

The
Colonial Gravestone Carvings
of Obadiah Wheeler

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Photographs by Daniel Farber

IN RECENT YEARS there has been a considerable increase in scholarly interest in the colonial gravestones of New England. In the past these gravestones have generally been viewed either as curiosities, as material for 'rubbings,' or as genealogical source material. It is now realized that these stones provide rich source material for studies of religious symbolism, cultural interrelationships, artistic styles, mortality data, family composition, and other aspects of early New England culture.¹

Before maximum use can be made of this research source it is necessary to identify the individual craftsmen involved in the creation of these stones, to determine the influences that have acted upon them, and to note the evolution and distribution of their work in time and space. In this paper we present a study of one of the early colonial craftsmen of eastern Connecticut. We shall indicate who this man was, where he lived,

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¹For a general analysis of the subject, see Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, 'Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries,' *American Antiquity*, XXXI (1966), 502-510.

what he produced, and will describe the evolution and diversity of his creative effort.

The colonial cemeteries of eastern Connecticut contain nearly two hundred distinctive gravestones of high artistic quality, the identity of whose carver has heretofore been unknown. These stones are characterized by depicting faces that have elongate, slender, aristocratic noses connected with the brows above the eyes, and by a characteristic type of 'wing' or 'curl' motif adjacent to the face.

Allan I. Ludwig placed these stones in what he called 'Phase II of the Eastern Connecticut Ornamental Style' and discussed them as having been executed by an unknown carver whom he referred to as the 'Collins Master.' Ludwig was apparently unsure whether or not these stones were the early work of Benjamin Collins of Columbia or the work of another artist who influenced the work of Collins.² Ernest Caulfield had, however, previously demonstrated that the work of Benjamin Collins is clearly distinguishable from that of the craftsman under consideration³ and the present analysis supports this conclusion. The authors do not agree with Ludwig's statement that after 1730 it is difficult to distinguish the work of the 'Collins Master' from that of Benjamin Collins. The work of these two stonecarvers is quite distinct in execution and even in the nature of the stone used during both men's careers, although some borrowing of motifs is evident, possibly in both directions.

Identity of the Carver

Although many colonial stone carvers placed their names on some of their gravestones, the artist in question did not. Therefore, to determine the identity of the 'Collins Master,' it is necessary to turn to other forms of evidence. The most

²Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols 1650-1815* (Middletown, Conn., 1966), pp. 380-381.

³Ernest Caulfield, 'Connecticut Gravestones IX,' Connecticut Historical Society, *Bulletin*, XXVIII (1963), 23.

reliable method available is the examination of early probate records to attempt to find evidence of payment to an individual for the production of a given gravestone. Establishment of the identity of the carver for as many stones as possible is imperative as such stones provide base points for determining if a single craftsman produced rather different stones at different periods of his life or whether varied motifs were the work of different individuals. In the present case, although we recognize five major motifs or 'types,' we have probate evidence for the stone 'types' which are the most disparate both chronologically and stylistically. Even in the absence of such probate records careful analysis of the relationships of the stones alone would lead to the conclusion that all of the stones discussed below were produced by a single individual. Nevertheless, the probate evidence seems conclusive.

First, among the probate papers of Jonathan Hutchinson, who died in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1717 is an undated receipt which reads, 'Yhis may sartisfy whome it may consarn that I obadiah wheeler made one pair of grave stones for Mrs mindwell tisdale for har first husband mr jonathan huch I sun pris 2-5-0 and one pair for har litele daughter mindwell hutchisun price 0-14-0.'⁴ Second, in 1742 six adult members of the Sluman (Sleuman) family of Norwich West Farms (now Franklin, Connecticut) died during an epidemic of 'Extraordinary sickness.' Among the deceased were Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Sluman, the younger Thomas, Joshua and David Sluman. Joseph Sluman of Lebanon, administrator of the estates of the elder Thomas Slumans, hired Obadiah Wheeler to make their gravestones. Wheeler was also paid three pounds for a pair of gravestones for Joshua Sluman.⁵

The Mindwell Hutchinson and Jonathan Hutchinson stones still stand in Lebanon (Plates 1, 22) and the stones for Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Sluman are in Franklin. The Hutchinson stones

⁴Probate Court Department. Connecticut State Library, Hartford.

⁵Probate Court Department. Connecticut State Library, Hartford.

represent what we classify as Type I and the Sluman stones represent Type V. Thus if Obadiah Wheeler carved the Type I and Type V stones, he certainly also was the craftsman who produced the Type II, III, and IV stones, as will be seen.

Obadiah Wheeler was for many years a resident of Lebanon, Connecticut, as is shown not only by documentary evidence but also by the distribution of the gravestones themselves. Where a given carver's stones are the most numerous and most varied in form is almost invariably where he lived. Table 2 shows the marked concentration and diversity of Wheeler stones in the Trumbull cemetery in Lebanon.

Wheeler was born in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1673 and, together with his wife and children, disappeared from the records there in 1717.⁶ He first appeared in the Lebanon records on November 25, 1718, when, describing himself as a 'husbandman,' he signed an indenture (lease) for fourteen years for 401 acres of land, two male white servants, two oxen and some breeding mares.⁷

Unfortunately, we have no information on the last years and death of Obadiah Wheeler. We have not been able to locate any probate papers for him and there is no gravestone marking his grave in the area, nor is there one for his wife, the former Hannah Fletcher, whom he married in Concord in 1702.⁸

Early Influences

The gravestone craftsman who most significantly influenced Wheeler's work was John Hartshorn of West Farms, Connecticut.⁹ Hartshorn first produced stones in northern Essex

⁶*Concord, Massachusetts Births, Marriages, and Deaths 1635-1850* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 17, 54, 59, 63, 67, 73.

⁷Land Records of the Town of Lebanon, Connecticut. Book 3, pp. 206-208. Lebanon Town Hall.

⁸*Concord, Massachusetts Births, Marriages, and Deaths*, p. 54.

⁹Ludwig, *Graven Images*, Plates 221A, B, C; 222A,B,C attributed some Hartshorn stones to Joshua Hempstead of New London, Connecticut. Caulfield, 'Connecticut Gravestones XII,' Connecticut Historical Society, *Bulletin*, XXXII (1967), 65-79, has shown the stones in question to be the work of Hartshorn.

County, Massachusetts. Over seventy-three years old, he came to West Farms to live with his daughter. His stones are present in a number of cemeteries in eastern Connecticut. Wheeler stones, particularly those of Type I, show a marked Hartshorn influence. Hartshorn stones show similar elongate straight noses joined to the brows, the same three-lobed lunettes as those on early Wheeler stones, and often the same floral border panels. (See the Mindwell Hutchinson stone of 1726 in Lebanon. Plate 1.) The four converging hearts in the finials of Hartshorn's Joanna _____ stone in Norwichtown, Connecticut (Ludwig, Plate 221B) are actually the same as those used on the Wheeler stone for Jonathan Hutchinson in Lebanon. The double circle around the face in Hartshorn stones is used on almost all Wheeler stones. The Hartshorn stones for Joshua Abell of Norwichtown and John Arnold of New London (Ludwig, Plate 222B, c) have 'curls' and 'loops' beside the face that are very similar to many Wheeler Type I stones. Furthermore, the linear 'segmented' motifs on many Hartshorn stones (Ludwig, Plate 221A, B, C, Plate 222A, D), considered by Ludwig to be 'bird' motifs, may equally well be considered as attempts to portray stylized wings and are probably predecessors of Wheeler Type III stones. Ludwig asserted that the use of wings by the Collins Master had to represent an outside influence.¹⁰ Such may be true, but there is no direct evidence to support the idea that any carver other than John Hartshorn had an important influence on the early Wheeler style. We believe that Wheeler was strongly influenced by Hartshorn and probably learned the art from him.

The diversity and skill of Wheeler innovations soon surpassed the work of Hartshorn and mark Wheeler as a man of great technical ability and originality, the master indeed of the whole eastern Connecticut school of gravestone art. The importance of Wheeler's work then lies not only in its high artistic quality and individual innovations of style, but also in its

¹⁰Ludwig, *Graven Images*, p. 380.

influence on a number of contemporary and later carvers nearly to about 1800, when the decline of the art began.

The Period of Wheeler's Work

Students of gravestone art tend to believe they have a more precise means of dating their artifacts than scholars of most other early American art forms since the stones bear a date of death and were ordinarily carved soon after this date.¹¹ This is partly true, but dating must be used with caution and in conjunction with the design details carved on the stones as it was not uncommon for stones to be produced some years after the actual date of death of the subject.

Wheeler stones carry dates ranging from 1702 to 1749. The latter date probably was the last year in which Wheeler produced gravestones. The earlier stones, however, are unquestionably 'back dated.' They represent design types developed much later and, as shown in Figure 1, are isolated in time from the years when their motifs were dominant. In attempting to establish the early dates for Wheeler's work it is particularly important to note that on several stones Wheeler carved the actual date that the stone was executed as well as the date of death. The Jonathan Hutchinson stone bears a 1717 death date, but at the end of the inscription '1726' is carved, which must indicate the year the stone was actually cut. The signed receipt for this stone probably should be dated shortly after February 2, 1727, when his widow, Mindwell Hutchinson, married the widower James Tisdale. The Thomas Cushman stone in Lebanon indicates that he died January 9, 1727, and the Sarah Cushman stone in the same place shows that she died December 25, 1726. Both of these stones have '1728' carved after the inscription, indicating that both were produced at this later date.

There is no evidence that Wheeler carved stones between 1718, when he arrived in Lebanon, and 1726, when he pro-

¹¹Dethlefsen and Deetz, 'Death's Heads,' p. 502

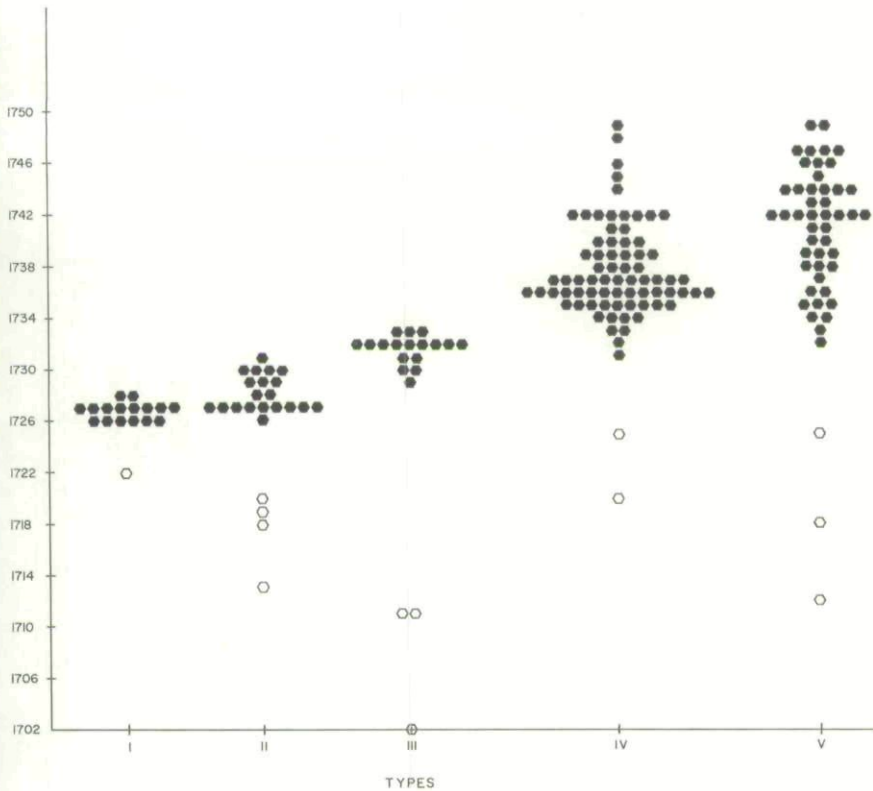


Figure 1. Distribution of Wheeler gravestones by year and type. (White symbols indicate back-dated stones.)

duced the Hutchinson stones. Yet these early stones are not the work of a novice. It is possible that Wheeler at least assisted in the carving of some of the stones attributed to Harts-horn. In any event the earliest stones definitely attributable to Wheeler date from 1726.

Characteristics of Wheeler Inscriptions

Wheeler's use of letters and numbers on his stones is characteristic and is a valuable means of attributing stones to his hand. Ligatures (combined letters), such as H & E, H & M, M & R, N & D, and N & E, are frequently used. The Aaron Burnham stone in Lisbon has the AND in HUSBAND combined into a single letter and a Lebanon stone has the NIE in NATHANIEL similarly combined. His capital A has a characteristic slant to the left vertical. Numbers such as 2, 5, and 7 are also characteristic, as is the use of a single or double sinuate horizontal dash separating major features or terminating the inscription.

The Wheeler spelling is strikingly original and frequently inconsistent. Many words are spelled phonetically and the flavor of New England speech comes through charmingly in such treatments as HAR as in HAR AGE, HAR LIS (or LIES, LISE, LYES, LYETH) and in FATHAR, DAUGHTAR, MISTAR, BRUSTAR, JENEWAR, AGUST, DESEMBAR. The ampersand is frequently used unnecessarily, as in 'He died December 25 & 1726.'

In early Wheeler stones little attention was paid, prior to the actual carving, to laying out the number of letters that could be carved on a given line. The result was that Wheeler frequently came to the end of a line with letters left over, resulting in the use of tiny superscript letters between the lines or in such an unusual breaking of words as

HAR^e LIS A VARTUOUS LOVJ
 NG WIF & EVER SHE WAS KI
 ND VNT0 HAR HUSBAND &
 HAR BABES WHOM SHE
 HATH LEFT BEHIND

The vagaries of Wheeler's spelling, which improved in time but was never perfect, should not detract from an appreciation of the skill and esthetic quality of his work. A man who

could execute the facial qualities of the Ann Johnson and Mary Clap (Plate 17) stones in Lebanon and Windham Center respectively, the haunting beauty of the Hannah Williams stone in Mansfield Center, and the spatial perfection of the Thomas Bingham (Plate 8) stone in Windham Center must be regarded as a craftsman of the first order.

Analysis of Stone Motifs

There are five major types of Wheeler stones and several minor motifs. The chronology of the stones and the development of Wheeler's technique are best understood through study of the five major types as these stones are not only the most numerous but were also executed with the most care and elaboration.

Type I Stones (Plates 1-5)

Stones of this type are characterized by the presence of a series of curls (volutes), rather than wings, on either side of the face. These curls sometimes have a rather 'medusa-like' appearance. There are seventeen extant stones of this type, concentrated in Lebanon (eleven stones) but also present in Mansfield Center (two), Canterbury (two), Scotland (one), and Lisbon (one). The curls vary considerably in appearance, some being essentially a series of loops (Plates 2, 4), others tightly coiled circles in two or three series (Plates 1, 5). The Beulah Clark (Plate 3) stone in Lebanon has a very abstract 'curl' motif. On two of these stones the outer 'strands' end in tassels (Plate 2).

It is evident that Wheeler developed this early motif from Hartshorn stones, as some of the 'looped' types closely resemble a number of the latter's stones. Furthermore, these stones always have the three-lobed lunette that was a constant feature of Hartshorn stones.

Most Type I stones are about two feet square (above ground),

although one, the Samuel Estabrook stone in Canterbury, is much larger, three to four feet tall.

Stones of Type I were apparently all carved in the short period between 1726 and 1728. The Exercise Conant stone (Ludwig, Plate 224B) in Mansfield Center is dated 1722 but is almost certainly back dated. These stones constitute a remarkably homogeneous group not only in size but also in use of motif. All have the three-lobed lunette (a rounded top with rounded 'shoulders' or 'knees') and complete, 'open,' almond-shaped eyes. The face is never in relief and in all but one stone a diamond design of varying complexity (Plates 2-5) is present in the border panels. The diamond motif is less elaborate on later Type I stones. On twelve stones there is a simple frame or border usually consisting of a single line (Plate 1), but occasionally double (Plate 3), above the inscription without any other horizontal design in this area. In the five stones with a horizontal design below the face and above the inscription the center consists of a downward pointed triangle with two circles on either side connected to a base line by a downswept stem (Plate 7). These circles may be simple with only an indented compass point in the center (called 'spot circles') or they may be a more elaborate series of circles (Plate 11).

The finial located above the border panel is somewhat more variable than are other features of earlier Type I stones although it is one of the least variable features of later stones. Three stones possess finials that relate these stones directly to a Hartshorn influence. We have previously mentioned the four converging hearts. Two stones (one of which is illustrated as Plate 1) possess an initial in each finial, a feature on some Hartshorn stones. On ten stones an eight-rayed rosette (Plate 3) is present; on three stones a six-rayed rosette (Plate 2). One stone possesses a circle with an indented central compass point.

The sides of Type I stones are usually straight. In only three cases is there a noticeable taper toward the base.

Type I stones represent the earliest known work of Wheeler. A number of early features were retained on stones of later types, such as the open 'almond' eyes, use of a triangle in the center horizontal series rather than a heart, spot circles rather than six-rayed rosettes laterally in the horizontal row, and eight-rayed rosettes in the finials. The 1726 Rachil Fitch stone (Plate 6) in Lebanon is especially significant in showing transition. This stone retains a rather 'loop-like' curl motif lateral to the face, but beyond this are several distinct wing vanes similar to those found on Type II stones. The Susannah Griswold stone of 1727 (Plate 7) in Windham Center has typical, although crude, Type II wings but retains the diamond border panel motif and the eight-rayed rosette. The transitional nature of these three stones is remarkable and links Type I and Type II stones so obviously that they leave absolutely no doubt that the same craftsman produced both types of stones.

All but one of the Type I stones possess capital letters in the inscription except for an occasional small superior 'e'. The use of a colon between words is a primitive feature of colonial stones that is frequently used here.

The identification of Obadiah Wheeler as the carver of these stones rests on the probate evidence relative to the Mindwell Hutchinson and Jonathan Hutchinson stones, as previously discussed. The Mindwell Hutchinson stone (Plate 1) compares with other Type I stones in all significant details except for the presence of a floral design on the border panels. It shares with the James Tisdale stone in Lebanon the presence of initials in the finials. The curls and face are typical of the other stones. The very crude Mindwell Hutchinson footstone (Plate 22) possesses, below the ground level (Plate 22), a remarkable series of practice carvings. One of these is an elaborate triangle or diamond motif which is exactly the same as that found completely developed on the border panels of the stone of her father, Jonathan Hutchinson, and Lebanon's Josiah Baker and

Abigail Tisdale (Plate 2) stones. There thus seems no reason to doubt that the same hand carved the Mindwell and Jonathan Hutchinson stones as carved all of the other Type I stones.

Type II Stones (Plates 7-9)

Stones of Type II may be characterized by the presence of a pair of downswept wings, one attached to each side of the face by a narrow pedicel (Plate 9). Each wing is composed of a series of elongate simple vanes that terminate downward. The eyes are always open, complete 'almonds' and the face is never in strong relief. Transitions from Type I stones have been noted above.

If transitionals are included, there are twenty-three stones of this type (Table I), located in Lebanon, Windham Center, Canterbury, Norwichtown, Scotland, Mansfield Center, and Ashford. Seventeen stones bear dates from 1727 to 1731. Two stones bear the partial date '172' with the year obviously not eroded but left blank. The Abel Ganes stone in Lebanon is dated 1718, but is almost certainly back dated.

Type II stones mark Wheeler's first departure from the three-lobed lunette. While eighteen stones retain this feature, one has a strongly triangular top, one a slight triangle, and three (two a 'double stone') a rounded top. A small heart replaces the primitive triangle in the center of the horizontal row on four stones. The triangle is retained on seven. The use of the six-rayed rosette in the lateral horizontal row first appears on the William Moore 1728 stone (Plate 9) in Windham Center. Spot circles are present on ten stones. The eight-rayed rosette is used on two stones in the finial (Plate 7). The spot circle also appears here twice (Plate 8), but the transition is strongly to the six-rayed rosette, present on fifteen stones (Plate 9), which is such a dominant feature on later Wheeler stones.

The border panels are diverse on Type II stones. While simple framing is present on ten stones and the diamond motif

which predominates on Type I stones is used twice (Plate 7), new motifs appear. Six stones possess a sinuate ellipse pattern (Plate 9). One stone has a series of alternating complete and paired half spot-circles. Two stones vary this pattern by using six-rayed rosettes in the same alternating series. Another stone uses an elongate basally tapering triangle (Plate 8). This last stone, that of Thomas Bingham, 1730 (located in Windham Center, not Norwichtown as stated by Ludwig)¹² is one of the most beautiful stones produced by Wheeler in terms of both the simplicity and symmetry of the design. Wheeler's technique improved rapidly during this period, as can be seen by comparing the fluidity of the wings of the Susannah Griswold stone (Plate 7) and that of the Bingham stone (Plate 8). Wheeler tapered the sides of twenty Type II stones. This, together with the greater variation in the size of stones, demonstrates his increasing release from the conformity evident in his earlier work.

The method used by Wheeler in carving the wings of Type II stones may be reconstructed from the appearance of four children's stones, three in Lebanon, one in Colchester. These are simple, small stones intended for children who died at two to nine years of age. Here the wings are pediculate as in classic Type II stones and have a scalloped or serrated lower margin, but the surface of the wings is solid without the individual elongate vanes, or feathers, being carved. They have the appearance of being 'blanks' (Plate 10). The 1729 Mary Jones stone in Colchester possesses a unique lateral horizontal motif with the words 'O ETER' on the left and 'NITY' on the right.

Important transitional stones between Types II and III stand in Lebanon. The Elizabeth Buel stone, 1729 (Plate 11) possesses typical sweeping Type II wings but each elongate vane bears a series of transverse cuts across the surface to give the effect of a series of overlapping shorter feathers indicative of the secondaries or coverts over the basal portions of the pri-

¹²Ludwig, *Graven Images*, Plate 223c.

maries of actual birds. This feature is definitely transitional to Type III stones. The Ephraim Terry stone of 1730(?) (Plate 12) has the rigid stylized downcurved wings with rounded tips to the 'feathers' as in Type III stones but each vane is entire as in Type II stones and lacking the cross cuts to give the effect of overlapping feathers as in Type III stones. This is thus obviously a transitional stone.

There is great variation in the skill and quality of the work exhibited on Type II stones. The variation is so great as to suggest that possibly a son or apprentice was assisting Wheeler. However, the great similarity of design and use of motifs leave little doubt that Wheeler designed all of them.

More than half of Type II and Type III stones have the inscription carved in small letters, of which the letter 'a' is often most unusual and distinctive. The 'bulb' of this 'a' is shaped like a tear drop and is frequently attached near the top of the ascender (Plate 8). Where capital letters are used, the 'R' is unusual in that the right hand descender is separated from the bulb and peculiarly carved.

Wheeler's spelling had improved considerably by the time he produced Type II and Type III stones. Nevertheless, on about twenty-five percent of the stones the phonetic spelling is evident, particularly in the use of 'A' for 'E'. Sarah Leffingwell, buried under a Type III stone of 1730 in Norwichtown, is characterized as 'A VARTUOUS AND MOST INIEN-UIVOUS JENTEAL WOMAN.'

Type III Stones (Plate 13)

Stones of Type III retain the pedicel connection of the wings to the face, but the individual elongate vanes are each bisected with a series of cross cuts of lunate shape giving the effect of overlapping feathers. The wings have a more rigid stylized appearance and usually lack the free-flowing outward sweep of the best examples of Type II wings. The eyes remain as open almonds on all of these stones. Type III stones mark the

first appearance of pronounced relief of the face outward from the surface of the stone (the Josiah Dewey 1732 stone, Lebanon). The use of simple double framing above the inscription is very common, appearing on seven Type III stones; otherwise, spot circles are used in the lateral horizontals (Plate 13) in all but the elaborate James Fitch stone (Plate 14) in Lebanon, on which the use of six-rayed rosettes was first introduced in the area.

There are twenty Type III stones (Table 2). They exist in Norwichtown, Lebanon, Windham Center, Exeter, Mansfield Center, Canterbury, and Ashford. All but four are dated between 1730 and 1733. One is dated 1729, two, in Lebanon, 1711, and one 1702. The latter three stones are certainly back dated. The James Fitch stone, dated 1702 and located in Lebanon is a memorial to the founder of the town. It is a very large stone with an elaborate inscription written completely in Latin (unique among Wheeler stones) and probably is the last stone of Type III that Wheeler carved. Probably all Type III stones were executed in the period between 1730 and 1733, twelve in 1732-1733 alone.

Type IV Stones (Plates 15-18)

Stones of Type IV represent the zenith of Wheeler's work. They are the most numerous, and include a number of his largest and most elaborate stones. Type IV stones are characterized by especially striking wings in which the pedicel attachment to the head is abandoned and the wings are in contact with the head (Plate 15) along the entire lateral surface of the head. The individual vanes are 'layered,' as in Type III stones but with the vanes curved out and slightly angled upward, or as Ludwig described it, in a sun-ray motif.¹³ The effect, when viewed from the perspective of the previous types, is of Wheeler having reversed and 'twisted over' the wings.

Stones of Type IV also introduced a striking change in the

¹³Ludwig, *Graven Images*, p. 189.

appearance of the eyes. On all previous types, the eyes appear to be open in that there is an almond-shaped center and complete circular lids below as well as above. On the majority of Type IV stones (fifty-four of the seventy-four where the eyes' appearance is still recognizable), the lower lids are absent and the area of the upper lids is represented by two or more lunate cuts (Plate 16) or the eyes appear closed (Plate 15). Wheeler thus was here producing eyes that were closed (in both cases) rather than open and staring. On the better stones this innovation gives considerable expression to the face. The closed-eye style began to predominate in 1736, in twelve examples. There are examples on stones dated 1731, 1734, and 1735, but these are perhaps back dated. Before 1736 open eyes appear on sixteen of twenty Type VI stones. After 1735 open eyes occur on only five of fifty-four stones. The open-eye motif was never completely abandoned as it also appears on Type V stones. Once closed eyes were developed, they predominated.

We have analyzed eighty-four of these stones. A few other Type IV stones exist, but were not included in the analysis because of their poor condition. The omissions do not change the proportionate use of the various motifs to any significant extent. The eighty-four stones are distributed in Lebanon, Norwichtown, Windham Center, Mansfield Center, Goshen Hill, Hebron, Colchester, Exeter, Franklin, Coventry, Montville, Ashford, Preston, Woodstock, and Union, and are dated from 1720 through 1749. Two stones dated 1720 and 1725 are unquestionably back dated. A 1731 stone is probably back dated also. Type IV stones were probably all produced from 1732 or 1733 through 1749.

One of the striking features of a number of Type IV stones is the relief of the face (Plate 17). Sometimes this relief is only slight and more evident to the hand than to the eye (Plate 18); on others the face is very strongly produced outward and is as close to a death mask as was developed on New England grave-stones. Eighteen Type IV stones have the face in such strong

relief. There are an additional seven stones extant which have some relief evident.

Where a horizontal row is developed above the inscription (sixty-nine stones), the central heart is almost always used. Only two of these stones (1734 and 1738) retain the use of the primitive triangle. Laterally on the horizontal row the use of six-rayed rosettes predominates. The triangle motif was not completely abandoned, but is present on only eight stones and then always in conjunction with two or two and one-half spot circles on either side, although the latter are, interestingly, sometimes present when the triangle has been abandoned (Plate 15). Where the six-rayed rosette is used in this area, two rosettes are present on either side in the great majority of stones (fifty-three) (Plates 16, 18). Two stones, however, possess only a single rosette on each side, three have one and one-half rosettes, two possess two and one-half, and one stone has three on either side.

At the finial a six-rayed rosette is used on all but ten stones; of these, six lack configuration in this area and four use spot circles (two each, dated 1736 and 1739).

The border panels on Type IV stones are often quite elaborate. On thirty stones only a frame is present (sometimes elaborate) around the inscription (Plates 15, 18), but such a style appears only once on a stone cut subsequent to 1739 (1746). The most common design is some combination of six-rayed rosettes (Plate 16), such as: an alternating series of paired half rosettes and a complete rosette (twenty-one stones); a series of complete rosettes (ten); a series of paired half rosettes (one); a series of paired half rosettes but with a sinuate ellipse pattern interwoven between them (one); and a series of complete rosettes in the upper portion and simple circles toward the base (two). Only two stones bear a series of spot circles (dated 1733 and 1735) which may have been a primitive feature retained on these advanced stones. A triangle or diamond motif resembling that of Type I stones, but more elabo-

rate, is present on two stones. An ellipse pattern occurs twice. Two stones possess the elongate triangles that first appeared on the Type II Thomas Bingham stone. On seven stones an elaborate floral design is used which is much more ornate than Wheeler's usual style and probably reflects the influence of Benjamin Collins. This floral pattern frequently incorporates the use of the *fleur-de-lis*.

The top margin of Type IV stones is also more variable than in preceding types. Twenty-five of the most elaborate stones have the top prolonged into a sharp elongate triangle (Plate 17) but there are a number of other motifs, including a primitive three-lobed top on twenty-five stones (Plate 15), a rounded top (fifteen), a straight or nearly straight top (four), a rounded top with a low secondary central elevation (three) (Plate 18), a low sloping triangle (three), a flat center with angulate lateral area (one), and a rounded top with the central area raised into a prominent rounded elevation (four).

The sides of these stones are both straight and tapered inward to the base, but the latter condition predominates, appearing as it does on fifty-six stones.

The small 'a' usually differs on Type IV stones from that used on stones of Types II and III. It is usually much taller than the other small letters and can easily be confused with a letter 'd'. Type IV stones are the most numerous and elaborate of the Wheeler stones.

Type V Stones (Plate 21)

Stones of Type V resemble those of Type IV in several ways. Type V stones possess wings which are broadly in contact with the sides of the face. The elongate vanes slope outward and slightly upward as in Type IV stones, but each elongate vane is complete and not separated into layered series by cross impressions (Plates 19, 21). It is possible that Wheeler considered these stones simpler versions of Type IV stones and may have used them when a lower price was involved or when

he was hurried. Unless a considerable number were back dated, Type V stones were first developed in the 1730s, perhaps as early as Type IV stones, but did not become numerous until after 1740. While many of these stones show care in preparation, others are surprisingly crude, with asymmetrical eyes and shallow lettering and carving of motifs. In some cases stone of inferior quality was used. A number of these stones, therefore, are so badly eroded that it is difficult to decipher the characteristics. It is likely that some of these stones were produced, at least in part, by an apprentice working with Wheeler. Nevertheless, one cannot avoid the overall impression that Wheeler's work deteriorated in the 1740s.

We have analyzed fifty-two of these stones, dated from 1712 to 1749. Stones of 1712, 1718 and 1725 were unquestionably back dated. Some of the stones of the 1730s may have been as well. These stones predominated in Wheeler's later years, twenty-eight being dated after 1740. Type V stones may be found in Lebanon, Norwichtown, Windham Center, Exeter, Goshen Hill, Franklin, Colchester, Coventry, Preston, Hebron, Mansfield Center, and Woodstock.

The motifs correspond closely to those used on Type IV stones. The face is in relief on six stones, and sometimes is as strongly produced as on the most elaborate Type IV stones. The triangle is retained in the center horizontal on only two early stones (Plate 21), whereas the heart (Plate 20) is used forty-two times. The lateral horizontal row uses the six-rayed rosette thirty-six times and varies the expression as follows: two rosettes on each side (on twenty-four stones) (Plate 20), one on each side (five), one and one-half on each side (three), two and one-half on each side (two), and three on each side (two). Spot circles occur, surprisingly, in the horizontal on eight stones as follows: two on each side (four), one each side (three), three each side (one) (Plate 21). The remaining stones use only a frame below the face and above the inscription (Plate 19).

The area of the finial is represented by a six-rayed rosette (Plate 19) on forty-one stones. One stone has circles. The area is undifferentiated on the remaining stones.

The border panels display many of the same motifs as do Type IV stones but with less variation. Two types predominate, a single or double frame (nineteen stones) (Plates 20, 21) and a series of six-rayed rosettes (nineteen). Only one stone has alternating complete and paired half-rosettes. In two stones the upper portion has rosettes and the lower portion simple circles. One stone possesses an elongate triangle. Ten stones have border panels that show an elaborate floral or *fleur-de-lis* design. The sides and tops of Type V stones have the same forms as those of Type IV.

Distribution of Stones

Wheeler stones have been identified in twenty-three cemeteries in twenty-one communities in eastern Connecticut.¹⁴ Of these, only the Lebanon and Mansfield Center cemeteries contain examples of all major types. As may be seen in Table I the early stones were not widely distributed. While there may be some bias in the figures given below because destruction in some cemeteries may have been greater than in others, we believe the figures to be quite accurate in reflecting the concentration in the area near Lebanon, i.e., within the society in which Wheeler lived.

Table I and Figure 2 indicate the disposition of Wheeler stones. Colonial gravestones may reveal important clues to the degree of cultural interchange between communities during this period. One must be cautious, of course, in using evidence from only a single craftsman. A more rewarding approach will ultimately be completely to analyze each graveyard and each craftsman as we have done here. Nevertheless, the distribution of Wheeler stones suggests the existence of a close

¹⁴Both Preston and Hebron have two cemeteries with Wheeler gravestones.

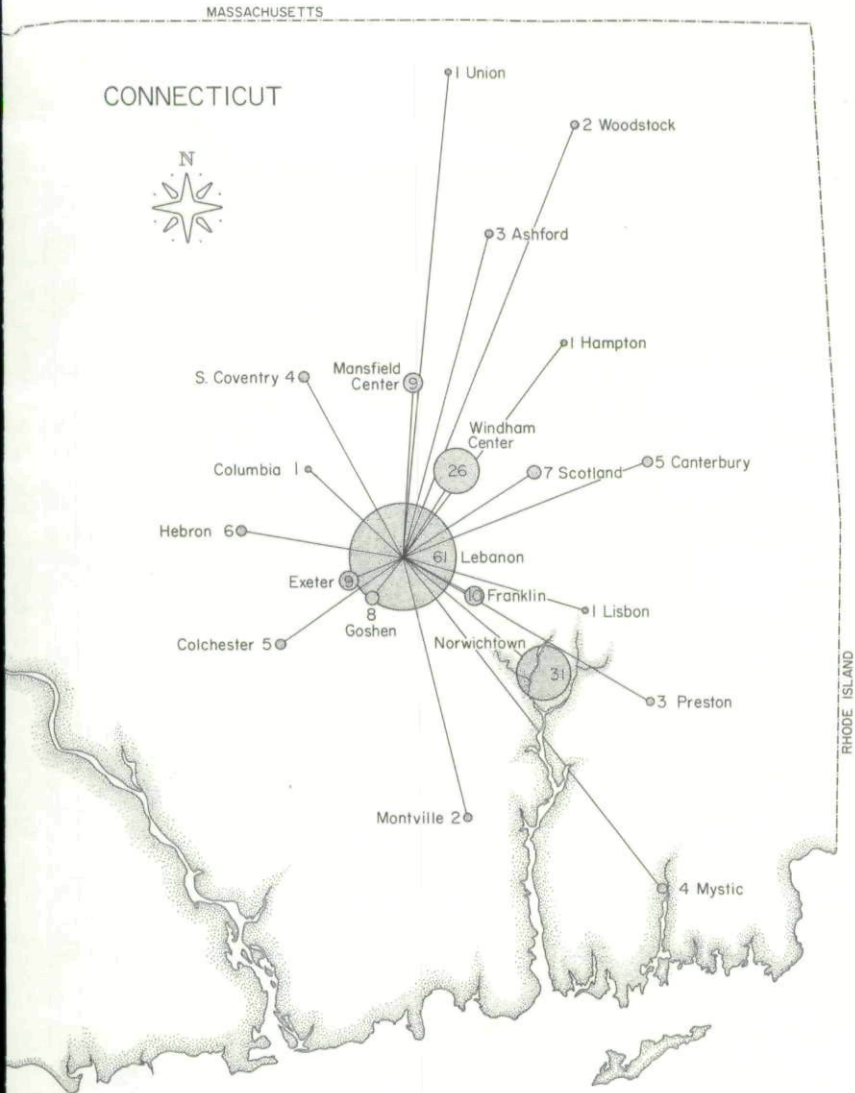


Figure 2. Geographical distribution of Wheeler gravestones.

TABLE I
Distribution of Wheeler Gravestones

	<i>Type I</i>	<i>Type II</i>	<i>Type III</i>	<i>Type IV</i>	<i>Type V</i>	<i>Total</i>
Lebanon	11	7	5	26	12	61
Norwichtown		1	6	14	10	31
Windham Center		6	4	10	6	26
Franklin				4	6	10
Exeter			2	3	4	9
Mansfield Center	2	1	1	4	1	9
Goshen Hill				4	4	8
Hebron (2)				4	2	6
Scotland	1	5				6
Canterbury	2	2	1			5
Colchester				3	2	5
Coventry				2	2	4
Mystic				4?		4
Ashford		1	1	1		3
Preston (2)				1	2	3
Woodstock				1	1	2
Lisbon	1					1
Union				1		1
Montville				2		2
Columbia						1
Hampton						1

cultural relationship between the villages of Lebanon, Franklin, Norwichtown, Windham Center, Mansfield Center, Exeter, and Goshen Hill, with the relationship declining rapidly beyond these towns. It is of particular significance that the cultural influence appears to extend only a short distance west (Hebron, Columbia, Colchester) and not to have reached such eastern Connecticut villages as Brooklyn, Pomfret, or Putnam.

Minor Motifs and Children's Stones

In addition to the face and wing, or face and curl, motifs that occur on the great majority of Wheeler stones, there are scattered stones by his hand that use other patterns. In a few cases these may have been experiments that were not repeated.

Mostly, however, they were used on small stones for children, presumably when less expense was desired, although many children's stones were of the major types. The motifs on these small stones often resemble those employed on many Wheeler footstones. Consequently, where only one stone remains, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether it is a headstone or footstone.¹⁵

The most common motif used on these stones is a series of spreading rays at the top of the stone that curve outward and upward from the center of the stone. These conceivably represent a very abstract 'tree' motif. The same configuration is occasionally used near the apex of large strongly triangular headstones, particularly those of Types IV and V, and also is found on footstones. Stones of this type are found in Lebanon, Franklin, Hebron, Exeter, Columbia, and Hampton, and date from 1736 to 1745. The age at death indicated on stones of this motif ranges from ten months to eleven years, with the exception of one marking the grave of an eighty-five-year-old man in Franklin, Joseph Kingsbury.

A second motif is a series of only six-rayed rosettes in various combinations and sizes. Stones of this type are in Lebanon (five) and Colchester (one). Ages of subjects vary from one month to eleven years. Two Lebanon stones are dated 1717 and 1719 (certainly back dated). The others are from 1732 to 1740. There are two Lebanon stones (dated 1739 and 17-1) of children aged two and six where a large heart encloses the inscription. Footstones also employ this motif.

The Lebanon cemetery also possesses two stones with faces that do not conform to any of the types previously discussed. One of these, dated 1742 and probably the work of Wheeler,

¹⁵ Students using the old cemetery in Franklin, Connecticut, should be aware that in the spring of 1971 the colonial stones were all dug up and placed in windrows. This action was taken to remove woody plant growth, straighten rows and replant grass. Unfortunately the stones no longer have any semblance of their original spatial relationship to one another. The people involved also had no idea that each grave was marked by a footstone as well as a headstone so that the footstone for a given individual is often far down the line from the headstone for the same individual.

has a large six-rayed rosette replacing the wings on either side of the face. The second, a 1730 stone, somewhat resembles Type V stones but only four unusually elongate, straight slender vanes are present in each wing. This stone might be a precursor of Types IV and V stones but is more likely an unsuccessful innovation and may even be the work of a Wheeler apprentice.

The final type of gravestone produced by Wheeler is a very large, rectangular slab with divisions forming squares. Within each square is a separate inscription. In the Lebanon cemetery there are two of these large slabs, both broken but placed upright along the longitudinal axis. It is quite possible that they originally were placed flat on the ground. There is no evidence of leg attachments to indicate that these slabs were intended to be tables. One of these stones contains the inscription for a Mrs. Mary Sprague, her three infant children, and a ten-year-old child named Elknah Tisdeal. The second slab has inscriptions for the two wives of Benjamin Sprague, one of whom was also named Mary.

Footstones

The footstones produced by Obadiah Wheeler are as distinctive as his headstones. They include some of the most unique footstones ever produced in New England. Like the headstones, Wheeler footstones show an evolution in style. Early stones are usually square or rectangular although occasionally triangularly peaked. There is a plain frame or ribbon border with a large capital letter inscription within. In some cases spot circles or six-rayed rosettes appear on these early stones.

From approximately 1734 on, the upswept ray or stylized tree motif occurs. On footstones this ray motif is often associated with large hearts around the inscription.

The most elaborate footstones are usually associated with Type IV and V headstones and are quite uniquely Wheeler's. Often these footstones are very large and vary greatly in shape.

Some are football- or elliptical-shaped (Plate 23); others large round or ovate discs; some are square or rectangular; and a few are deeply scalloped along the margins (Plate 24). On many of these elaborate footstones there is a wheel-like circle, or several circles, and often within the inner circle a large six-rayed rosette is present (Plate 24). Between the two circles the name and date are usually carved with the letters and figures forming a complete circle. Sometimes elaborate use is made of additional or exclusive series of six-rayed rosettes.

An occasional footstone, particularly that of Mindwell Hutchinson (Plate 22), is evidently the work of an apprentice. The Mindwell Hutchinson footstone is so crude that it could not be attributed to Obadiah Wheeler except for the associated headstone and the practice carving below the ground level on the stone.

The Solomon Williams footstone in Lebanon is in its overall impact quite unlike any other stone carved by Wheeler. It is an elaborate artifact, very carefully carved with a fancy *fleur-de-lis* design. The letters and inscriptions are of the Wheeler type and the accompanying headstone is unmistakably Wheeler's.

TABLE II

Obadiah Wheeler Gravestones

<i>Name</i>	<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Age</i>
Abbe, Richard	Windham Center	IV	1737	55
Abel, Lydia	Norwichtown	V	1739	14
Adgate, Thomas	"	IV	1736	34
Alleine, Mary	Windham Center	II	172-	—
Allin, William	"	V	1747	78
Archer, Annar	Exeter	IV	1741	17
Badcock, Mary	Coventry	IV	1735	58?
Bailey, Isaac	Lebanon	III	1711	30
Baker, Josiah	"	I	1726	23

<i>Name</i>	<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Age</i>
Baldwin, Abis	Norwichtown	IV	1737	23
Barber, David	Hebron	V	1739	44
Barker, John	Lebanon	V	—	—
Bingham, Thomas	Windham Center	II	1729/30	88
Bingham, Abegail	"	V	1741	51
Birchard, John	Lebanon	IV	1735	64
Bissel, Rachel	Hebron	IV	1736	23
Bliss, John	"	IV	1741	32
Bliss, Joseph	Lebanon	II	1730	26
Brewster, Jonathan	"	Circle & Rosettes	1717	11
Brewster, Nehemiah	"	"	1719	11
Bridges, Jonathan	Exeter	V	1738	20
Brigham, Paul	Coventry	V	1746	28
Brown, Dorothy	Hebron	V	1739	20
Buel, Elisabeth	Lebanon	II	1729	—
Buel, Mehetable	"	Solid Wings	1726	6
Bugbe, Eunice	Woodstock	V	1745	31
Burnham, Aaron	Lisbon	I	1727	55
Bushnale, Aron	Lebanon	V	174[2?]	20
Bushnell, Joseph	Norwichtown	V	1746	96
Bushnell, Mary	"	V	1745	92
Calkin, Simon	Lebanon	Circle & Rosettes	1735	5
Carew, Diadema & Lucrecia	Norwichtown	IV	1739	9,1
Carriar, Ruth	Colchester	IV	1734	19
Caverly, Philip	"	IV	1739	22
Chapel, Caleb	Exeter	III	1732/3	63
Clap, Mary	Windham Center	IV	1736	24
Clap, Temprance	"	III	1731	5
Clap, (Infant)	"	IV	1736	1 day
Clarke, Aaron	Exeter	V	1744	58
Clark, Beulah	Lebanon	I	1726	10
Clark, David	"	IV	1735	2
Clark, Jonathan	"	IV	1743/44	—
Clarke, Nathaniel	Exeter	IV	1737	45
Cleveland, Samuel	Canterbury	II	1727	46
Conant, Eunice	Mansfield Center	IV	1736	25
Conant, Exercise	"	I	1722	85
Crane, Jonathan	Lebanon	IV	1735	77
Cushman, Sarah	"	I	1726	52
Cushman, Thomas	"	I	1727/8	57
Davenport, William	Coventry	IV	1742	77
Dewey, Ebenezer	Lebanon	III	1711	33



PLATE 1.—*Mindwell Hutchinson stone. Lebanon. 1726.* This is one of the earliest Wheeler stones with probate documentation. The initials in the finials and the border panels are unusual features.

PLATE 2.—*Abigail Tisdale stone. Lebanon. 1726.* An elaborate Type I variant. Note border panels of this and 'underground carving' in Plate 22.





HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
ELIZABETH DAUGHTER
TO DEACON WILLIAM CLARK
BETHIAH CLARK
HIS WIFE WHO
DIED FEBRUARY
9 1726 IN 109
FAROE HARBOR



HERE LIES THE BODY OF
MRS SARAH CUSHMAN
LATE WIFE OF MR THO
MAS CUSHMAN WHO
DIED DECEMBER 23
1726 AGED 32 YEARS
HERE LIES A WOMAN
IN THIS COLE TOMB
FROM WHICH WE HAD
OUR NAME WE HOPE
THEY ARE NOW

PLATE 3. (Facing page, top)—*Beulah Clark stone. Lebanon. 1726.* The 'curls' are the most stylized on any Wheeler stone. Note the primitive eight-rayed rosette in the finial.

PLATE 4. (Facing page, bottom)—*Sarah Cushman stone. Lebanon. 1728.* An unusual variation of the Type I motif.

PLATE 5.—*Thomas Cushman stone. Lebanon. 1727.* Note the similar border panels and finials of this typical Type I stone to those of the Type II Susannah Griswold stone, Plate 7.



PLATE 6.—*Rachil Fitch stone. Lebanon. 1726.* An extremely important stone historically, showing transition from Type I to Type II stones. Note retention of curl beside face together with complete Type II wings and primitive feature of diamond border panels.



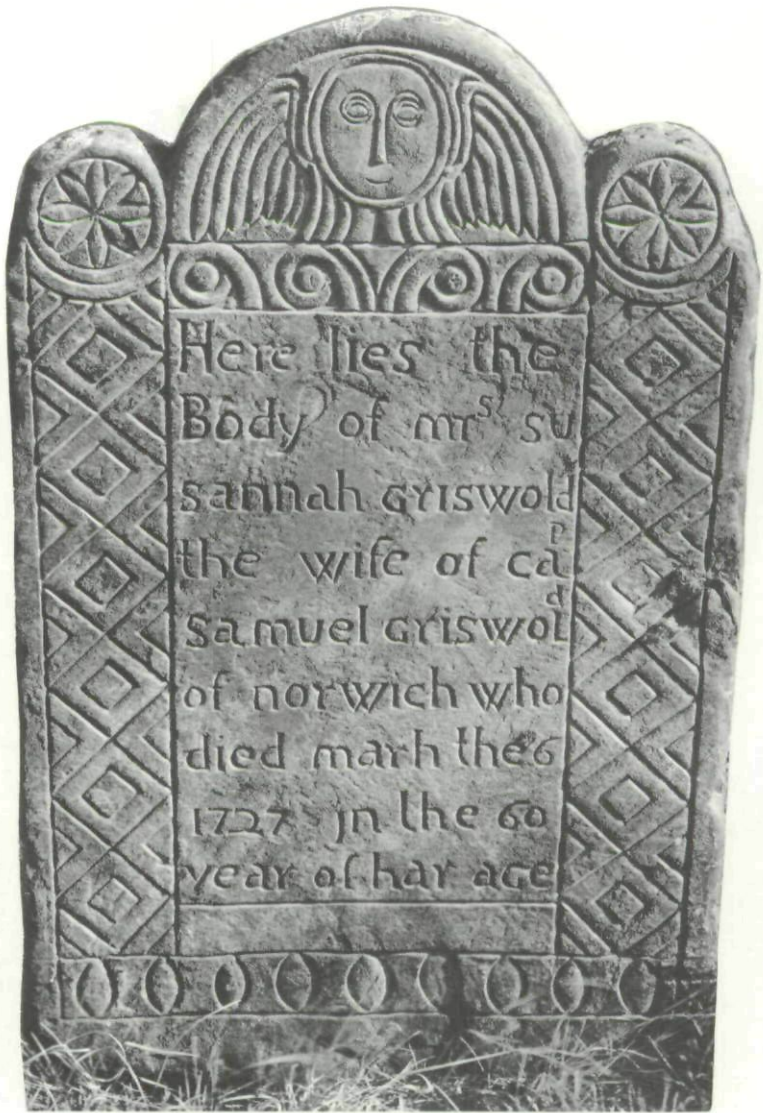


PLATE 7.—*Susannah Griswold stone. Windham Center. 1727.* A relatively crude Type II stone with many primitive features i.e.: horizontal row with central triangle and 'spot circles,' eight-rayed rosettes in finials, diamond border panels and three-lobed lunette. (See Plate 5.)



PLATE 8.—*Thomas Bingham stone. Windham Center. 1729/30.*
In purity of design and proportion the finest of Wheeler Type II stones.



PLATE 9.—*William Moore stone. Windham Center. 1728.* An early use of the 'ellipse' pattern in the border panels of a Type II stone.



PLATE 10.—*Mehitable Buel stone. Lebanon. 1726.* A crude child's stone. Note the 'solid' wings and inferior craftsmanship.



PLATE 11.—*Elizabeth Buel stone. Lebanon. 1729.* An important transitional stone. Note that the wings are typically Type II in style but that each vane possesses a series of cross cuts to give the effect of layering of feathers so characteristic of Type III and IV stones.



PLATE 12.—*Ephraim Terry stone. Lebanon. 1730?* An important transitional stone. Note that the wings are designed as in many Type III stones but lack transverse cuts on the individual vanes or 'feathers.'



PLATE 13.—*Thomas Huntington stone. Windham Center. 1732.* A fine example of a Type III stone. Note the combination of advanced features in the central heart and wing condition with the primitive 'spot circles' in the horizontal row.



PLATE 14.—*James Fitch stone. Lebanon. 1702.* A back dated memorial Type III stone for the founder of Lebanon, Connecticut. Note the elaborate wing detail, advanced heart and six-rayed rosette pattern in the horizontal row and Latin text.



PLATE 15.—Clap Child stone. Windham Center. 1736. Note the retention of 'spot circles' in the horizontal row of this otherwise advanced stone.



PLATE 16.—Jerusha Mory stone. Lebanon. 1736. An elaborate Type IV stone.



PLATE 17.—*Mary Clap stone. Windham Center. 1736.* Note the facial relief, triangular top, and the quality of the closed eyes.



PLATE 18.—*Jemima Gining stone. Windham Center. 1736.* Note slight facial relief, 'nobbed' top and closed eyes. A Type IV stone.



PLATE 19.—*Elizabeth Huntington stone. Windham Center. 1733.*
A Type V stone with 'open' eyes.



PLATE 20.—*Hannah Ripley stone.*
Windham Center. 1738.
An 'advanced' Type V stone.



PLATE 21.—*Simon D. and Cypron Fitch stone. Lebanon. 1736.* A Type V stone with primitive triangle and 'spot circle' horizontal row.



PLATE 22.—*Mindwell Hutchinson footstone. Lebanon. 1726.* This extremely crude footstone can scarcely be the work of Obadiah Wheeler. It was probably done by one of his sons. Wheeler's hand can be seen at work practising motifs used on the Jonathan Hutchinson and Abigail Tisdale stones on the portion of the stone buried below ground level.



PLATE 23.—*Jabez Fitch stone. Lebanon. 1736.*
Footstone showing elliptical or 'pupil' shape.



PLATE 24.—*Ann Johnson footstone. Lebanon. 1735.*
Footstone showing use of central six-rayed rosette motif.

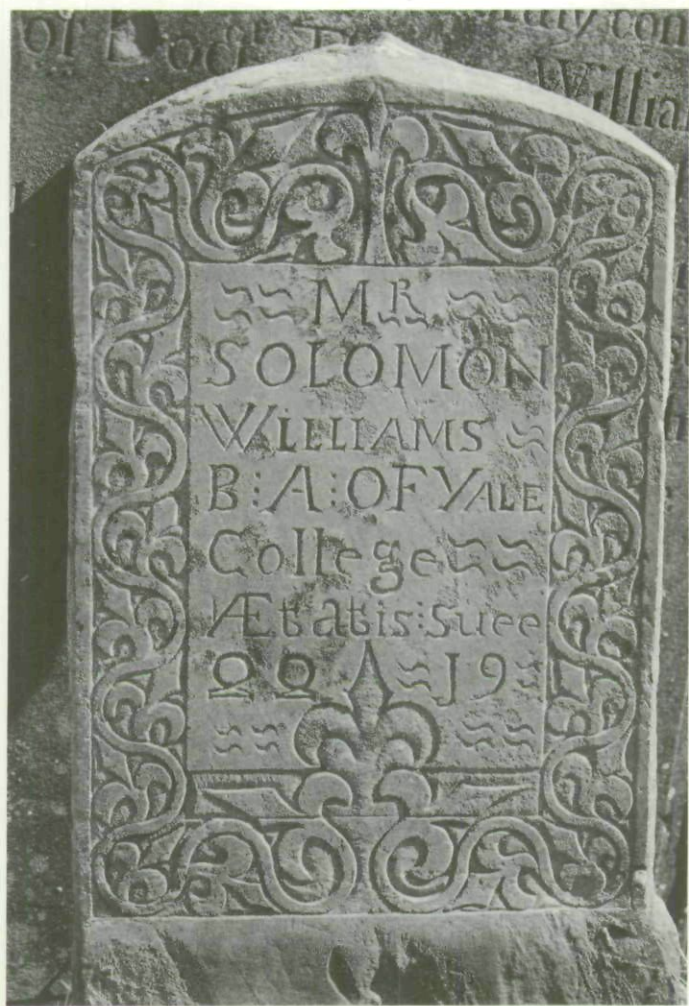


PLATE 25.—*Solomon Williams stone. Lebanon. 1748. Elaborate and unique footstone for a young Yale student.*

Name	Cemetery	Type	Date of Death	Age
Dewey, Hephzibah	Lebanon	III	1732	89
Dewey, Josiah	"	III	1732	92
Dewey, Josiah	"	Circle & Rosettes	1734	1 mo.
Dimmuck, Joanna	Mansfield Center	I	1727	84
Dimmuck, Shubael	"	III	1732	90
Doggol (sp?), Experience	Lebanon	V	1736	23
Doubleday, Margrat	"	IV	1749	32
Durkee, Hannah	Franklin	V	1744	—
Eastabrook, Rebeckah	Canterbury	I	1727	47
Eastabrook, Samuel	"	I	1727	53
Edgerton, Ane	Franklin	V	1744	28
Fitch, An	Lebanon	II	1728	48
Fitch, Hannah	"	IV	1738	34
Fitch, Jabez	"	V	1736	7
Fitch, James	Canterbury	II	1727	80
Fitch, James	Lebanon	III	1702	80
Fitch, John	Windham Center	V	1743	77
Fitch, Mary	Canterbury	III	1732/3	25
Fitch, Mason	Lebanon	IV	1734	23
Fitch, Rachil	"	I	1726	6
Fitch, Sarah	"	IV	1720	34
Fitch, Simon & Cypron	"	V	1736	5,3
Fobes, John	Preston	IV	1739	44
Foster, Ezekiel	Lebanon	II	1727	23
Ganes, Abel	"	II	1718	73
Genengs, Jonathan	Windham Center	IV	1733	79
Ginings, Jemima	"	IV	1736	28
Gookin, Elizabeth	Norwichtown	III	1731/2	16
Gray, Ann	Lebanon	Circle & Rosettes	1732	1 mo.
Gray, Simeon	"	IV	1742	33
Griswold, Susannah	Windham Center	II	1727	60
Hartshorn, David	Franklin	IV	1738	82
Hartshorn, Rebeckah	"	IV	1742/3	79
Hide, Caleb	Lebanon	Elongate Wings	1730	6
Hide, Samuel	"	IV	1742	—
Hide, William	Norwichtown	V	1738	63
Hilleious, John	Montville	IV	1733	9
Hilliard, ———	Franklin	IV	1739	53 days
Howard, William	Hampton	'Upswept Rays'	1736	5?
Hunt, Thomas, Jr.	Lebanon	IV	1735	—
Huntington, Abigail	Norwichtown	III	1730	46
Huntington, Abigail	"	IV	1734	56

<i>Name</i>	<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Age</i>
Huntington, Andrew	Norwichtown	IV	1739	15
Huntington, Christopher	"	IV	1735?	75
Huntington, Elizabeth	"	IV	1735	42
Huntington, Elizabeth	Windham Center	II	1729	39
Huntington, Elizabeth	"	V	1733	37
Huntington, Lydia	Norwichtown	IV	1737	74
Huntington, Preseila	"	IV	1740	67
Huntington, Rebeckah	"	IV	1725	8
Huntington, Sibel	"	V	1744	25
Huntington, Simon	"	IV	1736	77
Huntington, Thomas	Windham Center	III	1732	69
Hunungton, Eunice	Norwichtown	III	1732	8
Hutchison, John	Hebron	'Upswept Rays'	1742	11
Hutchison, Jonathan	Lebanon	I	1726 (1717)	3-
Hucison, Mindwell	"	I	1726 (1717)	1 mo.
Janes, Mary	"	IV	1735	80
Johnson, Ann	"	IV	1735	—
Johnson, Ebenezer	"	I	1727	9
Jones, Mary	Colchester	Solid Wings	1729	6
Kellage, Margaret	"	V	1747	71
Kingsbury, Joseph	Franklin	'Upswept Rays'	1741	85
Kingsle, John	Scotland	Solid Wings	1733	68
Lasell, Johney	"	I	1727	26
Leffingwell, Sara	Norwichtown	III	1730	39
Leffingwell, Thomas	"	III	1733	60
Lilie, George	Scotland	II	1719	—
Lilie, Rebeckah	"	II	1719	—
Lilie, Sarah	"	II	1713	—
Loomis, Elisabeth	Colchester	IV	1736	69
Loomis, Elizabeth	Exeter	IV	1742	54
Lothrup, Abigail	Norwichtown	V	1734	104
Lothrup, Israel	"	IV	1733	73
Lothrup, Rebeckah	"	IV	1737	74
Lothrup, ———	"	III	1732	8,6,1
Mead, John	Coventry	V	1746	40
Metcalf, Daniel	Lebanon	'Upswept Rays'	1742	37 days
Metcalf, Eliphalet	"	"	1745	10 mo., 21 days
Metcalf, Jonathan	"	IV	1738	63
Moore, William	Windham Center	II	1728	77

<i>Name</i>	<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Age</i>
Mory, Jerusha	Lebanon	IV	1736	26
Otis, Delight	Colchester	Rosettes	1740	11
Otis, Nath	"	V	1740	16
Palmer, Amasa	Scotland	II	1727	10 mo.
Parker, Jacob	Ashford	II	1731	70
Parker, Sarah	"	III	1731/2	36
Peck, Benjamin	Franklin	V	1742	76
Peck?, Joseph	"	'Upswept Rays'	1731	15 mo.
Phelps, Abi	Lebanon	V	1742	26
Phelps, David	"	V	1747	2
Phelps, Esther	"	Solid Wings	1734	9
Phelps, Joseph	"	V	1735	—
Phelps, Joseph	"	V	1747	—
Phelps, Submit	"	Heart	17-1	6
Post, Jabez	Norwichtown	V	1725	22
Post, John	"	V	1718	18
Post, Samuel	"	V	1735	68
Post, Stephen & Samuel	"	V	1735	26,1
Raymond, Elizabeth	Montville	IV	173-	—
Renalls, Joseph	Norwichtown	II	1728/9	69
Ripley, Hannah	Windham Center	V	1738	76
Ripley, Jeremiah	"	IV	1736	—
Ripley, Joshua	"	IV	1739	81
Ripley, Mary	"	IV	1731	61
Ripley, Nehemiah	"	IV	1736	71?
Robinson, Experience	Scotland	II	1727	55
Rollo-, William	Hebron	IV	1732	55
Sabin, John	Franklin	V	1742	43?
Sargant, John	Mansfield Center	IV	1745	36
Sawyer, Jonathan	Hebron	IV	1737	27
Sleuman, David	Franklin	IV	1742	27
Sluman, Hannah	Lebanon	IV	1736	19
Sluman, Joseph	"	V	1744	3-
Sluman, Sarah	Franklin	V	1742	65
Sluman, Thomas	"	V	1742	67?
Smith, Hannah	Preston	V	1743	38
Sprague, Barnabus	Lebanon	Slab	17-8	1 mo.
Sprague, Benjamin	"	Slab	1723	3 mo.
Sprague, Frelove	"	Slab	1722	3 mo.
Sprague, Mary	"	Slab	1721	—
Sprague, Mary	"	Slab	1723	43
Sprague, Prudence	"	Slab	1726	38
Stoares, Martha	Mansfield Center	II	172-	57
Strong, Abijah	Exeter	V	1732	70

<i>Name</i>	<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Age</i>
Terry, Dan	Lebanon	IV	1739	4
Terry, Ephriam	"	II	1730?	8
Thatcher, ———&———	"	V	1740	12,—
Thomas, Mary	Goshen Hill	IV	1740	74
Thorp, Peter	Exeter	V	1734	72
Throope, Amos	Woodstock	IV	1735	34
Throope, Chloe & Issabella	Lebanon	IV	1736-37	3 mo., 12 hrs.
Throope, Dan	"	IV	1737	67
Tiffany, Hanah	Ashford	IV	1734	65
Tilden, Stephen	Lebanon	II	1727	—
Tisdale, Abigail	"	I	1726	45
Tisdeal, Elknah	"	Slab	1731	10
Tisdale, James	"	I	1727	48
Trescold, Bridgett	Mansfield Center	V	1744	42
Vetch, Andrew	Goshen Hill	V	1742	87
Vetch, Sarah	Lebanon	Solid Wings	172-	2
Wadsworth, John	Goshen Hill	IV	1736/7	32
Wales, Abner	Windham Center	III	1733?	2?
Wales, Esther	"	IV	1737	35
Wales, Susannah	"	V	1737	15
Wales, Susannah	"	II	1730	68
Waterman, Mary	Norwichtown	IV	1736	15
Wattle, Abigael	Goshen Hill	V	1744	68
Wattles, Judeth	"	V	1742	39
Wattle, William	"	IV	1737	65
Wayman, Ebenezer	Union	IV	1746	38
Webster, Georg	Lebanon	V	1749	23?
Webster, John	"	IV	1736	63
Webster, Samuel	"	V	1742	18
West, Sarah	Goshen Hill	V	1743?	20
Williams, Alice	Lebanon	IV	1740	22
Williams, Eleazer	Goshen Hill	IV	1740	49
Williams, Eleazer	Mansfield Center	IV	1740/2	55
Williams, Hannah	"	IV	1742	27
Williams, Lydia	Exeter	III	1731	48
Williams, Precisla	Lebanon	IV	—	—
Williams, Samuel	"	IV	1742	1 mo.
Williams, Solomon	"	IV	1748	19
Witter, Ebenezer	Preston	V	1712	44
Woodward, Abigail	Lebanon	Heart	1739	2
Woodworth, Anne	"	Rosette Wings	1742	1,15?
Wright, [Writ] Elizabeth	Windham Center	II	1727	25
———, Jonathan	Lebanon	IV	1738	63

MARKERS REPRESENTED BY FOOTSTONES ONLY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Age</i>
Davenport, Samuel	Exeter	only Border	1732	3 weeks
Loomis, Isaiah	"	'Upswept Rays'	—	—
Noritshon ?, Elizabeth	"	'Upswept Rays'	—	—
Holbrook, Caleb	Lebanon	Circles	—	—

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