

VALUING HISTORIC CEMETERIES

By

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Para conservar las cenizas

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This study presents a framework that can be used by historic cemeteries to inform and direct interpretive programming that builds upon what visitors will likely see as the most valuable and pertinent aspects of cemetery sites. It also addresses how developing such programming can incorporate other concerns that affect on-site visitation, management, economics, and other issues vital to the long-term stability of such resources.

The values associated with historic sites (aspects that people perceive as significant) have been identified by many national stewardship organizations. However, the categories and definitions provided by national organizations are (necessarily) abstract, and difficult to use at the local level, where a more specific framework is needed to identify values for specific heritage sites.

For many historic cemeteries, interpretive programming, based on the site-specific characteristics valued by visitors, provides the means to fund upkeep and preservation projects, as well as maintain relevance in the local community. Before such interpretation can be developed, values associated with the site, both existing and potential, must be identified.

Four historic cemeteries were chosen for comparative analysis in this study: Tolomato Cemetery in St. Augustine, Florida; St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 in New Orleans, Louisiana; Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia; and Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. These cemeteries were chosen to represent a wide range of values, programming, visitation, and other issues.

Through an analysis of on-site interpretive programming at the four sites, interviews with administrators, and other research, this study formulated a framework to aid in the development of interpretational programming that addresses:

- Cemetery *values*
- Programming *considerations*

A site's values explain and highlight why people visit, and what makes the site important in the context of the community's past and its present. The programming considerations represent important concerns and issues that may affect an on-site visit or interpretation at a historic cemetery, but are not immediately apparent to visitors. Some values and considerations are obvious; others, less so. Suggestions are made as to how historic cemeteries can use this framework in the development of interpretational programming, and in directing further investigations into the site-specific values at other cemetery sites.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Monuments will one day need their own memorials...In these straitened times, the living compete with the dead for funding. Both respect and history demand that we remember the latter. It is a matter of life *and* death.¹

In the summer of 2011, Historic Oakland Cemetery was voted the #1 tourist attraction in the city of Atlanta by users of the popular internet travel site TripAdvisor. This struck many people as sensational; cemeteries are not typically thought of as successful attractions, particularly when pitted against the competition in a major city like Atlanta (there were 164 attractions listed on TripAdvisor for that city at the time). Clearly, Oakland Cemetery is doing something right. Make no mistake; this is a bona fide success story, and one that is unique even among the large, high profile cemeteries.

A more common example would be that of Tolomato Cemetery in St. Augustine, Florida: the oldest extant planned cemetery in Florida, reserved for Catholic burials during St. Augustine's colonial era. Interest and preservation efforts associated with the cemetery have ebbed and flowed over the years, with Tolomato currently operating on a limited interpretive plan, opened to the public only one day a month. While geographically central to the tourist experience of many visitors, the site may be left out of further interpretation and community memory as both time and interest in the site wane.

Unfortunately, Tolomato's situation is not an uncommon one among historic cemeteries in the U.S. Many sites have limited finances and limited manpower at their

¹ Roger Bowdler, "Protecting their Memory," *Conservation Bulletin* 66, The Heritage of Death (Summer 2011), 23.

disposal. They are usually in some stage of dilapidation requiring active preservation (i.e. funding) and suffering from a degree of disconnection with the general population, which inhibits increased visitation and additional interpretational opportunities. Many of these cemeteries are not in ideal situations, which is why Oakland's success seems so remarkable. However, what if aspects of the programming at popular cemeteries like Oakland were identified and defined so other, less developed cemeteries could use them?

The survival of historic cemetery sites hinges on understanding the *values* associated with them. Values are a collection of traits associated with experiencing an artifact or site. They define why people desire to visit and experience historic sites, and provide the foundation for understanding sites. Because of this importance, it is essential to identify the values before any kind of programs relating to interpretation or preservation can take place at the site. The identification of values is the necessary first step in any such endeavor, because until they are identified, it will not be clear what needs to be interpreted or preserved, and why.

Interpretational programming at sites such as historic cemeteries enables guests to place the site in the context of the local and national history, and tells the unique stories which make the sites special. Informing visitors helps to secure that a site maintains its relevance as time progresses, and will also aid in securing funding for necessary upkeep and preservation projects. Most people agree that historic cemetery sites have value, but pinning down exactly what is valued at a particular cemetery, and by whom, can be difficult. Research by preservationists such as Randy Hester reveals

that people may find value in unexpected aspects of a site.² To produce programming that engages the visitor, we must know what the visitor values about the site, and why.

There are numerous cemeteries in the U.S. with steady visitation and well-developed interpretational programming. The values that each cemetery wishes to communicate to their guests are exhibited in the programs and elements of an on-site visit. Revisiting the disparity between the successful cemetery sites and the more common, struggling historic cemetery discussed previously, the question becomes: how can cemeteries who do not yet have an interpretational model in place use the values and other aspects of programming that have been identified by the developed cemeteries to their advantage?

Although every cemetery may be different, by comparing the programming at several historic cemeteries, as well as gaining insight through personal conversation with administrative members at the cemeteries, it is possible to identify a set of values that seemingly relates specifically to cemeteries, as well as a list of important programming considerations that affect the experience of an on-site visit. These two lists together constitute a framework that could be useful for less developed cemeteries in the U.S. to guide the implementation of interpretational programs, and to inform more in-depth valuation studies. This analysis of cemetery values focuses on interpretation because it is a common element in programming at historic cemeteries that attracts guests and generates revenue. Cemeteries are unique heritage resources, and Angie Green, executive director of Save Our Cemeteries in New Orleans, Louisiana, expresses the need for revenue through interpretation:

² Randy Hester, "Subconscious Landscapes of the Heart" *Places: Forum of Design for the Public Realm* 2, no. 3 (1985).

The biggest difference [between cemeteries and other heritage sites] is that cemetery property (usually) stops being an economic performer once it's gotten to the point where it's historic or culturally significant. The cemetery owner/operator/municipality has a liability on the books that probably never will become a moneymaker...so turning it into a cultural/heritage destination is pretty much the only way to use the economics of historic preservation in your favor.³

The second chapter provides a brief history of the development of cemeteries in the United States. The development from colonial churchyard burials to the privately owned cemeteries of today provides the essential context for the cemeteries that were chosen for case studies. The small sacred plots that developed into arboreal Victorian pleasure grounds paved the way for the public parks enjoyed by citizens the nation over. In the aftermath of this, the graveyard has increasingly been a place that is separated from everyday life for most people. However, the artwork, history, and solitude intended for the dead is bringing the living back to these sites in modern times as tourists.

The third chapter addresses the concept of value. Economic value is briefly discussed, but more focus is given to why we value heritage sites, what it means to value them, and how valuation studies are conducted. Special attention is given to how value is ascertained by the National Register of Historic Places in the United States, where eligibility requires sites to illustrate adherence to specific sets of criteria; as well as English Heritage, which provides funding and stewardship resources for heritage sites in England; and the Burra Charter, which provides guidelines and a code of ethics for dealing with heritage resources in Australia.

The fourth chapter outlines the case studies. The cemeteries chosen for case studies are:

³ Angie Green, e-mail message to the author, October 23, 2011.

- Tolomato Cemetery, in St. Augustine, Florida
- St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, in New Orleans, Louisiana
- Mount Auburn Cemetery, in Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Oakland Cemetery, in Atlanta, Georgia

These sites were chosen because they represent a variety of cemetery styles and sizes. Tolomato and St. Louis No. 1 are both small church-owned burial grounds that were established in the colonial eras of their respective cities, while Mount Auburn and Oakland are large Rural Cemeteries established in the first half of the 19th century. They also represent a relatively large geographic distribution. Each cemetery is near a popular travel destination, and therefore each has an accessible base of heritage tourists and locals who engage with the site. Each cemetery also has an active interpretational plan in place that is operated by a non-profit stewardship group, although each is at different stages of development. By analyzing these four cemeteries that represent different styles and sizes, a suggested list of values that seems to pertain to historic cemeteries as a general group, as well as a list of programming considerations is identified and presented. Personal conversations with administrative personnel from the stewardship groups at the four cemeteries provide supplementary information about the sites that is included in the analysis. The sites are compared by identifying:

- Location
- History
- Ownership
- Stewardship Group
- Tours
- Perceived Values

Additional issues that are pertinent to operators and managers of cemetery stewardship groups are also discussed in this chapter. These issues may not necessarily be

apparent to the visitors, and do not manifest in an on-site visit as values, but are important to the general experience of all four case studies. They include:

- Stakeholders
- National Register Inclusion
- Non-profit Status
- Community Partnerships
- Membership Organizations

In the fifth chapter, an analysis is given, comparing the aspects addressed in chapter four. The result is a suggested list of values and programming considerations that correspond to the historic cemeteries. It is likely that these values, which have provided the foundation for successful interpretive programming at the four case studies, will relate to other historic cemeteries and could help to inform the development of additional interpretive programs and valuation studies. Suggestions are offered on how other historic cemeteries could use identified framework to their advantage. This chapter also provides an overview of limitations in the study, as well suggestions for future research.

Once a historic cemetery determines its values and significance, the doorway to achieving a successful interpretive plan is opened. With the proper interpretation of values, its stewards can help locals and visitors care about the space with real conviction, and establish its place in the context of the community as a valuable heritage resource.

CHAPTER 2 BACKGROUND: A HISTORY OF CEMETERIES IN THE U.S.

The Early Cemeteries

Cemeteries have gone through many transformations and developments since the first colonists landed and began dying in the New World. Early places of burial in America bore a close resemblance to their European counterparts, as many settlers brought burial customs with them from their mother countries instead of adopting the customs of the people they encountered.

Catholic Churchyards

The early Spanish Catholic settlers were interred in small graveyards near a church, on a separate piece of church-owned property, or sometimes under the floors of the church itself. This was consecrated, or blessed, ground and being buried in such ground was necessary to be included in the parish's prayers for the dead. Graves in these burial spaces were typically marked with crosses of wood or stone, depending on what was locally available. Burials were oriented to the east, with the belief that the body would rise facing the east on Judgment Day.¹ Iconography tended to express the love of Christ and the promise of eternal life.

Other funerary traditions were imported from the Old World with each wave of settlement in the Americas. Some traditions were modified to fit the new surroundings, but other times the old traditions were symbiotic with the new challenges. For example, the aboveground, family tomb was a popular element in French cemeteries. This tradition was transferred easily to St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 in New Orleans, Louisiana, where the style was also prized for its practicality, given the difficulty of digging graves

¹ Mary Coffin, *Death in Early America* (New York: Elsevier/Nelson Books, 1976), 166.

in a city below sea level. Opened in 1789, the cemetery is surrounded by a wall of arched brick vaults that encloses the cemetery while providing a dry space for burial; a necessity with a high water table (about three feet below the surface) and heavy rainfall averaging about 64 inches a year.² The vaults were constructed of local brick, which was subsequently plastered and whitewashed, with imported marble slabs for markers. Visitor John H. B. Latrobe wrote after a visit in the mid-19th century about another burial custom in this city,

I was informed that these cells were purchased for various lengths of time varying from 1 to 10 years and some were owned in perpetuity. When the lease expired, the tenant, or what remained of him was removed, when the feelings of the relatives could not be shocked by the idea of his being burned instead of buried.³

Graveyards of New England

With the early settlers of New England in the 17th century came the Puritanical shifts in burial practice. A product of the recent Protestant Reformation and shaped by the teachings of John Calvin, these Puritan, and many Separatist, groups desired to return to a “purer” form of Christianity, and eschewed many Catholic traditions. The body was seen as a mere shell for the immortal soul, and did not merit special treatment once that soul had departed, so their graveyards were treated as secular spaces without plantings to beautify the grounds.⁴ There was no order to the burial grounds, and they were crowded, barren and jumbled in appearance. The Puritans rejected any ornamentation that glorified the individual, which they believed lent itself to idolatry.

Increase Mather declared to his congregation in 1707 that, “to praise the dead is to

² Samuel Wilson, Jr. and Leonard V. Huber, *The St. Louis Cemeteries of New Orleans* (New Orleans, LA: St. Louis Cathedral, 1963), 6.

³ John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803-1891* (Baltimore, MD: The Norman, Remington Co., 1917), 311., Quoted in *The St. Louis Cemeteries of New Orleans*, 5.

⁴ Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 26.

praise corruptible flesh...to praise memory is to worship the dead.”⁵ Achieving humility and keeping pride in check were important to early settlers, and the dead highlighted the urgency to prepare for the hereafter. William Cooper suggested to his flock, “look into the grave and see a dead body that has been buried there but a month or two, all covered with darkness and corruption, and say whether it is suitable for one to have high thoughts of himself.”⁶ These views manifested themselves in the concept of “momento mori,” a Latin phrase meaning, “remember that you will die.” The concept of momento mori was not exclusive to New England, and was commonplace across Europe and other parts of America. The rise of this phenomenon is perhaps best understood in the light that in the mid 17th century, the populations of Europe and Asia actually decreased for the first time since the Black Death.⁷ As the 1600s progressed, graveyards increasingly became the canvas for the momento mori credo. A winged skull, known as the “death’s head,” and other representations of death, the possibility of damnation, and the soul’s triumph over death were carved into the headstones of New England. Stones were typically either square slabs, or shaped to represent arched doorways, suggesting the passage into the next life.⁸

Family Burial Grounds

In contrast to their northern counterparts, the south harbored more colonists of the Anglican persuasion. The graveyards of these settlers shared many of the thematic elements of the earlier Catholics, focusing on the love of Christ and the promise of

⁵ Increase Mather, *Meditations on Death* (Boston, MA: Timothy Green, 1707). Quoted in *Silent City on a Hill*, 26.

⁶ William Cooper, *A Sermon Concerning the Laying of Deaths of Others to Heart...* (Boston, MA: B. Green for B. Eliot, 1720), 27.

⁷ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1989), 112.

⁸ Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 141-142.

salvation rather than the *momento mori* of the North. While there were both community and church burial grounds in the South, the family burial ground was developed as a practical alternative for farmers living in the hinterland.⁹ The concept of the family burial ground was completely unique to the American colonies.¹⁰ These plots were situated on parts of the farm or plantation that not suitable for agriculture: in rocky soil, the borders of fields, or on high windswept hills. This was a common enough phenomenon to warrant mention of foreign traveller N.P. Willis, who, in the early 1800s, remarked,

All through the region I observed that every farm had its grave; and this, not fenced in or secluded, but with the white slab rising from the middle the crop of grain, or a field of potatoes...As a man cannot very well see his barns and cattle from underground, nor, by force of vicinage, rise again with the crops sown around him, I do not very well understand how the custom could become so general.¹¹

The plots were sometimes walled in, and often had plantings with symbolic qualities to beautify the graves. Gardenias, cedars, mimosas, and crape myrtles were common.¹² These burial spaces were carefully tended and managed, either by the families or slaves, in the plantation context. As the families of planters became wealthier, the headstones and memorials tended to become more elaborate.

Slave Burials

On plantations, owners typically gave slaves a small plot of land for burials. The customs associated with these burials drew heavily from the Igbo and Yoruba cultures of West Africa. If the burials were marked, they were done so with stone, wood, shells,

⁹ Meg Greene, *Rest in Peace* (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-First Century Books, 2008), 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Nathaniel Parker Willis, *Rural Letters: And Other Records of Thought at Leisure* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1851), 327.

¹² Greene, 15.

iron pipes, or other convenient items.¹³ The personal belongings of the deceased were placed on the grave, in the belief that they would be taken with the departed into the next life. This gave the spaces a noticeably unkempt appearance, was misunderstood by whites, who perceived in some cases that they were using the graveyards for garbage disposal.¹⁴

Changing Customs

In the period from 1775 to 1830 the small burial grounds within town limits, churchyards, and burial in vaults or crypts beneath churches were still the prevalent forms of burial, although the relative diversity of Christian denominations had diluted the *momento mori* of the earlier settlers. Cherubs began replacing the winged death's heads, and the gruff, unfeeling phrase "here lies the body" was superseded by sentiments of, "sacred to the memory."¹⁵ The churches, or sometimes local municipalities, maintained the graveyards which let church and city administrators have a say in who could, and couldn't, be buried in such spaces.

Undesirables

The plots in graveyards were only reserved for those whom the church deemed "acceptable". Certain facets of society were to be separated from the masses in death: strangers, the poor, homeless, unbaptized, illegitimate, and the insane.¹⁶ These groups were confined to a Potter's Field, either a segregated area of the graveyard, or a separate space on the outskirts of the town. The name "Potter's Field" has a Biblical origin; after Judas Iscariot returned the 30 shekels he had been paid to betray Jesus,

¹³ *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African-American Cemeteries* (Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 1996), 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁵ Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone* (New York: MJF Books, 2004), 136.

¹⁶ *Coffin*, 129.

the priests used the money to purchase land “to bury strangers” in a place where the potters gathered clay, which was unfit for farming.¹⁷ This was still consecrated ground, although markers were not provided.

Health Concerns

As time passed a problem with the system became glaringly obvious; the number of dead increased, but the space in which to bury them did not. Whereas it was generally recognized by the early 1800s that proper decomposition required burial in a shroud or wooden coffin beneath five to six feet of free soil, most graveyards were afforded no such luxury.¹⁸ Graves were opened frequently for new internments, and bodies were stacked like Pringles chips on top of one another in the same grave shaft. Many bodies were mere inches under the topsoil, and in cases where still more room was required; dirt was mounded on top of a body to conceal it.¹⁹

In the 1830s a breaking point was reached and the situation became so abhorrent that it could no longer escape the moral and sanitary sensibilities of American communities. Traveller Basil Hall wrote in 1827 of the, “soppy churchyard, where the mourners sink ankle deep in a rank and offensive mould, mixed with broken bones and fragments of coffin.”²⁰ Many people began to advocate for complete disestablishment of church control and for the establishment of new burial grounds outside the towns. When these civil arguments fell on deaf ears, the argument of the reformers focused in on the public health risk of exposed decaying corpses in the frequently used grounds.

Dr. William Buchan reasoned at the time:

¹⁷ Matthew 27:5-7, *The Holy Bible*, King James Version (New York: American Bible Society, 1999).

¹⁸ James Stevens Curl, “John Claudius Loudon and the Garden Cemetery Movement,” *Garden History* 11, no. 2 (Autumn 1983) : 137.

¹⁹ *Silent City*, 26.

²⁰ Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828, Volume 2* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Company, 1829), 206. Quoted from Meg Greene, *Rest In Peace*.

In great cities, so many things tend to contaminate the air, that it is no wonder that it proves fatal to the inhabitants...It is very common in this country to have churchyards in the middle of populous cities. It is certain that thousands of putrid carcasses, so near the surface of the earth in a place where the air is confined, cannot fail to taint it, and that such air, when breathed into the lungs, must occasion disease.²¹

Municipal Cemeteries

The New Burying Ground Society

In 1796, when such outcry began, a group in New Haven, Connecticut took action and changed the history of burial grounds in the U.S. forever. The man behind the push was Connecticut Senator James Hillhouse, who at that point had already served in the state's House of Representatives, and in the U.S. Congress.²² Hillhouse started the New Burying Ground Society and purchased property outside of New Haven for new internments, with plots laid out in a geometric fashion by designer Josiah Meig.²³ A corporation was formed so that the Society members were the owners of the property, as opposed to church or government officials, and were therefore able to determine for themselves who could or couldn't be buried there, or if bodies could be removed. Even though it was not associated with a church, the New Burying Ground (today known as the Grove Street Cemetery) was considered legally protected sacred ground. Experiments with similar incarnations were attempted over the next several decades, some succeeding, others failing. Regardless of its longevity, the New Burying Ground Society's legacy stuck a proverbial fork in the road, and set the stage for future development.

²¹ Coffin, 128.

²² "Hillhouse, James (1754-1832)," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, accessed 10/20/2011, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=H000618>

²³ Greene, 210.

Urbanization

Burial grounds were being established on the outside of towns and cities, and with these new options for internment, many local governments began passing legislation that prohibited burial within city limits in the older, crowded cemeteries. At the same time in the larger cities, the working population was submitting to a general despondency with their increasingly urbanized surroundings while the industrial complex continued to grow. The Second Industrial Revolution came in the mid-19th century, and the age of steel bloomed with the introduction of the Bessemer converter in 1855.²⁴ When the ancestors of many of these new urbanites had stepped off their boats, the settlers saw America as an “immense wilderness turned into a fruitful field”.²⁵ Unfortunately, as industrialization and urbanization progressed through the early 19th century, people began to see the American landscape less as something cultivated and more as a landscape that had been corrupted. The city no longer blended in with nature. In fact, it was consuming it. People desired to return to nature, and many Americans that had moved from the country into the cities to find work began to romanticize nature. Reverend Amos Blanchard echoed the sentiments of many when he said in 1841 that his, "secret wish that when death shall have torn his beloved ones from his embrace, and when [he] himself shall have died, they might repose together, where they should never be disturbed by the encroachments of a crowded and swelling population of the living...."²⁶

²⁴ Walter Adams and Joel B. Dirlam, “Big Steel, Invention, and Innovation,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 80, no. 2 (May, 1966): 169.

²⁵ Thomas Bender, “The “Rural” Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature,” *The New England Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (June 1974): 199.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 202.

The Rural Cemetery

The Rural Cemetery Movement sprang from these bucolic longings. There needed to be a counterbalance to the crowded streets and the black pillars of coal fire smoke, and Rural Cemeteries would provide that counterbalance. As a professor in botany and medicine at Harvard College, Jacob Bigelow knew a thing or two about personal well-being. In his quest to alleviate some of the woes of urban life, and instill some of that well-being in the people of Boston, Bigelow led a group along with the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1831 and purchased 72 acres of farmland about four miles from Boston.²⁷ Mount Auburn Cemetery, the first rural cemetery, was thus born from the personal designs of Bigelow, and largely influenced by the English Garden Movement and the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, France. Whereas Père Lachaise was a Parisian garden that was converted into a cemetery, Mount Auburn was designed, from inception, as a cemetery. These intricately planned, sylvan spaces with their winding pathways and broad alleys provided a sharp contrast to city life and became a sanctuary and recreational space for the living, as well as resting place for the dead. The names of the new rural cemeteries also evoked bucolic charm: Laurel Hill in Philadelphia, Laurel Grove in Savannah, Greenwood in Brooklyn, Allegheny in Pittsburgh, Oakland in Atlanta.

Cemeteries experienced somewhat of a Golden Age of popularity during the Victorian Era (1832-1901), and perceptions of death shifted; the tragic nature of the situation did not spring from the death of a loved one, but more so from the possibility

²⁷ Blanche Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourists and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," *Cemeteries & Grave Markers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989), 293.

that they might go unmourned or forgotten.²⁸ Concepts about the state of death became a bit more obtuse as well, with imagery of the dead as one merely sleeping, or conversely, woken from a dream evoked on epitaphs. Consider that this movement ushered the word “cemetery” into prevalence; the word comes from the Greek “koimeterion,” meaning, “sleeping chamber.”

Because of the natural setting and botanical diversity, people visited cemeteries and enjoyed them as public garden space. It is hard to imagine our modern communities without gardens and green spaces, but such public parks and gardens did not exist in the 1830s, and these first rural cemeteries constituted the first large open public spaces in the United States.²⁹ Similarly, this was also the first opportunity for the general public to view works of art (the hand-carved statuary and memorials), and visitors would take walks and picnic among the graves.

The cemeteries often sold guidebooks to accommodate guests on a visit that would show them particular natural features such as lakes and highlight the graves of prominent citizens and celebrities. Throughout the 1850s and 60s, additions were made to further accommodate the crowds of visitors to Mount Auburn, including a gazebo with a pump house and public bathrooms.³⁰

Prominent American landscape architect and designer Andrew Jackson Downing wrote of the appeal of rural cemeteries and noted they were prized for the, “gala day of *recreation* they present...people seem to go there to enjoy themselves, and not to

²⁸ Debi Hacker, *The Iconography of Death* (Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 2001), 1.

²⁹ Donald S. Murakami and Howard F. Ostrout, Jr., *Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Cambridge, MA: Department of Landscape Architecture, Harvard University, 1976), 6.

³⁰ *Silent City*, 316-318.

indulge in any serious recollections or regrets.”³¹ In a great instance of foreshadowing, Downing wrote in 1848, “I think it is plain enough how much our citizens, of all classes, would enjoy public parks on a similar scale.”³²

However, all good things must pass, and the success of the rural cemeteries led to their eventual downfall. They too became overcrowded, and many lacked the appropriate staff to keep the cemeteries in proper order. Maintenance was uneven, which was compounded by the fact that there was no uniformity between plots so it did not take long for many cemeteries to seem cluttered and unkempt.³³ But the real coup de grâce for rural cemeteries were the immense casualties of the American Civil War, which destroyed much of the sentimentalism that had accompanied cemeteries and the Victorian culture; death was once again grotesque and tragic.³⁴ Public parks were beginning to be established in many large cities, and the monopoly that cemeteries had on the public space was being broken up. The cemeteries had shown the popularity of public natural spaces, and designers acted accordingly. Fredrick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux designed Central Park in 1857, and borrowed many ideas from the rural cemeteries.³⁵

The Lawn Park

Parks drew inspiration from the cemeteries, and following suit, the cemeteries looked to the new public parks for their next stage in development. The Landscape Lawn or Lawn Park movement came next (1855-1917). The movement was started by a landscape architect named Adolph Strauch who was well known for open designs

³¹ Andrew Jackson Downing, “A Talk About Public Parks and Gardens,” in *Rural Essays*, ed. George William Curtis (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1857), 144.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Greene, 40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Bender, 210

using light, lawn, and large spaces.³⁶ Strauch wanted a landscape that would simultaneously “unify and simplify” the cemetery without the diversity expressed from plot to plot in the rural cemeteries.³⁷ Cemeteries became uniform in landscaping and design, which included limiting the types of plantings, eliminating curbing and iron fencing around graves, eliminating footstones, and providing a standardized headstone (six inches off the ground).³⁸ The plants that were intended to imitate nature were removed and replaced with carefully designed gardens, and ornamentation was restricted. The care and maintenance of plots was taken out of the hands of the actual plot owners and placed with the cemeteries themselves, who were considered the experts and authorities. The unified look not only provided a certain aesthetic, but it also lowered costs dramatically. In 1883, lots at Mount Auburn were ranging from \$225 for unexceptional lots, to \$750 for “choice lots”, whereas prices for a lot at Spring Grove (the first lawn park) ranged from \$90 to \$150.³⁹

The invention of the lawn mower by Edwin Budding in 1830, and subsequent developments to the technology facilitated a dramatic shift in cemetery maintenance.⁴⁰ The machines were paired with new varieties of grass, a combination that made cemeteries both easier and cheaper to maintain.

The Memorial Park

The shift to our more current form of cemeteries, the Memorial Park, began in about 1900, when cremation was being revived as a popular method of disposal

³⁶ Shary Lang Berg, “Approaches to Landscape Preservation Treatment at Mount Auburn Cemetery,” *APT Bulletin* 24, no. 3/4, *Conserving Historic Landscapes* (1992): 54.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Adolph Strauch, “Reports from the Landscape Gardener and the Superintendent,” *Cemetery of Spring Grove: Report for 1857* (Cincinnati, OH: C.F. Bradley & Co., 1857), 32.

³⁹ Greene, 45.

⁴⁰ Richard Orr, “Lawn Mowers’ History Told,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), May 10, 1957.

because it was more affordable and also saved space. Columbariums, walls with nooks for cremation urns, and community mausoleums became more common at cemeteries throughout the country. Also at this time funeral homes and morticians began to assume the duties that went along with death and burials, which were traditionally performed by families.

In 1915, designer J. J. Gordon advocated for flush headstones, and waxed poetically, “few but have felt the chill that strikes the heart when standing in the office of some cemetery, even the most beautiful, and seeing the gleaming monuments, silent reminders of the shortness of life.”⁴¹ He believed death should be undetectable in a cemetery, and that a more park-like space was desirable. This caught on with attendants, because flat stones allowed for faster mowing and landscaping, and therefore reduced costs. Another impetus was that it was also more democratic for those interred; you would not be able identify someone’s social status because all stones would be exactly the same.⁴² This marginalization of death is perceived as a shift away from the “depressing” atmosphere in contemporary cemeteries to an atmosphere of joy and wonder, although this is open for debate.

⁴¹ Greene, 54.

¹ John Tusa, 2009, cited in: Dave O’Brien, *Measuring the Value of Culture: A Report to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010), 12

CHAPTER 3 VALUE

Mozart is Mozart because of his music and not because he created a tourist industry in Salzburg or gave his name to decadent chocolate and marzipan Saltzburger kugel. Picasso is important because he taught a century new ways of looking at objects and not because his painting in the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum are regenerating an otherwise derelict northern Spanish port. Van Gogh is valued because of the pain or intensity of his images and colours, and not because he made sunflowers and wooden chairs popular. Absolute quality is paramount in attempting a valuation of the arts; all other factors are interesting, useful but secondary.¹

The above quote is poignant, but downplays the effects of influential people on society. Creating a tourist industry or making sunflowers popular may be secondary values, but they are still values that add to the context of our society and reflect the cultural tastes of different generations. It is these less obvious values that are more difficult to distinguish, but extremely important to understanding a heritage site.

Heritage

Anyone who has an interest in history and enjoys visiting historic sites is being lured there by, among other things, that site's capacity to embody heritage. Values provide the foundation for the interpretation of our heritage. We preserve and protect things because we believe they have value. We spend our time and money visiting places because we believe that the site's value will provide compensation for any expense or inconvenience involved in gaining access to the site. However, that value isn't always clear or consistent.

As any student of history can tell you, there is no one single version of "history", but rather, many interpretive variations of the same events.² Often times these

¹ John Tusa, 2009, cited in: Dave O'Brien, *Measuring the Value of Culture: A Report to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010), 12

² David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (Spring, 1996): 9.

variations, usually representing separate cultural or ethnic groups, are at odds with one another and compete for having their interpretation be regarded as the “official” history. These differing points of view must be taken into account when considering heritage and how it is communicated to others (i.e. tourists visiting a heritage site). This is important because, unfortunately, the personal account of the past by one individual cannot speak for the societal whole, and is not useful for gaining broad understanding of a historical event. Its relevance is in, “how individual memories of the past are established and confirmed through dialogue with others.”³

But how do we determine these collective memories? From our contemporary vantage point we are able to analyze how images of the past reflect the politics and culture of a specific time in history. We can look at the style of dress, the artwork, literary work, and even the architectural artifacts, all of which reflect the values of the political and social context that created them. The United States celebrated the 100th anniversary of the American Civil War in 1961 at the height of the Civil Rights Movement, a mere seven years after the landmark *Brown v. the Board of Education* case, and still two years away from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s famous “I Have a Dream” speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. The way in which the nation celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Civil War versus how it chose to commemorate the 150th anniversary in 2011 is particularly striking. In 1961, the heroism and the notion of the war as a fight between brothers was prominent, whereas the 2011 commemorations focused more on inclusiveness, and obtaining a bigger picture of the war by highlighting the stories of all the were involved, including women,

³ Ibid., 10.

African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrant groups.⁴ These value reflections will, of course, vary drastically between different cultural, ethnic, and racial groups.

As David Glassberg cautions, “elements of the past are remembered in common, as well as forgotten in common.”⁵ Few would argue with the sentiment that there is a big difference between an official history, that government agencies such as the military and the National Park Service give to maintain the political status quo, and the history of the common man, which serves to strengthen the ties of family and local community. Due to this incongruity, there are multiple official histories as well as multiple vernacular histories.⁶ These histories provide the context that must be considered when determining values, because in these multiple histories there are multiple, conflicting, values.

What is Value?

Values are the foundation of all interpretation and preservation projects. Interpretation is the primary medium through which the public becomes informed and involved with a site.⁷ Since the survival of historic sites depend on this involvement, which eventually leads to active preservation, one could argue that a historic site’s survival depends on identifying the values associated with it. Thus, the first question one must ask before choosing to preserve or protect something is, “what is the value of this thing?” In a report produced for the Getty Institute, Randall Mason provided two important guiding factors that should be considered in answering this question. First,

⁴ Mark Collins Jenkins, “Civil War at 150: Expect Subdued Salutes, Rising Voices,” *National Geographic News*, April 7, 2011, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2011/04/110407-civil-war-150th-anniversary-fort-sumter-battle/>

⁵ Glassberg, 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting our Heritage* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 32-33.

that heritage is “multivalent,” meaning that it has multiple values associated with it.⁸ A historic site, or other heritage resource, is never just “old” or “artistic” but a combination of values, which must be mapped out. One must consider values that may be relevant for certain groups of people and not for others. These values are often interlaced and may have complex relations with one another. This leads to the second point for consideration, that heritage values are contingent, not objectively given.⁹ A value is not simply discovered and indelibly attached to a site for all time. When performing a value assessment, it is crucial to have a good understanding of the context of the site. Mason tells us that values are, “produced out of the interaction of artifact and their context, not the artifact itself.”¹⁰ Values aren’t produced in a vacuum, and because of this association with a changing context, values can change and develop through time.

Market Values

There are two main categories of values: use, or market values; and non-use, or non-market values.¹¹ The use values are those that are captured and recorded in the market, such as admission prices. These are fairly straightforward and can be quantified, which makes them very desirable for government or private groups concerned with how much the site is worth financially. “Use value” deals mostly with direct user interaction and questions of *benefits* (anything that increases human well-being) and *costs* (anything that decreases human well-being). These are expressed using the economic concepts Willingness to Pay (WTP), paying for a benefit or for the

⁸ Randall Mason, “Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Planning,” *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, ed. Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

avoidance of a cost; and Willingness to Accept (WTA), receiving compensation for accepting a cost or forgoing a benefit.¹² Some groups may choose to evaluate maintenance cost or use what is known as the Hedonic Pricing Method. This method assumes that the price of a house or site is associated with a bundle of characteristics, which may include a listing on the National Register of Historic Places, whether a famous person lived at the site, if a historic event took place there, or if it was built by a notable architect.¹³ These characteristics may be non-market in nature, but they serve to produce a market value.

Non-Market Values

In contrast, the non-market values are usually determined by interviews, questionnaires, or surveys conducted with active or potential users. Investigations of non-market value aim to capture three things: *intrinsic values*, the individual experiences of heritage; *instrumental values*, which relate to social or economic aspects of heritage; and *institutional values*, which are the processes and techniques that an institution can use to create public value.¹⁴ To an extent, these surveys can be economic valuations as well, as one can determine how much an individual would be willing to spend or donate to protect a cherished heritage site. These non-market values, sometimes referred to as “sociocultural” values, are factors that are not quantifiable, and are therefore not typically captured by the market. Despite this, they are still imperative to understanding a site. Randall Mason groups such values conveniently into the following categories:

¹² Susana Mourato and Massimiliano Mazzanti, “Economic Valuation of Cultural Heritage: Evidence and Prospects,” *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, ed. Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), 53.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁴ George S. Smith, “Conference review: Capturing the Public Value of Heritage” (presentation, Capturing the Public Value of Heritage Conference, Royal Geographic Society, London, January 25-26, 2006), 1.

- Historical
- Spiritual
- Political
- Educational
- Aesthetic (in this case, referring to the sensory aspects of a site or artifact)
- Artistic¹⁵

An investigation into a site's value may end with the determination of a market value. The results of such a study are more tangible, and more readily useful for local governments or businesses defending the existence of a property on the basis of its impact on the local economy through revenue generation or taxes. However, numbers that would result in this type of valuation process only show part of the picture. Yes, it is important that tourists may plan a vacation around a visit to a historic site, as those tourists then give patronage to local restaurants, shops, and inns. But in focusing solely on this economic value, the values that form the foundation of why the tourists are drawn to the site in the first place are ignored. They may even be downplayed as the primary draw to the site, with credit instead given to a recent advertising campaign instead of the sociocultural values. Another reason that investigations may stop with market values is that, while there are several ways of obtaining non-market values, there is currently no standardized or agreed-upon method.

While market and non-market values are interrelated, the process of determining market values for historic cemetery sites is beyond the scope of this investigation, which focuses on the sociocultural values of cemeteries.

¹⁵ Mason, 8.

Determining Value

Contingent Valuation

Two forms of determining sociocultural value that are widely used are the Contingent Valuation Method (CV) and what is known as Choice Modeling (CM), although both options have their critics.¹⁶ These both involve talking directly with stakeholders, and obtaining individual responses to questions. For a historic site, this direct feedback from people that use the resource is much more useful than trying to determine trends and correlations among visitors, and make assumptions as to the results of their experience. Instead, the CV and CM surveys can explain exactly how and why visitors are visiting a site.

In a CV survey, non-market values are assessed in a situation that simulates the real market.¹⁷ This is done by asking the survey group their willingness to pay or willingness to accept conditions, given certain scenarios with the heritage resource in question. For example, would they pay two dollars extra on admission to a historic cemetery if the admission included a special tour of the gardens and plantings and explained the symbolism of certain plants and flowers in cemeteries? Would they mind paying an extra twenty-five cents per hour at all downtown parking meters if the extra funds were used exclusively to repair damaged headstones in a historic cemetery? The values that relate to a visitor's WTP and WTA are presented in a controlled scenario and can be assessed easily.

One problem with this type of survey is that some people are uncomfortable with assigning a dollar value to heritage resources. They may be concerned that by

¹⁶ Ibid., 22.

¹⁷ Ibid.

undervaluing a resource they will seem stingy, heartless, or not knowledgeable of appropriate costs. By overvaluing, they may be concerned with seeming disingenuous if they would not actually be willing to accept the cost in a real world situation, beyond the survey. Others may argue that the resource is priceless and shouldn't be commodified. These omissions can skew data and create margins of error that render the results inconclusive.

Choice Modeling

In a CM survey, some of the shortcomings of the CV are resolved. Instead of presenting a specific issue and addressing prices, subjects are given alternative descriptions about some aspect of the site or artifact in question, and are asked to either rank, rate, or choose: rank the various alternatives in order of preference, rate each alternative according to a preference scale, or choose their most preferred alternative out of the set.¹⁸ An example would be:

- “You have an hour to visit a historic cemetery with your family, rank the following in order of preference for how this time will be spent:
- Take a guided tour of the cemetery that focuses on headstone artwork;
- Take a tour that relates the history of the city through visiting the graves of famous citizens;
- Take a tour that focuses on the plants and animals you may find in a cemetery;
- Take a self-guided tour;
- Spend the time photographing headstones;
- Spend the time walking through in quiet reflection;
- Find a quiet place in the cemetery for a picnic.”

¹⁸ Mourato, 64.

Although these are presented as two different methods for determining the values of a site, the best valuation assessment would include a combination of these methods.

The Usual Suspects: The Large Scale Typologies

Stewardship groups that operate on a national level, such as the National Park Service and English Heritage, have been created in many countries to help protect heritage resources. To aid in this process, the groups often provide a framework for defining values in relation to heritage sites. Due to the scope of resources being considered at a national level, the categories of value are intentionally broad and vague. This is helpful for drawing comparisons and grouping resources that are not directly similar with one another. While this intentional vagueness is beneficial on a large scale, it does not offer any practical use for an individual site. However, despite the nebulous definition of the larger typologies, they do provide a great starting point for developing a more refined framework as focus is narrowed to evaluate specific categories of sites, such as cemeteries.

The National Register of Historic Places

In the United States, the first step for many historic sites to increase their prominence, and opportunity for longevity, is inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, which is maintained by the National Park Service under the U.S. Department of the Interior. For sites to be listed on the National Register, they must meet at least one requirement of a specific set of four criteria. These criteria are a cursory exploration into the values of a site. The criteria are as follows:

Criterion A: Event. Association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history,

Criterion B: Person. Association with the lives of significant persons in or past,

Criterion C: Design/Construction. Embodiment of distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction,

Criterion D: Information potential. Yielding or likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.¹⁹

However, cemeteries and individual graves are part of a special set of properties that need to meet requirements beyond these to be listed on the National Register. The National Park Service refers to these as Criteria Considerations, and they also apply to sites including religious properties, relocated structures, modern resources (less than 50 years old), and resources that are commemorative in nature. The National Register has published bulletins for each of these types of resources to guide in the evaluation and listing process, and includes navigation through the Criteria Considerations. Bulletin number 41 relates specifically to cemeteries and burial places. A final requirement set forth by the Criteria for Evaluation for all sites nominated to the National Register is that sites must retain historic integrity. There are seven factors of integrity that must be accounted for in the evaluation: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.²⁰ Integrity is also affected by the accumulation of all non-historic features on a site as well.

¹⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "How to Apply the National Register Criterion for Evaluation," *National Register Bulletin* (Washington, DC, 1997) 11-21.

²⁰ Elisabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland, "National Register Bulletin 41: Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places," *National Register Bulletin* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service) 41 (1992): 18

English Heritage

The Historic Building and Monuments Commission for England is a government group in the United Kingdom sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS), and is more commonly known as English Heritage. The group is tasked with protecting the historic resources of England. Studies in England have shown that there are four distinct values that cemeteries offer to modern visitors: historical, ecological, education, and leisure (or amenity).²¹ Guided by these four values, English Heritage published “Paradise Preserved” in 2005, which is a guide to cemetery preservation and management.²² The case for cemeteries in England as unique resources that garner special consideration (which could also apply to US cemeteries requiring Criteria Consideration) is that, “they have often been trapped in a time-warp, and have not been modified, adapted, overlaid, or even destroyed, as has so much else in the historic environment.”²³

Despite such studies by English Heritage, the DCMS published a report in 2010, as a follow up to 2005 study, entitled “Measuring the Value of Culture” that suggests that market valuations should be focused on as the primary force in guiding valuation studies in the UK.²⁴ The report draws heavily from the *Green Book* produced by HM Treasury in 2003, which outlines advice on policy appraisal and evaluation using Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA). While the study does make a good outline of the nature of sociocultural values, it also seems to suggest that the processes for determining such

²¹ Ken Warpole, *Cemeteries, Churchyards and Burial Grounds* (London: Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, 2005), 5.

²² Roger Bowdler, Seamus Hanna, and Jenifer White, *Paradise Preserved: An Introduction to the Assessment, Evaluation, Conservation and Management of Historic Cemeteries* (London: English Heritage, 2007).

²³ Warpole, 5.

²⁴ Dave O’Brien, *Measuring the Value of Culture: A Report to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010).

values are plagued by confusion and ambiguity to the point of rendering their application to policy impractical. It falls back on the CBA methods of the *Green Book*, and states that none of the methods for determining sociocultural value fit with the recommendations of the *Green Book*. Ultimately, O'Brien believes that policy makers should merely be aware of sociocultural values when he says that, "techniques from economics are the most useful for government decisions-makers wishing to measure and make judgments about cultural value, they must not be used in isolation."²⁵ Similar policy-makers in the U.S. and other countries throughout the world would undoubtedly echo this sentiment, with its focus on the market value. Interestingly, the preferred method of valuation in the *Green Book* is the Contingent Valuation method, which Randall Mason highlighted as a good method for determining sociocultural values in his report for the Getty Institute.²⁶

The Burra Charter

When the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) met in Burra, South Australia in 1979, the Australian National Committee of ICOMOS was only three years old. The document that was produced in the meeting, The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, otherwise known as the Burra Charter, provides guidelines for dealing with the heritage resources of the country as well as a code of ethics. The document serves as a benchmark in the preservation of heritage values for countries around the world.

²⁵ Ibid., 9.

²⁶ Randall Mason, "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Planning," *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, ed. Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002).

The guidelines set forth in the Burra Charter have a particular resonance in Australia because many of the resources pertaining to the culture of the Aboriginal population are at risk. The Aboriginal Australians have no written language, so the culture is passed down orally and through pictographs, and incorporates many natural and geological features in the landscape. Since an understanding of value is paramount to the preservation of these resources, Australia ICOMOS had an urgent need to produce a set of guidelines that would accommodate them. The “sequence of investigations, decisions and actions,” which outlines the process set forth by the Charter, begins with “gathering and recording information about the place sufficient to understanding significance” and assessing the significance of the resource.²⁷ Interviews, surveys, field documentation, and oral histories are recommended mediums for gathering input from stakeholders.

Compliance with the Charter also requires that a cultural heritage report be compiled before the implementation of a conservation policy on a site. The Charter suggests that professionals in all relevant disciplines should exclusively be responsible for an investigation into the cultural significance of a property or artifact. The Charter establishes four categories of values that are to be considered with their implications for past, present and future users. These categories are: *aesthetic*, regarding aspects of sensory perception; *historic*, regarding the influence by or on a historic figure, event, phase, or activity; *scientific* (or *research*), regarding the rarity, quality or representativeness of the data involved and its ability to contribute more information;

²⁷ *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999*, (Burra, SA: Australian Committee of ICOMOS, 1979), 10.

and *social* regarding the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group.²⁸

Deriving relevant values for cemeteries from abstraction

The concern of this investigation is the specific values associated with historic cemeteries. As stated, the intentionally vague frameworks for categorizing value within the National Register, English Heritage, and the Burra Charter are helpful in comparing dissimilar heritage sites. However, these typologies are not focused enough to be used when considering specific groups of heritage sites. Through an analysis of interpretational programming at four historic cemeteries (Tolomato Cemetery, St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, Oakland Cemetery, and Mount Auburn), along with conversations with administrators of the stewardship groups at the four sites, a chart of suggested values, that seem to relate to all four historic cemeteries, is identified. This new framework takes the concepts provided by the national stewardship groups out of abstraction and provides a more focused list of values that is more appropriate for an individual historic cemetery. Still, all cemeteries are different. While this refined framework will not cover all values associated with all cemeteries, it will provide a refined framework of values to serve as a foundation for questionnaires and additional research that will identify the specific values associated with other cemetery sites. A survey will serve as a sieve, for a more fine-grained evaluation. In this way, the suggested set of cemetery values will serve as an investigative tool for historic cemeteries developing interpretational plans of their own.

²⁸ Ibid., 12.

Value in unexpected places

The suggested list of cemetery values could be used to help inform an investigation into the specific values of individual cemetery sites. With a framework of values that relates directly to cemeteries, a stewardship group will have a direction when deciding what questions to ask in a survey to identify more specific values and develop. It could also be a helpful tool in deciding what elements to focus on for tours and other interpretational programming. A survey process, utilizing the contingent valuation and choice modeling methods previously discussed, is necessary to determine specific values that are obvious, and others that are less obvious. The first hand information that is gathered from the site's stakeholders in a survey or questionnaire is vital, given that people may find value in unexpected aspects of a site.

Randy Hester discovered in his survey for the town of Manteo, North Carolina that spaces in the community that were most valued by the citizens were not obvious or expected. When the community was seeking new development opportunities there was a fear that the local character and valued facets of day-to-day life in Manteo might be in jeopardy. Hester was brought in to identify the "Sacred Structure" of the community; its buildings and spaces that exemplify and reinforce the lifestyles and rituals of life in their town, valued mostly in the subconscious of the community.²⁹ Through the study, it was determined that locals valued certain locations for their role in community traditions such, as where the Christmas tree was placed every year during the holidays, or the post office parking lot where citizens congregated to catch up on local gossip.³⁰ Hester's results showed that locals would prefer to retain these places, in lieu of

²⁹ Hester, 15.

³⁰ Ibid., 10.

additional parking spaces for tourists, which may ease traffic congestion, or another retail store that would generate money and jobs for the community. Surprisingly, only two places identified in the Sacred Structure were in areas where historic resources were afforded legal protection.³¹

Similarly surprising results were found in a study in the UK regarding if people agreed that museums should be allowed to display human remains. Amid speculation of the impropriety of such treatment, particularly within the Anglican faith, a survey commissioned by English Heritage in 2009 showed that 91% of respondents agreed that remains should be displayed.³² Other questions indicated that many of those surveyed also felt that the remains should be at least 100 years old, and that the identity of the individual should be unknown.

Why Interpretation?

Funding

The values identified in the analysis of the four cemeteries could also help inform and provide suggestions for other cemetery sites that wish to develop interpretive programming. This begs the question as to why interpretation is needed at historic cemeteries in the first place. Is it appropriate? Is it needed? The answer is 'yes' for two reasons. The first is that interpretation can provide the opportunity for funding that is needed to ensure the survival of a site. Preservation projects, as well as general maintenance, are necessary. Active cemeteries may not have this issue, as the fees charged for burial at the site are used for maintenance and upkeep. However, most

³¹ Ibid., 15.

³² Emma Carver, "The Public Display of Excavated Human Remains," *Conservation Bulletin* 66, *The Heritage of Death* (Summer 2011): 12.

historic cemeteries are not active and therefore have no such revenue stream. Natural processes alone are enough to cause the deterioration and breakdown of historic headstones, but the impact of human traffic in a historic cemetery also takes massive tolls. The need for preservation and maintenance will be inevitable and interpretive programming should fund it. Angie Green, executive director of Save Our Cemeteries, explains this:

The biggest difference [between cemeteries and other heritage sites] is that cemetery property (usually) stops being an economic performer once it's gotten to the point where it's historic or culturally significant. The cemetery owner/operator/municipality has a liability on the books that probably never will become a moneymaker...so turning it into a cultural/heritage destination is pretty much the only way to use the economics of historic preservation in your favor.³³

Relevance

The second reason is that interpretation is needed to keep the site relevant in the context of the local community. Freeman Tilden provides us with the proverb-like sentiment, “through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection.”³⁴ If the site is left out when the local history is told, then there is a risk that people will forget why it is important, and what it represents to the local heritage. People will know that it is an old cemetery, with old stones and old trees, but it won't mean much to people beyond that.

Although it may sound like an oversimplification, perhaps the most important goal of the interpretational programs, shared by all the cemeteries under analysis, is to tell the stories of the place. David Moore said of Oakland Cemetery that, “marketing is everything,” and that visitors to the city of Atlanta must be told that, “they *need* to come

³³ Angie Green, e-mail message to the author, October 23, 2011.

³⁴ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting our Heritage* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 38.

to the cemetery.”³⁵ Visitors need to know that the interpretation and the information the cemetery can provide them is essential to their understanding of the city. For Moore, a tour which highlights the elements of why the site is important in the context of the surrounding community and in the context of national history should be developed as a foundational tour that can be given to the guests once they are in the cemetery. After this is accomplished, specialty tours should be developed as supplemental to the standard tour, and stories are the foundation of these specialty tours: stories about the individuals, events, symbols, materials, and the ecosystem of the space that explains why the cemetery is the way it appears in present times. These stories help to focus and clarify certain aspects of the cemetery out of the abstraction of the general tour.

Chad Elkins, the volunteer who developed and maintains Oakland’s social media, echoes this sentiment when asked why a cemetery should engage the public using online social media: “To share stories”.³⁶ Given the way in which guides are chosen at St. Louis No. 1, it is clear that stories are certainly encouraged. Most of these guides selected end up being academics and performers, and the stories and personal anecdotes help to personalize the site and make it relevant to visitors. A quick look at the specialty tours listed at Mount Auburn will confirm that many are indeed the stories of particular incidents or individuals associated with the cemetery. Elizabeth Gessner, President of the Tolomato Cemetery Preservation Association, described Tolomato as, “a late 18th-to-mid 19th century site that has a remarkable concentration of the *stories* of many of the people who lived through and carried out the transition of St. Augustine from Spanish colony to US state, and then moved through the Civil War into what was

³⁵ David Moore, personal conversation with author, October 7, 2011.

³⁶ Chad Elkins, personal conversation with author, August 5, 2011.

essentially the dawn of modern St. Augustine.”³⁷ Gessner also identified the stories and personalities of those buried at Tolomato, along with an understanding of Tolomato’s place in the context of St. Augustine’s history, as the two main points that the TCPA wishes to impart to visitors.

Interpretation as Marketing

Interpreting Our Heritage

It is in the telling of stories that brings us to the nexus between interpretation and marketing for a historic site. As previously stated, this study has a strong focus interpretational programming and the values that are experienced and communicated to guests as part of an on-site experience which provide an unparalleled understanding of the site in the context of the local history. Interpretation brings people to the site, and their participation in this on-site programming justifies the cost of admission, or the price for a specialty tour. Without this source of revenue, historic cemeteries would struggle mightily to fund the maintenance and preservation projects that ensure the perpetuity of the site. In this light, interpretation can be directly responsible for the survival of a historic cemetery site.

Marketing for a site makes the promise that guests will leave with the stories that give a fuller understanding of the cemetery, and by extension, the city in which in which it resides, and the nation. Interpretation can serve to actually deliver on that promise. Freeman Tilden, considered to be the Father of Interpretation for the National Park Service, outlined a framework in *Interpreting Our Heritage* for creating a successful interpretational program:

³⁷ Elizabeth Gessner, personal conversation with author, September 1, 2011.

The visitor's first interest. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.

Raw material and its product. Information, as such is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information, but they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.

The story's the thing. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural.

Not instruction but provocation. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

Toward a perfect whole. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.

For the younger mind. Interpretation addressed to children should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach.³⁸

Made to Stick

This framework obviously creates a very clear path for developing an interpretive program, and it is one that the National Park Service has been using with great success. It is interesting to note the striking similarities that Tilden's list shares with a list profiled in the book *Made to Stick* by Chip and Dan Heath. The Heath brothers wrote *Made to Stick* to aid teachers, non-profits, and marketing groups in sculpting their ideas to be more "sticky" and having a lasting impact on those that hear them. In a

³⁸ Tilden, 9.

nutshell, the list showcases how to make an idea more marketable. Like Tilden, the Heath brothers create a framework to guide the process that includes six guiding points:

Simplicity. Identifying the essential core of an idea.

Unexpectedness. Violating people's expectations to captivate their attention.

Concreteness. Making ideas clear by explaining them in terms of human actions and in terms of sensory information.

Credibility Identifying how to make people believe the ideas.

Emotional. Getting people to care about ideas by making them feel something for them.

Stories. Telling stories so people will act on the ideas.³⁹

The two lists correspond thusly:

- The visitor's first interest: Emotion
 - Raw material and its product: Simplicity
 - The story's the thing: Stories
 - Not instruction but provocation: Unexpectedness
 - Toward a perfect whole: Concreteness
 - For the younger mind: N/A
- Credibility did not factor into Tilden's framework, which is understandable

considering Tilden had worked with interpretation through National Park Rangers, whose credibility is implied. Essentially, this list illustrates the correlation between the interpretation and the marketing of a site, with both the processes and the goals (understanding and funding) being similar. This, perhaps, shows that heritage sites planning on developing interpretive programming need to also consider researching marketing strategies (Made to Stick, et al.), and understanding that interpretation is not only for the benefit of the guest, it is for the benefit of the site as well. As mentioned,

³⁹ Chip Heath and Dan Heath, *Made To Stick* (New York, NY: Random House, 2007), 16-18.

interpretation funds preservation projects. Using the insights from the Heath brothers, interpretation can be refined and made more “sticky.” Just as interpretation presents aspects of a site that patrons value, the marketing framework illustrated by the Heath brothers seeks to tap into the values of those who are experiencing resource. This is the groundwork for taking values that have been identified for sites, and translating them into programming and interpretation for visitors. This is something that would be helpful for other cemeteries to investigate if they are seeking to develop their own on-site interpretation.

Summary

Values inform as to why sites and artifacts are important, and how they related to the context of the local and national history. For historic cemetery sites are valued for a number of different reasons by a number of different people, but these values must first be identified so they can be presented in the best way to visitors. This identification is the first step in developing any interpretational programming or preservation plan at a historic cemetery. Since interpretation is an important way to raise revenue to fund preservation programs at cemeteries, the values will be essential in providing the foundation for interpretational programming. In the following chapter, four case studies will be presented and compared to identify common values that seem to relate to the four cemetery sites. By comparing the on-site interpretational programming, as well insights from personal conversations with administrators of the cemeteries’ stewardship groups, a list of suggested cemetery values, as well as a list of important programming considerations which affect an on-site visit to the cemetery sites are identified. Other cemetery sites throughout the U.S likely share these values and considerations.

CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDIES

The larger typologies for value that heritage sites use as a guide, such as English Heritage, the Burra Charter, and the National Register are intentionally vague and are not specific enough to be functional to an individual site. A more focused typology is needed for historic cemeteries to conduct informed valuation studies to identify specific values on a case-by-case basis, and also as an aid to develop interpretational programming. A common set of values and programming considerations that is seemingly shared by the case studies is identified by comparing the on-site interpretive programming of four historic cemeteries, along with insights gathered from personal conversations with administrative members of the cemetery stewardship groups. Elements relating to programming that are shared by all four cemeteries are also considered in the analysis, and include: stakeholders, National Register inclusion, non-profit status, safety, community partnerships, and membership organizations. The value set that is identified is a suggestion on what values are shared by similar historic cemeteries, and will possibly provide a more focused framework to assess the specific values at other cemeteries. The values and considerations are both based off a visitor having an on-site experience. By providing a basis for the investigation into the specific values of cemetery sites, the suggested set of cemetery values and considerations can help inform and inspire efforts to interpret and preserve other historic cemeteries.

Criteria

Four cemeteries were selected for analysis for the study:

- Tolomato Cemetery, in St. Augustine, Florida
- St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, in New Orleans, Louisiana
- Mount Auburn Cemetery, in Cambridge, Massachusetts

- Oakland Cemetery, in Atlanta, Georgia

Although the sample group of cemeteries is small, they were chosen because they represented a range of variables, based on a specific set of criteria.

Geographic range. The cemeteries cover a relatively large area of distribution in the Eastern U.S. However, one limitation presented with this is that three of the four cemeteries are located in the Southern U.S.

Age and cemetery type range. The cemeteries were established in periods ranging from the colonial period to the mid-19th century. As a result of this, two of the cemeteries (Tolomato and St. Louis No. 1) are smaller church-owned graveyards located in the downtowns of their respective cities, whereas the other two are much larger Rural Cemeteries, located on the outskirts of their cities' urban centers.

Historic materials range. Because of the range in age, the cemeteries encapsulate a large range of historic material, and showcase memorial and funerary art traditions that span centuries and highlight their development through time.

Programming development range. All cemeteries in the study have active stewardship groups in place that are responsible for coordinating both interpretational programming and preservation efforts. However, the cemeteries are all at a different stage in the development of their interpretational programming. There seem to be correlations between different criteria that define this. The larger, Rural Cemeteries offer more interpretive programming, and the larger cemeteries are also younger than their church-owned counterparts. Therefore, it appears that in the context of this study, there is a direct correlation between the age of a cemetery and the scope of interpretational programming that is offered at the site. Although Tolomato Cemetery is

the least developed of the four cemeteries, it was included in the study because it is not stagnant in its development and is striving to grow in what programming is offered at the site. Due to this this, it represents a small cemetery with limited offerings that is working to grow.

A chart was produced (Table 4-1) which lists the basic information of each cemetery and the range of interpretive programs offered at each. The focus of the programming identified in the chart relates to an on-site visit to the respective cemeteries, and does not account for other resources that can be accessed off-site, such as through a cemeteries website. The interpretational programming on the chart appears skewed because of the different stages in development between the programs at each cemetery. The disparity in programming also corresponds with the size of the cemetery in question. Tolomato and St. Louis No. 1 (both occupying less than one acre each) offer one general tour. Mount Auburn and Oakland offer a number of specialty tours in addition to a standard tour. With the tours and interpretive opportunities presented for comparison, the themes and values that are shared by the cemeteries are identified.

Table 4-1. Overview of case studies, comparing Tolomato, St. Louis No. 1, Oakland, and Mount Auburn Cemeteries

Comparative Criteria	Oakland	Mt. Auburn	Tolomato	St. Louis No. 1
Year Est.	Founded as “Atlanta Cemetery” in 1850, renamed Oakland in 1872	1831	Used as a Mission site as early as 1726, officially used as Catholic burial ground in 1777. Last burial in 1884	1789
Type	Rural	Rural/Memory Garden	Church	Church
Management	Municipally Owned (City of Atlanta)	Privately Owned	Cathedral Basilica of St. Augustine	Archdiocese of New Orleans
Active	Current lot owners have the option of selling lots for burials	Yes	No	Yes, less than 12 internments per year
Location	East of downtown Atlanta, GA	West of urban Cambridge, MA	Downtown area, St. Augustine, FL	Borders French Quarter and residential neighborhood in New Orleans, LA

Table 4-1. Continued

Comparative Criteria	Oakland	Mt. Auburn	Tolomato	St. Louis No. 1
No. of Visitors per Year	20,000+	20,000+	500+	6,000 (paying guests)
Tours	1 standard tour (1.5 hrs.) and 15 specialty topic "Twilight Tours (1 hour)	3 self guided tours (1 is driving tour) advanced reservations for guided group tours	Self guided and guided tours available 3rd Saturday of every month, 11am-3pm	SOC offers guided tours that give general history and specific interest of guides (1.5 hrs.)
Special Events	4 per year (3 of which are in October) - private rentals are also available	Numerous events per month, including specialty tours, lectures or forums	Currently, events are only offered to TCPA members (lectures, specialty tours)	4 public lectures, 1 public seminar/training day, the Metairie Race, All Saints Day Celebration, also All Saints Day Masquerade Fundraiser
Hours	Every Day, 8am-8pm	8am-5pm Oct-April, 8am-7pm May-August	3rd Saturday of every month, 11am-3pm	7am-2:30pm M-F, 7am-12pm Sat

Table 4-1. Continued

Comparative Criteria	Oakland	Mt. Auburn	Tolomato	St. Louis No. 1
Fees	Self guided tours and access is free. All guided tours are \$10 for adults, \$5 for children, students, and seniors. Free for members	Free for general access. Fee for self-guided tours and for specialty tours. The cost for special events varies.	Free, donations encouraged	\$12 for adults, free for children under 12
Size	88 acres/70,000 burials	175 acres/ 93,000+ burials	170 ft. x 170 ft., 1,000 burials	Slightly less than 1 acre, 10,000 burials

Tolomato Cemetery

Location

Tolomato Cemetery is located in the historic downtown area of St. Augustine, Florida. The main entrance is on Cordova Street, near the intersection with Orange Street. Before it was filled in in the late 19th century, Cordova Street was the Maria Sanchez Creek, and it marked the western boundary of the colonial city. Tolomato originally would have sat just outside of the walled city. Cordova Street is the main two way street for tourists driving between the visitor center and parking garage, on the north end of the historic downtown, and the Plaza de la Constitución, which was the center of the historic city. The wooden crosses that once filled the cemetery have all rotted away, leaving just over 100 vaults and headstones on the 170 feet by 170 feet square lot to represent the estimated 1,000 burials at the site.

History

Tolomato Cemetery was not the original cemetery for the Spanish citizens in colonial St. Augustine. Originally a Franciscan mission named Our Lady of Guadeloupe of the Tolomato sat on the land that is now the cemetery, which at the time was just outside the walls of the city proper. The village was established for refugees of Tolomato Indians, from the Guale region (in coastal southeast Georgia). The natives were displaced in the wake of a British slave raid led by English Colonel James Moore on the Spanish mission sites of that area in 1702, and forced to retreat closer to the safety of the garrison at St. Augustine.¹ There would have been a cemetery associated with the mission chapel for the members of the mission, so this time period, between

¹ Jerald T. Milanich, *The Timucua* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1996), 286.

1720 and 1763, is the earliest incarnation of the site being partly used as a cemetery.² When the British gained control of Florida from the Spanish in 1763, the site was abandoned.

In 1777, a group of roughly 600 Greek, Italian, Minorcan and Corsican indentured servants (collectively identified as the Minorcans) from a failed indigo plantation in New Smyrna arrived at the city gates, seeking sanctuary. They were permitted to stay (Minorca fell under British control with the same treaty that had awarded them East and West Florida), and Dr. Pedro Camps, the Minorcan's priest, secured the former Tolomato mission site as a cemetery for the Catholic refugees from Governor Patrick Tonyn.³ When the British evacuated Florida following American victory in the Revolutionary War, the Minorcans stayed, and the Spanish returned 1784. They discovered the active Catholic cemetery used by the Minorcans and so Tolomato became the St. Augustine's parish cemetery from that point forward. This makes Tolomato the oldest extant planned cemetery in the United States.⁴ The many of the names that appear in Tolomato are those of the early Minorcan families, and the site remains an important part of the heritage of their descendants, many of whom are still living in St. Augustine area to this day.

When Florida was ceded to the United States in 1821, the Public Cemetery (today known as the Huguenot Cemetery) was established to accommodate the influx of Protestant settlers. Both of St. Augustine's cemeteries were subject to criticisms regarding health and sanitation as the 19th century wore on, and the last official burial

² Matthew Kear, "In Reverence: A Plan for the Preservation of Tolomato Cemetery, St. Augustine, Florida," (Master's thesis, Cornell University, 2010), 5.

³ Rev. Timothy M. Lindenfelser, "Tolomato Cemetery: Witness to Catholic Life in Florida," (Unpublished article), 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

took place in 1884, after which San Lorenzo Cemetery was established on the outskirts of the city.⁵ Tolomato Cemetery languished with periodic surges in interest and attempts at preservation, but time took its toll, and many of the markers are in need of repair. The interpretation provided at Tolomato aims to raise the funds to preserve the deteriorating graves.

Operation

The Cathedral Basilica of St. Augustine currently manages Tolomato, with mowing and most general maintenance performed by parish employees. Management was transferred to the Cathedral Basilica from the Diocese of St. Augustine in 2004.

Stewardship Group

In August of 2010, following a conditions assessment and the drafting of a preservation plan for the cemetery by Cornell University graduate student Matthew Kear, the Tolomato Cemetery Preservation Association (TCPA) was established to facilitate the preservation and interpretation of the cemetery.⁶ Kear identified the physical preservation issues that needed to be addressed at the site, documenting the condition of each stone in the cemetery and making recommendations as to their preservation. He made the suggestion of establishing the TCPA to facilitate the preservation of the site, and to relieve the Cathedral Basilica from the financial burden of managing Tolomato. On the issue of interpretation, Kear made suggestions as to how the TCPA should reach out the community: promote the cemetery, offer interpretational activities, offer educational opportunities, network with local groups and

⁵ Kear, 17.

⁶ Matthew Kear, "In Reverence: A Plan for the Preservation of Tolomato Cemetery, St. Augustine, Florida," (Master's thesis, Cornell University, 2010).

businesses, become an active member of the local heritage community, and fundraise.⁷ However, as the main focus of his study was addressing preservation concerns, outlining exactly what these aspects, including interpretation, should focus on was outside the scope of his study. He laid the groundwork for the first step, the creation of the TCPA, but it was up to the group to determine what interpretation they would provide at the site. Until the organization of the TCPA, the cemetery was only accessible to the public on days when the groundskeeper was tending the site, and only sparse signage offered any interpretation. The TCPA is an entirely volunteer run not-for-profit group, and is currently in the process of obtaining official 501(c)3 status. The group has undertaken several minor stabilization and preservation projects, funded by donations from tours and membership dues. The main goals of the TCPA are interpreting the cemetery site, fostering a deeper understanding of the culturally diverse nature of St. Augustine's founding citizens, and promoting public advocacy for cemetery preservation abroad.

Tours

Currently, the TCPA offers guided and self-guided tours at Tolomato on the third Saturday of every month from 11 a.m. until 3 p.m. Because of limited financial resources, the TCPA can only advertise the tour using free online resources including a website, blog, and Facebook account. The tour is given free of charge, although a donation is suggested.

A TCPA docent leads guided tours, while self-guided tours are navigated using a map with ten highlighted "stations." These stations are also the points in which the

⁷ Kear, 103.

docents speak about specific aspects of Tolomato's history with the guests. The stations cover the following topics: the Tolomato Indian village and Spanish mission system in La Florida, the Minorcan refugees who arrived in 1777, grave robbing (which caused a scandal in St. Augustine in 1798), Florida's role in the Civil War referencing both graves of Confederate soldiers and the graves of free African Americans who served with the U. S. Colored Troops, devastating epidemics, changes to the cemetery during the Gilded Age, and the graves of several pastors and a bishop which outline the Catholic history in early Florida.

Although the TCPA does not offer a paranormal tour, it is undeniable that there are people who are initially drawn to the site with paranormal interests. The gates of the cemetery are a regular stop on the nightly walking ghost tours in the city. Although the stories are complete fabrications for the most part, there is no denial that many visitors to St. Augustine are interested in the topic of the paranormal. Regardless of whether there is an emotional investment in the topic or if the interest stems mostly from its entertainment potential, this is the context in which many visitors first encounter the cemetery, and as such, it cannot be overlooked as an associated aspect of the site. The TCPA has distanced itself from this subject, as it is seen as an impediment to understanding and appreciating the factual history of the site, as well as being disrespectful to the dead in Tolomato.

Identified Values and Programming Considerations

Through analysis of the aspects of the site, and its interpretational programming, highlighted above, the following potential values are identified:

- History
- Art

- People/Stories
- Preservation
- Sacred/Spiritual
- Supernatural

The following programming considerations were also identified:

- Economics
- Security
- Location
- Independent experience (identified because a self-guided tour is offered)

Table 4-2. Interpretational programs at Tolomato Cemetery

Standard Tours (3rd Saturday of every month)	Specialty Tours	Special Events	Speakers	Other
Guided Tour, ten stations which highlight specific areas of cemetery	N/A	"Preservation Day," free	N/A	N/A
Self-Guided Tour, using map outlining same ten stations as guided tour				

St. Louis Cemetery No. 1

Location

St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 is in the historic downtown area of New Orleans, Louisiana. One wall of the cemetery borders the historic French Quarter, while residential housing surrounds the rest. It is square lot bounded by Basin, St. Louis, Conti, and Treme Streets. The site is less than one acre, although it was originally a bit larger before Basin St. and Treme St. were cut through in the early 19th century.

History

This “City of the Dead” was established in 1789, and though it was not the first cemetery in colonial New Orleans, it is the oldest remaining cemetery in the city today. Because the city of New Orleans sits below sea level and the ground is very swampy, digging graves for the deceased was problematic from the beginning. The designers of St. Louis No. 1 overcame these unique challenges by creating above ground tombs to house individuals and families. Originally, these tombs were created from locally made, soft bricks that were plastered and whitewashed.⁸ In the mid 1800s some elegant marble vaults began to be introduced to the cemetery. Local masons and architects built most of the brick and marble tombs in the cemetery. The neo-classical style is the most common throughout the vaults at the cemetery, although some vaults from later in the 19th century (mainly those made of marble) show elements of the Romantic revival style. Although it is a Catholic cemetery today, there was originally a Protestant section in the rear of the lot, with Catholic and Protestant sections occupying about 300 square

⁸ National Register of Historic Places, *St. Louis Cemetery No. 1*, New Orleans, Orleans County, Louisiana, National Register #75000855, 2.

feet each.⁹ However, when Treme St. was cut through the back of the cemetery in 1822, the Protestant burials were moved to the Girod St. Cemetery. St. Louis has been in continuous use and occupation since it was first opened which makes for a large and active descendant population at the site, and religious holidays (such as All Souls Day) draw many local visitors through the gates. Among the locally and nationally significant artists, politicians, poets, voodoo queens, and aristocrats buried in St. Louis are also the remains of soldiers from the Revolutionary War, the 1814 war against the British, the Civil War, Vietnam War, and remains of soldiers from current conflicts in the Middle East. Perhaps the ambience of the cemetery that contemporary visitors seek out is best evoked by Save Our Cemeteries founder, Mary Louise Christovich, who states that, “the unusual character of the tombs, the legends surrounding the historical figures who occupy them, and the aura of the romantic Louisiana past, have been the basis of much literature on the New Orleans cemeteries.”¹⁰

Operation

Official ownership of St. Louis No. 1 falls to the Archdiocese of New Orleans. The Archdiocese was responsible for unwittingly catalyzing the cemetery preservation movement: After they announced plans to demolish and replace the historic wall vaults enclosing St. Louis No. 2 with a chain link fence, local preservationists, historians, and descendants, rallied to protect the historic cemeteries of New Orleans.¹¹ The stewardship group Save Our Cemeteries was formed and many of the sites were listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In a classic “about-face,” the Archdiocese

⁹ Wilson, 7.

¹⁰ National Register, *St. Louis*, 3.

¹¹ “Save Our Cemeteries: Mission & History,” *Save Our Cemeteries*, accessed 10/24/2011, www.saveourcemeteries.org/mission-history/

currently represents one of Save Our Cemeteries greatest partnerships in local cemetery preservation.

Stewardship Group

The group that is responsible for the interpretation of St. Louis No.1 is the non-profit Save Our Cemeteries. The group was formed in 1974 in response to a threat to St. Louis Cemetery No. 2 and has since racked up a list of preservation accolades while serving as a model to other cemetery preservation groups throughout the nation. Save Our Cemeteries is actually responsible for the stewardship of all 31 historic cemeteries in New Orleans, although preservation efforts are focused on cemeteries that are listed on the National Register of Historic Places, or eligible for listing. Of the four cemeteries being analyzed, Save Our Cemeteries is the only group with a primary focus on preservation. The interpretational tours, along with private donations, fundraising events, and memberships with Save Our Cemeteries, help to generate revenue for these efforts.

Tours

The cemetery is open to the public free of charge, and other private tour companies in New Orleans offer tours through the cemetery. However, Save Our Cemeteries is the only non-profit group offering tours, and the only one dedicated to the preservation of the cemeteries of New Orleans. The tours are currently offered on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, lasting one and a half hours, and costing \$12.00 for adults and free for children. The group's website affirms that, because the

docents who guide the tours are all unpaid volunteers, 90% of each tour admission goes directly to preservation funding.¹²

Perhaps because of the dedication to funding preservation, Save Our Cemeteries is also unique in the way tour guides are selected. The group selects its guides based on the amount of research they have conducted, or how learned they are on the subject of the cemetery. They are also preferred to have a specialty area of interest on which they can impart to guests on the tour.¹³ These docents are encouraged to be constantly researching and learning more about the site. While guides at most historic sites are encouraged to bring personal anecdotes and research to their tours, they typically work within the framework of a scripted tour. With Save Our Cemeteries, the docents create the tours, which places a great deal of responsibility with the guides but also fosters a deep emotional and intellectual investment in the site.¹⁴ This also ensures that each tour is unique, driven by the idiosyncrasies of individual guides, which encourages repeat visits as guests know they will learn something new each time, without the fear that they are receiving a “spiel.” Save Our Cemetery conducts four tours simultaneously in St. Louis No.1. Since it is impossible for two tours to occupy the same space, each guide must be able to expand their tour based on the graves in the area that they are currently in, with the possibility that they may not be able to travel to all spaces if they are occupied.

¹² “Save Our Cemeteries: St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 Tour,” *Save Our Cemeteries*, accessed 10/24/2011, www.saveourcemeteries.org/st-louis-cemetery-no-1-tour/

¹³ Angie Green, personal conversation with author, October 12, 2011.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Identified Values And Programming Considerations

An important thing to understand about St. Louis No. 1 is that the sanctity of the cemetery, because it is still active, is very important to the fabric of the local community. The vaults in the cemetery contain the remains of many individuals, who share a common placard or ledger, which lists the names of those entombed. The community sees these vaults as a very tangible connection between generations of families. Because all of the family is interred together and allowed to decay into dust together, the visits to the vaults are to remember all the family together; there is no veneration to a particular individual in the cemetery.¹⁵ This allows for a much closer connection between family members who are deceased and those who are living, and for the locals, also serves to make the cemeteries less macabre.

Save Our Cemeteries' unique model for selecting docents makes the tour difficult to classify in terms of values exhibited in the interpretation. While one tour guide may choose to highlight the practice and tendency to romanticize voodoo in New Orleans history and its manifestations in the cemetery, another may highlight the artwork on the tombs, and another on famous interments. However, as active preservation is practically constant in the historic cemetery, such work provides a perfect vignette for tour guides. Preservation, as the primary goal of Save Our Cemeteries, is always discussed.¹⁶

Through analysis of the aspects of the site, and its interpretational programming, highlighted above, the following potential values are identified:

- History
- Art

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

- People/Stories
- Preservation
- Sacred/Spiritual
- Supernatural

The following programming considerations were also identified:

- Economics
- Security
- Location
- Education (focus given with lecture series and school tours)

Table 4-3. Interpretational programs at St. Louis Cemetery No. 1

Standard Tour	Specialty Tour	Special Events	Speakers	Other
Tours given by hired guides - each guide creates his/her own tour	N/A	<p>“A Run Though History” at the Metairie Cemetery - 5k Race and fundraiser, 11/13</p> <p>All Saints Day - religious celebration at cemetery, 11/1, free</p> <p>All Saints Soiree - masquerade dance and fundraiser, 11/13, \$55 members, \$65 non-members</p>	<p>4 public lectures a year, free, depending on the venue</p> <p>Lecture “A Red-Light Look at New Orleans”</p> <p>Lecture “Book discussion of Paula Morris’ ‘Ruined’”</p> <p>Lecture “Necrogeography on North & South Louisiana Cemeteries”</p>	School Tours

Table 4-3. Continued

Standard Tour	Specialty Tour	Special Events	Speakers	Other
			Lecture "History of the Funeral Service, Burial Preparations, and the Dynamics of Grief" Lecture "Archaeological investigation of the Original St. Peter Street Cemetery"	

Mount Auburn Cemetery

Location

Mount Auburn is a nondenominational cemetery that spans the border of Watertown and Cambridge in Massachusetts. The original 72-acre lot purchased by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1831 was expanded with the purchase of surrounding land during the late 19th and early 20th centuries to its present size of 175 acres.¹⁷ The cemetery sits on the bluffs above the Charles River, directly west of Cambridge, and only two miles away from the Harvard University campus. It is bounded by Mount Auburn St., Coolidge Ave., Grove St., Cottage St., and the Sand Banks Cemetery. Because the cemetery was designed as a Rural Cemetery, it naturally appeared on the outskirts of the urban Boston area. Though it not terribly far to drive to the cemetery, it is not part of immediate Boston or Cambridge experience. One must make a point to travel there for a visit, as it is not within walking distance.

History

In addition to being the first rural cemetery in the United States, Mount Auburn also holds the distinction as being the catalyst for the greater Rural Cemetery Movement that spread throughout the entire nation, as well as the forebear of our public parks. The history and role of Mount Auburn in cemetery development was discussed extensively in the “History of Cemeteries in the U.S.” chapter (page 25). After cremation gained popularity starting in the 20th century, Mount Auburn began allocating space for the interring cremated remains. Another element of note for Mount Auburn is the impressive horticultural collection on site. About 6,000 trees share the cemetery with

¹⁷ National Register of Historic Places, *Mount Auburn Cemetery*, Cambridge, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, National Register #75000254, 19.

the dead, with 600 varieties and 75 genera having been recorded (and labeled for the benefit of visitors), as well as about 250 species of shrubs and ground covers.¹⁸ Having this vast diversity in trees and other plantings was essential to achieve the bucolic atmosphere of a rural cemetery. Time wore on and urban centers continued to sprawl into the hinterland, and by the mid 20th century the maintenance of public parks began to wane. In the 1930's Mount Auburn began to regain prominence as an arboreal haven from the city, and bird watching became popular as well.¹⁹

Operation

From its creation in 1831, Mount Auburn has been a privately owned cemetery. In addition, it has also been continuously active. This means that the cemetery can be advertising for its services while also providing interpretation to the site. Money that is budgeted toward advertising for the company also benefits the interpretational programming and expands the visibility of the cemetery with a lower cost to the stewardship group.

Stewardship Group

As the cemetery was a tourist attraction since its inception, there have been constant efforts to interpret the site. The Friends of Mount Auburn group was established in 1986 to focus on the preservation of the historic cemetery. In 1990 the Friends group was declared a non-profit educational trust, and were instrumental in getting the site designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2003. While they do fund numerous preservation projects at the cemetery, the on-site interpretation, specialty programs, and lectures clearly demand the primary focus of the group.

¹⁸ Ibid., 12.

¹⁹ Ibid., 24.

Tours

The Friends of Mount Auburn offer a self guided tour as well as numerous specialty guided tours. The cemetery is open for free to guests who do not wish to partake in the tours. These guests include tourists as well as locals. Being a Rural Cemetery, there are many winding paths through the cemetery, passing the beautiful funerary art, as well as magnificent trees and flowerbeds. This is an ideal place for local joggers to come for a run, or for others wishing to take a walk through an oasis and escape the urban Boston landscape. For visitors who are interested in the tours, an informational brochure, an audio walking tour, and a driving audio tour are all available, with both audio tours costing \$7.00 to rent or \$15.00 to purchase. There are also specialty guided tours offered throughout the year, costing \$5.00 for members and \$10.00 for non-members. Certain tours are seasonally specific, such as a fall foliage tour and tours focusing on migratory birds in the fall and spring (see Table 4-1).

The group also offers public lectures, many of which are free, ranging from topics such as preservation, Civil War history, medicinal plants, and end-life counseling. In addition there are workshops, preservation demonstrations, and a monthly book club. Most special events are \$10.00 for members and \$15.00 for non-members, although some events are free. A full list of these programs can be seen in Table 4-4. While Mount Auburn has an incredible multitude of tours compared to the other cemeteries in the case study, there are specific tours that are more popular and well attended than others. The “Cherubs and Angels” and “Symbols of Passage” tours, both of which deal with monuments, history, and art, are consistently well attended throughout the year, as

well as the “Owl Walk” tour in the spring, and the “Awash in Color” fall foliage tour.²⁰

Private group tours can also be scheduled at Mount Auburn, and it is quite telling that these almost always focus on horticulture or birding.²¹

Identified Values and Programming Considerations

The Friends of Mount Auburn identify areas of value as a navigational aspect of their website, which includes History, People, Plants, Art, and Wildlife. A calendar of events produced by the Friends of Mount Auburn twice a year also groups specialty tours and events into the following categories (expanding slightly from the website): History, People, Horticulture, Wildlife, Art Family Oriented Programs, and Preservation.

Through analysis of the aspects of the site, and its interpretational programming, highlighted above, the following values are identified:

- History
- Art
- People/Stories
- Preservation
- Spiritual/Sacred (because the cemetery is still active)
- Nature

The following programming considerations were also identified:

- Economics
- Security
- Education (focus given with school tours and lecture programs)
- Independent experience (because a self-guided tour is offered)

²⁰ Stephanie Messina, External Affairs Department Assistant, Mount Auburn Cemetery, e-mail message to the author, December 5, 2011.

²¹ Ibid.

Table 4-4. Interpretational programs at Mount Auburn Cemetery

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
Sweet Auburn - 75 min. Self Guided Audio Tour, \$7 rental, \$15 purchase	Discover Mount Auburn - Monthly Walking Tour	Eyes on Owls - identifying owls in NE, including live owls, 2/18, \$8 members, \$12 non-members	Green Burials at Mount Auburn, 1/14, 7/26, free	School Tours
Changing Tastes - 75 min. Self Guided Audio Tour, \$7 rental, \$15 purchase	Cherubs & Angels - tour about ornamentation, exploring the grounds, 1/8	Longfellow Birthday Celebration - annual day-long event, 2/25, free	"The Age of Humanity Has Come", 1/16, free,	Private Guided Tours
Reflections - 1 hour Self Guided driving tour, \$7 rental, \$15 purchase	Clever Evergreens - searching for green in the winter months, 2/5 Symbols of Passage - ornamentation tour, 3/17	Charles River Cleanup - Earth Day event, 4/16, free Rocks and Minerals - family event, the rocks/minerals that make up the sculptures/monuments of the cemetery, 4/20, \$10 members, \$15 non members	Garden Spaces & Interment Gardens, 1/19, free Beautiful Types: Transcendentalism at Mt. Auburn, 1/28, \$5 members, \$10 non-members	Mt. Auburn Book Club Meetings, monthly meetings, free Tree & Shrub Pruning Workshop, 3/13, \$10 members, \$15 non-members

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	Winter Tree and Shrub Identification and Signs of Spring, 3/21	Coffeehouse & Open Mic., 4/28, free	Greening the Greenhouse, 2/23, free	Good Bugs for Bad Bugs Workshop - keeping plants healthy organically, 3/24, 4/9, \$5 members, \$10 non-members
	Mount Auburn's Forgotten Nobility - walking tour, 4/10,	What Lives in the Dell? - Family event, Video and walk to witness annual salamander migration, and other reptiles and amphibians, 5/5, \$10 members, \$15 non members	Fervent Spirits - Abolitionists in the Civil War talk, 3/3, \$5 members, \$10 non-members	Docent Training, 3/27-29, free
	Plants from the Bible, 4/17	Virtuosity at Mt Auburn - May Concert, 5/7, \$10 members, \$15 non-members	A 21st-Century Vision - how Mt Auburn changed the way Americans thought about landscape/nature, free	Bird Photography Workshop, 4/21, 4/23, \$10 members, \$15 non members

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	Spring Migrants at Mt. Auburn - birding tour, 4/19, 4/21, 4/26, 4/28, 5/3, 5/5, 5/10, 5/17	Family Nature Walk, Family event, 5/15, \$10 members, \$15 non-members	Education & Empowerment - Women's History Month, 3/31, \$5 members, \$10 non-members	Preservation Demonstrations, 5/7, 5/21, free
	Shakespeare and Mt. Auburn - graves of famous Shakespearian actors and graves with his quotes, 4/23	An Artful Collaboration - June Concert, 6/11, \$10 members, \$15 non-members	Warbler Migration at Mt. Auburn, 4/13, \$5 members, \$10 non-members	Monument Inscription Workshop - learning to record and decipher inscriptions, and asses monument conditions, 5/22, 8/27, free
	Many Sides of Sumner - visiting graves of Charles Sumner and his friends, 4/30	Circles and Spirals - Family event walking tour, 6/18, \$10 members, \$15 non-members	Baltimore and the Pratt Street Riot - early Civil War era lecture, 4/19, free	Tree Sketching Workshop, 7/31, 8/7, \$10 members, \$15 non-members

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	The Miracle of Migration - spring migration at its best, 5/4	Wine Tasting at Washington Tower, 8/11, free members, \$10 non- members	Everlasting Ties: Mt. Auburn/Watertown special series, 4/26, free	Love Those Leaves - Family Program, fall activities, free for members, 10/16, \$10 non- members
	Memories of Mothers - mothers day stroll, 5/8	Destination Watertown: The Armenians of Hood Rubber - screening of new documentary, 6/25, free	Preserving an American Treasure - preservation efforts at Mt Auburn, 5/1, free	Fall Bulb Planting Workshop, 10/20, free
	Mt Auburn's Notable Visitors, 5/21	Explorers & Inventors - Family event exploring and walking tour, 9/10, \$10 members, \$15 non- members	"Old is the New Green!" - preservation and sustainability at Mount Auburn, 5/13, free	
	Photographer's Paradise - Highlighting picturesque views and showcasing some historic photos, 6/5,	Mt Auburn to Arlington Cemetery - walk to historic Arlington Street cemetery in Watertown, 9/18, free	Harriet Hosmer - Mt Auburn/Watertown special series, 5/15, free	

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	Tomb, Obelisk, Sphinx - tour of Egyptian Revival Monuments, 6/9	A Visit with Edgar Allen Poe - Reading of "Tell Tale Heart", 10/6, \$10 members, \$25 non- members	Records of Enduring Value - introduction to Mt Auburns Historical Collections, 5/26, free	
	Pride Week Walk - visit graves of distinguished homosexual Bostonians, in conjunction with Boston Pride Week, 6/12	"Be Jubilant My Feet" - living history Civil War- era music performance, 11/12, \$10 members, \$15 non-members	The Healing Qualities of Medicinal Plants, 7/21, \$10 members, \$15 non-members	
	From Lichens to Lindens: A Walk Through Plant Evolution, 6/14	Holiday Wreath Making Workshop, 12/1, \$20 members, \$30 non- members	Preparing for End-of- Life Issues, 9/20, free	
	Native Shrubs, walking horticulture tour, 6/18	Candle Lighting Service - annual remembrance ceremony, 12/20, free	Mary Baker Eddy - history lecture, 10/13, Free	

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	Stamp of Notoriety - stroll to discuss stamps, covers, and postmarks that relate to Mt Auburn residents, 6/19		Understanding Cremation, 1/21, 10/22, 4/16, 7/16, free	
	Breeding Birds of Mt Auburn - birding tour to see nests and hatchlings, 6/20		The Couple's Retirement Puzzle, 10/24, free	
	Fanny & Fanny - tour highlighting the lives of 2 famous authors, 6/25		Preserving a Horticultural Treasure, 11/17, Free	
	Perennials for your Garden - horticulture tour, 6/26		Forests in Transition, 12/14, \$10 members, \$15 non-members	

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	<p>Homesteads & Topography - physical remnants of the landscape before the cemetery, 7/10, free</p> <p>Groundcovers: Ubiquitous to Unique - horticulture tour, 7/18</p> <p>A Time Travelers Tour of Mt. Auburn - what has/hasn't changed since 1858, 7/20</p> <p>Summer Blooming Trees & Shrubs, 7/27</p> <p>From Greenhouse to Garden - horticulture walk following seeds to garden, 7/30</p>		<p>Documenting the Garden of Graves, Horticulture Records of Mt. Auburn, 12/15, free</p>	

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	A Beloved Summer Get- away, visiting graves of summer visitors, 8/4			
	In Search of Butterflies & Dragonflies - nature tour, 8/10			
	In the Face of Conflict - tour to learn about Cantabridgian revolutionaries, 8/13, free			
	The Arcadian Necropolis - tour of classical monuments, 8/16			
	Organic Cut- Flower Gardens - horticulture tour of greenhouse and gardens, 8/20			

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non- members)	Special Events	Speakers	Others
	Stories in Stone - Meaning of symbols on monuments and the connection to deceased, 8/21			
	Mt Auburns Nighthawks - bird watching tour, 8/30-31			
	Fall Migrants at Mt Auburn - bird watching tour, 9/8			
	Medical Firsts - visiting graves of medical pioneers, 9/17			
	Bully for Teddy! - Living history walking tour, 10/10			

Table 4-4. Continued

Standard Tours, (Mon.-Sat)	Specialty Tours, (\$5 members, \$10 non-members)	Special Events	Speakers
Evening Owl Walk - bird watching tour of Northern Saw-whet Owls, 10/18, free (members only event)			
Awash in Color - fall foliage walk, 10/23, 11/6,			
Theologians, Clergypersons, and Bishops - walking tour, 11/20			

Oakland Cemetery

Location

Oakland Cemetery is located in Atlanta, Georgia, just northeast of the confluence of Interstate 75/Interstate 85 and Interstate 20, the crosshairs of the city. Because this was built as a Rural Cemetery, like Mount Auburn, it is on the fringes of the urban downtown area, although the suburban sprawl has grown considerably since its establishment. The cemetery is not part of the downtown experience, as it is not within walking distance of the downtown attractions. While the cemetery is only one and a half miles away from the downtown district, the labyrinthine traffic patterns and conditions of Atlanta make even traveling short distance difficult, and time consuming. The cemetery is bounded by Memorial Dr., Boulevard Dr., Oakland Ave., and the Georgia Railroad. The sprawling 88-acre grounds provide the final resting place for about 70,000 Atlantans.

History

Oakland Cemetery, also from the era of the Rural Cemetery Movement, was established as “Atlanta Cemetery” in 1850, and did not adopt its current moniker until 1872. Until 1871, it was the city’s only cemetery. The site was originally purchased as an 8-acre parcel, and was slowly added to with additional purchases in 1855, 1857, and 1866.²² All the purchases had been made by the time the brick wall and entrance gates were constructed in 1896, which brought Oakland to its current size of 88 acres. The cemetery has sizable Confederate veteran, African-American, and Jewish sections, as well as the graves of many historically significance individuals. These would include the

²² National Register of Historic Places, *Oakland Cemetery*, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia, National Register #76000627, 3.

likes of those of Maynard Jackson, Atlanta's first African-American mayor; Margaret Mitchell Marsh, author of *Gone With the Wind*; and Bobby Jones, famous golfer and founder of the Masters' Tournament. Many visitors come to pay homage to Oakland's famous residents. The pride of the cemetery, however, rests in the vast collection of Victorian cemetery art. The styles embodied in the numerous graves, memorials, and mausolea include Gothic, Neo-classical, Beaux-arts, Egyptian Revival, and even some examples of Eastlake ornamentation.²³ Many of the mausolea also incorporate decorative stained glass work. The craftsmanship of such markers showcases the patterns and progressions of funerary art through the 19th and 20th centuries.

Operation

Oakland is municipally owned by the City of Atlanta's Department of Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs, which employs the cemetery's sexton and maintains infrastructure at the cemetery. However, lot owners themselves are responsible for the maintenance of their lots, as it has been since the cemetery's inception. While the cemetery classifies itself as "active," the label is a bit misleading. When someone making end of life plans decides they want to be buried at Oakland, the sextant is contacted and he puts the family in touch with a lot owner at Oakland who has indicated that they may be willing to sell the yet unused lot.²⁴ If a deal is reached, ownership of the lot is transferred and the space is occupied when the interested individual passes away.

²³ Ibid., 8-9.

²⁴ David Moore, personal conversation with author, October 7, 2011.

Stewardship Group

The descendants of many of the historic markers and plots are no longer living in Atlanta and are therefore unavailable to maintain them. Thankfully, the non-profit stewardship group known as the Historic Oakland Foundation oversees the preservation, interpretation, and general grounds keeping of the cemetery, and helps to maintain such unattended plots. In addition to this, the Foundation organizes and runs the tours and special events, operates a gift shop on site, puts out a newsletter and other publications, and coordinates preservation efforts at Oakland. The group has a memorandum of understanding with the City of Atlanta's Department of Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs, which lays out the responsibilities of each group.

The Historic Oakland Foundation was established in 1976, immediately following Oakland's listing on the National Register. In addition to on-site interpretation, Historic Oakland has exemplified in another arena that has contributed greatly to the recent high marks with online travel sites: social media. As was previously in the Introduction, Oakland Cemetery was voted the number one tourist attraction in the city of Atlanta by users of the popular internet travel site TripAdvisor in the summer of 2011. Oakland's has a huge web presence, which increases the visibility of what Oakland has to offer to the local community, and connects to a public that might not otherwise think of visiting a cemetery on a trip to Atlanta. This push is due mostly to the work of volunteer Chad Elkins, who established and maintains the group's presence on the social media sites Facebook, Twitter, and Foursquare. Users are encouraged to share pictures and experiences, as well as check back frequently for updates on future events.

Tours

The interpretational model at Oakland suites the heavily trafficked site well. Self-guided tours are free and available every day of the week, while guided tours are only offered on the weekends. A one-hour standard tour entitled Sights, Symbols & Stories of Oakland covers the general history and layout of Oakland three times per weekend day (10a.m., 2p.m. and 5:30p.m.). In the winter months this is dropped down to one tour per weekend day (2p.m.). Then, each weekend night at 6:30p.m. a Specialty Tour is offered. Oakland has 15 different specialty tours that rotate throughout the year, some of which are seasonally specific, such as the Capturing the Spirit of Oakland Halloween Tours, occurring on the weekend preceding Halloween (see Table 4-1). In this way, guests are given ample opportunity to return to learn about specific aspects of the cemetery at the end of the day. Additionally, these tours are set up to be around sunset, giving unique lighting opportunities for photography. All guided tours are \$10.00 for adults, \$5.00 for children, seniors, and students, and free for members. Oakland also recently introduced a free cell phone tour featuring African American history in Atlanta and in the cemetery. In addition to all this, Historical Oakland Foundation hosts several free special events at the cemetery each year. These include the very popular Sunday in the Park Victorian Street Fair, the Run Like Hell 5k Race (both of which happen in October), Descendant's Day and the Tunes from the Tombs Music Festival (both of which happen in May).

Oakland provides a free downloadable newsletter, which includes a calendar of upcoming events and tours. The newsletter also has articles on Oakland's history and updates on the Foundation's preservation projects. Between the online resources and

the newsletter, members and potential visitors can easily keep up with the events and tours at Oakland and plan an informed trip to the site.

David Moore, Executive Director of the Historic Oakland Foundation, explains that, “you come to Oakland for the history, the art, the architecture...people come here to stroll their child, to walk their dog, [or] to jog through.”¹

Identified Values And Programming Considerations

Through analysis of the aspects of the site, and its interpretational programming, highlighted above, the following values are identified:

- History
- Budget
- Art
- People/Stories
- Preservation
- Supernatural
- Independent experience
- Education
- Nature

The following programming considerations were also identified:

- Economics
- Security
- Education
- Independent experience

¹ Greg Clarkson and David Moore, *Oakland Cemetery (explore404)*, Video, 2:32, June 16, 2011, oaklandcemetery.com/short_video.html

Table 4-5. Interpretational programs at Oakland Cemetery

Standard Tour, (Weekends, March-Nov 10, 2, 5:30, Dec-March, 2)	Twilight Tours, (Weekends March- Oct., 6:30pm)	Special Events	Speakers	Other
Sights, Symbols & Stories of Oakland	Oakland and the Civil War	Annual Shindig - fundraising event with music, food, silent auction, 3/24, \$50	"Presenting Oakland Cemetery" - hire to have them come and give presentation	School Tours
African American Cell Phone Tour - 3 panels set up with additional info, free	Pioneers of Atlanta: The First 20 Years	Descendants' Day - descendants come and share family history, refreshments, 5/1, free		Private Guided Tours
	Victorian Symbolism at Oakland	Tunes from the Tombs - 100 music acts perform around the cemetery with food by local vendors, 5/21-22, \$10 for one day and \$15 for both days		2nd Saturdays - the 2nd Saturday of every month (except December) is open for volunteers to come and assist with general landscaping duties

Table 4-5. Continued

Standard Tour, (Weekends, March-Nov 10, 2, 5:30, Dec-March, 2)	Twilight Tours, (Weekends March- Oct., 6:30pm)	Special Events	Speakers	Other
	African American History at Oakland	Gone with the Wind 75th Anniversary - guided tours by costumed guides and cocktails, 6/12, \$20		
	Dying in 19th Century Atlanta			
	Jewish Grounds of Oakland			
	Margaret Mitchell and Gone With the Wind			
	The Women of Oakland			
	Art and Architecture of Death			
	Epitaphs - The Immortality of Words			

Table 4-5. Continued

Standard Tour, (Weekends, March-Nov 10, 2, 5:30, Dec-March, 2)	Twilight Tours, (Weekends March- Oct., 6:30pm)	Special Events	Speakers	Other
	Fear and Accusation: The Leo Frank Story Odd Fellows, Red Men and More: Fraternal Organizations at Oakland Mayors of Atlanta Love Stories of Oakland			

Discussion of Issues Discovered

When comparing the four sites, certain issues were identified that needed further clarification. The terminology that is used to describe some of the less obvious values and considerations is presented here to provide that clarification. The distinct design features of the cemeteries, with those of the Rural Cemeteries being inherently different from the smaller church-owned cemeteries, constitute much of the basic disparity between them in the identified values and programming considerations. The following clarifications are given for “sacred/spiritual” and “supernatural” values, and the “security,” “location,” “education,” and “independent experience” programming considerations so that they may be better understood within the context of this study. Further clarifications are given in Chapter 5.

Sacred/Spiritual

The “sacred/spiritual” value is identified with Tolomato and St. Louis No. 1 because of their association and operation by religious institutions, and also because of the role they have played in the religious heritage of their local communities. As mentioned, St. Louis No. 1 is considered a very spiritual site, with a very active descendant community. The burial of important Catholic figures in Tolomato gives it a spiritual focus as well. Mount Auburn is still an active cemetery, and it is not uncommon for visitors to see a funeral taking place in the newer areas, or mourners visiting the graves of loved ones. The staff at Mount Auburn ensure that visitors are very aware of this with signage so the sacred nature of the site is highlighted in the visitor experience. The end of life programming and lectures that are offered on site at Mount Auburn also reinforce this. Although this was not a value identified with Oakland, it does not mean that the cemetery is not reverent toward the dead or that they are not mindful of them.

Of course, Oakland identifies itself as a cemetery and the dead are respected, but Tolomato and St. Louis No.1 are church cemeteries, and Mount Auburn is still active (making its focus on current burials something of a hint at advertising). At Oakland the reverence is implied and is not a value that is stressed as heavily through the interpretational programming at the site as much as the other three sites.

Supernatural

The topic of the supernatural is not one that that should be dwelled on, but it does warrant special note in the context of the discussion. The “supernatural” value is one that manifests in the visitor more than the cemetery groups that provide the tours. Obviously, no stewardship group wants paranormal investigations, which are steeped in here-say and superstition, to trump the interpretational programs that are founded on sound historical evidence and research. Death is mysterious to most people, and so then cemeteries are mysterious by association. The cemetery’s frequent role as the backdrop for so many ghost stories, horror movies, and urban legends has made it an inescapable part of the paranormal lexicon in the eyes of popular culture. Although none of the cemeteries above offer a ghost tour, it is noted that Tolomato is a stop for many of the walking ghost tours in St. Augustine, as St. Louis is a stop for similar tours in New Orleans (but not the Save Our Cemeteries tours). However, the practice and role of voodoo in New Orleans history and culture is brought up and asked about on many of the Save Our Cemeteries tours. The “Capturing the Spirit of Oakland” Halloween tours are some of the most popular of the year, and fill up quickly. It is assumed that because Mount Auburn is still an active cemetery, the association with any aspect of the paranormal is strongly discouraged, as this may deter future clients.

Although paranormal tours often forgo facts in favor of shock-and-awe fabrications, there may be a benefit. It is suggested that, although the paranormal appetites of guests need not be indulged with a specific tour, the value should not necessarily be discouraged or ignored. It is necessary for cemeteries tours to provide an informed and authentic experience for the guests, but it must be done without alienating a potentially large audience that may have been drawn to the site in the first place based on their interest in ghosts and the like. Visiting paranormal sites and ‘ghost hunting’ are serious hobbies that many people have spent large amounts of money and time indulging, and a specialized industry has grown to support those indulgences. It is indeed a controversial issue, but a study done in St. Augustine suggests that since these visitors with paranormal interests know that they are able to obtain historical information through other outlets (such as daytime tours), the goal of attending a ghost tour is not to obtain factual information, but instead to have an experience.²⁵ This makes the true commodity of a ghost tour the memory of that experience. Furthermore, 85% of ghost tour participants who were surveyed in the study did a follow up visit to historical sites mentioned in the tours during their regular business hours (paying admission for many of those visits), with 15% visiting four or more sites.²⁶ This would suggest that people partaking in ghost tours are not doing them in lieu of a site visit, but instead are treating them as a supplemental experience. Since such tours may introduce new audiences to heritage resources such as cemeteries, and those

²⁵ Sarah E. Miller, “The Ghost Economy: Economic Impact of Ghost Tour Trends on Archaeological Sites in St. Augustine, Florida” (poster session, Contested Economies: Global Tourism and Cultural Heritage, 2010 Society for Economic Anthropology Annual Meeting, Tampa, FL, April 8-10 2010).

²⁶ Ibid.

audiences may then come and spend money to take a tour, which contributes to the preservation of the site, the paranormal tour is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored.

Security

Revenue generated by the stewardship groups, either by donations or other activities, helps to fund preservation efforts at the site. These efforts protect the headstones and cemetery grounds, which ensures the longevity of the cemetery. In turn, the cemetery can also make the neighborhood a safer place. In the case of Oakland, the cemetery was a secluded area prior to the establishment of the Historic Oakland Foundation, and one that provided a veil for clandestine incidents of questionable legality. When a site gets known for such seclusion, it can become a magnet for similar incidents and the surrounding neighborhoods suffer. When the Foundation was established, the cemetery was maintained again, and attention was being drawn to it. Once the seclusion was compromised, the illegal activities and incidents of crime decreased, and the neighborhoods benefited. Thus, the cemetery preservation group helped to make the neighborhood safer. This makes “security” a programming consideration that is identified at each of the four cemeteries, and one that other historic cemeteries using these considerations should recognize the importance of.

Location

The “location” consideration was identified for Tolomato and St. Louis No. 1 because of their proximity to their respective historic downtown centers, which are central to the tourist experience for most visitors. The cemeteries were designed this way historically so that burials would occur close to the religious institutions that managed them. The Rural Cemeteries, Mount Auburn and Oakland, were intentionally

placed the outskirts of the urban areas, making their current proximity to other heritage and tourist sites less than ideal. However, since they are in a more rural setting and were designed to function as arboreal pleasure grounds on the hinterland of cities, it makes Mount Auburn and Oakland cemeteries more difficult to get to. One has to be intentionally travelling to them, as they will not be stumbled upon in a typical visit to the city due to their distance from the city centers and other tourist destinations. It is also because of this distance that allows the cemeteries to occupy a greater amount of space, and also incorporate the identified value of “nature,” which relates to the horticultural collections and wildlife present at the Rural Cemeteries. While these may not relate to all cemeteries in the study, they are still important to include as they are central to the visitor experience for Rural Cemeteries, and are assets for similar cemeteries wishing to develop programming.

Education

The “education” consideration was identified at all cemeteries except for Tolomato. This is not to say that Tolomato does not value educating its visitors. Educating visitors about the cemetery’s history and place in the local community is central to Tolomato’s mission. However, in the context of this investigation, “education” refers to programming beyond site tours that is offered to guests. St. Louis No.1, Oakland, and Mount Auburn all offer school tours and lectures on a range of topics. Mount Auburn also offers workshops throughout the year, which are popular. At this point, Tolomato does not offer any school tours or additional lectures, and therefore is not associated with the “education” consideration.

Independent Experience

The “independent experience” consideration was identified at the cemeteries that offer a self-guided tour. This is helpful for visitors who are on a tight schedule, those who have young children, or those who are only interested in a particular aspect or gravesite in the cemetery. While one would prefer all guests to leave with the same information, the guided tour option is not always a feasible option for all visitors. As mentioned above, St. Louis No.1 has a unique approach to their interpretation and the guided tour is central to that experience. Because of this, the “independent experience” was not identified as a programming consideration associated with St. Louis No. 1.

Additional Issues For Operators And Managers

The following issues were identified in the comparison of the four sites, and are presented as issues that are pertinent for operators and managers of cemeteries and stewardship groups, but ones that may not be necessarily apparent to general visitors or as part of the experience of an on-site visit. Because all the issues were present at the four case studies, and influenced the programming and operation of the sites, they are seen as useful information for anyone seeking to utilize the suggested values and programming considerations at a historic cemetery site.

Stakeholders

Before administering any type of survey, it is crucial to identify all the stakeholders of the cemetery. These are essentially the audiences that a stewardship group is reaching out to, and audiences that are believed to have a vested interest in the cemetery. One can expect this to be an extensive list. These can be identified as very general categories, or specific ones. The following list was inferred from the

comparison of the four cemeteries, as groups that share proximity with the sites or were catered to in the interpretational programs. This list will include:

- Anyone involved at an administrative level with the cemetery or associated stewardship group
- Volunteers
- Neighbors, and locals that general live who come into contact with the site frequently
- Nearby businesses
- Nearby restaurants

This will also include the diverse types of visitors that the cemetery attracts including:

- Members
- Tourists
- Adults
- Children
- Family groups
- Elderly
- Budget travelers
- Photographers
- Historians
- Military Historians
- Genealogists
- Cemetery buffs
- Nature enthusiasts
- Descendent groups
- Associated cultural groups
- Associated ethnic groups
- Associated religious groups
- Veterans groups
- Fraternal organizations whose members are buried at the site

Care must be taken by anyone drafting a site-specific valuation study to ensure that all these stakeholders will be considered when developing interpretational programming for a cemetery site, and that all will be represented in the random sample

if a cemetery site should choose to conduct a survey to determine the specific values of the site.

Certain values will resonate differently with different stakeholders. For example, “tourists look for novelty in a landscape (something different than what they can get back home) whereas locals see a landscape as a web of memory locations and social interactions.”²⁷ Also, it has been shown that certain groups find value in unexpected or unlikely places.

Interest in [cemeteries] goes beyond the aesthetic and amenity value, considerable though this is; at any one time there may be amateurs or experts recording the monuments for what they tell us of our ancestors, or the work of artisans and artists. Or they may be interested in the rare lichens growing upon them, the ancient yew trees that shade them, some many thousands of years old, and all the other flora and fauna.²⁸

Since interpretation is geared toward stakeholders, the subjects of the tours will then also define the stakeholders that visit the cemetery to a degree. Any historic cemetery will have numerous stakeholders, but those that relate to the interpretational tours will stand out. Elizabeth Gessner of Tolomato identifies some of the stakeholders of Tolomato as such:

- Budget vacationers (families that cannot afford more expensive attractions)
- Locals that walk by and have never seen inside before
- Paranormal tourists
- Genealogists
- Those with interest in art or are artists themselves looking to take advantage of a picturesque environment (photographers, painters, etc.)
- Heritage tourists

²⁷ Glassberg, 20.

²⁸ Joseph Elders, “England’s Parish Churchyards: A National Treasure” *Conservation Bulletin* 66, *The Heritage of Death* (Summer 2011): 29.

- Fans of author Eugenia Price (the main character of her historical fiction novels is buried in Tolomato)
- Heritage group members (Greeks, Minorcans, Haitians, Cubans)
- Civil War buffs
- Catholics
- Visitors of specific historical figures (Felix Varela, Augustin Verot, Georges Biassou, Pedro Camps, Don Juan McQueen, Miguel O'Reilly)
- General taphophiles (a person who enjoys cemeteries)²⁹

Angie Green of Save Our Cemeteries identifies those she sees as the primary stakeholders in St. Louis No. 1 as:

- Save Our Cemeteries,
- The Catholic Archdiocese (which owns St. Louis No. 1)
- Members of the Catholic church
- Each family/owners of a vault (of which, there are 800-1000)
- Any relatives/close friends of the deceased (there are 10,000 individuals buried in St. Louis)
- The professional ownership interests of workers, preservationists, and other craftsmen
- Genealogists
- Archives/records holders (which are scattered throughout the cemetery and include members of local municipalities, private history organizations, and the church)
- Tour guides
- Tour guide licensing/enforcement agencies
- Police officers (who patrol the cemeteries)
- Tourists

²⁹ Elizabeth Gessner, e-mail message to the author, September 1, 2011.

- Neighbors (St. Louis No. 1 is in the French Quarter, and two sides of the cemetery back up to residential areas)³⁰

Negative Stakeholders

Additionally, Green also identified “negative stakeholders”. These are the groups that influence policy and decision making for Save Our Cemeteries because of a negative influence. It is important to identify such groups for the sake of mitigating potential problems in the future. This would include:

- Looters
- Vandals
- Criminals that utilize the secluded nature of the cemetery
- The homeless (which pose the largest vandalism threat of any group)

These negative stakeholders represent a group that all historic cemeteries will have to deal with.

National Register Inclusion

There are two highly recommended steps for cemeteries to expand their base of stakeholders, both of which have been achieved, or are in the process of being achieved, by all four cemeteries under analysis. These two steps are: being listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and having a stewardship organization with 501(c)3 non-profit designation associated with the site.

Achieving a National Register listing is an important goal for all historic cemeteries planning on developing interpretational programs. Listing provides a distinct association with the National Register, and by virtue of that, the National Park Service. The distinction is one that may be equated with quality, professionalism, and longevity. The air of gravitas that listing fosters will help to distinguish the cemetery from other sites in the vicinity, thus making the site more visible. This can be achieved through individual

³⁰ Angie Green, personal conversation with the author, October 12, 2011.

listing, or listing as a contributing resource to the historic theme of a historic district. Tolomato Cemetery has National Register status as the latter, and is listed as a contributing feature for the Model Land Company Tract, a historic district in downtown St. Augustine. The other three cemeteries are listed individually. Mount Auburn is listed under Criterion A, for its' *association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history*; and Criterion C, the *embodiment of distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.*³¹ It is also listed with Criteria Consideration D, which pertains specifically to cemeteries and states that a cemetery is eligible for listing *if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events.*³² Mount Auburn's National Register Nomination Form identifies the areas of significance for the property as Architecture, Art, Community Planning and Development, Landscape Architecture, Material Culture, and Social History.³³

Similarly, Oakland is listed under Criterion C, with Criteria Consideration D, with the areas of significance identified as Art, Landscape Architecture, Sculpture, and Cultural History³⁴

³¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "How to Apply the National Register Criterion for Evaluation," *National Register Bulletin* (Washington, DC, 1997) 12, 17.

³² *Ibid.*, 34.

³³ National Register of Historic Places, Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, National Register #75000254.

³⁴ National Register of Historic Places, Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia, National Register #76000627.

St Louis No. 1 is listed under Criterion B, *having an association with the lives of persons significant in our past*, as well as Criterion C.³⁵ It also includes Criteria Consideration D. In St. Louis No. 1 the areas of significance are identified as Architecture, Art, Literature, Military, Religion, Sculpture.³⁶ Oakland was evaluated and considered to be significant at the local level, whereas Mount Auburn and St. Louis were both determined to be significant on a national level.

It can be observed that of the three cemeteries that are individually listed, all are listed under at least Criterion C, and all are eligible with Criteria Consideration D. This provides a good starting point for other historic cemeteries wishing to take the first steps in this process. As long as a historic cemetery is reasonably documented and has not been relocated, Criteria Consideration D should provide the grounds for eligibility to the National Register. Also, the three cemeteries all shared several of the same areas of significance: Art and Sculpture (listed as Material Culture for Mount Auburn). This coincides with the listing under Criterion C. Mount Auburn and Oakland both list Landscape Architecture as an area of significance, and since St. Louis required above ground burials, and is therefore built up to accommodate that, the built-up nature and appearance of the site (listed as Architecture for St. Louis) constitutes its landscape as well. These areas of significance identified in the nomination forms, particularly the ones that all three cemeteries share, constitute some of the values that the cemeteries have identified and wish to impart to guests through interpretation.

³⁵ “How to Apply the National Register Criterion for Evaluation,” 14.

³⁶ National Register of Historic Places, St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, New Orleans, Orleans County, Louisiana, National Register #75000855.

Non-profit Status

The second thing that can be done to expand a base of stakeholders is to establish a 501(c)3 non-profit group that is associated with the cemetery. Each of the four cemeteries has a non-profit stewardship organization that is responsible for interpretation and preservation at the site (although Tolomato is still working on paperwork to obtain 501(c)3 status). Gaining this designation is phenomenally helpful for several reasons. The clear advantage is that anyone who donates, which includes the dues towards a membership program, can get a tax write-off for that amount. Also, having a non-profit group associated with the cemetery adds a degree of professionalism and accountability to the site, while also implying longevity. Donors know how the money will be spent and are likely to have more trust in the site.

Community Partnerships

An important outreach component of three of the cemeteries are school tours (this is not yet in place at Tolomato). David Moore, executive director of the Historic Oakland Foundation, suggests that developing school tours is an essential way cemeteries can form strong community relations, and is a visible positive impact that people can identify with.³⁷ Oakland contributes to the local community by providing school tours that highlight different aspects of the cemetery and cater to different subjects studied at different grades. School groups are also common fixtures in St. Louis No. 1; 8th grade students are the most common age group since students in Louisiana study local history in the grade. With these age groups, what you *don't* talk about can be just as important as what you do talk about. The subjects of prostitution and violence that make up a part of the local history are not mentioned, in favor of the less seedy stories

³⁷ David Moore, personal conversation with author, October 7, 2011.

associated with the cemetery. These elements are included on regular tours, and the individual tour guides may censure as they see fit with whatever the demographics of the tour are. Partnering with organizations in the community is important as well. All the stewardship groups are closely associated with the local historical societies. In addition to that, each cemetery has another entity that it partners with frequently. For Tolomato Cemetery this would be the Cathedral Basilica, St. Benedict the Moor Church (two local Catholic churches in downtown St. Augustine) and the Diocese of St. Augustine. Mount Auburn has close ties with the Massachusetts Horticultural Society (the group that originally purchased the land for the cemetery), St. Louis No. 1 with Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans, and Oakland often partners with the City of Atlanta.

For the two larger cemeteries (Oakland and Mount Auburn), offering special programming for families and children is an important part of interpretation. Since general admission to the cemeteries is free (the only charge being for tours and some special events), they are popular weekend spots for families on a budget. This makes “economics” an important value influencing some families visiting a site. Free activities for families include scavenger hunts at Oakland and nature cleanups at Mount Auburn. Mount Auburn also offers additional programs for families with children, which are focused on subjects such as nature, wildlife, geology, history, and even mathematics. These more in-depth tours at Mount Auburn are offered at a fee. Offering a safe and educational space for family outings is another extra benefit for the community.

Membership Organizations

After telling the stories to the cemetery, the four cemeteries sampled all offer visitors the opportunity to become a part of the stories. Membership programs are a

common way to raise revenue for a cemetery and offer benefits for frequent visitors. If a cemetery has 501(c)3 non-profit established, membership dues can be considered a charitable, tax-deductible donation.

There are common benefits of membership that are shared by the four cemeteries. A member at any one will receive a newsletter from the cemetery that keeps members up to date. Members are also eligible to attend tours and special events for free or at a discounted rate. Oakland and Mount Auburn offer discounts on gift shop items. The price for an individual membership averages at about \$35.00 between the four cemeteries. At Mount Auburn, an important privilege of membership is that members receive advanced notice for specialty tours and programs, hence an advanced opportunity to make a reservation for those events. The result is that when a popular specialty tour is offered it is booked to capacity almost exclusively with members before the public (the non-members) has an opportunity to sign up.³⁸ Such disparity in the demographics of the popular tours is an indication that this practice of membership prioritization is popular, and actively taken advantage of.

However, these benefits are more symbolic than anything. Although people who attend events frequently will easily get their money's worth from purchasing a membership, the impetus for joining is the fact that membership dues go toward the preservation and protection of the cemeteries. David Moore believes that many people join the membership groups for the feeling that they have contributed to an important cultural and historical site and that their participation has made a difference.³⁹ It gives

³⁸ Stephanie Messina, External Affairs Department Assistant, Mount Auburn Cemetery, e-mail message to the author, December 5, 2011.

³⁹ David Moore, Executive Director, Historic Oakland Foundation, personal conversation with the author, October 10, 2011.

people who feel a connection to the site, whether they are descendants, neighbors, volunteers, members of history groups, another way to be connected, and “people want to be attached to something important,” Moore says.⁴⁰ A strong membership program is confirmation that the site is being valued, and that the values that the stakeholders feel strong connections with are being presented in a way that makes them relevant.

Summary

With the comparison of the four case studies, a set of suggested values and programming considerations is identified that seems to relate to historic cemetery sites. These two lists were developed by looking at the on site interpretational programming of the case studies, conversations with the administrative members of stewardship groups, and the issues for operators and managers. The lists are presented as they correspond to each cemetery in Table 4-6 and Table 4-7. The two lists together constitute a framework that can be used to inform investigations at other historic cemeteries into the more refined, site-specific values and also inform the development of on-site interpretational programming. Suggestions for how this framework can be effectively implemented are presented in the following chapter.

Table 4-6. List of suggested cemetery values

Tolomato	St. Louis	Oakland	Mt Auburn
History	History	History	History
Art	Art	Art	Art
People/Stories	People/Stories	People/Stories	People/Stories
Preservation	Preservation	Preservation	Preservation
Sacred/Spiritual	Sacred/Spiritual		Sacred/spiritual
Supernatural	Supernatural	Supernatural	
		Nature	Nature

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Table 4-7. List of programming considerations for historic cemeteries

Tolomato	St. Louis	Oakland	Mt Auburn
Economics	Economics	Economics	Economics
Security	Security	Security	Security
Location	Location		
	Education	Education	Education
Independent experience		Independent experience	Independent experience

CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Really, the only thing that the dead want is to be remembered, and getting people back into a cemetery does just that. Even if they are dressed in funny costumes, wearing binoculars, having a picnic, or running a 5K.¹

Insights From the Cemetery Value Chart

The charts of suggested cemetery values (Table 4-6) and programming considerations (Table 4-7) provide a more refined framework for cemetery sites, compared to the models of the national stewardship groups. These larger typologies, purposefully broad to relate to as many heritage types as possible, are helpful when comparing dissimilar sites, but as the focus is narrowed to historic cemeteries or specific resources, the categories are less helpful. The specific values set out for English Heritage are:

- Historical
- Ecological
- Education
- Leisure (or Amenity)

The value categories identified by the Burra Charter are:

- Aesthetic (regarding aspects of sensory perception)
- Historic
- Scientific
- Social

The socio-cultural values (as opposed to those of an economic nature) that were identified by Randal Mason in the study for the Getty Institute are:

- Historical
- Spiritual
- Political
- Educational
- Aesthetic (regarding aspects of sensory perception)

¹ Angie Green, e-mail message to the author, October 23, 2011.

- Artistic

The values that are required for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places are:

- Events
- People
- Design/Construction
- Information potential

As mentioned, these categories of value are intentionally broad. By representing abstract concepts, they are able to relate to the largest number of heritage sites, while not catering to the idiosyncrasies of one type of site. Naturally, historic cemeteries exhibit different values than historic industrial sites, medieval castles, and aboriginal ceremonial sites. However, using the abstractions listed above, such sites can be grouped and compared. To focus specifically on cemetery sites, more concrete, and practical, fields of value that relate specifically to the resource must be pulled out of that abstraction. The chart illustrates the values that were identified that seem to most closely relate to historic cemeteries. By comparing the interpretational programs of the four cemeteries as well as operational issues shared by them, it has been determined that these values are likely to correspond to other historic cemeteries in the United States. This is not to say that the values identified can be applied universally, to any historic cemetery. While still abstract, this list of values, along with the list of programming considerations, provide a more focused framework which can aid other cemeteries in identifying the specific values associated with their site. These lists should be used to inform cemetery groups of what has worked for other cemeteries with successful, active interpretational programs: programs that fund the necessary preservation work at the sites.

The list illustrates that some values are specific to the larger, rural cemeteries (Mount Auburn and Oakland) and not to the smaller church cemeteries (St. Louis No.1 and Tolomato). It also shows that the interests of local citizens are important, as well as those of the tourist. In some cases the role of the cemetery has expanded beyond its original intention, while in others such as the Rural Cemeteries, people are once again using them as they were originally intended. Such insights exhibited in the lists will inform the investigations of other cemeteries, and can be built upon in the form of surveys and questionnaires. The complete list of suggested values for historic cemeteries is as follows (see Table 4-6 and Table 4-7 for the correspondence to specific cemeteries):

- History
- Art
- People/Stories
- Preservation
- Sacred/Spiritual
- Supernatural
- Nature

The complete list of programming considerations identified in the study is as follows:

- Economics
- Security
- Location
- Education
- Independent experiences

Recommendations for Framework

Some brief suggestions are provided on how the set of cemetery values and considerations identified by this study can be applied and further tested and refined. This is intended to guide the investigation process for studies into the specific values

conducted at other historic cemeteries. Designing functional contingent valuation studies or choice modeling surveys is beyond the scope of the investigation.

By creating a dialogue with the public using surveys, questionnaires, along with personal dialogue with the stakeholders, a cemetery can guide its future initiatives and make sure that what they are offering is in line with what the public wants. This is especially important if an additional admission fee will be charged. The groundwork for this is determining why the survey is being conducted. Is it to find out if there is enough interest to sustain an interpretational program? Is it to gather data on the types of options that people would like to see in an interpretational program? Is it to decide the themes of special events or lecture topics? Surveys should be designed with the specific goal in mind.

For a cemetery to get the most benefit from the suggested value list, it needs to be categorized so it will be known which values from the chart will be relevant, and which will not. Is the cemetery a rural cemetery away from the city center, or a church or municipal cemetery closer to a commercial downtown district? Is it still active? To a smaller church cemetery the values that pertain exclusively to Mount Auburn and Oakland on the chart will likely not apply.

A helpful starting point for a questionnaire could be to ask, “what do you think of when you hear the name of the cemetery?” This will be instructive, as it will indicate what most people know the cemetery for, whether it is a particular burial, memorial, or perhaps an urban legend. The following presents how the terms used for values and considerations are defined within the context of this study, and suggestions as to how they may be incorporated in a valuation study done by another historic cemetery.

Suggested Cemetery Values

History

The “history” value seems fairly straightforward; the cemetery is obviously historic. However, this should be focused to identify how the cemetery best communicates certain aspects to visitors. Does the cemetery exemplify certain styles and developments in cemetery design, or gravestone symbolism? The cemetery may be the only place in the community where certain facets of history are evident. The various ethnic histories represented in the cemetery need to be documented and showcased. Military headstones are very distinct, and serve as a record of the military heritage of a community. A survey may indicate which wars the public would like to hear more about in a tour. A cemetery will likely be the only tangible reminder in a community of the effects of epidemic diseases, and the realities of life before the benefits of modern medicine. A list of all such options could be made in a survey, and participants could be asked to check which options they would be interested in learning more about in a cemetery tour.

Art

The “art” value is manifested in the craftsmanship and architecture of gravestones, vaults, tombs, and other memorials on site, and possibly the landscape of the site itself. Similar to narrowing the focus with the “history” value, the survey could determine which aspects of the art and architecture interest visitors the most. The development of trends in funerary art would be easy to show, as would the meaning behind symbolism that appears on different gravestones. In the case of the tombs, vaults, or mausoleums, explaining the construction and how the dead were placed inside may be interesting to guests. The memorials that we see in the cemeteries were not cheap, and certain

conclusions about wealth distribution among those buried in a cemetery can be made based on the size, amount of embellishment, and the material the markers are made of.

People/Stories

The “people/stories” value is one that will be important to narrow down. Naturally, there will a vast multitude of stories that can be told at any cemetery. Every person interred is likely to have a story. However, only a selection of these stories can be told. There may be famous individuals and prominent citizens, or famous feuds and love stories that the tombs will tell. It is important to identify which of these stories will resonate most with visitors, and whose story will enrich the understanding of the local history. Often, the names of local streets and landmarks originated with those that may be found in the cemetery, which may be a good angle for a specialty tour. The same question that narrowed the focus for the “history” value (choosing from a set of which would be most interesting) could inform which individuals and stories to focus on as well.

Sacred/Spiritual

While to some extent the “sacred/spiritual” value is inherent to cemeteries, it may not be deemed appropriate for special focus in a tour. Questions in a survey on whether or not visitors would come to a cemetery for spiritual or sacred reasons will reveal this. However, if a cemetery has roots in a particular church or belief, it will be an important part of the story to tell. There may be prominent members of the religious community buried at the site, and visiting these graves in a tour may be an adequate way to incorporate this into the visitors’ experience.

Preservation

The “preservation” value is important to the survival of the cemetery, and is equally important to communicate to the visitors. Preservation work justifies the costs associated with taking the tours. A survey question may determine if participants would be willing to pay more for a tour if they knew the money was going toward restoring a specific monument or another preservation project, rather than just a general preservation fund. Visitors may want to see preservationists in action during a visit as well, which may mean that instead of closing a cemetery to do work, it is opened up to the public, with docents on hand to explain the process to guests.

Supernatural

The “supernatural” value, as previously mentioned, is one that must be treated sensitively. There is a profound interest in some visitors in the paranormal, and its perceived connection to cemeteries (as they have featured prominently in many horror movies and ghost stories), but focusing on such an aspect can seem irreverent or irresponsible, from the standpoint of a steward of heritage. Nighttime tours may be a way to indulge this value. The more sinister stories (those of murder or those not suitable for children) may be told at this time. Instead of billing a tour as a “paranormal” or “ghost” tour, it could be given as a tour that relates local urban legends, a part of the folk heritage of the community, but which treats them as simply legends. Presenting an authentic representation of the resource is paramount, and trumps the desire of the public to experience something ghoulish.

Nature

The “nature” value is one that may be specific, or at least more immediately relevant, to the rural cemeteries. As these sites were designed to be a natural setting, there is often a horticultural legacy that supports this. This may give unique seasonal opportunities, as we have seen with Mount Auburn and Oakland. Fall foliage tours and blooming spring floral tours are extremely popular at other cemeteries. Knowing the specific plantings in the cemetery will be instrumental in developing such a tour. Certain plants and trees held symbolic meaning in the context of mourning, and such symbolism could be the foundation for a fascinating horticultural tour. Also, certain groups in the community, such as garden clubs, may be interested in booking special tours, or offering their volunteer services. These options can be determined with the properly directed survey questions.

The “nature” value also incorporates wildlife that can be present in a historic cemetery. While this facet is only recognized in specialty tours for Mount Auburn in this investigation, the popularity of such tours is so great that it warrants special mention. Birding is an incredibly popular activity at Mount Auburn, and as such, birding tours cost more than standard tours, and almost always book to capacity. There may be other animals that make their home in the cemetery that could be the focus of a specialty tour as well. An animal habitat in a cemetery is very safe, because it is almost always a guarantee that the site will never be developed. While wildlife may not be pertinent to every cemetery, it provides the foundation of popular programming at some, and it is worth making it a part of the initial investigation. Such programming would also change visitor’s preconceptions about cemeteries; we tend to think of cemeteries as somber places reserved for the dead, not havens for plant and wildlife.

Programming Considerations

The following are the important considerations that affect an on site visit, but are not captured in the values identified for historic cemeteries. These were additional insights that arose when comparing the four case studies, which have the potential to be very helpful for operators or managers of historic cemeteries, or those designing interpretational programming.

Economics

The “economics” consideration is important, as admission to the four evaluated cemeteries was free, and it was the tours that required an additional fee or suggested donation. Because cemeteries are typically tranquil environments, and may even have expensive pathways on the grounds (a common element in the Rural Cemeteries), they may provide an ideal setting for uses other than interpretational tours, such as jogging or dog walking. Taking a cue from some other Rural Cemeteries, admission is typically free for those using the trails purely for exercise and recreational purposes. This helps to cast the cemetery in a very positive light in the context of the community. By ranking survey participants’ desire to partake in such leisure and recreational activities, stewardship groups can gauge whether or not this would be suitable.

Security

The “security” consideration is one that is considered to be inherent to a cemetery with a developed interpretational program, and frequent presence at the cemetery. By frequenting the cemetery, and keeping the space maintained, those that would seek its seclusion for illegal activity will no longer be able to operate in the shadows. Such illegal activity will cease and the surrounding neighborhoods will benefit. Also, people can visit the cemetery without any fear of personal danger or harm.

Location

The “location” consideration is also one that can be considered inherent. For smaller cemeteries and churchyards closer to downtown areas, the proximity to other attractions is valuable because a visit does not mean a significant deviation from the other activities of the day. The Rural Cemeteries appear on the edge of urban areas and historic downtowns, because they were originally designed to be away from the major population centers. This means that, in the cases of Oakland and Mount Auburn, one has to make a special trip to visit such sites, as they are not in close proximity to other attractions in their respective cities. On the other side of the coin, location can also be a boon to the Rural Cemeteries, especially if there is an effort to reach out to potential visitors who may want an escape from the bustle of the urban landscape.

Education

“Education” also seems like a no-brainer; of course we want the visitors to learn when they take a tour, and interpretation is a very enriching form of education. This consideration is specifically referring to educational programming beyond the scope of what is offered with the normal interpretive tours. School tours are common in cemeteries, and by checking with local schools and teachers it can be determined what aspects of the cemetery could be worked into the curriculum of the students. Most grade school students study history during a specific year of school, and a trip to a cemetery could be a great fit for their studies. There may be the opportunity to offer some preservation training or photography programs at the cemetery as well. Questions on the survey regarding what people would like to see offered at the cemetery would answer this, as well as questions that rank a desire to participate in an educational program at the cemetery on a pre-determined scale.

Independent Experience

The “independent experience” consideration may be dictated, to a certain extent, by the resources available to the stewardship group. In the context of this study, “independent experience” means that a visitor has the option to take a self-guided tour at the cemetery, in lieu of guided tours led by docents. If it would not be appropriate or safe to let visitors roam around on their own while not under the watch of a docent, then an independent experience is not a luxury that can be afforded. Additionally, the information and dialogue that a visitor will have with a docent may be paramount to the experience of the site, such as at St. Louis No. 1. However, it is important to consider that some visitors may be on a tighter schedule than others. Consider that a visitor has a half an hour to visit a cemetery, but the only tour that is offered is an hour long guided tour or nothing at all. In this case, it may mean the visitor skips over the cemetery entirely. Other visitors may wish to take more time at particular points of interest than the docents, and photographers may wish to focus on different areas than where the guided tours are going. For this reason, self-guided tours are a nice option to keep open. This can be determined in a survey by asking participants how they would like to spend their time in a cemetery; the options could range from taking a guided tour, taking a self guided tour, going off alone to read the stones, taking photographs, enjoying a picnic, etc.

Summary

The analysis of the programming at four different cemeteries in the U.S., and discussions with those involved with them, has given a suggested list of values associated with those cemeteries, as well as a list of programming considerations that can further assist and guide other historic cemeteries in more detailed studies. While

the typologies used by national stewardship groups are useful in comparing many dissimilar sites, they are not as helpful when evaluating a specific type of heritage resource. By taking the abstract concepts presented by such groups, expanding them to a meaningful scope for historic cemetery sites, and including the list of cemetery programming considerations, an informed framework has been developed that may be helpful to other historic cemeteries. It is important to recognize that the lists are based off what has worked at other cemeteries, so there is a high potential that these values and considerations will provide helpful insight to similar historic sites.

Using The Framework

The list of suggested values and programming considerations is meant to be a tool for other historic cemeteries. So how can these be utilized to their fullest potential? Essentially, the lists will best serve as the foundation for more refined studies into specific values and programming at other historic cemeteries. The lists were created with a focus on historic cemeteries, so they will be able to inform an informed foundation to any investigation, and provide a basis for a more refined exploration. The lists will help to define what stakeholders value about the site, and why they find them important. The values and considerations will be helpful for informing any questionnaires or surveys that a site may undertake to investigate specific values. The identified values could be used to frame groups of questions on such a survey. They may also be useful in an investigation into what topics guests may be interested in for new specialty tours, or special events at a cemetery site. In this way, they will help to identify what sort of programs and events visitors will want to see on the site, and what they will enjoy participating in. A questionnaire to guests would be useful for this purpose as well and may ask, for example: “would you be more interested in attending a

tour/lecture on common plantings in the cemetery and their symbolic meaning, or one about the work of a local stone carver who provided many gravestones for the cemetery in the 19th century?”

The lists could potentially inform a discussion group, and guide in talking to stakeholders about individual aspects of a site. This could help to aid in the preservation of the site. It may be able to determine the type of fundraising events would be profitable for the cemetery, or which projects have the most resonance with stakeholders and would be likely to serve as the basis for such a fundraiser. For example, one could ask: “would you be willing to make an additional donation, or pay to attend a special tour or event if you knew all proceeds would be going towards the restoration of the memorial for the cities first mayor? Or for the restoration of the graves of Civil War Veterans?”

Another important way to incorporate these lists would be as part of a five or ten year plan for the preservation and interpretation of a cemetery. As mentioned in the study, values are not static and will change over time. The lists will provide the foundation for tracking such changes and developing programs through the years that accurately reflect their context. Valuing the historic cemetery sites of the United States is the first step in preserving them, and we cannot expect future generations to understand why these sites are important and worth protecting unless we start valuing them in this day and age.

Limitations

Unfortunately, this study is not without its shortcomings. Cemeteries in the United States have a long and illustrious history, with each wave of immigrants bringing their burial traditions and funerary art, providing many ‘exceptions to the rules.’ The

cemetery history outlined for the sake of this study was primarily that of white Christians of European descent. Likewise, the cemeteries chosen for case study analysis reflected the bias in the presented history. In this context, the values that were extrapolated from the interpretational programs of the cemeteries therefore also represented those of white Christians of European descent. The suggested values determined in this study will not necessarily correspond with ethnic cemeteries that represent differing burial traditions, so they will not be useful ubiquitously for all historic cemeteries in the United States.

Another issue is that, through the method of case study analysis, only the programs offered by the cemeteries were able to be analyzed, and not direct feedback from guests themselves. By only looking at the interpretational programs certain values that are not recognized by the tours are unaccounted for, such the safety and tranquility. The type of contingent valuation study and interview process necessary to retrieve such guest feedback was beyond the scope of this investigation.

Future Research

Based on the investigation's stated shortcomings, it is clear that the potential for future research is great. The four cemeteries chosen for the case study were dramatically different in scale, age, and content so that a wide swath of values in historic cemeteries could be accounted for. In a future study, the value sets identified in this study could be applied to a small group of cemeteries that share similar properties. In this way, the set of values could be tailored and made specific for different types of historic cemeteries (i.e. rural cemeteries, churchyards, different ethnic cemeteries). Every cemetery is unique, and the values assessed in this study will not be intrinsic to all cemeteries, but those that have been shown to be similar between the four very

different cemeteries of Tolomato, Oakland, St. Louis No. 1, and Mount Auburn. The values identified should provide a decent basis for future studies.

Additionally, future studies should be made which incorporate the values identified here into contingent valuation assessments and surveys that can be tailored for individual cemeteries and completed by patrons. The identified values can guide the questions for such surveys. Collecting and documenting the reactions from guests and feedback with the stakeholders that are participating in the interpretational programs at our nation's historic cemeteries is the next stage in the valuation assessment of these important heritage resources.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Matthew Wayland Armstrong was born in Deland, Florida. Matthew is the son of Douglas Armstrong and Terry Armstrong, and has a younger sister, Megan Armstrong. He grew up in Ormond Beach, Florida and graduated from Spruce Creek High School in 2004. While obtaining a Bachelors Degree in History from Flagler College, Matthew began volunteering with St. Augustine's city archaeological program. This resulted in an internship with city archaeologist, Carl Halbirt. Also, during his senior year at Flagler, he started an internship with the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN), under the Northeast Regional Center's director, Sarah Miller. These internships gave him a deep appreciation for heritage resources, and the importance of public outreach and advocacy in the disciplines of history and archaeology. After graduating Flagler in 2007, he was hired on at FPAN as Outreach Assistant. Also during this time is when he met Leslee Keys, who suggested pursuing studies in historic preservation. Matthew began his studies at the University of Florida in 2008. While attending UF, Matthew worked as the Site Supervisor at the St. Augustine Lighthouse & Museum in St. Augustine, Florida from 2009 to 2011.

Upon graduating with a Master of Historic Preservation, he hopes to continue studies in cemetery preservation, as well as his volunteer work with the Tolomato Cemetery in St. Augustine.