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Gender and Gravestone Epitaphs: A Warren County Cemetery

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GENDER AND GRAVESTONE EPITAPHS: A WARREN COUNTY CEMETERY

A Capstone Experience/Thesis Project

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree Bachelor of Arts with

Honors College Graduate Distinction at Western Kentucky University

By

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* * * * *

Western Kentucky University
2013

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ABSTRACT

The socio-cultural factors that influence us in life are present in what is left behind. My thesis project investigates evidence of socio-cultural status on gravestones. I systematically recorded data from all the grave markers at the Hays Cemetery in Warren County, Kentucky. Data collected and considered included epitaphs, art forms, and monument marker style. Each stone was also photographed as I recorded the data. My starting hypothesis was that the markers would, to a degree, convey information about the gender and possibly the socio-economic status of the individuals that the stones represent. The paper will describe to what degree and in what way my original hypothesis was accurate.

Keywords: Gender, Cemeteries, Gravestones, Warren County, Kentucky
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I wish to thank Jesse Rhodes, the Sites and Buildings Project Manager for the Bowling Green Area Chamber of Commerce, for helping make the cemetery workable. As well, Tonya Colley, the Senior Planner for the City-County Planning Commission of Warren County, needs to be thanked for going out of her way to identify viable cemeteries for this project.

This project would not have been completed without the support of my family and friends, but especially my husband. He has been an encourager, comforter, persuader …and has put up with way more than most would. Thank you.

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VITA

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Humans have always been preoccupied with death. The rituals surrounding death give us an outlet with which to deal with the consequences of the fleeting time we have on Earth. Some cultures burn their dead and release them from earthly trappings, others keep corpses close to guard their families, and still others bury their dead underground marking them by a carved stone. Death practices can reveal as much about the culture and ideology of the society they are imbedded in as the individual’s personal attributes.

I conducted the documentation of sixty-eight gravestones in the Hays Cemetery in Warren County, Kentucky seeking a new viewpoint on my own culture and its ideology. The data that the cemetery provided was analyzed for the purpose of detecting patterns in the epitaphs of gravestones. My thesis is that norms about gender would be apparent in the differences in epitaphs on gravestones.

Other projects have been undertaken to investigate the information offered by gravestones. This project is a smaller version of a project I was a team member on in 2011. The 2011 project was an analysis of the gendered differences in gravestone epitaphs as part of a course of Dr. Kate Hudepohl’s at Western Kentucky University. I analyzed a section of Mount Moriah Cemetery in Warren County along with two other
students of Western Kentucky University, Anne Walsh and Jan Claussen. The research design for both projects was devised by Dr. Hudepohl for her own use.

In 1998 Dr. Hudepohl was engaged in a similar project under Denise C. Jones entitled “Gender and Epitaphs in New Orleans Cemeteries.” Based on Jones’ work, Dr. Hudepohl modified the research design to fit her research interests. She is engaged in ongoing documentation and analysis of local Warren County cemeteries including Mount Moriah for her own research agenda. With her permission and guidance, in 2011 we duplicated her research design for analysis of stones in Mount Moriah, and this project has again duplicated it for analysis of the Hays Cemetery.
CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

Denise Jones’s article *Gender and Epitaphs In New Orleans Cemeteries*, eloquently discusses the difficulty of “…locating gender in the archaeological record [because of] the fluid nature of gender itself. …gender often manifests itself through behavior and systems of symbols that may not be especially amenable to material analysis” (Jones 1998). Grave markers are one of the few ways that the fluid and changing dynamic of gender is recorded and can be studied through time. Gender ideology is fluid because it is socially constructed, not naturally endowed. Through the study of the archaeological record supplied on gravestones, assumptions about gender in the past and present can be scientifically examined and analyzed based on sound evidence.

Jones’s article uses the lens of another article published in 1984 by Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector, entitled *Archaeology and the Study of Gender*, to look at the patterns within cemeteries in New Orleans. Jones focuses on Conkey and Spector’s assessment of the need for an explicit account of “assumptions and statements concerning gender in the archaeological record” (Jones 1998). She expresses a concern for the
inaccessibility of gender and other aspects of the “individual” within the archaeological record and sees gravestones as one gateway to such information.

Dr. Gregory Vogel has been conducting a cemetery recording project with students of the University of Arkansas since 2001 on Evergreen Cemetery in Fayetteville, Arkansas. His project is mainly devoted to documenting the stones; however, each student who is involved completes an analysis project on varying aspects of the data collected. The importance of such undertakings is not lost on Dr. Vogel and his students. In an interview, Dr. Vogel expressed that “the material culture of cemeteries is particularly compelling because it reflects important beliefs about life, death, religion, and overall worldview, expressed in a public forum” (Hirst 2013).

Dirk Spennemann, author of the article Gender Bias After Death: The Case of Clerical Cemetery, St. John’s Orphanage, Thurgoona, NSW, Australia, believes that epitaphs on gravestones, in being public, are left for the world to view with a certain amount of self-consciousness. The ideas that are expressed in epitaphs are a manipulation by others of the evidence of the deceased’s life. This manipulation has “…effectively enshrined a gender bias in perpetuity” (Spennemann 2007). Furthermore, Spennemann reports that cemeteries are rich sources of data as they are “…seen as reflective of the historic environment in which they were created and therefore form a unique interpretive tool” (Spennemann 2007).

Spennemann’s study was conducted over clerical cemetery documents, but he was seeking to understand the gender bias that is encapsulated within the cemetery,
through its documents. Spennemann had a similar goal in mind for his project that is the
goal for this project, although through different methods. His focus is mainly centered on
children’s graves as the cemetery that was the subject of his study was part of an
orphanage managed by a Catholic church. This differs from the focus of this project,
which is mainly focused on adults as the majority within the Hays Cemetery is adults.

Ruth Leader expresses that the *constructions* of gender as are evident on
gravestones show “the way a person’s identity while living was constructed by society
after his or her death” (Leader 1997). Leader in her work *In Death Not Divided: Gender,
Family, and State on Classical Athenian Grave Stelae*, recognizes that as far back as
Ancient Greek society in death “a woman’s identity [is] defined by men…her identity as
an individual is irrelevant here; what matters is that she be definable within the
recognized framework for women” (Leader 1997).

Leader was focused on Ancient Greece and the gender differences in art for grave
monuments. Her focus is interesting to this project as an example of the time frame of
such differences as are evident on gravestones or monuments. She found that the ideal
gender roles were represented through the grave monuments, especially as they are very
public. The ideal for women was centered around the home and the woman’s position as
wife, mother and homemaker. Her article shows the depth and breadth of the gendered
differences in the sphere of grave monuments and markers.
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In order to assess the gender differences, I gathered the grave marker information using Warren County Cemetery Field Survey Data Sheets obtained from Dr. Hudepohl. Each marker has its own sheet, on which is listed the dimensions of the stone, the marker type, material, orientation, design style, design feature(s), inscription technique, inscription (content), number of graves represented by each marker, condition of the marker, stonemason inscription, footstone (material, inscription and condition), fencing, grave goods, and any extra notes. After they have been double checked, a copy of each data sheet from this project will be given to the Warren County Cemetery Preservation Board to help in their efforts to preserve the knowledge of Warren County cemeteries. I photographed each gravestone in order to better document each stone and have the images on hand for later review.

In order to gain the information needed, I first needed to track down a cemetery that would be adequate for the project. It required a site large enough to gather data but small enough to be handled by one person. Dr. Kate Hudepohl, advisor to this project, chose several cemeteries that could possibly suit the needs of the project and undertook the preliminary work of visiting them. After we chose a suitable cemetery, it was
evaluated as to its current state and what needed to be done to make it a usable environment. The cemetery was cleared of the overgrowth of vegetation that was blocking the majority of the stones from view.

After those steps had been accomplished, it took many visits to gather all of the information from the data sheets as well as the photographs. Before and after I filled out the data sheets, as well as along the way, I probed the cemetery for stones, hidden by grass or a thin layer of soil. Several stones and pieces of broken stones were found in this manner. In order to view them I carefully removed the vegetation and/or soil without the use of tools. Once uncovered, I did not attempt to move the stones in any way at the risk of damage.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The grave markers in the Hays Cemetery totaled sixty-eight, representing seventy-two individuals. Sixty-four of the markers represented one individual, while the remaining four represented two individuals. In the cases where there were no markings on the stone, I assumed that the stone only represented one individual. Those without markings included broken stones, weathered stones, stones without engravings, and fieldstones. Fieldstones are stones that occur naturally; they are either not modified or only slightly modified, usually in shape only. In this cemetery, the oldest recorded birthdate is 1780, the oldest recorded death date is 1841, the newest recorded birthdate is 1918, and the newest recorded death date is 1950.

Gender was determined for all possible grave markers using social norms on names and/or if the epitaph mentions gender roles (traditional gender roles are assumed in this case). In the U.S., two genders are recognized, man and woman as tied to sex, and those are used for the analysis in this project. A summary of the breakdown of the cemetery individuals and epitaphs can be viewed in the appendix. The total number of determinable females is seventeen, determinable males total twenty and the number of stones representing individuals of indeterminate gender is thirty-five. Contributing to the indeterminate gender total are twenty-four fieldstones. Of the determinable females, two
were children (seventeen years old or younger), one having died at age thirteen and the other at fourteen years and eight months. Of the determinable males, six were children and two were of an indeterminate age. The male children died at the following ages: three years, ten months, one year, one month, and twins at forty-two days each. The ages were either given on the stone or were calculated using the years given for birth and death. The majority of children in this cemetery are males, and each died at under five years old.

Thirty-one grave markers had distinguishable epitaphs (roughly forty-five percent of the markers), which includes anything written beyond the name, birth, and/or death date. For preliminary analysis a typology with six categories was devised, much like those used in the New Orleans and Western Kentucky University projects. The categories for this project included the total number of individuals with epitaphs, overall relationship (with subcategories of spouse, parent, sibling, and child), activity while living (with subcategories of military and occupation), comment on the afterlife, and poem or saying, which are laid out in Table 1. The categories may overlap on a single stone, for example a stone may mention both a relationship as well as a poem. These categories were then analyzed for differences in gender. The totals for overall existence of epitaphs were 12 for adult females, 9 for adult males, 1 for adults of indeterminate gender, 2 for female children, 5 for male children, and 1 child of indeterminate gender. For the purposes of this project, the norm of 18+ years for adulthood was used. If there were grave markers representing 2+ individuals with separate epitaphs, I counted each separately. In this cemetery, there were no gravestones in which two individuals shared an epitaph.
Table 1. Categories used for analysis of epitaphs.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Categories</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Epitaph Presence</td>
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<td>2. Relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Spousal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Activity in Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Comment on the Afterlife / Religious Comment</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Poem or Saying</td>
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The Relationship Category

I first analyzed the relationship category in the Hays Cemetery only by gender. I found that the number of gravestones that mentioned relationships were fairly even in number between males and females, with nine and ten, respectively. This finding showed that the Hays Cemetery markers did illustrate some difference in epitaphs when it came to gender, confirming my original hypothesis. I broke down the categories by age group;
the majority of males whose gravestones remarked on relationship were in fact children (aged seventeen or younger), an example of which is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Gravestone of Clint and Clide Hendrick exhibiting the child relationship on each one’s epitaph.

For adult males, relationship was noted on four markers. For instance, on marker number 50, the mention of a parental relationship is situated on the top of the stone with the word “FATHER.” The stone adjacent has the same placement of “MOTHER.” Another stone mentions a sibling relationship, “brother,” but within a poem. I included the poem in the “relationship” category, but because it is found within a poem, it could mean that the relationship is not actually consanguineal but possibly a friend relationship or simply reflects the use of a poem with the word “brother” already in it regardless of any relationship. Likewise, another of the remaining examples of relationship epitaphs
for males is also from a poem engraved on marker number 49; it shows relationship with children and a spouse. The remaining relationship mention on marker 64 is as follows: “IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF WIFE AND DAUGHTERS.” I included this epitaph is counted in both the relationship category and in the spouse category for males.

For adult females there were nine gravestones with epitaphs that mentioned relationship. Eight of those relationship mentions were spousal. All of these epitaphs, unlike that of the adult males, express the relationship directly as through “WIFE OF…” as expressed in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Gravestone of Elizabeth Hays exhibiting the spousal relationship of wife.
One of these gravestones that expressed a spousal relationship also indicates a parental relationship, with the word “MOTHER” inscribed across the top of the tablet shaped stone. As aforementioned, the adjacent stone conversely stated “FATHER” across the top; however, it mentioned no spousal relationship elsewhere on the stone. Interestingly, there was one adult female that was mentioned in a daughter relationship, all other child relationships were in those under 18 years of age.

Children in this cemetery (under 18 years old), make up about twenty-nine percent of those whose age is known. Both of the two female children had an epitaph present, one of which represented a child relationship. Conversely, all of the five male children’s stones with epitaphs represented a child relationship. All of the epitaphs exhibiting a relationship were in the form of “son of” or “daughter of” except for one. The gravestone representing the male twin children listed two epitaphs. One included the standard, while the other had a unique form of the child relationship in “Boy of,” as is shown in Figure 1. There was one child of indeterminate gender in this category whose gravestone listed the parents’ initials (who were buried nearby). This child’s gravestone was engraved with the name or nickname of “DOVIE” and so could not be given a gender category.
The ‘activity in life’ category was occupied solely by adult males’ gravestones. There were three stones baring the marks of life activity. Two of these were side by side, both with the same Free Mason Society symbol prominently displayed above the names, as is visible in Figures 3 and 4. The third stone that included a symbol also had the name of the society to which the deceased belonged. This stone displayed concentric circles along with the words “WOODMEN OF THE WORLD,” which like the Free Mason Society represents membership within a fraternal society. The center included a tree stump and a decorative leaf design.
Figure 3. Gravestone of William D. Hays exhibiting a symbol of activity in life.

Figure 4. Gravestone of James L. Hays exhibiting a symbol of activity in life.
The Comment(s) on the Afterlife/ Religious Comments Category

The section of ‘afterlife’ and ‘religion’ yielded interesting results. There were two adult females with a comment on the afterlife included on their gravestones. One exhibited the simple and well known phrase, “AT REST,” while the other was expressed through a poem. The other three that occupy this category were male children. These each expressed a religious comment on the afterlife through a poem/saying. Two of the three were on one grave which represented two individuals. These individuals were twins, each of which had their own epitaphs, each mentioning a child relationship as well as a religious comment on the afterlife as a poem. The other male child with a religious comment on the afterlife also had a child relationship on the stone.

The Poem or Saying Category

Three adult males’ graves were in the ‘poem or saying’ section. Two of these were mentioned in the ‘relationship’ category, one recognizing a brother relationship, the other a spouse and parental relationship. The third adult male gravestone in the ‘poem or saying’ section is the one adjacent to the one mentioning the brother relationship, both of these with the Free Mason symbols mentioned in the ‘activity in life’ section. This third stone’s epitaph is not fully legible, but it is clear that there is a poem or saying present.

Adult females were represented with only one in this category. It is the very same stone mentioned in the ‘afterlife or religion’ section. The poem reads as follows:
Through days well spent in prayer and praise.

In words and works of love

God led her feet by pleasant ways

To his blest light above.

On this stone, although the spousal relationship as well as the religious poem are included, her surname is not. The personal name “MARY” is given and a possible middle name or maiden name is represented by the initial “A.” Her husband’s full name is included on her headstone, as well as her full initials on her footstone.

Of the children represented in this category, three are males. These are the same stones mentioned in the ‘afterlife and religion’ section. Each stone has both a poem and a comment on the afterlife that is also religious. There is one female child represented in this category. This stone has both the saying “OUR DARLING ONE” and a child relationship on it.
Graph 1. Epitaph statistics for each category.
CHAPTER 5

COMPARISON

The volume of data that this cemetery yielded seems relatively small, but it does function to show a significant pattern. Therefore, this section is intended to compare this project to others that are similar, at least in their goals if not their methods. First, I will compare this project to the results of Jones’s project in New Orleans. Jones found that, as in my project, women were most often associated with epitaphs portraying relationships. Of these, the spouse relationship was the most common, as was the case in my own findings. In the New Orleans project, the category most often found in association with men was birthplace or origin. This pattern differed from my project, in which the most common for men was actually in the relationship category. However, women greatly outnumbered men in that category. In the Hays Cemetery, there were no instances of birthplace or origin.

Jones’s study observes that “cause and place of death and activities during life appear more important for culturally defining men than they are for defining women” (Jones 1998). This observation differs somewhat from my findings since in the Hays Cemetery, there were no discernable instances of cause or place of death. However, the activities during life portion seems to be supported by my own findings. The most common category for men in the Hays Cemetery was relationship, however, the number
of cases in which the relationship was found within a poem or saying was very high (3 out of 4). This was not the case with women, where the majority of the relationship instances were found in the form of “wife of…” The emphasis therefore seems to be not on the relationship for men in the Hays Cemetery, but on their status as ‘doers’. Their relationships in these instances become more of an achievement of power rather than their defining feature, as is the case with women in both this study and Jones’s. Since Jones’s typology was somewhat different than Hudepohl’s, the categories mentioned are the only ones that the two studies had in common.

The study I co-authored in 2011 demonstrated a similar pattern to the Hays Cemetery in the relationship and activity in life categories. The relationship category had a much greater disparity between male and female marker numbers, with eleven and thirty-five, respectively for adults. My results were much less in sheer numbers, however, they followed the same trend for relationships as Jones’s study and the 2011 project. The majority of individuals for the relationship category were women whereas the majority of individuals for the activity in life category were men.

As well as in this project, the 2011 project showed that men’s gravestones were most often in the activity during life category. In that project the majority of the activity during life category was made up of mentions of military service. As well, there were a few instances of place or cause of death. The Hays Cemetery differed greatly on that front wherein there were no mentions of military service nor were there any mentions of place or cause of death.
The pattern for the relationship category and the activity in life category is the same for this project as the 2011 project as far as which group populates them. The difference lies in the reversal, in which categories were the most common for men and women. In this project the most common category for both men and women was the relationship category. As discussed within the Jones comparison, the majority of mens’ relationship mentions were found within poems or sayings, taking the emphasis away from the relationship itself. The 2011 project and this project followed the same pattern in the comment on the afterlife section with the majority for women’s gravestones. However, it was reversed in the category of poems and sayings with the majority for men’s gravestones.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

When my data is taken into consideration with the other literature I have mentioned, it shows an overarching pattern. Many of the patterns found in other projects are the same patterns that my data showed. My hypothesis was proved correct in that the gravestones exhibited patterns across gender lines. I also discovered that age played a major role in several of the categories.

The relationship category, for instance, became a very different picture when age was taken into account. When only gender was considered, the category of relationship was not very diverse, nine and eight, but when age was taken into account the difference became quite a bit larger. The results were adult males with four, adult females with nine, male children with five, female children with one and one for a child of indeterminate gender. I suggest that this difference reflects gender ideology. Children are historically considered to be under the care and charge of women, and so would derive their status from their caretaker.

The difference found in the children’s ‘relationship’ epitaphs was larger than I expected. After further investigation, I found that there were only two female children; both died in their teens. Meanwhile the male children, of which there were six, all died
before the age of five. I believe the age at death had more to do with the sentiments expressed on the stones than did the gender in these instances.

The category of relationship, the subcategory of spousal relationship and the category of activity in life show a pattern of gender differentiation. The majority of individuals in the ‘relationship’ category were women, the most common association being with husbands. Relatively few men were associated by relationship, and none was associated in a spousal relationship in the same manner as women. This finding indicates that women are most often socially defined by their relationships to their spouse. The category of activity in life was solely occupied by men, indicating that men are more likely than women to be socially defined by their activities in life.

One part of the ‘relationship’ category did not follow the overall pattern. The ‘parental relationship’ indicated more men in this category than women. In this case, the epitaph of “MOTHER” was found once and the epitaph of “FATHER” found once, the other two for men were indicated through sayings and poems. One such case was that of an epitaph reading “IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF WIFE AND DAUGHTERS,” indicating not that his status as husband and father is so important as to be placed on his headstone, but that he is so important to the status of the wife and daughters he left behind.

My findings suggest that relationship epitaphs tend to be on women’s gravestones most often and activities in life will tend to be on the gravestones of men most often. The stones with poems or sayings were much more frequent on the gravestones of men and
male children. This could be due to the age at which the children died and that the creators of the men’s and possibly children’s epitaphs were women (the wives and mothers of the deceased). Relatively few of those with poems or sayings were on women’s epitaphs, with their epitaphs assumedly created by the husband.

This pattern in epitaphs is not surprising when considering that it is much more culturally acceptable in the U.S. for women to express such sentiments as are revealed in a poem or saying. According to Jean Twenge,

*The most widely used measures of gender-stereotyped personality traits, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory and Personal Attributes Questionnaire...consist of two scales: traits considered more socially desirable/typical for men (the BSRI-M and PAQ-M) and traits considered more socially desirable/typical for women (the BSRI-F and PAQ-F). The M scales consist of instrumental traits such as “assertive” and “independent,” the F-scale contains expressive traits such as “understanding of others” and “gentle.”*

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire measure changes over time and these “longitudinal studies of women’s lives have illustrated the impact of social expectations” (Twenge 1997). In other words, the social expectations of women to be “expressive,” “understanding of others” and “gentle” and the social expectations of men to be “instrumental,” “assertive” and “independent” impact the lives of individuals. The impact is so encompassing that those attributes are expressed after death in the enduring monument to life.
CHAPTER 7

FUTURE

*Cemetery Preservation*

Part of the importance of documenting and analyzing the features of a cemetery lies in its impermanence. Though stone seems to most an enduring substance, it is in fact quite fragile in the face of relentless exposure to the elements. Wind, rain, hail, snow, erosion, and flood all affect the stones tucked away in their final resting places. These places are understood by many to be sacred, undisturbed...eternal. However, this is not the case. Dr. Vogel stated in an interview that gravestone’s inscriptions are “disappearing pretty quickly, wearing away from weather and time.” Of his project, he indicated that “these volunteers might be the last to see them in person.” The time sensitivity is true of all cemeteries, including the Hays Cemetery, the information they hold is rapidly and steadily disappearing. Recording the information while it is still available is imperative to its preservation. Many stones had portions that were already illegible; in a few more years, it is possible that they could lose their legibility entirely.

Part of the goal of preservation is not only to save the information from the destruction of time, but to keep as best as possible the original sources in the best condition. In an effort to do just that, I refrained from using rubbings or marking the
stones, which can damage them in the process. The upkeep of cemeteries necessitates the mowing and keeping of the grounds. The approaches currently in use damage the stones, leaving deep gouges in the surface of many. A new approach needs to be enacted to better protect the stones and the human legacy they hold.

**Future Research**

This project is a slice of what could be pursued, not a definitive study, and exists within the framework of other works. The data is not only serving to preserve knowledge but to allow further research. For example, it is to be used by Dr. Hudepohl in her ongoing cemetery documentation projects. My study could be built upon in the future or the raw data could be used to analyze a completely new subject matter.

I attempted to analyze another epitaph category, “age at death,” but there was not enough data in the Hays Cemetery to complete a thorough study. This subject presents an avenue for further investigation. Art work on gravestones as tied to gender or other aspects also offers a rich source of data. Gravestone data lends itself to studies of trends over time as well as content analysis. It can be comparative or isolated, span counties or countries. Any further cemetery research would allow a better comparison across time and space and give us an enriched understanding of what the past can teach us, of what the dead can teach the living.


APPENDIX

Initial Data Sheet:

Number of grave markers: 68
Minimum number of individuals represented: 72
Markers Representing One Individual: 64
Markers Representing Two Individuals: 4

Gender:

Males: 20
  Adults (18+): 12
  Children (17 or less): 6
  Unknown: 2

Females: 17
  Adults (18+): 15
  Children (17 or less): 2
  Unknown: 0

Indeterminate Gender: 35

Number of Fieldstones: 24
Oldest Recorded Birthdate: 1780
Oldest Recorded Death date: 1841
Newest Recorded Birthdate: 1918
Newest Recorded Death date: 1950
### Preliminary Analysis Sheet:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship (overall)</th>
<th>Adults (18+)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Children (17 &amp; under)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of individuals with epitaphs (including multiple epitaphs)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.R. Spouse (overall)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.A. Spouse</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.B. Parent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.C. Child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.D. Sibling</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>1st Column</td>
<td>2nd Column</td>
<td>3rd Column</td>
<td>4th Column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Activity while living</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.A. Military</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.B. Occupation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Comment on afterlife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Poem or saying</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Age (beyond listing dates)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these categories have number discrepancies due to the system of counting used. If multiple subcategories appeared in the same epitaph they were counted separately for subcategories but singularly for the main categories.