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4/6/01

Cedar Hill Cemetery: Domesticating the Place of Burial

In the aftermath of our nation's Civil War, a rush to memorialize participants and martyrs, generals and sons who devoted a portion of their lives to a worthy and necessary cause gripped Americans in all cities along the eastern seaboard and across the country. Perhaps a natural human resistance to letting go of people, or else the tendency to elevate leaders to mythic levels resulted in the rash of obelisks, statues, cemetery stones, and other aggrandized pieces of granite or marble or brownstone. Memorializing, certainly an instinctive choice for grieving families and communities, met with a war that literally hit home, personalizing death even more. In its wake, building memorials boomed as people struggled to comprehend the loss of relatives, especially the ones far away and disappeared in action; those without war losses caught the spirit of remembering through others' efforts, and wanted to build their own, and did so if they could. For though in Lincoln's words "we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow" the ground covering over our dead in Gettysburg or anywhere; yet with weighty stones and tributes, we still try.¹

Up north, in Connecticut's capitol city the Colt factory ran on like the machines they manufactured, rebuilt by Samuel Colt's widowed wife, Elizabeth Hart Colt, after fire destroyed the factory in February of 1864. Sam's death on January 10, 1862 came during the thick of gun needs for the war—just another untimely collision natural to the history

¹ Abraham Lincoln, "The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863" prepared by Gerald Murphy. (Distributed by the Cybercasting Services Division of the National Public Telecomputing Network [cited 23 April 2001]), <http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/readings/gettysburg.txt>

of the Colt family and their armory. By rebuilding the armory, Elizabeth honored and memorialized her late husband and his life's work. By the time the new factory was complete, Elizabeth had her sleeves rolled up with two other projects: the Church of the Good Shepherd and an impressive family cemetery monument. Additionally, the ship-shaped memorial to her son Caldwell would be completed in 1896, and the statue she commissioned of her husband would be completed and installed in Colt Park after her death.²

Who was this rich and powerful Hartfordian, sunk so deeply through this city's golden age of art and war? When she died on August 24, 1905, all sources point to the gaping hole her death left in the community. In each tribute to this woman, the speaker or the writer references "the visible monuments which she erected, so evidently springing from the depth of a loving heart, glorifying the names—the sacred names—of wife and mother."³ Notes of admiration focus attention on her ability to build things; albeit her wealth allowed such extravagance, yet the public appreciation of her wifely dedication speaks to the values desirable for any upper class Hartfordian to have. Over the years, Elizabeth emerged from her husband's shadow and struck out on self-driven projects; yet, the purpose of each structure tied her back to the memory of her dead husband and children.

On August 25th, the front page of *The Hartford Courant* dedicated its space to memories and tributes to Elizabeth. Friends and relatives wrote letters, upon request, to share something of their kinship with Mrs. Colt to the public. They remembered her "fine character, abiding faith and philanthropic deeds." Rev. Dr. E. P. Parker⁴ extends his

² Hosley, William. Colt: The Making of an American Legend (Amherst: U of MA Press, 1996), 200, 206.

³ Memorial of Elizabeth Hart Jarvis Colt; the Rector's Tribute. Sunday, August 27, 1905 by Rev. George T. Linsley.

⁴ Rev. Parker is a "neighbor" of Mr. and Mrs. Colt; his plot is due south of the Colt monument in Cedar Hill's section II. Parker also took part in Cedar Hill's consecration ceremonies, leading the Consecration Prayer. Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1883-1903, 12. And Cedar Hill purchase records.

personal loss to that of the Hartford community, which “sustains an irreparable loss in her death. Among all classes and conditions of people in the community her sincere mourners will be found. She had become our most remarkable woman, and with one consent all her sisterly associates acknowledge her primacy.” This “first lady of Connecticut,” a title everyone in this piece seems to agree upon, put her toughest face forward in times of sorrow and bereavement and earned this designation through the easy and humble way she memorialized her family while simultaneously participating in worthy community causes.⁵ Our “eyes...rested upon the two buildings (The Church of the Good Shepherd and the Caldwell Colt Memorial House) which showed the woman’s loyalty and affection for those dear to her, one of the most prominent traits of her character.”⁶ Of course, those we collectively remember have usually built or made or done something above and beyond the average. Yet here, the line from Sam Colt to Elizabeth Colt to memorializing applies directly to a concept of public aid. Listen to the tone creeping out of the headline “What the City Gets for a Park,” referring to her donation of estate property to the city of Hartford in her will.⁷ Elizabeth’s generosity in death (while she certainly had the money and land to give) makes her a true public benefactress, not only through her eyes but also through the eyes of those who wait for the crumbs she drops, gazing with admiration.

All funeral eyes turned to take in the family monument at Cedar Hill Cemetery as well. The monument, designed by James G. Batterson and completed by his New England Granite Works, stands “forty feet in height, of polished Scotch granite with base of Westerly granite.”⁸ The pink granite is “surmounted by a figure of bronze symbolical of the sounding of the last trumpet,” sculpted by Randolph Rogers.⁹ One might imagine the grandeur of the scene through a description of the funeral of Hetty Buckingham Hart, Elizabeth’s sister, buried in Cedar Hill in 1876: “The sun was sinking behind the hills, filling the landscape with

⁵ *The Hartford Daily Courant*, August 25, 1905.

⁶ *The Hartford Daily Courant*, August 26, 1905.

⁷ *The Hartford Daily Courant*, August 31, 1905.

⁸ *The Hartford DailyCourant*, August 25, 1905.

⁹ “Guide for Visitors,” current pamphlet printed by Cedar Hill Cemetery.

glory, when the dear remains were laid to rest beside kindred dust in the beautiful cemetery.”¹⁰ Cedar Hill, consecrated in June of 1868, still looked spacious and new in 1905 at age 37 (a drop in the bucket of eternity).¹¹ The Colt monument, a trendsetter in pink granite, stood exposed, alone, and visible to all in attendance, with plenty of surrounding space on her 12,000 square foot plot.¹² Around the scene, friends living and deceased arrived or made their exit in style, playing off the expensive central column Elizabeth left as an example.

If Elizabeth Colt set trends in the gaudy but necessary world of memorializing, James Batterson made her visions and the visions of other monument-dreamers into reality. The legendary founder of Travelers Insurance Company lent an imposing hand to many local projects, meanwhile running his baby, the New England Granite Works. The company designed and executed most if its statues and cemetery pieces out of Westerly, Rhode Island, where Batterson owned his own granite quarry. In addition to hundreds of smaller pieces for private memories, Batterson created a number of prominent public pieces, and should be especially noted for the National Soldier’s Monument at Gettysburg as well at the “Private Soldier” at Antietam, a structure that stands 44 feet, 7 inches in height.¹³ He also received the contract for the Connecticut State Capitol. Considered an innovator with an eye for popular yet tasteful art, Batterson resurrected the use of Egyptian forms and symbols in his designs.¹⁴ And by buying his own quarry containing white, or pink, granite, he initiated its use where only granite blues and greys were formerly used. The base of the Colt monument displayed and advertised the beauty of this stone, catching popularity and conversely padding the pockets of the Granite Works through its representative grandeur in the process, initiating a rash of pink granite obelisks.

¹⁰ “Miss Hetty Buckingham Hart, Died August 7, 1876. Buried August 9, 1876 at Cedar Hill.” Memorial book.

¹¹ Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1863—1903. Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1903.

¹² Cedar Hill Cemetery, record of plot sales.

¹³ <http://www.nps.gov/anti/cemetery.htm>

¹⁴ “Monument Masterpieces: Histories of Public Sculpture in New York City.” By Donald Martin Reynolds. Unidentified article in vertical file, CT Historical Society.

The sheer determination of an Elizabeth Colt, whose ritualized tributes to her husband included not only statues and stained glass but also a very expensive book dedicated to their life in their home entitled Armsmear: The Home, the Arm, and the Armory of Samuel Colt, a memorial, exemplifies the personal in the philanthropic, a mood that underlies even the most civil-minded of activities and projects.¹⁵ The generous act of bequeathing the family estate to the city of Hartford for use as a public park links Elizabeth to a trend towards the segregation of public space sweeping Hartford through the turn of the nineteenth century; for Colt Park became “the city’s great playfield” in the George Parker tradition.¹⁶ Though in Parker’s plan “different parks took on special characteristics to conform to perceived needs,” a degree of tinkering not part of Elizabeth’s social approach, she did make specific demands for the arrangement of this space in her will, including a fence between the Armsmear mansion (to be a home for clergymen’s widows) and the park. A clear “one way” clause is curiously included in the will, that “no rule...shall be passed...which shall prevent the residents in said home from using and enjoying said park and at all times in common with the other citizens of Hartford.”¹⁷ To mingle in public space is fine and fitting in Elizabeth’s view—and yet, the fence, certainly subconscious in its implications. Likewise, when the average plot size in Cedar Hill’s Section II measures 1,600 square feet, a 12,000 square foot plot crowning the section visibly separates a Colt from even a Northam or a Hollister, let alone the less familiar families at the bottom of the hill. Elizabeth Colt’s civically minded actions, while generous, firstly used her money and monuments to secure the legacy of her husband in the city’s eternal eye; doing so meant arranging such permanent fixtures as

¹⁵ Hosley, 192.

¹⁶ Baldwin, Peter C. Domesticating the Street: The reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850-1930. (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1999), 138.

¹⁷ of Elizabeth H. Colt. (Hartford, 1905).

the widows' home and the park in a pronounced fashion. Being precise in directions and appearances would determine the look of Colt for years to come.

With a little coaxing Elizabeth bought into the concept of Cedar Hill in its beginning stages. Formed and planned just after the push for the city's first park around 1858, Cedar Hill aimed to "provide a place of sepulture in harmony with the promise of rest and peace for the dead, satisfactory to the most cultivated tastes of the living," and to add to the wealth of visual language springing up around the city.¹⁸ The cemetery formed as a trust organized by several prominent citizens concerned about the crowded choices for burial about the city. These people agreed, "The placing of cemeteries under the civil authorities was, of all, the most unpromising system. It was liable to all known evils. The town officers had other cares which overshadowed this," and therefore wanted to create a private institution to prevent further lack of government effort.¹⁹ Prior to Cedar Hill's incorporation in 1864, burial grounds included only the Ancient Burying Ground, North Burying Ground, Old South Burying Ground, and Spring Grove.²⁰

Cedar Hill became a late member of the group called "rural" cemeteries, a type begun by Mount Auburn; this cemetery was created in Boston's suburbs in 1831. In Mount Auburn's case, a group of outstanding citizens, led by Dr. Jacob Bigelow, decided to create something that "would be a place not only for the safe disposal of the dead but also a 'cultural institution' that fostered a range of socially beneficial sentiments."²¹ They considered "graveyards to be unsanitary and uninteresting."²² "Rural" cemeteries gave the middle and upper classes a space for disposal more suited to their tastes and expenses that the churchyards being swallowed up by expanding city life. They also provided these

¹⁸ Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1863-1903, 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 7.

²⁰ Mount Saint Benedict arrived in 1874, Zion Hill in 1880, the "Hebrew Cemetery" in 1886, and St. Patrick's and Holy Trinity also beginning in the late 1880s. Greer's Directory, 1880 and 1890 editions.

²¹ Laderman, Gary. The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes toward Death, 1799-1883, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1996), 70.

²² Rudy J. Favretti in "Cemeteries: Where it all Began," current Cedar Hill Cemetery pamphlet.

classes with an opportunity to purchase private lots, allowing them to mark the end of their journey in a manner representative of their economic status.”²³ In the words of

Cedar Hill director, Mr. Rudy J. Favaretti,

The rural cemeteries, laid out according to the dictates of the land, became not only places where people would mourn their dead but also places to have Sunday picnics and enjoy a myriad of other recreations. People were clamoring for open space for public recreation and the rural cemeteries were being used as such...In the field of landscape architecture, places to bury the dead gave birth to places where life could express itself in recreation and happy activities—the parks and public places of the nation.²⁴

The spirit of public parks lives in these words; yet Cedar Hill hit Hartford’s own theory on park arrangement and purposes in the thick of its park system’s development. In the time of the first great Park Project spearheaded by Horace Bushnell, Frederick Law Olmstead likened the city to a house, with different functions for each room in order to “justify the functional segregation of the city...’adapted at different points to different ends.’ In keeping with this philosophy, Olmsted also designed suburbs that, like the parks, were both separate from and complementary to the urban environment.”²⁵ Cedar Hill, situated in the suburbs as the city’s well-to-do built their homes in a southern direction (due, in part, to the elimination of the Little River slums that disappeared to make room for Bushnell Park²⁶), could be considered a formal and reserved section of the Home, given its process of creation, as well as its inhabitants. Its historical position reveals more.

Once Hartford’s group of prominent citizens banded together in way similar to Boston’s method decades before, a committee was chosen to select a site.²⁷ They appraised several possible tracts of land as sites and settled on its current position at the

²³ Laderman, 69.

²⁴ Favaretti.

²⁵ Baldwin, 29.

²⁶ Baldwin, 28.

²⁷ The initial meeting was held at the home of Dr. James C. Jackson of Section II, Lot 52.

southern end of town, where Fairfield Avenue meets Goodwin Park. When the selected committee hit landowners unwilling to sell, a group led by Batterson drew up a bill for eminent domain to come into play in this situation, a bill that passed the state legislature in May 1864.²⁸ With this blessing, Cedar Hill began putting plan into action. A corporation was designed to begin functioning on the invested funds of seventy-six stockholders. The fifty thousand dollars invested were repaid, with interest, by 1897. With that final payment, the lot owners themselves formed the corporation, to be cared for by a board of directors. As blueprints were drawn and building took place in 1865-66, purchase of plots simultaneously started.²⁹ 1866 saw a rush to purchase lots; sales to the public began on July 16th, a cost of \$25 per square foot, before purchase rate leveled out. As a family friend of the Colts, Batterson factored into Elizabeth's early purchase of her plot on October 10, 1866, just days after George Beach's purchase on October 18th.³⁰

In the spirit of a sprawling, park-like cemetery, plots were arranged over sections in a way harmonious to the slope of the land. Jacob Weidenman, Olmstead's protégé, designed a landscape that ensured a semi-patterned sense of beauty; monument choices played against the scenery in artistic bunches dependent on the size and shape of the purchased lot as well as the number of stones in each plot. The picturesque landscape meshes seamlessly with powerful masses of granite etched artistically with family names and symbols; each family chose a position in the section, a permanent occupation and visual reminder of social standing for those who would enjoy the cemetery in the future. A perfect circle, the way advocates of the cemetery in fact become themselves part of that ideal setting, a fact that actually played a part in the early rural, pastoral cemetery

²⁸ Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1863-1903, 11.

²⁹ Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1863-1903, 11-12.

³⁰ Elizabeth seems to test the water by first buying lot 2.8 on July 28, 1866. In the 14th clause of her will she reserves this plot for several key relatives. A 2,5002 plot, this section adjoins the one she purchased for her immediate family a few months later. Batterson did not buy a plot until 1897. Cedar Hill Records and Elizabeth Hart Colt's Will.

philosophy. In Section II, for example, the two largest plots sit atop a forward-sloped hill; the two other large plots grace the section stage right and left. As you approach the section from the east, the plots perceptibly spiral down in size from the largest crowning pieces outward, in a circled fashion. 2,500 square foot plots surround the 12,000 and 10,000² rectangles; 1,600² followed by 900² and 640² radiate outward to complete the section's look.³¹ This arrangement in a pastoral setting—complete with man-made reflecting ponds and an assortment of exotic shrubbery, “would be close enough for a family visit but far away from the daily business of...dynamic urban centers.”³²

In that first rush to purchase lots, most buyers were members of the original cemetery organization. Again using Section II as an example, in 1866 thirty-six lots were sold in this part of the cemetery. Of those buyers, fifteen were original officers or original directors.³³ The first four presidents are located in Section II; George Beach, in office from 1856 through 1867, selected a 10,000 square foot section for his heirs in September of 1866. Jonathan G. Bunce (1897), George W. Moore (1867-1899), and Nelson Hollister (1889-97) chose 2,500² lots. Sales occurred in waves, the first in July, the second in October of 1866. In addition, the first four sales went to directors: Daniel Phillips of lot five, Francis B. Cooley of lot six, Hollister, and Henry A. Perkins of lot twelve.³⁴ Naturally, board members and those who began the cemetery movement earned lot preference and were the citizens most interested in making an early purchase.

Whether a person requested for a directorship, was asked to join, or was elected to office is not apparent. The board does not seem cliquish to the extent that it is exclusively for bank or insurance men. Take, for example, Gardener P. Barber, a proprietor of the boot and shoe-manufacturing firm of Hunt, Holbrook, & Barber. He

³¹ Blueprints, Cedar Hill Cemetery.

³² Laderman, 69.

³³ It is important to note that only a few sections were opened for sale at a time; as more section opened, the possibility that Hartford's royalty thinned over more space is likely.

³⁴ See appendix for lot layouts.

became a director in 1868 and stayed one until 1879; Barber purchased lot seventeen along with his business partner George Holbrook in August 1866. Though a majority of board members have backgrounds and careers in financial areas, the total picture suggests a well-rounded group; fiscal soundness is an *expected* achievement.

Original Officers and Directors of Cedar Hill, in order of lot purchase³⁵

Daniel Phillips	1865	Adams Express Co, dir. Hartford Associated Coal, dir. Steam Boilers Ins. Co.
Francis B. Cooley	1865	President of the National Exchange Bank
Nelson Hollister	1865	Paper Stock & Co., director at Charter Oak Life Insurance & Steam Boilers Ins. Co., dir. at State Bank
Henry A. Perkins	1865	Director of Greenwoods Company
Marshall Jewell	1865	Jewell & Sons, hide and leather dealers and manufacturers
Rowland Swift	1865	President of the American National Bank
Gardener Barber	1868	Hunt, Holbrook, & Barber, boot and shoe manufacturing
Jonathan Flynt Morris	1865	President of the Charter Oak National Bank
George Beach	1865	Beach & Co., manufacturers of dye stuffs, dyed wools, oils, chemicals
Zeno K. Pease	1868	Henry & Zeno K. Pease
George W. Moore	1865	President of Mechanics Savings Bank, director at Travelers and Phoenix
James C. Jackson	1865	Physician and surgeon
Jonathan B. Bunce	1865	Vice President of Phoenix Mutual, dir. Phoenix National Bank
Charles H. Northam	1865	President of Mechanics Savings Bank (prior to Moore)
Gordon Burnham	1865	? Purchased lot for Thomas Church Brownell
Ward W. Jacobs	2866	Ticket agent in 1866, VP of Mechanics Savings Bank 1880, director in the 1 st National Bank of Hartford, 1880
Albert F. Day	1865	Charles G. Day & Co., wholesale clothiers, and 1 st VP of the Athenaeum

Though the Colt name seems a glaring omission from this list, the death of Samuel in January 1862 effectively stopped any involvement the family might have had in the early planning. Why Elizabeth's name does not join the list as she buys her lots and builds her exquisite monument is an absence whose reasons can only be guessed, though her focus on building memorials for her own family all over town would certainly factor in to her time commitments, if she was in fact asked. This being a gentleman's club is a tempting

³⁵ Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1863-1903, 25-26, and Greer's City Directory, 1863-64. 1855-56, 1871, 1880, 1881.

but jumped-to conclusion, though Elizabeth seems the only probable Hartford matriarch to deserve direct involvement.³⁶

A cross-section of Section II's citizenship contains many of Hartford's prominent names, capitalist giants, heirs apparent, as well as a few unknowns whose business achievements and monetary comfort allowed them to purchase a place in the new cemetery: a rewarding end to a successful life. Pliny and Marshall Jewell (lot 21) co-operated P. Jewell and Sons, a company that manufactured leather belting for machinery. Son Marshall also served as Connecticut state governor as well as postmaster general under Ulysses S. Grant.³⁷ Another important manufacturing family, James and Charles Howard (lot 10) of James L. Howard & Company made and imported railroad and car furnishings. James was elected as lieutenant governor in 1866.³⁸ A few grocers make the mix, the "largest wholesale grocery house in the state" owned by Ebenezer Roberts (lot 64), who also held directorships at the Hartford National Bank, Travelers', and the National Fire Insurance Company.³⁹ Joseph Pomroy, also a grocer, specialized in fruit, wines, liquors, choice domestic and imported cigars, and featured Smith's Philadelphia Pale Ale.⁴⁰ Other manufactured products to come out of Section II include wools, dyes, books and stationery. Two craftsmen are buried here, including a saddler and a cabinetmaker (formerly a pistolstocker). Other service-oriented businesses include a masonry firm and a house builder. Several ministers, a few lawyers, and a doctor are also buried here.

³⁶ Elizabeth did not recognize Cedar Hill in her will any further than to give them \$1500 for maintenance of her lots and monuments or gravestones. Will of Elizabeth Hart Colt, Section 12.

³⁷ Brooks D. Simpson. "Jewell, Marshall"; <http://www.anb.org/articles/04/04-00564.html>; *American National Biography Online* Feb. 2000. Access Date: Tue Apr 24 16:33:19 EDT 2001 Copyright © 2000 . Published by .

³⁸ William F. Moore, Representative Men of Connecticut, 1861-1894., (Everett, MA: Massachusetts Publishing Co, 1894), 81.

³⁹ Moore, 107.

⁴⁰ Geer's Directory 1865-66.

A majority of men did belong to the board of directors of one insurance company or another, or perhaps to a bank. Out of sixty-five lots, and studying only the lot purchasers themselves (not including other interments), twenty-three were involved with banks and/or insurance in one way or another, most of whom had more than one affiliation. While the fact that the craftsmen mentioned above do manage to buy and build on Cedar Hill lots, most men associated with building and crafting trades actually own the business; they do not physically participate in the workmanship. The layout of the lots remains key to the interpretation of this neighborhood, for Samuel Colt and Thomas Church Brownell lord over the scene below from their spacious ground. An instance of price tinkering suggests certain buyers received special treatment beyond being first served. While Chandler Johnson, the cabinetmaker, paid \$282.40 for the small, circular lot number 60 at the bottom of the section, paying \$40 per square foot in August of 1868, George W. Moore, future Cedar Hill president and the president of Mechanics Savings Bank, paid \$16/ft for his 2,5002 lot in October of 1866, though everyone else paid \$25 a foot in that year. At that price even Chandler might spring for the extra footage.⁴¹

Where the sales staff might be willing to bend a few prices here and there, they certainly buckled down in the case of rules and regulations regarding the cemetery's appropriate use and functions, in a way not unlike that of Hartford's park system. While park commissioners "wanted to include a wide range of people but sought to limit their activities to strolling, driving, and contemplating nature,"⁴² the cemetery's rules and regulations required activity "to respect the solemnity of the place...for the purpose of securing quiet and good order at all times within the grounds." Likewise, rules 1, 4, 9, and 16 of the Rules and Regulations booklet speak to the parallel struggle to define and contain the city's growing ring of parks:

⁴¹ Cedar Hill Cemetery, sales records.

⁴² Baldwin, 118.

1. The gates are opened at sunrise and closed at sunset, when all persons must leave the grounds.
4. The right is reserved to grant admittance to the grounds.
9. Children will not be admitted unless accompanied by a guardian, who will be held responsible for their conduct.
16. The Superintendent will be expected to expel from the grounds or arrest any person disturbing its sanctity by noisy, boisterous or other improper conduct or one who will violate any of the rules.⁴³

“As there were...no outlying parks the people were tempted to frequent the burial grounds more than was desirable, and the street railway furthered these habits,” says the 1903 report from Cedar Hill. This statement does not make it clear whether these cemetery-frequenters are strolling, playing, or committing some devilish crime like the ones disdainfully noted at Bushnell park, where working class people delved into “boisterous frolics, games, plays [and] scuffles.”⁴⁴ Yet the statement reads that this or any cemetery deserves limited traffic in reverence to the ultimate neighborhood underground, where the best of the elite crowd reside—permanently. In the same way “the park visitor was expected to linger and enjoy the appearance of the surroundings. The spaces off the path were not just ambiguous voids that could be used for anything, but were part of an artistic composition.”⁴⁵

The string of parkways connecting the parks by scenic, car-oriented routes which went up as the century turned were “landscaped greenbelts designed specifically for pleasure driving,”⁴⁶ a feature noted regarding Fairfield Avenue “which has been designated as a parkway connecting Pope and Goodwin parks, thus assuring for it an

⁴³While the 1903 report marks the 30th anniversary of Cedar Hill, it might be supposed that the trust and board has gained some experience and sees the need to create rules. Because several of the original members are still on the board in 1903, I am making an assumption that much of the founding theory stays in tact in this booklet, even if it is rose-colored. Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hartford, Connecticut, Rules and Regulations. Undated booklet. (1903?), 5-6.

⁴⁴ Baldwin, 119.

⁴⁵ Baldwin, 119.

⁴⁶ Baldwin, 125.

appropriate treatment.”⁴⁷ Until cars became commonly owned machines, the cemetery’s position on the outskirts of town kept those who could not afford transportation out to the site unable to frequent the cemetery, either for recreation or to visit those who passed away—or to go to Goodwin.⁴⁸ The idea of “taking a carriage tour” of the park network and perhaps stopping in at Cedar Hill “would have been available only to the elite. Everyone else would have experienced just one park at a time, usually the one nearest the home.”⁴⁹

Social grace, proper behavior, and attention to appearance comes into play when lot owners go to buy adornments for their bits of land. The 1903 rulebook also sets in writing the expected standards for memorial work, stating that:

3. No monument or other memorial may be brought into the cemetery until a sketch or blue-print showing the design, material, finish, size and the proposed inscription thereon be submitted to the office for approval.⁵⁰

In its barest sense, this and other rules were meant to prevent real ‘dog’ monuments from reaching the grounds. Yet the language also assumes a procedure, an attention on the part of the family to contracting a suitable decoration ordered from a noteworthy company. In the case of a simple headstone to be placed in Zion Hill, for example, one did not draw up extensive blueprints when the process involved picking a stone and ordering an inscription. Cedar Hill also requests that only granite be used; other materials were certainly available, though most admitted to brownstone’s lack of durability.⁵¹ The base price of granite factored directly into the final product. Price lists from the New England

⁴⁷ Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1863-1903, 13.

⁴⁸ An examination of the foldout map contained in the volume Cedar Hill Cemetery, 1863-1903 shows the cemetery’s relation to Goodwin and to the roads in a much more integrated way than the way Maple, Fairfield, and the parks intersect today. See attached illustration.

⁴⁹ Baldwin, 126.

⁵⁰ Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hartford, Connecticut, Rules and Regulations, 11.

⁵¹ According to Issac Gallup Smith, granite is one of the most durable stones available. Brownstone, on the other hand, is an awful material. He predicts that the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch, built in 1885, will be having some structural problems very soon. Interview with Isaac Gallup Smith. April 5, 2001, Westerly, RI.

Granite Works list the blue Westerly at \$1.25 to \$3.00 per cubic foot, red (used mainly for building) from \$1.00 to \$2.75, and white or pink from \$1.65 to \$4.00.⁵²

Visibly, a family's choice of monument clearly indicates wealth, as well as personal taste, attitudes of self-worth and/or a consideration of the afterlife. Order books from the Smith Granite Company, a rival group located just next door to the New England Granite Works site in Westerly, Rhode Island, indicate that a decent-sized obelisk would cost from \$2200 to \$3500 in 1896; a mausoleum ordered by a Chicago family rang up \$15,500 or over \$100,000 today. Smith's records demonstrate the behind-the-scenes reasons for higher price of more intricate pieces. If, for example, the chosen piece involves a base topped by a symbolic female figure (a popular monument type), the work would be divided among artists, each completing a part to compose the final memorial: one would do the figure, another grooves and flowers for the base, another the lettering, etcetera. Typically, the fewer people paid to do piecemeal work, the less expensive the final product and vice versa.⁵³

While the Granite Works order records do not include a list of artists and stonecutters, a look at their books does reveal some of the psychology behind choosing a monument, as well as the degree of actual work required on the part of the company. Though Batterson's company gained a reputation for doing superior work in superior materials, their methods matched those of any other company: cutting was done based on a pre-made form, while statutory used a rod system that chiseled away the granite matched up with a clay and plaster cast,⁵⁴ unless of course the purchaser requested truly original work, such as the Colt memorial. William Boardman of Section I, lot 6 sent models of various family symbols along to the work studio for insertion into his monument as tablets. A "new model" statue of Hope topped his piece. The fact that his

⁵² Price list, April 1, 1911, New England Granite Works, Westerly, Rhode Island.

⁵³ Smith.

⁵⁴ Interview with John Zito, Hartford, CT, February 27, 2001.

was a “new model” only hints at the number of statuary available from which to choose. When Frederick Tyler of Section II, lot 54 ordered a monument for Robert Ogden Tyler, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army, he included an extensive biography on Robert’s schooling and training for the front of the die and “the family arms and motto on the opposite gublet over the raised name TYLER.” All this, etched into design number 3043, cost \$4500.⁵⁵ Being able to join together several cutting options into a single unit creates a unique piece in the sense that the composite finished product has specific family information and a particular stone size and arrangement. Other Section II patriarchs, such as F.B. Cooley of lot 6, requested their pieces be “set for approval,” indicating an even greater degree of interaction with the creation process. Yet, the demand for monuments and statuary is universal. Peers and neighbors in Cedar Hill chose from a small range of manufacturers, and so each piece, while distinctive, carries identical tones or tendencies of the maker and the dies they had available. Batterson’s structures appear solid, strong, and traditional in form.

Though most of the orders for Cedar Hill top the \$1,000 mark, prices range through the hundreds and beyond—the same price range used by Smith Granite.⁵⁶ Cedar Hill has no size requirements on monuments; the fact that most fill the space well is because of the “free” choice of the lot owners, though certainly a sense of peer competition backdropped any purchase. Stone purchases might be of two extremes. A prominent family such as the Goodwins, who spent \$6775 on the family stone, represents a top spender—though nowhere near the estimated \$25,000 Elizabeth Colt paid for hers.⁵⁷ Secondly, many orders represent return customers; as people die, remaining relatives order separate headstone for that person, at a cost of around fifty dollars,

⁵⁵ New England Granite Works purchase records, volume 1, 1870. Westerly Public Library, Westerly, RI

⁵⁶ Both Smith and New England sold monuments across the country, including both Civil War memorials and cemetery pieces. From the New England records, these included other Hartford cemeteries as well as Laurel Hill, Spring Grove, Oakwood, and Mount Auburn, all major rural cemeteries.

⁵⁷ Hosley, 196.

depending again on the cut and the granite type. In 1883 Mrs. Charlotte Jewell bought three headstones for Marshall, Esther, and Julia Jewell which cost \$210 total. This quick, easy money required barely any work as compared to a full-sized piece, yet in order to match stone color and quality the same company was generally used. These small stones, coupled with a full-sized monument and a sizable lot necessitated a considerable amount of capital. Batterson's firm raked in both types of work, and in the process set the standard for impressive stonecutting. The consumer's willingness to spend money of this size indicates both the strength of the industry as well as the centrality of self-image to the thought process.

The New England Granite Works also profited from less direct work. Mr. C.D. Burnham, a stonecutter who worked at 66 Main Street, Hartford, often ordered polished but inscription-free stones at costs of around fifty dollars each. Another common practice in the business was to subcontract work to another company during busy seasons. James Lockwood and Charles A. Pitkin ordered a marble statue of Memory from S. Maslen & Co. of Hartford, yet the plans and order appear in New England's order books. Maslen purchased the piece for \$2550; what retail price paid by Lockwood and Pitkin is anyone's guess. New England's dominance, due in great part to their own mine source, resulted in an even greater degree of monument similarity across the boards, no matter what company ultimately did the cutting. For companies shared not only orders, but also the artists themselves. Many worked freelance, moving with the tide of available work or a large project at a rival company.⁵⁸

Like the families building massive tributes in Cedar Hill and in certain other cases around the city, most families bought the type of stone they could afford. David Mayer ordered a simple sheet stone for his Zion Hill Cemetery site, at a cost of sixty dollars, including lettering in Hebrew. With sixty dollars to spend, perhaps Mr. Mayer's choice

⁵⁸ Smith interview.

was his best one, though ads of the times certainly presented a more affordable picture of this service. As funeral and mourning practices evolved, the industry of capitalizing on death did as well. One such company, the Monumental Bronze Company out of Bridgeport, distributed small booklets pitching their wares made of purified zinc. Though “White Bronze,” as they called the zinc, is “a material that will stand as a record when all the stones are crumbled and rendered unsightly by time’s ravages,” the company’s work has not earned a place in historical fame. In their pamphlets, the company gears towards a middle class reader; their price cap stays below \$3000 for their nicest wreathed shafts, a number well below the top sales at Cedar Hill. They also advertise their soldier statues, draped shafts, medallions, busts, and double front markers (\$25-\$1500). In most cases parts are selected piecemeal and tacked onto the base shape as needed or preferred; they especially suggest Faith #222 for a “beautiful and imposing monument.”⁵⁹ This company plays to a need for eternal recognition, yet stresses the economy of their wonder-material. Another feature, the fact that tablets with names and dates can be removed, changed, and glued back onto the basic form clues some sort of *artisan*-driven industry at work, rather than an *artist*-driven one. The difference in craft means a difference in sales approach.⁶⁰ Monumental Bronze, a company that admits they play to current mourning trends (as does every company), equals the kind of mass-produced, imitation art designed to include everyone in the vogue for statuary. Smith Granite and the New England Granite Works, indeed, every monument-building company, relies on models and dies to make such a high volume of work. The granite industry differs in cost from the likes of Monumental Bronze mainly because of the extensive manual labor required in quarrying the stone and the ability of a Batterson to attract known artists to create the dies. Yet with a little

⁵⁹ The Monumental Bronze Company, Bridgeport, CT, 1870-1899. Advertising booklets. Connecticut Historical Society.

⁶⁰ Zito interview.

tweaking anyone with an itch to commemorate could pass his white bronze off as an expensive purchase.

The trend for oversized monuments in natural settings coattailed an ever-evolving process of change within the funeral and mourning process. Though funerals were mostly private in-house affairs for centuries, the war re-introduced death as a public, common experience. Various books on etiquette and manners, very popular through the turn of the century, take the space to remind one about how to proceed in the case of a funeral. They say that on the death of a loved one, the custom to send cards edged in black is acceptable; in return, letters of condolence ought to be sent immediately.⁶¹ Books of remembrance were also quite common for those who could afford the printing. A typical example includes bits from those condolence letters, as well as excerpts from the sermon and burial service.⁶² Appropriate mourning attire, as well as the length of time reserved for mourning, varies with the mourner's relationship to the deceased. Other rules involve what sort of treatment pallbearers receive, such as whether or not black kid gloves are still standard. In 1875, this author insists, "The human body...continues to be the object of punctilious observance of ceremony." He dislikes the new trend of sending flowers to adorn the coffin: "This...seems rather an indication of wealth than of regret for the dead or sympathy for the living."⁶³

This author's embittered attitude and lack of comprehension of the rituals of death harmonizes with the theory that "the war [had] a tremendous impact...on the relations between the living and the dead."⁶⁴ Considering the resilience of a funeral past that required strict clothing, pulling tight the drapes on the windows of the home, and long processions from church to the churchyard, the speaker's distaste for flowers points to

⁶¹ Robert Tomes, The Bazar Book of Decorum (New York: Harper, 1875), 269.

⁶² "Remembrances by her Friends," of Maria E. Collins Strong, Hartford, 1905.

⁶³ Tomes, 268-9.

⁶⁴ Laderman, 122.

some sort of discomfort with the approach of death as a celebration rather than a mourning. Through the new practice of embalming, many more Union soldiers made it back north than would be possible without this practice. And yet, if a son did not make it home, the mourning process became more difficult to tackle without the physical reassurance of the corpse; without tangibility, a vague uncertainty and disbelief results.

Lincoln's effort to comprehend our country's mass deaths in the Gettysburg Address represents a national need to grasp and understand in some way the purpose, the point of such bloodshed and to see what redemption or what reasoning could be found in the horror of so many bodies all over the ground at Gettysburg and all battle sites. Lincoln's abstract justification, that American blood seeped into the soil spurred new growth while providing reparation for the collective sin of this war matches the logic of other theologians, including Hartford's own Horace Bushnell, whose believed that suffering and bloodshed must precede the rebirth of the nation. In the same strain a minister named Octavius Frothingham saw these "soldier-martyrs" as actual seedlings planted to invigorate the soil and grow the land beautiful again.⁶⁵

His logic exactly matches the language of the rural cemetery movement. The theory goes, the presence of the deceased plays directly into the pastoral, peaceful scene; the rebirth of souls rejuvenates and enlivens the landscape. Where the sleeping lie and through their "bloodshed" grass and shrubbery and flowers grow, weaving the ideal intensity of nature. For the parents unable to comprehend the loss of a son/soldier, their monuments symbolize their presence, somewhere, and the reality of their death. Whether buried directly beneath the granite or in an unmarked grave somewhere in the south, the solidity of granite provides reassurance while elevating each martyr into the public realm. No matter where they build the statue or monument, the essential contributions of that missing and long lost soldier belongs to that beautiful new piece of granite memorial.

⁶⁵ Laderman, 128-130.

In this strain the Bushnells and Battersons and the originators of Cedar Hill worked towards creating those pastoral parks and ceremonious monuments, and in this way Elizabeth Colt renews the life of her entire town through her church and memorial hall and park and art and sculptures. For the death of any American, Army soldier or otherwise, restrengthens the country's roots; therefore, the martyrs and heroes, shoemakers and bank presidents should be remembered in a fitting and appropriate manner. For Elizabeth, it is as though the pillar of granite on Samuel's grave grew directly out of his body sunk into the ground, as if the steeple of the Church of the Good Shepherd exists in the sacrifice of his spirit to the cause of the Armory and the cause of providing guns for this necessary and restorative war. Though those bloodied battlefields lay far away, the presence of either a park or a monument represents that greater effort on the part of American sons, who are everyone's sons. As Elizabeth Colt memorializes her dead son, she intrinsically remembers all sons of Hartford. When a man who buys a simple fifty-dollar headstone walks past the Caldwell Colt Memorial House, a structure made in the memory of Elizabeth's full-grown son, that monument, erected in the spirit of public rebirth as well as the importance of remembering, marks the ground for those without the finances to buy a piece of Cedar Hill soil. And Bushnell creates that "outdoor parlor" devoted to strolling, horticulture, and the unity of classes upon like ground, hoping to meld together everyone's hopes for the reunited nation's future. His pastoral space also represents the spirit of progressivism for which the blood of the soldiers should be thanked.

Mr. Batterson, like Bushnell, takes matters upon himself to jump-start the fertilization process driven by war deaths. Of course, as the owner of the preeminent monumental work company, building things for all types of families, as well as creating statuary of a public nature, is his natural method for spreading the good fortune of tragic but heroic deaths. For Bushnell, evicting the people who once lived on the land of his dream park meant a greater social good would be realized, a greater opportunity for

healing among the levels of people in Hartford. The same attitude allowed the Cedar Hill committee, led by Batterson, to claim their 200 acres on the outskirts of the city. Eminent domain, a term that strikes fear in the hearts of homeowners both then and now, determined both scenes and allowing the process of building a something for a greater good, as seen from the perspective of those most rewarded by the projects.

In Westerly, the New England Granite Works worked right next door to the Smith Granite Company. Each quarrying and sculpting company employed about 400 people in the small Rhode Island town, a community in which livelihoods depended entirely on the quarries—meaning these two companies. When the original Mr. Smith died, his widow took over the finances and everyday workings of the family business. At this juncture Batterson demanded that Mrs. Smith sell her a three-acre piece of quarry, for their granite sites adjoined one another. This piece of land contained the popular and expensive white Westerly granite that Batterson made popular. When Mrs. Smith refused, Batterson told her that unless she sold he would pull his whole operation out of Westerly, leaving an entire portion of the population without a job. Unable to do this to her townspeople, Mrs. Smith sold, and Batterson continued to build monuments with his new stone. In this one feud lays the image of Batterson that floated among the workers, and is the reason that he was eventually “snubbed out because of his reputation.” The New England Granite Works era ended in 1923-24, when Batterson’s son sold the works to Smith.⁶⁶

Isaac Gallup Smith, the one living member of the Smith family line, says Batterson brought sophistication to the industry—perhaps a kind way to say his advanced businessman’s mind knew how to play the game and profit by whatever means available. When he died in 1904, this eulogy by William Henney captures the man’s vaulting ambition:

I need not dwell on the details of his life in Hartford. How he added to his business every department and detail of stonework from the rough ashlar of the quarry to the polished column and the sculptured marble; how the imperishable

⁶⁶ Smith interview.

marks of his handiwork are to be found in the capitol at Hartford and in the capitol at Washington, and in New York and San Francisco, and in the rich and beautiful cities whose industry and pride and glory illumine all the space between.

Henney proceeds,

I cannot leave this sketch of working man, scholar, and artist, of printer and poet and underwriter...without suggesting a suitable memorial in his honor. What should that memorial be ? No one who knew Mr. Batterson would suggest a shaft of Parian marble, a costly sarcophagus, a sculptured arch, a statue of bronze...No ; the memorial to James G. Batterson must be something useful—something that will help men upward and onward in their struggle for better things...Let their be a Batterson Memorial Hall erected in the factory district, and let that hall combine outward beauty with inward comfort and convenience...May it come quickly and may it bear the name of Batterson in loving memory of one who has himself been a workingman and, tasting all the bitterness of toil and poverty, hewed his way upward to distinction and honor.⁶⁷

And so, this eulogist suggests that the spirit of Batterson live on in the form of a giant memorial, not a marble statue but a workingman's hall, with the suggestion that Batterson would dislike a grand but useless piece of statuary dedicated to his memory. The picture painted shows Batterson laughing that we all bought giant rocks from him, shattering to bits the idea that eminent domain and demanding a chunk of valuable land says anything about this man's heightened sense of public duty or the honor of creating such pieces. Regardless of his personal view of the value of memorials, his sophistication brought needed visual works to the eyes of the public.

Cedar Hill benefited from his work and the work of other companies; the families of those buried there benefited as well. As is the case with most humanitarian efforts, the directors meant well, and created their vision of what burial meant for themselves and for others. The result, acres upon acres of well-groomed land containing all the best of Hartford's golden age, serves its purpose of providing a peaceful, park-like setting as an alternative to the cramped and untidy conditions found in other cemeteries and churchyards around the city. As another park in the system, Cedar Hill represented an

⁶⁷ William Henney, "James G. Batterson: An Address," Hartford 1904.

untouchable room in the house, one so planned and regulated that most of Hartford's citizens did not have even the opportunity to stroll its paths, let alone purchase a plot; the cemetery's location at the southern end of town catered to car drivers or more local residents, unless someone were willing to make the walk past Fairfield Avenue's well-built homes and vibrant foliage.

As a result, Cedar Hill produced a push-and-pull effect, pulling in as many interested buyers as possible, because the idea was such a good one, meanwhile pushing away hopefuls who simply could not afford a plot and a monument, or could not follow the strict rules and regulations which sought to prevent misbehavior both in the look of the lots and the activities of the visitors. In the same way, park reformers sought to contain rowdy immigrant baseball players and prevent them from tearing around the flowered shrubs and things of beauty down at the local park.

Statues and monuments served the purpose of sealing up division and segregation by including everyone in the admiration of a single important piece, such as a soldiers' memorial. The characters of James Batterson and Elizabeth Colt foreran that theory, as Batterson created both private and public monuments, Elizabeth building a church, a hall, a statue, a park, and a monument. In doing so she made the private public and smoothed class divisions by bringing her tributes out into open space, down by the armory as opposed to tucked-away Cedar Hill. By setting an unattainable bar in pink granite, she inspired those who could afford a private monument in a semi-private cemetery to build their own, directly contributing to the cemetery's success and the rash of granite sculpture to follow.

A Hartford guidebook dated 1908 lists the attractions one ought to see while visiting the city; the list speaks to the legacy of building monuments of all sorts left by Colt and Batterson. These include: bronze statue of Nathan Hale by the Wadsworth; Colonel Samuel Colt at Colt Park; General Griffin A. Steadman in Campfield Park; the Memorial Arch; the Corning Memorial Fountain; the Keney Memorial Tower; the Allyn

Memorial Chapel; the Colt Memorial Parish House; the Morgan Memorial as part of the Wadsworth; and the Bas Relief of Horace Wells at the corner of Asylum and Main Streets. The booklet also lists the State Capitol and the statuary on its grounds and niches about the building, which include oil portraits and various marble and bronze statues, including Israel Putnam in Bushnell Park. The extensive list also mentions the Important Sculptural Work Going on at Present, an indication that the memorial building of Colt's golden age has not yet run its course.⁶⁸

Sometimes, our representative citizens build monuments for the use and consideration of everyone. Other times public statuary serves the purpose of expressing the rebirth of the population through pride in the representative citizens on display in marble. Charles Dudley Warner (Section III, lot 81), a true advocate of beautifying the landscape through the individual duties of citizenship and the pride of public cleanliness, would also see statuary as a part of that refined beauty. Unless the citizens take pride in Hartford's history and visual appearance, "if they are not proud of it, if they are not jealous of its honor and solicitous for its beauty, if they are not intelligent, honest, industrious, and have not refinement of taste or manners, it will become, however large it may be, a vulgar city."⁶⁹ This example Elizabeth Colt sets, and is set by those shaped in bronze and remembered by the community. Taking pride in the city might mean building a monument in Cedar Hill, but it also means beautifying and keeping clean every inch of ground and home and in doing so making the city a monument for all classes, a location of pride rather than an unaffordable piece of granite. It also means, tread carefully through Bushnell Park, "which would be speedily ruined by the destructive habits and vulgarity of men and women who were not good citizens."⁷⁰

⁶⁸ "Hartford: Its Points of Interest." Municipal Art Society. Hartford: The Society, 1908.

⁶⁹ Charles Dudley Warner, "The Duties of Citizenship," in Hartford in History, ed. Willis I. Twitchell (Hartford: Plimpton 1899), 256.

⁷⁰ Warner, 257. See attached for his interesting look at the Hartford school system in 1899.

Mark Twain, From an unfinished burlesque of books on etiquette:⁷¹

Do not criticize the person in whose honor the entertainment is given.

Make no remarks about his equipment. If the handles are plated, it is best to seem to not observe it.

If the odor of the flowers is too oppressive for your comfort, remember that they were not brought there for you, and that the person for whom they were brought suffers no inconvenience from their presence.

Listen, with as intense an expression of attention as you can command, to the official statement of the character and history of the person in whose honor the entertainment is given; and if these statistics should seem to fail to tally with the facts, in places, do not nudge your neighbor, or press your foot upon his toes, or manifest, by any other sign, your awareness that taffy is being distributed.

If the official hopes expressed concerning the person in whose honor the entertainment is given are known to you to be oversized, let it pass—do not interrupt.

At the moving passages, be moved—but only according to the degree of your intimacy with the party in whose honor the entertainment is given. Where a blood relation sobs, and intimate friend should choke up, a distance acquaintance should sigh, a stranger should merely fumble sympathetically with his handkerchief. Where the occasion is military, the emotions should be graded according to military rank, the highest officer present taking precedence in emotional violence, and the rest modifying their feelings according to their position in the service.

Do not bring your dog.

⁷¹ Mark Twain, Letters from the Earth, (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1968).

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