
LAWRENCE HISTORIC RESOURCES COMMISSION
ITEM NO. 3: L-16-00121
STAFF REPORT

A. SUMMARY

L-16-00121 Public hearing for consideration of placing Oak Hill Cemetery located at 1605 Oak Hill Avenue on the Lawrence Register of Historic Places. Adopt Resolution 2016-07, if appropriate. Submitted by the Historic Resources Administrator at the direction of the Lawrence City Commission and the Lawrence Historic Resources Commission for the city of Lawrence, the property owner of record.

The public hearing for the nomination of the structure to the Lawrence Register of Historic Places will be held at 6:30 p.m., or thereafter, at Lawrence City Hall, 6 E 6th Street, in the City Commission Room.

Legal Description:

THE SOUTHWEST QUARTER OF THE SOUTHEAST QUARTER OF SECTION 32, TOWNSHIP 12 SOUTH, RANGE 20 EAST, OF THE SIXTH PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN, LAWRENCE, DOUGLAS COUNTY, KANSAS. ALSO, BEGINNING AT AN IRON PIN IN THE EAST LINE OF AND 46 FEET SOUTH OF THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE SOUTHEAST QUARTER OF THE SOUTHWEST QUARTER OF SAID SECTION 32; THENCE WEST 168 FEET TO AN IRON PIN; THENCE SOUTH PARALLEL WITH SAID EAST LINE 761.5 FEET TO AN IRON PIN ON THE NORTH LINE OF OAKHILL AVENUE; THENCE SOUTH 78°56' EAST ON SAID LINE OF OAKHILL AVENUE, 171.25 FEET TO AN IRON PIN IN THE EAST LINE OF SAID QUARTER SECTION; THENCE NORTH 793.75 FEET ON SAID LINE TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING. ALSO, BEGINNING AT THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE SOUTHWEST QUARTER OF SAID SECTION 32; THENCE NORTH 409 FEET TO THE SOUTH LINE OF CEMETERY ROAD; THENCE ALONG THE SOUTH LINE OF SAID ROAD IN A WESTERLY DIRECTION 207 FEET TO A STAKE; THENCE SOUTH 448 FEET; THENCE EAST 203¾ FEET TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING. THESE DESCRIBED PROPERTIES CONTAIN 45 ACRES, MORE OR LESS, ALL IN THE CITY OF LAWRENCE, DOUGLAS COUNTY, KANSAS.

ALSO: BEGINNING 38 RODS (627 FEET) EAST OF THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE SOUTHEAST QUARTER OF SECTION 32, TOWNSHIP 12 SOUTH, RANGE 20 EAST, OF THE SIXTH PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN, DOUGLAS COUNTY, KANSAS; THENCE SOUTH 80 RODS (1320 FEET); THENCE EAST 22 RODS (363 FEET); THENCE NORTH 36 RODS (594 FEET) TO THE SOUTH BOUNDARY OF THE RIGHT-OF-WAY HERETOFORE GRANTED TO THE SAINT LOUIS, LAWRENCE & DENVER RAILROAD (NOW THE ATCHISON TOPEKA & SANTA FE RAILWAY COMPANY); THENCE ALONG THE SOUTH BOUNDARY OF SAID RIGHT-OF-WAY OF SAID RAILWAY COMPANY TO A POINT 12 FEET EAST OF THE FIRST MENTIONED NORTH & SOUTH LINE; THENCE NORTH TO THE NORTH LINE OF SAID SOUTHEAST QUARTER OF SAID SECTION 32; THENCE WEST 12 FEET TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING. CONTAINING 5.9 ACRES OF LAND, MORE OR LESS, IN DOUGLAS COUNTY, KANSAS.

B. HISTORIC REGISTER STATUS

Oak Hill Cemetery located at 1605 Oak Hill Avenue is not listed in any historic register.

C. REVIEW CONSIDERATIONS

1) History Summary

Early in 1865, the city purchased a forty acre site east of downtown for a new cemetery. By the summer of 1865, Holland Wheeler had platted the property and the city offered 250 lots for sale. The proceeds from the sale of lots were to pay for the survey and fencing of the property. Instead of a simple cemetery like the existing Oread (Pioneer) Cemetery, Lawrence's City Council wanted a rural cemetery which was a growing trend in cemetery development in the mid-late 1800's. The concept of rural cemeteries included trees, graceful paths, and open space for the public to gather. During 1866, the city council paid for a well at the cemetery, completed an addition to a house for the sexton, and fenced the property. In 1867 the city started buying trees for the cemetery. The cemetery was officially named "Oak Hill Cemetery" on January 1, 1868. Quantrill's Raid victims were re-interred in Oak Hill from the original city cemetery in 1872. In 1876, Levi Weltz, a landscape architect from Wilmington, Ohio was hired to complete the cemetery design. When the final plan was presented to the city council in July of 1877, Holland Wheeler publicly revealed his displeasure with Weltz's design. In December, city council minutes note that the Weltz plan was rejected and recommended that a new plat for the cemetery be created. An 1889 petition to the city council identifies that a "Potters Field" existed in the cemetery and additional land was needed to support this part of the cemetery use. Water was also installed in 1889, and by 1900, a sidewalk from downtown existed.

2) Architectural Integrity Summary

While there are significant structures and monuments in the cemetery, its integrity as a planned landscaped property is also significant. The design of this outdoor public area included landmarks, plantings, objects, and structures to achieve an aesthetic outcome. The elements of artistic and architectural style embodied in sculptural monuments and the mausoleums are indicative of the era in which they were erected. Oak Hill Cemetery also represents the changing attitudes about death and burial, trends in community planning, aesthetic taste and choices, and historic events such as episodes of settlement.

Oak Hill Cemetery contains some "high style" works of funerary art. In addition, it is a distinguishable entity made up of a significant array of gravemarkers and monuments that represent the common artistic values of historic periods. Some of the elaborate monuments in the cemetery are characteristic of cemeteries of the Victorian era and were derived from the influence of the romantic movement in literature and art. Mausoleums and tapering shafts on pedestals are located in the cemetery that were also part of the popular rural cemetery movement. The receiving vault (also called the holding vault and designed by Holland Wheeler sometime after 1866) is an example of an Egyptian revival monument associated with Egyptian sepulchral monuments that signified eternal life. Obelisks, which were widely used in cemeteries, are also found in the cemetery as gravemarkers and help to create the cemetery landscape. In addition to these types of objects, the cemetery also contains imagery that is figural, encompassing effigies and idealized figures as well as lambs, cherubs, and other orders of angels.

Although some alterations have been made to the cemetery and it continues to be an active cemetery, it maintains integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship to make it worthy of preservation.

3) Context Description

The resources or types of properties relating to mortuary customs in the United States and its associated territories vary from region to region and age to age according to prevailing spiritual beliefs and methods of caring for the dead. Oak Hill is a park-like "rural" cemetery of the 19th century. It can provide insight to the cultural values of preceding generations of the people of Lawrence. As a formal cemetery, the collections of mausoleums, sculptures, and markers possess artistic and architectural significance. In addition, the location of the cemetery as well as the location of the grave markers, landscaping, and other physical attributes contribute to the context and significance of the cemetery.

The land for Oak Hill was purposely selected for its rural location and the ability to landscape the area in the rural cemetery design. The cemetery was over a mile from Massachusetts Street and the area between the town and the cemetery was primarily farmland. The approximately 160 acre J. G. Haskell farm was adjacent to the west side of the cemetery.

Currently, the areas surrounding the cemetery are a combination of residential and agricultural uses and patterns.

4) Planning and Zoning Considerations

Oak Hill Cemetery is zoned OS, Open Space District. The primary purpose of the OS District is to preserve and enhance major open space and recreational areas by protecting the natural amenities they possess and by accommodating development that is compatible with those natural amenities.

The properties to the north and east are located outside the city limits and have county zoning A for Agriculture District. The property to the northwest is zoned OS like the cemetery. The properties to the west and south are all zoned residential.

Prior to the adoption of the 2006 Development Code, the cemetery was zoned for residential development.

5) Fiscal Comments

There are no monetary benefits directly associated with nomination of a structure to the Lawrence Register of Historic Places at this time. However, Chapter 22 of the Code of the City of Lawrence does identify mechanisms for financial incentives. If these programs become available in the future, structures listed on the Lawrence Register will be eligible for participation.

Listing on the local register does help preserve built resources important to Lawrence's history and helps to maintain streetscapes in older neighborhoods through environs reviews.

The original information submitted with nominations for properties to the Lawrence Register is kept on file in the City Planning office for public review and consultation with regard to development projects within the notification area.

6) Positive/Negative Effects of the Designation

The positive effect of designation is the creation of a permanent record of the historical significance of an

individual property, for its architectural quality or its association with a significant local individual or event. This provides the local Historic Resources Commission with pertinent historical data which can help to provide an 'historic' perspective to property owners when they desire to improve, add on, or redevelop a property within an older section of the City.

The public accessibility of this information is also a resource as it can be used by realtors, builders/developers, and others in the community prior to a property's resale, redevelopment or rehabilitation. In a more general sense, this information can be used by the Chamber of Commerce and existing businesses and industries to 'identify' one of the facets that makes up Lawrence's *Quality of Living*.

Additional effects of designation are the creation of an arbitrary, 250' environs notification and review area. Within this 250' circle, projects which require city permits, e.g., demolition, redevelopment, renovation or modification, require review by Historic Resources staff or the Commission. These environs reviews permit scrutiny of proposed development/redevelopment by individuals sensitive to historic preservation.

A *Certificate of Appropriateness* or a *Certificate of Economic Hardship* is required to be issued by the Historic Resources Commission before a City permit can be issued for the proposed project. If the Historic Resources Commission denies a *Certificate of Appropriateness* or a *Certificate of Economic Hardship*, the property owner can appeal to the City Commission for a new hearing. The City Commission can uphold the decision of the HRC or it can grant the proposed development over the Historic Resources Commission's action. Certificates of Appropriateness or Economic Hardship are required for a project within the 250' radius of a Local Register property.

Examples of projects which would require review and approval are: projects involving the alterations of buildings and monuments which are considered 'structural' changes, demolitions or partial demolitions. Minor changes which require a city permit can be administratively approved by the Historic Resources Administrator.

7) Summary of Applicable Designation Criteria

Chapter 22, of the City Code is the *Conservation of Historic Resources Code* for the City of Lawrence. Section 22-403 of this code establishes criteria for the evaluation of an application for nomination to the Lawrence Register of Historic Places.

D. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION AND DESIGNATION - Section 22-403

Nine criteria are provided within this section for review and determination of qualification as a Landmark or Historic District. These criteria are set forth below with staff's recommendations as to which this application qualifies for:

(1) Its character, interest, or value as part of the development, heritage or cultural characteristics of the community, county, state, or nation;

Oak Hill Cemetery provides insight to the cultural values of preceding generations of the people of Lawrence. The location of the cemetery as well as the location of the grave markers, landscaping, and other physical attributes contribute to the context and significance of the cemetery.

- (2) Its location as a site of a significant local, county, state, or national event;*
- (3) Its identification with a person or persons who significantly contributed to the development of the community, county, state, or nation;*
- (4) Its embodiment of distinguishing characteristics of an architectural style valuable for the study of a period, type, method of construction, or use of indigenous materials;*
- (5) Its identification as a work of a master builder, designer, architect, or landscape architect whose individual work has influenced the development of the community, county, state or nation;*
- (6) Its embodiment of elements of design, detailing, materials, or craftsmanship that render it architecturally significant;***

The planned architectural landscape design elements of Oak Hill Cemetery embody the essence of the rural cemetery movement and make it one of the most significant historic architectural landscapes in the city.

- (7) Its embodiment of design elements that make it structurally or architecturally innovative;*

(8) Its unique location or singular physical characteristics that make it an established or familiar visual feature;

The land for Oak Hill Cemetery was purposely selected for its rural location and the ability to landscape the area in the rural cemetery design. The landscape features and characteristics of the property created an ideal property to create a visual impact from the original walk from downtown. This familiar visual impact continues today with the significant change in landscape along E 15th Street.

- (9) Its character as a particularly fine or unique example of a utilitarian structure; including, but not limited to farmhouses, gas stations, or other commercial structures, with a high level of integrity or architectural significance.*

The HISTORIC RESOURCES CODE establishes a procedure to follow in the forwarding of a recommendation to the City Commission on applications for listing on the local register.

"Following the hearing the commission shall adopt by resolution a recommendation to be submitted to the city commission for either (a) designation as a landmark or historic district; (b) not to designate as a landmark or historic district; or, (c) not to make a recommendation. The resolution shall be accompanied by a report to the city commission containing the following information:

The Historic Resources Commission needs to formulate its recommendation in response to the following subsections section 22-404.2 (b):

- (1) Explanation of the significance or lack of significance of the nominated landmark or historic district as it relates to the criteria for designation as set forth in section 22-403;*
- (2) Explanation of the integrity or lack of integrity of the nominated landmark or historic district;*
- (3) In the case of a nominated landmark found to meet the criteria for designation:*
 - (A) The significant exterior architectural features of the nominated landmark that should*

- be protected; and,*
- (B) The types of construction, alteration, demolition, and removal, other than those requiring a building or demolition permit, that cannot be undertaken without obtaining a certificate of appropriateness.*
- (4) In the case of a nominated historic district found to meet the criteria for designation:*
 - (A) The types of significant exterior architectural features of the structures within the nominated historic district that should be protected;*
 - (B) The types of construction, alteration, demolition, and removal, other than those requiring a building or demolition permit, that cannot be undertaken without obtaining a certificate of appropriateness.*
 - (C) A list of all key contributing, contributing and noncontributing sites, structures and objects within the historic district.*
 - (5) Proposed design guidelines for applying the criteria for review of certificates of appropriateness to the nominated landmark or historic district.*
 - (6) The relationship of the nominated landmark or historic district to the on-going effort of the commission to identify and nominate all potential areas and structures that meet the criteria for designation.*
 - (7) A map showing the location of the nominated landmark or the boundaries of the nominated historic district.*

E. RECOMMENDATION:

Staff recommends Oak Hill Cemetery, located at 1605 Oak Hill Avenue, for designation as a Landmark on the Lawrence Register of Historic Places pursuant to Criteria #1, #6, and #8 as described in Section 22-403.

If the Historic Resources Commission recommends this property for local nomination, the Commission should adopt a resolution for recommendation to be submitted to the City Commission for designation as a landmark. In addition to the resolution, the Commission should direct staff to prepare a report to accompany the resolution including the information set forth in Section 22-404.2(1) - (7) and the environs definition.

Staff recommends the following for the report to the City Commission:

- (1) Explanation of the significance or lack of significance of the nominated landmark or historic district as it relates to the criteria for designation as set forth in section 22-403;*

Oak Hill Cemetery is significant for its landscape architecture and for its association with the growth and development of the City of Lawrence.

- (2) Explanation of the integrity or lack of integrity of the nominated landmark or historic district;*

The property maintains significant integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship that make it worthy of preservation.

- (3) In the case of a nominated landmark found to meet the criteria for designation:*
 - (A) The significant exterior architectural features of the nominated landmark that should*

be protected; and,

Historic landscapes present a unique challenge for preservation efforts. The significant details are often not specific aspects but the landscape as a whole. The overall design with the existing historic pathways/drives should be protected. Landscape features such as the center mound should be protected. As much as possible, plantings should be protected and reinstalled as necessary to keep the rural cemetery design. Historic markers, mausoleums, and monuments should be protected.

- (B) *The types of construction, alteration, demolition, and removal, other than those requiring a building or demolition permit that cannot be undertaken without obtaining a certificate of appropriateness.*

Most activities in the cemetery will not require a Certificate of Appropriateness as they are related to maintenance and continued use as an active cemetery. Only new construction, significant alterations of the historic patterns and historic objects, and demolition should require a Certificate of Appropriateness.

- (5) *Proposed design guidelines for applying the criteria for review of certificates of appropriateness to the nominated landmark or historic district.*

U.S. Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation, published in 1990, and any future amendments, in addition to any criteria specified by Chapter 22 of the Code of the City of Lawrence, Kansas.

The HRC may also adopt ***An Analysis of the Environs for Oak Hill Cemetery located at 1605 Oak Hill Avenue*** and delineate how environs review will be conducted in relation to the listed property.

- (6) *The relationship of the nominated landmark or historic district to the on-going effort of the commission to identify and nominate all potential areas and structures that meet the criteria for designation.*

A primary goal of the HRC is to build a Register of properties which show the diversity and growth of Lawrence since its inception. The nomination of this property is another step toward registering a wide variety of historic properties which together present a visual history of Lawrence's past. The goal of the Lawrence Register of Historic Places is to represent all socioeconomic strata; businesses and industries which illustrate the diversity that has been prevalent in Lawrence since its inception.

- (7) *A map showing the location of the nominated landmark.*
See attached

OAK HILL CEMETERY
AND THE
RURAL CEMETERY MOVEMENT

Cathy Ambler

April 1990

Most research papers would probably never get done without the help of other people. Jean Snedeger, author of the *Complete Tombstone Census of Douglas County*, provided my initial introduction to Leo Weltz. Penni Porter at the city hall graciously let me read the necessary city council minutes. The reference librarians at the Lawrence Public Library let me in the microfilm room with cheerful smiles and encouragement. Don Shull, Sexton of Oak Hill Cemetery told me about Holland Wheeler, III, living in Kansas City. Holland Wheeler, III, provided information about his father. Steve Jansen, Director of Watkins Community Museum read my paper and offered many helpful additions to clarify the text. Judith Major, professor in the School of Architecture sparked my interest in the subject. Any mistakes and omissions are mine alone.

Cathy Ambler

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Mount Auburn



Introduction

As natural elements of our cultural history and city landscape, little attention is paid to cemeteries. Yet cemeteries are part of our history where man has acted in some way upon the land leaving a cultural message. We interpret these acts by man, be it the arranged landscape set aside for burial, or the tombstone itself which sits upon the land, as artifacts that provide this cultural message.

By looking at the development of Oak Hill Cemetery as a part of the history of Lawrence, we can learn about city leaders, what was important to its citizens and the problems with which they lived. Oak Hill's development is particularly important when viewed in the context of Quantrill's raid, of frontier town promotion and survival, and of the sentiments about the Civil War. This history, along with an understanding of the phenomena of Rural cemetery development in the United States, will help us understand what place the history of Oak Hill has in this movement.¹

Part I of this paper is a brief history of events that have had a significant impact on the development and popularity of the Rural cemetery movement. Part II of this paper is a history of Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence, Kansas in the context of frontier town development. Part III is a discussion of Oak Hill and the Rural cemetery movement in its relationship to Lawrence.

¹ The use of the capitalized "R" in rural will be maintained to help the reader differentiate between this movement, which could more rightly be called the garden cemetery movement, and rural as opposed to urban.

PART I

Historical Background

The establishment of Mount Auburn Cemetery (1831) just outside of Boston is used to identify the beginning of the Rural cemetery movement in the United States. But the process of change, as evidenced in the treatment of burials, and establishment of Rural cemeteries, happened over many years and should be viewed as a part of the historical continuum, not by the occurrence of specific events.² Change in history can be evidenced in new trends or ideas that have a long term impact. The Romantic period, the era of naturalism, the spread of disease, and changes in the cityscape brought on by industrialization all affected man's viewpoint of death, as well as his viewpoint of himself.³ The following descriptions of trends and ideas provide the context for the thoughts and actions that resulted in the Rural cemetery movement.⁴

Industrial Revolution

Beginning about 1750, in Britain, machines were being developed for the mass production of textiles. The Industrial Revolution was not just an industrial factory movement, but was accompanied by spectacular transformations in transportation and communication. As mass production machines were being developed in Britain, the United States was still being

² This is aptly pointed out in Richard Becherer's article "Placing the Dead: Burial Sites in Early Boston and Beyond," *Modulus* 17, (1984).

³ It is helpful to understand the background of the Rural cemetery movement and some scholars that have discussed events within the movement. Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution," David E. Stannard, ed., *Death in America*, (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1975) and David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History," in *Journal of Garden History* 4 (1984) are two that are good at significant events in the movement.

⁴ See Appendix A for a time line that includes both national and international events.

supported primarily by a farming economy. By 1791, however, the US had seventeen different kinds of manufacturing enterprises.⁵

Part of the factory system was an increasingly acute labor problem. Manufacturing had always been a part of home activity before factories, and factories took away the companionship and sharing of labor in the home and established the impersonal ownership of stuffy factories in "spindle cities." Hours for workers were long, wages low, working conditions abysmal and living conditions for women and children were notorious.

Rise of Capitalism

To purchase expensive machinery for factories, investors needed large concentrations of capital for investment. This need caused necessary changes in the form and status of business organizations so that entrepreneurs could build these concentrations of capital. Fifteen Boston families formed one of the earliest and most powerful joint capital ventures, the Boston Associates. They came to dominate the textile industry, the railroad, insurance and banking businesses in all of Massachusetts. The state of New York gave a powerful boost to capitalism with its General Incorporation Law. Business men were allowed to create corporations if they complied with the terms of the law. Before, they had to apply for charters from the legislature. Free incorporation statutes reflected Jacksonian times and these statutes were copied widely in other states.

The rise of capitalism also brought an increase in speculation in land and railroads. The panic in 1837 was brought on in part, by over speculation. Gamblers in western lands were doing business on borrowed capital and the speculative craze spread to canals, roads, railroads and slaves. Hardship was

⁵ Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant*, (Lexington: D. C. Heath & Company, 1983), 275. Much of the following brief history will come from this general American History book.

acute and widespread as banks collapsed, factories closed their doors, and workers were unemployed.

Transportation and Communication

Travel in the 1790's was fairly difficult. Roads were often muddy pits and wet or dry it took a long time to get anywhere. The Lancaster turnpike in Pennsylvania was a sixty-two mile hard surfaced highway and its completion spurred a turnpike boom for the next twenty years. In 1811, the National Road was started and was a stimulant to American prosperity. It made freight carrying cheaper and faster and moved immigrants to new settlements over the Allegheny Mountains. This road was important as symbolic of the age of rapid land transportation.

Steamboats overlap the period of turnpike development and this means of transportation became extremely successful. By 1820, there were some sixty steamboats on the Mississippi River. Steamboats played a vital role in the opening of the West and South by carrying supplies and settlers. Canals were being dug all over the northeastern part of the United States but their popularity was soon eclipsed by the railroads.

The famous race between the Tom Thumb and a horse drawn car was staged in 1830. By 1860, 30,000 miles of railroad track had been laid in the United States, most of which was located in the industrializing North. Regardless of the obstacles and problems the beginning railroads had, this means of transportation became the web that bound the nation together economically. For Kansas, the history of town development and survival is a story of the development of the railroads.

Another means of communication, the telegraph, developed by Samuel F. B. Morse was well on its way to linking the entire United States together for near

instant communication. By 1844, forty miles of line had been strung between Washington and Baltimore.

Population Growth

The revolutionary advances in manufacturing and transportation brought increased prosperity in general, but they also made the differences much wider between the social classes. No place was this more evident than in the cities. Unskilled workers fared the worst.

The growth of cities and the change of the cityscape was effected by both population growth and by the building of factories. The stress on the cities infrastructure from swelling population showed in the development of slums, inadequate policing, impure water, foul sewage, and rats.

The population of the United States was growing at an amazing rate. In 1790, there had been only two cities that were 20,000 or more: Philadelphia and New York. By 1860 there were forty-three and about 300 other cities with over 5,000 inhabitants.

Immigration was helping swell the population and the number of Germans and Irish immigrants tripled from the 1830's to 1840's and quadrupled from the 40's to the 50's. During these twenty years, three million German and Irish immigrants landed on the shores of the United States.

Reform and Culture

The temperance movement was astir, and in 1826, the American Temperance Society was formed in Boston. Temperance crusaders were active and had varying degrees of success but by 1857, several states had passed various prohibition laws.

Women were on the move for women's rights. Susan B. Anthony from Leavenworth, Kansas was among those leading the movement. Other kinds of

reform were tried, from societies against tobacco, to new living experiments in communism and socialism.

The arts had suffered under the Puritan belief that the arts were sinful wastes of time and often obscene. But in the early 1800's, culture and good taste were being defined in art, music, and, literature. In art, for example, the Hudson River School excelled in the romantic local landscapes. Music was becoming more popular in the home and there was a mid-century boom in the manufacture of pianos.

The golden age of American literature and the flowering of transcendentalism began. The transcendentalists rejected the idea that all knowledge must come through the senses and believed that truth transcends the senses and every man possesses an inner light that can illuminate the highest truth and put him in direct touch with God. This belief manifested itself in individualism and self-reliance, self-culture, and self-discipline and dignity of the individual. These traits bred hostility to authority and to formal institutions, and hence, their beliefs became the basis for many humanitarian reforms. The more famous of these writers are Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman.

Age of Jacksonian Democracy

By the 1820's, styles of governance had shifted away from anything associated with the aristocracy to more democratic ideals. The election of 1828 proved that more common people were voting and voter turnouts rose dramatically in following elections. Jackson embodied many traits popular with common people such as individualism, versatility, opportunism, energy, and directness and was a popular folk hero.

Age of Romanticism

Romanticism was a movement that grew from reaction to the dominant attitudes of the eighteenth century. The Romantics stressed the examination of

inner feelings and emotions and the use of imagination rather than the use of reason and logic. They were interested in nature and its mysteries and in the supernatural. Often the Romantics sought inspiration and understanding through the observation and contemplation of nature. Nature had been traditionally viewed as something to fear and distrust as a hostile and malign force. In Europe the new trend towards a benevolent and beautiful nature could be seen in the landscape paintings of John Constable. The belief that the landscape could provide a message of comfort and elevate the emotions became a common theme among writers who touted the benefits of the Rural cemetery.

One of the tenets of Romanticism was that natural scenery had a positive impact on the mind. This concept was stated most adeptly in a book called *Solitude Considered*, by a Johann Georg van Zimmermann, a Swiss physician and author. He was separated from his family and found relief only in taking walks in a garden laid out in a naturalistic manner. He advised his readers to seek solitude in nature where they could forget the pains of their troubled hearts. His ideas were widely accepted in the United States and several editions of his book were published here between 1796 and 1840.⁶ Thoreau shared many of the same sentiments.

Evidence of Change

Views about Graveyards

Events are noted as early as the 1660s in England that show changes from traditional churchyard burials to cemeteries. Protestantism was emerging; the

⁶ David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, (1986), 40.

cult of the individual was developing from influences of Renaissance thinking, and the communal charnel houses⁷ were being discouraged.

A religious group in England, the Dissenters, did not want to be buried in consecrated ground of the parish churchyards nor did they want to pay the fees for burial to the established Church. Their cemetery was designated as a cemetery for those struck down by pestilence as early as 1665 so it had been in existence before then. Christopher Wren argued for large cemeteries outside of towns in 1666 after the London fire, and he argued for cemeteries where fine monuments could be erected that were designed by the best architects and sculptors of the period.⁸ There are many other examples of sites where early modern cemeteries were laid out, in India, England, Ireland, and Italy for example.

In the early eighteenth century, landscape gardens in England added new concepts to ideas about cemeteries and these ideas later spread to the United States. These gardens departed from the ways of their predecessors as they tended to move away from very formalized settings. However, these gardens were still associated with death and commemoration. The tomb was placed in the garden setting and acquired a claim to more space and meaning.⁹ Examples of these are the gardens at Howard Castle with their family mausoleum and pyramid (1728), and Alexander Pope's Cypress Grove at Twickenham with its commemorative obelisk to his mother (worked on by Pope from 1710 to 1744).¹⁰

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, idealized classical landscapes were no longer popular as the interest in the classical had been

⁷ The bones of individuals were frequently dug up and stored together in common vault. This was done so that the ground could be used for more than individual burials.

⁸ James Steven Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons (1980), 136.

⁹ Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, (1984), 163.

¹⁰ Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 172, 175.

superseded by interest in English landscapes and in ornamental horticulture.¹¹ But by now, the tomb had been placed in the garden setting.

In contrast to the changes toward naturalism in Europe, American cemetery designers adopted the imagery of the picturesque¹² garden and promoted the classical idealism of the eighteenth-century English and French picturesque parks.

Conditions in the Churchyard

The standard placement of burials in New England from the beginning of settlement was among the living, usually in the middle of towns in churchyards or in churches. The town commons were frequently used as graveyards. The Puritan view of the body was as a husk that contained the soul. Once the soul was gone, the body was paid little attention.¹³ The neglected graveyard was common until about 1820 when people began to complain about the revolting condition of burial places. Burial grounds were full and because bodies were allowed to be buried in layers, conditions were extremely bad. Focusing on these burial ground conditions tended to create a general theme on the finality of death and the horrors of decomposition.¹⁴

Churchyards and graveyards were also overcrowded, neglected and insecure. The older residential neighborhoods had declined in the face of industrialism and churches followed their congregations as they migrated to the expanding edges of the city. In 1824, the Boston city council passed a resolution forbidding any further burial within the ancient peninsula of Boston for reasons

¹¹ Margaretta J. Darnall, "The American Cemetery as Picturesque Landscape," *Winterthur Portfolio* 18 (1983), 251.

¹² This is a term with complex meaning used during this time period. Other sources should be consulted for an indepth discussion of its significance.

¹³ Jules Zanger, "Mt. Auburn Cemetery: The Silent Suburbs," *Landscape* 24 (1980), 23.

¹⁴ French, *The Cemetery as Cultural Institution*, 71.

of public health.¹⁵ The sordid conditions of graveyards were a reality. The practice of moving bodies and bones to make more room made it impossible for relatives to visit dead family or friends.

It was believed in the beginning of the nineteenth century that any decaying matter gave off noxious, colorless fumes called miasma, and that was detrimental to the health of those in proximity and threatened the public's health. This argument was used especially after a yellow fever epidemic in 1822, as graveyards were cited as the cause or a contributing factor to the disease.¹⁶ It was argued that Rural cemeteries would allow the miasma to dissipate in the air and not affect the living. The American Medical Association's Committee on Public Hygiene concluded in 1849 that trees absorb deleterious gases and this helped justify the removal of cemeteries to landscaped areas some distance from the crowded city.¹⁷

The Industrial Cityscape

Another strong impact on the development of Rural cemeteries was the changing cityscape caused by industrialism. When the Lowell Rural cemetery was established in 1841, the address given by Rev. Amos Blanchard revealed a great deal about the effects of industrialism on his city. He characterized Lowell, and by implication other American cities, as cities of strangers. He characterized life in the city as impersonal, ever in flux, and more concerned with the next commercial opportunity than with proper roots of community life. Urban living seemed more like hotel life than the traditional community of his fond memory.

Blanchard's generation was disturbed when they discovered that even the bones of the dead were not safe from the next wave of residential and industrial

¹⁵ Jules Zanger, *Mt. Auburn Cemetery: The Silent Suburb*, 24.

¹⁶ Naomi R. Remes, "The Rural Cemetery," *Nineteenth Century* 5 (Winter 1979), 52-53.

¹⁷ Schuyler, *The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery*, 293.

expansion or financial promotion.¹⁸ The demand for urban space made land set aside for burials economically desirable; bodies were moved to cheaper property. The desecration of bodies by laborers clearing a cemetery in Philadelphia caused a fight. In response to urban growth, Rural cemetery promoters located their cemeteries a safe distance from the cities and added provisions to their charters guaranteeing the permanence of burial.¹⁹

As the nation became more urbanized, those Americans who had moved from the country to the city tended to romanticize nature. As the urban environment became more commercial, hurried and problem laden, a change of scenery close by reminiscent of their rural past became a necessity as a counterbalance to the industrialized community. Rural cemeteries were seen as sanctuaries within an urban-industrial society.

Views of Death

Views about death were changing and also contributed to the rise of Rural cemeteries. The Puritan's view of death had been that death was divine punishment for the inherent depravity and willful sinfulness of man. Death could open the way to hell, and only by the grace of God could one be saved. Not knowing whether or not they had been given God's grace, Puritans lived in hope that death might lead them to heaven. The fear of death was kept alive because it could point out mortality, sinfulness, and the need to prepare for the coming of God's grave. The Puritans lived with a constant awareness of death as they felt that this awareness could enhance the quality of their lives. They also believed that the time of death was also the time of judgement, that body was a husk and it was to be interred without ceremony. Any gathering after death was

¹⁸ Bender, *The Rural Cemetery Movement*, 201.

¹⁹ Schuyler, *The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery*, 293.

for the survivors.²⁰ These beliefs created a gloomy and melancholy attitude toward death.²¹

New ideas of God in the last half of the nineteenth century became more predominant and contributed to a change in man's view of death. These ideas placed God in the background and the past. He created the universe, but it was up to man to discover the natural laws by which it operated. Enlightened people did not dwell on death as had their Puritan ancestors.

Death was viewed as a natural occurrence and an essential part of the economy of nature. People approached death with a sense of self-reliance and ideally they should experience a death that was serene and stoic. Damnation did not lurk behind death for the enlightened. This was certainly a change from the Puritan view of an ever-present God with sinful people inhabiting the world. The Puritan view of death changed to a view of death that saw it as a natural process that people could eventually manipulate.²²

These ideas were not instantly accepted and the Enlightenment probably influenced politics more than it changed man's perception of his God. In fact, after 1790 a sharp reaction to radical Enlightenment ideas developed in America. The stoic response to death did not prove to be very satisfying.²³ It was when the Revolution helped spread ideas to the farms and small towns, that men began to believe in a more natural way of accounting for the world. The Revolution stood in itself as an example of men who controlled their own lives, thought new thoughts, acted on the best ideas, and liberated themselves.

²⁰ James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press (1980), 22.

²¹ Frequently cited are poems such as W. C. Bryant's "Thanatopsis" (1817) and Robert Blair's "The Grave" (1743) as evidence of this gloomy mood. These poems stressed the finality of death and the horrors of decomposition.

²² Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death*, 24-25.

²³ Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death*, 26.

The Puritan views of death became obsolete and what took its place was the view that death is no longer the end of life, but death is eternal rest. Cemeteries promised to provide a place of repose instead of a depository for dead bodies.

Romanticists' View of Death

Romanticists believed death had two meanings, that the interaction of God, humanity and nature made death the ultimate communion with the universe (the return of the person to Mother Nature) and that death was a natural occurrence. If one accepted death in the organic growth of nature and in the cycle of seasons, death was a natural and easy experience.²⁴

Other groups of Romanticists saw death as a source of the sublime. These ideas became popular when Johann Georg von Zimmermann's book *Solitude Considered* was published and his ideas spread that natural scenery had a positive impact on the mind. The use of "sublime" is frequently used to convey this meaning. Nature in this context meant elevating human emotions to peak sensitivity.²⁵ These sublime feelings were created in the cemetery where the mundane and the divine could meet.²⁶ Sublimity was the ultimate transcendental experience, whereby man could make contact with an ideal nature.²⁷

This view of heightened emotional experience increased grief for the survivors however. It heightened awareness of the emotions brought on by death and the funeral, and these feelings were eventually channeled into acceptable means for social reaction. These channels came through public

²⁴ Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death*, 32-33.

²⁵ Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death*, 33.

²⁶ Becherer p. 87.

²⁷ Becherer, *Placing the Dead: Burial Sites in Early Boston and Beyond*, Becherer cites Edmund Burke, 87.

mourning. The mourning clothes, funeral wreaths, and mourning pictures conveyed a sense of melancholy beauty. As represented in mourning pictures, the grave and memorial were located in beautiful foliage in rustic surroundings.

Rural cemeteries reflected the views held about naturalism and the erection of an elaborate monument to the memory of the departed became a well-defined social form. Sentimentality became a virtue and produced the nineteenth century style of funeral service that still persists.²⁸

When the concept of nature is understood as the Romanticists understood it, it is clear that a natural state of Nature had no place in their organization of Rural cemetery landscape. Nature, as used in cemeteries, was nature controlled and manipulated by man to achieve an effect: the picturesque. Man controlled nature and created his own art to achieve certain visual images. As was noted by one writer,

Nature under all circumstances was meant to be improved by human care; it is unnatural to leave it to itself, and the traces of art are never unwelcome, except when it defeats the purpose, and refuses to follow the suggestions of nature.²⁹

The men who planned and designed these Rural cemeteries were amateurs with horticultural and gardening backgrounds. Their creations were considered tasteful, cultured art. The contributions of art would cultivate the faculty of taste and they would serve to render the lessons of history tangible and to inspire the sentiment of patriotism.

The Views on Art, Taste, Culture and Architecture in the Rural Cemetery

Not only were views of death changing, but the nineteenth century was also a time of stylistic revivals in architecture, furniture and many art objects, whether decorative or utilitarian. These changes are reflected in Rural

²⁸ Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death*, 34.

²⁹ French, *The Cemetery as Cultural Institution*, 80.

cemeteries, for example in tomb design and cemetery gates. Egyptian, Gothic, Roman and Greek styles and various combinations of these were found in the Rural cemeteries.³⁰ Architecture was used to invoke the past. Since America was a young country and did not have a long history, it created one in the Rural cemetery through the use of ancient and medieval architectural forms.³¹ The interest in Egyptian motifs was due in part to its appeal to its sublime character and historical association. Egypt was thought to be the oldest civilization and nineteenth-century Americans admired that civilization's well-known respect for the dead.³² The goal of art in the cemetery was to stimulate a mental impression in the observer.

The types and kinds of monuments and sepulchres tell us about the "taste" that was appropriate in the Rural cemetery. Egyptian and Greek styles are found mixed together in the use of the obelisk/column grave marker. The obelisk is usually found whole, while the column is usually found in a broken or shortened form that signifies the cutting down of life. Miniature Greek and Gothic Temples were in frequent use.

Female figures in loose fitting gowns, their gazes toward heaven or cast downward, might appear with symbols such as a cross, wreath or anchor. Few symbols of Christianity were used.

From Revolutionary time, the dominant style of monument was the sculptured marble block topped by an urn. Other popular motifs were the winged globe and upside-down lotus flowers, a banded cylinder, and reversed torches.³³ It is interesting to note that cemetery art was true to the standards

³⁰ Remes, *The Rural Cemetery*, 52.

³¹ Remes, *The Rural Cemetery*, 54.

³² Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape*, 51.

³³ See Appendix B for a list of the kinds of monuments in Spring Grove (Cincinnati) in 1857.

applied to academic sculpture of the day.³⁴ A quote from Jacob Bigelow³⁵ captures a feeling of what importance he saw in art and architecture:

...When the hand of taste shall have scattered among the trees ... enduring memorials of marble and granite, a landscape of the most picturesque character will be created.³⁶

The design of Rural cemeteries represented artistic concern and careful planning. Areas were chosen that could provide landscaped hills and valleys with lakes and ponds. The property was divided into reasonably large plots that invited artistic monuments on a grand scale. Drawing upon the tenets of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory, straight lines were avoided and avenues and paths were placed to conform to the area's natural topography.³⁷ The designers were creating the "taste" of a refined age.

Rural Cemeteries Abroad

Père Lachaise

Père Lachaise in Paris, France was on the Grand Tour. In the early nineteenth century, tourists made a visit to the new Parisian cemetery, Père Lachaise. Any American or Englishman making the European trip in the late eighteenth century would have most certainly visited the tomb of Rousseau, the great champion of nature, at Ermenonville. The burial site was on an island in a garden with a landscape full of rustic structures and classical temples. But it is Père Lachaise that is most famous for the impact it created on its visitors. Père Lachaise employed eighteenth-century English landscape theory and turned the garden into a setting for funereal art. In 1804, architect A T. Brongniart, as Chief

³⁴ Remes, *The Rural Cemetery*, 55

³⁵ Founder of Mount Auburn Cemetery.

³⁶ Blanche Linden-Ward. "Putting the Past in Place: The Making of Mount Auburn Cemetery," *Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings* 44, Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge Historical Society Publications (1985), 177.

³⁷ Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape*, 43.

1788

Rousseau's Tomb
Ermenonville



c. 1780-85



Inspector General of the Second Section of Public Works for the Department of the Seine and the City of Paris, was charged to develop the cemetery.³⁸ The cemetery's plan relied on the contrast between an axial entrance and irregular natural features of the hilly site.³⁹

Much has been written about Père Lachaise.⁴⁰ It is a park with 12,000 trees and between 1820 and 1870, the most famous strata of society was buried there.⁴¹ Within Père Lachaise are many examples of the art by the sculptor, great architectural monuments built by the architect and the landscape designer's expertise in providing a landscape against which the sculpture and monuments are displayed. This time period coincided with neoclassicism, so Greek and Roman prototypes were reinterpreted in this cemetery. It is understandable why this cemetery was so admired by persons of taste in America and Europe. The neoclassical language of the tombs was fashionable and suggested the respectability of the antique.⁴² By the 1820's and 30's, promoters of Rural cemeteries on both sides of the Atlantic praised this cemetery as the model for other modern burial grounds.⁴³

Père Lachaise became the model for the Rural cemetery movement in both England and America.⁴⁴ Mount Auburn was established in Boston in 1831 and in that same year, land was purchased for Kensel Green near London. These two cemeteries were established at almost the same time and indicates the internationalism of the Rural cemetery movement. They differed from Père

³⁸ Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 310.

³⁹ Darnall, *The American Cemetery as Picturesque Landscape*, 249.

⁴⁰ Richard Etlin has written a book about the cemetery and the cemetery has been discussed in many other articles.

⁴¹ Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death*, Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia (1983), 97.

⁴² Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 156-157.

⁴³ David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History," *Journal of Garden History*, 4 (1984), 291.

⁴⁴ Richard A. Etlin, "Père Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (July-September 1984), 219.



Père Lachaise
Paris, France

Lachaise in terms of scale; both were larger and both were a result of private ventures not governmental. Both modeled Père Lachaise's tombs of notable people buried there.⁴⁵ Each combined a naturalistic landscape with architectural forms, classical and romantic, that were designed to evoke associations in the minds of the visitors.⁴⁶

From this common thread, American and British cemeteries evolved in different directions. The primary difference was the choice of appropriate scenery for a burial ground.

Rural Cemeteries in the United States

Mount Auburn

Mount Auburn, established in 1831 by a private corporation, is probably the most famous of the early Rural cemeteries. A corporation raised money to purchase the land by selling subscriptions for lots. The land purchased was a heavily wooded glacial moraine with streams and ponds, gentle knolls and a hill. The original design called for the maintenance of a somewhat primitive landscape, but the pressure of monument building and fencing caused a reshaping of the landscape. What emerged was a garden-cemetery revealing nature manipulated by man. This style became the convention especially when more grand and artistic sculpture and monuments appeared. This convention produced a tradition whose evidence is quite visible today in many cemeteries.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Notable men and their monuments helped attract visitors.

⁴⁶ David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and cultural History," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (July-September 1984), 300

⁴⁷ Catherine Howett, "Living Landscape for the Dead," *Landscape*, 21 (1977), 12.



Green-Wood Cemetery
Brooklyn, New York

This new landscape proved so attractive that the majority of the visitors were sightseers and for a time, this cemetery functioned as a pleasure ground. In fact, it is the first kind of American public park. For Europeans touring the United States, Mount Auburn ranked with Niagra Falls and Methodist camp meetings as highlights of their visit.⁴⁸

The number of visitors to Mount Auburn became so great that the roads were lined with coaches. The horticultural society finally felt compelled to regulate access to the cemetery and although all pedestrians continued to be admitted freely, no person on horseback could enter the grounds, nor any coaches except those of lot owners. Sunday crowds became so large that only proprietors and their families and guests were admitted.⁴⁹ Guidebooks were written for the large cemeteries like Mount Auburn and Green-Wood and these guidebooks usually included maps, prints of unusual stones or the graves of famous people, recommended routes, and gave some history of the cemetery.⁵⁰

Early subscribers included Boston's intellectual, political and artistic elite: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Daniel Webster, Boston's Mayor Josiah Quincy, Samuel F. B. Morse, Jared Sparks, the editor and later Harvard president.⁵¹ Cemeteries would list their "Who's Who" as a means of demonstrating their importance and as a means of attracting tourists.

For Andrew Jackson Downing, Mount Auburn was the "Athens of New England," and the visitors, "pilgrims" who came

solely to see the realization of their long cherished dream of resting place for the dead at once sacred from profanation, dear to the memory and captivating to the imagination.⁵²

⁴⁸ Zanger, Mt. Auburn Cemetery, 24.

⁴⁹ Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape*, 44.

⁵⁰ Barbara Rotundo. "Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution," *Journal of Garden History* 4, (July-September 1984), 259.

⁵¹ Zanger, Mt. Auburn Cemetery, 26.

⁵² Andrew Jackson Downing, "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," *The Horticulturist* 4 (July 1849), 9.

The most important effect of Mount Auburn's success was that it encouraged leaders in other cities to create their own Rural cemeteries.⁵³ Again Downing notes,

Not twenty years have passed since that time; and, at the present moment, there is scarcely a city of note in the whole country that has not its rural cemetery.....Philadelphia has, we learn, nearly twenty rural cemeteries at the present moment..⁵⁴

Soon after the establishment of Mount Auburn, two other cemeteries were developed and designed. Laurel Hill near Philadelphia (1836), the creation of John Notman and John Jay Smith, and Green-Wood of Brooklyn (1838) a design of David B. Douglas, real estate promoter,⁵⁵ and Richard Upjohn, an architect who designed most of Green-Wood's classical buildings.

Mount Auburn was not alone in attracting visitors. Downing reported that Laurel Hill near Philadelphia had 30,000 visitors in one season.⁵⁶ John Jay Smith estimated that 140,000 visitors came to Laurel Hill in 1860.⁵⁷

From these three sites, the idea of creating Rural cemeteries spread through the nation. Other cities, towns, and villages laid out similar places of interment and usually followed the precedent of these first three, choosing names that were suggestive of sylvan beauty and repose. It became a challenge that any city of note would have its Rural cemetery. This idea was to be influential in town development on the frontier, as in the case of Lawrence's Oak Hill.

⁵³ See Appendix C for a list of the major ones created by 1850.

⁵⁴ Downing, *Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens*, 9.

⁵⁵ Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 272. One source says Douglas was an army engineer.

⁵⁶ Downing, *Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens*, 10.

⁵⁷ Linden-Ward, *Strange but Genteel Pleasure Ground*, 317.

Spring Grove Cemetery

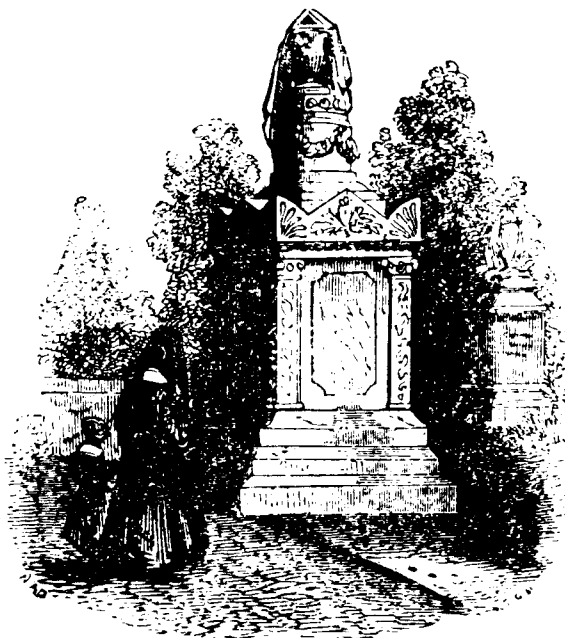
Spring Grove cemetery was established in Cincinnati in 1845 and its founders had already well-established sites to emulate.⁵⁸ Spring Grove started like most of the others, with the charter of a non-profit incorporation. The founders sought a site where they could apply picturesque landscape ideas.

They hired John Notman to lay out the grounds, but Notman visited the site only once, returned east and submitted a plan by mail that failed to correspond to the site's topography. It was also too stiff and did not provide the sense of woodsy naturalism the founders had admired at Mount Auburn. The Board asked a local architect Howard Daniels to produce a new design and then they sent him on a four-month expedition to study the characteristics of eastern cemeteries. What evolved from Daniel's plan was a maze of roads that provided a processional approach from the city to the heart of the rural retreat. But in less than ten years, Spring Grove had become a group of individual holdings and had lost its sense of naturalism. Daniels had gone back East to work on other cemeteries. These events led the board to seek someone who would return Spring Grove to what they originally had hoped it would be. They found the man they were looking for in Adolph Strauch. His impact on the Rural cemetery movement will be discussed in the section on the evolving landscape professional.

Rural Cemeteries and Their Attributes

Cemeteries such as Mount Auburn, Laurel Hill, Green-Wood, and Spring Grove helped establish the attributes of Rural cemeteries. Rural cemeteries were

⁵⁸ The history of Spring Grove is based on the article by Blanche Linden-Ward and Alan Ward. "Spring Grove: The Role of Rural Cemetery in American Landscape Design," *Landscape Architecture* 75 (September/October 1985), 126-131, 140.



typically fenced with large gated entrances. Cemeteries had been fenced in the past, but only with a low wall to keep out grazing animals. Mount Auburn established the custom of fencing to keep out even legitimate visitors when the cemetery was closed, usually from sunset to sunrise. The larger cemeteries had a keeper's house on the grounds or close to the entrance.⁵⁹ Rural cemeteries were typically built on wooded, hilly sites with curving roads that followed the contours of the land. Many had chapels. One striking similarity is that at the tops of most hills, there was a circular or oval drive; this seems a common feature of many plats that still exist. The use and reuse of ideas is evident. Many have ponds, lakes or other use of water.⁶⁰

Rural Cemeteries and Use

In his editorial "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens" (*Horticulturist*), Downing used the popularity of the Rural cemeteries as a basis for his plea for public gardens or parks. His argument for public parks was based on his observance that these cemeteries, intended places for contemplation and moral uplifting experiences, were being used as a kind of amusement park. Their appeal was to the mystical excitement and experience that nature could provide, especially to the transcendentalists, but it also brought others who sought only the pleasure of the place, rather than the lessons that the sublime could teach, the lessons of moral philosophy or the simple transcendental appreciation of nature.⁶¹

Mount Auburn was an example of cemetery misuse. Cemetery founders and lot owners complained after only two years the cemetery was used "in a

⁵⁹ Rotundo, Mount Auburn, 265.

⁶⁰ See the plats in the Other Information section.

⁶¹ Linden-Ward, *Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds*, 317.

DEARBORN'S
GUIDE THROUGH MOUNT AUBURN,

WITH
SEVENTY-SIX ENGRAVINGS,

FOR THE
BENEFIT OF STRANGERS,

DESIROUS OF SEEING THE CLUSTERS OF MONUMENTS WITH THE
LEAST TROUBLE;

With the established rules for the preservation of the Cemetery,
purchase of Lots, and other concerns.



WITH AN
ENGRAVED PLAN OF THE CEMETERY.

TENTH EDITION.

PUBLISHED BY NATHANIEL S. DEARBORN,
No. 34 School Street,
BOSTON,
1855.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

manner very different from what had been expected, destroying solemnity and quiet" intended for the place. They found that the public damaged trees, broken fences, gathered flowers and walked over lots. Laws were passed that gave cemetery regulations the force of law, and fines could be levied. By the 1850's, Laurel Hill had prohibited picnicking and unleashed dogs.⁶²

After the Civil War, the interest in and visitation to these Rural cemeteries waned. Other factors contributed to the diminishing popularity, such as many cemeteries lost their original pastoral look. This was due to the embellishments made by lot owners and the lack of maintenance necessary to keep the original plans in order. Nature had become disfigured. Also public parks became a reality and they provided many of the same qualities that Rural cemeteries had given without the graves and funerary monuments. Museums had been created, museums of fine arts that displayed the sculpture, cultural artifacts and architecture that once the Rural cemetery provided. Other institutions took the place of some of the needs originally met by the cemetery. The conditions in the churchyard and the changing attitudes toward death had been eliminated by the Rural cemetery and continued to find a place there. But the the changing industrial cityscape that had fostered the need for grass, trees, flowers and nature was now being provided with city parks and zoological gardens. The age of Romanticism and its view of nature was evolving into what the wilderness experience could provide. The need for art, taste, culture and architecture were being addressed in institutions such as museums.

The declining interest in visitation does not mean that the development of Rural Cemeteries ceased. In fact, the continuing spread of Rural Cemeteries

⁶² Linden-Ward, *Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds*, 318.

across the United States as settlers moved west is tribute to how importance this concept had become as a part of a commonly shared cultural symbol.

The Development of the Landscape Professional

John Claudius Loudon

A strong and influential voice in the history of Rural cemeteries was the voice of an Englishman, John Claudius Loudon. Loudon began his fifteen year campaign to improve English cemeteries in 1828 when he suggested a program that would "render every country churchyard in Britain an arboretum and herbaceous ground with all the trees and plants named."⁶³ In 1830, he argued that new cemeteries should be regularly laid out and planted with every sort of hardy tree and shrub and plans for interring should be well thought out.

In 1835, he made a stronger attack on the picturesque cemetery as he wrote that nothing should be done that would interfere with the idea of solemnity and consecration of the dead. He feared the idea of the cemetery would get lost in the botanical garden or arboretum. Cemetery landscape should have straight walks , or if curvilinear, only minimal curves should be used.⁶⁴ Solemnity and grandeur could not be achieved if great play of outline and continued variation of scene was used.⁶⁵

Loudon stressed the importance of the order of the arrangement and the relationship of the parts of a design to the whole. He grouped and massed plant materials in a composition. He tended to thin out masses of shrubberies and

⁶³ Schuyler, *The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery*, 294 quoting Loudon from "Foreign Notices - Germany," *Gardener's Magazine* 4 (1828) , 497-498.

⁶⁴ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, quoting Loudon's letter to the *Morning Advertiser*, 55.

⁶⁵ Schuyler, *The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery*, 301 quoting Loudon, "Remarks on Laying out Public Gardens and Promenades," *Gardener's Magazine* 11 (1835) 667-669. on page 301.

loosen up groupings in order to allow trees light, air and the space needed to achieve perfect form. Such perfection would have been impossible in the wilder, denser picturesque masses.⁶⁶

During 1848, he published in serial form what would become *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries and the Improvement of Churchyards*. In these essays he acknowledged that the cemeteries could improve the moral sentiments and the general taste of all classes.

A garden cemetery and monumental decoration are not only beneficial to public morals, to the improvement of manners, but are likewise calculated to extend virtuous and generous feelings.⁶⁷

He was against more naturalistic cemeteries as they "bear too great a resemblance to pleasure-grounds." Loudon's attitudes prevailed in England, and subsequently more utilitarian and geometric burial grounds gained increasing support in the middle nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Loudon died in 1843, the year his work on cemeteries was published; he had designed three cemeteries, Cambridge, Southampton and Bath Abbey. Loudon's approach to the cemetery was functional, hygienic, and utilitarian. The distinction between English and American cemeteries was evident in Andrew Jackson Downing's response to this focus: he saw it as a "very formal style of laying out cemeteries."⁶⁹

Loudon's influence on cemetery design in England is traceable in the 1830's and more noticeable in the next decade. His impact in America was also significant. For example, Prussian born Adolph Strauch, head gardener for

⁶⁶ Melanie Louise Simo, "John Claudius Loudon and the Early Nineteenth Century in Great Britain," *Journal of Garden History* 3 (1983), 60.

⁶⁷ John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries; and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans (1843), 11.

⁶⁸ Schuyler, *The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery*, 301.

⁶⁹ Schuyler, *The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery*, 302, quoting Downing "Reviews," *The Horticulturist* 1 (1846-1847), 328-330.

Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, was quite aware of Loudon's work and quoted him in his report for the Cemetery in 1857:

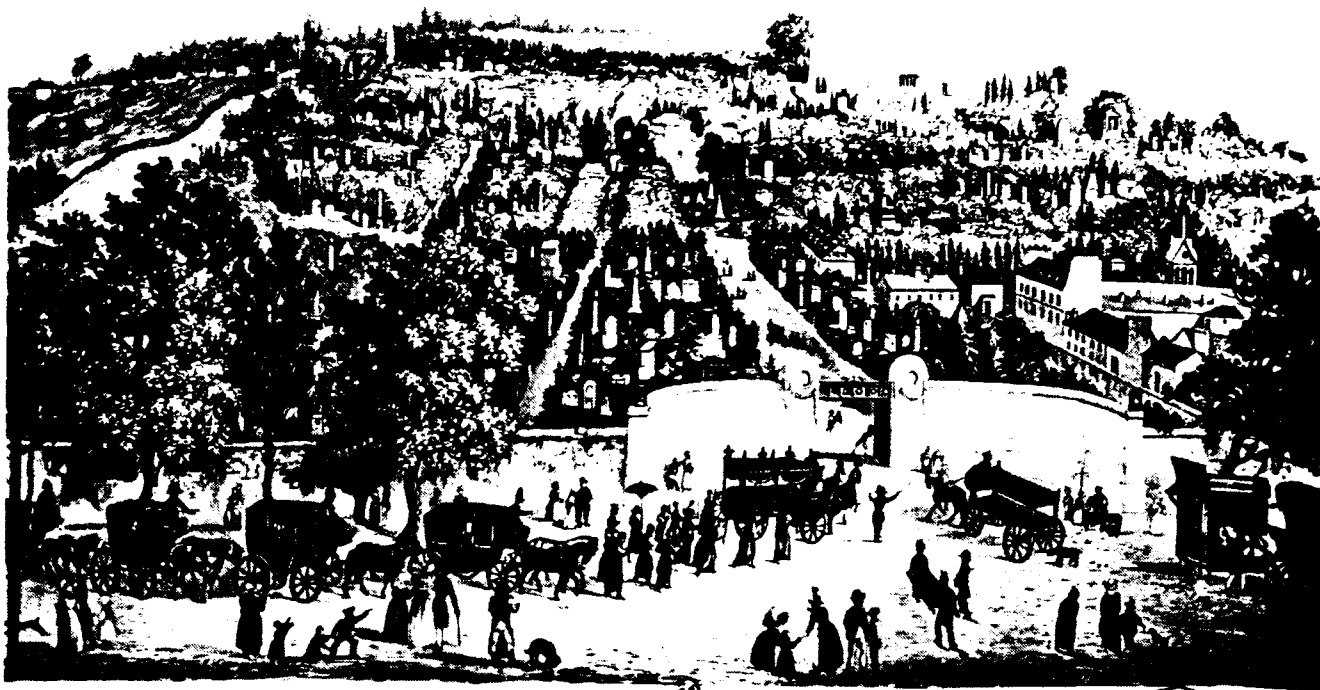
A Rural Cemetery in the neighborhood of a large city properly designed, laid out, ornamented and with mausoleums, vaults, tombs, columns, vases, urns, etc., tastefully planted with appropriate trees and shrubs and the whole property kept might become a school of instruction in architecture, sculpture, landscaping, gardening, arboriculture, and botany and those important parts of general gardening neatness, order, and high keeping.

European trained gardeners and landscape professionals were strongly influenced by Loudon. Many of these men came to America.

In 1831, in the United States at the time of the founding of Mount Auburn Cemetery outside of Boston, the professional landscape architect or designer did not exist; but there were gardeners and horticulturalists planning landscapes. Mount Auburn was planned by Henry A. S. Dearborn, president of the horticultural society and a member of its garden and cemetery committee. He engaged civil engineer Alexander Wadsworth to prepare a topographical survey of the site and the two of them added improvements of "art." Drawing upon ideas of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory, they avoided straight lines and placed the avenues and paths to conform to the area's natural topography.

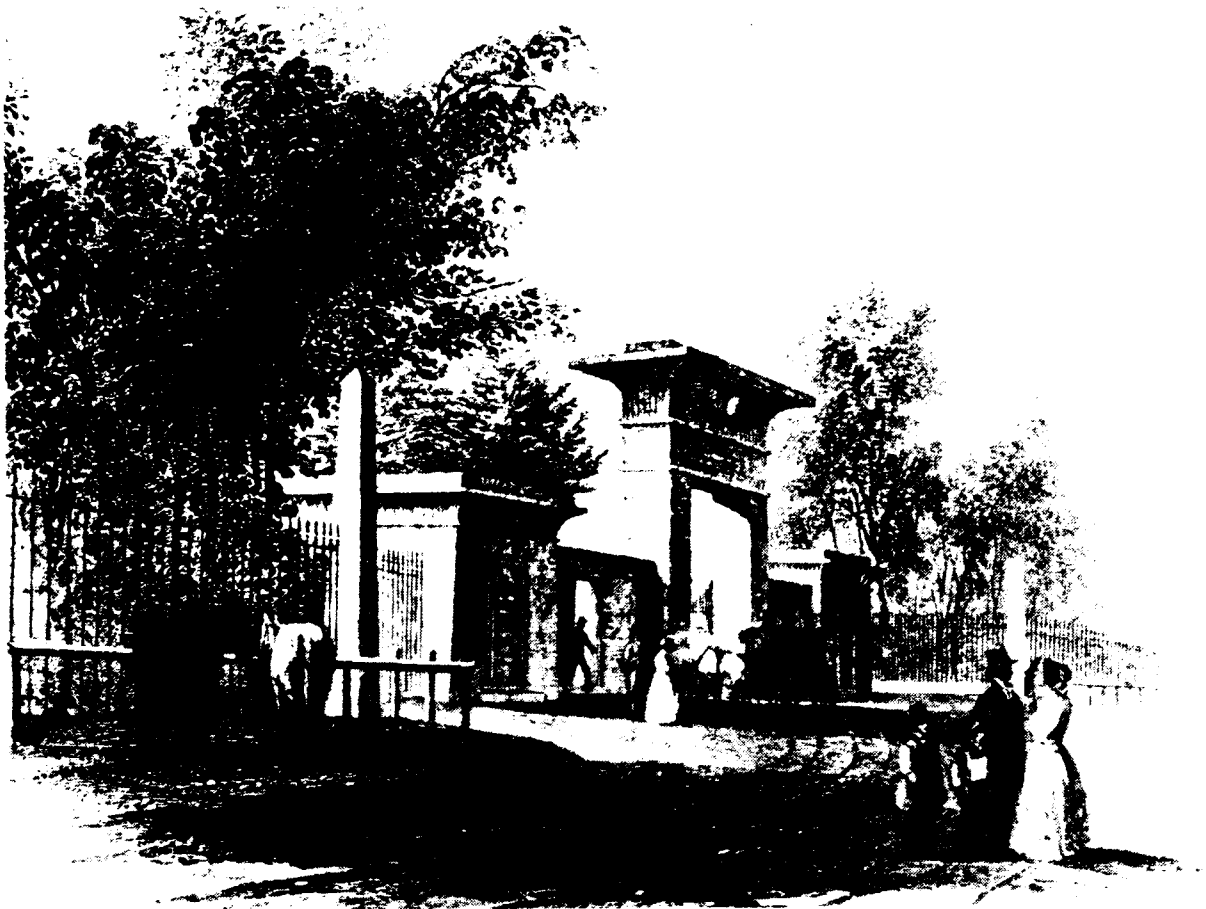
In 1835 soon after Mount Auburn was established, Laurel Hill in Philadelphia was proposed by another amateur horticulturist, John Jay Smith. A public competition was held for the design of the property. Many of those who entered the competition were architects who were attempting to use their architectural skills to design landscapes. John Notman (1810-1865), a Scotsman, won the competition over two other architects and John Jay Smith oversaw the planting and included many examples of trees and shrubs that would flourish in the middle Atlantic states.

Notman's plans represent one of the first "public" landscapes designed by an architect. This was before the profession of landscape architecture began to be



Père Lachaise
Paris France
1837





Entrance to Mount Auburn
1840's

more fully defined.⁷⁰ Notman at Laurel Hill represented the incorporation of architecture with the craft of gardening. Notman went on to design Spring Grove in Cincinnati (1845-47), Hollywood in Richmond, Virginia (1847-48), Spring Hill in Lynchburg, Virginia (1850) as well as the entrance gates to Mount Hope cemetery in Philadelphia (1855).⁷¹

Andrew Jackson Downing helped popularize the Rural Cemetery as a nurseryman, designer and prolific writer. In 1847 he wrote about Rural cemeteries and lauds Mount Auburn for showing how beautiful and consoling the cemetery could be.⁷² Downing used the popularity of the Rural cemeteries of Mount Auburn, Laurel Hill and Green-Wood (Brooklyn) to plead for public gardens and parks.⁷³ He championed the need for public parks and he used the popularity of visiting Rural cemeteries to support his claim.

Adolph Strauch is another name associated with the Rural cemetery movement. He had earned respect by designing a Cincinnati suburb with a unified design and then was employed to work with Spring Grove Cemetery. Trained as a Prussian landscape gardener, he was a protege of Prince Herman von Pückler-Muskau.

Pückler-Muskau and his book *Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1834) influenced planners to understand the majesty of pastoral spaces, spatial sequences with clearly defined sightlines and he advocated developing the idea of wholeness as a controlling scheme in landscape planning.⁷⁴ He wanted

⁷⁰ Morgan, *The Emergence of the American Professional*, 269. Frederick Law Olmsted is credited with introducing the term "landscape architecture" in America

⁷¹ Morgan, *The Emergence of the American Professional*, 281.

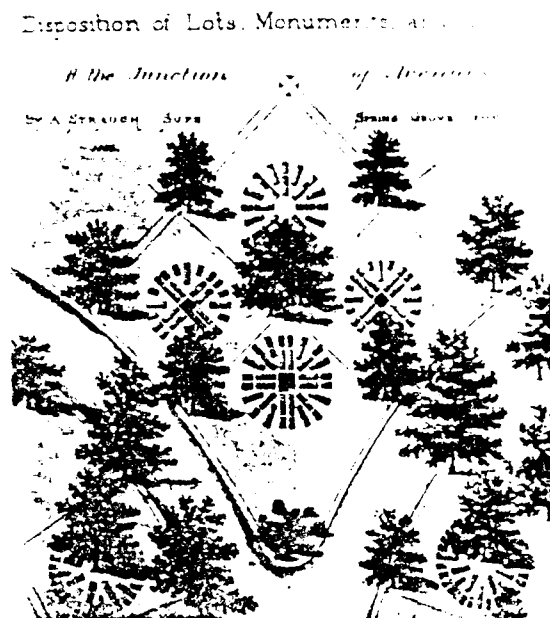
⁷² Meyer, *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers*, 312, quoting Andrew Jackson Downing, "Review: Greenwood Illustrated," *The Horticulturist* 1 (July 1846-June 1847), 228.

⁷³ Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Horticulturist* 4 (July 1849), 9-12.

⁷⁴ Prince Von Herman Ludwig Heinrich Pückler-Muskau, *Hints on Landscape Gardening*, Boston-New York: Houghton Mifflin (1917), 13.

planners to develop a theme and carry it out consistently through a sequence of visually unifying spaces and vistas.

Strauch subscribed to the viewpoint of developing a theme and carrying it out consistently. His treatment of Spring Grove in Cincinnati evolved into what was called the lawn system which prohibited the fencing of individual plots. This was a refinement in 'taste' during the movement and later cemeteries prohibited the use of individual plot fencing. Strauch's views of the landscape impacted many Rural cemeteries a little later in the movement. His views reflected a combination of ideas from the early eastern cemeteries and naturalism, and ideas that came from J. C. Loudon and Pückler-Muskau.⁷⁵



Adolph Strauch transformed
 Spring Grove's Landscape.

⁷⁵ Loudon had differing ideas of what garden and cemeteries should be. Strauch subscribed to many of Loudon's gardening ideas.

J. Downing certainly concurred with this change in taste. He wrote in *The Horticulturist*, in July 1849,

we cannot pass by one feature in all marked by the most violent bad taste: we mean the hideous ironmongery (fences), which they all more or less display.

Joseph Weidenmann (1829-1823) also attributed to Strauch a great improvement in public taste. Nothing could be more appropriate to Christian beliefs and respect for the dead, he explained,

than open lawns surrounded by lofty trees and flowering shrubs, a sylvan scene of nature's loveliest productions.⁷⁶

This more open plan without fencing remained the dominant choice in the design of American cemeteries throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Another individual involved in the design of Rural cemeteries was contemporary with the development of Oak Hill in Lawrence, Kansas. H. W. S. Cleveland (1814-1900) was a well-known name as an early landscape designer. Through his work with the National Pomological Congress he knew Andrew Jackson Downing and became interested in landscape design. He and his partner Robert Morris Copeland entered the competition for the design of Central Park, but lost to Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. Cleveland moved his offices to Chicago in 1869 and became involved in landscape design on the frontier. His book *Landscape Architecture as Applied to the Wants of the West* (1873) was written as a plea for town planning and as a protest to the relentless application of the grid system.⁷⁷ By 1871, Cleveland had formed an association with William M. R. French and their practice extended into nearby midwestern

⁷⁶ Schuyler, *The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery*, pg. 302, quoting J. Weidenmann, "Modern Cemeteries: An Essay upon the Improvements an Proper Management of Rural Cemeteries, Chicago: Monumental News (1888), 7-9.

⁷⁷ William H. Tishler, "H. W. S. Cleveland," *American Landscape Architecture, Designers and Places*, Washington: Preservation Press (1989), pg. 24.



states. His influence reached Kansas in the early 1870's and as the designer of Highland Cemetery in Junction City, Kansas.

Today we would call Cleveland a "landscape architect," but Cleveland was uncomfortable with this term. He said:

The term 'Landscape Architecture' is objectionable, as being only figuratively expressive of the art it is used to designate. I make use of it, under protest, as the readiest means of making myself understood, in the absence of a more appropriate term.

If the art is ever developed to the extent I believe to be within its legitimate limits, it will achieve for itself a name worthy of its position.....My object in these few pages is simply to show that, by whatever name it may be called, the subdivision and arrangement of land for the occupation of civilized men, is an art demanding the exercise of ingenuity, judgement and taste...⁷⁸

Many of Cleveland's peers considered themselves artists, not architects.

There are more designers and gardeners who practiced during the Rural cemetery movement. Research is just emerging on the less famous of the Rural cemeteries and those involved in their conception and design will begin to be discovered.

Summary

The forces of poor sanitary conditions, the forces of industrialization and the changing cityscape, man's perception about himself and death changing assured the success of the Rural cemetery movement. The following quotation from *Knickerbocker*, December 1838, speaks well for what people considered their choices.

When, instead of a dank, unhandsome-charnel house, associated only with the humbling ideas of corruption, where the aged, whom we have honored, and the young whose beauty, so sylph-like, so *spirituelle*, we have idolized, we are given up to festering and the worm; when, instead of all that is repulsive to human feeling, we behold the sepulchre turned into a garden of roses, and into a breathing wilderness of sweets, we could almost forego the remnants of a life, too agitated by painful emotions, and lay down our heads as in some chamber of sweet forgetfulness, some

⁷⁸ H. W. S. Cleveland, *Landscape Architecture As Applied to the Wants of the West*, Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press (1873), preface.

flowery entrance to the blest abodes, where there are no more tears or sorrow, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'

Happy is it, that the grave can be thus stripped of its prerogative of terror, and robbed of its 'victory,' even as Jesus Christ has rifled death of its 'sting.' That thus we may look calmly upon it as the ultimate goal whether all steps are ending as the dark opening of some bright and glorious perspective and not recoil into the giddy world to escape its lessons of morality. Were the grave rendered more attractive, it might be better than the words of the preacher.⁷⁹

Besides the impact Rural cemeteries had on the establishment of public parks, one of the more important results of the Rural cemetery movement was that there was now adequate respect paid by the community of the living to the community of the dead.⁸⁰ The Rural cemetery helped define the past as a "cult of ancestors," through the commemoration of individuals or heroes in whom the region and nation could take pride.⁸¹ The Rural cemetery afforded the means of paying tributes of respect to the names and memory of great and good men. The designers of Mount Auburn believed that it would become the honorary mausoleum for the distinguished sons of Massachusetts.⁸² Youths were urged to visit Mount Auburn to learn from the exemplary lives of notables interred there and to realize their own mortality.⁸³

The Rural cemetery would give people a sense of their roots and remind them that the standard of living and the blessing of a republic they owed to those who have gone before. The Rural cemetery would strengthen patriotism because:

⁷⁹ Frederick W. Shelton, "Rural Cemeteries," *Knickerbocker* 2, (December 1838), 536-7.

⁸⁰ Schuyler, *The Urban Landscape*, quoting Olmsted, Report to the Trustees of the Mountain View Cemetery, in Organization of Mountain View Cemetery Association, Oakland, California, (San Francisco, 1865), 43.

⁸¹ Linden-Ward, *Putting the Past in Place*, 171.

⁸² Linden-Ward, *Putting the Past in Place*, 181.

⁸³ Blanche Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers*, Richard E. Meyer, ed., Ann Arbor: Research Press (1989), 295.

"To the dead ... in our own beloved country, we owe not only the foundations of the great fabric of our liberties, but those lessons of wisdom, justice and moderation, upon the observance of which alone can depend its stability."⁸⁴

These themes appear and reappear in discussions about Rural cemeteries.⁸⁵ This theme will be appear in the history of Oak Hill in the form of Decoration Day celebrations at the cemetery site.

Rural Cemeteries were highly significant in American life. They became famous throughout the country and they were among the chief tourist attractions of cities particularly in the East. As noted by Downing, the idea took the American mind by a storm. Even small towns such as Lawrence set aside land for their Rural cemetery. The striking similarity of Rural cemeteries in all parts of the United States suggests a broad conformity in American life to popular concepts.

Part II of this paper will describe the development and early history Lawrence's Rural cemetery, Oak Hill. This cemetery was established during the development of Lawrence as a frontier community and its meaning to residents will be evaluated in that context.

⁸⁴ French, quoting Charles Fraser, Address Delivered on the Dedication of the Magnolia Cemetery, 19th November, 1850, Charleston, S.C.: Walker & James (1850), 4-5.

⁸⁵ French, The Cemetery as Cultural Institution, 84.



Mount Auburn Cemetery

PART II

Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence, Kansas

Part I provided a brief background for some of the significant events that occurred in the United States and gave rise to the Rural cemetery movement: industrialization, the rise of capitalism, changes in transportation and communications, concepts of culture and reform and Jacksonian democracy. An overview was then given of the development of the Rural cemetery movement.

This background information provides the context for the development of Oak Hill Cemetery in Lawrence, Kansas. Oak Hill's development is important when viewed with this background in mind, but most importantly when viewed in the context of frontier town promotion and survival, Quantrill's raid, and sentiments about the Civil War. These three factors are tightly interrelated in the motives for the development of Oak Hill and become further interrelated with the eastern cultural backgrounds of the men who founded this Rural cemetery.

Lawrence's Founding

Lawrence's history is firmly tied to the development of Kansas as a territory. The Kansas territory was formed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) and because of the compromises and agitations with regard to the question of slavery, it was determined by this act that the territory could become a state with or without slavery, depending on the state constitution's determination.

This provision caused the resulting struggle over Kansas' status as a free or slave state. Both pro-slavery forces and free-staters quickly began to settle in the territory to influence any decision made by a constitutional convention and

early elections saw first the pro-slavery forces dominate with the free-state side in power by 1857.

A group of free-staters from Massachusetts formed the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company (which later became the New England Emigrant Aid Company) and established the town of Lawrence. By October 1, 1854, the townsite of Lawrence was covered with tents and crudely constructed buildings. Before October had ended, the town claimed two newspapers. One was the *Kansas Pioneer* - the first issue printed in Medina, Ohio and published by John Speer; the other paper was pro-slavery and called the *Kickapoo Pioneer*. Speer changed the name of his paper to the *Kansas Tribune*⁸⁵ to avoid confusion.⁸⁶

Most of the Southerners who settled in Kansas were from Missouri. When the territory opened up, many Missourians came to Kansas for better farm land. Skirmishes began between the pro-slavery settlers and the other free-state immigrants and a confrontation between Missourians and the settlers occurred on March 30, 1855. Lawrence was invaded and the residents were taken by surprise; Kansans realized the Missourians could be a real threat.

In May of 1856, pro-slavery men carried out the "Sack of Lawrence," destroyed the Eldridge hotel, threw a printing press into the river and went through the town robbing and stealing, but they did not kill or seriously injure anyone. Confrontations continued to be frequent.

Lawrence continued to grow and by 1859, the town's population approached 1,600. In 1859, a drought began that continued into 1860, affecting two growing seasons and the settlers had to seek relief from the East.

⁸⁵ This is the *Kansas Tribune* listed in the References.

⁸⁶ David Dary, *Lawrence, Lawrence: Allen Books* (1982), 29. Most of the background and early history of Lawrence comes from his book.

Even though planned earlier than most other frontier towns, Lawrence was like most other towns that started on the frontier; it began as a planned settlement. The motivation for Lawrence's settlement differed due to the state's right issue and was based on the New England Emigrant Aid Company's desire to establish towns to promote abolition. However, its physical form was determined in advance. Western towns were not spontaneous crossroad communities that grew slowly, incrementally, and randomly without guidance or direction. Towns were planned by individuals, corporations, colonization societies, religious groups, or public officials.⁸⁷

A. D. Searle started platting Lawrence in September of 1854. He provided for a grid system of streets, eighty feet wide (excepting the three major thoroughfares which were one hundred feet wide), that connected groups of blocks reserved for parks, a college, and a number of other public or quasi-public uses. He thoughtfully reserved land for an industrial area, laid out smaller lots along the intended commercial street, and around one cluster of four blocks, designated for park use, varied the orientation of the lots so that they fronted the open space.⁸⁸

The ground work was laid for statehood by the 1859 Wyandotte constitutional convention which adopted a free-state constitution. Topeka became the temporary free-state capitol, and Lawrence residents were disappointed to lose in their bid to become the capital, but most were pleased that a constitution had been adopted as "free-state." In January of 1861, residents celebrated their statehood, but in less than three months came the firing on Fort Sumter and the Civil War began. Lawrence was only forty miles from Missouri and because it

⁸⁷ John W. Reps, *The Forgotten Frontier, Urban Planning in the American West before 1890*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press (1981), 5.

⁸⁸ Reps, 72, 76. It has been noted that this is an example of New England town design.

was a well-known free-state town the residents were concerned about attempts to attack the city. Skirmishes along the Kansas/Missouri border continued with Kansas Jayhawkers attacking communities in Missouri and Missourians attacking Kansas residents and towns. This set the stage for the events of August 21, 1863.

Quantrill's Raid

On Thursday evening of August 20, the Lawrence band gave a concert in their new bandstand and were showing off their new instruments. Many residents had attended. There were two army recruit units of about forty men encamped in town, but most of them were asleep in their tents.

Early on August 21, William Quantrill and his men entered Lawrence with a list of people to kill and they were determined to kill every soldier and male adult free-stater. When Quantrill and his men left Lawrence, at least 143 persons had been killed and nearly all of Lawrence had been burned to the ground. Lawrence was in a state of shock. The dead were everywhere, and the description by William Cordley's *A History of Lawrence* is chilling.

Massachusetts street was one bed of embers. On this one street, seventy-five buildings, containing at least twice that number of places of business and offices, were destroyed. The dead lay all along the sidewalk, many of them so burned that they could not be recognized, and could scarcely be taken up. Here and there among the embers, could be seen the bones of those who had perished in the buildings and been consumed. On two sides of another block lay seventeen bodies. Almost the first sight that met our gaze was a father, almost frantic looking for the remains of his son among the embers of his office. The work of gathering and burying the dead soon began. From every quarter they were being brought in, until the floor of the Methodist Church, which was taken as a sort of hospital, was covered with dead and wounded. In almost every house could be heard the wail of the widow and orphan. The work of burial was sad and wearying. Coffins could not be procured. Many carpenters were killed, and most of the living had lost their tools. But they rallied nobly, and worked night and day, making pine and walnut boxes fastening them together with the burnt nails gathered from the ruins of the stores. It sounded rather harsh to the ear of the owner to have the lid nailed over the bodies of their loved ones; but it was the best that could be done. Thus the work went on for three days, till one hundred and twenty-two were

deposited in the Cemetery and many other in their own yards. Fifty-three were buried in one long grave.

Even though much has been written about this incident, it is still hard to comprehend the horror that must have descended upon Lawrence.

Four men, each to have connections to Oak Hill Cemetery's development, had different experiences during the raid. Holland Wheeler (1836-1912), was an engineer born in Saxton's River, Vermont and came to Lawrence in 1858. He was in Baldwin on the eve of the massacre where he had been surveying and realized it was too late to return to Lawrence, so he stayed the night in Baldwin. In the morning, he could see the smoky haze in the sky and knew that something terrible had happened.⁸⁹

R. W. Ludington (1827 - 1905) was born in Holyoke, Massachusetts and came to Lawrence in 1857. He was active as a free-stater. On August 21, 1863, Mr. Ludington and his family were in Massachusetts visiting family.⁹⁰

John Speer (1817 - 1906) from Kittanning, Pennsylvania came to Lawrence in 1854 and was the publisher and editor of the *Kansas Tribune*. Speer lived on the far east side of Lawrence and had some warning of Quantrill's approach. He was able to escape and hide in a corn field. Quantrill's men set fire to the field, but Speer's wife was able to extinguish the flames. Two of his sons were not so fortunate. His eldest son was in the newspaper building in town and the building was burned. Another of his sons disappeared in the raid and it is believed that he too was in the building and was killed.⁹¹

Gurdon Grovenor (1830 - 1914) was born in Suffield, Connecticut and came to Lawrence in 1857. He was aroused by the yelling and shouting in his

⁸⁹ Recollections of Holland Wheeler, III, about his father.

⁹⁰ *Leavenworth, Douglas and Franklin County Biographical Record*, Page 631-633.

⁹¹ William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press (1910), 356. There was no evidence of his body in the ruins, however, and Speer ran an anguished ad for weeks after the raid for information concerning his son. He was never found.

neighborhood and thought that the recruits camped west of his house were quarrelling. He quickly realized that bushwackers were in town. By his own account, he decided to stay with his family instead of flee, and so witnessed much of the devastation and murder. Confronted by Quantrill's men, Mr. Grovenor was asked if he were a free-stater; he replied that he was and was shot at twice, but the gun failed to fire. A third time, when a gun was aimed at his ear, for some reason he was saved by one of the men. He was told to hide if he wanted his life spared. He stayed in the cellar of his burning house until he had to leave it for fear of it collapsing on him. The cruelty, destruction and the events of the day strongly affected him, as will be noted in the description of his part in Oak Hill's history. His brother-in-law was killed, as well as friends and neighbors.⁹²

These four men were involved in the development and history of Oak Hill Cemetery. All four men were easterners who came to Kansas long after most of the Rural cemeteries in the east had been established. All came in the late 1850's; and by that time, Mount Auburn was twenty-five years old. They would have been familiar with Rural cemeteries. It is possible that these men may have even visited Mount Auburn or Laurel Hill.

Lawrence had a cemetery at the time of the raid and it was known as the Oread cemetery.⁹³ It was a long way from Massachusetts Street, almost two miles and up what were described as "almost inaccessible hills."⁹⁴ The cemetery is on what is now Daisy Hill and overlooks the Wakarusa River valley. It was to this cemetery the wagons carried the coffins and bodies to be buried after Quantrill's raid.

⁹² Connelley, Quantrill, 362-365.

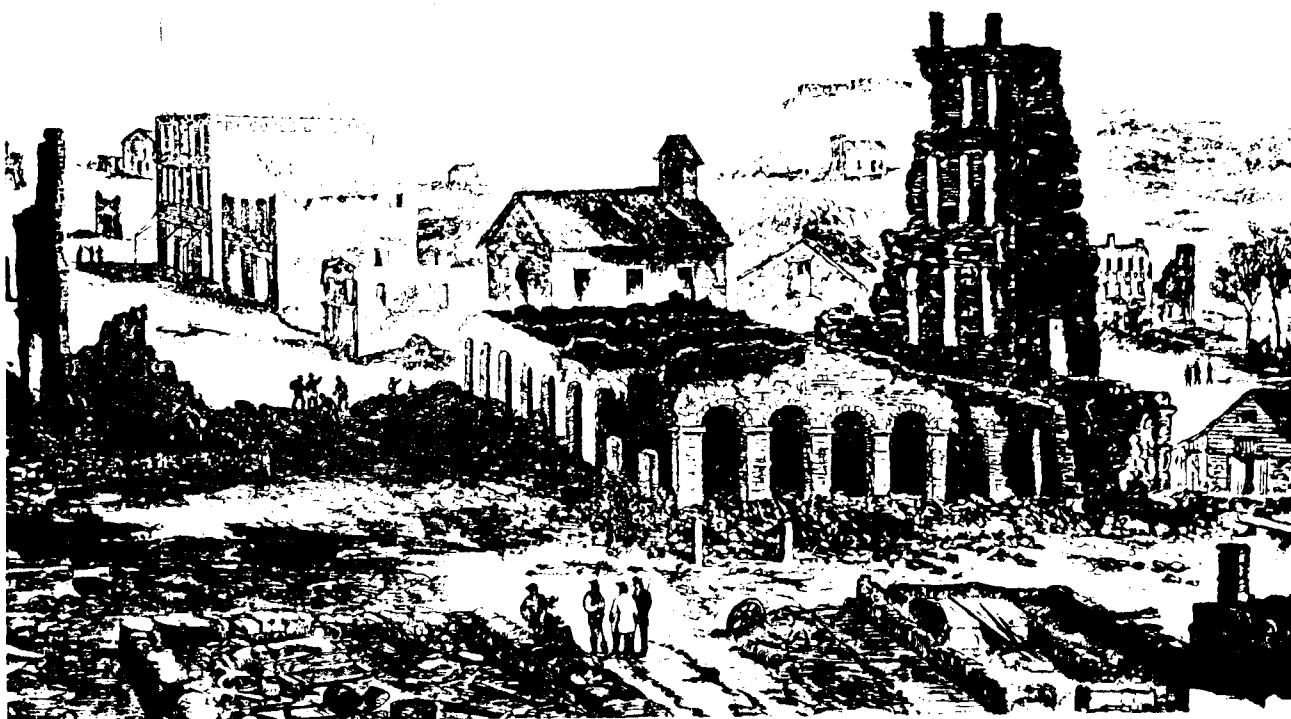
⁹³ This cemetery was established by 1854. It is now known as Pioneer Cemetery and is just west of the dormitories on Daisy Hill.

⁹⁴ Information from the file on Pioneer Cemetery at Watson Community Museum.

John Speer's paper was out of circulation for only four days before he had a special issue printed in Topeka.⁹⁵ The edition is dated August 27, 1863. He wrote,

Lawrence is not to 'wink out.' We have a glorious record, and a destiny. We are to be one of the largest cities West of the Missouri. There is no possibility of mistaking that.

Lawrence began to rebuild and the rebuilding helped to keep the residents busy for the rest of the Civil War. They were quite edgy and even though they took precautions with guards and preparedness drills, they remained insecure.



Lawrence after Quantrill's raid.
Illustration appeared in *Harper's Weekly*
September 19, 1863

⁹⁵

He did not get the newspaper back into full production until November, almost three months later. The other newspaper office in town, the *Kansas State Journal* was destroyed and the editor, Josiah C. Trask and one of the paper's owners were killed. The *Journal* was not revived until late in 1863 by Lowman, the other *Journal* owner, but he sold it in the spring of 1864 to S. C. Smith and W. S Rankin. Appendix F has a brief history of these two newspapers as they changed hands various times and it is difficult to keep track of who was in charge of the paper during what dates.

Speer admonished his readers in December of 1863 to be farsighted and remember that Lawrence was a special place. Lawrence residents had to rebuild and get on with their lives so the community could thrive. The town's location was a natural site for a railroad hub in the Kansas River valley and it would be the best, cheapest, shortest and most direct way for trade on its westward march. While rebuilding, the town should include plans for a new hotel, plank or macadamized roads on the thoroughfares of travel, to and from Lawrence. Speer reminded the residents that if Lawrence could not get busy and rebuild, other towns would spring up along railroad lines.⁹⁶ Lawrence had already lost the capital to Topeka; they very much wanted to keep up with their neighbors.

The communities of Lawrence, Topeka, Leavenworth, and even Kansas City were to remain competitors for any potential business, for railroads and for capital investment. Town leaders knew that to secure the growth and prosperity of their communities, they needed to attract railroads and investors. This explains Speer's call to compete, and this call would be repeated and repeated. In January, the *Kansas Tribune* says that the "Day of Calamity brought rebuilding by men with golden qualities - no calamity will hinder Lawrence's forward movement."⁹⁷

The Cemetery 1863 - 1866

Lawrence's Mayor Collamore was killed in the raid and the city's Ex-Mayor Fuller (1861) filled in until a new mayor could be elected in April. In April of 1864, R. W. Ludington was elected mayor and in his inaugural address called for Lawrence to build a new cemetery.

⁹⁶ *Kansas Tribune*, December 17, and 31, 1863. To avoid confusion, assume the papers are the daily edition, unless otherwise specified.

⁹⁷ *Kansas Tribune*, January 16, 1864.

A cemetery suitably located with a view o [sic] accessibility and sepulchral fitness is very much needed and should immediately be selected, purchased and fenced. At present we are but a little better off than entirely destitute of a public burial place for the dead. The immediate outlays will not necessarily be large. If a proper place is secured and opened for the interment of the dead, as time advances, its sacred reminiscences will secure for it fit and appropriate adornments as it becomes the last resting place of departed friends.⁹⁸

It was not long before John Speer took up the cause for a new cemetery. On June 9, he described how raid victims had been thrown into an open trench and now lay apparently unremembered, with the place unmarked. "Cattle browse the herbage above them and careless teamsters irreverently drive over them." He described Lawrence prosperity since the raid and "the cemetery, as it now exists is a blot upon our character. It shows us to be unfeeling, uncivilized and unchristian." Again on June 25, 1864,

We visited the city burial ground yesterday and were pained to see so little done for most of the martyrs of Quantrill's raids. The reason is apparent. The friends of the dead were so generally stripped of their property that few are more than able to support the living. The long trench where so many were buried together has had no repairs and the wooden marks to denote the names of each have had the penciling rubbed off so that many of them cannot be identified. There ought to be some measures taken to perpetuate the identity of the resting places of each martyr.

The element of town competition entered into his comments about the cemetery on July 1,

Our sister city, Topeka has taken the start of us on the cemetery question. They have a fine burial ground containing forty acres, situated on a bluff, one mile from the town in full view of the Kansas river for miles, and enclosed with a stone fence. Is it not high time that we had a cemetery endorsed and ornamented? Topeka has set a good example in this respect.

The Tribune carried two more articles about the need for a cemetery in August. The pleas become stronger and more in the vein of admonishment to the city for not doing anything. Speer argued that if lots were laid off and sold there would very little expense to the city.⁹⁹ Speer's admonitions apparently had an impact. His constant discussion of the subject made it a topic of discussion by the city

⁹⁸ *Kansas Tribune*, May 6, 1864.

⁹⁹ *Kansas Tribune*, August 13, and August 25, 1864.

council, and it must have also been in the minds of many residents. The council may have been disposed to take action anyway, but Speer's drive for a new cemetery certainly contributed to the decision to seek a site. Mayor Ludington was obviously interested a new cemetery.

In August of 1964, the city council resolved to choose a suitable site and to pay for it, decided to sell lots at a value enough to cover all the expenses incurred. They further resolved that the city would decide the regulations and would have full control over the cemetery. Mayor Ludington appointed a committee to act with him in finding suitable grounds.¹⁰⁰ By September, the committee reported back to the council and asked for a little more time in selecting the site.¹⁰¹

Finally, in early January of 1865, the committee reported that they found a forty-acre site just east of Lawrence,¹⁰² and later that month, the council appointed a committee to work with the city surveyor, Holland Wheeler, in surveying and laying out the grounds for a cemetery.¹⁰³ In March, the council authorized a fence to be built surrounding the grounds.

On March 2, a *Kansas State Journal* article lauded the city for finally acting on the cemetery and for their choice of an appropriately convenient site. This article was also mentioned the possibility of moving the victims of the Raid. The article described the old location as no more than a farm adjoining the city and stated that no one would want to improve such a spot. The writer further admonished the readers,

¹⁰⁰ *Kansas State Journal*, August 25, 1864.

¹⁰¹ *Kansas State Journal*, September 15, 1864. It is interesting to note that this established by a community government endeavor, not by private corporations as had been the case with many of the famous Rural Cemeteries.

¹⁰² *Kansas Tribune*, January 5, 1865. This is the site of Oak Hill Cemetery today.

¹⁰³ City Council minutes, January 18, 1865.

we may judge the morals and affections of the living by the tenderness and bounty displayed in the resting place of the dead. Let our people beautify it and adorn it, so that that the world may see that in the whirl of business we forget not the kind, the good and the true, whom God has taken away.

In April of 1865, Gurdon Grovenor was elected mayor and in his inaugural address he says of the cemetery,

During the past year a beautiful site has been secured for a city cemetery. How far such cemetery grounds have been prepared for public use, I am not fully advised, but would recommend especial care be taken to provide for the present and future improvement and beautifying of this home of the dead.

The city issued script for the purchase of the cemetery property and raised \$4255 by July. The July 2, city council meeting minutes have an interesting note:

Ordered, that the mayor be requested to open a correspondence with some parties abroad, in reference to the laying out of cemetery grounds.

This was the first indication that Mr. Grovenor was interested in bringing in someone knowledgeable about cemetery development. It seems clear this new cemetery was meant to be more than a nondescript patch of land. These men, Ludington, Grovenor, Wheeler, and Speer were all men from the East; they had experienced 'tasteful' cemeteries.

The cemetery land was surveyed and platted for the first time by Holland Wheeler during the summer of 1865. In November, it was announced that the plat was available for all to see at the city office above Sutliff's store.¹⁰⁴ The city council selected a committee of citizens and council members to appraise the lots and in November, the sale of burial lots began to take place. Two hundred and fifty lots were laid out and offered for sale; the proceeds were to pay for the surveying and fencing. The paper let it be known:

It is not contemplated to lay off any more lots until these are all disposed of.

When completed, this cemetery will be a most beautiful resort - will be a source of just pride to every citizen of the town and cannot fail to add greatly to the attractions of the city in the estimation of all intelligent and refined people visiting or settling among us. It is a

¹⁰⁴ *Kansas Tribune*, November 13, 1865.

project well worthy of a liberal patronage of every one, and we trust that patronage will not be employed with a sparing hand.¹⁰⁵

The new cemetery met with the approval of John Speer as in August, he notes:

[The] new cemetery is a beautiful location. It is just convenient enough to the city to make a visit a pleasant ride; and with proper effort it can be made a most delightful place, attracting visitors and encouraging the efforts of our citizens for its ornamentation. It ought to be speedily prepared for the reception of the dead. A good road ought to be made among the first improvements. ... No public improvement gives so favorable an impression to the character of a town as its place for the burial of the dead.¹⁰⁶

From the transition of events leading up the purchase of land for the cemetery, it seems clear that both improvements deemed necessary for town development and feelings about Quantrill's Raid influenced action by the City Council about the cemetery.

During November, the city council ordered a committee to draft rules and regulations for the government of the cemetery, and Holland Wheeler was on that committee.

Lots were sold again in November and the city clerk, responsible for collecting the money, made several pleas in the paper for prompt payment.¹⁰⁷

The year was a busy one for cemetery development and the city's final action was to look at an old house on the cemetery property as a possible site for a sexton's house. It was recommended in December that an addition be made to the existing house.¹⁰⁸

The Town 1863 - 1866

The first few years following the Raid were busy years for Lawrence and the town saw booming expansion. In 1864, Lawrence came closer to the rest of the world

¹⁰⁵ *Kansas Tribune*, November 16, 1865.

¹⁰⁶ *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, August 31, 1865.

¹⁰⁷ *Kansas Tribune*, November 21, 1865, and December 10, 1865.

¹⁰⁸ City Council Minutes from December 13, 1865.

with the construction of a bridge by a private group over the Kansas River. They charged a fee to use the bridge and in future years became a very sore point with residents. Population also increased dramatically, especially in the years just following the raid.¹⁰⁹

The residents of Lawrence also came closer to the rest of the world by the completion of a railroad from Kansas City. In November of 1864, the Union Pacific made it to Lawrence. In 1868, the Union Pacific became the Kansas Pacific, and this line eventually became the Union Pacific Railroad Company. It was a big day in Lawrence when the people could cross their new bridge to get to the railroad station and watch the first train arrive on the north side of the Kaw.¹¹⁰ In 1866, a line was also completed to Leavenworth by the Union Pacific. Manufacturing in Lawrence already included a foundry (Kimball), a plow factory (Dix), furniture manufacture (Stick and Preisach) and a tannery (Willemssen).¹¹¹

These were also the Civil War years. About October of 1864, it was believed that Kansas would be raided by the Confederates under General Price. A confrontation occurred with Price on October 20, and 22, but the Union forces won and beat Price on the 23rd at the battle of Westport in now what is Kansas City.¹¹² After the war was officially over on April 9, 1865, Lawrence residents could finally relax their fears of being sacked again.

During this town building period, Speer's Daily Tribune devoted inches of column space to letting the city and the world know just how great Lawrence was and how prosperous it had become. In fairness, Speer also noticed the progress in the rest of the state. The newspapers at this time spent much time promoting

¹⁰⁹ Census for Lawrence 1860 - 1,645, 1865 - 5,416, 1870 - 8,320.

¹¹⁰ Kenneth A. Middleton, *Manufacturing in Lawrence, Kansas, 1854-1900*, unpublished Master's Thesis (1940), 24.

¹¹¹ Dary, 127.

¹¹² Dary, 129.

their communities. The newspapers received world wide news over the telegraph (after 1864 and the arrival of the railroad), and they took most of the newspapers from area towns as well as from other states. They kept informed on world events.

Examples cited by the paper to prove how up-to-date everything was in Lawrence, are found in articles such as the one describing the new iron columns on the front of Sternbergh and Storm's store. *The Daily Tribune* describes them as "equal in finish and in every other respect, to the best of Eastern-made columns."¹¹³

The Cemetery 1866 - 1869

By January of 1866, the rules and regulations committee for the cemetery submitted a draft report.¹¹⁴ They appear well thought out and appear to be rules that could apply to any Rural cemetery. After comparing them to the rules governing Spring Grove, it is easy to see that the committee copied them from some other already established Rural cemetery.

During 1866, the city council paid for a well at the cemetery and agreed to support a salary for a secretary/treasurer for the cemetery fund. The house was also completed for the sexton, as was a board fence around the cemetery.¹¹⁵ In 1867, the expenditures on the cemetery by the city begin to pick up and the city began to buy trees.

In December, the council began to discuss names for the cemetery and the following names were presented: Mount Lebanon, Mount Auburn, Fairmont, Sylvan Grove, Pleasant Grove, Abbot, New England, Oak Hill, Lawrence, and

¹¹³ *Kansas Tribune*, July 11, 1866.

¹¹⁴ These are found in Appendix E.

¹¹⁵ City Council Minutes, August 15, 1866.

Calvary. They were unable to decide however, and postponed the decision. and referred the selection of a name to a special committee.

The following ad then appeared in the *Tribune* on December 25, 1867,

The city council on Thursday next will adopt a name for our cemetery. Will the citizens, the ladies in particular, send in appropriate names to select from. Jas. D. Sands, Chairman of the Cemetery Committee.

On January 1, 1868, the decision was made from the following list presented by the committee (it is impossible to tell which came from the ladies): Mount Hope, Mount Auburn, Oak Hill, Belview, Fairmont, Mount Pisgah, Mount Pleasant and Richland. After five ballots, the name Oak Hill was chosen.¹¹⁶ They may have hesitated to name their cemetery for the more famous eastern Rural cemeteries as this might have raised expectation levels for a similar level of status and reputation for the Lawrence cemetery.

The cemetery had now been in use for three years, and the Kansas Tribune commented on the tombstones and monuments that were being built. On November 7, the paper notes:

The many fine marble tombstones and monuments that have been added during the summer and fall do much towards ornamenting and improving the grounds. Of these, the most striking is the beautiful monument erected the present week that marks the resting place of Dr. Leibley. A single massive block of limestone from Eudora quarry, four feet square by eighteen inches in height resting on a stone foundation forms the base. On this is a marble base thirty-one inches square and one foot high. Next a marble die two feet, four inches square and two feet high, and on this rests a single marble shaft, eighteen inches square and eight foot high the height of the entire monument being about thirteen feet. It is massive size and elegant and presents an imposing appearance. The order was executed by Mr. Jo. Parnham of the city Marble Works, at a cost of \$800. Mr. Parnham is noted as one of the best marble workers of the state and his proficiency and skill are well attested by this and other fine monuments and tomb-stones that mark the place of the Lawrence dead. A few more such monuments would cause the cemetery to be one of the handsomest in the state.

It is possible from this careful description to visualize what this monument looked like, and it carefully described what kind of monument was acceptable for ornamenting and improving the cemetery.

¹¹⁶ City Council Minutes, January 1, 1867.

Throughout 1868 and 1869, the city bought trees and continued to make small improvements to Oak Hill. In April of 1869, the city finally adopted Holland Wheeler's plat and registered it with the Register of Deeds of Douglas County. On the stylized Oak Hill map that is now used by the city clerk's office, sections one and two would have been on the original plat (Figure 1). Unfortunately, the original plat of Wheeler's work cannot be found and there are no old plats. One map exists today from only as early as 1973 and it is still used by the workmen at Oak Hill. A photo of this modern map is included (Figure 2) and it is more accurate than the stylized map. What remains of Wheeler's original plan remains speculative.

In December of 1869, the committee on cemeteries requested the city council to open a new section in Oak Hill, determine lots, and then to put them on sale; they suggested that the existing lots available had been culled over. The committee also noted that they needed more space in what they called "Potter's Field" or the area used for burial of paupers, and asked that three and one-third acres be cleared in Oak Hill for a larger Potter's Field. The city council approved the work.

The Town 1866 - 1869

During the years from 1866 to 1869, many changes were occurring in Lawrence. As noted, the railroad reached Lawrence before many of the other communities in the area and the community took the lead in some of the trade and industry.

CITY OF LAWRENCE OAK HILL CEMETERY

11-10-72
DRAWN BY RKS
REVISED BY JAC

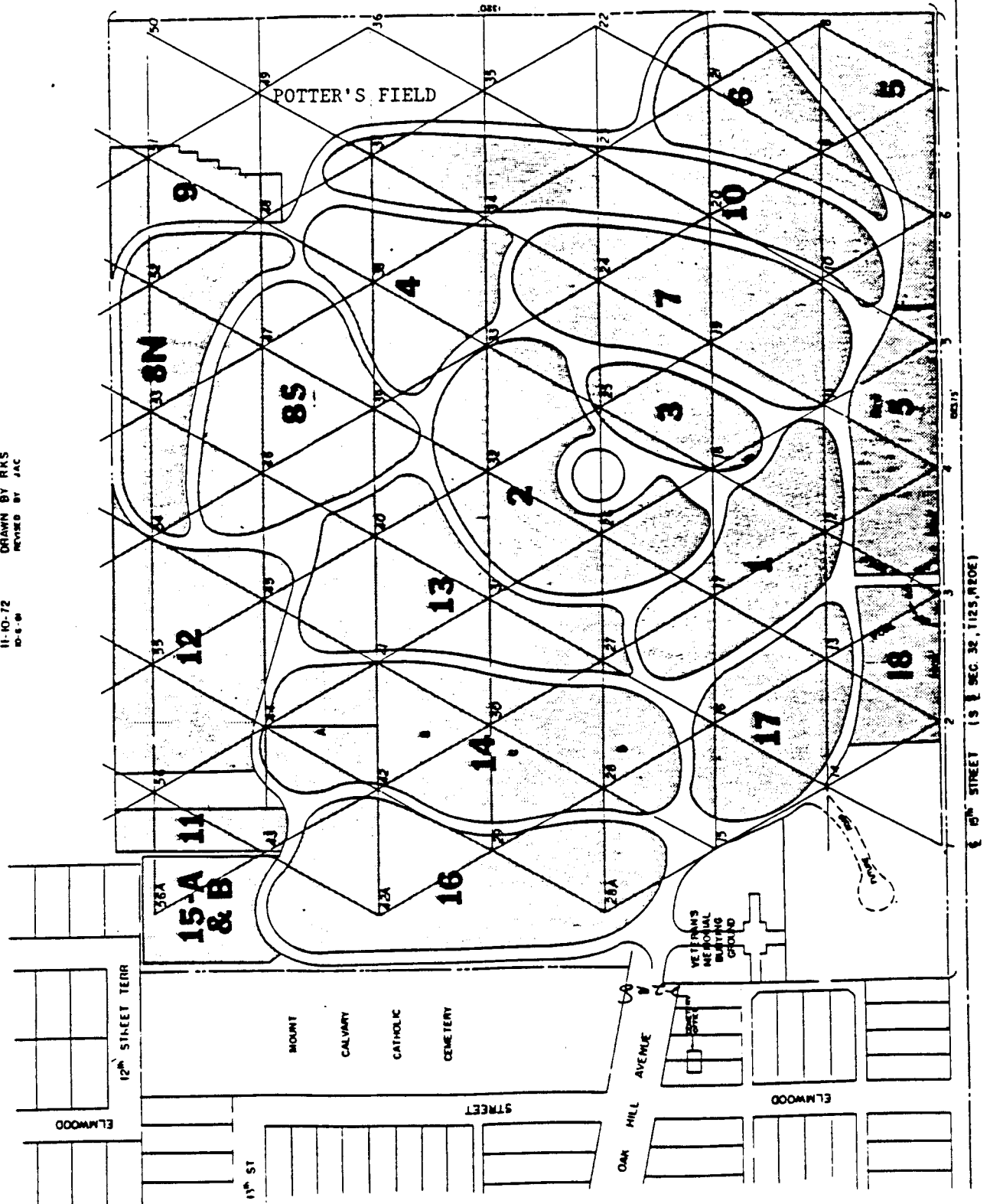
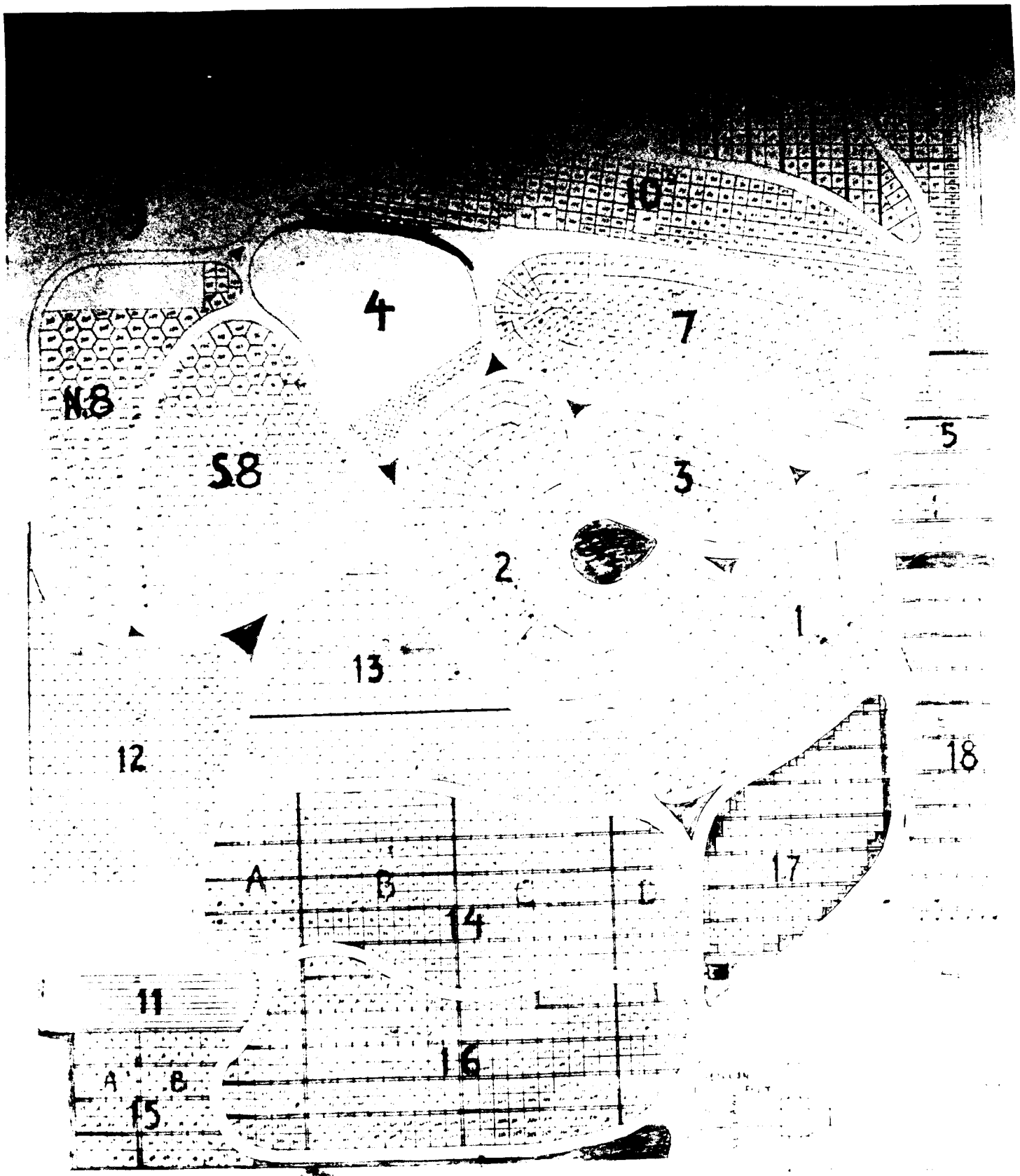


Figure 1



Lawrence benefited from the state's establishment of new roadways which brought people and trade to town. In 1866, the National Bank of Lawrence opened its doors due to the increased trade. Farmers were now able to get their products to market. The new bank joined the Simpson Brother's bank and the bank of W. H. R. Lykins.

In 1866, the first steamboat returned to Lawrence since their service discontinued in 1860. The boats had been kept from getting to Lawrence due to problems with the river; primarily the drought that lowered the river level to impassible levels. However, the days of steamboats on the Kaw were soon over due to the pressure of the railroads on the legislature to close the rivers to steam travel. The railroads were successful and hence they destroyed this competition for transportation and trade.

The railroads were critical to the development of Lawrence, as they were to many frontier communities. Ties to the railroad meant rapid communication and transportation of goods, services and people. Douglas County voted \$300,000 in railroad bonds for the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad. The federal government had voted aid to the development of the railroad in the form of land which could be sold to aid in the construction, but counties benefiting from the railroad were asked to buy bonds. This railroad did make it to Ottawa and then extended the line to Coffeyville but did not build the branch to Fort Riley because of financial trouble.

The Pleasant Hill Railroad was another line that generated a great deal of enthusiasm. This railroad promised to provide a direct route to St. Louis ensuring that Lawrence would become a commercial metropolis in the Kansas Valley region. Lawrence was competing rather evenly with Kansas City as a trade center

and therefore this railroad promised a great deal. \$125,000 worth of bonds were issued for this railroad.

The railroad to Carbondale was proposed to tap local coal resources of Osage County. The belief was that cheap coal would help make Lawrence a manufacturing center. Unfortunately there was a very poor supply of coal but \$200,000 of bonds were issued to the Lawrence and Southwestern Railroad Company.¹¹⁷

Other railroad schemes developed; Lawrence had railroad fever and Lawrence and the citizens of Douglas County who voted, believed sincerely that prosperity followed the railroads. By the time the rapture over railroads had vanished, the county had incurred a heavy rate of indebtedness. Lawrence was making major financial commitments for the promotion and development of Lawrence, and Oak Hill's development was part of this town promotion.

Lawrence experienced growth and prosperity between 1865 and the early 70's. The population grew from 1,645 in 1860, to 8,320 by 1870. The January 1, 1870 *Republican Daily Journal* listed a brief history of the community and then demonstrated the flowing optimism concerning the railroads and the unlimited potential they would provide for Lawrence. The paper also listed two woolen mills by this time, four flour mills, six wagon and carriage manufacturers, three furniture manufacturers, and the Kimball foundry and the tannery. It described the dry goods stores, grocery stores, drug stores, hotels and churches. By this time, the state university had been founded and the paper boasted of it as well as of the public schools.

North Lawrence was annexed in 1870 and brought with it another \$200,000 in bonded indebtedness.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Middleton, 26-32.

¹¹⁸ *Republican Daily Journal*, May 3, 1870.

In April, the *Republican Daily Journal* called for more manufacturing in Lawrence for agricultural tools, bricks, and beet sugar.¹¹⁹ From all indications in the paper, it is easy to understand their sense of optimism and plans for greatness; Lawrence did seem to offer a great deal of promise.

One of the interesting items mentioned during this time is Kansas' growing reputation as a producer of fruit. In October of 1869, an article in the *Republican Daily Journal* described the growth in Lawrence and Kansas and invited capital and labor to join in the success. The article also described Kansas' success in obtaining a medal at the American Pomological Society in Philadelphia for its display of fruit.¹²⁰ In 1870, Kansas took a gold medal for its display of fruits at the same Congress.¹²¹ Fruit production became an item for the papers to promote as fruit production seemed a way of promoting Kansas.

Immigration into Kansas was picking up and the papers drew attention to the immigrants into the into Douglas County. Many of the immigrants were very well off and the Germans especially were noted as being affluent.¹²² In 1870 as a result of the influx of Germans, the schools board agreed to teach one hour of German at Central School.¹²³

The Cemetery 1870 - 1872

In 1870 Gurdon Grovenor was again elected mayor. What association he might have had with Oak Hill between the time he was Mayor in 1865 and 1870, is difficult to say. He was to make contact "abroad" about laying out the cemetery.

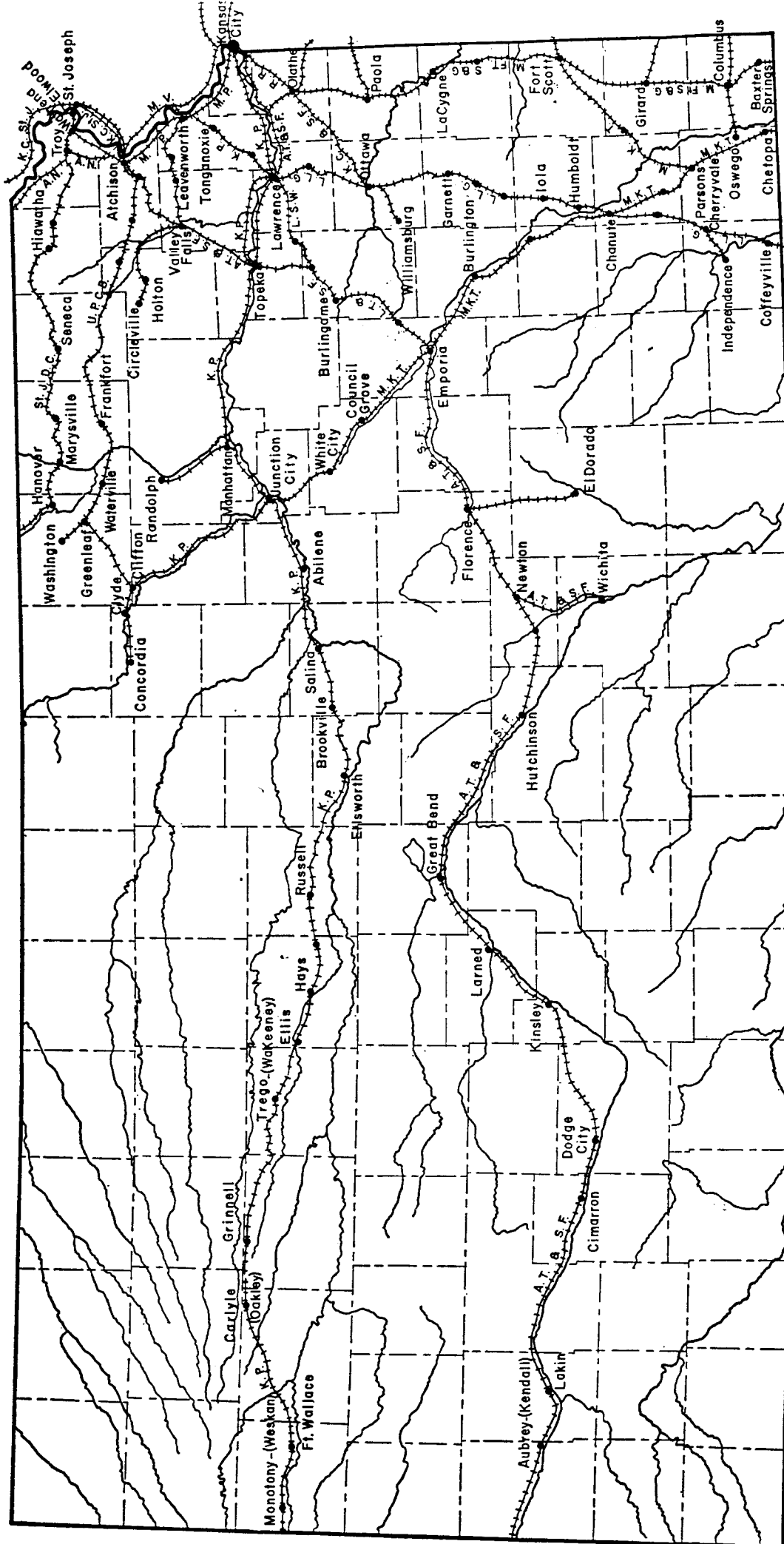
¹¹⁹ *Republican Daily Journal*, April 1870.

¹²⁰ *Republican Daily Journal*, October 28, 1869.

¹²¹ *Republican Daily Journal*, April 1, 1870.

¹²² *Republican Daily Journal*, October 30, 1869.

¹²³ *Republican Daily Journal*, March 18, 1870,



RAILROAD COMPANIES

- M.K.T. -MISSOURI, KANSAS, AND TEXAS
- M.F.S.&G.-MISSOURI RIVER, FT. SCOTT, AND GULF
- K.P. -KANSAS PACIFIC
- U.P. -UNION PACIFIC-CENTRAL BRANCH

RAILROAD COMPANIES

- A.T. & S.F. -ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE
- L.I. & G. - LEAVENWORTH, LAWRENCE, & GALVESTON

RAILROAD COMPANIES

- St. J.D.C. -ST. JOSEPH AND DENVER CITY
- A.N. -ATCHISON AND NEBRASKA
- M.P. -MISSOURI PACIFIC
- K.C. St. J. -KANSAS CITY AND ST. JOSEPH
- M.V. -MISSOURI VALLEY
- L.T. & S.F. -LAWRENCE, TOPEKA, & SANTA FE
- L.S.W. -LAWRENCE, SOUTHWESTERN
- K.C. & S.F. -KANSAS CITY & SANTA FE

RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT IN KANSAS, 1878



Mr. Wheeler's work may have satisfied the city fathers' need for someone to design and plat the cemetery.¹²⁴

There is no evidence that the cemetery was used for touring, excursions or Sunday afternoon visits. The paper did cover many outing and events, but they were usually to places like Haskell Grove. In February of 1870, a legislative excursion came to Lawrence and in a descriptive writeup, the paper relayed where the legislators had been escorted in town and the cemetery was not mentioned. There were other excursions of businessmen and railroad men and again, no mention of any visits to Oak Hill. It seems that the trend for visitations that had occurred earlier at Mount Auburn, Laurel Hill, and others were not occurring at Oak Hill. But Lawrence did not need to use it for a natural escape from the city and the community certainly had plenty of naturalistic spots for recreating. Lawrence even had a public park, South Park.

It can be surmised from Mr. Grovenor's inaugural speech, that he still was not happy with the results of Oak Hill's development, and had his own ideas about what still needed to be done.

I would call your special attention to the condition of Oak Hill Cemetery. When this ground was purchased and plotted for a cemetery five years ago, it was deemed best by those having the matter in charge to appraise the lots at a high price, the sooner to raise a sufficient sum to improve the ground; but thus far, little has been done toward accomplishing that object. There is on hand to the credit of the cemetery fund the sum of \$1750, an amount sufficient, if judiciously expended to add greatly to the beauty and attractiveness of this final resting place of the dead, and I earnestly hope that you will commence at once a system of improvements that shall accomplish this object. There is very little inducement for the private lot owners to improve their lots so long as the drive ways and unoccupied part of the grounds are unimproved, and teams are allowed to pass across the lots and run over the grass. I would recommend that a strip of ground be plowed across the south and west sides of the ground sufficiently wide in which to plant and cultivate a row of trees; that the driveways be graded, and that the ground be mowed at least twice during the summer and not left to grow up to unsightly weeds and brush.

¹²⁴ Holland Wheeler, III, believes that his father's ideas about laying out cemeteries came from back east. His work may have been very much what they expected the design to be.

In addition to becoming mayor in April of 1870, Grovenor became superintendent of the cemeteries. Being superintendent of the cemeteries gave him the means to control what would happen to Oak Hill. In fact it is noted on May 5, in the *Republican Journal* that

Mayor Grovenor is taking hold of matters with an active hand. He has already put men to work fixing up the cemetery, so as to make it present a more pleasant and attractive appearance. They are filling in holes, cutting the grubs and roots, gathering up the rubbish and fixing things up generally.

There were events that occurred in 1870 that had a direct impact on Oak Hill cemetery besides Gurdon Grovenor becoming mayor and superintendent of cemeteries. One is the development of a Highland Cemetery in Junction City; another is the establishment of Decoration Day, and another is the desire to establish some tribute to the victims of the Raid.

Highland Cemetery in Junction City

In 1870, it was well publicized in the *Junction City Weekly Union* that Junction City had hired H. W. S. Cleveland to design a Rural cemetery. Cleveland had been recommended by Frederick Law Olmsted for the job and the Junction City Weekly proudly announced,

Mr. Cleveland stands for taste in this line (landscape design), and we are assured that Highland under his direction, will become the finest cemetery in the State.¹²⁵

This news surely came to the Lawrence paper as articles are quoted from the Junction City paper many times. On his way to Junction City, Cleveland would have come through Lawrence. His comments were carried in the Junction City paper through 1871.¹²⁶ Cleveland's presence in Junction City most probably had an effect on Gurdon Grovenor and his desire to make "sufficient improvements" to Oak Hill cemetery.

¹²⁵ Volkman, 93.

¹²⁶ Volkman, 97.

Decoration Day

The establishment of Decoration Day as a national holiday provided the means for a dramatic new focus on Oak Hill. Decoration Day began in Waterloo, New York in 1867. General John A. Logan, then President of the Grand Army of the Republic, declared May 30, would be the day to decorate with "flowers the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion." This was a day for honoring the dead martyrs of the Civil War. For Lawrence, the "holiday" provided an outlet for lingering feelings about the Raid, especially for many of the survivors. There were many residents who believed because of Quantrill's Raid that Lawrence had suffered more than any other town in Kansas in the Civil War. Lawrence had suffered and yet had managed to survive and prosper. Decoration Day was an day of intense pride. The day provided a formalized means of giving Oak Hill validity and purpose, and for those who cared about the cemetery, the day gave a reason to improve it, maintain it and promote its importance.

The first Decoration Day celebrated in Lawrence was in 1870. *The Republican Journal* on May, voiced its pleasure about the day's establishment but apologized that "in the West we have been too busy making history" to have participated in the last observances.

Committees were formed to plan the day; a program was established, a call made for businesses to close, and a parade route fixed to visit the known graves of the martyrs. Because there were three locations where Raid martyrs were buried, it meant covering a long distance for walkers; from the river, to Oak Hill, up Mount Oread to Daisy Hill and the old cemetery. Gurdon Grovenor, as mayor and superintendent of cemeteries, was elected the chairman of the committee assigned with arranging all that was needed for the observance of the day.

The citizens were called upon to do their sacred duty:

Tomorrow our citizens will have an opportunity to discharge a most pleasant but melancholy duty - the decoration of the graves of our dead martyrs and soldier. This anniversary has become a national one, the day one of the most hallowed in the calendar....¹²⁷

Young girls dressed in white were chosen to strew flowers on the appointed graves "trading beauty for ashes".¹²⁸ The ladies of the town were requested to provide the flowers and evergreens from their gardens. Groups such as the Masons, IOOF (Odd Fellows), Scandinavian Union, and Turners (a German group) participated and dressed in their full regalia for the ceremonies and Gurdon Grovenor presided over the activities.

June 1, 1870, the paper carried an article concerning the activities. The writer was pleased with the event and spent a few words describing the history of burial and the disgust with the old graveyard. He also noted:

. . . The opening of Père la Chaise, in 1804 was the beginning of a new era. Sweet Mount Auburn was consecrated in 1831, then there is Green-Wood at New York, a magnificent city of the dead; Laurel Hill, at Philadelphia, and indeed, so many and so beautiful cemeteries all over the land, that their mere mention is impossible in this article.

As the committees worked on the plans for the day in early May, a committee also advertised in the paper for any information about the victims of the Raid; any facts or statements relative to the dead, their names and ages. The purpose was to gather enough information about those who died so that an appropriate monument could be erected at Oak Hill.

The Honored and Dead - Relatives of those who were murdered at the Quantrill Massacre and others are requested to furnish any facts and statements relative to the dead that they may have in their possessions to the committee appointed for the purpose of collecting facts: their names, ages, and etc. and etc. It is thought best to remove the bodies to the new cemetery and there erect a suitable monument to their memory. This matter has been neglected too long. It is becoming not simply a neglect but a disgrace to the city that no more respect should be shown the victims of that cruel massacre.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *The Republican Journal*, May 30, 1870.

¹²⁸ Jean Snedeger, *Complete Tombstone Census of Douglas County 1*, Douglas County Genealogical Society, Inc., 1987, XIV.

¹²⁹ *The Republican Journal*, May 7, 1870.

A real concern was expressed that the city might be disgraced by not having done anything before.

Shortly after the holiday, John Speer petitioned the city to removed to Oak Hill the bodies of four men, victims of the Raid, that were buried on the Kansas riverbank. The committee on cemeteries was instructed to see to their reinterment, as well as look into the entire matter of reintering the martyrs in Oak Hill from the old cemetery.

Your committee have also had under consideration the petition of John Speer in relation to the reinterment of the bodies of certain persons killed in Quantrill's raid and would recommend that the mayor and city engineer be authorized to prepare plans for the removal and reinterment in the grounds of Oak Hill Cemetery lain out for that purpose, of all the bodies of the persons who fell victims of that raid not otherwise cared for by their friends and that the mayor be authorized to take steps immediately for the consummation of said removal and reinterment.¹³⁰

Through the year of 1870, improvements were made to the cemetery; even opening up a new section, section three, and the prices were set by the superintendent of the cemeteries and his committee. Council minutes indicated that about ten times the amount of money was spent in 1870 on Oak Hill, as was spent in 1869. Unfortunately, how the money was expended was not explained in detail. Most of the plant materials purchased were only designated as "trees" or "shrubs" or "work."

Pride in the monuments that were being built was highlighted by an article on the monument of General Lane and the point was stressed that Lawrence marble men did the work. Once again,

All who see this masterpiece of art will agree that Lawrence can turn out just as good work as any other city in the Union.

The rules and regulations were altered during the year to require that a person applying for a burial permit had to give the late residence, date of birth, date of decease, date of interment, disease, in whose lot interred, name of

¹³⁰ City Council Minutes, June 12, 1870.

undertaker, size of coffin for the person buried, and anyone applying for a permit for burial in Potter's Field had to have an order from the Mayor (Grovenor).¹³¹

Mayor Grovenor was reelected in 1871 and his inaugural address addressed Oak Hill extensively.

During the past two years there has been great improvement made in the condition and appearance of Oak Hill Cemetery. The underbrush has been cleared away, the avenues have been improved, shade trees and evergreens have been planted, the occupied part of the ground has been kept clear of rubbish and nicely mown in summer and every pains taken to make the general appearance of the grounds as pleasant and as attractive as possible. These improvements have created an interest in the cemetery on the part of the lot owners and the public generally and many of the owners of private lots have made improvements which have added largely to the good appearance of the cemetery and belonging to the cemetery fund, \$1750. Since that time there has been received from the sale of lots, for opening and closing of graves and work done for private lot owners \$3164.00 and paid out for salary of the sexton, pay of laborers, trees, tools, etc. \$2061.88 leaving a balance now on hand of \$2852.12. In making provisions for the care of this cemetery in the coming year I hope you will see that the work of improvement which has been commenced then shall be continued. The ground has been a fine natural location, the surface being sufficiently undulating and broken to allow the visitor passing over it a succession of changing scenes, and if it is wisely managed in its platting and ornamentation, may be made in a few year's time very beautiful and attractive, a fitting resting place for our dead.¹³²

His comments revealed that he was not finished with the platting and ornamentation of the cemetery. Oak Hill was still unfinished in his mind.

The Town 1870-1872

The city was busy with typical city-building adventures during these years. The issue of the muddy streets came up over and over again and the city finally decided to pave Massachusetts in Wycoff pavement blocks.¹³³ The town put in a horse-drawn, narrow gauge, street railway (trolley) system¹³⁴ and a dam on the Kaw was still an every present possibility.¹³⁵

¹³¹ *The Republican Journal*, September 11, 1870.

¹³² City Council Minutes, May 1, 1871.

¹³³ *Kansas Tribune*, March 2, 1872

¹³⁴ Dary, 170.

¹³⁵ Dary, 137.

Town promotion continued and the paper called for the development of wholesale houses in Lawrence to rival Leavenworth, Chicago and St. Louis. When the great fire swept through Chicago, Lawrence responded to the needs of the Chicago residents and raised \$3,000 in aid. In 1872, the Grand Duke of Russia, Alexis, visited Lawrence.¹³⁶

The Cemetery 1872 -1876

Mayor Grovenor, as Superintendent of the Cemeteries was in charge of moving the Raid martyrs from the old Oread cemetery to Oak Hill and the task was accomplished in January of 1872.¹³⁷

The community had seen two more Decoration Days most heartily organized and executed with the ringing of bells and the shooting of guns and cannon.¹³⁸ The cemetery was on the minds of the citizens more now than before the start of the Decoration Day holiday. The work and money being spent by Grovenor was obviously showing.

Oak Hill Cemetery - Something - much indeed - can be told of the refinement and culture of a community from the respect paid to the resting places of its dead. Lawrence stands well judged by this test. It is seldom that a more naturally attractive spot is selected for a cemetery than the inclosure known as Oak Hill, and we are glad to see that the gentlemen in charge of the grounds are adding to this naturally beautiful site the aids of art. The carriage way is gracefully kept; the undergrowth is kept cleared and great pains are taken to preserve the fine growth of young trees which in years to come will form the great features of the grounds. Inside the inclosed circle at the summit of the rise which overlooks the grounds, roses and other flowering shrubs are being set out with much care. Many fine ornaments have been erected during the past years and Oak Hill is daily becoming what every cemetery should be.

There was some indication of the appearance of the grounds at this point. Roses and flowering shrubs and the young trees that had been planted were described.

¹³⁶ *Republican Journal*, January 23, 1872.

¹³⁷ *Republican Journal*, January 16, 1872.

¹³⁸ *Republican Journal*, June 1, 1871.

Lawrence's refinement and culture were being boosted by the tasteful work and shown in the improvements at Oak Hill.

An interesting note appeared in the paper in March of 1872 and several more articles followed concerning the bonded indebtedness of Lawrence. One writer expressed his concern about being able to attract the immigrants coming to Kansas to settle in Douglas County with its bonded indebtedness of over \$500,000. "Good men will shun our city as they would the plague."¹³⁹ The issue of indebtedness was beginning to weigh on Lawrence citizens.

When the mayoral election came in 1872, Mayor Hadley continued Gurdon Grovenor's appointment as superintendent of the cemeteries and Grovenor was able to continue with his plan for Oak Hill. In 1873, he submitted plans for and the council approved curbs and gutters of Jefferson County stone (limestone); these stones have been moved, but are still present in parts of Oak Hill today.

For the next two years, money was continually spent on "plants," "trees," "shrubs," and "work" in the cemetery. Much of the work, plans and ideas were either taken care of by Mr. Grovenor, or the Committee on Cemeteries. There is not much information available from the city council minutes on the events being discussed.

The cemetery still came up in the news, and the news was good. In October, the papers lauded the cemetery as a mark of an advanced civilization.

Great attention has been paid for the last quarter of a century to the adornment of several cemeteries. The grave itself is robbed of half its terrors as one steals through such elysium of the departed as Mount Auburn, Greenwood and Laurel Hill. It is not only, however, in such great cities as Boston, New York and Philadelphia that an interest has been existed in this question but smaller towns in proportion to their means, have not been backward in furnishing a pleasant resting place for the dead. And we are more than pleased to be able to claim that Lawrence has been worthy of herself in this respect. A brief survey of our cemetery at the time of the burial of Mrs. Ellis, gave us a feeling of gratitude toward the men

¹³⁹ *Republican Journal*, March 27, 1872.

who had done so much toward beautifying the spot where so many loved ones rest and where so many more will rest till the Resurrection morning.

Our cemetery is really a beautiful spot. It commands a delightful ravine and its pleasant elevation and natural groves, to say nothing of the taste displayed in its arrangement make it an attractive place of sepulture....

We beg of our city fathers to be extremely careful how they handle our cemetery. We beg of them to remember that it is one of the best things we have..."

Through another change in Mayors, Mr. Grovenor was still retained as superintendent. What ideas he had for the cemetery were beginning to take shape. In November of 1874, the city council minutes note some of his activities.

G. Grovenor Superintendent of Cemeteries submitted a letter addressed to him by Cleaveland [sic] and French of Chicago in relation to the cost of laying out and landscaping a plan for completion of Oak Hill Cemetery, which whole matter was on motion referred to a select committee consisting of the Superintendent and Committee on Cemeteries and the mayor with power to act.

Mr. Grovenor either had contacted H. W. S. Cleveland and French or, perhaps, when Cleveland was working in Junction City, he stopped in Lawrence; Cleveland was known to promote himself.¹⁴⁰ He also worked lecture circuits frequently, but there seems no evidence in the papers that he lectured in Lawrence. Perhaps Mr. Grovenor had visited Junction City's Highland Cemetery as it would seem likely that he would with all the work and attention he was giving to Oak Hill.

The paper is more enlightening as to his intent with Cleveland. Sometimes the reporters for the paper would attend council meeting and interpret the meetings for their readers rather than just relay the minutes. Gratefully, the paper was there on November 3, 1874 to describe the events.

The matter of finishing the survey of Oak Hill Cemetery grounds was referred to the committee having it in charge, also adding the mayor to the committee. It is proposed to secure the services of a landscape gardener from Chicago to complete the work. The object of completing the survey is to be able to furnish cheaper lots to those who desire them, which will be a great accommodation to the poor.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Correspondence with William Tishler, November 7, 1989, also with Nancy Volkman, November 1989.

¹⁴¹ *Kansas Tribune*, November 3, 1874.

Apparently from this report, Gurdon Grovenor had plans to use the services of Cleveland as the gardener from Chicago.

The Town 1872-1876

It is admirable that Grovenor had plans to do anything at all about the cemetery. Between 1872 and 1874 some devastating events had taken place. In 1872, prospects for the city were still quite good. The city had ordered the removal of all of the old wooden awnings over the stores and they were being replaced with bright new canvas ones. The paper was pleased with the progress of the year and bragged about the new building at the university (Fraser), the new bank, the new churches, and several of the new elegant houses such as the Usher house on Tennessee.¹⁴²

In 1873, one of the biggest Decoration Days that Lawrence had ever seen occurred. Lawrence had a Soldiers' Reunion Day at the same time and Lawrence put out its best for it.

It is a good while since any number of people have been attracted to a public event, and we hope Lawrence will make the most of the opportunity. It is to be hoped that everything that can be done will be done to illustrate to our visitors that Lawrence is a nice town inhabited by "square" folk. Hang out your banners on the outer walls, and make Massachusetts street and all the other streets look as gay as possible. Seek out your friends from abroad, and in the afternoon take them around town and show them the university the churches and other sights.

Honor all drafts on your hospitality. Courtesy and kindness even more than honesty are the "best policy." Let the soldiers every remember Lawrence as the best camping ground they ever struck.¹⁴³

The event was a great success and Lawrence was rightly proud of itself. But this gay event seemed to be one of the last events of 1873 to bring pleasure to the residents.

¹⁴² *Kansas Tribune*, January 1, 1873.

¹⁴³ *Kansas Tribune*, May 29, 1873.

In September of 1873, the paper described the beginning of the financial panic as it hit New York. The economy in the United States had been built on rampant capitalist expansion. Through speculation promoters overreached themselves in building more railroads, mines, and factories than the markets could bear. Bankers in turn, had made too many imprudent loans to finance those enterprises. When profits failed to materialize, loans went unpaid, and the whole credit-based system failed.

Lawrence had played its part in the railroad speculation that was characteristic of the boom. Lawrence had already begun to question the indebtedness it had incurred. It was hoped that the completion of the dam would provide cheap power and attract manufacturing to town to prevent further losses in its economic base.¹⁴⁴ But the dam too, was destined for several more years of trouble.¹⁴⁵

Lawrence residents were having to take stands on another issue. The temperance movement began sweeping the United States in 1873 and 1874, the Lawrence papers are full of the activities concerning temperance advocates in Lawrence.

The papers did report some positive notes in 1873 with the establishment of a pork packing industry, progress on the dam, and some solvency during the panic.¹⁴⁶

The year 1874 was also a time of more bad news in the form of drought and the appearance of grasshoppers. Lawrence and Kansas were suffering. What had been an optimistic, upbeat, positive community had to sit back, and evaluate where they were, as many of the residents of the county were in trouble finan-

¹⁴⁴ Middleton, 91.

¹⁴⁵ Not until 1878 was the dam finally put into working order by J. D. Bowersock.

¹⁴⁶ *Republican Journal*, January 1, 1874.

cially. The grasshoppers ruined the crops in many parts of Kansas for years. In Lawrence, meetings were held to discuss how relief could be provided to the suffering.¹⁴⁷

The bonded indebtedness became a real issue for the city and was very disillusioning. Residents realized that the railroads could not do all that had been promised. Many of the lines for which bonds had been issued were either never going to survive or promised lines were not going to be built. There is no doubt that the spirit of the community had been affected. The realization that their efforts and the shouldering of the large debt had been in vain drained the community of much of its enthusiasm and willingness to make further improvements.¹⁴⁸ Lawrence's population declined during these years.¹⁴⁹

The Cemetery 1876 - 1877

In February of 1876, the council moved that "the matter of laying out the remaining ground in Oak Hill Cemetery be referred to the Committee on Cemeteries with power to act."¹⁵⁰ It is unfortunate for us, that the council gave the committee power to act, as this committee's work was no longer a matter of public record.

Gurdon Grovenor's plan to use Horace Cleveland to work on Oak Hill must have fallen through during this time period as the next indication of progress at the cemetery came in two short notes in the paper before Decoration

¹⁴⁷ *Kansas Tribune*, November 24, 1874.

¹⁴⁸ Dary, 144.

¹⁴⁹ Census records indicate that the population of Lawrence in 1870 was 8,320 and in 1875, it had declined to 6,268.

¹⁵⁰ *Republican Journal*, February 21, 1876.

Day in 1876 and gives indication of the change in plans. R. W. Ludington was again mayor and preparations were underway for the holiday.¹⁵¹

On May 18, the *Daily Tribune* noted:

Mr. Levi Wiltz [sic] of Wilmington, Ohio is in town for the purpose of furnishing designs for the completion of Oak Hill Cemetery. Mr. Wiltz is one of the Ohio State Centennial Commissioners and is a landscape architect of fine ability.

The May 29th *Republican Journal* notes that Leo Weltz was hurrying to get the work done on the cemetery in time for the Decoration Day services.¹⁵² Two weeks later, an article appeared in the paper discussing the improvements made to Oak Hill and gives more information about Leo Weltz and what he was doing with the cemetery.¹⁵³

Since Mr. Grovenor had originally planned to get H. W. S. Cleveland to do the work, we can assume that after the arrangement failed to be secured Mr. Grovenor went elsewhere for a landscape designer. It is not known how he got Mr. Weltz's name, but it is likely that he was recommended.

Leo Weltz¹⁵⁴

Leo Weltz (1822 - 1883) belongs to the class of unheard landscape designers working in the United States during the period when the profession of landscape architecture was evolving. Weltz was born in Germany. His grandfather was English, and had served as a envoy to the German Court. Weltz grew up in Magdeburg, in Prussia and received his education there and then studied horticulture and landscaping on the palace grounds of King Frederick Wilhelm in Berlin. He apparently worked there for a time. He then spent several years

¹⁵¹ The program is included for Decoration Day, 1876. See item in Appendix Other Information.

¹⁵² The day's events are described in Appendix G.

¹⁵³ *Republican Journal*, June 11, 1876. In Other Information appendix.

¹⁵⁴ This biography was provided by the Clinton County Historical Society in Wilmington, Ohio, and also part of the information came from Mrs. Charles Kirk (of Wilmington), who has done some research on Mr. Weltz.

employed by the Czar of Russia, Nicholas I, until he was called back to Prussia in 1847 for military service. After the war, Mr. Weltz took charge of the park at Magdeburg and subsequently visited different botanical gardens in southern Europe. In the meantime, he was a student of Alexander von Humboldt, an explorer and naturalist.¹⁵⁵

In 1851, Weltz came to the United States, first to Huntington, West Virginia and then the following year to Cincinnati. He worked for a nurseryman in Mount Washington, Ohio and then in 1855, went into business for himself in Mount Washington. In 1857 he was employed as a landscape designer to lay out a plan for Sugar Grove Cemetery Association in Wilmington, Ohio. One of his biographies indicates that Strauch recommended him. Because they were countrymen sharing a common background in landscape design, this seems reasonable.

Weltz's biography indicates his cemetery planning many times included laying out curving drives that followed the topography of the land and winding streams with bridges. Two bridges were recommended in his plan for Oak Hill. He gave special attention to scale and lawn-like spaces. It is noted in the Lawrence paper that there were fourteen varieties of oak growing, (the name "Oak Hill" was appropriate) and these oaks were "grouped off by Mr. Weltz to secure the very best sort of effect."¹⁵⁶ He also believed in utilizing tall monuments surrounded by small individual markers to avoid the appearance of clutter. Weltz's plans coincide with the type of 'lawn' cemetery developed under Strauch and are certainly evident at Oak Hill.

¹⁵⁵ (1769-1859) - a German naturalist, author and statesman.

¹⁵⁶ *Republican Journal*, June 11, 1876.

In 1860, he moved his family and business to Wilmington, Ohio and operated a successful nursery business, often shipping to neighboring states. He was widely recognized as an authority on horticulture and landscape gardening.

He became a member of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture in 1875. In 1882 he was chosen to lay out the grounds and superintend the erection of the exposition building at the State Fair Grounds in Columbus.

Some of his work in Ohio was for Governors' Chase and Buchanan. He laid out other cemeteries at London, Springfield, Martinsville, and the Waynesville, Ohio cemetery.¹⁵⁷

Mr. Weltz was paid \$155.90 for design work on Oak Hill Cemetery. From what can be inferred from council minutes, Leo Weltz spent some time working in Lawrence. He stayed at R. W. Ludington's home and Ludington was paid \$29.68 for boarding him.¹⁵⁸

The city gives all indication of being very pleased with the design and work he did while in Lawrence. The Republican Journal notes on July 30, 1876 that:

The "new avenue" at Oak Hill Cemetery is now finished and ready for travel. This makes a shady, cool drive these hot day. Parties visiting the cemetery now will have an opportunity to see something of the improvements that are being made there. Visitors should not fail to see the beautiful flower garden on the summit of the hill, where stands the Lane monument.

A quote from an out-of-town paper cites the handsomely located and improved cemetery as evidence of the intelligence and enterprise of the inhabitants.¹⁵⁹

Weltz's work had attracted attention. The Topeka Commonwealth notes:

¹⁵⁷ It has been nominated for a National Historic Site designation.

¹⁵⁸ City Council Minutes, June 5, 1876. Unfortunately, they do not tell us exactly when or how long he was in Lawrence. Due to the normal payment periods the council addressed, Weltz was most probably in Lawrence during sometime in May.

¹⁵⁹ *Republican Journal*, July 29, 1876. This out-of-town paper is cited as the *Indian Journal* [sic]. This may have been misquoted and mean *Indiana Journal*.

Probably fifty out of the eighty-five Topekans who went to Lawrence last Sunday went to the cemetery and we think every one of them was ashamed of the Topeka cemetery. As we have before stated, the Lawrence cemetery covers forty acres of land. A ridge runs nearly through the center, and each side slopes off at about the right angle, and one side and the top are covered with a natural growth of young trees. It is beautiful and worthy of the historic city. It belongs to the city, they, paying \$4,000 [actually they paid \$3,000] for it about ten years ago. Mr. G. Grovenor has been its superintendent, without a salary, [which was also not accurate] since it was bought. It has been a labor of love with him to see that art helped nature to make it a beauty spot. The sale of lots has raised money enough to pay all expenses, and they have a surplus on hand of over \$3,000. We could not learn whether the original purchase had been paid out of sales or not. We wish that every citizen of Topeka could see that cemetery. If they did, we feel sure that a week would not pass before Topeka would purchase ground for a cemetery.

In the twelve-year history of the cemetery this was the first known mention of visitors to the site.

Town Development 1876-1877

Lawrence had not been alone in its problems and the bad times had given them a respite from the relentless pursuit of town development and expenditures. Lawrence had the opportunity to look at their prospects for achieving their dreams a little more realistically. The *Topeka Commonwealth* noted that Lawrence looked a little worse for the wear. The city's terrible problem with maple tree worms had relentlessly cleaned the trees of leaves. The skeletal appearance of the trees in town and the unpainted houses made Lawrence look a little wormy and rusty.¹⁶⁰

There was some sign of improving conditions, however; even a little optimism returning. The county fair started up again in 1876 after the failure of crops in '74 and '75 and the residents were excited about the prospect.¹⁶¹ Kansas even participated in the United States Centennial celebration in Philadelphia and Kansas goods were displayed. The *Republican Journal* was even beginning to promote Lawrence again and ran an article about how Lawrence had not

¹⁶⁰ *Republican Journal*, October 10, 1876.

¹⁶¹ *Republican Journal*, August 27, 1876.

completely recovered from the panic of 1873, but things were looking up.¹⁶² Problems with the dam kept expectations down of enticing manufacturing to Lawrence, but even that was approached with determination to get it right.

Reelected in 1877, Mayor Ludington's inaugural speech reflected the more conservative tone of the community, for he declared that nothing should be started in matters of public improvements that were not absolutely necessary. This was indicative of the prevalent feeling concerning the bad times experienced in Lawrence.¹⁶³ There were articles in the paper later in the year supporting this conservative approach. In this era of economic conservatism, residents were still concerned with the salaries of city employees and on the cost of running the city and the schools. Fiscal conservatism was the mood as the bond issue had finally been settled and the county agreed to pay on their indebtedness at fifty cents on the dollar.¹⁶⁴

Decoration Day was held that year as it had been for the past seven years with the appropriate amount of pomp and attention.

In July, the *Republican Journal* noted the arrival the plat that Mr. Weltz had drawn up for the new areas of the cemetery.

A new plat of Oak Hill Cemetery has been placed in the City Clerk's office. It is a very neat job, and shows a great deal of taste in laying out that already beautiful spot.¹⁶⁵

The council took up the matter of paying Mr. Weltz in August, 1877, and at the same time, a letter reached the council from Holland Wheeler, the original designer of Oak Hill. Mr Wheeler was angry about the entire subject;¹⁶⁶ he wrote two letters to the editor at the end of September.¹⁶⁷ Rarely in the paper, except for

162 *Republican Journal*, October 27, 1876.

163 *Republican Journal*, May 8, 1877..

164 *Republican Journal*, June 19, 1877.

165 *Republican Journal*, August 3, 1877.

166 City Council Minutes, August 6, 1877.

167 Appendix H

politics, did disagreements over anything have such a thorough airing. Mr. Wheeler took on every element of the management of the cemetery as well as expressed his anger concerning acts of the individuals involved and "their judgement and good taste or want of them." There can be no other individuals at whom his comments were aimed than Gurdon Grovenor and at Mayor Ludington. He even accuses the city of squandering in excess of \$20,000.¹⁶⁸ His first letter gives the early history of the cemetery from his viewpoint.¹⁶⁹

His second letter arrived at the paper on the following day and addressed the subject of designing a Rural cemetery. He elaborated in great detail the layout of the grounds, what he did when he originally platted the first two sections and compared his work to what had been done by Mr. Weltz. He took Mr. Weltz to task about design decisions made during his visit to Lawrence and was especially upset at the plat Weltz produced for the city. Wheeler declared the plat entirely useless and challenged the reader to compare Weltz's plat to any plat of other Rural cemeteries in the country as a means of verifying its quality.¹⁷⁰

The *Daily Tribune* noted

... and now comes Holland Wheeler and surprises us all with his vigor and intelligence and literary skill he goes for the management of our cemetery, Truly our city affairs are getting a thorough ventilation. Mr. Wheeler's statements are those of a man who knows what he's talking about and will command the attention of every citizen of Lawrence, The end is not yet.

Much of Lawrence became embroiled in the fuss. The *Republican Journal* received the following letter:

Editor Journal: In company with my old friend Mr. D. G. Watt, we visited the cemetery and spent several hours in viewing the neat and beautiful grounds, and the tablets and monuments which give it its leading attraction. It is most beautifully located. It is an honorable

¹⁶⁸ The report from the secretary/treasurer for 1876-77 indicates that \$1,740 had been spent and that the salaries were, for the Superintendent - \$50, the Secretary/Treasurer - \$200, and the Sexton \$593.33.

¹⁶⁹ *Republican Journal*, September 29, 1877.

¹⁷⁰ *Republican Journal*, September 30, 1877.

testimonial of the public spirit of the citizens of Lawrence, and every visitor to the city should not neglect to pay his respects to the Lawrence cemetery.¹⁷¹

The writer went on to describe how the cemetery had been artfully handled and compared it with artists' work "and so it is in our cemeteries; the skillful hand of the sculptor has written a language which is equally as impressive."

Notes of criticism flew back and forth in the paper between Wheeler and a man only identified as W. C. T. The *Daily Tribune* notes

- If some citizens don't take care they will be calling one another hard names very soon in the discussion of the city, taxes, officers, grades, streets, cemeteries, etc, etc.

This had been a very unusual situation indeed with city residents had taking up sides over the cemetery.

The city council was trying to cope with the situation and published a notice for all "interested in the laying out of the grounds to go out that day and decide what plans and surveys it will be the best to carry out."¹⁷² Unfortunately, nothing more appeared in either the paper or the council minutes until December when the council minutes reflect,

The committee and the superintendent of cemeteries reported on the plat of Oak Hill Cemetery made by Leo Weltz, Esq, and his claim therefore of \$175.00 that they found the plat so far incorrect as to be entirely unserviceable and therefore recommended that the claim be rejected and the clerk directed to notify Mr. Weltz that the plat and computation areas accompanying it are subject to his order: also, recommending that a correct plat of the lots staked out on the ground by Mr. Weltz be procured and recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds as soon as possible.¹⁷³

During this city council meeting Gurdon Grovenor resigned as superintendent of cemeteries.

Mr. Weltz had apparently provided an inaccurate plat. It had happened before to the board of directors at Spring Grove when they had hired John Notman. Mr. Grovenor certainly was not out just to spend the city's money nor

¹⁷¹ *Republican Journal*, October 3, 1877.

¹⁷² *Republican Journal*, October 1, 1877.

¹⁷³ City Council Minutes, December 17, 1877.

was he taking more than a token salary of \$50 a year. His reaction to the charges of mismanagement was reflected in one of Wheelers letters "the guardians of the institution stand by through all of this with gaping mouths." Grovenor evidently had been supported as superintendent in his endeavors to upgrade the cemetery by the mayors and city councils since he had been last mayor in 1871. But the years from 1872 on had not been good times for Lawrence, and the city had been under fire for excessive expenditures in everything. The cemetery in this fracas became the issue on which to focus the ire of many residents over the bad times Lawrence had just been through.

The cemetery would probably never have become an issue without the outspoken comments of Holland Wheeler. The cemetery fund had plenty of money, from the opening and closing of graves and the fund had even invested in some of the old Pleasant Hill railroad bonds. The cemetery expenditures in hiring an outside designer had no doubt captured the attention of the citizens who were watching for excessive expenditures by the city.

Holland Wheeler certainly had the right to be distressed over the plat and he was qualified to judge the plat as an engineer. There is some indication in his late September letters to the paper that some criticisms had been made of the early work he had done on Oak Hill. He alluded to a criticism made about a drive that he designed, "I am told that this drive is too steep to be practicable. I defend it by saying its declivity is its beauty; its utility makes it a necessity."¹⁷⁴

His letters reveal a great deal about his own information concerning Rural cemeteries. He charged his readers to check any plat of other Rural cemeteries in the country. This indicates that Wheeler probably had studied many plats when he was designing Oak Hill. He felt he knew a great deal about what kind of

¹⁷⁴ The September 30, letter of Holland Wheeler in the *Republican Journal*.

cemetery Oak Hill should be. He was injured, insulted and very much distressed with what he saw happening to "his" cemetery.¹⁷⁵ Another issue that might have been lurking in the background contributing to the furor was that Holland Wheeler had resigned in April of 1876 from city employment.¹⁷⁶ In May of 1877, he had wanted to return to work for the city and had been turned down.¹⁷⁷

There are questions that have no answers and many of these questions might be answered if there were old plats or maps available for examination. The absence of evidence has made it difficult to determine much about the Wheeler's original landscape, or Weltz's contributions. Most of the original road layout, as he described them in his letters, seems to be there. We know of some of Weltz's road layout and the bridges planned for the ravine. The city later authorized the building of the bridges that Weltz had designed, but there is no evidence of them today.¹⁷⁸

It is difficult to discover much about old plantings in the landscape. Plants, trees and shrubs have a life cycle of their own and so many of the plantings made by both Wheeler and Weltz are gone. The cedars on the property now were planted sometime in the earlier days of Lawrence's history, but there is no evidence as to when or who is responsible for them. The loss of information that would probably have been on old plats is indeed sad.

From all indications, Ludington, Grovenor and Wheeler were both well respected in the community and if disagreements had followed the normal pattern and stayed out of the paper, we would know so much less about the cemetery.

¹⁷⁵ His son relayed that Mr. Wheeler had gotten his ideas from cemeteries back east.

¹⁷⁶ City Council Minutes, April 17, 1876.

¹⁷⁷ City Council Minutes, May 7, 1877 and May 23, 1877. This was a complicated issue. Wheeler's bid was the best and the city hired two men at a higher cost. This is unexplained in the minutes.

¹⁷⁸ City Council Minutes, June 5, 1876.

There is much more about the cemetery in the years after 1877. Grovenor returns eventually to his job as superintendent as noted in a short biography written in 1879.¹⁷⁹ Holland Wheeler sometime later designed the Egyptian-style holding vault.¹⁸⁰

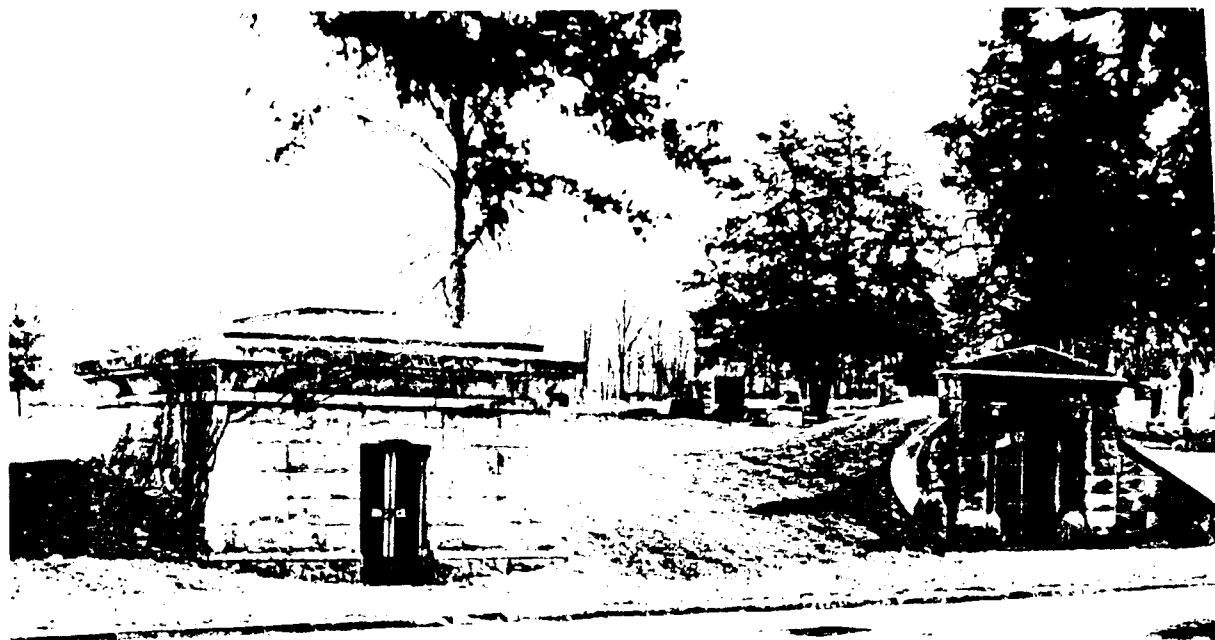
There are still more than one hundred years of history yet to be reviewed and written about Oak Hill, but the purpose of this paper was to investigate the establishment of Oak Hill and to understand its place in a cultural phenomena that swept the United States - the Rural cemetery movement. Part III of this paper will provide a short conclusion that reviews Oak Hill's place in Lawrence's history.

¹⁷⁹ *United States Biographical Dictionary*, Kansas Volume, Kansas City: St. Louis & Co. Publishers, (1879), 200-201.

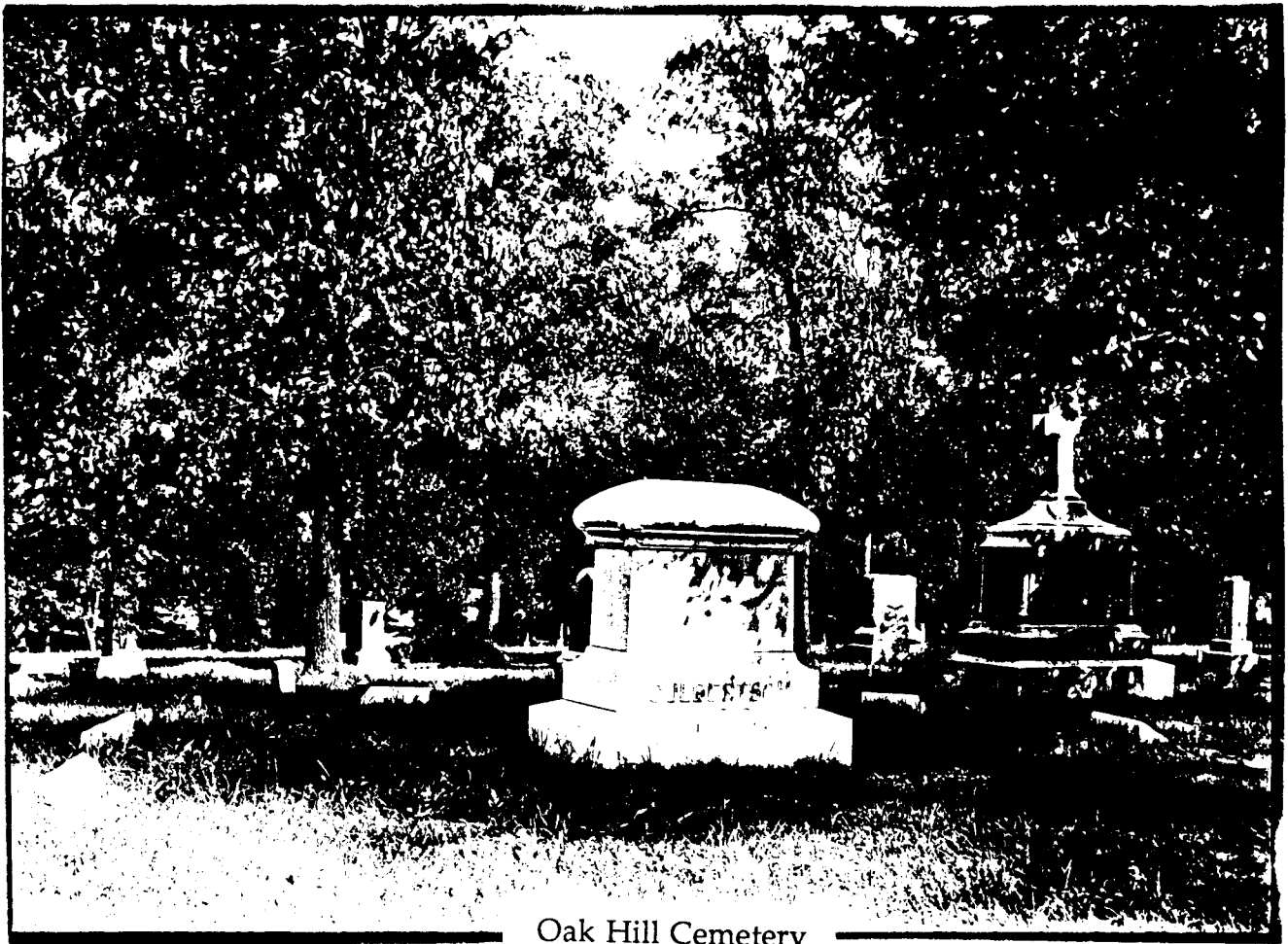
¹⁸⁰ *Norwich University History*, Vol. II, 1859, 625-626 (provided by Holland Wheeler, III).



Monument to
Quantrill's Martyrs



Holland Wheeler
Receiving Vault



Oak Hill Cemetery



PART III

Conclusion

Oak Hill cemetery was a Rural cemetery but the motivations for its establishment were different from those that created Mount Auburn. The unsanitary conditions posed by the old graveyards, and the hurried, dirty and commercial environment of the eastern industrial cities were not relevant in rural Lawrence. Nevertheless, the intangible cultural effects of naturalism and transcendentalism persisted, and elements are evident in the minds of individuals as cited in the newspapers of the time. A good example is this quote:

Happy is it, that the grave can be thus stripped of its prerogative of terror, and robbed of its 'victory,' even as Jesus Christ has rifled death of its 'sting.' That thus we may look calmly upon it as the ultimate goal whether all steps are ending as the dark opening of some bright and glorious perspective and not recoil into the giddy world to escape its lessons of morality. Were the grave rendered more attractive, it might be better than the words of the preacher.¹⁸¹

Oak Hill did resemble the eastern Rural cemeteries in its physical attributes. Lawrence's site was chosen for its natural beauty, Holland Wheeler and Leo Weltz were most interested in making it look like other Rural cemeteries of the time period. Rural cemeteries were built on wooded, hilly sites with curving roads that followed the contours of the land. Sites were divided into reasonably large plots that invited artistic monuments on a grand scale; there was an emphasis on the single family monument and a controlled 'natural' environment. Sites were also fenced, with a gated entrances and the names that suggested sylvan beauty and repose.

In aspects of management, Oak Hill also resembled other Rural cemeteries. The rules and regulations were based on a sample taken from another Rural cemetery and there was a resident sexton.

¹⁸¹ Frederick W. Shelton, *Rural Cemeteries*, 536-7.

In the eyes of the residents of Lawrence, they had achieved their own small Mount Auburn, Laurel Hill or Spring Grove. Their cemetery was an indication to the world that Lawrence was just as civilized as any other town in the United States, despite the frontier town setting.

Oak Hill was a ceremonial link that provided a feeling of safety to the settlers in their new environment; this allowed Lawrence settlers a feeling of belonging to the civilized society along the Eastern seaboard. The process of recreating their new cemetery as the cemeteries they knew back East is a part of a process known as "cultural persistence." It is a concept that is commonly understood. An example can be shown in settlers relocating in new environments attempting to recreate elements from their past.

In Kansas, they could not recreate the vast wooded landscapes from which many of them had come in the East, but they could and did create bits and pieces of it in selected important ceremonial landscapes such as homes, yards, public parks, cemeteries and institutional grounds. These sites and their designs were thus both functional and psychological values in attempting to form a link for settlers between their former homes and the Kansas landscape where they were now living.¹⁸² The development of a Rural cemetery was the goal of its originators as the Rural cemetery was the fashionable cemetery of this time period.

In the days of town promotion, any vestige of the civilization that could be favorably compared to the East was an attribute. It was a matter of pride that they had amenities such as paved streets, gas street lights, town participation with the lyceum circuit, and that Kansas could take a medal for its fruit in Philadelphia. The cemetery was no different in this regard. Not only did it prove how

¹⁸² Nancy J. Volkman, "Landscape Architecture on the Prairie: The Work of H. W. S. Cleveland," *Kansas History* 10, (Summer 1987), 89.

civilized and 'uptown' Lawrence was, but it was a selling point to capitalists who might want to invest in frontier towns. This was the age of capitalists and speculation. Lawrence wanted their money and was successful in acquiring considerable manufacturing.

Oak Hill was important to the residents because of Quantrill's raid. They measured evidence of civilization by how they treated their dead, and they worried about what the world would think of them by the lack of honor bestowed on their dead heroes and martyrs. There too may have also been among individuals a kind of survivor guilt, demonstrated especially in the actions of Gurdon Grovenor. The survivors had almost a special responsibility to do their part to make the world remember that these people had paid a special price for Kansas' choice as a free state.

With the establishment of Decoration Day after the Civil War, adequate respect was now paid by the community of the living to the community of the dead. The Rural cemetery helped define the past as a "cult of ancestors" through the commemoration of individuals or heroes in whom the region and nation could take pride. The Rural cemetery afforded the means of paying tributes of respect to the names and memory of great and good men. In Lawrence's case, the great and good men were the victims of Quantrill's raid as well as the Civil War. Especially in connection with Decoration Day, Oak Hill provided the formalized means to provide this proper respect. The ideas were so interwoven it is difficult to extract them separately - Quantrill, the Civil War, the ideas of honoring the past generations were tightly knit together.

The Rural cemetery has lost much of its original meaning to us today. This is only natural. David Lowenthal has noted in *The Past is a Foreign Country*, that our own past landscapes will lose consequence for our descendants as our present and imminent future become constituents of their past - even the

most striking events must inevitably fade away into pale replicas of the original picture. As they recede into a more distant place, each succeeding generation loses some significance that once was noted in them, some quality of enchantment that once was theirs.¹⁸³



¹⁸³ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*.

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Newspapers

The following newspapers were read to cover the time frame from 1863 to 1877, however, there are many skips in the dates due to missing papers. The two primary newspaper sources were the *Kansas Tribune* and the *Republican Journal*. The other papers were used to cover times unavailable with the other two.

Kansas Weekly Tribune

The Republican Journal

Kansas Tribune

Kansas State Journal

Western Home Journal

APPENDIX A

Period Time Line



WORLD EVENTS AMERICAN EVENTS

- 1866 Russia: Fyodor Dostoyevsky publishes *Crime and Punishment*.
- Austria: Gregor Mendel reports on basic laws of biological inheritance.
- 1867 England: Matthew Arnold writes "Dover Beach."
- 1868 Japan: Emperor gains power when shogunate—Japan's feudal dictatorship—falls.
- 1869 France: Jules Verne publishes *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*.
- 1871 Germany: End of Franco-Prussian War establishes German empire.
- 1872 Russia: Leo Tolstoy completes *War and Peace*.
- 1874 France: Claude Monet gathers Impressionist painters for first exhibition.
- 1875 France: People in France begin raising money to build U.S. Statue of Liberty.
- 1878 England: *The Return of the Native* by Thomas Hardy appears in print.
- 1879 Norway: Henrik Ibsen writes *The Doll's House*.
- 1880 Russia: Fyodor Dostoyevsky publishes *The Brothers Karamazov*.
- South Africa: Cecil Rhodes founds diamond mining company.
- 1882 Norway: Henrik Ibsen writes *An Enemy of the People*.
- 1883 England: Robert Louis Stevenson publishes *Treasure Island*.
- 1884 Russia: Leo Tolstoy completes "The Death of Ivan Ilyich."
- 1885 Germany: Karl Benz builds first automobile powered by internal combustion engine.
- 1886 England: Thomas Hardy publishes *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

- 1867 **Mark Twain** wins recognition with "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
- Lucy McKim, with others, publishes *Slave Songs of the United States*.
- United States purchases Alaska from Russia for two cents an acre.
- 1868 Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* becomes an immediate children's favorite.
- 1869 Transcontinental railroad completed with driving of golden spike in Utah.
- Women in Wyoming Territory are first to win right to vote.
- 1870 **Bret Harte** publishes *The Luck of Roaring Camp and Other Stories*.
- 1876 Alexander Graham Bell patents a telephone and transmits speech over it.
- Sitting Bull's Sioux wipe out General George A. Custer's cavalry at Battle of the Little Bighorn.
- Mark Twain** publishes *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.
- 1879 Thomas A. Edison invents electric light bulb.
- 1883 **Mark Twain** publishes *Life on the Mississippi*.
- Brooklyn Bridge, an engineering marvel of the day, opens.
- 1884 **Mark Twain's** *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appears.
- 1885 William Dean Howells publishes *The Rise of Silas Lapham*.
- 1886 Statue of Liberty dedicated in New York Harbor.
- 1887 **Sidney Lanier's** *Poems* appears six years after his death.
- 1888 Great mid-March blizzard in eastern United States piles 30-foot drifts in New York's Herald Square.
- 1889 Worst flood in American history strikes Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

WORLD EVENTS AMERICAN EVENTS

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| 1891 | England: Thomas Hardy publishes <i>Tess of the D'Urbervilles</i> . | 1890 | First volume of Emily Dickinson's poems is released four years after her death. |
| 1894 | Sino-Japanese War breaks out; Japanese army easily defeats Chinese. | | Last major battle between U.S. troops and Native Americans fought at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. |
| 1895 | Germany: Wilhelm Roentgen discovers X-rays. | 1891 | Hamlin Garland publishes <i>Main-Travelled Roads</i> . |
| 1896 | England: A. E. Housman publishes <i>A Shropshire Lad</i> . | 1893 | Ambrose Bierce publishes <i>Can Such Things Be?</i> |
| 1897 | England: Rudyard Kipling writes <i>Captains Courageous</i> . | 1894 | Kate Chopin's <i>Bayou Folk</i> published. |
| 1898 | France: Paul Cézanne begins painting <i>Bathers</i> . | 1895 | Stephen Crane publishes <i>The Red Badge of Courage</i> . |
| | France: Pierre Curie and Marie Sklodowska Curie discovered radium. | 1896 | Paul Lawrence Dunbar publishes <i>Lyrics of Lowly Life</i> . |
| 1899 | Russia: Anton Chekhov has his play <i>Uncle Vanya</i> produced at Moscow Art Theatre. | | <i>The Country of the Pointed Firs</i> , Sarah Orne Jewett's masterpiece, appears. |
| | South Africa: Boer War breaks out between British and Dutch in South Africa. | 1897 | Edwin Arlington Robinson publishes <i>The Children of the Night</i> . |
| 1900 | Austria: Sigmund Freud publishes <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i> . | 1898 | Spanish-American War begins. |
| | China: Chinese nationalists begin Boxer Rebellion to expel foreigners. | 1901 | President William McKinley shot in Buffalo; succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt. |
| 1901 | Germany: Thomas Mann publishes <i>Buddenbrooks</i> . | 1903 | Jack London publishes <i>The Call of the Wild</i> . |
| 1903 | Spain: Pablo Picasso paints <i>The Old Guitarist</i> . | | Boston Red Sox and Pittsburgh Pirates play in first World Series. |
| | Ireland: George Bernard Shaw produces <i>Man and Superman</i> . | | Wright Brothers stay aloft for 582 feet in their airplane at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. |
| | Ireland: William Butler Yeats publishes <i>In the Seven Woods</i> . | 1905 | Willa Cather publishes <i>The Troll Garden</i> . |
| 1904 | Russo-Japanese War begins. | | Edith Wharton's <i>The House of Mirth</i> appears. |
| 1905 | Germany: Albert Einstein proposes his relativity theory. | 1906 | Strong earthquake in San Francisco is followed by devastating fire. |
| 1910 | Mexico: Francisco Madero begins revolution that overthrows dictator Porfirio Diaz. | 1908 | Ford introduces the Model T. |
| 1914 | Europe: World War I begins. | 1909 | Admiral Robert E. Peary reaches the North Pole. |
| | | | National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) founded. |

APPENDIX B

Spring Grove Monuments



Spring Grove's List of Types of Monument 1857

425 large monuments, of which 304 are white marble shafts
12 free stone shafts
1 red sandstone shaft
6 Quincy granite
27 Grecian monuments
7 Gothic
11 White Marble Scipio Tombs
1 White painted free Stone Tomb
7 Urns
6 Sarcophagi
6 Marble Statues
1 Egyptian Sphinx
12 Vaults with ornamental fronts
10 Vaults underground
4 Columns



APPENDIX C

Major Rural Cemeteries by 1850



APPENDIX D
Details from Spring Grove
Cemetery Report



Major Rural Cemeteries
Established by 1850

Mount Auburn (Boston) 1831	
Laurel Hill (Philadelphia) 1836	Albany Rural (NY) 1841
Green Mount (Baltimore) 1838	Woodlawn (Buffalo) 1842
Green-Wood (Brooklyn) 1838	Spring Grove (Cincinnati) 1844
Mount Hope (Rochester) 1838	Allegheny (Pittsburgh) 1845
Rural Cemetery of Worcester (MA) 1838	Hollywood (Richmond, VA) 1847
Harmony Grove (Salem,MA) 1840	Swan Point (Providence, RI) 1847

**Notes from The Cincinnati Cemetery of Spring Grove
Report for 1857
Cincinnati: Bradley & Co.
Cincinnati, Ohio 1857**

Spring Grove started on wishes of the community excited by Mt. Auburn, Greenwood and Laurel Hill.

Pg. 3 The design of these rural cemeteries was to remove from the last resting places of the friends loved and lost that gloom and dread with which a future state was regarded by the ancient Pagans - which made them look forward to the happiest state hereafter as one far inferior to the lowest condition here on earth, or the hopeless apathy of atheism which looks for (pg. 4) nothing in death of the body better than annihilation of the soul. It was to convert not only our souls to a brighter holier belief, but to give our bodies a holier resting place, where brighter aspects are presented to the survivors. It was to symbolize our belief in a renewed and happier life hereafter through the conquest of death through Christ. In the resurrection of the flowers - in their return to life after their death in winter, symbols of the immortality of the soul were perceived - symbols which seem to proclaim that the universal wish to mankind for a future happier state of existence had expanded into HOPE under the teaching of Christianity. And in those beautiful children of song, the birds that with their joyous notes seem to hail the opening buds and flowers of Spring, fancy saw symbolized Heavenly angels hailing in their songs of praise the coming of the redeemed.

The melancholy receptacles of the dead in caves and pyramids in mausoleums and cinerary urns, could not "gild the gloom" of the grave to the heathen who through fear of death were all their life-time subject to bondage. But the Christians enjoying the glorious liberty of the sons of God this bondage was replaced by faith and hope symbols of which, instead of those of despondency and grief were more appropriate to the last resting place of those friends from whom they considered themselves separated but for a season.

With these and other views and opinions inciting them to desire the establishment of a rural Cemetery in the neighborhood of Cincinnati

Pg. 5 Site Requisites

12. near but away from annoyances of smoke, turbulence, and noise of the city of industry and commerce, might occasion to visitors of the "city of the silent."
2. well situated - agreeably diversified surface
3. not underlaid with clay

Pg. 8 Mental and Moral Influences of Spring Grove

The contract which our bright and beautiful, rural Cemetery presents to the grief - heightening churchyards and burial grounds of our ancestors, is a cheering example of the progress of refinement in our feelings and manners, by the cultivation of Christian values of Faith and Hope, whereby the greatest of those virtues, Love is strengthened.

Poem "The Grave of the First Born" - exemplifies brighter, happier feelings, excited on seeing the last resting place of a beloved spirit situated where nature's loveliness is calculated to awaken feelings in strong contrast with those excited by the melancholy, negligent grave yards of our ancestors. - Nature offers consolation to the afflicted and resolute.

Pg. 14 Monuments

The love of beauty, that precious endowment of humanity which contributes so largely to human happiness, and which like hope

"Travels through, nor quits us when we die."

is exhibited in our monuments to the dead, as well as in our architecture for the living.

Beauty is always desired and art and nature are involved on such occasions to give their combined influence to effect the best expression of the beautiful.

The adoption of Egyptian monuments and funeral symbols has been general in modern times and the obelisk is a favorite form of then in our own country as well as in England.

Sometimes used is winged globe - symbolizes natural body to spiritual body.

Pg. 18 Impressive tombs demonstrate faith by works.

One of the beneficial influences produced by the establishment of our rural Cemetery, will be the correction of that miserable, barbrous, obtuseness of the finer feelings of our nature which permits the desecration of our grave yards and of which our city, young as it is, exhibit melancholy examples.

The improvement of our taste and habits in relation to our cemeteries is a testimony of moral and mental progress as decided and impressive as is the enslavement of steam and electricity to our physical progress.

The establishment of such a cemetery as Spring Grove is not only an acknowledgement of the debt due from the living to the dead, but a contribution to the metal and moral education of the unborn, who will owe us a similar debt hereafter. We all acknowledge the duty incumbent upon us to provide for those who succeed us, and to profit by the lessons taught by those who have preceded us, but we are apt to imagine that those only who have acquired celebrity by their writings or by their achievement in the field, can give profitable instruction after death to the living. And it is true that history derives its lessons from these alone. But these lessons are like instructions in the higher departments of literature and science which alone are thought worthy to be considered constituents of education. We overlook the value of humbler teachers of the alphabet and the spelling book, without whose did the occupation of the teachers of science would be gone. In relation to the lessons we should learn from the grave of the dead, the case is similar.

Page 19 Those pioneers of our city and state, humble and unpretending as most of them were in life, might teach us the lessons of fortitude, stern self-denial, patience and perseverance through suffering and dangers and privations of which we can hardly form an idea at the present day.

To some others of the early immigrants to our city, its founders and builders up - suitable monuments have been erected.

The lessons we may learn from the graves of our ancestors, and of the pioneers of *our* city and state should not be neglected. We know - tho' we are apt to forget - the benefit we derive from their lives, but few reflect on the benefits they can confer on us after death, if we can study the lessons which we ought to find on their tombs. The philanthropy which calls for the those living exhortation from the dead, which are more pure and free from taint and stains of earth, than any that can be called forth from the living, is peaceable, undefiled, full of mercy and good fruits; and tho' these good fruits may require time to ripen and grow with the influences which the sun of righteousness will impart, yet they will in due time, bless and gladden the hears of those who mourn now, but shall be comforted hereafter.

Page 21 But few vaults in cemetery - the policy of the board being to discourage them

Page 22 Have purchased more ground - a provision against that crowded appearance which a super abundance of monuments already gives to Mount Auburn and Laurel Hill.

page 23 Trees

The tree of life is a beautiful image - an image of a concentration of beauties, more extensive than any other object; and that form of the manifestation of truth, which beauty affords, has no fairer emblem than trees.

A rural Cemetery without trees would be like a sandy desert without water, affording as little nourishment to the heart, as the latter can give to the body.

Trees must necessarily be beautiful objects. Good taste in their arrangement in their varieties, and in their relative positions towards each other, and towards different objects, many increase their beauties, but nothing can take them entirely away as long as they continue to flourish

The indigenous trees of any country are always among its interesting characteristics, and they form an important portion of its wealth. The solemnizing influence of a deep forest has always been experienced and remarked. The beauties of the trees in their endless varieties is seen and felt inspiring solemn thoughts and feelings, without terror or repulsive gloom. This was probably the source of the Gothic style or architecture.* (*we are aware of the discussions on this subject, but give our own opinions.)

Page 24 This style, admitting of an endless variety or ornament is required, or of exhibiting beauty in severe simplicity, if necessary is particularly suited for sacred architecture, and the ancient cathedrals of Europe, by adoption of this style have become perpetual models of beauty and grace, more attractive to the sight and more exciting to the higher feelings of our nature, than any of those heathen orders which include the Parthenon, Erechthion and the Pantheon - or of the heavy Egyptian or ornate Italian. Trees can not, naturally, be made to inspire melancholy, feelings, altho' some such as the yew and weeping willow are supposed to have that effect, but this is because they have been selected as emblems of mourning. But even seen in this light, they are like sympathetic friends who weep with us in our afflictions, and thereby lighten instead of increasing our distress.

List of Trees and Shrubs

Silver leafed, Norway, Red, Sugar, Black Sugar, Striped Bark Maples

Common Horse Chestnut

Ohio Buckeye

Page 25

Chinese Ailanthus

European Alder

Hercules Club

White Birch

American Chestnut

American Hornbeam

Shell bark Hickory

Bitter Nut

Catalpa

Nettleberry

Am. Red Bud

White Fringe Tree

White Flowering Dogwood

Cockspur Thorn

Laburnum (Golden Chain)

American Persimmon

American, Purple-Leafed, Purple weeping, Lentis-Leafed, Entire-Leafed, Blue, Willow-Leafed, Beach

Kentucky Coffee Tree

Black Walnut

Chinese Koelweuteria

Sassafras

European, American Larch
 Sweet Gum
 Tulip Tree
 Osage Orange
 Cucumber Tree
 Fragrant Magnolia
 Page 26
 Large Leafed, Umbrella, Purple Magnolia
 Sensitive Tree
 Ash-Leafed Maple
 Sourgum
 Flowering Ash
 Virginia Hop-Hornbeam
 American, European Sycamore
 White or Silver Poplar
 White Maple leafed, Balsam, Hudson, Canadian, Italian Poplar
 American Aspen
 Shrubbery Trefoil
 White. Scarlet, Gray, Black Jack, Burr, Red, Laurel, Overcup, Yellow, Swamp White, Turkey Oak
 Venitian Sumack
 American Sumack
 Pink Flowering, Common Locust
 Maiden-hair Tree
 Yellow, Brittle, Basket, Purple, Rosmarin-leafed, American Weeping, Crisp leafed Willow
 Mountain Ash
 Weeping Mountain Ash
 White Beam Tree
 Japan Sophora
 Weeping Japan Sophora
 Deciduous Cypress
 American, European Linden
 American White, Red, European, Cork Elm
 Indigo Shrub
 Dwarf Almond
 Purple leafed, Common Berberry
 Sweet Scented Shrub
 Japan Globe Flower
 White fruited Dogwood
 Varigated-Leafed Dogwood
 White Flowering Deutzia
 Graveful Deutzia
 Silvery, Garden Oleaster or Wild Olive
 American Burning Bush
 European Burning Bush
 Grey Forsythia
 Athaea
 Garden Hydrangea
 Oak leafed Hydranges
 Sea Buchthorn
 SpiceWood
 Common Privet
 Tartaria Honeysuckle
 Holly-leafed Berberry
 Dwarf Horse Chestnut

Fragrant Syringo
 Large Flowering Syringo
 Gordon, Dwarf, Scarlet, Japan Quince
 Purging Buckthorn
 Rose Acacia
 Black Alder
 Buffalo Berry
 Spanish Broom
 Germander-leaved Spirea
 Willow-Leafed, Mt. Ash leafed, Snowball Leafed, Plum Leafed, Elm leafed, Smooth Leafed, Pure
 White, Nicoderts, Japan, Species from Nepal, Round leafed Spirea
 Snow Berry
 Common, Common White, Cut leafed Lilac
 French Tamarisk
 German Tamarisk
 African Tamarisk
 Wayfairy Trees
 Snowball
 Chant Tree
 Chinese Weigelia
 NA White Spruce
 Norway, Hemlock, Himalaya Spruce
 Page 29
 Himalaya
 White Cedar
 Common Juniper
 Swedish
 Savin
 Red Cedar
 Weeping Juniper
 Balsam, English Silver, Novle, Mexican Fir
 Austrian, Bhotan, Corsican, Pitch, White, Cembra, Scotch Swarf, Jersey, Red Pine
 Canadian Yew
 Am. , Chinese, Tartaria, Thready Leafed Arborvitae
 Dwarf Box
 Tree box
 Small leafed Cotoneaster
 Pyracanthus Thorn
 Japan Euonymus
 Thready Adamsneedle

Page 30 Aldolph Strauch - Landscape Gardener
 Henry Earnshaw - Engineer and Superintendent
 Cyrus Davenport - Secretary

Strauch's comment - pg. 31

Good taste would seem to suggest that a rural Cemetery should partake more of the character of a cheerful park or garden than of a common grave yard, where everything has a gloomy and dismal appearance, and every inch of ground is used for graves.

Place of contemplative recreation and everything in it should be tasteful, classical and poetical.

Preserve corner lots at the junction of the avenues for the planting of forest trees afford the stockholder and visitors delightful shady repose and pleasant drive, avoiding exposure to burning sun.

(A large number of our forrest trees having died.)

don't mix too many varieties - simplicity is the foundation of true beauty

The elevated grandeur of form, the delightful distribution of varied coloring, the magical interchange of tints, and the delicate transition from light to shade can only be produced by the employment of trees and shrubs corresponding in kind.

(Mix evergreen with certain trees that have color in autumn)

Grade each section before surveying and selling

Fix time in which vault tomb monument once began should be done.

Lots not enclosed are not as much trespassed upon as those surrounded with stone posts, (Page 32) iron bars, and chains; for there really seems to be disposition in the human mind to disregard useless restrictions.

Corner stones - some material as monuments, with name of the owner and the number of the lot and section engraved on it - is all necessary to indicate the boundaries of each lot, and the savings of money to the owner is very great

Trees and shrubs should form the background to monument - give appearance of family burial plot - no head and foot stones as looks like single interments

Dispense with unsightly fences, hedges, head and foot stones give sculptors chance for more than marble shaft (now too numerous) Too many monuments give the appearance of a marble yard where they are for sale (as is often remarked by visitors to these grounds).

Sepulchral devices - purely classical form and chaste taste.

Foundation must be with care rest on bed of concrete below action of frost and grave digger.

Page 33 - Don't crown trees, shrubs and flowers- actually destroy each other.

In planting a family burial lot, great care should be taken in selection of appropriate trees and shrubs. The monument is the principal object and shown to the best advantage.

Norway Spruce behind, Hemlock or White Pine in front. Both with silver Bohemian Olive produce a fine effect.

Cypress also suitable - roots don't spread and doesn't interfere with grave digging. It is also the emblem of immortality and was planted by the ancient over the graves of their dead. The Arbor Vitae and Yew are historical trees and well adapted for a burial lot.

"A Rural Cemetery in the neighborhood of a large city properly designed, laid out ornamented and with mausoleums, vaults, tombs, columns, vases, urns, etc., tastefully planted with appropriate trees and shrubs and the whole property kept might become a school of instruction in architecture, sculpture, landscaping gardening, arboriculture, and botany and those important parts of general gardening neatness order, and high keeping" (J. C. Loudon)

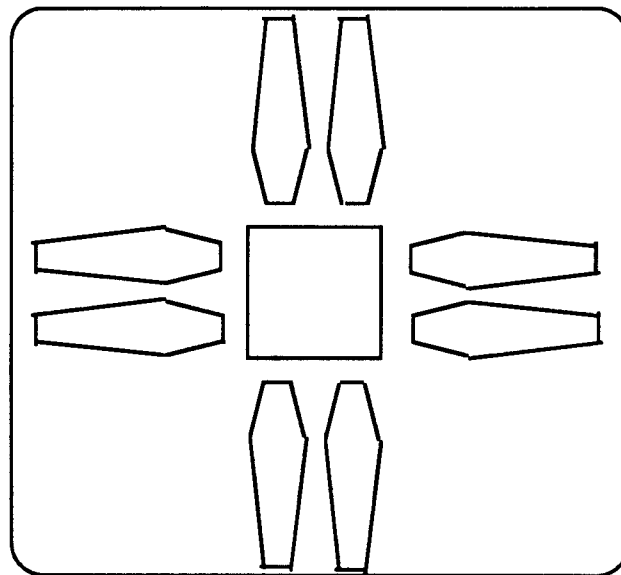
A garden Cemetery and monumental decorations, afford the most convincing tokens of a nation's progress in civilization and in the arts which are a result."

Page 34 - Funeral relics have inspired art in the past.

The grave should surround with everything that might insure tenderness and veneration. Why should we seek to cloak death with unnecessary terror and spread horrors around the tomb of those are love? (Washington Irving)

The ancients from their feelings never being aroused by the revolting emblems of mortality and confinement, contemplated death without terrors and visited its shrine without fear. They know nothing of sacred enclosures but know of sacred groves of trees, they saw beauty and grandeur in a massive monument, but not in an iron fence around their graves, they know how to produce variety, but abstained from destroying variety by its excess.

Iron railings derogate from the sacredness of the scene by supposing it possible that the cemetery would be visited by persons incapable of conducting themselves properly or that the grounds were pastured by cattle which fortunately is not the case at Spring Grove. (costs more money to maintain as well) A. Strauch.



Suggested interments on lots - eight interments can be made - name of each individual on each monument
Page 86

Page 37 - Many small stones, chains, fences, sacrifice the grandeur.

Strong argument not to clutter - can really enjoy what is there.

Page 38 - Vaults

Prevent return to nature

---"when nature is permitted to take her course - when the dead are committed to the earth under the open sky, to become early and peacefully blended with their original dust, no unpleasant association remains. It would seem as if the forbidding and repulsive conditions which attend on decay were merged and lost in the surroundings harmonize of creation . "(Rural Cemeteries of America)

Page 39 - Register of Interments

Keep name of the deceased, whose lot, the number and section and exact position of grave on the lot. More than one interment should never be made in the same grave unless at great depth from the surface.

- no fencing - everyone will see the superiority of this method - they are useless, unsightly, inappropriate, extensive and in need of constant repair and painting.

Page 40 - will build lake covering two acres at the head of the major avenues
November 1, 1856, Henry Earnshaw, Superintendent.

Page 43 - Reflection

Nature is an education of the heart. She employs a faculty of teachers so attractive and lovely that their teachings will retain their influence during life, to soften its griefs and mitigate its sorrows - to direct aspirations and restrain its errors.

From earth lessons of love, of gentleness and of purity are given - in their silent language - my majestic trees - by humble shrubs, and by (Page 44) those children of beauty, the flowers of the field adorned with every lovely tint of color that sun-light can paint on their petals; a looking up with their bright confiding eyes to Heaven for those influences on which their lives and growth depend. From the air com forth in the joyous notes of the beautiful and every cheerful birds, songs of praise and thanksgiving to their maker, which ion strains of melody give lessons to the soul, teaching it to soar upwards like them, toward the skies in its aspiration for higher knowledge and brighter light.

From the waters, whether calm and placid in their quiet beauty, or leaping and dancing among their rocky motes with sportive cheerful voices, ascend lessons of instruction to the docile heart and vigilant understanding; while from the Heavens above the many-changing clouds rolling across the deep blue above them by day, and by night the bright eyed stars looking down from above, in silent watchfulness of the deeds done in the hours due to rest, warn, instruct - enlighten and direct - the erring - the lost - wanderer among the dangerous wilds of infidelity and skepticism, and exhort him to look up on high for his guide. Natures teachers are never wearied - never discouraged. By incessant, though gentle operations, they change the rocks of the heart to fertile soil, in which the seeds they sow will grow up and flourish, yielding blossoms of hope and fruits of righteousness.

In the pictures in the report the scenes use yucca and peonies.

Spring Grove surrounded by Osage Orange as a fence - Page 54-55.

Rules and Regulations are nearly identical to Lawnce's Rules and Regulations

The dedication speech was by Honorable John McLean

Page 29

There are now erected on the cemetery
425 large monuments, of which 304 are white marble shafts
12 free stone shafts
1 red sandstone shaft
6 Quincy granite
27 Grecian monuments
7 Gothic
11 White Marble Scipio Tombs
1 White painted free Stone Tomb
7 Urns
6 Sarcophagi
6 Marble Statues
1 Egyptian Sphinx
12 Vaults with ornamented fronts
10 Vaults underground
4 columns
Oct 1. 1857
Henry Earnshaw, Superintendent

APPENDIX E

Rules and Regulations



Rules and Regulations relating to the Cemetery
Lawrence, Kansas
1866

Government

Section 1. The general care of the cemetery grounds shall be under the charge of a special committee of three, to be chosen from the city council, who shall perform such duties as the council may from time to time direct. All avenues and walks shall be located and graded, and all lots shall be surveyed and sold under their direction, and all improvements by proprietors of lots shall be approved or rejected by them. And of their proceedings they shall make a report to the council, at their first meeting of every month.

Section 2. The city clerk shall act as secretary of the cemetery and his duties shall at all times be subject to the city council. He shall collect all moneys belonging to the cemetery fund, and deposit the same to the credit of the city, in such bank or banks as the council may direct, which shall be drawn out only on checks or drafts, signed by the mayor and the city clear, and for no other purpose than that of paying such bills as may have been allowed by the council and which may properly be paid out of said fund.

Section 3. The city council shall appoint a superintendent of the cemetery, to hold his office at the pleasure of the council who shall be charged with the following duties:

1. (The Landscape Gardener) He shall superintend and direct all improvements in the cemetery, such as grading, planting, trimming the plants and trees, laying out avenues, and keeping the grounds, lots and avenues in proper order.

Lawrence Only 2. He shall have sole charge of the surveying of lots in the cemetery, the burying of the dead, and the keeping of an exact record of the location of the graves in the various lots in a book for that purpose.

Lawrence Only 3. He shall superintend the building of all foundations for vaults, tombs and monuments; provided the owner has paid the amount in advance for the same to the secretary and shall see that the rules regulating such structures be enforced.

Lawrence Only 4. He shall set all landmarks and corner stones of lots in their proper places.

5. (Landscape Gardener) He shall employ all necessary hands, and have charge of all horses, carts and tools belonging to the cemetery, and make such rules and

regulations as he may think best for the most economical administration of the cemetery, subject always to the approval of the standing committee.

6. (Landscape Gardner) He shall be required to keep a record in a book prepared for that purpose, detailing the number of hands employed, and the labor performed to keep a separate account of the amount expended for the various departments under his care, and at the first meeting of the city council of each month (Lawrence only), lay it before them for examination.

(Landscape Gardener)
7. He shall make a monthly transcript showing the number of hands employed and the amount expended for all purposes, to be put on file by the secretary

(Duties of Superintendent at Spring Grove)

8. He shall report on the first Monday of each month to the secretary, the names of all interred during the month (for Spring Grove, during the week ending the previous Saturday Evening) just ended, together with the date, section and lot of each interment, and return all the permits he has received during the same time, (and perform such other duties as the standing committee may from time to time direct. Also in the Superintendent Charges)

Lawrence Only Section 4. All bills shall be certified to by the superintendent and approved by the standing committee, before being allowed by the council.

Lawrence Only Section 5. The standing committee, secretary and superintendent shall receive such compensation for their services as the city council may determine.

Rules and Regulations for Proprietors of Lots

Section 1. All interments in lots shall be restricted to the members of the family and relations of the proprietor thereof; except special provision(SG - permission) to the contrary be obtained in writing form the standing committee(SG - secretary).

Section 2. All inclosures of lots must be placed on the lot itself, and if a railing, or post and chains, must not exceed thirty inches in height, the gates of which must swing into the lot, unless impracticable; and, if a hedge, must not exceed four feet in height. No stone or brick wall, or wooden fence can be erected as an enclosure of lots.

Section 3. The proprietors of each lot may erect any proper stone or monument thereon; *Provided*, that no head or foot stone shall exceed three feet in height. (SG - Trees, shrubs and plants may be cultivated, but no tree or shrub, growing within the lot may be removed or injured without the consent of the standing committee)

Section 4. Vaults or tombs are not recommended, but will be permitted; provided they are under ground, except the entrance; built of durable materials, and fitted up

with catacombs, in a tight and substantial manner, which shall be sealed with hard brick, laid in cement, immediately after the deposit of bodies therein, and the entrance provided with one or more metal doors.

Section 5. If any monument or vault, tomb, effigy, railing, or any structure whatever, or any inscription be placed in or upon any lot which shall be determined by the standing committee (SG - six of the directors), for the time being, to be offensive or improper, the committee (directors) shall have the right, and it shall be their duty with the concurrence of the city council (added to Lawrence's) (SG uses the word improper), to enter upon such lot and remove such offensive object or objects: *Provided however*, That if a (SG - said) structure or improvement shall have been made with the consent of the standing committee (SG - Board of Directors) for the time being, the same shall not thereafter be removed, except with the consent of the owner thereof.

Section 6. In the erection of monuments, vaults, tombs, railings or other structures, a place will be designed by the superintendent for the deposit of the stones, brick or other material, which shall not remain longer on the ground than is actually necessary for their construction. All graves shall be dug by workmen in the employ (SG - employment) of the superintendent (SG - Corporation), for which the most reasonable and fair charges will be made.

Section 7. If any tree or shrub, situated in any lot, shall, by means of its roots, branches or otherwise, become detrimental, dangerous or inconvenient to the adjacent lots, walks or avenues, the standing committee (SG - Directors) shall have the right, and it shall be their duty to enter said lot and remove said tree or shrub, or such part or parts thereof as they may deem detrimental, dangerous or inconvenient.

Section 8. The proprietors of lots, and their families, shall be allowed access to the grounds at all times, observing the rules and regulations which are or may hereafter be adopted for the observance of visitors.

(Spring Grove only) 9. To protect the grounds and especially the improved lots from injury, by the introduction of casual workmen, who have no special interest in their protection, the Superintendent is hereby directed to contract for building all foundations for monuments, etc.

(SGs #10) Section 9. Foundations for monuments must be built of solid masonry, and be not less than five (SG - six) feet in depth, and of sufficient size for the superstructure. All head an foot stones must be set in solid rock, of a sufficient size and depth to protect them from the action of the frost. (added by Lawrence) All foundations for the superstructure of fences or railings, must be done by or under the direction of the superintendent.

(SGs #11) Section 10. The grading of all lots must be under the direction of the superintendent (SG - an agent of the association.) (and by hands employed regularly on the grounds)

(SGs #12) Section 11. It shall be the duty of the proprietors to place and keep in repair, permanent landmarks of the boundaries of their respective lots.

(Lawrence only) Section 12. Posts at the corners of lots must not be less than two and one-half feet in length, and not more than six inches out of the ground.

(Lawrence only) Section 13. Trees on private or individual lots shall not be planted within two feet of the boundary line of such lots.

Interments

Section 1. Whenever an interment is to be made, timely notice thereof must be given at the office of the cemetery and a permit obtained therefor from the secretary, specifying the name of the person to be interred, the size of the coffin, and in what lot to be interred.

Section 2. The person applying for the permit must be able to give the following particulars: Name of deceased, place of nativity, late residence, date of birth, date of decease, date of interment, disease, in whose lot interred, name of undertaken and size of coffin.

Section 3. All interments will be subject to the following charges which must be paid to the secretary on obtaining the permit:

For opening and closing a grave under four feet in length	\$2.50	1.50
For opening and closing a grave from four to five feet in length	\$3.00	2.00
For opening and closing a grave five feet and upwards,	\$3.50	2.50

No grave shall be less than five feet in depth.

No rules and regs for visitors at Lawrence
No public holding valut at OHC

APPENDIX F

History of Douglas County Newspapers



DOUGLAS COUNTY.

Organized, 1855; named for Stephen A. Douglas, United States senator from Illinois; county seat, Lawrence; area, 469 square miles, 300,160 acres; population (1915), 25,130; assessed valuation (1915), \$36,752,518; resources and industries—agriculture, horticulture building stone, and coal.

LAWRENCE—Population (1915), 12,884; elevation, 829 feet; established, 1851; named for Amos Lawrence, of Boston, Mass.; industries—flour, feed and plaster mills, foundries, brick and tile plants, canning factory, nurseries, paper mill, carriage and wagon factory, tannery, planing mill, broom, barrel, egg case and mattress factories; telephones, electric lights, paved streets, street railway, municipal waterworks system, water power: is on interurban line to Kansas City, and the Santa Fe and Union Pacific railways. State University and Haskell Institute located at Lawrence.

ADVERTISER, Democratic; Charles C. Seewir, editor and publisher, Lawrence.

Weekly. Dec. 25, 1913 + 2 vols.

Founded 1913 by Charles C. Seewir.

DEMOCRAT, Democratic; Henry Albach, editor and publisher, Lawrence.

Weekly. Oct. 13, 1910 + 5 vols.

Founded 1910 by Henry Albach.

FRATERNAL AID UNION, fraternal; V. A. Young and B. F. Williams, editors; published in interest of the Fraternal Aid Union, Lawrence.

Monthly. June, 1891 + 26 vols.

A continuation of the Fraternal Aid, first published in Holton, Armer P. Shaw and Chas. V. Hamm, editors; moved to Lawrence July, 1897, C. V. Hamm, editor, and H. W. Grant, associate editor; named changed Jan., 1916, to Fraternal Aid Union.

GAZETTE (2d), Republican; C. S. Finch, editor, C. S. Finch, W. J. Flintom and Clarence S. Hall, publishers, Lawrence.

Daily. Feb. 9, 1903 + 26 vols.

Founded 1903 by C. S. Finch and Ed Martindale.

GERMANIA [German], independent; Henry Albach, editor and proprietor.

Weekly. Sept. 8, 1877; Jan. 8, 1880—June, 1881; Feb., 1883 + 33 vols.

Founded 1877 by Gottlieb Oehrie.

GRADUATE MAGAZINE OF UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS; published by Alumni Association of the Schools of Arts and Engineering, Lawrence.

Monthly. Oct., 1902 + 13 vols.

Founded 1902 by the Alumni Association of the Schools of Arts and Engineering.

HIGH SCHOOL BUDGET; edited and published by students of Lawrence high school, Lawrence.

Monthly. Nov., 1898 + 17 vols.

A continuation of the Windmill; Society's file not complete.

INDIAN LEADER; J. R. Wise, editor, Haskell Institute, publisher, Lawrence.

Weekly. Mar. 6, 1897 + 21 vols.

Founded 1897 by faculty and students of Haskell Institute.

JEFFERSONIAN GAZETTE, Republican; C. S. Finch, editor, C. S. Finch, W. J. Flintom and Clarence S. Hall, publishers, Lawrence.

Weekly. April 6, 1899 + 17 vols.

This paper is a continuation of the following: The Kansas Gazette, founded 1882, by Osburn Shannon; absorbed 1899 the Jeffersonian, founded in 1883 as the Enterprise [Dickinson county] Register; in 1883 name changed to the Anti-Monopolist, W. H. T. Wakefield, editor, C. B. Hoffman and W. H. T. Wakefield, publishers; moved to Topeka, and in 1884 moved back to Enterprise; moved to Council Grove in 1888, W. H. T. Wakefield, publisher; returned to Topeka in 1889 and name changed to the Jeffersonian, same editor and publisher; in 1890 Mr. Wakefield moved the paper to Lawrence, and published it until 1894, when Ed Martindale became the publisher; in 1899 consolidated with the Gazette, under the name of Jeffersonian Gazette, E. Martindale, manager.

JOURNAL-WORLD, Republican; W. C. Simons, president and editor, The World Company, publisher, Lawrence.

Daily. Feb. 20, 1911 + 19 vols.

A continuation of so many newspapers that accuracy is almost impossible.

Herald of Freedom, founded 1854 by Dr. Geo. W. Brown: the first issue was printed in Pennsylvania, and dated Wakarusa, Kansas Territory, Oct. 22, 1854; the second issue was published at Lawrence, and dated Jan. 6, 1855; on May 21, 1856, the office was destroyed by border ruffians and publication was suspended until the following November, by which time a new outfit was procured; in 1859 the Herald ceased publication. The Kansas State Journal, founded 1861 by Josiah C. Trask and Hovey E. Lowman, was the successor of the Herald of Freedom; in 1869 it was consolidated with the Lawrence Republican and the Ottawa Home Journal, and was edited and published by Rev. Isaac S. Kalloch, T. D. Thacher and Milton W. Reynolds; the daily edition of the State Journal was founded in 1865 by James Christian and Milton W. Reynolds. Lawrence Republican, founded 1857 by Norman Allen; T. D. Thacher, editor; published as a daily during the legislature of 1861; destroyed in the Quantrill raid Aug. 21, 1863; reestablished 1868 by T. D. Thacher, and consolidated in 1869 with the Kansas State Journal and the Ottawa Home Journal, the name of the daily edition becoming Republican Daily Journal, and of the weekly edition Western Home Journal. The Kansas Weekly Tribune (2d) was founded in 1863 by John Speer; destroyed the same year by Quantrill's raiders; reestablished by Mr. Speer in Nov., 1863, as a daily and weekly; consolidated 1874 with the Republican Daily Journal, as the Republican Daily Journal and the Daily Kansas Tribune, T. D. Thacher and F. E. Stimpson, editors and publishers. In 1875 the Kansas Weekly Tribune was again revived by John Speer, J. E. Covel and George M. Richards, with John Speer as editor; consolidated 1884 with the Kansas Herald, and called the Herald-Tribune until 1885. The North Lawrence Courier, founded 1866 by J. S. Boughton; name changed same year to the Kansas Valley Courier; in 1867 name again changed to the Clarion, and sold to the Tribune. The Kansas Herald, daily and weekly, founded 1883 by C. C. Thacher; consolidated 1884 with the Kansas Tribune, under name Herald-Tribune, W. F. Chalfant & Co., editors and publishers; ran until 1885, when the name was changed back to the Tribune; consolidated 1890 with the Journal, as the Journal-Tribune. Evening Telegram, founded 1888, and consolidated same year with the Evening Tribune. Lawrence Weekly Journal was discontinued 1909; daily edition of the Journal was burned out Feb., 1911, and consolidated at that time with the World. Lawrence Daily Gazette (1st), founded 1884 by Osburn Shannon; absorbed in 1893 the Daily Record, founded 1889, H. M. Greene, editor. The Daily Gazette was absorbed in 1895 by the Daily World. Lawrence World, daily and weekly, founded 1892 by J. L. Brady, editor and publisher; weekly edition discontinued 1909; daily consolidated with Journal 1911, under the name of Lawrence Daily Journal-World.

KANSAS EDITOR; Prof. Merle Thorpe, editor and manager; published by the Kansas University Department of Journalism, Lawrence.

Monthly. Feb., 1914 + 2 vols.

Founded 1914 by Kansas University.

KANSAS MUNICIPALITIES, municipal; official organ of the League of Kansas Municipalities, C. H. Talbot, editor, Lawrence.

Monthly. Jan., 1915 + 1 vol.

Founded 1914 by League of Kansas Municipalities.

MONTHLY WEATHER REPORT of the Department of Meteorology of the University of Kansas, meteorological; published by the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Monthly. Aug., 1903 + 13 vols.

UNIVERSITY DAILY KANSAN, college; edited and published during the school year by the Kansas University Publishing Association, Lawrence.

Daily. Jan. 16, 1912 + 8 vols.

Founded 1895 as the Kansas University Weekly, Wilbur Gardiner, editor; name changed to 1904 to the Kansan; in 1910 published triweekly; in 1912 changed to a daily and called University Daily Kansan.

UNIVERSITY SCIENCE BULLETIN, scientific; W. J. Bumgartner, managing editor; published by Kansas University, Lawrence.

Occasional. Oct., 1892 + 20 vols.

Founded Feb., 1892, as the Kansas University Quarterly; name changed 1902 to the Science bulletin.

BALDWIN—Population (1915), 1231; elevation, 1057 feet; established, 1858; named for John Baldwin, of Berea, Ohio; telephones, electric lights, municipal water system; is on the Santa Fe railway. Baker University located at Baldwin.

BAKER ORANGE, college; Frederick Vandegrift, editor; published by Baker Orange Company Baldwin.

Weekly. Jan. 8, 1896 + 20 vols.

Founded 1895; C. E. Dalton, editor.

LEDGER, Republican; W. C. Markham, editor and publisher, Baldwin.

Weekly. May 1, 1885 + 31 vols.

Founded 1883 as the Criterion, L. A. Sheward, editor and publisher; name changed 1885 to Baldwin Ledger, J. L. Bristow, editor and publisher.

EUDORA—Population (1915), 624; established, 1857; named for Eudora Fish, daughter of Paschal Fish, Shawnee Indian; telephones; is on the Santa Fe railway.

NEWS, Republican; Will Stadler, editor and publisher, Eudora.

Weekly. Sept. 8, 1887 + 28 vols.

Founded 1886 by M. R. Cain.

LECOMPTON—Population (1915), 414; elevation, 846 feet; established, 1854; named for Judge Samuel D. Lecompte; telephones; is on the Santa Fe railway.

SUN, independent; George W. Connell, editor and publisher, Lecompton.

Weekly. Apr. 23, 1891 + 25 vols.

Founded 1891 by W. R. Smith.

DISCONTINUED.

	Vols.
Lawrence.....Agora (m). Nov., 1895—1896.....	1
[See, also, Saline and Shawnee counties.]	
College Review (m). Lawrence and Atchison. Dec., 1885—1893.....	5
Colored Radical. [See Leavenworth County Short-lived, vol. 1.]	
Congregational Record (m). Lawrence and Topeka. Jan., 1859—1867.....	8
Democrat (1st) (d). July 16—Nov. 10, 1888.....	1
Democrat (2d) (d). Oct. 25, 1908—1910.....	4
Gazette. Sept. 7, 1882—1899.....	16
[First called Kansas Weekly Gazette.]	
Gazette (1st) (d). 1884—1885.....	1
Gazette (2d) (d). July 2, 1893—1895.....	4
Head Center; Daily Morning Sun. Jan. 14—June 9, 1883.....	1
Herald of Freedom. Oct. 21, 1854—1859.....	4
Jefferies Home Monthly. Aug., 1884—July, 1885.....	1
Jeffersonian. Oct. 9, 1890—1899.....	9
Jeffersonian Gazette (d). Oct. 8—Nov. 10, 1900.....	1
Journal. July 15, 1886—1909.....	22
[Called Journal-Tribune during 1890.]	
Kansan. Oct. 29, 1904—1911.....	7
Kansas Churchman. [See Shawnee county.]	
Kansas Collegiate. Oct. 26, 1875—1879.....	5
Kansas Daily Herald. 1883—1884.....	2
Kansas Daily Tribune. June 14, 1855; Nov. 29, 1863—1890.....	45
[July, 1872; 1875; Oct. 1, 1878—May 16, 1879; Oct. 19, 1879—Dec., 1879, lacking. From Nov., 1883, to July, 1884, paper was called Evening News, Morning News, Morning News-Tribune, and Morning Tribune; from July, 1884, to May, 1886, called Herald-Tribune.]	
Kansas Free State. Jan. 3, 1855—1856.....	1
Kansas Liberal (m). July-Sept., 1882. [See Valley Falls, Jefferson county.]	
Kansas Monthly. July, 1878—1881.....	4
Kansas Progress. June 15, 1882—1883.....	1
Kansas Review (m). Nov., 1879—1884.....	5
Kansas State Journal. Feb. 21, 1861—1868.....	4
[1864—1867 scattering.]	
Kansas Temperance Palladium. 1879—1880.....	1
Kansas University Lawyer (m) [broken file]. Mar. 21, 1895—1911.....	15
Kansas University Weekly. June 3, 1895—1903.....	8
Kansas Weekly Tribune. Jan. 1, 1863—1888.....	22
[July 31—Sept., 1873; 1875; Jan.-Apr., 1877; 1880, lacking.]	
Kansas Zephyr (m). July, 1884—1887.....	3
North Lawrence Leader. Aug. 21, 1884—1885.....	1
Once a Week. Jan. 6, 1883—1884.....	2
Oread (m). Mar., Apr., May and Dec., 1900; Feb., 1901.....	1

DISCONTINUED.

Vo.

Lawrence	Press. Jan. 16—July 3, 1891.	
	Progressive Herald. Oct. 17, 1913—1915.	
	Record (d). Sept. 12, 1889—1893.	
	Record (w). Nov. 14, 1889—1893.	
	Reporter (d). Feb. 22—Oct. 13, 1879.	
	Republican. May 28, 1857—1862.	
	Republican Daily Journal. July 1—Dec. 31, 1868; Dec. 5, 1869; Jan. 1—June 30, Sept. 17 and 18, Nov. 13, 1870; Jan. 5—Dec. 30, 1871; July 25, 1874; Apr. 21, Aug. 17, 18, 20, 21, 26, Sept. 15, 1875; Mar. 29, July 12 and 14, 1876; July 1, 6, 1877—1911.	6
	Select Friend (m). Oct., 1890—1901.	
	Seminary Notes (m). May, 1891—1893.	
	Shield of Phi Kappa Psi (m). May, 1885—1887.	
	Sigma Nu Delta (bi-m). Sept., 1886—1895.	
	Smith's Small Fruit Farmer (q). Apr., 1891—1893.	
	Spirit of Kansas. Feb. 3, 1872—1884.	
	[Broken files, 1874, 1875, 1883 and 1884.]	
	Standard. Apr. 7, 1877—1880.	
	Students' Journal. Oct. 7, 1892—1895.	
	Telegram, Evening. May 25—July 20, 1888.	
	Tribune (s-w); Herald Tribune (w). Jan. 4, 1884—1885.	
	University Courier (m). Oct. 10, 1873—1879.	
	University Courier (s-m and w). Sept. 6, 1882—1895.	1
	[Called Courier-Review Oct.-Dec., 1894.]	
	University Kansan (1st). Sept. 13, 1889—1890.	
	University Review. June, 1884—1896.	1
	University Times. Oct. 5, 1888—1889.	
	Western Home Journal. Mar. 11, 1869—1885.	1
	Western Record. Mar. 17, 1883—1884.	
	Windmill (s-m). Oct. 9, 1905—1906.	
	World (d). Mar. 4, 1892—1911.	3
	World. Mar. 11, 1892—1909.	1
Baldwin	Baker Beacon. Sept. 18, 1889—1895.	5
	[Called Beacon-Index, Dec., 1895.]	
	Bee. Aug. 13, 1896—1898.	2
	Criterion. Nov. 29, 1883—1885.	1
	Index (m) [broken file]. 1881—1895.	15
	Republican. Apr. 5, 1901—1911.	10
	Visitor. July 11, 1884—1885.	1
	Young America. 1864—1865.	1
Lecompton	College Echoes (m). Aug., 1888—1891.	2
	College Oracle (q). June, 1892—1901.	9
	Kansas National Democrat [broken file]. July 30, 1857—1861.	1
	Kansas New Era. Lecompton and Medina. Aug. 23, 1866—1867.	1
	Ledger. Dec. 13, 1889—1890.	1
	Monitor. June 4, 1885—1886.	1
	Union [broken file]. Aug. 30, 1856—1857.	1
Prairie City	Freeman's Champion. June 25, 1857—1858.	1

SHORT-LIVED—VOL. 1.

Lawrence	Gazette (d). Sept. 2—Oct. 30, 1885.	
	Hand Bill (d). Apr. 23, 1883.	
	Historic Times. July 11—Nov. 14, 1891.	
	Kansas Mirror. Oct. 20, 1881—Jan. 19, 1882.	
	Kansas Pacific Homestead. 1876; Feb., 1877; Apr., 1878.	
	Kansas Witness. Apr., 1882.	
	Mirror (d). Sept. 13-16, 1881.	
	Southern Kansan. Sept., 1883; Feb., 1884; Jan. 15, 1886.	
	True Citizen. Aug. 13, 1886—Feb. 19, 1887.	
Baldwin	Advance (m). Jan.-May, 1887.	
	University Breeze. Apr. 24—May 29, 1888.	

SHORT-LIVED—VOL. 2.

Lawrence	Bismark Fair Daily. Sept. 20, 1882.	
	College Life (m). Mar.-May, 1890.	
	Commercial Educator (m). July, 1885.	
	Democratic Standard. Sept. 29, Nov. 17, Dec. 8 and 15, 1870.	
	Kansas Benevolent Society Record (q). Jan., Apr. and July, 1880.	
	Kansas Monthly. Dec., 1878.	
	Kansas Pacific Homestead. 1875.	
	Kansas State Journal. May 29, 1862.	
	Kansas State Journal (2d). Oct. 8—Nov. 12, 1863.	
	Kansas Underwriter and Real Estate Journal (m). June, Aug. and Oct., 1869; June, 1870.	
	Observer of Nature. Dec. 13, 1875.	
	Our Schools (m). Jan., Feb. and May, 1879.	
	Reunion Banner. Sept. 21, 1882.	
	Standard of Reform. July 8 and Aug. 26, 1875.	
	State Sentinel. Sept. 16, Oct. 7, Nov. 18, 1875.	
	Tribune, Evening. Mar. 6-13, 1889.	
Baldwin	Kansas Messenger. Jan. 1, 1859.	
	School Times. Feb. 12, 1892—Apr. 5, 1893.	
Lecompton	Union. Nov. 20, 1856; Feb. 21, 1857.	
	Union (s-w). Feb. 7, 1857.	

SHORT-LIVED—VOL. 3.

Lawrence	Bismark Messenger. Sept. 3, 1880.	
	Business College Journal. July, 1882.	
	Commercial Educator (m). July, 1885.	
	Evening Standard. Sept. 16, 1879.	
	Latin Notes. Feb. 12, 1897.	
	Our Schools (m). Jan., Feb. and May, 1879.	
	Pet Stock Record (m). Aug., 1899—Jan., 1900.	
	Progressive Educator (m). May 1—Dec. 2, 1889.	
	Republican (d). Feb. 21, 1868.	
	Shorthand and Telegraph Advocate (m). Aug., 1885.	
	Suffrage Advocate. July 5—Nov. 1, 1894.	
	Vox Populi. Apr. 18, 1873.	
	Western Economist (m). Jan. 1—Aug. 1, 1895.	

APPENDIX G

Decoration Day 1876



GRAVES AND GARLANDS.

HONOR TO THE DEAD WHOSE MEMORY LIVETH.

LAWRENCE AND HER CEMETERIES;
DO. VON OF DECORATION
- DAY, IN BOTH.

"Let Fair Flowers, and Tears, and
Kind Words be unto Them a
Testimony of our Love."

No gage or test of the good of the popular heart is more significant, pro or con, than that of the manner in which the memory of the "Nation's Dead" is kept uncovered from the gathering dusts of time. As has been well said: "The monuments erected, the flowers planted by loving hands, in the resting place of the dead, testify to the virtues of the living." And with this thought as a criterion, let us mark especially high the standing of our own people. We may do so with just satisfaction.

FROM CITY TO CEMETERY.

The programme of ceremonies in the City was carried out substantially, as announced in Tuesday's JOURNAL. The procession formed at three o'clock, wanting no portion of its promised quota, save several of the civic societies who were prevented from appearing by the hot weather, high wind and almost intolerable dust. As the procession formed the streets were filled with carriages and the sidewalks became densely crowded so that to the extreme limits of the city the procession proper, was amply escorted and frequently augmented. The line of march lay southward along Massachu-

setts, Quincy, Rods Island, Hancock and Pennsylvania streets, thence eastward by the residences of Messrs. Riggs, McMillan and Haskell, over the ups and downs of the broad highway which bears so often the tread of the solemn, slow-moving funeral cortege, to the green summits and wooded slopes of Oak Hill Cemetery—the city of our dead.

WITHIN THE CEMETERY

a scene of perfect loveliness met the eye. The grounds had been visited early in the day by hundreds of our citizens, who were desirous of arranging their floral offerings with more care and skill than could be given by the decorating committee. After the exercises at the platform, the soldiers' graves were carefully strewn with the flowers brought from town, and the citizens present scattered over the grounds at leisure.

The speakers' stand was located to the east of the central eminence, and soon after the procession arrived, it was surrounded by a large audience intent upon the oratory of the day.

Mayor Lindington quieted the assembly and introduced the Rev. Mr. Peck, of the Baptist Church, who offered a most eloquent prayer, as appropriate as it was profound. Following prayer came one of the most important features of the day's procedure, viz.:

MR. THACHER'S ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow citizens: We have assembled upon this day, which by common consent throughout the country has been devoted to the decoration of the graves of the fallen soldiers of the late war. The occasion and its surroundings are suggestive. It is decoration day. The bright sun rolls through the heavens above us; the fresh winds fan our cheeks; the trees about us have just put on their full leaved robes of beauty; the luxuriant

grass springs beneath our feet; the flowers are bursting into bloom and fragrance; all nature is full of life, and animation and gladness. But here we are in this silent city of the dead, from whose populous streets and ever-multiplying habitations there cometh neither voice nor sound. Above is life; beneath is death.

The day, as I have said, is devoted by common consent, to the decoration of the graves of the soldiers of our late war. With us, as citizens of Kansas and of Lawrence, we give it a wider application. The great war for equal rights had — not its origin — but its first visible and tangible existence in our own original free State struggle. The men who fell in that early strife — Barbour, Hoyt, Shombre, Dow, Phillips, and others, are worthy to be remembered equally with the soldiers of the later and grander fields of battle.

Our own community, in the midst of the war, was made to feel the most cruel and murderous blow struck during the rebellion. The men who fell upon that terrible day, when our city was given to flames, and its inhabitants to destruction, — when rapine, conflagration and murder held high carnival in our streets, — the martyrs of the Quantrel Raid — deserve, and will ever receive our tenderest remembrance, — our most heartfelt tears. In many respects their fate was far more terrible than that of those who fell in battle.

They had not the stimulus of strife, the excitement and noise of war to sustain them. They were stricken down in the cold-blooded atrocity of deliberate and cruel murder. For the men who went in to the rebel ranks and fought against us openly and manfully as soldiers, we can feel the respect which brave men feel for one another as foes in war; but for the cowardly, sneaking, murderous bush-wacker, who could strike down nonresisting men, history will have but one record — that of indelible and eternal infamy!

We come, then, to decorate the graves of all these soldiers, heroes and martyrs of this good cause. It is a loving service, a heartfelt tribute. Peace to their ashes, and sweet be their sleep, until the last tramp shall sound to call from their graves all the populations of the globe!

[The speaker then gave a brief histori-

cal sketch of Kansas in the war, of the number of troops she furnished, the battles in which they were engaged, and other facts of historic interest. Among other things he said that it was just fifteen years ago, this day, that the First Kansas regiment, under Col. Geo. W. Ditzler, was mustered into service at Fort Leavenworth. He then continued:]

These all *died* for their country. How much there is in that word! Life, to them, was as sweet as to us it is to-day. Death meant as much to them as it would mean to us. The solace of home and family, and friends — the bright anticipations, the glowing hopes, the generous aspirations — all that goes to make life lovable and grand, and glorious, was their's. They laid all upon their country's altar.

We are not called upon to make this sacrifice. God grant that never more in our history as a nation may such an emergency again arise! But while we are not called upon to die for our country, we are called upon to *live* for her. How may we live for our country? By sustaining her constitution and her laws, by defending the great principles of human liberty upon which our institutions rest, and by discharging all the duties of good citizenship. We may do it by living so worthily, so nobly, so patriotically that we may show to the world that the country which was worth dying for is also worth living for. The good citizen is the counterpart of the good soldier.

Strew flowers, then, upon the graves of the dead, and not only for them who lie buried here, but for the dead whose unsepulchered bones lie mouldering in the swamps, and by the river sides, and in the dark ravines of a hundred distant battle-fields, the "unknown" soldier of the ranks whose name was emblazoned on no reports, whose shoulders were unstarred, but who uncomplainingly accepted his fate, laid down his life, and went, we trust, to meet his God above! What better memento of a soldier's death than these beautiful but perishing flowers. "Man cometh forth as a flower and is cut down." These lovely flowers, cut from

our gardens this morning, in the very acme of life, shall be strewn upon these graves, and ere the declining sun has set shall wither and fade like the sacred dust of which they are the sweet and fitting memorial. So let us all live that with our friends who have gone before, we may at last meet in that better land where the sound of war shall be heard no more, where death shall never come, but where

"In those everlasting gardens
Where angels walk and seraphs are the wardens,
Every flower brought safe through death's dark portal
Shall bloom immortal."

After an appropriate musical performance, Capt. L. F. Green of Baldwin City was introduced for the delivery of the closing speech which we give synoptically:

MR. GREEN'S ADDRESS.

It is well for us to take this hour from the concerns of the living and thoughtfully and reverently to the graves of our dead. And as we look over our broad land to-day and see our mother earth holding her dead sons in her arms, how poor are the words of human speech to express the feelings which come swelling up in our hearts as we think of the day they went out from us at the call of their country; their hasty good bye, their fall by the wayside on the weary march, or by the fever of the camp, or in the red trenches of the battle, and as this flood of cherished memories comes over us to-day, we can only find a few short words to tell that through the sad casualties of war they all came at last to the soldier's grave. And in this solemn presence we come to-day to remember them and gather fresh devotion to the cause they died to sustain. We know full well that

"No storied urn nor animated bust
Back to its mansion calls the fleeting breath,
Nor honor's voice provokes the silent dust,
Nor flattery soothes the dull cold ear of death."

But in imagination we may follow them beyond earth's shores to where their tents are spread on fame's eternal camping ground. And it is in this temple of death, silence and reconciliation, that we would bury all feeling of strife and bitterness, as

we see friend and foe alike with meekly-folded hands together in that mysterious fellowship of the grave; and in the shadows of the Eternal, awed by our common lot, how all earthly distinctions fade from sight, and in the higher, purer feelings of our better natures, see only the strife and death of brethren, and by their strife and death we stand rebuked into a nobler life as a people.

And we would make ready approach to the feeling of that stricken monarch of Israel, when rising from the ashes of his rebellious son, he poured forth the pent up feelings of his great heart in that torrent of sorrow and forgiveness which has enshrined him forever in the hearts of the good and brave.

For the cause of civil and religious liberty these buried ones drew the sword. They have fought—they have fallen. What was in our power to do we have done. We have paid them military honors. We have kindly laid them in their native earth, and with the annual return of this day we come with the choicest flowers of the spring time to deck their hallowed clay. And until we come again, we invoke thee,

O mother earth, upon thy lap
Thy weary ones reclining,
And o'er them silent as a dream
Thy grassy mantle weaving,
Fold softly in thy cold embrace
These heroes worn and broken,
And cool these hearts of fire
Beneath thy shadows old and oaken.

And before we go, let us lay our ear close to these graves, and from Mount Vernon and from that grave at Springfield, catch the solemn warning from our patient dead to guard well the cause they died to defend.

APPENDIX H

Holland Wheeler's Letters



September 29, 2877
Letter from Holland Wheeler
Republican Tribune

OAK HILL CEMETERY.

A Criticism on Its Management.

EDITOR JOURNAL: I wish to call the attention of the public, and especially that of the owners of lots in Oak Hill Cemetery, to the manner in which the affairs of that institution have been and are being conducted, and to suggest some views as to how the management may and should be improved. I do not propose this as a war upon individuals, but upon their acts as public officials. I consider it my privilege to discuss questions which involve the judgment and good taste, or the want of them, displayed by these persons, provided I am duly informed upon the subject proposed to be treated. For convenience I will divide the work into two chapters. Chapter one will relate to the management financially and otherwise. Chapter two will pertain to the method of laying out and ornamenting the grounds. So much for a prelude.

CHAPTER I.

During the year 1864, the city of Lawrence, by the then Mayor (Dr. Fuller) and the City Council, assisted by various public-spirited individuals, selected and purchased forty acres of land now known as Oak Hill Cemetery, for the purpose of making the same distinctively a rural cemetery. In the year 1865 the most desirable portions of the grounds were laid out, surveyed, platted, and plats recorded as sections one and two. Your correspondent had the responsible task of designing the work.

At this time the enterprise was in the charge of a committee composed of citizens and councilmen, myself being included. This committee fully discussed different modes of policy to be pursued to put the enterprise upon a sure footing. Reports, suggestions, and all information available from the experience of similar institutions were consulted. As a result of this investigation, it was determined beyond a doubt that, in order to make a success of the cemetery, *it must be made self-sustaining*, and in order to accomplish this, it would be necessary to sell lots for as large an amount as practicable in order to create a fund sufficient to keep the grounds in order. It was easily comprehended that lot owners could not be relied upon for assistance to a greater amount than the purchase money for lots; and that after the lots were sold all revenue would cease. And as by the sale of lots the cemetery would finally become individual property, the city would not be warranted in appropriating money for its benefit. Hence, to make the enterprise secure, it would not be allowed to use more than the interest on a safe investment of the funds. Presuming that the money realized from the charges for opening and closing graves, building foundations, etc., would amply remunerate the sexton, and that the books of records, accounts, etc., could be kept by the City Clerk for a reasonable fee, as that official receives pay for his full time, and always has plenty of time to spare, it was thought that some public-spirited individual, zealous in devotion to the cause, could be induced to accept the position of Superintendent, and direct the ornamentation of the grounds, for the consideration of erecting for himself an ever-enduring monument and the thanks of admiring friends.

This, briefly stated, was the design. Now let us look carefully at the *execu-*

September 29, 1877

The lots in sections 1 and 2, about 400 in number, were appraised at from \$40 to \$100 each. At the first sale of lots, the choice of lots was sold to the highest bidder, parties paying a liberal premium for priority of choice, and paying this premium often when the same lots could probably have been purchased simply for the appraised price after the first sale. Some persons expressed great surprise that prices were held so high, but being assured that it would all go to create a fund to be held sacred, they paid the money confidently. In this way money was soon realized to pay the purchase price for ground, expenses of fencing, etc.

The management passed into the hands of the City Council. (Excuse me for breaking the connection. I don't believe a city council is fit to run anything much, and I believe there are sensible members of that body who entertain the same opinion.) To resume. No sooner had the Council taken the business in charge than various salaried officers were commissioned—salaries, perhaps, moderate at first. You all know how very convenient it is for officials to impress upon the minds of credulous councilmen how great the service, how little the pay, how disinterested their motives in recommending measures—plausible but grievous to the tax payers, bad for the fund. The City Clerk as secretary of Oak Hill cemetery has at times received \$400 (at present he receives \$200) per annum; different sextons have received from \$600 to \$800; superintendent \$100; making in all for salaries from \$900 to \$1,200 per annum. Now, how has the money been earned? The secretary has always occupied the position of

City Clerk, and has kept the books, issued permits, etc., etc. I do not say that the books have not been well and properly kept, but I do venture to say that there is not nor never was a Councilman who knew how they were kept or what they contained. The secretary received the moneys paid for lots, if the purchase money was paid. The matter of payment has been at the option of the administration. Preferred persons have not, and probably never will, pay for the lots of which they have had possession for several years and have made numerous interments upon. Who these persons are, what they owe, what they propose to pay, the management does not know, does not inquire, and never will until some one makes them mad and stirs them up. So much for the clerical part.

What is the sexton? What are his duties? What does he do? He is to open and close graves on orders or permits issued by the secretary. Some sextons have done this; others have directed employes at the grounds to dig while they sat in the shade.

What about the superintendent? He holds the Council's committeeman off at arms' length, and does as he pleases. The result is that probably \$20,000 or \$30,000 have been expended, mostly in exorbitant salaries and unwarranted expenditures—squandered! The treasury of Oak Hill held, June 1, 1877—cash, \$47.20; note Board of Education, \$1,500.00; due from the county, \$56.00, less \$133.08 unpaid scrip; total \$1,470.12. It also had a prospective interest in Pleasant Hill railroad bonds which the thoughtful guardians had purchased with its funds, supposed to be worth \$2,800; and an equally dubious prospect in accounts, probably for lots credited out, to the amount of \$1,120.

OAK HILL CEMETERY.

CHAPTER II.

The design of a rural cemetery is a perfectly natural landscape, with naturally located drives and walks; the less of the artificial and the more natural the better. Now, follow me through Oak Hill Cemetery and allow me to present the different aspects as they present themselves to me. As we enter the gate we take the drive directly north and to the east of section three. We stop in front of the Fry monument. Now let me ask, Which do you choose, a lot on the upper or lower side of this drive? Of course you say the upper. Why? Simply because in one case you have an elevated ascending view, in the other a depressed descending view. The difference is looking up to or looking down upon the monuments. Now we leave the drive and go directly east toward and near the ravine. After taking a careful view, tell me why a drive lower down upon the slope would not have been a happier location than the one we left above. Certainly there could have been a greater number of more desirable lots obtained. The drainage would be improved. The space between the drive as laid and the ravine is practically waste, undesirable ground at present. No fault of the ground, but the unfortunate association with the drive.

We are back in the drive and in front of the Rankin monument. A drive from this point leads to the crest of the hill on the west. Examine carefully the location of this drive and its connection with the system of drives. I am told that this drive is too steep to be practicable. I defend it by saying its declivity is its beauty; its utility makes it a necessity. You are to decide. Now we go downwards around the circular

drive until we come to its junction with a drive leading nearly north, which drive has been unmercifully excavated to a depth of some three feet. Stop right here; imagine the excavation filled. Now look around and tell me if there is no other way to ornament this most beautiful plat of ground except by digging this terrible trench right through the middle of it, and leaving those steep, angular, unnatural terrace banks on either side.

Look to the drive itself. Instead of a natural, long, vertical curvature, it is stiff and flat as a board. Its junction with the drive on the south is absolutely awkward. We proceed northward until we reach the junction with the drive on the eastward.

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now cross on a nicely built bridge--and proceed southward on a continuation of this mislocated drive, again right up through the most desirable grounds for lots, cutting it literally down to bed-rock, and dividing it into two downhill view sections. Going south, we hope to escape any more of this torture of nature, when suddenly we come to the junction with another drive. Looking eastward on this new drive, we behold the unkindest cut of all. Tell me, what in the name of human ambition ever possessed anyone to inflict this terrible mutilation upon this lovely plat of ground? The drive has been graded too flat for drainage; it is so low below the surface of the section that a stairway of five or six steps has to be employed to climb up the embankment. You never saw such terrace embankment in nature except in a landslide

or wash-out on the bank of a stream. They are unsightly, difficult to keep sodded, suffer from drouth, inconvenient to mow. Without going into a treatise on landscape architecture, you will observe that if you build one of these embankments having plain faces with angular intersections, nature will directly round off the upper angle with a convex, and the lower angle with a concave curve. These two curves combined form nature's line of beauty. We see it applied to all the hill slopes; we never tire of it.

We leave this unpleasant view and face westward. The drive leads to the entrance with as much grace as a wilted gourd sits upon a rail fence.

Next we visited the old and improved portion of the grounds. We can find much here to admire, but that is not the purpose of our visit. We came to find the defects, and hope to get them corrected. The Great Architect had finished the earth before he allowed man to take possession of it. Hence man should be careful in his attempts to adorn. We find at the summit of the mound (which, by the way, deserves a name) a beautiful flower garden very appropriately laid out. It would have been well for the cemetery if all the terrace style of ornamentation had been applied here; but we find directly to the north and in the vicinity of the Grovenor monument several lots partially leveled up and terraced, leaving depressed parts between. Now it is well enough for people to build dwellings which out-top their neighbors, and to get in a miff and build double-partition fences with a "devil's lane" between, but for a rural cemetery give me the smooth curvilinear face of nature undisturbed. A pernicious practice prevalent here is the setting of four corner monuments, instead of one at the common corner where it belongs. These corners should never be conspicu-

ous. High-built graves are unsightly and difficult to keep in order. The family monument is more sightly, more durable, and cheaper than a multitude of head-stones.

Having viewed the ground, let me introduce you to the secretary's office. We are shown a plat supposed to be a design for laying out the grounds of Oak Hill. It bears the name of Leo Weltz, Wilmington, Ohio. Take this plat and compare it with the plans of the rural cemeteries of the country. Compare it with the humble efforts of your correspondent, on record in the office of the Register of Deeds—the plat of the original design of Oak Hill. You can find a few of my views on this plat embodied in a communication which I submitted to the City Council some weeks since. I am not going to discuss the question here; it doesn't admit of discussion. The practice is already defined. This Leo Weltz plat has been compared with the ground as staked out, and it is found to be correct within forty or fifty feet. I will stake my reputation as an engineer that it is more than useless for the purpose for which it was intended. Mr. Weltz received \$200 for his service in inflicting the derangement of nature at the cemetery. He now presents his bill for \$175 for the plat. The guardians of the institution stand by through all this, with gaping mouths, without a dream of an idea of their own. The cemetery needs a new fence, a receiving vault; the keeper's lodge is in ruins. If you are friends of the institution, inquire carefully into the correctness of these statements. If you desire, I am entirely at your service in this cause. Some one must act—or you will probably hear more from

HOLMAN WHEELER.

OTHER INFORMATION



Mayors

Blood	1857
Babcock	1858
Blood	1859
Deitzler	1860
Fuller	1861
Hudson	1862
Collamore	1863 (killed when hiding during raid)
Fuller	1863
Ludington	1864
Grovenor	1865
Lykins	1866
Kimball	1867
Steinbergh	1868
Hadley	1869
Grovenor	1870-71
Hadley	1872
Gleason	1873
Rankin	1874-75
Ludington	1876-77
Van Hoesen	1878
Usher	1879-80
Bowersock	1881



THE REPUBLICAN JOURNAL

SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1876.

OUR CEMETERY.

A DRIVE THROUGH OAK HILL
AND WHAT WE SAW.

The Work of Prof. Wiltz—His Admini-
stration for the Grounds—What
Has Been Done, What Will
be Done and What Ought
to be Done.

In company with Ex-Mayor Grovenor, for six years superintendent of our city cemeteries, we drove through Oak Hill, last week, and must, here at the start, express our surprise at what we saw, and were told.

Ten years ago, or thereabouts, Oak Hill, became the property of Lawrence. It was then a series of shapeless hills and gulches, densely overgrown with hazel brush, scrub-oak and thick underwood, altogether uncaptivating to any but the eye of an artist, who could see its natural advantages and the thing of beauty which time and money could easily render it, and which it has even now become.

As we enter the Cemetery from the south side and upon turning slightly to the right we find ourselves between the wide-apart heads of two ravines leading towards the potter's field in the north eastern corner of the grounds. For the present we are compelled to reach this field, by following the extreme eastern fence, but according to Mr. Wiltz's de-

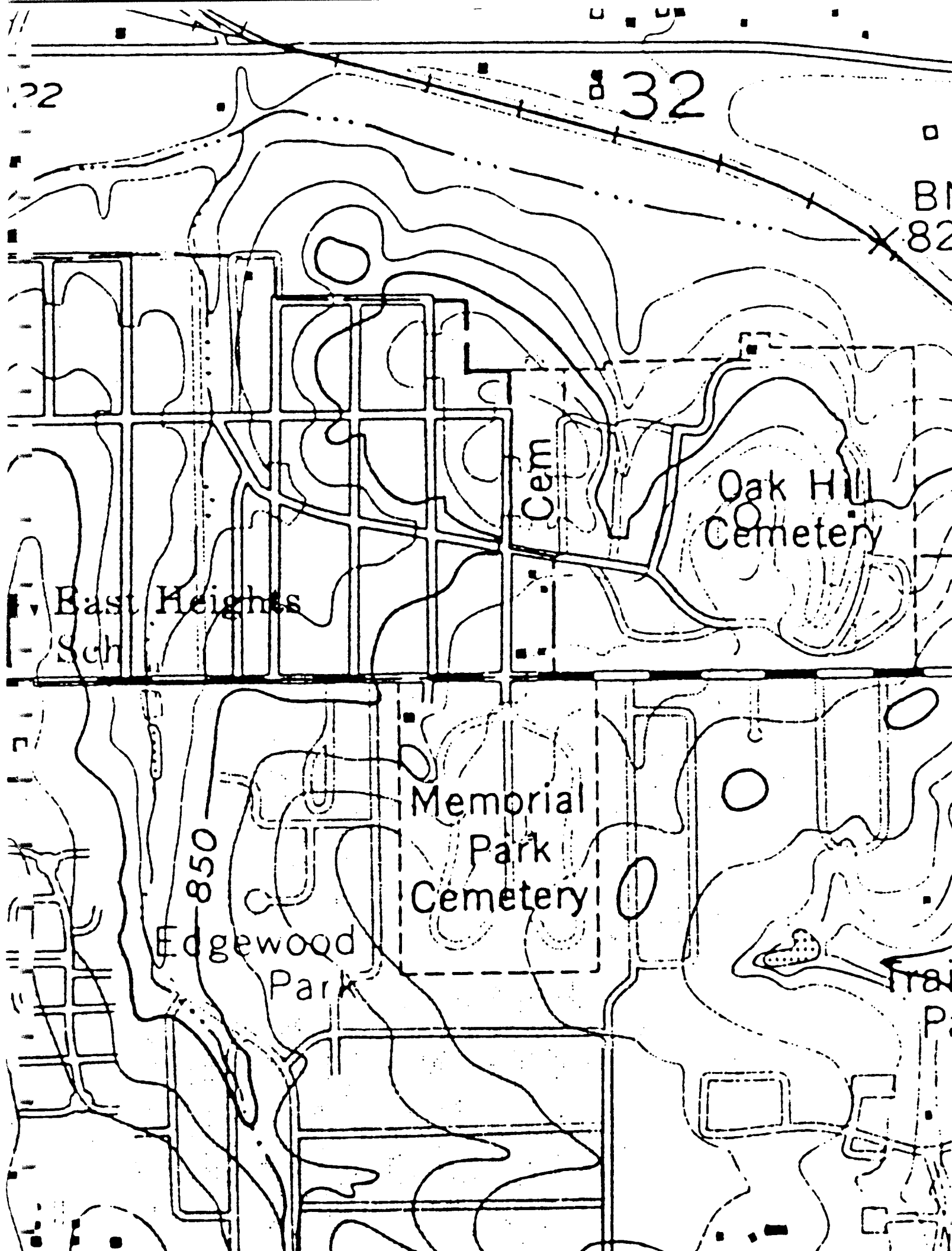
sign, and in about one month when certain bridges shall have been constructed, a beautiful roadway will lead down through the rich luxurious shade, between the two ravines, to the point of their junction. Here are to be erected two rustic bridges, sixteen feet in width, the one leading to the right into the potter's field, the other to the left into a newly graded carriage-way which skirts the northern boundary of the grounds, and by a series of graceful curves brings the sight-seer to the foot of the central eminence, the part now most familiar to our citizens. The point where the two bridges are to be built, is one of great natural beauty, and when art shall have rendered it accessible and seeable we know of no place more generally attractive. The potter's field, Mr. Wiltz says, is about the best portion of the whole cemetery. It slopes from the eastern line toward the west, down to the edge of the ravine. The homely graves of the friendless, or penniless dead are carefully located, marked and tended. Several groups of trees and shrubbery in this field are exquisitely beautiful. Leaving the two bridges by the new roadway we find a gracefully constructed track bordered on either side by natural and artificial eminences, slopes, ledges and groupings of shrubbery. Other roads and drives there are which we cannot mention in detail. The slopes either way from the Lane monument, are under the most careful cultivation, and, present every attraction to the visitor. Which reminds us of what Mr. Wiltz says about the estimation in which cemeteries should be held. "They ought," says he, "to be considered almost as much a place for the living as for the dead; we should seek to make the cemetery a place not entirely of sadness and of gloom, but a place where the living may repair with pleasure." Mr. Wiltz, we may explain, is a perfect master of the situation.

For two years he was head gardener for the Emperor of Germany, and among other works he was appointed by the Emperor of Russia to plan and perfect a beautiful park near Moscow. Most of his work in America has been done near Cincinnati and it is all preeminently fine. He considers our cemetery a place of great natural advantages, one of the best, in fact, which he has seen in the whole west. Could the city carry out even the plans which he perfected during his short stay here, very much would be accomplished. There are growing at present in the grounds fourteen varieties of the oak whence the name "Oak Hill." These oaks were to a great extent grouped off by Mr. Wiltz so as to secure the very best sort of an effect. Mr. Wiltz was especially delighted with one view which he secured by his management of trees. It takes in a most beautiful section of the cemetery, and a far off sight of the blue bluffs north of the Kansas valley.

One good thing about all this excellence is the fact that what has been done and what will be are amply provided for pecuniarily. Under Mr. Grovenor's careful management the cemetery fund now stands at about \$6,000. This amount is safely invested.

The burials thus far number about 1,500. The average price of lots is 12½c per square foot, 600 feet (usually) to the lot. The grounds are large enough to provide room for fifty or seventy-five years to come.

Mr. Grovenor feels a great interest in the welfare of the cemetery, gives to it a great deal of his time, and has done a work there which our people should appreciate. We hope they will lend him all possible assistance and encouragement in this fine good work.



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Oak Hill
Cemetery

East Heights
Sch

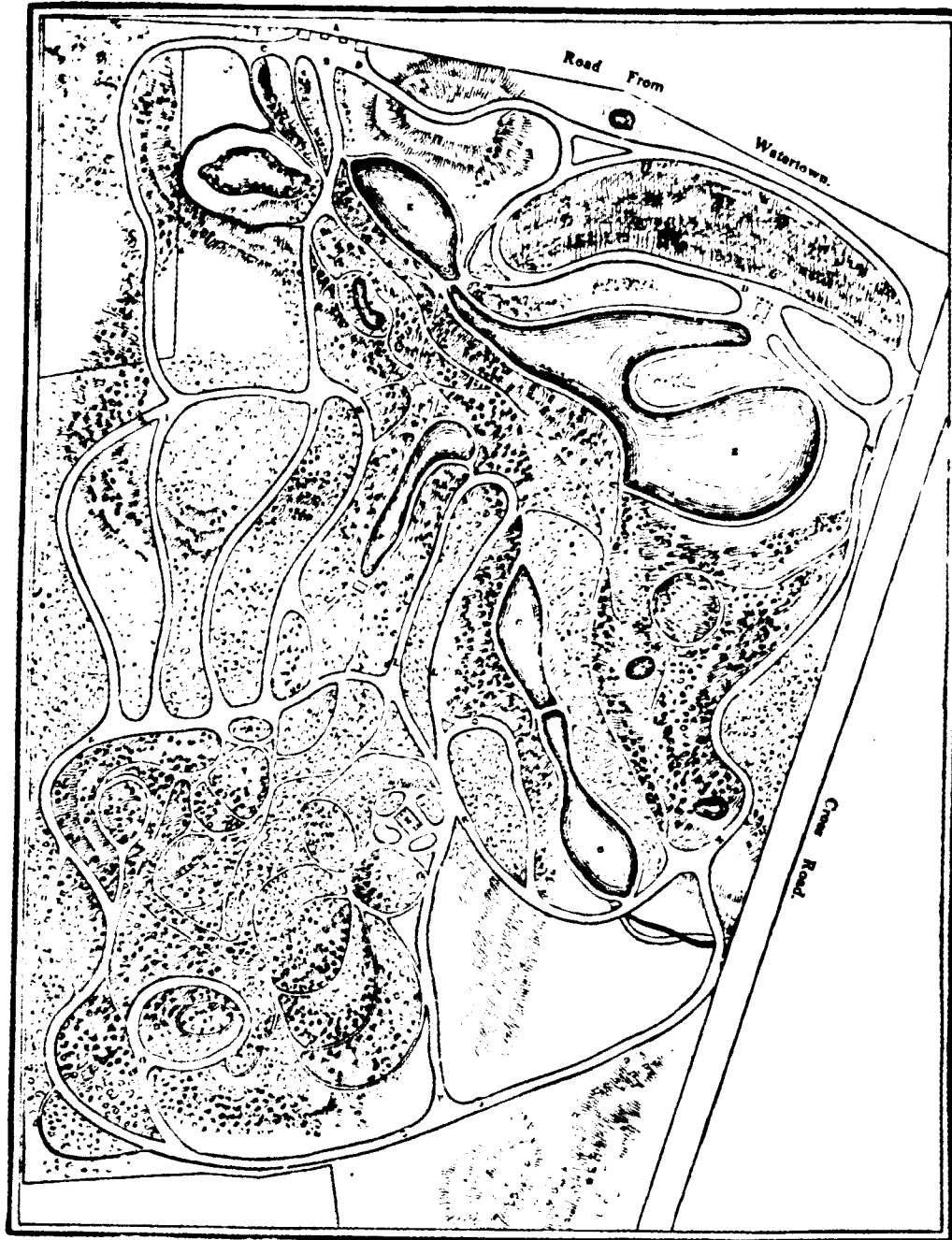
Memorial
Park
Cemetery

850

Edgewood
Park



266
Greenwood
Cemetery, Brooklyn.
From Cleaveland,
Green-Wood
Illustrated, 1847.



MOUNT AUBURN.

EXPLANATION OF THE VIEW OF MOUNT AUBURN.

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| A. Entrance from great road to Watertown. | O. Mountain Avenue. |
| B. Central Avenue. | P. Chestnut " |
| C. Pine Avenue. | Q. Oak " |
| D. Garden Avenue. | R. Larch " |
| E. Garden Pond. | S. Magnolia " |
| F. Forest Pond. | T. Mount Auburn. |
| G. Meadow Pond. | U. Harvard Hill. |
| H. Cypress Avenue. | V. Juniper Hill. |
| I. Cedar " | W. Cedar Hill. |
| J. Central " | X. Temple Hill. |
| K. Beach " | Y. Pine Hill. |
| L. Willow " | Z. Laurel Hill. |
| M. Maple " | a. Central Square. |
| N. Walnut " | b. Central Hill. |

Figure 12.1. Plan of Mount Auburn Cemetery; Landscape Design by Henry A. S. Dearborn
Map engraved by Alexander Wadsworth, 1832.

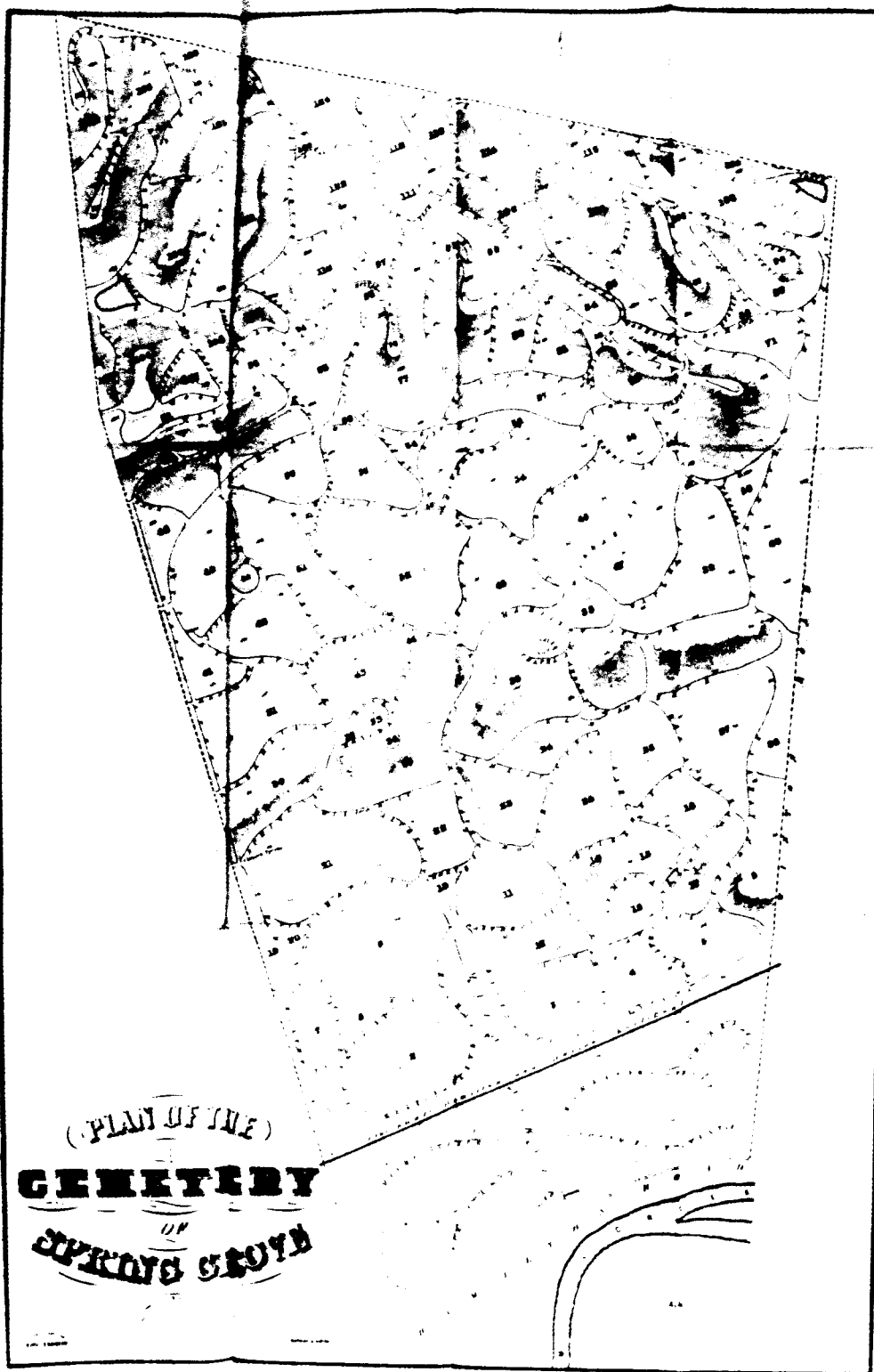
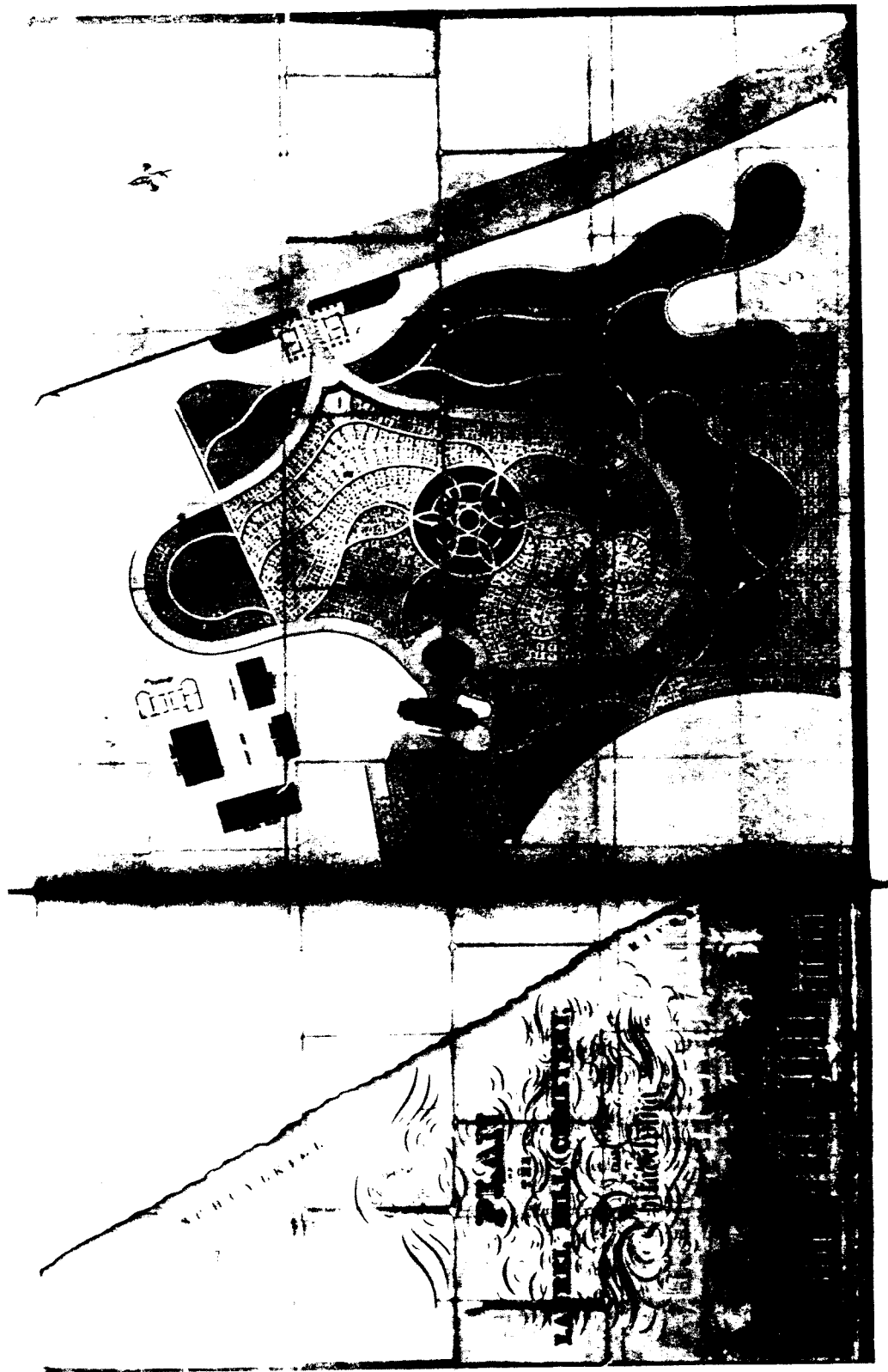


Figure 12.11. Spring Grove Cemetery, Designed by Howard Daniels, 1845

Map from the *Annual Report* of 1852.

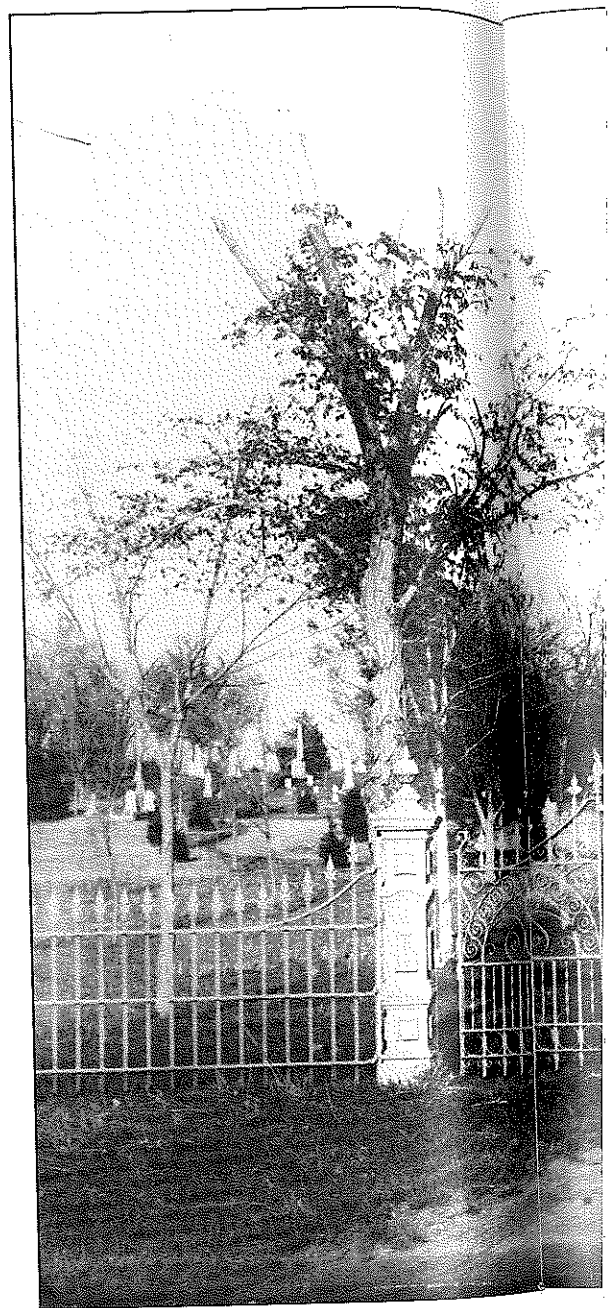
(From the collection of Blanche Linden-Ward)



A Place Not Entirely of Sadness and Gloom

Oak Hill Cemetery and the Rural Cemetery Movement

by Cathy Ambler



Great attention has been paid for the last quarter of a century to the adornment of several cemeteries. The grave itself is robbed of half its terrors as one steals through such elysiums of the departed as Mount Auburn, Greenwood and Laurel Hill. It is not only, however, in such great cities as Boston, New York and



Philadelphia that an interest has been excited in this question but smaller towns in proportion to their means, have not been backward in furnishing a pleasant resting place for the dead. And we are more than pleased to be able to claim that Lawrence has been worthy of herself in this respect. —*Daily Kansas Tribune*, 1873¹



One of the earliest "rural cemeteries," Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery served as a model for Oak Hill. With natural wooded landscaping and grand monuments, rural cemeteries became popular and pleasant spots for sightseers, as is evident in this 1847 engraving of Mount Auburn.

As reflected in the 1873 quote, Lawrence was indeed proud of its beautiful cemetery; and, as indicated, there can be no doubt that Oak Hill Cemetery followed the eastern "rural cemetery" tradition in landscape planning.² With the site's hills and natural wooded beauty, the landscapers emphasized curving roads, single family memorials, and large lots that invited artistic monuments. With rules and regulations modeled after established rural cemeteries, Lawrence residents had created their own Mount Auburn. Founded after William C. Quantrill's August 1863

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Overleaf: Entrance to Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence.

1. *Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, October 10, 1873. From 1855 to 1883, this newspaper was variously named the *Kansas Tribune*, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, *Daily Kansas Tribune*, *Daily Tribune*, and through a merger, the *Republican Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune*.

2. Although these landscaped eastern cemeteries were located in major urban centers such as Boston and Philadelphia, they were commonly referred to as "rural" cemeteries because they were laid out in the natural or picturesque style of landscape gardening. For the purposes of this article, "rural" refers to urban landscaped cemeteries and should not be confused with the smaller cemeteries that served rural communities throughout Kansas and the United States.

raid, Oak Hill became an important facet of the city's history; but it was more than just an institution to promote local civic pride or to honor raid victims. The history of the cemetery's development and design indicates the importance of persistent cultural values in a frontier settlement area that could be used to create a sophisticated and cultured community image for use in town promotion.

Cultural persistence is the retention and diffusion of cultural values as people move from one location to another, and geographer Fred Kniffen's research into the tenacity of housing traits in settlement patterns established the importance of studying persistence.³ The notion of persistent cultural values is important in the study of town development. Since 1893, when Frederick Jackson Turner postulated that a constantly moving frontier and the availability of cheap land molded the American character, scholars have studied and debated the

3. Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 4 (December 1965): 549-77, is a seminal reference. Kniffen used housing traits in settlement patterns to help determine the source or cultural hearths of the house owners. Henry Glassie considers persistence in construction patterns through mental templates in *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975). See also John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy" in *Common Places*, eds. Dell Upton and John Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986) 58-78; and, Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725* (Harvard: Belknap Press, 1979).

validity of the so-called "frontier thesis."⁴ Turner's theory included the idea that in the settlement process, the environment gradually weakened inherited culture and forced settlers to create new institutions and new values appropriate for a new country. Old cultural values were stripped away, and new cultural forms evolved in their place. The frontier was similar to the idea of a "melting pot," from which came the American character. The Turner thesis has profoundly influenced many scholars and the way in which they approach western history. For the theory's detractors, the vast majority of late twentieth-century historians, Oak Hill's establishment as a rural cemetery provides one more example that in new settlement areas not all aspects of culture were recreated.

Nancy Volkman, who has written about the history of Highland Cemetery in Junction City, Kansas, has noted another reason for the significance of cultural persistence. Not only were eastern cultural traits important in promoting communities, but persisting values provided a sense of continuity and elements of order to settlers' lives. In Kansas, they could not recreate the vast wooded landscapes from which many of them had come, but they could and did create bits and pieces of it in selected important ceremonial landscapes such as home yards, public parks, cemeteries, and institutional grounds. These sites and their designs thus held both functional and psychological values as they helped provide a link for settlers between their former homes and the Kansas landscape.⁵ Other settlement community research supports similar conclusions. Settlers tended to retain cultural values because they provided security and a sense of order in evolving communities with unsure futures. These retained values caused conflicts, and frontier communities did not evolve a strong sense of community with a new unified culture in the manner suggested by the Turner thesis.⁶

The persistence of the rural cemetery tradition evident in Oak Hill helped boosters promote the community. They believed that evidence of eastern values in institutions such as Oak Hill would make it easier for them to raise investment capital. Boosters competed with neighboring towns and, if they were successful, it was generally at the expense

of their rivals. Local newspaper editors and city officials played crucial roles as boosters, and they devoted their attention to this parochial pursuit of local interest compelled by the faith that enough enterprising public spirit would inevitably boost the community toward a self-determined future of prominence; Lawrence's considerable manufacturing is evidence that the community successfully attracted investors.⁷

The booster mentality equated progress with unity, however, and boosters warned against the dangers of a divided and contentious community. Factionalism and jealousy, whether sectarian, political or personal, would lead to disgrace and failure of the town.⁸ As local editors controlled what their papers reported, when community dissention occurred, it frequently remained out of the public realm. Factionalism, normal in frontier towns, eventually occurred over Oak Hill's management, and because the newspaper recorded the disagreement, the articles provide an unusual opportunity to study the economically and socially revealing situation.

Oak Hill's history is part of the eastern rural cemetery tradition and a brief background of the movement's history provides context for Oak Hill's landscape patterns. The movement was, as noted by the introductory *Daily Kansas Tribune* passage, a trend in cemetery planning initiated in the United States with the establishment of several significant cemeteries in the East. Boston's Mount Auburn was the first, established in 1831. These rural cemetery landscapes represented design, artistic concerns, careful planning, and a change from the tradition of placing the dead inside crowded ill-kept churchyards. Several factors enhanced the movement's success in the United States: a belief that old methods of burial in graveyards or churchyards were unsanitary; the rejection of an industrial cityscape as hurried, dirty, crowded and commercial; and the popularity of transcendentalism and romanticism that affected society's attitude toward death and the individual human being.⁹

7. Ibid., 63; Kenneth A. Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence, Kansas 1854-1900" (Master's thesis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1940).

8. Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*, 62-63.

9. The movement is described well by Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution," in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 69-91, and David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (July-September 1984): 291-304.

4. David M. Wrobel, "The Closing Gates of Democracy: Frontier Anxiety Before the Official End of the Frontier," *American Studies* 32 (Spring 1991): 49.

5. Nancy J. Volkman, "Landscape Architecture on the Prairie: The Work of H. W. S. Cleveland," *Kansas History*, 10 (Summer 1987): 89.

6. Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

Rural cemeteries were garden cemeteries landscaped to reveal human manipulations of nature.¹⁰ Planners chose sites that could provide wooded hills and valleys for lakes or ponds, and they used curving lines in laying out avenues and paths that conformed to the topography. Cemetery plats often show circular or oval drives conforming to the rounded tops of hills. Plots were reasonably large for the display of grand monuments. Access to the grounds was frequently through large, gated entrances, and fences surrounded the site. Larger cemeteries that could afford the cost built chapels and furnished houses on the grounds for their sextons.

The number of sightseers visiting these rural cemetery landscapes indicates their popularity. So many people used Mt. Auburn, for example, that the Garden and Cemetery Committee eventually controlled access to the grounds. Sunday crowds became so large that they admitted only proprietors and their families and guests.¹¹ Printed guidebooks included maps, recommended routes, presented historical data, and sometimes featured prints of unusual stones or the graves of famous people.¹² Rural cemeteries were, for some time, a kind of public park, and they served to inspire the formation of New York City's Central Park and other urban parks.

Mount Auburn's success encouraged civic leaders in other cities to create their own rural cemeteries. In 1849, Andrew Jackson Downing, one of the country's most well-known horticulturalists, pomologists and landscape gardeners, noted that "there is scarcely a city of note in the whole country that has not its rural cemetery . . . Philadelphia has, we learn, nearly twenty rural cemeteries at the present moment."¹³ As Downing observed, "the idea took the public mind by storm."¹⁴ Rural cemeteries spread throughout the nation and talented landscape designers and architects planned sites, buildings, and entry gates.

After the Civil War, however, interest in and visitation to these rural cemeteries began to decline in the East. Many cemeteries had lost their original planned pastoral look as lot embellishments made by owners and negligent maintenance caused nature to become disordered. People seeking the landscape planning

once provided by rural cemeteries now found these qualities, for example, in new public parks, but without the graves and funerary monuments. Rural cemeteries had eliminated the sordid churchyard and provided relief from industrial cityscapes, but city parks and zoological gardens now provided the landscaped gardens once found in rural cemeteries. Ideas about nature had also changed from one of nature controlled by man, to nature defined by wilderness settings. Museums now fulfilled the need for art, taste, culture, and architecture once evident in the marble and granite monuments.

The fact that a rural cemetery was just being founded in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1865, as the popularity of these cemeteries declined elsewhere, suggests that a combination of factors existed that compelled the city to plan and maintain such a cemetery. One important ingredient was Quantrill's raid, an event that profoundly affected the small town and provided the catalyst for the cemetery's founding.

Lawrence, like most other towns established on the frontier, began as a planned settlement.¹⁵ Although slavery was an issue in the establishment of the town, founders wanted to ensure that Lawrence prospered and grew. Free-staters from the New England Emigrant Aid Company settled the town, and by October of 1854, they had covered the townsite with tents and crudely constructed buildings. But slavery supporters from Missouri looking for better farm land also moved into Kansas when the territory opened for settlement. In the effort to determine the state's status as free or slave, skirmishes resulted between the two factions in Lawrence and elsewhere. In January 1861, residents finally were able to celebrate their new free-state status, but soon renewed confrontations with Southern supporters erupted with the outbreak of the Civil War. Unfortunately, Lawrence's free-state position made it vulnerable to attacks by factions supporting slavery.

William Quantrill and his men entered Lawrence on August 21, 1863, with a list of free-stater names. By the time the raiders left town, they had killed at least 143 persons and burned nearly all of Lawrence. Four eastern men, each to become Lawrence community leaders and influential in Oak Hill's development, had different experiences during the raid.

Holland Wheeler (1836-1912), an engineer born in Saxton's River, Vermont, came to Lawrence in

10. Catherine Howett, "Living Landscape for the Dead," *Landscape* 21 (Spring-Summer 1977): 12.

11. David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 44.

12. Barbara Rotundo, "Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (July-September 1984): 259.

13. Andrew Jackson Downing, "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," *Horticulturist* 4 (July 1849): 9.

14. Ibid.

15. John W. Reps, *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West Before 1890* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), 5.

1858. He was in Baldwin on the eve of the massacre surveying and did not return home. In the morning, he saw the smoky haze in the sky and knew that something grim had happened in Lawrence.¹⁶ Wheeler was the first to survey and plat Oak Hill.

R. W. Ludington (1827–1905), an active free-stater, born in Holyoke, Massachusetts, came to Lawrence in 1857. On the day of the raid, Ludington and his family were visiting in Massachusetts.¹⁷ Ludington served as mayor twice and, during his first term, saw that the city purchased land for Oak Hill.

John Speer (1817–1906) from Kittanning, Pennsylvania, came to Lawrence in 1854 and was the publisher and editor of the *Kansas Tribune*. Speer lived on the far east side of Lawrence, had some warning of Quantrill's approach, and hid in a corn

field. Although Quantrill's men set fire to the field, Speer's wife extinguished the flames. Two of his sons were less fortunate and died, but Speer never lost his enthusiasm for Lawrence, and he saw in Oak Hill's establishment a symbolic image that stood for the city's refinement and taste.¹⁸

Gurdon Grovenor (1830–1914), born in Suffield, Connecticut, came to Lawrence in 1857. Yelling and shouting in his neighborhood aroused him from sleep, and he thought the army recruits camped west of his house were quarrelling. He quickly realized bushwackers were in town and, by his account, decided to stay with his family instead of flee and therefore witnessed much of the devastation and murder. Quantrill's men shot at him twice with a gun that failed to fire and subsequently decided not to kill him. He then stayed in the cellar of his burning house until the fire forced him out of hiding. The day's cruelty, destruction, and killing affected him

16. Holland Wheeler, III, conversation with author, September 1989. Wheeler recalled his father's location on the day of Quantrill's raid.

17. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas and Franklin Counties* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1899), 631–33.

18. William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Ia.: Torch Press, 1910), 356.



Honoring the victims of Quantrill's raid was a major catalyst for the founding of Oak Hill Cemetery. This monument, "dedicated to the memory" of the 150 victims, was erected in Oak Hill in 1895.



strongly, and the raid became a factor in his remaining lifetime commitment to creating and planning Oak Hill.¹⁹

Wagons carried the raid victims to Lawrence's first cemetery, Oread, two miles west of town and up what townspeople described as almost inaccessible hills.²⁰ In an effort to prove that Lawrence would survive in spite of the raid, John Speer printed a special issue of the newspaper in Topeka four days later. "Lawrence is not to 'wink out.' We have a glorious record, and a destiny. We are to be one of the largest cities West of the Missouri. There is no possibility of mistaking that."²¹ His words of defiant pride and determination let the world know that Lawrence would survive, but he was also admonishing his readers to be farsighted and rebuild, as he worried that Lawrence would lose the race to become the railroad hub in the Kansas River valley to Topeka, Leavenworth, or Kansas City.²² Lawrence had already lost once to Topeka in a competition for the state capital.

Shortly after the raid, R. W. Ludington made the first plea for a new cemetery in his May 1864 may-

The early progress of Oak Hill was recorded in a series of stereoscopic views (above and right) taken in 1871 to promote a cultured image of Lawrence.

oral inaugural address. He cited the need for a site with "sepulchral fitness for sacred reminiscences where departed friends could be remembered."²³ Speer joined in to support the need for a new cemetery and described in his paper how raid victims had been just thrown into an open ditch and forgotten. He chided the town by saying that "cattle browse the herbage above them and careless teamsters irreverently drive over them." Lawrence had been prosperous since the raid and the rundown state of the cemetery was a blot on the town's character. "It shows us to be unfeeling, uncivilized and unchristian."²⁴ Raid victim treatment concerned Speer, but boosterist views also edged his pleas, as he tried to goad the townspeople into action by comparing Topeka's beautiful cemetery to the sorry state of the one in Lawrence.²⁵ These efforts paid off, and early in 1865 the city purchased a forty-acre site east of downtown. *The Kansas State Journal* lauded the city for finally purchasing a site and also mentioned for the first time the prospect of moving the raid victims to the new cemetery.²⁶

19. *Ibid.*, 362-65.

20. The Oread Cemetery was established by 1854 and is now known as Pioneer Cemetery. It is just west of the University of Kansas dormitories on Daisy Hill. Vertical file, Elizabeth M. Watkins Museum, Lawrence, Kans.

21. *Kansas Tribune*, August 27, 1863. Speer did not get the newspaper back into full production until November, almost three months later. The other newspaper office in Lawrence, the *Kansas State Journal*, was also destroyed.

22. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, December 17, 31, 1863.

23. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1864.

24. *Ibid.*, June 9, 1864.

25. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1864.

26. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1865; *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, March 2, 1865.



Gurdon Grovenor, elected mayor in 1865, also congratulated the city in his inaugural address for purchasing such an appropriately beautiful cemetery site, but he stressed that it would need improvements if it were to achieve importance. The city council indicated its serious intent to provide the appropriate and necessary landscaping for the cemetery when they authorized Grovenor to seek professional help from outside Lawrence.²⁷ While Grovenor began to search for the appropriate landscape designer, Holland Wheeler platted the site for the first time in the summer of 1865. The city offered 250 lots for sale and the proceeds paid for the surveying and fencing.

The newspaper, quick to notice, supported the city's actions, stating that the cemetery would bring pride to the community, and simultaneously that the "most beautiful resort" would attract "all intelligent and refined people visiting or settling among us."²⁸ The "resort" references indicated a recognition of the traditional use of cemeteries for visitation, as well as the boosters' perception of the attraction value of the cemetery.

The cemetery's history shows how the rural cemetery tradition provided guidance in determining such things as governance. The city council ordered a committee, with Holland Wheeler as a member, to

draft rules and regulations for the cemetery. Early in 1866, the committee submitted a draft version of the rules that was nearly identical with those of Spring Grove, a rural cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio. Even though the records do not indicate that the committee borrowed already written rules for a model, it would be a reasonable means of assuring similar successful cemetery management. The city also followed the common rural cemetery tradition by providing a house for the sexton or caretaker.²⁹ While choosing a name for Oak Hill, the council borrowed several name possibilities from established eastern cemeteries such as Mount Hope, Mount Auburn, Belview, Fairmont, Mount Pisgah, Mount Pleasant, and Richland.³⁰ The *Kansas Daily Tribune* also helped to create the proper rural cemetery image by discussing appropriate tombstones. As plot owners erected suitable marble monuments the paper gave careful and lengthy descriptions of them.

In at least one important respect, however, Oak Hill differed from the eastern cemeteries; visitors and the general public generally did not use the cemetery for Sunday afternoon touring or excursions. Boosters, as noted above, were aware of the visitation tradition in the East, and its potential for attracting visitors and new residents. But Lawrence citizens did not need the cemetery to escape from an industrialized landscape, as the town and country-

27. Lawrence City Council Minutes, May 3, July 2, 1865, City Clerk's office, Lawrence City Hall. [Hereafter cited as City Council Minutes.]

28. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, November 16, 1865.

29. City Council Minutes, December 13, 1865.

30. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1867.



A ca. 1900 view of Oak Hill Cemetery and sexton R. McFarland (in foreground).

side surrounding the city encompassed many suitable settings for public, club, and private outings.

Nevertheless, the cemetery continued to be a civic institution to which city fathers could point with pride, proving just how refined Lawrence was in taste and culture. Lawrence also had experienced much growth and considerable prosperity in the wake of the Civil War. On New Year's Day in 1870, the *Republican Daily Journal* gave a brief history of the community and boasted of the manufacturers, stores, businesses and the university, and invited outside capitalists to be part of the prosperity.³¹

In 1870, Lawrence reelected Mayor Gurdon Grovenor, and, even while serving as mayor, the city council appointed him the superintendent of cemeteries. Holding this job as well meant Grovenor could direct all aspects of the cemetery's management. His inaugural speech indicated that he indeed had further plans to enhance the cemetery's image.³²

Other factors spurred continued interest in the improvement of Oak Hill. One took the form of town competition between Lawrence and Junction

City, which hired H. W. S. Cleveland, a well-known Chicago landscaper, to design its rural cemetery; another was Decoration Day, established to honor those who died in the Civil War. The former occurred in 1870, and was an important investment in the development of Junction City's image as Cleveland and his partner, Robert Morris Copeland, had competed for the design of New York City's Central Park. While they lost to Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, it was Olmsted who recommended Cleveland to Junction City. The *Junction City Weekly Union* proudly announced, that "Mr. Cleveland stands high for taste in this line [landscape design], and we are assured that Highland, under his direction, will become the finest cemetery in the State."³³

The establishment of Decoration Day as a national holiday provided a second reason for a renewed focus on continued development of Oak Hill. Decoration Day began in 1868 and Gen. John A. Logan, then president of the Grand Army of the Republic, declared May 30 would be a day to decorate with "flowers the graves of comrades who

31. *Republican Daily Journal*, Lawrence, January 1, 1870.

32. City Council Minutes, May 1, 1871.

33. *Junction City Weekly Union*, July 9, 1870, quoted in Volkman, "Landscape Architecture on the Prairie," 93.

died in defense of their country during the late rebellion."³⁴ For Lawrence, the holiday became an outlet for lingering emotions about the 1863 raid, especially for the survivors. Many residents believed Quantrill's raid had caused Lawrence to suffer more than any other Kansas town, and yet, the town survived and prospered. The day provided a formal occasion to give Oak Hill validity and purpose, and for those who cared about honoring the dead, the occasion gave a reason to improve the cemetery, maintain it, and promote its importance.

Lawrence celebrated its first Decoration Day in 1870. *The Republican Daily Journal* registered its editorial approval, but apologized for missing previous observances, reporting that "in the West . . . men are too busy making history." Committees planned the program and on that day, businesses closed and a parade wound around to visit the graves of the raid martyrs. Because they were in three locations, it meant a long distance to walk; from the river, to Oak Hill, and then up Mount Oread to the old cemetery.

Gurdon Grovenor chaired the committee that arranged the day's activities. While planning their first Decoration Day, the committee advertised in the newspaper for information about victims of the raid. They were looking for any facts or information about the dead and their names and ages so an appropriate monument could be erected at Oak Hill. "This matter has been neglected too long. It is becoming not simply a neglect but a disgrace to the city that no more respect should be shown the victims of that cruel massacre."³⁵

Shortly after the event, John Speer petitioned the city to move the bodies of four raid victims buried on the Kansas River bank to Oak Hill. The city council then instructed the committee on cemeteries to reinter all the raid martyrs in Oak Hill. Grovenor was in charge of moving the bodies, which he completed in January of 1872.³⁶

Grovenor remained superintendent of the cemeteries after his last term as mayor and worked constantly to enhance the cemetery. The *Daily Kansas Tribune* lauded Grovenor's attention and praised the cemetery as a mark of an advanced civilization.

Our cemetery is really a beautiful spot. It commands a delightful ravine and its pleasant elevation and natural groves, to say nothing of the taste displayed in its arrangement make it an attractive place of sepulture. . . .

We beg of our city fathers to be extremely careful how they handle our cemetery. We beg of them to remember that it is one of the best things we have. . . .³⁷

Although the newspaper conveyed its pride and satisfaction with the cemetery's sepulchral fitness, it also reported on other issues of concern to town residents; the most worrisome at this particular time was the amount of city indebtedness. In 1872, signs of financial stress began to show in newspaper grumbling that reviewed the bonded indebtedness of Lawrence incurred primarily in the purchase of railroad bonds. In its boosterist push to become the railroad hub of eastern Kansas, Lawrence had made major financial commitments for purposes of self-promotion, while simultaneously developing civic institutions like the cemetery.³⁸

Grumbling about the city's financial condition did not deter the city's commitment to the cemetery, however. Through changes in city administrations, Grovenor remained cemetery superintendent. His long-term goal was to bring in an outside professional to landscape the cemetery, so when the cemetery needed new sections added, Grovenor either contacted Cleveland, or, perhaps when the designer was working in Junction City, he stopped in Lawrence.³⁹ Regardless of the means, Grovenor solicited the Chicago firm "in relation to the cost of laying out and landscaping a plan for completion of Oak Hill Cemetery."⁴⁰

Although concerns about the city's indebtedness had surfaced, in 1872 the city had no reason to doubt its future. The newspaper, always ready to demonstrate the town's accomplishments, boasted about the new building at the university (Fraser Hall), a new bank, new churches, and several new elegant houses.⁴¹

37. *Daily Kansas Tribune*, October 10, 1873.

38. The total indebtedness of the county, township, city and school districts amounted to \$1,148,695.27; the percentage of indebtedness to assessed valuation, 23+, Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *First Biennial Report*, 1877-8, 2d ed. (Topeka: 1878), 193.

39. It seems likely that Grovenor contacted the firm of Cleveland and French, although French did some promotion for the firm. William Tishler, correspondence with author, November 7, 1989; Nancy Volkman, correspondence with author, November 1989.

40. City Council Minutes, November 2, 1874.

41. *Daily Kansas Tribune*, January 1, 1873.

34. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* 7 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1988), 1041.

35. *Republican Daily Journal*, May 5, 7, 1870.

36. City Council Minutes, June 12, 1870; *Republican Daily Journal*, January 16, 1872.

In May occurred one of the city's last bright events before the 1873 depression; Lawrence held a Decoration and a Soldiers' Reunion Day simultaneously. The city put out its best hospitality and citizens proudly hosted many Civil War soldiers who gathered to renew acquaintances and reminisce.

By September, however, the paper was describing the financial panic as it hit New York, and, not surprisingly, Lawrence's economic buoyancy diminished. Nationally, speculators and promoters overreached themselves in building more railroads, mines, and factories than the markets could bear. Bankers in turn, had made too many imprudent loans to finance those enterprises. When profits failed to materialize, loans went unpaid, and the whole credit-based system failed.

Lawrence had been a player in railroad speculation that was characteristic of the boom. The newspapers reported a few positive economic developments toward the end of 1873, but 1874 brought more bad news in drought and the appearance of grasshoppers. Kansas and Lawrence suffered and the optimistic, upbeat, positive community had to reevaluate itself and its future.

The city's bonded indebtedness was disillusioning. Residents realized that the railroads' initial promise for prosperity was not enough help in this period of crisis. They had issued bonds for railroad lines that were not going to survive or even going to be built. The community's enthusiasm and willingness to make further improvements vanished, and Lawrence's population declined during these years.⁴²

Grovenor, despite the town's bad economic period, had continued his efforts to hire a landscape professional with readily available funds from the sale of cemetery lots. However, just before Decoration Day in 1876, the *Daily Tribune* revealed a change in Grovenor's original plans to hire Cleveland and French. On May 18, the *Daily Tribune* noted that "Mr. Levi Wiltz [sic], of Wilmington, Ohio, is in town for the purpose of furnishing designs for the completion of Oak Hill Cemetery. Mr. Wiltz is one of the Ohio State Centennial Commissioners, and is a landscape architect of fine ability." The paper did not give any explanation for the change from Cleveland to Leo Weltz.⁴³

42. David Dary, *Lawrence. Douglas County Kansas: An Informal History* (Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982), 144. Census records indicate that the population of Lawrence in 1870 was 8,320 and in 1875 it had declined to 6,268.

43. *Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 18, 1876.

How Grovenor contacted or learned of Leo Weltz is unknown, but Weltz was a skilled professional who belongs to a group of lesser-known landscape designers working in the United States when landscape architecture was evolving as a profession. Weltz (1825-1890) grew up in Prussia and studied horticulture and landscaping on the palace grounds of King Frederick Wilhelm in Berlin. He spent several years employed by Czar Nicholas I of Russia, managed a park at Magdeburg, Germany, and subsequently became familiar with many botanical gardens in southern Europe. He was a student of Alexander von Humboldt, a German explorer, naturalist, author, and statesman.⁴⁴

In 1851, Weltz came to the United States, eventually to Wilmington, Ohio. In 1855, he went into business for himself, often shipping nursery stock to neighboring states. The Sugar Grove Cemetery Association in Wilmington employed him in 1857 as a landscape designer to lay out its new cemetery. Widely recognized in Ohio, Weltz was an authority on horticulture and landscape gardening. He planned other cemeteries in London, Springfield, Martinsville, Hillsboro, and Corwin, Ohio.

City council minutes indicate Weltz worked about a month at Oak Hill and while in Lawrence, boarded with Mayor Ludington. In July, the *Republican Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune* expressed considerable delight with Weltz's work and proudly suggested that visitors should see the improvements.⁴⁵ The *Topeka Commonwealth* claimed that the handsomely located and improved cemetery was evidence of the intelligence and enterprise of Lawrence's inhabitants:

Probably fifty out of the eighty-five Topekans who went to Lawrence last Sunday went to the cemetery and we think every one of them was ashamed of the Topeka cemetery. As we have before stated, the Lawrence cemetery covers forty acres of land. A ridge runs nearly through the center and each side slopes off at about the right angle, and one side and the top are covered with a natural growth of young trees. It is a beautiful and worthy of the historic city. . . . Mr. G. Grovenor

44. *History of Clinton County Ohio* (Chicago: W. H. Beers and Co., 1882), 917-18, and Mrs. Charles Kirk of Wilmington, Ohio, unpublished biographical information. The Beers biography says Alexander III, Czar of Russia (1881-1894), but he was Czar after Weltz came to the United States. Nicholas I (1825-1855) was Czar during the period that Weltz was in Europe.

45. City Council Minutes, June 5, 1876. The payment period indicates that Weltz was in Lawrence during May. *Republican Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune*, July 30, 1876.

has been its superintendent. . . . It has been a labor of love with him to see that art helped nature to make it a beauty spot.⁴⁶

In the twelve-year history of the cemetery, this was the first-known mention of sightseers at Oak Hill.

In contrast to the activity at the cemetery, Mayor Ludington's reelection speech in 1877 reflected the fiscally conservative tone of the community, for he declared that nothing should be started in matters of public improvements that was not absolutely necessary. The normally boosterist newspapers even supported this conservative approach. In this period of economic conservatism, residents worried about all city expenditures, from the salaries of city employees to the cost of running the schools.⁴⁷

One positive result from the depression was in respite from the relentless pursuit of town development, which gave townspeople a chance to realistically assess the community's potential for growth. Signs of returning economic prosperity appeared only gradually, but a little optimism came as early as 1876 when the county fair started up again after two successive years of crop failure.⁴⁸ Kansas as a state began to be

more optimistic about the future. The state participated in the United States Centennial celebration in Philadelphia, displayed Kansas fruit, and won a gold medal.

Weltz's plat and design, based on the changes he made and proposed during his previous summer's work, arrived at the city clerk's office in July of 1877. As the council considered paying Weltz, a letter reached the council from Holland Wheeler, who initially platted and landscaped Oak Hill. Wheeler publicly revealed his displeasure with Weltz and his plat in two letters to the *Republican Daily Journal* and *Daily Kansas Tribune*.⁴⁹ Wheeler criticized the cemetery management and expressed his anger about "acts of the individuals" involved and "their judgement and good taste or want of them." His comments were aimed at Gurdon Grovenor and Mayor Ludington. Wheeler even accused the city of squandering more than \$20,000.⁵⁰ Community disagreements rarely received

49. *Ibid.*, September 29, 30, 1877.

50. The report from the Oak Hill Cemetery secretary/treasurer for 1876-1877 indicates \$1,740 had been spent and that the salaries were, for the superintendent \$50, the secretary/treasurer \$200, and the sexton \$593.33. Lawrence city clerk to mayor and city council, year-end report, August 4, 1877, cited in *Republican Daily Journal* and *Daily Kansas Tribune*, August 18, 1877. As best can be determined from City Council Minutes from 1865-1877, costs on the cemetery were under \$17,000 for this twelve-year period.

46. *Commonwealth*, n.d., Topeka, quoted in *Republican Daily Journal* and *Daily Kansas Tribune*, September 7, 1877.

47. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1877.

48. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1876.

Town boosterism and civic pride were major forces behind the development of Oak Hill. This image is from one of several postcards produced in ca. 1911 to advertise the "beauty spot" of Lawrence.



such coverage in newspapers as the boosterism ethos worked against exposing a divided community.

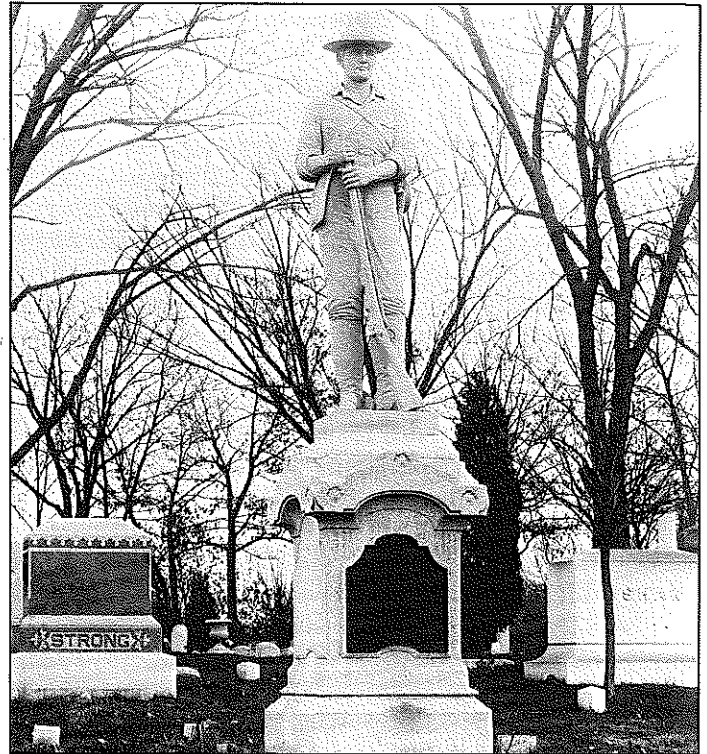
His first letter to the editor gave the cemetery's early history and the second addressed the subject of designing a rural cemetery. He elaborated in detail his design of the Oak Hill site and then compared his work to Weltz's. He criticized Weltz's design decisions for the cemetery, declared the new plat entirely useless, and challenged the readers to compare it with any plat of other rural cemeteries in the country to verify its quality. *The Daily Tribune* noted:

And now comes Holland Wheeler and surprises us all with his vigor and intelligence and literary skill he goes for the management of our cemetery. Truly our city affairs are getting a thorough ventilation. Mr. Wheeler's statements are those of a man who knows what he's talking about and will command the attention of every citizen of Lawrence. The end is not yet.⁵¹

Holland Wheeler, as an experienced engineer and surveyor, knew that Weltz's plat was incorrect. His letters to the newspaper responded to criticism of his early work on Oak Hill and questioning of his professional credibility. He alluded to criticism made about a drive that he designed: "I am told that this drive is too steep to be practicable. I defend it by saying its declivity is its beauty; its utility makes it a necessity."⁵² Feeling that he knew what characteristics of rural cemeteries should be present at Oak Hill, he was injured, insulted, and distressed with the changes that Weltz had made.

Perhaps another issue contributed to this furor. Wheeler had resigned in April of 1876 from city employment. In May of 1877, he wanted to return to work for the city and was turned down. This situation appears complicated as Wheeler's bid for the job he wanted was the best offer, yet the city hired two men at a higher cost and there is no explanation of the council's actions.⁵³

Lawrence residents responded to Wheeler's angry letters in a series of public exchanges, and the *Daily Tribune* admonished, "If some of the citizens of Lawrence don't take care they will be calling one another hard names very soon, in the discussion of the city taxes, officers, grades, streets, cemeteries,



Among the monuments in Oak Hill is this memorial erected by the Twentieth Kansas Infantry of the Spanish American War.

etc, etc."⁵⁴ Residents had taken up sides over the cemetery's design.

The city council, struggling to cope with the now controversial situation, published a notice for all interested parties to meet at the cemetery to decide what to do.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, nothing more appeared in either the paper or the council minutes until December when the minutes show that the council rejected Weltz's plat and recommended a new, corrected platting of cemetery lots.⁵⁶ Also, during this city council meeting, Gurdon Grovenor resigned as superintendent of cemeteries.

Weltz had provided an inaccurate plat but Wheeler's charges of a general squandering of city money on the cemetery appear unwarranted. Grovenor's token salary of fifty dollars a year does not indicate that he wanted to take advantage of the city. In fact, his reaction to the charges of mismanagement was reflected in one of Wheeler's letters: "the guardians of the institution stand by through all of this with gapping mouths."⁵⁷ The mayors and

51. *Daily Tribune*, October 1, 1877.

52. *Republican Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune*, September 30, 1877.

53. City Council Minutes, April 17, 1876, May 7, May 23, 1877; *Daily Tribune*, August 2, 1877.

54. *Daily Tribune*, October 2, 1877.

55. City Council Minutes, October 1, 1877.

56. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1877.

57. *Republican Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune*, September 30, 1877.

city councils since 1871 had supported Grovenor's endeavors to upgrade the cemetery, and the cemetery had its own income from the sale of plots and the opening and closing of graves.

Weltz's design for the cemetery probably would never have become a major issue without the outspoken comments of Wheeler. But the hiring of the landscape designer from Ohio, in the midst of a nationwide depression, had no doubt captured the attention of the citizens who were watching for excessive city expenditures. The community, it appears, respected Ludington, Grovenor, and Wheeler and if the disagreement had stayed out of the newspapers, the cemetery's history would be less complete and the community's concern over its financial affairs less apparent. After 1877, Grovenor eventually returned to his job as cemetery superintendent, and Holland Wheeler designed the Egyptian-style holding vault still present in Oak Hill.⁵⁸

Quantrill's raid clearly affected Lawrence's interest in establishing Oak Hill. The raid not only created many dead heroes and martyrs, but also affected the survivors. Gurdon Grovenor is an example; he spent nearly his entire life after the raid committed to the cemetery's improvement and care. Ludington, Speer and Wheeler, leaders committed to the surviving community, were instrumental in supporting, promoting, and in Wheeler's case, designing the cemetery.

When Decoration Day became nationally recognized, it only further emphasized the cemetery's value in the formalized rite of honoring the dead. The day's elaborate ceremonies, parades, speeches, and grave decorating emphasized Oak Hill's purpose and necessity, and cemetery supporters promoted its importance.

The site choice, with its wooded hills and valleys, aided Wheeler's and Weltz's landscaping designs as they conformed to the rural cemetery tradition. Unfortunately, no plats remain of either man's designs for Oak Hill, although letters, newspaper accounts, city council minutes, and residents' visual descriptions have provided some record of their work. The curving lanes and paths took advantage of the natural rise and fall of the land. The circular drive at the top of the main hill provided a northern panorama of the Kansas River valley. Their

arrangement of large lots were planned to emphasize family monuments, and they used the natural beauty of the location, along with the trees, shrubs and flowers that they added, to create the effect they desired. Oak Hill became, as Weltz had once described, "as much a place for the living as for the dead . . . a place not entirely of sadness and of gloom, but a place where the living may repair with pleasure."⁵⁹ The city added other elements to enhance Oak Hill's traditional rural cemetery appearance, governance, and maintenance.

The motivations for establishing Oak Hill in Lawrence, however, were different from what stimulated the infant movement early in the century. The unsanitary conditions in old graveyards in the East, and the commercial and industrial urban environments were not relevant in rural Kansas. Lawrence was more concerned about the image that Oak Hill created in the eyes of others as their cemetery was an indication to the world of Lawrence's taste and culture despite its frontier town setting. In the period of intense town promotion, this evidence was important. Many communities never survived past their platting. Competition was fierce and at times participants were devious in winning contests to attract businesses, investors, or state institutions such as colleges and universities. It was a matter of pride and necessity, from the booster's perspective, that the town had paved streets, gas street lights, the lyceum circuit, and a rural cemetery; these amenities added to the general air of sophistication that would ensure the town's success over its competitors. As Andrew Jackson Downing noted, rural cemeteries took the public mind by storm; any city of note would have its rural cemetery and Lawrence's boosters had determined to make Lawrence a city of note.

Notably, Oak Hill is evidence that cultural values persisted through a landscape design tradition in a settlement community. Not all cultural values were to be recreated in another form as the Turner thesis proposed. The cemetery's history contributes to the current literature on and our understanding of cultural persistence: Oak Hill cemetery provided a sense of social order and continuity, and it helped create a necessary sophisticated and cultured community image. [KH]

58. *United States Biographical Dictionary. Kansas Volume* (Chicago: S. Lewis and Co., 1879), 200-1. *Norwich University History, 1819-1911, Her History Her Graduates and Her Role of Honor, Volume II* (Montpelier, Vt.: Capital City Press, 1911), 625-26.

59. *Republican Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune*, June 11, 1876.