“TO BEAR ALL THAT COMES UPON US”:

RESURRECTING THE AURORA COLONY NARRATIVE

THROUGH MORTUARY ANALYSIS

by

NOAH PAUL KERR

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Student: Noah Paul Kerr

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This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Historic Preservation by:

Kingston W. Heath, PhD	Chairperson
Rick Minor, PhD	Member

and

Kimberly Andrews Espy	Vice President for Research and Innovation; Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Noah Paul Kerr

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The gravemarkers of the Aurora Colony Cemetery offer a means of examining identity and change within this early Oregon utopian community. Led by charismatic Wilhelm Keil and composed predominantly of people of German heritage, the members of the Aurora Colony sought to distance themselves from worldly influences through emigration to the Willamette Valley. In existence from 1856 to 1883, they sought to maintain shared cultural practices while, as farmers and artisans, relying simultaneously upon inclusive commerce with the outside world. Contextual analysis of this mortuaryscape provides a venue for understanding the interplay of separatist ideology and extralocal forces among Colony members and the following generation of their descendants. Artifactual data from relationships found among their mortuary objects reflects patterns of change in material, typology, composition, and language spanning the years 1862-1920. Subsequently, these objects express the tide of acculturation and dissolution experienced within the Colony.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Noah Paul Kerr

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Michigan

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Science, Historic Preservation, 2014, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, History, 2008, Hillsdale College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Vernacular Architecture
Architectural History
Cultural Resource Management

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Historic Preservation, University of Oregon, 2012-2013.

National Trust Conference Scholarship, Historic Preservation League of Oregon and Oregon Cultural Trust, 2012.

Summer Fellowship, Maine Preservation, 2012.

Ambassador Award, Vernacular Architecture Forum, 2012.

John E.N. & Dede Howard Scholarship, Hillsdale College, 2007-2008.

PUBLICATIONS:

Kerr, Noah. "Shelters Among the Trees: Change and the Logging Bunkhouse Form in the Pacific Northwest." *ASHP Journal* (Spring 2013): 20-23.

Anderson, Lea, John D.M. Arnold, Kenneth Gunn, and Noah P. Kerr. “Adhered Veneers.” In *Masonry Conservation Handbook: Cottage Grove, Oregon*, edited by Dr. Lauren B. Allsopp, 4-21. Eugene, OR: University of Oregon, 2013.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Although the prospect of favorable land prices and a wide spectrum of economic opportunities did not appeal exclusively to ethnic minorities, the promise of a new and rejuvenating start for these emigrants in the American Northwest often *did* highlight their presence against a backdrop of an Anglo-American majority.[1] Such is the case for the Aurora Colony's members in the Oregon Territory, whose search to further distance themselves, ideologically and societally, underlines an expression of shared Germanic roots in their new settlement.[2] The intimate communalist nature of Aurora emphasizes this character in life and death alike. As strangers in a strange land, the mortuaryscape was twice a place to affirm precious cultural solidarity: first in the identity of the deceased, and moreover within the community rituals surrounding the gravesite and its environs (figure 1.1).

Where westward settlement carried hope and opportunity, death followed. The overarching purpose of the cemetery landscape that gathered members of the Aurora Colony is also familiar in far grander sites elsewhere. Even after more than a

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[1] The West offered all manners of frontier opportunities to the newcomer, whether fiscal or ideological; instances of a chance for economic and social uplift available to racial minorities like African-Americans, too, existed in the Northwest in locales such as Virginia City, Montana. See Kingston W. Heath, "Viewpoint—Buildings as Cultural Narratives: Interpreting African American Lifeways in a Montana Gold Mining Camp," *Buildings and Landscapes (The Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum)* 21, no. 2, eds. Marta Gutman and Cynthia G. Falk (Forthcoming, Fall 2014).

[2] Irene Hecht calculated that of the considerable proportion of foreign-born members who participated in the Aurora compact, an overwhelming majority originated in German-speaking communities. An aggregate analysis of 1860 figures place this figure at 75%; by 1870, 90%; in 1880, a full 100%. This influence appears to have maintained a roughly inverse relationship to the rate of all other non-American-born arrivals, which decreased from 20% to almost none by the time of dissolution. Irene W.D. Hecht, "The Aurora Colony of Oregon: An American Utopian Society" (paper presented at Pacific Northwest History Seminar, Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon, Spring 1979), 10-13.

century of sustained use, its grounds are absent of intricate circulation footpaths, ornate iron fencing, and mausoleums. Yet the simplicity of this particular site is deceptive. Although Victorian mortuary etiquette within the same period elevated the ornate and ostentatious to the norm in the popular imagination of burial, the Aurora Colony cemetery's own historical and cultural values reside chiefly in the identity of its users. Their mortuaryscape can, and should be used to better understand aspects of the attitudes users exercised in their own time and place—what Edwin Dethlefsen has called a "limited reflection of the real community," as a microcosm of its sociocultural workings.[3]

Figure 1.1. The eastern end of the historic Aurora Colony Cemetery mortuaryscape, *eastern view*: a place of solidarity, pronounced cultural identity, and the remains of a religious utopian experiment. (photo: author, 2012).

[3] Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethnographic Perspective," in *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us*, eds. Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 141.

The breadth of this value is evident in the enduring "performance" of many Colony members' gravemarkers. In this sense, these artifacts can be seen both as individual objects and statistical elements within a broader cultural document.[4] The following work, while encouraging methods helpful in documenting and preserving mortuary art, poses an interpretative model for analyzing the artifactual evidence that offers insight into the socio-cultural relevance of a specific heritage cemetery during Oregon's settlement era.

[4] For a nuanced explanation of performance theory as it pertains to vernacular objects and architecture, please consult Susan Garfinkel, "Recovering Performance for Vernacular Architecture Studies," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13, no. 2, eds. Warren Hofstra and Camille Wells (Lexington, VA: Washington and Lee University, 2006-7), 106-114.

CHAPTER II

AURORA COLONY: AN EARLY COMMUNALIST SETTLEMENT IN OREGON

And God said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to Bethel, and dwell there:
and make there an altar unto God…
So Jacob came to Luz, in the land of Canaan… he and all the people that were with him.
And he built there an altar, and called the place Elbethel:
because there God appeared unto him, when he fled from the face of his brother. [5]

Leadership and Utopian Cohesion

Shortly after the 19th century reached its zenith, Oregon's western frontier received a community of utopian homesteaders. Followers of the charismatic German-American religious leader Wilhelm Keil hailed from among immigrant populations near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and in northeastern Ohio. In 1844, these adherents had already built a prosperous settlement from the ground up at "Bethel," on the banks of Missouri's North River. Keil, who ostensibly had been influenced by a complex blend of the Christian utopian notions then percolating in eastern Pennsylvania as well as his own itinerant dabbling in German Methodism, mysticism, and pietism, had by then woven an effective social covenant based on righteous communalism.[6] Minor, Jacobs, and Tilton summarize its millennialist aims

[5] Although not overtly acknowledged by its founder or residents, it seems clear that name "Bethel" is an allusion to the biblical passage of Genesis 35:1, 35:6-7; "Elbethel" translates from the ancient Hebrew as "God of Bethel." Here, the King James translation of the text is appropriate, reflecting the versions carried by notable Colony members such as Christian Giesy on their journeys west. Giesy's own bible is a pocket-sized 1840 edition, printed in Philadelphia by W. Marshall & Co., which is presently curated by the Old Aurora Colony Museum. Patrick Harris, e-mail message to author, December 10, 2013.

[6] James J. Kopp, *Eden Within Eden: Oregon's Utopian Heritage* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2009), 40-42.

as "a doctrine focused on the Second Coming, doing God's will on earth, and the communistic spirit."[7]

In 1853, however, as James J. Kopp points out, Keil's interest in safeguarding the community from external corruption precipitated relocation, as "civilization was descending on eastern Missouri too rapidly and a more isolated location was needed."[8] Factors exacerbating this perception of worldly encroachment were likely threefold: massive partisan population shifts and overt partisan tensions arising from an end to the 1820 Missouri Compromise (repealed through the bitterly debated Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854); the charm of new agricultural prospects courtesy of the 1850 Oregon Donation Land Act; and, finally, the 1852 construction of a nearby stop on the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad.[9] If the first two of these brought a greater concentration of distraction and temptation nearer to Bethel, the third certainly guaranteed such a "sinister portent" that would be much more directly accessible to Keil's adherents.[10] That a majority of the settlement's members evidently shared strong Free-Soil sympathies further illuminates this apprehension, considering that Bethel's demography remained "the only Republican township in

[7] Rick Minor, Linda K. Jacobs, and Theresa M. Tilton, *The Stauffer-Will Farmstead: Historical Archaeology At An Aurora Colony Farm* (Eugene, OR: University of Oregon Department of Anthropology, 1981), 9.

[8] Kopp, 42.

[9] Eugene Edmund Snyder, *Aurora, Their Last Utopia: Oregon's Christian Commune, 1856-1883* (Portland, OR: Binford & Mort, 1993), 49-50.

[10] Snyder has speculated that a three-hour wagon ride might separate Bethelites from the rail corridor, across a distance of 13 miles to Shelbina. Snyder, 50.

Shelby County."[11] Whatever the precise combination of factors, this restlessness was sufficient enough to agitate many among the community to depart once more west.

The ideological basis for Wilhelm Keil's isolationist doctrine was at once biblically inspired and fueled by his own early intimate proximity to other experiments in religious communalism.[12] Prior to his attraction of likeminded German-speaking immigrants, historians point to Keil's exposure to the utopian ideologies of George Rapp's Harmonists, German Methodist Episcopalians under Wilhelm Nast, and the followers of Count de Leon as evidence of the ex-milliner's willingness to pursue relative isolation for Bethelites' endeavor.[13] In fact, as Kopp and Will both note, a number of Bethelites were previously participants in these northeastern enterprises.[14]

From Missouri to Oregon

A somber and protracted journey to the Pacific Northwest in the autumn of 1855 brought the Bethelites first to a site near Willapa Bay in western Washington Territory, which had been praised in 1853 by scouts selected from among the Bethel

[11] William G. Bek, "A German Communistic Society in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 3, no. 1-2 (October 1908-January 1909): 103.

[12] Passages such as Revelation 12:6 provided an apparent biblical undergirding for the separatist utopian aspect of this experiment.

[13] Kopp, 40-41; Minor & Chappel, 3; W. Robert Cook, review of *Aurora, Their Last Utopia: Oregon's Christian Commune, 1856-1883*, by Eugene Edmund Snyder, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 2 (Summer 1995), 254.

[14] Clark M. Will, *The Story of Old Aurora in Picture and Prose, 1856-1883* (Salem, OR: Panther Printing, 1972), 18.

community (figure 2.1).[15] Here, they laid to rest the body of Keil's nineteen-year-old son William Jr., or "Willie," who had succumbed to malaria prior to departure from Missouri. On the strength of his father's prior promise that the boy would lead the first wagon west, the Bethelites sealed the body in a purpose-built coffin filled with alcohol to facilitate its two-thousand mile overland shipment—at the head of the train.[16] With the exception of several families—including those of John Stauffer, Sr., and Henry Beck—the group quickly found the site less than preferable for wintertime or permanent settlement.[17] The following Spring, in 1856, the group finally relocated south to Marion County in the Oregon Territory. Here, their lasting settlement legacy took root in the form of a community christened Aurora, after one of Keil's daughters.

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[15] Bek, 314. Snyder, 56.

[16] Descriptions of the coffin itself vary widely; tin, lead, copper, and iron, for instance, have all been reported as comprising the inner seal surrounding the younger Keil's impromptu embalming conditions. Snyder, 53; Catherine Mary Weidum, "Willie Keil Saved Lives on the Long Journey West," *Wild West* 9 no. 28 (1996): 29, accessed August 1, 2012, EBSCOhost; Henry Will, Letter to the *Shelby County Herald,* Shelbyville, Missouri, January 15, 1930; Frederick G. Vogel, "Westward From Bethel To His Grave," *American Cemetery* 57, no. 5 (May 1984): 46-47. Nordhoff's mention of a "tin shop" later in operation at Aurora might lend some substance to the use of that material in this instance, although Bek claims that the coffin was purchased in St. Louis. Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States, From Personal Observations* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1875), 311; Bek, 107. Even the number of livestock used to pull the vehicle also vary throughout accounts, from a pair of mules to a six-mule team. Bek, Ibid; Harold Dailey, "The Old Communistic Colony at Bethel" (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1928), 166.

[17] Bek, 105-106; Minor, Jacobs, and Tilton, 11; Charles Pierce LeWarne, *Utopias on Puget Sound: 1885-1915* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1995), 11. In particular, Pierce notes evident difficulties in clearing thick timber stands and establishing workable infrastructure in the hilly, rocky terrain, as well as the practical problems of commerce implicit in the group's topographic and geographic isolation from Anglo-American agricultural markets at Willapa. By late 1855, the nearest regional trade outposts were still better than a hundred miles by trail to Fort Vancouver, or nearly fifty over much more difficult terrain to Fort Astoria. Gray's Harbor County, to the north, was still a largely theoretical proposition at this time. Aberdeen would not be established until 1884, well after the group had moved on to Oregon.

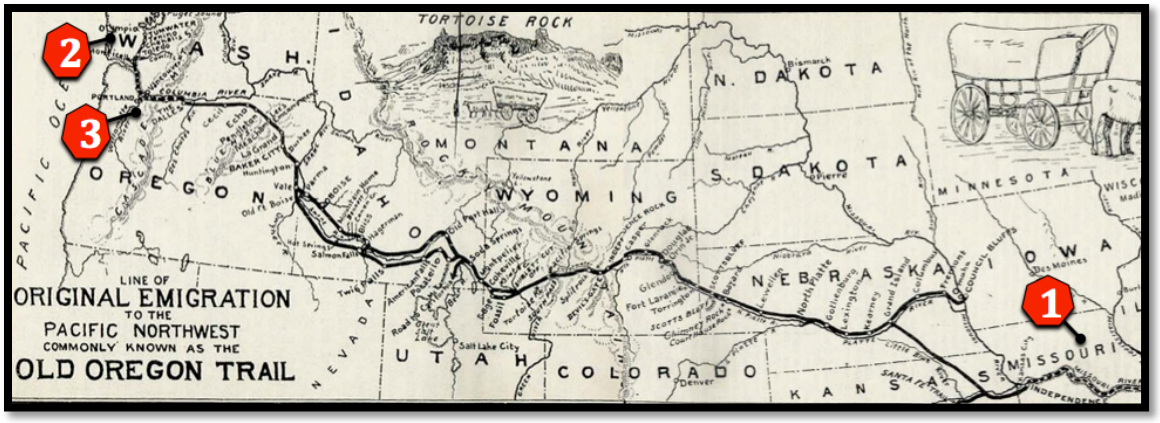

Figure 2.1. Aurora Colony sites, 1856-57, shown relative to the Oregon Trail corridor of overland travel. Initial settlement at Bethel, Missouri (1) provided a point of westward departure from which to join scouts at Willapa, Washington Territory (2). Relocation south saw them to Aurora in the Oregon Territory (3). (map image: *The Ox Team, or the Old Oregon Trail 1852-1906* (Omaha, NE: Ezra Meeks, 1906); annotations by author, 2013)

Located east of the Willamette River, roughly halfway between Portland and Salem, the Aurora site grew prosperous amidst the steady work rhythms and humble, communal zeal preached by "Father Keil." It remained a vibrant agricultural collective well into the 1880s. Minor, Jacobs, and Tilton echo Nordhoff and Bek in suggesting that Keil personally selected the site on the merit of its plentiful fir timber, which would more cheaply supply needed building materials than much of the prairie found to the immediate west.[18]

The Aurora Colony upheld shared burdens of labor and frugality, as derived from dictums of their social covenant.[19] According to member Michael Rapps, "every gang of four who worked together should cut down a tree before breakfast, unless

[18] Nordhoff, 308, in Minor, Jacobs, and Tilton, 12.

[19] Nordhoff in particular provides a sense of work matters, in his listing of Keil's teachings: "8th. Plain living and rigid economy are inculcated as duties from each to the whole; and to labor regularly, and to waste nothing, are important parts of the 'whole duty of man,'" 310.

there happened to be no meat on hand, in which case they should kill a deer."[20] A series of subsequent emigrations from Missouri through 1867 brought more Bethelites to Aurora, notes Clark M. Will, whose records calculate a total settlement population numbering approximately 600 members.[21] These journeys were perhaps less the stuff of legend than that of Keil's own party, although they included routes both crossing the Panama Isthmus and circumnavigating Cape Horn.[22]

Keil's death on December 30, 1877 left the community virtually without clear leadership. Although Keil had taken measures to appoint Colony trustees as early as 1866 to manage select property on behalf of the whole (previously held collectively under the name "Wm Keil & Co"), the vacuum left by his passing proved insurmountable for Colony cohesion.[23] In the wake of formal dissolution in 1883, public opinion speculated widely upon the relative success of communal endurance at Aurora.[24] By this point, estimations of Keil's own direct leadership in the face of growing outside influence becomes inextricably tied to an influx of visitors, rail corridor development, and growing opportunities elsewhere. Yet the documentary record remains vague enough to appear ultimately undecided— the Colony

[20] Emanuel Keil and H.S. Lyman, "The Aurora Community," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (March 1901), 84.

[21] Will, 20-21.

[22] Will, 21; Lyman, 80.

[23] Kopp, "Novel Views of the Aurora Colony: The Literary Interpretations of Cobie de Lespinasse and Jane Kirkpatrick," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 110, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 169.

[24] The declaration of a final settlement of the Colony's affairs and division of property, made January 21, 1883, by the court of Justice Matthew Deady in Portland, is noted in Freeman, 8.

experiment has been alternately hailed as "a success" and a failure "to establish any principle worth while [sic] for the government of human conduct."[25]

Like their leader, members of the Aurora Colony were overwhelmingly German in cultural and linguistic background. While Keil's own origins in Saxony can be traced to Bleicherode, near Erfurt, census data taken during Aurora's active years identifies other colony members' birthplaces in Hanover, Prussia, Bavaria, and Hesse, as well as German-American enclaves like Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and Columbus, Ohio.[26] This ethnographic nexus serves to characterize the community's cultural identity, as does their industrious blend of trades and arts (noted pursuits within the agrarian settlement ranged from timber production to an acclaimed brass band).[27] While shared agricultural holdings, acquired through contracts with donation land claimants Dave Smith and George White totaled in excess of 3,500 acres, the professions recorded within the settlement provide a diverse cross-section of skills and education.[28] The census rolls of 1860 and 1880, for instance, acknowledge the trades of wainwrights, wheelwright, tailor, cordwainer,

[25] "Adventures in Co-Operation," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, OR), February 27, 1921, 8.

[26] Hecht, 10-13. Bleicherode is located less than 20 kilometers southwest of Nordhausen, and is today a part of the German federal state of Thuringia. Interestingly enough, the region is known to have embraced a particularly militant reformation in the 16th century, cultivating enclaves of Anabaptists and a mad dash into Lutheran theology following the toppling of previous Catholic dominance.

[27] Of these craftsmen, the inventor Benjamin Forstner later achieved a lasting individual distinction through his design of the precision drill bit that still bears his name.

[28] James Freeman, "Aurora Colony: Results of Research Done for Credit in Northwest History Research" (Willamette University, January 1954), 2-3. Additionally, Hecht has divided these professions into distinct categories, such as "Craftsmen," "Professionals," and "Skilled Laborers," to account for occupational shifts in Colony emigrations between 1860 and 1880, 23-24.

apothecary, physician, jeweler, tinsmith, artist, minister, notary, and cooper among those at work alongside its farmers and laborers.[29]

Reflecting Identity in Commerce and Memory

Perhaps the most paradoxical aspect of the group's identity derives from what Kopp refers to as "the dichotomy of prospering because of their isolation and German identity but also because of the income produced by selling of their products and services to outsiders…."[30] Keil's attempts to interface the Colony's relative sense of cultural or spiritual *exclusion* with a commercial *inclusion* brings the challenges of their ethnic cohesion to the forefront. Its clear role in shaping the Germanic hospitality celebrated by Nordhoff, Bek, and other period observers such as Theodore Kirchhoff supports this duplicity.[31] Keil's own remarks add further emphasis, while suggesting his followers thrift in securing a niche in Oregon's economic frontier: "…we were soon able to buy out the prairie farmers, who had got into debt and were shiftless, while we prudent Germans were building our place."[32]

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[29] Freeman, 2. Eugene Snyder offers a more in-depth appraisal of vocational genealogies extending down through the Forstner family, from pietist roots in early Lutheran communities of the Enz Valley in Württemberg through their utopian participation in Rapp's Phillipsburg experiment, Bethel, and Aurora. See "The Forstner Saga," as reported in Snyder, 107-131. Although an exhaustive biographical recitation of the Colony is not practical within the scope of this study, it is noteworthy that Thomas C. Hubka has demonstrated how spatial reconstruction techniques may be utilized as an effective approach to the historical reconstruction of an ethnically-informed locale. See Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community* (Lebanon, NH: Brandeis, 2003), 1-21, 134-136.

[30] Kopp, 42.

[31] Bek, ; Nordhoff, 305-306; Snyder 89-95.

[32] Nordhoff, 308-309.

The scale and success of trade contact with outsiders appears to have been relatively varied. The modest diversity of Colony members' agricultural pursuits is likely as causal here as is the continuing settlement of the Willamette, although some accounts suggest that the produce of their orchards enjoyed a marked popularity—enough, even, to fully finance the household of Colony music teacher Henry Conrad Finck.[33] "The apples sold for from $1.50 to $3.00 and more a box [during active Colony years] and were very much in demand at San Francisco," Simon notes, adding that their byproducts of apple butter and cider secured high esteem far afield in Oregon.[34] In this instance of extra-local commerce, the implicit logistical considerations suggest that a certain quality of the Colony's enigmatic isolation might remain intact; transporting the produce to market occurred via wagon then boat, "from a point on the Willamette [River] four miles distant."[35] The parsimony underlying this practice helped ensure its endurance well into the 1870s, even after more efficient (albeit more costly) infrastructure became available.[36]

Larger endeavors, such as the Aurora Colony Hotel and Keil's successful lobbying to secure a local stop on the Oregon & California Railroad in 1869, invited increasing outside access and interest, but ultimately summoned the cultural forces of influence, transformation, and acculturation. The consequences were profound. By the 1930s, changes wrought throughout the locale's cultural landscape were

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[33] John Elbert Simon, "Wilhelm Keil, Founder of Aurora" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1935), 63.

[34] Simon, 63-64. See also Henry Theophilus Finck, "Oregon Apples At Home," in *My Adventures in the Golden Age of Music* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1926), 19-22.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

evidently so complete as to prompt Simon to lament, "Aurora hides volumes of the most singular and interesting history. It is to be regretted however that so very little of it has been preserved to posterity."[37]

If not in the perfect fulfillment of its social experiment, the Aurora Colony ultimately retains a lasting legacy within the broader narrative of Oregon settlement. The distinctive nature of the group's association and collective accomplishments endured long enough to merit recognition through the Oregon Pioneer Association; the Colony's locale was selected as the location for the organization's second annual meeting in 1874.[38] A body of documents and artifacts relevant to the lives of its members also endures, preserved through the curation efforts of the Aurora Colony Historical Society. With a particular emphasis on interactive craft, textiles, musical instruments, and tools, the Society's collection features prominently within the Society's Old Ox Barn museum context.[39] The settlement's built environment merited a successful nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as a National Historic District in 1974, stressing various tangible elements of the Colony's story. Most of all, the locale retains the conscious memorials to those who ended their days in and around the collective—the

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[37] Simon, 1.

[38] W.H. Rees, "Pioneer Association," *Oregon City Enterprise*, January 23, 1874, Historic Oregon Newspapers collection, University of Oregon, 1.

[39] For further discussion of textile arts within the Colony context, see Hannah Jessica Flier, "Written in Thread: The Evolution of Quilting Within the Bethel and Aurora Colonies" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 2012); Jane Kirkpatrick, *Aurora: An American Experience in Quilt, Community, and Craft* (Colorado Springs, CO: WaterBrook, 2008). For a design study of pieces specific to Bethel precedent, see Lisa Horn and Laurel Wilson, "Textile Production in the Communalistic German Colony of Bethel, Missouri: 1844-1879," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 12 (September 1993): 43-50. The recent efforts of John Richards and Andrew Willette to recreate Colony members' contributions through the Oregon Music Project are summarized in David Stabler, "Aurora Colony Music Comes to Life With Concert in Charbonneau," *The Oregonian*, May 20, 2013.

mortuary landscapes of the Colony cemetery sites themselves. These cemeteries represent a vitally meaningful, visible facet of the cultural resources available to aid in the continued preservation and reanimation of the cultural identity of the Aurora Colony. Here, too, a sense of its members' collective conviction and humanity lingers.

CHAPTER III

WESTERN EMIGRATION AND THE MORTAL VERGE

Alles liegt im tiefsten Schlummer,
Gleich der grauen Todes Nacht
Jedes fuhlt ja seine Nummer
Eh Aurora ist erwacht.

(Deep in sleep everyone lies,
Alike in deathly fear of night.
Each await his fatal number
Before Aurora is awake.)…

…Jedes Blumchen, jedes Baumchen
Warted nur auf deinen Gruhs
Auch das Lambshen auf der Weide
Will stets folgen deinem Ruf.

(Every little flower and every sapling,
Wilted lie upon your grave,
And the sheep upon the hillside,
Will ever follow your [salvation's] call.) [40]

Well after their arrival in the Oregon Territory, two Colony daughters, Martha Schmidt and Dorothy Behrens, exchanged correspondence with friends who remained behind in Bethel. Dated June 6, 1864, one of these letters shares amongst its salutations the above lyrical text, in an excerpt from verses to "Salvation's Call," a song composed earlier that year by Wilhelm Keil. Believed to contain an overt attempt on the part of their leader enjoining remaining Bethelites to complete the journey west to Aurora, these lines nonetheless speak with diction laden in period

[40] Martha Schmidt and Dorothy Behrens, excerpt from letter to Martha Miller and Catharine Kocher, June 6, 1864. Clark Moore Will Papers, 1871-1981, Coll. 062, Box 2, Folder 8, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, Oregon, accessed July 30, 2013. Will executed a similar translation from the letter's original German longhand script, almost exactly a century after the original missive was composed (June 21, 1964). His accompanying notes provide some indication that the song may have alternately been titled "Morning's Call" or "Welcome the Morning."

mortuary imagery.[41] What immediate influence the lyrics had upon the remaining Bethel contingent is unknown, but the tone remains evident within their correspondence. The commonplace expectation of death and its morally instructive urge are topics that span the elder and younger generations' experience of Christian ideology in the Colony. If we are to take such documents as an unconscious expression of Colony lifeways, the tone of mortal nature was already well sewn into the fabric of Aurora's society.

The Strange Overland Procession of Willie Keil

The westward journey of Keil's own party, nearly a decade prior, can be seen as a funerary procession in itself. Given their peculiar saga of bearing young Willie Keil's casket from Bethel, Missouri to Willapa Bay near the Pacific coast of Washington Territory, such a seemingly morbid notion requires little imagination.[42] Though his demise from malaria is certainly not unique to the overall experience felt by westward immigrants, the extended journey of his corpse certainly appears to be.[43] Details related through accounts of the journey paint a somber picture of the group's participation in the spectacle: the alteration of a "prairie schooner," or covered wagon, essentially acted as hearse for the black-painted makeshift casket.

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[41] Clark Moore Will, notes on "Morning's Call." Clark Moore Will papers, 1871-1981, Coll. 062, Box 2, Folder 8, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, Oregon, accessed July 30, 2013.

[42] The ephemeral Willapa site, hallowed through the younger Keil's final inhumation, was established well prior to the territory's admission to statehood. The present-day locale is located to the immediate southwest of the State Route 6 corridor, roughly halfway between the communities of Raymond and Menlo, and falls within the purview of the Washington State Parks system.

[43] Will, Ibid.

This vehicle is remembered only as "a long, light wagon, open at the sides," evidence of a purpose-made modification which could allow its cargo to remain visible en route.[44] Meyers, too, points out that the role played by overland covered wagons in the imagery of the pioneer cemetery functions as an icon of the pioneer experience writ large.[45] In this case, the boy's iconic transplanting into a new West expresses a similar notion, but vis-à-vis an emphatic reversal—the grave brought directly into the vehicle.

In this manner, the wagon itself binds the commemoration of the dead to the memory of the living. Moreover, the arrangement drapes a proverbial black crepe over the two-hundred-strong train as a whole, casting each wagon and its occupants as members of a prolonged funeral cortege—what Adolf E. Schroeder has called "a bizzare procession" for such an extended overland journey."[46] Robert J. Hendricks goes further still, asserting that such an oddity

> *…can never be duplicated in a like setting, a similarly weird progress, and equal environmental awsomeness [sic], in this changed and changing world. It is all the more eerie, unique and strange… a verification of the trite tradition that truth is stranger than fiction.*[47]

In addition to the practical nature of their transportation, the pilgrim train carried a fixed purpose of renewal through resettlement, whereby the old and new

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[44] Catherine Mary Weidum, "Willie Keil Saved Lives," 29.

[45] Richard E. Meyer, "Image and Identity in Oregon's Pioneer Cemeteries." in *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures*, eds. Barbara Allen and Thomas J. Schelereth (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 99-101.

[46] "The Bethel Colony 1844-1883," Adolf E. Schroeder Papers, State Historical Society of Missouri, 9.

[47] Robert J. Henricks, *Bethel and Aurora: An Experiment in Communism As Practical Christianity; With Some Account of Past And Present Ventures in Collective Living* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1933), 53.

held the promise of cultural continuity amidst change. The notion of renewal can, in this case, be extended to invoke the age-old symbiosis of death and life, in which Willie's bier conveys the hopeful conviction of a secure future for his legion of pallbearers. Within this continuity, the sanctity of Keil's promise to his late son itself functions as the essential link uniting life and death, as Harold Dailey suggests: "To [Dr. Keil] a promise, no matter how lightly given, was sacred in life and death—that a man should die sooner than break one…a colonist dared not lie."[48] For a father to faithfully submit himself, his family, and community to a journey so dominated by an intimacy with his son's corpse underlines the extreme of this conviction, as well as the veracity of its proponent.

Amidst the Native American hostility that plagued white settlement efforts in the Pacific Northwest this same year (1855), the bier may also have provided a more immediate sense of security for its bearers. As Snyder asserts, a persistent oral tradition among many Colony descendants suggests that the oddity of the principal wagon's contents proved more fascinating to a number of ostensibly violent Sioux than anything else, instead engendering amiable curiosity.[49] Weidum goes so far as to recount an incident beyond Fort Kearney in late June, in which marauding Sioux halted the wagon train and demanded to look within the coffin; Keil's acquiescence

[48] As Dailey suggests, the train also evokes the gravity of a promise kept: Keil's decision to honor his word, despite the deeply unpleasant emotional and physical burdens which it guaranteed, underpinned the example in moral continuity and commitment. Dailey, 166; Bek, 107.

[49] Snyder, 60.

and their satisfied departure, if taken at face value, cast his son's embalmed remains as a sort of talisman against harm—with or without the coffin nails in place.[50]

The complex legacy of the Oregon Trail also raises a question pertinent to the endurance of the Aurora mortuary landscape: How does the preservationist view the role of mortality in the life of a historic settlement? Is it an obstacle thrown against the endurance of a cultural narrative and performance? Perhaps, could it be seen as a shadowy obfuscator driving successive generations to reclaim the family, community, and ethnic journeys in their genealogical wake? Possibly. Or, we might consider the notion that death can also be perceived as a lens through which to study the hopeful passage of the lives and culture that wound its way into the Pacific Northwest. "Death was a dominant part of the Oregon pioneer experience from the onset," notes Richard E. Meyer. "Vast numbers never survived the emigration process itself and received lonely burials at sea, or as was far more frequently the case, in unmarked graves along the Oregon Trail."[51]

Bernard Herman suggests that the historic mobility of a people affects their "deployment of objects in conversational fields," and that these objects "enable tangible conversations about materiality and identity."[52] Those historic material remnants of the Aurora Colony Cemetery offer a clear instance of artifactual performance, which in turn link the movement of their users with their role in

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[50] Weidum, 29. Keil's letter of June 24 makes the contradictory claim that none have ever inquired as to the same wagon's contents, although his acknowledgement that his son's body is still perfectly preserved raises the issue of when cause might otherwise arise to remove the lid en route. Bek, "From Bethel, Missouri, to Aurora, Oregon: Letters of Wilhelm Keil, 1855-1870," *Missouri Historical Review* 48, no. 1-2 (Oct. 1953-Jan. 1954): 48, 23-41, 131-154.

[51] Meyer, "Image and Identity," 90.

[52] Bernard Herman, "On Being German in British America," 195.

commemorating the Colony as a collective whole. Moreover, it offers the fascinating opportunity for a cultural landscape to be more than the sum of its material parts. Conceptually, settlers' responses to mortality play a significant role in shaping the scale of drama and tragedy in the pioneer narrative. In a manner of speaking, "Westward, ho!" could be read as an inevitable call to mourning as much as an adventurous salute.

Death as a Lens to Explore the Narrative of Westward Emigration

Commonly enough, cultural memory coats the mortality of northwestern pioneers beneath a saccharine glaze of romantic tragedy. Yet death remains an undeniable element of the cultural narrative of the topic. One of the first western film epics, Raoul Walsh's *The Big Trail* (1930), sets a tone representative of this dualistic tendency in scenes depicting emigrants' burial and mourning (figure 3.1).[53] Although the 1930 production exhibits obvious undertones of Manifest Destiny, Anglo-American ethnocentrism, and other prevalent sentiments of the day, it retains a message that the dead continue with the living as a part of the settlement passage. In the case of the Aurorans, this journey is a corporeal one as well as metaphorical or spiritual.

[53] *The Big Trail*, Fullscreen edition, DVD, directed by Louis R. Loeffler and Raoul Walsh (Los Angeles, CA: 20th Century Fox, 2003).

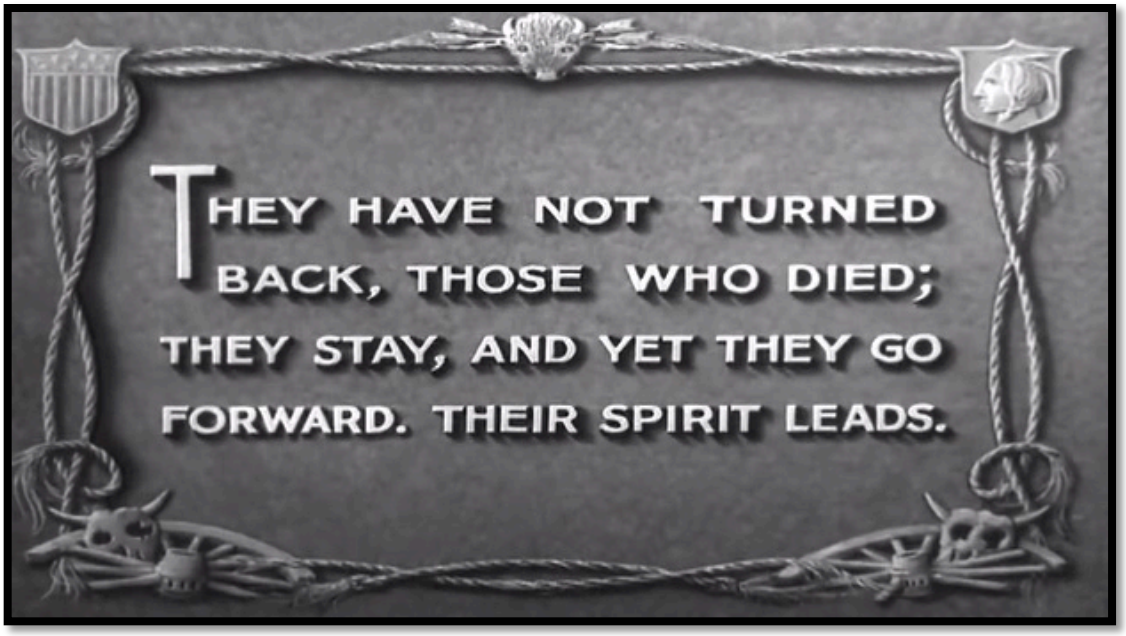

Figure 3.1. Title card from Raoul Walsh's *The Big Trail* (1930). Note the stylistic use of the broken wagon wheel in the lower border; such objects played a factual role in memorializing *ad hoc* burial sites. (image: 20th Century Fox, 1930)

Alexander Phimister Proctor's bronze statuary, "The Pioneer Mother," erected on the University of Oregon campus in 1932, also encapsulates the sentiment, albeit through a much more discernible commemoration. Of the high relief bronze scenes cast upon each side of the sculpture's plinth, perhaps the most poignant is that facing east—a scene of a settlement camp's burial party attending the open grave of a lamented companion (figure 3.2).

That its creator enshrined, firstly, a memory of "hardships and the battles and the sorrows of pioneering" affirms the realistic, mournful context of the scene. Yet such a moment was inevitably played out time and again amidst physical and cultural diaspora. Subsequently, accompanying treatments of death can be seen as an interpretive lens, not just for the dead—on an individual, numerical scale—but

also of their collective, regional narrative, shared through the everyday realities of what the National Park Service has called "an international highway of the past."[54] Interpretation for the Oregon National Historic Trail, for one, continues to exhort viewers to examine the landscape for a story told in wagon ruts and creek crossings.[55]

Figure 3.2. Funerary scene depicted upon the plinth of Proctor's "The Pioneer Mother" (1932), *detail view*. (photo: author, 2012)

Yet preservation efforts must also broaden this selection of visual cues to address unattended humanistic elements of the same narrative—the toll paid in emigrants' lives in the name of a larger cultural ideal, the mourning which accompanied miles travelled thereafter, and the virtual map spelled out of burials

[54] National Park Service, "Tell-Tale Signs: Helping You Discover the Oregon Trail," http://www.nps.gov/oreg/planyourvisit/tell-tale-signs.htm, accessed July 2, 2013.

[55] Ibid.

along the way. Indeed, motion must beget conversation, particularly at a time when the ephemeral ruts themselves are fading from sight. As of 2011, 19th-century resources comprise only an estimated nineteen percent of Oregon's surviving tangible historic record.[56] Through the mortuary lens, we can see how the preservation and interpretation of settlement landscapes may draw equally upon themes of mortality and vitality alike. Clearly, creative strategies are needed to interpret a lasting sense of meaning within the settlement journey.

In this manner, the view of historic mortuary landscapes throughout this Northwestern corridor must be necessarily broad, in effect drawing sites such as the formal Aurora Colony Cemetery into closer thematic touch with countless humble, *ad hoc* burial sites—those created in response to situational circumstance and an ever-varying locale (figure 3.3). Because the latter are not frequently associated with any concrete permanence (and are particularly vulnerable to depredations of weather, relic hunters, and hasty marking), their role in the conversation will likely rely upon a great deal of interdisciplinary research and analysis. Yet the importance of expanding the human dimension of this narrative is evident in the sheer number of deceased whose burial sites populate the landscape. The National Oregon/California Trail Center in Montpelier, Idaho, for instance, conservatively estimates the number of burials to have taken place at an average of ten graves per

[56] Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, *The 2011-2016 Oregon Historic Preservation Plan*. (Salem, OR: Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, 2011): 19-20.

mile of the historic corridor from Missouri.[57]

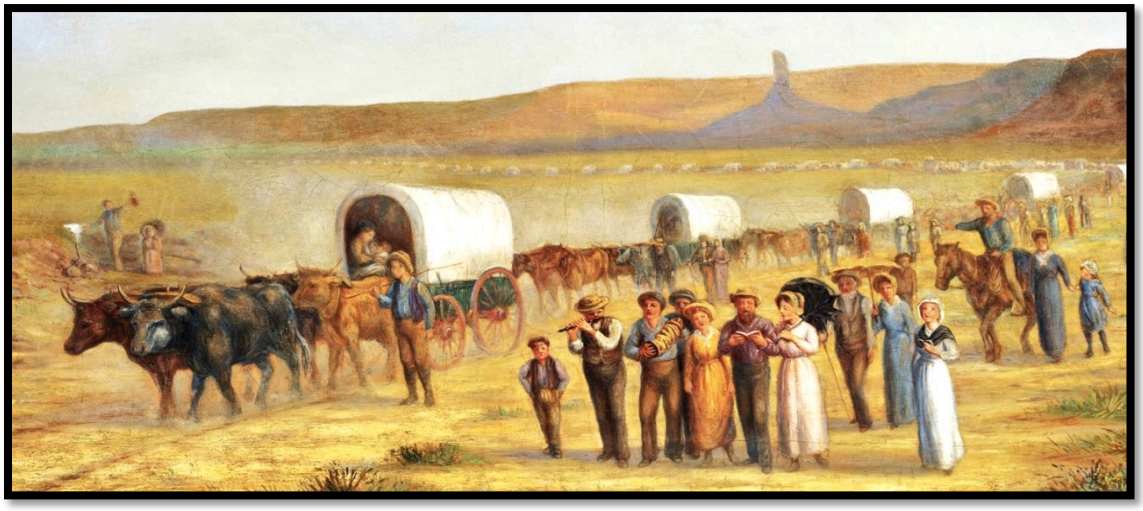

Figure 3.3. George Martin Ottinger, "Away Away to the Mountain Dell: The Valley of the Free Immigrant Train," oil on canvas, *detail view*. The artist's realist depiction of Mormon separatists' journey west identifies the trail corridor as one interwoven with mortality as an integral element. Even alongside the tread of utopian conviction, death plays a defining role, as the improvised burial, *left*, alludes. Raised a Quaker and a Mormon convert, Ottinger himself was no stranger to religious utopian sentiment. (image: Springville Museum of Art)

Cumulatively, G.E. Anderson calls the mortuaryscape within this corridor "the nation's longest graveyard," thereby espousing a notion of mortuary unity throughout the settlement population which eclipsed ethnicity, socio-economic status, and ideological outlook.[58] The poet Cincinnatus Heine Miller captured the sentiment in an equally evocative couplet, published in 1897: "brown'd and russet

[57] "Historical Trails: Dangers." National Oregon/California Trail Center, accessed August 1, 2013. http://www.oregontrailcenter.org/HistoricalTrails/Dangers.htm

[58] G.E. Anderson, "The Nation's Longest Graveyard," *Beyond the Ghosts…,* April 21, 2009, accessed January 19, 2013, http://geanderson.wordpress.com/2009/04/21/the-nations-longest-graveyard.

grasses wave/along a thousand leagues that lie one common grave."[59] More vivid, perhaps, is the dramatic recollection of encountering a mass grave of cholera victims provided by John Hamilton McClure, who made the journey to Oregon in 1853 as a young man:

> *We had not gone far when we saw a mound*
> *Standing perhaps three feet above the ground.*
> *And it must have been twenty feet across.*
> *When we first saw it we were at a loss*
> *To know why this mound should be out there.*
> *But when we were near it we were aware*
> *It was the grave of many, large and small*
> *Who had suddenly died and were buried all*
> *In haste in this mound were covered o'er*
> *With some three feet of dirt or perhaps four…*[60]

The aggregate scale and size of fatality in these reflections seems an especially effective foil for Irene Hecht's depiction of the Keil wagon train as "the longest funeral procession in history."[61]

I believe that mortuary facets of the settlement narrative may well prove invaluable to furthering a humanistic understanding of Americans' historic movement toward a new home, and, likewise, new resting places. Such an approach may smack of undue gloom and tragedy from a distance, yet offers us potential access to an intimate element of the settlement-era experience. It is the living who memorialize the dead; therefore, the trappings of death can have as much to say

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[59] Joaquin Miller, "The Heroes of My West," as quoted in Richard E. Meyer, "Image and Identity in Oregon's Pioneer Cemeteries," in *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures*, eds. Barbara Allen and Thomas J. Schlereth (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992): 91.

[60] John Hamilton McClure, "How We Came To Oregon," typescript poem, MSS 880, Folder 1, Oregon Historical Society Research Library (accessed November 14, 2012): 6.

[61] Irene W.D. Hecht, "The Aurora Colony of Oregon, An American Utopian Society" (paper presented at the Pacific Northwest History Seminar, Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon, Spring 1979), 2.

about the living in their own time, place, and beliefs. Certainly, individual graves and their embellishment (or lack thereof) offer us unique connections to cultural ideology and identity in the past—in some cases many decades beyond the days and labors of the entombed themselves. In their collective study, settlement burial sites may well become instrumental reflections of a distinct national era. In their repose, these witnesses to the transformation of the continent are not silent.

CHAPTER IV

WILLAPA AND THE EXPRESSION OF MORTUARY IDENTITY

The Willie Keil burial site at the transitory Willapa Bay settlement occupies a similarly meaningful position in its surrounding topography (figure 4.1).[62] As seen through the lens of a late-20th century photograph (figure 4.2) and the present, the spot appears to carry more of an ideo-sentimental connotation than an economic one. The sentiment takes no great effort to imagine: this relatively lofty point in the surrounding landscape, with its back nearly to the Pacific tidelands, finally concludes the protracted postmortem journey from Bethel at its December 26, 1855 inhumation. As Will intimates,

> *Keil left us no record… of how the heavy, alcohol-filled, lead-lined casket was finally taken to the top of that beautiful mound—a mound so uniform in shape as to appear man-made. Mules brought the body to Willapa; a sled and patient, enduring oxen may have taken that historic casket to the top of the mound.*[63]

[62] The site has since been ensconced within a wayside stop "heritage area" under Washington State Parks and Recreation purview, covering approximately one-third of an acre on the southern edge of the latter-day State Route 6, between the communities of Menlo and Raymond. This is not to be confused with the larger Willie Keil's Grave State Park to the northwest. With the exception of an unpaved parking area and an oversized wooden State Parks interpretive sign, this symbolic core of the Colony's Willapa chapter has largely been allowed to rejoin the natural ebb and flow of the surrounding landscape.

[63] Notes for "Prelude." Clark Moore Will papers, 1871-1981, Coll. 062, Box 2, Folder 1, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, Oregon, accessed July 30, 2013.

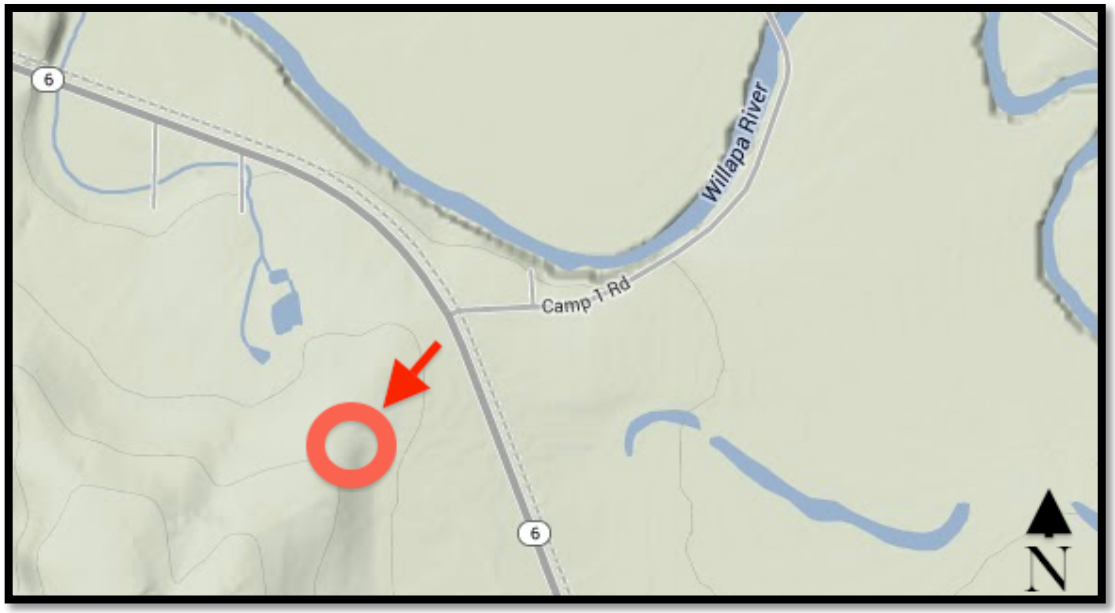

Figure 4.1. Satellite map view of the Willie Keil burial site, near Willapa Bay, in its physical context. The hillside location provides an especially elevated position with respect to the low-lying Willapa River valley locale to the immediate north. (image: Google Maps, 2013; site annotations by author, 2013)

Figure 4.2. Undated photo of the Willie Keil grave site, *western view*, near Menlo, Washington. The hill's crest, into which the grave was dug, offers a commanding view of the terrain to the east. (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society, catalog no. A2007.52.296)

Moreover, the gravity marking the occasion of the younger Keil's long-delayed burial deepens the sacred emphasis placed on site topography. Here, at the end of the new world, at the farthest potential reaches of a western separatist utopia, the metaphorical end and beginning of all of things intermingles on a hilltop. Will and Hendricks also hint at how overtones of this particular graveside service create an enduring link to the hill country traditions of the elder Colony members' European homelands.[64] In particular, Will's research notes repeatedly invoke his Colony forebears' oral tradition pertaining to the familiar Kristkindl Zeit renewal of life service.[65] Taken in conjunction with the time of year, ethnic traditions, and the mortuary context, such references likely point to the old Germanic procession of the Perchts, reassuring the onset of Spring with the expulsion of darkness evil in favor of light and coming good— which saw celebrants "carrying lighted candles gathered about a grave thereby exemplifying a new season of light for the soul…"[66]

The elevated gravesite clearly provides a somber focal point for timeworn ritual, however modified; the hill itself constitutes a tangible expression of an old identity being adapted to suit the emigrant's new circumstances of this challenging

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[64] Notes for "Prelude." Ibid.

[65] "The time of the Christ Child" literally espouses the arrival of light and hope within the darkest time of the year. Evident parallels concerning Willie Keil's youth and the redemptive millennialist hopes of utopia appear too numerous to attribute mere coincidence in the overworked mind of a grieving father, however charismatic. In any event, the emphasis placed upon these Christmastime celebrations seems to have been evident to outsiders, as noted by William Bek. Bek, "German Communistic Society in Missouri," 71-72.

[66] Notes for "Prelude." Ibid. Henry Will's letter to the *Shelby County Herald*, dated January 15, 1930, further recalls the influence of Christmas celebrations in the Bethel Colony as an important enough series of events to merit a 4:00 A.M. performance by the Colony's band. J. Fred Burckhardt's own account suggests that these festivities extended through the New Year. John Frederick Burckhardt, "A Historical Narrative of the Old Bethel Colony," April 1850, Shelby County Historical Society, accessed October 1, 2013, http://shelby.mogenweb.org/Bethel_article_3.pdf.

land.[67] Recognizing the interplay between hill and valley here constituted for the Colony mind a meaningful formation of what Karen S. Kiest calls "real landmarks" in this new settlement locale.[68] "Despite the rigidity of…American land development practices," she writes, "settlers were still able to apply many of their traditional notions of…cemetery location."[69] No less significant to shaping the cultural character of this mortuaryscape was the mourners' reprise of the funerary hymn sung on the eve of departure from Bethel after his death, "Das Grab [The Grave]," accompanied by four of the Colony's musicians at the head of the grave:

Das Grab ist tief und stille
Und schauderhaft sein Rand;
Es deckt mit tiefer Hülle
Ein unbekanntes Land.

Das Lied der Nachtigefallen
Tönt nicht im seinen Schloß,
Der Freundschafts Rosen fallen
Nur auf der Hügels' Moos.

Doch sonst an keinem Arte,
Wohnt die ersehnte Ruh.
Nur durch die dunkle Pforte,
Geht man der Heimat zu.

Das arme Herz hienieden,
Von mancham Sturm bewegt,
Erlangt den wahren Freiden,
Nur woes nicht mer schlägt.

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[67] As a succession of approximately thirty burials later joined Willie Keil's location, the gravesite has also apparently become known as the Giesy Cemetery, further obscuring the original Ludwig Schwader claim surrounding that spot. Schwader and his family remained at Willapa only through the spring of 1856, before continuing on to rejoin the main party at Aurora. Jack M. Fosmark, "Fort Willapa," Aurora Colony Historical Society, http://aurora.pmhclients.com/docs/Willapa_by_Jack_Fosmark.pdf, accessed March 14, 2012.

[68] Kiest, 84.

[69] Ibid.

(This grave is deep and still,
And we shudder at its border;
It covers by a mysterious veil,
An unknown land.

This song is not bitter;
Shout not in His house
Of friendships' fallen roses
Nor of some big deed done.

A little hill, what else
He lives yet rests herein
Not through a dark gate
Does man to Heaven go.

Here below, this poor heart
By many storms beset,
He hoped then for full freedom
Where man works no more.)[70]

If the scene on this "little hill" was in fact one in a pattern of "playing up any [community] happening," as Will suggests, the poignant drama also served a meaningful cultural purpose, which reveals the tension between old- and new-world considerations at work in the same ethnic German community as would bury the dead at Aurora: "Thus was this knoll dedicated to the sacred keeping of Willie Keil… an Old Country burial service which was in frequent practice during the years

[70] Notes on "Das Grab ist Tief und Stille." Clark Moore Will papers, 1871-1981, Coll. 062, Box 2, Folder 1, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, Oregon, accessed July 30, 2013. Perhaps unsurprisingly for the esteem in which Wilhelm Keil has been held in both Colony cosmology and its latter-day scholarship, Will and others appear to have erroneously attributed the authorship of this German Romantic *lied* to Der Gründer himself. In fact, the text of an all-too-similar "Das Grab" is the work of the Swiss librettist Johann Gaudenz Freiherr von Salis-Seewis (1762-1834), often known within a setting by the Austrian composer Franz Schubert (c. 1817, Opus D 569). Hendricks describes how the company's musical educator, Henry Conrad Finck, helped to rehearse the piece on the eve of their departure from Bethel; more than likely, Finck's own classical university education in Germany, among others, provided the exposure necessary to introduce the piece (Hendricks, 53). Curiously, these accounts also omit the piece's original third verse: "Verlass'ne Bräute ringen / Umsonst die Hände wund, Der Waise Klagen dringen / Nicht in der Tiefe Grund."

preceding the great influx of Germans into America in the early 1800's…"[71] The fact that Keil's party quickly abandoned any considerations of long-term homesteading almost on arrival further reinforces the cultural meaning of site topography as one of ideal over maximizing agricultural success.

The burial site at Willapa Bay may serve to broaden our perception of the cultural meaning at work soon after in the Aurora Colony. Though this place is ostensibly well separated in geography, time, and circumstance from its Oregon successor, its mortuaryscape can be seen as a facet of the very same group mindset. As such, these two physical places are interwoven within the interdependent blend of old tradition and circumstance. In particular, the two sites' respective topographies serve to emphasize this ideological relationship, thereby accentuating the relative elevation below the interment as a valuable component of the material culture found above.

[71] Notes on "Das Grab ist Tief und Stille." Ibid.

CHAPTER V

PROBLEM STATEMENT FOR THE APPLICATION MODEL

Much remains unsaid of Aurora cemeteries' material conservation, particularly as a tangible remnant of the collective forces that shaped this distinctive settlement community. Stabilization measures have been taken at various junctures to combat periodic incidents of vandalism and deferred maintenance of select markers, but these inherently defensive measures have proven inadequate as stand-alone preservation methods.[72] Well into the 21st century, material conservation efforts within even small settlement cemetery sites remain a costly, logistically complex, and demanding endeavor, as Gregg G. King notes.[73] King also warns that efforts to retain historic cemetery fabric are often stymied by the fundamental lack of a consistent knowledge base, compounded by the all-too-scarce presence of *trained* professionals in the field.[74] As much is clear in the frustrated indecision that apparently followed in the wake of a Spring 1980 wave of vandalism in the Aurora Colony Cemetery, in which a total of 67 markers (nearly a tenth of those surviving) were reportedly toppled or damaged by unknown perpetrators.[75]

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[72] Jessie Lie Farber, "Early American Gravestones: *Introduction to the Farber Collection*" (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2003), 16-18.

[73] Gregg G. King, *Michigan Historic Cemeteries Preservation Guide* (Canton, MI: McNaughton and Gunn, 2004): 18-25. At present, the market cost of professional dry stone repair for a single monument can easily surpass $1000. Similar work spread across the markers of even a small site quickly exceeds the reach of a great many municipal or non-profit budgets. That little to no money is spent at all across countless settlement–era cemeteries is often as much a reflection of local fiscal capacity as the relative priority assigned to their care.

[74] King, 5.

[75] "Vandals Hit Cemetery; Citizens Offer Reward," *Canby Herald*, May 14, 1980; Later clean-up efforts by Boy Scout Troop 45 are also noted in a *Herald* article from March 9, 1988.

The material culture contained within a related, privately owned Aurora site, the 1856 Keil Family Cemetery, has been a fortunate but rare enough exception to this type of depredation. Despite a far more isolated location northeast of the Aurora Colony Cemetery, the extant markers within have benefitted from the development of a formal preservation plan in 2000 (figure 5.1).[76] While documentation of this admirable caliber certainly helps to focus triage efforts to combat the decline of select elite markers and context, its scope cannot be considered sufficient to speak for much more than a small, charismatic minority of the settlement's earlier entombments.[77] Meanwhile, the knowledge available among the slopes and stones of the primary Colony cemetery site continues to slip from intelligible view – in some cases being literally swallowed up by the surrounding hills to join the entombed beneath (figure 5.2).

Voices for the Dead: Preservation Concerns in Aurora's Mortuary Context

On the whole, the challenge of promoting and maintaining *public* interest in the conservation and preservation of cemeteries remains one largely unanswered throughout the western United States.[78] To this end, it is worth noting that the 1978 statewide agency cemetery survey appears to have ambiguously identified the

[76] "A Preservation Plan: The Keil Family Cemetery, Aurora, Oregon." Prepared for The Aurora Colony Historical Society (Hood River, OR: Donovan and Associates, 2000). The site itself can still be found on rural ground at 45°14'11"N, 122°45'43"W, bordered by pasture, and is accessible by a right-of-way NE Cole Lane, held by the Aurora Colony Historical Society.

[77] *Capital Journal* (Salem, Oregon), April 6, 1959, and March 19, 1960.

[78] Strangstad, 8-11.

Aurora Colony Cemetery site as the "Aurora Community aka IOOF Cemetery," which in fact is located *east* of town, southeast of the intersection of S. Lone Elder and S. Meridian Roads.[79] Moreover, the site was also omitted altogether from the 1973 Aurora Colony Historic District boundaries.[80] That the Colony itself kept few written records of any kind, as historians have acknowledged, certainly exacerbates this reality.[81] As with countless other historic burial sites across the Oregon, preservation interests supported by the local Cemetery Association and statewide Oregon Commission on Historic Cemeteries (OCHC) at Aurora could benefit substantially from renewed attempts to better understand such sites.

Figure 5.1. The Keil Family Cemetery, *east view*, as seen from its farm lane right-of-way today. Conservation efforts have both helped acknowledge and stabilize some of the information available within its historical context, including site boundaries, grave coping, symbolic vegetation, and marker stabilization and repair. (photo: author, 2013)

[79] Robert Gormsen et al, "Oregon Cemetery Survey," (Salem, OR: Oregon Department of Transportation, 1978), 131.

[80] National Register of Historic Places, Aurora Colony Historic District, Aurora, Marion County, Oregon, 1973, National Register #74001696, Resource #22.

[81] Bek, 104; Nordhoff, 315.

Figure 5.2. A fallen fragment from the shattered tablet of Frederich Keil (I-D-4), *detail view*, whose intricately carved "Hochdeutsch" script has nearly slipped from view altogether. From a preservation standpoint, such attrition in material integrity not only denies the marker's fundamental ability to provide a lasting memorial to the dead but also denies its ability to inform the depth and breadth of its users' historical and cultural narrative. (image: author, 2012)

The Historic Cemetery as a Cultural Document

Yet informed historic preservation strategies can still aid in retaining and vouchsafing the individual and collective identity expressed in these burials through frameworks of inventory, mapping, and other archivally stable media. Although successful applications of these tools are too numerous to describe here in sufficient depth, one especially rich instance now available is the Farber Gravestone Collection.[82] This work chronicles, in depth, more than 9,000 markers throughout

[82] Farber, "Early American Gravestones: *Introduction to the Farber Collection,*" 3-5.

the American Northeast, with in excess of 13,000 digitally archived images curated by the American Antiquarian Society and David Rumsey's Cartography Associates online database. Recent studies have, as well, been conducted to demonstrate the virtual possibilities of linking analytical methodologies among material culture disciplines. John D.M. Arnold's application of building information modeling (BIM) in non-invasive approaches to buildings archaeology and historic preservation serves as an inspiring example in this area.[83] Despite the implicit learning curve and their evolving nature, such digital tools continue to increase the flexibility and expressive potential of multi-dimensional recordation and historical interpretation. These approaches illuminate some of the many possibilities yet needed in furthering the study of the historic American mortuaryscape. That they exist at the potential heart of a nexus among the disciplines of historical architecture, historical archaeology, and historic preservation serves to suggest these fields' multidisciplinary or even interdisciplinary relationship within the historic cemetery.

With careful observation, suggests Richard E. Meyer, we may see in the ethnic cemetery "in effect, open cultural texts, there to be read and appreciated by anyone who takes the time to learn a bit of their special language."[84] The present study, then, does not merely seek to augment the assembled knowledge of Aurora's narrative with a contextual analysis of its cemeteries' embedded meaning; instead, it offers a renewed advocacy for the unique sense of place within these historic

[83] John D.M. Arnold, "Exploring the Utility of B.I.M. in Buildings Archaeology: A Case Study at the Historic Briggs House, Springfield, Oregon." (M.S. thesis, University of Oregon, 2013).

[84] Richard E. Meyer, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Ethnic Cemeteries in America," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 3.

cultural landscapes as an enduring expression of the Aurora Colony's legacy. In essence, the Aurora Colony Cemetery is treated in this study as a cultural artifact. At its core, its increasingly brittle context shrouds the precarious survival of the last tangible traces of identity for many of the less celebrated Colony members.

Although not a perfect substitute for *in situ* conservation, the fruits of material culture analysis can still offer a valuable and perhaps equally stable practice in the accounting of Aurora's cultural legacy. Geo-spatial mapping of ethnic cemetery sites, classification of gravemarker morphologies and style, and detailed depictions of individual monument inscription are common tools within site-focused preservation recordation in settlement sites. Notable examples including these components vary broadly, ranging from those created under the auspices of public agency programs to others developed within private-sector projects. Of the former, the 1937 Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) documentation of the early 19th century German Lutheran Church near Waldoboro, Maine, includes a topographic scale of the graveyard at five-foot intervals and notations of select inscription detail:

"GRAVE STONE ABOVE – CONRAY HEYER – FIRST WHITE CHILD
BORN IN WALDOBORO –
BORN APRIL 10 1745 – DIED FEBRUARY 15 1856 –
AGE 106 YEARS 10 MONTHS 3 DAYS."[85]

The aforementioned 2000 Keil Cemetery preservation plan provides a relevant example of a private-sector deliverable, including a scaled site map noting unique

[85] Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, "German Lutheran Church, State Route 32, Waldoboro, Lincoln County, Maine." HABS ME-8-WABO-1. (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1937): Sheet 1.

features such as the shape of select family members' round-headed grave coping, notable site vegetation, a summary of marker texts, and their basic spatial orientation (figure 5.3). In addition, a catalog of unconfirmed authorship, ca. 1973, alphabetizing more than 700 extant Colony Cemetery marker names, exists within the Aurora Colony Historical Society archives,[86] signaling another approach in the shared quest to extract and safeguard cultural texts with various forms of media (figure 5.4).[87]

Less frequently do resources exist that address a combined approach to these components— that is, forms of recordation with both geo-spatial context *and* the subtle detail contained in other tangible characteristics. Textual inscription provides an obvious enough source of information. Yet the marker's form, stylistic ornament, and other grave décor may bring into rich focus its users' relationship with distinguishing elements of time, culture, ideology, and place, as well as collective patterns of variation and consistency. The Waldoboro survey, for instance, limits its direct discussion of the mortuary context; for example, one of the defining features of the site, the interments themselves, are relegated to zoning descriptions such as "GRAVE-YARD" and "WOODED SLOPE." In total, mapping and data pages

[86] Joseph Conley, comp. "Aurora Cemetery, Aurora, Oregon," (Aurora, OR: Joseph Conley, 1973), 108-125. The photocopy of this manuscript found in the Aurora Colony Historical Society archives appears to have been made in 1984. This catalog has since been partially digitized through the efforts of Carolyn Golowka within the USGenWeb archives for Oregon, as a part of "Marion County Cemetery Records." (http://files.usgwarchives.net/or/marion/cemeteries/aurora-a-old.txt)

[87] Donovan and Associates, 3-4. Archival research suggests that a similar effort appears to have been attempted for Keil Cemetery marker inscriptions, under the aegis of a 1982 Scout service project. Mark F. Peterson, letter to Eagle Review Board, Cascade Area Council, Boy Scouts of America, March 18, 1982, Aurora Colony Historical Society, Aurora, Oregon.

note the existence of only two of the hundreds of historic granite and limestone monuments crisscrossing the site, with no discussion of their material character.

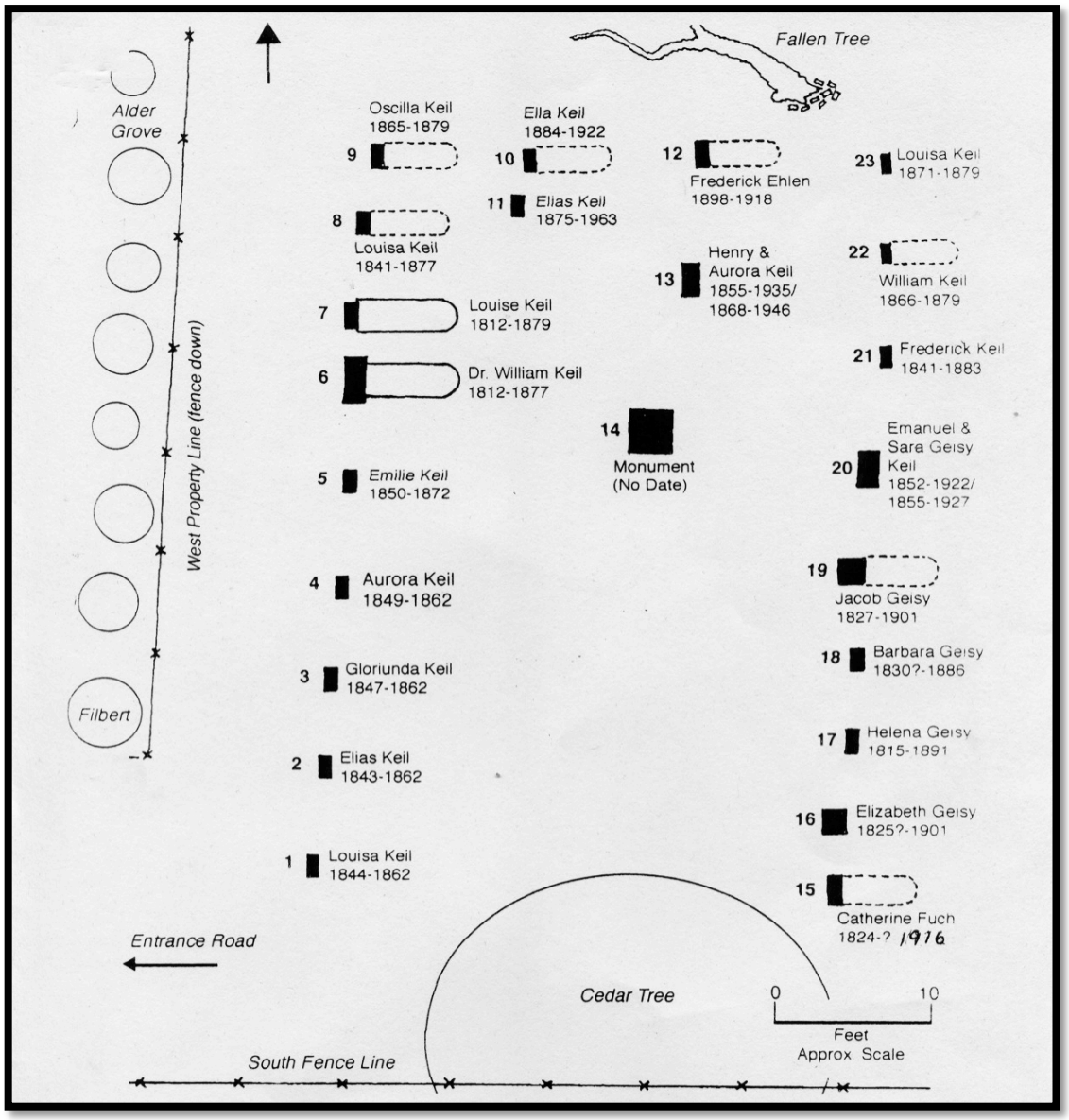
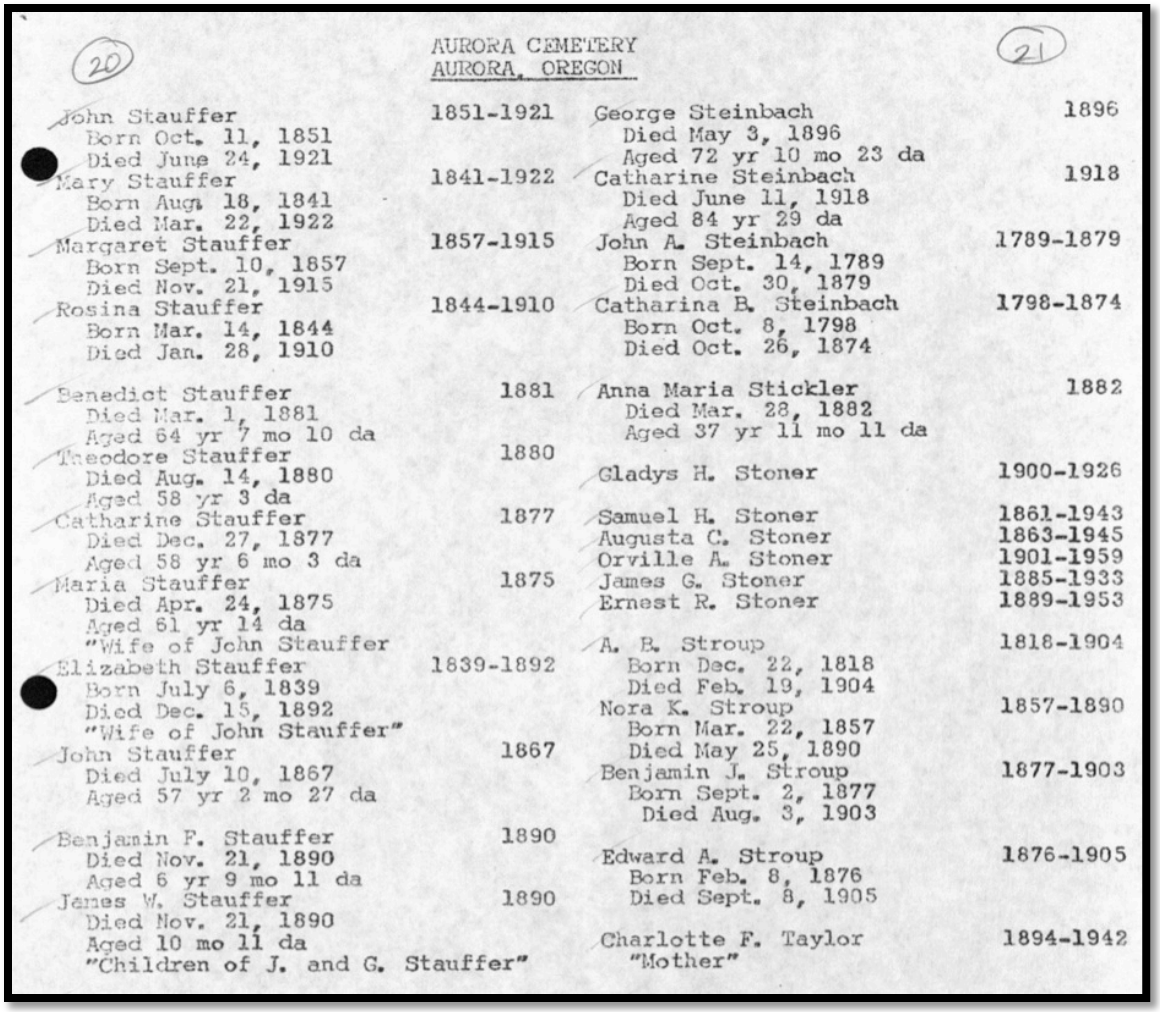


Figure 5.3. Facsimile of the November 2000 map displaying locations of Keil Family Cemetery graves, as drawn to scale for the cemetery's preservation plan. Note the basic identification of marker massing and grave numbering. Keil's daughter Aurora, a casualty of the 1862 smallpox outbreak and the settlement's own namesake, was buried here in, *lower left.* (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society)



(20)

AURORA CEMETERY
AURORA, OREGON

(21)

John Stauffer
Born Oct. 11, 1851
Died June 24, 1921
1851-1921

Mary Stauffer
Born Aug. 18, 1841
Died Mar. 22, 1922
1841-1922

Margaret Stauffer
Born Sept. 10, 1857
Died Nov. 21, 1915
1857-1915

Rosina Stauffer
Born Mar. 14, 1844
Died Jan. 28, 1910
1844-1910

Benedict Stauffer
Died Mar. 1, 1881
Aged 64 yr 7 mo 10 da
1881

Theodore Stauffer
Died Aug. 14, 1880
Aged 58 yr 3 da
1880

Catharine Stauffer
Died Dec. 27, 1877
Aged 58 yr 6 mo 3 da
1877

Maria Stauffer
Died Apr. 24, 1875
Aged 61 yr 14 da
"Wife of John Stauffer
1875

Elizabeth Stauffer
Born July 6, 1839
Died Dec. 15, 1892
"Wife of John Stauffer"
1839-1892

John Stauffer
Died July 10, 1867
Aged 57 yr 2 mo 27 da
1867

Benjamin F. Stauffer
Died Nov. 21, 1890
Aged 6 yr 9 mo 11 da
1890

James W. Stauffer
Died Nov. 21, 1890
Aged 10 mo 11 da
"Children of J. and G. Stauffer"
1890

George Steinbach
Died May 3, 1896
Aged 72 yr 10 mo 23 da
1896

Catharine Steinbach
Died June 11, 1918
Aged 84 yr 29 da
1918

John A. Steinbach
Born Sept. 14, 1789
Died Oct. 30, 1879
1789-1879

Catharina B. Steinbach
Born Oct. 8, 1798
Died Oct. 26, 1874
1798-1874

Anna Maria Stickler
Died Mar. 28, 1882
Aged 37 yr 11 mo 11 da
1882

Gladys H. Stoner
1900-1926

Samuel H. Stoner 1861-1943
Augusta C. Stoner 1863-1945
Orville A. Stoner 1901-1959
James G. Stoner 1885-1933
Ernest R. Stoner 1889-1953

A. B. Stroup
Born Dec. 22, 1818
Died Feb. 19, 1904
1818-1904

Nora K. Stroup
Born Mar. 22, 1857
Died May 25, 1890
1857-1890

Benjamin J. Stroup
Born Sept. 2, 1877
Died Aug. 3, 1903
1877-1903

Edward A. Stroup
Born Feb. 8, 1876
Died Sept. 8, 1905
1876-1905

Charlotte F. Taylor
"Mother"
1894-1942

Figure 5.4. Excerpt from Joseph Conley's compiled copy of the Colony cemetery's alphabetical burial register. (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society)

Conversely, Aurora's alphabetized catalog is problematic in its divorce of inscriptions' text from their context. Little different from a picture taken of a cornice without its building as a reference, this otherwise well-intended record inadvertently neglects the spatial relationship of markers with their landscape and each other. Moreover, reducing markers to bare inscription enjoins the reader to look upon textual information as the exclusively valuable facet of memorialization. To do so risks taking these objects purely at face value, nearly eschewing

interpretation altogether. Rather, augmenting an inclusive view of the cultural landscape, historic cemetery recordation should foster a visual literacy with typology, symbol, and context, in addition to face-value inscription and epitaph. In doing so, latter-day observers may better acknowledge, and ultimately understand the connective tissue within what Michel Ragon has called death's "network of places and objects, with its allegories and symbols, its signs and its reference points…"[88] If ethnic cemeteries in the Pacific Northwest are indeed "largely untapped" as evolving pattern texts of culture, as Meyer argues, attention must be paid to sustaining the information found within the reference point itself.[89]

The Mortuaryscape as an Inclusive Context

Inclusive views frequently inform the very contextual layers relied upon by cultural landscape professionals in their consideration of rural historic sites (figure 5.5).[90] The ability to orient such detailed layers of information within more macroscopic treatments of historic resources becomes increasingly valuable as the depredations of nature and vandalism take their continued toll in obscuring their identity. In the hope of perpetuating and propagating recordation of this knowledge beyond a cemetery site itself, larger and sometimes more distant research

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[88] Michel Ragon, *L'espace de la mort: Essai sur l'architecture, la décoration, et l'urbanisme funéraires (The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism)*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 21; quoted in Meyer, *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 3.

[89] Meyer, "Strangers in a Strange Land," 3.

[90] Robert Z. Melnick, *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1984): 17.

repositories should be considered an integral part of its preservation effort.[91] The burgeoning archival capacity and stability of the University of Oregon's Digital Collections and Oregon Historic Sites Database, for instance, stand as appealing regional possibilities in the case of Aurora. The inverse relationship of decreasing financial cost and increasing efficiency in the proliferation of software technology and training may prove useful to this end, providing enhanced ease of rich media documentation and archival growth. This study leans heavily upon the most basic of these (including digital photography and commonplace graphic design), but seeks to encourage the broader implementation of more sophisticated means and professional-level skills in the heritage conservation of mortuary landscapes.

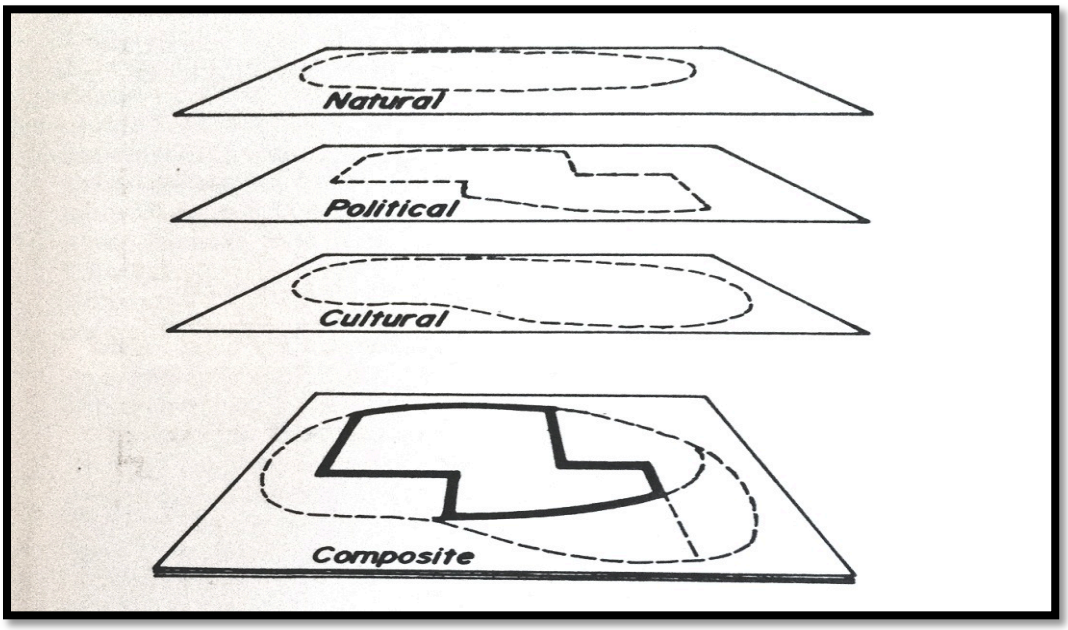

Figure 5.5. Melnick's model for identifying qualitative components in quantifying rural historic sites. Such concepts may aid in conceptualizing mortuaryscape context. (image: Robert Melnick)

[91] Possibilities of more virtual means of storage and interpretation are also growing rapidly today, as in the case of online "cloud" storage; perhaps the opportunity to incorporate such data into a mobile device application, or "apps," might also emerge in the near future.

A willingness to interface avenues of inquiry also provides multidisciplinary flexibility in exploring the mortuaryscape, both as an archaeological artifact and as an evolving resource in the historical continuum. All too disparate treatments of these two resource types continue to signal the frustratingly persistent chasm between archaeologists' and historians' conception of the artifact, as Perrin suggests.[92] Although this conflict has perhaps been seen most commonly in terms of historic built resources, Arnold notes, approaches concerning mortuary resources appear similarly divided at ground level.[93] Likewise, many historic preservationists continue to pursue architectonic site recordation and conservation exclusive of the pursuit of meaning. In an attempt to acknowledge the validity of *both* realms, this study considers the Aurora Colony Cemetery as an opportunity to utilize strengths found within a material culture analysis approach, as guided by a contextually aware, preservation ethic.

The subsequent "contextual analysis" developed in this study endeavors to communicate an expression of evolving community identity in the Aurora communalist settlement. From the early years of settlement after 1856, the period of study extends to the twilight years of its offspring by 1920.[94] The analytical

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[92] T. Michael Perrin, "'Archaeology as a Science' vs. 'Archaeology as a Humanity': Finding Common Ground." (paper presented at the University of Leicester, Leicester, United Kingdom, August 25, 2012) : 2-9.

[93] Arnold, 9.

[94] This date range likewise identifies the period of significance ascribed to the Aurora Colony Historic District, which recognizes the influence of "second generation" community activities beyond the Colony's formal lifespan. Paul B. Hartwig and Dale Morrow, Aurora Colony Historic District, Marion County, Oregon, National Register of Historic Places nomination document (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1974), 8.

approach itself relies upon the collection of a new body of primary data, gathered through a detail-oriented field survey, in addition to archival research, with the aim of developing an understanding of Colony members' reaction to mortality on their own communalist frontier. Attending to the lasting memorialization of these Aurora dead highlights how their community responded to extralocal forces of change, as they sought to carve an enduring legacy of cohesion through their mutual faith.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORIOGRAPHY & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Like many settlement-era communities, the Aurora Colony is replete with fascination for the historian. Still tucked into a wooded niche of Willamette Valley, its remnants bear witness to the peculiar German utopian settlement that flowered and faded there over a quarter century, from 1856 to 1882. A handful of surviving period buildings huddle in and near the present-day city of Aurora, having evaded the depredations of modern development and infrastructure. These agrarian fragments of the settlement's built environment continue to invite curiosity for their aesthetic charm, ideological association, and antique commerce, but the obscured visibility of colony historical fabric and its resulting contextual ambiguity have undercut stalwart preservation efforts. Meanwhile, the pursuit of documentary and artifact conservation on the part of the local historical society, housed nearby in a renovated period ox barn, remains both admirably dedicated and underutilized. In short, the challenge of illuminating the tangible legacy of the Colony invites a renewed examination of its cultural landscape beyond the contents of its buildings and archives alone.[95]

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[95] Notable among studies of the Colony's documentary and architectural patrimony are the following: William G. Bek, "The Community at Bethel, Missouri, and its Offspring at Aurora, Oregon," *German American Annals* 7 (1909): 257-276, and "From Bethel, Missouri to Aurora, Oregon: Letters of William Keil, 1855-1870," *Missouri Historical Review* 48 (1953): 23-41; Philip Dole, "The Aurora Colony," in *Space, Style and Structure: Building in Northwest America*, ed. Thomas Vaughn (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society, 1974), and "Aurora Colony Architecture: Building in a Nineteenth-Century Cooperative Society," *Oregon History Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (Winter 1991/1992): 377-416; Ione Juanita Beale Harkness, "Certain Settlements of Oregon." (Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1925); Paul B. Hartwig and Dale Morrow, *Aurora Colony Historic District, Marion County, Oregon,* National Register of Historic Places nomination document (Washington, D.C.: National Park

To Lean Over the Grave: Making the Leap from Object to Users

The Aurora Colony Cemetery, situated barely more than a mile southwest of the city center off of Ehlen Road (figures 6.1-6.2), inspires just such a pursuit.[96] As an extant nineteenth-century mortuary landscape, it enables an object-oriented approach to the study of the community's views of death. More than a century removed from its original period of Colony affiliation and use, however, the original population of users can no longer directly speak on behalf of the locally-associated meaning. As well, the ethical restrictions placed upon archaeological practices within cemetery sites limits the access of its information to the aboveground realm of material culture. As James Deetz observes, "Paradoxically, it is in the place where we are most assured that something of interest is buried, that it is least desirable or necessary for us to dig."[97] Although such practical limitations clearly shape a

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Service, 1974); James J. Kopp, "The Dawn of Utopia in Oregon: The Aurora Colony," in *Eden Within Eden: Oregon's Utopian Heritage* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2009) and "Novel Views of the Aurora Colony," 166-193; Rick Minor and Jill A. Chappel, *"An Excellent, Clean Country Inn:" History and Archaeology at the Aurora Colony Hotel Site, Marion County, Oregon*, Heritage Research Associates Report No. 200 (Eugene, OR: Heritage Research Associates, Inc., 1997); Rick Minor, Linda K. Jacobs, and Theresa M. Tilton, *The Stauffer-Will Farmstead: Historical Archaeology At An Aurora Colony Farm* (Eugene, OR: University of Oregon Department of Anthropology, 1981); Charles Nordhoff, "An Eyewitness Account of the Aurora Colony," in *The Communistic Societies of the United States* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1875); John Elbert Simon, "Wilhelm Keil: Founder of Aurora." (Master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1935); Robert P. Sutton, *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Religious Communities, 1732-2000* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003): 37-66; Snyder, *Aurora, Their Last Utopia: Oregon's Christian Commune, 1856-1883*; Clark M. Will, *The Story of Old Aurora in Picture and Prose, 1856-1883* (Salem, OR: Panther Printing, 1972).

[96] At present, some municipalities have begun to document and inventory historic cemetery sites within the broader aegis of geographic information system (GIS) mapping inventories; DuPage County, Illinois, Boone County, Kentucky, and Montgomery County, Maryland, all offer examples of this informational utility. Yet similar measures currently address only a minority of those sites extant within Pacific Northwest settlement landscapes.

[97] Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, "Eighteenth Century Cemeteries: A Demographic View," *Historical Archaeology* 1 (1967): 40. Although subsurface studies conducted in Oregon's settlement-era burial sites have successfully utilized material culture analysis in illuminating its mortuaryscape, such as Thomas J. Connolly, et al, "Archaeology of a Pioneer Family Cemetery in Western Oregon,"

respectful approach to the site as a cultural resource, they also prompt an attentive consideration of the site's aboveground assets.

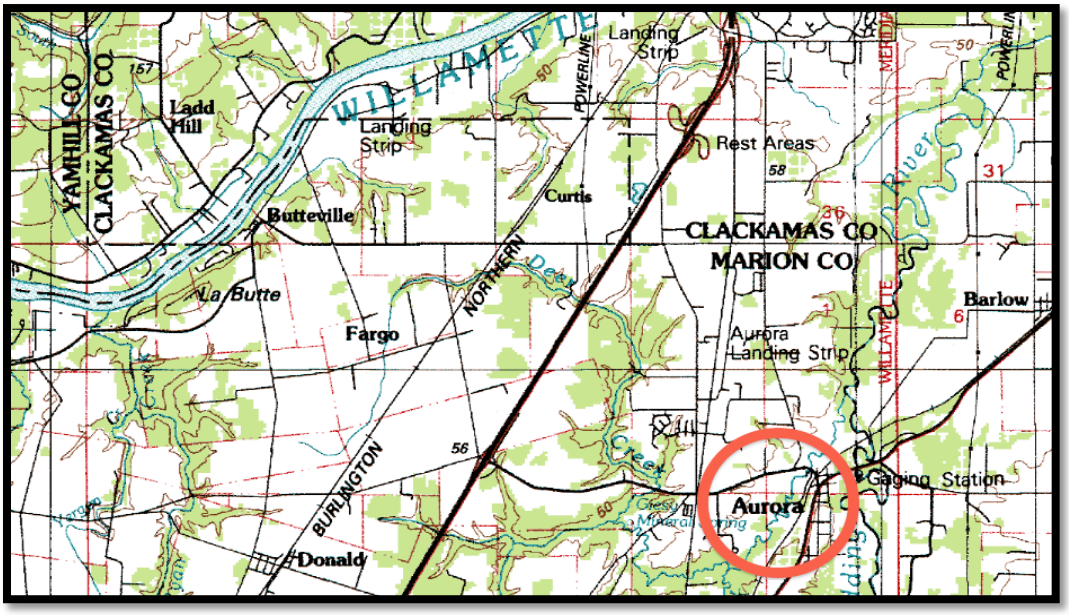

Figure 6.1. Survey map, *detail view*, showing the Aurora locale in its Willamette Valley context. (image: United States Geological Survey, 1982)

Figure 6.2. Overlay of modern road network with the 1878 Edgar Williams & Company map of Marion County, No. 1. Cemetery location is annotated with an arrow. (image: Historic MapWorks, 2013)

Historical Archaeology 44, no. 4 (2010): 28-45, the ethical and bureaucratic implications of burial site excavation certainly reinforce Deetz's sentiment.

A suitable framework for the treatment of material culture, then, requires the scholar to extend somehow the observer's relationship with grave markers into a realm in which the object imparts meaning on behalf of its community. The observer's capacity to study these objects, argues Bernard L. Herman, derives from "the sense that environments that humans perceive, occupy or affect are somehow 'touched' in a lasting way that incorporates cultural attitudes and social relationships."[98] Though clearly placed in the landscape with conviction and intent, these objects remain firmly inanimate, even coldly distant. Placing such items in a museum context for curation is a frequent enough solution, yet also problematic. Such a context can all too easily skew or even erase an artifact's relationship to its setting, and subsequently, its ability to communicate important meaning. How, then, can we effectively peer into the dynamic story of an intact cultural assembly as its users might have?

Preservationists and historians, like archaeologists and folklorists, must grapple with the challenge of how to make the leap into the collective mind of a community—specific to its place and time—from contextualized objects in the cemetery. To this end, Susan Garfinkel has advocated moving beyond the scholarly tendency to fixate upon the "itemness" of an object, and instead take up the notion of an artifact's everyday "performance" as it pertains to the shared meaning created

[98] Bernard L. Herman, "Historical Archaeology and the Search for Context," Introduction to *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, eds. Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 23.

through its *use*.[99] Performance, she contends, expresses the inherent artifactual "competence" of historical architecture, communicating the "knowledge of shared but heretofore unwritten rules governing the creation of houses" within its historical context.[100] This study applies a performance-oriented analysis to the Aurora Colony Cemetery site, exploring the manner in which artifactual identity in the settlement's mortuary landscape was communicated and understood within the knowledgeable community of its historical users.

Garfinkel's approach helps to delineate the way in which the "situated" and "emergent" contexts of a locale plays an integral role in informing artifactual performance, alongside function and symbol. The pre-established circumstances into which an object arrives constitute its situated context, whereas the emergent context develops through the same object's influence on surrounding circumstances. Here, she adopts Richard Schirner's notion of the "twice-behaved," emphasizing a performance "not fully owned by the person or persons who are doing it."[101] This interdependent relationship between actor and viewer within a situated context, Garfinkel reminds us, "is rehearsed, practiced, and/or requires training…marked or framed in a way that is recognized by an audience."[102]

The common tendency to approach cemetery sites purely as an expression or possession of the inhumed dead belies this community's interdependence. Rather, I

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[99] Susan Garfinkel, "Recovering Performance of Vernacular Architecture Studies," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13, no. 2 (2006/2007): 106.

[100] Garfinkel, 107.

[101] Garfinkel, 109.

[102] Ibid.

believe that consideration of the Colony Cemetery's material culture must draw upon the question of what its mortuary landscape *meant* to "individual members of a concensus-driven, belief-based religious group" in assessing how the cemetery site reflected the settlement's ultimate dissolution and acculturation.[103] In doing so exists the ability, Meyer reasons, "to grapple with their messages, and ultimately, to unlock their meanings."[104] In these artifacts linger their voices.

Historiographical Elements from the American Northeast

Artifact-centered studies of American mortuary resources have varied in breadth and depth across the scholarly spectrum. Perhaps the most enduring analytical precedent exists in the work of historical archaeologists Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, in particular their 1960s examinations of cultural change and diffusion in the 18th century mortuary art within the Anglo-American cemeteries of northern New England.[105] Their use of seriation methods to unite the tightly controlled data available in localized headstones' symbolic motifs, epitaphs, and other typologies illuminate the historic cemetery as a built or constructed document of human intentions and embedded meaning— as much for the user as the maker.[106] Seriation – in this case the relative chronological ordering of artifacts by mortuary

[103] Garfinkel, 108.

[104] Meyer, "So Witty as to Speak," in *Cemeteries & Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1989), 1.

[105] Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," *American Antiquity* 31, no. 4 (1966): 502-510; "Eighteenth Century Cemeteries: A Demographic View," *Historical Archaeology* 1 (1967): 40-42.

[106] Kathryn Crabtree and Eugene Prince, "James Fantod Deetz (1930-2000)," *Markers* 15 (2002): 1-11; James Deetz. *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor, 1996).

art types – allowed Deetz and Dethlefsen to trace horizons of social and ideological change in cemeteries' communities; their "sequence of universal styles," 1680-1820, emphasized the orderly ascension of tympanum motifs such as the resulting article's namesake imagery.[107]

This method of analysis continues to provide inspiration for a myriad of colonial inventory efforts to interpret aboveground material culture, particularly as expressions of social and religious forces.[108] Among these, Baugher and Winter's effort reflects the application of Deetz's model to the ethnographic and demographic data found within New York's early Anglo-Dutch cemeteries. This work acknowledges the persistent problem of bridging "the gap between the material manifestations and their cultural source," while simultaneously cautioning against adopting purely ideological attributions for the presence of change in cemetery motifs.[109] Dethlefsen later expanded his own enthnographic examination of markers to the Southeast, specifically a selection of twentieth-century sites in north-central Florida.[110]

Other scholars pursue object-oriented studies of the carver's craft within the early American burying ground and its cultural landscape. Ian W. Brown offers a stylistic analysis of this sort, addressing the work of the Joseph Lamson family of

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[107] Dethlefsen and Deetz, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees," 504-506.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Sherene Baugher and Frederick A. Winter: "Early American Gravestones: Archaeological Perspectives of Three Cemeteries of Old New York," *Archaeology* 36, no. 5 (September/October 1983): 46-53.

[110] Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethnographic Perspective," in *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us*, eds. Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 137-159.

carvers within 17th and 18th century cemetery patterning in New England.[111] Interestingly, his use of the phrase "Lamson Products at Watertown" implies how subtle variations in stylistic motifs constitute a vocabulary as commercial and popular as it is aesthetic.[112] Herein, he cites Harriette M. Forbes' 1927 early precedent in illuminating the humanist element of the region's principal carvers, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them: 1653-1800.* Yet Brown notes that it fell to Deetz to actually investigate patterns of cultural process and visual change.[113] Clearly, few approaches to the material culture of cemeteries to date can be separated from Deetz's achievements by many degrees. Publications throughout the Association for Gravestones Studies (AGS) annual journal, *Markers*, since 1980, as well as the 1976 meeting of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, themed "Puritan Gravestone Art," suggest continuing activity to this effect.[114]

Expansion of Geographic and Chronological Scope

Historian James Hijiya also acknowledges the weight of this influential cadre across the intervening decades, citing related studies of the colonial and Puritan on

[111] Ian W. Brown, "The Lamson-Carved Gravestones of Watertown, Massachusetts," in *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz,* ed. Anne E. Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry (Boca Raton, FL: CRC, 1992): 165-191.

[112] Brown, 171.

[113] Brown, 165-66, 189.

[114] Dublin Seminar for New England, *Puritan Gravestone Art*, ed. Peter Benes (Dublin, NH: Boston University and the Dublin Seminar, 1977).

both sides of the Atlantic.[115] His own assembly of a six-fold morphological timeline for mortuary style brought a nationwide scope to cemeteries' ongoing visual change. Extending well into the 20th century, his model categorizes successive periods from 1640, as each relates to a "main attitude toward death" on the part of its users: "Resignation," "Awe," "Confidence," "Mourning," "Defiance," and "Ignorance."[116] Collectively, these identifiers help reinforce Hijiya's contention that the flowering of horizontal social relationships within 19th century mortuary imagery allowed a human emphasis to supersede the vertical transcendence manifested in earlier, traditional depictions of Christian eschatology.[117] Dethlefsen contributes a similar era-oriented approach, though he places more stress on broad infrastructural forces—"The Civil War Period," "The Industrial Expansion Period," "The 'Reform' Period," and so forth.[118] Furthermore, Hijiya's discussion of gravestone study recognizes a lingering "geographic malapportionment" within the nation:

> *Not much information about American gravestones outside of the Northeast, especially New England, is readily available…and, to the best of my knowledge, no explorer has ever brought back reports of gravemarkers in Oregon. Despite recent studies of cemeteries in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, much of the country remains*

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[115] James A. Hijiya, "American Gravestones and Attitudes Toward Death," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 127, no. 5 (October 14, 1983): 339. Additional sources pertinent to the author's consideration, related through this discussion, include James S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Detroit, MI: Partridge, 1972); Milton McGatch, *Death: Meaning and Mortality in Christian Thought and Contemporary Culture* (New York: Seabury, 1969); as well as Charles O. Jackson, ed., *Passing: The Vision of Death in America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977).

[116] Hijiya, 341. Although such singular identifiers may well appear overly generalized, Hijiya's text does well to account for the subtleties and complex influences responsible for the rise of this stylistic imagery. His ostensibly bold temporal projection of the model's final category to the year 2001, little short of a quarter-century beyond its publication, appears to have been a rather apt prediction for the interim period.

[117] Hijiya, 354.

[118] Dethlefsen, 150-157.

> terra incognito*. Therefore, when I mention "American" gravestone carving, I am likely to be equating six or seven states with America. If such an equation provokes objection, at least it ought to stimulate research and publication on the stones of hitherto neglected regions.*[119]

In the interim between Hijiya's publication and the present, a number of studies has emerged to help to address these "neglected regions" in a variety of capacities. Notable among these is the work of Richard E. Meyer, whose writing on "Image and Identity in Oregon's Pioneer Cemeteries" emphasizes the pioneer experience of arduous hardship as a common thematic denominator in an overview of the mortuary art within Pacific Northwest settlement cemeteries.[120] Additionally, Meyer's analysis of logging art within Pacific northwestern cemeteries offers a compelling visual awareness of how a regional historical context is illuminated through "speaking stones" in the mortuary landscape.[121] While providing a broad overview of Anglo-American mortuary resources, H.C. Mytum also provides a rich sense of the components at work in identifying and interpreting cultural forces at work in the cemetery.[122] Mallios and Caterino also apply cultural patterning

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[119] Hijiya, 340.

[120] Richard E. Meyer, "Image and Identity in Oregon's Pioneer Cemeteries," in *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures*, eds. Barbara Allen and Thomas J. Schelereth (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992): 88-102.

[121] Meyer, "Images of Logging on Contemporary Pacific Northwest Gravemarkers," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (Logan, UT: Utah State University, 1992): 61-85, 82.

[122] H.C. Mytum, *Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period* (New York: Kluwer, 2004), 43-49, 65-69, 75-81, 116-123, 147, 171-182.

concepts to an exploration of "spatially controlled stylistic evolutions" in California's San Diego County cemeteries, as recently as 2007.[123]

An aptly named contemporary, Thomas Graves, has helped to distinguish ethnic separateness of eastern German-American settlement markers, adhering to both visual and textual components as focal points of his study.[124] Herman also contributes a study of early German-American headstones as memorials "implicated in larger skeins of object meanings linked to the lands of the living— houses, furniture, dress, and manners."[125] Within the context of Evangelical Lutheran churchyards of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Herman conceptualizes these markers specifically as object-texts, functioning as components within a living field of conversational folklore; his interpretive approach to reconstructing the graveside implicitly returns to a performance-oriented analysis to material culture.[126] Performance-based analysis, then, can be understood as more than an intellectual exercise; in fact, it offers a potent means of animating the gravemarker as a narrative of tangible place— through the user's mind.

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[123] Seth Mallios and David Caterino, "Transformations in San Diego County Gravestones and Cemeteries," *Historical Archaeology* 44, no. 4 (2007): 50-71.

[124] Thomas E. Graves, "Pennsylvania German Gravestones: An Introduction." *Markers* V (1988); "Liebster Kinder und Verwandten: Death and Ethnicity," *Keystone Folklore* 2, no. 1-2 (1983): 6-14. Meyer, as well, has explored the mortuary expression of ethnic enclaves in "Strangers in a Strange Land," his introduction to *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993): 1-13.

[125] Bernard L. Herman, "On Being German in British America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45 no. 2/3 (2011): 200.

[126] Herman, 207-208.

Iconography in American Mortuary Art

Visual guides to American mortuary iconography also aid in understanding the performance of the 19th century cemetery as artifact. A number of the catalogs of symbol and motif published in recent years have sought to illuminate meaning intended for the viewer, and do so with an emphasis on Victorian-esque mourning sentiment. Notable among these field resources are relevant publications by material conservator Debi Hacker, architectural historian Douglas Keister, as well as detailed photographic compilation by Francis Y. Duval and Ivan B. Rigby (figure 6.3).[127] While these provide a predominantly eastern picture of American mortuary art without benefit of contextual analysis, they do provide a basic collective overview of the nineteenth-century flowering of tangible mortuary symbols as consumptive artifacts. Numerous, if subtle, variations in motif interpretation also arise amidst these resources, as Farber has noted, who in turn offers her own.[128] More recent and specific to German mortuary symbols is the work of Sandra Hardy, which links linguistic expression to certain visual motifs in the American historic landscape.[129]

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[127] Francis Y. Duval and Ivan B. Rigby, *Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs: Two Hundred Outstanding Examples* (New York: Dover 1978); Debi Hacker, *Iconography of Death: Common Symbolism of Late 18th Through Early 20th Century Tombstones in the Southeastern United States* (Columbia, SC: Chicora, 2001); Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2004); Carl Oechsner and Howie Meyers, *The Graven Images of Bethel Cemetery* (Croton-on-Hudson, NY: Croton Friends of History, 2006).

[128] Farber, 23-24.

[129] Sandra J. Hardy, *Pennsylvania German and German-American Gravestone Language and Symbol Guide* (Cooperstown, PA: Hardy, 2003).

Figure 6.3. An early German-American use of mortality iconography, including the death's head and hourglass, as well as the text "Hier ruhen die Gebeine von… (Here lie the bones of…)." Bergstrasse Lutheran Cemetery, Ephrata, PA, 1770. (image: Duval & Rigby, 48-49)

Each of these studies shares an attempt to communicate the unique informational value of the historic cemetery (figure 6.4). This value likely derives from "a general reluctance to cavalierly alter the geography of a burial ground," as D. Gregory Jeane suggests.[130] Jeane acknowledges this tangible resistance to change as "a good place to accumulate information that can provide insight into a community's social and economic structure, its religious tenets, and its ethnic composition."[131]

[130] D. Gregory Jeane, "The Upland South Folk Cemetery Complex: Some Suggestions of Origin," in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1989): 107.

[131] Jeane, 107.

Accordingly, the nature of an intact historic cemetery makes it more than simply important as a remnant of the cultural landscape; in fact, its spatial and temporal context provide an ideal "avenue for reconstructing historical landscapes."[132] For such resources within the Pacific Northwest settlement landscape, the reality of these sites' attrition also emphasizes how advocacy and management concerns—traditionally considered the domain of the preservationist, if not archaeologist—invite renewed, interdisciplinary strategies toward informational safekeeping.[133]

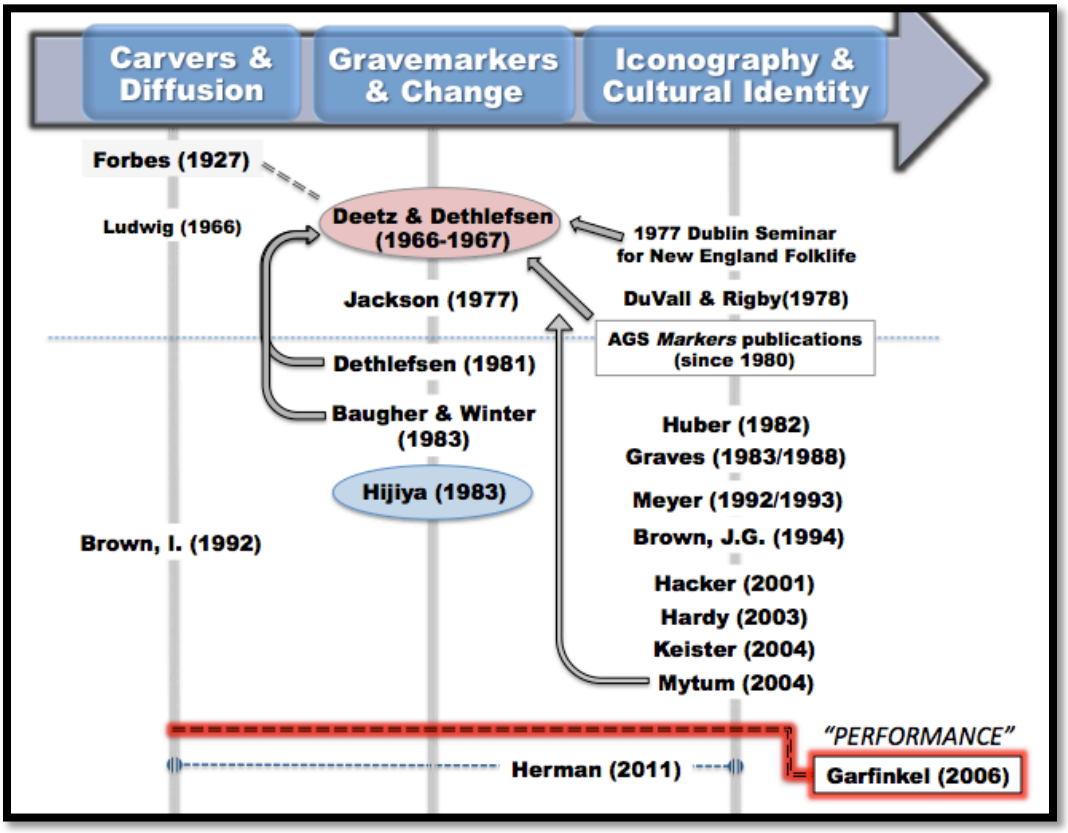

Figure 6.4. Flowchart of historiographical development of historic American mortuary studies, 1927-2011. (image: author, 2013)

[132] Jeane, Ibid.

[133] A growing amount of fieldwork conducted in extant Western Oregon settlement-era locales demonstrates the enhanced value of interdisciplinary site exploration, such as those methods discussed in John D.M. Arnold, et al, "The Charles and Melinda Applegate House: A Site Analysis of an Early Oregon Farmstead," MS (University of Oregon, 2012).

CHAPTER VII

CONTEXTUALIZING PERFORMANCE IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

In addition to the other components of "performance," as Garfinkel identifies them, the unique meaning of objects tends to hinge especially upon use once created.[134] In the case of the Aurora Colony grave markers, objects can and should be examined individually, and with rigor. But they may also be seen within a cultural landscape as a whole. Thus, they may again remind us of the validity of utilizing the performance of the cemetery to access the shared mind of the settlement community.

Prior to acquisition and subsequent use by the Aurora Colony, regional documentation places ownership of the site in the hands of David Smith, via donation land claim within Marion County.[135] Following purchase and absorption into the settlement's own shared holdings in 1856, however, the site is rarely acknowledged in subsequent depictions of the Colony's physical and cultural landscape. The most detailed of these is perhaps the last produced, that of Clark Will's 20th century map merging the oral recollections of his foster father, Colony member George Wolfer (figure 7.1). This highly detailed illustration was ostensibly intended as a geographic primer for visualizing the *complete* historic Colony landscape. The western reach of the map illustration extends only as far along the

[134] Garfinkel, 111.

[135] Edgar Williams, "List of Donation Claims," in *Historical Atlas Map Of Marion & Linn Counties Oregon*. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, (San Francisco: Edgar Williams & Co., 1878): 43. See also Emanuel Keil and H.S. Lyman, "The Aurora Community," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (March 1901): 82.

"French Prairie Road" as the Scholl farmstead and its grain cultivation—well short of the cemetery itself (figure 7.2).[136] Although the cemetery *is* mentioned near its edge, Will's effort provides only the site's vague westerly direction with an arrow simultaneously indicating "to Colony cemetery," and a dense stand of fir and oak. Considering the cemetery's obvious role in its day as a hallowed cultural node—no small source of Will's own research—such a cursory treatment appears somewhat strange.

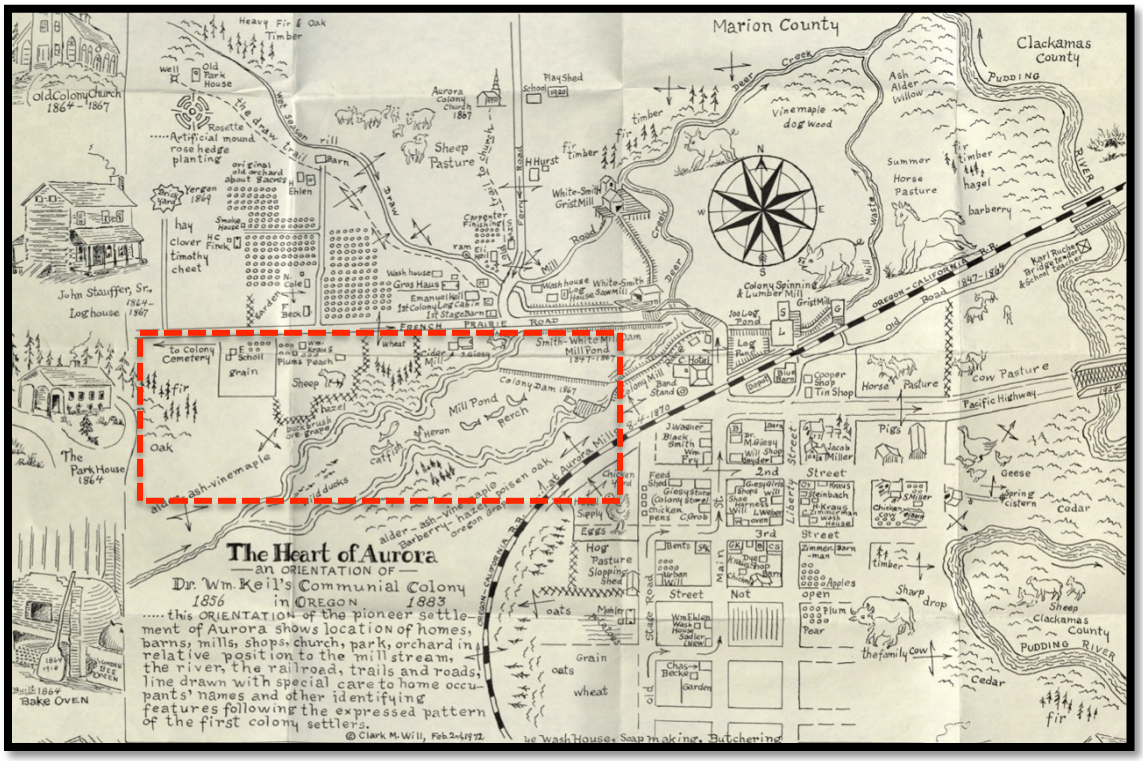

Figure 7.1. "The Heart of Aurora" map, *detail view*, drawn by Clark M. Will in 1972. Note: following inset image corresponds with the marked inset area, *left*. (image: Special Collections, University of Oregon Libraries; annotation by author, 2013)

[136] The "French Prairie Road," is now known as Ehlen Road, which today joins Oregon Route 99E, Oregon Route 551, and U.S. Interstate 5 corridors along an east-west latitude.

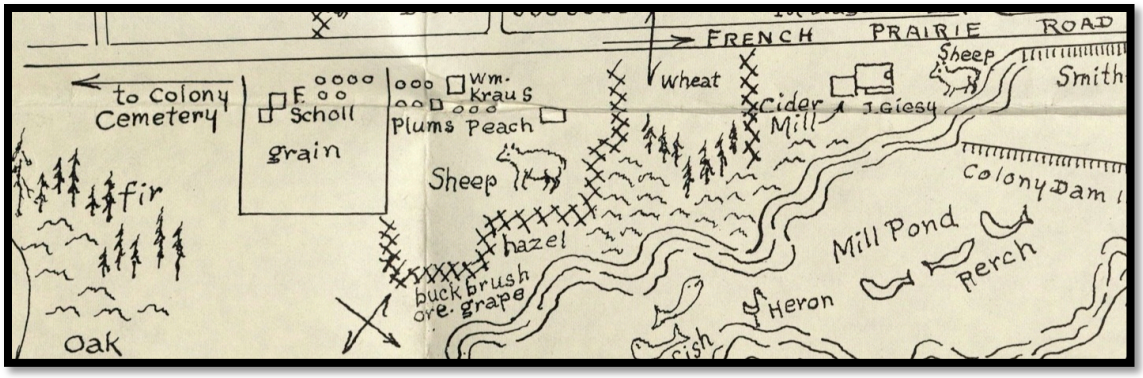

Figure 7.2. Inset image from the previous "Heart of Aurora" map, *detail view*. Though otherwise highly detailed, this depiction contains only a cursory reference to the cemetery, *upper left*. (image: Special Collections, University of Oregon Libraries)

Perhaps the most useful exception to the Colony Cemetery's cartographic neglect comes in the form of a simple diagram and accompanying notes describing the formal location and boundaries for the cemetery acreage itself (figures 7.3-7.4), as surveyed for John Giesy in 1862 by a surveyor known only as "R. Short".[137] Taken in conjunction with its Colony ownership from 1856, the survey makes plain the community's intent: to set aside these two acres for the express purpose of reserving "a tract of land for a cemetary [sic]." Thus, the overwhelming majority of graves opened and filled under the Colony aegis would not coalesce into small familial clusters scattered across thousands of acres on isolated farmsteads, as in the case in many other agrarian settlements of the period. From 1862, burials of members of the Aurora Colony were to be grouped quietly *together*, through a predetermined and intentional use of *shared* resources. In this sense, the mortuaryscape mirrors a tacit intent of its users' communitarian covenant.

[137] J. Short, "Aurora Colony Cemetary [sic] Surveyed for John Giesy," map and lined note sheet, 1862, Aurora Colony Historical Society, no. A2007.60.5, accessed March 10, 2013. This document was discovered by chance in a miscellaneous folder within the Old Ox Barn archives, as a color facsimile of the original surveyor's notes. Whether the original document survives is unknown at present.

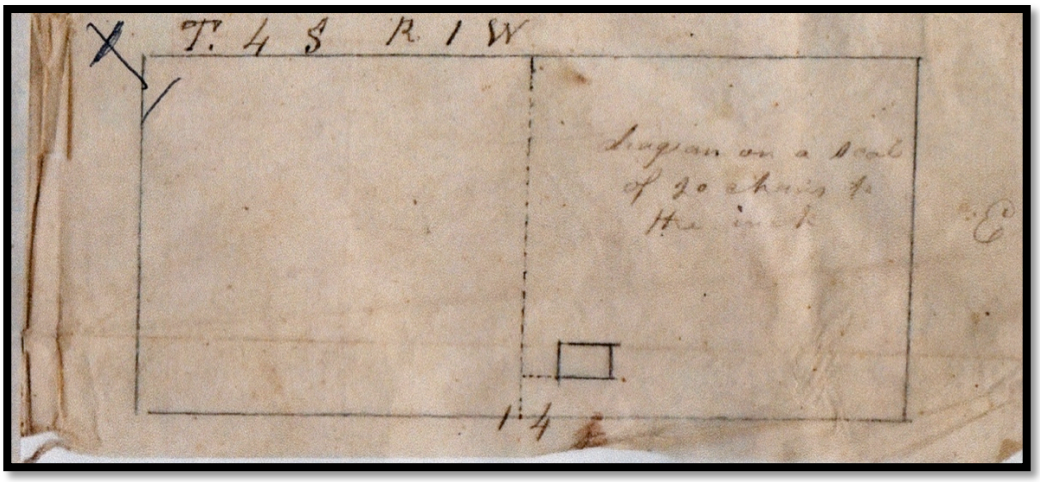

Figure 7.3. Drawing from Short's 1862 cemetery survey, placing the site near the center of Township 4 South, Range 1 West, Section 14. (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society, catalog no. A2007.60.5)

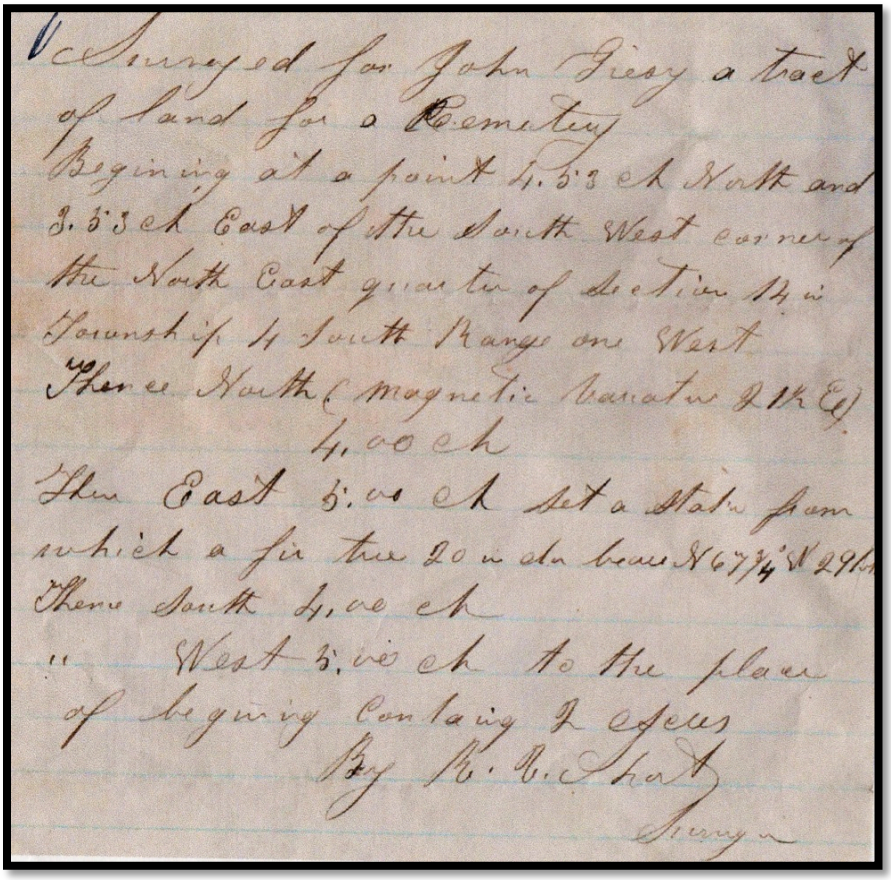
Surveyed for John Piesy a tract of land for a Cemetery
Beginning at a point 4.53 ch North and 3.53 ch East of the South West corner of the North East quarter of Section 14 in Township 4 South Range one West
Thence North (magnetic variation 2½ E) 4.00 ch
Then East 5.00 ch to set a Stake from which a fir tree 20 in dia bears N 67¾° W 29 ft
Thence South 4.00 ch
" West 5.00 ch to the place of beginning Containing 2 acres
By R. B. Short
Surveyor

Figure 7.4. Field notes accompanying Short's 1862 survey drawing. (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society, catalog no. A2007.60.5)

Evidence of the community mind within the 1862 survey is significant for two further reasons. First, it signals a general departure from default (or perhaps interim) burial locations used within the entirely separate Keil Family Cemetery.[138] Although the Keil cemetery continued to be used for various relatives until well after 1862, the Colony Cemetery became the primary choice of the community as a whole, as evidenced by the more than 40 burials conducted by the mid-1870s. Second, the prescription of a formal community site for the Colony dead contains the unmistakable hope of settlement permanence made resolute. Where the faithful would continue to content themselves to await the Millennium as a harmonious community, there they would also continue to perish and be entombed alongside their neighbors.

The 1878 Edgar Williams and Company's atlas of Marion County brings once more into focus crisp detail concerning holdings along the western areas of the Aurora Colony's collective land assets (figure 7.5).[139] Landscape features as unassuming as farmstead orchards are clearly depicted in Section 14 of the township; yet, this level of detail passes entirely over any mention of the cemetery site—by this time in regular use for a decade and a half. This record, however absent of cemetery acknowledgement, does help to contextualize a view of environs

[138] Initial burials in 1862 were a consequence of a local smallpox outbreak, accidentally introduced to the Colony by member John Wolfer. His wife Lucinda (I-N-7) succumbed, as did four of Keil's own children—including the Colony namesake, Aurora. These latter casualties were interred side by side in the Keil Family Cemetery.

[139] Williams, "Map of Aurora, Marion Co., Oregon," Map Number One in *Historical Atlas Map Of Marion & Linn Counties Oregon*, 28-29. According to collection notes, the Williams publication is the only county American atlas depicting an Oregon county in the 19th century, although the company produced no other such works.

immediately surrounding the site through its systematized notations of land claims and owners. Significantly, the tacit location of the cemetery appears to remain ensconced within a substantial parcel of communally held land (74 acres), at a time when the division of agricultural redistribution under Keil appears to have mirrored the lukewarm conditions of Colony cohesion.[140]

Figure 7.5. Edgar Williams' 1878 Marion County atlas, Map Number One, *detail view*. The approximate location of the Colony Cemetery site, within Township 4S Range 1W Section 14, is annotated. Note that the surrounding parcel of 320 acres appears free of redistribution, intact as an "Aurora Colony" possession. (image: Cartography Associates, 2000; addendums by author, 2013)

The geospatial relationship between areas concerning the settlement's shared living space (*lebensraum*) and mortuary space (*friedhöfe*) may suggest something of a parallel between the conceptualization of settlement at Aurora and its precursor in Bethel, Missouri. As Will's sketch of the 1850-60 plan of Bethel indicates (figure 7.6), the placement of the Hebron Cemetery occurred along the

[140] Harkness, 22-23; Hendricks, 228-230.

primary road extending *beyond* the settlement's living space. The aforementioned "Heart of Aurora" illustrations reveal a similar relationship between the Colony's townscape core and the its cemetery's placement.

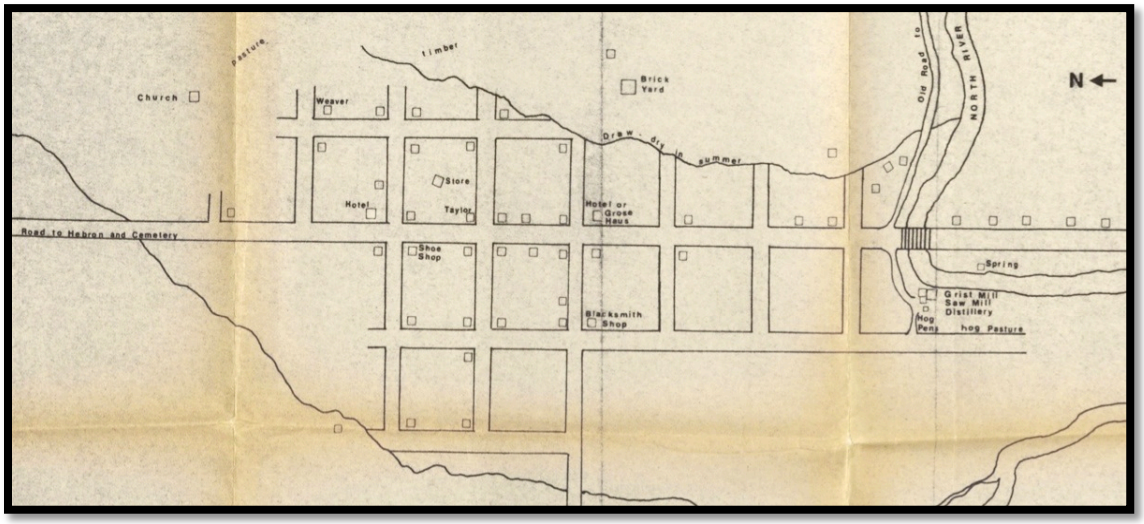

Figure 7.6. Geospatial map of notable development at the Bethel Colony, 1850-1860, believed adapted from a 1925 drawing by C.M. Will, *detail view*. Note that the road to the settlement's cemetery at Hebron, *far left*, extends at a perpendicular angle away from the North River's axis through the community—toward the frontier. Though this road's successor at Aurora (latter-day Ehlen Road) runs instead to the west, its path extends forward from the settlement's Pudding River frontage in a remarkably similar manner. (image: Heritage Research Associates archives, 2012).

David Nelson Duke has argued that both the community's relatively static population and its sense of separatist revivalism engendered in the Colony members inherently conservative cultural tendencies.[141] The conceptual repetition and resistance to change seen here may indicate at least some small desire to create utopia with deference to the familiarity of their former Missouri home—whether born out of agrarian practicality, ideological expression, ingrained teutonic rigidity,

[141] David Nelson Duke, "A Profile of Religion in the Bethel-Aurora Colonies," *Oregon History Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (Winter 1991/1992): 351-354.

or some combination of these. Evidence within the Colony's early built environment also reinforces this notion of cultural continuity, extending from Bethel to Aurora, as Philip Dole suggests.[142] In the case of many contemporary settlement patterns, the deterministic format of western land claims, which reinforced a two-dimensional, gridded conception of road and property position, by extension influences cemetery placement at the settlement periphery—while the cemetery "remain[s] integral to the settler's definition of town."[143]

The Aurora cemetery site's placement also seems to anticipate the relative wilderness reaching out ahead of a developing early townscape (rather than between it and the society departed).[144] Such a configuration fashions a unique expression of these separatists' ideological underpinnings—in this case written into the landscape found *beyond* their homes and farms.[145] In this sense, it is not wholly inappropriate to suggest that, alongside both westward movement and the

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[142] Dole, "Aurora Colony Architecture," 380.

[143] Kiest, 84.

[144] The temptation to ply the familiar term "wilderness" remains ubiquitous in the modern historian's vocabulary. However, as environmental historian William Cronon has demonstrated in his seminal *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, a thematic approach to the notion of an American frontier is all too easily susceptible to false presumptions of a virgin landscape ahead of Anglo-American settlers. Insofar as Aurora is concerned, there can be no doubt that Keil's company hardly comprised the area's first inhabitants.

[145] An excerpt from the biblical text of 1 Corinthians 15 provides one of the central doctrinal emphases on corporeal resurrection [King James translation]: "…and the dead shall be raised incorruptible…," as does the creedal text set forth by the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D. Both were widely accepted throughout Western Christianity well before the emergence of the Aurora community. The role that ideological elements such as these likely played shaping in the Colony mind appears to have reinforced millennialism as an extension of mainstream dogma, rather than a diversion from it. See also: David Nelson Duke, "A Profile of Religion in the Bethel-Aurora Colonies," *Oregon History Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (Winter 1991/1992): 349-352; Simon, "Wilhelm Keil and Communist Societies," 122.

ideological implications of west-facing burials, the cemetery siting helps frame the place of the dead as one found at the very forefront of Aurorans' search for utopia.

CHAPTER VIII

METHODOLOGY

Monuments and landscapes shaped through mortuary ritual, although created to honor the dead, are primarily the concern of the living. Moreover, the ways in which a sense of the burial place is conceptualized continue to vary with the broad forces that influence its users.[146] The somber bereaved have sought in these environs the comfort of restful surroundings for departed loved ones. Alternatively, curious latter-day picnickers immerse themselves in the pure recreation of a cemetery's natural beauty.[147] Appropriately, then, a study of an historic cemetery includes a similar experiential component—in this case, fieldwork on location, rather than merely from an archived distance.

Experiential Study Amidst the Mortuaryscape

The cemetery, interestingly enough, can be as vibrant a focal point of human story as any hospital delivery room or neighborhood backyard. In this sense, the participation of the scholar as an observer of surroundings goes beyond the cold

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[146] Dethlefsen, 137.

[147] The notion of the late-19th century cemetery as a desirable recreational site has often been conceived as a "natural" foil for the industrial effects of the age, when in fact the two are deeply intertwined. See Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature," in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert George St. Blair (Boston: Northeastern University, 1987), 505-517; Thomas G. Connors, "The Romantic Landscape: Washington Irving, Sleepy Hollow, and the Romantic Cemetery Movement," in *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America*, eds. Nancy Isenberg and Andrew Burstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003), 187-203, 240-245; Neil Harris, "The Cemetery Beautiful," in *Passing: The Vision of Death in America*, ed. Charles O. Jackson (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977), 103-11; Blanche Linden-Ward, "Strange But Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," in *Cemeteries & Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1989), 293-328.

gathering of data for analytical ends alone. The nexus of lifeways, visual statement, and deeply embedded meaning interred in Aurora's cemeteries begins to truly emerge in depth only after the first-hand sharing in the experience of place. Therefore, the course of study begins here with a willingness to engage the cemetery as a means to understand the living along *with* the dead, rather than *apart* from death. Too long has this sort of site been avoided as a haunt for the morbid or illicit. Its stories are too vibrant, even today, to remain shrouded beneath perceived gloom.

In seeking to better understand the sphere of mid-19th century American life, it is important to acknowledge that the threads of vitality and repose intertwined throughout Oregon's cultural landscapes can never be completely separated. Instead, the possibility of grappling with a seemingly macabre avenue of study offers a unique and valuable way of engaging a historical narrative through the eyes of a community that experienced the ebb and flow of life together in its most visceral realities of settlement. As cultural historian Gary Laderman astutely observes, "this unsettling fact of life has proven to be a rich source of inspiration for human efforts to find order in disorder… eternity in finitude."[148] To study this aspect of the Aurora story, as both a community guided by religious charisma and an attempt to create harmony apart from mainstream society, can be viewed as an opportunity to grasp the rich intersection of distinctive, culturally-focused lifeways within an ephemeral community. A willingness to seize on this perspective directly by spending time with meaningful historical resources in the field also offers the

[148] Gary Laderman. *Rest in Peace: A Cultural History of Death and the Funeral Home in Twentieth Century America.* (New York: Oxford, 2003): xv.

scholar a vital chance to reaffirm a deeply humanist facet of the Northwestern American settlement narrative.

Research Design

To focus analytical efforts upon connecting the situated and emergent contexts of meaning within the Aurora Colony population, relevant primary data was first sought in the settlement's mortuary landscape. Principally, the Aurora Colony Cemetery – also known locally today as the Aurora Community Cemetery – provided the location for the bulk of this field research. In addition, examination of the nearby Keil Family Cemetery, a private burial site within the Colony context, added additional contextual data to the exploration. Each visit included site observations and notes, as well as detailed photographic and written recordation of individual interments selected according to the period of study. This close-order fieldwork yielded in excess of 1,000 images, concerning nearly 400 known graves dating from the mid-19th to early 20th century. These markers were evaluated according to their spatial order within the site based on their relationship to the cultural context selected for this study. Markers of those individuals known to have participated or were born in the colony's active historical period (1856-1883) suggested informative data sources.

Observation and Photo-Recordation

An inventory of grave markers commenced with informal reconnaissance of the Aurora Colony Cemetery site during the Fall season of 2012. This assessment

established that sufficient material culture did, in fact, exist therein to warrant further exploration. Attempts to establish a useful photographic inventory for the period of significance followed in three successive periods of fieldwork during the following winter— January 20, February 8, and March 6, 2013. These dates were selected in the practical interest of avoiding inclement weather and maximizing daylight, but they also allowed sufficient time between visits to process and extract data from the resulting images. In the interest of capturing an acceptable degree of detail for these west-facing markers, recordation efforts necessarily took place during early afternoon hours. Elisabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland advocate for the reasoning behind this approach:

> *Care should be taken to photograph gravemarkers… under conditions when the high contrast of light and shadow will give sharpness and clarity to inscriptions and sculptural relief. In addition to the form, embellishment, and position of gravemarkers in relationship with other markers, epitaphs and vital inscriptions are an important aspect of the cultural content of cemeteries.*[149]

Clarity and consistency in image quality underpins the vital work of material culture recordation and analysis.[150] Although advances in digital equipment and storage capacity have become more powerful in nature and relatively simple in execution, care must be taken to secure images which maintain the relationship between artifact and site context, while simultaneously capturing a variety of details

[149] Elisabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places*. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1992): 22.

[150] Farber, 9-10; Strangstad, 28-36; *Recording Historic Cemeteries: A Guide for Historical Societies and Genealogists* (Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 1998), 5. In addition, the Chicora Foundation Research Series offers numerous examples of this priority at work in cultural resource studies.

pertaining to subtle social, cultural, ideological, and technological cues.[151] Snapshots appeal to efficiency and may even highlight the unique quality of a place, but offer less in the way of consistent data for later analysis and interpretation.

Accordingly, rigorous photography offers an important tool to observe and, perhaps, upon closer examination, ultimately *see* such cues as the textual and symbolic details that stimulate the interplay of the Aurora Colony's unique mortuary artifacts. This interplay results in a meaningful "conversation" between viewer and object, suggests Bernard L. Herman, marking a cemetery's ability to do more than simply memorialize an assembled spiritual community.[152] Moreover, he asserts, the conversation is underpinned by accounting for variations "in material, ornament, and inscription" and their ability as "objects that set the viewer in motion."[153] Fundamentally, then, data collection through photographic means must straddle a delicate balance between capturing precise, functional data of sufficient quantity in the field and the dynamic quality of rich, compelling images. The latter, too, may aid in perpetuating future analysis and interpretation of artifact performance; its enduring veracity remains useful long after the field researcher's footprints have faded from the site.[154]

The process of photo-documentation itself followed a system which progressed along a rough cardinal heading from east to west (figure 8.1). Many

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[151] Initial data collection efforts derive from guidance provided in F. Joanne Baker, Daniel Farber, and Anne E. Giesecke, "Recording Cemetery Data," *Markers* 1 (1979-1980): 99-119.

[152] Bernard L. Herman. "On Being German in British America." *Winterthur* Portfolio 45, No. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011): 197-98.

[153] Herman. "On Being German in British America." 198, 208.

[154] Farber, 5.

early graves were first established in the eastern area of the cemetery facing to the west, followed by the expansion of subsequent parallel rows; recordation subsequently began at the northeast corner of these and proceeded west with each additional row (figures 8.2-8.5).[155] These rows do not actually adhere to a purely geometric grid, as has been previously suggested, but instead (in response to the site's topography) radiate gently southward away from a wash at the cemetery's northern edge.[156]

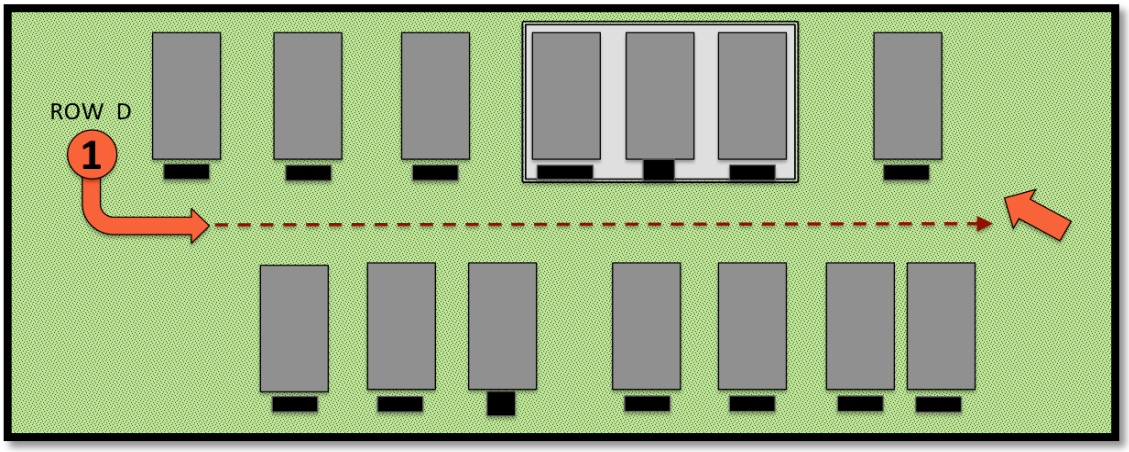


Figure 8.1. Basic overview of the recordation process across each row, from north to south. The photographer begins in position "1", and proceeds southward. (image: author, 2013).

[155] A brief discussion of Henry Roser's 1864 death, linked to an accident involving a falling tree, appears in a second-generation recollection of the Colony's growth. John Frederick Burckhardt, "A Historical Narrative of the Old Bethel Colony."

[156] The earliest known inhumations onsite, those of smallpox victim Lucinda Wolfer (I-N-7) and tree-felling casualty Henry Roser (I-N-6), date to 1862 and 1864, respectively. In addition, four of Keil's own children died in the 1862 smallpox outbreak, and were subsequently interred in the Keil Family Cemetery (see fig. 5.3). Images from the U.S. Geological Survey taken between 1994 and 2012 suggest that the change in elevation into this wash remains between 178 and 165 feet above sea level— a difference of roughly thirteen feet. This constitutes a relatively steep drop to the northeast, considering its intimate proximity to historic interments.

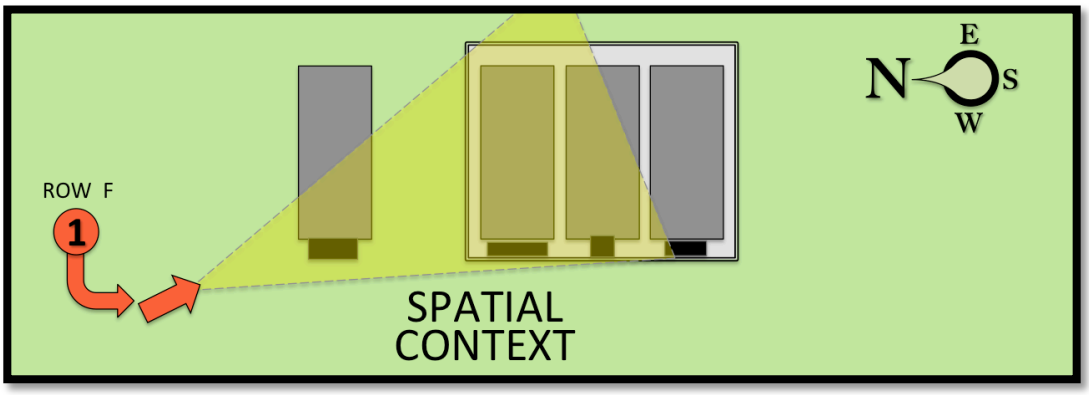


Figure. 8.2. Ordered photo-recordation, as begun from the northern end of each row. This aspect of data collection utilizes a raking view to provide contextual information for the views of individual graves and details to follow.

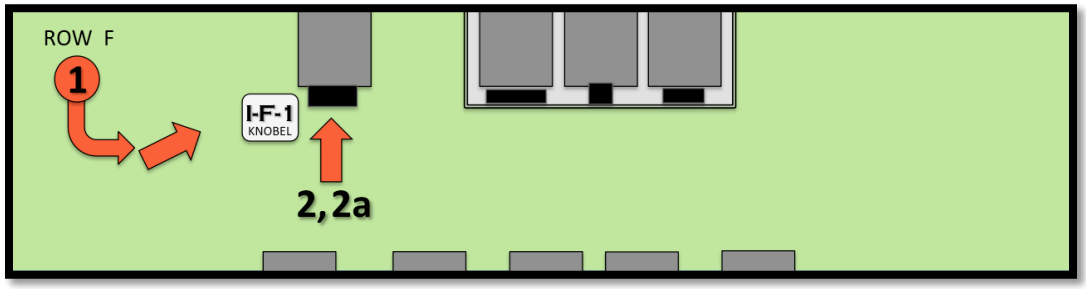


Figure 8.3. The northernmost extant marker within the period of study is recorded alongside a temporary sign identifying its unique spatial code and surname (2). A second version of this view is then captured (2a), to avoid obscuring meaningful information through sign position.

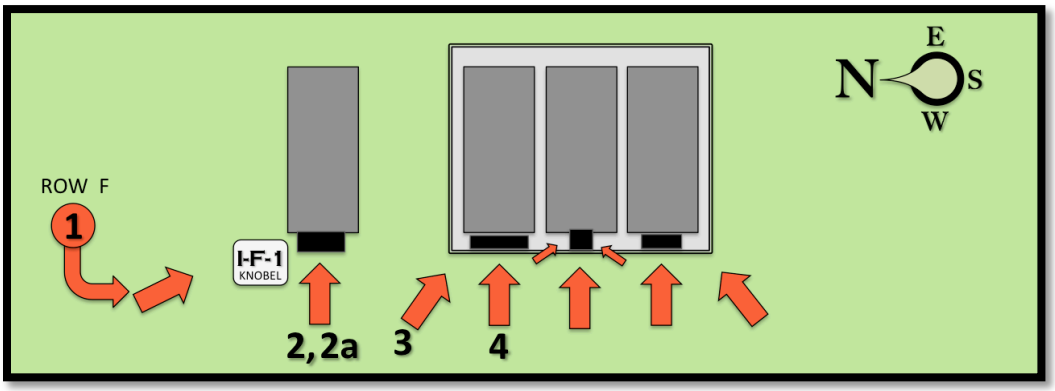


Figure 8.4. Subsequent images in each row continue southward, including detail views where necessary (such as in the case of multi-faceted obelisks and family plots showing shared grave coping). The order of these images then provides a virtual reflection of the photographer's experiential footsteps through the field of visual information.

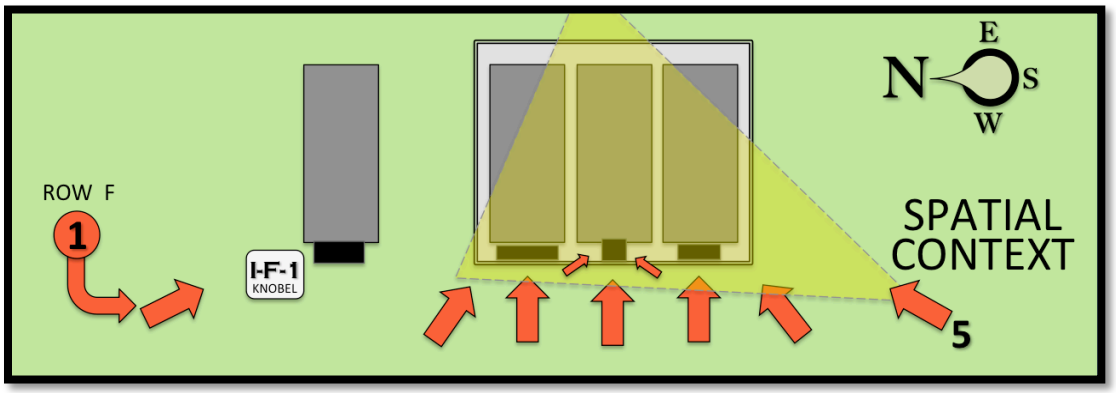


Figure 8.5. The final view of each row is captured at a raking angle to the northeast, to provide further spatial, scalar, and topographic context for the markers.

The extant spatial picture of rows does appear to be roughly oriented to the compass, with rows extending along a nearly north-south cardinal heading (figure 8.6). Erosion and extensive blackberry bushes appear to have begun reaching from the crest of this wash into the cemetery, encroaching upon those northernmost graves along the rim of the wash (figure 8.7). At present, it is not clear whether or how many graves or markers have slipped fully from view as a result of this development. In any case, it is clear that a continued deferral of careful site stabilization risks the irreparable loss of some of the earliest elements of the cemetery's historical integrity.[157] Such site entropy inflicts, moreover, an informational attrition at the heart of any attempt to access an accurate picture of the mortuaryscape.

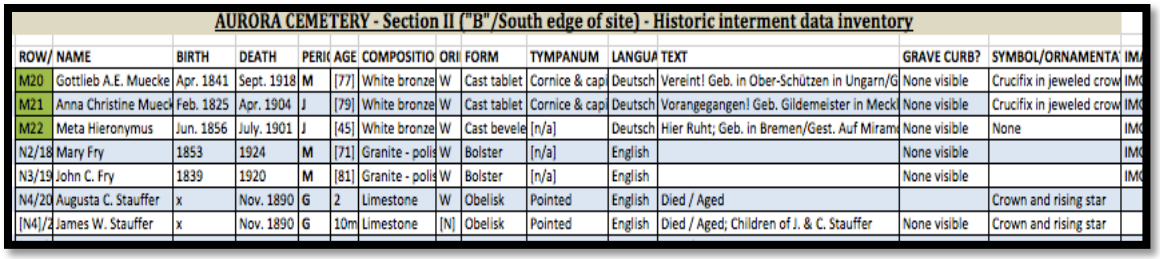
[157] King, 83.

Figure 8.6. Present-day satellite image showing the cardinal orientation of burial rows in Sections I and II. Here, the subtle effects of site topography are evident. (image: Google Earth, graphic annotations by author, 2013)

Figure 8.7 Eastern view toward the Northeast corner of Section I. Note the significant growth of vegetation, *left*, encroaching into the northern edge of many of these rows of interments, obscures some graves' above-ground components. (photo: author, 2012)

Coding and Ordering Data

To record individual markers most efficiently, and simultaneously preserve the efficacy of their spatial relationship within rows, this inventory employed a systematic approach to the order of images photographed. Beginning at the eastern end of the site, this system assigned an alphabetical letter to each row— "A," "B," "C," and so forth. From the northern end of each row, isometric images were taken to contextualize the row itself within its section of the site. So that markers and other grave characteristics could be distinguished within this order, each interment received a sequential number within its respective row (see Appendices A-B). The resulting code assigned to each grave follows a three-part sequence: (1) a historic Section number indicated by the Roman numeral I or II, (2) its row letter (A-CC), and (3) the marker number. The grave of Gertrude Knobel, for instance, joined the inventory with the code of I-F-1, or the grave located at the northern end of Row F in Section I. Alternately, the code II-M-20 corresponds with Gottlieb A.E. Muecke's 1918 headstone, marked at the southern edge of the Section II. Each code then holds a unique place in a database of spreadsheets developed thereafter to organize and quantify the visual data extracted from grave components (figure 8.8).



AURORA CEMETERY - Section II ("B"/South edge of site) - Historic interment data inventory

ROW/	NAME	BIRTH	DEATH	PERI(	AGE	COMPOSITIO	ORI	FORM	TYMPANUM	LANGUA	TEXT	GRAVE CURB?	SYMBOL/ORNAMENTA	IM/
M20	Gottlieb A.E. Muecke	Apr. 1841	Sept. 1918	M	[77]	White bronze	W	Cast tablet	Cornice & capi	Deutsch	Vereint! Geb. in Ober-Schützen in Ungarn/G	None visible	Crucifix in jeweled crow	IM(
M21	Anna Christine Muec	Feb. 1825	Apr. 1904	J	[79]	White bronze	W	Cast tablet	Cornice & capi	Deutsch	Vorangegangen! Geb. Gildemeister in Meck	None visible	Crucifix in jeweled crow	IM(
M22	Meta Hieronymus	Jun. 1856	July. 1901	J	[45]	White bronze	W	Cast bevele	[n/a]	Deutsch	Hier Ruht; Geb. in Bremen/Gest. Auf Miram	None visible	None	IM(
N2/18	Mary Fry	1853	1924	M	[71]	Granite - polis	W	Bolster	[n/a]	English		None visible		IM(
N3/19	John C. Fry	1839	1920	M	[81]	Granite - polis	W	Bolster	[n/a]	English		None visible		IM(
N4/20	Augusta C. Stauffer	x	Nov. 1890	G	2	Limestone	W	Obelisk	Pointed	English	Died / Aged		Crown and rising star	
[N4]/2	James W. Stauffer	x	Nov. 1890	G	10m	Limestone	[N]	Obelisk	Pointed	English	Died / Aged; Children of J. & C. Stauffer	None visible	Crown and rising star	

Figure 8.8. A brief excerpt from the spreadsheet developed to aid database organization and object analysis, *detail view*. Note the inclusion of marker codes assigned to each individual interment, *far left*, as well as a breakdown of characteristics within the analytical model. (image: author, 2013)

Advancing from north to south along each row, photography captured each marker sequentially, including additional detail views of relevant components, continuing west across historic sections I and II of the site. The initial image taken of the first (northernmost) individual grave effectively orients the following series of images in each row for later analysis, and includes a dry erase board displaying the unique code and surname. This particular image anchors the position of the following series of images within the row sequence. It also offers a relative sense of scale for the marker and, by comparison, others captured in the isometric visual context. An additional isometric view follows at the end of each row, looking northward, and providing an additional angle for contextual rigor (figure 8.9).[158] Cumulatively, these images serve to provide a series of overlapping views contextualizing intersite spatial relationships for each successive row. They also allow for enhanced and ongoing virtual study of material culture and landscape

[158] Baker, Farber, and Giesecke, 112.

context in a remote location, thereby effectively reducing the amount of travel required to access site data directly.[159]

Figure 8.9. A raking image, *north view*, showing material culture from the southern end of Row E in Section I. This type of visual documentation helps to enhance spatial control of data for ongoing and future study. (image: author, 2012)

Data Inventory

Without careful data extraction to feed analysis efforts, this system amounts to little more than compulsive photography collection. To this end, the use of a

[159] The depth of treatment commonly afforded to studies of field resources in regions of broad geographic scale, such as the Pacific Northwest, may well be a function of the distance travelled to access them. One-way travel from the University of Oregon to reach the Aurora Colony Cemetery site, for instance, constitutes a distance of better than 90 miles; to date, nearly 1,000 miles have become a direct part of this study, to say nothing of included man-hours. Thus, those engaged in responsibly efficient fieldwork must consider techniques of data collection that seek to augment research while not simultaneously boosting travel logistics and costs. Parsimonious funding, complex equipment logistics, seasonal climate, and topographic isolation all tend to weigh upon the equation as well.

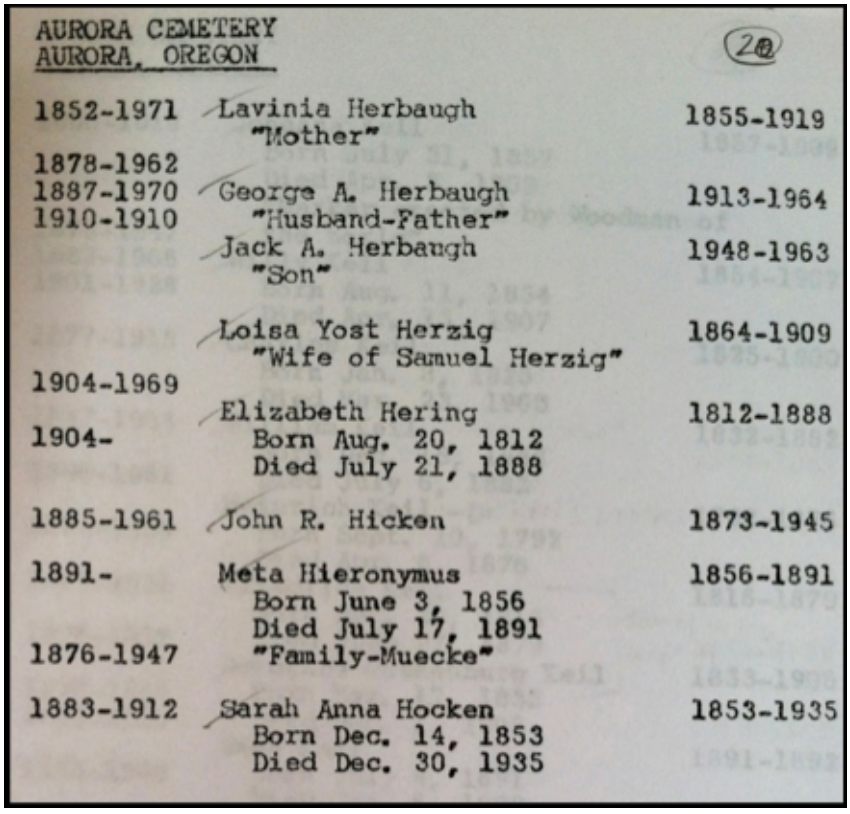
spreadsheet ledger for notes taken in real time accompanied the photo-recordation process. The resulting body of notes then formed the textual basis of data analysis. Notes could then be summarized and distilled into representative analytical components, which could be further refined into definite categories of monument components (Table 8.1). Expanding upon Reimers' identification of several ethnically linked characteristics, these detailed categories yielded the following components: [160]

Table 8.1. Gravemarker Components Recorded as Extracted Data

1. Row and interment number (code)	**9. Marker form (per typology)**
2. Given name and Surname	**10. Tympanum shape (where applicable)**
3. Date of birth	**11. Inscription/epitaph language**
4. Date of death	**12. Text of inscription**
5. Period of interment (single-letter code corresponding to five-year increment in period of study)	**13. Presence of individual grave curb and/or coping**
6. Age	**14. Symbol identification and description of ornament or detail**
7. Material composition of marker	**15. [Recordation image(s) key]**
8. Marker orientation (cardinal direction)	**16. Notes pertaining to marker condition and immediate context, where applicable**

[160] Eva Reimers, "Death and Identity: Graves and Funerals As Cultural Communication." *Mortality* 2 (1999): 147-166; Strangstad, 23-24, Appendix B.

Although a handful of the above components – 1-4, 6, and, in some instances, 12, to be precise – were already included within the aforementioned inventory of marker text, it wholly excludes any other descriptive characteristics of the grave or marker (figure 8.10). The 1973 inventory, while of some use as a basic reference for cross-examining onsite burial chronology, also introduces a great deal of ambiguity into the broader picture of the site's material culture when taken at face value. In particular, the alphabetical listing of burials creates a perception of site use which fails to distinguish shared markers or familial memorials, and notes epitaph text only infrequently. Therefore, a return to the markers themselves to generate primary data was doubly necessary.



AURORA CEMETERY
AURORA, OREGON

(20)

1852-1971	Lavinia Herbaugh "Mother"	1855-1919
1878-1962		
1887-1970	George A. Herbaugh	1913-1964
1910-1910	"Husband-Father"	
	Jack A. Herbaugh "Son"	1948-1963
	Loisa Yost Herzig "Wife of Samuel Herzig"	1864-1909
1904-1969		
	Elizabeth Hering	1812-1888
1904-	Born Aug. 20, 1812 Died July 21, 1888	
1885-1961	John R. Hicken	1873-1945
1891-	Meta Hieronymus Born June 3, 1856 Died July 17, 1891	1856-1891
1876-1947	"Family-Muecke"	
1883-1912	Sarah Anna Hocken Born Dec. 14, 1853 Died Dec. 30, 1935	1853-1935

Figure 8.10. Column excerpt from the unpublished compilation of burials in the Aurora Colony Cemetery. (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society, 2012)

Analytical Note

It comes as no surprise that a performance-driven analytical strategy requires data categories that can be tied to an inclusive interpretive approach. The preference for photo-recordation as a primary data collection tool allows for sustained emphasis on information embedded within the markers' visual components. Subsequent attention then aids in contextualizing features like symbol, script, and material composition. Seen collectively, these offer far more valuable interpretive information that can yield cultural "meaning" than can epitaphs taken at face value. This methodological tack addresses the fundamental need to draw upon site users' identity as a product of community memorial practices, rather than merely tallying their loved ones' entrances into and exits from life. To interact with a meaningful sense of *who* these people were collectively requires a recorded emphasis on those same components— suited as much to qualitative examination as it is to the quantitative.

CHAPTER IX

SITE FINDINGS: MORTUARYSCAPE DEVELOPMENT IN THE COLONY CEMETERY

Because Aurora Colony mortuary practices existed amidst a complex mingling of ethnic identity, protestant ideology, and peripheral regional growth, analysis must be limited to a manageable chronological scope. This study seeks to do so by organizing the particular chronological data from extant markers into lustra, or five-year increments.[161] Such a scale favors a tight trajectory of data, better contextualizing the active years of the Colony's social compact. This scale also helps to account for the realities of incremental local change on a more humanistic scale, wherein Colony members lived out their ideologies and emotions at a more immediate pace than a decade-oriented scale may reflect.

As data collection for the Aurora Colony Cemetery was conducted as a close-order field survey of extant gravemarkers, a detailed body of information forms the basis of analytical efforts (see Appendices A-C). Data extraction was then conducted according to the 15 categories delineated previously, by means of visually translating, or "reading" grave markers' physical characteristics for use as analytical data. Because of the margin of human error implicit in subjective visual identification and recordation, the series of images created during recordation was utilized to review and correct inconsistencies during ongoing data transcription and translation.

[161] The term derives from the plural form of *lustrum*, originally referring to the Roman census conducted in five-year increments.

That such translation efforts rely upon an effective body of mortuary terminology is inevitable. As it pertains to the overarching design vocabulary of historic American grave markers, the respective works of Gregg King and Lynette Strangstad provide a basic summary of existing terms.[162] These terms function alongside guides intended specifically to characterize historic American emblematic components, such as the version distributed by the Association for Gravestone Studies—the combination of these has proven relevant to settlement regions.[163] Use of some stylistic terms varies among such sources according to the regions of authors' activity—for instance, post-colonial New England, post-colonial South Carolina, late-19th century Michigan, and New Orleans—yet the basic characteristics pertaining to form discussed amongst them appear consistent with regions farther west. Such characteristics are also locally applicable in the Aurora site. This similarity might anchor the notion that Colony members found a template of diverse borrowed marker forms sufficient for their memorial needs, if not an overwhelming participation in the regional importation of popular motifs and products. Local expressions of this tangible palette inform the analytical comparison of Aurora's mortuary culture within broader settlement practices.

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[162] King, 37-38; Strangstad, 39.

[163] Association for Gravestone Studies, "Some Common Symbols/Emblems Found in 19th-Century Cemeteries," date unknown, 1-2; Francis Y. DuVall and Ivan B. Rigby, *Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs* (New York: Dover, 1978); Frederick J.E. Gorman and Michael DiBlasi, "Gravestone Iconography and Mortuary Ideology," *Ethnohistory* 28, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 79-98; Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999); Leonard V. Huber, *Clasped Hands: Symbolism in New Orleans Cemeteries* (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1982); Dell Upton, "The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 7 (1997): 131-145. For a broader regional overview of southern regional emblems, see Debi Hacker, *Iconography of Death: Common Symbolism of Late 18th Through Early 20th Century Tombstones in the Southeastern United States* (Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 2001).

Controlling marker information within the specific historical period selected for this study is especially relevant to understanding its socio-cultural meaning. To do so, known grave locations and their markers within Sections I and II were mapped according to their basic intrasite relationships along a virtual x-y axis. Two dimensions in space could be further modified in future research to accomodate date, form, and other marker characteristics. Supporting this arrangement, the position of individual graves and their respective markers were coded using a multi-faceted identification system of keyed symbols and colors (figure 9.1); various components indicate section and row location, marker form, chronology, and occurrences of shared and family markers. The resulting image compilations allow spatial, chronological, and other material patterns to emerge more clearly from within the data set, setting the stage for their subsequent contextual interpretation.

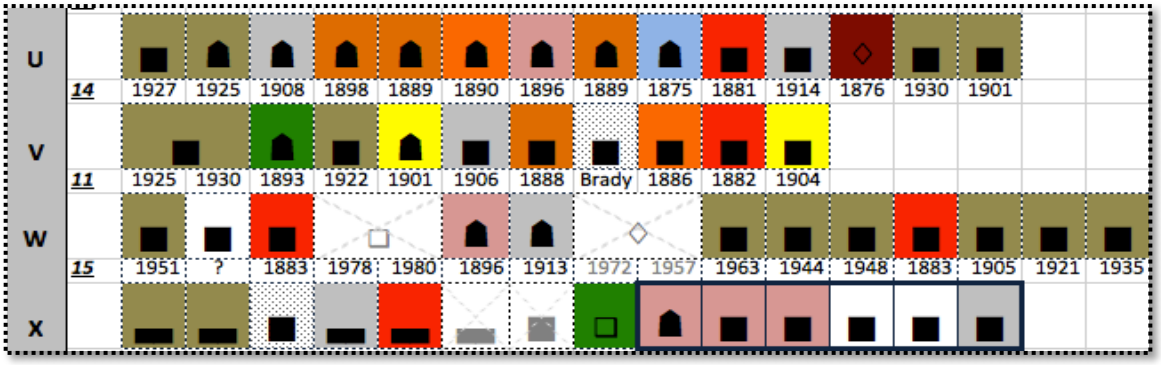

Figure 9.1. A four-row excerpt from analytical visual mapping (not to scale), *detail view*, for translating chronological, formal, and spatial data. An alphabetized series of letters, ranging A-CC, provide a y-axis relating to the roughly North-South orientation of historic Sections I and II. Numbers listed to the lower right of each row letter provide a simple numerical summary of grave locations per row which fall into the period of study; those graves which do not correspond to this sequence are not coded. (image: author, 2013)

Time-Space Findings

With the aid of chronological coding, a more complete image of cemetery use and expansion over time begins to emerge. Far from a predetermined growth, these inhumations do not appear to advance over time in any single uniform direction across the site, as is the case in Old-World churchyards of the eastern United States and Europe. Such traditional burial configurations were surely familiar to any number of the first-generation Colony members, some of whom had followed a geographic trajectory through German enclaves like that of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[164] Rather, the first known graves of the 1860s in the Colony cemetery are positioned in the midst of the original site landscape. As well, subsequent burial activity surrounds this first enclave on nearly all sides, radiating outward from this enclave instead of across the site. This configuration of early burials is also situated well away from the historical access lane to Ehlen Road (figure 9.2), located at the northeast corner of the original two-acre parcel.

[164] In most cases, these areas are acknowledged only tacitly in the demographic makeup of the Colony. In others, such as Nancy, Samuel, and Eliza Burkholder (I-J-7, 8, and 9), this information is an overt and integral part of marker information. Other markers acknowledge similarly ethnically-imbued locales further west, including Pittsburg (John Giesy, I-Y-12) and Columbus County, Ohio (Abraham and Jacob Burkholder, I-J-4, 5). For a detailed consideration of early German-American markers within 18th-19th century churchyards of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, see Bernard L. Herman, "On Being German in British America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45 no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011): 195-208.

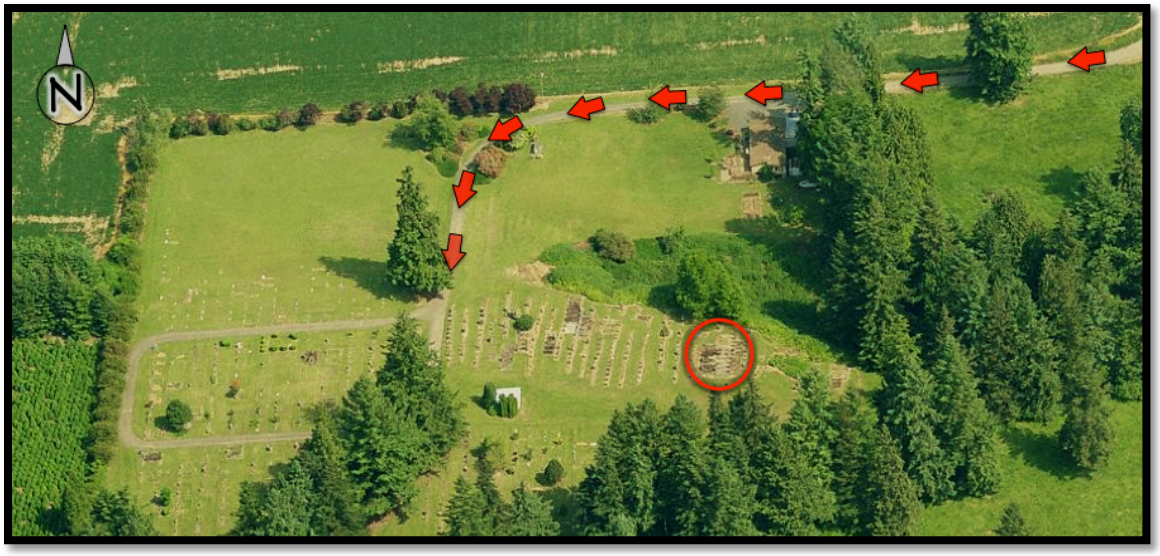

Figure 9.2. Birds-eye site view today, indicating early graves within Section I, *circled*, as it relates to the site's historical access lane ("Oak Lane") due north to Ehlen Road, *upper right*. Annotated arrows indicate the approximated route of ingress and egress, as dictated by practical consideration of the deep wash, *center right*. This feature would have proved challenging for a funeral bier, likely further increasing travel distance from the site edge to burial. (photo: MDA Geospatial Services, 2012; annotations by author, 2013).

1862-1875

Although data mapping was carried out within a gridded conceptualization to aid in organizing the information, it is important to note that marked locations of many graves do not correspond to a precise grid pattern in the physical landscape. The deep wash which partially abuts the north edge of Section I, appears to exert a linear influence in shaping the placement of the older graves along a roughly parallel plane. Yet, the northern termini of this section's rows are hardly uniform.[165] This observation reinforces the fact that historic site development did not, in fact, occur within a consciously predetermined system of formal plots and rectilinear

[165] Given the relative size and scale of the wash, it is evidently as much as much a topographical influence in grave row terminus as it is a linear one.

blocks, as Keeler's illustration of pre-1881 interments shows.[166] Rather, the historical concentration of graves appears to have radiated informally from an asymmetrical grouping near the northern edge of Section I, as shown in the span of map rows H through U in (figure 9.3).

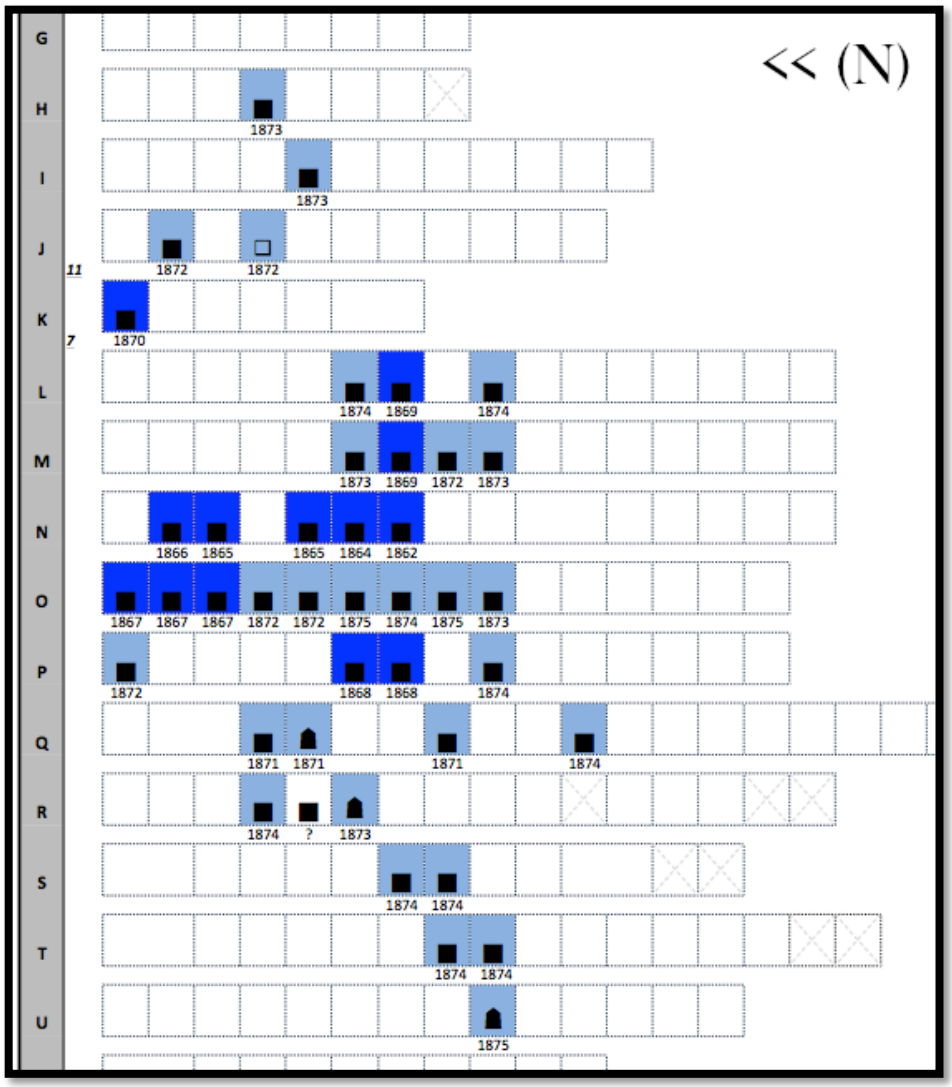

Figure 9.3. An isolated chronological map of the earliest known graves within Section I, 1862-1875. Further distinguishing between the earlier burials, *dark blue*, and those following, *light blue*, offers some insight into the spatial growth of site usage. Later burials are outlined. (image: author, 2013)

[166] Betty Keeler, "The Cultural Landscape of Aurora, A German Communal Society, 1856-1881," June 21, 1974, TMs (photocopy), Heritage Research Associates project archives, Eugene, Oregon, 10.

The informal pattern created through this early grouping comes into focus through a two-dimensional look at chronological and spatial data extending from 1862-1875. This period opens with the memorialization of the cemetery's earliest known grave, following the death of Mrs. Lucinda Wolfer from smallpox in November 1862. It continues with the graves from families including Will, Ehlen, Burkholder, and Wagner by 1875. The thirteen extant markers specific to the earlier end of this period, 1862-1870, exhibit a relatively tight spatial grouping, considering the two-acre size of the parcel made available for burials as evidenced in the 1862 surveyor's illustration.[167] This grouping evidently signals the intentional, if informal, gathering of family burials, as suggested by the common placement of relations' graves directly alongside one another demonstrates.[168] The same practice also appears closely linked to the subsequent growth of the traditional row-upon-row pattern that would come to characterize the cemetery as a whole, based on the fundamental geometry of a rectangular Euro-American gravesite. However, any novelty in this type of linear arrangement to Colony members' worldview is highly unlikely, as it appears to mirror both centuries-old Christian practices and those

[167] An observation in 1875 that "an uncommon sight, five graves close together," in reference to the burial location of Keil's adult children within the Keil Family Cemetery site, suggests that the this type of familial spatial orientation expresses a certain continuity at least somewhat unique to Colony burial practice. By what norm, however, is not made especially clear. Nordhoff, 319.

[168] A consideration of housing during active Colony years—perhaps a parallel for matters of cultural patterning and lifeways within the settlement population—indicates what Philip Dole has called "relatively dispersed and loose groupings" at Aurora, Bethel, and other utopian built environments, with gradual and spasmodic development occurring through time. See Dole, "Aurora Colony Architecture," 381.

already in use at their prior Bethel settlement.[169] The number of burials added over time appears to steadily increase these groupings' density and span, although the linear asymmetry of their arrangement persists simultaneously.

The steady swell of this core in the first half of the 1870s occurs predominantly to the immediate east and west of the first grouping. By 1875, the new burial total grows to 41 known graves and markers, or 10.5% of the total number recorded (figure 9.3, light blue). The spatial picture at this time includes an uninterrupted linear sequence of nine marked burials—comprising more than half of the graves that would become Row 0. In addition to emergence of an unmistakable north-south pattern, the overall number of perpendicular rows also expands simultaneously. Whereas the seeds of five future rows existed as early as 1869, this number has nearly tripled only six years later. This pattern appears to be related to subsequent phases of in-migration from the earlier Bethel settlement, expressing a resulting proportional increase in number of local deaths. Viewed two-dimensionally along an east-west axis, a picture of verticality begins to characterize the cemetery's use. Expansion begins to take shape *along* the wash area, rather than strictly away from its boundary.

1876-1885

By the onset of the 1880s, the density of the area in use increases as the space takes on further linear growth. When viewed as two discrete periods (figure

[169] "Hebron: Bethel Colony Cemetery, Lay Them Down, One By One," *Shelby County Herald*, 1974 Harvest Fest Edition; Karen S. Kiest, "Czech Cemeteries in Nebraska from 1868: Cultural Imprints on the Prairie," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 90.

9.4), from 1876-1880, and 1881-1885, the phases of this growth may be described as increasing row visibility near the east end of the cemetery, followed by an increase in the density of select rows. Overall growth now extends from Row A through X, with an even stronger east-west axis apparent near the eastern edge of the cemetery's level ground. Of particular note within the latter phase is the heavy concentration of new graves added to Row L over a three-year interval—nearly two thirds of the eventual total included in this row. Within this grouping the majority of the burials are those of younger Miller family members, casualties of infant mortality, whose pattern of inhumation creates the extension of the row, rather than part of a rectilinear grouping.

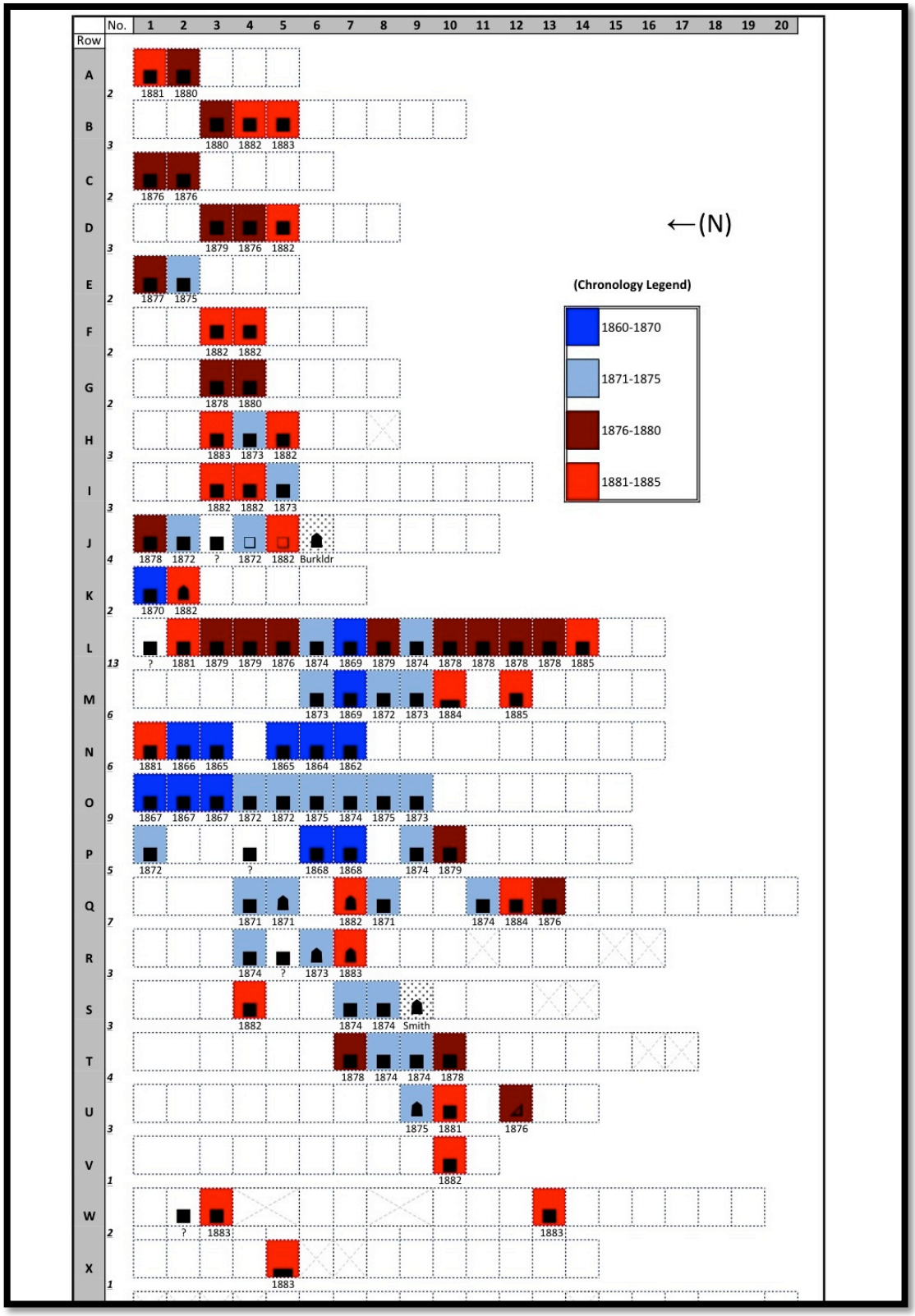

Figure 9.4. Chronological map of Section I through 1885, emphasizing the period of 1876-1885. (image: author, 2013)

Spousal pairings also constitute nearly the entirety of additions beginning future rows A through G during these years. From north to south, the graves of Jacobine and Jacob Koenig (December and August of 1876, I-C-1 and -2), as well as Susanna and John Woerner (January 1880, I-B-3, and March 1882, I-B-4), provide clear instances in the spatial order of inhumation concerning wife and husband regardless of burial chronology. As viewed from the front (west) of the grave, this format specifies the husband to the right (south) with his wife on his left (north). With the contemporary increase in Section I row densities, such a practice likely informs the development of familial groupings throughout the cemetery, placing familiar relatives – children, children-in-law, and siblings – in an arrangement centered upon the patriarch. Compared with the spatial arrangement of familial plots of their post-Colony descendants, this practice appears to echo a traditional rigidity in the spatial hierarchy in the mortuaryscape. Later inhumations see a more relaxed diversity in spousal order, as seen in the instance of the John Rueck family; the side-by-side placement shown here is evidently reversed (figure 9.5).

Figure 9.5. Inscription text for the shared marker of Jacob and Regina Rueck (II-P-19/20), *detail view*. Note that Regina preceded her husband in death. (photo: author, 2013)

1886-1900

Burials created during the successive chronological lustra between 1886 and 1900 diversify the larger picture of site use. Their placement also reinforces specific spatial groups. During this time, the early development of Section II began to take shape near the south-central edge of the site (figure 9.6), notably with the 1889-1890 inhumations of Stauffer family members (II-N-20, -21, and -22), Regina Rueck (II-P-19), and William Bachert (II-P-22). Successive use of this area through the turn of the century radiates largely to the northeast toward the well-established area of Section II, first in the close grouping of four graves added in 1891-92, and then more broadly along what would become Rows N and P.

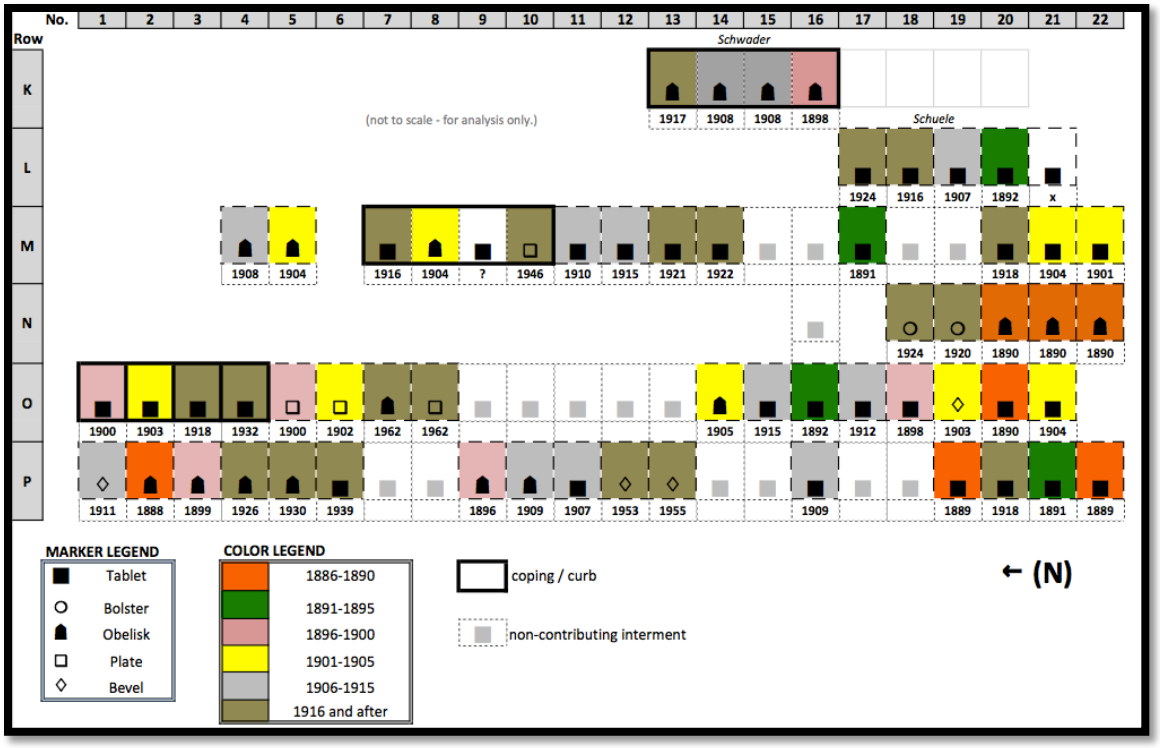

Figure 9.6. Chronological map of Section II, depicting growth from 1886 through the study period's close. Note Schwader and Schuele family groupings, *upper right*. (image: author, 2013)

Meanwhile, two clear family groupings emerge immediately east of this pattern. These appear to reinforce the practice of creating detached familial groupings— in particular, those of the Schwader (II-K-13 through -16) and Schuele (II-L-17 through -21) families. The position of these two groupings appears to highlight a moment within the larger transition from Section I's linear order to the more isolated family plots later visible on the cemetery periphery. Although it should be noted that the practice of gathering together relations in death is certainly not novel or unique here, the chronological and spatial control of these groupings stand apart from the larger existing assembly of Colony graves. The early growth of Section II's core, then,

suggests a conscious departure from the previous configuration near the site's northeast edge.

A similar shift toward tighter familial groupings characterizes the development of Section I itself during the same period, which can be examined in three successive phases (figures 9.7-9.8). First, existing rows were extended throughout the section as the natural mortality rate in the Colony's elder generation became increasingly evident from 1886-1890. Second, localized growth occurred in adjoining series of rows nearing the east and west edges of the section from 1891-1895. Third, traces of overall expansion spread westward across the cemetery with small groupings forming the basis of future rows P through CC from 1896-1900. Throughout, increases shown in both overall density and utilized burial areas suggest that expansion occurred predominantly around the edges of existing graves, rather than scattered simply throughout their midst.

This pattern also provides some sense as to the settlement's practical, even frugal conception of spatial use in its cemetery resources. In that the site's total available space does not appear to have changed since it was first set aside for interment purposes, the persistent choice to cluster graves upon a small portion of the acreage throughout Keil's tenure presumably reflects an ideological discernment of the mortuaryscape—the gathering together of members in death as in life. Such a notion might suggest that the Aurora Colony Cemetery functioned as a tangible, spatial microcosm of the larger Aurora settlement. Accordingly then, something of a departure from this behavior is evident in users' evident decision to substantially expand burial placement into a broader area by the 1880s.

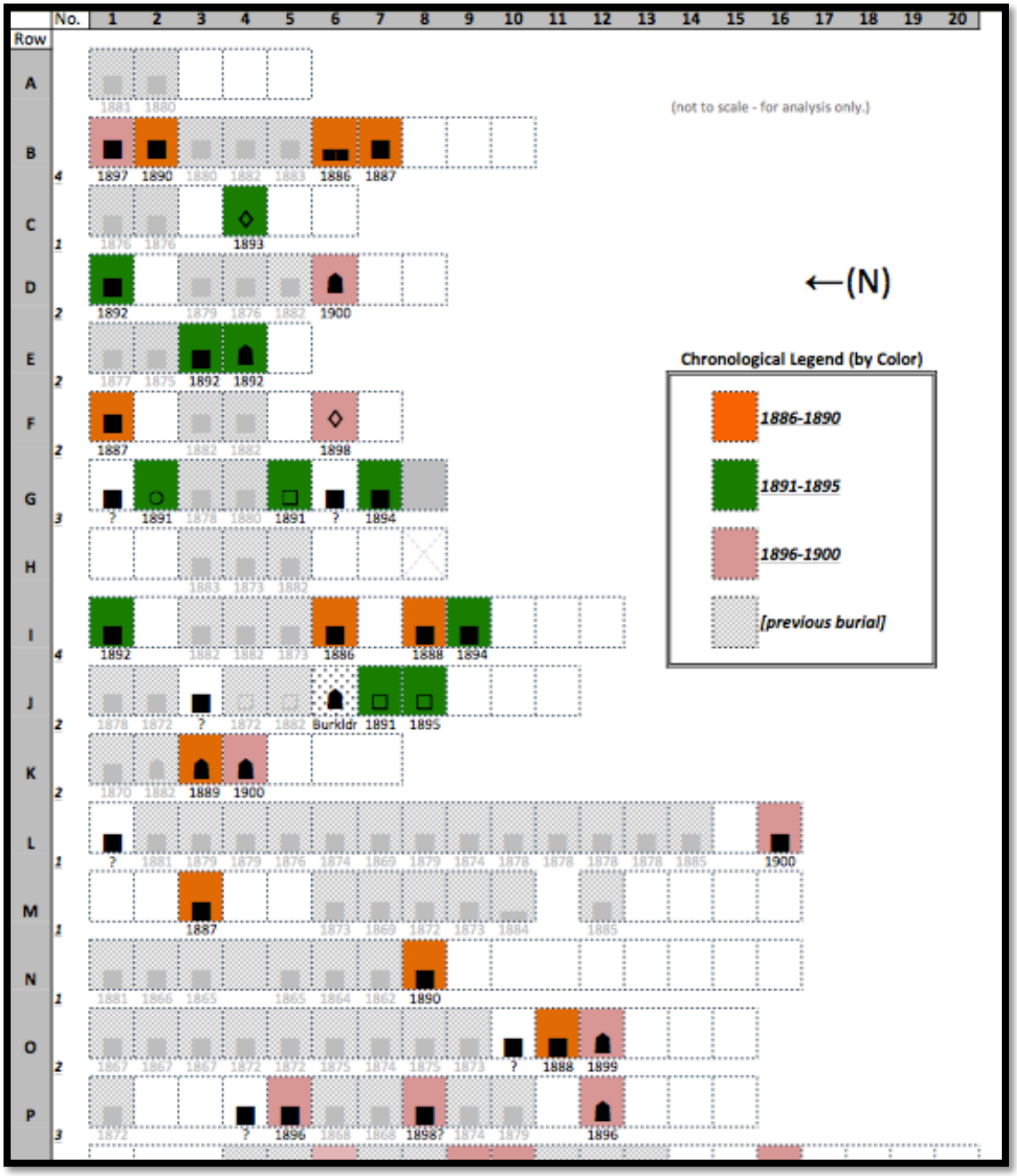

Figure 9.7. Chronological map of Section I, *east portion*, depicting utilization growth from 1886 through 1900. (image: author, 2013)

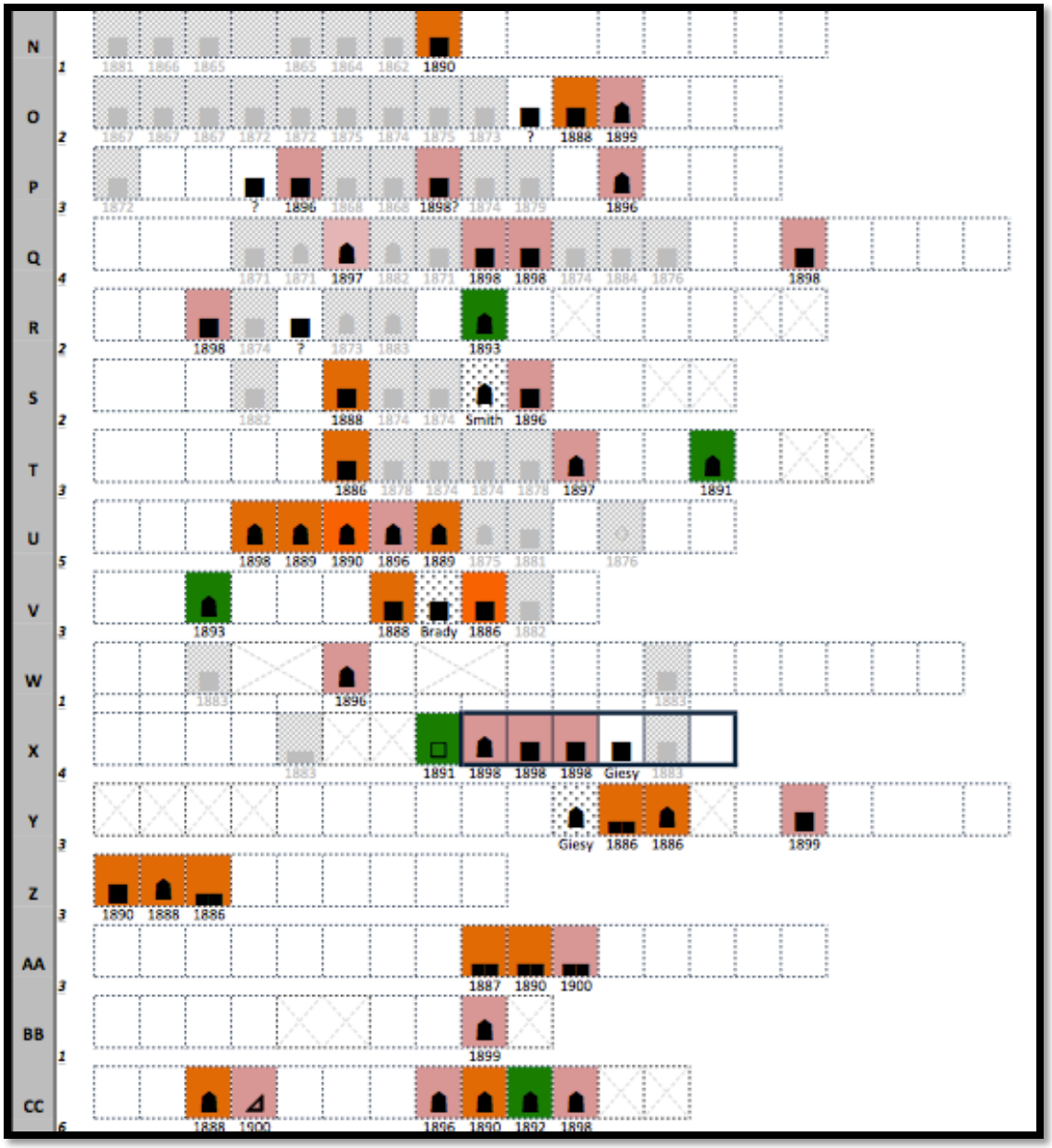

Figure 9.8. Chronological map of Section I, *west portion*, depicting utilization growth from 1886 through 1900. (image: author, 2013)

1901 and After

From the turn of the 20th century until the study period's close in 1920, spatial distribution increased the density between the earlier core of Section I and these newer outlying enclaves (figures 9.9-9.10). This pattern is particularly evident

in the tight familial groupings created near the western extreme of the section during this period, such as the Will and Rapp graves of I-U-3 through -10. A rare period photograph of this grouping shows recent marker placements up through 1906, as well as evidence of a split rail fence at the cemetery's northern edge above the aforementioned wash (figure 9.11).[170] In addition to memorial plantings in the foreground, including evergreen saplings and lilies, it appears that ground cover has grown up around to the east of the markers shown.[171] Such elements underline that, despite the use of increasingly urbane marker types by this period, the traditional, rural perception of the cemetery by its users also persists.

[170] The larger scope of the original image shows flowers atop the fresh burial of what appears to be Adaline Brady (I-V-6), effectively dating the image to sometime shortly after her death in August 1906. The slight weathering evident upon the limestone shafts of the nearby pedestal markers dating to the 1890s would appear to reinforce this time frame.

[171] It should be noted that treatments afforded within a cultural landscape report inventory commonly detail such features as an integral part of site analysis.

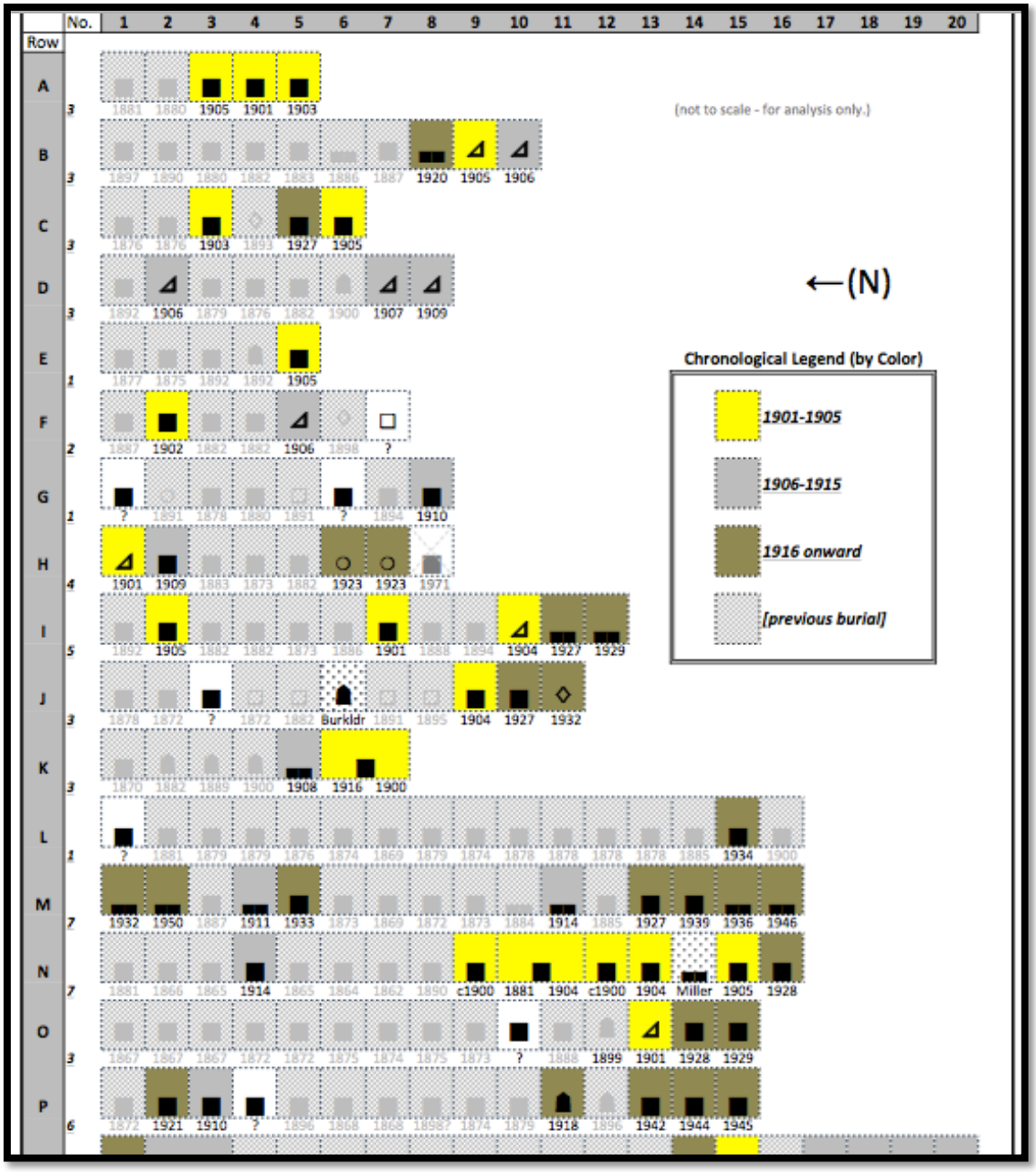

Figure 9.9. Chronological map of Section I, *west portion*, depicting utilization growth after 1900. (image: author, 2013)

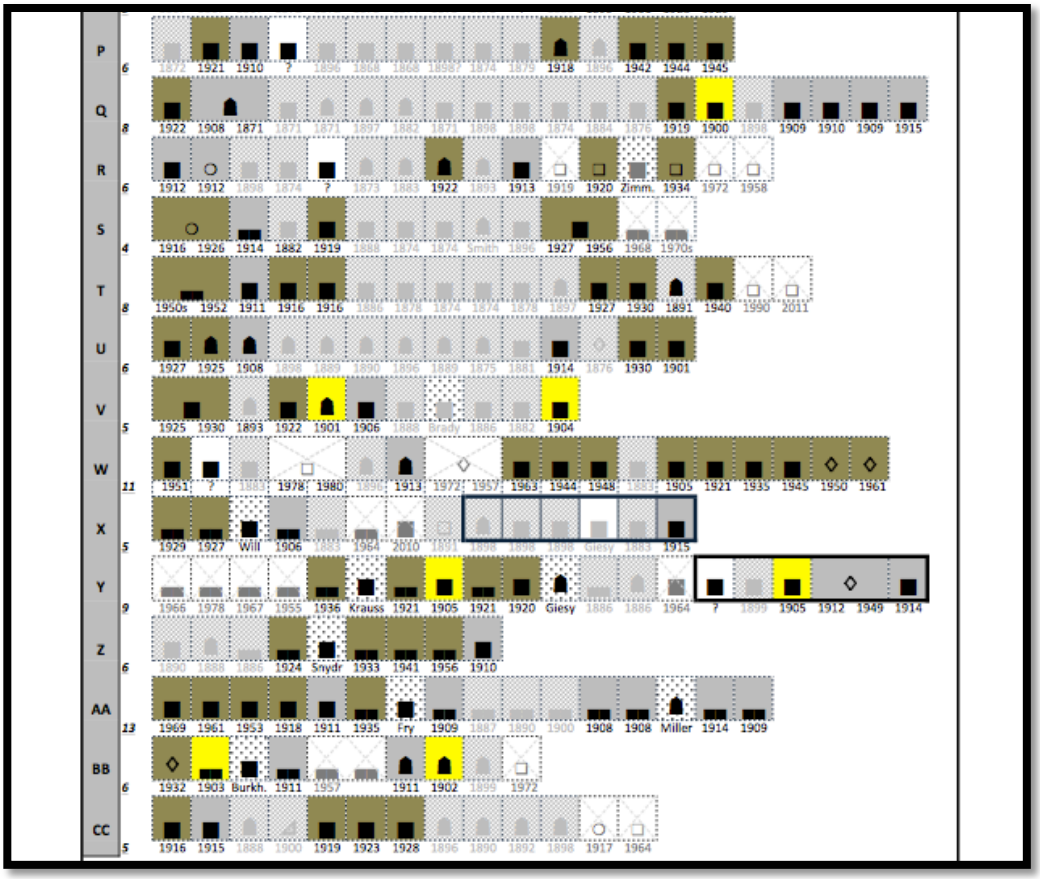

Figure 9.10. Chronological map of Section I, *east portion*, depicting utilization growth from 1886 through 1900. (image: author, 2013)

Figure 9.11. A period image, c. 1906, showing cemetery development as far west as Row U and V in Section I, *detail view*. Note the split rail fence to the north, as well as patchy ground cover. (image: ACHS A.84.9.29)

Such a mixed character is not surprising, when considered in light of this period's occurrence amidst the twilight years of many in the Colony's second generation of members. Here, their children inhabited the role of site users. While many of this third generation, too, experienced formative cultural influences within the Colony's active association during childhood, they no doubt found themselves gently pulled between their own contemporary views of cemetery use and loyalty to a late parent's ethnic worldview. In this manner, the site as a whole embodies a curious spectrum of ethnic identity, as Richard E. Meyer suggests, "between the polarities of retention and assimilation…[in] the occasional readiness to incorporate newer…techniques into ongoing practices."[172] Growing appearances of nationally popular marker forms and material composition, such as rusticated and polished granite, help to express this paradigm at the Aurora Colony Cemetery. Additionally, John Matturri has observed how more traditional mores of ethnic cemetery development "have been eroded or lost among many members of the third and and subsequent generation…"[173] By 1920, the aforementioned variations seen in the expansion of Colony cemetery burials offers an aggregate picture of steady, if gradual adjustment at work. This change, in turn, helps contrast expressions of situated and emergent contexts evolving within the site.

[172] Meyer, "Strangers in a Strange Land," 4.

[173] John Matturri, "Windows in the Garden: Italian-American Memorialization and the American Cemetery," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993): 17.

Position, Ideology, and Economy: The Everyday to End-Times

We may further consider the cemetery in light of its *sotto voce* expression of both cultural ideology and economic feasibility in the surrounding landscape. Without exception, each grave comprising the core of Section I adheres to the traditional Christian positioning of a westward-facing marker. This pattern signals an overtly cultural mode of burial—with feet and head laid along an east-west heading. Later inhumations joined this pattern, affirming the Revelation cosmology that a belief in literal, corporeal resurrection made burial facing Jerusalem all the more desirable.[174] Like other utopian groups of the time, colony members' collective ideology drew upon deference to this imminent Millennium, and with it the assurance of eternal restoration of the faithful departed.[175] Where an elevated topography for burial elsewhere in this period might simply address the nationally popular romantic preoccupations with contour planning championed at the zenith of the Rural Cemetery movement, such as Madison, Wisconsin's Forest Hill Cemetery (1858), or Evergreen Cemetery in Portland, Maine (1855), the Aurora Colony Cemetery offers no such straightforward interpretation.[176]

This eschatological implication of grave orientation, however, while certainly not unique to Aurora, also hints at the subtle interconnectivity of topography and

[174] Kiest, 84; Upton, 133.

[175] Keith Cunningham, "The People of Rimrock Bury Alfred K. Lorenzo: Tri-Cultural Funeral Practice," in *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 190.

[176] Patricia J. Finney, "Landscape Architecture and the 'Rural' Cemetery Movement," *FOCUS on Global Resources* 31, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 6-8.

religious ideology in the Colony's collective mind—despite the evident absence of formal planning. "Despite the rigidity of…American land development practices," Karen S. Kiest observes, "settlers were still able to apply many of their traditional notions of settlement and cemetery location." The markers' positioning furthers enables a would-be view from these graves out toward the Willamette Valley prairie beyond, although myriad ecological and manmade changes to the surrounding environs have gradually undermined this viewshed today. More pragmatic still for an agricultural community, this parcel does not appear to have offered ideal topography for pre-mechanized farming, even in the fertile Willamette Valley. The moderate slope of the hillside on which the cemetery is situated would have dissuaded any reasonable hope of convenient cultivation (figure 9.12). Furthermore, its isolation from the historical Ehlen farm road suggests the comparative difficulty implicit in transporting livestock, implements, vehicles, and crops to and from the parcel.

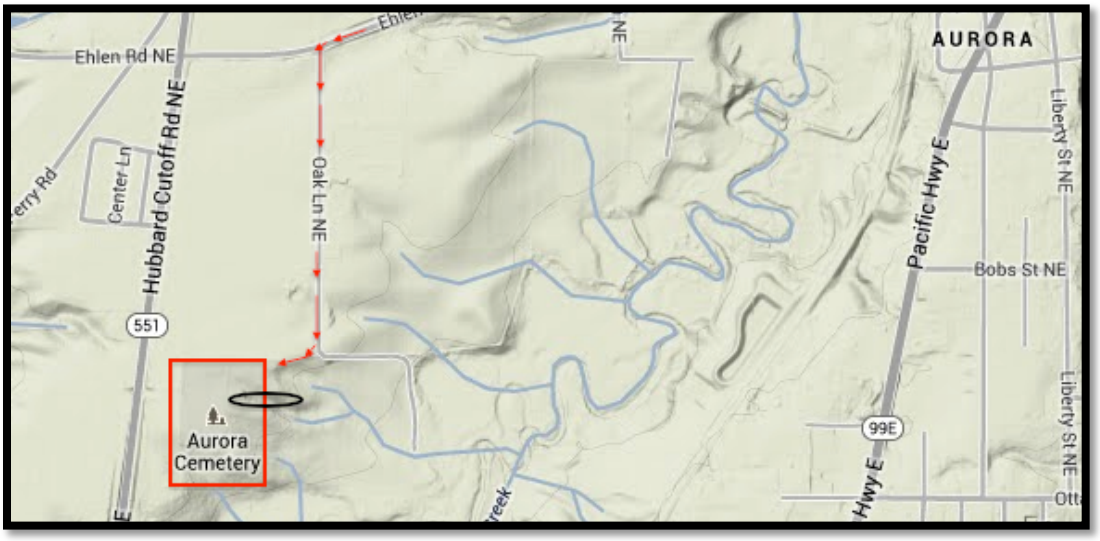

Figure 9.12. Satellite map view of the Aurora Colony cemetery in its topographic context. Note the line of hills extending along a SW-NE cardinal heading directly

through the site, as well as the steep wash, *circled at left*, near the NE corner of the parcel. (image: Google Maps, 2012; annotations by author, 2013)

For the evident parsimony of Aurora's growers, this unsuitability for planting crops offered ground useful for placement of the dead.[177] Historian Lucille Bower's asserts that the Hebron Cemetery, a Bethel Colony precedent landscape, was similarly distanced from the settlement itself as a result of its agricultural quality: "…their cemetery was located in the poorest farming area to save valuable crop land. The land wouldn't support many years of good crops so the dead were laid there instead."[178] That such a tendency would be familiar to many of the cemetery's users is beyond question, particularly considering its landscape features and the extended character of the access lane from the northeast. The fact, too, that a half-decade passed between the initial settlement in Oregon and the selection of a place of burial for the majority of Colony members may indicate a relatively low priority assigned to the parcel choice, at least by comparison to the community's farming interests. Settlement realities more than likely dictated that the collective resources and convenience allotted to planting the dead came second to securing profitable crops and cottage industries, as well as distancing the decay of burial for water sanitation purposes.

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[177] In matters of resource thrift, accounts by later Colony survivors that the Bethel colony's church building, erected in masonry with finely crafted walnut paneling, was completed at no monetary cost to the community, "save what they had to expend for window glass, nails, and the three [tower] bells" may well serve to characterize Aurora Colony shrewdness in resource management. William Bek, "The Community At Bethel, Missouri, And Its Offspring At Aurora, Oregon," *German American Annals* 7 (1909), 273.

[178] "Hebron: Bethel Colony Cemetery, Lay Them Down, One By One."

CHAPTER X

FORM TYPOLOGY AS A BASIS FOR SERIATION

Each of the markers populating Sections I and II can be grouped for statistical analysis by object form. These types are familiar across the continent; in fact, their classification can be carried out according to existing terminologies used in the eastern United States. Here, it is important to distinguish between form and the far more commonly discussed "style" of architectural influence.[179] Indeed, these two terms share many characteristics in common, particularly with regard to the appropriation of similar shapes for both larger components and smaller details of the stone. However, *form* is primarily an expression of the object's macroscopic volume and overall configuration of its massing, whereas *style* tends to invoke the more detailed collection of characteristics that embellish the object. Visual studies of mortuary art, as previously discussed, tend to place an implict emphasis upon iconographic motifs as an extension of style. This study varies its approach with regard to historical grave markers as a performance object, instead turning to the form as the fundamental characteristic for determining typological groupings.

Of those types found within the period of study, five in particular aid the techniques utilized here to illuminate chronological patterns within Colony

[179] Too often, *form* and *style* are confused—or tossed about interchangeably—as key descriptors of the historic built and cultural environment. Artifactual studies, in many cases, are. This may be attributed to persisting influence of art historical revivals extending from late 19th and early 20th century architectural design issues. Stylistic motifs common to the classical orders and the high gothic, when added upon other geometric forms, have a persistent and, at times, troublesome habit of capturing the observer's eye to the exclusion of more fundamental components of an object. This practice may still be seen at work, entrenched in the guidance provided by even the most well-meaning historic resource advocacy groups; the Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria, British Columbia prescribes identification based on such typological categories such as "Gothic tablet."

members' grave marker selection (figure 10.1). Each of these five types – tablet markers ("A"), obelisk or pedestal tombs ("B"), plate ("C"), block ("D"), and pulpit markers ("E") – possesses distinct formal characteristics for identification in field study and later data extraction. The typological identity of each recorded marker has been determined by cross-referencing its characteristics against the broad typological guides discussed in the works of King, Strangstad, and Dethlefsen as control references.[180]

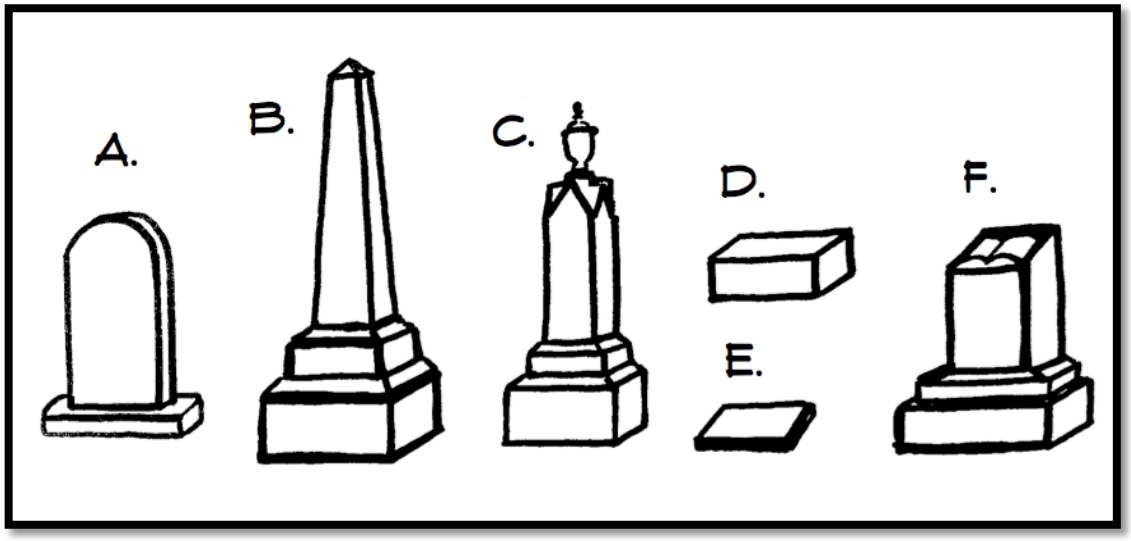

Figure 10.1. Diagrammatic illustration of sampled form types. (illustration: author, 2013)

Tablet Marker Type

The tablet embodies a widely present, easily recognizable form within this historic marker typology. Some observers may describe it simply as a "headstone,"

[180] King, 37-38; Strangstad, 39; Dethlefsen, 151-156.

thereby acknowledging the marker's overt orienting function in addition to its memorial role. Within the Aurora mortuaryscape, its shape exhibits the familiar four vertical surfaces, set perpendicular to the ground below.[181] A narrow width and thin profile tend to characterize the type when viewed directly head-on (figure 10.2). This is especially evident in those 19th-century tablets cut from limestone, whose sedimentary composition allowed for fine articulation in text (such as that required to render the German Gothic script shown), emblem, and other inscribed ornament.[182] Their verticality is pronounced as a product of these proportions, to the point of serving as a defining trait.

[181] Indeed, some of these objects retain their original, upright bearing. In far more cases, however, the effects of age, climate, and vandals have tilted and even toppled them from this position. In particular, irregularities in ground surface are common in many historic burials— the result of voids created by deteriorating materials and remains within the grave. Such conditions often accompany burials predating the use of burial vaults. This same phenomenon is nearly inevitable to some extent in most inhumations predating changes in many municipalities' sanitation policies in the wake of the 1918-19 Influenza pandemic.

[182] Farber, 13.

Figure 10.2. The marker memorializing Colony scout and tanner David Wagner in 1873 (I-H-4), an archetype of the early tablet form common at Aurora. Note the limestone composition of the tablet "die," set into a poured concrete "socket" beneath, which also shows two repaired fractures to the tablet itself. (image: author, 2013)

In addition to massing variations, the tablet shows a distinct assemblage of subtypes as a part of its form, as identified primarily by the tympanum, or geometric

shape at the top of the type.[183] Although these subtypes do not significantly alter the overall massing or form proportions of the type, they are certainly worth noting. Five characteristic subtypes, in particular, emerge prior to the twentieth century: segmental, seen onsite as early as the winter of 1862-63 (figure 10.3); segmental with scrolls, first appearing in 1873 (figures 10.4-10.5); round, denoting many of the earliest tablet markers used for Aurora Colony burials (figure 10.6); triangular (figure 10.7); and square (figure 10.8).[184] The presence of this range suggests that the tablet was a commodity ripe for variation and personalization by the close of the Colony's active period together. Moreover, the continuing diversity and depth of these variations within the overall form continues well into the 1920s, reflecting its enduring popularity a generation later.

Figure 10.3. Segmental tympanum subtype, *detail view*, as found upon the 1862 tablet marker of Lucinda Wolfer (I-N-7). (photo: author, 2013)

[183] Farber, Ibid.

[184] The square subtype provides one of many examples which demonstrate the simplification of mortuary art into what Hijiya has dubbed the "Modern Plain Style" of the twentieth century (the use of "style" not withstanding). See Hijiya, 357.

Figure 10.4. "Ein Denkmal an Catharina, Geib von David Wagner…," June 1883, *detail view*, displaying an earlier use of the segmental tympanum subtype with scrolls and willow motif (I-H-3). (photo: author, 2013)

Figure 10.5. Transitional versions of the segmental tympanum with scrolls, *detail view*, capping the 1880-82 markers of Benedict Stauffer (I-A-1), *left rear*, and Susanna Woerner (I-B-3), *right foreground*. (photo: author, 2013)

Figure 10.6. Round tympanum subtype, *detail* view, as found atop the marker identifying the July 1867 burial of John Stauffer (I-O-1). This shape characterizes many of the earliest surviving tablet markers found at Aurora.
(photo: Kyle Thompson, 2013)

Figure 10.7. Tablet featuring a triangular tympanum subtype, *detail view*. Only a handful of known markers exhibit the geometric characteristic onsite, including this diminutive example marking the 1875 grave of young Julius Urban Will (I-O-6). (photo: author, 2013)

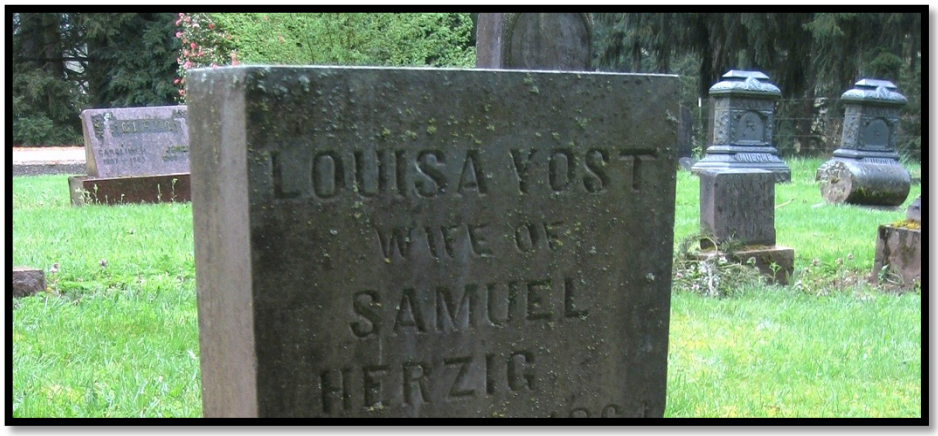

Figure 10.8. Tablet with square tympanum subtype, *detail view*, marking the grave of Louisa Yost (II-P-16). By the turn of the twentieth century, many such markers saw gentle increases in proportional thickness, as seen here. (photo: author, 2013)

The emergence of granite as a compositional medium is an influential link to changes seen in the tablet form. From an early appearance onsite in 1903,[185] its steady replacement of limestone, used from 1862, has been attributed to

[185] Barring obvious replacements of limestone predecessors, the Burkholder family marker (I-BB-3), placed to coincide with the burial of 30-year-old John Burkholder in 1903, appears to be the earliest extant use of granite for historic tablets in Sections I and II.

widespread popular growth in polishing and engraving technologies, as well as shipping infrastructure on a popular national scale. A handful of tablets dating to 1915-16 show the tail end of the local popularity of limestone tablets, excepting one final outlier in 1930.[186] Almost simultaneously – certainly from the late 1910s – the tablet form's thickness, proportional width, and massing all appear to increase significantly (figures 10.9-10.10). This pattern coincides roughly with the nearly exclusive use of granite throughout the cemetery as a whole, as in the nation at large, from the early 1920s onward. By the close of the period of study, the ripening of these later proportional characteristics came to typify the form itself, rather than appearing as mere variation.[187]

[186] Of the former, Catharine Boehringer (1915, I-X-14), Rebecca Scholl (1916, I-K-6), and Samuel Wolfer (1915, I-Q-20) provide examples. The final use of limestone in the case of George Ziegler (1843-1930, I-U-13), suggests that the material choice expressed a cultural conservatism as a function of the generational preference, most of whom he had clearly outlived at age 87.

[187] Indeed, a full century later, the understated and oversized tablet marker persists today in all of its industrially polished, laser engraved glory. Frequently, the surname is the only inscriptive ornament included, whether a familial or individual reference.

Figure 10.9. The tablet marker declaring the grave of Carl Frederick Ehlen (I-I-1), 1892, *three-quarter view*. Though still cut from limestone, this marker typifies proportional changes seen in the tablet form nearing the turn of the 20th century: decreased height to increased width and thickness. Note the clear articulation of both die-and-socket components in limestone above a stippled concrete base. (image: Benjamin Stinnett, 2013)

Figure 10.10. Fully-ripened tablet form, 1919-1928, *three-quarter view*. In the case of these members of the Kocher family (I-CC-5, -6, and -7), the markers' substantial massing exceeds three feet in height. Note the absence of a socket, with the marker seated directly upon the concrete base. (image: author, 2013)

Tablet Motif: The Willow

A thorough, in-depth discussion of mortuary iconography is beyond the scope of this study. The earliest known Colony tablets feature no iconography at all within a round tympanum subtype – that of the settlement's namesake, Aurora Keil, and three of her siblings (Keil Family Cemetery burials 1-4). Yet by the 1870s the inclusion of this imagery becomes an arresting visual feature of markers across the mortuaryscape through the end of the century. Thus, the deployment of both

traditionally ethnic motifs and religious themes plays a prominent role in memorial statements made through the tablet form type.

Certain images, such as the prevalent "weeping willow" (*Salix babylonica*), interweave ethnicity and religion within Colony members' mutual ideology (figure 10.11). Particularly evident on first-generation tablet markers, the willow adorns tablets marking graves in both the Colony and Keil Family cemeteries from 1872 through 1905.[188] This appropriation by Keil and his adherents is hardly surprising. In fact, its Old World background and memorial use are well known in conjunction with Germanic burials found throughout the American West during this period.[189] Biblical precedence, from Psalm 137:1-2 to Isaiah 44:4, makes clear the willow's enduring symbolic value, as Hacker notes, which may itself be an adoption of the pre-Judeo-Christian "Tree of Life."[190]

[188] While no known records are known to assist in ascertaining the hand of a Colony stone carver at work here, the ambiguity is hardly unique to Aurora. Nationwide, the art of hand lettering and carving skill was still frequently passed between craftsmen in an informal manner, often from father to son; the natural difficulty of perpetuating the art was almost entirely displaced by the advent of sandblasting and mechanical layout during the late 19th century. Huber, 152.

[189] Brown, *Soul in the Stone*, 6, 25. Meyer, "Image and Identity," 92.

[190] Hacker, 38-39. Psalm 137:1-2, "Yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. We Hanged up our harps upon the willows…"; Isaiah 44:4, "And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses." While no records are known to assist in identifying the hand of a local Colony stone carver at work in this iconography, the subsequent ambiguity is hardly unique to Aurora. Nationwide, the art of hand lettering and carving skill was still frequently passed between craftsmen in an informal manner, often from father to son; as Leonard Huber notes, the natural difficulty of perpetuating the art was almost entirely displaced by the advent of sandblasting and mechanical layout during the late 19th century. See Huber, 152.

Figure 10.11. Willow motif displayed on tympanum of Friederick Keil's 1879 marker (I-D-3), *detail view*. Although the tablet has been shattered and worn nearly beyond legibility, the relief of the image itself remains clear. (photo: author, 2012)

Evoking its immigrants' German culture, the willow embodies the distinctive mutuality of ethnic heritage and religious conviction in a new American land, as John Gary Brown asserts, offering a reflection of "the industry and resignation of immigrants eager to please their God in heaven and do their duty on earth."[191] This characterization is well within reach of the Aurora Colony's conception of utopia, but it also creates a dichotomy between the symbol's emotional and ideological value. Perhaps largely on account of the anthropomorphic "weeping" sobriquet, the tendency exists to identify the willow purely as a denotation of passive, sorrowful grief in response to mortality—what Brown calls "impotent weeping."[192] The much earlier popular use of the image to this effect within Federal Period mourning

[191] Brown, 51.

[192] Brown, Ibid; Keister, 138.

practices in the Anglo-American mainstream has heightened this conception, as Hacker notes.[193] Yet it is vital to recognize, too, the extent to which the same tree expressed for Aurora cemetery users a far more hopeful response in the face of mortality.

At the Aurora Colony cemetery, the symbol is dislodged from its association with national popular styles, and is reimagined as an active illustration of resilience and conviction. In this sense, the willow's characteristic ecological adaptability and endurance, recognized in both European and North American culture by the 1820s, comes to the fore as iconography, and is sustained well beyond its period of stylistic popularity in mass society. In this regard, one might argue that the design feature creates a unique reversal, leading popular culture to become folk culture.[194]

If not exclusive to the Aurora Colony's mortuaryscape, these metaphors are certainly an appropriate and, no doubt, a highly self-aware statement of community unity. Far from simply signifying the tragic reality of death's place among them, the willow also helps to articulate the community's intentions beyond the event itself. The willow should not be seen as a collective signifier of the departed dead alone, however, since, as Wells points out, the evidence of mortuary practices deals primarily with the phenomenon of death *as a transition* for the living, rather than a fixed condition.[195] Keil's claim that successively burying every one of his five children – perhaps the acme of grief in a new land – elucidates the distinction at

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[193] Hacker, 39.

[194] Brown, 51.

[195] Robert V. Wells, "*Facing the King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community, 1750-1990*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000): *xi*.

work: "To bear all that comes upon us in silence, in quiet, without noise, without outcry, or excitement, or useless repining—that is to be a man, and we can do that only with God's help."[196] Here, again, Boorstin's notion of the "verge" as an expression of the ebb and flow of historical forces reminds the reader that the historical narrative is one wrought with flux and quiet turmoil, particularly where the brief, deeply personal glimpses offered within the documentary record is concerned.

Appropriately enough, the tablet markers placed in 1878 and 1879 for Keil and his wife, Louise Ritter Keil (Keil Family Cemetery graves 6 and 7, respectively) bear the willow motif. In these and other Colony markers, the subtle addition of a broken lower right-hand branch in the willow design acknowledges the condition of sorrow. However, the nature of the detail suggests that it does so only as a secondary characteristic. Moreover, from the same broken branch arises a sense of resilience *through* ideological conviction, as Keister suggests, in that the hardy tree will not only endure, but also "flourish and remain whole, no matter how many branches are cut off."[197] Not without irony, the willow-crested tablet could almost be seen as a cenotaph for the Aurora Colony, en masse.

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[196] Nordhoff, 319. The earlier manner in which these burials is described ("One after the other I laid them here…") suggests a conscious reference to Ezekiel 17:5 on Keil's part, which utilizes the willow as a metaphor of thriving anew: "He took also of the seed of the land, and planted it in a fruitful field; he placed it by great waters, and set it as a willow tree. And it grew, and became a spreading vine of low stature…"

[197] Keister, 67.

Iconography and the Breakdown of Utopia

In some cases, iconography underscores faltering utopian identity within the study period. A notable example derives from visual references to membership in broadening realms of cultural identity, principally fraternal societies, available to community members as surrounding settlements encroached upon Aurora. Multiple markers associated with former Colony families in both Sections I and II suggest varying reorientations of allegiance, from Masonic orders (in the case of the Smith family, I-S-9), to the Knights of Pythias (Benjamin J. Stroup, II-O-19), to the Woodmen of the World insurance society (Edward A. Stroup, II-O-14). Elsewhere, as in the case of the later Henry Niest marker (I-W-19), the textual inscription "F.C.B." alludes to the Knights of Pythias motto, in English: "Friendship, Charity, Benevolence." Niest's parents contrastingly buried his elder sister, Henriette (I-W-13), with the inscription "Tochter von H. & C. Nieft, Geboren den 26 Aug. 1868, Gestorben den 24 May 1883." Although both siblings were born into the Aurora Colony, the inscription on the elder Henriette's marker suggests a significantly more conservative view of community identity—stated less than a generation earlier.

Obelisk and Pedestal Tomb Types

This marker type can be characterized primarily by its verticality. In the case of the obelisk, an upward-tapering shaft generally rests upon a cubic and rectilinear base in the case of the obelisk, and terminates at a point.[198] Its pillar-like massing and four-sided volume present an imposing feature up close, particularly on account of its large scale when compared to other marker types found onsite (figure 10.12).

The comparatively smaller pedestal marker echoes the obelisk's two-part arrangement, varying primarily in the makeup of the shaft itself. With no upward taper, this component is essentially rectilinear. In addition, its peak is one of broken geometry—often crested with a finial, frequently in the shape of an urn. Although these components constitute a plainer version of the format than is often seen elsewhere, their geometric simplicity within the mortuaryscape is most likely the result of popular commoditization after 1870, rather than a conscious intellectual homage to the purist architectural revival of Egyptian and classical precedents from antiquity (figure 10.13).[199] It is therefore as a commodity, thoroughly discrete from the art historian's inclination toward historical allusion, that these objects must be considered.

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[198] This arrangement also draws upon the Egyption obelisk symbol for eternity, formerly placed before a mortuary pylon temple, although any reference as such in this instance almost certainly occurs through nationally popular stylistic influences. The Washington Monument, for instance, was iconic during its construction from 1848-84.

[199] Dethlefsen, 52.

Figure 10.12. Obelisk and pedestal markers, *three-quarter view*, demonstrating their formal relationship. The John Giesy family marker (I-Y-11), *left*, shows a sloped, pointed shaft, while that of their daughter, Gloriunda Henricks (I-Y-13), features a broken geometry atop (urn finial missing) a rectilinear shaft. (image: author, 2013)

Figure 10.13. Pedestal tomb marker (I-Z-2), *three-quarter view* (finial missing). Placed for Christina Schuele's 1888 burial, the marker demonstrates an archetypal inscription surface—nearly resembling a tablet face in relief. The form's broken shaft, culminating in lancet arches, can easily be oversimplified into "Gothic Revival style" if not examined contextually. The shape also was popular among High-Victorian Gothic elements during the same period. (photo: author 2013)

In addition to a departure from the exclusive dominance of the tablet prior to 1880, the obelisk/pedestal marker reflects a distinct development in grave marker function within the Aurora Colony Cemetery. While an exhaustive typographical assessment of local mortuary inscription scale throughout the study period exceeds the scope of this study, it is clear that marker text decreases dramatically with this type's arrival. This phenomenon appears to derive largely from the characteristic

narrow shaft width, as only a small surface area for inscription is available on the marker's face above base level. At the same time, however, this format also translates into equivalent space across all four sides of the monument. This arrangement accompanies a departure in representative capacity from the tablet, which was traditionally utilized at a ratio of one marker per inhumation. Conversely, these latter markers serve to memorialize the burials of multiple family members in a financially practical way; inscribed on each of its four sides, they yield a ratio often as high as 1:3 or 1:4 (figure 10.14). Thus, the quantitative relationship between material culture and its representative function begins to evolve by 1890, thereby affecting our perception of a marker's performance as an individual object.

Collectively, the influence of such a paradigm shift upon field recordation is considerable. In many cases, obelisk and pedestal monument types can be seen as less spatially tied to the grave itself. A family marker may therefore function more indicatively in its *proximity* to a spatial context surrounding the interred, rather than an indicator of each individual grave. This function increasingly appears to be the case as the amount of time elapsed between each represented burial grows. Fascinating new questions arise. Does the performance of a single marker representing a *family grouping* or plot remain consistent for those graves added after the first interment? To what extent can a four-sided marker speak to the respective entombed, if more than four related burials surround it? Does the western face of the marker retain an ideological role, in addition to its primary visual role for the observer?

Figure 10.14. Intact pedestal tomb marker, in red granite, functioning as the primary identifier for four distinct members of the Will family (II-O-5, -6, -7, -8), *southeast view*. Here, the inscriptive capacity is reduced in the scale of the individual object, but maximized with each of the four vertical facets acting as a distinct testament. In this case, the earliest member noted the unnamed infant child of Anton F. and Anna E. Will, 1900. (image: author, 2013)

While obelisk/pedestal markers are undeniably products of broader systems of industry, mass culture, transit, and retail, their utilization in the Aurora Colony mortuaryscape may offer a reflection of the emerging *individualism* that emerged later in Colony life, and certainly after formal dissolution. As the generational departure from single-marker burial practice may suggest, this trend may also allude to a shifting emphasis—from a mirroring of the cooperative community to highlighting family-focused plots and objects. Future exploration may consider the

relationships, if any, between monument evolution and the shared concrete copings surrounding a series of familial burial groupings throughout the site. As the formal patterning of family plots had not yet emerged during the period of fieldwork, current data concerning shared curbing and coping remains inconclusive.

Plate and Block Types

Plate and block marker types further clarify the inception of change in the Aurora mortuaryscape, if not altogether acculturation. These two forms are easily identified both in simple, geometric horizontality and understated scale (figures 10.15-10.16), particularly in comparison to most vertical markers. However, the interpretation of information from these markers is more problematic. Such an object's diminutive inscription space and formal detail place a great deal of emphasis on the vitally important context surrounding the marker's use. Their size and articulation may seem of little analytical consequence to aficionados of older, larger, and more sculpted forms. Yet plate and block markers, too, hold an important place in the period of study. In fact, at times some instances of the block type may even be mistaken for the more diminutive plate type, when the buildup of organic material on and around the grave threatens to obscure all but its top surface within the encroaching change in grade.

Figure 10.15. Block marker for the grave of August Giesy (I-X-8), *detail view*, measuring approximately two feet in width. Ground cover has begun to obscure the its eight-inch height above ground from all but a close examination, with mosses and lichens encroaching upon the 1837-1891 date range. (image: author, 2013)

Figure 10.16. Plate marker positioned for the Joseph Erbsland grave (I-M-13), *detail view*. The type is sometimes referred as a "flush" marker—a product of placement level to the ground surface. (photo: Kyle Thompson, 2013).

Within onsite occurrences, plate and block markers are composed exclusively of granite. Their broader horizon of use begins within the years of the igneous rock dominance onsite. Frequent appearance in conjunction with limestone obelisk and pedestal markers for family groupings, however, suggests that the

legacies of these seemingly different objects are qualitatively entwined. While broad changes ushered in the unilateral selection of granite as a medium for gravemarkers nationwide, the memorial function begun in earlier burials with a limestone marker could be extended to later family additions with granite block or plate as secondary markers. Subsequently, we often see little beyond "MOTHER," "FATHER," or other one-word identifiers adorning these types. The information represented thereon is not necessarily incomplete or unavailable, but rather spans multiple markers across a range of materials, forms, and other object characteristics. In this case, the concept of object performance becomes an implicitly mutual proposition. Meaning does not exist in one or even two objects. Instead, it relies upon an intact context to maintain the virtual relationship among tangible artifacts.

CHAPTER XI

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Within the period of study, virtually all known grave markers conform to the aforementioned regionally familiar forms, as well as material composition, and iconography. Close-order study and subsequent information extraction yielded substantial enough quantitative information to illustrate both Sections I and II in terms of these characteristics. For purposes of a basic statistical analysis, each grave must first be weighted to reflect the context of its respective section and the overall grouping. Therefore, the adjusted numerical value of that marker ("calculated analytical weight, or "CAW") is expressed as a basic function of its relationship with these larger groupings:

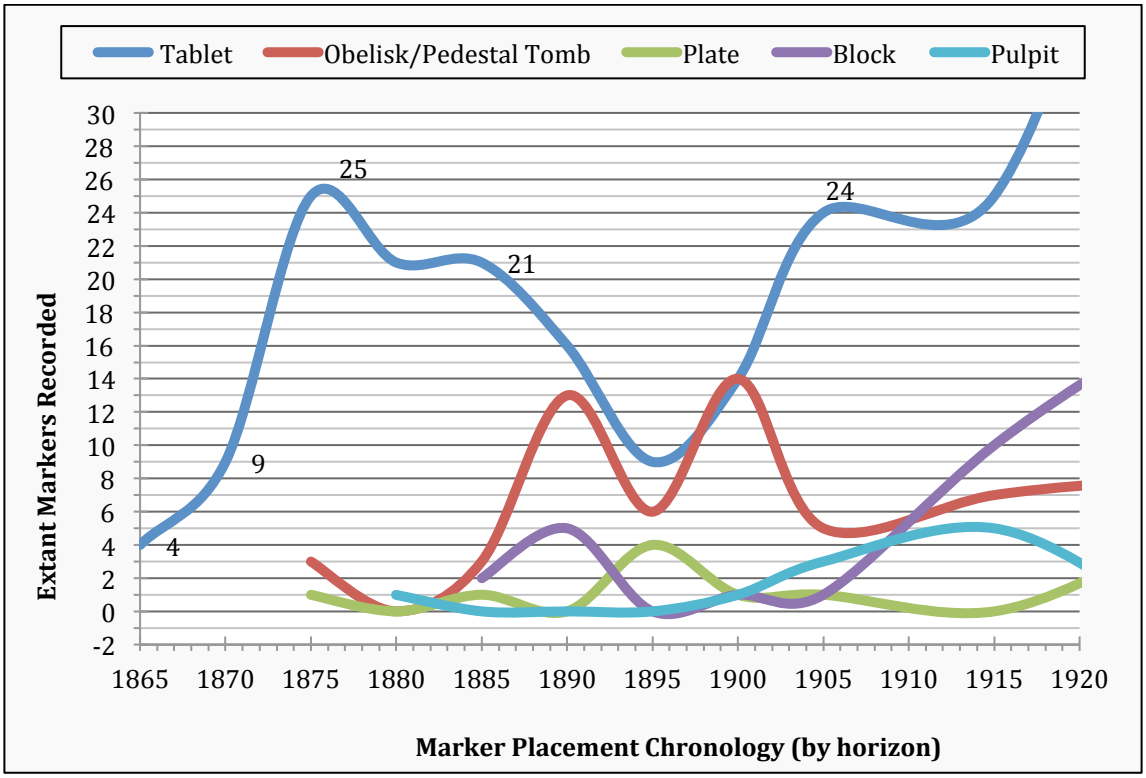
Calculated Analytical Weight: $f(x) = 1 / (c / s \text{ (of t)})$

(where "c" = number of graves recorded in component grouping; "s" = number of graves recorded in Section grouping; "t" = total number of graves recorded)

In Section I, of a total of 333 noted markers (85.6% of the total study), each individual grave recorded carries a calculated analytical weight (CAW) coefficient of 0.30, whereas the 56 markers included in Section II (14.39%) yield a coefficient of 1.786. As a function of the combined whole, each individual grave merits a coefficient of 0.257. These weighted values provide a sense of quantitative balance between the statistical volume of grave markers as a numerical percentage of the whole and that of their characteristics, within immediate spatial and temporal context. The values generated then help to emphasize variation in contextualized

markers as a function of their seriated components (Graph 11.1).

Graph 11.1. Seriation graph for gravemarker form types in Aurora Colony Cemetery, Sections I and II.



Interpeting Intrasite Material Change through Seriation

From the larger collection of markers, the quantitative treatment of form type illustrates typological changes over a half-century period. Tablet, pedestal, pulpit, and obelisk markers collectively represent 235 of the 333 graves considered within Section I (70.57%), as well as 46 of 56 found within Section II (82.14%). Combined, 281 out of the 389 graves represented in the study (72.24%) conform to these form types. These types appear to reflect the broad national chronology for

late-19th century mortuary patterns laid out by Hijiya.[200] In this manner, the seriation of marker forms at the Aurora Colony Cemetery appears at first blush to show a distinct similarity to choices in form made elsewhere across the continent during the late 19th century. How, then, does each quantitative grouping within this typology relate to one another within this contextual model?

With the addition of temporal and spatial control, patterns of change can be examined by comparing form types' individual *horizons*, or the temporal arcs through which the popularity of markers grow and fade as a function of their respective quantitative presence onsite. This technique, known as *seriation*, aids in illuminating the distribution of form types over time, as Deetz has demonstrated to great effect in colonial Massachusetts.[201] With each type graphed across two linear dimensions (chronology and frequency), "battleship-shaped" curves emerge.[202] Compared across the broader site typology, these renderings lend both dimension and depth to material patterns embodied in marker selection through time (Graph 11.2). The relative isolation of historic rural cemeteries, like the Aurora Colony Cemetery often amplifies the consistency of typological choices made by user communities, as seen in the case of Colony tablets.[203]

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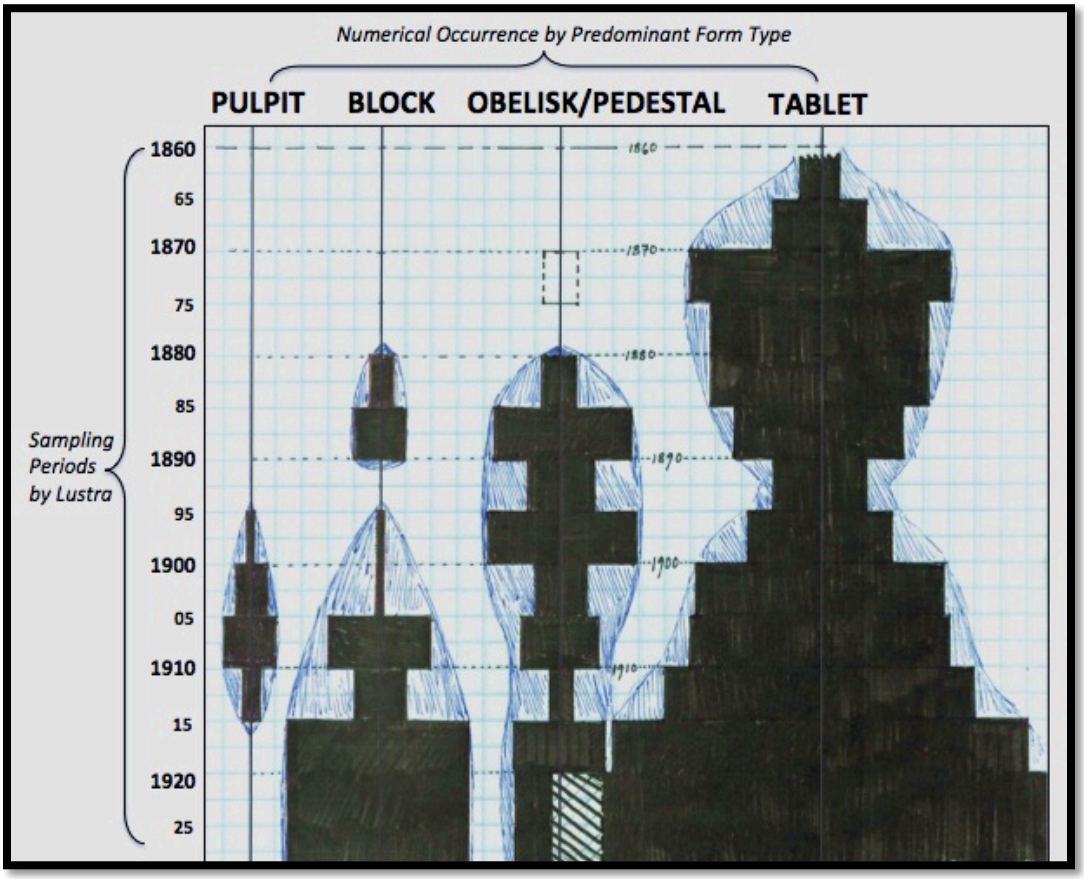
[200] Hijiya, 351-56.

[201] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten* (New York: Anchor, 1977): 93-124.

[202] Deetz, 94-97.

[203] Deetz, 96.

Graph 11.2. Seriation graph of horizons by predominant form type, 1862-1925.



Tablet Marker

So recognizable as to be nearly synonymous with the term "gravestone," the tablet marker type is a clearly dominant feature of the early Aurora Colony mortuaryscape. Numerically, 178 tablet markers can be identified in Section I (53.45%), alongside 25 in Section II (44.64%), for a cumulative sample size of a little more than half of the graves represented in the period of study (or 52.19%). This form type yields a weighted value of 13.4—apparently a rather emphatic validation of community participation in this borrowed marker form. The high weighted value

appears to derive principally from two factors. First, use of the tablet reflects users' consistent choice from 1862 well into the first quarter of the twentieth century (type deployed over a longer temporal period, rather than concentrated in a shorter period with a higher mortality rate). Second, its initial extant appearance coincides with the earliest use of the site, where tablets singlehandedly memorialize all known Aurora Colony burials between 1862 and 1871. In this manner, Colony members appear to have expressed an immediate and lasting material preference for the type. This pattern may be the result of the Colony's inwardly conservative tendencies, while not exclusively precluding participation in regional and national material patterns. The dynamic beginning of the tablet horizon, therefore, can be seen as a function of initial cemetery use, where no burials whatsoever had previously existed. That many in the enclave's earliest generation reached more advanced age during this period helps to explain the early increase in selection rates of this traditional, borrowed form type.

Obelisk and Pedestal Markers

The emergence of the obelisk marker and pedestal tomb forms began in 1871 with the interment of Henry Will (I-Q-5, figure 11.1). This horizon both develops and wanes much more dynamically than does the tablet's horizon. By the time one such marker is laid at the head of graves such as Anna D. Scholl's in 1893 (I-V-3, figure 11.2), the obelisk/pedestal form has entered the zenith of its numerical popularity, extending roughly from 1886 to the turn of the 20th century. Together, the obelisk and pedestal account for 12.61% of the Section I study group,

with respective analytical weights calculated at 1.1 and 3.0 for contextual frequency of occurrence.

Figure 11.1. Pedestal tomb marker memorializing the grave of Henry Will (I-Q-5), *southeastern view*, showing a simplified spherical finial. Note displaced rectangular footstone resting against the poured concrete base of this limestone monument. (photo: author, 2013).

The arrival of this form suggests the first typological deviation from the tablet. Interestingly enough, it embodies a change following directly on the heels of Wilhelm Keil's death in late 1877—a primary driver of formal Colony dissolution in 1883. The numerical density of this form approaching the western edge of Section I also provides some clues regarding their gentle rise in popularity between 1890 and 1900. Dethlefsen attributes the arrival of such "sculptured forms" alongside the

tablet to the nationwide expansion of northern industrial manufacturing processes by 1890. The Aurora Colony Cemetery shows an uncanny reflection of this trend, with nearly 90% of the study period's obelisk and pedestal forms purchased during twenty of the following years.

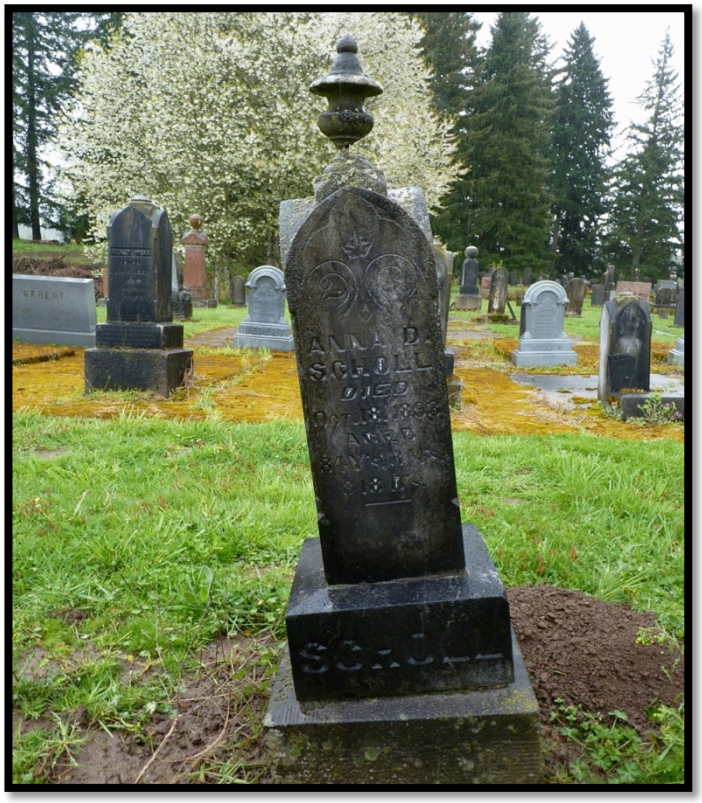


Figure 11.2. Pedestal tomb marker for the burial of Anna D. Scholl ("DIED Oct. 18, 1893, AGED 84 Y's, 3 M's & 18 D's.," I-V-3), *east view*. The articulated finial atop this monument is one of the few intact examples surviving onsite. (photo: author, 2013)

Yet even with the local population increases implicit in this type of quantitative growth, typological selection appears in keeping with earlier cultural patterns. Rates of increase and decrease follow slower, steady curves with regard to type popularity, an apparent complement to similar characteristics found within the tablet. Similarities may well provide further indication of conservative local

tendencies to select familiar forms on the part of former Colony members, or at the very least the evident lack of desire to embrace the flowering industry of sculptured forms elsewhere.

Plate and Block Markers

Though less prevalent throughout the period of study, the plate and block types show a comparatively brief horizon within the period of study, though they later experience a significant growth to the point of overtaking the tablet form. Single-digit occurrences between 1881 and 1890 mark an initial appearance in Sections I and II. By the century's turn, the curvature of the horizon widens, apparently alongside a 15-year dip in the popularity of obelisk and pedestal markers. By 1915 this growth slows, particularly when compared to the resurgence of the tablet form—which has itself exceeded 50 recorded instances. Thus, these forms' horizon is shorter in duration and more dynamic in curvature than these other types, suggesting a departure – albeit a brief one – from the general pattern of change observed at the Aurora Colony Cemetery.

CHAPTER XII

THE MATERIAL VERGE IN A REGIONAL CONTEXT

However tempting, attending to mortuary art as an expression of ideological change cannot address the material development of place. Nor can it fully frame the Aurora Colony and its descendants within the broader regional context. "Not all of the changes we see in the cemetery are explicable by reference to ideology," asserts McGuire. "Many seem to relate to changes of a broader cultural nature. At the most basic level, the cemetery is about death, and the shifting representation of death."[204] Both the evolutionary categories and descriptors of Hijiya's mortuary marker timeline support this view, encouraging the observer to adopt a holistic view of the Colony monuments— as artifacts of a culture extending well beyond the religious overtones of their distinctive community.

In particular, care must be taken to examine markers not simply as static objects across time and space, but rather as an expression of broad, complex forces acting upon the locale. As a result, the conceptual barriers between the notion of a separatist utopia and surrounding regional growth begin to break down. Richard R. Beeman notes how it has become "increasingly clear that ethnographers engaged in community studies [need] to expand their research designs to include those patterns of association that occurred amongst groups within the locality *and* individuals and institutions that were part of a larger civilization beyond the

[204] Randall H. McGuire, "Dialogues with the Dead: Ideology and the Cemetery," in *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States,* ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988): 437.

geographic locale."[205] Preservation historians, too, must be willing to consider expressions of identity beyond the most immediate, localized trappings of place alone; seemingly distant regional forces often fed a vital link between the local historical fabric and the broader cultural narrative. But, it is incumbent upon us to seek credible sources for extra-local influences. A useful means of gauging the range of outside influence is accomplished by tracing the source of economic networks.

The idea that the Aurora Colony was established within a largely self-sufficient agricultural framework is a theme common to period reports and later discussions, especially in commemorative newspaper accounts following Keil's death. This is perhaps not surprising, given the obvious historical and romantic appeal of a community whose members prided neighborliness over commercial ambition. The colony's economic identity is one remembered for supporting achievement of the greater good, rather than individualized commercial ambition. Retrospective accounts, such as "Adventures in Co-Operation," published February 27, 1921, well within the lifespan of many of the Colony's offspring, heralded colony members as "men and women of simple tastes, and they were zealous and industrious."[206] Elsewhere, the settlement's practices supposedly embodied "a living example of self-help, self-denial, and true fellowship."[207] This tone was echoed by former Colony members themselves, as in the words of Keil's successor at Bethel until 1863, Samuel Miller: "We prospered… the word was, no rich and no poor. We

[205] Richard R. Beeman, "The New Social History and the Search for 'Community ' in Colonial America," *American Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (Autumn 1977): 422.

[206] "Adventures in Co-Operation," *The Sunday Oregon*, February 27, 1921, 8.

[207] "Where Socialism Worked Out." *Morning Oregonian*, November 15, 1905, 1.

had no constitution and everybody was on honor. As we worked, etc,[sic] and accumulated a little money, we bought more [collective] land."[208]

Yet the cemetery's material context reflects elements of early outside influence and individualism in the discontinuity of marker composition after 1870. Markers during this period suggest diversification in users' choice of language, ornament, and motif, while expression of form and massing clearly show an emerging uniformity, likely the result of industrial manufacture. The appearance of these new elements point toward a shift in local mortuary choice, a sea change underpinning what Garfinkel calls the "emergent context" of object meaning.

Such changes must be examined through as many characteristics of the marker as can be accessed, particularly with the onset of 20th-century minimalist influences in mortuary objects.[209] Thus, information pertaining to the material composition and manufacture of monuments become a keyhole in unlocking material identity. Examining material composition prompts the observer to consider the origin and journey of materials to the cemetery, whereas the method of manufacture hints at the importance of acknowledging prefabrication as a viable expression of emergent regional identity. Addressing the forces responsible for the presence of prefabricated metallic monuments serves to connect the Aurora Colony's own narrative to a burgeoning regional context of business, transportation, and commoditization.

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[208] This and other excerpts of Miller's manuscript are published with "Adventures in Co-Operation." Miller's own grave can be found alongside other Miller family interments, corresponding to code I-T-6 in this study. We should note that Miller's use of "and" suggests an assumption of continued shared growth and prosperity in agricultural precincts of the 19th century. This might also be reasonably taken as a visual representation of the Colony itself.

[209] Hijiya 356-357.

Situated Material Context in Settlement Practice

Cemeteries in the Pacific Northwest dating to the 1850s and thereafter provided a fertile environment for technological expression to emerge within material performance. Where the fashioning of rudimentary markers in wood or rock at once afforded the most basic utilitarian function and ideological expression (figure 12.1), not unlike that of the region's early architectural fabric, a stream of imported materials and products quickly became entwined with emigrant movement.[210] The situated material context of the community's own initial architectural development saw a variety of ethnically familiar, borrowed forms expressed in locally harvested timber.[211] "The first structures were built of [hewn] logs," Betty Keeler reports of the Colony's early buildings. "[Construction methods] show either the 'V' notching, full dovetail notching, or saddle types characteristic of German log construction."[212]

Period accounts identify the raw materials of early construction as the direct by-product of clearing the hilly agricultural terrain of the immediate locale, "in the main a dense forest of heavy fir timber… which must first be cleared by an

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[210] Garfinkel, 110; Boorstin, 250. As well, many period illustrations, like that of William Tylee Ranney's 1848 "Prairie Burial" shows no marker whatsoever. Though the scene is unsurprisingly dramatized for the death of a child, this notable absence underlines the realities of trail shortage, even for such significant junctures.

[211] Dole, 378.

[212] Betty Keeler, "The Cultural Landscape of Aurora, A German Communal Society," June 21, 1974, TMs (photocopy), p. 9, Aurora Colony Historical Society, Aurora, Oregon. The materials and ethnic influence at work in the Colony's built environment are also discussed at length amidst the correspondence between Clark M. Will and Philip Dole, dated March-June 1967, retained within the Clark M. Will collection at the Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Collection MS1500.

enormous expenditure of toil and labor."[213] Even at the height of Colony growth, notes Bek, firewood was "drawn into town and to each man's door by the community teams… In fact, they make a general effort, and with singing…the wood-piles are properly prepared."[214] That many Colony members shouldered these tasks with a vocational flexibility encouraged both efficiency and the economical proliferation of vernacular craft training throughout the community. Indeed, George Krohler, Jacob Miller, Stephen Smith, and other builders are each known to have practiced multiple woodworking trades as a vocation during this early period at Aurora, from joiner to wainwright, and cabinetmaker to house-builder.[215] This approach to shared labor rhythms guaranteed a ready supply of inexpensive building fabric as the colony's homes and businesses were carved from the landscape, and moreover reflects a community fashioned according to a traditional mental template of workmanship. The same craft-centric approach to the formulation of everyday objects, from vernacular textiles, to basketry, to the furniture they covered, helps to frame the early years of settlement at both Bethel and Aurora,.[216]

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[213] *The West Shore* (Portland, Oregon), January 1882, 4. While the publisher, Leopold Samuel, appears to have wielded this forum primarily to espouse a positivistic sentiment for northwestern settlement, such an account can hardly be an exaggeration upon the locale's known history. J.D. Cleaver's "L. Samuel and the 'West Shore': Images of a Changing Northwest" (*Oregon Historical Quarterly* 94, no. 2/3 [1993]) also identifies Samuel himself as a hopeful German immigrant, relocating to the United States at about the same time as Keil's party displaced westward. See also: Keil and Lyman, 84.

[214] Nordhoff, 328.

[215] Keil and Lyman, 84; Bek, ""A German Communistic Society in Missouri," 64, 73-74; Dole, 409-410; Nordhoff, 311.

[216] For a study of textiles created by Colony members, see Hannah Jessica Flier, "Written in Thread: The Evolution of Quilting in the Bethel and Aurora Colonies" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 2012). Likewise, for furnishings, see Robert Smith McCarl, "Aurora Colony Furniture" (M.A. thesis,

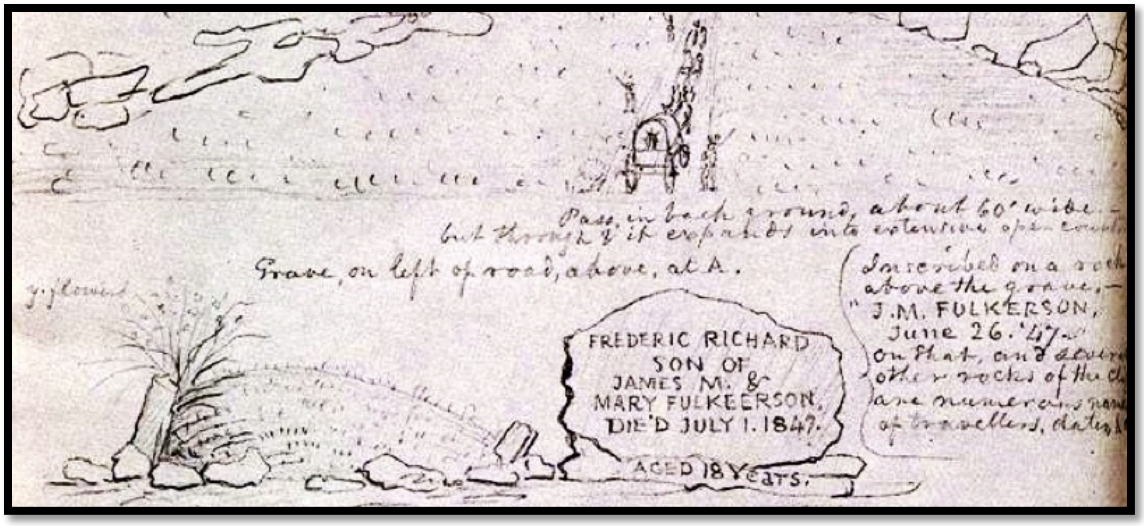

Figure 12.1. An 1847 marker for Frederick R. Fulkerson [Volkertsten], comprised of etched rock near Carbon, WY, as depicted in an 1849 sketch of unknown authorship. (image: Carrie McPeak)

Limestone Composition as a Material Context

Some evidence survives to suggest gravemarkers fashioned by hand by Colony members for use in Hebron, the prior Bethel settlement cemetery. Bek's reproach of "the resting places of the honest toilers, [that] are marked by humble limestone tombs, made by the colonists themselves," insinuates that – even to the casual observer – these monuments commanded no great ripening of form or style.[217] More specifically, contrasted with the more masterful craft backdrop seen in building practices and its cottage industries in Bethel and Aurora, these objects stand out rather curiously: "…of all the manifestations of skill in the colony, these

University of Oregon, 1969). The Old Aurora Colony Museum curates numerous objects pertaining to the settlement members' respective craft capabilities.

[217] Bek, 92.

memorials to the departed show least care and ability."[218] While this assessment may be taken at face value at least as far as Bek's own opinion is concerned, it remains unclear as to the precise target of his criticism. Was it the ostensibly low level of detail or its execution? The quality of the limestone? Meanwhile, virtually no evidence is known to suggest that similar markers were used at Aurora, where the "attitude" toward such work carried forth.

In fact, pre-cut limestone tablets appear to constitute the earliest material utilized within the Aurora Colony mortuaryscape.[219] This compositional dichotomy within the Colony's cultural landscape appears to approach what Daniel Boorstin has described as a "technological verge."[220] Here, the notion can relate how socio-cultural needs anticipate the function of an innovation, suggesting how the meaning of objects like monuments does not derive purely from a response after their arrival within a locale. Rather, an object's identity might be said to be *locally* responsive; the very moment of its utility can already be considered a response to the forces which preceded it.[221] In this sense, Boorstin's merger of the locale's self-awareness, its receptiveness to novelty, and its population's cultural consciousness dovetails with Garfinkel's concept of performance regarding elements of use and context. Significant meaning in these imported tablets, then, derives as much from the backdrop of locally sourced and shaped built environment as it does from the conscious utilization of a comparatively rare medium. Thus, the cemetery's early

[218] Bek, Ibid.

[219] Jeane, 114.

[220] Daniel J. Boorstin, *Hidden History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), xxi-xxii, 250-251.

[221] Boorstin, xv.

material vocabulary can be considered as a distinction in the local culture between immediate, everyday domestic needs and those practices aligned with elevated, tradition-driven mortuary ritual.

Introducing Garfinkel's notion of an emergent context for material performance into a study of the Aurora Colony's memorialization practices also reflects the local implication of Boorstin's concept, in two key ways. First, the formal typology of Aurora's colonial period is not exclusive to the Colony locale, showing similarities to more easterly regions of contemporary Anglo-German settlement (figure 12.2). Many of these tablets, obelisks, and other markers reflect an apparent uniformity in their basic form, particularly after 1870, characterized by a generally uniform shape and size, accompanied by a predictably mechanized articulation of stylistic detail. Cumulatively, these factors, along with their limestone composition, hint at the potential shipment and purchase of pre-cut tablet blanks from extra-local commercial sources, which could then be finally inscribed according to local needs. Unfortunately, the documentary record at this time remains insufficient to fully illuminate this possibility.

Figure 12.2. The headstone of young Izora B. Winchenbach (d. 1879), North Yarmouth, Maine, *left*, suggests a formal similarity to that placed for the newborn Albert Miller (d. 1876) in Aurora, yet the two have little in common culturally, socially, or technologically. (photos: Author, 2012)

Cast Monuments: Expressions of Emergent Context

It would seem sufficient to suggest that the limestone medium overwhelmingly characterizes the composition of markers within the Aurora Colony Cemetery sites. But a search for meaning within the landscape's emergent context speaks to shifting industrial forces and users' commercial desires that suggest *overlapping* patterns of cultural ebb and flow. This overlap, therefore, serves to emphasize the value of discontinuity as a worthwhile focal point in examining typological change in the monuments. In keeping within the two-generation period associated with by colony affiliation, the present study brings into focus a new memorial medium. Although the numerical presence of cast metal markers in the

Colony cemetery is quite small in comparison with the ranks of those cleaved from limestone and, even later, granite, "cast bronze" monuments demonstrate the clear, documentable role of mortuary evidence as a reflection of technological changes and product accessibility within Aurora's cultural cohesion.

The appearance of cast bronze monuments in the Pacific Northwest speaks to the nationwide flowering of funerary industries following the American Civil War. Commercial monuments were fabricated on a widespread scale by means of shaping molten zinc into a series of highly detailed sandcasts. This process produced a high level of articulated detail and a characteristic blue-gray zinc-oxide patina, making them instantly recognizable as objects in the Aurora mortuaryscape.[222] The popularity of this distinctive material coincides with the early years of the Aurora Colony and helps to connect its cemetery to broader regional developments.[223]

As an unmistakable expression of extralocal commodity and shipment, these monuments link identifiable sources of production with a relatively well-controlled period of diffusion across the nation between the 1870s and the onset of the Great Depression.[224] By 1880, suggests Barbara Rotunda, a consistent picture of cast bronze fabrication and sale emerges regarding its sole producer nationwide, the

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[222] Barbara Rotundo. "Monumental Bronze: A Representative American Company," in *Cemeteries & Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1989): 263, 267; Grissom, 15. As Rotundo has keenly noted, both "cast bronze" and "white bronze" are actually common names for a material composition of nearly pure zinc, which was displaced due to the popularity of trade advertising language. Hereafter, the common misnomer "cast bronze" will suffice.

[223] In fact, the rapid expansion of zinc as a popular commemorative medium can be traced from its early American instances of smelting in 1860, through popularization at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition, to the closure of the significantly influential Monumental Bronze Company in 1939. Carol A. Grissom, *Zinc Sculpture in America, 1850*-1950 (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 27-29.

[224] Rotundo. 263.

Monumental Bronze Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut, with a flexible nationwide network of subsidiaries.[225] That a selection of these monuments could emerge within a dominant Colony preference for limestone gravemarkers encourages the viewer to contextualize their material *composition* alongside its other components. The spread of Monumental's proprietary methods and products, promoted through the American Northwest in nationwide agents' catalogs and newspaper advertisements (figures 12.3.-12.4), reflects changes to marker composition in the Aurora Colony's mortuary culture.

Figure 12.3. Period catalog cover for regional subsidiaries of the Monumental Bronze Company, containing design and symbol templates for agent orders, as published by the Dorman Lithographing Co. of New Haven, CT.
(image: Association for Gravestone Studies)

[225] Rotundo, 270-278.

Figure 12.4. Subsidiary advertisement published in the June 19, 1896 edition of the *Oregon City Enterprise*, indicating a period Portland supplier.
(image: Historic Oregon Newspaper collection, University of Oregon)

A subsidiary manufacturer name, frequently cast on the lower-right corner of the monument's rear face, provides an obvious indication of the often distant manufacture of these products. Production centers from Philadelphia to Iowa included foundry subsidiary titles as a part of mold construction, thereby increasing the visibility of each marker's provenance and further commercial appeal when finally placed (figures 12.5-12.6). This unique characteristic aids in developing a broader sense of geospatial and contextual control for marker performance, as a function of commodity manufacture and commercial freight networks.

Figure 12.5. Subsidiary manufacturer marking, *detail view*, as cast on the base of memorial statuary placed at the grave of the infant Friedrik Bozeman Vogel, 1883, the year following the arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) corridor in Montana's Gallatin Valley. (photo: K.W. Heath collection, 1984)

Figure 12.6. Subsidiary manufacturer marking, *detail view,* as cast on the base of Jennings family monument in Eugene, Oregon's Pioneer Cemetery. This marker memorializes burials spanning 1869-1917. (photo: author, 2012)

Manufacturer markings are typologically integral to cast monuments, in that their casting occurs within the fabrication of the monument form itself, rather than as an optional afterthought (as in the case of some stone engraving practices). This

feature, however, was easily modified to suit the subsidiary's own name, given the small amount of investment capital, basic equipment, and dedicated space required to carry out the sandcasting process.[226] Subsequently, the marking can be seen as both an artifact of extra-local commerce and a direct tie between the individual user (and ostensibly the deceased) and regional forces of change. By extension, this relationship links the meaning of the object as much to a broad regional context as to its local purchase and utilization.

The names of the American White Bronze Company of Chicago, Illinois and the Detroit [Michigan] Bronze Company are two of the most prominent subsidiary title examples visible on monuments in the Aurora cemetery (figure 12.7). Their occurrence supports Rotundo's assertion that these Midwestern subsidiaries controlled a sales "jurisdiction" over "all States West" for Monumental Bronze by 1883.[227] The regional documentary record confirms that this commercial umbrella proved influential for soliciting local customers in the growing Pacific Northwest. In particular, period advertisements printed in the *Oregon City Enterprise* and *Morning Oregonian*, among other Portland-area circulars, illuminates a facet of Monumental Bronze's commercial reach into Aurora's neighboring communities just 20 miles to the north. Promotional claims made within "A Durable Monument," published in 1886, reveal that "several monuments of this material have been erected in River View cemetery [located south of Portland along the Willamette River, near the future neighborhood of South Burlingame], where they are attracting much

[226] Grissom, 13, 57-58.

[227] *White Bronze Advocate*, 1883, quoted in Rotunda, 272.

attention…"[228] Despite the blatant salesmanship, the material record appears to bear out these claims, well beyond their author's life. The appeal of "saving money" and "endurance" might well have appealed to the parsimonious nature of Colony members and their desire to endure in a new home.

Figure 12.7. Base of the two-piece "cast bronze" monument for Louis F. Webert (d. November 1868, I-P-7), *detail view*. Note the crisp relief of the subsidiary manufacturer text, as well as stylistic detail articulating the sides of the base, as found in Aurora's mortuaryscape (photo: author, 2012)

Paired with the monuments themselves, the documents' own geographic provenance suggests the strong likelihood that a handful of prospective clients were to be found amongst the otherwise monolithic Colony—such as those in the Voght or Giesy families (I-Q-11, -13, -14, -15, and II-P-1, -2, -4, and -5, respectively). As a minority of the population and material record, we are obligated to view their role as Monumental Bronze clients in a highly individualistic light. This reality stands in stark contrast to the well-established limestone collective which continued to

[228] "A Durable Monument," *The West Shore*, Nov 1, 1886, Historic Oregon Newspapers collection, University of Oregon, 348.

prevail around them. No doubt these members were exposed to some facet of the solicitation or products as individual customers, despite the traditional hold of limestone markers. The regional popularity of the commodity seems to have become a regional multiplier by the century's end appears to reinforce this notion.

Yet the historical record makes no secret of Aurorans' capable cottage industries, seemingly reinforcing a certain degree of individual isolation from broader market forces. In addition to mixed agriculture and animal husbandry, scholars have accounted for a craft economy engaging the pursuits of the tinsmith, physician, blacksmith, wainwright, cooper, tailor, miller, cobbler, and basket weaver to local benefit: "…the colony was able to supply essential services to its members without the exchange of money."[229] Even the high-quality Golden Rule whiskey used in the younger Keil's impromptu embalming came from the group's own Bethel distillery.[230] Economic self-sufficiency was clearly a central cultural tenet of the Colony. However, the manufacturers' stamps speak of origins in distant eastern cities, creating a distinct dichotomy between the self-sufficiency of the craft community and an unmistakable participation in a market of extra-local, regional, and even nationwide commodity.

With clear indicators as to their origin, the question remains as to how precisely cast bronze monuments arrived in Aurora and why they superseded limestone markers, if temporarily. It is no mere fluke that the earliest appearances

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[229] Keeler, 7; Minor, Jacobs and Tilton, 13; Simon, "Wilhelm Keil: Founder of Aurora," 62-63.

[230] Eugene Edmund Snyder, *Aurora, Their Last Utopia: Oregon's Christian Commune, 1856-1883*. (Portland, OR: Binford & Mort, 1993): 53. One cannot help but wonder if, in fact, Willie Keil would have found the treatment of his remains an apt fulfillment of the righteous labeling of his impromptu embalming fluid. "Was du nicht willst, daß man dir tut," or "Das füg auch keinem andern zu" ("do unto others…") are common, enduring proverbial parallels.

of cast bronze onsite coincide with the arrival of the Oregon & California Railroad in 1869-1870—a southern artery helping to complete the gargantuan Northern Pacific Railway corridor by 1883 (figure 12.8).[231] The importance of rail transit as a primary technological verge for this period's mortuary culture cannot be overstated, in that it occurred steadily with growing momentum and commercial influence.[232]

If such momentum spoke of "progress" across the wider West, it simultaneously suggested for Aurora a diametric opposition between the cultural effects of imported goods and isolation. The commercial ventures inspired in the Colony by this new regional penetration of the landscape, write archaeologists Minor and Chappel, "must have made a profound impression on Colonists of the younger generations since their everyday world orbited around Keil, Christianity, family, and the familiarity of the Colony… the taste of life on the outside may well have been a stronger pull toward the colony disbanding than any other factor."[233]

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[231] Dole, 400-401.

[232] By 1883s, similar markers can be found throughout Colorado sites in the Rocky Mountain region, supplied by the Western White Bronze Co. subsidiary. 1883 inroads into Montana via the Detroit Bronze Co. and Northern Pacific Railroad are also known, as well as later (1890) via the American Bronze Co. of Chicago. Annette Stott, *Pioneer Cemeteries: Sculpture Gardens of the Old West* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2008): 214-215.

[233] Rick Minor and Jill A. Chappel. "'An Excellent, Clean Country Inn': History and Archaeology at the Aurora Colony Hotel Site, Marion County, Oregon." Heritage Research Associates Report No. 200 (April 14, 1997): 11.

Figure 12.8. "New and Correct Map of the Lines of the Northern Pacific Railroad and Oregon Railway & Navigation Co.," *detail view*, published 1883 by Rand McNally of Chicago. By 1870, the southern artery of this transcontinental corridor enabled the freighting of commodities directly to Aurora's town center from Midwestern urban manufacturing centers such as Chicago, Des Moines, and Detroit.
(image: Library of Congress, Catalog no. G3701.P3 1883.R3)

But does the material culture of Aurora's mortuary landscape bear evidence to account for such momentous change in the population it served? Does the railroad run a figurative course through the cemetery, in addition to the townscape? If Oregon's own fledgling expansion of the nationwide rail network visited the penultimate blow upon the settlement's separatist isolation (second only to the socio-political vacuum left in the wake of Keil's 1877 demise[234]), its capacity to expand young Aurorans' vision into the outside world was matched only by the ever-advancing stream of commodities it delivered in return. Hence, cast

[234] Snyder, 97.

monuments speak directly to a cultural transformation, one that progressed from inward tradition to a popular culture shared broadly within the region. Countless goods certainly poured through Aurora's rail artery along with visitors and passersby, yet these notable cast bronze mortuary products are among the few such goods that may still be reliably accounted for. Their absorption into the very fabric of the settlement's lifeways, as the Colony cemetery markers attest, exert a potent external, visible influence in the transformation of the traditionalist utopia.

Cast Monuments: Commodity and Identity

The commemorative role played by the cast bronze monument in Aurora is one as deeply tied to personal emotion and familial identity as any inscribed in stone. As the same forces that made possible the shipment of this commodity signaled the increasing acculturation of the original Colony, the presence of these markers speaks to certain members' simultaneous reaffirmation of ethnicity and individual status. Consider the highly articulated pair of tablet markers placed upon the graves of Gottlieb A. E. Muecke and his wife, Anna Christine – identical to product "No. 688" listed in a period Bridgeport catalog (figures 12.9-12.10).[235]

[235] The Monumental Bronze Company. "Catalog B." (New Haven, CT: Dorman Lithographing Co., 1890): 9.

Figures 12.9 (left). The highly articulated cast monument memorializing the grave of Anna Christine Muecke, 1904 (I-M-22). The west face shows the interchangeable plate with religious motif bolted above the family surname; the opposite displays a customized epitaph revealing a statement of ethnic emigrant identity.

Figure 12.10 (right). Catalog item "No. 688," advertised by Monumental Bronze in 1890, is shown for comparison, *right*. (images: Author, 2013; Pennsylvania USGenWeb Archive, 2013).

Certainly the custom-lettered, interchangeable placards included on these Bridgeport markers heightened the potential for articulating clear linguistic sentiments, as the all-inclusive aspect of its $85.00 catalog price suggests.[236] Although the Mueckes' matching "Cross and Crown" messianic symbols appear to have been chosen from among the retailer's most popular choices, the otherwise generic commodity helps to voice a staunch familial expression of German identity, nearly a quarter century after the Colony's active period:

[236] Monumental Bronze Co., "Price List for Catalog B," 1890.

VORANGEGANGEN!
ANNA CHRISTINE MUECKE,
GEB[OREN] GILDEMEISTER, GEB. 25, FEBRUAR 1835,
IN MECKLENBURG, SCHWERIN,
DEUTSCHLAND,
GEST[ORBEN] 17, APRIL 1904,
AUF MIRAMONTE FARM BEI AURORA OREGON

"SELIG SIND, DIE IM GLAUBEN AN DEN HERRN STERBEN."

(Gone ahead!
Anna Christine Muecke,
Born Gildemeister, Born 25 FEBRUARY 1835,
In Mecklenburg, Schwerin,
Germany,
Died APRIL 17, 1904,
on the Miramonte Farm in Aurora, Oregon

"Blessed are the faithful, who die in the Lord."[237]*)*

The text upon Muecke's tablet placard reveals three primary ways in which the cast bronze monument provides the observer with an important carrier of cultural identity. First, the extent to which the manufacturer could provide for a detailed epitaph, as is evident here, offers cues to a sense of biographical narrative that endures beyond a single lifespan—beyond the spare, predictable chronology of expiry. The nature of the included details suggests to the observer not merely that "I existed," but rather that she did so in a meaningful socio-cultural framework. These cues acknowledge the fact that the deceased lived within a chronological span, but, more importantly, inhabited a specific place and its historical context. Second, the text's linguistic character tells of participation in a distinct ethnic community that endured beyond the lifespan of the individual commemorated, with those who

[237] These quotation marks suggest a direct, instructive reference to the biblical eschatology of John found in Revelation 14:13.

shared in its *gemeinschaft* presumably specifying the text. Set off in contrast to surrounding English headstones, these German statements invite the observer to consider the community identity underlying its seeming alien quality. Here, too, the notion of discontinuity as document, as well as a narrative cue, is once again evident.

The meaning embedded in German language statements found upon Aurora markers can hardly be understated. Prior to unification under Bismarck and the Franco-Prussian War conquests by 1871, no European nation yet existed to provide a single, homogenized template of national or political sense of German identity, rather than common local origin. Shared language, however, constituted a potent link between immigrants like those drawn together by conviction to Bethel and Aurora,.[238] Within his zealous *Reden an die deutsche Nation* [*Addresses to the German Nation*] a half-century prior in 1808, the proto-nationalist Johann Gottlieb Fichte pinpointed this link as an ethnic bond which transcended civic or geographic separation:

> *Those who speak the [German] language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself, long before any human art begins; they understand each other and have the power of continuing to make themselves understood more and more clearly; they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole. Such a whole, if it wishes to absorb and mingle with itself any other people of different descent and language, cannot do so without itself becoming confused…*[239]

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[238] Keil's group record within the census rolls of 1870, for instance, distinguishes birthplaces in Germanic states including Prussia, Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony, Baden, and Hanover, in addition to simply "Germany." U.S. Census, 1870: index and images, Wm Keil, Oregon, United States, NARA microfilm publication M593, FHL microfilm 000552786. *FamilySearch,* https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/MF8B-RG1 (accessed 14 Mar 2014), 147, family 1103.

[239] Johann Gottlieb Fichte. "Thirteenth Address," *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (*Addresses to the German Nation)* (Langensalza: Bibliothek Padagogischer Klassiker, 1896), trans. R.F. Jones (Chicago: Open Court, 1922), 223-224.

As Colony members fashioned their own socio-religious amalgam from among a diverse range of previous locales and groups, the text and script declared in markers (like those memorializing the Mueckes) a vital sense of cultural continuity.[240] That zinc manufacture provided the progressive opportunity to articulate high levels of textual detail and relief is somewhat ironic, too, in that their family's ostensible desire to reassert a lasting expression of cultural identity is inherently a conservative one.[241]

Finally, the separately cast, interchangeable monument plates themselves allowed the cast bronze marker's customer to engage in the remembrance of their loved one(s) to a highly flexible, customized degree. Made possible through processes of commoditization, industrial manufacturing and transportation advances (figure 12.11) as well as the proliferation of popular style, this element of the monument signals that members of the Aurora Colony were, indeed already joining a broadening external network of standardization by the 1870s— well prior to the end of Keil's leadership.[242]

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[240] Meyer, "Strangers in a Strange Land," 4.

[241] Meyer, Ibid; Snyder, 84.

[242] The earliest known cast bronze monuments within the Colony cemetery are those placed by the Webert family for Louis F. Webert, who died in late 1868 (I-P-7), and his three-year-old daughter, Albertina (I-L-7), who died the following year. These markers' provenance with the American White Bronze Co. of Chicago indicates that the latter's diminutive size may derive as much from freight charges as from the child-sized scale then considered appropriate. Both markers had a two-piece tablet form cast with text and motif in relief upon the marker body and base. Hence, these forms suggest less in the way of "regional" adjustment, and more commercial standardization of national popular norms—In the case of Aurora, *regionalism* seems to have leaped ahead to *standardization* via the rapid development of transportation and communication systems.

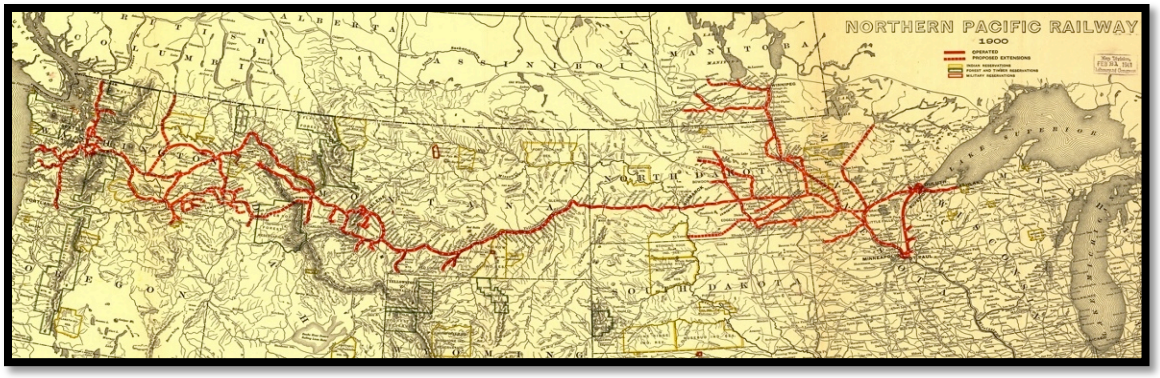

Figure 12.11. A facet of transatlantic rail corridor development into the Pacific Northwest, as of 1900. (image: Library of Congress, Catalog no. G4126.P3 1900.L55)

Cast Monuments as Narrative Cues for Historical Interpretation

Though a handful of the Aurora Colony's period building stock survives within its Historic District (in varying states of integrity and historic context), Minor and Chappel's investigation of the vaunted Aurora Hotel reinforces the fading visibility of the colony's built environment. This documented excavation and study of the hotel site—itself once a curious node of renowned German or "Dutch" hospitality for outsiders and a key portal into the colony for period observers like writer Charles Nordhoff—attests to the diminishing visibility of the all-important rail corridor within the local cultural landscape (figure 12.12).[243] This context, too, is now largely obscured, punctured by 1933 construction of the Pacific Highway (present-day Route 99E) that heralded the shift from rail to automotive transport.[244] Amidst this changing infrastructure, the interpretive potential of other forms of material culture may help to stem the further decline of the Colony's tangible narrative. The cues within the cast bronze monument and its intrasite relatives offer

[243] Minor and Chappel, 16-17.

[244] Dole, 410.

one such interpretive possibility. In the case of the Colony Cemetery, they may help to vouchsafe a sense of historical integrity and context so often elusive in a museum environment.

Figure 12.12. Aurora Colony Hotel, *left*, and rail depot, *right*, ca. 1875, as seen from a northern view along Main Street. (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society)

Notable with regard to their surviving concentration throughout Sections I and II, these specific monuments hint at a later transitional pattern of a particular mortuary vogue.[245] Theirs is a period representative of memorialization interwoven with broadening regional and national themes, such as industrial fabrication, catalog commoditization, rail transit, and the deeply personalized sentimentality of mortuary symbolism at the 19th century's end. These markers also constitute prime

[245] Seventeen markers of this material type are recorded in Section I, along with seven in Section II. See marker numbers L4-5, L7, L11, P7, Q4, Q11-14, and T3-9 in the former data table, as well as M20-22, P1-2, and P4-5 in the latter. Their composition is principally affiliated with burials for members of the families Miller, Muecke, Giesy, Voght, and Webert, in particular. Although interments used by the sizeable Giesy family group range well beyond the choice of cast bronze monuments, the immediate family of Andrew and Katharine Giesy presents a strong focal point for comparison.

examples of a material culture representative of the views and choices of Aurora's second and third generations. Such a pattern is not surprising, given that aged family members tend to be buried by their children, whose views, in turn, influence the selection and expression of the markers themselves.[246] As such, the natural pattern in material culture looks both forward in time, anticipating the ongoing evolution of marker forms, and backward to represent the memory of the departed themselves.

Tracing Statements of Individualism

As Nordhoff intimated in his reflections as a visitor to the Aurora Colony, observable signs of tension existed between selfless deference to communal well-being and the free expression of personal choice and gain.[247] The selection of bronze composition and its ornament may well be a subtle reflection of this tension amidst the dominant field of limestone. Such monuments appear to signal a growing individual reaction against the dominant trends of their peers, particularly if the communalism of Keil's society "was the strongest before [he] went to Oregon."[248] No small amount of debate has centered on the *partial* privatization of communal property prior to Keil's death, but it remains clear that a conceptual shift regarding private property ownership began to occur during this period.[249] Despite Nordhoff's suggestion as late as 1875 that "there can be no doubt that they are happy and

[246] Deetz, 112.

[247] Nordhoff, 313-319.

[248] Nordhoff, 327.

[249] Kopp, "The Dawn of Utopia in Oregon," in *Eden Within Eden*, 44-49.

contented," other documentary clues seem to support a deviation from cooperative sentiment, ranging from protracted discussions regarding redistribution of land holdings to his own acknowledgement that various colonists withheld honey and other prized domestic commodities from the settlement's shared coffers, in order "to get a little finery for our daughters."[250]

Cast bronze monuments markers from outside the colony may, too, reflect an increased focus on individual economic gain and self-determination, counter to communitarian predispositions. The aforementioned Muecke family's participation in this commodity offers an example, when considered in light of the their post-Colony financial prospects. By 1905, a market report of hops sales by the *Sunday Oregonian* point to Gottlieb's regional success as a grower during a singularly profitable year, participating a "consequential" sale at a notable 26 cents per bushel.[251] The stature of the family's economic fortunes again appears newsworthy in 1915, when their 500-acre-plus upland ranch (formerly a Colony holding) is heralded as "one of the best conducted farms in the [Willamette] Valley."[252] The operation's continuing "prospects good for [a] big yield, and "fine quality" suggest strong profits to be made. More telling still is the evident capital available to finance the ranch's "numerous teams" and the "caterpillar tractor which pulls the gang plow…also used to pull the reaper and binder." In addition, the fact that Gottlieb himself could afford to reside separately in Portland, allowing his sons Hugo and

[250] Nordhoff, 319-320.

[251] "Hops Supply Nearly Exhausted," *Sunday Oregonian*, April 23, 1905 (Portland, Oregon), 14.

[252] "Muecke Hopyard Ideal," *Sunday Oregonian*, August 15, 1915 (Portland, Oregon), 8.

Karl to manage the large operation, and still make frequent 40-mile round trips as a "frequent visitor" is telling of their wealth. Whether selected with their input or not, the cast bronze markers memorializing Gottlieb and Anna may also provide an impetus to memorialize emergent individual prosperity, in contrast to the modest harmony attributed the community. The markers, like the interred, stand out within their physical context in scale, material, color, and source from the surrounding community.

Scholars have widely addressed the documentary record concerning changes related to Aurora's cooperative breakdown and dissolution. Aspects of the material record found in its community mortuaryscape, however, present a fertile source of clues pertaining to the timeline and implications of change occurring during this period. In particular, cast monuments found in the Aurora Colony Cemetery present an opportunity to examine material discontinuity as a function of object performance in the shifting regional climate of Northwestern settlement.

The Rarity of Marble

Ultimately, the reach of outside forces would extend as far into the settlement as the grave of its lamented leader (figure 12.13). The commanding tablet adorning the 1878 resting place of Wilhelm Keil displays one of the Colony's finest examples of the persisting late 18th-early 19th century willow motif, attesting to the conservatism of Keil's survivors and legacy. Yet it is the marker's commission and composition which affirm clues to the breakdown of Aurora's isolation.

Following the leader's death, the July 23 edition of the Portland *Oregonian,* reported upon the marker's completion:

> *Mr. William Young has just finished a very handsome monument at his shop, which is to designate the last resting place of the late Dr. Keil, who died last December. The monument consists of a heavy Italian marble tablet, and when completed will stand about five feet high. It is heavy, plain, substantial and of good material, like the man whose final resting place the stone is now to mark. Near to the top of the monument a weeping willow is carved with one of its branches broken. The tablet has the following inscription in German: Hier ruhet in frieden der Grunder der Bethel and* [sic] *Aurora Colonie, Dr. William* [sic] *Keil, Geboren den 6ten Marz 1812. Gestorben den 30ten Dezember 1877. The lettering, which was done by Mr. Young, is very finely executed. In a few days the monument will be placed in position in the cemetery near Aurora.*[253]

A careful assessment of this excerpt suggests that encroaching regional interaction made the hiring of an outside carver not only already feasible, but ultimately the preferred choice. The fact that such a commission constituted a newsworthy arrangement in urban Portland further hints at its unique nature. In relatively isolated western settings like Aurora, such seemingly cosmopolitan materials as cast bronze and marble may also offer hints of a town signaling its own commensurate rise in "urban" civility. Moreover, the mention of Italian marble as the medium of choice relates to "import" considerations, hinting at a new interconnectedness for the colony, at the final receiving end of an international network of shipment. This material, then, offers insight to the flowering of popular style of commodity, not just on a regional basis, but on an international one—realized by transatlantic shipping from Europe, rail, and doubtless participation in

[253]If this report is entirely accurate, it appears that the observer failed to account for the portion of marble to be set below grade. In fact, at present, the marker measures approximately 46 inches in height above grade, just shy of four feet, by 24" in width. Unfortunately, further information regarding the person or work of William Young has proved frustratingly elusive.

metropolitan commerce. That the material composition of the separatist leader's own gravestone should provide some sense of such regional and even international forces is yet another testament to the interpretive value of the Colony's mortuary resources.

Figure 12.13. The grave marker of Wilhelm Keil, "der Grunder der Bethel und Aurora Colonie" (Plot No. 6, Keil Family Cemetery), *east view*. This is perhaps one of the most conscious expressions of mortuary sentiment and ideology surviving in the settlement's cultural context today. (photo: author, 2014)

CHAPTER XIII

A CALL TO CONTINUITY: IDENTITY IN GRAVESIDE PRACTICE

The many objects standing sentinel today in the Aurora Cemetery's mortuaryscape allude to a great deal more information than can be observed visually. For most members of the Colony, ephemeral events such as funeral proceedings were, no doubt, lifeways laden with unspoken etiquette. Their historical re-imagination would be most easily accomplished through oral accounts or uniquely detailed records of the events themselves—both conspicuously absent at Aurora. Markers themselves and burial patterns may be studied outside the immediacy of the Colony experience in its own time. Yet, we encounter difficulties in attempting to use them to address the whole of action and meaning tied to the act of burial itself. For one, these objects often reflect as much about the self-aware motives of those responsible for their placement as the commemorated individual. Furthermore, the consideration of burial practice dramatically extends the physical context of death, beyond the cemetery itself to home, church, and roads between. What, then, of the *un*aware and more distant aspects of the events surrounding Colony inhumation? Clearly, the relationship between the material and documentary record here is necessarily a symbiotic one.

Select elements of the graveside ritual are expressed within the cemetery's tangible material record. Instances of funerary sermon text found within marker epitaph inscriptions, for example, offer a modest glimpse of transference at work between memorial events and extant material culture in the mortuary context (recorded as component no. 12 of data collection model). Funerary customs, like

other religiously-anchored observances at Aurora, were most likely dominated by preaching – either conducted by Keil himself, or one of his lieutenants, or "Lichtfuersten [Princes of Light]."[254] Given the likely influence of Lutheran and other similarly ethnically German liturgy in a cross-section of the settlement, a scriptural excerpt presumably served thematically to characterize the message spoken over the departed.[255] Of their Pennsylvania predecessors, Herman describes the common format of funerary observances centering upon this delivery of The Word:

> *Church services included singing and the reading of a verse from the Bible, followed by a sermon delivered from the pulpit by the presiding minister. After the church service concluded, pallbearers carried the deceased to the graveside, where a few final words were spoken…*[256]

The subsequent translation of such words into inscriptive text, serves to carry the message beyond their spoken utterance, and certainly beyond any recollection of those generations present.

In many cases placing a footstone preceded the erection of a completed gravemarker. Many such items remain onsite today, using a simple rectangular form inscribed with the given and surname initials of the deceased alone (figure 13.1).[257] These were meant to function as temporary placeholders for grave identification,

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[254] Bek, "The Community At Bethel," 265; John E. Simon, "Wilhelm Keil and Communist Societies," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (June 1935): 122.

[255] Herman, 203-206.

[256] Herman, 205.

[257] In many of these cases, however, the footstone has been dislodged or removed altogether. The issue of gravesite context preservation as a key element in overall mortuaryscape conservation, as well, is evident in the well-intended but visibly inaccurate repositioning of footstones after the fact. Otherwise intact footstones labeled "M.E.F." and "J.S.," for example, were discovered piled against the unidentified concrete base remnant seen at I-W-2. The former may well derive from the relatively nearby gravesite of Margaret Smith, I-V-10, but the latter is less easily identified. In any case, overall informational efficacy becomes undermined, on top of historical integrity.

while the time necessary to prepare or purchase the marker passed. The July 23, 1878 observation in Portland's *Oregonian* that the carver William Young had just finished Keil's permanent gravemarker suggests a period of nearly seven months elapsed between burial and the marker's final placement. As such, even at the moment when the grave itself was closed, burial was often not complete.

Figure 13.1. Footstone for Samuel Burkholder (I-J-8), *detail view*. This interim marker is cut from limestone and measures approximately 8 inches in width. Many like it have been damaged or removed from their intended position, and subsequently propped against the marker. (photo: Benjamin Stinnett, 2013)

What might be seen as a purely utilitarian delay, then, also allowed in some instances for a brief excerpt of the funerary text to be included in the marker inscription.[258] Such an addendum, in addition to suggesting information about the theology, ideology, and implicit emotional hope proffered on behalf of the memorial user, helps to reconnect a fragment of the ephemeral memorial proceedings offsite

[258] It is important for the observer to distinguish scriptural references of this type from stock phrases often utilized in gravemarkers as a product of commodification. The latter are overly characterized by the duality of emotional loss and spiritual comfort, as seen in the sentimental couplets adorning the markers for Henry Will, I-U-5 ("A precious one from us has gone / A voice we loved is stilled, A place is vacant in our home / Which never can be filled"), and Mathilda Giesy, II-P-4 ("Gone before us, O our sister, to the spirit land / Vainly look we for another, in thy place to stand.").

with the extant object onsite. Moreover, this functional aspect of object performance can facilitate the treatment of the gravestone as a marker embodying a memorial *process*, rather than just an extant designation of the completed, closed grave.

Burying Wilhelm Keil: The Aurora Colony's Swan Song

Like the paucity of documentary evidence concerning the material culture of most Colony members' graves, evidence of the mortuary ritual surrounding most interments is rather vague. The procession culminating in the January 1878 burial of Wilhelm Keil, however, proves a notable exception, albeit an unsurprising one given his stature in the community (figure 13.2). The gravity of such an episode in the life of the Colony may well account for its recordation at a time when photography was still far from a household medium. This depiction also captures a facet of its participants' social performance in such a self-aware ritual for observers, the lens, and each other.

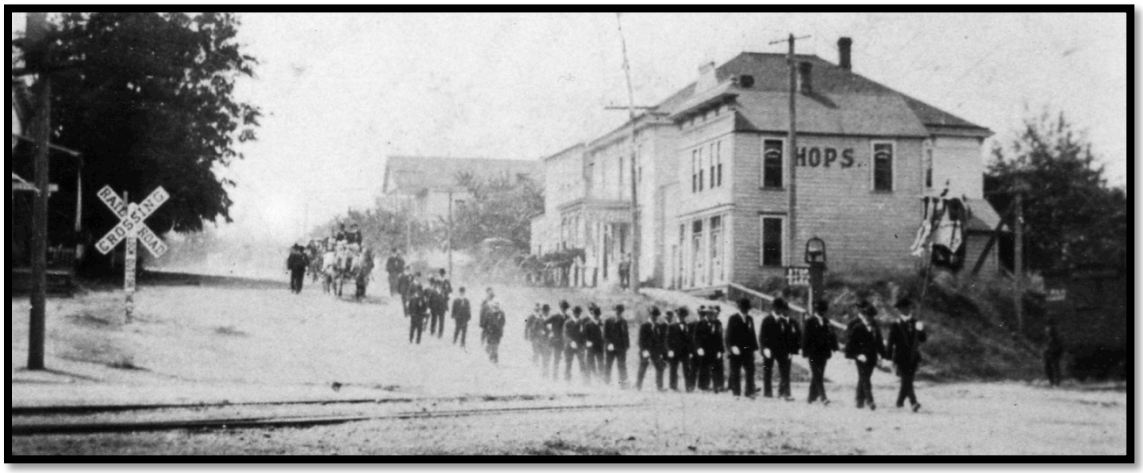

Figure 13.2. A view of the funeral procession of Wilhelm Keil, taken January 1878, as it proceeds north on Main Street en route to the Keil Family Cemetery. Note the ceremonial *schellenbaum* carried at the group's head, *right foreground*. (photo: Aurora Colony Historical Society)

If local preoccupations with Keil's leadership and charisma amplify both the scale and documentation of the event, they nonetheless provide a rare opportunity to share a view of mortality through the Colony members' own eyes. The unknown photographer's work reinforces the significant effect of the leader's death in closing the Colony's active period. The image also gives the distinct sense that those marching in the procession are well aware of the event's lasting implications for their settlement. In some ways, the scene is almost in itself a metaphor for the Aurora community mind at this very instant—a cultural moment frozen in time. A staunch contingent of survivors emerges from their hard-earned utopia amidst incontrovertible change, to seek out a place to inter their timeless identity and memory. The foreground railroad crossing – at once the key to economic indemnity and cultural swan song for the Colony – provides the literal threshold for the procession, while hints of mainstream architecture hint at the urbane flowering of a place no longer satisfied in its separateness.

More than thirty men can be seen clearly within the cortège leading the hearse, drawn by a four-horse team—a strong indicator of the ritual's gendered roles and mores. Each appears dressed in dark formal attire, notably wearing white gloves. This latter garb clearly identifies each man as an honorary or literal pallbearer, whose white color also brings to the fore an eschatological implication (a symbolic link between baptism and resurrection). Common in both German Lutheran and Reform traditions, Colony members would almost certainly have shared an awareness of this symbolism and its place in espousing the continuity of their *gemeinschaft*. At their head advances the carrier of the traditional

schellenbaum, or "tree of bells," which appears throughout a number of period accounts as a tangible signifier of Aurora's Germanic ethnic identity (figure 13.3).[259]

Figure 13.3. The Aurora *schellenbaum*, as displayed in the Old Ox Barn museum context. (image: Aurora Colony Historical Society)

Despite the esteemed place of music throughout Colony life, instruments appear visibly absent from the scene. Instead, observers suggest that the men's voices were solemnly raised in a familiar rendition of "Der Grab ist Tief und Stille." Given that accounts also identify this piece as one used upon the overland departure from Bethel, as well as the younger Keil's burial at Willapa, vocal performances of music unique to the Colony suggests a discernable element of continuity in the selection of a familiar, meaningful repertoire. What remains uncertain is whether

[259] Deborah M. Olsen, "The Schellenbaum: A Communal Society's Symbol of Allegiance." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 92, no. 4, (Winter 1991/1992): 360–376. The original instrument can be found curated today in the Old Aurora Colony context.

this type of mournful expression was commonplace in the experience of other Colony members' funerary proceedings.

The order of Keil's procession suggests no attempt to replicate the singularly dramatic spectacle of the 1856 Willapa interment. In this case, the hearse itself remains near the rear of the procession, rather than its head. This, along with the evident comportment of its participants suggests that the proceedings espouse less in the way of the whims of a grieving patriarch, instead adhering to a more traditional linear format. The route ahead, too, does not appear unique for the locale, as the angle and position of the rail crossing hints at a northwest departure onto the farm road leading to the Keil Family Cemetery. Interestingly enough, the same intersection of rail corridor and farm road outlet captured in the photograph would see the delivery of Keil's own gravestone a few months later, when it was almost certainly delivered from Portland to the rail depot a matter of yards away (figure 13.4).[260]

Even amidst this display of Keil's stature and its veneration his life seems to have inspired, little was recorded of the rituals linking his passing and final journey to the grave. His succinct obituary, as published the following week in the *Willamette Farmer*, acknowledges only the date and time of his passing, before moving on to wax sentimental for "one of the most flourishing communities of the state."[261] While left to speculate as to the solemnity of the intervening time – perhaps

[260] *The Oregonian*, July 23, 1878 (Portland, Oregon), 8.

[261] "Death of Dr. Wm. Keil," *Willamette Farmer*, January 4, 1878 (Salem, Oregon), Historic Oregon Newspapers Collection, 5. Ironic enough, this obituary can be found nestled between editorial discussions of "Great Men" and "Pleasure with Profit," a commentary upon wild-goose chases.

even as the type went to press – we can be fairly certain that the mortuary observances were not radically different with those traditions practiced for previous generations.[262] These were likely quite similar to those recalled by Ed McKenna following his grandmother's contemporary passing, in a remote prairie farming community, when families typically "handled undertakings on their own and…hired a local carpenter to make the casket."[263]

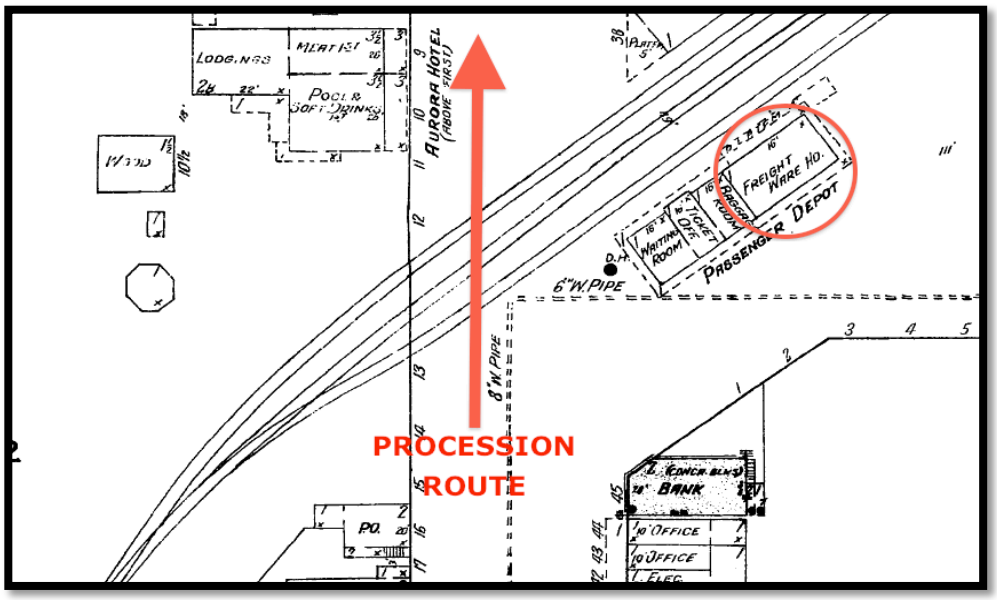

Figure 13.4. 1922 Sanborn map of Aurora, Sheet 2, *detail view*, showing the intersection of Main Street and the local rail corridor. Although a later iteration of the townscape, the photographed Keil funeral procession position and route are indicated, *center*, with respect to the depot building where Keil's gravestone would be delivered some months later. (image: University of Oregon MAP Library; addendums by author, 2013)

[262] The site itself, known the Keil Family Cemetery embodies formal historical and cultural significance within the Aurora Colony Historic District (Resource 22, NRIS No. 74001696).

[263] Mark Harris, *Grave Matters: A Journey Through the Modern Funeral Industry to A Natural Way of Burial* (New York: Scribner, 2007), 121-122.

No known evidence exists to suggest embalming had any place in these mortuary preparations. Nor do demographic records reflect the local presence of a professional trained to carry out such a procedure, still relatively novel in even cosmopolitan areas. The scarcity is hardly astonishing in a settlement in which a clear suspicion against "worldly" innovations seems to have long persisted. Rather, in Keil's case, women of the family, perhaps along with intimate friends may well have carefully washed and dressed the body at the Keil home west of town. Here, at "Das Grosse Haus," these gendered labors comprised a dutiful, intimate vigil. With the "laying out" completed, the process of welcoming the paying of respects from fellow Colony members in the home might follow—a somber activity which traditionally extended up to three days, as a reflection of Christ's time spent in the garden tomb.

Meanwhile, a detail of men most surely saw to coffin construction, prepared for the funerary service, and readied the gravesite itself. Other instances of particularly fine carpentry, articulated in several sacred and traditional pursuits directed by Keil throughout the Colony, suggest that the high craft acumen in Colony woodworkers would undoubtedly have been expressed in the coffin.[264] For one, the careful attention invested in shaping the hardwood paneling found in Elim, Keil's own home at Bethel, reports Bek, "would be the pride of a New York millionaire," despite being fashioned from the limited timber stock then available.[265] Given the plentiful wood resources already shown at Aurora, such a standard of workmanship

[264] Bek, 69, 99.

[265] Bek, 100.

would represent an all but foregone conclusion for his coffin. Such tasks also likely provided a vital, if unspoken outlet for both the emotional implications of death in a close-knit rural community. Moreover, the process would have offered a vital opportunity to come to grips with the apparent uncertainty accompanying the loss of their "Centralsonne" rippling throughout their now-leaderless social experiment.[266] A similar pace likely extended from the home to the grave itself:

> *On the third day, pallbearers carried* [the] *closed coffin to the church…and, after the service, loaded it onto a horse-drawn wagon, which mourners followed out to the cemetery on foot. At the cemetery gates, the pallbearers again collected the coffin, carrying it this time on its final leg to the grave… Straddling the grave site* [sic]*, the pallbearers simply lowered…*[267]

The notion of these rituals as an accumulative progression allows us to reaffirm the gravemarker as a focal point for the intangible meaning encoded in Aurora's mortuaryscape (figure 13.5). As an aspect of object performance, however, these events largely remain *seen* only in fleeting moments, witnessed only by those sharing in the pathos of the funerary proceedings. As such, the events themselves act as a fundamental, if ephemeral nexus between the object's situated and emergent contexts, such as those described by Kiest:

> *The pioneer cemetery landscape was a quiet space, unvisited except by the birds and rabbits, or a family member. This space was transformed by momentary events. A funeral, with its train of wagons and mourners, briefly defined the sacred space. The earth was opened, the service spoken, the body laid to rest. After the ceremony was quiet again, but the mark – the heap of bare earth – remained, covered with flower bouquets.*[268]

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[266] Bek, 59-60.

[267] Harris, 122.

[268] Kiest, 90.

If we include the points at which laying out, visitation, funeral service, procession, and graveside committal itself occur, the mortuaryscape ripples out from the grave site in both space and time, across much of the settlement's northwestern area. Cumulatively, these traditional rituals surrounding death tie the immediate environs and moments defining the grave to the tangible cultural landscape beyond its physical borders. In a very real and lasting sense, deaths like Keil's draw the Colony map at large into the cemetery.

Figure 13.5. The earliest known historical photograph depicting the graves of Wilhelm and Louise (nee Ritter) Keil, *eastern view*, as photographed c. 1925 by Clark Will. Note footstone placement and round-headed grave coping surrounding both, as well as a visible temporary marker, *left rear*, likely denoting the recent burial of Emanuel Keil. (image: ACHS catalog no. A69.436)

As a lasting product of Aurora Colony mortuary ritual, the Keil gravesite appears to have remained a place of historical attraction well after the settlement's dissolution. In "Our Trip to the old Aurora Cemetery," handwritten in 1929, a sixth-grade Bob Keil describes a school trip taken with "Dr. Keil's grave" as its

destination.[269] From this account, students spent nearly two hours in this pursuit, including taking photographs of the spot (one of which was originally included with the document).[270] That this younger Keil "marched down" to the site on foot with his peers – many of whom were likely also Colony descendants – connotes a sense of reaffirmed pageantry emanating around this particular mortuaryscape, nearly a half-century after footfalls from Wilhelm Keil's procession had faded.[271] Some small irony lingers, too, with these Colony descendants arriving (and departing) as unfamiliar visitors – now merely commemorative attendees – as opposed to future residents of the space.

In many ways, the events surrounding the Wilhelm Keil grave site allow us a rare glimpse into passing moments of the Aurora continuum. If these proceedings help to explicate what was possibly the most heightened reaction to a member's death in this Oregon community, they also offer a somber foretaste of the Colony's collective demise. Lacking an effective successor to Keil's leadership, these mortuary rituals can be seen, too, as memorializing the fragile settlement itself. In addition to "Der Grunder" himself, these practices speak only too well for the settlement's somber remainder.

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[269] Bob Keil, "Our Trip to the old Aurora Cemtery," 1929, handwritten manuscript (photocopy), Aurora Colony Historical Society archives, Aurora, Oregon. Much more recently, the praiseworthy notion of utilizing historic cemeteries as primary resources for secondary education has also received attention. See Tom Miller, "Koerner Family Cemetery: An Illinois Pioneer Cemetery Since 1850," *Legacy* 23, no. 6 (November-December 2012): 28-31; Sean Rodman et al, "Cemetery Studies: A Guide for Teachers" (Peterborough, Ontario: Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives, 1996); Laura Suchan, "Memnto Mori: Bringing the Classroom to the Cemetery," *The History Teacher* 42, no. 1 (November 2008): 41-53.

[270] Keil, Ibid.

[271] Ibid.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

The gradual creation and shaping of a mortuary landscape by any group of people is at once a powerful exercise in asserting cultural identity alongside a symbiotic irony: creating tangible culture through the loss of those who best embodied it. These notions are especially evident in the Aurora Colony Cemetery, where an intimate familiarity with death persisted amidst residents of its German utopian community for more than half a century. Their interments include its share of young children—providing us with a tangible reminder of mortality's constant, bitter presence from the very cradle onward—alongside sundry adult interments that recall the risks associated with settlement efforts and nature's course.[272] The material remnants of this reality, Randall McGuire points out, can also function together over time as a reflection of the social dimensions of a community.[273] Both individual and collective responses to death's effects also reflect ideology woven deeply into the Aurora settlement's social character.

A contextual analysis of gravemarkers within the Aurora Colony Cemetery serves as a means of studying cultural identity and change in this early Oregon utopian community. As one of the few intact, tangible facets of the Colony's active period, the historic mortuaryscape constitutes an increasingly scarce apparatus to

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[272] King, 8.

[273] Randall H. McGuire, "Dialogues with the Dead: Ideology and the Cemetery," in *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States,* ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988): 435.

understand the interplay of separatist ideology and extralocal influences in object performance. The relationships found among these markers continue to reflect resulting patterns of change between 1856 and 1920. The body of primary data gathered herein constitutes an important addition to the budding collection of information available on mortuary practices and community ideology in ethnic settlements of the Pacific Northwest. This contextual analysis of gravemarkers further advocates for the nexus emerging between the conceptual approaches of historic preservation and historical archaeology to the study of historic and cultural resources, where careful documentation is elevated through contextual relevance, to reveal *meaning*.

Taken together, the marker typologies which pre-date 1890 within Sections I and II of the cemetery site adhere to a *gentle,* often subtle, rate of change. Theirs is evidently an age of steady adherence to well-sustained cultural choices. Slowly they forsake the socially familiar or ethnically appropriate—typical among a traditionally-oriented society—and embrace the new.

Philip Dole acknowledges this phenomenon at work in other material aspects of the Aurora Colony, asserting that its cultural patterns were "neither experimental nor progressive but extremely conservative."[274] Monument form preference within the active Colony period may well be seen as a natural extension of this tendency, whose momentum naturally persists in a handful of years beyond the settlement's

[274] Philip Dole, "Aurora Colony Architecture: Building in a Nineteenth-Century Cooperative Society," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (Winter 1991-92), 378.

cooperative dissolution in 1883. Thereafter, the typological selection broadens, with users evidently coming to embrace more current (albeit still unpretentious) memorial products from farther afield. However, the Colony's formal end seems to have done little to scatter site users themselves from the Aurora locale. This factor helps to extend marker form horizons well beyond the active Colony period, as far as the first quarter of the 20th century. As such, many of these objects remain a relatively undiluted reflection of the former Colony mind into the 1920s.[275]

[275] As late as 1920, regional obituaries report onsite burials for a strong core of former Colony members who had moved from the community after dissolution. A select few are included here: Obituary for Catharine Fuchs, *Daily Capital Journal*, Salem, OR, January 31, 1916, 9; "Jacob G. Miller Dies," *Morning Oregonian,* Portland, OR, December 25, 1916, 7; "Pioneer Resident of Aurora Who Died at Age of 82 Years [Obituary for Christian Zimmerman]," *Sunday Oregonian*, Portland, OR, July 18, 1920, 19.

CHAPTER XV

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONTINUING STUDY

With regard to the preservation interests for further study, future examination of the Aurora Colony Cemetery and its data should seek to create a more detailed, precise mapping system for locating and inventorying graves, vegetation, landscape features, and other noteworthy aspects. To this end, ever-advancing technological tools may well be brought to bear, from geographic information systems (GIS) mapping to ground penetrating radar (GPR) and beyond; many of today's universities and public agencies, are well positioned to act as repositories in safeguarding the resulting information. Further measures should also be taken to compare mortuary patterns among the Aurora, Willapa, and Bethel Colony sites.

In addition, a plethora of new and lingering questions may yet be resolved. Where did the limestone used to fabricate the earliest tablet markers originate? Were these markers obtained from nearby in the Willamette Valley, or were they imported from further afield? To what extent were individual markers such as these completed by the time they arrived in Aurora? In addition to Monumental Bronze publications, to what popular design catalogs did Colony members have access? Can any records of mortuary practices be secured for Colony-era burials? These are but a small handful of the questions arising in the wake of this study. The work of seeking a living narrative among these dead has only just begun.

APPENDIX A

AURORA COLONY CEMETERY: EXTRACTED MARKER DATA, SECTION I*

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
A1	Benedict Stauffer		Mar. 1881	64	Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular w/ scrolls
		English	Died/Aged; Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me.	None	Willow	IMG_7261	Broken in half, repaired.		
A2	Theodore Stauffer		Aug. 1880	53	Limestone		W	Tablet	[Triangular w/ scrolls]
		English	Died/Aged; [epitaph prose not legible]	None	Willow				
A3	Catharine Stauffer		Feb. 1905	78	Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular w/ scrolls
		English	Died/Aged; [epitaph prose not legible]	None	Willow				
A4	E. Seibert	Mar. 1845	Feb. 1901		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Died/Aged	None	[none]				
A5	Martha/ Lydia		Jan. 1901/Mar. 1903		Limestone		W	Tablet	Square

*Rows exhibiting strikethrough and gray shading indicate where marker data recorded in field inventory, but which falls beyond the period of study. This information was subsequently excluded from analytical treatments.

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		Deutsch	Kinder von J.u.K. Resch	None	[none]				
B1	Catharine Ramspart		Feb. 1897	81	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died	None	Rose	IMG_7270			
B2	Susan Warner		Nov. 1890	51	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Died/Aged	None	Rose with "At Rest" banner				
B3	Susanna Woerner		Jan. 1880		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		Deutsch	Geboren/Gestorben; Hier... [prose not legible]	None	Dove		Wear to text		
B4	John Woerner		Mar. 1882	[74]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died	None	Willow		Broken in half, displaced. Heavy wear - partially legible.		
B5	John Warner		Feb. 1883	40	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Rest in Peace	None	Willow				
B6	Frederick Warner	1854	1886		Granite		W	Block	?
		English	F.H.W./"FATHER"	Coping	?				
B7	James Warner	1885	1887	[2]	Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Wife Caroline (1860-1920), Son James (1885-1887)	Coping	Gothic "W"				

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
B8	Caroline (Warner) Stauffer	1860	1920	[60]	Granite		W	Block	?
		English	"MOTHER"	Coping	?		Frederick's wife Caroline?		
B9	Elizabeth Schmidt		Feb. 1905		Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	Mrs.; [birth/death dates]	None	Crucified Christ/open book				
B10	Edward Schmidt		Oct. 1906		Limestone/Granite (replaced)		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	[birth/death dates]	None	Crucified Christ/open book				
C1	Jacobine Koenig		Dec. 1876		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died	None	Flowers				
C2	Jacob Koenig		Aug. 1876		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	None	Crown, above hand pointing Heavenward				
C3	Johanna Yost	1834	Mar. 1903		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died		Flowers		Heavy pitting		
C4	Conrad Yost	1823	Jan. 1893		Limestone		W	Bevel	Segmental
		English	Born/Died		Flowers				
C5	[Jacob Yost?]	1866	1927		Limestone		W	?	?
		English	?		?		Displaced footstone from C4?		
C6	Sigwardt Nelson	Dec. 1869	Nov. 25, 1905		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died		?		Heavy wear - only partially legible		

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
D1	Emma J. Keil	July 1891	Jan. 1892		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		Deutsch	Tochter von Heinrich & Johanna; Geboren/Gestorben		Dove				
D2	Dorothea Nee Rothen-burg	Mar. 1838	Dec. 1906		Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square w/ scrolls
		English	Wife of Frederick Keil		Rising sun/open book				
D3	Friedrick Keil	Apr. 1816	1879		Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular
		Deutsch	geboren/gestorben		Willow		Broken in 3 pieces (stacked in front)		
D4	Frederich Keil	Sept. 10, 1792	1876		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		Deutsch	Geboren den/Gestorben		Willow [worn]		Broken in half (partially buried behind), fine Gothic script partially legible		
D5	William Keil	Dec. 1832	July 1882		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died		Flowers				
D6	Charles Keil	Jan. 1825	Mar. 1900		Granite		W	Obelisk	Triangular
		English	Born/Died		[none]				
D7	Willy Keil	Nov. 1854	Apr. 1907		Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		Deutsch	RUHE SANET		Open gates/closed book		Elevated on replaced cubic base		
D8	Johanna Keil	July 1857	Apr. 1909		Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died; Erected by the Women of Woodcraft		Pillared arch ("life"/"truth") over woman clinging to cross		Elevated on replaced cubic base (concrete)		
E1	Elizabeth Stauffer		Dec. 1877	58	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged		Willow				
E2	Maria Stauffer		Apr. 1875	61	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged; Wife of John Stauffer		Willow				
E3	Elizabeth Stauffer	July 1839	Dec. 1892		Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English	Born/Died; In Memory of Our Sister		Rose				
E4	Lydia Ritter [nee Stauffer?]	Apr. 1827 Lebanon Co, PA	Sept. 1892		Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Triangular
		English	Born Lebanon Co PA/Died; In Memory of Lydia Wife of John Ritter; We pray the Lord to give her rest		Laurels				
E5	John Ritter		Feb. 1905	82	Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Triangular
		English	May he rest in peace		Laurels				
F1	Gertrude Knobel	Mar. 1809	July 1887		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died		?				
F2	Dorothy Behrens	1824	Jun. 1902		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died		[none]				
F3	Anna Behrens	Feb. 1812	Apr. 1882		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Born/Died		[none]		Headstone reversed, steadied by brick		
F4	Anna Maria Stickler		Mar. 1882	37	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Died/Aged; wife of Wm. Stickler; Farewell		Handshake w/ banner		Footstone "AMS"		
F5	Johanna Katerina Muessig	Jul. 1905	Nov. 1906	1	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		Deutsch	Toch von G.F. & Karolina; Was los ist Dir beschiedenau is lieblichst		[none]		Footstone "J.K.M." in lighter stone; bricks stacked as plot curb		
F6	Bertha Emilia Muessig		Jan. 1898	27 Jahren	Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		Deutsch	Hier ruhe in Gott; Kein Schreichen war der Tot fur mich, weil Jesus lebt drum leb auch ich	stacked brick	Illuminated crown				
F7	Anna Bauer	Sept. 1818			Limestone			Plate	
		English	Born/Died						

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
G1	[unknown]	?	?	?	Limestone [fragments]		W	Tablet?	
		?	?	None	?	DSCN 0881-0882			
G2	William/ Alexander Miller	May 1841/Dec 1811	Mar 1891/Dec 1897	50	Limestone		W	Bolster	
		English	Death is another life	None			Shaped tomb slab?		
G3	Joseph Dorfler	Jan 1855	Jan 1878		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		?					Shaped tomb slab?/footstone		
G4	Henry Meyers	[month? 1824]	Nov 1880	56	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Resting at home	None			Broken across lower third		
G5	Charles Bauer	Nov 1811	Dec 1891		Limestone			Plate	
		English	Born/Died	coping			Shaped tomb slab		
G6	["Christian Schmidt"?]			66	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	In memory of, We'll meet again	None	Handshake		Tablet fragmented, heavily worn		
G7	G.W. Wolf	Aug. 1810	May 1894		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died	None	Open book		Engraved vines		
G8	Walter Eilers	Feb. 1896	Nov. 1910	14	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		coping			Wide coping		
H1	Louise Renz		Feb. 1901	74	Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English		None	Flower	DSCN 0913-0915	Marker has profile detail		

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
H2	Catharine Wagner	Aug. 1838	Sept. 1909	69	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		Deutsch	Ein Denkmal an; Tochter von D & C Wagner; Geb-Gest	None	Willow				
H3	Catharina Wagner	Marz 1804	Juni 1883	79	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		Deutsch	Ein Denkmal an; Gattin von David Wagner; Geb-Gest	None	Willow		tympanum detail		
H4	David Wagner	Oct. 1803	Aug. 1873	70	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		Deutsch	Unser Vater; Geb-Gest	None	Willow		tympanum detail		
H5	Jonathan Wagner	June 1835	May 1882		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		Deutsch	Ein Denkmal an; Sohn von D&C Wagner; Geb-Gest	None	Willow		tympanum detail		
H6	Louisa Wagner	1844	1923	79	Limestone/Granite (replaced)		W	Bolster	n/a
		?	WAGNER	None	Roses on bolster ends		bolster cylinder replaced		
H7	Johanna Wagner	1842	1923	77	Limestone/Granite (replaced)		W	Bolster	n/a
		?	WAGNER	None	Roses on bolster ends		bolster cylinder replaced		
H8	Frederick W/Margaret M. Wagner	1892/1894	1971/1985		Polished granite		W	Block	n/a

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English							
I1	Carl Frederick Ehlen	Aug. 1870	Sept. 1892	22	Limestone		W	Tablet	Square
		English	A light from our household is gone/At rest/Born/Died	None	Open gates	DSCN 0940-0943	checkered front base detail		
I2	Elizabeth Ehlen	Oct. 1840	Feb. 1905	65	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	At rest; She was a kind…	None	Rose/scrollwork				
I3	Claus Henry Ehlen	Nov. 1829	Apr. 1882		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	At rest; He was a kind…	None	Rose/scrollwork		poetic verse inscribed below		
I4	J.D. Ehlen	Oct. 1799	Feb. 1882		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Slab			Footstone		
I5	Charlotte Ehlen	Oct. 1857	July 1873	16	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Daughter of	Slab	Rose		Footstone - C.E.		
I6	Anna M. Ehlen	Aug. 1828	Oct. 1886		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Wife of J.W. Ehlen/Born/Died	Slab	Dove/rose		Footstone - A.M.E.		
I7	J.W. Ehlen	Apr. 1826	Dec. 1901		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Slab	Dove/rose		Footstone - J.W.E.		
I8	Elizabeth Hering	Aug. 1812	July 1888		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Born/Died	Molded rails	Rose/shoulder detail		Footstone/Ornate coping		

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
I9	Mary D. Ehlen	July 1832	Mar. 1894	68	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Molded rails			Footstone		
I10	Catharine S. Keil	July 1835	Apr. 1904	69	Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	Wife of August Keil; in loving remembrance	Molded rails	Dove/shawl		Footstone		
I11	August Keil	1842	1927		Red Granite		W	Rusticated block	Segmental
		English		None			Rusticated edges (rough hewn)		
I12	Lorenz V/Catharine F Ehlen	1850/1855	1907/1929		Red Granite		W	Rusticated block	Segmental
		English	Father/Mother	None			Rusticated edges (rough hewn)		
J1	Catharine Knight	?	Dec. 10, 1878	55	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Wife of Joseph Knight	None	Willow	DSCN 0984-0988	headstone fragments laid in concrete setting		
J2	Joseph Knight	?	Oct. 1872		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Died/Aged	None	Willow		headstone fragments laid in horizontal concrete setting		
J3	[unknown]	?	?		Limestone [fragments]		W	Tablet?	?
		?	?	Coping/slab	?				
J4	Abraham [Burkholder]	[Jan. 1841]	[Marker: Nov. 1872]	[31]	Limestone		W	Plate	n/a
		English	[Marker: Born in Columbus Co, Ohio]	Coping/slab			Footstone - A.B.		
J5	Jacob [Burkholder]	[Jan. 1838]	[Marker: Feb. 1882]	[44]	Limestone		W	Plate	n/a
		English	[Marker: Born in Columbus Co, Ohio]	Coping/slab			Footstone - J.B.		
J6	Burkholder [family marker]		[multiple]		Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English			Floral and scroll				
J7	Nancy [Burkholder]	[Feb. 1806]	[Marker: Sept. 1891]	[85]	Limestone		W	Plate	n/a
		English	[Marker: Born in Lancaster Co, PA]	Coping/slab			Footstone - N.B.		
J8	Samuel [Burkholder]	[Oct. 1823]	[Marker: Feb. 1895]	[71]	Limestone		W	Plate	n/a
		English	[Marker: Born in Lancaster Co, PA]	Coping/slab					
J9	Eliza Burkholder	May 1825	Sept. 1904		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/died, Born in Lancaster Co, PA	Coping/slab	scrollwork				
J10	Adam Burkholder	Dec. 1851	Dec. 1927		Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		Coping/slab	Rusticated				
J11	Catherine Burkholder	1849	1932		Granite		W	Bevel	Square
		English		Coping/slab	Rusticated				
K1	Benjamin F. White		Mar. 1870	29	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	In memory of, Died/Aged	None			Lettering faded		
K2	George Giesy	Oct. 1862	Oct. 1882	20	Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Born/Died/Son of S & M Giesy	Coping/slab	Lily and vines		Footstone - G.G.; finial missing		
K3	Elizabeth Kraus	Oct. 1834	June 1889		Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Triangular
		English	Born/Died/Thou art gone, but not forgotten./Not lost, blest thought, but gone before. Where we shall meet to part no more.	Coping/slab	Sheaf of wheat/stipling on base		Footstone - E.K./Point of obelisk is worn		

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
K4	Elizabeth Kraus	Oct. 1808	Jan. 1900	91	Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Triangular
		English	Born/ Died/Wife of Michael Kraus	Coping/slab	Lily on top of sheaf of wheat		Finial missing		
K5	Wilhelmina Kraus	March 1848	Jan. 1908		Polished granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English		Coping/slab	scrollwork at top		Footstone - W.K.		
K6	Rebecca Scholl	March 1837	Jan. 1916		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	R.S.	Coping/slab			Footstone - R.S./Shared family marker (polished granite)		
K7	David Scholl	Jan. 1840	Jul. 1900	60	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	D.S.	Coping/slab			Footstone - D.S./Shared family marker (polished granite)		
L1	[unknown]				Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular
		?		None	Willow		Fragment of tympanum & base remain		
L2	Marshall M. Will		Oct. 1881	3	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Son of F & H Will	None	Flowers				
L3	Lilly M. Giesy	Sept. 1879	Dec. 1879		Cement and granite		W	Plate	n/a

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Daughter of Dr. M & M Giesy	None	Cherub & flowers		Possibly replaced		
L4	Clara M. Miller	Jul. 1874	Nov. 1879	5	White Bronze	[unknown]	W	Cast tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Born/Died; Daughter of Josiah H & Gertrude; Our darling, safe at home	Tomb slab	Bunting and roses; hand plucking blossom		Maker?		
L5	Albert Miller		Sept. 1876		White Bronze	[unknown]	W	Cast tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Died; Son of Josiah H & Gertrude; Our darling, safe at home	Tomb slab	Bunting and roses; hand plucking blossom		Maker?		
L6	Twin sons of G. & G. Snyder		Feb. 1874		Limestone		W	Tablet	Square
		English		None			Base spalling		
L7	Albertina Webert	Nov. 1866	Dec. 1869	3	White Bronze	American White Bronze Co., Chicago, Ill.	W	Cast tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/ Died; Daughter of Louis F. and Mary A.; Our darling, safe at home; A flower just blooming into life enticed an angel's eye, Too pure for earth, he said "Come home," and bade the flower die.	Coping/slab	Rose; Sparrow	P1050683-85			
L8	James M. Giesy	Jan. 1877	Oct. 1879	2	Cement and granite		W	Plate	n/a
		English	Son of Dr. M & M Giesy	None	Cherub & flowers		Possibly replaced		
L9	Alfred M. Giesy	Sept. 1873	Feb. 1874		Cement and granite		W	Plate	n/a
		English	Son of Dr. M & M Giesy	None	Cherub & flowers		Possibly replaced		
L10	Augusta E. Will		Mar. 1878	5	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Daughter of F & H Will	None	Flowers				
L11	Edward H. Fry	Sept. 1877	May 1878		White Bronze	Detroit Bronze Co., Detroit Mich.	W	Cast tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	None		P1050681-82			
L12	Theresa M. Miller		Sept. 1878	5	Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English	Died/Daughter of W.J. & H. Miller	None	Dove				

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
L13	Henrietta Miller		Nov. 1878	27	Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English	Died/Wife of W.J. Miller	None					
L14	Sarah Miller	Dec. 1858	March 1885		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	coping	Handshake				
L15	William Miller	1847	1934		Polished granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None					
L16	Grethe Miller		Oct. 1900	25	Limestone		W	Plate	n/a
		English	Died/wife of J.J. Miller	None	Tympanum in relief				
M1	Allen H. Will	1876	1932		Polished granite		W	Block	n/a
		English		None					
M2	Henrietta Will	1851	1950	99	Polished granite		W	Block	n/a
		English	"MOTHER"	None			Marker for "MOTHER" beside family stone		
M3	Susie L. Will		1887	5	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Daughter of F & H Will	None	Flowers				
M4	Frederick Will	1848	1911		Polished granite		W	Block	n/a
		English	"FATHER"	None			Marker for "FATHER" beside family stone		
M5	Elisabeth Forstner	1840	1933		Red Granite		W	Tablet	Square

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English		None			Three Forstners (Elisabeth, Margaret, Micheal) share one family stone)		
M6	Margaret Forstner	1805	1873		Red Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English		None			See previous		
M7	Micheal Forstner	1798	1869		Red Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English		None			See previous		
M8	August Becke	Jan 1848	May 1872		Limestone		W	Tablet	[broken]
		English	Born/Died; Son of Chas. & Johanna Sr.; Rest in peace	None			Tympanum broken		
M9	Emilie Becke	Dec. 1869	Sept. 1873	3	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; Daughter of G. & J. Becke, Sr.	None	Dove				
M10	Johanna Becke	Aug. 1826	Mar. 1884		Limestone		W	Block	
		English	"MOTHER"	None			Marker for "MOTHER" beside family stone. Text reads "Johanna his wife" and dates.		
M11	Charles Becke, Sr.	May 1828	Feb. 1914		Limestone		W	Block	

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		English	"FATHER"	None			Marker for "FATHER" beside family stone.		
M12	Anna Becke		Apr. 1885		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; Infant daughter of G. & A. Becke Jr.	None	Dove				
M13	Joseph Erbsland	1849	1927		Granite		W	Plate	
		English		None			plate sits beside family stone		
M14	Louesa Erbsland	1856	1939		Granite		W	Plate	
		English		None			plate sits beside family stone		
M15	Sarah Gooding	1860	1936		Granite		W	Block	
		English	"MOTHER"	None	scrollwork on tympanum of family stone		block sits beside family stone		
M16	George X. Gooding	1851	1946		Granite		W	Block	
		English	"FATHER"	None	scrollwork on tympanum of family stone		block sits beside family stone		
N1	George Kroher	?	1881	74	Limestone		W	Tablet (2 pieces)	Round

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	[largely obscured] Died/July --	None	pointing hand		tablet is in two pieces, seemingly of different stones - ???		
N2	Barbara Vawter	Sept. 1838	July 1866		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; Wife of E. Vawter	None					
N3	Anna B. Will	Feb. 1836	Nov. 1865		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Coping/slab					
N4	I. Snyder	1838	1914		Polished granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English	Uncle Bob	None	Acanthus at top left	P1050663			
N5	Heinrich Schneider	1805	1865		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died	None	Scrollwork				
N6	Henry Roser	Nov. 1838	Feb. 1864		Limestone		W	Tablet, small	Round
		English	Born/Died	None					
N7	Lucinda Wolfer	Sept. 1795	Nov. 1862		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; Wife of John Wolfer; Gone Home; Rest mother, lost in quiet sleep, while friends in sorrow over her weep	None	Hand pointing upwards				
N8	John Wolfer	June 1806	Dec. 1890		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died; Gone Home; Sleep sleep at last in sleep shall be, Thy rest thy strength thy weary	None	Hand pointing upwards	P1050641-42			
N9	Christena Smith				Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Sister of Rudolph Wolfer	None	Crown and laurels	644-45			
N10	Catharine Wolfer		June 1881	62	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Died/Aged	None	Calla lily and scrollwork; stipled base		Shares headstone with N11		
N11	Rudolph Wolfer		Dec. 1904	92	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Died/Aged	None	Calla lily and scrollwork; stipled base	646	Shares headstone with N10		
N12	Mary Wolfer		c. 1900?		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Sister of Rudolph Wolfer	None	Crown and laurels; stipled base				
N13	Judith Miller	1850	1921		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None		648-49			
N14	[Miller family marker]	x	x		Granite		W	Block	Square
		English		None	Rusticated	650			
N15	Solomon Miller	1843	1905		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None		651			

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
N16	Frank L. Miller	1874	1928		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None		652			
O1	John Stauffer		July 1867	57	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged; FAREWELL [on tympanum arch]	Coping	Handshake in quatrefoil	655-57	Headstone set back from coping		
O2	John D. Ehlen	Jan. 1867	Aug. 1867	[7mo.]	Limestone		W	Tablet, small	Segmental
		English	Son of C.H. & M.E. Ehlen	None		658			
O3	Barbara Giesy	Dec. 1794	Aug. 1867	[73]	Red Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English	Baasal Switzerland; Aurora Oregon [early 20th c. Germanic script]	None		659	replaced for tablet?		
O4	Lawrence E. Will	[Oct. 1871]	[Mar. 1872]	[4mo.]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; Son of George & Elizabeth Will	None	Dove	660	tablet damaged/reset - dates not visible		
O5	George Link	[Feb.] 1816	[Aug. 1872]		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born /Died	None	Willow	661-63	tablet fallen, heavily worn		
O6	Julius Urban Will	[Nov. 1872]	[July 1875]		Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English	Born/Died; Son of George & Elizabeth Will	None	Lamb	664-66	tablet fallen, dates obscured		
O7	Ernest D. Will	[Dec. 1873]	[Sept. 1874]		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died; Son of George & Elizabeth Will	None	Broken blossom	667-68	tablet fallen, dates obscured		
O8	Augusta Schwader	[May 1874]	[Sept. 1875]	[1]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Trapezoidal
		English	Dau. of Wm & Louisa	None	Scroll	669	tablet sunk, nearly below grade		
O9	[Agnes Schwader?]	Apr. 1873	Aug. 1873	[5mo.]	Limestone		W	?	?
		English	[Daughter of Wm.and Louisa Schwader	None	?	670	tablet bloken and missing		
O10	Rosa A. [Link?]				Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Dau. Of G.S.L. Link	None	Rose with "At Rest" banner	671-72	tablet broken and reset		
O11	Dora A. Will	[1882]	Mar. 1888	5	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged; Dau. of Geo.&E. Will	None	Lamb; tassle	673			
O12	John Link	Nov. 1837	Jan. 1899		Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	[missing]
		English	Born/Died	None		674-75	Ornament shaft missing		
O13	Lovina Link	[1817]	Mar. 1901	84	Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	Died/Aged; Sacred to the memory of Mother	None		676-77			
O14	William Link	1848	1928		Granite		W	Block	Square
		English		None		678			
O15	David Link	1855	1929		Granite		W	Block	Square

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English		None		679			
P1	Catharine Steinbach	1840	1872		Granite		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English	STEINBACH	None	Polished granite base	692	Shares marker with O17/18		
P2	David Steinbach	1838	1921		Granite		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English		None	Polished granite base	692	Shares marker with O16/18		
P3	Emma Steinbach	1872	1910		Granite		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English		None	Polished granite base	692	Shares marker with O16/17		
P4	[unknown]			31	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged 31ys 7ms 2ds	None	[tympanum missing]	693	Marker severely damaged		
P5	Frederick Warner	Aug. 1813	Apr. 1896	82	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; Oh! 'Twill be sweet to meet on that blessed shore, All sorrows passed all pains forever o'er.	None	Anchor	694			
P6	Gottliebe Warner		Feb. 1868	49	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged; Wife of Frederick Warner	None	Rose with "At Rest" banner	694-96	Footstone fragment; Tablet damaged/reset		

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
P7	Louis F. Webert	Apr. 1826	Nov. 1868	[42]	White bronze	American White Bronze Co., Chicago, Ill.	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; Gone from our home but not from our hearts	Coping/slab	Scrollwork; Sheaf and bunting	697-701			
P8	[Barbara Giesy?]	[1897?]	[1898?]		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	?	None		703-705	Tablet fragmented, most missing		
P9	Catharina B. Steinbach	Oct. 1798	Oct. 1874	[76]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; At rest	None	Hand pointing upwards with laurels	706			
P10	John Adam Steinbach	Sept. 1789	Oct. 1879	[90]	Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English	Napoleonic Soldier - Oregon Pioneer; Born in Wimmenau, Alsace	None		707	replaced?		
P11	Catharine Steinbach		Jun. 1918	84	Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Gothic
		English	Died/Aged	None	Scrollwork on shaft	708			
P12	George Steinbach		May 1896	72	Limestone		W	Pedestal Tomb	Gothic
		English	Died/Aged	None	Scrollwork on shaft	709			
P13	Catharine L. Becke	1868	1942		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None		710			

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
P14	William Steinbach	1863	1944		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None		711			
P15	Mary A. Steinbach	1871	1945		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None		712			
Q1	Maria Miley	1837	1922		Red Granite		W	Thick Tablet	Segmental
		English		None		P1050718-19			
Q2	Miss Annie Weyman	Nov. 1868	Oct. 1908		Red Granite		W	Pedestal Tomb	Urn
		English		None	Grapevines; scrolled tympanum in relief	720-22	Shares marker with Q3		
Q3	Frank Weynam	Oct. 1826	Sept. 1871		Red Granite		W	Pedestal	Urn
		English		None	Grapevines; scrolled tympanum in relief	720-22	Shares marker with Q2		
Q4	Frank Weynam	Oct. 1826	Sept. 1871		White bronze	American White Bronze Co., Chicago, Ill.	W	Cast tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; Rest in Peace;	None	Grapevines; Sheaf; Icanthus leaves	724-27	Same name as Q3		
Q5	Henry Will	[Mar. 1820]	[Jul. 1871]		Limestone		[N]	Pedestal	Sphere
		English	Born/Died	None	Laurels	728-30	Footstone - H.W.; Shares marker with Q6/7		
Q6	Emma Will	[Jun. 1853]	[Jul. 1897]		Limestone		W	Pedestal	Sphere

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died	None	Laurels	731	Footstone - E.W.; Shares marker with Q5/7		
Q7	Susan Will	Sept. 1845	Nov. 1882		Limestone		[S]	Pedestal	Sphere
		English	Born/Died	None	Laurels	732	Shares marker with Q5/6		
Q8	Samuel Mohler	[1786]	May 1871	85	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged	None	Scrollwork	733			
Q9	Maria Mohler	Mar. 1799	Sept. 1898		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died	None	Scrollwork	734			
Q10	Elizabeth Mohler	Aug. 1826	Aug. 1898		Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died	None	Scrollwork	735			
Q11	Verenia V. Voght	May 1803	Apr. 1874	[71]	White Bronze	Detroit Bronze Co., Detroit Mich.	W	Cast tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; Wife of Andrew Voght; Rest in peace [tympanum]	None	Wreath with roses [rear]; acanthus border; VOGHT in wood-esque script at base	736-39			
Q12	Andrew Voght	Mar. 1804	Feb. 1884	[80]	White Bronze	Detroit Bronze Co., Detroit Mich.	W	Cast tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; Rest in Peace [tympanum]	None	Wreath with roses [rear]; acanthus border; VOGHT in wood-esque script at base	740-42			
Q13	John Voght	Dec. 1834	Feb. 1876		White Bronze	Detroit Bronze Co., Detroit Mich.	W	Cast tablet	Segmental

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		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died; Rest in Peace [tympanum]	None	Wreath with roses [rear]; acanthus border; VOGHT in wood-esque script at base	743-45			
Q14	Louisa Voght	June 1846	Jun. 1919		White Bronze	[Detroit Bronze Co.? - no stamp]	W	Cast tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; Rest in Peace [tympanum]	None	Wreath with roses [rear]; acanthus border; VOGHT in wood-esque script at base	746-48			
Q15	Elizabeth Snyder		Apr. 1900	61	Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	Died/Aged	None	Scroll	749-51			
Q16	Daniel Snyder		Jan. 1898	61	Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	Died/Aged	None	Scroll	752-53			
Q17	Henry Voght	1844	1909		Granite		W	Thick tablet	Segmental
		English	At rest	None	Rusticated base, flowers	754			
Q18	Mary Voght	May 1831	Mar. 1910	[79]	Granite		W	Thick tablet	Square
		English	Born/Died	None	Rusticated base	755			
Q19	Margaret Wolfer	Sept. 1841	Nov. 1909		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Wife of Samuel Wolfer	None	Flowers and scrollwork on typmanum; rusticated sides	756			
Q20	Samuel Wolfer	Feb. 1839	Dec. 1915	[76]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English		None	Flowers and scrollwork on typmanum; rusticated sides	757			
R1	Ralph Preston	[1892]	Jan. 1912	20	Limestone		W	Tablet, small	Segmental
		English	At rest [across top of tympanum]	None	Dove	P1050760-62			
R2	Flora A. Beck	Apr. 1849	Nov. 1912	[53]	Red Granite		W	Bolster	[n/a]
		English	Wife of William Beck	None		763			
R3	Harold N. Cole	[1898]	Nov. 1898	[2mo.]	Limestone		W	Tablet, small	Round
		English	Son of Nate & Frances	Coping	Stipling on base	764-65			
R4	William F. Beck	[1849]	Aug. 1874	25	Limestone		W	Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged	None	Willow	766	Footstone		
R5	[unknown]	?	?	?	?		W	Tablet?	?
		?	?	Coping	?	767	Marker missing		
R6	David Zimmerman	July 1792	Dec. 1873	[81]	Limestone		W	Obelisk/Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Died/Aged; At rest	None	Scrollwork at top; stipling on base	768-69			
R7	Elizabeth Zimmerman	Mar. 1830	Mar. 1883	[53]	Limestone		W	Obelisk/Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Died/Aged; At rest	None	Scrollwork at top; stipling on base	770			
R8	Mary Zimmerman	1831	1922	[91]	Limestone		W	Obelisk/Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	At rest	None	Scrollwork at top; stipling on base	771			

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
R9	Henry W. Zimmerman	Aug. 1877	May 1893	[16]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Born/Died; Son of C & C Zimmerman	None	Scrollwork at top; stipling on base	774			
R10	Sophia Zimmerman	Mar. 1892	Nov. 1913	[21]	Granite		W	Block	Square
		English	Wife of Elmer N. Zimmerman	None		775			
~~R11~~	~~Evelyn [Zimmerman]~~	~~Oct. 1919~~	~~Oct. 1919~~	~~[3ds.]~~	~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~	~~Baby Evelyn~~		~~x~~	~~776~~			
R12	Christian Zimmerman	1838	1920		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English			x	777			
R13	[Zimmerman family marker]	x	x	x	Granite		W	Block	Square
		English	x	None	x	778	Unknown footstone found at base		
R14	Catharine Zimmerman	1852	1934		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English			x	779			
~~R15~~	~~[Allen J. Zimmerman]~~	~~1885~~	~~1972~~		~~Red Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~			~~x~~	~~780~~			
~~R16~~	~~[Hazel S. Zimmerman]~~	~~1896~~	~~1958~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~			~~Scrollwork~~	~~782-83~~			
S1	George Will	Dec. 1839	Nov. 1916		Granite		W	Bolster	[n/a]
		English	WILL; Elizabeth his wife	None	Acanthus leaves; rusticated base	P1050785	Shares headstone with R18		

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
S2	Elizabeth Will	Dec. 1842	Nov. 1926		Granite		W	Bolster	[n/a]
		English	WILL; Elizabeth his wife	None	Acanthus leaves; rusticated base	P1050785	Shares headstone with R17		
S3	Urban Will	Mar. 1828	Feb. 1914		Red Granite		W	Block	Square
		English		Coping		787-88			
S4	Dorothea Will	Apr. 1833	Apr. 1882	[49]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Coping		789			
S5	Susan Will	Dec. 1825	Mar. 1919		Red Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English		Coping		790			
S6	George Smith	[1856]	Feb. 1888	32	Limestone		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English	Died/Aged	None	Curved relief	791			
S7	Lorenzo Smith	[1874]	Aug. 1874	11days	Limestone		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English	Died/Aged	None	Curved relief	792			
S8	Hannah Smith	[1850]	Aug. 1874	24	Limestone		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English	Died/Aged	None	Curved relief	793-94			
S9	[Smith family marker]	x	x	x	Limestone		W	Obelisk/Pedestal	Square
		English	SMITH	None	Masonic symbols, crests	795-96			
S10	Marie Smith	[1896]	Sept. 1896	1day	Limestone		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None	Curved relief	797			
S11	George S. Smith	1872	1927		Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	FATHER	None	Rusticated sides	799	Shares headstone with S12		
S12	Cora B. Smith	1876	1956		Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	MOTHER	None	Rusticated sides	799	Shares headstone with S11		
~~S13~~	~~[Bruce Alan Kliewer]~~				~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~							
~~S14~~	~~[Annette I. Miller, et al]~~				~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~							
T1	Tillie Webert	1875	19-- [50s?]		Granite		W	Block	Square
		English	WEBERT	None		804-05	Shares headstone with T2		
T2	Louis Webert	1868	1952		Granite		W	Block	Square
		English	WEBERT	None		804-05	Shares headstone with T1		
T3	Mary Ann Webert	[1834?]	Sept. 1911	77	Cast Bronze	[unknown]	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged; The Morning Cometh; Gone from our home but not from our hearts	Coping	Dove [rear]; fleur-de-lis; columns	807-08			
T4	Jacob G. Miller	Apr. 1837	Dec. 1916	79	Cast Bronze	[unknown]	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died/Aged; The Morning Cometh, Gone from our home but not from our hearts	Coping	Wreath with roses [rear]; fleur-de-lis; columns	809-10			

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
T5	Catharine Miller		Apr. 1916	75	Cast Bronze	[unknown]	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Died/Aged; The Morning Cometh; Gone from our home but not from our hearts	Coping	Wreath with roses [rear]; fleur-de-lis; columns	811-12			
T6	Samuel Miller	Aug. 1801	Sept. 1886	[85]	Cast Bronze	[unknown]	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; The Morning Cometh; Dear Father with a reverent hand this to thy memory given, while one by one thy household band reunites in Heaven.	Coping	Bunting [rear]; fleur-de-lis; columns	813-15			
T7	Sarah Miller	Jan. 1839	Sept. 1878	[39]	Cast Bronze	American White Bronze Co., Chicago, Ill.	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; She faltered by the wayside and the angels took her home.	Coping	Wreath with roses [rear]; bunting; Ivy/acanthus	816-18			
T8	Anna Maria Miller	Jan. 1783	Oct. 1874	92	Cast Bronze	Detroit Bronze Co., Detroit Mich.	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died/Aged; Gone from our homes but not from our hearts	Coping	Sheaf of wheat; bunting; trefoils	819-21			

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
T9	Samuel Miley	Apr. 1871	Oct. 1874	3	Cast Bronze	American White Bronze Co., Chicago, Ill.	W	Cast Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Born/Died; Son of J&E Miley; Our darling, safe at home	None	Lamb; broken rose/blossom	822-24			
T10	Elizabeth Miley	July 1835	Sept. 1878		Cast Bronze	American White Bronze Co., Chicago, Ill.	W	Cast Tablet	Round
		English	Born/Died; Wife of J.Miley	None	Sheaf of wheat [rear]; Ivy/acanthus	825-27			
T11	Jacob Miley	Sept. 1838	Feb. 1897		Red Granite		W	Obelisk	Triangular
		English	MILEY	None		828-29			
T12	Isaac A. Miley	1864	1927	[63]	Red Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None	Gothic "M"	830			
T13	William Miley	1844	1930	[56]	Red Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None	Gothic "M"	831			
T14	J.F. Miley	Oct. 1811	Sept. 1891		Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Born/Died	None	Oak leaf laurel	832-33			
T15	Edward Becke	1864	1940	[76]	Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None		834			
~~T16~~	~~[Howard E. Miley]~~				~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	
~~T17~~	~~[Gloria E. Miley]~~				~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	
U1	Mathilde Will	1854	1927		Granite		W	Tablet	Triangular

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	WILL	Coping/slab	Flowers; Gothic "W"; rusticated base	P1050840			
U2	David Will	1863	1925		Granite		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English	WILL	Coping/slab	Flowers; Gothic "W"; rusticated base	841			
U3	Lizetta Will	May 1866	Dec. 1908	[42]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic, urn finial [missing]
		English	At rest; Dear sister, we will meet again.	Coping/slab	Calla lily	842-44	Damaged		
U4	Margaret Will	Mar. 1831	June 1898	[67]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/urn [missing]
		English	Born/Died; Wife of Henry Will; Mother [banner]	Coping/slab	Calla lily	845-47	Damaged		
U5	Henry Will		Apr. 1889	65	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/urn [missing]
		English	Died/Aged; A precious one from us has gone, A voice we loved is stilled, A place is vacant in our home, Which never can be filled.	Coping/slab	Floral basket (ferns?)	848-50	Damaged		
U6	Adam Rapps	Aug. 1825	Jan. 1890	[65]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/finial [missing]

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died; Rest in peace	Coping/slab	Calla lily	851-52	Damaged		
U7	Margaret Rapps	[Sept. 1896]	Sept. 1896	12days	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/ finial [missing]
		English	Died/Aged; At rest	Slab only	Calla lily	853-55	Shaft broken from base; Footstone "A.D.S." placed nearby [see V3]		
U8	Catharine Rapps	Sept. 1826	July 1889	[63]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/ finial [missing]
		English	Born/Died; Rest in peace	Slab only	Calla lily	856-57	Damaged		
U9	Catharine Crob	Mar. 1804	Mar. 1875	[71]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/ finial [missing]
		English	Born/Died; Wife of Wm. Crob	Slab only		858-59	Damaged		
U10	Wolfgang Will	Aug. 1802	June 1881		Limestone		W	Obelisk	Round
		English	Born/Died; WILL	None	Gothic "W"	860			
U11	Christina [Ziegler]	1833	1914		Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None		861			
U12	Elizabeth Ziegler	1838	1876		Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	Rest in Peace; ZIEGLER; illegible script [on book page]	None	Open heavenly gates/dove; open book with bunting	863-64	script on book page all but worn away		

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
U13	George Ziegler	1843	1930	[87]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Square
		English	At rest	None	Flowers and scroll	865			
U14	Mary C. Giesy	Sept. 1896	Nov. 1901	5	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Beloved daughter of R.C.&M.C.Giesy	None	Open heavenly gates	866			
V1	Louisa Scholl	1838	1925		Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Sister	None	Gothic "S"; Flowers	P1050869-70			
V2	Fred Scholl	1849	1930		Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None	Gothic "S"; Flowers	P1050869-70			
V3	Anna D. Scholl		Oct. 1893	84	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/finial
		English	Died/Aged; SCHOLL	None	Fleur-de-lis	871-72			
V4	Mary C. Rapps	1838	1922	[84]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None	Gothic "R"	873			
V5	Michael Rapps		Mar. 1901	71	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/finial
		English	Died/Aged; RAPPS	None	Rising star	874-75			
V6	Adaline Brady	Mar. 1832	Aug. 1906		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Slab only	[none]	876-77			
V7	Christina Brady	Dec. 1869	Aug. 1888	[19]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Slab only	[none]	878	Footstone - J.M.		
V8	[Brady family marker]				Granite		W	Tablet	Triangular

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	BRADY			878-79	[Located at foot of V7]		
V9	Thomas Brady	Feb. 1830	Mar. 1886	[56]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Slab only	[none]	880			
V10	Margaret Smith	1797	Oct. 1882	[85]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	Slab only	[none]	881			
V11	Rosina Smith	1832	Mar. 1904		Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
			English	Born/Died	Slab only	[none]	882		
~~W1~~	~~[Pat Kavney]~~	~~1867~~	~~1951~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	~~[n/a]~~
							~~P1050886-87~~		
W2	[unknown]				Limestone		W	?	?
		?	?	None	?	888-89	Marker missing; Footstones leaned against base remnant- M.E.F. & J.S.		
W3	Peter Gerken		Nov. 1883	52	White bronze	[unknown]	W	Cast tablet	Segmental
		English	Died/Aged	None	Wreath with roses [rear]; acanthus border	890-91			
~~W4~~	~~[Edmund I. Snyder]~~		~~1978~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	
						~~892-94~~			
~~W5~~	~~[Amanda V. Snyder]~~		~~1980~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	
						~~892-94~~			
W6	Henry Snyder	May 1841	Sept. 1896		Limestone		W	Pedestal	Sphere

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died; SNYDER	None	Laurels	895			
W7	Catherine Snyder	Feb. 1856	Jul. 1913		Limestone		W	Pedestal	Sphere
		English	Born/Died; Wife of Henry Snyder; SNYDER	None	Laurels	896			
~~W8~~	~~Emma E. Smith~~	~~1880~~	~~1972~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Bevel~~	~~Square~~
						~~897~~			
~~W9~~	~~James T. Smith~~	~~1875~~	~~1957~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Bevel~~	~~Square~~
						~~897~~			
W10	John L. Snyder	1886	1963		Granite		W	Bevel	Square
						898			
W11	George P. McNamee	1856	1944		Red Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None	Rusticated	899			
W12	Dora Carolyne McNamee	1865	1948		Red Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English		None	Rusticated	899			
W13	Henriette A. Nieft	Aug. 1868	May 1883	[15]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		Deutsch	Geboren den/Gestorben den; Tochter von H.&C.Nieft	None	Roses	900			
W14	Karl Henry Niest	[1836]	Mar. 1905	69	Limestone		W	Tablet	Triangular
		English	Died/Aged	None	Rose	901			

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
W15	Karoline Niest	1840	1921	[81]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Mother	None	Flowers and Gothic script	902			
W16	August W. Niest	1879	1935	[56]	Bronze		W	Placard	[n/a]
		English	Brother	None	Bunting	903			
W17	Minnie Niest	1873	1945		Granite		W	Placard	[n/a]
		English	Sister	None		904			
W18	Charles Niest	1881	1950		Granite		W	Bevel	Square
		English	Brother	None	Floral border	905			
W19	Henry F. Niest	1871	1961	[90]	Granite		W	Bevel	Square
		English	Brother; F.C.B. [Friendship, Charity, Benevolence]	None	Knights of Pythias crest	906			
X1	[Lizzie M. Will]	Dec. 1864	Dec. 1929		Red Granite		W	Block	Segmental
		English	Daughter	None		P1050909-10			
X2	[Triphine Will]	Sept. 1833	Mar. 1927	[94]	Red Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	His [Leonard's] wife	None		911-12			
X3	[Will family marker]	x	x		Red Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English	[info for Leonard and Triphine]	None		913			
X4	Leonard Will	Nov. 1823	Jul. 1906	[82]	Red Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Father	None		914			
X5	[Elias Will]	Dec. 1866	Dec. 1883		Red Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Son	None		915			
X6	Clara C. Will	1873	1964		Red Granite		W	Block	[n/a]

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Daughter	None		916			
~~X7~~	~~[Eugene Edmund Snyder]~~	~~Aug. 1918~~	~~Jul. 2010~~	~~[91]~~	~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	~~[n/a]~~
		English	An Oregon Author; Son of Edmund and Amanda	None		917			
X8	August Giesy	1857	1891		Granite		W	Plate	[n/a]
		English		None	Cross pattée (✠)	918			
X9	Henry E. Giesy	June 1854	Feb. 1898		Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Born/Died	Coping/family plot	Fleur-de-lis	919-20	Shares headstone with X11		
X10	Augusta M. Giesy	[June 1883]	[Mar. 1898]	[15]	Limestone		W	Tablet?	?
		English		Coping/family plot		921-23	Footstone - Augusta; shares grave with X11		
X11	Barbara Giesy	May 1897	Apr. 1898	11mos	Limestone		W	Tablet?	?
		English		Coping/family plot		921-23	Shares headstone with X9 and grave with X10		
X12	[unknown - Ruby Giesy?]				Limestone		W	Tablet?	?
		English		Coping/family plot		924-25			
X13	Christian Boehringer	[1820]	Aug. 1883	63	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Died/Aged	Coping/family plot		926-27	Footstone supporting headstone		
X14	Catharine Boehringer	[1823]	Apr. 1915	92	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Died/Aged	Coping/family plot		928-30			
~~Y1~~	~~Frances C. Kraus~~	~~1886~~	~~1966~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~		~~None~~		~~IMG_7681~~			
~~Y2~~	~~John R. Kraus~~	~~1888~~	~~1978~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~		~~None~~		~~IMG_7682~~			
~~Y3~~	~~Orletta Kraus~~	~~1884~~	~~1967~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~		~~None~~		~~IMG_7683~~			
~~Y4~~	~~Georgia Kraus~~	~~1886~~	~~1955~~		~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~		~~None~~		~~IMG_7684~~			
Y5	Elizabeth	1856	1936		Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English		None		IMG_7685			
Y6	[Kraus family marker]	x	x	x	Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	KRAUS	None		IMG_7686			
Y7	George Kraus	1841	1921	[80]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English		None		IMG_7687			
Y8	Laura A.E. [Kraus]	Apr. 1880	Nov. 1905	[25]	Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English	Dau. Of G.&E. Kraus; Our loved one believed and sleeps in Christ			IMG_7688			
Y9	John B. Giesy	1871	1921	[50]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English		None		IMG_7689			

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
Y10	Barbara Giesy	July 1831	July. 1920	[89]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	MOTHER	None		IMG_7690, 94			
Y11	[Giesy family marker]	x	x	x	Granite		W	Obelisk	Triangular
		English	[info for Barbara and John Sr. on N/S faces]	None	Rising star; scrollwork on shaft	IMG_7691-95			
Y12	John Giesy	Feb. 1821	Dec. 1886	[65]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	FATHER; Born near Pittsburg PA; Dying is but going home.	None		IMG_7695-96			
Y13	Gloriunda Hendricks [Giesy]		May 1886	23	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Triangular [ornament missing]
		English	Wife of H.H. Hendricks & Dau.of John and Barbara Giesy; Not lost but gone before, he giveth his beloved sleep.	None	Doves	IMG_7698-7702	Ornament missing from tympanum		
Y14	William Giesy Hendricks	1886	1964	[78]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English		None		IMG_7703			
Y15	[unknown - Giesy?]	?	?	?	Limestone		W	Tablet	?
		?	?	Coping	?	IMG_7704-05	Marker missing; paved family plot		
Y16	Vesta Giesy	May 1892	May 1899	[7]	Limestone		W	Tablet, small	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born/Died; Dau. of W.W.&J.S.Giesy	Coping		IMG_7706-07	paved family plot		
Y17	Sylva Giesy	June 1894	Sept. 1905	[11]	Limestone		W	Tablet, small	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; Dau. of W.W.&J.S.Giesy	Coping	Laurels	IMG_7708	paved family plot		
Y18	William W. Giesy	1869	1912	[43]	Granite		W	Bevel	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	Born/Died; GIESY	Coping		IMG_7709-10	Shares headstone with Y19; paved family plot		
Y19	Julia S. Giesy	1862	1949	[87]	Granite		W	Bevel	Segmental
		English	GIESY	Coping		IMG_7709-10	Shares headstone with Y18; paved family plot		
Y20	Hazel A. Giesy	Jan. 1890	Sept. 1914	[24]	Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English		Coping		IMG_7712	paved family plot		
Z1	Leade Schuile	Apr. 1810	Jan. 1890	[80]	Limestone		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died; Sister of M.&A. Schuile	None	Scrollwork; relief of columns	IMG_7719			
Z2	Christina Schuele	Aug. 1813	Sept. 1888	[75]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)/finial missing
		English	Born/Died; Beloved wife of M. Schuele	None	Floral basket	IMG_7720-21			
Z3	Ida P. Snyder	1884	1886	[2]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Daughter	None	Germanic Gothic script	IMG_7722			
Z4	Charles Snyder	1844	1924	[80]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Father	None	Germanic Gothic script	IMG_7223			
Z5	[Snyder family marker]	x	x	x	Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English	SNYDER	None	rusticated sides and tympanum	IMG_7724			
Z6	Christina Snyder	1848	1933	[85]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Mother	None	Germanic Gothic script	IMG_7725			
Z7	Andrew C. Snyder	1870	1941	[71]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Son	None	Germanic Gothic script	IMG_7726			
Z8	Emma J. Snyder	1875	1956	[81]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Daughter	None	Germanic Gothic script	IMG_7727			
Z9	Sanford S. Gribble	Oct. 1910	Oct. 1910	1d	Limestone		W	Tablet, small	Segmental
		English	Son of F.R. & N.B. Gribble	Coping	Wilted flower	IMG_7728-29			
AA1	Mathilda Fry	1879	1969	[90]	Red Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English		None	Flowers	IMG_7734			
AA2	Andrew M. Fry	1873	1961	[88]	Red Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	F.C.B. [Friendship, Charity, Benevolence]	None	Knights of Pythias crest	IMG_7735			
AA3	George W. Fry	1874	1953	[79]	Red Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English	F.C.B. [Friendship, Charity, Benevolence]	None	Knights of Pythias crest	IMG_7736			
AA4	Margaret Fry	1830	1918	[88]	Red Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English		None		IMG_7737			
AA5	Elizabeth Proebstel	1833	1911	[78]	Red Granite		W	Tablet	Square
		English		None		IMG_7738	Shim under stone on base		
AA6	Anna Fry	1841	1935	[94]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Mother	None	Germanic Gothic script; raised scrollwork	IMG_7739			
AA7	[Fry family marker]	x	x	x	Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental w/ scrolls
		English		None	Scrollwork; rusticated base	IMG_7740			
AA8	William Fry	1835	1909	[74]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English	Father	None	Germanic Gothic script; raised scrollwork	IMG_7741			
AA9	Catharine Miller	1816	1887	[71]	Limestone		W	Block	Segmental
		English		None		IMG_7742-43			
AA10	John Miller	1804	1890	[86]	Limestone		W	Block	Segmental
		English		None		IMG_7744			
AA11	Laura J. Miller	1883	1900	[17]	Limestone		W	Block	Segmental

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English		None		IMG_7745			
AA12	Louisa Miller	1847	1908	[61]	Granite		W	Block	Segmental
		English	Wife of Isaac Miller; MOTHER	None		IMG_7747	see AA14		
AA14	[Miller family marker]	x	x	x	Granite		W	Obelisk	Triangular
		English	Gone but not forgotten	None		7746, 7748-50	[info for AA12/14		
AA15	Isaac Miller	1838	1914	[76]	Granite		W	Block	Segmental
		English	FATHER	None		IMG_7751	see AA14		
AA16	Alfred J. Miller	1875	1909	[34]	Granite		W	Block	Segmental
		English		None		IMG_7752	Text nearly obscured by lichen		
BB1	Charles C. Manson	1875	1932	[57]	Red Granite		W	Bevel	[n/a]
		English	At Rest	None	Germanic Gothic script; scrollwork	IMG_7758			
BB2	John Burkholder	1873	1903	[30]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English		None		IMG_7760	Wear to edges, lichen		
BB3	[Burkholder family marker]	x	x	x	Granite		W	Tablet	Segmental
		English	BURKHOLDER	None		IMG_7761			
BB4	Elias Burkholder	1844	1911	[67]	Granite		W	Block	[n/a]
		English		None		IMG_7762			
~~BB5~~	~~[James C. Burkholder]~~	~~1880~~	~~1957~~	~~[77]~~	~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		~~English~~	~~Father~~	~~None~~	~~Floral scroll~~	~~IMG_7763~~	~~Shares headstone with BB5~~		
~~BB6~~	~~[Clara M. Burkholder]~~	~~1883~~	~~?~~	~~?~~	~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Block~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~	~~Mother~~	~~None~~	~~Floral scroll~~	~~IMG_7763~~	~~Shares headstone with BB4~~		
BB7	Samuel Giesy	[1831]	Oct. 1911	80	Limestone		W	Obelisk	Triangular
		English	Died/Aged	None	Laurel; Scroll; crown on finial	7764-67			
BB8	Nicholas Giesy	[1837]	Dec. 1902	65	Limestone		W	Obelisk	Triangular
		English	Died/Aged	None	Urn on finial	7768-69			
BB9	Rudolph Giesy	Oct. 1819	Mar. 1899	[80]	Limestone		W	Obelisk	Triangular [ornament missing]
		English	Born/Died	None	[finial missing]	7770-71	finial damaged/ missing		
~~BB10~~	~~Fred A. Giesy~~	~~1890~~	~~1972~~	~~[82]~~	~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	~~[n/a]~~
		English	Father-Grandfather	None		IMG_7773			
CC1	Mary Kocher	Sept. 1846	Nov. 1916	[70]	Granite		W	Tablet, large	Segmental
		English	KOCHER	Curb		IMG_7776-8			
CC2	Katharina A. Kocher	Mar. 1836	May.1915	[79]	Granite		W	Tablet, large	Segmental
		English	KOCHER	Curb		IMG_7779			
CC3	Catharine Kocher	Nov. 1813	Oct. 1888	[75]	Limestone		W	Tablet, square	Square (ogee)

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born in Ulrichstein Germany/Died; O let us think of all she said, And all the kind advice she gave, And let us do it now she's dead, And sleeping in her grave.	Curb and coping		7780-82			
CC4	Sophia Scharmann	1817	1900	[83]	Limestone		W	Pulpit	Square
		English	SCHARMANN	Curb	Heavenly gates and crown; stipled base	7783-85			
CC5	Sophia Kocher	Nov. 1839	Aug. 1919	[79]	Granite		W	Tablet, large	Segmental
		English	KOCHER	Curb		IMG_7787			
CC6	Henry Kocher	Sept. 1844	Feb. 1923	[79]	Granite		W	Tablet, large	Segmental
		English	KOCHER	Curb		IMG_7788			
CC7	Christina Kocher	Jan. 1842	Dec. 1928	[86]	Granite		W	Tablet, large	Segmental
		English	KOCHER	Curb		IMG_7789			
CC8	Henry F. Giesy	Nov. 1881	Feb. 1896	[15]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Born/Died; Son of F. & M.V.Giesy	None		7791-92			
CC9	Alvin A. Giesy	[1885]	Nov. 1890	5	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Maker*	*Orientation*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Died/Aged; Son of Frederick & Mary V. Giesy; In loving memory	None	Calla lily; floral basket	7793-95			
CC10	Mary V. Giesy	[1863]	July 1892	29	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Died/Aged; Wife of Frederick Giesy; In memory of	None	Calla lily; floral basket; cattail	7796-99			
CC11	Frederick Giesy	July 1833	Jan. 1898	[64]	Limestone		W	Pedestal	Gothic (lancet arch)
		English	Born/Died	None	[finial missing]	7800-81	Finial damaged/ missing		
~~CC12~~	~~Ivy M. Giesy~~	~~1883~~	~~1917~~	~~[34]~~	~~Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Bolster~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~		~~None~~		~~7803~~			
~~CC13~~	~~Morton L. Giesy~~	~~1888~~	~~1964~~	~~[76]~~	~~Red Granite~~		~~W~~	~~Plate~~	~~[n/a]~~
		~~English~~	~~Brother~~	~~None~~		~~7804~~	~~partially obscured below grade~~		

APPENDIX B

AURORA COLONY CEMETERY: EXTRACTED MARKER DATA, SECTION II*

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
K13	Gottlob Schwader	Oct. 1832	Mar. 1917		Limestone	W		Pedestal	Pointed
		English	Born / Died	Concrete family plot with tomb slab	None				
K14	Jacob Scwader	Nov. 1830	Dec. 1908		Limestone	W		Pedestal	Pointed
		English	Born / Died	Concrete family plot with tomb slab	None				
K15	John Schwader	June 1827	May. 1908		Limestone	W		Pedestal	Lancet Arch
		English	Born / Died	Concrete family plot with tomb slab	None				
K16	J. Ludwig Schwader	Feb. 1824	Sept. 1898		Limestone	W		Pedestal	Lancet Arch
		English	Born / Died	Concrete family plot with tomb slab	None				

*Rows exhibiting strikethrough and gray shading indicate where marker data recorded in field inventory, but which falls beyond the period of study. This information was subsequently excluded from analytical treatments.

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
L17	George A. Schuele	May. 1844	Jan. 1924		Granite	W		Thick tablet	Square
		English	Born Beaver County Pennsylvania / Died	None visible	None				
L18	Katharina Schuele	1839	1916		Limestone	W		Thick tablet	Segmental with scrolls
		English		None visible	Scrollwork on tympanum	IMG_7497-98			
L19	Rudolph J. Schuele	July 1836	Nov. 1907		Limestone	W		Thick tablet	Segmental with scrolls
		English	Born / Died	None visible	Scrollwork on tympanum				
L20	Catharine Schuele	Sept. 1809	Feb. 1892		Limestone	W		Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born / Died; Wife of Adam Schuele	None visible					
L21	Adam Schuele							Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born…	None visible			Gravestone fragmented (mostly missing, tympanum found resting against Catharine Schuele's marker)		
M4	Josephine Krieger	Apr. 1857	Sept. 1908		Limestone	W		Pedestal	[damaged]

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Born / Died; Earth hath no sorrow that Heaven cannot cure.	None visible	Handshake on laurels / finial (missing)		finial ornament appears missing		
M5	Cristoph R. Krieger	July 1861	Mar. 1904		Limestone	W		Pedestal	[damaged]
		English	Born / Died; Earth hath no sorrow that heaven cannot heal.	None visible	Anchor and shield on laurels / finial (missing)		finial ornament appears missing		
M7	Emma Giesy	Mar. 1833	May. 1916		Red granite - polished	W		Thick tablet	Bevel
		English	Born / Died; Here Rests; MOTHER	Family plot curb [North end]	Gothic German script / floral scrollwork	IMG_7522-23			
M8	Emma J. Becke	Aug. 1892	Mar. 1904		Limestone	W		Pedestal	Pointed
		English	Born / Died; Beloved daughter of H. & I. Becke; Our darling one hath gone before To greet us on the blissful shore	Family plot curb	Bird on scrollwork/stipling / Finial	IMG_7524-28			
M9	[wife of Henry] Becke				[likely granite]	W		[plate?]	
			[wife of Henry Becke]	Family plot curb	Gothic German script				
M10	Henry Becke	1857	1946		Granite	W		Plate	

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
				Family plot curb [South end]		IMG_7530			
M11	Rosina Stauffer	Mar. 1844	Jan. 1910		Granite - polished	W		Thick tablet	Segmental
		English	At Rest	None visible	Rusticated base				
M12	Margaret Stauffer	Sept. 1857	Nov. 1915		Granite - polished	W		Thick tablet	Segmental
		English	At Rest	None visible	Rusticated base				
M13	John Stauffer	Oct. 1851	Jun. 1921		Granite - polished	W		Thick tablet	Segmental
		English	At Rest	None visible	Rusticated base				
M14	Mary Stauffer	Aug. 1841	Mar. 1922		Granite - polished	W		Thick tablet	Segmental
		English	At Rest	None visible	Rusticated base				
~~M15~~	~~[Caroline Greer]~~								
~~M16~~	~~[Joseph Greer]~~								
M17	Elsie Will	Sept. 1890	Sept. 1891		Granite - polished	W		Small thick tablet	Square
		English	Dau. of A & M Will	None visible	Twin fleur de lis		Poured concrete base		
~~M18~~	~~[Frank Lee]~~								[n/a]

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
~~M19~~	~~[Myrtle Lee]~~								[n/a]
M20	Gottlieb A.E. Muecke	Apr. 1841	Sept. 1918	[77]	White bronze	W		Cast tablet	Cornice & capital
		Deutsch	Vereint! Geb. in Ober-Schützen in Ungarn/Gest. auf Miramonte Farm bei Aurora Oregon; "Ich weiss, dass mein Erlöser lebt!"	None visible	Crucifix in jeweled crown/acanthus leaves/rustication	IMG_7540-45	ornament matches wife (M21)		
M21	Anna Christine Muecke	Feb. 1825	Apr. 1904	[79]	White bronze	W		Cast tablet	Cornice & capital
		Deutsch	Vorangegangen! Geb. Gildemeister in Mecklenburg, Schwerin, Deutschland/Gest. Auf Miramonte Farm bei Aurora, Oregon; "Selig sind, Die im glauben an den Herrn sterben."	None visible	Crucifix in jeweled crown/acanthus leaves/rustication	IMG_7546-50	ornament matches husband (M20)		
M22	Meta Hieronymus	Jun. 1856	July. 1901	[45]	White bronze	W		Cast beveled plate	[n/a]

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		Deutsch	Hier Ruht; Geb. in Bremen/Gest. Auf Miramonte Farm, bei Aurora, Oreg.; Gott lohne, dir Deine Treue!; Familie Muecke	None visible	None	IMG_7550-54			
N2/18	Mary Fry	1853	1924	[71]	Granite - polished	W		Bolster	[n/a]
		English		None visible		IMG_7555-56	ornament matches husband (N3)		
N3/19	John C. Fry	1839	1920	[81]	Granite - polished	W		Bolster	[n/a]
		English		None visible		IMG_7557	ornament matches wife (N2)		
N4/20	Augusta C. Stauffer	x	Nov. 1890	2	Limestone	W		Pedestal	Pointed
		English	Died / Aged		Crown and rising star		monument shared between Augusta, James, & Benjamin		
[N4]/21	James W. Stauffer	x	Nov. 1890	10mos.	Limestone	[N]		Pedestal	Pointed
		English	Died / Aged; Children of J. & C. Stauffer	None visible	Crown and rising star		monument shared between Augusta, James, & Benjamin		
[N4]/22	Benjamin F. Stauffer	x	Nov. 1890	6	Limestone	[E]		Pedestal	Pointed
		English	Died / Aged	None visible	Crown and rising star		monument shared between Augusta, James, & Benjamin		
O1	Loma Katherine Kraus	Feb. 1899	Oct. 1900	8mos.	Limestone	W		Small thick tablet	Square/ pediment

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Died / Aged; beloved dau. of Antonia Kraus	Cement grave curb	Stacked pediment	IMG_7566-69	headstone broken and set behind base		
O2	William R. Kraus	Apr. 1878	Oct. 1903		Limestone	W		Pedestal	Inverted cube
		English	Son of H & C Kraus; Earth has no sorrow that Heaven cannot heal	Cement grave curb and base	Knights of Pythias crest ("F.C.B.")/scrollwork on shoulder/stars below inscription	IMG_7570-73			
O3	Henry Kraus	Mar. 1845	Sept. 1918		Granite	W		Plate/Thick tablet	Segmental
		English	FATHER	Cement grave curb	Vine/rusticated base	IMG_7574-80	Shares family headstone with O4		
O4	Christine Kraus	Dec. 1846	Dec. 1932		Granite	W		Plate/Thick tablet	Segmental
		English	MOTHER	Cement grave curb	Vine/rusticated base	IMG_7574-80	Shares family headstone with O3		
O5	"INFANT" [Will]	x	[Jul. 1900]		Granite - polished	W		Plate	[n/a]
		English	[E side of O7 marker]: Died; Infant son of A.F. & A.E. Will	None visible		IMG_7581			
O6	"ANNA" [Will]	x	[Jul. 1902]	30	Granite - polished	W		Plate	[n/a]
		English	[N side of O7 marker]: Anna E; Died/Aged; Wife of A.F. Will	None visible		IMG_7582			
O7	Anton F. Will	Aug. 1871	Oct. 1962	[91]	Red granite - polished	W		Pedestal	Spherical

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	WILL on base	None visible	Star / laurels on each side	IMG_7583-86	Anton's marker is also the Will family marker		
O8	"ALMA" [Grim/Will]	1868	1962	[94]	Granite - polished	W		Plate	[n/a]
		English	[S side of O7 marker]: Wife of A.F. Will	None visible		IMG_7586	Anton's 2nd wife?		
O14	Edward A. Stroup	Feb. 1876	Sept. 1905	[29]	Limestone	W		Obelisk	Log sculpture
		English	Born / Died; Dum Tacet Clamat [WoW motto]	None visible	Woodmen of the World crest (dove) above open gate; marker edged in sculpted branches	IMG_7589-94	translation: "Though silent, he speaks"		
O15	Anna M. Johnson	1877	1915	[38]	Limestone	W		Small tick tablet	Square
		English	Wife of F.A. Johnson	None visible	Stipling on base	IMG_7595			
O16	[?] Nordhausen	Apr. 1849	Feb. 1892	[93]	Limestone	W		Thick tablet	Segmental
		Deutsch	Geboren/Gestorben; Ruhe in Frieden	None visible	Handshake; scrollwork; figured edges; Stipling on large base	IMG_7596-97	Transitional tablet form? Also, dates precede month [German]		
O17	Johann Nordhausen	Feb. 1842	Jan. 1912	[70]	Red granite - polished	W		Thick tablet	Square
		Deutsch	Geb. am/Gest. Am; Ruhe in Frieden	None visible	Rusticated tablet; scroll with flowers at left	IMG_7598	Dates precede months [German]		
O18	Sarah Elisebeth Bock	Jan. 1872	Mar. 1898	[26]	Granite	W		Plate	[n/a]

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English		None visible	Dressed slab	IMG_7599			
O19	Benjamin J. Stroup	Sept. 1877	Aug. 1903	[26]	Limestone	W		Pulpit	Beveled
		English	At rest	None visible	Knights of Pythias crest; sun above open gate	IMG_7600-01	Relief of ornament faded		
O20	Nora K. Stroup	Mar. 1837	May 1890	[53]	Limestone	W		Tablet	Segmental with scrolls
		English	Born / Died; Wife of A.B. Stroup	None visible	Scrollwork on tympanum	IMG_7602-04	Shares headstone with O21		
O21	A.B. Stroup	Dec. 1818	Feb. 1904	[86]	Limestone	W		Tablet	Segmental with scrolls
		English	Born / Died	None visible	Scrollwork on tympanum	IMG_7602-04	Shares headstone with O20		
P1	William Giesy	Aug. 1846	Apr. 1911	[65]	White bronze	W		Pulpit	[n/a]
		English	In loving remembrance of; Born in Bethel, MO/Died; Gone by not forgotten	None visible	Dove; Scrollwork; rusticated tablet/base	IMG_7605-11	Two broken footstones found near: "Infant" and "L.R.G."; marker tilting from cedar root growth		
P2	Katharine Giesy	Aug. 1819	Dec. 1888	69	White bronze	W		Obelisk	Urn

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
		English	Mother's Grave; Wife of A.Giesy; Dear Mother, in Earth's thorny paths/How long thy feet have trod/To find at last this peaceful rest/Safe in the arms of God.	None visible	Dove; Wheat sheaf; Scrollwork; Urn; Anchor; Rusticated base	IMG_7612-17	American Bronze Co. Chicago, Il. On rear right edge of base.		
P3	Andrew Giesy Sr.	Nov. 1817	Feb. 1899	[82]	Limestone	W		Pedestal	Urn
		English	Born / Died; His record is on high	None visible	Crown in relief	IMG_7618-20			
P4	Matilda Giesy	May 1852	Apr. 1926	[74]	White bronze	W		Obelisk (small)	Urn/finial
		English	Born at Bethel, MO/Died; Gone before us, O our sister, to the spirit land, vainly look we for another, in thy place to stand.	None visible	Wreath; bunting; rusticated	IMG_7622-25	Matches form/style of P5		
P5	Mary A. Giesy	Oct. 1848	May. 1930	[82]	White bronze	W		Obelisk (small)	Urn/finial
		English	Born/Died	None visible	Wheat sheaf; bunting; rusticated	IMG_7626-28	Matches form/style of P4		
P6	Catharine A. Giesy	Mar. 1850	Feb. 1939	[89]	Granite - polished	E		Block	[n/a]
		English		None visible	Scrollwork	IMG_7629	Backward repacement marker?		

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
P9	Margaret Steinbach	x	July 1896	58	Limestone	W		Pedestal	Arch [Gothic]
		English	Died/Aged; Beloved wife of Daniel Steinbach	None visible	Gothic "S" surrounded by laurel wreath; Rusticated base	IMG_7631-32			
P10	Daniel Steinbach	May 1833	Mar. 1909	[76]	Limestone	W		Pedestal	Arch [round]
		English	At rest [Gothic script]	None visible	Gothic "S" surrounded by laurel wreath	IMG_7633-35			
P11	Lillian Will	Nov. 1907	Nov. 1907	1day	Limestone	W		Thick tablet	Square
		English	Born/Died; Infant Dau. Of F.W.&L.M. Will	None visible	Floral	IMG_7636-37			
P12	Leith M. Will	1877	1953		Red granite - polished	W		Bevel	Square
		English		None visible	Lamp and laurel wreath	IMG_7638	Shares headstone with P13		
P13	Frederick W. Will	1875	1955		Red granite - polished	W		Bevel	Square
		English		None visible	Lamp and laurel wreath	IMG_7638	Shares headstone with P12		
P16	Louisa Yost	1864	1909		Limestone	W		Tablet	Square
		English	Born/Died; Wife of Samuel Herzig; At Rest	None visible		IMG_7640-41			
P19	Regina Rueck	July 1833	Feb. 1889	[56]	Red granite - polished	E		Thick tablet	Square
		English	MOTHER	None visible	Gothic "R" surrounded by laurels	IMG_7642-46	Shares headstone with P20		

Code	*Name*	*Birth*	*Death*	*Age*	*Composition*	*Orientation*	*Maker*	*Form*	*Tympanum*
		Language	*Text/Inscription*	*Curb*	*Symbol/Ornament*	*Image Key*	*Misc. Notes*		
P20	Jacob Rueck	Dec. 1828	Jan. 1918	[89]	Red granite - polished	E		Thick tablet	Square
		English	FATHER	None visible	Gothic "R" surrounded by laurels	IMG_7642-46	Shares headstone with P19		
P21	Fred Stall	June 1821	Nov. 1891	[70]	Limestone	W		Tablet	Segmental with scrolls
		English	Born/Died	None visible	Scrollwork below tympanum and epitaph	IMG_7647			
P22	William Bachert	Feb. 1873	Mar. 1889	[16]	Limestone	W		Tablet	Segmental
		English	Born/Died	None visible	Broken flower	IMG_7648-50			

APPENDIX C

AURORA COLONY CEMETERY: SAMPLED ANALYSIS CALCULATIONS

FORM TYPE	*As found in Section I*	*Section II*	*Total*	*% of Section I*	*% of Section II*	*% of Period of Study*	*CAW value*
Tablet	178	25	203	53.45%	44.64%	52.185%	0.134
Pedestal Marker	30	15	45	9.01%	26.79%	11.568%	0.030
Pulpit	15	2	17	4.50%	3.57%	6.050%	0.016
Obelisk	12	4	16	3.60%	7.14%	4.113%	0.011
Plate				0.00%	0.00%	0.000%	0.000
Block				0.00%	0.00%	0.000%	0.000
Total by predominant type	235	46	281	70.57%	82.14%	72.24%	
Overall total markers	333	56	389				
INSCRIPTION LANGUAGE	*As found in Section I*	*Section II*	*Total*	*% of Section I*	*% of Section II*	*% of Period of Study*	*CAW value*
English	312	51	363	93.69%	91.07%	93.32%	0.240
Deutsch	12	5	17	3.60%	8.93%	4.37%	0.011
[unknown]	9	0	9	2.70%	0.00%	2.31%	0.006
Overall total markers	333	56	389				
MATERIAL COMPOSITION	*As found in Section I*	*Section II*	*Total*	*% of Section I*	*% of Section II*	*% of Period of Study*	*CAW value*
Limestone	198	25	223	59.46%	44.64%	57.33%	0.147
Granite	116	23	139	34.83%	41.07%	35.73%	0.092
Cast Bronze	17	7	24	5.11%	12.50%	6.17%	0.016
[unknown]	2	1	3	0.60%	1.79%	0.77%	0.002
Overall total markers	333	56	389				

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