STORIES OF A PLEASANT GREEN SPACE:
CEMETERY RECORDS AND ARCHIVES

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ABSTRACT: The places and methods for burying the dead have always been a concern of human civilization. Many histories have been written about our changing views of memorials and remembrance, often based upon tombstones and statuary in cemeteries. Often overlooked, however, are the written records associated with cemeteries. This article provides an overview of some of the issues that lead to irregularities in recordkeeping, difficulties with access to and preservation of many of these records, and serious problems that result from poor maintenance of records. Suggestions are offered to begin efforts to address some of these issues, and a call for assistance from the professional archival community to advance the preservation of these vital records is put forth. It is important to recognize that cemetery records are a rich source of historical information that are not recognized as such, and, as a result, are not being protected as they should be.

Introduction

The places and methods for burying the dead have always been a concern of human civilization. While burial customs have changed throughout history to reflect changing religious and cultural beliefs about death, these customs produce shared rituals that tell us much about society at the time. For example, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America, most people were buried in private family plots or around churches. In the nineteenth century, a new way of viewing death focused on cemeteries as pastoral places for reflection and recreation for the living, as well as burial places for the dead.

Many histories have been written about our changing views of memorials and remembrance, often based upon the tombstones and statuary in cemeteries. As Richard Veit and Mark Nonestied suggested in their study of New Jersey cemeteries, “New Jersey’s cemeteries and burial grounds are important repositories of historical information and public art. The grave markers they contain are of great value to historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, sociologists, art historians, and of course, genealogists. The designs carved on grave markers, the materials they are made from, the languages inscribed upon them, and the stories they tell provide us with glimpses of
the past.” These same artifacts are often featured in popular photographic histories of old, decaying cemeteries.

But often overlooked in researching histories of cemeteries are the written records that document them. Today we have more information about the culture of cemeteries and far less about the history of cemeteries themselves that can be reconstructed through administrative and other records associated with cemeteries. For example, genealogists have devoted great energy to transcribing the names and vital data represented on grave markers, and are concerned to preserve that information because they consider markers to be the most important records of cemeteries. Teachers of local history take their students to cemeteries and use tombstones and cemetery structures as important historical and cultural records. This article draws attention to the written records that can provide more complete and contextualized documentation for understanding the role of cemeteries in society.

**The Records of Death**

There are many different forms of death records in our modern society, apart from those associated with cemeteries. Common documentary forms include obituaries, death certificates, courthouse records, mortality schedules, local history publications, military records, family Bibles, family histories, the Social Security Death Index, funeral home records, tombstones, newspaper articles, internet and genealogy Web sites, historical society files, and genealogy sections in public and private libraries. But even with the apparent wealth of resources available for finding a death record, there is no guarantee that such a document exists for any particular individual or if it does exist, that it is accurate. Laws requiring the official registration of a death with any state in which the death took place have not always existed. For example, in Pennsylvania, the requirement to register a death at the county level came into existence in 1893 and lasted through 1906. Prior to 1893, death records, if kept at all, would have been recorded in churches and family Bibles. Family burial grounds and other burial locations that did not sell plots most likely would not have had any formal record keeping system.

Death records have seemingly defied standardization, including those created by cemeteries. Because there is no governing body dictating standards of record keeping in cemeteries, the nature of these records may vary widely. The information that is recorded and collected from surviving family members can be inconsistent from cemetery to cemetery, and even within the same cemetery, as time changes and the person responsible for recording the information changes. The type of cemetery may well dictate the type of information that is recorded. Pastors of churches may create informal and idiosyncratic forms of recordkeeping and corporations running cemetery businesses may keep minimal information about interments while attending to their financial and other business information with more interest (although such cemetery records can be notoriously inconsistent, especially as a cemetery moves from its expansion phase to one of maintenance). Variety in the types of cemeteries; lack of any widely accepted body of rules and standards for record keeping; lack of knowledge or resources for cemeteries to maintain and preserve their records and make them widely
available to researchers; lack of proper storage; and the failure to recognize the value of cemetery records beyond their administrative uses are just some of the reasons that there is such disparity in the quality and availability of cemetery records.

Typical of the attitude and practice regarding cemetery records is the Pennsylvania Cemetery Cremation and Funeral Association. According to a spokesperson for the organization:

There are few if any regulations that deal with maintaining the records of burials. The statutes/regulations deal mostly with how long we must retain contracts and contractual records. Each cemetery is left on its own regarding how it maintains its burial records. Most medium to large commercial cemeteries have computerized their burial records. Some of those are even posted online. Many smaller cemeteries (private, association or church) still rely on paper records or even a ledger book.  

While the International Cemetery, Cremation and Funeral Association (ICCFA) devotes a page of its Web site to record-keeping requirements, the “guidelines are advisory in nature and set out general concepts rather than precise statutory language. . . . Instead, the guidelines are intended for consideration as a series of options to be selectively chosen by interested parties to address particular concerns.” The guidelines reiterate the idea set forth in other guides to cemetery management; namely, that a cemetery is created with the full expectation that it will last forever, and, therefore, that its records should be retained permanently. However, no instruction on how best to maintain and preserve those records is offered. Nor are there suggestions offered on how to handle records of cemeteries that go out of business and are abandoned.

Posterity and Cemetery Documentation

When a cemetery is created, it is with the intention that it will serve forever as the final resting place for the deceased buried there. However, not all cemeteries survive. When a cemetery ceases business operations, what happens to its records? Ideally these records would find their way into a repository such as the Library and Archives of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society (WPHS), housed in the John Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh. The WPHS actively seeks church records and related documents and the business records of funeral homes that are no longer active. However, not enough cemeteries, churches and funeral homes are familiar with institutions that are willing and eager to take custody of their records. The value of their records may not be known to the cemeteries and funeral homes that created them, and when they go out of business, their records often end up in the trash.

Such irregularities in record keeping may explain why public access to cemetery records has been a problem. Not all cemeteries provide equal access to people who are interested in their records. Aside from tombstone transcriptions posted by researchers, few records from cemeteries can be found on-line. In order to see the actual cemetery records, a researcher must travel to the cemetery. Researchers can also make inquiries via phone, mail, or E-mail, but cemeteries differ widely in the ways they respond to such requests. For example, an informal inquiry posted to a genealogy discussion
board about experiences asking cemeteries for death and burial information revealed much inconsistency. Some cemetery staff were helpful and friendly and provided the requested information quickly and at no charge; some requested a minimal donation to cover the costs of mailing and research; some cemeteries charged much higher fees, for example, $90 per name, to check their records; others requested proof of relationship to the deceased before they released information; and, finally, some cemeteries refused to do any checking at all. An active cemetery continues to use its records daily to carry on its business, and it may not be practical for it to take records out of use in order to answer research requests.

Many nonprofit cemeteries do not have the staff or resources to devote to research requests for burial information. One rural cemetery in Washington County, Pennsylvania, has been in existence since 1823 and has approximately 9000 graves. One full-time superintendent handles everything: excavating graves, completing burials, landscaping grounds (with some part-time help during the spring and summer), setting tombstones, keeping administrative and financial records, and arranging burials. It is easy to see why some cemeteries in similar situations do not have the resources to provide access to every researcher.

The actual condition of the cemetery records may also contribute to the difficulty in providing access for researchers. With limited financial and staff resources, it is difficult for some cemeteries to provide proper storage and preservation for their records, and the potential for loss is therefore substantial. Many old cemetery records are kept in oversized ledgers, often with deteriorating bindings and loose pages. The pages have become brittle. Clipping or stapling other papers to the old pages creates rust marks and other damage to the original pages. Environmentally-controlled storage for old records has generally not been an option for cemeteries whose offices are cold and dry in winter, and hot and humid in summer. Cemetery records are often stored in the same rooms as maintenance tools, such as mowing tractors and gasoline canisters. Cemeteries without computerized records still rely on their original records for daily use, no matter their condition, which causes further deterioration. If the cemetery records are computerized, there may be no standardized back-up procedures in place, so that in the event of a computer crash, recent records could be lost.

Limited resources may be greatly challenged by the specter of problems posed by privacy and other rights’ issues involving the deceased and their heirs. Legally, death ends the right to privacy, but sensitive information, such as the cause of death, may be found in cemetery records and on tombstones. Rules are for releasing this information vary from cemetery to cemetery. Some restrict photographing tombstones, arguing that these are private property and no photographs are allowed without the owner’s consent. There are many arguments that can be made concerning the veracity or relevance of these rules, but without any governing body to set standards, a cemetery is able to establish its own rules, and inconsistency can be expected to plague researchers.
Researching Cemeteries

Substantial research has been conducted about cemeteries, but most of this research has concentrated on the information that can be obtained from tombstones. Examples include studies focused on the evolution of tombstone artwork as a reflection of society’s beliefs about death, dying, and the afterlife; the connection between a person’s status in life and the manner in which the individual was buried; mortality rates and patterns of diseases and epidemics; and religious and cultural burial customs. The focus of much cemetery research, however, continues to be capturing the data from gravestones before it is lost.6

The Association for Gravestone Studies (AGS) has existed since 1977, proclaiming its purpose as “furthering the study and preservation of gravestones.”7 Local historical agencies have featured programs to train volunteers and provide resources for collecting information from local cemeteries. They often provide advice on preserving physical tombstones and cemetery property, and emphasize that such places represent important historical sources threatened by a lack of knowledge about relevant laws, development, weather, and poor maintenance. Certainly, there are enough problems to keep every dedicated historian and genealogist busy for a lifetime, but it is worthwhile noting that researchers give little thought to what is being lost with the deterioration of cemeteries’ business records and other documentary evidence.

The trend toward research focused on tombstones has resulted in a plethora of publications and research centered on cemeteries, but little is written specifically about cemetery records. This may be the result of the complexity of access issues, as noted, or because researchers have not considered the richness of cemetery business records. But it does beg the question: Are tombstones more valuable than business and other records related to these monuments and their places?

To Regulate Records, or Not

Some cemeteries do have strict maintenance regulations, including regulations about records. These include the 14 national cemeteries that have been under the management of the National Park Service since 1933.8 Attention is provided to these cemeteries because they are culturally significant, functioning as “national shrines in tribute to the gallant dead who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States. Such areas are protected, managed and administered as suitable and dignified burial grounds and as significant cultural resources.” Federal law states that “national cemeteries encompass all types of cultural resources, including sites, landscapes, structures, objects, and archival and collections items. The operation and maintenance of national cemeteries will follow NPS policy and guidance for all types of cultural resources present at the national cemeteries.”9 The records of these national cemeteries fall under the general records management rules for federal agencies provided by the National Archives and Records Administration.10

But there are no federal regulations that govern or give guidance to other private or commercial cemeteries when it comes to keeping and maintaining records. Most
cemeteries are governed by state associations, and the rules vary widely. Most of these rules have to do with disposition of the deceased, health and safety laws, dealings with surviving family members, sale of burial lots, and other various business activities. Cemeteries are usually left to their own devices when determining the appropriate way to keep their records. John F. Llewellyn, chief executive officer of Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Southern California, wrote a book a decade ago that provided some guidance to managers and directors of cemeteries. Llewellyn, who is a third generation family member in the cemetery business, points out that most managers and directors of cemeteries come from business backgrounds and do not have any experience running a cemetery. His book is an effort to provide a “how-to” guide for people who find themselves in charge of cemeteries, and it is one of the few publications about cemetery records. While the section of the book about records is only one page in length, it points out the vital importance of accurate and sustained cemetery record keeping. Llewellyn notes that the “accuracy [of records] is an integral part of the mission of the cemetery, and their mere existence is part of what gives value to a cemetery. It is important that a cemetery’s records be protected to ensure their availability . . . . In most states, individual cemeteries have the authority to set the rules, and regulations to govern the cemetery.”

Most cemetery records concern the sales and re-sales of burial plots, and include records of sales transactions, ownership documentation, and monetary transactions. The records also carefully document the exact burial location to prevent troubling issues that could arise later. When future burials need to be performed on a plot with an existing burial, the cemetery administrator needs to know where previous burials are located, so as not to disturb them. In the event of a disinterment, the exact location of a particular burial is crucial. This can be more problematic when graves are unmarked (even though the placement of a tombstone or other grave marking does not guarantee that it is marking the correct burial spot).

Given the many important administrative uses of cemetery records, it may be a surprise that so little attention has been accorded them. There are many possible uses for cemetery records beyond the active business needs of the cemetery. Genealogists seeking burial locations and other associated details about their ancestors may never find the graves by simply walking through a cemetery. Many burials are not marked by permanent tombstones, making accurate cemetery records essential. Indeed, without these records, the memory of cemeteries can be forgotten and gravesites inadvertently destroyed.

Quakers, for example, did not believe in marking burials with monuments. As one writer observed in 1808:

The Quakers also reject the fashions of the world in the use of tombstones and monumental inscriptions. These are generally supposed to be erected out of respect to the memory or character of the deceased. The Quakers, however, are of opinion, that this is not the proper manner of honoring the dead. If you wish to honor a good man, who has departed this life, let all his good actions live in your memory; let them live in your grateful love and esteem; so cherish them in your heart, that they may constantly awaken you to imitation. Thus you will show,
by your adoption of his amiable example, that you really respect his memory. This is also that tribute, which, if he himself could be asked in the other world how he would have his memory respected in this, he would prefer to any description of his virtues, that might be given by the ablest writer, or handed down to posterity by the ablest monument of the sculptor’s art.  

One example of a Quaker cemetery with unmarked graves is Westland Cemetery, near West Brownsville, Washington County, in Pennsylvania. This was the former location of the Westland Quaker Meeting house, and several hundred Quakers are buried in the central part of what is still an actively used non-Quaker cemetery. The cemetery records list the names of the deceased and sometimes the dates of birth and death with the notation, “Quaker Section,” under “burial location.” Without these records, it would be difficult to know where these Quakers were buried.

On occasion, abandoned cemeteries with unmarked graves have been sold to property developers because there are no records to document the burials. In Howard County, Maryland, for example, abandoned church property, including a cemetery, was sold to a developer. Local residents maintained that one section of the cemetery held more than 100 unmarked graves of freed slaves and farmhands whose families could not afford to purchase headstones. The developer did not believe the residents, and proceeded with a housing development on this piece of the property because no records could be found to confirm the burials. This is not uncommon. In one blatant example, a developer openly offered to buy a family cemetery in order to turn it into a parking lot.

Even records that document the moving of cemeteries can be lost. Without proper records, problems can arise before and after the move. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the construction of the I-279/I-579 connection was held up because over 700 burials were found in an old church cemetery which was believed to have been moved in the late nineteenth century. The area of development was deemed historically significant, and archaeologists were therefore required to be on hand as digging commenced. Almost immediately, several bodies were unearthed, and all work stopped while a team of archaeologists was brought in to excavate the area. The project involved moving and reinterring 727 bodies in the original cemetery where they were believed to have been located many years prior. The church cemetery records, which had deteriorated and were written in barely legible old German, were of little use in determining the extent or location of burials in the cemetery. In moving even established cemeteries, missing or inaccurate records have hampered the removal of bodies, leading to cases where relatives could not ascertain the exact placement of family members’ graves. Records sometimes provide helpful clues, such as an old photograph showing a cemetery before headstones were lost or bodies were removed for some purpose.

Although disinterment is discouraged, there are occasions when it is necessary. Family members may request that a loved one be moved to a family plot in another cemetery. In the Beallsville Cemetery in Pennsylvania, there are cases of immigrant coal mine workers who did not have the financial means to purchase large family plots in the cemetery, and, as a consequence, many were buried in rows in the public part of the cemetery, mostly in the order that their deaths occurred. Generations later, as the families became established and were able to purchase family lots, they moved some
of these family members and reinterred them with the rest of the family. Criminal investigations into suspicious deaths also can be a reason to disinter a body. For obvious reasons, it is important in such situations that the exact location of the burial is known. If faulty records were kept or graves placed incorrectly, there can be substantial consequences and resulting lawsuits. Sometimes the law places limits on the use of a cemetery, requiring a systematic reburial and the eventual elimination of a cemetery.20 Again, without proper records, such reburials can be problematic.

Most of the focus on cemeteries has been on their restoration or protection, often emanating from local efforts, such as those carried out by genealogists, community groups, or faculty whose students are engaged in local history efforts. For example, Shippensburg University students researched the history of Locust Grove Cemetery, an African-American burial ground, in order to restore it.21 Some restoration efforts are prompted by the significance of the tomb, vault, and other architectural features represented in older cemeteries.22 Press accounts are common about individuals struggling to maintain and protect family cemeteries against both development and neglect.23 When a new street is planned or an old urban site is identified for redevelopment, sometimes old cemeteries are unearthed and local community efforts emerge, (although these efforts generally have focused on the physical remains and not on the records, often because these records no longer exist or may be held in private hands, rather than in public repositories).24 When an eighteenth-century cemetery for African-Americans was discovered in New York City near City Hall, the African Burial Ground Competition Coalition was created to develop plans for how to preserve the site and to determine what kind of memorial should be placed there.25 Sometimes burial records may be the only way the public knows that a cemetery exists because the deceased were considered an embarrassment to society, such as those buried in state mental institutions’ cemeteries. If graves were marked at all, they generally only displayed a patient number so families would not bear the stigma of being associated with mentally-ill relatives. Written records that match patient’s numbers to names provide the only documentation of such burial locations, and they are sometimes the only evidence that these forgotten individuals even existed.

One of the continuing challenges faced by those looking for evidence in cemeteries is that headstones, especially for the military dead, can include incomplete or inaccurate information. Some individuals have searched available archives to supplement the information on the grave markers.26 This is another example of why cemetery records are as important—and sometimes more accurate—than tombstones, crypts, and other burial markers that are commonly considered permanent records.

Conclusion

Are there ways to better ensure the preservation of cemetery records? The first step is to educate cemeteries about the vital importance of their records by demonstrating their use in different types of research. Basic instruction on proper storage, vital record protection, and proper handling may prove helpful. For example, original records should not be stored alongside lawn tools and gas cans. More than one copy of
records should be maintained, preferably in separate locations. Computers should be backed up. These are simple steps that do not entail a lot of expense or much more than common sense, and they can go a long way toward protecting vital information. The professional archival community can be a rich resource for such assistance, although the lack of publications, Web sites, workshops and educational venues, and consultants might suggest that archivists have also neglected the importance of cemetery records.

The most straightforward means by which archivists can help is to offer their repositories as a safe place to store old cemetery records. It is essential to alert cemeteries and funeral homes that there are better options for handling unwanted records than tossing them in the curb-side trash bin. Although cemeteries should last forever, we know that cemeteries and funeral homes go out of business, especially in trying economic times, such as we find ourselves in now. What becomes of their records is important, and viable options should be made known. Cemeteries need to know that they not only have in their care the final resting place of loved ones, but that they also have in their care important archival records that may be some of the only documentation for their loved ones’ final resting places. Since some cemeteries may be reluctant to release older records due to their current administrative value, microfilming or digitizing programs could provide needed security for these records while allowing researchers access.

When we review the multitude of grassroots efforts to preserve cemeteries’ physical remains and to collect the evidence inscribed on their markers, we ought to be encouraged. While there are other ongoing efforts to create easily accessible databases for locating family members’ and acquaintances’ gravesites,27 there should be similar efforts to preserve the administrative and related records of cemeteries. Without such efforts, the history of cemeteries will be lost, and the memory of those buried in them will fade into the past.

Archivists also should remind themselves that the fact that genealogists, local communities, and other members of the general public are interested in these cemeteries opens up possibilities for communicating the archival mission and the nature of the profession in new and novel ways. The archival profession stands to gain much by assisting with the preservation of cemetery records, not the least of which could be the identification and reporting of success stories.

A final word is in order about the archival profession’s motivations or justification for taking a proactive role in the preservation of cemetery records. The poor condition of America’s cemetery records, along with their importance for genealogists, historians, and other researchers, ought to energize archivists to step up to make these sources part of our documentary heritage and a priority for action. If the legal community can attest to the growing recognition of society’s responsibility for caring for abandoned cemeteries,28 than the archival community should understand their responsibility for caring for abandoned and deteriorating cemetery records. There is no need for elaborate new archival theories to support such an objective, especially since archivists already have a varied and useful set of appraisal theory and methodology that encompasses collaborative and macro-appraisal approaches.29 The abandonment, neglect, and loss of cemetery records should serve as a reminder that the present preoccupation with the challenges represented by digitally-born records does not mean we forget about equally complex and interesting issues of analog legacy records.
These photographs from a cemetery lot owners’ book illustrate damage from age, use, poor environmental storage, and metal paper clips. The ledger contains entries from 1865 to 2000. It is still consulted to document burial sites and answer genealogy inquiries.
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NOTES


2. PCCFA Consumer Representative, <contactus@pccfa.com> “PCCFA Contact Form-maintaining burial records,” 9 February 2009, electronic contact form (9 February 2009).


7. Its mission statement on its Web site continues: “AGS is an international organization with an interest in grave markers of all periods and styles. Through its publications, conferences, workshops and exhibits, AGS promotes the study of gravestones from historical and artistic perspectives, expands public awareness of the significance of historic grave markers, and encourages individuals and groups to record and preserve gravestones.” It also notes that it publishes an annual scholarly journal, Markers. <http://www.gravestonestudies.org/>.

8. These are Andersonville, Andrew Johnson, Antietam Battleground, Chalmette, Custer Battlefield, Fort Donelson, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Poplar Grove, Shiloh, Stones River, Vicksburg, and Yorktown.


of bodies, was transformed into a garbage dump. Located just west of Newark International Airport, there are no known records documenting the area’s use as a burial ground.


14. A copy of the cemetery listing of burials is in the possession of one of the authors, (provided by a former president of the Westland Cemetery).


26. See, for example, C. L. Ferguson, *Southerners at Rest: Confederate Dead at Hollywood Cemetery* (Winchester, Virginia: Angle Valley Press, 2008).


29. This literature is vast, but, as an example, see Richard J. Cox, *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 2004).