PIONEERS AND PESTILENCE: EMOTION, MEMORY, AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES AT THE HARRISON TOWNSHIP CHOLERA CEMETERY

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MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the interplay between emotion and social memory in the historical narrative (re)formation of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery in the village of Lockbourne, Pickaway County, Ohio. The research agenda includes a contextualization and critical assessment of documents and oral traditions as *labors of representation.* These are subsequently analyzed for their alignment with, or deviation from, the bioarchaeological record at the cemetery. The result is an interpretation of the past that will continue to be tested and refined as part of an ongoing multidisciplinary research project. This thesis provides valuable insight regarding attitudes of disease and death in 19th-century Ohio, and importantly, how those attitudes are expressed in the bioarchaeological record at a historical cemetery – a rare opportunity in the United States. Finally, a reflexive aspect of this thesis aims to explore the ways in which archaeological interpretation becomes part of this ever-changing and context-dependent historical narrative dialogue.

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While it is unlikely that the words on this page will accurately reflect the level of gratitude that I have for the individuals featured, this work could not have been completed without their help and support.

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DEDICATION

To Katie and Cooper.

I love you both, now and always.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

HTCC.....Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery, abbreviation used for labelling convention during Field Experience in Bioarchaeology excavation project.

IRLAB.....Institute for Research and Learning in Archaeology and Bioarchaeology. Located in Columbus, Ohio. Responsible for ongoing research project at HTCC.

D.A.R. .....Daughters of the American Revolution.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"Death is that state in which one exists only in the memory of others… which is why it is not an end." – Tasha Yar, Star Trek: The Next Generation

In many respects, the above quote is true. The memories of lost friends and loved ones have a way of lingering with us through life. Perhaps not always in the forefront of our minds, but always with the capacity to shape our thoughts and actions. Sadly, however, in other respects Tasha Yar's posthumous message to Lieutenant Commander Data reflects the hopes of the living rather than the realities of their legacies as their death drifts further into the distant past. Social scientists have studied memory for decades, following what some researchers have referred to as the "memory boom" (Jones and Russell 2012:268). While myriad terms have been put forth to refer to the communal aspect of memory, *social memory* is the one used in this thesis and it acknowledges that memory formation and recollection does not happen in a vacuum, rather it is continuously influenced by a network of agents (both human and non-human) connected within social, historical, and political fields of action (Olick and Robbins 1998).

Examining the ways in which memories are formed, reformed, and performed in the mortuary context has been a major aspect of the boom in memory research, addressed through various theoretical frameworks by anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and more (Chesson 2001). As will be discussed, the social aspects of memory and commemoration have taken a particular turn towards the realms of practice and structuration in anthropological theory (Van Dyke 2019). Investigated less often, although gaining ground in the literature, is the role that emotion plays in the process of social memory formation (Harris and Sørensen 2010; Tarlow 1999). This is, of course, particularly important when considering the mortuary context, although emotion should perhaps be considered as an influential practice in any social science research (Tarlow 2012).

How do memories of the dead form within their surviving loved ones? How are these memories affected by the social milieu in which they exist, rife with converging and contrasting emotional narratives? What happens to the social memory of the deceased when a unique or particularly tragic historical event is part of the emotional narrative? How are these emotional memories mapped onto the landscape, and how does this physical manifestation reflect and affect the ongoing emotion and memory work? And importantly, what does this process look like within a community ten, fifty, or even closer to two hundred years after the historical event in question?

The Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery (HTCC), located in the village of Lockbourne, Pickaway County, Ohio, is an inactive rural cemetery dating from the early to mid-19th century. While archival documentation is scarce, records indicate that initial burials included individuals tied through familial or close communal bonds to the Renicks, a family of early settlers who went on to become one of the more well-known and respected families in the rural but influential agricultural region stretching south from the capital city along the Scioto River. Unbeknownst to those on the rural farmsteads of Pickaway County, the first in a series of worldwide cholera pandemics was proliferating from the Ganges River Delta region in India in 1817 (Rosenberg 2009). While the first of what has become seven global pandemic events left the Ohio community physically untouched, the community would not be so lucky during the second cholera pandemic of the 1830s. In 1833, it was reported that what was then the unknown bacterium, *Vibrio cholerae*, was introduced to the area by a man travelling on a canal boat along the newly finished Ohio-Erie Canal (Bareis 1902). Another, more devastating, pandemic wave swept through the countryside in 1849. Both events had the potential to derail the incredible growth in economic and political influence that Ohio was experiencing at the time (Hutslar

1996). Of little concern to areas with modernized sanitation systems, the conditions in which the bacterium can fester and spread are tightly bound up in a web of social constructs that disproportionately affect poor and marginalized groups, both historically and today. As such, stigmas were attached to the disease which reflected certain ideologies of the 19th-century United States. In 1832 and 1833, the Ohio-Erie Canal – built in large part by Irish and German immigrants contracted by local businessmen and established farmers – was constructed immediately adjacent to the plot of land that would become known as the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery. Already marginalized for their religious views and immigrant status, social memory of the cemetery purports that, in 1832, as work finished on the section of the canal closest to the cemetery, dozens of these men contracted cholera and died very quickly, leading to their burial in the cemetery. It is important to note that this has never been substantiated with contemporary historical documents.

Later, the 1849 pandemic claimed the lives of over 30 farm hands and seasonal workers on the Renick land surrounding HTCC. It is believed that victims from both events were buried at the cemetery in a process that solidified their marginalized status in life, in the social memory of their death (Weaver 1998). Perhaps unforeseen in this process, is the fact that it may have altered the social memory of the whole site, eventually causing the cemetery to be referred to as just the cholera cemetery by many, losing information on the individuals buried there regardless of whether their death was due to the highly contagious and decidedly stigmatized disease. For decades now, no headstones have stood in their appropriate location, marking the burials at the cemetery. Some have been found, moved around, and attempts at restoration have been made to varying degrees, but almost all have been lost to neglect or vandalism.

A research team from the Institute for Research and Learning in Archaeology and Bioarchaeology (IRLAB) started the *Field Experience in Bioarchaeology in Ohio* at the cemetery in 2018 to better understand the events that took place, and the people who were buried at HTCC. Currently, through three field seasons, 30 burials have been excavated and documented across nearly half of the area believed to have served as the homestead and community burying grounds. But the bioarchaeological record does not necessarily reflect the historical narrative, as seen in the written record and oral tradition of the site. While it was expected that both epidemic and non-epidemic burials would be present at the cemetery, the extent to which the archaeological record and the known written and oral tradition accounts diverge requires a reassessment of the events surrounding the cemetery.

This thesis aims to understand how and why the historical narrative and sense of place surrounding the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery may have changed over time. Specifically, the research is structured to critically examine dual lines of evidence used in historical narrative (re)formation work – one stemming from social memory as seen in written accounts of the cemetery and another from the material record's relationship with this social memory. Recent oral traditions and written accounts frame the cemetery as one reserved for victims of past cholera epidemics, essentially stripping the names and identities from the few individuals whose burials were previously recorded at the cemetery. These accounts refer to the deceased in generalized terms such as canal workers or farm laborers. Conversely, the few historical documents based directly on the material record of the cemetery tells almost the opposite story. While not explicitly denying the presence of cholera victims, be they canal workers, farm hands, or otherwise, many of the names recorded are of individuals whose families established and maintained close communal ties in the decades since the cemetery

became inactive in the mid-19th-century. Previous historical research has been conducted on the responses to cholera in the U.S. and more closely to the cemetery in Pickaway County. However, most has not taken the anthropological lens used for the current research, and none has included the findings of associated archaeological excavations. The analysis of the existing archaeological record presented in this thesis has not been able to untangle the complex story of the cemetery. If anything, it has provided more nuance and complexity to the existing accounts, making it a more effective tool for making informed decisions regarding the ongoing excavations and a valuable reference for conversations with the community and engaged descendants interested in understanding the history of HTCC. The outline of this work is as follows.

Chapter 2 will introduce the theoretical underpinnings for this thesis research. The framework is built from practice theory in that the cemetery is conceptualized as a *field of action*, upon which certain events have taken place, not in a sociohistorical vacuum, but very much interconnected with broader social practices and historical narratives throughout time. To clarify, here memory and emotions are theorized as *social practices*. They represent powerful motivating and mitigating forces, such that they form a dialogical relationship with the narrative building processes and material practices regarding the cemetery – and act as the main point of interest for this thesis. Chapter Three outlines the research questions, materials, and methods used in this research. The material practices that have taken place at the cemetery, which are interpreted from the archaeological record, exist in a dialogue with the written and oral tradition accounts found in the archival record, and the two must be analyzed in concert. The fourth chapter will start the work of contextualizing the cemetery in the sociohistorical milieu in which it has existed. Here, basic information on the geographical and historical setting will be provided. This is where the previous research on the reactions to cholera in the United States, and even in Pickaway County,

Ohio, will be presented, and the individuals featured in the historical narrative of the cemetery introduced as an *emotional community*.

Chapter Five begins the new analyses by looking at select historical accounts of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery as *labors of representation*, using the methods outlined by Barbara Voss (2007). This approach critically analyzes the context of the historical account, examining the physical attributes (vis-à-vis object agency) and putting it in dialogue with other existing accounts *and* the archaeological record. That archaeological record is presented in Chapter Six, in which the analysis shifts from the archival record to the results of three completed field seasons of archaeological excavation at HTCC. Here, the cemetery is conceptualized as a field of action. Having presented insight into the contemporary social context as seen in the archival record, an interpretation of past action will be put forth that emphasizes the influence of emotion and social memory (re)formation on the material record, and vice-versa. The thesis concludes with a discussion on the points of convergence and divergence in the written and archaeological records, as presented in the analysis chapters, and what this relationship may lend to an interpretation of the cemetery's historiography. Also, as this thesis itself represents the introduction of a historical narrative of the cemetery that is inherently biased by the writer's positionality within the archaeological research program, a brief reflexive discussion, justification for the current project, and suggested avenues for future research are presented.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

To start, an overview of mortuary archaeology and bioarchaeology, specifically as practiced in historical archaeology, is presented. This section is brief but important, as it provides an understanding of the context in which this thesis arose. A familiarity with the trends in methodological, theoretical, and ethical considerations within the discipline helps to foreground the ways in which the subsequent theoretical underpinnings of this thesis both pull from, and add to, the scholastic traditions in the anthropological investigation of cemeteries. After discussing the approaches and general trends in theory as previously applied to the mortuary context, I will address the major theoretical concepts used in my analysis of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery (HTCC). Namely, I pull from the concept of practice theory, specifically considering the roles of social memory and emotion, in the processes of historical narrative creation and placemaking. The general approach to this thesis is grounded in interpretive historical archaeology as outlined by Wilkie (2009a) and those put forth by Barbara Voss (2007) for regarding texts, images, and objects as *labors of representation*. It hinges not only on an analysis of events in the past, but in an acknowledgement that these interpretations are both colored by my contemporary sociocultural context *and* have potential ramifications for the local community in the present and the future.

Mortuary Archaeology and Historical Bioarchaeology

Mortuary Archaeology

In the United States, mortuary archaeology was not initially considered its own subfield of study within anthropology or archaeology. The excavation of human burials, at least those of Indigenous and non-White or Euromerican descent, was part and parcel of the archaeological

endeavor since Thomas Jefferson led excavations on Indigenous mound burials in 1784 (Atalay 2006). As an American academic archaeology tradition coalesced throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, approaches to the excavation and analysis of the mortuary context within archaeology most often reflected the dominant theoretical and methodological trends within anthropology (Mytum 2004; Tarlow 1999). For example, early approaches to mortuary analyses took a cultural-historical approach in which connections were made, via contemporary ethnoarchaeological studies, regarding affiliation with defined past cultures based on burial practices and material culture in the form of grave goods. Regarding historical archaeology, this approach has often culminated in above-ground data collection on grave marker inscriptions and symbolism, but an intentional avoidance of interpretation is present, in lieu of data collection and categorization (Mytum 2004:5–7).

Lewis Binford (1971) used his middle-range theory of the 1960s and 70s to conceptualize mortuary behavior with what has been coined the "Binford/Saxe hypothesis" (Boulware 2008:10; Tarlow 1999:10–11). This approach argued that deposition of the dead was a necessary function of society, but the ways in which the dead were buried, namely in the energy and resources expended on any one individual, reflected sociocultural structures which allowed the archaeologist to extrapolate things such as social status. Overall, Binford's approaches have been criticized by later social archaeologists interested in mortuary behavior as being overly simplistic and essentialist in nature (Chapman 2013). Michael Parker Pearson (Pearson 1982, 1993) specifically took a Marxist approach to his analysis of historic cemeteries in Cambridge, England and criticized Binford's direct correlation between burial practices and status, arguing instead that increased attention and energy expended in the burial process can be seen as a 'masking ideology' which directly negates the social status of the individual during their life. Regardless

of the approach, research in historical cemeteries is popular due to the amount of data available and the "unusual spatial and temporal control found in cemeteries" (Boulware 2008:11).

Perhaps the most well-known research conducted in the historical cemetery context is the seminal work by Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) entitled *Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries*. Highly influenced by the New Archaeology school of processual thinking, but willing to push the interpretive envelope (Tarlow 1999:16), Deetz and Dethlefsen pulled from previous approaches in art history and genealogical or demographic studies and situated the material culture of New England cemeteries, namely the grave markers, in their sociohistorical context, further claiming that "[t]he distinctive symbols employed as decorative elements are in part a function of religion, and therefore changes in this aspect of culture can be investigated as they relate to other areas of change" (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:502). Their approach resulted in the cataloging of thousands of gravestones and their analyses produced the classic 'battleship graph' showing the temporal distribution of stylistic qualities such as the death's head, cherub, and willow tree throughout the region.

More recent trends in mortuary archaeology reflect the interpretive/critical/contextual trends of the post-processual 1980s, 90s, and beyond (Chapman 2013; Mytum 2004:8–11; Tarlow 1999; Tarlow and Stutz 2013). Like Pearson, many historical archaeologists have taken a Marxist or neo-Marxist approach to status, conformity, and class-structure with a particular focus on strategies of the oppressed to either reify their unique identity or adhere to dominant ideology via burial practices (Cannon et al. 1989; Pearson 1982). It has been noted however, that it is important not to rely too heavily on an interpretation that prioritizes "a reaction to external supracommunity events or as a narrowly framed resistance to domination" (Bell 1994:19). In his extremely comprehensive bibliography on mortuary archaeology *Vestiges of Mortality &*

Remembrance, Bell (1994:21–23) notes the need for historical context and "parallel lines of evidence", but argues for the acknowledgement that emotion and cognition are ever-present in the field of mortuary archaeology and should be theorized properly. This sentiment is echoed by many in the field (Little et al. 1992) and seemingly sets the stage for authors such as Tarlow (1999, 2000, 2012), Hamilakis (2013), Baxter (2020), and countless others to inject responsible interpretations of memory and emotion in the mortuary context.

Historical Bioarchaeology

This thesis does not entail bioarchaeological methods for analyses of human remains, although it will pull from bioarchaeological research conducted on the individuals buried at HTCC. As such, a full review of the bioarchaeological literature would be excessive and unwarranted, but important recent trends in the field to include social and critical analyses are worth noting. Also, in March of 2020, the journal *Historical Archaeology* published a thematic collection on 'Historical Bioarchaeology' (Novak 2020), representing more attention to, and acknowledgement of, bioarchaeology's place within the subfield of historical archaeology. Bioarchaeology has been fraught with ethical debates following its fluorescence in the New Archaeology prime of the 1970s (Novak and Warner-Smith 2020). Concerns over excavation practices and analysis, ownership, and display of human remains kept the research of bioarchaeologists within the "constraints of the 'appendix' that kept them on the margins of professional societies." (Novak and Warner-Smith 2020:3). The 'constraints of the appendix', as highlighted by Alanna Warner-Smith and Shannon Novak, refers to the fact that bioarchaeological analyses had often been employed in research projects, but were rarely foregrounded as primary methodological or theoretical forces. Bioarchaeological data, outside of a few key researchers (for example, Buikstra et al. 2000; Larsen 2018), was used as a secondary

or tertiary reference to bolster broader claims based on other archaeological or anthropological data.

Novak and Warner-Smith (2020:5–6) identify the increased attention on the ethics of mortuary archaeology from the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), the debacle that was the New York African Burial Ground Project (Watkins 2020), and the growing interest in forensic anthropology in the human-rights context as three motivating factors for bioarchaeology's expansion into the mainstream of historical archaeology. Recent trends in the field that apply to this thesis research are the increased attention to the social dynamics that may contribute to what is seen in the bioarchaeological record (Agarwal and Glencross 2011), the assessment of class-based effects on health and disease (Buzon et al. 2005), and the ways in which bioarchaeological projects can serve to create ties with descendant communities and build collaborative and healing frameworks as opposed to further exacerbating power differentials between the academy and the public (Boutin et al. 2017).

Practice Theory

Practice theory has been one of the more influential theoretical paradigms of the past 30 years in the social sciences (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010). Two major theorists credited with introducing this concept are the sociologist Anthony Giddens and the social anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu (Johnson 2010). Giddens (1986) aimed his 'structuration theory' at explaining the ways in which "social actors reproduce the conditions that make their activities possible" within their spatial and temporal context (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:22), while Bourdieu uses the terms *habitus, doxa,* and *fields* to explore the ways in which actors could be seen as holding some form of agency in their decisions and ontologies, avoiding structural totalities while also acknowledging the very real formative effects of existing societal structures. Habitus is a

"subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, and action common to all members of the same group or class" (Bourdieu 1977:86). Doxa is the term Bourdieu uses to refer to the beliefs that become 'taken for granted', while fields are the "network of individuals and groups that join in support of the *habitus*" (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:23 emphasis theirs).

The concept of *fields* being the stage upon which agents and actors partake in the reifying acts that contribute to social practices was picked up in archaeology first by John Barrett with his "fields of discourse" (Barrett 1988) and later by John Robb with his "fields of action" (Robb 2010). Barrett pulls heavily from Giddens in focusing on the spatiotemporal aspects of social practices, using the term discourse to acknowledge the dynamic and recursive aspects of multiple, overlapping fields which compete and compromise with one another in a manner that both recreates and alters overarching social structures (Barrett 1988; Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:22). In using the term 'fields of action' John Robb pushes the language of the concept to acknowledge people, places, and material objects as actors, imbued with *relational agency* to perform certain acts within a multitude of fields. Importantly, "[s]uch relations are semiotic in that their meaning is not inherent or fixed but develops through the relationship. They are centered around material practices." (Robb 2010:502).

Regarding *agency*, Sherry Ortner (2006) notes that it is not a matter of free will of the social agent versus structurally predetermined action. Making a similar argument as that put forward by Robb (2010), she points out that, given our expanded understanding of agency in the past, it is most valuable for the archaeologist to "presuppose agency (or rather multiple agencies) at work within… particular practices and projects." (Ortner 2001:272). An important aspect of agency as it is used in archaeology, and as will be referenced in the sections below on memory

and emotion, is the notion of object agency (Gell 1998). Both Alfred Gell (1998) and Bruno Latour (2005) contributed greatly to the understanding of agency in material objects. Gell's work on the agency of artwork spurred a conversation on materiality that was felt across disciplines in the social sciences. At its core, Robb points out, Gell's theories puts forth the idea that people often "*attribute* intentionality to someone else and respond accordingly" (2010:505 emphasis his) which creates a form of social agency – one which is often equally attributed to material objects, in which the viewer perceives intentionality from the object (or the landscape, or any manner of physical manifestations) and acts 'accordingly'. Bruno Latour, known for his Actor-Network Theory (ANT), continued this dialogue and his concepts have also been picked up across the social sciences. Here again, Robb sums up Latour's central tenet in concise and effective manner, saying "it is neither the gun which kills somebody nor the person holding the gun, but rather the network of human plus gun" (2010: 505). Robb goes on to explain that the person may provide the "agency of why" while the object or space may provide the "agency of how" (2010: 505). The quote offered by Robb gets at the concept of primary versus secondary agency, or, *conscious* versus *effective* agency, respectively (Gell 1998). These terms have powerful implications for researchers interested in understanding the role that material objects play in the processes of commemoration and emotional practices, as there are intentional introductions of conscious object agency from the object creator, but also ongoing, and changing, effective agency at any moment in the object's biography.

Memory, Emotion, and Placemaking

Social Memory

First, a clarification on language is necessary due to the fact that, as Ruth Van Dyke (2019:209–210) points out, one may hear archaeologists refer to "cultural memory", "collective

memory", "public memory", or "social memory", and while confusing, the terms hold specific meaning regarding memory in the group setting. She notes that collective and cultural memory refer to 'memories' as created and maintained by a dominant political entity. Public memory refers specifically to the counter-narrative (or "counter-memory" as in Foucault 1977) that is established by examining sources outside of the "official, state-sponsored (often textual) records" (2019:210). Lastly, social memory, the term which I will use throughout this thesis, is built from relational memory perspectives and practices which help to construct group identities. These distinctions are necessary as they show how all these concepts can be in play at any moment in a social group. Still, they are by no means universally accepted or used by scholars across, or even within, disciplines (Climo and Cattell 2002:4; Olick and Robbins 1998:111–112).

Moving away from previous Freudian and Lockean concepts of memory as an individual experience, the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs is cited by scholars across disciplines as introducing the importance of the collective in the construction and reconstruction of memory (Borić 2010; Olick and Robbins 1998; Van Dyke 2019). Paul Connerton (1989), writing in *How Societies Remember*, takes on the task of expanding upon Halbwachs's concept of social memory (termed collective memory by Halbwachs). Connerton uses the theories of inscribed versus incorporated memory, noting the difference in the written or symbolic representations of memory (inscription) and the embodied experience of collective memory carried out through actions, especially ritual commemoration (incorporation). Van Dyke (2019:210) notes that archaeologists have begun to reject this dichotomy believing instead that inscription is an embodied act itself. Still, at the time, Connerton's assertions were considered incredibly useful to sociologists, cultural anthropologists, and other researchers interested in social memory studies. The concept of memory being formed, and more importantly reformed, through collective

actions and reactions within particular contexts made an important connection with Bourdieu's theory of practice that would influence the ways in which future scholars theorized social memory.

Andrew Jones (2007:2) importantly notes that much of the early theorization on memory in archaeology was more concerned with the 'past in the past', in other words, the ways in which those in the past perceived, (re)constructed, and employed understandings of *their* past in *their* contemporary lives. Here, discussions raged about how one should, or even could, go about 'reading' memory in the archaeological record. Van Dyke (2019) points out that scholars often relied on monumental sites and burial contexts to make claims regarding embodied ritual practices that evoked a social memory of the past. This focus on materiality, unsurprising for the field of archaeology, is highlighted by Jones in saying "I am interested in not only 'how societies remember' but also how things help society remember." (2007:5). Early studies of social memory in past cultures prescribed to a storage model, essentially following the body/mind split that treats memories as packets of information that are kept in the mind for later recall (Trouillot 1995a). In terms of material culture, this treats the artifact as an external storage device, used to recollect memories through objective mnemonic properties but doesn't attend to the contextual symbolism of the item. (Jones 2007; Jones and Russell 2012; Trouillot 1995a; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

Of course, the goal of studying social memory in archaeology is to reformulate some sense of the phenomena of social memory in the past by examining the material record. Jones argues that, while there are dangers in treating the material record as purely symbolic (as opposed to directly representative, as in the storage model), a careful 'reading' of artifacts and past actions preserved in the archaeological record allows one to interpret the ways "objects

provide the ground for humans to experience memory." (Jones 2007:22–23). In *Memory and Material Culture* (2007), Jones aims to extrapolate on themes originally put forth by scholars like Gell (1998) on the dialogic nature of human-object interactions, specifically focusing on the formation and re-formation of social memory as seen in the archaeological record. Importantly, one must understand that the dialogue that exists between objects and humans is culturally and historically contextual, and it also exists in the milieu of the individual and the broader society. Jones suggests the application of *semiotics* as put forth by Charles Sanders Peirce as a method for 'reading' the ways in which material culture is used in the construction and re-construction of social memory. Material culture, Jones claims, should be interpreted as *indices* of the past (2007:23).

Craig N. Cipolla follows a similar approach in which he explains, "Indexical sign vehicles relate to their 'meanings' via a physical (i.e. spatiotemporal) relationship and… is often associated with pragmatic (i.e. less conscious) actions and meanings." (Cipolla 2008:200). In terms of material culture and memory the concept of pragmatism in archaeology, and its connection with Peircean semiotics, concerns one's habitual encounter with the material world, both through daily practice (Bourdieu 1977) and through embodied collective ritual practices (Connerton 1989), that allows us to interpret social memory from the archaeological record (see discussion of Ricoeur's "traces" in Borić 2010:14; Jones 2007:223–224). Understanding that memory is a *process* – one that is historically and socially contextual and wrapped up in a dialogical relationship with the material world – allows one to consider how individuals and communities have enacted memory and remembrance through their built environments across time. Cipolla importantly notes that "Pierce viewed signs as processual and ever changing, continually generating new meanings and new types of signs as they are put to use and

interpreted in new social contexts." (2013:22). Jones adds additional concepts useful for this thesis in discussing the temporality of remembrance such as: "the physicality or *perdurance* (physical persistence) of material culture" (2007:24), the rate at which people interact with objects or spaces of remembrance – or "tempo" (sensu Barrett 1988; and Giddens 1986), and the "emotive effect of material culture" (2007:65) in determining its impact on lasting social memory and commemoration practices.

Memory: Forgetting and Re-membering

Historians and archaeologists alike note the importance of focusing not only on what is remembered or commemorated in society, but what is forgotten (Climo and Cattell 2002; Little and Shackel 2014). Often referred to as 'memory work', the process of remembering and forgetting is interdependent and is not so much an either/or polarity as it is an ongoing social practice in constant state of tension (Buchli et al. 2001:81; Hodge 2011:116). Perhaps one of the most well-known commentaries on the power-laden relationship between remembering and forgetting in societies comes from the anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot. In his work *Silencing the Past* (1995a), Trouillot examines the introduction of 'silences' into the historical record at four key points in the process through which historical narratives become History:

1. Moment of fact creation (the making of sources)
2. Moment of fact assembly (the making of archives)
3. Moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives)
4. Moment of retrospective significance (the making of History)

Trouillot focuses the bulk of his analysis on the intentional silencing of subordinate or minority groups in the construction and reproduction of these narratives, but it is important to note that silences can enter the record as unintended circumstances of action/reaction at any of these

points. Regardless of how voices were silenced in the historical narrative, it is the onus of the academic, Trouillot would argue, to contextualize the past practices that either favored or neglected the memories of certain groups as they moved through these four moments in the process of history-making. Paramount both to Trouillot's approach, and to the current research, is the need for reflexivity on the part of the academic to address contemporary social biases and to avoid methodological and theoretical predispositions that may prioritize the voice(s) of the elite at the expense of the broader community. This approach closely aligns with that of archaeologists concerned with social memory, like Jones and Van Dyke, and those concerned with emotion, like Tarlow and Harris (discussed below). Critical scholars across the social sciences call for creative methodologies which attain a multivocal analysis, while also avoiding brash relativism, something that Trouillot is vehement about throughout *Silencing the Past*.

Ample attention has been paid to the role that forgetting plays in social memory in archaeology (Mills and Walker 2008; Shackel 2001a; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Due to the reliance on material culture, Borić (2010:15) makes the important connection between the loss of material mnemonics and the loss of 'knowledge' or social memory, whether they be communal monuments or personal minutiae. How material culture, from ceramics to landscapes, is used, re-used, abandoned, or destroyed speaks to the social memory practices of past and present. Paul Shackel (2001a, 2008) is one of the most well-known historical archaeologists for his research on memory work and historical narrative construction in the intentional acts of dominant groups to solidify political power and minority groups in the form of resistance. Monuments are erected, and stories are selectively crafted to support nationalist agendas, while at other times we see these monuments destroyed, or reappropriated for the telling of history from the view of the

previously silenced. Usually, however, Shackel and others focus on the intentionality of actors to use social memory to their economic or political benefit.

Less attention has been paid to more local realities in which these actions play out. In the introduction to the edited volume, *Places of Memory: Spatialised Practices of Remembrance from Prehistory to Today*, Christian Horn and his co-editors point out that:

> "However, it is important to recognize smaller scale memories, memorials, and memory practices. For each memorial of the scale of Waterloo or Brandenburg Gate, there are thousands of small statues of local dignitaries. For each annual gathering at Ground Zero in New York, *there are thousands of cemeteries with local customs where loved ones are mourned*." (Horn et al. 2020:6; emphasis added)

As the quote points out, social memory is not just the grand narrative of a burgeoning nation state, it is also the constant daily practice of communities seeking to balance differing, perhaps conflicting, accounts of what has happened and why it has happened. These accounts, whether they differ due to blatant attempts at consolidation of power by the elite, or as more practical issues arising from the altering of memories throughout time and space at the individual and communal level, are unavoidably imbued with emotion. Emotion, just as memory, is not something historians or archaeologists can avoid because they seem too far up Hawkes' ladder of inference (Johnson 2010:90). They are both at work in society, inextricably so, across time and space. It is perhaps best practice for researchers of past processes to attend to these phenomena at some level, even if they do not represent the primary focus of their work. The works discussed below on emotion and affect represent some of the ways in which these 'ephemeral feelings' have been studied in past contexts. The reader will note a substantial amount of overlap that exists in the core theoretical and methodological approaches to studying memory and emotion in the past, with ties to the work of Bourdieu and Giddens on practice and structuration, respectively. Again here, the power of objects to not only represent the society in which they exist but to serve as agents of change in and of themselves is important in understanding how

one can interpret the ways emotional discourse has shifted through space-time via the material record.

Emotion and Affect

In addressing the 'emotional turn' in historical research, Susan J. Matt focuses on three main theoretical and methodological approaches: *emotionology*, *emotional communities*, and *emotives* (although a combination of any/all of them is possible) as put forth by Carol and Peter Stearns, Barbara Rosenwein, and William Reddy, respectively. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was these researchers, Matt claims, who picked up the call for historians to consider emotion in their analyses originally posited by Lucien Febvre and fleshed out by famous scholars of the Annales School such as Bloch, Braudel, Aries, and Chartier (Matt 2011:117–119).

'Emotionology', as defined by the Stearnses, entails a focus on the societal rules and expectations for the formation and embodied action associated with certain emotions within a culture. They look at broader changing norms and make associations with the ways in which emotions like jealousy and anger have differed throughout American history. Barbara Rosenwein (2006) chose to examine the 'emotional communities' of the past in her work on familial relations in the middle ages in Europe. Emotional communities are the "various environments… for emotional expression" (Matt 2011: 119). Importantly, this approach acknowledges both the contextual aspect of emotions *within* a society – avoiding a total hegemony of emotions – and the connections between the people, places, and things present in the moment. Because of this, the approach aligns with that of many archaeologists (Fleisher and Norman 2016:5–6; see discussion below on Harris and Sørensen 2010). Meanwhile, Reddy focuses on 'emotives', or the embodied manifestation of emotional states. Reddy, coming from an anthropological background, adds a critical stance on the interplay between power and

resistance in expressing emotion(s) deemed appropriate by the political establishment, which obviously makes the approach enticing to Marxist and neo-Marxist critical archaeologists as well (Fleisher and Norman 2016:6). As Matt (2010) notes, the field of history allowed its practitioners to focus on specific emotions, either in their development across time, or in their specific deployment at the point of historic events.

Monique Scheer (2012) argues for historians to look at 'emotional practices' in the past, directly linking the research with the theory of practice as put forth by Bourdieu. By conceptualizing emotions as practice, Scheer concludes that the goal of the researcher is not to seek out an emotional "truth" of the past, but instead to explore "how and why historical actors mobilized their bodies in certain ways, cultivated specific skilled performances, and debated emotional practices among themselves." (2012:215). This is a critique of the previous approaches to emotion in historical writing, which Scheer claims to have focused too strictly on the mind/body split in which changing norms were highlighted as societal structures that controlled emotions, either in their 'real' or representational forms. In arguing for emotions-as-practice, and their embodied nature, Scheer exclaims "there are no thoughts and feelings that are not manifested in bodily processes, actions, in spoken or written words, or supported by material objects. It is their materiality that makes them available to the senses and to memory" (2012:219). This approach closely resembles those put forth by practitioners interested in social memory of the past, as outlined in the above section. Again, the embodiment and materiality of both memory and emotion is what opens them up to study by historians and archaeologists alike.

In *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*, Sarah Tarlow (1999) provides an incredibly detailed and convincing account of emotion and memory construction as seen in the mortuary context on the Orkney Islands from the Reformation through the First

World War. While the temporal scope is incredibly ambitious, and Tarlow has been critiqued by some for assuming an approach to human emotion which relies on overly empathic interpretations (see comments by Karlsson and Thomas in Tarlow 2000:734, 739), *Bereavement and Commemoration* stands as a robust case study in both the theory and methodology of an archaeology of emotion and affect. This work associates changes in burial practices – including burial location, the material aspects of grave markers such as symbology and epitaph inscriptions, and the overall number of individual and communal markers – with changes in the broader emotional context of the Orkney community including 'affective individualism' during the Industrial Revolution, and "personal experiences of the bereaved" in the post-WWI early 20th century (Tarlow 1999:18).

Tarlow (2012:172), identifies three shifts in archaeological epistemology that created an intellectual atmosphere accepting of *emotion* as something not only attainable (or at least interpretable), but worthy of studying in the archaeological record. First, the increased attention paid to postprocessual approaches like interpretive archaeology; second, the 'linguistic turn' which proponents claim allows for interpretation of the archaeological past by critically 'reading' material culture like a text (see Hodder 1991); and lastly, the expansion of Feminist and Marxist considerations of gender and power across the discipline, which Tarlow claims to have inspired increased attention to other 'intangible aspects' of past cultures similar to emotion. Importantly, Tarlow pushes for archaeologists to include robust data and convincing arguments based on "a sense of historical variability and change", an understanding that emotion will more easily be seen by archaeologists at the societal or community level, and "attention to the way that emotion works through material things and places" (2012: 179).

Writing more than a decade after Tarlow's early attempts to synthesize a path forward in researching emotion and affect in the archaeological record, Harris and Sørensen (2010) note the continued lack of attention to emotion and affect in comparison to other aspects of life previously deemed irrecoverable, or at least overly subjective and speculative, such as memory. Using strictly materialist approaches, the pair aim to provide a 'vocabulary' to discuss emotion in archaeological interpretation. This vocabulary is built upon four key terms: *emotion*, *affective fields*, *attunement*, and *atmosphere* (2010:146). For Harris and Sørensen, emotion and affect (the bodily reaction to emotion) are considered one-in-the-same, and 'emotion' is seen as both a personal and social experience. *Affective fields* (later affective communities, vis-à-vis Rosenwein 2006) are the "dynamic and generative" (Harris and Sørensen 2010:149) entanglements between agents in any given spatial, temporal, and sociohistorical context. Pulling from Heidegger, the pair consider *attunement* to refer to a sense of "being-in-the-world" (2010:151) which again is both personal/internal, and interpersonal/social, as we are consciously and subconsciously attuned to our own emotions, others' emotions, and the material world through which those emotions are displayed. Expanding on the concept of attunement, Harris and Sørensen describe *atmosphere* as the point of intersection between things, places, and people in the emotional world, namely, the ways in which the built or altered environment can frame our emotional experiences. Important for this research is the concept that "atmospheres emerge through the use of certain materials, their properties and their combinations, and the way they change over time" (Zumthor 2006 in Harris and Sørensen 2010, 152).

Much like Tarlow (1999, 2000, 2012), Kus (1992), and others (Lutz and White 1986; Meskell 1998), Harris and Sørensen operate under the assumption that there is no dichotomous and mutually exclusive divide between the physical or mental aspects of emotions in the past or

present – rather, emotions are embodied. These embodied emotions, while highly variable and contextual both within a culture (and even within an individual) and between cultures, still "play a crucial role in the lives of *all* people in *all* times and places" (1999, also see comments in Tarlow 2000 for essentialist versus constructivist debate). These authors repeatedly refute the claims that their approaches stem from a place of 'naïve empathy' for those in the past, but rather that "theorized, critical understandings of the emotions of people in the past are better than unexamined, implicit ones." (Tarlow 2000: 719). Similar to approaches put forth for recovering/interpreting memory in archaeology, Tarlow (2000: 729) notes that we need to look at contextualized meanings behind the symbols of material culture itself, but also to the *traces of actions* exhibited by the archaeological record, to properly theorize emotion in the past.

Regardless of how memories and emotions are identified and analyzed in the archaeological and historical record, important connections exists between these concepts and the sensation(s) of *place*, especially for archaeologists (Tarlow 2012:173). Although the same care must be taken not to apply contemporary concepts of a sense of place in an a priori fashion to interpretations of the past, there have been many examinations of the ways in which emotion and memory can 'exist' in places rather than 'in us' (Semple 1998; Sørensen and Lumsden 2016; Thomas 2002). Specifically, Harris (2009, 2010, 2016) explains that memories can be "fix[ed]" in place as the landscape, or the objects within, become "sticky" with emotion. This 'stickiness' becomes more complex when an archaeological site is considered not only for its representation of the past, but for its implications as a heritage site in the present. Christina Hodge (2011), pushes for multivocality in the process of establishing a narrative of place at historic sites. Importantly, her argument hinges on the concept of *nostalgia* as a powerful and inexorable emotion at play in the iterative process of placemaking.

Placemaking

In yet another epistemological 'turn' (this time the spatial turn), scholars across disciplines in the social sciences began paying much more attention to the spatiality of their research interests. Similar to investigations of memory and emotion, the roots of the spatial turn can be traced back to the Frankfurt School's critical theory, the French Annales School of history, and poststructuralist sociologists, with tones of practice, power, and the interrelatedness of gender, ethnicity, and other culturally constructed aspects of human life now considered as being in dialogue with 'spaces', 'places', and 'landscapes' (Arias 2010). The terminology used, again much like those in memory studies, can be confusing and even contradicting across disciplines. For clarity, *space* can be considered to be any physical location, including one's surroundings but importantly lacking in social significance or meaning. *Place*, on the other hand is space "laden with memory and meaning" (Pauls 2006:66). In other words, *place* is a "practiced space" (de Certeau 1984 in Wright 2005:54). *Landscape* is also contextually dependent, but for the purposes of the current thesis, can be considered to refer to the "continuum in which the physical environment, societal structures… and individual experiences exist in a tangled, recursive web." (Pauls 2006:66).

Tim Ingold's (1993) concept of the 'taskscape' as a prime example of the ways in which memory and agency take form in particular landscapes across time (Van Dyke 2019:214). Pushing back against the predisposition of Western scholars to view the landscape as segmented, both in time and space, Ingold pulls from Connerton's (1989) concept of incorporated embodiment, and Gell's (1992) notion of temporality to argue that the taskscape is a constantly evolving, overlapping series of socially constructed spaces of activity in which humans, objects, and the landscape are in constant dialogue regarding social practices. Again, pulling from Gell,

this concept acknowledges that these practices represent both "retensions from the past and protentions for the future" (1993:157). Specifically regarding social memory and emotion, this aspect of 'multi-temporality' is important for this thesis, as it problematizes the dialogical relationships between human-object-landscape from the past through the present day. In other words, the temporal and spatial 'segment' that is the cemetery in 1849 must be understood within its context, which in turn informs the contextualization of the ongoing and variable patterns of use in the cemetery in the years following its abandonment, all of which, of course, affects the fields at play in the cemetery today, including the establishment and unfolding of the bioarchaeological project.

Cemeteries lend themselves particularly well to the study of space and place in anthropology. As Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) commented, it is enticing to use historical cemeteries as a sort of 'laboratory' to test any number of anthropological hypotheses. Initial forays into mapping the 'cultural landscape' in which cemeteries exist, referred to by many as 'deathscapes', largely followed Dethlefsen and Deetz's approach, considering the material and symbolic manifestations within a cemetery to merely *reflect* cultural ideologies to be studied either cross-culturally or diachronically (Boulware 2008:11). However, more recent theoretical approaches have moved these analyses away from descriptive or statistical accounts, into the realm of critical interpretation of the layout, landscape (built and natural), and phenomenological qualities of mortuary contexts as having a dialogical relationship with the community (Cook 2008:14; Francaviglia 1971:501; Rainville 1999; Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2010). Specifically addressing the roles of emotion and memory in this dialogic relationship at the Neolithic site of Hambleton Hill, Oliver Harris writes, "I suggest we need to consider how people and materials

are caught up in webs of emotion and memory that influence their interactions with one another and in turn shape particular places in the landscape." (Harris 2010:357).

Interpretive Archaeology

Interpretive Historical Archaeology

Interpretive historical archaeology is presented not as a subfield of archaeology in and of itself, but as an approach that "represents the theoretical and methodological attempts to address the range of intellectual and political issues that were raised in historical archaeology in the early 1990s." (Wilkie 2009a:337). These 'intellectual and political issues' include neo-Marxist and Feminist approaches which were part of the postprocessual school of thought seeking a restructuring of the accepted interpretations of the past through critical analyses (Johnson 2010:105). While citing the obvious connection with Hodder's (1991) "interpretive archaeology", Laurie Wilkie comments that the approach is natural in historical archaeology because the interpretation of texts and microscalar focus on site/household/community had been around since the development of the field, although she importantly notes that microscalar studies contribute to the broader temporal and geographical focus common in anthropological research. Wilkie (2009a:337–338) goes on to list four main elements of an interpretive historical archaeology:

1. There has always been a discursive relationship between people in the past as both actors and agents within their sociohistorical context;
2. Contemporary researchers must use multiple lines of evidence in a transdisciplinary methodology to accurately interpret the past;
3. Our interpretations of the past are themselves situated in a sociohistorical and political present; and

4. There is a responsibility of contemporary scholars to share their interpretations with as broad a public as possible, through traditional and inventive forms of outreach.

Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn (2008:44) provide a rather dismissive discussion on the "anything goes" attitude of interpretive archaeology but also nicely outline the neo-Marxist, post-positivist, phenomenological, agency-based, and hermeneutic traditions present in the interpretive epistemology. The pair incorrectly consider the post-positivist attitude to equate with a rejection of the scientific method and insist that interpretive archaeologists rely solely on empathy to "get inside the minds" of past peoples. Most proponents of interpretive, critical archaeologies would reject the sentiment that the approach is anti-science, as put forth by Renfrew and Bahn. In fact, aside from the most committed postmodernists (e.g. nihilists as discussed in Johnson 2010:203), theorists from across the interpretive spectrum state the importance a holistic approach with evidence-based arguments and empirically sound methodologies (Johnson 2010:120; Little 2007:20–23, 59–64; Wilkie 2009a:339–341). Renfrew and Bahn (2008) do state that the framework has been particularly useful in addressing the ways in which archaeological data and interpretation are both affected by and have an effect on the contemporary sociocultural milieu of the analyst.

While not explicitly interpretive in nature, Barbara Voss (2007) provides additional methodological tools that help augment those put forth by Wilkie as outlined above. Voss calls for researchers to consider historical documents as "labors of representation" a term she borrows from Bourdieu which attends to the social mechanisms and intentional acts that went into the creation of texts, images, and objects in the past. The approach takes for granted the concept that creators of documents in the past were both actors and agents who were simultaneously affected

by *and* able to inject their personal views and beliefs into the sociohistorical context in which their creations were produced. In looking at historical sources, especially when those sources are used to guide archaeological investigations, researchers must attend to implicit and explicit factors mitigating the source's reliability rather than taking them at face value. Four "steps" are outlined in the methodology (Voss 2007:147).

First, one must understand how the representation may have been affected by the creator's social milieu by researching the historical and political context of their creation, which, for this thesis, fits well with the concept of the *emotional community* described above (Rosenwein 2006). Moving beyond the effect of the community on the creator, Voss suggests examining the ways in which the creator affected the community by better contextualizing the history of the item's production and the physical attributes that serve to present the views of the creator to the public. Next, one must follow the citational practices – other historical documents which refer to the one in question – to understand the full extent to which this representation permeated the sociohistorical milieu of the time. Last, researchers must consider how the documentary and archaeological records align or not and, importantly, what this means for interpretations of past events. This last step is not used to prove or disprove historical sources, only to evaluate what converging/diverging narratives means. The practice-based theoretical underpinnings work well within Wilkie's framework, and the methods for contextualizing source material and comparing this with the archaeological record help to strengthen interpretations against critiques from those such as Renfrew and Bahn.

Still, interpreting past events within a modern context is not only difficult, but also fraught with ethical considerations. Well-known critical archaeologists like Paul Shackle (2001b, 2001a, 2004) have discussed the inextricable dialects between interpretations of the past, the

contemporary politics shaping those interpretations, and the ways in which the emotional responses to archaeological interpretations can be, and have been, exploited for potentially harmful nationalistic purposes. It is for this reason that Shackle, along with Leone (in Gould and Schiffer 1981; 1982), Hodder (1991), and others, push so strongly for reflexivity to be at the forefront of any archaeological interpretation.

Interpreting Memory and Emotion at HTCC

This thesis will address the "web of emotions and memory" (Harris 2010:357) that can be interpreted from the historical and archaeological record of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery. By envisioning the cemetery as a *field of action*, emotion and memory become dynamic aspects which affected how the community conceptualized and experienced the cemetery throughout time. Importantly, the reflections of this process in the material record will be put in dialogue with the historical record, both to contextualize the material record at the point of creation, and to understand the transformations seen through time. Although culturally and temporally variable, certain practices are expected within the mortuary context. Theories regarding the divergence between practices as they are expected and as they are seen in the archaeological and historical record have taken many forms, but considerations of social memory and emotion/affect are relatively young in archaeology. Analyses will follow the general approaches of interpretive archaeologies, drawing connections between 'intangible' social structures with 'tangible' quantitative data (Leone et al. 1987). However, as Tarlow notes, the difference comes in the application of these data to a theory of emotion, memory, and historical narrative construction, rather than the "negotiation of power relationships" (Tarlow 1999:18).

While a biological essentialist approach to emotions is often criticized by contemporary historians and archaeologists, it is important to understand and acknowledge that emotions are

constantly at play, both in the past, and in our interpretations of the past as they enter contemporary discourse. The skepticism that these concepts can be recovered by modern researchers can only be offset by anchoring the interpretation of social memory and emotion at HTCC through an iterative and rigorous research agenda. This thesis represents an important aspect of this agenda. The methodologies put forth by Wilkie (2009a) and Voss (2007) work in concert and lend themselves to addressing emotion and memory in the historical and archaeological records.

Memory

Following Trouillot's analyses of historical silences and the relationship between "that which happened" and "that which is said to have happened" (Trouillot 1995a), this thesis will examine the documentary record of the cemetery, and compare these findings with the archaeological record as it has been reconstructed across three field seasons at HTCC. Although Trouillot's approach focuses mainly on social hierarchies and the power involved in the historical narrative process, it provides a useful framework for social scientists across disciplines to clearly identify points of convergence and divergence in the ongoing dialogue of historical narrative building. This approach will interweave the archaeological record – in the form of the built environment at the cemetery – in the ongoing process of historical narrative creation and maintenance. Trouillot does this in *Silencing the Past* to some extent as he discusses the materiality of palatial architecture in Haiti, but the approach will be strengthened by interpreting the phenomenological aspects of the cemetery through more rigorous examination of the archaeological traces as outlined by Jones (2007), the contributors to Van Dyke and Alcock (2003), and Cipolla (2008, 2013).

If social memory is conceived of as a practice-based process, as the cited literature suggests, then the aim of this thesis will be to understand how this process unfolded at the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery. To understand this process, the historical accounts of the cemetery (e.g. who is said to be buried there, how they were buried and why, and what the cemetery represents to the community, etc.) must be placed in dialogue with what has been shown in the archaeological record. In essence, it must be understood that no textual or oral account of the cemetery was made in a vacuum outside of the material and spatial manifestations of the cemetery, and conversely, it will be understood that the spatial and material realities of the cemetery exist in relation to the available written and oral tradition narratives at any moment in time.

Emotion

The emotional response to disease, especially those that are fast-moving or particularly gruesome, is well-documented by social historians (Evans 1990). Specifically, Evans notes that the reactions to the rapidly advancing and poorly understood cholera epidemics of the 19th century have been widely used as a "tool of social analysis" (1990:111) in both Europe and the United States. Previous research and historical writings have provided insight into the practical and emotional responses to the cholera epidemics of the 19th century in the United States (Rosenberg 2009), and more specifically the Ohio River Valley (Daly 2008; Hutslar 1996), but less has focused on the local realities in Pickaway County (with exception to McGinnis 2020). None of these, however, include the archaeological record, or considerations as to how the archaeological and documentary records may be examined in tandem to reach a more detailed, anthropologically based, understanding of these processes.

Previous analyses treat emotions in the past as reactions to certain stimuli, merely reflecting social constructs of the time. I argue that it is necessary to re-examine the evidence and claims put forth by historians, considering these phenomena as 'emotional practices' to put them in dialogue with their material realities and acknowledge the effect they had on shaping future social discourse (Scheer 2012). Anxiety is the emotion most attributed to the historical analysis of disease and this is no different in the case of cholera in the United States of the 19th-century. Much focus has been given to the blame placed on a sinful lifestyle, most often attributed to the immigrant 'other'(Hutslar 1996; Rosenberg 2009). Here, the anxiety is framed as reflecting local religiosity, or perhaps masking anxieties about economic worries in rural communities, and even as part of an ideology that maintains hierarchal social structures or polices Victorian-era bodies and actions (Rosenberg 2009). These are all valid analyses, and ones that certainly play into the practices surrounding HTCC. However, issues exist in the analysis ending with emotion as a reflection of cultural norms that show bias against historically excluded social groups, as it avoids explication as to how this treatment of immigrants and 'sinful' others may have had unintentional consequences which actively affected the established community-at-large.

The cemetery, it will be argued, serves as a venue to explore the lasting, material effects of emotions evoked by the cholera epidemics of the 19th-century. More specifically, this research will use Harris and Sørensen's (2010) vocabulary to connect the *emotional community* (sensu Rosenwein 2006) as reflected in the historical record, with the *affective field* of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery as seen in the archaeological record. As such, the change over time in the *atmosphere* at HTCC may represent the complex ways in which the social memory and emotional ties to the cemetery were affected by, and had a further effect on, the historical trajectory of the site.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH QUESTIONS, MATERIALS, AND METHODS

Research Questions

This thesis aims to answer questions about the historical trajectory of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery (HTCC). As a site of commemoration, cemeteries often preserve the identities of those interred within, in name if nothing else. Yet, prior to excavation, HTCC no longer featured any indication that it was the site of a cemetery. The fact that it has retained little to no historical record or physical semblance of the place it once was needs to be addressed in terms of the sociohistorical context of the site throughout time.

As such, this thesis aims to answer the following question: *How have the historical narrative and sense of place been documented in writing and oral traditions, and how have they been expressed through actions, at the cemetery across time at the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery?* Importantly, the tensions between the written and archaeological records, essentially the relationship between the historical narrative and sense of place at the cemetery, will be explored by addressing the following subqueries in relation to the broader sociohistorical context, and with consideration of similar, contemporary sites:

1. By examining key historical documents as *labors of representation*, sensu Voss (2007), what narrative do they provide? Specifically, as a social practice, how much do the memories of people and events in the historical narrative reflect contemporary cultural norms regarding cholera and how did this narrative shift throughout time?
2. How can an analysis of the archaeological record at HTCC help to interpret the *affective field* and *atmosphere* at the cemetery during its active use and after its abandonment? Specifically, how do the actions seen at the cemetery compare with

funerary practices at contemporary corollaries, and how does this relate to actions that have taken place at the cemetery over the years?

3. What do the points of convergence and divergence between the documentary record, and the archaeological record imply about the social memory (re)formation process at the cemetery?

It is important to note that this work builds on, and pulls from, research already conducted on the historical reactions to cholera across the state, specifically the master's thesis of Rebecca McGinnis (Hutslar 1996; McGinnis 2020). The historical research provided by McGinnis is particularly useful as she examined the reaction to cholera in Pickaway County with a strong focus on the ways in which this reaction was seen in local newspapers. Ms. McGinnis joined IRLAB as part of the organization's "Archaeologist for a Day" community outreach efforts and was subsequently urged by the research team to explore this aspect of the historical context of the site. What distinguishes the current research agenda from that of McGinnis, is the explicit use of an anthropological lens which focuses on the dialogue between social memory and emotion when considering the practice-based reactions to cholera during this time. This means that the newspapers were theorized as material culture, with object agency wrapped up in a dialogic relationship with the people and places around them – in particular, HTCC. Also of import, where McGinnis focuses on the historical reactions to cholera, there is much less attention paid to theorizing the ways in which this affected ongoing social memory practices from the past to the present day. McGinnis uses the cemetery, and its current physical manifestation as a conversational starting point to frame her historical research, which is an effective stylistic approach to historical research, but leaves the analytical space which this thesis aims to fill. Thus, by overlapping analyses of the limited source material available, while also

looking to additional sources which bring the narrative from the past to the present, this thesis will make claims about social memory and emotion as practice that previous research has not attempted to make. More importantly, prior to this thesis research, these historical accounts have not been put in dialogue with the archaeological record as a way to explicate the embodied practices at the cemetery as an *affective field* and site of memory (Nora 1989).

Materials and Methods

The research questions that form the basis of this thesis will be addressed using a methodological framework built from Laurie A. Wilkie's *Interpretive Historical Archaeologies* (2009a), augmented with methods outlined in Barbara Voss' *Image, Text, Object: Interpreting Documents and Artifacts as 'Labors of Representation'* (2007). Combining these research agendas provides the methods necessary to incorporate the few, but variable, lines of evidence available to analyze events surrounding the cemetery. Further, this framework allows for an effective incorporation of memory and emotion as social practices into the analysis and interpretation. Voss directly cites Bourdieu and his analysis of political discourse in her approach, while Wilkie lists the need to theorize people of the past as existing in a discursive relationship with one another as both actors *and* agents as a core tenet to her interpretations of the past, to which I add object agency sensu Gell (1998), Barrett (1988), and others (Hodder 1991; Jones 2007). Below, the combined approaches of Voss and Wilkie, as used in this thesis, are outlined:

1. There has always been a discursive relationship between people (and between people and objects) in the past as both actors and agents within their sociohistorical context (Wilkie 2009a:337);

2. Contemporary researchers must use multiple lines of evidence in a transdisciplinary methodology to accurately interpret the past (Wilkie 2009a:337);
    a. Examine the broad historical and political context in which the representations were produced (Voss 2007:147);
    b. Research the intimate context of the representations, including the history of their production and physical attributes (Voss 2007:147);
    c. Trace the citational practices that link the representation in question with other contemporary documents (Voss 2007:147);
    d. Evaluate the ways in which archaeological evidence converges or diverges from the representation (Voss 2007:147);
3. Our interpretations of the past are themselves situated in a sociohistorical and political present (Wilkie 2009a:338);
4. There is a responsibility of contemporary scholars to share their interpretations with as broad a public as possible, through traditional and inventive forms of outreach (Wilkie 2009a:338).

Susan Matt, cited in the discussion on emotion in historical research points out that to formulate a well-rounded understanding of emotion in the past:

> "Historians have used paintings, sermons, gravestones, food, music, newspapers, advertisements, clothing, to understand how emotion shapes cultural life, and to see the material form that sentiment can take. There are problems of interpretation here as well, for divining intentions from objects is tricky business." (Matt 2011:19)

The problems to which Matt refers are where the methods of archaeologists are most effective. By 'reading' the archaeological record – interpreting emotion and social memory not only in individual artifacts or documents, but in how they are represented through the *traces of actions* throughout time, archaeologists seek to provide conclusions that are bolstered by the analysis of

historical documents. Essentially, this approach acknowledges the fact that the written record is in and of itself a material record representing embodied action capable of not only *reflecting* societal norms but *affecting* practices vis-à-vis the agency of the creator and the agency of the material record. Written sources which directly reference the cemetery are limited, but when these documents are put in dialogue with the broader context and citational practices, as Voss suggests, they become much more powerful lines of evidence, especially when this dialogue also includes the archaeological record.

Chapter 4 will address Voss' first step in her analytical methodology which involves "examining the broad historical and political context in which the representations were produced" (Voss 2007:147). This step in the methodology receives a dedicated chapter as it pertains to both the documentary record – examined more closely in Chapter 5 – *and* the archaeological record at the cemetery – analyzed in Chapter 6. Importantly, the broader accounts concerning cholera in the United States, as well as those concerning the outbreak on the Renick farm need to be linked to the individuals and families associated with the area and the cemetery specifically, to establish an *emotional community* (Rosenwein 2006). This community would have been involved in translating emotional practices and conceptions regarding cholera, based in their contemporary sociocultural and political context, to embodied practices at the cemetery. Previous research on the generalized reactions to cholera in the U.S. and Ohio will be summarized and discussed in terms of the implications for the individuals identified in connection with HTCC. Materials used in determining the associated community include U.S. Decennial Census Records for the years 1810 – 1860; marriage, will, and probate records for Pickaway and surrounding counties in Ohio; and county historical and biographical accounts written in the late-19th and early-20th centuries for the same geographical region. Ongoing

genealogical research is part of the larger HTCC program, and was conducted in collaboration with IRLAB member Alessandro Cariboni, one of the Area Supervisors working on the Field Experience in Bioarchaeology in Ohio and a lead collaborator in the effort to connect the current research agenda with the local and broader descendant community (IRLAB, report pending). The final step in Voss' methodology is addressed in the discussion and conclusion sections of Chapter 7. This final step asks the researcher to consider what the convergences and divergences between the historical and archaeological record may imply about how both accounts came to be, and how they may have affected one another throughout time. Below, the material and methods used in the analysis chapters, five and six, are outlined.

Document Analysis

Materials

As stated, little to no historical documents which make direct reference to the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery, or any one of the known alternative names, have been previously identified. A series of cholera epidemics swept the country in the 19th-century, most notably affecting Ohio in 1832, 1849-50, 1866, and the 1870s (Daly 2008:144). Local oral tradition indicates that the cholera burials began during the epidemic of 1832, with cholera supposedly taking the lives of laborers tasked with building the Ohio and Erie Canal adjacent to the cemetery, but no contemporary sources for this event have been identified in previous research (McGinnis 2020)[1]. Even the known archival record concerning the cholera outbreak of 1849 is

[1] Canal plat maps which include adjacent property owners have been identified for the section of the canal associated with HTCC. These plat maps were created in 1897 and reference the Peters family land, but not the cemetery. Records from the Department for Public Works regarding contracts and payments for the construction of the canal are housed at the State Archives in the Ohio History Center in Columbus, Ohio. Previous searches have not identified documents concerning the section associated with HTCC. This presents an ideal avenue for continued research with the re-opening of the physical archive space, which has been closed for the duration of the current research due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

limited. As such, one main source has been selected for extensive analysis, in the vein of Voss' (2007) *labors of representation* – with supporting documentation incorporated where needed and available.

The source selected for analysis was the Friday, August 24, 1849, issue of the *Circleville Watchman* (Case 1849a). This issue, like many of the era, featured articles which concern the spread and potential threat of the cholera epidemic of the time. Importantly, unlike the documents used by Voss, this newspaper issue does not include any articles which directly reference the cemetery itself. Voss (2007) was concerned with the political impetus behind visual representations of space in Spanish-colonial presidios when compared to their contemporary written counterparts, all of which was critically examined against later archaeological excavations and their interpretations. Still, as will be outlined below, this document acts as a bridge for analyses to move from the broad sociohistorical context as outlined in Chapter 4 – the first step in Voss' methodology, to the local context of the cemetery and those interred within.

Newspaper articles from across the state which refer to the same epidemic outbreak event as the August 24th, 1849, issue of the *Circleville Watchman* were accessed via the Ohio Memory and Chronicling America digital historical newspaper catalog collected by the Ohio History Center and the Library of Congress, respectively. These documents proved particularly useful in understanding how accounts of the event were shared across the state in the most popular news medium of the time. The narrative put forth by the network of local newspapers across Ohio was considered in terms of the technological and cultural processes that affected how news was gathered and distributed at the time. The way in which this issue of the *Watchman* aligned with or deviated from similar contemporary accounts of cholera in the news can be seen through

reference to the broad historical context described in Chapter 4 via source quotes and previous research findings.

Importantly, a series of six historical documents were identified in the research process that connect the events of the cholera outbreak relayed in the 1849 *Watchman* articles with the social memory of the cemetery as it developed through time. These six sources include, the 1850 U.S. Census Mortality Schedule, an 1881 obituary for a fellow Pickaway County resident, an article in the 1892 *Circleville Democrat and Watchman* titled "Circleville's Experience with Cholera in 1850", a 1936 headstone inscription roster compiled by the Daughters of the American Revolution, a 1998 article in the *Circleville Herald* titled "Cemetery Established for Cholera Victims", and an entry on "The 'Blue Death' Cholera Cemetery" in a 2020 book on the local history of the area surrounding HTCC. While seemingly disparate in source type and temporal distribution, these six documentary accounts make up the totality of identified sources which move the narrative from the middle of the 19th-century to the present day – both for the current research and through previous research efforts.

Methods

The analysis chapters of this thesis focus on the second and third steps of Voss' methodology. These two steps establish a critical analysis of the document as a labor of representation by "researching the intimate context of the representations, including the history of their production and physical attributes" and "tracing the citational practices that link the representation in question with other contemporary documents" (Voss 2007:147).

First, the intimate context of the August 24th, 1849, issue of the Circleville Democrat and Watchman was analyzed via research on the publication's editor and the processes used for compiling and distributing news in the mid-19th-century (Sachsman and Bulla 2013).

Furthermore, a critical assessment of the physical attributes of the item was conducted to aid in the interpretation of the document as material culture – both influenced by, and able to influence, the sociohistorical milieu in which it was created through the concept of object agency (Gell 1998; Jones 2007).

While this issue of the *Watchman* does not make direct reference to the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery, it does include an article which covers the reported outbreak of cholera on the farm of Joseph O'Bannon Renick, upon whose land the cemetery lies. It is this article, and the issue as a whole, that links the actions believed to have occurred at the cemetery with the emotional reactions of the community-at-large. By linking this article with additional accounts vis-à-vis Voss' "citational practices" (2007:147), the documents can be linked to better understand and interpret the ways in which "people and materials are caught up in webs of emotion and memory that influence their interactions with one another and in turn shape particular places in the landscape." (Harris 2010:357). These connections between the written record, people of the past, and the physical world carry the work from Chapter 5 to Chapter 6.

Archaeological Record

Materials

The materials examined to analyze the archaeological record of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery include excavation documentation compiled across three seasons of the Field Experience in Bioarchaeology in Ohio program offered by IRLAB. As part of the excavation permit granted to IRLAB by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), the team has submitted preliminary excavation reports after each field session. The author of the current research has served as the Project Manager for all three sessions of excavation at HTCC and has been responsible for synthesizing the field supervisors' findings into an appropriate site report

format. The materials used in creating the preliminary reports include stratigraphic and skeletal context sheets used to track the archaeological record at the cemetery; spatial data in the form of CAD points taken during excavation with the use of a Leica FlexLine TS09 total station and digitized as vector shapefiles in Esri's ArcGIS Pro software; artifact catalogues; and photographs taken during excavations at the site – but it is the reports themselves that are serving as the source for this thesis. For example, the spatial relationships of archaeological features in the cemetery is recorded using stratigraphic context sheets and GIS software and is integrated into the preliminary site report. This thesis takes these site reports and looks to put the archaeological features in dialogue with the historical record to understand the ways in which they reflect/affect social memory and emotional processes at the cemetery. As such, this chapter also pulls source material from the documentary record examined in Chapter 5 and refers to findings from historical and archaeological research on contemporary cemeteries.

Methods

As outlined in Chapter 2, interpreting the ways in which emotion and ongoing social memory practices are reflected in the archaeological record must be done with care. Gaps in the record, either written or material, cannot be taken as a confirmation of hypotheses put forth by the researcher. The insights garnered from examining the broad historical context (Chapter 4) and the contemporary written record (Chapter 5) help to enhance the analysis of the archaeological record put forth in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Here, concepts of *object agency* (Gell 1998), *atmosphere* and *tempo* (Harris and Sørensen 2010; Ingold 1993), and *embodied practices* of emotion and social memory (re)formation via *traces of action* (Connerton 1989; Jones 2007; Tarlow 2012), are mapped onto Voss' second and third steps in the labors of representation methodology. In following these steps, the cemetery is established as an *affective field* (Harris

and Sørensen 2010), upon which actors, both human and object, have navigated a dialogical relationship of practices based on changing social and material contexts.

The specifics of this approach are as follows; "researching the intimate context of the representations, including the history of their production and physical attributes" (Voss 2007:147), took a very literal form. The stratigraphic and morphological features of the cemetery, as interpreted through archaeological excavations thus far, were analyzed and are presented in Chapter 6. These features, considered at both the scale of the individual burial and the cemetery as a whole, provide data for interpreting actions at the cemetery across time by considering the stratigraphic relationships between features, and traces of action present in the archaeological record. Next, the physical attributes of the cemetery were considered in terms of "citational practices" (Voss 2007:147). This process becomes two-fold – first, certain documents connect the recorded events at the cemetery with the broader written record of cholera in the area and; second, the physical environment of the cemetery as recreated/interpreted through the archaeological record is compared to contemporary cemeteries with both cholera and non-cholera burials.

Summary of Historical and Archaeological Record Analyses

The methods employed to conduct the analyses for this thesis research were chosen because they allow one to consider the historical processes of emotions and memory as social practices. As the subsequent chapters will show, examining historical documents and the archaeological record in tandem as *labors of representation* allows for more robust interpretations regarding the history of the cemetery to be made with the limited data available.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapter, the first step in Voss' methodology is to establish the "broad historical and political context in which the representations were produced" (2007:147). Because this serves to contextualize both the written/archival record of reactions to cholera in the region and the archaeological record of the cemetery, the result of this research is presented as its own chapter. Reference is made to this section in the subsequent analysis chapters, as the broad sociohistorical context is inextricably linked to the local and intimate context explored in those chapters.

First, the geographical location of the cemetery is described. As will become evident throughout the reading of this thesis, the importance of this aspect of contextualizing the cemetery cannot be understated. Once the reader is situated in the geographical location of HTCC, aspects of the sociohistorical context will be examined. Namely, the pertinent history of Ohio's statehood will be used to chronologically introduce the Renick family and other key persons featured in this research for their connection with HTCC. This discussion is, by nature of the historical record, limited to the select few who made it into written accounts. A major goal of the larger research program at HTCC is to determine the identity of as many individuals buried there as possible, as most of the information regarding personal identities has been lost in the years since the cemetery went inactive. Unfortunately, but importantly, much of this discussion can currently only be centered on the Renicks as they were of a status high enough to be featured extensively in historical accounts of Pickaway County, and even Ohio more broadly. Fortunately, however, this family is also intimately connected with the cemetery's historical narrative.

This chapter aims to establish the *emotional community* which would have been connected to the cemetery, and as such, those whose names and stories *are* known must be introduced. Individuals in a society can, and do, take part in a number of emotional communities. The term refers to the fact that select groups "adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions" (Rosenwein 2006:2). It is important to understand that this does not refer to singular, emotional, embodied acts – as will be explored in Chapter 6 – though the totality of many acts plays into the accepted norms of emotional expression in a given community. Also of import for the discussions in this thesis is the fact that these historical norms are typically gleaned from the written record, which again, is victim to various forms of selection and preservation biases. For those buried at HTCC that are yet to be identified, the current research agenda is based on the presumption that there has always been *a* community connected to HTCC, of which they were a part in life, in death, or both – which generally adhered to the emotional norms established by historians regarding cholera in rural 19th-century America. Due to its location on the Old U.S. 23, members of the community would have passed by HTCC during their routine daily practices. Of course, others would interact with HTCC during the more intimate acts of burial and memorialization of loved ones. The realities of this community will become more nuanced as the broader research program continues, but that does not mean that informed interpretation of the emotional community associated with the cemetery is currently impossible.

Previous research identifies general trends in emotion regarding the cholera epidemics at the broad scale of the U.S. (Humphreys 2002; Rosenberg 2009) and at the local scale within Pickaway County (McGinnis 2020). The chapter ends with a brief summary of the findings of these studies, and an interpretation of the implications for the HTCC community. Overall, this

chapter will help the reader situate the written and archaeological records examined in the subsequent chapters in their appropriate sociohistorical context.

Geographical Location

The cemetery, a roughly 2400 m^2 plot located on the east side of PicWay Road, in Harrison Township, Pickaway County, Ohio, has a relatively central position within the state, located 15 miles south of downtown Columbus. Following the Township-Range-Section survey system, the cemetery falls almost in the center of Township Number 3, Range Number 22, Section 15 of the Ohio Congress lands. It falls on the northern edge of Pickaway County, a predominantly rural county with a substantial amount of agricultural activity, both historically and today. The cemetery and much of the land surrounding it have been held by only one family outside of the Renicks since it was first colonized by non-Indigenous peoples – the Peters family. The cemetery has been managed by the Harrison Township Trustees for years, the board unanimously passing Resolution 14-40 in 2014 to approve the archaeological investigation of HTCC.

The county seat, Circleville, is located roughly 13 miles south of the cemetery along U.S. 23, a major transportation route running north-south along the Scioto River. This river and the various land routes that have followed it over the years have historical importance in the movement of people and goods throughout the region. It is critical to note that U.S. 23, as it exists today, was constructed in 1957, prior to which, the 'Old' U.S. 23 – now PicWay Road – ran directly adjacent to the cemetery as the main north-south land transportation route since the establishment of the cemetery. Also, the Ohio and Erie Canal, finalized in 1833, bordered the north end of the cemetery, and ran under the Old U.S. 23 before taking a sharp turn and heading south towards Circleville. The canal is long abandoned, and only gathers water in times of heavy

rain and snow melt but has potential important ramifications for the history of the site overall. The geographic location of the cemetery is represented on a series of maps in Figures 1 & 2 below.

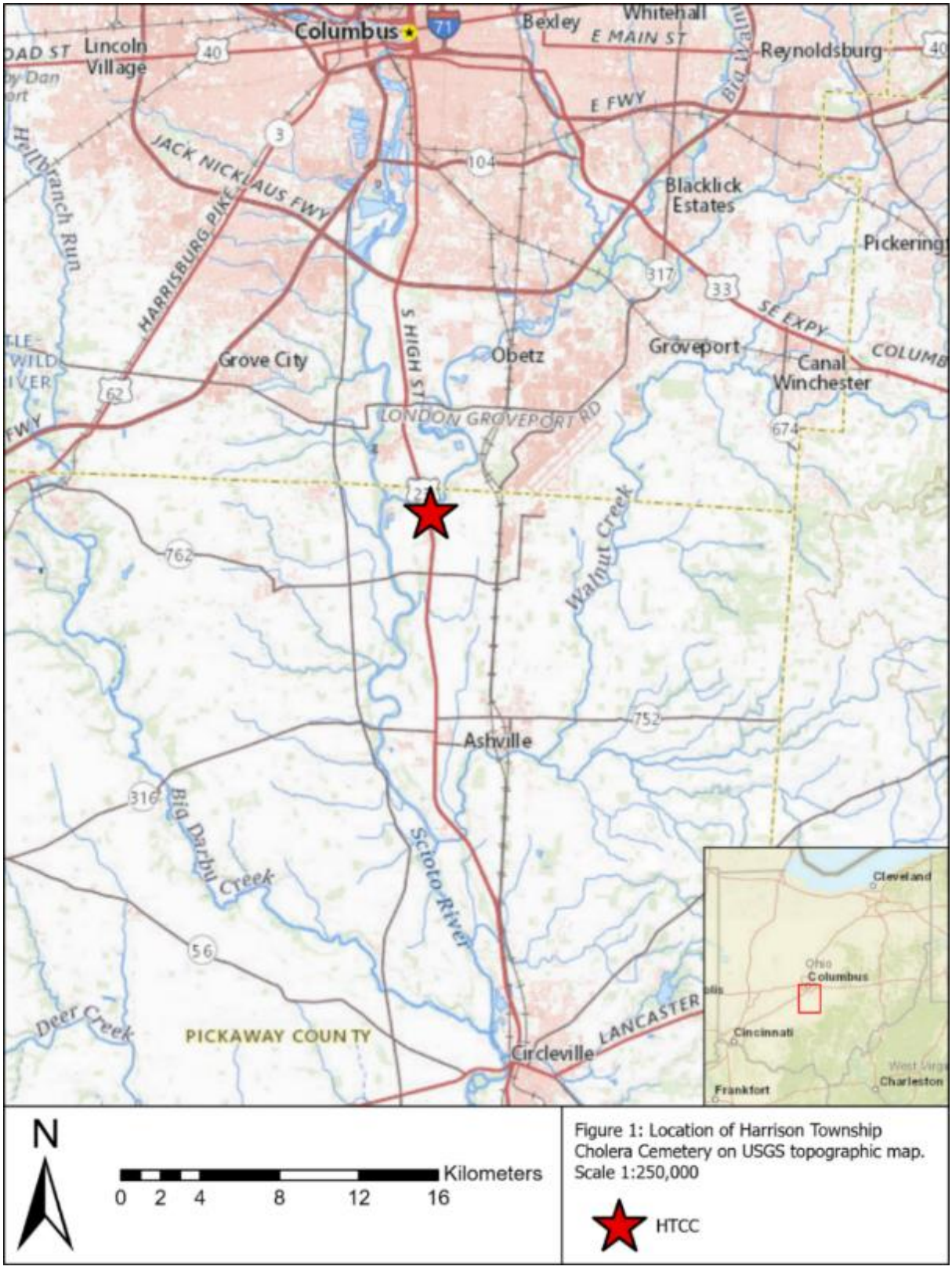


Figure 1: Map showing general location of HTCC on the northern edge of the Pickaway County line with Franklin County

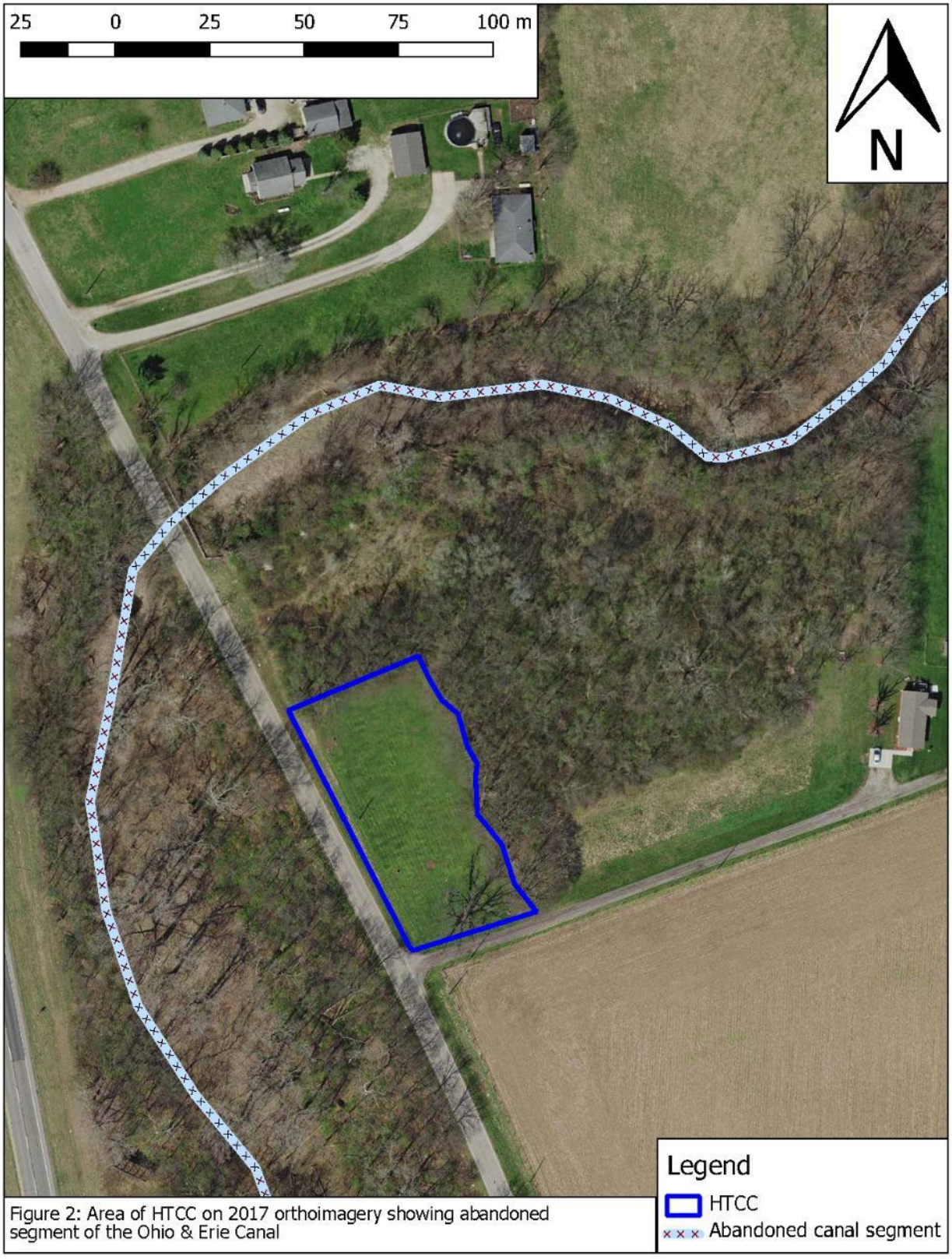


Figure 2: HTCC shown on 2017 orthoimagery. Abandoned segment of the Ohio-Erie Canal to the immediate north.

Sociohistorical Context

Early Ohio Statehood

Ohio officially became the 17th of the United States in March of 1803, being removed from a section of the Northwest Territory, a patchwork commonwealth made up of lands claimed by Virginia, Connecticut, and others (Howe 1907:52). Most notable were the Virginia Military District – 4.2 million acres of land used as payment for service during the Revolutionary War; the Connecticut Western Reserve in what is now northeast Ohio; and the Congress Lands which were the original lands opened for public sale in the Northwest Territory (United States Bureau of Land Management 2021). It is from these Congress Lands that the historical narrative of HTCC, or at least that which concerns Euro-American colonizers, begins.

The lands of the Northwest Territory that would eventually become Ohio were the first surveyed using the rectangular approach of the Public Land Survey System. This system was proposed and enacted by Thomas Jefferson as a simple and quick method for sectioning off and selling the lands of an expanding American frontier in an effort to offset debts accrued during the War for Independence. Large, roughly one-mile square tracts were surveyed, often poorly in Ohio as the first testing ground for the system, and the public was free to insert land claims and purchase said tracts at a series of federal land offices. In an attempt to make land ownership more accessible, the tracts were subsequently broken down from one-mile (640 acres) sections, to half-section, and eventually quarter-sections of 160 acres, which in 1800 could be purchased for around $2 per acre – although lands improved through clearing or the addition of a log cabin could fetch substantially more, especially in particularly fertile regions (Howe 1907:101; Jakle 1977:98).

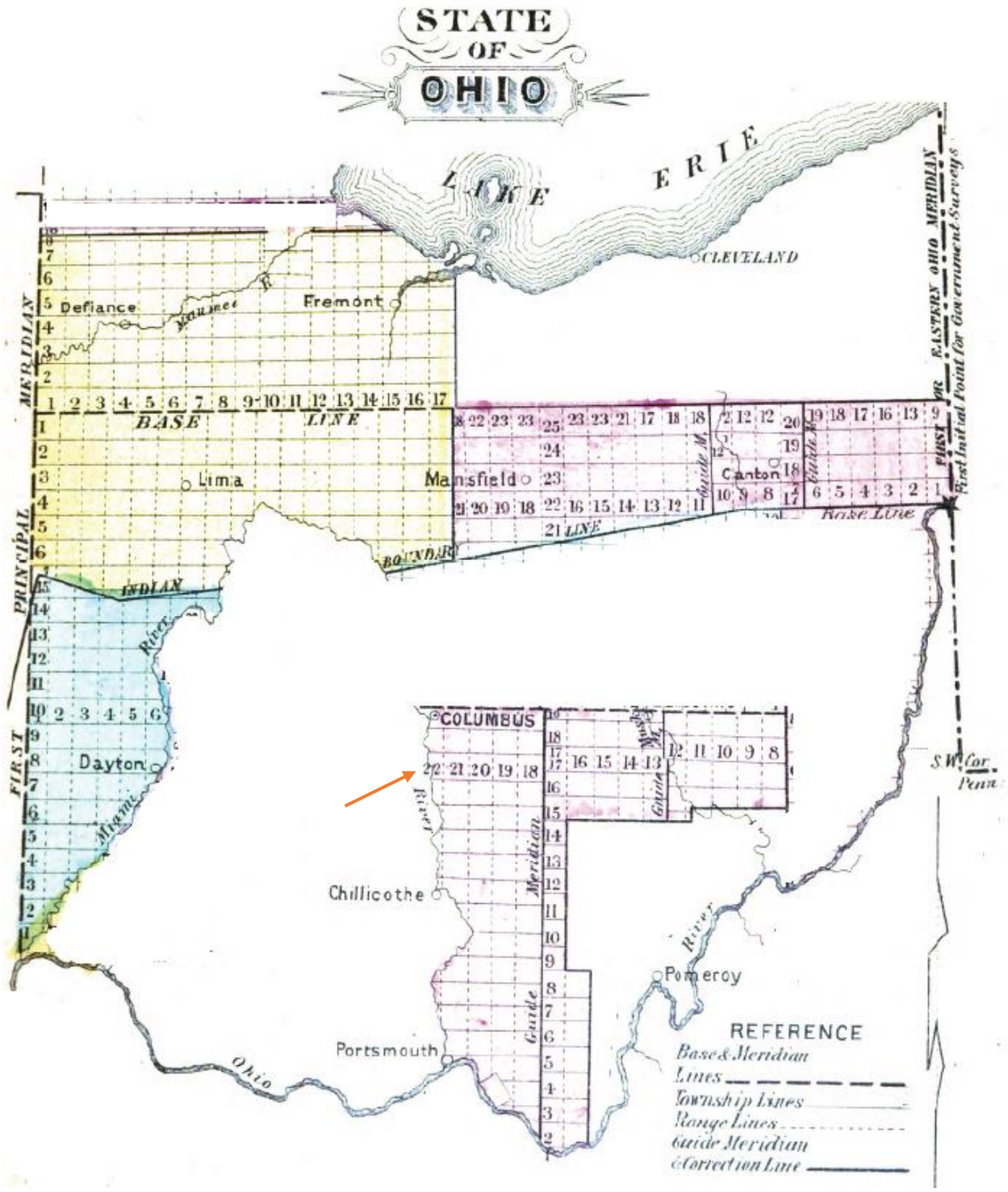


Figure 3: Ohio Congress Lands showing PLSS rectangular survey system and general location of HTCC.(adapted from Higgins 1887:93)

The Northwest Territory represented a frontier of opportunity for many in the newly formed United States, a chance to tame nature, claim it as one's own, and become successful based on hard work and perseverance – free from the aristocratic airs of the east (Jakle 1977:100–101). Here, four brothers, already prominent farmers in Virginia, saw a chance to expand their influence into the Scioto Valley – the fertile and untapped farmland surrounding the location of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery. These four brothers serve as the first generation of Renicks vital to the narrative of HTCC. In addition to being successful in agriculture and the raising of livestock, at least two of them were trained surveyors, which initially led them to the area in an effort to obtain lucrative surveying contracts with the federal government (Plumb 1925:5; Renick 1880:33). While the brothers would not ultimately be awarded the contracts, the trip would forever alter their historical trajectory.

The Renick genealogy, as presented in 1880 by one of their own, traces the family to a community of German farmers, who were persecuted for their religious beliefs, causing them to emigrate to Scotland, then Colerain County, Ireland, before making the voyage to the American colonies – settling first in Pennsylvania and then in Hardy County, Virginia (Renick 1880:1–2). It was from here that Felix, George, William, and Thomas Renick would move with their families to Ohio. There is substantial repetition in the names given to the members of the Renick family throughout generations, a common hurdle in untangling familial connections in the past. The focus of the current research will, for the most part, concern the people and events associated with three generations of the Renick family. Throughout this chapter, the historical periods discussed will be accompanied by tables which denote the generation, and specific individuals, associated with the time period.

Table 1: Table Showing First Generation of Renicks to Settle in Ohio (G-1)

G-0	William Rennick (1746-1807) & Ann Rachel Heath (1749-1807) (NSDAR 2021)			
G-1	Felix W. Renick (1770-1848) & Hannah Rachel See (1771-1858)	George W. Renick (1776-1863) & Dorothy Harness (1783-1820)	**Thomas Renick** (d. 1804) & **Sarah Ann Rankin** (d. 1804)	**William M Renick Sr.** (1782-1845) & **Margaret M. O'Bannon** (1785-1874)

Note: William Rennick (a previous spelling) and Ann Heath Rennick never moved to Ohio and have thus been referred to as Generation 0. Names in bold are of particular importance.

In August of 1804, Thomas and Sarah Rankin Renick, formerly of Hardy County, Virginia died on the same day in Harrison Township, Pickaway County, Ohio (Van Cleaf 1906). This sentiment, oft repeated in local histories, does not specify where exactly this event took place and no more detail regarding their manners of death have been identified in the historical record. Still, as will be seen, these are the first two documented burials at what would become known as the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery, making it a reasonable entry point in establishing the cemetery's emotional community. The Renicks are featured both as the first burials in, and as the landowners of, the cemetery for its early history. This fact is important because, as the following chapters show, the historical narrative of the cemetery has been largely clouded in misconceptions that seem particularly surprising for a site that was held by one, very well-connected, family for 75 years.

According to U.S. Bureau of Land Management (BLM) records, the first patent awarded for the Congress Lands of Matthew's Survey Township 3N, Range 22W, Section 15 was granted to Felix Renick, although the histories of Pickaway County make it clear that this land was really that of his brother Thomas (Van Cleaf 1906:123; Williams Bros. 1880:344). With Thomas and his wife Sarah dying so quickly after claiming the land, the land seems to have shifted into the hands of another brother William Renick Sr (G-1 in the above table). Here, William, his wife

Margaret, and their seven children would tend the land around HTCC, with William travelling alongside his brother Felix to establish an extensive and lucrative cattle drive from Missouri to the Renick farms in the Scioto Valley (Henlein et al. 1956:174–5). William would also become an active member of the business class, being named among the first commissioners of the 1st Bank of Circleville in 1834 (Van Cleaf 1906:36). William Renick Sr. died in 1845, leaving in his last will and testament, the lands surrounding HTCC to one of his daughters, Martha Ann Hurst (Ohio, U.S., Will and Probate Records 1845). Importantly, however, based on multiple contemporary and later sources, it seems that this land became that of William's son, Joseph O'Bannon Renick (Case 1849b; Van Cleaf 1892).

Table 2: Table Showing the Second Generation of Renicks in Pickaway County, Ohio (G-2)

G-1	**Thomas Renick** (d. 1804) & **Sarah Ann Rankin** (d. 1804)	William M Renick Sr. (1782-1845) & Margaret M. O'Bannon (1785-1874)
G-2	Ann Sarah Renick (1804-1875)	Felix W. Renick Seymour G. Renick **Joseph O'Bannon Renick** Eliza Renick **Martha Ann Hurst** Margaret Seymour Hiram Renick

Note: Felix and George Renick were removed from G-1 in the above table as they continue to play a prominent role in the history of the region, but not in the current discussion.

Figure 4: 1844 Property Map of Harrison Township, Pickaway Co., Ohio, showing location of the lands of William Renick Sr. on which HTCC was established.

The description of the land as presented in the will makes no mention of the cemetery that would become known as HTCC and a property map of 1844 (Figure 4, above) does not indicate its presence either – however, this is likely due to the lower level of accuracy for property maps of the time (Wheeler 1979, original 1844). It is plausible that the small burying grounds could be ignored in these documents, as it was theoretically only used thus far for family and members of the close community. Anyone having lived on the land would be aware of its location and anyone looking at the property ownership map would likely not be concerned with it. However, according to oral tradition, the cemetery's historical trajectory took an unexpected turn from a community burying ground to something much different in the summer of 1832.

The Canal Years

Construction began on the Ohio and Erie Canal in 1825, with the announcement that the full length of the canal was navigable coming in January of 1833 (Huntington 1905:31). This canal was promised by the proponents of its construction to bring economic improvements previously unimaginable to the people of Ohio, especially the farmers. This massive undertaking was also sold as a triumph of man over nature, to form the face of the frontier in the desire to be recognized as an industrialized nation on a scale not seen before (Jakle 1977). In fact, in considering just one crop, wheat, for Pickaway County, the 80,000 barrels of flour produced from the wheat in the county each year would traditionally be shipped across land to the New York market for a cost of $25.00 per ton, or about $200,000. With the completion of the canals, the same goods were shipped for $3.00 per ton or about $24,000 – a difference of $176,000 saved for the farmers of the fertile and productive lands in Pickaway County, just for one product (Huntington 1905:13). But the canal system would bring more than just goods and people to and through the state of Ohio. In his historical geography of the Ohio Valley, John Jakle provides

insight that the people of the day understood that a health risk could come with the canals, citing one historical traveler as noting “Carrion often floats on the surface [and] miasmata are generated, all of which must render a residence near the bank unhealthy. It is in fact a nursery of fever and ague” (Bradley 1906 in Jakle 1977:30–31).

While the history of the canal’s construction and use is a fascinating topic for historical research, it is not the goal of this thesis to present it in detail. What is important to know about the construction of the Ohio and Erie Canal, which runs adjacent to HTCC, is that it was built in large part by Irish and German immigrants, many coming freshly off construction work on the Erie Canal in New York. These immigrant workers were contracted by local farmers and businessmen, who in turn, had gained contracts from the state of Ohio to construct sections of the canals. No record of the contract for the Renick lands has been identified during the current research or that conducted previously (McGinnis 2020). Stigmatized in life for their low socioeconomic status and religious views, many of these men were forgotten in death, never having made the emotional connections within a community needed to preserve their memory past their immediate friends and family. This stigmatization in life and death was exacerbated by the encroaching threat and eventual presence of *Asiatic cholera*. The canal was put into use as it was being constructed, meaning that the men excavating any one section of the canal were working alongside the stagnant waters that served not only as a “nursery for fever and ague” but also provided ideal conditions for the bacterium *vibrio cholera* to flourish.

The Blue Death & God’s Scourge

Cholera: The Bacterium

It is estimated that cholera, an infection of the small intestine caused by the bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*, has killed tens of millions of people worldwide through various pandemics

since 1815 (Daly, 2008). Cholera has been referred to by many names throughout history, some of which speak to the social constructs that became associated with the disease, such as "God's scourge" (Scott 1833), and others, such as "blue death" that speak to the fearful realities of the bacterium's effect on the sick. The "blue death" is called such due to the blueish-gray tint that can be seen in the extremely dehydrated victims of the illness. In its most virulent form, cholera causes violent cramping, diarrhea, and vomiting, which leads to death in anywhere from hours to a few days – a fact which leads to its ease of spread and fearful reactions (Sharmila and Thomas 2018:130).

While cholera is scarcely seen in industrialized countries in the present day, there are still serious outbreaks in the developing world. Today, the bacterium exists in two distinct strains (i.e., Classical and "El Tor"), which vary in how lethal they are to the human host. It is suspected that only one strain is responsible for the epidemics of the 19th century, but direct (i.e., archaeological) evidence has not yet been gathered to ascertain actual pathogen molecular variation and virulence (Vercellotti 2013). The world has seen seven pandemics of cholera, the first of which stemmed from one of many endemic outbreaks in the Ganges River Delta in India in 1817 and spread across the nations of Europe due to rapid industrialization and the interconnected nature of the globalizing economy. The 1817 pandemic would not end up in the United States, however, epidemic waves swept through the nation in 1832, 1849-1854, and again in 1866 (Rosenberg 1987:2–4). The first two cholera epidemics are of concern to the current research as it was more likely that they directly affected the actions at HTCC in terms of the presence of cholera burials and the stigmatization associated with the disease, and the cemetery more generally. By 1866, the exact bacteriology of cholera was not fully understood, but the fact that unsanitary conditions, namely unclean water, served as the source of the illness was

generally understood and accepted by the medical profession and the broader public (Rosenberg 1987:5).

Epidemic Cholera in the Nineteenth Century United States

In the past, as in lesser developed regions today, cholera could spread and kill with a speed and intensity that is rarely seen. Across the U.S. in 1832, large cities and small towns saw between five and ten percent of their population stricken dead with the disease (Daly 2008:145). The understandable fear of a new and deadly disease, especially one whose mechanism for infection was unknown, manifested in ways that researchers show to be unique from those of endemic or well-known diseases that took many more lives overall during the 19th-century, like tuberculosis (Humphreys 2002:849). These reactions, based in the realities of cholera as a very deadly disease and rife with the broad misconceptions and dominant social stigmas of the time, had a particularly harmful effect on many small rural communities – both in the actual death toll and in the psychological effects on the community. However, it has been noted that, due to the stigmatization of the time, the memory of cholera in rural Midwestern towns is often lost. Often the only source material comes from vague newspaper reports (Daly 2008). As the following chapter will show, these reports can be misconstrued, sometimes intentionally at the point of creation to favor certain narratives or deny the presence of the disease, and oftentimes moving forward, as the reports are revisited by local historians and scholars who may not properly contextualize the source material.

The literature on the reactions to cholera in the 19th-century make a clear case for panic and anxiety as a general rule among the masses due to the rapid and alarming number of deaths, the manner in which cholera kills, and the unknown forces for infection and spread of the disease (Forman 1944:303; Humphreys 2002:849). Some even refer to the phenomena attached to the

reactions to cholera outbreaks in the 19th-centruy as a convergence between the "fear of disease" and the "disease of fear", noting the ways in which the reactions themselves may stem from practical fears of illness and death, but for a variety of reasons became irrational and at times horrific (Wilson 2007:26–28). This manifested in slightly different ways throughout the decades of the 19th-century, with the first epidemic of 1832 reflecting the Protestant roots and renewed evangelical fervor of the Jacksonian era (Jortner 2007:233). Religious leaders gave sermons on the "chastisement of nations" (Scott 1833) from a wrathful God, upset by any number of actions depending on who was interpreting the divine scourge. Some blamed Americans supposed move towards secularism, others more specific things like a failure to observe the sabbath, and in the case of northern abolitionists, cholera was framed as punishment for the nation's continued embrace of chattel slavery (Scott 1833). This sort of catch-all divine punishment for the sinful acts of the "other" in our society created an odd emotional tide in the U.S. in which anxiety was rife, but panic was waved off by organized religions, governmental leaders, and prominent individuals less at-risk of contracting the disease – the argument being that there was nothing to fear so long as one was pure of heart, mind, and soul. When a well-off individual did die of cholera, there were basically two options for justification among those who remained. Either it was decided that the worthy individual stricken down was done so as a warning to others around them, or that there were more salacious and hidden mechanisms in the individual's private life that validated their victimhood (Rosenberg 1987:42).

This religious explanation turned political during the Presidential race of 1832 when Democratic incumbent Andrew Jackson refused to proclaim a national day of fasting and prayer, citing it as a breach of the separation between church and state. National Republican candidate, Henry Clay – a noted personal friend of the Renick brothers (Renick 1880:35) – used the

opportunity to court evangelical voters in an ultimately failed attempt at winning the presidency by espousing the need for such a day. This has been noted as a flash point as to "how a democratized American Christianity began to Christianize American democracy" (Jortner 2007:235). While the political affiliation of many Renick men is known from local historical accounts, it is not known for the majority of people in the cemetery and there is no indication that individuals who died of the disease were treated any different in death due to their political leanings in life, but the understanding that arguments regarding cholera's sources and ideal reactions permeated almost all aspects of social life at the time help one to understand the ways in which emotions become that of a community as opposed to that of the individual. The politicization of the disease is also important for Chapter 5, where the party press era of journalism, and the overarching antagonism between rival newspaper editors associated with the era, are seen to spread beyond political rhetoric and well into the later years of the 1849 epidemic.

Although the source of, and forces behind, cholera were still unknown during the second epidemic of 1849, the stigmas applied to the victims had shifted from being religious in nature, to largely stemming from sociocultural biases and nationalistic zeal. Also, as the populous moved away from the Protestant roots of New England and turned more towards secularism, an embrace of science and industrialization was seen. This compounded the stigmas applied to cholera's poor and immigrant victims, as they were still often marginalized for religious views, then were accused of leading intemperate lifestyles, and seen as being too ignorant to embrace the changes in sanitation and bodily care thought to prevent or cure the disease at the time. Rosenberg notes that by the second epidemic in 1849, "the connection between cholera and vice had become almost a verbal reflex. The relationship between vice and poverty was a mental

reflex even more firmly established" (Rosenberg 1987:120). Another aspect that played heavily into the reactions to cholera in 1849 and beyond was the nationalism that was growing as the U.S. became more established and influential on the world stage. Continued immigration was seen more and more as a threat to the status quo for those who considered themselves the rightful citizens of the country. Where there once was a pioneer spirit in the old Northwest Territory that embraced those from any background, praising them on their ability to "tame" the "wild" frontier thus encouraging an affective community, now was a stratified system of elite landed farmers who both relied on a largely immigrant workforce and also blamed that workforce for a number of woes, which in 1849 meant the introduction and spread of cholera (Cotter and Patrick 1981:44).

Cholera Comes to the Ohio Valley Frontier

Cholera is believed to have spread inland from major coastal cities, along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and through the newly established canal systems. Historical accounts suggest that cholera reached the area surrounding Harrison Township in 1832-1833 (Bareis, 1902), and again during another wave in 1849. In total, Ohio experienced five epidemics of cholera during the nineteenth century with varying degrees of mortality across the state, a number which differs from Rosenberg (1987) and others cited previously, which shows the somewhat arbitrary nature of determining what counts as an epidemic and whether to categorize multiple years of disease into one ongoing epidemic (Humphreys 2002; Rosenberg 1987), or into a series of epidemics, like others (Daly 2008; Hutslar 1996). Documentation of these epidemics is limited in more rural areas such as Harrison Township. This is due, in large part, to the same social stigmas and misconceptions regarding the disease as has been established by scholars for the U.S. more broadly. While the mortality rate was similar, the psychological effect on small towns has been

argued to have been more drastic, with entire families and large parts of the community being killed in a matter of days or weeks. This effect was often exacerbated by panicked flight from the area affected. Writing on the effect of cholera on the rural Midwest, Daly (2008:145) discusses this effect on the town of Aurora, Indiana, which saw 14 deaths in one night, 51 more over the next three weeks, and 1,600 of the 2,000 residents flee from the town to the countryside in an effort to escape the disease. Cholera's effect on burial practices is extensively covered by historians concerned with the epidemic events, with scholars noting practices such as churchyards permitting the interment of 2-3 stacked coffins per burial (Rosenberg 1987:113), or stating that there was often "no one left to bury the dead" (Daly 2008:145). Some accounts are more sensational in nature which is not to say that they are untrue but helps to understand how cholera is believed to have altered the broad social conceptions of disease and death, and thus the context of burial practices in the 19th-century. One contemporary source noted that in immigrant communities "you would see the dead and the dying, the sick and the convalescent in one and the same bed. Father, mother, child, dying in one another's arms. Whole families were swept off in a few hours, with no one left to mourn or to procure burial" (Gould 1889 in Wilson 2007). Rosenberg writes of the 1849 epidemic, "the dead were deposited in a wide trench some hundred yards in length, one body on top of another within a foot or two of the surface" (1987:112).

The epidemic of 1832 introduced the people connected with HTCC to the disease. Newspapers discussed the spread of the "scourge", and there were outbreaks in Columbus and Circleville that certainly would have weighed on the minds of the community (Forman 1944; McGinnis 2020). As will be discussed, it is reasonable that cholera victims would be interred at HTCC, *if* there was an event that occurred in direct connection with the site, either among the established community interacting with the space in their daily practices, or among those

constructing the canal so close to the existing cemetery. Writing on the cholera epidemics in 19th century America, Charles Rosenberg (1987:62) states, "[e]ven in rural areas, Irish workers on canals and railroads were often the first and sometimes the only ones to suffer from cholera". However, no documentary evidence has been identified that specifies HTCC as a place of burial for victims of the 1832 epidemic. As such, the 1832 epidemic is important to understand as a source for stigmatization that may have affected practices at the cemetery *if* cholera victims were buried there at the time, or perhaps even if cholera victims were *believed* to have been buried there at the time – but the subsequent epidemic of 1849 serves as the historical context for the discussions to come.

This epidemic brings a documented outbreak to the lands of the Renick family on August 18th, 1849, when as many as 33 out of 70 fieldhands at J. O'B. Renick's farm contracted and died of cholera over just one weekend. It also brought a level of mortality in Columbus and Circleville not before seen, and thus, an emotional rection equally novel in intensity (McGinnis 2020). Namely, the local newspapers took to denying the presence of the disease. Then, only after the epidemic took hold in the county seat of Circleville and enough respected members of the community died, the papers acknowledged its presence but turned to sensationalized and personal attacks against one another regarding their respective suggestions for dealing with the disease. Chapter Five will examine some of the reactions as seen in the local paper but as these reactions have previously been examined through a historical lens and shown to reflect those of the nation more broadly, the chapter examines how one source can both reflect these social stigmas and expected responses, and act as a genesis for a shift in the social memory narrative moving forward.

Establishing an Emotional Community at HTCC

As shown above, by the time of the 1849 epidemic, William Renick Sr. had died and willed his land to one of his daughters, Martha Ann Hurst. However, she had remarried after her first husband's death and moved to Indiana in the same year as her father's passing, 1845. A court decree of 1853 officially gave Martha's older brother, Joseph O'Bannon Renick title on the lands, but he had held residence and farmed there since his father's death and his sister's move from the family home (Van Cleaf 1892). As before, the land records for the transfer of title from Martha to Joseph make no reference to the cemetery in which their uncle Thomas and aunt Sarah, among many others at this point, were buried (Daughters of the American Revolution. Pickaway Plains Chapter 1936).

In establishing the effects of the broader social milieu of cholera's stigmatization on the ways in which the outbreak on the Renick farm was handled – and interpreting how this relates to the written and archaeological record of the cemetery – it is important to draw what connections one can with the sparse record available. The fact that the cemetery isn't mentioned in a legal document does not serve as evidence that the cemetery was uncared for, but the fact that contemporary family and community cemeteries do appear in other land transfer records may serve as a clue as to how the cemetery was perceived at different points in time. If nothing else, this helps to understand if the broader emotional reactions to cholera were mapping onto the emotional community involved with the cemetery.

Additional hints at who made up the emotional community of HTCC are gleaned from the documents analyzed in Chapter 5, names from headstones uncovered during IRLABs excavations, discussed in Chapter 6, and one unexpected source discussed here. J. O'B. Renick was involved in raising broomcorn, a crop that required a large group of fieldhands to harvest

and prepare the corn for its, perhaps unsurprising, use in the making of brooms. Accounts contemporary to the 1849 outbreak note that Mr. Renick had a mixture of local residents and nonresidents (presumably seasonal migrant workers) tending the crops and lodging on the premises (Case 1849b). In previous years, he had taken advantage of the convict labor system, contracted through the Ohio State Penitentiary. From 1838-1844, on his own lands next to those of HTCC, J. O'B. Renick employed 15 men each harvesting season via this prison labor system (Hicks 1925:407). The system was dissolved by the time of the 1849 outbreak, and it is impossible to say how Mr. Renick felt about the laborers which he employed in terms of emotion and affect, but the argument can certainly be made that a man who previously employed inmates and relied heavily on migrant workers would not have been nearly as emotionally invested in them in death as he would have been to members of his own family or close community. This should not be taken to mean that J. O'B. Renick was involved in burying the dead at HTCC or dictating the practices of those that did. It is merely meant to set up the discussions to come regarding what the relationship between emotion and social memory could mean for the cemetery.

While an emotional community cannot be identified by examining any one act constrained in time and space, catastrophic events have the ability to manifest new emotional communities in unforeseen ways. These events can affect some associated communities more so than others, which can, in turn, exacerbate existing disparities between social classes or other groups (Cotter and Patrick 1981; Kraut 2004). The Renick brothers, and others identified as being buried at the cemetery, were part of a class within the community that this thesis refers to as the Pioneers. Descended from a man who was both enlisted as a surveyor for Lord Fairfax in Virginia and then a supporter of the Continental Army – gathering, driving, and supplying cattle

to the troops – the four Renicks embodied the aristocratic lineage that wasn't supposed to matter in the American west, while also having credentials as frontier trailblazers emboldened with the spunk of the Pioneer spirit (NSDAR 2021; Plumb 1925:4). Even though Thomas and Sarah died only one year after coming to Pickaway County, their lineage and the lives lived by the other Renick brothers and their families should have theoretically preserved their burial place, if not their memory, more so than the documentary and archaeological record would suggest.

Opposite the Pioneers of the false dichotomy applied to this community by the author is those of the Pestilence. The burials of Thomas and Sarah, along with a handful of others, occurred prior to the introduction of cholera to the area. Even after the cholera epidemic of 1832, there is no documentary evidence that cholera victims were interred at the site until 1849, and even then, it is tangential in the sense that the cholera outbreak on the Renick farm is merely mentioned in local accounts. It was not until later that the direct connection was made between this event and HTCC. Two records work in conjunction to confirm at least one cholera burial at the cemetery, and it is expected that many more exist, as the most logical place to bury the dead on this particular section of Renick land would be at HTCC. Also, as will be seen in Chapter 6, there are already many more burials identified at the cemetery than are accounted for in the written record, even if one applies the highest number suggested from the sum of the documents. To say that any unmarked or unknown burial at HTCC represents a cholera burial would be overly speculative at best. However, this chapter has shown that there was a migrant workforce employed in the area during both cholera outbreaks, first on the canal in 1832 and then on the J. O'B. Renick farm in 1849. This chapter has also discussed the stigmatization of these populations and the accompanying fear of the local community that came with the cholera epidemics of the 19th-century – which essentially stripped the victims of their identities and

replaced them with catchall concepts of intemperate sinners and the unworthy ignorant poor. The following chapters will present analyses which focus on whether or not the emotions of fear, panic, and anxiety were reflected in the written and archaeological records. They will also ask what it means if these emotions are reflected in one or both of these records, at levels perceived to be congruent or at odds with one another, and what how the written and archaeological records were part of the discourse that shaped the historical narrative that the IRLAB research team was presented prior to their excavations at HTCC.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE DOCUMENTARY RECORD

Introduction

In an effort to connect the broad sociohistorical context that was outlined in the previous chapter with the more intimate and immediate context of HTCC during the 1849 cholera epidemic – and beyond – this chapter will critically analyze a series of documents which demonstrate the ways in which the historical narrative regarding the cemetery has shifted through time. One document, the August 24th, 1849, issue of the *Circleville Watchman*, was chosen for analysis in the vein of Voss' (2007) labors of representation. This issue was chosen as it represents only one of a few existing accounts of what the paper's editor calls the "Dreadful Mortality" that took place on the lands of Joseph O'Bannon Renick on the 18th of August, 1849 (Case 1849b). This approach allows for close and thorough examination of what Trouillot (1995b) refers to as an introduction of silence at the point of fact creation. If one is to understand the evolution of social memory regarding a historic person, place, or event – then one must look for key moments in the creation and transformation of narrative threads. This article represents a key point of entry for a narrative centered on nameless victims of cholera at the cemetery. While accounts of cholera internments at the cemetery from the 1832 epidemic may exist, they could not be located, either for others' previous work or the current research presented here (McGinnis 2020). This is due to a series of selection biases – first, in what news or data was collected at the time; next, in the lack of preservation of the documentary record, and finally in the process of retrieval. Ms. McGinnis was able to review physical copies of select historical newspapers, gaining access to others via microfilm. The current research, however, was restricted to digitized sources – as the Covid-19 pandemic, perhaps ironically, prevented in-person data collection and analysis for this research on the historical cholera epidemic of 1849.

Next, this issue of the Watchman will be placed in conversation with other contemporary sources regarding the Renick farm outbreak, and similar events of the 1849 epidemic. Voss refers to this work as establishing the "citational practices" (2007:147) of the document in question. Here, the analysis flows from the previous chapter's discussion regarding the reactions to cholera as presented in American newspapers of the time by looking more closely at the ways in which this was reflected in the newspapers used specifically for this analysis. As stated previously, research exists on the reaction to cholera in Pickaway County (McGinnis 2020). However, this chapter will build on that research by considering how the citational practices extend from 1849 to today. As such, a series of documentary sources are presented that provide insight into the ways in which this narrative has shifted as the events of the mid-19th-century gain distance from the present-day social memory of HTCC. This is explored in the second half of the current chapter, as the analysis shifts from the moment of fact creation to a series of moments throughout time at which silences or shifts in narrative focus were introduced (Trouillot 1995b). Unlike the 1849 *Watchman* article, this work is less concerned with a full analysis of the documents as labors of representation and instead serves as a succinct review of the historical narrative (re)formation process regarding HTCC. Here, the reader will find snapshots of this process that form a timeline from then to now. This timeline is – due again to the selective biases discussed above – incomplete. Still, the record as presented gives the reader understanding of how narratives shift in subtle but important ways throughout time, while continued research will help clarify the specific moments and mechanics behind the shifts in the narrative concerning HTCC.

The method for analysis put forth by Voss provides a vehicle for interpreting how representations of the past form a dialogue with associated contemporary, and future, accounts of

people, places, and events by critically assessing and contextualizing the documents themselves in two major steps. First, one must examine the details of the historical document, what Voss calls the "intimate context" (2007:147) by researching the history of its production and its physical characteristics. Specific attention was given to understanding the background of the *Circleville Watchman* and that of the paper's editor in 1849, Jason Case. Importantly, this step also calls for an assessment of the physical characteristics of the representation. This fits well with the concept of object agency that is also applied during the analysis of the archaeological record in Chapter 6. Essentially, "[a]ny representation is an act of selection, interpretation, and translation, a transformation of the messy, infinitely complex reality of daily life into something tangible, contained, and legible" (Voss 2007:156). In considering the aspects outlined in this quote from Voss, one can understand the practice-based and emotional nature that may go into the creation of documents – concepts that many take for granted in historical research. These documents were made by real people, who were making decisions as to whether they should comply with, or stray from, cultural expectations regarding how they selected and presented newsworthy events of the day. Further, their representations, in the form of publicly circulated newspapers – the most widely consumed form of information in the mid-19th-century – were being distributed to real people, who were capable of being affected by the documents as to how they thought and acted. Interpretation regarding the extent to which this issue of the newspaper was reflective of contemporary cultural conceptions of cholera – both in content and form – relied on the extensive work of historians of journalism, who have considered news media as a social institution to analyze historical trends (Bulla and Haley 2013; Dicken-Garcia 1989; Sloan and Parcell 2002). Most notably, Hazel Dicken-Garcia (1989:69) provides language and background on the *content topic, tone, and form* for newspapers from throughout the 19th-

century. This analysis also pulls from the work of historians concerned with the social reactions to cholera in the U.S., as their source material often comes from historical newspapers. This is done to gain a better understanding of how the reactions, as presented in the sources analyzed here, compare with the analyses presented by others (Carter 1992; Daly 2008; Hutslar 1996; Rosenberg 1987; Smith 2016; Warner-Smith 2020).

First, a step back is warranted, as Voss' methodology asks us to understand the history of production for one's archival source material. Here, a brief history of newspaper production in the 19th-century U.S. is needed to ground the reader in the deeper contextual analysis to follow.

19th-Century Newspapers

While it is typical for academics to oversimplify the historical shifts in 19th-century American journalism "from the party press to the penny press to the mass circulation press of Hearst and Pulitzer – paying too little attention to the unique social and cultural relationships embodied by newspapers" (Rutenbeck 1991:128), thinking in terms of periods such as these helps to frame the ways in which content was chosen, how it was presented to the public, and why these decisions were made at certain points in history. Although specific dates vary, many historians of journalism place the start of the "party press" at the end of the Revolutionary War, running up to, and actually well into, the introduction of what is referred to as the "penny press" in 1833 (Dicken-Garcia 1989:12). Important features of the era of the party press included, unsurprisingly, the political nature of newspaper content, but also a discourse steeped in religious tone, and idea-based essays catering to the highly exclusive readership of upper class urbanites and select landed gentry of the expanding rural countryside (ibid 1989:35). The party press is marked by the transition from the First to the Second Party System that shaped the future of American politics, with newspapers playing a key role in promoting – due to direct funding

from, and affiliation with – the active political parties of the time (Vos 2002:299). The Second Party System of the Whigs and Jacksonian Democrats lasted well into the start of the penny press in the 1830s, and scholars like Hazel Dicken-Garcia note that, as a social institution "both subject to and interacting with changing trends" (1989:21), journalism in the U.S. cannot be broken into easy chronological categories as many of the social practices of the press are tied to specific historical and regional realities and have been shown to blend between these eras. For example, the partisan nature of early American journalism led to vehement attacks between local papers representing their respective political parties via ideal-driven editorials which presented their view as right, the opposing view as wrong, and were filled with personal attacks on their rival editors of the day (Blevens 2002:99). As will be seen, this constant bickering and at times outright hatred expressed between rival local newspapers did not end with the transition to the penny press.

Still, the rise of the penny press in the 1830s marks, for many, a slow shift towards an unpartisan, and more accessible American press (Bulla and Haley 2013). Where newspaper printers were previously beholden to political parties and their most wealthy and influential members for financial stability, the penny press era saw the advertising industry start to come of age and slowly replace political parties as the main source of funding for publishers. While this created the first politically "independent" news outlets of the day, many scholars point out that newspapers did not lose their partisan tone until after the Civil War – and many continued to be quite clear on their ideological stances and political ties. An increased reliance on advertising for financial backing gave newspaper editors room to move their discourse away from the world of politics, but also forced them to explore new content and form that attracted a broader readership. As the name suggests, the era of the penny press featured newspapers that could be

purchased for only one cent – a massive reduction in cost from the subscription-based dailies and weeklies that dominated the era of the party press – which allowed news to be consumed by a wider swath of society than ever before. The literature on the era of the penny press is fraught with chicken-or-the-egg style discussions on whether the content, tone, and form of penny papers reflected cultural standards of the mid-19th-century American populous, or if they steered the public towards certain ideas and perceptions (Green 2002:46).

One trend of the penny papers include a shift in *content topic* from purely political to more social matters. Editors now wrote more about specific events than large ideologies, with a *form* that moved from national and international news to local human-interest stories – namely crimes, natural disasters, and other tragic events (Green 2002:46; Tucher 1994). Famously, the penny press used an emotional *tone* filled with sensationalized language (Bulla and Haley 2013; Dicken-Garcia 1989:69). Sensationalism is a broad, and obviously sociohistorically dependent term, but it is one that is almost universally attributed to this era by scholars of American journalism history (see the dozens of contributors in Sloan and Parcell 2002). While this often refers to the coverage awarded to grotesque murders and horrific disasters, sensationalized language is evident in much of the news in this time, whether intentional or as a by-product of the general tone used by editors. The penny papers would elicit emotions such as excitement, shock, or horror from their readers "through display, emphasis, illustrations, and writing style, but the content itself play[ed] the largest part" (Pribanic-Smith 2002:267).

While many scholars laud this era for the rise in objectivity that came with presses' freedom from political influence along with a new interest in gathering 'facts' and even scientific explanation (Littmann 2008), Andie Tucher provides insight in her work on journalism of the day that is particularly useful in conceptualizing newspapers as part of a social institution caught

up in a dialogical relationship with their readers. She writes, "[o]bjectivity is not the same as truthfulness, however; facts do not necessarily add up to reality" going on to explain that "[journalists] have also been shaped by their need to present facts and truths that make sense to the community of consumers they are trying to lure and that accommodate their vision of the way the world works" (Tucher 1994:2).

The analysis presented below will look at the content topic, tone, and form of the August 24th, 1849, issue of the *Circleville Watchman* using Voss' method of examining the physical form of the representation. Also, the ways in which this representation may have been shaped by the need to 'lure' a community of consumers while also reflecting the editor's beliefs and concepts of cholera will be interpreted by considering the history of production for the *Watchman* and the citational practices of the contemporary newspaper network. While the date of publication is well within what historians consider the era of the penny press – this issue of the *Watchman* contains important retentions from the party press era. Most notable is the continued partisan backing that affects content and tone when discussing other papers/editors. This is found to co-exists with trends of the penny press – more sensationalized language and local human-interest articles – adding further nuance to the analysis.

"The Dreadful Mortality" and "The Health in Circleville"

Intimate Context

Upon first look, the August 24th, 1849, issue of the *Circleville Watchman* appears no different than many newspapers of the day, and in many ways it wasn't. However, as the following analysis will show, this issue of the *Watchman* – specifically two articles presented within – acts as an important tool for interpreting the ways in which broad sociocultural discourse may permeate the written record and subsequent social memory at the local level. The

two specific articles of concern are titled “Dreadful Mortality – Cholera near Lockbourne” and “Health of Circleville” (Case 1849a, 1849b). As will be discussed below, the titles and accompanying text presented in these articles reflect cultural norms of the day, but also project these norms onto a very specific local historical event – contributing to a trajectory of historical narrative reformation featuring moments of “silence” (Trouillot 1995b) that would lead to a very different understanding of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery than has been reflected in the archaeological record thus far.

History of Production

In establishing the intimate context of the document under analysis, it is imperative to examine the evolution of the newspaper, and critically evaluate the individual(s) responsible for its creation. When considering memory and emotion as social practices, this deeper understanding works in combination with the broader historical contextualization to form a more nuanced interpretation that considers individuals in the past as both actors and agents in the historical narrative process – simultaneously influenced by their physical and sociocultural milieu and capable of influencing the trajectory of this ongoing reformative process (Trouillot 1995b).

The life of Jason Case – sole publisher and editor of the *Circleville Watchman* at the time the August 24th, 1849, issue was printed and distributed – is briefly outlined in the local historical and biographical sketches regarding Pickaway and Franklin counties that were published in the late-19th and early-20th centuries (Van Cleaf 1906; Williams Bros. 1880). Mr. Case began his career in journalism in Columbus, Ohio in the late 1820s and early 1830s, working for multiple publishing firms before landing a role as the foreman for the *Ohio State Bulletin* and later the *Ohio State Journal*. After his initial introduction and professionalization in

printing, Case leased an interest in the *Circleville Herald*, based in the small city for which it is named, in May of 1834. Here, he published in partnership with William B. Thrall, a respected member of Ohio's early press with ties to many of the same Columbus-based papers for which Case previously worked. Thrall would even go on to a career in the Ohio General Assembly as a representative in 1837, remaining editor but selling much of his stake in the paper, which was now printed under the name Jason Case & Co. (ibid 1880:165).

In August of 1845, after a decade with the Whig-backed *Circleville Herald*, Jason Case left for employment with the *Circleville Watchman* – formerly the *Democrat and Watchman* (Van Cleaf 1906:341). Case would first serve as the printer of the paper, then in a mixed role of printer and co-editor with a series of others, and then as sole publisher and editor of the *Watchman* from January 15, 1847, to July 14, 1853. For the next five years, Case would come and go, balancing a burgeoning political career with renewed roles as co-editor and publishing partner (ibid 1906:341). Mr. Case held multiple offices in the local government of Circleville and Pickaway County from the 1850s until his death in 1882. These roles included Postmaster of Circleville – a common political career of printers of this time as government printing contracts were often awarded to individuals in this role, Mayor from 1861-1867 and again from 1875-1877, five successive terms as a Justice of the Peace from 1862-1881 and multiple terms as the County Coroner from 1874-1880 (Van Cleaf 1906:342).

A discussion of the professional and political career of Mr. Case may seem trivial to note in an analysis of the historical record concerning the cholera outbreak on the Renick farm and its connection to HTCC. It is argued below, however, that when considering this issue of the newspaper as a labor of representation wrapped up in a dialogic relationship with broader cultural conceptions, there are real ramifications for how Case presented the Renick farm

outbreak to his readers and how his ongoing discourse regarding cholera played out in newspaper network at the time.

The literature on reactions to cholera in 19th-century America acknowledges the disastrous effects that news of an outbreak could have on a location's economic well-being, especially in rural towns and burgeoning small cities in the still developing Midwest. Daly (2008:144,147) focuses on the deleterious effects of cholera on the Central Valley of the U.S. – mainly western Ohio, Indiana, and parts of Illinois near the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers – and makes specific note of the role of the newspapers in denying the existence of cholera at the local level while drawing attention to the catastrophic numbers elsewhere. For many, this stance reflects the larger cultural stigmas of the time (Hutslar 1996; Rosenberg 1987), and it is argued to have played a large part in the reaction as interpreted below. However, when considering people of the past as actors and agents, one must beware not only to attribute their actions to the forces of an invisible hand of culture. Jason Case was an effective businessman who would go on to be the longest running publisher and editor of the *Circleville Watchman* until Aaron Van Cleaf took the role in the 1863 (Van Cleaf 1906:341). Case had very real, and very practical, aspects to consider when covering the cholera epidemic of 1849, including direct economic harm due to lost readership. The language Case uses when writing about certain individuals is further complicated when insight is gained regarding personal relationships that may have existed. Aaron Van Cleaf's *History of Pickaway County, Ohio, and Representative Citizens* includes a chapter on the Societies of Circleville (1906:313–36). Listed among the members of the "Tyrion Council, No. 60, R. & S. M." are Dr. P. K. Hull and Jason Case(Van Cleaf 1906:319). While J. O'B. Renick is not named as a member of any of the lodges listed by Van Cleaf, his father, William, brother, Seymour, and many other members of his

extended family are identified in this section, as is James Denny – father of Maj. S. S. Denny. No journals or correspondence from Mr. Case have been identified to ascertain exactly what personal beliefs he held, but it is important for the reader to consider the words and actions of Case, as examined below, as both culturally and individually constructed, inextricably linking what we often consider emotional and more practical reactions to the cholera epidemic of 1849.

Physical Attributes

Examining the physical attributes of the August 24th, 1849, issue of the *Watchman* helps to analyze the document as a piece of material culture, imbued with object agency, that was capable of affecting those who interacted with the artifact directly. One can interpret concepts of emotion and intent not only by analyzing the words chosen by the editor, but also by critically assessing choices in the physical characteristics like typeset, placement on the page (and in the issue), and the inclusion or exclusion of headlines (Bulla and Haley 2013:170). As such, this section of the analysis compares the form and content of the *Watchman* issue with that expected of its contemporaries. In discussing *form*, one can reference the page or issue as a whole or the way in which specific articles are presented. As such, to avoid confusion, when discussing the form of the page or issue more broadly, this analysis will use the term "layout". When discussion centers around the form of an article itself – e.g. idea- vs. event-based, or personal vs. impersonal (sensu Dicken-Garcia 1989) – the term "format" will be used.

Newspapers in the early- and mid-19th-centruy tended to have a very standardized layout due mostly to the fact that the technology of the printing press had advanced only slightly since the introduction of the Gutenberg press (Morano 2002:318). While financial backing of political parties and an increased interest from a broader public had helped grow the newspaper industry from just 35 publications at the end of the Revolutionary War to over 1,200 at the start of the

penny press era and over 2,500 in the year 1850 – and the printing itself sped up exponentially with the introduction of the steam powered press – the actual layout stayed very similar for the first half of the 19th-century (Claussen 2002:107–8; Dill 1926:11; Thompson 2002:362). In general terms, the layout of a newspaper of this time consisted of four pages – or broadsheets, with narrow columns spanning the page. The columns were filled with articles written in very small text, oftentimes lacking headlines, which made discerning the end of one article from the start of the next difficult. Headlines became more popular as the sensationalism that marks the penny press gained traction in the journalism of the day, but due to technological constraints, the headline was often the same size as the text of the article itself. Also of note, is the fact that as presses moved away from political backing and into the world of advertising for their financial stability, many papers featured nothing but advertising on their first and last pages as to catch the eye of potential consumers (Littmann 2008:268).

In writing about the lineage of the *Watchman*, local historian and publisher of the paper's progeny the *Circleville Democrat and Watchman*, Aaron Van Cleaf noted "[i]t was a six-column folio and presented a very creditable appearance" (Van Cleaf 1906:341). In fact, the 1849 issue of the *Watchman* analyzed here features four pages, with the front and back solely reserved for advertising space. The articles selected for close reading appear on what is technically the second page of the issue, however much like other typical contemporary newspapers, the front and back pages of the *Watchman* were solely reserved for advertising. This fact, combined with the articles' placement in the first left-hand column immediately following the publication's title gives a level of prominence to the stories (Bulla and Haley 2013:170). As is argued below, the order in which the two articles in question appear also allows for critical analysis and interpretation regarding this document as a labor of representation (Voss 2007). Decisions made

by Mr. Case in presenting this information to the public in the format and layout he chose were certainly constrained by news gathering and printing technologies of the time. Still, certain choices were made that show how Case was able to express cultural and personal beliefs – ones imbued with emotion – within these confines.

"Dreadful Mortality – Cholera near Lockbourne"

This article, one of only a handful identified that report the mass-mortality event on the farm of J. O'B. Renick, runs 99 lines in length, down the first column of the second page of the August 24th, 1849 issue of the *Circleville Watchman* (Case 1849b:2). Notably, much of the article's text consists of a letter written to Mr. Case by a local doctor, P. K. Hull of Circleville, that relays his experience upon visiting the farm and residence of Mr. Renick shortly after the outbreak. While this restricts the amount of space featuring the words and thoughts of Case, it adds an additional level of analysis in comparing the tone of the two men in speaking about the event. A full transcription of the article in question is found in Appendix A of this thesis, however, extended quotes are featured here for ease of reference.

The headline, centered in the column and printed in bold lettering, reads: "**Dreadful Mortality – Cholera near Lockbourne**". While headlines are expected in today's newspapers, the appearance of a headline, especially with a change in font, was not necessarily common in 1849. In fact, researchers interested in tracking trends in the press through the 19th-century have used the mere presence of a headline as one of many traits to compute the level of relative sensationalism that is often identified with the rise of the penny press (Bulla and Haley 2013:170) – the idea being that the time and space in adding a headline to the printing process is correlated with the editor's desire to "lure" commercial consumers (Tucher 1994). Indeed, when compared with contemporary articles discussed below, the inclusion of "Dreadful Mortality…"

makes the headline here more sensationalized than "Cholera – Pickaway County" (Thrall and Reed 1849a). Another noted aspect of journalism of the penny press era is the presentation of fact as reported from firsthand accounts at the local level. While this may seem at odds with the sensationalized nature of the language used, newspaper editors shifted from printing ideological essays, to presenting event-based accounts, an approach followed by Jason Case in the proceeding body text. Case introduces the reader to the events with,

> "The cholera broke out on Saturday night last, with fearful and unheard of mortality, on the farm of Mr. J. O'B. Renick, near the line between Franklin and Pickaway counties, among the hands engaged in harvesting Broom Corn. There were about 70 hands employed – and within about thirty hours near thirty of that number were hurried into eternity" (Case 1849b emphasis added).

The language, or *tone* (Dicken-Garcia 1989) here is particularly reflective of the journalistic shifts of the 19th-century. Amongst the straightforward reporting that has come to be expected of the news, exists some sensational language. While the emphasized text does not reach the level of hyperbole that would become synonymous with the penny press, the inclusion of key modifiers like 'fearful and unheard of mortality' have also been used in analytical scoring of sensationalized news stories (Bulla and Haley 2013). In introducing the letter written by local physician, P.K. Hull, Case again uses subtle but important language that, whether intentional or not, is important to consider when analyzing the article for its potential effect on the local community.

> "The following communication from *our fellow citizen*, Dr. P. K. HULL, will give the particulars, as near as they can be given, under the present excitement. Great credit is due Maj. S. S. DENNY, *formerly of this place*, for his unrelenting attention to the suffering and dying" (Case 1849b emphasis added)

While the reader may consider this emphasized text to merely make connections between the story and the local community, the emphasis placed on establishing Dr. Hull and Maj. Denny as "our fellow citizen" and "formerly of this place", respectively, actually reflects a much larger

trend in reporting on cholera at the time – especially in rural areas where the overall local population was more adversely affected, relative to those in large cities (Daly 2008; Hutslar 1996; McGinnis 2020). First, newspapers downplayed or outright denied the existence of the disease in the community, simultaneously sharing sensationalized accounts and staggering death tolls from elsewhere. Once it became untenable to deny the presence of the illness, the general tactic was to demonize those who died of cholera, unless that is, if respected members of the community fell victim, at which point the blame still rested on those who introduced the disease while sympathy was expressed for those who were deemed unfortunate casualties of the 'scourge' (Rosenberg 1987:133). Another tactic was to lionize members of the community who cared for the sick, including doctors, nurses, and regular citizens who took up the call in the face of "fearful and unheard of mortality" (Case 1849b). Most often, the demonization of certain victims and the lionization of those who stayed to help happened in concert.

Next, the account from Dr. Hull is presented to the reader. The content of this letter, and the fact that it was printed in whole, follow two trends that have been noted by historians of journalism and those who research the changing social conceptions of cholera in the 19th-century. In terms of the *form/format* that the article takes, the shift from ideal-based stories from the national level to local and event-based firsthand accounts is clear (Dicken-Garcia 1989). The language used by Dr. Hull differs from that of Case in that Hull attempts to remove emotion and account for the deaths on the Renick farm through deductive reasoning and scientific explanation. His focus is on the "facts" regarding what food the fieldhands ate, where they were lodging, and what work they were tasked with on the farm. While most likely not intentional on the part of Dr. Hull, this attention to detail and presentation of facts in chronological order fits well with the ways in which editors began to present news at the time (Littmann 2008). Still, Dr.

Hull provides some of the *tone* associated with penny press news by explaining, "some died on the road-side, and in the corn-fields. One reached this place on foot; so soon as motion was stopped, he collapsed and died in a few hours. Not a single case of recovery save Mr. Renick" (Hull in Case 1849a). As explained in the previous chapter, by the time of the 1849 epidemic, the social conceptions of cholera had shifted from one steeped in religiosity, to one more focused on class- and cultural-based stigmas. At times, the work of the medical community to identify the source of cholera in unsanitary conditions was co-opted to support negative stigmas regarding the individuals most susceptible to the disease. There is not language that indicates this to be an explicit goal of Dr. Hull, or even of Mr. Case, but Dr. Hull does explain that some of the fieldhands employed by Mr. Renick were "resident citizens" while many more were migrant workers living on, or nearby, the farm. He does not, however, discuss differential levels of mortality amongst these two groups.

"Health of Circleville"

Directly below the "Dreadful Mortality" piece, the *Watchman* features an article, running 34 lines, with the bolded headline of "**Health of Circleville**" (Case 1849a). This article, too, is transcribed in its entirety in Appendix A, but is quoted extensively here where appropriate. Case begins the article with, "We hear of many alarming reports, from a distance, of the terrible havoc the Cholera is making among our citizens" (Case 1849a). Of course, language such as 'alarming reports' and 'terrible havoc' is hyperbolic in nature but another interesting aspect of this introduction is the note that the reports are coming 'from a distance'. Again, it was commonplace for editors of this time to present reports of cholera from afar. In most cases this took the form of reprints from newspapers of the larger cities in the U.S. and abroad (Cincinnati, New Orleans, New York, Paris…) that ran only a line or two in length and served as a running count of

reported deaths. Sometimes, however, newspapers discussed specific events in more detail, although often relying on uncited reprints of anonymous accounts. Discussed in the section on the citational practices, this led to very personal conflicts between editors as to how the effects of the epidemic was presented elsewhere.

In discussing accounts that put the mortality in Circleville anywhere from 10 to 30 per day (although failing to mention which papers are making these claims), Case explains, "Now, there is not one word of truth in all these reports. How such reports get into circulation, we cannot tell" (ibid 1849a). This defensive tone takes a notable shift for the remainder of the article. After explaining that Circleville is at peak health, Case mentions,

> "It is true, that during the past week, two persons died in our town with what the Physicians pronounced cholera; but they were both *strangers! – and these are the only cases of cholera that have ever occurred in Circleville*" (Case 1849a, emphasis original)

The article goes on to explain that one of the victims was a drunk, who was 'in a dirty doggery' and died quickly. Case does show sympathy, however, for the other victim, explaining that he and his brother were attempting to escape the events on the Renick farm described as "fearful and unheard of" by Case in the previous article. This man, the editor writes, "we believe to have been a worthy man" (Case 1849a). Still, it is stated explicitly that even this worthy man was not a resident, and perhaps less explicit but still important is the fact that this man remained unnamed.

Interpreting emotion from written accounts of the past is difficult work. Looking at word choice alone is not always enough to make convincing arguments or responsible interpretations regarding the intent behind the work. The literature on sensationalism and hyperbole in the press of the day is extensive and the emotionally charged nature of cholera as it was presented in the newspapers almost equally well-represented but many rely on more nuanced language and deeper contextualization to make strong claims. This article, however, represents an almost

perfect template for how a confluence of sensational language in newspapers and social stigmas regarding cholera existed during the 1849 epidemic. By selecting italicized font, Case made clear the intent behind his messaging (Bulla and Haley 2013). If one is to consider this deliberate act in terms of a labor of representation, then it is argued that the most important take-away from Case's editorial rant is to "other" (Foucault et al. 2007) the deaths that occurred in Circleville while also claiming that they represent the only deaths ever to occur in the town – a patently false claim (McGinnis 2020). What is perhaps most interesting about these two articles, from an analytical and interpretive stance, is their placement on the page – what I have previously called the layout. Case presents the account of mortality on the Renick farm with language that is expected of the time – showing little regard for the individual victims and highlighting only the names of the heroic attendees of the sick and wealthy and/or prominent citizens such as Mr. Renick. And yet, immediately following this article, Case is incensed at the very ephemeral reports coming "from a distance" that dare to associate the city of Circleville with any form of outbreak. Again, this reaction, or the dual reactions, as put forth by Case in this issue of the *Watchman* is not unique for the time, but it is an important point in the progression of the historical narrative of HTCC.

Citational Practices

Investigating what Voss calls the "citational practices" (2007:147) of a labor of representation allows one to interpret the effect that the representation in question may have had on the broader social milieu of the time. The argument being that the more extensively an image, object, or text is shared and referenced, either directly or indirectly, the more influential it is on those interacting with the representation, a concept that fits well with a theoretical framework that considers object agency. It is important to consider who was tasked with creating the

representation at hand – as has already been done – as well as how it was distributed, because these aspects represent potential points for the introduction of "silences" in the historical narrative process (Trouillot 1995b).

For most of the 19th-century leading up to the printing of the issue of the *Watchman* in question, stories were shared between newspapers in a method referred to as "scissors and paste-pot" (Longinow 2002:146). This refers to newspaper editor's practice of directly pulling stories from other papers and printing them into their papers for distribution, oftentimes without any attribution to the original source. This practice was a mainstay for printers as a precursor to more legitimate citational practices that came about with the advent and expansion of the telegraph network in the 1840s, professional organizations of journalists such as the Associated Press, and the conglomeration of news outlets into larger news and media corporations (Longinow 2002). The newspapers of the day generally used two primary styles for presenting news concerning cholera – the choice of which largely depended on the proximity of the event to the paper in question. Using the "scissors and paste-pot" technique, papers printed death tolls or very short anecdotal accounts of cholera elsewhere. These oftentimes took the form of what Hazel Dicken-Garcia calls a "record", while more sensational accounts from closer to home were presented in story form as "reports" (1989:54–5). Essentially, a record is supposedly devoid of emotional *tone*, while reports rely on a level of human interest and firsthand accounting that provide more substance –in this case, more emotion. Still, the decisions made by newspaper editors regarding which pieces to present as a record and which ones to present as a report can provide another aspect for analysis. The result of these journalistic practices put editors at odds with one another – where one editor may feel that a reprinted record of cholera deaths in their community did not

properly contextualize the deaths and could cause undue panic and judgement of their city by others in the region.

The following analysis looks at the distribution of the Renick farm outbreak in the contemporary newspaper network that was available via the digital repositories of the Library of Congress: Chronicling America, and the Ohio Memory databases. The keyword "cholera" was used in combination with "Pickaway", "Lockbourne", and "Renick" individually, and within 10 words of one another, to search for applicable news coverage. Initially, a high number of items were returned from this search as an epidemic of Hog Cholera swept the area in the 1860s and affected farms, including those of multiple Renicks, across Pickaway County. Once the dates were restricted to exclude the 1860s and beyond, results were limited enough to include in the current analysis. This work is preliminary at best, as it relies on the digitization of sources – a selective bias that Trouillot (1995b) would place at the "moment of fact assembly" in the making of archives and at the "moment of fact retrieval" in accessing only digital copies of the source material. Still, this work shows the ways in which news of the event was shared, in different ways at different locations, by contemporary news outlets.

Contemporary Newspaper Network

The Seventh Census of the United States enumerated 261 total newspaper publications in Ohio in 1850. These publications had a circulation over 400,000 and produced over 30 million copies annually (US Census Bureau 1850). By this point, most towns of 500-1000 people had a newspaper, and the effect they could have regarding reactions to cholera cannot be understated (Daly 2008:144). Again, the articles quoted here provide only an insight regarding the extent to which the August 24th, 1849, issue of the *Circleville Watchman* could have affected the people of Ohio more broadly via the citational practices of contemporary newspapers. Still, some

important interpretation is gained in this endeavor. Even though Columbus was not as large or industrious as Cleveland, and certainly not Cincinnati, the city became the capital of the state in 1816 and rose in prominence as the canal system, national road, and start of an extensive train network arose throughout the first half of the 19th-century. This, combined with the relative proximity to the farm of Joseph O'Bannon Renick explains why the outbreak was covered in no less than three separate articles by the *Weekly Ohio State Journal*.

The first, printed prior to the publication of the *Watchman* issue, runs 12 lines, at the top of the third of seven columns, just above an enumeration of cholera deaths in the city of Columbus, and bears the bold font headline "**Cholera – Pickaway County**". Here, the editors state that they have received word that at least 17 hands had died, noting "a perfect panic has seized upon the people of the neighborhood" (Thrall and Reed 1849a) but the short article is generally tame in language. One interesting note is that this piece refers to the work of Dr. J. C. Thompson as tending to the sick, whereas the *Watchman* article features the letter from Dr. P. K. Hull and identifies him as the medical attendant worthy of praise. In an article titled "Health of the City" presented on the front page of this issue, the editors make note that the recent cases in Columbus were contained to the southern, fifth ward – "confined to the German population" (Thrall and Reed 1849b). This sentiment is common and helps to reify the othering process as put forth in the press. The following week's issue of the *Weekly Ohio State Journal* moved the events of the Renick farm outbreak to the front page. Two articles present the event with interesting differences that show how the ways in which news was collected and distributed plays a mitigating factor in analyzing in the vein of a labor of representation. Although this issue was printed on Tuesday, August 28th, 1849, the front page contains multiple headers which indicate the days leading up to printing from which the news came. As such, the first article

regarding the Renick farm outbreak, titled “Cholera in the Country” came just one day after the previously mentioned article which was printed in the Tuesday, August 21st issue. This article retains the same basic structure but changes a bit in content. The number of deaths reported now lands at 34, and there is no longer mention of Dr. J. C. Thompson (Thrall and Reed 1849c). The second article, titled “Cholera in Pickaway --- Potato Poison” presents the same letter from Dr. P. K. Hull that was presented in the *Watchman*. Some interesting differences do appear between this article and the one found in the *Watchman*. For example, the information is attributed to the *Circleville Herald* and not the *Watchman*. This could be due to the fact that both the *Herald* and the *Ohio State Journal* were Whig-affiliated papers, and even more likely, due to the fact that one of the editors of the *Ohio State Journal*, William B. Thrall, had previously been editor and co-publisher (with Jason Case) at the *Circleville Herald* (Van Cleaf 1906; Williams Bros. 1880). Still, the deaths in Circleville that stemmed from the event are numbered at only two, with one of the men being described as having “spent most of his time in a grocery” (Thrall and Reed 1849d) – nuanced language for being a drunk. Additionally, more attention is paid to establishing Dr. Hull as an authority, with the paper explaining that he was well-practiced and highly educated as a graduate of the Philadelphia Medical College. Returning to the concept of the emotional community as discussed in the previous chapter, it is important to consider subtle language such as this. In the local Circleville paper, Hull was identified as a fellow citizen – he was already a known member of the emotional community which gave him added status, whereas in Columbus, his credentials had to be established through an explicit statement.

Published just over 20 miles, as the crow flies, from the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery, the *Lancaster Gazette* (Weaver 1849) provides another small window into the collection and distribution of news at this time. Tucked at the bottom of the second column, on

the second page, of the August 31st, 1849, issue is an untitled article bearing a tell-tale sign of scissors and paste-pot reporting, the manacle – or pointing finger icon – seen in many historical newspapers. This icon can indicate that the editors think the story is of note but is also used extensively to identify the piece as a *record* coming from another source. The seven-line article reads; "Dr. Hull, in a letter to the Circleville papers, ascribes the sad mortality among Mr. Renick's hands, near Lockbourne, to potatoes. They had partaken of no other kinds of vegetables, and the mess that did not partake of the potatoes escaped with only a few cases" (Weaver 1849). Here, the straightforward nature of the record shows a drastic difference in what was considered of note just 20 miles away. The "sad mortality" is not put in terms of numbers and the focus is on the medical thinking of the time that certain foods may be responsible for transmission of the disease. In this case, increased distance may have removed the desire for a more sensational account of the events (Dicken-Garcia 1989:55; Green 2002:37).

Increased geographical distance did not play a factor in the amount of page space devoted to the Renick farm outbreak in at least one case, but the way in which news was collected and distributed absolutely did. On September 1, 1849, the *Lower Sandusky Freeman* in what is now known as Freemont, Ohio – roughly 120 miles north of Circleville and HTCC – reprinted the article from the *Ohio State Journal* (Thrall and Reed 1849d) which included the letter from Dr. Hull, originally sent to, and printed in the papers of Circleville. Other than a change in the title to "Cholera in Pickaway – Potato Disease", the article is pulled directly, with attribution at least, from the *Ohio State Journal*. When considering the potential effect of newspapers on broader social conceptions of cholera at this time, there are important ramifications that stem from the citational practices described above. The fact that a newspaper 120 miles away presented the same story as one much more directly involved with the events on the Renick farm may seem

perfectly normal by today's standards, where one can access news from almost anywhere at almost any time – but this wasn't necessarily the case in the 19th-centrury. As was stated previously, it wasn't that news did not travel, but the amount of page space devoted to a cholera outbreak so far away was unusual for the time. The fact that Ohioans from across the state may have read the account of the events on the Renick farm and associated them with the city of Circleville, was perhaps, exactly what Mr. Case had hoped to avoid with such vehement denials of cholera's presence in the article following the "Dreadful Mortality".

Previous research has shown that the citational practices of the newspaper network of the 19th-century played a crucial role in the evolution of the discourse on cholera more broadly (Forman 1944; McGinnis 2020). While the terminology differs, and much of the discussion falls outside the scope of the current research, this literature has shown that newspaper editors fell into a cycle of infighting both at the local and regional level. First, the arguments mostly took the form of the "Health of Circleville" piece by Case (1849a), in which a local editor denounced those in other cities for falsely identifying the presence of cholera to their readers. However, as the epidemic progressed, and the presence of cholera was no longer possible to deny, local editors turned on each other – with rival newspapers printing scathing personal attacks regarding their respective reactions to the disease. The infighting between the competing papers in Circleville in 1850 has been previously explored (McGinnis 2020:24–28). This is a valuable interpretive tool when considering the effect of discourse regarding how communities dealt with, or how individuals felt they should deal with, an event such as the epidemic of 1849, so the research is worth summarizing briefly here. Essentially, the emotional language that had been used so prevalently to discern the intemperate – thus deserving – "others" who died of cholera from the worthy – thus unfortunate – victims, now shifted to discerning between the valiant

citizens who remained in the city/town throughout the epidemic and the cowardly ones who fled deeper into the countryside. What is most important to understand about this discourse is that it increased in emotional rhetoric and became more personal for those in the community. As such, victims became increasingly anonymous, while only a select few pioneers were revered for their heroic actions during the outbreak.

Performing a close reading of the "Dreadful Mortality" and "Health of Circleville" articles, considering them and the issue as a whole as labors of representation, added nuance has been introduced to the ways that silences enter the historical narrative process. Using Voss' attention to the physical characteristics of the representation, the *form, content topic,* and *tone* were shown to reflect common trends for contemporary reporting on cholera – promoting the explicit and implicit *othering* of cholera victims of certain social classes. Also, considering the history of production gave insight into Jason Case's connections with P. K. Hull, the Dennys and the Renicks that may have affected his rhetoric – insight that would not have been gained without this approach. Lastly, Voss' consideration of citational practices – even with a small sample of digitized sources – shows that the Renick outbreak was reported across the state with relatively high detail, a fact that may have affected his decision to include the "Health of Circleville" piece and the more emotionally charged rhetoric found within – a valuable bridge from national to local written discourse. The cemetery serves as a valuable arena for interpreting the ways in which this discourse manifested in more than just words on paper – as will be explored in the following chapter. First, however, the connection between the outbreak on the Renick farm and HTCC must be established, and the shift of the historical narrative from community cemetery with cholera victims to cholera cemetery must be explored.

From Then to Now: Social Memory of HTCC Through Time

For all intents and purposes the cemetery located on that terraced hilltop, bounded by Old U.S. 23 and the long-abandoned section of the Ohio and Erie Canal, could have been remembered as the final resting place for many of Pickaway County's earliest and most prominent citizens. Regardless of their cause of death, as was shown in Chapter 4, many of the individuals known to have been buried in the cemetery were considered pioneers of the Scioto Valley (Brown 1883; Chapman Brothers 1892; Evans 1917; Van Cleaf 1906). However, at some point, it became known in the social memory of the community as the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery. Based on the analysis presented above, this process is interpreted to have started with the publication of the "Dreaded Mortality" and "Health of Circleville" articles in the August 24th, 1849, issue of the *Circleville Watchman* (Case 1849b, 1849a). It isn't the case, however, that these two articles intentionally or solely shifted the narrative – rather they represent the changes in discourse that allowed for, and even promoted, the erasure of certain individuals from the historical record. Much research has focused on the power-laden, intentional erasure that is associated with the othering process, but much less has considered the more nuanced and unintentional ways in which this process manifests for those never intended to be part of the stigmatized other.

The documents presented in the following section serve to explore the ways in which the social memory and historical narrative of HTCC was formed and reformed, in terms of the written record. Here, the focus will shift from Voss' (2007) labors of representation, to Trouillot's (1995b) introduction of silences to the historical narrative process. It should be taken for granted, however, that each document discussed is itself a labor of representation, capable of

much more intensive analysis to understand the sociohistorical milieus in which they were created and how they specifically played a factor in this process.

The Official Record: 1850 U.S. Census Mortality Schedule

This thesis explicitly acknowledges the emotional aspects involved in historical narrative production, a fact which may make the inclusion of a bureaucratic document such as the U.S. Census Bureau's Mortality Schedule a confusing document for analysis. However, the mortality schedule, included for the first time in the U.S. census for the year 1850, stands as the only outright – or at least "official" – connection between the cemetery and a death attributed to cholera. The fact that this document stands as the only officially recognized account of a cholera burial at HTCC has played no part in the social memory of the site as a cholera cemetery, as the connection has not been found in any source material prior to the excavations and associated research conducted by IRLAB. Essentially, the story of the cholera cemetery never relied on what many would consider 'evidence' of cholera burials.

The mortality schedule is presented by state, broken down by county, and even further by township. Where applicable, and possible, the record gives the following information: name; age at death; biological sex; marital status; place of birth; month of death; profession, occupation, or trade; disease, or cause of death; and number of days ill (U.S. Census Bureau 1850). Two pages – 31 names in total – are listed for Harrison Township, Pickaway County, Ohio. One such record is that of Peter Shook, a married man, 50 years in age, originating from Virginia, and listed as dying from cholera after eight hours with the illness (U.S. Census Bureau 1850:965). Mr. Shook's name also appears in the headstone inscription effort as recorded by the D.A.R. in 1936, which means his name was re-printed in the Mayberry cemetery roster of 1998. Interestingly enough, through the efforts of Ms. McGinnis, a descendant of Peter Shook, his fourth great-

granddaughter, was put in contact with the IRLAB research team and visited the excavation. At this visit, the descendant shared the family history with the team, an unpublished spiral-bound genealogical history of the Shook family that tells the story of Peter – a canal worker who happened across the pestilence that swept the Renick farm, driven to aid in the efforts to properly bury the dead, but ultimately taken by the bacterium and interred in a burial that he himself dug for the other unfortunate victims (personal correspondence, Rasch 2019). Regardless of the veracity of this familial lore, the fact remains that Mr. Shook is identified as a victim of cholera and as one of the internments at HTCC in multiple sources. As will be shown, countless others were interred at HTCC, but few others received the same identification in the archival or the archaeological records of the site.

Trouillot (1995b) covers four points at which silences can enter the historical narrative process. The 1850 mortality schedule is interpreted here as a point of silence in the moment of fact creation – in other words, in the creation of source material used for future analyses. At the bottom of each page of the mortality census, there is room for the recorder to make notes. In general, these notes only show up on the first page of each township, to describe some basic characteristics of the locale and the deaths for the year, running from July of 1849 to June of 1850. However, on the page in question, the enumerator notes "some 10 or 12 others – names unknown – at the same place in all some 33 deaths see printed report" (U.S. Census Bureau 1850:965). This acts as the bridge for the othering process to move from the stigmas expressed in contemporary newspapers to the historical record, and thus the social memory, of the event and the associated cemetery. While the language of the 1850 Mortality Census is not emotional in nature and the impetus for leaving those 10 or 11 names off the record may have been purely practical – e.g. if the names of certain seasonal/migrant laborers simply weren't known – there is

a still a selective nature to those who become part of the official record and those who do not. The printed report referenced by the census taker has not been located, as of yet. Efforts to do so through multiple online databases, as well as inquiries placed with the Ohio History Connection – the state archive and historical repository – and the Pickaway County Historical and Genealogical Library, have proved unsuccessful.

Colloquial Remembrances: 1881 Obituary of Joseph Birch

Another silence in the moment of fact retrieval comes from the obituary of one Joseph Birch, printed in the December 23rd, 1881, issue of the *Circleville Democrat and Watchman* (Van Cleaf 1881:3). This obituary reflects the social memory of the event as the death of nameless farmhands and establishes a mass-burial narrative. The obituary appears at the bottom of the second column (of nine), on the third page of the *Democrat and Watchman*, far removed from the header at the top of the column which reads "Local Brevities" (Van Cleaf 1881:3). Here again, the inclusion of this document for analysis may seem odd for the current research agenda, but it provides important, albeit limited, insight regarding the social memory of the Renick outbreak 30 years after the event took place. The obituary states that Mr. Birch emigrated to Pickaway County from County Armagh, Ireland in 1844. It goes on to note that "[w]hen the cholera raged at the broom corn sheds of J. O'B. Renick, north of South Bloomfield in 1848 [sic], the deceased nursed the sick and dying, displaying true heroism, and also assisting in burying eleven of the victims one grave" (Van Cleaf 1881). Interestingly, the unnamed number mentioned here matches that of the Mortality Census discussed above. Perhaps a mass burial was created for these 11 or so unknown individuals, continued archival and archaeological investigation may show this to be the case.

This obituary is another small piece in understanding the ways in which multiple accounts work together and even against one another to form and re-form a historical narrative of the cemetery through the ongoing processes of social memory (re)formation. Obviously, the full list of burials at an inactive farm cemetery would not be included in the obituary of one man. However, when documentation of who *is* buried at the cemetery is lost and, at the same time, emotional narratives of "dreadful mortality" and the brave souls who buried the poor unidentified dead in a mass burial survive – and are circulated 30, 40, and even 150 years after the events – it is no wonder as to how social memory of the cemetery becomes so skewed over time.

From 'history' to 'History': "Circleville's Experience with Cholera in 1850"

In the September 23rd, 1892, issue of the *Circleville Democrat and Watchman*, Aaron Van Cleaf – publisher and editor of the paper, justice of the peace for Pickaway county, and author of one of the most readily cited sources for his historical and biological sketches of Pickaway County – writes of the city's past with the scourge of cholera (Van Cleaf 1892). This publication moves past the silence in the moment of fact creation as presented in the previous two documents, and leads to the next moment as described by Trouillot – the moment of fact retrieval (1995b). Far enough removed from the events on the farm of J. O'B. Renick in 1849, Van Cleaf is able to use selective biases in referencing certain accounts to include in his presentation of 'facts' regarding the event to his readership. As will be shown, this document also becomes a silence at the point of fact creation, when it is referenced by future researchers as canon regarding the events surrounding HTCC – pushing the account from "history" to "History", as the narrative becomes more solidified in the written accounts and social memory of the cemetery. While the emotional language of the "Health of Circleville" (Case 1849a) is gone,

the need to explain that the cases of cholera were "non-residents" is still there (Van Cleaf 1892). Also, the account shows even more effort paid to the lionization of the citizens, albeit a different group more connected to the city of Circleville itself, who braved the danger of the epidemic – again prioritizing the pioneers who prevailed over the pestilence while silencing the nameless others who were not so lucky.

Social Memory of HTCC: "Cemetery Established for Cholera Victims"

Moving forward in time, an article appears in the Pickaway Places column of the Saturday, June 6th, 1998, issue of the *Circleville Herald* under the headline "Cemetery Established for Cholera Victims" (Weaver 1998). Written by Darlene Weaver, Director of the Pickaway County Historical and Genealogical Library, it is intended to be a human-interest piece on a local oddity. However, with a paid circulation of roughly 6,800 readers, this article was able to share the story of the Renick farm outbreak – and importantly, a connection between the event and HTCC – with an audience nearly half the size of the population of Circleville (U.S. Census Bureau 2003:26). It is unknown how many individuals read this article, and how many of those actually held onto the information for any length of time but it is not a stretch of the imagination to say that more people were introduced to HTCC, and its supposed purpose as a cholera cemetery, than at any time prior. The updated construction on U.S. 23 had been completed almost 40 years prior, meaning that the inactive cemetery laid on the small section of Old U.S. 23 which was no longer exposed to the traffic running from Columbus to Circleville, a fact that Weaver points out in writing about the death of farmhands on the Renick farm in 1849:

> "Victims of cholera were buried quickly, so as to limit the spread of the disease. Sometimes "cholera cemeteries" were created in which were buried the remains of those struck down. Such a cemetery exists in Pickaway County on Old U.S. 23, now PicWay Road" (Weaver 1998)

With this statement, Weaver made the connection lacking in previously identified historical narratives between the events of the farm and the cemetery on the lands formerly of Joseph O'Bannon Renick. Another layer of complexity regarding the narrative of the cemetery is added as the article goes on to say "[t]he first burials in this cemetery were those of the workers on the canal. The site is near the old canal bed" (ibid 1998).

Weaver cites the 1892 article in the *Circleville Democrat & Watchman* that was discussed above as one source for her story in the Pickaway Places series. She also notes that information for the article came from Harold Peters and Ralph Woolever. The oral traditions as shared by these two men is important, but not expanded upon by Weaver. Prior to his death, Harold Peters was a lifelong resident farmer of Pickaway County, and the owner of the land on which the cemetery is located. His family purchased the land from Claude and Martha Ann Matthews (née Renick) in 1907 and it has remained in the Peters family to this day. Ralph Woolever was another lifelong resident farmer of Pickaway County, a WWII air force veteran who earned multiple honors for his conduct in the European theater, including the Bronze Star. Woolever served as the President and Trustee of the Pickaway County Historical and Genealogical Society and as a Walnut Township, Pickaway County Trustee for 25 years (Anon 2011). These men, and the stories they shared with Darlene Weaver, carried weight in the community. As a reflection of social memory, this article makes it clear that the narrative of HTCC included – at least in 1998 – included victims of the 1849 Renick farm cholera outbreak alongside workers from the Ohio and Erie Canal. No mention is made of any other burials or any possible alternatives to this account.

This article, while presented in a story form, reads much like a record. It is presented to the reader as an account of past events – told by the individuals most situated in authority on the

county's history. It introduces silences at the moment of fact assembly – as Weaver selected the 1892 *Herald* article and two oral tradition accounts to 'assemble' her facts for presentation to the public. Silence also exists in the moment of fact retrieval – as Weaver shares a packet of photocopies with visitors to the Pickaway County Historical and Genealogical Library that includes her article, the 1892 *Herald* article, an excerpt of the nature of the cholera bacterium, and an excerpt from Donald Hutslar's "God's Scourge" (1996) article on social reactions to cholera in Ohio. By presenting only these narratives for retrieval in the county historical society, Weaver is controlling future narratives regarding the cemetery. Lastly, there is silence in the moment of retrospective significance – as Weaver and others solidify their narrative as History by lending their authoritative voice to specific accounts. This is true, too, for previous accounts of the cholera epidemic in which certain individuals, most notably prominent citizens of the community, became the only names recorded and associated with an outbreak of the disease. In essence, the memories started to focus on the pioneers – thus silencing the voices of the victims of cholera's pestilence. A record exists, however, that could have provided additional nuance to the story as presented by Weaver.

The Forgotten Pioneers of HTCC

One of the few documents with direct connection to the cemetery is a burial roster, listing only 14 names, that was compiled in 1998 for the Pickaway County Genealogical Society and published by the Pickaway County Historical Society (Mayberry and Pickaway County Historical Society (Ohio) 1998)When the current research first began, it was believed that the names listed on the Mayberry roster reflected the extant stones at the cemetery at this time. However, in analyzing the article of from Darlene Weaver more closely, it became apparent that this could not have been the case. The article explains, and a photograph corroborates the claim,

that no headstones stood at the cemetery in 1998 (Weaver 1998). Additional research showed that this roster pulled from records created during a headstone inscription recording effort led by the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) in 1936 (Daughters of the American Revolution. Pickaway Plains Chapter 1936).

Devoid of the emotional narrative found in the documentary record, this roster relied on the extant material culture, in the form of headstones, to create an account of the cemetery's history. As such, it tells a very different story than the one formed and reformed in the social memory of the community. Where Weaver's Pickaway Places piece states that the first burials at the cemetery were those of canal workers, due to the proximity of HTCC to the canal, the record as taken directly from the cemetery's headstones show this to not be the case. And so, a clear deviation in the social memory of the cemetery, from that based on the material record of the site, exists. As was previously discussed, by putting the D.A.R. inscription roster in dialogue with the 1850 Mortality Schedule, a connection to cholera has been made that doesn't rely on social memory and historical, although not contemporary, accounts of the 1849 epidemic.

Ongoing genealogical and archival research hopes to draw more connections between the names on the D.A.R. inscription records and their associated burial locations at HTCC but in the meantime, the names of 14 previously silenced individuals have been reestablished in at least one thread of historical narrative and social memory of the cemetery.

Sensation Redux: Social Memory of HTCC in 2020

A narrative which prioritizes the nameless victims of cholera, similar to that established through the series of historical documents reviewed above, was once again reified in a popular account of the cemetery in April of 2020 with the release of Bob Hines' *Amazing Ashville: The Most Colorful Community in America* (Hines 2020). This book, a collection of local lore

intermixed with more traditional historical research, includes a brief entry titled, “The ‘Blue Death’ Cholera Cemetery” (2020:113). Although Hines makes note that the cemetery was established by the Renick family (making note that they were some of the first white settlers in the area), he provides no further detail on the individuals buried at the cemetery and instead focuses on the cholera aspect of the historical narrative. This entry, unlike those discussed previously, introduces a new layer in the social consciousness regarding the cemetery – the supposed haunting of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery. Hines states, “Stories abound about unusual red orbs floating about the site and shadowy figures. There have also been accounts of bloodcurdling screams coming from that plot of land” (2020:113). No citation or further explication is offered regarding these claims, and discussion on the sociocultural aspects of ghost legends is well outside the scope of the current research, but it is important to identify the various ways in which the sense of place and historical narrative at HTCC have been expressed.

Bob Hines has a Ph.D. in Community Development from The Ohio State University and has volunteered at the Ohio Small Town Museum in his hometown of Ashville, Ohio – less than eight miles south of HTCC – for many years (Preston 2020). He is a self-described “rural sociologist” who “pioneered the concept of local history reclamation as a precept to community involvement and development” (Hines 2020:364). Much like Darlene Weaver, discussed above for her contribution to the social memory of HTCC, Hines is respected in the local community and similar claims of HTCC as a place of supernatural phenomena stemming specifically from the association with cholera and the canal have been conveyed to the research team by interested visitors to the excavations on multiple occasions.

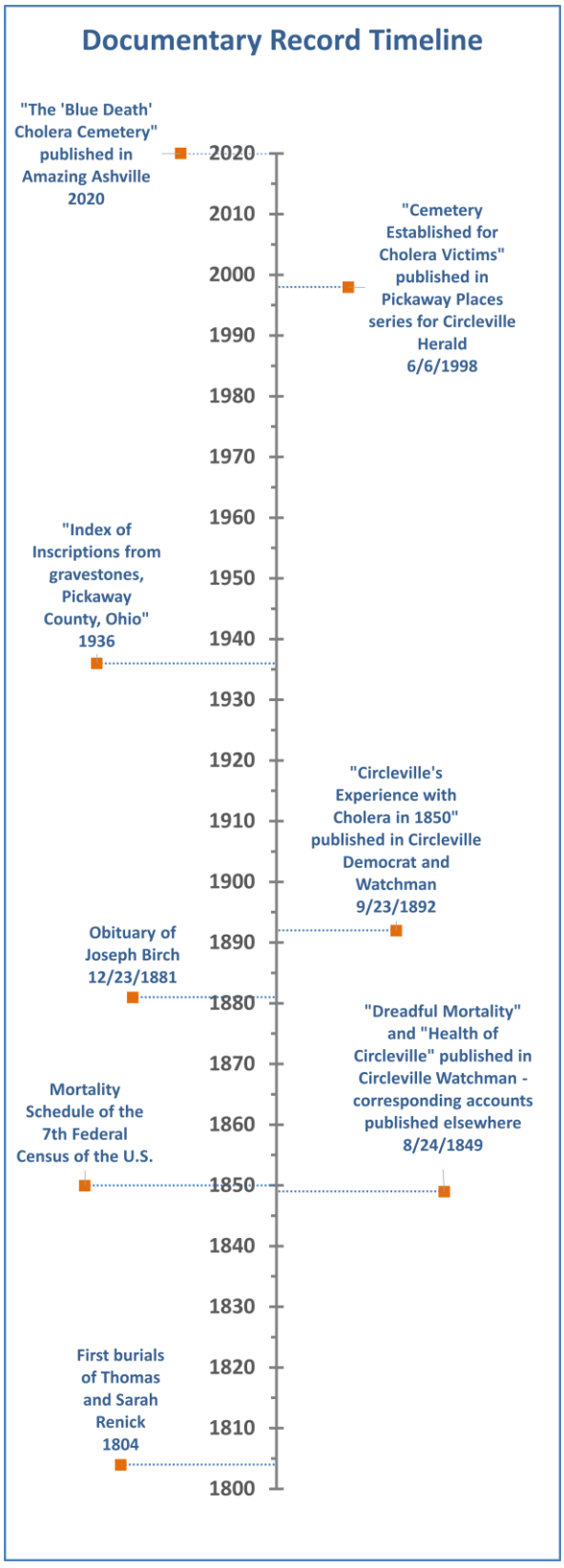


Figure 5: Timeline of documents discussed above

Summary and Conclusions

The combination of the "Dreadful Mortality" article and the "Health in Circleville" serves as a powerful tool to interpret how and why one potential historical narrative of the cemetery which revolves around the variety of individuals buried at the cemetery, has been replaced with one that instead focuses on a mass-mortality event. I argue that it begins, largely in part, with how "normal" the event was presented in the August 24th, 1849, issue of the paper. When this research program first began, the language of the articles felt particularly sensational and biased. However, as more contemporary sources were examined, it became clear that the content topic, form, and tone of the articles was much more typical for the time than was previously imagined. Cholera outbreaks were standard fare for newspapers of the time because they provided sensation both afar and locally. What became important for local newspaper editors, was to "other" certain classes of individuals who died in the event, while explaining away the deaths of respected citizens and lionizing the few that lived or helped in treating the sick. When all of this is then presented in a normalized fashion via the most extensive and trusted network of information available at the time, it explains how the story of the Renick farm outbreak took control of the historical narrative of the cemetery.

It seems reasonable to posit that if Jason Case thought that the connection made between HTCC and stigmatized cholera victims, would play a part in removing the names of many respected pioneer families from the historical narrative and social memory of the cemetery, he most likely would have gone out of his way to preserve the memory of the pioneer families by writing them into his accounts of the events. Case never mentions the cemetery as a potential resting place for those lost in the outbreak. He does, however, provide the community with accounts that reflect many of the negative stigmas of the day. This article was followed

immediately by one in a series of vehement denials that the disease was present in the healthy town of Circleville and the only time it appeared was by means of a drunkard and one poor sole escaping the Renick disaster. Where the nameless farmhands became the unintentional 'other' to Mr. Renick, Maj. Denny, and Dr. P.K. Hull – the individuals who died of cholera in Circleville became the very intentional 'others' to the healthy citizens who seemingly were impervious to the disease that only attacked the poor, intemperate, and sinful.

In moving forward from the words of Jason Case to the present conceptions of the cemetery as reflected in the documentary record, the analysis of the archival record provided in this chapter shows how key parts of the historical narrative, and as such, the social memory of HTCC have been re-formed over time. This should not imply that the entire community, especially those with familial ties to the individuals buried at HTCC, have forgotten about the origins and more complete history of the cemetery. However, this series of examples does show how, by-and-large, the understanding of the function of the cemetery was transformed over the years from a *family cemetery* – subsequently used for the internment of individuals lost to a mass-mortality event, to a *cholera cemetery* – established out of a need to quickly dispose of canal workers, farmhands, and other non-descript historical victims.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

"In my view, whether or not social scientists ever directly or objectively "observe" emotion or cognition is an open question; we see, in fact, the effects of that emotion or cognition" (Bell 1994:21)

Introduction

The aim of this analysis chapter is to infer actions at the cemetery, as reflected in the archaeological record, and interpret the relationship between these actions and the general social context of the cemetery throughout time. This thesis is not bioarchaeological in nature, outside of the obvious context of the broader research program to which it contributes. This analysis also does not use classic methods used in cemetery archaeology such as examining material culture associated with burials (coffin hardware, headstones, grave goods, remnants of clothing, etc.) to distinguish differences in social status or broad cultural ideologies. Where appropriate, mention will be made of the preliminary findings of these analyses to augment the interpretations being presented – most notably in reference to headstones, but other material culture and burial morphology/taphonomy and biological profiles are briefly featured. Full analysis of the material culture recovered at the cemetery was not done for two reasons. First, in practical terms, very little material culture has been recovered thus far – inhumations at HTCC have not shown high, or even moderate levels of adornment, and the majority of burials were either not marked or have since lost their associated grave markers. Still, there is a need to consider what this fact means for the cemetery. Second, the excavations and lab analysis for HTCC have been on hold since 2019 due to the Coronavirus pandemic. More thorough analysis of the archaeological record and material culture will happen as the project continues, it is just not within the purview of the current research. Rather, this thesis embraces the approach that interpretation – even that of more ephemeral concepts like emotion and memory – can and should happen "at the trowel's edge"

(Hodder 1997; Wilkie 2009b). The important thing is that these interpretations be accessible for broad consideration and ongoing revision. As such, the findings presented in this chapter are mostly done so in a narrative format. Some standard archaeological language is used and alphanumeric identifiers are used where necessary, e.g. stratigraphic layers or excavation areas, but this is largely relegated to a brief results section prior to a more accessibly written analysis.

There is rightful critique regarding how discernable emotion and social memory are in the archaeological record. However, the analysis presented below shows that using the available demonstrable data – put in dialogue with existing records, contemporary sites, and complimentary studies – allows one to present responsible archaeological interpretations which account for the effects of emotion and social memory (re)formation processes. First, a brief understanding of contemporary sites, in this case 19th-century cemeteries and those associated with epidemic and mass-mortality events, is given. This helps prepare the reader for the following sections, that present and interpret the excavation results in terms of past actions associated with the emotion and social memory tied to the cemetery. Here, the cemetery is considered an *affective field*, upon which people have acted, following, or deviating from expected norms of behavior to various degrees, in dialogue with the changing *atmosphere*, the combination of the physical and emotional space. Lastly, similar to Chapter 5, the interpretive focus shifts from 'then' to 'now', to explore the ways in which the physical realities of the cemetery may have changed over time and how this change may reflect *and* affect the ongoing practice of social memory (re)formation at HTCC.

Death in Nineteenth Century America

Nineteenth Century Cemeteries

The evolving landscape, both physical and cultural, of the American cemetery has been studied extensively (Baugher and Veit 2014; Bell 1994; Mytum 2004). For example, *The Last Great Necessity* (Sloane 1991) presents an analysis of the attitudes toward death and their manifestations at American cemeteries from the Revolutionary War era to the end of the 20th century. Here, a brief accounting is presented of the typical trends in cemeteries contemporary to HTCC.

With obvious room for variation, spaces used for interring the dead took one of six forms during the years in which HTCC is believed to have been active. They are as follows; frontier graves, the domestic homestead graveyard, the churchyard, potter's fields, town/city cemeteries, and the rural cemetery (Sloane 1991:4–5). While currently a "cemetery" under the purview of the local Township, HTCC would have been considered a domestic or homestead "graveyard" at its time of use. The distinction between cemetery and graveyard generally refers to ownership – with graveyards being family-owned and cemeteries being under private or governmental ownership (Sloane 1991:5). Other aspects of the domestic homestead graveyard that will be important for the reader to consider include; burials laid out in a geometric design located in a farm field, and the potential presence of wooden or basic iconographic stone markers. Formal cemeteries were more common in urban centers until the rural cemetery movement began in 1831. This movement, largely spurred on by advances in medical and scientific understandings of death and disease combined with shifts in cultural concepts regarding connections to the dead at this time, pushed cemeteries off the homestead and out of cities – beginning a tradition of burying loved ones in family plots reserved at large, privately-owned cemeteries featuring

landscaped gardens and elaborate monuments for those who could afford them (Baugher and Veit 2014:126–133). The distinction is not inconsequential, but for the sake of the current research, HTCC will be referred to as a cemetery – reflecting both the nomenclature of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery and the most commonly used alternative, the "Paul Peters Farm Cemetery" (the cemetery lies on land that has been owned by the Peters family since the early 20th-century).

Nineteenth Century Burials

Plenty of literature exists on the burial practices of 19th-century Euro-American colonizers. Of course, as with many cultural practices, local nuances existed – some stemming from a mixing or hybridity of customs in regions of cultural contact and some stemming from more practical realities such as environmental conditions or unforeseen external pressures from natural disaster or disease (Binford 1971:11). Practices considered 'typical' for this time period would include single inhumations with the individual placed in a supine position with their head oriented to the west and feet towards the east – in the Christian tradition that prepares one for the resurrection, at which time the individual would rise from the dead facing east toward the rising sun and eternal salvation. Outside of the treatment and orientation of the body, coffin form, hardware, and embellishment varied both geographically and temporally throughout the 19th-century. At times on the American frontier, access to resources dictated the particulars of burial accompaniments as much as cultural expectations. In general, a wooden coffin – perhaps with a fabric lining, and hardware including hinges for a lid and handles on the sides – was used to encase the bodies of the deceased. The coffins used generally transitioned from a hexagonal, anthropoidal form to the rectangular form that became popular in the mid- to late-19th century.

In some cases the dead were wrapped in shrouds, however, there does not seem to be a generalizable rule as to when or why this practice was employed (Sloane 1991).

The Myth of the Mass Burial?

Much of the literature on the archaeology of historic cemeteries is relegated to the grey literature of technical excavation reports produced within the Cultural Resource Management (CRM) industry (Arnold and Jeske 2014:335). These reports are usually submitted to preservation offices in compliance with state and federal regulations regarding the review of impacts on natural and cultural resources stemming from construction projects, and rarely make it to databases accessible to academics, let alone the public (Bell 1994). This fact is compounded when considering the literature on epidemic and mass-mortality burials (Lillie and Mack 2015:15). These situations are generally imbued with cultural stigmas or logistical restrictions that mitigate the practices of tending to the dead – often resulting in the location of single or mass burials, and the identity of those interred within, being lost. While a majority of the most-cited academic literature on of the cholera epidemics of 19th-century America share local legends about mass internments, shallow graves, or individuals left unburied, these are rarely tested with archaeological investigation (Daly 2008; Rosenberg 1987). Conversely, even when archaeological survey does expose evidence of burial practices associated with mass-mortality or epidemic events, sound historical sources rarely exist to verify the hypothesis that the victims interred within were those of cholera, relying instead on the mere fact that such an outbreak existed and would serve as a plausible explanation as to why the variation in burial practices is seen (Killoran et al. 2016).

One such example comes from archaeological investigations at the former Eastern State Hospital in Fayette County, Kentucky (Favret 2006). The excavations, triggered by Section 106

compliance after grave shafts were exposed during the installation of a waterline, revealed that 10 individuals were buried in one large grave shaft on the premises. Analysis of the material culture dates the burial anywhere from around 1839 to 1861. The individuals were interred in separate coffins which were then densely packed into the single large trench. One main issue with identifying cholera burials is highlighted in this work. The authors note that the historical record does document increased mortality at the site due to the cholera outbreak of 1849 and 1850, but these records do not indicate location or manner of burial for the deceased. Cholera kills its victims too quickly for pathological indicators to be seen on the remains, so archaeologists often rely on clues coming from the burial morphology or written records to form an interpretation that the burial is one for victims of the disease. As the authors of this report note, the material culture – in the form of very basic coffin construction and clothing material – and the analysis of the human remains – showing signs of physical stress and poor diet – were considered typical for the context of the state hospital which housed those considered clinically insane and stricken with incurable illnesses. As such, it was concluded that these 10 individuals may just have plausibly represented the burial of those who had died during the winter months, being kept in cold storage until their combined burial as the ground thawed in the spring (Favret 2006:68).

The authors of one study note that historical sources describe a mass grave of 22 Potawatomie tribal members who fell victim to the 1849 epidemic and were subsequently buried in a mass grave at Uniontown Cemetery in Shawnee County, Kansas (Schneider et al. 2021). It seems, however, that *if* a mass grave exists at the cemetery for the victims of the 1849 epidemic, it is not in the location held in the social memory of the site. Focused survey of the site using nondestructive ground penetrating radar and magnetometry failed to identify anomalies

consistent with multiple interment burials. While geophysical survey has been inconclusive thus far, additional testing was planned to take place in 2021. This uncertainty has led many to question the veracity of many local historical narratives that rely on the social memory of a mass grave.

In *Dubuque's Forgotten Cemetery*, a book aimed at presenting archaeological investigations of a historic cemetery in Iowa that originally stemmed from work within the CRM realm to a broader audience, the authors not that "Much of what people "knew" about the Third Street Cemetery became wrapped up in myths about mass graves… The excavations at the cemetery proved some of the local stories to be just that—stories" (Lillie and Mack 2015:14). The Third Street Cemetery was in use from 1839 to at least 1856, but perhaps longer, and served as a burial ground for the Catholic population of Dubuque, although burials were certainly not limited to practicing Catholics. While the entire account of the archaeological and historical research program concerning Third Street Cemetery is fascinating, the main point of concern for the current research is the fact that the cemetery went inactive and finally was abandoned – with grave markers and their associated written records being lost – in the late 1800s. Importantly, the fact that the cemetery was opened to the poor immigrants of Dubuque at the same time of the cholera epidemics in made their way into Iowa, caused the social memory of the site to become tied to a narrative concerning the mass burial of dozens, or even hundreds of victims (ibid, 2015:18). The authors go on to note many key concepts regarding social memory, mass mortality, and the physical or material record of a cemetery and how the changes in this physical record play into the ongoing social memory (re)formation process at the cemetery. First, the cholera epidemics discussed for the current research did affect rate of burials and their spatial distribution at Third Street Cemetery. However, mass interments did not occur and multiple

interments were a result of sextons losing track of previous burial locations. Second, the panic and general stigmatization of cholera victims led the community to attach sensationalized accounts of mass-burials to the cemetery. Third, once the cemetery was abandoned, and the physical and emotional ties that existed between those buried at the cemetery, their families, and their descendants became further removed from everyday life, the cemetery fell into further disrepair and the mass-burial myth gained more traction. Lastly, the recovery of hundreds of single inhumation burials reflect an affective investment by the community in burying the dead to a level that was never reflected in the written record or social memory of the site. It was only through the archaeological investigations, and ongoing community engagement, that the narrative began to shift regarding the Third Street Cemetery. The authors provide additional insight regarding mass burial myths as they discuss examples from across the U.S. including, Texas, Florida, Pennsylvania, and New York, with the reason for the mass-burial depending on the context of the site, but always prioritizing a sensational impetus such as disease or particularly gruesome conflict (ibid, 2015:157–170).

Ohio's Cholera Cemeteries

The database of Ohio cemeteries made accessible to professional and academic archaeologists through the State Historic Preservation Office lists only seven cemeteries in the state that have the word cholera in their name or recognized alias (Figure 6 below). One of these, unsurprisingly, is the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery on which this thesis is focused. Others of note are the Harrison Street Cemetery in Sandusky, and the Pioneer Jewish Cemetery in Cincinnati. Information for the other sites was limited to one-page historical inventory site files or even more brief Ohio Genealogical Society descriptions provided through the online mapping system. These sites do not reflect the true history of cholera cemeteries, let alone

cholera burials at other existing cemeteries across the state. While it is clear that the myth of the mass burial is a common one, it stems from very real events that were recorded across the United States (Killoran et al. 2016). Communities often had to make difficult decisions regarding the interment of their dead during the mass-mortality that followed an outbreak of cholera. One of the most widely shared histories of mass interment at an Ohio cemetery due to such an outbreak comes from the northern edge of the state, along Lake Erie, in Sandusky, Ohio. Here, the cholera epidemics of the 19th-century were particularly devastating in terms of mortality rate among the population and the subsequent fleeing of remaining citizens that often followed the epidemic. The epidemic of 1849 saw almost 400 deaths in a city of 4,000-6,000 people, spurring the creation of a mass grave in the city's Harrison Street Cemetery (Erie County Historical Society 2016). In reflecting on the effect of the epidemic on the cemetery some 30 years later, one man wrote:

> "There were 50 people put in the trench in three days, the trench filled up with dirt, a stone wall built around the outside and three feet of extra dirt put on top. The trench has never been opened since the dead were placed in it" (C.C. Keech in, Peeke 1916:181)

While this and subsequent accounts are susceptible to the same alterations on social memory as those discussed above, there are a number of contemporary sources which corroborate the claims, and the record of cholera victims linked to the cemetery is much more robust in general than that of HTCC (including a list of names for cholera deaths printed in, Peeke 1916:187–192). This cemetery, although different from the rural homestead graveyard context of HTCC, provides valuable insight into the initial and ongoing treatment of cholera victims and how social memory can be tied up with the physical manifestations and sense of place at such a site.

An 1893 article in the *Sandusky Register* noted that the headstones had been removed from the cemetery, some being moved to family plots in other cemeteries that were opened following the rural cemetery movement in the U.S. but countless others being stacked in remote

corners of the Harrison Street Cemetery or lost completely (Sandusky Register 1893 in, Sandusky Library Archives Research Center 2021). This incensed the local community, who had since gone on to lionize the physicians, nurses, and regular citizens who stayed to help the sick and bury the dead during the multiple waves of cholera in the mid-19th-century in Sandusky (Peeke 1916:181–195). The cemetery was subsequently fenced off, causing the site to be protected but also neglected in terms of ongoing care and inclusion into the local history. Luckily, a descendant of one of the victims buried in the cemetery identified its importance as a community heritage site, raising money from private donors to erect a marble statue at the site in 1924 (Erie County Historical Society 2016). The Ohio Historical Society (now the Ohio History Connection) would later acknowledge the cemetery's historical significance with an official Ohio Historical Marker in 1965. Interestingly, both this marker and the monument erected in 1924 serve to memorialize the "heroic citizens" whom "came emphatically in our time of need" (Ohio History Connection), echoing the narrative seen in the analysis of the written record in Chapter 5 which prioritizes the memory of the living and key prominent victims over the majority of the dead.

The Pioneer Jewish Cemetery on the corner of Central Avenue and Chestnut Street in Cincinnati, Ohio is noted for being the oldest Jewish cemetery west of the Allegheny Mountains and serves for many in the community as the roots of Jewish life in Cincinnati (Jewish Cemeteries of Greater Cincinnati 2012). This cemetery (Marker B on Figure 6 below), much like HTCC and the Harrison Street Cemetery, was not established for victims of cholera but was greatly affected by the epidemic of 1849. The Pioneer Jewish Cemetery, also known as the Chestnut Street Cemetery, has between 85 and 100 interments, dating from its establishment in 1821 and its closure due to being filled during the 1849 outbreak. The cemetery provides a point

for comparison between HTCC and the Harrison Street Cemetery in Sandusky. While it may be that not all the burials at the Pioneer Jewish Cemetery are marked, recent photographs of the site clearly show that a majority of them are. The burials are found in a small rectangular lot, surrounded on three sides by a brick wall – the fourth side being fenced in by the City of Cincinnati to prevent damage to the historic cemetery. While burials have not taken place at the cemetery since 1849, many of the headstones have clearly been repaired and/or cleaned over the years, a fact supported by historical photographs from the 1940s, digitized in the Ohio Guide Collection of the Ohio History Center (Ohio Federal Writer's Project 1941). The cemetery celebrated its 200th anniversary recently, with a rededication ceremony at which educational signage was placed in the cemetery to share its history, including the effects of the 1849 cholera epidemic. Similar to the Harrison Street Cemetery in Sandusky, an Ohio Historical Marker was unveiled at the cemetery. However this marker is dedicated to the significance of the site for the Jewish Community in Cincinnati (Simon 2021).

Other sites noted as cholera cemeteries by the Ohio Historical Center and/or the Ohio State Preservation Office are briefly presented here. The Old Marion Cemetery, also known as the Quarry Street Cemetery, the Old Burial Grounds, and the Cholera Cemetery is located in Marion County, Ohio (Marker D in Figure 6 below). It is an inactive, poorly preserved cemetery, but it was previously documented with the Ohio State Historic Preservation Office via an Ohio Historic Inventory report filed by Carroll Neidart of the Marion County Historical Society, who noted that the cemetery was donated by the founder of the Village of Marion in 1822 and the burials quickly filled up during the cholera epidemic of 1854, during which time 65 victims of cholera were buried in the half-acre lot (Ohio SHPO, 1979). Similarly, the Avondale Cemetery/German Protestant Cemetery/Cholera Cemetery (Marker C in Figure 6 below), located

in Hamilton County, Ohio and is documented by the Ohio Genealogical Society, however all that remains of the cemetery is a historical marker located close by, as the burials themselves were either relocated or now exist underneath a community park and baseball field (SHPO 2021). Marker E in Figure 6 shows the location of a Putnam County, Ohio cemetery listed only as the Cholera Cemetery. Appearing to fall on private property, no information aside from the geographical location is provided. Lastly, the Gilbert/Cholera/Collins/Portland Road Cemetery, also in Sandusky, Ohio is listed simply as an inactive but highly maintained burial site. It appears to fall on private property but aerial imagery shows the presence of headstones or other markers arranged somewhat in rows and surrounded by a fence or wall-like structure (Marker F on Figure 6 below).

These few examples have been provided to present a glimpse into the variation that exists just within this handful of known cemeteries. This variation spans from being cared for by a tight-knit religious community like the Pioneer Jewish Cemetery, to being immediately labeled as a cholera cemetery and ignored, only to be restored in honor of the men and women who braved the scourge like the Sandusky Cholera Cemetery or being ignored for years to the point that the cemetery was razed and covered by a city park and baseball field, like the Avondale Cemetery in Cincinnati. Importantly, while a large private or township cemetery may not take on the nomenclature of a “cholera cemetery” due to the high mortality of the 1849 epidemic, these cemeteries have no lack of cholera burials. A discussion on these large cemeteries of the rural cemetery movement has not been included here because they do not reflect the realities of HTCC as closely as the ones included above.

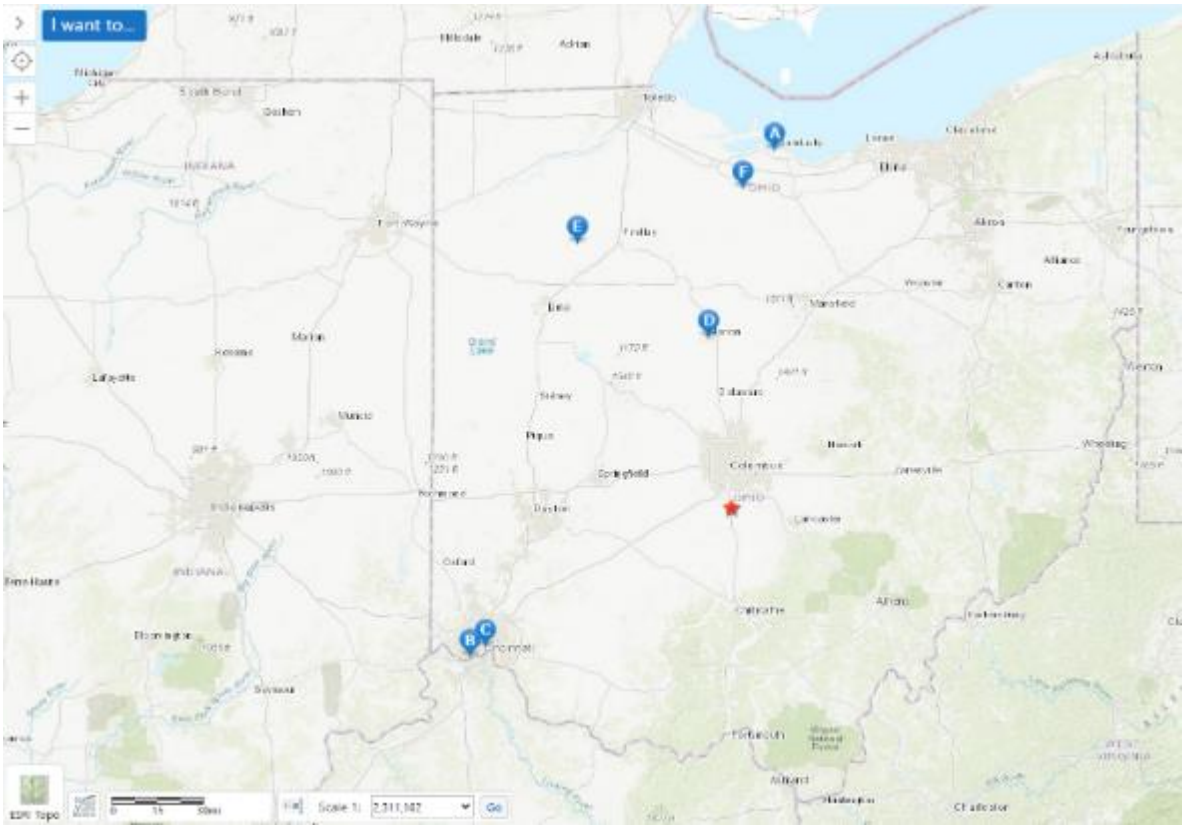


Figure 6: Map of Ohio showing location of cemeteries identified with the State Historic Preservation Office as cholera cemeteries.

The Archaeological Record at HTCC

Figure 7: Photo of HTCC upon arrival in 2014. PicWay Rd. in background.

The Institute for Research and Learning in Archaeology and Bioarchaeology (IRLAB) has operated the Field Experience in Bioarchaeology in Ohio, a project aimed at understanding the history of the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery through educational and community engaged programming, for three seasons. Following an exploratory excavation of one burial in 2014, archaeologists and students who enrolled in the program began an extensive investigation of the cemetery in May of 2018, with two additional excavation seasons operating in the fall of 2018 and spring of 2019. The bioarchaeological analysis of these burials is not part of the current research, but an understanding of the general patterns in burial morphology and spatial distribution help connect the record of the cemetery thus far with patterns for inhumation seen elsewhere (Table 3, below).

Table 3: Features of Burials at HTCC as Documented Thus Far.

Total burial-like features identified	51
Burials excavated	30
Adults	22 (16 male, 6 female)
Children/infants	8 (range from fetal to 15 years of age)
Coffins	27 (mostly rectangular, some octagonal)
Shroud	10 (all children/infants had shroud)
Grave shaft features	Oriented roughly west-east; depth ranges from 1.3m to 1.8m

Note: This listing is not exhaustive, but compares nicely to the generalized account of a domestic homestead graveyard as described in the background literature presented above (Sloane 1991:5).

Figure 8: Map showing excavation results over orthoimagery. IRLAB 2021
Note: Area 4000 is not shown on this map as it is too preliminary to determine the function of the area.

Excavation Results

Initial excavations at HTCC focused efforts along the northernmost section of the cemetery that is free of trees and other obstructive ground cover, chosen for its proximity to the abandoned Ohio and Erie Canal. Initially three Areas of Excavation were set up along this northern edge of HTCC, with Areas 2000 and 3000 being merged into Area 2000 A/B after the removal of the topsoil revealed that the area borders intersected a row of burials. One additional Area of Excavation, Area 4000, was set up along the eastern edge of the tree line, just south and east of the other excavations (see note in Figure 8 above). Some characteristics were shared across the areas, while each area also produced unique results which provide insight into the history and usage patterns of the cemetery over time. The undisturbed stratigraphy across the site was generally similar with a brown-dark brown organic and sand layer superimposed on a series of brown, yellow-brown, and yellow silt and clay layers with gravel, pebble, and cobble inclusions usually increasing with depth. Features associated with the terminal phase of use as a historic cemetery (the paleosurface) were found at roughly the same depth, while the depth of burials varied slightly across the site, that variation is equally present across the areas and did not seem indicative of any purposeful action. Areas 1000 and 2000 were most similar and exhibited the traits expected of a cemetery of this time. Area 4000 did not produce any burials but may provide insight regarding other actions that took place at the cemetery due to the presence of post holes with an orientation that implies they were part of one wooden structure. Additional research and expanded excavation is needed to determine the nature of this area. In total, eight burials were excavated in the first field season (unpublished SHPO report, IRLAB 2018a).

The second field season at HTCC was conducted in the fall of 2018. During this second session, a single new excavation area, Area 5000, was investigated at HTCC. Additionally, one

burial was removed from Area 2000, in a portion of the cemetery which was exposed during the initial season in May-June of 2018 (see Figure 8 above). Generally, the broad geologic stratigraphy of the area was consistent with that of the previously excavated areas at the site. However, Area 5000 also produced unique features which provide insight into the history and usage patterns of the cemetery over time. The area was rectangular in shape, running 6m east to west and 13m north to south, and extended the excavations southward from a row of burials identified in Area 2000 during the first session at HTCC. The area contained portions of very complex stratigraphic relationships including features that appear to have been empty burial cuts. In total, five burials containing skeletal remains were excavated during the second session. One burial, that of a juvenile, was identified in the northern section of Area 5000, in a burial cut that appears to share the general orientation and spacing of those excavated in the same row, but in Area 2000 in the previous session. The features that appear to be empty burial cuts appeared south and west of this juvenile burial cut and do not appear to be part of a contemporaneous action. The southeastern corner of Area 5000 appears to have been a location reserved for the burial of infant and perinatal remains (unpublished SHPO report, IRLAB 2018b). While this thesis will not examine the burial customs of the time to the extent that warrants a discussion on the specifics of burial treatment for stillborn infants, it is important to note that the burials shared many of the features associated with those of adults at HTCC, in terms of burial depth and the dedicated single inhumations.

In the 2019 session – the third and most recent of such sessions at HTCC – a single new excavation area (Area 6000) was investigated (see Figure 8 above). This area was an expansion on the previous north-south oriented row of burials identified and excavated in Area 5000. Area 6000 also expanded the excavations to the east to examine the distance between burial rows,

creating an L-shaped area that was divided into three large, generally square sectors. Here again, the geologic stratigraphy was consistent with the previously explored areas of the cemetery, but some complex stratigraphic relationships appeared, including what seem to have been empty burial cuts. In total, eighteen burial cuts were investigated, with sixteen containing recoverable human remains (unpublished SHPO report, IRLAB 2020).

Interpreting HTCC as an Affective Field

Family and Community

Countless members of the Renick family are exalted in the local histories written at the end of the 19th and start of the 20th centuries for Pickaway and its surrounding counties (Evans 1917; Van Cleaf 1906; Williams Bros. 1880). The fact that the authors of these histories universally laud the Renicks as prominent and respected pioneers indicates that they were able to establish and maintain strong bonds across the region for many years. Unfortunately, "Thomas Renick and his wife died on the same day about a year from the date of their settlement" (Van Cleaf 1906:123) is a sentiment that was seemingly copied and pasted in many of these county histories and biographical sketches, and represents the extent to which these first two individuals buried at HTCC are remembered. Only slightly more insight is given in a history of Franklin and Pickaway counties, explaining,

> "Thomas Renick was married in Virginia, to Miss Rankin, and came to Ohio, with his brother, William, in 1803. He settled on the land entered by his brother, George, in section fifteen. Both he and his wife died in August, 1804, about a year after their settlement. Both died the same day. They left a child a week old, who was raised by Felix Renick, in Ross county (sic). She died in December, 1865, in Circleville" (Williams Bros. 1880:344)

One additional clue was found in the headstone inscription index compiled by the D.A.R. The entry for Thomas Renick reads, "d. 1804, w. Sarah (Rankin) d. 1804, (double stone) cem. Paul Peters farm, Twp. Harrison" (Daughters of the American Revolution. Pickaway Plains Chapter

1936:89). No maps accompany the D.A.R. inscription records and they have been listed alphabetically for the entire county, meaning that the archaeological team cannot use them to predict the location of burials based on the order in which the inscriptions were listed, an approach with limited application, but relatively effective results (Indiana Landmarks 2021). Luckily, excavations during the third field season revealed this stone, providing valuable insight for the current research regarding physical manifestations of emotion and an understanding of the correlation between the archaeological record and social memory.

Figure 9: Freshly exposed headstone with the inscription: "T. R. S. R.". HTCC 2019

The fact that the burials of Thomas and Sarah Renick have a stone at all is impressive given the date and family homestead burial ground context, a testament to the prominence of the family and desire for ongoing affective commemoration (Cannon 2002:193). But this headstone

isn’t the only archaeological feature indicative of a family that not only wished to remember their loved ones but wanted to delineate their final resting places from others at the site. Once the area surrounding the headstone was cleaned, the team had exposed a series of burials and some of their associated grave markers, in a space that was intentionally defined as a cohesive group through the placement of six large, pink granite stones, which formed a rectangular section, almost in the center of the cemetery. Seen in the figure below, this section contains what appears to be four burials, one of which – in the southernmost portion (bottom of the photograph) – may be that of a juvenile. The more circular feature at the middle and bottom of the photograph, next to the large stone marking the southwest corner of the rectangular area, could be the remnants of a hole dug for marker or sign but other than some dark organic material inclusions, no definitive evidence for this was identified in the course of excavating and documenting the feature and it could just as likely have been the former root ball of a shrub or small tree. What this group of features does represent – especially regarding the current research – is the archaeological signature of intentional acts of care, remembrance, and – intentional or not – othering.

Figure 10: Demarcated graves running south from burial cut containing the fallen headstone inscribed with "T.R. S.R." (top-left of photo) - HTCC 2019

The term ‘othering’ has been used throughout this thesis to refer to the process of stigmatization that was typical regarding cholera victims in the 19th-century U.S. but the idea is one that does not hinge on intentional acts aimed only silencing an oppressed group in favor of a select few. Instead, affective acts such as this can be viewed in the same light. Any time an individual makes a concerted effort to identify some individuals as members of a group distinct from other members of the community, this process is in play. It is not known when exactly these stones were added around the burials of the Thomas and Sarah Renick section of HTCC, or if the rectangle started out as a square and was expanded at a later time. There are interesting implications for the intent behind this action, were one able to discern if the stones were added prior to, during, or after one of the cholera epidemics which contributed to the burials in the

cemetery. If the stones were placed there prior to the epidemics of 1832 or 1849 then the act is more easily interpreted as one of *inclusion* but were the stones laid around these burials during or after the cholera outbreaks, one could easily argue it was an act of intentional *exclusion* – separating the Pioneers from the Pestilence. The only two dates available are that of 1804, given for the deaths of Thomas and Sarah (Williams Bros. 1880:344), and one from a headstone exposed through the archaeological investigations of the southern portion of the section which bears the date of 1823. With this spread of time, it seems plausible that the stones were either all added later or additional stones were added to extend the section as needed, but the two dates fall well before the first epidemic of 1832. In any case, the findings in this area show traces of actions that are interpreted here as affective investment in caring for the dead and signifying their relationship to the living as separate in some way from the rest of the individuals buried at the cemetery. Envisioning a series of aligned burials, each with a headstone and a footstone, demarcated within a stone rectangle on the grassy plot of HTCC along the most frequently travelled route of land transportation from Columbus to Chillicothe, gives one a very different sense of place than is reflected in the "Pickaway Places" piece by Weaver (1998) and this is just one example of how effective archaeological investigations can be at adding nuance and understanding to the sense of place, social memory, and eventually the narrative associated with a historical site.

The Case of Werter Welton

The excavations surrounding the Renick family plot that took place during the third session revealed not only the location of Thomas and Sarah Renick, but also the location of the grave of Werter Welton, a man previously unassociated with HTCC. Welton's headstone was both covered by, and covering, the layer of gravel and debris layer dumped across the cemetery

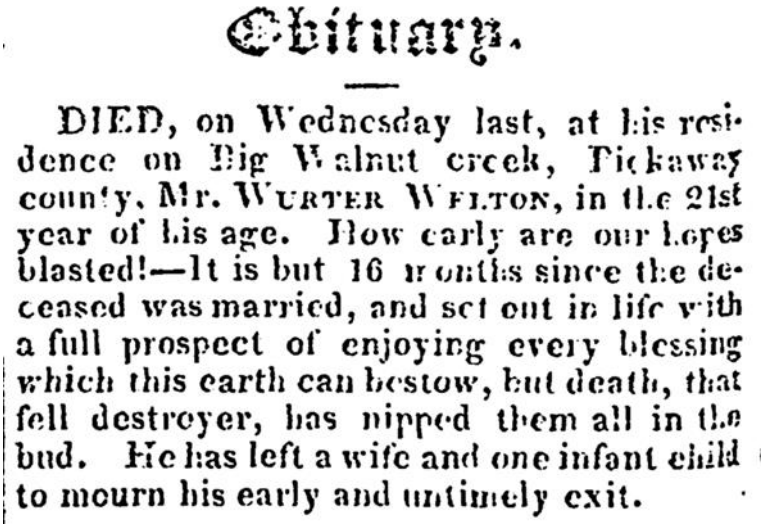
(stratigraphic layer US 6005). This alone brings up interesting research questions. US 6005 is interpreted as having taken place *after* the D.A.R. inscriptions were made, due in part to the inclusion of more modern construction debris and to the fact that this layer completely covers the headstone of Thomas and Sarah Renick, which was included in the inscriptions. The inclusion of Welton's headstone amid this layer indicates that it was standing as US 6005 was deposited across the cemetery, fell during this act, and was then covered by the rest of the deposition. However, this wouldn't explain the reason why Welton was left off the D.A.R. roster. One hypothesis is that the stone had already fallen, but was disturbed as part of this depositional process, and was placed back in its general location and covered by the rest of the layer, ongoing research may help to clarify the exact stratigraphic relationships which could help interpret these traces of action more clearly.

Regardless, this fact provides a chance to help interpret the ways in which social memory and affect are seen in the archaeological record. If the headstone was standing, being knocked down and covered by a dumping/leveling action, it shows a certain lack of affect for the headstone, and thus the individual – a sentiment echoed by the pock-marked face of the stone which the research team believes to be the scars of shotgun pellets. Even if the headstone was already lost, being disturbed in the process of US 6005's deposition, the fact that it was seemingly ignored and re-covered could also indicate a lack of affect. Either scenario has tangible effects in terms of social memory (re)formation as Werter Welton was effectively erased from HTCC's history.

Figure 11: Freshly excavated headstone of Werter Welton. The typical iconography of the urn and willow and the epitaph are marked with small circular impressions from shotgun pellets. IRLAB 2019

Subsequent archival and genealogical research revealed that Werter Welton married Ann Sarah Renick – the daughter of Thomas and Sarah who was raised by her uncle Felix in Ross County – on May 6th, 1822. Unfortunately, Welton died at just 21 years old the following year (AncestryLibrary.com 2016; Van Cleaf 1875). Ann and Werter had one son, who died in infancy just a few weeks after Werter's passing

Ann Welton would go on to marry Maj. S. S. Denny, discussed in the previous chapter for his bravery while tending to the sick during the cholera outbreak on the farm of J. O'B. Renick in 1849 (Case 1849b; Van Cleaf 1875). Ann Denny would live until December of 1875 when she died at the age of 71, no children survived from Ann's marriage with S. S. Denny (Van Cleaf 1875).



Obituary.

DIED, on Wednesday last, at his residence on Big Walnut creek, Pickaway county, Mr. WERTER WELTON, in the 21st year of his age. How early are our hopes blasted!—It is but 16 months since the deceased was married, and set out in life with a full prospect of enjoying every blessing which this earth can bestow, but death, that fell destroyer, has nipped them all in the bud. He has left a wife and one infant child to mourn his early and untimely exit.

Figure 12: Obituary of W[e]rter Welton (Scioto Gazette, Saturday, Sep. 6, 1823, Chillicothe, Ohio)

It is unclear if the smaller grave located in the Renick/Welton family plot, just south of that identified as belonging to Werter Welton, belongs to Ann and Werter's son, Felix. Because two of the four burials in the family plot have associated headstones, the excavation team made the decision to forego bioarchaeological investigations and left the graves untouched, relying

instead on continued historical research and community engagement to fill in the historical narrative of the family. Complicating matters more, a large granite, obelisk-style memorial which stands at Forest Cemetery's Section 6, in Circleville, Ohio, one side of which serves as a marker for Maj. S. S. Denny, Ann S. Welton, their daughter who died at the age of five. Another side of this memorial lists "Werter Welton and Felix – son of W. & A. S. Welton". It does not appear that Werter Welton's body was removed from the family plot in the middle of HTCC. Instead, it seems as if his name, and that of his son, were added later to the monument erected for the Dennys in Forest Cemetery. The shift from homestead burial grounds to the private or government owned garden cemeteries of the rural cemetery movement may have played a factor in the materiality of remembrance at HTCC, with family finding it more desirable to remain together in perpetuity at more ornate family plots elsewhere.

While a poorly preserved headstone may suggest certain lack of affect or desire to maintain a social memory of the dead, the presence of the headstone at the very least indicates the presence of a burial that was meaningful at one time. At HTCC, the removal of some markers, and vandalism or loss of others due to this dumping action across the cemetery, more readily allowed for the Pestilence narrative to take hold at the site. The case study of Werter Welton shows how effective archaeological investigations can be at adding impactful datapoints used in the interpretations of historical narratives. Without the HTCC excavation project, it is unclear if the location of Werter Welton's burial and his overall connection with the cemetery would be known. One also gains insight into the potential changing memory and emotional practices at the cemetery. It cannot be ascertained at this time weather the names of Werter and Felix Welton appear on the prominent granite obelisk in Forest Cemetery out of a desire to preserve their memory with that of his widow, Ann; or if, perhaps this move provides a hint that

the social stigmas associated with cholera had been attached to HTCC, causing Welton's former wife to "move" his memory to the monument in an attempt to move it away from the cholera cemetery.

Figure 13: Area 6000, showing row of burials now exposed with the removal of US 6005 (seen as the area perimeter wall). The depositional layer completely covered the stones in the Renick family plot located in the foreground. HTCC 2019

Cholera comes to HTCC

As briefly mentioned in Chapter Five, only one internment with a documented connection to cholera has been previously identified. Peter Shook, listed on line 31 of the U.S. Federal Census Mortality Schedule for 1850 as having died of cholera, is also listed on the inscription roster compiled by the DAR in 1936. When Peter Shook's 4x great-granddaughter

visited the excavations at HTCC, she shared more than just the family lore on his occupation and untimely death, as discussed in Chapter 5. She also shared the story of a cousin who once visited the cemetery (at an unknown date), and upon seeing the headstone for Peter Shook broken and laying on the ground, removed the stone, had it bonded back in one piece using iron straps bolted into the stone, and had it placed at the family plot at Reber Hill Cemetery about 10 miles southeast of HTCC (see Figure 14 below, Rasch 2019). In an ironic turn of events, this act of care and affection aimed at preserving the memory of Peter Shook may have prevented the IRLAB team from locating the only burial with actual documentation as one for a victim of cholera. This information could have helped in identifying morphological traits or location within the cemetery which indicate that the burial belongs to a victim of the same 1849 cholera epidemic as Mr. Shook. Still, the fact that Peter Shook had a headstone at all means that burials cannot be identified as belonging to a respected member of the "pioneer" community or as a victim of the "pestilence" based solely on the presence or absence of a headstone.

Figure 14: Headstone of Peter Shook, originally located in HTCC but moved to Reber Hill Cemetery, date unknown (photos courtesy of Kathy Rasch, 2019)

Returning, briefly, to 1850 U.S. Census Mortality Schedule – the report lists 22 names, including Peter Shook, as dying of cholera in Harrison Township in August of 1849. Much like the Third Street Cemetery discussed above, it is almost certain that more cholera victims were buried at HTCC. However, none of these names have been directly associated with the cemetery as of yet. Ongoing historical and genealogical research may help to make this connection. Perhaps more important for the consideration of social memory, emotion practices, and affect attributed to those interred at the cemetery, is the correlation between the remark added at the bottom of the census record page and the 1881 obituary for Joseph Birch featured in the *Circleville Democrat and Watchman* discussed in the previous chapter (Van Cleaf 1881). The note on the census that 10 or 12 unidentified others had died in the same place and the comment in Birch's obituary that he helped to bury 11 individuals in a single mass-burial is enough reason for the archaeological team to consider the possibility that a mass-burial does exist at HTCC. If

this is the case, there has been no indication thus far, and caution must be taken not to let the story lead the excavation, as the archaeological team responsible for excavating the Third Street Cemetery has proven that oft-repeated tales such as these, even ones that persist for years, can be proven to be nothing more than a well-adopted local mythology (Lillie and Mack 2015).

Although attention has now been paid to the demarcation of specific burials at HTCC in what seems to have been a family plot, and the removal of Peter Shook's headstone to the family plot in Reber Hill Cemetery – away from the association with cholera – this does not mean that the burials of the 'others' at HTCC represent a lack of care or affect. Figure 8, presented earlier, shows the extent of the excavations thus far, with each area stripped of topsoil and cleaned to expose the surface contemporary with the active use of the cemetery. Here, it is clear that single inhumations were the norm, with an attempt at alignment in rows (at least at points), and with general respect for spatial division between burials (note an exception in Area 1000, believed to have been due to the loss or absence of burial marker during the use of the cemetery). Even if these burials represent the final resting place for potentially dozens of victims of cholera, their burials were plotted, their grave shafts dug, and the bodies interred within, all according to accepted practices for this context (see Table 3 on page 136). While cholera leaves no mark on the remains of its victims, archaeologists can sometimes identify cholera burials based on the presence or absence of certain material culture or burial practices such as quick, non-conforming placement of the body, perhaps in an atypical location at the site, and in some documented instances, encased in lime mortar in an attempt to confine the cholera to the victim's burial (Vercellotti 2013). None of the aforementioned traits have been seen in the burials excavated at HTCC so far. Instead, the story interpreted from the existing archaeological record paints the cemetery as an affective field which allowed for, and perhaps even promoted, the expression of

the living's desire to maintain a social memory of, and emotional connection with, the dead. This sense of place seems at odds with the narrative of the cemetery put forth in later years.

The following section will explore why this may be – positing that the physical perdurance of the material record waned over time, which reinforced the process of forgetting and made room for the introduction of new lines of narrative which prioritized the more sensational story of Pestilence promoted in the popular written record. It is also argued that this literal erosion of the material record of the Pioneer narrative, created a disconnect between the sense of place initially intended for the community as time went on. As the local community became less connected to the cemetery and those interred within, one main activity stands out in the archaeological record as particularly harmful to the narrative that could have been ascertained from the material record and atmosphere of HTCC.

Retentions and Protentions: Material Practices at the Inactive Cemetery

This physical *space* of the cemetery became a meaningful *place* through its interactions with the community. HTCC shows how contextual the *sense of place* can be – even for historical cemeteries which are often thought of as inviolable and static in their meaning for the associated public. The placement of the burials of Thomas and Sarah Renick, the first two at the site, in the middle of the cemetery represents an intentional act. While the current road has been maintained and upgraded it follows the general path of the Columbus and Chillicothe Turnpike which served as the main land transportation route since the founding of the cemetery. The Ohio and Erie Canal was eventually constructed to the north of the cemetery, explanation for the legend of unmarked immigrant canal worker burials, but this too could have theoretically solidified the community cemetery's sense of place as one worth preserving due to its Pioneer connections.

However, this was not the case. In fact, one act, as seen in the archaeological record is interpreted here as the figurative knife in the back of this Pioneer narrative.

Some of the written record actually provides insight on the material reality of the cemetery at certain points in time. For example, Weaver's article in the *Circleville Herald*, allows one to bridge the analysis of the written record to that of the archaeological record, as the piece includes a photograph of the cemetery and discusses the progressive degradation of the material record at the site. She writes:

> "Until recently only one grave marker remained in this cemetery. It is now gone. The markers were about three feet tall and only about three inches thick. Their lack of sturdiness, time and vandalism have taken their toll on the little cemetery" (Weaver 1998)

This information helps to date the total loss of above-ground mnemonic objects to no later than 1998. These mnemonic objects, in the form of headstones, would have served to remind the community of the individuals buried at the cemetery in very literal and figurative ways. Often, archaeologists refer to mnemonic devices as artifacts that evoke some type of memory process, but rarely do the objects contain biographical data so vital to the remembrance of the dead. If the consideration of the material record as reflected in the written record is extended, one can use the D.A.R. inscription roster as another source for interpretation. The D.A.R. roster lists 14 names, supposedly taken directly from headstones standing at the cemetery in 1936. While this method does not provide the most accurate date for the loss of the material record, it does show how the written and archaeological records can be viewed in concert to provide more nuanced interpretations than either could alone. Here, a series of snapshots help one to envision the physical characteristics, and potential sense of place, at the cemetery across time (see Figure 15 below).

Beginning again, at the first burials in 1804, to the increased traffic along the Columbus and Chillicothe Turnpike as more colonial settlers advanced into Pickaway County and came

across the interments in this community cemetery, as Ann Renick grows up without her mother and father, and marries Werter Welton, only to have him die one year later in 1823, at which time he is interred on her parents' former land in their family cemetery plot. An even larger influx of passers-by comes in 1832, first constructing and then moving goods and people along the Ohio and Erie Canal. By this time, there are seven burials at the cemetery, according to the D.A.R. records, although there are most likely many more. According to the local lore discussed in the previous chapter, an influx of burials comes at this time with the canal bringing cholera to the immigrant workers constructing the canal channel to the north of the cemetery.

Between 1832 and the outbreak of cholera on the farm of Joseph O'Bannon Renick, seven more burials would take place that retained their headstones long enough for the D.A.R. inscriptions to capture their memory. The final known burial as of now took place in 185, although this date was retrieved via recovery of an undocumented headstone during the archaeological investigation – meaning this date could very well be revised moving forward. This leads to a decline in visitation, or tempo, as the canal loses traffic to the growing system of railroads and the families of those interred at the cemetery move on with life and further afield from the site. Importantly, the land shifts hands from the Renick family to that of the Peters family, another prominent family of farmers in 1875. While it seems the cemetery is generally respected in the sense that the land was not cultivated for crops or built on directly, no members of the Peters family are interred there, and the rural cemetery movement has been well in effect with the establishment of Forest Cemetery in Circleville happening almost two decades prior. A gap in the record exists between 1857 and the inscription efforts of the D.A.R. in 1936. Still, fourteen headstones remain standing when the cemetery is documented, and these 14 headstones hold on to the names of at least some of the Pioneers buried at HTCC.

In 1957, The Ohio Department of Transportation relocates the main north-south roadway in the region, leaving Old U.S. 23 – now PicWay Road – to run along the side of the cemetery while a four-line divided state route now runs on the other side of the long-abandoned Ohio and Erie Canal. Separated by less than 100 meters, those travelling the new U.S. 23 are oblivious to the existence of the historic cemetery now hidden by large oaks and hickories which have reclaimed the canal ravine. Finally, sometime between the inscription efforts of the D.A.R. and the photograph taken for the 1998 "Pickaway Places" article, the last of the headstones is lost – either being inadvertently knocked over and buried in the grassy field, or through acts of vandalism. It is during this time that, for some reason, the cemetery was covered in a mixture of gravel, soil, and miscellaneous debris seemingly related to modern construction efforts unassociated with the cemetery. The archaeological excavation of HTCC has revealed this stratigraphic feature across the entirety of the site investigated thus far. Ranging in depth but reaching up to 10 inches thick in certain spots, this depositional action essentially obfuscated the material record beneath the surface of the ground, covering features like that of the Renick and Welton family plot discussed above. When the archaeological team from IRLAB first visits the site in 2014 for a test excavation, the cemetery looks almost exactly as Weaver described in her article. On important difference, however, is that a few headstones did stand throughout the cemetery. However, the first test excavation provided evidence that the headstones had been moved and no longer marked original burial locations. This was confirmed to the author by one of the Harrison Township employees tasked with groundskeeping at HTCC. The man, out of a feeling of affect for the historic cemetery, used a tile probe to search the ground for buried headstones, digging them up and doing his best to re-erect the stones in a stable manner. This act both shows that emotion and affect in the mortuary setting can come from anywhere and at any

time, especially within the community. Unfortunately, this caring act may have also prevented the IRLAB team from connecting those headstones with their associated burials, a fact that could make the ultimate goal of restoring the cemetery to the scale of the individual, all the more difficult.

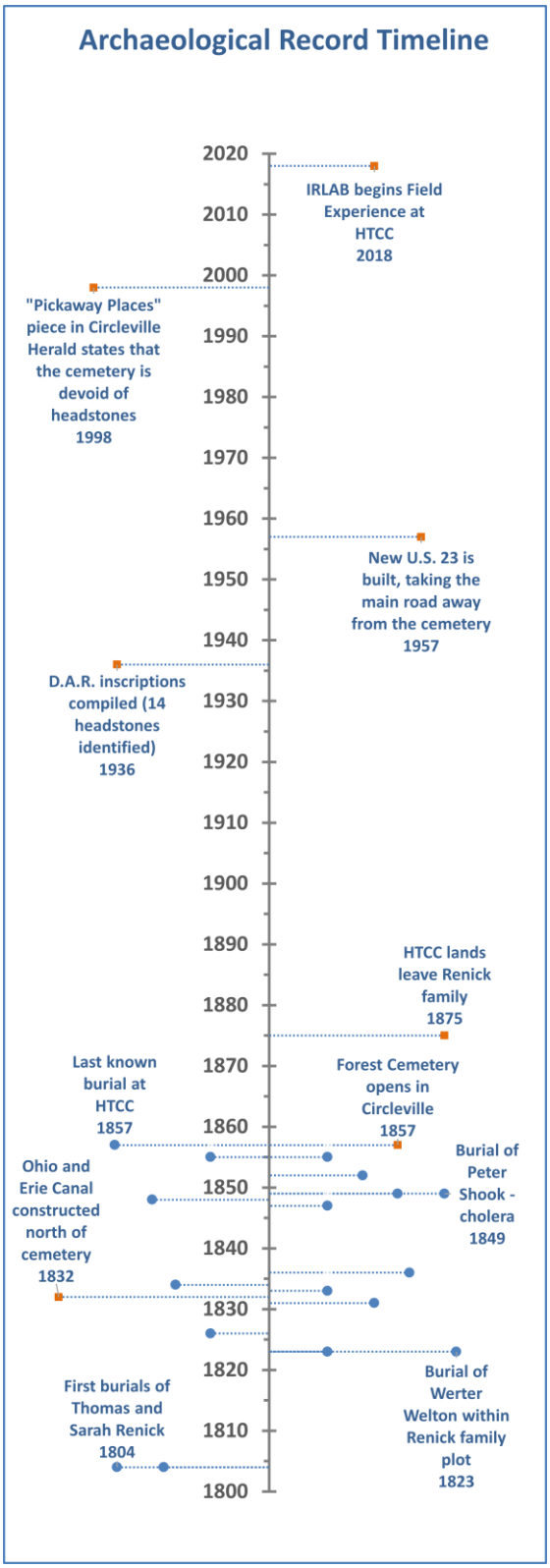


Figure 15: Timeline of events discussed above. Blue circles denote recorded burials, orange squares denote pertinent events.

Summary and Conclusions

The analysis in this chapter has shown an archaeological record at HTCC that is at odds with many of the popular conceptions of cholera cemeteries more broadly, and the social memory of the site specifically – mass-burials filled with nameless and uncared for individuals, with perhaps a few respected "pioneer" burials mixed in. Instead, the graves exposed thus far at HTCC generally do not show signs of neglect in the act of burial itself. Where the question of affect and its material manifestations gets harder to interpret is in looking at the ongoing practices and traces of action at the cemetery from its earliest days until now. While the location of some burials may have been lost relatively soon after interment as evidenced by burials cutting into one another – odd for a cemetery with such limited span of use – the general geometric layout and spatial order of the homestead burial ground is respected. Burial depth and positioning of the body is relatively standard, and well within a reasonable level of variation, such that there do not seem to be diagnostic indicators of cholera or non-cholera burials to interpret. The presence or absence of a coffin is also understandable given the trend for the temporal, geographical, and social context of the cemetery. In essence, the archaeology is quite mundane when compared to the social memory and written history of the cemetery.

The question of how the cemetery's historical narrative shifted from one that maintains knowledge of the Renick family plot, as well as the many other Pioneer burials, to one that applies a sensational account of the 1849 cholera outbreak on the nearby farm of J. O'B. Renick to the empty cemetery may have more to do with the physical manifestations – or lack thereof – which reference the former historical narrative. With the construction of the new U.S. 23 no longer adjacent to the cemetery, and as the distancing of descendants increased both geographically and temporally, *tempo*, or the rate with which the community interacts with

objects or spaces, slowed at HTCC (Barrett 1988; Giddens 1986). Perhaps due to this decreased tempo, the *physical perdurance* of the material record at the cemetery faded (Jones 2007:24). The loss of headstones, which acted as external mnemonic storage devices preserving the names of those buried at the cemetery, meant that the historical narrative became increasingly reliant on social memory alone (Borić 2010:15). As the previous chapter's analysis has shown, this social memory was affected by, and continued, a process of othering and silencing the dead. Not only had the loss of headstones allowed for the very practical loss of information and identities, it also represents the loss of "the emotive effect of material culture" (Jones 2007:65). The physical *atmosphere* at the cemetery was eventually reduced to a mowed lot of grass with a sign reading "Harrison Twp. Cholera Cemetery" loosely tacked to a utility pole on the roadside. This nondescript plot of land would allow for any number of historical narratives to be mapped onto it.

Figure 16: HTCC in January 2020

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The triangulated approach of historical archaeologists – which pulls from the fields of history, anthropology, and archaeology, to examine both the written and archaeological records – is particularly useful in identifying "informatively divergent material assemblages left behind by many social groups, whose past has been *misrepresented in written sources or completely lost in the passing of time and memory*" (Bell 1994:2 emphasis added). This reifies the claims of Voss (2007) and Wilkie (2009b) that interpretive power comes from putting historical and archaeological sources in conversation with one another. This thesis hinges on the examination of two material assemblages – with the written record being considered a material assemblage in and of itself, able to effect change on those who interact with it as a physical object via contemporary and future citational practices. Essentially, the written record tells the story of one social class, in that its creation and control in terms of historical narrative formation has most often been controlled by, and biased towards, those of higher status. The archaeological record at HTCC also shows a high level of care for some individuals, like Thomas and Sarah Renick and Werter Welton in the family plot at HTCC. However, where the social memory of the site follows trends put forth by the written record analyzed in Chapter 5, the interments themselves exhibit little stratification in terms of affective care during the act of burial. Assuming that this site represents the burials of both the Pioneers and the Pestilent, this fact seems at odds with their respective treatment in the written record.

Comparing the Historical and Archaeological Records

Voss argues that "[h]istorical archaeologists must come to recognize that *all* historical representations (texts and images) are produced *both* through an engagement with the material world *and* through power-laden conditions of perception and expression" (Voss 2007:149). I

would add to this the important caveat that the same is true for the material world too, insomuch that the material realities as interpreted from the archaeological record have always been engaged with the texts, images, and oral traditions regarding the cemetery throughout time. The argument has been made in this thesis, that one should consider the dialogical nature of the interaction between the historical and archaeological records. By forming a narrative that takes for granted a contextual and dialogical relationship between these records, this thesis asks the reader to imagine the ways in which they have coexisted – sometimes in concert, sometimes in conflict – to create the interpretation presented here.

Analyzing the existing historical accounts regarding the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery as *Labors of Representation* highlights the complex and context-dependent nature of the ways in which the community has perceived the site throughout time. While this research was stifled by restrictions due to the Coronavirus pandemic, the selected documents show the ways in which written narratives can and do introduce silences into the historiography of a site. This fact is compounded as the accounts move further away in time from the original event, as the written and oral accounts are connected to the sociohistorical context in which they were produced, as well as the positionality of the individual(s) from which they come.

The concepts of atmosphere, sense of place, and traces of actions at the cemetery throughout time have been presented as *interpretations* – constructed via an analysis of the bioarchaeological record as it exists through only three field seasons of excavation. Continued research can, and most likely will, force a reexamination of the analysis provided in Chapter 6. This will, of course, call for further reexamination into the purported points of convergence and divergence presented below.

In considering the points of convergence and divergence between the written and archaeological record of the cemetery one can take a very literal approach – e.g. who is said to have been buried there and who has been identified via archaeological investigation – or a more abstract look at the subtext of the written record compared with the traces of actions and emotion as seen in the archaeological record. For example, a literal approach may focus on the inscription efforts of the D.A.R. compared with the headstones found during excavations. As the only written document that specifies the location of the dead as being in the Paul Peters Farm Cemetery (also known as HTCC), this document gives direct points of convergence and divergence to consider. One example of this type of convergence would be the record of a shared stone existing for Thomas and Sarah Renick, which had previously been lost under the site-wide gravel deposit but was subsequently identified by the IRLAB research team. Conversely, most of the other names compiled in the inscription effort have not been found on headstones at HTCC, while additional names have also been added to this roster via the excavation project. These two facts serve as a good example of literal divergences in the archaeological and written records of the site.

It is safe to presume that the 14 names on the D.A.R. and Mayberry rosters were in fact buried at HTCC, but if one were to push the presumption further to include the "some 33 deaths" referenced by the 1850 Mortality Census and 1849 "Dreadful Mortality" article in the *Circleville Watchman*, then a number of 47 burials could be expected at the cemetery. It is known that the 1936 D.A.R. inscriptions missed numerous headstones due to their previous loss, as they have been recovered in the excavation process. In the same vein, this requires one to imagine that all 33 individuals who died in connection with the cholera outbreak on the farm of Joseph O'Bannon Renick were buried at HTCC. If the *Watchman* article is correct in stating that some

of the fieldhands were local residents, one would imagine that their loved ones preferred to bury them elsewhere. Still, the argument can be made that the desire to bury a loved one on family land or in a private plot reserved elsewhere would have been countered with the fact that the individual fell victim to cholera and could have been given a respectful burial on the grounds of HTCC. Certainly the number of burial features identified thus far at the cemetery allow for the speculation (51 identified archaeologically, many more expected due to space and topological features). One must keep in mind, however, that *speculation* is exactly what this type of hypothesizing would be at the current time. This doesn't mean that the speculation must be totally avoided. By critically analyzing both the historical and archaeological records for traces of emotion and social memory reformation, and by evaluating the points of convergence and divergence, one forms an iterative process of interpretation to be used throughout the span of a research program which can lead to new and unexpected avenues for investigation. For example, as the program of research unfolds in future sessions, more focus can be paid to historical and genealogical research on the names of individuals listed in the Mortality Schedule of 1850 to look for potential connections to the cemetery.

More abstract interpretations stemming from the documentary and archaeological records of HTCC were identified using the methodology put forth by Voss, supplemented with language from the respective fields of memory and emotion studies in history and archaeology. This approach hopefully provided the connections between seemingly disparate source material and theoretical backgrounds. Treating emotions and memory as social practices helps to further strengthen the dialogue interpreted from these two lines of evidence. While the categories put forth of Pioneers and Pestilence are made up of real people, they are really hypothetical actions and reactions in the past. The Pestilence category being that of the unnamed immigrant or low

socioeconomic farmhand whose death from cholera would have been of concern to the community in terms of introduction of the disease, but perhaps not of surprise or emotional concern given the social stigmas associated with cholera at the time. The expectations based on previous research elsewhere suggested that these individuals may have been disregarded in death in the same manner in which they were treated in life. Chapter 5 showed the general lack of regard for this theoretical community of Pestilence for HTCC. Also, the background on the Renick family and some of the subtext presented in the sources in the fourth and fifth chapters showed how different treatment was for the Pioneers of HTCC. However, the analysis of the archaeological record paints a very different picture than that of the written and oral accounts based on social memory of the site. The preliminary results of the IRLAB excavations could easily be interpreted as representing a typical domestic homestead graveyard (Sloane 1991:5). The generally tidy rows of single inhumations, oriented west-east and most often including a coffin, with some burials being marked by headstones and others perhaps with long decayed wooden markers, all present a much more conventional account of burial practices than has been formed in the imagination of the public – both for cholera cemeteries in general and specifically for HTCC. This fact helps add nuance to a contextualized account of the responses to cholera at and around the cemetery. Understanding that care was generally taken in the act of burial for the individuals interred there makes it all the more interesting and necessary to examine the degradation of the cemetery through time. Examining the time between now and then has subsequently become an important factor in building a historiography of HTCC.

Interpreting Causality

The analyses provided in chapters five and six aimed to inform an interpretation of *how* the written and archaeological records worked in dialogue to affect *what* has happened at HTCC

– or at least what is believed to have happened according to social memory. The following brief section aims to interpret *why* the events unfolded in the ways in which they have been presented.

Tempo and Material Mnemonics

The fluorescence of the rural cemetery movement may have played a factor in why the sense of place for HTCC was able to shift so drastically from a community cemetery which included some cholera victims to that of a cholera cemetery alone (Lillie and Mack 2015:159). Those with the means, like the Renicks, began reserving family plots at privately-owned or township-entrusted cemeteries further from the local community. These cemeteries boasted landscaped grounds and perpetual care for the burials within (Sloane 1991:2). In fact, one of these cemeteries, Forest Cemetery of Circleville, was established on July 13th, 1857 – notably the most recent year identified for a burial at HTCC. The cemetery, operated by a board of trustees led by William Renick Jr. (a nephew of Thomas and William of G-1, and cousin of Joseph O'Bannon Renick of G-2, in Table 1 & 2 of this thesis) had the express goal of "providing suitably for the burial of the dead" and raised funds from 22 citizens "for the purpose of buying and embellishing grounds, to be used forever for a rural cemetery, near the city of Circleville" (Williams Bros. 1880:199). Three other Renick men served on the initial board of trustees for Forest Cemetery and there are currently 44 Renick burials identified at the cemetery (Find A Grave 2021). Other researchers have shown the effect of the rural cemetery movement on previous community and homestead burial grounds in terms of the preservation of existing markers and monuments. Sometimes individuals were exhumed from community and homestead burying grounds and reinterred in a corresponding family plot at the rural cemetery, but oftentimes only the marker was moved, and in some cases the marker was left in lieu of a new memorial being erected at the new cemetery. In any of these cases, it has been argued that the

end result is the removal of the dead from the social memory of their initial site of burial (Lillie and Mack 2015:158–9). Even when a cemetery is well-maintained in terms of groundskeeping, as is typically the case at large rural cemeteries of the mid- to late-19th-century and beyond, researchers point out that the individual graves do not continue to receive attention without the continued visitation by family or invested members of the community (Mytum 2004:175). With the Renick family moving on from Thomas and Sarah's death so early in their arrival to the Scioto Valley, it is natural that affect and familial memory regarding the individuals would fade. As the physical remnants of these memories – and one of the few actual historical records of their burial at the cemetery – faded, this natural "distancing of the living from the dead had a small role in the abandonment and forgetting of [their] burial places" (Bell 1994:7).

Post-Mortem Agency

The above quote from Edward Bell speaks to the shifting conceptions of death, and the relationships forged between the living and dead in the 19th-century. Speaking on the rise of the rural cemetery movement, but also on the "denial of death" that led it to become a social taboo, Bell is touching on both the literal and figurative removal of the dead from the realm of the living, and thus from their daily practices and social memory (Bell 1994:7). Research indicates that this process is exacerbated when the deaths in question come from a disease or within a social class that was particularly stigmatized at the time and place in question. A special section in the Cambridge Archaeological Journal on *The Bioarchaeology of Postmortem Agency* provides further grounding for the connections between social memory and emotion/affect in the mortuary context throughout time. John Crandall and Debra Martin use their introduction to the section to discuss the ways in which bioarchaeologists can "identify and theorize how dead bodies often shape social relations, political and social behaviour, and influence emotionality and

action." (2014:430). The pair note that despite the difficulties in identifying 'agency' in the archaeological record; by using concepts such as primary and secondary object agency (Gell 1998; Robb 2010) to discuss human remains and their recursive relationship with the living, bioarchaeologists can expand the literature in social archaeology regarding memory, identity, emotion, and materiality (Crandall and Martin 2014:431–432).

The application of postmortem agency to a context not unlike HTCC is provided by Helen Werner (2019) in her work on infectious disease burials at the Milwaukee County Poor Farm Cemetery. Werner provides useful theoretical connections between social memory and emotion in the mortuary context, not only in the moment of interment, but as it manifests in the years following and, finally, through contemporary archaeological work. Most useful, is the way Werner links Foucault's concept of the "othering process" (Foucault et al. 2007) with the socially and historically contextualized account of stigmatization surrounding tuberculosis at the cemetery. By 'othering' the victims of cholera at HTCC through emotional discourse, the community may have inadvertently given them a postmortem agency that stripped even the non-epidemic deceased from social memory. In writing specifically of cholera, Rosenberg discusses the important difference between the "industrious poor" and the "vicious poor" during the 1849 epidemic (1987:133–5). I interpret, that the focus on the vicious poor at the time, 'othered' many who may have been considered the industrious poor, as well as those of the Pioneer community. Now that time has passed, many of these dead are seen as industrious poor once more and are subsequently no longer stigmatized. For example, while this thesis has been critical of Weaver's (1998) account of HTCC as only a cholera cemetery for canal workers and farmhands, there is no indication that this was meant to further a negative stigma of those interred at the site and in fact may have been intended to reclaim their memory as important for the local history.

Nonetheless, the damage was done, the names lost, and the trajectory of the historical narrative of the cemetery forever altered, for all interred within.

Revisiting the Emotional Community

This thesis has revolved around two parallel, but stratified, communities. One – consisting of those named in the historical and archaeological records – has been referred to as the Pioneers. The other – unnamed but featured extensively in the social memory – are the victims of cholera's Pestilence. As has been stated, these categories are imposed in a rather arbitrary fashion as the current research has shown how difficult it is to discern between these two groups in the archaeological record thus far at HTCC. If anything, the Pioneers and Pestilence narratives are intentionally hyperbolic extremes of social memory and emotion, used to highlight the ability of these narrative threads to affect and be affected by one another in both the written and physical records. In reality, the interpretation that this thesis hopes to present to the reader is one much more nuanced and complex than those usually put forth by historians and archaeologists interested in the cholera epidemics of the 19th-century.

As discussed in Chapter 4, scholars interested in the responses to cholera in the 19th-century have often contextualized their historical subjects as living in an emotional community of anxiety, fear, or outright panic. While the terminology of *emotional community* is not always used, the general consensus is that people across the U.S. were dealing with a particular brand of traumatic event in the cholera epidemics that swept the country (Humphreys 2002). While the responses manifested in slightly different ways across geographic and temporal contexts, this trend toward anxiety and panic is broadly accepted as a given in the literature. In looking at HTCC however, it is important to note that at least the archaeological record does not support this interpretation – at least not so far. Too often are the myth of the mass-grave or only the most

sensationalized accounts cited and reprinted in historical research. As was shown in Chapter 5, this is largely due to the source material of 19th-century newspapers combined with a lack of archaeological data to the contrary. Still, the field would do well to highlight more of the 'mundane' stories reflected in the archaeological record at cemeteries and other sites associated with cholera in 19th-century America. Identifying and discussing the sensationalism is still important, as is seen by its use here to interpret the effects of the written record on the social memory and emotional practices at the site, but when working with the remains of people of the past it is imperative to treat them as both actors and agents of change. The burial practices seen at HTCC thus far reflect what this thesis has called the Pioneers, and not the Pestilence. However, it seems more likely, and thus more responsible to acknowledge that the two categories are not mutually exclusive.

A Reflexive Turn of the Lens

With the ethical ramifications of archaeological and historical interpretation under consideration, this section aims to address the responsibility of the current research regarding the ongoing social memory, emotional practices, and sense of place for HTCC. First, as Chapter 5 discussed, there are multiple points at which silences can be injected into the historical narrative process. The HTCC project overall, my thesis as presented here, and any other literature that spurs from the work (academic or not) represent additional points of entry for said silences. Due to the academic nature of the work, this can be particularly harmful as it represents Trouillot's final step in the process, at which "history" becomes "History" (Trouillot 1995b). The credence lent to academic literature, or less formal public presentations and general correspondence that stems from that literature often means that the public takes it as a given. This is particularly precarious when the research team is not directly connected to the local community. While

efforts have been made to include voices from the descendants of those identified as being buried at the cemetery, a lot of the historical narrative that stems from the project will rely on the interpretation of a select few outsiders. This is, in part, the nature of this type of archaeological work, and IRLAB will continue to prioritize community outreach and engagement efforts, but this thesis is not community-based in nature. However, it serves as a valuable and necessary starting point for discussions regarding social memory and emotional practices, and the author plans to embrace all of the subsequent revisions to the interpretation presented within as the archaeological, historical, and genealogical research continues.

I became involved in the HTCC project shortly after its point of conception, or perhaps still in the ongoing conceptual phase, prior to any excavations, and around the time that the initial resolution allowing the excavation of the cemetery was granted. I have been on site as a Project Manager, and then as the President of IRLAB, since excavations began in 2018. Before that, I helped with the test excavation in 2014. All this is shared in an attempt at transparency for others to understand that I personally gain from seeing this research continue. It is also to acknowledge, as Wilkie suggests we must, that my "interpretations of the past are themselves situated in a sociohistorical and political present" (2009b:338). The interpretations that I put forth have been informed from my position as an outsider, accepted to varying degrees by those in the broader community, or directly connected to the cemetery via land ownership or descendant status. It is imperative that I present interpretations based on what I see in the archaeological and historical record and avoid biasing my narrative to favor the accounts preferred by those with whom I have become acquainted. Equally, I cannot choose to ignore or make assumptions about narratives put forth by those with whom I have not made a connection.

Ongoing revision of the historiography of HTCC will be of vital importance in maintaining it as a site of memory for the descendant and local communities.

How the documentary record affects archaeological investigations

Due to the limited historical sources regarding HTCC, many aspects of the archaeological research design relied on the social memory of the cemetery as presented to the team by members of the Peters family, the local community, and the account presented in the "Pickaway Places" piece (Weaver 1998) Even the placement of the initial excavation areas, especially Area 4000's focus on the large depression between the two mounds, shows how the existing documentary record and social memory of a site can guide the work of archaeologists. It was felt that the north end of HTCC, as the closest to the abandoned canal, would most likely expose burials of canal workers who may have died of the disease and were buried quickly in the closest section of the conveniently located cemetery. It seemed plausible to hypothesize that the topological features of Area 4000 indicated a potential mass burial. The research team understood the speculative nature of this hypothesis and was not particularly surprised when it proved incorrect. Also, due to the ongoing nature of the excavation and the intended goal of identifying the presence of such a burial *if one exists*, it was reasonable to open the area for excavation. The intent here is merely to discuss the ways in which the accounts discussed in the fifth chapter played a role in the decisions at HTCC before and during the excavations.

How archaeological investigations affect the documentary record

The author is under no delusion that members of the public will seek out, much less actually read, the research presented in this thesis. Nonetheless, this work now stands as a new chapter in the historiography of HTCC. The interpretations made within were done so with the best intentions, hopefully presenting plausible claims of events and actions of individuals in the

past that contributed to the narrative of the historical cemetery in a respectful and effective manner. Even as this thesis is published, bound, and collecting dust on the shelf of the author, more research, and ideally more academic literature, will stem from the efforts of this work. It has not been the authors intent to prove or disprove any one narrative regarding the cemetery. Even the points in the written and oral tradition accounts that have been presented as being most at-odds with the archaeological record are not discussed for this reason. In fact, it is the space between these interpretations that make for the most fruitful avenues for future research and engaging points for community involvement.

In her analysis of the Milwaukee Poor Farm Cemetery, featuring the concept of othering the dead, Werner (2019) notes that archaeologists must consider the ramifications of their classifications of the dead at cemeteries where stigmatized victims of disease may lie among those who died of other causes. Essentially, there may be a desire to determine cause of death for those interred at the site, and this is certainly a valuable line of research. However, one must understand that social stigmas still exist and consideration must be given into how important it is to prove or disprove that an individual in the past died of a stigmatized disease. Incorrect presumptions that all those interred in a 'cholera cemetery' would be lazy at best and a harmful reification of the othering process at worst. Also, feeling as if one must validate the lives of those who did die of the stigmatized disease has the odd effect of echoing some of the sentiments of the "Health of Circleville" piece in which the author felt the need to explain the death of the "worthy man" (Case 1849a). In augmenting the historical accounts of a site established as one thing in the social memory of the community, there are no easy answers as to how to untangle the connections between memories and emotions *in* the past, and memories and emotions *of* the past that exist today.

Justification of Research

This research adds valuable archaeological data to previous historical, anthropological, and sociological analyses of death, disease, commemoration, and emotion in the past. Alana Warner-Smith (2020), cited earlier for her work mapping cholera narratives in the Caribbean, notes that one of the most fruitful future avenues to expand on her research would be archaeological and bioarchaeological data to accompany her critical analyses of textual sources.

Further, archaeologists are quick to point out that we do not 'recover' identities of those in the past, instead acknowledging that we construct identities based on the available evidence. I agree with this stance, as it calls for increased attention to the responsibility of the researcher. Interestingly, however, in this instance there is real opportunity to recover identities in the form of biographical information inscribed on buried headstones, or at least biological information from lab analyses that may be linked to documentary records through ongoing research.

Certainly, the justification for this research does not need to go much further than the practical aspects it will provide to the ongoing research project at the Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery. Put on hold for the last two field seasons due to the global Covid-19 pandemic, the project will benefit from the end-product of this thesis research being shared with the public. One of the main critiques of archaeological practices regarding interaction with local communities is that the research team descends upon the area only for as long as is needed to collect the necessary data for analysis and publication and then moves on. By continuing this work, and more importantly sharing it with the interested public and engaged descendants, we can assure those in the community that an emotional investment exists on the behalf of the excavation and research teams.

Avenues for Future Research

As is almost always the case, the current research has created more questions than answers and has opened up new avenues for future research. First, the bioarchaeological analysis of the individuals buried at HTCC is just now beginning. This presents an incredible opportunity to gain insight into the lives of those who lived and died in rural Ohio in the 19th-century, a rare opportunity in the field. If a determination can be made as to which burials at the cemetery belong to cholera victims and which ones do not, the site presents a novel and much needed datapoint on how the conceptions of and reactions to cholera at the time can manifest in the archaeological record. This thesis has at multiple points, discussed the lack of connections that exist in the literature between the historical accounts of cholera burials and cemeteries, and the archaeological findings associated with the actual burials. The work analyzed here represents just a start in the process of understanding the relationship between emotional practices, social memory, and material realities at historical cemeteries. More will be learned about how this process unfolded at HTCC as more historical records are identified and analyzed against the evolving understanding from the archaeological record. These findings can then be used to theorize the events at other cemetery sites, whether they are associated with cholera or have seen some other unusual shift in historical narrative and material practices.

Probably the most important avenue for future research is the continued examination of, and investigation into, the genealogical record for those interred at the cemetery. One of the main goals for the HTCC project, and one to which the author has become particularly attached, is for the work at the cemetery to be linked to actual living descendants who may not even know that their ancestors are buried at the cemetery. Through my interactions with those that have come to the site, I have seen how powerful the knowledge of the location of a familial burial can be for

some. It is my sincere hope that this work at HTCC can make these links for living descendants, as well as for the rest of the community. This cemetery is important, as all are, and has a very unique history that connects to the earliest days of Euro American history in the region. An understanding of the historiography of HTCC will most likely strengthen the community's interest in history in general and may help to bridge the ideological gap between the Pioneers and Pestilence of the previous historical accounts.

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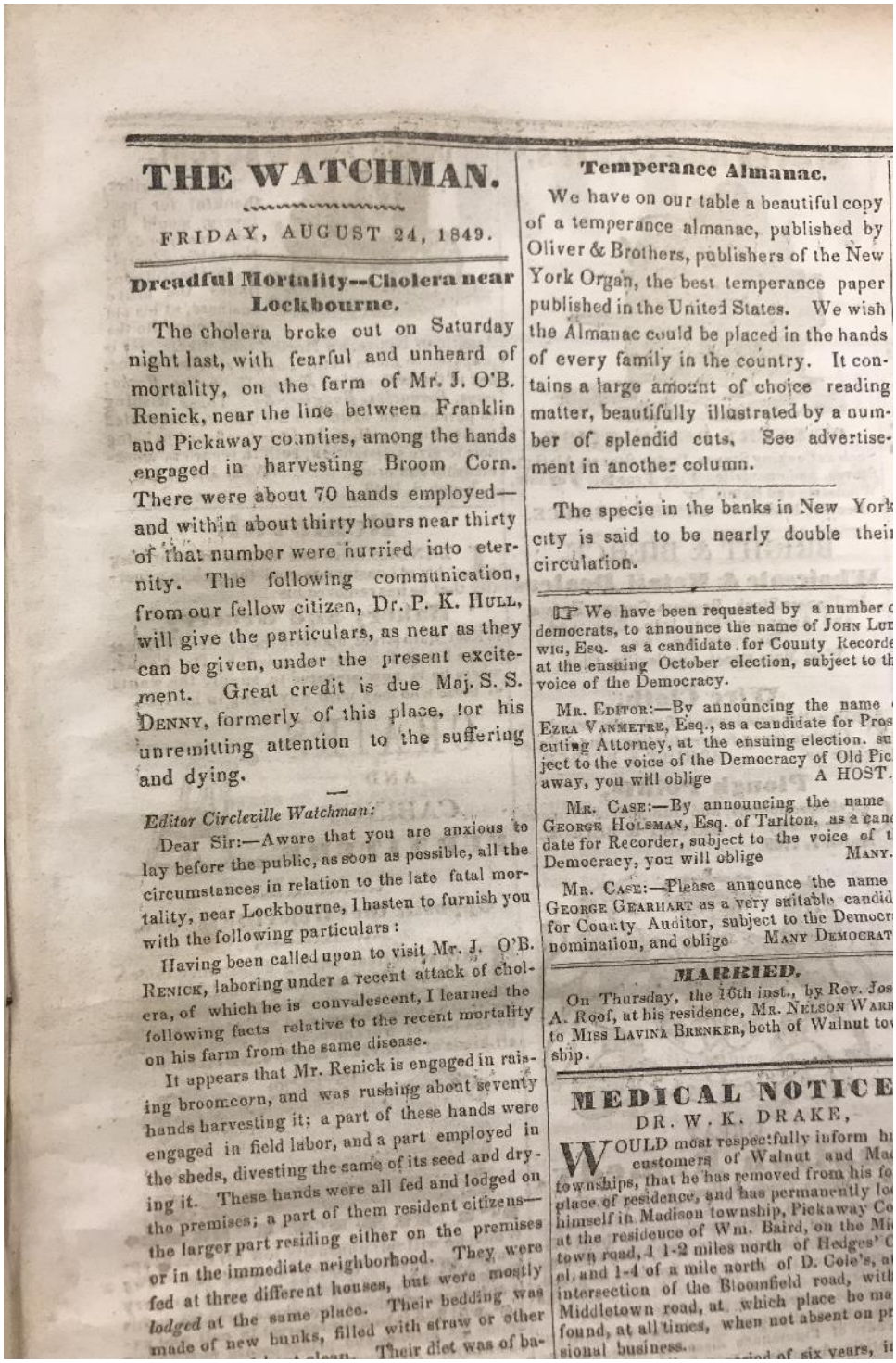
APPENDIX. ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Table A1. Harrison Township Cholera Cemetery Roster

Name (last, first)	Born	Died	Remarks	Source
Bectel, Perry		1849	s/o Jacob & Harriett Bectel	(Daughters of the American Revolution. Pickaway Plains Chapter 1936)
Child Brothers	1859	1859	Sons of ?.W. & M.J.	IRLAB 2018
Buchannen, Alexander		1852		IRLAB 2018
Choate, Mary Pierce	1781	1834	w/o Alpheus Choate	D.A.R. 1936
Choate, Alpheus	1774	1834	h/o Mary Pierce Choate	Personal contact w/ descendants
Creighton, ?????			Aged 71 years	D.A.R. 1936
Dean, Burkett	1812	1836	Age 24 years	D.A.R. 1936
Douglas, Margaret	1771	1823	Age 52 years	D.A.R. 1936
Flinn, Elizabeth	1831	1853	w/o John W. Flinn	IRLAB 2018
Henderson, Thomas	1805	1855	h/o Frances C. Stage	D.A.R. 1936
Hudson, Nancy	1783	1828	w/o Thomas Hudson	D.A.R. 1936
Kirkendall, George	1777	1848	Age 71, War of 1812	D.A.R. 1936
Nevell, Henry	1810	1833	Age 23 years	D.A.R. 1963
Nevell, Mary Ann Hartman	1810	1831	Age 21, w/o James Nevell	D.A.R. 1936
Osburn, David	1818	1855	Age 36 years	IRLAB 2018
Rawlings, Almira	1816	1847	Age 31, w/o Ezekiel Rawlings	D.A.R. 1936
Renick, Sarah Rankin		1804	w/o Thomas Renick	D.A.R. 1936
Renick, Thomas		1804	h/o Sarah Rankin Renick	D.A.R. 1936
Shook, Peter	1798	1849	Age 53 years, cholera	D.A.R. 1936; U.S. Census Mortality Schedule 1850
Welton, Werter	1803	1823	h/o Ann Sarah Renick	IRLAB 2019
Wheeler, David	1827	1857		IRLAB 2018

Note: Adapted and updated from Mayberry 1998 with findings of the archaeological investigations of IRLAB



THE WATCHMAN.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 24, 1849.

Dreadful Mortality--Cholera near Lockbourne.

The cholera broke out on Saturday night last, with fearful and unheard of mortality, on the farm of Mr. J. O'B. Renick, near the line between Franklin and Pickaway counties, among the hands engaged in harvesting Broom Corn. There were about 70 hands employed—and within about thirty hours near thirty of that number were hurried into eternity. The following communication, from our fellow citizen, Dr. P. K. Hull, will give the particulars, as near as they can be given, under the present excitement. Great credit is due Maj. S. S. Denny, formerly of this place, for his unremitting attention to the suffering and dying.

Editor Circleville Watchman:

Dear Sir:—Aware that you are anxious to lay before the public, as soon as possible, all the circumstances in relation to the late fatal mortality, near Lockbourne, I hasten to furnish you with the following particulars:

Having been called upon to visit Mr. J. O'B. Renick, laboring under a recent attack of cholera, of which he is convalescent, I learned the following facts relative to the recent mortality on his farm from the same disease.

It appears that Mr. Renick is engaged in raising broomcorn, and was rushing about seventy hands harvesting it; a part of these hands were engaged in field labor, and a part employed in the sheds, divesting the same of its seed and drying it. These hands were all fed and lodged on the premises; a part of them resident citizens—the larger part residing either on the premises or in the immediate neighborhood. They were fed at three different houses, but were mostly *lodged* at the same place. Their bedding was made of new bunks, filled with straw or other

Temperance Almanac.

We have on our table a beautiful copy of a temperance almanac, published by Oliver & Brothers, publishers of the New York Organ, the best temperance paper published in the United States. We wish the Almanac could be placed in the hands of every family in the country. It contains a large amount of choice reading matter, beautifully illustrated by a number of splendid cuts. See advertisement in another column.

The specie in the banks in New York city is said to be nearly double their circulation.

☞ We have been requested by a number of democrats, to announce the name of John Lud wig, Esq. as a candidate for County Recorde at the ensuing October election, subject to th voice of the Democracy.

Mr. Editor:—By announcing the name Ezra Vanmetre, Esq., as a candidate for Pros ecuting Attorney, at the ensuing election, su ject to the voice of the Democracy of Old Pic away, you will oblige A HOST.

Mr. Case:—By announcing the name George Holsman, Esq. of Tarlton, as a can date for Recorder, subject to the voice of t Democracy, you will oblige Many.

Mr. Case:—Please announce the name George Gearhart as a very suitable candid for County Auditor, subject to the Democr nomination, and oblige Many Democrat

MARRIED,

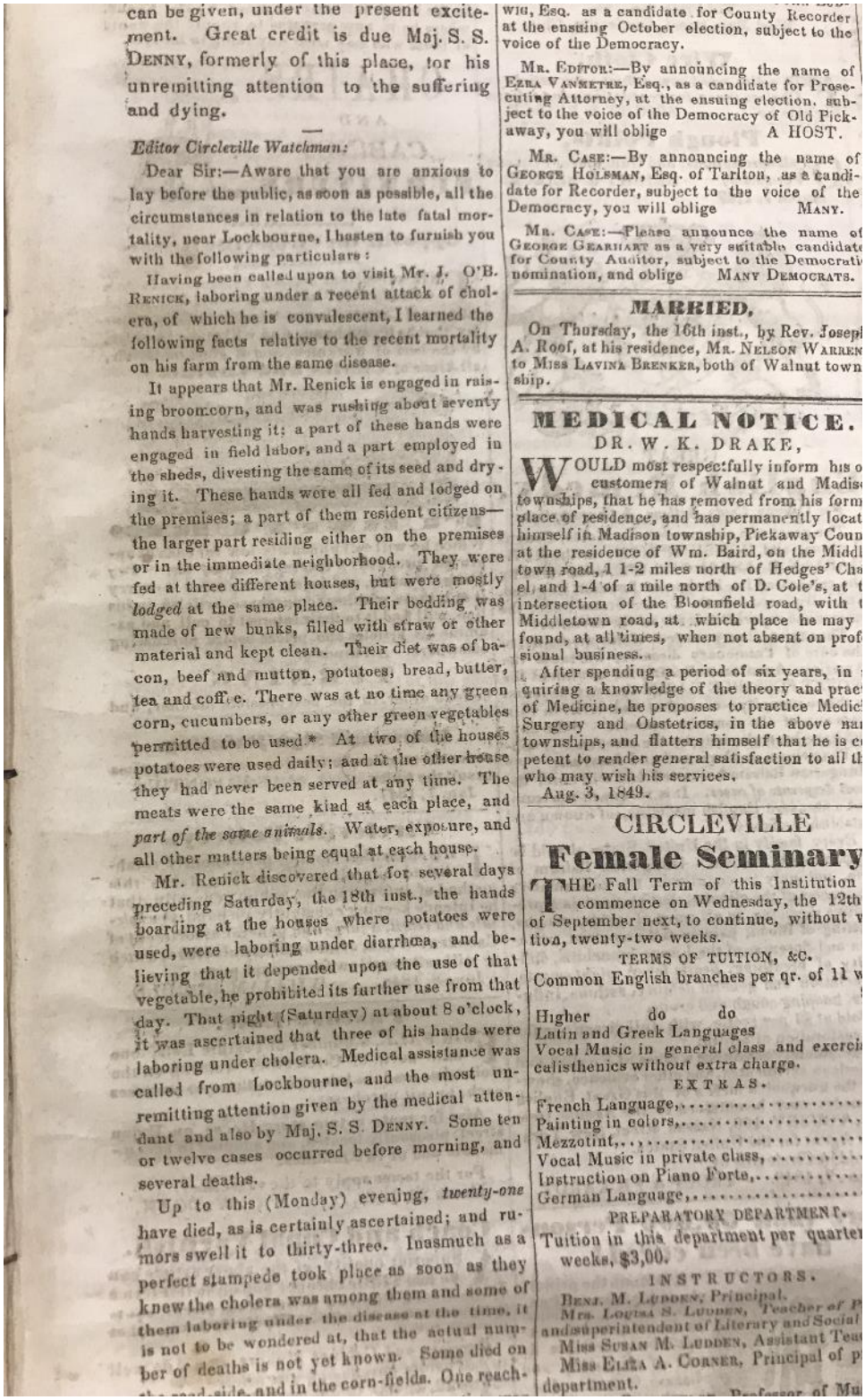
On Thursday, the 16th inst., by Rev. Jos A. Roof, at his residence, Mr. Nelson Ware to Miss Lavina Brenker, both of Walnut to ship.

MEDICAL NOTICE

DR. W. K. DRAKE,

WOULD most respectfully inform h customers of Walnut and Ma townships, that he has removed from his fo place of residence, and has permanently lo himself in Madison township, Pickaway Co at the residence of Wm. Baird, on the Mi town road, 1 1-2 miles north of Hedges' C el, and 1-4 of a mile north of D. Cole's, a intersection of the Bloomfield road, with Middletown road, at which place he ma found, at all times, when not absent on pr sional business.

Figure A1. "Dreadful Mortality – Cholera Near Lockbourne" (Case 1849b).
Figure Note: Part 1 of 3 of "Dreadful Mortality" article



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It appears that Mr. Renick is engaged in raising broom-corn, and was rushing about seventy hands harvesting it: a part of these hands were engaged in field labor, and a part employed in the sheds, divesting the same of its seed and drying it. These hands were all fed and lodged on the premises; a part of them resident citizens—the larger part residing either on the premises or in the immediate neighborhood. They were fed at three different houses, but were mostly *lodged* at the same place. Their bedding was made of new bunks, filled with straw or other material and kept clean. Their diet was of bacon, beef and mutton, potatoes, bread, butter, tea and coffee. There was at no time any green corn, cucumbers, or any other green vegetables permitted to be used.* At two of the houses potatoes were used daily; and at the other house they had never been served at any time. The meats were the same kind at each place, and *part of the same animals*. Water, exposure, and all other matters being equal at each house.

Mr. Renick discovered that for several days preceding Saturday, the 18th inst., the hands boarding at the houses where potatoes were used, were laboring under diarrhœa, and believing that it depended upon the use of that vegetable, he prohibited its farther use from that day. That night (Saturday) at about 8 o'clock, it was ascertained that three of his hands were laboring under cholera. Medical assistance was called from Lockbourne, and the most unremitting attention given by the medical attendant and also by Maj. S. S. Denny. Some ten or twelve cases occurred before morning, and several deaths.

Up to this (Monday) evening, *twenty-one* have died, as is certainly ascertained; and rumors swell it to thirty-three. Inasmuch as a perfect stampede took place as soon as they knew the cholera was among them and some of them laboring under the disease at the time, it is not to be wondered at, that the actual number of deaths is not yet known. Some died on the road-side, and in the corn-fields. One reach-

wig, Esq. as a candidate for County Recorder at the ensuing October election, subject to the voice of the Democracy.

Mr. Editor:—By announcing the name of Ezra Vanmetre, Esq., as a candidate for Prosecuting Attorney, at the ensuing election, subject to the voice of the Democracy of Old Pickaway, you will oblige A HOST.

Mr. Case:—By announcing the name of George Holsman, Esq. of Tarlton, as a candidate for Recorder, subject to the voice of the Democracy, you will oblige MANY.

Mr. Case:—Please announce the name of George Gearhart as a very suitable candidate for County Auditor, subject to the Democratic nomination, and oblige MANY DEMOCRATS.

MARRIED,

On Thursday, the 16th inst., by Rev. Joseph A. Roof, at his residence, Mr. Nelson Warren to Miss Lavina Brenker, both of Walnut township.

MEDICAL NOTICE.

DR. W. K. DRAKE,

WOULD most respectfully inform his customers of Walnut and Madison townships, that he has removed from his former place of residence, and has permanently located himself in Madison township, Pickaway County, at the residence of Wm. Baird, on the Middletown road, 1 1-2 miles north of Hedges' Chapel, and 1-4 of a mile north of D. Cole's, at the intersection of the Bloomfield road, with the Middletown road, at which place he may be found, at all times, when not absent on professional business.

After spending a period of six years, in acquiring a knowledge of the theory and practice of Medicine, he proposes to practice Medicine, Surgery and Obstetrics, in the above named townships, and flatters himself that he is competent to render general satisfaction to all those who may wish his services.

Aug. 3, 1849.

CIRCLEVILLE

Female Seminary

THE Fall Term of this Institution will commence on Wednesday, the 12th day of September next, to continue, without vacation, twenty-two weeks.

TERMS OF TUITION, &c.

Common English branches per qr. of 11 weeks,

Higher do do

Latin and Greek Languages

Vocal Music in general class and exercises in calisthenics without extra charge.

EXTRAS.

French Language,.....

Painting in colors,.....

Mezzotint,.....

Vocal Music in private class,.....

Instruction on Piano Forte,.....

German Language,.....

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT.

Tuition in this department per quarter of 11 weeks, $3,00.

INSTRUCTORS.

Benj. M. Ludden, Principal.

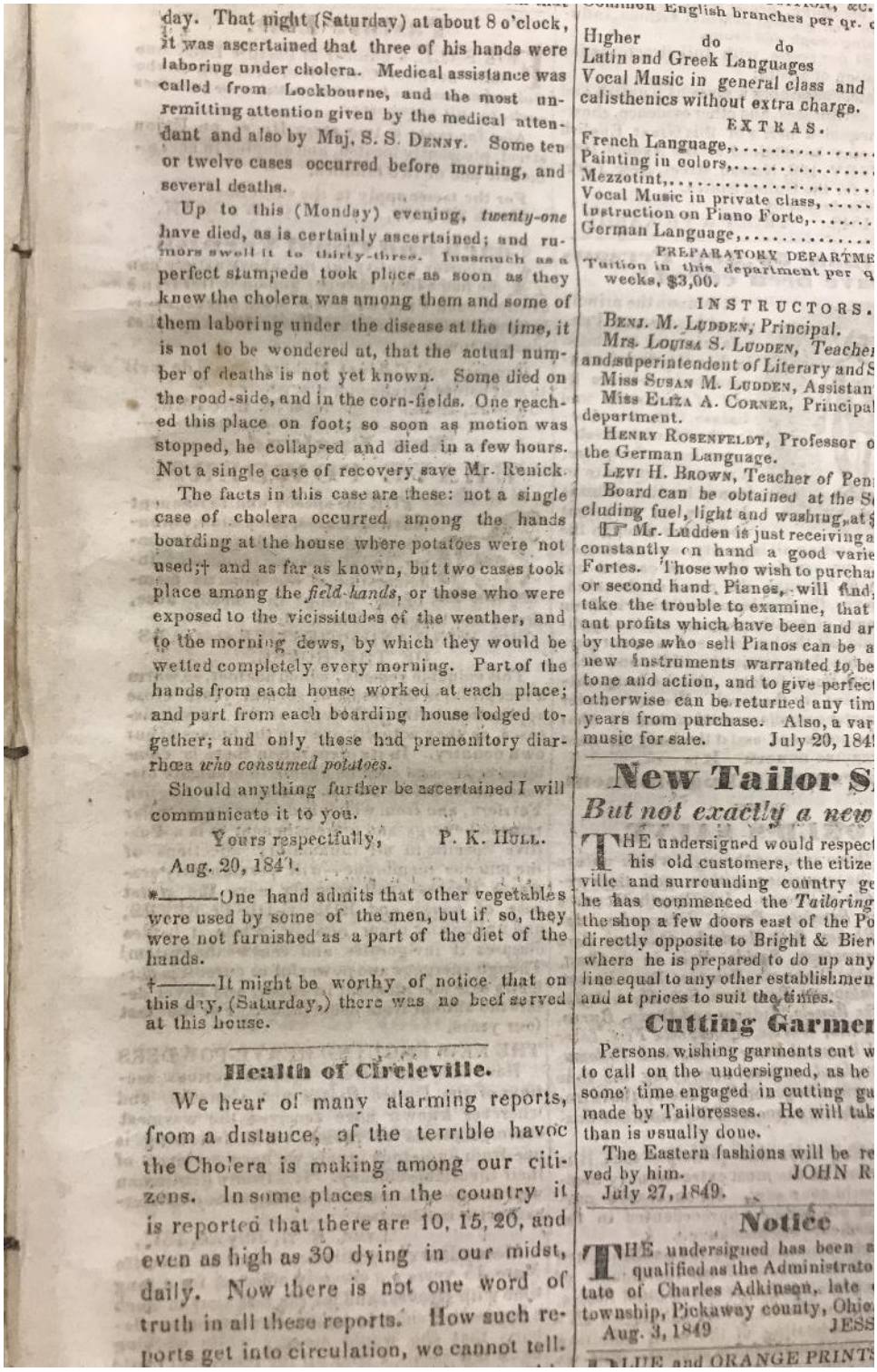
Mrs. Louisa S. Ludden, Teacher of Piano and Superintendent of Literary and Social Department.

Miss Susan M. Ludden, Assistant Teacher.

Miss Eliza A. Corner, Principal of Primary department.

Professor of Mu

Figure A2. "Dreadful Mortality – Cholera Near Lockbourne" (Case 1849b).
Figure Note: Part 2 of 3 of "Dreadful Mortality" article



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Up to this (Monday) evening, *twenty-one* have died, as is certainly ascertained; and rumors swell it to thirty-three. Inasmuch as a perfect stampede took place as soon as they knew the cholera was among them and some of them laboring under the disease at the time, it is not to be wondered at, that the actual number of deaths is not yet known. Some died on the road-side, and in the corn-fields. One reached this place on foot; so soon as motion was stopped, he collapsed and died in a few hours. Not a single case of recovery save Mr. Renick.

The facts in this case are these: not a single case of cholera occurred among the hands boarding at the house where potatoes were not used;† and as far as known, but two cases took place among the *field-hands*, or those who were exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather, and to the morning dews, by which they would be wetted completely every morning. Part of the hands from each house worked at each place; and part from each boarding house lodged together; and only those had premonitory diarrhœa *who consumed potatoes*.

Should anything further be ascertained I will communicate it to you.

Yours respectfully, P. K. Hull.

Aug. 20, 1849.

*———One hand admits that other vegetables were used by some of the men, but if so, they were not furnished as a part of the diet of the hands.

†———It might be worthy of notice that on this day, (Saturday,) there was no beef served at this house.

Health of Circleville.

We hear of many alarming reports, from a distance, of the terrible havoc the Cholera is making among our citizens. In some places in the country it is reported that there are 10, 15, 20, and even as high as 30 dying in our midst, daily. Now there is not one word of truth in all these reports. How such reports get into circulation, we cannot tell.

English branches per qr.

Higher do do
Latin and Greek Languages
Vocal Music in general class and
calisthenics without extra charge.

EXTRAS.

French Language,.....
Painting in colors,.....
Mezzotint,.....
Vocal Music in private class, ...
Instruction on Piano Forte,.....
German Language,.....

PREPARATORY DEPARTME
Tuition in this department per q
weeks, $3,00.

INSTRUCTORS.

Benj. M. Ludden, Principal.
Mrs. Louisa S. Ludden, Teache
and superintendent of Literary and S
Miss Susan M. Ludden, Assistan
Miss Eliza A. Corner, Principal
department.
Henry Rosenfeldt, Professor o
the German Language.
Levi H. Brown, Teacher of Pen
Board can be obtained at the S
cluding fuel, light and washing, at $
☞ Mr. Ludden is just receiving a
constantly on hand a good varie
Fortes. Those who wish to purcha
or second hand Pianes, will find
take the trouble to examine, that
ant profits which have been and ar
by those who sell Pianos can be a
new instruments warranted to be
tone and action, and to give perfect
otherwise can be returned any tim
years from purchase. Also, a var
music for sale. July 20, 184

New Tailor S

But not exactly a new

THE undersigned would respect
his old customers, the citize
ville and surrounding country ge
he has commenced the *Tailoring*
the shop a few doors east of the Po
directly opposite to Bright & Bier
where he is prepared to do up any
line equal to any other establishmen
and at prices to suit the times.

Cutting Garmen

Persons wishing garments cut w
to call on the undersigned, as he
some time engaged in cutting ga
made by Tailoresses. He will tak
than is usually done.

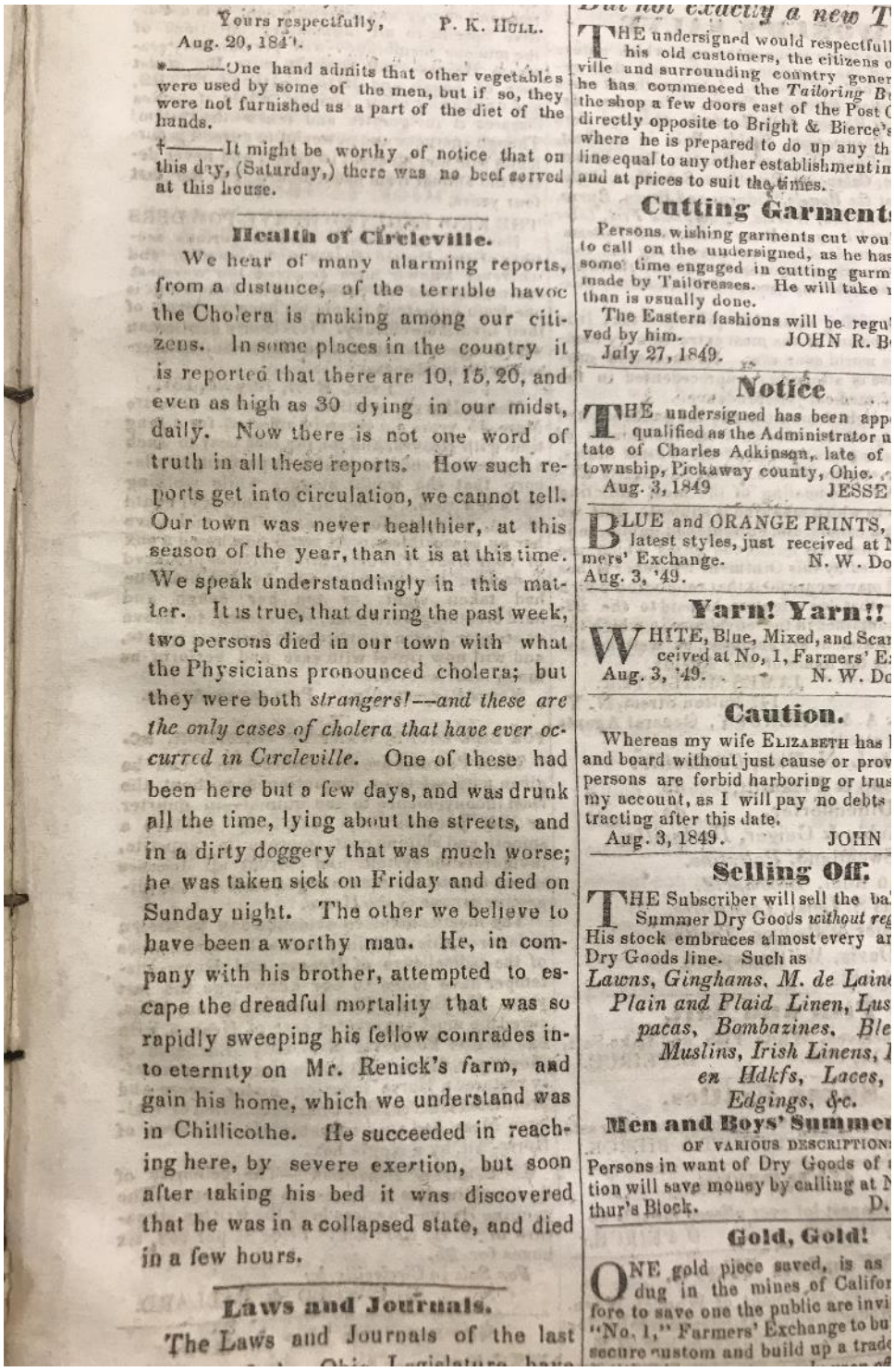
The Eastern fashions will be re
ved by him. JOHN R
July 27, 1849.

Notice

THE undersigned has been a
qualified as the Administrato
tate of Charles Adkinson, late
township, Pickaway county, Ohio
Aug. 3, 1849 JESS

BLUE and ORANGE PRINTS

Figure A3. "Dreadful Mortality – Cholera Near Lockbourne" (Case 1849b).
Figure Note: Part 3 of 3 of "Dreadful Mortality" article



Yours respectfully, P. K. Hull.
Aug. 20, 1849.

*——One hand admits that other vegetables were used by some of the men, but if so, they were not furnished as a part of the diet of the hands.

†——It might be worthy of notice that on this day, (Saturday,) there was no beef served at this house.

Health of Circleville.

We hear of many alarming reports, from a distance, of the terrible havoc the Cholera is making among our citizens. In some places in the country it is reported that there are 10, 15, 20, and even as high as 30 dying in our midst, daily. Now there is not one word of truth in all these reports. How such reports get into circulation, we cannot tell. Our town was never healthier, at this season of the year, than it is at this time. We speak understandingly in this matter. It is true, that during the past week, two persons died in our town with what the Physicians pronounced cholera; but they were both *strangers!—and these are the only cases of cholera that have ever occurred in Circleville.* One of these had been here but a few days, and was drunk all the time, lying about the streets, and in a dirty doggery that was much worse; he was taken sick on Friday and died on Sunday night. The other we believe to have been a worthy man. He, in company with his brother, attempted to escape the dreadful mortality that was so rapidly sweeping his fellow comrades into eternity on Mr. Renick's farm, and gain his home, which we understand was in Chillicothe. He succeeded in reaching here, by severe exertion, but soon after taking his bed it was discovered that he was in a collapsed state, and died in a few hours.

Laws and Journals.

The Laws and Journals of the last

But not exactly a new T

THE undersigned would respectfull his old customers, the citizens o ville and surrounding country gener he has commenced the *Tailoring B* the shop a few doors east of the Post directly opposite to Bright & Bierce's where he is prepared to do up any th line equal to any other establishment in and at prices to suit the times.

Cutting Garment

Persons wishing garments cut wou to call on the undersigned, as he has some time engaged in cutting garm made by Tailoresses. He will take than is usually done.

The Eastern fashions will be regu ved by him. JOHN R. B
July 27, 1849.

Notice

THE undersigned has been app qualified as the Administrator u tate of Charles Adkinson, late of township, Pickaway county, Ohio.
Aug. 3, 1849 JESSE

BLUE and ORANGE PRINTS, latest styles, just received at N mers' Exchange. N. W. Do
Aug. 3, '49.

Yarn! Yarn!!

WHITE, Blue, Mixed, and Scar ceived at No, 1, Farmers' E
Aug. 3, '49. N. W. Do

Caution.

Whereas my wife Elizabeth has and board without just cause or prov persons are forbid harboring or trus my account, as I will pay no debts tracting after this date.
Aug. 3, 1849. JOHN

Selling Off.

THE Subscriber will sell the ba Summer Dry Goods *without reg* His stock embraces almost every ar Dry Goods line. Such as
Lawns, Ginghams, M. de Lain Plain and Plaid Linen, Lus pacas, Bombazines, Ble Muslins, Irish Linens, en Hdkfs, Laces, Edgings, &c.
Men and Boys' Summe
OF VARIOUS DESCRIPTION
Persons in want of Dry Goods of tion will save money by calling at thur's Block. D.

Gold, Gold!

ONE gold piece saved, is as dug in the mines of Califor fore to save one the public are invi "No. 1," Farmers' Exchange to bu secure custom and build up a trad

Figure A4. "Health of Circleville" (Case 1849a)