THE EVOLUTION OF 19TH AND 20TH-CENTURY CEMETERY LANDSCAPE TYPES AS EXEMPLIFIED BY HARE & HARE'S CEMETERY DESIGNS

by

BETTINA C. VAN DYKE

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Richard H. Forsyth
Major Professor
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To Friends - who endured the last push
Dedication

To my dear family who has cheered loudest and longest.
Chapter 1

EXPLANATION OF STUDY

Cultures alter natural landscapes in conscious or unconscious ways and for a variety of practical and impractical reasons. The resultant places create literal and symbolic images of societies, their attitudes, and their lifestyles. Cemeteries, specifically, symbolize attitudes about life, death, and landscapes. Professionals who designed American burial landscapes in the 19th and 20th centuries included elements which made cemeteries visually distinct places. Historic cemeteries are rich grounds for studying how designers translated cultural attitudes and practices into symbols. More importantly, the sites are archives of concurrent cultural landscape evolution.

The extant landscape architectural firm of Hare & Hare in Kansas City, Missouri, has designed cultural landscapes, including cemeteries, since the first decade of the 20th century, and was recognized for innovative design within their first decade of practice. Their work represented many patterns, including 19th- and 20th-century landscape architectural education, and the establishment of professional practice during an industrial era when landscape architects established the expertise and qualifications for designing built environments.

The development of Hare & Hare's hometown of Kansas City, Missouri, exemplified how the transformation of urban landscapes affected lifestyles. The evolution of this town also reflected how lifestyles and development were affected by periodic booms and busts in the national economy (Brown 1963; Brown & Dorsett 1978; Ehrlich 1979; Reps 1982; Schirmer 1982). Hare & Hare's practice illustrated designers' role in creating building and landscape types which accommodate needs within the constraints of national and local economies. Moreover, the firm's local professional network facilitated their obtaining out-of-town projects, including cemeteries, which led to their national reputation.

Nature of Study

This study analyzes the cemeteries which Hare & Hare designed during the three decades preceding the Great Depression. Their work demonstrated distinct 20th-century types, including modern, park, and memorial park cemeteries, and the stylistic transitions between these types. Hare & Hare's cemetery plans were the physical manifestations of attitudes and how these attitudes underwent periodic refinement and revolution under the influences of contemporary events. This study synthesizes how Hare & Hare's cemeteries are models of American sociocultural development from the turn of the century to the Depression.

Hare & Hare's publications on cemetery design and over fifty of their cemetery plans provided the primary sources of information for documenting the evolution of cemetery types and for evaluating the firm's role in diffusing cemetery types throughout thirteen states and Costa Rica. Secondary publications by design professionals and the cemetery trade documented the firm's influence on others who designed or managed
cemeteries. Histories of city development and of concurrent cemetery development provide a framework for comparing and contrasting Hare & Hare's cemetery designs to concurrent cemetery types, and for evaluating the impact of attitudes on physical design.

Among those who have studied how attitudes shaped cultural landscapes are historians, geographers, archaeologists, sociologists, and designers. Selected works analyze how attitudes on politics, economics, the environment, aesthetics, and culture, influence the form of cities, and how burial landscapes reflect lifestyles, in particular those which resulted from an increasingly urban population.

Summary of Chapter Contents

The cultural development of American 19th-century cities and its influence on pre-Civil War burial practice and cemetery layout are evaluated in chapter 2. Physical development of cities as a reflection of their social development has been described by a number of writers, including one in Landscape Architecture (Editorial 1911-1912), Burford (1935), Jacobs (1961), Raps (1965), Fein (1970), and Glaab (1976). Longstreth synthesized the impact of American urbanism on physical development in lectures at Kansas State University (1982, 1983). Those who cross-referenced urban and social development include Clay (1957), Butler (1958), Newton (1971), Jackson (1972), and Stilgoe (1982).

Specific works on cemeteries and their relationship to city development and planning include a model one by Pattison (1955). Selected overviews of the impact of urban environments on public health include those by Rohe (1890), Smillie (1952), the American Public Health Association (1952), and Duffy (1968).

Studies on the organization of urban landscapes are supplemented by studies on changing concepts about death and burial. Among those who have examined how Americans have adapted to death since the 19th century are Mitford (1963), Curl (1972, 1980), Aries (1974, 1981), Habenstein and Lamers (1974), and Albert N. Hamscher in lectures on the history of death and dying for the history department at Kansas State University (1983).

Others have evaluated how historical burial practices reflected emotional attitudes and resulted in distinct physical features upon cemetery landscapes. They include Puckle (1926), Waugh (1948), Kephart (1950), Habenstein and Lamers (1962), Harmer (1963), Bowman (1964), Jones (1967), Morley (1971), Saum (1974), and Pine (1975).


Remarks on the social parallels between the development of rural cemeteries and other cultural landscapes, including romantic suburbs and parkways, were made by Waugh (1914), in the J.C. Nichols number of the National Real
Chapter 3 contains an overview of the physical evolution of cemeteries, including the lawn, monument, modern, park, and memorial park types, from the Civil War until the Great Depression. This evolution is compared to concurrent sociocultural trends. It is important to note that studies of historic gravestones can set dangerous precedents if they examine those emblems separately from their landscape contexts and if they provide little understanding of the subtle relationships between sites and the physical artifacts placed upon them. Gravestone studies which have supplied distinct clues to physical and social organization include one by Deetz and Dethlefsen (1965); Holton (1979) critiqued the approach of Deetz and Dethlefsen. Selected methodologies for studying the interrelations of elements to cemetery sites included those of Price (1966), Jackson (1967), and Goody (1974).

In chapter 3, the emergence of several professions which are directly related to evolutions in cemetery design is outlined. The professionals who dabbled in cemetery design are traced through the emergence of landscape architects who dominated cemetery design after the Civil War. Key cemetery design theory published by landscape architects after the war is overviewed, and the relationships between concurrent cemetery design and landscape developments are assessed. How key personalities diffused ideas which led to transitions between cemetery types is summarized.

Cemeteries as microcosms of cultural organization have been studied by Kephart (1950), Slusarenko (1970), Francaviglio (1971), Zelinsky (1976), Stilgoe (1978), and Jordan (1982). Specific studies on gravemarkers as symbols of burial practice and cultural attitudes have been provided by Price (1966), Lancaster (1978), Holton (1979), and Dethlefsen (1981).

In chapter 4, the educational backgrounds of Sid J. Hare and his son, S. Herbert, principals of Hare & Hare, are evaluated for their influence on landscape architectural practice. Then the continuum of projects, from 1903 when the elder Hare commenced practice until his son's death in 1960, is compared and contrasted to trends in sociocultural evolution in the United States. Base information about the firm and its projects was generously supplied by the staff at Ochsner Hare & Hare, and the staff in the Missouri Valley Room at the Kansas City (Missouri) Public Library.

Hare & Hare's cemetery design publications are analyzed for the designers' political, economic, social, and environmental attitudes and how these attitudes influenced the designers' selection and organization of elements within cemetery sites. The role of cemetery projects within the practice is then evaluated, much as Morgan (1973) analyzed cemetery designs within John Notman's architectural practice.

Hare & Hare's philosophies are compared through analysis of over fifty cemetery plans in chapter 5. The plans have been collected from the archives of the office, from correspondence with superintendents of extant cemeteries, and from publications regarding Hare & Hare's work. The cemetery plans were laid out in chronological order with the entries oriented in the same direction so that the key elements and design patterns

which the designers had mentioned in their publication could be identified. Such distinct differences emerged that the majority of plans were divided into types which corresponded to national design trends.

Within each type, model cemeteries are selected which represent the physical ideal of each type. These models form the basis of a typology which is used to clarify, graphically, the key physical characteristics of each major 20th-century cemetery type designed by Hare & Hare. Other Hare & Hare model cemeteries were equally important harbingers of transition between types. In them, Hare & Hare proposed the perfected elements of the earlier design type and a few experimental elements of emerging design types. Base information for each cemetery was assembled by sending questionnaires to current superintendents, from contemporary publicity, and from members of the extant firm (appendix A).

In the final chapter, conclusions are drawn about trends in American cemetery design, the role of the Hare & Hare firm in the evolution of 20th-century design, and the preservation of historic cemeteries as records of the American heritage. Landscape architectural practice continues to shape the development of urban landscapes, just as Hare & Hare's practice did. Additional studies to identify the interrelationships between cultural attitudes and landscape design are also suggested.
1. Hare & Hare was established in Kansas City in 1910. The firm has undergone several mergers since the 1960's. It currently operates as Ochsner Hare & Hare, at 4643 Jefferson, Kansas City, Missouri. Other addresses are included in Appendix B.
Chapter 2

POLITICAL, SOCIOCULTURAL, ECONOMIC, AND ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES ON AMERICAN CEMETERY DESIGN

American attitudes toward life, death, and the landscape varied according to region, lifestyle and community objectives. The layout and site design of settlements symbolize these attitudes, but burial landscapes provide specific examples of cultural landscape development from the agrarian 18th century through pre-Civil War industrialization.

The Pre-Industrial Period

Until the latter part of the 18th century, large-scale, self-sufficient, family-oriented plantation lifestyles characterized the southern Atlantic regions of the country. Family members were bonded by their economic dependency, for the production and marketing of goods had a direct impact on personal lifestyles. Land burial on plantation grounds was typical of an agricultural lifestyle, because deaths were losses to families rather than to communities. Family graveyards varied from simple, functional plots to elaborately laid out cemeteries which doubled as private landscapes (Howett 1977, Stilgoe 1982).

Community lifestyles characterized the northern regions. The survival of towns was related to group effort, so loyalty to community was as important as that to family. Members of southern communities often shared common religious and economic objectives. Spiritual beliefs as well as economic ones shaped the environments of northern communities. Group background as well as existing conditions influenced town layout and the siting of burial grounds. The buildings surrounding central public commons, including meeting houses which doubled as churches, taverns, and modest residences, were the centers of political, economic, and spiritual life (Stilgoe 1982). The patterns which were superimposed on the landscape were intended to shape uniform, predictable growth, much like the common spiritual growth which was expected of community members.

Religion influenced attitudes toward death and burial landscapes in northern communities. Burial grounds were minimal landscapes; members were buried in chronological order rather than in family plots, which symbolized community as family, rather than nuclear associations. Rows of graves were marked with identical headstones since disposal of bodies was considered unimportant compared to disposition of souls. Collective fear of death was reflected by the unfriendly winged death's heads carved into many of the headstones (Dethlefsen 1977, 1981). Since bodies were not held in much reverence, neither were graveyards, and the sites often fell into neglect.

In contrast to communities shaped by attitudes on religion, those towns which were market centers or transportation links were shaped by environmental features which held potential for economic gain. Layouts of those town sites varied from a grid to curvilinear patterns that responded to the natural geographic features of the land. The resultant patterns symbolized the livelihood of communities.
Where secular and religious lifestyles co-existed in market towns, attitudes toward death were often similar, even though graveyard layout and burial practices varied. Death was a public affair; public displays of mourning at funerals were typical because the loss of each individual was a loss to community livelihood.

Urban Growth and the Industrial Revolution

Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Williamsburg, VA, had developed as communities by the middle of the 18th century. There were isolated examples of elaborate development plans, like William Penn's 1682 plan for Philadelphia and John Oglethorpe's 1733 plan for Savannah. The layout of many pre-industrial towns evolved according to economic objectives and geographic features rather than premeditated plans.

Advances in architectural design were common through the early 19th century because designers concentrated on the specific building forms which accommodated changing needs. Monumental building types such as markets, hotels, banks, theaters, opera houses, and city halls evolved but adjacent streetscapes were often dirty and inconvenient. Little open space was reserved within towns because land was appreciated for its speculative real estate value rather than its aesthetic or recreational value; investors and speculators exhibited practical entrepreneurial instincts rather than sociological or humanistic attitudes toward human need.

The majority of immigrants to urban areas during the first decades of the 19th century were from impoverished rural or European backgrounds and were virtually penniless. Many had difficulty adjusting because they were separated from loved ones and because booming cities were such impersonal environments in comparison to their previous homes. Circumstances forced many to live in inadequate housing, to eat contaminated food, and to work long hours for low wages, all of which created and magnified stress. Overcrowded living situations resulted in unhealthy conditions because the demand for housing far exceeded public service technology. Little open space had been left for recreation, and rural outskirts were usually too distant to provide respite for pedestrian populations.

The plight of the poor was linked in part to the unplanned growth of urban areas. Inadequate sanitation, and accumulations of trash and waste on city streets caused the contamination of drinking water. Epidemics of dysentery, typhoid, typhus, cholera, and yellow fever caused high death rates. Mass burial occurred in common graves which were left open to facilitate daily additions of bodies.

By the 1820's, social reformers campaigned against the conditions which caused such chaos and loss of life. Reform forces usually included newspapers, churches, businesses, and local sanitary commissions. Activists raised moral issues such as profit versus public health, safety, and welfare; religion versus secular views, work balanced with leisure time, and environmental issues such as the ratio of architecture to open space.

With the development of a social conscience, the plight of the poor was recognized and human life gained new respect. Physical improvements initiated in the 1830's included the collection of runoff and drainage of stagnant water, the supply of water to the public, the regulation of
building standards, the inspection of food, and the control of loose hogs and dogs (Duffy 1968). Improved family and community cleanliness contributed to the improvement of many of the conditions which had caused high death rates.

Within the first two decades of the 19th century, physicians recognized that decomposition in open pits was causing noxious gas emissions and the contamination of ground water. Open graves were also sources of putrid stenches. Physicians noted that residents of neighborhoods adjacent to overburdened graveyards were often struck the earliest and the hardest by epidemics.

This evolving environmental condition created a pressing concern for the siting of graveyards relative to other urban land uses. Existing graveyards first complicated and then helped shape town growth. The siting of new cemeteries in boom towns was such a low priority that it was often overlooked until necessity arose. The New York Board of Health urged the removal of all graveyards from the city proper in 1798 and again in 1806, based on European precedents. No action was taken until 16,000 died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1822 (Harmer 1963). Neighborhoods adjacent to the Trinity Church burying ground experienced particularly heavy losses, which reinforced physicians earlier correlations.

As existing graveyards filled, burial practices accelerated health hazards. Reformers pointed out that since graveyards were among the last available land in booming cities, churches had often sold the sites to speculators. Reformers appealed to the newly emerged reverence for the dead in pointing out that if graveyards were located on the outskirts of towns, they would be permanent burial sites because they would be beyond the limits of development. The expansion of cities was not foreseen.

Clergymen raised the main resistance to extramural graveyards. They feared the loss of influence and funeral revenues that would result from non-religious cemeteries. In New York, some churches petitioned the city, unsuccessfully, for permission to extend burial vaults under streets and other public properties. Other factions feared that remote sites would be inconvenient to pedestrians and attractive to graverobbers.

Mount Auburn - The Rural Cemetery Model

The first successful campaign to establish a secular cemetery on the outskirts of a town was conducted by a consortium in Boston. The driving force behind Mount Auburn was Dr. Joseph Bigelow. The physician's primary interest in promoting extramural burial was to alleviate the unsanitary conditions which transmitted disease. Following the 1822 yellow fever epidemic, Bigelow published Remarks on the Dangers and Duties of Sepulture: or Security for the Living with Respect for the Dead (Schuyler 1979).

In 1825, Bigelow recruited friends to his Cambridge home "to consider the expediency of instituting an extramural ornamental cemetery in the neighborhood of Boston" (Schuyler 1978). Bigelow's friends concurred with his objectives, but it was 1829 before he found natural allies in the newly formed Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Bigelow's desire to establish a horticultural cemetery was compatible with the Society's desire to create an experiment garden; both parties had an interest in the improvement and
embellishment of public grounds. They joined forces and developed Mount Auburn Cemetery, on a site west of Boston in Cambridge, in 1831. The use of the English landscape gardening style and the precedents set at Pere-Lachaise, a public cemetery established outside Paris in 1804, resulted in a design which improved public taste in landscapes and became a model of the rural cemetery type (Schuyler 1979) (Figures 2.1, 2.2).²

Mount Auburn Cemetery was established on a 72-acre site which was close to Harvard University and overlooked the Charles River. The site was selected because its wooded, rolling character appealed to Romanticist notions of landscape beauty. Alexander Wadsworth, a civil engineer, was hired to survey the property and lay out carriage avenues and foot paths. His plan respected the budget of the organization, and reinforced and enhanced the landscape character. Bigelow designed the Egyptian Revival entrance gate and named each avenue and path after well-known species of plants (Figure 2.3).

The idealized landscape of Mount Auburn Cemetery epitomized the interest of the educated classes in Romanticist philosophy, which had been popularized in landscape paintings and in the literature of Byron, Wordsworth, and Dickens. The essence of romanticism was that contemplation of nature evoked emotional responses which led to moral improvement; passive outdoor activity was a way of incorporating romanticism into one's lifestyle and a way of temporarily withdrawing from the stresses of urban living. Romanticists argued that nature and cities were counterparts; natural scenery evoked harmony, continuity, rustic innocence, fond memories, and moral satisfaction while cities bred corruption, materialism, social chaos, visual monotony, and aesthetic bareness (Schuyler 1979).

Visits to sylvan pastoral cemeteries were recommended as emotional outlets for those learning to cope with urbanism or seeking sanctuary from it. Visits were prescribed to make the young and careless more pensive, the wise wiser, the avaricious less greedy, and to moderate the overly ambitious. Contemplation would also clarify religious beliefs, history would be remembered, and patriotism would be enhanced (French 1974, Schuyler 1979).

Before there were many burials at Mount Auburn, the site looked more like a park than a cemetery (Bender 1974). Mount Auburn's picturesque landscape inspired hundreds of poems and descriptive essays, and several illustrated guides, pocket companions, and large engraved giftbooks. Moreover, the site served the Boston community as a tremendously popular setting for passive and active recreation.

The appreciation of Mount Auburn's landscape led to heavy recreational use, which eventually required that regulations be instated. Sunrise to sunset hours were enforced, and carriage speed was controlled. The presence of dogs, and activities like running, laughing, whistling, smoking, eating, drinking, and flower picking were considered irreverent and were thus forbidden. Sundays became so busy that eventually only lot owners and their guests were allowed to enter the grounds on horseback or in coaches (French 1974). The success of the cemetery conflicted with the Massachusetts Horticultural Society's objective to establish experiment gardens, and they withdrew from the venture in the same year the cemetery was established.
Figure 2.1  
Père-Lachaise Cemetery Entrance  
Paris, France ("Entrance," 1890, p. 79).
Figure 2.2  
Père-Lachaise Cemetery - Plan  
Paris, France (Etlin 1984, figure 243).
Figure 2.3  Mount Auburn Cemetery (1831) - Plan
Cambridge, MA (Raps 1965, following p. 326).
Impact of Mount Auburn Cemetery

Because Mount Auburn epitomized picturesque memorial landscapes, it inspired the rural cemetery movement. By the end of the century, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted would credit Mount Auburn with setting an early example of "the respect paid by the community of the living to the community of the dead." Other communities and countries noticed that Mount Auburn served the living as well as the families of the dead; the grounds provided the community with a retreat from chaotic urban life (French 1974). Within the next two decades, several American cities had used Mount Auburn as a model for their own rural cemeteries. Philadelphia established Laurel Hill Cemetery in 1835, Brooklyn established Green-Wood Cemetery in 1838, and Cincinnati established Spring Grove in 1845 (Figures 2.4-2.6). Rural cemeteries were typically owned and managed by municipalities or by cemetery associations, and run as nonprofit community services by well-educated managers.

Many rural cemeteries shared similarities in site design, including landscape preference, site layout, style of architectural elements, and management. The rugged, wooded sites were reflections of contemporary interests in Romanticist philosophy. Through the middle of the 19th century, American cemeteries were usually designed by engineers, architects, and landscape gardeners. Many designs shared characteristics borrowed from model rural cemeteries. Roads and paths were built according to existing topography which took advantage of naturalistic landscape character and helped keep construction costs down. Views featured human-made landscapes in the direction toward towns and views to undeveloped countryside in the opposite direction. Burial lots were either bought or earned by doing cemetery maintenance. Since horticulturalists often introduced plant materials to embellish grounds and to educate the public, many cemeteries doubled as arboretums.

The design of Mount Auburn Cemetery proved that nature and civic design were compatible. The naturalistic approach influenced the design of other landscape types, including public parks and romantic suburbs (Schuyler 1979). Although rural cemeteries and public parks were designed and established to serve the public, other landscape types, including romantic suburbs, and park and boulevard systems, benefited only individuals who had substantial incomes. Llewellyn Park was designed in 1852 by L. Haskell and others (Figure 2.7). Ownership was limited to those who could afford to build according to architectural standards (Downing 1977). Riverside was built in 1869 according to plans by the designers of Central Park (Figure 2.8). Ownership was limited to those who could afford to commute from town to suburbs. Access to park and boulevard systems such as those in Chicago (circa 1869), Boston (1880), Minneapolis (1883), and Kansas City (circa 1890) was likewise limited to those who could afford transportation (Newton 1971).

Cemeteries, public parks, and romantic suburbs shared design approach. All sought to balance the best of nature and art, all combined the advantages of city and country environments, and all sought to balance function and naturalistic aesthetics.

Contemporary appreciation of idealized natural landscapes was one force which led to a national appreciation of the vast wilderness landscape which was unique to the American West. The new landscape conscience led to legislation which set aside selected landscapes as large-scale parks.

13
Figure 2.4
Laurel Hill Cemetery (1835) - Plan
Philadelphia, PA (Morgan 1973, p. 120).
Figure 2.5

Green-Wood Cemetery (1838) - Bird's-Eye-View
Brooklyn, NY (Reps 1965, Following p. 326).
Figure 2.6  
Spring Grove Cemetery (1845) - Plan  
Cincinnati, OH (Park and Cemetery 1919, p. 173)
Figure 2.7

Ilewellyn Park (1852) - Plan
Orange, NJ (Downing 1977, following p. 570).
Figure 2.8  Riverside, IL (1868) - Plan
(Roth 1979, p. 147).
Yosemite was protected as the first state park in 1864 and Yellowstone was declared the first national park in 1872, reflections of a budding American conservation ethic (Newton, 1971).

Evolution of the Rural Cemetery Type

By the mid-19th-century, evolving attitudes toward architectural design coupled with a new reverence for the dead affected burial practice and customs of memorialization. In earlier decades, rural cemetery landscapes had little architectural relief. Settings for sepulchral monuments were created by either thinning existing woods or by situating monuments in relation to existing plant materials. Early sepulchral monuments were modest in accordance with the original egalitarian concepts which inspired rural cemeteries.

As the architectural character of cities matured, so did the popular taste for the architectural items which were incorporated into cemetery landscapes. The design and placement of on-site features paralleled popular building styles; architectural features reflected stylistic patterns and preferences. Entryways were often constructed in the Egyptian Revival mode because of that culture's long association with death and burial and because the style had been used for the entry at Mount Auburn Cemetery. Rural cemeteries often had both secular and religious chapels; Gothic Revival detailing often characterized both types as its use was popular in contemporary churches.

Monument viewing had formerly educated the illiterate masses and raised popular taste. As citizens began to erect elaborate monuments, often designed with Neo-classical detailing, monument viewing became as popular as contemplation of landscape features. The selection of monument size, design, material, and inscription reflected self-expression as people accumulated disposable income.

Because rural cemeteries were continually evolving, they became microcosms of cultural change. The resulting cultural landscapes had direct and indirect impacts on 19th-century American and European culture for they reflected and influenced physical, philosophical, and social practices.

As American settlements increased in size, so did cemeteries. The social changes caused by life in urban areas changed how individuals related to each other which in turn changed attitudes toward death and burial. As cities grew, loyalty to community was replaced by bonds within nuclear families. As individuals died, burial formed therapeutic emotional links between mourning families and the deceased.

Rural cemeteries, like Mount Auburn, were the newest, most stylish sites for burial and they served a ready market. Because people shipped bodies to rural cemeteries in other towns if their town did not have one, many towns were motivated to establish rural cemeteries. Rural cemeteries were largely secular, in contrast to the religious churchyards which they replaced.

Once rural cemeteries were established, their physical character continued to evolve. Some of the changes were related to functional concerns. Due to the isolation of the rural sites, many family plots had been fenced by the 1840's, to ward off stray animals. As grave embellishment became a way
to demonstrate love and social status, enclosures became more elaborate. Iron was a readily available building material by the early 1850's, and it was easy to form into elaborate patterns. The ready market created a boom in the manufacture of ornamental iron fencing (French 1974).

Other changes in burial practice had social overtones. Just as ornamental details contributed to the grandeur of buildings rising in cities, monuments became qualitative and quantitative symbols of love. As large, elaborate monuments became popular, the sculpture trade boomed (French 1974). Since huge markers were a way to show off new industrial wealth, they doubled as monuments to social status.

Moreover, the details of America's rural cemeteries influenced European attitudes about burial landscapes. Even though American cemetery designers had incorporated English landscape garden principles into the layouts of rural cemeteries, the incorporation of plantings into sepulchral landscapes seems to have had distinct roots in American rural cemeteries.

John Evelyn's 1661 Silva, encouraged removing graveyards from population centers but did not mention horticultural enhancement of the sites. Europe had extramural cemeteries by the rural cemetery era, but they were called garden cemeteries because they were crowded with large sepulchral monuments in structured, geometric arrangements without much horticultural variety.

Europeans defined culture in terms of built environments and so they considered the United States in 19th-century an uncultured country because it had little high-style architecture. As grand architectural elements such as entryways and chapels were incorporated into the landscapes of America's rural cemeteries, Europeans were charmed by the physical symbols of maturation.

American rural cemetery landscapes stretched the European definition of culture to include landscapes. Since several planted rural cemeteries existed in the United States before 1843 when the English designer J. C. Louden recommended that plantings be incorporated into cemeteries, he, too, may have been influenced by American models of rural cemeteries. Several European cemeteries were eventually designed according to rural cemetery models.

Social Impact of Rural Cemeteries

Rural cemeteries filled the void created by limited public open space in contemporary cities. The void filled by rural cemeteries was recognized by horticulturist Andrew Jackson Downing in the 1840's:

" ... in the absence of great public gardens, such as we must surely one day have in America, our rural cemeteries are doing a great deal to enlarge and educate the popular taste in rural embellishment" (Downing 1853, p. 155).

Rural cemeteries had been planned as multi-functional landscapes and their heavy use for recreation within a decade of their inception proved their role as social landscapes (French 1974, Schuyler 1979). People spent leisure time in rural cemeteries, respites from the pace and conflicts of
urban life which included adjustments from country to city, from community to family, and to work without leisure time.

The popularity of rural cemeteries as recreation sites modified contemporary attitudes on education, recreation, and landscape design. The sites functioned as tasteful transitions between urban and rural settings, where rural beauty coupled with the art of human-made architectural elements provided the best of both worlds. Visitors who had no other access to art were able to view and appreciate it.

Moreover, the popularity of cemeteries as retreats convinced social reformers and urban planners of the recreational value of open space. The development of Central Park in New York in 1858, according to the design of architect Calvert Vaux and landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, marked the incorporation of parks into city environments in order to make sun, air, and vegetation readily available for public health, enjoyment, and education (Newton 1971).

Burial Practice as Industry

The popularity of rural cemeteries continued through mid-century as loyalty to family became a priority over loyalty to community. Burial practice became increasingly important for it evolved as a way for Romanticists to express love for the departed. Funerals, burials, and cemetery landscapes emerged as growth industries which met socio-cultural needs.

To the early 19th century, the burial process had been initiated by families. Laying out in the home was done by family members or nurses. Family members contracted with the cabinetmakers to build coffins, liverymen to deliver coffins to gravesites, and clergymen to perform funerals.

As American society became increasingly non-religious, Romanticism, rather than religion, became a way of coping with death. Funeral and burial rituals performed dual functions for they served as tributes to both memory and new wealth. Entrepreneurs recognized that there were profits to be made by orchestrating burial practice and by promoting burial insurance. Many sacrificed daily comforts in order to make regular payments on insurance in order to avoid the stigma of paupers' burials.

The undertaking industry in the United States emerged out of the same opportunities. The new professionals freed families to mourn by performing the activities which families and miscellaneous businesses had formerly carried out. Undertakers promoted stylish burials in stylish rural cemeteries. Funeral directors promoted burial processions to the extramural sites as public stages for the display of emotion and wealth (Jones 1967). The grandeur of funerals, cemetery plots, permanent memorials, and maintenance was limited only by one's pocketbook. The new reverence for burial ritual removed mourning from homes, and funeral parades made burial a community activity again. Changes in burial practice actually precipitated changes in family roles and led to the lining of businessmen's pockets.
Entrepreneurs likewise realized that successful non-profit cemetery associations like Mount Auburn offered opportunities for profit as well as service. Cemetery sites were bought as investments and run as businesses. By 1847, the Rural Cemetery Act was lobbied by the New York State Legislature. This law gave cemetery associations lavish tax concessions and other unusual power (Harmer 1963, Bender 1974).

Rural Cemetery Subtypes

Advances in technology seemingly influenced the emergency of the lawn cemetery subtype. Lawn cemeteries were promoted in the United States within a couple of decades of the invention of lawnmowers in 1830, in England. Books on gardening in successive years contained increasing references to the culture of turfgrass. This technical advance was among the influences in the 19th century which popularized the visual appeal of mowed grass and facilitated the maintenance of that look. Many of the managers of contemporary American cemeteries had horticultural backgrounds. Their promotion of the aesthetic and practical aspects of turfgrass within cemetery landscapes may have been partially inspired by the horticultural books which had diffused information about turfgrass culture (Beard, 1973).

The adjustments made to Spring Grove Cemetery in 1854 made this cemetery the model of the lawn cemetery subtype. Adolphus Strauch, the German horticulturalist-superintendent at Spring Grove, insisted that lot enclosures around individual gravesites were unnecessary because the cemetery was well supervised. Strauch argued that eliminating enclosures and planting a carpet of grass would result in expansive, green landscapes and would make the cemetery easier to maintain. (Howett 1977).

Lot owners resisted Strauch's notions at first, and tried to have the horticulturalist removed from his post. Strauch's persistence won the group over, however, and thousands of elaborate enclosures were removed. A legacy of fence design was lost but a new cemetery type was born. As word of the new appearance of Spring Grove spread, Strauch was credited by Olmsted and others as the "father of the lawn cemetery" (Kern 1884, p. 135). Other rural cemeteries were altered into the lawn cemetery subtype because the sunny open character of Spring Grove was thought a cheerful contrast to the shady and somber character of wooded rural cemeteries like Mount Auburn.

Monument Cemetery Subtype

As elaborate sepulchral monuments were erected in rural cemeteries, including Mount Auburn and Laurel Hill, the monument cemetery subtype emerged as a contrast to the lawn cemetery subtype. The primary difference between the two was the proportion of planting to the presence of structures. Because human-made features took precedence over landscape features in monument cemeteries, they resembled the European garden cemetery type. The architectural features in monument cemeteries became symbols of new industrial wealth.

Emergence of Planned Urban Landscapes

By the Civil War, cities were faced with a number of diverse issues which
included appropriateness of land use patterns and architectural forms, maintenance of an economic base, and social unrest. Solutions to these issues required comprehensive analysis and innovative designs like those which Olmsted and Vaux had demonstrated in their design of Central Park.

After the Civil War, cities would import emerging landscape architects, including Horace Cleveland, Jacob Weidenmann, and the Olmsted Brothers, to study their organization, just as city leaders had contracted with outside architects early in the 19th century for building designs which facilitated urbanization. Landscape architects were among those who analyzed the problems which had resulted from uncontrolled growth. These designers provided solutions which shaped and reshaped American cultural landscapes, including cemeteries, during accelerated industrialization in the post-Civil War era. One of the ways which designers had learned the processes of environmental problem solving was through cemetery design and management.
1. Grove Street Cemetery had been established on the outskirts of Hartford, CT, in 1796. Even though its suburban location matched the rural cemetery type, its regular layout differentiated it from the rural cemetery type (Jackson 1967).

2. The design of Pere-Lachaise, based on the English landscape gardening style, provided a naturalistic framework for the informal scattering of manmade sepulchral monuments. The design set a standard for grandeur and lavish display and became a model of the European garden cemetery type (Howett 1977).

3. The appeal of Romanticism to the popular mind was magnified when linked with the emotions associated with death. Thomas Jefferson had projected a pastoral graveyard for Monticello in 1771 and George Washington had been buried in a rustic site in 1799 (French 1974).
Chapter 3

AMERICAN POST-CIVIL WAR CEMETERY TYPES

The key changes in socio-cultural practices which were discussed in chapter 2 continued to influence evolution of cemetery types from the Civil War to the Depression. Based on contemporary discussions in literature, key elements of rural cemetery subtypes, modern, park, and memorial park cemeteries are summarized. The factors which caused evolution between types are then analyzed. The types continued to reflect different proportions of natural and built elements. Variation in the ratio of vertical elements to horizontal ones often provided clues to emerging cemetery types.

Nineteenth-century American culture represented a dynamic change from the 18th-century milieu of perpetuation and stagnation. The increased activities and changing tastes which stemmed from industrialization and urbanization necessitated and inspired new buildings and landscape expressions. Organization and manipulation of cultural landscapes demonstrated sociocultural attitudes and practices through a variety of physical manifestations, which included on cemetery landscapes.

Before the Civil War, cemetery landscapes had evolved from family plots which reflected agricultural lifestyles, to autonomous community churchyards which reflected initial population clusters, to the large, non-religious corporations which reflected awareness of public health, as discussed in chapter 2. Standardization of lifestyles and cultural landscapes were linked to growing cultural dependencies. Small communities were organized according to common political, economic, and social objectives. The street grids in cemeteries in towns, and rows of standardized tombstones were manifestations of creeping landscape standardization. In contrast, the landscapes of industrial towns continually changed because the introduction of revolutionary ideas usually resulted in physical changes. Site selection, development, and embellishment with architectural features reflected changing needs, conditions, and availability of material and human resources.

Similarly, collaged design elements led to variety in successive cemetery types. Numerous vertical elements typified rural cemeteries. Elements including rolling typography, plants, benches, lot enclosures, and sepulchral monuments, symbolized reverence for picturesque nature, landscape gardening, security and privacy, passive recreation and solitude, and personal memory. Planned cemeteries drew crowds; the sites not only improved public health by removing the dead from proximity with the living, they were accessible respites from unhealthy urban environments and visual contrasts to grim states of living, working, and dying (Fein 1970).

By the mid 19th-century, pragmatism and technology superceded the social, physical, and aesthetic design criteria of previous decades; revolutionary changes were part of cemetery landscape evolution also, as evidenced at Spring Grove and described in chapter 2. Adolph Strauch's transformation of the Spring Grove Cemetery landscape (figure 2.6) from individualistic gardenesque lots to integrated scenes of landscape character and efficient management epitomized the sacrifices of individual whim for community good which increasingly characterized mechanized societies.
As discussed in chapter 2, in the 1840's, Andrew Jackson Downing had declared that the physical character of wrought iron lot enclosures was inappropriate to the picturesque character of rural cemeteries. The impermanence of the fences made them unsatisfactory elements in sites which symbolized popular beliefs in everlasting life. More importantly, the enclosures impeded maintenance and thereby increased labor costs in an era which preceded maintenance funds. The substitution of horizontal planes of grass for vertical lot enclosures resulted in the unification of cemetery landscapes. This change seemingly emphasized maintenance above personalized burial plots.

The successes of Mount Auburn Cemetery had set the stage for burial as business, but the Civil War years intensified the emotional climate which facilitated commercial follow through. The war heightened the emotional issues of death in an era when family bonds superseded community ones and when 19th-century commerce became an integral force in urban affairs. These combined forces facilitated the emergence of specialized professions to meet actual and imagined needs and demands for burial ritual. The undertaking trades turned remorse into profit as detailed in chapter 2 (Harmer 1963).

Even before the Civil War, the cemetery trade had made a similar shift from charity to entrepreneurship. The trend toward ownership by cemetery corporations was initiated by Mount Auburn's success and reinforced with the passage of the Rural Cemetery Act (1847) (Harmer 1963). By 1860, burial in churchyards maintained by congregations was an outdated practice ("Cemeteries-Ancient," 1929).

As urban networks expanded across the nation after the Civil War, large mutually-owned non-profit cemeteries remained the norm in the Northeast and Midwest, but for-profit corporations became typical of the South and West (Harmer 1961). These private cemeteries perpetuated the segregation of races which had been institutionalized during slavery and which later continued in some locations during the mass immigration inspired by industrial expansion.

As discussed in chapter 2, control of cemetery character by cemetery management was perfected at Spring Grove Cemetery and resulted in the lawn cemetery subtype. Strauch published his design concepts by 1869; his rules and regulations were mandates for site design. Families maintained their role in the burial process by marking their lot corners according to management specifications, and by maintaining their lots.

Spring Grove's regulations reflected some of the key issues of lawn cemetery design and maintenance. Regulations which forbade the stockpiling of building materials except during active work, forbade work during inclement weather and while cemetery personnel were off the grounds, and warned against damaging plants, seemed directed toward outside work crews hired by owners of large lots. Moreover, restrictions controlled the landscape character of individual lots. By allowing only low grave mounds, the cemetery insured both a visually consistent ground plane and one that was easier to maintain than the former series of mounds (Strauch 1869). The unified lawn look was so desired that Spring Grove's management offered free renovation of older traditional lots.
The managers also controlled the social character of Spring Grove Cemetery by prescribing lot owners' privileges. Lot owners were admitted by ticket, and were permitted guests on any day but Sundays. That was probably to deter crowds comparable to those which had flocked to Mount Auburn in earlier decades. Protection of individual and joint property prescribed that entry had to be through gates, unoccupied horses had to be secured, and that visitors could touch only objects which belonged to them. Regulations against refreshments, fast riding, smoking, firearms, dogs, and children without guardians demonstrated that a passive ambience was sought. Moreover, managers appealed to the pride of authorized visitors by suggesting that they report any transgressions (Strauch 1869).

Socio-cultural Values Expressed in Cemetery Literature

The establishment of national cemeteries, like Arlington in 1888 (Sasaki n.d.), accelerated the cemetery improvement campaigns which had been initiated by the private sector at mid-century ("Cemeteries - Ancient"). The lawn cemetery subtype was a refinement of the rural cemetery type because all of the vertical features of rural cemeteries except for enclosures around lots were incorporated within landscape designs. Turfgrass united the remaining vertical features into passive site-scale burial gardens.

More and more cemeteries were sited outside of cities, and so were an increasing number of residential areas. The rural lifestyle which had been promoted by Andrew Jackson Downing in the 1840's was replaced by the suburban lifestyle after the Civil War (Scott 1870, Weidenmann 1870). Scott (1870) suggested that since wives did not commute to cities like their husbands, they had come to feel isolated in their country homes. Moreover, household mechanization had probably netted country place women increased leisure time but few close neighbors with whom to socialize. Weidenmann directly linked landscapes for the living and the dead when he promoted suburbs as best for families, mourners, the insane and other harried urban residents.

There were increasing similarities between extramural cemeteries and suburban residential areas. Post-war literature on cemeteries and the residential design included similar issues and images. Many of revolutionary lawn concepts which Strauch had advocated at Spring Grove Cemetery in the 1850's became incorporated in the post war literature on residential design.

The separation of rural cemeteries and suburban residential developments from cities resulted in social segregation since the poor could not afford transportation. Cemetery boundary fences became symbolic of segregation between the living and the dead and between social classes. Similarly, cemetery design and burial practices reinforced social segregation within sites. Explicit segregation included fraternal groups and military troops who bought or were allotted separate sections. This voluntary separation demonstrated how nationalism and organizations supplemented family bonds and encouraged dependence on mainstream culture (Dethlefsen 1981).

Even as social classes became increasingly segregated, the landscape concepts for suburban cemeteries and residences became increasingly integrated. Scott noted how the experience of designers in shaping
communities within cemeteries could be transferred to residential commissions;

"It will be found, as we grow more intelligent in such matters, that it is quite as essential to the beauty of our home-grounds to commit their general arrangement to professional artists, and to be as absolutely restricted to their plans, as it has been in the management of cemeteries" (Scott 1870, p. 67).

As landscape architects emerged as designers of parks, residential grounds, and cemeteries, they wrote about their design concepts. Their guidelines to landscape integration included many similar elements. Kern (1884) summed up the elements which would best reinforce the security and rural beauty of cemeteries; he promoted lawns, a few trees, and boundary fences to protect cemetery grounds of any scale, ownership, or situation against interference by the outside world. Scott (1870), Weidenmann (1870, 1888), and Kern (1884) all advocated that residential lots be designed without fences, just like Strauch had discouraged their use around burial lots. Scott further maintained that the holistic planting plans which had integrated cemeteries were also the keys to the integration of neighborhoods,

"To insure a high order of beauty in neighboring improvements, all planting must be done under some one competent direction. The result of this is seen in our beautiful modern cemeteries. A similar subordination of individual fancies to a general plan, in a community of neighboring grounds may develop like results" (Scott 1870, p. 67).

The steady increase of lawn area within cemeteries and other landscapes seemed tied to William Scott's suggestion (1855) that wooded cemetery landscapes be thinned out because timothy and red clover, the most widely used ground covers, did not grow well under trees. By the post war era, the literature indicated that that advice not only shaped lawn cemeteries, it shaped suburban neighborhoods as well. Scott (1870), Weidenmann (1870, 1888), and Kern (1884) all specified turf and trees as the keys to landscape integration.

Similarities in audience and design process were further demonstrated in Weidenmann's Beautifying Country Homes (1870). His process of cemetery design was reminiscent of subdivision design. He sketched how parts of cemetery sections should be reserved for plantings and how family lots should be sited against those backgrounds. Then he sketched how plots in family lots could be organized according to family heirarchy, and how they could be planted. Topography, visibility, lot size, and monument size became implicit clues to cemetery neighborhoods. Singles, minorities and paupers were generally relegated to cheap, small lots or those which had no retail value (Francaviglia 1971).

Concurrent work was being done by landscape architect Horace W. S. Cleveland who combined park and boulevard system design and publishing design theory. In Rural Cemeteries, Cleveland appealed to cemetery landscapes as symbols of civic pride,
"The cemetery of every town and village should be the spot most sacred to the hearts of the residents, and the one they should seek to render most attractive in its aspects. . . . It certainly affords the best criterion of the degree of refinement and culture to which they have attained. . . . It fairly represents the prevailing character of the living occupants (Cleveland 1881, p. 4)."

Besides the symbolic use of physical features, Cleveland related the practical impacts of economics on design. He supported his profession by arguing that professional design was no more expensive than bad planning; the costs of design were repaid in the sales appeal of tasteful cemetery sites (Cleveland 1881, p. 6).

Cleveland integrated business and conservation, however, by advocating economical methods of subdivision so that both large and small sites were efficiently used. He demonstrated the entrepreneurial attitudes of the era; so that distance and transportation did not prevent potential commissions, Cleveland offered to design cemeteries at a distance if supplied with surveyor’s maps of sites. This demonstrated his need and desire to work. Cleveland offered absentee cemetery design services which ranged from road layout and planting design to cemetery renovation for $10 an acre.

Cleveland carried his rebellion against stiff and formal city planning into cemetery design. He promoted curvilinear forms as complements to natural typography rather than the contemporary grid systems which had been used to expedite land sales in many towns.

Cleveland's design philosophies reinforced the English landscape gardening traditions which had been popularized in rural cemeteries earlier in the century. The increasing proportion of lawns to other landscape elements was a key factor in the transition from lawn cemeteries to successive American cemetery types.

Lawns and masses of trees and shrubs within unfenced landscapes promised to be the logical transitions from residential landscapes to burial landscapes for the upwardly mobile social classes who had voluntarily segregated themselves. Francaviglia (1971) described how lawn cemeteries became microcosms of green lawned suburbs. Just as turf linked houses and exclusive neighborhoods, it linked family cemetery lots within exclusive cemetery sections. Cemetery lawns not only created sunny contrasts to shady woods, they increased the proportions of nature to human-made sepulchral art. Those proportions differentiated the American lawn cemetery type from concurrent European garden cemeteries where sepulchral architecture, rather than plantings, dominated burial landscapes.

Weidenmann's Avant-garde Concepts

Landscape architect Jacob Weidenmann's work was a pivotal contribution during that transition, unlike Maximillian Kern's chapter on burying grounds in Rural Taste (1884) which essentially repeated Aldolph Strauch's design concepts. Weidenmann's landscape architectural career mirrored booms and busts in the national economy, demonstrated the increasing
diversity of landscape architectural commissions, and recorded many attitudes and issues which affected cemetery design. He wrote *Beautifying Country Homes* (1870) and worked in Frederick Law Olmsted's office to weather the post-war depression. In his eagerness to work, Weidenmann accepted a five-year contract as superintendent of Mount Hope Cemetery in Chicago in 1886 despite Olmsted's observation that working for speculative cemetery companies "required landscape architects to pursue responsibilities in which no conscientious landscape architect could willingly become involved." This suggested that the cemetery trade had already netted a negative public image (Weidenmann 1978, unpaged introduction). Mount Hope was exposed as land speculation and Weidenmann was dropped. During the following years, he wrote *Modern Cemeteries* (1888), an essay on the improvement of rural cemeteries while he fought to win the $14,700 salary he had been promised by Mount Hope Cemetery officials. *Modern Cemeteries* not only mirrored the state of cemetery design and burial practice; Weidenmann introduced terms and concepts which forecast the modern cemetery type, and anticipated practical concerns which eventually resulted in the memorial cemetery type.

In *Modern Cemeteries*, Weidenmann questioned the inefficiencies of urban sprawl and the contemporary state of cemetery development when he suggested that modern cemeteries be centralized within cities instead of scattered like the speculative ventures which had glutted the contemporary cemetery market. Weidenmann revealed that ground burial had remained the norm because cremation was regarded as an affront to religion and cultural instincts. He alluded, however, to inevitable land use pressures when he noted that cemetery sites could be adaptively used every one hundred years if decomposition powder were used at burial to hasten natural decay. Accelerated decomposition was an unacceptable contrast to the concepts of preservation and immortality which soon became entrenched in American burial practice.

In the interval between the publication of *Beautifying Country Homes* (1870) and *Modern Cemeteries* (1888), cemetery landscapes reflected the urban boom. Weidenmann considered the relationship of modern cemeteries to city image, the tastes of potential clientele, and the functional concerns of the cemetery trade. He recommended that modern cemeteries be among the most classical and attractive elements in city plans. They were to be secluded from adjacent land and secure against trespassers.

Weidenmann changed his approach to the planting of burial sections between his books. In the earlier book, Weidenmann illustrated groves of trees scattered within sections. In his 1888 publication, plantings were consolidated in the center of sections and small groups of trees defined the edges of sections. Only a few intermittent trees were shown throughout the balance of sections (figure 3.1, 3.2). Weidenmann expected passive usage for he advised that views be created and that benches be provided; passive landscapes were intended to dispel gloom and dismay. Weidenmann's concern for establishing a sense of place was balanced by his awareness of economic issues. Plantings were balanced with turf-covered areas. Grass made these lots attractive to customers who intended to erect sepulchral monuments; grass also facilitated maintenance.

Sepulchral monuments had become prevalent features in many rural cemeteries, just like elaborate buildings had become monuments to urbanization and industrial boom. Dethlesen (1981) noted that typical
Victorian monuments displayed architectural details rather than the religious symbols which had typified previous decades. Non-religious symbols like doves, lambs, flowers, clasped hands, crowns, and heavenly gates suggested peace, love, and comfort in the after life. Marble was the most prevalent material since it was easily carved into popular details and made a showy contrast to the dark evergreens which were popular backgrounds. (Weidenmann 1888)

Weidenmann's tips on the selection of monuments and lots revealed a social hierarchy within cemetery landscapes. His recommendation that monuments be selected and then proportional lots purchased, explained how monuments and lot size came to symbolize family status. His notes on lot locations and dimensions revealed geographical hierarchies and large family groups. The largest (100' x 100') and most expensive lots were sited along drives and reserved for mausoleums, similar to the lots along suburban parkways which were implicitly reserved for those who could afford to buy them and to erect large houses. Most families chose smaller cemetery lots: 24' x 24' lots which accommodated 6' x 6' monuments and 16 graves, or 20' x 20' lots which accommodated 3' x 3' monuments and 14 graves. Lots of seventy square feet were considered small and were to be segregated from large lots (Weidenmann 1888).

Weidenmann's proposals for lot arrangement and embellishments addressed contemporary tastes yet foreshadowed future trends. He sketched lot arrangements to fit various tastes and topographies (figure 3.3). Vertical family monuments were sited to dominate lots, since the marble tablets which marked individual graves were to be laid flush so that they would not impede the maintenance of grass and carefully placed plant materials with scythes. Family monuments set on landscaped lots paralleled monumental houses set on gardened lots. Unfenced cemetery lots and flush memorials not only facilitated maintenance, they created the impression that everyone owned more land (Weidenmann 1888).

More important than Weidenmann's epeditious designs were his projections of future trends. His intent to facilitate grass maintenance foreshadowed the influence of that landscape element in forming successive cemetery types. His designs for large family lots suggested they were still the norm in many cemeteries. But he also noted that those dimensions needed reduction because family size was on the decline and soon large lots would no longer be needed. Furthermore, Weidenmann's suggestions that cemeteries be centralized and his sketches for community mausoleums with capacity for 200 families implied that land was to be conserved for the living.

Weidenmann forecasted trends in cemetery design which evolved during the 1910's and 1920's. Weidenmann had supported public mausoleums long before others proposed them during the 1920's; he had also anticipated how the monument trade would resist such structures because 90% of fears that mausoleums would reduce sales of individual monuments. However, Weidenmann did not foresee that the cemetery trade would resist public mausoleums on the basis of increased maintenance while actually fearing that the structures would reduce the number of cemetery lots which might be sold.

The replatting of unused parts of burial lots similarly evolved as a way of increasing income by the sale of lots. Replatting was not based on Weidenmann's recommendation to conserve land for the living.
Figure 3.1

Weidernann's Early Recommendations
For Dispersed Plantings Within Burial Sections (1870).
(Weidernann 1978, plate 24).
Figure 3.2 Weidenmann's Later Suggestions For Plantings in Centers and Along Borders of Burial Sections (Weidenmann 1888, p. 100).
Weidenmann's Layouts of Family Lots According to Topography (Wyrick 1932, p. 295).
By the end of his career, Weidenmann's pattern of responding to existing conditions while projecting future needs exemplified the landscape architect's role in shaping cultural landscapes. Despite his intermittent employment record, Weidenmann's words reflected his allegiance to the broadly based profession. He called landscape gardening the noblest of all art forms and regretted that the professional was so little understood that it was "tossed like a football by florists, gardeners, and nurserymen, by engineers, architects and surveyors, whoever gets a chance to practice, criticize, slur or slander" (Weidenmann's 1978 unpaged introduction). Weidenmann called for a school to teach the interrelated dimensions of horticulture, botany, architecture English, and art which comprised the theoretical basis of the landscape architecture profession in the 1890's.

1890's; Decade of Rapidly Changing Cultural Landscapes

The transitions in cemetery landscapes projected in Weidenmann's work paralleled transitions in the national landscape. Unreined economic boom had shaped urban landscapes in the 1880's. New industrialists, like Andrew Carnegie, who dispensed their wealth to benefit the public, gave rise to American philanthropy. Socio-economic contrasts reinforced by physical conditions and advancement in technology precipitated revolutionary reforms in the 1890's. The deteriorating conditions associated with urban sprawl, public health, housing, and labor conditions spurred renewed social reforms nearly sixty years after concerns for public health spurred the establishment of Mount Auburn Cemetery. Thousands of tenements which compromised public health in New York and Boston were demolished in waves of urban renewal. The subsequent construction which replaced the tenements greatly altered the daily lives of laboring families and the appearance of cities.

The discovery of the germ theory by the 1890's marked the advent of modern medicine. This discovery represented the medical profession's first critical understanding that disease was spread by pathogens, not by the environmental conditions which had been attributed to old cemeteries. The medical profession's highly functional attitudes about burial stood in distinct contrast to the public's emotional approach to death and the cemetery trade's increasingly mechanical one. Despite the popularity of earth burial, medical professionals encouraged accelerated decomposition by cremation or sea burial. Cremation had apparently continued as an expensive process even after the Civil War; the medical professions noted that prices might be driven down if cremation increased in popularity. Medical advisors even recommended changes in plant materials, but not for aesthetic or symbolic reasons. Doctors recommended the replacement of evergreens with fast growing deciduous trees and shrubs which they believed would absorb organic substances in soils and would remove carbon dioxide from the air (Parkes 1891).

During the 1890's, designers had an increasing influence on the infrastructures of cities, just as they had helped shape cemetery landscapes. By the City Beautiful era in the 1890's, the urban rich had led the push outside gridded urban areas. Landscape architects had acquired an expertise in naturalistic planning by designing rural cemeteries, and they applied that skill to residential suburbs and park and boulevard systems which accommodated the living. The boulevards, which linked urban dwellers who could afford transportation with outlying
pleasure grounds, accelerated local street planning. These suburban areas became prime sites for the most expensive homes (Sutcliffe 1981). Since many of the park systems made use of land which was unfit for urban development, designers often turned highly picturesque wasteland into a civic advantage.

Rural to Modern Cemetery Type

Park imagery underwent subsequent reevaluation during the last decades of the century while the nation balanced its recent reverence for wilderness landscapes against the urban aesthetics popularized by the Chicago Exposition of 1893. Evolving images of parks and their landscape characters played a key role in the evolution of park cemetery imagery. The proportions between human-made and natural elements continued to be a key issue in park cemetery design, as it had been in lawn cemetery design.

The changing definition of parks was critical to cemetery design reform. Kern (1884) may have been the first to use the term park cemetery interchangeably with modern rural cemetery. Other cemetery authors used combinations of the terms modern and park in discussions of new design ideals. Others debated whether the cultivated aspects of Victorian parks were appropriate to modern cemeteries, since the latter were envisioned as returns to nature from the architectural mazes of rural cemeteries.

The redefinition of park landscapes was concurrent with the emerging reverence for wilderness landscapes which motivated the legislation which protected the Yosemite and Yellowstone from development (Newton, 1971). That reverence and the continuing contrasts of urban life styles to rural ones opened the way for psychological transitions from rural cemetery subtypes to types wherein landscapes rather than architecture were intended as permanent monuments to the dead.

Although pinpointing the start of park image reassessment is beyond the scope of this study, it probably commenced in the United States with Central Park and accelerated through the Country Place and park and boulevard eras since these landscape types were reference points in period literature. The continuum from Nature, to Art, to the Artificial formed the core of the debates and revealed late 19th-century perceptions of the landscape. The highest ideal was the awe inspiring, grandeur of Nature in its untouched state and was typified by the wilderness areas which had been set aside as national parks. Art was exemplified by settings which were laid out according to schemes based on nature, the guidelines for concepts of modern cemetery design. Parks, private grounds like country places and romantic suburbs, and rural cemeteries filled with monuments, were classified as artificial landscapes since architectural artifacts dominated landscape elements.

Despite disagreements in the early 1890's on whether park landscapes were appropriate models for modern cemeteries, most cemetery authors agreed on the key factors which differentiated traditional cemeteries and modern ones; style and density of monuments and the proportions of wooded areas to turfed areas. While cities had relied on architectural elements to create unity and order from chaos, cemetery authors urged the use of natural elements to control visual chaos and to influence psychological character.
Authors used the images of the picturesque and beautiful, popularized at mid-century by Andrew Jackson Downing, to contrast the character of traditional cemeteries and those projected for the 20th-century. Picturesque rugged, rolling, wooded rural cemetery sites which were covered with monuments, were compared with busy, disquieting urban environments. Moreover, the rugged, wild, recreational character of parks was deemed an inappropriate model for cemeteries. Modern cemeteries were to be comprised of simple family monuments and open rolling lawns, surrounded by deciduous plantings. All were intended to evoke peace, quiet, and meditation.

Although the moderation of cemetery elevations appeared to be based on aesthetics, it initiated modifications in elevations which were repeated in successive American cemetery types for other reasons. Garden and Forest, a horticultural journal, carried many editorials on cemetery design in the 1890's, probably written by horticulturist-editor Professor Charles S. Sargent. Since the articles highlighted social homogenization and harmony with nature as goals of modern cemetery design, they probably appealed to cemetery superintendents with horticultural backgrounds.

Articles by J. C. Olmsted in Garden and Forest revealed the state of cemetery art at the beginning of a decade of transition to modern cemeteries. In the first of several articles, Olmsted countered mainstream cemetery innovations when he suggested that architectural cemeteries were appropriate in several given situations, where poor soils and harsh climates would not support plantings, where high land values predetermined small sites, or when local populations preferred the architectural style over landscaped styles (Olmsted 1888, May).

Within a month however, Olmsted expressed contemporary design philosophy by railing against architectural elements. Olmsted submitted that more careful design implementation would improve rural cemetery character by subordinating the hand of man to nature. He further claimed that costly, repetitively designed, white marble monuments formed unattractive contrasts to green landscapes, and suggested that monuments shaped from dark stones would neutralize contrasts. Olmsted even suggested that concentrations of monuments in walls or galleries at entries would free more area for plantings. He proposed that comprehensive schemes of native plants be broken only by a minimum number of traditional functional architectural elements; roads, walks, gutters, bridges, retaining walls, iron fences, guideposts, steps and vault fronts. (Olmsted 1888, June).

A premier objective of modern cemetery designers was to design cemeteries that looked like burial landscapes, yet avoided such high densities of sepulchral monuments that the inorganic, stratified appearance of cities was repeated ("Good Taste," 1892). Most authors attributed the cluttered affect of rural cemeteries to headstones and footstones on individual plots within lots but were reconciled to one main monument on each family lot.

Egalitarianism was one perspective of the anti-headstone factions. Ornate memorials were opposed on social, ecological, and aesthetic grounds. They were deemed inappropriate to rural character, and to the humility, dignity, and simple pathos of Christian burials. Spokesmen discouraged monuments which reinforced differences between the lofty and lowly since they believed that on judgement day, all would be equal ("Management of Cemeteries" 1892; "Restful Burial," 1892).
Individual monuments were also considered artificial alternatives to naturalist plantings of trees and shrubs interspersed with wild flowers and grasses. Irregular, demonstrative elements like colorful islands of flowers and variable headstones were contrasted to images of trees, turf, unobtrusive stones, and ivy over graves which created the serious, contemplative moods felt appropriate to burial landscapes (Robbins 1892). Views over gentle hills and dales which formed the habitats for birds and other natural elements were intended to motivate genteel contemplation, and humble thought rather than the haughty ones evoked by elaborate sepulchral monuments.

In contrast to egalitarians, Aldolphus Strauch's modifications of the landscape at Spring Grove Cemetery, a dicotomous mixture of aesthetics and attempts to reduce maintenance overhead, served as strong precedent for growing numbers of cemetery superintendents. The regulations which Straugh had published for Spring Grove by 1869 ultimately controlled site character and served as a model for cemetery managers over the next decades, just as his cemetery had in previous decades.

**Organization of Cemetery Trade**

The 1890's was a decade of reorganization of cultural landscapes and of those who shaped them. Fraternal and military organizations had already proved popular tools for organizing professions. The Association of American Cemetery Superintendents (A.A.C.S) was organized in 1887 (Akey 1984, p. 146) to promote, obstensively, cemetery culture and development within the trade. Although landscape architects were early members of the A.A.C.S., it was 1899 before these design professionals formed the Association of Landscape Architects (A.S.L.A.) to pursue their own objectives.

Many cemetery superintendents and landscape architects had similar backgrounds in civil engineering and horticulture. Others had run nurseries, been students of nature, and had gentlemen's educations in art sculpture, architecture, languages, literature and landscape gardening (Simonds 1932; "Pioneers," circa 1942). Similar backgrounds and development opportunities probably created a natural rapport between the two professions and would help explain why horticultural, landscape architectural, and cemetery trade publications published so many interrelated articles on cemetery design at the turn of the century.

**Park and Cemetery and Landscape Gardening,** referred herein as Park and Cemetery, was published by the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents and served as the voice of superintendent-businessmen. Its articles revealed how aesthetics became further entwined with costs of maintenance. A.A.C.S. policies influenced the transition from horticultural cemeteries to successive modern cemetery types.

At the 1890 convention of the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents, the trade outlined recommendations which revealed that they were eager to internalize rather than delegate the management and design of cemeteries. The A.A.C.S. guidelines gave superintendents control over the quantity and the quality of monuments. Management allowed only one monument per family lot and although they allowed headstones of specified heights, they encouraged flush memorials on individual graves. The resultant reduction of architectural elements crystallized the
transition to the park cemetery type. The transition was also notable by the trend toward granite and white bronze monuments marked only with family names. Granite was coming into its own as a modern building material and was promoted as more permanent than marble. Moreover, the darker gray, reds, and blues of granite fit the tenants of modern cemetery design because those colors made less contrast with natural backgrounds than marble stones had ("A Rural Cemetery," 1892).

The A.A.C.S. guidelines stated that lot owners had a free hand in lot arrangement and planting, but cemetery management reserved the right to remove monuments and plants which they felt conflicted with the appearance of the grounds. Furthermore, trustees and superintendents reserved the authority to vary regulations and artistic guidelines as occasions arose. The A.A.C.S. design guidelines ultimately simplified cemetery landscapes and facilitated maintenance because they led to fewer elements.

The regulations signaled the cemetery trades' intention to substitute services which suited the priorities of cemetery management for those which had served the convenience and tastes of clients. The guidelines reduced family roles in burial, just like the undertaking trade had reduced family roles in death and funerals. Lot owners were no longer allowed to contract outside work except for stonework. This probably saved cemetery superintendents residual site maintenance while the anticipated work assured cemetery associations of a minimum income.

The regulations also increased social control and predictable classes of clientele since burials were limited to family and relations, lot ownerships were not transferable, and disinterments had to be authorized by lot owners, next of kin, and cemetery trustees. Those limits on burial rights evidenced the intent to segregate races, even in death, which was much written about by World War I.

Refinement of Modern Cemetery Type

Designers had called for innovations in cemetery monuments and landscapes as early as Weidenmann (1888). The task for designers of modern cemeteries was to create imagery which would attract lot buyers yet could be easily maintained in order to maximize profits. Lawns seemed to be the key to both objectives. More and more grass was incorporated amongst monuments and massed plantings. Impermanent materials like iron and wire work, and artificial materials were prohibited. Moreover, burial vaults were discouraged because their weathering caused maintenance. Deterioration was an unpleasant reminder of mortality in an age which endorsed progress, technology, and immortality.

The idea of regulating memorial density and design which emerged at a cemetery in Brookline, Massachusetts, was supported and publicized in Garden and Forest. This article presented architects' designs for small memorials, just like pattern books had provided models for carpenters. The illustrations even included a flush tablet which foreshadowed those which would typify memorial park cemeteries ("Tombstones," 1889).

Francaviglia (1971) and Dethlesen (1981) noted the year 1905 as the demarcation between Victorian and Industrial era cemeteries, based on when simplistic granite block monuments actually dominated elaborate Victorian ones on cemetery landscapes. The fifteen year interval between published
design concepts and popular practice demonstrated the reality of lags between ideas and design implementation and how changing architectural styles signaled transitions.

The lag also reflected the evolving objectives of three factions. Cemetery superintendents regarded paths, lot and grave plantings, architectural borders and stonework as impediments to cheap, efficient maintenance. However, they underestimated the public's desire to have monuments and planted lots as tangible memorials. The discouragement of individual headstones by the cemetery trade was as unpopular with lot owners as Strauch's alterations at Spring Grove had been. In addition, the cemetery trade set themselves up in competition against monument dealers and stone cutters for the burial dollar, just as the cemetery trade was already set up against the funeral trade. Cemetery trustees were caught between the desires of the public and the priorities of superintendents. Trustees had to compromise with the public's wishes in order to sell lots yet facilitate maintenance to appease cemetery managers ("Good Taste," 1892).

The 1890 regulations of the A.A.C.S. appeared to have been based on purely physical objectives but the clarifications which were presented at the associations' 1892 convention revealed distinct economic overtones. Cemetery superintendents seemed determined to implement naturalized landscapes in order to cut maintenance costs. They stated that "...if cemeteries were kept more natural in appearance, their cost of maintenance would be less." Yet they qualified their definition of nature. The superintendents deemed rugged, wild sites appropriate for parks, but envisioned trees, shrubs, and plain trimmed sod over graves as appropriate cemetery landscapes ("Management," 1892, p. 242).

By the 1897 A.A.C.S. convention in Cleveland, Sid Hare made his debut as an authority on cemetery design. Hare was the superintendent of an innovative park cemetery, Forest Hill (1888), in Kansas City, Missouri. He synthesized the key elements of cultural landscapes and their applications to the design of modern cemetery designs. Hare's belief that nature was the mother of all true art, and that painting, sculpture and landscape art were readymade inspirations for adorning home grounds reflected his background and avant-garde ideas. Hare based his declaration that parks and boulevards were symbols of progressive cities upon his work on Kansas City's boulevard system. Hare said, "show me a city without parks and boulevards and I will show you a people far behind the times..." ("Influence," 1897, p. 156). Hare's statements exemplified how planned landscapes became symbols of technical advances.

Like Kern (1884), Hare (1897) compared the landscape ideals of naturalistic parks with those of modern cemeteries. His observation that the large stretches of sodded, well kept lawns with trees and shrub groups which typified parks were appropriate to modern burial landscapes suggested that parks had evolved from picturesque landscapes to beautiful ones. Hare incorporated his support of velvet lawns, groups of ornamental trees and shrubs, mirror lakes, curving roads and walks, and long vistas into the cemeteries that he designed over the next thirty years.

By linking the character of parks and cemeteries, Hare (1897) set the stage for two decades of refinements in cemetery design and ambience. The loosely defined modern cemetery concepts evolved from emotional reactions to neglected churchyards and overcrowded rural cemeteries to modern park cemetery ideology, wherein borrowed park imagery shaped whole sites rather
than individual lots into memorials. Hare's advice that master plans be the basis of interior harmony and beauty even if clients who desired individual plantings had to be turned away, exemplified the trend from individual expressions to collective ones.

Turn of the century cemetery literature presented various combinations of nature as inspiration, parks as cultivated nature, and plant materials as memorials. Although landscape architect Samuel Parsons Jr's horticultural approach to cemetery design contrasted to Sid Hare's attention to adjacent land uses and character, both advocated overall planning in the initial stages of projects. Parsons referenced Spring Grove, a portion of Woodlawn Cemetery in New York, and a cemetery (probably Cedar Hill designed by Jacob Weidenmann) in Hartford, Connecticut, as models of park-like cemeteries. Parsons envisioned open lawns surrounded by trees and shrubs as ideal designs for family lots, in the belief that plantings stirred hearts and struck memories more effectively than monuments. His concepts reinforced the notion that park cemetery landscapes were planned to move the living rather than to memorialize the dead. These carefully maintained landscapes were designed to drive thoughts of death from the mind of the living (1900).

Sid Hare's work continued to suggest the broad potentials of modern park cemetery design and management. Although Hare's position at Forest Hill Cemetery and his progressive design concepts probably initiated his credibility with the cemetery trade. By his 1901 address to the A.A.C.S. annual convention, Hare was about to set up a landscape architectural practice in Kansas City. He compared cemetery management to a business; modern rest rooms, sections without monuments, and curvilinear layouts to replace grids symbolized progressive attitudes (Hare 1901). Hare's advocacy of perpetual care funds to relieve heirs and friends of maintenance was an early record of how increased services increased potential income, and of how such services estranged families from activities which had traditionally linked them to the dead.

O. C. Simonds' Modern Designs

O. C. Simonds' landscape architectural practice was concurrent with Hare's. While Simonds was superintendent at Graceland Cemetery in Chicago, he designed a new section which epitomized the modern cemetery type and earned him a reputation as an authority on cemetery design (Waugh 1910) (Figure 3.4). Simonds outlined his ideas in an article in the 2906 edition of Bailey's Cyclopedia of Horticulture, a key horticultural and landscape gardening text of the era. Simonds's article on "Landscape Cemeteries" reinforced the horticultural thrust of Bailey's collection yet intimated broad issues and future trends in cemetery design. Sunny, spreading lawns were to be balanced by trees for shade. Landscapes were to enframe vistas of clouds and sunsets and create sanctuaries for birds and visitors. Simonds demonstrated a scholarly approach to cemetery design for he enumerated models and resources. He repeated Spring Grove Cemetery as the standard model, but specified additional models - Oakwoods in Troy, New York; Swan Point in Providence, Rhode Island; Forest Hills in Boston; and Graceland, the cemetery in Chicago where he was superintendent. In his article, Simonds reiterated the original 1890 A.A.C.S. regulations and promoted the association's magazine, Park and Cemetery, as the only one on all phases of cemetery management (Simonds 1906). Simonds' recommendations were more than reflections of contemporary trade philosophy. His projection of cemeteries as insolated, restful, harmonious memorial parks
captured the practical objectives of the concurrent modern park type. More importantly, Simonds may have introduced the term "memorial park" a decade before its popular usage to describe a successive cemetery type (Simonds 1906, p. 883).2

Simonds' recommendations were more than reflections of contemporary trade philosophy; like Hare, Simonds was farsighted. Simonds urged that cemeteries reflect religious, scientific, and economic trends. Similarly, he foresaw the expansion of cities and the ecological evolution of burial landscapes; he observed that once the purification of bodies was complete and cemeteries were surrounded by houses, the transformation of the sites into city parks would create breathing places for the public. To that end, Simonds promoted quick decomposition, which suggested that similar advice by Weidenmann and the medical profession was not yet a cultural practice (Simonds 1906).

Impact of Industrialization

City boosters, speculators, and cemetery developers increasingly recognized the complementary links between aesthetics and economic gain, and counted on designers to translate operational objectives into physical symbols. In 1873, landscape architect Horace Cleveland had stated that physical planning could boost city income (Lubove 1965). Sid Hare contended (1907) that cities and towns would be more attractive and that residential sites would be more valuable if street trees were planted in naturalistic masses rather than in straight rows. Dunn (1912) soon noted that parkways in Kansas City had made adjacent land attractive for residential lots. Moreover, Hare's advocacy of naturalistic design lines, reciprocal views between city and country landscapes, and varied patches of sun and shade reinforced contemporary landscape aesthetics and modern cemetery imagery (Hare 1901, Hare 1907).

Modern Cemetery to Park Cemetery Type

Even though the nation's city network was set by 1910, the evolving cultural landscapes of cities reflected changes in local politics, economics, and socio-cultural attitudes. Education also reflected these changes. Harvard University established a city planning degree, which in part recognized that increasingly sophisticated urban issues necessitated organized problem solving and increasing specializations within the design professions.

Cemeteries and other cultural landscapes were increasingly shaped by economic objectives. Landscape architect Harold Caparn summed up the relationship between beautiful cemeteries and business practice in 1911, just before the seven years in which he represented the interests of the American Society of Landscape Architects as president and vice president (Parker 1922). Caparn likened cemetery management to that of railroads or grocery stores; cemeteries were a means of acquiring large land parcels cheaply and selling them for $1.50 a square foot. Caparn's models, Spring Grove Cemetery and Alleghany Cemetery in Pittsburg, illustrated how sales and profits could be increased when cemeteries were beautified (Caparn 1911).
Some of Caparn's design concepts reemphasized contemporary concepts of cemetery and landscape design. He favored the creation of vistas within cemetery landscapes and the construction of only one grass path along burial lots instead of the gravel paths on two or four sides which had been favored in previous cemetery types. Caparn also added his support to decades-old advice that sepulchral monuments be designed by architects and that cemetery management have the final approval over monument design. In addition, he outlined the relationships between specific cemetery elements and profits. Even though conspicuous lots along roads were popular, Caparn emphasized that if a minimum of roads were built along the natural topography, the remaining land could all be sold for burial lots.

Caparn noted that he had published some of his ideas in Park and Cemetery at the beginning of the century, but that the ideas bore repeating because they had not been integrated into contemporary practice. If his planting designs were part of his address, then it has probable that they were not widely implemented because his plans and elevations illustrated that his concepts were a throwback to the enclosed wooded character of rural cemeteries. His planting schemes would have resulted in dense vegetative growth rather than the open, turfed, park landscapes which were contemporaneous (see figures 3.5, 3.6).

Caparn's suggestion to background family lots with plants which softened the colors and shapes of monuments carried back as far as Jacob Weidenmann's pivotal work on modern cemeteries (1888). In differentiating by lots instead of by sites, both men encouraged privacy and a sense of place on every lot. By suggesting an increase in the number of plants on individual lots, the designers increased the cost of mowing, which would have proved an unpopular notion in an era when cemetery managers were striving to streamline maintenance. Despite the details of Caparn's planting designs, his promotion of careful maintenance as a means to profitable ends capsuled the transition from horticultural modern cemeteries to streamlined park cemeteries.

Refinement of Park Cemetery Type

The title of landscape architect Howard Weed's book, Modern Park Cemetery (1912), exemplified the subtle transition from modern cemeteries to the modern park type. Since Weed's book was advertised in Park and Cemetery, his opinions probably paralleled those of the A.A.C.S. Although Weed abhorred quick profit schemes, he supported cemeteries which were established and maintained by business principles. Weed supported the large for-profit cemeteries which had become typical of cities and called them far superior to those run by municipal or county governments. The management of city cemeteries probably dropped as the national death rate declined and as the needs of the living became priorities of local budgets.

Much of Weed's discussion demonstrated that cemetery managers had expanded opportunities in order to increase incomes and balance maintenance costs. They continued to mark lot corners and to construct monument bases. Although performing those duties may have prevented the residual damage which outside work crews had once caused, these services continued to guarantee base operating incomes. the relinquishing of responsibilities in family lots accelerated trends toward less involvement in an age when
Figure 3.4  
Scene in Graceland Cemetery  
Chicago IL (Simonds 1906).
Figure 3.5 Caparn's Negative Example of Monument Section Without Background Plantings (Caparn 1911, p. 174).
Figure 3.6 Caparn's Suggestion for Improvement of Monument Section with Background Planting (Caparn 1911, p. 176).
families had more leisure time to spend elsewhere. That freedom ultimately allowed superintendents to manage cemetery landscapes to their own convenience.

Weed's suggestion that lot prices be increased and the difference used for site maintenance indicated the shortcomings of the contemporary perpetual care system. Original perpetual care systems were voluntary contributions which assured site maintenance; families were still responsible for their own lots. As maintenance costs rose and as families moved away, management realized that perpetual care funds hardly covered site maintenance and that neglected lots marred the appearance of sites.

Weed's suggestion to include perpetual care as a percentage of lot sales probably appeared as bonuses to lot owners, but they were also boons to management. Since perpetual care funds increased with lot sales, management could anticipate budgets for holistic site maintenance which would help eliminate the negative impact of formerly neglected lots.

Weed's discussions of cemetery roads may have been his most important contribution since those details formed an important premonition of how automobiles would transform cultural landscapes as completely as railroads had. Weed's road construction details reflected how physical designers would be called upon to modify existing cultural landscapes to accommodate automobiles, and how roads would become important elements in new developments.

Automobiles and Cemetery Design

Roads became increasingly standard topics in contemporary literature which reflected the great impact they had on the design of cultural landscapes in the 20th century. Moreover, since roads led to the development of the American countryside, their standardization ultimately contributed to the regimentation of the American countryside.

Simonds (1906) had addressed the functional aspects of cemetery roadslope, curvilinear alignment, and views, in terms which reinforced the naturalized character of the modern cemetery type. His recommendation that the busiest roads be paved with macadam inferred that automobiles rather than horse-drawn carriages were the anticipated vehicles.

Increased demand augmented by sophistication of technology probably necessitated more detailed construction specifications as roads became increasing networks between many types of cultural landscapes. Weed's (1912) notes on the specific physical, functional, and aesthetic aspects of cemetery roads simplify the visualization of modern park cemeteries. Placing roads in the valleys of sites was intended to facilitate drainage and periodic cleaning. Weed probably recommended curbless roads to keep costs down in that low-density situation. The mechanical capabilities of automobiles probably inspired Weed's recommendations to create slopes of 5-6% for optimum grades. Expected traffic and car widths probably inspired his suggestions of thirty feet for main arteries and 20 feet for secondary drives.

Weed's suggestions that roads be dustless and noiseless probably reflected criteria for any type of contemporary roads, though quiet roads also reinforced the pastoral ideals of cemetery landscapes. Weed's discussion
of paving materials reflected the results of experimentation for all road types. He noted that asphalt surfacing had become popular, but discouraged brick and stone or wood blocks, probably because the individual units had been found to need continual maintenance.

Weed's attention to roads signaled how automobiles would accelerate new lifestyles and cultural landscapes. In addition, his recommendations for standardized slopes and maintainable surface proscribed some of the revolutionary concepts which characterized the memorial parks that emerged during World War I.

Cemetery Renovation

Weed underscored how renovations could change graveyards into modern park types which were less expensive to maintain with photographs of Mount Hope Cemetery, designed by Sid Hare (figure 3.7). Weed described how both functional and economic concerns precipitated the streamlined character of park cemeteries and other 20th-century landscapes when he wrote that "simplicity constitutes the essential feature of the modern park cemetery, for in simplicity lies beauty and economy" (Weed 1912, p. 15). Weed's promotion of grass as the most important element of beautiful cemeteries, mirrored how turf was used for its low maintenance features and to create restful, inviting environments which dispelled the desolate character of traditional graveyards. Moreover, other plants were to be kept to a minimum since they retarded the growth of grass. He summarized that "...a cemetery without green grass in profusion is a desolate place..." (Weed 1912, p. 17). Finally, Weed recommended the use of flush headstones to complete low maintenance improvements:

"No one thing contributes more to economy and improvement in appearance than the setting of headstones in the ground. It costs more to cut the grass around the headstones when projecting above the surface, than it does to cut all the grass upon a lot. We, thus, greatly decrease the cost of annual care by placing them with the top even with the surface of the ground" (Weed 1912, p. 54).

Weed urged cemetery superintendents to enlist landscape architects to help convince lot owners that renovations were in the owners' best interests, he suggested that designers had more work to gain by siding with change than by perpetuating status quo traditions. Weed's advice to superintendents reinforced the growing link between the cemetery trade and landscape architects.

The transition from the modern cemetery type to the park cemetery type was marked by the increasing interest of cemetery management in simplifying maintenance. Existing items which caused maintenance were discarded and new materials, like paving, were integrated to reduce the cost of maintenance. Designers had played a key role in defining the physical changes which reflected emerging managerial concerns.
Weed's Use of Mount Hope Cemetery (Joplin, Missouri environs), designed by Sid J. Hare, as model of lawns in park cemeteries. (Weed 1912).
World War I and Socio-cultural Transition

In the years before World War I, the scientific planning and development of cities was urged by designers, reformers and others (Park and Cemetery 1913, May). Those years were marked with social, political, and economic changes which led to the mechanization of homes, work places, and cultural landscapes. The changes which resulted from mechanization contributed to the fracturing of the family ties which had formed the basis of elaborate funerals and memorials.

If overhead costs had initiated the simplification and minimalization of burial landscapes, a new emphasis on life rather than death further accelerated that trend. Cemeteries had been sited along street car lines to increase accessibility. As automobiles and increasing networks of roads accessed cheap land on the outskirts of towns, cemeteries were created as investments by entrepreneurs, evidenced by articles in Park and Cemetery, (1913, May).

Mass production made automobiles cheaper than homes, and they gradually became tools of leisure and mobility. Not only did automobiles make urban fringes accessible to development and provide destinations for recreational drives, designers like Weed and the cemetery trade anticipated the impact of automobiles on cemetery landscapes and discussed whether to provide parking outside cemeteries or to allow vehicles on the grounds. The long sections and loop roads in period cemetery designs acknowledged the influence that automobiles had on cemetery landscapes before the war (Sonne 1914) (figure 3.8). The management of Spring Grove and other cemeteries acknowledged the inevitable impact of automobiles on the American lifestyle by adopting regulations which controlled access and driving speeds. Authorities even admonished drivers to make concessions to horses who became frightened by their presence ("Automobiles," 1913, July).

Revolutionary changes characterized other managerial aspects of cemeteries. Cemetery speculators suffered from poor public relations due to the perception of the public that suburban cemeteries with perpetual care funds served as tax shelters, rather than service institutions which earned tax-exempt status. Mount Auburn and Union Cemetery in Kansas City were forced into court to defend their tax-exempt status (Park and Cemetery 1913, November).

Image was an ongoing problem since the trade was still defending itself a decade later. Trade voices argued that surgeons, funeral directors, florists, ministers and singers got paid for their services, yet cemeteries were expected to operate at costs. Cemetery managers complained that legislation penalized those who had had the foresight to offer more than municipal cemeteries, and asserted that they should be allowed to realize profits ("Editorials," 1927, December).

Changing social attitudes and burial technology modified burial practice and prompted articles in Park and Cemetery which revealed economic overtones. Like previous authors, Waugh (1914) continued to promote cremation as the cleanest burial practice but acknowledged that it had not gained the popularity of ground burial. Still the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents had the newly formed Cremation Association of
America give seminars on this practice at the 1914 A.A.C.S. convention. This action demonstrated that cemetery tradesmen intended to be ready to capture the market in the event that cremation became a popular alternative ('Cemetery Men,' 1913).

Articles and advertisements in Park and Cemetery reflected continual commercial flux in regard to monumentation. Advertisements recorded rebuttals from the marble industry that the granite industry had captured a portion of the marble industry market for monuments (figure 3.9). The advertisements were ironic demonstrations of cemetery trade business objectives; even though the cemetery trade had discouraged upright monuments for years, their publication accepted fees for any type of advertisements.

Community mausoleums, which Weidenmann (1888) had proposed to consolidate burials and reduce individual expenses, were widely denounced by the cemetery trade in the pre-war era ('Cemetery Men,' 1913). Though maintenance appeared to be their main argument against the structures, their overriding concern may have been that the mausoleums would reduce income from lots sales. The trade's acceptance of innovations like cremation had been documented, but acceptance and promotion was probably linked to innovations that would increase rather than cut cemetery incomes.

The role of cemeteries in community expansion and transportation was included in articles published in the American City, which addressed city planning professionals, who organized circa 1910 in response to the growing complexity of urban landscapes. Sid Hare's article (1915) recommended that park cemeteries be located in districts near population growth because they would be accessible by automobiles until growth turned them into suburbs. Although interior roads were to be organized "just like cities" into primary and secondary circulation, they were to have the character of slower private roads to discourage fast driving. Hare explained that since traffic would be slow, roads could double as pedestrian walkways. Although Hare's intention may have been to use multi-functional elements to reduce the visual impacts of development, the loss of pedestrian circulation which typified automobile landscapes stemmed from designs which prioritized circulation for automobiles over that for pedestrians.

Blaney (1917) promoted the expertise of landscape architects to oversee all types of cultural landscape developments, including cemeteries, and outlined how roads determined their layout and function. He reinforced the idea that cheerful, restful, naturalistic park cemeteries which conveyed a sense of permanence, yet kept the majority of the land saleable, could be realized if landscape architects were employed as soon as parcels were purchased. Most importantly, Blaney described how automobile circulation organized sites and influenced site character. He reiterated that cemeteries should be divided into sections using the same characteristic curvilinear roads which had been used to organize other types of contemporary real estate developments, including residential subdivisions. Even though intersections had to be scaled so that funerals could turn around in them, Blaney specified that narrow twelve to sixteen foot road widths be used to set passive park character, much like multi-lane roads would eventually set highway character.

Roads did more than establish psychological and scenic character; they continued to set social character in cemeteries because they provided the
Figure 3.8  
Loop Roads Create Site Design at North Arlington, NJ, Cemetery (Sonne 1914, p. 231).
The Government searchlight has again been turned in the direction of the quarries. As a result the United States Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, have issued their report. It is called "The Stone Industry of 1911," and it bears the imprint of the Government Printing Office at Washington. Examine its tables and you can verify the figures shown in the illustration.

From 1910 to 1911, while marble monumental work was going ahead $450,232.00, granite monumental work was going back $450,788.00. These figures prove that the marble industry is growing steadily and consistently. Speak of memorials today and you suggest marble.

VERMONT·MARBLE·COMPANY
PROCTOR, VERMONT
BOSTON·NEW YORK·PHILADELPHIA·WASHINGTON
CLEVELAND·CHICAGO·ST. LOUIS·KANSAS CITY
SAN FRANCISCO·PACIFICA

Figure 3.9 Marble Industry Counters
Granite Industry
("Vermont," 1913).
vantage point for monument viewing. Even though Blaney (1917) preferred universal cremation, he acknowledged the continuing resistance of the public to this notion by advocating that larger lots be sited at intersections so that strategically oriented monuments could double as focal points along drives.

Park Cemetery to Memorial Park Type

Implicit and explicit design suggestions forecasted the transition from the park cemetery type with its combination of vertical and horizontal elements to the memorial park cemetery type with its absence of vertical elements. The evaluation of the design of monuments by Park and Cemetery suggested that many sections still had monuments. Popular memorialization practice required that cemeteries be laid out according to prospective monument sizes. Cemetery management was forced to maintain an active role in the aesthetic, functional, and economic issues of monument orientation, erection, and maintenance.

The lot monuments to which the cemetery trade gave the most favorable reviews were greatly reduced in size; they were approximately the size that Victorian era headstones had been and only a portion of the scale of the granite block styles which had characterized the first stages of modern cemetery types. The influence of costs and changing tastes on the reduction in size calls for more study. However, management may have favored the smaller, similarly-sized monuments because uniformly sized lots simplified surveying and yielded large numbers of saleable lots per acre. Furthermore, small lots allowed tighter lotting and increased the potential returns on investments ("Best cemetery," 1917) (Figure 3.10).

Though a random review of articles in Park and Cemetery on monument design did not include the horizontal tablets which authors since Weidemann (1888) had intermittently promoted, Blaney (1917) and Hare (1915) recommended that entire sections be specified for flush memorials of stone or bronze in the World War I era. Their recommendations were clearly reminiscent of Weidemann's (1888) recommendation for separate single interment sections, marked only by flush monuments to facilitate the maintenance of turf (Figure 3.11).

Weidemann's concept had forecasted the memorial park type set at Forest Lawn outside of Los Angeles in 1917 (Harmer 1963). Developer Hubert Eaton transformed an existing fifty acre cemetery into two hundred and twenty acres which emphasized services to the living rather than the dead. The increased scale, investment, and projected capacity of the development demonstrated Eaton's objectives. Views from the high point of the site, were framed for miles around. Site features accommodated Easter services for 10,000 to 15,000 people. From its formal gateway and its reproductions of world famous statuary, to its large ornamental pond, and mausoleum/columbarium which cost $2,000,000, everything about the site created scenes which delighted the living while accommodating the dead (Figure 3.12).

The sweeping walks, drives, and rolling landscaped lawns which comprised Forest Lawn were comparable to those of the modern park type. However, those elements in combination with flush sepulchral markers and management philosophies revolutionized the physical, economic, and social standards of post-World War II American cemetery design.
Forest Lawn modeled the physical character of the memorial park type and it modeled contemporary socio-cultural attitudes because management allowed segregation within the burial landscape. Editorials demonstrated that the management of Forest Lawn condoned segregation in the same decade that J. C. Nichols condoned it in his residential development of Country Club District in Kansas City:

"One of the most difficult problems that a cemetery has to meet is that of excluding certain classes of people which the better cemeteries would not care to have patronizing their grounds" ("Excluding Undesirables" 1917).

Although legislation prohibited discrimination by cemeteries that had been organized as public service corporations, or where lots had already been sold to minorities, loopholes led to implicit segregation as evidenced in articles in Park and Cemetery. Authors discussed whether legislation would require the managers of cemeteries which had been established for Caucasians to sell burial lots to minority races, specified as Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and Negroes. Where local and state laws already prohibited exclusion, editorials noted that explicit goals could be accomplished by quoting exhorbitant prices to minorities ("Color Line," 1917).

By the end of the decade, some states had legislation which reinforced the right of all citizens to buy burial spaces in either municipal and private cemeteries. But in other states, private cemeteries practiced the autonomy which characterized other free enterprises; minorities could be disinterred if their presence was discovered. Authors contended that just as families had the right to exclude non-members from their lots, those related by denomination, fraternity, or race had the right to exclude those outside their social families (Street 1929).

Segregation remained part of burial practice as late as 1927 when the California District Court of Appeals upheld Forest Lawn Memorial Park's right to cancel a lot sale when management discovered the customer was Negro ("Editorial," 1927). Exclusion within burial practice had been reinforced (Street, 1927).

Boom 1920's Transform Landscape

The process of city planning which was initiated by the City Beautiful Movement in the early 1890's, accelerated after World War I. Post war prosperity and the mass production of automobiles facilitated the continued suburbanization of the United States and inspired the construction of a national interstate highway system. Inexpensive automobiles provided mobility and federal loans underwrote the settlement of neighborhoods between existing street car lines. Over the next decade, the American countryside was transformed from pedestrian scale to automobile scale by the development of ribbon highways between towns. Many towns removed street car lines and street trees so that rights-of-way could be widened to accommodate increased automobile traffic (These patterns were synthesized by Richard W. Longstreth, architectural historian, in classroom lectures at Kansas State University in Manhattan, in 1983 and 1984).
Monument Designs Recommended By Cemetery Trade ("Best," 1917).
Figure 3.11

Weidenmann's Recommendations for Sections of Single Lots Foreshadowed Open Character of Memorial Park Landscapes (Weidenmann 1888, p. 44).
Figure 3.12  

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Since parcels on town fringes were cheap and not restricted by city ordinances, rural outskirts became prime sites for new business types, such as motels, gas stations, and drive-in restaurants. These businesses catered to the new automobile traffic. Ribbon commercial strips also attracted traditional enterprises like cemeteries (Ibid).

Nationalism and the increased involvement of the federal government in planning during World War I accelerated popular culture's tolerance of the simplification and socialization of landscape elements (Dethlefsen 1981). Landscapes for the living became increasingly detailed by functional elements like traffic signals, street lights and overhead utilities, but speculative cemeteries were continually streamlined to reduce overhead and to reflect contemporary landscape aesthetics.

Refinement of Memorial Park Type

Cemetery management matured along with other forms of business management. The membership of the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents (A.A.C.S.) nearly doubled from 192 to 360 in the thirty years since its organization in 1887 (Haight 1923). Sixty percent of the membership represented six states, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan; this may have reflected that those states had the largest concentrations of cemeteries and that the business people from these rapidly growing states believed in networking through professional organizations.

The objectives of the A.A.C.S. when it organized had been to manage the subordination of cemetery art to nature. Spokespeople for the association noted that although the public had initially resisted the impersonal monuments which stemmed from the original A.A.C.S. regulations, the contemporary public had accepted management's explicit objectives to unify cemetery landscapes and to stimulate additional contemporary monument design.

The preparation of the Cemetery Hand Book, published by the A.A.C.S. in 1921, probably provided landscape architects, horticulturalists, and the other professional authors with work during World War I. The handbook was a milestone in cemetery literature. It provided a forum for professional designers to reveal their skills and served as an encyclopedia of design and management for the cemetery trade during post war prosperity ("Cemetery Hand Book advertisement," 1921). Moreover, it revealed how design guidelines laced with business strategy helped cemetery superintendents orchestrate the transition from park cemeteries to memorial parks.

Landscape architect Myron West's article on cemeteries and city plans alluded to issues like the mutual benefits of meshing burial landscapes with community expansion; "...whatever makes for the success of the community also makes for the success of the individual enterprise" (West 1921, p. 99). His advice that cemeteries be sited in the path of residential growth at least five miles from built up districts acknowledged existing zones and anticipated how corridors which would connect work zones and living zones would insure accessibility to burial landscapes without interfering with city expansion. West's recommendation to avoid existing and potential transportation corridors, land needed for business and industry, and watersheds, alluded to the relatively low priority of
cemeteries in contrast to emerging suburban land uses.

West blended an urban conscience with business sense when he contended that cities should match the number of cemeteries to their needs since surplus cemeteries not only handicapped the profitability of old ones, they needlessly withdrew land from productivity. He specifically asserted that cemeteries in the suburbs, whether publically or privately owned, represented potentials for substantial profits as long as extramural sites were inexpensive and city ordinances did not limit such investment (West 1921). Moreover, West's advice to site cemeteries on oblong parcels between main thoroughfares underlined the linear character of suburban sprawl.

Automobile circulation had a distinct impact on site design as well as on city design. Circulation created entry sequences from public roads to the semi-private and private zones of sites, defined the width of buffer zones along cemetery boundaries, and defined the size and sequence of sections. Park and Cemetery included advertisements for paving materials which combined quiet colors, durable surfaces, dustless qualities, and low costs in an era when good roads became desirable on a national scale ("Tarvia," 1913) (figure 3.13). By Hare and Hare's 1921 estimate, the layout of roads, paths, parking, and plantings was expected to consume three-sevenths or nearly thirty-five acres of each eighty acre site; the remaining area was tightly gridded into sections in hopes that profits from lot sales would balance the area consumed by circulation (Hare 1921).

Memorial parks had few of the landscape amenities like trees, benches and monuments which had once inspired leisurely visits to graves. Efficient loop roads expedited cemetery visits. Automobile travel had revolutionized the level of detail which was perceptable in the landscape. Landscape architect O. C. Simonds (1921) addressed how automobiles effected cemetery design; he advised larger lawns and masses of trees and shrubs since small detailed planting were imperceptable from cars. Views of the grounds and of the major architectural elements used as vistas and focal points along drives were tailored to automobiles rather than pedestrians. Cemetery design became a low priority to those who spent their leisure time elsewhere, and to those responsible for maintenance.

Since landscape designs had to be perceptable from cars, the character of memorial park sites became linked to the location, scale and style of architectural elements, rather than to the design of individual lots. Architectural features like entries, offices, receiving vaults and chapels had distinct roles in cemetery imagery and represented an increasing portion of development costs, especially after Forest Lawn Memorial Park proved a success.

Elaborate architectural features exemplified the grandeur of sites and promised burial status. Architectural styles were chosen to appeal to potential customers; in memorial parks as in other transition cemetery types, selection of avant-garde architectural styles helped project progressive images. Hare & Hare in the Cemetery Handbook (1921) recommended the clustering of offices, receiving vaults and superintendent's residences at entries to create all important first impressions. Depending on the individual images required, chapels were to be in proximity to entry features or in central locations within sites to increase privacy (Hare & Hare [1921]). Architectural massing and styles
reflected changing ideals, budgets, and tastes, just as commercial and residential buildings had in other cultural landscapes (Dethlefsen 1981).

Advertisements in Park and Cemetery revealed the entwined ornamental and functional qualities of specific entry features. Photographs of the ornate iron gates which had been erected at specific cemeteries were used as covers. Advertisements for chain link fences in the same journal stressed the functional qualities of that material since these enclosures would be screened from the cemetery proper with plantings. Balancing ornamental gates with functional boundary fences freed investment dollars for amenities like pavement and other conspicuous architectural features which had an instant appeal to potential clientele ("Cyclone Fence," 1922) (Figure 3.14).

Simplified site designs may have been initiated by transitions from horse and buggy scale to automobiles. The resulting open landscape character lowered overhead at a time when superintendents had either resisted or were unable to meet the typical maintenance costs of eighteen cents per square foot (Hare & Hare [1921]). As competition between cemeteries increased, good maintenance became an essential key to attracting customers and was anticipated as a perennial concern (Haight 1923).

Perpetual Care Funds

The practice of setting aside a percentage of lot sales for site maintenance had been proposed as early as 1895, and had evolved into widely implemented perpetual care funds by 1910 (Western 1921). Under such plans, lot owners contributed to the costs of overall site maintenance, but they still maintained their own lots. As families decreased in size and as members moved away, perpetual care programs had to be restructured so that maintenance of lots was included, otherwise the image of whole cemeteries was marred by miscellaneous neglected family lots (Grassau 1921).

The widespread abuse of perpetual care funds proved to be an embarrassment to the cemetery trade by the post-war years (Grassau 1921). The 10-20% from lot sales which had been set aside to cover maintenance did not meet inflationary expenses. Moreover, principles only increased enough to cover routine costs if cemeteries could afford to let the 3-4% interest compound for forty to fifty years (Western 1921). Many speculators were caught diverting the funds to private profit instead of maintenance. Western further noted how equivalent fraud in other businesses would have been prosecuted.

In the decades preceding the Depression, the scientific outlooks surrounding death that were initiated during 19th-century urbanization superseded the religious explanations which had typified 18th-century philosophy. Shifts in attitudes and practices mitigated attitudes toward death and facilitated the decline of cemetery landscapes as cultural institutions (Hamscher 1983).

During the 1920's, an unpleasant death became a digression from the view of happiness as the American way of life. Traditional family responsibilities like education, and work were usurped from homes to specialized locations and so was death. The undertaking trade coupled with 20th-century medical technology and hospitals removed the dead and dying from the public eye.
A Completely
Tarviated
Cemetery

The above map shows the
roads in Graceland Ceme-
tery, Chicago, which have
been built or treated with Tar-
via X and Tarvia A. Only
about one-half mile of roadway in
the whole four miles of road now
remains untreated, and it is the inten-
tion of the cemetery authorities to com-
plete this last half mile with Tarvia next
year. This marks the completion of a
policy that began in 1906, when the first
experiments were made with 1,453 gallons of Tarvia on the cemetery roads.

The 1906 results were such that about 8,000 gallons of Tarvia were used in 1907. Then the
policy was adopted of pushing the extension of the Tarvia work until every road had been treated.
It has been a consistent and successful policy. The amount of Tarvia used during 1912 was nearly
25,000 gallons and the total amount used during the 7 years has been 130,000 gallons.

Geo. L. Tilton, the Superintendent, a leading authority on cemetery problems, has reported
the Tarvia work to be satisfactory year after year.

The reasons for adopting Tarvia were its cheapness, results considered, its ability to with-
stand the usage of heavy monuments, its waterproof surface, which resulted in instant drainage, leaving the
roads in a fit condition for pedestrians immediately after a rain; its quietness, its fine, smooth, well-kept
appearance and most of all its low maintenance cost as compared with plain macadam.

Tarvia is a special preparation of coal tar for road use. It forms a tough plastic matrix between the
broken stones and prevents erosion by water and traffic.

Successful also for parks, boulevards, suburban streets and country thoroughfares. Booklets on request.

Barrett Manufacturing Company
New York: Cincinnati Philadelphia: Pittsburgh
Chicago: Kansas City: St. Louis: Cleveland: Pittsburgh
Minneapolis: Seattle: Toronto: Auck.

Figure 3.13

Advertisement Recommending
Coal Tar-based Pavements in Cemeteries
("Tarvia," 1913).
Your Cemetery—
on Memorial Day

Picture your cemetery as you would have it viewed on Memorial Day. Picture its well-kept winding drives; its beautiful lawns; its stately trees; its impressive dignity; its atmosphere of privacy; its profound sanctity—all made more pronounced through enclosing it with Cyclone Fence. No more appropriate time could be chosen to plan this great improvement. Start now, have the work completed before Memorial Day. Cyclone Fence will stand as a lasting memorial to America’s war veterans who sleep within its confines. A watchful sentinel—ever on guard to command reverence for the sacred grounds it encloses; to preserve peace and quiet, and to protect property against thoughtless or malicious individuals. We erect fences complete, or if desired, expert construction superintendent will be furnished at nominal charge to erect fencing anywhere. Cyclone Fence is built in either wire or iron in a variety of handsome patterns. Our beautifully illustrated Cemetery Fence Bulletin, No. 27 will be mailed gladly on request. Send for it today, while there is still time to install Cyclone Fence before Memorial Day.

CYCLONE FENCE COMPANY. General Offices: Waukegan, Ill.

Eastern Division—Distributor Offices
Middle Western Division
Southern Division

Figure 3.14

Advertisement Recommending Chain-Link Fencing for Cemetery Enclosures
("Cyclone Fence," 1922).
As medical technology led to great reductions in the national death rate, death was perceived as a failure of medical science and its mysteries were cloaked behind closed doors (Hamscher 1983).

During this time, high mortality rates had shifted from infant populations to an increasingly elderly population. Children, in particular, were shielded from the moment, meaning, and memory of death. The young became physically and emotionally isolated from the elderly who died away from their homes (Hamscher 1983). The previous era's reduced interdependence amongst extended families was repeated during this time at the neighborhood scale. Detached houses, increased leisure time, and physical mobility isolated neighbors from one another.

Social differences were reinforced by physical separation between landscapes for the living and the dead. Lamley recommended in 1930 that cemeteries be separated from settlement by fifteen or twenty miles. This figure more than quadrupled the recommendation of five males which Hare & Hare (1921) had made a decade earlier. Although automobiles still facilitated access to cemeteries, authors reiterated that the long axis of rectilinear sites be oriented toward centers of population so that cemetery locations did not disrupt evolving street patterns.

Cemeteries as Real Estate Speculation

Cemetery siting became ever more sophisticated and linked to investment potential. As the bottom fell out of residential subdivision markets, both developers and designers sought alternate incomes. As farmers sought other incomes due to the Depression economy, many sold their land on the outskirts of towns to cemetery speculators. Cemetery developers also benefited from the same tax-exempt status that farmers had been allowed (Burton 1929).

City expansion was often hampered by existing cemeteries. Although cemeteries had formerly led the development of residential districts, many locales eventually restricted cemeteries to commercial and industrial districts. That policy at least curbed the use of agricultural lands for permanent burial (Wyrick 1932).

By the mid 1920's, memorial park designs represented popular ideals; beauty, art, and progress were in demand after war-time deprivations and could be made to yield returns (Bassett 1931). Despite legislation, cemetery promoters used local cemetery associations as adjuncts to selling burial lots for profit ("How Cemetery Promotions," 1929). Outside promoters sought well respected local businesspersons to form the nuclei of the investment associations which underwrote the purchase of cheap land, and carried the expenses of development (Burton, 1929). Promoters stressed that perpetually endowed memorial parks were as large an improvement over neglected graveyards as chain stores were to grocery stores (Wyrick 1932). The management of perpetual care funds had propelled cemetery management into the business arena in the 1910's. The boom climate of the 1920's accelerated cemetery speculations at a time when declining death rates had reduced demand (Burton 1929).
Cemetery Designers Aid Speculators

Promoters relied on design professionals such as landscape architects for site selection, design, and execution of memorial park concepts. Although authors in cemetery and landscape architectural journals noted that cemeteries had been commercialized, they stressed that the cost of landscape architectural designs paid off because efficient layout of roads and other essential elements left high proportions of land which could be sold as lots.

The imagery created by designers reflected both historic precedents and contemporary philosophies, objectives, and tastes. A contemporary landscape architect seemingly repeated 19th-century romantic attitudes at an annual convention of the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents when he stated that:

"A modern cemetery should provide seclusion, an atmosphere of dignity in striking contrast to the modern idea of living" (Taylor 1928, p. 101).

Other discussions demonstrated that cemetery designers who were influenced by Christian ideals designed sites which reflected life rather than death:

"Since life everlasting follows death, the modern cemetery contains few signs and symbols of death, but depicts death in surroundings of beauty that are symbolic of the calm and peace of life hereafter. Everything has to be done to make us forget death itself. All details have been carefully worked out, and symbols have been chosen which bespeak life and hope. The atmosphere of the memorial park presents in every respect, the enchanting beauty of a public park as well as the serene peace and quiet of after-life, rather than the grief and sadness of those bereaved" (Bassett 1931, p. 26).

Bassett contended that ideal cemeteries were to be as beautiful as one's imagination of the Garden of Eden, with plants as symbols of eternal life, and open areas of velvety green lawns as background for "sunlight, moonlight, shadows, clouds, and water surfaces which reflect foliage" (Bassett 1931, p. 36).

Furthermore, Bassett's words revealed the visual essence of memorial parks for he specified that cemeteries be quiet and secluded, and in their midst "would be placed the lots and graves, more or less obscure, but plainly designated by markers and bronze tablets placed even with the ground" (Bassett 1931, p. 36). Such discussions demonstrated how designers interpreted contemporary philosophy and used physical elements as the vocabulary to transform philosophy into language.

Just how cemetery designers and speculators became associated requires further research. Landscape architectural design of cemeteries had already been recognized as a critical link to appeal and overhead. Since many of the elements of modern park cemeteries and memorial parks were of naturalistic character, they required little maintenance and probably helped keep the costs of maintenance low and profits high. Since physical
Designers needed clients to stay in business, they probably marketed their services to viable markets. During the economic boom of the 1920's, cemetery speculators were clearly available clients.

Landscape architectural design became an evermore sophisticated key to project marketability. Promoters hired designers to lay out cemeteries and to draft lot plans. Site plans became invaluable tools to speculators since sales usually preceded development and the base maps became critical keys to sales. Moreover, the lot maps were the basis for calculating paper fortunes ("Cemetery Promotions Exposed" 1919).

Designers probably created many of the flamboyant prospectuses which were used to promote speculative cemeteries. Physical elements were chosen for the psychological overtones which would win investors. Park and Cemetery illustrated cemetery promotions by using Valhalla Memorial Park near Los Angeles. That prospectus illustrated how the scale, style, and materials of architectural elements and landscape plantings had been used to project grand and permanent settings in that memorial park:

"The prospectus shows a main entrance with massive stone work on each side of a beautiful drive and between the massive pillars, huge iron gates, and boulevard leading by a massive chapel, the latter remarkably artistic.

The impressive beautiful structure is in a delightful setting with huge trees towering above. Then, too, there is shown a legion tower which the prospectus says is "with massive dignity and beauty" ("Cemetery Promotion," 1929, July, p. 140).

That the paper image was the only reality was revealed as the article continued,

"But this remarkable structure (legion tower) is not yet constructed but when it will be Brier Hill stone is to be used" [sic] (Ibid).

Despite written objectives, speculative cemeteries were often developed with designers words and pictures rather than with bulldozers and spades, as attested by another expose in Park and Cemetery:

"The new 'park' cemetery invariably begins with a large and pretentious, and (supposedly) expensive entrance, but inside there is seldom more than a shed or old house to serve as office and machine storage. Sometimes there is a small lake with a few lonesome swans, and sometimes there are a few monuments that have been located and paid for by the promoters. Sign boards stand on the locations of marvelous future buildings, like chapel or receiving vault, office or mausoleum. Perhaps these may be built in the future. It is the old real estate ballyhoo, where in the subdivision the site of next century's Library and Public Assembly, Cathedral and Art Museum, are kindly indicated by billboards" (Wyrick 1932).
Speculative cemeteries were thus as grand as the images of quick returns could make them, and as successful as the sales promotions which stemmed from the paper plans. Promoters relied on high power salesmen to sell burial lots as demonstrated by an advertisement in Park and Cemetery, (figure 3.15). Sales appeals were adjusted according to local markets. Perpetual care was affective when used in communities where the promoters' agents could contrast local neglected graveyards to the proposed modern cemeteries.

In particular, the salesmen counseled pre-need sales as good investments to groups like churches, labor and fraternal associations. These groups were willing to invest in multiple lots on the assumption that the secondary sales to members would generate operating capital for the organization (Burton 1929).

Lot ownership had a special appeal as the Depression approached; sales strategists stressed that even in trying times, one could contemplate resting assured in one's own grave ("Cemetery Promotions," 1929). Pre-need sales were often based on emotional appeals, "...every thoughtful head-of-a-family ought to have three things - a will, life insurance, and a cemetery lot..." (Wyrick 1932, p. 8).

One cemetery architect chastized such promotions and sales by comparing them to scandals in other industries;

"The game, when reduced to first principles, is the same as in oil or mines or subdivisions - to make a quick clean-up, fully absorb the market, leave the stockholders or the lot owners to face the future responsibilities and move on unencumbered to fresh fields" (Wyrick, 1930, p. 6).

Promoters typically reaped sixty percent of the profits from sales and moved on to new locations, leaving local associations of investors to face the responsibilities that greed had bought them. Lot owners would have had good reason to fear for their investments had they known how quickly cemetery operations changed hands. Cemetery associations most often cloaked rapid turnover by promoting new sites as community assets ("Cemetery Promotions," 1929; Wyrick 1930).

Legitimate cemetery operations redefined their business objectives in response to competition and to increased land use pressures. Increasing expenses necessitated that site designs whether original or existing, left the majority of cemetery acreage saleable. Representatives from the office of O. C. Simonds cited how designs should leave 70-77% of eighty acre sites free for sales, in contrast to the 60% figure which had been cited by Hare & Hare [1921] at the beginning of the decade (Menhinick 1932).

The replatting of existing cemeteries into smaller lots became a typical method of increasing cemetery income and of generating the minimum income to insure attractive maintenance. Many of the individual plots in large family lots in the older portions of cemeteries had never been used. The large plots stemmed back to the 19th-century practice of selling large lots to accommodate grand monuments whether families required all plots for burial or not (Wyrick 1932). The natural decreases in family size noted by landscape architect Jacob Weidenmann (1888), and increased mobility in the
the automobile era resulted in many unused plots within family lots. Since many of these lots were consigned before perpetual care funds were established to cover maintenance expenses, cemetery superintendents were faced with neglected lots which generated no income to cover maintenance.

Cemetery management wanted to resell abandoned plots on a perpetual care basis to put the plots on a self-pay basis. When the cemetery trade proposed resale options as legislation, the general public resisted the notion, just as they had resisted lawn cemetery concepts and the outlawing of individual headstones. The worst publicity stemmed from instances where cemetery managers had resold monuments from unattended lots in order to generate funds for lot care (Wyrick 1930).

The cemetery trades' strategy to get support rather than ridicule for replat legislation was described in Park and Cemetery. Superintendents were encouraged to prepare colored maps of cemeteries in their respective locales to show legislators at a glance how resale would improve the appearance of cemeteries in their own communities (Wyrick 1930). The cemetery trades' latent attitude was that public emotions stymied efficiency; not only would the resale of lots on a perpetual care basis improve overall cemetery appearances, lot resales would increase overall income.

Cemetery Trade Disagrees Over Types

The variety of rural cemeteries and the unity of lawn cemeteries was lost in the uniformity of memorial parks. During the Depression, two distinct factions emerged within the cemetery trade, those who retained the ideals of the park cemetery type and those who promoted memorial park landscapes. In this section, park cemeteries will be referred to as monument parks because the vertical monuments which were integral parts of these landscapes were key factors in the emerging controversy within the cemetery trade.

Planting design was a fundamental key to cemetery type and ambience. Tupper (1930) felt that large open lawns and views were suitable to the active atmosphere of parks but did not create the secluded, passive mood which he envisioned as appropriate to cemeteries. His opinions represented those of monument park factions. The boundary plantings incorporated into memorial parks to screen unpleasant vistas did, however, create passive inward orientations which increased visitors' sense of privacy and seclusion. Since entry zones were free of monuments and tombs, open naturalistic plantings were organic transitions to burial sections (Leland 1930).

Plant selection was an additional key to the contrasting ambiances of monument parks and memorial parks. Plants for memorial parks were chosen as cheerful contrasts to the evergreen plantings in old cemeteries which were said to reflect, "...dormant or gloomy nature sympathetically brooding over the mystery of death..." (Jenney 1931, p. 30).

During the 1920's, differences about the proper proportions of memorials to plants stirred up considerable controversy within the cemetery trade. The layout of 19th-century cemeteries and lots, and the size and style of monuments had been valuable clues to cultural trends and tastes.
To Men Interested in Making $15,000 Per Year

September 15, 1928.

The writer has just taken over the sole of lots in a new cemetery, which he considers offers the greatest opportunity for volume in sales and earnings that exists today. The property is located in a middle western city of more than a million population. Not only does a great need exist for modern, park plan, perpetual care cemetery here, but in addition no intensive sales campaign has ever been attempted, in this city.

Those men who will be associated with the writer in creating sales will find here a combination of all of the best features that make for success in this type of work. Scarcity of existing cemetery space and high prices in other cemeteries eliminate present competition. Zoning restrictions enacted since the property was purchased prevent future competition, and make this virtually the last cemetery that can logically be established in this city. A local board of directors of the highest financial and moral standing has already gained public confidence in the project. Improvements have been under way for some time on a scale which does not exist in any other cemetery within the writer's knowledge. Restricted investment selling of lots will be permitted, under a plan that will be equitable to both the lot purchaser and the company, and will materially increase the results of each man.

Those men who have been associated with the writer in the past know they can count upon a square deal, real cooperation and a highly salable proposition that is kept so. They also know that on other projects, he has estimated for the men associated with him their individual possible earnings on those projects, and that in every instance the earnings have exceeded the estimates.

There are openings here for ten to twelve good men, as senior salesmen and junior managers, who will devote their time exclusively to closing business originated by others. These men will earn in the neighborhood of $15,000.00 per year, and there is at least five year's work here.

While the writer will be particularly glad to renew former associations in this present work, he would also be pleased to make new ones. Sales operations have just started, and initial results have more than justified the original opinion of the opportunity here.

If you are interested, please write immediately, in care of Park and Cemetery, Box 44.

Yours very truly,

MAURICE B. SIMS

Figure 3.15

Advertisement for Cemetery Lot Salesmen ("To Men," 1928).
Pro-monument factions reiterated how the diverse scale, variety, detail, and materials of Victorian monuments provided relief against ground planes, and also satisfied personal memories. Likewise, the granite block monuments which had characterized modern park cemeteries were varied enough to provide subtle clues to architectural style, technology, and materials.

Hare & Hare's discussions had exemplified how planting design and monumentation were interwoven design elements. Sid Hare (1901) had favored fewer individual headstones as early as the modern cemetery era. A deeper controversy emerged within the cemetery trade during the 1920's; the overriding difference was whether the vertical monuments which typified modern park cemeteries or the flush horizontal plaques which typified memorial parks were to be perpetuated, and with what proportions of plant materials.

Hare & Hare (1932) maintained their pre-monument stance up through the Depression, at which time most of their cemetery commissions were completed. The firm supported quality in monument design but their primary interest was in creating background plantings which set off monuments visually. That concept stemmed decades back to the horticultural character of rural cemeteries; vegetation had defined sections and lots into zones which were screened from each other for privacy. Hare & Hare's support of monuments and gardensque plantings classified their views with status quo monument park tradesmen rather than with avant-garde memorial parksmen.

Shelton (1838) had advocated that plants instead of upright monuments be used as memorials, but the concept had not caught on by the 1920's. By the end of the decade, memorial park factions carried on Shelton's appeal. They characterized traditional cemeteries as stoneyards which contrasted in character to the plantings and flush memorials used in memorial parks. Advocates further argued that plantings diverted minds from the symbolic horror of cold, dark death, to the brightness and joy of eternal life. Monument promoters countered that open character and lack of personalized memorialization resulted in so little differentiation that many sites were said to resemble golf courses or glorified pastures (Leland 1930).

For years, monument park factions promoted monuments and thereby represented the preferences of the public for vertical monuments. Traditionalists claimed that their advocacy of monuments represented that they were in touch with the human need to memorialize and mourn and that memorial park managers were only preoccupied with sound business principles.

Even though memorial park factions lobbied against mausoleums on the grounds that the structures increased maintenance and reduced lot sales, they often incorporated a dominant architectural feature somewhere on the site which served as a common monument. Entries, chapels, grand mausoleums, and bell towers set the image of cemeteries and served as landmarks for lot owners. Cemetery superintendent Leland encouraged his colleagues to "induce wealthy patrons to rear cemetery structures of various kinds such as a memorial bequest-chime towers and kindred features (1930, p. 242).

Bassett (1931) clarified how economics had undermined individual monuments and reinforced trends toward consolidated monuments;
"It was perhaps partly due to the effort to overcome (the) constantly increasing cost of maintenance and partly because of the changing trend in thought among cemetery developers that there came the conviction that trees, shrubs, flowers, lawns, and open spaces, properly arranged, made the beauty of a cemetery, and that tombstones and other stonework marred rather than enhanced (that) beauty" (Bassett 1931, p. 27).

The gradual reduction of vertical elements like lot enclosures, trees, and monuments resulted in decreased individual memorialization. Minimal memorials and their proximity to one another exemplified consistent declines in family size; small lots with joint markers for married couples typified how couples were separated from their children on burial landscapes, just like mobility and increased life expectancy had separated them in life. Social voids had created voids with little sense of place in cemetery landscapes. Not only were landscape variety and uniqueness of place greatly muted; memorial parks supplied fewer clues to cultural practice than in most previous cemetery types (Kephalt 1950).

The differences between monument and memorial park factions resulted in two separate cemetery trade organizations by 1929 (Akey 1984, p. 146). A former owner of a cemetery (Rosehill Burial Park designer by Hare & Hare in 1930) explained that the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents continued to support the use of vertical monuments while the National Cemetery Association represented the objectives of memorial park tradesmen (statement by Larry Fisher, Jr., to the writer, on the telephone, October 8, 1983, Martinsville, VA.).

Influence of Economics on Memorial Parks

Park factions based their arguments on sentiment and aesthetics, in contrast to the economic and functional priorities which typified memorial park objectives. Monument park superintendents accused memorial park promoters of gluttoning the cemetery market by repeating the popular practice of marketing and selling for profit (Leland 1930; Tupper 1930). Managers of traditional monument cemeteries were finally forced to be more competitive because memorial parks captured an increasing share of the cemetery market. Although modern park superintendents contrasted their relatively humanistic objectives to the business orientation of memorial park managers, the modern park factions also recognized that those economic objectives could eclipse their own (Leland, 1930; Tupper, 1930; Wyrick, 1932).

The economic priorities which pro-monument factions gradually integrated into competitive strategies resulted in changed cemetery landscapes. Although modern park supporters cajoled their colleagues to update landscapes by simplifying them and by improving maintenance in order to compete with perpetual care cemeteries, they still advocated vertical elements as the keys to sense of place. Monument advocates recruited contemporary economic allies; monument salesmen and craftsmen had resisted the transition to inconspicuous flush markers because of the income they stood to lose. Modern park supporters called for more cooperative design between memorial craftsmen and cemetery authorities and encouraged markers which were more personalized than the simplistic blocks which had
characterized modern cemeteries in the first two decades of the 20th century ("Cemeteries Ancient," 1929). Pro-monument factions encouraged cutters and dealers to expand their market by branching into private mausoleums, memorials for cremation, and the public sepulchral monuments advocated in memorial park concepts. Moreover, Wyrick (1930) suggested that superintendents work with monument dealers to convince lot owners to replace headstone and footstone arrangements with one contemporary family monument.

This proposed alliance acknowledged the symbiotic relationship between park cemeteries and monument tradesmen and emphasized that memorial parks had spurred traditionalists into positive creative competition. Updating cemetery landscapes through the updating of their elements had further potentially mutual advantages; it renovated waning landscape images while preserving another professions' market.

Whether much replacement took place requires further study. If many monuments were replaced, existing cemetery landscapes would have lost 19th-century details which had survived Straugh's proposed renovations three-quarters of a century before. Even though the conservative faction of one era may have initiated the removal of a whole period of sepulchral art, modern park cemeteries still had more vertical relief and individual sense of place than successive memorial parks.

In 19th-century cemetery types, the vertical artifacts which shaped landscape character reflected expenditures. As these vertical elements were omitted or removed from 20th-century cemetery types, the money spent on burial no longer created sense of place. The burial dollar was spent on underground features, which had been advised by cemetery managers, such as vaults to hold coffins. The resulting cemetery landscapes were plains which lacked variety. The changes had been orchestrated for commercial rather than humanitarian reasons, by the cemetery trade and the designers with whom they had collaborated. The transformation of 19th- and 20th-century American cemetery landscapes is illustrated in figure 3.16.

**Cemetery Trade Completes Shift From Service to Business**

The exact working relationship among cemetery promoters, cemetery superintendents, and cemetery designers, and its impact on the evolution of the memorial park type needs further study. Clues in the literature point to all factions catering to business objectives. Moreover, as soon as designers and city planners became involved in site selection, they played a distinct role in private investment strategy.

Landscape architect Myron West's article in the second edition of the Cemetery Hand Book (1932) demonstrated that some designers gave instructions which facilitated the separation between public and private objectives. These instructions suppressed the functional issues and prioritized the financial issues faced by cemetery developers;

"The sales promoter pays little attention to the death rate, curve of future population, or other matters of this kind which so often engage the time of the landscape architect in making cemetery analyses for city governments. He is interested in making sales
solely in anticipation of need and in sufficient volume to pay for his land, the initial improvements covering say twenty to thirty acres, his sales cost, to set aside a nucleus to the perpetual maintenance fund and in addition to this a net profit up to this point sufficiently large to establish a reasonable book value for the cemetery stock" (West 1932, p. 21).

Moreover, West acknowledged and condoned the short term commitments of speculators;

"(The sales promoter) must realize that the first campaign of sales will, to a reasonable extent, sell out the town from a standpoint of anticipated needs and thereafter for a period of several years the cemetery in question will be kept going solely from immediate need sales. Campaigns can be repeated at intervals of several years depending on the city's growth and the initial campaign may be maintained for a period compatible with the city's size. The estimated profits, however, that are put forth to prospective investors, should be based upon the initial campaign rather than the entire life of the cemetery" (West 1932, p. 21).

Promoters may not have singled out any particularly gullible cross-sections of investors, but authors in the second edition of the Cemetery Hand Book had advised the cemetery trade on site selection and how to target clientele. ("Cemetery Promotions," 1929, April). Even though social groups had been buried in separate sections in 19th-century cemeteries, the segregation of social groups into separate cemeteries had become typical practice by the park cemetery era, as noted earlier in the chapter. The memorial park type which evolved by the Depression was a product of investment capital and design advice and perpetuated social segregation within the burial landscape.

The second edition of the Cemetery Hand Book further outlined how to identify locations for cemetery developments. Landscape architects Hare & Hare maintained that death rates, per capita wealth, growth of population and proximity to other potential markets were important factors in site selection. The Hares advised analysis of only the death rates of the upper classes, since the high death rates among lower classes and foreign populations mainly contributed to pauper graves, cheap single graves, or segregated cemeteries, which were not included in projected cemeteries (Hare & Hare 1932).

West (1932) also offered advice on targeting clientele. His suggestions revealed specific contemporary values and how they influenced cemetery businesses;

"In picking a city for cemetery operation... it is important to study carefully the general business conditions and the type of citizenship. The sales program must be based upon the same hypothesis as would a campaign for the sale of life insurance. The ideal prospect is the head of the family, a home owner and one receiving a fair compensation" (West 1932, p. 22).
West continued with advice which singled out one market:

"A floating population of poorly paid industrial workers forms a poor market. The percentage of Negro, Jewish and Catholic inhabitants should be carefully scrutinized. At the onset the colored population is generally eliminated from the estimated market. The Jewish and Catholic population under some circumstances can be recognized in the scheme. In the main, however, the Protestant population must be counted upon largely as potential buyers" (West 1932, p. 22).

That stand suggested that uniform lot sizes and memorial sizes within memorial parks were artifacts of similar tastes among uniform clientele. Moreover, the two editions of the Cemetery Hand Book suggested that a uniform coalition of developers, designers, and managers was in place by the 1920's and reinforced by the Depression. Landscape architect Menhinick (1932) further acknowledged liaisons when he warned designers to be aware of links between cemetery design and profitability since cemetery promoters were well aware that landscape design increased lot sales.

The proliferation of articles by landscape architects in cemetery trade publications and in landscape architectural publications implied that the landscape architecture profession was particularly active in the shaping of cemetery landscapes. The cemetery literature and designs which resulted by the Depression reflected how designers had facilitated business objectives and social segregation within burial landscapes. Other research reveals that designers also influenced the socio-economic character of other cultural landscapes (Jacobs 1961; Archer 1983; Sutcliffe 1981).

Trends toward the embellishment of landscapes for the living, rather than those for the dead opened the way for industrialization and standardization of cemetery landscapes. Jacob Weidenmann (1888) had contended that singles be buried under flush stone tablets in one open section which was unplanted except for grass so that those lots used for the lowest classes required the least maintenance. Weidenmann's low maintenance singles sections had seemingly served as prototypes for memorial park landscapes where maintenance was also prioritized over embellishment.

If elaborate Victorian monuments were symbols of the human need to mourn, then the flush plaques in memorial parks were symbols of 20th-century society's desire to suppress the realities of death. Mowing had motivated the leveling of stones and grave mounds in the Victorian era, and automobiles had necessitated uniform 5-6% road grades during the 1910's. Perpetual care, absentee lot owners, and gang mowers accelerated the trends toward horizontal landscape character which were implemented in memorial park cemeteries.
Figure 3.16

Burial Dollar Goes Underground
As Cemetery Landscapes Change from Vertical Character to Horizontal (illustration by writer).

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1. Samuel Parsons Jr. was apparently respected by his colleagues for he served as the president of the American Society of Landscape Architects in the same era that he wrote about landscape design. Parsons was president in 1902, and again in 1906-1907 (A.S.L.A. Members Handbook 1983).

2. Simonds' colleagues showed their respect for his views by electing him as president of the American Society of Landscape Architects in 1913 (Parker, c. 1922; A.S.L.A. Members Handbook, p. 241)
Cemetery landscapes were chronicled by the 19th- and 20th-century publications of the horticulture, landscape architecture, city planning, and cemetery professions. These publications reflect how cemeteries were syntheses of cultural attitudes about death, the practical matters surrounding death, and that cemeteries influenced urban design well into the 20th century. These publications also reflect that physical designers, in translating issues and attitudes into physical elements, had a direct impact on the evolution of cemetery styles.

Landscape gardeners, like Andrew Jackson Downing (1848, 1853), and Adolph Strauch (1869), published the majority of articles on cemeteries through the Civil War. Landscape architects became increasingly involved in cemetery design because they became increasingly involved in all aspects of urban design following Olmsted and Vaux's work on Central Park after 1858 (Newton 1971). The necessity to continually resite cemeteries on the outskirts of urban development provided landscape architects with work despite economic cycles.

Publications on cemetery design by landscape architects, like Jacob Weidermann (1870, 1888), Horace W. S. Cleveland (1881), Maximilian Kern (1884), and J.C. Olmsted (1888), proliferated during the post-Civil War Depression and 1880's boom. Publications were records of the gradual transition from lawn and monument cemeteries to the turn-of-the-century modern type which was promoted by lesser known landscape architects, like Sidney J. Hare (1897, 1901), O.C. Simonds (1906), Harold A. Caparn (1911), Howard Evert Weed (1912), and Frank Waugh (1914). Publications on cemeteries and urban affairs, including those by H.W. Blaney (1917) and Myron West (1932), reinforced how cemetery locations were related to urban sprawl. Blaney and West's publications also revealed the philosophical differences which developed between city planners and landscape architects in the first decade of the 20th century.

One of the largest bodies of literature on cemetery design and management was published by the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents (A.A.C.S.). Its publications were an invaluable record of how emerging functional and economic concerns led to changes in cemetery landscapes. The Association commenced publication of The Modern Cemetery in the 1890's. The title periodically changed, to Park and Cemetery and Landscape Gardening, and back to the original title. These changes reflected the varying scope of the trade and the priorities of its readership. Articles in the journal recorded the cultural forces, the philosophical transitions, and the professionals that shaped cemeteries from the lawn type to the memorial park type.

The Association published the Cemetery Handbook in 1921 and updated it in 1932. This collection of articles was targeted at cemetery superintendents and designers, and chronicled the transition to memorial park cemeteries. The authors had a distinct influence on the character of cemeteries and other cultural landscapes, such as residential developments, parks, and
transportation systems because many of them were landscape architects and city planners.

Although the subject headings in the two editions of the Cemetery Hand Book were the same, subtle changes in chapter order and in the number of pages per topic reflected shifts in priorities which resulted in distinct impacts on cemetery character. The lead chapters in the 1921 edition included functional issues like planning and design; entries, fences, and buildings; road grading; lawn maintenance; layout of monuments; plant material selection; and cemetery renovation. Chapters on services, like cremation and perpetual care, followed.

By the 1932 edition, the focus had shifted from functional issues to managerial ones. The lead chapters were on issues like accounting and business; their pages had doubled, but the pages on physical issues had been reduced by half. Likewise, the number of pages on lawn maintenance had been doubled, while those on monument placement had been halved. This change reflected the grassy landscapes with few vertical monuments which characterized the memorial park type by the Depression.

Hare & Hare - Authorities on Cemetery Design

The feature article on cemetery planning and design in the 1921 and 1932 issues of the Cemetery Hand Book was by the landscape architectural firm of Hare & Hare of Kansas City, Missouri. The office designed over fifty cemeteries in fifteen states, most of them before the release of the 1932 edition of the handbook. Hare & Hare's articles and plans reflected changes in transportation, and the increased size of cemetery sites. Examination of their work also demonstrates that ownership patterns changed; municipalities organized cemeteries in the first decade of the century, while associations and private developers became active investors by World War II. Since Hare & Hare's designs influenced key transitions between cemetery types, they were the logical authorities to write in issues of the Cemetery Hand Book (Figures 4.1, 4.2).

Background of Hare & Hare's Practice

Hare & Hare's residential, park, and city planning commissions are more widely known than their cemetery commissions. The firm consulted with public and private clients in thirty-three states and Central America, during the decades when market roads supplemented post-Civil War railroad networks (Appendix C). Hare & Hare's projects were often avant-garde designs. Successive projects changed in scale from gardens to regions, and reflected that circulation contributed to suburban sprawl, and that politics and economics affected public and private development. Hare & Hare's commissions reflected the priorities and attitudes which shaped Kansas City and the nation, just as their cemeteries illustrated the ongoing management of burial practice. Moreover, the father-son firm was a microcosm of changing landscape architectural education and practice.

Although the careers of Sidney J. and his son, S. Herbert, or Herbert, followed parallel stages, from practical and formal education, to mentorship, to recognized authority, their educations typified the
differences between 19th and 20th-century landscape architectural education. The elder Hare's family emigrated from Kentucky to Kansas City on a riverboat in 1868, in the same era when many families fled the declining south for the opportunities of the Midwest ("Pioneers," 1942). Like many 19th-century landscape architects, Sid's education (at a private school in Louisville, Kentucky, and at a public high school in Kansas City) included horticulture, civil engineering, surveying, photography, and geology. Hare had three rock formations, which he found around Kansas City, named after him, and his calculations of the secret route to the Arch of the Covenant within the Great Pyramid of Egypt were acknowledged in the Kansas City Star ("Great Pyramid," 1911). These accomplishments reflected Hare's technical expertise, and the interests of his contemporaries in science and archaeology.

Sid strengthened his formal education by working in the city engineer's office, from 1885 to 1896, during the boom era when landscape architect George E. Kessler planned the boulevard system which would link the city's parks with its residential districts. After working with mentor Kessler, Hare weathered a local economic depression as superintendent of Forest Hill Cemetery from 1896-1902, much as landscape architects had designed cemeteries to weather the post Civil War depression. Forest Hill (1888) had been recently developed according to park cemetery concepts. Hare designed the planting design for the site. He gained a national reputation and professional network through his subsequent publication (1897) on planting design, and his speech (1901) to the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents on the development of modern cemeteries. Hare's resignation as superintendent of Forest Hills was later noted as a great loss to the cemetery but a blessing to "cities, cemeteries, and wealthy families in twenty-eight states" ("Pioneers," 1942).

The implementation of Kessler's boulevard system in the first decade of the 20th century transformed Kansas City from a cowtown to a model of civic beautification ("Cowtown," circa 1963, Wilson 1964, Ehrlich 1979, Schirmer 1982). The booming town provided landscape architectural work for Sid Hare who conducted a practice from his home, starting in 1903 (figure 4.3). Hare's title for himself varied from civil engineer, to landscape artist, to landscape architect, much as his colleagues' titles had in the 19th century ("Kansas City, MO," 1903; "Hoyes," 1904).

Hare's publications (1906, 1907) promoted the integration of rural qualities into urban designs, the creation of views between city and country landscapes, and the naturalistic massing of street trees to increase the value of residential areas. Among Hare's early projects in Kansas City and the region were simple and sophisticated parks: Cunningham (1907), in Joplin, Missouri, and Waterway (1907), in Kansas City, Kansas. Other representative projects included residential subdivisions, such as Parkwood (1907), Kansas City, Kansas, and grounds at institutions, and including the Odd Fellows Home (circa 1905-1910), in Liberty, Missouri (Figures 4.4-4.6). Cemeteries included Mount Hope (circa 1905), and Highland Park (1905) (Appendix C).

Sid's convictions must have carried into his lifestyle because his son followed in his professional footsteps. Herbert, who was born in 1888, played in Forest Hill Cemetery during Sid's superintendency, and worked in Sid's first practice, where his father served as his first mentor. Herbert
completed the coursework necessary for a master of architecture degree at Harvard in 1910, where he was one of the first students in the newly implemented city planning program. Hare was not awarded a degree however, because he had not completed the first years of general coursework (Fowler 1931). Herbert's more formal design education probably complemented Sid's less formal education.

The national network of cities was essentially established and so was the elder Hare's reputation when the father and son set up the Hare & Hare practice in 1910 in Kansas City (Fowler 1931). Sid's reputation combined with Herbert's education from Harvard led to an increasing variety of commissions in the region and across the country before World War I.

Amongst Hare & Hare's early projects were residential grounds, parks, cemeteries, park and boulevard systems, and campus planting plans. The streets in Wagner Place (1913) in Jefferson City, Missouri, had the curvilinear forms for which the firm would become known. The designers noted on the promotional brochure how roads laid along existing topography increased the sale value of real estate. Hare & Hare's creation of recreation zones on a large peninsula at Point Defiance Park (1914), in Tacoma, Washington, were reviewed as innovative ("Developing Tacoma's," 1912) (figures 4.7, 4.8). Cemeteries which were cited as models in period literature included Elmwood (1912), Graceland (1913), Highland Park Cemetery (1914), and Evergreen Burial Park (1917) (Appendices E, G, H).

The designers' professional networks included membership in numerous local and national professional organizations. Sid participated in local planning as a member of the American Civic Association, and attended conventions of the Association of Park Superintendents (Men of Affairs, Kansas City). The American Society of Landscape Architects elected Sid a Fellow in 1912 and Herbert one in 1917 (Parker 1922).

The firm's national reputation was solidified as a result of a design collaboration which stemmed from Herbert's days at Harvard. Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. was one of Herbert's teachers during the same year Olmsted Jr. was President of the American Society of Landscape Architects (Fowler 1913). In 1913, Olmsted Jr. recommended Herbert to J.C. Nichols, one of Kansas City's most dynamic real estate developers. By collaborating with Nichols on the masterplan for the Country Club District, the firm made the jump from site scale to district scale planning with the support of Nichols' private capital (figure 4.9).

The Country Club District contributed to shifts in the growth from east to south within Kansas City. The district targeted only upwardly mobile residents; because the district was located so far beyond the street car lines that residents had to be able to afford transportation. Its character was an attractive contrast to adjacent gridded neighborhoods because Hare & Hare routed the circulation with respect for the existing topography. The restrictive covenants which Nichols implemented protected the lifestyle of the District, for they mandated well-built and expensive architectural styles, but the covenants also excluded minority residents ("J. C. Nichols," 1939; Newton 1971). Hare & Hare's design contributed to the life and growth of the city but the district served only a limited segment of the local population. (Brown 1963).
Figure 4.1

Sidney J. Hare & S. Herbert Hare, father (left) and son (right) circa 1930. ("Obituary," 1938, October 26; "To Build," 1930).
Figure 4.2

Offer to Design Cemeteries
(Park and Cemetery, 1912, p. XIII).

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Turn it Over to S. J. Hare Landscape Architect

If you want the Best Results with the Natural Features of your Home Grounds Preserved.

3216 Campbell Street, Kansas City, Mo.

Figure 4.3 Sid Hare's Business Logo - Signature reflected in pool (Hare 1906).
Figure 4.4
Cunningham Park Plan (1907)
Joplin, Missouri
(Ochsner Hare & Hare archives)
Figure 4.5

Waterway Park - Perspective
Kansas City, Kansas
("Building," 1913).

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Figure 4.6
Parkwood - Plan (1907).
Kansas City, Kansas.
(In the Ochsner Hare & Hare Archives).
The Modern Suburban Addition

Must be a Resident Park.

It is the demand of the day, where landscape, art and nature are combined to get the best result.

Unyielding adherence to straight streets and gridiron plan ignores the natural line of communication, and causes unnecessarily deep cuts on the hills and fills in the valleys, spoiling lots in both places.

Streets designed to fit the topography results in easy grades, and better relation of lot and street, thereby making the lots more valuable.

Proper planting of the lot and road borders adds to the salable value.

The accompanying plat shows a forty acre addition with a difference of 120 feet in elevation. The necessary grading has been reduced to a minimum, the frontage increased over what expected with straight streets, and all portions of the addition made useful and easily accessible without prohibitive grades.

HARE & HARE,
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS
604 CUMBEI BUILDING, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
Figure 4.8

Point Defiance Park (1914) - plan (top)
Perspective of Concourse
on the Beach, to Northeast, (bottom)
("Developing Tacoma's," 1912, p. 126).
Figure 4.9

Country Club District - Plan (1913-1917).

Hare & Hare's curvilinear roads on the west side contrast to existing grid pattern. 
Most of Hare & Hare's private work ceased during World War I, with the exception of Sid's cemetery designs. Herbert worked for the United States government, designing military installations, including Camp Funston, Fort Riley, Kansas, (1917), five camps and cantonments in the south, and projects for the U.S. Housing Corporation ("Experts plan," circa 1917; Park and Cemetery April 1919; (Parker 1922). During that same period, the firm added city planning to the services which they listed in the 1920 Kansas City Business Directory ("Kansas City," 1920, p. 2329). European models inspired American speculators and planners, including Herbert. He promoted garden cities and English suburbs as planning models in his post war publications ("Tell of European," 1924).

It was 1925 before the media referred to Hare & Hare as city planners, but the firm was performing these services as early as 1922, in collaboration with J.C. Nichols and George Kessler ("Firm Turns," 1925). The Hare's innovative plan for an 14,000 acre industrial seaport at Longview, Washington, represented a considerable increase over the scale of the Country Club District, and established Hare & Hare's reputation as city planners ("Vision City," 1923; "City Greatest," 1925) (Figure 4.10). The ensuing commissions for cemeteries, college campuses, subdivisions, and parks demonstrated that post-war landscape types remained relatively constant, but that there were steady increases in scale from tens of acres to hundreds of acres. The result was the continued lateral spread of cities, with automobiles facilitating that sprawl (Nolan 1919).

By 1925, Hare & Hare had completed projects in 28 states ("City Greatest," 1925). Most of their work, including cemeteries, took place in the Kansas City region or to the east or the south of the city (Appendix C).

The appointment of the firm to finish George Kessler's commissions when he died in 1925 was a measure of Kessler's respect and trust of the Hare & Hare firm. Most importantly, the diffusion of their work by the Depression to the booming Texas cities of Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth complimented the prior diffusion of their cemetery designs (figure 4.11). Their horticultural, architectural, engineering, and city planning projects were consigned for both public and private clientele, and included the cultural landscape types which Henry Vincent Hubbard would cite, as typical of 20th-century landscape architectural practice (Hubbard 1929).

Most of Hare & Hare's cemeteries had been designed by the Depression era. Although they added land subdivision to their entry in the 1930 City Directory, which indicated readiness to take on private work, the public sector generated the majority of their work in the 1930's; the Depression was among the factors which caused a lull in private work (Polk's 1930, p. 2937). Planning and zoning studies became part of the city planning process during that era, and comprised a large part of Hare & Hare's work during the 1940's. The survey of Kansas City which Herbert proposed as a Work Project Administration project, included studies of land use, delinquent taxes, economics, housing, park systems, and street plans. This proposal may have been typical of the firm's studies in other cities ("Asks City Study," 1941).

Much of the firm's work in the 1930's was outside of Kansas City, partly because Hare & Hare was finishing Kessler's commissions and partly because of Herbert's disagreements with local politicians. Although he had been
appointed by the Park Board in 1931 to oversee the development of a ten-year plan for Kansas City, Hare was dropped because he refused to make political contributions based on design work the firm would potentially net from the planning ("It happened," N.d; "A Successor to Kessler", 1940).

What work the firm did in Kansas City varied from district-scale in the 1930's, to city-scale in the 1940's. Between the Depression and Sid's death in 1938, Hare & Hare designed the municipal rose garden in Loose Park, and the grounds of the Nelson Gallery of Art. They were also the local advisors on the Liberty Memorial development. Some of the post-war proposals of the firm were implemented, like the landscape adjacent to the $93,000 Music Temple which was built in Swope Park (Kansas City Star, January 24, 1941), but others, like the viaduct at Linwood Boulevard and The Paseo, for reasons unknown, were not (Figures 4.12-4.16).

Herbert was active professionally throughout the era, just as Sid had been in the 1910's. Herbert's articles and lectures on English suburbs and European garden cities served as models for regional planning and city planning reflected his travels abroad and demonstrated the increasing breadth of Hare & Hare's practice and that of the landscape architecture profession ("Tells of," 1924; Hare, Herbert 1930). Herbert's professional associations were also broad. He served as a director of the American Institute of Planners, and was elected a Fellow of the American Institute of Park Executives, just as he had been elected a fellow of the American Society of Landscape Architects ("Typed," N.d). Moreover, he served as vice president of the American Society of Landscape Architects in 1940, and as president in 1944 (Post 1927; Reuter 1983).

Following World War II, development activity initiated by the private sector resumed. Many of Hare & Hare's projects were in the Kansas City area. Among Hare & Hare's projects were airports, illustrative of how that technology would become the revolutionary link between places that railroads had been a century before. The majority of Hare & Hare's other commissions were subdivisions, shopping centers, schools, and churches, reflecting the population growth of the post-war baby boom. The subdivisions were half the size of the ones designed in previous decades, which may have reflected that only smaller parcels of land were left within urban areas, or that the cost of developing larger sites was prohibitive. These suburban developments may have been among those which usurped agricultural land, a pattern which was noted by Herbert's death in 1960 (Clay 1957).

Despite several reorganizations in the 1960's, and mergers in the 1970's, the phrase Hare & Hare was incorporated in each name change, according to the founder's wishes ("Typed," N.d). The extant organization, Ochsner Hare & Hare, is located on the Country Club Plaza, adjacent to the District designed by the father and son team.
Figure 4.10

Longview, Washington (1922).
Plan for new town by Hare & Hare.
(Newton 1971, p. 481).

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Figure 4.11 Civic Center for Houston, Texas (1925). Perspective by Hare & Hare. ("Local Architects," 1925).

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Figure 4.12

Rose Garden in Loose Park, Kansas City, Missouri. Perspective by Hare & Hare.
(Archives of Ochsner Hare & Hare)
Figure 4.13  Nelson Gallery of Art - Grounds -  Kansas City, Missouri (1932).  Perspective by Hare & Hare.  (Archives of Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Perspective, Grounds of Liberty Memorial, Kansas City, Missouri. Hare & Hare, consultants to Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., circa 1932. ("Transformation," 1932).
Figure 4.15  
Music Temple at Swope Park.  
Landscaping proposed by Hare & Hare.  
("Perspective," 1941).
Figure 4.16

Grade Separation at Linwood Boulevard and The Paseo, Kansas City, Missouri. Proposed by Hare & Hare.
(Koppe circa 1980).
Hare & Hare's Cemetery Commissions

Hare & Hare designed approximately fifty-five cemeteries in fifteen states, the majority of which were completed in the three decades between 1903, when Sidney J. Hare commenced landscape architectural practice, and the Depression. Those designed in later years, included Mound Grove (1942), Llano Cemetery (1960), Oak Lawn (1956), and Mount Moriah II (1968) (Appendices C, J).

Hare & Hare's cemetery plans were reviewed to determine the direction their practice took. Many of the plans were available in the archives of the firm of Ochsner Hare & Hare. Others were found in Hare & Hare publications, Park and Cemetery, or through correspondence with superintendents of existing cemeteries. All but approximately eleven of the plans formed the basis for the classification of 20th-century American cemetery types (Appendices D-K).

Analysis of the cemetery plans revealed that many were designed by the elder Hare. Sid J. Hare was readily identifiable as the designer of some of the early plans because he signed them in his showy signature (Figure 4.17). Although the signature helped identify the relative date of some of the undated plans. Soon after the establishment of the partnership in 1910, Sid Hare stopped using his signature. It became office policy that the notation, Hare & Hare, identified plans rather than the signature of individual designers.

Three other sources revealed whether cemetery plans reflected the evolving concepts of the father or son. On the back sides of many of the photo-reductions of plans that were in the office archives was either a stamped facsimile of Sid's signature or the initials S.H.H. Other plans were identified through the personal recollections of landscape architect Chalmer Cooper. Cooper's years with Hare & Hare overlapped those of S. Herbert Hare so he understood office precedents when he, in turn, designed an addition to Llano Cemetery, Oak Lawn Memorial Lawn, and Mount Moriah II.

The younger Hare apparently designed some cemeteries because they were close to other work to which he commuted; he and an assistant rather than the elder Hare, designed several in Fort Worth, Texas in the late 1920's probably because the younger Hare was already busy there completing some of George Kessler's work. The elder Hare may have been busy handling concurrent ones in Virginia or may have turned some cemeteries over to his son as he approached his seventies and retirement. Why the younger Hare handled other cemeteries like College Hill in Wichita, Kansas, remains unexplained.

Similar to the Fort Worth commissions, Hare & Hare did multiple commissions in other towns. Synthesis of office records and brochures revealed that in the early years, cemeteries designed by the elder Hare were often the first work that the firm completed in a town. This suggests that successful cemeteries may have led to repeat commissions.

Although the elder Hare's first private commissions in Kansas City, Missouri, were parks, residential grounds, and subdivisions, his earlier work at Forest Hill Cemetery probably initiated his local reputation. Cemeteries also preceded commissioned projects of other landscape types in
Leavenworth, Kansas; Carthage, Independence, Jefferson City, Joplin, Kansas City, and Sedalia, Missouri; Omaha, Nebraska; and Amarillo and San Antonio, Texas.

Other landscape types preceded cemetery designs in two towns, including in Springfield, Missouri, where the elder Hare's design of a public park preceded the younger Hare's design of East Lawn Cemetery. Those projects probably led to campus designs in Springfield in later years. Likewise, the projects which the younger Hare finished in Fort Worth for George Kessler probably led to the additions which the firm designed in the late 1920's to two existing cemeteries (Appendix C).

Some accounts revealed what role Hare & Hare's cemeteries provided within local cemetery markets. Some of their projects were the only burial landscapes in towns while others supplemented existing sites. Many of Hare & Hare's early cemeteries were public cemeteries in the Kansas City region. As the reputation of the firm increased, many of their commissions, including cemeteries were in other regions. By the 1910's and 1920's, many of Hare & Hare's cemeteries were for private clientele, because most of their developers catered to wealthy clientele.

In summary, just as cultural landscapes were linked by transportation networks, the firm developed important professional networks, including those with investors, developers, managers, and clientele. The number of repeat commissions in towns, and the firm's collaboration with well-known personalities including J. C. Nichols and George Kessler suggested that the ability of the Hare & Hare firm to satisfy their clients was a key to their success and their profession connections.

Similarly, Hare & Hare's practice demonstrated the importance of professional networks within the firm. The combined expertise of the principals, other designers, delineators, and support staff contributed to the growth of the firm's reputation which increased more quickly than that of any single member of the firm. The wisdom of using the name of the firm became clear; since ongoing projects spanned decades, the firm became a clearinghouse for return commissions. The individual designers who were short-term members of the team helped build the reputation of the firm, yet were able to move on to other positions without damaging the long-term credibility of the firm.

Finally, the Hare & Hare practice exemplified how designers were the physical, social, and political liaisons between investors and constructed landscapes. Sequences in the firm's cemetery designs, as well as other designs, demonstrated how shifts in national, regional, and local economies, effected functional relationships, technology, selection of materials, and the choice of symbols which shaped the evolution of 20th-century American landscapes.

Reading Cemetery Plans

Hare & Hare's cemetery plans revealed explicit and the implicit information. Certain base information was consistently included on the individual plans, including cemetery name, town and state, north arrow, and the names of adjacent streets.
Figure 4.17
Sid J. Hare's signature on Riverview Cemetery Plan (bottom)
Enlargement (top)
Geographic locations proved the only unchangeable notes; proving whether cemeteries were implemented or still existed was a more elusive process. A list of cemetery names and locations supplied by the Ochsner Hare & Hare office was the key to determining current addresses of cemeteries so that correspondence with the superintendents of individual cemeteries could be initiated. Local telephone books and directory assistance operators supplied many of the addresses to which questionnaires were mailed (Appendix A). Unclear answers were followed up by telephone calls. Advertisements in the Yellow Pages for Hare & Hare cemeteries also supplied miscellaneous information such as dates of establishment, current facilities and services. The advertisements also inferred social image.

Some cemeteries were hard to trace because the proper names which Hare & Hare had assigned them had been changed, for instance as ownership changed. Some cemeteries whose names had changed were untraceable because the names of adjacent streets had also changed meaning new addresses could not be determined.

Ten cemeteries were no longer listed with directory assistance under their original names and no plans were available to trace them by their adjacent streets. Questionnaires were sent to all except the two in Kansas City where street names could not be traced in current telephone books. When questionnaires were not returned by cemeteries, those cemeteries were categorized as Lost for the purpose of this study (Appendix C).

The identity of other cemeteries was elusive because Hare & Hare had used only the town name followed by a generic "city cemetery" to name them. Locally used names were traced using several sources; the Joplin City Cemetery was locally known as Fairview Cemetery ("Henry Phelps," 1913; "Landscape Gardener," 1919). The Independence, Missouri, City Cemetery was identified as Woodlawn Cemetery by Pat O'Brien, a historian on the staff of the local planning office. The Durham, North Carolina, City Cemetery was identified as Maplewood Cemetery through the current superintendent, Mr. Elliott, and a staff member at the office of the City Engineer, Wayne Goodwin.

Dates on cemetery plans most often denoted the dates that they were designed. Implementation usually lagged a year or two from that date. Sources which allowed the approximate dating of plans included: publications by Hare & Hare, contemporary publicity and correspondence with developers, promotional brochures published by individual cemeteries, correspondence with current management, and office records at Ochsner Hare & Hare. In elusive cases, eras if not years were surmised from the elder Hare's showy signature or by the physical characteristics shown on the cemetery plans.

Among the implicit information provided on plans were clues to the changing professional objectives of the firm. Following the elder Hare's signature on early plans were the initials C. E.; these presumably stood for civil engineer for they matched Hare's education and his listing in the 1903 City Directory ("Kansas City," 1903, p. 515). Hare listed himself as a landscape architect in the 1904 City Directory (Hoyes 1904, p. 516) and on cemetery plans from 1908 to 1918. This use of the label landscape architect reflected how the technical approach of civil engineers, the
horticultural knowledge of landscape gardeners, and the spatial sense of architects were integrated into Hare & Hare's designs.

Most significantly, Hare & Hare added the label city planners to their cemetery plans in 1919 and to their entry in the business section of the City Directory by 1920. The title landscape architects and city planners reflected the elder Hare's traditional skills and the younger Hare's planning education. The addition of city planning signaled Hare & Hare's ambition to broaden their practice nearly five years before one article described them as city planners in 1925 ("Firm Turns," 1925). Their successful collaboration with J. C. Nichols on the Country Club District which started in 1913 probably helped the designers redefine their professional objectives. The continual change in titles reflected their continual efforts to diversity their practice in order to meet the economic opportunities of successive eras.

Hare & Hare's process of naming cemeteries needs further exploration. Whether clients had any input is unknown. In a fairly consistent manner, proper names ended in cemetery, until circa 1917 when burial park became an interchangeable ending. Likewise, the word lawn was sometimes integrated into proper names, especially in the late 1920's during the memorial park era. Although their explicit intent is unknown, Hare & Hare may have chosen the labels of cemetery, burial park, and lawns, to suggest landscape images which they felt were appropriate to cemeteries, a practice which Zelinsky (1976) studied. One might surmise from the trends outlined in chapter 3, that Hare & Hare's use of the term cemetery suggested modern types designed for monuments, that the term burial park suggested park types with monuments integrated into large areas of grass. The term lawn suggested memorial parks designed for flush monuments.

Most of the cemeteries called burial parks contained monuments. Likewise, some but not all of the cemeteries with lawn in their name were restricted to flush markers. There was probably an interoffice understanding that the labels indicated differing proportions of monuments, plant masses, and lawns, within their designs.

Most of Hare & Hare's cemetery plans and additions were designed to accommodate monuments. Current superintendents reported however, that the overall style of many Hare & Hare cemeteries had been modified to combine sections for monuments and flush plaques within the same sites. Probably interim managers integrated memorial sections into monument cemeteries in order to attract potential customers of all tastes.

Hare & Hare's intended style of memorialization is compared to generic site names in Appendix L. This original style of memorialization is correlated to the physical type of cemetery. Current amendments to memorialization are also summarized.

There were a number of Hare & Hare cemeteries with names which had already been used for 19th- and 20th-century model cemeteries. The educational backgrounds of the Hares suggested that they would have been aware of the historic precedents in model cemeteries. It is not known whether the designers consciously copied names of model cemeteries. However, they were probably familiar with them and they may have used the names to convey positive image.
Repeated names included Greenwood, which created images of verdant landscapes, and Rosehill, which suggested sweet smelling flowers and high, dry sites. These names were probably selected carefully to infer that these sites would be pleasant last resting places. Some names which repeated those of model cemeteries had been assigned to sites previous to Hare & Hare's additions. These names included Crown Hill, Elmwood, and Mount Olivet. These names had probably been chosen so that the new cemeteries would share the positive image of established model cemeteries.

Hare & Hare frequently reused certain names for cemeteries, most notably Greenwood and Highland. Whether repetitions signaled convenience, clients' coincidental selections from lists provided by the designers, or other alternatives, could not be determined. Hare & Hare's use of proper names is summarized in Appendix M.

Contemporary Publications Were Background to the Analysis of Plans

Hare & Hare's cemetery plans included three types of 20th-century American cemeteries, including the modern, park, and memorial park types discussed in chapter 3. Their plans were reflections of how designers interpreted clients' objectives and transformed them into the three dimensional physical elements that met the functional, aesthetic, and managerial criteria which shaped 20th-century cemeteries.

As cultural development and the objectives of developers changed, so did the ambience of cemeteries. The key constraints and elements which were analyzed on Hare & Hare's cemetery plans included size and shape of sites, access points, entryways, circulation features, size and shape of sections, layout of burial lots, monumentation, and the planting designs of sites and individual sections.

Evaluation of the plans without other background information would have yielded only a two-dimensional understanding of the spaces and of Hare & Hare's design intent. Analysis of the plans answered "where" and "what" questions about cemetery design but the supplementary records supplied "how" and "why" answers, Hare & Hare's rationale for creating the resulting burial landscapes. The firm referred to designs of specific cemeteries they had designed to illustrate how functional, aesthetic, and sociocultural needs were to be met.

The firm's business correspondence explained their cemetery design process, their fees for typical general plans and working drawings, and how they sought to meet the objectives of clients. The correspondence associated with two additions which Hare & Hare made to existing cemeteries in the late 1920's revealed how Hare & Hare conducted cemetery design projects. Design correspondence was directed to superintendents rather than to developers. The firm alternately proposed and compromised their designs according to the wishes of managers; the latter often responded to the trends of physical and economic development which were outlined in chapter 3. The firm's location in Kansas City necessitated absentee designs and periodic site visits for which they charged $75 a day. The willingness of cemetery superintendents to accept delayed timetables and the travel expenses of the firm testified to the firm's reputation ("Correspondence," 1931, 1935).
The correspondence revealed typical design packages and the fees Hare & Hare were able to charge despite the onset of the Depression. General plans cost $6 an acre and included proposed roads, studies of entries and fountains, buildings, and other features drawn to scale and drafted for exhibition ("Correspondence," 1927). If general plans were accepted, the firm provided dimensioned working drawings for $20 an acre for a minimum of twenty acres in the case of Greenwood Cemetery. Working plans included road alignments, road profiles and sections for grading, and planting plans and lists of plants.

Correspondence revealed typical fees at the end of three decades of work. In 1927, at the brink of the Depression, Hare & Hare billed Greenwood Cemetery for general plans for 234 acres ($6/acre x 234 = $2080), and working plans for 33.8 acres ($20/acre x 33.8 = $676). Whether the bill for $2,756 plus site visits represented Hare & Hare's total fees is unknown. If it did, then their fees represented only three percent of the $100,000 which was spent on that phase of development, yet the plan may have substantially increased the income of the cemetery ("Correspondence," 1927). By the mid 1930's, Hare & Hare increased their charge to $25/acre for general plans at Mount Olivet in the same town, which probably reflected the increased costs of doing absentee business during the height of the Depression ("Correspondence," 1935).

The publicity and publications generated by Hare & Hare's cemeteries revealed the latent impacts of their designs. Local town newspaper accounts described where cemeteries were located in relation to town centers and residential districts, and outlined how the cemeteries supplemented existing demands and services. The articles also provided details about investors and development expenses, and outlined cemetery restrictions. Three-dimensional character could be surmised from these accounts. Most importantly, the reports captured the social overtones which accompanied the new institutions.

Promotional literature which had been published by individual cemeteries was obtained through the Hare & Hare office and through current superintendents (Appendix N). These publications demonstrated the sociocultural impacts of three-dimensional spaces. The pamphlets projected images, visual appeal, services, and managerial practices which targeted upper social classes, just as Hare & Hare had advocated (1921).

Finally, Park and Cemetery chronicled work which was being implemented in the three primary decades in which Hare & Hare designed cemeteries. The columns in Park and Cemetery which detailed new cemeteries included the amount of capital put up by investors, the background of cemetery designers, and the character of sites and associated towns. These news columns provided examples of ownership options, proximity to towns, appropriate scales of cemeteries, and anticipated expenses to potential investors and developers. Park and Cemetery columns also reviewed implemented cemeteries which served as models of successful investments. These state of the art reports illustrated how cemeteries looked, and how technical details had been handled. They also reported expenses, lot sales and income, and the number of interments to date.

That Hare & Hare's work interested the cemetery trade was clear because their cemeteries and parks were often reviewed in Park and Cemetery. The Hare & Hare cemeteries which Park and Cemetery featured differed from those which the firm selected to illustrate its publications. The firm chose
cemeteries which illustrated their physical design concepts while Park and Cemetery chose the Hare & Hare projects which had boosted cemetery incomes.

The records and interviews which supplemented the study of cemetery plans revealed how Hare & Hare's clientele shifted from the public sector to the private sector after the establishment of the partnership in 1910. This pattern coincided with national shifts; the municipal development which resulted from the City Beautiful movement in the first decade was replaced by private development in the second decade, as discussed in chapter 3.

Supplementary accounts about Hare & Hare cemeteries also provided empirical clues to community size and economy, to proximity of cemeteries to existing commercial and residential districts, and to what form of transportation provided access to cemeteries and within sites. Contemporary publicity provided a visual image of growth patterns, circulation, and sociocultural sense of place. By comparing cemetery plans to community profiles, the size of the cemetery could be seen as a projection of future burial needs, landscape character could be understood as one which was expected to appeal to potential clientele.

Local publicity suggested profiles of the potential buyer of burial space in Hare & Hare's cemeteries. The accounts revealed the perceived status of lots in their cemeteries and that those burial lots were considered comparable to the physical and social character of adjacent suburban neighborhoods. Hare & Hare's cemeteries seemingly served only carefully researched portions of local populations, much as the Country Club District was targeted to upper class clientele.

Moreover, the literature revealed how the architectural style of cemetery entries implied status in death as a continuation of status in life. Hare & Hare's choices of architectural style were intended to reflect progressive tastes and to attract clientele who would enhance burial sites with carefully selected sepulchral memorialization. Although plantings behind monuments were often permitted, the restrictions listed in publications ultimately controlled landscape character and streamlined maintenance procedures.

Hare & Hare's Publications on Cemetery Design

Evaluation of Hare & Hare's articles complemented the analysis of their cemetery plans for the concepts presented in the articles were generally implemented within a year or two of their publication. Hare & Hare's concepts on cemetery design were presented in four distinct clusters of articles. Hare & Hare's concepts led transitions into the modern era, and paralleled them in the park, memorial park, and speculative eras identified in chapter 3. Each cluster of articles generally started with reviews of the state of the art of cemetery design and ended with Hare & Hare's projections of what cemeteries should become in the years ahead. The designers emphasized different elements in each stylistic era depending on external influences including the objectives of cemetery developers, cemetery management practices, and popular burial practice. Therefore, each cluster of articles served as a record of cemetery evolution and of the revolutionary forces which influenced successive cemetery types. Refer to Appendix 0 for a summary of attitudes expressed in specific articles within four eras of cemetery design.
The cemetery plans which followed each cluster of publications paralleled the concepts expressed in the articles. In a general way, Hare & Hare's use of design elements in individual cemeteries represented the evolutionary or revolutionary approaches which they had recently outlined in articles. The parallel continuums of theory and design implementation formed a framework for comparing each generation of articles and plans to the national design eras analyzed in chapter 3.

Publications by Hare & Hare were analyzed and evaluated to determine how the designers concepts regarding the use of key landscape elements in cemeteries evolved. The attitudes toward location, access, entries, circulation, features, monumentation, and planting design as expressed in Hare & Hare's publications, were categorized under five themes. Refer to Appendix O for a summary of their philosophical themes and categories.

Evolution and Revolution Within the Modern Era

The articles which the elder Hare published during in the first decade of the century, spanned his transition from cemetery superintendency through his first years of independent landscape architectural practice. Two of his early articles, "The Influence of Surroundings" (1897) and "Before and After" (1901) reflected Hare's specialization in cemetery design and demonstrated his influence; both were delivered to annual conventions of the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents in the year they were publised.

"Before and After" (1901) reviewed the history of cemetery design and suggested the avant-garde elements which should comprise modern cemeteries. Hare reiterated many of the same physical elements which Weidenmann (1888) had advocated during the previous decade, including lawns, trees, winding drives, and minimum monumentation. Hare stressed the progressive appearance which would result.

Hare referenced nationally known model cemeteries to illustrate how modern cemeteries should appear, including Graceland in Chicago, Lakeview in Cleveland, Cave Hill in Louisville, and Forest Hills, where he had overseen the implementation of the planting design in the 1890's (Hare 1901). He also recommended the study of models and studied them himself; his design of Mount Hope Cemetery in Webb City, Missouri, was said to have been influenced by the design of Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio ("Beautiful," circa 1912).

Hare's 1905, 1906, and 1907 publications referred to the diverse cultural landscape types which had typified the work of 19th-century landscape architects like Frederick Law Olmsted, Horace W. S. Cleveland, Jacob Weidenmann, and others. Hare's early work included many of the same landscape types, including parks, subdivisions, cemeteries, and residences which his colleagues had completed. This repetition reflected continued physical growth.

Hare's activities formed a transition between 19th-century and 20th-century landscape architectural practice and the landscape types which reflected needs in successive eras. Hare's articles and cemetery designs specifically reflected his commitment to naturalistic beautification, a
contrast to the formal models of design which became popular as a result of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Hare's naturalistic approach had probably been reinforced by George Kessler while the two worked on the Kansas City park and boulevard system.

Transition to the Park Cemetery Era

By 1910 when the father and son established their partnership, cemeteries formed 25% of the elder Hare's practice. Hare & Hare's projects through their first decade of partnership included the site-scale landscapes which had typified the father's independent practice and district-scale projects like large residential subdivisions and college campuses.

A new era of Hare & Hare's publications (1914, circa 1915, 1916) coincided with the advent of automobile technology and the subtle transition to the park cemetery style discussed in chapter 3. The elder Hare's attention to physical detail in those articles created continuity between the modern era and the park era. In his park era publications, the elder Hare referenced Mount Hope (1905), Greenwood (circa 1905), Graceland (1913), and Highland Park (1914), as models of the state of cemetery design. The architectural features which Hare designed for these cemeteries may have presented model use of the Mission Revival style in cemeteries in the 20th century. Many perspectives: featured entries which enframed vistas into cemeteries and created positive first impressions, including at Highland and Mount Hope Cemeteries. In addition, Hare advocated model regulations which required granite and bronze grave markers instead of marble ones.

In "Planning a Modern Small Town Cemetery" (circa 1915), Hare reviewed his design of Highland Park Cemetery in Pittsburg, Kansas, in order to project how investments and designs should be managed in upcoming years. His progressive outlook implied that Highland was intended to be a model of changing cemetery landscapes. Since regulations stated that individual grave markers had to be flush with the ground, the open space which was made into lawns typified how park cemeteries would look by the 1920's. Moreover, the article demonstrated that existing cemeteries did serve as landscape models during the era, just as pattern books had served carpenters in the 19th century; Highland's developers hired Hare because they had seen his designs implemented at Mount Hope Cemetery (Hare circa 1915).

Other articles concentrated on how to beautify the appearance of the family monuments which typified park cemeteries. Hare's opinions were sought after. He delivered a paper, "Planting to Set Off Monuments" (1916), at the annual convention of the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents. His detailed presentation included the arrangements and varieties of plants which he had used in specific cemeteries in order to emphasize monuments to family names rather than to individuals.

Hare's 1917 presentation to the Association may have inspired a number of commissions in the region, including Evergreen Burial Park (1917), Highland Burial Park (1924), and Mountain View (1925). Those designs demonstrated that the theories which Hare had proposed during the park era were implemented within a few years of his publications.
Hare's concerns expanded from traditional physical ones which reflected cultural changes in the 1910's. His attention to the slope and surfacing of roads reinforced the revolutionary impact that automobiles were beginning to have on designed environments preceding World War I, an impact that was also addressed in many other contemporary sources. Hare's ideas also included the managerial concerns which continued to influence the cemetery trade during the park era. His promotion of perpetual care funds to support maintenance echoed contemporary thought rather than shaping it, a contrast to the avant-garde ideas which he had published at the turn of the century (1897, 1901).

Hare & Hare Cemetery Practice During Memorial Park Era

After the United States entered World War I in 1917, Hare & Hare's practice was supported by cemetery projects until the war was over in 1919. While the younger Hare was out of Kansas City serving the federal government, the elder Hare continued to design cemeteries. Even though Sid designed only half of the number of cemeteries in comparison to the number which he had designed earlier in the decade, cemetery projects comprised 62% of Hare & Hare's wartime projects. This is the highest proportion of cemeteries that would contribute to project totals in the history of the firm.

The number of cemeteries which Hare & Hare designed during World War I illustrated how the demand for that landscape type remained so constant during the national crisis that the firm was able to stay in practice. The war and changing tastes had created a steady need for cemeteries despite the lack of commercial and residential starts because of the wartime economy.

The post-World War era launched the United States into an economic boom; the resulting developments transformed the national landscape and the design practices which responded to these opportunities. The firm's post-war projects included city plans, new towns, campuses, subdivisions, and more cemeteries. These changes in cultural landscape types reflected the expansion and diversification of the American cultural landscape which resulted when private investment resumed after the war.

The reputation which Hare & Hare had gained from their successful collaboration with J. C. Nicols on the Country Club District was reinforced by their collaboration with Nicols and George Kessler on the 1923 design of Longview, Washington ("Vision City," July 1923; "City Greatest," 1925; "Longview," 1948). The elder Hare's reputation as a cemetery designer was already well established. Though he was in his sixties in the 1920's, the firm designed fourteen cemeteries in that decade, more than in any other defined era. Still, cemeteries formed only 40% of the firm's diversified projects.

Hare & Hare's advice on cemetery design continued to be respected by the cemetery trade because they authored one of the articles on design in the Cemetery Hand Book which the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents published in 1921. "Planning and Design" (1921) was concurrent with the memorial park influence which had been generated by the establishment of Forest Lawn in 1917 in California. The article included concepts of both park and memorial park design. Hare & Hare advocated the use of specimen monuments as focal points at the end of vistas. This attitude reinforced the use of monuments for aesthetic as well as emotional
purposes; the attitude also provided continuity with concepts of park
cemetery design, yet Hare & Hare also condoned the use of flush memorials
and plants as reminders of loved ones. Hare & Hare emphasized managerial
practices as well as ones oriented to physical concerns in "Planning and
Design." They reiterated the importance of perpetual care funds and how
pre-need sales not only helped families prepare for the inevitable, they
generated income for new phases of cemetery development.

Hare & Hare's article, "Boundary Treatments..." in the Cemetery Handbook
also mirrored memorial park practice. In it the authors proposed fences as
protection against trespassers rather than the hedge plantings which had
been popular in the park cemetery era. Hare & Hare proposed specific fence
materials, like wrought iron and brick, which paralleled the advertisements
and articles which Park and Cemetery featured in the early 1920's. Hare &
Hare's recommendation of chain link covered with vines as an inexpensive
substitute for traditional fences was also advertised in Park and Cemetery
by the mid-1920's (figure 3.4). Hare & Hare and other contemporary authors
who advocated chain link fences in Park and Cemetery probably inspired some
replacement of durable traditional fences. Any replacement of the detailed
fences which represented earlier eras with the undetailed forms of
successive eras epitomized how economic concerns gradually overrode
aesthetic ones in the memorial park era.

The elder Hare's productivity during the 1920's was mirrored in the
development of his own showplace, "Timbertent," circa 1922, on the eastern
outskirts of Kansas City. Hare's development of the estate reflected his
horticulture background and his philosophies of design in the last decade
in which he designed cemeteries.

The site was located on a cliff and approached up a long winding drive like
those Hare had urged for many landscape types. The owner had salvaged
bridge timbers, posts, and marble slabs from city sidewalks for building
materials. The foundation was built from stones gathered on the site. All
the mortar in the huge rock chimney was hidden and vines were planted to
cover the pile. Hare had often advocated progress; despite the rustic
appearance of the house, it was reported to have been more modern than most
city houses. Timbertent was billed "a palace in the wilderness" (Sid J.
Hare 1926; Hare & Hare, M. 1927; Bush 1977).

Both the house and the wild flower preserve and rock garden which Hare
created generated a quantity of favorable publicity. The garden,
Harecliff, which was equated with the renowned Missouri Botanical Gardens
in St. Louis, was open on Sundays to serious gardeners. Five thousand
visitors from all over the world were welcomed over one three year period
(Sid J. Hare 1926; Hare & Hare, M. 1927; Bush 1977) (figure 4.18). The
house and garden still survive.

The development served as an emblem of Hare's devotion to naturalistic
effects. Its scale also suggested the comfortable living which he had made
as a landscape architect. Accounts of Hare's development of Harecliff
demonstrated a period perception of landscape architecture as formalistic
design rather than naturalistic design when one reporter explained that
"Though Mr. Hare is a landscape architect, he has sought to have things
grow in their natural way. Perhaps that is the triumph of his art" ("Sid
J. Hare," 1926).
The scale of the Hare estate paralleled the increased scale of many of Hare & Hare's boom era commissions. Specifically, their cemeteries increased from the ten to thirty acres which had typified site size before World War I to an average of sixty to eighty acres. Often, only a portion of large cemetery sites was implemented at one time. Each phase of lot sales generated the capital to develop new sections as needed; each sequence of development was organized with a loop road which was part of the original master plan. The large parcels and phased development were comparable to national trends which were identified earlier in this chapter, wherein speculative cemeteries were developed on inexpensive suburban land.

The elder Hare's article, "Nature's Plan is Best" (1923), closed a quarter century of practice and the memorial park era by noting several revolutionary design ideas, including physical and managerial concerns. Hare lamented how urbanization was destroying the natural beauty of existing landscapes and suggested that city planners and landscape architects could counter those conditions. He also described how naturalistic design was more cost effective than rigidly engineered design.

Hare's commitment to natural effect was balanced, however, by a business sense. To conclude his memorial park era, he noted how ecology and economics complemented each other by stating,

"I would like to meet the land owner or realtor who could grasp the grand idea of a subdivision with Nature's planting all preserved, who could fully appreciate just what these assets mean to him in land values, and what a great amount of energy and money could be saved by following the natural easy grades for his roadways and leaving nature's plantings... By destroying Nature, we destroy the claim that attracts and holds the clients of the realtor" (Hare 1923).

Speculative Cemetery Era

Based on the number of cemeteries which Hare & Hare had designed by the Depression, their cost effective design approach held high appeal to cemetery developers in a decade when economics particularly influenced speculative site design. The elder Hare demonstrated the same foresight and flexibility in his description of Sherwood Burial Park (1929) as he had in Before and After (1901). In specific reference to Sherwood's memorial park sections, Hare reemphasized how winding roads laid along the contours, and widely varied horticultural effects were the keys to the open naturalistic ambience of memorial parks. Hare cited that ambience as a more appropriate memorial to loved ones than monuments, even though he admitted, however, that it was necessary to overcome the public's resistance to flush memorials by appealing to them to accept avant-garde design trends.

Hare reiterated how memorial park landscapes resulted from mutual attention to economics and aesthetics;

"The elimination of all that is undesirable in the way of nondescript and inharmonious tombstones is helping to solve one of our greatest problems in beautifying
"Flowers are not wild;"
Only those who pull and
destroy them are wild.

S J. and MATHILDA A. HARE
1927

Figure 4.18 House at Harecliff Garden (top). ("City's refuge," 1926). Visitor's brochure (bottom) ("Harecliff," 1927).
the cemetery and reducing the cost of upkeep" (Hare 1929).

He also revealed how change had superseded conservation and how designers had participated when he observed,

"We are living in a new era: new things are discarded before they are perfected, because superseded by newer and better ideas and inventions" (Hare 1929).

Whether "The Modern Cemetery" (1929), or "Complete Development..." (1932) and "Planting to Set Off Monuments" (1932), more closely represented Hare & Hare's last views on cemetery development is difficult to verify since there are few living contemporaries to question. Even though the latter two articles were published last, they were essentially reprints of "Planning and Design," (1921), and "Planting to Set Off Monuments" (1916), respectively. Since both of the 1932 articles repeated decade-old views, they represented the state-of-the-art reviews which had typically characterized the first articles within a sequence of Hare & Hare publications. The 1932 articles represented the pro-monument stand which the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents took against memorial park factions in the late 1920's. The latter anti-monument group had formed the National Association of Cemeteries in 1929 for the purpose of promoting memorial parks (Akey 1984, p. 146).

Hare & Hare's 1932 reprints might have suggested that the elder Hare was content to coast on his solid reputation as a cemetery designer, if he had not published "The Modern Cemetery" (1929) in his 70th year. That article featured Sherwood Burial Park (1928), as a model of memorial parks at the end of the era when Hare & Hare completed the bulk of their cemetery commissions. The revolutionary opinions reminded readers of the firm's commitment to balanced aesthetics and economics in cultural landscape development.

"The Modern Cemetery" supported the idea that Hare & Hare were capable of placing the same emphasis on cost effective design that developers of speculative cemeteries had. Moreover, Sherwood Burial Park (1928) was only one of five speculative cemeteries backed by a conglomerate of businessmen as a "get rich quick" scheme in the late 1920's. Three of the five, Sherwood, Fort Hill Burial Park (1929), and Roselawn Burial Park (1930) were designed by Hare & Hare*. The management of all of these cemeteries had a tough time making ends meet in the Depression. The management of Roselawn was bankrupt by 1936, a reflection of the risky nature of land speculation (Statement by Larry Fisher, Jr., former owner of Roselawn Burial Park to writer, 1983, Martinsville, VA.). Hare & Hare's designs had formed the basis for the type of promotion which was typical of the 1920's as outlined in chapter 3.

Impact of Hare & Hare's Publications on Cemetery Design

The elder Hare's numerous articles increased his exposure to colleagues and lead to design commissions. The publications also fulfilled several other purposes. The clustering of articles coincided with eras when the national economy was depressed, for instance at the end of the Spanish American War in 1898, in the years preceding World War I, and in the early years of the Depression. Hare may have had plenty of time in his first years of
practice and during national slumps to write, and wrote them in hopes that they would generate commissions, much as H.W.S. Cleveland and Jacob Weidenmann had done.

Hare's publications played a key role in dispersing ideas to landscape architects and the cemetery trade. He helped inject fresh concepts into two professions which had a widespread impact on the shaping of specific cultural landscapes. Due to his readership, Hare probably influenced much work which he did not complete himself.

The younger Hare published a number of articles during the Depression years which revealed social attitudes which influenced the firm's landscape architectural practice. In his discussion of Missouri's potential relationship to industrial development, Hare stated "Fortunately, perhaps, the state of Missouri will not attract many of the types of industry which bring with them the class of worker which lowers the standard of living in our cities" (Hare 1930, p. 39).

These references to laboring classes which probably included minority races, suggested that Hare & Hare's personal outlook condoned the elitism and separatism which marked American burial practice in 1917, as discussed in chapter 3. Although Hare & Hare had designed cemeteries which stressed equality in burial ("Presenting," circa 1919), they also had designed cemeteries where only members of the white race could be buried, including Elmwood (1900) in their first years of practice, and Sherwood Burial Park (1928) toward the end of their cemetery commissions ("From the," 1917; "Sherwood," n.d.). These discretionary attitudes may have stemmed from the elder Hare's childhood in the South where segregation was routine. The younger Hare's education at Harvard reinforced these attitudes. These attitudes demonstrate how the personal attitudes of designers affect their designs of cultural landscapes and the cultural practices which result within these landscapes.
1. The rock formations which were named after Sidney J. Hare include Assiocrinus harii, Aes-icrinus harii, and Bellerophon harri (Kansas City Post, February 24, 1924).

2. Why the firm did little work in the West or the North remains an uncertainty and requires more research. The elder Hare's southern background may have been responsible for the orientation of the firm to the South and East. That background may have also influenced Hare's decision to send his son to college in the East instead of to universities with landscape architecture programs that were in closer proximity, such as Kansas State University at Manhattan, Kansas. Hare & Hare may have had a gentlemen's agreement with other landscape architectural firms that the Kansas City office would concentrate on work in the South and East while other firms handled commissions in regions of the North and West.

3. Hubbard wrote that the following commissions were typical of landscape architectural practice, despite the depression era and the condition of society: gardens, private estates, residential subdivisions, grounds for country clubs, country hotels, colleges, institutions, hospitals, public and other semi-public building groups, exposition grounds, amusement parks, zoological parks and botanical gardens, cemeteries, playgrounds, small intown parks, large suburban parks, and large landscape reservations scattered around the country (1929, p. 232). Hubbard's list demonstrated that there were speculators and developers who were insulated from the impending national depression and that landscape architects were working for them. One can surmise that if the developers and users of many of those private cultural landscapes had not been insulated from economic declines, landscape architects would have had less work.

4. The latest plan which Hare signed may have been the one of Elmwood in Birmingham, Alabama. That plan was not dated but it was designed circa 1912 (Appendix B). Chalmer Cooper's work as a landscape architect and principal with the Hare & Hare organization overlapped with Herbert Hare's career. In one of a series of interviews with the writer in 1983, Cooper offered this explanation for the lack of signatures on subsequent designs. Cooper stated that it was the Hares' wish that projects reflected the work of the firm rather than that of individual designers. In some cases, however, the signature of delineators could be deciphered on the front of original plans; the rendering of the Nelson Gallery was signed by D. D. Obert and dated 1932.

5. Correspondence in the office records and an interview with Chalmer Cooper of the firm revealed that a Miss Sutenmeister who had worked for George Kessler in St. Louis moved to the Hare & Hare office to help finish some of Kessler's work after he died. The correspondence stated that she had completed the planting plan and was working on an entry study for Mt. Olivet Cemetery ("Correspondence," 1929).
6. General plans were analyzed to form the classification which is included in Appendices D-I.

7. Hare acknowledged that the Mission style seemed out of context in the Midwest. His use of the style is therefore intriguing. George Kessler, who had lived in Texas before he moved to Kansas City in the 1880's to design the park and boulevard system, may have brought the style with him; Kessler may have introduced Hare to the style during the surveying and planning which the two accomplished for the office of the City Engineer.

8. Timbertent and the Harecliff garden are still under private ownership, according to a statement made by landscape designer, Jim Howard, to the writer in 1983. Howard is personally acquainted with the owners. He currently designs for Ochsner Hare & Hare, Kansas City, Missouri.

9. The other two speculative cemeteries were Birchlawn Burial Park, Pearisburg, Virginia, and Riedlawn Burial Park, Riedsville, North Carolina. This information is based on a statement made by Larry Fisher, Jr., former owner of Roselawn Burial Park, to the writer. Roselawn was designed by Hare & Hare in 1930. Fisher bought the cemetery for no down payment in 1939 when the original developers became bankrupt (telephone conversation, October 8, 1983, Martinsville, Virginia).
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Chapter 5

ELEMENTS OF DESIGN IN HARE & HARE'S CEMETERIES

Hare & Hare designed three types of cemeteries which overlapped during three decades of work. The types and eras included the modern type from 1905-1912, park types from 1908-1926, and memorial park types from 1917-1930. These types generally paralleled the national trends in cemetery design which were identified in Chapter 3.

Hare & Hare used elements in cemeteries, and in their designs for other landscape designs, which defined spaces, and set the image of places. Their use of elements created varying ambience between cemetery types, reflected changes in burial practice and transportation technology, and exemplified how economics had an increasing influence on landuse.

Hare & Hare's use of specific elements created patterns which allowed differentiation between cemetery types. The first of two sections summarizes Hare & Hare's use of design elements within the modern, park, and memorial park types, and evaluates how changing use redefined sense of place in successive cemetery types. In the typology in section 2, models of each type of cemetery and of those which were transitions between types were compared and contrasted to illustrate Hare & Hare's evolving concepts of cemetery design.

Elements Which Created Patterns Upon Landscapes

The key elements which were typical of Hare & Hare's cemetery designs and of other designed landscapes included location, size and shape of sites, access points, entryways, circulation, features, size and shape of sections, layout of lots, monumentation, and planting design.

Location. The proximity of cemeteries to the developed portions of towns varied within each Hare & Hare cemetery type. The evolving patterns reflected typical cycles in the growth of towns, the relative distance between cemeteries and other landuses such as commercial districts and residential areas, and changes in transportation technology.

Hare & Hare's plans of modern cemeteries commonly showed cemeteries as the last sites on access roads. That suggested that cemeteries were on local roads rather than those which linked one town to another. The proximity of modern cemeteries to towns ranged from two miles at Mount Hope (1905), to five miles at Mission Burial Park (1909). ("Beautiful," N.d.; "Development," 1913). These distances provided separation between the living and the dead yet allowed accessibility to
pedestrians and horse-drawn vehicles.

During the park era in the 1910's, Hare & Hare cemeteries were still located within several miles of towns. Some sites were within the city limits, as exemplified by Rose Hill (1918) in New Orleans ("Plans for," 1918). Others, such as Roselawn (1930), were referenced as a mile or two from local landmarks like courthouses ("Roselawn," N.d.). Evergreen Burial Park (1917) was within two miles of Roanoke ("Plans Made," 1915). The inconsistent distances between cemeteries and towns demonstrated that the designers varied locations according to local growth patterns and social situations. The consistent proximity of early park cemeteries to towns reflected that most cultural landscapes were relatively close together in the pre-automobile era.

Most of the firm's park cemeteries were adjacent to public rights-of-way along at least one boundary which indicated that they were no longer the terminus of town roads. Park cemeteries had more exposure to the public eye than modern cemeteries had had, and were frequently close to fashionable residential suburbs in the World War I era. That proximity simplified the targeting of upwardly mobile clientele, an advantage which Hare & Hare (1921, 1932) had noted. Among the projects which were publicized as close to fashionable suburbs included Fairlawn, and Rosehill Burial Park in New Orleans ("Fairlawn," 1918; "Plans for," 1918).

In "Planning and Design" (1921), Hare & Hare had recommended that cemeteries be placed five to ten miles from towns, in the path of local development. Those distances more than doubled the distances which had kept modern cemeteries from interfering with town growth. Separation between towns and Hare & Hare's cemeteries was often cited as security against encroachment by commercial or industrial interests, the very factors which led to economic growth and continued physical development ("Automobiles," 1913).

Hare & Hare made an important amendment to the issue of location in their article on cemetery design in the second edition of the Cemetery Hand Book (1932). They stated that the most important criteria for selecting locations was pattern of local growth rather than pre-set mileage because automobiles had made all sites accessible.

Records revealed that Hare & Hare's cemeteries were often less than five miles from towns. The short distance between some projects and towns was atypical because the designs were additions to existing cemeteries which had been sited close to towns in earlier eras. Oak Grove was within the city limits (Hogg, 1910) and Greenwood Cemetery was within two miles of the courthouse ("Greenwood," 1937). Those managers took advantage of Hare & Hare's expertise to update the image of existing
cemeteries without incurring the costs of land purchase and new development.

Shape and Size of Sites. The shape of cemeteries and other cultural landscapes reflected local patterns of physical organization or how land was parceled out for sale. The shape of Hare & Hare's cemeteries, as defined by property lines, was relatively consistent within types. Changes in shape between types reflected changes in landuse patterns.

The sites of modern cemeteries were square in plan which repeated the grid pattern plans of most contemporary towns. Many of Hare & Hare's park cemeteries were rectangular. The rectilinear shapes of park cemeteries seemingly reflected the linear sprawl along existing grid patterns into neighborhoods which were made accessible by public transportation such as street cars and trolleys. The park cemeteries which were sited on irregular parcels located between public rights-of-way, included Graceland, Evergreen Burial Park, and Rosehill Burial Park. These shapes were premonitions of those of memorial park types.

Linear sprawl was reinforced after World War I when automobiles became widely available and ribbon highways helped make driving a national recreation. The alignment of transportation networks within towns and between towns was no longer limited to the grid patterns which had shaped previous decades of landuse. As designers, like Hare & Hare, carved out curvilinear alignments to accommodate the turning radii of automobiles, irregular parcels of land between roads became more prevalent. Some irregularly shaped sites were used for cultural landscapes such as cemeteries.

The size of Hare & Hare's cemeteries varied between types as well. Modern cemeteries varied from twenty to forty acres. Park types were as large as eighty to ninety acres. These increases in scale paralleled the increasing size of many other cultural landscape types during speculation and development in the World War I era. Additional analysis of the relationships between cemetery scale and city area, population, and/or local growth rates would explain the relationships between city growth and burial practice.

The scale of park cemetery sites varied enough to allow differentiation between two subtypes of park cemeteries. Hare & Hare consistently designed small sites of 25 to 50 acres with formal elements which created "architectural park" cemeteries. Larger sites of 50 to 137 acres were developed with more informal elements into "naturalistic park" cemeteries. Hare & Hare's creation of architectural or naturalistic park cemeteries reiterated J.C. Olmsted's advice (1888, May) that the size of sites should influence cemetery design.
Access Points. The point where cemetery sites were linked to public roads by driveways reflected the functional and aesthetic nature of evolving intersections and subsequent first impressions of sites.

Access points to modern cemeteries were usually on corners on drives which entered at angles. These corners may have been the closest ones to the towns served by the cemetery since many of these cultural landscapes were the terminus of adjacent roads. Locating accesses on the closest corners would have saved the expense of building roads past sites until access to the countryside beyond was desirable.

The access points to park cemeteries were still on the corners of sites and at angles, as they had been in the modern type. An exception was made at Cartago (1917), however, where the centrally located entry allowed equal access to both the existing site and Hare & Hare's addition. This plan is included in Appendix G.

One of the key refinements in memorial parks was that access points were centrally located along the property lines adjacent to public roads. In addition, driveways entered at ninety degree angles instead of at the angles which had typified entries into previous types. Perpendicular intersections had aesthetic and functional value. Ninety-degree angles reinforced the formal character of architectural memorial parks. The perpendicular intersections also increased sight distance and visibility at entries and so the practice enhanced public welfare and safety as automobiles became a part of the American lifestyle. Because the regular angles were easy to survey and layout, they contributed to the standardization of landscape character during the automobile era.

The intersections at naturalistic memorial parks approximated ninety-degree angles and so incorporated some of the safety characteristics of access points to architectural memorial parks. This slightly informal curvilinear character provided key contrasts to that which was established at access points to architectural memorial parks.

Entryways. These zones included the drives into sites, the entry gates which set character and allowed securing the sites, and the treatment of the areas to the inside of gates before burial lots commenced. Entryways formed the transition from the public landscapes along roads to relatively private burial landscapes.

Judging from the many studies which they did for entries, Hare & Hare specialized in entry complexes, commencing with the modern cemetery. Their study of the Mission Style entry of Highland Park Cemetery was featured in their publications through the Depression (Hare & Hare [1921], 1932). Hare & Hare
suggested more traditional forms and materials for other entries, including the wrought iron fence and stone posts which they proposed for Riverview Cemetery (1907)."

Gateway studies comprised an important part of Hare & Hare's modern and park cemetery designs, but only a few entry studies for memorial parks were found. Studies for entries in the memorial park era included those for Rose Hill Burial Park, Greenwood Cemetery, Oak Grove Cemetery, and Floral Hills.

Many details about the entries into Hare & Hare's cemeteries remain unanswered. Whether they designed the entry into Sherwood Burial Park is unknown (see Appendix P). Whether the $50 to $100 range which they quoted in 1927 for a study of an entry into Mount Olivet was their typical fee in the memorial park era is also not known. ("Correspondence," 1927, May 5).

The firm may have designed fewer entry gates in the memorial park era, because the pattern of bisected entry complexes which they had established in park cemetery types had proven popular with developers. Hare & Hare established patterns for entry zones in the park era which they used consistently through the memorial park era. Open spaces were created to either side of the area just inside cemetery gateways. One side of the road was developed in an architectural manner and the other in a naturalistic way.

The most common pattern included offices and miscellaneous service buildings on the right of the entry and naturalistic features, including lakes or lawns, to the left. This pattern reinforced public health and safety since entering motorists turned directly into building complexes without crossing oncoming traffic. The naturalistic open spaces on the opposite side provided departing visitors with lasting impressions of life and beauty, rather than the images of death which had been positioned in space to impress previous generations. Hare & Hare's entry parks presented contrasting scenes of architectural progress and passive landscapes. These best-of-both-worlds counterpoints reflected the nation's preoccupation with life in the 1920's, after the terrors of World War I.

Although most developers seemingly preferred sites along roads because access points were highly visible, some developers took advantage of sites which were just removed from public roads. Hare & Hare (1921) had advised that such sites were less expensive for developers to purchase. These sites were linked to public thoroughfares by long entry roads where landscape elements helped to establish and create the all important first impressions of the site ahead. Examples of this include: Highland Park (1914), Evergreen Burial Park (1917), and Oakwood Cemetery (1913). Memorial parks included Fort Hill (1929) and
Redesigned entryways were important because they helped improve the public's perception of existing businesses. Hare & Hare created new entries into their additions to Park, Elmwood, and Mount Muncie Cemeteries in order to promote progressive images and to bolster lot sales in new sections.

Circulation. The driveways which organized sites, and linked the design elements within them, formed the transitions between public landscapes and semi-private burial ones. Roads through cemeteries reflected evolving transportation technology, just as the roads which were adjacent to sites did. Roads were multi-purpose corridors which channeled traffic, and formed design spines which linked visual sequences from entries, to formal and informal features, to burial sections, and out again, much as skewers organize the ingredients of shish-ka-bobs. Circulation was a key to differentiating between cemetery types.

The layout of roads in modern cemeteries was determined by the shape of sections. The plans for Highland Park (1905), Mount Hope (1905), Riverview (1907), and Highland Cemeteries (1908), all exemplify how geometrically shaped sections rather than roads were the determinants of organization of modern cemeteries (Appendix D).

The roads which outlined these formally shaped sections and channeled traffic were made of soil. The periphery sections which were defined by roads were of irregular depths however, so these areas of land were underutilized in comparison to later cemetery types. The typical short straight-a-ways and slightly curved turns reflected transportation technology; the gentle curves were improvements over contemporary grid pattern roads in towns which had few curves to facilitate turning. The slow speeds associated with contemporary horse-drawn transportation paralleled the relatively slow-paced lifestyle which shaped American cultural landscapes in the first decade of the century.

Many of Hare & Hare's projects at the beginning of the park era were alterations of existing cemeteries. These projects formed the transition park type. Original sites were microcosms of grid city expansion rather than examples of the naturalistic rural cemetery type popularized in the 19th century. Cemetery expansion reflected patterns which were similar to those of city expansion. Expansion around gridded cities was often in concentric circles around original cores or in directions which were not encumbered by geographic elements.

Manmade property lines shaped Hare & Hare's additions to Park (1907), Elmwood (1912), Mount Muncie (1912), and Oakwood (1913) Cemeteries. Hare & Hare's additions usually doubled the size.
of existing cemeteries, a projection of long-term burial needs. The original gridded portions of Park, Mount Muncie, and Oakwood Cemeteries resembled the block patterns of earlier cities, as shown in Appendix E.

The curvilinear roads which defined transition park types were distinct contrasts to the grid systems in existing cores. The loop systems in Hare & Hare's transition parks were, however, noteworthy for their awkwardness; the loops formed disorienting mazes and defined sections of irregular size and shape. Still designs for early park types like Elmwood, Oakwood, and Mount Muncie reduced the road length needed to access all areas of sites. Increased turning radii increased the sight distances and reaction times needed by drivers of automobiles which moved at much greater speeds than horse-drawn vehicles had.

Even though ingress/egress patterns were awkward in Hare & Hare's transition park types, the changes in circulation which they introduced reflected how automobiles influenced the design of cultural landscapes as early as World War I. As Hare & Hare gained experience designing for automobiles in park cemetery types, they perfected aligning roads in sympathy with the existing topography. That practice made rides in cars safer, and more comfortable, which in turn enhanced viewing landscapes as recreation.

Roads which were designed according to existing terrain rather than as superimposed grids became a hallmark of Hare & Hare's cemetery projects, and of other projects, including the Country Club District in Kansas City in the same era. Hare & Hare's roads systems were such sensitive contrasts to existing conditions that their approach to circulation helped launch the national reputation of the firm as landscape architects (figure 4.9).

Hare & Hare made increasingly efficient use of roads in park cemeteries to organize landuse, and to set landscape character. S. Herbert Hare's designs of Monongahela (1915), Cartago (1917), and Evergreen Burial Park (1917) exemplified the use of loop roads to organize sites. The younger Hare's designs for loop systems accessed all areas of sites with relatively little length. That practice reduced development costs and left larger areas of land saleable than in many of the other park cemeteries credited to the firm.

Whether Hare & Hare's naturalistic road alignments were consistent contrasts to other contemporary cemetery designs bears further research. At least one example suggested that though Hare & Hare's goosefoot entries may have paralleled contemporary work, their naturalistic road alignments bore more resemblance to English landscape gardening tradition than to contemporary variations of grid plan layouts (Figure 3.8).
Impacts of automobiles on site design. As Hare & Hare's cemetery projects increased in size and as automobiles replaced horse-drawn vehicles, their roads became longer and straighter. There were distinct improvements over the circulation in their transition parks. Refinements in circulation became the key to subtypes within the park cemetery type.

Central drives in architectural park and naturalistic park subtypes typically split at traffic islands into three avenues. These goosefoot intersections channeled traffic along primary and secondary circulation through the remainder of sites (figure 5.1). Hare & Hare's treatment of the spaces beyond the goosefoot and the proximity of features to entries and to primary drives differentiated park cemeteries into two subtypes.

Architectural park subtype. Entry drives split at traffic islands into three radiating drives. The center branch carried traffic along curved axial drives to a central architectural focal point, typically a chapel. The roads to either side of the traffic island outlined uniform sections along property lines and looped back by the landmark feature on their way out of sites. That organizational spine, from gateways through small entry parks to central architectural features, typified most of Hare & Hare's smaller scale cemeteries, including Highland Park, Cartago, and Rose Hill Cemeteries (Appendix G).

Naturalistic park cemetery subtype. Hare & Hare's naturalistic park cemeteries contrasted to their architectural ones in scale and in sequence of features along design spines. Although they also had bisected entry parks, supplementary features were sited inconspicuously within the grounds rather than on axis with entries. The winding, landscaped drives formed crucial transitions between entry complexes, burial sections, and interior features. Naturalistic park cemeteries included Glenwood (1914), Monongahela Cemeteries (1915), and Evergreen Burial Park (1917) (Appendices F and H).

Loop roads were continually standardized in architectural and naturalistic park cemeteries into longer, more separated corridors which resulted in increasingly uniform sizes and shapes of sections. These sections probably contained similar numbers of lots which facilitated record keeping and development plans since income from lot sales could be projected.

Transition to Memorial Park Subtypes. Many of Hare & Hare's memorial parks were new cemeteries; their development reflected expansion of circulation patterns within communities. Contemporary accounts revealed how growth, wealth, and mobility had distinct impacts on the shaping of cultural landscapes after World War I. Cemeteries were continually sited outside
of development, along park and boulevard systems ("Plans For," 1918; "Landscape Architect," 1920; and "Plan To," circa 1920). Mission Burial Park (1909) and Joplin City Cemetery (1920) were located along popular parkways. This reflected that automobiles provided access to cultural landscapes, including cemeteries, in these two cities ("Development," 1913; "Have Natural," 1919; "Plan To," circa 1920).

Hare & Hare's favoring of sites along highways after World War I reflected how automobiles transformed American planning criteria. The highways which shaped cultural landscapes, facilitated the widespread use of automobiles, which in turn led to the decline of public transportation. Hare & Hare's recommendations on siting criteria reflected how designers helped facilitate these changes.

In the cemeteries designed after East Lawn Cemetery (1916) and Evergreen Burial Park (1917), the minor refinements made in circulation created transitions to subtypes of memorial park cemeteries. Circulation at entrypoints and the organization of elements along organizational spines set the character of memorial parks and differentiated architectural ones from naturalistic ones.

The goosefoot intersections just inside entry gates channeled traffic to interior spaces as they had in park subtypes. Approaches to the goosefoot and the use of the space between the toes differentiated architectural memorial parks from naturalistic ones. Traffic islands and burial sections at goosefoot intersections channeled traffic to the interior of the sites. Loop roads divided sites into zones and created continuous traffic flow, typical of the many roads which were built to accommodate automobiles in the era. Efficient loop roads allowed quick trips through memorial parks; short visits characterized visiting practice after World War II, when recreation and mobility were competition for increased leisure time.

The loop roads which linked sections within memorial parks facilitated the flow of traffic, a contrast to the awkward patterns which had characterized park cemeteries. Large traffic islands filled with plantings were located at many of the intersections which linked sections. These islands doubled as aesthetic features and functional tools which channeled vehicles through sites and back to entries.

Architectural memorial parks were microcosms of formal design and highway organization. Traffic entering on axial drives was separated by medians. Views along axial drives typically focused on architectural features which were located either within view of entries or within the length of a section. The architectural features were more than semi-public monuments.
which established site image; the features were also functional because they were typically chapels which were used for services. Their sites were also functional for they created barriers which dispersed traffic to the rest of cemeteries, much as rotaries did in highway systems.

By the Depression, Hare & Hare stated that the mobility provided by automobiles had replaced the necessity to locate cemeteries in proximity to public transportation (Hare & Hare, 1932). Furthermore, accessibility from highways within districts which were safe from encroachment by business and commerce was stressed relative to Sherwood (1928) and Mount Olivet (1929) ("Sherwood," circa 1942; "Greenwood," 1937).

Features. Hare & Hare used features of both architectural or naturalistic character for a combination of functional and aesthetic purposes within different cemetery types.

Lakes were often used as features in modern cemeteries. These were relatively inexpensive to develop, particularly when Hare & Hare could turn existing drainage patterns to advantage. Lakes could be dug on any sites which were suitable for digging graves. When planted as botanical gardens and bird sanctuaries, lakes provided private, passive zones which contrasted to the public character of entry gates and geometric burial sections. Finally, as symbols of enhanced nature, lakes balanced the formal features which symbolized progress.

Circular sections in Highland, Mount Hope, and Riverview Cemeteries served as aesthetic features in addition to their function as burial spaces. The shapes provided spatial variety in contrast to contemporary grid town layouts.

Although the naturalistic and design elements within modern cemeteries offered visitors a variety of relatively formal and informal sights, the elements provided relatively low visual contrast to the features which characterized Hare & Hare's successive cemetery types.

The proximity of features to entries was key to differentiating between successive cemetery subtypes. Small entry parks served as secondary features in park cemetery subtypes. The architectural features which were typically on axis with entries into the architectural park subtype were highly visible primary features. This pattern contrasted to the more subtle siting of primary features within the naturalistic park subtype. Even when primary features within the latter subtype were architectonic rather than naturalistic in character, the features probably served as pleasant surprises to visitors passing through the sites.

Features within the corresponding memorial park subtypes were similarly sited. The perpendicular pattern of drives into the
Figure 5.1 Goosefoot Pattern at Hampton Court Repeated in Cemetery Designs (left, Newton 1971; right, Berrall 1966).

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architectural subtype reinforced the formal location of primary features on axis to entries. This consistent pattern of formality contrasted to the variable location of features within the naturalistic memorial park subtype. Hare & Hare probably found that the interior location of primary features allowed some creative flexibility within this subtype. They may have even used variable locations to create planned design surprises within the irregularly shaped sites.

Section Layout. The area within cemetery sites was subdivided into smaller areas called sections. The distinct patterns which resulted on the landscape are shown in figure 5.2.

A maximum section width of 150 feet had been established by the cemetery trade by the first decade of the 20th century because it was the longest distance that it was comfortable to carry coffins in from cemetery roads. Based on that rule of thumb, sections could be 300 feet wide. Since sections were either as long as wide or twice as long as wide, widths could be used to estimate site scale on plans which had illegible graphic scales.

Each type of Hare & Hare cemetery was characterized by specific sizes and shapes of sections. The typical burial sections in Hare & Hare's modern plans were manmade shapes, either rounded off squares, reminiscent of grid sections, or geometric shapes like circles or ovals, as illustrated in Appendix D.

The size, shape, and separation amongst sections in park cemeteries became increasingly uniform as loop roads changed to accommodate automobiles. Sections of geometric shape were integrated into some park cemeteries as feature sections. Those forms contrasted to the curvilinear sections which resulted when longer, straighter roads were implemented, as seen on the plans in Appendices E, F, and G. Longer, more separated sections, probably contained similar numbers of lots. This practice facilitated record keeping and budgeting because potential income from lot sales could be projected.

Section design was common between both subtypes of memorial parks, as evident on the plans in Appendices I and K. Loop roads defined relatively uniformly sized sections. The naturalistic forms of sections reinforced the naturalistic alignments of roads. Typical sections were bordered with double tiers of 20' by 20' lots. Hare & Hare (1921) noted that sections laid out with double tiers of lots along roads could be sold for more than sections laid out in other patterns. This correlation between economics and physical layout seems to explain why the firm used double-tiered section borders with increasing frequency in the memorial park era.

The standardization of sections within park and memorial parks
Sections Defined by Road Layout. Floral Hills, (1930), Kansas City, MO. (Archives of Ochsner Hare & Hare).
created a mechanical neatness on the cemetery landscape. Standardization accelerated the process of design, surveying, and sales, much as the rectangular survey system had facilitated the layout of 19th-century landscapes.

**Lot Layout.** Lot layout refers to the dimensioning of sections into plots which were sold for burial. In modern cemeteries, once section shapes were established, burial lots were gridded within section borders. A sample lot plan is illustrated in figure 5.3. Gridding may have originally simplified the process of orienting heads to the East in the Christian tradition, so that bodies were symbolically ready for the resurrection which was expected from that direction.

Traditional orientation was apparently failing by the time Hare & Hare was designing modern cemeteries. Many of these lots were gridded according to section shape. Lots were oriented toward adjacent roads, or in superimposed geometric patterns, rather than to the east. Examples are included in Appendix D.

Grid layouts facilitated surveying and lot sales. Expediting layout for records and sales replaced traditional eastward orientation. While grid layouts expedited design, layout, and sales in modern cemeteries, this practice also resulted in many irregularly shaped lots along roads since section borders were curvilinear and lots were square.

Most of the lots which Hare & Hare provided in their modern cemeteries were uniformly large, even though family size had started to decline (Weidenmann, 1888). The use of homogeneously large lots suggested that the clientele of Hare & Hare's cemeteries was limited to those who wanted large lots and those who could afford to erect the appropriate large monuments. (Mount Muncie Cemetery, 1912) (Appendix E).

The rectilinear lots in section 11 in Highland Cemetery (1908) contrasted to the square lots in other modern cemeteries, shown in Appendix D. The rectilinear lots may have been reserved by organizations for sales to their members, a practice which was typical after the Civil War. The large lots would also have accommodated especially large private monuments or mausoleums. When filled, section 11 would have doubled as a functional and feature section which created spatial variety and balanced the naturalistic character of lakes provided elsewhere on the site.

Eventually, the shape of the prominent lots along roads became a priority over the shape of interior lots so that monuments could be shown to maximum advantage. Hare & Hare commenced using double tiers of lots to border sections which were adjacent to primary routes in Graceland Cemetery (1913) (Appendix B). The designers included both large and small lots which contrasted to the uniformly large lots in their modern cemeteries. Tiers of large lots in prominent positions along
circulation routes, with their plantings and large monuments, created impressions of luxury and property ownership. Sections in Graceland Cemetery (1913) were also lined with double tiers. These formed a distinct contrast to the inconspicuous small lots located in the centers of some sections (Appendix G).

Sections lined with double tiers were not, however, typical of Hare & Hare designs of park cemeteries. Double tiers of lots were typically used only along the drives which were expected to carry the most traffic, including at Highland Park, Cartago, and Evergreen Burial Park. (Appendices D, E)

Even though Weidenmann (1888) and others had noted declines in family size, most of the lots within Hare & Hare's park cemeteries were 20' x 20' square and included ten spaces for graves. Many of Hare & Hare's park cemeteries provided private alternatives to public cemeteries in an era wrought with discrimination. In an age when desire for large lots replaced need, the firm may have continued to provide large lots because the individuals who preferred private cemeteries still desired enough space to erect large family monuments ("Cemetery Notes," 1913, April; 1913, July; "Fairlawn," 1918).

The designers resumed the practice of bordering whole sections with double tiers of lots in their 1920 design of Rose Hill Cemetery, and carried this practice through the memorial park era. (Appendices D, E, F) That process of lot layout was detailed in intraoffice correspondence within the memorial park era. After sections were defined, four foot borders were dimensioned to the back of curbs. Then sections were bordered with double tiers of 20' x 20' lots and another four foot walk was scaled behind the border lots. Grid patterns for lots were turned and fitted within the remaining area of sections even if traditional east could not be maintained ("Correspondence;" N.d.). Why Hare & Hare seldom used double-tiered lots to define periphery sections remains unexplained. Conspicuous locations were seemingly reserved for large lots while periphery sections became characterized by small lots during the memorial park era.

Lots of 20' x 20' dimensions formed grids in typical sections of memorial parks. The center of sections was often reserved for small lots of contrasting inconspicuous character. Small lots had been included in some park cemeteries, including Graceland and Evergreen Burial Park, but these small lots were scattered throughout the sites. In memorial parks, they were concentrated within the centers of sections or in sections along the rear periphery of sites.

Hare & Hare's use of small lots remains perplexing for lack of contemporary notes. Need for pauper burials had greatly subsided by the 1920's; from 1880-1884, pauper burials included
Figure 5.3  Sections Divided into Burial Lots. Riverview Cemetery (1907) Lot Plan. (Archives of Ochsner Hare & Hare).
171 per 100,000 population but by 1915-1918, pauper burials declined to 78 per 100,000 population (Hoffman, 1919). Weidenmann had recommended that single lots be inconspicuously sited (1888) like they were in Hare & Hare's cemeteries but their small lots were probably not used for indigents like they were in Weidenmann's.

It was more likely that small lots in Hare & Hare's private cemeteries were purchased by couples whose families had moved away or by those who desired the flush markers which became typical of memorial park landscapes. Perhaps the resistance which Hare & Hare noted within the management of Sherwood Burial Park against cemeteries reserved completely for flush markers was typical through the 1920's (Hare, 1929). Hare & Hare may have sited small lots inconspicuously at management's request, in the event that those lots proved unpopular with local markets.

The standardization of lot dimensions contributed to the increasing neatness of Hare & Hare cemeteries in plan and created an organized sight to viewers as well. Just as importantly, the standardization of dimensions marked the increasingly efficient landuse which typified Hare & Hare cemeteries from the park era to the Depression.

Monumentation. Lot layout became a reflection of intended forms of monumentation. Changes in memorialization influenced many of the changes in lot layout which characterized the evolution of Hare & Hare's three types of cemeteries.

During the modern era, trends toward single large monuments on family lots and low monuments on individual graves replaced the 19th-century practice of placing vertical monuments on individual graves.

The majority of Hare & Hare's lot designs accommodated single family monuments with lower markers on individual graves, as specified by the management of Mount Hope and Highland Park Cemeteries in promotional literature. The location of these avant garde sections in Mount Hope could not be evaluated for their impact on the cemetery landscape, because the only available plan of Mount Hope was illegible (Appendix D). Reduction in monumentation was promoted by some as egalitarian. When planted with grass and intermittent trees, lots with reduced monumentation reinforced the open landscape character which had been promoted since the lawn cemetery type became popular in the 19th century, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In the park era, Hare & Hare (1921) provided double tiers of lots along primary drives. Monuments placed on those lots were obvious to viewers in vehicles and symbolized burial status, just as houses along residential streets did. Conspicuous display was seemingly popular, for Hare & Hare noted (1921)
that lots oriented to roads sold for more than interior lots.

With the development of Forest Lawn in 1917 in California, the practice of flush monumentation to the exclusion of upright monuments was introduced. The term "memorial park" referred to burial places where special sections had been set aside as theme gardens. Memorialization went public for plantings and sculptures within each section doubled as focal points and public monuments. Flush markers were used on all graves instead of traditional vertical monuments.

Several of Hare & Hare's commissions were said to have been inspired by the model memorial park Forest Lawn, including East Lawn (1916), and additions to Greenwood and Mount Olivet Cemeteries (Widener, N.d.; "State Senator," 1975).

Hare & Hare's memorial parks were variations on the design concept implemented at Forest Lawn. The designers continued to recommend appropriate forms for vertical monuments in "Planning and Designing" [1921] (figure 5.4). Moreover, their memorial parks included upright monuments, as exemplified by their design of the McLean family lot at Mount Olivet (figure 5.5).

The development of Forest Lawn influenced Hare & Hare's approach to cemetery management and their use of major focal points within cemeteries rather than their attitudes on memorialization. The memorial park type, in reference to their work, denoted landscape character shaped by circulation, and alternate lawn and tree plantings, rather than by restriction to horizontal plaques.

Changes in lot layout within Hare & Hare's memorial parks reflected that the market for lots which accommodated monumentation was steady during the 1920's. Hare & Hare inserted oversized lots within double tiers of lots at highly visible intersections. Conspicuous corner lots probably accommodated the large mausoleums which were featured in trade journals during the memorial park era (figure 5.6).

Such mausoleums were the antithesis of flush memorials. The structures served as personal memorials and as highly conspicuous features. Just as sections in some other memorial parks had architectural features which served as common monuments, structures on corner lots in Hare & Hare cemeteries served as landmarks which oriented those motoring through the grounds and symbolized the burial status of all who owned burial lots within the cemetery.

Planting Design. The planting of cemetery sites and of individual sections contributed to the evolving character of Hare & Hare's cemeteries. Site plantings affected an overall
Monuments Recommended by Hare & Hare in Memorial Park Era. (Hare & Hare [1921], pp. 31, 32).
Figure 5.5 Lot Layout by Hare & Hare Includes Vertical Elements. (Archives of Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Mausoleums Required Large Lots. ("Dietz," 1920, pp. 309).
sense of place while section plantings changed in relationship to lot layout and trends in monumentation. There are many examples of Hare & Hare's planting plans for cemeteries in the archives of Ochsner Hare & Hare.

Modern cemetery sites were enclosed with tree borders which set landscape imagery, and lent recognition to individual sites from adjacent roads. The borders also created visual separation between cemeteries and adjacent land uses, while they provided visual transitions between sites and adjacent countryside.

Intermittent plantings of trees along the borders of sections similarly defined individual sections and enframed views along drives. The interior of sections in Hare & Hare's modern cemeteries were planted with central masses of trees. These masses created backgrounds to monuments, much as Weidenmann (1888) and others had recommended. Plants also created living naturalistic contrasts to static architectural forms and materials. Special features were enhanced with plantings; lakes were planted as bog gardens, and feature sections were planted to reinforce geometric layouts, as illustrated by section 6 in Highland and Riverview Cemeteries. (Appendix D)

Hare & Hare continued to define the edges of sections in park cemeteries with trees, but the planting patterns within sections changed between their transition park type and refined park subtypes. The designers used several masses of plants within sections to create small zones adjacent to monuments. This pattern contrasted to the single central mass of plants which had characterized their modern cemeteries. These smaller masses of plants were illustrated by plans in Appendices E, F, and G.

Scattered plantings within park cemeteries created semi-private grassy areas which were accented with trees and other plantings. Whether the net reduction in numbers of trees may have reduced development costs because grass seed was cheaper than nursery stock requires research. Most importantly, the semi-private, sunny, open spaces which had been created reflected changes in taste from the shady wooded landscape character which had characterized earlier types of cemeteries.

In memorial parks, Hare & Hare continued to use small masses of plants to divide sections into several semi-private zones. The function of border plantings around sites changed however. Plantings along the sides of sites continued to buffer views between cemeteries and adjacent uses, but visual connections were created between roads and cemetery sites.

The borders along memorial parks had intermittent breaks which channeled views into cemetery landscapes. Many of the plantings along the borders included shrubs, the lower scale of
which allowed views into the sites, unlike former tree plantings. The increased visibility exposed the naturalistic character of interior plantings and created pleasant mysteries about sense of place. Visible features probably created illusions of burial status which helped generate lot sales.
Cemetery Types and the Transitions Between Types

Modern Cemetery Type

Hare & Hare's stylistic approach during their first decade of practice was consistent and paralleled the modern era outlined in chapter 3. Their modern cemeteries were located two to four miles from towns at the end of a road, on square parcels which ranged from 20-40 acre sites.

Circulation followed the geometric shape of sections which had been superimposed on sites. The curvilinear ninety-degree turns were manageable to typical horse-drawn vehicles and pedestrians which traveled at slow speeds. The turns were convenient improvements over the ninety-degree turns which were typical of contemporary grid pattern towns.

Riverview - Model Modern Cemetery. Riverview Cemetery was the ideal of Hare & Hare's modern cemetery type. The 1907 plan was the basis for the description in Appendix D. The typically square site was accessed by a drive off an adjacent road. Access roads into earlier modern cemeteries penetrated at corners and on slants which probably indicated the direction from which most traffic approached. The central location and ninety-degree angle of the drive into Riverview represented a refinement of access points. The perpendicular entryway may have been a continuation of an existing grid pattern in adjacent streets.

The driveway formed an organizing spine which passed through gates which were architectonic in form. The continuous road system, which outlined geometrically shaped sections, exemplified the peak of Hare & Hare's approach to circulation in the modern era. Islands were used to direct traffic to either side of the geometrically-shaped sections.

The changing character of spaces from architectural to naturalistic to architectural along the organizing spine resulted in landscape variety between burial sections. The square burial lots were laid out in grid patterns within sections of curvilinear shape. Border lots had irregular shapes and less usable area than interior lots because the grid patterns came out unevenly along curvilinear borders of sections.

Hare & Hare mixed formal and informal character throughout the site. The organically-shaped lotus lake was located on axis with the entry. Plantings transformed the section into a private and secluded zone which inspired contemplation. The geometric arrangement of section 6 created an architectural counterpoint which balanced the naturalistic feature presented
in the first half of the site. Section 6 illustrates how patterns were superimposed on circles to create formal features, and how plantings reinforced manmade patterns yet created naturalistic contrasts. Both types of features were highly visible to visitors travelling along roads so that the features had aesthetic qualities as well as functional ones.

Some of the gridded lots reflected the shape and orientation of the site. If north was to the top of the plan, then some lots may have been consciously oriented to the east, according to Christian tradition. Other lots mirrored the shape of the sections, as in the large central section. This pattern demonstrates that orientation to roads and manmade forms began to supercede orientation to the east in the modern cemetery type.

Sites were bordered with plantings which gave visitors a sense of enclosure and screened cemeteries from adjacent land uses. Sections were planted with large central plantings which served as backgrounds for one large upright monument per family lot.

**Park Cemetery Types.** The term park cemetery was used indiscriminately in contemporary literature to describe the continuum of American 20th-century cemetery types. In reference to Hare & Hare's work, park cemetery referred to burial landscapes which were characterized by lawns accented by trees, one family monument per lot, and low or flush monuments on individual graves. This style which evolved in the second decade of the 20th century in response to the forces which were described in chapter 3. The style reflected contemporary socio-cultural attitudes that death was the beginning of everlasting life and that burial landscapes should symbolize life rather than death. The sunny open lawns accented with small planted areas which characterized park cemeteries became symbols of life which contrasted to the heavily planted, somber character of previous types of cemeteries.

**Transition Park Cemetery Type.** Nearly half of Hare & Hare's cemetery projects in the second decade of the century were additions to, or replats which updated existing cemeteries. These renovations contrasted to their modern cemeteries which had been developed on new sites. Hare & Hare's curvilinear addition made to the original gridded portion of Park Cemetery (1907) is shown in Appendix E. The resulting juxtaposition of forms paralleled additions made to towns which were expanding in the same era. The consistent combination of existing formal layouts linked to informal layouts by curvilinear circulation marked the transition park cemetery type.

Crown Hill was a redesign which exemplified many perfections of the modern cemetery type yet marked change to transition park cemetery type. The designers used existing drainage patterns to
create feature lakes at the entry and along the south border. Border plantings defined boundaries, screened the cemetery from adjacent landuses, and created a visual edge between the site and the countryside beyond. Clumps of trees defined section borders and enframed views along drives. Finally, the plant masses in the center of sections created living backgrounds to inanimate monuments. A plan is included in Appendix E.

Certain subtleties in the design of Crown Hill signaled the revolutionary transition to the park cemetery type. The size of Hare & Hare's park cemeteries ranged from fifteen acres to ninety acres at Crown Hill. This latter size reflected how the size of landscape projects would gradually increase during the second decade of the century.

Hare & Hare's replat of Crown Hill represented how alterations and additions were made to existing landscapes in order to express progressive attitudes and how changing tastes influenced landuses. Although Hare & Hare had replatted Greenwood as early as 1905, their replats of Crown Hill (1908), Elmwood (1912), Evergreen Burial Park (1917), and Monte Vista (1924), were publicized because the redesigns recovered area from roadbeds which could be sold for burial lots. Hare & Hare's redesigns were important news to cemetery managers and developers because the increased number of lots had the potential of increasing income ("Famous," circa 1923); "Economy," 1932).

Hare & Hare transformed Crown Hill from a grid layout designed by a civil engineer into a site organized by circulation rather than section shapes. The designers created continuous circulation by replacing ninety-degree turns with turning radii. Since curvilinear circulation required less area than grid patterns, more acreage was available for development. The recovered acreage increased the income from lot sales by $132,000 over the engineer's plan ("Economy," 1932) (Figure 5.7).

The road system in Crown Hill defined uniform depth border sections which contrasted to the irregular boundaries which were typical in modern cemeteries. The standardization of the depth of borders facilitated the surveying of burial lots without usurping area needed for border plantings. The continuous circulation also allowed the free flow of automobile traffic which emerged by World War I.

The increased hierarchy of roads was further reinforced by the double tiers of lots which Hare & Hare used to define the edges of burial sections. The rings of lots along cemetery roads created highly visible sites for the display of monuments. The irregularly shaped lots which resulted on the interior of sections were used for less conspicuous burial space and for plantings.
Figure 5.7

Replat of Crown Hill Cemetery (1908). Before (top); After, by Hare & Hare (bottom). ("Economy," 1932, p. 241).
Figure 5.8 Replat of Section 1 in Elmwood Cemetery (1912). Before, left; After, by Hare & Hare, right. ("Economy," 1932, p. 240).
Other replats by Hare & Hare were similarly successful. The elder Hare redesigned about twelve acres of Elmwood around 1912. His replat of one gridded section saved the cemetery $11,524 in road and walk construction (figure 5.8). Other sections which he laid out created a naturalistic contrast to the grid in the center portion of the plan as shown in Appendix E. If the firm had redesigned the whole cemetery according to existing topography, the cemetery would have earned $230,000 over the salable area provided on the original plan by an engineer ("Economy," 1932).

Hare & Hare's addition to Mount Muncie demonstrated their perfection of the transition park cemetery as an initial phase of the park cemetery type. Because an entry to Mount Muncie was created close to the new sections, it focused the attention of visitors on these sections rather than on the older sections shown on the bottom right-hand corner of the plan. The irregular shapes of the new sections reflect that the shapes were determined by the roads which connected the new sections with existing sections. The resulting loop roads were longer and straighter; circulation was more continuous than the stop and start patterns which had characterized circulation in the modern cemetery type. A summary of Mount Muncie as the model of Hare & Hare's transition park type is included in Appendix E.

The curvilinear alignment of roads in Mount Muncie was reinforced by Hare & Hare's first use of double tiers of 20' x 20' lots to outline sections along primary drives. Hare & Hare used this pattern of lot layout with increasing frequency after Mount Muncie. They eventually noted that burial lots in this layout could be sold for more money than lots in other layouts, perhaps because these lots created conspicuous sites for sepulchral monuments (Hare & Hare [1921]).

Hare & Hare's addition to the eastern portion of Oakwood Cemetery (1913) included curvilinear forms which contrasted to the existing grid patterns. The designers made use of existing low areas in the lower central portions of the site by creating lakes surrounded by woods. This typified how the designers continued to transform landscape liabilities into visual assets. These sections are classified by current management as wasteland. This reflects that because the land cannot be sold for burial, these areas are worthless because they will not contribute to long term income (Appendix E).

Refinement of Transition Park Type into Subtypes

Hare & Hare's transition park type evolved into two subtypes of park cemetery which included architectural park cemeteries and naturalistic park cemeteries. These subtypes were usually located adjacent to roads. These roads usually passed sites instead of terminating at the cemetery as they had in the

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modern cemetery type. This pattern reflected the expansion of towns, facilitated by automobiles. Both types included an area for buildings and one set aside as open space within close proximity to the entry. These subtypes also reflected the designers' increasingly sophisticated use of roads to define site design. This improvement reinforced the growing impact of automobile traffic on the shaping of cultural landscapes. The key difference between the two subtypes was Hare & Hare's use of roads to organize the sequence of design features and the proximity of these features to the main entries, as described earlier in this chapter.

Architectural Park Cemetery Subtype

Graceland served as the transition to the architectural park cemetery subtype. Hare & Hare (1914) published their plan and entry studies for Graceland Cemetery to illustrate ideal park cemeteries. The article demonstrated that cemeteries still affected city planning, revealed refinements in Hare & Hare's design concepts, and reinforced their growing reputation as cemetery designers.

Illustrations of the Mission style entry to Graceland reflected Hare & Hare's continued skill at using architectural entries to create powerful first impressions (Hare & Hare, 1914, p. 105) (Appendix F). The entry study illustrated the location of the site along a divided parkway, the positive first impression provided by the entry complex, and improvements in internal circulation. The alteration of lawns and plantings created an impression of an open landscape as the first impression upon arrival to Graceland Cemetery. The entry complex enframed distant views of the centrally located chapel, sited to impress visitors who were also potential clientele. The close proximity and the axial position of this major architectural feature to the entry was a key characteristic of the architectural park subtype.

Graceland's roads demonstrated a refined continuity in loop systems. The system provided easy access and circulation for automobiles as had been advocated in contemporary cemetery design literature (Weed 1912). Although there were still awkward transitions in plan between the entry and individual sections, roads were increasingly lengthened and straightened. The turning radii eased turns for the automobiles which were anticipated as shown in the entry study.

The outside loop roads at Graceland created nearly uniform depths in periphery sections. The borders were one half the visual width of the sections, possibly the 150 foot distance recommended for pallbearers. The size of sections was also much more uniform, a distinct contrast to those on the plans of transition parks which are included in Appendix E.
Grandview - Model Architectural Park Cemetery. Grandview Cemetery (1924) was the model for the architectural park cemeteries included in Appendix G. The design had the standard entry parks to either side and a curvilinear axial drive to an architectural feature. The traffic island which was the site of the feature was typical of the islands which channeled vehicles throughout the site. Only the sections along the primary entry drive were faced with double tiers of lots. Lots were gridded according to the softened grid-like shapes of individual sections, and included small masses of plants as backgrounds to monuments. The site was bordered with trees, excepting the main frontage where shrub masses and open lawns created a verdant edge along the public right-of-way. More importantly, the shrubs and lawn allowed views between the cemetery and adjacent roads, a practice which Hare & Hare incorporated in the 1920's to attract potential buyers.

Monongahela - Model Naturalistic Park Cemetery. Monongahela Cemetery (1915) exemplified the naturalistic parks included in Appendix F. The entry which Hare & Hare developed for the new south addition into Monongahela was followed by the typical goosefoot axis which was dominated by an architectural feature. Winding roads through the informally planted sections led to a major axial landscape feature deep within the north end of the site, complete with secondary cross axis to west. The loop road wove on to provide access to the original cemetery before providing a return to the new major entry. The thickly wooded borders which screened the cemetery from adjacent landuses, and the small masses of vegetation in relatively uniformly sized sections repeated established patterns of planting design.

Park Cemetery to Memorial Park Subtypes. The cemeteries which Hare & Hare designed from World War I through the 1920's continued to present alternatives to public cemeteries, which were often characterized in contemporary accounts as neglected and unattractive places ("Cemetery Notes," 1912, October; "Plans Made," 1915; "Famous," circa 1923; "Monte Vista," 1923). There was some overlap in cemetery types through the mid 1920's. This reflected the willingness of firm members to vary design approach according to the objectives of cemetery developers. The firm's architectural and naturalistic park cemeteries evolved into architectural and naturalistic memorial parks, respectively.

Whereas stylistic approach seemed linked to scale in park cemeteries, scale did not parallel style in memorial parks for both subtypes averaged 40 to 80 acres. Additional research is needed to determine what factors influenced design approach in memorial park types. Topography may have been the principle determinate; level sites may have inspired architectural approaches while rolling sites inspired naturalistic approaches.
Hare & Hare's memorial parks were concurrent with the development of Forest Lawn, in California, although the latter was better known as a model of memorial park landscapes. Although both subtypes were initiated during World War I, there was a lull in Hare & Hare's cemetery practice during the years when the United States was active in the war. With the resumption of peace and their cemetery projects circa 1920, Hare & Hare's memorial parks became culturally distinguishable from their park types by the increased publicity surrounding the memorial park type.

Naturalistic Memorial Park Subtype

Evergreen Burial Park (1917) was the transition to naturalistic memorial parks, but the type did not mature for over five years, probably because World War I slowed work in the private sector. The design spine within Evergreen was oriented along a central axial drive which was lined with double tiers of lots. Feature sections of circular and triangular shape formed the terminus for vistas over open lawns to distant mountain landscapes ("Plans Made," 1915). The designers used the length of road which was required to link sections on the fifty acre site to buffer formal features from each other. The attractive, yet functional, circulation pattern established the informal character of the naturalistic memorial park subtype.

Highland Burial Park - Model Naturalistic Memorial Park.

Additions to Monte Vista (1924) and Mountain View (1925) contained key characteristics of naturalistic memorial parks but Highland Burial Park (1924) (Appendix H), exemplified the ideal for the typology. Section 2 at Highland with its curvilinear entry road and naturalistic feature park represented the key difference between naturalistic and architectural memorial parks. The large naturalistic park invited views from moving vehicles but the peripheral location and large design details provided enjoyment without requiring that visitors use any of their leisure time by lingering. Winding landscaped corridors formed transitions from the mixed character of entry complexes through burial sections to the naturalistic features deep within sites. Since the only features within the cemetery were planted traffic islands and occasional lakes, the development costs of naturalistic memorial parks were far less than those in cemeteries which contained at least one large architectural feature. Naturalistic memorial parks were low budget solutions in an era of speculative cemetery development.

Architectural Memorial Park Subtype

Many of Hare & Hare's cemetery commissions after Eastlawn (1916) typified the architectural approach. Most had divided axial entry drives which focused on major architectural features. Eastlawn (1916) was the transition to the
architectural memorial park type but Sherwood Burial Park (1928) was the ideal which formed the model of the examples in Appendix I. Other cemeteries where the first view focused on architectural features included Fairlawn Burial Park (1918), Rose Hill Burial Park (1920), College Hill Memorial Lawns (1919), Joplin City Cemetery (1920), Floral Hills (1930), and Roselawn Burial Park (1930). In two others, Morningside Cemetery (1925), and Fort Hill Burial Park (1929), architectural features were located a section's length away from the entry on a curvilinear drive. The features were, however, every bit as formal as the ones in other sites which were located closer to main entries.

Memorial Park (1926) represented the hybrid memorial park. It contained the informally aligned entry typical of naturalistic memorial parks, a formal architectural feature close to the entry, and a large axially planned burial section which served as a feature deep within the site. Hare & Hare took advantage of the 100 acre size to combine the best of both types within the same landscape.

Hare & Hare designed additions to several cemeteries during the 1920's. Unlike additions designed during the park era, these additions did not typify any of Hare & Hare's concurrent styles. These designs represented the designers' accommodation of existing constraints rather than concurrent stylistic approaches. Examples of these additions are included in Appendix K.

Impact of Hare & Hare's Memorial Parks

Though Hare & Hare's naturalistic and architectural memorial parks were initially as contrasting as their parallels in the park era, the major market by the Depression was for architectural memorial parks, judging from the numbers in which they used that showy approach. The architectural memorial park type was seemingly the firm's response to this speculative era; bold first impressions were required to attract clientele. Some of Hare & Hare's additions were recorded as the start of fresh sales campaigns, like their work at Greenwood Cemetery ("Correspondence," 1929). Moreover, the manager of Greenwood endorsed Hare & Hare to other developers of Texas cemeteries as the "only firm in the country capable of laying out a cemetery properly..." ("Correspondence," 1931). That suggested that satisfied customers proved to be important connections in Hare & Hare's growing network.

A summary of the relationship between Hare & Hare's cemetery types, their other projects, and national milestones is included in figure 5.9. Wars, urban expansion, and the introduction of automobile technology had distinct impacts on the design of cemeteries and other landscape types.
Figure 5.9  Parallels Between Hare & Hare's Cemetery Designs, Practice, and National Trends. (by the writer).
Chapter 5 Notes

1. Hare & Hare's entry was superceded by an entry shown in a later brochure. The firm did several intermediate additions to the cemetery, but whether they also designed the successive entry remains uncertain (Appendix H).

2. The entry to Floral Hills is one of the few Hare & Hare entries which currently exists. Its preservation is a testimony to the firm's choice of ageless architectural style and quality of materials, and to management's seeming recognition of the entry as a visual asset to site character. Other cemetery plans which exemplify the nature of Hare's entry treatment philosophy can be seen in Rose Hill, Sherwood Burial Park, etc. (Appendix H).

3. The younger Hare's loop roads were effective signatures in memorial parks; his designs of East Lawn (1916) and College Hill (1919) shared the visual cohesion of his park types. Whether the coursework in cemetery design at Harvard which was advertised in 1913 was part of Hare's coursework circa 1909 remains unknown; the skillfull road alignments which created organizational spines in cemeteries eventually formed the basis of many types of cultural landscapes.

4. The pattern at the junction in park cemetery subtypes repeated the patte d'oie or goosefoot which both Newton (1971) and Berrall (1966) illustrated with plans of Hampton Court in England (figure 5.1). Hare & Hare had repeated a typically French circulation tool with a conciseness which suggested that the designers were familiar with historic precedent.

5. Zoning currently separates cemeteries and residential districts within some municipalities. In one sample community, cemeteries are delegated to agricultural districts, along with other conditional landuses such as hospitals and sanitariums, commercial feed lots, sanitary land fills, quarrying and mining, sewage disposal facilities, and dog kennels. Further study would identify in which era cemeteries were decreed no longer compatible with residential areas and were delegated to zones which developers had originally avoided. Perhaps the other listed landuses were found to lower property value, much as cemeteries had by the Depression ("Zones," 1983).
A.W. Linn, a renowned cemetery professional, worked at East Lawn while Hare & Hare were designing it and was instrumental in establishing its reputation as a model cemetery (Widener, circa 1920). Linn was employed at Greenwood Cemetery in the late 1920's. Soon after, Hare & Hare were designing a $100,000 addition to that cemetery, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Linn may have provided the contact between Hare & Hare and Greenwood management. Hare & Hare's design was credited by the current manager as what propelled Greenwood Cemetery into national prominence (Bailey testimony, 1981). Soon after, Hare & Hare commenced additions to Mount Olivet for the same management. Both the cemeteries were featured in trade journals for their designs ("Greenwood," 1937).

Because cemetery superintendents referred commissions for lot layout to Hare & Hare, the managers seemingly formed an important network for extra work from lot owners who desired and could afford lot design even during the Depression ("Correspondence," 1930).

Hare & Hare's 1964 memorial park addition to Riverview Cemetery illustrated distinct contrasts to the original modern plan. The increased size of the site and of sections, the curvilinear shapes of sections, and the longer length and continuity of loop roads were notable changes (Appendix D). Furthermore, outer roads were used to create periphery sections of even depths.

Since Hare & Hare were well into the memorial park type by their proposal for Grandview, why they reverted to the less sophisticated park type is unclear. The plan may have represented a design which was inexpensive to implement in accordance with their client's budget.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

The American landscape of the 19th and 20th centuries was a landscape shaped by people who were experiencing the effects of rapid industrialization, increasing urbanization, and the fluctuation of an economy impacted by three major wars. The cemetery, one type of cultural landscape, both reflected and evolved in response to these societal changes.

The physical forms, component parts, and spatial relationships of cemetery landscapes parallel trends and attitudes found in American society during this period of time. These landscapes, composed of natural elements and artifacts, provide tangible evidence of the specific practices associated with death and general sociocultural development. With respect to the creators of cemetery landscapes, the shift in objectives from health and aesthetics to maintenance and investment is also revealed.

Identification of trends in cemetery design reveals how this project type provided a distinct market for emerging landscape architectural practices such as Hare & Hare of Kansas City, Missouri. The analysis of this firm's cemetery projects shows the evolution and refinement of 20th-century cemetery landscapes into three genres: modern, park, and memorial park cemeteries. More importantly, this analysis yielded information about physical responses to the technology and transportation associated with burial and urbanization. The development of an industry built upon death is also traceable through analyzing Hare & Hare's design work and their literary contributions.

The physical form of the cemetery landscape, and the emergence and development of a landscape architectural practice arise from this study as microcosms of a society faced with unprecedented changes. Examination of the archives of the Hare & Hare practice indicates that they alternately led and perpetuated trends in the design of cemetery landscapes. The evaluation of these trends provides a foundation from which to raise further research questions. We can see from the study that the cemeteries which Hare & Hare designed in Kansas City demonstrated that the siting of cemetery and other landscape types was related to periodic urban sprawl. Further research would reveal whether these patterns are representative of patterns of urban development in other American cities. Researchers of the objectives of cemetery siting will find a useful model in Pattison's (1955) study of Chicago cemeteries.

Other suggestions for research include whether trends toward siting American cemeteries in unattractive landuse zones...
reflect an increasing irreverence for the dead in 20th-century culture. The continuing relationship between zoning and real estate values bears investigation. Designers must be aware of the constructive relationships between industrial, commercial, residential, and recreational areas so that destructive patterns of land use will not be perpetuated. Such research might help present day practitioners anticipate and create innovative, efficient, and meaningful relationships within and between landscape types.

Historic cemeteries exemplify issues in the preservation of landscapes (Stewart 1975; Turner 1978; Tishler 1979). The classification of sites as historic resources, and the conservation of individual elements and the cultural landscapes they form comprise the minimal initiatives needed to safeguard this legacy. Landscape architects can play a key role in this process. References on model projects include those by Christovich (1974) and Lemann (1974). Preserved cemetery landscapes provide laymen and scholars with evidence of local and regional burial practices and sociocultural development. Preserved cemeteries can function as open space for passive recreation long after burial has ceased. (Finkler, c. 1972).

Today, we are in a position to confront challenging issues with little or no precedent. Our ability to resolve conflicts over the use and form of our landscape depends on our assessment of current social, political, and economic forces. The decision to lead or follow is not easily made, but it can be more wisely made by understanding our past. The legacy of the landscape architecture profession can be found in the cultural landscapes created by individuals confronted with challenge, change, and unpredictable forces. The choice to heed the lessons of this legacy is ours, as is the responsibility which physical designers bear for the legacy we leave to future generations.
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Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO SUPERINTENDANTS
Questionnaire Sent to Superintendents of Hare & Hare Cemeteries

1. What year was cemetery established?

2. What was original ownership (eg. city, institution, private)?

3. What is current ownership?

4. Did Hare & Hare do ____ original design
   ____ an addition
   ____ unknown

5. What style was original design (eg., monument, memorial park, or other specific type)?

6. Have additions been made to original cemetery?
   ____ yes
   ____ no
   ____ unknown

7. If additions made, what style (see #5 for types)?

8. What was ____ original acreage
   What is ____ current acreage

9. What historical information is available?
   ____ written history
   ____ photographs (date?)
   ____ maps ____ old
   ____ current
   ____ newspaper clippings

10. Name and address of person to contact about obtaining copies?

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS?  Thank you for your time!
Appendix B

CHANGES IN OFFICE ADDRESS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Addresses in Kansas City, MO</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903-1909</td>
<td>3216 Campbell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-</td>
<td>604 Gumbel Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circa 1925</td>
<td>712 Huntsinger Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circa 1938</td>
<td>114 West 10th, Suite 712-715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974 - present</td>
<td>4643 Jefferson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C

LISTS AND MAPS OF PROJECTS
Distribution of Projects by Hare & Hare Circa 1960.

Source: "Hare & Hare: Planners," circa 1961.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H &amp; H Date</th>
<th>H &amp; H Project Name</th>
<th>City/State</th>
<th>Project Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896-1901</td>
<td>(FOREST HILLS CEM)</td>
<td>KANSAS CITY, MO</td>
<td>CEMETERY</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900, 1912</td>
<td>ELMWOOD CEMETERY</td>
<td>BIRMINGHAM, AL</td>
<td>CEMETERY/PRIV</td>
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<td>1903-1910 CA</td>
<td>BARNARD PARK ADD</td>
<td>KANSAS CITY, KS</td>
<td>CEMETERY/PRIV/40 A</td>
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<td>1903-1913 CA</td>
<td>CHILDREN'S HOME BROS.</td>
<td>JOPLIN, MO</td>
<td>INSTITUTION/CITY</td>
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<td>1903-1913 CA</td>
<td>ODD FELLOWS HOME</td>
<td>LIBERTY, MO</td>
<td>INSTITUTION/PRIV</td>
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<td>1903-1913 CA</td>
<td>SCHIFFERDECER PARK</td>
<td>JOPLIN, MO</td>
<td>PARK/CITY</td>
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<td>SHAYLOCK HTS.</td>
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<td>JOPLIN, MO</td>
<td>RESID/GRDS</td>
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<td>1903-1913 CA</td>
<td>SUNKEN WATER GARDEN</td>
<td>KANSAS CITY</td>
<td>PARK/PUBL</td>
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### CHRONOLOGY OF HARE & HARE PROJECTS AND TYPES

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Distribution of Cemetery Designs by Hare & Hare Circa 1970.

Source: Map Courtesy of Rick Donnelly, Graduate Student, Regional and Community Planning, College of Architecture and Design, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.
CHRONDLOe'.' HARE & HARE CEMETERY PROJECTS

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Appendix D

MODERN CEMETERY TYPE
CHARACTERISTICS

Sites - square sites
Entry - access at corner on slant
Sections - sections irregular sizes and shapes
Roads - geometrically shaped sections typical
Lots - circulation followed section shapes
Features - irregular depth periphery sections
Plants - lot grids to section edges

- naturalistic features e.g. lakes
- planted perimeters
- trees define section edges
- dominant central planting in sections

CONTEXT
- within 4 miles of towns
- roads terminate at sites

OTHER EXAMPLES
- Highland Park Cemetery (1905)
- Mount Hope Cemetery (1905)
- Highland Cemetery (1908)
Highland Park Cemetery (1905). Kansas City, KS.
Riverview Cemetery (1964, 1974). Jefferson City, MO.
Highland Cemetery
Kansas City, MO
(1908)
Appendix E

TRANSITION PARK CEMETERY TYPE
MODEL

MOUNT MUNCIE CEMETERY
1912

CHARACTERISTICS

Site
Entry
Roads
- additions to existing cemeteries
- new entries into additions
- awkward loop road systems
- circulation shaped sections

CONTEXT
- roads terminate at sites

OTHER EXAMPLES
- Park Cemetery (1907)
- Crown Hill (1908)
- Elmwood Cemetery (1912)
- Oakwood Cemetery (1913)
Park Cemetery (1907). Carthage, MO.
Crown Hill Cemetery (1908). Sedalia, MO.
Elmwood Cemetery
Birmingham, AL
Planting Plan

Elmwood Cemetery (1912). Birmingham, AL.
Mount Muncie (1912). Leavenworth, KS.
Appendix F

NATURALISTIC PARK CEMETERY TYPE
CHARACTERISTICS

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<th>- large scale sites</th>
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<td>Roads</td>
<td>- open space to left inside entry</td>
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<td>- goosefoot channels traffic</td>
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<td>Sections</td>
<td>- winding loop roads access whole site</td>
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<td>Features</td>
<td>- burial sections start close to entry</td>
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<td>- perimeter planted</td>
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<td>- section edges defined with trees</td>
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<td>- sections planted with small masses</td>
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CONTEXT

- located adjacent to roads
- roads pass site

OTHER EXAMPLES

- Glenwood Cemetery (1914)
Monongahela Cemetery (1915). Monongahela, PA.
Appendix G

ARCHITECTURAL PARK CEMETERY TYPE
CHARACTERISTICS

Sites
- rectilinear site

Entry
- drive enters at angle
- buildings to right inside entry
- open space to left inside entry

Roads
- circulation organized site
- goosefoot intersection channeled traffic.

Sections
- uniform depth periphery sections
- sections uniform sizes

Lots
- double tiers of lots along main drives
- lot grids oriented to section shapes

Features
- architectural focal point close to entry

Plants
- small plant masses divide sections into zones

CONTEXT
- outside towns
- adjacent to public roads
- adjacent roads pass sites

OTHER EXAMPLES
- Graceland Cemetery (1913)
- Highland Park Cemetery (1914)
- Cartago Cemetery (1917)
- Joplin City Cemetery (1920)
- Rose Hill Cemetery (1920)
Graceland Cemetery (1913). Racine, WI.
Highland Park Cemetery (1914). Pittsburg, KS.
Joplin (Fairview) City Cemetery (1920). Joplin, MO.
Rose Hill Cemetery (1920). Kansas City, MO.
Grandview Cemetery (1924). Maryville, TN.

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Appendix H

NATURALISTIC MEMORIAL PARK TYPE
CHARACTERISTICS

Sites
- irregular rectilinear sites

Entry
- drives enter at nearly 90 degrees
- buildings to right of entry
- open space to left of entry

Roads
- goosefoot and islands channel traffic

Sections
- uniform section sizes and shapes

Lots
- double tier lots outline sections
- lot grids orient to section shapes
- large lots at intersections

Plants
- planting along front allows views in
- small plant masses divide sections into zones

CONTEXT
- adjacent to roads
- roads continue past sites

OTHER EXAMPLES
- Evergreen Burial Park (1917)
- Monte Vista Cemetery (1924)
- Mountain View Cemetery (1925)
- Memorial Park Cemetery (1926)
Evergreen Burial Park (1917). Roanoke, VA.
Monte Vista Cemetery (1924). Johnson City, TN.
Memorial Park Cemetery (1926). Kansas City, MO.
Appendix I

ARCHITECTURAL MEMORIAL PARK TYPE
**CHARACTERISTICS**

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<td>- axial entry drive</td>
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<td>- large lots at intersections</td>
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<td>- small masses divide sections into zones</td>
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**CONTEXT**

- both within towns and miles out
- adjacent to roads which pass sites

**OTHER EXAMPLES**

- East Lawn Cemetery (1916)
- Fairlawn Burial Park (1920)
- College Hills Memorial Park (1919)
- Rose Hill Burial Park (1920)
- Morningside Cemetery (1925)
- Fort Hill Burial Park (1929)
- Floral Hills (1930)
- Roselawn Burial Park (1930)
East Lawn Cemetery (1916). Springfield, MO.
Rose Hill Burial Park (1918). New Orleans, LA.
Fairlawn Burial Park. (1919). Hutchinson, KS.
College Hill Memorial Lawns (1920). Wichita, KS.
White Chapel Memorial Gardens. Extension of College Hill Memorial Lawns (left).
Morningside Cemetery (1925). Dubois, PA.
Sherwood Burial Park (1928). Salem, VA.
Fort Hill Burial Park (1929). Lynchburg, VA.
Floral Hills Memorial Gardens (1930). Kansas City, MO.
Roselawn Burial Park (1930). Martinsville, VA.
Appendix J

POST-DEPRESSION CEMETERY PROJECTS
Mound Grove Cemetery
INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Mound Grove Cemetery (1942). Independence, MO.
Oak Lawn Memorial Gardens (1956). Johnson County, KS.
Appendix K

ADDITIONS WHICH DID NOT REFLECT TYPES
Greenwood Memorial Park (1927). Fort Worth, TX.

246
Oak Grove Cemetery (1928). Uniontown, PA.
Mount Olivet Cemetery

Mount Olivet Cemetery (1929). Fort Worth, TX.
Mount Olivet Cemetery (1984). Fort Worth, TX. Extension around Hare & Hare design.
Appendix L

USE OF MEMORIALIZATION
Styles of Memorialization

Hare & Hare's Intentions Compared to Current Practice

monuments = vertical  plaques = flush  both = combination

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<td>1928</td>
<td>Sherwood Burial Park</td>
<td>both</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Fort Hill Burial Park</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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251
Hare & Hare's Intentions for Memorialization Within Cemetery Projects

(Fifty-five plans)

Source: Graphs courtesy of Arnold Waters, Graduate Student: Landscape Architecture Department, College of Architecture and Design, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.

252
Current Alterations to Memorialization Within Cemeteries Designed by Hare & Hare

(Fifty-five plans)

Source: Graphs courtesy of Arnold Waters, Graduate Student: Landscape Architecture Department, College of Architecture and Design, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.
Appendix M

USE OF PROPER NAMES
Hare & Hare Names which Matched Those of Existing Cemeteries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hare &amp; Hare Name and Location</th>
<th>Existing Model Cemetery</th>
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<tr>
<td>Calvary</td>
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<td>Crown Hill</td>
<td>Sedalia, MO, Kansas City, MO</td>
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<td>Elmwood</td>
<td>Birmingham, AL, Indianapolis, IN</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graceland</td>
<td>Racine, WI, Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Greenwood</td>
<td>Fort Worth, TX, Brooklyn, NY</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Knoxville, TN</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shreveport, LA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mount Auburn</td>
<td>St. Joseph, MO, Cambridge, MA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mount Olivet</td>
<td>Fort Worth, TX, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosehill</td>
<td>Kansas City, MO, Chicago, IL</td>
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source:  "The Largest Cemeteries" and Landscape Gardening  Park and Cemetery  32/8 October 1922
## Repetition of Cemetery Names by Hare & Hare

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<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Highland</td>
<td>circa 1905</td>
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<td>Kansas City, MO</td>
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<td>circa 19121</td>
<td>Hamilton, MO</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>Danville, VA</td>
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Appendix N

PROMOTIONS AND ADVERTISEMENTS

PUBLISHED BY MANAGEMENT OF CEMETERIES
Advertisements: Elmwood Cemetery, Birmingham, Alabama

Few cemeteries have made more continuous, systematic or profitable use of advertising than Elmwood of Birmingham, Ala., and Walter Puckett, President of Elmwood, presented an interesting paper at the Kansas City Convention of the A. A. C. S. giving the details of their campaign and evidence of its profit to the cemetery.

We reproduce here four examples of advertisements recently used in Elmwood's newspaper campaign. They are all designed in similar typographical style and occupy a space of four inches double column.

The reproductions speak for themselves, and illustrate the effective use of artistically drawn borders and illustrations, careful typographical display, and a forceful presentation of four different subjects which the cemetery may profitably present as selling points to the public.


Sherwood Is Different

A True "Garden of Memories"

The Park is Garden Plan of cemetery design, which has become
of great interest in recent years to one of the handsomest and beautiful
in the world. A garden spot that breathes happy memories and tells a story of Life and Death.

To accomplish this all distracting, artificial objects, including
monuments and limitations of the usual type have been abolished.
Here we see the beauty of the earth. The lawns are broad, unbroken by any
massed shrubs. Broad avenues lined with trees. The whole effect is
magnificent. Gravestones, tombstones, and memorial monuments are
no longer mounted or planted and every effort is put forth on the
part of the builders to create premises of such enduring charm and
beauty as to last the heart of every visitor above the contemplation of nature and the
deathless beauties that reaches beyond the grave.

"A Garden of Memories kissed by the sun,
When the song of the birds fills the air
And our loved ones soon shall when their day's work is done
Shade their graves enchantingly fair." 

"GATE OF LIFE"

"We say 'Goodbye', but not for evermore;
The call but summons to you farther shore.
And when we, too, embark,
It is not for the dark,
Of unknown seas but for the welcome meeting
With loved ones gone before who wait our coming.
Living in Hope and Faith, we fear not death,
To bat the Gates of Life."

James Mather Brown, in this poem, "The Gate of Life," expresses
partially the deep-seated desire for immortality residing in the
hearts of men. The idea of life that the person who will enter in the
death is but the vestibule to a larger, fuller life. In this manner the
builders of Sherwood Burial Park seek to create a place of
beauty for our beloved departed. It is a spot of tranquility and
beauty that will continue to be a place of rest after death.
In Sherwood Burial Park, we find a place of rest after death.

And Beautiful

Sherwood Abbey

A Burial Estate worthy of the love and reverence we bear those who are dear to us


BEFORE NEED

The purchase of a family burial lot well in advance of need is an obligation equally as important as providing assurance or other forms of protection for those we love.

It is a matter that calls for sound judgment and calm deliberation such as becomes impossible in time of grief.

The selfish view is to neglect or ignore completely this responsibility and allow others to bear the suffering and worry at a time when they are least able to meet it. It is not fair to risk having your family depend upon friends or neighbors to select your burial plot—or perhaps advance the money necessary with which to purchase it, a thing which frequently occurs when one has failed to attend to this in advance.

When lingering illness precedes death, there are bills for doctors, nurses, hospital and other services which oftentimes deplete the family pocketbook, leaving little or nothing for burial purposes. Then, too frequently, insurance money intended for the support of the family has to be spent for the purchase of a lot, thereby defeating the very purpose of the insurance.

Take a sensible view of this entire matter and let us assist you to simplify and make easier the performance of this duty. Don't take the chance of your family having to suffer because of your neglect.

There is everything to be gained in satisfaction and peace of mind for all by acting NOW . . . with no telling what the penalty in loved ones may be if you fail to act now.

Select your lot when you may—not when you must.

WATCH FOR THE ANNOUNCEMENT

OF A GREAT NEW PROGRAM OF CONSTRUCTION AT SHERWOOD. FAMOUS ARCHITECTS ARE PREPARING PLANS FOR A SHERWOOD PROJECT THAT WILL INSPIRE THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY. IT WILL BE UNIQUE IN THIS ENTIRE SECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

GOD'S GARDEN

The Majestic Mountains
Eternal vigil keep...
Or a beautiful garden
Where loved ones sleep

IDEALLY LOCATED

The location of Sherwood Burial Park represents a happy balance between the important considerations of easy accessibility in all parts of the community on the one hand, and a sufficient distance from the traffic and turmoil of the city to insure it against future encroachment. Its carefully selected location makes freedom from possibility of engulfment by industrial and commercial development and smelliness of environment. Here in the shadow of the everlasting hills the beloved dead of this historic community shall rest—until the Dawn.

LOW PRICES . . . GENEROUS TERMS

THE FAR-FAMED BEAUTY OF SHERWOOD WOULD NATURALLY LEAD TO THE ASSUMPTION THAT PRICES HERE WOULD BE HIGH. SUCH IS NOT THE CASE EITHER IN THE CEMETERY OR MEMORIAL, THE LOTS ARE MODERATELY PRICED AND EXTENDED, EASY PAYMENTS WITHOUT INTEREST HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR ANY FAMILY NO MATTER HOW MODERATE ITS PURSE TO SECURE SPACE IN SHERWOOD. THE SAVING OF THE PRICE OF A TOMBSTONE IS IMPORTANT.


The Spirit of Sherwood

A Prince of India was commissioning the royal architect to build a mausoleum for his beloved Princess who had died.

"Make it beautiful, as she was beautiful," he said. "Let the design and material and workmanship be a true reflection of her loveliness. No other is like her. Let this be a building such as no man has seen."

During twenty years this matchless jewel of architecture, the Taj Mahal at Agra, India, arose, stone upon stone. And there it stands today as a tribute to the last days of Love and Memory.

This same spirit has guided the builders of Sherwood and directs them still as they plan for the years ahead.

PERPETUAL CARE

The place where loved ones rest becomes a spot of tender memories and most
of us cherish the desire that it be protected against the ravages of time and
change. The care funds of Sherwood Burial Park are invested by its trustees in
government bonds and first mortgage real estate, these being approved securities
for such investments. None of these investments are in assets either to principal
or income which guarantees this protection to every lot and crypt
owner in Sherwood Burial Park.

With the sale of each lot or crypt, this fund increases. It will never be less
in amount, but will grow through the years. Its principal can never be spent, but
the income from its wise investment will be perpetually available as a guarantee
of permanence, an assurance of perpetuity. There will be no neglected area in
Sherwood. Every grave and lot will receive the same attention and care—
forever.

“REMEMBRANCE
IN BRONZE”

THE METAL OF TIME AND ETERNITY

The marking of graves in Sherwood Burial Park
is restricted to the use of the Bronze Tablets customary
in size and design, set flush with the ground. This
“metal of time and tradition” blends beautifully
with the velvet green of perfect lawn. The markers are...

INEXPENSIVE—Their cost is about that of the
simple headstone of other days. The lot owner
saves an average of several hundred dollars formerly spent for the monument.

DEMOCRATIC—All differences of race and class,
power and wealth are forgotten in this Garden of Memories. Here the prince and
the pauper are equal, the beautiful, eternal equal of death.

PERMANENT—No substance known to man is
more suitable for memorial purposes than Bronze. Inset with the name and date of
the deceased and anchored in a laws formula,
these bronze plaques will endure forever.

NON SECULAR

Just as the use of a uniform grave marker, all
distinctions between rich and poor are abolished in
Sherwood Burial Park, so also there is no distinction
between sects or creeds. It is non sectarian, respected
only as is the whole race.

Source: "Sherwood is Different," (1942), p. 3.

PREPAREDNESS on the hills of life means sunshine in the valleys. The selection and purchase of your family lot in Sherwood Burial Park is a wise, thoughtful and considerate thing to do for your family. Cemetery records show that purchases of such property made at the time of need are in two cases out of three made by a widow. Our wives outlive us in most cases. The man who delays action till death compels a lousy choice merely places the burden on weaker shoulders. Your family looks to you for protection against this unpleasant experience. BUY IN SHERWOOD ... BUY PRE-DEVELOPMENT—BUY BEFORE NEED—SAVE MONEY—SAVE EMBARRASSMENT.

Sherwood Burial Park
P.O. Address: Salem, Virginia Telephone 32
Located between Roanoke and Salem on Lynchburg Turnpike and State Route No. 117 in Roanoke County, Virginia

Promotion: Roseland Burial Park, Martinsville, Virginia.

Roselawn Burial Park

"Created for the Centuries"

The Most Beautiful Cemetery In The Piedmont Section Of Virginia

Distinctive in Name, in Plan, in Scope.
Commanding in its Unobscured Elevation and Scenic Beauty.
Modern in Lot Requirements and Restrictions.
Legal, Perpetual, Corporate Maintenance and Minute Care.

NOTEWORTHY FEATURES

Several miles of winding driveways and walkways, bordered with beautiful plantings.
Over three hundred varieties of stately trees, flowering shrubs, evergreens, and flowers.
Special sections for monuments, markers and mausoleums.
An impressive panoramic view of this entire section unexcelled.
Many other features to commend to you beautiful Roselawn.

Perpetual Care, the proof of a Perpetual Love

OWNERS

Roselawn Burial Park, Incorporated

HEAD OFFICE

MARTINSVILLE, VIRGINIA

OFFERING

Every family or individual in Henry County and surrounding territory, the choice and personal selection of a burial lot in a perpetually maintained environment of beauty, solitude and peaceful repose.

Through our deferred payment plan, your selection should be made now while you are unhampred with tears and grief.

Source: "Roselawn," (N.d.).

263
Promotion: Roseland Burial Park, Martinsville, Virginia.

100 Years
FROM TO-DAY
AND THEREAFTER, SO LONG AS TIME SHALL LAST
ROSELAWN BURIAL PARK
"CREATED FOR THE CENTURIES"
WILL BE AS BEAUTIFUL AS TIME, MONEY AND LOVING CARE CAN MAKE IT.
You And Your Loved Ones May Rest In A Permanent Environment of Beauty and Peace.
"PERPETUAL CARE, the Proof of a PERPETUAL LOVE"

Source: "Roselawn," (N.d.).
Promotion: Roseland Burial Park, Martinsville, Virginia.

Source: "Roselawn," (N.d.).
ANNOUNCING THE "THIRD" GARDEN SECTION TO BE OPENED IN PARK CEMETERY "THE GARDEN OF THE LAST SUPPER"

Our new gardens are located North of the main entrance drive.

Our "Memorial Garden" is a pre-development program as used by modern cemeteries.

Features to be erected in 1961 in the "Garden of The Last Supper."

Our TRUST FUND has been created to provide income for permanent care, with no further cost of lot owners, for care.

This Trust Fund is now in excess of $105,750.00.

We are offering choice locations in our new "Garden of the Last Supper" before development is completed.

The deed to memorial space is indispensable to your family's security.

For complete information regarding this new garden section call the office of the Park Cemetery FL 8-4534.

We are members of the National Association of Cemeteries and Associated Cemeteries of Missouri

PARK CEMETERY
WEST CHESTNUT STREET
CARTHAGE, MISSOURI

Artists Sketch of features to be erected in order of the "Garden of The Last Supper"

Advert: Greenwood-Knoxville, Tennessee. Includes endorsement by Sid J. Hare (center).

Presenting to Knoxville
GREENWOOD MEMORIAL PARK

GREENWOOD CEMETERY COMPANY is pleased to announce the opening of Greenwood Memorial Park in Knoxville, Tennessee.

The cemetery is located on a 120-acre tract of land, and will be open for burials and cemeteries beginning in 1929. The property was purchased from the city of Knoxville for a substantial sum of money. The grounds have been landscaped and developed to meet the needs of the community.

The park is situated on a hill overlooking the city, providing a beautiful view of the surrounding area. It is accessible by car and by public transportation, making it easy for families to visit loved ones.

The cemetery is open daily from 9:00 am to 5:00 pm, and a staff of qualified caretakers is on hand to assist visitors.

How You May Obtain a Lot

For further information, please contact the Greenwood Memorial Park office at (615) 555-1234 or visit our website at www.greenwoodmemorialpark.com.

Perpetual Care

One way to be remembered is by choosing a permanent care option at Greenwood Memorial Park. Our perpetual care program offers a variety of options to suit your needs and preferences.

Appendix O

PUBLICATIONS ON CEMETERY DESIGN

BY HARE & HARE
### Attitudes Expressed in Hare & Hare's Articles on Cemetery Design

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Era</th>
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<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>1897</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>Before and After</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
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<td>1905</td>
<td>Then and Now/Knoxville</td>
<td>Avant-garde</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>Transformation/Home Grounds</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>Avoiding Monotony...</td>
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<td>Modern Park Cemetery</td>
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<td>ca.1915</td>
<td>...Modern Small Town Cemetery...</td>
<td>Avant-garde</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>Planting...Monuments</td>
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<td>Organizing and Developing...</td>
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<td>Boundary Treatments...</td>
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<td>Nature's Way is Best</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>...Develop of Modern Cemetery</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>Planting to Set Off Monuments</td>
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Themes and Topics Expressed in
Hare & Hare Publications on Cemetery Design

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Appendix P

DESIGNS FOR ENTRY WAYS
Highland Park Cemetery Entrance (demolished). (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Mount Hope Cemetery Entrance. ("Mount Hope," N.d.).
Riverview Cemetery - Early Entrance. (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Riverview Cemetery - Later Entrance. (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Graceland Cemetery Entrance (circa 1913). (Hare & Hare 1914).
Greenwood Cemetery Entrance (circa 1928). (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Oak Grove Cemetery Entrance. (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Sherwood Burial Park Entrance. (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Floral Hills Memorial Garden Entrance. Proposed. (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
Floral Hill Memorial Gardens Entrance. As built. (Archives, Ochsner Hare & Hare).
THE EVOLUTION OF 19TH AND 20TH-CENTURY CEMETERY LANDSCAPE TYPES AS EXEMPLIFIED BY HARE & HARE'S CEMETERY DESIGNS

by

BETTINA C. VAN DYKE
B.A., University of Colorado, 1972

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

Department of Landscape Architecture

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas
1984
ABSTRACT

The physical characteristics of 19th- and 20th-century American cemeteries are examined in this study. Innovations and refinements in cemetery design resulted in the 19th-century rural type (and lawn and monument subtypes), and 20th-century modern, park, and memorial park types. The distinct characteristics of site, monumentation, planting design, and management practice of each type are analyzed.

Landscape architects influenced cemetery design from the Civil War through the Great Depression. Cemeteries designed from 1905 through 1930 by the landscape architectural firm of Hare & Hare, of Kansas City, Missouri, are compared and contrasted to contemporary trends. Nearly fifty of the firm's cemetery plans are categorized into modern, park, and memorial park subtypes. Hare & Hare alternately led and perpetuated the design of these and other cultural landscape types. Segregated cemeteries and those designed for real estate speculators reflect contemporary practice.