

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name SLEEPY HOLLOW CEMETERY

other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number 24 COURT LANE 344 Bedford St (1/3/14) not for publication

city or town CONCORD _____ vicinity _____

state MASSACHUSETTS code MA county MIDDLESEX code 017 zip code 01742

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☒ nomination
☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of
Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property
☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant
☒ nationally ☒ statewide ☒ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Judith B. McDonough
Signature of certifying official/Title Judith B. McDonough, Executive Director
Massachusetts Historical Commission, State Historic Preservation Officer

6/30/90
Date

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional Comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title _____

Date _____

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

- ☐ entered in the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the
National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined not eligible for the
National Register
☐ removed from the
National Register
☐ other (explain): _____

Signature of the Keeper _____

Date of Action _____

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

Name of Property

3. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☒ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☒ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- ☐ **A** owned by religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ **B** removed from its original location.
- ☐ **C** a birthplace or grave.
- ☒ **D** a cemetery.
- ☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ **F** a commemorative property.
- ☐ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Middlesex, MA

County and State

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

ART

ARCHITECTURE

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

SOCIAL HISTORY

Period of Significance

1823-1948

Significant Dates

1823

1855

1869 (see continuation sheet)

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

Cleveland, Horace W.S.

(see continuation sheet)

Primary location of additional data:

- ☒ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☒ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other

Name of repository:

Concord Free Public Library

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery Office

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

Name of Property

Middlesex County, MA

County and State

5. Classification**Ownership of Property**

(Check as many boxes as apply)

☐ private
☒ public-local
☐ public-State
☐ public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

☐ building(s)
☒ district
☐ site
☐ structure
☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
2	0	buildings
1	0	sites
10	0	structures
10	4	objects
23	4	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

6. Function or Use**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions)

FUNERARY: Cemetery

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

FUNERARY: Cemetery

7. Description**Architectural Classification**

(Enter categories from instructions)

N/A

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation N/A

walls N/A

roof N/A

other N/A

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

Name of Property

Middlesex, MA

County, State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 31.62 acres

UTM References See continuation sheet.

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

1. 19 307080 4703800
Zone Easting Northing

2. 19 307160 4703840
Zone Easting Northing

3. 19 307200 4703720
Zone Easting Northing

4. 19 307340 4703880
Zone Easting Northing

☒ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Anne Forbes, Preservation Consultant, with Betsy Friedberg, NR Director, MHC

organization Massachusetts Historical Commission date June 1998

street & number 220 Morrissey Boulevard telephone 617-727-8470

city or town Boston state Massachusetts zip code 02125-3314

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name Town of Concord

street & number P.O. Box 535 telephone 978-371-9400

city or town Concord state MA zip code 01742

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of

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Sleepy Hollow Cemetery
Concord (Middlesex Co.), Massachusetts

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7. DESCRIPTION

Portions redacted

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Concord, is located just east of the town center. The boundaries of this nomination enclose ca. 32 acres of rolling terrain along the north side of Court Lane and Bedford Street (Route 62), comprising one third of the land under cemetery designation at that location. Historic Sleepy Hollow is composed of four distinct parts. Beginning at the west end, opposite the triangular intersection of Bedford Street and Court Lane, the cemetery is anchored by the only two buildings within its bounds--the 1849 North Center (later the North Primary) Schoolhouse, now the Cemetery Office, and a small toolhouse of late-nineteenth or early-twentieth-century date. Stretching to their east and rising up a low hillside in a ca. 3.5-acre trapezoid is the earliest section of the cemetery, the "New Burying Ground" of 1823. (In this century, this section has frequently been referred to as the "New Hill Burying Ground".) East of the 1823 burying ground is the cemetery's ca. 8-acre center section, a roughly square piece extending further back from the street than the New Burying Ground. Mainly developed over a fifty-year period between 1869 and ca. 1919, this was the former Middlesex Agricultural Society fairgrounds. The eastern end of the historic cemetery contains the true "Sleepy Hollow"-- a large 17+-acre property with an open glade surrounded on the west, north, and east by wooded, steep-sided ridges. Opened in 1855 as the original Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, it is a triangle-shaped parcel, with a manmade pond, Cat's Pond, at its apex, at the point farthest from the road. Two deep hollows filled with native vegetation, one behind the other, mark Sleepy Hollow's western edge. The fourth distinct piece included in the nomination is "the Pines", a ca. 3.5-acre square-shaped area on the crest of the hill directly north of the "Fairgrounds" section. The Pines is the western part of a 7.22-acre parcel purchased in 1932. Another small ca. one-acre rectangular wooded hollow is notched into the boundary between the 1823 and 1869 sections. Although non-contributing to the cemetery's historic significance, it is now part of the main cemetery grounds, and forms a landscape screen between the cemetery and the adjoining residential neighborhood to the northwest.

Sleepy Hollow extends for a length of two-fifths of a mile along Bedford Street. The streetfront of the western section is lined with a split-granite and fieldstone retaining wall topped with granite-block capstones. Mortared areas of varying age give a hint of the many repairs and rebuildings this wall has undergone; during one of them in the early 1870's, blocks from the dismantled 1789 county jail were installed as capstones. (The lines of notches for the iron bars of the jail windows are still apparent on several of them). The eastern section of the wall is topped with a low black chain-link wire fence with round metal posts with ball finials. From the end of the retaining wall a five-foot-high black chain-link fence extends east across the middle of the cemetery to the center gate, the Prichard Gate.

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Between the Prichard gate and the next entrance to the east, a concrete curb rises gradually to become a low retaining wall.

There are four entrances to the cemetery, all on Bedford Street. Three are apparently those built in the second half of the nineteenth century by Cyrus Pierce and other local masons. These each have a pair of massive, ca. 6-foot-high by 3-foot-square granite block posts on wider bases, and are topped with finely-finished granite caps--slightly beveled on top, with a cove cornice. The fourth, the Prichard Gate, had brick and stone posts when originally built in 1891. In 1947 it was rebuilt with granite-block posts reminiscent of the other three entrances, but with flat slabs for caps, and no bases. All the entrances have double-leaf gates of modern, painted steel-picket construction.

The New Burying Ground (opened 1823)

While the four gates to Sleepy Hollow are a unifying visual element, the four historic sections of the cemetery are distinctly different from each other in character, due both to variations in terrain and vegetation, and to the dates and philosophies associated with their development. The New Burying Ground of 1823 was laid out in the lingering eighteenth-century manner, with long rectangular blocks of graves divided by narrow grassed paths or "alleys" extending up the hillside, perpendicular to the street. The alleys are now discernible mainly as narrow depressions in the earth. The vegetation in this section consists almost entirely of tall, mature trees, with pines, oaks, and maples predominating; several larches are interspersed in the eastern part of this section. A low fieldstone wall lines the rear perimeter. The level strip of land just inside the front retaining wall was once remarkably different in appearance. A double row of pine trees was set out there in the late nineteenth century, ultimately creating a tall, shaded alley that was destroyed in a 1938 hurricane. Two tall pines here may be survivors of that storm.

In the New Burying Ground, all the slate, marble, and a few sandstone gravestones (such as the well-preserved marker of Thoreau's maternal grandmother, Louisa Dunbar, who died in 1866), stand facing south toward the street. Especially near the western end, they are clustered close together, while their spacing is more sparse at the east end and higher up the hill. The markers here include a large number of typical early-nineteenth-century New England slates--some rectangular, most of the round-topped form, and carved with the prevailing motifs of the day. That era's universal image of mourning, the urn and willow, fills the top section of most of the round-topped stones and many of the rectangular ones; below it an architectural motif with a schematic pedestal or a set of two or four columns defines the main field. The names of the deceased are most often displayed within an oval or circle in the center of the stone, and background areas are filled with an overall incised texture.

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Some of the slates are signed by the carver. At least one, a simply-detailed urn-and-willow stone of Francis M. Pratt, who died in 1822, is the work of "J. Park", of the Park family of Groton, whose members carved several earlier stones in the nearby Hill Burying Ground. Many other slates are signed by the most prolific carver in the cemetery, "B. Day" of Lowell. Most slates are in good condition, although a few are spalling, and others are in need of repair or resetting. At one location a tree has grown up between a pair of small slates.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, slate markers gave way to marble grave-stones, most of which are in fairly good condition. Most of the marbles from this period in the New Burying Ground are extremely spare and simple in design--the majority are rectangular, the names and epitaphs carved without embellishment except for an occasional horizontal band in a geometric design. More of these than the slates, however, display the carver's name. Many in this group are stones executed by Lowell carvers, including "B. Day", "D. Nichols", and "T. Warren." One of the Day markers is a tall, square-sectioned marble monument for Joseph Barrett (ca. 1871) and his family, with a pointed-arched top adorned with a well-preserved carved wreath. D. Nichols executed an unusual tall sword-like marble marker for Nancy Barrett and Sarah Wright, who died in 1839 and 1847.

The collection of over 1500 markers in the New Burying Ground is varied by the presence of several obelisks, some devoid of decoration, a few topped with urns. Many gothic-style marble stones in the eastern half of the burying ground display pointed arches and a variety of floral and foliate decoration. The plot of the James Cook family is one of the most ornate. **(photo 18)** Here a tall urn-topped family monument overlooks the father's marker of ca. 1880, adorned with a sickle and sheaf of wheat, a son's in the form of an ivy-covered tree stump, and several low group stones with foliate decoration for the many children in the family who died when they were small. Other types of markers include three large "table" monuments, each consisting of a large horizontal slate slab on square brownstone legs. High on the hillside, where the markers are more widely scattered, is the small cannon from an 1812-era man o' war that constitutes the G.A.R. memorial. **(photo 20)**

Typical of a burying ground that was largely developed over the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, the earlier family plots in the New Burying Ground are not enclosed, while many of the later ones are surrounded by marble or granite curbing in a variety of configurations. Some still have granite fence posts, but their original iron chains are long gone. In contrast to the later sections of the cemetery, there are few actual granite markers in the New Burying Ground. Most are rectangular monuments dating to the late nineteenth-century.

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There is only one tomb in the New Burying Ground, a long, low granite-block tomb built high into the west end of the hillside. Constructed in 1825, it contains ten burial chambers, each with a slate name-plate on the front. The only buildings in the entire cemetery are located just inside the western entrance, close to the road. The former North Center Schoolhouse, now the Cemetery Department office, is a typical one-story, gable-end schoolhouse of 1849. Built at the height of the Greek Revival era, it has a flush-board three-bay facade, clapboard sides, and large 6-over-6-sash windows. The heavy Italianate scroll brackets at the main entry hood are the product of the 1880's, when the building was converted to a chapel, as is the seven-panel door. The shed-roofed "drop-sided" garage extending from the building's east side was probably added in the 1930's or 1940's. Just east of the schoolhouse is a small clapboard gable-end toolhouse. Both buildings stand on granite-block foundations. (photo 3)

Sleepy Hollow, (opened 1855)

True to the wishes of all those involved in its establishment, the second-oldest section of the cemetery, Sleepy Hollow proper, contrasts vividly with its predecessor. For fourteen years it stood separated from the 1823 burying ground by the Middlesex County fairgrounds. It thus began its function as a truly self-contained cemetery, its wide, deep hollow both visually and geologically enclosed by the high glacial eskers that marked its west through northeast perimeters. Sleepy Hollow was designed by Horace W.S. Cleveland, one of the foremost proponents of the "rural" or "garden" cemetery movement in the mid- and late nineteenth century. This ca. 17-acre section is roughly triangular in shape, with a steep path at the apex of the triangle leading down to Cat's Pond, an irregularly-shaped body of water deep in a wooded hollow that appears much as Cleveland's design and Henry Thoreau's layout intended.

One of the hallmarks of the rural/garden cemetery philosophy is respect for the existing landscape, meaning that the laying out of lots should interfere with the features of the natural setting as little as possible. While the lots in the New Burying Ground were aligned in a rectilinear arrangement, by contrast Sleepy Hollow is a composition in curves, with its lots laid out along sinuous drives and paths that follow the natural contours of the land. Where the terrain demands it, fieldstone or rubble retaining walls and flights of stone steps punctuate the slopes. Stairs built over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, most prominently the five-part flight up the west ridge, are built of granite block. Others, constructed in the 1890's and early twentieth century, were conceived as "rustic" stone steps, of mortared rubble stone, to harmonize with the wooded landscape. Steps of this type were built to the new Prospect Path on the western ridge in 1896. Chestnut Path, with more "rustic stone steps", was opened by 1897 along the top of the ridge north of the receiving tomb. Several sets of stairs are provided with twentieth-century iron-pipe railings; a railing at

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the west path up the north ridge, the famous "Authors Ridge", is supported by granite posts. A narrow cobblestone path is still in evidence at the north end of Chestnut Path on the west ridge, and flat stones still form the lower section of Ridge Path at the southeast end of Authors' Ridge. Along the steep outer edge of the scenic Upland Avenue, one of the original cemetery drives that formerly had a wooden rail fence, is a long line of 6-inch-square rough granite posts. The only non-contributing structural element in Sleepy Hollow proper is the hefty low wooden fence (composed of sections of a utility pole) that protects the small parking area at the base of Authors Ridge from the steep dropoff to the pond.

Although much of the landscaping of Sleepy Hollow proper remains from some of the same planting campaigns that provided the maples, oaks, and pines for the New Burying Ground, Sleepy Hollow's special intent as an arboretum of native plant material is still evident in the variety of vegetation here. The west end of Linden Avenue, which parallels Bedford Street along the front edge of the cemetery, is actually lined with venerable lindens, and the western esker is still graced with tall pines and spruces. Young Norway spruces also fill the unfenced front edge of this section, between Linden Avenue and the street, and masses of rhododendrons color Prospect Avenue in the spring. In keeping with the later phase of the garden cemetery philosophy, the hollow itself was lushly planted with ornamental shrubs. At one time there was at least one flower garden in the center of the hollow, and for many decades a cast-iron fountain stood on Fountain Avenue. An 1858 summerhouse near the southern end of the west ridge added to the idyllic, parklike atmosphere of the hollow. The summerhouse was demolished in this century, and the fountain area was converted to an "urn garden," of very small lots.

In contrast to the south-facing orientation of the markers in the 1823 burying ground, the gravestones and monuments in Sleepy Hollow proper all face the drives and paths. Typical of a cemetery that was opened in 1855, the earliest markers are marble--many of them of the severely simple rectangular type seen in those of the same era in the earlier cemetery. Others are in the more flamboyant gothic style, with floral or foliate reliefs, and often in representational shapes. The 1880's monument to Ephraim Bull, Jr., for instance, sculpted in the form of a tree stump with a scroll and lilies, evokes a most Victorian sentimentality, as does the figure of a sleeping baby on an infant's grave in the Farrar/Wood plot. (photos 29,30) Typically, markers here that date from the late nineteenth century and afterward are granite, and many of them are of the large block-like proportions that were favored as centerpieces for family plots well into this century. The Samuel Hoar family monument (photo 31) is a massive Grecian cenotaph of black granite, with a white marble plaque displaying attorney Hoar's final speech. Many other family monuments are obelisks--generally taller here than in the earlier burying ground, and many more are topped with urns or other finials.

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Surprisingly, in contrast to the Victorian excesses of many plots in the hollow itself, Sleepy Hollow's most famous section, the northern "Authors' Ridge", is an area of relative visual restraint. Here tall pines and oaks shelter the family plots of some of America's most renowned literary families. The Thoreau plot consists of a large rough-granite rectangular marker surrounded by small, undecorated marble markers of family members that are nearly devoid of inscriptions. Henry David Thoreau's headstone reads, simply, "Henry." Across Ridge Path, the Hawthorne plot is surrounded by a simple fence of granite posts and iron chain; nearby to the east is the Alcott plot, where the individual stones are again small and unadorned. Further east on the ridge is the Emerson family plot, where a huge rose-quartz boulder with bronze plaque commemorates Ralph Waldo, a delicate frieze of tulips adorns the marker for his wife, Lydian, and the rest of their immediate family is memorialized with a closely-packed cluster of simple slate and marble rectangular and round-topped gravestones.

(photos 32-34) While many of the family plots in Sleepy Hollow proper are surrounded by granite or marble curbing, posts, or retaining walls, this is the only part of the cemetery to display the ornate cast-iron fenced enclosures that were fashionable in the Victorian era. Outstanding fences of this type surround the adjoining Munroe and Hudson plots at the east end of Glen Avenue.

Two tombs are located in the Sleepy Hollow portion of the cemetery. The simple granite receiving tomb in the west ridge was finished by the opening date of the cemetery in September, 1855. Its iron door was enlarged in 1940, destroying the original three-part symmetry of its facade. The other tomb, the Pope family mausoleum, is of later date, and is somewhat more elaborate. Built into the west edge of the western ridge along the border of Sleepy Hollow proper, this tomb is also granite, but in a combination of rough- and smooth-faced stone. A segmental arched pediment surmounts the center iron door. (photos 36-37)

The Melvin Memorial, 1909

Just south of the Pope tomb, facing down Union Avenue with its back to the western ridge of the hollow, is the outstanding piece of sculpture in the cemetery. As a symbolic and universal expression of both lamentation and national pride, the Melvin Memorial stands in vivid contrast to the countless vernacular realist statues of soldiers that form the main body of this country's Civil War memorial sculpture. One of the major works of Daniel Chester French, this piece was, like his later Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., a collaboration between the sculptor and architect Henry Bacon. While it is uncertain exactly which parts of the work were designed by Bacon, it is likely that he had much to do with the base, and with the siting of the memorial overlooking the main intersection and the two wooded hollows at the boundary between the old Middlesex County fairgrounds and Sleepy Hollow. This massive work is of Knoxville marble, its general composition consisting of a 20-foot-high

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central shaft on an 8 by 25-foot platform. Three steps mount to the platform, which holds three 6 by 3-foot horizontal tablets of dark gray slate, each inlaid with a bronze rifle and wreath. A marble bench is set into each end of the platform, and a ca. 3-foot wall spans the rear and the sides. The focal point of the memorial is the central shaft, from which emerges one of French's most beautiful female figures, a seven-foot-high statue of a mourning victory, shrouded in an American flag, holding a laurel branch in her outstretched left hand.

Although its appearance has not changed since its installation, the Melvin Memorial is deteriorated due to weathering and the settling of the ground, and has undergone some invasive treatment over its nearly ninety-year history. In 1940 the memorial was cleaned by sandblasting, and in 1945 the three slate tablets were replaced with faithful reproductions. Its setting has changed somewhat over time. Historic photographs show the hillside to the rear dotted with what appear to be tall oaks, underplanted with young coniferous evergreens--possibly the young yews that were transplanted there in 1944 in place of some trees that were removed. Today, the hillside is thick with a variety of trees, including pines, oaks, spruces, and hemlocks, and with ground plantings of mountain laurel and rhododendron. A mortared fieldstone retaining wall, matching the walls that line the curving roads in the vicinity of the memorial, has been added along the rear and sides of the sculpture.

Daniel Chester French is buried on the ridge behind the Melvin Memorial. In contrast to the elaborate memorials he designed for others, the marker for his own grave is a simple horizontal granite slab, ca. 3 by 6 feet, with restrained embellishment consisting of a molded edge, and a laurel wreath above the inscription which reads simply "A Heritage of Beauty." (photo 42)

"Fairgrounds" (opened 1869)

In 1869, the former Middlesex County Agricultural Society grounds between the 1823 Burying Ground and Sleepy Hollow were annexed to the town for cemetery purposes. The society's 100 x 40-foot exhibition building was removed, and the cattle pens and livestock enclosures gradually gave way to late-nineteenth-century landscaping. While eminent landscape designer Ernest Bowditch was hired in 1888 to draw up some plans, it is not known whether any of the lay-out for this section was his, as only his plan of Sleepy Hollow proper survives. Local surveyor Albert Wood, who in 1876 was paid a relatively large fee for some surveying, may have laid out the earliest lots. The first development after the acquisition of the agricultural grounds, however, was the linking of all three sections by the 1870 construction of Union Avenue from the western ridge of Sleepy Hollow to the westernmost entrance of the New Burying Ground, paralleling Bedford Street. As the fairgrounds section was largely devoid of vegetation, after Union Avenue was built the Cemetery Committee made the planting of a "large quantity of trees and evergreens" its highest priority. Some of the tall larches, oaks, and spruces here may remain from those original trees. (photo 41)

Only a small amount of planned development took place in this section over its first thirty years, however. Pine Ridge Avenue was laid out in 1892, Sumac Avenue was opened

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in 1904, and "Goldenrod Hill", the rear part of the fairgrounds land, with its concentric drives and, eventually, its tall memorial flagpole, was being developed by 1910. 60 more lots were laid out on the flat land closer to the street in 1919, to form the Vesper Circle area. Because its main period of development was in the early decades of this century, virtually all the markers in this middle section of the cemetery are of the rectangular granite type, both polished and unpolished, that was popular during that era. A few crosses are located in this section, as well. The landscaping here is more typically twentieth-century, with wide expanses of grass dotted here and there with ornamental shrubs.

"The Pines" (opened 1933) (photo 45)

Located behind the fairgrounds section at the crest of the long hill that rises from Bedford Street through the center of the cemetery, the western part of the 7.22 acres of former farmland acquired in 1932 was laid out with one encircling avenue, Gilmore Avenue, surrounding four nearly-parallel drives. Although the very earliest markers near the southern boundary are largely conventional granite monuments of the 1930's and '40's, the rest of this area has been developed as a cemetery "park", with tall pine trees, ornamental shrubs, and small-scale gravestones, most of them rectangular granite slabs, placed flat in the ground. A low fieldstone wall marks the rear cemetery boundary at the top of the hill.

Archaeological Description

While no prehistoric sites are currently located within the nominated area, a high potential exists that sites are present.

Most known sites in the area are located along terraced areas around the periphery of the Concord River floodplain. However, inland areas, especially along tributary streams of the Concord River and related wetlands, also have known prehistoric settlement concentrations. Environmental characteristics of the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery are diverse and exhibit several locational criteria recognized as favorable indicators for most types of prehistoric sites. Several well drained level to moderately sloping terraced locales are present within the nominated area, each of which is located in close proximity to tributary wetlands of the Concord River. Portions of the Concord River floodplain lie just over 1000ft. to the north and west of the cemetery. A tributary stream drains north to the Concord River along the eastern boundary of the nominated area while Mill Brook drains north to the river within 1000ft. of the eastern boundary.

Given the above information, the size of the nominated area (approximately 31.62 acres), the availability of open space and known prehistoric settlement information, a high potential exists for the recovery of prehistoric resources in the nominated area.

A high potential also exists for the recovery of historic period resources in the nominated area. Structural remains and related occupational type features (trash pits, privies, wells) may exist in the cemetery area related to two farms known to have been present in the area in the 19th century and possibly earlier. In 1855, about 25 acres of the Deacon Brown farm were sold by his estate to the town for cemetery use.

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That property contained the cemetery area referred to as Sleepy Hollow. In 1932, a 7 acre parcel that had been part of the Gourgas Farm was also sold to the town becoming the cemetery area known as "the Pines". Archaeological evidence of outbuildings and occupational related features may also survive associated with the North Center Schoolhouse(1849) later used as a cemetery chapel and now the cemetery office. Structural remains of 19th century outbuildings or sheds related to cemetery maintenance may also survive in the cemetery area. Structural remains from at least one residence as well as potential outbuildings and occupational related features can also survive in the cemetery area. An 1858 summer house located near the southern end of the west ridge was demolished during this century. An 8 acre parcel of land which contained the Middlesex County Agricultural Society Fairgrounds may also contain a variety of historic archaeological resources. That parcel, originally purchased by the Society in 1853 and annexed to the town for cemetery purposes in 1869, contained a 100X40 foot exhibition building which was moved as well as cattle pens and livestock enclosures which gradually gave way to late 19th century landscaping. Structural evidence may survive from the exhibition building as well as feature/structural evidence from animal enclosures and a fence which surrounded the grounds. Unmarked graves may also be present in the nominated area particularly in the older New Burying Ground(1823) area and in the area known as "the Pines".

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SIGNIFICANT DATES (Continued)

1908-09

1932-33

ARCHITECT/BUILDER (Continued)

Henry Bacon

Charles Berry

Ernest Bowditch

Daniel Chester French

Thomas Hunt

Leonard Metcalf

Jonas Melvin

Cyrus Pierce

Arthur Pitkin

Henry David Thoreau

Albert Wood

Gravestone Carvers:

B. Day

D. Nichols

J. Park

L. Parker

T. Warren

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, which, with over 10,000 graves is Concord's largest cemetery, meets Criteria A and C of the National Register at the local, state, and national levels, as well as Criteria Consideration D and maintains integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Under Criterion A, Sleepy Hollow vividly illustrates local historical patterns, and documents a 125-year-long evolution of attitudes toward nature, death and burial in Concord. Through its direct association with the formulation of Ralph Waldo Emerson's views on nature and art, and in its role in H.W.S. Cleveland's development of landscape architecture and garden cemetery design, it also fulfills the criterion on a state and national level. Beginning with the establishment of the federal-period New Burying Ground in 1823, followed by the 1855 acquisition of a favorite pastoral retreat for a garden cemetery, the 1869 transformation of the former Middlesex County agricultural grounds that linked the earlier sections into one continuous whole, and ending with the Depression-era development of "the Pines" into a memorial garden, the cemetery reflects a response to the town's needs by some of its most prominent citizens of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From its founding through the World War II era, the cemetery continued to mirror the cultural climate of Concord, as the number of world-famous Concordians buried there, (including Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, the Alcotts, author Harriet Lothrop [a.k.a. Margaret Sidney], and sculptor Daniel Chester French) increased, and it became a mecca for tourists, scholars, and those on literary or historical pilgrimages.

As one of Massachusetts' most prominent "rural" or "garden" cemeteries, laid out and expanded by two major landscape designers of the second half of the nineteenth century, H.W.S. Cleveland and Ernest Bowditch, Sleepy Hollow advanced the design tradition begun at Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge in 1831. As an important garden cemetery that merged with a traditional New England burying ground, and as a repository of a large number of outstanding markers in a variety of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century styles, some by significant regional sculptors and a few by nationally-known Daniel Chester French, Sleepy Hollow Cemetery also meets Criterion C at the local, state, and national levels.

The New Burying Ground

Sleepy Hollow is the third cemetery established by the town of Concord. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the two small original burying grounds, the Hill Burying Ground at the foot of Lexington Road, and the South Burying Place on Main Street, were nearly filled

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to capacity. In 1823, the town acquired approximately 3.5 acres for a new cemetery a short distance east of the town common, adjacent to the North Center School. Called "the New Burying-Ground", the property stretched east for about 500 feet off the end of a lane leading from the county courthouse to the schoolhouse. By 1849 the town had replaced the schoolhouse with the larger "neat, commodious, and elegant" building still standing today, and had extended a second road from the common (today the foot of Bedford Street) to run the length of the south side of the burying ground.

In the lingering eighteenth-century manner, the New Burying Ground was laid out in long narrow sections that stretched up the shallow hillside, divided by narrow paths or "alleys" perpendicular to the street. Over the second quarter of the nineteenth century, family plots gradually filled the lower part of the hillside with clusters of closely-packed slate and marble gravestones. Important documents of social and cultural history, they continue to tell the stories of the lives and deaths of Concord residents, and to cast light on the values of the times. Aged Revolutionary soldiers are honored here for their service to their country. Memorials to long-suffering wives are embellished with sentimental quotations commending their virtues and consigning them to the compensations of the afterlife. "Not lost, but gone before" is a frequent inscription, reflecting the yearning of a surviving spouse or parent to make some sense of the loss of a cherished partner or child. More heart-rending than the carved phrases, however, is the visual impact of the many family plots that include the tiny gravestones of children, who died at a time when infant mortality was tragically high. In the Adams family plot, for instance, a pair of tall slates to James and Roxalana Adams flanks a line of small slate markers for their six children who died between 1824 and 1833, all before the age of two.

By 1850, the year the office of Superintendent of Public Grounds was established to manage all of Concord's public property, there were over 600 burials in the New Burying Ground. The west end was the most densely filled, and new lots were being developed in the east part. Under the direction of the first Superintendent, John Shepard Keyes, a program of regular maintenance, planting, and more permanent organization was instigated. That year, the chestnut posts that had marked the corners of the lots were being replaced with numbered granite markers, and the front fieldstone retaining wall along the street was pointed with cement and capped with large split stones. As part of a campaign for the "beautification" of all Concord's public property that had originated with the 1840's landscaping of the south end of the town common, in 1850 twenty-five pine trees were set out in the New Burying Ground, followed by fifty more pines and maples in 1851. Local nurserymen like Minot Pratt of Monument Street, and amateur horticulturalists like Deacon Reuben Brown, who had a farm nearby, provided many of the trees.

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In 1853, the County extended the short road on which the burying ground faced (today's Bedford Street), east to connect with the main route to Bedford, now Old Bedford Road. (For a while, the road either had no name, or, as is shown on several surveys by Henry Thoreau, was called Burying Ground Street). Residential building immediately began on the south side of the new road. In 1853 the Middlesex County Agricultural Society, which since 1820 had been holding their annual cattle show at other locations in Concord, with yearly agricultural exhibits in the county court house, bought an 8-acre parcel of land abutting the east end of the New Burying Ground. There the society built an exhibition hall, set up pens for livestock, and enclosed the whole property with a fence.

First expansion: addition of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

The next year, a rare opportunity was presented to the town, when the death of Deacon Reuben Brown made available his picturesque farm east of the agricultural grounds for purchase. Ever since it first became apparent that the road would be extended east, Superintendent Keyes had had his eye on a piece of Brown's land that had long been a popular spot for picnicking and enjoying the beauties of nature. Known locally as Sleepy Hollow, probably after the 1820 short story by Washington Irving, this natural glade, with its surrounding woods and farmland, had also been a favorite retreat of the Transcendentalists, especially Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, and of Nathaniel Hawthorne and his wife. Emerson described sitting in Sleepy Hollow on a mellow October day in 1837 "to hear the harmless roarings of the sunny South wind". In the early days of their marriage in the 1840's, Nathaniel and Sophia Hawthorne dreamed of building a castle near the western end of one of the glacial eskers that nearly encircled the hollow. That very spot was later to be Hawthorne's grave site, and with the Thoreau, Emerson, and Alcott family plots located nearby, the esker became the famous "Authors' Ridge" which still attracts visitors from around the world.

In 1855 Deacon Brown's estate sold the town about 25 acres of the farm, a property that included Sleepy Hollow, the two wooded ridges which enclosed it to the west and north, a cornfield, a meadow, and the deeper hollow northwest of the main ridge that became "Cat's Pond". (Thoreau, who had tramped virtually all of Concord's most beautiful sites in the course of both his contemplation of nature and his occupation as a surveyor, laid out the plans for the picturesque pond.)

In a whirlwind of activity spearheaded by Superintendent Keyes, the town hired Horace W.S. Cleveland of the firm of Cleveland & Copeland to design a new cemetery of the "rural" or "garden" type on the southern part of the new property.

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The 1831 Mt. Auburn Cemetery in nearby Watertown and Cambridge, the first true "garden cemetery" in America, which preserved a beautiful natural area, would have been well-known to Mr. Keyes and his colleagues, and the long reach of its influence might already have inspired the 1850's planting campaign in the New Burying Ground. Proponents of the rural/garden cemetery concept saw a cemetery as a place for the living to reflect and to draw on the comfort and healing powers of a beautiful natural setting, a philosophy which local residents saw as a natural continuation of the longtime use of Deacon Brown's hollow as a site for quiet recreation, contemplation of nature, and inspiration for the soul and the spirit.

Horace Cleveland (1814-1900), who was born in nearby Lancaster, is credited, along with Frederick Law Olmsted, with developing landscape architecture in America into a recognized profession. He was one of the major innovators in the romantic rural/garden cemetery movement; Sleepy Hollow was one of his earlier projects, and one of which he was most proud. For decades afterward, he referred to it in his writings and promotional literature. After the Civil War Mr. Cleveland moved to Chicago, and was largely responsible for expanding the popularity of the garden cemetery into the midwestern states. Among his earliest commissions there were Oak Hill Cemetery in Cedar Rapids, Iowa (1869-70), Highland Cemetery, Junction City, Kansas (1871), and the expansion of Union Cemetery, Lincoln, Illinois (1881). He was a major critic of the "formal and rigid" quality of traditional burial grounds, and repeatedly advocated that the "most correct and tasteful principles of landscape gardening" should be applied to the design of cemeteries. To him, the "tasteful disposition of trees and shrubs, with graceful adaptation of the roads and paths to the natural contours of the ground" were paramount. Even on the flatter land of the midwest, hallmarks of his style and philosophy of design remained "graceful, winding paths and drives," and a practicality of method, which emphasized "the ease with which a man of ordinary skill and intelligence can transfer the plan to the ground." The method he developed consisted of overlaying his plan with a grid, which corresponded to a grid of 50-foot squares marked out with stakes on the property, to which anyone could transfer his design (Cleveland, A Few Words on the Arrangement of Rural Cemeteries, 1881).

Copeland & Cleveland were paid \$75.00 for the new design, and local surveyor Frederick B. Pratt was paid \$ 3.50 to draw up the first accurate ground plan. Local masons Thomas Hunt and Jonas Melvin, however, were paid much more--\$183--to build the granite-block receiving tomb that is tucked under the end of the western ridge. It is to J.S. Keyes, however, who as the recently-appointed Sheriff of Middlesex County probably did not need his small Superintendent's salary, that the main credit for the actual development of Sleepy Hollow is due. He himself considered it one of his major accomplishments in a life that was

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filled with many legal, judicial, political, and municipal achievements. In his 1855 diary, he wrote: "During this summer and fall, almost alone and unaided, I laid out the cemetery according to Cleveland's plan, so far as was feasible, and with my own hands drove the stakes for the lots and saved as many trees as possible from cutting, [and] made all the arrangements for the dedication. . . . Thanks to me, we have a Sleepy Hollow Cemetery. I am quite content to take my long sleep in it and for my only epitaph, "The Founder of this Cemetery." (Fifty-four years later, that indeed became his epitaph, carved into the massive boulder that marks his grave at the very top of Authors Ridge.)

The consecration of the new Sleepy Hollow Cemetery on September 29, 1855 was a solemn occasion, which, like many ceremonies in Concord in the mid-nineteenth century was marked by significant new compositions by the town's important authors. Prominent journalist and reformer Franklin Sanborn wrote the hymn, poet William Ellery Channing contributed an ode, and Ralph Waldo Emerson gave the principal address. Far from a piece of dry, commemorative writing, Emerson's "Address to the Inhabitants of Concord at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow," parts of which were later incorporated into his famous essay on Immortality, is marked by his characteristic lilting prose and insightful observations about a subject and a place he knew intimately. Emerson's address is especially intriguing in light of the knowledge that his ideas on nature and art exerted a profound influence on Horace Cleveland throughout the latter's career. If, as Daniel Nadenicek suggests, Sleepy Hollow represents Emerson's "philosophy made substance," then this cemetery is also a unique fusion of the poet/philosopher's voice and the landscape artist's eye. Cleveland himself expressed great respect for Emerson, and would have been well acquainted with the Concord cultural climate of which Emerson was the acknowledged leader. Earlier in 1855, Robert Morris Copeland, Cleveland's partner at the time Sleepy Hollow was designed, had even delivered a lecture at the Concord Lyceum, the forum at the center of that cultural circle. In his dedicatory address, Emerson foreshadowed Cleveland's later writing when he touched on the rural/garden cemetery philosophy. He pointed out that the form of the landscape itself had suggested the design, and cautioned that it should never be "deformed by bad Art", a sentiment expressed a year later by Cleveland when he wrote that the natural landscape should be "rendered legible to the popular mind" without "any finical display of artificial embellishment" (Nadenicek, "Sleepy Hollow Cemetery: Philosophy Made Substance", Emerson Society Papers, 1994).

Emerson's address even included far-sighted predictions about the future of the cemetery. His words, "when these acorns that are falling at our feet are oaks overshadowing our children in a remote century, this mute green bank will be full of history", give an eerily accurate picture of the role Sleepy Hollow would later play as a literary and historical mecca.

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In 1857 the management of Sleepy Hollow was formally placed under a Cemetery Committee, its members consisting largely of the men who had served on the committee for its establishment. John S. Keyes moved into the chairmanship, and the five-man board included prominent farmer Nathan Barrett, innkeeper Col. Joseph Holbrook, bank cashier John Cheney, and Ralph Waldo Emerson himself. Their first report notes that the highlight of Sleepy Hollow's second year was the public "tree bee" held on the town's most patriotic holiday, April 19 (anniversary of the "Concord Fight" in 1775), in which a crowd of local volunteers planted over a hundred trees. In a further volunteer effort, a group of ladies held a breakfast and flower show on July 4 at the Town House, which raised \$117 for the new cemetery. The fourth-of-July breakfast fundraiser became an annual event of the next several years.

While the enthusiasm of the townspeople and the august Cemetery Committee was focused on Sleepy Hollow, the care of the 1823 New Burying Ground was still the responsibility of the Superintendent of Public Grounds. In spite of the strong leadership of the new Superintendent, developer of lower Bedford Street Samuel Staples, the slim budget for what was now one of the three older burial grounds in Concord allowed for little but the most basic maintenance of its walls, gates, and fences. Fences, in fact, were for many years the main concern in the older burying ground, as they were needed to keep out wandering animals from the Agricultural Society grounds to the east and the Gourgas farm to the north.

For Sleepy Hollow, on the other hand, both town appropriations and private donations provided enough funding to hire a full-time Scottish gardener, James Wood, to care for the grounds, and to pay local carpenter Moses Hobson to build a summer house (no longer extant). In truth, Sleepy Hollow gradually took on a more decorative, "gardenesque" quality that diverged from the more purist philosophy originally expressed by both Emerson and Cleveland. Over the course of its first few decades it began to acquire decorative structures and objects, (a cast-iron fountain was added in 1876), as well as flower gardens and other ornamental plantings that gave its appearance an increasingly man-made quality.

In addition to the town appropriations, donations, and fundraisers, more revenue for Sleepy Hollow came from the sale of hay from Deacon Brown's former meadow, and of gravel from the eskers and from the excavation of Cat's Pond. Digging the pond was an expensive project, and took several years. In 1859, the ladies' fourth-of-July breakfast raised about \$200 toward its completion. The pond's final shape was attained by 1860, and when aquatic vegetation quickly crept into it, Henry David Thoreau, who had laid it out upon Cleveland's design, was reminded that "in the midst of death we are in life" (Thoreau, Journal, entry for October 10, 1860).

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The initial Cemetery Committee continued its duties for five more years. In 1862 the membership changed, and the new Chairman was Concord's most prominent horticulturalist, Ephraim Wales Bull, breeder of the Concord Grape. During his term, work focused on improvements to Sleepy Hollow's rudimentary water system. A well had been dug, and the gift of a pump was received from pump-maker George Clark of Lexington Road. In 1863 the committee was reduced from five members to three, but an infusion of new funds gave promise that, in spite of a heavy drain of both revenue and manpower to the Civil War, both the maintenance and development of Sleepy Hollow would continue without interruption. That same year the town sold off the undeveloped sections of Deacon Brown's former farm, and established a permanent fund to receive donations for the cemetery.

Second expansion: addition of "the Fairgrounds"

The late 1860's were a pivotal period for many properties at the center of Concord, including Sleepy Hollow. 1867 marked the end of Middlesex County's longtime presence around the town common, (by then called officially, Monument Square), when the last of the courts that had met there for two centuries was removed from the town. The County had owned several buildings on the square--the courthouse, the old granite jail, and a county officials' residence, the County House. In compensation for the loss Concord would suffer by the removal of the county operations, those properties were given to the town. Concord promptly auctioned off all three. The jail, which had stood since 1789, was dismantled. Some of its granite blocks were sold, some were used by the town for walls and sluices, and many found a new role at the 1823 New Burying Ground as capstones in the front retaining wall, which seemed in continual need of rebuilding.

One can again detect in the ensuing sequence of events the powerful hand of John S. Keyes. He helped to block the purchase of the Court House by the Boston Archdiocese, which had already bought the County House for a rectory, and he was undoubtedly instrumental in ensuring that the Court House would go instead to the Middlesex Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of which he was a Director. The Insurance Company immediately loaned \$1500 back to the town to purchase the Middlesex County Agricultural Society grounds that stood between the New Burying Ground and Sleepy Hollow. Although it was proposed at first that the town use the agricultural exhibition building for a badly-needed new armory, Keyes and others arranged for the armory to be installed in the Town House, and supported the Cemetery Committee in its recommendation that the town sell the exhibition building instead, and appropriate the Agricultural Society land for cemetery purposes.

In 1869, both the Agricultural Society fairgrounds and the New Burying Ground were officially annexed to Sleepy Hollow Cemetery. The Cemetery now encompassed over

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twenty-five continuous acres along Bedford Street, all of which were henceforth overseen by the Cemetery Committee.

The Committee's first action in overall planning for the expanded cemetery was the building of Union Avenue to link all three sections. No real development of the Agricultural Society grounds took place for nearly two decades, however. In 1881, what came to be known as "the Fairgrounds" section still had no roads or drives except for Union Avenue, and had not been divided into lots. While partial surveys were still being done in Sleepy Hollow proper, the whole cemetery suffered from the lack of a comprehensive plan. In 1879 the committee even lamented the fact that so many liberties had been taken with the original Cleveland design for Sleepy Hollow that "it would now be utterly impossible to recognize it as a plan of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery." In 1888, Ernest Bowditch, the prominent Boston landscape architect who had designed another rural/garden cemetery at Walnut Hills in Brookline in 1876, as well as numerous parks and grounds of large estates, was engaged to draw up a new survey and plan. (Although it appears that he was hired to do a comprehensive plan, only his "Section 1" plan, of Sleepy Hollow proper, is known to survive.)

Another annexation was made when, in 1885, the North Center School adjacent to the west end of the 1823 Burying Ground became the first of Concord's one-room schoolhouses to be officially discontinued. It had been empty since 1880, and for a short time thereafter it had housed the town hearse, its location being more convenient to the cemetery than the temporary space for the hearse in the horse sheds of the First Parish Church. Upon its official decommissioning, both the Cemetery Committee and the Selectmen recommended that the school lot be annexed to the cemetery and the schoolhouse converted to a mortuary chapel. It had recently been used briefly as an Episcopal chapel, and the transition was a smooth one.

In 1891, the expanded Sleepy Hollow received its first major material donation, in the form of a new gateway to be located at the mid-point of what was now a 2300-foot-long streetfront. A grand entry, with elaborate cast iron gates and arches, and six posts of brick and stone, it was the gift of William Prichard, formerly of Main Street, and was known thereafter as the "Prichard Gate." 1892 finally saw the first cemetery development of the former fairgrounds, with the construction of Pine Ridge Avenue around the periphery of its rear section.

As the turn of the century approached, Concord experienced an explosive tourist boom. Many visitors came armed both with one of several new guidebooks that catered to the growing interest in historical sites, and with pocket knives to cut souvenirs from the vines

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and shrubs at the graves of the famous. The number of tourists swelled again after 1900, when the extension of the Lexington & Boston streetcar line down Bedford Street to Concord center provided easy access to the cemetery gates. It was clear that, for its bucolic beauty, and especially for the presence of the famous graves on Authors Ridge, Sleepy Hollow would remain a major attraction for visitors. It had also become such a fashionable place to be buried that in 1893 the town took the extraordinary step of limiting the purchase of new lots to Concord residents, a policy that remains in effect today. Two years later, in order to preserve the remaining natural scenery of the hollow itself, the 1895 Town Meeting voted to reserve the unsold southeast portion bounded by Sleepy Hollow Avenue as "an open glade."

In spite of the residency restriction, the heavy demand for new lots continued into the first decade of the twentieth century, and the town responded by increasing funding and cemetery staff. The urgency of providing entire blocks of new lots for sale necessitated yet another set of plans, and local engineer Leonard Metcalf (later of Metcalf & Eddy), was engaged in 1902, 1903, and again in 1906 to draw up first an expanded development plan for the fairgrounds section, followed by a plan for the whole cemetery from the chapel to the eastern border. Beginning in 1904, the town established the position of Burial Agent to handle the increased number of interments. George Bowker filled the position for many years; he was followed in 1924 by Joseph Dee. Three generations of the Dee family eventually became cemetery superintendents and foremen, as well, in charge of all maintenance of the grounds. During this time of great transition, for an entire generation the cemetery was under the close personal leadership of one Cemetery Committee Chairman, John Gilmore, who served from 1898 until his death in 1926. Following the original example of J.S. Keyes, he approached his duties as a serious occupation. As noted in his Social Circle Memoir, during Mr. Gilmore's long career with an express company in Boston, "it was his custom to go to the cemetery in the morning before breakfast to confer with the workmen. After he retired from business the cemetery claimed his whole attention, and for several years he personally supervised the work. . . . Several new sections of the cemetery were laid out under his guidance."

The coming of the automobile in the twentieth century changed Sleepy Hollow as it did virtually all large cemeteries, and brought another increase in the number of visitors. The Cemetery Committee responded by widening and re-grading many of the cemetery roads, designating some as one-way drives, and for a time even considered limiting automobile access just to Concord citizens. Over the 1920's many drives were resurfaced with stone dust, and by the mid-twentieth century most were paved.

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Section number 8 Page 11The Melvin Memorial

By far the greatest new attraction to visitors in the early part of this century, however, was the cemetery's most important piece of sculpture, the Melvin Memorial of 1908-1909. Commissioned by Concord resident James Melvin as a memorial to his three brothers who died in the Civil War, it is a major work by Daniel Chester French, a former Concord resident who had risen to become America's leading public sculptor of the time. As a collaboration between French and architect Henry Bacon, the Melvin Memorial is an important precursor of their most famous joint work, the 1922 Lincoln Memorial, in Washington, D.C. Executed at the height of the era when some of the country's most significant sculpture was being commissioned for its cemeteries, this work has the good fortune to have Sleepy Hollow for its setting. It stands at the western, previously undeveloped edge of Sleepy Hollow proper, facing the old agricultural grounds with its back to the ridge, at the intersection of Upland and Union Avenues. This beautiful site, where a landscaped island marks the juncture of the curving roads, is lined with low rubble-stone walls, and overlooks two wooded hollows to the north and south. The area is accurately shown on the Bowditch plan of 1888, and its major circulation routes may have been laid out at that time to his design, rather than Cleveland's. The walls, however, and the widening of the road in front of the memorial, apparently reflect the hand of Henry Bacon. James Melvin financed the road improvements as well as the sculpture, and his contributions may also have provided funds for landscape plantings.

Daniel Chester French (1850-1931), was renowned for his portraits (several of which are of local people buried in Sleepy Hollow), public monuments, and architectural sculpture. The first decade of this century produced some of his most innovative pieces, including the Melvin Memorial, which he considered one of his best. On completing it, he remarked to his brother, "I am better pleased with it altogether than anything I ever did." His first commissioned work, done while he was living in Concord as a young man, was the Concord Minuteman of 1875. He designed at least a few other monuments in Sleepy Hollow, including the bronze plaques for the graves of his sister, Sarah French Bartlett, and her husband, Edward J. Bartlett. The sculptor himself, who spent his most formative years in Concord, is buried on the crest of the ridge behind the memorial.

Modern history: addition of "the Pines"

In response to the unabated demand for new lots, the 1928 Town Meeting rescinded the vote of 1895, and re-designated the remaining open part of the original Sleepy Hollow as available for burials. In 1929 the Metcalf plans were again revised, by architect Charles R. Berry of Boston. Clearly, another expansion of the cemetery proper was going to be needed, and in 1932 the town purchased a seven-acre parcel adjoining the north border of

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the center and eastern portions that had formerly been part of the Gourgas farm. At the time of the purchase, a conceptual plan for the new area was drawn up by Arthur Pitkin. The western section, at the top of the hill, was subsequently developed as a "memorial park", called "the Pines", with all the gravestones flush to the ground. During the depression of the 1930's, the Cemetery Committee was gratified that the surveying, laying out, and building of drives on the hilltop gave significant "work to the unemployed".

Few interments were made on the 1932 parcel before the end of World War II, however. Among changes to the other areas in the 1930's, some desirable, some catastrophic, were the filling in of a former dump site (apparently for brush and tree stumps) in the north hollow opposite the Melvin Memorial, and the appearance of the first signs of Dutch Elm disease in the cemetery's many stately elm trees. While the elms declined and died over a period of many years, a more sudden impact on the landscape came in 1938, when the Great Hurricane felled over 500 trees in the cemetery, including the last of the old nineteenth-century pines that had been planted on Author's Ridge, and nearly all the alley along the front of the 1823 Burying Ground. Again, the pressing need provided work for many, as W.P.A. labor was enlisted for the storm clean-up. The old cannon on the G.A.R. lot received a new gun carriage and wheels made from an oak that fell during the hurricane. In 1939 more jobs were created when 300 trees were planted, 200 lots were laid out, and 1000 feet of new drives were built in the Pines.

In 1940, in a development reminiscent of the contribution of earlier local nurserymen, the cemetery started its own nursery (no longer in operation) with 1000 seedling trees obtained from the state. Two years later 300 of the young trees were set out; 60 more in 1944. In 1947 the Prichard Gates, which had needed much repair and repointing over the years, were replaced, and the gateway was widened to allow trucks to pass through.

All sections of Sleepy Hollow are still open for burials. The town has recently opened the east portion of the 1932 purchase (outside the boundaries for this nomination), and plans are underway for a new adjunct cemetery located to the east, across the wetlands from Sleepy Hollow proper, to be called Sleepy Hollow North. In the light of present and future expansions, listing on the National Register will help to gather public attention and support for all the historic components of the old Sleepy Hollow.

Archaeological Significance

Although numerous prehistoric sites have been recorded in the Concord, Sudbury and Assabet River drainages (which converge less than one-half mile west of the cemetery), few sites have been systematically excavated in the area limiting their interpretative value and making surviving sites in the area potentially significant. Much of our information relating to Native American site locations in the Concord area dates from the 19th century or later and results from information compiled by artifact collectors and avocational

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archaeologists. Recent cultural resource management studies conducted by professional archaeologists in the Concord area have added to these early efforts and provided a systematic body of data which forms the basis for Native American subsistence and settlement models available for the Concord River drainage. Any prehistoric sites in the nominated area have the potential to further define the variability within these models and how they changed during the last 12,500 years of demonstrated settlement in this area. Recent professional archaeological studies in the cemetery expansion area northeast of the nominated area have identified Native American use of that area dating from the Middle Archaic through Woodland Periods. Those excavations produced projectile points, bifaces, chipping debris, pottery and features indicating the probable presence of a habitation site and the survivability of these deposits even after intense farming activities. Similar Native American resources may be present in the nominated area indicating the potential for a wide variety of additional research topics including lithic and ceramic technologies, changing resource use and procurement and possibly exchange patterns.

Historic archaeological resources described above have the potential to provide detailed information on the evolutionary history of the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery from its simple beginnings as "the New Burying Ground" in 1823 to its present status as Concord's largest cemetery with over 10,000 graves. Further documentary research combined with archaeological survey and testing can identify surviving archaeological components of the Deacon Brown and Gourgass Farms which comprise much of the Sleepy Hollow and Pines portions respectively of the present cemetery. Detailed analysis of structural remains and features associated with these farms can contribute information relating to Concord's agricultural history and the growth of 18th and 19th century agricultural technologies in this area. Archaeological resources can also contribute information relating to 19th century education in Concord. Detailed analysis of potential occupational related features associated with the North Center Schoolhouse (1849) can contribute information relating to levels and techniques of education, facilities associated with the school and details relating to the students who attended the school. Potential archaeological evidence can also contribute information relating to the nature of residential life at the 1858 summer house located near the southern end of the west ridge. This residence may contribute information relating to settlement change in Concord, especially resort or recreational settlement in the town. Archaeological information associated with the Middlesex County Agricultural Society Fairgrounds can also contribute important information relating to the exchange of agricultural information and recreation with a 19th century agricultural community. Information may survive which enables a reconstruction of this important facility as well as the activities which occurred in it. The location of unmarked graves can also be important by delineating the actual boundaries of the cemetery, possibly during different periods of time, and identifying mortuary treatment of unidentified and poor members of the population.

(end)

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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

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(continued)

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Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

Concord (Middlesex Co.), Massachusetts

Section number 9 Page 2

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES, continued

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(end)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSleepy Hollow Cemetery
Concord (Middlesex Co.), MassachusettsSection number 10 Page 1

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

UTM References, continued

	<u>Zone</u>	<u>Easting</u>	<u>Northing</u>
5.	<u>19</u>	<u>307580</u>	<u>4703700</u>
6.	<u>19</u>	<u>306960</u>	<u>4703500</u>
7.	<u>19</u>	<u>306980</u>	<u>4703560</u>

Verbal Boundary Description

The nominated property consists of the entire 28.12-acre parcel #1218, as shown on Assessor's maps H8 and I8, and the ca. 3.5-acre western portion of Parcel #1217, as shown on map H8. The portion of Parcel #1217 included in the nomination is all the land lying west of a line of convenience running north from the end of Rue Path (as shown on the April 19, 1961 plan for Sleepy Hollow Cemetery) and continuing along the eastern edge of Gilmore Avenue, then crossing Bartlett Avenue to end at the north (rear) lot line of Parcel #1217. (This area is the hilltop section known as "the Pines." The recently-developed "Chestnut Hollow" section to its east is outside the nomination boundaries.)

Boundary Justification

The boundaries encompass all land laid out and developed for cemetery use at this location prior to 1947.

(end)

United States Department of the Interior
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**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery
Concord (Middlesex Co.), Massachusetts

Section number photo Page 1

PHOTOGRAPHS (8 x 10")

- all contemporary photographs by Anne Forbes, 1997
- unless noted otherwise, all negatives in possession of photographer
- all photographs are of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

1. New Burying Ground, (1823), looking west
2. New Burying Ground: Melven stone
3. New Burying Ground: North Center School (1849) and toolhouse
4. Sleepy Hollow, (1855), looking southeast
5. Sleepy Hollow: Authors Ridge, looking west, with Alcott plot on left
6. Sleepy Hollow: Glen Avenue, with Munroe and Hudson plots, looking northwest
7. Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial (1908-09)
8. Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial, detail
9. Sleepy Hollow: historic photo, looking south from Chestnut Path, ca. 1890
 -- photograph by Alfred Hosmer; courtesy of Concord Free Public Library
45. "The Pines" section, looking north

SUPPLEMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHS (3 1/2 x 5")

10. New Burying Ground: looking northwest
11. New Burying Ground: retaining wall, with notches for jail bars
12. New Burying Ground: Dunbar stone
13. New Burying Ground: Adams plot
14. New Burying Ground: Mercer stone
15. New Burying Ground: tree growing between gravestones

(continued)

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**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery
Concord (Middlesex Co.), Massachusetts

Section number photo Page 2

PHOTOGRAPHS, continued

16. New Burying Ground: Joseph Barrett monument, Dakin stones
17. New Burying Ground: Barrett and Wright marker
18. New Burying Ground: Cook plot
19. New Burying Ground: upper (rear) section, looking northwest
20. New Burying Ground: G.A.R. monument
21. New Burying Ground: Wheeler plot
22. New Burying Ground: hillside tomb, 1825
23. Sleepy Hollow: looking southwest
24. Sleepy Hollow: Cat's Pond, looking northeast
25. Sleepy Hollow: Upland Avenue steps, looking southwest
26. Sleepy Hollow: Upland Avenue, looking south
27. Sleepy Hollow: Prospect Avenue, looking south
28. Sleepy Hollow: Glen Avenue, looking west
29. Sleepy Hollow: Ephraim Bull, Jr. marker
30. Sleepy Hollow: child's marker, Farrar/Wood plot
31. Sleepy Hollow: Hoar plot
32. Sleepy Hollow: Thoreau plot
33. Sleepy Hollow: Hawthorne plot

(continued)

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Continuation Sheet**

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery
Concord (Middlesex Co.), Massachusetts

Section number photo Page 3

PHOTOGRAPHS, continued

34. Sleepy Hollow: Emerson plot
35. Sleepy Hollow: Lothrop plot, with grave of Margaret Sidney
36. Sleepy Hollow: receiving tomb, 1855
37. Sleepy Hollow: Pope mausoleum
38. Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial, (1908-09): view east
39. Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial: slate tablets
40. Sleepy Hollow (1855) and "Fairgrounds" (1869): Upland and Union Avenues, looking northwest
41. "Fairgrounds" section: Union Avenue, looking west
42. Sleepy Hollow: Daniel Chester French marker, 1931-32
43. Sleepy Hollow: Louisa May Alcott headstone and marker
44. Sleepy Hollow: Henry David Thoreau headstone

SUPPLEMENTARY HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHS (PHOTOCOPIED)

--courtesy of Concord Free Public Library

Sleepy Hollow: panoramic view, looking northeast to east, ca. 1890 (two sheets)

Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial, ca. 1945

New Burying Ground: alley of trees, looking west, ca. 1900

-- photograph by Alfred Hosmer; courtesy of Concord Free Public Library

(end)

SLEEPY HOLLOW CEMETERY
Concord (Middlesex County)
Massachusetts
DISTRICT DATA SHEET

C = contributing; NC = non-contributing
 B = building; O = object; Si = site;
 St = structure

MAP#	HISTORIC NAME	DESCRIPTION	MATERIAL	DATE	STATUS	TYPE OF RESOURCE
1	Sleepy Hollow Cemetery	cemetery	N/A	1823	C	Si
2	North Center School	Greek Revival building	wood	1849	C	B
3	Toolhouse	wood-frame building	wood	early 20th C.	C	B
4	Hillside tomb	underground tomb	granite	1825	C	St
5	Sleepy Hollow receiving tomb	tomb	granite	1855	C	St
6	Pope mausoleum	mausoleum	granite	ca. 1910	C	St
7	Melvin Memorial	sculpture	granite, slate, bronze	1908-09	C	O
8	Ralph Waldo Emerson marker	marker	rose quartz, bronze	completed 1894	C	O
9	Henry Thoreau marker	marker	marble	1862	C	O
10	Louisa May Alcott marker	marker	marble	1888	C	O
11	Bronson Alcott marker	marker	marble	1888	C	O
12	Nathaniel Hawthorne marker	marker	marble	1864	C	O
13	Daniel Chester French marker	marker	granite	1931	C	O
14	Retaining wall, New Burying Grnd.	split-granite wall	granite	late-19th C.	C	St
15	Retaining wall, Sleepy Hollow	low retaining wall	concrete	early 20th C.	C	St

SLEEPY HOLLOW CEMETERY
Concord (Middlesex County)
Massachusetts
DISTRICT DATA SHEET

C = contributing; NC = non-contributing
 B = building; O = object; Si = site;
 St = structure

MAP#	TYPE OF HISTORIC NAME	DESCRIPTION	MATERIAL	DATE	STATUS	RESOURCE
16	Fieldstone wall, New Burying Grnd. and the Pines sections	fieldstone wall	stone	19th C.	C	St
17	System of retaining walls (throughout the cemetery)	short sections of wall in hillside, along roads	granite and fieldstone	late-19th, early 20th C.	C	St
18	Upland Avenue boundary posts	vertical posts	granite	early 20th C.	C	O
19	System of steps and railings, Sleepy Hollow (throughout Sleepy Hollow section)	stone steps, iron railings	granite, iron	late-19th, early 20th C.	C	St
20	Cemetery gates (at four locations in cemetery)	gates and posts	granite, steel	late-19th C.; 1947	C	O
21	System of stone paths, Sleepy Hollow (throughout Sleepy Hollow section)	portions of foot paths	stone	late-19th C.	C	St
22	System of cemetery roads and paths (throughout the cemetery)	road network	asphalt; earth	1855-1930's	C	St
23	G.A.R. cannon	cannon, on gun carriage	bronze; wood	19th C.; 1938	C	O
24	Fence, Bedford Street	chain-link fence	steel	mid-20th C.	NC	O
25	Fence, Sleepy Hollow	short rail fence	wood	late-20th C.	NC	O
26	Memorial flagpole, Goldenrod Hill	flagpole	mixed	late-20th C.	NC	O
27	Flagpole, Upland Ave.	flagpole	mixed	mid-20th C.	NC	O

SLEEPY HOLLOW CEMETERY
Concord (Middlesex County)
Massachusetts
DISTRICT DATA SHEET

TOTAL DISTRICT RESOURCE COUNT:

	<u>Contributing</u>	<u>Non-contributing</u>
BUILDINGS:	2	0
SITES:	1	0
STRUCTURES:	10	0
OBJECTS:	10	4
TOTAL CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES:	23	TOTAL NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES: 4

NOTE: With over 10,000 gravestones and monuments, it is not feasible to list all resources in the cemetery. The District Data Sheet thus mainly lists resources other than grave markers, with the exception of markers of people of national historic significance..

② RESOURCE, LISTED ON DATA SHEET

PHOTOGRAPH

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

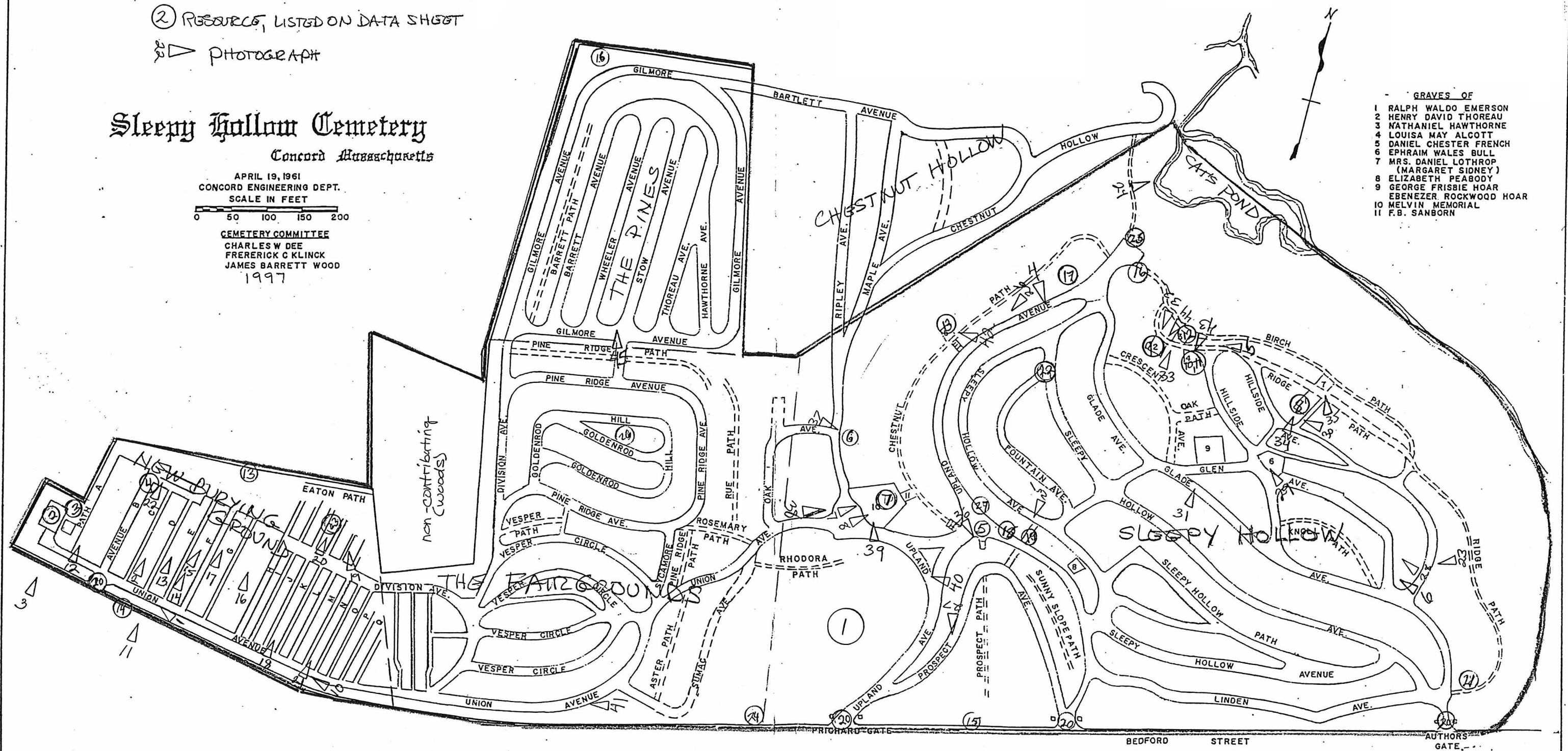
Concord Massachusetts

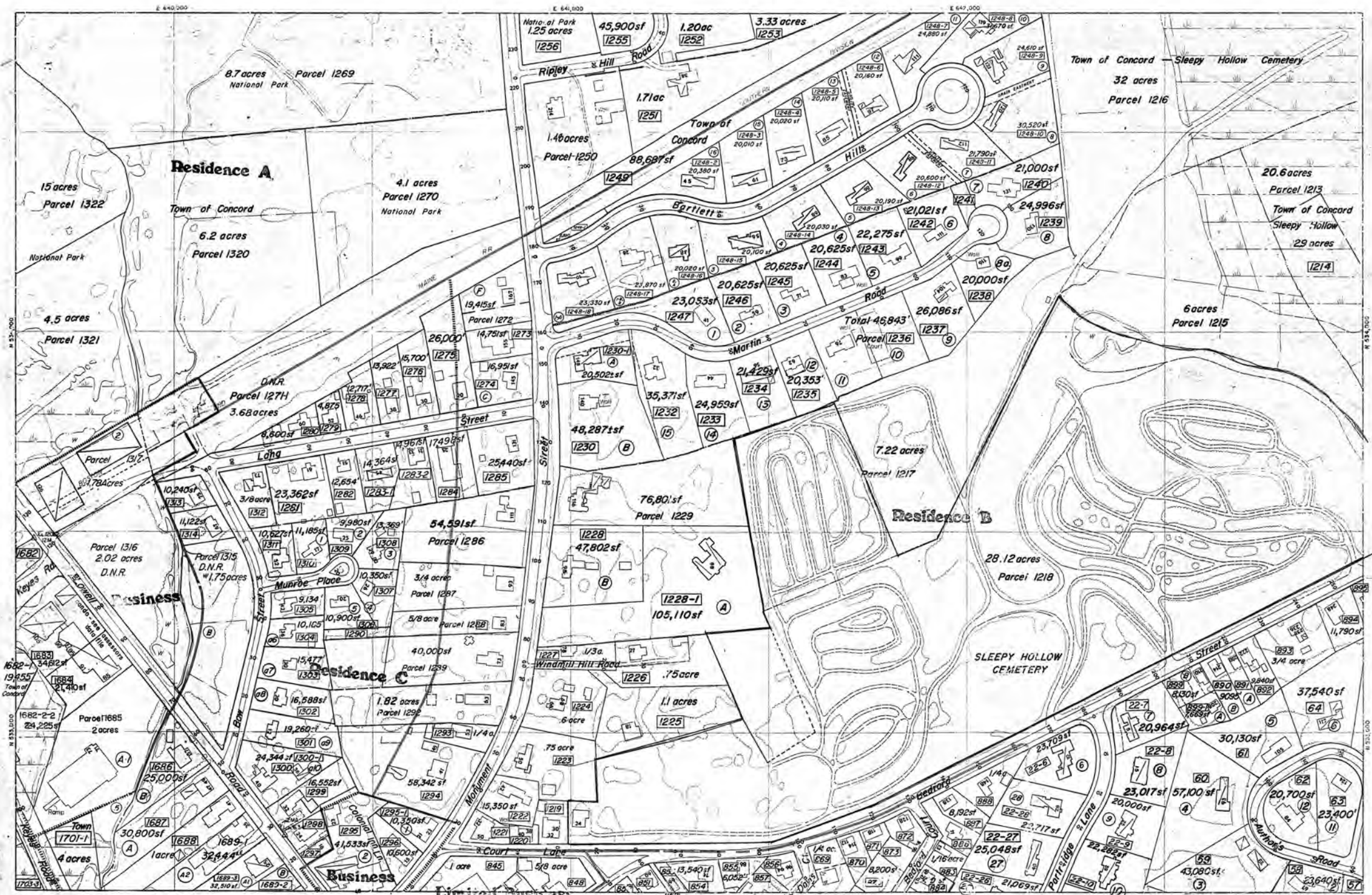
APRIL 19, 1961
CONCORD ENGINEERING DEPT.
SCALE IN FEET

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CEMETERY COMMITTEE
CHARLES W. DEE
FRERICK C. KLINCK
JAMES BARRETT WOOD
1997

- GRAVES OF
- 1 RALPH WALDO EMERSON
 - 2 HENRY DAVID THOREAU
 - 3 NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
 - 4 LOUISA MAY ALCOTT
 - 5 DANIEL CHESTER FRENCH
 - 6 EPHRAIM WALES BULL
 - 7 MRS. DANIEL LOTHROP
(MARGARET SIDNEY)
 - 8 ELIZABETH PEABODY
 - 9 GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR
 - 10 EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR
 - 11 MELVIN MEMORIAL
 - 12 F.B. SANBORN





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SLOOPY HOLLOW CEMETERY
CONCORD
MIDDLESEX CO
MASSACHUSETTS

INDEX TO ADJOINING SHEETS

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TOWN OF CONCORD
Concord, Massachusetts

SLIPPY HOLLOW CSMGTORY
CONCORD
MIDDLESEX CO.
MASSACHUSETTS

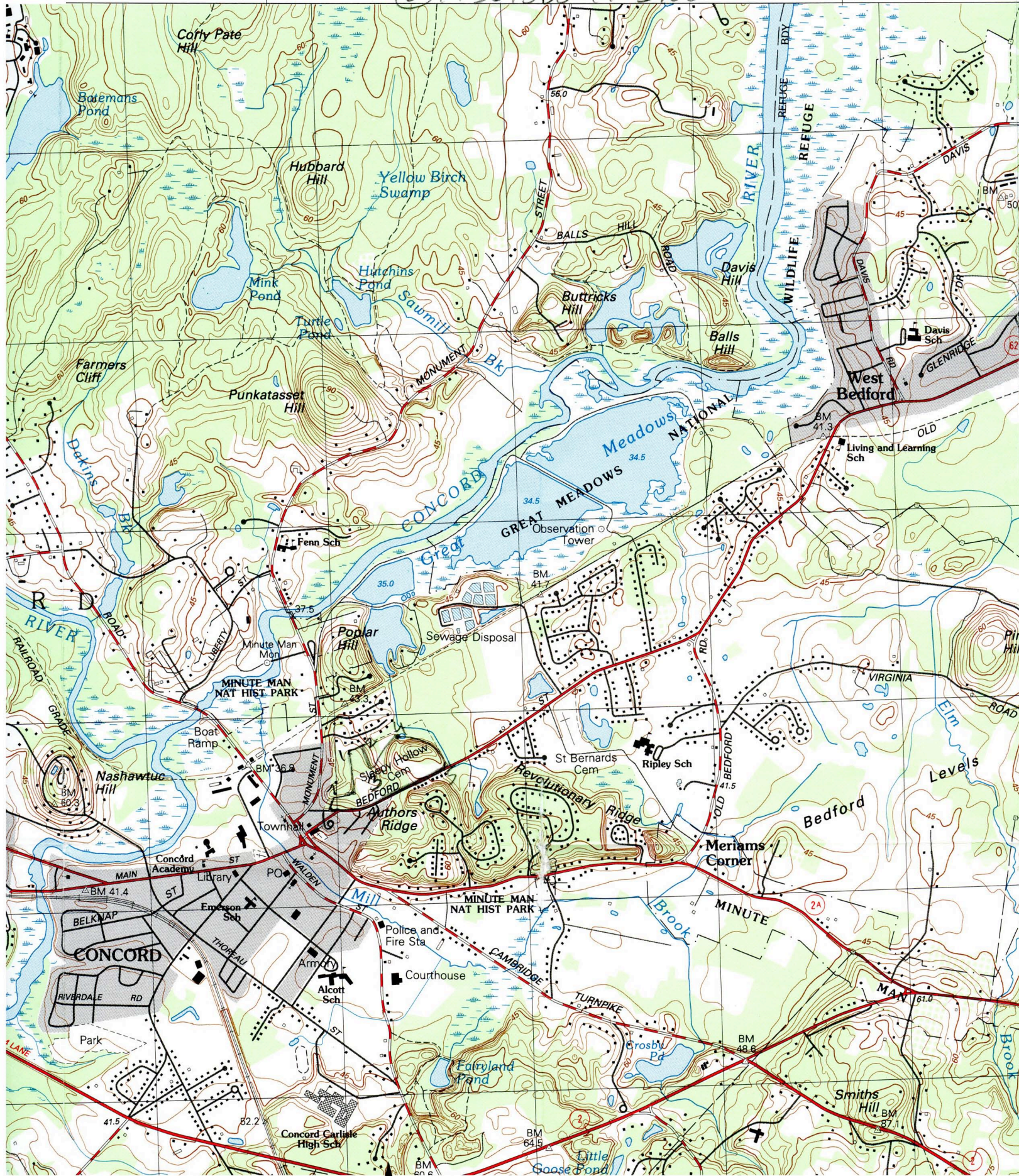
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③ 19-307200 4703720
④ 19-307340 4703860
⑤ 19-307580 4703700

⑥ 19-306960 4703500
⑦ 19-306980 4703560

306

307

310





1. New Burying Ground, (1823), looking west (Photograph: Anne Forbes, 1997)



2. New Burying Ground: Melven stone (Photograph: Anne Forbes, 1997)



3. New Burying Ground: North Center School (1849) and toolhouse (Photograph: Anne Forbes, 1997)



4. Sleepy Hollow, (1855), looking southeast (Photocopy from an original photograph by Anne Forbes, 1997)



5. Sleepy Hollow: Authors Ridge, looking west, with Alcott plot on left
(Photocopy from an original photograph by Anne Forbes, 1997)



7. Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial (1908-09) (Photograph: Anne Forbes, 1997)



8. Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial, detail (Photograph: Anne Forbes, 1997)



Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

9. Sleepy Hollow: historic photo, looking south from Chestnut Path, ca. 1890 (Photograph: Alfred Hosmer; courtesy of Concord Free Public Library)



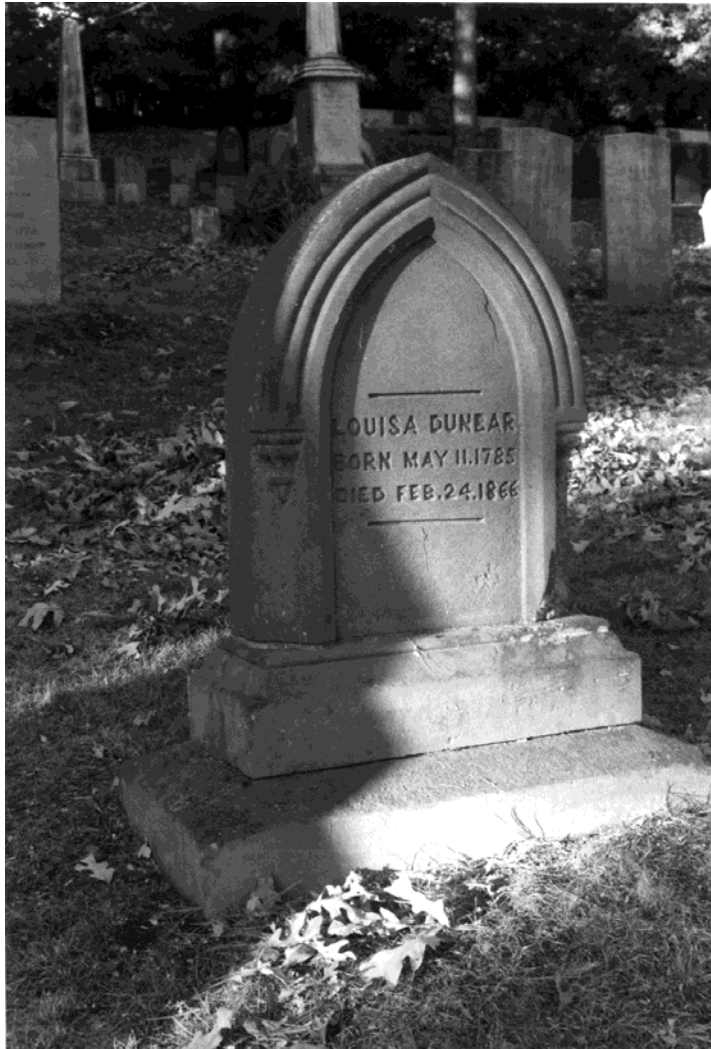
10. New Burying Ground: looking northwest



11. New Burying Ground: retaining wall, with notches for jail bars



13. New Burying Ground: Adams plot



12. New Burying Ground: Dunbar stone



14. New Burying Ground: Mercer stone



15. New Burying Ground: tree growing between gravestones



16. New Burying Ground: Joseph Barrett monument, Dakin stones



17. New Burying Ground: Barrett and Wright marker



18. New Burying Ground: Cook plot



19. New Burying Ground: upper (rear) section, looking northwest



20. New Burying Ground: G.A.R. monument



21. New Burying Ground: Wheeler plot



22. New Burying Ground: hillside tomb, 1825



23. Sleepy Hollow: looking southwest



25. Sleepy Hollow: Upland Avenue steps, looking southwest



24. Sleepy Hollow: Cat's Pond, looking northeast



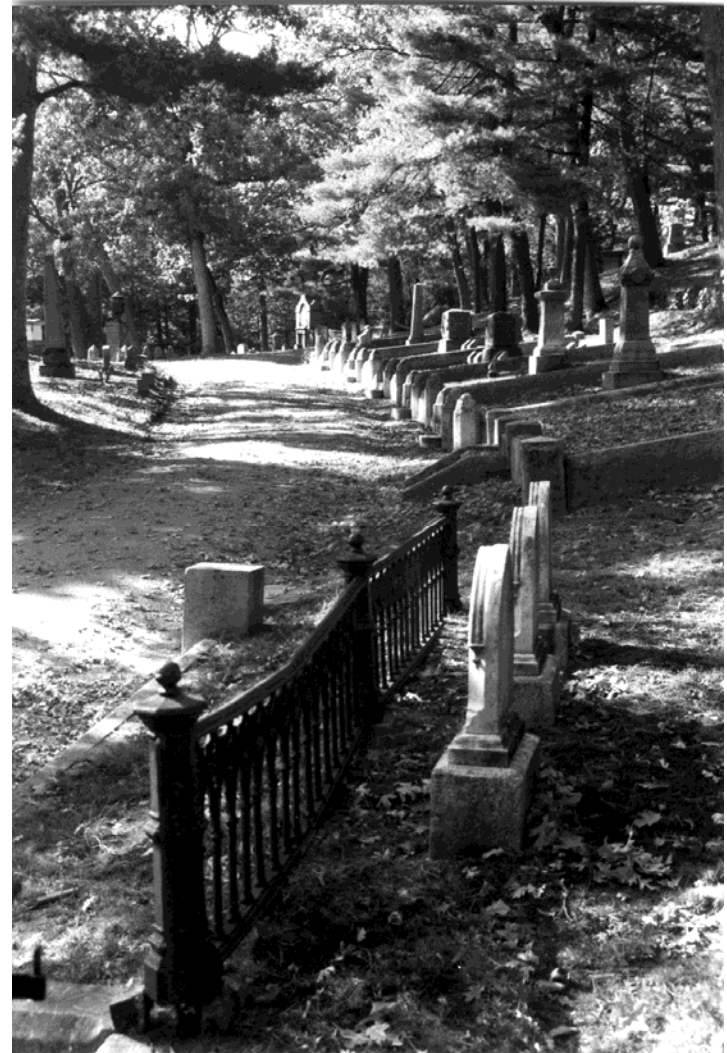
30. Sleepy Hollow: child's marker, Farrar/Wood plot



26. Sleepy Hollow: Upland Avenue, looking south



27. Sleepy Hollow: Prospect Avenue, looking south



28. Sleepy Hollow: Glen Avenue, looking west



29. Sleepy Hollow: Ephraim Bull, Jr. marker



31. Sleepy Hollow: Hoar plot



32. Sleepy Hollow: Thoreau plot



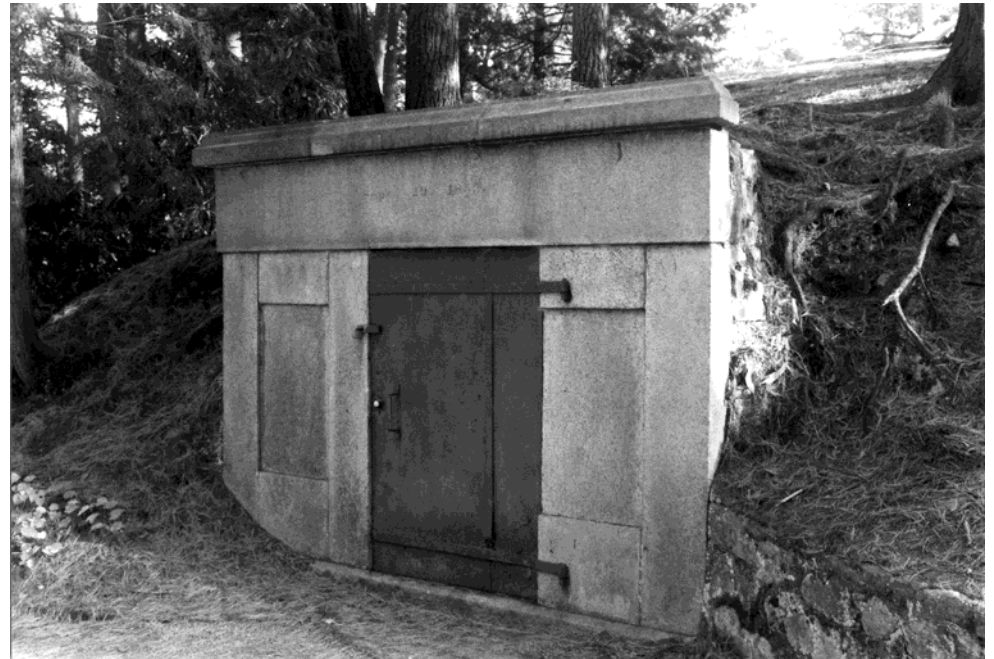
33. Sleepy Hollow: Hawthorne plot



34. Sleepy Hollow: Emerson plot



35. Sleepy Hollow: Lothrop plot, with grave of Margaret Sidney



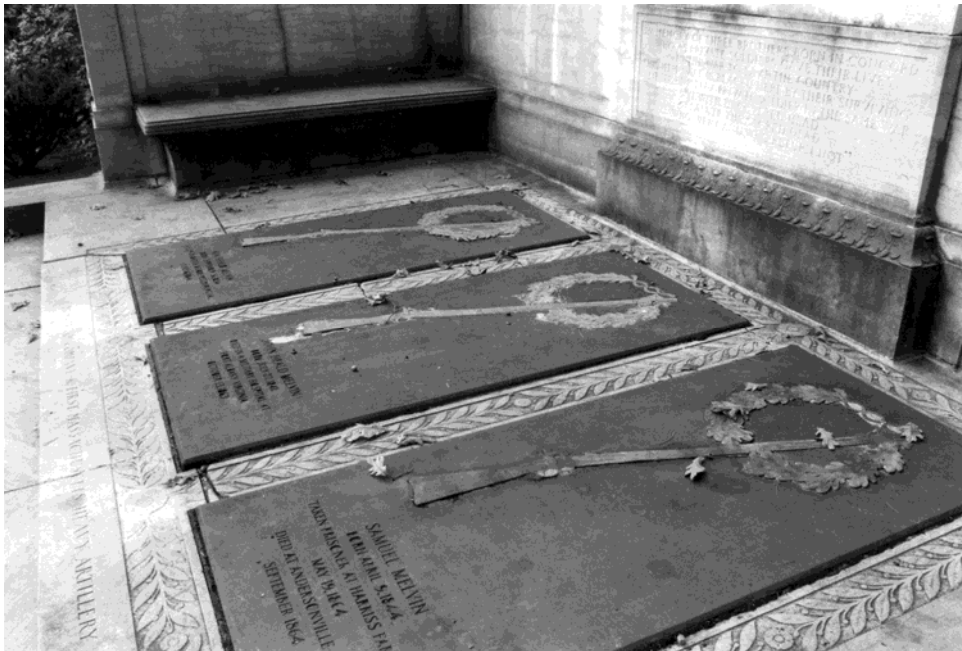
36. Sleepy Hollow: receiving tomb, 1855



37. Sleepy Hollow: Pope mausoleum



38. Sleepy Hollow: Melvin Memorial, (1908-09): view east



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40. Sleepy Hollow (1855) and "Fairgrounds" (1869):
Upland and Union Avenues, looking northwest



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42. Sleepy Hollow: Daniel Chester French marker, 1931-32



43. Sleepy Hollow: Louisa May Alcott headstone and marker



45. "The Pines" section, looking north (Photograph: Anne Forbes, 1997)