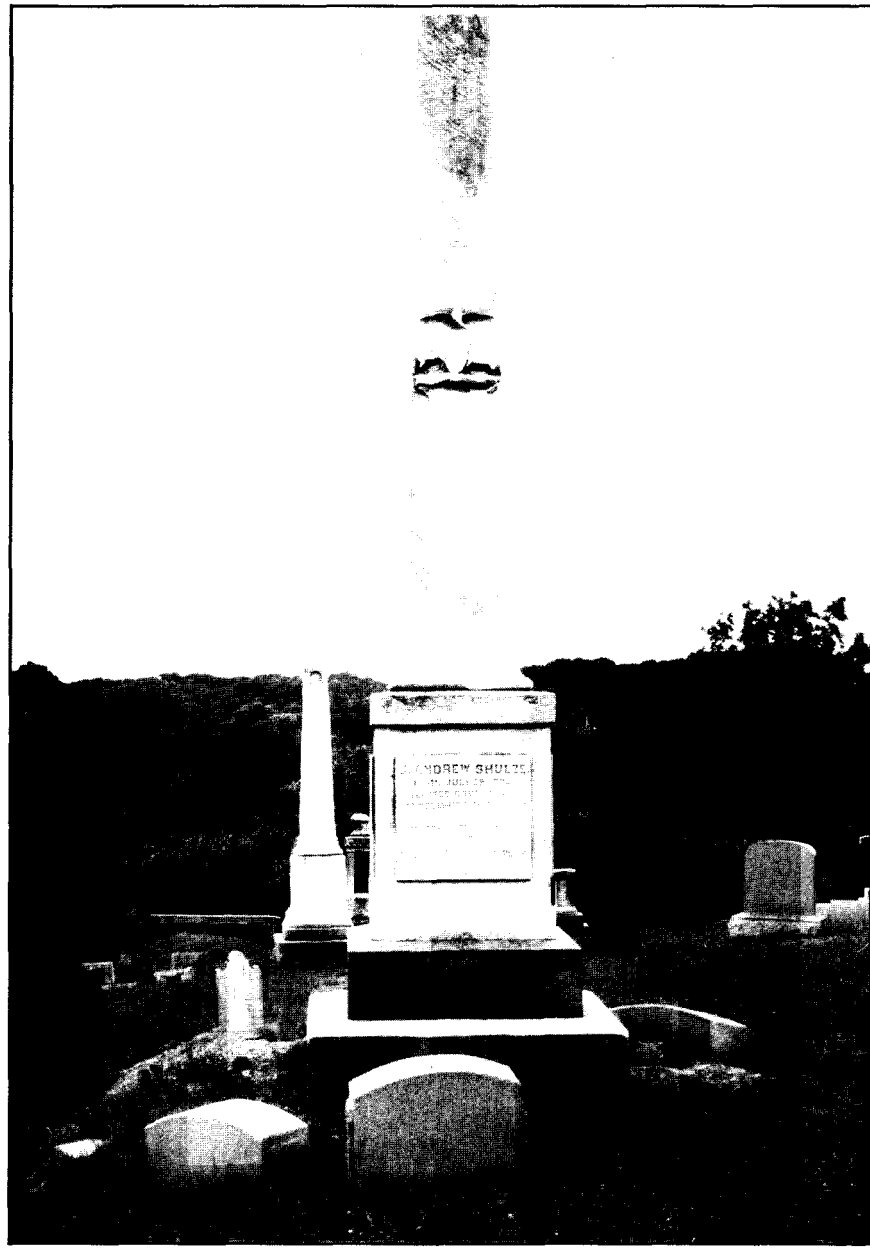

Fig. 10. Monument to former Governor John Andrew Shulze, Woodward Hill Cemetery, carved by Julian Augustus Beck, 1857, and erected by public subscription. Note the arms of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on the shaft.

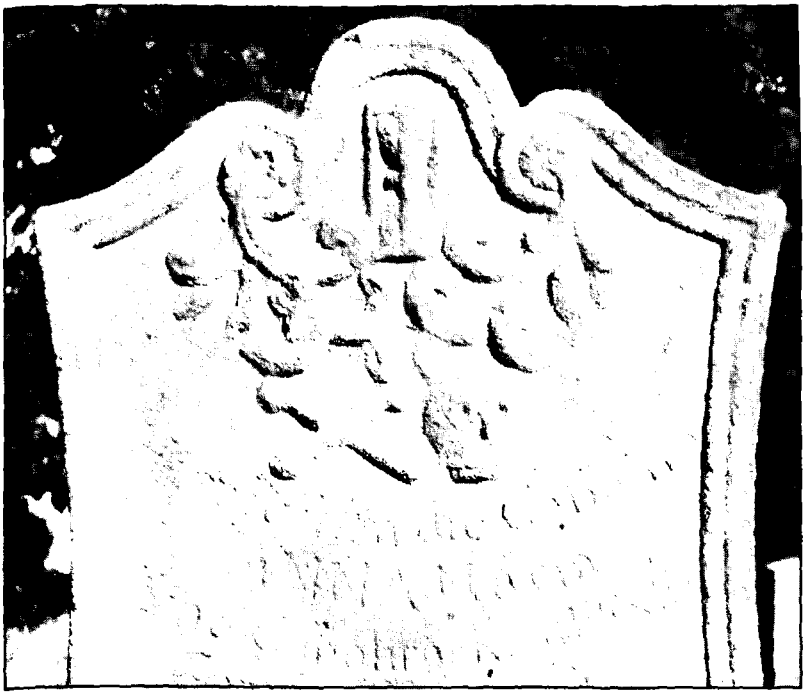

Fig. 11. Eighteenth-century headstone erected to the memory of Anna Maria Keller, date illegible, moved to the Keller family plot in Woodward Hill Cemetery, with skull, cross bones, and hour glass frequently used as symbols of mortality in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Fig. 12. Headstone erected to the memory of William Bausman (1724-1784) and William Bausman (1759-1833), formerly located in the churchyard of the First Reformed Church and subsequently moved to Lancaster Cemetery, with a smiling angel instead of the reminders of human mortality.

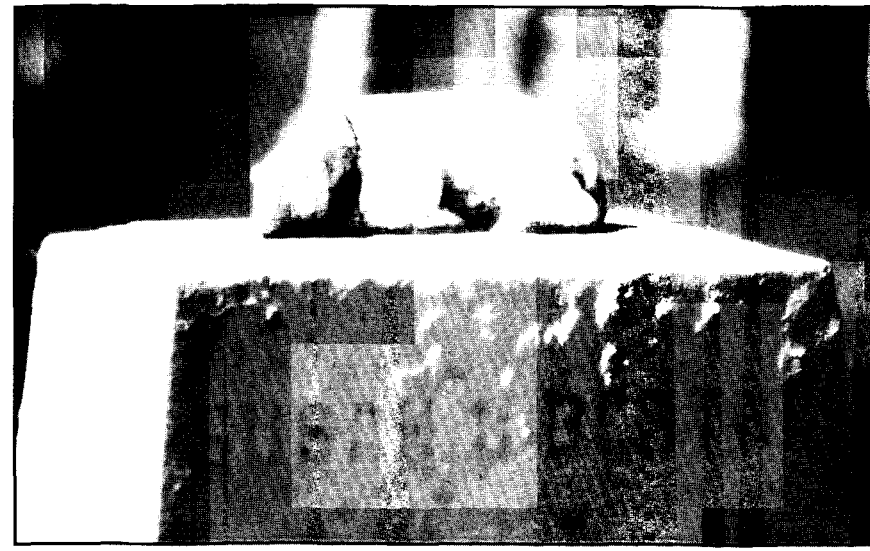

Fig. 13. Headstone to "Our Daughters" Susan and Bertha, otherwise unidentified, showing the sleeping or resting lamb frequently employed as symbolic of children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

and Marshall College. David Longenecker, first president of Lancaster Cemetery, was also a director of the Conestoga mills and president of the Lancaster Bank. Together with other prominent individuals with surnames such as Lane, Steinman, Sehner, and Long, these men, according to historian John W. W. Loose, were "the city's coterie of perennial promoters." Although none of this group achieved national renown, as was true of cemetery promoters in other cities, these men were "locally important and intensely interested in their communities." The cemeteries they created were as much an expression of their commitment to community as the other local institutions or businesses with which their names are identified.[16]

Lancaster and Woodward Hill cemeteries served the living as well as the dead. The handsome landscaping and funereal art—the cemetery literally in a garden—contrasted starkly with older burial grounds as well as the necropolises then popular throughout much of Europe. The "rural" cemetery functioned as a "didactic landscape" that taught moral precepts and soothed the pains of grief (fig. 14). One contemporary described Lancaster Cemetery as attracting those persons who "enjoy the melancholy pleasure, which the reminiscences of former days are calculated to awaken." Another writer observed in 1857, "It is well to withdraw occasionally from the duties and the follies, the pleasures and the pains, of everyday life, and hold communion with the memories of departed friends which hover, like ministering angels or invisible mentors, around the narrow mansions of mortality, in the silent and solemn beauty of the Cities

Fig. 14. The cemetery as contemplative landscape. View of the grounds and monument to Thomas Freeborn, Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York. Drawn by James Smillie, engraved by W. S. Lawrence.

of the Dead." Of course many visitors came not for contemplative reasons but simply to escape the congestion of the city and to enjoy the scenery of these handsomely landscaped grounds. As was true in other cities, Lancastrians "thronged" the drives and paths, turning the "rural" cemetery into a favorite place to promenade, a temporary respite from the bustle of the city. Thus two years after the chartering of Lancaster Cemetery, A. J. Downing could explain that such ornamented cemeteries were "doing a great deal to enlarge and educate the popular taste in rural embellishment" and to demonstrate the pressing need to establish public parks and recreational grounds in urban areas.[17]

Lancaster and Woodward Hill cemeteries, then, are a "reflection of their society," in historian Kenneth T. Jackson's words. Created in response to dramatic urban growth, the desire for permanence in burial, changing attitudes toward death, and, at least in other cities, the need to protect public health, rural cemeteries were a creative response to urbanization, the values associated with family emphasized in the new culture of domesticity, and the emergence of a new commitment to civic culture in the mid-nineteenth century. They were as well, in the words of a contemporary, "certain indications" of Lancaster's "progress in taste and refinement" (fig. 15). Perhaps most important, these mid-nineteenth-century cemeteries reflected that generation's search for reassurance, a sense of identity in place and time. Lancaster and Woodward Hill cemeteries were created not simply to memorialize the dead but to serve as the collective memory of the community.[18]

Fig. 15. Landscape view in Lancaster Cemetery.

Endnotes

The quotation in the title is from "Lutheran Cemetery," *Lancaster Saturday Express,* Nov. 16, 1850.

1. "Cemeteries," *Lancaster Intelligencer & Journal,* June 11, 1850. For an earlier call for ornamented cemeteries see "Grave Yards," *Lancaster Journal,* June 7, 1833, which contrasted the "gloomy aspect of our neglected grave yards" with Turkish cemeteries. That Lancastrians were familiar with the "rural" cemeteries established in other cities is indicated by "A Visit to Greenwood," *Saturday Express,* Aug. 9, 1851.

2. David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture As Social and Cultural History," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (July-Sept. 1984): 291-304.

3. On crowding in older churchyards see Thomas B. Barker, "History of the Lancaster Cemetery," manuscript address, Aug. 31, 1873, courtesy, The Lancaster Cemetery (Barker is identified as author of the history in "Corner-Stone Laid," *Lancaster Examiner and Herald,* Sept. 3, 1873). On the Nissly and Musser burial grounds see Jacob Hill Byrne, "The Old Graveyard Between Walnut, Chestnut, Lime and Cherry Streets, Lancaster," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 34 (1930): 25-30, and, on economic and demographic developments, Frederic Shriver Klein, *Lancaster County Since 1841,* rev. ed. (Lancaster, Pa., 1955), pp. 9-11, passim.

4. Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* . . . (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 523-24; C. F. Schaeffer and F. A. Muhlenberg, *Memorial Volume of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, Pa.* . . . (Lancaster, Pa., 1861), pp. 116-19; *Regulations, By-Laws and Charter of the Lancaster Cemetery, Lancaster, Pa.* (Lancaster, 1879), passim; *The Charter, By-Laws and Regulations of Woodward Hill Cemetery, Lancaster, Pa.* (Lancaster, Pa., 1881), pp. 3, 8, passim; Trinity Lutheran Church, Vestry Minute Book, 1846-

1855, pp. 58, 46-47. Lancaster County Courthouse, Deed Book R, vol. 8, pp. 414-18 contains the transactions between Reigart and Greiner and Trinity Lutheran Church, as well as the transfer from Trinity Lutheran to Woodward Hill Cemetery (information on the minute book and deeds graciously provided by Debra Smith).

5. "New Cemetery," *Intelligencer & Journal,* Feb. 19, 1850; "City and County Items," *Examiner and Herald,* Apr. 30, 1851, Aug. 6, 1851; Lancaster County Courthouse, Deed Book O, vol. 11, p. 147, Deed Book O, vol. 16, p. 518, Deed Book O, vol. 17, p. 221.

6. Barker, "History of the Lancaster Cemetery"; "Lancaster Cemetery," *Examiner and Herald,* Feb. 20, 1850; "Lancaster Cemetery," *Intelligencer & Journal,* Nov. 12, 1850; Ellis and Evans, *History,* pp. 523-24; Schaeffer and Muhlenberg, *Memorial Volume,* pp. 118-19.

7. Barker, "History of Lancaster Cemetery"; Ellis and Evans, *History,* p. 523; Schaeffer and Muhlenberg, *Memorial Volume,* pp. 116-17; "Lancaster Cemetery," *Intelligencer & Journal,* July 17, 1849; "Cemeteries," ibid., Oct. 9, 1849; "Lutheran Cemetery," *Saturday Express,* Nov. 16, 1850.

8. See David Chase Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore and London, 1991), pp. 73-75.

9. Barker, "History of the Lancaster Cemetery"; Isaac H. Hobbs and Son, *Hobbs's Architecture: Containing Designs and Ground Plans for Villas, Cottages, and Other Edifices, Both Suburban and Rural, Adapted to the United States,* 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1876), p. 262. The Hobbs entrance was razed and replaced by the present neoclassical gateway, erected by Pearson E. Gruger and Harry E. Moedinger, which was completed July 17, 1903 ("New Gateway at Lancaster Cemetery," *Daily New Era,* July 18, 1903).

10. "Lancaster Cemetery," *Intelligencer & Journal,* July 17, 1849; Ellis and Evans, *History,* p. 524; Schaeffer and Muhlenberg, *Memorial Volume,* p. 118; *Charter of Woodward Hill Cemetery,* p. 4.

11. On the use of the Gothic see Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City On a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, Oh., 1989), pp. 271-76 [Cleaveland quote, from the *North American Review,* is on p. 272].

12. "Beautiful Statuary," *Examiner and Herald,* May 26, 1852; "Lutheran Cemetery," *Saturday Express,* Nov. 16, 1850. On the importance of rural cemeteries as familial institutions, see Sloane, *Last Great Necessity,* pp. 70-72, passim, and, on the culture of domesticity, see especially Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1780-1865* (Cambridge, 1980).

Kieffer owned a large foundry, so the placement of the iron railing around his family plot was either intentionally or inadvertently an advertisement for his business.

13. The son of John Beck, who ran an academy for boys in Lititz, Julian Augustus Beck (1831-1917) is best remembered today for his landscape paintings, particularly those of the Susquehanna Valley. The Beck family history claims that J. A. Beck studied sculpture in Italy with Hiram Powers and Thomas Crawford, who were the two most important sculptors in mid-nineteenth-century America. In addition to the Lane and Shulze monuments, Henry Kyd Douglas's diary recounts a visit to Lancaster Cemetery to see "the much-praised monument cut by Beck and put up to the memo of Witmer, who was shipwrecked in the Mediterranean. It is a very beautiful piece of workmanship. The chief piece of it is a finial intended to represent Resignation." Beck moved to Harrisburg in 1861, and at least on one occasion exhibited several of his watercolors at the National Academy of Design in New York City (Donald A. Winer, "The Beck Family of Harrisburg," typescript copy, Lancaster County Historical Society; "The Memory of the Departed," *Daily Evening Express,* Feb. 5, 1857; Henry Kyd Douglas, *The Douglas Diary: Student Days at Franklin and Marshall College 1856-1858 by Henry Kyd Douglas,* ed. Frederic Shriver Klein and John Howard Carrill [Lancaster, Pa., 1973], p. 81; National Academy of Design, *Catalogue of the Sixth Winter Exhibition* [New York, 1873], pp. 9-10).

14. "Memory of the Departed," *Daily Evening Express,* Feb. 5, 1857. On the Egyptian Revival see Richard G. Carrott, "The Egyptian Revival: Its Sources, Its Monuments, and Its Meaning," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1961.

15. Irving is quoted in Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," p. 292; Sloane, *Last Great Necessity,* p. 55.

16. Sloane, *Last Great Necessity,* pp. 68-70; John W. W. Loose, *The Heritage of Lancaster* (Woodland Hills, Ca., 1978), p. 70.

17. Barker, "History of the Lancaster Cemetery"; "The Memory of the Departed," *Daily Evening Express,* Feb. 5, 1857, and, for similar sentiments, "A Visit to Greenwood," *Saturday Express,* Aug. 9, 1851; "Lutheran Cemetery," ibid., Nov. 16, 1850; "Cemeteries," *Intelligencer & Journal,* Jun. 11, 1850; and [A. J. Downing], "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," *Horticulturist* 4 (July 1849): 9-11; idem., "A Talk About Public Parks and Public Gardens," ibid. 3 (Oct. 1848): 157. On the rural cemetery as a response to urbanization, see David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore and London, 1986), pp. 37-56.

18. Kenneth T. Jackson and Camilo Jose Vergara, *Silent Cities: The Evolution of the American Cemetery* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 39-69; "Lutheran Cemetery," *Saturday Express,* Nov. 16, 1850. On the rural cemetery and memory, see Sloane, *Last Great Necessity,* p. 80 and Linden-Ward, *Silent City On a Hill,* pp. 321-44.

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Figure 4: Courtesy of the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum Library, Collection of Printed Books, Winterthur, Delaware.

Figures 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15: By the author.

Figure 14: From Nehemiah Cleaveland, *Green-Wood Illustrated. In Highly Finished Line Engravings. From Drawings Taken on the Spot by James Smillie. With Descriptive Notices by Nehemiah Cleaveland.* (New York, 1847).

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