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HISTORIC LONE MOUNTAIN CEMETERY

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REMEMBERING THE DEAD: APPLYING MUSEUM COLLECTIONS RESEARCH TO
HISTORIC LONE MOUNTAIN CEMETERY

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Abstract

Cemeteries act as outdoor museums due to the similarities between collections and grave markers, allowing for historical, cultural, and artistic context to be learned from objects. A case study at Lone Mountain Cemetery, this thesis will apply collections research practices to the grave markers through the art depicted on them, in order to provide insight into the issues surrounding the erasure and preservation of grave markers. When a person dies, their identity is displayed on their grave marker through symbols, written epitaphs, and also the materials used. Modern people interact with these identities when they visit a grave, identifying with the deceased, reflecting on them, or by acting out rituals of defiance. Cemeteries function parallel to that of museums, serving as places of education and recreation. Cultures change throughout time, but cemeteries allow people to step back and observe the differences and similarities between past cultures and the present.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1: Identity through Grave Markers

Heritage is important because it serves as an identity. These identities exist beyond one's lifetime through how they are remembered, which is often expressed through one's grave marker. If modern generations do not preserve their heritage, it will be lost. This lack of preservation for cemetery identity can stem from multiple sources, such as not continuing grave art and symbolism, not preserving the grave markers that already exist, and erasing markers intentionally. These examples can all be found in the case of Lone Mountain Cemetery, located in Carson City, Nevada. However, not all heritage has been lost there. Numerous examples of grave marker art and symbolism are seen at the cemetery, commemorating the identities and cultures of Nevada's past. Despite this, not all stories continue to be told for future generations.

Professionals are challenged to rethink the concept of heritage loss, explaining loss instead as change, which is regarded as a natural process (DeSilvey & Harrison, 2020). As natural as culture change may be when it happens at the hands of the culture itself, unnatural culture change occurs when another culture purposefully destroys it. At Lone Mountain Cemetery, historic, cultural, and artistic heritage has been lost due to grave marker traditions not being carried on and with the purposeful erasure of minority grave markers, the latter of which is a major social issue for the community (Southerland, 2010). Natural and unnatural cultural change exists at the cemetery, but efforts can be made to preserve the art, history, and culture of grave markers. While still acknowledging the pain of unnatural culture change, Pranskūnienė and Zabulionienė suggests the narrative should be shifted to view cultural heritage as fluid, a “transformative process rather than a terminal process” (Pranskūnienė & Zabulionienė, 2023, p. 12). If cultural heritage can change to the extent that heritage sees a lack of preservation, what was lost can be revitalized through further change and preservation efforts. Museums are spaces

where history, culture, and art are preserved, studied, and used to educate the public. Treating the cemetery as a museum, as Southerland (2010) suggests, efforts can be made to revitalize and preserve the historic, cultural, and artistic heritages of the grave markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery.

1.2: Relevancy of Cemeteries

Grave sites are considered to be the location of “everyday rituals” where visiting the dead at their burial place reaffirms their identities and kinship (Moen, 2021, p. 43). Where the dead are buried are not just places of the past, but modern humans interact with them on a regular basis. They become part of our rituals and identities. Cemeteries play an active role for many cultures, and this is evident in some Chinese communities. Other researchers have found that the younger generations in Chinese culture are wanting to engage with cemeteries more, viewing them as valuable educational spaces while also being recreational (Goh & Ching, 2020). They view them more similarly to the intended use of museums, being places to learn for academic and enjoyable reasons. This is important because of the Chinese American history central to northern Nevada and especially Lone Mountain Cemetery. Many of the forgotten burials at Lone Mountain Cemetery belonged to Chinese miners and workers.

Grave markers are a way for people to learn about cultures of the past. Similarly in the case of the Jewish cemetery at Zefat, much of what people now know about the community has come from information written in Hebrew on the grave markers (Stepansky, 2023). Not only do the newer generations form their identities with their ancestors, but they learn from their grave markers in the same way one learns from a museum or library. Grave markers are noted as the oldest forms of reference to a cultural history. Streb et al. (2019) explains that, “The Greek word for grave (μνήμα) is derived from the root σῆμα (séma for sign or signal)” (p. 335). Peoples’

identities are formed off of their own personal histories, and these stories held so much importance that they inscribed them with words and symbols on their grave markers in times and places where record keeping was not common. A community's deepest values can be found on their grave markers.

1.3: Diversity in Northern Nevada

Preserving the anthropological, historical, and artistic heritage for the younger generations within the northern Nevada area will ensure that the diverse stories of the area will be known. Carson City, where Lone Mountain Cemetery is located, was a major trading stop along the route to California (Eberle, 2021). Nevada, especially the Carson area, gained social and political significance during the Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln established Nevada as a territory in 1861 and appointed Orion Clemens, brother of famous Samuel Clemens "Mark Twain," to be the territory secretary (Eberle, 2021). The area of northern Nevada would later inspire Samuel Clemens for his famous writings, which would in turn inspire Americans all over. These stories existing within the area hold a larger influence beyond Carson City. They tell a version of the West, but not all stories are told with the same amount of attention. When diverse heritage is hard to find, knowledge can be gained on the subject from the grave markers or lack thereof in historic cemeteries. Not only is the young niece of Samuel Clemens buried at Lone Mountain Cemetery, but so are many others with diverse stories, different from the common story of the typical white male pioneers.

Chinese laborers are some of the most influential people of Nevada's history, but their stories are seldom told to the same extent of the Euro-American miners. When they became successful, "miners from Virginia City and Gold Hill marched en masse to drive off the Chinese laborers" (Eberle, 2021, p. 2). Many important minority groups, including the Chinese laborers,

are buried at Lone Mountain Cemetery, but not all of their markers have survived. Unfortunately this is a theme with minority cemeteries in the United States. Other researchers have discussed the discovery of lost African American cemeteries and the continued risk of erasure of these same cemeteries (Vine, 2023). By studying and documenting grave markers, researchers can help aid the efforts of saving historic cemeteries from erasure. Southerland (2010) describes cemeteries as an “outdoor archive” where markers reveal important information such as genealogy, events, religion, ethnicity, and association. It was revealed during road construction in 2000 that the record of a minority section had been erased at Lone Mountain Cemetery, when remains and funerary objects belonging to the Chinese laborers were exhumed (Southerland, 2010). Due to their status, attempts were made to forget the minorities that built and helped shape the area. It is a true social injustice.

Understanding death can be a beautiful thing, and this is why grave art was so popular back in Lone Mountain Cemetery’s prime. The Victorians particularly experienced a shift in how death was viewed, and they changed their cemeteries from dreary reminders of death to a celebration of one’s life and identity through the incorporation of garden cemeteries and vibrant symbolism (Andicoechea, 2022). If one wants to understand people, it may be best to first understand grief and how people treat their dead. It can reveal spiritual ideology, morals, the relationships we have, our associations, and especially our identities. In fact, the boundaries within a cemetery are often determined by these social identities, such as a Jewish section, a Catholic section, sections belonging to fraternal groups such as the Masons, and more (Jedan et al., 2020). The art found on the markers is often representative of these identities and shows the diversity within a cemetery. Cemetery art is a central point in this thesis, and it will be used as a lens into the histories and cultures of the past.

In order to address the social issue of lost graves, this thesis examines what stories are told in Lone Mountain Cemetery and which stories have been lost. Nevada is diverse today and hails from a diverse history, even if this diversity does not appear in every history book. The hope is that cemetery research will help fill in the gaps. Even Samuel Clemens himself wrote about the people of northern Nevada as having “more foreign-born residents per capita than anywhere else in the United States...All the peoples of the earth has representative adventures in the Silverland, and as each adventurer had brought the slang of his nation or locality with him” (James, 2023, p. 1833). Nevada has a unique story of diverse people that is seldom told widely, and conducting collections-like research on markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery will help reveal stories of those who once were forgotten. Cemeteries act as outdoor museums due to the similarities between collections and grave markers, allowing for historical and cultural context to be learned from objects. As diverse as Nevada may be and the endless amount of stories that it holds, one thing that unites all people is death. It is inevitable, and as Andicoechea (2022) put it, “If we love, we shall grieve and eventually, we too will lie on our deathbed” (p. 7). The study of death and cemetery symbolism is not a study of fear, but a study of love and understanding. A case study at Lone Mountain Cemetery, this thesis will apply collections research practices to the grave markers through the art and symbolism depicted on them, in order to provide insight into the historical and cultural issues surrounding the erasure and preservation of grave markers.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1: Filling the Gap

When concerning the literature that exists on this topic, there is a significant gap regarding visual knowledge of cemetery markers and the applying museum collection research to grave markers. However, it can be argued that grave markers themselves can help fill this gap of information, as they are a trove of data. Where a lack of historic records exists, information found on grave epitaphs can help to fill in the informational gaps (Stepansky, 2023). Information not recorded about Carson City's history may be discovered from historic grave markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery. The use of a visual approach for identifying information is seldom used in related research. Streb et al. (2019) discusses the gap in research regarding cultural cemeteries and art, stating research has "mainly addressed the question of materiality, although rarely in terms of agency" (p. 336). Especially regarding social issues of minority markers being erased, visual information displayed at someone's grave is a form of agency. It is how they will be remembered and a direct extension of their identity. By studying grave markers in the same way museums do for collections, people can understand, document, and preserve knowledge so that cultural, historic, and artistic information is not forgotten or erased (Vine, 2023). There is also a gap in academic research concerning how collections-based research is conducted in general within a museum. Literature for collections-based research is rare, yet a known benefit of collections research is that it can help collections stay "dynamic" (Wells, 2012). This thesis will help fill the gap of literature related to collections-based research processes, and the gap of literature for applying those practices to historic cemeteries. Cemeteries act as "outdoor museums" due to the similarities between collections and grave markers, allowing for historical and cultural context to be learned from objects.

2.2: Past Literature

Viewing cemeteries as outdoor museums is a relatively bold topic, not something that has widely been explored in the academic literature. Southerland (2010) discussed the idea on the back page of her book, but not deeply within the text itself. However, this idea from Southerland is what inspired this thesis, it was the spark. Often cemeteries are thought of having religious or spiritual connotations, but they do not have to be associated with that in order for someone to visit a cemetery. It can be an educational or personal experience. Studies found that people who describe themselves as non-religious will visit cemeteries in order to connect with past generations and to understand themselves (Colombo and Vach, 2021). These reasons are also among why people visit museums: for the informative and explorative aspects, but also for deeper meanings related to one's own identity.

A common theme with cemeteries in the academic literature is the issue of cemeteries being destroyed or forgotten, and the negative cultural impact of such destruction. The way in which this is commonly done is through case studies, focusing on a specific cemetery. Stanley (2021) talked about the oldest cemetery in Reykjavík, Iceland being destroyed and remains exhumed in order to build another hotel with the intention of attracting tourists. This was quite upsetting for the Icelandic people, as cemeteries are culturally viewed as important symbolic markers of the national identity (Stanley, 2021). To every culture, cemeteries are not just places to put our dead to rest. They are places where communities express their values, identities, and also their construction of "otherness," who is considered to be of the same identity as another person (Jedan et al., 2020). The literature knows that placement of markers within a cemetery plays into the idea of values and identity, which can be both uniting and separating. This research is interested in how exactly those identities are visually told through symbols and meaning found

on the grave marker. Leary's research applies to this research through the discourse of lost grave markers meaning a loss in identity. Southerland (2010) noted how this happened to one section of the cemetery at Lone Mountain Cemetery, thought to be the section holding many minorities. Anticipating how great the loss of culture is can be quite painful. DeSilvey and Harrison (2020) make the point that loss is a form of change, and that it may be more worthwhile to view culture loss as culture change. Looking at multiple perspectives, this research will analyze the loss of grave markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery: what cultural stories are not being told and what that means for the changes in culture that took place in northern Nevada.

Loss or destruction of cemeteries is more common for minorities in the United States. Literature shows specific examples from Tampa Bay, Florida, with natural and unnatural causes destroying notably African American cemeteries (Vine, 2023). What makes the Vine (2023) case particularly interesting is that findings suggest the records of the African American cemeteries were purposely erased from the county records. It was not simply weather eroding the cemetery markers, or time neglecting the visual of the cemetery from the living, but rather it was purposeful erasure. The Vine (2023) article informs this research around the discourse surrounding the purposeful erasure of minority graves. Findings from the erased minority section of Lone Mountain Cemetery suggest this may have also happened. After the discovery of remains during construction in 2001, the cemetery office contained no records of the section having burials, but a 1981 map from the U.S. Forest Service of the original construction actively marked the soon-to-be-constructed street as the "indigent, baby, Chinese, Japanese, and Black sections of early Lone Mountain Cemetery" (Skeletons of Carson, 2001). Someone knew about the minority section of the cemetery, and yet a road was still constructed with no exhumation and reinterment. While those markers belonging to many minorities in Lone Mountain Cemetery are

long gone, if there even were markers to begin with, information from similar grave markers may shed light onto what identities they would have liked to portray. Without every person buried having a marker to memorialize them, the full story of Lone Mountain Cemetery cannot be told. However, the hope is that this research can search for some answers in order to give a voice back to those who lost their markers of identity.

Another case study from Goh and Ching (2020) surveyed perceptions of cemeteries to modern people living in China, focused on the relevancy that cemeteries have in the lives of people today. While not looking at the marker symbolism, they found that young Chinese adults value cemeteries as places of learning, finding information described to them on the grave markers of those who lived before them (Goh & Ching, 2020). They described cemeteries as having relevancy as educational spaces, which is a theme this research builds upon. While they did not use the term “museum,” this research draws a direct comparison between the two with a focus on seeing the grave markers themselves rather than simply reading about them elsewhere. People visit cemeteries much in the same way that they visit museums.

Other literature sources have looked at tomb imagery in ancient Egypt. Leary (2021) explained, “Through further examination of artisan practices and the methods and techniques employed by practitioners when visualizing the natural world, we may begin to truly gauge the value and importance of animals in ancient Egyptian culture and society” (p. 16). This source applies the imagery to how researchers can understand the cultural conceptions of the past. Yet this is only speaking to the depiction of animals, whereas emblems of all kinds appear in the historic grave markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery. There are plants, animals, fraternal organizations, notes of heritage, and more. However, the core of what Leary (2021) talked about remains true about all grave marker studies when symbolism is involved. Visualization is key to

how grave markers are to be interpreted. As visitors to cemeteries process visual information on the markers, they learn about that individual who is buried there and also the larger culture with which that person is identifying (Colombo & Vach, 2021). This further makes the visitor reflect on their own values, how they imagine to be remembered in death and also how they want to be remembered.

2.3: Uniqueness

Branching off of Southerland (2010), this research will be the only academic literature to specifically look at Lone Mountain Cemetery and will be one of the few to directly apply museum collections research practices to a cemetery. This research takes a different approach to understanding the importance of cemetery meaning through a visual study, analyzing the visual impact of the grave markers. This is an ideal method for approaching the study of symbolism because it allows for accurate documentation and the ability to refer to the individual markers long after the initial cemetery visit (Moody, 2020). This is what separates this research from previous literature regarding cemetery symbolism analysis.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1: Interdisciplinary Research

Interdisciplinary projects offer complex answers to complex issues, but many interdisciplinary projects do not see success on the basis of the various disciplines failing to see eye to eye (Darbellay, 2015). In order to be completed successfully, the different perspectives of the disciplines must be acknowledged from the beginning of the project. Disciplines have more in common than what is visible at first glance and they are able to work together in common ground to complete diverse projects. In a case study from Lucchi (2020), museum experts, environmental scientists, and architectural experts worked together on an interdisciplinary project to find sustainable solutions for the preservation of older buildings in Pinacoteca di Bera, Italy. The team was able to come up with complex solutions that met the basic requirements of each discipline, showing the great value of interdisciplinary projects versus a single discipline (Lucchi, 2020). The most important message is that interdisciplinary research means better, whole-picture results. In utilizing complex and diverse perspectives of anthropology, art, and history, research with Lone Mountain Cemetery will form a more holistic picture in how to preserve voices of the past through the symbolic, historic, and cultural details left by their graves.

Studies of gravestones and cemeteries are inherently interdisciplinary. Multiple disciplines study them and apply them to their own types of research. Common disciplines that study gravestones are archaeology, art, folklore, English literature, geography, and of course history (Baugher & Veit, 2014). However, anthropology, art, and history are the only disciplines that will be applied to Lone Mountain Cemetery in this thesis due to the specific research topic of grave symbolism and meaning tied to identity. Anthropology connects to the idea of cultural identity present in the grave markers, art studies the symbolism and design on the markers, and history informs the records and transfer of knowledge from the markers.

3.2: Anthropology

As the study of people and cultures, anthropology is the most relevant discipline to the thesis topic of understanding how people connect to cultures of the past and present. In the case of cemeteries, this is primarily done through material culture such as grave markers. Southerland (2010) describes grave markers as records in their original location, much like a museum but where artifacts are in-situ. There is a close relation to archaeology, one of the four fields of anthropology. Cultural anthropology also plays a role because modern people interact with cemeteries. Jedan et al. (2020) explains that cemeteries play a cultural role when “social identities or categories are marked by boundaries in physical space...They separate and connect at the same time” (p. 5). Ritualistic activity may take place at cemeteries in religious or everyday means, but the most important ritual is the learning of identity, who one is, who they are not, and how this identity has changed.

Studies of burials are common in anthropology, but the focus tends to be on the artifacts excavated from below the surface. Seeing burials as rituals related to mourning, they are performed actions that are idealized, which further enforces a sense of shared identity between the deceased and those burying them (Moen, 2021). The research for this thesis contains no excavation, but rather argues that adequate information can be found from grave markers. Many of the markers contain important cultural information regarding a person’s background. Northern Nevada was incredibly diverse during the height of mining. This was described, “Nineteenth-century Nevada had more foreign-born residents per capita than anywhere else in the United States” (James, 2023, p. 1833). Researchers are capable of finding this diverse information from the grave markers, meaning anthropological excavations are not always needed. However, it is important to note that grave markers do not exist in every case. Some cultures, such as

Hungarian Protestants, traditionally used wooden markers since the end of the seventeenth-century, thus few of their historic markers are preserved (Novák, 2019). Some wooden grave markers can still be seen at Lone Mountain Cemetery, and the nature of the material means that information may be lost.

3.3: Art

Art is the key component of what is studied in this thesis. While not all cultural or learning institutions include art, nearly all cemeteries do. This is because places of rest are adorned with stones, greenery, but especially symbolism to represent identities belonging to the dead. Cemeteries have become fashionable as places with distinct aesthetic appeal (Zappaterra, 2022). The art is typically found on grave markers themselves, but sometimes family members or visitors leave grave goods at the base of the marker. Older burials include pigments, usually ochre, used to adorn tombs and markers with depictions of religious significance (Solomon, 2019). Art is expression and the art expressed on the grave tells visitors key information about the person's identity. Some of the best examples of religious art for identity comes from Egyptian tombs, where "the natural world was an intrinsic feature of elite tomb imagery" (Leary, 2021, p. 2). These artistic expressions through depictions of nature continue to exist strongly in modern cemeteries and funerary art. Examples of art found at Lone Mountain Cemetery include, but not limited to, doves, lambs, roses, and willow trees (Southerland, 2010). Especially in the historic sections of the cemetery, art plays a major role in the identification of those who rest there.

Visual analysis is the main method used in this research in order to understand the art present on the grave markers. Taking photographs is the most accurate way to capture details about the art when researchers cannot be at the cemetery often (Moody, 2020). All photographs

were taken by the author, Alexandra Zoellner. In fact, over 2,500 photographs were taken at the cemetery for this research. Photographic documentation was used for all relevant grave markers and details at Lone Mountain Cemetery. Taking a visual approach allows for a researcher to notice changes in cemetery symbolism and design. Artists and art historians can find the evolution of artistic preference within cemeteries based on the designs and materials present in certain sections and timeframes, which point to larger societal changes that happened in a broader sense (Streb et al., 2019). Changes in popular iconography, intensity of detail used, and materials can all be found at Lone Mountain Cemetery.

3.4: History

The Carson area has a rich history but not all stories are told as much as others. By applying collections-based research to the historic markers at the cemetery, research will help history to be dynamic in the present context of the Carson culture. History ceases to remain stagnant when the relevancy is unearthed. As a discipline, history is central to the thesis because it is the boundary of what will be analyzed at the cemetery, as it is still an active cemetery, and there is a significant change between cultural art forms from historic to modern grave markers. Grave art is dying (Southerland, 2010). Thus, information about culture and identity will not be passed on in the same way. Understanding the historic contexts and uses of grave art will fuel the way in which identity is perceived.

Northern Nevada has a diverse history because people of many cultures traveled here for work related to the mining industry. The earliest communities in the Carson area were close geographically, which means many of the incoming cultures created a shared history for the area (James, 2023). This would also include the violent aspects of history, including racism towards the Chinese laborers. In a particular historic account, miners from Virginia City and Gold Hill,

both surrounding areas of Carson, drove off the Chinese laborers in Carson City (Eberle, 2021). With the history of Lone Mountain Cemetery and the erased section containing the remains of the same Chinese laborers, it appears attitudes towards the Chinese had not greatly changed between then and when the cemetery section was erased. This was more than a Carson City social issue, but it was one that plagued the surrounding northern Nevada areas, as well.

Similarities can be seen between Lone Mountain Cemetery and other historic cemeteries in the area, including Silver Terrace Cemetery in Virginia City, Genoa Cemetery, Pioneer Cemetery, and many others. Notably, the Victorian grave markers that Silver Terrace is famous for are also present in Lone Mountain Cemetery. Although these spaces are separated, death is an experience that unites the histories of the area (Andicoechea, 2022). They have a shared history together because the details of the grave markers show similarities. Cemeteries function as an archive of local histories (Walton, 2022). For the function of this thesis, a case study is used solely on Lone Mountain Cemetery because of its rich history and significance of social injustice, and the lack of specialized research on this specific cemetery. Other cemeteries such as Silver Terrace in Virginia City have been studied in greater detail (Andicoechea, 2022). In order to add a larger breadth of knowledge on the subject and the history of the area, this thesis will serve as an in-depth analysis of the symbols at Lone Mountain Cemetery, which can be applied to the other historic cemeteries in the northern Nevada area.

3.5: Applying Museum Research Practices

Just as museums care for objects in their collection, so do cemeteries with their grave markers. Thus, in applying museum research practices to Lone Mountain Cemetery, the cemetery will be looked at from a whole-picture approach, just as a museum researcher looks at a whole collection. This is especially important when considering conservation. A collection is

looked at as a whole in order to understand and determine what needs to be done in order to conserve the objects and prevent damage (Malaro, 2012). This is true for cemeteries, as well. Many grave markers experience damage, whether that be from natural or unnatural causes. Weather will erode grave markers, but in some cases grave markers are intentionally damaged by those in the community who do not value them (Southerland, 2010). Thus, a wide approach is necessary for understanding the cemetery.

In order to accomplish this, the cemetery was visited and photographs were taken of grave markers deemed appropriate. By definition, something is considered historic once it reaches 50 years of age (Ames & Wagner, 2014). Photographs were only taken of grave markers where the date of death was prior to 1970, with the exception of a few markers where the design was incredibly unique. Some limitations of this method is that grave markers could be much newer than the date of death, in which analysis will be done to determine the age of the grave marker itself. Creating a type of catalogue with photographs is helpful in collections-based research. Previous researchers suggest taking a ladder-like approach, where each piece of knowledge is attached to an object in the collection (Wells, 2012). As new information is found regarding an object, the previous knowledge is better informed.

The wide approach necessary for this research may be thought of as exploratory research. Exploratory research is defined as common to the early stages of a research topic in the academic sphere, it is a way to find the lay of the land (Blackstone, 2012). The behavior to explore and better understand is how cemetery symbols are used to convey messages of identity, meaning that the research will be rather qualitative-descriptive with words rather than numbers. A case study is the most appropriate method for studying this because it allows for a rich understanding and contextualization of the phenomena (Bhattacharjee, 2012). However, case studies are not

without their faults. An important aspect to keep in mind about case studies is that analyses can be deemed subjective, a limitation of studying one case rather than looking at multiple cemeteries. The approach for this research is a “bottom-up” approach, meaning that the analysis is rather conceptual and the goal is to identify various predictors relevant to the phenomena that is being observed (Bhattacharjee, 2012). In other words, various identities associated with cemetery symbols and meaning present on the grave markers will be identified. This is related to proper museum collections research, which takes a “ladder approach” by applying a new level of knowledge to support each level of complexity surrounding the object (Wells, 2012). Studying the object does not have the goal of understanding the object itself, but of understanding it in the larger context of the culture in which it served a function. The materials inform each other which creates the ladder (Malaro, 2012). This is why museums contain collections, not individual objects that have no relation to one another. The objects in a collection are all related. This is primarily seen in cemeteries through information conveyed by grave markers, those belonging to the same identity. Certain identities may be passed on and preserved over others within a cemetery due to prevalence. This information through art conveys a deeper meaning in the history and culture within the area.

Chapter 4: History and Context

4.1: Nevada's Peoples

Indigenous peoples inhabited the land that became Nevada for thousands of years prior to Euro-American settlement, as evident from cultural stories and artifacts (Tennant & Folmar 2015). Although most of the people buried in Lone Mountain Cemetery are Euro-American, knowing the stories of Nevada's Indigenous peoples is just as important as the histories of Nevada's Euro-Americans and Asian Americans. Prehistoric evidence suggests Nevada was first inhabited by Indigenous peoples fifteen thousand years ago (Bowers, 2021). Although there are 21 federally recognized tribes in Nevada, five of the large groups within those tribes are the Nuwuvi, Numa, Newe, Wá-šiw, and Mojave (Halaly, 2024). Knowing their histories will set the stage for the importance of the region.

The Nuwuvi (Southern Paiute) land mostly coincides with southern Nevada. Prior to contact, they resided in the area that would become southeastern California, southern Nevada, northern Arizona, and southern Utah. Their language came from the Uto-Aztecan language family (Halaly, 2024). They did not often come to northern Nevada. The Mojave also consider their local to be mostly in the south. Called the "People of the River," the Mojave are mostly split into two geographic groups, residing in the junction of Nevada, California, and Arizona and the Colorado Indian Tribes Mojave. Much like in northern Nevada, the Mojave in southern Nevada experienced growing tensions with Euro-Americans in the 1800s (Halaly, 2024). The Numa (Northern Paiute) traditionally lived around northern Nevada, with the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe still an active presence today. Interestingly, both the Pyramid Lake Paiute and Walker River Paiute are considered to be two of the few tribes that were not fully forced to relocate (Halaly, 2024). Thus, their cultural heritage may be more prevalent in the area. The Newe (Western Shoshone) live across Nevada in multiple locations, including northern Nevada.

According to the Te-Moak tribe of Elko, the Newe resided on land in parts of Idaho, Nevada, northwestern Utah, and also Death Valley in California (Halaly, 2024). Finally, the Wá-šiw (Washoe) are considered to have predated other tribes in the Great Basin with their ancient lineage due to linguistic details. Nearby Lake Tahoe is thought to be the center of the universe by the Wá-šiw, making the Carson Valley area culturally significant to the tribe. In 1862, Euro-Americans took all of the Wá-šiw land (Halaly, 2024). The Wá-šiw have a deep connection to Carson Valley and the surrounding areas, and perhaps have the most Indigenous influence in Carson City as a whole.

Northern Nevada hosts a diverse population with a history that goes way back. During the days of the Comstock, Mark Twain boasted about how diverse Nevada was, claiming it “had more foreign-born residents per capita than anywhere else in the United States” (James, 2023, 1833). People were attracted to Nevada because of the mining opportunities and also the booming civilization that came with it. In particular, the area of Carson Valley attracted many people of descent from Germany, Denmark, France, Spain, and the Basque country (Southerland, 2010). Celts, Chinese, Japanese, and more soon joined. Nevada was and still is a diverse area, indeed, when it comes to the heritages of Nevadans. Some Nevadans today may connect more with their identity as “Nevadan” than with the heritage of their ancestors.

4.2: Early Nevada

While not confirmed, it is believed that Spanish Franciscan missionary, Father Francisco Garcés, and two Indigenous guides broke off from Captain Juan Bautista de Anza’s expedition and crossed through the area that is now southern Nevada in the early 1800s in order to reach the coast. This was potentially the first time non-Indigenous peoples entered Nevada. The Spanish wanted more land in North America but were uninterested in the Great Basin, seeing it as barren.

Thus, they transferred the land taken from the Indigenous peoples and the area of Nevada was owned by Mexico in 1822. However, it was not long before both British and American forces took interest in the area for fur trapping (Bowers, 2021). Euro-Americans did not intend to settle in Nevada, seeing it as merely a spot for hunting and fur trapping. Settlement would come later when people traveled for opportunities in the mining industry.

Euro-Americans traveled through Nevada during the expansion into the western territories in order to reach California. During these travels, settlers discovered that Nevada also had precious natural resources. The first trace of gold in the area was found in Dayton in 1849 by a trail guide named Abner Blackburn. The knowledge of gold spread rapidly and Euro-American settlers soon flocked to the area (Tennant & Folmar, 2015). Of course, the Gold Rush in California started a year prior and settling in Dayton meant less travel time before striking gold, or silver for which Nevada became more known. One of the oldest communities in Carson Valley besides Dayton is known as Genoa. It was founded in 1851 and was first known as Mormon Station. It was created by John Reese and was considered the first permanent trading post in Utah Territory (Southerland, 2010). Both Dayton and Genoa have historic cemeteries similar to Lone Mountain Cemetery, although they will not be discussed widely in this thesis. However, their influence remains important as they are reasons as to why Carson City became established later.

Eagle Station was established the same year as the community of Genoa, in 1851. Eagle Station was a ranch and trading post stop on the route to California (Eberle, 2021). Later in 1858, this land was purchased by many pioneer men who were enticed by the possibility of striking it rich in the mining industry. One of these men was Abraham Curry. Eagle Station became known as Carson City, named after the nearby Carson River, which in turn was named after

frontiersman Kit Carson. Abraham Curry is considered the founder of Carson City, and his final place of rest is at none other than Lone Mountain Cemetery (Southerland, 2010). Lone Mountain Cemetery is located in the heart of Carson City. Once Curry and the other pioneers had the land surveyed, they created a federal post office in November of 1858 (Eberle, 2021). This would be crucial for the expansion of Carson City and the purpose of Nevada becoming a territory and then later a state.

In March 1861, the area was officially separated from the rest of Utah Territory and was named the Nevada Territory. This decision was made after a violent “war” broke out between Euro-American settlers and the Numa (Northern Paiute) tribe at Pyramid Lake during the summer of 1860. This was also right before the U.S. Civil War and tensions were rising between the South and the North (Eberle, 2021). President Abraham Lincoln, who had just been newly elected, appointed those who would lead the new territory. He appointed James Nye as the first Territorial Governor and Orion Clemens as the Territory Secretary (Eberle, 2021). This is important because Orion’s brother, Samuel, would join him and his family in Nevada. Samuel Clemens is the real name of famous author, Mark Twain. Samuel first donned the penname when he worked in nearby Virginia City as a reporter for the newspaper, Territorial Enterprise. Nevada was then made a state on October 31st, 1864 (Eberle, 2021). The creation of a new state would not lead to less tensions between people in Nevada.

Euro-Americans were not the last group of settlers to make their homes in Nevada. In February 1869, multiple Chinese laborers came to the area. They established their China Town and cultural influence of the area. However, many Euro-Americans wanted to drive out the Chinese laborers and their culture. Miners from Virginia City and Gold Hill marched into Carson City where many of the laborers lived, telling them that they were no longer allowed to work in

the mines or in construction on the railroad. However, Chinese work on the railroad resumed after a few days and the first freight and passenger trains between Carson City and Virginia City started operation in 1870 (Eberle, 2021). Many Chinese were buried in a section of Lone Mountain Cemetery that was erased sometime between the establishment of the cemetery and 2001 when remains were unearthed during construction. Cemeteries are “privileged sites of memory” (Walton, 2022, p. 378). They function as great sources of information regarding culture, art, and history, but the nature of humans does not allow all stories to be told. The histories of the Chinese laborers matter and their stories deserve to be told.

4.3: Establishment of the Cemetery

Death is an inevitable part of life and where humans live, there will also be death. Around the height of Nevada’s mining days, cemeteries also became a type of fashion statement in the U.S. Moving away from the idea that death is scary and mournful, garden cemeteries were created in order to establish a peaceful perception of death (Andicoechea, 2022). Lone Mountain Cemetery, which was actually multiple cemeteries referred to as “Wright Cemetery” was created after the Pioneer Cemetery in Carson, otherwise known as the “Walsh Cemetery” (Southerland, 1997). Due to the creation of a new, fashionable cemetery, some individuals from the Pioneer Cemetery were reinterred at Lone Mountain. However, it was not formally known as one singular Lone Mountain Cemetery until the 1960s (Southerland, 2010). The oldest burials at Lone Mountain can be found dating to the days of when Nevada was still a territory and were made of famous Curry sandstone, belonging to the quarry of city founder Abe Curry. As cemetery historian Cindy Southerland eloquently put it, “The known and unknown, the famous and forgotten, all now lie in historic cemeteries, along with their stories that are quickly fading from memory with the passage of time” (Southerland, 1997, p. 5). Some grave markers have

fallen into disrepair, either from the nature of the materials they were created from, simply from time, or vandalism. This will make it difficult to collect all the stories and notions of identity belonging to those who perished in the historic days of Carson City. With the application of museum collections research practices, the hope is that headway will be made in order to understand and preserve the untold histories of Lone Mountain's eternal residents.

Chapter 5: Notable People in the Cemetery & Their History

5.1: Curry Family

Where people in a town may be of different religious, social, and ethnic backgrounds, they all find themselves brought together at Lone Mountain Cemetery. Thus, a diverse array of people who influenced Carson City have their stories told through their grave markers at the cemetery.

Curry sandstone played an important role in the foundation of Carson Valley and continues to be seen in the oldest grave markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery. Abraham Curry, the founder of Carson City, owned a stone quarry located where the historic Nevada State Prison is today. Sandstone from the quarry was notably used in the construction of the state capitol buildings, the U.S. Mint, and the historic prison (Southerland, 2010). If someone was buried with a sandstone grave marker in this area, that meant they either knew Curry, had enough money to fund one, or were a prominent member of the community. This makes Curry sandstone a unique characteristic to look out for in not just Lone Mountain Cemetery, but all cemeteries in the area.

Ironically, Abraham Curry himself was not buried with a sandstone marker, or any proper marker for that matter. Although he supplied many of the historically significant markers in the cemetery, he faced major financial struggles at the time of his death in 1873. Historic accounts from his wife suggest that he died with only one dollar in his pocket. After the establishment of Lone Mountain Cemetery as a single cemetery made up of many, a large marker made of a granite boulder was placed on his grave. It contains information about him, his fraternal brotherhood as a Mason is represented, and his first name is misspelled as “Abram” which could perhaps be a nickname (Southerland, 2010). Although the marker is not representative of the time in which he passed, the details and size show his significance as Carson City’s founder.

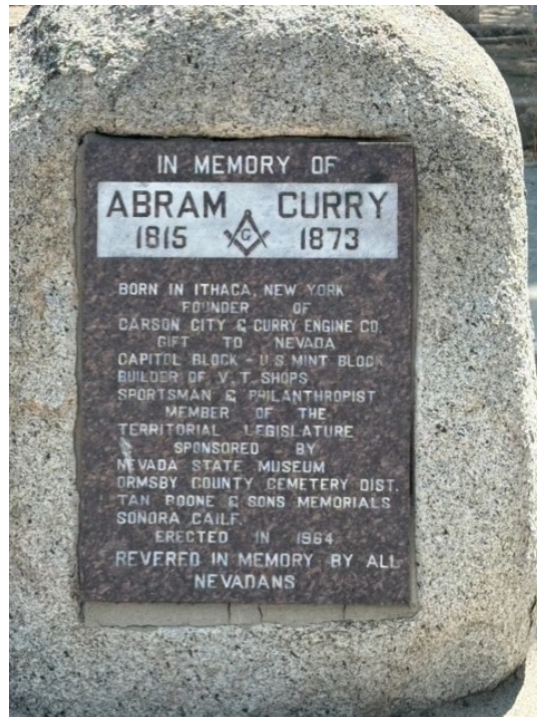


Figure 5-1: Abraham Curry's Grave Marker

Many of Curry's relatives are also buried at Lone Mountain, but most are in unmarked graves. His son, Charles Curry, was elected as the Ormsby County Clerk in 1863 and is memorialized with a large marble obelisk marker. His epitaph states his name, that he was born in Ithaca, New York, his death year in 1868, and contains a saying that is illegible due to the colors and cracks in the marble.



Figure 5-2A: Charles Curry's Obelisk; Figure 5-2B: Charles Curry's Epitaph

One grave marker in the Curry family plot belongs to Abe Curry's son-in-law, Dr. Anton Tjader. He was a surgeon in the Russian Army during the Battle of Balaklava, part of the Crimean War, then continued his work as a physician once moving to the U.S. He settled in Carson City and married Abraham Curry's daughter, Lucy Ann (Southerland, 2010). Lucy Ann remarried after his death in 1870, and thus she is buried in California with her second husband (Find A Grave, 2024). Tjader's grave marker is quite ornamental, being made of white marble and depicting elaborate imagery: a cross, a weeping willow tree, and a mourning person who is presumed to be his wife.



Figure 5-3: Anton Tjader's Grave Marker

Another one of Abe Curry's son-in-laws was buried in the family plot, Fred Turner, who married Jane. Not much is known about him in records or via his grave marker, but the style of his marker is contrasting from the other ones in the family plot. It is made of a dark grey marble, almost a blue color, that contains his name, when he died, his age, the image of three oak leaves, and the inscription "to my beloved husband" from Jane. Perhaps his modest grave marker tells viewers that his life was not very ornate, especially in contrast to his father-in-law and other family members such as Dr. Tjader. The contrast in material color sets his marker aside from the others in the plot.



Figure 5-4: Fred Turner's Grave Marker

Abe Curry's third daughter, Elvira, married John Cowen and moved to Carson City after her father in 1860. Only one of their children lived to adulthood, and the three who perished early are buried in the Curry family plot. Freddie passed away from complications with measles when he was two, Juna died of "unknown causes" but today it is assumed she had SIDS at the age of seven months, and Jerry succumbed to scarlet fever at the age of two. Their parents erected a beautiful white marble marker for all three of them, which depicts lambs and is inscribed with, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not."



Figure 5-5: Cowan Children's Grave Marker

Not all Curry family members who are buried in the plot received markers, and this is more than likely due to the expense of having a marker created. His wife Mary Ann, daughters Elvira and Mary Etta, and brother-in-law Joseph Cowen are believed to be buried in unmarked graves in the plot (Find A Grave, 2024). While lacking a marker, Joseph was celebrated in other ways at the time of his death. He served as the staff at the U.S. Mint and watchman for the assay office in Carson City, and so his funeral contained an elaborate floral display which was noted for containing popular grave and memorial symbols such as a dove, heart, and crosses (Southerland, 2010). The lack of markers may be explained by financial stress of the family, or it may point towards a larger issue of whose stories are told versus whose are not.

5.2: Jennie Clemens

The Clemens family grew to prominence in the Carson City area in both the political and literary fronts. Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, followed his brother and family to Nevada after Orion Clemens was appointed as the territorial secretary by President Abraham Lincoln. Jennie Clemens, Samuel's niece and Orion's daughter, was a beloved member of the community. She was an avid Christian despite her young age, and she spent much of her time raising money to purchase a Bible for the First Presbyterian Church, which still operates today. After her death at the age of ten from spotted fever, the Bible was purchased. The church still has the Bible. The Nevada legislature adjourned so that members could attend her funeral, and her uncle wrote about it in the paper (Southerland, 2010). As a symbol of Jennie's own prominence in the community, Abe Curry cut stone from his quarry for Jennie's grave marker.

Jennie's grave marker is one of the oldest in Lone Mountain Cemetery, as she was one of the first people buried in what was known as the city cemetery. The marker is a light brown color due to the sandstone and is an odd shape. The letters for her epitaph run onto the side of the marker as there was not enough space. It lists her name, that she was the only child of Orion and Mary, she was born in Iowa in 1855 and died in Nevada in 1864. Drill marks can be seen on the back of the marker from when Abe Curry extracted the stone from the quarry. Grave goods and a memorial plaque have been placed at her grave, with symbols of rabbits, bears, angels, the Virgin Mary, and flowers.



Figure 5-6A: Jennie Clemens' Grave Marker; Figure 5-6B: Drill Marks

5.3: Hank Monk

Hank Monk was a stagecoach driver who acclaimed legendary fame in the region. He is most famous for completing a ride from Carson City to Placerville, California in a record-setting time of ten hours. This particular victory was made famous by Mark Twain, who referenced it in one of his stories. Hank died in 1883 and his original grave marker was also made of Abe Curry's sandstone. Photos of the original marker include imagery of a cross, the trinity, stars, and an anchor. However, his marker did not survive well. A replacement was made in 1964 and contains different information from his original marker (Southerland, 2010). It is made of granite, depicts Hank, states he was born in New York, calls him the "most noted and celebrated stage driver in the west," and notes the donor information, as well as the maker of the new marker. His original marker lays at the foot of the new marker.



Figure 5-7: Hank Monk's Grave Markers

5.4: Clayton Mausoleum

The only mausoleum at Lone Mountain Cemetery belongs to the Clayton family and it is also made of Curry's sandstone. P. H. Clayton does not have an overall positive remembrance in the community, he was a secessionist at the time of the Civil War. On one particular occasion he was charged with making disloyal statements against the Union and was punished by carrying a fifty-pound bag of sand around Fort Churchill until he learned his lesson. He then had to take an oath of allegiance to the Union before he could be released out of custody (Southerland, 2010). After this, Clayton served as Abe Curry's attorney which may explain how he could procure so much sandstone for his family's mausoleum. Only some information is noted on the outside of the mausoleum. Above the doorway, visitors can see the three rings representing the Odd Fellows, of which Clayton was a member. One of the rings is broken, which is known to

symbolize the death of a lodge member. On the opposite end of the mausoleum is another plaque that simply states, “our home.” At the time of the mausoleum’s creation, windows allowed visitors to peer into the crypt. However, a brutal vandalization was done to the mausoleum, as well as other grave markers, throughout the early 2000s. The skulls of P. H. Clayton and his wife were stolen, but later recovered by the police. The windows have since been covered up once the remains were returned to the mausoleum, and cement blocks the doorway from any entry. Although few pieces of information exist on the outside of the mausoleum and visitors can no longer view the inside, the mausoleum itself stands as a testament to how Clayton viewed himself and his family, and how they wanted to be remembered.



Figure 5-8A: Clayton Mausoleum Door; Figure 5-8B: Clayton Mausoleum Front View



Figure 5-8C: Clayton Mausoleum Side View; Figure 5-8D: Our Home Sign

5.5: Matthew Pixley

Matthew Pixley was a proprietor for the Warm Springs Hotel located at the site of Curry's quarry and the building itself was made of the sandstone. Adjacent to the hotel was the historic Nevada State Prison. Pixley is famous for being murdered by prisoners who managed to escape the prison on the night of September 17, 1871 while Pixley was working at the hotel (Southerland, 2010). Pixley's grave marker was not made of the famous sandstone he saw everyday at work, but was instead crafted out of white marble. His wife purchased the marker and she selected a floral wreath emblem to be carved into the top of the marker. The marker tells his name, that he died in Carson City, and that he died at the age of twenty-seven.



Figure 5-9: Matthew Pixley's Grave Marker

5.6: Samuel Baker

Life was never dull for Samuel Baker. He held multiple careers throughout his lifetime, including a ship mariner, prison overseer in San Quentin, wagon master, brakeman in Abe Curry's mine, watchman at the Virginia City prison and the U.S. Mint, storekeeper, and Pony Express rider from Arizona to California. He later founded the Society of Pacific Coast Pioneers (Carson City Nevada, n.d.). His grave marker is a bit peculiar because it tells different information than the historical records. His obituary was printed in 1902 but his grave marker states that he died in 1930. One may naturally wonder if this grave marker is actually for his son, but his only son was named Charles who did not stay in the area. The grave marker, which can only be assumed is Samuel Baker's, is a simple white marble marker stating only his name and the years he (supposedly) lived.



Figure 5-10: Samuel Baker's Grave Marker

5.7: The Tufly Family

Another hotel operator in Carson City, George Tufly operated the St. Charles Hotel, which still stands today and also contains a popular restaurant. After his career in the hotel business, he changed paths and was elected as the Nevada State Treasurer in 1882, serving two terms (Southerland, 2010). Both he and his wife, Sophie, have matching headstones and footstones in the cemetery. They are made of white marble and intricately decorated with various designs. The footstones both respectively say “mother” and “father” in log writing, the headstone carvings show a drape over the top, as well as symbols for the Masons and Mystic Shriners. Few of the women of the time at Lone Mountain Cemetery had their own grave markers, which makes Sophie Tufly's grave particularly interesting.

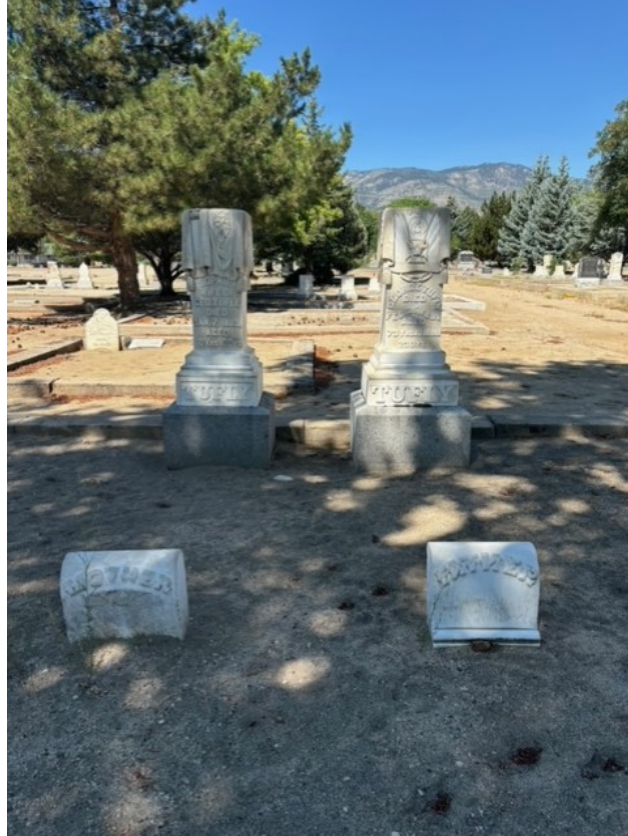


Figure 5-11A: Tufly Grave Plot Overview



Figure 5-11B: Sophie Tufly's Grave Marker; Figure 5-11C: George Tufly's Grave Marker



Figure 5-11D: Sophie's Footstone; Figure 5-11E: George's Footstone

George and Sophie's son-in-law, Harrison Shrieves, has a marker adjacent to his in-laws. He served in the Civil War and moved to Nevada after his discharge in 1864, becoming the first train conductor of the passenger trains for the Virginia and Truckee Railroad (Southerland, 2010). Harrison is the only individual buried in his large plot, which features a large and elaborate marker and an ornate iron fence. He married Louise Caroline Tufly and they had no children together, and she remarried after his death (Find A Grave, 2024). Harrison passed away from medical complications with the treatment he was taking from a physician in Virginia City. He was given doses that were too large of Nux Vomica, a highly toxic medication. The top of the marker has a draped cloth over an urn, down lower is a cross and a crown circled by a wreath, below that is the Odd Fellow rings, ivy, and an upside-down torch.



Figure 5-12A: Shrieves Grave Plot Overview; Figure 5-12B: Shrieves Plot Gate



Figure 5-12C: Shrieves Grave Marker

5.8: Nellie Verrill Mighels Davis

Nellie Verrill Mighels Davis married Henry Mighels, who was appointed to be the editor of the Carson City Morning Appeal in 1864. She traveled across the country to follow her husband to their new home, with the final leg of her trip being a stagecoach ride driven by the famous Hank Monk mentioned earlier. At the time of her husband's death in 1879, she became the editor of the newspaper and was the first woman to report on the Nevada legislature proceedings. She then got remarried to Sam Davis in 1880. She lived a long and fulfilling life, establishing many organizations in Nevada, and lived to be 101 years old (Southerland, 2010). She shares a large granite obelisk grave marker with her second husband and their relatives. The monument lacks additional symbolic details, although other family members have their own headstones in the burial plot with minimal decorations. Notice the Curry sandstone lining the border of the family plot.



Figure 5-13A: Davis Family Plot Overview; Figure 5-13B: Family Grave Markers



Figure 5-13C: Nellie Davis Grave Marker; Figure 5-13D: More Family Listed

5.9: Nevada Governors

Six of Nevada's governors are laid to rest at Lone Mountain Cemetery. The first is Governor John Kinkead, who was the third Governor of Nevada and was also the first Territorial Governor of Alaska. While in Alaska, Kinkead also served as Sitka's first postmaster where he received \$12 per year (Southerland, 2010). He and his wife, Elizabeth, share a grave marker. It lists their birth and death years, as well as an ornate Celtic cross which is thought to be representative of his Scottish heritage.



Figure 5-14: Governor Kinkead's Grave Marker

Governor Roswell Colcord oversaw many accomplishments in Nevada's history, acting as the seventh Governor. He supported women's suffrage, the first governor to do so in the state, and created the state board of health. Following the end of his term, he was appointed as Superintendent of the U.S. Mint and Assay Office. He was a proud Nevadan and fittingly passed away on the state's Diamond Jubilee celebration in 1939 (Southerland, 2010). His grave marker is rather simple, with a wreath design matching the markers of his relatives and the Masonic symbol.



Figure 5-15: Governor Colcord's Grave Marker

John E. Jones, a native of Wales, became Nevada's eighth governor in 1895 after a career in both mining and ranching. He was elected governor after running through the Silver Party. However, his inaugural ball was not well attended due to political tensions in the state. He is most well known for creating the first Nevada public library, located in Reno. By the time of his death in 1896, peoples' opinions about him grew in his favor and his funeral had a large attendance. His funeral cortege was two miles in length (Southerland, 2010). He shares a large granite slab marker with other members of his family.



Figure 5-16: Governor Jones' Grave Marker

Governor Reinhold Sadler was born in Prussia and moved to America in 1864. He started as a miner and merchant in Eureka, Nevada, and then was elected Eureka Co. Treasurer, then Lieutenant Governor, before becoming Nevada's ninth governor after Governor Jones' sudden death. He is perhaps best known for signing the Glove Contest Bill, which allowed prize fights under proper legislation such as the famous Corbett-Fitzsimmons fight held in Carson City. Governor Sadler was described as, "an eccentric man and spoke with a German accent, but it is generally conceded he was one of the best business governors the state ever had" (Southerland, 2010, p. 116). He passed away in 1906 but his shared grave marker is newer. It's a dark granite slab he shares with his wife Louisa, and daughter Bertha. Poppy flowers are etched into the top two corners.



Figure 5-17: Governor Sadler's Grave Marker

Denver Dickerson, the state's eleventh governor, moved to Nevada after his enlistment in the Spanish-American War. He also had a career in newspaper editing. His political career started when he was elected as the White Pine Co. Clerk-Recorder, then he became Lieutenant Governor, and took over as State Governor after the death of Governor John Sparks in 1908. Governor Dickerson and his family were the first residents of the Nevada Governor's Mansion (Southerland, 2010). He later became the warden of the Nevada State Prison, the same one located at Curry's quarry. He also has a simple grave marker, the same standard military marker issued by the government for military service members. It lists his name, rank, and troop, but no information regarding his political power in the area. This marker is rather humble for depicting his identity considering he held many positions of power within the state. Judging by his marker, he did not want to be remembered as a powerful person, but instead as a soldier.



Figure 5-18: Governor Dickerson's Grave Marker

Tasker Oddie was a lawyer from New York who was sent to Nevada in 1898 to handle an issue for a client in the mining industry. However, this excursion led to him becoming an entrepreneur in the mining industry during the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining Boom. He was elected as the twelfth governor in 1910. After his time as Governor Oddie, he ran successfully for U.S. Senate in 1920 and worked hard to obtain advancements in infrastructure for Nevada. He passed away in San Francisco but was laid to rest at Lone Mountain Cemetery, in the heart of the state he served for so long (Southerland, 2010). He is buried with a simple granite marker that he shares with his wife, Daisy. The marker lacks further symbolism and adornment.



Figure 5-19: Governor Oddie's Grave Marker

Analyzing the changes in cemetery marker symbolism and style can easily be done through looking at the above listed notable figures buried at Lone Mountain Cemetery. While they are not the only notable figures buried there, their histories give the best glimpse into what the evolving culture was like during the historic days of Carson Valley, even for the famous and powerful. Stone markers were a common thread between these figures, as stone is a durable substance. Yet not all stones have the same durability. The oldest markers were made of sandstone and white marble, and the newer historic markers were made of granite. Granite is known as one of the most durable materials on Earth, making it a popular choice of grave marker because the memory of the deceased will last longer (Snider, 2017). Some figures have their stories shown in detail on their graves, where others take a simple approach with the changing times. These figures all held similar positions of prominence within the region, yet their markers all differ from one another due to their and their families' varying identities.

Chapter 6: The Cemetery Today

6.1: Observing Cultural Change

Change is a natural process within a culture, functioning neutrally where the people within a culture may perceive those changes as either positive or negative (DeSilvey & Harrison, 2020). Due to this, some changes take place quicker than others. When comparing historic accounts of a culture with the same culture today, there are bound to be differences but also some similarities. These changes can be observed where history is preserved, such as museums, libraries, and of course cemeteries. The in-situ nature of graves allows modern day people the opportunity to study history and culture within an original context. This also includes the observation of changes within a culture (Streb et al., 2019). As the culture of northern Nevada has changed since its prehistoric and early historic days, information conveyed through the graves at Lone Mountain Cemetery visually depict the changes happening in the culture as a whole.

Cultures also attempt to resist change on a common basis. Even though changes can come with perceived benefits such as globalization and access to more resources, cultures fear great change (DeSilvey & Harrison, 2020). Some elements of the culture that existed during the pioneering days of Carson City may continue to exist today and in the past few decades as evident through the grave markers at the cemetery.

6.2: World Perceptions of Cemeteries

Especially in the case for cultural minorities, having their own place to put their dead to rest is a major concern. Not all cemeteries allow all people to be buried there. Even after the deceased is buried there may be issues of cultural erasure and disturbance of the grave, as was the case with the minority section at Lone Mountain Cemetery (Southerland, 2010). These are

issues that are not just historical, but they continue to exist today. Research suggests that “there is a growing demand for dedicated burial space for minority religions such as Muslims and the Baha’i faith...making both appropriate spatial organization and the treatment of the dead of utmost importance” (Maddrell et al., 2021, p. 676). The lack of a safe burial or ritual space is a common way in which violence is shown against a culture, described as “slow violence.”

Maddrell et al. (2021) discussed a case where it took twenty years to establish a Hindu temple within a town because the town council did not see why the Hindu residents needed a temple, where the Hindu faith contains sixteen rituals from birth to death which all require a proper temple. Rituals take time and precision. For other cultures such as the Mosaic religious community of Judaism, death rituals last over eleven months (Swensen & Skår, 2019). Death rituals cannot be rushed and the lack of inclusivity within cemeteries creates a barrier. Rituals are a direct expression of one’s identity, and the ritual of burying the deceased is no different. When people gather to bury their loved one, rituals involved with the burial such as leaving special offerings or grave goods, reading a eulogy, sharing stories, and more, consolidate a group identity (Moen, 2021). These shared identities are crucial when a culture experiences great loss and experiences mourning. It tells an individual that they are not alone, which is why the assurance of a safe burial and ritual place is critical to all cultures, but especially minorities.

Cemeteries contain a wealth of information, and they are also valued as special places where history, culture, and art are preserved. Current world perceptions of cemeteries also view them as a place of learning because of the information that they contain (Moen, 2021). Research conducted in China, where urbanization is expanding, shows that younger generations value their cemeteries and wish to preserve them, if not just for remembrance but also as a space for education. They specifically argued in favor of cemeteries being a space to learn about various

cultures in one space (Goh & Ching, 2020). In addition to culture, history and architecture can also be taught through grave markers at a cemetery. Cemeteries all over are being disrupted in favor of urbanization. The oldest cemetery in Reykavík, Iceland, was exhumed and replaced with a hotel in the booming tourism industry of the area, which was met with criticism by Icelanders (Stanley, 2021). For the culture, they not only value their dead but also the symbols and material culture related to their country's history and their national identity. To them, removal of the cemetery is the removal of the Icelandic people. Without their oldest cemetery, knowledge of their culture is lost.

An additional use of cemeteries is that of recreation. Especially as the world becomes more urbanized, more people seek out green spaces in their own communities. When someone lives in an urban jungle, that green escape tends to be a cemetery. The grave markers create an opportunity for personal reflection when visitors stroll past them, but they also enjoy the green atmosphere as a serene place to escape other worries. People take walks in cemeteries, jog, walk their dogs, and even socialize with friends (Swensen & Skår, 2019). The recreational appeal of a green space did not always exist in cemeteries. Grass had negative connotations and cemeteries did not widely contain grass until the invention of the garden cemetery. Popularized by the French palaces, cemeteries that emulated luxurious gardens became vogue in the U. S. when culture changes shifted to viewing death as a peaceful state of being (Snider, 2017). Cemeteries were not just functional, but they were fashionable. They became places where art could also be expressed and enjoyed. Within recreational use is also the visual appeal of cemeteries. In early America, cemeteries were one of the few places where art was accessible to the public (Baughner & Veit, 2014). This reason for visiting the cemeteries still exists today, as many historic cemeteries contain unique gravestone art from all different design types. Thus, cemeteries do not

function as just outdoor history museums, but also outdoor art museums in a sense. This idea of cemeteries as places to observe art is further supported by Zappaterra (2022)'s book: *The World's Most Beautiful Cemeteries*. Cemeteries are explored as places with unique visual appeal with both landscaping and architecture, and may even function as tourist destinations.

6.3: Carson Valley Today

It is generally concluded that the northern Nevada culture values their state history and tries to preserve as much as they can. This is perhaps because Carson City is the state capital and much of Nevada's political history took place in the surrounding areas. Between Carson City, Carson Valley, Virginia City and Reno there are over twenty museums, archives, and places of historical preservation. There are even more antique stores and places to purchase or view objects related to the past. In the last year, artistic efforts have been made to highlight Carson Valley's history through murals depicting elements of the area's past (Brewery Arts Center, 2024). Examples include murals of famous Washoe basket-weaver Dat-so-la-lee and the U.S. Branch Mint. History quite literally surrounds the Carson area, and this is a reflection of the cultural values in the community. Of these many historical places, it is important to observe what is preserved and what is not preserved. Most of the museums reflect the Euro-American pioneer history of the area, such as the local historical societies, railroad museum, state museums, and more. Some museums also preserve Indigenous history, most notably the Nevada State Museum and the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center and Museum. The Chinese immigrants that worked prevalently on the railroad are seldom represented in the area's museums and few remnants of their China Town exists in today's city. Between 1870 to 1950, Carson City's China Town population started at 802 and dropped down to only six people. Their buildings lasted until the 1960s when the last remnants were razed in order to create new state offices (Southerland,

2010). Not all stories were preserved over Nevada's history and this is evident in Lone Mountain Cemetery, as well. In 2000, it was discovered during road construction that the minority section of the cemetery was lost to time and most markers removed. The remains of Chinese immigrants and funerary objects were found, but many of the remains were placed by in the dirt rather than moved (Southerland, 2010). Due to rules and regulations of the time, a formal archaeological investigation was not required. Today the minority graves remain under the road and in the unmarked landscape.

In the early 2000s, even the Euro-American histories at Lone Mountain Cemetery faced destruction as vandals wrecked the cemetery, including the grave markers of children. When there are those that wish to target a culture, they go after what that culture cares for most, and the Carson City area values its pioneer history. The worst of the vandalism incidents took place in 1997, in which skeletal remains were stolen from the Clayton mausoleum. The skulls of P. H. Clayton, the known successionist, and his wife were stolen by the vandals at the same time that many other grave markers were damaged. Two years later, the vandals were caught and it was revealed that they broke into the mausoleum on Nevada Day ("Preliminary Arguments," 2001). The fact that the skulls of two of Carson City's founding members, who have a complicated political history, is no coincidence. There is the notion of identity and what it means to be a Nevadan, challenged by the brutal vandalism.

However, this was not the last vandalism to take place at Lone Mountain Cemetery. The flag poles at the Veterans Memorial were also vandalized by being bent in 2002 ("Vandals Wreak Havoc," 2002). In this case, the identity of veterans is challenged. Again in 2007, thirty-two of the historical markers were toppled over ("Vandals Hit," 2007). Among the thirty-two were the family members of Carson City founder Abe Curry, including the grave marker of the

young Cowan children. The caretakers of the cemetery elaborated on the historic value of these grave markers, describing them as unique and irreplaceable. Some of the grave markers could be mended with epoxy, but not all had successful fixes (“Vandals Hit,” 2007). These broken grave markers can still be seen at Lone Mountain Cemetery today, either propped up on newer granite slabs or laying on the ground where they once stood. In order to understand what a culture values, observers can analyze what is disrupted by those that wish to challenge the cultural identity. In the case of Lone Mountain Cemetery, vandalism of pioneer-era markers shows that the culture values these markers so much that they became the target for members of the culture that wished to break away from the cultural identity.



Figure 6-1A: Broken Marker 1; Figure 6-1B: Broken Markers 2 & 3



Figure 6-1C: Broken Marker 4; Figure 6-1D: Broken Footstone



Figure 6-1E: Broken Marker 5; Figure 6-1F: Broken Marker 6



Figure 6-1G: Broken Marker 7; Figure 6-1H: Damage from being Kicked



Figure 6-1I: Headstone Missing; Figure 6-1J: Dove's Head Snapped Off

Not all disruption of the cemetery is done through vandalism. Caretakers of the cemetery expressed a distaste for certain recreational use of the cemetery. In 2002 around the same time as the vandalism, caretakers reported dirt bike riding and irresponsible driving in the cemetery which damaged the landscaping (“Vandals Wreak Havoc,” 2002). Recreational use is one of the modern values of cemeteries, though they are more typically used for walking rather than any sort of driving. While conducting research at the cemetery, many people working in businesses near the cemetery were observed taking their breaks by walking laps in the cemetery and conversing with coworkers. Lone Mountain Cemetery is used as a recreational space by the culture, though some recreational activities are more disruptive than others. Today, times have changed and vandalism is less of an issue at Lone Mountain Cemetery.

Chapter 7: The Role of Cemeteries in Communities & Cultures

7.1: Cultural Identity

Cemeteries are more than where people lay their dead to rest, they are places of social discourse and heritage preservation. Jedan et al. (2020) wrote that cemeteries are, “spaces where communities can express their identities and their construction of otherness...identities can be claimed, subsumed, suppressed, denied, and contested” (p. 4). Identities are embraced when a person visits their parents’ grave but they can also be brutally denied through actions of vandalism. What we do in cemeteries constitutes as ritual behavior. Grave sites are considered the location of “everyday rituals” where visiting the dead at their burial place reaffirms their identities and kinship (Moen, 2021). These rituals do not end when a person is buried. People return to cemeteries to visit their loved ones, reaffirm family or cultural identities, and to reflect on the lives of others in comparison to one’s own. The grave markers of those who came before us become part of our rituals and identities. Cemeteries play an active role today in the lives of the living.

Individuals of a specific religious group may visit cemeteries as part of a religious ritual. However, visitation to cemeteries is not purely religious or spiritual, but there are also secular reasons. National identity is a special association with historic cemeteries and when people visit a historical cemetery, they may not be there to visit relatives, but they connect with those who founded their country or fought for it in war (Stanley, 2021). Through this shared sense of identity that spans across multiple generations are shared values. Over time, cemeteries have changed from strictly religious spaces to a place where multiple religions and beliefs can come together. Prior to the urban cemetery, religious cemeteries were secluded and almost secretive in location (Swensen & Skår, 2019). As the culture changed to one of people of various backgrounds living in close proximity, so did the way in which the dead are buried. Lone

Mountain Cemetery was originally multiple cemeteries in close proximity to each other but were later combined to reflect this shared identity as being Nevadans. The cemetery contains sections for the Masons, Odd Fellows, Catholics, Jews, veterans, members of the Grand Army of the Republic, babies, and a general city section (Southerland, 2010). Many identities are represented at the cemetery, but they all also share an identity at the same time, regardless of religious or social affiliation. Religious reasons for visiting cemeteries connects to that of holiness and reflecting on life after death, but those without religious affiliation or spiritual belief find just as much value in cemeteries (Colombo & Vach, 2021). They celebrate the virtues of those who came before them, such as family, occupation, and community. These virtues can be seen on grave markers at Lone Mountain cemetery with emblems such as hearts, the notion of being a governor, or especially the iconic symbols of fraternal organizations such as the Masons or Odd Fellows. Complex markers may also contain religious iconography in addition to secular emblems, such as a cross, dove, or lamb.



Figure 7-1A: Christian & Mason Identity 1; Figure 7-1B: Christian & Mason Identity 2

Rituals of remembrance continue in many ways after one has been laid to rest, with a common example being the offering of grave goods. Stones are perhaps the most common example of an item left at a grave site (Solomon, 2019). They are a simple way to make a

physical impression of one's remembrance and appreciation. The same exists for coins, fake florals, flags, statues, and metal emblems that can also depict identity.



Figure 7-2A: Stone 1; Figure 7-2B: Stone 2

7.2: Educating the Public

In some cases, grave markers are the sole references to an area's history. Grave markers are a way for people to learn about cultures of the past. An example of this is the Jewish cemetery at Zefat. Most knowledge of the original community has come from information written in Hebrew on the grave markers (Stepansky, 2023). Grave markers are noted as the oldest forms of reference to a cultural history, before record keeping was common. Streb et al. (2019) explains, "The Greek word for grave (μνήμα) is derived from the root σῆμα (séma for sign or signal)" (p. 335). Not only do the newer generations form their identities with their ancestors through information relayed by the grave markers, but they learn in the same way one learns from a museum or library. Inscribing markers took time and were reserved for information that was most important to the culture about the deceased. The stories of the culture were inscribed with words and symbols on their grave markers in times and places where record keeping was not common. A community's deepest values can be found on their grave markers through both the words of the epitaph and the symbols inscribed.

Even newly established cemeteries act as archives of a culture's biographies. Grave markers contain information about the far past and the near past, and show the changes that occur even in a small bit of time (Walton, 2022). However, one may also observe that community values may not undergo drastic changes. The ways in which they are presented may be different, but many values remain the same.

Cemetery research suggests that cemeteries are valued by students as places to gain information. Education is highly valued in Chinese culture. Thus, Chinese culture values cemeteries for the same reason: they are places to learn about history, culture, and art. The younger generations in Chinese culture are wanting to engage with cemeteries more than previous generations, viewing them as valuable educational spaces (Goh & Ching, 2020). They view them more similarly to that of a museum, a space where one can explore an area freely and pick up information along the way. This is especially pertinent when studying minority cultures that may have been left out of written historical discourse. Their stories may not always appear in the history books or a library, but their stories are told on their grave markers (Maddrell, 2021). Cemetery research has the ability to fill in gaps of information so that education can take a holistic approach. There is also an element of recreational use when students visit cemeteries that they enjoy and may prefer to other modes of learning (Goh & Ching 2020). Rather than sitting in a library for hours on end or scrolling the internet researching, cemeteries offer an educational experience that gets a visitor outside, moving, and possibly socializing.

During a time when relevancy is key, many wonder what the relevancy is of cemeteries. Education is one of the many ways in which cemeteries stay relevant, as modern people can learn about the past and its historical discourse. When students of all ages engage with a cemetery, critical research is conducted. Research helps education to stay dynamic (Wells,

2012). In the case of Nevada, aspects of local folklore may be explored through the cemeteries (James, 2023). The aspects discovered help to explain why the modern culture behaves in the way that it does. This same research is useful for modern people to understand the culture around them. In addition, research conducted through educational experiences at the cemetery informs cemetery professionals on ways to engage the public. Much like museums, historic cemeteries may create exhibits or host cultural events (Wells, 2012). They are spaces to educate the public.

7.3: Escapism

Cemeteries also function as a place of escapism. The landscape within a cemetery is noticeably different than the world outside. They are quiet, contain less people, offer scenic space or greenery, and contain unique pieces of art. In fact, art is directly related to grave markers in their earliest forms. They used to commonly contain pigments, evident in the archaeological record and through ancient documentation (Solomon, 2019; Leary, 2021). However, exquisite tomb art was not created for everyone, but was more commonly seen with the elite. Even within these art pieces, tomb imagery most commonly depicted the natural world with animal emblems and plants, pointing towards the serene beauty of nature versus what is manmade (Leary, 2021). Grave markers have not drastically changed from this notion of revering nature. These emblems will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 10, but ivy, oak leaves, roses, lilies, and lambs are among the most common grave emblems in historic Lone Mountain Cemetery.

What sets cemeteries apart from other educational and recreational institutions is that they are accessible to nearly everyone. In this way, everyone is allowed to observe history, culture, art, and engage in recreational activities such as wandering a landscape with the intention of escapism (Southerland, 2010). Not everyone has the opportunity to visit an art

museum, but cemeteries offer a free way in which to experience art. There is a reason that many cemeteries have become popular tourist destinations, aside from the historical impacts of those who call the cemetery home. One can experience southern charm at Lafayette Cemetery No. 1 in New Orleans, a lush amber-colored landscape in autumn at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, and the seaside backdrop at Cementerio Santa María Magdalena de Pizzas in Puerto Rico (Zappaterra, 2022). Likewise, Lone Mountain Cemetery offers its own western landscape, with a lack of grass but various trees adorn the cemetery to give it a floral appearance. These are all cemeteries with their own histories, but they are all unique in the art that they exhibit for visitors. No cemetery is the same as the next, and each offers its own collection of grave markers that tell the visual stories of those who lived there.



Figure 7-4A: Gates of Lone Mountain Cemetery; Figure 7-4B: Trees of Lone Mountain



Figure 7-4C: Large Tree at Lone Mountain; Figure 7-4D: Blossoming Tree Backdrop

Chapter 8: Material Culture and Learning

8.1: Understanding Material Culture

Museums exist because of material culture, starting as places to house such objects of importance. Developments within the field of museum studies underwent a shift in early research, understanding the objects beyond the raw material and instead understanding the cultural significance tied to it. This is where the concept of material culture comes from (Wells, 2012). Interpretation is necessary for understanding material culture as a whole, but especially in the case for materials related to death and mortuary practices (Baugher & Veit, 2014). When applying museum collections research practices to cemeteries, it is vital to understand the discourse surrounding material culture in museums. Monuments for cultural heritage may exist at a national museum, preserving the national identity of a culture. If something were to destroy such a monument, the nation would be distraught. In the U.S. that would be as if Arlington National Cemetery was destroyed. A real example occurred with the destruction of the oldest cemetery in Reykjavík, Iceland. Icelanders felt that their national heritage was being erased (Stanley, 2021). Tangible objects of heritage reinforce the intangible. Cemeteries play a larger role in cultural identity as collections of material culture, and identity is at risk when these objects are placed at risk of destruction.

These identities through material culture may even be shaped by politics of the past (Walton, 2022). The vandalization of the Clayton mausoleum at Lone Mountain Cemetery is a prime example of the way in which historic politics still cast a shadow on the present. He was a successionist during the Civil War and it is no coincidence that his mausoleum was so brutally vandalized in the early 2000s on Nevada Day. Damage was done to the mausoleum and Clayton's and his wife's skulls were stolen ("Preliminary Arguments," 2001). The vandalization, though incredibly horrific, was a response to Clayton's historic political affiliation. By

committing such a crime, the vandals identified themselves as being against the successionist side of Nevada history and identity. The care or lack thereof for material culture is representative of present identities.

Grave markers have a unique place in material culture because they do not fit perfectly into one category; they are both physical objects of material culture and also a type of document (Baugher & Veit, 2014). They convey written information through epitaphs, symbolic information through images, and important craft information through the materials and styles. The art historians of museums are often interested in the physical materials of their objects, which point towards cultural shifts in society (Streb et al., 2019). Material culture continues to be the main topic researched in a museum, but the materials themselves hold a more relevant significance in the lives of those within the culture. These materials must also be studied in relation to other materials. The materials inform each other and those looking to conserve material culture must study them as a group in order to understand what techniques for conservation and preservation work, and which do not (Malaro, 2012). This is why museums contain collections rather than objects that are entirely individual.

Not all stories are preserved through material culture. In early historic cemeteries in Virginia, having a family burial ground and associated markers was a symbol of one's financial or social status within the community (Baugher & Veit, 2014). The same can be seen in the earliest family plots of Lone Mountain Cemetery, where markers and fencing showcase elaborate designs which could only be afforded through such status. Some large family plots lack a fence but have large slabs of stone and concrete with a lone marker bearing the family name. In contrast, the markers of those without a certain status are removed, deteriorated, or even nonexistent. Chinese American cemeteries in the western U.S. are noted for being segregated,

mistreated, and also lacking markers (Baugher & Veit, 2014). This makes it more difficult to interpret a complex society through material culture alone, as not everyone residing in an area will have grave markers or grave markers revealing the same type of information.



Figure 8-1A: Fenced Family Plot; Figure 8-1B: Family Plot with Concrete 1



Figure 8-1C: Family Plot with Concrete 2; Figure 8-1D: Family Plot Name Marker



Figure 8-1E: Weeping Willow Plot Fence; Figure 8-1F: Iron Fence with Wood Marker



Figure 8-1G: Iron Honeycomb Fence



Figure 8-1H: Iron Bar Fence 1; Figure 8-1I: Iron Bar Fence 2



Figure 8-1J: Carved Log Fence Boundary



Figure 8-2: Open Space of the Minority Section, Lacking Ornamentation

8.2: Material Culture through Grave Markers

People attach certain qualities to cemeteries as places to learn from material culture. In a way different from other institutions of learning, cemeteries are a sacred space with a different essence belonging to them (Swensen & Skår, 2019). Due to this, visitors pay extra attention to the material culture because it demands respect. Cemeteries also elicit strong feelings tied to the educational experience of material culture due to their symbolic meanings (Snider, 2017). A picture is worth a thousand words, and while most grave markers contain epitaphs that convey direct information, personal feelings of connection are built between the visitor and the deceased through the visual emblems.

The material culture of grave markers is understood differently in various parts of the world. For example, cultural attitudes towards death in regard to space available is much different in Europe versus the U.S.; Europeans commonly removed remains to make room for new burials, where American settlers desired permanency (Baugher & Veit, 2014). The differences in understanding material culture may also affect how it is interpreted. For example, a pitcher emblem on a Jewish marker signifies the deceased is from the tribe of Levi, but historic Christian graveyards used the pitcher emblem to represent a generous woman of strong moral character (Snider, 2017). To interpret the material correctly, knowledge of the culture and variations across multiple cultures is essential.

Much of what researchers know about a culture where written records seldom exist is from information conveyed through graves. Knowledge about the Jewish community of Zefat during the medieval period comes from grave markers. Although only about 10% of the markers were inscribed, the information that does exist is key. One of the major finds from the Zefat study is that the epitaph of Avraham Trabot notes he was a “Rosh Yeshiva here in Upper Galilee,” revealing a previously unknown yeshiva that acted as a leader for the culture

(Stepansky, 2023, p. 326). Grave markers show who held power during a certain place and time, and it shows whose memory was to be preserved. Grave markers hold significance for the culture as a whole.

The location of graves and their markers can also inform researchers on religious and spiritual beliefs of the deceased. An example of this relevant to Lone Mountain Cemetery is that of Chinese Americans who often practiced feng shui, a type of geographic design aimed at protecting individuals from evil or malicious spirits (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Many of the Chinese graves were found to be buried north to south, whereas European graves most often face in the east to west orientation. Social issues regarding race and a lack of legal regulation concerning cemeteries made for many Chinese American cemeteries to be destroyed in Nevada, and many of these ethnic cemeteries were forgotten until construction projects in the late 1900s (Baugher & Veit, 2014). This has been a major issue throughout Nevada, not only at Lone Mountain Cemetery. A Chinese American cemetery in Carlin, Nevada was discovered by accident during construction for a new home, and because this was on private land a formal investigation was not required and therefore was not conducted (Baugher & Veit, 2014). This story parallels the case at Lone Mountain Cemetery, where Chinese American and other minority graves were discovered during road construction, but a formal investigation was not undergone with published results due to its location on private land.

Special designs and emblems on grave markers can tell important ethnic information and details of one's identity in their heritage. Prominent examples of this at Lone Mountain Cemetery are that belonging to the Laxalt family, a local family with a proud Basque heritage whose history goes back to early days of ranching in Nevada. Celtic heritage is also represented through Celtic crosses at the cemetery, and other grave markers state where a person is from. The

Celtic cross emblems signifying the deceased's religious beliefs as Christian, but also their identity in their Celtic heritage. Governor Kinhead and his wife have a Celtic cross on their grave marker, which is significant because Governor Kinhead was born in Scotland. A larger Celtic cross can be found belonging to the O'Donnel family in the Catholic section.



Figure 8-3A: Basque Laxalt Family Plot; Figure 8-3B: Basque Symbol



Figure 8-3C: Basque Laxalt Grave Marker; Figure 8-3D: Basque Emblem Grave Good



Figure 8-4A: Governor Kinkaid Celtic Cross; Figure 8-4B: O'Donnell Family Celtic Cross

Graves can also be distinguished through a type of marker that functions as a boundary such as fences. These signify who is a member of the family and who is not included within the boundary of the fence. Some individuals may also have fences around their sole graves. In addition to decorative iron grave markers, growth in the iron industry during the nineteenth century popularized cast iron fences in cemeteries. At this same time, wealth increased for the middle class and not only the elite could afford elaborate grave decoration (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Though the cast iron grave fences are among the most ornate in the cemetery, other fences can be seen in the cemetery made of metal and wood.

8.3: Grave Goods

Grave goods may expand upon information gained from grave markers. Grave goods are highly ritualistic, leaving items that fill a goal of appeasement or appreciation for the deceased in direct and indirect ways (Moen, 2021). Common examples of grave goods include floral

materials such as roses or other flowers. These can be real flowers or artificial ones. In recent years, artificial flowers have gained popularity as grave goods due to their long-lasting nature and requirement of less maintenance. Stones are also a common grave good, typically placed on the grave or grave marker by family members or close friends (Solomon, 2019). These grave good stones are not to be confused with burial cairns, in which rocks are piled up on top of the grave to mark the location of the deceased. Rock cairns would be considered grave markers in this context rather than grave goods.



Figure 8-5A: Fake Florals 1; Figure 8-5B: Fake Florals 2



Figure 8-5C: Fake Florals 3; Figure 8-5D: Virgin Mary Statue



Figure 8-5E: Good Shepherd Statue; Figure 8-5F: Bear Statues



Figure 8-5G: Seashells 1; Figure 8-5H: Seashells 2



Figure 8-5I: Veteran Grave Good 1; Figure 8-5J: Veteran Grave Good 2



Figure 8-5K: Grave Good Flags; Figure 8-5L: Daughters of Rebekah Grave Good Emblem

Archaeological research on the topic suggests there may be a significant difference between what information is conveyed above ground versus below ground, identities performed, and identities hidden (Baugher & Veit, 2014). While any below ground grave goods are not

known at Lone Mountain Cemetery due to the emphasis on above ground research, it is known that below ground grave goods were once found during the road construction and realization of the minority section cemetery. In fact, the identity of many of these buried individuals being Chinese is due to the discovery of Chinese cultural grave goods. Southerland (2010) contains a historic painting of a Chinese funeral said to have taken place at Lone Mountain Cemetery, where the Chinese priest blessed the funeral with incense and mourners left grave goods such as food to the deceased. While most foods would not have preserved as grave goods above ground, rare documents such as this painting offer a unique insight into the rituals and grave goods associated with Chinese American burials in the West.

Chapter 9: Historic Preservation

9.1: How Historic Preservation Functions

Historic preservation can be defined as the process of saving historical places, at least fifty years of age, which are preserved with their existing form, integrity, and materials (Ames & Wagner, 2009). This is more commonly done with buildings, but cemeteries carry a variety of unique historic architecture on small scales: grave markers. However, architecture can also be found in cemeteries through gates, memorials, or even office buildings. The heart of this thesis surrounds grave markers and they will be analyzed in terms of historic preservation. In order to preserve historic grave markers, routine conservation and cleaning must be done in the cemetery (Malaro, 2012). Lone Mountain Cemetery is maintained by Carson City Parks and Recreation, which works to preserve the historic materials of the cemetery and ensure it remains an active cemetery for the community.

Conclusions from Jedan et al. (2020) discussed how religion plays a role in constructions and identity, as well as otherness, through cemetery geography and historic preservation. Cemeteries are special and visual representations of cultural identity, as “the modern cemetery is a social and public arena in which identities can be claimed in a more or less ostensive way, subsumed, suppressed, denied and contested” (Jedan et al., 2020, p. 4). Cemeteries are where multiple cultures come together as a community culture, together and also separate. However much these groups at the cemetery appear together, Jewish, Catholic, Masonic, Odd Fellows, military, city cemetery, etc., historic preservation plays a major role in which stories are told and which are lost to time.

Historic preservation specialists are required to consider multiple options when deciding what needs to be done to address a historic site or property. While the fear of heritage loss is quite frightening for cultures and professionals alike, practical solutions demand difficult choices

be made regarding what is preserved versus what is not. In some cases, true preservation is not the answer, such as an old building that is to hold a business, in which case it may be rehabilitated instead of preserved. In other cases, professionals make the tough call not to preserve something historic (Ames & Wagner, 2009). Other professionals in the field suggest that the concept of loss should be reworked to instead be seen as cultural change. Culture change is fluid, ever-evolving, and regarded as neutral (DeSilvey & Harrison, 2020). Culture change, including loss, is a natural process. These changes are made on their own due to receiving benefits, although force and violence also play a role in culture loss. Heritage and the shaping of cultural identity is a process, where loss is a transformation rather than a “terminal process” (Pranskūnienė & Zabulionienė 2023, p. 12). Modern thoughts on historic preservation suggest that it should be reworked, not thought of as cultural loss, but rather cultural change. These changes can be seen at Lone Mountain Cemetery through the preservation of grave markers.

9.2: Discourse of Historic Preservation

The materials and environment play a role in historic preservation as these factors determine the wear in which a grave marker endures. Lone Mountain Cemetery is located in a dry high-elevation region of the Sierra Nevada in the Great Basin, within Carson Valley. The climate is dry with warm summers and cold, snowy winters being in a mountain-desert. Desert cemeteries have their own unique set of challenges because they tend to be isolated from common funerary materials, the dry climate preserves details, but the sun can discolor wood and certain stone materials (Zappaterra, 2022). Wooden markers are more common in typical desert cemeteries around the world, but Lone Mountain contains more stone markers in the present.

Certain cultural groups prefer wood over other materials. Novák (2019) specifically studied the symbolic and cultural meaning of wooden grave markers at a case study in Hungary.

For Protestant Hungarians, the carved wood grave marker is a “tree of life” symbol of itself (Novák, 2019). Due to their popularity in the culture for religious reasons, work is dedicated to specifically preserve the wood grave markers. Even with the wood material, knowledge of the person’s identity can still be inferred due to adequate historic preservation. There are wooden grave markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery and a primary concern with them was that information lacks from them due to deterioration and minimal preservation efforts.

Following the Christian ideology of wood being a proper material for grave markers, similar to that in the case of Hungarian Protestants, many of the wood markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery are found in the Catholic section. However, the information on them is incredibly difficult to decipher due to wear. The snowy winters of the northern Nevada climate, though usually dry, have not helped to preserve the wood. It is hypothesized that there may have been more wooden markers in the cemetery at an older time.



Figure 9-1A: Wood Marker 1; Figure 9-1B: Wood Marker 2



Figure 9-1C: Wood Marker 3; Figure 9-1D: Wood Marker 4

The erased and forgotten minority section of the cemetery, which primarily held the graves of Chinese Americans, may have once held wood markers that did not preserve over the years. Those outside of the elite class could seldom afford elaborate stone markers which would preserve decades later, and many of their markers were made of wood, if they had markers at all. Chinese American cemeteries in the western U.S. are known to have been destroyed as an act of racial violence, and also modern construction without archaeological protections. In many cases it is unknown whether or not stone markers were common for their graves. Legal and social exclusions against the Chinese were common in this time, and this would have contributed to which materials they could acquire for grave markers (Baugher & Veit, 2014). If they could afford stones for markers or the engraving of epitaphs, racism at the time could have prevented these services. However, simple graves may have also been a practical choice. The burial of Chinese ancestors is sacred and many planned to be temporarily buried in the U.S. and then later to be exhumed and their remains sent back to China, and thus their graves were usually

shallow (Baugher & Veit, 2014). A lack of detail or permanent marker may have been a conscious choice by Chinese Americans if they planned to have the remains exhumed. Research of highly preserved Chinese American cemeteries found that their grave markers were made of various materials depending on local availability, with examples including stone, bricks, wood, and sometimes glass bottles (Baugher & Veit, 2014). If they could access materials for a grave marker, it was more likely that they would have had a marker. This leads to the conclusion that at Lone Mountain Cemetery, the Chinese graves would have more than likely contained grave markers that no longer exist. The minority section overall contains a lack of markers, and those that do exist are ones placed by the cemetery for unmarked graves, ones that were handmade, and a few moderately decorated markers.



Figure 9-2A: Openness of the Minority Section; Figure 9-2B: Handmade Grave Marker 1



Figure 9-2C: Handmade Grave Marker 2 (Front); Figure 9-2D: Handmade Grave Marker 2
(Back)



Figure 9-2E: Unmarked Wooden Coffin Marker; Figure 9-2F: The Most Decorated Marker in the
Section



Figure 9-2G: Metal Marker for Unmarked Grave 1; Figure 9-2H: Metal Marker for Unmarked Grave 2

Another unique aspect of Chinese culture related to the graves is the element of feng shui. Following proper feng shui, the Chinese believed that it was best to bury their dead next to a mountain or hill so that there would be a barrier between the grave and wind that could potentially harbor evil spirits (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Lone Mountain Cemetery has, as the name suggests, a mountain. The cemetery lays at the base of this mountain and is blocked from harsh winds coming from the northwest, making this spot a prime location for Chinese American burials. Due to the significant location of the cemetery, those living within the Chinese community may have actually planned for these burials to be more permanent.

Geography and placement of graves is more significant than one may think. Maddrell et al. (2021) found that graves play an important role in minority representation for a community. Minorities often struggle to find spaces to be buried (Maddrell et al., 2021). Not allowing spaces for these groups, or taking space away, can be seen as violence. Lone Mountain Cemetery has a complicated history with minorities, as the minority cemetery was lost to time and discovered during road construction. Chinese Americans were the most associated group with the minority cemetery. These graves were not preserved in the same way that the other graves in the cemetery

are preserved, especially the Euro-American graves. This is a result of the direct erasure of the minority cemetery, but also because materials that preserve better may not have been available to Chinese Americans at the time (Baugher & Veit, 2014). This makes it difficult to apply historic preservation to all grave markers today.

9.3: After Preservation

People of all ages, education levels, and backgrounds can access a cemetery and learn from its history after work has been done to preserve it (Streb et al., 2019; Zappaterra, 2022). Cemeteries undergo historic preservation when they remain actively relevant to their community. They exist as key parts of material culture for communities. Specifically looking at the case of cemeteries in Reykjavík, Iceland, their oldest cemetery was removed in order to build another hotel. Icelanders were largely upset because they felt the cemetery was important for their nation's cultural identity and history (Stanley, 2021). When sources of identity are taken away, it becomes a social issue because the identity is at risk of dying. This issue also exists in the case of the minority graves at Lone Mountain Cemetery, erased and lost to time. These losses, seen in modern historic preservation as culture change, still create a loss of educational opportunity for cemetery visitors. The art depicted on these grave markers give understanding to who these individuals were, such as vines, grass, and flowers, fraternal symbols, etc. which could represent families or individual personalities (Stanley, 2021). When this information is not preserved, it is gone, and in some cases, it will never be rediscovered.

Historic cemeteries function in the lives of modern people as archives, places where markers give documentation and material cultural information. With that, "cemeteries are also privileged sites of memory (Walton, 2022, p. 378). Not all aspects of history are told in cemeteries due to the difficulties associated with historic preservation. Historic cemeteries are

erased and rediscovered in different regions of the U.S. Vine (2023) discussed multiple cemeteries in Florida that were discovered to have been erased via taking away grave markers as well as the erasure of documents and records noting the cemetery. These were primarily minority cemeteries and while not all of them were African American cemeteries, they were the most at risk of erasure (Vine, 2023). Lone Mountain Cemetery saw the erasure of a minority cemetery, as well. Unfortunately, many of their graves remain unmarked and the human remains were put back in the ground under the road construction (“Skeletons of Carson,” 2001). The social issue of historic preservation, or a lack thereof for the minority cemetery at Lone Mountain Cemetery, is an issue pertaining to more than just the northern Nevada area. It is an issue that also involves the voices of the rest of the U.S., voices of those whose stories have been lost and their identities erased.

Chapter 10: Traditional Headstone Art

10.1: Overview of Art in Cemeteries

Visual appearances of grave markers in cemeteries convey specific information to visitors. This is done intentionally with designs picked by either the deceased or their loved ones, which reflect their personality and values. These symbols can depict love, marital status, family, friendship, when they died, how their community saw them, and what they identified with (Colombo & Vach, 2021). In many ways, cemetery art is a form of agency. It gives a voice to the deceased long after their death and conveys the message they want visitors to know. Changes in a culture can also be observed through grave markers, such as materials and designs used (Streb et al., 2019). However, there are symbols and sentiments that have not widely changed in the history of grave art. In the early days of elaborate grave art, the designs were specifically chosen for the deceased to embody in the afterlife and also commemorated by the living. They depicted an identity, much like grave art today. The natural world was often depicted in early tombs such as in Ancient Egypt. Animals and plants were at the center of every scene (Leary, 2021). While floral emblems have taken a stronger precedence than animals in modern grave art imagery in the U.S., these natural themes still outshine all other depictions. This chapter will go over the various art categories seen at Lone Mountain Cemetery, starting with the popular florals and continuing with faunal emblems, humans and human-like beings, inanimate objects, linguistic symbols, revival movements, fraternal and military symbols, and the zinc markers.

10.2: Florals

Florals, or plant-related imagery and symbolism, are the most common adornment found at Lone Mountain Cemetery. Floral imagery with burials started with the Ancient Egyptians and continue today, with a resurgence of popularity during the Victorian era (Leary, 2021; Southerland, 2010). These floral depictions come in many forms and are also illustrated via raw

materials. Wood markers, quite literally created from plant material, potentially existed more prominently in the early days of the cemetery but did not preserve widely into the present (Baugher & Veit, 2014). In fact, this lack of permanency associated with floral materials such as wood may have been intentionally chosen for this characteristic. This is the most common grave marker material used by Protestant Christians in Hungary and most of the surviving wood markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery are located in the Catholic section (Novák, 2019). Wood markers are associated with the temporary theme of life, a sort of memento mori most prominently associated with Christians. Wood markers were also notably used by Spanish missionaries during the early colonial days of the Americas (Snider, 2017). However, those outside of the Christian religion may have chosen wood markers for their availability and cost, such as accounts of the Chinese Americans in the west (Baugher & Veit, 2014). These temporary grave markers may have contributed to the erasure of their cemetery section.

While made of stone for their permanency, there are grave markers carved to depict wood and stumps to also represent a memento mori, a reminder that death is promised. These are grave markers created by the Woodmen of the World fraternal organization, which will be discussed more in-depth later in this chapter. These grave markers were not only a membership benefit for those who joined, but markers were made for those whose life was cut short, hence the symbolism of the cut log. These markers are quite detailed with the intention of having an “honorable burial” and revive ornate grave symbolism (Southerland, 2010). Notice that many of the log markers contain additional symbolism regarding the deceased’s identity.



Figure 10-1A: Log Marker 1 (Front); Figure 10-1B: Log Marker 1 (Back)



Figure 10-1C: Log Marker 2; Figure 10-1D: Log Marker 3



Figure 10-1E: Log Writing on Marker 1; Figure 10-1F: Log Writing on Marker 2



Figure 10-1G: Log Writing on Marker 3; Figure 10-1H: Log Writing on Marker 4



Figure 10-1I: Log Siding; Figure 10-1J: Log Plot Boundary

Baskets of flowers stand for hope usually. However, a spilled basket of flowers represents great grief (Snider, 2017). Baskets of flowers adorn many markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery. They are mostly found on a specific type of obelisk made by the same craftsman or company.



Figure 10-2A: Marker with Basket; Figure 10-2B: Basket Up Close

The daisy symbolizes innocence and youth (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Due to this meaning, they are more often found on children's graves or the graves of those who died fairly young. Daisies also hold religious associations with simplicity rather than ornate decoration, emphasizing pious behavior and the Virgin Mary and Christ Child (Snider, 2017). The daisy emblem is not widely used in Lone Mountain Cemetery, though examples exist on grave markers that emphasize simplistic designs.



Figure 10-3A: Daisy Emblem; Figure 10-3B: Daisy Design

Ferns also offer a simple design choice for grave markers. They represent humbleness, seclusion, sincerity, and the ability to thrive in the shade (Snider, 2017). Ferns are a good marker choice for those who endured during difficult times. In this way they may also represent a type of strength and durability. Those buried with markers containing fern emblems did not shy away from a challenge during life.



Figure 10-4A: Fern Marker 1; Figure 10-4B: Fern Marker 2



Figure 10-4C: Fern Bouquet Marker

Fleur-de-lis, otherwise known as lily flower, are associated with French heritage and the state of Louisiana secularly and with Christian pilgrimage in a religious sense, with the three leaves representing the Holy Trinity (Snider, 2017; Southerland, 2010). Fleur-de-lis can most commonly be found in cast iron gates and fences surrounding cemetery plots, which are owned by the elite. Other forms of stylized fleur-de-lis are found depicted on grave markers old and new.



Figure 10-5A: Fleur-de-lis Design on Marker; Figure 10-5B: Fleur-de-lis Fence

Ivy is perhaps the most common floral found in cemeteries, especially at Lone Mountain Cemetery. Vines of ivy symbolize immortality, which is a common theme among evergreens. The vining ability of ivies places a special emphasis of how love can spread (Snider, 2017). In addition, ivy can also mean attachment due to its vining nature and its three-pointed leaves can sometimes represent the Holy Trinity in Christian contexts (Moody, 2020). Ivy can be found incorporated to a variety of grave art styles at Lone Mountain Cemetery.



Figure 10-6A: Ivy with Cross; Figure 10-6B: Ivy on Marker



Figure 10-6C: Modern Ivy; Figure 10-6D: Ivy with Cross Marker

Lilies come in three main forms: Easter, calla, and lily of the valley. Within cemeteries, lilies show the ability for a soul to cast away earthly desires in favor for more pious and spiritual pursuits (Moody, 2020). All lilies stand for eternal life, though there are some variances between the three. Easter lilies are associated with purity and resurrection, most commonly associated with Christianity. Calla lilies stand for holiness and also marriage. Lily of the valley comes with a legend. According to the legend, Jesus' mother, Mary, cried during his crucifixion and her tears turned into the small flowers of lily of the valley. Thus, lily of the valley stands for purity, rebirth, innocence, renewal, and the Virgin Mary (Snider, 2017). Lily of the valley flowers are tiny, and are often accompanying another lily type. There are numerous examples of all three lily types at the cemetery.



Figure 10-7A: Easter Lily 1; Figure 10-7B: Easter Lily 2



Figure 10-7C: Calla Lily 1; Figure 10-7D: Calla Lily 2



Figure 10-7E: Lily of the Valley Aside a Calla Lily

Oak trees are renowned as one of America's favorite tree species. They mature slowly and are associated with war heroes. They are symbolic of great patience and strength. Thus, they also are associated with longevity, power, and endurance (Snider, 2017). Due to these traits, oak leaves are a popular floral emblem for Christian burials, as well as law enforcement and military members (Moody, 2020). The oak leaves add an elegant design for simple markers.



Figure 10-8A: Oak 1; Figure 10-8B: Oak 2



Figure 10-8C: Oak 3; Figure 10-8D: Oak 4



Figure 10-8E: Couples' Grave with Oak

Symbolic associations of olive branches go back to Ancient Greece. They are symbolic of peace, tied to the belief that waving around an olive branch would repel evil spirits. It was adapted for Christian belief, being associated with forgiveness and the Holy Spirit (Snider, 2017). Olive branches are a significant combination with the above mentioned oak leaves. In instances where both appear on a grave marker, they can signify an exceptionally strong Christian or religious person (Moody, 2020). Most olive branch emblems at Lone Mountain Cemetery are held in the beaks of doves.



Figure 10-9A: Dove with Olive Branch 1; Figure 10-9B: Dove with Olive Branch 2

Poppy flowers can appear as opened or unopened flowers (Moody, 2020). They have long been associated with eternal sleep due to their powerful sedative properties. Since the first World War, red poppies have been associated with Veterans as well (Snider, 2017). Poppy emblems at Lone Mountain Cemetery do not contain red pigment, so it is difficult to determine if they are intended to represent a Veteran if no other military status is marked. It can be assumed other poppy emblems were selected to reference eternal sleep.



Figure 10-10A: Poppy 1; Figure 10-1-B: Poppy 2



Figure 10-10C: Poppy 3

Roses frequently adorn the graves of young women, though there are certainly exceptions to this. The roses represent purity and love (Southerland, 2010). When the rose stems are cut short or when the rose is wilted, this represents a life cut short (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Roses represent earthly passion, hence why they are popular on Valentine's Day. In association with Christianity, most roses have three leaves to represent the Holy Trinity (Snider, 2017). When a rose is depicted without thorns, it is said to also represent perfection (Moody, 2020). It is rare for a rose emblem in Lone Mountain Cemetery to have thorns.



Figure 10-11A: Rose 1; Figure 10-11B: Rose 2



Figure 10-11C: Rose 3; Figure 10-11D: Rose 4



Figure 10-11E: Dying Rose Un-Bloomed 1; Figure 10-11F: Dying Rose Un-Bloomed 2

Shamrocks are common to the graves of those of Irish descent, heritage, or nationality. Also common to Irish culture is Christianity. One reason shamrocks are so popular in Irish culture is because most, with the exception of a rare four-leaf clover, have three leaves. This represents the Holy Trinity (Snider, 2017). One grave belonging to Frank Nuss features shamrocks on one side of the marker. On the opposite side, it has ivy.



Figure 10-12: Shamrocks

The thistle is an emblem dedicated to Scottish heritage and culture. They often appear on the graves of those with Scottish ancestry. In terms of symbolism, the thistle is associated with perseverance in times of hardships and sorrow, as well as defiance in the face of those who wish to overthrow them (Snider, 2017). It appears on select sides of obelisks at Lone Mountain Cemetery and is uncommon.



Figure 10-13: Stylized Thistle

Tulips can depict Dutch or French heritage on a grave marker, and research found that these two ethnicities are most likely to contain floral emblems (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Tulips may also generally be found on the graves of young women, similar to that of the rose. Sometimes tulips are more stylized and are less obvious to notice. They are characterized by three upright petals.



Figure 10-14A: Tulip on Grey Marble; Figure 10-14B: Tulip on White Marble



Figure 10-14C: Artistic Tulip Designs

Wheat, especially bundles of wheat, represent a life that was lived to the fullest extent, a bounty on Earth. This can also mean someone who was generous (Baugher & Veit, 2014). In some historic cemeteries, bundles of wheat specifically symbolize someone who has lived past the age of 60 or 70. During those times, living to age 60 or 70 was rare and highly regarded (Snider, 2017). Wheat is not often depicted at Lone Mountain Cemetery, but when it is, it often comes in a bundle such as this.



Figure 10-15A: Wheat on White Stone; Figure 10-15B: Wheat on Zinc Marker

Much like olive branches, willow symbolism dates to the time of the Ancient Greeks. Their meanings became popular again during the Victorian era, where many mourning practices were fashionable (Snider, 2017). Weeping willow trees symbolize weeping or mourning, as the name suggests. It is common for them to be accompanied by an urn in depiction, or even by weeping human figures (Southerland, 2010). Although popular during the Victorian era where death was seen in a positive and sleep-like light, weeping willows offer a way to express the mourning of the living in a floral way appropriate for the time and culture.



Figure 10-16A: Willow with Weeping Woman; Figure 10-16B: Willow with Cross

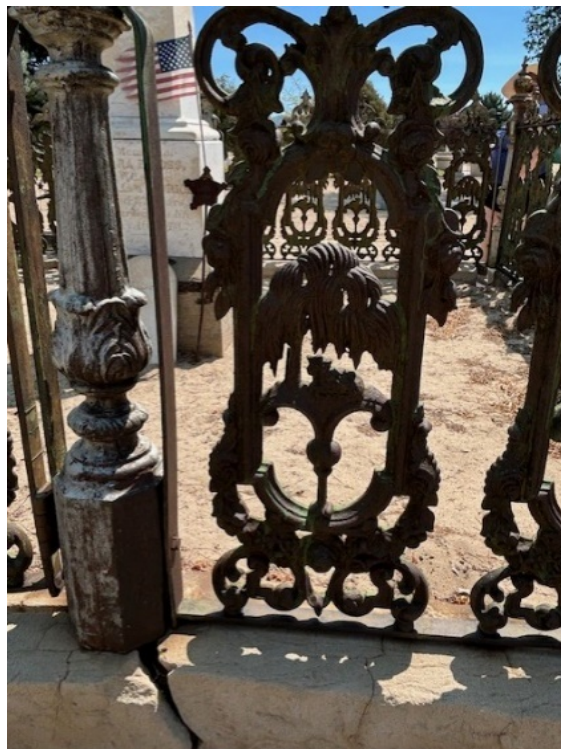


Figure 10-16C: Willow Design in Fence

Wreaths first became popular grave marker symbols during the Second Great Awakening (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Death became less mournful. The circular shape of wreaths represents an eternal cycle of life, something that is never ending. Thus, they are also associated with immortality and a victory over death. They are most commonly made of roses or laurel (Snider, 2017).



Figure 10-17A: Mrs. Colcord's Wreath Marker; Figure 10-17B: Floral Wreath with Cross



Figure 10-17C: Placed Wreath on White Stone; Figure 10-17B: Placed Wreath on Grey Marble

10.3: Faunal Emblems

Deer represent an enduring religious faith for Christians. However, not all types of deer represent this exact meaning. Stags shed their antlers every year and thus they are associated with regeneration. When on a grave, they symbolize an afterlife (Snider, 2017). If the deer symbol is actually an elk, the grave more than likely belongs to a member of the Elks Club (Snider, 2017). No Elks Club emblems currently exist at Lone Mountain Cemetery, but a sole marker with a stag emblem engraved into the granite adorns a rather modern grave design.



Figure 10-18: Marker with Deer and Trees

Bird emblems in general represent a soul taking flight upon death (Snider, 2017). Doves are the most common bird emblem to find in cemeteries. The religious association of a dove represents the Holy Spirit in the Trinity (Snider, 2017). Though most often associated with Christian burials, doves on graves can have a general secular meaning of purity and peace. They are often accompanied by an olive branch and can be found on the graves of women (Southerland, 2010). The olive branch is not a distinctly Christian symbol when paired with the dove. Rather, the olive branch addition references ancient Greek beliefs (Snider, 2017).



Figure 10-19A: Dove 1; Figure 10-19B: Dove 2

Foo dogs are a traditional Chinese depiction of a lion. Lions are not native to China so when Buddhist missionaries tried to describe these big cats to Chinese craftsmen, foo dogs were the result. Often times there are two foo dogs side by side, with the right one being male and holding down a ball representing the Earth. On the left is the female foo dog, who holds down a kitten to represent domestic life (Snider, 2017). While not common at Lone Mountain Cemetery, one single Foo Dog exists in the Catholic section. It is a male foo dog accompanying the grave of the Danao family, being the grave of Carlos Marzan Danao, Carlos Higa Danao, and Shigeko Higa Danao. Their grave marker also contains poppies and a cross design, pointing towards their Catholic identity. The foo dog is a nod to their heritage. This grave is admittedly not considered historic, but the unique use of the foo dog warranted a unique and important discussion regarding cemetery symbolism.



Figure 10-20: Foo Dog

Lambs have been representative of sacrifice since ancient times, and are associated with innocence being sacrificed (Snider, 2017). Lamb symbolism primarily comes from the Bible, symbolizing purity and innocence, and are therefore most often ascribed to the graves of children. However, they may also be placed on the grave markers of those who died relatively young but were no longer children (Southerland, 2010). Lambs are the most common faunal emblem at Lone Mountain Cemetery, and are primarily tied to the graves of children.



Figure 10-21A: Lamb 1; Figure 10-21B: Lamb 2

10.4: Humans and Human-Like Beings

Angels are God's messengers to the living in the Abrahamic religions and are also divine symbols of comfort for mankind (Moody, 2020). Angels can appear in many forms on grave markers. They can be flying, weeping, praying, or holding wreaths or a book. Angels may also represent Saints. If they are holding a palm frond, it is Saint Anthony. If they are holding a harp, it is most likely Saint Cecilia (Snider, 2017). Cherubs, a type of angel featuring a child-like appearance, are messengers from God in Christianity. They are most often associated with

children and can commonly be found in the baby/infant sections at Lone Mountain Cemetery (Southerland, 2010). Because of their association with children, they represent innocence (Snider, 2017). Angels can be found throughout the cemetery, but most notably in the Catholic section.



Figure 10-22: Cherub on Baby Marker

Soul effigies, which are human faces with wings, replaced the common skull and crossbones after Puritan beliefs began changing to that of a positive association with death. The tone was lighter when burying the dead and the markers reflected this (Snider, 2017). The winged faces also represent a soul's flight to heaven.



Figure 10-23: Soul Effigy on Urn Marker

Clasped hands are often associated with marriage or a general form of eternal love, being depicted on a grave marker shared by a couple (Moody, 2020; Southerland, 2010). However, clasped hands can mean other types of relationships. If there are two men buried with a fraternal symbol, they may have been of the same brotherhood. In some cases, one of the hands can be the hand of God, especially if one hand is coming down from above (Snider, 2017). A hand with an index finger pointed upward can have many meanings associated with it, religious and secular. The religious meaning ascribed to it is that in Christianity, Christ is the way to salvation in heaven above (Snider, 2017). Whereas in secular belief this can mean the person buried was the best at what they did (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Hand emblems at Lone Mountain Cemetery are not common, but they are not rare either.



Figure 10-24A: Clasped Hands on Marker; Figure 10-24B: Clasped Hands on Obelisk



Figure 10-24C: Hand Pointing Up



Figure 10-24D: Hand Holding Book

10.5: Inanimate Objects

Anchors are commonly associated with the Navy, and symbolize hope, faith, and charity (Southerland, 2010). However, an upside-down anchor is more likely to appear on the grave of a deceased sailor or member of the Navy. When upright, the anchor holds a Christian representation for strong faith and foundations. The anchor became a mainstream symbol for Christianity during the time of Roman persecution when Christians could not safely wear crosses (Snider, 2017). Anchors are most commonly seen in or around the military section at the cemetery.



Figure 10-25A: Marker with Anchor 1; Figure 10-25B: Marker with Anchor 2



Figure 10-25C: Woman holding Anchor; Figure 10-25D: Marker with Anchor 3

Books are a bit complicated, as they contain multiple meanings dependent on the individual buried. A closed book may mean a life lived to the fullest, or that the deceased was a minister, nun, or teacher. Most often than not, one book represents the Bible and two books represent the Bible and the Book of Mormon (Snider, 2017). However, an open book may not be signifying either of these religious texts. A secular reason for having an open book on one's grave is that the book symbolizes a place to register the name of the deceased in the book of life (Southerland, 2010). An open book may also mean the person died prematurely, dying while their life story was still being written. When the book has a draped veil over the top of it, the deceased is to be respected for their life that was cut short (Snider, 2017). Interpreting the symbolism and meaning of a book on a grave marker can be tricky, and thus further research may be needed.



Figure 10-26A: Marker with Open Book 1; Figure 10-26B: Marker with Open Book 2



Figure 10-26C: Marker with 1 Book; Figure 10-26D: Marker with 2 Books

Clouds represent a rather straightforward symbol. When one passes away, it is believed in Christian belief that clouds refer to the heavens above (Snider, 2017). Using clouds as a euphemism for death was also popularized during the Victorian era, and thus they may be seen more often on grave markers dating to this time. An important aspect to note is that some clouds are highly stylized and may be difficult to recognize as clouds.



Figure 10-27A: Cloud Marker 1 (Front); Figure 10-27B: Cloud Marker 1 (Back)



Figure 10-27C: Cloud Marker 2 (Front); Figure 10-27D: Cloud Marker 2 (Back)

Cradle graves are elaborate grave markers for children that died early, possibly even infants. The idea is that the grave looks like a baby cradle, where the remains lay in the cradle like they would do with their cradle when they were alive (Snider, 2017). The cradles are sometimes also referred to as “flower boxes” in which flowers are planted within the cradle shape directly atop the remains.



Figure 10-28A: White Marble Cradle Marker; Figure 10-28B: Lamb Emblem Cradle Marker

Crosses are undoubtedly associated with Christianity and come in various stylistic types (Southerland, 2010). There are nearly 300 different variations of crosses depicted across the world, many of which are featured on grave markers. The cultural identity of the deceased may be depicted through the type of cross chosen, such as a Celtic cross, Eastern Orthodox cross, Greek cross, Ionic cross, Latin cross, Tau cross, or even the Labarum also known as Chi Ro. The Chi Ro, which resembles a P with an X, is a cross combining the first two letters of Christ's name in the Greek alphabet (Snider, 2017). Crosses are by far the most common religious emblem in the cemetery.



Figure 10-29A: Cross with Flowers; Figure 10-29B: Traditional Cross



Figure 10-29C: Latin Cross; Figure 10-29D: Celtic Cross



Figure 10-29E: Cross on Granite Marker; Figure 10-29F: Cross on White Stone

Cylinders are rare in cemetery art and they have less of a straightforward meaning. Some cylinders can be interpreted as broken columns laying on their side. In this case, a broken column represents a life cut short and may be found as the grave markers of children (Snider, 2017). These cylinders may also be considered bolsters. Bolsters are supposed to represent pillows and signify death as restful sleep (Snider, 2017). Two cylindrical grave markers can be found at Lone Mountain Cemetery.



Figure 10-30A: White Marble Cylinder Marker; Figure 10-30B: Grey Marble Cylinder Marker

Diamonds, which also may be referred to as cubes, are related to the concept of sacred geometry, in which a higher being designs the universe with geometric symbols containing sacred meaning. Masons were particularly interested in sacred geometry, but not all diamond grave markers necessarily belong to a Mason. Diamonds are able to sit flatly as cubes and in this orientation, they represent the earthly plane. When the cube is positioned as a diamond, it is pointing towards the directions of heaven and earth (Snider, 2017). In this way, the diamond shape references that life on earth and the afterlife are not entirely distant from one another.



Figure 10-31A: Flat Diamond Marker; Figure 10-31B: 3-D Diamond Marker

Flames are associated with eternity or eternal life, a power that fuels one to keep going (Southerland, 2010). In terms of representing the deceased's personality, flames may also represent vigilance and a religious fervor (Snider, 2017). Similar to that of a flame, a right-side up torch represents a light fueled to continue. However, inverted torches represent death (Baugher & Veit, 2014). An inverted flame shows that what is impossible in a mortal life is possible in the afterlife or eternal life.



Figure 10-32A: Lamp with Flame on Fence; Figure 10-32B: Upside Down Torch on Obelisk

Gates appear on grave markers in many ways. The simple arch design most common among grave markers is supposed to depict a gate into the afterlife (Snider, 2017). Gates can also be depicted on the markers themselves. The most common type of gate emblem seen at Lone Mountain Cemetery is the Gates Ajar. The Gates Ajar comes from a story by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps in 1868, in which a young woman grieves over the death of her brother during the Civil War. She finally finds comfort in the idea of the gates to heaven being ajar, where those passed on can still comfort the living through visits to the earthly plane (Snider, 2017). The book was highly controversial in Christian communities at the time, but many Christians took comfort from this concept while mourning multiple lost loved ones during the Civil War.



Figure 10-33A: Gates Ajar 1; Figure 10-33B: Gates Ajar 2



Figure 10-33C: Gates Ajar with Dove; Figure 10-33D: Gates Ajar with Masonic Symbol



Figure 10-33E: Gates Ajar with Masonic Symbol; Figure 10-33F: Gates Ajar with Flower

Heart-shaped grave markers were a popular choice for a child's grave, representing love, courage, and mourning by those who loved the child dearly (Southerland, 2010). The style became popular and was soon mass produced, available for those who were not necessarily children. Hearts can be bleeding, flaming, covered with ivy, pierced by a sword, or even joined

together (Snider, 2017). However, many of the hearts at Lone Mountain Cemetery are stand-alone, being the shape of the marker itself.



Figure 10-34A: Heart in White Stone; Figure 10-34B: Heart in Grey Marble



Figure 10-34C: Married Couples' Double Hearts

The Catholic symbol of the rosary appears on some Catholic grave markers. A rosary is defined as a string of beads with a crucifix, which helps people to count the number of prayers they have done (Snider, 2017). Rosary symbolism can be seen on a newer historic grave in the Catholic section at Lone Mountain Cemetery.



Figure 10-35: Rosary Emblem

Veils are commonly found at the top of large obelisk monuments, featuring a sign of respect for those buried and whose death was particularly upsetting for those in their community or family (Baugher & Veit, 2014; Southerland, 2010). However, there is variation within the veils which may point towards different meanings. Veils with fringe on the ends represent the veil between the world of the living and the afterlife and a veil with no fringe may also represent the material world being cast aside when a person passes away (Snider, 2017). The majority of veils at the cemetery contain fringe.



Figure 10-36A: Veil without Trim; Figure 10-36B: Veil with Trim



Figure 10-36C: Veil with Elaborate Trim

10.6: Hebrew Linguistic Visuals

Hebrew epitaphs on graves convey vital information of the deceased's identity as a Jew and tells this information to those who can read it, those who are most likely of the same identity. Historical information has also been learned from Hebrew epitaphs, such as the Jewish cemetery of Zefat (Stepanksy, 2023). In this case, Hebrew epitaphs were translated in order to learn historical information about the community that did not exist elsewhere in written records. Their grave markers are exceptionally special in order to contain their linguistic traits. Not all of the grave markers in the Jewish section contained Hebrew writing. Some had stylistic markers that were popular at the time and others were simply cairns, piles of rocks to indicate a grave. Another statue in the cemetery, not a grave marker, depicts the ten commandments from the Torah, or first five books of the Bible. It is also important to note that many of the grave markers with Hebrew script were knocked over and vandalized in the 2000s, whereas markers in the Jewish section without Hebrew script faced much less damage ("Vandals Wreak Havoc," 2002). Vandalization was racially motivated and the perpetrators specifically went after markers that depicted the Jewish heritage and identity.



Figure 10-37A: Ten Commandments Monument; Figure 10-37B: Ten Commandments-Style Marker



Figure 10-37C: Broken Hebrew Marker 1; Figure 10-37D: Broken Hebrew Marker 2



Figure 10-37E: Burial Cairn 1; Figure 10-37F: Burial Cairn 2

10.7: Revival Movements

Grave markers and mausoleums are influenced by popular art and architectural design. During the nineteenth century, artist revival movements took shape and people wanted to be buried with art inspired by history. With archaeological excavations at Pompeii being brought to

the public eye, the world was fascinated by all things classical and ancient (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Two of these revival movements include Egyptian and Greek revival, which particularly became popular for cemetery art. Stunning examples of these exist at Lone Mountain Cemetery.

Perhaps the most common design from Egyptian revival is the obelisk, which also became the most common monument in the nineteenth century U.S. In Ancient Egypt, the obelisk represented Ra, known as the deity associated with the ray of sun. The obelisk is further associated with eternal life, hence its popularity in cemeteries (Baugher & Veit, 2014; Southerland, 2010). Other Egyptian imagery contained natural elements, such as lotus flowers, papyrus, beetles, and deities belonging to the Egyptian pantheon (Leary, 2021). Lotus flowers are often atop Egyptian columns. Lotus flowers are associated with rebirth because they open during the day and close up at night. Vulture wings are also popular among Egyptian revival architecture, symbolizing the deity Isis, the mourner, and the circle in the middle of the wings representing Ra and the sun (Snider, 2017). The Blanchard grave at Lone Mountain is the single-most elegant and outright example of Egyptian revival, featuring lotus flower columns and the vulture wings associated with Isis and Ra. A scarab beetle is featured on the log marker of John Mallet, a member of the Woodmen of the World organization. Scarabs are associated with new life and the ability to transcend spiritually. On occasions, scarabs can be found on graves marked distinctively as Christian (Snider, 2017). However, scarabs are more common on graves adorned with secular designs.



Figure 10-38A: Egyptian Revival Marker (Front); Figure 10-38B: Egyptian Revival (Side)



Figure 10-38C: Obelisk 1; Figure 10-38D: Obelisk 2



Figure 10-38E: Obelisk 3; Figure 10-38F: Obelisk 4



Figure 10-38G: Obelisk 5; Figure 10-38H: Obelisk 6

The symbol of the urn, borrowed from Ancient Greece, represent the idea of having a mortal body which would eventually turn to ash. The urns became revived during the early Greek Revival days, as did columns. However, the specific details of the urn could represent different traits. A shattered urn meant a person died of old age, an urn with a flame meant the person had religious zeal, and an urn with a wreath meant the person was especially mourned by the living (Snider, 2017). Urns can be found all over Lone Mountain Cemetery, though not quite as much as obelisks. Other Greek symbols can be found throughout the cemetery to add design to simple markers.



Figure 10-39A: Twin Greek Revival Markers; Figure 10-39B: Greek Revival Marker Trim



Figure 10-39C: Grecian Urn Planter; Figure 10-39D: Broken Urn Statue

10.8: Fraternal Organizations

The Knights of Pythias were created in 1864 as a secret society for clerks working in the government. Their main emblem is a knight's helmet with the letters F, B, and C, standing for friendship, benevolence, and charity. The triangular shield sitting behind the knight is supposed to represent the Holy Trinity (Snider, 201). One grave marker at Lone Mountain Cemetery

depicts the Knights of Pythias and it belongs to H. O. Lindsay who passed away at the early age of 33. Another belongs to Gorge S. who was both a Knight of Pythias and a Woodman of the World.



Figure 10-40A: Knights of Pythias Emblem At Top; Figure 10-40B: Knights of Pythias Emblem Bottom Right Corner

The Masons, also known as the Freemasons, are often symbolized by a vintage compass on their grave markers (Snider, 2017). They were known as the Ancient Order as the earliest mentions of them date to 1390. The common Masonic emblem features a compass paired with the carpenter's square and a G in the middle, the G standing for gnosis, generations, and God (Snider, 2017). This is the most common fraternal organization at Lone Mountain, as they have their own section of the cemetery.



Figure 10-41A: Masonic Emblem on White Marble; Figure 10-40B: Masonic Emblem on Granite

Mystic Shriners, or more formally known as The Imperial Council of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrines, was founded in 1872 by members of the Masons. Their symbol contains a crescent moon, a crown, and a scimitar. The moon represents a changing world with many phases, the crown is a symbol of success, and the scimitar signifies strength and courage (Southerland, 2010). Following the Masons and Odd Fellows, Mystic Shriners are perhaps the third most prevalent fraternal organization at Lone Mountain Cemetery.



Figure 10-42A: Mystic Shriners Emblem; Figure 10-42B: Grave Marker with Emblem

The three rings of a chain are symbolic of the Odd Fellows, where one ring broken signifies the death of a member (Southerland, 2010). It is also common for the letters FLT to be inscribed within the three chains (Snider, 2017). The female counterparts to the Odd Fellows are the Daughters of Rebekah and the Order of the Eastern Star. Emblems representing the Daughters of Rebekah may include a beehive, seven stars, or a crescent moon, symbolizing the consistent order of God and nature. The Order of the Eastern Star changed to also allow men to join, and their emblem features a five-pointed star with the letters OES. The five points on the star represent the five major female heroines in the Bible: Adah, Ruth, Esther, Martha, and Electa (Snider, 2017). The women who have these emblems on their grave markers are also more likely to be buried alongside their husband, who associates with his fraternal organizational emblem.



Figure 10-43A: Sandstone Marker with Odd Fellows Emblem; Figure 10-43B: Granite Marker with Odd Fellows Emblem



Figure 10-43C: Red Granite Marker with Odd Fellows Emblem; Figure 10-43D: Daughters of Rebekah Emblem and OES Star

The Woodmen of the World created the most elaborate grave markers known at Lone Mountain Cemetery. They were established in 1890 and at first only accepted white males who worked in dangerous occupations such as bartenders and gunpowder factory workers. The appeal of the organization was that they offered health insurance. The more power a member of the

fraternity had, the larger their gravestone would be (Snider, 2017). The organization also made grave markers for charity or community members whose lives were cut short.



Figure 10-44: John Mallet's Log Marker

10.9: Military

The alarming death rate of over 300,000 soldiers during the Civil War changed the American cultural outlook that the government should honor their fallen soldiers and that they should be mourned not just by family members. In 1862, the U.S. Congress passed a legislation purchasing cemetery spaces for Union soldiers who died during the Civil War, and special grave markers were designed for them with a shield emblem. This same service was not given to Confederate soldiers, but some local governments created their own markers and memorials for Confederate soldiers. However after much petitioning, the U.S. government granted Confederate grave markers of the same size and material as the Union ones, but their design was altered with

a pointed top and no shield (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Markers for Union soldiers can be seen prevalently at Lone Mountain Cemetery.

Around this time it also became popular for individuals to depict their occupation on their grave marker because of the emphasis on military graves. Military equipment such as cannons can be found on some grave markers and monuments of Civil War soldiers (Baugher & Veit, 2014). An upright cannon meant peace is upon the region, crossed cannons indicated a soldier who served in the artillery, and cannon balls are common to graves of deceased soldiers (Snider, 2017). These emblems can be seen on some military grave markers, but most commonly on the Civil War memorial monument.



Figure 10-45A: Marker with Cannons



Figure 10-45B: Veterans Memorial 1 (Plus Hawk); Figure 10-45C: Veterans Memorial 2



Figure 10-45D: Veterans Memorial 3; Figure 10-45E: Veterans Memorial 4



Figure 10-45F: Union Soldier Marker 1; Figure 10-45G: Union Soldier Marker 2

10.10: Zinc

Also resulting from the mass deaths during the Civil War were zinc markers. People brainstormed ways to make elaborate monuments more affordable for both soldiers and civilians that died. The outcome was zinc markers. These are zinc-coated iron markers with hollow interiors. Their hollow structure and iron material made them more cost effective, and the zinc coating made them more durable with the outside elements (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Keeping the cost of materials down also meant more availability for grave marker art, and many of the zinc markers at Lone Mountain Cemetery contain elaborate imagery.



Figure 10-46A: Zinc Marker 1; Figure 10-46B: Zinc Marker 2



Figure 10-46C: Zinc Marker 3; Figure 10-46D: Zinc Marker 4

Chapter 11: Is Cemetery Symbolism Dying?

11.1: A Decline in Symbolism

Art and design play a central role in the preservation of history. Buildings, districts, and cemeteries are characterized by the arrangements and patterns related to their unique design (Ames & Wagner, 2009). The designs also solidify the context of the historic place. Symbolism on grave markers give context to the deceased's identity in terms of the cultural landscape. The symbols on grave markers have a deeper meaning. They are not simply art for art's sake, but they should be interpreted to reveal their deeper meaning (Ames & Wagner, 2009). A poppy is not just a poppy. Ivy is not simply ivy. A poppy represents eternal sleep, and ivy symbolizes spreading love and concepts of immortality.

The earliest days of grave symbolism had elaborate imagery. The best examples come from elite Egyptian burials. The art not only served spiritual and ritual purposes, but the specific art was a way the "identity of the deceased could be projected into the hereafter and commemorated by the living" (Leary, 2021, p. 1). Cemetery symbolism has ebbed and flowed across place and time. Burial culture reformed in the early nineteenth century, where previously burials were on family property, church yards, and religious graveyards (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Times were changing and so was the culture in the U.S. Prior to the Victorian era, grave markers depicted somber ideologies of death, featuring grey-slate markers and images of death heads and skulls. However, cultural changes for the Victorians shifted to viewing death in a more positive light, switching materials to white marble and elaborate decorations with the likes of florals and lambs (Baugher & Veit, 2014; Southerland, 2010). The decline in grave marker symbolism has not been a linear decline. Cultural attitudes towards death change and along with them, so do the artistry of grave markers. These changes can be seen at Lone Mountain Cemetery through comparison of grave markers across time, in which markers belonging to those of the same

culture depict their identity differently. Notice the shift towards a modernist design, where elaborate details are replaced with a clean slate of granite or marble.



Figure 11-1A: Older Cross Marker; Figure 11-1B: Newer Cross Marker

Rather than viewing the decline in cemetery symbolism as death of the subject matter, it is more accurate to conceptualize it as culture change. Culture change is a neutral process in which a culture may view their changes in positive or negative lights, or some combination thereof. When a culture views the change as negative, cultures all around the world have been known to go to extensive lengths to keep their culture from changing (DeSilvey & Harrison, 2020). Culture change is not inherently negative, as culture change naturally occurs. When studying grave markers across time and space, observers see that grave art changes with the culture.

The decline in grave marker symbolism is a reflection on the changing culture in the U.S. Decoration is a form of expression, and modernist designs seen in cemeteries exist as part of a larger cultural movement (Ames & Wagner, 2009). Each age and culture has its own distinctive art. In the early eighteenth century in New England, graves contained simple imagery of death's

heads. This changed with the Victorian era, where wealth also increased for the elite, and new grave markers began depicting elaborate works of art with cherubs, urns, and willows (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Cemeteries became outdoor museums for art. As medical advancements improved and longevity increased, attitudes towards death once again changed. Intense mourning was no longer a common ritual in the U.S. and so the focus changed from creating lavishly decorated grave markers. People also began to see the white marble, limestone, and sandstone markers eroding. This is where the major switch to granite grave markers first took place due to its stronger durability (Baugher & Veit, 2014). Changes in symbolism have not undergone a linear decline. Thus, it is possible for cemetery symbolism to become popular again.

11.2: Is a Resurrection Possible?

Ancient Egyptians started and popularized elaborate grave imagery and the use of floral emblems in grave art. While this popularity would die down, it saw a resurgence during the Victorian era (Southerland, 2010). Aesthetic landscapes are favored by locals and tourists alike, which bring many to visit historic cemeteries on a regular basis. People liken cemeteries to museums and sculpture gardens, with cemeteries featuring different art forms throughout the world (Zappaterra, 2022). Cemeteries are sacred places and the unique landscape of the grave markers mixed with nature's sights create an essence that all people, religious, spiritual, and secular, find attractive. They bring people together (Swensen & Skår, 2019). This is evident in the diverse sections at Lone Mountain Cemetery: Catholic, Jewish, Mason, Odd Fellows, baby, and city sections.

Culture changes constantly. Pranskūnienė and Zabulionienė (2023) suggest that cultures should preserve what they can, but not fear the opportunity to create new memories and traditions. The log grave markers erected by the Woodmen of the World are focal points within the cemetery, and they were created with this intention. The fraternal organization valued

tradition and craft, starting the unique headstone program in order to resurrect the idea of burying the dead with honor and sacredness (Southerland, 2010). Prior to this time, grave markers widely became simple. Puritan markers perhaps had one death's head symbol and later the Victorians switched this somber design to simple white marble with a floral emblem or two. The Woodmen of the World wanted something elaborate, something worthy of those whose lives were cut short. While these deaths were often tragic in nature, acknowledged through the symbolism of a cut log, the designs added a light-hearted beauty to the grave. The log markers are an example of a successful resurgence of grave marker symbolism. Due to their impressive nature, community members place a special emphasis on their preservation.

Material spaces for the dead act as monuments for the past. Not all stories from history are told in cemeteries, as monuments or markers do not exist for everyone. The political agenda of the past does not die with the people buried there, but it lives on through the monuments erected in their space. As cemeteries play a role in educating the public, back to the idea of cemeteries as museums, these agendas are being told to the public (Walton, 2022). Noted successionist P. H. Clayton and his family are buried in a unique and elegant mausoleum at Lone Mountain Cemetery, which can be seen as elevating and celebrating a successionist. The mausoleum was vandalized in the early 2000s, showing that people in the present realize and interact with the political agendas being told in cemeteries. When cemetery symbolism is created, the living interact with the stories of the dead because their messages are being conveyed thoroughly. As a culture considers a resurgence in cemetery symbolism, they must also consider the effects of their actions.

There is a desire for more cemetery spaces throughout the world, especially for minority communities. Where places to lay their dead to rest are few and far between in religious and

spiritual contexts, Hindus, Muslims and those of the Baha'i faith struggle to bury their dead in Europe and America (Maddrell et al., 2021). More burial spaces meeting these demands would allow for more grave marker art resurgence, which would contribute to future educational opportunities. Students find value in learning about past and present cultures through visits to cemeteries (Goh & Ching, 2020). The solution would be two-fold; an increase in cultural cemetery learning would create a better understanding of other cultures, which would in turn aid in efforts to gain more cemetery access for cultural minorities. Resurgences in grave art, design, and symbolism are certainly possible.

Even if a resurgence of grave marker symbolism occurs, a major issue that would prevent future generations from learning about culture through grave art is that of cemetery erasure. Cemeteries are actively being rediscovered through the findings of remains where markers have been removed or deteriorated (Vine, 2023). In these cases, the lack of markers tells us little about the deceased's identity and noninvasive research into this question is not an option. Researchers instead disturb the remains and search for below-ground clues and funerary artifacts. Not only do grave markers offer the opportunity for noninvasive mortuary research, but they tell information that is not always gathered from below-ground artifacts. Grave markers function as both artifact and document, conveying inscribed information that helps to fill gaps of historic knowledge (Stepansky, 2023). They can tell us the person's name, age, where they were born, occupations, fraternal associations, religious, racial, and ethnic identities, and more. When cemeteries are erased, we lose this crucial information. Erasure of cemeteries is not solely an issue of the past, but it continues to occur in the present (Stanley, 2021). Not all cultural graves are preserved to the same degree.

As erased cemeteries are rediscovered and efforts are made to restore them, today's cultures have the ability to be inspired by the cemetery symbolism of the past. However, revivals of design are distinct from their original predecessors (Ames & Wagner, 2009). Just as the revivals of Egyptian and Greek architecture found in Lone Mountain Cemetery are distinctly revivals, unique from the original Egyptian and Greek architecture and design, any future revivals will be distinguishable as a statement of their own. The cultures of the past are not soon forgotten, practices and designs are resurrected with time.

Chapter 12: Museums of the Dead

12.1: Functionality

Museums collect, manage, and care for collections. They educate the public with their collections in many ways, through research, exhibitions, and educational programs. Furthermore, museums study their collection as a whole in order to understand the culture and time from which they come (Malaro, 2012). Cemeteries function in a parallel way, where grave markers are unique objects that also hold similarities with one another. Many grave markers may even be crafted by the same person, where stylistic similarities are evident and maker's marks can even be seen.



Figure 12-1A: Maker's Mark 1, Figure 12-1B: Maker's Mark 2



Figure 12-1C: Maker's Mark 3

What sets Lone Mountain Cemetery aside is that it is a public cemetery still in use, open to everyone, with regular business and visiting hours every day. Museums and other historic cemeteries may not be open every day. Stepping through the gates of Lone Mountain Cemetery transports visitors to a world where education is accessible through symbols and words carved into the grave markers. Object Theory for museums states that objects are created with a purpose, and when they are no longer kept for that purpose, they are kept for memories. This is precisely why museums have their place in society, they are places we visit to interact with memories and stories of the past through physical objects (Wells, 2012). The same can be said for why people visit cemeteries. Family members may pay tribute to their loved ones who have passed away and tourists visit to experience the ambiance of a cemetery and learn from the markers (Zappaterra, 2022). Grave markers play a unique role because, unlike most museums,

they are objects that still live out their purpose and they are also a document for remembering the deceased.

Grave markers allow for unique research and educational opportunities, having one foot in the door of being an artifact and the other in the door of being a document. They mark the site of the person's grave and tell us key identifiable information about the person. They are in-situ unlike most museums, where the marker continues its original location of use. However, their accompanying information exists on the object itself, not in a document separate from the object. Markers tell information about the deceased, their name, age, place of origin, affiliations, and other parts of their cultural identity. In Museum Studies, research is applied to collections through collections-based research in strategies. Research is done on individual objects and the information gained is applied to the collection as a whole, each object informing the next. Collections research is known to help collections stay dynamic (Wells, 2012). In applying museum collections research to cemeteries, markers are analyzed in terms of collection groupings to understand cultural beliefs, practices, and changes.

People visit museums for an educational experience, and the same can be said for cemeteries. Younger generations are said to value cemeteries as educational places that fill in gaps of information left by history books, and they also offer recreational environments for experiencing nature (Colombo & Vach, 2021; Goh & Ching, 2020; Stepansky, 2023; Swensen & Skår, 2019; Zappaterra, 2022).

12.2: Learning Heritage

Visiting cemeteries is a unique form of ritual (Jedan et al., 2020; Moen, 2021). As people visit them, the burial site is not a one-use place, but a place that continues to be used. While people continue to visit cemeteries, “an emotionally enticing link with past practices” is created

and the information provided at the burial in a physical way is remembered (Moen, 2021). It is an emotional and informative form of remembrance. This is perhaps similar to why people visit museums, to learn and for some to feel an emotional connection to the past. Modern people ritualistically connect to those of the deceased, and either identify with or deny the identities expressed by the grave markers. Grave markers are a form of agency, conveying important information for the deceased long after their death (Streb et al., 2019; Walton, 2022). People visit museums and cemeteries to understand the world around them, and in some cases, themselves.

Lone Mountain Cemetery contains a diverse array of historic and culturally significant art that community members visit. Rural cemeteries of the mid-nineteenth century were purposely created with the idea of being outdoor museums, as well as meeting the demand for death tolls caused by war and disease. When wealth increased in the U.S. economy as a whole, more money was spent on grave markers and family plots. Artistry became fashionable and thus, cemeteries became outdoor museums and sculpture gardens (Baughner & Veit, 2014). Artists were asked by families and cemetery officials to create unique and elaborate pieces of art, being encouraged to create a great variety in design reflecting the values and fashions of the culture. Some of these cemeteries were renowned for having the finest collections of outdoor sculptures in America at the time (Baughner & Veit, 2014). Lone Mountain Cemetery reflects these stunning sculptures and designs, containing collections of markers representing elite Victorian white marble masterpieces, local heroes and Curry sandstone, simple markers for soldiers, wood markers for those who could not afford stone, zinc markers after the Civil War, and the few markers left behind for those in the erased minority cemetery. Their stories are collected and told through their grave markers.

Chapter 13: Summary, Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis addressed the gap in cemetery research, where previous research has “mainly addressed the question of materiality, although rarely in terms of agency” (Streb et al., 2019, p. 336). The grave markers were observed in a material way in order to apply museum collections research practices to the graves. This was done so that agency can be understood in a direct, tangible way. Grave markers are materials of agency, as their designs and substance speak about cultural, historic, and artistic identities of the people buried. This is evident at Lone Mountain Cemetery, and so is the lack of markers or art for those whose agency has been stripped away from them, such as the minority graves on the southwest side of the cemetery. The artistic designs and presence of a marker are more than just a material, they are the way in which the dead speak.

Previous literature such as Southerland (2010) gives an in-depth overview of the history of cemeteries in the Carson area, including Lone Mountain Cemetery, as well as the symbolic and cultural significance of emblems found on various grave markers. Southerland also describes cemeteries as being outdoor museums, a theme central to this thesis. Unique to Southerland (2010) is that it tells the histories of people buried at these cemeteries, including Abraham Curry who founded Carson and is buried at Lone Mountain Cemetery. Curry is one of the many famous and significant Carson figures buried at Lone Mountain, and it is important to discuss all identities present in the cemetery. The primarily “Chinese and indigent” section was forgotten and erased, but research efforts in cemeteries work to bring light to the stories lost (Southerland, 2010). This speaks volumes about why markers are significant and important to cultural communities. They are how we remember the dead. When a marker is removed, intentionally by people or by the weather and elements, agency is stolen from the dead.

The early days of Nevada's communities were tight-knit and close, geographically and socially (James, 2023). The communities today are less close and share less of a cultural identity aside from being Nevadan. However, the communities used to be very diverse and share their own unique identities. Mark Twain, the famous writer who resided with his family in the area, wrote that "all the people of the earth has representative adventures in the Silverland, and each adventurer had brought slang of his nation or locality with him" (James, 2023, p. 1833). The people quite literally shaped the area, and only a fraction of this influence was Euro-American. Minorities had a great role in the area's history and development, a story not often told. This is especially the case with the erasure of the minority section of Lone Mountain Cemetery. Museums strive to uphold their missions and accurately tell all stories relevant to that mission. Just as cemeteries are a type of outdoor museum, their grave markers tell the stories of those buried in the cemetery, those whose lives are relevant to the region. When those stories are erased, education from the cemetery is hindered.

Cemeteries are unique places residing between sacred and profane, where people hold religious and secular rituals, learn, and engage in recreation (Goh & Ching, 2020; Streb et al., 2019; Walton, 2022; Zappaterra, 2023). The past meets the present as narratives from history meet daily activities such as people going for a stroll, walking the dog, or visiting the cemetery as a type of outdoor museum. While Lone Mountain Cemetery would not necessarily be considered a green space, as it reflects the tawny western landscape dotted with greenery, it acts a place where people visit besides mourning a loved one. It does reside between sacred and profane.

Future research on cemeteries acting as outdoor museums should focus on the ways in which lost and erased graves can be preserved. This can come in many forms, such as preserving

the physical markers, restoring them, recreating culturally appropriate markers, documenting the markers that do exist, and studying a variety of grave marker collections. By including cemeteries, museums can fill gaps of historical, cultural, and artistic knowledge and present more accurate, whole-picture stories to the public. The dead speak, not in the same way as the living, but through the living with the monuments and markers created to tell their stories and identities.

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