

## HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

### MT. MORIAH CEMETERY 1878 -- 1938

The historical overview of Mt. Moriah Cemetery is compiled from primary and secondary resources, including burial records, meeting minutes of the Deadwood Cemetery Association, contemporary maps, business receipts, newspapers, popular articles and books, cemetery survey records, and various scholarly reports. The overview is not intended to be a complete history of Mount Moriah, but rather a record of its development, highlighted with events that affected its historical appearance. The full texts of relevant meeting minutes, newspaper articles, and other documents appear in appendix A, "A Development Chronology of Mount Moriah Cemetery." Sources used in the preparation of the historical overview, the chronology, and the appendices are listed in the bibliography.

Mount Moriah Cemetery was established as Deadwood's public cemetery soon after the town's settlement. Prior to an authority being established to oversee and regulate municipal responsibilities such as cemeteries, burials were made at a relatively flat area of Whitewood Gulch, in an area now known as Ingleside. The earlier burying ground is sometimes referred to in the local literature as "Ingleside Cemetery," although no documents located during this study indicate that this was ever its actual name.

The Lawrence County Board of Commissioners determined in October 1877 that a public cemetery was necessary and named L.F. Fetterman as the sexton. In April 1878, when the site for the cemetery was selected, the steeply sloped land was cleared and an access road was graded. In July the cemetery was given the name "Mt. Moriah" (Mt. Moriah Cemetery files, Deadwood Historic Preservation Commission) and L. F. Fetterman was appointed as the ground's sexton (*Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:1*).

An article in the June 1, 1878 edition of the *Black Hills Daily Times* states that "The first mound in the new cemetery covers the mortal remains of James DeLong, the miner who was killed in the Pecacho tunnel." With regard to Deadwood's relatively large population of Chinese, the first burial from that community was also in 1878. The deceased was apparently Yung Set, whose funeral, held on September 2, 1878, attracted a large crowd of the town's "white" residents. Their curiosity led them to follow Yung Set's remains to Mt. Moriah, where they continued to gape as the burial ceremony proceeded (02 Sep 1878, *Black Hills Daily Times*; Rezatto 1989:122-23).

Within a year of establishing Mt. Moriah, the county commissioners determined that a superintendent was necessary to administer its operation. B. P. Smith was appointed the cemetery's first superintendent on February 24, 1879. His duties included keeping the record of all Deaths (with the date and cause), issuing orders for burial, and verifying death certificates (*Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:1*).

Sexton Fetterman was dismissed from his position on April 10, 1879, charged with neglect of duty and drunkenness, by Superintendent Smith. A.J. Austin was appointed in his place (*Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:1). Sexton Fetterman's neglect of duty might account for the incomplete list of early burials for Mt. Moriah. However, a story in the January 6, 1879 issue of the *Black Hills Daily Times* gives some indication of the rough demands of the sexton's job at the time. While the article does not identify Mr. Fetterman by name, chances are his duties required that he be one of the "couple of men" discussed:

A German who died and was buried in the old cemetery on the hills [present-day Ingleside] two years ago was disinterred, boiled down to his bones and sent back to friends in the old country. The job of reducing him was performed by a couple of men inexperienced by that kind of business, and the trouble they had doing the work is fearful to relate. They consumed an even gallon of whiskey before they got through.

Other than the record of burials for Mt. Moriah, information about the cemetery over the next few years is sparse. During 1880 and 1881 a number of remains were removed from the Whitewood Gulch cemetery and reinterred at Mt. Moriah. There was an effort to clean up and reestablish some order in the landscape of the first cemetery. A story in the April 23, 1880 issue of the *Black Hills Daily Times* says that a reporter visited the site and noted that "the unsightly piles of manure have been removed" but that the wood "stakes and boards" that mark many of the graves had been obliterated by "time and the elements." The reporter also stated that an Italian marble "footstone is gone -- stolen by some vandal," and asserted that the marker was "taken before the fire [1879] and "used in the Empire bakery to roll candy on." Whether or not this was a true assertion is uncertain, but the legend has persisted to the present day. The clean-up of the Ingleside area was probably a priority for other reasons than simply taking decent care of the remains of former citizens. Author and urban land use expert, John Reps, writes that four years after its founding, Deadwood was socially (and of course, economically) stratified. By 1880 the Ingleside area was "mostly occupied by neat and tasty residences. It is one of the best parts of town" (Reps 1979:516).

The *Daily Times* continued to monitor the condition of the old cemetery, and in late autumn of 1881 described a trip "around its melancholy confines, now utterly forlorn and desolate," noting that "many bodies have been removed to Mount Moriah, but still quite a few are within the old enclosure" (21 Nov 1881, *Black Hills Daily Times*).

In September 1883, the minister of the Methodist Church determined that the body of the Rev. Henry Weston Smith, believed to have been murdered by Indians in 1876, should be moved from the old cemetery to a plot in Mt. Moriah. According to a report from the *Daily Times*, Minister Cummings and a local undertaker, Mr. Henry Robinson, opened eleven graves ("by a continued search and perseverance that overcomes all obstacles") before finding the one which held the remains of Rev. Smith. The grave was apparently identified because Rev. Smith had been buried immediately adjacent to Charles Mason, who had been murdered the same day. The Rev. Mr. Smith and Mr. Mason were both disinterred and reburied at Mt. Moriah on September 25th; their coffins were placed near the cemetery boundary. Four Methodist ministers participated in the ceremony (*Black Hills Daily Times*,

Rezatto 1989:82-83) for the man who had ministered to the mining camps only a few months prior to his violent death in 1876. (The Rev. Mr. Smith did not rest in peace -- his remains were again moved in 1891 and placed at a center section of the cemetery, which was a more prominent location for the monument that had been designed to honor him).

By 1886 citizens of Deadwood were deploring the condition of Mt. Moriah. An article in the July 21st issue of the *Black Hills Daily Times* announced that the cemetery was in a "state of neglect and ruin. In laying out lots no thought was given to such matters as streets. So crowded are the grounds that it is impossible to drive through them without being compelled to go over numberless graves. The one road of which the place boasts is so badly washed out as to make it extremely dangerous for one to venture there with a team." The article also describes the headboard at "Wild Bill" Hickok's grave (whose remains were removed to Mt. Moriah), with "one side of the slab has been sadly hacked and disfigured."

The newspaper's description of the cemetery suggests that there had been little, if any, planning for the orderly spatial distribution of graves when the land was originally cleared. The formal layout of the cemetery was probably begun sometime after 1887, when the Masonic fraternal organization in Deadwood purchased "an acre and a half of ground between Mount Moriah and the cliff, for cemetery purposes" (05 Aug 1887 *Black Hills Daily Times*). The Masons continued to influence the layout and plantings of Mt. Moriah after the Deadwood Cemetery Association was formed in 1892, and the results of their efforts can still be seen in the cemetery.

Despite the lack of roads and crowded layout of grave plots, by the late 1880s there were a number of grave markers in the cemetery which reflected the socio-economic status of those buried at Mt. Moriah. Most of these were obtained from monument companies in the eastern states or from larger cities in Nebraska and Wyoming. Occasionally, the arrival of a marker caused comment by the local press. In 1889 Mrs. Roy ordered a "handsome marble" shaft, from a company in Chicago, to mark the grave of her husband, Samuel, and in that same year, the first white bronze marker in the cemetery was placed for Thomas and Ella Carter, children who had died the previous year.

Although white bronze markers are located in cemeteries in nearby Lead and Spearfish (established at about the same time as Mt. Moriah), a newspaper report states that the Carter "shaft is something entirely new to this locality," indicating that it may have been a "trend-setter" that prompted additional orders for white bronze markers. The marker, ordered from the Western White Bronze Company in Des Moines, Iowa, was described as "sides [are] three-quarters of an inch thick, and ornamented with drapery, emblems and inscriptions. It is five feet, six inches in height, weighs 331 pounds and cost \$130 . . ." (20 Jul 1889 *Black Hills Daily Times*).

Although public interest in Mt. Moriah is indicated by the placement of grand markers and the memorialization of the local heroes "Preacher" Smith and "Wild Bill" Hickok, by 1892 the cemetery required a formal organization, separate from the county commission, to administer the site. On December 10th a meeting was held to form the Deadwood Cemetery Association, whose purpose was "to own, manage and conduct a cemetery or cemeteries in and adjacent to the city of Deadwood . . . as a place or places for the burial of the dead." The Association was to exist for fifty years, with business conducted by a five member Board of Trustees. Any person owning a lot in a cemetery belonging to the Association was automatically a member, and the necessary operating funds were to be

raised by voluntary contributions, the sale of lots, gifts, bequests, etc. The first board members for the organization were Porter Warner, Frank L. Brown, Lucien W. Stillwell, H.B. Wardman, and Byron P. Dague. An executive committee was given authority for "general supervision of the cemetery grounds, the laying out and improvement of streets, driveways, repairs, etc. and to fix the price of lots and supervise the sale: (*Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:3-4, 7-8*).

On January 5, 1893, the Board of Education, which owned the property where the cemetery was located, issued a deed to the Deadwood Cemetery Association that included "the present cemetery [placing removal of bodies to Mt. Moriah under authority of the Association] and grounds adjacent there to the West and extending to the Bluffs all on Mount Moriah." At the Association's meeting the following day, January 6th, the Executive Committee determined that it would make a settlement with B.P. Smith (who had been the Cemetery Superintendent since 1879) and transfer all monies associated with the cemetery, as well as existing plats and records of burials and lot sales, to the newly-formed organization. From that time, persons who desired to purchase lots at Mt. Moriah were to conduct their transactions with the secretary of the Association, who would issue deeds for the plots. At that time, lots were sold for 12.5 cents a square foot, but single grave spaces sold for \$5.00 each (06 Jan 1893 *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association: 10-11*).

During the spring of 1893, Henry Robinson and his son, who were among the undertakers doing business in the city, built a stone wall, with a cast iron fence attached to the top, around the Hickok grave plot. The money was raised through public subscription with a program presented by "poet-scout" Capt. Jack Crawford, who the *Daily Times* described as "a firm friend of Bill's" (May 1893 *Black Hills Daily Times* In Rezatto, 1989:31).

Further "sprucing up" occurred over the summer as the result of the secretary of the Association declaring that the cemetery's "fence and gate was in very poor condition." A new gate, which would cost \$15, was immediately ordered from the W. D. Johnson company. The Secretary was also authorized "to negotiate for materials to build a fence around the cemetery (20 Jul 1893, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:12*). The meeting minutes of the Association do not give details about the fence built in 1893-94. (A photograph taken in November 1891 at the new gravesite of Rev. Henry Weston Smith shows a horizontal board fence in at least a part of the cemetery) (Centennial Archives, Deadwood Public Library).

During the summer of 1893 the present-day layout of the cemetery was affected when Deadwood's Jewish community purchased an area of Mt. Moriah. The Cemetery Association entered "into an agreement with the Hebrew society to sell them a parcel of Ground now used by them for a burial plot for the sum of Two Hundred Dollars" (20 Jul 1893, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association: 12*).

At its March 13, 1894 meeting, the Cemetery Association made further efforts to beautify Mt. Moriah. Standards for setting gravemarkers were determined to "prevent the unsightly appearance . . . occasioned by improperly set and leaning Tombstones." It was determined that unless a foundation of "stone, stone masonry, or concrete reaching below the frost line" was first in place, "no monument or headstone, whether of stone or metal" was to be erected in the cemetery. Improvements at the cemetery proceeded during the spring; Henry Robinson and his son were paid \$55 for placing fencing at the site, as well as another \$5 for "clearing the cemetery of rubbish" (13 Mar and 20 Jun 1894 *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:14-16*).

A number of other decisions affecting Mt. Moriah were also made in 1894 by the Association trustees. They decided that Lawrence County should pay, to the Association, \$5.00 for each pauper who was buried at the cemetery; that a "disputed line of the fence" on the northern side of the ground should be settled, that maps of both the new and old parts of the site should be drawn, and that the "making [of] such streets & roads as may [be] decent and necessary" would begin (20 Jun 1894, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*: 15-16).

At the first 1895 meeting of the Cemetery Association, the trustees voted to "present [the] county with a bill for burying the county paupers." This met with immediate opposition from the Lawrence County commissioners, who made "claims upon the title of the grounds." The Association trustees decided that an agreement should be reached whereby the county would have a potter's field, but also contribute their share of expenses to maintain the cemetery in a good condition. The newspaper reported the dispute between the two entities:

The matter at lease between Lawrence county and the Deadwood Cemetery Association was adjusted . . . the argument being that the board of county commissioners deed to the association all their rights, title and interest in and to any and all lands held by the latter, and the association deed back to Lawrence county certain tracts or parcels of land within the cemetery enclosure for the burial of paupers . . . As an explanation to the above, we will state that two years ago when the Deadwood Cemetery Association was incorporated, the school board . . . deeded to the latter the old cemetery grounds, together with new land adjoining. The county commissioners claimed that inasmuch as Lawrence county in early years took possession of and still hold the ground . . . that they were the lawful owners, and hence could bury their dead county poor when and where they chose. This latter was not conceded by the association, but to stop all controversy . . . it was deemed best to compromise.

The compromise apparently worked. In addition to the settlement of where remains of paupers could be buried, Lawrence county agreed to pay the Cemetery Association an annual fee of \$20 "as their share toward Keeping the Cemetery Ground fenced in good condition: (08 Jan, 16 Jan and 18 Jan, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:17-18; unidentified, undated newspaper clipping on page 18 of the *Record Book*).

In 1895 an official map of Mt. Moriah was completed by P. L. Rogers. This document included "section A" of the site (Mt. Moriah Cemetery files, Deadwood Historic Preservation Commission). Undertaker Henry Robinson was appointed as superintendent and sexton of the cemetery for the year (16 Jan 1895, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:17). During the summer Mr. Robinson moved at least 35 bodies from the old cemetery located at Taylor Street to their final resting places at Mt. Moriah. The July 5, 1895 issue of the *Black Hills Daily Times* noted that "All records are lost and there is no identification. One of the bodies was buried in a buffalo robe, one in a metallic casket, the others in ordinary coffins." The article speculated that while it appeared there were at least ten additional bodies to be removed, "in all likelihood more [remains] will be found as work progresses." At this time, Mr. Robinson also made efforts to improve the general appearance of Mt. Moriah's grounds by planting blue grass and clover to cover the steep slopes (30 Jul 1897, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

At the 1896 annual meeting of the Deadwood Cemetery Association, the cemetery superintendent was given additional authority. These responsibilities were probably assigned in an effort to assure that the graves in Mt. Moriah were properly kept and the grounds well-maintained. Superintendent Robinson was given "oversight of the Lots: and was "authorized to dig all graves . . . and shall keep newly sunken graves filled up & that dirt taken from newly made graves shall be cleaned up & placed in a proper manner so as to give the lots a smooth & sightly appearance." The standards for depth of graves were determined, the regulations stating that "the depth of an adult grave shall not be less than 5 ft. and of a child not less than 4 feet" (16 Jan 1896, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:19).

Eighteen ninety-seven was an important year for expansion and improvement at Mt. Moriah. At their annual meeting, the Association trustees agreed to reserve the twenty-six unoccupied 5' x 10' lots adjoining the existing Masonic burying ground for the future use of that organization (12 Jan 1897, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:20). The addition of this area to the Mason's ground would greatly influence the layout of Mt. Moriah. Superintendent Henry Robinson continued his efforts to improve the appearance of the grounds, cutting back the lush growth of grass and clover he had planted in 1895. A citizens' effort was led by Lizzie Ellis to insure a supply of water at the cemetery so that ornamental plantings at the grave plots could be cared for. Money was raised from the public through various events sponsored primarily by women's groups. In August, both dinner and supper were served at the Kierner building on Main Street as part of the fund raising effort. The meals were organized by Mrs. Freeman Knowles and Mrs. F. D. Smith, the wives of trustees for the Cemetery Association (18 Aug 1897, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

By August of 1897 the water pumping plant for the cemetery was in place. Miss Ellis (who announced that her efforts had collected \$792 for the system) reported that the water tank itself was "made of steel and has a capacity of 100 barrels. It is set upon a high point above the Jewish ground and will force water to all points of the cemetery." A final test of the operating system was conducted on September 5th. *The Daily Pioneer-Times* reported that the test was successful and the gasoline engine which powered the pump "is of three and one-half actual horse power of the latest type, is perfectly automatic and self acting . . . one pint of gasoline would run it for four hours with the pump running full speed, forcing upwards of eleven gallons of water per minute through 1,100 feet of pipe, with a vertical raise of 230 feet . . . The plant is a model of neatness and is so simple to operate that a child could attend to it . . ." (22 Aug and 05 Sep, 1897, *The Daily Pioneer Times*; 11 Jan 1898, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*).

At the beginning of 1898 Mt. Moriah was indirectly affected by another gold strike. At Superintendent Henry Robinson's request, the trustees of the Cemetery Association released him from his position because he "was want to leave for Klondike." Charles H. Robinson, Henry's son, was appointed to the position. He was undoubtedly familiar with the requirements of the job, as various records indicate he often worked with his father at Mt. Moriah (03 Jan 1898, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:23).

At the same 1898 meeting, the Association trustees again issued regulations in an attempt to properly administer the cemetery and assure that the burying ground was kept in good order. They determined that the new Superintendent was to "notify lot owners having a tumble down fence around their lots, to renew the same or they would be moved off &

destroyed." This announcement probably applied primarily to the wood paling enclosures around grave plots, although cast iron fencing may also have been in disrepair.

In addition, it was noted by the trustees that "an undertaker using the grounds for burials" needed to be instructed that "each undertaker should place a simple, neat painted head board at the head of each grave he had charge of at time of interment." While this entry in the annual meeting minutes suggests that one of the town's undertakers was not properly marking graves, it is interesting to note that undertakers were evidently responsible for erecting a head board, rather than this being the sole responsibility of the family or friend(s) of the deceased. However, it is not clear whether the board was a temporary or permanent marker (11 Jan 1898, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:22-23*).

In the spring of 1898, work at the old cemetery in Whitewood Gulch uncovered additional remains. A newspaper reporter's 1895 prediction that, "more [bodies] will be found as work progresses," proved true. The bones, found when lots were being graded (presumably for buildings), caused "not a little anger and indignation" from the "old-timers in the city." However, an article in the local newspaper declared that the work had really not disturbed the bones and that if further work did interfere with the remains, "Undertaker Robinson was engaged to look after and transfer them to the burial ground on Mount Moriah" (12 May 1898, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*). It is uncertain from the extant newspaper articles whether any remains were actually moved to Mt. Moriah during this time.

During this same spring, some remains may have been moved from the potter's field section in Mt. Moriah and laid in graves in other areas of the cemetery. This action was contemplated because an area that contained burials was given to Lawrence county in 1895 for a potter's field. When paupers were then buried in the section there was the appearance that those previously buried there were also paupers. "An attempt will be made at once to have the bodies transferred, as the friends of some of those buried in the Potter's Field feel that they are entitled to a resting place to which less odium is attached, when graves and lots have been paid for" (01 Jun 1898, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

In 1900 notice was again given to undertaker R. W. Lewis that he was required to place "simple white headboards to new made graves," at Mt. Moriah. He was told that the penalty for noncompliance of the rule would result in the "exclusion of the ground" in the future (23 Jan 1900, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*). This notice for the requirement of headboards indicates that wood was still commonly used to mark graves at Mt. Moriah, even though large granite and white bronze monuments were being placed at the same time (20 May 1899, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*). On a Sunday night in May, unknown persons upset a number of gravemarkers at Mt. Moriah. This is the first known report of vandalism at the cemetery (other than that done to the statues of Wild Bill and Rev. Smith by relic hunting sight-seers).

In 1901 the cemetery was further expanded when the executive committee of the Association ordered that a ten foot wide strip of ground "on the north side of Jabaz [sic] st. at East from Jerusalem street" be divided into 5' x 8' lots. In addition, the Deadwood Hose Company traded a parcel of land they had previously acquired (for the burial of the company's firemen) for another which they believed to be more favorable (Mt. Moriah Cemetery files, *Deadwood Historical Preservation Commission*).

During the summer of 1901, souvenir hunters seriously damaged the grave-side statue of Bill Hickok. The August 23, 1901 issue of the *Daily Pioneer-Times* reported that,

"Vandals have finally ruined the famous statue of Wild Bill that has for years marked his resting place in Mount Moriah cemetery. Within the last few days some one has broken the head from the trunk, and it lies on the ground at the foot of the monument, hopelessly detached." The article stated that chipping away of the statue had been occurring for a number of years, with the result that "most of the mustache, portions of the long hair, bits of the shoulders and even some of the nose had been removed, defacing the figure until it was scarcely recognizable and bore little resemblance to what it was originally."

In 1902 Henry Robinson was again the superintendent for Mt. Moriah, apparently having returned from the Klondike. The first efforts to landscape Mt. Moriah were recorded in the minutes of the Cemetery Association's annual meeting. On January 14th the trustees instructed the superintendent "to procure 50 trees . . . at a cost not to exceed \$100," and to set them in the cemetery. (The species of trees to be purchased were not listed, nor has any other documentation been discovered which provides this information). At this same meeting, the Superintendent was authorized "to prepare a Record Book" that identified the "occupied and unoccupied [grave] lots of the Cemetery . . . by sections & lot numbers" (14 Jan 1902, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:30).

Another body was discovered at the old cemetery in early March, 1903. Workmen, excavating a bank near the fourth ward schoolhouse, exposed a "rough" coffin, "which fell to pieces the moment that it was touched for the purpose of removing it, scattering its contents on the ground." The remains could not be identified, but were apparently those of "a full grown man, and interment must have taken place in the earliest days of the site." The scattered bones were gathered together, "and kindly hands deposited them once again in consecrated ground on Mount Moriah" (03 Mar 1902, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

At the 1903 annual meeting of the Cemetery Association, the trustees decided that the price of grave lots at Mt. Moriah would be raised to 15 cents a square foot, which increased the price only slightly over the 12.5 cents that had been charged since 1892. Henry Robinson was again appointed supervisor of the cemetery (13 Jan 1903, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:31).

As the years passed, the Cemetery Association met less often; usually, the only meetings recorded in the *Record Book* were the annual meetings held in January of each year. At the 1904 annual meeting of the trustees, Mr. W. H. Moore, on behalf of the fire department, requested a deed for ground in the cemetery; specifically, lot number 3 of Section 10. The trustees' decision on this request is not recorded. Other actions taken by the board at this meeting were to purchase three dozen box elder and maple trees for setting out in the cemetery, and "to have the headboards at the graves of strangers in the Potter's Field, that have become rather worn, repainted and renumbered to restore legibility of the markers" (12 Jan 1904, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:32-33).

An article in the January 14th issue of the *Daily Pioneer-Times* gave a far more detailed account of the meeting than is recorded in the 1904 minutes:

**Our Cemetery.** The Cemetery association's annual meeting Tuesday evening of this week was unusually well attended . . . The report of the treasurer showed that 42 lots had been sold the past year for \$405, the larger part of which was spent upon repairs of the streets of the grounds, repair of the fences, keeping the dirt of

new made graves and water worn ways leveled properly, the grass and weeds trimmed . . . and the pump of the water power running when necessary. Complaint is often made of boys tampering with the faucets at the cemetery. They turn on the water and leave the faucets open to waste the water in the tank . . . .

The article indicated that the appearance of Mount Moriah continued to improve, with both the Cemetery Association and private lot owners adding to its beauty and orderliness. Landscaping efforts continued, although the pine bark beetle had infested many of the native trees:

The cemetery is in better appearance than ever before and many lot owners have added materially the past year or two to the beauty of the place by a better class of monuments and by placing neat stone work around their lots. It is a high and dry spot on which to raise tame grass and flowers and yet notwithstanding this, much has been done by way of success in this particularly.

It has been discovered that the native pine trees are many of them infested with the destroying insects that burrow under the bark and so the executive committee was authorized to apply any saving remedy that it might learn had been successful and to purchase three dozen box elder and maple trees to set in the cemetery this coming spring . . . .

In 1905 the Cemetery Association continued its landscaping efforts by purchasing four dozen shade trees for Mt. Moriah. The trees set out the previous year were doing well; Superintendent Robinson reported that thirty-two had survived (24 Jan 1905, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:34; 25 Jan 1905, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

In 1908, Lee Tang, representing Deadwood's Chinese community, asked the Cemetery Association for permission to build a "bee-hive shaped oven" at the cemetery "for purposes of burning papers &c in their religious ceremonies." This request was granted by the trustees (20 Jan 1908, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:36).

Landscaping efforts for Mt. Moriah were continued in 1909, when the Association ordered fifty box elder and Carolina poplar trees from a nursery in Colorado. However, the report for the year (given in January 1910) reported that 150 trees had been planted in 1909, although some of them did not survive the summer's drought. The deteriorated headboards at the potter's fields were replaced or repainted, with the trustees noting that "especially every spring . . . names or numbers" became "dim and illegible by age." In July, Superintendent Robinson built "a cement wall around the lot" of Rev. Smith's grave with funds provided by local ministers. At the end of July, Deadwood's citizens were amused by the ascent of two automobiles up Mt. Moriah's steep slope to the Brown Rocks area (19 Jan 1909, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:37; 21 Jul 1909, 31 Jul 1909 and 19 Jan 1910, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

The Association's trustees planned a number of improvements at Mt. Moriah in 1910, including the laying out of some new avenues and construction of "good concrete culverts under the old and new avenues . . . to insure dry highways through the property in bad weather." It was decided to ask lot owners to help with the beautification of the grounds, including cutting grass on their private grave plots. Plans were made to construct a receiving vault of ornamental concrete blocks, but this plan apparently never came to fruition. The trustees also discussed the need for a new access road, but decided "that there

is no practical method possible that would make the grade less than over the present route, but it was determined that this [the present] road could be greatly improved, so that the hauling would be less difficult in bad weather." (The men decided they would ask the city to improve Lincoln Avenue and the Association would improve the road to the cemetery). Also in 1910 the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company solicited funds to build a monument to Dr. Rogers, a physician and member of the company (25 May, 22 Sep, and 30 Sep, 1910, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

In 1911 the Association trustees were concerned about how much longer burial space would be available at the cemetery. They ordered the superintendent to determine if "any lots 20 years old by purchase, that are occupied by only one body & much waste room left unoccupied" could be utilized when Mt. Moriah was crowded for available grave spaces. After his survey, Superintendent Robinson decided that the "unsold ground . . . would probably not last more than 8 years . . ." Also that year, the Black Hills Pioneer Society purchased space "for burial of those who have no relatives to lay them away." The four lots were purchased at half the standard rate charged for lots (10 Jan 1911, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:38, 40). The meeting minutes of the Black Hills Pioneer Society reveal that the organization had bought "sixteen lots on Mount Moriah, for the very low price of \$40" (17 Jan 1911, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

During the spring and summer of 1911 a number of improvements were made to Mt. Moriah. These included the grading of the new firemen's lot and the purchase of a cast iron gate and archway for the "wagon road" entrance. The arch and gate, which displayed "Mount Moriah Cemetery" in raised letters painted white, were ordered from the E.T. Bormans Company in Detroit and cost the Association \$140. Plans were also made to vandal-proof the graves of Rev. Smith and "Wild Bill" Hickok; a cement foundation was placed under the iron fence at Hickok's grave, and the fences around both graves were repaired. A pumping plant, tank and faucets were built, at the cost of \$900, to augment or replace the water works that were installed some years earlier. In addition, the trustees decided to begin negotiation to purchase an adjoining ten acre plot belonging to the Mabbs estate so that the cemetery could expand (05 Jun 1911 and 15 Jan 1912, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:41-43). During this time period a number of large, impressive monuments were placed in Mt. Moriah. The local paper reported that a "massive monument" was set at the grave of Able Holmes. It weighed more than three tons and was inscribed with "emblems of the various Masonic orders" that Mr. Holmes had been associated with (07 June 1911, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

At their annual meeting in 1912 the Cemetery Association trustees decided that persons who had purchased grave lots prior to December 10, 1892 (when the Association was begun), would have 90 days to provide proof of lot ownership. This was to be done by showing receipts of purchase so that deeds could be issued. The trustees warned that anyone who failed to do this would have the unoccupied portion of their lot revert to the Association "to use at its option." It was also resolved that after the 15th of January deeds could not be transferred to any party except the Association (15 Jan 1912, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:42-43).

In 1913 plans were made to place headstones for twenty of Deadwood's firemen whose graves were unmarked. This effort was initiated by W. H. Moore, foreman of the Hook and Ladder Company and a trustee of the Cemetery Association. Mr. Moore stated that he wanted "to place a marble foot board at every fireman's grave, as the inscriptions on the wooden ones soon become obliterated and in many instances it is difficult to distinguish the

graves of firemen who have no relatives here to keep their graves property marked" (30 May 1912 and 14 Jan 1913, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*). The Cemetery Association trustees continued to negotiate with a representative of the Mabbs estate for the purchase of eight acres of land for an addition to Mt. Moriah (11 Feb 1913, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:41).

At the Cemetery Association's annual meeting in 1914, the Masons' application for additional ground in Mt. Moriah was approved by the Association trustees and the organization was granted "that ground now laid off . . . as a branch road of Solomon street, surrounding Section #10 from Jerusalem street to this intersection with John and Jachin streets . . ." The Lodge proposed to do a number of things to beautify and improve the new area, including building cement curbs and three- and six-foot wide cement walks, placing a monument within an area designated as 'Circle A', and planting shrubbery and spruce trees along the lot's borders (13 Jan 1914, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:45-47).

Other business transacted by the trustees at the 1914 annual meeting was the employment of Frank Peck to survey and stake the corners and angles of the grounds that had been purchased from the Mabbs estate for \$450. According to a newspaper account of the meeting, "one-third of the ground can be used, at least, to good advantage . . . it is calculated that the grounds now in use will not last over 8 or 10 years longer." In addition, the trustees ruled that lot owners could no longer build fences around the grave plots. This was done because of a desire to make the cemetery more attractive; however, the ruling did not specify whether this applied only to wood paling fences or if it included cast iron fences. The beautification program was continued with the decision to plant an additional 50 trees during the year (16 Jan 1914, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*). The appearance of the Masons' plot was enhanced when a granite monument, shaped like an altar and inscribed with the names of deceased members of the organization, was erected. The marker was obtained from Deadwood's Young & Duchene (11 Sep 1914, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*). The monument company, still operating in the city today and owned by a grandson of Mr. Duchene, is now known as Deadwood Marble and Granite Company.

The Association created a committee to work with the local Business Men's Club to develop a pamphlet "that tourists and visitors may have to carry away with them." The pamphlet was deemed important because Mt. Moriah drew a large number of visitors ("from the east") each year to view the graves of "some notable characters." It was felt that it was the Association's responsibility to "preserve a correct history of their careers" and to have something written that would "have those stories which are often garbled and incorrect put into authentic form" (13 Jan 1914, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:45-47; 16 Jan 1914, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

In 1915 an effort was begun to establish a monument in both Mt. Moriah and St. Ambrose cemeteries to honor the city's deceased firemen (12 Jan 1915, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*). At the Cemetery Association's annual meeting in January, 1916, Superintendent Robinson reported that during the spring of 1915 he set out fifty trees. He said that these all seemed to be growing well, and that there was then a total of about 110 trees that had been placed for beautification of the cemetery. Mr. Robinson stated that he had "taken no steps as yet toward opening the new section, considering it better to dispose of what we have as nearly as possible before doing anything further." He also reported that many improvements had been made on privately owned grave lots and that the efforts made by the Masonic order "does considerable toward beautifying the cemetery" (11 Jan 1916, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

At the Association's annual meeting in 1917 the trustees appointed Charles H. Robinson as cemetery superintendent and voted to raise the salary for his position "from \$2.50 to \$3.00 per day for the time he may be engaged in the Cemetery." The trustees then requested Superintendent Robinson to map part of the Potter's Field so that the Association could negotiate with Lawrence county commissioners for an exchange of land on the east side of the Field. (07 May 1917, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*). Also that year, Deadwood's Mayor Franklin "gave orders for the erection of a tall mast on Black Rocks, over-looking the city, and from the top of it the American flag will fly." The pole was to have a reflector at its base so that the flag would be illuminated at night (24 Apr 1917, *The Daily Pioneer-Times*).

In January of 1918 the Association trustees were continuing their negotiations with the county commissioners over Mt. Moriah's potter's field. An executive committee was instructed to go before the commission and "ask for an exchange of certain Lots in the Potter's Field which the Assn. would like to use for Family burial lots and give the County an equal number of lots outside the SE line and fence above the gate." It was reported that the Masons had completed the beautification project on their burial ground the previous year. Perhaps more importantly, it was recorded in the minutes for the first time that "the funds acquired by sale of lots is insufficient for the actual requirements of the expenses of late months" (17 Jan 1918, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:52-53*). This financial difficulty continued over the years and eventually resulted in the dissolution of the Association.

The following year the Association trustees proposed to secure the right of way, in conjunction with the city of Deadwood, for a new road. Apparently the men considered that the thoroughfare should run "across certain lots on the route desired," although it is not stated in the annual meeting minutes if the lots contained burials (25 Jan 1919, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:54-55*).

The Cemetery Association's annual meeting in 1921 dealt with a variety of problems. It was noted that "for the past few months, stock have been getting into the old cemetery through the broken fences and injuring many graves beyond repair." There was discussion about keeping the fences repaired and also about imposing a heavy fine on the owners of cattle or horses found within Mt. Moriah's grounds. Because of a lack of funds, the Association voted to assess \$1.00 per year to each plot owner "for the purpose of maintaining the present ground and keeping the fences repaired and other improvements." In June, the Association accepted the sum of \$1,000 under terms of the will of John Gray for the upkeep and care of graves in the plot he owned at Mt. Moriah (11 Jan 1921 and 23 June 1921, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:57-59*; 12 Jan 1921, *The Daily Pioneer Times*).

In 1922 the Cemetery Association paid Frank Peck \$68.20 for mapping the three acres of ground that comprised the third addition to Mount Moriah. The assessment was raised to \$2.00 per plot so that expenses for the maintenance of the cemetery would be covered. In 1923 the Association trustees again voted to assess plot owners \$2.00, and decided to request financial assistance from the city council for the upkeep of Mt. Moriah. The minutes from the annual cemetery association meetings during the 1920s indicate the serious financial trouble that the organization was encountering at the time. In addition to the routine maintenance of the grounds, money was needed to repair the main road within the ground, which "becomes muddy, almost impassable at times" (09 and 10 Jan 1922 and 10 and 11 Jan 1923, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association:62-64*).

Lucien W. Stillwell, who had served the Deadwood Cemetery Association as secretary-treasurer since it had been organized, resigned his position at the annual meeting in 1924. The records infer that Mr. Stillwell was not in good health. However, he did remain on the board as a trustee (15 Jan 1924, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:66).

From the mid-1920s through the early 1930s the trustees of the Cemetery Association transacted little business at their annual meetings. There is no explanation for this in the meeting minutes. In 1925 and 1926 the trustees again attempted to raise funds for cemetery upkeep by assessing the grave plot owners the annual sum of \$2.00. C. H. Robinson remained as the superintendent of Mt. Moriah. From 1926 through 1930 there was typical discussion by the trustees; "plans and suggestions for improving the cemetery . . . were discussed at length" although no details are recorded about work that may have been completed. In 1930 the trustees met in June and declared that a "sum not to exceed 600.00 be appropriated for improvement of the Cemetery" and that a "committee of two be appointed to [again] confer with the city council to ascertain if the city would assist in [the] improvement. (21 Jan 1925, 23 Jan and 09 May 1926, 14 Jan 1927, 30 Jan 1928, 01 Feb 1929, 05 Jun 1930; *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*: 67-73).

In 1930 the Association trustees were still trying to obtain funds from the city council. At a meeting sometime after their annual meeting in June, the trustees determined to meet with city commissioners to again seek an annual appropriation of \$500 for upkeep of Mt. Moriah. This attempt was apparently successful, because a notation in the margin of the *Record Book* states that this action was "approved 7/21/31" and, in 1932, the cemetery superintendent was authorized to extend water pipes to the new addition of Mt. Moriah (16 Jun 1931 and 21 Jul 1932, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:74-75).

The financial situation for the Cemetery Association remained perilous. Although no financial reports are recorded in the *Record Book*, the 1933 meeting minutes do not record any actions taken by the trustees and there is no annual meeting reported at all for 1934. Vandalism from souvenir hunters continued at the cemetery. In 1933 the statue of Rev. Smith, which was already severely damaged from persons chipping away pieces of the stone, was toppled when (allegedly) a tourist attempted to climb onto the shoulders of the statue (19 Jan 1933, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:76; Rezatto, 1989:34).

By 1935 the Association's trustees had determined that there was no longer a way they could maintain Mount Moriah in the manner that was required. At their annual meeting on May 9th they selected a committee to meet with city representatives to request that the municipality take over and maintain the cemetery. No response to this request is noted in the meeting minutes. It is believed that at some time in 1936 the White Rocks area was given to the city or to the Cemetery Association for future expansions. Also in 1936, a special meeting of the board of trustees was called in November to consider allowing Superintendent Robinson a bonus of \$150 for three months work, but the men determined "that the Association was not financially able to comply with the request." Nothing is recorded about the request made to the City Council the previous year, and there are no minutes recorded for any meetings of the Association during 1937 (20 Nov 1936, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:79).

Negotiations for ownership of Mt. Moriah apparently succeeded, for on May 20, 1938 a special meeting of the board of trustees of the Deadwood Cemetery Association "was conducted . . . to discuss the general interest for the welfare of the association and discuss

the possibility of turning the Cemetery over to the city." However, at this same time the trustees appropriated \$200 ("or whatever amount is necessary") of the Association's funds "for cleaning up and maintaining the cemetery during the summer" (20 May 1938, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:79).

In November of 1938, the board of trustees held a special meeting "to act on a Resolution authorizing the transfer of the property of the Deadwood Cemetery Association to the City of Deadwood." On December 5th, the City Council accepted the deed to the cemetery and with it, the responsibility for record keeping and routine maintenance. The Cemetery Association was then defunct and had no further authority over the property (30 Nov 1938, *Record Book of the Deadwood Cemetery Association*:80-81; Council Proceedings, No. 7, City of Deadwood, In Rezatto, 1989:36-37).