

RESURRECTION THROUGH INTERPRETATION

A Case for the Use of Modern Interpretive Programming as a Means of Revitalizing the Rural
Cemetery's Role in the Local Community

by

LLOYD MILTON PERRY, JR.

(Under the Direction of Eric MacDonald)

ABSTRACT

This thesis ascertains how can the addition of interpretive programming help preserve the “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a community’s “sense of place.” It examines the history of cemeteries to explain what “rural cemeteries” are, how they came to be, and what caused their decline. Next, the it looks back at art history to define what historical interpretation is, its evolution into a modern professional practice, and to explain how interpretive programming has been applied in “rural cemeteries.” Finally, the thesis considered how the “rural cemetery’s” resurrection can help in defining a community’s “sense of place” by defining what “sense of place is, and explaining how people and communities are affected by its presence. The thesis then analyzes the responses from eleven “rural cemeteries” that were surveyed with respect to the thesis posed above and it takes an even closer look at three of these cemeteries as case studies to determine how interpretive programming had impacted their preservation.

INDEX WORDS: Rural Cemetery Movement, rural cemetery, Bonaventure Cemetery, Magnolia Cemetery, Oakland Cemetery, outdoor museum, sense of place, interpretive programming,

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all the owners, designers, managers, and the countless staff and volunteers who continue to preserve these “rural cemeteries” as outdoor museums for the future generations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines how the addition of modern interpretative programming can help resurrect the sometime forgotten nineteenth century “rural cemetery.” Interpretive programming elements used within cemeteries include informational plaques, guided tours, living history tours, maps, quick response codes (QR codes), smart phone apps, videos, digital video disc (DVDs), digital photography, geographic information system (GIS), satellite imagery, and web-based applications. In this thesis, resurrection is defined as an increase in the utilization of the cemetery by local citizens and tourists for passive recreational activities, an increase in the revenue to help in the conservation of the cemetery, and/or an enhanced “sense of place.” This thesis will analyze the responses of cemetery owners who answered a twenty-question survey mailed to twenty-six “rural cemeteries” within the United States. It will also analyze and explore the historical contexts, management styles, designed elements and interpretive programming of three nineteenth-century Southern “rural cemeteries.” Based on the findings of this research, recommendations will be made regarding how historic cities can utilize interpretive programming to help preserve and resurrect their historic nineteenth-century cemeteries.

Purpose and Significance

Professor James A. Curl, an architectural historian from the United Kingdom said, “Cemeteries could help to improve the moral sentiments and general taste of all classes, and more especially of the great masses of society.” (Curl 1975, 25) In making this statement, he could have easily been referring to the “rural cemeteries” designed during the Rural Cemetery

Movement in the United States. These cemeteries were created to replace local churchyard cemeteries starting in the early nineteenth century. They usually encompassed fifty or more acres and were located on the outskirts of large cities of industry, commerce and transportation. Accessible by horse or buggy, the “rural cemetery” was typically designed by a horticulturist, engineer, or architect to take full advantage of the site’s topography and mature vegetation to help create a romantic, picturesque, or pastoral landscape where local citizens could participate in passive recreational activities. Because of this use, “rural cemeteries” are considered the first public parks in the United States. With their beautiful scenery, monuments, mausoleums, and peaceful setting, all citizens within the community wanted to visit them to escape the city and enjoy the rural setting that most had grown up in during an earlier stage in their life.

During the early twentieth century, social customs began to change, and “rural cemeteries” accordingly evolved. As cities grew larger, cemeteries that had once been located on the outskirts of town were now located within the city limits. The lifestyles of most families also changed during the twentieth century. Children increasingly moved away from the towns where they had grown up. Family members moved away and in some cases family lineages died out within a particular community. Consequently, many “rural cemeteries” no longer received the level of care they once had during the nineteenth century, when families routinely visited the graves of loved ones and maintained and beautified family plots. Because of this dwindling involvement by local citizens, “rural cemeteries” were often forgotten and neglected, becoming underused and underappreciated by the community.

In many communities “rural cemeteries” contain more art, architecture, specimen plant materials, and history than the local public museum. Thus, it is important that they are conserved for future generations. The need to conserve historic rural cemeteries prompts

important questions about how cemetery owners might encourage local citizens and tourists to visit these sites and experience all the things these outdoor museums have to offer. Cemetery owners might be able to approach this problem by adding modern interpretive programming to their management activities, thereby influencing how people perceive, experience and value these cemeteries. This thesis explores that possibility.

Research Question

The main research question asks, “How can the addition of modern interpretive programming help preserve historic “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a community’s “sense of place”?”

Methods

This thesis answers the above question through reviewing relevant literature, analyzing the replies to a survey sent to twenty-six “rural cemeteries” within the United States, and identifying and analyzing three case-study “rural cemeteries” in the Southeastern United States. The survey (Appendix A) included questions that deal with the management of the cemetery, the interpretive elements, the use of grants, the implementation of interpretive programming, and the limitations and problems involved with day-to-day activity of the cemetery. The case studies focus on three Southern “rural cemeteries” that were designed during the Rural Cemetery Movement.

Literature Review

In order to understand the reasoning behind the creation and decline of the “rural cemeteries, and to see how interpretive programming is resurrecting their role within the local communities, a literature review of three subject areas was conducted. First, literature about the history of the memorialization of individuals was reviewed in order to understand the context of

“rural cemetery” preservation and interpretation. Secondly, an analysis of the literature related to historic site interpretation in the United States provided insight about current principles and programming elements that are being used in historic cemeteries. Finally, literature about “sense of place,” or “genius loci,” was examined in order to provide insight into the kinds of human experiences that may be lost or gained with the implementation of interpretive programming in rural cemeteries.

Survey

To understand the impact of adding interpretive programming to “rural cemeteries” a twenty-question survey (Appendix A) was sent to twenty-six owners/managers and/or friends group/nonprofit of cemeteries that were developed during the “Rural Cemetery Movement” across the United States. The twenty-six cemeteries were chosen based on two criteria. First, the cemeteries had to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a “rural cemetery” designed during the Rural Cemetery Movement (see Figure 1.1. below). This criterion was chosen because the author felt that if the cemetery owners had gone through the in-depth process

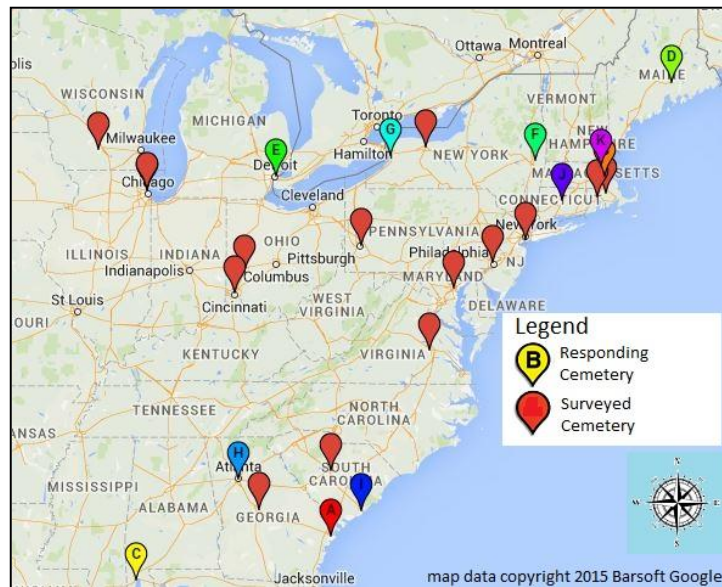


Figure 1.1. Location map of the twenty-six surveyed cemeteries.
Map data copyright 2015 Barsoft Google

to have the site listed on the National Register of Historic Places, then the owner of the cemetery was interested in its preservation and there was a stronger chance that interpretive programming had been added to the cemetery. Secondly, the city where the cemetery was located had to have been a fast growing city for industry, commerce and transportation at the time the cemetery was opened. This criterion was chosen because cities that were quickly expanding generally had larger populations and in these cities, it was more likely that the church graveyards were full and there was a need for new larger cemeteries such as the “rural cemetery.” A city such as this also had a larger group of wealthy industrialist and upper middle class who could afford to memorialize themselves or their family with monuments and mausoleums in this new style of cemetery. The survey questions focused on whether interpretive programming had been added to the cemetery, and if it had, then how this addition had affected the cemetery. The survey also asked questions about cemetery management, preservation and restoration of the cemetery, visitation to the cemetery, community involvement in the cemetery, and advice these cemetery owners would give to others who might consider adding interpretive programming to a cemetery.

After selecting the twenty-six cemeteries and creating the twenty-question survey, the author completed the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process at the University of Georgia. The university requires IRB approval, in order to comply with regulations of the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP) and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and to implement the principles outlined in the Belmont Report. The next step was to identify the names and addresses of the cemetery owners and/or the nonprofit “friends” organization that help in the conservation of the cemetery. This was done using the internet to research the names and contact information for these groups at the twenty-six cemeteries. The names and addresses were compiled on an excel sheet, the individual letters and survey sheets that would be sent to

each recipient were written. With approval to proceed with the research granted by the IRB on March 20, 2013, the survey questionnaire, the letter, requesting the owner's participation in the survey, and the envelopes were all printed and mailed to the selected "rural cemeteries." Out of the twenty-six surveys sent, eleven cemeteries responded, including three of the four cemeteries selected to be used as case studies.

Case Studies

In order to further research how interpretive programming has affected the management, conservation and use of historic rural cemeteries, four of the twenty-six cemeteries were selected to take part in a phone interview in addition to answering the survey, and a site visit was planned for each of the responding cemeteries. The four "rural cemeteries," Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia; Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia; Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston, South Carolina; and Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia, were selected as possible case studies due to their proximity to the University of Georgia, thus making the logistics of site visits more feasible as day trips from Athens, Georgia. In order to follow the



Figure 1.2. Location map of the three case study cemeteries.
Map data copyright Basarsoft Google.

IRB policy, these four cemeteries received a more detailed letter explaining the interview process and a consent form that participants signed and returned to the author if they were willing to take part in the research. Of the four cemeteries selected to be case studies three consented to participate in the survey. The cemeteries that responded to the request to be case studies include Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia; Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston, South Carolina; and Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia. Each case study chronicled the cemetery's history from its original creation through its decline, and then through the process of adding interpretive programming to better understand how the addition of interpretive programming has affected the cemetery.

Interviews

For each case study site, a phone interview was conducted with either an owners' representative or a member of the "friends" nonprofit. These interviews provided important history on each cemetery, information about the annual cost for maintenance, and the avenues used to raise funds to preserve the cemetery and the art and architecture within its borders. These interviews also gave insight into how the addition of interpretive programming has influenced the resurrection of the cemetery.

Site Visits

Site visits to the three case-study "rural cemeteries" and the historic cities for which they were built, helped the author understand the proximity of the cemetery to the community, and what an average day at the cemetery was like in terms of visitors and staff at the site. These visits also allowed the author to see firsthand what types of interpretive programming were being utilized at each cemetery and to better understand what state the cemetery was currently in regarding their maintenance and preservation. These visits also provided opportunities to

undertake some primary source research and talk to people in the city about how the cemetery is currently perceived and how the communities' perception of the cemetery has changed over the years.

Thesis Structure

The thesis has been divided into nine chapters that seek to present the information gathered through research, survey results, site visits, and interviews in order to provide a definitive answer to the research question. Chapter Two chronicles the history of the memorialization of the dead, and documents the history of cemeteries in the western world starting with the Stone Age and going through present-day cemetery design. It documents the practice of memorialization and how it was passed from one civilized culture to another, and how memorials transitioned from earthen domes (megaliths) into works of art and architecture. As Christianity spread through the western world, the art of memorialization influenced the building of churches, church graveyards and finally the creation of cemeteries. It discusses the influence of the Rural Cemetery Movement on the view of death in the western world, and why “rural cemeteries,” which were places of beauty and repose, started to decline due to the increased cost of maintenance and the mobile society.

Chapter Three considers how interpretive programming has been applied to cemeteries. It examines the many ways history has been interpreted throughout history up to modern times. It reviews the definition of historical interpretation within the professional field of historic preservation. Over the years, historical interpretation has changed drastically – especially most recently with the use of computers and web-based technology. This chapter also focuses on principles of interpretation put forth by Freeman Tilden during the 1950s and by Beck and Cable

during the 1990s. The chapter closes by discussing types of interpretive programming currently used at historic sites.

Chapter Four discusses the idea of a site having a “sense of place.” It first considers the historical context of this idea, which extends back to the days of ancient Rome, when it was believed that every person, animal and plant had its own guardian spirit. This idea of a site or community having a “sense of place” came in and out of fashion over the centuries. By the twentieth century this idea referred to the character of a place as expressed in tangible features such as the architectural style, vegetation, topography and history of a community. With this knowledge the chapter considers whether the “rural cemetery” has the required elements needed to help rebuild a community’s “sense of place” and to consider whether the addition of interpretive programming might help resurrect the cemetery by bringing back public involvement.

Chapter Five presents and analyzes data collected from eleven “rural cemeteries” that responded to a twenty-question survey. These cemeteries, located in both the Northern and Southern regions of the United States, were all designed and built during the Rural Cemetery Movement and are all listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The data from each of the eleven cemeteries are analyzed and compared to the each other to provide information relevant to help in answering the main research question.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight explore case studies of three Southern “rural cemeteries” that were designed and built during the Rural Cemetery Movement. Each chapter focuses on the history, interpretive programming elements, ownership, use of grants and donations, and the limitations and problems with the management and preservation of each case study cemetery.

Each chapter also includes an analysis of information obtained from phone interviews, as well as from site visits.

Finally, the thesis concludes with Chapter Nine, which briefly reviews the information gathered through the literature review, as well as the data gathered from the three case studies and the eleven respondents to the survey. This information is used to answer the thesis question, make recommendations that could guide future research on the topic, and suggest the ways that cemetery owners and preservationist can use the material presented in the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

RURAL CEMETERIES: ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT DAY

Introduction

Memorialization of the dead can be historically documented in most cultures of the world and much is known about these cultures of past civilizations because of such memorials. In his book, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, John Strang stated, “In every age, and among the inhabitants of every clime, have there existed some ceremony connected with death, and some sacred spot consecrated to the burial and memory of the death” (Strang 1831, 1). This chapter reviews the history of the burial and memorialization of humankind in order to understand what influences brought about the “rural cemetery,” its growth, its decline, and now its resurrection as an outdoor museum. This chapter will show that these “rural cemeteries” contain more art, architecture, history, and specimen plants than most public museums. It also looks at how the introduction of interpretive programming into “rural cemetery,” to tell the stories of its art, architecture and history, will help inform visitors and future generations about a very important period in the American culture thus turning the cemetery into an outdoor museum.

Ancient Times through Roman Empire

As James Curl wrote in his book, *A Celebration of Death*, “The rarefied pleasures of the cemetery and the funerary architecture have been known to generations of travelers from the earliest of times. From Herodotus to Baedeker, the tomb has received honorable mention as an object to study and of reflection” (Curl 1980, xxiv). Memorialization of the dead is traced back

to the megaliths and tumulus funerary monuments of ancient cultures found in Russia, Western Europe, the British Isles, and the Mediterranean Region. Sir Howard Montagu Colvin, a noted architectural historian from the United Kingdom states, that, “a megalith whether family tomb or dynastic burial place, may have been an assertion of territorial proprietorship a kind of monumental title deed for all to see” (Colvin 1991, 5). No Western European society has devoted more of its resources to building tombs since this time (Covin 1991, 1).

Pharaoh pyramids in Egypt are probably the most recognized tombs in the world. They are celebrations of death on a monumental scale. Egyptian architectural details such as the pyramids, sphinxes, and obelisks provided sources of inspiration to the designers of buildings, mausoleums, and monuments during the Italian Renaissance and then again during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Curl 1980, 7). The advent of tourism during this same period played a big part in spreading knowledge about the Egyptian pyramids.

The maintenance of these burial tombs played an important role in the lives of Egyptian royalty and wealthy families, especially the pyramidal tombs of Pharaohs. James Curl states, “It appears that many tombs, such as the pyramidal complexes, were endowed to enable the priest to make offerings and perform rituals” (Curl 1980, 7). Unfortunately, the cost of this maintenance was also one of the main reasons that later pharaohs abandoned the use of pyramids (Figure 2.1) and chose to build their burial chambers within the high cliffs along the Nile (Curl 1980, 11). A very large part of the Egyptian economy consisted of building, furnishing, upkeep, and servicing of tombs and funerary architecture for the elite and the royal families. Curl states, “No subsequent culture was to spend as much comparative wealth on the building of necropolis, although there were to be individual tombs of great importance architecturally in later civilizations (Curl 1980, 12).

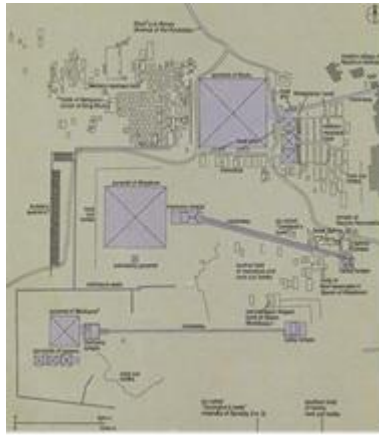


Figure 2.1. Plan of the Pyramid Necropolis at Giza, Egypt. *Courtesy egyptsites.wordpress.com*

In ancient Greece, burial of the dead was considered a duty so sacred that failure to uphold this responsibility was certain to call down the vengeance of the gods (Strang 1831, 8). During this period both the mausoleum and the individual grave marker were introduced as ways to memorialize lost loved ones. The monumental tomb was no longer built to protect its inhabitants from disturbance during their long sleep, instead it became a way to architecturally inform the living of the achievements and rank of the deceased—a way to preserve their physical remains while at the same time preserving the memory of their achievements and status in life (Colvin 1991, 15). Another trend was the introduction of the *stèle* (Figure 2.2), considered the first personal commemorative monument or gravestone (Colvin 1991, 16). This upright stone



Figure 2.2. Marble grave *stèle* 400-390 BCE, Metropolitan Museum of Art New York City. *Photo by Author*

slab or pillar tended to have a pediment that was inscribed with the name of the deceased and a silhouetted low-relief sculptural design that referenced the individual's vocation or how they had died. Today the stele can be found in cultures throughout the world, such as Central America and China.

Funerary customs of Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor all influenced the burial customs of the Roman Empire as it developed during the next several hundred years. Unlike the emperors who were buried in mausoleums, most Roman citizens were buried either in tombs, sarcophagi, or catacombs. Curl quotes J. M. Toynbee's book, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*:

The majority of Romans had their remains buried in tombs strung along the roads beyond city gates. The poor were deposited in the earth. Semitic peoples, early Christians, and some others were laid on shelves known as *Loculi* cut in the rock of catacombs. Richer persons were placed in sarcophagi of lead, marble, stone, terracotta, or timber, and the sarcophagi were themselves laid in chamber-tombs or were buried. (qtd. in Curl 1980, 41).

It was during the later period of the Roman Empire that the memorialization of the dead changed the most, with the acceptance of Christianity as a religion under Constantine the Great in 313 AD. At first, Christians continued to be buried outside cities and in the catacombs. As time passed, however, they wanted to be interred in sacred ground and to be segregated from non-believers. As the Christian religion spread, churches were built inside the city walls. It became customary for nobility and the wealthy to be buried within churches, and other parishioners of lesser means were buried in the church graveyard located nearby the church. The conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, and then the Western Roman Empire's fall, helped usher in the Middle Ages and the conversion of Western Europe to Christianity. The mausoleums and gardens of the Greeks and Romans influenced the funerary architecture of the Middle Ages, which in turn influenced the Renaissance and Baroque funerary architecture, all of which then influenced the funerary architecture of the Rural Cemetery Movement.

Cemetery Reform/Nineteenth Century

Although Europeans living abroad had designed and utilized new modern cemeteries in the countries they were colonizing, most burials in Europe and Britain still occurred in overcrowded churchyards. In 1804 the situation was so critical that Napoleon outlawed burials within the city of Paris and worked to create four new cemeteries outside the city. The most famous of these is Père-Lachaise.

The cemetery was laid out in the English landscape tradition (Figure 2.3) with winding paths that took advantage of the contours of the land, while the designer utilized the strong axial formality of the French and Italian gardens to locate the monumental entrance, chapel, and works of art designed for the cemetery. The cemetery monuments were derived from strong classical geometry of classical Greek and Rome architecture, as well as the funerary gardens and

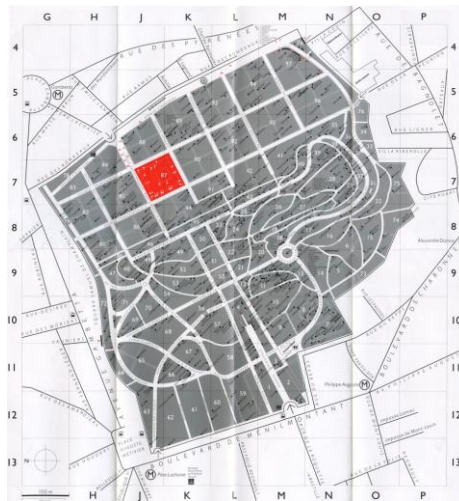


Figure 2.3. Plan of Père-Lachaise Cemetery highlighting the funerary chapel in red, Paris. *Courtesy of tourthepage.com*

mausolea of Islam, where symmetry was carried to perfection (Curl 1980, 158). The cemetery had an urban quality to it, with paved streets lined with tombs, while also incorporating a great variety of plantings and green spaces that help create an Arcadian landscapes (Curl 1980, 160).

Père-Lachaise would influence cemetery reform in the western world especially in the United States.

Rural Cemetery Movement in the United States

Père-Lachaise influenced the new garden cemeteries of Europe and Britain, all of which began to shape the idea of utilizing the garden cemetery in America to address the overcrowding of churchyards and the associated health and hygiene issues in large cities. Mount Auburn Cemetery, located outside of Cambridge, Massachusetts and just ten miles from the center of Boston, became the first garden style cemetery in America. It was the brainchild of Dr. Jacob Bigelow and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. They were motivated to create burials that were more hygienic and to promote the idea of a botanical park where citizens could go to explore nature and escape the confines of the city. Just as at Père-Lachaise, this cemetery was designed to be a relaxing place of interment, and to serve as a cultural institution that would enhance visitors' spirit and demeanor. However, instead of referring to it as a garden cemetery,



Figure 2.4. Plan of Mount Auburn Cemetery, Boston. *Courtesy of westenmasshistory.com.*

the American populace began to refer to it as a “rural cemetery” because it reflected the desire of city dwellers to reconnect with the virtues of rural life they had once known. Mount Auburn Cemetery became the catalyst for what today is known as the Rural Cemetery Movement. This movement not only addressed the problems of the overcrowded churchyard cemeteries and poor hygienic problems in the city, it also began to change attitudes about death and burial in the United States.

Dr. Jacob Bigelow and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society purchased the original seventy-two acres and hired Henry Alexander Scammel Dearborn and Alexander Wadsworth to design the cemetery (Figure 2.4). Their design gave Mount Auburn its overall charm due to a garden-like setting with winding roads and views of the Charles River (Sloane 1991, 46). The picturesque “rural cemetery” with its serpentine pathways was a carefully designed landscape that combined nature and art to provide visitors with unexpected views and natural surprises.

While the designers of Mount Auburn and other “rural cemeteries” created the backdrop of a natural setting with romantic winding roadways, lot owners were allowed to develop their family plots. The ability to own a family plot was what made the rural cemetery so appealing to the upper and middle class. Because family lots were big enough for several generations to be laid to rest, purchasers viewed the cemetery as a safe, secure burial place where their loved ones would be memorialized and not be disturbed, abandoned, or vandalized. When an individual purchased a lot, they took sole possession and control of all decisions that were to be made about the lot. Owners were responsible for selecting the monuments and individual grave markers, hiring gardeners to design and plant the lot as well as maintain the gravestones and plantings (Sloane 1991, 70). Family monuments placed in the cemetery represented a shift from churchyard gravestones, which had designs that conveyed religious themes to large monuments

(Figure 2.5) that utilized symbols of nature, hope, immortality, and life (Sloane 1991, 77). Some of these symbols included, “Statues of Faith, holding anchors of Hope, stood on pedestals decorated with ornaments of ivy (memory), poppy (sleep), oak (immortality), and the acorn (life)” (Sloane 1991, 77).

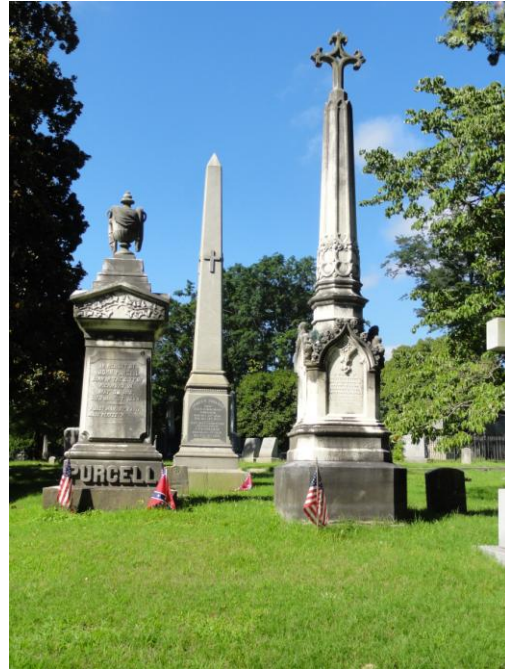


Figure 2.5. Monuments in Hollywood Cemetery Richmond, VA. *Photo by author.*

“The cemetery was becoming a museum of memories enshrined in monuments spread throughout the grounds” notes Sloane (1991, 79). Sloane continues, “Proprietors took special pride in their lot’s appearance. They erected family monuments and in some cases the families also surrounded their lot with an ornate wrought iron fence. The most prominent monuments were soon noted in newspapers and cemetery guidebooks. Many proprietors also hired gardeners to plant their lots, providing the cemetery with a plethora of beautiful trees and vegetation. The revival styles of architecture – Classical, Gothic, Byzantine, Egyptian, Baroque and Italianate – were utilized in the design of monuments and mausoleums during the nineteenth century (Keister

1997, 29). It was also common for the mausoleums of this period to be miniature copies of famous buildings such as the Parthenon, Pantheon, Temple of the Winds, and more obscure buildings such as the Kiosk of Trajan at the Temple of Isis on the Island of Philae, Egypt (Keister 1997, 77).

Mount Auburn so drastically changed the way Americans viewed death and burial that the cemetery quickly received local, national, and international accolades. Visitors came from as far away as Europe to view the cemetery. Visitors admired and took notes on this new way to bury the dead, while at the same time they paid their respects to the deceased in a natural setting. The new type of cemetery could also be enjoyed for passive recreational uses by the citizens of Boston and the surrounding areas. Visitors from other American cities came to view the site, and, once they saw this new “rural cemetery,” they then wanted to emulate it in their growing cities.

Within five to ten years large Northern cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Albany, and Baltimore saw “rural cemeteries” open up outside their city limits, each imitating the design of Mount Auburn. Within twenty years the Rural Cemetery Movement had extended west to Saint Louis, Missouri, and south to cities such as Charleston, Richmond, Atlanta, and Savannah. Sloan states, “The graveyards of the South were just as crowded, although the strong tradition of gardening had resulted in more attractive churchyards than in the North. The interest in gardening eased the expansion of the designed cemetery into Southern cities and towns” (1991, 94). While visiting America the young Englishman Henry Arthur Bright wrote, “Cemeteries here are all the rage, people lounge in them and use them (as their tastes are inclined) for walking, making love, weeping, sentimentalizing, and everything in short” (Sloane 1991, 55-56). Rural cemeteries were a prelude to the creation of public parks in America, and they became a

place where great art and architecture would survive the passage of time to inspire and educate future generations. It was during this period in American history that the word “cemetery”, which comes from the Greek word Koimeterion, meaning “sleeping chamber”(Etymonline Dictionary website, May 17, 2014), was widely embraced because people viewed the cemetery as a place where their departed loved ones could sleep together forever (Sloane 1991, 55). The “rural cemetery” was a place where local citizens could comfortably consider charity, humility, life and immortality (Sloane 1991, 65).

Sloane states, “After the Civil War, recreation places, such as urban parks and amusement parks, diverted people from visiting the “rural cemeteries” as a place for passive recreation. The burial place returned to its status as a sacred spot outside the daily concourse of the public...Guidebooks gave cemeteries less notice, and the public hesitated to enter them” (Sloane 1991, 168). By the early twentieth century, visitation also declined due to the ease of travel and the newfound mobility of the American citizens with the introduction of the automobile. During this period some “rural cemeteries” found themselves in financial trouble due to the increasing cost of maintenance and the introduction of alternative types of cemeteries such as the “lawn cemetery,” and the “memorial park cemetery.” The effects of the two World Wars and the Great Depression also affected the ability of citizens to visit the “rural cemeteries” that had once been a place of passive recreation for them. At the end of World War II a large percentage of the American populace moved to the suburbs, where they built “memorial park cemeteries” instead of utilizing the “rural cemeteries that were now, in most cases, located within the boundaries of the cities they had been built to serve. Citizens did not feel safe visiting the cemetery due to the decline of the neighborhoods that surrounded them. Many of these

cemeteries seemed forgotten and undervalued places that no one visited unless to attend a funeral.

With all the changes that occurred in regards to the “rural cemetery,” during the twentieth century, the most positive took place during the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s and is continuing today. Sloane states, “As interest in historic preservation, historic districts and commemoration expands, the burial place became the ideal tool for teaching people about their past, educating children about their community, and exhibiting past architectural and artistic styles” (Sloane 1991, 216). Due to this renewed interest in historic preservation and genealogy, nonprofit organizations were created to befriend “rural cemeteries” and help in their conservation. These friend groups slowly introduced interpretive programming into the “rural cemeteries” as they looked for ways to present the cemetery as an outdoor museum, as a way to bring people back to the cemetery, and as a way to help them raise funds for its conservation.

Photographs of the sculpture (Figure 2.6), monuments and architecture found within this thesis are some of the art and architecture located at the three case-study cemeteries. These examples are similar to the art and architecture that exist in the other “rural cemeteries” across the United States. Combined with the history of the artist and architects, those interred, the communities, and the significance of the cemeteries as culturally significant landscapes there is a great number of stories that can be told to help educate the communities about their cemetery and its significance to the community. In some communities, these cemeteries contained more artwork and architecture than their local museums.

Conclusion

Since the ancient time of the megaliths and pyramids, wealthy families have used monuments and architecture to memorialize lost loved ones; however, the introduction of the

“rural cemetery” was the only time period when cemeteries included works of art, architecture, and culturally significant designed landscapes to memorialize the dead. Architectural styles



Figure 2.6. Seated Angel Monument, Richmond, VA. *Photo by author.*

from all periods were used to build mausoleums and famous artist were commissioned to design sculptures and monuments that memorialized prominent people within the community. Symbols for religion, mortality, trades, and symbolic flowers were carved into the monuments to help tell the stories of those the monuments had been placed to represent. The “rural cemeteries” have seen prosperity and decline but they are starting to see a resurrection as they are interpreted to tell the story of a very important period in the United States as well as the history of their community and the people interred within them. It is with the use of interpretive programming

that these stories are being told and thus “rural cemeteries” are being transformed into outdoor museums that provide a positive influence on their communities and help to define the community’s “sense of place.”

CHAPTER THREE

RURAL CEMETERIES AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Introduction

During the past one hundred years, the interpretation of historic cemeteries, historic sites, museums, and national and state parks has become a professional field. The United States National Park Service states,

Historic places have powerful stories to tell, but they cannot speak for themselves. They do not communicate in a language that most of us are trained to understand. It is sometimes difficult to appreciate the images of wealth and sophistication that owners sought to project using architectural styles that are no longer fashionable. We cannot retrieve the excitement of going ‘downtown’ in the 1920s and 30s, complete with hat and gloves. We don't remember when train stations had separate waiting rooms, toilets, and even drinking fountains for black and white passengers. If we are to remember the stories of our past, we need to tell them in ways that everyone can understand. We need to help people gain an ‘empathetic understanding of the past.’ That is the goal of all good teaching about history. Because it seems to parallel the process of translating from one language to another, telling the story of a place is often called "interpretation" (Thompson and Harper 2000, 12).

This chapter explores how historical interpretation is defined in today's professional field. It reviews the different ways interpretation has been used to tell the stories of individuals and events throughout history, and it explain how modern interpretive programming has been applied to “rural cemeteries,” thus helping to resurrect their role in defining a community's “sense of place.”

Definition

The twentieth century was a time in American culture when numerous historic site museums and national parks became tourist attractions, and the public stewards of these site museums desired to interpret their histories to the thousands of visitors who visited them each year. In 1957, Freeman Tilden put forth what became the first professionally-recognized definition of historical interpretation in his book, *Interpreting Our Heritage*. This definition described historical interpretation as, “an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information” (Tilden 1957, 33). Tilden wanted to show that interpretation should be a carefully thought-out activity that demonstrated great research and planning in designing a professional interpretive program, not just a tour guide telling a story that cannot be verified.

Following Tilden’s definition of historical interpretation, others continued to refine his concept and make it their own. In their 1976 book, *Interpretation of Historic Sites*, William Alderson and Shirley Payne Low defined historical interpretation as “a program and an activity. The program establishes a set of objectives for the things we want our visitor to understand; the activity has to do with the skills and techniques by which that understanding is created” (Alderson and Low 1976, 3). In the recent third edition of *The Gifts of Interpretation*, by Larry Beck and Ted Cable, published in 2011, the term historical interpretation is defined as, “an educational activity that aims to reveal meanings about our cultural and natural resources. Through various media—including talks, guided tours, and exhibits—interpretation enhances our understanding, appreciation, and, therefore, protection of historic sites and natural wonders” (Beck and Cable 2011, xvii).

These three definitions are similar and focus on expanding the visitor's base of knowledge and provoking them to continue searching for historical information after they leave a historic site museum or national park. All three definitions focus on the explanation of life events as the focus of the interpretation. The definitions from Tilden and Beck and Cable specify that interpretation needs to educate visitors about the life events or history that relate to specific sites, but only Tilden states that the storyline of interpretive programming needs to be backed up with research. Several definitions suggest using original objects and media to present information to visitors.

In considering how the use of interpretive programming can help preserve historic "rural cemeteries" and resurrect their role within the local community, the definitions put forth by Tilden and Beck and Cable are the most satisfactory. This is due to the fact that both definitions focus on revealing the meanings and relationships of the history and objects of the site to visitors based on researched facts presented in an educational way. To understand how historical interpretation has evolved into a modern professional practice, this thesis will review the different types of interpretive programming that have been used throughout history to tell the stories of historic life events and historic site.

History of Historical Interpretation through Art and Architecture

As noted above, the term "historical interpretation" is relatively new, having been defined in a professional context only since the mid-twentieth century; however, the act of interpreting history has existed since the beginning of humankind. During the Stone Age/Paleolithic Period, history was passed down from generation to generation through the art of storytelling. Stories taught the young about the heroics of their ancestors and helped ensure that the way of life and traditions of a cultural group would continue with each consecutive generation. Storytelling is

similar to the guided tours used today to tell the story of many historic sites to visitors. As generations passed, people began experimenting with artwork as a way to tell their stories. The artwork came in many forms, and it was crafted from natural materials that were a part of the everyday lives of the people. Such art included human and animal forms carved in stone, ivory or molded in clay, as well as monumental paintings, etchings and relief sculptures found on the walls of caves (Gardner 1926, 16).

During the Bronze Age (2900-2400 BC) humankind transitioned from a lifestyle of hunter-gathers to agriculturalist, and the same period the first great urban civilizations came into being. This transition first occurred in Mesopotamia under the rule of the Sumerians during the fourth millennium BC (Gardner 1926, 18). Sumerians were the first masters of pictorial narration. By 3000-2900 BC the Sumerians had simplified their



Figure 3.1. *Victory stele of Naram -Sin.*
Courtesy of cengage.com.

pictographic signs, reducing them into a group of wedge-shaped signs known as cuneiform, which eventually became their alphabet (Gardner 1926, 18). They were known for their use of pictorial narration to tell their history especially of their great military battles. A grand example of this is the *Victory stele of Naram-Sin* erected in 2254-2218 BC in what is now Susa, Iran (Figure 3.1.).

While the Sumerian civilization was developing in Mesopotamia, the Egyptian Dynasties and the Mycenaean Greek civilizations were also developing in different parts of the Mediterranean. The Egyptian Dynasties mirrored the development of the Sumerians with their carved pictographs (hieroglyphics) in stone to commemorate events in their history. Most of what is known about the Egyptian Dynasties is due to their great architectural accomplishments in the pyramids and funerary precincts that surrounded them.

The ancient Greeks admitted that they borrowed elements, such as motifs, conventions and skills, from the earlier great cultures of the Egyptians, Mycenaeans, and the Mesopotamians (Gardner 1926, 98). With these borrowed elements, the Greeks perfected their own style especially in the areas of proportional mathematics, used in designing their temples, and the ability to create lifelike statuary, which was a break from the rigid and unnatural Egyptian sculpture (Gardner 1926, 122). Greek style later became the foundation for the Western tradition in sculpture, art, architecture, and writing all of which have helped in telling the history of this region of the world. They implemented the mosaic art as flooring and figural panels in buildings to tell stories of Greek life and mythology on a large scale. The Greeks, along with the Hebrews and the Phoenicians, were the first to create phonetic alphabets that allowed the written documentation of oral stories and the translation of these stories into other languages.

The Roman civilization was first influenced by the earlier Etruscan civilization, but as the Romans began to conquer foreign lands, they began to bring back art, architecture, and artisans to help them create their empire. In 146 BC, Greece became a Roman province and this increased the influence of Greek civilization on the arts and architecture of Rome (Gardner 1926, 247). Rome is known to have introduced the triumphal arch (Figure 3.2.), which was used to celebrate victories abroad (Gardner 1926, 273). The triumphal arches constructed during the

Roman Empire contained carved panels that told the stories of great military victories and events. Stone carvings also decorated sarcophagi, portraying events from the deceased person's life, items related to their profession, or tales from Greek mythology. Just as in Egypt and Greece, wealthy families used art to memorialize the dead and ensure that their loved ones would be remembered by future generations.



Figure 3.2. Constantine Triumphant Arch.
Courtesy Oneonta.edu.

In 306 AD, Constantine the Great became Roman Emperor in the East, and he is known for converting the Roman Empire to Christianity. This event expanded the use of religious art to tell the story of Christianity in pictures, sculptures, architecture and decoration. The display of Christian art was extremely important because a large portion of the population was illiterate, and the artwork and paintings told the story of Jesus and the history of the Christian religion. Illustrated manuscripts and Bibles were important forms of art. Under Roman rule the codex, the first type of bound book, came about, and this new format superseded the long manuscript scroll of the Egyptians and earlier civilizations (Gardner 1926, 319).

The Middle Ages (500 AD – 1500 AD), also known as the Dark Ages, is the period of time between the dying Roman Empire's adoption of Christianity and the rebirth (Renaissance) of interest in the classical antiquities (Gardner 1926, 428). It was a period of momentous but

slow changes in the world of art, architecture, and sculpture used to interpret the past. During this time, Christianity spread through Western Europe, and part of this expansion was due to the building of churches, monasteries, and nunneries throughout this part of the world. At these monasteries, monks copied the religious illustrated books for their use and for the use of their wealthy patrons. They also copied treaties, secular texts on history and science, and even the classics of Greco-Roman Literature (Gardner 1926, 434). This translating and copying of texts preserved a number of Greek and Roman authors so that they are still known today.

The Middle Ages was also the period of the Great Crusades. As Western Europeans participated in the Crusades, they passed through eastern cities, and while there they were influenced by the region, which in turn helped evolve the architectural style of buildings in the west to Romanesque and then to Gothic. The period of Gothic architecture was a prosperous period in time, and it was during this period that the wealthy gave artistic gifts to the church, such as stained glass windows, sculptures, reliquaries, tapestries and paintings, which were used to tell the history of the religious faith. The wealthy also started having large monumental sculptures carved to commemorate themselves and serve as their gravestone within the church, which had become the place for the wealthy to be buried. As the Middle Ages transitioned to the Renaissance period, the center of both intellectual and religious life shifted from monasteries to cities, as commerce expanded more globally.

The Renaissance (1500 AD-1750 AD) was the period of rebirth of classical culture, art and architecture. Two major factors that affected the use of art as interpretative tools during this period were the German invention of the letterpress and the Italian development of linear perspectives. The development of the letterpress allowed a revolution in written communication and in information generation and management. Books could be published more economically

and were less expensive, so more people could buy them. Linear perspective helped painters to render a more natural looking three-dimensional space in painting. Portraiture became popular during this period, and statues began to take on a more real life look. Botanical drawings and drawings related to science also became popular during this period, as did the use of allegories within paintings to tell stories through works of art.

For the wealthy, the Renaissance was a time to honor God and family. People sought new ways to ensure their salvation, such as pilgrimages and commissioning artwork to be used in private devotions. The wealthy spent more of their wealth on personal artwork and a little less on art for the church. Art also began to tell the histories of great battles and conquest, as well as great historical events that the educated were reading about now that books were more available. Artists became more fascinated with classical antiquity and its mythological subjects (Gardner 1926, 708). In terms of architecture, the Gothic style of the late Middle Ages was cast aside for the Baroque and Rococo styles, which can be seen in Saint Peter's Church in Rome or Versailles outside of Paris.

The world seemed to become smaller due to travel for trade, exploration, and pleasure during the years between 1700 AD and 1850 AD, which was referred to as the Enlightenment period. In her book, Helen Gardner (1878-1946), an American art historian and educator, defined this period, as "A new way of thinking critically about the world and about humankind independent of religion, myth and tradition" (Gardner 1926, 836). It was a period of scientific questioning and advancement, and a time when the educated and learned started to insist on empirical proof as they did research. This period was also known for its revolutions, such as the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution. The first two

revolutions changed how societies governed themselves, but the Industrial Revolution changed the way people lived.

Gardner states, “the Age of Enlightenment ushered in a new way of thinking and affected historical developments worldwide” (Gardner 1926, 837). Even in the arts, the new way of thinking can be seen in the new label “modern,” which was used to describe the art of the late eighteenth century (Gardner 1926, 837). Art historians agree that one defining characteristic of art during this period was an awareness of history (Gardner 1926, 837). This awareness of history helped inspire the Neoclassical Movement, which was a revival in classical antiquities. Painters began to paint more natural landscapes and everyday scenes that dealt with the sentimental narrative. These pictures often taught moral lessons, which diminished the frivolity of the Baroque and Rococo Movements. The taste for the natural could also be seen in the advancement of the English gardens, whose curvilinear pathways and designs were in stark contrast to the formal linear French gardens of earlier days. It was a time that reflected on Italian design in the landscape, as well as in the architecture. It was a time during which many Americans traveled to Europe to partake in the Grand Tour, but also a time when people from Europe visited the United States. With the many changes came new construction techniques and revivals of the Neo-Classical and Neo-Gothic styles of architecture, not to mention interior design revival of Greek, Egyptian, Chinese, and Islamic motifs. Since this was the period of the introduction of the “rural cemetery,” it is understandable why the architecture and the landscape design of these cemeteries reflect these changes. The artistic elements and forms were also used in the creation of monuments and mausoleums to memorialize the wealthy and middle class Americans, who were prospering during the Industrial Revolution, within these cemeteries.

The Enlightenment period was also the time period when wealthy individuals began placing works of art and artifacts in museums that were open for the general public. The popularity of museums, along with increased travel for pleasure, helped lead to the preservation of natural landscapes, historic buildings, objects, structures, and designed landscapes during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in Europe and the United States, which helped usher in the field of historic preservation in the United States. With creation of museums and the preservation of historic sites becoming so popular, it became imperative that interpretive programming be added to these places so that visitors fully understood the details and history of what they had come to see.

Preservation in the United States and How it Affected Historical Interpretation

One of the earliest preservation organizations in the United States was the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, which in 1858 purchased Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, in order to preserve it for the enjoyment and education of the American people for posterity. Another entity to play a major preservation role in the United States during this period was the federal government, when it set aside more than two million acres along the Yellowstone River in 1872 to create the first national park. This helped insure that parts of the pristine wilderness would be preserved as settlers and immigrants moved west due to the expansion of the Industrial Revolution and its continual need for raw materials.

In response to rapid urban expansion and industrial growth, the United States Congress passed the *Antiquities Act of 1906*. This act gave the President of the United States the authority to restrict the use of lands within the public domain in order to preserve and protect their historic and scientific value. Such areas were given the title of “National Monuments,” and the federal government was thus charged with the responsibility of preserving them for the people of the

United States to enjoy (Thompson and Harper 2000, 8). The country continued to set aside public lands for preservation during the subsequent decade, and in 1916 the *National Park Service Act* established the National Park Service (NPS). This act was established:

"...to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."(National Park Service website, June 28, 2014)

At that time, Yellowstone and other national parks were placed under the administration of the National Park Service. These events inspired Americans to think about preserving and interpreting the past so that future citizens could visit historic sites and learn about the creation of the United States.

The preservation of historic sites and landscapes continued during the twentieth century via both government policy and private investment. In 1926, ten years after the creation of the NPS, John D Rockefeller, Jr., began to reconstruct Colonial Williamsburg. This was the first attempt in the United States to restore an entire town as a living-history museum. At this site a large-scale landscape would be reconstructed and interpreted as an eighteenth-century colonial city. Nineteen years after the creation of the NPS, the federal government passed the *Historic Sites Act of 1935*, which helped consolidate all the national monuments, national historic sites, and national parks under the National Park Service. It also strongly asserted the public value of historic preservation by declaring,

"...that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance..." (*Historic Sites Act of 1935*, 49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. sections 461-467, June 28, 2014)

This was the first outright assertion that historic preservation was a duty of the federal government. Thirty-one years later, the federal government built upon this declaration by passing the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, which required the federal government

to review all federally-sponsored or permitted projects in order to determine whether they will affect historic properties. This law also established historic preservation offices within each federal agency, each federally-recognized American Indian tribe, and each state and territory. These offices help administer the various components of the *National Historic Preservation Act*. Federal preservation of historic and natural sites influenced other state and local agencies to preserve historic sites, and it became imperative that each of these sites was interpreted to visitors. As the number of visitors increased at each site the federal government looked to the National Park Service (NPS) to lead the way in historical interpretation.

Historical Interpretation in the Twentieth Century

Historic preservation and historical interpretation in the United States expanded and advanced greatly during the twentieth century. The NPS expanded quickly during the early part of the century, and the NPS needed to create tours and brochures to help visitors better understand the history and the many tourist attractions within the individual national parks. It was important to bring the site to life, as well to interpret its past, so that visitors would be excited to learn more about the site and come back often. In 1941, to enhance the interpretation provided by the park rangers, the NPS hired novelist and playwright Freeman Tilden to visit the parks and advise the NPS on improving historical interpretation within the parks (Tilden 1957, 6). In 1953, NPS Director, Conrad Wirth, issued a directive that gave interpretation a lasting mission. The directive stated, “Protection through appreciation, appreciation through understanding, and understanding through interpretation” (Tilden, 1957, 8). With this statement the NPS let it be known that historical interpretation was thereafter to be regarded as a vital part of park management.

During his tenure with the NPS, Tilden wrote four books about the NPS, but it was his 1957 book, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, that became a groundbreaking work on interpretation and fulfilled the directive of the NPS. Tilden's book became the foundation of the National Park Service interpretive program. The book highlighted and discussed Tilden's six timeless principles of interpretation, which have given form and substance to the profession of historical interpretation throughout the past fifty something years. The six principles of historical interpretation are as follows:

1. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality of experience of the visitor will be sterile.
2. Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.
3. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.
4. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction but provocation.
5. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.
6. Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program (Tilden 1957, 18).

These six principles have been used by the NPS since 1957, and although Tilden suggested there could be more than six principles, it was not until 1998 that other authors created nine additional principles. Tilden's book has become required reading for anyone working with historical interpretation in the United States and overseas.

Almost twenty years after the appearance of Tilden's *Interpreting Our Heritage*, William T. Alderson and Shirley Payne Low published *Interpretation of Historic Sites*. Alderson and

Low provided a step-by-step process that historic sites could reference when creating an interpretive program for their specific site regardless of the size of their budget. When beginning to develop an interpretive program, Alderson and Low suggested that the caretakers of a site should first define why it is appropriate for the site to be preserved. The authors acknowledged that in order to answer this question, regardless of size or character, the site's caretaker needed to research and gather the facts that can provide a satisfactory answer (Alderson and Low 1976, 11). Once it had been determined that the site was important enough to justify the expenses needed to preserve or restore it to a former time, then planners needed to determine the category of the historic site. The authors proposed three categories: a documentary site, a representative site, and an aesthetic site. The documentary site was linked to a historical event or the life or lives of a historical family (Alderson and Low 1976, 12). The representative site was not linked to a specific event or person; instead, it helped explain a period in history or a way of life at a particular point in time (Alderson and Low 1976, 14). The aesthetic site focused on the design of a building or gardens as exemplary of a particular style or quality of craftsmanship (Alderson and Low 1976, 15).

Once a site's category had been decided, Alderson & Low advised that planners may move forward with thinking about the interpretation of the site. Alderson and Low asked planners of historical interpretation programs to consider their audience and what they would be coming to learn. Like Tilden, the authors emphasized using accurate research that can be documented as they create the story of the site. However, unlike Tilden, they detailed how to plan the interpretation and what questions could be asked, depending on what categories of a site is being interpreted. They also considered the possibility of using living history interpretation, such as the living history program at Colonial Williamsburg. The living history approach entails

a number of questions, including whether to use historic-period costuming, the kinds of personnel who should be doing the role playing, and whether role playing should be performed by the interpreter, the visitor, or both. Alderson and Low thus provided a process for step-by-step planning and evaluation of the interpretation program for historic sites that was more detailed than anything that appeared in the previous literature.

In 1966, the United States government passed the *National Historic Preservation Act*, which was designed, in part, to keep the federal government accountable when it came to preservation. The National Register of Historic Places was also created as part of this act. This register established the official list of buildings, sites, districts, structures, and objects that were deemed worthy to preserve in the United States. At present, over 80,000 properties are listed in the National Register, including a number of “rural cemeteries” (NPS National Register Website, June 29, 2014). In 2000 the National Register, which is managed by the NPS, came out with a bulletin entitled, *Telling the Stories: Planning Effective Interpretive Programs for Properties Listed in the National Register of Historic Places*. The bulletin was intended to help individual organizations, such as “rural cemeteries” friends groups, develop interpretive programs that would inform visitors and the public about historic sites, while at the same time expanding the visitors understanding of the mission of historic preservation (Thomas and Harper 2000, 6). The bulletin states, “the ultimate goal is to ensure that the past lives on as a vital and living part of American communities” (Thomson and Harper 2000, 6).

The bulletin reviews the definition of interpretation by several of the authors mentioned above, and then discusses three tenets that the NPS uses as a basis for interpretation.

The three tenants are:

Tenet 1 – (Historic) resources possess meanings and have significance.

Tenet 2 – The visitor is seeking something of value for themselves.

Tenet 3 – Interpretation, then, facilitates a connection between the interests of the visitor and the meanings of the resources (Thomson and Harper 2000, 12).

Similar to *Interpretation of Historic Sites* by Alderson and Low, the NPS bulletin examines how a site should plan for interpretation and what questions the site managers should ask.

In 1998, Larry Beck and Ted Cable wrote the first edition of *The Gift of Interpretation: Fifteen Guiding Principles for Interpreting Nature and Culture*. This book builds on the original six principles put forth by Tilden. In the updated third edition, published in 2011, the authors define each principle as a “gift” that they believe the principle allows the interpreter to provide to each visitor. The first six principles are essentially the same as Tilden’s six principles, just worded and presented a little differently. They still emphasize that the interpreter needs to know the basics about their visitors, such as where they are from and whether they are first-time visitors or repeat visitors. Knowing these details allows the interpreter to spark an interest in the site with every visitor. Interpreters need to use facts about the site that reveal information in meaningful ways without trying to tell every detail of the story to the visitor. The interpreter’s goal is to educate, entertain, and equip the visitor with a knowledge of the site that reveals the site’s true story in hopes that it will motivate the visitor to take a stronger interest in the site—especially visitors from the local community. It is important that visitors recognize the interpreter’s passion for the site through the historic interpretation.

Beck and Cable argue that solid interpretation can help a visitor begin to value a place, which in return helps to build the “sense of place” for a specific site (Beck and Cable 1998, 33). This type of historical interpretation can also help the visitor become more interested in the preservation of the area and the region. At its highest level, interpretation done well can change the perspectives and behaviors of visitors. Tilden suggested this level of interpretation was

provocative. Beck and Cable instruct interpreters to present a complete theme as they address the whole person or site (Beck and Cable 1998, 43). Having a theme helps the interpreter avoid presenting a collection of unrelated facts. The authors state, “Selecting themes, interpreters should consider the special characteristics of the place. The interpreter should focus on concepts derived from the site’s genius loci—special meaning—and directed at the visitor’s interest” (Beck and Cable 1998, 47). Presenting a multi-sensory interpretation helps communicate the whole story of the site and helps provide a holistic experience (Beck and Cable 1998, 49). In situations where a unified group, such as children, teenagers, or seniors are the target audience, the interpretation should focus on unique interests of that type of group. Since each age group’s needs are different, interpreters should be able to meet the needs of people throughout their lifespan (Beck and Cable 1998, 64). All of these six principles affect how the interpreter should present the history of a site.

The remaining nine principles discussed in *Interpretation for the 21st Century: Fifteen Guiding Principles for Interpreting Nature and Culture* are based on thoughts put forth by Tilden; however, Beck and Cable have expanded and modified these ideas in order to accommodate the many changes in technology that are now available for historic interpretation. The seventh principle focuses on personalizing the historical interpretation through the action of living history, thus attempting to recreate aspects of daily life during a specific period in the site’s history. This type of interpretation is presented in either a first-person narrative or a third-person narrative. The first-person narrative requires the interpreter to play the role of a specific person who had a direct relationship with the historic site. This type of interpretation takes a great deal of research to ensure there is accurate information about the character and their interaction with the site. The third-person narrative is used when a costumed interpreter provides

an account of historical characters and events as though they had lived during that period. Both of these living history interpreters must anticipate and prepare for a wide range of questions from visitors and they must anticipate that several questions will be asked repeatedly.

The eighth principle introduces the idea that present-day technology can enhance and enliven interpretive programs at historic sites. However, the authors stress that technology must be utilized carefully, and that plenty of advance planning and research is needed before implementing a technology-based program (Beck and Cable 1998, 79). New forms of technology, such as animatronics, smart phone apps, holograms, videos, DVD's, digital photography, GIS, satellite imagery, and web-based applications can allow historic sites and museums to expand their audiences. These technologies can reach people who may never physically visit the site itself, and they can allow visitors to view objects that are in secure storage due to a lack of display space helping to expand the interpretive opportunities of a site (Beck and Cable 1998, 82). These new types of technology can help reach a wider audience because they open up more styles of learning. When site managers contemplate adding an interpretive technology to a site, they should consider three attributes. First, the technology must engage visitors and capture their interest, but it should not be frustratingly difficult for visitors of varying ages to use. Second, the technology must be dependable and capable of withstanding a great deal of usage, while at the same time it should be possible to quickly fix any problems that may arise. This may require special training for one or more staff persons, or the possibility of calling a local repair service if more complicated problems surface. Third, site managers should ensure that the technology reveals something to visitors that otherwise might not have been revealed without the technology (Beck and Cable 1998, 83).

Web-based interpretation is now one of the most popular of these new technologies. Its greatest advantage is that it can be accessed twenty-four hours a day, every day of the year, for a low cost to the historic site. Web-based interpretation allows a site to offer special links to local schools and other citizen organizations, as well as to researchers and interpreters around the world who may offer additional information about historic persons, events, and other topics related to the site (Beck and Cable 1998, 85). Many historic sites have also utilized today's technology through interactive computer exhibits and hand-held tour guides which allow the visitor to take as much time as they would like in touring the site and to learn about it in the depth they would like based on their interest. Research has suggested that interactive exhibits are more effective than passive exhibits at attracting and holding attention while enhancing learning (Beck and Cable 1998, 87)(Beck and Cable 1998, 29). All of these modern technological devices help visitors to see and experience historic sites in a different way. One limitation of these new technologies is that they currently are not able to express exhilaration or wonder as an interpreter telling the story of a site can do (Beck and Cable 1998, 80).

Beck and Cable's ninth principle emphasizes accuracy and quality over quantity of information. It is important to keep the visitor focused and interested in what is being presented a long discourse will cause visitors to lose attention and possibly to lose interest in the historical site (Beck and Cable 1998, 92). When abundant information is available to the interpreter, it is best to create several interpretive programs that can be utilized depending on the interests of the visitors in attendance. One of Tilden's principles of interpretation also emphasized that successful provocation of a group of visitors depends on the interpreter not presenting too much information that the visitor loses interest (Beck and Cable 1998, 92). Beck and Cable state, "to avoid excess interpreters must teach a few great things" (Beck and Cable 1998, 100).

Interpreters also must use humor very carefully in an interpretation because not all humor is appropriate in all contexts. To use humor correctly the interpreter should research or question the visitors in order to understand their background better. Interpreters also should not exaggerate when presenting detailed information about the site, and they should always work to correct any historical myths that might be known about a site. Upholding this principle entails a great deal of research and the presentation of accurate interpretation, as stated in principle eight. It is extremely important for interpreters to tell meaningful, accurate stories that encourage visitors to want to know more about the site and the people involved with it.

The tenth and eleventh principles are closely associated with one another; together, they essentially require that all interpretation should be presented in a professional manner, whether presented orally or in written form. Becoming a good oral interpreter takes practice and dedication to a historic site or sites. Professionalism is important because the interpreter is the face of the site to all visitors, and the interpreter's competence and demeanor can help attract visitors or turn them away. Similarly, all printed material should reflect the professionalism that the site wants to put across to its visitors and friends. Beck and Cable state that effective presenters should have an intimate knowledge of the breadth and depth of the subject matter, the ability to convey the material from rote memory, the ability to use their nervous energy to project excitement through their presentation, and an awareness of their body language. They should never apologize for apprehension and always maintain eye contact with the audience (Beck and Cable 1998, 104 & 105).

Interpretive writing can also be a great way for a site to present itself to the public. A writer's ability to communicate a site's "sense of place" is extremely important because the essence of the place and the reason for its existence is what the writer wants to portray. Beck

and Cable state, “Identifying and then interpreting the site’s Genius Loci is a hallmark of a good interpretation” (Beck and Cable 1998, 116). Just as in the presentation of an oral interpretation, a written interpretation should be accurate and brief, avoiding tedious details that may fail to capture and hold a reader’s interest. Beck and Cable also state, “use quotes only to create a mood, stimulate reflection on the origin of the words, or stop readers in their tracks with a profound idea that came from somewhere else (Beck and Cable 1998, 120). The goal of interpretive writing is to “present information about a site or natural area in such a way that it relates to the lives of the reader and reveals insight, meanings and deeper truths” (Beck and Cable 1998, 116).

The twelfth principle focuses on the idea that a historic site needs a network of sponsors that provide financial and motivational support for the interpretation program. A network of supporters can help fund the interpretive program and work to ensure that the program is of a caliber that will continue to draw new support from many different areas. Site managers must think of interpretive programs as a business that manufactures and sells interpretive experiences. An interpretive program that is provocative, well planned, and of high quality should be able to pay for itself over time. There are a number of ways that an interpretive program can build such a support network. The most important strategy is to ensure that the site management supports it. If possible, a member of the interpretive program should be on the management team (Beck and Cable 1998, 130). Secondly, volunteers should be recruited and utilized in the interpretive program. This can be done through interpreters encouraging and motivating visitors to take an active role in the site. All volunteers should be interviewed to discover their interests, and they should be trained in the interpretive program and evaluated as time goes on (Beck and Cable 1998, 128). It is essential that volunteers feel they are needed and respected by the staff (Beck

and Cable 1998, 129). The volunteers also can be instrumental in forming a friends group that helps raise funds for work at the site. With the help of the volunteers, special events, such as festivals, can be planned. Funds can be raised from entrance fees to such events, but they can also help bring local citizens to the site in hopes of getting them involved with the volunteer program. Events help the site become a place where local citizens gather and interact, and this can help strengthen a site's "sense of place." The interpretive staff should also build partnerships and sponsorships with local businesses and governmental agencies that may help fund the program. Fundraising is an important networking activity that all historic sites need to use in fostering relationships with people outside the site's normal social network. Fundraising could be through local and regional foundations and non-governmental organizations that provide funds for interpretation and educational programming at historic sites. While building this network of sponsors and volunteers, it is imperative that the interpretive program and staff become as customer-oriented as any successful business. Without satisfied customers, the sponsorships and donations will dry up.

The thirteenth principle states that interpreters should help visitors understand and see the beauty within the site. Interpreters can help visitors do this by "getting them to slow down, by directing their attention to the details, and by helping them understand the significance and meaning of a place or object" (Beck and Cable 1998, 140). If visitors can perceive the beauty of a site, they will start to care about it and possibly care for it, since beauty may inspire stewardship and volunteerism at the site.

Beck and Cable believe that interpreters can promote optimal experiences through intentional and thoughtful program and facility design if they focus on the eight defining qualities of the optimal experience (Beck and Cable 1998, 145). The eight defining qualities are

as follows. The first of these qualities deals with the purpose of the interpretation. The stated purpose must capture the visitors' curiosity and attention, thus engaging the visitors' sustained interest so they can become fully involved in the interpretive experience (Beck and Cable 1998, 147). The second quality of the optimal experience addresses the attention span of visitors. It is imperative that interpreters make the program intriguing so that visitors' attention is fully engaged in the interpretation of the site. If interpreters lose the attention of visitors, they will have a difficult time regaining their attention (Beck and Cable 1998, 147). Visitors must be challenged by the interpretation, but it is essential that the challenge is not too difficult or too simple (Beck and Cable 1998, 147). This is one reason why interpreters must know as much as possible about the visitors to their site. With sufficient knowledge of their visitors' interests and backgrounds, they can gauge the interpretation to be as challenging as they need it to be. Beck and Cable state, "Enjoyment appears at the boundary between boredom and anxiety when the challenge is balanced with the person's knowledge or physical activity" (Beck and Cable 1998, 147). This balance can be achieved by requiring visitors to use their senses as they participate in the interpretation (Beck and Cable 1998, 148). Visitor involvement promotes a higher level of visitor investment and helps ensure that their attention is held during the program (Beck and Cable 1998, 149). Another defining quality of an optimal experience is to ensure that visitor is given the chance to provide feedback to the interpretive guides on their presentation. Visitor feedback can be used as a motivational factor to encourage the guides to continue doing further research or skill development.

The sixth defining quality is that the interpreter should use interpretation to immerse visitors in the program, thus helping them not to be preoccupied with themselves during the period of the interpretive program. Immersing the visitor into the history of the site helps enrich

the lives of the visitors with new knowledge and skills. Allowing visitors to have some control over the interpretive program also helps provide an optimal experience (Beck and Cable 1998, 149). The seventh defining quality is control. This can occur when an interpreter encourages visitors to make choices during the program that help the interpreter lead the program in different directions depending on the choices made (Beck and Cable 1998, 149). The eighth defining quality of an optimal experience is the sense of time. In terms of a great presentation, the interpretation will make time seem like it is passing quickly (Beck and Cable 1998, 149). An optimal experience at a historic site or natural wonder can encourage a visitor to seek out more enjoyment, learning and inspiration at that site or others within the region.

Beck and Cable's fifteenth and final principle focuses on the passion that interpreters should have for the historic site or natural wonder they are presenting. Their job is to educate, enlighten and inspire visitors to take up the cause and passion for the resource. The authors state, "Visitors are more likely to listen to someone who brims with enthusiasm, who is passionate about his or her work" (Beck and Cable 1998, 158). Beck and Cable believe in this gift of passion for interpreters so much that they created the following "Interpreter's Creed."

The Interpreter's Creed

As a Practicing Interpreter, I Shall:

Seek to serve visitors; to be an ambassador for the place I work; to instill in visitors the ability and desire to sense beauty in their surroundings.

Seek to respect all the visitors with whom I come in contact and welcome them as I would welcome guests in my home; and to share equally my knowledge and passion regardless of the visitor's age, gender, interests, physical abilities, or cultural differences.

Seek to be agreeable, look good, have a polished presence, speak in a well-modulated voice, and be genuinely friendly.

Seek to see the good, or the humor, in any situation and answer repetitious questions with enthusiasm, as if they were asked for the first time.

Seek to convey only well-documented, accurate information.

Seek to be an exemplary role model for environmentally responsible behavior by word and example.

Seek to structure interpretive design and programming in such a way as to minimize the impact on cultural and environmental resources.

Seek to improve my mind, continue learning about the resource, and expand my learning about the principles and processes of interpretation that will ultimately benefit visitors to the site.

Seek to help other interpreters achieve their interpretive goals, particularly assisting new interpreters to develop confidence and abilities.

Believe in myself; give my best to the world and expect that the world will give its best to me. (Beck and Cable 1998, 161)

These fifteen principles help bring the profession of historical interpretation up to date in the twenty first century. They embrace Tilden's six principles and expand them to include present-day technologies that can open up new ways to reach potential visitors of historic sites. With all the growth in the field of historical interpretation during the twentieth century there is no wonder that there is a National Association of Interpretation, which offers a four-level professional certification program to its members. The NPS also offers three levels of continued skill development to help their interpreters advance their careers.

Application of Historical Interpretation within "Rural Cemeteries"

Just as historic preservation expanded greatly in the United States during the last half of the twentieth century, the types of interpretive programming available to historic sites, such as "rural cemeteries," expanded greatly during the first part of the twenty-first century. Today's interpretive technologies allow "rural cemeteries" to interpret their history, art, and architecture to the public as an outdoor museum (Table 3.1). There are two broad categories of historical interpretation used by "rural cemeteries" in interpreting their sites to the public. The first and most widely used is interpretive programs presented directly by people or personal interpretation. The second, which is gaining popularity, is interpretive programs not presented by people, this is referred to as non-personal interpretation.

As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, history has been presented by people using storytelling since the beginning of humankind. Most cemeteries utilize guided talks and tours to present information about their site to visitors. These tours are presented either by a staff member of the nonprofit organization, helping in the conservation of the cemetery, or by a member of the friend organization that volunteers their time to give tours. This type of tour allows the visitor to interact with the guide by asking questions and it allows for the presentation of the material to be flexible and different each time, depending on the needs of the visitor. A second type of interpretation presented by a guide at the site is the living history tour. This is a tour led by either a person representing a specific person that is interred in the cemetery or a person from a specific period in the life of the cemetery. These guides are usually dressed in period clothes and inform the visitors about an accurate story of themselves or the period within the community that they are representing.

A third type of programming presented by people at “rural cemeteries” is the use of special events or festivals commemorating historic dates or events within the life of the city. This type of interpretation is designed to reach out to the citizens within the community and if the event becomes successful, they can become an annual occurrence. They are usually sponsored by the friends group of the cemetery and are staffed with the members of the group who volunteer their time for the event. The fourth type of interpretive programming presented by people is only utilized by a few cemeteries in that it focuses solely on children. This curriculum-based field study requires the involvement of local teachers to ensure it follows the history curriculum for the specific grade level. A fifth type that is utilized on occasion by cemeteries is the use of workshops, and seminars. In most cases, this is in reference to cemetery conservation and the group that is attending the workshop consisting of other cemetery groups that are seeking ways to

conserve the monuments and mausoleums within their site.

Even though the ability for a site to have interpretive programming not presented by people has been around since the ability to publish books or newspapers there are a number of interpretive programs that have been added in this category since the end of the twentieth century. The most widely used type at the “rural cemetery” is the publication of books, maps, brochures and postcards that are specific for each cemetery. Some of these publications allow the visitors to do self-guided walking tours and others encourage visitors to come and tour the cemetery. Newspapers and magazines are other types of publications used by cemeteries. This type is helpful when the cemetery is advertising events or festivals as well as publishing an article to tell the story of the site. This is an especially good way for cemeteries to reach their local community. A second way “rural cemeteries” interpreted their site without the use of people is with exterior exhibit signs. This type of signage is found more often in cemeteries that were interpreted in the 1980s and 1990s. They are strategically placed in key locations to tell the story of a section of the cemetery or of a specific person interred in the cemetery. They are generally made out of a durable material and are placed there so visitors can read at their leisure while experiencing the cemetery on a self-guided walking tour.

The introduction of the many different types of electronic media during the end of the twentieth century really opened up the ability of “rural cemeteries” to produce more interpretive programming not presented by people. All cemeteries seem to have a web site and most have a Facebook page utilized for reaching out to their local communities. The websites are used for selling lots and updating lot owners about the cemetery as well as telling the story of the cemetery and reaching out to people who may not ever visit the site. Other types of electronic

media used by the cemeteries are cell phone apps and QR codes that allow visitors to do self-guided tours of the site on their own.

Conclusion

To understand how historical interpretation has been applied to “rural cemeteries,” this chapter first examined the professional definitions of historic interpretation. Tilden, and Beck and Cable both defined historical interpretation as an education of the visitor based on researched facts presented in an educational way. This definition is important to the interpretation of the “rural cemetery” because there is so much historic information available within the “rural cemetery” that needs to be presented to the local citizens and visitors. Next, the chapter reviewed the many different types of interpretive programming used to tell historic stories from ancient times to the present day (Table 3.1). With the knowledge of the many types of historical interpretation available to use, and knowing that many “rural cemeteries” have already introduced historical interpretation into their sites the chapter focused on the reviewing the interpretive programming currently used at “rural cemeteries.” The information presented in this chapter on interpretive programming used at cemeteries will help in answering the thesis question: how can the addition of interpretive programming help preserve historic “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a communities “sense of place” (Table 3.1)? The next chapter, will provide a better understanding of what a “sense of place” is and why it is important in the relationship between a “rural cemetery” and the local community.

Table 3.1. Types of Interpretation and Periods in History When They Appeared.

Periods in History

	Periods in History										
	Stone Age	Bronze Age	Ancient Greece	Ancient Rome	Middle Ages	Renaissance	Age of Enlightenment	Nineteenth Century	Twentieth Century	Twenty-First Century	Interpretive Elements Used at Rural Cemeteries
Audio Visual & Electronic Media									X	X	X
Indoor & Outdoor Exhibits									X		X
Publications, Newspapers & Magazines									X		X
Events, Festivals & Workshops									X		X
Living History & Drama									X		X
Curriculum Based Studies for Kids									X		X
Talks & Tours									X		X
Professional Historical Interpretation									X		X
Preservation									X		X
Museums							X				X
Neo Classical & Gothic Architecture								X			X
English Gardens							X				X
Awareness of History							X	X			X
Industrial Revolution							X	X			
Perspective Drawing							X				
Scientific Questioning							X				
Baroque & Rocco Architecture						X					
Portrait & Allegorical Painting						X					
Romanesque & Gothic Architecture					X						
Religious Artwork				X	X						X
Codex (Bound Book)				X							
Christianity				X							
Classical Architecture & Sculpture			X	X							X
Written Word			X								
Proportional Mathematics			X								
Pictorial Narration		X									
Primitive Carving & Painting		X									
Story Telling	X										X

Types of Interpretation

CHAPTER FOUR

RURAL CEMETERIES AND “SENSE OF PLACE”

Introduction

The history of the “rural cemetery” presented in Chapter Two shows that during the early days of the cemetery citizens enjoyed visiting lost loved ones graves, maintaining the family plot, partaking in passive recreational activities, and spending time relaxing among the natural setting. It was a retreat for citizens of the community, something that they could not experience in the overcrowded cities, and, thus, the cemetery became a special place. Some “rural cemeteries” even attracted tourists from other towns, states, and countries due to the natural setting and the works of art and architecture that were placed there. All of this attention had a positive effect on the city and helped define its “sense of place.” However, as the cemetery became less important in the civic life of the community, and as maintenance issues began to grow, the cemetery’s role in defining “sense of place” for the community began to decline. This thesis, investigates whether the addition of interpretive programming to a cemetery can help in resurrecting its role in helping to define a community’s “sense of place,” this chapter will define “sense of place” and describe how the concept can be applied to the “rural cemetery.”

Sense of Place Historic Context

The contemporary idea of a city or specific site having a “sense of place” dates back to the early days of ancient Rome when citizens believed in “genius loci,” or “spirit of place.” The Romans believed that every person and place, including natural landscapes and gardens, had their own guardian spirit that watched over the place as a protectorate while also creating the

character or spirit of the place (Norberg-Schulz 1978, 18). This belief was connected with the animistic belief of the citizens.

This belief in a guardian spirit of place was not limited to the Roman Empire; it was, and still is, prevalent within Asian cultures and the culture of the American Indians. After the acceptance of Christianity in the Western World under Constantine the Great in 306 AD, the belief in a guardian spirit began to decline. Although the belief in guardian spirits waned, artists and architects of the Late Renaissance revived the idea of a spirit of place due to the resurgence of interest in Greco-Roman antiquities including books about Greek and Roman mythology.

The idea of a “spirit of place” did not return to public discourse until the Enlightenment. In England, the Earl of Shaftesbury and Alexander Pope strongly suggested that garden designers should respect the inherent, pre-existing qualities or “spirit of the place” when making design decisions (Convery, Corsane, and Davis 1012, 160). Pope was a pioneering landscape gardener who wanted to ensure that there was a dialogue between the designer and the environment. He urged designers to consider the local topography, climate, and plants when they were determining the specific style of landscape and architecture that was best suited for the place. Pope believed that gardens should be an uncommon collaboration between nature and culture, between living materials and human imagination (Convery, Corsane, and Davis 1012, 159).

Capability Brown, the last of the great English garden designers of the eighteenth century, referred to himself as a place maker instead of landscape gardener. He believed that gardens should be natural places transformed by human creativity that signified something about the relationship between human beings and the natural world, thus raising the garden’s significance in society (Convery, Corsane, and Davis 2012, 163). In the course of history, gardens have at times been places where the world-weary have retreated from life in order to

slow down and commune with nature. Capability Brown believed that garden design and the creation of a “sense of place” should occur hand in hand (Convery, Corsane, and Davis 2012, 165). This idea continued to resonate throughout the subsequent history of garden design and the built environment. During the twentieth century designers, geographers and geologists revisited the subject of “sense of place” as they attempted to understand and explore natural and designed environments within the United States and other developed countries. They sought to define what gives these places an identity, and whether that identity is derived only from a specific period of time.

Identity of Place and Time

During the 1970s, Christian Norberg-Schultz, a Norwegian architect, architectural historian, and theorist, defined place in several different ways. He said, “A place is a space which has a distinct character” (Norberg-Schulz 1979, 5). Norberg-Schultz states, “The spaces where life occurs are places in the true sense of the word” (Norberg-Schulz 1978, 5). Finally he stated, “The identity of a place is determined by location, general spatial configuration and characterizing articulation” (Norberg-Schulz 1978, 5). Thus based on the three definitions by Norberg-Schultz, a “sense of place” can be defined by a sites characteristic of architectural design/built environment, natural setting and the use of the site by citizens and tourist.

Even though the built environments, or places, such as towns, communities, parks, cemeteries and gardens across the United States perform very similar functions they have vastly different characteristics that make each of them unique in their own right and this uniqueness helps build their “sense of place.” The unique characteristics of a built environment can include architectural styles, climate, unique natural setting, vegetation, soil, water, artisanship, cultural diversity, people’s values, community activities, use of local materials, and the collective

memory/meaning of the community by the citizens and tourists who experience it. The varied combinations of these unique characteristics, combined with the identities and emotions of its citizens, can give a place an individual sense of identity or a “sense of place.” Just as these elements can help give a location a “sense of place,” the loss of one or several of these elements can also cause a community or site to lose its “sense of place.”

Identity of place is a source of emotional security, pleasure, and understanding for citizens, helping them feel at home and grounded (Lynch 1976, 23). This can take place on both an individual level, a community level, and a regional level. In his book, *Managing the Sense of a Region*, Kevin Lynch, an American urban planner and author states, “Indeed a strong sense of place supports our sense of personal identity. For that reason, familiar features of a landscape are often fiercely defended” (Lynch 1976, 23 and 25). Yi-Fu Tuan, a Chinese-American geographer and author noted in his book, *Space & Place*, “Feelings and ideas concerning space and place are extremely complex in adult human beings. They grow out of life’s unique and shared experiences” (Tuan 1977, 19). This observation emphasizes that as people mature, they constantly learn through their life experiences, and these life experiences, occurring in places, help mold the individual into the person they become. These life experiences also encourage individuals to create strong emotional tie to sites.

Understanding place begins with one’s emotions. Kevin Lynch in his book, *What Time is This Place?* states, “Our strongest emotions concern our own lives and the lives of our family or friends because we know them personally” (Lynch 1972, 61). Emotions, combined with experiences one has starting at an early age, play a large part in what makes someone feel comfortable or secure. The memorable acts of childbirth, marriage, celebrations, and death of loved ones all shape these emotions. Early in the history of the United States communities were

often so very small and families stayed in one location for generations. Due to these factors the emotional ties that these families had to their communities helped link the individuals to their town's sense of place because this is where their lives took place. Due to the fast pace of today's mobile society, and the density of modern cities, it is not as easy for people to get to know the people within their community so they have intentionally become involved in organizations within neighborhoods looking for an emotional link with which to identify with the community where they live.

A community with a strong identity helps support their citizens in their own sense of identity. The major components of a community's identity are physical features or appearance, activities or functions, and meanings or symbols (Garnham 1985, 7). In his book, *Out of Place*, Michael Hough, landscape architect, professor, and author states, "Recognizing how people use different places to fulfill the practical needs of living is one of the building blocks on which a distinctive sense of place can be enhanced in the urban landscape" (Hough 1990, 180). Being tied to a community, through involvement in the community, gives one a sense of stability and investment in the land, and it increases one's sense of identity within the place (Hough 1990, 35). For places to continue to produce a "sense of place," the citizens need to maintain a sense of collective ownership by working together to ensure the place is accessible, safe, and aesthetically appealing. The way a community is viewed will also depend on whether one is viewing it as a resident or as a tourist. The names people ascribe to places identifies them with a symbolic significance that unnamed places do not have. This is what Norberg-Schultz meant when he says, "the spaces where everyday life takes place are places." In communities that are historic and still active in day-to-day life, it is common for one to see heritage and sense of place closely linked in terms of the community's identity.

Identity of a past time is often a known history, and knowing this history can help one feel more secure (Lynch 1972, 29). Throughout the world, but especially in developed countries, significant buildings and items of antiquity left from past times are lovingly preserved and restored as a remembrance of the time gone by. This preservation helps shape the culture of the city or country (Lynch 1972, 29). These preserved items are what give a great number of historic cities their character and play a large part in creating their “sense[s] of place.” In the United States, historic preservation has become more accepted by a large portion of the population because people have been educated on the benefits of preserving both the natural and built environments. They have come to realize that environments rich in historic features are pleasant places to live (Lynch 1972, 30). The elements of architectural distinction, time, and notable events or persons help give a community or site its “sense of place.” Norberg-Schultz states, “The idea of preservation, however, also has another purpose. It implies that architectural history is understood as a collection of cultural experiences which should not get lost but remain present as possibilities for human use” (Norberg-Schultz 1978, 180). Thus, it can be said that historic objects, buildings, structures, sites, and landscapes can help embody a “sense of place” for a community over time.

Landscape and Context

The concept of place exists at many different scales (Tuan 1977, 149). The scale could be as large as an entire city or old town, such as Prague, or as small as a pocket park in New York City. The three basic elements of a natural landscape that help produce a “sense of place” are surface relief, vegetation, and water. The interaction of these three elements helps create a “sense of place” in a natural landscape and they are usually found as elements within the built environment of designed landscapes (Norberg-Schulz 1978, 37). When vegetation elements,

such as tree species, become standout features of a site, the site will usually get its name from this specific feature. Water can also add a sense of mystery to a landscape that enhances its “sense of place”.

Over the millennia, humans have worked with the natural landscape in many different ways. First people utilized land as a means of providing food for their families, but as humans transitioned to city-states they began to manipulate the natural landscapes for two reasons: (1) to serve as retreats from city life, and (2) as a place to worship or memorialize lost loved ones. Like Norberg-Schulz, Ian Convey believes “Gardens are instances of an uncommon collaboration between nature and culture between living material and human imagination” (Convey, Corsane, and Davis 2012, 159). As commerce flourished in the world and as individuals became wealthy, they began to create gardens from the natural landscape that were their own private sanctuaries or hunting lodges, only shared with family and friends. Versailles, designed by Andre Le Notre starting in 1661, is one of the largest examples of this type of personal garden that was the collaboration between nature and human imagination. This garden would go on to influence a great many gardens that were built by the nobility and the wealthy of Western Europe. As cities continued to grow and forms of governments began to change, these vast royal gardens were later turned into public parks that provided citizens with a place for recreation and contact with nature, as well as a repository for collective memories. The parks became places of retreat from day-to-day life, places to enjoy and relax in nature (Convey, Corsane, and Davis 2012, 159). Public parks still contribute to the quality of life within cities and they remain locations where children form some of their more memorable memories. This could be one reason why people continue to be drawn to urban parks as they grow into adulthood.

In the United States, the “rural cemeteries,” which were built close to cities to help deal with the overcrowding of local churchyards, were predecessors to the first public parks. These cemeteries were designed to offer locations where citizens from the nearby city could bury their dead in a natural landscaped setting, while at the same time providing a landscaped garden where citizens could retreat from the busy city and repose with nature while remembering their lost loved ones. In most cases, these cemeteries were designed by a local architect or landscape architect to replicate the designs of earlier “rural cemeteries,” such as Mount Auburn outside of Boston, or Père Lachaise outside Paris. To help create a “sense of place” designers used a site’s topography to determine the layout of curvilinear pathways. They also enhanced the existing vegetation by adding specimen trees and plants, and they often added water, usually a pond. In some cases, water features helped create the place. Besides these natural elements, the designers often added architectural elements in the form of chapels, entry gates, enclosure walls, mausoleums, and sculptures, which gave the cemetery a sense of continuity. All of these elements worked together to transform the site into a location where local citizens came to mourn, remember loved ones, picnic, and spend time in nature with their families; these elements helped create a “sense of place” in the hearts of the citizens for the cemetery. Families made memories in these cemeteries as they spent time together exploring the outdoors, an activity that was uncommon in the crowded city.

The “rural cemeteries,” with their natural rolling hills and botanical garden-like settings, not only provided natural landscaped places for citizens to escape from the city, but also helped transform the idea of death in America by providing peaceful resting spots in a beautiful setting, which was the opposite of the crowded downtown churchyard. The new “rural cemeteries” became very special places for the citizens of the community who could afford to escape the

city—especially for those who owned a plot and spent time maintaining their plot. Many plot owners brought special plants from their gardens to enhance their plots, thus helping transform the cemetery into an arboretum. These cemeteries became places for people to socialize, as well as places for families to memorialize loved ones. Affluent families often spent substantial sums of money on mausoleums and monuments that reflected their status and, in some cases, the history of the family. Famous artists were hired to create some of these monuments, while local artists were retained to design many others. Many different styles of architecture were found within these cemeteries, and some contained structures and objects designed by famous architects who have no other building still standing elsewhere within the surrounding community. These elements of remembrance helped give the cemeteries a “sense of place” within the community.

Conclusion

The idea that a city, a community, a historic site, or even a cemetery can have a “sense of place” has endured since the ancient Greco-Roman culture, but it is something that can be quickly lost or forgotten in our modern world. Today many large cities and communities look the same due to urban sprawl, as modern skyscrapers and interstates have removed much of the unique historic fabric of a city’s past existence. The mass exodus of a large portion of the population to the suburbs after WWII had a larger effect on a city’s “sense of place.” This mass exodus left most cities with a sense of lifelessness, and as shown in this chapter, it is the life and emotions of citizens that help create the “sense of place” within a city or community.

Just as cities were left with a sense of lifelessness, the reduction in the number of visitors to “rural cemeteries” began to affect the “sense of place” they had once possessed. This first began with the introduction of public parks to cities. Once citizens stopped using the “rural

cemetery” as a public park, it was no longer a place of repose or a place to escape from the overcrowded city. This trend, combined with families being less involved in the upkeep of the cemetery, caused its once strong “sense of place” to decline. Cemeteries became places that were only visited when someone died. As cemetery maintenance became increasingly expensive, a number of privately-owned cemeteries went out of business, and municipalities were forced to take over the management of these cemeteries. Over the years, the once—rural cemeteries found themselves surrounded by urban development. By the early twentieth century, many “rural cemeteries” were surrounded by low-rent residential neighborhoods and, in some cases, industrial sites. The cemeteries were used as playgrounds for neighborhood children and as hangout spots for transients. Citizens of the community became afraid of the cemetery, and it became a place to avoid, not a place to enjoy life. It was not that the cemetery was no longer the repository of the history and memories of the local community, nor had it lost its natural setting or the historic fabric of the monuments and mausoleums; rather, it had lost the people who visited and cared about the historic site.

As the idea of historic preservation and preserving the history and historic fabric of our cities and communities moved to the forefront of society during the late 1960s, it became clear that the rural cemetery was a part of the community that needed to be preserved as well. It was vital that this repository of history and memories of the local community be saved from further neglect. One way to do this, based on what has been learned about the elements needed to help create a “sense of place,” is to ensure that citizens use cemeteries as places for passive recreation. This thesis asks how the addition of interpretative programming can help preserve historic “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a community’s “senses of place?” One way to evaluate this is to see whether historical interpretative programming has helped bring citizens and

tourist back to the cemetery. To evaluate this question, the next chapter reviews the survey responses from caretakers of eleven historic rural cemeteries who were asked about their use of interpretive programming and whether it has helped in their efforts to preserve these important landscapes.

CHAPTER FIVE

SURVEY OF CEMETERIES LISTED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES THAT WERE DESIGNED DURING THE RURAL CEMETERY MOVEMENT WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

Survey Description and Methodology

A twenty-question survey (Appendix A) was intended to gather information that would help answer the thesis question in Chapter One from the standpoint of historic “rural cemeteries” in the Southeast, Northeast and Northern Midwest regions of the United States. The survey queries whether “rural cemeteries” have introduced historical interpretive programming into their cemeteries, and if they have, how the interpretive programming have affected the preservation of the cemeteries. The survey asked respondents whether adding interpretive programming has encouraged local citizens to become more involved in the cemetery’s activities, and whether tourists and citizens were visiting the site to learn about the history and art contained within the cemetery. The survey also explored how the use of interpretive programing has affected the way citizens viewed the cemetery in terms of defining their community’s “sense of place.” The survey also inquired whether interpretive programming had helped the cemetery raise the much-needed funds to preserve and restore these landscapes as public educational green spaces or outdoor museums. Finally, the survey asked what advice these “rural cemetery” stewards would offer peers who were thinking of implementing historical interpretive programming. By gathering such information, this thesis seeks to guide stewards of other nineteenth-century cemeteries who are searching for ways to resurrect their historic landscape’s “sense of place” within the community.

The survey was distributed to twenty-six stewards of “rural cemeteries” (See Figure 1.1) that were established between 1831 and 1864 during the Rural Cemetery Movement within the United States. All of the twenty-six subjects were listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a “rural cemetery” designed during the Rural Cemetery Movement. In addition, all of the cemeteries were located in fast-growing city cities with economies based on industry, commerce and transportation when the cemetery was built.

Survey Results

Eleven of the twenty-six, or 42 percent of the cemeteries surveyed, responded to the twenty-question survey (Appendix A). Two of the eleven cemeteries have National Historic Landmark designation. Of the eleven national register-listed cemeteries, four were listed during the mid- to late-1970s, two during the 1980s, three during the 1990s, and two after the turn of the twenty-first century. Table 5.1 is a list of cemeteries that were sent a copy of the survey questions. The cemeteries in bold within the shaded rows are those that responded to the survey. Fifteen of the cemeteries are from the Northeast, four from the Northern Midwest and seven from the Southeast.

Cemetery Ownership

Three of the eleven cemeteries, or 27 percent of those that responded to the survey, are owned by a local city government (Table 5.2). The remaining eight cemeteries or 73 percent, are owned by a private entity, such as a trust or other non-profit organization run by a board of directors. Two of the three owned by local cities are either managed entirely or partially by a non-profit friends group. All three of the cemeteries owned by local city

Table 5.1. - Surveyed cemeteries with responders in bold.

Year Opened	Cemetery	City	State	NRHP
1831	Mount Auburn Cemetery	Cambridge	MA	1975
1834	Mount Hope Cemetery	Rochester	NY	2003
1836	Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Taunton	MA	2002
1836	Laurel Hill Cemetery	Philadelphia	PA	1977
1836	Magnolia Cemetery	Mobile	AL	1986
1838	Green Mount Cemetery	Baltimore	MD	1980
1838	Green-Wood Cemetery	Brooklyn	NY	1997
1838	Mount Hope Cemetery	Bangor	ME	1974
1840	Rose Hill Cemetery	Macon	GA	1973
1841	Woodland Cemetery	Dayton	OH	1978
1841	Lowell Cemetery	Lowell	MA	1998
1844	Allegheny Cemetery	Pittsburgh	PA	1980
1844	Spring Grove Cemetery	Cincinnati	OH	1976
1846	Elmwood Cemetery	Detroit	MI	1982
1846	Swan Point Cemetery	Providence	RI	1977
1848	Oakwood Cemetery	Troy	NY	1984
1848	Forest Hill Cemetery	Boston	MA	2004
1849	Forest Lawn Cemetery	Buffalo	NY	1990
1849	Hollywood Cemetery	Richmond	VA	1969
1850	Bonaventure	Savannah	GA	2001
1850	Oakland Cemetery	Atlanta	GA	1976
1850	Magnolia Cemetery	Charleston	SC	1978
1854	Elmwood Cemetery	Columbia	SC	1996
1860	Graceland Cemetery	Chicago	IL	2001
1864	Rose Hill Cemetery	Chicago	IL	1975
1864	Cedar Hill Cemetery	Hartford	CT	1997

governments are located in the South, but the remaining seven are located in either the Northern or Midwestern regions of the United States. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Rural Cemetery Movement took root in the northern United States during the early 1830s, and it did not expand to the South until around 1850. The cemeteries range in size from forty-eight acres to three

hundred acres, and the majority were designed or laid out by an engineer, surveyor, or architect. One cemetery (Spring Grove Cemetery) obtained design advice from Frederick Law Olmsted when it was expanded during the late 1890s. Two of the four cemeteries located in the South were originally laid out in a grid pattern, but as the cemetery expanded, the newer portions of the landscape took on the characteristics of the Rural Cemetery Movement.

Table 5.2. - Ownership of the eleven respondent cemeteries

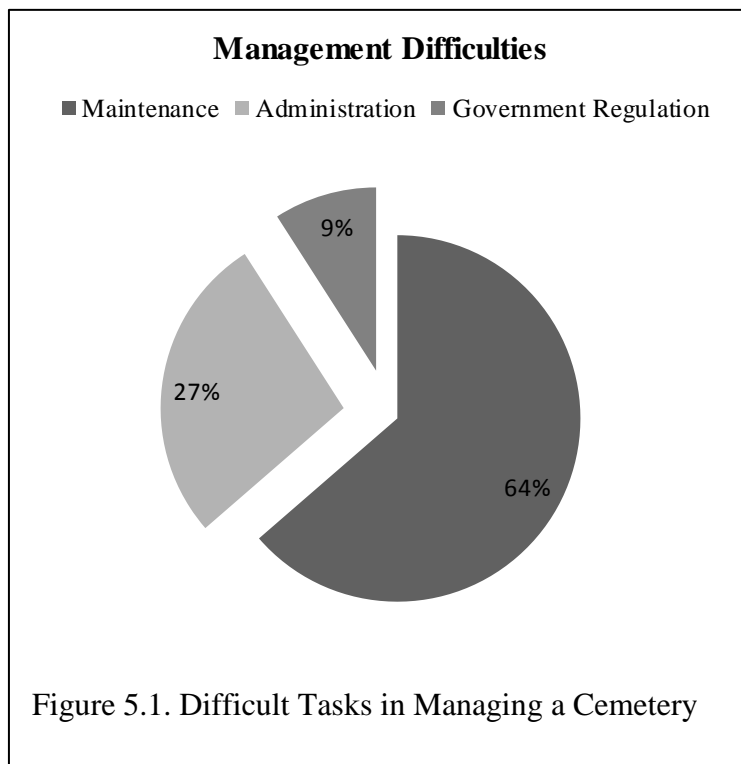
Year Opened	Cemetery	City	State
1831	Mount Auburn Cemetery	Cambridge	MA
1836	Magnolia Cemetery	Mobile	AL
1838	Mount Hope Cemetery	Bangor	ME
1841	Lowell Cemetery	Lowell	MA
1846	Elmwood Cemetery	Detroit	MI
1848	Oakwood Cemetery	Troy	NY
1849	Forest Lawn Cemetery	Buffalo	NY
1850	Bonaventure Cemetery	Savannah	GA
1850	Oakland Cemetery	Atlanta	GA
1850	Magnolia Cemetery	Charleston	SC
1864	Cedar Hill Cemetery	Hartford	CT

Note: Three cemeteries in bold are owned by local city governments

Difficulties in Managing a Nineteenth-Century Cemetery

Seven out of eleven cemeteries, or 63 percent, agreed that the most difficult task in managing a rural cemetery was maintaining the roads, pathways, and thousands of markers, monuments and mausoleums (Figure 5.1). This task is similar to maintaining a museum in that it encompasses the roadways, pathways, and works of architecture and artwork that are on display in the form of mausoleums, sculpture, and grave markers. The main difference between maintaining a museum and maintaining a cemetery, however, is that within a cemetery the architecture and art are still privately owned, as are the plots of land on which these items are located. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents, or three out of eleven cemeteries, indicated

that the most difficult management issues pertained to administering an active cemetery with internments, and selling lots within a museum or historic landmark district. One of the eleven cemeteries identified state regulations, competition from newer cemeteries, and the challenge of attracting visitors from the suburbs as their most difficult management problems. Of the eleven sites, only one cemetery has sold all of its lots, but all eleven still have burials on site each month.



Sculpture and Architecture Designed by Famous Artists and Architects Found within the Nineteenth-Century Cemetery

Ten of the eleven cemeteries that responded to the survey, or 91 percent, said their cemetery included artwork or architecture that had been designed by noteworthy artists or architects (Table 5.3). Some of these designers were regionally famous, but others were nationally prominent. The cemeteries that were located close to larger cities tended to have more

works of art created by prominent artists and architects within their boundaries. The nineteenth century in the United States was a time of great wealth due to the Industrial Revolution, and many wealthy and upper-middle class families were willing to spend large sums of money on the final resting place of their loved ones. Some of the largest and most prominent cemeteries from this movement are located outside Boston, Philadelphia, New York City, and other larger urban settings. In the South, this style of cemetery can be found in Mobile, Richmond, Atlanta, Savannah and Charleston.

Table 5.3. - Cemeteries with famous art and architecture listed in bold type.

Year Opened	Cemetery	City	State	Art & Architecture
1831	Mount Auburn Cemetery	Cambridge	MA	Yes
1836	Magnolia Cemetery	Mobile	AL	Yes
1838	Mount Hope Cemetery	Bangor	ME	No
1841	Lowell Cemetery	Lowell	MA	Yes
1846	Elmwood Cemetery	Detroit	MI	Yes
1848	Oakwood Cemetery	Troy	NY	Yes
1849	Forest Lawn Cemetery	Buffalo	NY	Yes
1850	Bonaventure Cemetery	Savannah	GA	Yes
1850	Oakland Cemetery	Atlanta	GA	Yes
1850	Magnolia Cemetery	Charleston	SC	Yes
1864	Cedar Hill Cemetery	Hartford	CT	Yes

In addition to inquiring about the creators of sculpted gravestones and mausoleums, the survey also asked respondents whether any specific grave marker was visited more frequently than others within the cemetery. Ten out of eleven cemeteries, or 91 percent, of the respondents stated there was a tomb, monument, or mausoleum that was visited more than any other within the cemetery. These monuments ranged from the gravesites of historic figures such as J. P. Morgan, to monuments that commemorate a specific cause or event, such as the Civil War. For example, a statue of a sphinx that was carved by Martin Milmore in 1872 is located within

Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Dr. Bigelow, the founder of Mount Auburn Cemetery, commissioned this sculpture to commemorate those who had given their lives during the Civil War to ensure that the Union was preserved. Inscribed on the base of the sculpture, in Latin on one side and English on the other, are the following words:

American Union Preserved
African Slavery Destroyed
By the Uprising of a Great People
by the Blood of Fallen Heroes.

The respondent from Mount Auburn Cemetery stated that the sphinx was one of the most visited monuments within the cemetery. A similar commemorative memorial is found in Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta where the sculpture of a great lion, known as the Lion of Atlanta, was placed within the cemetery to commemorate the Civil War. This sculpture was created by T. M. Brady and placed in the cemetery in 1894 by the Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association to commemorate the unknown Confederate dead who are buried within Oakland Cemetery. The Lion of Atlanta is also one of the most visited monuments in Oakland Cemetery.

Several respondents said that one of the many mausoleums within their site was the most visited of all the gravesites. One of these is the Caudwell Mausoleum in Magnolia Cemetery in Mobile, Alabama, a miniature chapel designed in the Gothic Revival style. Within its walls reside members of the Caudwell family, as well as a sculpture of an angel plucking a flower and carrying it to heaven. The Austell Mausoleum in Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia, is also a Gothic style chapel, and, out of the fifty-five mausoleums in the cemetery, it is the most visited. Another famous mausoleum found in Forest Lawn Cemetery in Buffalo, New York, is the Blue Sky Mausoleum designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1928. It was not actually constructed until 2004, however, and the cemetery currently has vaults within the mausoleum for sale today. Other famous architects such as Stanford White, Louis Sullivan, Sir Edwin Lutyens,

and Richard Morris Hunt were commissioned to design mausoleums for the wealthy Americans during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In some cases, these mausoleums are among the few surviving works of an architect due to the amount of development that has taken place since the nineteenth century. The mausoleum architecture found within each of these cemeteries is so diverse that they represent most of the periods of architecture in the United States.

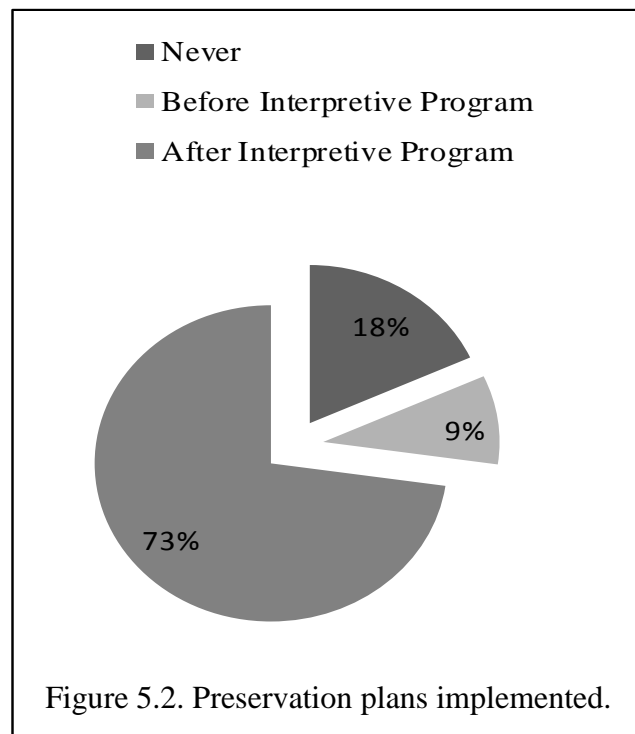
Relation of Interpretive Programming to the Implementation of a Preservation Plan

To explore factors that may have shaped historical interpretive programming, the survey asked whether a historic preservation plan had been prepared for the cemetery, and, if so, whether the plan had influenced interpretive programming (Figure 5.2 and Table 5.4). Only one of the eleven cemeteries, or 9 percent, had implemented a preservation plan prior to starting their interpretive programs. This respondent, while working to restore and preserve the cemetery, reported that the master plan helped them define their mission:

To preserve the history and educational significance of Elmwood Cemetery and those laid to rest in the cemetery; and to develop social, cultural, and educational programs to benefit the community.

The mission statement helped the cemetery staff develop the programming that was needed to bring people to the cemetery so they could learn about the history of the site and about those who are interred there. The plan also helped them focus on developing the financial resources needed to support the cemetery's restoration and preservation. Two of the eleven cemeteries, or 18 percent, have never implemented a preservation plan. Eight of the cemeteries, or 72 percent, had already started their historical interpretive programs before creating a preservation plan, master plan, or restoration plan. One of the eight sites explained that they decided to do a preservation plan *because* it helped them define the historical interpretation they were already doing. The

preservation plan outlined what the cemetery wanted to be, defined what the cemetery was, how it could benefit the community, and how visitors were being educated. This information allowed the cemetery staff to evaluate existing historical interpretive programming and plan for the future programming. Their preservation plan divided the cemetery into ten sections to help the non-profit focus their restoration work. They focused on one section of the master plan at a time.



Types of Interpretive Programming

The types of interpretive programming found within the cemeteries are diverse, but some are very similar in certain ways. A website is one common interpretive element used at all eleven cemeteries. In terms of other internet-based programming, 91% of the sites have Facebook pages where cemetery administrators and friends of the cemetery can post photos and

update the public about events happening at the cemetery. Other types of electronic-based programming found at some of the cemeteries include apps for smart phones, as well as QR codes that are placed at individual monuments around the site. Both of these elements allow visitors to do self-guided tours that correlate to maps provided by the cemetery.

Tours given by the staff or volunteers are the most popular form of interpretive programming. Such tours are found at 100% of the sites surveyed. These tours also vary in terms of the type and style of presentation. A number of cemeteries use the living history technique to give the tours in order to give a more realistic and provocative tour for visitors. A diverse range of tours are offered at ten of the eleven cemeteries, or 91 percent, including interpretation of the headstones/sculptures, architecture, horticulture, history of the cemetery, and the biography of those who are interred at the cemetery. Interpretive tours focusing on the symbolism of grave markers and other funerary artworks were utilized at nine of the eleven cemeteries (Table 5.4).

Just as each tour is different, so is the frequency with which each site gives them. Some of the cemeteries located in the Northern United States only offer tours seasonally, while the cemeteries in the more temperate South offer them year-round. Some cemeteries charge for tours; others provide them free, but request donations.

In terms of intended audience, all eleven cemeteries said their tours were geared for all ages, but four of the eleven cemeteries clarified that their tours were designed more for adult visitors, even though they had children on the tours and also provided educational tours for schoolchildren (Table 5.4). Two of the eleven cemeteries reported that they specifically tailored each tour for the group that was attending, whether they were senior citizens or children.

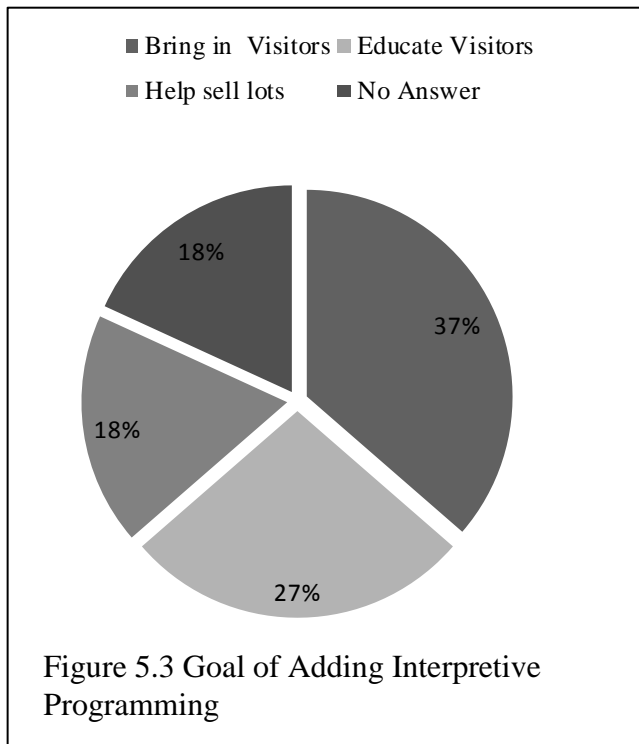
Table 5.4. - Interpretive programming used at cemeteries and its effects.

Cemetery	Implementation of a preservation plan in relation to interpretive programming	Cemeteries with programming that interprets grave marker symbolism	Cemeteries with interpretive programming for all ages	Uses provocative interpretive programming	Reason for adding interpretive programming	Interpretive programming designers
Mount Auburn Cemetery Cambridge, MA	After	Yes	Majority geared for Adult Audience, a few family tours	Yes	Educate public	Professional staff
Magnolia Cemetery Mobile, AL	Never	Yes	Designed for Middle School to Senior Citizens	Yes	Bring in visitors	Professional staff
Mount Hope Cemetery Bangor, ME	After	No	All ages including children	Yes	Educate public	Professional staff
Lowell Cemetery Lowell, MA	After	Yes	All ages, tour designed for specific group	Yes	Sell lots	Board member
Elmwood Cemetery Detroit, MI	Before	Yes	All ages including children	Yes	Bring in visitors	Professional staff
Oakwood Cemetery Troy, NY	Never	Yes	All ages including children	Yes	Bring in visitors	Board member
Forest Lawn Cemetery Buffalo, NY	After	Yes	All ages including children	Yes	Educate public	Professional staff
Bonaventure Cemetery Savannah, GA	Never	Yes	All ages including children	No	No answer	Board member
Oakland Cemetery Atlanta, GA	After	Yes	More for adults, teachers Do school group tours	Yes	Bring in visitors	Volunteers
Magnolia Cemetery Charleston, SC	Never	No	All ages including children	No	No answer	No answer
Cedar Hill Cemetery Hartford, CT	After	Yes	Majority for adults	Yes	Educate public	Professional staff

Eighty-two percent, or nine of the eleven cemeteries, said they implemented educational programs specifically for school children. One respondent stated they would like to do more school tours and were in the process of developing a program whereby local corporations helped sponsor fieldtrips in cases where the school could not afford to sponsor the trip. Eighty-two percent, or nine of the eleven cemeteries, stated that interpretations were presented in a provocative manner so that visitors leave with an enduring and emotional attachment to the cemetery (Table 5.4). The other two did not answer the question. One responder reported, “visitors leave with a better understanding of the city, including people who lived, worked and died there,” while another said that “some of the visitors have chosen the cemetery as their resting place solely because the tour they went on.”

Goals and Effects of Adding Interpretive Programming to the Cemetery

The responses related to why cemetery administrators introduced interpretive programming indicate that the most common motivation, with four out of the eleven cemeteries, or 36 percent, responding with the same answer, is to bring more visitors to the site (Table 5.4 and Figure 5.3) . The survey responses also suggest that the second most common motive, accounting for three out of eleven cemeteries, or 27 percent of respondents, is that historical interpretive programming would improve the image the citizens had of the cemetery and allow the cemetery to introduce citizens to the art, culture, and history that was located within its borders. Other respondents reported that their interpretive programming was intended primarily to help sell lots, create a new generation of stewards, and produce economic and strategic growth for the cemetery. Two of the eleven sites did not answer this question.



Interpretive Programming Design

Six of the eleven cemeteries, 54 percent of the surveyed sites, said that their own professional staff designed, and continues to design, the cemetery's interpretive program (Table 5.4). Three of the eleven cemeteries (27 percent) reported that the cemetery managers and members of the board of trustees designed the interpretive programming for the cemetery. One cemetery reported that the members of the non-profit group that raises funds for the cemetery designed the interpretive programming. This respondent also clarified that members of the tour group go through an intensive, year-long training before they start giving tours; this level of training may be commensurate with that received by professional staff. One cemetery did not answer the question.

Demographics of Visitors to the Cemetery

Among the cemeteries that responded to the survey, the addition of interpretive programs appears to have contributed to an increase in the number of cemetery visitors (Table 5.5). This trend can be measured both through increases in the number of visitors coming to the site for tours and in the number of people visiting the site on their own. The survey showed that ten out of the eleven cemeteries agreed that visitation had increased after the addition of interpretive programming, but only five of the eleven cemeteries, or 45 percent of the respondents, actually tracked the increase in the number of visitors from year to year. The magnitude of these increases varied. Two of the five cemeteries, or forty percent of those that tracked their visitors, said their increase had been in the range of 25 to 30 percent, while two of the five, or 40 percent, reported an increase between 50 to 70 percent. One of the five, or 20 percent, stated they had seen a 150-percent increase in visitation within the last five years.

All of the survey respondents reported that most visitors were local to their city or to the outlying region. They estimated that local residents made up anywhere from 70 up to 90 percent of the total number of visitors. The remaining 10 to 30 percent were estimated to be from outside the state, but still from within the United States. Only 27 percent of the sites stated that they had international visitors. These respondents also indicated that international visitors only made up 2 to 3 percent of the total number of visitors.

Table 5.5. – Cemetery visitation increase attributed to interpretive programming.

Year Opened	Cemetery	City	State	Percent Increase
1831	Mount Auburn Cemetery	Cambridge	MA	25%
1836	Magnolia Cemetery	Mobile	AL	30%
1838	Mount Hope Cemetery	Bangor	ME	Not reported
1841	Lowell Cemetery	Lowell	MA	60%
1846	Elmwood Cemetery	Detroit	MI	Not reported
1848	Oakwood Cemetery	Troy	NY	Not reported
1849	Forest Lawn Cemetery	Buffalo	NY	50%
1850	Bonaventure Cemetery	Savannah	GA	Not reported
1850	Oakland Cemetery	Atlanta	GA	150 %
1850	Magnolia Cemetery	Charleston	SC	Not reported
1864	Cedar Hill Cemetery	Hartford	CT	Not reported

Fundraising for Cemetery Preservation and Interpretive Programming

The survey results suggest that fundraising strategies for historic preservation and interpretation in cemeteries can be organized according to five categories: endowments, donations, grants, membership fees, and special events. Moreover, many cemeteries pursue multiple strategies. Each of the eleven cemeteries used at least three of the five strategies (Table 5.6). Four of the eleven cemeteries, or 36 percent of the surveyed cemeteries, used an endowment account or perpetual maintenance fund to help cover maintenance and preservation costs. All but one of these four cemeteries are owned by a private board or trust. One cemetery reported that 30 percent of the proceeds from lot sales go directly into the endowment fund. All surveyed cemeteries raise some funds from donations by individuals and/or corporations, as well as by applying for grants from nonprofit foundations and local and state governments. Membership fees and capital campaigns are used by three of the eleven cemeteries, or 27 percent, to raise funds, and three of the eleven cemeteries, or 27 percent, conduct annual

fundraising events. Some of these events include historical interpretive programs as well as festivals, tours, and holiday-oriented activities.

In terms of increased revenues, eight of the eleven cemeteries, or 73 percent of respondents, indicated that interpretive programming helped increase revenue to the cemetery (Table 5.7). One of the eleven cemeteries, or 9 percent, said interpretive programming did increase revenue. However, they donated the funds to the local museum and history center, so the increased funding did not directly affect the cemetery. Two cemeteries did not provide an answer for this question.

Table 5.6. - Cemeteries funding stream matrix

Funding Stream Cemetery	Endowment	Donations	Grants	Membership Fees	Special Events
Mount Auburn Cemetery Cambridge, MA		X	X		
Magnolia Cemetery Mobile, AL		X	X		
Mount Hope Cemetery Bangor ME	X	X	X		
Lowell Cemetery Lowell, MA	X	X	X		
Elmwood Cemetery Detroit, MI		X	X		
Oakwood Cemetery Troy, MI		X	X	X	
Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, NY		X	X	X	
Bonaventure Cemetery, Savannah, GA		X	X	X	
Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta, GA	X	X	X		X
Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston, SC	X	X	X		X
Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hartford, CT		X	X		X

Table 5.7. - Cemeteries where interpretive programming helped increase revenue.

Year Opened	Cemetery	City	State	Increased Revenue
1831	Mount Auburn Cemetery	Cambridge	MA	Yes
1836	Magnolia Cemetery	Mobile	AL	Yes
1838	Mount Hope Cemetery	Bangor	ME	Yes/No
1841	Lowell Cemetery	Lowell	MA	Yes
1846	Elmwood Cemetery	Detroit	MI	Yes
1848	Oakwood Cemetery	Troy	NY	Yes
1849	Forest Lawn Cemetery	Buffalo	NY	Yes
1850	Bonaventure Cemetery	Savannah	GA	No Answer
1850	Oakland Cemetery	Atlanta	GA	Yes
1850	Magnolia Cemetery	Charleston	SC	No Answer
1864	Cedar Hill Cemetery	Hartford	CT	Yes

“Sense of Place” for the Cemetery

All eleven of the cemeteries indicated that the addition of interpretive programming had enhanced the cemetery’s “sense of place” within the community, and one respondent stated this unequivocally:

There is no doubt that our tours and presentations have greatly increased the interest of the citizens of the community and caused a much greater sense of place for the cemetery in the community.

Other respondents answered “yes,” “absolutely,” and “most definitely.” One informant reported that the tour program brought in more visitors than their interments. In general, the survey responses suggest that tours and events are vital components for raising a historic cemetery’s visibility within its community and for sustaining community-building efforts.

Advice for Cemeteries Considering Adding Interpretive Programs

The final survey question asked respondents whether they had any advice to offer others who likewise face the challenge of managing a nineteenth-century rural cemetery. Curiously, one respondent suggested that others should “talk to those cemeteries that have already done this

and adapt best practices,” which is precisely what this thesis aims to accomplish. Most of the survey responses were characterized by a few distinct themes. Several responses stressed the importance of learning the history of the site and the stories of the individuals interred there, and using this information to create a program that educates citizens about their community’s past. Another theme related to the benefits of encouraging citizens to utilize the cemetery for peaceful, passive recreation and encouraging them to attend community events at the cemetery.

A number of respondents also suggested that cemetery managers should constantly strive to be aware of what is going on outside the cemetery’s gates in the surrounding neighborhoods. Such knowledge can help managers identify key ways in which they may interact with citizens, while also helping the community feel more connected to the site, thus building a stronger sense of place. One way to do this, which was suggested by two survey respondents, was to get local historians or a local historical society to help research the people who are interred in the cemetery. One respondent advised, “Make your programming relevant to your site to encourage better understanding and appreciation for the actual space and landscape . . . Try to fill an important gap in the community by offering programs not available anywhere else in the general area, celebrate what is unique about your site.”

Three of the eleven respondents, or 27 percent of those surveyed, said it was very important to utilize volunteers to give tours and help with the maintenance of the grounds to help reduce costs, and to develop and implement the content of the historical interpretive programming at the site. In cases where two organizations are involved in caring for the cemetery, such as the owner and a nonprofit friends group, there should be a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the two groups in which the owner gives the other group the

exclusive right to provide tours and interpretation of the site. This type of agreement ensures that funds from tours of the site are allocated to preserve the cemetery.

A final theme relates to the vital importance of planning for the interpretive programs and developing alternate fundraising activities. One respondent advised other cemetery managers to start slow and add events and tours when there are sufficient staff and volunteers to ensure that the interpretive programs are done well. Another respondent recommended that visitors should be asked to fill out evaluations of the interpretive programs and the site so both can continually be improved. Finally, a comment from one respondent evoked the seriousness with which people should approach the challenges of cemetery conservation: “Be creative and respectful to the sacred trust that cemeteries have as the caretakers and caregivers for both the interred and the living of your community.” In the end, this respondent suggested that everyone needs to remember that a cemetery is sacred ground, and the goal is to preserve it as a site where people can go to reflect on lost loved ones, as well as to study and learn about history, art, architecture, and nature.

Conclusion

The responses from the eleven “rural cemeteries” provided a great deal of useful information about the benefits of adding interpretive programming to historic cemeteries. The analysis showed all eleven cemeteries have added interpretive programming presented by people to their cemeteries. In terms of programming not presented by people, most had added at least a website, and a few had added phone apps and QR codes. All of the cemeteries that answered the question felt that the addition of the interpretive programming had helped increase visitation and revenue. However, the responses also suggest that there is not just one way to go about adding interpretive programming to a historic cemetery. Some cemeteries offered basic tours, others

allowed visitors to choose from more than fifteen different tours. A number of sites had professional staff, but a few were all volunteer-based. Similarly, all of the respondents interpreted their cemeteries for adults, but not all of the sites had specific interpretation for children. The survey responses show there are many ways to go about adding interpretive program to historic cemeteries, but all organizations that are considering this activity should talk to other cemeteries who have already gone through the process. Preservation of the “rural cemetery” is an important step in preserving the one place in many cities where history, art and nature are combined together. This outdoor museum may be the largest museum within many communities. Bringing citizen back to partake in the passive recreational activities that cemeteries offer helps define a community’s “sense of place” and insures that these outdoor museum will endure for many more generations.

CHAPTER SIX

BONAVENTURE CEMETERY CASE STUDY

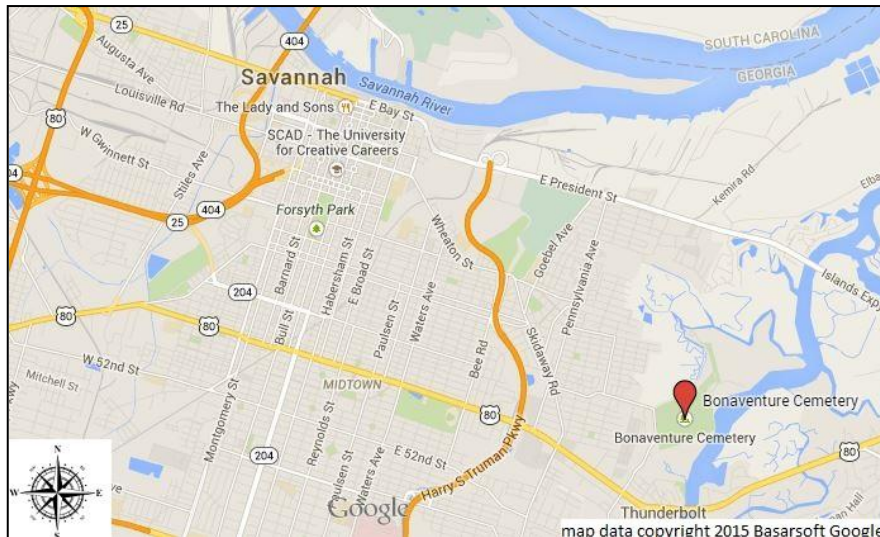


Figure 6.1. Bonaventure Cemetery located Northeast of the City of Savannah, GA on the banks of the Wilmington River. *Map data copyright Basarsoft Google.*

Background and History

The present-day Bonaventure Cemetery, located on a scenic bluff overlooking the Wilmington River near Savannah, Georgia (Figure 6.1), opened in 1850 as a private cemetery under the name Evergreen Cemetery (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). The site, originally consisting of six hundred acres, was known as the Bonaventure Plantation. It was given to Colonel John Mullryne as part of a land grant in 1760 (Barrington 1951, 300). The name Bonaventure is said to have come from the Italian words *il buona ventura* meaning, “good fortune” (Barrington 1951, 300). Bonaventure Plantation was the site of the marriage between the colonel’s daughter, Mary, and Josiah Tattnall. In honor of this union, it is reported that

Colonel Mullryne ordered avenues of live oak trees to be planted on the grounds of Bonaventure to form the letters "M" and "T" for Mullryne and Tattall (Barrington 1951, 300). These live oaks create the moss-draped canopy that covers the majority of the cemetery today.

During the American Revolutionary War, French and the Haitian troops who came to support the colonial government in its fight against Britain used Bonaventure Plantation as their landing site, hospital, and encampment (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). Although the siege of Savannah failed and the French and Haitian troops left Savannah, the patriots finally regained the city in 1782. At that time, Colonel Mullryne and his son in law, who were declared loyalists, fled the country. Their property was confiscated by the state and sold at public auction to John Habersham, who had been a major in the continental army and was later a trustee of the University of Georgia (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). Six years later, in 1788, Josiah Tattall's son, Josiah Tattall, Jr., who had fought for the patriots, repurchased Bonaventure Plantation for his young growing family (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). During the pre-Revolutionary War phase of the Tattall ownership of the property, the family had created a private cemetery on the site, as many plantation owners did in those days. The first burials at the site after the Revolutionary War were four of the Tattall's nine children, followed by their mother, Harriet Fenwick Tattall, in 1802. Just one year later, Josiah Tattall, Jr., passed away and was buried in the family plot (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014).

Josiah Tattall III, sold the property in 1846 to Captain Peter Wiltberger for \$5000 dollars with the stipulation that he would maintain the Tattall family burial plot, even though the plot was not included in the sale (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). Captain Peter Wiltberger, a native of Philadelphia, came to Savannah in 1816 as a ship's captain

(Georgia Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). In 1835, he opened the Pulaski House Hotel in Savannah and in 1847, Mr. Wiltberger sectioned off seventy acres of the Bonaventure plantation to create Evergreen Cemetery, which opened in 1850, just as the historic Colonial Cemetery in Downtown Savannah was closed for burials (Georgia Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). At this time, a number of the bodies interred in Colonial Cemetery were moved three miles outside the city of Savannah to the new Evergreen Cemetery (Barrington 1951, 300). In 1869, Wiltberger's only surviving son and heir, William H. Wiltberger, incorporated the cemetery as the Evergreen Cemetery Company. This was the same year when the entry gate was erected and a superintendent was hired to manage the cemetery. He also reduced the price of a lot from 12.5 cents to 6.5 cents per square foot (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). Section A is the oldest section of the cemetery and includes the original Tattnall family plot (Figure 6.2.). The cemetery became the burial place to a "who's who" of Savannah and colonial Georgia families.

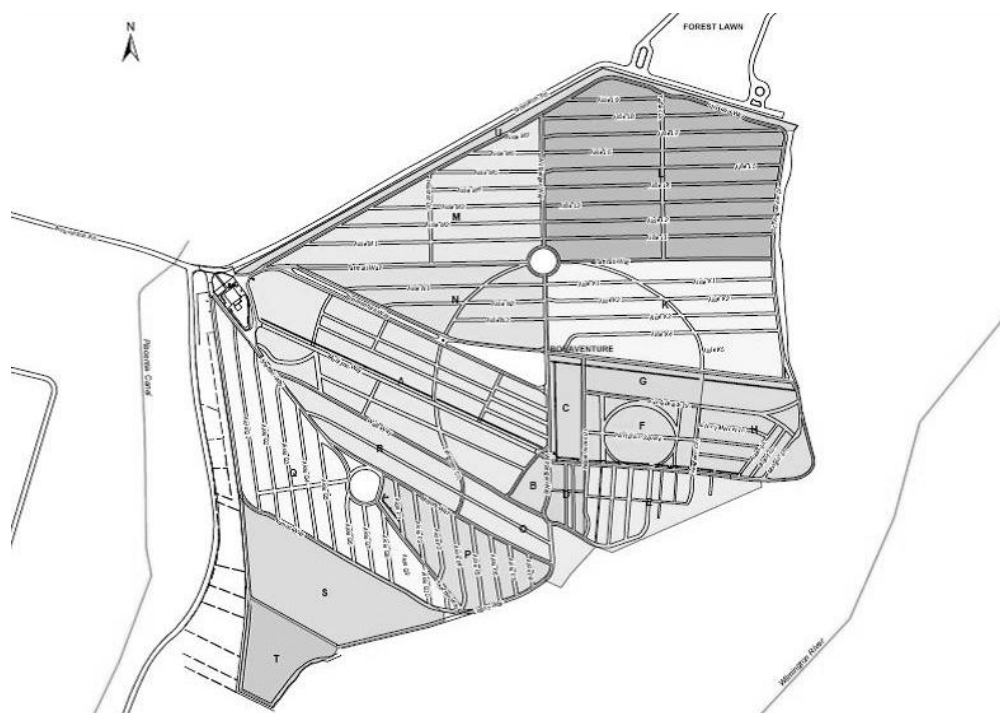


Figure 6.2. Plan of Bonaventure Cemetery
Courtesy of the City of Savannah website.

In September 1867, John Muir (a preeminent nineteenth-century naturalist and author) traveled through Savannah on his thousand-mile walk to the Gulf of Mexico. Due to a lack of funds he spent a few nights in Bonaventure “graveyard,” as he referred to it in his memoirs, while he waited on his brother to wire him some money (Muir 1916, Chapter 4). In his book he states, “I found a road which led me to the Bonaventure graveyard. If that burying-ground across the Sea of Galilee, mentioned in Scripture, was half as beautiful as Bonaventure, I do not wonder that a man should dwell among the tombs” (Muir 1916, Chapter 4). He described Bonaventure graveyard thus:

There is but little to be seen on the way in land, water, or sky, that would lead one to hope for the glories of Bonaventure. The ragged desolate fields, on both sides of the road, are overrun with coarse rank weeds, and show scarce a trace of cultivation. But soon all is changed. Rickety log huts, broken fences, and the last patch of weedy rice-stubble are left behind. You come to beds of purple liatris and living wild-wood trees. You hear the song of birds, cross a small stream, and are with Nature in the grand old forest graveyard, so beautiful that almost any sensible person would choose to dwell here with the dead rather than with the lazy, disorderly living.

Part of the grounds was cultivated and planted with live-oak, about a hundred years ago, by a wealthy gentleman who had his country residence here. But much the greater part is undisturbed. Even those spots which are disordered by art, Nature is ever at work to reclaim, and to make them look as if the foot of man had never known them. Only a small plot of ground is occupied with graves and the old mansion is in ruins. (see Appendix B for full quote)

In 1907, the City of Savannah purchased the cemetery and renamed it Bonaventure Cemetery in honor of the historically significant site of Bonaventure plantation on which it is located (City of Savannah website, July 13, 2014). After the city assumed ownership and management of the site, the Park and Tree Commission of Savannah planted hundreds of rare varieties of camellias and azaleas, which add brilliant color to the grounds at different times during the year (Barrington 1951, 302). The city continues to operate the cemetery as an active burial ground, and in 1982 it became part of the Department of Cemeteries. In 1994 the

Bonaventure Historical Society was formed to support the preservation of the cemetery. With its hard work, the Bonaventure Cemetery was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001 (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014).

Interpretive Elements

The City of Savannah's involvement with the interpretive programs or elements used within the Bonaventure Cemetery is limited to approving and permitting their use within the cemetery. The city does list the cemetery on its website with a small description of its history, but this is mainly to provide information to people who are looking to purchase lots within the cemetery. The main function of the city is basic maintenance of the cemetery and marketing the



Figure 6.3. Lily of the Valley Sculpted Cross.
Photo by author.

cemetery's remaining inventory of 275 unsold lots (Flemming 2013, Interview). The Bonaventure Historical Society assists the city with the stewardship of the cemetery.

The Bonaventure Historical Society (BHS) is a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization formed in 1994 to help preserve the natural beauty and historical significance of the Bonaventure Cemetery. The BHS is a solely volunteer group with no paid staff. The organization played a large role in getting the site listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001, and it plays an active role in helping to interpret the cemetery to the many visitors. The elements of interpretation used by the BHS within the cemetery consist mainly of guided tours, maps, restoration projects, and a burial site database. In terms of tours, BHS offers free tours of the cemetery every second Saturday and Sunday of the month. On these days, volunteers lead three specific tours. The first tour provides information about the nineteenth century symbolism found on many of the grave markers within the cemetery (Figure 6.3). Tour guides also discuss the works of sculpted art that are located in the cemetery and provide information on the artists when their names is known. The second tour discusses Georgia's history and how the people interred in the cemetery played an important part in that history. The third tour is a private guided tour that touches on the other two topics while focusing more on the history of the cemetery and its design, along with the landscape elements. The volunteer guides are responsible for creating their own tours based on these three topics, so there is not a set script for the volunteers to learn and follow. Most of the tours are geared for adults, but a few school groups visit the cemetery to learn more about Georgia's history. The BHS has a virtual tour on its website that discusses a select few of the individuals who are interred at Bonaventure.

The volunteers of the BHS also staff the visitor center on the weekend and answer any questions that visitors may have. They use their website to interpret the cemetery to people who

are interested in possibly visiting the cemetery. The organization feels that the interpretive programs have helped increase visitation to the cemetery. A Board of Trustees member said that adding interpretive elements into the cemetery had continually increased the number of visitors to the cemetery since starting the program soon after the BHS was formed in 1994. She stated, “In 2010 they had seen 10,000 visitors who came to one of their tours, while in 2013 they had that many during the first six months of the year” (Gish, Celeste M 2013, interview).

Bonaventure Historical Society says that the majority of the visitors who come to the tour are tourists. Since the BHS only gives guided tours one weekend per month, it is hard to know for sure what percentage of visitors are tourists and what percentage are local residents.

Several other groups that give tours of the cemetery or are involved in the preservation of the cemetery include the Daughters and Sons of the Confederacy, the Daughters and Sons of the Revolutionary War, and local historical societies. The cemetery became better known after the premier of the movie *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, and this recognition has helped bring more visitors. There is also a local tour company, 6th Sense World that provides two daily tours at Bonaventure Cemetery for people who have pre-purchased tickets from their website. This tour highlights the bizarre and exceptional sites within Bonaventure.

Friends and Owners

The cemetery has been owned by the city of Savannah since 1907 and the upkeep of the cemetery is provided by the tax-paying citizens of Savannah. Although the cemetery is owned by the city, the families of those buried in the cemetery own their individual lots. A small perpetual endowment helps with the maintenance of the cemetery but the cost of maintaining the individual lots falls to the individual families who own them. When families do not take an active role in this due to many reasons, then this task falls to the city of Savannah. As stated

above, the Bonaventure Historical Society raises money to help preserve and upkeep the monuments and the cemetery as a whole. Most of the funds are generated from membership dues, which range from \$250 for a lifetime membership to \$20 for a yearly individual membership, and donations (Bonaventure Historical Society website, July 12, 2014). The BHS does not charge fees for its tours of the cemetery; however, the organization does ask tour participants to make a donation to help in the preservation of the cemetery. The BHS also sells items at the cemetery visitor center, although this is not a significant moneymaker. Aside from membership dues and donations, the BHS's only other significant means of raising funds is through grants.

Grants

The Director of Cemeteries for the city stated that they occasionally applied for grants to help with the upkeep and restoration of the monuments and mausoleums, but the staff time needed to apply and report on the work sometimes cost the city more than the amount of the grant. The Bonaventure Historical Society said it had utilized a few grants. One grant was used to purchase the kiosk that is located at the entrance of the cemetery. This kiosk is used to access the database of those buried in Bonaventure, so when visitors come to the cemetery to visit the grave of a relative they can easily find the grave.

Limitations and Problems

One of the greatest challenges at Bonaventure Cemetery is the lack of a preservation plan. The City of Savannah has a five-year program to fix problems within the cemetery, but since almost all of the monuments and mausoleums are privately owned the city usually will not help with the restoration of those unless their stability affects the safety of cemetery visitors. In order to preserve or restore any of these monuments the city or the BHS has to contact the family

to see whether they have the necessary funds or whether they are willing for an organization or institution to step in and fund the repair. In cases where the family cannot be found or has died out, the organization or the city has a little more leeway, but the funds still have to be found to do the work. Finding the funds takes a lot of time and strong community involvement. Other issues include the overuse of the trails and vehicular pathways by the large number of visitors that come each year, as well as the wear and tear on the landscape and the monuments due to the large number of visitors each year.

The BHS said their greatest challenge was being able to meet their mission to preserve and protect the cemetery while educating the community about Bonaventure Cemetery. This takes money and volunteers, both of which are not that readily available, especially since the BHS does not have a full-time staff person or persons working on these issues on a daily basis.

Analysis

In order to analyze whether interpretative programming has helped resurrect Bonaventure Cemetery as an outdoor museum and thus help renew its sense of place within the city of Savannah and the surrounding community, the data collected in this case study must be analyzed and applied to the following research questions asked in Chapter One. The research question is: how can the addition of interpretive programming help preserve historic “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a community’s “sense of place?” How have historic preservationists interpreted urban nineteenth-century “rural cemeteries” as outdoor museums? Has the addition of interpretive programming helped instill a mutually beneficial “sense of place” between the cemetery and the community? Has the renewal of a “sense of place” affected the preservation of the cemetery? Has interpreting the cemetery as an outdoor museum, with the use

of interpretive programming, helped raise funds to provide perpetual care for the cemetery in the future?

Interpretation of Bonaventure Cemetery as an Outdoor Museum

The “rural cemetery,” just like an outdoor museum, is an assorted collection of monuments, statues and architectural mausoleums located outdoors where visitors can walk among nature and view these works of art at their leisure. However, the one element that is needed to transform the “rural cemeteries” into an outdoor museum is an interpretive program that will transfer the knowledge of the history, architecture, a way of life, and a form of sculptural art (Figure 6.4) to the visitor. Chapter Three reviewed many different types of interpretive programs that are currently being utilized in “rural cemeteries” in the United States. The author’s visit to Bonaventure Cemetery in December 2012, along with interviews with a board member of the BHS, and the Cemeteries Director for the City of Savannah, indicates that



Figure 6.4. Sculpted Angel Memorial
Photo by author.

Bonaventure has been interpreted as an outdoor museum by the BHS and by other local tour companies. The city does not provide tours, but it does require tour groups to purchase permits before they can provide tours within the cemetery (Flemming 2013, Interview). With Savannah being a popular tourist destination there are several tour companies that provide interpretation by people in the form of talks and tours of the cemetery. These tours take place both during the day and at night, and are focused on those interred in the cemetery and the tombstones. These are commercial tours where tickets are sold, and other than the cost of the permit to do the tours in the cemetery, it is not clear whether the cemetery benefits financially from these tours. The BHS provides both interpretive tours by volunteers and other forms of non-personal interpretative programming. As mentioned above, three distinct tours are presented by the volunteers. These tours interpret the symbolism found on many of the grave markers, works of art like the statue of Little Gracie (Figure 6.5) and the history of the people interred, like the Lovell family, (Figure 6.6) in the cemetery that made an impact on the city and state, and the history of the cemetery.

In terms of non-personal interpretative methods, the BHS gives out maps so visitors can leisurely visit the cemetery on their own, and it sells calendars and postcards to help raise funds for the cemetery. Visitors can also access the BHS website to learn more about the history of Bonaventure Cemetery, as well as information about becoming a member and the times when tours are given. The tours and talks led by the volunteers are every second Saturday and Sunday of the month, but there is not a charge, just a request for a donation. The BHS also staffs the visitor center on the weekend to help answer questions and provide maps to the visitors. All funds raised by the BHS are used to help maintain and preserve Bonaventure Cemetery.



Figure 6.5. Statue of Little Gracie the most visited monument in Bonaventure Cemetery. *Photo by author.*



Figure 6.6. Lovell Monument Bonaventure Cemetery
Photo by author.

Role of interpretation instilling a “sense of place” between the cemetery and the community

The addition of interpretive programming to Bonaventure Cemetery has increased the number of visitors to the cemetery over the years. In terms of overall visitation, the Cemeteries Director for the city of Savannah stated there were around 735,000 visitors that came to visit the cemetery each year. This includes all tours, people attending burials and people just visiting on their own (Flemming 2013, Interview). In terms of people taking tours through the BHS the board member said that in 2012 they had given tours to 10,000 people and in the first six months of 2013 they had already had that number of people on their tours (Gish 2013, Interview). Both interviewees stated that most visitors were tourists from out of town, and the Cemeteries Director of the city of Savannah estimated that out-of-town tourists made up 90 percent of the total number of visitors (Flemming 2013, Interview). Both interviewees believed that the interpretive tours had brought about a stronger sense of place by the local citizens.

The Cemeteries Director of the city Savannah stated that the cemetery was known around the world due to the book and movie, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, and this recognition had helped bring visitors and locals alike to visit the cemetery. The day the author visited the site a number of visitors were touring the cemetery on their own, but during the timing of the visit there was not a group tour taking place. The only other visitors to the cemetery were there for a burial, and since this is still an active cemetery with lots for sale this would be an ongoing occurrence. Being an active burial cemetery also strengthens the “sense of place” between the community and the cemetery because it brings people to the cemetery to shop for lots as well as for interments of lot holders. The more visitors to the cemetery, the stronger the “sense of place” will be.

Relation between “sense of place” and the preservation of the cemetery

Both interviewees agreed that a renewed “sense of place” for Bonaventure Cemetery did help generate funds for the cemetery’s preservation. The BHS receives funds from donations from individuals who go on tours and from membership fees (Gish 2013, Interview). As is the case with most historical societies, the membership is mostly comprised of local citizens, but for a volunteer organization, there can never be too many members. The Director of Cemeteries for the city of Savannah stated that the renewal of a sense of place had also helped bring in donations from other local non-profit organizations to help with the conservation work; however, the increased number of visitors also costs the city a great deal more in terms of road and pathway maintenance, as well as the cost of insurance (Flemming 2013, Interview).

Role of interpretation in raising funds to provide perpetual care for the cemetery

The City of Savannah does provide perpetual care for the cemetery and a perpetual care fee is charged when interment rights are sold by the city. However, most of the cost of maintenance is paid by taxes the city collects from its citizens (Flemming 2013, Interview). The BHS and other non-profits raise funds through grants or fundraisers to help preserve and restore monuments and mausoleums when they are in need of repair or restoration. However, as stated above, the monuments and lots are owned by individual families, and in order to do work on them, their consent must be granted.

Concluding Remarks

Bonaventure Cemetery is one of the best-known cemeteries in the South thanks to the book and movie, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*. Many of the cemetery’s estimated 735,000 visitors each year come to see the sculpture of the Bird Girl and to find out more about the infamous Bonaventure Cemetery. Once they are there, they discover that Bonaventure

Cemetery contains more original art than any other local museum in Savannah (Flemming 2013, interview). Visitors can walk right up to the sculptures and grave markers and interact with them in most cases. All of this interaction causes a great deal of wear and tear on the art, as well as on the landscape and soil. Unfortunately, without a full-time staff interacting with all of these visitors on a regular basis, most visitors just come and go and do not contribute to the upkeep of the cemetery or learn how they could join the BHS, which would use the additional membership dues to continue preserving the cemetery. A cemetery this large requires a great deal of money just to keep the grass mowed and meet the needs of the day-to-day costs of maintenance.

Without an endowment or a friend's group that is present on a day-to-day basis, the funds needed to go beyond the minimal requirements of upkeep will not be readily available. Both the city official and the trustee of the BHS said that the largest number of visitors were tourists from outside Savannah, so something needs to be done to reach out to the local community to help build a bond that can be relied on in case of a natural disaster or other hardship.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MAGNOLIA CEMETERY CASE STUDY

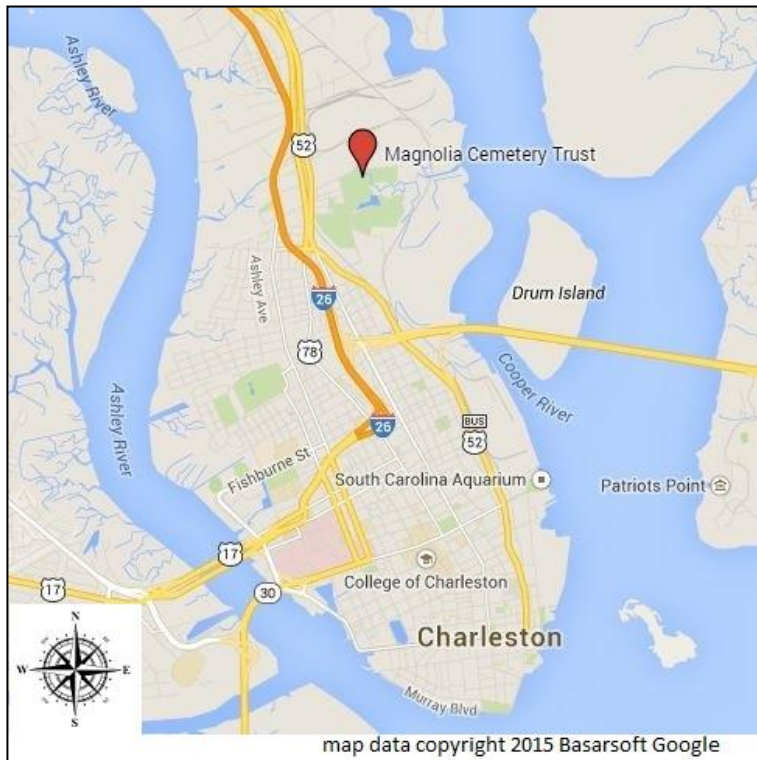


Figure 7.1. Magnolia Cemetery located North of Charleston on the Cooper River. *Map data copyright 2015 Basarsoft Google*

Background and History

Magnolia Cemetery, located just north of Charleston, South Carolina, opened on November 19, 1850. This private cemetery situated along the banks of the Cooper River (Figure 7.1) was started by a group of six venture capitalists from Charleston, under the name of the Magnolia Cemetery Company (South Carolina General Assembly 1850, 14). It is located just one mile from the northernmost city limit of Charleston and three miles from the city center on the grounds of a former rice plantation, also known as Magnolia Umbria, and later as

Magnolia Farm (Pinckney 1958, Newspaper Article). The site is part of a parcel of land granted to Joseph Pendarvis in 1672 by the Lords Proprietors under charter from King Charles II of England. The property passed through many hands between 1672 and 1850 and the acreage of the plantation changed just as much (Smith 1918, 20-23). The original size of the cemetery was thirty five acres of both high land and marshland. The directors sought to create a beautiful place of repose for the dead and a place where the citizens of Charleston could visit and relax while enjoying the natural setting.

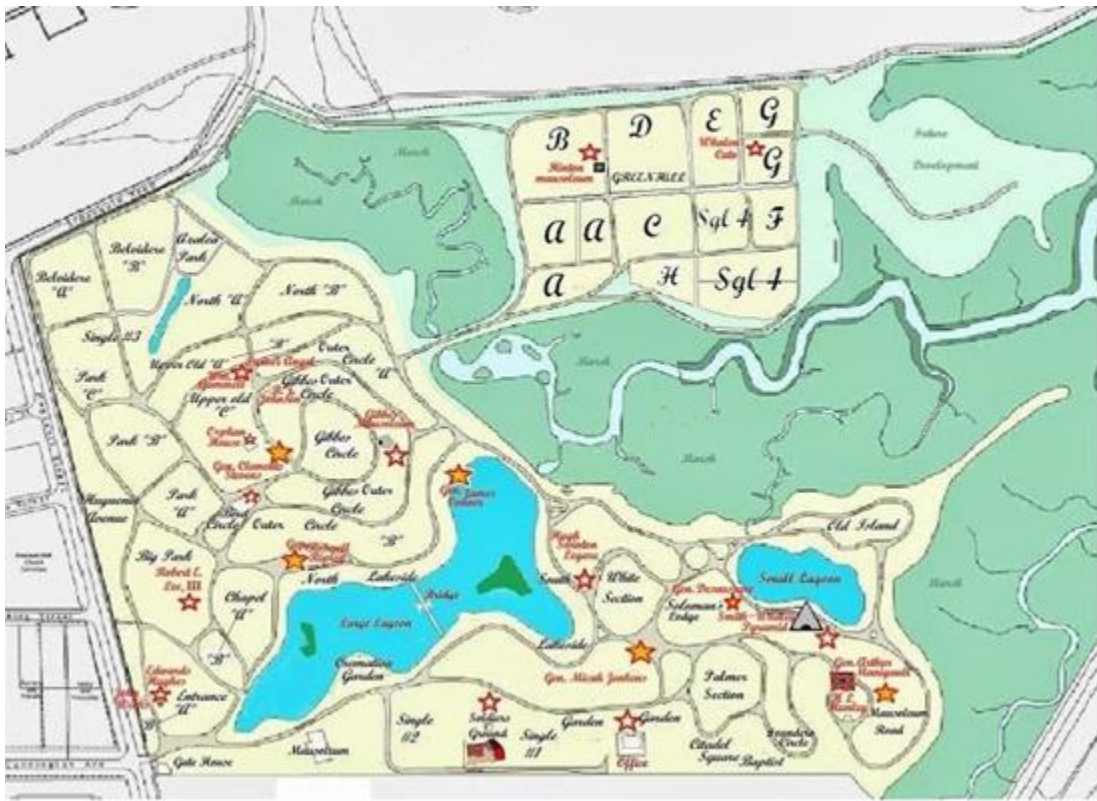


Figure 7.2. Plan of Magnolia Cemetery Charleston, SC. Courtesy of Magnolia Cemetery

Since the town's founding the citizens of Charleston had buried their dead in local churchyards, like St. Michaels, located within the city's boundaries. By 1850, these local churchyards were full. A few decades earlier in the Northeastern United States, the Rural

Cemetery Movement had become popular, and during the mid-nineteenth century it took hold in the South and provided a new idea of how death should be viewed. “Rural cemeteries” reflected evolving religious, literary, artistic and social attitudes toward death. Increasingly, the afterlife was seen by the citizens of the late nineteenth century as gentle, eternal slumber, rather than a circle of hellish suffering. The physical manifestation of the rural cemetery displayed society’s more optimistic sensibilities

The directors of the Magnolia Cemetery Company hired local architect Edward C. Jones to survey and design the cemetery (Timrod 1851). Soon after the commission, Jones partnered with Major Francis D. Lee to create the architectural firm Jones and Lee (Ravenel 1945). The “rural cemeteries” in the Northeast and contemporary European trends in gardening, which also emphasized the picturesque and romantic, influenced the Jones and Lee plan for Magnolia Cemetery (Figure 7.2). Prior to implementation of the cemetery design, the site was full of grand live oaks, magnolias, and cypress trees (Williams 1901, folder 28/724/1). The design presented by Jones and Lee selectively manicured the forests, preserving the natural beauty of the landscape while incorporating curving carriage paths, small manmade lakes with islands, bridges, and a diversity of plantings and architectural follies. Two semi-circular gates at the eastern end of Cunningham Street marked the entrance to the cemetery. Other buildings planned for the site included a gothic chapel, a gothic gatehouse, the porters lodge, a receiving tomb and the use of the old Magnolia Umbria plantation home as the cemetery’s office (Jones 1850). “Rural cemeteries” like Magnolia helped fill the growing demand for public green space in the years before the development of urban parks. Charlestonians used Magnolia Cemetery not only to bury or visit the graves of their loved ones, but also to picnic, promenade, and commune with a manmade nature.

The first burial in Magnolia Cemetery occurred in 1849, a year before the actual opening of the site. Local legend describes the decedent as a young man who grew up at Magnolia Farm, the site which later became the cemetery, and who was an officer in the Palmetto Regiment. Before he left to fight in the Mexican-American War, he sat with his widowed mother under a moss-covered oak on the small island to say goodbye. He requested that if he died in battle, his remains should be buried under the same tree. Christopher C. Carsten died while entering Mexico City. His remains were sent home to be buried at Magnolia Cemetery to fulfill his request to his mother (William 1901). The island was dedicated to his family, and his tomb marker at lot #56 still exists.

Magnolia's first ten years brought great success to the private venture. The idea of a tranquil resting place was very popular with the citizens of Charleston, thus helping to sell a great number of the original plots. Visitors described the burial lots as miniature gardens with small trees, roses, flowers, cast iron gates (Figure 7.3), and stone sculptures (Cardoza 1866). Due to the popularity of the cemetery, several small parcels of land from the adjacent northern Belvidere plantation tract were purchased to expand the cemetery between 1850 and the Civil War. Once the Civil War began in 1861, several instances of vandalism were recorded, which caused the directors to require admission cards and tickets for entry in 1862 (Timrod 1851).

Unfortunately, the cemetery's location on the Cooper River and south of the northern boundary of the Confederate line made it a strategic location for the barracks and fortifications of the Confederate Army from 1861 through 1864. During this time, bunker fortifications were built within the cemetery for protection of the city (Williams 1901). Even during the occupation by the Confederacy, the cemetery was used to bury the war dead as well as the dead of Charleston. In 1865, the Union forces captured and occupied the City of Charleston and

Magnolia Cemetery. The Union soldiers took over the Confederate barracks within the cemetery and camped out there for the next four years. It was during this time that the Gothic chapel was converted into a stable for the army's horses and mules, and the porter's lodge and entry gates were destroyed. The Union Army also cut down the scenic live oak grove located near the chapel to use as firewood (Williams 1901). During the Union occupation of Charleston, the Union army transferred the bodies of nearly three hundred of their soldiers, who had died in and around Charleston during and after the war to be buried in Magnolia Cemetery. These graves were marked with earthen mounds. Notes from the archives at Magnolia Cemetery indicate that the graves of "Federal Dead" were later removed from the property in May 1873 and reburied in Beaufort, South Carolina, at the Beaufort National Cemetery (Magnolia Cemetery Company 1840-79, 1-2).



Figure 7.3. Circular iron fence within a family lot in Magnolia Cemetery Charleston SC. *Courtesy of minitime.com.*

After the war, the Magnolia Cemetery Company struggled to rebuild and repair the damaged cemetery. Unfortunately, the lots and funerals purchased during the war had been paid with Confederate currency, which had become worthless, not to mention that most families had been financially devastated during the war. Even though deterioration continued, small parcels of land were randomly purchased to expand the cemetery in the 1870s. In 1877 the cemetery was sold to new stockholders and the Carolina Savings Bank owned the controlling interest of the new corporation (Magnolia Cemetery Company 1840-79, 12).

By the last decades of the nineteenth century, Magnolia Cemetery was in a much better financial position and it experienced a period of expansion (Figure 7.4). In 1878 the new owners of the Magnolia Cemetery Company borrowed \$10,000 to create a 40-foot by 100-foot causeway



Figure 7.4. View within Magnolia Cemetery Charleston SC. *Photo by author.*

that connected the two main portions of the cemetery with a road across the marsh at the river's edge, thus opening up more land for burials (Magnolia Cemetery Company 1840-79, 13). The stockholders bought fifteen acres of high land and one hundred acres of marshland in 1882 from the Belvidere Tract to the north and the stockholders continued to add acreage until it reached its current size of 150 acres. Three years later, the deteriorated gothic chapel was removed and a reception room was created in the Gate House for services. While the cyclone of 1885 and the earthquake of 1886 caused some damage to the cemetery, by 1889 another ten acres of new grounds and roads were opened in the northwest section. The swamp was drained and cleared of undergrowth and the bridges were repaired. New floodgates were used to restore the lakes, and the sandy roads were covered with shells. By 1890, a wood-frame octagonal comfort station was added. (Williams 1901) The President's annual report on May 4, 1897, stated that the Cemetery had "never been in better condition" (Williams, 1901).

When Magnolia Cemetery first opened, railway transportation from the city was limited. The Carolina and Northeastern line ran through the property on the eastern side in the marshland, but there was no stop at the cemetery. During the early years, people traveled from town by foot or horse-drawn carriage up Meeting or King Street. By the late nineteenth century, electric trolley cars were circulating throughout the city, and in 1889, a stop was created at Cunnington Street for traffic to Magnolia and other nearby cemeteries. By 1901 the Consolidated Railway Company, whose lines ran throughout Charleston, operated a streetcar line to the gates of Magnolia. This arrangement, at ten cents per round trip ticket, was meant to give families better opportunity to care for the graves of their loved ones (Williams 1901).

Magnolia faced a number of challenges in the twentieth century. Deteriorating materials and the high cost of maintenance continued the gradual decline in the physical condition of the

cemetery. Over the years, much of the historic stone and ironwork has deteriorated, been vandalized or removed. The mid-twentieth century brought a lot of change to cemeteries like Magnolia because families were coming less and less to visit and upkeep their plots due to the more transient nature of the modern family and to the fact that a great number of the younger generation had left the city for the suburbs. This represented a period of transition in which care of graves and plots became less of an ancestral matter and more often a duty assumed by the cemetery. In 1954, as the cemetery was in a state of decline, the non-profit organization named the Magnolia Cemetery Trust (MCT) with a board of five people took over the property and established a perpetual care trust valued at \$500,000 so that the interest could be used to help with increasing maintenance costs (Pinckney 1958). As new lots were sold, twenty percent of the sales price would be placed into the perpetual care trust. In 1982, when the current superintendent started at Magnolia Cemetery, it was in need of preservation care. The gatehouse and the office building, which was the original plantation home on the site, had fallen into disrepair, as had the bridge that crossed the large pond. In 1989 damage from Hurricane Hugo was also extensive and costly. Although Magnolia Cemetery has been challenged for most of the twentieth century, towards the end of this period the cemetery increasingly has become recognized as a place of historical, architectural and cultural importance, including being listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1978.

Interpretive Elements

Presently, Magnolia Cemetery does not utilize interpretive programming commercial tours, and the director does not expect that the MCT will be adding interpretive elements for scheduled tours in the near future. They do have a web page that provides a little history of the site and information on the most recent interments; however it is mainly used to help sell lots.

As stated above the trust does not allow commercial tours within the cemetery; however, they do have an annual event known as the Confederate Ghost Walk, which has been held for the past twenty-three years on the second Friday and Saturday nights in October. During this candlelight tour, visitors interact with volunteers who are dressed in period costumes depicting someone interred in Magnolia Cemetery. This tour is not for all ages; specifically, no one under the age twelve is allowed. The interactions take place throughout the cemetery, and visitors learn historically accurate information about people from Charleston during the one-and-a-half hour tours. This is the only fundraiser that the MCT does to help raise funds and bring awareness to the cemetery. Beside this one fundraiser for the MCT, the cemetery allows the Historic Charleston Foundation to hold an annual event, “Tour De Graves Magnolia Cemetery: Part Deux,” as one of the foundation’s fundraising events.

Friends and Owners

The Magnolia Cemetery Trust is a not-for-profit organization that owns the cemetery and manages all aspects of cemetery’s business. This includes selling lots, managing all the business related to burials, and all restoration and preservation activities within the site. This arrangement is different from the other historic cemeteries that this thesis analyzes because the trust acts as both the friends group and the property owner and manager. The director stated that the cemetery became one of the first perpetual care cemeteries in the 1890s, and because of this it has a large endowment that provides funding for general maintenance and upkeep (Donald 2013, Interview). Even today, thirty percent of the revenue generated by the sale of lots goes into the perpetual care endowment. As in all cemeteries, the majority of the property is owned by individual families who are related to those interred in the individual and family plots.

Grants

Magnolia Cemetery received funds from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) after Hurricane Hugo in 1989. The cemetery has also received grants from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History to fund the restoration of the Plantation House and the reconstruction of the Gate House in the early 1990s. In 1994, the Gate House project won an award from the Preservation Society of Charleston. Individuals and foundations have provided other grants for preservation projects within the cemetery. For example, preservation groups like the Historic Charleston Foundation have provided time and money to help restore buildings, such as the receiving tomb, which is one of the only buildings left from the original plan designed by the architects, Jones and Lee.

Future Issues and Plans

Magnolia Cemetery does not have a preservation plan, and the trust does not plan to implement any additional interpretive elements into the cemetery. The cemetery currently has approximately ten thousand visitors per year, which is an increase from visitation levels prior to 2004. In that year, sailors from the Confederate submarine, *The Hunley*, were laid to rest in the cemetery, and national news reports about this event helped stimulate public interest and boost visitation levels.

Limitations and Problems

As is the case with most cemeteries, the Magnolia Cemetery Trust's main problem is the constant deterioration of the monuments and the site due to time and eroding effects of natural processes. Charleston has been hit by several hurricanes over the years and there is always the possibility that this will happen again in the future. A preservation master plan would help the trust prepare for such events. In addition, a plan might allow preservation activities to be

prioritized, for example by focusing on one area at a time instead of wherever attention is most needed at a particular time. Like most historic cemeteries, part of the problem at Magnolia Cemetery stems from the fact that thirty-five percent of the lot owners do not take an active role in maintaining their lots, which creates more maintenance work for the Trust.

Analysis

In order to analyze whether or not historical interpretation has helped resurrect Magnolia Cemetery as an outdoor museum and thus helped renew its sense of place within the city of Charleston and the surrounding community, the data collected in this case study must be analyzed and applied to the thesis questions asked in Chapter One. The research question is: how can the addition of interpretive programming help preserve historic “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a community’s “sense of place?” How have historic preservationists interpreted urban nineteenth-century Southern “rural cemeteries” as outdoor museums? Has the addition of interpretive programming helped instill a mutually beneficial “sense of place” between the cemetery and the community? Has the renewal of a “sense of place” affected the preservation of the cemetery? Has interpreting the cemetery as an outdoor museum, with the use of interpretive programming, helped raise funds to provide perpetual care for the cemetery in the future?

Interpretation of Magnolia Cemetery as an outdoor museum

Magnolia Cemetery has everything necessary to be an outdoor museum. It has works of art and architecture, memorials to individuals from both the Revolutionary Wars (Figure 7.5) and the Civil War, and it has stories that are waiting to be told of Charlestonians who are interred at the cemetery. Unfortunately, the MCT has not implemented an interpretive program within the cemetery. The superintendent stated that there are only two times a year that an interpretive

program takes place within Magnolia Cemetery. The first is the Confederate Ghost Walk that is an event sponsored by the MCT, and the second is the Tour de Graves put on by the Historic Charleston Foundation as a fundraiser for their organization. She said that Magnolia Cemetery was the best-kept secret in Charleston and that could easily be possible since no commercial tours are allowed in the cemetery. People can still visit the cemetery during operation hours but the estimated 10,000 visitors per year is a very small number compared to the 4.3 million tourists that visit the city voted to be the number one tourist destination in the U.S by readers of Conde Nast Travelers for the last four years (Post & Courier October 20, 2014). On occasion, the Director of the MCT will give educational tours to school, college, or military groups, but this is not a standard event.



Figure 7.5. Cowpens Monument. *Photo by author.*

Role of interpretation instilling a “sense of place” between the cemetery and the community

Based on my interview with the Superintendent of Magnolia Cemetery there is a mutually beneficial “sense of place” between the cemetery and the citizens of Charleston, but this is due more to the preservation of the city and the close knit community of Charleston. The citizens of Charleston have been involved in preservation since the early twentieth century when some of the ladies who had ancestral ties to old Charleston worked to preserve the heritage of their city. Since that time, preservationist have helped to preserve a great deal of the city, and they have involved citizens in the process. This mutually beneficial “sense of place” is also due to the fact that a large number of families in Charleston have ancestors who are interred at Magnolia Cemetery.

Relation between “sense of place” and the preservation of the cemetery

Since 1982, a great deal of conservation work has been accomplished at Magnolia Cemetery. The superintendent attributed this to the strong board of the MCT and an array of supporters around Charleston. The cemetery has a strong relationship with the Charleston Preservation Society, Historic Charleston Foundation, and the South Carolina Department of History and Archives, which have raised funds to help with the conservation work. In 1989 Hurricane Hugo hit Charleston and did a great deal of damage to the Cemetery. Due to the damage, Magnolia Cemetery was able to get funding from FEMA, which also helped in the restoration of some of the buildings and monuments.

Role of interpretation in raising funds to provide perpetual care for the cemetery

During the two times a year when the Cemetery is interpreted through an on-site living history program ,the MCT does raise funds to help with the preservation of the site, but these funds generally go to specific projects. The superintendent told me in the interview that

Magnolia Cemetery was one of the earlier “rural cemeteries” that implemented a perpetual care endowment to help take care of the ever-increasing maintenance of the cemetery. Since Magnolia is an active burial cemetery, they continue to put a portion of the sales price per lot into the endowment. At present time, the portion placed into the endowment is thirty percent of the sales price. The superintendent stated that at this point in time they did not need to add interpretive programs into the cemetery to help raise funds for the endowment, but she thought that as more of the lots were sold and there were fewer available for sale, this addition might be necessary.

Concluding Remarks

Magnolia Cemetery is truly a unique place, not only because it is an important example of a “rural cemetery” in the South, but also because of the way it is managed. There are an estimated 33,000 graves within the 150-acre cemetery, and unsold lots still comprise approximately fifteen acres. The superintendent estimates that they can probably sell graves for the next twenty years. The cemetery is blessed by a large endowment that provides the funds needed for upkeep; however, this may be a limiting factor in keeping the MCT from implementing a historical interpretive program that could help it raise funds for the future restoration and maintenance of the cemetery. Although Charleston is a popular tourist destination, a very small percentage of the 4.83 million visitors that come to the city know anything about the cemetery and the great works of art and history that can be found there (Post and Courier 2012 website, October 18, 2014) . Looking at pictures and videos of the cemetery on Magnolia Cemetery’s website, potential visitors can tell that the upkeep of the cemetery has improved greatly during the last thirty years, but this has had a great deal to do with a focused superintendent and a board of directors that is willing to tackle the hard preservation projects. If

either of these circumstances changes, the cemetery could revert to experiencing hardship similar to what it experienced during the middle of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER EIGHT

OAKLAND CEMETERY CASE STUDY



Figure 8.1. Oakland Cemetery located southeast of Atlanta, GA.
Map data copyright Basarsoft Google.

Background and History

Oakland Cemetery, the oldest cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia, was founded as the “Atlanta Cemetery” in 1850. It was originally located on six acres of farmland one mile southeast of the city’s historic downtown (Figure 8.1). The City of Atlanta purchased the land from a local farmer named Woodling and had the six acres laid out in a grid pattern (Sweeney 2009, 78). This original section of the cemetery is composed of numerous single graves, as well as family plots containing groups of graves. Few of the graves in this section have a stone marker; if they do, they usually face haphazardly in various directions (Sweeney 2009, 78).

In 1850, Atlanta was a young, fast-growing city with a population of just over 2,500 people (Historic Oakland Foundation website, September 13, 2014). It had more saloons and hotels than churches. The lack of established churches with graveyards made the need of a public cemetery even more pressing. In 1837, when the city was founded, it was given the nickname Terminus, because it was to be the end of the Western and Atlantic railroad line (City of Atlanta website, September 13, 2014). In 1842 the city was renamed Marthasville in honor of the current Governor's daughter, Martha Lumpkin. Then in 1845 the name changed again to Atlanta, which is the feminine of Atlantic as in the Western and Atlantic railroad line. The city was incorporated in 1847, just three years before the opening of "Atlanta Cemetery". Due to the city's quick growth, and because it was such a busy transit town, a public cemetery was needed in order to bury those who did not live in Atlanta but who unfortunately died while visiting. The original six acres contained a section referred to as the "public ground" just for this purpose. The first person buried in the cemetery was Dr. James Nissan, a medical doctor who died while visiting Atlanta in 1850 (Sweeney 2009, 91).

Between 1850 and 1867, the city bought forty-two additional acres to bring the cemetery to its present-day size of forty-eight acres (Figure 8.2). During the Civil War, the city and the Confederate government expanded the cemetery several times to ensure there was room to bury the soldiers who were dying in local hospitals. Atlanta was home to four major intersecting railroads and it had become one of the Confederate army's largest transportation. Due to this fact a great number of the wounded soldiers were brought to the hospitals in Atlanta to be treated for their wounds. After the war the city continued to add land to the cemetery in order to bury the thousands of soldiers who had originally been buried in battlefields around Atlanta as the soldiers defended the city against Sherman's army.

The additional forty-two acres of the expanded cemetery were laid out in the “rural cemetery” style with winding paths, which worked well with the cemetery’s seventy-foot elevation change. The Rural Cemetery Movement was becoming popular in the South during the mid-nineteenth century because it provided a landscape that reflected the evolving religious, literary/artistic, and social attitudes towards death, as well as providing a park-like setting where citizens could escape the confines of the city. The physical manifestation of the “rural cemetery” displayed society’s more optimistic sensibilities. Oakland Cemetery was the first public park in Atlanta, and it remained the largest public park until 1882, when General L. P. Grant donated one hundred acres to the city which become Grant Park the, first modern public park (City of Atlanta website, September 13, 2014).

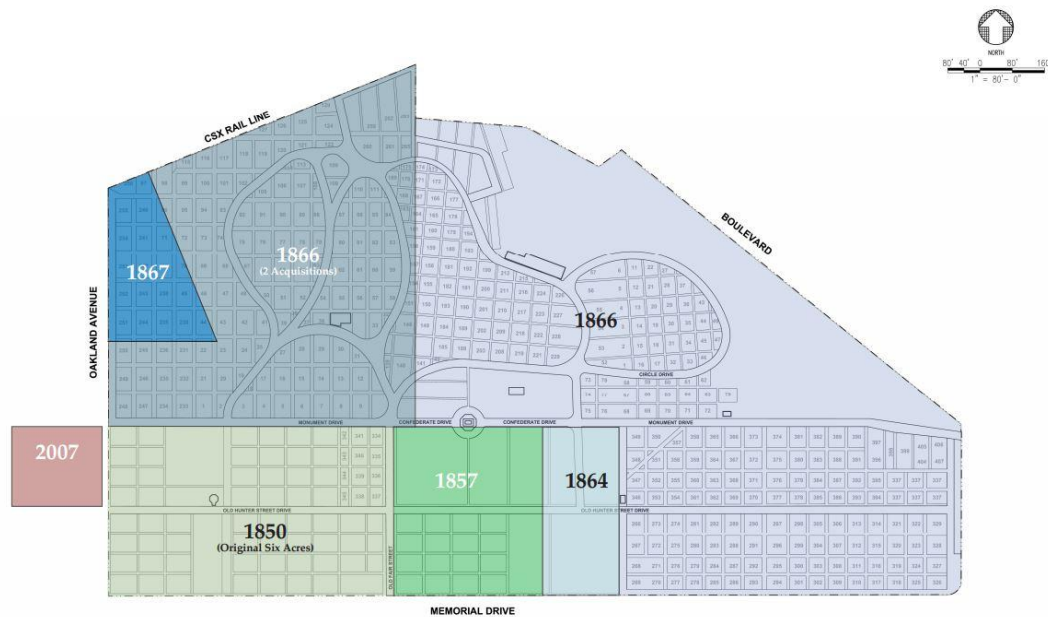


Figure 8.2. Parcel acquisition map of Oakland Cemetery.
Courtesy of Historic Oakland Foundation

Oakland Cemetery reflects the history and changing culture of the City of Atlanta in many ways. Although most of Atlanta was destroyed in 1864 when Sherman burned the city on his march to Savannah, the cemetery was spared from this destruction. As a result, it contains

some of the oldest decorative elements in Atlanta. In 1872, the city changed the cemetery's name to Oakland Cemetery to reflect the large number of oak trees growing in the cemetery (Historic Oakland Foundation website, September 13, 2014). The trees would have made the cemetery stand out in the Atlanta skyline since most of the surrounding land was used for industry or plowed for cotton cultivation, not to mention the loss of trees that occurred when the city was burned a few years earlier. As the city prospered, the cemetery benefited from some of this wealth. It is filled with mausoleums and monuments (Figure 8.3) that represent the families who prospered as the city grew, as well as monuments that were added to commemorate fallen Civil War soldiers. The cemetery is home to four sculptures that are on the Smithsonian Institution's register of historic artifacts, one of which is the Lion of Atlanta (Figure 8.4) by Sculptor T. M. Brady from Canton, Georgia (Moore 2013, Interview).



Figure 8.3. Oakland cemetery family monument and mausoleum. *Photo by author.*



Figure 8.4. Lion of Atlanta Confederate Memorial. *Photo by author.*

A large portion of the cemetery speaks to an age when family members found consolation in memorializing their loved ones with elaborate mausoleums designed in numerous architectural styles such as Greek Revival, Gothic, Neo-classical and even one Egyptian (Figure 8.5). They also placed impressive artwork within their family plots in the form of sculptures, stained glass windows, and works of bronze (Figure 8.6). In 1896, the cemetery was enclosed with a brick wall and entry gate, and in 1899, a bell tower building was added as the sexton's office and home (NPS National Register website, June 29, 2014). The cemetery contains fifty miles of brick streets and walkways, which made the cemetery a favorite landscape for nineteenth century citizens of Atlanta to be seen riding through the park and picnicking. In 1886, the Atlanta Annual Report described Oakland as "the most attractive place in the city, where decorous and orderly throngs of our citizens congregate every pleasant Sunday to quietly pass through the well-kept grounds" (Cultural Landscape Foundation website, September 13, 2014).



Figure 8.5. Kontz monument Oakland Cemetery. *Photo by author.*



Figure 8.6. Bronze urn sculpture at the Cole plot Oakland Cemetery. *Photo by author.*

The cemetery is divided into several sections that include the pauper's field or public grounds, the Jewish sections, the African-American section and the Confederate section (Figure 8.7). The confederate section contains 6,900 graves but only 3900 are marked. The Jewish section of the cemetery is actually owned by the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation and it is the second oldest Jewish cemetery in Georgia. In total there are seventy thousand graves within the forty-eight acres, but it is estimated that there are between thirty thousand and forty thousand grave markers.



Figure 8.7. Section map from the master plan for Oakland Cemetery. *Courtesy of Historic Oakland Foundation.*

Unlike a great number of “rural cemeteries” that were privately owned and operated, Oakland Cemetery has always been owned and operated by the City of Atlanta. As a municipal cemetery, it did not operate as a perpetual care cemetery, so it relied on the families of plot owners to care for their individual lots. This is one reason why the cemetery landscape is so varied. Families were known to bring plant materials from their own yards to decorate their family plots (Moore 2013, interview). As the city continued to grow, the cemetery was

eventually surrounded by residential and industrial development, and eventually, it was annexed into the City of Atlanta. In 1884, the city sold the last available lot within the cemetery. From that year onward, burials in Oakland Cemetery were possible only for members of families who owned lots, or for indigent individuals who might be buried in the pauper's field. As the twentieth century progressed, a great number of people moved out of Atlanta to the suburbs, and Oakland Cemetery began to decline due to the lack of people visiting and the condition of the surrounding neighborhoods. With fewer families keeping up their cemetery plots, the cemetery mainly relied on its grounds keepers for the cemetery's upkeep. During the 1940s, the cemetery became part of the City of Atlanta's parks department, which is still responsible for its upkeep today. With the onset of World War II and the great exodus of citizens to the suburbs that occurred after the war, the cemetery suffered from neglect and occasional vandalism. This was a time of continued diminished visitations to the cemetery by plot owners. Visitation likely declined because all plots had been sold and there were only one to two burials per month (Moore 2013, interview).

In 1976, a year when the American bicentennial and historic preservation were popular topics of conversation, the Historic Oakland Foundation (HOF) was formed to help protect and revitalize the cemetery. That same year HOF helped the cemetery through the process of being added to the National Register of Historic Places. The foundation's mission statement says, "The Historic Oakland Foundation partners with the City of Atlanta to preserve, restore, enhance, and share Oakland Cemetery with the public as an important cultural resource and as an island of tranquility in the heart of the city" (Historic Oakland Foundation website, September 13, 2014). The relationship between the city and the foundation has continued to grow over the years, and today there is a memorandum of understanding (MOU) that exists between the two

organizations (Moore 2013, Interview). The MOU spells out the responsibilities of each entity in the preservation of the cemetery. In 2008 a major tornado hit the cemetery and FEMA provided funding for the cleanup. Even though the HOF had a restoration plan of the cemetery at the time, they spent the money to have a preservation master plan produced for the site in 2009. The foundation has an endowment of two million dollars and it is always looking for ways to grow the endowment. It also uses grants and corporate sponsorships to raise funds to restore the cemetery. One added benefit is that the cemetery can be accessed by public transportation, which makes it easier for visitors to get to the cemetery from downtown Atlanta. Since the cemetery cannot raise funds via sale of new lots, the foundation has developed an interpretive program that helps it raise the needed funds to restore and preserve Oakland Cemetery.

Interpretive Elements

In order to start raising money for the preservation of the cemetery the HOF held its first picnic in the cemetery in 1976. Three years later, in 1979, the foundation started the Street Festival known as Sundays in the Park. This year will be the 35th annual festival. It is a time for family and friends to dress in nineteenth century garb and enjoy food and beverages from Atlanta's restaurants, while taking carriage ride tours and participating in walking tours led by the foundation's volunteers. Visitors can also enter certain mausoleums that have been opened for this special event. Sundays in Park was the first of the foundation's interpretive programs, which have multiplied to encompass cemetery tours every Saturday and Sunday, as well as private tours during the week. The program provides interpretive tours, for a fee, to all visitors who attend the Saturday or Sunday afternoon tours. Today the foundation has fifteen different private and public tours that are scheduled for every weekend. The tours are led by volunteers of

the foundation who interpret the different sections of the cemetery, its art and architecture, the history of the city and its pioneers, the symbolism of the funerary art, the meaning of epitaphs, and the Civil War. The interpretive programs are geared to all ages and there are special tours for school-age children, which were designed to tie into the eighth-grade history curriculum in Georgia. The children's tours were implemented to encourage local school visitation and to help educate the children of Atlanta about the history of the city and its past citizens. The tours are created by the volunteer guides and vetted by the foundation and city.



Figure 8.8. Interpretive Signage used in Oakland Cemetery.
Photo by author.

The volunteers spend countless hours researching the individuals interred at the cemetery so that the tours are very factual and enlightening. Volunteers can apply once per year to become a tour guide; if selected, they go through a period of training before they are allowed to lead a tour. The Historic Oakland Foundation is blessed with hundreds of volunteers/members who help with the gardening as well as with fundraising events within the cemetery such as Tunes from the Tombs, Sunday in the Park, Oakland Halloween Tours, Run Like Hell 5k run and the Run like Heck fun run. One bonus for the foundation is that the Atlanta City Council has approved the HOF volunteers as the official tour guides for Oakland Cemetery, so they have

exclusive rights to lead tours of the Cemetery. In addition to providing tours, the foundation reaches out to the community to get the cemetery's neighbors and citizens of Atlanta involved. The Director of the Historic Oakland Foundation said the organization was always looking outside the gates to see what was going on in the neighborhood. The foundation also has a Facebook page, a Twitter account and a Four Square site that it uses to promote Oakland Cemetery as part of its interpretation of the site. The Historic Oakland Foundation has recently added an app for iPhone that visitors can use on self-guided tours of the cemetery and along the way they will also find interpretive signage provides information on specific sections or markers (Figure 8.8). The director said that the addition of interpretive programs had increased revenue for the cemetery by bringing people to the cemetery to visit who eventually became friends of the cemetery and volunteered to help with events and gardening.

Friends and Owners

The Historic Oakland Foundation is a nonprofit friends group that manages the walking tour program and raises funds for the beautification and restoration of the cemetery. It works hand-in-hand with the City of Atlanta, which owns the cemetery and manages all burials, approves all work done within the cemetery, and maintains all infrastructures, such as roads, walls, and the water system. An important thing to remember is that individuals or families privately own seventy percent of the real estate within the cemetery because they purchased their plot from the city.

Grants

Grants have played an important role in the restoration of Oakland Cemetery. The Historic Oakland Foundation has received grants from individuals and foundations, as well as grants from the National Park Service, including one in 2009 for \$200,000 (Moore 2013,

Interview). Grants take a great deal of time to research and write, but they can provide large sums of money needed for restoration projects, especially if the cemetery is working to restore its mausoleums.

Future Issues and Plans

The Historic Oakland Foundation is currently researching QR codes and podcasts as ways to get more people to visit Oakland Cemetery. Regarding its ten-phase restoration plan, the foundation is currently on phase three, which is located near the main gate of the cemetery. By sectioning the site into phases, the foundation can focus on the restoration of one area at a time. This strategy, however, does not mean that they do not deal with emergency repair as it becomes necessary; the HOF refer to this emergency maintenance as “triage.” This program addresses short-term threats to grave markers, coping, and walls including theft, additional damage, leaning grave markers, fallen headstones, and public safety issues.

Limitations and Problems

The Historic Oakland Foundation stated that the greatest challenges in managing the cemetery are Mother Nature and Father Time. An example of this is the 2008 tornado that hit Atlanta and made its way through Oakland Cemetery, causing millions of dollars of damage by knocking over trees and monuments throughout the cemetery. Before the tornado, the foundation had implemented a restoration plan for the cemetery but because of the damage of the tornado, they decided to hire a local landscape architecture firm to create a preservation master plan for the cemetery. The cemetery also was eligible for FEMA funding, which helped immensely with some of the repair cost. The foundation’s website states that, “At the present time, Oakland needs approximately \$15 million of restoration and repair work on monuments,

mausoleums, graves, retaining walls, walkways and landscaping” (Historic Oakland Foundation).

Analysis

In order to analyze whether interpretation programming has helped resurrect Oakland Cemetery as an outdoor museum and thus helped renew its “sense of place” within the city of Atlanta and the surrounding community, the data collected in this case study must first be analyzed and applied to the thesis questions asked in Chapter One. The main research question is: how can the addition of interpretive programming help preserve “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a community’s “sense of place?” How have historic preservationists interpreted urban nineteenth-century “rural cemeteries” as outdoor museums? Has the addition of interpretive programming helped instill a mutually beneficial “sense of place” between the cemetery and the community? Has the renewal of a “sense of place” affected the preservation of the cemetery? Has interpreting the cemetery as an outdoor museum helped raise funds to provide perpetual care for the cemetery in the future?

Interpretation of Oakland Cemetery as an outdoor museum

Oakland Cemetery is the smallest of the three “rural cemeteries” presented here as case studies. As revealed in the history section, the city of Atlanta was only thirteen years old when Oakland Cemetery was established. Atlanta was a young and fast growing city due to the configuration of four railroads that intersected in the city. This helped bring great wealth to the new city, and, even though it was burned during the Civil War the city rose from the ashes, and went on to become the state capital in 1868 and, eventually, the largest city in Georgia. The city of Atlanta became a major center of commerce after the Civil War, and with this expansion great wealth came to the city. This can be seen in the monuments and mausoleums that the wealthy

and middle class built in Oakland Cemetery. The cemetery contains monuments that are considered works of art and architecture, memorials to individuals as well as the Civil War, and it has stories that are waiting to be told of Atlanta's citizens who are interred at the cemetery. With so much to interpret, the HOF began slowly with the addition of two festivals that helped bring the citizens of Atlanta and the surrounding communities back into the cemetery. They then began to add tours and continued to add them until now there are fifteen different tours available on weekends, all led by volunteer members of the HOF. Some of the tours are living history tours with the tour guide dressed as a person from the late nineteenth century who tells stories about the people interred in the cemetery as well as information about the works of art. With the advent of the twenty-first century, a smart phone app has been added to the interpretive programming for self-guided tours, and the HOF is researching QR codes to use within the cemetery. The volunteers interpret the cemetery's art and architecture, the history of the city and its pioneers, the symbolism of funerary art, the meaning of epitaphs, and the Civil War. The interpretive programs are geared to all ages and there are special tours for school-age children, which were designed to tie into the eighth-grade history curriculum in Georgia.

Role of interpretation instilling a “sense of place” between the cemetery and the community

The interview with the Director of the Historic Oakland Foundation indicated that the addition of the festivals and the interpretive programming has instilled a mutually beneficial “sense of place” between the cemetery and the community. The director stated that the HOF intentionally reached out to the neighbors of the cemetery because they wanted to involve them in the preservation of Oakland Cemetery. Many members of the HOF are from the community and they work as volunteers to do many tasks within the cemetery. The HOF does have a paid staff that oversees all aspects of the preservation and interpretive programming, but they could

not do the work without the volunteers. Oakland Cemetery has a great reputation in Atlanta as a historic property that should be visited especially as a place to learn about the history of the city.

Relationship between “sense of place” and the preservation of the cemetery

The renewal of the “sense of place” at Oakland Cemetery has affected its preservation. According to the director, HOF members maintain a portion of the grounds of this historic cemetery, and they hope that at a time in the future the HOF will be able to maintain the entire cemetery. The HOF reached out to lot holders through advertisements in order to better understand which lots still had family members in the area who maintained their plot. With this information in hand, the HOF did further research, and, for those plots that do not currently have families involved with their maintenance and upkeep, it encouraged HOF members to adopt the plots within the sections of the cemetery that surround the main gate and the bell tower. These members have researched the types of plants and flowers that were planted in the cemetery during the late 1800s and they are recreating the nineteenth century landscape as it would have looked when families visited, tended the gravesites, and spent a relaxing day in the cemetery. The renewal of interest in the cemetery has helped the HOF obtain grants to fund monument and mausoleum restoration. When a tornado hit the cemetery in 2008, it helped bring the community together even more to ensure the cemetery was restored. FEMA was contacted to help with the removal of the large trees that were brought down by the storm, and with the monument restoration. One of the best outcomes from the involvement of the community was the the creation of the cemetery’s preservation master plan to provide a directive of the preservation work needed at the cemetery. The HOF website states, “at the present time, Oakland needs approximately \$15 million of restoration and repair work on monuments, mausoleums, graves, retaining walls, walkways and landscaping” to fully conserve Oakland Cemetery. The HOF will

continue to raise funds for the restoration so that the cemetery can be enjoyed by the citizens of Atlanta and the tourists who visit the city (Historic Oakland Foundation website, September 13, 2014).

Role of interpretation in raising funds to provide perpetual care for the cemetery

Interviews indicate that HOF's conceptualization of Oakland Cemetery as an outdoor museum has definitely helped the organization raise funds for the cemetery's perpetual care. The addition of interpretive programming to the cemetery along with festivals and other events has helped it raise funds to do the work that has been done so far. The HOF has a staff of nine people who work to ensure that the conservation work within the cemetery continues and to ensure that visitors to the cemetery can find the information they need. The director stated that since the creation of the HOF in 1976, the endowment that helps maintain the cemetery has grown to two million dollars. The staff and members are working toward the goal of increasing the endowment especially since there are no more lots to sell. The cemetery is free for visitors to come and enjoy on a daily basis. On weekends from 10 am to 4 pm, the HOF offers tours to the public at a cost of \$10 for adults and \$5 for students. Visitors also can buy maps of the cemetery for self-guided tours for \$4 from the visitor center located within the cemetery. Over the years, the HOF has raised money through grants to help with the conservation work and to purchase additional property to be used as a parking area for visitors. The Director believes that applying for grants take time and effort, but it is worthwhile when the effort yields large grants to help implement the work.

Concluding Remarks

Between 45,000 to 50,000 visitors per year experience Oakland Cemetery, and 8000 of these visitors paid to take one of the fifteen tours the foundation offers in 2013. During the last

five years the foundation has documented a 150 percent increase in visitors, which the organization attributes to the interpretive elements and the foundation's outreach on social media (Moore 2013, Interview). The Historic Oakland Foundation also collaborates with local corporations and businesses, which have helped increase visitation to the cemetery. Foundation representatives state that 75 percent of their visitors are from metro Atlanta and the state of Georgia, and 25 percent are tourists from the other forty-nine states, as well as from foreign countries (Moore 2013, Interview).

The good working relationship and the MOU between the City of Atlanta and the Historic Oakland Foundation help them work together as a team. With a strong preservation plan in place, these partners know what their goals are, and in which direction they need to work toward preserving the cemetery. Both groups have staff on the ground on a daily basis, and this is essential so that problems can be resolved quickly, and so that visitors have access to people who can answer questions about the cemetery. The historic bell tower building now contains the offices of the Historic Oakland Foundation and a gift shop, and from this location the visitors can learn more about the cemetery and purchase a map and other information they may need as they explore. The foundation is always looking for ways to raise funds for the cemetery, and they are doing an excellent job reaching out into the community and encouraging the local citizens to get involved with Oakland Cemetery. The cemetery is once again a place for local citizens and visitors to Atlanta to picnic and spend a day in the city's first public park. The Historic Oakland Foundation, in cooperation with the City of Atlanta, is preserving the city's known past and sharing it with the future generations of Atlanta citizens.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The goal of this thesis is to ascertain how the addition of interpretive programming can help preserve the sometimes forgotten nineteenth-century “rural cemeteries” and resurrect their role in defining a community’s “sense of place.” With this question in mind, the thesis examined the history of cemeteries to explain what “rural cemeteries” are, how they came to be, and what caused their decline during the twentieth century. Next, the thesis addressed interpretative programming to define what historical interpretation is, the evolution of interpretation into a modern professional practice, and to explain how interpretive programming has been applied in “rural cemeteries.” Finally, the thesis considered how the “rural cemetery’s” resurrection can help in defining a community’s “sense of place” by defining what “sense of place is, and explaining how people and communities are affected by its presence. The thesis then analyzed responses from eleven “rural cemeteries” throughout the United States with respect to the thesis question posed above, and similarly examined three case studies to determine how interpretive programming had impacted cemetery preservation. With the analysis complete it can be stated that interpretive programming aids preservation and enhances “sense of place” by (1) transforming the cemetery into an outdoor museum; (2) encouraging use of the cemetery for passive recreation; (3) helping to raise funds; and (4) prompting the creation of preservation plans. Below are significant findings that stem from the author’s analysis of the data:

- The research shows that the resurrection of the “rural cemetery” occurs when local citizens get involved in the preservation of their cemetery through a local

nonprofit organization that is working in conjunction with the owner of the cemetery.

- Interpretive programming has helped to bring passive recreation back to the “rural cemeteries.”
- The preservation movement from the 1960s helped spur the interest in the preservation of local communities and the “rural cemeteries.”
- There are many ways for the nonprofit organizations and the cemetery owners to approach the preservation of the cemetery and the addition of interpretive programming to the cemetery.
- Research showed that the addition of interpretive programming increased visitation and community involvement with the “rural cemetery” just as the local lot owners had been involved in during the nineteenth century.
- Ensuring visitation of local citizens and tourists will help preserve the cemetery for future generations.
- Research showed that foundations, corporations, and individual donors are willing to give to a site that is well known and loved by local citizens.
- Cemeteries who are thinking about adding interpretive programming should consult with other historic cemeteries that have gone through the process.

Interpretation of Nineteenth Century “Rural Cemeteries” has Transformed them into Outdoor Museums

The analysis of the survey responses and the three case studies suggests that these nineteenth century “rural cemeteries” have been transformed into outdoor museums with the addition of interpretive programming. It was shown that these cemeteries contain a vast repository of history, art, architecture, and specimen plants that can be used to educate visitors on

many subjects. With the addition of interpretive programming, cemeteries are able to tell stories about the people who are interred there, the community, the art and architecture, and the specimen plants. Although the “rural cemetery” is similar to several different types of outdoor museums, it is most similar to religious sculpture gardens and site museums. It is similar to a religious sculpture garden in that monuments and mausoleums have been placed within the landscape to memorialize either a person or an entire family. It is similar to a site museum in that the cemetery is located on its original site and it contains both natural and cultural resources that tell the history of the community, its past citizens, and a past way of life. All of these themes/stories can be shared with future generations thanks to the introduction of interpretive programming (Table 3.1). To understand how these cemeteries have been interpreted as outdoor museums, this thesis first analyzed the survey results and then investigated three case-study cemeteries.

In terms of the surveyed “rural cemeteries,” all eleven offer tours and talks as part of their interpretive programming. The surveyed cemeteries interpret headstones, funerary elements, art, architecture, nineteenth century cemetery symbolism, the Rural Cemetery Movement, death and dying, horticulture, wildlife, history of the cemetery, history of those interred, and cemetery conservation. Besides the use of tours and talks, all eleven cemeteries utilize websites to promote the cemetery, their interpretive programs, and the sale of lots to the community. Ten of the cemeteries utilize Facebook pages to update friends of the cemetery about events and happenings at the cemetery. Two of the eleven have cell phone apps that allow visitors to do self-guided tours while visiting the cemetery much like a self-guided tour at a museum.

The case-study site visit and the interviews conducted for this thesis revealed two of the three case-study cemeteries are actively interpreted as outdoor museums. Since Savannah is a

popular tourist destination, several tour companies, including the Bonaventure Historical Society (BHS), provide personal interpretation in the form of talks and tours of Bonaventure Cemetery. These tours take place during both day and night, and are generally focused on interpreting the lives of those interred in the cemetery and the tombstones placed in remembrance of them. These tours also interpret the nineteenth-century symbols carved on the gravestones, the works of art and the sculptors who created them, the history of Georgia, and the history of the cemetery. In terms of interpretive elements not presented by people, the BHS distributes maps so visitors can leisurely visit the cemetery on their own, and it sells calendars and postcards to raise funds for the cemetery. Visitors can also access the BHS website to learn about the history of Bonaventure Cemetery, information on events and tours, and becoming a member of the BHS.

Oakland Cemetery is the smallest of the three case-study “rural cemeteries” presented in the thesis. However, due to the prosperity of the City of Atlanta both before and after the Civil War, the cemetery contains numerous monuments, memorials, and mausoleums that are considered works of art and architecture dedicated to individuals as well as the Civil War. With so much to interpret, the Historic Oakland Foundation (HOF) began slowly in the 1970s with the addition of two festivals that helped bring citizens of Atlanta and the surrounding communities back into the cemetery. They later added tours and have continued to add interpretive tours until now fifteen different tours are available on weekends, all led by members of the HOF who volunteer their time. These volunteers interpret the cemetery’s art and architecture, the history of the city and its pioneers, the nineteenth century symbolism of funerary art, the meaning of epitaphs, and the Civil War. Some of the tours are living history tours with tour guide dressed as individuals who lived during the nineteenth-century who tell stories about the people interred in the cemetery and about the works of art. With the advent of the twenty-first century, the HOF

has added several non-personal forms of interpretation in the form of a website, Facebook page, a smart phone app for self-guided tours, and the HOF is researching the use of QR codes within the cemetery. Of the two case study cemeteries, Oakland has the most diverse interpretive programming. They have several festivals and events that not only help to raise funds, but also bring local citizens back to the cemetery several times a year. The HOF has a staff of nine people who are present on site to help visitors. The staff also operates a small museum store where visitors can purchase maps and other items that help raise funds for the cemetery.

The third case study, Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston, has everything necessary to be an outdoor museum, but as of yet it has not been interpreted as one. It contains works of art and architecture, memorials to individuals from both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, and stories of Charlestonians who are interred at the cemetery. However, as of the case study showed, the Magnolia Cemetery Trust (MCT) has not implemented an active interpretive programming within the cemetery. According to the superintendent, an interpretive program takes place within Magnolia Cemetery only two times a year. The first is the Confederate Ghost Walk, which is an event sponsored by the MCT, and the second is the Tour de Graves conducted by the Charleston Historic Society as a fundraiser for the organization. On occasion, the superintendent gives educational tours to school, college, or military groups but this is not a standard practice.

Resurrection of Interest in the “Rural Cemetery” as a Place for Passive Recreation

As was learned in Chapter Two, the Rural Cemetery Movement took nineteenth-century America by storm starting in 1831 when Mount Auburn Cemetery opened in Cambridge, Massachusetts. These cemeteries provided a tranquil botanical setting for the interment of lost loved ones, which was in stark contrast to the older overcrowded churchyard cemeteries. The

“rural cemetery” was extremely popular around large cities in the United States throughout the nineteenth century and into the early part of the twentieth century because it provided a place for citizens to escape the overcrowded city and enjoy passive recreational activities in a natural setting. As automobiles became more widely available in the United States, people were able to move more freely, and fewer stayed in one location generation after generation, thus reducing the number of families that maintained their family lots in the “rural cemeteries.” The introduction of public parks in large cities during the late nineteenth century also reduced the number of citizens who regularly visited the “rural cemeteries.” After WWII, the mass exodus of people from central cities to the suburbs further reduced the number of visitors to the cemetery. By the early 1960s, “rural cemeteries”—most of which were now really urban cemeteries—were places to visit only if you were going to a funeral.

Growing public interest in historic preservation during the mid- to late 1960s, and revived interest in genealogy in the 1970s, helped rekindle people’s interest in “rural cemeteries.” This interest can be seen in the fact that four of the eleven cemeteries that replied to the survey had been listed in the National Register of Historic Places by the late 1970s, two of which were Southern “rural cemeteries.” When asked, all eleven cemeteries that responded to the survey stated that the addition of interpretive programming had increased the number of visitors to the cemetery, and the increased number of visitors ranged from 25 percent up to 150 percent. In relation to the type of visitors who came to the cemeteries, those surveyed stated that at least 75 percent of the visitors were local citizens. The director of cemeteries for the City of Mobile, Alabama, stated that Magnolia Cemetery visitation had increased by 30 percent due to the introduction of interpretive programming.

Two of the three “rural cemeteries” reviewed in the case studies have active interpretive programming. Both of these cemeteries stated that the programming had helped increase the number of visitors to their cemeteries. The Bonaventure Historical Society (BHS), which provides tours on the second Sunday of each month, stated that 10,000 visitors had attended one of their tours in the first six months of 2013, which was double the total number of visitors who took tours during the same six months in 2010.

The director of the Historic Oakland Foundation (HOF) stated that they had increased visitation by 150 percent over the last five years. Currently they have 45,000 visitors to the cemetery each year, and 8,000 of these visitors pay to go on a tour provided by the HOF. Of these 45,000 visitors, the director estimated that 65 percent were from the Atlanta area and 75 percent were from the state of Georgia. These numbers suggest that the addition of interpretive programming has increased not only the interest of local citizens in their “rural cemetery,” but also the interest of tourists that are visiting the city thus increasing the use of the cemetery for passive recreation.

Interpretive Programming Encourages Preservation of the Cemetery through Increased Revenue

The information analyzed for this thesis suggests that the addition of interpretive programming helps to increase the revenue for the cemetery. This inquiry hypothesized that if the citizens became more involved in the cemetery, and if the “sense of place” increased within the community, then funds would be easier to raise for the preservation of the site’s art and architecture. One of the most significant ways interpretive programming has increased the revenue of the cemeteries is by bringing in citizens who become members of the organizations working to conserve the cemetery. These members donate their time to give tours, volunteer at

fundraising events and help maintain the site. They also publicize the site among their family and friends. This donation of time could easily be equivalent to a large donation given by a private donor to the cemetery. Volunteering is another way to help bring life back to the cemetery, thus helping resurrect the “sense of place” of the community with the cemetery.

All of the eleven “rural cemeteries” that responded to the survey questionnaire stated that the addition of interpretive programming had increased revenues in one way or another. Three of the cemeteries said that sales of lots had increased because tours had encouraged people to purchase lots within the cemetery. All eleven cemeteries said that donations had increased, as had membership in the organizations preserving the cemeteries. Visitation numbers have also increased, and for cemeteries that charge for tours, ticket revenues have increased as well. Seven of the eleven cemeteries said they were also able to increase revenue through the use of grants from private foundations and corporations to help in the preservation effort of the cemetery. Three of the cemeteries stated that an endowment provided the funds needed to do preservation work on monuments and mausoleums within their cemetery. Six cemeteries said they utilized individual donations that came in from annual appeals and through people visiting the site. One of the cemeteries stated that they were currently in a capital campaign to raise \$4.75 million to go toward the preservation of the cemetery.

At Bonaventure Cemetery, both interviewees agreed that the addition of interpretive programming had helped raise funds for the preservation of the cemetery. The BHS receives donations from individuals who go on tours and from membership fees (Gish 2013, Interview). As is the case with most historical societies, the membership is mostly comprised of local citizens. The BHS is an all-volunteer run organization, so all raised funds go to the preservation of the site. The BHS and other non-profits raise funds through grants or fundraisers to help

preserve and restore monuments and mausoleums when they are in need of repair or restoration. The Director of Cemeteries for the City of Savannah stated that interpretive programming had helped bring in donations from other local non-profit organizations, such as the Sons of the Revolutionary War, and the Daughters of the Confederacy. The city of Savannah is also able to raise funds for preservation by selling permits to companies that provide tours within the cemetery.

According to its superintendent, Magnolia Cemetery's yearly interpretive programming is used specifically to help raise funds for preservation of the cemetery. Since 1982, a great deal of preservation work has been accomplished at Magnolia Cemetery. The superintendent attributed this to the strong board of the Magnolia Cemetery Trust (MCT) and an array of supporters who call Charleston home. Since Magnolia is an active burial cemetery, it continues to direct a portion of lot sales into the endowment which is their main source of preservation funds. At present time, the portion placed into the endowment is thirty percent of the sales price. The superintendent stated that currently they do not need to add interpretive programs in order to help raise funds for preservation, but she thought that, as fewer lots remain available for sale, the cemetery might need to add interpretive programming as a way to raise funds for the preservation of the cemetery. The cemetery also utilizes its strong relationship with the Charleston Preservation Society, Historic Charleston, and the South Carolina Department of History and Archives, to help raise funds for preservation of the cemetery.

As stated in Chapter Eight, the HOF still needs an estimated \$15 million to finish the initial preservation of Oakland Cemetery, but the addition of interpretive programming to the cemetery, along with festivals and other events, has helped it raise funds to do the work it has done so far. The HOF has a staff of nine people who ensure that conservation work within the

cemetery continues and who help cemetery visitors find the information they need. The director told me that since the creation of the HOF in 1976, the cemetery endowment fund has grown to \$2 million; the staff and members are working to increase the endowment, especially since there are no more lots to sell.

Over the years, the HOF has raised money through grants to fund preservation work and to purchase additional property to be used as a parking area for visitors. The director said that although applying for grants took time and effort, it was well worthwhile when it yields large grants to help with maintenance. The volunteers also help with maintenance by adopting an abandoned cemetery plot within sections of the cemetery that surround the main gate and the bell tower. These members have researched the types of plants and flowers that were planted in the cemetery during the late 1800s, and they are returning the cemetery landscape to its appearance during that time, when families visited and tended to the gravesites, and spent a relaxing day in the cemetery. A 2008 tornado extensively damaged the cemetery, and this storm further helped bring the community together to ensure the cemetery's restoration. FEMA helped with the removal of large trees that were brought down, as well as with monument restoration. The creation of a preservation master plan was one of the best outcomes from the community's involvement with the cemetery after the tornado. The preservation master plan has guided the work that needed to be accomplished, including where the work should start, and how it should be phased.

Interpretive Programming has Encouraged the Creation of Preservation Master Plans at some of the Cemeteries

Although three respondents, two of which were case studies, indicated that they have never has a preservation master plan created for the site, other evidence suggests that a preservation master plan is a great tool for all historic sites and cemeteries. This tool guides the

staff of both the cemetery owner and the nonprofit group toward the best and most appropriate way in which to preserve and maintain the historic cemetery. This tool can be updated over the years but it helps keep the focus of the owners and friends on the preservation of the cemetery, and it helps everyone know what work is most needed at the site. The analysis of the survey and case studies showed that one cemetery developed the master plan before the interpretive programming was put in place. This site stated that the master plan helped them construct their mission statement, which in turn helped them decide the best types of interpretive programming to strengthen their mission statement. Six of the sites stated that they decided to have a preservation master plan designed after the introduction of the interpretive programming. It was after the implementation of interpretive programming that they realized they needed a plan to guide them in the preservation of the site.

Enhanced “Sense of Place” within the Community due to the Resurrection of the “Rural Cemetery” through the Introduction of Interpretive Programming”

The idea that a city, a community, a historic site, or even a cemetery can have a “sense of place” stems from the ancient Greco-Roman culture, but it is a concept that can be quickly forgotten in our contemporary world. Today many large cities and communities resemble one another due to urban sprawl, modernist architecture, and interstates that have removed much of the historic fabric of the past. The mass exodus of a large proportion of the U.S. population from cities to the suburbs after WWII had a lasting effect on the cities’ “senses of place”. This mass exodus of the population left most cities with a sense of lifelessness. As noted in Chapter Four, the lives and emotions of citizens help create a community’s “sense of place.” As the idea of preserving the history and historic fabric of our cities and communities moved to the forefront of society during the 1960s, preservationists and historical societies realized that the “rural cemetery” was a part of the community that needed to be preserved as well. It was vital that this

repository of local history and memories be saved from further neglect. One way to do this was to ensure that citizens utilize cemeteries as places for passive recreation. This thesis surveyed twenty-six “rural cemeteries” in the United States and examined three case studies to determine whether the addition of interpretation programming to “rural cemeteries” helped resurrect the “sense of place” of the cemeteries and the communities in which they are located.

All eleven of the cemeteries that responded to the survey indicated that the addition of interpretive programming had enhanced the cemetery’s “sense of place” within the community. One “rural cemetery” that responded to the survey stated:

There is no doubt that our tours and presentations have greatly increased the interest of the citizens of the community and caused a much greater “sense of place” for the cemetery in the community.

Other respondents answered “yes,” “absolutely,” and “most definitely.” One respondent reported that the tour program brought in more visitors than interments. In general, the survey responses suggest that tours and events are vital components in efforts to raise a historic cemetery’s visibility within its community, and for sustaining community-building efforts between the cemetery and the community. This suggest that increased visitation by local citizens and interest in the cemetery seem to be helping resurrect the “sense of place” that these nineteenth-century cemeteries knew during the days when they were also utilized as urban parks.

The case study and interviews suggest that the addition of interpretive programming to Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah has increased the number of visitors to the cemetery over the years. Both interviewees stated, that the number of visitors to the site had increased over the last few years and the Cemeteries Director for the City of Savannah stated there were around 735,000 visitors that came to visit the cemetery each year. The BHS stated, that the majority of visitors were tourists from out of town, and the Cemeteries Director of the City of Savannah estimated

that the out of town tourist group made up 90 percent of the visitors (Flemming 2013, Interview). Both interviewees believed that the interpretive tours had brought about a stronger “sense of place” by the local citizens.

Based on an interview with the Superintendent of Magnolia Cemetery, a mutually beneficial “sense of place” exists between the cemetery and the citizens of Charleston, but this is due more to the preservation of the city and the close-knit community of Charleston. The citizens of Charleston have been involved in historic preservation since the early twentieth century, when some of the ladies who had ancestral ties to old Charleston worked to preserve the city’s heritage. Since then, a great deal of the city has been preserved, and this has helped the citizens understand the concept behind preservation and interested them in being involved in the preservation movement. Unlike many large Southern cities, Charleston still has numerous families that have lived there for generations and who have ancestors interred at Magnolia Cemetery. These families still visit the cemetery and help maintain their cemetery lots. They are still involved in the cemetery, which helps contribute to the “sense of place” at Magnolia Cemetery.

An interview with the Director of Historic Oakland Foundation (HOF) revealed that the addition of festivals, events and historical interpretive programming have instilled a mutually beneficial “sense of place” between the cemetery and the City of Atlanta, as well as the surrounding communities. The director stated that the HOF intentionally reached out to the neighbors of the Oakland Cemetery because they wanted to involve them in its preservation. The members of the HOF are from the community, and they work as volunteers to do many tasks within the cemetery. The HOF does have a paid staff that oversees all aspects of the preservation and historical interpretation, but they could not do the work without help from the volunteers.

Oakland cemetery has a great reputation in Atlanta as a historic property that should be visited, especially as a place to learn about the history of the city.

Ways for Cemetery Owners/Nonprofits and Preservationist to Utilize the Research Presented in this Thesis

Owners of nineteenth-century cemeteries should use the information within this thesis as advice from other “rural cemetery” owners who have already worked through the process of adding interpretive programming to help preserve their cemetery as an outdoor museum. Information within the thesis can also help cemetery owners understand why their site should be considered an outdoor museum and why as such it needs to be preserved and shared with the community. The thesis can help cemetery owners understand what is involved in the process of preserving a cemetery by adding interpretive programming and give them ideas to consider and present to their boards. This information should also help cemetery owners see the benefits of adding a nonprofit organization to be in charge of raising funds to be used in the preservation of the site. It should also help them consider the idea of developing a master plan for their site that will guide their work and that of the nonprofit. A master plan can help guide them through the process of preserving the cemetery and adding interpretive programming to the site. A master plan would help the board determine whether to add interpretive programming to their cemetery in the future. If a cemetery cannot afford to have a professional preservationist on staff, they can utilize the information on interpretive programming in chapter five to understand the many different types that are available for use in their cemetery.

Just as the general public does not usually realize what a treasure trove of history and art are enclosed within the walls of the nineteenth century “rural cemetery,” it could be that a great deal of preservationists do not realize this as well. The lesson learned from this thesis for preservationists should be that these once-forgotten cemeteries are filled with history, botanical

specimens, art and architecture that need to be interpreted and shared with the community and the nation. In doing so, they are transformed into outdoor museums that rival some of the local museums within the same communities. Preservationists can use the research on the history of cemeteries to understand the transformation of cemeteries up to the Rural Cemetery Movement to help them understand the great change this movement brought to the view of death in the United States. They can use the information on interpretive programming to reinforce and build upon their existing knowledge of this type of programming for a site. They can also be encouraged to seek out this type of cemetery thus opening up a new avenue where they can practice as preservationists, whether as volunteers or staff members.

Suggestions for Future Research

Additional research that could build upon the research completed for this thesis. First, a great deal more research could focus on exploring why volunteers got involved with historic cemeteries and why they continue to stay involved. It would be beneficial to research what percentage of this group consists of lot owners and/or people who have ancestors that are interred in the cemetery verses citizens who are not related to anyone interred in the cemetery. It would also be helpful to know what percent of these volunteers are local citizens and if they are native to the area or transplants from another community or state. This type of information could then be used to reach out to similar groups of people within the surrounding communities in order to grow the nonprofit group's membership. This would give the group a larger volunteer base from which to utilize in all aspects of the work performed at the cemetery and it would increase their revenue in the form of membership dues.

Second, research could be done on the management approach of the nonprofits. In the case studies the two nonprofits approached the management of their groups in different ways and

it would be beneficial to research the rationale behind these management differences, and consider whether one approach is better than the other. It would also be helpful to learn more about the marketing strategy that nonprofits utilize to let the community know what is taking place at the cemetery. Another topic that could shed light on the thesis question is the use of endowment funds by nonprofits and cemetery owners to maintain and conserve the cemetery. Has the addition of interpretive programming helped these endowments grow, or is the growth solely due to lot sales, such as is the case at Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston, South Carolina?

A final area of research focuses on the visitors to “rural cemeteries.” A survey could be used to discover the many reasons why visitors come to the cemetery. How do the visitors learn about the cemetery? Do they utilize any of the cemetery’s online programming before visiting the cemetery? Do they take part in one of the tours or other interpretive programs at the site? How often do they visit the cemetery, and do they bring friends and family to the site? Have they ever considered becoming a member of the nonprofit and volunteering at the site? Is there anything they would change about the interpretive programming? Is so, why? This information can then be used to strengthen interpretive programming and to encourage other citizens and tourists to visit.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Survey Questions for Managers and Friends of the Cemetery

1. Is your cemetery a private cemetery managed by trustees, or a municipal cemetery?
2. When was the cemetery designed and opened and who was the designer, if known?
3. What are the greatest challenges in managing the cemetery?
4. What interpretive programs or events have been added to the cemetery and when?
5. Was a historic preservation plan completed before the addition of the interpretive programs? If so, what was the relationship between the preservation plan and the interpretive programs?
6. What elements within the cemetery are being interpreted? (e.g. headstones, funerary elements, horticulture, etc.)
7. Are the interpretive programs geared for all ages?
8. Are any of the interpretive elements presented in a provocative way so that the visitor leaves with an enduring emotional and intellectual connection to the cemetery?
9. Has the addition of these interpretive elements increased the number of visitors to the cemetery, and if it has, approximately by what percentage has visitation increased?
10. Are visitors mostly local citizens, or tourists from outside the local community?

11. Does the cemetery have tours for the schoolchildren from your community?
12. In your view, has the addition of the interpretive programs brought about a stronger sense of place for the cemetery by the citizens within your community?
13. Are any of the tombstones and or sculptures designed by famous architects or artists, and if so who are these designers?
14. Is there a tomb or monument that is visited more often than the others? If so, what is it?
15. Do the interpreters use the symbolism and art of the monuments to tell the stories of the cemetery?
16. What was the management's goal in adding interpretation to the cemetery?
17. How and by whom was the interpretive program developed?
18. Has the addition of interpretive programs helped to increase revenue for the cemetery?
19. How do you raise funds to help in the restoration of monuments and graves?
20. What advice would you give a cemetery manager who wants to start an interpretive program in their cemetery?

Appendix B

John Muir described Bonaventure graveyard thus:

There is but little to be seen on the way in land, water, or sky, that would lead one to hope for the glories of Bonaventure. The ragged desolate fields, on both sides of the road, are overrun with coarse rank weeds, and show scarce a trace of cultivation. But soon all is changed. Rickety log huts, broken fences, and the last patch of weedy rice-stubble are left behind. You come to beds of purple liatris and living wild-wood trees. You hear the song of birds, cross a small stream, and are with Nature in the grand old forest graveyard, so beautiful that almost any sensible person would choose to dwell here with the dead rather than with the lazy, disorderly living.

Part of the grounds was cultivated and planted with live-oak, about a hundred years ago, by a wealthy gentleman who had his country residence here. But much the greater part is undisturbed. Even those spots which are disordered by art, Nature is ever at work to reclaim, and to make them look as if the foot of man had never known them. Only a small plot of ground is occupied with graves and the old mansion is in ruins. (see appendix B for full quote)

The most conspicuous glory of Bonaventure is its noble avenue of live-oaks. They are the most magnificent planted trees I have ever seen, about fifty feet high and perhaps three or four feet in diameter, with broad spreading leafy heads. The main branches reach out horizontally until they come together over the driveway, embowering it throughout its entire length, while each branch is adorned like a garden with ferns, flowers, grasses, and dwarf palmettos.

But of all the plants of these curious tree-gardens the most striking and characteristic is the so-called Long Moss (*Tillandsia usneoides*). It drapes all the branches from top to bottom, hanging in long silvery-gray skeins, reaching a length of not less than eight or ten feet, and when slowly waving in the wind they produce a solemn funereal effect singularly impressive.

There are also thousands of smaller trees and clustered bushes, covered almost from sight in the glorious brightness of their own light. The place is half surrounded by the salt marshes and islands of the river, their reeds and sedges making a delightful fringe. Many bald eagles roost among the trees along the side of the marsh. Their screams are heard every morning, joined with the noise of crows and the songs of countless warblers, hidden deep in their dwellings of leafy bowers. Large flocks of butterflies, flies, all kinds of happy insects, seem to be in

a perfect fever of joy and sportive gladness. The whole place seems like a center of life. The dead do not reign there alone.

Bonaventure to me is one of the most impressive assemblages of animal and plant creatures I ever met. I was fresh from the Western prairies, the garden-like openings of Wisconsin, the beech and maple and oak woods of Indiana and Kentucky, the dark mysterious Savannah cypress forests; but never since I was allowed to walk the woods have I found so impressive a company of trees as the tillandsia-draped oaks of Bonaventure.

I gazed awe-stricken as one new-arrived from another world. Bonaventure is called a graveyard, a town of the dead, but the few graves are powerless in such a depth of life. The rippling of living waters, the song of birds, the joyous confidence of flowers, the calm, undisturbable grandeur of the oaks, mark this place of graves as one of the Lord's most favored abodes of life and light.

On no subject are our ideas more warped and pitiable than on death. Instead of the sympathy, the friendly union, of life and death so apparent in Nature, we are taught that death is an accident, a deplorable punishment for the oldest sin, the arch-enemy of life, etc. Town children, especially, are steeped in this death orthodoxy, for the natural beauties of death are seldom seen or taught in towns.

Of death among our own species, to say nothing of the thousand styles and modes of murder, our best memories, even among happy deaths, yield groans and tears, mingled with morbid exultation; burial companies, black in cloth and countenance; and, last of all, a black box burial in an ill-omened place, haunted by imaginary glooms and ghosts of every degree. Thus death becomes fearful, and the most notable and incredible thing heard around a death-bed is, "I fear not to die."

But let children walk with Nature, let them see the beautiful blendings and communions of death and life, their joyous inseparable unity, as taught in woods and meadows, plains and mountains and streams of our blessed star, and they will learn that death is stingless indeed, and as beautiful as life, and that the grave has no victory, for it never fights. All is divine harmony.

Most of the few graves of Bonaventure are planted with flowers. There is generally a magnolia at the head, near the strictly erect marble, a rose-bush or two at the foot, and some violets and showy exotics along the sides or on the tops. All is enclosed by a black iron railing, composed of rigid bars that might have been spears or bludgeons from a battlefield in Pandemonium .

It is interesting to observe how assiduously Nature seeks to remedy these labored art blunders. She corrodes the iron and marble, and gradually levels the hill which is always heaped up, as if a sufficiently heavy quantity of clods Could not be laid on the dead. Arching grasses come one by one; seeds come flying on downy

wings, silent as fate, to give life's dearest beauty for the ashes of art; and strong evergreen arms laden with ferns and tillandsia drapery are spread over all -- Life at work everywhere, obliterating all memory of the confusion of man (Muir 1916, Chapter 4).