Historic Narrative of Hartford Cemeteries

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Prepared for the Town of Hartford, Vermont

June 2019

Funded by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Certified Local Government Program of Vermont's annual program grant under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966

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Acknowledgements

Hartford is full of generous, knowledgeable, and helpful people, many of whom contributed to this report in some way.

We would like to thank the following individuals who were interviewed and shared their oral histories: Mary Ann Devins, Jim Dow, Jeff Guarino, Barbara Hazen, Larry Hudson, Jeff Knight, Ralph Knight, John Newton, Art Peale, Sherry West, and Stephenny West.

Thank you to Art Peale, Jim Dow, and Larry Hudson, who shared their knowledge of various cemeteries on site.

Thank you to John and Bonny Anderson, who graciously shared their knowledge of Tucker Cemetery, their home, and the old farmstead.

Kudos to the many volunteers that comprise the crowdsourcing effort of FindaGrave who have recorded and photographed thousands of Hartford's graves and entered related genealogical information.

Many thanks to Sherry West, who provided much guidance with accessing, using, and interpreting the town's archival records.

A big thank you to Pat Stark for opening up the Hartford Historical Society's archives, providing copies of past inventories and documentation, and guiding us in the use of the Hartford Genealogy Center's records.

Thank you to Yvonne Benney Basque at the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation and Brennan Gauthier at VTrans for sharing their knowledge about land use history at the Potter's Field site.

Much gratitude to Jacob Clay, President of the Vermont Archaeological Society, for voluntarily sharing his mapping skills and archaeological expertise at several Hartford cemeteries.

Finally, thank you to Matt Osborn and the members of the Hartford Historic Preservation Commission and the Hartford Cemetery Committee for their previous work as well as the guidance and input they offered throughout this project.

Introduction

Here is the laft ftage of life's journey; here is the collective rendezvous of fuffering mortals; here is a fafe retreat from the barbed fhafts of malice, from pointed perils, and from mifery's rod. — "Reflections in a Burying Ground," printed in *Spooner's Vermont Journal*, Windsor, June 17, 1796

In 2017 the Hartford Selectboard grew concerned over the rising costs of cemetery maintenance and the possible lack of resources to manage the town's cemeteries over the long term. The following year, a Cemetery Committee was established to assess the state of the cemeteries and their needs for the future. The resulting study documented fourteen cemeteries and presented a series of recommendations to ensure their sustainable management. Following the study, the town received a Certified Local Government grant to fund historical research on the cemeteries, to include oral history interviews with important knowledge bearers such as sextons, funeral directors, genealogists, and cemetery association principals, and mapping of each cemetery in geographic information system software.

This report presents the findings of the historic research funded by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Certified Local Government Program of Vermont's annual program grant under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. First, it outlines the justifications for protecting cemeteries both as community assets and as critical research resources and presents the study's theoretical and methodological approach. Next, it gives an overview of pertinent cemetery law in the country, the state, and the Town of Hartford. The report then turns to the broader historical context that the cemetery research should be considered within: including a capsule history of the Town of Hartford, the cultural history of mortuary practices in the Upper Valley, demographic trends, and prominent gravestone carvers who worked in the Valley. Next, the report presents the findings of historic archival research into 13 cemeteries, 5 burial sites (including Azra Wyman's grave), and other "rumors" or ephemeral evidence of additional burial sites in town. A short section on Veterans' graves and the history of Decoration Day services follows. The report concludes with its recommendations for the future, complementing the previous Cemetery Committee's recommendations.

An appendix of completed cemetery survey forms for each of the 13 cemeteries is attached. A blank version of the form is also included, which can be used in the future to monitor the cemeteries' state of conservation. A digital version has been submitted to the town so that the form may be modified or completed on a computer or tablet.

A (forthcoming) second report summarizing the ten oral history interviews as well as their transcripts and recordings provide readers with a more personal perspective on Hartford's cemeteries and their history.

Why Protect Cemeteries?

Most if not all of us have experienced the death of a loved one, and in many of these cases we may have found ourselves in a cemetery, attending a burial or remembrance ceremony with others or perhaps visiting the grave on our own to share a few moments with our memories. More so than most historic sites, cemeteries are charged with personal meanings, collective remembrances, and strong emotions. Hearing the call of "Taps," being handed a folded flag, sprinkling a handful of dirt over a coffin, placing a flower or stone on a grave, hugging a grieving family member, these are all practices carried out in cemeteries where we encounter and cope with others', and our own, mortality.

Although the home of the dead, cemeteries are places for the living as well (Francis, Kellaher, and Neophytou 2000; Kapp 2013). They are sites where the living and the dead, self and other, profane and sacred, present and past may meet. Cemeteries are sites of collective memory and offer places where private and communal mourning may commence. Grieving descendants and loved ones find comfort in fulfilling their need to visit the grave – to have a place to go, to know where their loved one's mortal remains lie – to be able to visit and sit with their memory, to feel assured that their grave marks their legacy and prevents their memory from being forgotten. Stewarding such places is a profound responsibility.

In addition to their importance as personal and collective sites of mourning and remembrance, cemeteries are outdoor museums exhibiting organically amassed collections of public art and landscape design (Gagne 2004; Rainville 1999; Miller 2015). They may serve as sites of recreation and leisure for local residents. Their stoic existence on the landscape serves as a soothing, stable presence amid changing development patterns and population movement.

A town's collection of cemeteries, referred to as "deathscapes" by Rainville (1999) are a record of the cultural evolution of a community and their changing ideas regarding art, architecture, identity, death, nature, belonging, and even ethics. Thus, cemeteries are invaluable as primary resources for researching the sociocultural, demographic, religious, technological, and economic changes of a neighborhood, town, and region. In some cases, a gravemarker is the only lasting record of an individual's life, whether because they predate vital records, or such records were subsequently destroyed or lost, or because they lived in the margins of society, escaping documentation by census takers, religious leaders, and town clerks. Such lessons aren't confined to the academic professional: genealogists, family historians, K-12 educators and their students, history buffs, and veterans are among some of the groups who visit cemeteries or document them in some way to discover new knowledge. We turn now to consider what can be learned at a cemetery in more detail.

What Can You Learn from a Cemetery?

Theoretical Approach

Traditionally, cemetery scholars have approached this question from two different angles. Some scholars have focused on how gravestones reveal information about the decedent's *individual identity*, such as their socio-economic status within their community. For example, a prominent stone with elaborate decoration would likely correspond to a decedent who was just as prominent in their living community. Other scholars have taken a different tack, approaching the cemetery and its gravestones as an expression of a *community's values*. For instance, a shift in gravestone decoration may connote broader shifts in the community's philosophy toward death, spirituality, and aesthetics.

This report takes a third path that blends the two approaches, recognizing that a community is not a single, unified whole, but is comprised of individuals who vary in their own respects. While acknowledging the diversity inherent within communities, this report also recognizes that a gravestone is not representative of just one individual, but many. Think of all those who may play a part in the burial: the stone carver, the coffin maker, the funeral home director or preparer of the dead, the gravedigger, the decedents' relatives, the decedent (through final wishes or will), the clergy, the sexton or cemetery association, the overseer of the poor, the pallbearers, and the town clerk. Each of these individuals have varying levels of power of influence in the final appearance of a grave, and this doesn't even include those individuals who come along later in time and may introduce changes: maintenance workers, conservators, landowners, neighbors, descendants, volunteer cleaners and "beautifiers", enthusiasts, and advocates. Each of these individual actions and their intentions, which should be interpreted within their broader historical contexts and community affiliations.

In other words, cemeteries tell us about both individuals *and* communities because communities are comprised of individuals. This approach is similar to the thorough study carried out by Lynn Rainville (1999) on the nine cemeteries of nearby Hanover, NH, and the in-depth study of the Norwich, VT, stone carver, Gershon Bartlett, by Richard Gagne (2004). Thus, this report complements Rainville's and Gagne's prior research, contributing additional data and posing new research questions for future scholars to investigate about mortuary practices and the "deathscapes" of the Upper Connecticut River Valley.

So, what type of information can be gleaned about individuals and their communities from a town's cemeteries? The following sections propose five major areas of focus: genealogy; demography; religious and spiritual beliefs; technology and economics, and social norms, customs, and folkways.

Genealogical Data

Individual gravestones contain invaluable data for genealogists and family historians, often providing full names and birth and death dates that can be cross-referenced against historic records. Sometimes stones contain information about family relations (e.g. daughter, wife, son),

order of death (e.g. consort, relict), place of birth or death, occupation, or religious affiliation. It's important to remember that stones are not foolproof historic sources: family researchers can encounter misspellings and incorrect information and should always seek to verify their graveyard observations with other sources (and vice versa!). Popular platforms such as FindAGrave and BillionGraves offer new ways to digitally document gravestone data through crowdsourcing, offering family researchers and heirs with the ability to "visit" their ancestor's grave without leaving their chair.

Demographic Data

Taken as a whole, the gravemarkers across a community's cemeteries speak to population trends such as migration patterns, ethnicity, life expectancy, and mortality rates. Medical epidemics and disasters may be traced in clusters of stones with proximal death dates. A careful demographer can even trace these events through family units, households, and neighborhoods, mapping the disease's spread into and throughout the community. Such data also provide a proxy to consider the quality of life at various points in time for a town, neighborhood, or population unit. Uneven mortality rates among men; women; children; and certain socio-economic, religious, or ethnic groups may provide important evidence about access to medical care or health risks to which those groups may have been vulnerable. As the popular adage reminds us, death is a certainty, but its timing can tell us much about what life was like "back then."

Religious and Spiritual Beliefs

Epitaphs and symbolism may explicitly communicate information about the decedent's religious affiliation. Crosses, stars, and crescents are the most obvious indicators, but many others abound. A finger pointing skyward may tell us that the decedent and/or their family believe that souls go to an afterlife after a person dies. A bear may stand in for a human on a Jewish stone, which is prohibited from using human imagery. The famous gravestones of colonial eastern Massachusetts feature stark skulls and crossbones, not to indicate piracy, but to reflect Puritanical beliefs (about death, morality, and even Catholicism) prior to the Great Awakening. The epitaph on Molly Shallies' (1789-1790) grave in Center of Town Cemetery reads in part: "Why do we mourn departing friends Or shake at death's alarms?" would have been recognizable to other Lutherans in Hartford, being the opening line to a popular 17th-18th century hymn.

Other more subtle clues abound: the orientation of gravestones for instance may tell us something about religious affiliation. For instance, Christians were traditionally buried facing east (with the headstone facing west so you wouldn't stand on the grave to read the marker) because the gospel was interpreted to mean that the second coming would arrive from that direction. Jewish burials are sometimes oriented toward Jerusalem, and thus change orientation depending upon the cemetery's geographic location. Similarly, Islamic burials position the decedent's head facing Mecca. Many of Hartford's gravestones are facing northwest to southwest, consistent with Christian tradition and a pragmatic system for determining which direction was east: by following the rising sun and not necessarily a compass.

Technology, Market Forces, and Craft

Tracing trends in material use can tell us not just what was popular among consumers, but what materials were entering and exiting markets and what technologies may have assisted in their ebbs and flows. For instance, the proliferation of marble in the 19th century speaks to the success of the Vermont marble industry and perhaps also to its savviness in using the neoclassical and Greek revival as a synergistic promotional opportunity. With Greek columns suddenly appearing on homes on Main Streets, rows of milky white stones adorned with classical urns were fitting additions to nearby burial grounds. Later, the rise of mail-order goods and companies such as Sears, Roebuck, and Co. and Montgomery Ward led to the proliferation of mass market granite stones that consumers could select directly from the catalog, reflecting a new era of the American economy.

Stone carvers in Vermont relied upon other tradesmen such as blacksmiths, especially before commercial quarry operations of marble and granite provided headstone blanks. If a town hadn't yet established a solid core of craftspeople, burial grounds were more likely to be marked with wooden posts or undressed fieldstones. Careful research into stone carvers can reveal the evolution of their craft as they refine their skills, experiment with new forms, and apprentice younger workers, especially in their own families. Technological innovation such as the adoption of plug and feather quarrying in 1803 and later sandblasting and laser etching can be readily traced across time and space.

Social Norms, Customs, and Folkways

Cemeteries are rich in cultural data, telling us much about the learned behavior and values that were prominent (or maybe anomalous) during certain historic moments. As Rainville observes in her study of Hanover's cemeteries, "The arrangement of this material world of the dead produced and reproduced ideas about the living community...In short, a community's 'deathscape' during this period can be meaningfully compared to the living cultural landscape" (1999, 542). Much as fashion trends, such as the height of women's hemlines, give us insight into contemporaneous social mores and relations, gravestones leave us with a material record of what was considered fashionable, new, or proper among community members. Designs that were once considered aesthetically pleasing go out of style for specific reasons, and these style trends can be traced in the cemetery rather accurately because unlike most archaeological artifacts, gravestones typically have their date written right on them. Likewise, being aware of those trends in a geographic area can help gravestone scholars identify stones that were likely later replacements.

Epitaphs leave a documentary record of local spellings and pronunciations, popular baby names, and even place names that are no longer in use today. The design of the cemetery, such as the careful parklike atmospheres of Quechee and Hartford cemeteries, as compared to the hodgepodge rows at Delano/Savage communicate to us different values about leisure, etiquette, and commemoration of the dead. And the monumental family stones ringed by smaller individual stones speak to social norms relating to family values and structure. Such topics will be explored further in a below section on Cultural Trends in Mortuary Practice.

Methodology

In addition to ten oral history interviews, this study surveyed as many extant primary sources relating to Hartford's cemeteries. The following collections were comprehensively searched: the Leahy Library of the Vermont Historical Society, the Vermont State Online Resource Center, Vermont State Archives and Records Administration's digital newspapers, UVM's Landscape of Change photographs, Library of Congress's historic maps and photographs, Historic Aerials, Hartford Historical Society, Hartford Genealogical Center, American Gravestone Studies, Rutland Historical Society (Margaret Jenks collection), Town of Hartford's Land Records, Town of Hartford's Town Records, Town of Hartford's Vital Records, and Town of Hartford's Burial Permits. Indices to the Probate records of the Windsor Probate Court (Hartford district) were also consulted to identify estate executors, settlement dates, and possible lines of future inquiry. State and federal vital records, censuses, and military records were also consulted. Secondary sources were identified and accessed through the University of Massachusetts Amherst Library and Archive.org (for historic documents now in the public domain).

Sources were cross-referenced as much as possible to verify findings. If only one source was relied upon, the report will state a qualifier such as "reportedly" or "likely" to indicate that such statements should not be taken as empirical fact. Historiography is always an interpretive act, and sources such as Tucker (1889), although thorough and extremely helpful, are also susceptible to bias, hazy anecdote, and honest mistakes.

R. Heroux's Excel spreadsheet of marker inventories for Center of Town, Delano/Savage, Russtown, Simons, Tucker, West Hartford (from Kenison's work), and Wright Tomb was an invaluable resource for finding specific graves and analyzing demographic trends. These data are also available on the Hartford Historical Society's website in modified form. Heroux's data were compiled in a master spreadsheet along with US census population counts to aid statistical calculations. FindaGrave also proved a useful marker-level resource.

Each cemetery was visited and documented using the attached Cemetery Survey Form developed for this project and based upon existing forms used by the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the State of Pennsylvania, as well as those forms offered in Carmack's practical handbook (2002).

The perimeters of each cemetery were mapped with a GPS unit (accuracy of +/- 15 feet) and waypoints taken at significant features on the landscape such as damaged stones. Tucker cemetery was the only site where every stone was recorded by the GPS unit as a proof of concept. GPS data were imported into QGIS 3.6, where layers and additional data from Vermont's Open Geodata Portal were added. Historic maps were georeferenced in QGIS using known landscape points. The state's LIDAR Hillshade and maps of documented archaeological sites were consulted through the Vermont Online Resource Center's archaeologists' portal, and a pertinent segment of the I-89 construction survey was provided by VTrans but not georeferenced.

Legal Context

Federal law

Common Law

There is no single piece of federal legislation that governs cemeteries in the United States. Such legislation has been carried out at the state level. However, there is a body of federal common law consisting of court cases that have established certain precedent in the governance and treatment of cemeteries and burials. The historic development of this body of law offers insight into the changing attitudes toward death across the country, a topic covered by Marsh and Gibson's recent volume (2015). In it, they identify four key principles relating to the dedication of land to cemeteries, and ten relating to the right of sepulcher, that is, the right to control what happens to human remains.

Category	Principle		
	A cemetery is any parcel set apart for burial of the dead.		
n o or ry es	Cemeteries may not be used for any other purpose not permitted by law.		
itio d fc ete oos	"Public cemeteries" are used by a community, neighborhood, or church; "Private		
Cemeteries may not be used for any other purpose not permitted by 1 "Public cemeteries" are used by a community, neighborhood, or chur cemeteries" are used by a family or small portion of a community. Pro- cemeteries may discriminate except on race.			
A centerity is any parcer set apart for burnar of the dead. Cemteries may not be used for any other purpose not permitted by "Public cemteries" are used by a community, neighborhood, or ch cemteries may discriminate except on race.			
I	Cemeteries are not a nuisance.		
	is a perpetual easement.		
	initially passes to next of kin.		
passes via intestate succession, neither devisable nor alienable. permits decedents access to the grave even if on private property.			
Right of Sepulcher	Disinterring human remains requires the consent of the holder of the Right and a court.		
of S	The holder has the right, if not obligation, to protect the grave.		
ht e	Courts of equity may remedy interference with the Right.		
lig	Holders may seek remedies if interred remains are disturbed (for both		
H	interference and trespass).		
	The rights of the grave owner, holder of the Right of Sepulcher, and cemetery		
	owner must be balanced when courts are resolving disputes. The wishes of the		
	decedent may also be considered.		

Table 1. Key Principles from US Common Law (Marsh and Gibson 2015).

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966

This act establishes the National Register of Historic Places and defines the criteria by which a property, such as a cemetery, may be deemed eligible for listing on the register. This eligibility can then trigger certain considerations when the property may be adversely impacted by projects that receive federal assistance (e.g. funding or permitting). It designates the State Historic

Preservation Office with the responsibility of advising and assisting the federal agencies in their compliance. Hartford has many properties listed on the Federal Register, including several historic districts that contain cemeteries. Additionally, other cemeteries that are not yet listed may be eligible. Thus, these cemeteries would receive special attention if a federal project were to put them at risk. Typically, avoidance of such impacts is favored, followed by mitigation.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990

This relatively recent law governs the treatment of Native American graves and associated funerary objects and human remains. It covers the collections of institutions that receive federal funding (e.g. museums, universities, libraries, and some historical societies) as well as the inadvertent discovery of Native human remains. The law outlines a process by which such items and human remains may be repatriated (and to whom), emphasizing consultation with federally recognized Indian tribes and protection of burials *in situ*.

Laws Relating to National Cemeteries and Veterans

The federal government maintains national cemeteries here and abroad, mainly in honor of military veterans, their spouses, and minor children. These laws govern the establishment and administration of such cemeteries, the funerary benefits due to veterans, as well as the availability of aid to states for establishing or improving state-owned veteran cemeteries ("U.S. Code: Title 38. VETERANS' BENEFITS" n.d.).

State law

Since 1804, Vermont has had laws regarding treatment of the dead. The first such law forbade the disturbance of "the remains of any dead perfon" on penalty of a fine, public whipping, or imprisonment (Vermont State Laws, Chapter XXXVI. No. 1. 1804). Today, a complex body of law governs how human remains should be treated and how cemeteries should be managed across the state. These laws are consistent with the principles of federal common law summarized above. A recent publication (Condos 2017) has been released by the Secretary of State and presents these laws in a friendly and accessible manner. The Secretary of State divides the laws into two major sections: those that govern human remains and those that govern cemeteries, summarized below.

Human Remains and Burial Laws

Permitting of burial, transit, and removal

Vermont law requires authorization for the burial, transit, and removal of human remains. Such authorization comes in the form of death certificates, burial-transit permits, and removal permits, each of which have specific processes for application, issuance, delivery, and/or objection. The spirit of the original 1804 law persists: burying, transporting, or removing human remains without the proper permits—or in a manner not authorized by a permit—can result in imprisonment (up to five years) and/or fines (up to \$1000). Sextons and cemetery administrators may also be penalized for permitting such actions. Those that intentionally remove human

remains or grave goods (i.e. graverobbing) incur harsher punishment: up to 15 years in prison and/or \$10,000 fine.

Discovery of unmarked burials

When someone discovers an unmarked burial they must immediately report their discovery to law enforcement. The law enforcement agency will determine whether the burial is evidence of a crime. If the burial is determined to *not* constitute evidence of a crime, the agency must immediately notify the State Archaeologist, who determines the appropriate course of action. Anyone who doesn't report the discovery or knowingly disturbs the burial may be held liable as outlined in the above section. The state maintains an Unmarked Burial Sites Special Fund, which may be accessed by towns or other stakeholders for the purpose of protecting, preserving, or reinterring the burials.

Rules for Deposition, Interment, or Entombment

Vermont law is very specific about restrictions for burial, entombment, embalming, and cremation processes. For instance, grave shafts must be at least 3.5 feet deep; vaults must be weathertight; and above-ground tombs must be constructed of natural stone and meet certain standards. Such standards are mainly of importance to funeral directors, sextons, cemetery administrators, and crematoriums. On the other hand, Vermont law does permit home burials and "natural" burials, so some rules are of relevance to those citizens wishing to take a role in such a burial.

Disposition of those without Sufficient Assets

Vermont law outlines the process to be followed when someone who doesn't have enough funds to cover their burial dies in the state or if a Vermonter in such a situation dies elsewhere. The history of these laws is discussed later in this report. Today, funeral directors are responsible for determining the decedent's eligibility for state burial benefits (based on their receiving certain public assistance or having been honorably discharged from the military). Such benefits are paid directly to the funeral director by the Vermont Department for Children and Families. Towns no longer have a financial responsibility for burial of indigents but are responsible for providing a gravemarker within three years of the person's death.

Laws Governing Cemetery Administration and Management

Vermont defines a cemetery as "any plot of ground used, or intended to be used, for the burial or disposition permanently of the remains of the human dead in a grave, a mausoleum, a columbarium, a vault, or other receptacle." 18 V.S.A. § 5302(2). For-profit cemeteries are not permitted under state law. There are three basic types of cemeteries in the state, which are distinguished by who administers it: a municipality, a cemetery association, or a religious organization. Each type has its own specific rules that pertain to the administrators (see (Condos 2017) for specific details). Additionally, the state recognizes the legality of private burial grounds, which are typically used for family burials on private property, as well as a new class of burial ground, the "natural burial ground," which has its own set of rules.

Cemeteries must properly curate their burial records and provide public access (municipals are subject to the Vermont Public Records Act and must produce records within 3 days, all others must provide access within a reasonable times). Cemeteries must make and record a plat of the cemetery prior to selling any lots. This plat must be filed with the town clerk. Proceeds from sales of plots or other income generated by the cemetery must be used for cemetery purposes or placed in a carefully invested perpetual care fund. Cemetery plot ownership may transfer to another person via a will; otherwise, the next of kin will assume ownership. If the owner is unknown for 20 years, the cemetery may bring the matter to the probate court, which may decide to revert ownership to the cemetery.

Vandalism, destruction, or theft of items on cemetery grounds, including gravestones and even vegetation, can result in up to a one year prison sentence and/or \$500 fine in addition to any civil damages sought by the rightful owner.

Towns must take specific action if three (or more) voters make a request to the cemetery commission to maintain an abandoned private burial ground. A notification process must be followed, after which the cemetery may be treated as a public cemetery. Dissolution of cemetery associations may also result in the transfer of ownership and responsibility of the cemetery to the town.

Town bylaws

In addition to state laws, towns may pass their own bylaws with regard to their cemeteries. Hartford's town ordinances provide the following definition:

CEMETERY Land used or dedicated to the burial of the dead, which may include columbariums and mausoleums, and maintenance facilities, but specifically excludes crematoriums. An individual or family burial plot on private land, registered with the Hartford Town Clerk in accordance with state law, is exempted from this definition. This includes pet cemeteries.

The only other mention of cemeteries in the town ordinances or other bylaws relates to noise pollution, recognizing that cemeteries are a "sensitive use area" (along with residences, schools, hospitals, churches, rest homes, and libraries) that should be protected from excessive sound or noise levels.

Historical Context

A Capsule History of Hartford

Pre-European Settlement and Native American Persistence

People have been living in the Connecticut River Valley for at least 10,000-13,000 years. Approximately 15,000 years ago, glacial Lake Hitchcock covered much of the Connecticut, White, and Ottauquechee River Valleys. For 3,000 years glacial meltwater flowing down the slopes of Hartford carried silt and sand into the lake, creating deltas at their mouths while wintertime clay deposits fell to the floor of the lake. When the ice dam at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, was breached 13,500 years ago, the glacial lake began draining, with some areas, such as Quechee Gorge, experiencing dramatic erosion events. The lake had fully drained from Hartford by 11,500-10,500 years ago (Bigl 2012; Thomas 1986). In the cold and dry climate, the valley floors would have hosted low tundra vegetation with alder, poplar, birch, and willow quickly moving in. As the climate warmed, spruce and fir forests would have appeared along with more wildlife.

Hartford does not have any confirmed archaeological sites from this early time period, but that does not mean people were not here making use of the changing landscape and its host of flora and fauna. The silty, sandy glacial lake deltas would have been transformed into well-drained terraces overlooking freshwater resources: in other words, attractive places to set up camp no matter what time period. And the rivers that course through Hartford have long supported human movement, migration, and subsistence. As the climate and ecology changed over the past 13,000 years, so too did human usage of the land and cultural practices. Archaeologists have generally typified these changes in terms of culture-historic time periods (Table 2), which represent broad patterns of similar data (such as consistent styles of lithic tools or ceramic technology). Although the time periods suggest clear-cut and total cultural change, the reality was likely much more complex on the ground, which is why many contemporary archaeologists (and historians) speak of finding change *and* continuity in the cultural history of Native Americans.

Approximate Time Span	Culture- historic Period	Summary
13,000 – 9,500 years ago	Paleoindian	Historically known as large game hunters (e.g. caribou, mammoth, seals, and whales) although waterfowl, tortoise, small animals, and fish also played a role in their subsistence strategy, especially as the climate warmed. Known for their intricately knapped fluted projectile points.
9,500 – 3,000 years ago	Archaic	Warming climates and dense forests contributed to an abundance of flora and fauna. A host of woodworking and

Table 2. General Culture-Historic Periods used by Northern New England Archaeologists

		lithic technology were developed and utilized by Archaic peoples.	
3,000 – 400 years ago	Woodland	A fluctuating climate may have caused an early decrease in the Archaic-era abundance. People likely moved toward river valleys and developed technology such as the bow and arrow and pottery, and began to cultivate crops.	
400 – 250 years ago	Contact	The arrival of French, Dutch, and English colonizers introduced new diseases to which Native peoples had no immunity. Dramatic demographic changes likely coincided with social, cultural, and political changes as people adapted. Mission communities were established in various colonies throughout New England, some of which attracted refugees. In frontier areas such as the Upper Connecticut River Valley, Native families and bands are recorded as living beside the early 18 th century settlers.	
250 years ago – present day	Post-contact	Long debated, but recent scholars characterize this as time when Native Americans were "hiding in plain sight" (Bruchac 2002) having adapted, intermarried, and/or returned from contact-period refugee communities. More recently, Western Abenaki culture has increasingly come out of "hiding" as people assert their heritage.	

It should be noted that the archaeological record of Native Americans in the Connecticut River Valley is incomplete. Scientific archaeological work of the past fifty years has primarily concentrated on locations of contemporary development, and more specifically, only on those projects that have some form of public assistance or funding. Earlier archaeological excavations or those conducted by non-professionals did not practice according to today's standards, which throws their findings into doubt. Some of the archaeological record in Vermont was recovered in the process of historic land use: for instance, farmers plowing their fields every year would undoubtedly find stone tools or pottery sherds, which may have been saved in private collections that were not curated or analyzed or whose provenience data have been lost. Finally, much of the archaeological record no longer exists. The majority of Native American material culture was likely made of organic materials that have decomposed in the acidic New England soils. In summary, this means that we have incomplete knowledge of Native American history, land use, subsistence patterns, and cultural practices for the past 13,000 years in Vermont. Thus, it's important to avoid broad generalizations when characterizing Native American history in Hartford and to acknowledge the vast amount of unanswered questions that persist.

European Exploration and Conflict 1700 - 1761

It is difficult to know precisely when the first Europeans visited and passed through the later boundaries of the Town of Hartford. Yet its location at the convergence of the White and Connecticut rivers make it likely that it was a familiar spot on the riverine and overland routes between New England and New France. In 1713, a geographical guide, written by Jesuit missionaries from New France, described the main routes between Montreal and the Connecticut Valley and specifically described the course of the White River as it flowed into the Connecticut (Huden 1959). This is the earliest evidence of European familiarity with the contemporary site of Hartford. However there is no record of permanent European settlement in the area until after the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

That fateful conflict between New France and New England was the North American theater of a worldwide conflict between the British and the French for global imperial supremacy, which resulted in the British annexation of New France (Henderson 2000). In light of the origins of the later settlers of Hartford, it is significant that Connecticut troops were the largest single contingent in the British colonial forces that repeatedly traveled overland from New England to engage the French and their Native American allies. Over the course of the war, the Connecticut contingent of approximately 16,000 men represented a substantial portion of the total British forces and approximately 12 percent of the colony's population. This enormous scale of recruitment was due to the economic crisis experienced in the rural areas of Connecticut and the attractive enlistment bonuses and military salaries authorized by the Connecticut colonial assembly (Drury 2014). The willingness of Connecticut's landless farmworkers and itinerant craftsmen to participate in the brutal campaigns in the north country was a sign of the economic distress being experienced in Connecticut. It also acquainted them more thoroughly with the agricultural potential of the Upper Connecticut Valley, descriptions of which they undoubtedly shared with their hard-pressed friends and neighbors on their return home from the war. It was thus no mere coincidence that among the first permanent settlers of Hartford in the 1760s, Connecticut-born families were predominant.

Even before the official diplomatic settlement of the war, Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire was eager to take advantage of the British victories to expand his colony westward. With the fighting largely concluded, he dispatched surveyors to the Upper Connecticut Valley and instructed them to mark off three rows of 6-mile-square plats on both sides of the river over a distance of 60 miles. Wentworth intended to offer these on behalf of the colony of New Hampshire as royal land grants to groups of potential settlers. The official grants for the townships (later known as "the New Hampshire Grants") were drawn up in the summer of 1761. The first parcel chosen was the land extending westward from the confluence of the White and Connecticut Rivers. A total of 46 square miles were granted to John Baldwin and 61 other residents of Windham and Lebanon, Connecticut, who named the township "Hartford," presumably after the capital of their home colony (Tucker 1889).

The legality of Wentworth's New Hampshire Grants were bitterly contested by Governor George Clinton of New York, who claimed jurisdiction all the way to the west bank of the Connecticut River (Sherman, Sessions, and Potash 2004). New York had been granting the same land to its speculators and settlers, leading to a political and cultural struggle between Yorkers and Hampshire grantees, the remnants of which still echo in contemporary political tensions and references to flatlanders and hill towns (Searls 2006). When the King seemingly settled the boundary in 1764 at the Connecticut River in favor of New York, its governor reignited conflict by annulling the charters granted by New Hampshire and giving rise to the exploits of the famous (or infamous depending upon who you ask) Green Mountain Boys (Aldrich and Holmes

1891; Wren 2018). It was under these uncertain circumstances that the early colonists of Hartford arrived.

Early Settlement and Statehood 1761 - 1800

Only six of the original grantees permanently settled in Hartford, with the remainder of the proprietors gradually trading or selling their shares to other potential emigrants, almost all of whom were from rural areas of Connecticut as well. Indeed, for the first three years of Hartford's existence, town business was transacted at an annual meeting of the proprietors held in either Lebanon or Windham, Connecticut, with the meeting place moved to the new settlement in 1764 (Tucker 1889). The first settlers arrived in 1763 and cleared land for widely dispersed farmsteads, most of which were situated on lightly wooded hillsides rather than on the periodically flooded riverbanks (Thomas 1986). Beginning with a population of only 10, the Hartford population rose to nearly 1,000 within less than 30 years (Tucker 1889). The early settlers were largely yeoman, growing crops and raising livestock for their own families and managing communal meadowlands in a style harking back to medieval England (Donahue 2007; Scofield 1938). Secondary products such as tanned hides and spun wool and flax for weaving were processed at nearly every farmstead.

With the outbreak of the American Revolution, Hartford residents answered the call to service, among whom were representatives of the first families of settlers. But as the war raged on, an even more basic political question was bitterly debated: to which newly independent state would Hartford belong? The answer at the beginning of hostilities in 1776 was at least nominally New York, but the citizens of Hartford had joined the movement to establish a new republic between the Connecticut River on the east and a north-south line 20 miles from the Hudson River on the West. Several Hartford citizens participated in the constitutional convention at Windsor July 2-8, 1777; for instance, Col. Joseph Marsh served as its Vice-President. Vermonters, including Hartford settlers, participated in battles against the invasion of British forces and confiscated the property of known British sympathizers. For a brief moment following the war, it appeared that the towns on the New Hampshire side of the Connecticut River would annex to Vermont, speaking to the socio-cultural affinity that the towns must have had in the Upper Valley (Aldrich and Holmes 1891). However, the annexation didn't occur. Finally, in 1790 the New York legislature abandoned its territorial claims (in exchange for a monetary settlement) and Vermont was admitted to the Union as its 14th state the following year.

The Growth of Industry and Transport 1800 - 1900

By the 1770s, waterpower from the Ottauquechee and White Rivers was harnessed by the first gristmills and sawmills for the town's growing population. But in the early 1800s, the subsistence strategies of Hartford's farmers rapidly changed. The introduction of Merino sheep and the establishment of woolen mills on the Ottauquechee stimulated a large-scale trade in woolen goods throughout New England. Other woolen mills were established on the south bank of the White River and little by little, distinct communities of farmers, millowners, landowners, and traders were recognized within Hartford's boundaries: among them, Hartford Village, West Hartford, Olcott Falls (later known as Wilder), Quechee, and White River (later known as White

River Junction). These mills drew a significant workforce and transformed Hartford Village and Quechee into modest commercial centers; but the woolen industry of Hartford needed more efficient routes of transport to bring the raw materials and finished goods produced there to regional markets.

Up to 1800, the main transport route southward had been the Connecticut River, but even though travel and trade continued with Hartford's namesake in Connecticut, the real center of economic activity in New England was Boston, and new routes of transport were needed—both from the town's farms to the mills and from the mills to Boston distributors. Thus, an intensive period of roadbuilding began in 1803 with the grading of the White River Turnpike, a toll road that ran along the north bank of the White River to West Hartford and the sheep farms beyond. However, it was not until 1835 that a turnpike to Boston was completed and as noted by Thomas (1986:52), "Trade then shifted to Boston, and river transport practically ceased."

Certainly the most far-reaching changes occurred with the arrival of the railroad. In November 1835, the State of Vermont granted a charter to a group of prominent investors to construct a railroad across the state, linking the Connecticut River with Lake Champlain by rail. Construction of that line, later known as the Vermont Central Railroad, did not begin until 1845. The tracks began to the south in Windsor and reached Hartford in 1847 with regular service starting in the following year. This and the other rail lines that were later constructed converged on the village, which became one of northern New England's most important transport hubs—and gained for it the official name "White River Junction." As such it grew rapidly after mid-century, shipping woolen goods, newly manufactured farm equipment and other manufactured products throughout the eastern United States.

White River Junction would eventually became one of the largest railroad and commercial centers in Vermont, with banks, stores, warehouses, wholesale distributors' offices, printers and several hotels. After the Civil War, the prosperity was shared by the other villages in Hartford, where foundries, furniture factories, tanneries, carriage makers, a paper mill and other industrial complexes were established. It is significant that in contrast to other communities in Vermont (whose populations declined due to large scale immigration to the richer farmlands of the Midwest and Great Plains), Hartford's population steadily grew. Its wide range of commercial activity drew immigrants from other New England states as well as from Ireland, Italy, and Canada to find employment maintaining the train lines and operating the machinery in the factories and mills. And although the Merino sheep trade went west, Hartford's farmers adapted by turning to dairying toward the last quarter of the 19th century (Reps 1942).

The late 1800s were a time of exceptional prosperity for Hartford. Imposing public buildings were erected, and some of the town's cemeteries were expanded and "beautified" through the financial support of Hartford's major landowners and industrialists. Their philanthropy also included the construction and inauguration of churches of many denominations and the establishment of St. Anthony's parish to serve the expanding Catholic community.

The Twentieth Century and Beyond

Hartford's growth continued into the new century, and with the advent of increased automobile traffic the town also began to serve as a gateway to the summer and winter vacation resorts of Vermont. The last major transformation of the town's network of transport connections took place in the 1960s with the construction of Interstate Routes 91 and 89 that converged at Hartford, reinforcing the town's strategic importance for trade and transport, which had characterized Hartford since its colonial settlement in the 18th century.

Perhaps this rapidly changing landscape contributed to the interest of Hartford residents in their historic resources. The town has an impressive count of historic districts and is among only 15 Certified Local Governments in the state, providing it with access to funding to support historic preservation and educational programming such as a long-running oral history program in town. The value of the town's historic resources is evident in the 2019 revision of its town plan, which focuses on the sustainable use of its natural resources and enhancement of its social services, along with the preservation of its historic structures, landscapes, and cemeteries that record the generations of men, women, and children who contributed to the unique character of the town.

Cultural Trends in the Region's Mortuary Practice

Native American Practices before European Colonization

Although this report does not include any known Native American cemeteries or graves, the long history of Native American presence in Hartford likely means that Native Americans are buried there. As summarized in the above section, Native American cultural history reflects cultural adaptation and change over a long period of time, which can be extended to changes in mortuary practices over time. Additionally, the incomplete archaeological record translates to incomplete knowledge about such mortuary practices; thus, we know more about more recent burial practices (i.e. Woodland and Contact periods) because these are the burials more likely to survive decomposition in the soil or be corroborated with historic accounts and oral histories.

Archaeologists, antiquarians, and avocationalists have observed various Indigenous burial customs across the northeast. Whether these burial customs reflect distinct geo-cultural groups (and which ones) continues to be a matter of debate, one based on extremely small samples of data. This report does not attempt to interpret these customs in terms of cultural groups or time periods, but rather lists the range of practices that have been observed.

Generally, Indigenous burials were unmarked or marked in a way that was not preserved over time or not recognized or respected as such by later observers. Both skeletal burials and burials of cremains have been found. Some burials include grave goods and/or red ochre (iron oxide pigment). Some skeletal burials are flexed, suggesting they were wrapped prior to interment. Some burials took place immediately after death, while some took place later (perhaps after travel and/or ground thaw). Some interments include multiple bodies in a single shaft. Sometimes dog skeletons or other faunal remains have been found with human skeletons. Some burials are found on glacial kames or kame terraces, which are mounds or benches of sandy gravel and till (and thus discovered during modern-day quarrying for fill material). Some are found in low-lying river valleys (and thus discovered during modern-day farming activity or as a result of riverbank erosion). Some burials are found in burial grounds that appear to have been set aside from other uses, while some have been found in habitation site contexts (such as under the floor of a shelter or in a storage pit). In summary, a range of mortuary practices have been observed in across an admittedly small sample of data, suggesting that the Indigenous peoples of the Upper Valley practiced complex burial customs that may have changed over time, just like the rest of us.

One oral history that has been repeated by various informants in Hartford is that a Native American burial ground was disturbed at the time that the Central Vermont Railroad was being constructed in the 1840s just south of the confluence of the White and Connecticut Rivers. Some report that a mass grave now exists in the corner lot of St. Anthony's Cemetery. No historic documentation of this has yet been found in extant newspapers or the Central Vermont Railroad special collections at the Vermont History Center's Leahy Library. Whether or not it's true, the story is a good reminder that unmarked burials of people of Native American or European descent can be found any time a shovel (or earthmover) rips into the ground. Thus, it is important for Hartford residents to be aware of the state's unmarked burial laws and what to do if any human remains are encountered when digging.

Facing Death on the Frontier 1764 - 1800

Puritanical New England was a land of exceptionalism, founded on the principle voiced by John Winthrop, "We shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us." Thus, the early New England colonists carefully considered their cultural practices in light of what the Old Country had done and how they could set a new, more righteous, example. The European tradition, and what was followed in the Mid-Atlantic, Virginia, and Florida colonies, was to bury the dead in churchyards or consecrated ground. But to the Puritanical rebels of New England, such papist practices required revision. Thus, the early New England colonists preferred to bury their dead in common burial grounds that were more closely associated with what we would today consider a neighborhood. Iconography was considered idolatrous, and so secular symbology on stones that were fashioned in similar ways was adopted to communicate the ultimate shared and equalizing experience: that of death.

The famous work of Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966; 1971) presented a chronology of early Puritanical gravestones that American archaeologists and many cemetery enthusiasts are familiar with: beginning with the shocking death's heads and skulls of the 17th-early 18th centuries to the more gentle winged cherubs of the 1750s – 1800. Deetz and Dethlefsen interpreted the shift to the cultural diffusion of the first Great Awakening, but Heinrich (2014) proposes that it was due to the growing popularity of Rococo Fashion. Whatever the reason, Deetz and Dethlefsen's work focused primarily on eastern Massachusetts, whereas the early settlers of Hartford had greater cultural and religious affinities with eastern Connecticut and the Connecticut River Valley (Gagne 2004). Those areas had a somewhat different trajectory, with gravestones often having more abstract faces that may look like skulls in one light or angels in another (Gagne 2004; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971). Are they heavenly? Are they human? Some have split the difference and called these "souls" or "soul effigies." Such abstract imagery can be found in several of Hartford's cemeteries, most of which can be traced to the prolific stone carver, Gershom Bartlett (Figure 1).



Figure 1. John Baldwin Clark d. 1779 (left) and Mark Clark d. 1786, Christian Street

The corpses of the colonial Hartford settlers were likely prepared by women in their home, a practice grouped with other female-only tasks such as midwifery and nursing the sick (Zlomke 2013). Men would more likely have constructed the coffin, transported it on a bier or sled, and dug the grave. If the person passed when the ground was still frozen, they may have been put up in the cellar until the ground thawed (later, receiving vaults at several of the burial grounds would serve this purpose). Bodies would have been lain so that upon sitting, their faces would look toward the east (the believed direction of the Second Coming among Christians). The risk of living on the New England frontier coupled with early Puritanical ideology translated to a practical and solemn approach to death without much pomp and circumstance.

Prior to the arrival of stone carvers and the establishment of a local blacksmith trade, settlers would have marked graves with wooden posts or boards or undressed fieldstones. Many of these burials may persist in Hartford as unmarked graves, their wooden markers long since rotted and their fieldstones plucked away by later occupants. The earliest gravemarkers in town were of local ferrous slate quarried from outcrops along the western bank of the Connecticut River; the stone's iron content is what lends its red veins or tinge. Most headstones set facing west and were accompanied by a footstone, which would have been more simply prepared and would have been placed at the exact foot of the grave (Gagne 2004). Thus, the early Hartford cemeteries would have had a higgledy-piggledy appearance as decedents of varying heights were laid next to each other, carefully marked so that visitors wouldn't walk on the grave as they admired the stone's artwork: one of the rare forms of art approved in the Puritanical society. Later on, these

footstones were prone to damage or removal (especially once the lawnmower came roaring on the scene).

Romantic Sentiments 1800 - 1865

Evangelical revivalism swept through the northeast beginning in Boston in the mid 18^{th} century and continuing north and west throughout the 19^{th} . Such revivalism cast off the stoicism of the earlier Puritanical tradition in favor of emotionally charged services. As revivalism spread throughout the living landscape, the deathscape also reflected changing values. Carvings of hearts were early manifestations, followed by a more classical and refined willow and urn motifs (Figure 2) (Rainville 1999). Epitaphs grow less stark and more sentimental, in keeping with the rise of the American Romantic Movement (1800 – 1840). An accompanying mourning and death cult grew; visitors to antique stores today may still find needlework and paintings from this time period of women in classically-inspired gowns gathering around gravemarkers decorated with urns and weeping willows in the background (Figure 3).

At the same time, interest grew in improving local burial grounds to serve the changing needs of the living and its mourning customs. Referred to as the Rural Cemetery Movement, it actually began in urban centers such as Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Brooklyn. The crowded urban burial grounds wedged between the detritus of mounting industrialization and growing immigrant populations were not in keeping with the romantic ideals of the day.



Figure 2. Classic willow and urn motif, Stephen Tilden, d. 1813, Center of Town



Figure 3. Mourning needlework by Susan Winn, c. 1816 Photo credit: Smithsonian

The ideals of the Rural Cemetery Movement can be seen in the "beautification" of the old burial grounds, such as in the lower lot of Quechee Cemetery where weeping pines lend a romantic air, as well as the transition to referring to the sites as "cemeteries" (from the Greek "to put to sleep") rather than "burial grounds" (Rainville 1999).

During this time stone carvers were able to access headstone blanks from commercial quarry operations. Tablets of soapstone and more uniformly charcoal slate began to appear in graveyards, followed by the marble that was being shipped out of the nearby quarries of Rutland County. Quarrying technology changed during this time period as the "plug and feather" technique of drilling successive holes in a rock and then placing two shims (the feathers) and a wedge in the center (the plug) to be struck by a hammer, eventually splitting the rock, was adopted. Remnants of such work can be seen at the base and edges of some headstones in Hartford where the tell-tale drill holes may be found (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Quarry marks on early granite stone, Christian Street

Two folk traditions from this time period are worth mentioning due to their connections with Hartford. First is the New England Vampire Panic that has been recorded in Rhode Island, eastern Connecticut, and parts of Vermont, including incidents in nearby Woodstock. In these cases, families and communities interpreted the spread of tuberculosis as cases of vampirism: the recently buried dead rising from their grave to feast upon the blood of the living, who would appear paler and weaker as time passed. The fear drove family members to exhume the recently buried, desecrating the grave or body in some way as to prevent their return (M. E. Bell 2011). Although no documentation of such practices in Hartford was uncovered in the course of the research, it bears noting that Hartford shared cultural affinities with the communities of known cases.

The second tradition was related to the fear of being buried alive, which may not be confined to just one time period, but certainly hit a peak in the 19th century as can be seen in numerous articles and advertisements published in Vermont newspapers. The Wright Family Tomb is part of this history and is discussed in more detail in its section of the report.

Secularization, Medicalization, and Professionalization 1865 - 1965

Following the Civil War an interest in military graves and patriotic memorials grew. Many people can recite the opening lines to the Gettysburg Address, but fewer give pause to consider that the address was delivered at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery on the Gettysburg Battlefield where thousands of soldiers' and horses' corpses were finally laid to rest after being left to decompose in the summer sun for three months. Hartford has much evidence

of these developments; for instance, the Soldiers' Monument in Hartford Cemetery, the continued tradition of marking veterans' graves with medals and flags, and the epitaphs and symbology that communicate military service and rank. Lincoln's words spoke not only to a patriotic cult of the dead, but to a growing secularization as well: "But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract." Note that it is not a religious figure doing the consecrating, but human sacrifice for a political cause.

The Rural Cemetery Movement continued to evolve and intensify, experimenting with new landscape forms such as the Lawn Park Cemetery, which featured a rational, grid-based layout, well-marked lots and footpaths, and more formal rules relating to marker size, shape, material, and decoration. Indigent graves at this time were marked by uniform markers not unlike those purchased by families of means such as in the lower lot of Hartford Cemetery. The establishment of family lots with prominent central monuments ringed by uniform smaller stones also communicated Victorian-era ideals of family as a model for a perfect society (that cared for its indigent as a parent would a child). Lawn Park designs can be seen in the Hilltop lot of Quechee Cemetery and the Upper lots of Hartford Cemetery. The parklike atmospheres of local cemeteries were extolled as recreational assets where picnics, gatherings, and peaceful moments could all be found. Cemeteries weren't spooky places to be avoided but beautiful public parks to be celebrated and visited.

The cemetery-as-park also meant that they required more maintenance, and it is during this time that we see the establishment of Cemetery Associations to address this need in a more organized fashion. Wealthy Hartford residents such as Dewey and Lyman gave money or land to help the cause. Investments in decorative iron railings, water spigots, and lawn mowers aided in the process. Gone were the days of allowing a few sheep and calves (never cows!) to graze the burial grounds followed by a quick clean up with the scythe. At the dawn of the 20th century, in other towns and other states a new cemetery form was born: the memorial park in which uniform, flat tablet markers in granite or bronze nestle into a golf course-like lawn ringed by paved roads wide enough for one or two automobiles to pass. The flat markers didn't break up the expanse of lawn —and perhaps more importantly, were much easier for the riding lawn mower to pass over.

Quarrying and stone carving technology continued to evolve. New methods of quarrying and dressing granite opened up a new material, which could be transported from the Barre quarries down to Hartford on the railroad. Some Hartford residents didn't want to wait for Vermont-grown granite to arrive, opting instead for shipping in granite from Scotland or procuring unusual varieties of stone such as the green serpentine marble (possibly from Rochester, Vermont) of a prominent family marker in Quechee. Mechanical polishing technology with diamond grit meant that the once rough surface of a gravestone (once rubbed by hand with sand) could now be polished to a slick mirror finish.

The medical field was also changing during this time period. The American Medical Association was founded in 1847 and ever since became a leading lobbyist for changing medical practices and the field's professionalization. This had several impacts upon mortuary practices, most

notably the shift from preparing the corpse at home by women to professional funeral directors, who at least at the beginning, were men. No longer was the dead body dressed or laid out in the private *farmhouse's* parlor but was now visited in the *funeral* parlor, where beyond the domestic-like receiving rooms lay the sanitized and more hospital-like rooms of the business. More and more distance grew between the realm of the living and the dead with the social norm being to actively avoid facing death (Zlomke 2013).

Speaking of the medical profession, it's worth mentioning that burial grounds were convenient locations by which cadavers could be procured. Although no documentation of graverobbing, "body snatching," or "resurrection men" in Hartford was discovered, we did find one case in a nearby Norwich cemetery. In December 1895 the grave of Joseph L. Murdock, who had sadly committed suicide just before Thanksgiving, was found disturbed: "the coffin box had been smashed open and...the body was missing" (*The Landmark* 1895a). With fresh snow on the ground, it didn't take Sherlock Holmes to deduce that the thieves had dragged the body, thrown it over the fence, and then loaded it into a wagon. A \$1000 award was offered for information, and as could be expected, "There are many rumors and some excitement." Within a week, two Dartmouth medical students were arrested having reburied the body in the college park. Reflecting the growing temperance sentiments, the follow up article wished that "they would go a little farther and bring the man to justice that furnished [Murdock] the liquor on which he got drunk at the time he hung himself" (*The Landmark* 1895b).

Ashes to Ashes or Fade to Green 1965 - present

The most recent trends are bringing more changes, and in some respect are the cause of this study. With gravestone markers, we see a continued preference for granite as nearby marble stones deteriorate under the effects of acid rain and well-meaning yet damaging pressure washers. At the same time, there has been a rise in individual expression on stones, aided by technology such as high-pressure blasting, computer drafting, and laser etching. Gravestones may now present realistic depictions of people, homes, and favorite places at the same level of detail as a lithograph.

A much larger shift has been the growing preference for cremations, mainly among baby boomers. In 1891, cremation was so peculiar in Vermont that *The Landmark* ran the following, "An infant was cremated in Orange, which seems very strange to the people thereabout, where there is plenty of room for burying ground" (1891). Perhaps it's the consequence of the growing distance between the living and dead, or perhaps it's the result of "economical" consumers opting for a more affordable method of disposition. Either way, the growing fees for maintaining the high standards of lawn park cemeteries coupled with the decreasing revenues as consumers opt for cheaper plots for cremains (or none at all), means that cemeteries are heading toward the red (see Jeff Knight's and John Guarino's oral history interviews for personal, professional, and religious perspectives on these changes). Thus, it is important to understand that the fiscal crisis facing Hartford's cemeteries isn't entirely due to the closing of the Windsor Prison (where budget-friendly workers had been used for many years) or at all attributable to financial mismanagement. Rather, it is the unintended consequence of the evolution of mortuary practices in the Upper Valley set against economic changes that our forebearers could never predict. While many baby boomers are opting for cremations, another trend is also emerging among certain segments of the population, and that is an interest in "green burials" or "natural burials." Informed by the environmentalist and minimalist movements, these practices attempt to protect the future Earth by looking backward toward past practices. Interestingly, at the 2019 Vermont Cemetery Association's annual meeting, one cemetery manager observed that green burials could be cemeteries' ticket to solving their current economic problems. Lawn mowers, which are responsible for today's cemeteries' parklike atmosphere are recast as gas-guzzling machines that serve up noise and air pollution and can damage markers to boot. Letting the cemetery, or part of it, "go green" would eliminate large maintenance budgets while reintroducing the need for larger burial plots. In some cases, "natural burials" also include mortuary practices that bring the body back out of the funeral parlor and into the home, much like that of Hartford's early settlers including its Indigenous inhabitants. Vermont's laws are trying to keep up with these changes and include separate regulations governing green burials. It's worth noting that Jewish and Islamic burials could long be considered "green" or "natural." Thus, it may behoove cemetery associations and towns interested in the practicalities and finances of green cemeteries to consult with those practitioners.

Finally, the above-described time periods are not cleanly delineated, nor are they applied evenly across Hartford's cemeteries, most of which contain material cultural evidence of all of the time periods. Change and continuity can be traced in nearly any cultural history, and both are observable in Hartford. And not every Hartford resident is in lockstep with contemporaneous trends; for instance, early Town Records include the declarations of residents' disagreeing with the predominant religious community. Each individual may be privy to social influences, but it doesn't mean that they will follow them – some will even seek to actively counter them. Populations are full of patterns and variation, and it is to populations and their analysis that we now turn.

Demographic Trends

Population Counts

The Federal Census was used to compile total population counts every 10 years from 1790 (the date of the first census) to 2010 (Table 3).

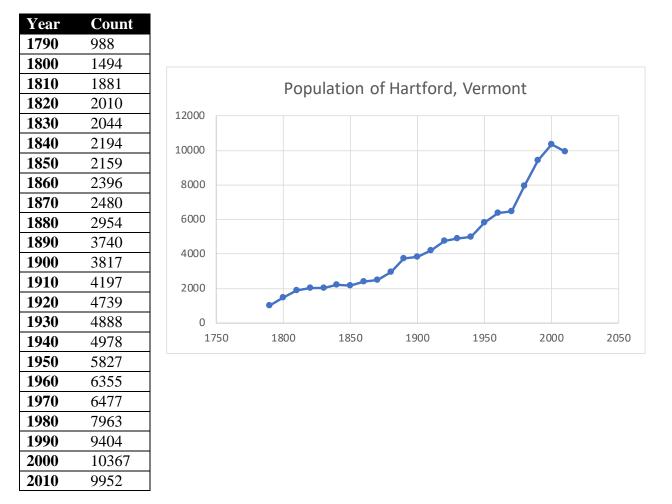


Table 3. US Federal Census Population Counts for Hartford 1790 - 2010

Evidence of Epidemics

Using the cemetery data curated by the Hartford Historical Society and compiled by Ron Heroux c. 2008, a histogram of frequency of deaths every 10 years was calculated (Figure 5).

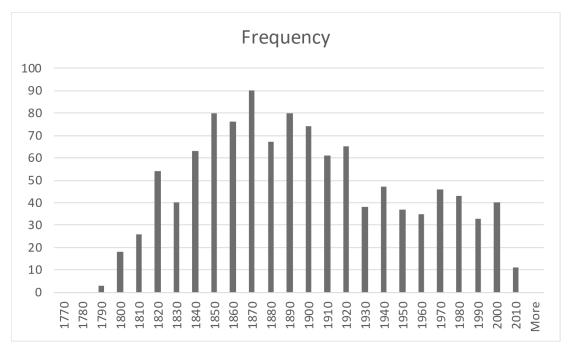


Figure 5. Histogram of Death Counts from Seven Hartford Cemeteries

The death counts were then normalized by percentage of population reported for the same 10year period in the census to try and bring unusually high death rates in relief (Figure 6). A significant decline in death rates can be observed after the 1930s, likely due to improved medical care and vaccination programs.

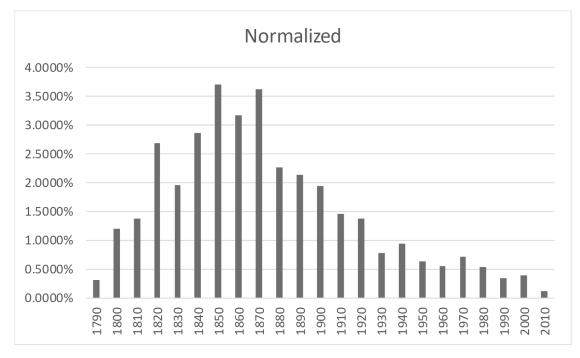


Figure 6. Normalized Death Counts as Proportion of Total Population

Epidemic of 1813

As suspected when visiting the Delano/Savage cemetery, an epidemic likely swept through Hartford in 1813. A particularly contagious form of pneumonia, known as *peripneumony notha*, began to spread from the military encampments in Burlington and Plattsburgh during the winter of 1812-1813 (Stites Campbell 1996). It eventually spread across the entire state and was likely the culprit of the Hartford epidemic. Thompson's Gazetteer (1824) notes in his entry for Hartford that "The epidemic of 1812 and 13 was very mortal, and about 60 died of it."

The disease was violent and sudden, filling the lungs with blood and causing high fevers, and killing its victims within days and even hours of its onset. Approximately 200-250 soldiers died in Burlington during the winter. It appears that the disease hit Hartford hard during the same winter (Figure 7). In December 1812, 38 year old Daniel Sprague (Delano/Savage) died followed by Bether Bartholomew and Eliakim Muncil in January 1813 (both in Delano/Savage), four more in February (3 in Center of Town, 1 in Delano/Savage), and five more in March (2 in Delano/Savage, 2 in Center of Town, 1 in Russtown). Things quieted down with 2 more deaths over the summer, and then more deaths followed in the winter, including three in one family (Muncil, buried in Delano/Savage).



Figure 7. Frequency of deaths during the 1813 epidemic at seven Hartford Cemeteries

Epidemics of the mid 1800s

During the time period when the state's population was contracting, Hartford experienced a larger than normal rate of deaths. There were a number of epidemics that spread across the United States during the time including cholera (1832-1866) and scarlet fever (1858, hitting children particularly hard). Again, the Civil War may have played a part as soldiers' encampments were often vectors for diseases such as dysentery. Across the world, victims of epidemics are sometimes buried apart from the general population. Evidence of whether this occurred in Hartford was not uncovered during the course of this research. More careful analysis of vital records, census records, and burial records may reveal possible cases of such practices, as

would locating the records or archives of 18th and 19th century medical practitioners of the town, if any exist.

Stone Carvers

Identifying and documenting the stone carvers who quarried, dressed, and carved the stones that we see today is a time-consuming process that requires an eye for detail, painstaking research, and sometimes even a shovel or trowel to locate buried signatures. Because this report is focused at the scale of cemeteries, and not individual markers, we note only the most prominent and previously documented carvers below. Further research into the probate records of individual decedents and documentation of diagnostic typefaces and letters (e.g. using Blachowicz's *freytag* 27+ model) would likely lead to additional identifications (2006).

Gershom Bartlett: Hook and Eye Man

Bartlett, born February 19, 1723, in Northampton, Massachusetts Bay Colony, was the first stone carver north of Charlestown, New Hampshire, and perhaps the most prolific in the whole Connecticut River Valley (Gagne 2004). An exhaustive (yet easy to read!) dissertation on Bartlett's work was written by Richard Gagne (2004), and serves as the definitive resource on the stone carver. Bartlett's work was first tracked by Ernest Caulfield, who took up gravestone research when he retired from medical practice in the 1950s. Caulfield first referred to the carver as "the hook and eye man" until he uncovered his identity in the archives of a Connecticut probate court.



Figure 8. Classic Gershom Bartlett gravestone (1775), Christian Street

Bartlett began carving in Windsor, Connecticut, in 1747. He moved to Norwich, Vermont, by 1773, where he continued his craft until he died in 1798. His stones are known for their

distinctive faces that sport open eyes, small frowns, a serrated bottom, a four-lobed crown, and notched feathers (Figure 8). Gagne identified 34 Bartlett stones in Hartford (Table 4).

Cemetery	Number of Stones
Christian Street Cemetery	19
St. Anthony's Cemetery	9
Center of Town Cemetery	4
Quechee Cemetery	2

Table 4. Locations of Gershom Bartlett stones in Hartford

Jonas Stewart: Googly Stones

Gagne (2004) identifies 3 "googly" faced stones in the Center of Town Cemetery as possibly being carved by Jonas Stewart. The eyes are diagnostic (Figure 9), but a number of other stones with similar characteristics and suns and moons instead of faces are also found across Hartford. Are these by the same hand?



Figure 9. Peter Rider, d.1800, possibly carved by Jonas Stewart

Twisty Carver

Gagne (2004) identifies two stones (1 in St. Anthony's and 1 in Center of Town) by an unknown carver he refers to as "the Twisty carver," and proposes he could be Gershom Bartlett's son. These stones are adorned with "twisty" borders and appear to be from the same source as Gershom's (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Elizabeth Tracy (d. 1801), possibly by "Twisty Carver" Photo credit: Ron Heroux

W. Cubley

The marble stone of Susan Hazen (d. 1824) in Christian Street Cemetery has the signature "W. Cubley" in the lower right corner (Figure 11). It is a prominent rectangular headstone with a willow and urn flanked by two flowers (Figure 12). The urn has a heart inside. A search of historic newspapers and census records turned up a William Cubley who worked out of Pleasant Street in Woodstock and "the shop in the rear of the *Republican* printing office" in Windsor (Cubley 1825, 1826). He expanded by buying the business of John D. Brown, who likely carved other stones found in Hartford. Sadly, Cubley's Windsor workshop burned in a fire in August (*The Journal* 1826). He died in 1837, after which an advertisement was run in the newspaper looking for stonecutters to take over his shop (Lyman 1838). The advertisement mentions that both "Middlebury marble" and slate are in the shop, suggesting that both materials were still in use (Figure 13).



Figure 11. W. Cubley signature



Figure 12. Susan Hazen (d. 1824), Christian St., carved by W. Cubley

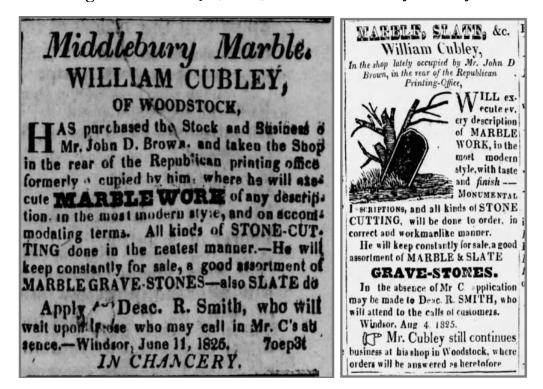


Figure 13. 1825 Advertisements for William Cubley

Silas Walling

While studying the 1850 census records for Hartford, a 32 year old man by the name of Silas Walling was listed as a stonecutter from New Hampshire (the occupation that a gravestone carver could be listed under). Future researchers should look for this name in probate records to try and trace his craft in the Hartford cemeteries.

Samuel Carlton

Listed in the *Gazetteer and Business Directory for Windsor County* (Child 1881) is Samuel Carlton, a White River Junction "stone cutter, dealer and contractor in granite of all kinds."

Adams & McNichol

This firm was a retailer in marble, granite, and slate monuments, based at 11 Maple Street in White River Junction. It operated as early as 1917, before which it may have operated as W. A. Fellows, monuments. In 1965 the company became Adams, McNichol & Melen and then sometime in the 1990s may have become Twin State Monuments (whose tag can be seen on modern stones across the cemeteries). A small portion of the company's records covering September 1918 – 1919 are archived at the Leahy Library of Vermont History. The files give insight into early 20th century memorial business affairs, with letters from consumers complaining of discolored marble, asking for leniency with debts, and promising that the check is in the mail. Labor scholars may find the archive interesting as a labor shortage was affecting the business, perhaps even a shutout in 1918. The firm's help wanted ads were often answered by Barre stone carvers, so cross-referencing research into Barre's labor history may shed more light on the situation in White River Junction.

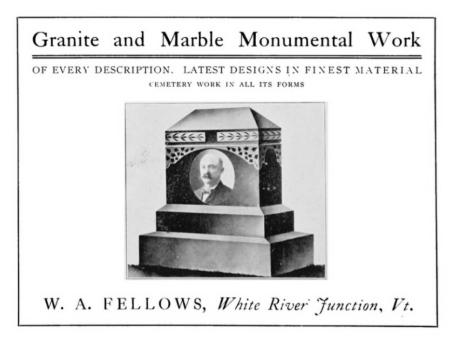


Figure 14. Advertisement for W. A. Fellows (Cheney 1905)

Overview

This report details the extant historical documentation that could be located within the project's scope for the cemeteries listed in Table 5. Information then follows for private burial grounds. Please note that maps depict the perimeter of cemeteries and *not* the parcel's surveyed boundaries. Professional surveyors should be used if there is a question on metes and bounds.

Name	Туре	Parcel	Deed Status	Plat filed	Range	Est. # Graves	Marker Inventory
Center of	Municipal	8-0CEM-	Possibly	n/a	1790 -	159	Digital
Town	(Inactive)	0	documented		1925		2008
Christian	Association	4-0CEM-	Documented	No	1775 –	400 -	Paper
Street	(Active)	0			present	600+	1950s-70s
Delano/	Municipal	8-0CEM-	Not found	n/a	1787 –	107	Digital
Savage	(Inactive)	1			1889		2008
Hartford	Association	42-	Partially	Maybe	1825 -	1000 -	Paper
	(Active)	0CEM-0	documented	1	present	2000+	1950s-70s
Mt. Olivet	Religious	24-	Documented	No	1886 –	1000 -	Unknown
	(Active)	0CEM-0			present	2000+	
Potter's	Private	3-79-0	Documented	n/a	n.d.	5-6?	None
Field							
Quechee	Association	12-	Partially	No	1774 -	650 –	Paper
	(Active)	0CEM-0	Documented		present	850+	1950s-70s
Russtown	Municipal	16-	Documented	n/a	1802 -	89	Digital
	(Inactive)	0CEM-0			2000		2008
Simons	Municipal	7-0CEM-	Documented	n/a	1832 -	20?	Digital
	(Inactive)	0			1859		2008
St.	Religious	48-	Documented	No	1780 -	650	Digital
Anthony's	(No new	0CEM-0			2013		1960s;
	lot sales)						Paper '77
Tucker	Municipal	2-0CEM-	Documented	n/a	1817 –	28	Digital
	(Inactive)	1	as exception		1881		2008
West	Association	2-0CEM-	Partially	Yes ²	1801 –	200	Digital
Hartford	(Active)	0	Documented		2005		2018
Wright	Municipal	14-	Documented	n/a	1814 –	6	Digital
Family	(Inactive)	0CEM-0			1846		2008
Tomb							

Table 5. Summary o	^c Cemeteries Documented
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¹ There is a blueprint of the cemetery in the Town's archives that predates the moving of the soldiers monument, but it's unclear whether this meets legal requirements.

² Historic blueprint in the Town's archives may meet legal requirements.

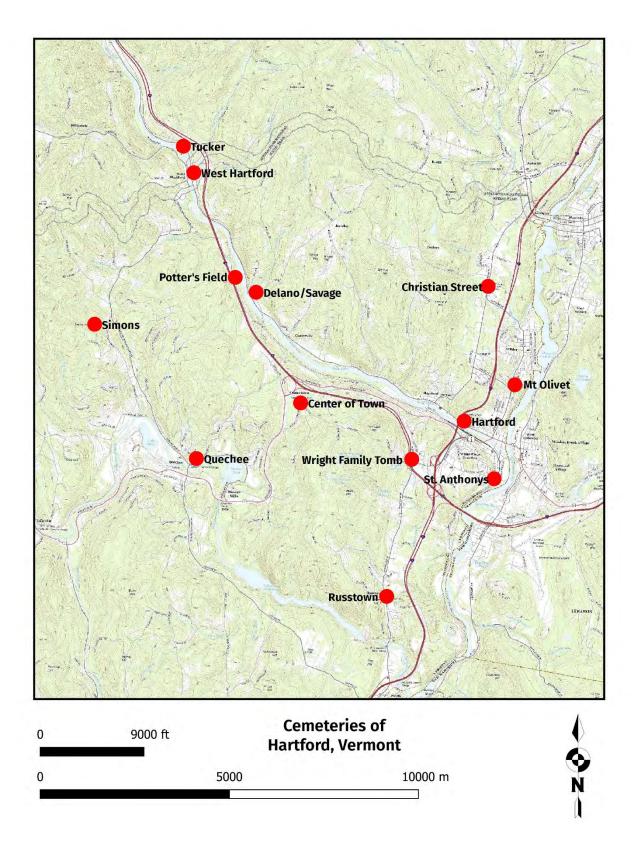


Figure 15. Cemeteries of Hartford Mapped on USGS Topographic Map

Center of Town Cemetery

Quick Stats				
Location	520 Center of Town Road			
Туре	Municipal (Inactive)			
Parcel	8-0CEM-0			
Owner	Town of Hartford			
Current Deeds	Book 2 Page 59 (1791)?			
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	N/A			
Range of legible graves	1790 - 1901			
Number of graves	Approx.159			
Last marker inventory	R. Heroux 2008 (digital)			

Location

The Center of Town Cemetery, as its name suggests, is located at the geographic center of Hartford as surveyed by Darius Sessions following a May 17, 1774, proprietors' meeting (Tucker 1889). The purpose of finding the center of town was to erect a meeting house, whose intended convenient location would serve for town meetings and spiritual worship. Once the center of town was established, a building committee was designated, who would oversee the construction of the meeting house. But, first, they had to negotiate with John Marsh, who owned the land. Perhaps the Revolutionary War and the political turbulence that followed in its wake slowed the committee's progress. By the time the selectmen successfully negotiated the 1.5 acre land swap in 1791, it was owned by Daniel Dewey (Book 2 Page 59) and the meeting house was already likely built (Tucker 1889).

...we Samuel Udall, Peter Rider and Hezekiah Hazen Selectmen of the Town of Hartford for the consideration of one acre and half of Land lying in the meeting house square of said Hartford Deeded to the Inhabetence [sic] of the town of said Hartford by David Dewey of said Hartford do in our said capacity give grant bargain sell convey and confirm to him the said Dewey one certain tract or parcel of Land lying in said Hartford it being the westwardly half of the eight rod Highway from the road that leads from the meeting house to the Rev. Thomas Großs to the road that leads from the meeting house to Samuel Webfter being four rods in width and [illegible or missing] in Length.

It is possible that this deed included the land on which the cemetery now sits. The current meeting house commons parcel to the south of the cemetery is only 0.7 acres. A professional surveyor and further deed research of the surrounding properties would be required to map the original bounds and determine if, when, and how the cemetery parcel was set aside and to whom.

The meeting house was a two-story wooden framed building, 50' x 35' and stood adjacent to the cemetery, although the 1869 Beers atlas (Figure 16) shows a road running between, the remnants of which can still faintly be seen on the state's LIDAR hillshade (Figure 17). Nearby was Freegrace Leavitt's tavern and whisky distillery, which was documented and listed on the State's Register in 1977. The house still stands just south of the intersection of Kings Hwy and Center of

Town Rd. and was likely built in 1794. At some point the Center of Town ceased to be a favorable location, and the meeting house was abandoned sometime near 1872. The clapboard building is no longer standing; instead, a monument stands in its place, adjacent to the cemetery.



Figure 16. 1869 Beers Atlas of Center of Town. Note the separation of the cemetery from the Town House (meeting house) by a road



Figure 17. LIDAR Hillshade of Center of Town Cemetery



BURYING GROUND AT THE CENTER OF THE TOWN.

Figure 18. Late 19th century photograph from "The Old and The New"





Center of Town Cemetery Hartford, Vermont

orange arrow shows grave marker orientation

N

Figure 19. Map of Center of Town Cemetery

Notable Graves

Molly Shallies (1789 – 1790) has the oldest legible gravestone in the cemetery. Her headstone and accompanying footstone were carved by Gershom Bartlett in his signature style using the iron-rich slate he likely quarried himself in Norwich, Vermont.

Judith Gross (1763 - 1790) has the second oldest legible gravestone, also carved by Gershom Bartlett. She was the first wife of Rev. Thomas Gross, the first settled minister of Hartford. Her inscription reflects the Puritanical sentiments of the time:

In Memory of Mr^s. Judith ye amiable Con sort of ye Rev. Thom.^s Grofs who Departed this life in hope of a Gl orious Immortality June 28 1790 AEtatis Suae 27. Here deaths Cold fetters hath Con fin'd within This Grave a Mothe kind Alfo a true & loving wife who a Gods Call Refigned her life. Negue ulla ertant Magno aut parvo Lethe fuga.

Rhoda Gross (1754 - 1805) was the second wife of Rev. Thomas Gross, and her slate headstone and footstone have fallen. The carvings reflect a shift to a new style: the tympanum is rounded, but the two shoulders have been squared off. "Momento mortis" is inscribed at the top, but rather than a skull or "soul" effigy, a line engraving of an urn and willow is in its place. Her inscription is a bit lighter in tone than Judith's:

In memory of Mrs. Rhoda the amiable Consort of the Rev Thomas Grofs who departed this life august, 7th, 1805. AEtatis suae 51. In hope of a better She Cheerfully left the present world— Cur lugemus amicos seperatos morte. In Caelo est pax.

Samuel Webster, Jr. (1774 - 1798) has a slate gravestone in the old tri-lobed shape with several charming folk elements: a sun with a weeping willow branch in the tympanum, and a casket with

a face and heart. These symbols may be diagnostic of a particular stone carver and can be seen on a few other stones across Hartford. Probate record research may uncover the carver's identity.

Outstanding Research Questions

1. Is the cemetery parcel part of the original land swap recorded in Book 2 Page 59?

Quick Stats		
Location	Christian Street	
Туре	Association (Active)	
Parcel	4-0CEM-0	
Owner	Christian Street Cemetery Association	
Current Deeds	Book 29 Page 314 (1891)	
	Book 45 Page 131 (1931, addition)	
	Missing possible 1972 addition	
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No	
Range of legible graves	1775 – present	
Number of graves	400 - 600+	
Last marker inventory	DAR 1950s - 1960s, no map	

Christian Street Cemetery

Sometimes referred to as "Norwich Road Cemetery," Christian Street Cemetery lies within the Christian Street Rural Historic District. It also contains the oldest legible gravestones in the town, including many stones carved by Gershom Bartlett. The nomination form names the cemetery as a contributing element, and describes it as follows:

The Christian Street Cemetery is a flat 1.8 acre parcel on the east side of Christian Street at the south end of the historic district. A c. 1900 historic stone fence lines the front (west) edge of the cemetery. It is a mortared rubble-stone wall about three feet in height with a concrete coping and a centered entry gate. The gate has mortared rubble-stone pillars that rise about 1-1/2 feet above the wall and peaked stone copings. Aside from the lawn, there is little vegetation in the cemetery.

The cemetery contains several hundred graves and headstones dating from the late eighteenth century to the present. Buried there are residents of the historic district and the nearby hamlets of Dothan and Jericho, as well as other areas of Hartford. There is a wide variety of headstones in the cemetery, ranging from the earliest small slate stones, nineteenth-century marble headstones, and late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century obelisks. The stones are arranged in rows parallel to the street. All these historic headstones are randomly located at the front 2/3 of the cemetery. The more recent granite headstones are located at the rear of the cemetery.

The cemetery was originally 1/3 acre and part of the original Hazen tract (see #9). It was first used as the Hazen family plot, and the first person buried there was probably Thomas Hazen's son Silas (1754-1778), a soldier in the Revolutionary War. The cemetery had been enlarged to one acre by 1822, when it is mentioned in a deed for another property. At an unknown time, it acquired by the Christian Street Cemetery Association. It was enlarged again in 1931 (by this time it was owned by the cemetery association), then in 1972, when it reached its current size. The cemetery is still owned by the cemetery association.

The cemetery is just over a quarter of a mile south of the Hazen House (Brookside Farm), the oldest two-story house in Hartford. Many Hazen family members and their descendants are buried in the cemetery, and Tucker (1889) includes a genealogy of the family in his History of Hartford. Descendant Barbara Hazen also cites the large volume, The Hazen Family in America (Hazen 1947) as another genealogical resource.

Although the National Register states that Silas was the first one buried there, the cemetery contains earlier graves. For instance, the widow Dorothy Redington died in 1775 at the age of 75. Her headstone, carved by Gershom Bartlett, can be seen in the cemetery today. She likely traveled to Hartford to live with her son-in-law, Benjamin Wright, and her daughter, Ann. Both Benjamin (d. 1803) and Ann (d. 1794) are buried in Christian Street Cemetery. Ann also has a Gershom Bartlett carved marker while her husband's stone is carved by another hand, similar in style to Jonas Stewart.

Unfortunately, only a footstone, carved by Gershom Bartlett, remains of the second burial: Silas Hazen, who died in 1778. The Hazen patriarch, and Silas's father, Thomas Hazen III, was likely the third person buried in the cemetery in 1782, at least by the inscriptions on the markers. However, the stone that marks his grave likely dates to 1802, when his wife died. Their shared marker is an unusually early white marble carved with the script that would typically be seen on its contemporaneous slate and soapstone stones.

There are a number of stones in the front that postdate Gershom Bartlett's death but appear to use very similar stone (Figure 20), perhaps from the same quarry (reportedly in Norwich near the mouth of the Ompompanoosuc). Further research, especially into probate records, could help identify this stone carver. Gagne (2004) conjectures that Gershom's son went into the trade. On the other hand, his quarry may have been used by others or was sold by Gershom's heirs.



Figure 20. Partially delaminated stone (1799) possibly from Bartlett's quarry

At some point, the cemetery's footstones were taken out of their original context and reset in line with other headstones (Figure 21), most often not behind the associated headstone. The result is that it appears there are more marked graves than in actuality, and headstones and footstones have lost their original association. In some cases a footstone is in line next to its headstone – in other cases it's far away. The original context of a footstone would have been at the actual foot of the grave (a child's footstone would be closer to its headstone than an adult). Granted, the original context may make it more challenging to mow (and wasn't in keeping with Victorian era rural cemetery movement aesthetics), but the original layout of the earliest graves has been partially lost at Christian Street. See Russtown, Delano/Savage and Center of Town for examples of original marker placements.



Figure 21. Footstones in line with headstones and out of their original context

Christian Street Cemetery Association

This association's listing could not be located on the Secretary of State's business database. According to Barbara Hazen's oral history interview, her brother, Henry Hazen, is the only person left on the association's board. Ed Parker, formerly of the association, had mapped the plots in the cemetery on a window shade. Barbara Hazen has been copying and updating the map onto a new window shade (presumably because of the ease of working on a large, sturdy surface relative to Parker's original map). The window shade has now entered into the town's folklore as it came up in many conversations.

Remaining Research Questions

- 1. What deed corresponds to the possible 1972 addition?
- 2. What state are the association's burial records in and can they assist with a future marker inventory?



0	75	150 ft
0	25	 50 m
-		

Christian Street Cemetery Hartford, Vermont

orange arrow shows grave marker orientation

N

Figure 22. Map of Christian Street Cemetery

Delano/Savage Cemetery

Quick Stats			
Location	Route 14		
Туре	Municipal (Inactive)		
Parcel	8-0CEM-1		
Owner	Town of Hartford (abandoned to?)		
Current Deeds	?		
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	N/A		
Range of legible graves	1787 - 1889		
Number of graves	Approx. 107		
Last marker inventory	R. Heroux 2008 (digital)		

Also known as "Delano Cemetery #1" and the "Cemetery at Centerville" this site is located on an outwash terrace of glacial Lake Hitchcock, mapped as Hitchcock silt loam, 15 to 25 percent slopes. The soil is very well drained and likely acidic with pine trees ringing the site. A grasscovered road leads up to the site from Jericho St., and a stone retaining wall buttresses the road. At one point someone may have suspected that the stonework may have been a well because a photograph of it in the Hartford Genealogy Center File had the following note: "Stone wall is not a well. It's where the old road used to go." This report confirms that the stone wall is not a well, but a retaining wall.³



Figure 23. Stone retaining wall

³ It's possible that somewhere along the way a difficult to read or misheard "wall" became "well."

Tucker (1889, 191) reports that when he visited the site before 1889 that the cemetery was in "deplorable condition" and that the earliest recorded burial was 1790:

A few head stones are lying upon the ground. Several graves have no headstones. Several head-stones bear no inscriptions whatever. For these reasons I have deemed it expedient to copy all legible inscriptions, excepting those on the head-stones of the graves of young children that some memory of the place of burial of those interred in this cemetery may be preserved.

He also observed that an 18" in diameter pine tree was growing out of Noadiah White and Mary White's graves. It's unclear whether the headstones that "bear no inscriptions whatever" were actually unmarked fieldstones or just eroded or otherwise illegible. Tucker recorded 80 names, noting that the burial of James Carlton Tracy was later removed to Vernon, New York. The DAR Survey of 1977 recorded 112 names inscribed across 109 markers at the cemetery, with the earliest death listed as 1791 and the latest as 1905. A May 2008 survey (conducted by Ron Heroux) listed 115 names, but 21 of the stones could not be located. This project's 2019 site survey counted 107 markers, 9 of which were illegible. The earliest legible date was 1787, and the last legible interred date was 1889. Several sunken gaps were probed and found possible buried stones, which were mapped using GPS.

The cemetery's graves appear to follow three distinct orientation patterns (Figure 24). Most of the graves are oriented northwest, following the landform (and adjacent road and river). A smaller number of graves toward the north of the site are oriented west-northwest. One 1796 grave is oriented true west, in accordance with Christian tradition.

Several gravestones are from probable victims of the 1812-1813 epidemic, which appeared to hit the Centerville residents particularly hard.



Figure 24. Multiple orientations of graves at the Delano/Savage Cemetery



0	75	150 ft
0	25	 50 m

Delano/Savage Cemetery Hartford, Vermont

orange arrow shows grave marker orientation

N

Figure 25. Map of Delano/Savage Cemetery

Notable Graves

Jonathan and Ann (Ladd) Delano (1735 – 1814) (1734 – 1816). The Hartford Historical Society received an email from a Hartford social studies teacher, Jennifer Boeri-Boyce, informing them that Laura Ingalls Wilder's great-great grandparents are buried in Delano/Savage. Apparently, their daughter (Margaret Delano) married Samuel Ingalls and moved to Dunham, Quebec, where Laura's grandfather was born (Lansford Ingalls). Jennifer found a broadside entitled, "A Dream, or Vision," which was written by Samuel Ingalls in 1809 when the couple were living in Dunham. His dream is of Hartford, Vermont.

Outstanding Research Questions

1. What deeds are associated with the cemetery parcel?

Hartford Cemetery

Quick Stats			
Location	Maple St. (Route 14)		
Туре	Association (Active)		
Parcel	42-0CEM-0		
Owner	Hartford Cemetery Association		
Current Deeds	Missing pre-1865 deed		
	Book 20 Page 511 (1865 addition)		
	Book 25 Page 13 (1878 addition)		
	Book 25 Page 12 (1878 addition)		
	Book 25 Page 28 (1878 addition)		
	Book 27 Page 13 (1885 addition)		
	Book 35 Page 140 (1905 addition)		
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	Out of date (1935)		
Range of legible graves	1825 - present		
Number of graves	Thousands		
Last marker inventory	1950s-60s, Paper, no map		

Hartford Cemetery is sometimes referred to as "White River Village Cemetery," "White River Junction Cemetery," or "Hartford Point Cemetery," presumably because of its location on the larger landform known as Lyman's Point. The cemetery is the largest in Hartford, and still in active use under the management of the Hartford Cemetery Association. Previous surveys by the DAR and Tucker recognize several distinct areas: "Lower Point" (aka White River Junction Cemetery), which contains the oldest graves; "Upper Point" (aka New Portion Cemetery), which is more recent; and several "Potters' Fields," including three rows in Lower Point, two rows near the Soldier's Monument, and a more recent section in the northern most terrace.

The cemetery lies on three distinct geological terraces; expansion has followed the terraces northward and thus upward. The Lower Point section is relatively level and comprised of glacial outwash soils that are a mix of fine sandy loam and loamy sand. The next terrace is also

relatively level, but a different soil composition: Hitchcock silt loam, well-drained, but with slow permeability in its substratum (about 21-30 inches below the surface).⁴ The highest terrace is comprised of the same soil, but with steeper slopes. There is evidence of a lot of frost heave action: a large percentage of graves are tilted, leaning, sinking, or even collapsed because of the site's geomorphology. The frost action has been so great that one of the mausoleums has had its marble window sills implode and stained glass crushed (Figure 26). A good amount of erosion can be observed along the southeast corner of the upper terrace quite close to current plot corner markers.

There are a lot of immortelles and ephemeral offerings left on the graves of the upper lots, reflecting present-day mortuary customs.



Figure 26. Shattered window and twisted lead from frost action

⁴ Informants and the cemetery committee report describe the soil at Hartford Cemetery as clay. From a soil science or archaeological perspective, what is being described as clay is more accurately described as a silty lacustrine material found on terraces and glacial lake plains. There is no true clay soil found in Hartford (even the old brickyard in Quechee was likely silt); however, the Hitchcock series that is found at Hartford Cemetery is probably as close as Hartford gets to soil that acts clay-like: the slow permeability of its substrata (silt loam changing to firm silt) is what is causing the frost heaves in the upper lots (the lower lot has a different soil, which is much better for cemeteries).



0	75	150 ft
0	25	50 m

Hartford Cemetery Hartford, Vermont

orange arrow shows grave marker orientation

N

Figure 27. Map of Hartford Cemetery

Property History

Originally the site was part of Lot No. 1, which was drawn by Benjamin Whitney in 1761, sold to John Bennet in 1763 (Book B, 175), and then to Justin and Elias Lyman III in 1796 (Book 2, 239). A legal suit was settled in the Lymans' favor (\$602.26) against John Bennet in 1800 (Book 2, 485), which was paid, presumably before Bennet was committed "to the keeper of the Gaol in Woodstock."

Tucker (1889) details the Lyman brothers' early business dealings, having entered into a partnership together to operate a flatboat, provided by their father, who ran a public house in Northampton, Massachusetts (Coleman 1872). From his base in Hartford, Connecticut, Justin would ship goods from the West Indies north to Elias's store in Weathersfield, Vermont. However, the store burnt down, which sent Elias searching for a new home for his business. He apparently found it at the confluence of the White and Connecticut Rivers in 1796 and built a house and store opposite ferry lane, and eventually a dam across the White River, the aqueduct, a toll bridge, several residences, and even a flume for a brick factory (Tucker 1889). Unfortunately, the brothers parted ways and business dealings in a Dickens-esque legal battle that took ten years and \$100,000 to settle, ending in a public auction of all their properties in 1829. At the same time, Justin sold his rights to the real estate in Hartford to Elias (Book 10, 122). The following year, Elias died and was buried in the Hartford Cemetery.

According to the history of the Hartford Cemetery Association published in the third installment of *The Old and the New* (1910), Elias Lyman gave the original eastern portion of the lower cemetery to the association at some point. This deed has not been located. A search of Elias Lyman's probate records and the many land conveyances that followed in its wake may help to track it down.⁵ Dartmouth College also curates a special collection related to Lyman and could be consulted. Six purchases of land from 1865 – 1905 were recorded (see Quick Stats table).

The Hartford Cemetery Association

Originally founded in April 1865, the association still manages the cemetery's affairs. The association was officially chartered by the State of Vermont on May 1, 1905. Prominent early members of the association include: Ephraim W. Morris, Nelson W. White, J. W. French, Noah B. Safford, Noah B. Hazen, William H. Braley, John L. Bacon, Horace C. Pease, and Fred B. Huse. The association beautified the cemetery during the Victorian period, keeping with the Rural Cemetery Movement's trends of the time, installing water hydrants, paved sidewalks, a soldiers' monument (paid by the Loyal Club), and granite receiving vault (no longer in use). Originally, the monument was placed at the highest point in the cemetery in the middle-upper lot, but was later moved in the 1950s to its present location.

It appears that the association dealt with illegal burials in the late 19th century (Figure 28) as a newspaper clipping attests below (Morris 1883).

⁵ Not only did Elias Lyman own a lot of land, he also had a son named Elias who was the executor of his father's estate with his brothers, so it's not clear which Elias is being referred to.

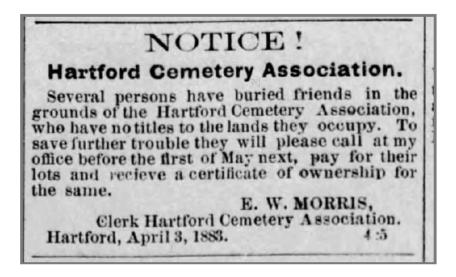


Figure 28. Hartford Cemetery Association notice

A lack of money to care for graves with no local or living descendants appears to have been a familiar problem over 100 years ago as this half-page ad implies (Figure 29). A commemorative booklet from 1927 repeats the appeal to donate to the perpetual care fund. This booklet is curated at the Hartford Genealogy Center and also shows the original placement of the soldiers' monument, several mausoleums, and includes a list of lots that were endowed.

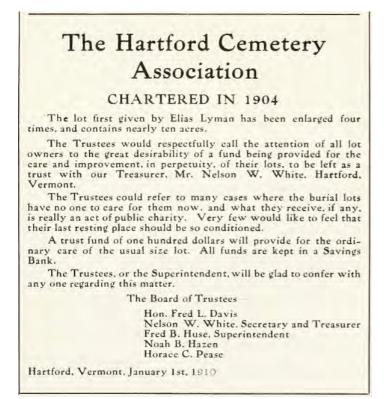


Figure 29. Hartford Cemetery Association appeal for donations, The Old and the New (1910)

The principals of the association are listed on the Vermont Secretary of State Business Database as below:

Name / Position	Address	
Kenneth H. Parker/President	PO Box 800, White River Junction, VT, 05001	
Ann Magrone/Vice President	903 Hartford Avenue, White River Junction, VT, 05001	
Ralph M. Knight, III /Treasurer	903 Hartford Avenue, White River Junction, VT, 05001	
Ralph M Knight 3rd /Secretary	Maple Street Box 38, White River Junction, VT, 05001	
Ann Magrone/Director	PO Box800, White River Junction, VT, 05001	
Kenneth H. Parker/Director	PO Box 800, White River Junction, VT, 05001	
Ralph M. Knight, III/Director	903 Hartford Avenue, White River Junction, VT, 05001	

Table 6. Hartford Cemetery Association Principals, 2019 (2018 annual report)

Notable Graves

Samuel E. Pingree (1832 – 1922) served as the Governor of Vermont from 1884 – 1886. He graduated from Dartmouth College, served in the Civil War in which he rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and had a law practice in Hartford. He served as State's Attorney for Windsor County and Lieutenant Governor. During his term as governor, he focused his attention on improving education in the state, fighting the adulteration of maple syrup, and even inaugurated Arbor Day: the first state east of the Mississippi to do so ("Dartmouth College Public Service Legacy: Samuel Everett Pingree, Class of 1857 | Nelson A. Rockefeller Center for Public Policy" n.d.). His family grave marker in the upper lot is a granite ogee top headstone on a rough granite base (likely Barre gray). His individual marker is a simple flat tablet.

George E. Wales (1792 – 1860) served as representative and Speaker of Vermont's House of Representatives from 1822-24, after which he was elected to the US House of Representatives in 1825 - 1829. He served as Hartford Town Clerk from 1840 - 1860. He was an active Mason, serving as the state's Grand master from 1825 - 1827.

Outstanding Research Questions

- 1. Where is the record of Lyman's first donation of land?
- 2. Do burial records confirm that Adeline Burt's (d. 1825) is the oldest grave?
- 3. What shape are the association's burial records in and can they be used to guide a marker inventory in the future?

Mt. Olivet Cemetery

Quick Stats		
Location	1149 Hartford Ave	
Туре	Religious (Active)	
Parcel	24-0CEM-0	
Owner	Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington	
Current Deeds	Book 33 Page 60 (1900)	
	Need references for 1933, 1949	
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No	
Range of legible graves	1886 - present	
Number of graves	1000 - 2000+	
Last marker inventory	Unknown; professional survey c. 2014	

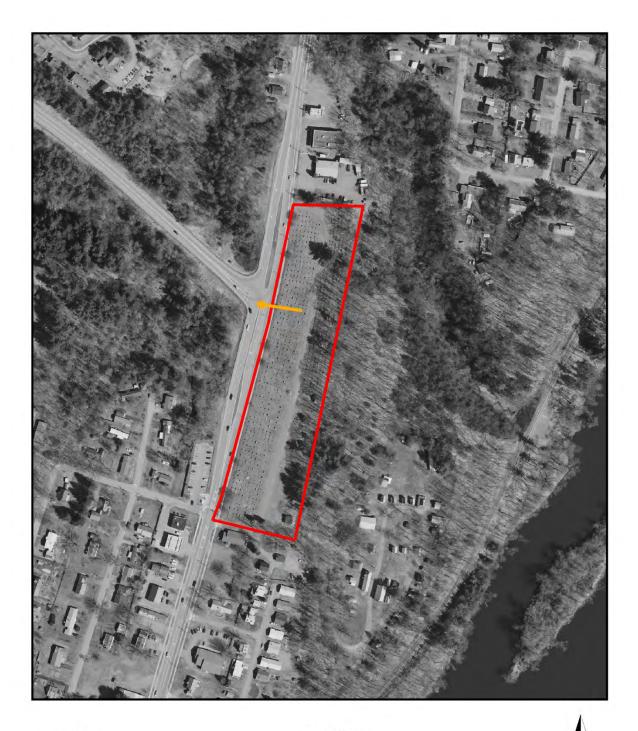
This cemetery is confusingly labeled as "St. Anthonys Cem" on the current USGS Topographic map, which is the name now used to refer to the cemetery on South Main Street in White River Junction.

The land was purchased by the Roman Catholic Diocese in Burlington in 1900 because there was no more room in the cemetery on South Main Street, and the town's Catholic parish continued to grow. Although the site was purchased in 1900, several graves predate this. Presumably, those decedents were interred at a later date or are not actually buried here but commemorated on family stones. Records of all burials are kept in the Rectory of St. Anthony's Church Parish.

Many immortelles and ephemeral offerings (Figure 31) have been placed on stones at this cemetery, making it a good location to observe contemporary mortuary customs among Catholics. Many stones are highly individualized with elaborate laser etching. As could be expected, many more crosses and religious symbolism are observable here.

Date	Book	Page	Grantor	Grantee
1900 Oct 27	33	60	Edward D. Dutile and	Roman Catholic Diocese
			wife, Malvina	of Burlington
1933				Roman Catholic Diocese
				of Burlington
1949				Roman Catholic Diocese
				of Burlington

Table 7. Current Deeds for Mt. Olivet Cemetery



0 75 150 ft 0 25 50 m

Mt. Olivet Hartford, Vermont

orange arrow shows grave marker orientation

N

Figure 30. Map of Mt. Olivet Cemetery



Figure 31. Contemporary mortuary practices on display at Mt. Olivet

Quick Stats				
Location	4099 Old River Road			
Туре	Private burial ground			
Parcel	3-79-0			
Owner	Julius H. and Rosalind C. Anderson			
Current Deed	Book 477 Page 550 (2012)			
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No (not necessary)			
Range of legible graves	n.d.			
Number of graves	5-6?			
Last marker inventory	none			

Potter's Field on Old River Road

"Potter's field" is a generic term applied to any area where the poor, unidentified, or social outcasts (e.g. suicide victims, criminals, illegitimate children) are buried. Hartford has several potter's fields, including areas of Hartford Cemetery and St. Anthony's/South Main Street Cemetery. This section focuses on the potter's field south of the White River on Old River Road, Parcel 3/79/0 (SPAN #285-090-14048), on the former grounds of one of Hartford's poor farms. Its history offers a compelling window onto the treatment of the town's poor and social outsiders. Moreover, the existence of multiple poor farms in Hartford may have contributed to this cemetery likely being confused with another cemetery near a later poor farm, calling into question assumptions about how many burials were originally at the site.

Site Location and Geomorphology

Today, the site is marked by five wooden posts and a new sign donated by the Hartford Sign Company, results of an August 2018 cleanup effort led by Art Peale. Remnants of a barbed wire or electric fence run along the western side of the landform, suggesting that the adjacent land has previously been in pasture. Five unmarked fieldstones appear to be in situ, oriented SSW-NNE in three rows running parallel with the landform, consistent with the Christian burial customs seen elsewhere in town. One fieldstone marker leans against a tree. It is the only stone that has been shaped into a rectangle and amateurishly inscribed with the initials, M L.

The site itself is located on a small rise about 30 feet wide and 65+ feet in length, oriented NNW-SSE, parallel with the river, with the southern end tapering into a gentle slope. The site's soil series is mapped by the USDA as Windsor loamy sand 25-60% slope, characterized by very deep, excessively drained soils formed by the deposits of glacial meltwater. The hayfield immediately to the site's north is typed as a modern alluvial floodplain.

Informants told us that the land surrounding the site had been claimed as borrow for nearby Interstate 89 and that the site was encountered in the course of construction (1967-1969) that may have damaged the site. However, historic aerial imagery from 1956 shows that a gravel pit was located on this parcel⁶ and that earthmoving had already occurred near the site. As shown in Figure 33, the interstate (vellow) did cause quite a bit of change: Old River Road (the green line) had to be rerouted further east, a camp and shed on the Paronto property were removed, and several water courses and farm roads were affected. In 1966 Donald Wiedenmayer photographed the right of way of I-89 prior to its construction. These photographs were notated with metadata that correspond to specific survey units of the highway. The collection of photographs of the Paronto property can be found by visiting https://www.uvm.edu/landscape/menu.php and putting "parnto" (note the misspelling) in the search box. VTrans shared the associated section of the highway right of way survey with us, and at the widest, the right of way extended 350' from the center line: short of the Potter's Field cemetery. That doesn't mean that the interstate didn't impact the site—perhaps later earthmoving from the rerouting of Old River Road and the overall land use changes on the property as the landowners adapted contributed further. Either way, determining the extent of the intact site should be prioritized to effectively protect the site.

But the cemetery was known about even before the airplane flew over the Paronto property in 1956. A June 14, 1954, newspaper article clipping in the Hartford Historical Society collections entitled "Old Hartford Potter's Field Is Discovered," reports that three people accidentally discovered the cemetery while hunting for yellow lady slippers. "Most of the markers were only slabs of field stone set in the ground. However, they did find one stone that was so weather beaten that the engraving had been practically obliterated." The site was even included on a historical tour of the town. Did the burial ground lapse back into obscurity over the next 10 years?

⁶ The I-89 right of way survey indicates that a water pipe feeding Twin State Sand and Gravel Co. ran across the intended interstate path; perhaps the gravel pit was being leased to and operated by Twin State at this time.



0	400	800 ft	Potter's Field	
0		300	Hartford, Vermont	600 m
		oran	ge arrow shows grave marker orier	 ntation

Figure 32. Map of Potter's Field

N

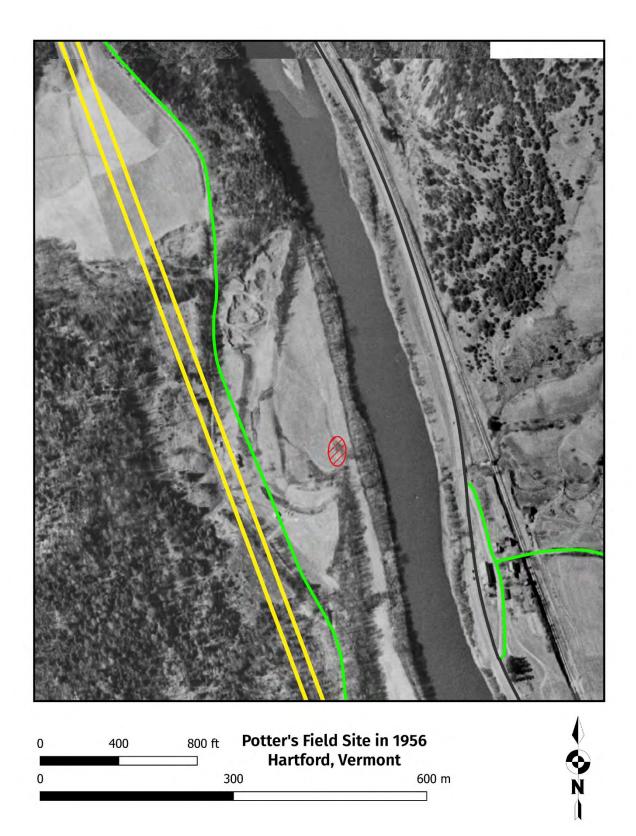


Figure 33. Potter's Field, 1956

Treatment of the Poor in Hartford 1772 - 1830

Communities have long had to make decisions regarding the care of those individuals who fall on hard times, are unable to provide for their own basic needs, or are deemed unfit to mix with the community at large. During the 17th-18th centuries, towns across the New England colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire would "warn out" undesirables, essentially pressuring the outsiders to leave. Dutch New Netherland employed a more hands-on approach to poor relief from the outset, establishing almshouses, orphanages, and "poor farms" throughout the mid-17th century. There, paupers were put to work in forts, wampum "factories", and farms for the betterment of the colony, practices that persisted after the English annexed the territory as New York and required towns to levy funds to care for the poor (Huey 2001).

The early European settlers of Hartford found themselves nestled between two colonies with competing land claims and differing legal frameworks for poor relief. Tucker (1889, 306) reports that as early as 1772 Hartford elected three Overseers of the Poor, although missing town records prevent us from knowing what actions the Overseers took. In 1797, the Vermont State Legislature required that towns "fhall relieve, fupport and maintain their own poor. And the overfeers of every town or place fhall relieve, fupport and maintain all the poor, lame, blind, fick and other inhabitants...who are not able to maintain themfelves" (Chapter XXXIX No. 1 Sect. 2). But it also provided a loophole reminiscent of the New England system: the town didn't have to provide for the poor if they had not yet legally settled within the town (i.e. purchased a freehold estate valued at least \$100 at which they lived for a year, or rented a tenement at a rate of at least \$20/year for two years). In these cases, the selectmen could issue a warning to any newcomer to leave town (Chapter XXXIX No. 2 Sect. 1, Passed 1801).

Hartford's Selectmen made much use of the 1801 law. The Hartford Town Meeting records for 1802 - 1817 are filled with tens if not hundreds of "warning outs" such at the one pictured below, which reads:

State of Vermont, Windsor. To Either of the Constables Hartford in Said County. Greeting. You are hereby Requested to Summons Joseph Wilson Now residing in S[ai]d Hartford with his wife & Family to Depart S[ai]d town. Hereof Fail not but of this Receipt and your Doings herein once due Return Make according to Law. Given from our hands Hartford this 25th Day of April 1803.

Ethes of the Constables Hartford Requested to an heriding in Harton with his wife & for own - hours I gil that but of this Be New Futurn Make according Hartlerd this 25 Bas Alt J the 30 day al hur & all My Return thereon with a Jule a briginal with fues 25 bents Milleft. - Daniel Ransom She foregoing is a true Coppy of .1803 cegran Leavitt ! erent-Jown Clerk

Figure 34. Hartford Town Records Book 2 page 3

Notably missing from all such orders is any explanation as to why the warning was being delivered. And just because a warning was given, didn't mean it was heeded. For instance, on August 20, 1808, the Selectmen ordered "Peter Freeman + family" warned out of town. However, the African American Freeman family were recorded living in Hartford in the 1810 federal census, and they were likely just one of many who stayed.

On the other hand, the Selectmen did make provisions for certain poor already living in town as early as 1799. Tucker mentions one such case of Lurana Dunkin, an African-American woman deemed non compos mentis after her father died in 1777 (1889, 306)⁷. On December 29, 1791, the Selectmen sold Lot No. 10, which she had inherited from her father, to Mitchell Clark for "Fifty pounds…for the support of Lurana Dunkin of Said Hartford an important person under the care and charge of Said Town" (Hartford Land Records Book II page 72). Lurana, her child, and other town paupers were auctioned off to the lowest bidders at subsequent town meetings, a common practice across New England towns (E. L. Bell 1993; Klebaner 1955).

It's unclear what type of treatment the Hartford poor received while under the care of their bidders. Subsequent sources such as Tucker (1889) and Klebanar (1955) were highly critical of the practice, reflecting the morals of their own time periods rather than the early Hartford settlers'. Tucker transcribed several instances from the Selectmen's Journal that illustrated different modes of treatment. For instance, Putnam Proctor Wilson "became insane," and in 1814 the Selectmen hired Jonathan Bugbee (buried in South End) to make a "chain and footlocks" for Wilson; two years later they hired David Trumbull to construct a wooden cage to keep him

⁷ Unfortunately, Tucker did not cite his source. A review of the Proprietors' Records (Book A) does not include any record of a 1777 meeting. (Note: CHECK FOR SELECTMEN'S JOURNAL)

(1889, 307). For those poor who were still able-minded and able-bodied, they likely were placed into servitude; for instance, in March 1821, widow Carey and her two children were housed at Charles Pinneo's where she was ordered to cook for him (in exchange for room and board). At the March Town Meetings when town offices were filled, an Overseer of the Poor was often selected (Table 8), who would be responsible for overseeing their distribution and care. In Marlborough, Massachusetts, the overseers of the poor were responsible for paying for certain charges' burials if they should die during their term (E. L. Bell 1993). In the case of Hartford, it is not clear what provisions were made during this early period. Tucker notes that Lurana died in 1816, but unfortunately, no burial records could be located for her or most other early 19th century paupers (Table 9).

Years	Overseers			
1772	Abel Marsh, Elijah Strong and Daniel Pinneo			
1773-1817	Selectmen			
1817-20	Zebulon Delano			
1821	Selectmen			
1822-29	Zebulon Delano			
1830	Hyde Clark			
1831-34	Zebulon Delano			
1835-54	Selectmen			
1855	Ben Porter			
1856-8	Selectmen			
1858-61	Ben Porter			
1861-71	Thaddeus Dutton			
1872-3	William Clark,			
1879-89	Henry Safford			
1925	Trumbull L. Hunt and Fred L. Davis			

Table 8. Overseers of the Poor in Hartford

Table 9. Paupers Named in Town Records

Reference in Town Records	Death and Burial Information
Lurana Duncan	d. March 1816
Sam Duncan (Lurana's child)	
"A black boy"	
Olive Bates	
Saphrona Wood	
Thomas Drew	
Molly Ryder	
"Saxton child"	
''Plum boy''	
Putnam Proctor Wilson	d. 1841, possibly buried in Hewittville Cemetery,
	Pomfret
Charles Mattoon	

Diadama Bartholomew	d. 1840, buried in Christian Street Cemetery with
	gravemarker
Widow Carey and her two	
children	
Isaac Perry	
John Hill	

In 1817 Vermont outlawed the warning out system (except a more onerous loophole persisted enabling the removal of healthy, transient poor to their legal settlement at least through the 1840s), and in the March 1820, 1821, and 1822 Town Meetings, the voters of Hartford decided to make Charles Pinneo's house "be a poor house," suggesting a shift toward an almshouse or workhouse system where the poor could have a more stable home-base. However, at the 1823 meeting, even though they voted to make Sheldon Newton's house a poor house, they then voted that the overseer "put the town paupers up to vendue" (i.e. auction). It is not clear which indigents were placed at the poor house and which were auctioned out, but some reimbursements suggest young boys (e.g. "Voted that the Overseer of the poor settle with Perry G. Gardner for the Plum boy" in 1822) were placed with bidders, likely in exchange for their farm labor. This seems to have been the case in Massachusetts, where able-bodied men were not welcome at the almshouse as they were expected to support themselves; in turn, able-bodied young boys were boarded (or rather, indentured) at private homes. The boys were expected to go to school and to work for their hosts but were allowed to keep any money they earned, thus reinforcing the society's work ethic.

The March 1826 Town Meeting voted that the paupers would be sold to the lowest bidder, but this time a second vote was passed that explicitly charged the bidder with caring for "Paupers who now are in town and all that may come into town the Ensuing Year...when delivered to him by the overseer and the person...shall take them and house them in a suitable and Proper manner" (Hartford Town Meeting Record Book 2, 68).

Purchase of the Poor Farm in 1831 - 1832

In the March 1831 Town Meeting, the voters decided "that the selectmen and the overseer of the poor act in consort together to purchase or hire a farm for the purpose of keeping the poor" (v2, 121). In a deed dated October 22, 1831, Walter H. Smith sold a piece of property for \$1400 to the Town of Hartford. The lot is described:

Beginning at the South west corner of my Mother's dower ____ thence North 60°, West to a stake & stones, supposed to be at the North corner of Joseph Marsh 90 acre lot of land ____ thence North 34°, East 174 rods ____ thence on the same line to a stake & stones at the North East corner of Bartlett Dimicks land ____ thence westerwardly on Bartlett Dimick line to the road, leading from My house to Cadwell Phelps ___ thence downwd road to the intersection of the road leading from my house to Joel Dimicks ____ thence on sd. Road towards Joel Dimicks to the brook ____ thence down sd. Brook to white river ____ thence down sd. River to the northeast corner of my Mothers Dower ____ thence westwardly

& southwardly to the first mentioned bound ___ Excepting sixteen and an half acres of land belonging to my sister Laura (Book 10, 195).

Tucker describes the 134 acre property as "on the west side of White river about two miles south of West Hartford village." On March 5 of the following year, the Selectmen and Overseer of the Poor purchased Laura's 16.5 acre plot for \$150 (Book 10, 356). Tucker reports that Lovell Hibbard built a new house with "an apartment especially for Put. Wilson, containing a cage" and that the indigents were soon moved in (1889, 307–8).

Date	Bk	Pg	Grantor	Grantee	Notes
1978	477	550	Paronto	Anderson	
1942	48	526	Charles and	Paronto	110 acres
Feb 2			Eva Carr		
1940	48	184	Herman and	Carr	110 acres
Jul 31			Mary Edmands		
1934	45	275	John R.	Edmands	110 acres known as the Edmand's
Jan 26			Darling		Place
1933	45	254	Walter A. and	Darling	110 acres known as the Edmand's
May			Daisel E.		Place
11			Legay		
1933	44	219	John R.	Legay	110 acres
May			Darling		
11					
1928	44	93	Frank and	Darling	110 acres
Aug			Margaret Stone		
30					
1925	42	260	Herman and	Stone	110 acres
Sep 9			Mary Edmands		
1914	38	223	Cora and	Edmands	
Aug			Elmer Gould		
25					
1912	38	48	George and	Gould	110 acres known as the "Brothers
Nov 12			Catherine Riley		Place"
1908	36	250	Joseph and	Riley	
Oct 1			Mary Leighton		
1872	23	129	Isaac and Sarah	Leighton	One undivided half "said Joseph W.
May			Leighton		already owns the other half"
25	01	100	N N N	A 1 T	
1868	21	432	Wm. H. &	And J.	
Mar			Cornelia	Leighton,	
28	01	40.4	Brothers	MD	
1868	21	404	James and	Brothers	
Jan 24			Lucy Boyd		

Table 10. Deed Record for Potter's Field Parcel

1863 Apr 1	20	11	CS Hamilton	Boyd	"except a piece sold to Bartlett Dimick containing about 30 acres"
1852 Aug 11	16	285	Town of Hartford	Harry C. Lamphier	Comprised of two conveyances: 10/195 and 10/356
1832 Mar 5	10	356	Laura Smith	Allen Hazen	Allen Hazen was an Overseer of the Poor at the time, so likely this purchase was on behalf of the town
1831 Oct 22	10	195	Walter Smith	Town of Hartford	

Life on the Old River Road Poor Farm

The poor farm served multiple purposes. For inmates, it provided a living situation that was thought to be stable, healthy, and in keeping with the local community's morals. These morals increasingly focused on emulating a family-like structure during the mid 1800s and beyond. For the town, the poor farm, was an opportunity to raise money for the keeping of the poor without raising local taxes or making charitable appeals. A March 15, 1833, article in the Vermont Republican and American Journal reported that the poor farm in Tewksbury, Massachusetts, had generated an excess of \$315, over and above what was needed to "maintain" the paupers in 1832.

As described by Tucker, conditions were subpar: "there, caged up like wild beasts in narrow filthy cells, the writer often saw them, and viewing their scanty, ragged attire, their pallets of straw, and their pitable condition." Unfortunately, no other source has yet been found to cross-check Tucker's subjective opinions on this matter or how the sane inmates were treated on the new poor farm. Presumably, they spent their time laboring on the farm. State law forbade certain treatment at poor houses such as exceeding hard labor, using fetters and shackles, or whipping over 20 lashes (Chapter XXXIX, No. 1, Sect. 12, 1797).

The 1840 Federal Census does not identify households by location within the town, but it does enumerate deaf, dumb, and blind persons within a household. In Hartford, only one household listed such charges: Nathaniel Rogers was the head of a household with 18 people inclusive. Six people were counted as employed in agriculture, one as blind, three as "insane and idiots at public charge," and four were illiterate adults. There is a good possibility that this was the poor farm at Walter Smith's old property, on the west bank of the White River. The 1850 Federal Census was the first to list all members of the household. The "Town House" is clearly labeled as dwelling #271. The records imply that 26 year old Harry Lamphire and his family were guardians of the poor house and aided by the labor of 15 year old Henry Moseley. The farm was home to seven paupers including Charles Mattoon, who is listed as insane.

Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Place of Birth	Whether deaf and dumb, blind insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict	Death and Burial Information (from other sources)
Harry Lamphire	26	М	Farmer	VT		d. 28 Feb 1863 of cerebitis
Olivia Lamphire	24	F		NH		
Hellen Lamphire	3	F		VT		
Henry Moseley	15	М		VT		If this is Henry J. Moseley, he outlived the poor farm and became the property owner of the St. Anthony's cemetery lot.
James Brink	85	М	Laborer	СТ	Pauper	
Abram Whitney	77	Μ	Farmer	MA	Pauper	
Calvin Frink	81	М		СТ	Pauper	d. 1859 Dec 8, Delano/Savage
Charles Mattoon	79	Μ		MA	Pauper and insane	
Rueben Brink	44	М	Farmer	VT	Pauper	d. 1872 Dec 25 of old age (James was his father)
Wyram Loomis	83	М	Farmer	VT	Pauper	
Betsey Failon	73	F		СТ	Pauper	

Table 11. Harry Lamphire's household data from 1850 Census.

At the March 1852 Town Meeting, the voters authorized the town agent and selectmen to purchase "that part of the Poor Farm that is now Widow Dower, or to sell the town's interest in said farm as they shall judge to be best for the interest of the town" (Vol. 3, 88). At a special meeting in April, the freemen then voted to authorize John Porter to "deed the Pauper Farm to Harry G. Lamphear."

An 1856 gazetteer of Windsor County displays H. Lamphere on the western bank of the White River and to the east of present-day Old River Road (Chace, Jr. 1856). It is important to note that such gazetteers were used for advertising purposes, akin to an early White and Yellow Pages. The maps were not necessarily to scale, and only included those households who paid a fee to be listed. Thus, blank areas of the map may not have been uninhabited in reality. That being said, to the north of Lamphere is S. B. Dimick, a surname that features in the boundaries of the Walter Smith farm as described in the 1831 deed.

C.Ri. IGC'OW 1 I Cowen hn & B Dimick KOW rk Milton HLamph Drown orter L' Bro Delano Leighton in Brockwa W Savage Miss 6 Marsh

Figure 35. 1856 Chase Map, H. Lamphere, probable location of Old River Road Poor Farm

After geo-referencing the historic map (i.e. aligning it with modern maps using shared landscape points), the waypoints recorded using a GPS device (to 15ft accuracy) at the Potter's Field cemetery appear to confirm that this was indeed the location of the poor farm described by Tucker and in the 1850 census. As shown on Figure 36, the red dots toward the south (bottom) represent the current GPS locations of 5 fieldstone markers in situ. The red dot to the north (top) is the location of the access gate on Old River Road.



Figure 36. Geo-referenced 1856 Chace map.

At the March 1860 Town Meeting, voters ordered the selectmen to confer with the overseer "as to what course is best to be taken to lessen the expenses of supporting paupers" (Vol. 3, 196). The same meeting saw the raising of the highest taxes yet: 50 cents on the dollar to help defray town expenses plus an additional 7 cents for highways. It's little surprise that the voters sought savings.

The 1860 federal census of Hartford does not identify a poor farm or town house. Previous poor house resident, Rueben Brink is reported as a pauper lodging with George P. Robinson's family. None of the other 1850 residents are in the 1860 census in Hartford. Two new indigents: Mary Swinborn (deaf) is lodged with George Blaisdell and Oliver Milliken, listed as "Deaf and Blind" is lodged with Abel Hazen. Harry Lamphere and his family are recorded as living in Hartland in 1860. Thus, it seems that between 1856 and 1860, the town farm under Harry Lamphere's direction was disbanded. Perhaps the seven elderly residents had passed. The 1869 Beers Atlas does not show a residence between J. Leighton and S. Dimick but does show a sizeable island in the middle of the river in the area.

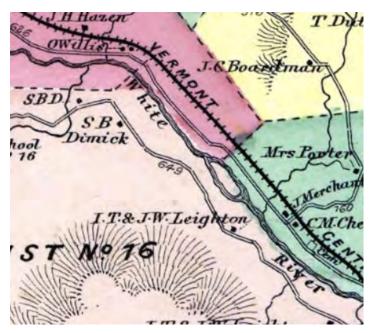


Figure 37. 1869 Beers Atlas of Windsor County showing "blank" space at old poor farm

A New Town Farm

At the March 1862 Town Meeting, it was voted to create a committee to find a "farm Suitable for a town farm." Tucker reports that the town purchased Jonas G. Lamphere's farm of 160 acres for the new poor farm around 1866 and moved the poor from the old Smith farm property on the White River. An 1863 deed (Book 20 Page 122) from the Needhams to the Lampheres describes the property as:

Northerly by land of William Clark but formerly owned by Isaac Burch___ the road leading to Pomfret ___by the house of Joel Simonds and [illegible] of said Joel Simmonds___and land this day conveyed by us to Joseph C.

Porter__Westerly by land of L.C. Udall and known as the Bank Lot__southerly by land of said Udall and land of E.G. Culver and easterly by land of said Culver__Being a part of the same lands conveyed by Eli Harrington and wife to Daniel Needham and Peter Pinneo...

Tucker (1889, 16) also refers to this location when describing the location of Quechee Spring: "This spring occurs in the calciferous mica schist formation on a beautiful slope of land on the town poor farm, which is about two miles distant from Quechee village, and about the same distance from the village of West Hartford." Figure 38 shows this location: note the Medicinal Springs to south and J. Simonds to north along the Old Kings Highway (now a Class IV road). Pomfret is marked by the yellow town boundary to the west.

cowen J. Brockway A.Tiamb W.Clark Birch A.Kimpton W Drown BSH atterson M Barron. S. Bett 1 mon nds eeter I Chambertin P.Pineo &D.Veedhan 6 Calver .C.R.Whitman Medicinal Springs Lovering .O.Inscomb N.L. Holt

Figure 38. 1856 Chace Map showing location of "P. Pineo & D. Needham" property.



Figure 39. 1869 Beers Atlas showing the "new" Town Farm (map is oriented off north)

The "new" poor farm, also known as the "town farm" or the "old town farm" was the subject of the January/February 2018 issue of the Hartford Historical Society newsletter. A reprinted article from *The Landmark* dated February 16, 1933, 17 years before the farm closed, describes what life was like for its inmates and guardians.

Death and Burial at the Old River Road Poor Farm

There are no records pertaining to what happened when someone died on the poor farm during this time period. In Marlborough, Massachusetts, town regulations permitted that the deceased's relations could inter their relative at their own expense; otherwise, the responsibility fell to the town (E. L. Bell 1993). The existence of a cemetery on the grounds of the Old River Road poor farm suggests that some inmates may have been buried on the farm itself, but these graves could also be for previous or later decedents. Early gravestones and some Quaker graves were often undressed fieldstone.

Possible Confusion with Old Town Farm

Tucker counted 814 graves in 12 cemeteries across Hartford. Unfortunately, he did not count childrens' graves, of which there are many, and so his counts often do not match the number of headstones or burials in a given cemetery. One count of his has been used to estimate the number of possible burials at the Potter's Field site: "private cemetery, near the town poor house, 20" (1889, 187). However, it is possible if not likely that Tucker was referring to the location of the town poor house *at the time of his writing* on Old Town Farm Road in Quechee. This would correspond with the Simons/Simmons/Simonds "private" cemetery, which is in ruined condition now (11 markers reported in 1977, 7 in 2015), but could have had 20 existing markers at the time of Tucker's writing.

Outstanding Research Questions

- 1. Do the selectmen's journals that Tucker references offer any more information regarding who could be buried at this site?
- 2. What is the extent of intact soil on the Potter's Field landform?
- 3. Can probate records shed any light on who may be buried there?
- 4. Is there anyone with living memory of the Paronto property, its land use, and/or the discovery of the cemetery in 1954?
- 5. Can any more grave locations be identified for the listed paupers to rule them out?
- 6. Did the Lampheres (or Leightons or Legays) have any children die while living at the property, maybe a child with the first initial "M"?

Qui	ck Stats
Location	Old Quechee Road
Туре	Association (Active)
Parcel	12-0CEM-0
Owner	Quechee Cemetery Association
Current Deeds	Missing c. 1856 purchase
	Book 24 Page 306 (1877)
	Book 30 Page 155 (1894)
	Missing Dewey (1903)?
	Book 34 Page 157 (1903)
	Book 34 Page 163 (1903)
	Book 34 Page 164 (1903)
	Missing c. 1922 stream purchase
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No
Range of legible graves	1774 - present
Number of graves	650 - 850 +
Last marker inventory	Paper, 1950s-70s, no map

Quechee Lower and Hilltop Cemetery

The Quechee Cemetery is comprised of two areas: the older "lower cemetery" or "Riverside" and the upper "hilltop," which are managed as a single unit by the Quechee Cemetery Association. Ron Heroux (2010) noted the following additional names for the lower portion: "old cemetery" and "Riverside." Both portions and two buildings (a shed and receiving tomb) are included as contributing elements in the Quechee Mills Historic District, which was listed on the National Register in 1997. These elements are described as follows:

31. Old Cemetery. Deweys Mill Road [Quechee Main Street]⁸, 1774+.

Contributing site. Located at the junction of Deweys Mill Road [Quechee Main Street] and Old Quechee Road, the Old Cemetery occupies a roughly

⁸ The town's road names have changed to accommodate E-911 services since the nomination was prepared.

triangularly shaped area, leveled by retaining walls along both roads. A chain link fence sets off the western bounds of the cemetery. Along Old Quechee Road, the top of the stone wall is level with the shoulder along the road with concrete steps leading down to the cemetery. The gravestones are arranged in north-south rows, facing west. Older markers include slate stones with urn motifs as well as later marble and granite stones. Interspersed are later larger monuments including obelisks and family plots, set off by a border of granite curbing or cornerstones. Mature pine trees are located along the southern boundary of the cemetery and a few additional pine trees are located within the cemetery. The oldest legible tombstone in the cemetery is reportedly that of Abida Marsh, dated 1774. The burying ground was the final resting place for many of the village's residents from the late 18th until the early 20th century. It also includes a number of prominent citizens including Joseph Marsh, the first Lieutenant Governor of Vermont, as well as soldiers from the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Civil War. The 1889 town history indicates that there were 232 decedents in the old Quechee Cemetery at that time.⁹

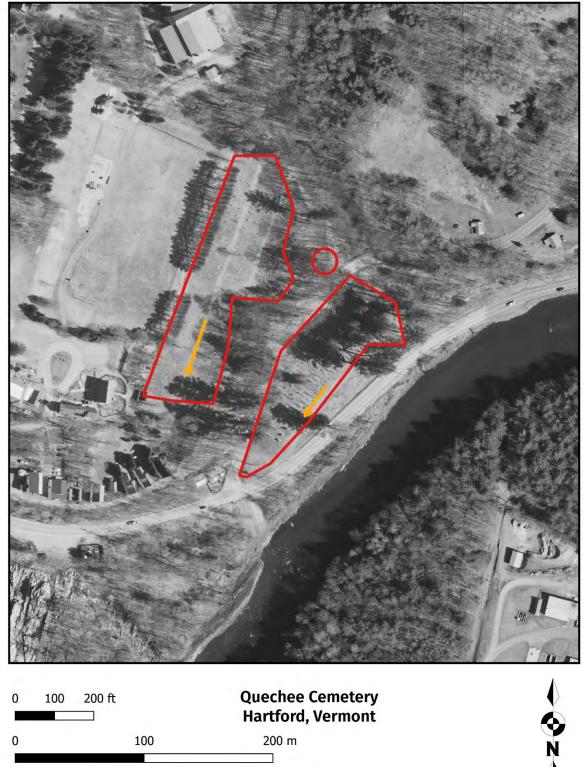
30. New Cemetery [Hilltop], Cemetery Road, 1903+. Contributing site. The more recent of the two cemeteries in the district, the "New" Cemetery is located to the east of School Street, accessed by Cemetery Road from Old Quechee Road. A dirt road cuts through the center of the cemetery. The large open space is without trees except on the edges and the stones are arranged in east-west rows facing south. The stones are largely granite with the earliest dating to the early 20th century. The cemetery is still in use today.

30a. Shed,¹⁰ **c. 1910.** Contributing building. Located in the southwest portion of the cemetery is this single story gablefront clapboarded shed. The asphalt-shingled gable roof displays projecting eaves. The "New" Cemetery was made possible by a donation of land in 1903 from William S. Dewey, who conveyed part of the western adjacent property on High Street to the Quechee Cemetery Association for the formation of the cemetery.¹¹ Other adjacent landowners including George Spencer, Lorenzo Shattuck and Frank Saxie also conveyed parts of their land at the same time.

31a. Town Tomb, [Old Quechee Road], 1829+. Built into the hillside across Old Quechee Road from the cemetery, the town tomb is constructed of large, rough-faced granite blocks. Above the double doors with iron bars is a smooth lintel inscribed "1960". Capping this stone is a rough-faced pediment upon which the dates "1829-1899" are chiseled. Retaining walls of drylaid fieldstone are located to each side.

⁹ This is referencing Tucker, who did not typically count the graves of young children.

¹⁰ According to the cemetery association's records, this building may have been used to house a horse-drawn hearse. ¹¹ This conveyance has yet to be located.



orange arrow shows grave marker orientation

Figure 40. Map of Quechee Cemetery

Marshland Farm 1772 - 1856

According to a Quechee Village history (Doyle-Schechtman 2007), the lower cemetery was likely part of the lot owned by Colonel Joseph Marsh in the 18th century, but that "no one knows how the cemetery came into being." The author proposes that it could have already been an Indigenous burial ground; however, no documentary or archaeological evidence supports this (although the site's location and geomorphology would have been amenable to habitation). Presumably, the site has been in use since 1774 as a burying ground when the toddler, Abida Marsh, was buried there. Landowner Joseph Marsh came to the town in 1772, but didn't erect his "baronial mansion" until 1793 (Doyle-Schechtman 2007). Today, the mansion is the site of the Quechee Inn, and is located about 0.4 miles east of the lower cemetery.

Quechee Cemetery Association 1856 - present

The Quechee Cemetery Association first enters town records in 1856 when it purchased its first piece of land (Doyle-Schechtman 2007), although this deed has not been located. The association has archival records dating back to at least 1871, much of which chronicles the purchases recorded by the treasurer, as well as a current plat of the cemetery, which should be filed with the Town Clerk to update their archival records.

An 1872 newspaper article states that the cemetery received extensive repairs and that the Hon. John Porter had erected a sizeable family monument from Scotland (*The Woodstock Post* 1872). The reddish-brown obelisk is still standing today. Tucker (1889) celebrates an undated \$500 endowment established by William S. Carter for the cemetery's care. Carter died in 1873, so this fund would have been established by his estate or prior; his lengthy obituary speaks to his philanthropic deeds but does not mention the cemetery specifically (*Spirit of the Age* 1873). Perhaps Carter's donation helped to fund the association's next land acquisitions in 1877 and 1894. Today, the association does not seem to have an endowment, so perhaps this fund was liquidated or lost in later, lean years.

A man with the surname of Harding laid out plots for the association in 1894-96. Doyle-Schechtman (2007) wonders if this was John Harding, who was listed in the *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Windsor County, Vermont of 1883-84* as a manufacturer of granite and marble cemetery work. The federal census of 1880 lists John Harding as a marble dealer who was boarding at the home of Mary Russ. The Quechee Cemetery Association had previously done business with Harding, having purchased a replacement stone for Shubel Russ's grave when the original was broken while being straightened in 1884. Perhaps Harding could also survey cemetery plots as well.

The association's records state that the upper (hilltop) portion of the cemetery was first used in 1894; however, two graves appear to predate this date (Doyle-Schechtman 2007). Perhaps the graves were already there or were moved there later. Burial permits were required by law in 1903, which is the same year that a number of land conveyances were made. The Quechee Cemetery Association was reorganized and incorporated according to state law on August 10, 1920. The new association purchased the (rights to or land of) a stream in 1922.

The North Hartland dam was constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers between 1958-61 for flood control purposes. The north-eastern boundary of the lower cemetery is a waterway owned by the Army Corps. In their oral history interview, Jim Dow and Larry Hudson recall how the original tomb, which was at a lower elevation, was "demolitioned" and then re-sited and rebuilt in 1960.

Today, burial records are curated by Larry Hudson. The lower cemetery reflects the aesthetics of the Rural Cemetery Movement while the hilltop lot is more in keeping with a Lawn Park tradition. The rational grid layout of the hilltop lots are marked with clear, granite corner markers. Larry Hudson and Jim Dow's oral history interview discusses the more recent history of burial practices and maintaining the cemetery and note that "we're a little fussy" on the finer details. Although they miss the days when the younger inmates from Windsor Farm¹² would eagerly care for the cemetery, they speak highly of their current mower, who "lives to mow cemeteries. He reveres cemeteries."

Name / Position	Contact
Tabatha Manley/President	333 Quechee West Hartford Road, Quechee, VT, 05059
Ann E. Collins/Treasurer ¹³	946 Quechee Hartland Rd, White River Junction, VT,
	05001
Susan M. Buckholz/Secretary	973 Old Town Farm Road, White River Junction, VT,
	05001
Ann E. Collins/Director	946 Quechee Hartland Road, White River Junction, VT,
	05001
Caitlin Eastman/Director	87 Henri Hill, Quechee, VT, 05059
David Brockway/Director	245 Hillside Road, Quechee, VT, 05059
James S. Dow/Director	973 Old Town Farm Road, White River Junction, VT,
	05001
Lawrence Hudson,	946 Quechee Hartland Rd, White River Junction, VT,
Jr./Director	05001
Tabatha Manley/Director	333 Quechee West Hartford Road, Quechee, VT, 05059

Table 12. Quechee Cemetery Association Principals Listed by VT Secretary of State in 2019

Notable Graves

Joseph Marsh (1726 – 1811) was a prominent Hartford citizen who quickly rose in politics: he was a member of the 1777 Vermont constitutional convention in Windsor and served as the republic's first Lieutenant-Governor (1778; 1787-1789). He held various political offices, including Chief Judge of Windsor County Court and Representative to the General Assembly. His wife died in 1810, and he passed away the following year, reportedly from a broken heart (Doyle-Schechtman 2007). Both are buried in the lower cemetery.

¹² A separate institution from Windsor State Penitentiary that has served lower risk inmates during its history including women, youth, and drug offenders.

¹³ According to the 2019 oral history interviews, Kate Eastman is now Treasurer at Quechee.

Albert Gallatin Dewey (1805 – 1886) was a prominent millowner in town and actively involved in politics. He was a philanthropic supporter of the Quechee cemetery. His papers are archived at Dartmouth College and as they cover the years he served on the town's selectboard may be a good resource for learning more about the town's maintenance of cemeteries and the poor.

Outstanding Research Questions

- 1. Can the cemetery's burial records be used to guide a future marker inventory?
- 2. Did William Dewey ever give property or just money to the cemetery?
- 3. Can the early perpetual care or endowment fund be traced through the association's records?
- 4. Were any graves exhumed when the Army Corps built the North Hartland dam?

Quick	Stats
Location	North Hartland Road
Туре	Municipal (Active)
Parcel	16-0CEM-0
Owner	Town of Hartford (Deed to)
Current Deeds	Book 14 Page 394 (1846)
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No
Range of legible graves	1802 - 2000
Number of graves	89
Last marker inventory	R. Heroux 2008 (digital)

Russtown Cemetery

Russtown is a small neighborhood in the southeastern corner of Hartford where a number of Rust (also spelled Russ) descendants settled. The Rust family of Hartford traces a long history in New England, descending from Henry Rust of Hingham, England, who settled in Hingham, Massachusetts Bay Colony sometime between 1633-35 (Rust 1891). His third son, Israel (c. 1643), moved to Northampton, Massachusetts Bay Colony, and married Rebecca Clark in 1678. Their son, Nathaniel, was the first settler of Coventry, Connecticut in 1700, where he moved his family, including his young son, Nathaniel, Jr. (1695). Nathaniel, Jr. and his wife stayed in Windham County, Connecticut, where they had 12 children, including Matthias (born April 2, 1726). Matthias Rust married Lucy Fitch in 1749 or 1750, had nine children, and eventually settled in North Hartland, Vermont, in 1765. Their sons Niel (also spelled Nial) and Lemuel already held land in Hartford on November 13, 1792, when Matthias purchased two parcels from Lemuel.



Figure 41. Map of Russtown Cemetery

Two of the earliest graves in the cemetery belong to Matthias (d. 1805) and Lucy (d. 1804) Rust. On May 5, 1806, the Town Records (p44), state that "two pair of gravestones found by Nial Rust ...one pair marked with the Name of Matthias Rust the other pair marked with the Name of Lucy Rust...at ten dollars Each. Said stones found on Nial Rust land in Hartford near the Turnpike road." Today, the slate headstones and matching footstones are standing in Russtown Cemetery (Figure 42). Did this portion of Niel's land become Russtown Cemetery? Tracing the land and probate records certainly suggests that it did.

Date	Book	Page	Grantor	Grantee
1846 Dec 28	14	394	Almon Rust	Town of Hartford
1831 Jan 17	10	155	Alvin Baily	Almon Rust
1828 Nov 26	9	124	Hyde Clark (estate of Stephen Tryon)	Alvin Baily
1813 March 18	6	114	Nial Rust	Theron Rust

Table 13. Conveyance History for the Russtown Cemetery land



Figure 42. Matthias and Lucy Rusts' headstones and footstones

On March 18, 1813, Niel sold his 213 acre farm to his son, Theron (Book 6 page 114). However, they both died within days of the transaction, likely from the 1813 epidemic that was sweeping the state. Niel was buried in Russtown Cemetery, but there is no marker record for his son, Theron. A lengthy probate record for Theron's estate can be found in the Windsor County records covering 1813 – 1828, concluding with an order to sell. Hyde Clark, the estate administrator, sold the acreage to three separate buyers. Alvin Baily purchased the majority of the land and sold it three years later to Almon Rust, Niel's son (and Matthias's grandson). According to family history, Almon was a farmer and also deaf and blind. In the process of selling another parcel, Almon implied that the landform may have been known at the time as "burying ground hollow."

Almon Rust deeded the Russtown Cemetery on December 28, 1846, to the Town of Hartford, describing it as follows:

It being that piece of land lying in the south part of said town, and adjoining the road leading from Hartford to Hartland, which has heretofore been used for a burying ground, supposed to contain three fourth of an acre be the same more or less....to the Town of Hartford for a burying ground forever...

Many of the graves in the Russtown cemetery hold the descendants of Matthias and Lucy Rust. Further genealogical research using R. Heroux's marker inventory and the Record of the Rust Family (Rust 1891) can trace these relations in more detail.

	Quick Stats
Location	Old King's Highway, off Old Town Farm Road
Туре	Municipal (Inactive)
Parcel	7-0CEM-0
Owner	Town of Hartford (Deeded to)
Current Deed	Book 16 Page 524 (1853)
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No
Range of legible graves	1832 - 1859
Number of graves	20?
Last marker inventory	R. Heroux 2008 (digital)

Simons Cemetery

Location and Property History

This small cemetery, alternatively known as the Braley-Simons, Simonds, and Simmons cemetery, is located on a Class IV road adjacent to the old cellar hole of Joel Simons' house. Figure 43 shows the location of the cemetery using 0.7m LIDAR Hillshade as a basemap since the area, historically in pasture, is now heavy forested. The blue lines show current parcel boundaries while the red box shows the current location of the cemetery (+/- 15ft error). Due to the ruined state of the cemetery, it is possible that stones have been scattered beyond the original extent of the parcel. Numerous stone walls and old roads can be seen on the LIDAR imagery.

The Simons surname is spelled in various ways across different texts. On November 25, 1853, Joel Simons deeded the cemetery to the Town of Hartford (Book 16, 524) for \$10. The property boundaries and restrictions were described as:

Beginning in the range of the entrance of my dwelling house, at a point 26 1/3 feet northerly from the northeast corner of said house, thence easterly at a right angle with said range 40 feet, thence westerly at a right angle with said range 40 feet, thence southerly on said range 33 feet to the place of beginning: and this conveyance is thus made expressly for the purpose of being used solely as a Burial place fore [sic] myself and wife and our children and their descendants and for them solely, without permission from me or my descendants.

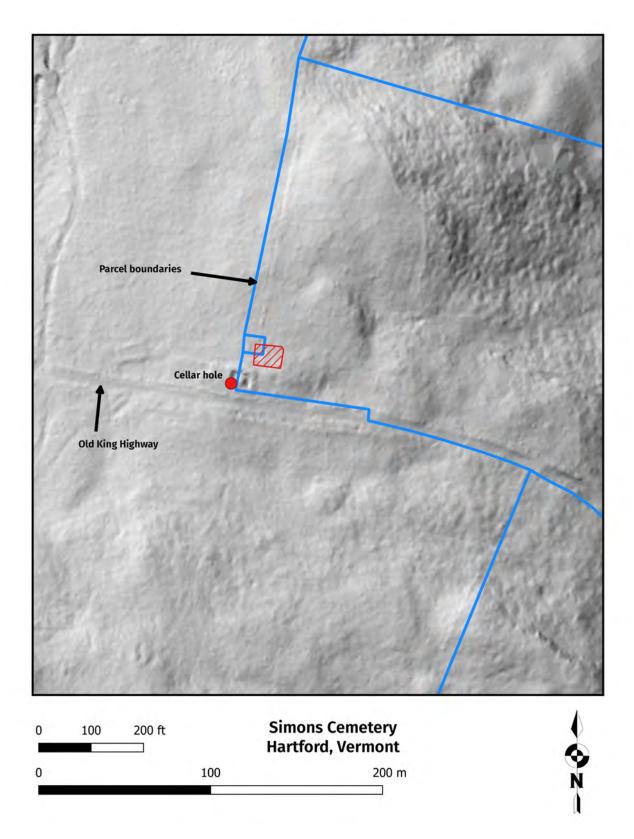


Figure 43. Map of Simons Cemetery

This parcel was part of a larger lot that had been conveyed to Joel by his brother-in-law Asa following the death of John Braley, father of Joel's wife, Lydia (hence why the cemetery has been called the Braley-Simons cemetery). This larger lot was Lot No. 20 of the second hundred acre division. Tucker notes that Lot No. 20 was adjacent to Lot No. 18, which was part of the 160 acre Jonas Lamphere farm that the town purchased for use as the new poor farm around 1866. Thus, it is believed that when Tucker speaks of the 20 graves at the "private cemetery near the town poor house" (1889, 187), he is referring to the Simons' family cemetery and not the Potter's Field on Old River Road.

Date	Book	Page	Grantor	Grantee	Notes
1853 Nov 25	16	524	Joel Simons	Town of Hartford	Conveyance of the family cemetery parcel, which is "reserved forever" from subsequent deeds
1831 Nov 8	10	128	Asa Braley, John Braley estate	Joel Simmons	Originally part of Lot 20 in second hundred division beginning at town line of Pomfret
1831 June 30	10	126	Estate of John Braley and children	Asa Braley	Joel and Lydia Simmons join in granting Asa Braley power of attorney to dispose of their father's property
1796 March 1	2	235	William Allen	John Braley	

Table 14. Simons Cemetery Parcel Deeds

Simons Family History

As recorded in the Town's Records (178) "Joel Simmons of Sheron" married "Lydia Brailey of sd. Hartford" on March 16, 1814, by the Justice of the Peace. The town's Family History book has a family record for Joel Simons on page 51, which lists four children. According to genealogical notes compiled by Priscilla (Gilman) Gadzinski (Joel's 2nd great granddaughter) in 2007 and curated at the Hartford Historical Society, Joel and Lydia ultimately had 14 children. Joel and Lydia lived at the property until April 4, 1864, when they sold the property to John Brockway (Book 20, 260) and moved to South Strafford where their daughter, Lydia, resided.

Table 15. Simons Family Data Compiled from archival records and notes taken by R. Heroux, and P.Gadzinksi; known/likely Simon's Cemetery burials are in yellow

Name	Birth	Married	Death	Burial
Joel FATHER	1793 Jan 27	Lydia Braley	1876 Sep 4	Evergreen
				Cemetery, S.
				Strafford, VT
Lydia	1794 Feb 25	Joel Simons	1873 Dec 31	Evergreen
MOTHER				Cemetery, S.
				Strafford, VT
Children of abo	Children of above			

Daniel West	1815 Jan 23	Sarah Judd	1882 May 26	Hartford Cemetery,
				as "Simonds"
Mary "Polly"	1815 Dec 23	Abel Marsh	1842 Feb 21	Simons Cemetery
Joel	1817 Dec 18	Olive Pitkin	1901 Sept 4	
Horace	1819 Aug 29	Cynthia Hopkins	1856 Oct 13?	Simons Cemetery
	-		Dec 14?	
Albert	1820 Dec 5		1832 May 5	Simons Cemetery
Clark	1822 Apr 16	Abigail Drew;	1899 Feb 12	•
	1	Rhoda McDonald		
Charles James	1824 Feb 22	Caroline Cass	1872 Nov 27	
Rufus Henry	1826 Apr 3	Wealthy Judd; Mary	1897 Dec 26	
	1	Waterman		
		Fullington		
Seth	1829	0	1832 May 5	Simons Cemetery
John	1831 June 28		1832 Apr 28	Simons Cemetery
Lydia	1832 Mar 18	Luman Judd;	1917 Jul 14	Evergreen
·		Pember Orcutt		Cemetery, S.
				Strafford, VT
John Braley	1833 Dec 4		1853 Oct 10	"Badgen's" or
·				"Badger's", likely
				Simons Cemetery
Infant	1837 Nov 24		1837 Nov 24	Simons Cemetery
Harriet S.	1839 Apr 24	Harvey Delano	1859 May 4	Simons Cemetery
Grandchildren (rles J. and Caroline)	•	•
Charles W.	1851 Sept 4		1851 Sept 8	Simons Cemetery
Henry	1855 Mar	Flora A. Peake	After 1910	(living in Norwich,
·				CT, 1900; 1910)
Luella	1857			
Harriet	1860 Jan 4	Frank Ilsley	1879 Aug 30	Evergreen
		•	-	Cemetery, S.
				Strafford, VT
Johnnie	1864			
Carrie A.	1869		1876 May 15	Evergreen
			-	Cemetery, S.
				Strafford, VT
				'

In the 1850 Federal Census, Joel Simons, farmer, is listed as living with: Lydia (56), Lydia (18), John (16), Harriet S (11), and Rufus H (24, Carpenter with his own real estate). John and Harriet were both attending school at the time. In the 1860 census, Joel's surname has changed to "Simonds" and is recorded as living with his wife, Lydia, Martha Dane (17, servant), and Alfred Hawley (17, farm laborer). Oral history has it that Joel was a "holy roller" and once leapt from the roof of his house.

Possible Identities of Damaged, Illegible, and Missing Graves

Tucker recorded at least 20 graves when he visited the site sometime before 1889. The DAR survey conducted between 1977-1982 found only 7 legible names, reporting that the stones were "in bad state with two sunken so far into ground as to be unreadable." This report is confirmed by Priscilla Gadzinski, who visited the site in 1990 with Jim Dow:

Stones broken and mostly buried. Granite posts show where there was once a wrought iron fence, long gone. It was said that people used the stones for target practice. Jim Dow said his father told him people used the tones [sic] for target practice.

Some of the stones may have also been intentionally vandalized by a squatter who was run off the land by a neighbor decades ago. Oral history has it that the squatter fired a .30-06 rifle at the stones. Such stories are believable as the stones are badly shattered and scattered across the site.

Ron Heroux, whose extensive cemetery documentation is curated at the Hartford Genealogy Center, visited the site in 1999 and was guided by Jim Dow. At that time, Dow had a tombstone in his barn, which he recalled as being part of the barn's foundation ever since when his father bought the land in 1954. Ron reports that some years before, a woman was researching (perhaps Gadzinski) and told Dow the tombstone may be Charles'. On August 19, 1999, Heroux returned the stone to the cemetery with a friend, photographing their work (Figure 44). Unfortunately, the stone could not be located when visiting the site in May 2019, and Dow is not sure whether it was placed in the cemetery parcel (or mistakenly placed elsewhere). It's also possible the stone was buried under forest debris or has since shattered.



Figure 44. Ron Heroux returning Charles Simons' stone in 1999

Lack of maintenance, vandalism, and removal of stones means that many of the gravemarkers that may have originally stood at Simons are no longer seen or legible. So, which graves are currently unmarked? Existing stones show that the cemetery was in use from 1832 – 1859. Joel and Lydia lived at the site from c. 1831 – 1864 and clearly buried several of their children there. It is possible that John Braley (1833-1853) was buried there, although the Vermont Vital Records (copied in 1919 and 1920) list "Badgen's" or "Badger's" as the name of his cemetery. No known cemetery exists with either name in the area. However, on September 15, 1864, Daniel Needham sold a parcel of land to Horace and Catherine Badger (Book 20, 380). The parcel is described as:

Southerly by the road leading to the farm lately owned and occupied by Joel Simonds westerly by land late of said Joel Simonds_northerly by land of Charles Simmonds and Easterly by the road leading from the House of said Jonas Lamphire to West Hartford, being the premises now in the occupancy of said Horace and Catherine.

With the Badgers taking up residence so close to Simon's Cemetery, it's quite possible that the cemetery took on the local owner's name of "Badger's".



Figure 45. 1869 Beers Atlas showing location of Badger and proximity to Town Farm

Another important piece of information is in the deed's boundary description: that Charles Simmonds owned nearby land. In the 1860 census, "Chas Simonds", farmer, is living with his wife Caroline; son, Henry (5); and daughters, Luella (3) and Harriett (6 mo.). A 15 year old servant, Olivia Barker, who was still attending school was also in residence. Charles J. likely buried his son, Charles W. in the cemetery in 1851 (the stone that was reportedly in the barn foundation in 1954). Perhaps Charles and Caroline had other children who died that are buried

there as well. In the 1870 census, Chas and his family are living in Barnard, Vermont, and when their daughter Carrie A. dies in 1876, she is buried in Evergreen Cemetery in South Strafford where her grandmother, Lydia, was buried in 1873 and her grandfather, Joel, is buried later that year. Charles J. dies in 1872, possibly while the family was living in Barnard. His burial records have not yet been located.

Further genealogical work, above-ground surveying, and probing for buried stones may uncover other candidates for the unmarked graves in the Simons Cemetery. The soil there is mapped as Vershire-Dummerston, which means it's quite rocky. This would complicate geophysical surveys. Because the 1853 Simons deed is so clear about the parcel's boundaries and many of the granite posts are likely to be uncovered, above-ground archaeological documentation and submeter GPS survey would probably provide enough information to re-establish the boundaries of the site.

Outstanding Research Questions

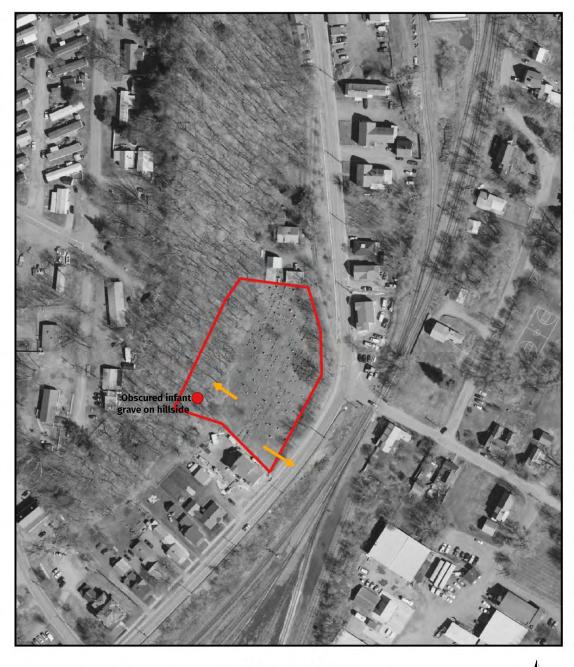
- 1. How many graves are in Simons Cemetery?
- 2. If Tucker's count of 20 does apply to this cemetery, who else is buried here?

	Quick Stats
Location	469 South Main St.
Туре	Religious (Inactive except for previous lot holders)
Parcel	48-0CEM-0
Owner	Diocese of Burlington (c/o St. Anthony's Parish)
Current Deeds	Book 22 Page 246 (1870)
	Book 25 Page 33 (1878 addition)
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No
Range of legible graves	1780 - 2013
Number of graves	Approx. 650
Last marker inventory	DAR 1977 (paper); Kill and Aldrich 1960s (digital)

St. Anthony's Cemetery

Description

Located on South Main Street, this cemetery is also known as the South End Cemetery and the South Main Street Cemetery. Historically, the northern section of the cemetery was used by the St. Anthony's Catholic parish while the southern section was the "Protestant Lot" and also contained the skeletons exhumed from the nearby Old Burying Ground (discussed below). Today, more recent graves can be found in the southwestern corner. Oral history in town recounts that a mass grave of Indian burials uncovered during the railroad construction were reburied in a corner lot, although no documentary evidence has been found to substantiate this. The separate burial components at the St. Anthony's Cemetery complicate the accurate recordkeeping and mapping of its plots. As Pete Choquette posted on the Hartford Historical Society's Facebook page in 2015:



0	100	200 ft	St. Anthony's Cemetery Hartford, Vermont		
0			100 200 m		N
			orange arrow s	shows grave marker orientation	Ì

Figure 46. Map of St. Anthony's Cemetery

When I worked for the church I hand dug graves in that cemetery. There was not map [sic] to show where anyone was buried. We use [sic] to take a 6 foot steel rod and stick it in the ground until we hit something. Then we would move over a little and keep sticking it in the ground until we figured we could did [sic] the grave. Real scientific

A quick glance may lead one to believe that the cemetery occupies the level terrace from the vegetation line above the street to the steep hill at the back of the cemetery. However, on closer inspection, more graves emerge from the wooded hillside, including a large family plot with red cast iron decorative railings. At one point in time, at least three additional terraces of graves were maintained on the steep slope, perhaps providing a short cut for students, as Sean Kivler posted in 2015 on the historical society's Facebook page: "There is a stone in the far back under the treeline...dating back to the 1700s. Found it one time grousing through there on my way home from school...stone is not more than 1ft tall, very dark w/ lots of lichen on it." Indeed, the stones along the hill are in fairly bad shape, some being covered with leaf debris and old fake flowers removed from seasons past. The switchbacks have not been maintained, and climbers risk slipping and sliding on the leaves, roots, and new brush to reach the graves: a potential liability issue. Figure 47 shows the switchbacks upon which some cemetery lots can be found.

The Old Burying Ground and the Protestant Lot

Tucker (1889, 191) states that St. Anthony's Cemetery:

comprises the graves of a portion of the Protestant population who have died in White River Junction since 1846, together with those who were transferred in 1846 from the old burying-ground, then appropriated to the use of the Vermont Central railroad, which contained about two acres, and was located on lot "No. 4," drawn to the original right of Joshua Pomeroy, in the 1st division of lots in 1761.

Unfortunately, no map marks the location of the old burying ground, as they all post-date the railroad's construction, and no documentation of the cemetery's location has been found in the town's records or the railroad's archives at the Vermont History Library. However, a *Valley Sun* newspaper article from 1885 holds an important clue:

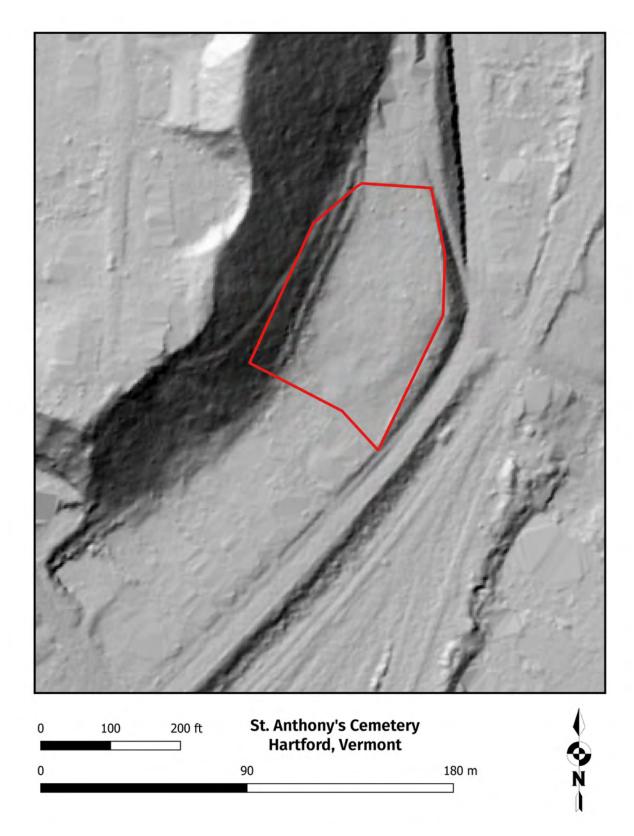


Figure 47. LIDAR Hillshade of St. Anthony's Terraces

Workmen while digging a cellar for the house of P. H. Ahern, near Dan Ahern's, struck upon an old burying-ground. In one of the graves were found only the bones of the arm, the feathers of the pillow and the shavings used under the pillow, while in the others only pieces of the coffins bearing letters and figures made with heads of brass tacks driven into the wood were found. A piece that we secured bears the following letters and figures: "P.C., Æ 38."...It was known that the place had been used for a burying ground, but it was supposed the bodies had all been removed....Since the above was in type several other graves have been dug into, but their contents hvd [sic] almost entirely disappearad [sic]. No one has yet been found who had any knowledge of any graves at that place; hence they must have been placed there not less than 75 years ago. (Valley Sun 1885b)

Book 27 Page 120 of the Hartford Land Records reveals a deed from Daniel Ahern to Patrick Ahern on June 16, 1886, eight months after the newspaper article was published. Is this Patrick's house lot? The land is bounded by the Central Vermont RR land on the west and the Passumpsic River RR land to the north:

Beginning on the south line of Daniel Aherns land on the west-side of the highway thence westerly to the Central Vermont RR land. Thence northerly on the easterly line of the Central Vermont RR land nine rods and sixteen links. Thence easterly on the South-line of the Passumpsic RR Co. land to the highway. Thence southerly along the west-side of the highway about nine or ten rods to the place of beginning. Meaning hereby to convey all the land that is west of the highway that was deed to me...by Asa T. Barron and Oscar F. Barron.

The 1869 Beers Atlas shows the possible location of these parcels northeast of the St. Anthony's Cemetery (Figure 48). And another Valley Sun article announced that "P. H. Ahern is to commence building a house next week, opposite M. O'Niel's new house" (*Valley Sun* 1885a). Unfortunately, the 1917 Sanborn maps show many residences in that area, but do not identify owners. Further deed research may be able to uncover the location of Patrick Ahern's house. Unfortunately, the 1890 federal census for Vermont was destroyed in a fire and the 1900 census doesn't include addresses, so these sources can't help. Daniel, Patrick, and Daniel's wife are all buried in a family plot in Mt. Olivet Cemetery.

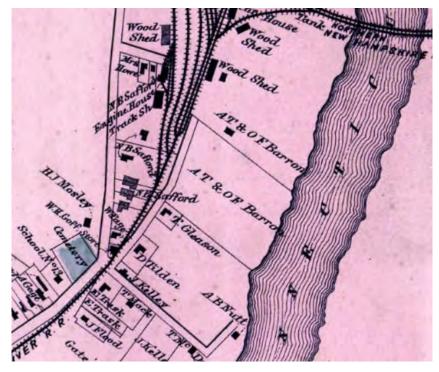


Figure 48. Location of AT & OF Barron parcels west of the railroad in White River Junction

Brass tacks were used in coffins throughout the 19th century (E. L. Bell 1990). Without the actual artifacts, it is difficult to ascertain a more specific date. The initials "P.C." and age of 38 gives a starting place for searching vital records more thoroughly.

The Catholic Lot

Many Irish surnames can be seen here, representing the early Catholic immigrants who worked on the railroads. This growing Catholic population was served by missionary priests as early as 1847 when Rev. Hilary Tucker of Boston said mass, heard confession, and served communion to 130 workers in White River Junction and Lebanon (Murphy and Murphy 2009). The same year Rev. John Daley offered mass "in a WRJ railroad shanty" (Hannon 1969). In 1853 the Diocese of Burlington was established, and Louis De Goesbriand, Chancellor of the Diocese of Cleveland, Ohio, was named the new diocese's bishop.

Table 16. Number of Catholics in White River Junction as reported by Rev. Charles O'Reilly 1858 - 1868

Year	Est. Number of Catholic families
1858	12 families
1860	30 families
1861	40 families
1865	? families (100 individuals)
1868	60 families (150 individuals)

In 1869 the bishop visited White River Junction and said Mass to a crowd of 700 people in the Junction Hotel. The crowd must have made an impression, because a new parish was founded on November 27, 1869, with Father Magloire Pigeon named parish priest (Hannon 1969). The diocese purchased a parcel on South Main Street from Henry J. Mosely that included two houses: one that could be used as a chapel and the other as a rectory. When the purchase was made, the priest set aside the land "between the chapel and an old existing cemetery to become a special place for burials of members of the Catholic community." In 1878 the diocese purchased another parcel on the hillside to expand the cemetery.

Date	Book	Page	Grantor	Grantee	
1878	25	33	Noah B.	Louis D.	This is the parcel on the slope of the
April			Safford	Goesbriand	hill that was added to the existing
12					cemetery
1870	22	246	Henry J.	Magloire	This is the deed for the church and
March			Moseley	Pigeon	existing burying ground
1					
1858	18	273	John and	Henry J.	Tracing Moseley parcel below
March			Mary Ann	Mosely	
15			Parkhurst		
1849	15	316-	Alonso B.	Parkhurst	"Beginning on the road leading South
June		317	Nutt		from Samuel Nutt's in said Hartford at
18					the South east corner of the Burial
					ground, thence westerly on said Burial
					ground and land owned by Samuel
					Nutt to a stake & stones on the brow of
					the hill, supposed to be 26 rods be it on
					or up, thence northerly to a stump &
					stake on the lime of Samuel Nutt and
					said Alonzo B. Nutt, thence easterly on
					Samuel Nutts line to the road aforesaid,
					thence on said road to the place of
1046	1.4	270		<u> </u>	beginning."
1846	14	370	Central VT	Alonso B.	Settlement over damages with Central
			RR	Nutt &	VT RR: Beginning at a point in centre
				Abraham	line of said Rail Road and in line
				Quimby	between Samuel Nutt and said Alonzo
					B, Nutt, thence bearing north easterly
					along said centre line 501 feet to line
					between said Samuel and Alonzo B.
					Nutt, embracing all lands laying 44 ¹ / ₂
					feet to the right and $54 \frac{1}{2}$ feet to the left
					of said centre line parallel and
					adjoining thereto containing one and
					25/100 acres

Table 17. Deed History of the St. Anthony's Cemetery

1844	13	501	Abraham	Alonso B.	50 acre lot numbered 6 lying south of
Feb 5			Quimby	Nutt	White River
1837	12	90	Ruell and Quimby "50 acre lot numbered six lying sou		"50 acre lot numbered six lying south
Jul 12			Lucy		of White River, East on Connecticut
			Taylor		River, North on land owned by Samuel
					Nutt west on land owned by Jasper
					Pineo, South on land owned by Samuel
					Nutt"
1835	12	3	Abiather	Lucy Taylor	Lot No. sixth south of White river
Jun 27			Shaw, Jr.		down the Connecticut river laid out to
					the right of Benjamin Wright.

Notable Graves

Samuel Nutt (1791 - 1871) was a prominent landowner in Hartford but began his business life in river and canal boats. He captained a steamboat on the Connecticut River in 1829 – 1830. He built the Junction House, was an early stockholder for the Central Vermont Railroad, and served as White River Junction's postmaster.

Benjamin Wright (1714 - 1795) was among the first colonists of Hartford and perhaps the first to build a house there. He was a prominent landowner and Revolutionary War militiaman. It is not known whether he is buried in his original context or was removed there during the railroad exhumations. His gravemarker was carved by Gershom Bartlett.

Outstanding Research Questions

- 1. Where were the boundaries of the Old Burying Ground?
- 2. How many graves were exhumed and reburied in St. Anthony's? Relatedly, how many unmarked graves are in St. Anthony's?
- 3. From where did the oral tradition regarding a Native American burial ground start?
- 4. How many graves are located on the terraces?

Tucker Cemetery

Quick Stats					
Location	Route 14				
Туре	Municipal (Inactive)				
Parcel	2-0CEM-1				
Owner	Town of Hartford (abandoned to?)				
Current Deeds	Documented as exception				
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	No				
Range of legible graves	1817 - 1881				
Number of graves	28				
Last marker inventory	R. Heroux 2008 (digital)				

Also known as "Murphy Cemetery" and "Fruit Stand Cemetery," this small burial ground contains approximately 28 headstones arranged in five rows (some with associated footstones), all oriented west-southwest, consistent with Christian burial customs. The markers are made from slate, marble, or limestone. Earlier stones feature willow and urn decorations (Table 18); later stones feature the family name in a bold serif font. The earliest inscription bears the date "1817" (although this stone is likely a later replacement), and marks the grave of Francis Whitmore Savage. The latest inscription legible in an April 2019 visit was 1881 (Harriet Whitcomb). However, Tucker's list of names (1889, 193) gives 1885 (Mary Frances Hazen) as the last decedent, but this stone could not be located (Mary Frances Hazen's name is included on the Hazen family stone in West Hartford Cemetery).

Row	Grave (N-S)	First Name	Last Name	Year of Death	Material	Decoration
1	5	Francis	Savage	1817	marble/limestone	
3	10	Relief	Richardson	1819	slate	urn
4	7	Lois	Ingraham	1820	slate	urn
4	6	Anna	Ingraham	1828	marble/limestone	willow/urn
4	5	Adonis	Ingraham	1833	marble/limestone	willow/urn
1	2	Eleanor	Hazen	1834	slate	willow/urn
4	4	Thomas	Ingraham	1834	marble/limestone	willow/urn
3	9	Electa	Richardson	1834	marble/limestone	
4	3	Ermina	Newton	1837	slate	geometric
3	8	dau.	Samuel	1837	slate	willow/urn
3	7	Eliza	Fuller	1838	marble/limestone	
3	5	Abel	Camp	1839	marble/limestone	
5	1	Simon	Bartholomew	1842	slate	willow/urn
1	1	Ermina	Hazen	1843	marble/limestone	
2	1	Susannah, dau.	Culver	1844	marble/limestone	
2	2	Susannah	Culver	1844	marble/limestone	
2	3	Nancy	Dutton	1844	marble/limestone	
1	6	Abigail	Savage	1847	marble/limestone	
3	4	Orra	Whitcomb	1848	marble/limestone	
3	6	Katura	Dexter	1851	marble/limestone	
1	3	David	Hazen	1853	marble/limestone	
3	2	Alonzo	Whitcomb	1855	marble/limestone	
4	2	David	Ingraham	1858	marble/limestone	
3	1	Willis	Whitcomb	1862	marble/limestone	
1	7	Abigail	Downer	1869	marble/limestone	
4	1	Mary	Ingraham	1874	marble/limestone	
1	4	Nancy	Hazen	1879	marble/limestone	
3	3	Harriet	Whitcomb	1881	marble/limestone	

Table 18. Graves at the Tucker Cemetery, sorted by year of death, note trends in material and decoration.

Site History

The cemetery is documented on the National Register Nomination Form for the West Hartford Historic District as contributing element 26a. The earliest grave, Francis W. Savage, was the original occupant of the adjacent Federal style farmhouse (built c. 1790-1795). Savage operated an inn and farm on the premises with his wife, Abigail, both of whom are buried at the site. The property passed to their daughter, Nancy and her husband David Hazen, in 1834 (and also buried on site). Their daughters Susan and Amanda married two brothers: William Howard Tucker (author of the only comprehensive history of the town) and Samuel B. Tucker, who jointly purchased the farm in 1858. William eventually sold his share to Samuel, who sold the property to Hezekieh Hazen on April 10, 1863. In that deed (Book 20, 94) the cemetery is excepted from the land transaction and described as:

...a piece of land occupied as a burying ground bounded as follows, viz. beginning at the North West corner of said ground, following the Turnpike, fifty feet__thence up the brook one hundred + twenty feet__thence to a stone post which ranges with said permit on brook + corner of horse barn, twentyseven feet__thence one hundred + two feet to point of beginning.

Date	Bk	Pg	Grantor	Grantee
1978			Perley	Hooper
1951 June 18	54	79	Ingham, Harmon	Perley, Wellington J.
1945 June 1	50	229	Murphy, Dennis	Harmon and Ida Ingham
1933 June 17	44	226	Tucker, Herbert	Dennis and Nellie Murphy
1929 June 27	44	356	Estate of Ella Tucker	Tucker, Herbert
1908 May 30	36	217	Tucker, Chas H.	Tucker, Ella B.
1908 May 30	36	216	Tucker, William H. and Ella B.	Tucker, Chas H.
1907 Nov 23	36	139	Smith, D.C. and son	Tucker, William H.
1907 Nov 1	36	128	Gile, William R.	Smith, D.C. and son
1906 April 10	34	279	Brockway, Henry and George C., executors of the will of Ann Lamb	Gile, William R.
1898 Oct 24	32	102	Gile, William R.	Lamb, Ann S.
1878 April 18	24	459	Hazen, John B. and Mary Ann	Gile, William
1864 May 8	20	337	Hazen, Hezekieh and Ellen	Hazen, John B. and Mary Ann

1863 April 10	20	94	Tucker, Samuel B. and Amanda M.	Hazen, Hezekiah
1858 Jan 18	18	225	Nancy Hazen (David Hazen estate liquidation)	Tucker, Samuel and William – excepting a piece of land occupied as a burial ground
1847 Sept 8	15	43, 44, 45	Camp, Savage, Savage (Abigail's dower – see probate)	David Hazen

Recent Restoration and Continued Threats to the Site

The cemetery has recently been subject of restoration work carried out by Gardens of Stone (Arthur Peale). During the 1977 DAR survey of Hartford's cemeteries, only 19 graves were identified. Today, the visitor can find 28, many of which were buried or fallen and have been repaired and reset. This rate of potential "reclaiming" should be kept in mind for the other cemeteries. Tucker lists 27 graves, but did not include young children in his counts, so some markers are likely still missing. They may be buried or were swept away in one of the many floods the site has endured.

Flooding and associated erosion are major threats to the site, which slopes downward toward both the White River (to the southwest) and a small tributary that forms the site's westerly boundary. This tributary has likely cut into the cemetery over time, and rushing flood waters have likely denuded that area of the cemetery of its markers and topsoil.

Outstanding Research Questions

1. Is there a deed for the cemetery parcel or was it just "excepted" from the surrounding land (at least as early as 1863)?



Figure 49. Head cut at Tucker Cemetery



Figure 50. Looming tree endangers Tucker Cemetery

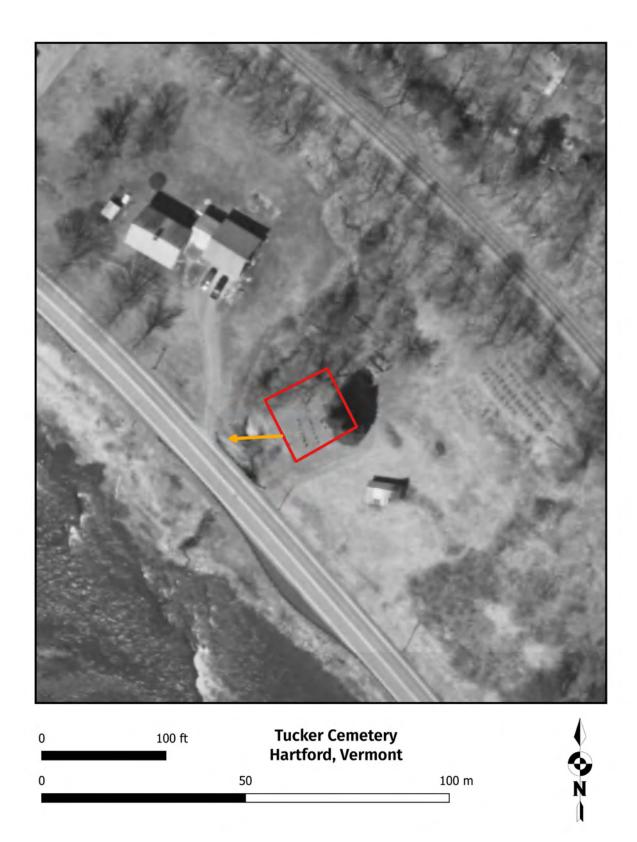


Figure 51. Map of Tucker Cemetery

	Quick Stats
Location	Route 14
Туре	Cemetery Association (Active)
Parcel	2-0CEM-0
Owner	West Hartford Cemetery Association
Current Deed	Missing 1921 and 1946?
	Book 73 Page 254 (1971 addition)
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	Yes (historic blueprint)
Range of legible graves	1801 - 2005
Number of graves	Approx. 200
Last marker inventory	James M. Kenison 2006 (digital); John Newton 2018 (digital)

West Hartford Cemetery

Location and Description

Located in the West Hartford Village Historic District on Route 14, the cemetery is currently managed by the West Hartford Cemetery Association. It sits on a relatively flat glacial outwash terrace comprised of well-drained Windsor loamy sand, which the current sexton, John Newton, attests makes for good burial ground soil. The cemetery is listed as a contributing element, c. 1820, and described as follows on the nomination form:

This cemetery is located on a gently sloping rectangular 2-acre parcel parallel to the road. It is bounded to the west by properties #17 [District #5 Schoolhouse] and 18 [R & K Kenyon House], to the east by the railroad tracks, to the south by property #15 [Gaffield-Tenney-Hayes House], and to the north by property #19 [R & M Kenyon house]. The West Hartford Congregational Church (#16) is near the southwest corner of the cemetery. The cemetery is accessed from Route 14 by a gravel driveway between properties #16 and 17, and the driveway continues along the western border of the cemetery.

The cemetery contains about 200 graves, and a wide variety of marble and granite gravestones, mostly dating to the nineteenth century. The dates, materials, and types of stones are mixed throughout the cemetery, which has no rows, but the most recent stones are generally towards the front (west side) of the cemetery. Most of the marble gravestones date from the 1830s to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and are either rectangular slabs or obelisks. Granite gravestones from the late nineteenth-century and twentieth century are decorated rectangular blocks or obelisks. The cemetery is in good condition and regularly maintained.

The oldest marked grave is that of West Hartford's first postmaster Phineas Parkhurst, who died in 1830, but that it was likely that people had been buried there for some years before this. During the construction of the railroad tracks in 1847, the east side of the cemetery was lost to railroad land and several graves were removed. The cemetery fell into poor condition by the 1880s, when improvements were made and it was enlarged. In 1921, the West Hartford Cemetery Association was incorporated. The cemetery is also called the Tucker Cemetery.¹⁴

Tucker (1889) reports that the east end of the cemetery was taken by the Vermont Central Rail Road in 1846 – 1847, during which skeletons "mainly from unmarked graves" were exhumed. If the excavation was similar to what was done in the Old Burying Ground near South Main Street, there could still be graves on the other side of the tracks. John Newton's oral history interview speaks to this event as well, recalling that when the railroad decided to put a siding in, people were hired to exhume the graves and move them "toward I would say southwest…and then they built a retaining wall." John Newton's great uncle remembered when the exhumation occurred. The stone retaining wall can still be seen today and the oldest burials are located closest to the tracks.

Local residents during the Victorian period beautified the cemetery, in keeping with the mortuary trends of the time, as related by a morbidly funny quip in *The Landmark*.

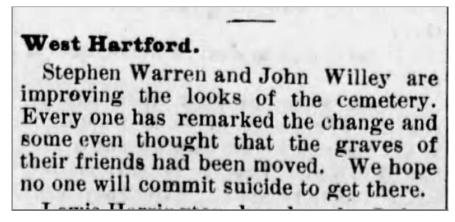


Figure 52. 1886 Improvements to the West Hartford Cemetery

John Newton summarized the landowner history, explaining that when the Hartford School District closed the school, the town donated the land to the cemetery association. The National Register nomination form states that the school closed in 1946 and the town sold the building for use as a private residence in 1963.

West Hartford Cemetery Association

The association was incorporated in 1921. *The Landmark* reported the following year that the association had voted to "buy the part of the cemetery belonging to C. S. Dimick" and to procure fencing (*The Landmark* 1922). John Newton recalls that the Congregational Church (which used to meet at the adjacent meeting house) originally wanted to maintain it as a religious cemetery,

¹⁴ This is likely a mistake as Tucker Cemetery is further west on Route 14.

but didn't have the funding, so they incorporated as a non-profit and began collecting money. But, the collection wasn't easy going:

Originally, for many, many years, right up until 1981 or 1982, they would send out bills to different relatives to pay for perpetual, or not perpetual but pay for care for each lot. Like I said, in 1981 or 1982, we finally gave up, threw up our hands and said, "The heck with it. It's just not worth trying to chase people down and get them to pay, so we'll just use our funds that we have collected." At the time, I think it was 1979, we had about \$20,000.00.... nobody pays anymore. It would be totally impractical to notify people for \$10.00 or something... (Newton 2019)

Instead, the association began investing the funds and made a good bit of interest during the 1980s when the federal reserve was combatting inflation with high interest rates.

Today, the association has a small board and is in need of younger, active members. John Newton's daughter may be interested in becoming involved when she relocates from Hartland, which would provide some continuity. John Newton has several maps as well as paper and digital burial records for the cemetery. His maps show the location of the original graves prior to the railroad exhumation.

Table 19. Current Principals of the West Hartford Cemetery Association as listed on the Secretary of State'sBusiness Database for 2019

Name / Position	Contact
John Newton/President	147 Tigertown Road, White River Junction, VT, 05001
Tom Hazen/Secretary	147 Tigertown Road, White River Junction, VT, 05001
Edward Gharidi/Director	1 Carasol Court, White River Junction, VT, 05001
John Newton/Director	147 Tigertown Rd., White River Junction, VT, 05001
Tom Hazen/Director	147 Tigertown Road, White River Junction, VT, 05001

Outstanding research questions

1. What is the deed reference for the original plot of the cemetery?



orange arrow shows grave marker orientation

Figure 53. West Hartford Cemetery

Quick Stats			
Location	VA Cutoff Road		
Туре	Municipal (Inactive)		
Parcel	14-0CEM-0		
Owner	Town of Hartford (Deed to)		
Current Deeds	Book 7 Page 126 (1817)		
Plat filed with Town Clerk?	N/A		
Range of legible graves	1814 - 1846		
Number of graves	6		
Last marker inventory	R. Heroux 2008 (digital)		

Wright Family Tomb, VA Cutoff Rd., Parcel 14-0CEM-0

Property Description and Deed to Town

This stacked stone tomb, mounded with earth, and with an entrance sealed in white marble, seems out of place amid the commercial development that surrounds it. The parcel was conveyed by David Wright to the Town of Hartford on July 25, 1817 for one dollar (Book 7, 126). The deed describes the boundaries:

Beginning on the Easterly side of the Vault situated on Connecticut River turnpike road south of said David's Dwelling house in Hartford aforesaid and where said turnpike intersects with the eight rod road so called__Thence westerly on the eight rod road thirty feet from the front of the Vault__thence southerly a parallel line with said turnpike forty feet from the centre of the Vault in front thence Easterly to said turnpike road__thence on said Turnpike to the first mentioned bound__said piece of land being part of Lot No 2 in the first division of one hundred acre Lots in said Hartford and drawn to the original right of Benjamin Wright Junior.

The deed also names the following restrictions:

To have and to hold the aforesaid premises unto the said Town of Hartford forever for the purposes and use as a place of deposit of the Dead of the said David Wright and his family to be under the control and direction of the Town of Hartford by their Selectmen for the use and purposes before mentioned

Yet, the tax assessment card lists Harold Wright as the current owner, which should be reviewed.

Listing on State Register of Historic Places

The State of Vermont listed the site on its State Register as no. 1408-24 on September 21, 1977. The statement of significance offers a succinct summary:

The tomb of Major David Wright, a Major in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War for American Independence; of his wife, Hannah Wright;

of his son, David Wright; of his son's wife, Elizabeth Wright; and of Bela and Betsy Wright.

Oral tradition states that Major David Wright had a fear of being buried alive. He left instructions that he was to be placed in his coffin with a wood mallet and that the lid to his coffin and the entrance to the tomb were not to be sealed.

The site form also notes that such "early nineteenth century tombs are unusual." A photograph shows the site as wooded at the time. Today, the site is cleared, covered with grass, and mowed by nearby businesses.

Person	Birth	Inscription on Tomb
David Wright	1749 March 14 in Lebanon, CT	Major David Wright
		died
		Feb. 21, 1822
		ae. 73 yrs.
Hannah (Bailey)	1752 September 24	Hannah
		wife of
		Major David Wright
		died June 14, 1814
		ae. 62 yrs.
David Wright	1775 February 11	David Wright, Jr.
		died
		May 10, 1817
		ae. 36 yrs
Elizabeth (Hazen)	1781 November 27	Elizabeth
		wife of
		David Wright, Jr.
		died Mar. 11, 1818
		ae. 42 yrs.
Bela Wright	1786	Bela Wright
		died
		Sept. 1, 1829
		ae. 43 yrs.
Betsey (Combs)		Betsy
		wife of
		Bela Wright
		died Aug. 31, 1846
		ae. 56 yrs.

Table 20. People buried in Wright Family Tomb



0	50 ft	Wright Family Tomb Hartford, Vermont	
0	20	40 m	N
			()

Figure 54. Map of Wright Family Tomb



Figure 55. Wright Family Tomb from State Register Nomination Form

Wright Family History

Major David Wright was a descendent of some of the first Massachusetts Bay Colony settlers. His grandfather, Lieutenant Abel Wright (1631-1725) of Leverton, England, sailed to the colonies by 1655, served as deputy to the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1695 and was a prominent member of Springfield's local government (The Ladies' Reading Club, Hartford Library 1893; S. Wright 1881). Supposedly his wife, Martha, was "admonisht" for wearing expensive silks "contrary to Law" in September 1673 and in 1708 was scalped by Native Americans and died of her injuries 3 months later. Their grandson was killed and a daughter-in-law was taken captive in the attack. Perhaps wishing for a life away from the frontier, Abel's son, Abel Jr., moved south to Lebanon, Connecticut.

Abel Jr. had a son, Benjamin, who was sent to Hartford, Vermont, by its Connecticut proprietors to divide the land. It is debated whether Benjamin's house south of the confluence of the White and Connecticut Rivers was the first built in Hartford (c. 1763). According to an article in *The Old and the New*, Benjamin's "grave is among the few ancient ones at the end of the Catholic

cemetery, White River Junction" and was likely part of the old burying ground (see St. Anthony's Cemetery).

Benjamin's seventh child, Major David Wright, was born March 14, 1749, in Lebanon, Connecticut. After marrying Hannah Bailey, in 1771, they moved to Hartford, Vermont, and settled on 600 acres of land. At least one story about the family's journey to Hartford suggests David had an appetite for practical jokes:

At one place where they stopped for the night, Major Wright told the people that the ladies with him were, unfortunately, both deaf; then he went back to the boat and told his wife and sister that the people in the house were deaf, and so he had them screaming away to each other at a great rate. At last one of the travelers asked her hostess how long she and her husband had been so deaf. She replied "Why, we are not deaf; we thought you were" (The Ladies' Reading Club, Hartford Library 1893, 26).

The Wright family lived in a log house while building a grander home, which "was said to be the best house in town," and served as the town's Masonic Hall (The Ladies' Reading Club, Hartford Library 1893). Josiah Tilden's house and the Freegrace Leavitt tavern were both supposedly constructed in its image.

In a Hartford Historic Society newsletter, Donna Wright, recounts that David's casket was not to be nailed shut, and the tomb was not to be sealed due to his fear of being buried alive. However, "due to vandalism in the 1970s, the tomb was sealed" (2018, 9). An article in *The Old and The New* (The Ladies' Reading Club, Hartford Library 1893) reiterates the story, claiming that "on other authority than that of the family" multiple stones shelves ringed the interior of the tomb, and his casket was to be placed to the left of the entrance where a single shelf stood. The same source claimed that the Major was buried with a mallet and that someone kept watch for a "few nights" at the tomb. Other versions of the story elaborate further to tall tale status: that he wanted to be entombed seated and with his boots on.



Figure 56. Photograph of the Wright Family Tomb published in The Old and the New

Private Burial Grounds

Azra Wyman Grave at the Adventist Campground

A single grave stands at the Advent Camp Meeting Grounds; it belongs to the caretaker of the camp, Azra Wyman. The site was recently nominated to the National Register of Historic Places and the grave was listed as a contributing element. The form describes it:

This small stone reads Azra Wyman 1833-1912. The stone is engraved with a branch with leaves and a single flower. The bottom of the stone states "Co. G. 5th Vt. Vol." Wyman was born in Stockbridge, Vermont. He then lived in Claremont, New Hampshire, and Sherburne, Vermont. Wyman enlisted August 1861 in Company G, 5th Infantry Regiment, Vermont, and mustered out on 1 October 1864. Wyman was the caretaker of the camp for many years. A recent attendee spoke about Wyman: "White River came to define Ozzie in life, and he asked not to leave the place in death. His grave is marked by small stone out back."

The same nomination form is an excellent resource for learning more about the history of the camp. Technically, this grave site is a private burial ground on land owned and maintained by the Advent Christian Church. Hartford's municipal lawyer should be consulted on this grave's legal status as private burial grounds are not in the Town's purview unless they become abandoned or



if the current deeds grant such right (recent case law has elaborated on this).

Figure 57. Map of Azra Wyman Grave Location

Potwin Private Family Burial Ground

This burial ground is located on Roger's Road north of Hartford Village. See the Hartford Land Records Book 411 p380: Notice of the establishment of a private family burial ground (March 16, 1995).

Winsor Brown Memorial Area

This burial ground is located on Coachman's Way. The cremains of Winsor and Bertha Brown are buried here and marked with headstone. On January 1, 2075, the rights to maintain this "memorial area" will transfer to the Town (see Book 519 p328).

Yaroschuk Burial Site

According to the Hartford Historical Society, this was moved and is no longer extant in town.

Rumored Burials

A number of references to private burials were encountered in the course of research (below); however, none of them have been confirmed.

Oral Histories Reported by the DAR

Little has been learned of burials on private land....A farmer buried his son on his own land and erected a small stone. However no name was given.

An old timer recalled as a boy seeing a monument reading approximately -'Here lies 7 of my 9 children, died of diptheria' [sic]. Again there was no name but with the added fact - it might have been over the line in Norwich, Vt.

'In my childhood, I recall hearing about an old couple buried on their farm.' No name was remembered. (Daughters of the American Revolution. Thomas Chittenden Chapter (White River Junction, Vt.) 1983)

Letter from James Mullen to Jean Lamoureax, January 11, 1991

James Mullen, Hartford Zoning Administrator, received a call from "Elizabeth Tonks from Burlington who grew up in the house on the corner of Runnals Road and Route 14." She said "that there is a grave of a 4 year old girl who died in 1863 located on the west property line just north of the above referenced house at a point where the stream enters the culvert going under Runnals Road."

He wrote a letter to Jean Lamoureax (which is now curated at the Hartford Genealogy Center). He recounts the phone call and explains that this would have been lot 8-49-1. The girl would have been born in 1859. A few possibilities were named such as Ida Shattuck, daughter of Charles H. and Sarah V., d.1863 age 3yrs, 1 days (district 3) or Mary McCarty, daughter of Patrick and Catherine, d.1863, age 5 (district 11).

However, a follow up with handwritten notes made by Ron Heroux states, "the house was Charlie Kelton's old property (evicted for not paying rent, has made calls to cause trouble) stone brought there from Maine and placed there -- possibly no grave there."

Burial Permits for Home Dispositions

Burial permits were required beginning in 1903. These records have been digitized and curated by Sherry West at the Town Offices. The following private home burials are likely located in Vermont. If abandoned, maintenance may fall to the Town. If unmarked and encountered by current or future tenants, unmarked burial laws will need to be followed, but this list below may help guide law enforcement, medical examiners, and state archaeologists.

- Lester A. Axtell, Jr., (born and died same day 1913), "home premises"
- Roy Davis (stillborn 1922), "at home"; in 1920 his family lived on Quechee Road
- Nancy Ellison (1927 1985), at Hathorn Acres
- Mabel Emery (stillborn 1902), "Private lot at home"
- Infant Green (1916), at home in Wilder
- Infant Hazen (1920), home premises
- Infant Laber (1924), home premises of George Dewey Laber (rented on Main St in 1920)
- Infant Lewellyn (1913), home premises in Wilder
- Irene Murgatory (1/2 hour, 1918), home premises in Quechee
- Infant Newton (c. 1917), home premises in West Hartford
- No name (sometime between 1903 1906), in garden at home
- Infant Pitkin (1913), home premises
- Jesse Field Powers (1917), home premises
- Infant Shepard (c. 1918), home premises at Wheeler Farm
- Infant St. John (stillborn 1907), home premises of Paul St. John
- Doris A. Stark (1997), cremains in her garden at home, WRJ
- Infant Strong (1914), home premises Champion Place
- Walter Weigel (- 1980), cremains buried at home on Old River Road
- Infant Welsh (1916), home premises in Hartford
- Herman Willard (1909), at home place in Quechee

Veterans and Hartford's Cemeteries

Veterans' Graves of the 18th and 19th Centuries

On May 30, 1880, the Hartford Soldiers' Memorial Association was founded in order to maintain a roster of veterans and coordinate the annual Decoration Day services. The below names were compiled and published by the association in 1902. It is unknown how these names were compiled as many men who were commissioned during the Revolutionary period are missing, including all of Capt. Joshua Hazen's Company (many of whom are buried in Christian Street).

Revolutionary War

- Alexander, Quartus, Quechee
- Bartholomew, Luther, Christian St.
- Bailey, Samuel, Hartford
- Champlain, William, Quechee
- Fenno, Joseph, Centerville
- Gallup, Joseph, Quechee
- Huntington, Roger (also 1812), Russtown
- Kibbie, Elijah (also 1812), Junction
- Marsh, Joseph, Quechee
- Russ, Phineas, Russtown
- Tilden, Stephen (also 1812), Center
- Woodard, Elihu, Center

<u>War of 1812</u>

- Bartholomew, Shelden, Christian St.
- Freeman, John, Hartford
- Johnson, Ulysses, Russtown
- Lombard, Soliman, Quechee
- Sprague, Philip, Christian St.
- Tracy, James, Center
- Tilden, Josiah, Center
- Washburn, George, Junction

War with Mexico

• Strong, Myron T, Center

War of Southern Rebellion

69 names, 53 of which are buried in town

Veterans' Graves from the 20th - 21st Centuries

The American Legion in White River Junction "keeps a record of the burial sites of all known soldiers of all wars in the town of Hartford" (Daughters of the American Revolution. Thomas Chittenden Chapter (White River Junction, Vt.) 1983).

Decoration Day Services

Today better known as Memorial Day, Decoration Day began in 1868 at Arlington National Cemetery in the wake of the Civil War. Numerous newspaper articles and ephemera document Hartford's celebrations each May.

For instance, *The Landmark* described 1882's services as "most appropriate and impressive." Reportedly 1500 people attended, including schoolchildren who paraded with "their fathers" battle flag. Parades would begin at the Junction House and continue to Hartford Cemetery (accompanied by music provided by the Quechee band in 1882) where a veteran or clergyman would speak. This would be followed by the decoration of veterans' graves with flowers, and then food and refreshments provided by "the ladies of this village."

The services of 1891 seemed more elaborate, beginning in West Hartford at 9am at the hotel, processing to the cemetery to decorate the graves and then march to the church. A full programme of prayer, music, sermon, and benediction followed. Then the services shifted to White River Junction where an address was given by Rev. A. J. Smith at the Opera Hall at 1:30 followed by a procession to the Hartford Cemetery, decoration of graves, and a speech given at the "Monument to the memory of those buried on the field." In the evening, residents turned their attention to Quechee, where the procession marched from the depot to the cemetery, followed by prayer, music, sermon, and decoration of graves. Train fares and times were conveniently provided on the programme.

Services seemed more compressed on an undated program that is from sometime after 1922. Although music, singing, speeches, and a procession still took place, it focused only on Hartford Cemetery. This time, however, a flagging detail was added, with different individuals responsible for 8 different cemeteries in town: Center, St. Anthony's, Hartford, Mt. Olivet, Centerville, Norwich Road, Russtown, and Quechee. Decoration of graves was carried out by the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts.

Recommendations for the Future

"Caught between a rock and a hard place." - John Guarino, 2019

Those who steward cemeteries in the 21st century do not have it easy. Evolving mortuary practices and changing socio-economics have created dire financial and organizational situations for most cemeteries. Add to that the never-ending march of time and the maintenance costs related to conserving historic resources and future financial balance sheets look even worse. And financial sustainability and material conservation aren't the only issues: the aging population of the stewards of cemeteries presents another sustainability challenge. Hartford is not alone in their struggle; the May 2019 Vermont Cemetery Association meeting was overflowing with members dealing with the growing insolvency of cemetery associations and the challenges related to towns taking over historic cemeteries. The growing pains are being felt all over and no single entity or historic action is to take the blame.

The following recommendations are presented to build upon the good work and good intentions that the stewards of Hartford's cemeteries have carried through history. The recommendations are founded in contemporary "best" practices of the heritage field and are not meant to be interpreted as critiques of past maintenance practices (which may have been "best" at the time). In fact, the field has done away with the language of "best practices" and prefers the term "informed practices" because "best" is always a moving target. These days, it's better to be informed, adaptable, and flexible as we encounter change than it is to be rigidly fixated upon what's supposedly "best." Finally, we understand that each of these recommendations have financial implications. They are thus presented as guidelines that should be adapted for what is feasible for the town.

Management recommendations

Develop a Hartford Cemeteries Management Plan

The Cemetery Committee has already set this recommendation in motion, and that momentum should be taken advantage of. Cemetery associations who plan to remain independent into the future should develop their own plan but may find it useful to consult with colleagues working on the town's plan. A master plan for your cemeteries will help you assess their needs, prioritize the issues, and develop short and long term actions to address those needs. We recommend drawing upon the knowledge contributed by the cemetery committee study as well as this research and trying to involve as many of the stewards and informants who were part of the two projects when developing the plan.

An effective cemetery management plan includes the following components:

• A current map of the cemeteries that identifies each grave, lot boundaries, and landscaping elements. Burials should be identified and cross-referenced by some kind of

key so you can find burials by name or location (e.g. Who is buried here? *And* Where is X buried?)

- A historical and cultural resources evaluation, which this report and the previous National Register nomination forms fulfill to a great extent.
- Baseline site evaluations, which the cemetery committee study did for several, but not all, cemeteries. The evaluations should be revisited following this project to identify:
 - the notable features of each site that are historically or culturally significant (cross-reference to the cemetery maps)
 - any major problems and issues needing urgent attention
- A comprehensive marker inventory and conditions assessment. Nearly every cemetery in town has had a marker inventory done within the past 50 years, and these inventories can be used as starting points (no need to reinvent the wheel).
- A photographic survey of each marker and significant landscape features. Putting aside data privacy and control issues and looking at what is feasible, we would encourage the town to make use of work that has been previously done by volunteers on the Find a Grave and Billion Graves websites. It appears that between 75 90% of the town's markers have been photographed already. Furthermore, these resources provide the public with an online and free way of querying cemetery records, which may save the time of town clerks and cemetery sextons who can refer such requests to the online sites. So, we would encourage investing time in:
 - Reviewing the records on Find a Grave against the marker inventories to clean up duplicates and misinformation on Find a Grave
 - Cross-referencing your marker inventories with Find a Grave ID numbers or URLs so that your marker inventory can link directly to the photographs already taken on Find a Grave.
 - Following up on those markers that do not have photographs and either placing "open requests" or visiting the cemetery to photograph these yourselves.
- A landscape preservation plan that assesses existing vegetation and takes into consideration the historic landscape elements, striking a balance between the contemporary needs for protecting the graves and using the site with maintaining the historic landscape design and its evolution.
- A site management plan that addresses:
 - Funding & Maintenance
 - Visitation and any rules for visitors
 - Educational programming
 - Public interpretation and associated infrastructure (e.g. signage, pamphlets)
 - Security and vandalism
 - Safety and liability issues
 - Regulations related to gravemarkers, plots, burial practices, immortelles, cleaning and repairing, etc.

We recommend the following two resources when undertaking the management plan:

- The National Center for Preservation Technology and Training: <u>https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/</u>
- A Graveyard Preservation Primer by Lynette Strangstad (2013)

Report the Locations of Historic Cemeteries to the Division of Historic Preservation as Historic Archaeological Sites.

Hartford has many historic cemeteries, some of which are on the National Register of Historic Places, others of which aren't listed but may be eligible. In any case, all are deserving of protection. These should be added to the state's archaeological site files so that future development involving public assistance (e.g. roads, dams, wind turbines, solar farms, manure pits, irrigation lines, condominiums, etc.) will be able to take their location and value into consideration and prevent the government from adversely affecting the sites. Simons Cemetery, Potter's Field, Hartford's Old Burying Ground at St. Anthony's, Delano/Savage, and Tucker immediately spring to mind, but it doesn't mean that they all shouldn't be reported and on the state's radar. This may also help in the event of public-funded cleanup following catastrophic flooding.

Involve Experts in Management Planning

The cemetery committee's report included condition assessments of landscape elements such as fencing and vegetation. We encourage more of this. Arborists and tree surgeons should be used to evaluate the trees and large shrubbery across all the cemeteries in this report. Adjacent landowners looking for firewood may be helpful partners in carrying out any treework (safely and to standards that don't damage the cemeteries of course).

Other natural resource scientists should be consulted when identifying invasive flora that need to be managed, mitigated, or even quarantined such as the phragmites at Potter's Field, which will only get worse with mowing.

Soil scientists and engineers may be needed to consult on structural integrity and geomorphology challenges, especially at Hartford Cemetery and Wright's Tomb. A stone mason or conservator would be useful for the latter site as well.

A professional surveyor will be best when it comes to updating plats and clarifying parcel boundaries. Don't overlook the impending management issues that come with private burial grounds, as they all will eventually fall to the town.

In the same vein, a lawyer with expertise in municipal law and/or cemetery law is essential to consult with as the town draws up its rules and regulations related to cemeteries as well as for reviewing the conveyances related to private burial grounds.

An archaeologist should be involved when dealing with sites that you don't know the boundaries of (e.g. Potter's Field) or where you suspect there are unmarked graves (e.g. St. Anthony's or Simons). This will also be discussed in the future research recommendations below.

A historical interpretation expert should assist with defining educational programming goals and public interpretation needs.

Involve Volunteers

Volunteers already play an important role in Hartford's cemeteries, but they tend to be of an older generation. Trying to involve young people is a necessary challenge – having an intergenerational volunteer team of cemetery stewards should be a goal. Think of high school students, college students, scouts, and other groups who may require community service hours. Reach out to teachers and institutions such as the Dartmouth Center for Social Impact (https://home.dartmouth.edu/life-community/service) and think about offering an internship to students in any of the fields mentioned above (e.g. history, archaeology, environmental science, public policy and planning).

One program that is a model for working with volunteers on an ongoing basis is the Florida Public Archaeology Network's Cemetery Resource Protection Training program. Sarah E. Miller's article, "Cemeteries as Participatory Museums" documents this program and can be provided to Hartford's Historic Preservation Commission Members (it is under copyright protection so it cannot be included as an appendix).

Involve the "Diaspora" and Family Reunions

The descendants of those buried in Hartford are now living all around the country if not the world. And yet in this day of social media and virtual communication, it's easier than ever to reach out to these stakeholders. Find out which surnames have active family history societies or family reunions and reach out to them. Barbara Hazen's oral history interview presents some interesting ideas regarding this.

Think Creatively

Cemeteries are not static – the history of mortuary customs in this country is a tale of changing tastes, relations, and practices. Thus, understand that how the cemeteries look today is not necessarily how they used to look – nor what they will look like in the future. Our forebears did not maintain golf course-like lawns in their burial grounds. If such lawns are not financially feasible to maintain, better to face this head on and with an open mind.

The Town of Orwell let goats loose in their cemeteries one year – an act that really roused citizens into waking up to their cemeteries' plight. The goats were done away with, and more funding was pledged. We don't recommend goats – they can cause too much damage. But, historically, sheep and calves were allowed to graze in Vermont's burying grounds. And if grass was scythed it wasn't on a regular basis – a Montpelier sexton reminds us that names were placed high up on Victorian family monuments so they could be read above the grass.

The new trends toward cremations and green burials are already challenging the Lawn Park and Memorial Park aesthetics that have reigned in the 20th century. Hartford should think about what cemetery aesthetic they want for the 21st century and why.

Future Research recommendations

More research is always possible. Further research may be necessary to complete the management plan recommended above, while other research may just be to add to the historical documentation on the cemeteries.

Geophysical and Archaeological Surveys

In the case of cemeteries where the extent of burials are unknown, an archaeological survey is recommended. There are several remote sensing technologies that can be considered (e.g. ground penetrating radar, electro-resistivity, and magnetometry), but it's important to understand that such technologies detect *anomalies* not graves per se. Any anomaly would have to be ground truthed by an expert who understands how to detect cultural features in the soil (without disturbing the integrity of graves). It's also important to understand that unless a site is under threat, an archaeologist will be adverse to further disturbing the site as ground truthing is necessarily destructive. Reach out to the Vermont Archaeological Society, Dartmouth College's Anthropology Department, and DHP about what resources may be available to conduct any archaeological work.

Potter's Field Survey

We do recommend an archaeological survey of Potter's Field with soil augering, which can detect the extent of the intact landform that the cemetery sits on. This would enable the archaeologist to determine the extent of the site without actually endangering the integrity of the burial ground (by documenting and mapping the extent of previous ground disturbance from gravel operations and road building). Once the extent of the site is mapped, we would then recommend that a conservation easement be placed on that portion of the site, which would run with the deed – or perhaps the landowner would deed the site directly to the town – in either case a lawyer should be consulted.

Simons Cemetery

This site does not require ground-disturbance, but should be archaeologically surveyed to map its current boundaries and location of grave stone fragments. This can then inform the town's management plan especially regarding the vandalism threat and/or recreational vehicle threat at this site.

St. Anthony's

There is no urgent need for an archaeological survey here since the cemetery is no longer selling new plots and its boundaries enclose the suspected unmarked burials. However, it should be understood that unmarked burials were being discovered beyond the current boundaries of St. Anthony's in the late 1800s. Thus, future development in the South End should consider the possibility that human remains may be encountered. The rumors of Indian burials could not be substantiated, but the South End landform was used by Native Americans for domestic purposes, so recipients of building permits and ground disturbance in that area could be sensitized to the possibility *and* understand their reporting responsibilities.

Stone Carver Identification

Further research into identifying the stone carvers who craftsmanship can be seen across the cemeteries could be undertaken. In those cases, the probate records of the Windsor County Court (Hartford District) would be invaluable. An additional resource is curated at the Rutland Historical Society: five binders of research conducted into all the stone carvers of Rutland County by Margaret R. Jenks.

Public Interpretation and Education recommendations

Public awareness raising can complement the management and research activities recommended above. It can also help foster more active engagement and stewardship among Hartford's citizens and its diaspora, which can translate to more resources.

Raise Awareness about Legal Issues

The town should make the cemetery laws more readily accessible to residents. We recommend linking the accessible, "Digging Deep" resource on the town website and having a print out available in the Town Clerk's or planning offices:

https://www.sec.state.vt.us/media/886632/digging-deep-2017.pdf

All town officials should be familiar with unmarked burial laws, especially those officials who are engaged with ground disturbing practices or with permitting residents' ground disturbing practices. The town could add a section to an online FAQ on this and other related cemetery subjects.

Provide Information about Proper Gravestone Care

We uncovered evidence of well-intentioned heirs and stewards who thought they were doing a good thing by cleaning or rubbing a marker, but in reality were contributing to its degradation. The town should set standards for gravestone care and make guidelines available to all cemetery visitors and family members. Perhaps a plastic card holder or mailbox at the entrance to each cemetery could hold a brochure.

We recommend two primary resources when developing these guidelines:

- The National Center for Preservation Technology and Training: <u>https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/</u>
- A Graveyard Preservation Primer by Lynette Strangstad (2013)

Both offer in depth guidance, how-to's, and example regulations and inventory and condition assessment forms. A third resource, Carmack's *Your Guide to Cemetery Research* (2002) may be a helpful source to point interested family members and genealogists to.

Signage, Tours, Presentations

Cemeteries are public museums and provide an excellent opportunity for engaging the public around local history and other community issues. Traditional media such as signs, historic tours, and presentations can serve various audiences.

Working with School Groups

There already was evidence in the Historical Society's records that Hartford's cemeteries have been used for educational purposes. Cemeteries and their gravestones are primary sources – and according to federal and state core curriculum standards, students must be proficient in using such sources. Thus, teachers may welcome programs that enable them to use the cemeteries to meet current curricular objectives – plus, it has been shown that engaging students with sources of local resonance with them (i.e. of their hometown or home culture) helps with attention and knowledge retention. As teachers start using the town's cemeteries, they will become a more active stakeholder, and some of the students will likely grow up to be so as well! Numerous lesson plans and teaching guides are available online, and the Hartford Historical Society has records of one local teacher who has already used Hartford's cemeteries in this way.

Final Words

Anyone who works toward protecting a cemetery is in some way a curator of a public museum, an archivist of a town's historic record, and a caretaker of human emotion and memory. In some cases, such stewards will find themselves an archaeologist of a neighborhood's material culture, a historian of a family's past, or a craftsman of traditional stone dressing and setting techniques. They deal with human emotions and spiritual concerns while addressing the profane and mundane. We recognize that many individuals have been stewarding Hartford's cemeteries over the decades, and we welcome their input and feedback as these preliminary results are presented and refined over the next weeks.

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This work was funded by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Certified Local Government Program of Vermont's annual program grant under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The grant was awarded to the Town of Hartford, Vermont, and administered by the Vermont Division of Historic Preservation.

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