IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION OF
GEORGIA'S HISTORIC BURIAL GROUNDS

CONTEXT AND HANDBOOK

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GDOT
Georgia Department of Transportation

October 2023

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

Burial grounds are unique, yet common, cultural resources, often containing multiple layers of historic context and material to survey and interpret. Cemeteries carry emotional significance within their respective communities and can provide a depth of historic and archaeological information, yet they can contain inherent challenges when identifying and evaluating as cultural properties for Section 106 of the National Register of Historic Places. Cemeteries are often considered shared resources for both historians and archaeologists and it is important that practitioners approach them with a shared understanding. Due to the need for comprehensive guidance of this complex resource type, the Georgia Department of Transportation embarked on this initiative to create a statewide context.

This document is intended to aid Section 106 practitioners in identifying and evaluating burial grounds by providing an overall historical context that explores historic burial traditions, beliefs, cultural influences, and the funerary industry in Georgia. The document provides a narrative history on cemeteries in Georgia, creates a standard vocabulary to describe these spaces, and provides tools for Section 106 evaluations. The final document is the result of many years of research and field survey conducted by several determined professional historians and archaeologists. Our hope is that this final product aids the reader in understanding the layers of history that comprise burial grounds in Georgia and is a valuable resource for the Section 106 practitioner.

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Aerial View of the Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County

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I would rather sleep in the
southern corner of a little
country churchyard, than in
the tomb of the Capulets.
I should like, however, that
my dust should mingle with
kindred dust.[1]

– Edmund Burke (1729-97)

Colonial Park Cemetery 1900, Savannah, Chatham County. Source: Library of Congress; Detroit Photographic Co.

INTRODUCTION
CEMETERIES AS A WINDOW TO SOCIETY

The Georgia Department of Transportation (GDOT) has identified the need to create a context and handbook for the cultural resource preservation professional to aid in the identification and evaluation of the historic significance of Georgia's burial grounds for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). This context will aid GDOT and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) in fulfilling the requirements of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) by establishing a framework for determining how a Georgia cemetery may rise to a level of significance to be considered NRHP eligible. Cemeteries are a physical place where historical, emotional, spiritual, and scientific interests overlap. This makes them complicated historic resources for reasons that will be introduced below and explained throughout this handbook. While written for cultural resource professionals, this handbook may serve the additional purpose of helping anyone interested in Georgia's cemeteries understand their development, composition, and the important role they have played, and continue to contribute to, Georgia's history and culture. This context and handbook covers only postcontact period cemeteries in Georgia. Precontact American Indian burial grounds are a distinct group and should not be evaluated under the more Euro-and Afro-centric framework presented herein.

IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION OF GEORGIA'S BURIAL GROUNDS

Although we choose to mourn our dead in differing manners, all human cultures share a desire to handle death and the bodies of those who have died in what they consider to be a respectful, culturally appropriate manner. Many factors influence these choices, such as religion, politics, environment, history, and ethnicity. Each choice has the potential to provide a window into the wider values of a society or culture. Cremation and burial traditions can illuminate views of spirituality or the afterlife; they can also reflect the more down to earth concerns of economics, city planning, or adherence to expected social norms. They can highlight the importance of kin and community, or they can shine a light on how society seeks to exclude certain groups from full and equal membership. Cemeteries can provide a tangible place to examine broader cultural questions.

Starting around 1733 in Georgia, burial practices for those of European descent were rooted primarily in the Christian tradition that had held sway from the European Middle Ages through the founding of the Georgia colony. Georgia's earliest historic cemeteries reflect these practices. But inexorably, upon reaching the New World, these traditions began to change as they merged with the practices of African, Islamic, American Indian, and other cultures. They continued to adapt with the founding of a new nation after the Revolutionary War, expansion of the state of Georgia, and settlement of new towns and cities. Cultural and intellectual movements such as the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and Victorianism shaped the form, design, and monuments of cemeteries, as did the Industrial Revolution and advances in sanitation and medical science. Throughout these years, death was the provenience of one's inner circle, and most still sought what they thought was an ideal way to die, surrounded by family and loved ones. The Civil War would lead Americans down a wholly

different path. Throughout the country, hundreds of thousands died far from home, away from family and friends, bringing, for the first time, substantial numbers of strangers into the process of death and burial. The mortuary industry flourished, and a new uniquely American process for handling death changed the form and function of cemeteries across the state. Within this historic backdrop, segregation, progressivism, agrarian reform, and population migrations have left their distinctive mark upon burial landscapes.

As cemeteries are often the intersection on the physical landscape of the historic and cultural themes discussed above, it becomes clear why they can be a complicated historic resource category. This is particularly true when completing cultural resource surveys and NRHP evaluations for compliance with Section 106 of the NHPA. They are complicated for many reasons, including the following:

- Cemeteries are typically used over many decades, even centuries.
- Cemeteries change over time in their design, management, style, and contents, creating intermingled layers of historical and cultural meaning that are both literal and figurative.
- Cemeteries can potentially contain a wealth of scientific information below the surface, but in the current era, we actively avoid the disturbance of burials and cemeteries.
- Cemeteries are hallowed, sacred space, especially to the families and communities that create and use them. Thus, it is easy to confuse emotional significance with historical significance when evaluating for eligibility to the NRHP.

Adding to the complexity of the resource is the lack of scholarship and consensus on classifying and describing vernacular cemeteries, or ones that are not high style. As cultural geographer Gregory Jeane observed in 1992, "[so] little has been done toward classifying the American cemetery landscape that the process seems a labyrinth." Outside of their importance to the descendants of those interred there, the historical significance of burial grounds traditionally has been viewed through one of three different lenses: (1) as attractive and evocative landscapes full of visually compelling gravestones and monuments; (2) as significant elements of a town or city's historic landscape; or (3) as sites that contain important archaeological data potential. All of these exclude a more holistic evaluation of what a cemetery as a resource type may have the potential to tell us about our culture. There is a need for more systematic recording and comparative study, as well as a need to establish consensus on what makes a burial ground in Georgia historically significant within the framework of the NRHP.

As cemeteries pepper the landscape – everything from small family plots, to churchyards, to large municipal cemeteries – GDOT frequently encounters them in the process of building and maintaining Georgia's roads. GDOT has recognized a need to provide cultural resource professionals with the tools to place an individual cemetery within the larger context of burial places in Georgia and within the framework of the NRHP. Published in 1992, National Register Bulletin No. 41, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places*, provided the first concrete guidance for evaluating cemeteries. The bulletin discusses many important elements for considering cemetery eligibility, but tends to exclude rather than include cemeteries from the National Register, due in part to the need to separate the emotional value of cemeteries from the historical value. While this provides a good starting point, what is needed is a means of examining the NRHP eligibility of a cemetery from a uniquely Georgia perspective, one that places national trends into a state and local context.

THE LAYERING AND EVOLUTION OF CEMETERY LANDSCAPES

As cemeteries are often used for decades and even centuries, they frequently contain many layers of design styles and may have changed from one type to another over the years. The key to understanding the cemetery's evolution is to understand the layers. (Left to Right) A. Little-Terry-Strickland Cemetery, Forsyth County, began as a family cemetery and then was used by the larger community. B. Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County, was laid out in grids like many municipal cemeteries, but later had Rural Garden Cemetery design elements added. C. Ebenezer Baptist Cemetery, Lamar County, shows how modern marker infill obscures cemetery layers. D. The Goldsmith-Maddox-Johnson Cemetery, DeKalb County, exhibits extreme loss of integrity for setting and association due to modern development. E. The Macedonia Baptist Church Cemetery was bisected historically by a road and then another road was built in close proximity.
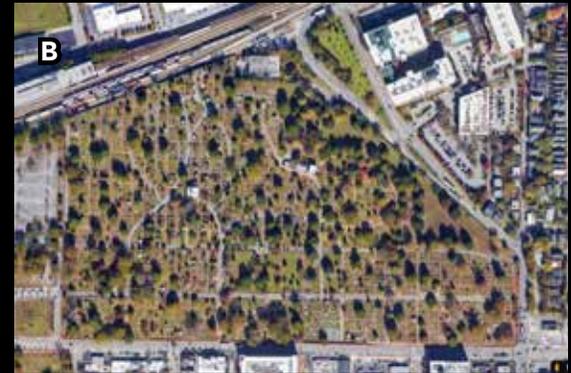
HOW TO USE THIS HANDBOOK

This handbook provides tools for assessing the historical significance of Georgia's burial grounds within a three-part structure. It starts with Section One, the narrative, which is presented both chronologically and topically and was authored by a number of individuals to widen its perspective. The goal of this narrative is to provide historic context to burials in Georgia. Next, Section Two provides a literal toolkit that furnishes: a common vocabulary for describing cemetery features; defines specific types and styles of cemeteries in Georgia; and discusses cemetery survey methods. Finally, Section Three offers a process for evaluating historical significance and determining eligibility for the NRHP. It is important to note that there are no shortcuts, it is vital to use all three sections of the handbook to reach a detailed evaluation of a cemetery for the purpose of Section 106 compliance.

SECTION 1
THE NARRATIVE PLACES THE CEMETERY WITHIN ITS HISTORIC CONTEXT

SECTION 2
CEMETERY LANDSCAPES COMMON DESCRIPTIVE VOCABULARY

FULL DESCRIPTION
OF THE CEMETERY AND ITS DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

SECTION 3
NRHP AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION INTEGRITY

NRHP EVALUATION
FOR SECTION 106 COMPLIANCE

USE THE TOOL BOX

APPENDIX A	APPENDIX B	APPENDIX C	CASE STUDIES
MARKERS, MATERIALS & SYMBOLS	MILITARY MARKERS	ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY	(END OF SECTION 3)

Section One, the narrative, forms the foundation for the document. In order to develop a system of classification and to understand burial grounds and their features, it is crucial to first understand the history of human burial in Georgia. This section provides the historic context of Georgia's burial grounds. It serves as the basis for understanding what NRHP areas of significance could be examined for a cemetery. In researching this narrative, a number of key points or important threads became visible in each chapter that are useful for understanding how burial customs and cemeteries in Georgia have changed through time. These keys are highlighted at the end of each chapter. Additionally, the summaries at the end of each chapter include a section of applying that chapter of the context. These questions encourage the surveyor to look for connections between the information presented in the chapter and the landscape of a cemetery they may be examining. They are meant as a starting point, not an endpoint or checklist. Finally, the chapter summaries provide a list of suggested readings for a deeper dive into the scholarship of the chapter. While all the references are in the endnotes, and the handbook contains a detailed annotated bibliography in Appendix C for more extensive research on all these topics; the suggested readings on the chapter summary pages highlight a few of the references that the chapter's author found particularly useful in understanding the subject.

SECTION ONE THE NARRATIVE

CHAPTER ONE — *The Good Death and the Art of Dying: From the Early Middle Ages to the 19th Century* explores how changing views on death and dying shape cemeteries.

CHAPTER TWO — *Death in Early Georgia: Precontact to 1790* features a look at Georgia's early colonial period and how new groups of people shaped Georgia's burial landscape.

CHAPTER THREE — *African Death and Burial: 1751-1860* examines how death and burial practices in Georgia were influenced by the cultures of enslaved Africans.

CHAPTER FOUR — *Romantic Death and the Rise of the Modern Cemetery Ideal: 1790-1860* looks at how movements such as Romanticism, Victorianism, early city development and germ theory affected cemeteries.

CHAPTER FIVE — *Death Reconstructed: 1864-1920* discusses how the Civil War permanently impacted the Good Death and burial practices in America.

CHAPTER SIX — *Two Georgias: 1900-1945* explores the two Georgias, urban and rural, at the turn of the century and how burial traditions were different.

CHAPTER SEVEN — *Modern Death and Georgia's Cemeteries Movement, Growth, Loss and Preservation: 1945-1975* introduces 20th-Century modern views of death and the changes it has had on burial landscapes.

CHAPTER EIGHT — *Conclusion*

Landscape and Setting

Organizational Layout

Burials

Architecture and Built Environs

Cultural Traditions

Archaeological Features

CEMETERY LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS

CEMETERY TYPES

Formational Processes of Cemeteries

CEMETERY STYLES

Cultural Elements that Influence Appearance

RESEARCH

IDENTIFY AND SURVEY

RECORD
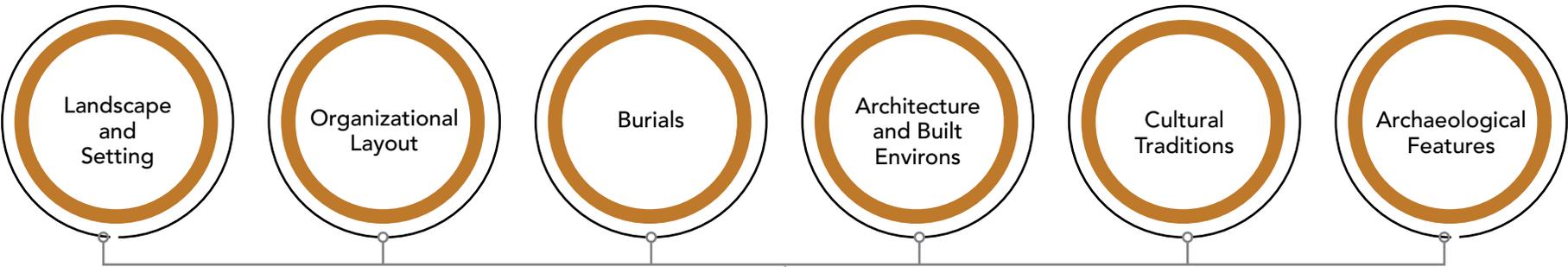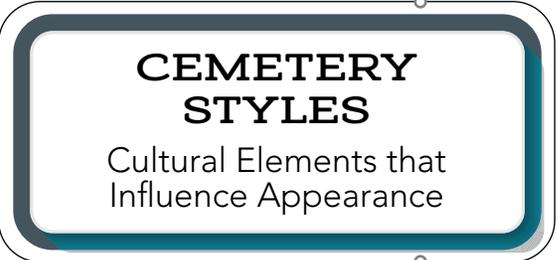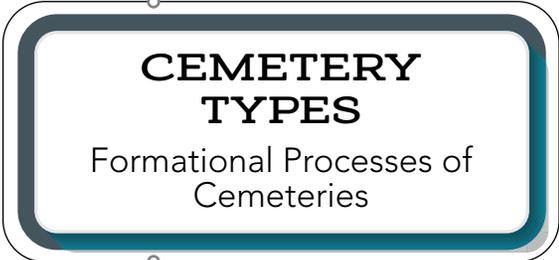
SECTION TWO: CEMETERY LANDSCAPES

Section Two of this handbook contains three parts: (1) a visual guide for how to physically describe a cemetery; (2) the presentation of concepts for cemetery types and styles to help a surveyor integrate the physical elements of a cemetery with the historical narrative of cemeteries in Georgia; and (3) a discussion of methods for researching and recording a cemetery.

The first part, the visual guide, describes the physical elements of a cemetery, providing a common vocabulary for the description of a burial ground and its larger landscape. This includes description of physical elements of a cemetery, such as topography and location, organizational features such as plots and sections, and the built environment of a cemetery, including elements such as structures, hardscaping, markers, and enclosures. By working through these elements during fieldwork, the surveyor should emerge with a full description of the cemetery suitable for a Section 106 evaluation.

The next part presents the concepts of cemetery types and styles. These categories were developed for this handbook to help the reader focus on two areas that need to be understood to explain the evolution of a cemetery landscape. In general:

- "type" describes the formational processes of a cemetery and its management structure; and
- "style" describes the look of a cemetery and the cultural elements that influenced that look.

The purpose of defining types and styles in this manner for use in evaluating cemeteries is not to create formal categories that are equivalent to house or building types. For example, the NRHP does not recognize formal types of cemeteries that might form the basis for an NRHP-eligible Municipal type cemetery or an Upland Folk style cemetery. According to the NRHP they are all classified as cemeteries and need to be evaluated with the standard NRHP criteria for evaluation. Instead, the purpose of defining types and styles is to assist the Section 106 practitioner in constructing a narrative of the cemetery that will aid in an exploration of the NRHP areas of significance and application of the NRHP criteria for evaluation.

The last part of Section Two discusses the identification and survey of cemeteries. It begins with discussions on desktop research, archival research, and making contact with individuals knowledgeable of a cemetery's use and history. The discussion continues with a section devoted to recording cemeteries as historic resources including mapping, establishing boundaries, and marker inventories. As cemeteries are also archaeological sites, this part explores explanations of surface surveys, probing and penetrometer surveys, cadaver dogs, and remote sensing techniques such as ground penetrating radar.

Supporting all of these descriptions in Section Two are Appendices A and B that offer detailed information on marker forms, materials, and symbols.

In Section Three, the handbook tackles the challenge of evaluating and assessing the historical significance of Georgia's burial places as historic properties for the purpose of Section 106 compliance. This section looks at how the NRHP areas of significance, criteria for evaluation, criteria considerations, and aspects of integrity all apply to cemeteries. It will help a Section 106 practitioner answer questions such as "What characteristics can make a family cemetery in Georgia eligible for the NRHP?" "How could a cemetery convey significance under Criterion A for Community Planning and Development or for Exploration and Settlement?" "What possible research questions could be answered by cemeteries significant under Criterion D for Information Potential?" The final part of Section Three presents case studies that show step by step the process of survey and evaluation. These are supported by examples of GDOT Property Information Forms (PIFs) for cemeteries in Appendix C.

SECTION THREE
EVALUATING THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

CASE STUDIES

NO.1 CEMETERIES AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER

NO.2 NRHP AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

NO.3 LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE & PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

NO.4 NRHP CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

NO.5 DEVELOPING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

NO.6 CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

NO.7 INTEGRITY

All of Georgia's cemeteries contain stories, and each is a special place to those whose loved ones are buried there. However, not every cemetery is eligible for listing on the National Register. Some cemeteries have the potential to tell a broader story of their community, the state, or a people. This handbook serves as guidance for preservation professionals to aid in identifying and evaluating burial places that can best serve as windows to the societies, cultures, religions, communities, or families that created them. Each section of the handbook builds upon the other to provide the background, tools/language, and framework for arriving at an eligibility recommendation. In addition to serving as context, the narrative in Section One provides information about what elements (as recorded in Section Two) might help to illustrate historical themes and about the NRHP areas of significance (as defined in Section Three). The sections work together as a cohesive whole to help the practitioner prepare an eligibility argument rooted in the history of Georgia's burial grounds.

Loganville City Cemetery, Walton County.

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THE SECTION
ONE
NARRATIVE

Midway Church Cemetery, Liberty County
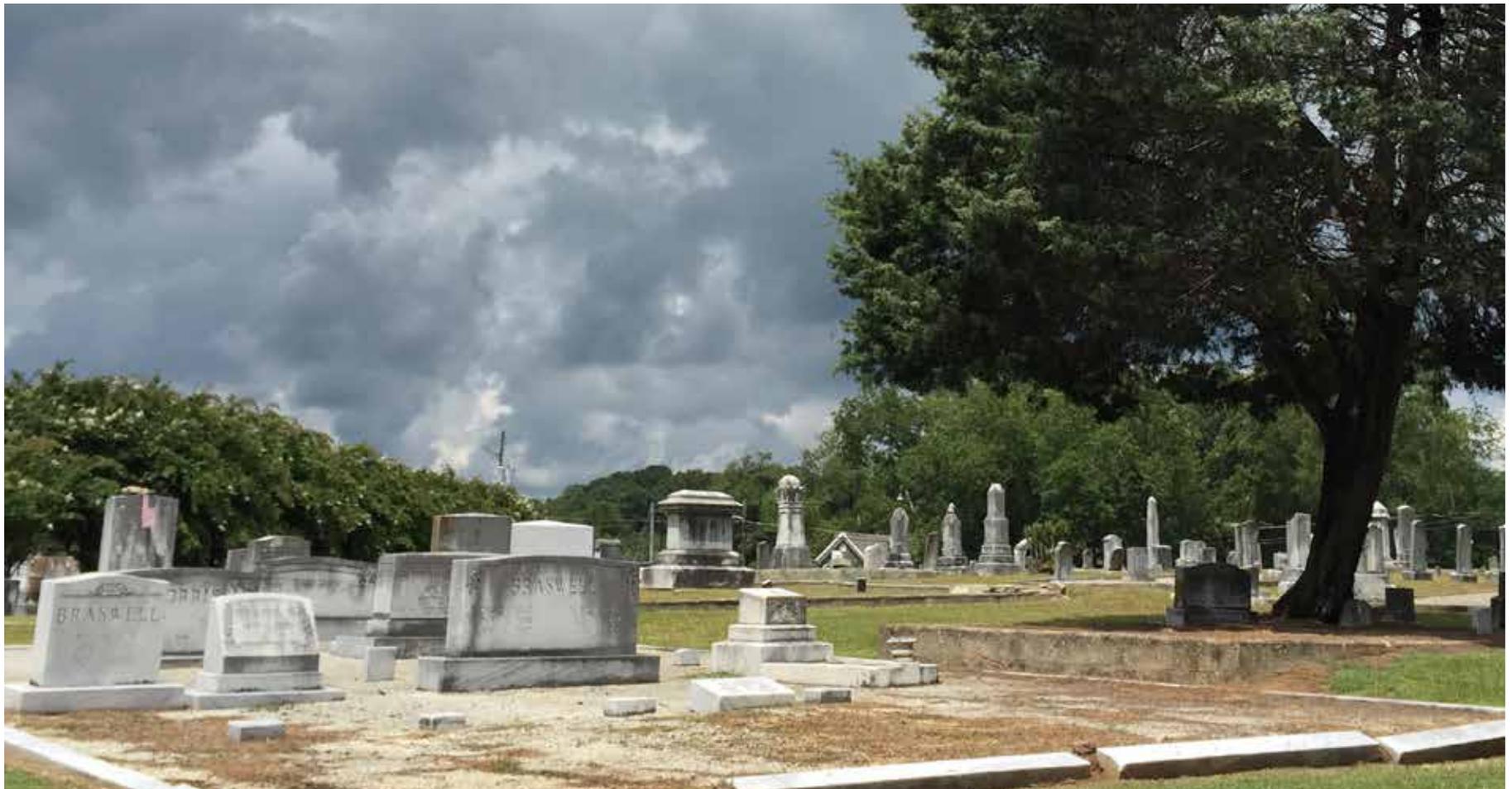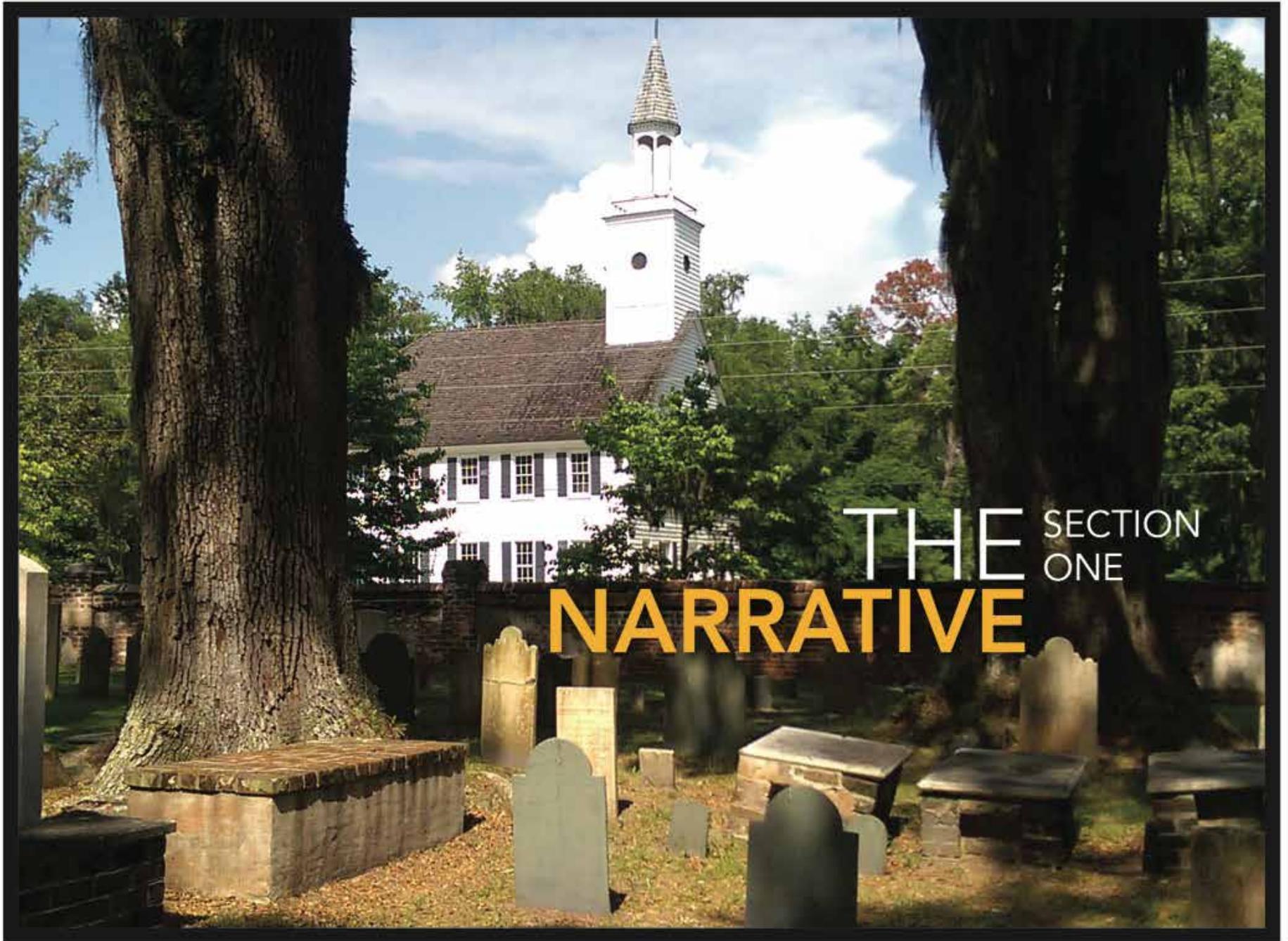
Mourners gather around a casket at Little Vine Cemetery for a Primitive Baptist funeral, Carroll County, Georgia, ca. 1870-1899. Source: Vanishing Georgia, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

THE GOOD DEATH AND THE ART OF DYING: FROM THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES TO THE 19TH CENTURY

In the United States today, many consider death a defeat, an unwanted and unwelcome interruption, or an unfair loss; however, this was not always the case. From the Middle Ages to the 19th century, a very different attitude anchored Western European belief systems concerning death and how to care for the dying. These white, European, Christian, views of death would drive the approach to burying the dead and establishing cemeteries in the United States for hundreds of years after European colonization. As this white culture both influenced and controlled peoples' lives in Georgia, the form and function of cemeteries reflected this ideology. At the earliest stage of Geogia's postcontact history, death was accepted as a stage in life, to be anticipated, prepared for, and welcomed. The idea of *momento mori,* Latin for "remember that you must die," expresses the inevitability of death from the earliest years of the Christian faith. People strove for what they thought was a proper death. They joined the dying to witness its beauty and were inspired by it. Analyses of historical documents, cemeteries, and death-related artifacts show that an adherence to the idea of dying well was practiced in Europe and the United States until a tectonic shift in beliefs about death occurred. Historian Philippe Aries pinpoints mid-19th-century America as the epicenter for that change, which would eventually shape contemporary death in both America and Western Europe.[1]

The Euro-American experience created a mosaic of shared beliefs about death that became distinctive over time. In the Colonial period, religious traditions brought from the Old World structured death practices, but beliefs began to change in the early 19th century. Beginning in 1830, Euro-American attitudes toward death shifted from a fear of death to a diminution of death as an important stage in life. There was a new adherence within America's major religious denominations to a "loving, beneficent God," who was unlike the God of earlier religious teachings.[2] The emergence of a prosperous American middle class would also make for change as historian Drew Faust points out:

> *Having fought a revolution for life, liberty, and property, these people [the American middle class] espoused an ideology of opportunistic individualism and material advancement through the acquisition of money, property, and the comforts they provided… Both the possession of property and the apprehension of its loss turned middle-class minds to the maintenance of order in the meaning and management of death.*[3]

As the meaning of death among the nation's white Protestants changed, thousands of enslaved Africans and African Americans, native to many West African cultures, were subjected to this newer version of Christianity and its resulting burial practices. In time, over the next two centuries, they blended in elements of West African religious beliefs, and their traditions became part of the national conversation on death practices. Three important social and intellectual

Changing Attitudes Captured in Gravestone Iconography

James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefson published their classic analysis of gravestone imagery in 1967, showing that three motifs – the Death's Head, the Cherub, and the Willow and the Urn – enjoyed a period of popularity in eastern Massachusetts' cemeteries during the 17th and 18th centuries until they were replaced by the next in line chronologically. Charting stylistic difference, the authors linked the material record with culture change.[4]

Just as Massachusetts' gravestone images reflected the religious and social change occurring in early New England, examples from Midway Cemetery in Georgia in the three images above, indicate the South followed suit to some extent and was instep with its northern counterparts temporally. Top to bottom: A Death's Head image created in 1767; a Cherub design dating to 1796; and an 1859 Willow and Urn design.
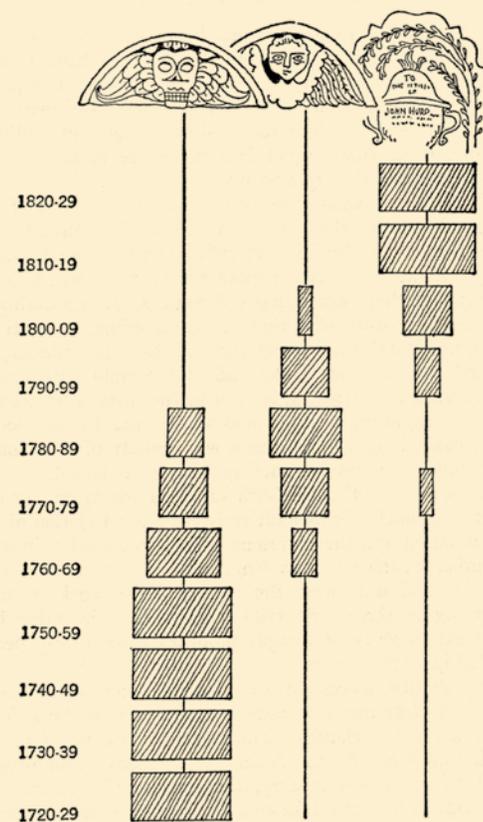
movements played into this conversation: 1) a delayed reaction to the tenets of the Enlightenment, 2) the advent of the American Romantic Movement, and 3) the Progressive Era.[5] While these movements were the backdrop for 19th-century life and death, the Civil War would be the catalyst for the dramatic change that Aries identified. The sheer scale of the loss of life on distant battlefields forced many Americans to rapidly adapt to the exigencies of wartime death. Compensatory actions were devised to allow for a semblance of a good death that brought others into the experience of death and formalized the response. The first professionals were part-time undertakers; this grew over time into a larger and more diverse funeral industry of full-time professionals. This industry flourished, and modern contemporary death began to take shape. Finally, a movement particular to the American South, political in nature and codified into law, soon followed the Civil War – segregation – and a new generation of cemetery landscapes emerged.

Each of these movements, war, and segregation left their mark on the growth, appearance, order, and geography of Georgia's burial grounds as the following chapters in this narrative will show. To understand this evolution and provide a larger framework for this context, this chapter introduces the concept of the "Good Death," as defined by Philippe Aries, and the art of dying practices (or *ars moriendi)* that informed early Americans. This is followed by a description of death practices in both early rural and urban America, and the chapter closes with a discussion of our path to modern death.[6]

THE ROAD TO A GOOD DEATH

In place since the 15th century, knowledge of the precepts of the art of dying that led to a Good Death were key to successfully achieving one.[7] This code of

Illustration from a 1682 Book on Dying.
Translation: We do not speak great things, but we live them.
Source: Jeremy Taylor's, *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying, 1682.*
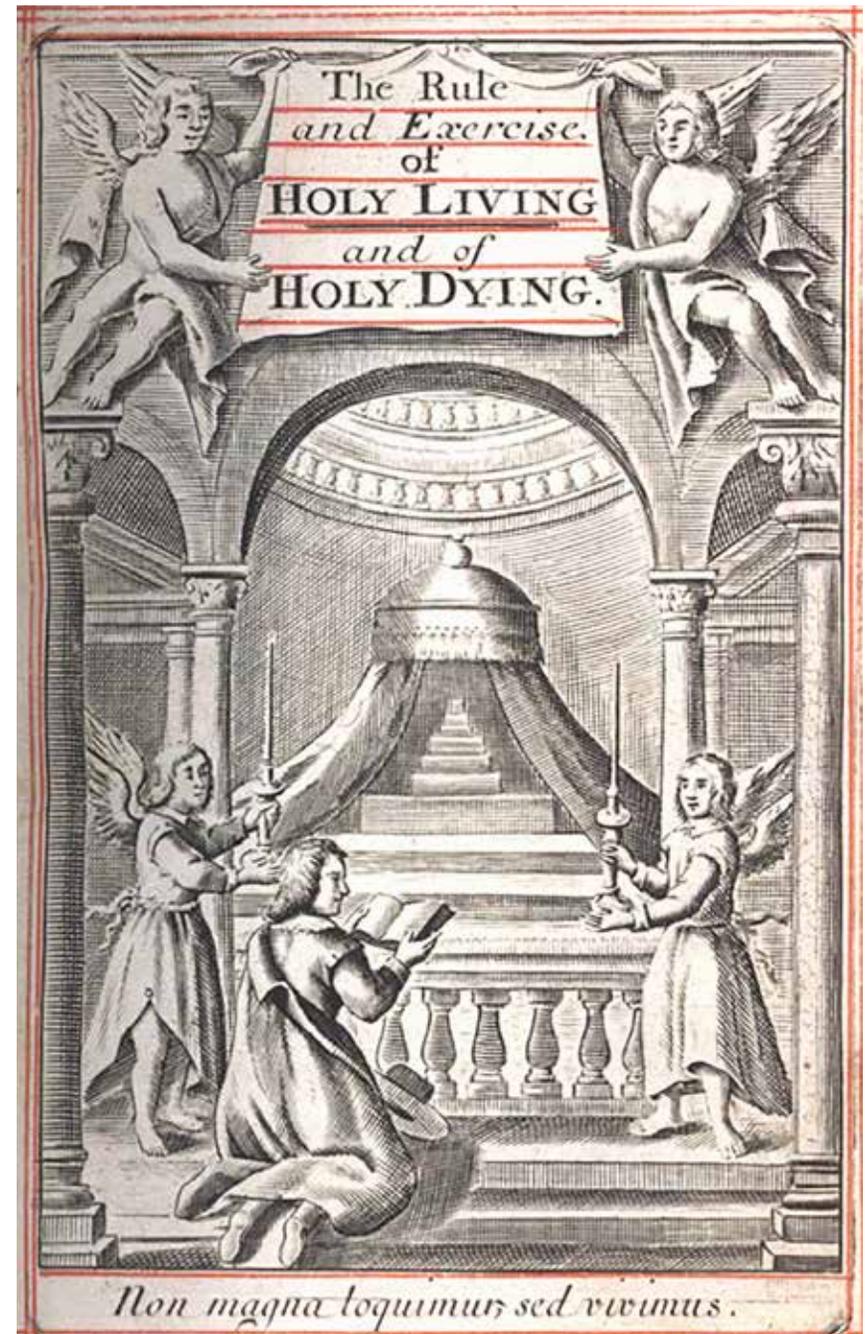
The Good Death,
Two Good Women Gone

**Margarethe Geschwandel,
Ebenezer, Georgia
April 2, 1734**

The 1st, April. Mrs. Geschwandel's illness has become so much worse in the last few days that there is hardly any hope for her recovery. She has dysentery and complains about terrible fear in her heart and cutting pains in her body which often weaken her so she can't talk.

The 2nd, April. Mrs. Geschwandel died this afternoon. It was God's pleasure to impose upon her a long and difficult death-struggle. She made good use of this week of martyrdom by recalling the suffering of her Saviour. We would have liked it if God had granted her for her death day next Friday, the day of death of our Redeemer, for this day she always took special care to remember the love of our LORD JESUS. The LORD JESUS and His merits meant everything to her. Not only was she always very happy when I visited her often, but she also waited to hear much good predicted for her from her good LORD, as she used to call Him. On her sick-and-deathbed she made good use of the hymn book which we had given her shortly before her illness and which she had accepted with childlike joy. As I found today, she diligently marked those hymns that speak of the LORD JESUS and his Grace, and of earnest Christianity.

As published by: Samuel Urlsperger, *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America, 1733-1734*, vol. 1.

Caroline W. Goldsmith Obituary, *DeKalb News Era*, February 1883.

conduct was published freely, but the 1651 publication of Jeremy Taylor's *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying* in London, containing a Protestant revision of the Catholic *ars moriendi*, launched a literary genre for those within the Protestant faith. Taylor's book and other publications became classics that were reprinted and refashioned over time, offering guidance on dying well.[8] Published treatises, books, sermons, and popular literature on the Good Death were available in the Colonial period but abounded in antebellum America.[9] American Christians generally adhered to this concept.

Promoting changes from within rather than without, fixing on the spiritual rather than the material world, and welcoming the change that is coming through contemplation structured a Good Death.[10] It brought comfort and closure, not fear or despair, and if one witnessed a Good Death, it was an event that would serve as an inspiration.

The Good Death became untethered from its theological base as white Protestant Americans moved away from their Puritan past with its "stern, dogmatic, and oppressive sensibilities" and moved "toward the Romantic, sentimental, and domestic characteristics of the 19th century."[11] Religious discourse was more about the life of the spirit and succor to the bereaved survivors rather than the practicalities of death, surrounding the corpse and burial. For Unitarians, Transcendentalists, and other Protestant denominations, the corpse began to have secondary importance. The 19th-century religious mosaic that emerged featured a dramatically

different view of the afterlife; one that better fit the changing values and beliefs of America's emerging middle classes.[12] Faust noted that the more modern versions of death reached new audiences as the Good Death received attention in sermons, health books, and even in popular literature through the deaths of Charles Dickens' Little Nell or Harriet Beecher Stowe's Eva.[13] Thus, 19th-century versions of the Good Death were embedded in the expectations of middle class behavior and respectability rather than the religious doctrine of the previous century.[14]

The account of Mrs. Margarethe Geschwandel's death in 1734 in Ebenezer, Georgia (see opposite) is a description of a Good Death in an 18th-century, urbanized, colonial context. The writer is essentially a witness to her last moments, describing her religious character and the thoroughness of her preparation for death. While there is reference to her death-struggle, the physical manifestations as she moved toward death are not described and the overall description lacks emotion or drama. She appears to have died a Good Death. Mrs. Caroline Goldsmith of Stone Mountain, described as "A Good Woman Gone" in her 1883 obituary, on her way to a blissful immortality across the river, also appears to have died a well-prepared Good Death. These indicate that preparation for a Good Death remained central to most Christian Americans at the mid-19th century and beyond, regardless of their denomination.

DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

While religious authorities and literature structured an ideal death process and one's preparations for death, the care of the remains fell to family, friends, and one's community. To date, there is little literature on Southern and, in particular, Georgia's death practices. An analysis by Gary Laderman, a religious studies scholar, of antebellum Northern Protestant death practices is one of the few treatments of the topic that looks at the overall process in a systemic manner. It highlights the burial ground as one place, albeit an important one, within the treatment of the dead from death through burial. The following discussion draws on this analysis to establish a general context for the process of disposing of the dead and to set out a basis of comparison for later chapters that deal with death practices in Georgia.[15] Its northern bias is supplemented and balanced by Erik Seeman's research on deathways in the Chesapeake in the 17th and 18th centuries published in *Death in the New World: Cross Cultural Encounters, 1492-1800*.[16]

While variations in funeral services may have occurred due to a dying person's status or circumstances of death, most people treated the corpse with care, choosing to usher the dead "out of living society in a socially acceptable religiously sanctioned manner."[17] Disposal of the dead involved three fundamental actions: 1) preparation of the body in the home, 2) transportation to the grave, and 3) burial in the graveyard.[18]

PREPARATION

Death would ideally take place in the home. Family, friends, neighbors, physicians, and clergy assembled by the deathbed where traditional values and religious teachings orchestrated the transition from life to death. The precepts of the Good Death were still culturally robust and were rooted in religious tradition at this point. The dying person's religious character and thoroughness of preparations toward death were assessed as they were preparing to enter into the presence of God. Of equal note to the observers was the recognition of the pathology of death or symptoms represented by the dying individual.

After death occurred, people close to the deceased- family, friends, or community members- prepared the corpse for burial. As described by Gary Laderman in 1996:

> The intimacy that survivors maintained with the corpse preserved it, at least until the actual interment, as evidence of a valuable, and vital social relation. Although the body had lost the spark that animated it, deeply rooted social conventions demanded that it be given proper respect and care from the living. Its uncertain status – as an empty container for the newly departed spirit, as an evocative representative of the lost loved one, as a highly charged object of reflection and remembrance, and as a decomposing, unstable cadaver – also contributed to the deliberate, careful handling by the living survivors.[19]

The corpse was laid out, meaning it was washed, possibly shaved, and dressed in a shroud, a length of fabric that was wrapped around the deceased, and placed in a coffin. Coffins were fairly inexpensive in the New World due to the availability of trees; one source notes that an inventory in 1640 from Virginia shows that a man's coffin cost about as much as his shroud: 100 pounds of tobacco.[20] Fabric chosen for the shroud included muslin, wool or cashmere, or simply a cloth treated with melted wax or a gummy material. While the deceased may have made their own shroud or sack prior to death, friends or community members who were part of the burial preparation made most.

Women had the primary responsibility for preparing the body for burial in Protestant communities in the Northeast during the 18th and early 19th centuries, a cultural tradition that appears to have its roots in England. Laderman notes that an 1810 Philadelphia city directory advertised 14 individuals as "Layers Out of the Dead," nine of whom were clearly women while the remainder only were referenced by last name and first initial. To him, this gender specialization suggests the continuing strong relationship with the domestic household but that death had already entered the market place.

The body was laid out in the home, typically in a more public room such as a parlor or front room, and its temporary function was denoted by the use of black crepe, white cloths over mirrors, and no furniture. Vigils ("watching" or "sitting up") over the body were kept to ensure death had actually occurred until the body was removed from the home. The potential for a live burial was greatly feared, and this eliminated that concern. Two methods to delay decomposition were used: the application of a vinegar or alum saturated cloth to the face and the use of ice under and in the coffin. Wake conduct varied from the reading of scriptures to the sharing of food and drink.

At the appointed time for burial, mourners would gather at the house of death where prayers or an abbreviated religious talk was given and then the mourners would transport the body to the place of burial. This also allowed the mourners an opportunity for a last look or ceremonial gaze. While the family farm served as a burial ground early on, Laderman notes that this form of burial became less common in the 19th century in the North, as urban centers developed and health concerns over burials led to standardized burial practices in a churchyard or a graveyard established at a town's periphery.

Non-churchyard burials were prevalent in 17th- and 18th-century Virginia due its dispersed settlement plan, and private graveyards became common throughout the southern English colonies.[21] In Virginia, a law requiring burial in a fenced area set aside for the dead was passed three times, however, it had little impact on behavior. This eventually led to a compromise that allowed those planters living in remote places within the parishes of the Eastern shore to have private burials if the minister was present to provide a Christian burial.[22] In 1661, Virginia's House of Burgesses required that neighbors be present to view a corpse to establish a record of death in order to avoid scandal in the death of servants and others.[23] Early Virginia burials also took place within the chancel of the church, attracting the well-to-do Anglican colonists, who saw interment there as indicative of their status.[24] The chancel is located on the eastern side of a church and contains the altar.

TRANSPORTATION TO THE BURIAL GROUND AND BURIAL

Initially, friends, relatives, or volunteers carried the coffin, mounted on a bier with a pall, a square of fabric covering the coffin, on foot to the grave site. In the New World, children often carried the coffin of a small child. If the weather was fair and the distance to the grave site small, it was a relatively easy task. However, as places of interment in urban areas became located outside town, a carriage was used to transport the body. Hearses, first used by the wealthy, became available to the other classes over time, and many villages and towns banded together to buy a hearse to alleviate the distance factor as graveyards shifted locations and to avoid the manual labor involved.

Her Firstborn, Horsham Churchyard (1876). Source: Photograph of painting at The McManus, Dundee's Art Gallery and Museum.

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson's Funeral, Rome, Floyd County, Georgia, August 11, 1914. Source: Vanishing Georgia, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

Scarves, gloves, and rings were typically given to the mourners prior to the procession to the graveyard, particularly to the coffin bearers and officiating clergy. The funeral procession led from the house to the church or meeting house for a service or sermon, allowing the mourners an opportunity for a last look at the deceased before interment. The procession, often accompanied by the tolling of bells, led to the grave site where the deceased was either interred in the ground or placed in a tomb. Most Americans were buried in the ground. Tombs were used primarily by the wealthy, and some burial practices became grander over time. The transfer of the body would end after remarks at the graveside. The pall was removed, the coffin placed in the ground, and the last act of throwing a branch, straw, or dirt into the grave by the survivors before leaving, commenced. After the burial, mourners in the Chesapeake were invited back to the home for supper or a feast. Revelry, rather than piety, was typical, including the firing of guns.[25]

CHARTING CHANGE

As the nation's cities expanded, urban Americans maintained the three core elements – preparation, transportation to the burial ground, and burial – that characterized rural burials; however, rapid social and economic changes affected these practices, changing their appearance and complexity. The powerful rigidity of Puritan New England's interpretation of death, which had held sway in the 17th and 18th centuries, was no longer in place, leaving a void ready to be filled. The development of class divisions within urban society, the 19th-century growth of consumerism coincident with those divisions, and the emerging civic or bureaucratic response set on organizing its expanding urban centers began to fill that void. Nineteenth-century Americans adapted to this new milieu, and urban, white, Protestant America was largely responsible for this shift.

In this new social and economic environment, class mattered. Many seized the opportunity to enhance their social status in life through the "postmortem, onto the journey of the corpse to its final resting place."[26] Middle and upper class burials followed the same steps noted in rural death, but these steps were channeled through a different sensibility intent on displaying and maintaining status. Women were excluded from joining the procession and the graveyard ceremony. Funeral processions become more elaborate, the clothing worn became more fashionable, albeit in black, and there was a larger participation by the clergy. The coffin also became an important commodity in the funeral industry, and wealthier individuals were either placed in tombs or buried in plots with substantial markers. The intimacy, simplicity, and family-based treatment of death were no longer apparent.

Illustration of the Good Death.
Source: Kings College London Website.

French social historian and medievalist, Philippe Aries, was one of the first to recognize that changes within Western society's attitudes toward death had occurred. He delivered a lecture series at John Hopkins University on the topic that, when published in 1974, became a classic titled *Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present.* Drawing from literature, wills, diaries, cemeteries, and decorative arts, he documented an evolution in attitudes from when death was part of everyday life to being hidden in modern life.[27] He defines four stages of change. In the first, he introduces the Good Death or "household death" and notes its remarkable stability in structuring death. Medieval men and women were forewarned of their imminent death in some manner and would begin preparations for it. Lying down, facing heaven, one waited for death. Simple rituals took place as the dying person took stock of their life, forgave all those who assembled – parents, family, neighbors – their trespasses, and then, turning to God, the dying person asked for absolution and waited. Simplicity characterized the event: "…and they departed easily, as if they were just moving into a new house."[28]

Medieval people laid their dead to rest within their church and the churchyard, which was typically rectangular with the church wall forming one side. Arcades or charnel houses (a building or vault where bodies and skeletal remains are stored) formed the remaining walls, while ossuaries (smaller boxes that hold skeletal remains) were located above the charnel houses. The concept of a separate grave was nonexistent. Instead, one trusted one's remains to the church with no expectations of a permanent place within its walls or yard. The poor in their shrouds would be first buried in a ditch or common grave, which, when filled, was rested while an older ditch was opened and bones were removed to the charnel houses. The wealthy dead were buried under the church floor, but their bones would also find their way to the charnel house as space was needed.

The second stage occurred in the 12th century when the perception of death became more personal within a new Christian tradition. Judgment was considered to occur on an individual's soul at the moment of death, and that judgment involved a weighing of one's personal deeds. These subtle but dramatic changes made the moment of death of greater consequence and heightened the importance of the manner of the completion of the deathbed rituals that could sway the final call. The deathbed assembly of friends and family became more witnesslike. In addition, individuals of the late Middle Ages became aware that death was taking away life and its pleasures. Individual tombs began to appear. Over time, they were no longer anonymous; instead, they perpetuated the memory of the deceased. By the 18th century, the personalization of death with tombs or, at least, plaques became popular among the middle and lower classes with individual inscriptions citing biographical information.

Washington on his Deathbed. Painting by Junius Brutus Stearns, 1851 at the Dayton Art Institute. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

The third stage of change, the 18th-century mindset on death, was dramatic, exalted, and emotional. With the onset of Romanticism, death was not wanted, but it had its own beauty. Those by the bedside were mourners rather than witnesses, lamenting their dead. Memorialization became common and bodies were no longer entrusted to the church. Instead, individual cemetery plots developed, a change that allowed the bereaved to visit the dead and reinvigorate their memories of those who had passed. Aries also noted that the language in wills also changed during this period, as religious verbiage disappeared in favor of more secular concerns involved with distributing estates.

The fourth stage in the modern period was the setting for a revolution that began in the mid-19th-century United States and spread to industrialized Europe. Death became "hidden." Children were sheltered from death and the dying person lost control over his or her last days, shielded from their own fate as a kindness. Death was removed from the home to the hospital, where decision-making was given to a medical team, not the family.

While Georgia's burial grounds temporally fall within the third and fourth stages described by Aries, it is important to understand their antecedents. The Good Death had remarkable stability and currency from the Medieval period to the mid-19th century in Western Europe and America, anchoring death practices for most Americans. The intimate and simple family-based succession of steps involving preparing the body, transporting it, and burying it during the 17th and 18th centuries was redefined by the late 19th century, particularly in urban contexts as social movements created a seedbed for change. In the decade prior to the Civil War, the undertaking profession emerged from a variety of earlier occupations associated with death and burial. The identification of "Layers Out of the Dead" in the Philadelphia city directory in 1810 underscores that the mortuary industry actually had its roots early in the 19th century. It would remain a rudimentary industry, however, until the Civil War accelerated its growth and new technologies developed, from embalming to casket manufacturing. The mortuary industry transformed American death with funeral directors rather than families orchestrating death's rituals. After remaining the same for almost eight centuries, in just one hundred years, death not only became hidden, but it also became a commodity.

This overview on the evolution of national attitudes toward dying and burial practices sets the stage for the history of Georgia's burial practices and its burial grounds that follows, starting with the Colonial Period. Georgia was colonized in waves by Euroamericans and enslaved Africans. From the contact period through 1780 their burial practices reflect the social institutions they brought with them, tempered by their new circumstances as Georgians in Savannah or on the changing frontier.

Little-Terry-Strickland Cemetery, Forsyth County.

Chapter One Summary

KEYS

For the European settlers that came to North America, the basic practices of death and dying within the Christian tradition were virtually unchanged since the Middle Ages.

The idea of the Good Death was to die at home surrounded by family and friends, at peace spiritually with the idea that death was just another inevitable phase of life to be faced stoically and gracefully. The family was responsible for preparing the body for burial and for interment.

In America, imported European burial practices interacted with burial traditions from Africa (see chapter 3). In addition, the ideals of the Enlightenment, Romanticism, Victorianism, Progressivism, and advances in medical science affected burial practices.

The Civil War was the catalyst for a change in the way that a Good Death was perceived, and professionals, not the family, would oversee death and burial in the context of a new funerary industry.

The three basic parts of the European burial process are: preparing the body; transportation to the burial site; and interment in a grave.

APPLYING THE CONTEXT... FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY... LOOKING AHEAD

- How long was the cemetery used? Can you find the oldest grave and the newest?
- Does the cemetery exhibit in its marker styles, design, and epitaphs the changing views on American Death present throughout the last 200 years?
- Are the varying styles that are present scattered throughout the cemetery and its plots, or are they evident in discrete sections of the cemetery which show a clear pattern of development?
- Can artifact assemblages found within a grave reflect the transition between the *momento mori* to romantic and later funerary traditions?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Philippe Aries, *The Hour of our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes Towards Death Over the Last One Thousand Years*. New York: Vintage Books, 1982.

James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980.

Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Peter Gordon's 1734 engraving of Savannah showing the first wards, squares and plots. Source: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia.

APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF FIRST CEMETERY
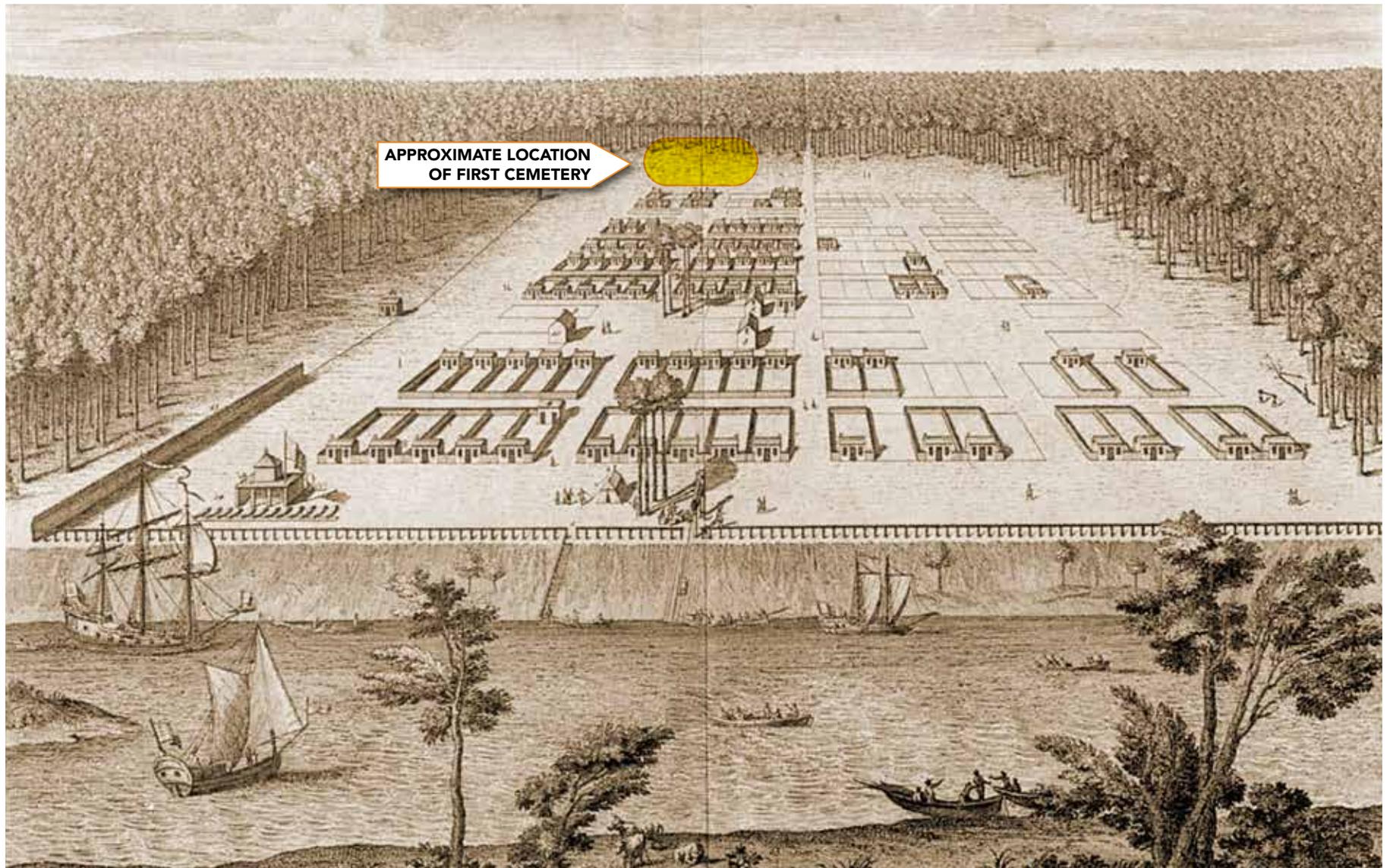
CHAPTER TWO
DEATH IN EARLY GEORGIA: PRECONTACT TO 1790

Died in Savannah on Monday the 15th instant, and was buried the next day...

He envied none their vain titles here, But practiced good to all within his sphere;

He viewed the verge of death with manly eye, Was pleased with life, or satisfy'd to die;

He acted well thro' every scene his part, But most excell'd in rectitude of heart;

Zealous for Liberty, – to all most dear, A friend well natur'd, steady, and sincere.

- *Georgia Gazette*, Savannah, December 17, 1766

Today, Georgia is the largest state east of the Mississippi River in terms of land mass, but it is easy to forget how small the original Colony of Georgia really was. Unlike parts of New England and the Chesapeake where settlers had displaced American Indian tribes and pushed far inland by 1733, Colonial Georgia was a thin sliver along the Atlantic coast at the start of the 1740s. Small tendrils were just beginning to reach into the interior along the Savannah River. The American Indians shared this narrow colony with the early Euroamerican settlers, however, the interior of Georgia still fully belonged to the southeastern tribes, whose own rich cultural traditions had dominated the region for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans.

The Euroamerican colonization of Georgia did not occur in a small, gradual way. Instead, different groups of people swept in like waves, riding tides of immigration spurred by their religious and secular ideologies, a desire for riches, religious freedom, or to escape the harsh economic realities in their home countries or colonies for the promise of boundless opportunity in a new place. The settlers came from varied religious and cultural traditions. Some paid their own expenses, while others promised to serve domestically to repay the costs of their passages. Some came alone and others brought their families. Still others would later arrive in the tens of thousands in bondage from Africa, either directly, or routed through the Carolinas or the Caribbean. Throughout the colonial period, they were a people betwixt and between, swaying back and forth from the traditions of their home countries and new traditions being born out of the reality of the New World in which they now lived. Social institutions that had remained startlingly consistent through dozens of generations were forced to adapt. Rigid societal rules on trades and crafts, marriages, and even death began to shift as the old ways of doing things had to be adapted to new environments, ideas, and cultures.

Life was difficult in these early years and the mortality rate in Georgia was quite high. For American Indian tribes, early explorers and missionaries had introduced viral and bacterial diseases for which they had no immunity. This decimated tribal populations. Tribal burial practices may have developed into a mixture of traditional and Christian customs. While religious and ethnic identity were important in burial customs, the placement of the cemeteries within the landscape during this period depended more on geography and economy than it did on culture. Life in the Trustee period focused on the towns, and correspondingly, the cemeteries during this period were managed by the towns and the religious organizations. These cemeteries were usually placed on the outskirts of town, except on the frontier where they were placed in the center of town for protection. Later, in the Trustee period, as agriculture and land holdings expanded, a shift to private family cemeteries began.

This chapter explores the ways that the earliest Euroamerican settlers in Georgia adapted their burial practices to the changing social complexities of the burgeoning agricultural landscapes they were creating in the New World. From the original American Indian tribes, to the "worthy poor" amongst Oglethorpe's original colonists, the German Lutherans of Ebenezer seeking religious freedom, the economically minded Scots and Scots-Irish who would come to dominate the trade of Savannah's port, and the wealthy Carolinian colonists who saw opportunity during Georgia's royalist period to expand their rich agricultural holdings, groups that were once quite separate would begin to coalesce slowly into a new category – Georgians. Enslaved Africans are significant actors within this early narrative, but their more complex transformation into Georgians is examined more fully in the next chapter.

PRECONTACT AMERICAN INDIANS

The burial customs of precontact American Indians in the southeastern U.S. were as varied as the number of tribes that inhabited the area. The precontact period dates to at least 12,000 years ago, with the arrival of the first American Indians in what is known as the Paleoindian period. The burial practices of these, as well as of the subsequent Archaic period (8000 B.C.-1000 B.C.) and Woodland period (1000 B.C.-A.D. 900), generally occurred as individual burials not grouped in a manner similar to European cemeteries. As tribes banded together to form more complex political relationships, their customs blended and adapted over time. The people of the Mississippian period (A.D. 900-1600) are often referred to as the "mound builders." While the mounds served a variety of functions, one of the most recognized Mississippian-period mound types are burial mounds, which were created in earlier periods as well. The Irene Mound site, a mid- to late Mississippian mound complex which contained two mounds including one large, multi-stage mound and a small burial mound, was once located just northwest of downtown Savannah. According to archaeologists, Caldwell and McCann, the burials are thought to be a chief and his family.[1] According to both ethnographic and archaeological accounts, precontact tribes often buried their chiefs, priests, and other elite families within the mounds.[2] Other important mound sites that remain intact in Georgia are Ocmulgee (Macon), Etowah (Cartersville), and Kolomoki (Blakely). Past archaeological excavations of burial mounds across Georgia have identified various burial forms and positions including fully extended burials, log tombs, ossuaries, cremations, and burial urns. The different forms of burials reflect differences in social position, as well as different tribal cultural practices.
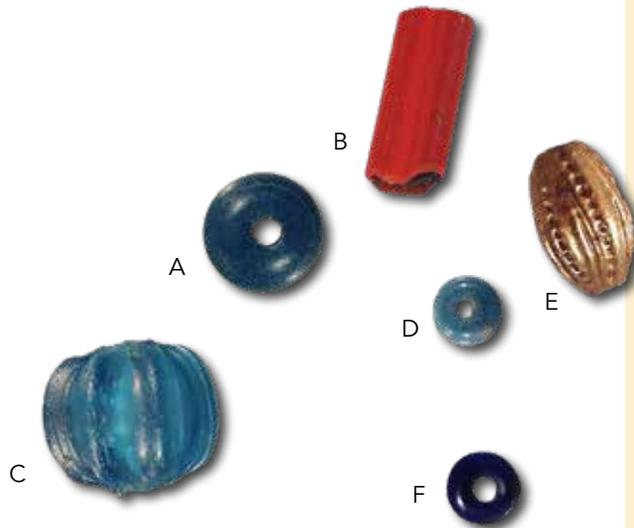
Numerous beads found at the site of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale (1590s-1680) during the excavation of the cemetery under the church, St. Catherine's Island. (A) Ichtucknee plain turquoise blue bead, (B) Venetian Green Heart bugle bead, (C) Chinese blue green melon bead, (D) Venetian turquoise blue/green seed bead, (E) Spanish gilded oval glass bead, (F) Common cobalt blue seed bead. Source: Spanish Empire Bead Cache, Georgia. Source: American Museum of Natural History.

American Indian Grave Sites at the Time of Contact
(17th Century)

Excavations of the Santa Catalina de Guale Mission site between 1980 and 1990 identified an estimated 431 unmarked graves crowded into the church floor.[4] In stark contrast to the customary, flexed position common to most southeastern tribes, those who had adopted Christianity were buried on their backs in an extended position with their arms folded across their chest and feet pointed toward the altar. The deceased were plainly dressed to conform to the simple burial of Christ as portrayed in the Bible.[5] In some cases, individuals of higher social status were wrapped in shrouds, or placed in modest wood coffins, and buried closer to the altar, and therefore closer to God.[6]

Before the coming of the missions, the inclusion of grave goods was common and continued to occur in burials among American Indian Christian converts. These inclusions indicate that American Indians still placed value on the individual in their attitudes toward death and had not adopted Western beliefs wholesale. A variety of American Indian grave goods were found in abundance at sites on St. Catherines Island. These consisted of an array of ornate beads of Chinese and European origin, as well as assorted Catholic religious objects such as medallions, small crosses, and rosaries. Burial pits also contained some decidedly non-European items, including projectile points, pumpkins, and maize.[7]

Mound burial was not the only mortuary tradition. Certain tribes buried their dead beneath the floors of their houses or in public spaces.[3] In his travels in the late 1700s, the naturalist William Bartram (1739-1832) noted that the Muscogee (historically referred to as the Creeks) wrapped their dead in blankets and buried them in four-foot-deep pits either in a sitting posture with knees flexed or laid out in an extended position. The bodies were often accompanied with grave goods consisting of the deceased's valued possessions such as clothing, pipes, weapons, and tools.[8] The graves were not specifically marked on the surface, rather their locations were retained as part of the community's oral tradition.[9] Archaeologist Christopher Rodning noted that, "the spaces of the living and the dead overlapped." Often the family continued to live in the house where the deceased were buried, but in some cases, the house was abandoned or even burned down after burial.[10] This tradition continued from the precontact period through the arrival of the Europeans. Exceptions to the standard burial customs of mound or house burials involved the deaths of men of social prominence or warriors who died at great distances from their homes. In such circumstances, the dead were frequently buried under stone piles with ceremony along the roadside or in fields.[11] Later, the remains of those in isolated graves could be retrieved for more formal internment within the confines of the community.

FOR GOD, GOLD, AND GLORY – SPANISH EXPLORATION AND MISSIONS ON THE COAST

Before English colonization in Georgia, the Spanish were the dominant European influence in the Southeast. The Spanish exploration of North America began with the search for gold. Hernando de Soto's (1495-1542) arching path through the Southeast on a futile search for riches left in his wake disease, warfare, and societal collapse for tribal societies between 1539 and 1543. Two additional exploratory expeditions into the interior would follow until the Spanish decided instead to concentrate for a time on building missions to Christianize and exploit the local coastal Mocama and Guale Indians for labor.

The first missionaries on the Georgia coast were Spanish Dominicans, followed later by Franciscan Catholic missionaries in the 1570s.[12] The Spanish established a two-pronged system, mission (church) and presidio (fort), which sought to convert American Indian populations to Roman Catholicism and assimilate them into the economic and political jurisdiction of the Spanish Empire. The Franciscan friars concerned themselves with the spiritual matters of each mission and the local American Indian chiefs held sway over secular matters. Ultimate authority over Georgia's mission system resided with the Spanish Viceroys (or colonial governors) in St. Augustine, Florida.[13]

While the Spanish never established any permanent settlements in Georgia, approximately 15 major and minor missions and a few presidios were founded along the coastal areas and southeastern interior portions of the state between 1568 and 1685.[14] Principal among the identified mission sites in Spanish Georgia was Santa Catalina de Guale, which was established by Franciscan Friars on St. Catherines Island in the early 1590s. The mission emerged as the cultural and economic capitol of the colonial Guale Province during the 17th century.[15] Missions were typically located next to larger, well-established American Indian villages and consisted of a rectangular church, a convento (friar's residence), and cocina (kitchen), predominantly of wattle and daub construction and arranged around central plazas.[16]

The religious conversion of local American Indian tribes was accomplished by introducing Euroamerican traditions, language, and practices, including rules for burial of the dead. These new rules specifically forbid the outward expression of traditional tribal customs, language, dress, and burial practices. Instead, the new traditions imposed by the Catholic missionaries strongly reflected the prevailing folk vernacular and religious observances that had developed during the Middle Ages and Renaissance in Europe.[17] The idea of an individual grave outside of a sacred space was not considered:

As yet unborn was the modern idea that the dead person should be installed in a sort of house unto himself, a house of which he was a perpetual owner or at least a long-term tenant, a house in which he would be at home and from which he could not be evicted. In the Middle Ages and even as late as the 16th and 17th century the exact location of one's bones was of little concern so long as they remained near the saints, or in the church, near the altar of the Virgin or of the Holy Sacrament. Thus the body was entrusted to God.[18]

Mission burial grounds, or *campo santo* ('sanctified ground'), were usually placed within the mission church floor. These areas often became quickly overcrowded and subject to disturbances resulting from later burials. For larger mission sites, or if the church floor reached capacity, the campo santo were established outside and in close proximity to the church building.[19] Mission-period friars would have prepared the new converts for what was then known as a Good Death (see Chapter 1), either through their own example or through their teachings.[20] The Spanish missions were the first attempts at introducing western European style, Christian burials to the American Indians in North America. The imposition of Spanish practices stood in stark contrast to the mortuary customs of the American Indian populations, and they occurred at a time when western attitudes toward death were changing.

Indigenous use of mound or subfloor interments along the coast were discontinued during the Spanish Colonial period as missionaries actively discouraged the newly converted American Indians from conducting traditional burial methods that were believed to clash with the Christian attitude toward death. Two circumstances may explain why some American Indians adopted Catholic concepts on burials: the death and devastation caused by the introduction of foreign diseases, and their consideration of foreign religions as a possible counter to whatever spiritual ills had caused such widespread death.

Beginning in the 1650s, epidemic disease and increased conflict with American Indian tribes who had allied with the English Crown against the Spanish led to a steep decline in the Spanish mission system within Georgia. By 1686, all mission villages within the present boundaries of the state had been effectively abandoned and Spanish control was pushed south of the St. Mary's River into Florida. At the dawn of the 18th century, the frontier territories of Georgia were known as the "debatable land," a term popular since the Middle Ages that referred to contested lands between two opposing powers, in this case the colonial powers of Spanish Florida to the south and the emergent English (later British) Carolina Province to the north.[21] The British presence was limited to a small garrison stationed at Fort King George at the Altamaha River delta from 1721 to 1727. This was the southernmost extent of the British Empire in North America. The departure of the Spanish missions and the arrival of Protestant colonists brought an end to any significant Catholic burial traditions in Georgia until Catholicism was once again permitted in the state after the American Revolution.

Judeo-Christian mortuary practices were first introduced to Georgia's Lower Coastal Plain in the late 18th century, which was, at that point, under British rule. As noted, burial customs of early European settlers reflected standing customs from their homelands.[22] With a few exceptions, Euroamerican burial grounds were usually sectarian by nature and were located either within the floor of the church, in adjacent churchyards, or on specified common lands. The deceased were typically arranged in an extended position and, as was the case with most Christian burials, arms were crossed over the chest with feet pointing to the east in anticipation of the resurrection of Christ.

With the increasing blend of American Indian and European cultural practices on the Georgia frontier during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, later period burials followed Christian mortuary traditions. The Muscogee sometimes covered their graves with shingled gabled roofs, which bore considerable resemblance to more Anglo-oriented grave shelters of the period.[23]

Unfortunately, as the American Colonies grew, the American Indians suffered considerable depredation of their burial grounds at the hands of others who viewed the graves as a threat to legitimating European ownership of the lands and the grave's contents as a source of income. American Indians soon learned to disguise graves, making them more difficult to find and removing all signs of wealth or status from the surface.[24] With the forced mass relocation of American Indians from the east coast to the western states in the 1800s, particularly along the "Trail of Tears," much of the history of the great American Indian nations has been lost. Today, the identification of historic period American Indian graves is challenging, if not impossible.

THE WORTHY POOR – OGLETHORPE'S TRUSTEESHIP AND THE ORIGINS OF GEORGIA

James Edward Oglethorpe (1696-1785), founder of the Colony of Georgia, was a reformer. Joining the British Parliament in the early 1720s, he soon made a name for himself throughout England as someone concerned with the rights of sailors and the deplorable conditions of English jails.[25] Through his reform efforts, an idea was born that a new colony should be founded in America, south of the Carolinas, that would provide a place for released debtors and the "worthy poor" of England to start anew. The group of reformers, led by Oglethorpe, felt that a new colony would also provide military protection for the Carolinas from the Spanish in Florida, a place to produce commodities such as silk and wine that England needed, and a place of religious freedom for persecuted Protestant groups, as well as dedicated Anglicans from the Church of England. These motives were "philanthropic, economic, imperial, mercantilistic, and religious."[26] The leaders of this movement became the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. Critical restrictions were placed on the colony as part of its charter that would have a significant impact on the way the colony developed in its first decades; enslavement and rum were prohibited and colonists were given land up to a maximum of 500 acres – they could not own more.[27] The Trustees did not want Georgia to become a replica of the Carolinas, with large plantations and an agricultural system based on enslaved African's labor. Their utopian dream was to establish a place for the small yeoman farmer, who they knew could not compete economically with the plantations.

Even with the settlement restrictions, more than 600 people applied for the opportunity to be colonists in Georgia, and the Trustees had their pick of settlers.[28] Since they wanted their colony to succeed, the Trustees tended to choose more of the worthy poor consisting of "small businessmen, tradesmen and unemployed laborers," than released debtors.[29] Oglethorpe arrived with 120 colonists aboard the H.M.S. *Ann* in 1733 and chose a site at Yamacraw Bluff at the mouth of the Savannah River between the Spaniards, who were south of the Altamaha River, and the Charlestonians to the north in South Carolina.[30] Savannah was founded.

The colonists who came to Georgia during the Trustee period were a diverse group of predominately Protestants. While the numbers in the accounting do not add up correctly to the totals, the records of the Trustees show that in the first decade of the colony, approximately 1,800 were sent to Georgia at
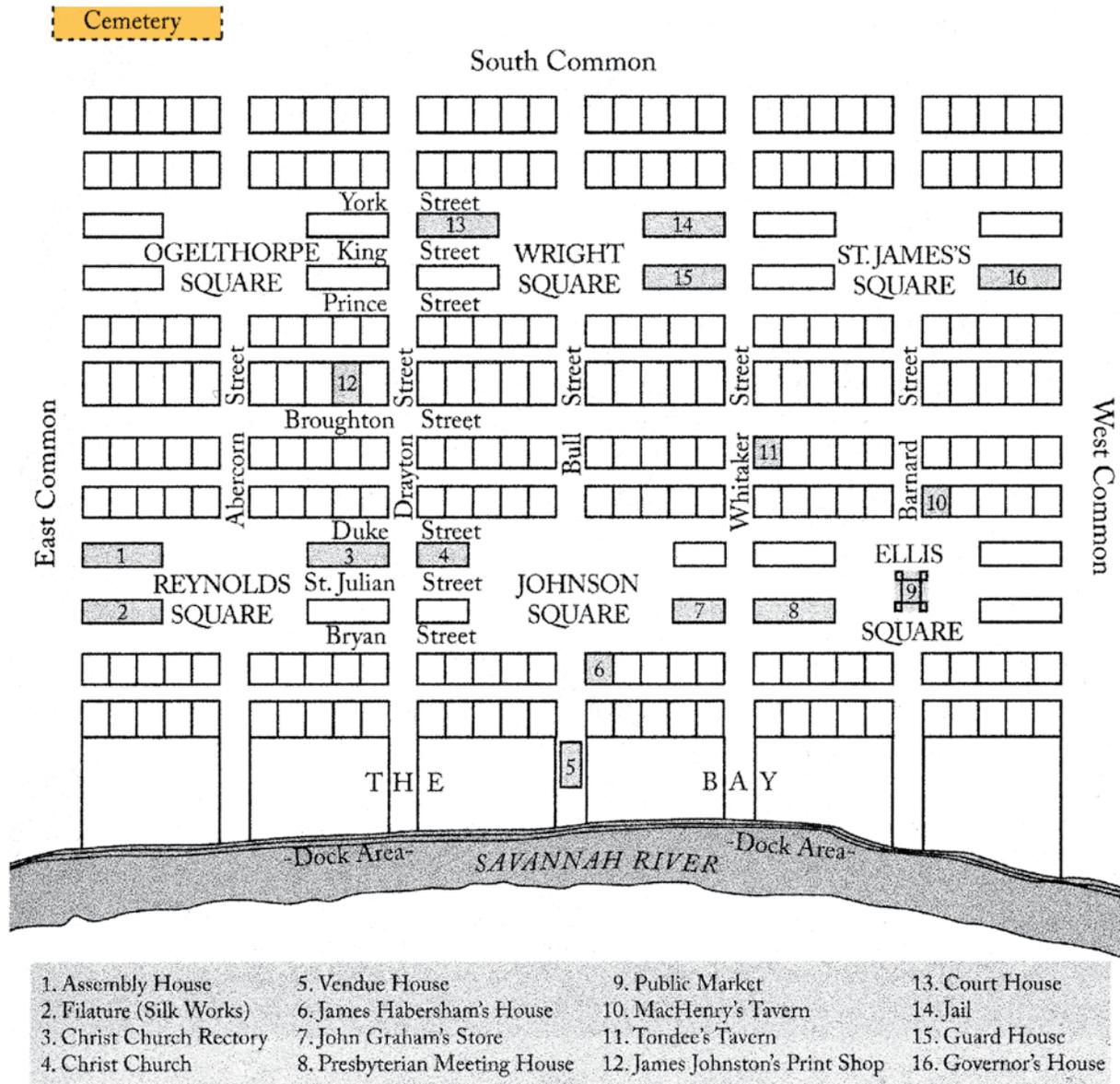
The original burying place for Savannah was located on the southeast edge of town and overseen by Christ Church. Source: Redrawn from 1770 Savannah Plan.

Map labels:

Cemetery

South Common

York Street
OGELTHORPE King Street — WRIGHT
SQUARE — SQUARE — ST. JAMES'S
Prince Street — SQUARE

Broughton Street

East Common — West Common

Duke Street
REYNOLDS St. Julian Street JOHNSON ELLIS
SQUARE — SQUARE — SQUARE
Bryan Street

Abercorn Street · Drayton Street · Bull Street · Whitaker Street · Barnard Street

T H E — B A Y

Dock Area — SAVANNAH RIVER — Dock Area

North

1. Assembly House
2. Filature (Silk Works)
3. Christ Church Rectory
4. Christ Church
5. Vendue House
6. James Habersham's House
7. John Graham's Store
8. Presbyterian Meeting House
9. Public Market
10. MacHenry's Tavern
11. Tondee's Tavern
12. James Johnston's Print Shop
13. Court House
14. Jail
15. Guard House
16. Governor's House

the expense of the Trustees, while a little more than 1,000 paid their own way.[31] For the charity cases, these numbers were broken down into categories of "British" and "Foreign Protestants;" Foreign Protestants comprised about 45 percent in the first decade.

The British Protestants were mostly Church of England, referred to hereafter as Anglicans, from the southern parts of England, although there were also Scottish Episcopalians and Presbyterians in this number. Their former trades in England were widely varied – everything from apothecaries and brewers to clerks, shipwrights, and book sellers. Unfortunately, of the charity cases that listed an occupation, only about 11 percent were farmers.[32] This contributed to many of the economic problems of the Trustee period. One result was that South Carolina was often in the position of providing food for Georgia. This lack of agricultural expertise was exacerbated by the fact that the sandy soils in coastal Georgia were not well suited to agriculture. Many "would-be farmers" soon discovered that the minimum of 50 acres allotted to charity cases would not sustain crops.[33] Frustrated colonists and indentured servants, facing hard work, sickness, and failing crops, frequently abandoned the colony and moved north, or returned to the British Isles.

The foreign Protestant colonists that were sent on charity consisted primarily of Palatines and Salzburgers, with lower numbers of Swiss, Germans, Moravians, Scots, and Italians.[34] The Palatines were living in England as refugees from war in the central Rhine region of Germany and Alsace. Salzburgers were German-speaking Protestants from Catholic Salzburg, in modern-day Austria. They were forced to flee Germany due to religious persecution. The Moravians were from the modern-day Czech Republic. Amongst those who paid their own way were 42 Jewish settlers.[35]

One sobering statistic illustrates the difficulty of life during the early part of Georgia's colonial history – 25 percent of the colonists that arrived on the H.M.S. *Ann* died the first year.[36] While the few that perished on the first voyage were buried at sea, the fledgling colony buried their first dead in the New World in a plot laid out by Oglethorpe on the outskirts of the town plan for Savannah, "in Percival Ward, Holland Tything, Lots 2 and 3 – in the area bordered by York, Bull, Oglethorpe, and Whitaker Streets."[37] Early records of the colony indicate that the first burials were carried out with some typical amount of pomp and circumstance for an Anglican funeral of the time; when Dr. William Cox, the appointed medical doctor for the colony, died there were bells and firing of guns in a military salute. Later, as the death rate rose to several each day by midsummer, the elaborate rituals were replaced by simpler services for most people.[38]

The tasks of preparing the dead, organizing the funeral, and carrying out the burial were responsibilities assumed by the family and other community members during the early years of the colony.[39] Because of a general lack of a labor force and limited access to material resources, burials were simple. Coffins were uncommon and formal grave markers were often made of local and readily available materials, such as wood or other non-durable items.[40] Reliance on locally obtainable resources to meet funerary needs lay the groundwork for many later folk cemetery traditions.

THE "THREE GEORGIAS"

From its roots in Savannah, the fledgling colony began to spread like a ribbon along the coast, south to the Altamaha River delta and north and inland along the Savannah River. Historian Paul Pressly describes the colony of Georgia during the Trustee period as not one Georgia, but "three Georgias," with separate economies, populations, and focal points.[41]

- **Urban Georgia:** The first centered on the port of Savannah and its connections and economic ties to England, specifically London. It also included Ebenezer.

- **Military Georgia:** This included Fort King George, Fort Frederica, and Darien to the south on the Altamaha and existed for the defense of British colonial interests, including Georgia and South Carolina, from Spain.

- **Frontier Georgia:** The frontier outpost of Augusta, far up the Savannah River, which was intertwined with the economy of Charleston and South Carolina, composed the third Georgia.

Detail from 1748 Bowen Map Showing the "Three Georgias." Emanuel Bowen, A New Map of Georgia; with Part of Carolina, Florida and Louisiana 1748. Source: Special Collections, University of Georgia Libraries.
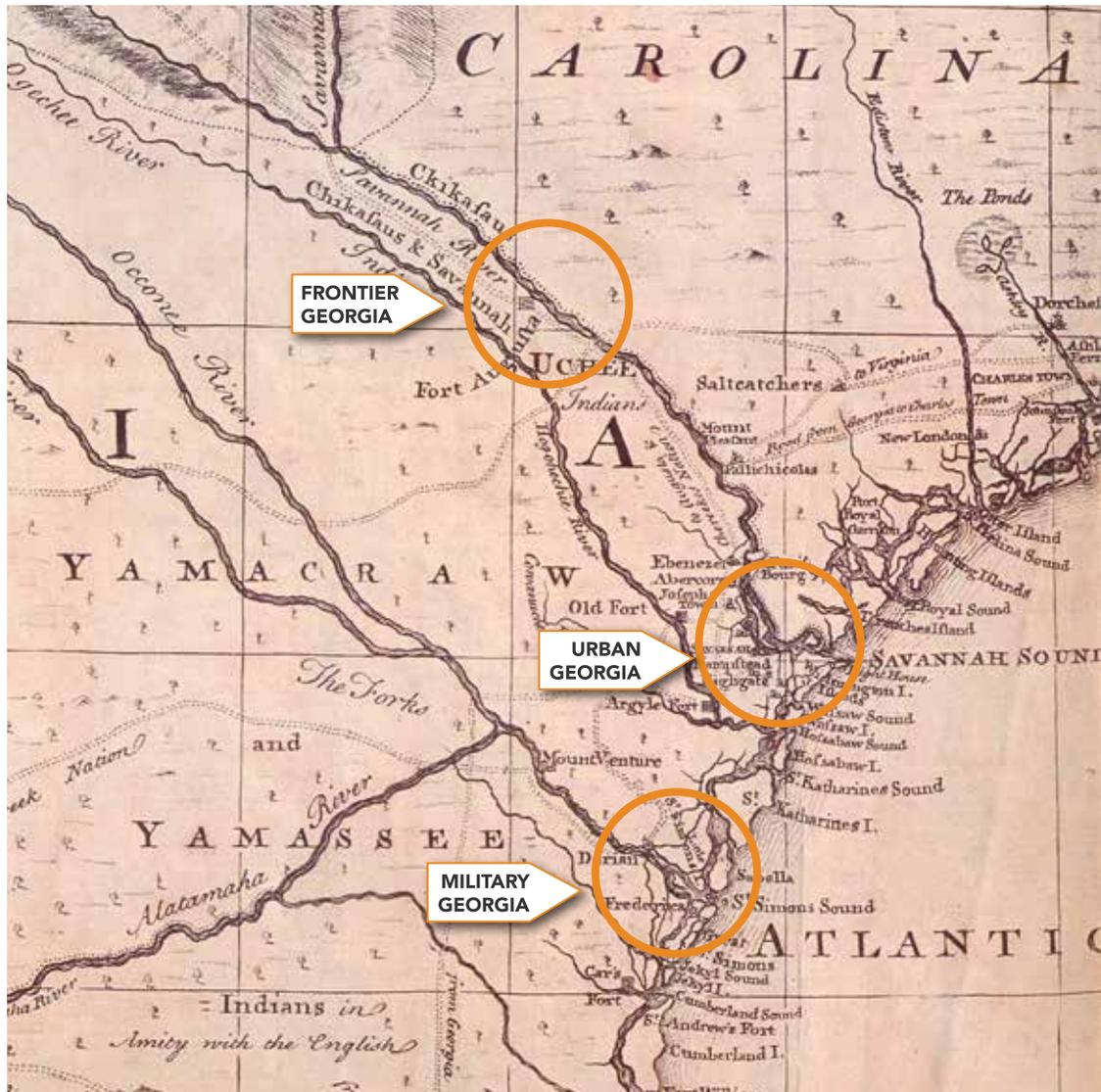
Georgia during this time period consisted of multiple communities centered around these five towns – Savannah, Ebenezer, Darien, Frederica, and Augusta.[42]

URBAN GEORGIA: SAVANNAH AND EBENEZER

Savannah and Ebenezer, like Midway and Sunbury that would follow, were attempts to create European-style towns in the New World; Savannah was to emulate an English city such as London, while the residents of Ebenezer sought to recreate the Germanic towns that dotted the countryside outside of Salzburg. Savannah, as the port and capital city, was clearly urban in character. Ebenezer, Irene, Midway, and Sunbury were all located a short distance up the Savannah or Medway rivers and are more difficult to classify. While they are more remote than Savannah, their residents still had close ties with the city and their villages were built on a similar European plan. Many of the colonists who had hoped to be farmers in the New World, opted instead to remain in these towns to ply the trades they had previously practiced in Europe. Savannah and Ebenezer were Georgia's first urban centers.

"If Frederica exemplified the strategic reasons for creating Georgia and if Savannah stood for humanitarian aims, Augusta underlined the commercial advantages inherent in a new outpost on the margins of the British Empire.[43]

-Historian Paul Pressly

All the Black Cloth in the Stores

-- Memoirs of the Reverend Cornelius Winter on the Memorial Service for the Reverend George Whitfield former Rector of Christ Church in Savannah and founder of the Methodist Movement. Reverend Winter served as a Methodist minister in Georgia in the 1770s.

"All the black cloth in the stores was bought up; the pulpits and desks of the church {Christ Church}, the branches, the organ loft, the pews of the governor and council were covered in black. The governor and council in deep mourning convened at the statehouse, and went in procession to the church, and were received by the organ playing a funeral dirge. Two funeral sermons were preached."

(Portrait) Methodist Evangelist George Whitfield. Source: North Wind Picture Archives.[46]

Savannah's plan consisted of English-style town squares "featuring wards built around central squares, with trust lots on the east and west sides of the squares for public buildings and churches, and tything lots for the settlers' homes on the north and south sides of the squares."[44] The new city faced its port on the Savannah River. In a prominent location in the center of the new city, the colonists built their Anglican Church, Christ Church, on Johnson Square in 1744. While other foreign Protestants were present in Savannah, including Lutherans and Scottish Presbyterians, the predominant religion was Anglican. The city's first burial ground was outside the city, south of Wright's Square. By 1750, however, the city had outgrown the burial space and a new cemetery was established by the Trustees, which would become Colonial Park Cemetery.

Newspaper accounts and journals such as that of William Stephens (1671-1753), Secretary and later President of the Trustees in Georgia, or the Reverend George Whitfield (1714-1770) of Christ Church, indicate that funerals typically took place in the early evening. Historian Harold Davis summarized the Anglican funerals in Colonial Georgia as follows:

The warm climate dictated that bodies be quickly buried, and in the dusk friends and neighbors gathered as bells tolled. Funeral processions wound their way through the streets to the cemetery. If the deceased had been of military rank, muskets were fired; if he had been the member of an organization, its membership might come to the service. Sermons were delivered either in the church or at the graveside, and some ministers, like the Reverend George Whitfield, conducted services at each place.[45]

Davis even describes the Reverend George Whitfield's own memorial service. While the Reverend died and was buried in New England, he was given an elaborate memorial service in Savannah. Reverend George Whitfield was designated the Minister of Savannah by the Georgia Trustees in 1738 and served

Colonial Park Cemetery, Chatham County, 1939. Source: Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston

Savannah's Cemeteries

After outgrowing their initial burial grounds south of Oglethorpe's Square, the Trustees established a new burial ground in 1750 outside the walls of Savannah. In 1758, during the Royal period, Christ Church obtained the city burial ground and would continue to administer it for the next 98 years.[47] Finding the burial ground to once again be too small in 1763, an Act authorized its expansion 100 feet to the south and to Abercorn Street to the west.[48] The Christ Church burial ground was enclosed with a wall sometime before 1780. After the American Revolution, the British walls were torn down and it was enveloped into Savannah's town grid.[49] This cemetery is now called Colonial Park Cemetery (Established 1758).

Colonial-era newspapers, such as the *Georgia Gazette*, are a fruitful source of information on the funeral and burial customs of the time. In May 1769, an interesting story unfolds that not only illuminates burial practices in Savannah, but also speaks to the evolving practice of burying on plantations and the role of the church in these burials that are outside their jurisdiction. That the newspaper chose to comment in such a fashion, speaks to the increase in that trend. The individual buried was not Anglican, but Presbyterian, and his burial was attended by the Presbyterian minister, not the Christ Church sexton.

THE GEORGIA GAZETTE

May 10, 1769

A remarkable case having been tried last week before the Court of Conscience, which being designed as a precedent, and likely to affect numbers of people, it is thought proper to inform the publick of the issue.

Some months ago, a poor man died; the person who out of charity had taken care of him in his sickness intending to bury him without any charge to the parish, had him buried in the way of his profession as a dissenter, the Meeting bell tolled, and the sexton of the meeting attended. Since that the mate of a vessel died, who being a Presbyterian, his Captain also thought to have him buried in his own way.

Thereupon a suit was brought [by Christ Church] against that Captain and the other person for the following fees…

To tolling the bell   £ .036
To the ground   £ .036

A law being produced the fee for the breaking of the ground was not disputed, but as to tolling the bell, it was thought no man could be entitled to wages that had done no work, and so the decision was left to the jury. The Judge, who had declared his opinion upon the merits of the cause long before the trial, upon the trial observed, that the sexton had a legal right to a fee **for any** burial **within the parish**, whether **he was desired to attend or no**, and **though in a private plantation. (Emphasis in original).**

Colonial Park
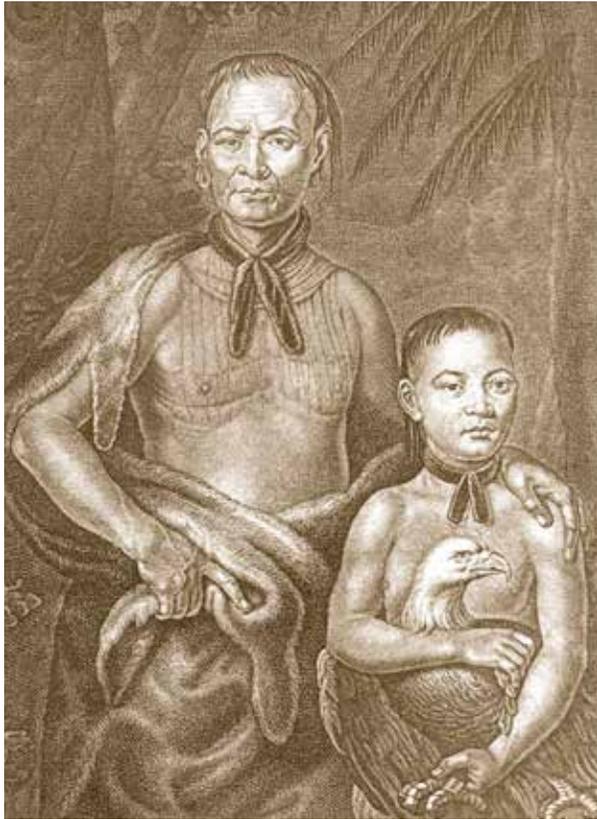
as a Rector of Christ Church. Burials of prominent citizens seem to have held as much spectacle as could be managed. While many residents may have been buried in simple shrouds, coffins were also used. In the records of the estate of James Love, a Savannah cabinetmaker who died in 1768, the list of furniture, supplies, and tools were detailed. These included the note, "he had some coffins."[50]

Prosperous and influential funerals were often military in style and seemed to feature the firing of guns and cannons in salute. Some accounts mention the attendance of groups such as the "grand master and brothers of the Masonic lodge."[51] The funeral of Tomochichi (d. 1739), a local Yamacraw Indian Chief who had been instrumental to Oglethorpe in the founding of Georgia, is described as follows:

Oglethorpe in 1739 arranged the closest thing that Georgia could provide in the way of a state funeral for Tomochichi… Upon his death, Oglethorpe had the body brought to Savannah, where it was borne to the center of a city square. The pallbearers were Oglethorpe, Stephens, and four military officers. As the air reverberated with discharging minute guns and volleys of fire from small arms, Tomochichi's body was laid to rest. For the occasion every man under arms who "could instantly be found" was present and firing.[52]

Savannah's Jewish Colonists

It was the intent of the Trustees to make their Colony of Georgia into a place of religious freedom for those practicing Protestant faiths, but certainly not for Catholicism, which was forbidden. The thought of Jewish immigrants had not actually occurred to them so it was somewhat of a surprise when 42 Jewish colonists, who had either paid their own way, or had sponsors in England, arrived in Savannah in July 1733 on the H.M.S. *William* and *Sarah*.[53] Historian Harold Davis describes their arrival as "uninvited, unexpected, and unwanted."[54] They had come from London and surrounding towns where many had been living as refugees from war and religious persecution.

As part of fundraising efforts in London, the Trustees had raised a sum of money from the wealthy members of Bevis Marks Congregation, which they assumed was meant to support Protestant colonists. The donors instead saw it as an opportunity to send Jewish refugees out of London.[55] After the Jewish colonists had sailed for Georgia, the Trustees voted in London to deny them entry into the Colony. Oglethorpe, who did not know of the vote, was taken by surprise and with the guidance of other colonial leaders in South Carolina determined that as the charter only forbid Catholics, they should be allowed entry.[56] There were

(Above) Old Jewish Burial Grounds Established 1773 by Mordecai Sheftall
(Upper Right) Original 1733 Burial Plot for Savannah's Jewish Community
(Lower Right) Levi Sheftall Family Cemetery, Established 1773.

The Jewish colonists in Savannah were a strong community throughout the Colonial period. In 1734, they comprised about 17 percent of the population of Savannah.[57] They played a continuing role in the success of the young colony. While their numbers declined sharply before and during the War of Jenkins Ear, amidst fears of further persecution should the Spanish come into control of the colony, they rebounded in the later part of the 18th century.[58]

Sephardic Jews from Portugal who spoke Portuguese, Ashkenazim Jews from Germany speaking German or Hebrew, and others from Central Europe. Many of the Jewish immigrants in the Georgia colony were educated and involved in trade or banking. Davis noted that although they were one community in the eyes of the Protestants, they were divided by their different practices within Judaism and by their countries of origin. In many ways, the Ashkenazim Jews from Germany had more in common with the Salzburgers than with the Jewish immigrants from Portugal.[59] These new arrivals were granted land by Oglethorpe and allowed to stay. For the first two years they conducted private worship services, but in 1735 they founded one Jewish Congregation, Mickve Israel.[60]

Within six months of arrival, the Jewish community had their first casualty. Oglethorpe granted them a small plot, "upon the Common of the Town of Savannah to bury their dead."[61] Today this burial ground is in the median of Oglethorpe Avenue near Bull Street.[62] There are no definitive records of the total number of interments in this cemetery, but it was used for several decades before the Jewish community petitioned to have it enlarged and formalized in 1770. In addition to this burial ground, Benjamin Sheftall had purchased a plot of land to bury his son, some distance from the town (Family Burial Ground of

Levy Sheftall – De Lyon De La Motta Cemetery – est. 1773). Mordecai Sheftall decided to establish a new Jewish Burial ground at his own expense, when his half-brother, Benjamin, denied him permission to bury a Jewish traveler in the family cemetery as an act of charity (Old Jewish Burial Ground, est. 1769). He purchased land and put it in trust in 1773, but the first burials were interred in 1769.

Ebenezer

Ironically, it was the Salzburgers and not the Anglican worthy poor of England that came closest to embodying Oglethorpe's vision.[63] They formed a strong, hard working, and pious community centered on their town of Ebenezer, some 25 miles up the river from Savannah. They even managed in later years to earn a good living from the silk worms and the mulberry trees, just as the Trustees had envisioned.

The Salzburgers were among the first to arrive. The name Salzburger refers to the refugees from the Austrian city of Salzburg, but in Georgia the name came to mean any German-speaking Protestant that immigrated to the colony. They were also called the German Dutch. In Austria, they had been given the choice to renounce their Protestant Lutheran faith, or leave.[64] Led by their Reverend Johann Martin Boltzius, they were soon joined by the Palatines from the Rhineland, but as with the term Salzburger, the moniker also referred to German-speaking Protestants from Italy, Switzerland, or Alsace.[65] Unlike many other settlers, they did not find the prohibitions on rum and slavery to be distasteful. In fact, they actively advocated against allowing slavery in Georgia. The Salzburgers concentrated on mulberry trees for silk, lumber, and American Indian trade.[66] In addition to settling in Ebenezer, in the late 1740s other Swiss German colonists would found the smaller settlement of Vernonberg, which is just south of Savannah.

The original settlement of Ebenezer was founded on the banks of the Ebenezer Creek in 1734. Disease proved disastrous for early settlers and, combined with dysentery and scurvy, almost 35 percent of the colonists died the first year.[67] Seeking a more healthful climate, the Salzburgers moved a few miles to the banks of the Savannah River to establish New Ebenezer.

Infant Burial at New Ebenezer, 1734

Of the two weak babies who were baptized yesterday, one died yesterday, and the other today. They will be buried towards evening. It has been our custom to arrange burials as follows. 1) The signal for burial is given with our small bell. 2) We usually choose for it a time when the listeners have finished their day's work so that all those whose circumstances permit may be present at the interment. 3) After our school children and some of the people have assembled at the place where the body is, we sing a funeral hymn which is followed by the reading of a passage from the Bible that deals with dying. 4) The bearers are followed by the school children and the school master, the rest of the people following them. We do not sing on the way, but as soon as the body is interred, we all sing: Now let us bury the body etc. 5) After the burial we give a brief reading from the Word of God to the assembled people, and then we close with prayer and a few verses of some hymn.

- Reverend Johann Martin Boltzius, *Old Ebenezer, March 14, 1734 (Translated from the original German).*[68]

Plan of New Ebenezer, Matthias Seutter, 1747, Germany.
Note location for the fenced graveyard or "churchyard"
is at location "O." Source: Special Collections, University
of Georgia Libraries.
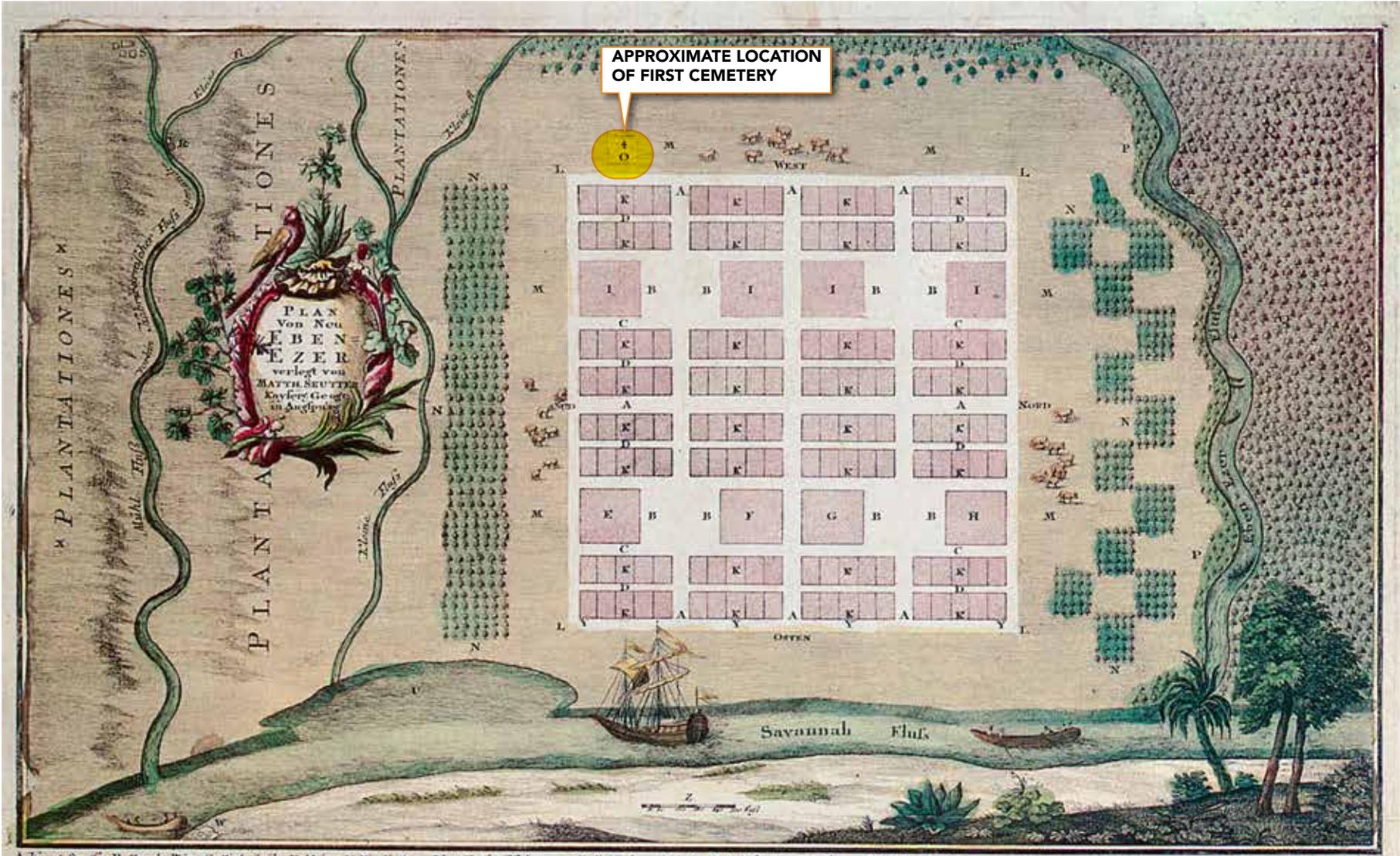
Church and Cemetery at New Ebenezer

Today, the New Jerusalem Lutheran church at New Ebenezer is the oldest religious building in Georgia. The burial grounds contain marked graves beginning in 1813. Burial records, not continuous, exist from 1736 to the 1800s. Recent ground penetrating radar studies have shown that there are at least 250 unmarked graves outside the cemetery walls.

Source: My Genealogy Hound Website.

New Ebenezer, like Savannah, was laid out in an orderly grid pattern. The original burial ground was located on the southwestern outskirts of the town, on the far side of the town from the river. One of the earliest priorities for residents was the construction of a church. The church they built, called New Jerusalem, was built from wood in 1741. It was the second Protestant church built in the colony, the first being at Fort Frederica. The wood structure was replaced with a brick church in 1767.

The Moravians of Irene

One final distinct cultural group that was present during the first decade of colonial Georgia was the Moravians. They established the town of Irene, up the river from Savannah, in order to christianize the American Indians. After only a few years, however, they would leave Georgia for Pennsylvania or to return to Europe. Internal strife within the group brought discord and, with the approach of the War of Jenkins Ear, they were asked to fulfill their obligations of serving in the militia for the protection of the colony. The Moravians as strict pacifists would not bear arms and chose to leave Georgia rather than fight. They would later return to Georgia in 1800 and open missions among the Cherokee, such as Springplace in Murray County.

MILITARY GEORGIA: FORT KING GEORGE, DARIEN, AND FORT FREDERICA

The first British military presence in Georgia, Fort King George, was established in 1721 on the Altamaha River delta.[69] Life on this isolated outpost was difficult, and, in its short span of operation from 1721-1727, approximately 140 British soldiers garrisoned at the fort died from disease, malnutrition, or warfare with the American Indians. The fort's location was lost until local historian Bessie Lewis rediscovered it in the 1930s.[70]

The colony was founded, in part, to protect British interests in the Carolinas from Spanish aggression. To this end, Oglethorpe and the Trustees' plan for protection involved two critical components: a military fort at Fort Frederica on St. Simons Island and establishment of a town on the Altamaha River, near the location of the former Fort King George. They planned for Highland Scots to settle this town, a close-knit group with a strong military tradition.

Fort King George

Archaeological excavations at the fort discovered some 65 graves.[71] The 15 gravestones and marble monument visible today on the site were erected in 1950 by the Georgia Historical Commission to mark the location of the burial ground and to honor those interred there.[72]

Fort King George
Source: GDOT

The British Army at Fort Frederica 1735-1742

The military garrison and town at Fort Frederica provided an economic engine for Savannah and surrounding towns as they sought to provide supplies. Troops at Fort Frederica numbered approximately 500 on average and at one point accounted for approximately 20 percent of the white male population of the colony.[73] The small "boom town" of Frederica was located outside the fort and its citizens supplied many services to the fort such as bakers, blacksmiths, and merchants. The residents relied on the purchasing power of the fort's inhabitants to sustain their livelihoods.[74] While many other colonists struggled to provide or obtain food for themselves, inhabitants of the fort had the money and clout to purchase not only enough for sustenance, but also to entertain lavishly.[75] Once again, a frontier location functioned more as an urban environment with centralized power and community planning. At Fort Frederica, the deceased were buried in the Old Burial Grounds on the outskirts of the town.

The Highland Scots at Darien

To aid his plan for the military protection of Georgia, Oglethorpe asked Captain William Dunbar and Lieutenant William MacKay to recruit Highlanders and their families, from areas around Inverness, to settle in the new colony and help provide for its defense. Oglethorpe was meticulous in specifying the virtues of these recruits.[76] The Highland colonists, accompanied by their minister, the Reverend John McLeod from the Isle of Skye, arrived in Georgia in 1736 and founded the town of Darien on the Altamaha River. Over the next decade, more Highlanders came, bolstering the outpost at Darien. The Highland Scots, like the Salzburgers, repudiated slavery, and their close-knit community, which was grounded in the Scottish clan system, added stability to the Southern frontier of Georgia. The Scots would prove invaluable militarily.

A Mid-18th-Century Scottish Funeral

"Thus in all towns I was acquainted with, every death was immediately made known to the inhabitants by the passing bell. This was usually done by the beadle or kirk officer, who walked through the streets at a slow pace, tinkling a small bell, sometimes called the dead-bell, and sometimes the passing-bell, with head uncovered, intimated that a brother (or sister) whose name had been given had departed this life… the officer was obliged to make this announcement at once, however unreasonable the hour. A lykewake, too, (the watching the dead body) took place in the night, or during the several nights intervening between the death and the funeral. As the intimation made by the passing bell was understood to be a general invitation, great crowds attended the funeral."[77]
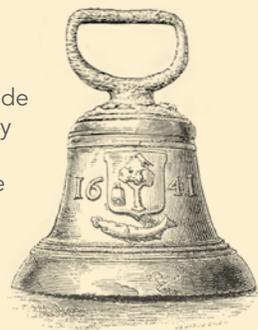
- Somerville of Jedburgh (1741-1814), Memoirs
 (Description of a Funeral in Scotland)

Dead Bell Illustration. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Scottish Traditions in the Old World...and the New

Old City Cemetery at Darien (established 1736). Today only a small part of this cemetery remains with three visible graves. It was used between 1736-1806.

Eighteenth-century Scots in the northeastern part of Scotland in particular felt that as the church and churchyard had been dedicated to God, then the Devil should have his due. When they brought new land under cultivation, they would set aside a small parcel, walling it off to prevent its use for farming and leaving it to the Devil.[78] This was called Clootie's Croft or Devil's Croft. In this way, they hoped he would leave their sacred places alone. This practice was forbidden by the churches, but that did not dissuade farmers from quietly keeping land set aside. Additionally, Scots felt that the Devil was more apt to bother graveyards if they were near a meetinghouse or crossroads, so they tended to not place them in these locations.[79]

Funerals in Scotland, particularly those of the middle and upper classes, always involved drinking and dancing.[80] The more lavish the funerals, the more drinking and dancing was involved. As the church frowned on the dancing, often the men and women would dance at separate times as this was felt to be more respectable. Spending lavishly on a funeral, as well as drinking to excess, was considered socially, if not religiously, appropriate.[81] Scottish Presbyterianism and Calvinist doctrine tended toward the strict and unembellished, which was counter to the fashionable Scots funeral of the 18th century.

Like Savannah, Darien's town plan was drafted by Oglethorpe and included town squares. The Scots in Darien founded the First Presbyterian Church in Georgia in 1736. Like all colonial towns in Georgia, even those in remote locations, the citizens were buried in the communal burial grounds, the remnant of which in Darien is now called the Old City Cemetery. The earliest burials in the cemetery reportedly date to 1736.

FRONTIER GEORGIA: AUGUSTA

The town of Augusta clearly represented the frontier during the Trustee period of colonial Georgia. While the other towns were at most 65 miles from Savannah, the frontier town of Augusta was located 150 miles as the crow flies, or 230 miles up the Savannah River where the trading paths of the Upper and Lower Creek Indians intersected.[82] Augusta's commercial livelihood rested on their ability to link American Indian Trade goods to the markets in Savannah, but most importantly Charleston.[83]

Augusta, though under the control of the Trustees, was impacted less by their scrutiny, and rules were clearly broken or ignored there that would have been enforced in Savannah. While slavery was still outlawed, the traders and cattlemen of the Augusta area enlisted a number of Africans, either enslaved (from South Carolina), free, or "rented," to help in their trade enterprises.[84] South Carolinians, who could not engage in the fur trade without a Georgia license, set up their operations on the Savannah River, opposite Augusta, and sailed boats full of cargo down the Savannah River, bypassing the port of Savannah and taking the goods directly to Charleston.[85] Nevertheless, the traders of Augusta were wealthier than most of their counterparts in Savannah during the Trustee period.[86] Even though the town was perched solidly on the frontier, it operated like an urban center and was still connected to the larger outside world.

Augusta, like the other early Georgia settlements, was a planned colonial town. After Oglethorpe and the Trustees convinced Parliament to pass an Indian Act in 1735 that required all fur traders, whether in South Carolina or Georgia, to obtain a Georgia license, he began the process of trying to wrest control of the American Indian Trade at this important crossroads.[87] This included Augusta's upcoming part in trying to control the influx of enslaved Africans and rum into Georgia from Florida and South Carolina. Oglethorpe handpicked the men he wanted to play key roles in the founding of Augusta. Other key individuals from South Carolina, seeing new opportunities instead of roadblocks, decided to move across the river and become Georgians.[88]

The construction of Fort Augusta and the town of Augusta began in 1736. True to its Anglican roots, the first church constructed in Augusta was St. Paul's Episcopal Church, which was built close to the fort. The church and graveyard were dedicated in 1750-51.[89] One custom that shows how life in Augusta differed from life in Savannah is seen in the way that men attended church. A law required all men to carry firearms and at least six rounds of ammunition when they attended services.[90] Unlike in Savannah, conflict with the tribes was a more pressing concern for the colonists of Augusta.

St. Paul's Parish Cemetery Gates, Augusta. Source: Library of Congress, Historic American Buildings Survey GA-231, Post 1933.

The burial ground in Augusta was located immediately adjacent to the church, which is on the river in the center, not the outskirts of town. This differs from the legislatively designated burial places in the planned towns of Savannah and Ebenezer, where they were not next to the churches, but instead placed away from the town center and the river. Even if the church administered the burial grounds, they were often not part of the church property. Residents of Augusta seemed to have reverted to an earlier European tradition of keeping the burial grounds close to the church for protection. Defense from all directions was the priority on the frontier.

THREE GEORGIAS MERGE INTO ONE ROYAL COLONY

At the close of the Trustee period, which lasted 20 years, the economic situation in Georgia was bleak. Except for pockets of success in places like Ebenezer and for the traders of Augusta, the colony could not feed itself fully and the population that was supposed to be composed of independent farmers was instead overwhelmingly urban. It is estimated that 1,150 colonists out of a total of 1,735, lived in the cities or towns of Savannah, Ebenezer, Augusta, Darien, and Frederica.[91] Many in the colony of Georgia blamed their lack of success on the limitations set on land ownership and, in particular, on the ban of slavery. Known as the *Malcontents*, they advocated for slavery to be permitted in Georgia.

Despite the support from the Scots and Salzburgers, the Trustees began to lose interest and faith in their experiment. In 1751, one year before the Trustee period was scheduled to end and when Parliament had denied their annual request for money, the Trustees decided to surrender their charter early. This ushered in Georgia's period as a Royal Colony.

The Royal period in Georgia saw a coalescing of cultures. Highlanders, Anglicans, and German Lutherans joined waves of South Carolina planters, all of whom were suddenly becoming Georgians. Within two decades, the colony changed drastically with the South Carolinians as the prime movers. Historian Paul M. Pressly calls this

Detail from 1757 DeBrahm Map Showing Georgia's Narrow Footprint along the Coast and up the Savannah River.
Source: Special Collections, University of Georgia Libraries.

SUNBURY
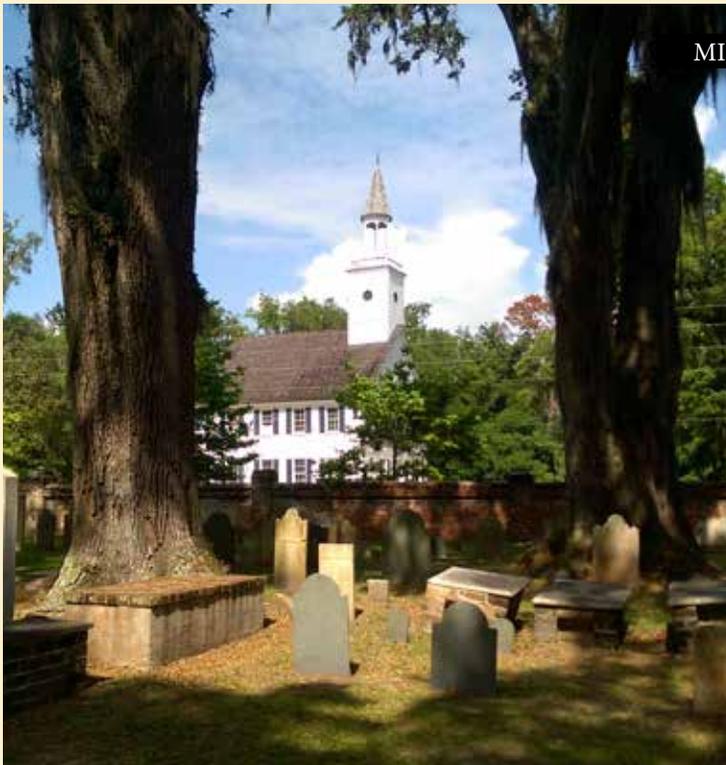
MIDWAY

Sunbury and Midway Cemeteries

The cemetery of Sunbury still stands even as the rest of the town has disappeared. There are 34 marked graves in the cemetery, which is the last physical reminder of the town. Although the residents of Sunbury were in name Congregationalists, and therefore should have had strong Puritan leanings, historian James Stacy felt that they were "nominally Congregational, but nevertheless, substantially, Presbyterian."[92] He noted that for Midway Church, all charitable funds were run through the Presbyterian Church and all but two of the church's ministers were Presbyterian. Fifty members of the church became Presbyterian ministers and three African American Presbyterian churches have been born from Midway Church.[93] Midway Church remains as one of the oldest religious structures in Georgia. Across the street, Midway's Colonial period Burial Grounds still stand shaded by huge trees and surrounded by a stonewall. This cemetery features box crypts and individual graves in a general linear arrangement with classic 18th-century grave markers.

(Top) Sunbury Cemetery, Liberty County.

(Bottom) Midway Congregational Church, Midway, Liberty County.

Map of Proclamation Line of 1763.
Source: Carl Waldman's *Atlas of the North American Indian*, 2009.

coalescing the "Carolinization" of Georgia, meaning that although their founding principles were completely different from those in neighboring South Carolina, Georgia suddenly became economically and socially tied to Carolina.[94] Three political changes spurred this alignment:1) absolute inheritance of land was established in 1750 to allow individual ownership (land no longer belonged to Trustees) and the accrual of large land plots; 2) Georgia's ban on slavery was repealed in 1751; and 3) major land cessions by the Creek Indians in the 1763 Treaty of Augusta opened up new land for settlement.[95]

Land could now be bought and sold without limits. The end of the ban on slavery and the changes in inheritance laws brought a rush of Carolina planters into the Coastal Plain of Georgia to start rice plantations.[96] These planters quickly became deeply involved in Georgia politics and by 1755, had its slave code changed to match South Carolina's, legalizing slavery in Georgia.[97] The next 20 years would see a drastic increase in the growth of Georgia. Georgia's population in 1753 was an estimated 3,500 people. By 1773, it had risen to almost 33,000.[98] Approximately 15,000 of these individuals were enslaved Africans.[99]

The standard of living increased with this prosperity and with it, the standards of the average funeral. Improved trading with North American and European markets, along with an increase in locally and regionally produced manufactured goods, brought greater access to a wider array of burial items and materials. Proper coffins were luxuries, and their use was limited to those who could afford them. Demand in Colonial period urban centers, such as Charleston and Savannah, supported skilled craftsmen who could produce high quality European-style coffins, with decorative hardware such as breastplates or handles.[100] The desire to protect the dead also led to the introduction of a vaulted or two-stage grave shaft (see drawings page 108).[101]

NEW ARRIVALS

The Treaty of Augusta and the Proclamation Line of 1763 firmly established the boundaries of American Indian Territory in much of Georgia and opened up large amounts of territory for Colonial expansion. This was particularly true for the areas between the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers. Some of the first Carolinians to enter Georgia in the Royal period were a group of Congregationalists that settled south of Savannah. They built a European style town on the Medway River, arranged like Savannah in town squares. The first town was built at Sunbury in 1757 by Congregationalists from Dorchester, South Carolina (originally from Dorchester, Massachusetts). The same group later built the town of Midway, several miles to the west, and both towns became prosperous

ports, second in Georgia only to Savannah. Both Sunbury and Midway were successful until the American Revolution, when, as staunch supporters of the colonies, they were frequently targeted by the British forces. Today, Colonial period cemeteries mark the remains of both towns.

PRAGMATISM SURPASSES IDEALISM – FROM THE TOWN TO THE PLANTATION

In the last decade leading up to the American Revolution, the largest ethnic groups to settle in Georgia were from Scotland, northern England, and Ireland, but in particular the Scots-Irish. Many settlers came directly from the British Isles, but others made their way to Georgia via other colonies or the Caribbean.[102] Their coming marked a noticeable shift in the type of immigrant to Georgia. Whereas immigrants previously came for either freedom from religious persecution or as charity cases to participate in the grand experiment that was the Colony of Georgia under the Trustees, now they came as families, with trades and more of a middle-class, practical outlook.[103] They came for materialistic, economic reasons, not because they were desperate, but because they sought to raise their fortunes. Some were known to have been indentured, but most immigrants paid their own way.

These immigrants represented multiple religious backgrounds with the largest faiths being Presbyterian and Episcopalian. Both groups shared less of a reliance on the clergy for a relationship with God. As a group, they tended to be very fatalistic about death; as dangerous as the American colonial frontier was, death rates were actually higher in the Scottish border region.[104] A Puritan or Quaker may have shared their fatalistic view of death, but the Puritan worried about what would happen to him after death, while the Presbyterian's concerns centered on what form death would take when it came and how they would face death with courage.[105]

(Left) Brampton Plantation Cemetery, Chatham County. The plantation was established in 1765 by Jonathan Bryan.

While established on the ideals of religious freedom for all Protestants, Georgia was not a religious colony.[106] Religion did not play a central role in the life of the colony the way it did in

Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, or Maryland. There were pious Georgians, but the majority of the population saw religion as only one facet of their daily lives. Ministers, except the Lutherans, frequently complained that attendance at their services was very low.[107] Charles Wesley, a minister and brother to John Wesley, founder of Methodism, once complained to Oglethorpe on the lack of godliness in the congregation at Christ Church in Savannah. He said he seldom had, "above six at the public service…[On April 5th] My congregation in the evening consisted of two Presbyterians and a Papist."[108]

In the last decades of the Colonial period, the secular nature of the population merged with the pragmatism of a new settlement pattern and more personal forms of religion. Slowly there was a shift away from the legislated and religious burial grounds of town and church to the personal family plots that pepper the Georgia landscape today. As plantations of thousands of acres became more common in Georgia, populations became more disparate, and the central public or church cemetery less practical. It was much more convenient to have a personal family burial ground than to travel for many miles or days to the nearest church or city cemetery. Add to this the shortage of clergy in the colony of Georgia, and it became increasingly likely that funeral services would be presided over by lay clergy or family members. It is estimated that, in the last decade of colonial Georgia, there were less than 10 full time clergymen for 30,000 Georgians.[109] This new pragmatism led families in the plantation south to establish their own carefully maintained family cemeteries, and yeoman farmers followed suit as the upcountry started to develop.

EXPANSION AND CHANGE

As the frontier spread westward, American Indian tribes exchanged their lands through treaties, were forced to move, and in some cases became entwined by marriage and economy to the Euroamerican population of the colony. As some tribal members were incorporated into colonial society, their burial traditions incorporated elements of traditional culture with elements of Christian burials; however, there is little scholarly information on how this shift occurred. Today, the identification of historic period American Indian graves is challenging.

The "Three Georgias" produced notable burial grounds within their respective geographies, which reflect the specific aims of the Trustees as well as belief systems of the early colonists and their material accommodations to the colonial world. The incoming wave of South Carolina planters in the Royal Colony period, however, would create new settlement patterns that moved the cemetery from the town to the plantation and frontier as both planter and yeoman farmers began to push to the north and west, establishing cemeteries on their properties, in their churchyards, and in their settlements. Georgia's developing geography is key to understanding Georgia's early Euroamerican burial places. The shift to more private ownership of death and burial rituals, one less mandated by civil and religious authorities, is another important hallmark of this period.

During this shift, Georgia's ban on slavery was repealed allowing the forced entry of approximately 15,000 enslaved Africans by 1773. This chapter has dealt with Euroamerican colonization; the next will look at the burial practices of enslaved Africans and their contribution to the history of Georgia's burial grounds from 1751 to the Civil War.

Fort Frederica Cemetery, Glynn County.

Chapter Two Summary

KEYS

🔑 Georgia's burial history from European contact until 1790 resulted primarily from Western European Christian traditions, particularly Catholicism and Church of England.

🔑 Catholic traditions from the Mission period gave way to those of the Church of England upon establishment of the Trustee's Georgia Colony. Burial during this period was mandated to be in church graveyards, or in the case of Jewish Georgians, in one set aside for the Jewish community.

🔑 When Georgia became a royal colony in 1752, the reality of larger plantations started a shift from mandated burials in a churchyard, to people burying on their property. Family cemeteries become common as larger distances made it impractical to transport the deceased to town.

🔑 Repealing the ban on enslavement in 1751 meant that the population of enslaved African workers rose significantly and steadily, and traditional African burial practices interacted with traditional western European Christian traditions.

🔑 As the frontier line between Euroamerican and America Indian settlement moved steadily westward and inland, multi-ethnic families merged traditions and these were likely reflected in their burial traditions.

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

- Before survey, check to see when the area where the cemetery is located would have been considered "the frontier." Are there graves in the cemetery that date to that period? Is it one of the Three Georgias?
- Can patterns of acculturation or material evolution be seen in Euroamerican, African, or American Indian, moving towards a common tradition observed in Georgia cemeteries?
- Are there markers types, symbols, or epitaphs that can be linked to a specific religious group or ideology in early Georgia?
- If the cemetery was founded on the frontier, does the placement on the historic landscape reflect one of the Three Georgias – Urban, Military, or Frontier?

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World*. Athens, The University of Georgia Press, 2013.

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Unknown Artist, A Congo Chieftain's Grave, circa 1830, West Central Africa. Source: *Century Magazine*, Volume 1 in Suzanne E. Smith's *To Serve the Living: Funeral Directors and the African American Way of Death*.

CHAPTER THREE
AFRICAN DEATH AND BURIAL: 1751-1860

The shells stand for the sea. The sea brought us, and the sea shall take us back. So the shells upon our graves

stand for water, the means of glory, and the land of demise.

- St. Simons resident, as quoted in William S. Pollitizer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*[1]

Thousands of enslaved Africans were brought to Georgia's coast after Oglethorpe's ban on slavery was overturned in 1751. The economic success of South Carolina, due in great part to the labor of enslaved Africans and American Indians, motivated the leaders of the new royal colony of Georgia to allow slavery, the inheritance of land, and the ownership of large tracts of land. Individuals from different Western African cultures were forced to join enslaved American Indians and other enslaved West Africans (who had been relocated from plantations in the Caribbean, Virginia, and the Carolinas) to labor on coastal Georgia rice plantations. As the state expanded from its colonial coastal geography westward and northward to its antebellum configuration, where cotton became king, they or their descendants would work the plantations in the interior. The lives, deaths, and – most salient to this context – the burials grounds of enslaved peoples were intricately woven into the geography, chronology, and intensity of this growth.

Georgia's enslaved African population in the 18th and early 19th centuries is best characterized as an amalgam of West African cultures unified by their oppressed status and new geography. There were warps, however, in that definition, particularly in the arena of religion that allowed cultural movement that would both differentiate and unify enslavers and the enslaved. The African majority found along Georgia's coast spurred the development of a creole culture, known as Gullah in South Carolina and Geechee in Georgia. This culture merged various West African beliefs with Christian and Islamic theologies into a unique culture and ideology. Enslaved Africans became Christians because they were forbidden to practice their own religions, influenced by missionaries, or forced by their enslavers to convert, thus bridging their traditional religious beliefs with that of the New World order to which they were bound.

The enslaved population largely adopted Christianity. By 1860, many attended Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches. Descendants of Africans living in urban environments had an advantage over their rural counterparts, in that Black churches established in cities such as Augusta and Savannah in the antebellum period provided religious succor, fellowship, and a seedbed for opportunity. Rural communities that saw itinerant preachers or that shared a church with a white community were less fortunate in this regard with less access to these advantages.

To better understand this complex period, this chapter examines: the plantation economy and the importation of West Africans in Georgia; enslaved African religious ideology and the increasing number of Christians within their population; the formation of the Gullah Geechee creole culture along the coast where enslaved Africans were the majority population; burial practices in the contested landscape of the plantation; and ultimately the African influenced landscape of death up to the Civil War. This analysis is built upon historical studies of West African and plantation life, plantation journals, oral history and folklore, including interviews of African Americans along Georgia's coast compiled in *Drums & Shadows: Survival Studies Among Georgia Coastal Negroes* by the Georgia Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration, and archaeological studies.

THE PLANTATION ECONOMY AND WEST AFRICAN ENSLAVEMENT

The 1751 repeal of the ban on slavery in Georgia introduced a wave of enslaved Africans, who predominantly were forcibly brought to North America from Africa's west coast. Georgia's colonists were well aware of the profits South Carolina planters were acquiring through rice plantation agriculture and using enslaved African labor; slave-holding South Carolina planters were equally aware of the virgin territory along Georgia's coast that was suited to rice production. Rice plantation agriculture, however, was not feasible or profitable without a large enslaved labor force skilled in growing rice. With the repeal of the ban on slavery, South Carolinians moved into Georgia to establish new rice plantations and Georgians followed their lead by forming plantations of their own. The plantation system in the American colonies used slavery, which restricted individual rights and placed control of both life and death of those enslaved in the hands of the plantation owner.

Rice, indigo, and sea island cotton, which were all crops grown on the West African coast, were the first plantation crops of Georgia; of these, rice dominated the coastal colonial landscape. Europeans had recognized rice as a product of West Africa from the 15th century on, which made the enslavement of skilled West African labor necessary for this cash crop. As rice agriculture developed in coastal Georgia, planters sought to enslave West Africans from rice-growing regions. Historians Michael Gomez and Gwendolyn Hall noted that at this time in history, West Africa was organized not into nations but into cultural regions comprising hundreds of distinct societies, each with its own particular traditions, that nonetheless shared similar beliefs and customs.[2] Gomez identified seven regions in West Africa from which individuals were enslaved, all of which produced rice to varying degrees.

Recognizing the diversity of West Africa, planters actively sought to enslave people from specific regions based on their needs and the ultimate goal of increasing their profits. People from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Angola, and West Central Africa were preferred for rice agriculture. Sierra Leoneans were also sought for cotton plantations, Gambians for cattle herding, and Angolans for crafts, and the Mande (a Senegambian group) were touted as house servants.[3] While planters had their regional and cultural preferences, the reality was that most plantations with large communities of enslaved workers had a mix of people from different regions and cultures. People from West Central Africa, Senegambia, the Bight of Benin, and Sierra Leone comprised much of Georgia's enslaved African population.

(Below) By region, West Central Africa accounted for about 26% of the West Africans brought to the New World, while the Bight of Biafra was 24%, Sierra Leone 16%, Senegambia 15%, and the Gold Coast 13%. The remaining percentage of enslaved people came from other regions.[4]

- West Central Africa
- Bight of Biafra
- Sierra Leone
- Senegambia
- Gold Coast
- Other African Regions

6%
13%
26%
15%
16%
24%
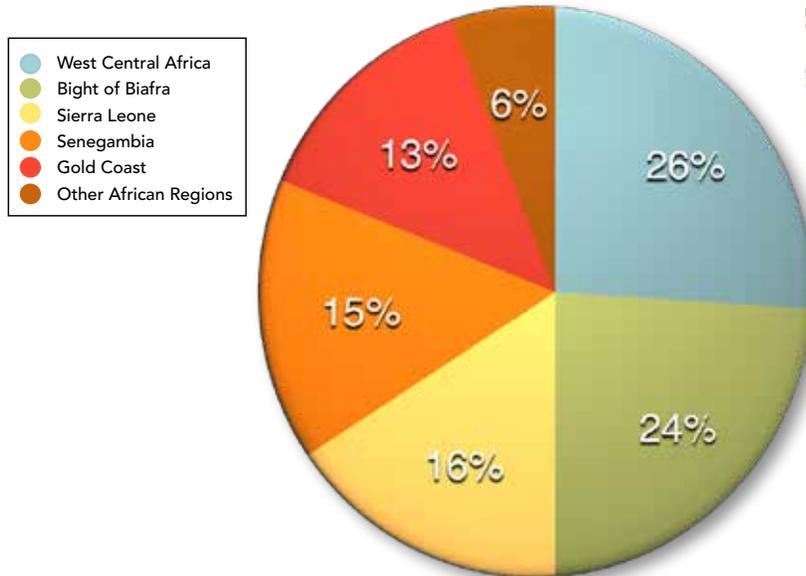
(Above) Detail showing West Africa from an 1839 Map of Africa. Drawn by Samuel Augustus Mitchell and published in Philadelphia.

During the Colonial period, Africans enslaved in Georgia were primarily held on coastal rice plantations. Rice agriculture flourished in the tidal environments from the coast to roughly 30 miles inland, where the tidal ebb and flow could be used to drain and flood rice fields. As the territory of Georgia expanded inland, first along the Savannah River and then toward the west and northwest following American Indian land cessions, cotton followed as the inland plantation cash crop. Short staple cotton became an important cash crop following the invention of the cotton gin in the late 18th century. Enslaved Africans were held on cotton plantations of the upper Coastal Plain and Piedmont.[5]

The skilled labor required for rice agriculture created a Black majority along Georgia's coast, one that existed both before and after the Civil War.[6] At the time of the Civil War, enslaved Africans made up 70 percent or more of the population in rice-growing coastal counties such as Glynn, McIntosh, and Camden, percentages that were much higher than found in other Georgia counties.[7] The high density of West Africans from a variety of regions and cultural backgrounds, coupled with absentee enslavers, led to the creation of a new, creole culture along the coast, known as the Gullah Geechee.

The presence of large numbers of West Africans living in relative isolation from whites along the plantations of the Sea Islands led to the formation of a creole culture known as the Gullah Geechee. "Gullah" was a term applied to low country Africans in South Carolina and is thought to result from slave traders referring to West Africans from Angola as "A'Gola" or "Gullah." The name "Geechee" is believed to result from the presence of large numbers of Africans on plantations along the Ogeechee River in Georgia.[8] The Geechee who lived on the sea islands are referred to as "Saltwater Geechee," while those who lived on the rivers are called "Freshwater Geechee." While this creole culture was known by different names in Georgia and South Carolina, it is in essence one culture.

The enslaved West Africans of these plantations spoke different languages, were from different regions and societies, yet all were thrust into compounds. Their efforts to communicate resulted in a creole language that incorporated words from different West African languages with English, French, Portuguese, and other European words. This pidgin language likely began in West African prison camps where captured West Africans were held before transatlantic shipment, as well as on the vessels that carried them across the Atlantic.[9]

Geechee culture was influenced by task labor practices along the coast. Rice plantations operated under a "task system" in which enslaved people were assigned specific tasks to complete each day. Once they had completed these tasks, the remaining time was theirs to use as they chose. The Geechee thus had time to work at a number of crafts that drew on their West African heritage, including basket making, pottery, iron working, net making, the manufacture of boats, furniture, sewing and quilts, and baked goods and other foods. They sold their work, as well as the fish they had caught, animals they had hunted and trapped, and crops they had grown in their own time, to planters and at markets. This provided the Geechee with a level of self-sufficiency not seen elsewhere during the plantation era, which helped the Geechee remain in the region and continue as a culture to the present.[10]

Interviews of African Americans along the Georgia coast conducted by the Georgia Writers' Project of the Works Projects Administration (WPA) recorded Geechee customs and beliefs about death from the perspectives of coastal residents in the 1930s. Traveling the coast, the interviewers also witnessed and noted the cultural landscape, including cemeteries. These interviews and observations, as compiled and published in 1940 in *Drums and Shadows,* provide a unique record of the Geechee legacy.[11] These interviews, however, are not without controversy over the veracity of the interview transcripts and process. In most cases, white interviewers employed by the WPA interviewed formerly enslaved persons. There is overall suspicion, based on ethnic identity and cultural biases of the interviewers, as to how much information may have been missed, misinterpreted, or even deliberately changed.

Gullah Geechee People

(Top) The Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor was designated by an Act of Congress in 2006 in recognition of the unique cultural traditions that have evolved there from captive Africans brought to the United States from West Africa. (Baskets Right and Left) The Gullah Geechee community retains many elements of West African culture. Sources: *Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Management Plan* and Website.

Rice plantation agriculture was back breaking work carried out under harsh discipline, which led to high mortality rates among enslaved Africans on the coastal plantations. Estimates indicate that a third of newly imported West Africans who worked on rice plantations died in their first year. Other estimates suggest that 80 percent of infants did not survive their first year.[12]

Rice agriculture encouraged a stable plantation landscape, the entirety of which, including canals, ditches, gates, and dikes, was constructed by enslaved Africans. Because the nutrients in rice fields were replenished through flooding and draining the fields, they could be used for long periods of time if enslaved Africans maintained and repaired the dikes and trunks and cleared internal drainage canals. Rice plantations were highly profitable and landscapes developed that featured a large main house, sometimes with oak-lined allées leading to the house, agricultural outbuildings; and compounds for enslaved Africans. Permanent cemeteries for enslaved people were common features of rice plantations.

After the American Revolution, British subsidies for the production of hemp, indigo, and rice ended and the production of hemp and indigo diminished as a result. Georgia's settlers sought new cash crops. Tobacco and cotton were the two crops most frequently planted. Tobacco was the first cash crop of the interior and was grown in such sufficient quantities that by 1800 there were two tobacco warehouses in Augusta and a third warehouse two miles north in Harrisburg.

Cotton supplanted tobacco as the cash crop of the interior following Eli Whitney's patent or reproduction of the cotton gin. While green seed or short staple cotton was known to thrive in the Georgia uplands, it was

This cover illustration from *Harper's Weekly* charts the percentage of enslaved Africans in Georgia by county in 1861 showing the density of the enslaved population throughout the state. Source: *Harper's Weekly*, 1861.
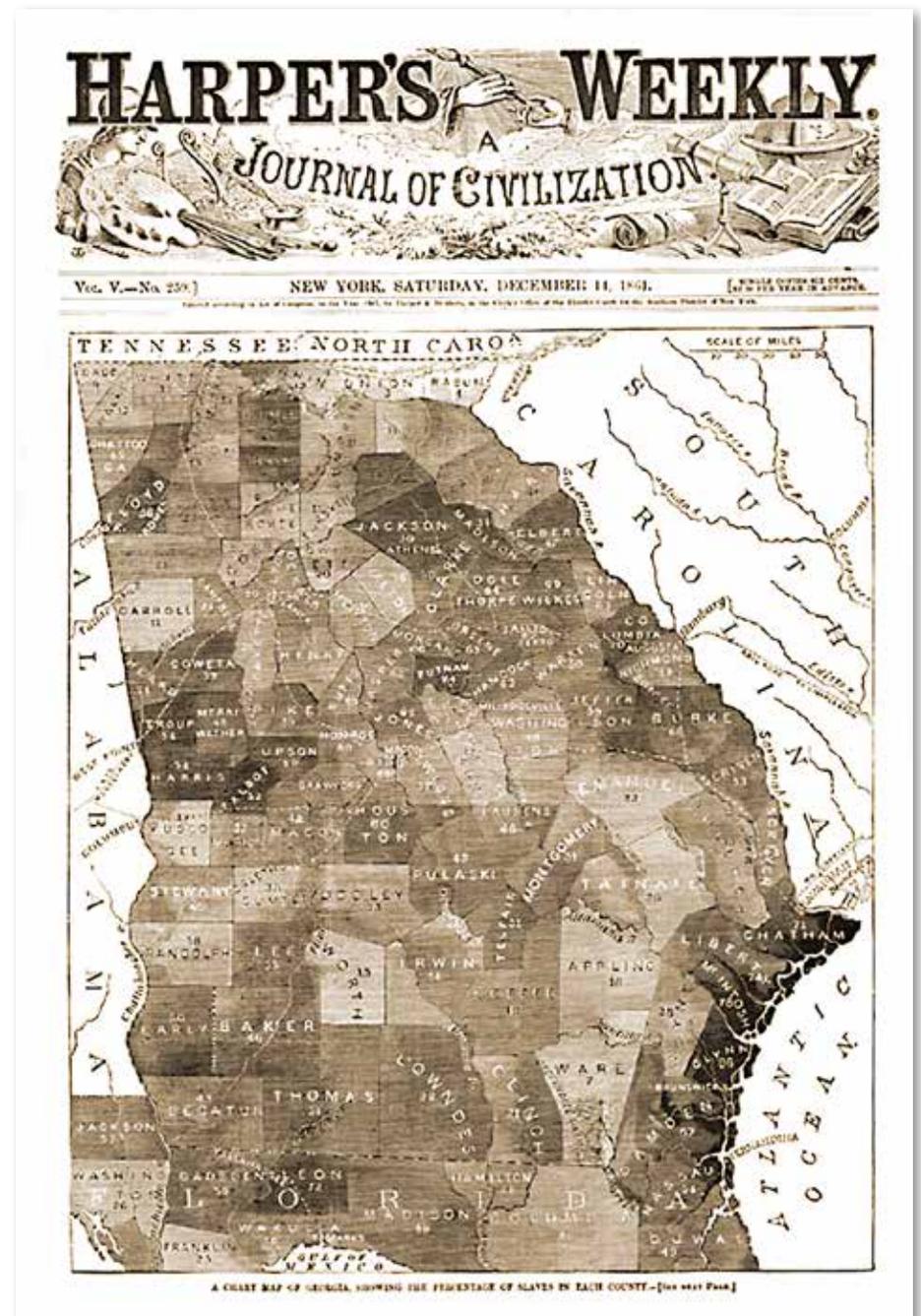
very difficult and time consuming to separate cotton seeds from cotton lint on this variety of cotton, and as a result, it was not widely grown. However, Eli Whitney, while living on Nathaniel Greene's plantation near Savannah, developed the mechanics of the gin based on West African combing techniques. The gin consisted of a cylinder with iron spikes that reached into a drum filled with cotton bolls. The spikes pulled the cotton lint through narrows slits in the drum, leaving cotton seeds behind. As a result, short-staple cotton became the cash crop of the interior, and by 1830, Georgia led all states in cotton production.[13]

Cotton plantation agriculture generated a second band of counties with a sizable enslaved population. While not as dense as the population along the coast, the percentage of enslaved Africans in the upper Coastal Plain and Piedmont reached a majority in counties such as Troup, Harris, Jones, Greene, and Hancock. This band of cotton plantations, with correspondingly large enslaved populations, extended from South Carolina across Georgia and into Mississippi and Louisiana and became known as the "Black Belt."

While cotton plantation agriculture was labor intensive, it also resulted in a less-stable landscape. Cotton required enslaved Africans to clear upland wooded fields, tilling and planting, hoeing fields, harvesting the cotton bolls, and maintaining fences, buildings, and other resources. As cotton agriculture was extremely exhaustive of soils, it required new lands to be cleared for use as fields every three to five years, leaving a landscape of exhausted fields susceptible to erosion. Newly available lands in western Georgia, as well as uncultivated land in Alabama and Mississippi, placed little incentive for planters to conserve their farms and plantations. As woodlands were cleared to form new fields and generate timber for construction, soil erosion transformed exhausted fields to red clay gullies. As a result, planters, farmers and enslaved laborers hopscotched across the South, leaving a scarred landscape in their wake.[14]

Recorded Plantation Cemetery Sites in Georgia

Plantation Cemetery (81)

Source: ESRI World Terrain (2023)

The cemeteries marked in the map above are the result of a keyword search for "plantation" or "slave" within the archaeological and historic resources recorded in Georgia's Natural Archaeological Historic Research Geographic Information System (GNAHRGIS) and the USGS Board of Geographic Names.

The upcountry plantation landscape was less defined, less substantial, and less recognizable than the plantations of the coast. Cotton agriculture and the western frontier merged to form an impermanent landscape. Housing for the enslaved laborers was constructed using simple architectural forms such as log cabins, and many homes of planters were also insubstantial short-term structures. The housing was moved from one place to another as new fields were cleared and used over time. Even the main house location on a cotton plantation could be moved to follow the rotation of fields and villages.[15] While some planters embraced a progressive agriculture that attempted to conserve and revitalize plantation lands, many abandoned their property and moved west. As planters and those they enslaved moved west, both left cemeteries behind, which provide cultural clues about the belief systems underlying them.

BELIEFS THAT SURVIVED THE CROSSING

Buried in the Floor

During archaeological excavations of the Praise House in Richmond Hill, Georgia archaeologist Kenneth Brown uncovered four caches of artifacts in the house floor, including shells, broken glass, limestone plaster with symbols, and a human skull. Brown also has found similar caches in Praise Houses in Texas and South Carolina. He believes they represent West African religious icons and reflect the presence of West African beliefs and rituals within African religion as expressed on the plantation.[20]

Given the density and extent of the enslaved African population through 1861, archaeological studies have recorded relatively few cemeteries that can be associated with plantation slavery (see opposite page). West African ideologies that survived the Middle Passage influenced elements of enslaved African burial customs in Georgia. West Africans believed the living and dead were connected by the land, a belief that would carry on in Georgia.

In most West African cosmologies, the living and dead were connected and the living had a responsibility to care for the spirits of their descendants. Historian John Hope Franklin characterized African spiritualism as ancestor worship:

It was devoutly believed that the spirit that dwelled in a relative was deified upon death, the spirit continuing to live and taking an active interest in the family of the deceased. The spirits of early ancestors had been free to wield an influence for such a long time that they were more powerful than the spirits of the more recently deceased… Not only were the spirits of deceased members of the family worshipped, but a similar high regard was held for spirits which dwelt in the family land, the trees and rocks in the community of the kinship group, and the sky above the community.[16]

The connection between the living, the dead, and the natural world is reflected in multiple West African belief systems. For example, the Bahambra belief system of Senegambia recognized the soul (ni) as well as a spiritual double (dya) and the souls of other living things (tere). The souls of the deceased passed on to newborns as dya, but, being disassociated from their bodies, also roamed the earth with the tere, which together were know as nyama. It was imperative that the living recognize and appease the nyama or else they would cause malevolent actions.[17] The Asante Akan of Sierra Leone also divided the world between the living and the dead.[18] With regard to the Asante Akan cosmology, historian Michael Gomez noted "the land is a link between the ancestors and their living descendants."[19]

The BaKongo Cosmogram

The BaKongo of West Central Africa also believed that the world of the living was linked to the world of the dead. These worlds shared a common plane, the ground surface, with the living on one side and the dead on the opposite side, or underground. The plane that separated these two worlds was referred to as the Kalunga line. Since many of the deepest soil deposits in West Africa contained white kaolinite clay, the world of the dead was considered to be white and, to the BaKongo, white signified death. Above both worlds, the sun traveled in a circle creating a perpetual cycle of day, night, mid-day, midnight, sunset, and sunrise. This cycle also reflected the same cycle seen in human life. The rising of the sun represented birth; mid-day reflected the mid-life; sunset symbolized death; and midnight was a point leading towards the person's rebirth. Life was considered a stage in the constant cycle between life and death, one of many transitions in a continuing cycle between the worlds of the living and dead.[21]

Example of BaKongo Cosmogram etched onto gravestone at Old Smyrna Methodist Church Cemetery, Harris County, Georgia, and drawing.

For the BaKongo, bodies of water (oceans, rivers, or lakes) were thought to separate the worlds of the living and the dead. It was necessary for the spirit to cross these to reach the next world. As the sun rose or set and its light shimmered on the water, visions of the world of the dead could be seen. Water, therefore, was an important symbol for the transition between life and death. The flash or shimmer of sunlight became a means of seeing the spirits of one's ancestors. Silver utensils, coins, foil, glazed ceramics, and glass could also produce flashes. These reflections served a dual purpose by trapping or dazzling spirits, preventing them from leaving an area, and providing a pathway into the spirit world. The presence of white and silver objects, as well as items signifying water (such as sea shells), all appear in African, and later African American burials.[22]

The trade in captured Africans was also responsible for the early transport of Islam to the Americas. West African regions, such as Senegambia, that traded frequently with Arabic or Berber traders from various corners of the Islamic world, were exposed to Islam as early as the 10th century. Michael Gomez states that coastal islands, including Sapelo and St. Simons, were "the collective site of the largest gathering of African Muslims in early North America, establishing a legacy that continues to the present day."[23] Sierra Leone and Senegambia were areas that had a higher frequency of Muslims and were also locations preferred by rice planters for labor.

Muslims were preferred by some planters who considered them to be of higher intelligence, and Muslims frequently assumed supervisory roles as overseers and drivers.[24] Salih Bilali, a devout Muslim, was the head driver of the Cannon's Point on St. Simons, and managed the plantation while the plantation owner was absent, for months at a time.[25] On Thomas Spalding's Sapelo Island plantation, another Muslim, Bilali (also known as Ben Ali), served as the driver and managed a work force of 400-500. During the War of 1812, he prevented the enslaved laborers on the plantation from deserting to the British. In 1813, Bilali defended Sapelo from the British, leading a force of 80 armed enslaved people that prevented the British from accessing the island. Gomez believes this force was predominantly Muslim, and noted a statement by Bilali that he could depend on his fellow Muslims as opposed to other enslaved persons who he called "Christian dogs."[26] Gomez suggests that Muslims from multiple ethnicities would have been able to relate to one another on the basis of their shared religious background and that the Islamic faith was one element of the Geechee identity.[27] The Islamic faith that evolved as part of Geechee culture was not typically the strict adherence to Islam as practiced in Mecca, Islam's holiest city, but instead a deep faith that often blended elements of other religions into a more regional variant of Islam.[28]

Muslims believe in a single God, Allah, whose message was spread by the prophet Muhammad, as well as other earlier but lesser prophets that include Jesus and Moses.[29] The Qur'an is the religious text of Islam and is believed to be the exact word of God, or Allah. There are five pillars of the religion: 1) *Shahadah*: testifying belief by reciting the Shahadah, a declaration of faith; 2) *Salat*: praying to God five times a day on a prayer rug, 3) *Zakat*: giving alms, 4) *Sawm*: fasting from sunrise to sunset during the religious month of Ramadan, and 5) *Hajj*: making a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Planter John Hamilton Couper wrote to a colleague in 1844 that Salih Bilali, an enslaved man on his St. Simon's plantation, "is a strict Mahometan; abstains from spiritous liquors, and keeps the various fasts, particularly that of Rhamadam [Ramadan]."[30] The extent to which Islam was practiced in Georgia is hard to assess, as the religion of the enslaved workers was not a topic that was discussed or noted by antebellum sources. The practice was likely hidden in plain sight by the enslaved and unrecognized by the holders. WPA's interviews conducted along the Georgia coast during the 1930s recorded the oral history of Islamic practices, such as 88 year-old Ben Sullivan's memory of the enslaved African "Old Israel" on Sapelo Island – "He pray when the sun goes up and when the sun goes down… he always ties his head up in a white cloth…."[31]

It is equally unknown as to whether enslaved Muslims in 18th or 19th-century Georgia were able to practice their traditional rites of burial that involve washing rituals, then shrouding, followed by a timely funeral. Muslims prefer to be buried where they died and no embalming, cremation, or coffins are used. The body is simply placed in the ground on its right side facing Mecca. No elaborate grave markers or grave goods are typically found at Muslim graves.

Historian Charles C. Jones noted in an 1842 publication that there were parallels between Islam and Christianity and that African-born Muslims in coastal Georgia related Yahweh (the Hebrew word for God) to Allah, and Jesus to Muhammad. Commonalities between the two religions, both in historical figures and the nature of the faith, were likely a factor that eased the transition into Christianity for many enslaved Africans.[32]

"GLAD TIDINGS TO THE POOR BONDSMEN" – THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

While both West African and Islamic religious beliefs survived the Middle Passage, Christianity would ultimately become the dominant religion of Georgia's enslaved and free Africans. Eighteenth-century planters were reluctant to devote religious instruction to the enslaved, although Christian missionaries advocated that planters were responsible for bringing Christianity to the plantation. Some enslavers argued that Africans did not have souls and hence did not require religion, while others stated that Christian instruction would lessen the enslaved person's willingness to work, or would challenge planter's authority. Finally, they feared that it would educate enslaved Africans in reading and writing and thus provide them with greater ability to communicate with one another, which ultimately could lead to rebellion, the planter's greatest fear.

The obligation to Christianize the enslaved people, however, was noted by religious organizations as well as the English crown. In 1660, King Charles II of England provided instruction to the Council for Foreign Plantations that stated:

…you are to consider here such Natives or such as are purchased by you from other parts to be servants or slaves may best be invited into the Christian Faith, and be made capable of being baptized thereunto, it going to the honor of our Crowne and of the Protestant Religion that all persons in any of our Dominions should be taught the knowledge of God….[33]

Efforts were made by missionaries to ease the enslaver's concerns with the Christianization of the enslaved. Soon after the legalization of slavery in Georgia, the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent Joseph Ottolenghe to preach to the enslaved in Savannah. Arriving in 1751, Ottolenghe held meetings on Tuesday, Thursday, and Sunday evenings where they gathered, prayed, and received Christian instruction. Savannah planters vehemently objected to these services, and they were discontinued in 1759.[34] Reverend Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, rector of Savannah's Christ Church, argued that itinerant missionaries were needed to preach to those people enslaved on the plantations. Commenting on Ottolenghe's "school" for educating Africans in a 1758 letter to church officials, Zouberhuhler wrote:

This Province is as yet but thinly inhabited, consequently such a school can only reach a few adjoining Neighbours, & there are but few Masters who will spare their Negroes capable of any service to be taught in the Day Time.… The best & most effectual Method of delivering these poor Creatures out of their Darkness & to make them Partakers of the Light of the Gospel, is, to attend them at their respective Habitations…. instructing them in the Fundamental Truths of Christianity….. two or three men… might be dispersed 2 or 3 Months in One District & and the same Time in another & thereby compass the whole Colony.[35]

Zouberhuler's recommendation of carrying Christianity to the plantations would not be realized until the 1820s, particularly among the evangelical Methodists and Baptists.[36] The message of glory and salvation appealed to the enslaved African community, as did the less formal oratory and services of the evangelicals. John Thompson, an enslaved Black man born in Maryland in 1812, recalled that while his holder was an Episcopal, Methodism appealed more to him:

…we went to the Episcopal church, but always came home as we went, for the preaching was above our comprehension, so that we could understand but little that was said. But soon the Methodist religion was brought among us, and preached in a manner so plain that the way faring man, though a fool, could not err therein. This new doctrine… brought glad tidings to the poor bondsman… it spread from plantation to plantation, until it reached ours, where there were but few who did not experience religion.[37]

The founding of Black Baptist churches in Georgia can be traced to one particular place, Silver Bluff Plantation in South Carolina on the Savannah River opposite Augusta. Silver Bluff's owner, George Galphin, allowed one enslaved man, David George, to be educated at the Silver Bluff school and also allowed an itinerant white Baptist minister named Wait Palmer to preach to the enslaved community at Silver Bluff. Palmer baptized David George, George's wife, Jesse Peters (also known as Jesse Galphin) and five other enslaved Africans at a service at Silver Bluff.[38] Sometime between 1773 and 1775, the Silver Bluff Baptist Church was established, with David George as its pastor. This may be the oldest separate African American church in both the South and North.[39]

Reverend Andrew Marshall's Funeral, Savannah, 1856

The Reverend Andrew Marshall was the third pastor of the First African Baptist church, whose congregation was established in 1773, by the Rev. George Liele.
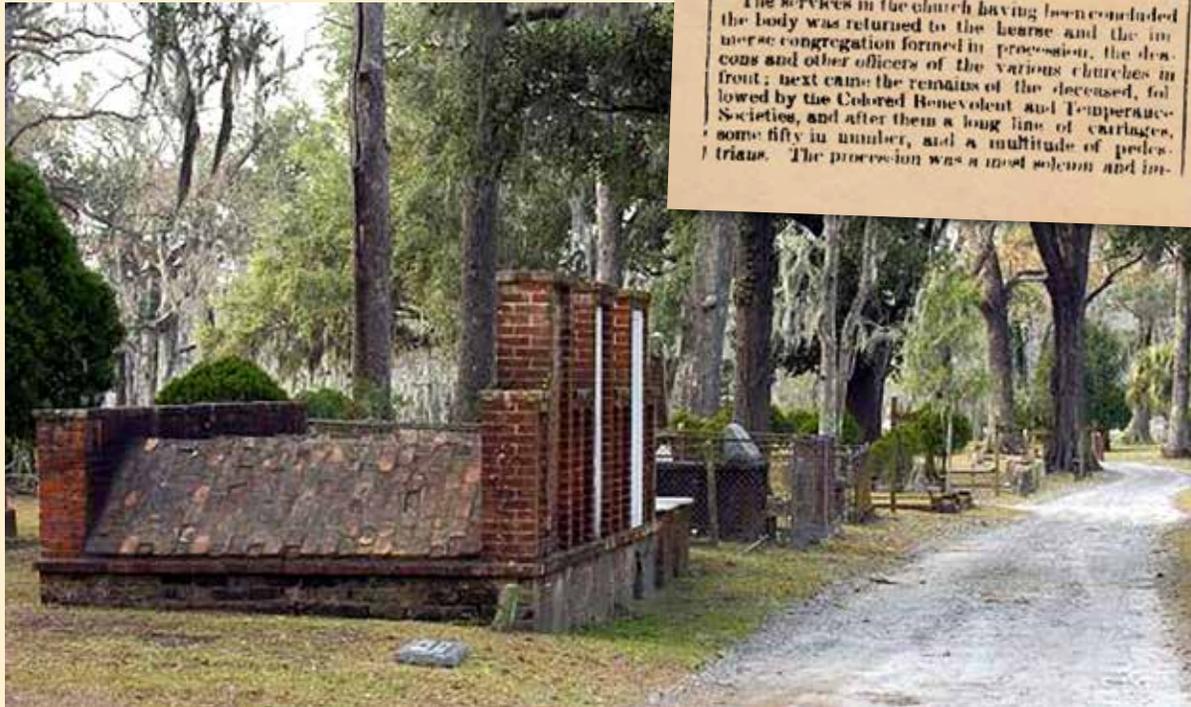
A Black Man's Funeral.

We announced some days ago the death, at Richmond, Virginia, of Andrew Marshall, the colored preacher, who had been ministering in holy things to the slave population of Savannah for nearly forty years. His remains, encased in a neat metalic coffin, were brought from Richmond, at the expense of his congregation, and yesterday was set apart at the First African Baptist Church for the funeral ceremonies of the lamented dead. Long before the hour appointed for the services, an immense throng, without respect to color or condition, collected at the Church, the floor, aisles, galleries, and even steps and windows of which were densely packed. Hundreds, unable to gain admittance, were assembled in front and around the Church, while the street was completely blocked up with vehicles of every description.

At the appointed hour the body was taken from the residence of the deceased to the Church, and placed in front of the altar. After prayer, singing, and the reading of appropriate lessons from the scriptures, an eloquent and impressive discourse was preached by the Rev. Mr. Rambaut, formerly of the First Baptist Church, now on a visit to the city.

The services in the church having been concluded the body was returned to the hearse and the immense congregation formed in procession, the deacons and other officers of the various churches in front; next came the remains of the deceased, followed by the Colored Benevolent and Temperance Societies, and after them a long line of carriages, some fifty in number, and a multitude of pedestrians. The procession was a most solemn and imposing spectacle, and attracted much attention as it passed through the city. It moved up West Broad street and thence to Laurel Grove Cemetery, where the body was deposited in the family vault, with the usual ceremonies of the Baptist Church.

Andrew Marshall was, in many respects, a remarkable man. We are but little informed as to his early history, but learn that he was originally a slave, and having accumulated a considerable amount of money—his earnings in his own time, as the more industrious of our slaves seldom fail to do, purchased his freedom. His secular pursuit was that of a drayman, which he followed with energy and thrift, and laid up a comfortable support for himself and family, in his old age. His chief employment, however, for nearly a half century, was that of a drayman, which he followed with energy and thrift, and laid up a comfortable support for himself and family, in his old age. His chief employment, however, for nearly a half century, was the Christian ministry, in which he acquired a large fund of scriptural lore, and exercised almost unbounded influence among his race by the truth and power of his sermons, and the piety of his life. He was, as before stated, the Pastor of the First African Baptist Church in this city, and though over a century in age, he continued his labors among his flock with unabated zeal up to the day of his death. He was greatly respected by all our citizens, and an idol among the large congregation of his own color so long under his pastoral care—a fact which no one can doubt who witnessed the deep solemnity and unfeigned grief that characterized the obsequies of yesterday.—*Savannah Republican.*

(Above) Description of Andrew Marshall, a Prominent Black Baptist Preacher's Funeral, Published in the Augusta Chronicle - December 17, 1856.

(Top Left) Andrew Marshall's image in stained glass, First African Baptist Church. Source: Savannah Morning News.

(Left) Marshall's Red Brick Mausoleum in Laurel Grove South Cemetery, Savannah Georgia.

"Baptists and the Methodists did not insist on a well-educated clergy. A converted heart and a gifted tongue were more important than the amount of theological training received. If a converted slave showed talent for exhorting, he exhorted, and not only to Black audiences. The tendency of evangelical religion to level the souls of all men before God became manifest when awakened Blacks preached to unconverted whites." [40]

Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South.*

During the Revolutionary War, David George, Jesse Peters, and George Liele, escaped Galphin's plantation and took refuge with British troops then occupying Augusta. When the British evacuated the city in 1779, they took the self emancipated men, who they considered "hostages," with them to Savannah. There, the three preached to free and enslaved Africans, both on nearby plantations and in the city. With the end of the War, Liele and George left with the British troops, carrying their ministry to Jamaica and Nova Scotia, respectively, and Peters returned to Silver Bluff Plantation.[41]

Jesse Peters continued to preach at the Silver Bluff Baptist Church, which was held in Galphin's mill, and served as an itinerant minister to enslaved and free Africans. A contemporary observed "His countenance is grave, his voice is charming, his delivery is good, nor is he a novice in the mysteries of the kingdom."[42] Peters moved Silver Bluff Baptist Church to the outskirts of Augusta where it became Springfield Baptist Church, established circa 1787 with Rev. Peters as its first pastor.[43] Springfield developed as a free African American community in Augusta in the post-Revolutionary War era, circa 1783. It is believed that many of the African founders or free people who formed the Springfield community gained their freedom through the actions of the war, either by joining British forces as Galphin's enslaved had done, or by escaping the plantation after the death or departure of a planter. Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta is the nation's oldest continually operating African American Church.[44]

In Savannah, Andrew Bryan, who had been converted to the Baptist faith by George Liele in 1782, continued to preach to freed and enslaved Africans at locations on the outskirts of town. Bryan was enslaved by Jonathan Bryan, who "not only sought the conversions of slaves but was one of the first southern planters to promote their evangelization by Black preachers."[45] Concerned that Bryan's efforts were causing unrest amongst the enslaved, Savannah city officials captured Andrew Bryan and approximately 50 other Africans at a service and severely whipped them. Bryan told the officials that he rejoiced not only being whipped "but would freely suffer death for the cause of Jesus Christ."[46] Recognizing the parallels to the Acts of the Apostles, the city officials released Bryan and allowed him to resume his services, but on the condition that they could only be held between the hours of sunrise and sunset. Jonathan Bryan allowed Andrew Bryan to preach at a barn on his plantation, Brampton, located three miles outside Savannah. In 1788, Jesse Peters and Abraham Marshall traveled to Savannah and Brampton Plantation where they ordained Andrew Bryan as an African Baptist minister and baptized 40 other Africans. Andrew Bryan purchased his freedom in 1794 and would become a relatively wealthy businessman. He established the First African Baptist Church in Savannah, which had 850 members in 1802. Bryan's church was the first African Baptist church in Savannah.[47] In 1803 the Second African Baptist Church was established in Savannah and a few years later the Third African Baptist Church, which is now called Bryan Baptist church in Andrew Bryan's honor.[48] By the 1850s there were 13 separate African American churches in Savannah alone. Augusta would claim five by 1860 including Springfield, Thankful Baptist, Trinity Christian Methodist Episcopal, Central Baptist, and Bethel African Methodist Episcopal.

As Christianity grew among the enslaved African community, the planter's role in its practice and worship also grew. Planters whose plantations were near towns and established churches sometimes allowed those they enslaved to attend segregated services. While large cities like Savannah and Augusta had Black churches and congregations, smaller towns offered "integrated" services where Africans were permitted to be seated in a separate balcony or other space. On more isolated plantations, planters sometimes allowed for the construction and use of a structure for religious services, known as a Praise House (or Pray's House). This was a structure where enslaved people could gather for religious services in the evenings and on Sundays. Services were typically held by elders and the religious services reflected the beliefs of the Gullah Geechee and Christianity.[49]

On other plantations, enslaved men or ministers, known as Chairbacks or Chair-Backers because they preached from a chair rather than a pulpit, served as preachers. Arrie-Binns of Wilkes County recalled"..all us colored folks went to the white folks church because we didn't have any churches of our own and there weren't colored preachers then, but some that were called 'Chairbacks.' The Chairback fellows went around preaching and singing in the cabins down in the Quarter and they used to have the best meetings, folks would be converted and change their way…"[50]

Noted sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois cited statistics that show there were approximately 468,000 total Black Christian church members by the Civil War.[51] This number underscores how deeply entrenched Christianity became among the free and enslaved Black population, both in urban and rural settings, during slavery. These Christian traditions were carried forth in African burial grounds on antebellum plantations.

PLANTATION DEATH AND BURIAL

African burial customs were complicated by the fact that enslaved Africans had little or no control over how, where, or even if they were buried. Despite permission to worship, integrated churches, and the establishment of African churches, burial was not an inherent right for those who were enslaved. For example, in Charleston, South Carolina, an 1805 Charleston ordinance was enacted "to prevent the throwing of dead human bodies into the rivers, creeks, or marshes."[52] On the plantation, the level of control the enslaved had on their burials depended on the size of the plantation, where they worked, and on the planter. On smaller plantations, there typically was no funeral service recognizing the death of an enslaved person, and the deceased was simply buried. Raboteau noted that the dead body of an enslaved person on a Florida plantation "was driven in an ox-cart to a hole that had been dug, put in it, and covered up." The deceased's family was not allowed to stop work and attend the burial.[53]

Funeral for an Enslaved African Boy

Charles Ball, in the narrative of his life under slavery, told the story of assisting at a funeral conducted by enslaved Africans:
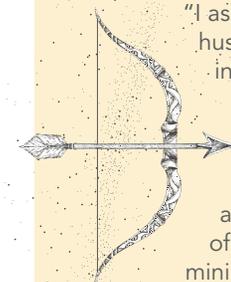
"I assisted her and her husband to inter the infant—which was a little boy—and its father buried with it, a small bow and several arrows; a little bag of parched meal; a miniature canoe, about a foot long, and a little paddle (with which he said it would cross the ocean to his own country); a small stick, with an iron nail, sharpened and fastened into one end of it; and a piece of white muslin, with several curious and strange figures painted on it in blue and red, by which, he said, his relations and countrymen would know the infant to be his son, and would receive it accordingly, on its arrival amongst them… He cut a lock of hair from his head, threw it upon the dead infant, and closed the grave with his own hands. He then told us the God of his country was looking at him, and was pleased with what he had done."[55]

On plantations with larger communities of enslaved workers, funerals were typically permitted to maintain morale and cooperation. In an 1853 essay on plantation management, Foley recommended that planters ensure that "[t]he dead are decently shrouded, decently confined, and decently buried. This is due to the wounded feelings of the afflicted and should not be ignored."[56]

Funerals were important events on plantations. Historian Eugene Genovese noted that, for the enslaved population, "the significance of proper funerals for the slaves lay… in the extent to which they allowed the participants to feel themselves a human community unto themselves. To that extent, the slaves decisively negated the mythical foundation of the slaveholders' world."[57]

The scale of the funeral reflected the status of the enslaved person on the plantation. For house servants, the planter and family may attend the funeral, but services for field workers were typically limited to the other enslaved Africans. Funerals were usually held at night to avoid conflict with daylight working hours and to make it possible for the enslaved from other plantations to attend. The timing may also have reflected native traditions such as those of the BaKongo that recognized sunset and night as representative of the passage from life to death.[58] Eugene Genovese noted that night funerals, a rural tradition, "existed throughout the South but especially in areas of high Black density and cultural continuity with Africa, and it strongly suggests African patterns."[59] On many plantations, a bell was rung or a drum beaten, signifying death, so that slaves on other plantations could be informed.[60]

During the summer, burial typically occurred within the first 24-48 hours after death. In other seasons, burial might wait several days.[61] Preparation for African burials involved several tasks not unlike those discussed in Chapter 1. The first was the washing of the dead. African enslaved women, who were also responsible for preparing the bodies of deceased whites, typically did this. The deceased was washed with hot water and homemade soap, vinegar, or lavender.[62] As Historian Jamie Warren noted, "this practice also held metaphysical importance as bathing the body of the dead symbolically washed away the soil of life and sickness and prepared the individual to be reborn in death."[63]

Providing for the Dead…

The type of coffin and burial varied from plantation to plantation as this comment from *The Slave Narratives in Georgia* reveal.[64]

"…when anybody died the first thing they did was to shroud them and lay them out on the coolin' board until Old Masters carpenter could get the coffin made up. There weren't any embalmers in those days and we had to bury folks the next day after they died. The coffins were just the same for white folks and their slaves."

- Jasper Battle, from a plantation near Crawfordville, Taliaferro County

From the "Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the Southern United States from Interviews with Former Slaves, Volume IV."

1849 Newspaper Illustration from *Willis's Home Journal* and Reprinted in the *Macon Telegraph* (March 20, 1849).
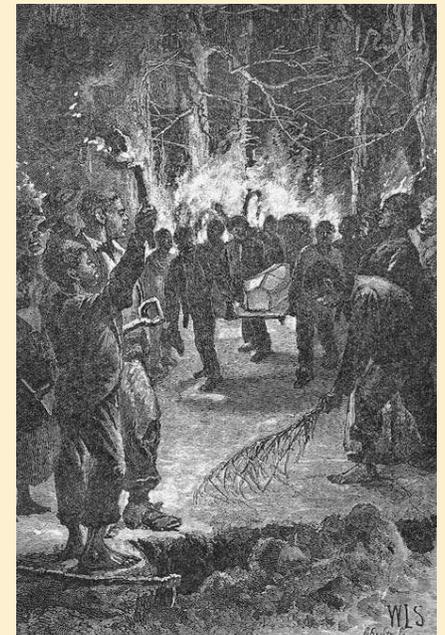
...and Protection from Spirits

The Gullah Geechee people believed in a spirit world inhabited by the dead and in order to satisfy the spirits, you must be buried with your own people. Spirits were noted in many oral history interviews of formerly enslaved people conducted by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) for the Slave Narratives Project in the 1930s. Interviewees also discussed root doctors and charms and talisman's to provide spiritual protection. WPA interviewee Emma Stephens observed:

You've got to be plenty careful about the spirits. The spirit is hungry just like the person. You have to put food in the room for the spirit to come eat. [Her friend Elizabeth agreed and added] If the spirit is hungry, it will sure come back and haunt you.[65]

Several who were surveyed noted the custom of "feeding" the dead. Interviewee (Aunty) Jane Lewis of Darien recalled that people:

...would kill a chicken in front of the door [where the deceased had lived], wring his neck and cook him for the feast. Then when we all finished, we take what victuals [were] left and put it on a dish in front of the chimney and that's for the spirit to have a good last meal.[66]

The Gullah Geechee people provided the dead with objects that had been used in life. Anna Johnson of Harris Neck noted that:

You put dishes and bottles and all the pretty pieces what they [the deceased] like on the grave. You always break these things before you put them down. [Her friend Rosa commented that] You break the dishes so that the chain will be broke. You see, the one person is dead and if you don't break the things, then the others in the family will die too. They will follow right along.[67]

1934 National Geographic photograph of an African American grave showing numerous grave offerings. Behavior Cemetery, Sapelo Island, McIntosh County.

Most of the graves were decorated with possessions of the departed persons. There were many glasses, bottles, and vases, some of which had turned a shimmering purple from long exposure to the sun. Leaving personal objects, including ceramics and bottles, was noted in other interviews. (Aunty) Jane Lewis commented that it was bad luck to steal items from a grave.

Them dishes and bottles what [are] put on the grave is for the spirit and it ain't for nobody to touch. That's for the spirit to feel at home.[68]

Unknown Artist, A Congo Chieftain's Grave, circa 1830, West Central Africa. Source: *Century Magazine*, Volume 1 in Suzanne E. Smith's *To Serve the Living: Funeral Directors and the African American Way of Death.*

Between death and burial, the family would hold gatherings known as 'Settin' Ups.' A custom among the Gullah Geechee, as well as other Black communities, the Settin Up was similar in some respects to the European American funeral wake described in the first chapter of this context. The Settin' Up, which lasted from one to three days,[69] was intended to keep the spirit company until burial. Food and drink were provided to those gathered, while prayers and chants were offered and hymns were sung. Food and drink offerings were purposefully set aside on a table or discreet corner to ensure that "the spirit has plenty at the last."[70]

On plantations, the dead were either wrapped in a shroud or buried in their clothes. Enslaved females were frequently wrapped in winding sheets. The males were buried in whatever clothing the decedent owned at the time of death, although on some plantations new clothes were made or purchased for the deceased.[71] The decision to use a coffin, as well as the coffin's appearance, rested with the planter. Warren noted that, in the 18th century, it was unusual for enslaved people to be buried in coffins.[72] When used, coffins ranged from simple wooden boxes made on the plantation without handles and other decorative furnishings to commercial coffins purchased by the planter. Coffins made on the plantation were sometimes stained, painted, or "blackened." Alec Bostwick, a formerly enslaved man, recalled that coffins "were made of pine boards and painted with lampblack (a black pigment made from soot); they were black as the night."[73] The testimonials of formerly enslaved men and women reflect resentment toward planters, who only provided "crude boxes" for their burials.[74]

Graves were dug in an east-west orientation with the head at the western end, facing the rising sun and Africa. The dead may be buried with food to sustain them on their journey to the afterlife.[75] Personal possessions, including plates, cups, tools, and medicines, were commonly left on top of the grave for the dead's use and also to mark burial locations. Frequently, these objects were among the last touched by the deceased, and it was believed that they were still charged with the decedent's spirit. Following West African traditions, ceramic vessels that belonged to the dead were broken or pierced to signify that they too had died; this also broke the links between the living and the dead.[76] Placing objects with the dead demonstrated the living's concern for the spirit of the deceased and the placement of personal items on the deceased's grave was an African custom practiced by many West African societies.[77]

Other popular grave goods included white or silver objects and other objects associated with water.[78] Water was an important West African symbol of the transition between life and death. Jars of water, silver utensils, coins, foil (tin and later aluminum), shiny potsherds, glass, and other reflective materials were left on top of the grave. These reflections were believed to trap or dazzle a wandering spirit and provide them a pathway to the spirit world.[79]

Grave markings were simple and made from locally available resources. In addition to personal items, wooden monuments were often used along the coast, where stone was uncommon. Plantation burials in the uplands, those counties north of Georgia's fall line, were often marked with fieldstones.[80] Enslaved Africans used whelks and other shells to mark or outline grave sites, a practice that continues today. The use of seashells to mark graves has been described by people as a connection to the water that brought them from Africa, and would hopefully take them back after death. Shells, stones, bricks, and plants were sometimes used to mark the border of a grave; European Americans also edged grave borders. There appears to be a preference for the use of white colored objects for African/African American grave borders, with quartz being used to mark some burials in the Piedmont, where it was prevalent.[81]

The tradition of placing shells on graves appears in cemeteries in the interior of Georgia, away from the coast, through the 20th century, such as this grave site example in Linwood Cemetery, Macon, Bibb County.

The deceased were placed in the back of a wagon pulled by oxen or horses and then transported to the grave site, with the wagon at the head of the funeral procession. Sources have described various mourning traditions with West African origins, such as the use of drums, chanting in a ring (a "ring shout"), and falling to the ground. The ring shout was one of the most clearly recognized surviving traditions from West African mortuary rituals. Historian Elaine Nichols interpreted these actions as designed to focus God's attention and power on a specific spot (the grave).[82] The power would then be focused on driving any malicious spirits away from the decedent's soul. Africans recognized that entering a cemetery meant crossing into space reserved for the spirit world. In coastal communities, before the funeral procession crossed the cemetery's threshold, it would stop and permission was asked of the family's spirits to allow the procession entry.

Smith observed that a funeral for an enslaved person was "one of the most important venues for the plantation or itinerant Black preacher, who might travel great distances to perform [funeral] services. Until a Black preacher preached the official sermon, the family did not have peace of mind that the deceased's spirit was free."[83] If a preacher was not available, a member of the community or, in some instances, the enslaver provided last words. The communal nature of African and later African American funerals was expressed through song. Funeral songs originating in Sierra Leone survived the Middle Passage and were still part of 20th-century Gullah Geechee oral tradition.[84] Adaptations of Christian tunes, traditional African rhythms and melodies, and African American compositions have resulted in a rich repertoire of songs available for use during the ritual and in later years.

Multiple sources note that a "second funeral" or memorial service was a West African custom practiced in the American South. Historian Suzanne Smith stated that "[o]ne of the most striking similarities between West African death practices and funerals for enslaved Africans was the importance of the 'second' funeral."[85] This service would be held days, weeks, or sometimes up to a year after the funeral had occurred, and would allow family and friends the chance to gather at the grave side and reminisce about the deceased. Individuals interviewed by the Georgia Writer's Project discussed a second funeral that would recognize all of the individuals in a community who had died in the year.[86]

Family members maintained grave sites – they were regularly weeded, and depressions were in-filled and carefully re-mounded. Sometimes, food offerings were left at the grave site. Some families scraped or swept grave surfaces; the bare earth appearance elicited a sense of order and tidiness common in West African cemeteries and African American yards. A well-maintained grave conveyed that the dead were still remembered, while a sunken, overgrown grave reflected a person who had been abandoned or forgotten.[88]

RURAL AND URBAN DIVIDE IN GEORGIA'S ANTEBELLUM ENSLAVED AFRICAN BURIALS

Burial grounds for Georgia's enslaved and free persons of color during the antebellum period had a wide-ranging geography corresponding to the state's growth and expansion as determined from the 1860 Census. Georgia was considered "overwhelmingly rural" with a population density of less than 16 persons per square mile in 1860 and only 8 percent of Georgians living in its cities. Savannah was the largest urban area, followed by Augusta, Columbus, Atlanta, and Macon. Enslaved persons composed about a third of the population in these cities (except newly established Atlanta), and free persons of color were enumerated at 0.3 percent of the state's population, with most living in Savannah and Augusta.

Based on the 1860 census, 60 percent of Georgia's total population lived in the Black Belt where enslaved Africans constituted the majority of the population at 55 percent. Along the Georgia coast, 59 percent of the population were enslaved. Southeast Georgia was the least populated area overall in the state. In this region, along with the non-coastal counties of the state, 25 percent of the population was enslaved. Finally, in the most northern counties, the enslaved accounted for less than five percent of total residents. This overview of Georgia's 1860 population underscores the potential for African antebellum burial grounds throughout the state and their density. As the following discussion of plantation graveyards and those in antebellum cities demonstrates, segregation is a key theme regardless of location.

Burial spaces on plantations were provided by the planter, and space depended on the planter's attitudes toward his enslaved workers, as well as the type and scale of the operation and its location. The decision process first seems to have been based on whether the planter and family members were to be buried on the plantation or elsewhere. On plantations where the planter established a family cemetery, enslaved African cemeteries were often placed in the same general area. Segregation was almost always an element of the plantation's burial landscapes; only in very rare cases were enslaved Africans buried with the planter's family. In some instances, enslaved African burial grounds were placed in adjoining family cemeteries, although in

most situations, space was left or a barrier was constructed between the planter family burials and those of the enslaved. For example, the Hogan Plantation Cemetery near Hogansville, established in the 1830s, features a stone wall with a wrought iron entry gate that encloses the burials of Hogan family members, while surrounding the enclosed family cemetery walls are the fieldstone-marked burials of the plantation's enslaved laborers.[89]

Where a family cemetery was not present, African burial grounds were often placed on marginal lands – locations that were not considered agriculturally productive. On coastal plantations, this included locations along the marsh edge, small islands near the marsh, and wooded areas along the edges of upland fields. Superstitions over the presence of spirits within cemeteries for the enslaved may have led to their placement away from the slave compound and main house. For example, the Dunwoody Plantation cemetery for those who were enslaved in McIntosh County was placed approximately 1,200 feet from the location of the plantation's compound, away from the location of the plantation's tidal rice fields along Cathead Creek. Other plantation cemeteries for the enslaved in the area (Ceylon, Windy Hill, and Oasis) are similarly sited, set back from the creek, plantation settlements, and rice fields.[90]

Historian William S. Pollitzer suggested that enslaved Africans preferred wooded locations for their cemeteries. He noted that among the BaKongo, "a tree planted on the grave is a symbol of immortality," and recorded the 1850 observations of William Cullen Bryant on a visit to a South Carolina plantation: "a few trees, trailing with long moss, rise above hundreds of nameless graves" in a slave cemetery.[91] If so, wooded areas fit the beliefs of the enslaved and the planter's desire to use land ill-suited for agriculture without clearing and, hence, may have been selected for the graves of enslaved persons.

In Georgia's upland counties, marginal spaces such as land lot corners, sloped lands, and forests were also used for burial grounds. In particular, sloped land, which was not suitable for use as fields, was used for African burial grounds. Richland Plantation's Sam Goode cemetery in Mecklenburg County, Virginia illustrates an upland plantation cemetery pattern, with the planter's family cemetery placed on the hill top and the burial grounds for the enslaved on the slopes.[92] In Flat Rock, DeKalb County's oldest Black community and one of the oldest Black communities in the state, the cemetery was located both on top of a hill and on its slopes. The Flat Rock Cemetery was a community-based cemetery first used during the plantation era but not directly associated with a specific plantation.[93]

Another upland pattern that has been observed was the use of land-lot corners for African American burial grounds. The intersecting corners of four-square landlots, where the lots were owned by different owners, were not conducive to plowing since plows cannot readily turn at right angles. These intersections were thus bypassed for use as fields and were the types of agriculturally "marginal" spaces that planters allowed to be used as burial grounds. Examples of the use of landlot corners for African burial grounds have been noted on Robins Air Force Base, in Houston county, Georgia, as well as at the Area 2 Cemetery at Hunter Army Airfield in Chatham County.[94] GDOT's Avondale Burial Place project involved the discovery of an unmarked Black cemetery that was located in a wooded corner where four landlots intersected. The cemetery contained the remains of 101 individuals. Some of these burials dated to the late 19th century and the era of tenancy but the earliest burials are interpreted as dating from the plantation era.[95] The cemetery appears as a wooded triangle on historical aerial photographs and was probably wooded when first put to use as a cemetery.

William Hogan, the founder of Hogansville, was a Troup County planter who held over 30 enslaved individuals in 1860. The family cemetery (above), situated on Main Street, is notable for its layout with a well-marked family grave section but also its less well marked graves including a line within the wall as well as burials outside the walls marked with fieldstones. The date of the wall is unknown but the unmarked graves may be associated with antebellum deaths of enslaved Africans at the Hogan Plantation.

The transition from life to death appears to have marked a point at which some enslavers may have relinquished control over Black lives, transferring their remains to the family. Enslaved people were buried in family groupings in the plantation cemeteries when family members resided on the same plantation. When married couples were enslaved on two different plantations, each was typically buried in their respective plantation slave cemetery. Warren provided

several examples where, after death, planters granted control of the body to family members, including one in which a white doctor wished to autopsy a deceased enslaved woman, but her husband refused and the plantation owner sided with the husband.[96]

Family was, and is, a strong social structure for people, and being buried with one's family remains an important social act. On the plantation, this was expressed in the spatial organization of cemeteries. Families were buried in clusters with space between each grouping for future burials and the expansion of plots. Stillborn and premature infants were sometimes buried at a distance from both the family plot and the cemetery, out of fear that their deaths were the product of malevolent spirits that could affect others within the cemetery community, as well as family members visiting the cemetery.[97]

Because cemeteries held the bodies and spirits of their ancestors and were sacred places in a family's history, many plantation cemeteries continued to be used in the post-emancipation era by descendants who often remained in the same area and on the same lands, working as tenant farmers. Burial with family was an important tradition, and therefore cemeteries for the enslaved continued to be used even when other venues later became available for African American burials. The longevity of these cemeteries varied. Some, such as the Avondale Burial Place, were used from the Antebellum era into the early 20th century, while others, like the Flat Rock Cemetery in DeKalb County, Georgia, and Old School Cemetery in Wilkes County, Georgia, were used into the late 20th century.[98] Still others continue to be used to the present, such as Rock Springs Cemetery in Clayton County, Georgia.

In Georgia, free and enslaved Africans lived in urban settings as well as rural. Savannah and Augusta had notable populations of both, many of whom worked in the river trade of these port cities while others were hired out and found employment in trades, such as barbers, carpenters, saddlers, and draymen. Women found work in domestic service as cooks, servants, seamstresses, and weavers.[99] In time, these opportunities would lay the foundation for an emerging Black middle and upper class that practiced a more mainstream Christianity than their rural counterparts, who would sustain a version of Christianity which retained many of its West African roots.[100]

Cemeteries were not always associated with the first churches. Cities afforded their Black Christian or non-Christian inhabitants burial in designated burial grounds or in specific sections within municipal cemeteries. Savannah and Augusta, as well as Columbus, had separate cemeteries by the turn of the 20th century for their Black inhabitants. Prior to that in the later part of the 19th century, a more practical burial approach was often to have a separate African American section in the same municipal cemetery.

While an act of General Assembly passed in 1763 authorized the establishment of a "burial ground for negroes" early on near the Commons in Savannah, it does not appear that the designated area was used. Twenty-five years after its passing, a new ordinance still sought "a space of ground to be used as a burial place for people of colour, for preventing the bodies of people of colour from being buried on any part of the city Common or parts adjoining." This suggests that the concept of a separate burial ground had not gained purchase until the early 19th century and that Blacks were buried where there was an open space or lot in areas not designated for their use. Eventually, the Old Negro Burial Grounds were established in 1813 in what has become Whitfield

Square and would be used until its closing in 1852. Laurel Grove South became the principal burial ground for Savannah's Black population after 1850, and bodies were exhumed from the Old Negro Burial Grounds and placed in the new cemetery.

In Augusta, a more egalitarian attitude toward African burial places was in place in the 18th century. Many people of color were buried in the city's first cemetery, St. Paul's Episcopal, until it closed in 1817. In 1820, the city set aside 40 acres for an African burial ground, Cedar Grove Cemetery, where the enslaved were buried in unmarked graves. Remains were exhumed from St. Paul's and re-interred at Cedar Grove. The earliest record of burials there cites six interments in 1840.[101] In 1828, Columbus too set aside acreage for a Black cemetery in its town plan, showing that it was in step with the state's other large cities.

These examples indicate that separate burial grounds in urban settings were more of a 19th-century trend than an 18th-century phenomenon. At the very least in Savannah, the use of designated burial grounds did not appear to be enforced with any vigor in the 18th century.

As Africans were unable to own land prior to emancipation, cemeteries typically were not established with Black churches until after the Civil War.[102] Responsibility for providing a burial ground for enslaved and free Blacks residing in cities thus fell to the municipalities.

Going Home to be with Family
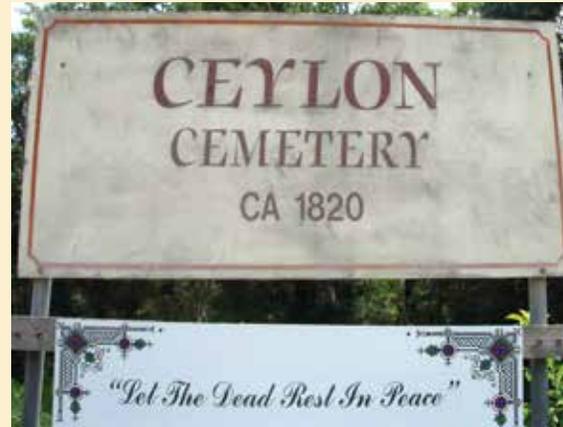
For the Gullah Geechee and other African Americans, being buried alongside family members was very important. Burial with your own people, and in your own burial place, was a custom repeatedly noted in WPA interviews, as was the separation of strangers from family and community members in the burial ground. (Aunty) Jane Lewis recalled, *"When he dies far off, we bring him home to bury him, don't let no stranger be buried with him. You give people what ain't belong to you another piece of ground to be buried in."*[103]

This tradition led to the continued use of plantation burial grounds into the Postbellum era. Examples of plantation-era cemeteries that were used by post-Emancipation era descendants include:

- East Savannah, Lake Mayers, Sandfly Wood Grove and Zion White Bluff cemeteries in Chatham County, all of which are still used;[104]
- New Orleans Cemetery on Sapelo Island, which was used into the 1870s;[105]
- Petersville/Broadfield Cemetery in Glynn County, which was associated with Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation and continues to be used;[106]
- Prior Family Plantation Cemetery in Morgan County, still in use;[107]
- Windy Hill, Oasis, Ceylon, and Dunwoody Plantation cemeteries along Cathead Creek in McIntosh County were used into the mid 20th century, and Ceylon Cemetery is still in use;[108]
- Butler Cemetery in McIntosh County, still in use;[109] and
- Rogers Cemetery in Fulton County, still in use.[110]

DEATH AND BURIAL OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IN GEORGIA BEFORE 1861

A number of sources including oral histories, plantation journals, histories, and the results of archaeological investigations were used to lay the groundwork for understanding the early development of African burial grounds in Georgia. Despite incredible challenges, research shows that enslaved and free Africans created rich burial traditions in the antebellum period, the vestiges of which were continued by descendants in African American cemeteries beyond this period and can even be found in cemeteries today.

African burial grounds merged West African and Christian religious traditions to create cemeteries that existed in a liminal space where the communities that formed and populated these cemeteries did not control their lives or the land on which they would lay. For the enslaved, burial on the plantation or farm was regulated by one's enslaver, their economic status, and where they lived. As a result, the locations of Georgia's slave burials follow the state's expansion westward and to the north from the coast. Some burial grounds in rural antebellum contexts would be forgotten, removed, or just left untended.

In the state's urban areas, segregated public burial spaces became the standard in the early 19th century and would remain in place through the close of the antebellum period. Prior to 1860, there were only a handful of African churches in the state and not all included a cemetery. This pattern, to be discussed in Chapter 6, would change by 1880, when the establishment of African American churches increased dramatically. African American cemeteries associated with these fledgling churches would constitute a new horizon in Georgia's cemetery development after the Civil War.

Finally, this narrative on antebellum African death is in sharp contrast to the content of the following chapter, which focuses on the launch of the Rural Garden Movement for American cemeteries during the same time frame. A wide and sobering schism existed between the burial of Black and white middle-class Americans. While enslaved Africans and other people of color looked to the sea for repose at death, the countryside was the target for many of their contemporaries who sought status and the pursuit of a kinder vision of nature in the rural environment as the Romantic movement took hold.

Carved Wooden Grave Markers by Siras Bowens on African American Graves at Sunbury, Liberty County. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Chapter Three Summary

West African burial traditions were varied and included religious and spiritual beliefs and those imported into West Africa from Islamic religious ideology after the 10th century.

There were rich burial traditions created and maintained by enslaved African people before emancipation in Georgia. These traditions were practiced to various levels depending on the enslavers and the customs enforced or allowed on each plantation or property.

West African beliefs, while varied, often shared the idea that the worlds of the living were connected with those of the dead and in particular, the spirits of their ancestors.

In contrast, western European Christian ideology stressed that there were separate worlds for the living and the dead. West African and Christian traditions merged in burial grounds where the enslavers typically determined the geography of burial on their plantation lands.

Marginal land unsuitable for agriculture, sloped land, wooded land where trees may have been viewed by some Africans as a symbol of immortality, and corners of land lots may all have been common locations for the burials of enslaved and free Africans in antebellum Georgia.

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

- Based on the overall historic landscape of a plantation site, what factors may have affected the location that was chosen for the burials of enslaved Africans?
- Where is the location of the burial ground for the enslaved in relation to the family cemetery for the plantation? Are they in close proximity? Are there any enslaved individuals buried in the family plot?
- In coastal areas, are there any Gullah Geechee traditions evident such as burial grounds near water or grave goods placed on the surface? Are the surfaces of the graves mounded? Are burial plots swept or scraped?
- What types of markers are present, if any, and are there any indications of a specific religion evident in those markers?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

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William S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and their African Heritage*. Athens, The University of Georgia Press, 1999.

Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome, Floyd County

ROMANTIC DEATH AND THE RISE OF THE MODERN CEMETERY IDEAL: 1790-1860

The cemetery is full of the loathsome dust of bodies once quickened by living souls, who occupied thrones, presided over assemblies, marshaled armies, subdued provinces, were puffed up with vainglorious pomp, and power, and empire. The great, the wise, the valiant, the beautiful, alas! Where are they now, they are all mingled with clod; and that which has befallen them shall happen unto us, and to those that shall come after us.

–Obituary of Colonel John Lamar, *Macon Weekly Telegraph*, June 18, 1845.
Colonel Lamar was buried at Rose Hill Cemetery in Macon.

While a number of factors affected the way Georgians viewed death in the 19th century, two were paramount – the rise of Romanticism in American culture and the increasing role of local and state governments and private businesses in burial practices. Ushered in by the end of the Enlightenment and the American Revolution, and punctuated with the Second Great Awakening, the 19th century accelerated trends initiated in the Colonial period for how Georgians, from all socio-economic groups, buried their dead. The rise of Romanticism, and later Victorianism, the emergence of new religious denominations, and public health and sanitation reforms drove these changes and affected the ways that cemeteries were designed, located, used, and adorned. A critical manifestation of this change was the Rural Cemetery Movement, which sought to make the spaces for the dead accessible and pleasing to the living.

In addition to evolving trends in how to bury the dead, new practices on where to bury the dead and who had jurisdiction over these burial places continued to develop. Throughout both the 18th and 19th centuries, and continuing to the present in some communities, the church remained, for many, the ideal place for interments. However, the geographic realities of American life made this increasingly less possible. Rapidly growing urban populations where real estate was too scarce or too expensive for new cemeteries at churches, as well as changing settlement patterns, resulted in fewer urban churches having attendant cemeteries. Two other important shifts occurred in cemetery management during this period to meet Georgia's evolving burial needs. The first was a shift from religious cemeteries overseen by the church to cemeteries operated by municipalities; the second was a shift from religious to corporate oversight, as cemeteries established for profit began to develop a market.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

Throughout the Colonial period and into the Early National period, the predominant philosophical movement of Western intellectual thought was Enlightenment. The Enlightenment Movement or "Age of Reason" saw an emphasis on understanding the world and finding happiness through the use of reason and rational thought.[1] Enlightenment theory informed the ideals of the American Revolution and contributed to the French Revolution, spurring scientific discovery and even influencing attitudes on death.[2] As the Enlightenment emphasized science and rational thought, death became somewhat more naturalized and less spiritualized. Medicine was seen as a way to anticipate types of sickness, and medical knowledge was shared and published. Additionally, the Enlightenment de-emphasized hellfire and damnation in that the enlightened God was seen as reasonable, benevolent, distant, and less mysterious.[3] The graveyards of the Enlightenment, in some ways, reflected these trends. Skulls and skeletons gave way to neoclassical motifs and gentler imagery, such as urns, cut flowers, and broken columns.[4] Instead of a skeletal Angel of Death, some emphasized the Homerian concept that Death was the twin brother of Sleep.[5] Sociologist Peter Jupp summarized the effects of the Enlightenment on death as follows, "by the end of the 18th century, a combination of Enlightenment theory, medical advances and neoclassical aesthetics had begun to rob death of both its terror and its Christian symbolism. The move towards a more secular experience of death had begun, but was by no means a smooth transition."[6]

During the late 18th and early 19th century, this rational view of death was contrasted with the evangelical fire of the religious movements sparked by the Great Awakening and, in particular, the Second Great Awakening between 1790 and 1830.[7] The Second Great Awakening could be described as a religious tidal wave that swept across post-Revolutionary War America. Evangelical ministers of new denominations sought to fill what they saw as a void created by the separation of church and state in the new nation. While Protestant denominations before the war were almost entirely Puritan Congregationalists, Anglicans (Episcopalians), or Quakers; after the Revolution, the evangelical denominations, particularly Baptists and Methodists, exploded in number.[8] These denominations appealed to many Americans and their methods of preaching, which involved outdoor camp-style revivals attended by sometimes thousands of people, played well in the rapidly expanding frontier where formally trained religious leaders were scarce. Led by charismatic lay preachers, revivals often resulted in mass conversions to new faiths. As could be expected, these new religious teachings, which emphasized free will and an individual's active role in assuring their own salvation, influenced deathways throughout the country.[9]

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, more serene images, such as flowers, trees, and urns, replaced earlier frightening images of death, such as skulls, on gravestones (see Chapter 1). St. Paul's Episcopal Church Cemetery, Augusta.

From a practical viewpoint, the proliferation of denominations led to the construction of new congregations that would need new churches and cemeteries. Whereas religious cemeteries within a single community were previously fewer and served larger congregations, this period saw denominations splinter off and establish multiple, smaller church cemeteries within a single community.

(Above) The hand pointing up symbolizes looking towards salvation and heaven - themes stressed by the Second Great Awakening. Laurel Grove North, Chatham County (Below) The imagery of the hand holding flowers is a softer, more personalized, symbol of loss and mourning as emphasized by Enlightenment thought. Midway Cemetery, Liberty County.

In the Lowcountry South, Historian Peter Moore described the politics of death: "In the very public setting of the funeral service, Anglican and Evangelical practices frequently clashed, exposing some of the deepest faults in a community."[10] In rural areas, the scarcity of religious leaders meant that when an individual died, their funeral would likely be presided over by the minister who was geographically closest, but may not have been of the same denomination as the deceased. In the much broader social network that shaped the death narrative, friends and enemies seized upon good and bad deaths alike, telling and contesting the stories of how people died, since such stories were potent weapons neighbors deployed in their factional struggles to control the church and the community.[11] In the graveyards, the epitaphs emphasized death, not the deceased, with phrases such as "Prepare for death and follow me."[12] Among the evangelical set, hellfire and damnation were still feared and their burial practices and graveyards would have reflected these concerns.

It is possible that the cemeteries of Georgia during the Early National period bear the marks of these two contrasting views of death – the first illustrated with neoclassical motifs of death, sleep, and mourning, and the second with emphasis on the afterlife and choosing a path of righteousness to avoid damnation. It is also possible that these two views may, to some degree, follow socioeconomic lines. Many elements in the Second Great Awakening were populist, while the Enlightenment was often championed by the educated elites. In either case, as the 1830s approached, two new complimentary movements gained momentum in American culture, Romanticism and Victorianism, both of which would continue throughout much of the 19th century.

IDEALS OF ROMANTICISM AND VICTORIANISM

Romanticism and Victorianism were social and artistic movements that dominated white American culture in the 1800s, particularly for the rapidly expanding middle and upper classes. Neither movement was confined to a single discipline or aspect of life. Romanticism is defined by Merriam Webster Dictionary as "a literary, artistic, and philosophical movement originating in the 18th century, characterized chiefly by a reaction against neoclassicism and an emphasis on the individualism, imagination and emotions... [There is] an exaltation of the primitive and the common man, an appreciation of external nature, an interest in the remote, a predilection for melancholy, and the use in poetry of older verse forms." Victorianism is defined by the reign of Queen Victoria of Great Britain

(reigned 1837-1901; b. 1819-1901). Victorian ideals, which included staunch adherence to strict societal norms and morals, were born in part from society's reaction to the immense changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution. These movements overlapped, and while both espoused a romantic view of death, Romanticism's high value on individualism was not shared by Victorians.

ROMANTICISM

The Romantic Movement began in Europe with the publication of Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* in 1774, a novel of melancholy and unrequited love in which the main character kills himself when the woman he loves rejects him. The book sparked suicides among young men and women across Europe and became highly influential to other writers and artists as they saw it as the struggle of romantic ideals against an unyielding practical world.[13] The Romantic Movement arose specifically as a backlash against the Enlightenment and was felt deeply across the arts and literature, as well as religion and death. Author and English literature scholar Brad Strickland summarized some of the differences between the Age of Romanticism and the Age of Realism as "imagination and intuition versus reason and calculation, spontaneity versus control, subjectivity and metaphysical musing versus objective fact, and individualism versus social conformity."[14] Some have argued that the emphasis on the individual during this period stemmed from the Second Great Awakening and the resulting Protestant reform movements.

Rousseau's Tomb. Painting by Robert Hubert 1802. The design and placement of Rousseau's tomb epitomizes the Romantic ideal of melancholy. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Sentimentality along with romantic and familial love were all accentuated during this period. A number of these characteristics were featured prominently in burial traditions and views of death. An important forerunner of the Romantic Movement was the 18th-century Graveyard School of Poetry. This school of poetry was started by Englishman Robert Blair (1699-1746) with his popular long poem, *The Grave* (1743). This poem and those that followed, all of which featured a romantic notion of death, centered on decay, skulls, and melancholy. They were the precursors of the Gothic novels that followed, such as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). The effects of the Romantic Movement, however, were not seen throughout many facets of American life until the 1830s. The opening of the American frontier and the spirit of optimism and freedom influenced American Romanticism. Finally, the Romantic Movement placed a high value on nature as a place to discover knowledge, a sense of one's self, and one's own feelings.

The emphasis Romantics placed on nature resulted in a number of crucial changes in European cemeteries. The famous French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), felt that natural and rural landscapes reflected a passion for melancholy and could elicit specific feelings in individuals by providing a place to express their grief.[15] This was epitomized by weeping willows, islands, fantastic mausoleums, classical garden follies and scenes, stately old shade trees, and carefully planned sweeping vistas, which were all valued as contributing to individual emotional responses. These led to burial places that emphasized the picturesque. Rousseau's own tomb in France was carefully designed to invoke melancholy.[16] His tomb lay on an island in a small lake on a private estate surrounded by tall poplars. A popular tourist attraction during the Romantic period, visitors and Rousseau devotees would sometimes throw themselves in the lake and swim to the island to weep over his grave.[17] Statues of women weeping over coffins and tombs were popular. This romantic view is sometimes referred to as the "beautification of death."

During this period, Europe's carefully crafted picturesque gardens were open and rural in nature. They were an important inspiration for the American Rural Garden cemeteries that would follow in the mid-19th century. Architectural Historian Margaretta J. Darnell cautioned against making an overly literal comparison between the two movements. She stated "Europe's 18th-century picturesque arose in part from the desire to recreate classical scenes and metaphors for private pleasure and amusement, whereas America's 19th-century cemeteries emerged both from the need for larger and healthier burying grounds and a nostalgia for the pastoral view of death culled from classical authors."[18]

VICTORIANISM

The Victorian period is considered the height of the British Empire and the peak of the British Industrial Revolution and colonial expansion. In Britain, Queen Victoria's reign was characterized by industrialism, modernity, invention, Protestant values, social reform movements, and a strict moral code.[19] American Victorianism evolved out of British Victorianism, but the transmission was not all one-sided. American Victorian culture also affected British Victorian culture, particularly in religious thought and literature. In America, the most vocal promoters of the Victorian ideals were Protestant, bourgeois Northerners who were involved in the literary arts; however, the social base of the movement was much more wide ranging.[20] In the South, a unique subculture of Victorianism existed that was tied to the white upper-class planters and enslavers. Like the North, Victorians in the South were predominately Protestant. They emphasized etiquette, idealized women, and liked to think they were civilizing their workers – the so-called white man's burden.[21]

Within Georgia, it is likely that the degree to which a family adhered to the values of the Victorian period depended on location and economic status. The same would hold true for the expression of these ideals in cemeteries. In larger cities, where there was more wealth, a large middle class, and a focus on trade, government, or education, there was a more industrialized, fully expressed version of this social movement. This would have included residential architecture in some towns; however, on the plantations of the antebellum South, it likely was expressed primarily through etiquette, the decorative arts, literature, fashion, and customs of burial and mourning, not architecture. American Victorian culture had very defined and elaborate funerary and mourning rituals, which were adapted to the degree economically possible by those who adhered to Victorian ideals. Coffins were ornate with soft padding, plate glass windows, and decorative ornaments. Elaborate carriages drawn by black horses bedecked with plumes, carried the deceased to their final resting place,

A VISIT TO THE CITY CEMETERY

Having a eye to the beautiful and Sunday afternoon being such a pleasant one, and as our reporter needed a little recreation, from his severe labors of the past week, he strolled down to the City Cemetery, which has been for years, the resort of very many of our citizens, who in pleasant weather congregate there, and promenade through the beautiful walks and shady spots which this spot is adorned. Some go upon a visit to the graves of the dear departed, to decorate their tombs with flowers and water the same with their tears of regret for the loss of friends and relatives so dear to them, and whisper to the sleeping dead – "Though lost to sight, you are memory dear."

Augusta Chronicle, November 9, 1864

MACON WEEKLY TELEGRAPH

January 26, 1847

HONORS TO THE DEAD
THE FUNERAL OF ISSAC HOLMES, FORMER MAYOR OF MACON

In pursuance of previous arrangements, the remains of the gallant HOLMES, were at 12 o'clock on Thursday last, borne from the City Hall on a superbly finished car drawn by four black horses to their final resting place at Rose Hill Cemetery.

Seldom have we witnessed a scene more intensely solemn than the ceremonies of Thursday last. His stricken Companion was present to mourn her husband's death; and while, pale and weeping, she joined the procession, the deep sympathy of the large crowd around, was visible in the tearful eyes and sorrowful faces of many who, schooled in the rough scenes of life in the world, rarely exhibit such emotions of sorrow. The procession, and pomp of military display, while they were the most grateful to perceive, showed that the memory of HOLMES was cherished in every circle with expressions of feeling and homage, only paid to those who dare to do and die in the service of their country.

Victorian Funerals

Victorian funerals were often lavish affairs with formalized decorations, mourning attire, and processions.

(Left) Funeral Carriage, National Museum of Funeral History. (Right and Below Left) Hair Pendants.

Mourning attire for women could involve very elaborate black dresses and veils and lasted for prescribed periods based on who died. Jewelry, such as pendants and pins, made from the deceased's hair, was particularly popular. (Above) During this time period, post-mortem photography provided a way to remember and honor a loved one. Source: Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

trailed by a parade of mourners wearing black. Women went into formal mourning for specified periods wearing jet-black beaded dresses with voluminous hats and crepe veils. Lockets or brooches containing the hair of the deceased became popular. Postmortem photography and portraiture, as well as the renewed popularity of death masks, clearly exhibit the Victorian or "Cult of Mourning" fascination with death. Popular periodicals, newspapers, railroad expansion, and the telegraph all contributed to the spread of Victorian cultural ideals and material culture.[22]

Elaborate Victorian mortuary expressions were used by families to reinforce higher social status, or to project a higher status than they held. On a plantation, it is likely that the family cemetery would have reflected the popular items in Victorian period city cemeteries, such as ornate iron railings, elaborate gravestones, and monuments. In individual rural family plots or small municipal town or church cemeteries, Victorianism may have been less expressed by cemetery design and more by grave markers and the epitaphs that adorn them. It is not well understood why this was the case. Perhaps the families lacked the financial means necessary for elaborate displays, or maybe they made a conscious decision not to adopt these practices. Finally, for the poorest citizens, these ideals were possibly only expressed within the burials themselves, perhaps in the coffin or in the clothing and other personal items that were buried with the deceased.

Overall, the influence of Romanticism and Victorianism significantly changed the look of cemeteries. This transformation would include embracing landscaped woodland, picturesque, or pastoral settings, which were set apart from habitation areas when possible; the recreational use of the cemetery for public park space; and a flowing design ideal based more on aesthetics than practicality. In the United States, the Rural Garden Cemetery, where "garden" comes from the inspiration of English picturesque gardens and "rural" derives from the look of the cemetery as open pastoral space even if it lies within a city, was the embodiment of these ideals.

RURAL GARDEN CEMETERIES

The Rural Cemetery Movement began at the turn of the 19th century in Europe and the United States, partly as a popular public-health measure to address the overcrowding and unsanitary conditions that plagued churchyard burial grounds in large urban centers. The aesthetic and practical innovations provided by Rural Garden Cemeteries strongly appealed to the evolving attitudes toward death held by many Americans and Europeans. Victorian Era cemeteries were no longer thought of as places to be avoided, but rather as recreational settings designed to be enjoyed by the living. This cultural shift was clearly reflected by changes in mortuary iconography during this period. The fear of the afterlife, once embodied in the foreboding Death's Head, was replaced by the melancholic image of the weeping willow that softly beseeched relatives to remember the dead. As the 19th century progressed, these sad themes took on a sense of defiance toward death as monumental, ornately-shaped mortuary columns and obelisks that memorialized the life and work of the deceased appeared. Language also provided evidence of change as death was sanitized of its unpleasant realities. Common terms associated with dying, such as a "cemetery" (meaning 'to sleep' in Latin), replaced "graveyard," while "coffin" became "casket," and the dead themselves were now referred to as "loved ones."[23]

The weeping willow was a popular symbol of mourning during the Romantic and Victorian periods. (Left) Midway Cemetery, Liberty County. (Right) Sunbury Cemetery, Liberty County.
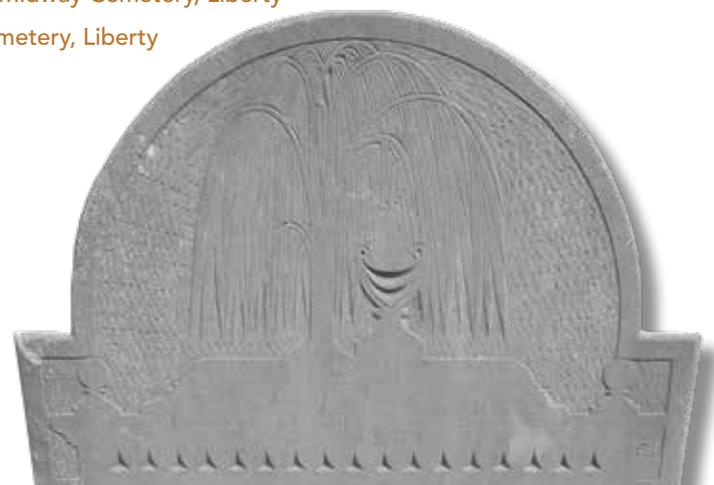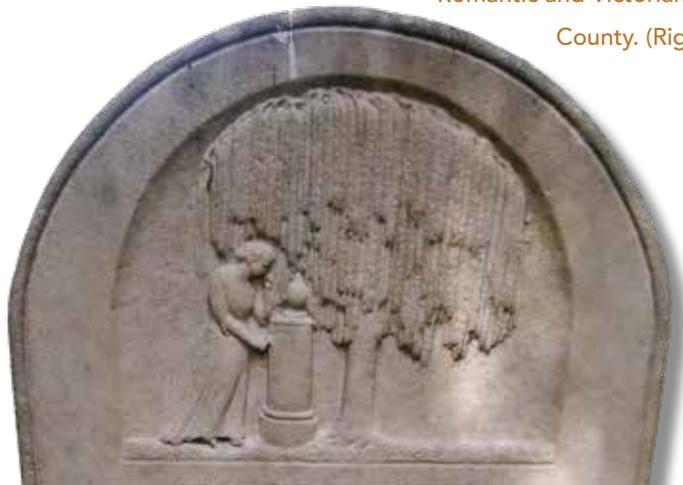
While the Rural Garden Cemetery was an American innovation, it was influenced by the development of Père Lachaise Cemetery on the northeastern outskirts of Paris in 1804.[24] In 1765, due to serious health concerns and severe overcrowding, the Paris Parliament passed an ordinance to prohibit (with few exceptions) burials within church buildings, to close all parish cemeteries, and to build seven new large cemeteries outside the city. It took, however, decades until the city was actually able to act on the ordinance and bring about meaningful reform. Père Lachaise Cemetery, part of the answer to these problems, was an elaborate city of the dead. For a large sum of money, one could purchase a private plot that would be theirs in perpetuity. For everyone else, the only option was a small individual plot occupied for only five years or, for the poor, a mass grave where you would also be disinterred after five years. This practice was common in Europe.[25] Because the United States has always had the luxury of space, routine disinterment was not practiced. Père Lachaise was influential to the development of American cemeteries, however, in that it helped to popularize grand self-memorialization on graves with large and costly statuary and mausoleums. In America, officials from Boston, who were faced with the same health concerns as Paris, toured Père Lachaise for inspiration for the cemetery they were constructing, Mount Auburn Cemetery.[26]

In 1831, Mount Auburn opened in suburban Boston, Massachusetts to widespread acclaim as the first Rural Garden Cemetery in the United States. Designed for both the interment of the dead and the enjoyment of the living, the 72-acre cemetery acted as an idealized, pastoral refuge from the industrialized city. Visitors were encouraged to drive or stroll Mount Auburn's curvilinear carriage roads and intimate walking paths that wound through a rolling and wooded, sylvan landscape. Scenic vistas of lawn clearings and water features were framed in dramatic foliage and accentuated by artistic funerary sculpture and mausoleums, executed in a variety of architectural revival styles.[27] The success of Mount Auburn prompted development of additional Rural Garden

Cemeteries in other large northeastern cities and later had a strong influence on the landscape design of American urban parks.[28] A European woman, Lady Amelia Murray, remarked on the spacious, sylvan setting of Mount Auburn, "…in feeling and taste it is really perfect (circa 1835). No crowding up in disgusting heaps like our own graveyards."[29] Famous English actress, and later author, Frances Anne Kemble, remarked in 1833 that it "might seem a pleasure garden instead of a place of graves."

Despite its national popularity and widespread adoption in the large, industrialized cities of the Northeast and Midwest, full application of Rural Cemetery Movement planning and design found limited purchase in Georgia. Only a few successful examples of the type were established in the state prior to the Civil War. Unlike the privately financed and owned ventures in the North, which catered exclusively to the wealthy, almost all of

Cemetery Health Concerns

Excerpted from the 1850 Report of the Committee of the Georgia Medical Society on the City of Savannah and published in the *Savannah Republican*, June 10, 1850.

SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN

June 10, 1850

THE OLD CITY CEMETERY

The question whether the practices of intra-mural interments has a positive or negative influence upon the health of a population such as Savannah, cannot be decided affirmatively of this city, because our burial grounds have hitherto been situated entirely beyond its inhabited portions. But now that the population is rapidly on the increase, and the city graveyard is becoming surrounded by the habitations of the living, this will henceforth oppose an obstruction to a free circulation, and exclude to a great degree the wholesome influence of the pure air which has tended to dilute and dissipate the noxious affluvia which must always emanate from the depositories of the dead.

the Garden cemeteries in Georgia were publicly financed and largely accessible to white middle-class residents of more modest means. Rose Hill Cemetery in Macon appears to have been the first Rural Garden Cemetery established in Georgia based on the design concepts established at Mount Auburn. Other notable expressions of the Rural Garden Cemetery in the state are Oconee Hill Cemetery in Athens, Myrtle Hill Cemetery in Rome, and Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah.

PUBLIC HEALTH – GERM THEORY, SANITATION REFORM, AND CEMETERIES

In the late 18th and throughout the 19th century, public health concerns and sanitation reforms played an important role in where communities and municipalities chose to locate cemeteries. Public health was in its infancy in the mid-1800s. Reform movements from Europe began to reach the U.S. as people became increasingly concerned about disease and epidemics resulting from disposing of trash and sewage directly into the street or neighboring lots and the presence of standing water. Although the actual link was misunderstood, Savannah enacted a regulation as early as 1817 to prohibit rice cultivation near the city center. The first major public health effort in the U.S. was undertaken by Lemuel Shattick (1793-1859) who, in 1850, wrote an integrated public health program with more than 50 recommendations for improving public health for the state of Massachusetts.

Before the mid-1800s, scientists and doctors believed that miasma and contagions were the source of disease.[30] Miasma was thought to be a poisonous, foul-smelling gas that contained tiny pieces of decaying organisms that would cause disease when inhaled. The overcrowded urban cemeteries of the late 1700s and early 1800s, in both Europe and America, were considered to be a source of miasma. In Europe, where the overcrowding in cemeteries was much more severe than in the U.S., there were often widespread outbreaks of disease. Centuries of interments beneath church floors, as well as cemeteries where the coffins were piled high and occasionally spilled open, caused frequent deaths of clergy, sextons, gravediggers, and nearby residents exposed to overwhelming quantities of gases from decaying bodies.[31] In the U.S., outbreaks of cholera, yellow fever, and malaria resulted in high mortality rates, particularly along the Georgia coast and Coastal Plain. For example, in Savannah, between August and November 1854, 650 people died of yellow fever, which is a significant number as the total population was 25,000.[32]

By the mid-1800s, the idea that small microorganisms called germs were present in the body and caused disease began to gain widespread acceptance.[33] New medical treatments based on germ theory were widely adapted as Victorian society stressed innovation and the idea that reform can positively impact the world. While it had long been recognized that burial grounds could be unhealthy places, reformers began to advocate for changing burial practices in urban environments to lessen their impact on human health – namely, to not allow cemeteries to reach extreme overcapacity and to keep them located at the periphery of habitation areas. As mentioned earlier, in America there was generally no shortage of space to expand. As established cities grew and encroached upon older, Colonial-period burial grounds, cities made the decision to close the cemeteries and open new ones further outside of town due, in large part, to health concerns. An additional impetus in America was a desire for the real estate occupied by cemeteries in what is now the downtown city center. It has been suggested that the high value of downtown real estate in Boston was as much of an impetus for the construction and location of Mount Auburn Cemetery as health concerns and Victorian sensibilities.[34]
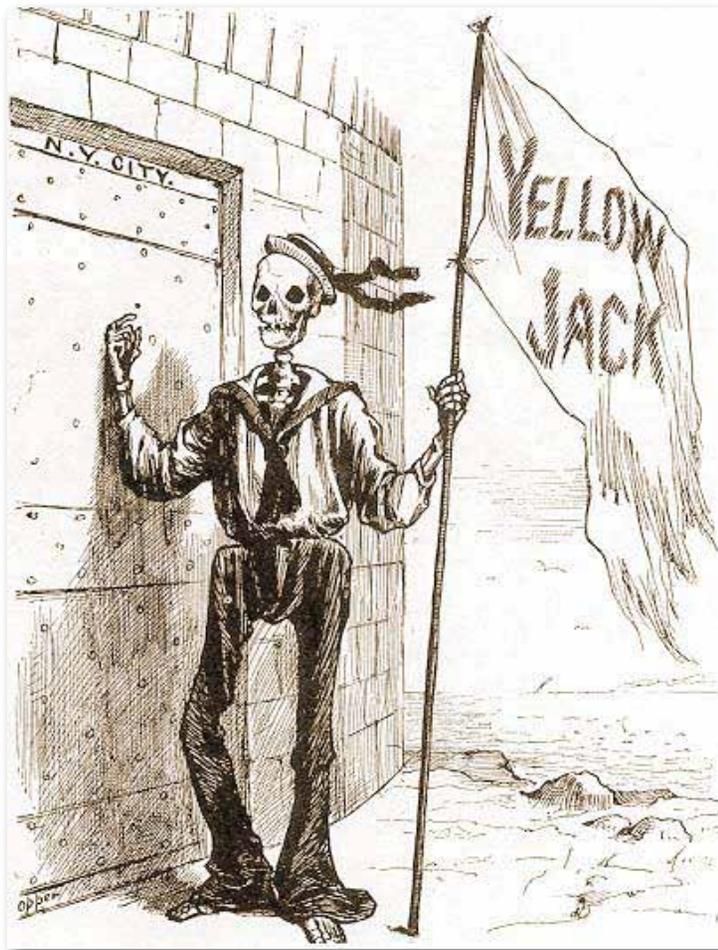
As the American frontier expanded throughout the 1800s, new towns and communities in Georgia sought to plan ahead for death and burials. The management of death and burial continued its progression from the private, religious sphere, to the public, secular sphere. Another innovation of this period concerning the management of death was the Death Certificate. From its roots in the Bills of Mortality, which recorded the numbers of dead from the plague in 16th-century England, the modern death certificate prototype was established in England in 1837.[35] In the U.S., more standardized death certificates appeared in 1910, with Georgia adopting them statewide in 1919.

THE GEOGRAPHY AND MANAGEMENT OF CEMETERIES AND BURIAL GROUNDS

The Revolutionary War and Georgia's transition to statehood in the early American Republic caused a number of cultural, economic, and political changes that affected burial grounds in the state. Increasingly, during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, individuals, local governments, and later, private capital created and managed burial grounds in Georgia. Immediately following independence, Georgia pursued an aggressive campaign of westward expansion into territories occupied by Muscogee and Cherokee people. Between

Yellow Fever epidemics in Georgia were one of the many public health concerns facing city officials in the 1800s. Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1878. National Postal Museum.

Rural Garden Cemeteries in Georgia

Rose Hill Cemetery, Macon, Bibb County, Established 1840

1925 Map
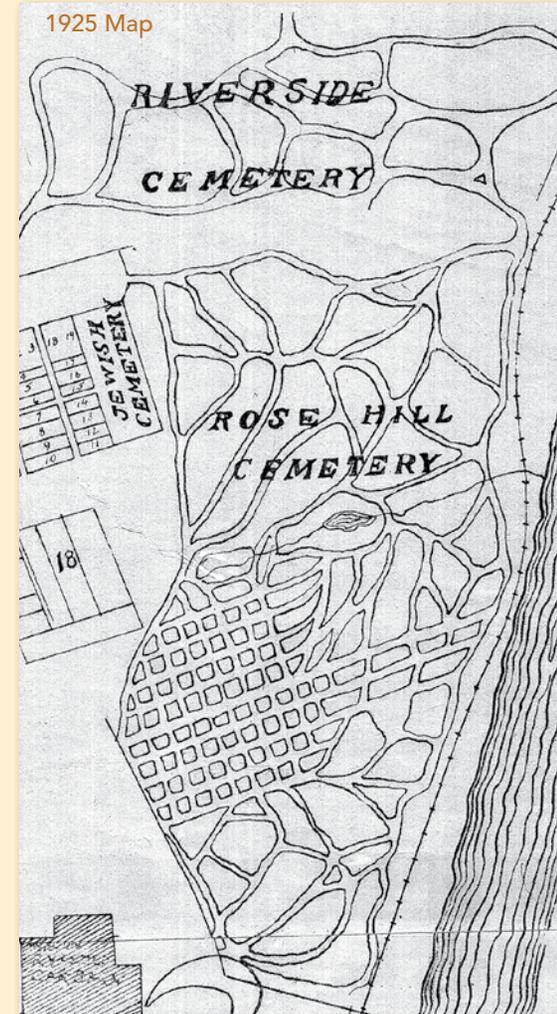
Lot and Block Map of Macon. Source: Published by Dolph and Stewart, New York.

Oconee Hills Cemetery, Athens, Clark County, Established 1856

Map OF THE CITY OF ATHENS, GA.

1874

1783 and 1835, a succession of Federal treaties transferred interior American Indian-held lands to state control and enlarged Georgia's boundaries to the present limits. Ceded American Indian territory was first distributed by land grants and then a lottery system (after 1803) to white war veterans, farmers, planters, and speculators from coastal Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, who poured into the frontier.[36]

DOMESTIC BURIALS IN THE AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE

In 1790, Georgia's population stood at approximately 82,548, although settlers in the recently-acquired upcountry region to the north and west of Augusta already outnumbered those living in the older coastal counties. By 1830, Georgia's population had risen to 516,823 residents. The increase of Georgia's African enslaved population from 29,662 to 217,531 over this same period illustrated the growth of King Cotton, which quickly eclipsed tobacco during the early 1800s as the primary crop commodity of large plantations and smaller family farms on the upper Piedmont.[37] Life for those settlers living in lightly-populated areas far from rural churches or the nearest towns was often marked by primitive conditions and semi-isolation due to the state's poorly built and maintained roads. As a result, burial of family members and enslaved people in small, cleared plots on domestic property, a practice that had long been prevalent among rural southerners in the Carolinas and the Virginia Tidewater, became increasingly common throughout Georgia with expansion into the upland counties.[38] These cemeteries were protected in the mid-1800s by Georgia Law. In the 1845 Codification of the Statute Law of Georgia, Georgia Law Section III, No. 99 -101 dealt with the protection of burial grounds during real estate transactions and instituted a substantial fine for mutilating or injuring a cemetery in any way.

EMERGENCE OF MUNICIPAL CEMETERIES

The same land acquisition and distribution policies that spurred Georgia's rapid population growth also contributed to the new responsibilities assumed by the General Assembly and county governments in the establishment of publicly-owned and operated cemeteries. While church cemeteries would remain the burial place of choice among Georgians living in smaller communities and rural areas, the period between independence in 1783 and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 witnessed the rise of municipal cemeteries as the likely burial location for those living in more established urban places or in close proximity to the new frontier towns. The British military's targeted destruction of coastal churches, and the political and economic disestablishment of the royalist-leaning Anglican Church under the state's 1777 Constitution, caused a near-collapse of Georgia's established denominations after the war. The resulting spiritual void was filled by the robust growth of independent-minded Methodist and Baptist itinerant ministers who flourished in the backcountry territories. The state and/or local county governments remained the only institution capable of providing the necessary land and effective oversight needed to address interment of the dead in areas where organized religion was either non-existent or actively discouraged by many rough-and-tumble residents of frontier settlements.[39]

Late 18th and Early 19th-Century Muscogee (Creek) and Cherokee Land Treaties

As the Euroamerican presence spread inland in Georgia, contact between American Indians and settlers increased. At the boundaries of these changes, which shifted westward as treaties were signed, cultures intermingled, and cemeteries and burials reflected the changes in burial practices. Few examples of these frontier cemeteries have been well studied in Georgia. The New Echota Cemetery, in Gordon County, at the former capital of the Cherokee Nation is an example of a cemetery with both Euroamerican and Cherokee burials.

New Echota Cemetery, Gordon County

Land Cession and Population Distributions 1810-1860

🟧	Cherokee
🟦	Muscogee (Creek)
⬜	Georgia Colony and State

American Indian Land Cessions.
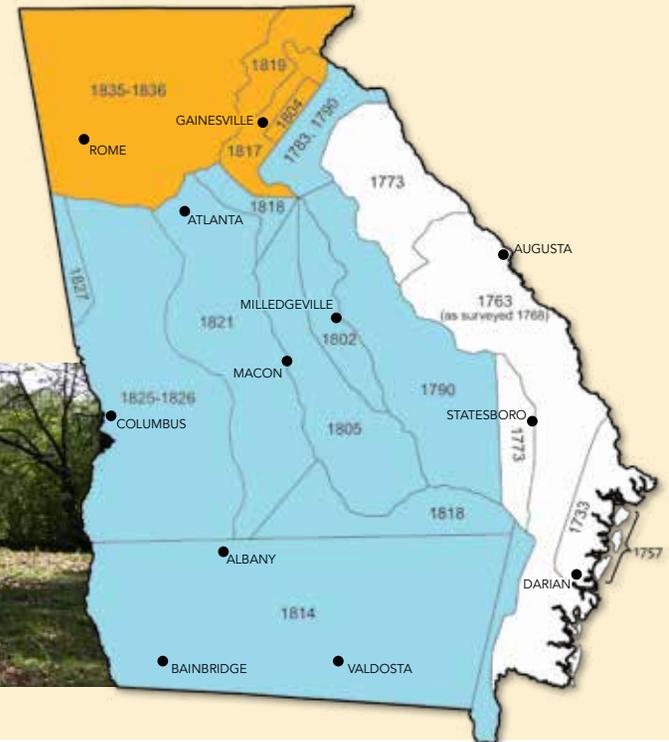
(Far Left) Harriet Ruggles grave. (Left) Chief Path Killer's grave. (Below) New Echota Cemetery, Gordon County.

Early Town Plans
with Cemetery Locations

MILLEDGEVILLE

MACON

During the span of American Indian removal and westward expansion, the state legislature became actively engaged in the "greatest town-founding period" in Georgia's history. New county towns, or seats, were systematically planned and developed along interior trade routes or navigable rivers to function as regional political centers, spur additional settlement, and promote commerce in the backcountry wilderness.[40] Legislative acts passed by the Georgia General Assembly in 1783 and 1784 tasked state-appointed commissioners with the laying out of Augusta, Washington, and Waynesboro as the new county seats for Richmond, Wilkes, and Burke counties, respectively. While all three towns featured courthouse-centric plans, the Washington model, with its grid street plan and central courthouse sited on the highest lot as a focal point, would become the main prototype for subsequent county seats established in

other parts of the state prior to the Civil War. Commissioners subdivided the original 100-acre grant into one-acre lots, and proceeds from lot sales were invested in the development of the courthouse, jail, county academy (school), and cemetery.[41]

The Georgia General Assembly took a more direct role in preparing the town plans for the state capitols at Louisville (1786) and Milledgeville (1804), as well as the commercial centers of Macon (1823) and Columbus (1827). Each town plan included provisions for the development of public graveyards. The Milledgeville City Cemetery (later known as Memory Hill Cemetery) originated as one of four 16-acre squares in town reserved for 'publick uses' (the three others were planned for the statehouse, penitentiary, and governor's square). Similar to Milledgeville, the Macon town plan of 1823 reserved three large squares for public use, including Block Number 35 just southwest of the proposed courthouse, which was simply designated "Graveyard" (later known as the Old City Cemetery).[42] In the west Georgia trading town of Columbus, the Board of Commissioners met in May 1828, a few months after the state legislature authorized the new town plan. They established two burial grounds in the settlement – one for white residents and the other for enslaved and free blacks, as ordered below:

> …it is hereby ordered that two Burial Grounds be laid off containing four acres each, the first for the Interment of the white and the Second for the Internment of the Blacks. The first of Said Burial ground be and the same is hereby located east of the eastern line of Mercer Street…and the latter and Second Burial ground be the Same is hereby located for the Internment of the black population between Few and Early Street and east of Mercer Street…and be it further Resolved that the above and foregoing addition and alteration Shall be added to and become A part of the original plan of the Town of Columbus.[43]

Planned by surveyors and civil engineers, these municipal burying grounds were often functionally laid out in simple, linear, or gridded interior circulation patterns, which reduced construction costs and maximized the use of land. Many also bore nondescript titles (e.g. City Burial Grounds) befitting their unsentimental, frontier origins. In some cities and towns, cemetery commissions were appointed to supervise cemetery management and petition the city council on their behalf, while sextons, or superintendents, were typically civil servants in charge of grave digging, landscaping, and executing day-to-day operations. Interment costs were set within a range in order to be affordable to a broad spectrum of residents. Sections were typically reserved for residents of varying Christian denominations with specified areas for Jewish burials, enslaved Africans and freemen, or unmarked "potters fields" retained for the burials of unknown transients or the indigent.[44]

With the end of Georgia's westward expansion into American Indian lands, following the forced removal of the Cherokee in 1835, the state entered an era marked by railroad infrastructure development and economic growth from agriculture based on enslaved labor. Construction of the railroad lines in the 1830s and 1840s linked the state's central cotton and corn producing region to the eastern commercial and shipping centers in Augusta and Savannah and brought increased wealth to Georgia's planter and mercantile classes.[45] By the eve of the Civil War in 1860, Savannah remained the state's largest city with a population of 22,292 inhabitants, followed by Augusta, Columbus, the newly-established railroad town of Atlanta, and then Macon.[46]

City Cemeteries

Laurel Grove Cemetery in Chatham County, now known as Laurel Grove North and Laurel Grove South, provides an excellent example of a municipal cemetery from this period. Although planning began in 1818, the cemetery opened in 1853. Laurel Grove South was set aside for enslaved and free blacks in 1853. While the cemetery was laid out in a grid patten, many monuments particularly in Laurel Grove North, are ornate and typical for the Victorian Period.

An African American woman in traditional Victorian mourning attire, Baldwin County, Georgia.

Source: Vanishing Georgia Collection.

SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN

April 14, 1851

THE NEW CEMETERY

Having a eye to the beautiful and the appropriate, she, with many others, feared that some Goth of a gardener might be employed to lay out the new cemetery, near the city, who in carrying out a stiff mathematical line, would not hesitate to cut down the finest trees and destroy the rarest flowers.

1888 MAP

Whites Portion

"Colored" Portion

CURRENT LAYOUT

(Left) Map of the City of Savannah and Vicinity, 1888. Source: Georgia Historical Society. (Left Inset), Current arrangement of Laurel Grove North, City of Savannah Website. (Below) Laurel Grove North Cemetery.

SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN

March 18, 1851

THE NEW CEMETERY

'Please do not cut down the trees': The Development of Laurel Grove City Cemetery in Savannah

When Savannah embarked upon constructing a new public cemetery in 1851 based on their concerns that the inhabited parts of the city were now too close to the Old City Cemetery, a number of local citizens quickly protested what they feared would be the cutting of all the trees and plants in the location for the new cemetery. The Council Resolution called for "laborers to clear up the grounds of the new cemetery, and to sell the wood to the highest bidder, and to draw on the treasury weekly for a sum not exceeding $75.00 to pay such laborers and that they be authorized to advertise for proposals for a landscape gardener to lay out the Cemetery according to the plan hereafter to be developed." Inspired by the new Garden Cemeteries such as Mount Auburn, the citizens clearly hoped for a picturesque park-like setting for their new cemetery…

We respectfully and earnestly urge upon the proper committee the propriety of suspending this work for the present. We are informed, on the best authority, that it is to be done without the adoption so far of any of the plans that have been, or may be presented. Hence valuable trees may be cut down at a cost of $5 to $10 a piece, which it would take more than fifty years to replace.

Protect Your Cemetery Lot With One of Our Fences
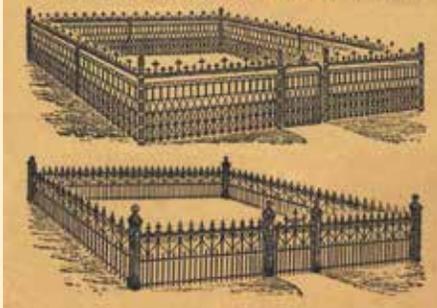
Cemetery Fences

The practice of using fencing, and in particular iron fencing, to mark a family plot or individual grave has a long history in America. Two types of material were most often used, wrought iron and cast iron. While wrought iron is strong and less brittle, cast iron allows for an infinite variety of patterns and designs.

Many of the fences used in cemeteries included both types – wrought iron for the structural bars and cast iron for the decorative flourishes.[48]

1921 Sears, Roebuck and Co. Catalog.

Cast Iron Gate, Gibbs Cemetery, Montgomery County.

ROMANTIC GEORGIA (1811-1837)

Elaborate ironwork was very popular in the Romantic movement. In keeping with the resurgence of classical architectural styles – neoclassical, Greek revival, and gothic – simple geometric and floral motifs as well as gothic arches were popular ironwork patterns. Most ironwork in this period was cast iron.

Greek Key Pattern. Jewish Cemetery, Chatham County.

FEDERAL GEORGIA (1780-1850)

The Federal period ironwork, which consisted of a mixture of wrought and cast iron, was very popular in the southern U.S., especially the 1840s. "C" and "S" wrought iron scrollwork adorned with cast classical symbols such as lyres and anthemions were frequently seen on cemetery fencing.

C Pattern Fence. Laurel Grove North Cemetery, Chatham County.

Gas Pipe with Lyre, Oak Grove Cemetery, Camden County.

Woven Wire Fence, Linwood Cemetery, Muscogee County.

Cast and Wrought Iron, Sunbury Cemetery, Liberty County.

AMERICAN VICTORIAN (1840-1910)

This period saw the beginnings of a new process for making wrought iron – roller/extrusion. Again, fences combined both wrought and cast iron into fanciful "robust" styles with medieval influences such as spearpoints, as well as cast urns and vases. Two other types of iron fencing became popular in this period: gas pipe fences, and in the later 19th century, elaborate woven wire fencing.

100

As Georgia's major towns grew in size and wealth, city leaders often established larger, more aesthetically-designed municipal cemeteries to replace existing settlement graveyards that were increasingly overcrowded. These new spaces, sited at the edges of densely populated areas, were able to accommodate rising numbers of interments, functioned as defacto urban greenspaces, and became sources of civic pride.[47] Magnolia Cemetery replaced the old colonial burial grounds at St. Paul's Episcopal Church as Augusta's main cemetery in 1818. In the spring of 1840, the city of Macon established a new municipal cemetery on 50 acres of land overlooking the Ocmulgee River on the northern outskirts of town. Named Rose Hill in honor of its benefactor and planner, Simri Rose, owner of the *Georgia Messenger* newspaper, it was conceived and designed in a Rural Garden Cemetery style popularized by Mount Auburn Cemetery.[49] Other Rural Garden Cemetery-designed municipal burial grounds were established in Athens (Oconee Hill Cemetery, 1855) and the northwest trading town of Rome (Myrtle Hill Cemetery, 1857), while variations of the landscape style were employed in the laying out of the public cemeteries in Atlanta (City Cemetery, later Oakland, 1850) and Savannah (Laurel Grove North, 1854). It is interesting to note that there may be a correlation between how long a town had been established and whether or not they chose to adopt the Rural Garden Cemetery ideals in their new municipal cemetery. Towns that were established earlier seemed to have built these cemeteries from the outset, while towns incorporated later, such as Atlanta in 1842, chose the expeditious route of a gridded cemetery in Oakland and later added Rural Garden elements. These added rural garden elements included plantings, such as weeping willows, live oaks, azaleas, and other flowering ornamentals; the addition of curvilinear paths and clearing of selected attractive vistas; and more ornate ironwork fencing, stone walls, and other hardscaping. In smaller city cemeteries, where public funding was lower or there were fewer wealthy donors, fewer of these elements may have been present.

INSTITUTIONAL DEATH

During the early 19th century, just as Georgia's cities and towns became engaged in the public funding, planning, and management of municipal cemeteries, the General Assembly engaged in asylum reform, which required the creation of state-owned burial grounds to accommodate the growing numbers of men, women, and children who died while housed in institutional care. The State of Georgia placed itself at the forefront of a growing Victorian reform movement that sought to improve conditions and treatment methods in the nation's prisons and asylums. Construction of the Georgia State Penitentiary in Milledgeville was completed in 1816 and the first prisoner was admitted in 1817.[50] Twenty years later in 1837, the state legislature issued a charter for the establishment of a "State Lunatic, Idiot, and Epileptic Asylum" in Milledgeville. Construction was completed on the Central State Hospital in 1842. The state-run facility was one of only five to provide full custodial care for its mentally ill residents in the South and one of 14 in the United States.[51]

Deceased patients from the Central State Hospital were initially buried in the Milledgeville City Cemetery, where many prisoners from the state's antebellum penitentiary were also interred. Following an expansion in 1850, patients were buried on the grounds of the hospital in an area designated as the Asylum Cemetery. Grave sites were originally marked with simple wooden markers. As the century progressed, the state's responsibilities extended to include the burial of deceased prisoners whose remains were unwanted or were unable to be returned home.[52]

Asylum Cemetery, Milledgeville, Baldwin County

State Lunatic, Idiot, and Epileptic Asylum Cemetery, founded in 1837, in Milledgeville (Later Central State Hospital). Approximately 25,000 patients were buried in the six cemeteries on the hospital property.
Source: Natalie Goes, Flicker.

Atlanta Magazine, February 18, 2015. Source: Photographer Gregory Miller.

THE PRIVATELY CHARTERED CEMETERY

Both church and state served as the predominant agents of cemetery establishment and management in Georgia during the 18th and early 19th centuries. However, the 1796 establishment of the New Haven Burying Ground in Connecticut (now Grove Street Cemetery) as the first incorporated cemetery in the United States, provided a new, privately-financed model of development. Originally conceived as a private family burial ground by Connecticut Senator James Hillhouse, the plan for the six-acre lot was revised to make the cemetery a legally "sacred and inviolable" entity that could not be destroyed by subsequent property owners. Hillhouse invited 32 prominent New Haven families to invest $14.00 each toward the purchase of burial plots within the property. Other plots were sold to individuals, granted to Yale College educators and administers, or donated to the poor.[53]

Bonaventure Cemetery, Savannah, Chatham County

Like New Haven Burying Ground in Connecticut, Bonaventure Cemetery in Chatham County, Georgia was a private cemetery. Source: Library of Congress, Detroit Photographic Co.

The independent, not-for-profit corporate charter of the New Haven Burying Ground provided the organizational structure for the establishment of Mount Auburn Cemetery, outside Boston, in 1831, and other cemeteries in the industrializing cities of the North.[54] They would find less success in largely-rural Georgia prior to the Civil War due to the state's general lack of an urbanized, middle and upper business class that could afford the higher lot prices charged for private cemeteries.[55] The most notable example was Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah. In 1847, the State Legislature issued a charter of incorporation to the Evergreen Cemetery Company to create a Garden Cemetery on a former colonial plantation estate overlooking the Wilmington River; however, the company remained inactive until 1869.[56] Despite this delay, Georgia would witness more widespread adoption of privately incorporated cemeteries in its cities and towns in the decades following the war, a period that corresponded with increasing professionalization of the mortuary industry.

NEW CEMETERIES EMERGE

During the 19th century, Georgia was economically dominated by a plantation economy, and the trends discussed here reached their fullest expression in the higher socioeconomic groups that dominated that economy. For most enslaved Africans, enslavement prevented adoption of many of these practices. As discussed in the previous chapter, enslavers dictated their burial places. For poorer Euroamericans, lavish Victorian funerals were impractical and very expensive, and it is likely that only small elements of these trends were expressed. Victorian mourning, if practiced at all, was scaled back, and markers were much less elaborate, but may have expressed some ideals of Romanticism or religious reformation movements in their epitaphs. As burial in a fashionable cemetery such as Rose Hill was impractical for those outside of Macon, the planters brought elements of Romanticism and Victorianism to their family burial grounds. Willow trees, ornate walls or iron fencing, and stones with romantic epitaphs were added. Only a few cemeteries in Georgia fully express the ideals discussed in this chapter. In most cases, these ideals were layered onto existing cemeteries, or elements were selectively added.

Innovations in American cemetery design during the 19th century were triggered by a number of shifts in American culture from the Early National period to the Civil War. From the Enlightenment, to Romanticism, to Victorianism, social movements were at the heart of changing deathways in America. Political, religious, and demographic factors critically affected burial practices as well. The first of these in Georgia resulted from the disestablishment of a state religion and the emergence of a multiplicity of religions and denominations, due to the separation of church and state after the Revolution and the Second Great Awakening.[57] The next factor affecting burial practices stemmed from changes in Georgia's land expansion and settlement policies. In many regions, there was a rapid progression from frontier settlement, to community, to town, to city – all within the span of a few decades. This led directly to the next factor, a growing awareness of the health risks exacerbated by increasing urbanism. These public health issues included a dawning of understanding about disease transmittal and germ theory and the resulting sanitation reforms adopted by many municipalities as a result. The creation of state and local governments following the American Revolution also initiated a change in what entity was responsible for the creation and management of cemeteries and death in urban areas. Finally, as the next chapter discusses, American mortuary businesses, economically and professionally marginal at the beginning of the century, would become a full-fledged member of American industry by its close.

Rose Hill Cemetery, Bibb County.

Chapter Four Summary

KEYS

🗝️ In late 1700s Georgia, the American Revolution, the Second Great Awakening, and the end of the Enlightenment ushered in Romanticism and the later Victorian period during the 1800s. Both of these movements profoundly influenced American views and practices of death and burial.

🗝️ Romanticism and Victorian ideals formed the backbone of a new movement in cemetery design called the Rural Garden Cemetery movement. With roots in France and later Boston, these new Rural Garden cemeteries sought to create pleasing, recreational spaces for the living.

🗝️ The look of cemeteries changed as realistic symbols of death, such as skulls, were replaced by romantic and melancholy images such as angels, weeping women, willow trees, and shrouded urns. Funerals, mourning, and funerary traditions became much more elaborate.

🗝️ Rapidly growing urban populations were resulting in overcrowded, unsanitary, and unhealthy church cemeteries. Coinciding with a growing understanding of germ theory, there was a push to move cemeteries away from living spaces and to make them more sanitary.

🗝️ As new towns and municipalities developed and rapidly expanded in Georgia, the responsibility for cemeteries in more urban areas began to shift away from churches and families, towards municipalities and later for-profit cemetery corporations.

APPLYING THE CONTEXT... WHAT CONNECTIONS CAN YOU FIND?

- Who managed the cemetery and has that changed over time?
- The Rural Garden aesthetic was very popular in the 1800s. Is there evidence that Rural Garden elements may have been overlain on an older family, church, or municipal cemetery? Is the plan of the cemetery's sections and plots gridded or does it follow a curvilinear path with the topography?
- Think about the date of the cemetery's establishment and the establishment of the town or municipality...Is there a correlation? Did the cemetery develop in tandem with the community?
- Is social stratification evident in the cemetery? Can it be seen in the layout of the sections and plots, in preferred locations over less preferred, or in groups of people who are included or deliberately excluded from the cemetery?

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For an even deeper look... See the Annotated Bibliography in Appendix C
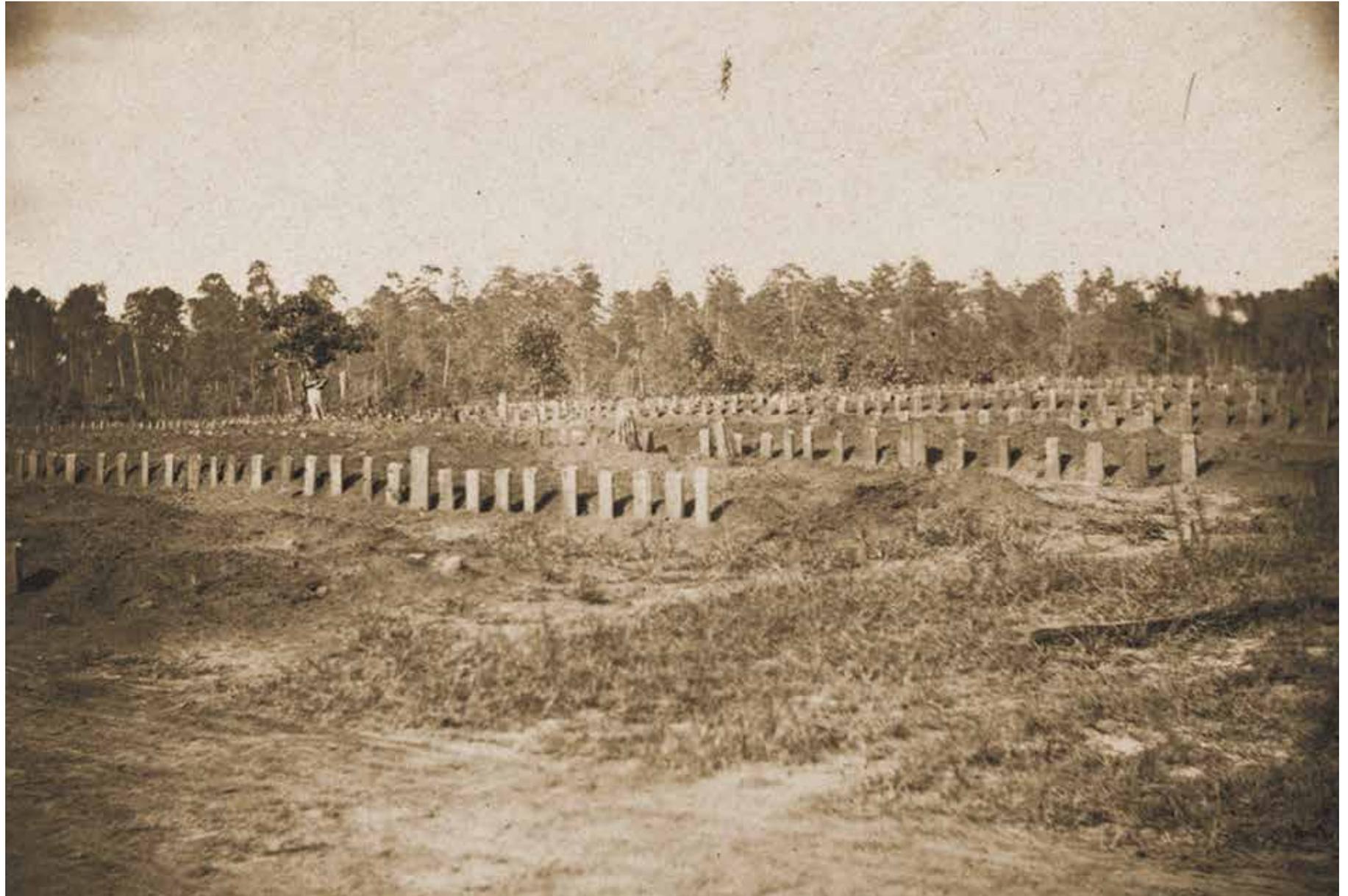
Sunday last a soldier of Co. 'A' died and was buried with military honors... First came the muffled drums playing the 'Dead March' then the usual escort for a private. Eight privates, commanded by a corporal, with arms reversed. Then an ambulance with the body in a common board coffin covered with the Stars and Stripes... On arriving at the grave the Chaplain offered prayer and made some remarks. The coffin was then lowered into the grave, and three volleys were fired by the guard, and then the grave was filled up. The procession returned to camp with the drums playing a 'Quick March.' Everything went on as usual in camp as if nothing had happened, for death is so common that little sentiment is wasted. It is not like death at home.

- Elisha Hunt Rhodes[1]

The Civil War changed the landscape of American death, underscoring the meaning in the above lament, "It is not like death at home." The Good Death's rules of behavior were simply unequal to the traumatic realities of the Civil War battlefield. National cemeteries were created to honor and accommodate the war dead, establishing a "civic cult of the dead" in Historian Philippe Aries' words. Municipal cemeteries added separate sections to their plans dedicated to either the War dead or to Civil War veterans keeping the War's toll in constant view. New means were adopted to treat the war dead. Americans emerged from the era familiar with embalming and, more importantly, as consumers within the nation's fast growing funeral material complex. By the close of the century, the corpse had moved from the front parlor to the funeral parlor, a new profession – undertaking – was established, and Georgia's cemeteries contained Georgia-built coffins, vaults, and gravestones quarried and carved by both craftsman and industrialists.

ARS MORIENDI IN THE CIVIL WAR

Historian Drew Faust notes that having a Good Death (defined in Chapter 1) was a concern of mid-19th-century Protestant Americans, who composed a majority of the soldiers.[2] Most knew how to achieve a Good Death and the need for wartime unity on the battlefield had created a generally Protestant ecumenism amongst soldiers of disparate faiths, including Jewish and Catholic soldiers, that made its precepts available to all. The actuality of the battlefield, however, made two of the most central rules of the *ars moriendi* – the witnessing of the last words and dying at home – impossible.

No last words, a death far from home and family, and, in some cases, no identified remains to bury in either the family, church, or city cemetery compelled new circumstances as thousands of families suffered through their loss or losses without the comfort of the practices that once structured death and mediated its impact. In answer to this, soldiers and their families sought compensatory ways to make the Good Death work "even amid chaos" to allow soldiers to die well. Notably, the letter of condolence was one such mechanism. Fellow soldiers, chaplains, doctors, and nurses took the place of family members at the time of death, and captured that moment in condolence letters written to family members. Faust notes that "these letters sought to make absent loved ones virtual witnesses to the dying moments they had been denied, to link home and battlefront, and to mend the fissures war had introduced into the fabric of the Good Death."[3]

This effort to maintain the connection between the dying individual and their family, which was so central to the ars moriendi, was not as easily surmounted in cases of sudden death, in which letters of notification would be sent. Letters of condolence and notification and a soldier's personal possessions, such as a bible, watch, diary, or a lock of hair, could become memento mori, relics that represented the spirit of the deceased. Such mementos fit nicely with larger Victorian-period mourning customs.

The Civil War forced those who died and those that suffered a loss of life within their families to adopt a new order structuring the passage from life to death. While soldiers and their families sought to recreate the Good Death as best they could under wartime conditions, the fundamentals of *ars moriendi* had changed, with one's family no longer at the heart of the death scene to witness dying moments of loved ones and to offer surcease. Surrogates were introduced into an arena once reserved for the family, foreshadowing changes that would come later in the century as the funeral industry developed.

For many, the Civil War ended the Good Death ideal, nullifying its ability to mediate death's impact. The recovery of a loved one's remains and burial were, instead, structured with a pragmatism that suited the circumstances. This pragmatism charted new paths in the nation's cemetery planning and marking and created accountability measures in the burial of those who gave their lives.

THE CIVIL WAR DEAD

> Before the Civil War, there were no national cemeteries, no processes for identifying the dead in the battle. There weren't any dog tags, and there was no next-of-kin notification. You didn't necessarily even hear what the fate of your loved ones had been. It was up to their comrades to write and inform you.[4]

As Faust noted, prior to the Civil War, there was no system in place to treat those who served the country in the military. Some early military installations, particularly on the frontier, such as Fort Mackinac, Michigan, had a place set aside to receive soldiers who died from conflict, accident, or disease. Other posts relied on burial in local community graveyards near the place of battle, or in some cases, the remains of a soldier were transported to a cemetery chosen by the

deceased's family. While a greater recognition of the need for burial grounds on military posts emerged during the early 19th century, the unprecedented slaughter associated with the Civil War forced a dramatic change in how the military addressed burial of the war dead.[5] Shortly after the outbreak of fighting in 1861, popularly held views among Euro-Americans regarding the appropriate manner of death and burial were upended by the shockingly high casualty rates inflicted by the war. The 1860 purchase of a lot within Savannah's Laurel Grove Cemetery for the burial of seamen, known as the Sailor's Burial Ground, may have reflected the general change in attitudes during this period.

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An estimated 750,000 men died over the course of the Civil War, and 4,000 men were killed on just one day alone at the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862.[6] Added to that number are the thousands of civilians – the elderly, women and children – who also died from skirmishes, military violence, disease, and starvation. While there are no official records, one historian has estimated that 50,000 civilian deaths occurred.[7] The scale of these losses made the presence of death pervasive, particularly in the South where many households lost at least one family member.

With bodies of the dead and dying strewn across the fields of battle, encampments, and POW camps, soldiers on both sides resorted to burying the decaying corpses in shallow mass graves near where they fell. Deprived of the standard trappings of ceremony and custom associated with proper Christian burials such as coffins and individualized headstones, the unknown dead were often stripped bare or simply wrapped in blankets that served as improvised burial shrouds and shoveled into long trenches "in bunches, just like dead chickens" according to one soldier's account.[8]

The inadequacy of burial policies and practices was apparent in the first year of the Civil War. Initially, military hospitals were ordered to establish burial grounds to inter the dead, many of whom had fallen to disease. Each hospital was charged with maintaining a "dead house," where post-mortem examinations could be conducted and corpses stored before burial. As the war accelerated, these initial efforts were considered insufficient. General Orders No. 75 of the War Department, dated September 11, 1861, mandated the first improvement in standardized burials and burial recordkeeping. Commanding officers were tasked with the burial of soldiers under their command and for a form recording their death. General Orders No. 33 came out six months later, further shaping military policy:

In order to secure, as far as possible, the decent interment of those who have fallen, or may fall, in battle, it is made the duty of Commanding Generals, to lay off plots of ground in some suitable spot near every battlefield, so soon it may be in their power, and to cause the remains of those killed to be interred, with headboards to the graves bearing numbers, and, when practicable, the names of the persons buried in them. A register of each burial ground will be preserved, in which will be noted the marks corresponding to the headboards.[9]

Despite these orders, battlefield burials were typically left to the victor and their abilities to improvise within the exigencies of war. Battlefield cemeteries were initially marked with whatever materials were immediately available. While registries of the dead were mandated so that headboards could be erected on each soldier's grave, the process was often arbitrarily implemented, and individual graves frequently went unmarked until they were retrieved or landscaped at a later date.[10] As the war intensified, the needs of the living outweighed the needs of the dead and 'human debris' could be found at many battlefield sites.

The Scale of Death

Photograph shows a Civil War era Enfield bayonet bent in the shape of a hook recovered near the site of a Confederate camp in Virginia where typhoid victims were interned. Source: Joshua's Attic Website.

Armies developed burial techniques intended to make the daunting task of disposal of bodies manageable, but these procedures seemed horrifying even to many of those who executed them. Burial parties customarily collected the dead in a single location on the field by tying each soldier's legs together, passing the rope around his torso, and then dragging him to a row of assembled bodies. A bayonet, heated and bent into a hook referred to as "spook hooks," could keep a soldier from having to touch what was often a putrescent corpse. The burial detail might then dig a grave, place a body in a hole, cover it with dirt from the next grave, and continue until the line of corpses was covered. But such individuation was usually reserved for one's comrades and for circumstances where sufficient time and resources were available. Enemy dead were more likely to be buried in large pits. G. R. Lee described the procedure in his unit: "long trenches were dug about six feet wide and three to four deep. The dead were rolled on blankets and carried to the trench and laid heads and feet alternating so as to save space. Old blankets were thrown over a pile of bodies and the earth thrown on top." One soldier worried that the process as he witnessed it after Shiloh reduced men to the status of animals or perhaps even vegetables. "They dig holes," he wrote," and pile them in like dead cattle and have teams to draw them together like picking up pumpkins."[11]

Burial Detail at Andersonville Prison, August 1864 Photographer A. J. Riddle. Source: National Park Service, Andersonville National Historic Site Website.

Most of the Confederate dead had been gathered in long trenches and buried; but the Union dead were still lying where they fell. For its effect on the survivors it was the policy of the victor to hide his own losses and let those of the other side be seen.

- Confederate Surgeon, John Wyeth[12]

ANDERSONVILLE

Known initially as Camp Sumter, the Confederate prison at Andersonville became notorious for its harsh conditions. Incarcerated Union soldiers suffered a death rate of 30 percent from disease and violence. Between February 1864 and April 1865, 45,000 prisoners were crowded into the 25-acre prison with inadequate food and water, and little shelter or sanitation. Conditions were so brutal that the prison's commander, Captain Henry Wirz, was put to death for war crimes in November 1865.

In July and August 1865, an expedition was sent to Andersonville to identify burials. Nursing pioneer Clara Barton and Dorence Atwater, a former Andersonville inmate who had been assigned to maintain a record of the dead while imprisoned, with a detachment of laborers documented 13,364 bodies and identified 12,912 of them. All were reinterred in marked graves and the cemetery was designated as the Andersonville National Cemetery.[13]

The formal landscape at Andersonville National Cemetery features rows of white grave markers, a product of the 19th-century expedition. It was investigated in 2014 by archaeologists at GDOT to identify the actual position of the trenches and to get a better understanding of the below-ground burial landscape through geophysical study. The study was able to establish that the burial trenches were located to the east side of the marker rows.[14] The work also helped to confirm that coffins were used for burials early on, as the first three rows of trenches appear different in form than the remainder. The work posed new research questions about the remaining trenches and the archaeological signature of trenches known to have wood planks covering the bodies versus those that had no covering, which were interred after August 1865. Geophysical studies such as these offer a strong preservation approach to learning about cemetery landscapes and their formation processes.

A geophysical study at Andersonville National Cemetery (Top Right) showed that all burials in the area surveyed were situated east of the rows of markers (Right) providing site managers important information for the care and interpretation of the site.
Source: Jim Pomfret, GDOT.

Section K
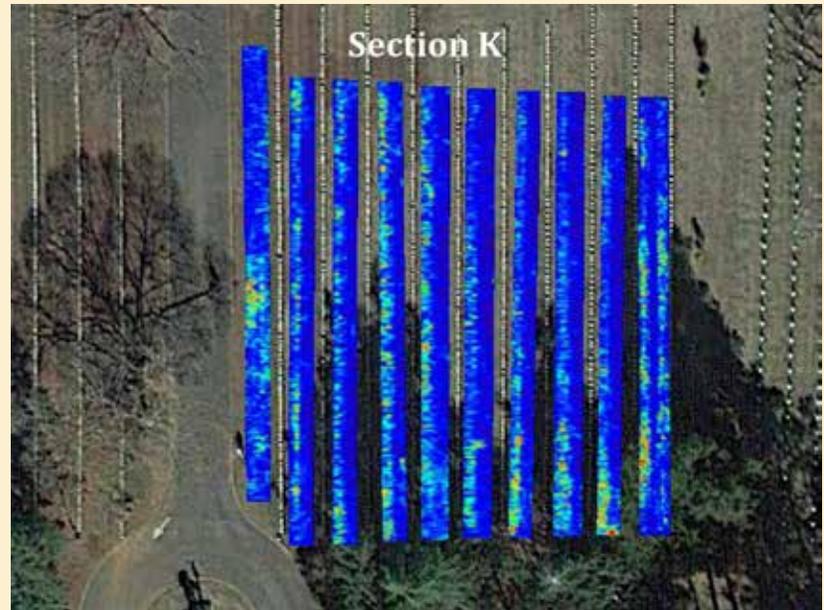
The massive carnage that became commonplace on the battlefields of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania was finally brought to Georgia's northern doorstep during the Battle of Chickamauga, September 18-20, 1863. Over 34,000 men were killed, wounded, or lost over a three-day span, and the first cemeteries of the Civil War were established in Georgia in the aftermath of the fighting.[15] After Chickamauga, most of the Union fallen in Georgia were buried on the battlefield, and a large majority of Confederate dead were interred in nearby cemeteries.
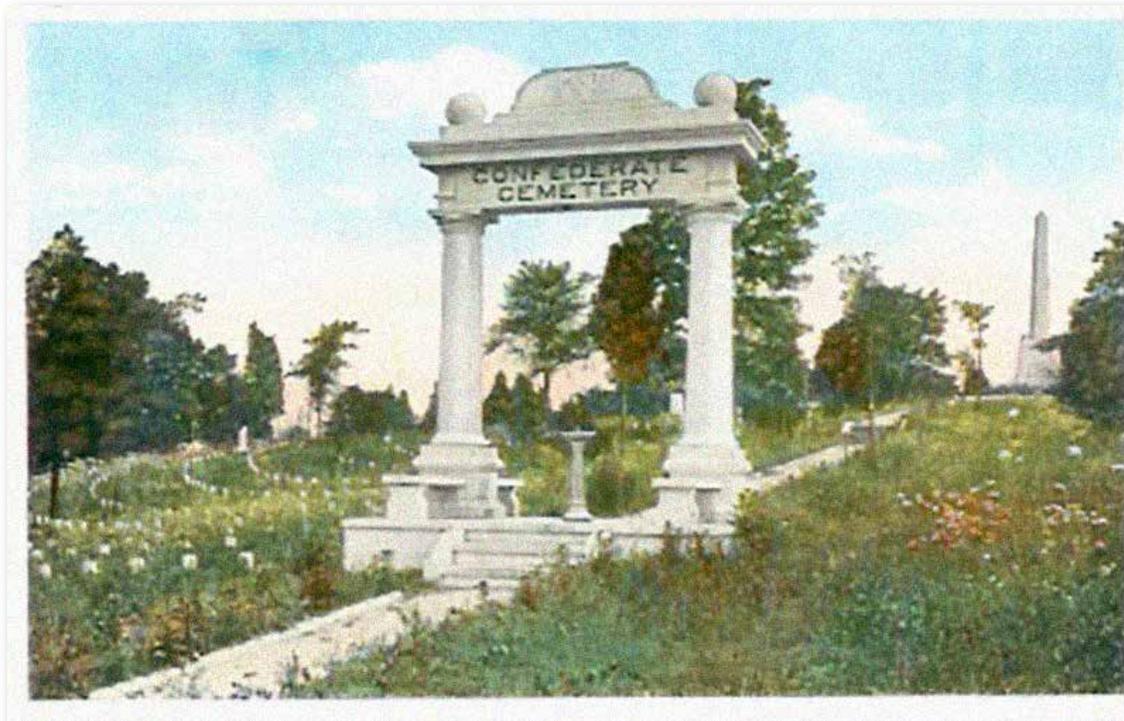
Many of the Southern dying and wounded were transported by rail to the large field hospitals in Marietta and Atlanta. The makeshift hospital facilities were located in close proximity to each city's major cemetery to facilitate the mass burial of scores of amputated body parts and dead patients. The Marietta Confederate Cemetery was established in 1863 on privately donated land to handle the sudden influx of war dead, while the Atlanta Cemetery (known today as Oakland Cemetery) was expanded by nearly 50 acres to accommodate the large number of Confederates (and some Union soldiers) who died while in the care of local hospitals.[16]

Undated postcard image showing "Monument Erected to the Confederate Cemetery at Marietta near Atlanta." Source: The Marietta Confederate Cemetery Foundation and Friends of Brown Park Website.

As the Atlanta Campaign wound its way through North Georgia during the summer of 1864, other new cemeteries were established in smaller towns, such as Resaca, Kingston, Cassville, and Jonesboro, near hospitals or where major engagements had taken place.[17] Stone Mountain's City Cemetery, for example, contains a mass burial of Confederate soldiers who had fought in the many skirmishes that occurred in the mountain's vicinity in 1864. Many of Stone Mountain's larger homes were adapted for use as hospitals, and those buried in the cemetery may have been treated in these hospitals. Data on Civil War interments throughout Georgia suggests this was a pattern across the state and that the Civil War dead populated cemeteries established at battlefield sites, prison sites, and established church or city cemeteries. In many cases where the numbers of those buried were sizable and involved unknown soldiers, the war-related burial area constitutes a section set aside within established cemeteries, like the case of Stone Mountain, where the Civil War section is prominently placed and dramatically marked. Also, after the war, small plots within larger cemeteries were sometimes dedicated to soldier burials, to be

filled as bodies were removed from battlefield sites or impermanent graves and reinterred within the cemeteries. These cemeteries initially may have been strong reminders of the war, but over time would become a unifying vehicle for memorialization on a national scale.

EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL CEMETERIES

While small towns and churches sought to absorb the war dead, the nation also experienced a significant change in its treatment of the dead, recognizing that those who died for their country were owed a place of burial. The responsibility for their burial was no longer seen as simply a family duty, but a national debt that needed to be honored.

The federal government's first foray in developing a national cemetery occurred four years after the Mexican-American War when a national cemetery was established in Mexico City in 1851.[18] Following the Battle of Bull Run/Manassas in 1862, the National Cemetery system was organized to address the issue of military war dead.[19] Congress authorized the purchase of land specifically to reinter the remains of Americans killed in battle and passed legislation authorizing the first military cemeteries in 1862, marking a shift in how the federal government memorialized the sacrifice of its fallen soldiers.[20] Over the course of the war, cemeteries were established on large, strategic military posts, including those at Annapolis, Fort Leavenworth, and Fort Scott (Kansas), in addition to a variety of battlefield sites.[21]

In 1866, Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs issued a general order that "…the cemeteries of all Union soldiers and of all prisoners of war shall be enclosed with plain but substantial fences, and the graves of each marked with a head-board, plainly bearing a number, and the name, company, regiment, and State of each man, so far as can be ascertained."[22] Yet, military cemeteries established during the war and immediately thereafter were designed independent of any overarching authority, and some were responsive to the national trends of the day. The application of the Rural Cemetery Movement features to the Chattanooga National Cemetery (1863), Vicksburg National Cemetery (1899), and others is indicative of how much freedom individual managers had in federal cemetery administration.[23]

Although many of the Civil War era national cemeteries were placed in a rural setting, harkening back to cemeteries born in the Rural Cemetery Movement, they were vastly different, reflecting a sense of sacrifice and community, rather than a focus on the individual and the landscape.

There was a world of difference between tree-lined avenues and cultivated hedgerows and the battlefield landscapes of the Civil War. In time, several of the battlefields themselves-most notably Gettysburg-would come to replicate in some respects, both the atmosphere and message intended by the rural cemetery movement. However, whereas the rural cemeteries had encouraged contemplation of the life hereafter in what might almost be described as a theoretical manner, in the aftermath of the Civil War the viewing of death from a distance was no longer an option.[24]

Be it enacted... that in the arrangement of the national cemeteries established for the burial of deceased soldiers and sailors, the Secretary of War is hereby directed to have the same enclosed with a good and substantial stone or iron fence; and to cause each grave to be marked with a small headstone, or block, with the number of the grave inscribed thereon, corresponding with the number opposite to the name of the party, in a register of burials to be kept at each cemetery and at the Office of the Quartermaster General, which shall set forth the name, rank, company, regiment, and date of death of the officer or soldier; or if unknown, it shall be so recorded.

- An Act to Establish and to Protect National Cemeteries (Public Law 37) Act of February 22, 1867.

Soldier's Cemetery in Alexandria, Virginia is considered to be one of the first Civil War cemeteries. Source: Library of Congress, Photograph No. LC-B8184-10211, Between 1861-1865.

By 1867, the need for guidelines to govern how national cemeteries were designed and maintained resulted in a set of federal standards. These guidelines included the placement of a headstone on every interment and the erection of a wall or fence around the entire facility.[25] All cemeteries were preplanned in their design according to a template, and plots were rigidly filled according to the scheme.[26] The emphasis of the design was on uniformity, with markers arranged to form patterns that underscored their geometry and patterning in the landscape. Gravestones were intentionally simple and uniform as a means of evoking a serious and reverential mood in the viewer. Subsequent growth and expansion of the military cemetery would also follow a pre-planned arrangement.[27] Between 1862 and 1870, the number of national cemeteries rapidly expanded from 14 to 72.

As noted above, in Georgia, in the months and years after the close of the war, effort was made to locate and consolidate battlefield and small garrison cemeteries into the larger national cemeteries. In July 1865, Quartermaster General Meigs issued General Order Number 70 establishing the Anderson National Cemetery on the grounds of the notorious prison in central south Georgia.[28]

A second national cemetery was established in Marietta, Georgia in 1866. It was originally conceived by local businessman and Unionist sympathizer Henry Cole as a resting place for both Union and Confederate soldiers, and promoted as a sacred site that would foster national reconciliation. The initial plans for the cemetery were scuttled by local officials who argued that the Confederate dead should be "protected from a promiscuous mingling with the remains of their enemies."[29] Rebuffed, Cole offered the donated grounds to U.S. General George H. Thomas for the development of a national cemetery. Chaplain Thomas B. Van Horne designed the Marietta National Cemetery in a radial pattern. It contains the graves of almost 10,000 Union dead, which are marked with uniform, white marble stones. The grounds were first enlarged in 1867 and again in 1870, to the present size of 23 acres.[30]

Parallel efforts were also undertaken by the State of Georgia, with assistance from private volunteer groups, to memorialize and provide proper burial for fallen Confederate soldiers. In October 1866, the Resaca Confederate Cemetery, a privately financed and developed graveyard containing the remains of 450 Southern soldiers, was dedicated as one of the first, official Confederate cemeteries in the United States.[31] Other re-interments of Confederate remains occurred in cemeteries located throughout the state. Commemoration activities and the placement of memorials in Confederate cemeteries became more widespread with the rise in women's patriotic groups in the late 19th century.

Most notable in these endeavors were the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which established a Georgia division in 1895.[32] Common activities among these organizations included the replacement of wood boards at Confederate burial sites with stone/iron markers and the funding and commissioning of monuments honoring the Confederate veterans. Among the most well known memorials in Georgia is the "Lion of the Confederacy." The statue was carved from rock quarried at Stone Mountain and dedicated by the Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association in 1884 to the memory of the 3,000 Confederate dead in Oakland Cemetery.[33] State care currently extends to six cemeteries that hold Confederate war casualties. These Confederate cemeteries are located in Cassville, Jonesboro, Kingston, Marietta, Milner, and Resaca and are all located near former battlefield and hospital sites. They hold the remains of several thousand individuals.
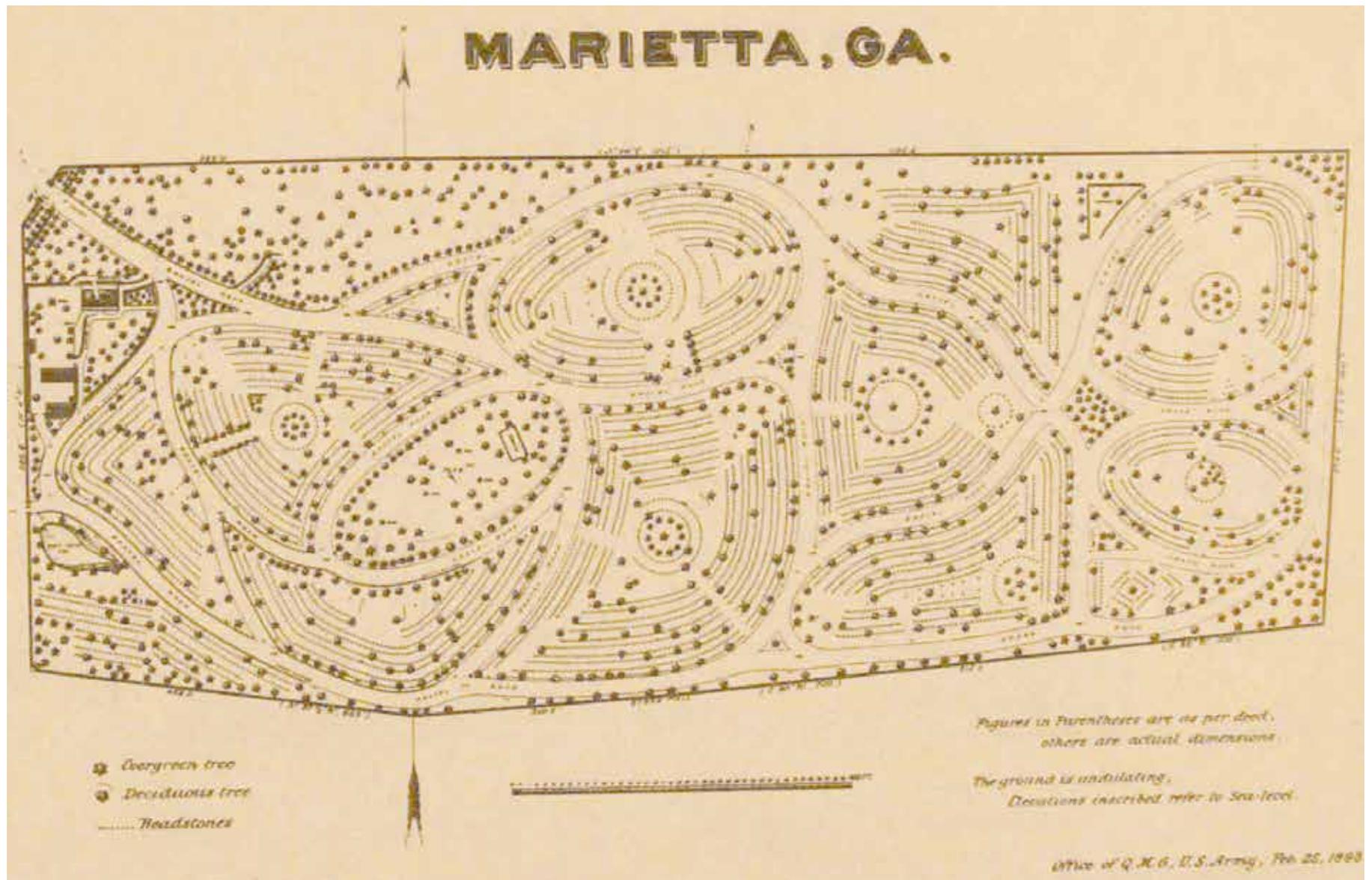
1893 Plan for Marietta National Cemetery showing Horn's design featuring 21 burial areas configured in circles, crescents, ovals, and shield shapes within the rectangular boundary.
Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

EMBALMED AND IRON CASED

The slain of higher condition, 'embalmed' and iron cased, were sliding off the railways to their far homes; the dead of the rank and file were being gathered up and committed hastily to the earth.

- Oliver Wendell Holmes[34]

Coffins, embalming, transportation home, and a marked grave were "privileges that Civil War Americans were most eager to provide their dead comrades and kin."[35] For many, this first involved locating the correct body. Some went to the grave site themselves if the location was recorded, while others benefited from the Sanitary Commission and other associations and philanthropic organizations for help with funding and logistics. In many cases, an expanding battery of entrepreneurial death professionals – undertakers, embalmers, coffin makers, and agents – were at the ready to assist families and individuals in locating their loved ones and shipping them back home. These were the standard bearers for the modern funeral industry, and embalming was the lifeblood of the rising industry.[36]

The process involved locating the body, having it removed from the ground, providing a coffin for storage and shipping, embalming, and shipping it home. Faust's research on Civil War burials provides numerous cases in which each or all of these steps could be fraught with difficulty. Many families sought the aid of undertakers and embalmers to help manage the process. Knowledge about embalming and the public health issues involved with transporting bodies was their domain, and large shipping firms further helped by arranging for the safe and secure transportation of the war dead home. Refrigeration and the use of wooden coffins were replaced by embalming and metal caskets, respectively, to meet the needs of those at home as well as the dead.[37]

(Above) Embalming building near Fredericksburg. Source: Library of Congress Stereograph 1s02705. (Top) Body Tag, Harnden's Express Advertising Card Addressed to Mr. John Hale, Roxford, Massachusetts for the Body of Relative Harrison Hale. Source: Robert A Siegel Auction Galleries.

Embalming, primarily used in the 1850s in the United States for medical research, became the principal method in the 1860s for preserving the body. It entails the arterial injection of a preservative into a body to prevent decay. Embalming allowed families to reclaim their loved one and some semblance

PERSONS AT A DISTANCE
- BODIES OF THE DEAD -
DISINTERRED, DISINFECTED
AND SENT HOME
BODIES EMBALMED BY US
NEVER TURN BLACK.

Featured in Washington City Directory, 1863[43]
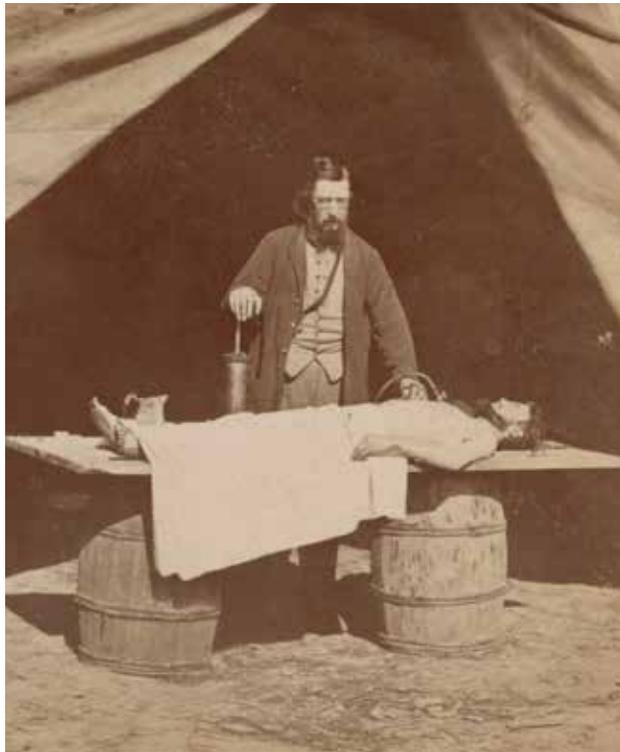
(Above) Embalming building near Fredericksburg.
Source: Stereograph 1s02705, Library of Congress.

of the components of the Good Death – a final farewell and a sense of their loved one in repose, ready for the next life. With embalming, the routine transport of Civil War casualties from the battlefield back home became achievable for people of means or for officers, particularly in the Northeast. Finally, many Americans witnessed its efficacy when the corpse of President Lincoln was embalmed and taken by train through seven states for viewing before his burial, further heightening the appeal of embalming and public viewing to the nation.

Dr. Thomas Holmes, an embalmer who set up his business in Washington, D.C., reportedly embalmed 4,000 soldiers at one hundred dollars each, making a tidy profit from the war.[38] The Virginia battlefields and Washington swarmed with embalmers who made a living from the dead. Some obtained random bodies from the battlefield, embalmed them, and then exhibited them to show off their prowess. Newspaper and city-directory advertisements helped spread the word about services available to "persons at a distance," including locating and identifying the dead as well as shipping them home.

While some would be accused of taking advantage of the bereaved, others moved the profession forward. Demand for trained embalmers increased so dramatically that in 1878, physician Dr. Auguste Renouard published *The Undertaker's Manual*, the first textbook dedicated to embalming.[39] By 1881, the Southern College of Embalming was established in Augusta near the Medical College of Georgia, underscoring the progress of the industry.[40]

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE FUNERAL INDUSTRY

While embalming and the funeral industry was on the upswing in the Northeast, current scholarship considers embalming rare in the "Confederate South" and notes a corresponding regional lag in the nascent funeral industry in the South through the early 20th century.[41] In 1910, only 21 percent of Georgia's undertakers were employed on a full-time basis.[42] This lag is likely due to several factors. For the wealthy, the need for embalming in the antebellum period was simply not there as many deaths occurred at home and plantation owners buried their dead in private burial grounds. Embalming would have been an unneeded expense, even for the wealthy, under those circumstances.

Embalming and the use of an undertaker became *de rigueur* in the North, but not in the South. Faust noted this might have been due more to wartime economics rather than stating a preference. The South's lower population density may have also been a factor. City directory research, however, shows that there were small numbers of embalmers and undertakers in Georgia cities in the late 1860s, reflecting the shift of the region's wealth from the plantation to the city and providing a firm start to the professionalization of the funeral industry.

While the Henderson Brothers of Savannah are credited with founding Georgia's first full-time funeral establishment in 1842, undertaking's first practitioners generally hailed from other trades and would offer their services as a sideline to their main business.[44] Even the Henderson Brothers retained their cabinet-making and upholstery line of business decades later.[45]

Providing a coffin was perhaps the most elemental of the initial services rendered. Local tradesmen often made coffins as a side business in their communities. In the 1860s, J.P. Campbell built coffins for the community of Van Wert (Polk County) in his blacksmith shop.[46] After the Civil War, Theodore Killen constructed coffins in his Bronwood (Terrell County) barrel-making shop.[47] In other small communities, coffins could be obtained from the local hardware store. As demand increased and production costs lowered, 19th-century furniture houses routinely advertised coffins as part of their stock. One Americus furniture manufacturer boasted in 1862 that "we have several sizes of wood coffins made for the accommodations of those who may be in need of them."[48]

As cabinet or furniture makers, liverymen, and sextons began to expand their services into funeral arrangements, the fledgling industry grew. In some cases individuals or businesses with mutual interests merged to offer more complete services to the funeral consumer, such as the merger of Atlanta's Charles Bohnefeld, undertaker, with livery store owner G.R. Boas.[49] Charleston's John McAlister would advertise himself as a Funeral Director and Embalmer, as well as owner of a Livery and Boarding Stables on Meeting Street in the 1880s.[50] Such mergers allowed the enterprising funeral director

Joseph Goette, Cabinetmaker & Undertaker, Corner of Lincoln and Broughton streets, CTM-201. Source: *Vanishing Georgia*, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

a commercial advantage by adding carriages and hearses to the undertaker's core services that involved the handling of the corpse as well as its staging for viewing in the home and later the funeral parlor. One account from an Augusta Funeral Home history suggests that the deceased would be temporarily removed from the home to the funeral parlor while the house was made ready for visitation.

… most families had "funeral watches" at home, with the casket open in the parlor. Friends and relatives came in to give their condolences and eat the quantities of rich food that were sent by neighbors. From the time of death until the parlor of the house could be prepared, the curtains drawn, mourning wreaths hung on the doors, black clothes prepared for the widow or widower, children and house servants, Boss Platt furnished a building where the body could be readied for viewing and kept until the house was ready.[51]

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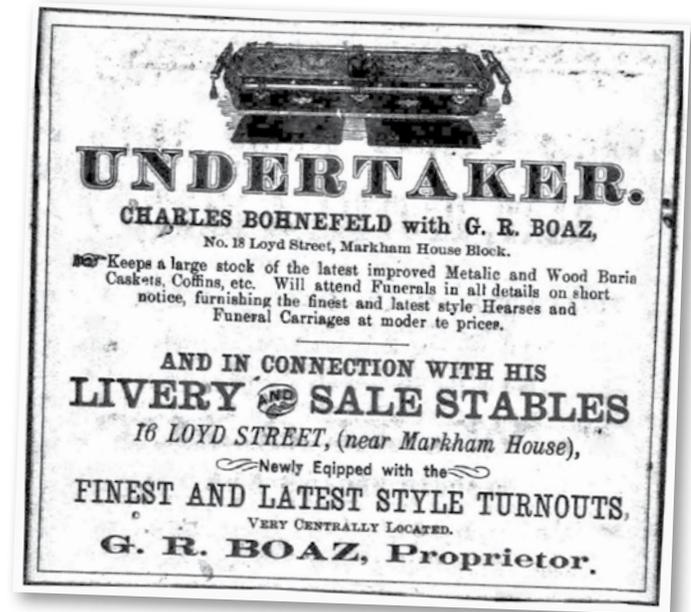
The same company acquired a mansion in the 1870s or 1880s and furnished it elegantly with the intention of moving arrangements away from the bereaved's home into the new funeral parlor, further reducing the connection between the deceased and his or her home and family. Newspaper research indicates that, through at least the 1890s in the Atlanta area, large funerals or "funeral exercises" continued to be held in the home, particularly for the wealthy or well-connected families. Perhaps, the full removal of the arrangements to the funeral home would occur after funeral practitioners had the financial wherewithal to acquire sumptuous residences that were on par with the bereaved's home, allowing for the same scale and taste but offering convenience. This may explain the industry's preference for acquiring the largest or most high style residences in cities and towns for conversion into funeral parlors. With this change in venue came a radical shift in burial traditions. This shift separated the home and family from the accustomed death rituals and pushed the tenets of the Good Death even further away.

Race was a critical consideration in the development of the Southern funeral industry, allowing both Black and white entrepreneurs strong commercial opportunities. City directories make clear the racial dichotomy that defined the treatment of the dead. Many cities had a white and Black undertaker and some would advertise that they only dealt with white clientele. Platt Funeral Home employed African American apprentices in their Augusta business; after learning the trade, some would establish their own undertaking business serving the Black community.

By 1867, the state's major cities had both full and part time undertakers that catered to either white or Black consumers. City directory research indicated that Savannah had three undertakers in 1867 and Atlanta and Augusta each had two. Notably, one of Savannah's undertakers was a woman,

Industry Makers

A VIEW FROM SOUTHWEST GEORGIA

In 1880, 3,216 individuals lived in Albany, a city that had a Black majority. While the city had a sexton, an Irishman named Cornelius Coffee, no one was identified as an undertaker, embalmer, or funeral director, suggesting that the funeral industry had not gained traction in southwest Georgia at this point. Atlanta, Savannah, and Augusta's city directories provide listings for undertakers from the late 1860s onward, indicating that the industry was established in the state's larger cities after the Civil War. It is likely that Albany's carpenters and cabinet makers supplied the city's needs for coffins at this time. The history of the Kimbrell-Stern Funeral Directors affirms this, stating that William Hamilton Wilder, a merchant in the furniture business, started making coffins with his cabinet maker, John T. McDaniel, in the back of their store in the 200 block of Broad Avenue in 1880.[52] The firm operated as William H. Wilder & Sons until Wilder's death in 1895, when his son took over the firm.

The 1900 census indicates that Felix Love Wilder served the community as an undertaker until he died in 1906. An associate of William H. Wilder, Louis Vannucci, moved to Albany from Macon and took over the Wilder business. Louis Vannucci was listed in the 1912 Albany City Directory as an embalmer, a funeral director, and the city sexton. Louis and Viola Vannucci lived and worked at 125 N. Jackson until Vannucci's death in 1914.

While the Wilder-Vannucci firm served the white community, city directories show at least three firms served the African American community in 1912: G.H. Elliott and Sons, Robert Orse, and Supreme Coffin & Casket Company, J.H. Watson, Manager. Notably, each of these undertaking firms were separately housed from the owner's residences, in some cases next door.

Census research shows that these were family businesses. George H. Elliot was listed as a general merchandise merchant in the 1910 census, but his 18-year-old son, Thomas, was listed as an undertaker, suggesting the same occupational family

Source: Hugh B. Matternes Personal Photograph Collection.

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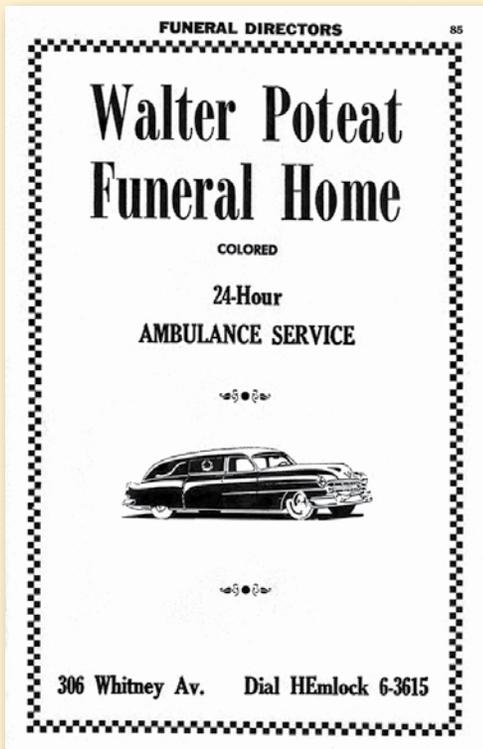
pattern – from merchant to undertaker – that characterized the Wilder's business growth was true for the Elliotts and the Watsons. In the Watson family, Joseph worked as an undertaker in the Supreme Coffin and Casket Company with his 19-year-old son, who served as an embalmer. The 1910 census reports that Robert Orse was a grocer with no apparent ties to the industry. This was the exception to the pattern.

Four undertaking firms were still operating in 1922. Louis Vannucci's firm at 125 N. Jackson was run by his widow, Mrs. Viola Vannucci, under the name of Albany Undertaking Company. Joseph H. Watson, listed as owner and manager of the Supreme Coffin & Casket Company in 1912 is listed as an undertaker running an undertaking business under his own name. T.G Elliott's, presumably George Elliott's son Thomas, had taken over the family business. Morrison Undertaking was the sole newcomer to the Albany deathcare market and the Orse Funeral Home was no longer in business.

Funeral Industry Advertisements in the Albany City Directories. Sources (top to bottom): Albany City Directories; 1922, 1960, and 1912.

Mrs. G.M. Conn. Women were represented in the developing industry either singly or as part of a family operation (Sidebar on Dent Funeral Home, page 104). The numbers of undertakers grew slowly but steadily between 1867 and 1890 with some firms becoming successfully entrenched within their respective communities. Business longevity bred familiarity, a value that may have contributed to their success. Savannah had four undertakers in 1880, six in 1890. Atlanta also had four in 1880 and seven in 1890. Augusta would have five in 1891. Smaller communities such as Brunswick and St. Simons Island would have two undertakers to choose from in 1905. Albany was served by four firms in 1912, with three listed as African American firms. Charlton Torbett served the Columbus community from 1894 onward as an undertaker and embalmer. A second firm was established by Charles Herring & Co. by 1900. Both firms were asterisked in the city directories, suggesting that they served both the Black and white community, at least in 1906.

During the 1876 yellow fever epidemic in Savannah, entrepreneur William H. Royall recognized the need for adequate deathcare in the African American community.[53] In 1878, the Royal Funeral home opened and is now the oldest African American business in Savannah and the oldest continuously operated African American funeral home in Georgia.[54] Other African American-owned funeral parlors, including Johnson & Fields and Monroe Funeral Homes, soon followed.[55] Royall, a trained embalmer, provided mortuary science training to other African Americans who became prominent in the industry.

One City's Undertaking
– Augusta's Dent Funeral Home
– Platt's Funeral Home

John and Julia Dent established Dent's Funeral Home in 1888. John Dent, an African American blacksmith who grew up on Tobacco Road, learned embalming at Platt's Funeral Home as an apprentice in the 1880s during A. Edward Platt's tenure. After learning his new trade, he and his wife, Julia, set up their firm on Broad Street, moving to 930 D'Antignac Street in 1900. The couple worked together for over a decade until John Dent's death. "One of Augusta's worthiest young colored businessmen died in this city yesterday morning early at his home on D'Antignac Street. Young Dent was in the undertaking business, and was forging rapidly ahead in his chosen field" (*Augusta Chronicle*, February 2, 2006). After her husband's death in 1911, Julia operated the funeral home until 1945 when her son-in-law, Thomas H. Ketch, Sr. took over the reins. His daughters operated the firm after his death. "Every black funeral home in Augusta came from under this umbrella except for C.R. Reid [Sr. Memorial Funeral Home]," said Thomasina Ketch, as quoted in the *Augusta Chronicle*, September 9, 1999. The Dent Funeral Home was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as contributing to the Laney Walker Historic District in 1985.

(Above) Dent Funeral Home, D'Antignac Street, Laney Walker Historic District, Augusta.

Charles A. Platt, a New Yorker, opened Platt's Furniture Emporium on Broad Street in 1837, hopeful to capture the business of affluent Augustans. He was successful in his pursuits, becoming active in Augusta's social and business circles. He turned to undertaking and embalming to expand his business interests. His knowledge of embalming appears to have been gained under Thomas Holmes' tutelage, and the firm's history notes that early advertisements indicate that he sold embalming fluids at the store. Under his tenure the family's undertaking business got its start with Platt directing many of Augusta's larger funerals such as the military funeral and burial of Confederate General Leonidas Polk and the burials of Major General David E. Twiggs, General W.H.T. Walker, Georgia's Governor Charles A. Jenkins and architect/builder Charles Shaler Smith.

Platt's son, W. Edward or 'Boss' Platt, took over the firm after his father's death in 1873. His first act was to eliminate the furniture store and concentrate on undertaking full time. A new building was purchased and furnished in the latest style to provide a venue for arrangements away from the bereaved's home. Under Boss Platt, the family operation would play a pivotal role in the professionalization of the industry helping to form the Georgia Funeral Director's Association, leading the charge for legislation to create a State Board of Embalmers, and founding the Southern School of Embalming in Augusta.[56]

To protect the public against unqualified or incompetent practitioners, the Funeral Directors' National Association of the United States and similar organizations were established in the 1880s to help professionals self-regulate their industry.[57] On a local level, the Georgia Funeral Directors Association first met in 1886, and the state's first Board of Embalming established quality control for the embalming practice in 1898.[58] Boss Platt of Augusta, who supported the legislation, would receive License No. 1. In addition to formal training, board certified embalmers were required to serve a two-year apprenticeship and had to be able to demonstrate their ability to the State Board of Embalming. These groups set minimum training qualifications, codes of behavior, rules of ethical business practice, and lobbied for states to mandate licensing and certification of funeral directors. Embalming became so firmly subsumed within undertaking practices that it no longer was listed as a professional label in city directories, which, by the end of the century, listed those who treated the dead as undertakers, signifying the larger professional skillset needed.

GEORGIA'S FUNERAL INDUSTRY

The growth of the funeral industry went hand in hand with the industrialization of the country and the growth of American consumerism. Funeral products, some no longer crafted but manufactured, became common and necessary to American buyers. The history of the Platt Family's firm, for example, noted that Charles A. Platt and his son, Boss, well understood the material needs of well-to-do Augustans when it came to a funeral in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

> The funeral of a prominent citizen brought everyone in town out to watch as the procession made its way through the streets to Magnolia Cemetery. Black-edged cards were sent around by a servant to all the families and friends of the deceased who would congregate at the home and join in the procession. The horse-drawn hearse, which led the procession, was black with glass sides etched with funeral designs and was decorated with silver and gold. Under a huge canopy of ostrich plumes, a polished casket with metal handles decorated with moldings and inscribed plates could be glimpsed by onlookers, surrounded by masses of flowers. Six black horses with black trappings and plumes of black ostrich feathers attached to their headbands drew the casket slowly and sedately to its last resting place.

Behind the hearse came carriages and coaches carrying mourners in the strict order prescribed by etiquette. Gentlemen wore full black mourning, with crepe bands around their top hats; ladies were dressed in many yards of black crepe, with heavy veils, and carried black-edged handkerchiefs held to their eyes, and black gloves. Mourning jewelry of jet, cameo, pearl, gold or silver was worn. The people of Augusta knew that their dead were honored as well as those of any city in the country. Charles Platt was sought out for advice and to provide a coffin, hearse and carriages to carry the loved one to the cemetery.[59]

While the funeral and all the elaborate trappings described above may not have been enjoyed by all Georgians during the Victorian period, three Georgia industries directly benefited from the rise of the funeral industry: coffin manufacturing, the grave marker/monument industry, and the stoneware pottery tradition.

COFFIN AND VAULT MANUFACTURING

Gate City Coffin Paperweight. Source: Jack Sullivan, *Bottles, Booze, and Backstories* Blog.

The development of Georgia's rail system facilitated the mass production and distribution of coffins, elevating the consumer market from local to national levels. Coffin manufacturing provided jobs to areas that were relatively isolated from other forms of industrial growth. The incorporation of Junction City in Talbot County, for example can be attributed in part to C.W. Moore's decision to build a coffin factory at the junction of the Central Railroad and the Atlanta, Birmingham, and Atlantic Railroad.[60] Other large regional centers included Savannah and Toccoa.[61] The Toccoa Casket Company grew to a 12-acre complex where wooden and metal caskets were manufactured, fitted with hardware, painted, and lacquered.[62]

Atlanta's central location and rail connections aided in the distribution of coffins to Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee.[63] Two of the most prominent coffin factories, Atlanta Coffin (or Casket) Company and the Gate City Coffin Company emerged. The Atlanta Coffin Company was established in 1876, and by 1886, it expanded onto a three-acre complex near the Western & Atlantic Railroad depot.[64] The factory focused on manufacturing wooden coffins and caskets but included metallic forms in their inventory.[65] The Gate City Coffin Company, chartered in 1887, was a leading commercial enterprise in Georgia.[66] During its first year of business, the Gate City Coffin Company employed 65 workers and produced about 300 coffins a week.[67] Also located near Atlanta's rail lines, the company exported coffins throughout the Southeast.

The desire to protect the dead led to the introduction of a number of improvements, including the vaulted or two-stage grave shaft, grave liners, and vaults.[68] Vaulted graves consisted of a flat-bottomed rectangular grave pit with a secondary coffin-sized shaft cut in the floor. After the coffin was placed in the secondary shaft, boards were placed across the main grave pit's floor, creating a chamber that sealed in the coffin. Sometimes, the secondary chamber was lined with wood panels.

Crafting a Coffin

Construction of a simple coffin was a task any proficient wood worker could accomplish. Using the decedent's stature and shoulder breadth as guides, lid and base planks were cut into linear hexagons approximating the human form. To provide seamless surfaces around the coffin's shoulders, side panels were soaked or steamed to soften wood fibers and deeply scored ('kerfed'), enabling the panel to be bent around the base. Panels were then nailed or braced together. During the second half of the 19th century, decorative hardware became fashionable, and handles, thumbscrews, plaques, and other ornamentation were added. Viewing ports were placed in the lids to enable the occupant to be seen.

A coffin's quality was judged not only by craftsmanship but also by wood choice. Walnut, mahogany, and other expensive woods were chosen as a show of wealth and status.[69] Lesser grade woods were also used. In the antebellum coastal areas, coffins were made from cedar, southern pine, or cyprus.[70] In the uplands, oak, pine, poplar, chestnut, cherry, walnut, cedar, maple, and locust were put to use.[71] Pine was generally deemed the lowest quality and, therefore, the cheapest to use. During the post-Civil War industrial period, high demand woods, including chestnut, red cedar, red oak, and cyprus, that were native to Georgia were earmarked by the timber industry for coffin manufacturing.[72] Other Georgia timbers used to make coffins included cotton gum (tupelo), hemlock, red gum, and yellow poplar. Longleaf, pond, short leaf, and white pine planks were used as core panels for cloth-covered coffins.

Coffinmakers at work, circa 1900. Source: Dr. Hugh M. Matternes.

Prior to the Civil War, coffin makers sometimes constructed wooden liners that acted as a protective covering for the casket. The containers exhibited finishes that complemented those on the coffin but were usually less decorative. An economical alternative to a custom-made liner was to use commercial shipping containers and crates.[73] After the Civil War, wooden liners became very fashionable and were mass-produced.[74] Ample supplies of wood, rail transportation, and cheap labor made Georgia an excellent provider. Manufacturers tended to use lower grade materials to keep costs down.[75] Cedar, red gum, hemlock, pond pine, and long and short leaf pine were among the timbers specifically harvested for making grave liners. For those desiring a higher-grade burial box, chestnut, cypress, and mahogany were imported.[76] In the mid-19th century, wood was supplanted as the material of choice as consumers preferred iron liners. Metal grave liner production continued through the 20th century, representing one of the major liner forms available. Steel, zinc, copper, and bronze eventually replaced iron as the metals of choice for grave liners.[77]

Around the 1870s, burial vaults became commonplace. Vaults were designed to provide structural support to the grave shaft and prevent slumping, while isolating the dead from decay and disturbance by animals, plants, and people. Liners, if used, sit within the vault that provides structural support to prevent the grave from slumping when the coffin begins to disintegrate. George Boyd patented a two-piece cast iron vault in 1879 that was popular into the 21st century.[78] A rolled steel version was introduced by the Springfield Metallic Casket Company in the 1890s.[79]

While no statistics were found that indicate coffin manufacturing was a mainstay within Georgia's manufacturing sector in the 19th century, the number of coffin manufacturers across the state demonstrates that it was a viable industry.

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Vaults and Liners:How They Work

Source: Drawn by Lizzie Yeung,
New South Associates.

PROTECTIVE PLANKING

VAULT

LINER

EARLY 19TH CENTURY

LATE 19TH CENTURY
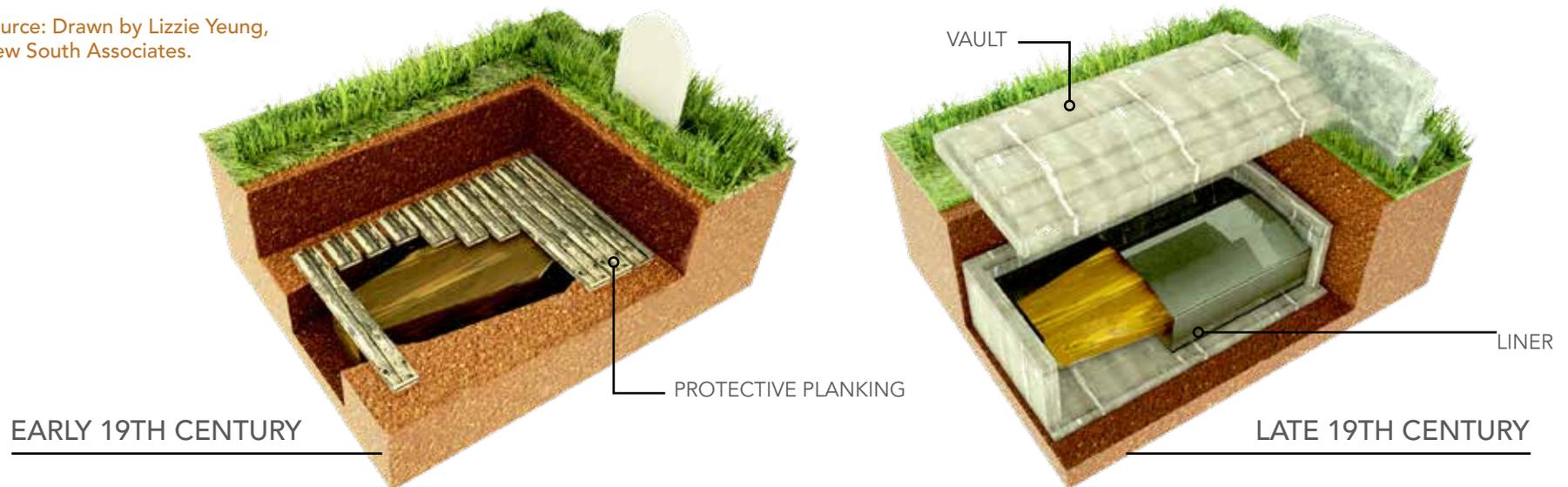
GRAVE MARKER INDUSTRY

Frontier Georgians were likely to be buried with wooden markers while their early urban counterparts were buried with imported stone markers. One of the earliest grave marker carving and distribution centers was based in Savannah. Lacking natural stone suitable for carving, Savannah craftsmen often had marble and granite blocks shipped from the northern states and Europe. Mass-produced gravestones were templated at a distant quarry and later finished by local artisans. Thus, early cemeteries in the coastal South were more representative of early New England stone carving than a local tradition.[80]

As Georgians moved west and northwest, taking possession of north Georgia's marble beds and granite outcrops after the forced removal of American Indians from the region, opportunities for quarry operations expanded. Quarrying in both industries during the antebellum period was essentially opportunistic, with mining focused on accessible outcrops, beds, and veins, and the retrieval of stone that could be feasibly transported by a wagon. Once a viable railroad network was established, railcars quickly replaced wagons and industrial rail spurs were built to connect cutting sheds to the main rail lines. Quarries were successfully opened in the 1880s and operated at an industrial scale, and the state's marble and granite industries began to offer monument stone to state and national consumers.
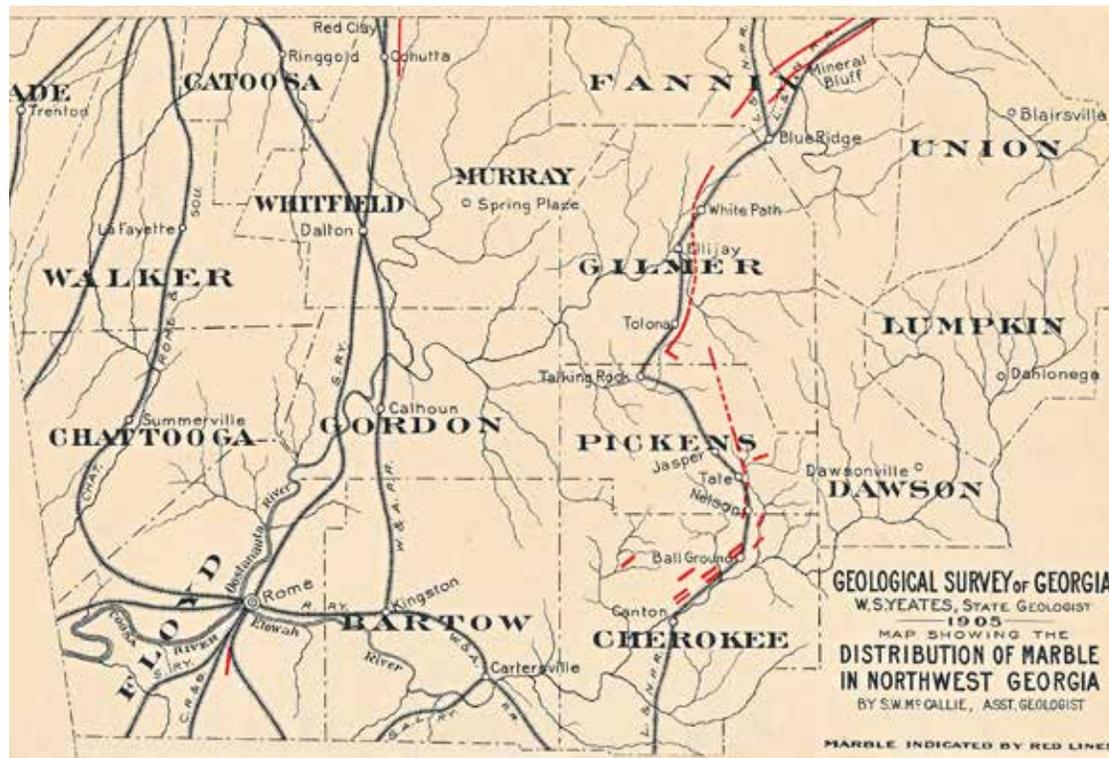
Georgia's marble belt, a narrow, roughly 60-mile long region, lies within Fannin, Gilmer, Pickens, and Cherokee counties in the northwest sector of the state. While many Georgians were looking for land lots to farm, Irish entrepreneur Henry Fitzsimmons acquired land lots to quarry within the marble belt. He began quarrying marble from boulders and surface outcrops in Longswamp Valley, near Tate, in the 1830s to produce grave markers.[81] In Longswamp (now known as Marble Hill) and Jasper, he established several small water-powered finishing mills, where rough quarried stone was cut, carved, and polished into finished gravestones.[82] These mills helped to increase production and reduce costs, but manufacturing was still expensive and distribution local.

(Shown in Red) Marble Belt in Northwest Georgia showing juxtaposition with railroad, 1905. Source: *A Preliminary Report on the Marbles of Georgia.* S. W. McCallie, Geological Survey of Georgia, 1907.

Fitzsimmons' venture remained a relatively small operation through the mid-19th century but there were others during this early period.[83] When Geologist S.W. McCallie surveyed the marble belt in 1905, he inspected the county graveyards to examine marble gravestones for their appearance and durability, noting that an abandoned quarry that featured accessible marble outcrops in Pickens County was the source for numerous county tombstones.[84] This observation based on his geologic expertise underscores the importance of locally quarried and crafted marble gravestones during this incipient stage of Georgia's marble industry.

Georgia's Marble Industry Illustrated. (A and B) Pickens County's New York Quarry, (C) Georgia Marble Company's Finishing Shed, near Tate in Pickens County and (D) Butler Marble Company of Marietta, Source: All images from *A Preliminary Report on the Marbles of Georgia.* S.W. McCallie, Geological Survey of Georgia, Bulletin No. 1 (1907).[89]

The Civil War, its impact on the railroads, and the national depression that followed between 1873 and 1878, made for a difficult economic environment for industry growth. The railroad boom of the 1880s, however, coupled with Northern interests in Georgia's mineral industries, especially those in proximity to Atlanta, created a more expansive environment. Rail transportation was established in northwest Georgia in 1883, and the steam drill followed two years later,[85] enabling higher quality rock to be obtained on a larger production scale.[86] Samuel Tate, another early entrepreneur who had purchased many of Fitzsimmons' landholdings and mining interests, established Tate, Atkinson, and Company to produce gravestones in the 1850s.[87] The Tate family launched the Georgia Marble Company (Georgia Marble) in 1884, soon catapulting the company and Georgia marble onto the national scene. He signed exclusive contracts with neighboring landowners for access to a larger portion of the marble fields. In control of much of the marble production in Cherokee County, he then moved the operation into Pickens County, which became the epicenter of the state's marble quarrying.[88]
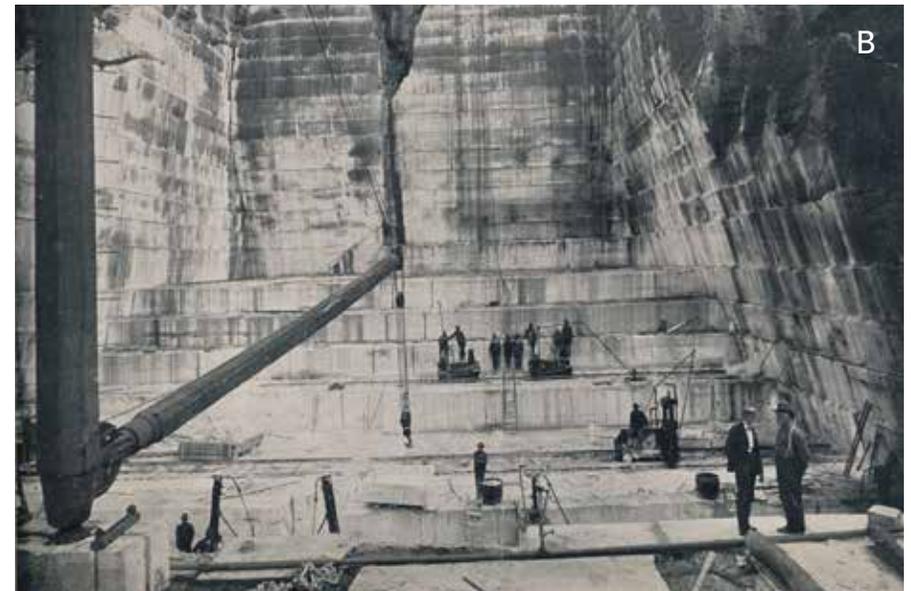
1906 Georgia Marble Company Price List

No. 3 Base strips, post and bottom bases, per cubic feet $1.25

Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 10 x 3 inches $0.65

Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 12 x 3 inches $0.75

Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 10 x 4 inches $0.75

Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 12 x 4 inches $0.65

Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 10 x 3 inches $1.00

Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 14 x 4 inches $1.15

Foot Stones, 4 to 8 inches wide by 2 inches thick $0.20

Foot Stones, Same size, sawed heads..$0.22

Foot Stones, Same size, sawed heads and sand rubbed $0.25

Foot Stones, Same size, sawed heads, sand rubbed and boxed...$0.28

Diminished dies, extra, per cubic feet $0.50

As the extraction side of the business expanded, marble finishing plants were needed to produce the building materials and monuments. Ball Ground, Canton, Marietta, and Pickens County were soon home to the finishing process. Georgia Marble was considered the most modern plant in the South, employing 252 individuals in 1905.[90] A 1905 map (see page 109) shows the tight geographic correlation between the quarry sources and the Louisville & Nashville Railroad line (formerly the Atlanta, Knoxville and Northern Railway which had a branch to the marble quarries at Tate).[91] During the first half of the 20th century, Georgia Marble began systematically purchasing the surrounding marble companies, and by 1941, they were virtually the sole producer of marble in Georgia.[92] Their consolidation efforts paid off on both the state and national level. Between 1947 to 1994, it was responsible for producing the stone for 60 percent of the monument inventory in Washington DC.[93]

S. W. McCallie, 1907, *Marbles of Georgia.*

Georgia's granite entrepreneurs had a more uphill battle than their marble counterparts, but granite's durability, particularly as a building material, was a factor in its eventual popularity. The focus of the granite industry nationally was in the Northeast, where quarrying had been conducted since the 1700s. The technology, business practices, distribution lines, and companies were well entrenched there. Three factors helped create a market for Southern granite in the late 19th century: 1) the need to rebuild Atlanta and its infrastructure after the Civil War; 2) Victorian America's preference for granite for its ostentation and its aura of permanence,[94] and 3) the abundance, quality, and accessibility of Georgia's granite. Two belts of commercial-grade granite were identified.[95] Stone Mountain quarries in DeKalb, Gwinnett, and Newton counties form one group, while those centered on Elbert, Oglethorpe, and Clarke counties form the other.[96]

Stone Mountain granite was used to make gravestones as early as 1845 as individuals and families ran small quarry operations in the early years.[97] Industrial-scale quarrying began with the arrival of the Stone Mountain Granite and Railroad Company in 1869.[98] In operation until 1882, they worked natural ledges and crushed boulders. A rail spur connected the mountain's quarries to the main rail line. In 1886, the firm was acquired with northern capital and local interests such as the Venable Brothers, Samuel and William Hoyt, and Charles Horn of Atlanta, who also had interests in the Georgia Marble Company. The Venable Brothers would give Georgia's granite a foothold in the national granite market as their acquisitions extended southward to Lithonia and Arabia Mountain. Quarries at Big Ledge and Pine Mountain in Lithonia provided stone suitable for the marker industry while Stone Mountain's "light gray" granite was sought as building stone.[99] Between 1880 and 1890, Georgia advanced from twelfth in granite production to sixth in the nation.

By the 1880s, carving became part of the milling process. Drawn by the lure of top quality granite, skilled craftsmen from Italy immigrated to places like Elberton and Stone Mountain, becoming part of the work force at several important monument-finishing companies.[100] In 1911, Albert Weiblen, German immigrant and founder of the New Orleans based Albert Weiblen Marble and Granite Company, leased the Stone Mountain quarries from the Venables.[101] The Weiblen Company would become one of the largest marble and granite supply firms in the South and would be responsible for many of the late 19th-century Gilded Age tombs that populate Metairie Cemetery in New Orleans. Weiblen, an architect and sculptor, would usher in a new era at Stone Mountain, producing both building stone for large-scale buildings as well as mausoleums under the business name of the Stone Mountain Granite Corporation.

Granite for dimension stone and paving blocks was quarried and finished in Georgia, as well as the company's finishing plants in New Orleans.[102] A 1914 trade brochure advertised Stone Mountain's "Dorian Grey" granite for mausoleums and cemetery hardscape features.[103] Although Weiblen and his descendants were primarily in the mortuary business, they would also maintain an interest in building materials, as their lease of Stone Mountain underscores. Operations at Stone Mountain ended in 1934 due to a railroad freight hike, but Albert's son, George, would remain a presence in the Georgia granite industry, acting as superintendent of the Confederate Memorial on Stone Mountain in the 1960s.

Monument production in the Stone Mountain district continued into the mid-20th century, but was eclipsed by granite operations in the Elberton district. While granite from Elbert, Oglethorpe, and Madison counties have been used to make local gravestones since the 18th century, their economic potential was not realized until after the Civil War, and commercial success was truly achieved in the 20th century as Elberton granite's reputation as a superior monument material grew.[104]

The first granite quarries in Elberton oriented towards monument production were opened in 1889 and owned by Thomas M. Swift and W.M. Wilcox.[105] In 1904, Elberton granite caught the attention of the world market when it received a gold medal for excellence and quality at the St. Louis World's Fair.[106] Between 1900 and 1930, Charles Comollis' company, Georgia Granite Corporation, became leading producers of Elberton gravestones.[107] The Weiblens also played a role in thrusting Elberton's quarries into the national limelight, establishing a quarry at Elberton in 1936 and transferring all headstone and monument work to the cutting and finishing operations at their Elberton quarry. The selection of "Weiblen Grey" granite for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial in Washington DC brought national attention to the firm and the granite they quarried.[108] Under the direction of Burton F. Coggins in the 1930s and 1940s, another Elberton firm, the Coggins Granite Company, would become the largest granite quarrying and finishing company in North America.[109]

Despite Georgia's growing status within the nation's marble and granite industries, and the success of its products, some consumers preferred imported or non-local stone. Maker's marks on monuments throughout Georgia indicate that some monuments were shipped as finished products from abroad or other parts of the United States. Finely crafted monuments, carved in Carrara, Italy, for example, were commissioned through Michael Muldoon and Company of Louisville, Kentucky. Examples of their work can be found in Oakland Cemetery (Fulton County) and Cedar Hill Cemetery (Terrell County).

Companies including Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward and Company offered a variety of monuments through catalogue sales directly to the consumer. In 1900, Sears, Roebuck and Company organized a memorial department in their catalogue; its popularity grew to where separate monument catalogues were released by 1906.[110] Focusing primarily on monuments made from Vermont marble, it is unlikely that Georgia-produced stone was part of the Sears, Roebuck and Company line. Mail order gravestone sales waned in the 1930s as local monument companies were able to underbid mail order monuments. The last catalog from Sears featuring monuments was printed in the fall of 1949.

CRAFTSMEN AND SMALLER OPERATIONS

Not all of Georgia's stone carvers were working in industrial settings. Craftsmen and smaller operations were also part of Georgia's developing stone carving industry. Smaller scale finishing operations were able to procure stone from local quarries and finish them as desired. Thus, J.T. Nix produced grave markers from a shop on Lloyd Street near the railroad depot in Atlanta in 1847.[111] In the 1860s and 1870s, Samuel B. Oatman produced markers from his marble yard in Atlanta.[112] In the 20th century, the McNeel Marble Company, best known for their Confederate memorials, was an important carving company in Marietta. They also produced catalogs listing the variety of styles and forms of markers and mausoleums they were capable of sculpting.[113] W.G. Sharkey owned The Sharkey Stone Company, which was recognized as one of Atlanta's leading turn-of-the-century monument carving companies.[114]

Stone Mountain Granite Corporation Work Examples: (A) Stone Mountain Granite Corporation Brochure, (B) Entrance Arch, Vicksburg National Military Park, Vicksburg, MS, (C) Mena Mausoleum, Havana, Cuba, and (D) Hyams Mausoleum, New Orleans, LA. Source: Stone Mountain Granite Corporation [Sales Pamphlet].

Funerary Architects

Monument men, sculptors, and architects such as New Orleans based George Weiblen, New Yorker Hamline Quigley French, and Italy's many sculptors would leave their impress on Georgia's cemetery architecture, creating cemetery hardscaping, statuary and memorials, and mausoleums for the dead. The latter are particularly interesting as small buildings that may have constituted a specialty area within the field of architecture, requiring a strong command of architectural styles. For example, while the extent of their formal training is unknown, both Weiblen and French were proprietors of granite companies as well as architects who specialized in mausoleum design. Companies may also have employed draftsmen that could handle stock designs for many of the firm's products. For those who could afford it, however, unique designs were crafted and executed in a variety of styles by funerary architects and sculptors that were either created by local sculptors, such as John Walz of Savannah, or finished by regional or national firms. A partial listing of 33 of Oakland Cemetery's mausoleums shows a preferred date range from the 1870s through 1925, a wide range of styles represented, and architects (see Appendix A). While the history of these architects has been little studied, their contribution in terms of architecture and memorial art to Georgia's cemeteries was immense.

Richards Mausoleum, Oakland Cemetery.

Designed by H.Q. French, N.Y.
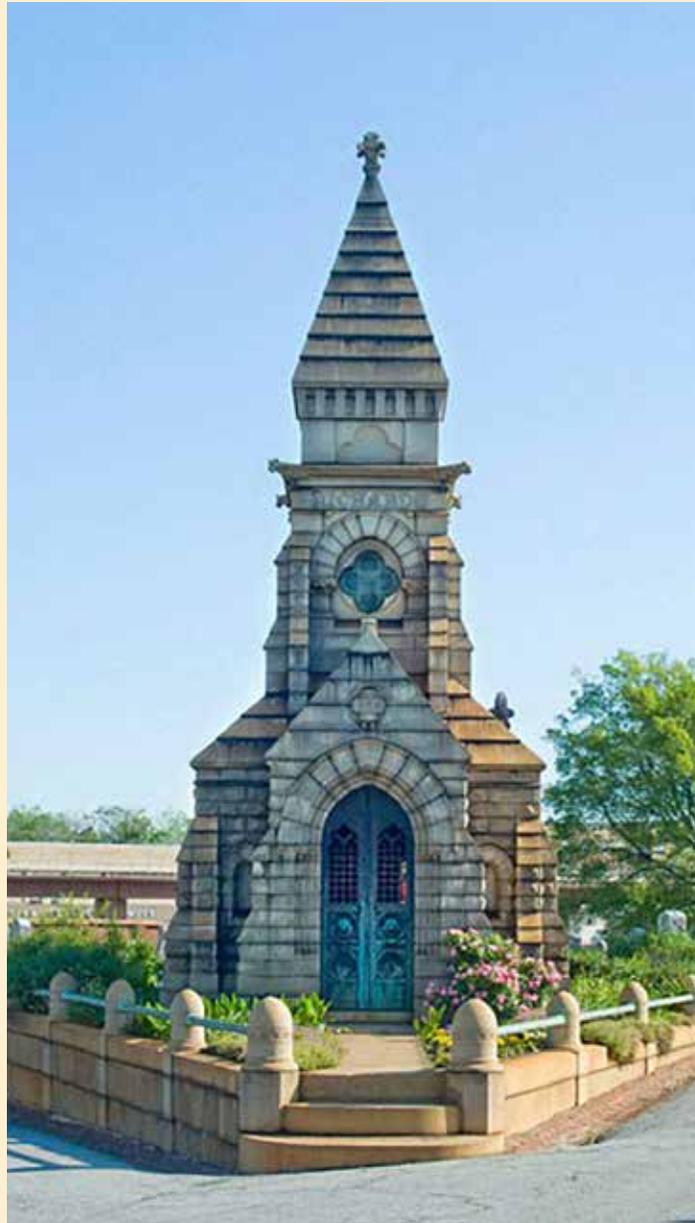
To Be Admired By Generations As Yet Unborn

Because many such funerary monuments, and especially large family mausoleums, took a significant amount of time to build, the designs were often selected and the tombs built quite some time before they were actually needed. This further reassured the wealthy owners not only that a fitting environment would house their bodies upon their deaths but, perhaps more importantly, that a permanent reminder of their economic power and social standing would remain on site to be admired by generations as yet unborn.

- Peggy McDowell
and Richard Meyer[115]

An Architect's Perspective

Architects saw mausoleums as an opportunity to be more creative and playful than their other work since they didn't have to be concerned with things like electrical outlets, plumbing, views, and traffic flow from one room to another. Mausoleums are truly a testament to function following form since they had one simple function: to house bodies.
- Douglas Keister [119]

Economics and diversity played an important role in the use of different grave marker materials. For example, Shadrack Davis of Marion County used wooden molds and handmade stencils to create markers as a community service for those who were too poor to afford a monument in the 1920s.[116] Davis's markers are known largely because his stencils have survived. Concrete was also an affordable and widely-accessible material in the late 19th and 20th centuries. It became a common alternative to stone. The frequent absence of a maker's mark and the variety of forms and designs indicate that these were locally made by those not in the memorial industry. Atlanta-based African American funeral homes frequently called on the services of Eldren Bailey, a southwest Atlanta resident, to manufacture concrete markers for their clients.[117] Eldren Bailey made grave markers from 1942 until his death in 1987.[118] Though unsigned, most of Bailey's markers are distinctive as he generally only produced two forms. His tablets exhibit simple crowned tops with a central panel containing the name of the funeral home, decedent's name, date of death, and sometimes a birth date. Bailey's markers were frequently shipped with decedents to their final resting place and, as a result, can be found throughout Georgia. His work represents one of the most identifiable of the African American concrete monument makers.

Finally, Georgia's stoneware potters produced markers for many rural communities and their graveyards in the late 19th and early 20th century. The stoneware pottery industry developed early in the 19th century, with potters moving from neighboring Edgefield, South

(Above) Carver David Russell Gaines and Tombstone, Cartersville, Bartow County, ca. 1889. Source: Vanishing Georgia Collection, Georgia Division of Archives and History BRT-132-84. (Below) Stencils used by Shadrack Davis. Source: Association for Gravestone Studies Bulletin 2010.

Carolina to Georgia and bringing with them the use of alkaline glaze, a sand and wood ash glaze, and traditional pottery forms. While pottery was made throughout the state, notable pottery centers were established in the following counties and areas: Washington (29 potters), Upson/Pike (52 potters), White (85 potters), around Banks/Hall (44 potters), the Atlanta area (60 potters), Paulding (28 potters), Barrow (40 potters), and Crawford (71 potters).[120] The traditional potters in these areas presumably created grave markers as part of their standard wares. Burrison's seminal 1983 book on Georgia's stoneware, Brothers in Clay, contains many photographs of stoneware grave markers that were typically torpedo shaped with an exterior green or brown glaze. The design of stoneware markers varied greatly, and they could appear with or without inscriptions or ornamentation.

TOWARDS A MODERN DEATH AND INDUSTRY

The Civil War left fissures in the Good Death, opening the door to distant death and the establishment and acceptance of embalming by the grieving American public. Battlefield surrogates such as doctors, nurses, and chaplains provided an important link between a soldier's hour of death and their family, introducing non-family members

Early 20th-century Stoneware grave marker, maker unknown, Atlanta History Center Collection.

Examples of Eldren Bailey's Grave Markers

(Right) Upright example, Stone Mountain City Cemetery, DeKalb County, (Below) Flat example, School Street Cemetery, Wilkes County.
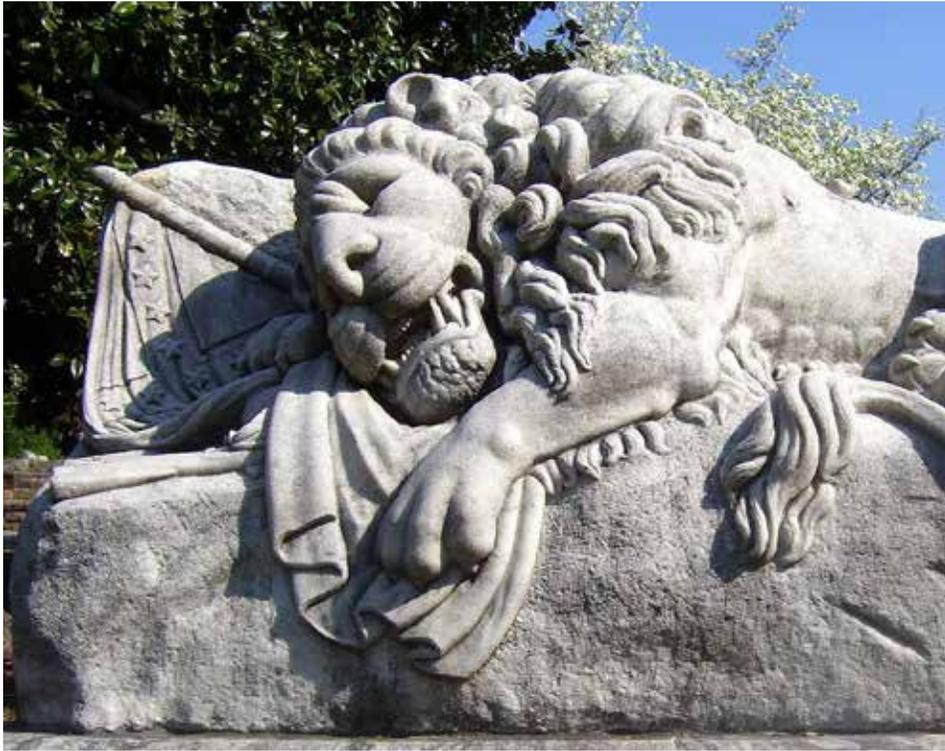
The Lost Cause Cast in Stone. The Lion of Atlanta, Oakland Cemetery.

into what was once solely a family affair. As families tried to retrieve the bodies of their loved ones, embalmers and funeral directors also became part of the process, helping to secure the remains, preparing the body for transport and arranging for that travel, in some cases causing more sorrow and in others allowing families closure.

Eventually funeral directors became accepted in the management of American death. As funeral preparations became more elaborate during the Victorian era, they offered hearses, funeral processions, embalming, and the use of a "parlor." The decedent's family was essentially buffered or protected from the event by their administrations; a transformation that had both cultural and monetary value. City directory research cited above for Georgia's cities from Atlanta to Valdosta to Tybee shows at least two funeral parlors/undertakers to handle both white and Black consumers were integral to each town's economy by the late 19th century. Concomitantly, this same period saw the emergence of large-scale mortuary stone businesses in Georgia that remains vibrant. Today, the Elberton Granite Association estimates that its members produce more than 250,000 monuments per year.[121]

National cemeteries were a direct product of the Civil War, reflecting a newly realized commitment between soldiers and the country for which they sacrificed their lives. These and other smaller cemeteries and sections spread throughout Georgia's towns and cities were, at first, strong reminders of the recent past. Over time, they would become the basis for a unified program of memorialization that would begin with the Civil War dead and would continue with the world wars of the 20th century.

Georgia's late 19th- and early 20th-century urban cemeteries, in particular, appear to have been in step with their national counterparts in terms of their design and appearance. To get a more balanced read of the development of cemeteries in the state, it is necessary to look beyond the cities and towns. The graveyards of rural and or less affluent Georgians tell a different story, for it is within those communities and settings that vernacular carvers, working in concrete, stoneware, or other materials, remained active in the first half of the 20th century, catering to local sales and, perhaps, keeping death and its circumstances closer to home through their craft.

Chapter Five Summary

KEYS

For many of the half million people who died in the U.S. Civil War, the Good Death was not possible. They typically died far from home, with no family to listen to their last words. Instead of being prepared for burial by their families, their bodies were handled by strangers.

During this time period, national cemeteries were built to honor the dead and municipal cemeteries frequently included a section devoted to the war dead, including statues and monuments to honor the fallen.

New practices for treatment of remains began during the 1860s and included placement in iron-lined coffins for transport from battlefield to home, as well as embalming, which allowed for the sanitary transport of remains and some semblance of a normal funeral.

Death in America transformed from a process controlled by the family to a process in the hands of funerary professionals such as coffin makers, undertakers, vault makers, and embalmers. This new industry evolved in a segregated manner, serving Black and white communities separately.

Within Georgia, a new industry for grave markers expanded along with the railroads in the 1880s. Marble, and later granite, were growing industries for grave markers, both with national reach. With the expansion of these industries, stone mausoleums appear in Georgia cemeteries.

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

- Does the cemetery have a special section set aside for soldiers? If so, do the burials in the section seem to be those who died in battle, or a special section set aside for veterans of the Civil War or other wars? Are there commemorative statues or memorials present?
- Who was involved in the making of makers and mausoleums in the cemetery? If there were mausoleums, were they designed by notable architects?
- If the cemetery has a number of commercially manufactured markers, do they have maker's marks that may indicate if they were locally produced in Georgia or imported? If they were imported, where is the cemetery located relative to the railroads and is there any relationship between the two?

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Dean W. Holt, *American Military Cemeteries: A Comprehensive Illustrated Guide to Hallowed grounds of the U.S. Including Cemeteries Overseas* Jefferson, North Carolina, McFarland and Company, Inc. 1992.

James I. Robertson, "The Development of the Funeral Business in Georgia, 1900-1957," *The Georgia Review* 13 (1959).

The family of Jacob Seawright Freeman at the grave of their son Chalmus, in Dallas, Paulding County, Georgia, 1905, overlayed on a current photograph of Hillcrest Cemetery in Augusta, GA. Source: Vanishing Georgia Collection, Georgia Division of Archives and History.

CHAPTER SIX
TWO GEORGIAS: 1900-1945

"He Is Not Dead"

I cannot say, and I will not say, That he is dead. He is just away. With a cheery smile, and a wave of the hand, He has wandered into an unknown land, And left us dreaming how very fair, It needs must be, since he lingers there. And you—oh you, who the wildest yearn, For an old-time step, and the glad return, Think of him faring on, as dear, In the love of There as the love of Here. Think of him still as the same. I say, He is not dead—he is just away.

This chapter investigates how three kinds of change impacted cemeteries in Georgia from the beginning of the 20th century until World War II. First, this was a period of dramatic economic change, particularly in the restructuring of the rural economy, the growth of urban centers and industry, and the increased movement of individuals both within and between the rural and urban spheres. These changes led to the development of two Georgias: one rural and one urban. Second, it was a period of "progressive" political change that ironically led to expanded Jim Crow segregation in Georgia. Finally, increasingly negative pressures on all disadvantaged Americans would strengthen their bonds of community, leading to the expansion of mutual aid societies and expansive growth for African American churches. This was seen in Georgia society as a whole, as well as within burial grounds and the emerging funerary industry. Each of these changes affected the geography of burials in Georgia, as well as the acceptance of new cemetery styles and practices that would appear first in urban areas and eventually spread to rural areas. Specifically, this period in Georgia would see segregated burial grounds, the late adoption of the Lawn Park Cemetery movement, the acceptance of cremation, and finally the arrival of the Memorial Park Cemetery movement. Finally, it would also see Georgians and their national counterparts become more isolated from death, engaging in modern deathcare practices that allowed the grieving to say: He is not dead – he is just away. All of this change occurred against the backdrop of the Progressive Era.

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA AND THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT

The Progressive Era in the South as a whole began a little late; in Georgia, it started in earnest after 1900. At its roots a political phenomenon, the Progressive movement began with the rejection of the Populist Party and reascendance of the Democratic Party in Georgia. The movement was spearheaded by politicians seeking reform primarily in the area of corporate corruption with banks, railroads, and other industries, but also in other areas. Social reformers
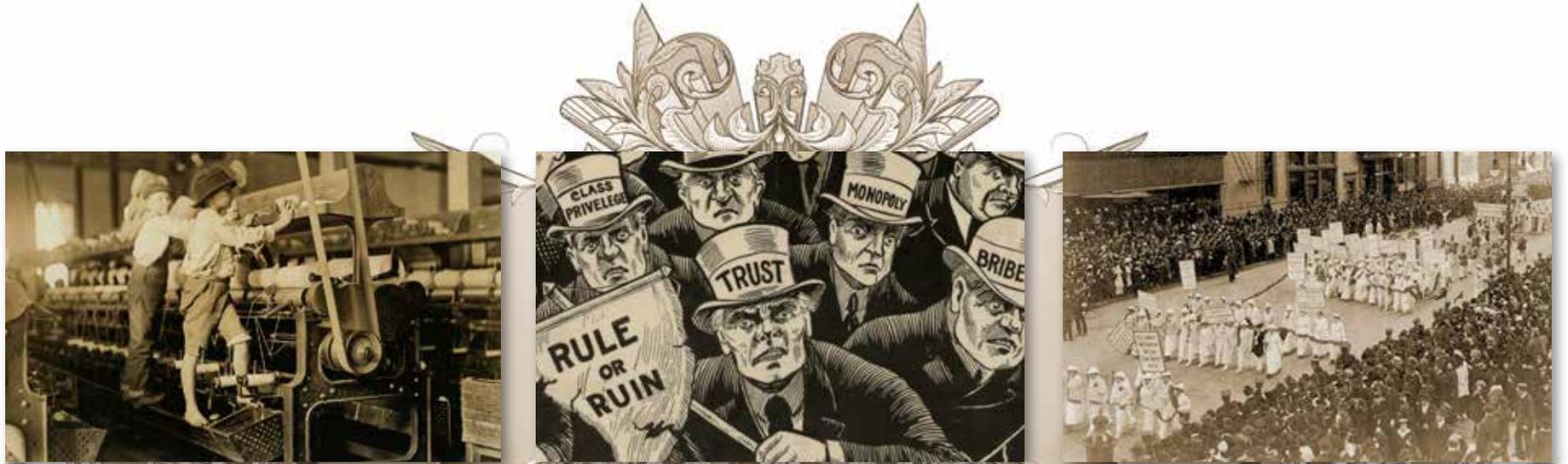
(Left) Child workers in Macon, Georgia Factory. (Center) William Jennings Bryant, Campaign poster, c. 1900. (Right) Pre-election Suffrage Parade, New York City, Pre-1920. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

called for change in topics as disparate as urban beautification, temperance, education reform, public health, and women's suffrage.[2] Journalists labeled as "Muckrakers" uncovered political and corporate corruption, while social scientists advocated for change in child labor laws and penal code reform.[3]

The era also sought physical change for the nation's growing cities and urban areas. Progressive planners, architects, and city governments sought to make increasingly overcrowded and industrial cities more livable through the creation of more monumental public spaces and public parks. Known as the City Beautiful movement, it was inspired by the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago.

The Chicago Fair of 1893 changed the architectural taste of the nation and led to a new direction in American city planning. The sight of the gleaming white buildings disposed symmetrically around the formal court of honor, with their domes and columns echoing the classic buildings of antiquity, impressed almost every visitor . . . In contrast with the dingy industrial cities of late 19th-century America, the fair seemed a vision of some earthly paradise that might be created in the coming era.[4]

The City Beautiful movement flourished in urban design circles between the 1890s to 1920s when American architects, landscape architects, and planners began to redesign cityscapes promoting a monumental and classical beauty aesthetic.[5] The movement was needed as city dwellers finally outnumbered rural residents, and cities, with their rapidly shrinking public spaces, were viewed as dirty, unattractive, and unhealthy. As cities began to redesign their urban spaces using these ideals, new cemetery design was swept up in these changes, leading to a replacement of the melancholy and old-fashioned Rural Garden cemeteries with the modern, orderly, and gentler look of Lawn Park and Memorial Park cemeteries.

On a national level, the Progressive and City Beautiful movements were decidedly urban, middle-class movements with long lasting importance. This was not necessarily the case for Georgia. While its cities and towns would show their influence in time, early 20th century Georgia was primarily a rural state with an economy still recovering from the Civil War. Moreover, the political ramifications of Progressivism were felt most keenly in the enactment of Jim Crow laws that sought, under the guise of adding peace and stability to society, to disenfranchise the African American vote and place increasingly restrictive laws on African Americans. In this regard, Progressive era reform fell far short of its goals, and these laws resulted in segregation of not only public places, but burial places as well.

RESTRUCTURING THE RURAL ECONOMY

Between the end of the Civil War and 1900, rural Georgia had changed. Gradually, in pockets that spread around the cities and larger towns, industry was growing, and the total amount of land dedicated to agriculture was slowly declining. The end of slavery had dramatically altered southern agriculture and, by extension, the southern economy. At first it seems paradoxical that Georgia's farms almost doubled in number from 1860 to 1920. This staggering growth never occurred again, but the steady growth would appear to reflect a healthy agricultural economy in the state. The uptrend in the number of individual farms, however, was due to the rise of the New South Plantation, which resulted in the subdivision of plantations into tenant and sharecropper farms, not an increase in total acreage under cultivation.[6] Under the sharecropping or share-renting system, workers either rented the land or, more often, were paid for farming the land with a share of the crop.[7] There were many varieties of share arrangements, but the tenant farmer or sharecropper rarely benefited from the arrangement; they could even end up owing the planter after the crop went to market.[8] It was a difficult life. Renters and sharecroppers often moved from farm to farm on a yearly basis. Sometimes they stayed within a county, rotating to different landowners; other times they may have traveled greater distances searching for more favorable agreements. In general, it was a transient lifestyle, and although tenant farmers were tied to farming, they were not tied to any one piece of land.

Other forces placed stress on the rural economy during this period, including increasing industrialization in the cities and the Great Depression. The period between the Civil War and World War II (WWII) saw increasing industrialization in Georgia. Across the state, textile mills were built in cities, as well as large and small towns. The lumber and naval stores industries were expanding as rail access spread across the state. After World War I (WWI), there were also substantial increases in the commercial canning industry and in fertilizer production.[9] This gradual increase siphoned available agricultural workers as

tenants and sharecroppers moved from the countryside to the cities and larger towns. Whereas Georgia in 1890 was only 14 percent urban, by 1940, more than 34 percent of Georgians lived in an urban environment.[10] Across the country, the same trends were playing out; except in many parts of the more industrial North, these changes were greatly magnified. A shortage of labor in factories in the North, particularly during World Wars I and II led many, African Americans in particular, to leave the rural South and head north for greater economic opportunities. This would become known as the Great Migration.

The stock market crash of 1929 marked the beginning of a period of unprecedented economic hardship throughout the country. Agriculture in rural Georgia was hit hard, with sharecroppers and tenant farmers affected most deeply. The appearance of the boll weevil had already wreaked havoc on the cotton crop, and the Depression was an additional blow. Many of the New Deal programs in rural areas sought to help farmers by paying them subsidies to not grow crops to keep prices higher. While these subsidies economically benefited landowners, tenants and sharecroppers were often forced to leave the farms they worked on so the fields could be left fallow and the landowner could collect the subsidies. In general, African Americans benefited less from a number of New Deal programs than whites, as whites were given preference in many situations and paid more.[11]

CEMETERIES WITHIN THE RURAL LANDSCAPE

Within this period of economic upheaval, rural Georgians, white and black, had three cemetery options for the burial of their loved ones. These included community cemeteries, private family cemeteries, or church cemeteries. The organizational structure within most cemeteries centered on the nuclear family. Burial grounds were frequently divided into sub-parcels with spaces within each plot reserved for family members. Different family groups often defined their own space within the cemetery, forming a physical network of inter-related, extended families. This pattern mirrored the social networks that evolved in rural Southern communities.[12]

Community cemeteries were established more commonly after the Civil War, particularly for non-landowning whites and African Americans. These cemeteries often began as a family, enslaved,

Family members gather at the grave of a relative, Rockdale County, ca. 1900. Source: Vanishing Georgia Collection, Georgia Division of Archives and History.

or former plantation cemetery that, over time and with the supposed blessing of the landowner, allowed others outside the original founders to be buried there. Community cemeteries became more common in the late 19th and early 20th century, especially among tenant farmers with no land of their own and, possibly, no stable church affiliation. In general, community cemeteries tended to be placed in visible locations on the landscape and were perhaps the closest analog to urban cemeteries found in rural environments. These cemeteries generally have the greatest diversity of size and headstone styles when compared to church and family cemeteries.[13] Community cemeteries retained a mix of commercially purchased stones, markers provided by burial or mutual aid societies and vernacular markers provided by family or community members.

Many rural landholders felt strong bonds between themselves and their land, particularly land that had been in the family's possession for numerous generations. The cemetery represented a tangible claim to membership in a community and to property.[14] Burial on family property or on church grounds, where the family had traditionally been members, were means of reaffirming a family's place in the community. Family cemeteries were frequently separated from the living area by fences or enclosures. The family often sought to keep their loved ones close, and these cemeteries, especially on plantations, were often placed in locations nearer to the main house. In more remote locale or amongst the less wealthy, the audience was rarely the public at large, so monuments and decorations tended to be simple. However, in other cases, wealthy landowners may have adorned their family cemeteries with elaborate statuary, fencing, and markers. Cemeteries for the enslaved, as noted in Chapter 3, had been placed in the general area of the white family's plot, but in a separate space (see sidebar page 72). In many cases, planters and farmers used fences to separate the plots from surrounding agricultural and livestock fields to protect the graves from being trampled or inadvertently plowed. In order to allow as much access to good arable farmland as possible, cemeteries were often placed in a poor location for a field, such as a knoll, or on the border of the property, along a land lot line, or at the corner of a land lot.

Mourners gather at Little Vine Cemetery for a Primitive Baptist funeral. Carroll County, late 1800s. Source: Vanishing Georgia Collection, Georgia Division of Archives and History.

Rural
African American
Funeral in 1941

These images were taken as part of the
Farm Securities Administration series by
photographer Jack Delano and are archived in
the Library of Congress.

These photographs present the rare opportunity to witness an African American funeral in rural Georgia during this period. Specifically, they document the funeral of a man in Heard County in May 1941. The young man worked at a local sawmill and died at the age of 19. The moving series of photographs follows the progression of mourners as they leave the church, walk to the cemetery, hold a graveside service, and depart.

Many community and family cemeteries are considered Southern Folk Cemeteries because of shared characteristics: placement on elevated land forms, graves oriented roughly east-west, and distinctive grave markers that are locally crafted, vernacular, and "tend to exhibit a suite of material traditions that were more or less unique to the American South."[15] Southern Folk Cemeteries include two burial traditions: the Upland Folk Cemetery and the African American Tradition. The Uplands in Georgia refers to the geographic regions known as the Valley and Ridge, Blue Ridge, and the Piedmont and is most often affiliated with white Euroamericans as a burial tradition. People in Upland areas of Georgia tended to place their cemeteries on hilltops, ridgelines or on their adjacent slopes.[16] They chose these locations for their well-drained soils and because they were impractical for agriculture. Christian theology recognized that the desirable spheres of the afterworld were "in the sky" or at least above the living world.[17] The desirability of elevated burial space may have been rooted in this belief.

The African American tradition has its roots in the Southern Coastal Low Country and West Africa. After 200 years of contact and interaction between these communities, their burial traditions share a number of characteristics, even if they followed them for different reasons. Also, rural burial grounds often hold different types of markers that provide information on who oversaw the development of the cemetery property. Mortuary Archaeologist Hugh Matternes has described two kinds of cemeteries - formal and informal - based on his research of social roles and mortuary rituals.[18] When a managing institution such as a town government, church board, or burial society, controlled who was buried, where graves were placed, and the range of symbolic expression allowed on a grave, a cemetery can be referred to as formal.[19] These institutional authorities recognized that cemeteries convey important messages about the burial community and sought to restrict these messages to those deemed to be positive and appropriate statements.[20] Informal cemeteries lacked a singular institutional authority. They were composed of numerous smaller groups, usually representing individual families, whose control was limited to their particular burial area. Informal cemeteries convey few obvious messages about the cemetery population as a whole. The intentional focus is directed towards messages communicated by family plots and individual graves; however, when viewed as group, individual tributes can collectively convey messages about the population. Informal and formal burial grounds in rural Georgia can reflect either a partial or full expression of any popular trend or stylistic movement. They were not necessarily subject to mainstream ideals, and tended to reflect the local communities that formed and used them. Southern Folk Cemeteries stand in stark contrast to their more urban contemporaries.

MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES

By the mid-19th century, the ideal American funeral had become such an elaborate display of prestige that some were no longer able to afford them. One solution to providing a suitable funeral was through membership in a mutual aid society. When a period of need or crisis arose, mutual aid societies pooled its members' resources and focused them on helping out the member in need. The two general types of mutual aid societies were burial associations and fraternal groups. Both were very popular with black and white Americans from the turn of the century through the Great Depression. Mutual Aid societies have their roots before 1900, but became increasingly popular over time as the ideals of the Progressive movement gained influence.

Burial associations were cooperatives in which subscribers contributed throughout their lifetime towards a policy that matured when the subscriber died. The primary focus of these organizations was to provide assistance with funeral costs. Members made weekly or monthly contributions ranging from a few

An Elaborate Masonic Ceremony

MACON WEEKLY TELEGRAPH
May 24, 1870

LODGE OF SORROW
IMPOSING MASONIC CEREMONIES – BURIAL SERVICE OVER DECEASED DIGNITARIES

The opening of a Lodge of Sorrow, and the services by the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Thirty-third Degree, connected therewith, an event which has never before transpired in this city took place last night in the grand saloon of the Masonic Temple, and attracted, as might be anticipated, an overwhelming audience.

The Lodge was opened in the main saloon and services were held to commemorate the deaths of several distinguished mem-

bers of the Order of Symbolic Masonry, which have taken place since the meeting of the Supreme Council, two years ago, in Charleston, including that of William S. Rockwell, Lieutenant Grand Commander of Georgia, whose remains passed through this city a few months ago.

The main saloon was hung in festoons of black around the four walls, with white rosettes sustaining the loops between, and opposite each window. In the center of the room stood a silver mounted black cloth casket adorned with flowers, and burning beside it three candles of black wax, and around it stood a Guard of Honor, Knights Templar with drawn swords, composed of the following gentlemen…

cents to a few dollars with the understanding that the association would eventually cover the costs of a socially appropriate funeral.[21] Membership and participation in burial association functions ensured that amenities, such as attendees, a procession, a hearse, and sometimes a band, would be present at the funeral. Payments over the course of decades or a lifetime enabled even an impoverished member to receive a funeral. Woodsmen of the World is one such example.

An agent or funeral home, often reaching patrons through the community's churches, locally organized many burial associations. For example, the St. Phillips African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Fulton County founded its Burial Association in 1888 to address the needs of their own, single congregation.[22] Other associations, including the Memorial Society of Georgia and the Funeral and Memorial Societies of America, grew to state and national prominence.[23] While most associations were structured as non-profit organizations, some for-profit groups, such as the South View Burial Association, also in Fulton County and established in 1886, were designed to promote burial in a specific cemetery.[24]

Burial associations kept their clientele, particularly elderly members, from becoming socially isolated. As monthly or weekly dues were collected, burial association agents made contact with each subscriber, assessing their health, social, and economic conditions. Agents frequently were among the first people to respond and provide aid when a death occurred.[25] With ties to churches and the community, the association was sometimes able to ensure that help was provided even before the subscriber passed away.

While fraternal and secret societies have their origins in the Old World, they became especially popular during the 19th century. Fraternal societies were designed principally to elevate the moral, economic, political, and social standing of their members. Among African American, Jewish, German, and other segments of American society that were often disenfranchised, the collective effort of the fraternal lodge was viewed as a means of bettering the community as a whole.[26]

Membership in fraternal organizations offered a sense of identity and support that transcended family and church ties. Fraternal lodges, including the Masons and Order of the Eastern Star, provided more than just monetary assistance; they also offered social support. Many lodges viewed it as their duty to assist in the funeral arrangements, providing care, preparing the body, and ensuring that the family was adequately fed.[27] Society members turned out en masse for a member's funeral. They were frequently dressed in matching society regalia, adorned with badges and sashes, often with an accompanying band. A funeral

procession sponsored by a fraternal society was transformed into a pageant that honored the deceased, as well as the lodge and community as a whole. Fraternal organizations were split along racial lines, with African Americans and Euroamericans having separate organizations. Especially prominent in African American communities, they likely evolved out of pre-Emancipation groups that clandestinely aided and educated the enslaved.[28] Their formal origins can be traced to 18th-century groups including the Brown Fellowship, African Union Society, Free African Society, and Prince Hall Freemasons.[29]

Death benefits were an important draw for many lodge members. Unlike burial associations, monetary contributions to a funeral relief fund were drawn out of the lodge member's dues. In order to be eligible, members had to be active in the lodge, and their presence at a funeral was demanded. Those who did not attend without good reason were levied a fine.[30] In some communities, death benefits included interment on grounds owned and maintained

Independent Order of the Red Men.
Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Odd Fellows and Red Men Attend Daniel's Funeral

A number of Odd Fellows and members of the Independent Order of the Red Men, will leave this morning at 6 o'clock for Griffin, Ga., to be present at the funeral of the late Judge R.T. Daniel grand sire of Odd Fellowship of the World, whose death occurred at Fitzgerald Thursday, and high in the councils of the Order of Red Men. . . The Knights Templars, the tribes of the Improved Order of Red Men of this city, the Odd Fellows lodges of this city, the Baraca class of the First Methodist church, the board of stewards of the First Methodist church of which Judge Daniels was chairman, the city officials of Griffin, and the bar associations of Griffin, and the bar associations of Griffin and Flynt circuit will also act as honorary escorts.

-*The Columbus Daily Enquirer,* Sunday May 30, 1915

Masonic Symbol on Grave in Rose Hill Cemetery, Macon.

by the lodge. The Gospel Pilgrim Society, for example, established a private black cemetery in 1882 for the burial of its Clarke County members.[31] Coffins provided by a lodge could include hardware emblazoned with important lodge symbols.[32] Members were often buried with pins and jewelry that emphasized their membership. Grave markers were decorated with iconography that not only emphasized the fraternal lodge but also underscored the character of the person.

An offshoot of the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was a fraternal society founded in 1819, during an epidemic in Baltimore, Maryland.[33] The core mission of the Odd Fellows was to provide aid and comfort to the sick, distressed, and dying. Lodges provided funeral services and, in some places, burial space for its members. Originally a whites-only organization, the English Order began granting charters for African American lodges (The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows) in 1843.[34] Members frequently had the Order's three-linked chain motif inscribed on their gravestones. The letters F (Friendship), L (Love), and T (Truth) are commonly added within the links. In Georgia, African American graves are sometimes adorned with a simple vernacular metal marker, consisting of three linked chains on a stake to memorialize the graves of former Odd Fellow members.

During the Depression, mutual aid societies were instrumental in helping members finance funerals. In other cases, in an area with a municipal cemetery, those too poor to pay for a grave would have been provided a pauper's grave by the city. These pauper's graves, often referred to as a Potter's Field, were usually located in an unadorned and frequently unmarked and remote section of a larger cemetery. Funeral homes would

Bibb Mount Zion Church in Bibb County Georgia is still managed by the Good Samaritan Burial Society.

MACON TELEGRAPH
November 14, 1935

COUNTY TO GIVE PAUPER'S GRAVES CONCRETE SLABS

Grave's of Bibb's pauper dead are to be marked with neat headstones of concrete, according to a plan being worked out by W. H. M. Weaver… At present, persons interred in the pauper graveyard a short distance from the Bibb home at Smithsonia are buried without markers being placed over their graves.

be given a contract to complete these burials, or the city would alternate between various funeral homes so as not to financially disadvantage one over another. Many people paid the fees for the burial societies in order to avoid a pauper's funeral and to ensure a socially appropriate and dignified funeral. Anecdotally, it appears that many grave markers during this period for less wealthy individuals were often constructed of less durable and less costly materials, such as concrete. Markers made of found or unconventional materials were more likely to be misidentified and relocated in later years.

JIM CROW AND THE PROGRESSIVE REFORMS

After Reconstruction ended, and southern white Democrats regained state legislative control from Republican "carpetbaggers" who had moved to the South after the war, the systematic retraction of freedoms and opportunities for African Americans began.[35] What would become known as the "Jim Crow Laws" began in the 1880s and extended into the 1960s. Cemented by the U.S. Supreme Court case of Plessey versus Ferguson in 1896, the concept of "separate but equal" was, in practice, far from equal. African Americans, as well as all sharecroppers, lost ground economically due to Progressive Movement reforms. After the turn of the century, two Georgia Progressive leaders, Populist leader Tom Watson and Governor Hoke Smith, were both determined to remove African Americans from the political system in Georgia by denying them the right to vote via a literacy test. They felt this was a "progressive" idea as it would "promote public peace and security, eliminate electoral corruption, and allow the state to move forward addressing its 'real' problems."[36]

In addition to being denied the right to vote, African Americans were subjected to unfair labor practices and unequal access to resources and opportunities. Violence against African Americans and, in particular lynching, was rampant in the South in the decades approaching World War I.[37] In the 1934 book, *The Tragedy of Lynching*, it was estimated that an African American was hanged or burned alive every four days somewhere in the South.[38] Newspapers carried the reports of alleged crimes, photos and articles, and even the "time and place for upcoming lynching of African Americans."[39]

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Paying for Space in the Hereafter

Today, Fort Hill contains a white cemetery and two black cemeteries within its boundaries and is completely overgrown. Established before the founding of Macon, the oldest grave dates to 1808. It tells an interesting story of segregated burials in Georgia.

Lamar Clay, an undertaker and prominent local businessman, was an influential person in the development of these cemeteries at the turn of the century. In 1892, the *Macon Telegraph* (March 12) reported that the citizens of East Macon were protesting loudly about the deplorable condition of the city-owned Fort Hill Cemetery. Clay had recently purchased the adjoining parcel and was developing it into an African American cemetery. In early June 1892 (*Macon Telegraph*, June 10), the new cemetery opened to much fanfare in the African American community, including cash prizes for the societies with most members in attendance, brass bands, and speeches.

By 1914, the city needed to enlarge the current size of Fort Hill, and Lamar Clay sold his two adjoining cemeteries to them for $3,000.00. These two cemeteries provide a snapshot of what it cost in the early 20th century to secure a safe resting space in a more urban area. A compilation, completed by Barbara Bivens Dortch, of Hart Mortuary records for several months of 1914 includes burial statistics for the three sections of the cemetery: Old Side (presumably the original Fort Hill Cemetery); Clay Side; and Clay Ridge. What is interesting to note is that, although the newspaper accounts seem to indicate one of these was exclusively African American and another all white, the statistics show both buried in both sections. Cost would seem to be more of the dividing factor. Graves were noted as being - Pauper, $3.00, $5.00, $8.00, $50.00, $250.00, $300.00, or $350.00. While the lower priced burials ($50 and below) were located in the Clay Side, all the higher priced burials were on Clay Ridge. Of the 27 burials for Clay Ridge, 20 were African American, but seven were white. For Clay Side, 26 were African American and another seven were white.

MACON TELEGRAPH

October 19, 1906

NEW NEGRO CEMETERY

Recently the city purchased 21 acres of land for a negro cemetery and at the last meeting of council ordered that the old negro cemetery be closed. The new cemetery is further from the heart of the city than the negroes desire, and the two negro' societies are said to have secured an option on a site closer in and may make the purchase themselves. If this is done the authorities will put a heavy tax on the cemetery in order to protect its property. As the authorities have the whip hand, the negroes will doubtless be forced to bury their dead in the new cemetery. The city paid more for the land on which the new negro cemetery will be located than for the site purchased a year or two ago for white people.

The occasion will be the dedication of Clay's new cemetery, and it is probable that there will be the largest crowd of negroes ever seen in Macon gathered there. Fifteen societies will assist in the ceremonies. The members of several organizations will meet at the Colored First Baptist Church, and will march in a body to the cemetery. Some of the societies claim as many as 600 members, and the membership of none of them falls lower than 150... The affair is being looked forward to as a great event by the colored people of the city. This will be the first time that all the societies of the city were ever brought together.

In 1891, Georgia had become the first state in the nation to legally codify the segregation of blacks and whites in public areas. While these laws originally focused on the segregation of railroad cars, over the remainder of the decade, other informally integrated places such as businesses, public buildings, prisons, and even cemeteries were formally segregated.[40] In some places, African American burials were relocated from municipal mixed cemeteries to exclusively African American cemeteries established specifically to segregate the races. For example, in

South-View Cemetery

(Right) South-View Cemetery and its burial association was established in 1886. It is the oldest African American non charity corporation in America. South-View in Jonesboro is the final resting place for more than 80,000 African Americans from the Atlanta area. Source: South-View Cemetery Website.

South-View Cemetery Today, Fulton County.

response to the laws, a new cemetery was established for African American burials on the grounds of the Central State Hospital in Milledgeville.[41] The Camp Creek South Cemetery opened in 1905 on 5.76 acres southwest of the Asylum Cemetery. It was followed by a third hospital burial ground, known as the New Colored Cemetery, which was reserved for the interment of male African American patients.[42] This trend extended to all forms of public and private cemeteries throughout the state as the 20th century progressed.

For African Americans, perhaps the most significant change in burial practices during this period was the increase in church cemeteries. As mentioned earlier, the number of African American churches in Georgia was the highest in the nation, and many of these churches had their own cemeteries. Additionally, African American mutual aid societies managed their own cemeteries. Later, as a national trend for burial in private cemeteries appeared, there would be a corresponding increase in the number of private African American cemeteries.

RELIGION AND CHURCH CEMETERIES

For all Georgians, church cemeteries were a stable alternative to cemeteries on private land that changed hands frequently. Even though some individuals may have stayed in the same general area, they moved frequently from farm to farm. As seen in the number of land transactions, advertisements for farms, and court cases or sheriffs' sales shown in the newspapers during this period, landownership of specific parcels after the war was not particularly stable.

Throughout Georgia's countryside and cities, churches functioned as anchors in the community. In addition to providing religious services, in some locations, they served as community gathering places, schools, and meeting houses, as well as sponsoring fraternal and burial societies and providing a sanctified location to bury the dead. The leaders of the churches often served important leadership roles in the community, both formally and informally.

According to an 1890 census report, Georgia had 7,008 "church" buildings in 1890.[43] The 1890 census used "church" to refer to all religious buildings of worship, including synagogues and temples. Georgia was ranked fifth for the total number of church buildings in the United States and first for the total number of African American churches. Georgia's religious organizations during this period were overwhelmingly Protestant at 99.4 percent. The remaining 0.6 percent was comprised entirely of Catholic (44 churches), Jewish (7 synagogues), and Unitarian/Universalists (13 houses of worship). By 1906, 98.1 percent were Christian, with Catholics accounting for 5.9 percent and the remaining 92.2 percent Protestant. The majority of the Protestants were Baptist, who exceeded the combined membership total of all other congregations by 160,000.[44] Baptist churches had been increasing in number for the previous few decades, owing to a combination of factors, including increasing factionalism in the Methodist church and heightened numbers of ministers, as they required less formal education than their Methodist counterparts.[45]

In addition to the rise in prominence of the Baptist faith, the largest change in religion was the explosion of new African American churches. In 1861, African membership in churches stood at 468,000.[46] By 1900, it had reached 2.7 million. Before the Civil War, enslaved Africans often worshiped in segregated sections of white churches, in either separate pews or in balcony galleries. After the war, many congregations split along racial lines and African Americans

A TALE
OF TWO
CHURCHES

In Jenkins County, Georgia, a rural county where the population today remains less than 10,000, there are two historic congregations that illustrate the intertwined and long history of rural African American and Euroamerican churches in the 19th and 20th centuries. Wealthy planters founded the Big Buckhead Baptist Church in 1774. The third oldest Baptist Church in Georgia, the current church was constructed on the same location in 1855. There were three previous churches on the site, built of log, frame, and brick. Before the Civil War, the enslaved people and their holders worshiped in the church but sat in separate pews. After the war, emancipated African Americans left the church to form their own congregation a few hundred yards away. The Freedman community conducted services at a brush arbor for several years until they constructed their own church, Carswell Grove Baptist Church in 1870, on land donated by a wealthy judge. Both churches have cemeteries. The oldest burial at Carswell Grove dates to 1870 and the cemetery contains a mixture of modest marker styles with an informal layout. At Big Buckhead Baptist, the cemetery lies across the street with its oldest burial dating to 1797.[47]

Even though it was in a remote location, Carswell Baptist grew rapidly in size and influence. By 1919, the congregation had almost 1,000 members. The church, unfortunately, became the flash point for the violence of the "Red Summer." A misunderstanding at a Church celebration led to the death of two white police officers and a parishioner. The incident ignited a lynch mob, which burned the church, along with farms, homes, and lodges in the community, killing many. A wave of violence spread from this small church throughout the South and even to northern cities, in what became the worst racial violence in U.S. history.[48]

The churches, however, persevered. Carswell rebuilt a beautiful Gothic style church. As the population of the area declined, so did the church's congregation, with only a few dozen today. Nearby the Greek Revival Big Buckhead Baptist is still standing. Their congregations remain intertwined today. The son and granddaughter of Judge Carswell continued to provide financial support for the church, as have some other parts of the local community. Carswell Grove was listed on the National Register and efforts were underway to preserve the historic church until tragedy again struck Carswell Grove. In 2014, an unknown arsonist set fire to the church, and it burned to the ground.[49] As is often the case, the cemetery is all that remains.[50]

Source: *Historic Rural Churches of Georgia*, John Kirkland, 2018.

left to form their own churches. Many wealthy white landowners during this period provided small plots of land for the emancipated people to begin their own churches. Alternately, after emancipation, it became easier for African Americans to acquire land to build homes, farms, or small businesses, as well as community buildings such as churches or schools. As religious groups became more organized, they were often able to purchase land for church buildings, and it was common for these churches to have their own cemetery and/or burial or mutual aid society. The black church emerged as an important foundation in many communities. In 1894, there were 3,134 black churches in Georgia with 953,873 congregants.[51] This was the highest in the nation with almost 200,000 more than the next highest state, Alabama.

Church cemeteries in rural areas were built on church grounds, where the cemetery frequently occupied a large percentage of the church's property. Churches usually placed their cemetery behind or beside the church where they did not compete with the church structure as the focal point in the landscape. These cemeteries became increasingly less common in the foothills and mountains, where they were altogether outnumbered by private family cemeteries.[52]

Separation of the non-members within a churchyard was common; Christian churches had long-standing traditions governing cemetery membership. European-Christian communities tended to use grounds that were specially blessed by the church and set aside for burial purposes. The sanctity of these grounds was often maintained by excluding the unworthy or strangers from burial. In some places where older traditions still held sway, the excommunicated, murderers, felons, suicides, and similar social outcasts were buried in remote, separate locations or even at cross roads, sometimes at night.[53] Other burials of individuals who had strayed from church teachings may have had their graves marked to warn others not to make the same poor choices. Those with mental illnesses were sometimes perceived as innocent victims possessed by demons, and in some cases, they were denied burial to prevent contamination of the holy ground. Unbaptized children (who were thought to lack the grace of God and be unable to go to heaven) could likewise be excluded from a Christian burial ground. Where space permitted, families were usually buried together. European and Christian traditions dictated that wives were interred to the south (or left hand side) of their husbands, but this was not always followed.[54] Jewish burial traditions prohibit a woman from being buried next to a man who is not her husband, so the order of burials in a row would be husband-wife, wife-husband, husband-wife. Among Gullah Geechee sea island communities, children were buried face down to prevent the child from returning for its siblings.[55] Freedman, Joe Anderson of Washington, Georgia recalled one particularly disliked member of the community who was buried extremely deep to insure that he remained in his grave.[56] This probably related to a wider belief that a deep grave prevented a spirit from returning to haunt the living.[57] In the Uplands, north-south oriented graves and those buried with their heads to the east were reserved for those who had fallen from Christian favor; on the day of judgment, these persons were doomed to rise facing the wrong direction or with their backs to Jesus.[58]

THE GREAT MIGRATION

Between World War I and the 1970s, approximately six million African Americans left the South as racial discrimination, unfair labor arrangements, segregation, and racial violence were ever present threats.[59] What would become known as the Great Migration began slowly, but by the second decade of the 20th century, 555,000 African Americans had left the South.[60] This natural movement sprang from millions of people making an individual choice to seek a better life.[61] Historians often credit World War I with creating the labor shortage in the industrial North that triggered the start of the mass exodus of

African Americans from the South. Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Isabel Wilkerson, however, noted evidence that shows that it had likely started just prior to the war.[62] For example, railroad companies had been quietly recruiting southern African American workers for cheap labor as early as 1915 and in 1916.

After the migration began, word of mouth from earlier migrants, particularly family and friends, and black newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender* provided a constant stream of enticement. The police and local authorities in many southern cities considered those trying to leave fugitives, often blockading trains at stations, ripping up the tickets of African American passengers, or arresting dozens of African Americans at a time on fake charges to prevent them from moving north. These measures, however, had the opposite effect on migration. Instead of deterring it, they made people even more determined to leave.[63]

As African Americans and white rural Georgians left the countryside, the cemeteries they left behind, particularly community cemeteries and those on former plantations, were slowly forgotten. Although families remembered that they had ancestors buried in certain towns or on certain farms, the landscape changed. Farms were transformed into subdivisions, trees and fences that once marked burial places fell down or were cut, and fields became forests. In other areas, small towns grew, spreading beyond their former borders, and the ephemeral markers of graves often disintegrated or were inadvertently or purposefully moved so that the land could be built upon. As families sold farms they had owned for generations, new owners might not have passed along the knowledge of the cemeteries to future buyers.

TOWARDS A MODERN VIEW OF DEATH

The first half of the 20th century was defining for the manner in which Americans, both urban and rural, became more isolated from death.[64] Life and the potential for happiness within it, as promised in the American dream, had become the goal, while death was viewed as an interruption. The causes for that change are multiple and layered. Shifting ideas about the afterlife, unprecedented economic prosperity (particularly for the middle class), better understanding of healthy living habits to prolong life, and the myriad of scientific and medical advances that helped to sustain life all played a part.

MODERN DEATH

It seems that the modern attitude toward death, that is to say the interdiction of death in order to preserve happiness, was born in the United States around the beginning of the 20th century…. Through a series of small steps we can see the birth and development of ideas which would end in the present day interdict, built upon the ruins of Puritanism, in an urbanized culture which is dominated by rapid economic growth and by the search for happiness linked to the search for profit.[65]

- Philippe Aries, *Western Attitudes Toward Death*
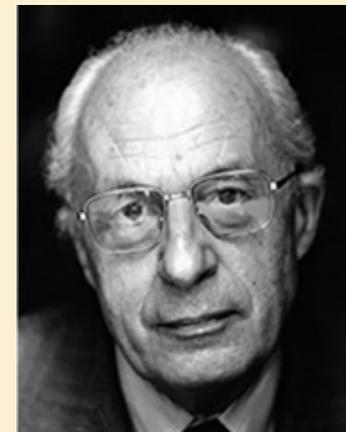
Other forces were also at work as Americans forged this new and uneasy pact with death. Urban America was still in a state of transition after decades of large-scale European emigration were followed by thousands of southern African American families during the Great Migration. Eager to participate in the American dream, individuals and families sought new opportunities. The availability of the streetcar, and then the automobile, brought them closer to attaining that dream. The impacts of the Great Depression would be put aside as the country went to war again in 1940, bringing new forces of change with the arrival of the GI Bill, and social change as the Civil Rights movement gained ground. In the post war Baby Boom era, many Americans elected to move to the newly established suburbs made possible by modern transportation, once again establishing lifeways that would affect the treatment of death in America.

The process of dying and illness also changed during this period, becoming a technical phenomenon to be managed by science and a medical team typically within a hospital environment. Hospitals, once considered a place only for the poor, were modernized, offering professional care and private rooms within a safe environment that appealed to middle and upper class users. By the 1880s, a greater percentage of Americans died in hospitals than in the home, and this trend continued to grow.[66]

As the circumstances of death changed, funeral directors routinely handled the business of death, and their industry would become integrated into cemetery management. The general acceptance of embalming during the Civil War triggered this change in who managed death. The merchant undertaker, who simply provided goods and services, was replaced by a director who "correctly" structured the events after death occurred. While the professionalization of the industry was not uniformly accepted by all Americans, most elected to use their services. Cremation would also begin to be seen as an alternative to burial, as an understanding of the science and sanitation concerning death grew, as well as an awareness of the increasing costs of dying.

As historian Philippe Aries described when discussing Americans' changing ideas on death in this period, Americans imposed an interdiction, or prohibition, against death. His use of the word "interdict" with its religious undertone is purposeful, suggesting an unwritten code to which Americans deferred. There is no better evidence for this interdiction than in the cemeteries and death practices these new modern movements engendered: the widespread acceptance of cremation and crematoriums, the Lawn Park Cemetery movement, and the Memorial Park Cemetery movement.

CREMATION

Cremation remained an unpopular choice among most Americans during the 19th century, but demand grew over time. Advocates cited health advantages but the association of an open-air pyre with pagan ritual made it difficult to make inroads on its behalf to religious Americans. The Catholic Church and other groups were firmly against it. Additionally, the solution to overcrowded urban cemeteries was ostensibly solved by the Rural Garden movement of the 19th century. Whatever surcease that movement was able to give on that proposition ended as urban areas continued to grow, encroaching on cemeteries that were once "safely" on the outskirts of town.

Crematoriums

The first crematorium in the country that was independent of a cemetery was built in Washington, Pennsylvania by Francis LeMoyne. Now a Pennsylvania landmark, it is simple brick structure with two rooms – one where the public was allowed and a furnace room. The first cremation was held in

(Left) View of furnace and crib that held the body. Source: Megan Sickles, Pennsylvania Center for the Book. (Far Left) South Atlantic Quarantine Station Crematory, Blackbeard Island, Georgia, established 1904. Source: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Website.

1876 and took two days to complete. A modern crematorium is more intricately designed and can include a chapel, viewing rooms, and areas where a family can hold a viewing or funeral and participate in the cremation process. A retort within a computer-controlled furnace reaches sufficient heat to vaporize about 95 percent of the body within a couple of hours and bone fragments are pulverized, placed in an urn, and given to the next of kin.[67]

While crematoriums were at first conceived as functionally independent, and some remain so, 20th-century commercial cemetery enterprises, such as Forest Lawn in California, added crematories to the burgeoning cemetery complex, where it expanded the range of burial customer services that could be offered.

LeMoyne Crematory, Washington, Pennsylvania. Source: Historic German Postcard, Postmarked 1907.

J.B. Hart's Mortuary in Macon was Georgia's first commercial crematorium, 1931. Note the smokestack on the far right. Source: Gateway Macon Website.

Health and safety were once again front and center, and Europe would be the source of the solution, first with the invention of the first enclosed crematory by Ludovico Brunetti in 1873 and second with the writings of Sir Henry Thompson, an influential and respected member of the British medical community and a cremation advocate. Washington, Pennsylvania would be the location of the country's first crematorium established in 1884 by Miles L. Davis.[68] The statistics below show a small but steady increase in cremations nationwide during the first half of the 20th century. This progress was aided by the efforts of advocacy organizations such as the Neptune Society and the Cremation Association of America, which stressed not only the sanitary benefits of cremation but the economic advantages. Public health reforms figured prominently during the Progressive Era, and in Georgia, this period saw the establishment of a statewide registry for death certificates in 1919.

In 1901, there were 26 functioning crematoriums in the United States. Two cities dominated the nation in the number of cremations: New York and San Francisco. While crematoriums were established in the Northeast, Northwest, Midwest, and West, none were located in the South in 1901. The Cremation Association of America was founded in 1913, reporting 52 original members.[69] A report circulated in 1921 cites 74 crematoriums in operation nationwide, of which 18 were located in California where cremation was well supported.[70]

One of the earliest crematoriums established in Georgia was at the South Atlantic Quarantine Station on Blackbeard Island, McIntosh County, Georgia. Built around 1904, the crematory was used to incinerate the bodies of those who died in the quarantine station.[71] Georgia's first commercial crematorium was established in 1931, by J. Freeman Hart of Macon.[72] The crematory was added to an existing funeral parlor owned by Hart and his business partners.

Cremation simply did not have traction as a burial alternative in Georgia early on, but it did have a lasting impact on early 20th-century cemetery development in the United States. Advocates honed their arguments on the economic and democratic character of cremation and pitted it against the unhealthy and corrupted cemeteries, calling them "peopleless streets, with coldness and darkness and silent cells, with still inhabitants, and an atmosphere which is the breath of pestilence."[73] Mortuary architecture and features attested to class distinctions, as well as unneeded extravagance and sentimentality. Cemeteries were now cast in a new and unfavorable light just as the mortuary industry was coming into its own. The Lawn Park cemetery and its later sibling, the Memorial Park, would provide an answer; however, it would be later before it fully arrived in Georgia.

ADVENT OF THE LAWN PARK CEMETERY

The "Lawn Park" cemetery ideal originated in Cincinnati, Ohio and is credited to Adolph Strauch, a Prussian-born landscape architect, who conceived and implemented the concept as part of his re-design of the Spring Grove Cemetery in 1855. While the curvilinear roads and pathways were retained, Strauch's alterations reduced the visual clutter of the former Rural Garden cemetery to produce an open, rational design that emphasized a park-like setting composed of grass lawns. Enclosures, individual vertical monuments, and informal plantings were removed from the cemetery landscape or relegated to specific areas of the grounds.[74]

Notable Lawn Park Cemeteries in Georgia

(Above) Aerial of Hillcrest Cemetery in Columbus showing radial layout, 2014.

(Left) 2016 Plan of Westview Cemetery, Fulton County. (The stars on their plan denote notable burials.) (Top) Westview Cemetery Today.

Greenwood Cemetery, Fulton County. This Lawn Park cemetery was established in 1904. It contains a small Chinese Section, Jewish Section, and Greek Orthodox Section.

The aesthetic features of the Lawn Park cemetery plan were repeatedly justified as providing considerable savings due to reductions in expensive maintenance costs. Lawn Park cemeteries were commercially appealing because they offered a lower cost to owner/operators in maintenance and design, as well as a lower cost to users. Smaller granite, marble, or bronze grave markers were uniform in size with lower, horizontal profiles or were set flush with the ground to "avoid the old graveyard scene" and to facilitate lawn mowing. In Lawn Park landscapes, grave markers and monuments were to be enhanced by nature rather than through a profusion of objects.[75]

Lawn Park cemeteries were often developed by for-profit or non-profit corporate ventures. Management companies strictly regulated the size and placement of gravestones, along with the form and duration of grave site decorations that were allowed by family members.[76] Another key feature of the modern Lawn

Park cemetery was the offer of managed "perpetual care." Promoted as a way to prevent cemeteries from falling into ruin, the endowment maintained conditions of the grounds through fees collected as part of the lot sale and managed in a fund invested by the controlling cemetery corporation.[77]

The professional planning and management of Lawn Park cemeteries strongly appealed to those engaged in the growing field of landscape architecture. Intrigued by Strauch's work at Spring Grove and looking to try his hand at cemetery landscaping, Frederick Law Olmsted accepted a solo commission in 1863 to design the grounds for Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland, California. Recognizing that his client's desire for a wooded Rural Garden cemetery was not feasible in the arid, treeless, hillside terrain of Northern California, Olmsted's site design combined the open character and curvilinear walking paths of Strauch's Lawn Park model with native vegetation better suited to the local climate.[78] Jacob Wiedenmann, the first superintendent of parks in Hartford, Connecticut and a former collaborator of Olmstead, strongly advocated for the Lawn Park design in his 1888 work, *Modern Cemeteries,* while the industry trade journal *Park and Cemetery* documented the emerging trends in cemetery administration and design.[79] Following the success of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago, Lawn Park cemetery designs abandoned the informal, curvilinear network of carriage paths common to older sites in favor of the classical, linear, radial boulevards espoused by the City Beautiful Movement at that time.[80] Providing parks became a priority for cities, and a new term, "Parkomania," was coined by scholar David Sloane to describe the effort to develop new, or redesign existing, cemeteries into the new Lawn Park ideal.[81] Both the City Beautiful Movement and Parkomania dovetailed nicely with the Progressive ideals of the era.

The Lawn Park cemetery is a product of these reform and planning movements. Older cemeteries were seen as disorganized, and "the new parks were a huge success and greatly influenced the character of new cemeteries. Thousands continued to visit Mount Auburn, Green-wood, or Spring Grove, but after the Civil War the popularity of the cemeteries as recreational plots declined. People preferred to use the parks for recreation, promenades, and courting. The parks were closer, publicly owned, and had fewer rules concerning visitors. Away from the dead and moralistic atmospheres of the cemetery, the park seemed more joyful. "[82] Perceived as urban parks, Lawn Park cemeteries became popular destinations along newly developed streetcar lines in many cities. Transit companies also provided services of specially-outfitted streetcars to transport entire processions of mourners from the funeral to the burial site.[83] Originally, streetcar lines were added to service existing cemeteries, but later, as the streetcar system matured and cemeteries became increasingly commercial, cemetery developers sought to build cemeteries near existing lines, or advocate for new lines to service their properties. For example, in LaGrange a streetcar line was built from the city center to Hill View Cemetery in 1887.[84]

The Lawn Park model became a cemetery type in both large and small towns across Georgia during the 1880s and 1890s. Well suited to late 19th- and early 20th-century attitudes toward death and affording its visitors a place of joy, the Lawn Park cemetery made a larger impact on Georgians than cremation during this same period and set the stage for the introduction of the first Memorial Park cemetery before World War I. Underscoring its popularity, modest examples of Lawn Park design elements continued to be incorporated into municipal and church cemeteries across the state into the early 20th century. Some of the largest and most notable expressions of Lawn Park cemeteries that developed during this period are Atlanta's Westview Cemetery (1884), Riverside Cemetery (1887) in Macon, and Riverdale Cemetery in Columbus (1890).[85]

Hollywood Cemetery

Rocky Start and Finish on Atlanta's Upper West Side

Hollywood Cemetery was a product of turn of the 20th century's business aspirations and the close tie between the park cemeteries and the trolley lines. As these articles in the *Atlanta Constitution* show, the sale of lots began in 1892; however, by 1897, the cemetery was auctioned off and trolley service suspended. Acquired by its creditors, the cemetery remained in business through the early to mid-20th century. Plots were sold in "fee simple," meaning that owners were responsible for the upkeep of their plots to which they held title. Hollywood Memorial Park is now a corporate entity that joined with two nearby cemeteries in 1972. The older section predates Georgia laws that establish perpetual care funding.[86]

(Left) Funeral Car, The Delores of Lorain Ohio. Source: CityLab (Bloomberg) Website.

(Above) View Showing the overgrown Hollywood Cemetery. (Left) News clippings from *The Atlanta Constitution*, Left, March 26, 1893; Right, October 6, 1897.

FOREST LAWN AND THE MEMORIAL PARK MOVEMENT

The Memorial Park Cemetery movement began in California at Forest Lawn (Cemetery) and made its way east from the western United States, offering a contemporary alternative to what was seen as the visual decay of the older Romantic and Lawn Park cemetery styles. By the mid-1930s, over six hundred Memorial Parks modeled after Forest Lawn were established across the United States.[87] Georgia appears to have made a belated entry into the movement. Hillcrest Memorial Park in Augusta opened in 1944 and appears to be one of the earliest examples in Georgia. Other corporate-owned, Memorial Park cemeteries would follow after World War II.[88]

THE EVOLUTION OF CEMETERIES

THE OLD WAY—IMPRACTICAL

THE PARK LAWN TYPE—DESTROYS SENTIMENT

INDIVIDUALIZED GARDEN — THE MODERN WAY
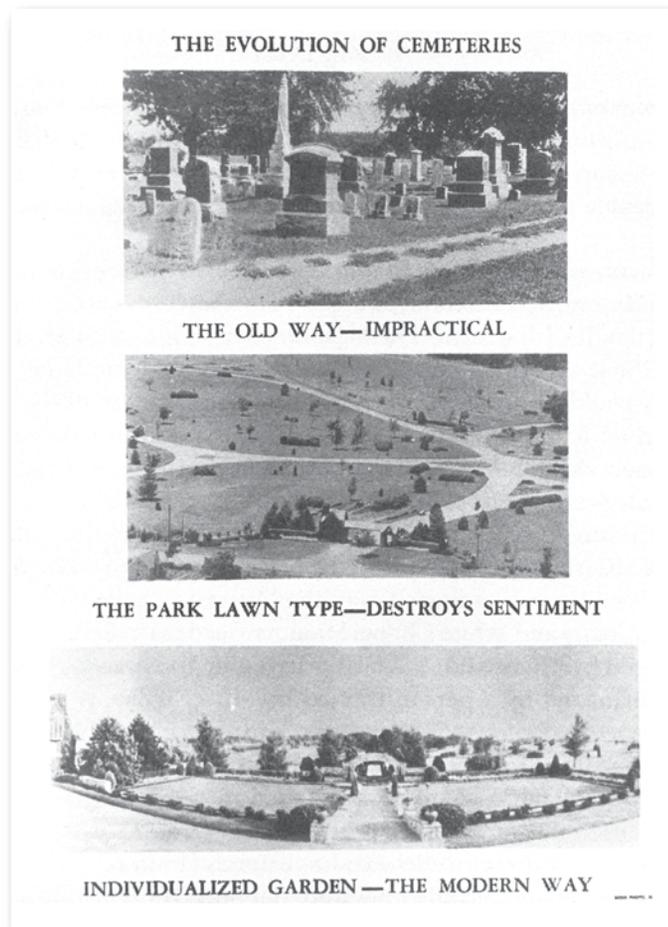
Although Memorial Park cemeteries are a direct successor to the Lawn Park cemetery, the Lawn Park and Memorial Park types stylistically and chronologically overlapped during the early 20th century. In many ways, the Memorial Park movement represented a logical extension of the many design and management concepts first introduced by Strauch. While the Lawn Park cemetery attempted to reduce the visual intrusion of the gravestone on the landscape, the Memorial Park sought to completely remove it and, along with it, visual evidence of death. In the case of the first Memorial Park cemetery, Forest Lawn, they even removed the word "cemetery" from their name.

Hubert Eaton is largely credited with popularizing the Memorial Park movement in 1913 when he assumed management of Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, California. Trees and shrubbery were minimized, and all family plots and gravestones were removed. They were replaced with flat stone or bronze markers that facilitated maintenance, preserved the open quality of the site, and presented visitors with an optimistic and spacious view. To provide a sense of visual interest, Eaton erected a number of chapels, water fountains, statuary, and mausoleums throughout the grounds. The buildings, structures, and objects were executed in neoclassical and gothic architectural revival styles and selectively placed to delineate sections of the cemetery or enhance the commercial value of the grave sites. While Forest Lawn retained a curvilinear street network similar to that of older Rural Garden and Lawn Park cemeteries, the site's large scale and wide, paved roads encouraged automotive circulation throughout the grounds, rather than pedestrian mobility.[89]

"The Evolution of Cemeteries" Advertisement for Memorial Parks Pointing the Way to the Future, c. 1950s. Source: David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity* [John Hopkins University Press Baltimore] 1991 p.185.

The landscape was carefully designed to meet the wishes and reflect the attitudes of customers and to be inclusive rather than exclusive. The religion was ecumenical, a heroic nation was praised, the family was celebrated, and death was muted, if not entirely eliminated from the landscape. The landscape, like the sales approach of the institution, invited the consumer to join a community of familiar values by purchasing a lot.[93]

Visitor's Guide to Forest Lawn, Map. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

As a for-profit, commercial enterprise, strict regulations were put into place at Forest Lawn to maintain the uniformity of site design. As Sloane phrased it, "lot-holders were invited to bury their dead and leave the care and beautification of the burial place to management."[90] Perpetual care maintenance was a common service for all interments. In this manner, the pragmatism inherent in the development and management of Lawn Parks extended to Memorial Parks and pre-sales in the 20th century. Salesmen collected commissions on burial plot sales, and customers could purchase plots on a reduced "pre-need" basis. With chapels, funeral parlors, and a crematory on the site, Eaton also marketed a variety of business arrangements at the cemetery, providing "one-stop shopping" for all of one's burial needs, in addition to other services such as funerals, weddings, and christenings.[91]

Memorial Park Cemeteries were well suited to white middle and upper class Americans who sought distance from death, yielding the care of their family member's resting place to the park management, and joining into the values represented in the cemetery's appearance and organization. Many featured "gardens" or sections where customers of common backgrounds or religions could be laid to rest. As Sloane notes, only race or a lack of funds would preclude the sale of a lot in a memorial park. For those of less financial means, burial in a family, church, or community cemetery was a more feasible idea during this period.[92]

GEORGIA WOMEN IN THE DEATH CARE INDUSTRY

Another mark of the 20th century was the arrival of women in the death care industry. Around 1910, Sue Methvin, opened the Methvin Cement Vault Company in Atlanta.[94] "She knows every detail of vault construction, so that she can teach and direct the workers, and personally supervises their installation" (*Atlanta Constitution*). She stayed in business for over 22 years, representing one of the few women entrepreneurs to explore the burial vault industry.

Sue Methvin. *The Atlanta Constitution*, January 22, 1922.

Sue Methvin

Ruth Hartley Mosley

Ruth Hartley Mosley. Source: Booker T. Washington Center Photographic Collection, (Date Unknown).

Ruth Hartley Mosley (1886-1975) became a licensed embalmer in 1919. Mosley grew up in Savannah and after receiving her nurses' training at Providence Hospital in Chicago, worked at the Georgia State Sanatorium in Milledgeville where she became head nurse of the "Colored Females Department," the first African American to hold that rank. After her marriage to Macon saloon owner Richard Hartley, she and her husband purchased an interest in a Macon funeral parlor. She returned to school to be trained as an embalmer and worked in the family business, the Central City Funeral Parlor, until its sale in 1967. Socially prominent

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

January 22, 1922

PROMINENT BUSINESS WOMEN IN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mrs. Sue Methvin is proprietor of the Methvin Cement Vault Company, which she also personally manages, and as far as can be learned she is the only woman in the United States who heads a business of this kind. She knows every detail, of vault construction, so that she can teach and direct the workers, and personally supervise their installation.

and active in Civil Rights, she was honored as an inductee into the Georgia Women of Achievement in 1994.

Mrs. J. Austin Dillon was another early female embalmer in Georgia.[95] The Dillon Funeral Home of Atlanta became a prominent business and was responsible for embalming Franklin D. Roosevelt when he died in 1945.[96]

EXPANSION OF MEMORIAL ASSOCIATIONS

Taking its lead from union labor tactics, American consumers recognized that collective bargaining could also be used to negotiate goods and services. In the death care industry, co-operatives, including the People's Memorial Association, emerged during the second quarter of the 20th century to obtain affordable funeral and burial services.[97] While mutual aid and burial associations tended to negotiate individual services directly between the provider and the bereaved, memorial associations negotiated with death care service providers to provide services for a suite of members, not just individual clients. Not only did memorial associations lower funeral and burial costs for the individual member, these arrangements were advantageous for providers who were capable of securing a large number of clients with relatively little expense. In the long run, memorial associations tended to benefit larger death care establishments, who, based on guaranteed member support, were capable of expanding their services to include burial, cremation, funeral, monuments, decoration, and transportation. In Georgia, active memorial associations include the Memorial Society of Georgia, Southcare Cremation and Funeral Society, and Middle Georgia Memorial Society.

MATURATION OF THE MORTUARY COMPLEX

The 20th century saw consolidation of the various parts of the death care industry into business conglomerates. As an extension of the late 19th-century service-oriented business model, cemeteries were purchased or developed by funeral homes to provide clients with comprehensive death care packages that addressed all aspects of the funeral. Consolidation of these services was further emphasized by the construction of funeral homes and crematories within the cemetery grounds. The Georgia Memorial Park Funeral Home and Cemetery (Cobb County cemetery established in 1954, funeral home established in 1999); Mathews Funeral Home/Leesburg Cemetery (Dougherty County cemetery established in 1997, funeral home established in 1949); and Macon Memorial Park Funeral Home and Cemetery (Bibb County cemetery established in 1998, funeral home established in 1935) are examples of these types of ventures.[98]

Consolidation of cemetery ownership reflected a change in cemetery management. Privately owned cemeteries traditionally operated as independent facilities on a local level with each facility having its own board of directors to guide its development and management. These cemeteries focused on developing personal relationships within the community and tailoring cemetery services to meet each client's needs. This model is still employed by most privately owned cemeteries. Beginning in the mid-20th century, the application of more aggressive profit-oriented business models resulted in the consolidation of multiple cemeteries under a single corporate structure.

Cemetery corporations provided a set range of services that the client could choose as best fit their needs. The first successful application of this model was in the 1940s, when Edward Williams established the Memory Gardens Association in New York.[99] These models emphasized corporate profit sharing over involvement in the local community and were not initially popular among established parts of the funeral industry community. Consolidation of cemeteries under a single corporation, however, saw growth during and after the 1960s. Corporate cemetery management firms, including Service Corporation International (SCI), have assumed management of many cemeteries and become important players in the death care industry. SCI operates thousands of funeral homes in North America and abroad, and currently manages no fewer than 41 facilities in the state of Georgia.

EXPANDED BURIAL OPTIONS

This chapter discusses the profound changes that occurred during the Progressive era and how they manifested themselves in Georgia's burial grounds. The geography of cemeteries used by those who did not join the Great Migration northward and their cemetery types speak to two Georgias that developed in the early 20th century: rural Georgia versus urban Georgia. Rural Georgia after World War II was a drastically different landscape than it was after the Civil War. After almost a century, both burial practices and cemetery design had evolved significantly even though many burials in rural areas continued to be placed in family and church cemeteries. Burial societies and community cemeteries appeared to fill a need for rural families who may not have owned land of their own and may have needed assistance providing a suitable burial plot and funeral for their deceased. For African Americans, the establishment of black churches throughout the state provided new choices for burial within a stable location controlled by their own community.

Rural 20th-century Georgians would use all three burial options available to them: church, family, and community cemeteries. Many moved from one sharecropper or tenant agreement to another. Some stayed on the land that had been their birthright, while others worked the same lands as tenants where their ancestors had once been enslaved. For African Americans, life became increasingly difficult due to racial violence and discriminatory laws. Many left Georgia and the South during the Great Migration for other opportunities in the more industrial cities of the North and Midwest. Economics played a crucial role in the choice to leave Georgia as the boll weevil had decimated crops and the economy collapsed during the Great Depression. All of these factors affected cemeteries and burials, in gradual changes in both style and location. The Great Migration was so successful that for some, memories of their home place and family burial grounds were forgotten.

After the Civil War, Victorian thought and the ideals of Romanticism still prevailed in cemetery design and in what was socially acceptable and desirable concerning death, burial, and mourning. The Progressive era that followed, combined with a society that had in large part removed itself from the intimate process of death, permanently changed what American society found attractive in a cemetery. It went from valuing the picturesque, melancholy, and "natural" sylvan landscape of the Rural Garden cemetery, to the park-like, ordered look of a Lawn Park cemetery, and finally to the serene, convenient, and thoroughly "modern" look of the Memorial Park cemetery, where visual representations of death were almost entirely absent. This evolution would reach all Georgians, but in this time period, its influence can be best seen in urban Georgia's Myrtle Hill Cemetery (Floyd County), Westview Cemetery (Fulton County), and Evergreen Memorial Park (Clarke County).

Over the next 70 years, between 1945 and the present, continuity would prevail over change. Cremation would become increasingly popular, funerals would become in many ways less elaborate and desegregation would occur. Our fully modern concept of death had emerged during the period from 1861 to 1945; the Good Death had become Modern Death.

Evergreen Memorial Park Cemetery, Clarke County.

Chapter Six Summary

KEYS

A number of social and economic changes impacted cemetery development in this period, including the growth of urban centers, progressive political reforms, Jim Crow era segregation, the proliferation of mutual aid societies, and the rapid expansion of African American churches.

In rural Georgia, the increase in the number of community cemeteries and those owned by mutual aid societies, combined with an increasing number of African American churches, gave people more burial options if they did not own their own land or have membership in a church.

The Lawn Park cemetery trend arrived late to Georgia, appearing in the late 1800s. These orderly, more open and park-like cemeteries appealed to the design sensibilities of the City Beautiful Movement and featured more open grass lawns and more symmetry in monuments and layout.

Memorial Park cemeteries represented the next trend in cemetery design and appeared in Georgia in the mid 20th century. These perpetual care cemeteries typically feature low flush markers of similar design and emphasize open space, a modern aesthetic, and easy maintenance.

This period fully marked the transition from the Good Death to Modern Death. Visual representations of death had transformed over time from skulls, to angels and other romantic symbols, to being absent all together. The funerary industry now fully handled all the details of death.

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

- When you look at the entirety of the cemetery, do there seem to be different periods of development stylistically? Can you pick out the oldest section and see a progression from Victorian styles to a more streamlined and open Lawn Park feel? Is there a new section with Memorial Garden elements?
- Is the cemetery segregated by race or ethnicity, or by religion or economics? When did the segregated burials begin and end? How might the presence of these sections connect to the entity that owns or manages the cemetery? How are the sections arranged?
- Look at the plantings within the cemetery. Do they seem to be associated with specific graves or plots or are they part of the design, either formal or informal, of the cemetery as a whole? Do these plantings have meaning within a specific ethnic group or within the context of a particular cemetery style?

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Harold Schechter, *The Whole Death Catalog: A lively Guide to the Bitter End*. New York, Ballantine Books, 2009.

David S. Williams, *From Mounds to Megachurches: Georgia's Religious Heritage*. Athens, University of Georgia Press, 2008.

Gilbert Memorial Cemetery is located on the entrance ramp to I-75 south at Cleveland Avenue, Atlanta. The Memorial Cemetery honors a one-acre plot set aside by Jeremiah S. Gilbert as a burial ground that was destroyed in the 1950s. On the Historic Marker: "The Memorial Cemetery has been made possible through efforts of concerned local residents, local clergy, the Fulton County Superior Court, the Georgia Department of Transportation and the Federal Highways Administration and others so that those laid to rest here would not be forgotten." Source: Google Earth
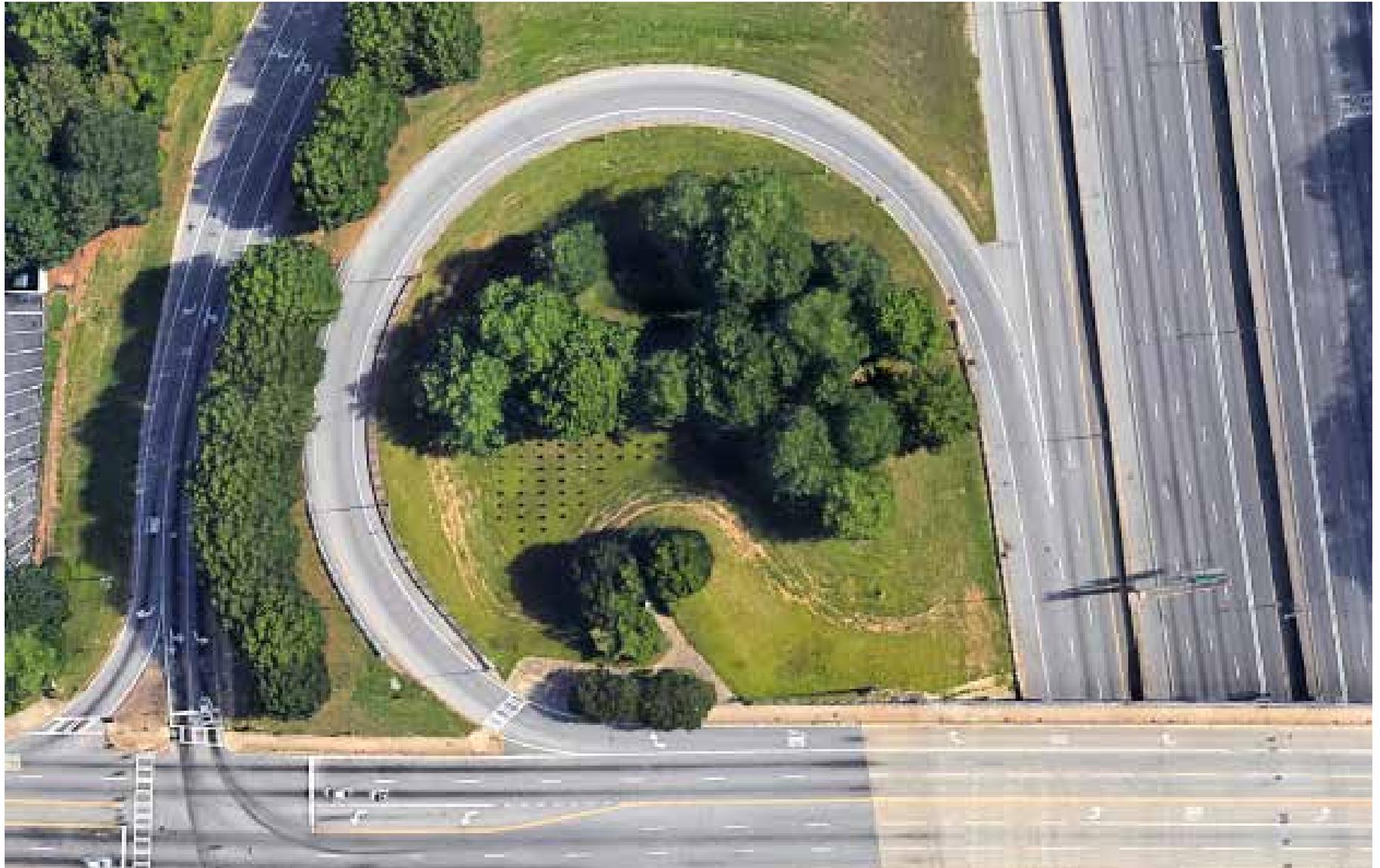
CHAPTER SEVEN
MODERN DEATH AND GEORGIA'S CEMETERIES MOVEMENT, GROWTH, LOSS AND PRESERVATION: 1945–1975

I think it is spiritual. How do you lead people to make all of these [historical] connections and then we all end up in a place where we're standing where our ancestors are resting?

– Patricia Byron, descendant, Avondale Burial Community, on her family's newly discovered community cemetery.

Explosive growth of the American residential suburb occurred following WWII as new economic, social, and political changes started to unfold. Increased automobile ownership led to a shift toward auto-dependent neighborhood planning and, concomitantly, the decline of the earlier streetcar systems and their associated suburbs. Soldiers returning from WWII, along with a corresponding increase in birthrates between 1946 and 1964, created a demand for new middle-class housing.[1] Additionally, loans from Federal programs, some in place from the 1930s, such as the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, and Veterans Administration Loans, made the spread of the "single-family" house possible for many. The Civil Rights Movement was another factor in these shifting geographies when white urbanites migrated from the cities to avoid desegregation, spurring more suburban development in the form of bedroom communities.[2]

The region's temperate climate brought more than the military. The South began to see the growth of retirement communities, as the elderly moved from colder Northern locations. In addition, Georgia witnessed a steady increase in population as air-conditioning and the automobile made Southern living more appealing to businesses, and as Northern and Mid-Western companies relocated south. Much of this population growth occurred around urban centers, most notably Atlanta. The result was population growth in the region, but growth disconnected from rural areas. Two Georgias continued.

Population growth, increased mobility, desegregation, and urban development and expansion took their toll upon the state's cemeteries, both rural and urban. Many rural cemeteries once known within communities were lost due to poor preservation, development, changes in agriculture, and the absence of knowledgeable community members who had moved to the cities or north during the Great Migration or the post WWII era. Formerly rural cemeteries became part of urbanized Georgia as cities expanded into the surrounding countryside in an urban sprawl. In the cities, historic urban cemeteries grew to meet population needs and the new post WWII geography, or were joined by new rival cemeteries operating under a business model, particularly in the Lawn Park style. The automobile and war had, indeed, brought mobility and change to both black and white Georgians. The funeral industry, now a big

"Our Historic Drive Thru Viewing Window"

Herschel Thornton Mortuary, Atlanta

This novel idea for a viewing window "made a big splash locally and nationally when Thornton Mortuary became the first funeral home in the country to offer a drive-thru viewing window." The 1975 forward thinking design by Herschel E. "Chuck" Thornton III sparked interest as well as facilitated viewing by the non mobile viewers and allowed for after hours visitation.[3]

(Photographs) Historic Drive Thru Viewing Window, Thorton Mortuary Website, Post-1975.

business, would be jarred by a stunning exposé in 1963, and a Federal Trade Commission ruling in its wake, which would create new business rules for the industry. During this period, the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1964 would chart a course for cemetery preservation by recognizing old cemeteries as historic landmarks.

MILITARY PRESENCE

This shift to urban living, particularly for a growing veteran population, was reflected in the development of the United States' national cemeteries throughout the 20th century. Accordingly, seven new national cemeteries were created in or near the nation's urban centers between the end of World War I (WWI) and the beginning of WWII.[4] Four national cemeteries, in South Dakota, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Oregon, would be established after WWII, and Public Law 80-526 spelled out the criteria for interment hinging on burial for those who died while serving honorably or who were honorably discharged, U.S. citizens who served in the forces of an ally, and the spouse and minor children of those who met these requirements.[5] During this period, Georgians who wanted to be buried in a military cemetery were buried out-of-state or on foreign soil. The 1970s saw another expansion of the national cemetery system, and the larger cemeteries established during this period are described as "park-like in appearance."[6] Georgia would not be considered by the Veterans Affairs as having a large veteran population until later in the century when a 1994 assessment identified Atlanta as a potential site for a new national cemetery given its aging veteran population. The Georgia National Cemetery in Canton was opened in 2006 to answer that need.

In addition to national cemeteries, the U.S. armed forces have also contributed to the state's cemetery history. Tens of thousands of rural acres were subsumed into new forts and bases during WWI as the American military recognized the climatic advantages of the Sunbelt for training and military operations. Georgia would be home to Camps Gordon, Hancock, and Wheeler located in Atlanta, Augusta, and Macon, respectively, in 1917.[7] Other installations were added in

preparation for WWII. As federal consolidation of military bases occurred throughout the 20th century, camps might be surplussed, a process later known as Base Realignment and Closure. Currently, the three largest army bases in the state are Fort Gordon with 56,000 acres, Fort Benning at 182,000 acres, and Fort Stewart, the largest both in Georgia and the eastern U.S. at 280,000 acres.

Scores of Georgia cemeteries, referred to as pre-federal here to denote existing before federal ownership, are located within these now military tracts. A 1998 survey of Fort Gordon's cemeteries listed about 66 cemeteries, both pre-federal and federal, with graves. About 20 were "alleged" and noted from 1811 onward.[8] The majority were family cemeteries, but the Leitner community was also represented. Fort Benning has 59 cemeteries. Fort Stewart in south Georgia oversees 88 pre-federal cemeteries. Each of these installations contains a wide and rich swath of fairly well-preserved cemetery history from prior to their acquisition, and many have post cemeteries, for the graves of military personnel. Georgia was host to several WWII Prisoner of War (POW) Camps. As a result, there are German and Italian POWs buried at Fort Oglethorpe and the Fort Screven Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Detention Facility.

MID-20-CENTURY AGRARIAN GEORGIA

Federal census records show that Georgia was a rural state in 1940 with 65 percent of its citizens enumerated as rural. Twenty years later, 55 percent of Georgians were counted as urban dwellers, with rural Georgians in the minority. Once considered a mostly rural state, Georgia had entered a new stage in its history. This trend continued through the 1990s, with 63 percent of Georgians living in cities and about 37 percent considered rural residents.[9]

Post WWII agrarian operations were different in their size and composition. The war veterans who took advantage of the GI bill and returned to farming sought modern industrial farming techniques. The transition from small to larger farming operations that started earlier in the century accelerated, as some farmers were able to purchase and combine small farms, replacing labor with improved technology and better farming practices.[10] The application of business growth models to farming also transformed many farms into corporate operations. In 1949, white farmers made up 156,000 households; by 1969, this number dropped to only 41,000.[11] In the 1930s, most African Americans lived on farms. Far fewer would be farming by the mid-century, particularly as mechanized farming took hold. Rural populations continued to dwindle, which directly impacted the need and use of many small family and church cemeteries. As families became less connected with the land, burial sites continued to shift away from the smaller rural locations towards more centralized church, municipal, and commercial forms. Family or historic community cemeteries were frequently abandoned and even forgotten.

DEATH AND MOURNING, CREMATION AND THE MITFORD SERVICE

While the environmental movement of the 1970s would appear to have been a force in driving up the popularity of cremation, other factors were far more influential. There were 200 crematories in the U.S. at the outbreak of WWII, but their popularity declined after the war. The reason for this could be traced to two issues: their associations with the horrors of the Nazi death camps and the postwar need for conspicuous consumption in funerals.[12] The latter

The American Way of Death

Jessica Mitford changed my life. I was 15, working nights and weekends at my father's funeral home, greeting mourners at the door and moving flowers and caskets, when *The American Way of Death* was first published in 1963.

My father bought it and said I should read it. At first it seemed about funereal fashion – the boxes and cosmetics, the unctuous euphemisms of undertakers, their "beautiful memory pictures" and "grief therapy", the laughable sales pitches of cemetery moguls. Mitford took them all to task. In a culture that did not discuss these things, her willingness to do so was new. To an enterprise shrouded in darkness she brought her curiosity, wry humor and wary indignation. So much of what we do when someone dies has been shaped by her.

I went about my father's business. In the middle of a small town in middle America, I've been doing funerals for 25 years. Our enterprise is average in most ways. We do the average number of funerals, our sales are average, and so are our mortgage payments. My neighbors regard me with average ambivalence. I am at once a kind taxman – collecting the duty on broken hearts – and "the last one to let you down," as a local joker puts it. When folks call in the middle of the night, we always answer. The news they call with is never good. And when someone we love dies, we go towards the rough edges of the emotional register, the mountains and deserts of the soul's landscape, the borders of blinking voids of being and ceasing to be, where everything is changed, as verbs that change their tenses in a heartbeat or a breath.

Excerpt from "A Deathly Silence"
The Telegraph[13]

Columbarium

With the increase in cremations, the columbarium has come to represent a prominent addition to the cemetery landscape. Columbaria are built to house cremated remains and are relatively recent additions to Georgia's cemetery landscape. While columbaria have their roots in Roman culture, re-appearance of the columbarium as a modern cemetery structure occurred sometime after the 1870s-1880s. One of the earliest constructed columbaria in the U.S. was the 1898 Odd Fellows Columbarium in San Francisco, California.[14]

While earlier examples likely exist, columbaria did not emerge as a common cemetery structure until the 21st century. Columbaria were added to the Westview Cemetery (Fulton County) in 2005, as part of the Georgia National Cemetery in 2006, and at the First Baptist Church (Hall County) in 2007.[15] Middle Georgia's first columbarium was completed in 2013 at Riverside Cemetery (Bibb County).[16] Columbaria have become a landscape fixture in most institutional and commercial cemeteries, with a growing number appearing in church and municipal facilities. A recent addition to the cremation marketplace is the family columbarium, designed to hold cremation urns in a private facility built on an individual grave plot.[17]

Columbarium, Eternal Hills Memorial Gardens, U.S. 78, Gwinnett County.

became the target of investigative journalist and muckraker Jessica Mitford in her exposé, *The American Way Of Death*, published in 1963. To her, the American funeral had become simply a financial opportunity for funeral directors within a consumer society in which they preyed on grieving people when they were most vulnerable, rather than a reflection of American values and traditions.[18] Considered a hard-hitting critique of the excesses of the American funeral industry at the time, it opened up a national discussion on death and led to Congressional hearings that would lead to regulation of funeral industry businesses practices, specifically pricing. Her book was a best seller and remains a classic on mid-century American burial traditions. One firm created a "cheap and cheerful" coffin in her honor, and those preferring a more bare bones funeral arrangement got a "Mitford service."[19]

Cremation received a boost in popularity for its simplicity and cost after Mitford's book was published. While it made many rethink their traditional burial practices and the cost of burial, the trend toward cremation was further bolstered by the 1960s counterculture that saw cremation as a "hip alternative to the stodgy funeral customs of the 'establishment.'"[20] Between 1970 and 1980, the number of people being cremated in the United States more than doubled. At the turn of the millennium, there were 1,601 crematories in the U.S.[21] In Georgia, the popularity of cremation has increased by an average of 2.3 percent per year since 2010.[22] In 2017, more than 40 percent of all deaths received cremation. Georgia currently ranks as the fourth highest increase in cremations in the U.S., with almost 32 percent of all deaths receiving cremation.

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND DESEGREGATION

During the 1950s and 1960s, many of the Jim Crow era 'separate but equal' laws were declared unconstitutional, but many states still practiced segregation even after the passing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This had consequences for the funeral industry. Historian Suzanne Smith traces the turning point towards desegregation to federal government contracting when, in mid-1963, the federal government no longer racially segregated the military dead.[23] A single contract was awarded to one funeral home contractor at each military base regardless of race.[24] While this led to the breakdown of racial barriers, including those that structured burial practices, "for the funeral industry as a whole, the racial politics of death, which primarily revolved around the question of who buries whom, was far from resolved."[25] This change in federal policy occurred the same year Mitford's book was published, leaving funeral directors and the public they served in either a quandary or a business opportunity, depending on one's perspective, business acumen, or race. For African American funeral directors, the impact of Mitford's book was confounded further as they were in the throes of the Civil Rights Movement and their push for equality as black capitalists within their own industry.[26] These changes occurred as the nation watched high profile, televised funerals such as President John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.'s or learned about "the Civil Rights funerals" of Emmet Till, James Chaney, Mickey Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Malcolm X, Jimmie Lee Jackson, and others.

Desegregation would occur over the following decades at different speeds in different locales; the 1964 Civil Rights Act was the first step with many to follow. The desire to be buried with one's family was likely the deciding factor in one's choice of a burial location. Desegregation is more fully expressed in many of Georgia's later 20th-century cemeteries. While segregated cemeteries were and still are common, many cemeteries are no longer separated by race.

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

Since its founding, Georgia has been almost entirely Euroamerican or African American and Protestant. In the late 1960s, it began to see an influx in new religions and ethnic groups. Unlike the northern or mid-Atlantic states, Georgia did not experience large waves of immigrants in the 19th or 20th centuries from southern Europe, Eastern Europe, or Asia. While Georgia had maintained a small percentage, around 1 percent, of Jewish citizens since its founding, its number of Catholics had also been historically small. This changed due primarily to an influx of residents from Latin America, beginning in the 1950s, and the Caribbean, beginning in the late 1960s. Even by 1980, however, Latin American immigrants only accounted for 1 percent of the population. These immigrants would have little influence on this period but would effect change after the turn of the 21st century.

Death is Big Business. Source: *Ebony* May 1, 1953.

BIG BUSINESS, CONSOLIDATION AND THE FUNERAL RULE

During the mid-20th century, the funeral industry grew from small family operations to big business. In 1940, the national number of funeral director/funeral establishments was estimated at 23,000, with each averaging 62 funerals a year. The cost of a funeral in 1960 averaged about $706, and only about 3.5 percent of bodies were cremated. Today an average funeral costs between $8,000 and $10,000, and about 42 percent of Americans are cremated.[27] As late as 1970, almost all funeral homes were independently owned. Some publicly held national funeral corporations were established in the U.S. as early as the 1960s, and in the early 21st century, only about 14 percent are publicly traded corporations.[28] Most funeral homes remain family owned or independently owned. For many, growth by acquisition fueled a wave of consolidations in the 1980s and 1990s.[29] The mobility of Georgians after WWII may have worked to the benefit of the consolidated death care facility that offered a full service approach within a new environment.

While Americans sought legislative redress for the excesses of the funeral industry after Mitford's exposé, it was slow in coming. More than two decades later, a 1984 Federal Trade Commission ruling – "The Funeral Rule"– established that funeral homes must provide a set price list for all goods and services. This was a huge departure from previous business practices that permitted funeral directors the same freedom to set prices one would expect in any sales-oriented market.[30] For some businesses that owned or had relationships with cemeteries, the cost of plots, monuments, and any services delivered graveside would be part of this price list, providing a measure of transparency to what had been otherwise left to the direction of individual salespersons.

In the mid-20th century, new cemeteries followed the Lawn Park ideal and its descendant, the Memorial Park, in their simplicity and openness. As discussed, national cemeteries in this period would also choose to follow the Lawn Park tradition to encourage a united landscape of commemoration. For business-operated cemeteries, this choice, while time appropriate, may have hinged less on the desirability of their appearance and more on the cost effectiveness they offered from a maintenance perspective.

CEMETERY PRESERVATION

Cities, churches, communities, businesses, families, and individuals were responsible for the care of their cemeteries. When individuals or organizations became disengaged from their burial places, many burial places were abandoned or simply not kept up. Once people lack a direct emotional connection to the interred, they stop visiting and maintaining the grave sites, often leading to their deterioration and eventual abandonment. Many expressed concern for the loss of our past, and cemeteries, with their wealth of cultural information, were at risk. The 1964 NHPA was a catalyst for preservation of historic cemeteries, and played a large role in bringing the significance of historic cemeteries to the attention of the American public. The new act saw the federal government as a prime mover in its establishment of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). In its execution, federal agencies were asked to recognize and inventory the cultural resources they own and to consider the effects of their activities on those resources. Federally funded projects and permitting agencies were similarly involved with the identification and evaluation of resources, such as cemeteries, in terms of defined criteria of historic significance. The cemeteries on Georgia's military installations and those identified within transportation rights-of-way or during urban improvements are preserved in place or through documentation.

MODERN DEATH

After WWII, the funerary industry experienced a period of continued growth within a backdrop of social and economic change. The popularity of cremation increased dramatically and columbaria were introduced to the cemetery landscape. Mitford's 1963 expose contributed to that change when she placed the problems with our deathways at the feet of the impersonal and capitalistic funeral director, who had become a fixture within American death. By mandating honesty with regard to funeral services and goods, the Funeral Rule legislation helped to place some of that control back into the hands of the family. In regard to cemetery design, the Lawn Park and Memorial Park cemetery ideals remained the design standard throughout the 20th century. These modern designs showed simplicity, openness, and unification concepts that spoke to desegregation and its trend toward inclusion and a concern for providing affordable death care for all classes. At the turn of the 21st century, new trends are being seen in death and burials – in particular, a move towards "greener" cemetery practices with unembalmed burials in natural cemeteries, and with the deceased placed in caskets made from materials that decompose. GPS coordinates and tree plantings replace commercial markers as people search for a more natural, less commercialized, and simpler burial.

Bonaventure Cemetery, Catham County, Georgia.

Chapter Seven Summary

KEYS

Many rural cemeteries were lost during this period to poor preservation, pressures from development, changes in land use, and the absence of knowledgeable community members who moved during the Great Migration or for better jobs in the Post World War II era.

The Civil Rights Movement and desegregation altered the composition of Georgia's cemeteries. Desegregation is best expressed in late 20th-century cemeteries.

In the Post World War II era, the funeral industry transformed from one composed almost entirely of small family businesses, into one with many large corporations. The cost of a funeral drastically increased and grief-stricken consumers were charged arbitrary amounts for funerary services.

Jessica Mitford's *The American Way of Death* was an exposé on the funeral industry. The book started national level conversations about the funeral industry and eventually spurred the passage of the Funeral Rule, which required funeral homes to have more pricing transparency.

Mitford's book, along with the environmental movement of the 1970s, boosted the popularity of cremation, which had increased in the first half of the 20th century, only to lose popularity after World War II. Columbaria for cremains would start to be seen in cemeteries in the late 20th century.

The more modern look of the Lawn Park Cemetery and Memorial Garden Cemetery continue to be the favored styles in Georgia today. The clean more open designs of these styles speak to inclusion and equality and the concern to provide an affordable death care for all social classes.

APPLYING CONTEXT – FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

- When examining plots, is there evidence of descendants placing or replacing a marker well after the date of death? If so, how might this reflect or relate to patterns of economic growth in the community? How does this affect the look of the family plot?
- To what degree do burial treatments, markers, or grave goods reflect a specific ethnic heritage in the cemetery? Is there spatial patterning by ethnic heritage? Is there a decrease in ethnic references such as symbols on markers through time as Georgia culture became more homogenized?
- Has the cemetery been abandoned or has it been impacted by encroaching development? How might this relate to the time period of the cemetery and to the population of people who buried their loved ones in the cemetery?

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Honey Creek Woodlands, an example of a green burial ground, contains 70 acres of land owned by the Monastery of the Holy Spirit, Conyers, Rockdale County. Source: Monastery of the Holy Spirit Website.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

Burial of the dead was described at the outset of this narrative in terms of three fundamental actions orchestrated by one's family: preparation of the body in the home, transportation to the grave, and burial in the graveyard. Of these, burial in the graveyard provides the most tangible and constant link to the past. As our history as a nation, region, and state unfolded, the beliefs and attitudes that shaped how those essential tasks were completed changed. Today, bodies are typically prepared for burial in a funeral home and embalmed, a hearse transports the body to the burial site or crematory, and burial or cremation may follow. Families no longer orchestrate the handling of their deceased loved ones, but pay funeral directors to provide those services. This is Modern Death in America. Georgia and the South may have been slightly conservative in adopting modern practices in comparison to California or the Northeast but, by the mid-20th century, was more or less in step with the nation in its acceptance of the burgeoning mortuary industry. This narrative has attempted to show that evolution and to provide a context for those changes.

The structure of the Good Death, which had been the goal of the masses since the medieval period, was put to rest early in the 20th century in "…a great park, devoid of misshapen monuments and other customary signs of earthly death, but filled with towering trees, sweeping lawns, splashing fountains, singing birds, beautiful statuary, cheerful flowers, noble memorial architecture with interiors full of light and color, and redolent of the world's best history and romances."[1] Distance became embedded in the death process. An avoidance of the grim trappings of death, particularly those associated with the Victorians, was valued as forward thinking. While older cemetery styles were still being used, the great cemetery parks – the Lawn Park cemetery, and its descendant, the Memorial Park – were now far more common on the landscape. Death was also managed by a medical team, non-family members who passed the corpse to the funeral directors, severing the familial connections that used to be integral to the process. The mortuary complex industry was full blown by mid-century and would only expand in succeeding decades. Cremation was a logical outcome to this distance as Americans sought an environmentally friendly and more rational way to dispose of corporeal remains in a modern society. Finally, crematories and columbaria joined mausoleums at many of the 20th and 21st-century cemeteries, providing a powerful record of these changes.

As this context shows, the American way of death, though a result of centuries of history and the particular circumstances of our founding and our development, is a living thing. While Georgia remains mostly Protestant in its beliefs, waves of immigrants with different religions have made inroads, reinvigorating and reinforcing our customs, beliefs, and practices. Just as the car created new mobility for Americans, the television brought another form of mobility, allowing President John F. Kennedy's death and funeral into our living rooms. The digital age makes attendance at distant funerals possible, albeit in one's electronic

persona. Significant change has occurred in our healthcare, particularly as patients now make choices. Hospice treatment for the terminally ill has allowed people to come home to die amongst their family and friends, suggesting a limited return to the medieval Good Death. Finally, it is too early to tell if recent events like the global pandemic may have permanently changed funeral and burial traditions, but what is certain is that American views of death and burial practices will continue to evolve.

The development of cemeteries in Georgia has been impacted by a large number of factors, including cultural diversity, a switch from a rural to more urban industrial economy, popular ideology, and political and social movements. An examination of a cemetery within the broader cultural and historical context of Georgia helps the preservation professional evaluate the significance of the cemetery under the objective criteria established by the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which created the NRHP. While there is cultural information embedded in each cemetery, the challenge lies in determining what may make an individual cemetery significant to interpreting and understanding Georgia's history in the context of the NRHP. As a resource type, Georgia's cemeteries are a mosaic of types, styles, and features. Parsing out what makes each generation of cemeteries distinctive is the task of Part Two of this context, while Part Three lays the groundwork for a discussion of significance and evaluating NRHP eligibility.

CAPTURING SECTION TWO
CEMETERY LANDSCAPES

Laurel Grove Cemetery, Chatham County.

(Above) Cedar Creek Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Tattnall County.

INTRODUCTION

Georgia's rich collection of cemeteries spans from the Precontact period to the present and encompasses everything from small family plots on farms or hilltops to elaborate monumental burial landscapes. At some point, these cemeteries have been managed by families, municipalities, churches, community elders, institutions, or corporations, and are constructed in ways that speak to the practical, cultural, and spiritual needs of those that built them. All cemeteries are special places. Nonetheless, some have the ability to not only honor our dead, but to tell larger stories of our past. In order to understand what could make a cemetery significant historically, it first has to be identified, surveyed, and described within a common framework. As Section One of this context was the narrative of Georgia's cemeteries, this section provides a shared vocabulary and methodology to describe cemeteries. Many of the elements described in the next five chapters will help identify and label the character-defining features of a cemetery, and the two case studies demonstrate how to use these character-defining features in a National Register of Historic Places evaluation. Precontact-period cemeteries, which have additional and/or different layers of meaning, significance, and needs, are not covered, as they merit a separate context and discussion of their own.

For the purpose of capturing an accurate description of a cemetery, it is useful to view them as landscapes. The National Park Service defines Cultural Landscapes as "settings that human beings have created in the natural world. They reveal fundamental ties between people and the land," including ties based on our need to "find suitable places to bury our dead." With this in mind, the beginning of Section Two, Chapter 1, presents the elements of a cemetery landscape, grouped into six categories of features that provide a common vocabulary for formal cemetery descriptions and evaluations of significance.

Landscape and Setting describes topographical and locational elements, as well as natural systems, plantings, views and vistas, and constructed water features. Organization and Layout examines cemetery plans, boundaries, circulation patterns, and organization of space within a cemetery. Burials relate to where the deceased are interred, such as graves, mausoleums, and columbaria. Architecture and Built Environment includes markers, buildings, structures, enclosures, memorials, and cenotaphs. Cultural Traditions, for the purposes of this section, discusses items that people leave on or in graves. Archaeological Features describes surface indicators of burials lacking markers.

The next part of Section Two – Chapters 2, 3, and 4 – define the Types and Styles of cemeteries. Types describe the formational processes of cemeteries, while cemetery design styles help to define how they look and the cultural forces that created that look. These concepts will aid the researcher in completing the NRHP evaluation as discussed in Section Three of this context.

The final part of Section Two, Chapter 5, deals with how to identify and survey a cemetery. It begins with effective avenues for researching a cemetery. The next part details recording a cemetery, and the final part discusses cemetery reporting. As a useful companion to Section Two, see Appendix A, Cemetery Markers and Materials, which provides a detailed catalog of the many ways burials are marked and commemorated; and Appendix B, which focuses on Military Markers. Unless specifically cited, the date ranges and suggested time frames presented in Section Two and Appendices A and B are based on the authors' field experiences and represent a starting point for discussion and further research.

CHAPTER ONE

CEMETERY LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS

LANDSCAPE AND SETTING
Natural Systems; Location; Plantings; Views and Vistas; Constructed Features and Utilities

ORGANIZATION AND LAYOUT
Plan; Boundary; Circulation Pattern, Arrangement of Graves, Plots, and Sections

BURIALS
Graves; Mausoleums; Columbaria

ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT
Markers; Buildings and Structures; Enclosures; Memorials and Statuary

CULTURAL TRADITIONS
Offerings and Visitor Tokens

ARCHAEOLOGICAL
Surface Indicators

Marietta National Cemetery, Cobb County.

Cemeteries are landscapes composed of one or more burials and a number of different elements that help define the plan, type, and style of a cemetery. The following symbols are used to represent the key landscape elements of cemeteries:

Natural Environment: The existing, non-cultivated vegetation at a cemetery site.

Location: Placement of cemetery on the landscape. Includes topography.

Plantings: Deliberate placement of ornamental vegetation.

Views and Vistas: Scenic views deliberately created during cemetery design and placement.

Constructed Features and Utilities: Includes stairways, drainage, and retaining walls.

Plan: Overall layout or organization, including sections, plots, graves, and circulation.

Boundary: Defines the perimeter of a cemetery.

Informal Entrance: Informal or secondary entrance to cemetery.

Formal Entrance: Entry point to cemetery with formal gateway.

Circulation: Pattern of roads or paths within a cemetery.

Plots: Deliberate groupings of graves with clear demarcations.

Sections: Larger groupings of graves based on shared ethnic, social, or cultural association.

Graves: How individual burials are arranged in relation to one another.

Mausoleums: Aboveground structure for burial of an individual or family.

Columbaria: Structure providing aboveground space for cremains of unrelated or related persons.

Markers: Items that indicate the presence of a grave.

Cenotaph: Marker that serves to commemorate person/s whose remains are elsewhere.

Buildings: Support the operations of a cemetery, i.e. cemetery office or chapel.

Structures: Support the operations of a cemetery, i.e. a gazebo or bridge.

Enclosures: Define the edges of a grave, section, or plot. Can include fences, copings, or walls.

Memorials/Statuary: Monument to a group of people who have died.

Signage: Signs to indicate sections of a cemetery, road names, or features.

Archaeological Features: Can denote the presence of a marked or unmarked grave.

Offerings and Visitor Tokens: Objects laid or embedded on a grave to show respect.

LANDSCAPE AND SETTING

Cemetery landscapes are created in part by the interaction of natural systems, such as forests, fields, rivers, or streams, within the built cemetery environment. The nature of cemetery construction often meant that these spaces were placed adjacent to waterways or forests. In some instances, cemeteries have not been fully built out, and naturalized areas remain, set aside for future use or serving as a buffer between the cemetery and other spaces.

FORESTED AREAS:

Many cemeteries are located adjacent to existing forested land or contain naturalized areas within their boundaries. The presence of pine trees would indicate a new growth forest, whereas the presence of large hardwoods would represent the potential for an old growth forest. Many cemeteries in rural areas were originally located on cleared land but are now overgrown by vegetation and relatively young trees. An example would be a family cemetery located on the Georgia coast within former agricultural land that is now a timber farm.

Cemetery in Clearing near Natural Forest, Old Bethel Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Butts County.

NATURAL WATER FEATURES (LAKES, SWAMPS, RIVERS, AND CREEKS):

Water systems frequently exist within or around cemeteries and can include smaller waterways, such as Fishing Creek near Memory Hill Cemetery in Milledgeville, or larger rivers, such as the Ocmulgee River, which flows at the base of Rose Hill Cemetery in Macon. The presence of swamp land near cemeteries along the Georgia coast is also common because cemeteries were often constructed in low-lying, unbuildable areas. Cemeteries often have ponds incorporated into their landscape.
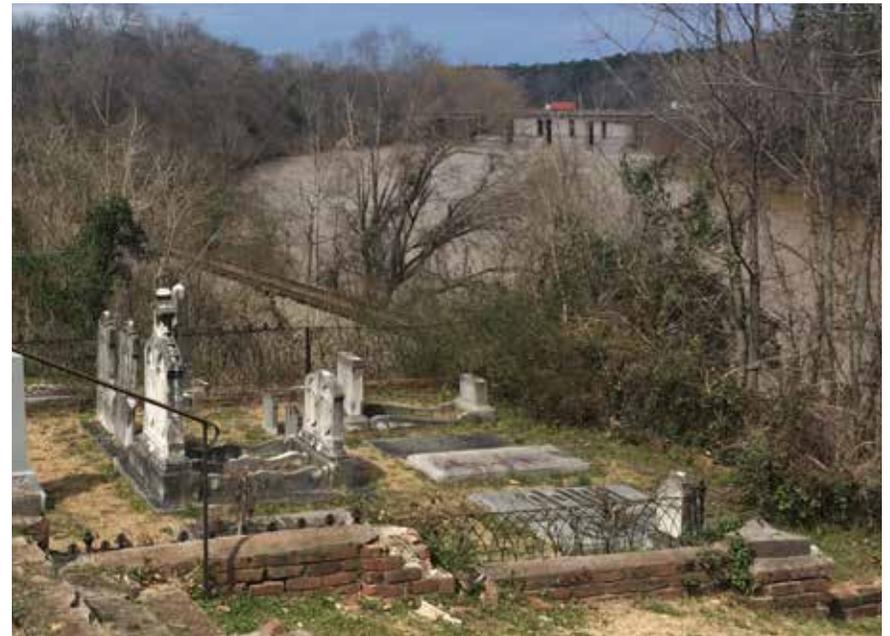
Rose Hill Cemetery on an Embankment Above the Ocmulgee River, Bibb County.

The arrangement and location of cemeteries were, and continue to be, influenced both by topography and by their general location within a community. Often, cemeteries were constructed on what was considered undesirable land or areas that could not support cultivation of a particular product (in a rural setting). Urban examples were typically placed at the perimeter of a town or city. These undesirable lands were often locations that were considered unbuildable. Examples include cemeteries located in floodplains and adjacent to waterways. Cemeteries have also been moved to new locations due to the growth of a community and its changing needs. A cemetery that was once placed on the outskirts of town may eventually be adjacent to residential or commercial areas as the city expands outward from its center over time.

Topography typically influenced cemetery development in one of two ways. If the area was generally flat and accessible, it would provide a good location to build a cemetery. This was most often seen in smaller community and family cemeteries. Where grade change varied greatly and steep slopes were a factor, cemeteries were either designed within the existing contours or were graded to create terraces. The latter helped maximize available land and offered views of the surrounding environment. Some cemeteries were constructed in response to a need from a congregation or community. In these scenarios, minimal change to the natural topography occurred, and burials were located where the land allowed. If a religious organization was given property for a new worship building, the cemetery would be placed nearby regardless of whether the topography was ideal for a cemetery. In almost all cases, the placement of a cemetery was a conscious choice and speaks to the historical context of which the cemetery is a part.
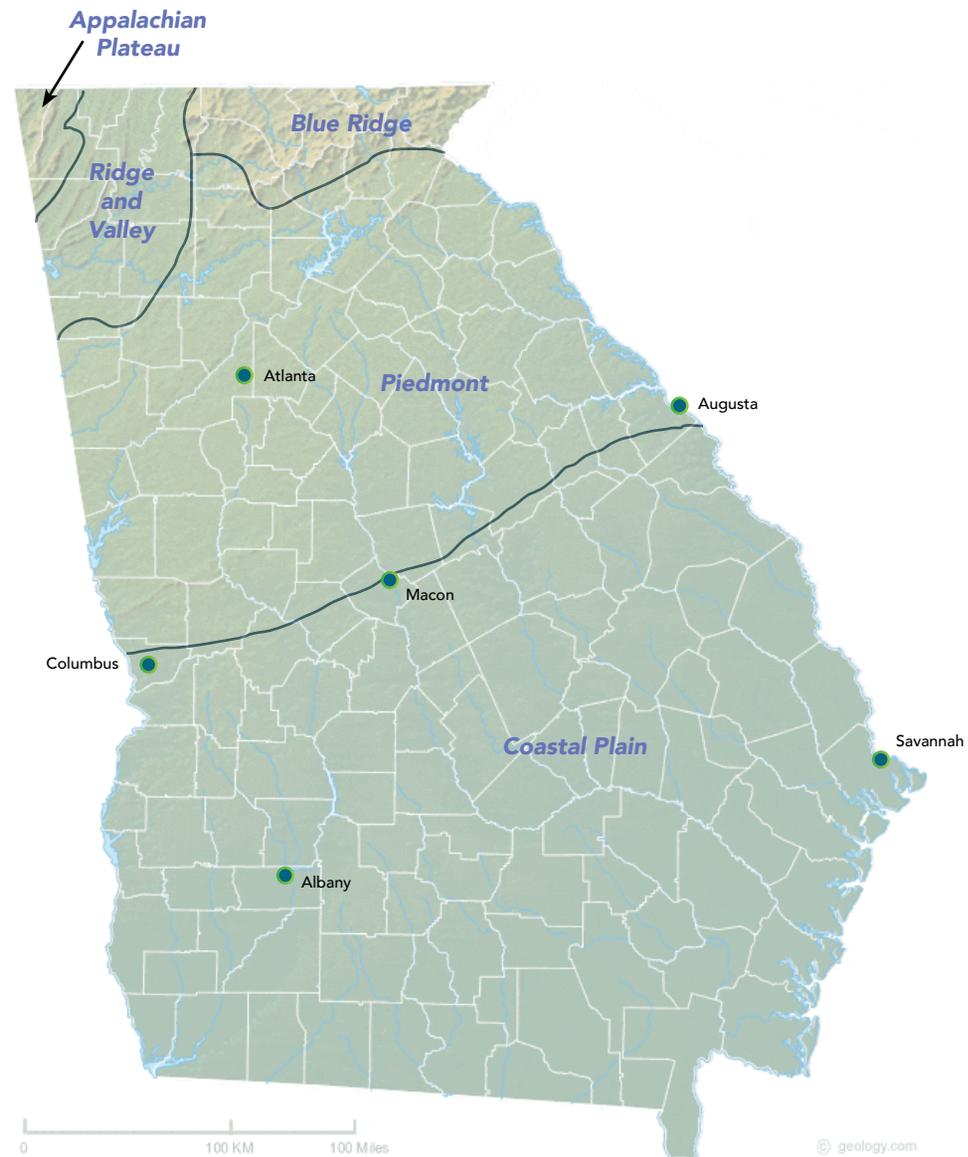
Physiographic Provinces of Georgia.

♣♣ Plantings

Plantings are often prominent features of a cemetery landscape. Depending on the type and size of the cemetery, plantings will either complement the existing space or be a more dominant feature. Modern cemeteries often have very little vegetation and contain only turf and some trees. Historically, 60 percent of the plants used in cemeteries in the American South and Georgia are non-native and were imported in the 19th century from Asia and Europe. Some have thrived, and others have become invasive. The list of potential plants in cemeteries is not exhaustive, and documentation is best supported by historic photography or first-person accounts when possible. Care should be taken to identify any patterns noted in the landscape for future reference.

CULTURAL VEGETATION:

Vegetation can provide an important clue to cultural preferences. Jewish sections of cemeteries have very few, if any, plantings. African American grave sites prominently display a number of traditional plantings, including yucca, hibiscus, mahonia, azaleas, periwinkle, and cedars. Some of these plants were green year-round, which symbolizes eternal life in many cultures. In African American communities, the white blooms of yucca were associated with death (see Section One, Chapter Three). Many cultural plantings include "passalong" plants, such as daffodils and azaleas, that were propagated by multiple generations of the same family and used in cemeteries.

Bonaventure Cemetery is known for its lush azalea plantings and live oaks with Spanish moss, Chatham County.

TREES:

Trees are the most common vertical element in cemeteries, besides gravestones. The species vary, but common examples include Southern magnolia, cedars, oaks, American holly, Eastern red cedar, ginkgo, dogwood, elms, cherries, redbuds, willows, and pecans. These plantings may form patterns on the landscape that can provide valuable clues to design intent or cultural meaning.

Allee:

Cemeteries may have trees planted along roadways in a consistent row on one or both sides of the road.

Grave-Specific Plantings:

Some trees, such as red cedar, may be planted to mark or enhance specific graves. A good indication of this type of planting is a situation where a gravestone has shifted due to the growth of the plant. Typically, these plants will be understory trees or evergreens, such as crepe myrtles, red cedars, or magnolias.

Specimen Trees:

Trees of extraordinary age or size may have been deliberately planted or naturally occurring. The relationship of these trees to their surroundings, and the presence of similar specimens in other areas of the landscape, can indicate that they were planted deliberately.

Blooming Yucca Plants, New Bridge Baptist Cemetery, Hall County.

ORNAMENTAL PLANTINGS AND SHRUBS:

Ornamental plantings and shrubs were used to mark graves as singular specimen plants or to create hedges. Boxwood, yaupon holly, and privet are the most common examples of shrubs. Many cemeteries have little or no understory plantings. Where they do exist, roses, hibiscus, arborvitae, and other common Southern plants will be present. Daylilies and canna lilies are frequently planted in cemeteries as well. Some ornamentals and shrubs are planted within the cradles of the grave themselves, and others are planted at edges of cemetery plots. The most common ornamentals are daffodils, periwinkle, violets, and English ivy. While these plants may sometimes carry a deeper cultural meaning, their use may be purely decorative.

GROUND COVERINGS:

Turf is a common feature in many cemeteries. The type and style of turf ranges depending on the location within Georgia. Common types include Bermuda, centipede, St. Augustine, and tall fescue. Many turf grasses include mixes of clover and wildflowers that have entered the cemetery over time.

There are also places where the ground is exposed either as a deliberate cultural choice (see Section One, Chapter Three) or due to trees shading areas that originally received full sun. Certain groundcovers are also present in cemeteries.

Laurel Grove Cemetery was developed originally with an eye towards retaining the large specimen trees already on the property, Chatham County.

Stone, in various formats, is a grave covering that was introduced in the mid-20th century to replace turf. It was thought to be more maintenance free; however, others may have preferred the aesthetic of stone instead of vegetation in the same way that some preferred swept dirt or sand gravesites. In general, both the presence or complete absence of ground covering, as seen in swept cemeteries, can indicate cultural preferences.

(Left) Swept Graves, School Street Cemetery, Wilkes County. (Below Left) Large Historic Red Cedar Tree. Red cedars were sometimes planted to recall the cedars of Lebanon. Jackson Cemetery, Palmetto, Fulton County. (Below Right) Turf is featured prominently at the Eternal Hills Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

⛰ Views and Vistas

Certain Georgia cemeteries were constructed with views and vistas in mind. Dramatic views and vistas in cemeteries typically take advantage of two different landscape features - hills and long linear paths. In both cases, these include three different perspectives. The first is the view from the surroundings to the burial plot. The second emphasizes the view from the plot to the surroundings, and the third considers the view from within the plot or nearby plots. Finally, a repeating pattern of markers can create views and vistas, as seen in military cemeteries.

A long linear view at Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

The View to Downtown Rome from the Battery Memorial, Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Floyd County.

The side of Myrtle Hill Cemetery facing the Etowah River is known as the "wedding cake side" for its dramatic terraces, Floyd County.

Vistas may be more localized and specific to the plot, such as this view in Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County.

Cemeteries have utility infrastructure that often goes unnoticed. Most common are water systems and stormwater facilities. Ponds can serve the purely functional role of holding runoff, or be incorporated into the designed landscape as an aesthetic feature. Additionally, retaining walls that are associated with the site, rather than a specific plot, are a common element in cemetery landscapes.

UTILITIES:

Larger cemeteries often have a more complex infrastructure, which could even include restrooms, water fountains, and irrigation. In rural areas, potable water is connected to a septic field, and drinking fountains and irrigation are supported by wells. In urban areas, these systems are connected to municipal utilities. Irrigation is the most visible utility. Irrigation control valves will be evident near roadways, and spigots are often scattered throughout the cemetery. Water meters on the edge of the cemetery property are clear indicators of an irrigation or water line system. Larger cemeteries may have additional utilities, including electricity and sanitary sewer, and often will include aboveground power poles. These are modern elements that have been placed in the cemetery to support its active use.

The pond at Decatur City Cemetery serves to hold runoff water and functions as a decorative element, DeKalb County.

STORMWATER AND DRAINAGE:

Smaller cemeteries may lack stormwater infrastructure. In larger cemeteries, roadway infrastructure may be accompanied by curbing and inlets. Inlets may also be located in low areas to capture water. Some cemeteries have gutters constructed of brick or concrete to carry water offsite. Brick or concrete gutter systems tend to be older than more recent curb and gutter installations.

Original Brick Stormwater Gutter, Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Floyd County.

ORGANIZATION AND LAYOUT

The organization and layout of a cemetery can be both practical and aesthetic. If the cemetery has a formal entrance, it likely lies on the most prominent access point. Administrative buildings are typically placed near the front of a cemetery along with community mausoleums, chapels, columbaria, or gallery mausoleums. As many cemeteries grew and were used over a century or more, there tends to be both older sections of burials and newer sections with various types of design elements present and, in some cases, overlaid on top of one another. The diagram below represents ways to think about these elements and their relationships to one another. It is based on Decatur City Cemetery, DeKalb County.

NATURAL SYSTEM

PLOT

CIRCULATION

HARDSCAPE

SECTION

CENOTAPH

SIGNAGE

CIRCULATION

ENTRANCE (FORMAL)

PLANTINGS

MAUSOLEUM

STRUCTURE

MARKER

BUILDINGS

GALLERY/ COLUMBARIUM

R.I.P

MARKER+GRAVE

MEMORIALS

ENTRANCE (INFORMAL)
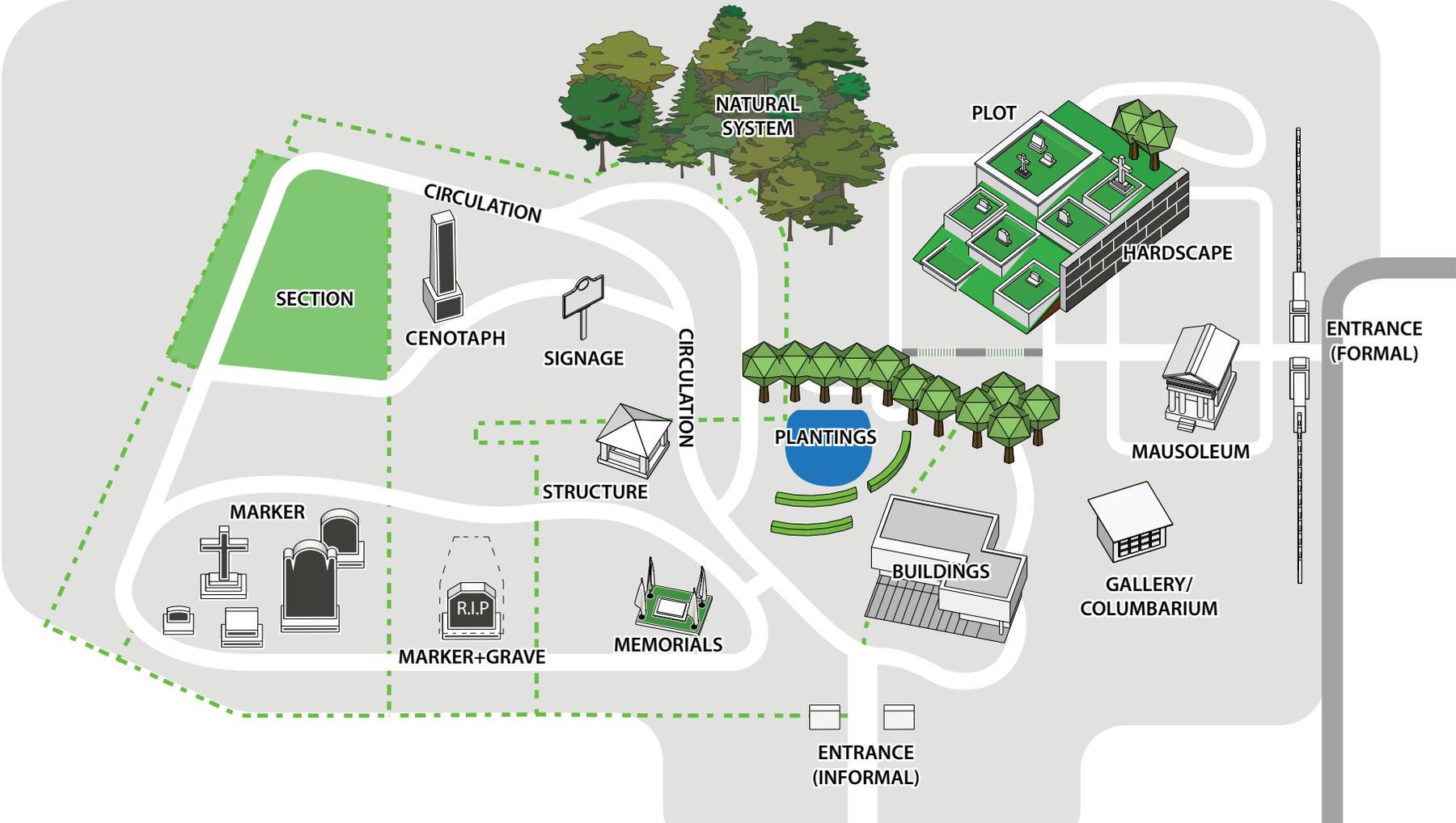
A cemetery's plan refers to the overall organization within a cemetery landscape, particularly as it relates to the arrangement of graves and plots. The plan at a cemetery may be fairly informal, developing slowly over time as new burials are added, or it may be determined in advance and adhered to rigidly. Between these two extremes, there is a large amount of variation. What may begin as an informal plan cemetery may have sections added later that are curvilinear or even regimented. Identifying a cemetery's plan can provide clues to the period and context in which the cemetery was established and used. This context describes the four most common cemetery plans found in Georgia: Informal, Grid, Curvilinear, and Regimented. Most cemeteries will fall into one category, but is is also possible to have different plans in different sections, which likely reflects development over a number of years.

- **Informal Plan** cemeteries lack a defined arrangement of graves and plots.
- **Grid Plan** cemeteries have been laid out with central avenues and other roads and paths intersecting at right angles.
- A **Curvilinear Plan** cemetery has plots, graves, roads, and sections arranged to suit the topography with curving roads.
- **Regimented Plan** cemeteries have a rigid and measured precision to the placement of graves and lack plots and sections.

Informal plans date back to 1733 when the prevailing layout emphasized only the Judeo-Christian tradition of graves oriented east-west. Grid cemeteries became more prevalent in 1783 in Georgia's town planning period. In 1831, the establishment of the Rural Garden Cemetery movement in Massachusetts saw the beginning of curvilinear cemetery plans and in 1865, Georgia's first regimented cemetery, Andersonville National Cemetery, was established.

INFORMAL PLAN

A cemetery with an Informal Plan is one that lacks a defined arrangement of graves. Arrangement can be non-linear and random, or it can be linear but lack any clear burial order. Informal cemeteries often appear linear, resulting from efforts to maximize burial space and maintain the same grave orientation. They are often in the typical Judeo-Christian east-west orientation. By subsequently adding rows in the future, they often end up roughly parallel to the first row, which ensures that previous burials are not disturbed when new ones are added.

Nevertheless, these cemeteries lack a clear plan at their onset or for much of their use. This is evident because additional rows may not follow a defined set of rules on arrangement. Informal plans are commonly associated with Family, Community, Religious, or early Municipal cemeteries.

The Howell Cemetery, Echols County, was established circa 1916 and is an excellent example of a community cemetery with an Informal Plan. The graves are in an east-west orientation, but do not follow a formal plan.
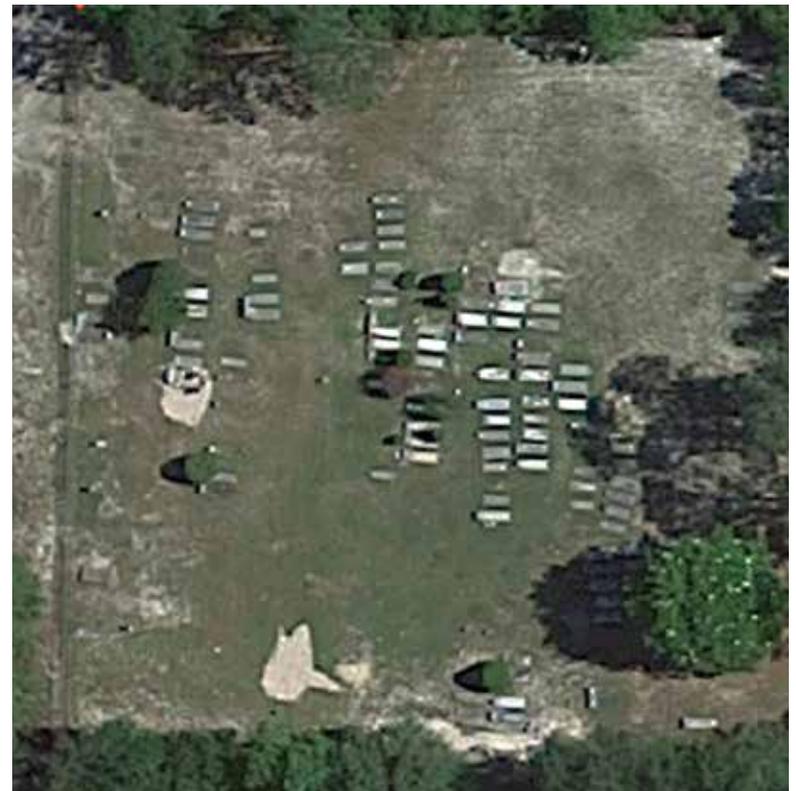
GRID PLAN

Grid Plan cemeteries were built within a square or rectangular plot of land with the grid grounded on a line running through the center of the cemetery, which becomes the central avenue. The Grid Plan typically holds square or rectangular plots organized by grid section and roads intersecting at 90-degree angles. It was used to maximize the use of space for burials. During the 19th century, many municipal cemeteries designed by engineers adopted this form. Grid Plan cemeteries are represented in a number of different types and can be located in rural or urban areas. In addition to maximizing space, the larger number of graves would also maximize revenue for a for-profit cemetery.

Evergreen Cemetery, Bleckley County, features an array of roads that are laid out in right angles to one another and a regular gridded pattern to plots.

CURVILINEAR PLAN

Curvilinear Plan cemeteries have winding circulation patterns and plots or sections that may be arranged in curved sections. These curved roads or paths may follow natural contours. Most popular in the 19th century, Curvilinear Plans do not prioritize space as a commodity; rather, they seek to present a rural, pastoral setting or follow existing site contours. They follow design ideals of the Romantic and Victorian movements. Curvilinear Plan cemeteries can be located in rural or urban contexts and are most often found in 19th-century Municipal or Corporate cemeteries.

(Above Left) Aerial View of Riverside and Rose Hill Cemeteries Showcasing a Curvilinear Plan in Roads and in Some Plots, Macon, Bibb County.

⬚ Plan (continued)

REGIMENTED PLAN

The Regimented Plan features regularly spaced graves in orderly rows. Distance between graves and markers is consistent throughout the cemetery. Typically, headstone markers are identical in form. The Regimented Plan is most often seen in Institutional or Military cemetery types. These differ from an Informal and Grid Plan cemetery in that a Regimented Plan adheres to measured, identical spacing between graves and markers.

Andersonville National Cemetery, Sumter and Macon Counties, Features Uniformly Spaced Graves and Rows.

Boundary refers to the outer periphery of the entire cemetery and not fencing or walls delineating individual graves or plots. Some cemeteries have formal boundaries. Others may have historically had a wall or fence that has been removed or lost over time. In rural areas, enclosures were particularly critical to keep animals out of the cemetery and to protect the cemetery from activities such as farming. In urban areas, enclosures are used for privacy, security, and to distinguish the space from the street using a vertical element, such as a fence or wall. The following is a general overview of the enclosure types often encountered in Georgia, classified according to material.

ENCLOSURES

Metal
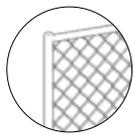
CHAIN LINK FENCE

- Most utilitarian and available in the U.S. around 1900.
- Lack of powder coating may indicate age.

IRON RAILING

- Wrought iron traditionally forged by hand, later by machine.
- Cast iron poured. Popular in mid to late 19th and early 20th centuries.

WOVEN WIRE FENCE

- Popular in later 19th and earlier 20th centuries.
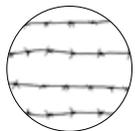
BARBED WIRE FENCE

- Common in agricultural settings.

Masonry

STONE WALL

- Often granite or other stone.
- Can be mortar set or dry stacked.

BRICK WALL

- Solid or lattice design.
- Age can be determined by type of brick and method of construction.
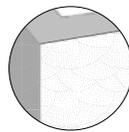
STUCCO WALL

- May be tabby in coastal areas.
- Often overlaid on brick.

Wood

WOODEN FENCE

- Examples include picket, split rail, privacy panel and 2-, 3-, or 4-board fences.

Masonry and Metal

PIER AND PANEL FENCE

- Stone or brick piers at consistent intervals.
- Connected with metal pickets.
- Made of iron, steel, or aluminum.

Boundary (continued)

ENTRANCES

While many cemeteries have some kind of entrance through their enclosure, the type and size of the entrance varies depending on the type and style of cemetery. When present, these entrances can be divided into two categories: formal and informal.

Informal Entrances

- Informal entrances are pragmatic and constructed primarily for access and protection, not for display.
- Informal entrances may have a gate to restrict access, which can be as simple as an opening in an enclosure.
- Informal entrances may only be wide enough for pedestrians.
- Gates at informal entrances most often consist of a chain and post gate, a metal farm gate, simple stone entry, basic wooden gate, or a chain link gate.

(Top) A chain link gate serves as an informal entrance at the Clay Cemetery, DeKalb County. (Bottom) Although attractive and substantial, this informal entrance lacks the monumental public facade of a formal entrance. Chupp Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Formal Entrances

- Formal entrances are constructed primarily for display and to restrict access. They generally project a specific design objective.
- Larger cemeteries often have more elaborate entrances supported by walls, iron gates, and arched entries.
- Formal entrances may include a keystone or entablature denoting the date established and name of the particular cemetery.
- Larger cemeteries with formal entrances will often have secondary access points either parallel to the main entrance or along a different block. These secondary entrances will be designated for vehicular or pedestrian use and are often locked or inaccessible for security purposes. They may also connect to service roads and facilities within the cemeteries.

(Left) Oakland Cemetery Formal Entrance, Fulton County. (Right) Formal Entrance at Marietta National Military Cemetery, Cobb County.

Many smaller cemeteries lack formal infrastructure such as roads or sidewalks. Larger cemeteries that have a consistent burial layout will generally have a vehicular roadway for visitors, funeral processions, and service vehicles. It is less common for a cemetery to contain pedestrian circulation systems. In larger cemeteries where there is a more sophisticated organizational pattern, sidewalks and paths create a hierarchy of access to cemetery plots.

VEHICULAR CIRCULATION

Depending on the size and layout of the cemetery, there may be a single road or series of roadways. Roadway width can be indicative of age. Historic roads are often narrower and will show signs of retrofit. The roadways are often only wide enough for one car width and can range from 8 to 16 feet in width. In cemeteries where there are multiple road systems, narrow paths would indicate a minor road, whereas wider drives would signal a primary travelway. Asphalt is the most common material today; however, until the mid-19th century, cemetery roads were constructed of dirt, brick, gravel, or cobblestone. Asphalt and concrete became much more popular after the 1930s. These new materials would often be overlaid onto existing roadways rather than a complete road replacement. In many cemeteries, the roadway doubles as a pedestrian path due to few cars and low speeds. Roads in cemeteries generally fall into two categories - linear and curvilinear.

LINEAR
Linwood Cemetery, Muscogee County.

CURVILINEAR
Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.
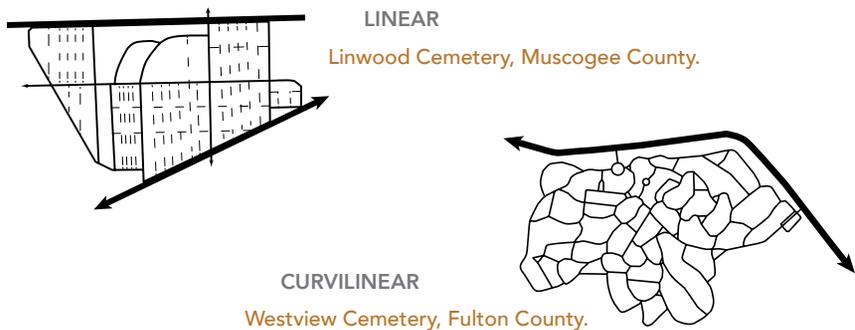
In addition to public roads in a cemetery, there may also be roads set aside as service roads. In larger cemeteries, service roads provide a discrete passage for cemetery employees during the cemetery maintenance process and are often designated as employee only.
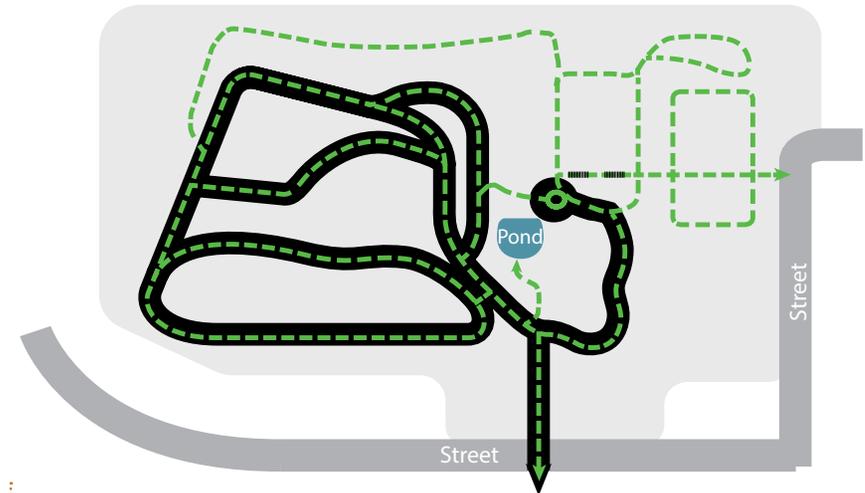
- - - - - PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION

▬▬▬ VEHICULAR CIRCULATION

Decatur City Cemetery, DeKalb County.

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PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION

Sidewalks and pedestrian paths have multiple construction methods: concrete, exposed aggregate, brick, concrete hexagonal pavers, oyster shell (coastal areas only), dirt, and/or grass. In a designed cemetery landscape, grass paths may be used where hardscape materials would detract from the aesthetic experience of the user. Paths are typically designated by wayfinding signage. Most designed paths can provide a visual clue about which corridors may be heavily used by pedestrians. In smaller cemeteries and those without a formal design, simple dirt paths are also common. In areas were topography is a challenge for accessibility, stairs will often be present.

Arrangement of Graves, Plots, and Sections

Many cemeteries will not have a designed layout or arrangement. Usually, larger cemeteries will have a formal layout of a specific pattern at the time of construction. These specific patterns or arrangements may be designed to work with the topography of the site, to maximize space, to create visual interest, or to convey a specific cultural ideal. The arrangement of grave markers in relation to immediately adjacent markers, both inside and outside of plots, as well as their relation to large groupings of markers comprising sections, is an important characteristic of a cemetery. Plots and sections, often set apart with hardscaping or enclosure divisions, help to define the cemetery's overall character and feeling. All of these things, when considered together, can tell us when, how, and by whom a cemetery developed.

GRAVES

Graves can appear individually within a cemetery or in groupings. As groupings, there are four arrangement variations that occur frequently, either within the context of an individual plot, or within the context of the entire cemetery. These include irregular, familial, linear, and circular. Understanding these arrangements is an important to identifying the style and plan of a cemetery.

- Irregular: Burials with no consistent pattern, which were added at varying times, in available spaces, within a plot or throughout a cemetery.
- Familial: Gravestone groupings can represent single or multiple generations of a family. These can be grouped together in spatially defined plots, or related by immediate proximity.
- Linear: Graves can be arranged in lines. Linear layouts are used to maximize available space, often resulting in rows of gravestones.
- Circular: A less common form of gravestone arrangement, these graves are arranged in a circle.

PLOTS

Within cemeteries, graves and grave groupings may have visible demarcations created by enclosures. These are known as plots and can accommodate the burial of a number of individuals, often a family. Plots can be enclosed by walls, fences, hedges, and copings, but sometimes plot boundaries are not obviously marked.

- Walls: Walls can either be free standing or gravity retaining. Brick and stone are common material types.
- Fences: Fences are generally in place to either separate the graves physically from surrounding areas for protection, such as near a pasture to keep livestock from roaming inside; for decorative purposes; or to signify ownership.
- Hedges: Plots can be made using hedges to create an enclosure. Japanese privet and boxwood are common examples.
- Coping: Coping is a small curb rising slightly above ground level used to designate burial plots. Common materials include stone, brick, or concrete.

SECTIONS

Within larger cemeteries, there are often larger groupings of graves and plots based on their association. These include the following categories: religious, institutional, military, ethnic, perpetual care, and other.

- Religious: Outside of church cemeteries, larger cemeteries often have designated areas for particular religious groups. Jewish sections are common and are designated with different markers, grave goods, signage, or with an enclosure.
- Institutional: These groups can include those associated with educational institutions, orphanages, or fraternal organizations.
- Military: Portions of larger cemeteries are reserved for military personnel. In Georgia, Confederate sections are most common.
- Ethnic: Some cemeteries were historically segregated by ethnicity, either by choice, social convention, or law. These might include sections for African Americans or Chinese Americans, for example.
- Perpetual Care: Sections are designated as perpetual care meaning that a financial trust has been set aside in perpetuity to provide for the cemetery's care.
- Other: Sections may be set aside within a larger cemetery for strangers, paupers (potter's field), children, or victims of an epidemic or natural disaster.

BURIALS

For the purpose of this context, a grave refers to a place of burial for a dead body, in an excavated hole below ground, which is either unmarked or marked. The type of grave is determined by the number of individuals contained within a single excavated hole.

INDIVIDUAL GRAVE

The most common type of burial in historic cemeteries, these graves hold a single individual. They can be identified by the presence of one or more of the following:

- Headstones.
- Footstones.
- Curbing.
- Grave covers.

Individual Grave, Timber Ridge Baptist Church Cemetery, Hall County.

MASS GRAVE

Mass graves hold multiple individuals interred at the same time. They usually have a single marker with coping or fencing defining the margins of the grave. Examples include:

- Victims of natural disaster, conflict, or epidemic.
- Remains from a charnel house.
- Remains exhumed and reburied.

SHARED GRAVE

Shared graves contain two or more people buried in the same pit. The individuals may be stacked or lie side by side. They are not necessarily interred at the same time. Examples include:

- Couples.
- Mother and child.
- Single grave for family members interred over time.
- Deceased children from one family.

(Left) Shared Grave, Decatur Cemetery, DeKalb County. (Right) This mass grave contains remains of bodies studied at the Old Medical College of Georgia. Cedar Grove Cemetery, Richmond County.

Mausoleums

A mausoleum is an aboveground burial structure. Early mausoleums were built of traditional materials, were highly aesthetic with a great deal of craftsmanship, and had controlled access through a door. Open-vault mausoleums offered aboveground burial space as well, but access was from the outside, not an interior walkway as was typical of traditional mausoleums. During the 20th century, some cemeteries in Georgia began constructing "public" or "community" mausoleums, often in the form of an outdoor gallery. These provided burial space that was available for anyone to purchase. These spaces are easier to maintain, provide easier access for visitation, and have served as civic facilities.

TRADITIONAL MAUSOLEUM

- Aboveground with doors that open to indoor central walkways.
- Niches along the walls for non-cremated remains. Can house the remains of one or more individuals. Families are the most prevalent with each member having their designated burial niche.
- Mausoleums belowground often called "tombs."
  - Staircases descend to the access door.
  - Subsurface entryways sometimes filled in for security or safety.
- Popular from mid-1700s through today.

Traditional Family Mausoleum, Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Traditional Family Mausoleum, Douglas City Cemetery, Coffee County.

OPEN-VAULT MAUSOLEUM

- Aboveground with the access panel on the outside of the building for interring non-cremated remains.
- Modern 20th-century forms tend to favor the open-vault design.

Open-Vault Family Mausoleum, Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Open-Vault Individual Mausoleum, Melwood Cemetery, DeKalb County.

GALLERY AND COMMUNITY MAUSOLEUMS

- Contain multiple niches for inhumations.
- Open-vault gallery mausoleums are freestanding walls, often located outside.
- Niche walls may also form more complex buildings or be inside of other buildings. Buildings dedicated to interior mausoleum space for unrelated individuals are known as community mausoleums.
- Gallery and community mausoleums date to the 20th century in Georgia.
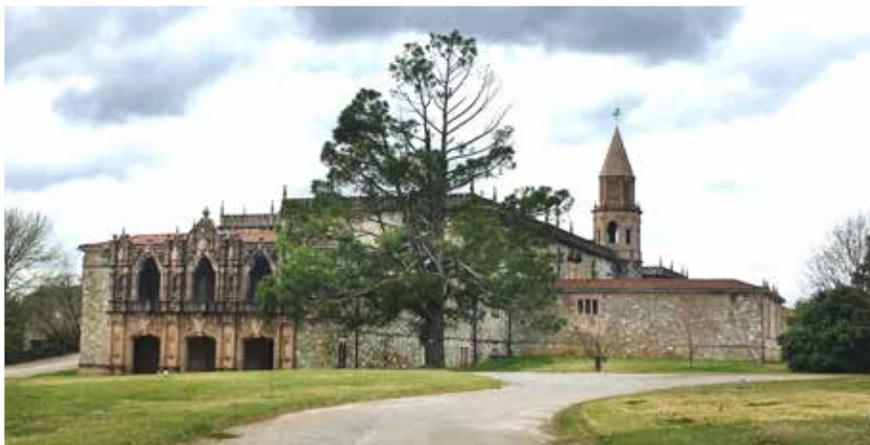
(Top) Gallery Mausoleum at Eternal Hills Cemetery, Gwinnett County. (Bottom) The Westview Cemetery community mausoleum, which is an elaborate examaple, has gallery mausoleums inside the building. Fulton County.

HILLSIDE TOMB

- Built into the side of a hill in order to blend in with the landscape. Most common north of the Fall Line.
- Often built in dramatic or prominent locations with views.
- Common in the mid- to late 19th century.

BARREL VAULT BRICK MAUSOLEUMS

- Barrel-shaped vaults are most common in coastal Georgia.
- Sometimes they were designed to be opened only once and other times they were designed to be reused.
- Popular in the 18th to mid-19th centuries.

(Left) Dr. Robert Battey's hillside tomb atop Myrtle Hill was placed to be visible from downtown Rome. Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Floyd County. (Right) Barrel Vault Brick Mausoleum, Colonial Park Cemetery, Chatham County.

Brick Barrel Vault. The brick work is contiguous with, or a separate brickwork component from the underlying vault. Tabernacle Methodist Church Cemetery, Washington County.

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Columbaria

Ashes of cremated individuals are placed in an urn and stored within niches or recesses in a room or building above ground called a columbaria. These can be located inside a building, on a freestanding outdoor structure that holds many non-related individuals, or on a smaller columbaria dedicated to several, usually related individuals.

COLUMBARIA

- Communal columbaria are located outside in a freestanding structure, on an exterior wall of a building, or inside a community mausoleum building.
- Niches hold urns.

This columbaria can hold up to 32 individuals. Eternal Hills Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

FAMILY COLUMBARIUM

- Typically used by a single family.
- Often constructed as part of a family plot containing non-cremated burials.

Single Family Columbaria, Eternal Hills Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Grave markers are the most recognizable feature of a cemetery landscape. Although often called monuments in the funerary business, for this context they all will be generally referred to as markers. Grave markers can be formal – created by a professional, typically as part of an industry – or vernacular (informal), including found or repurposed items; they can also be the work of an individual or craftsman not connected to an industry. **Appendix A - Cemetery Markers and Materials** showcases the myriad of shapes and decorations found on markers in Georgia's cemeteries.

INDIVIDUAL MARKER

Designed to memorialize and mark the burial site of a single individual. They often consist of two components:

- Headstone - marks the head of a grave. They typically serve as the primary marker; provide information, including the names, titles, birth and death dates; and exhibit symbols, epitaphs, and other decorations.
- Footstone - marks the foot of a grave. Footstones provide supplemental spatial and personal information about the occupant; are frequently smaller and less ornate than the headstone; and serve to identify each individual in settings where individual headstones are not used, such as with family and group monuments.

A Headstone and Footstone Marking the Grave of a Single Individual, Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.

SHARED MARKER

Identify and memorialize multiple individuals. They imply a social bond between individuals, such as marriage, parentage, or siblings, and are commonly employed by families and religious, military, or fraternal organizations. They often are larger and more prominent than individual markers.

Shared Markers in a Family Plot, Melwood Cemetery, DeKalb County.

CENOTAPH

Commemorates people whose remains are located away from the burial site. Cenotaphs can be used to memorialize individuals or groups. They frequently honor those lost at sea, military units, lost graves, or victims of a mass disaster.

Military personnel lost at sea are common recipients of cenotaph markers. Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Markers (continued)

FORMAL MARKERS

Formal markers are those that were made within a commercial context. They are diverse in material and form and can be enhanced with a number of features and accessories.

(Left) A Formal Marker with Urns and Photograph, Colquitt City Cemetery, Miller County. (Below Left) Iron Tablet Marker with a Patent Date of 1887, Riverview Cemetery, Muscogee County. (Below Right) A Formal Ledger Marker with Fleur Cross Decoration, Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Bibb County.

INFORMAL MARKERS (VERNACULAR)

Informal grave markers include modified and unmodified everyday objects that have been drafted into use as markers. For some communities, the vernacular marker provides a means of expressing ideas that are not conveyed by more mainstream monuments.[1] Recognition and interpretation of a folk marker frequently entails an understanding of local community cemetery traditions.

(Top) A Mounded Ledger Grave with Embedded Shells, Smyrna Presbyterian Cemetery, Wilkes, County. (Below Left) Vernacular Marker at Douglas City Cemetery, Coffee County. (Below Right) A ship's wheel marks a grave in St. Andrew's Cemetery, McIntosh County.

Georgia's cemeteries often feature a wide variety of buildings and structures that support the operation and use of the cemetery or enhance the visitor's experience. These buildings do not include those associated with burials such as Community Mausoleums or Columbaria.

GATEHOUSES

Gatehouses are located near the front entrance of larger cemeteries to monitor visitors and assist in funeral processions. They are sometimes incorporated into an entrance gate or attached to the cemetery office. New cemeteries often do not have these as part of the cemetery complex.

CHAPELS

Larger cemeteries may incorporate a chapel on-site. This was a common feature in many larger Northern cemeteries such as Mt. Auburn in Massachusetts or Green-wood in New York, but it was rare in Georgia. Cemeteries dating to the mid-20th century are common locations for these facilities. Westview Cemetery in Fulton County is a good example.

Gatehouse, Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

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ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS

These buildings provide space for on-site staff to oversee cemetery operations. A single building can serve one function or many, such as being an office and a visitor center, or a chapel and a funeral home. Examples of administrative buildings include offices, funeral homes, and visitor centers. A few Georgia cemeteries have a visitor center, such as Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta or Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah. The visitor center exists to support guests who are primarily visiting for non-funerary purposes, such as recreation or tourism. The competitive nature of the funerary business has led to close collaboration between cemeteries and funeral homes. In some instances, funeral homes are located on-site; however, this is a modern trend from the second half of the 20th century and was not seen historically.

Administration Building, Bell Tower, Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

OPEN AIR STRUCTURES

Cemeteries can include open-air structures such as gazebos and pavilions that can accommodate small groups of people or individuals for reflection or even memorial services.

SERVICE BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

Utilitarian support structures house equipment for moderately-sized and large cemeteries. Later buildings are often built of concrete block and are simple in style and design, whereas their historical counterparts may have been constructed of brick and also served as a carriage house or boiler room. These buildings were typically located near the rear of the facility. Georgia cemeteries after 1931 may have a crematoria on site, such as the Georgia Memorial Park Funeral Home and Cemetery, Cobb County.

(Left) Open Air Structure for Services, Marietta National Cemetery, Cobb County.
(Right) Visitor Information Gazebo, Memory Hill, Baldwin County.

GREENHOUSES

Greenhouses were rare with the exception of larger public cemeteries. These may have been complex, including an internal heating system, or as simple as a hot house partially submerged in the ground. They served a dual function: plant propagation for staff installation and opportunities for visitors to purchase plants for graves. Like their other service structure counterparts, they are frequently located near the rear of a cemetery.

SPOIL PILES

Remnants of plants, soils, and grave construction were often located adjacent to service buildings. This material was actively maintained in preparation for new burials. This was also the location where newer materials were stored prior to installation.

(Left) Service Building, Memory Hill, Baldwin County. (Right) Spoil Pile at Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

ENCLOSURES

Enclosures around graves or plots provide protection and decoration. They also are used to designate plot ownership. Typical forms include low copings, fences, walls, berms, or even hedges. Like markers, enclosures can be formal (commercially purchased) or can be vernacular in nature, made from common, everyday items. Natural items such as plantings or dirt berms are also commonly seen in either formal or informal circumstances.

Curbs

Curbs are designed to emphasize the margins of a grave or a plot, but still allow physical and visual access.

- Set low into the ground.
- Frame the grave on three or four sides.
- Made from durable materials, such as marble or granite that fasten together, or fashioned from concrete.
- Popular through the Victorian era of the mid-19th century (1837-1901) to the present.

Marble Curbing Emphasizes a Grave, Murrayville Cemetery, Hall County.

Edging

Edging refers to groups of small independent objects, usually of the same material, used to frame a grave or a plot.

- Rocks, bricks, seashells, bottles, and garden border blocks are among the more common materials used.
- Prevalent throughout the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries.

White Rocks Used as Edging to Define a Grave, Westview Cemetery, Richmond County.

Cradles

These are named for their resemblance to a baby's bed, although some look less like a cradle and more like an adult bed, hence the alternate term, bedsteads.

- Includes a "headboard" and "footboard."
- Popular during the Victorian era of the mid-19th century (1837-1901). Fell out of fashion in the early 20th century.

Two Side-by-Side Cradle Enclosures in Timber Ridge Baptist Church Cemetery, Hall County.

⊞ Enclosures (continued)

FENCING

Some grave surface structures are designed to enclose the grave or plot on all four sides. The fence allows visual access but restricts physical movement across the grave. Iron fences can be difficult to date accurately because they may have been reused, or people may have chosen an older style due to personal preference. It is likely that there were more metal cemetery fences prior to the scrap metal drives of World War II, when many were gathered up and melted down to contribute to the war effort. Most iron fences were ordered from out-of-state manufacturers such as Stewart Ironworks Company, Cincinnati Iron Fence Company, or Sears, Roebuck and Company. (See fencing highlight on page 100).

Wrought Iron
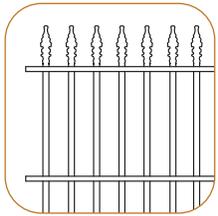
- Oldest type of metal fence made of malleable iron originally formed by blacksmiths. Since the early 20th century, "wrought iron" fencing has typically been made from steel instead of iron.
- Popular during the late 18th to early 19th century, these fences often featured classical, as well as "C" and "S" designs.

Bath Presbyterian Cemetery, Richmond County.

Wrought Iron with Cast Iron
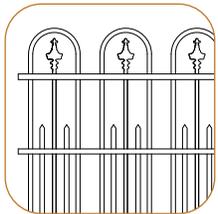
- Adding cast iron embellishments to wrought iron fencing was popular beginning in the early 19th century. The more brittle cast iron could be welded to stronger wrought iron. Finial points were often added to fence bars. Decorative elements, such as angels or plants, were sometimes welded onto gates.

Wrightsboro Quaker Cemetery, McDuffie County.

Cast Iron
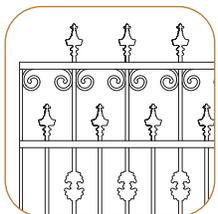
- Fully cast iron fences were the most popular in mid- to later 19th century, with many having very elaborate designs.
- Many different designs were available as stock or custom, and ordering from catalogs was popular. The cast iron fences and gates often contained a prominent mark from the foundry that made them.

Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County.

FENCING (CONTINUED)

Gas Pipe with Cast Iron
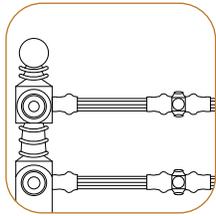
- This fence type, which is made from iron gas pipes, was popular in the 19th century during the Victorian era (1837-1901).
- Posts might be iron, brick, stone, or concrete.
- Often featured chains and cast iron embellishments such as urns or lyres.

Savannah Catholic Cemetery, Chatham County.
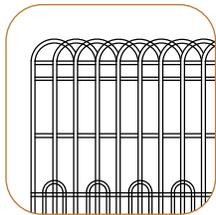
Woven Wire

- Woven wire fencing was popular in the later 19th century and was a precursor to modern chain link fencing.
- Less expensive than cast iron, but also less durable.

Linwood Cemetery, Muscogee County.
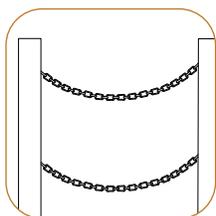
Chain and Post

- Fences were made with chain and post materials at hand. Posts may have been constructed from wood, metal, concrete, or even fieldstones.

Illustrations Adapted from Drawings by the Chicora Foundation Inc. "Cemetery Ironwork."
Source: Chicora Foundation Website

Old Bethel Cemetery, Butts County.

Enclosures (continued)

WALLS, BERMS, AND HEDGES

Walls, berms, and hedges are also used to separate graves or plots.

Grave/Plot Walls

- Heavy constructions made of durable materials, including stone, bricks, logs, or cinderblock.
- Generally, frame on all four sides and can include steps or openings.

Berms

- Low, linear earthen mounds that frame a grave on all four sides.
- More common around plots than individual graves.

Hedges

- Plants that have grown tightly together to create a wall surrounding the grave.
- Used to restrict physical movement across the grave.

(Top) A Grave Wall on a Single Grave, New Haven Cemetery, Crawford County.
(Bottom) Plot Walls at Pinewood Cemetery, Troup County.

(Top) Berms to the Right of the Graves. School Street Cemetery, Wilkes County.
(Bottom) Hedging on a plot at Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

MEMORIALS AND STATUARY

Memorials are a common feature of mid-sized to larger cemeteries. They typically consist of a base and a plaque or engraving specifying who is being memorialized; they can also include a statue or obelisk. Memorials are often found in military sections of larger cemeteries, or commemorating groups of people buried in a specific section of the cemetery, such as a potter's field.

Memorial Recognizing the Unmarked Graves in Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

Obelisk at Oakland Cemetery Dedicated to "Our Confederate Dead," Fulton County.

Classical Statue in St. Andrew's Cemetery in Darien, Glynn County, "Here Rest Til Roll Call the Men of Gettysburg."

Offerings are objects that are laid on or embedded in the surface of the grave. They are designed to enhance the symbolic and decorative aspects of the grave and enhance the viewer's understanding to the decedent. In some communities, they include objects left to protect or appease the dead. Visitor tokens are small offerings left by by people who visit a grave to show that there was a visitor and to denote respect.

BOTTLES

- Medicine bottles were sometimes emptied into the grave to provide aid to the dead.[2] This is often tied to African Amerian traditions.
- A folk tradition shared by a number of cultures is to leave a spirit bottle symbolizing a drink shared with a departed friend.
- Used as flower vases and also left for other personal reasons.

INCENSE STAND/BURNER/FLAME POT

- Incense and other burned offerings are important components of many Asian and Middle Eastern commemorations. Stands, burners, and pots are often left at the gravesite for these rituals.

(Left) Empty Whiskey Bottles on a Grave at Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County. (Right) Family members have burned incense in the built-in incense burner to honor this husband and wife. Melwood Cemetery, DeKalb County.

RELIGIOUS ITEMS

- Religious objects including medallions, Bibles, and small crosses are left to emphasize the spiritual link with the deceased.

PERSONAL ITEMS

- In some communities, such as the Gullah Geechee, personal objects, including tools, or those last used by the dead, were commonly left to provide the spirit with things they needed in the next world and to deter the spirit from returning to the world of the living.[3] Tokens left by visitors may also be observed as a grave offering.

(Left) Rosaries are frequently left on Catholic interments. Oak Grove Cemetery, Camden County. (Middle and Right) Personal items, such as tools, are embedded into the concrete marker of "Super Dave." East Porterdale Cemetery, Muscogee County.

SHELLS

- Shells are not only decorative, but their white color and spiral whorls are important mortuary symbols in some African American and American Indian communities.
- Among more Anglo American communities, shells symbolize harmony, journeys, and pilgrimages.[4]
- Shells are commonly left on top of gravestones as a visitor token. Over time frequent depositing of shells may result in mounds at the gravesite.

Several conch shells have been left on this early 20th-century grave. Laurel Grove Cemetery, Chatham County.

BOOKS/LETTERS

- Books and letters, usually addressed to the dead, provide a cathartic link between the dead and the living.

SHINY OBJECTS

- Glass, glazed pottery, metal, and other shiny objects are sometimes left on a grave. This is a tradition that is followed in many rural African American communities.
- When struck by sunlight, the shimmer is believed to provide the spirit with a pathway to the land of the dead.[5]
- Shiny objects were also believed to attract malevolent spirits and distract them from the soul of the departed.

(Left) This letter was left for a little girl's father on Father's Day. Catholic Cemetery, Chatham County. (Right) These ceramic and glass fragments exposed on the surface of a late 19th- early 20th-century grave may have symbolically served as a doorway between worlds. Chatham County.

TOYS/FIGURINES/MEMORABILIA

- Toys and figurines added to communicate aspects of the individual's age, interests, and personality.
- Often found on the graves of children.

(Left) Several Toys Left on a Child's Grave, Dorchester Cemetery, Liberty County. (Right) Georgia Bulldogs Bench Marker, St Andrews Cemetery, McIntosh County.

VASES/POTS/STATUARY

- Flowers and potted plants are often left at the gravesite to show that the individual has not been forgotten.
- Containers holding live or imitation flowers and potted plants are common grave objects found around the world. These may be made from glass, ceramic, plastic, metal, stone, or other materials.
- Most tend to be located at or near the headstone.
- Statues are sometimes added to the grave following initial interment.
- Vernacular forms may be handmade or designed for use as grave art.

(Left and Right) Along with vases and pots of real and artificial flowers, these two large concrete angels and a smaller angel were left at nearby graves. Mt. Hope A.M.E. Church Cemetery, Bibb County.

Offerings and Visitors Tokens (continued)

PEBBLES AND SHELLS

- The tradition of leaving a pebble at the grave of a loved one is generally associated with Jewish cemeteries.[6]
- This custom has spread to other communities.
- Like flowers, pebbles emphasize that the dead have not been forgotten.
- Shells are commonly left for the same reasons as pebbles.

COINS

- Coins are common tokens.
- Pennies, nickels, and dimes are left to symbolically provide fare for the ferryman to take the deceased across the rivers to the land of the dead.[7]
- In military communities, coin denominations emphasize how well a visitor knew a fallen serviceman.

FLOWERS/WREATHS/SADDLES

- May be single flowers left on a grave.
- Floral arrangements and wreaths add symbolism, color, and decoration.
- Floral decorations are temporarily affixed with floral wire or saddles to a monument, the top of a marker, or on easels on or near the grave.

Pebbles left on Saul Bernard Minkovitz's grave. Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County.

This grave has a combination of pebbles and shells lined up across the top of the headstone, Flemington Presbyterian Church, Liberty County.

Four pennies were left at this grave site in Savannah. Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County.
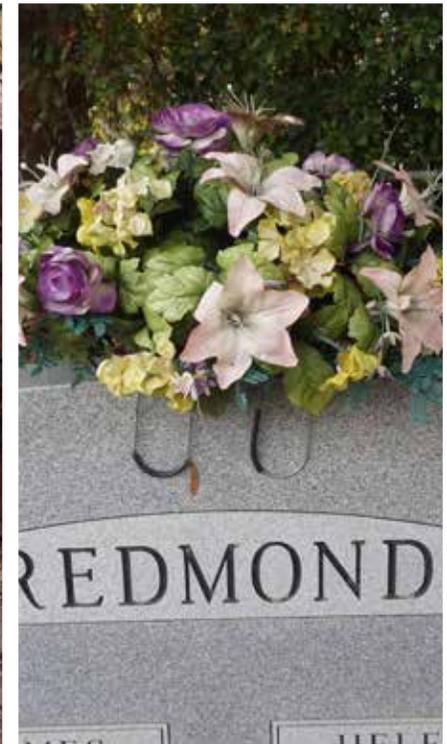
This saddle floral arrangement was left during the Spring. Dorchester Cemetery, Liberty County.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURES

SURFACE INDICATORS

These are a few observations that can help identify an unmarked grave's presence.

VEGETATION CHANGES

Digging and refilling a grave changes the soil's compaction, structure, and ability to retain moisture. In turn, these factors alter how and what plants grow on top of them. Often graves are identifiable by a difference in grass health (e.g. dead grass or taller, healthier grass).

This unmarked grave is visible as a rectangular patch of dead grass. Lawrenceville Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

DEPRESSIONS

Graves sink from a combination of the collapse of the coffin or casket and from re-compacting of the dirt over time. Left unfilled, the resulting cigar-shaped depressions are important clues to a grave's location.
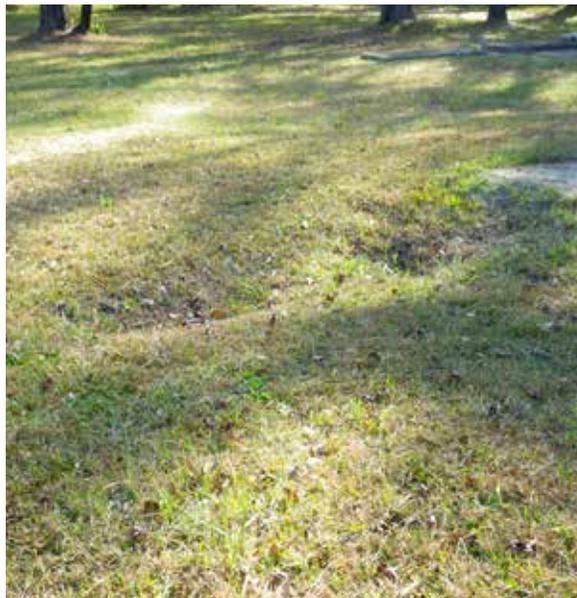
A shallow depression is a typical characteristic of an unmarked grave. Salem-St. John Baptist Church Cemetery, Glynn County.

SOIL STAINS

While some unmarked graves can be spotted from the ground surface, many cannot be identified unless the topsoil is removed. When a grave is first dug, the topsoil and subsoil get mixed together. The result is a darker stain in undisturbed soil, which can be seen in archaeological contexts.

The topsoil has been removed from this cemetery to allow archaeologists to accurately pinpoint unmarked graves. This grave stands out as a dark gray rectangle in the bright red Georgia clay. Avondale Burial Place, Bibb County.

CHAPTER TWO

WHY TYPES AND STYLES?

Little-Terry-Strickland Cemetery in Forsyth County began as a Family cemetery and eventually was used by the larger community.

The following part of Section Two defines a typology for Georgia's historic cemeteries based on both form and function. Chapters Two and Three categorize cemeteries by "type" and "style," both of which provide insight into the creation, organization, and aesthetic design of cemeteries in Georgia. It is important to note here that these descriptions were created for this context to help describe cemeteries with a common language and to help tease out the elements of a cemetery that may make it historically significant for the National Register of Historic Places. These are not categories recognized by the National Register. They are presented here in the hopes that by defining the type and style of a cemetery, the researcher will uncover which National Register Areas of Significance are best applied to a Section 106 evaluation of the cemetery.

Types and styles are an evaluation tool, part of a process of researching, describing, and evaluating the historical significance of a cemetery. Also of note, type is not used in the same manner here as it would be used for a building type describing form. Instead Type will address the formation processes of cemeteries. Defining a type will show who created a cemetery and who retained (or retains) authority over a cemetery. Authority refers to who can be buried there and if there are rules on how they are interred. Authority can change over time. Style considers the aesthetic design of a cemetery, the architecture, and the political, social, and cultural forces that influence burial traditions. Types and styles may change in a cemetery over time. Cemeteries may have layers of types and styles and exhibit elements of multiple types and styles. Teasing apart the layers will help in understanding the cemetery's history. How these layers interact with one another in the landscape will also be critical for examining a cemetery's potential to convey its historic significance and its integrity.

Within each type and style presented in Chapters Three and Four, "Features to Consider" are outlined. These utilize the parts of a cemetery landscape that were defined in the previous chapter and discuss how these elements typically present in the type or style being discussed. These features, however, are generalizations, not a checklist. A cemetery does not need to exhibit all of the features noted, and likewise may have some features that are not included here. A holistic approach should be noted when using the presence or absence of these features to define the type(s) or style(s) seen in a cemetery. Cemeteries that have layered types and styles will exhibit this with their features.

Shinall Cemetery in Bartow County is an excellent example of a Upland Folk style cemetery.

CHAPTER THREE
CEMETERY TYPES

RELIGIOUS TYPE

FAMILY TYPE

COMMUNITY TYPE

MUNICIPAL TYPE

CORPORATE TYPE

INSTITUTIONAL TYPE

MILITARY TYPE

Reverend Bill Allison Memorial Cemetery, Fulton County.

INTRODUCTION

A cemetery type is defined by the formation process of a cemetery and its ownership/management over time – by who built the cemetery and why they built it, and by who retains authority over who can be buried there and how they can be interred. Many cemeteries may have been originally developed as one type and then changed to another type. For example, a family cemetery may now serve the broader community, or a church cemetery may later have been designated as a municipal cemetery. It is also possible to see one type of cemetery within another, such as a military section within a larger municipal type cemetery. In this case though, the overall cemetery type is likely to conform more to the municipal type than the military type. In each of these cases above, the type or types may have left indelible marks on the cemetery landscape. As noted in Chapter Two of this section, cemetery type is meant to be used as a tool to look more deeply at a cemetery and to discover how best to evaluate it. On the timelines for each type in this chapter, the first of that type are frequently denoted.

RELIGIOUS Religious cemeteries are governed by a religious group, such as a church, synagogue, or mosque.

FAMILY Family cemeteries are established and managed by the family on family land and contain the graves of individuals in the same kinship group, typically related by blood or marriage.

COMMUNITY This type serves larger communities of people, usually those in close proximity, that either choose to bury within their community or do not have access to another type of cemetery.

MUNICIPAL Municipal cemeteries are governed and managed by a municipal authority such as a town or city.

CORPORATE Corporate cemeteries are owned and/or operated by private organizations and corporations (both For-Profit and Nonprofit).

INSTITUTIONAL These cemeteries are controlled by a state institution, such as a hospital or prison.

MILITARY Military cemeteries are managed by a military institution and reserved for formally defined members and, in some cases, their immediate family.

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Starts from **1733**	Religious Type
1752	Family Type
1752	Community Type
1763	Municipal Type
1847	Corporate Type
1850	Institutional Type
1864	Military Type

Cemetery Types in Georgia — **Present**

1700   1800   1900   2000
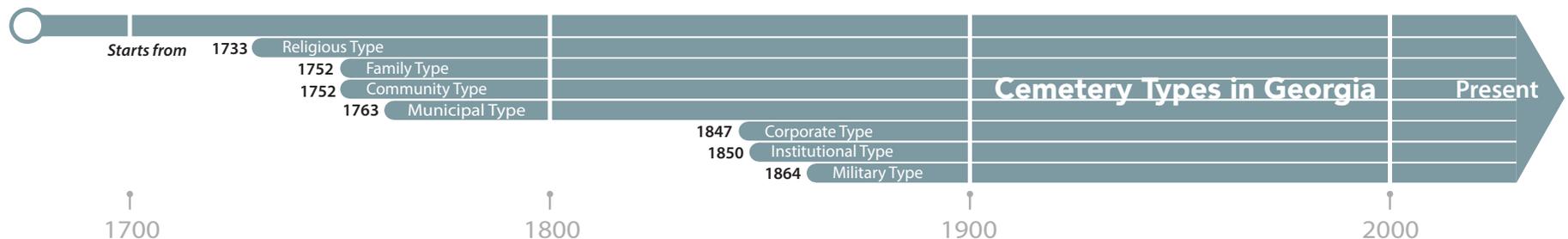
RELIGIOUS TYPE

In Georgia, four major religious groups generate most of the distinct cemeteries and cemetery sections: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Muslim. The sharing of a religious belief system amongst those buried together is the critical character-defining feature of religious cemeteries. The host congregation's size and vibrancy over time, as well as the legal description of the property, determine this cemetery type's size and configuration. With Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, the close proximity of a church is a key descriptor. In contrast, Jewish and Islamic cemeteries are not necessarily associated with a synagogue or a mosque. They may be situated on available land distant from their religious buildings. Religious cemeteries are found as early as 1733 with the founding of the Georgia Colony, where the first cemeteries were managed by the church and synagogue in Savannah. Until the 1960s, most Georgians were Christians of either European or West African descent. Immigration from countries where Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam were the dominant religions did not begin in earnest until the second half of the 20th century. Cemeteries are rarely associated with the Hindu faith as the predominant tradition is cremation and many people's cremains are sent to India to be spread on the Ganges or in another location chosen by the family. The oldest historic period cemeteries in Georgia are religious cemeteries (see Section One, Chapter Two).

DATES:	LOCATION:	OVERSIGHT:	SIZE AND CONFIGURATION:	STYLE:
1733–Present	Statewide	Religious leadership	Religious cemeteries, when connected to a place of worship, would include the building and likely the entire parcel. When placed separate from the place of worship they will likely consist of the entire parcel and will be shaped accordingly.	Vernacular (Page 252) Lawn Park (Page 258) Memorial Park (Page 260)

1733
Founding of Georgia colony in Savannah; Church of England is the official church of Georgia

1785
End of religious establishment laws in Georgia

1790s-1830s
Second Great Awakening

1980
The Atlanta Mosque established (renamed Al-Farooq Masjid of Atlanta)

1700

1800

1900

2000

Religious Type Cemetery *Starts from 1733*

Present

1733
42 Jewish colonists arrive in Savannah

1754
Midway 1754-1757-Sunbury

1801
God's Acre Cemetery established by Moravians in Chatsworth

1878
Mormon Southern States Mission opens in Rome

1912
First Mennonite settlements in Georgia, Pulaski & Appling counties

1987
Hindu Temple of Atlanta opens as the first in Georgia

1750
Christ Church (Old Colonial) Burying Ground, Savannah/St. Paul's Churchyard, Augusta

1768
Founding of Quaker community at Wrightsboro

1792
First Catholic church and cemetery organized near Sharon

1865
Establishment of free Black congregations

1965
Revision of U.S. immigration laws allows for increase of African and Asian immigrants

1773
Jewish Community Cemetery, Savannah

1850/1853
Establishment of the Catholic Diocese of Savannah/opening of Catholic Cemetery

1845
Defense of slavery leads to split within Baptist and Methodist denominations along North/South lines

Protestant Cemeteries

Protestant cemeteries are commonly found next to churches. Hardens Chapel Cemetery, Toombs County.

Features to Consider...

Location

Protestant cemeteries are commonly placed in churchyards.

Graves

In general, Protestant graves are oriented east-west, with the decedent's head to the west allowing them to face Jesus Christ on his arrival from the east during the second coming.[1]

Section

For the Protestant community, status may be expressed by placement within elite sections of the cemetery or by the type of ornamentation applied to the grave.

Plan

An informal plan is typical for Religious cemeteries, but occasionally a true grid plan may be noted.

Plots

Plots may be present and are often associated with one family.

Markers

Protestants recognize that graves should be marked. While Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans allow a wide range of marker forms and sizes within their cemeteries, more conservative groups such as Quakers, Mennonites, and Moravians favor simple uniform markers for all graves. Western crosses are common motifs. Biblical verses written in the community's native tongue (usually English) are frequently added.

Signage

Signs indicating religious affiliation are frequently present.

Jewish Cemeteries

(Left) The Jewish section of Oakland Cemetery in Fulton County. (Right) Leaving pebbles on a grave for remembrance is a Jewish tradition.

Features to Consider...

Location

Organizations or committees within a synagogue will purchase burial space for use by the congregation, but members are not required to use it. These grounds tend to be more common in urban settings. Cemeteries may be placed on land adjacent to a synagogue, but there is no requirement for it. While freestanding Jewish cemeteries are present, historically, they more commonly form sections in existing cemeteries.

Graves

Few rules govern Jewish grave construction. Graves do not follow a specific orientation, although in many cemeteries, the dead are buried with their feet towards the entrance to symbolize that they will leave the cemetery at the end of time.[2] Graves are often closely spaced, likely to conserve available burial space. Jewish tradition discourages plantings and ground coverings and encourages markers to be a similar size as adjacent markers and to not be boastful.

Markers

Graves are typically left unmarked during a 12-month mourning period, followed by a monument unveiling ceremony.[3] Leaving a grave permanently unmarked is considered disrespectful and forbidden by Jewish law.[4] Markers may take on any form. Traditional Jewish markers contain the decedent's name, birth and death dates, and sometimes a verse written in Hebrew; more modern forms will include (or be replaced by) English text.[5] The Hebrew term *Peh Nun* meaning 'here lies,' is usually included.[6] Family emblems, including a water pitcher and basin, lion, or Cohanim hands; the Star of David; commandment tablets; menorahs; and scrolls are also common motifs.[7] Other frequently used symbols include book piles, bookcases, and oil lamps.[8]

Signage

Signs indicating religious affiliation are frequently present.

Offerings/Visitors Tokens

The leaving of stones, pebbles, or tokens on a grave as a sign of respect is common on Jewish graves.

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Roman Catholic Cemeteries

(Left) Rosary Beads left on a Catholic grave in Oak Grove Cemetery, Camden County. (Middle) Land pressures within the City of Savannah and a large Catholic population prompted the establishment of Savannah's Catholic Cemetery on grounds separate from the church, Chatham County. (Right) The St. Joseph's Cemetery was purchased in the late 1800s to allow burials on grounds consecrated by the Catholic Church in Macon's Rose Hill Cemetery, Bibb County.

Features to Consider...

Location

In the past, piety of the dead was often reflected by placement in and around the church, with those of greater faith placed within the church and close to the altar.[9] Modern churches rarely allow burial within the church.

Graves

Church doctrine encourages burial placement in an east-west orientation, with the head at the west end so that the decedent is in appropriate position for prayer (towards the altar at the east end of the church); however, this pattern does not appear to be a firmly established church rule.[10]

Markers

Markers may assume a wide variety of styles reflecting the decedent's socio-economic status. The initials I.H.S. *(Iota Eta Sigma)* and I.H.C. *(Iota Eta Sigma)* are variations of the first three letters in the name of Jesus in Greek, while I.N.R.I. *(Iesus Nazarenus Rex Ludaeorum)* is Greek for Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. Rosaries are common offerings on gravestones. Crosses are commonly inscribed icons or marker shapes. Orthodox and Greek crosses are most commonly associated with Eastern Orthodox (Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholic) churches. Chalices, sacred (bleeding) hearts, and Latin inscriptions may be observed.

Plots

Plots may be present.

Section

Burials on church grounds tend to be placed within sections between trails designed to accommodate access to the grounds. Some sections may be reserved for specific religious orders or divided by monument type (vertical versus flush markers).

Plan

An informal plan is typical, but occasionally a true grid plan may be noted.

Enclosure

Traditionally, a fence or wall marks the boundary between consecrated and unconsecrated ground in a Catholic cemetery.

Signage

Signs indicating religious affiliation are frequently present.

Offerings/Visitors Tokens

Religious goods as well as personal items may be left on a grave as a token of respect.

Islamic Cemeteries

(Left) Faye "Amedah" Moran's grave is positioned in a northwest-southeast plane to allow her to face the *Qiblah* (the direction towards Mecca). Hopkins-Belleville Cemetery, McIntosh County. (Right) Unobtrusive graves in the Muslim Cemetery of Lawrenceville, Gwinnett County.

Features to Consider...

Location

Islamic cemeteries are frequently placed wherever grounds can be made available. In general, Muslims separate their places of prayer from their graveyards. Additionally, if a cemetery is close to a mosque, it cannot be in the direction of the Qiblah for the mosque. In the past, Muslims have chosen to bury in non-sectarian cemeteries or repatriate the dead to their country of origin. Individual Muslim graves may be found scattered across many Municipal, Corporate, and Institutional cemeteries. As Muslim communities become more permanent features in the South, a small but growing number of dedicated cemeteries are being developed.

Graves

Graves are designed to allow the body to return to the natural elements from which it was originally made. The preferred burial receptacle is a shroud within a simple grave pit; however wooden caskets and vaults filled with soil may be substituted where legally required.[11] Graves are oriented so when the individual is buried on their right side, their head is facing the *Qiblah* (Mecca).[12] In Georgia, the graves of Muslims are dug along a northwest-southeast plane, with the head placed at the southeast end of the pit. When deposited in a nonsectarian cemetery, which tend to follow an east-west orientation, Muslim graves often require more than one grave plot to meet Islamic tradition. Once the body is in the grave, a layer of wood or stone is added to prevent grave fill from coming in contact with the body.[13]

Markers

While graves must be clearly marked, Islamic tradition discourages the use of elaborate monuments. In America, coping is commonly placed around the grave to help define its location. Decorations are kept to a minimum and are not designed to be permanent. Graves traditionally are marked with a stone or small monument placed low or flush to the ground. They may be inscribed in Arabic or Turkish script and exhibit star and crescent moon motifs.[14]

Plantings

The grounds are rarely landscaped and individual interment sites are kept simple and sparsely adorned.

Signage

Signs indicating religious affiliation are frequently present.

Plan

An informal plan is typical, but occasionally a true grid plan may be noted.

FAMILY TYPE

Family cemeteries contain burials of individuals that are part of the same kinship group. They can be composed of nuclear families or larger extended family networks, and as such, only a few surnames will dominate the assemblage. One of the easiest ways to identify a kinship-based cemetery is by its name. Family cemeteries are frequently named after the dominant surname(s) in the burial ground. Graves tend to cluster by surname, with children buried in close proximity to their parents. The relationship of individuals may be defined by marker inscription ('brother of,' 'wife of,' 'father of'). A common burial tradition in the South was to place the wife on the left side of the husband, which is the typical arrangement in English Christian cemeteries. Some family cemeteries and family plots are not organized around the male lines. A larger number of these burial grounds center on female or matrilineal bonds than might be expected. Family cemeteries were established during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries in Georgia with some still in use today. Despite this long span, they tend to maintain a consistent look; most exhibit a Vernacular style.

Family cemeteries in Georgia start increasing in number after the Trustee Period ends in 1752 (see Section One, Chapter 2). Before this period, there was a mandate to bury in the church cemetery. When Georgians were allowed much larger land allotments beginning in 1752, the dispersed nature of settlements meant that it was far more convenient and desirable to create family burial plots on family land. It is important to note, however, that although they were typically established on family owned land, frequently the land is sold out of the family who will no longer retain ownership.

DATES:	LOCATION:	OVERSIGHT:	SIZE AND CONFIGURATION:	STYLE:
1752–Present	Statewide	A family or extended family	Small, less than 100 burials and located within a discrete area on land originally owned or used by the family.	Vernacular (Page 252)

1700   **1800**   **1900**   **2000**

Family Type Cemetery   *Starts from* 1752

Present

1752
End of the trustee system; Allowance of land inheritance and slavery in Colonial Georgia

1763
Treaty of Augusta; First major Muscogee (Creek) cession of lands

1783-1836
American Indian land cessions; Expansion of Georgia boundaries and growth of the cotton plantation system

1845
Protection of family cemeteries enriched in state law

1861-1865
Civil War and emancipation

The Stephen Bush Family cemetery is on the family farm in Baker County, Georgia (Left); the most recent burial is 2009, while the earliest dates to 1915 (Right).

Features to Consider...

Location

Family cemeteries are typically on rural land, but some may be found in previously rural urbanized areas. They may be situated on grounds that cannot be adequately used for other purposes, such as the corner of land lots or along property lines. Frequently located near the residential area of a property, they may be situated on high ground to avoid flooding and to serve as a metaphor for heaven.

Entrance

If an enclosure is present, it is likely an informal entrance, or at most, a gate in a fence or a wall.

Graves

Graves are often arranged in family or kinship groupings. While grave orientation tends to follow the Christian tradition of east-west alignment, there is no rigid pattern of spacing. The plan is typically Informal.

Plantings

Frequently present with locally available plants. Cedar trees are common throughout the state. Individual graves may exhibit yucca, daylily, and vinca.

Plots

Groupings of nuclear families typically comprise a "plot" in a family cemetery, but formal plots, as found in a Corporate or Municipal cemetery are rarely present.

Enclosure

May be enclosed with simple fencing or a stone or brick wall used to either denote the edges of the cemetery and/or to protect it, such as from livestock or farm equipment. May be decorative or merely functional.

Markers

Vary widely in style and size. Markers may be handmade by family, purchased from a local craftsman, or commercially made/purchased. Everyday objects can often be repurposed for use as markers. These may not be immediately recognizable as grave markers to those outside the family. Unmarked graves are common.

Plan

An informal plan is typical for Family cemeteries.

COMMUNITY TYPE

Community cemeteries most often have their roots as Family cemeteries and, over time, have transformed into places that serve a larger community. In older, or more folk-oriented burial grounds, the Community cemetery may be identified as the only burial area available within a given region. It is common for a Community cemetery to be associated with other local nodes, including churches, cross roads, and town centers.

Community cemeteries are created in a place that is in close proximity to where people live, and the cemetery is likely managed by a group of their peers. An important feature of Community cemeteries concerns the usually unwritten, but commonly understood, rules about who can be buried in the cemetery and where the dead can be interred. Individuals who may be elders or influential community members, long-term residents, or property owners usually implement these rules. The cultural composition of these cemeteries varies. As such, they may take different forms, including cemeteries where all members of a community are buried together regardless of race or ethnicity; burials are exclusive to one group; or burials are mixed, but contain separate sections within the same complex for different groups. As a result, Community cemeteries tend to reflect a greater diversity in surnames than generally found in a Family cemetery.

Although other subtypes may be identified in the future based on additional research, at this time there are two defined subtypes – African Pre-1865 Community cemeteries and African American Post-1866 Community cemeteries.

DATES:	LOCATION:	OVERSIGHT:	SIZE AND CONFIGURATION:	STYLE:
1751–1945	Rural Georgia, but may be found in developed areas that were once rural.	Community leaders/ elders	Vary in shape and size, but will be placed in areas where they can be accessed by the community and typically on land that is less useful agriculturally. Will often be a small part of a larger parcel.	Vernacular and Upland Folk (Page 252)

1700   1800   1900   2000

Pre-Emancipation 1751-1865   African American 1865-present

Community Type Cemetery

Starts from 1751

1752
Repeal of the ban on slavery in Georgia

1861-1865
Civil War and emancipation

1870s
Freedmen's communities established in rural Georgia

1880s
Growth of sharecropping and tenant farming throughout Georgia

1915
Start of the "Great Migration"

1929
Start of the Great Depression

1930s
Collapse of sharecropping and tenant farming in Georgia

1941-1945
World War II

Present

The Old Field Cemetery served as a local burial spot for a rural community on the outskirts of Fitzgerald, Ben Hill County.

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Features to Consider...

Location

Placed in a location that the local residential community could freely access. Like African pre-1865 community cemeteries, they were built in rural, agricultural areas. The cemeteries were likely sited away from prime agricultural land, on less usable parcels, or on the edges and corners of land lots or property lines.

Graves

Graves in a Community cemetery typically reflect the siting and orientation of the predominant ethnic or religious group.

Plots

These cemeteries often contain well-defined family plots.

Markers

Range from simple fieldstone markers, to many styles of vernacular markers, to commercially available grave markers. What is important is that the community has the authority over what can be used and that this authority is often understood rather than formally expressed.

Entrance

These cemeteries may have an informal entrance, such as an arch or a gate.

Plantings

Plantings are likely in Community cemeteries. The types would depend on the ethnic or religious group that utilized the burial grounds. Plants such as yucca, vinca, evergreens, hollies, dogwoods, and flowering bulbs, such as daffodils and lilies, are all used and may hold specific community meaning.

Circulation

Circulation would be minimal. Larger Community cemeteries may have a perimeter road, or one or two tracks, to access the interior graves.

Enclosure

May be fenced to protect the graves from inadvertent damage or livestock.

Plan

An informal plan is typical for Community cemeteries.

African and African American Cemeteries

AFRICAN CEMETERIES PRE-1865

African Pre-1865 Community cemeteries in Georgia were mostly associated with plantations, but also included enslaved and free people in other industries. Many enslaved people were placed in unmarked graves in locations chosen by their enslavers. When graves were marked, it was often with materials that could be salvaged from local resources, including wood planks, shingles, fieldstones, shells, and every day objects. Graves were often mounded to help define their locations.[15] Enslavers sometimes provided milled commercial markers as a reward for faithful service. Islamic influences could be present within the burials, as many enslaved people were from West Africa (see Section One, Chapter 3).

(Right) Fieldstone-marked depressions immediately outside the walls of the Lewis Family Cemetery in Baldwin County are likely graves of the enslaved people who were forced to work on the plantation. (Far Right) Historical archaeologist James C. Garman has suggested that the commemoration of an enslaved person's grave with a milled commercial gravestone was a way that enslavers expressed their status in an African environment. Laurel Grove South, Chatham County.[21]

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Features to Consider...

Location

Burial grounds for enslaved people were placed as either highly visible or hidden facilities in the landscape. Sometimes these cemeteries were placed next to the plantation owner's burial ground.[16] Conversely, cemeteries for the enslaved developed outside of the plantation house's line of sight. Portions of the plantation that were not useable for other functions, including the edges of fields, land lot corners, pastures, or on grounds dedicated to housing for the enslaved, were commonly used as burial areas.[17] The grave of the enslaved person had meaning only to the enslaved African community, and its location was subservient to other parts of the plantation's operation. Families living on multiple plantations were interred in separate cemeteries, emphasizing that ties to the plantation were greater than to the enslaved person's family unit.[18]

Graves

As the plantation owner controlled when and where an enslaved person was buried, choices on grave siting and orientation varied widely. Grouping deceased family members in plots or employing Christian burial conventions may or may not have occurred. Little is known on this topic.

Plots

These cemeteries might contain family plots, but it is not easily discernable on the landscape.

Enclosure

Although it was likely uncommon, some cemeteries for enslaved or free Africans could have been fenced.

Markers

The contrast between the stately memorials of the plantation owner and the minimally marked graves of enslaved Africans emphasized that the social hierarchy of the plantation was expected to continue after death.[19] African burials typically were marked with a variety of items or locally-available materials, such as personal possessions; fragments of glass bottles, vases, or dishes; white, silver or reflective objects; wooden markers; fieldstones; and shells (see Section One, Chapter 3).

Plan

An informal plan is typical.

Plantings

Little is known about the use of grave plantings on Pre-1865 African Community cemeteries in Georgia. The overgrown nature and the age of most of these cemeteries makes it difficult to tell if plantings were used historically and culturally to mark graves; although, it is clear that, post-Emancipation, many African American graves were marked and decorated with plants. Plants with significance to West African cultures included cactus-like succulents to guard a grave and trees, whose roots showed the direction in which the deceased journeyed to the afterlife and which were used to express immortality and permanence.[20]

AFRICAN AMERICAN CEMETERIES POST-1866

A great number of African American Post-1866 cemeteries are believed to have begun as cemeteries for enslaved Africans. Finally with the opportunity to choose burial locations, African American cemeteries were designed to accommodate the family or community and were rarely sites of public display. Churches and religious burial grounds were sometimes establised on the location of earlier plantation cemeteries. These frequently were isolated from the living environment and out of view except to the decedent and neighboring African American community.[22] Recognizing that cemeteries were gateways between worlds, these grounds were frequently placed near bodies of water.[23] Burial grounds occupied terrain that was resistant to flooding. In urban settings, the African American cemetery was frequently part of a larger burial ground, placed in the back of the complex or in less immediate parts of the landscape. Grave orientation reflected cosmology. While placing the dead in an east-west alignment, with the head at the west, corresponded with Judeo-Christian traditions, it also meant the dead were synchronized with the path of the sun, an important feature in many African and African American cosmologies.[24]

African American cemeteries were typically established alongside churches and would more closely align with the Religious type. Independent examples appear to be more common in coastal or rural environments. In urban settings, the Post-1866 African American cemetery is often a section in a larger burial complex. These burial grounds tend to be relatively small; however, large examples, such as the School Street Cemetery in Wilkes County, may occasionally be encountered. It is not uncommon that these cemneteries may be entirely unmarked and may be brought to the attention of the public through oral history.

(Above Left) Kinship is an important concept, and many African American cemeteries are divided into family clusters. Stargell Family Cluster, Bethlehem Baptist Church Cemetery, Fayette County. (Below Left) Yuccas, symbolizing plants found in Africa, are common flora in African American cemeteries. Smith AME Zion Cemetery, Walton County.

Features to Consider...

Graves

Graves are typically arranged by the family unit. Related families may or may not be in closer proximity. As members of a Community cemetery may share a religious belief, grave orientation may be consistent. Grid arrangement and straight lines, however, are less likely, as the plan of the cemetery evolves over time. The lack of surface markers on some graves means that perfectly straight or spaced rows are not expected. Additionally, as new graves were added over the years near previous graves, the community may have left informal buffers between burial areas to ensure earlier graves were not disturbed.

Location

Located where the community can access, even if they lack actual legal possession of the property.

Plots

Families are generally buried together in informal plots that grow with available space over time.

Plan

An informal plan is typical.

Markers

Markers in Community cemeteries are extremely variable. Any commercially-available marker can be present, but vernacular forms, utilizing wood and concrete, and found objects, like fieldstone, are characteristic of this type. Some graves are completely unmarked. It is probable that these originally contained some sort of marker that has either decayed, been moved or removed, or is not immediately recognizable as a marker to someone outside the community. Markers may also have consisted of found or repurposed items, been purposefully purchased, or are constructed locally as grave markers.

Plantings

Plantings are common at African American Community cemeteries as there are far fewer specific rules detailing what can and cannot be used to decorate gravesites at Community cemeteries in general. While symbolism associated with Upland and Vernacular plantings often have a Judea-Christian or western European foundation, plants such as the giant reed are often used because they are similar to plants found in Africa. Yuccas are commonly used because they their white flowers correspond with African traditions in which white was the color associated with death (see Section One, Chapter 3).

MUNICIPAL TYPE

Municipal cemeteries tend to be functional spaces with a focus towards conserving space and making a profit. These cemeteries appear after the Revolutionary War with the end of the Church of England as the state religion and the start of the Town Planning period in Georgia (see Section One, Chapter 4). They intensify in number as additional American Indian land cessions increase the size of Georgia until 1836 and then eventually begin to decline in number after Corporate cemeteries emerge in the 1840s. Sections were a prominent feature in Municipal cemeteries, where they were set aside for the exclusive use of specific groups or for those interred due to a mass death from epidemics, combat, and disasters of natural or human origin. Early Municipal cemeteries often featured a grid plan. Municipal cemeteries were public places and were typically outfitted with the same public facilities that a park would have, including paved roads and walkways; operational buildings; public shelters, such as gazebos; and elaborate plantings. As public spaces, they had commemorative elements such as cenotaphs and memorials, and allowed for standing in the community to be emphasized through decorative burial spaces.

DATES:	LOCATION:	OVERSIGHT:	SIZE AND CONFIGURATION:	STYLE:
1783–Present	Town peripheries. Later as the town grew, they were integrated into the city's fabric.	Municipal governments	Often irregular. As cemeteries filled up, municipalities added more land to the cemetery, forming a patchwork of adjoining parcels.	Rural Garden (Page 256) Lawn Park (Page 258) Memorial Park (Page 260)

1783-1836
American Indian land cessions; expansion of Georgia boundaries and growth of the cotton plantation system

1838
American Indian Removal - Trail of Tears

1840
Rose Hill, Macon

1836
Last American Indian land cession in Georgia

1842
Creation of Terminus (later Marthasville, then Atlanta)

1750   1800   1900

Municipal Type Cemetery *Starts from* 1763   Present

1763
Treaty of Augusta; First major Muscogee (Creek) cession of lands

1783
End of Revolutionary War/Start of Georgia Town Planning period

1813
Negro Burial Grounds, Savannah

1828
Linwood Cemetery, Columbus

1860
End of Georgia Town Planning period

1790
First Post-Revolutionary American Indian land cession

1827
Columbus founded by state legislature

1855
Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome Oconee Hills Cemetery, Athens

1818
Magnolia Cemetery, Augusta

1823
• Macon laid out by Georgia General Assembly
• Old City Cemetery, Macon

1854
Laurel Grove Cemetery, Savannah

1795
City Cemetery, Louisville, Kentucky

1853
City Cemetery (Oakland Cemetery), Atlanta/Laurel Grove North, Savannah

1804
• City Cemetery (Memory Hill), Milledgeville
• Georgia General Assembly creates Milledgeville as state capital

Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta, Fulton County, exhibits all of the features discussed below for a Municipal cemetery.

Features to Consider...

Location

Municipal cemeteries were almost always placed on the periphery of a town plan. While the intent was to have them outside the main residential areas, they inevitably became part of a city's fabric as its boundaries expanded and development eventually encircled the cemetery.

Graves

Graves were typically arranged in a grid plan. Orientation of the graves followed the custom of individual religious or ethnic groups within family plots, although grave arrangement, plot, and section design would change with the prevailing style during the period of construction.

Markers

Marker styles vary widely in Municipal cemeteries. While the majority of markers were commercially made, vernacular markers are still seen. Marker style was also dependent on the prevailing styles during the times of the cemetery's active life and development. Municipal cemeteries constructed during the Rural Garden Movement have elaborate romantic statuary, while those constructed in the Lawn Park and Memorial Park design styles have much more uniform and far less elaborate markers.

Plot

Plots were arranged in a linear manner initially with a grid plan, but later would be arranged in Rural Garden, Lawn Park, or Memorial Park style. Based on the authors' observations, preference in plots was granted to families of higher social standing. Prominent locations included those near the road and locations at the top of hills. Conversely, less desirable locations were lower-lying elevations, which were more prone to flooding, or the edges and less visible, peripheral locations.

Section

As these cemeteries were owned and managed by the municipality, they accounted for the separation of church and state by allowing burial from many different groups or religions. These groups, however, were confined to different cemetery sections. As with plot locations, sections were assigned on a hierarchical basis based on social status. Municipal cemeteries typically had different sections for different religious groups, ethnic groups, the indigent and poor, travelers without local family, and sometimes fraternal societies and organizations. During and after the Civil War, sections were often established within municipal cemeteries for the interment of veterans. Sometimes a mass death event within a community, such as an epidemic or natural disaster, also resulted in a separate cemetery section.

Mausoleum/Columbaria

These are an important feature of many Municipal cemeteries. Mausoleum types vary with date of construction from individual, to family, and community. These are most popular between the 1870s and 1920s. Prominent families would erect a mausoleum in the town cemetery to commemorate their family and as a symbol of their social standing and influence. Typically, columbaria did not begin to appear in cemeteries until the late 20th century.

Cenotaph

The city or members of the community frequently placed cenotaphs in Municipal cemeteries to honor a specific group in absentia. In Georgia, cenotaphs honoring the Confederate War dead are common.

Memorial

City or community members placed memorials in Municipal cemeteries to honor a specific group of burials. Larger memorial statues are common in veteran sections.

Buildings

Municipal cemeteries have gatehouses, offices, chapels, and maintenance buildings.

Structures

Municipal cemeteries frequently have gazebos, statuary, flagpoles, and other decorative structures.

Plan

Grid plans and informal plans are most commonly noted. Grid plans are useful to maximize space.

Entrance

Municipal cemeteries typically contain a formal entrance and possibly additional informal entrances. Gates or gatehouses may flank the formal entrance.

Plantings

Decorative plantings are common in earlier municipal cemeteries particularly those constructed in the 19th century.

Hardscape

Retaining walls, paths, stairs, and other hardscape features are common in Municipal cemeteries.

Circulation

Municipal cemeteries often have extensive circulation networks, particularly in larger cities. These allowed access to the graves by carriage and later by cars and encouraged the recreational use of cemeteries, which was popular during the 19th century.

Enclosure

Typically walls or fences enclosed Municipal cemeteries.

Signage

Signs delineating sections or pointing visitors to important graves would be a typical feature of Municipal cemeteries.

Sections are a prominent feature of Municipal cemeteries. At Oakland Cemetery in Fulton County, there are numerous sections including (from Left to Right): an African American section; a Pauper section, with a memorial and unmarked graves in an open grassy area; and a Jewish section.

Memorials and cenotaphs are common features in Municipal cemeteries. At left, a cenotaph at Decatur Cemetery in DeKalb County honors those who died and are buried on foreign soil, and the Confederate Memorial on the right honors the Confederate dead in Oakland Cemetery in Fulton County. In general, cenotaphs commemorate individuals buried elsewhere, while memorials commemorate those buried in the cemetery.

(Left) Extensive landscaping at Municipal cemeteries added to the park-like feel and (Right) wealthy residents exhibited their social status with elaborate mausoleums. Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

"Cause of Death" Sections in Municipal Cemeteries: These graves typically took on one of two forms. If time and circumstances permitted, decedents were interred in individual graves. In many cases, these individuals would have originally been provided with independent grave markers. Examples include the graves of disease victims associated with the Old Sailor's Cemetery (McIntosh County) and the Old Quarantine Station Cemetery (Glynn County). Conversely, all victims associated with an event may be deposited in a shared common grave and memorialized by a single marker. Trenches containing Civil War dead in the Stone Mountain Cemetery (DeKalb County) are examples of this form of interment.

(Left) This gravestone marks the approximate location of a trench containing Confederate war victims. Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County. (Right) This historical marker in Chatham County's Old Colonial Cemetery emphasizes that many interments share a common cause of death. Source: Georgia Department of Community Affairs.

CORPORATE TYPE

Corporate cemeteries run the gamut from nonprofit benevolent societies to for-profit cemetery companies. Their common thread is that the authority for operating the cemetery comes from a non-governmental source, and they have the power to require that families or individuals purchasing burial space conform to certain rules. Corporate cemeteries are divided into two subtypes: For-Profit cemeteries and Nonprofit cemeteries (see Section One, Chapter 6).

DATES:	LOCATION:	OVERSIGHT:	SIZE AND CONFIGURATION:	STYLE:
1847–Present	Statewide	Business or association	Typically conforms to parcel size and shape at time of purchase	Rural Garden (Page 256) Lawn Park (Page 258) Memorial Park (Page 260)

1796
New Haven Burying Ground (Grove Street Cemetery) established in Connecticut as the first privately-financed cemetery in the United States

1831
Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts

1842
First Commercial Funeral establishment in Georgia opens in Savannah

1861-1865
Civil War and Emancipation

1880s-1900
Growth of funeral industry in Georgia (undertakers, grave markers, coffin makers/manufacturers) serving both Whites and Blacks

1900s-1920s
Growth of Perpetual Care Cemetery Service and Mutual-Aid Societies

1931
First commercial crematorium in Georgia opens in Macon

1700   1800   1900   2000

Corporate Type Cemetery   *Starts from* 1847

Present

1847
Incorporation of Evergreen Cemetery (later Bonaventure Cemetery), Savannah

1884
Westview Cemetery, Atlanta

1887
Riverside Cemetery, Macon

1890
Riverdale Cemetery, Columbus

1944
Hillcrest Memorial Park Cemetery, Augusta

1886
South View Cemetery incorporated as a private cemetery for African Americans in Atlanta

For-Profit Corporate Cemetery

(Left) Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah was the first For-Profit cemetery in Georgia, chartered in 1847 and opened in 1869. (Middle) Westview Cemetery in Fulton County illustrates that For-Profit cemeteries can have multiple styles as they were developed over long periods. (Right) At a mid- to later 20th-century cemetery, such as Eternal Hills Cemetery in DeKalb County, a Memorial Park style dominates the landscape.

Features to Consider...

Location

Beginning in the later 19th century and throughout the 20th century, these cemeteries were typically established in visible and accessible areas along transportation routes on the outskirts of town, or within suburban areas.

Graves

The For-Profit corporation sold graves, like family plots, with an eye toward profit. Higher ground and more prominent locations could command a higher price. Conversely, less desirable locales would be priced lower and aimed at a lower socioeconomic bracket.

Plot

Family plots, like individual gravesites, were priced based on the desirability of their location within the cemetery. In earlier cemeteries such as Bonaventure, these may have featured elaborate family mausoleums.

Mausoleums/Columbaria

Mausoleums and Columbaria were prominent features of larger For-Profit Corporate cemeteries depending on when they were built. These offered the consumers perpetual care and additional choices in burial space, as well as helping to maximize profit as more people could be interred in a smaller space.

Section

Sections were prevalent in For-Profit Corporate cemeteries as they allowed marketing to specific groups, as well as providing a means to segregate certain sections of the population. Sections were often based on race, socioeconomic status, trades, societies, or religion.

Markers

Varied widely with the popular styles of the time period. An overall trend in For-Profit Corporate cemeteries is towards markers requiring less maintenance and more regulation in marker style.

Buildings

Buildings are a common feature of For-Profit Corporate cemeteries. Examples of these may include offices, chapels, maintenance buildings, greenhouses, funeral parlors, or indoor mausoleums.

Structures

Structures are a common feature of For-Profit Corporate cemeteries. Cemeteries often contain a mix of ornamental and utilitarian structures including, but not limited to, fountains, statuary, eternal flames, follies, flagpoles, gazebos, and shelters.

Entrance

For-profit Corporate cemeteries often feature prominent, formal entries. Styling would depend on the period in which the cemetery was constructed.

Plantings

Plantings in For-Profit Corporate cemeteries, like markers, vary with the style of the cemetery and the period in which it was constructed. Since For-Profit Corporate cemeteries are largely a 20th-century development, they tend to reflect more modern trends, which emphasize orderly, open space with minimal plantings. This also results in less maintenance. Plantings at Lawn Park cemeteries are highly regulated and are usually completely prohibited at Memorial Park cemeteries.

Plan

Corporate cemeteries have either grid or curvilinear plans.

Hardscape

While pathways and retaining walls were common in early For-Profit Corporate cemeteries, later period cemeteries tended to be constructed on more open, flat terrain and emphasize lawn over hardscaping.

Circulation

Circulation patterns are varied with older For-Profit Corporate cemeteries having a more curvilinear style and more modern cemeteries being oriented towards automobile traffic with main roads and intersections radiating out into organized sections.

Enclosure

Enclosures depend on the style. Older For-Profit Corporate cemeteries likely have a fence or wall enclosure. Later cemeteries, such as those built in a Memorial Park style, are less likely to be fenced, as an open view was preferred, especially from adjacent roadways.

Signage

Signage is a prominent feature in For-Profit Corporate cemeteries, particularly used to indicate sections.

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Nonprofit Corporate Cemeteries

Grounds reserved for members of the Independent Daughters of Bethel Society are found within South View Cemetery, a Nonprofit Corporate cemetery that began as an independent burial association. Fulton County.

Location

Nonprofit Corporate cemeteries were constructed in places that were convenient for members. They can vary from family-sized plots to large, multi-acre complexes. These locations may include grounds near supporting African American or Asian communities, on or near lodge grounds, or as sections within larger, community or municipal cemeteries.

Grave

Individual graves were often placed in orderly rows, particularly if the Nonprofit corporate cemetery is a section in a larger cemetery.

Plan

Corporate cemeteries often have either grid or curvilinear plans.

Plot

Family plots or places reserved for spouses may be present depending on the nature of the Nonprofit Corporate cemetery.

Section

Nonprofit Corporate cemeteries may be stand-alone cemeteries, in which case, they have little need for sections, or they may be part of a larger cemetery in which case they likely comprise their own section of the larger cemetery.

Cenotaph

May be present, particularly if the organization represents veterans.

Memorial

In a highly visible central location, such as near the entrance, signs or monuments were erected identifying the nature of the organization.

Markers

While some nonprofits, such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, encourage use of uniform markers to add a sense of unity to the burial area, most organizations allowed a more diverse range in monument form choices. Recognizing that many 19th- and early 20th-century burial societies were linked with specific funeral establishments, this diversity in marker form provided opportunities for more elaborate (and costly) markers to be sold.[25] Markers frequently bore the organization's name or iconography.

Buildings

Buildings are not a prominent feature of Nonprofit Corporate cemeteries. While maintenance buildings may be present, large chapels or offices are uncommon.

Entrance

Formal entrances with actual gateways or signage that serve to mark entry into space reserved for association members' burials are likely present.

Circulation

Nonprofit Corporate cemeteries often feature roads or pathways that conform in design standards to the prevailing style during the cemetery's construction.

Enclosure

Most cemeteries exhibited well-defined boundaries, in the form of walls, fences, hedges, paths, or curbing that help to identify graves within the grounds as part of the group.
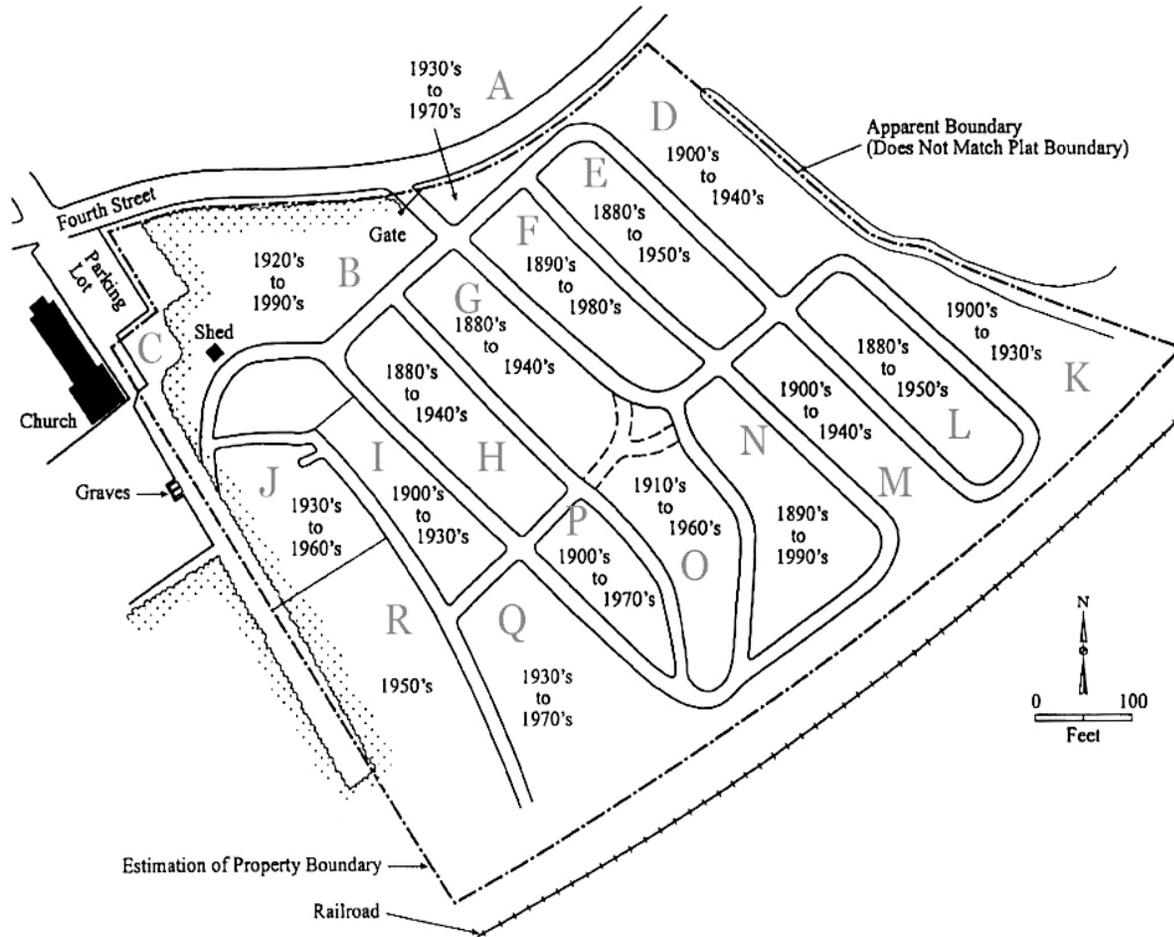
One of the largest Nonprofit Corporate cemeteries in Georgia is Gospel Pilgrim Cemetery, Clarke County. This African American cemetery, shown in plan above, was established and operated by the Gospel Pilgrim Society burial society and occupies a 10-acre parcel with over 3,000 interments.[26] While some are marked as shown (above right), the majority are unmarked. Listed on the NRHP, the cemetery was used heavily from 1885 until the 1940s. After the 1960s, it fell into disrepair and was largely overgrown, likely due to a lack of funding and no recorded owner.

INSTITUTIONAL TYPE

When those who died in institutional care lacked the social and financial resources for a private burial, the institution assumed responsibility for their interment. Institutional cemeteries balanced the need to provide an acceptable burial for these individuals with the costs needed for interment. Since these burials occurred at public or institutional expense, they were geared towards cost efficiency and tended to be utilitarian, spartan landscapes. They are generally orderly places that lack ornamentation. Institutional cemeteries are frequently supported by institutional labor. Inmates are often charged with preparing graves and maintaining the grounds. It is not uncommon for coffins, markers, and other grave furniture to be produced in-house. Although the Georgia State Penitentiary was constructed in the early 1800s, the Institutional cemetery type does not begin until 1850 with the opening of the cemetery at Central State Hospital. Before 1850, inmates were buried in a specific section of the Milledgeville City Cemetery, also called Memory Hill.

DATES:	LOCATION:	OVERSIGHT:	SIZE AND CONFIGURATION:	STYLE:
1850–Present	Statewide	Federal, state, or local government, or private institutions	Typically a portion of a larger parcel owned by the institution	Vernacular

1816
Construction of the Georgia State Penitentiary, Milledgeville

1842
Completion of the Central State Hospital, Milledgeville

1899
Georgia State Prison Farm and Cemetery opens in Milledgeville

1937
Georgia State Prison Farm is closed; Georgia State Prison and Cemetery opens in Reidsville

1800

Institutional Type Cemetery *Starts from* 1850

1900

2000

Present

1850
Burials begin in Asylum Cemetery on the grounds of Central State Hospital

1905
Camp Creek South Cemetery opens on Central State Hospital Grounds for segregated burial of African American patients

1910
New Colored Cemetery opens on Central State Hospital grounds

1960
Central State Hospital ceases internments on Hospital Grounds

(Left) Simple iron markers, each bearing an inventory number, were used to identify the graves of inmates from the Central State Hospital. Cedar Lane Cemetery, Baldwin County.

(Right) Concrete crosses with numbers mark the graves of prisoners on a hillside near the Georgia State Prison near Reidsville, Tattnall County.

Location

Institutional cemeteries are usually placed on land owned or managed by the institution. These burial grounds are frequently tucked in out of the way portions of the landscape that are invisible to the institution's view shed and outside of normal public access. Wooded areas, slope backsides, property margins, and secluded locales are common places for Institutional cemeteries. Decedents from the Central State Hospital (Baldwin County) were interred in a wooded cemetery area on the back margin of a multi-facility state-owned complex.

Graves

Graves are arranged typically in a dense, linear plan.

Section

If present, they relate only to time periods in which certain individuals were interred. When one section fills up, another is opened.

Markers

Markers tend to follow simple, uniform designs. Concrete crosses at the Georgia State Prison Cemetery (Tattnall County) and metal license plate markers in the Old State Prison Cemetery (Baldwin County), for example, were products made by prisoners. Institutional cemetery markers list individuals by a grave or inventory number rather than by name. Grave numbers tend to be sequential with low numbers representing early burials and higher numbers given to more recent interments. Alternatively, inventory numbers may correspond to identity numbers tied to other records within the institution. In either case, the repository for information on decedents in an Institutional cemetery is not the gravesite, but records maintained at the institution or where the institution's records are archived.

Plan

Typically arranged in a Regimented plan, they can also have informal or grid plans.

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MILITARY TYPE

Military communities are based on each member having a formally defined rank and position within the organization. Rank defines what is expected from each member, as well as their privileges and duties. Conformity to the order established by the organization is a paramount feature of military society. Regimentation is also an important component of the military cemetery. In Georgia, the first cemetery devoted to the military (and was not another cemetery type with a section dedicated to military/veteran burials) was at Andersonville in 1864 (See Section One, Chapter 5). Military cemeteries restrict who can be buried there to typically service members and their spouses.

DATES:	LOCATION:	OVERSIGHT:	SIZE AND CONFIGURATION:	STYLE:
1864 – Present	Statewide	State or Federal Government	Varies; however, most are fairly large in scale.	Appearance is derived from its regimented plan, but can show influences of popular styles such as Rural Garden (Page 256) or Lawn Park (Page 258).

1783
End of Revolutionary War

1700   1800   1900   2000

Military Type Cemetery   *Starts from* 1864   **Present**

1864
Andersonville
National Cemetery

1867
Act to establish and Protect National Cemeteries

1866
Marietta National Cemetery/Resaca
Confederate Cemetery

2006
Georgia National
Military Cemetery,
Cherokee Co.
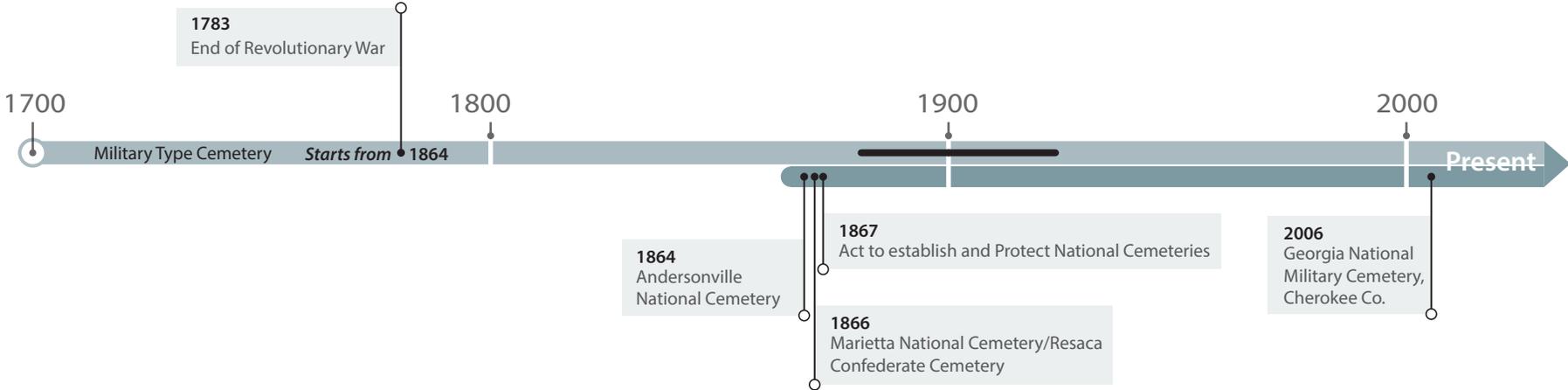
This satellite image emphasizes how grave rows in the Marietta National Cemetery (Cobb County) were arranged across the landscape to form geometric patterns (Source: Google Map).

Features to Consider...

Location
Placed where they are easily accessible and where land makes expansion possible. They tend to value open landscapes that offer views within the cemetery.

Graves
Massed rows of uniform markers are placed for visual impact.

Mausoleum/Columbaria
In 20th-century examples, these may be present.

Section
May be grouped by units, branch of service, rank, or sequentially by date.

Markers
Graves are marked with uniform, federally issued markers that have changed several times in the past and contain little personal information(See Appendix B).

Cenotaph
May be present to commemorate those that could not be buried in the Military cemetery, i.e. POW–MIAs.

Memorial
Memorials are always present. May be designed to stand out as a highlighted element of the visual landscape.

Buildings
Administrative buildings, chapels, and service buildings are often present.

Structures
Structures such as gazebos or shelters are often present.

Entrance
Formal entrances are standard.

Plantings
Plantings are very formal and generally limited to trimmed shrub hedges delineating large spaces, or specimen trees.

Hardscape
May contain retaining walls, walkways, and stairs depending on the topography of the cemetery.

Circulation
Circulation can be linear, but is often curvilinear.

Enclosure
Military cemeteries will be enclosed with a formal fence or wall.

Plan
Follow a Regimented plan.

Military cemeteries are reserved for servicemen, supporting personnel, and, sometimes, their families. Graves and markers in a Military cemetery are intentionally provided with a uniform treatment to emphasize that all its members are part of a single organization. In general, graves remain undecorated, and markers are designed to follow a common form. Marker forms are kept simple as a means of evoking a serious and reverential mood in the viewer.[27] Decorations are limited to specific symbols and locations, while inscriptions provide uniform information about the decedent. When an identity is provided, it includes aspects of the decedent's military status, including rank, unit(s), honors, and conflict(s).

Military cemeteries are all preplanned.[28] Originally, these grounds were strategically placed to address casualties from a battle or campaign. However, more recently, Military cemeteries appear to be placed where they are easily accessed by visitors. Grounds are selected or landscaped to emphasize the visual impact of massed rows of uniform markers. Markers are then arranged to emphasize geometry and pattern in the landscape. Military cemeteries are commonly positioned on high, stable landforms to reduce impact from ground water, flooding, and erosion. Plots within the Military cemetery are distributed and filled across the grounds following a master plan. Space devoted to a Military cemetery is defined by a wall or fence, and support structures, including administrative and maintenance buildings, are usually present within the grounds.

In Georgia, Military cemeteries are maintained by federal, state, municipal, and private organizations; however, civilian cemeteries frequently contain military sections devoted to Civil War casualties or more recently, veterans who wish to be buried with other servicemen. Graves in federal and state facilities are marked using federally issued markers. Originally, military graves in municipal and private facilities were either unmarked or marked with uniform monuments provided by local government or civic organizations. While internally consistent, the form and information provided on privately issued military markers varied by cemetery or region. A more recent trend has been to replace these markers with the more regimented federal gravestone. While the presence of a federal gravestone is evidence of a former serviceman, it does not indicate the presence of a Military cemetery. Since 1879, the federal marker has been issued to veterans interred in civilian cemeteries.[29]

Crosses on grave markers at Andersonville National Cemetery, September 2015, 150th Anniversary at Andersonville National Historic Site. These symbols are the United Methodist Cross (Left), Presbyterian Cross (Middle), and Star of David (Right).

(Below) Flags on Graves at Andersonville National Cemetery, September 2015, 150th Anniversary at Andersonville National Historic Site.

CHAPTER FOUR
CEMETERY STYLES

VERNACULAR STYLE

UPLAND FOLK STYLE

RURAL GARDEN STYLE

LAWN PARK STYLE

MEMORIAL PARK STYLE

Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

A cemetery style is defined by the actual design of a cemetery and the political, social, and cultural forces that influence burial traditions. Design styles have their roots in architectural, social, and cultural trends, and as such they reflect societal ideas about death and memorialization of the dead. As a cemetery may be used over a long period of time, it is common to see different styles at the same site, either set apart in distinct areas or overlain and intermixed. The following pages will discuss five major cemetery styles in Georgia. Note, there is no category for "No Style" as all cemeteries reflect the intent of those who use it. If a more formal design style category is not identified in a cemetery, then the cemetery is said to have vernacular style. In addition to the photographs illustrating each style, a few good examples are listed for each, excepting Vernacular which is common throughout the state.

Vernacular — Present throughout Georgia and featuring a generally informal design that grows and changes organically. Vernacular and informal markers are common.

Upland Folk — An informal cemetery often with vernacular markers. Cultural symbols and cultural plantings are common and abundant. This style emerged from a mix of Scots-Irish, American Indian, and African cultures. Grave shelters are a common features and surfaces may be scraped or swept.

Rural Garden — A formal cemetery style arising from the Romantic and Victorian movements that features a picturesque rural landscape design with curving paths, elaborate architecture and scenic views.

Lawn Park — Emphasizing symmetry and classicism, a formal cemetery design presenting a pastoral landscape.

Memorial Park — Visible symbols of death on the landscape are de-emphasized. Features an open landscape, typically with uniform grave markers that are flush to the ground.

1700

1800

1900

2000

1931 Memorial Park Style

1855 Lawn Park Style

1831 Rural Garden Style

1752 Upland Folk Style

Starts from **1752** Vernacular Style

Present

1752
End of the Colonial Trustee Period; Start of Slavery in GA; Expansion into the Western Backcountry

1804
Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris, France

1857
Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome

1944
Hillcrest Memorial Park, Augusta

1913
Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Glendale, California

1831
Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachuetts

1884
West View Cemetery, Atlanta

1901
Death of Queen Victoria; End of Victorian Period

1836
Removal of Cherokee from North Georgia

1892
World's Fair Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Illinois

1837
Coronation of Queen Victoria

1890
Riverdale Cemetery, Columbus

1887
Riverside Cemetery, Macon

1841
Rose Hill Cemetery, Macon

1855
Redesign of Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio
Oconee Hill Cemetery, Athens

VERNACULAR STYLE

The Vernacular style is largely characterized by an informal plan that stems from its organic development over time and its lack of a formal management system. They have few, if any, formal rules on the types of markers and plantings that may be used. This results in a wide array of informal and vernacular markers mixed with commercially available markers. The markers found in these cemeteries may mimic traditional forms or make use of every-day or found objects. Likewise, plantings are varied and range from trees and native plants to ornamental shrubs, flowers, or ground covers. Vernacular style cemeteries may be associated with any cultural, ethnic, or religious group; however, it is not uncommon to find them associated with communities with lower financial resources

There are likely many different "substyles" of Vernacular-style cemeteries, but at present only one, Upland Folk, has been formally described. In this handbook, Upland Folk will be treated as a standalone style. It is likely that further future research will identify other distinct "substyles." In particular, Upland African American and Lowland African American cemeteries have been identified as in need of further study.

(Left) Mt. Hope Cemetery is an excellent example of a Vernacular style cemetery, Bibb County. (Right) Vernacular cemeteries can also occur closer to town, like Washington, Georgia's School Street Cemetery. This cemetery has a wooded setting but lies on the outskirts of town, Wilkes County.

(Left) Non-traditional grave marker shapes are a means of expressing ideas that cannot be communicated by more standardized gravestone forms as in the case of these soapstone markers, which have a stylized anthropomorphic form. Wahoo Baptist Church Cemetery, Lumpkin County. (Right) Several family plots are visible in the Little-Terry-Strickland Cemetery, Forsyth County.

Features to Consider...

Location

Found in rural or urban locations, these cemeteries are sited near the particular community that uses them. They are often situated on grounds that cannot be adequately used for other purposes.

Grave

In general, Vernacular cemeteries contain opportunistically placed graves. Unmarked graves are common. These cemeteries may have swept surfaces, and mounded graves may also be present. Graves or plots are often arranged in loose rows.

Plot

Most Vernacular cemeteries are organized along kinship lines with individual families forming clusters or plots marked by curbing, plantings, or grave marker arrangement within the burial space.[1] The placement of additional graves reflects social distances between new decedents and other personages in the cemetery.

Entrance

Informal entrances are common in Vernacular style cemeteries.

Marker

Often made by the burial community to convey social values. While they may feature commercially purchased markers, everyday objects, such as fieldstones, household goods, or other repurposed items are often used as markers. Some may not be immediately recognizable as grave markers to those outside the community. These markers are often temporary or less durable. Epitaphs are notably absent as community members may rely on mnemonics and oral tradition to record each grave's identity.[2]

Plan

Typically have an Informal plan, but could be Curvilinear or Grid plan.

Plantings

Frequently present with locally available plants. Common trees include cedars, oaks, and dogwoods, while individual graves may exhibit yucca, day lily, and vinca. Plantings have social meaning.

Enclosure

Often enclosed with simple fencing used to either denote the edges of the cemetery and/or to protect it, such as from livestock or farm equipment.

UPLAND FOLK STYLE

Burial customs in the Upland Folk style, also known as Upland Folk and Upland Folk South, emerged from a mix of Scots-Irish traditions with American Indian and African traditional cultural influences. They were practiced from the 18th century to the present, originally in isolated, rural communities of North Georgia and the Piedmont, which had limited exposure to mainstream American culture. Cemeteries of this style often consist of small plots containing the graves of a single family, or related families, and sometimes associated enslaved persons. Grave markers in both white and African American Upland Folk cemeteries typically varied in size, shape, and material. These could range in use from purchased, commercially-manufactured stones to more readily available, vernacular markers such as field stones, concrete, seashells, bottles, and jars, as well as other, common paraphernalia.[3] Even if associated with a conservative religious denomination that may eschew decoration, an Upland Folk–style cemetery can exhibit a plethora of colors and symbols stemming from many traditions. Grave shelters are a feature of Upland Folk–style cemeteries and may be evidence of American Indian influences. Grave plantings, such as cedar, spirea, daffodils, chinaberry, yucca, and roses, are common. Symbolizing everlasting life or rebirth, these species also provide visual evidence of a burial place.[4] In many Upland Folk-style cemeteries, relatives often scraped the grounds of vegetation to provide a visual contrast.[5] In an agricultural setting, these may often be identified as places on the landscape that have been deliberately avoided.

(Left) Practices such as scraping, sweeping, and mounding can result in the surface of a Vernacular cemetery being lower than the surrounding terrain. Basket Creek Baptist church Cemetery, Douglas County. (Right) Many of the stones at the Shiloh Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Walton County, are made from locally derived stone. It is an excellent example of the Upland Folk style.

Location

Upland Folk style cemeteries in Georgia originated in isolated rural settings, but later extended to rural and urban communities. Favoring locations on hilltops, these were typically placed on family land such as a farm, adjacent to a church, or near community residential areas. Expansion of these cemeteries would proceed based on need, in a direction and scale required at a moment in time, not from a pre-prescribed plan.

Graves

The graves tend to form loose rows as they are added to over time. Orientation of graves is typically east-west; however, directions were likely not formally established by use of a compass.

Plot

Plots in an Upland Folk style cemetery are not preplanned, but instead organically grow to fit the needs of the community. Families tend to bury in individual clusters with varied space in between plots.

Plan

Feature an Informal plan.

Markers

Markers are frequently made from materials that are obtained from the local environment or found on site. Common materials may include field stone, wood, concrete, and household materials (tiles, pipes, vessels, storage jars). Commercial markers may be present, but do not dominate the assemblage. In addition to traditional funerary markers, commercially produced garden statuary may be used. The purpose of the marker is to mark the grave, not to name the individual in an inscription. Community memory provides grave identification.

Entrance

The lack of an entrance and the corresponding openness of the cemetery plan is characteristic of these cemeteries.

Enclosure

Sometimes plots may be defined by enclosures, such as field and quarried stone, brick and masonry, or earthen berms, but are frequently not enclosed. The entire cemetery, if it is enclosed at all, is generally encircled with simple fencing such as barbed wire to protect from livestock or inadvertent plowing.

Structures

Grave shelters can be a feature of Upland Folk style cemeteries; however, these have not been observed in Georgia as frequently as in other parts of the Upland Folk.

Plantings

Along with markers, plantings are other key features to consider for this cemetery style. Symbolism, not beautification, drives the choice of plantings in an Upland Folk style cemetery. Cultural meaning is frequently based on Judeo-Christian, West African, and non-Christian Western European ideologies. Evergreen plants, such as vinca, symbolize eternal life, while seasonal flowering bulbs, such as daffodils, symbolize resurrection. Ground covers are typically used to prevent erosion and inhibit unwanted undergrowth. There is a heavy use of native plants that are gathered locally, as well as the introduction of commercially cultivated varieties. Other common plantings include cedar, spirea, chinaberry, yucca, irises, daylillies, and roses.

The deliberate removal of a planted surface can also be characteristic of this cemetery style. Swept, scraped, or bare soils on a grave, in a plot, or throughout the cemetery are common features of this style. This ground treatment may signify that the graves are being actively maintained.

(Left) Vernacular markers made of field stone and found items are arranged in a general east-west direction with no formal plan in this Upland Folk style cemetery at Mount Zion Church in Baldwin County. (Center) A Car Bumper Used as a Marker. Mount Zion Church Cemetery, Baldwin County. (Right) An informal plan of roughly east-west oriented graves is evident in this Upland Folk cemetery. Nash Jenkins Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

Good Examples...

Basket Creek Baptist Church Cemetery, Douglas County

Nash Jenkins Cemetery Gwinnett County

Shinall Cemetery Bartow County

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RURAL GARDEN STYLE

Typically organized under a master plan and located on urban peripheries, Rural Garden style cemeteries capitalized on the natural contours of the land within rural settings, prominences, and views to achieve rusticity and to promote a new take on death, peace, and contemplation. These design values of the Rural Garden style were an outgrowth of the Romantic and Victorian movements in American culture in the mid- to late 19th century. Rural Garden style cemeteries, as well as the elaborate mausoleums, statuary, and family plots they contained, were frequently designed by architects, landscape architects, and artists.

Rose Hill Cemetery in Macon, Bibb County is an excellent example of a Rural Garden style cemetery. It possesses a park-like setting, elaborate markers, and beautiful vistas.

Location

Often originally placed along the periphery of cities or towns. As the city expanded, it would frequently envelop the cemetery. They were positioned near rail, streetcar, and thoroughfares to facilitate public access to the grounds. Locations were often chosen that featured rolling terrain and expansive vistas, such as elevated areas or hillsides.

Grave

Graves were frequently uniform within their plots, but each plot was independent of the other. It was not uncommon for statuary, mausoleums, tablet markers, and other grave furniture to be present on plots within the same section. This formed an irregular appearance across the cemetery landscape.

Mausoleums

Mausoleums are frequently present. Elaborate and costly, these served individuals or families and were often built in advance of being used.

Memorial

Frequently present, memorials were typically placed to commemorate war dead or those killed by a natural disaster or epidemic.

Section

Rural Garden style cemeteries usually contained different sections for different religious, ethnic, or social groups. Additional sections for veterans, as well as those who where indigent or poor, were common. Many southern Rural Garden cemeteries excluded African Americans and other groups from burial.[6] When interment was allowed, these sections were segregated to less desirable portions of the grounds, such as the back, less visible areas.

Plot

Sales preferences were given to plot holders desiring multi-individual or family plots and institutions wanting exclusive space for burial of their members. Highly desirable plots, principally those near the entrance, along path frontages, or on vistas, prominences, and other points of high visibility, were typically sold for premium prices. Single and double grave lots, frequently purchased by lower income households, were confined to specific cemetery sections, which were less landscaped, located along the periphery, and had greater restrictions on what decorations could be added by the plot holder.[7] Iron fencing was commonly used to define plot boundaries; however, while much remains in Georgia, some was removed during the scrap metal drives of World War II.[8]

Marker

Standardized, commercially-generated marker shapes and sizes were used as were more massive, artistic, and individually commissioned markers. Status of the family (or individual) was emphasized by erecting large, vertically oriented, central monuments with smaller supporting markers added for individual family members.[9] Ponds, birdbaths, and aesthetically pleasing sculpture were intended to demonstrate how art could be harmonious with nature.

Buildings

Offices, gatehouses, and similar structures were built by formal entrances and other central access points. These buildings often featured ornate or eclectic designs.

Structures

Ornate iron bridges and gazebos, to serve as places for services or contemplation, may be present.

Entrance

Public entry was channeled through a single ornate formal gateway emphasizing that the visitor was passing into a unique landscape.

Enclosure

The grounds were frequently fenced or walled with decorative iron fencing or stone walls.

Plan

Often features a curvilinear plan.

Plantings

Plantings, decorations, and other surface features emphasize the romantic, including flowers, ornamental trees, and shrubs, and dramatic planting such as weeping willows. Flowering plants, exotic flora, and ornamental trees were often added to provide color and texture.

Hardscape

Retaining walls, both decorative and functional, were often present along with stairways. Practically, these were necessary as most Rural Garden style cemeteries were located on rolling terrain and terraces increased burial space.

Circulation

Traffic was encouraged to flow through the grounds in a controlled pattern following trails or paths that wound their way in a curvilinear pattern. While these lanes encouraged the visitor to stroll through the park-like environment, these avenues also maximized the amount of visible frontage available in the cemetery. Trails and paths also served to divide the cemetery into sections. Most parcels were designed to highlight the landscape or specific monuments, resulting in sections with highly irregular shapes.

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To make the most of interesting terrain, retaining walls and terraces were used to provide flat locations for burials, Rose Hill Cemetery, Bibb County.

Good Examples...

Oconee Hills Cemetery, Clarke County

Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Floyd County

Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County

LAWN PARK STYLE

Lawn Park style cemeteries feature an open pastoral design with a focus on classicism and a more streamlined appearance. Geometric-shaped sections and even radial patterns are indicative of this style in its later period as the City Beautiful movement of the late 1890s prompted a return to symmetry. Grave markers were designed to blend with nature; thus, low to the ground grave treatments were preferred and more ornate commemoration eschewed. Also, highly polished white marbles and materials light in color were popular for their ability to present a classical or clean appearance. The Lawn Park style marked a trend towards practicality, as maintenance costs were significantly reduced from those associated with the Rural Garden style.
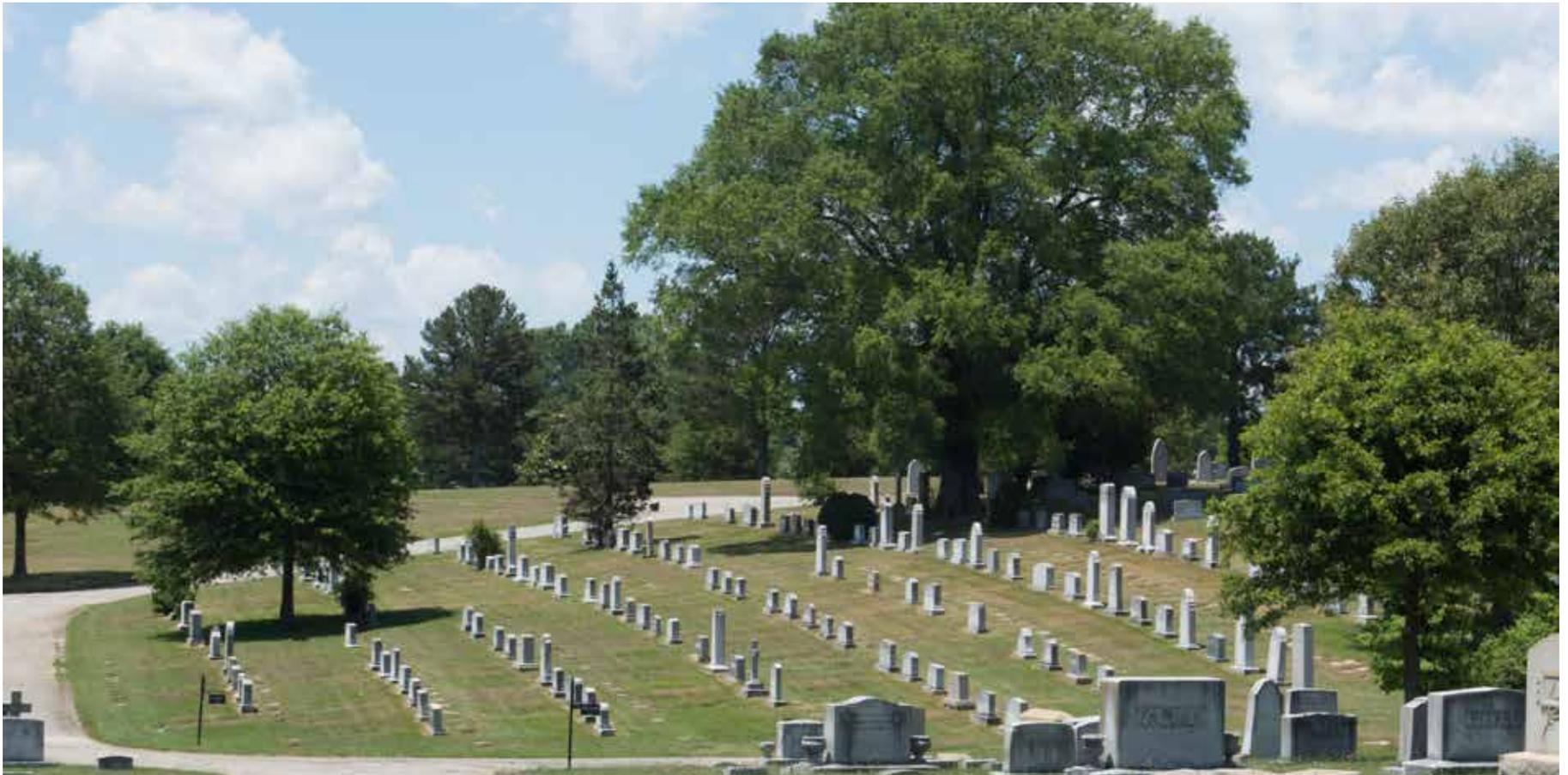
Neat orderly rows of graves of similar materials and massing, along with individualized, flat footstones, more open views and grass, are indicative of Lawn Park style at Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

Location

These graveyards tended to be placed in close proximity to suburban, middle class, residential areas to serve as parks and on grounds where streams, gentle slopes, small groves, and other topographic features could be used to promote a calm, pastoral setting.[10]

Grave

Use of a grid to organize grave plots enabled markers to be arranged in neat, orderly rows across an entire section, eliminating the cluttered, disorganized appearance of more Victorian-oriented cemeteries.

Mausoleum/Columbaria

Large ornate mausoleums were still popular during the period in which Lawn Park cemeteries were at their peak. Community mausoleums were present during this period, as are open gallery mausoleums.

Plot

Within a section, a grid was superimposed onto the landscape and the grounds divided into uniformly sized grave plots. This strategy maximized the number of plots available, as well as defining less marketable space where trees and other decorations could be added.

Section

Lawn Park cemeteries were generally divided into sections, which where geometrically arranged and thematically marketed to target audiences. Sections would include those for veterans, ethnic and religious groups, as well as age groups, specifically infant or child burials.

Marker

Most Lawn Park grave markers were made of granite. Inscriptions were kept simple, frequently being little more than the decedent's name, birth and death dates, and a short epitaph. Monument size was restricted to small, low-to-the-ground, flush markers. Small markers helped maintain an air of openness and promoted a sense of social equality. Monuments tended to be relatively simple, with diamond, slant, canted block, rolled, and other geometric shapes being common. Grave statuary was limited to doves, lambs, and similar peaceful representations affixed to the monument. Use of larger markers was typically restricted to one prominent statue per family plot.

Buildings

Office and management structures were often constructed near the entrance of the cemetery. Chapels were sometimes added to provide mourners with an enclosed place for private reflection.

Structures

Structures were considerably reduced in quantity in comparison to earlier Rural Garden cemeteries. When present, their numbers and design would be highly regulated within a Lawn Park cemetery. Larger sections may have contained a planned design feature at a central axis point, such as a fountain or statue, to anchor the overall plan of an area. These were built by the cemetery corporation and not added by individual plot holders.

Entrance

Similar to a Rural Garden style, Lawn Park style cemeteries featured prominent, formally designed main entrances.

Plan

Feature a Grid or Curvilinear plan.

Plantings

In general, trees and shrubbery were selectively promoted to highlight landscape features and enhance the natural beauty of the grounds as a whole. Individual grave plantings were restricted to encourage the ground's meadow-like appearance. Flower beds were placed around entrances, intersections, and building edges to add color.[11] To add an air of tranquility, trees around the boundaries of the cemetery buffered out the sights and sounds of the surrounding urban environment.

Hardscape

Within the cemetery, pathways are wide enough to allow vehicular traffic and organized into circular or geometric courses designed to intersect with the central axis.

Circulation

Lawn Park cemeteries are typically organized around a central axis, often developed as a path or lane. Perpendicular arms were occasionally added, leading to chapels, mausoleums, and cul-de-sacs near the property margins. The cemetery center was often marked with an open non-burial space sometimes containing fountains or sculpture. A radial trail was occasionally inset from the cemetery's boundaries to provide access to all the graves.

Enclosure

Enclosures are generally present in Lawn Park cemeteries. They may take the form of fences or walls around the perimeter of the cemetery. Within a cemetery, their quantity and massing would be greatly reduced and most frequently absent entirely.

(Top) The low monuments of similar style and scale within a plot at Westview Cemetery, Fulton County, are typical of a Lawn Park style cemetery. (Bottom) The arrangement of grave plots in Lawn Park style cemeteries include geometric shapes, such as these wedge-shaped plots in a circular section at Riverdale Cemetery, Muscogee County.

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Good Examples...

South-View Cemetery,
    Fulton County

East Porterdale Cemetery,
    Muscogee County

Greenwood Cemetery,
    Fulton County

MEMORIAL PARK STYLE

This cemetery style is typically found in suburban areas and is still used today. In Georgia, the Memorial Park style appears in the mid-20th century as a logical extension of the Lawn Park style. Even more subdued aesthetically, the Memorial Park style removes most of the traditional visual signs of death from the landscape. Its primary characteristic is its lawn-like quality punctuated with markers flush with the ground and artificial floral arrangements that allow for easy maintenance. Existing natural features are typically removed to help create this uniformity in landscape. If gallery mausoleums or columbaria are present, they serve as architectural highlights for the cemetery or they are placed along a boundary. If the cemetery has more ornate markers, they tend to be segregated to the periphery so they do not obstruct the cemetery's open contour. Ease of maintenance and costs were integral in Memorial Park–style design.

As a service to their customers, Memorial Parks often place flags or flowers on graves during the Christmas, Memorial Day, Mother's Day, and Independence Day holidays. Eternal Hills Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

Location

These burial grounds are typically established in suburban areas, often located along major thoroughfares. This location ensures accessibility and visibility by motorists and prospective clients. Most Memorial Parks are relatively large, multi-acre facilities. Choice of site location is guided by available land, opportunity for expansion, and ability to develop the grounds as a mixed-use facility.

Grave

The appearance of grave surfaces are highly regimented in order to maintain an open park-like atmosphere and to facilitate lawn maintenance. Graves are only visible by their flush markers, as the closed grave is grassed, and plantings are often prohibited.

Mausoleum/Columbaria

While private family mausoleums are typically not permitted in Memorial Park cemeteries, open gallery mausoleums and columbaria were common.

Memorial

Use of larger memorials is typically restricted to one larger memorial dedicated to a section.

Plot

Grave plots are often placed along a traditional east-west axis, but they are also positioned to face roadways. Curbing, where permitted, is limited to forms that do not extend more than a few inches above the ground surface.

Section

Cemetery sections are typically square or rectangular to establish an orderly grid of graves and plots. Much like the Lawn Park Cemetery, the Memorial Park Cemetery is divided into sections that are often marketed to target portions of the burial community. These sections may address religious, social, ethnic, and age groups. In some examples, statues and similar art are added to accent the nature or theme of a section. Section names, such as 'Garden of Peace,' 'Tranquility,' or 'Resurrection,' convey a calm and tranquil environment.[12]

Marker

Individual grave markers are typically restricted to flush forms and set so that they are not visible until approached. Highly durable bronze and granite markers are the most common types present. The placement of flower urns and other grave decorations are restricted to integrated planters or vases at the top of monuments and most decorations are removed soon after placement.

Buildings

Offices, funeral homes, and other cemetery service centers are often built in larger cemeteries; roads generally lead visitors to these buildings. These structures are positioned to be seen but not inhibit the ground's open view shed. Maintenance facilities are usually positioned towards the back of the facility.

Structures

Dramatic, highly visible installations, including statuary, flagpoles, or fountains are placed in sections near the center of the cemetery or along prominent points in the topography.

Plantings

The grounds are intentionally landscaped flat or with minimal topography to appear as open, manicured lawns or pastures. Lakes, ponds, and other standing water features are often added to accentuate the ground's open space. Trees and shrubs are planted as accents in less desirable spaces within a section. Trees are also placed in rows to act as boundaries or divisions between different cemetery sections. Trees are commonly planted along the boundaries of the cemetery to buffer out the surrounding landscape and present a natural, peaceful backdrop to the open interior space.

Plan

Feature a Grid or Curvilinear plan.

Circulation

Drives in these cemeteries are paved and wide enough to allow automotive access. These drives are laid out into grids or follow land contours in order to simplify vehicle movement in the cemetery. Vehicle paths often serve as cemetery section boundaries.

Entrance

The entrance is often flanked by gates or gateways marked with the name of the cemetery and leads to a central avenue within the cemetery.

Hardscape

While plans may have included walkways, the auto-oriented nature of the Memorial Park cemetery reduced the need for walking. Paths that are present tend to provide access to sections across lawns and are functional rather than a design element.

Enclosure

Roadway frontages provided unobstructed views into the cemetery, further emphasizing the burial ground's open space and allowing passersby to see the grounds as an open tranquil place.

(Left) The view of the cemetery from the road is completely unobstructed. Athens Memory Gardens, Clarke County. (Right) Recessed grave markers and placement of buildings along the facility's boundary add a park-like atmosphere to the Memorial Park Cemetery. Brunswick Memorial Gardens, Glynn County.

Good Examples...

Macon Memorial Park,
    Bibb County

Riverview Memorial Gardens,
    Lowndes County

Memorial Park Cemetery,
    Hall County

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CHAPTER FIVE
IDENTIFICATION AND SURVEY

RESEARCH AND MAKING CONTACTS
RECORDING CEMETERIES AS HISTORIC RESOURCES
RECORDING CEMETERIES AS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
REPORTING FINDINGS

Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.
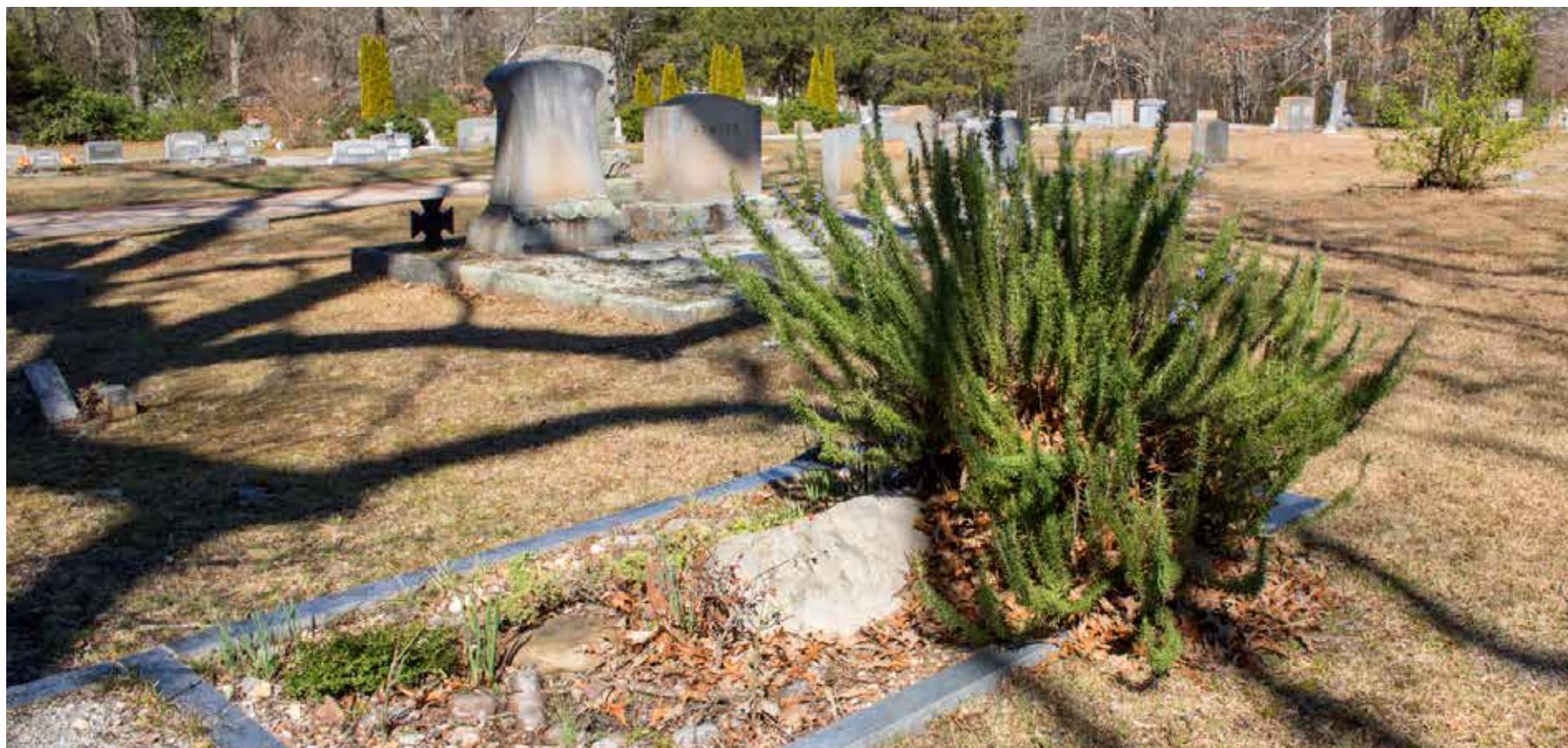
Cemeteries are a unique resource type as they possess both substantial above and below ground components that may contain significant cultural information. In Georgia, this duality results in cemeteries being recorded in the state's databases as archaeological sites, historic resources, or both. Information on previously identified cemeteries recorded as historic resources can be found in Georgia's Natural Archaeological and Historic Resources GIS Database (GNAHRGIS). Data on cemeteries recorded as archaeological sites is not available to the public due to preservation concerns. Many local communities, historical societies, or libraries have databases on local cemeteries as well.

To bridge this recordation gap between archaeological sites and history resources and expand what we know about the state's historic cemeteries, a comprehensive GIS data layer on historic cemeteries was developed as a research tool using data from four available sources: GNAHRGIS Historic Resources (2016); GNAHRGIS Archaeological Sites (2016); The Board of Geographic Names from the USGS (2016); and Atlanta Regional Commission's Cemetery Polygon Shapefiles (2012). While care was taken to remove duplicate locations between each of the sources, some overlap may remain within the data. Another data issue is that many of Georgia's historic cemeteries are contributing properties to a larger historic district and are not individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), which masks their presence. Given those parameters, this map may be more useful for those looking at cemeteries in the aggregate, as it shows the distribution of historic cemeteries across the state, and should be an aid in project planning and research.

The following chapter provides a research plan for the identification and survey of Georgia's cemeteries. It examines the aboveground landscapes that cemeteries represent, as well as their below ground research potential as archaeological sites. Three tasks are involved: researching, recording, and reporting findings.

RESEARCH AND MAKING CONTACTS

DESKTOP RESEARCH

To discern whether the project area contains a previously recorded cemetery, the area should be viewed in GNAHRGIS for the most updated survey and NRHP data. Additionally, the area of interest and its surroundings should be thoroughly examined using online resources. Google Earth™, Microsoft's Bing Maps™, the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) provide contemporary online aerial photography. For historic aerial imagery, the Digital Library of Georgia has a collection of 225,000 aerial photographs of Georgia from 1930 through the 1980s, while Historic Aerials provides both topographic maps and aerial imagery (at a cost) over a similar date range. Other online databases host historic map collections that can provide information such as soil maps produced by the USDA. County maps, county highway maps, and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps are also important tools for the identification of historic cemeteries.

If available online, historic aerial photography should be viewed and compared with current aerial photography to understand the physical development of the study cemetery and to define boundaries, if possible. If several historic aerials are available that show a cemetery over time, a developmental chronology for the cemetery can be compiled. Most Georgia counties also have tax parcel information available online; sometimes, cemeteries are listed on the parcel card.

While some cemeteries are immediately apparent in aerial photography, others are hidden in plain view. Sites in rural landscapes, particularly in systems of cultivated fields that have been studiously avoided by agricultural development, may actually contain cemeteries no longer in use. Left alone, they become vegetated over time and can be recognized by their absence of development despite the changes surrounding them. These areas that look like they should have been used, but were not, are often indicators of a cemetery and should be investigated.

Historic soil maps produced by the USDA and historic topographic maps through the USGS are helpful for identifying both formal and alternate cemetery names as they are often labeled on these maps. If the cemetery name is already known, the USGS Geographic Names Information System (GNIS) has a query form that can be used to find all cemeteries in a county with a particular name on historic topographic maps.

There are many avenues for researching named sites. If the cemetery in question has a name, it may also have a website. Counties often have webpages or websites devoted to their cemeteries. "Friends" groups and some counties have developed their own online databases. Friends of Cemeteries of Middle Georgia, for example, covers Baldwin, Hancock, Jones, Washington, and Wilkinson counties. Another invaluable tool for researchers is the USGenWeb Project. A group of volunteers is amassing a database for genealogical research in every county and every state in the United States. At the state level, the Georgia section of the website (thegaproject.org) provides information on each county. Census records, churches, obituaries, vital records, court records, land records, and maps are included that might help locate a cemetery.

The Georgia Tombstone Transcription Project and Find-a-Grave.com can be useful resources. Both of these volunteer-based programs strive to provide full transcriptions of all headstones in a given cemetery. They are particularly helpful for headstones that were once well maintained and easily readable but are now weathered, no longer legible, or completely gone. Using all of these desktop research methods together, instead of relying to heavily on any one type of source, can help to form the fullest possible picture of a cemetery's past.

Using GNAHRGIS to Gather Information on Cemeteries.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

When further archival research is warranted, it typically begins with a search of land records to enrich what is known beyond the online record and to get a legal sense of boundary. This can require a visit to the county courthouse to research deeds and historic plat maps, as most counties' online databases only include information from the last 20-30 years. Georgia's Department of Archives and History possesses land record information for Georgia's counties on microfilm, as well as tax rolls and wills and inventories that may assist research. While maps and tax information will not usually provide specific names of the individuals interred in a particular cemetery, they occasionally provide the cemetery name or owner that can spur further research. On occasion, family histories or commercial records can provide easy access to information about a given cemetery.

County courthouses, churches, local libraries, museums, and genealogical/historical societies often have archival information on cemeteries. Many counties have compiled a list of cemeteries keyed to a county map. County cemetery books are usually available at local repositories such as libraries, historical societies, land record offices. The Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia is an excellent source of this type of resource. These county cemetery books are typically based on field visits or interviews with local landowners or community members. Information ranges from a mention of an unknown cemetery on a nearby road and estimates of the cemetery's size, to a complete record of the cemetery and a full transcription of every visible headstone.
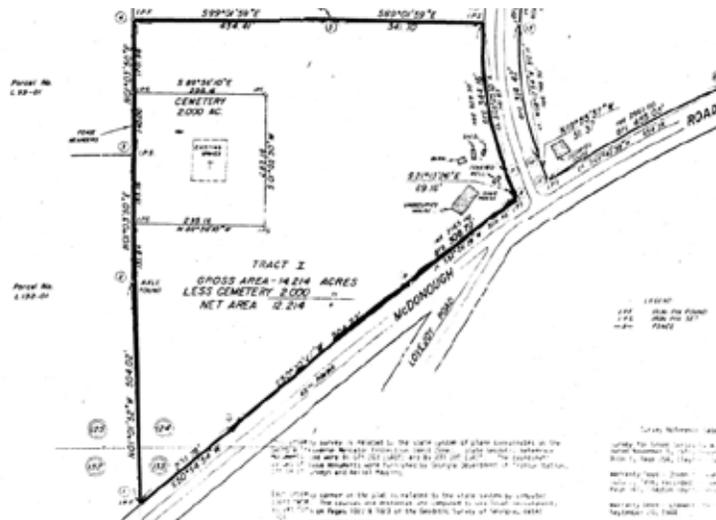
MAKING CONTACTS

Finally, make contact with knowledgeable individuals about a county's history or local landowners who may be able to help identify the location, name, and periods of use of historic cemeteries. Representatives from local archives, historical societies, religious groups, and sextons can also provide important information and, in some cases, can be the only sources of information on cemeteries.

At the close of your research, the type of cemetery should have been identified, as well as its potential size, its users, and its developmental history. Productive desktop and archival research provides the researcher with a better grasp of the field conditions that may be encountered and the time needed to do the level of survey the project requires.

(Left) Plat of the Crawford-Dorsey Family Cemetery, Clayton County. (Above) Speaking to informants in the field, such as at Avondale Burial Place in Bibb County, can provide valuable information on a cemetery.

RECORDING CEMETERIES AS HISTORIC RESOURCES

Thorough survey guidance for Georgia's cemeteries is available on the Historic Preservation Division's (HPD) website. The broad-based guidance is aimed at large-scale cemetery inventory projects at the county level or for fully surveying individual cemeteries, as well as organizing community cemetery preservation projects. It is comprehensive in scope and provides basic instructions for tasks, including survey and mapping techniques, photography, plant inventory, basic historic cemetery marker repairs, cleaning markers and monuments, and organizing a cemetery preservation project. Survey forms were also developed by HPD to help both professionals and non-professionals successfully capture cemetery data and the methodology allows for general recordation of cemeteries, as well as on the graves, plots, and sections that compose them.

The following survey guidance complements HPD's Guide to Cemetery Surveying, however, it focuses on providing survey methods for Section 106 practitioners, who are tasked with the identification, description, and evaluation of a historic cemetery within a project scope. All cemeteries located within a project's area of potential effects (APE) that are at least 50 years of age are considered historic resources and must be evaluated to determine eligibility for the NRHP. The level of effort and detail of the survey required for Section 106 practitioners will depend on the size of the cemetery, information available for the resource, and the time frame for which the evaluation needs to be completed. The most thorough survey possible should be conducted.

Regardless of their size and scope, cemetery field surveys should begin with a pedestrian or vehicular reconnaissance survey of the cemetery grounds to determine a cemetery's plan or organization, size, style, and character-defining features. The information within this context is designed to help enrich cemetery descriptions, provide a shared vocabulary for common cemetery features, and provide guidance on how to approach cemeteries as resources in the field. The surveyor should be attentive to what is present and what is absent in terms of cemetery features. Attention should also be given to the potential for cemeteries to include one or more styles or types.

Mapping is key to understanding and illustrating a cemetery's organization or plan. It is recommended to create a sketch map while surveying all cemeteries, where the features, plans, styles, and other details can be noted. The sketch map can also be used to document timelines of different cemetery sections or the location of family plots. An enlarged print of the current aerial can be used as a base map or one can be drawn in the field. If current aerial imagery is covered by trees or other vegetation, a hand-drawn map may be required for the evaluation. Depending on the scope of the survey effort, the level of detail on the map may vary. For reconnaissance or simple surveys, particularly of smaller cemeteries, a hand-drawn sketch map is adequate. For these smaller cemeteries, an accurate map can be drawn to scale that provides a reliable depiction of the cemetery and its contents by using long measuring tapes and a compass. At a minimum, the map should include the cemetery boundary and setting (such as all nearby roads); arrangement patterns of graves; section or plot boundaries; circulation patterns; buildings/structures and objects; deliberate plantings; and other features important for identifying the plan, type, and style of the cemetery. Discerning cemetery boundaries, particularly within a rural context, may be particularly challenging. Look for soil/trash piles at the edges or back of a cemetery that may be covered with cemetery debris (wreath stands and saddles; flower pots; dead, cut flowers; etc.). These soil/trash piles emphasize the boundary of the cemetery as acknowledged by the burying community or maintenance staff. For cemeteries that do not correspond to a legal parcel, the boundary can be captured with a GPS (Global Positioning System) unit.

Visual inspection of the ground surface for unmarked graves, overgrown markers, and cemetery plantings can yield a preliminary count of the graves. Taking note of repeating family names and date ranges can help establish areas and periods of use. Care should be taken to recognize the potential for unmarked graves along a cemetery's margins, which may require an archaeological survey to identify and include in the boundary definition.

For larger cemeteries, a "district"-like approach for recordation may be required. For this approach, the objective is to retrieve sufficient data on the aboveground features that allow for a thorough evaluation. Furthermore, photography should be

CRITICAL SURVEY TASKS

The following tasks are identified as critical to a cemetery survey according to state guidelines:

- Identifying the cemetery boundary and features within it, including unmarked graves;

- Mapping the cemetery, including the overall layout, graves, and plots within the cemetery boundaries;

- Taking notes on headstone inscriptions, including date ranges and epitaphs;

- Photographing notable grave markers, monuments, and other cemetery landscape features;

- Recording the condition of grave markers, monuments, landscape, and structural features; and

- Recording the condition of the landscape.

detailed enough to support the evaluation. To the fullest extent possible, a cemetery should be photographed using high-resolution color photography that captures the topography, setting, and physical context of the resource. An aerial image or map should be presented that shows the cemetery's boundaries, organization, and interior circulation patterns. Detailed views of sections, plots and graves, buildings, structures, markers and monuments, plantings, hardscape, etc. should be taken and keyed to the cemetery plan image/map.

MARKER INVENTORIES

Marker inventories are a component of a full cemetery survey per HPD's current guidance. Often for Section 106 surveys, a full marker inventory will not be feasible, and individual markers should be documented to the degree necessary for the evaluation. Cemeteries should be surveyed and recorded to the fullest extent possible, with considerations given to the schedule and scope of individual projects. Depending on the scope of the project, developing an inventory of marked and unmarked graves can range from a simple count of graves to a full transcription and conditions assessment of each marker. For a typical marker inventory, each marker and unmarked grave should be assigned a number that is then tied to a sketch map of the cemetery. The inventory should include as much information about the marker as possible. Recording the marker shape, material, carving decorations, symbols, biographical information, carver or manufacturer information, funeral home name, the condition of the marker, repairs, dimensions, and orientation are key. Developing a standardized form that is used for each marker will ensure that the inventory is complete and consistent. As noted, HPD has developed a form that they use when surveying cemeteries that can be downloaded from their website. The level of detail may change to suit the project depending on the scope or purpose of the survey.

The use of a reflective surface or a flashlight can help illuminate the lettering on weathered monuments or when sunlight is insufficient. Use a north arrow or ruler for scale and to provide directional information. The use of rubbings, flour, chalk, or other substances to assist with the observation of marker inscriptions should be prohibited as these materials cannot be fully washed off and can hasten the stone's material decomposition.

Cemetery Survey. Philips-Swanson Cemetery, Coweta County.

ABANDONED CEMETERIES

Cemeteries do not always receive the care and attention they deserve. Caretakers move, pass away, become infirm, or no longer can afford to take care of the grounds. Families move away. Over time the cemetery falls by the wayside and may be largely forgotten. Georgia Code 36-72 recognizes an abandoned cemetery as showing signs of neglect including overgrown vegetation, unchecked and repeated acts of vandalism, monument dilapidation, and loss of boundaries. A cemetery is considered abandoned when there is no one who is legally responsible or financially able to maintain it. While guidelines have been instituted to ensure that modern cemeteries receive perpetual care, these rules do not apply to many older cemeteries. In some cases, landowners do not have a regulatory requirement or financial incentive to provide care to abandoned cemeteries.

The Gospel Pilgrim Cemetery in Clarke County was established by a large burial association, but has since been abandoned.

The overgrown Tussahaw Creek Cemetery in Butts County is the last surviving remnant of an African American church cemetery. Cemeteries may be the last reminder of a church or community left on the landscape.

The culturally sensitive nature of the cemetery means that they are usually avoided by growth and development. They often survive when all other vestiges of a community have vanished from the landscape. As neglect reduces the abandoned cemetery's visibility it fades from memory and with it, the existence of a past community. In order to be avoided, they have to be recognized. When abandoned cemeteries are recorded, recognition of their presence is not dependent on surface features alone. They become part of a record not only of a cultural feature in the landscape but are landmarks for communities whose presence have all but disappeared. Abandoned cemeteries are perhaps the ones with the greatest need for documentation.

(Below) The abandoned Allen Ballard Cemetery is the last vestige of a Revolutionary War land grant family in Pike County, Georgia.

(Top Right) Abandoned cemeteries sometimes mark important historic sites. The Locust Grove Cemetery in Taliaferro County was one of the first Catholic burial grounds in Georgia. (Middle) The Kennedy Family Cemetery in Forsyth County is hidden in a wooded alcove in front of a busy industrial complex. (Bottom) The Greene Family Cemetery, Fulton County, features a substantial wall and is the only surviving element of a former plantation along the Chattahoochee River.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY

Each experienced surveyor has their own typical approach to a cemetery survey – an order of operations for their particular survey. When a cemetery survey is complete, a description of the cemetery landscape elements discussed throughout Section Two should all have been covered. Deed research may be necessary, as well as research on historic maps, aerial imagery and various methods of ground truthing depending on the level of the survey. But there are also the less tangible elements of survey that develop after examining many cemeteries. The following is a compilation of some of the authors' approaches, what we look for first in a cemetery and how we break down the task of discovering a cemetery's particular story.

"When looking a cemetery, the first thing I try to do is look at the entirety of the cemetery. I purposefully ignore the details. Where am I on the larger landscape? How did I reach the cemetery? Is the cemetery overgrown or is it cared for? What is it near? Churches? A farm? What is the overall size? Does the burial area seem fully enclosed? I find that once you start looking at the details - markers, epitaphs, curbing – sometimes you lose perspective on the big picture. So try to capture that first."

The Brotherhood Burial Section (Above Left) and the Macedonia Church Burial Section (Above Right) in the Rock Springs Cemetery in Clayton County. The Rock Springs Cemetery lies adjacent to and south of the Forest Hills Memorial Gardens Cemetery. Dating from 1905 to 1987, this African American cemetery is easily overlooked at first as it is situated on wooded parcels that abut the large open grassy Memorial Garden style cemetery to the north. A first impression might be of a small, wooded, secluded Community cemetery with scattered burial clusters. Due to the municipal water tower that dominates the cemetery's west end, however, first impressions of the cemetery itself are often overshadowed. Deeper analysis reveals internal patterns of organization and displays of religious burial traditions within the clusters, each of which represents a different local historic African American organization. Rock Springs Cemetery is actually composed of at least three types of cemeteries that have joined together over time: two African American churches (Rock Springs Church and Macedonia Church) and two Non-Profit Corporate groups (Forest Park Lodge of Odd Fellows and Brotherhood of Odd Fellows). The individual distinctions within the cemetery are not obvious from first impressions. The overall first impression is of an Community cemetery.

"As an archaeologist my first thoughts are often looking at ways to determine what types of survey methods will be most appropriate to the given cemetery. What's the ground cover like? How many visible features are there to map in? Probing? Remote sensing? What field methods will allow me to discover the most information within the limits of my project scope?"

"One of the National Register aspects of integrity is feeling. This is actually one of the first and last things I look for during survey. What does the cemetery feel like? Is there a perception of a time period? A style? Socioeconomic status? Doing it first, before you discover too much, gives you the now of how the cemetery feels. Then doing it again, after the research is complete and the cemetery's developmental history is clear, you can see if the feeling matches whatever historical significance you are evaluating for."

(Below) The East View Cemetery in Dekalb County was established as a Corporate cemetery in 1883 and is maintained today by a cemetery association.

(Above) The Waltourville Presbyterian Church Cemetery in Liberty County was originally a Protestant Church Cemetery, but was soon after used by the broader local community. The church congregation, originally established in 1855, is now in its third church building and is over a mile away. The cemetery's more monumental gate is somewhat at odds with the scale of other organizing features of the cemetery and looks out of place without the previously adjacent church building. The markers, however, strongly convey a Rural Garden and later Lawn Park style and the NRHP-eligible cemetery is considered significant for its collection of markers.

"Finally, I would say, file those first impressions away and do the survey. They may be very useful – or they could be wildly inaccurate. But they often provide a starting place for a survey. For example, it felt like there was an exceptional amount of religious iconography – is there a church or religious building nearby? It seemed like plots are spaced at a distance from one another and are not really arranged in a grid like plan. Family plots in a community burial setting? Then do all the survey and the research and don't be too set in what your first impressions conveyed. Cemeteries can have many layers and the most obvious ones for that cemetery may not actually be the most significant."

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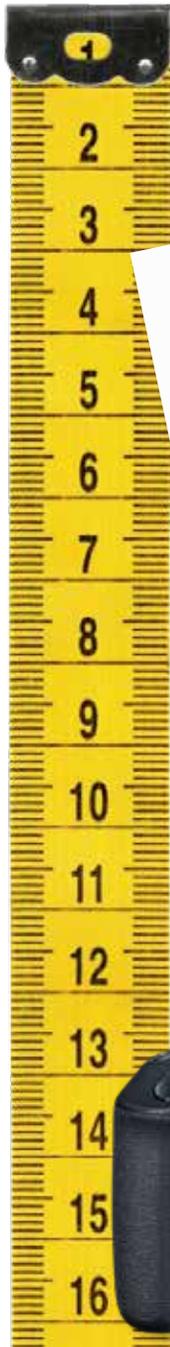
General Cemetery Survey Form
Georgia Historic Cemetery Preservation

Survey Date _4/8/11_   Surveyor's Name _H B Reed_

Contact Information/Affiliation _New South Associates_

Current Cemetery Name _City of Stone Mountain Cemetery_

Historic Cemetery Name _____

Address or location related to nearby town/landmarks

City _Stone Mountain_   County _De Kalb_

GIS Information _____

Owner _City of Stone Mountain_

Owner's Address _____

Owner's Contact Information _____   ✓ city   church

Ownership
___ private-profit   ___ private-nonprofit   ___ private-unspecified
___ county   ___ state   ___ federal   other _____

Accessibility to public   ✓ by car   ✓ by foot
✓ unrestricted   ___ restricted (private property)

Plan (s)
✓ informal   ✓ grid   ___ regimented   ___ curvilinear   ___ other

Type (check all that apply)   ___ community   ✓ municipal   ___ institutional   ___ military   N/A
___ family   ___ religious
___ corporate

Style
___ Vernacular/folk   ___ rural   ___ garden   ___ lawn park   ___ memorial park

Current status
___ actively accepting new burials   ___ maintained but not accepting new burials
___ maintained

___ ion of conditions of grounds
___ good   ___ fair   ___ poor

___ overgrown grass   ___ overgrown shrubs   ___ other   ___ unpruned trees
___ un   ___ walkway/road erosion

City of Stone Mountain Cemetery

Latest Burials (toward the back)

Mausoleums

Path

Path

African American Section

Path

GRIDDED AREA

Path

CIVIL WAR SECTION

Mature Cedars & Hardwoods (throughout cemetery)

POST WWII SECTION

Oldest Burials (toward the front)

Formal Entry w/Piers

1 inch = 275 feet

b bing
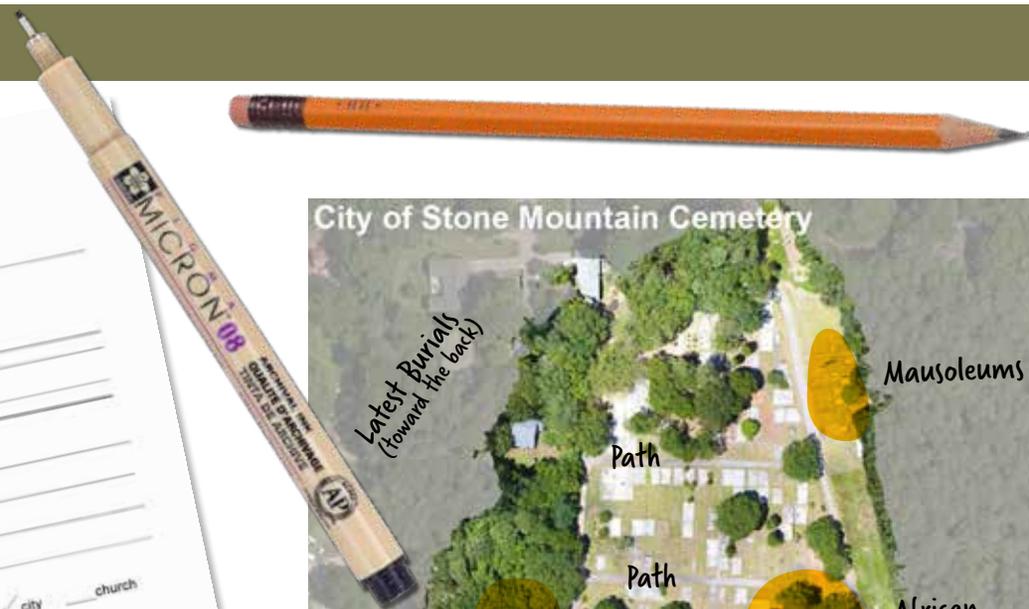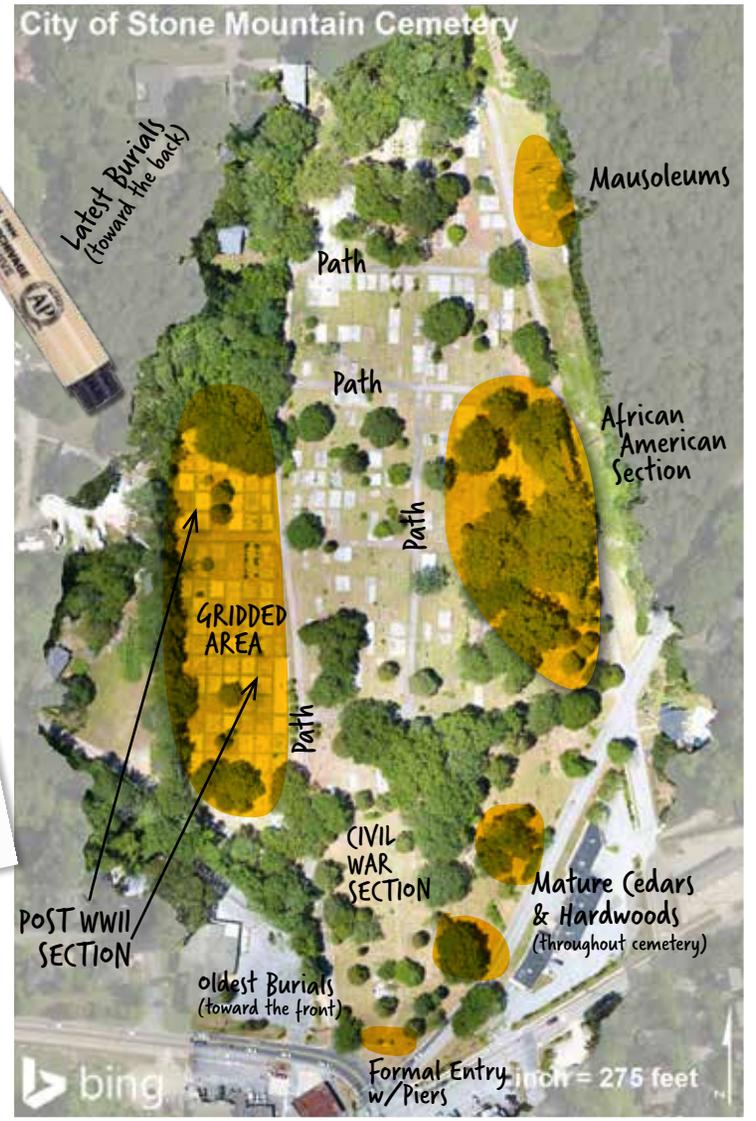
Entrance

Section

Boundary and Entrance

Marker Type

Burial Types

Inscription

Vegetation

Plot Feature

Circulation

Fencing

Coping

Grave Goods
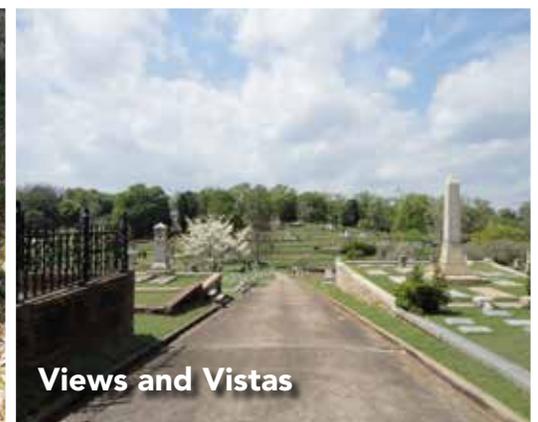
Views and Vistas

Examples of Survey Photography Taken to Capture Notable Cemetery Features.

RECORDING CEMETERIES WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES

Cemeteries sometimes contain unmarked burials that may require archaeological techniques to identify. In some instances, no markers are extant within a cemetery and archaeology is the only technique that can identify burial locations and cemetery limits. The following techniques can be used to identify unmarked as well as informally marked burials. All of these techniques are probabilistic in nature and cannot provide definitive proof that a grave is present.

SURFACE SURVEY

The simplest form of cemetery survey is a pedestrian walk-over and visual scan of the ground surface for indications of marked or unmarked graves. From the ground surface, burials may be identified by any of the following features:

- Human-sized, cigar-shaped depressions or mounds;
- Presence of fieldstones arranged as head and/or footstones;
- Concentrations of mortuary-associated ground covers, particularly vinca, narcissus (daffodils), cedar, hemlock, crepe myrtle, gardenia, spirea, roses, lilies, and/or irises;
- Stone, metal, wood, or floral enclosures that restrict land use for other (particularly agricultural) purposes;
- Oval or rectangular concentrations of stone, glass, wood, metal, seashells, or plastic containers used to outline a potential grave;
- Low oval or rectangular piles of stones;
- Maintained areas evidenced by removal of vegetation and unwanted debris; and/or
- Oval or human-sized color/plant differences in mowed areas.

Vegetation Changes: Soil compaction, structure, and ability to retain moisture are changed after a grave is dug. Each of these affects the vegetation that can grow on the surface of the grave. Graves may be noted by a difference in grass health. Georgia State Prison Cemetery, Tattnall County.

Depressions: Graves sink from a combination of the collapse of the coffin or casket and from re-compacting of the dirt over time. Left unfilled, the resulting cigar-shaped depressions are important clues to a grave's location. Grantville Cemetery, Coweta County.

Soil Stains: While some unmarked graves can be seen from the ground surface, many cannot be identified unless the topsoil is removed. When a grave is first dug, the topsoil and subsoil get mixed. The result is a darker stain in undisturbed soil. Williams Cemetery, Fulton County.

In addition, the following landscape characteristics are helpful for identifying abandoned cemeteries in rural areas:

- Mounded dirt delineating family plots;
- Narrow terraces on sloped ground used to allow the creation of burial plots; and/or
- Roads or paths leading up to the cemetery or between grave plots.

PROBING/PENETROMETER

Archaeologists use probes and penetrometers to assess soil compaction as a means of determining whether unmarked graves are present. This method is particularly useful in wooded areas or where more sophisticated geophysical equipment, discussed below, is not practical or impossible. Probes and penetrometers can be used to assess soil compaction and can identify burials by the presence of less compact, excavated, and replaced soil in grave shafts. Traditionally, archaeologists have used simple probes that consist of a metal rod with a T-bar handle on one end and a rounded or slightly pointed tip on the other. These rely on the skill of the surveyor to identify differences in soil compaction by feel. In recent years, archaeologists have adopted the penetrometer for burial survey. Penetrometers measure soil compaction density using a pressure gauge that indicates soil compaction in pounds per square inch (psi). Comparisons of the techniques support the use of a penetrometer for grave identification.

Probing to determine if unmarked graves are present.

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Whether using a probe or penetrometer, a survey grid should be established, typically at approximately two-foot intervals. This distance between probe locations and transects has proven the most ideal for identifying small graves and to distinguish between natural burrows and trees and cultural features.

CADAVER DOGS

Domestic dogs can be used to identify burials through scent. Law enforcement agencies routinely use dogs trained to detect bombs, drugs, accelerants, and land mines as well as to track suspects and missing people. Air-scent dogs, a subset of the working dogs that includes search and rescue (SAR) dogs, cadaver dogs, and avalanche dogs, have demonstrated the ability to detect specific targets through the air and human scents. With proper training, cadaver dogs have demonstrated the ability detect buried human remains in both modern and archaeological contexts with a considerable degree of reliability.

Cadaver dogs are trained and deployed primarily through SAR teams. Members of Alpha Team Search and Rescue (ATSAR) in Georgia have noted that vegetation and water play roles in the ability of the dogs to identify graves. Paula Chambers with ASTAR suggested that trees may act like straws drawing the scent of decomposition up from the graves along with ground water and disperse the scent. She noted that her dogs often follow scents up tree trunks. Rebmann et al. suggested that scents can pool at air-flow barrier locations, such as trees or hills, forming a secondary scent pool away from the actual remains. Scent can also drain away from the body down a hill with moving water, reducing the concentration of the scent cone near the remains. Members of ATSAR have observed that when a pond or other body of water is downhill from a potential or known grave location, the ground water can carry the scent with it and the dogs often hit along the edge of the pond. Probing can help vent the scent. When dogs are having some difficulty, probing can vent the soil enough to provide a fresh source of scent for the dog to follow.

Cadaver dogs are capable of identifying graves several hundred years old and can contribute to grave detection in historic cemeteries. They are useful as tools in addition to other methods and have particular use in identifying potential cemetery locations in wooded areas when a specific location is not known. However, dogs have their limitations. Many dogs have difficulty pinpointing the exact location of the remains. Often, the dogs will alert in the general location of a grave. ATSAR team member Theresa Roche notes that dogs often have difficulty with multiple close burials and distinguishing between individual graves. She adds that this is likely due to soil saturation. Dogs are, hence, better at identifying the presence of human burials than they are at noting actual burial location. Weather conditions are also a factor in the effectiveness of the cadaver dogs. Hot, dry conditions impair the animal's ability to detect and follow scent trail, which has to do with the dog's natural cooling system that involves panting. A dog cannot pant and follow a scent at the same time.

Other problems associated with the use of dogs for grave detection revolve around adequate training. A number of studies have identified the lack of systematic and standardized training between teams. The ability of the dog to locate the scent and the ability of the handler to recognize the sometimes very subtle alert is key to a successful search.

REMOTE SENSING

There are several remote-sensing methods for grave detection commonly used by archaeologists, including, in order of applicability, ground penetrating radar (GPR), magnetics (magnetometers), metal detectors, electromagnetic resistivity, and electromagnetic conductivity. All of these methods are non-destructive and are non-invasive or minimally-invasive techniques that have been successful in the detection of unmarked graves.

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR)

GPR is the most effective geophysical technique for identifying burials. GPR works by emitting electromagnetic waves into the ground and capturing the reflected signals with an antenna. When the pulses reflect off of subsurface features, the speed of the reflected signal changes, making the features visible. The greater the contrast in electrical and magnetic properties of the feature versus the surrounding soil, the stronger the reflected signal. The amount of time the signals take to reflect back to the meter provides information on depth. In general, the radar signal can detect features to depths of one

GPR Survey Showing Trench Burial Locations, Civil War Section, of Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.

to four meters and is best used in sandy soils. GPR on a typical archaeological survey generally produces good resolution at depths up to about two meters (5 ft.). Real-time results are displayed on a monitor attached to the antenna, which is a feature that most other methods do not provide. GPR data can be viewed in both two- and three-dimensional images as well as amplitude slice maps, all of which can provide varying amounts of detail. Amplitude slice maps and three-dimensional maps are the most useful when mapping cemeteries.

GPR is frequently used for grave detection because it is able to detect relatively small, subtle features at a greater depth than other methods. GPR is able to pierce through asphalt pavement, flooring, concrete, soil layers, fresh water, ice, and stone slabs, but is blocked by sheet metal or metal reinforcing mesh with a small grid size. Flat, cleared ground is ideal for GPR surveys since the antenna works best when kept flush with the ground surface. Several factors influence the overall effectiveness of GPR for detecting graves, including soil conductivity, water content, soil density and porosity, temperature, the physical structure of the soil, the frequency of the electromagnetic pulse, and the amount of salt in the ground. Soil conditions are the most important, with clay being the most difficult to penetrate. The age of the graves is also critical, with older graves being more difficult to detect because of the length of time they have had to decompose. When possible, it is helpful to calibrate the GPR to local conditions by passing over a known grave and noting the overall strength of the signal.

Magnetometer

Magnetometry is a survey method that maps local variations in the natural magnetic signature of the soil. For archaeologists, magnetometry is used to recognize contrasts between archaeological features and the surrounding soil. The idea is based on the assumption that if there is a difference between a feature and the surrounding soil, there will be a difference in their effect on the soil's magnetic field. While a little residual primary magnetism is present in all soils and rocks, when humans interact with their environment, they unintentionally alter the naturally occurring magnetism. Using a magnetometer, archaeologists are able to identify culturally-induced magnetic variations such as kiln fires, stone or brick walls, and graves. Kiln fires, used for the production of ceramic pottery and brick, reach very high temperatures that produce thermoremanent anomalies. In other words, a new magnetic signature is introduced to the pottery or brick by heating the ground to a high temperature that can be detected by a magnetometer.

This method is ideal for archaeological survey because rapid data acquisition rates allow for large areas to be surveyed in relatively small amounts of time, and high spatial sampling densities, well in to the sub-meter range, allow for good spatial detail. Magnetometers are most successful at identifying anomalies in the upper 1-2 meters in most soil features, with a limit of about three meters unless a large burned or iron mass is present, which can be detected at much greater depths. Since the magnetic field of the Earth does not change with daily temperature or weather conditions, magnetometer surveys can be conducted throughout the year. Magnetometers are also not sensitive to groundwater like GPR and resistivity instruments. They are, however, very sensitive to interference from metal on the operator's clothing, power lines, radio transmission stations, bridge, road culverts, buildings, railroad tracks, and underground utilities.
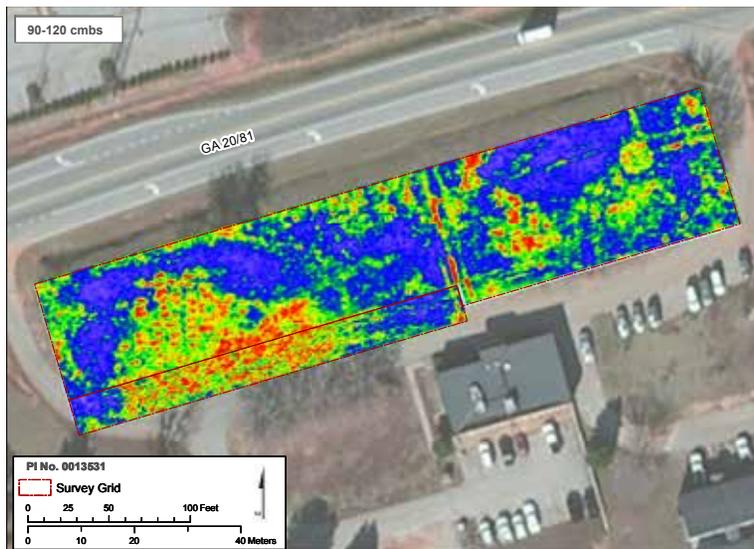
GPR Results, Unmarked Cemetery, Henry County.

Metal Detecting

Metal detectors work on the same principal as magnetometers in that the detector reacts to electrical conductivity of objects in the ground. They are the least expensive of the geophysical instruments and the easiest to operate. All metal detectors use a search coil located at the end of the machine to generate an electromagnetic field. When the field comes in contact with a metallic object, the responding current is converted to an audible signal. The advantages of using a metal detector are that they can identify metal objects through soil, concrete, asphalt, plaster, foliage, and water. They can detect a range of metals including iron, brass, copper, nickel, aluminum, steel, tin, lead, gold, and bronze.

The larger the coil, the deeper the buried artifacts can be detected. However, the typical metal detector can reliably detect objects up to 12-14 inches (30-36 cm). For that reason, metal detectors may be most useful in historic cemetery surveys after the ground surface has been mechanically removed. In areas where the grave shaft fill and the surrounding soil matrix are very similar in color and texture, such as near the coast, metal detectors can aid in the identification of very subtle grave shafts by detecting the nails, coffin hardware, or personal artifacts within the grave. If the body was deposited in a shroud with no coffin and no pins, jewelry, or buttons, then the grave will not be identifiable. Very shallow graves may be identifiable from the surface.

Electrical Resistivity

Electrical resistivity surveys measure the capacity of soil and soil inclusions to resist electricity. Electrical-resistance meters are similar to Ohm meters used to test electrical circuits in homes and offices. Resistivity surveys work by inserting probes into the ground to inject electrical current into the soil to measure the local resistance. Electrical current always chooses the path of least resistance, and burial shafts can be identified as they are more or less resistant than the surrounding soil. The typical resistivity meter induces electric current into the ground though a four-electrode array. This method is non-destructive, but minimally invasive because the metal electrodes are pushed slightly into the ground in order to make good electrical contact. The porosity of the soil, clay content, and amount and chemical make-up (free ions) of the groundwater are the most important factors that affect how well the soil conducts electricity.

In an archaeological setting, it is the contrast between the surrounding soil and the archaeological feature that is measured. For resistivity surveys, it is the differential water retention between the surrounding soil and the feature that produces high-resistance and low-resistance anomalies. The contrast between the organically enriched grave and the surrounding undisturbed soils typically produces a difference in electrical resistivity. A higher moisture content and a difference in soil consolidation between the grave and surrounding matrix also contributes to the lowered electrical resistivity of the grave. Ideal conditions for the most contrast are when the soil moisture is moderate and soil temperature is high. Because graves represent relatively small targets, they may be more difficult to detect than linear features such as trenches. The accuracy of resistivity surveys decreases with depth. Shallower graves, such as children's graves, may be more easily detectable than deeper adult graves. It should also be noted that nearby anomalies, such as irrigation ditches, will have an adverse impact on the resistivity readings as the electrical impulses will be drawn to them rather than the graves.

Electromagnetic Conductivity

Electromagnetic (EM) surveys use an electromagnetic induction meter, which measures the ability of the soil to conduct an electromagnetic signal. The machine works by using a transmitting coil near the ground surface to emit a low-frequency signal that produces a primary electromagnetic field. When the primary field bounces off of subsurface conductive materials, a secondary field is created that is then picked up by a receiving coil. The physical distance between the two coils dictates how deep the machine can see into the soil. Depth range varies with how the machine is calibrated. In general, they can reach up to six meters, but are most sensitive up to 1.5 meters in depth.

EM instruments can detect graves by identifying the contrast between grave backfill and the surrounding soil matrix. EM has been highly successful for identifying metal burial containers such as lead coffins. The machines work well in most moisture conditions ranging from fairly wet to extremely dry or frozen. Conductivity surveys are ineffective in sandy environments due to the high soil resistivity, but can be conducted in hard surface areas such as parking lots. They can also successfully be used in wooded areas, provided the instrument can be kept level and in a general line. EM can be affected by changes in temperature throughout the day; however, it is possible to correct for "temperature drift" later in the lab. One of the primary complaints against using EM to detect graves is the inherent low resolution and slow continuous sampling. Bigman suggested recording only a single frequency from a multifrequency machine can overcome these issues.

REMOTE SENSING TOOLS

GPR Survey of Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Magnetometer Survey in Decatur Cemetery, DeKalb County, Georgia.

REPORTING FINDINGS

The final task is reporting the findings of the cemetery survey. In Georgia, sharing survey results can involve entering the findings into GNAHRGIS, completing a Property Information Form for cemeteries recorded as historic resources and an Archaeological Site Form for those that are recorded as archaeological sites, and completing a survey report. Section 106 practitioners should be aware of what specific reporting is needed for their project. The Georgia Archaeological Site Form and instructions can be found at **https://archaeology.uga.edu/site-forms**. A template for GDOT Historic Property Information Forms can be found at **http://teams.dot.ga.gov/offices/envservices/cultural/default.aspx** and the GDOT *Section 106 Cultural Resources Manual* further spells out requirements.

GEORGIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE FORM
1990
Official Site Number:

Institutional Site Number:
County:
Site Name:
UTM Zone: _____ Map Name:
Owner: _____ UTM East: _____ UTM North: _____ USGS or USNOAA
Site Length: _____ meters Width: _____ Address:
Orientation: 1. N-S   2. E-W   3. NE-SW   meters Elevation: + -
Kind of Investigation: 1. Survey   2. Testing   4. NW-SE   5. Round   6. Unknown   meters
                        5. Hearsay   6. Unknown   3. Excavation   4. Documentary
Standing Architecture: 1. Present   2. Absent   7. Amateur
Site Nature: 1. Plowzone 2. Subsurface 3. Both 4. Only Surface
              5. Unknown 6. Underwater
Midden: 1. Present 2. Absent 3. Unknown
Percent Disturbance: 1. None   2. Great
Type of Site (Mill, Mound, Quarry, Lithic

Topography (Ridge, Terrace, etc.):

Current Vegetation (Woods, Pasture, etc.):

Additional Information:

SKETCH MAP
(Include sites, roads, streams, landmarks)

GNAHRGIS

Georgia's Natural, Archaeological, and Historic Resources GIS

GROUND-PENETRATING RADAR SURVEY OF THE
ANGLIN CEMETERY, MATHIS AIRPORT

Forsyth County, Georgia

New South Associates
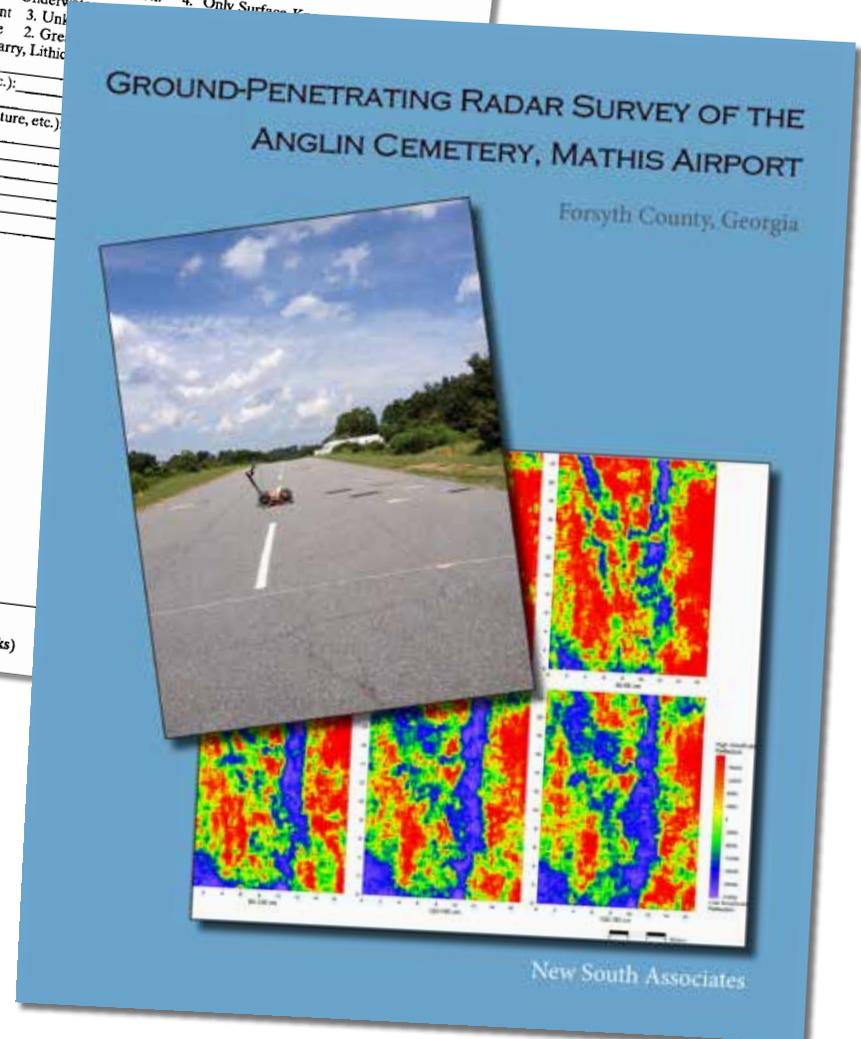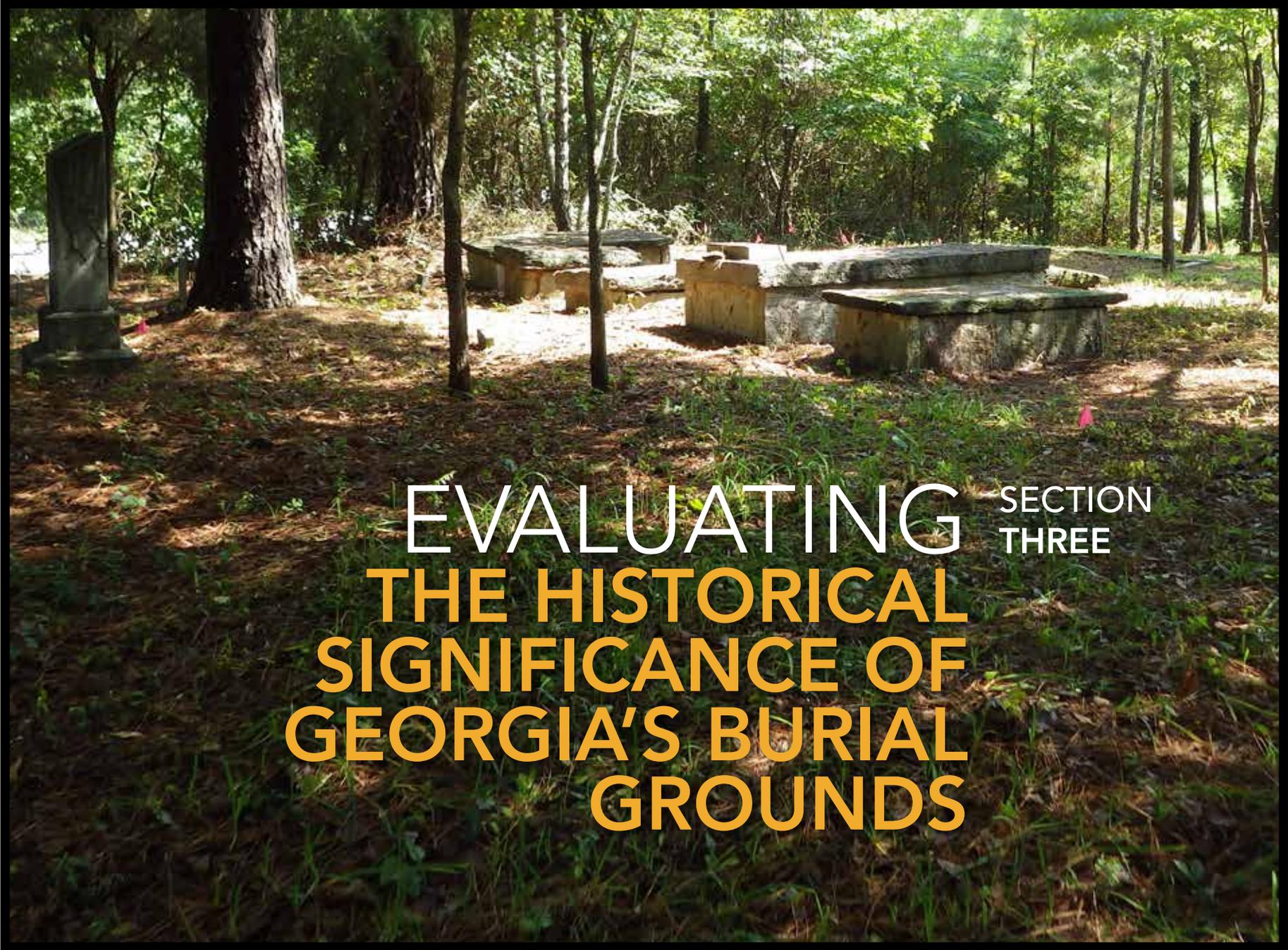
EVALUATING SECTION THREE
THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGIA'S BURIAL GROUNDS

Mitchell Family Cemetery, Walton County.
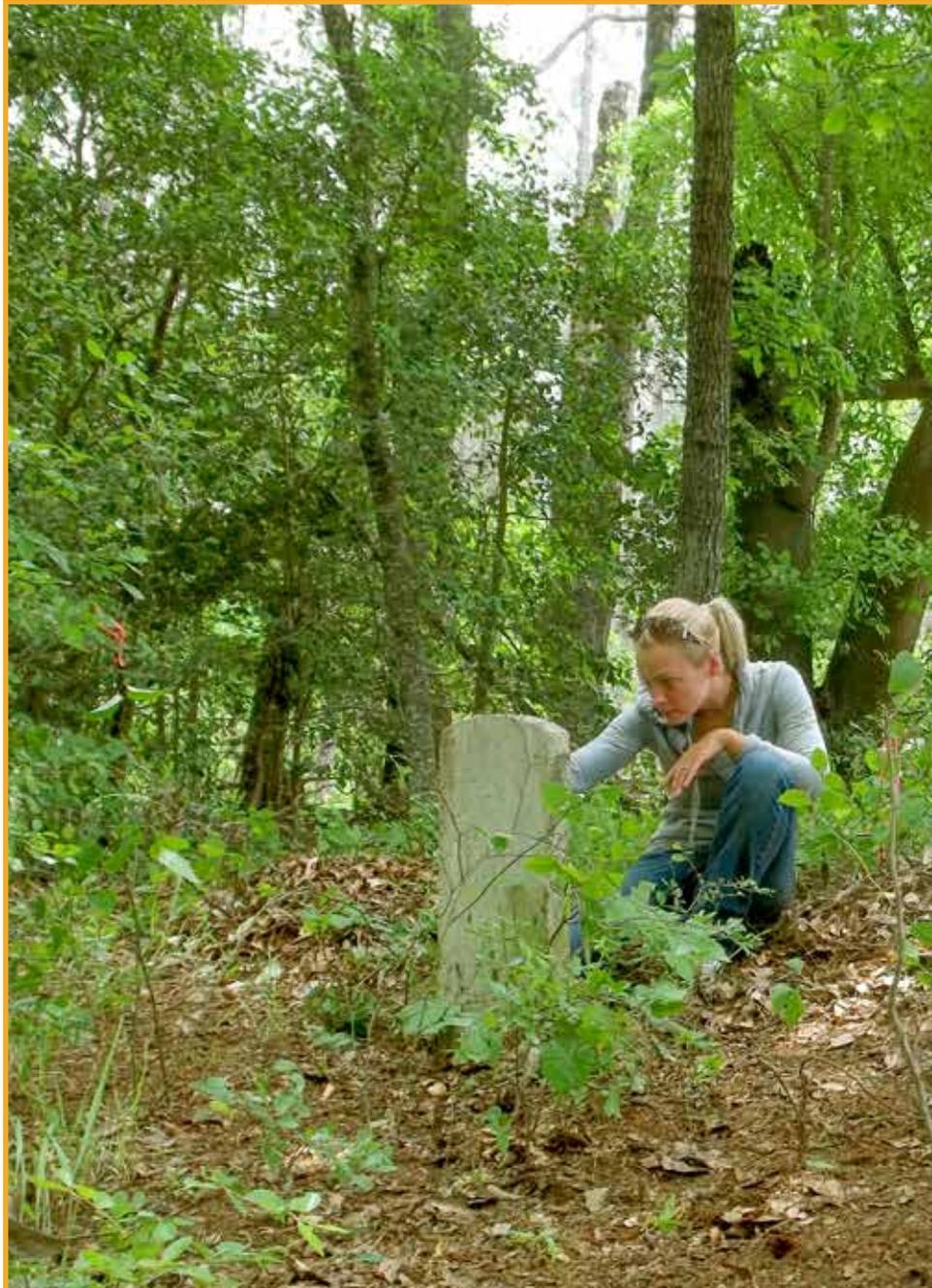
WHERE TO START WITH A CEMETERY EVALUATION?

Cemeteries, or parts of cemetery landscapes, can be eligible as sites, districts, buildings, objects, or structures under the following criteria:

Criterion A   for significant events or broad patterns of history;

Criterion B   for historically significant people;

Criterion C   for distinctive architecture, engineering, or artistic merit; or

Criterion D   that yields or has the potential to yield historically Important Information.

They can be eligible for historical significance in the following categories:

Exploration and Settlement, Community Planning and Development, Religion, Social History, Ethnic Heritage, Military History, Art, Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Archaeology, and Health/Medicine at the Local, State, or National Level.

INTRODUCTION

Section One explored the origins of Georgia's historic period burial places and practices from the time immediately preceding European arrival and the establishment of the Georgia colony through the mid-20th century. Georgia's cemetery landscapes reflect the historical events of the last 300 years, as well as the cultural and religious movements that have influenced American society. This Context provides a starting place to begin thinking about the historical significance of Georgia's burial places.

Determining which of Georgia's cemeteries are objectively significant within a specific historic context at the local, state, or national level requires a common vocabulary. Section Two established a common vocabulary to describe a cemetery and its character-defining features, introduced Types and Styles as a means to describe a cemetery's establishment and decoration, and detailed how to survey a cemetery. All of these concepts, combined with the historical and cultural perspectives presented in Section One, lead to Section Three – Evaluating the Historical Significance of Georgia's Cemeteries. This section will examine cemeteries through the lens of a National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) evaluation.

In this section, we will first discuss the goals and the level of effort necessary for various types of survey. Next, we will introduce the National Register Criteria of Evaluation and explore existing guidance on the evaluation of historic cemeteries through an analysis of *NR Bulletins 15, 16A, 18, 21, 36*, and *41*. To demonstrate how cemetery evaluation should occur in practice, a series of case studies have been provided at the end of this section.

Survey Goals and Level of Effort

The primary purpose of this context and handbook is to assist the cultural resource preservation professional in surveying a cemetery and evaluating its potential NRHP eligibility. They would complete this work to fulfill the requirements of Section 106 of the NHPA for work being planned by GDOT. This means that the level of effort for the cemetery survey and its corresponding NRHP evaluation may depend, in part, on what actions are planned and how they may affect the cemetery if implemented.

How much research needs to be completed on a cemetery in order to make an eligibility determination for the purposes of Section 106? It will certainly not be the same research effort as would be required to nominate a cemetery to the NRHP. Where does one start and where does one stop? Does there need to be a full deed search of the land? Is it necessary to know everyone buried there, or to catalog every marker type? Is remote sensing required? How do you know if there is integrity of archaeological deposits if there is no excavation? This is not a complete list of questions but might give some idea of what types of questions may be on someone's mind as they work through this process. All of these are important questions that can be asked about the level of effort and level of impact for a Section 106 NRHP evaluation of a cemetery. The answers will depend on the cemetery and the project. For many of the questions above, the answers can be found in Section Two. If a surveyor can describe the landscape features of a cemetery called out in Section Two and can identify its Type and Style, then there should be enough data there to complete an NRHP evaluation for everything except "NRHP significant research potential."

An agency's first choice is to avoid any possible physical effects to graves by avoiding the burials altogether and in general minimizing impacts to cemeteries when planning projects. This may affect the level of archaeological survey conducted and therefore the amount of information available on subsurface deposits. While the cemetery can be evaluated for NRHP eligibility based on what can be seen above the surface, and what can be learned of the cemetery's history, what remains below the ground surface, will typically remain unknown. The possibility of answering historically significant research questions that might make the cemetery NRHP eligible for research potential under Criterion D cannot be gauged adequately without an examination of below ground features and integrity through subsurface archaeological investigations. If the plan is to avoid the cemetery in most cases, then these techniques are typically not employed. In the event where a GDOT project would need to physically affect burials within a cemetery, then the appropriate steps to develop research questions and define available data sets as described later in this section would apply.

THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

To be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, a cemetery must meet at least one of following four criteria:

Criterion A
Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history (page 297).

Criterion B
Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past (pages 297-298).

Criterion C
Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that posses high artistic value, or that represent a significant or distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction (page 298).

Criterion D
Have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history (pages 298-300).

While National Register bulletins are clear that most cemeteries or burial places will meet eligibility requirements under any of the four criteria, it is possible for a cemetery to be eligible under all four criteria. More information about the criteria can be found on pages 297-300.

In addition, there are Criteria Considerations that may apply and that will be discussed later on pages 306-309. Criteria considerations are particularily notable for cemeteries. Criteria Consideration D refers to all cemeteries, Criteria Consideration A applies to religious properties, such as cemeteries associated with churches, and Criteria Consideration C applies to the graves of important people in history.

CEMETERIES AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER

As described by *NR Bulletin 15,* the effort to officially recognize and preserve historic properties began in 1906 with the Antiquities Act, continued with the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and culminated with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966. While the Historic Sites Act focused on properties of national significance, the NHPA broadened this to those historic properties of local and state significance and created the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), which is maintained by the National Park Service (NPS) on behalf of the Secretary of the Interior. The NPS has published a number of useful documents that include guidance on how properties are classified, examined for historical significance, and then evaluated to see if they retain the integrity necessary to convey that significance. Additional guidance helps an evaluator determine the historical period for which the property has significance and for determining if that significance is to the nation, state, or local community.

For an understanding of cemeteries and the NRHP, the following NPS bulletins are helpful:

- *National Register Bulletin 15 (NR Bulletin 15): How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation;*

- *National Register Bulletin 41 (NR Bulletin 41): Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places;*

- *National Register Bulletin 36 (NR Bulletin 36): Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Archaeological Properties;*

- *National Register Bulletin 16A (NR Bulletin 16A): How to Complete the National Register Registration Form;*

- *National Register Bulletin 18 (NR Bulletin 18): How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes; and*

- *National Register Bulletin 21 (NR Bulletin 21): Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties.*

In addition to providing public recognition of a property's historic importance, understanding if a historic property is eligible to be listed on the National Register has a number of important implications under the NHPA, in particular under Section 106. Section 106, in part, "requires Federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties." This means when a federal action is involved for an undertaking, it becomes necessary to see if any properties that are listed on the NRHP, or are determined eligible to be listed on the NRHP, are present in the area that could be affected by the project or permitted action. All burial grounds or cemeteries, regardless of whether they are eligible for the NRHP, are protected by a number of state and Federal laws (pgs 302-303). If a cemetery is determined to be eligible for the NRHP, then there are other considerations that must be made for its treatment based on the NHPA. The process of "Section 106 Compliance," which in large part defines the purpose of this context, involves determining what eligible historic properties are present and what components of these properties contribute to their eligibility so that an undertaking's effect can be taken into consideration by agencies such as GDOT.

NR BULLETIN 15 lays out the basic steps for how to evaluate a property to determine if it is eligible for the NRHP:

For a property type (buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts) to be eligible for the National Register, it generally must be 50 years of age or older and meet one of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation by:

- Being associated with an important historic context and
- Retaining historic integrity for those features necessary to convey its significance.

Information about the property based on physical examination and documentary research is necessary to evaluate a property's eligibility for the National Register. Evaluation of a property should follow this sequence:

1. Determine the age of the property.

2. Categorize the property. A property must be classified as a district, site, building, structure, or object for inclusion in the National Register (page 287).

3. Determine which precontact or historic context(s) the property represents. A property must possess significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, or culture when evaluated within the historic context of a relevant geographic area. These are referred to as the NRHP areas of significance (pages 288-295).

4. Determine whether the property is significant under the National Register Criteria. This is done by identifying the links to important events or persons, design or construction features, or information potential that make the property important (pages 297-300).

5. Determine if the property falls into a category usually excluded from the National Register. If so, determine if it meets the applicable Criteria Considerations (pages 306-309).

6. Determine whether the property retains integrity. Evaluate the aspects of location, design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association that the property must retain to convey its historic significance (pages 310-317).

Source: *National Register Bulletin 15*: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation

Categories of Historic Properties

Cemeteries, or components of cemeteries, can be eligible for the NRHP as objects, structures, buildings, sites, or districts, or they can be considered as contributing elements of larger historic districts. Typically, cemeteries when viewed as a whole entity are treated as sites or districts. Cemeteries that are complex, encompassing a multitude of burials, designed landscape features, or buildings should be described or treated as potential districts. The district model is widely applicable to many cemeteries, as they often possess a mixture of contributing and non-contributing features that can include sites, buildings, structures, or objects. For example, a large Municipal-type cemetery may have a historic core exhibiting Rural Garden style, later sections with Lawn Park–style elements, and recent 20th-century structures such as a modern veterans memorial and gazebo. A portion of the cemetery might have unmarked graves and be considered a contributing site, while high style mausoleums are considered contributing structures. One particularly notable vernacular marker may be considered an object and be a notable feature to highlight in the historic district.

A cemetery that has few aboveground features and primarily consists of subsurface deposits would be defined as a site. Individual markers, monuments, or lesser furnishings, such as benches, fountains, or grave goods, are examples of objects. As noted in the example Municipal-type cemetery above, they could be contributing to a larger eligible cemetery district, or, when located in a cemetery that is not eligible as a whole, they could be individually eligible as objects. Common examples of buildings in a cemetery include community mausoleums, administrative buildings (i.e. offices and visitors centers), chapels, and gatehouses. Family mausoleums, columbaria, gazebos, and fences are examples of structures within a cemetery. The most common way that cemeteries have been listed on the NRHP is as contributing elements to larger historic districts such as a town or community. The elements described above that can be eligible in a cemetery individually or as contributing to a site or district are detailed in Section Two, Chapter 1 – Cemetery Landscape Elements.

Building

A building, such as a house, barn, church, hotel, or similar construction is created principally to shelter any form of human activity. "Building" may also be used to refer to a historically and functionally related unit such as a courthouse and jail, a church and associated cemetery, or a house and barn.

Structure

The term "structure" is used to distinguish from buildings those functional constructions made usually for purposes other than creating human shelter.

Object

The term "object" is used to distinguish from buildings and structures those constructions that are primarily artistic in nature or are relatively small in scale and simply constructed. Although it may be by nature or design, movable, an object is associated with a specific setting or environment.

Site

A site is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation, an activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure.

District

A district possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects unified historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development.

Source: *National Register Bulletin 15*: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation

HISTORIC CONTEXTS AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

To the families and communities of the interred, each burial ground is a special, sacred, and hallowed place, worthy of respect, protection, and admiration. The intent of the NRHP, however, is to capture those places that are the most significant either at a local, state, or national level. As noted in *NR Bulletin 41*, "reverence and devout sentiment can overshadow objective evaluation." For the Section 106 practitioner, objectivity is the goal. Eligibility is attained by a property having historical significance and sufficient integrity to convey that significance.

The *NR Bulletin 41* states that, to measure the significance of burial places in American culture, we must know something of:

- their geographic extent,
- the historic events affecting their creation,
- the span of time in which they evolved,
- their ceremonial functions,

- their aesthetic value,
- the reasons for the location and orientation of graves, and
- the underlying meaning of their embellishments

The National Register guidance defines many specific categories of the above and these are known as NRHP "areas of significance." *NR Bulletin 41* further notes that certain areas of significance are more likely to apply to cemeteries.

Exploration and Settlement	Art
Community Planning and Development	Architecture
Religion	Landscape Architecture
Social History	Archaeology
Ethnic Heritage	Health/Medicine
Military History	

The following discussions delve into each of the areas of significance most commonly associated with cemeteries and summarizes how they might fit or apply to a cemetery. Additionally, there are discussions of possible data sets associated with each of the areas. These data sets become Increasingly important in the later discussions in Section Three for Criterion D, particularly for archaeological research potential (pages 304-305).

Exploration and Settlement

Euroamericans, African Americans, and members of other ethnicities rapidly spread inland from the coast of Georgia and northward towards the mountains. Although their cultures moved inland with them, the Euroamericans also adapted to new circumstances and environments, adopting some elements of culture from American Indians they encountered and that of the enslaved African Americans they brought with them. The term "frontier," which is a Euro-centric concept, is defined as a border between two countries or cultures, the extreme limit of "settled" land, or the extreme limits of understanding. The Georgia frontier as it expanded between 1732 and 1838 represented all of these ideals. At the frontier, Euroamerican cultures clashed and converged with American Indian cultures, but also blended. Although the majority of the historical buildings and sites from this period are gone, cemeteries often remain, even though they may be hidden, poorly marked, or in poor condition. These cemeteries could show how different cultural groups either stayed separate and kept their own traditions or blended and formed new ones. Frontier cemeteries are typically smaller, and unless a larger settlement grew in later years at the same location, were often abandoned after a period of years when a pioneer family moved on to new opportunities. A cemetery could provide important information of life during this early period.

Many of Georgia's earliest settlers on the frontier were not wealthy and left little behind. Their cemeteries are likely one tangible way to understand their history on their own terms. The ideal frontier cemetery would yield a sample of graves from known individuals with known dates of death, and there would be sufficient osteological preservation to address age, gender, and health. The features of these cemetery landscapes such as gravestones, plantings, or broader associations with other properties and/or sites, as well as items buried with the deceased, possible coffin adornments, the human remains would allow inferences to be drawn on how people lived, their cultures, and how people were buried on the frontier. A cemetery that holds

significance in this area may be the only physical record of the Euroamerican families that first settled an area or it may help to show if cultural or religion-specific patterns of burial practice were evident in frontier settlements. When examined collectively, the inscriptions on the markers or the marker styles may have something to say about what life on the frontier was like during the period the cemetery was used. Research could even show if burial treatment varied with distance from major transportation corridors including roads, rivers, and rail lines.

The cemeteries of this period most relevant to significance for exploration and settlement are predominately Family and Religious types, however, Community-type cemeteries are certainly possible. In terms of style, these are predominately Vernacular-style cemeteries, although in the 19th century, Upland Folk style may be visible as well. These Upland Folk style graves in particular may yield information on how American Indian cultural traditions may have been included into typical Protestant Euroamerican burials. Critical knowledge for establishing significance in exploration and settlement are understanding geographically and temporally where and when the cemetery existed in response to the growth of the colony and then state of Georgia. If the cemetery developed around the junctures of American Indian Land cession lines up to 1838, or as part of growth and expansion of Georgia during the town planning period (see Chapter 4, Section One), these are indications that exploration and settlement should be explored as an area of significance.

Community Planning and Development

After the Revolutionary War and the forced removal of American Indians, Georgia was administered by Georgians of primarily Euroamerican descent. What was once a frontier quickly transformed from small communities to towns and then to cities. During this transformational period, the placement of cemeteries often became a deliberate choice as part of an organized town-planning effort. A public cemetery was a community necessity and

for towns seeking to make their mark and advertise themselves as a fine place to live and work, a beautifully designed city cemetery was a mark of distinction. The location of cemeteries within a town plan may have been determined by a number of other factors including health and sanitation or, later, Jim Crow laws, which called for segregated cemeteries.

Understanding the placement of a cemetery within the community, as well as the design and intent of the cemetery developers, are important clues for understanding if a cemetery might hold significance in this area. Possible data sets include archival plans and design information, for the town as well as for the cemetery; spatial and temporal data on the growth and expansion of the cemetery, which can be obtained through approved archaeological investigations; survey of marker epitaphs or materials; survey or GPR survey; or a seriation based on changes in coffin hardware when archaeological preservation is good. Archaeological and remote sensing data combined with archival data can serve to corroborate incomplete or erroneous records on the dates and locations of graves. The presence or absence of a marker are features that could help identify likely pauper burials or the graves of enslaved persons. Even where grave contents are poorly preserved, grave dimensions can be used as a proxy for distinguishing infants from adults. All these data sets above can help in identifying significance in the area of community planning and development.

Research in this area could help answer questions such as how the placement of a cemetery was determined. It could be that the cemetery was established to address an influx of new people or new religious denominations. Was the cemetery organized and used based on religion, social class, ethnicity, or other factors? Another potential question would ask if the plan, type, and style of the cemetery reflect the conditions for the cemetery's founding.

Cemeteries more likely to be significant for community planning and development include Municipal, Religious, Community, Corporate and possibly Institutional types. They could exhibit any of the styles discussed

in this context either independently or layered through years of successive development. For example, a Municipal-type cemetery may have begun as a Family-, Community-, or even Religious-type cemetery exhibiting vernacular style, and later became the official city cemetery, with Rural Garden-, Lawn Park–, or Memorial Park–style elements added later as the cemetery expanded with a more formal plan.

Religion

The history of Western religion in Georgia began with Spanish Catholic missions on the coast followed by the Protestant Church of England, as specified in its colonial charter. Judaism was introduced after the colony was founded, followed by Islamic and African tribal influences brought by enslaved West Africans. After the American Revolution, Catholics made their way through Georgia in small numbers. Finally, new Protestant denominations, such as Methodist and Baptist, blossomed from the Great Awakenings, which were heartily embraced by Georgians. The diversity of these new religions left a mark on Georgia's cemeteries. These Religious-type cemeteries may or may not be physically connected to their attendant church, synagogue, temple, or mosque; however, Protestant Christian cemeteries in a churchyard are the most abundant examples in Georgia.

Considering potential religious significance may include examining if the markers exhibit the particular ideology or values of a religion or religious denomination or if the cemetery contains graves outside of the predominant or founding religion. If so, what is the proportion? Also worth considering is if the cemetery is associated with the oldest congregation of its denomination in the community. If so, how might this have influenced the development of that community?

Although the Religious cemetery type is most often examined for possible significance for religion, Municipal-type cemeteries with specific sections reserved for individual faiths may also be relevant under this context. In the

same manner, Corporate-type cemeteries may be established for members of a specific faith and may have significance in religion. Religious-type cemeteries can be of any style, but are most likely to exhibit Vernacular, Lawn Park, or Memorial Park styles. Informal or grid plans are most common as they maximize available space. Useful sources of information for these cemeteries are varied and may include the presence or absence of specific religious symbology; the placement of graves in proximity to one another; the location of the cemetery in regards to attendant religious properties or other properties in a larger historic landscape of a town or community; and, when preservation is good, the osteological information from markers, coffin hardware, personal goods, and indicators of burial process for individuals whose religion can be ascertained. The study of death head symbology, referenced in Section One, Chapter 1, demonstrates how the changes in religious influences over time can be studied, as long as there are plentiful examples and reliable dates of death. Combining archival records and oral histories indicating the religious affiliation of individuals and the overall cemetery with archaeological data that has good preservation and horizontal and vertical integrity can yield stronger data sets.

Social History

Social history is described in *NR Bulletin 16A* as "[t]he history of efforts to promote the welfare of society; the history of society and the lifeways of its social groups." A cemetery can reflect widespread social movements such as Romanticism, Victorianism, the Civil Rights Movement, or segregation, as well as social reform movements related to Progressivism, such as institutional reform in mental health facilities, hospitals, work camps, and prisons. All of these are presented in the Section One narrative as social history movements that affected the growth, development, and design of different types and styles of cemeteries.

Data sets for social history would include: epitaphs and funerary art on markers, specifically for how they may illustrate the values of specific social history movements; cemetery design within the immediate cemetery landscape and within a broader landscape; temporally diagnostic coffin hardware, coffin and shipping box stains, or personal grave goods from graves with good archaeological preservation and integrity; markers identifying the individuals and their dates of death in order to understand demographics and life expectancy in specific communities; osteological remains of sufficient preservation to determine age, gender, and general health; and a sufficient sample of burials from different areas of the cemetery to study spatial variation. Like in other areas, subsurface and surface data sets can be enhanced if there are burial records, death certificates, obituaries, and similar sources of death-specific data.

Research questions related to Criterion D can be developed such as examining if the markers and features of the cemetery point to a majority of burials related to a benevolent society or group such as the Eastern Star, Masons, or Woodsmen of the World. If a cemetery dates to the Victorian period in American history, does the cemetery exhibit Victorian ideology from the design and layout of the cemetery to the marker styles and even the inscriptions? Even healthcare might be examined, given the presence of good data sets, to answer such questions as how do rates of mothers' deaths in childbirth through time reflect increasing availability of affordable health care?

Corporate-type cemeteries started by non-profit and for-profit benevolent/ mutual aid societies or cemeteries devoted to helping the poor might also hold significance in social history. Cemeteries typically are representative of communities and can reflect the social, cultural, socioeconomic, or political forces of those buried there. Cemeteries could be eligible for multiple layers of social history. For example, a large Municipal-type cemetery developed in the later 19th century may contain a segregated section for African Americans; a pauper section for the economically depressed; high style Rural Garden–style sections for the affluent white community; a Catholic or Jewish section, which may speak more to the way minority Catholics and Jews were treated in Georgia than to the actual religions;

and, finally, sections for trade groups, veterans, or benevolent societies. Any one, or some combination, of these could speak to significance for social history.

Ethnic Heritage

Cemeteries can be significant for ethnic heritage if they can convey the "history of persons having a common ethnic or racial identity." One of the most prevalent examples of this within Georgia concerns African American cemeteries. Many of these cemeteries arose through slavery or segregation, and they can include standalone cemeteries or segregated sections within larger cemeteries. In addition to African American cemeteries, many cemeteries had different sections for distinct ethnic groups; however, there is overlap frequently as to whether these groups are considered religious groups or ethnic groups. Often the differences in these burial traditions are more reflective of ethnic heritage than religious identity. Examples include Greek Orthodox sections of cemeteries, as well as Chinese sections and Jewish sections. There may be examples yet unidentified in Georgia of sections reserved for ethnic groups independent of religion, such as African American, American Indian, or Mexican American. As for the other groups, the most distinguishing feature in terms of burial customs is religion, not ethnicity. A further distinction is that multiple ethnic groups are often found within one religious group.

Key data sets would be any indicators of burial ceremonialism that may be present on the grave, or on the broader landscape, as well as grave offerings and personal burial goods reflective of ethnic heritage. The ability to identify the ethnic identity of both individuals and the overall cemetery landscape – whether from markers, census records, or cemetery maps and records – would be important for significance in this area.

Significance could relate to many research questions. Do different ethnic groups exhibit different ways of showcasing, through burial customs,

an individual's status in the community while living? In African American cemeteries, are there differences in a cemetery landscape based on whether the burials are in an independent cemetery versus a section in an otherwise white cemetery? When members of an ethnic group are forced to bury or be buried in a location which suppresses their ethnic identity, are there coded messages hidden in the cemetery landscape to illustrate their ethnic identity?

A number of different types and styles of cemeteries may be significant for ethnic heritage, particularly for African American heritage. This area of significance may be applicable in Georgia to any type and/or style of cemetery; however, Family-, Community-, Religious-, Corporate-, and Municipal-type cemeteries with Vernacular, Upland Folk, and Lawn Park styles would be the most likely examples.

Military History

A cemetery may be significant for military history if it is associated with a particular battle, field hospital, or prison camp, or if it contains a notable veteran's section. Veteran sections are common features in many Georgia cemeteries, particularly for Civil War veterans. If a cemetery contains a notable quantity of veterans from specific wars or, contains a section with numerous veterans from different wars, and these graves are set aside and accorded special monuments, enclosures, gates, cenotaphs, or memorials, it may have significance for military history. Many cemeteries have marked graves of veterans scattered among other burials; these would generally not be significant for military history. According to *NR Bulletin 41,* all national cemeteries have been determined to be eligible for the NRHP due to inherent exceptional significance from associations with important events in our history.

Important data sets for significance in military history might include well preserved osteological remains that could speak to a specific battle;

clothing, such as military uniforms, and personal burial goods; layout and commemoration within the broader cemetery landscape; and evidence of processing and burial practice. The research potential increases significantly if individual interments can be identified by name and unit affiliation. These data sets can augment the archival records on the various conflicts, records that are often incomplete, inaccurate, or completely non-existent.

The first question asked might be: does the cemetery have a direct physical affiliation with a battle associated with a specific conflict such as the American Revolution, French and Indian War, or Civil War? This can possibly lead to the examination of questions about the demographics to see what they can reveal about age profiles of participants in various wars or within the course of a single war.

Even though any type of cemetery could theoretically be significant for military history, the most common types will include Municipal, Corporate, or Institutional. Although sections of cemeteries with military significance may exhibit any style, most often the graves, if separated out from other burials, have a uniform, regimented plan.

Health/Medicine

Across mid-19th-century America, health concerns that arose from newly accepted understandings of germ theory and the deplorable overcrowding of urban cemeteries sparked cities to build new cemeteries farther away from residential areas and to adopt the principles of the Rural Cemetery Movement. In parts of Georgia, epitaphs from the 18th, 19th, and even the early 20th century reflect high infant and child mortality, deaths in childbirth, and epidemic disease outbreaks. Epidemics and mass death events can also be reflected by large percentages of interments within narrow date ranges (particularly in larger communities and cities) or in the presence of mass graves or dedicated areas for the interment of the diseased. Skeletal remains belowground may speak to the sufficiency or insufficiency of diets,

dangers of certain occupational work, and illnesses most likely to result in death. Health/Medicine refers not only to general health, but also the care of the sick, disabled, or handicapped and the promotion of health and hygiene.

Important data might include osteological remains sufficiently preserved to allow for determinations of gender, ethnicity, stature, and general health, which may lead to an understanding of significant trends in Health and/or Medicine for Georgia. Some level of demographic analysis might be possible if graves have associated markers, minimally allowing death certificate analyses to be conducted.

Research questions may examine aspects of significance for Health/Medicine at the individual level, such as the degree to which variability in access to quality health care and nutritional food was patterned by economic status, and the degree to which elaborateness of burial treatment (as a proxy for expense) can be correlated to health. Alternately, by examining the cemetery as a whole, are there changes in burial practice that might reflect sanitary concerns regarding cemeteries? Was a cemetery abandoned or created at the time of the Rural Cemetery Movement? Any type or style of cemetery could hold significance for Health/Medicine, but Institutional- and Municipal-type cemeteries in particular could speak to many themes in this area.

Art

According to *NR Bulletin 16A*, the historical significance for art recognizes the creation of painting, print making, photography, sculpture, and decorative arts. In a cemetery context, this area of significance recognizes markers, and associated art works, either as individual objects or together as a group, when a cemetery contains a significant array of grave markers and monuments representing the common artistic values of a historic period. In addition, cemeteries can be eligible for representing the work of master artists or craftsmen. Master craftsmen, *Bulletin 41* notes, do not need to be

known by name or associated with a commercial enterprise. They can be individual artists working in vernacular styles.

Within the cemetery, the markers can be considered for significance in art as an entirety or single collection, as a separate collection or collections within the larger cemetery, or even as a singular, notable object that is considered eligible individually for significance in art. One of the most difficult aspects of determining what is a significant resource in this area lies in determining what constitutes a significant array. In some cases, a significant array may depend on a large percentage, with high visible impact, of markers strongly affiliated with a social movement, artistic stylistic movement, or distinct community.

Data sets that would be useful for examining significance in art might include markers; coffin hardware; cemetery fencing; and grave goods with adequate preservation such as clothing, buttons, jewelry, buckles, hair accessories, or personal items. These are the items most likely to be embellished with symbols and styles reflective of artistic movements. As with most studies, the research potential is greatly increased if the date of burial and identity (age, gender, ethnicity, religion, economic status, military rank, etc.) of the interred are known.

Research questions that examine if the artistic expression evident in the cemetery is representative of a particular artistic movement, a religion, or cultural group or is it more individualistic in style, might help to establish significance for art. Additionally, one might examine if the cemetery holds a temporal range of markers that might allow for a diachronic study of marker materials, style, and symbolism. If so, how does the observed pattern mimic national developments in art?

In the context of Georgia cemeteries, these singular or grouped works of art are most likely to be located in Vernacular-, Rural Garden–, or Lawn Park–style cemeteries and in Family-, Religious-, Municipal-, or Corporate-type cemeteries. These collections may comprise part, or the entirety, of a cemetery.

Architecture

Architecture, in NRHP terms, refers to the practical art of designing and constructing buildings and structures to serve human needs. Architecture in a cemetery setting is primarily concerned with buildings and structures within a cemetery, which often includes various support facilities, chapels, mausoleums, and columbaria, among others. The architecture of buildings can be closely tied to movements in society or design, and these are frequently present in cemeteries holding significance in this area.

Data sets associated with significance in architecture might include building plans, design, and decoration, as well as the design and engineering associated with specific mausoleums or tombs, both above and below ground.

Examining if the architectural styles represented in a cemetery correspond closely to the national or regional trends is an important step in examining significance for architecture. Do the styles linger into further decades than their national popularity or are there lag times before they appear in Georgia? This can help place the cemetery is an appropriate, larger context and determine architectural significance. A cemetery significant for its architecture is likely to be a Municipal- or Corporate-type cemetery exhibiting Rural Garden or Lawn Park style. Significance for architecture can lie in the actual constructions or in their association with a master craftsman. Master craftsman, as noted by *NR Bulletin 41*, do not need to be associated with a commercial enterprise or known by name. They can be individual architects working in vernacular styles.

Landscape Architecture

Landscape architecture is described as "the practical art of designing or arranging the land for human use or enjoyment." Cemeteries significant for landscape architecture have a purposeful plan at the center of the cemetery's

design that underlies its significance. This area recognizes cemeteries that have a unified landscape, where cemetery sections were likely laid out in advance, and the natural and built environment are both considered in the look and layout of a cemetery.

Important data sets associated with significance in landscape architecture might include landscape plans, circulation pathways, boundaries and enclosures, plantings, memorials, and cenotaphs as well as the design and engineering associated with specific landscape constructs, such as retaining walls or underground cemetery features.

For significance in landscape architecture, an evaluator might examine who designed the cemetery landscape and if they were professionally trained, then identify what stylistic periods are represented in the landscape design of the cemetery. The evaluator may attempt to discern whether the style of the landscape design mirrors the designs of popular gardens or parks at the time.

Cemeteries significant for landscape architecture are typically a Municipal-, Corporate-, or Military-type cemetery exhibiting Rural Garden, Lawn Park, or Memorial Park style. As with architecture, a cemetery can also be historically significant for its association with a master landscape architect.

Finally, the lack of a designed landscape does not make a cemetery ineligible for the NRHP. It is a consideration to weigh in an evaluation. Some cemeteries may have a physical organization framed by its community's tenets that are not recognizable to an evaluator. In other cases, pursuing eligibility under Ethnic Heritage or Social History may be more appropriate for the resource rather than eligibility in landscape architecture depending on its historic context.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

A Traditional Cultural Property (TCP), also referred to as a Traditional Cultural Place, is defined by the NRHP as a historic property eligible for the NRHP "because of its association with the cultural practices of beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community." TCPs must first be historic properties – a district, site, building, structure, or object with significance in any of the four criteria – but their integrity as a TCP is evaluated through two aspects of integrity instead of seven. TCPs must show integrity of relationship and integrity of condition. Integrity of relationship refers to how the property is directly related to maintaining the cultural practices and beliefs of that community. Integrity of condition refers to the ability of the property to physically convey its significance through that relationship.

Although historic cemeteries can be TCPs, this is rare. For a cemetery to be considered as a TCP, it would need to be associated with the beliefs and practices of a living community and be an integral part of maintaining those cultural traditions or identity of the group. For additional guidance on TCPs, refer to *NR Bulletin 38*.

LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE – LOCAL, STATE, OR NATIONAL

Cemeteries can be significant at a local, state, or national level based on placing the cemetery in its appropriate historic context. It is important to understand broader historical trends and movements, such as those identified in Section One of this context, but to accurately determine the level of significance for a single resource, comparative knowledge of similar resources is necessary.

According to *NR Bulletin 15*, significance at the local level means that the resource "represents an aspect of the history of a town, city, county, cultural area, or region, or any portions thereof." A cemetery may reflect larger historical trends, but if that cemetery's history is tied to a single community or region and is otherwise unknown to, or disconnected from, that larger historical trend, potential significance is most likely to be defined at the local level. This is especially the case when similar examples are numerous across the state. For example, a Municipal-type cemetery may have local significance to community planning and development as it was designed when that town was founded in the Georgia Town Planning Period after the American Revolution. City designers carefully planned the placement of the cemetery as part of their town plan and then expanded the cemetery over the ensuing decades to include new religious groups moving into the area and the rise of particular interest groups within a community.

A State level of significance is when the property represents "an aspect of the history of the state as a whole." Properties with state level of significance do not have to be a type found throughout the state. They can be in one location, but their significance stretches statewide. An example of this may be the first cemetery in the state to have a columbarium or, perhaps, an associated crematorium or funeral home.

A National level of significance means that a property "represents an aspect of the history of the United States and its territories as a whole." These are cemeteries that represent key moments or movements in American history, often integral to the national story for a given historical context. These are the places where key events in American history occurred. In terms of architecture, design, and aesthetic movements, cemeteries significant at the national level may have been the inspiration, the earliest, or most important example for a specific movement. The cemetery at Andersonville represents a cemetery with a National level of importance for its role in the Civil War and the post-war repatriation and identification efforts under Clara Barton.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

Period of significance is determined by the evaluator based on the sum of a cemetery's parts, archival research, field research, and historical context. Due to their complexity, there is no one formula for evaluating the period of significance for cemeteries. The most important thing to consider is that cemeteries are used over long periods of time and often have multiple layers, meanings, styles, areas of significance, and even types. It is important that the evaluator consider that period of significance refers to the period in which the cemetery acquired its significance not always the full span of its use. As such, it should relate directly to the areas of significance for that particular cemetery. If a cemetery was established in 1880, but 40 years later a vernacular artist created an outstanding group of markers spanning a period of 20 years, then the period of significance for art would be from 1920 to 1940. For a Vernacular-style cemetery founded in the 1850s, which expanded greatly at the turn of the 20th century in an effort to emulate popular, Lawn-Park styling, the period of significance for art, architecture, and landscape architecture, would date from the 20th-century renovations and not from the 19th-century roots.

THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

To be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, a property must meet at least one of the four criteria for evaluation. This is done by establishing a link between the historic property and significance "in American history, architecture, engineering, and culture" when evaluated within the historic context of a relevant geographic area. Specifically, there are four Criteria for Evaluation: Criterion A, for properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; Criterion B for properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; Criterion C for properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic value, or that represent a significant or distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or for Criterion D, for properties that have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

While National Register bulletins are clear that most cemeteries or burial places will meet eligibility requirements under any of the four criteria, it is possible for a cemetery to be eligible under all four criteria. However, Criteria Consideration D, as well as other Criteria Considerations, may apply and these may affect eligibility (pages 306-309). The section below describes how a cemetery in particular may meet the Criteria for Evaluation.

CRITERION A

Cemeteries may be eligible for the NRHP if they are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history. In particular, *NR Bulletin 15* notes that the "events" must be important and unmistakable in a defined historic context, such as those explored in Section One of this study. These areas of significance include topics that are sociological (such as ethnic heritage, social history, and religion), historical (community planning and development, exploration and settlement, military history, and health/medicine), and research driven (archaeology). Different research will be needed in each of these cases to fully understand how specific contexts may apply to understanding Criterion A for a cemetery. As it is for Criterion C below, it is important to recognize that cemeteries are used over long periods of time and therefore may reflect evolution over time. This may result in significance in multiple areas and periods, or even multiple periods for different facets of the same area of significance. In Georgia, a cemetery could begin as a frontier period cemetery that reflects burial traditions where Euroamericans and Indigenous people formed families with new blended traditions. This early core of a cemetery may be significant for exploration and settlement. Later

a community and then a thriving town could develop in the same area and what was a small Family-type cemetery may now form the core of a new Municipal-type cemetery that could have significance under Criterion A for community planning and development. Later, the town may have added a segregated section for African Americans, and this could add significance to the cemetery under ethnic heritage. In short, after determining what areas of significance may apply to a particular cemetery, one should ask the question, "Does this cemetery evidence a significant trend, impact, or change in this area of significance?"

CRITERION B

Criterion B refers to historical significance based on association "with the lives of persons significant in our past." To be eligible under Criterion B, an association must be made with the active life of the person, which is the period during which they carried out the activities for which they are recognized. Moreover, the person or persons associated with the cemetery must be of "outstanding importance" to the community, state, or nation. Individual graves or tombs can be eligible under Criterion B or entire cemeteries. For an entire cemetery rather than a grave, this becomes a bit

more challenging. *NR Bulletin 41* allows that cemeteries may be eligible for listing under Criterion B if they contain the graves of "numerous persons who made outstanding contributions." The bulletin however does not define what constitutes an appropriate number of graves for this to apply. Ultimately, it depends on the contributions of the individuals to their respective historic contexts.

A more difficult example to justify might be a cemetery in a town that was formed in the late 1800s and contains the graves of prominent business and community leaders. Did these individuals contribute to local society or the town in ways that were transformative? If they were part of a large period of growth and development for the town through the introduction of a new industry, then perhaps they do. If they were part of a continuum of steady growth, then perhaps they are not a collection of individuals of outstanding importance. In each case, it is the larger context of the cemetery and its relationship to the community, state, or nation that matters in determining if the individuals interred support eligibility under Criterion B.

CRITERION C

Criterion C applies to a cemetery when it embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represents the work of a master; possesses high artistic value; or represents a significant or distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction. To embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, a cemetery must reflect the time period in which it achieved its significance, which may be its date of construction or a specific period within its history. For example, a cemetery constructed in 1865 may reflect the ideals of the Victorian era's Rural Cemetery Movement, with excellent examples of curving roads, pastoral plantings, and elaborate statuary. Likewise, a cemetery on the Sea Islands of Georgia may reflect Gullah/Geechee cultural heritage with the presence of surface and near-surface grave offerings of ceramics, glass, mirrors, or shells. Recognizing that cemeteries are used over long periods of time and have different layers

of styles added over successive time periods, a cemetery may reflect this evolution and have significance in multiple areas and periods, or even multiple periods for different facets of the same area of significance. In terms of representing the work of a master or possessing high artistic merit, this can be exhibited in the planning of the landscape, crafting of the markers in either vernacular or commercial styles, or in the building of elaborate mausoleums. A cemetery can possess individual works or an assemblage of different related or unrelated works, or the cemetery landscape itself can represent the work of a prominent landscape architect or designer. Finally, the sum of a cemetery's individual parts may qualify it as a historic district even if individual elements are not NRHP eligible as objects, buildings, or structures. For example, even if none of the vernacular markers made by a local craftsman from granite quarried in the town are individually eligible, the cemetery may be eligible for its collection of markers that together illustrate a significant local trend. The opposite can be true as well. A small cemetery may not be eligible, but it may possess markers or features (or just one marker) that are significant as a unique form or the work of a master. These would be eligible as objects. For a cemetery to be eligible under Criterion C, it must be demonstrated that the cemetery is significant within its own historic context and not merely representative.

CRITERION D

Under Criterion D, a cemetery may be eligible for the NRHP if it has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history. The process of evaluating for significance under Criterion D is different from evaluating for A, B, or C as it is based on the idea of information potential, not what can be objectively observed by an evaluator. Evaluation of cemeteries under Criterion D is often difficult due to the sensitive nature of human burials and the aim to prevent the disturbance of burials when possible.

Potential is defined as having or showing the capacity to become or develop into something in the future. This requires the evaluator to analyze what useful information might be available or be gleaned from further

study. Critical components for determining significant data potential are formulating research questions based on the relevant historic contexts and identifying data sets, which can be found on surfaces or in subsurface features alike. In other words, the topics on which information can be gained (data potential), and where research questions can be answered, will likely correspond to the NRHP areas of significance that apply to a given cemetery. A Criterion D evaluation then is asking the question, "Are the data sets available sufficient to answer important research questions under a specific area of significance?"

Archaeologists can learn something from all archaeological survey work and excavating a cemetery is no exception. There is always the ability to answer research questions. The difficulty, however, is determining whether the data from a particular cemetery is able to address research questions that when answered reach a NRHP level of significance. This evaluation process is laid out in several of the NR bulletins, but the assumption still remains that to do an NRHP evaluation for archaeological research potential, most of the time something must be known about the archaeological integrity of the below ground features. If these cannot be determined by Section 106 level of archaeological investigations such as survey or remote sensing, then in many cases, the ability of the cemetery to answer significant research questions may remain unknown. In some cases though, it may be possible to determine an estimated level of archaeological integrity through remote sensing, or the cemetery may represent a much less typical or rare example of a type and/or style or because of the cemetery's historic context and/or social setting and a recommendation may be made for eligibility without direct subsurface examination.

To meet Criterion D, the cemetery must have (or previously have had) information to contribute to a study in an area of significance and the information must be considered important. All cemeteries have the ability to contribute information to the archaeological record; however, Criterion D is meant to apply to information that cannot be obtained by other means such

as historical or archival research. Criterion D applies to what can be learned by studying a cemetery from the surface, such as by visual inspection or remote sensing tools like GPR, as well as what can only be gleaned through excavation below the ground surface.

In the earlier discussion of the NRHP areas of significance, the evaluator is advised to consider how a question might be formulated to guide research on a cemetery relative to the appropriate historic context. *NR Bulletin 36* notes that, although research questions will change with advances in archaeological and historical techniques, there are a "number of categories of questions that are used routinely to frame research designs in terms of anthropological observations of societies."

Data sets, sometimes called data categories in *NR Bulletin 36*, are "groups of information." They are defined as "taking into consideration the type of artifacts and features at a property, the research questions posed, and the analytical approach that is used." Data sets for a cemetery are not restricted to those we cannot see (i.e. those below the ground). They might include such things as the markers, plantings, design, and epitaphs, as well as human remains, the items interred with the deceased, the burial process, and the compartment and containers within which the remains were placed. Additionally, the interrelationship and orientation of these data sets between one another provides an additional source of information. Although subsurface finds may contain potential significant data sets, their preservation state and, therefore, integrity often remains unknown, due to the lack of archaeological subsurface investigations.

After developing the research questions based on the historical associations, context, and identifying data sets, the evaluator must then assess the ability of the available data sets to answer those research questions from resources that are not available anywhere else, such church records, death certificates, or census data. One way of determining the relative importance of a cemetery's data is understanding how the data sets at this cemetery have

the ability to contribute significant information about the community with which it is associated, particularly by comparing it, when possible, to other cemeteries with similar data sets and across different cultural contexts and scales of analysis (i.e. local, regional, etc.). However, comparative datasets themselves are not a requirement for significance under Criterion D. If an evaluator tries to compare it to other data sets and no other comparable sets can be located, that also might indicate whether the information potential of the cemetery is unique. In either case, both of these methods can help determine if the data potential is significant.

Finally, integrity is critical to conveying significance under Criterion D for information potential. For the aboveground resources in a cemetery, the evaluator would be able to recommend whether or not a cemetery is eligible under Criterion D based on what they can observe during visual survey. This includes what data sets are present, what their integrity may be, and their relative significance. For example, observations on the legibility of the marker inscriptions, original marker positions relative to the grave they mark and the adjacent graves, the design of the cemetery, survival of grave plantings, or degree of surface disturbance of the soils can help to evaluate the integrity of aboveground data sets. For below ground resources, however, the question of integrity is more complicated. The potential to yield osteological and other subsurface data must consider soils, drainage, the date of the interments, and post-cemetery processes. These conditions may result in preservation and integrity issues that may affect site eligibility.

For many archaeological sites, examining subsurface integrity begins with the shovel test pits completed as part of Phase I archaeological survey or even excavation units completed under Phase II testing. These can yield clues as to the vertical and horizontal integrity of the archaeological deposits, as well as information on the soils and what effect they might have on preservation and therefore data potential. For a cemetery, the survey process is different due to the sensitive nature of these sites. Subsurface disturbance is avoided, and focus is given to boundary delineation rather than investigation of burial deposits. Non-invasive techniques, such as probing and GPR, are two methods commonly used. GPR can sometimes provide clues as to the subsurface integrity without ground disturbance. In these cases, grave shafts may be clearly visible, indicating good vertical and horizontal integrity. GPR is less likely to provide clues to preservation of human remains and material content; therefore, these aspects of integrity cannot be adequately examined without disturbing the soil. The lack of ground disturbance can make the process of determining archaeological integrity difficult, if it is possible at all. In these cases, even though research questions have been formulated and potential data sets identified, it may not be possible to determine the ability of those data sets to answer questions that pertain to their historical significance. The potential for the site to have significance under Criterion D for below ground resources may remain unknown. There is an additional, deeper discussion, of archaeological integrity later in this section.

THINK ABOUT....

A Criterion D Evaluation Puzzle – You will need all the pieces to complete the picture!

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What significant research questions could be developed to inform our understanding of the historic contexts?

UNKNOWN

In the event that information regarding the integrity of subsurface deposits is unavailable, what effect does this have on the ability to determine if the data sets can answer the research questions?

DATA SETS

- What data sets exist for this cemetery?
- Are those data sets relevant to the historic contexts and the proposed research questions?
- Is this information available through other sources, such as historical research?
- Do the data sets have sufficient integrity to adequately answer the identified research questions?
- How does our inability to determine the level of integrity of subsurface deposits affect our ability to determine eligibility?

HISTORIC CONTEXTS

What are the appropriate historic contexts for this cemetery?

CEMETERY PRESERVATION LAWS

The focus of this context is on cemetery evaluation – applying objective criteria in determining eligibility for the NRHP. National Register eligibility of a cemetery determines how it will be treated under the Section 106 process; however, it does not dictate a specific level of protection. Both the Federal Government and the State of Georgia recognize that cemeteries are important, vulnerable components of the cultural landscape in need of special protection under the law. A variety of regulations have been put in place to protect burial grounds and promote their preservation. In addition to broader state and federal laws, some counties and municipalities in Georgia have mandated additional cemetery management policies. These combined regulations and policies provide various levels of protections for cemeteries and human remains, regardless of eligibility for the NRHP.

STATE AND FEDERAL STATUTES

Regulatory Level	Statute	Common Title
State	OCGA 36-72	Abandoned Cemeteries and Burial Grounds Act
State	OCGA 31-21-6	Dead Bodies: Notification of Law Enforcement Agency Upon Disturbance, Destruction, or Debasement of Human Remains
State	OCGA 31-21-44	Wanton or Malicious Removal of Dead Body from Grave or Disturbance of Contents of Grave; Receipt, Retention, Disposal, or Possession of Unlawfully Removed Dead Body or Bodily Part
State	OCGA 31-21-45	Public Exhibit or Display of Dead Human Bodies of American Indians or American Indian Human Remains
State	OCGA 10-14	Cemeteries and Funeral Services
State	OCGA 44-12-260-262	Protection of American Indian Human Remains and Burial Objects
State	OCGA 12-3-622	Buying, Selling, Trading, Importing, or Exporting American Indian Burial, Sacred, or Cultural Objects
Federal	25 USC 3001 et seq, 43 CFR 10	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act [NAGPRA]

It is important to recognize that, in the state of Georgia, human remains or burial objects associated with them are not owned by those who own the property on which they are located and that any burial, regardless of its association with a larger cemetery, falls under the same protections under the law. They are recognized as "a part of the finite, irreplaceable, and nonrenewable cultural heritage of the people of Georgia which should be protected." The protection of abandoned cemeteries falls under the jurisdiction of counties and local municipalities and entities may petition for relocation of a cemetery from the governing authority through a permit under OCGA 36-72. In brief, the boundaries and contents of the cemetery to be relocated should be defined and the recovery supervised by a qualified archaeologist. A professional genealogist should be employed to identify living descendants and efforts made to notify them of the proposed relocation. Submission of an application for a permit (sometimes referred to as burial, cemetery termination, or land use change permits) is submitted, reviewed in a public hearing, and if approved, is issued by the relevant governing authority.

In Georgia, the State recognizes that cemeteries will naturally degrade or become overgrown over time, and unless the facility's management has contracted perpetual care of the grounds, there are no requirements for the property owners to maintain or upkeep them. Conversely, property owners and cemetery managers need to keep in mind that they can be held responsible for injuries resulting from hazardous conditions that represent a physical threat to public safety, such as open pits, partially downed trees, or collapsing architecture. Cemeteries where the grounds are clearly not being managed and where no person legally responsible for it can be found (or said person is not financially capable of maintaining it) are considered 'abandoned' (OCGA 36-72-2[1]).

In general, Georgia's Abandoned Cemeteries and Burial Ground Act provides the most protection for cemeteries, graves, human remains, or burial objects (those intentionally left on a grave's surface or buried within) from proposed land development (OCGA 36-72). This law requires a permit from the relevant governing authority in order to disturb burials or land deeded as a cemetery. Willful violation is considered a high and aggravated misdemeanor punishable by both a fine and jail time.

Burials are also protected from destruction or damage by several laws that contain criminal penalties, including fees and jail time. Wanton or malicious removal or disturbance of human remains from any place of interment is a criminal offense (OCGA 31-21-44[a]). In historic cemeteries, plant, animal, and sometimes human activities can move bones and burial objects close to or place them on the surface. Graves, human remains, or burial objects that are inadvertently disturbed or discovered are not in violation of OCGA 31-21-44. Should these events occur, local law enforcement agencies should be notified and the site secured until the circumstances surrounding the origin of the remains have been determined (i.e. are these from an archaeological, modern burial, or modern forensic setting).

Burials associated with American Indians, whether precontact or historic, are subject to additional levels of protection under the law. The federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 25 USC 3001 et seq, 43 CFR 10) offers protection to burials on federal land, as well as those within the control or possession of institutions receiving federal money. It also provides for repatriation of human remains and associated funerary objects to tribes with ancestral affiliation. The state of Georgia passed a law (OCGA 44-12-260) similar to NAGPRA that outlines a process for repatriation of burials and associated funerary objects within museums that are not already subject to NAGPRA. In addition to these repatriation laws, the display of human remains outside of funerary, educational, or professional settings are considered to be 'in poor taste' and generally frowned upon in most of Georgia's communities. In 1992, special provisions were added to the Georgia Code (OCGA 31-21-45) to specifically outlaw the display of American Indian human remains. Any professional exhibition of these materials would require the written permission of the American Indian group(s) claiming jurisdiction over where the remains were found and displayed. Additionally, the buying, selling, trading, importing, or exporting of American Indian human remains or burial objects is prohibited by OCGA 12-3-622, as well as other federal law if they are determined to have been obtained from federal land.

Guidance from the Office of the State Archaeologist as well as the Department of Community Affairs Historic Preservation Division or even real estate attorneys can be useful in understanding laws and statutes pertaining to cemeteries. Before exercising the law, one should first understand what the law says and be prepared to educate officials of the laws' existence and their full meaning.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

Military History

Start with…

• Have the developers of the cemetery added commemoration for military service such as statuary, memorials, or fencing to denote a specific section for veterans?

Think Deeper…

• Can skeletal remains provide information on military injuries, trauma, surgery, and other aspects of the battlefield?

Exploration and Settlement

Start with…

• Was this cemetery active during a period of community settlement for its location?

Think Deeper…

• What is the prevalence in a geographical area of Religious-type cemeteries versus Family- or Community-type cemeteries?

• What material resources were available on the frontier and how are these exhibited in cemeteries?

Ethnic Heritage

Start with…

• Is there evidence of a distinct ethnic group or multiple ethic groups?

Think Deeper…

• How do specific plantings utilized in the landscape convey cultural meaning for different ethnic groups or minorities?

• Is there a decrease in ethnic references through time, as Georgia culture became more homogenized?

Social History

Start with…

• Knowing the period(s) a cemetery has been or was active, how are different social movements in Georgia history expressed or not expressed in this cemetery?

Think Deeper…

• If it is an Institutional type cemetery, how might the burials and the burial landscapes of individuals whose care is in the hands of the State reflect society's ideals on the incarcerated or mentally ill?

Religion

Start with…

• Are these markers specific to a religion or a specific religious denomination?

Think Deeper…

• Do any of the plants or trees added to the landscape resonate with specific religious imagery (e.g., red cedars planted to recall cedars of Lebanon)?

• If a Religious-type cemetery, does the cemetery contain a collection of markers, memorials, or mausoleums that are of high artistic quality?

Health and Medicine

Start with…

- Was the location of the cemetery relative to the town determined by health and sanitation concerns?

Dig Deeper…

- Was the cemetery associated with a state or municipal institution such as a hospital, prison, or poorhouse?
- How do osteological data reflect changes through time in general health, medical care, sanitation, and nutrition?

Landscape Architecture

Start with…

- Was this cemetery designed or did its form follow its use over time?

Think Deeper…

- Do different sections of the cemetery exhibit different design ideals based on different ethnic or social groups?
- How is social status and/or socioeconomic status evident in the design of the cemetery landscape?

Community Planning and Development

Start with…

- Was the location of the cemetery a purposeful choice as part of planning process?

Think Deeper…

- Was it placed at the edge of town for sanitary concerns, more centrally located to double as a park, or placed in the suburbs for easy access by car from neighboring residential areas?

Art

Start with…

- Does the cemetery contain funerary art distinctive to a social group or group of artisans, such as the wooden grave markers of Gullah Geechee cemeteries in the Savannah vicinity?

Think Deeper…

- Is the artistic expression important to creating and maintaining that social identity?
- To what degree are national artistic movements reflected in markers through time?

Architecture

Start with…

- What stylistic periods are represented in the built architecture of the cemetery?

Think Deeper…

- Are the signatures of prominent stone carvers or architects present?
- How are social status and/or socioeconomic status evident in the burial architecture of the cemetery?

CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

To describe the historical significance of a property, the NRHP uses the four criteria for evaluation discussed earlier. These are tempered by additional qualifications or restrictions known as Criteria Considerations. In general terms, the NRHP was designed to avoid nominations for properties with inherent or sacred significance, like cemeteries and churches. As the National Register is maintained by the U.S. government with a secular intent, it recognizes historical importance, not spiritual importance. As churches and cemeteries are often seen through the eyes of faith, these properties must go through an extra level of scrutiny, which is why the Criteria Considerations were established. They are meant to help keep the evaluation objective. The same scrutiny is applied to birthplaces and graves of important persons, relocated properties, reconstructed buildings, commemorative properties, and properties that have achieved significance within the last 50 years. When a property of one of the types mentioned above is determined to meet a particular criterion, it must also meet the Criteria Considerations to be considered eligible for the NRHP.

Criteria Consideration A – A religious property may be eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

Criteria Consideration B – A property removed from its original or historically significant location may be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

Criteria Consideration C – A birthplace or grave of a historical figure may be eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life.

Criteria Consideration D – A cemetery may be eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E – A reconstructed property may be eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived. All three of these requirements must be met.

Criteria Consideration F – A property primarily commemorative in intent may be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G – A property achieving significance within the last 50 years may be eligible if it is of exceptional significance.

The discussion below centers on the Criteria Considerations as elaborated upon for cemeteries in *NR Bulletin 41*. Only cemeteries considered to have significance under Criterion D alone (as archaeological sites) are exempt from examination to see if they meet the Criteria Considerations.

Under **Criteria Consideration A**, religious properties may be eligible if they derive primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance. This is similar to the way that the religious area of significance applies to the historical importance of the association, not the spiritual or religious association. According to *NR Bulletin 15*, "a religious property's significance under Criterion A, B, C, or D must be judged in purely secular terms." *NR Bulletin 41* notes that cemeteries associated with a historic religious building, as well as crypts at an historic religious building, or a cemetery containing the burials of members of a religious order would all be subject to justification under Criteria Consideration A. Additionally, the bulletin notes that if the cemetery noted above possesses a high

degree of artistry in its grave markers or crypts, or was of advanced age, it would likely meet Criteria Consideration A. Religious-type cemeteries that are accompanied by their attendant religious buildings, such as a church, would typically be subject to Criteria Consideration A; however, if a cemetery is nominated as a contributing resource to a religious building nominated for its primary significance, the bulletin notes, it does not need to be justified under Criteria Consideration A.

A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it satisfies **Criteria Consideration B**. Cemeteries that would meet Criteria Consideration B include: (1) those where the grave of an important historic figure was moved to a place of commemoration; (2) a relocated columbaria, mausoleum, or other cemetery building; (3) a cemetery or section of a cemetery where a group of historic figures were reinterred; or (4) a cemetery relocated in its entirety. *NR Bulletin 41* notes that the following would likely meet Criteria Consideration B: a relocated mausoleum that was relocated within its historical setting without loss of other aspects of integrity; a section of graves of historic persons of outstanding importance that were reinterred more than 50 years ago; a graveyard moved in its entirety more than 50 years ago where the artistic and social significance of its markers are preserved; and an ossuary that represents reinterment as a traditional cultural practice.

(Right) Family Plot, Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.

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Criteria Consideration C is in place to ensure that only the birthplaces or graves of those persons of outstanding importance, beyond the standard threshold of significance, are considered eligible. Additionally, there should exist no better historic property to interpret their life's work or historic impact. Individuals' considered to be of outstanding importance can be significant at the local, state, or national level. It is not necessary to meet Criteria Consideration C if the grave or cemetery being nominated is part of a larger property that is associated with the productive life of that person. Criteria Consideration C notes that, in addition to the individual being of outstanding importance, there must be "no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life." For example, if the grave under consideration were that of an outstanding author, then the grave would be eligible only if a better site to interpret that individual's productive life as an author was no longer extant.

Criteria Consideration D, in general terms, restricts cemetery eligibility to (1) cemeteries that contain the graves of persons of transcendent importance; (2) cemeteries that are older and able to fill in knowledge gaps due to the passage of time, their relationship to the development of the specific geographic area in which they are located, or because the cemetery represents groups in the past for whom less written history and documentation exists; (3) cemeteries with distinctive design features; or (4) cemeteries associated with significant historic events. It is not necessary to meet Criteria Consideration D if a cemetery is being nominated along with its accompanying religious building or if it is nominated as a contributing, not predominant, part of a historic district.

Criteria Consideration E for reconstructed properties must be met for a historic period cemetery when a substantial number of character-defining features such as mausoleums or markers have been reconstructed. It would most likely meet these characteristics if the repairs and reconstructions

(Right) Hardscaping, Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.

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were completed with original fabric in accordance with a well-documented cemetery preservation plan.

Criteria Consideration F states that properties that are commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance. Public memorials are common elements of a cemetery that, if determined to meet any of the four criteria individually, could be subject to Criteria Consideration F. The bulletin notes that, by their nature, most cemeteries are commemorative; however, the ones referred to in this instance are ones in commemoration of events that occurred on or near their site, such as Andersonville National Cemetery. Criteria Consideration F must be met for the funerary monument of a heroic or martyred figure or tribal or national leader if it is the commemorative nature that is paramount. National cemeteries do not need to be considered under Criteria Consideration F.

Criteria Consideration G states that properties achieving significance within the last 50 years may be eligible if they are of exceptional significance. This does not apply to National cemeteries, which are already considered eligible to the NRHP. Otherwise, graves, cemeteries, mausoleums, or other objects, buildings, or structures associated with cemeteries that are less than 50 years of age must be of exceptional significance in order to be eligible. One example of how Criterion Consideration G may be met is if it is the grave of a national or tribal leader that is "exceptionally important because the leader's death had a galvanic effect on broad social movements, or the gravesite is a focal point of reverence for that leader's achievements."

(Right) Circulation through Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.

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INTEGRITY

Once a cemetery has been defined within its historic context, examined for areas of significance and a period of significance, determined to satisfy at least one of the criteria for evaluation, and met the Criteria Considerations as needed, then the cemetery must be examined to see if it retains integrity. The National Register defines integrity as "the ability of a property to convey its significance" and considers seven aspects or qualities that "in various combinations, define integrity." An assessment of integrity is completed after significance is established. The seven aspects of integrity, as defined i*n NR Bulletin 15*, are:

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or where the historic event occurred. The relationship between the property and the location is often important to understanding why the property was created or why something happened (pages 312-313).

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. It results from original decisions made during conception and planning of a property or significant alteration and applies to activities as diverse as community planning, engineering, architecture, and landscape architecture (page 313).

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. Whereas location refers to the specific place where a property was built or an event occurred, setting refers to the character of the place in which the property has played its historic role (page 313).

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. The choice and combination of materials reveal the preferences of those who create the property and indicate the availability of particular types of materials or technologies (page 314).

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period of history or prehistory. It is the evidence of an artisan's labor and skill in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site (page 314).

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. It results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character (page 314).

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property retains association if it is the place where the event or activity occurred and is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer (page 314).

Historic properties that are eligible for the NRHP will always retain at least several of these aspects and may sometimes retain them all to varying degrees. For different property types, different aspects of integrity may be more critical for a property to convey its historic significance. Cemeteries, for example, require different aspects of integrity than other types of resources such as bridges, lighthouses, or hotels. Likewise, cemeteries significant under different criteria, such as A or C, or different areas of significance, such as art or social history, may need different aspects of integrity to be particularly strong, while others are less critical. The same aspects of integrity apply to archaeological sites eligible under Criterion D; however, they may be expressed differently for below ground resources than they are for those aboveground.

NR Bulletin 15 establishes the following general steps for assessing integrity:

Step 1   Define the essential physical features that must be present for a property to represent its significance.

Step 2   Determine whether the essential physical features are visible enough to convey their significance.

Step 3   Determine whether the property needs to be compared with similar properties.

Step 4   Determine which aspects of integrity are particularly vital to the property being nominated, based on the significance and the essential physical features.

Section One of this context provides the basis for addressing the first steps in the evaluation process by understanding the historical context of the cemetery resource. In Section Two, the essential physical features for the different cemetery landscapes found in Georgia were defined (Step 1, defined above). Step 2 is accomplished through survey of the cemetery and the accompanying historical research. Once the character-defining features of a specific cemetery have been identified, it is necessary to determine whether they are sufficiently intact to be recognizable as they were historically. Step 3 requires, as it did for establishing significance, an understanding of similar resources (or an utter lack of similar resources) so the importance of an example can truly be determined. Sometimes to determine whether a property is a good example, comparison to similar examples is necessary. Finally, Step 4 reaches the core of evaluating for integrity by asking the question, "can the elements of a particular cemetery convey the significance of that cemetery as a whole and if so, which ones are the most important for a particular type or style of cemetery?" These steps will be explored in greater detail through the case studies presented at the end of this section.

LOCATION

There are some relocated cemeteries in Georgia that may retain integrity of location. When Jim Crow laws were enacted in the states, some municipalities disinterred African Americans from the municipal cemeteries and relocated them to separate segregated cemeteries. The relocations, in this case, underscores the significance for social history and ethnic heritage. Rather than detracting from the significance, it merely transfers it to another area, and the relocated burials become a feature of their new cemetery. The relocation of battlefield casualties in the years that followed the Civil War resulted in

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Overview Photograph Showing Extant and Layout of Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.

a similar situation. Sometimes those that died in battle and were buried in another state were later disinterred and returned for burial in Georgia. Re-interment of fallen soldiers was a significant chapter in the history of the Civil War. The location of these re-interments, if done historically, becomes the area assessed in this aspect of integrity in order to convey that significance.

DESIGN

Design refers to the layout and placement of features within a cemetery landscape. This arrangement can be deliberate, or a product of use, and happen organically over time. For Municipal-, Corporate-, and Institutional-type cemeteries, as well as those exhibiting Rural Garden, Lawn Park, and Memorial Garden styles, the design speaks to the intent of those establishing a cemetery and often conveys social meaning. Integrity of design may be less important in Religious-, Community-, and Family-type cemeteries as they typically have informal plans and for these cemeteries, location and association may help more in conveying intent, along with materials and workmanship. The arrangement of family members within plots and between family plots is more important in an Upland Folk style cemetery than the overall arrangement of the cemetery including roads, paths, and other landscape features. In a Rural Garden–style cemetery, however, the overall design of the cemetery landscape is more important than design and layout within individual plots or between plots. Cemeteries have long histories of use, so it is common for them to grow and change with time. The NRHP recognizes the evolution of historic landscapes. When assessing integrity of design, consider the period of significance and the character-defining features for that period. In general, the growth or expansion of a cemetery is less detrimental to its integrity of design than the alteration of the original or historic areas of the cemetery.

SETTING

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. In a cemetery, it is the center of intent. Setting refers to the character of the place in which the property has played its historic role. Cemeteries were placed in a specific setting for a particular reason that will then tell something important about that cemetery. Loss of setting removes a critical element of understanding. A mid-19th-century pre-emancipation African American Community-type cemetery that was sited between several adjoining land lots and used for 100 years can shed light on the ethnic heritage and social history of African American communities through its integrity of setting. A Municipal-type Rural Garden–style cemetery may have been placed in a prominent location near town and its views and vistas. A church congregation may have purposefully placed a cemetery in its churchyard, or a Military-type cemetery may have been placed where the soldiers died – at the scene of a battle. Conversely, Municipal-type cemeteries for the poor or enslaved may have been placed in locations that could not be used for other purposes, such as housing or agriculture. In each of these cases, social information is being conveyed through setting.

The importance of setting needs to be weighed in terms of the significance of the property. For example, if a cemetery is large, the setting within the cemetery may not be diminished by encroachment from outside, but if a cemetery is smaller, this encroachment is going to be more visible and the setting may be compromised or diminished. Cemeteries significant for social history, such as a pre-emancipation African cemetery in an isolated wooded setting on a former plantation, benefit from strong integrity of setting, and a loss of this setting may affect the ability to convey significance. Setting may not be as important in a cemetery eligible for exploration and settlement or for ethnic heritage. One example is the Goldsmith-Maddox Johnson family cemetery, the burial place of founding fathers of the Village of Stone Mountain, which, due to road improvements, is now surrounded by parking lots on Memorial Drive. Strong integrity of setting may be more important in a cemetery eligible under Criterion A for art, landscape architecture, or for military history. The essential question for understanding the relative importance of integrity of setting is: to what degree does the burial place and its overall setting convey the most important period(s) of use?

MATERIALS

The physical elements that were added to a cemetery during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration comprise the physical components of a cemetery. The choice of materials for elements such as markers, curbing, or fences reveals the preferences of those who established or use the cemetery and indicates the availability of particular types of materials or technologies. These are critical to a number of areas, in particular, art, architecture, landscape architecture, social history, ethnic history, and religion. Each of these relies upon the markers and other burial structures to convey their meaning and significance. Cemeteries can be in use for more than a century, and over that time span, new marker styles can be added and changes or updates to cemetery landscape features such as boundaries, gateways, fencings and other structural additions can occur. Additionally, there can be a loss of historic materials due to damage, displacement, or deterioration. Materials can be damaged even with good intentions as the community and the entity managing the cemetery seek to "improve" the cemetery over time. This often consists of the removal or replacement of old, deteriorated features. The loss of original or historic materials is more detrimental to this aspect of integrity than the addition of non-historic materials in a cemetery.

WORKMANSHIP

Workmanship is the physical evidence of those that created the cemetery landscape or the built features of the cemetery (i.e. buildings, markers, curbing, fencing, etc.). It is the evidence of an artisan's labor and skill in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site. Workmanship integrity (like that of materials) is typically lost in one of two ways: 1) loss of historic materials due to damage, displacement, or deterioration, which obscures the workmanship; or 2) repair or care through inappropriate means. There can be damage or destruction through vandalism, weathering, poor maintenance, or even unsympathetic restoration efforts or renovations.

FEELING

Feeling is the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. For the National Register, feeling may be one of the most subjective aspects of integrity. The evaluator needs to consider the feeling in a historical or aesthetic sense, not in a religious or spiritual manner. Emotional significance should not be confused with historical significance. If the historical and social intent of a cemetery was to inspire reverence, such as a Military cemetery, or peaceful contemplation, as in a Lawn Park–style cemetery, feeling becomes important. Modern infill can detract from integrity of feeling, particularly if it overwhelms the historic markers when the markers are interspersed. When the historic features are clustered, like an historic marker section, they can still retain integrity with a reduced boundary. It is helpful to pinpoint the feeling as it relates to the period of significance.

ASSOCIATION

Association is the recognizable link between a property and an important historic event or person. This aspect is critical in cemeteries that have significance under Criteria A and B, as it is an assessment of that property's ability to convey that significance. For example, if the cemetery was built in a churchyard, then its ability to convey its significance is much stronger when the historic church is present and that association is intact. If a cemetery was built at the turn of the century by an African American Mutual Aid society, the predominance of standardized concrete slab markers provided by the society may convey an association with that connection. Integrity of association helps to illustrate the link between the cemetery and the group or entity that founded it or are otherwise responsible for its historical significance. Cemeteries are frequently listed on the NRHP as a contributing element to a town's historic district. In order for this to happen, its integrity of association, along with integrity of location and setting, needs to be strong.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTEGRITY

For cemeteries, archaeological integrity is largely a product of the cemetery landscape, age, soils, skeletal preservation, and preservation of associated burial artifacts. Archaeologically, cemeteries consist of data sets associated with the human remains, the items interred with the deceased, the grave and containers within which the remains were placed, headstones/markers, and the arrangement of the graves within the cemetery. A cemetery's landscape and arrangement can be considered to possess good integrity if the locations of burials can be identified and their organization, arrangement, and sequence interpreted. It should be noted if surface and near-surface contexts (formerly above the grave) are still in place. Local volunteers at the Old School Cemetery in Washington, for example, removed surface deposits from graves, thinking they were cleaning up the trash on the property. This resulted in the loss of the cemetery's surface features, which diminished the cemetery's cultural integrity.

In an undisturbed context, the grave compartment or shaft could possess good integrity, while the integrity of the container will depend on the type and the archaeological techniques used to record and assess integrity. Similarly, in an intact setting, the integrity of burial inclusions should be good, although the environmental conditions and the nature, quantity, and significance of inclusions will vary from place to place and from burial to burial and can only be determined through excavation. Excavation or ground disturbing activities for the purpose of evaluation is not acceptable and should not be occurring as the norm. Because cemeteries by nature will not be disturbed or excavated for data collection, it needs to be considered how the lack of physical data impacts the ability to evaluate them under Criterion D. Although research questions can be formulated and data sets can be described, the presence and integrity of those potential data sets may not be known at the Phase I survey level. Depending on the research questions, the data potential could increase if an archaeologist is able to confidently ascribe remains to a specific person. Surface markers may be used to associate burials with specific individuals, but there needs to be confidence that markers have not been moved or replaced and that the integrity of association between the marker and the remains in a grave is strong. Even if the placement is not exact, the relative positioning of markers within the entire cemetery or plot can also provide important information on the family or community.

The integrity of the remains themselves is a key element in the evaluation of significant archaeological data potential within a cemetery. A burial with well-preserved human remains and other applicable data sets, such as associated funerary items, could yield abundant data on health, diet, disease, ethnicity, and other aspects that a burial from the same period and culture lacking preservation cannot. Preservation is largely influenced by soils and age. Questions that can be asked to evaluate the integrity of the burials include: Is it likely that osteological remains or associated funerary objects are present in such a condition as to allow meaningful analysis? What level of bone preservation has been seen from similarly dated cemeteries on similar soils?

Finally, it is important to understand to what degree post-interment, ground disturbing actions such as erosion, sea level rise, rodent activity, crayfish burrowing, logging, plowing, looting, landscaping, sidewalk and road improvements, previous archaeological investigations, etc. have displaced or destroyed grave features and contents. All of these can have significant negative impacts to archaeological integrity, which is necessary to convey significance under Criterion D.

INTERPOLATING ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTEGRITY

How do you determine archaeological integrity for a cemetery without subsurface examination? While GPR and other remote sensing tools can play an important role, other methods such as interpolation can be helpful. Interpolation is estimating the answer for one variable, such as integrity, based on examining known relevant data sets for comparison. Interpolation is an estimate, not an exact answer. It can only point to the likelihood of good integrity. In all of these cases, it would need to be established first why the particular cemetery or site used for comparison is relevant for understanding potential integrity of the cemetery being examined.

What related data sets could be used? Possible data sets might include:

- **Cemeteries in a similar location or nearby.** While the best comparative data would be other fully excavated and studied cemeteries nearby, these are uncommon and only rarely would that data be available. It is possible though that examining other nearby cemeteries that have not been excavated might provide useful information, but this would need to be examined on a case by case basis and would depend on the questions being asked. Another source of information from existing cemeteries might be the permits that are required for relocating a cemetery or exhuming a grave. These permit reports require some level of research, but many contain cursory writeups of specific soil conditions or burial preservation data.

- **Results of other nearby archaeological excavations.** How could a typical archaeology report from a nearby location help? The report may provide indicators that good integrity is possible at the cemetery in question. Does the nearby site have the same soil type? Is the localized environment of that site similar to the cemetery in terms of drainage, vegetation, and disturbance? One source of the data that could be very useful is shovel test information from the same archaeological survey that includes the cemetery. Are there shovel test data that might provide good comparative data for the cemetery? What was the preservation of recovered artifacts like in nearby shovel tests? If it was good and the soils are similar it may provide some indication of subsurface integrity in the cemetery.

- **Additional tests outside the cemetery boundaries.** Other types of tests could be deliberately undertaken outside cemetery boundaries but within the project area. These might help to estimate the cemetery's subsurface integrity without excavation. These could include nearby auger tests, deeper shovel tests, or test unit excavation.

Now, let's dive deeper. These are generic examples above. How might this look different if we now considered the particular type, style, or area of significance that a cemetery might hold? Is it possible to find a cemetery of the same type or style? What about the area of significance? If the cemetery being examined is thought to be significant for data potential for exploration and settlement, then the graves would likely be much older. Having a soil type that is more conducive to the preservation of bone might be important for DNA analysis if the question involves who was buried

there. However, if the research questions are looking more at burial traditions, then a soil type where grave goods and burial items are preserved might be more important. These questions need to be formulated based on the cemetery being studied and its historic context.

How do you make a strong argument that the estimate for archaeological integrity is valid? What comparisons are most critical? It depends on the cemetery, but the more information that can be provided on why the data sets are likely to be similar to the cemetery in question, the stronger the argument will be.

Level of Effort. As discussed at the beginning of this section, the level of effort necessary to estimate the integrity may not be necessary every survey. GDOT's first choice is to avoid any possible physical effects to graves by avoiding the burials altogether and in general minimizing impacts to cemeteries when planning projects. When avoiding the cemetery, it is not always necessary to know the integrity and to state a definitive recommendation for eligibility under Criterion D. In these cases, the eligibility under Criterion D may remain unknown. If a cemetery may be affected, however, more avenues are necessary to determine if the cemetery has the integrity necessary to be eligible under D as it relates to associated subsurface deposits. This would include the appropriate steps to develop research questions and define available data sets. In the future, an online resource could be developed for Georgia cemeteries to help develop these questions and identify available comparative data.

Old Suwanee Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

Sodom Cemetery
(Gwinnett/Rockdale Counties)

Plan: Informal
Type: Community
Style: Vernacular
Date Established: Circa 1830
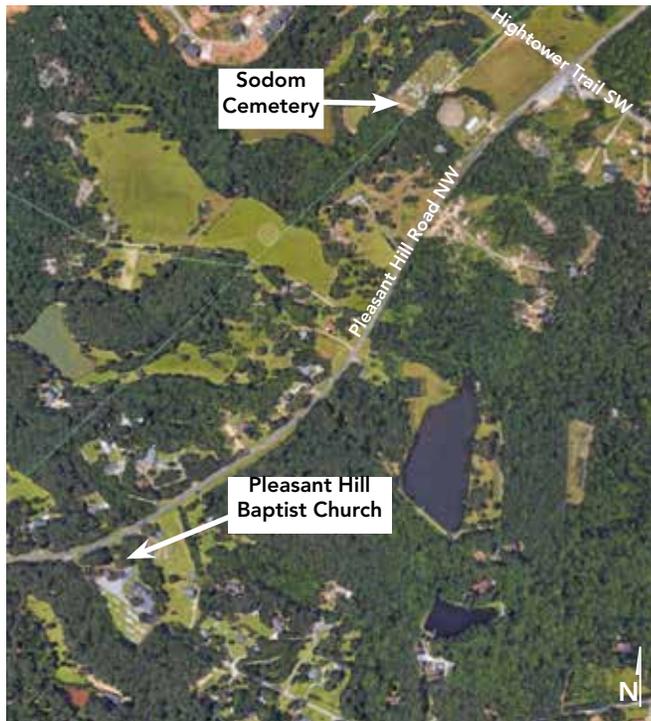
Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.
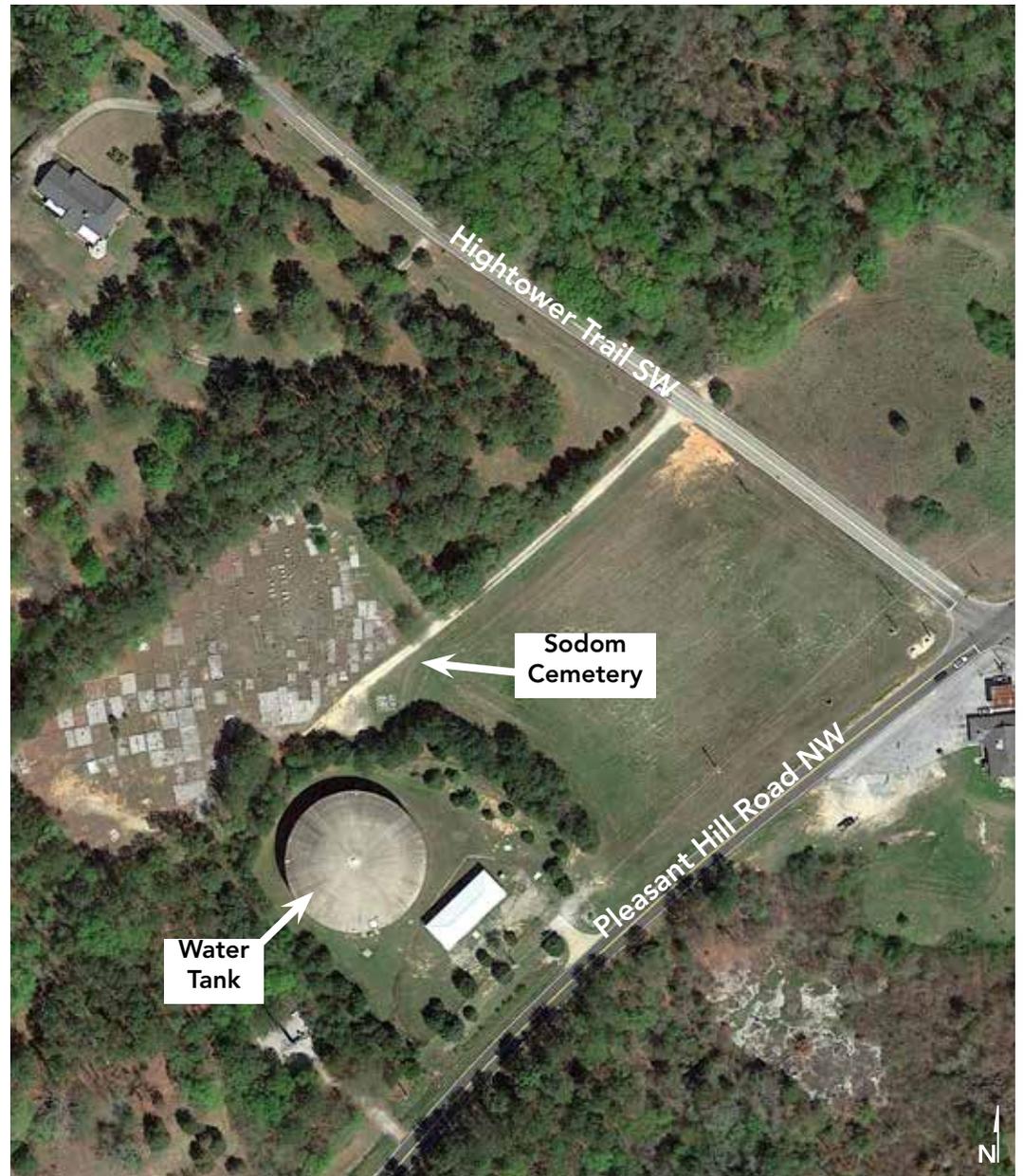
Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY & CONTEXT:

Sodom Cemetery, originally a Family-type cemetery established in the 1830s (Section Two, Cemetery Types), was conveyed from owner J.W. Henry and the Henry Family to trustees W.H. Camp, W.R. Owens, J.W. Henry, and the community of Pleasant Hill in 1901. Gwinnett County was formed in 1818 as part of Georgia's westward expansion. Cemeteries in the rural landscape in Georgia provided three options for burial: Family, Church, and Community type cemeteries (Section One, Chapter 6). This area of the state remained rural through much of its history, and the cemetery evolved over time, growing with use by a single family into a multi-family Community-type cemetery.

1920 Soil Map, Rockdale County.

The square, roughly two-acre cemetery on the Gwinnett/Rockdale County border may have received its biblical name from the activities of an early community known as "Shake Rag," notorious for corn whiskey, moonshine, and a possible brothel.[1] The cemetery's name of Sodom is purported to have derived from its proximity to the distilling center, which was composed of a small log cabin surrounded by stills. The name possibly served as a cautionary tale for the larger community.[2]

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[1] David T. Moon, *History of Pleasant Hill Church*, Rockdale County, Georgia: 1873-2001 (2002) 136-137
[2] Genesis:19.
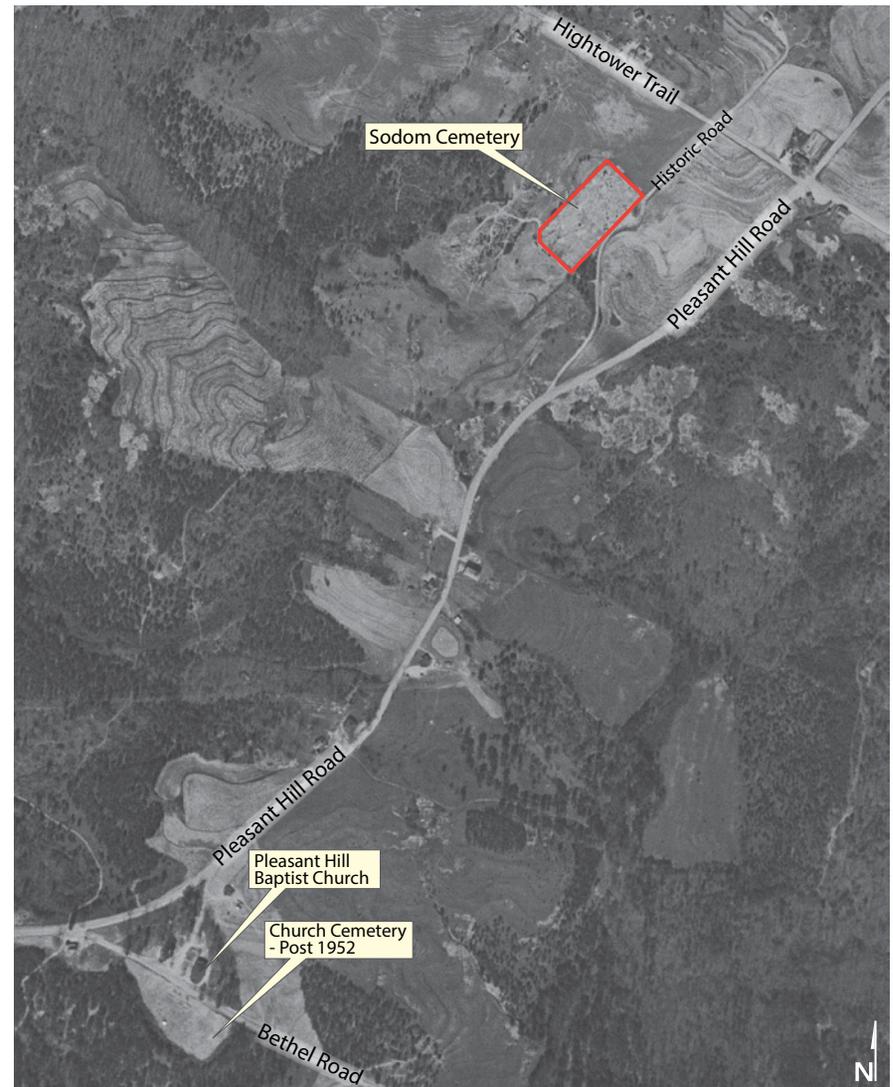
1955 USGS Maps

The cemetery was mostly surrounded by land owned by the Henry family, who were farmers and pioneers within the Rockbridge District of Gwinnett County. The oldest markers are within the original one-acre square of the cemetery. The Henry Family burial plot appears to be the oldest in the cemetery, and it lies at the north edge, closest to Hightower Trail. The grave of William Henry,

a Revolutionary War veteran who died in 1837, is also located in this area. In the 1830s, the Henrys were on Georgia's westward expanding frontier, as discussed in Section One, Chapter 4. The small family graveyard grew to represent a larger community by the 1860s with the influx of burials from the Owens and Grahams families, followed by the Camps and Humphries families, among others (as indicated by a survey of marker epitaphs).

The Pleasant Hill Baptist Church, established in 1873 and located south of Sodom Cemetery on Bethel Road, used the community graveyard from about 1901 until 1952 (and possibly prior to 1901 as well). It established its own cemetery at another location in 1952. During this period, the original cemetery tract grew to over two acres. The cemetery extended to the south, expanding over an additional acre. Notably, the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church is credited with cleaning up the reputation of the area and was responsible for the area's new place name, Pleasant Hill.[3]

Members of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church continue to maintain Sodom Cemetery with annual clean up days. The cemetery remains active, with burials as recent as 2016.

[3] David T. Moon, *History of Pleasant Hill Church*, Rockdale County, Georgia: 1873-2001 (2002) 139

View South, Water Tower in Background.

Family Plots are well defined with granite and concrete blocks.

A historic aerial from 1955 shows no buildings in association with the cemetery. Terraced fields generally surround it. It is bounded by old roads on its eastern and southern perimeters. In addition, the aerial shows the cemetery's eastern boundary was rimmed by an early road, likely a precursor to Pleasant Hill Road, that is only partially extant today. This unimproved remnant connects the cemetery to Hightower Trail, and it is the primary means of entry to the cemetery today. Circa 2001, a large Rockdale County water tank was built just southeast of the cemetery and any entrance, if present, from Pleasant Hill Road was removed.

LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTION:

The roughly rectangular 2.23-acre cemetery is situated on the Gwinnett County-Rockdale County line, at the intersection of Hightower Trail and a historic road. The setting is rural and undeveloped, with the exception of a large county water tank that is painted with plant imagery to ameliorate its intrusion. The cemetery is set back deeply from the nearby roads, reflecting the landscape prior to the construction of Pleasant Hill Road network, and is generally surrounded by mature trees and dense undergrowth. A narrow remnant of a historic road leads from the Hightower Trail to the cemetery. A small metal county sign with simply the name "Sodom Cemetery" announces its location.

Examples of the Early Box Tombs in Sodom Cemetery.

Sodom Cemetery has an Informal Plan (Section Two, Cemetery Plans). There is no formal entry, nor are there any formal paths. The cemetery plots and burials are generally aligned in a northeast-southwest orientation in informal rows. Kinship appears to be the defining feature of the layout, rather than formal design, as most graves are located within well-defined family plots throughout the cemetery. Family plots are often bordered in granite curbing, although brick and granite fieldstones were observed as well. There are approximately 647 graves with a wide variety of marker styles – some informal, others commercially available, reflecting the extended use of the cemetery through both the 19th and 20th centuries by those with differing financial means. The markers range in material from fieldstones to flush bronze plaques. Modern marker forms dominate the visual perception of the cemetery. Marker forms represented in the cemetery include informal markers, such as unmilled box tombs, field stones, and vernacular forms (concrete); and formal markers, such as tablets, composite forms, military markers, and statuary. Surface depressions suggest the possibility of unmarked burials.

ANALYSIS OF CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES:

The identification of a cemetery's plan, type, and style is based on the recognition of its character-defining features. By identifying the common features that stand out in this landscape, its development can be better understood and the cemetery can be placed within the appropriate historic context. The feature classes that stood out in this landscape are its rural location and setting; informal plan; lack of a formal entry or circulation pattern; prominent use of the family plot; and the presence of both formal and informal markers.

ORGANIZATION AND LAYOUT

Circulation

There is no designed entrance and no formal road or paths through the cemetery. The cemetery is entered by an historic road remnant from Hightower Trail.

Arrangement

The cemetery consists of a series of family plots with individual graves distributed between them. Consistent with an informal plan, the cemetery appears to have grown organically with use, rather than following any consistent plan.

Graves

The graves are oriented roughly northeast-southwest, which is fairly consistent with use by a predominantly Christian community. Pleasant Hill Baptist Church began a long association with the cemetery, beginning formally in 1901, which also suggests it was already a predominantly Christian cemetery prior to their use.

Plots

This cemetery has well-defined family plots lined with local stone curbing such as granite, concrete blocks, and/or low, poured concrete walls. Some are maintained with a layer of white gravel raked over the entire plot. The plots appear arranged along kinship lines.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Markers

There is a mix of formal and informal markers in the cemetery (see Appendix A for marker forms). Among the formal markers are unmilled box tombs that likely dated to the mid-19th century and are located in the historic core of the cemetery. Tablet markers are the predominate form at Sodom. These include examples from the modern period, such as modern crowned, composite, and notched composite. Earlier tablet forms include ionic, crowned, and rounded markers. Laminar markers (page A-11) form a small percentage of the collection. Vernacular markers are present as well, but in a smaller percentage than commercial markers. These include painted, etched, and stamped concrete; garden statuary; fieldstones and mounds bordered with fieldstones; and a wooden cross. Military markers are present including a Revolutionary War veteran (modern marker); Confederate tablets, both in granite and marble styles; and modern military markers for WWII veterans. Finally, a small number of early 20th-century obelisks are present. A cursory examination establishes that 20th-century commercial markers dominate the landscape.

Archaeological Features

Surface depressions and voids between markers or plots are present at Sodom Cemetery. These likely indicate the presence of

Examples of More Modern Grave Sites.

unmarked graves. Aboveground observation does not seem to indicate spatial patterning. As noted on the sketch map, which shows general date ranges for burials, the cemetery did not expand chronologically from the oldest burials, or in a planned manner, but instead grew organically.

APPLYING THE NRHP CRITERIA:

Sodom Cemetery was evaluated under Criterion A for significance in the area of Community Planning and Development at the local level.

Established as a Family-type cemetery in the 1830s, when the area was newly settled by Euroamericans, Sodom grew over the course of the 19th century into a rural Community-type cemetery, in conjunction with Gwinnett's growth at this time. Historical research yielded little on the early "Shake Rag" community beyond its characterization within the history of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church as being a place of ill repute. The earlier "Shake Rag" community, which was known primarily for its distilleries, is only shown on a 1920 Soil Map. By that time, it was named after the adjacent cemetery but misspelled as "Sardum." The community does not appear in

the cartographic record after that date and is no longer extant. Given this, it appears that "Shake Rag" and its later iteration, "Sardum," may have been in existence between 1880 and 1920 as an informal settlement. Of the more than 300 markers in the cemetery, 64 have been dated to the 19th century. Even fewer date the mid 1800s, the period of community planning and development for this area. While the earliest markers from the 1830s can be found close together, other dates appear intermixed randomly throughout the cemetery, such that no distinct portion of the cemetery nor the cemetery as a whole is able to convey an intact association with its 19th-century roots. The cemetery more clearly reflects its 20th-century use.

The cemetery was evaluated under Criterion B for significance. Sodom Cemetery is not known to contain a person of transcendent importance or that has had a great impact upon the history of the local community, the state, or nation. The Henrys and other settlers may have been important to their respective communities as land owners and farmers, but, objectively, there is no evidence that they were critical in the development of the county and its institutions.

Sodom Cemetery was evaluated under Criterion C for significance in Landscape Architecture and Art at the local level. Sodom Cemetery lacks a formal plan or design that would make it notable for Landscape Architecture. While most of the markers are not distinctive in their materials, forms, or decorations, the historic core of the cemetery contains a notable collection of mid-19th-century box tombs that are significant for Art. This central core of the cemetery is significant under Criterion C and a potential NRHP boundary would include only this concentration of box tombs and older burials.

In evaluating the Sodom Cemetery under Criterion D, consideration must be given to the cemetery's history and its place within the larger historical and social context. While Sodom Cemetery was established in the 1830s, during the era of Romanticism and Victorian ideals, cemeteries of this

(Above) The overall visual impression of the cemetery is of modern markers such as Composite with vase and Modern Crowned. Differing plot enclosures can be seen (see Section Two – *Enclosures*). (Below) Vernacular items including a wooden cross, garden statuary, offerings, solar lights, brick curbing, and a funeral home marker mark this grave.

time were not necessarily subject to these more mainstream social ideals, as was seen in Memorial Park–style cemeteries, but instead reflect the development of the Pleasant Hill community. The development of the area known as "Shake Rag" or Sardum and its associations with illicit activities, such as moonshine and whiskey distilling, and the later association of the cemetery with the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church and continued use by the larger community holds the potential for many different avenues of research at varying scales. By examining the cemetery's history within its larger social and historical context, a list of research questions can be formulated to evaluate the available data sets and their integrity and their ability to yield new and significant information.

Using the historical context of Sodom Cemetery as the foundation, significant research questions can be established. These may include:

- Is the development of the cemetery from its original establishment as a family plot to its use by the larger community reflected in the spatial relationship of the marker types, burials, and family plots? Knowing that the cemetery was used over a long period of time and contains many markers, what is the spatial relationship between the markers, and how is this reflected in the development of the community?

- As the cemetery was used over a long period of time and by different groups, is there a chronological order or spatial pattern to the layout of the cemetery that is reflective of its development and use over time, and does this provide any insights into the beliefs and burial customs of the community?

- Are there differences in the burial patterns and customs of the early settlers and "Shake Rag" community and the later burials associated with the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church? Does this reflect social divisions and/or views of death and burial between the different groups?

- If additional archival research showed there was a brothel within the "Shake Rag" community, can the cemetery provide insight into the health of the women that might have been engaged in prostitution?

The next step is to evaluate available data sets above and below ground. For aboveground resources, Appendix A of the context helps in identifying the formal headstones within the Sodom Cemetery, which consists of unmilled box tombs, tablet markers, laminar, military markers, and obelisks, in additional to informal markers. Basic information contained on the markers themselves generally include inscriptions of the name of the deceased, age at the time of death, birth and death dates, and quotes that reflect the individual's cultural views on death. While the aboveground markers do provide basic information about the individuals buried in the cemetery, the number of burials that date to the earlier period are few, and the evidence of significant social or cultural trends within the Pleasant Hill community, such as the religious affiliation, population within the community, and military associations, is largely available within the historical record. The use of Federal census records, which cover the period of the cemetery's development, tax rolls, and genealogical information may best answer these issues, particularly concerning demographics. Records of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church may also provide information on both demographics and burial practices. Oral history would also be another approach. Thus, the data potential of the headstones could be acquired from other sources.

In terms of spatial development and chronological layout of the cemetery, the information contained on the markers is too varied, limiting its research potential and providing little data control needed for an understanding of the cultural groups interred there. Their chronological, cultural, and socioeconomic relationship to each other and the other burials in the cemetery cannot be determined by location information alone. Furthermore, the layout of the informal cemetery lacks a clearly definable pattern or chronological layout due to the inclusion of recent headstones scattered

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Field Sketch 2018.

Legend:

S — Stone, but not engraved and/or legible

E — Appears empty, no stone visible

(shield) — Revolutionary War William Henry, 1837

? — Stones engraved/visible, but not legible

Historic Core 1800s

Notes:
- Historic core is evident with box tombs and rock piles, fieldstone and footstones visible
- Not likely any slave burials due to proximity, few completely unmarked graves - probably just stone lost to the ground
- Majority of cemetery on plateau of hill
- Most infill is within family plots
- Dates given are of the oldest burial in plot - very often a child long before the parents
- Some infill in plots are one family spanning a century

throughout the cemetery, making it difficult to address research questions associated with specific burial practices, spatial patterns, the relationships of the people interred there, or the development of the cemetery from a Family-type cemetery to a Community-type cemetery. Well-defined family plots identified by curbing and walls signify that there are distinct family plots and burial groupings. Headstones are all orientated in an east-west direction, but there is no obvious pattern to their placement and it is difficult to tell if their proximity was intentional. Based on analysis of the available above ground datasets, the Sodom Cemetery lacks significant data potential as it relates to eligibility under Criterion D.

The research potential for below ground data in terms of mortuary practices, disenfranchised cultural groups missing from the historical record, or health and nutrition of those in the community may be present; nevertheless, it is difficult to assess whether or not subsurface data is present because excavation of cemeteries should not occur for the sole purpose of determining data potential. The effect of soil chemistry and other environmental factors on the preservation state of burial deposits can affect the ability of deposits to provide certain types of significant data. Without below ground investigations, the preservation status and integrity of deposits is unknown, and, therefore, their ability to address significant research questions is unknown. Based on the archaeological investigation of the below ground data set, the eligibility of the Sodom Cemetery under Criterion D is unknown.

Sodom Cemetery was not determined to possess significance under Criteria A or B. The cenetery does, however, possess significance under Criterion C for the historic core of the cemetery contains a notable collection of mid-19th-century box tombs that are significant for Art. Significance under Criterion D was determined to be unknown.

ASSESSMENT OF INTEGRITY:

Sodom Cemetery retains integrity of location, as it remains in its original location. The rural environment, characterized by the natural growth of trees and brush, is consistent with the historic setting, despite non-historic intrusions, including a large water tank to the south. The markers consist of both gathered and rough-cut stone, and professionally-manufactured and hand-carved formal markers, all conveying methods of workmanship from throughout its two-century history. The majority of the markers within the cemetery are non-historic commercial forms; these markers are thoroughly intermixed with their historic counterparts, significantly diminishing the historic feeling of this late 19th- to 20th-century cemetery. The cemetery remains active and used by members of the community, even retaining an association with the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church, who maintains the grounds; therefore, it retains integrity of association.

NRHP RECOMMENDATION:

The oldest portion of Sodom Cemetery, which contains the 19th-century box tombs, is recommended eligible for the NRHP under Criterion C for Art. The cemetery was also evaluated under Criterion D and determined to lack significant data potential based on an evaluation of aboveground data sets; however, eligibility based on an evaluation of below ground data sets could not be determined and will therefore remain unknown for Criterion D. Criteria Consideration D was applied for cemeteries and Sodom Cemetery is still considered eligible as the box tombs in the historic core of the cemetery are a distinctive design feature.

Greenwood Cemetery
(Fulton County)

Plan: Curvilinear
Type: Corporate
Style: Lawn Park
Date Established: 1904

Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.

Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY & CONTEXT:

Greenwood Cemetery was established as a for-profit, Corporate-type cemetery in 1904. The cemetery was incorporated by William H. Brown and James L. Mayson, who was Atlanta's city attorney, with an initial investment of $100,000. The first burial occurred in 1907; the cemetery remains active with more than 3,000 interments in the cemetery, at present. It encompasses 185 acres.

Greenwood was preceded in Atlanta by Westview Cemetery in 1884. Prior to the opening of Westview, Oakland Cemetery was the only large, public cemetery in Atlanta. By that time, the city had run out of lots to sell in Oakland. Westview served as the principal cemetery for the city for two decades, when it was followed by a second wave of new cemetery development in the first decades of the 20th century. Greenwood Cemetery was among the first in that wave; it was followed closely by Crest Lawn Cemetery in 1916 and others. Greenwood Cemetery was established at a time of urban growth and segregation, described in Section One, Chapter 6, *Two Georgias*. This period (1900-1945) saw the establishment of many new cemeteries around urban centers that would be defined by the separation of ethnic, racial, and religious groups.

The early layout of the cemetery is visible in a 1927 topographic map. The network of curvilinear roads that seem to follow the terrain in delineating distinct burial sections were in place at that time. Expansion of the cemetery to the north with additional roads occurred between 1938 and 1952, according to aerial photography. Additional burial space to the north appeared to have been open by 1960, and clearing for new burial space appears to have occurred (again to the north) in the 1990s. The limits of historic sections of the cemetery, as shown in the 1927 topographic map (and later in the 1938 aerial photograph) have not changed. Aerial photography shows what appears to be the use of hedges or other dense plantings to delineate the plot boundaries for the different sections. The practice appears to have been in place by the 1930s, but is most visible in the 1952 aerial photograph. These natural boundaries were removed between 1968 and 1972.

(Above) Map of Greenwood Cemetery. Source: FindAGrave.com (Below) 1927 Topographic Map of Greenwood Cemetery. Source: Emory Digital Library.

1938 Historic Aerial Showing Cemetery Entrance (Red Circle).

1952 Historic Aerial Showing Historic Cemetery Office (Blue Circle), Entrance (Red Circle), and Maintenance Buildings (Orange Arrow). Use of hedges to delineate sections is clear in this aerial.

Cascade Road SW

Cascade Road SW

1968 Historic Aerial Showing Historic Cemetery Office (Blue Circle), Entrance (Red Circle), and Maintenance Buildings (Orange Arrow).
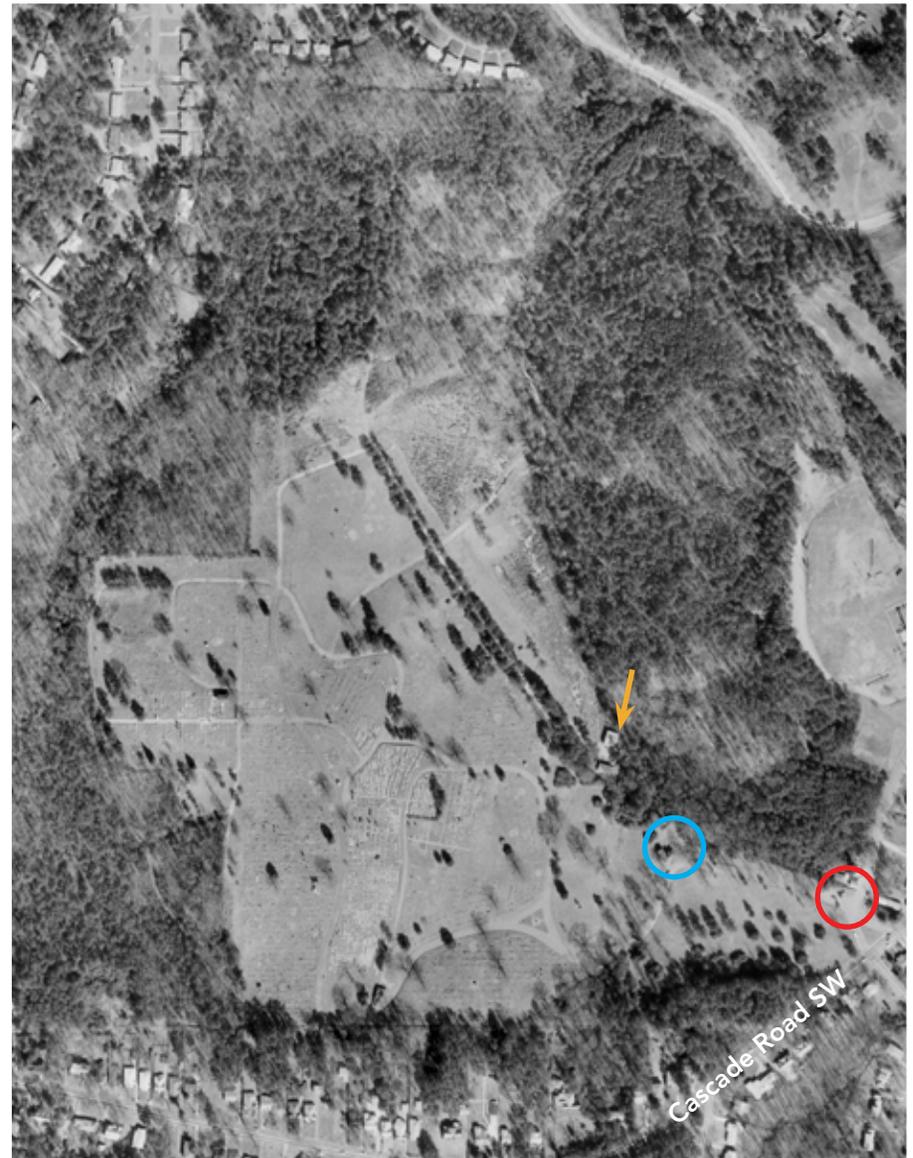
1972 Historic Aerial Showing Historic Cemetery Office (Blue Circle), Entrance (Red Circle), and Maintenance Buildings (Orange Arrow). By 1972, any vegetation borders around sections were removed.

There appear to have been several buildings present in the 1938 aerial, including an office with a neighboring structure at the entrance and a potential caretaker's residence near a bend at the entrance. The office building appears as a compact plan with a hipped roof on historic aerials. This building was destroyed by fire in 1973 and was replaced with the present side-gabled office in the 1980s.[1] A maintenance lot appears to have been present along the northern tree line in 1938; a maintenance building was built between 1955 and 1960 and another maintenance building between 1960 and 1968.

The Jewish sections comprise most of the burial space at Greenwood. Each section represents a different congregation and is marked by a prominent gate. In 1965, the *Memorial to the Six Million* was constructed; it was the first Holocaust memorial in Georgia. The memorial has been the site of an annual Holocaust Commemoration Day for the past 52 years. It was listed in the NRHP in 2008.

In addition to the prominent Jewish presence, Greenwood features distinct sections for Greek Orthodox and Chinese burials. A Greek Orthodox section was built in 1911 in response to limited offerings for the Greek community at nearby Westview Cemetery.[2] This section is separated from other areas of the cemetery visually by a stone wall and roads, and it features a Greek Revival style chapel. There is a small Chinese section with burials dating to the 1910s. The cemetery was not open to African Americans until 1987, when C.R. Jones, Atlanta's first black council member, was interred there. Hank Ballard, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame inducted singer/songwriter and famed (among other accomplishments) as the writer of "The Twist," was buried there in 2003.

1 Personal Communication Greenwood Cemetery Manager, 2018
2 *Atlanta Greeks and Early History*. Stephen Georgeson, 2015. Arcadia Publishing, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina.
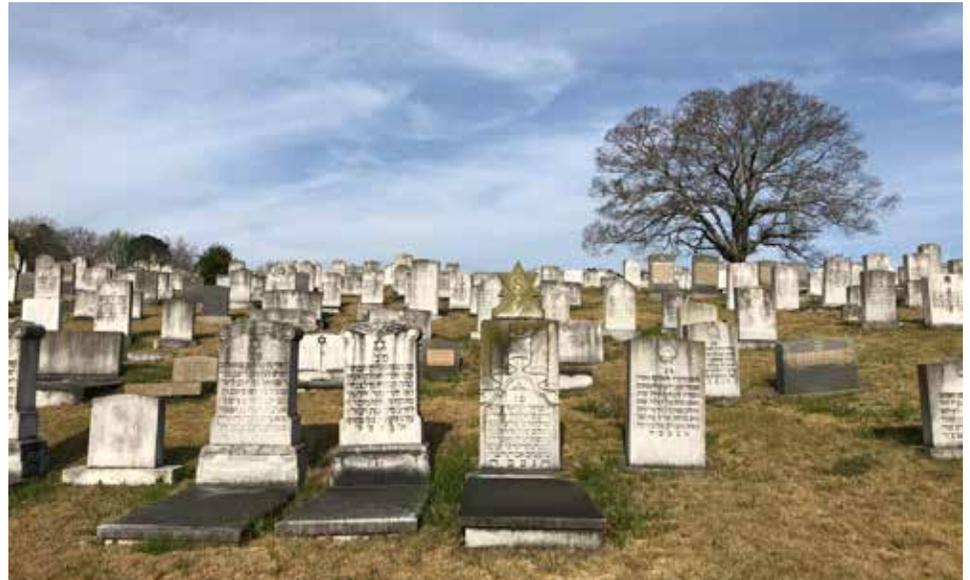
(Above) Wide Variety of Jewish Grave Markers. (Below) NRHP-Listed *Memorial to the Six Million*.

LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTION:

Greenwood Cemetery consists of approximately 134 acres in Fulton County. It is located in the Cascade Heights neighborhood, lying north and west of Cascade Avenue SW. Greenwood Cemetery is surrounded by a band of dense forest, which screens views of the surrounding residential neighborhoods. The combination of wooded lands and rolling fields gives the cemetery a park-like feel. The entrance is set back from Cascade Avenue SW, which the narrow entrance drive intersects at a sharp angle. Greenwood has a formal entrance marked by random ashlar granite pillars and low, curved walls adorned with urns and pyramidal capitals.

The cemetery has a formal curvilinear plan. A winding single-lane entrance road leads from the gate into the cemetery, concealing the burial spaces within. In the cemetery, the road forks around a prominent fountain before branching in opposite directions along a curvilinear path through the cemetery. The drives wind through the cemetery, following the terrain, separating and delineating burial sections.

The sections are primarily based on distinct ethnic and religious groups. The largest area of the cemetery is devoted to Atlanta's Jewish congregations, followed by a Greek Orthodox section and a small Chinese section. The Jewish and Greek Orthodox sections feature prominent stone entrances. The markers reflect ethnic and religious symbolism, distinct to those groups, including the Hebrew Peh Nun for "Here lies," the Star of David, Cohanim hands, engraved tablets, menorahs, and scrolls, as well as Greek Orthodox Crosses (see Appendix A, *Symbols*). Within each section, the graves appear in orderly rows with fairly consistent spacing (within the specific section). Graves within the Jewish sections are densely spaced, leaving minimal space for movement between them. Graves in other sections are much wider in comparison.

Arches and pillars mark the entrances to the various sections devoted to specific congregations in the Jewish section.

Within the older sections of the cemetery, including the Jewish, Greek, and Chinese sections, graves and plots are generally oriented east-west; however within the newer sections, particularly the northern sections, grave orientation is sometimes north-south, or even northwest-southeast. Grave orientation appears to be generally uniform within each section, which is laid out in orderly rows following the shape of the section and the terrain therein.

The internments exhibit a wide variety of formal, professionally-manufactured marker types. Though appearing in different shapes and featuring a variety of design motifs and symbols, the majority of the markers in the cemetery consist of robust granite tablets, set on bases. Composite forms and flush bronze placards are also present.

There are a few operational buildings in the cemetery. A non-historic office is located at the entrance. An historic stone chimney stands at the location of the original cemetery office. Maintenance buildings are located within the eastern tree line of the cemetery, beyond the view of the burial spaces. Additional features include a cylindrical stone structure, a granite staircase near the entrance, and a spoil yard near the northern limit of the cemetery.

ANALYSIS OF CHARACTER DEFINING FEATURES:

The identification of a cemetery's plan, type, and style is based on the recognition of its character-defining features. By identifying the common features that stand out in this landscape, the cemetery's development and place within its historic context can be better understood. The feature classes that stood out in this landscape are its natural setting and topography, plan, prominent entrance, ethnic and religious representations, and the markers.

(Above) Unique Marker in the Orthodox Greek Section. (Below) The Orthodox Greek Section.

LANDSCAPE AND SETTING

Views, Vistas, & Vegetation

The entrance to the cemetery is recessed; the narrow drive retreats further back into the cemetery before curving to reach the first burial spaces. This was a deliberate element of the design that was meant to limit visibility between the burial spaces and the areas outside of the cemetery. The paved drives follow the terrain around cascading hills, which create impressive views from within the cemetery to other sections.

The existence and placement of trees within the cemetery is important to the setting. The periphery of the cemetery is densely wooded, screening the areas beyond the cemetery from sight and fostering a park-like environment in an otherwise developed area (even at the time of the cemetery's establishment). Existing trees and the natural terrain have been utilized to hide the maintenance facilities, cemetery office, and the surrounding community.

Within the cemetery, trees appear sparsely spaced and few in number among burial sections. Aerial photography confirms that the number and size has been consistent throughout the cemetery's history, suggesting the landscape has been carefully maintained throughout its life with the effort to maintain a similar setting. In later sections to the north, trees were planted along drives, forming a long allee.

ORGANIZATION AND LAYOUT

Formal Entrance

The entrance features a prominent gate, consisting of granite pillars topped with draped urns and flanked by curved granite walls defining the main entrance of the cemetery.

Arrangement

The cemetery is organized by burial section. Many sections were established for specific ethnic or religious groups.

Circulation

The paved drives follow the natural terrain; however, they also define and separate burial sections. Unpaved paths are limited. Instead of following defined walkways, the linear placement of the graves fosters natural movement through the landscape without direction.

Graves

Jewish tradition is explicit in how burials are to be arranged, including the spacing between burials, which is quite close compared to other areas of the cemetery (Section Two, Protestant Cemeteries). Despite the presence of prominent and distinct entrances for each section, the line between them is not distinct among the graves. In other burial sections, spacing between standing markers seems to increase over time, which is likely due to an increase in the use of family markers and individual flush stones as the 20th century progressed.

Plots

Family plots were observed in all historic sections, throughout much of the 20th century. Few enclosures or boundaries were observed (only low curbing in older sections). The large family surname marker surrounded by individual low or flush stone markers was the predominant preference in this cemetery, historically. This practice was popularized during the earlier rural cemetery stylistic movement, when such plots would typically be fenced or enclosed by similar means (Section One, Chapter 4, *Rural Garden Cemeteries* and Section Two, *Fencing*). The practice observed in Greenwood, lacking enclosures, is a characteristic of the Lawn Park style.

Sections

There appear to be approximately 46 separate sections – most were part of the original layout of the cemetery. A number of Jewish congregations are represented by separate, distinct sections in the cemetery; together, they make up most of the historic burial space. Other distinct, historic sections include a large section for Orthodox Greeks and the smaller Chinese Association Cemetery. The older Jewish and Greek sections feature prominent gates identifying specific congregations. The prominence of specific groups (and the absence of others) reflects the heightened segregation of distinct cultural and religious groups that characterized this period between the reconstruction era and the Civil Rights Movement.

ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Markers

The approximately 3,000 internments exhibit a wide variety of formal, professionally-manufactured marker types. Granite, slate, marble, concrete, and bronze types are present. Four distinct periods of marker traditions were observed. The earlier Jewish sections at the core of the cemetery feature a mix of marker forms, with the most abundant consisting of tablet on ledger and cradle types (A-10, A-12, A-14). These are common forms in Jewish cemeteries. Through all sections, dating from the founding through the 1950s, more robust markers exhibit classical themes with a range of religious motifs. Modernist forms dating from the 1930s to the 1950s are also present. In the larger public sections, robust granite tablets set on bases are the most common, spaced evenly with minimal distinctions, such as color, motif, or crown shape. In the newer sections to the north, flush stone or bronze plaques with integrated planters, characteristic of the Memorial Park style, are the only forms present (A-4).

The cemetery possesses a substantial collection of porcelain portraits; the markers that exhibit them date from the first burials through the present.

Porcelain portraits on markers at Greenwood cemetery

Buildings and Structures

The cemetery features several standing burial structures. A small Greek Revival chapel within the Greek Orthodox section is the only non-utilitarian building within the cemetery. A non-historic office is located at the entrance, on the site of an historic office that was removed. A small maintenance yard features a historic stone rubble service building and shed structure.

Two ruins stand near the entrance of the cemetery. A stone chimney is suspected to have once been part of the original office building. A round, stone rubble structure stands near the base of a granite staircase along the entrance drive. The nature and use of the latter structure is unknown.

Memorial/Statuary

The *Memorial to the Six Million*, constructed in 1965, is an open-air granite structure featuring six torches symbolizing the six million victims of the holocaust. The memorial, designed by architect Benjamin Hirsch, is individually listed in the NRHP.

CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Grave Goods

Throughout the cemetery, the placement of tokens consisting of pebbles, stones, beads, glass shards, shells, and coins was abundantly observed. This reflects the Jewish tradition of leaving a token in remembrance of a loved one (Section Two, *Offerings*).

Archaeological Features

There were no archaeological features observed that indicate unmarked graves in any location at Greenwood. This may be an indication that an active Corporate-type cemetery maintains more control of grave placement and their markings.

APPLYING THE NRHP CRITERIA:

Greenwood Cemetery is considered significant under Criterion A in the area of Social History and Ethnic Heritage at the local level. Greenwood represents a period that this context describes as "Two Georgia's" (Section One, Chapter 6). This period (1900-1945) was characterized by urban growth, industrialization, progressive reform (with social and aesthetic implications to cemeteries), and community building for disadvantaged groups. This period witnessed the establishment of new cemeteries in urban centers; the strengthening of segregation along racial, ethnic, and religious lines; and the growth of mutual interest groups. Greenwood was important to ethnic and religious minorities in Atlanta during the early 20th century. Greenwood was among the earliest Corporate-type cemeteries built in the city to serve specific ethnic and religious groups. Unlike Oakland and Westview, which were public cemeteries that set aside specific spaces for distinct groups, Greenwood was established specifically to serve those groups. Other examples, like Crest Lawn, would follow this model. Its importance to Atlanta's Jewish community grew with the construction of the Holocaust Memorial. The cemetery has been the location of an annual

(Left) A Marker in the Chinese Section Exhibiting Chinese Characters. (Right) A Marker Denoting the Chinese Association Cemetery.

Holocaust Commemoration Day for the past 52 years. With this annual event and its many Jewish sections, the cemetery has served as a cultural center for the Jewish community. The Chinese Association Cemetery was established by a benevolent society, which reflects a significant trend during this time as noted in Section One, Chapter 6, *Mutual Aid Societies*. At the time of its founding and for much of its history, Greenwood Cemetery reflected popular trends of identity reinforcement and solidarity among diverse groups; it reflected an effort to strengthen the lines between diverse groups and the identity within them. As a result, the cemetery is an important part of Atlanta's multi-cultural history.

The cemetery is not considered significant under Criterion B as it is not known to contain an individual of transcendent importance or that has had a significant impact on the community, state, or nation.

Greenwood Cemetery was determined to be significant under Criterion C in the areas of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Art at the local level. Greenwood Cemetery embodies characteristic features of the Lawn Park style, as defined in Section Two of this context. The Lawn Park style was developed by Adolph Strauch in 1855 (Section One, Chapter 6, Advent of Lawn Park Cemetery) in a direct response to the popular Rural Garden style of the period. Strauch's design departed from earlier styles by attempting to reduce the scale and abundance of architecture in order to emphasize grassed lawns and open spaces, fostering an orderly and easily-maintained, park-like setting. The careful use of the natural setting reflected the next evolution of Romanticism in cemeteries; where the Rural Garden–style cemeteries were crowded with diverse vegetation, trees, and flowering plants, Lawn Park–style cemeteries would feature far fewer trees and plantings. Lawn Park–style cemeteries emphasized the importance of the grassed terrain, and trees were retained or strategically planted to maintain the park-like setting while creating open, uninterrupted views within the cemetery.

(Above) A newer Memorial Park–style section is also present at Greenwood cemetery. (middle) Lawn Park style can be seen in the lower, more uniform nature of the markers, which lie in neat rows with grass lawn. (Below) After passing through the formal entrance gates, visitors wind their way into the cemetery. The park-like setting indicative of Lawn Park style is evident.

Greenwood was designed to emulate Strauch's ideal of a landscape that balances architecture with a nature. The cemetery is surrounded by a thick buffer, and the only entry is recessed to obstruct any views of the surrounding community. Within its borders, any utilitarian buildings or structures are concealed by vegetation. Burial spaces are largely devoid of plantings. Throughout its history, a limited number of trees have been maintained within the landscape, which has helped maintain the park-like setting without compromising the views. The Lawn Park style features fewer markers with more consistent spacing than earlier cemeteries; plot enclosures are less prevalent; curvilinear roads are typical. With its pastoral landscape, orderly layout, geometrically-shaped sections, and lower-profile headstones, Greenwood is an excellent example of an early 20th-century Lawn Park–style cemetery. It exhibits an emphasis on grassed lawns, family monuments with smaller individual markers, and a more streamlined appearance. The Lawn Park style became popular in Georgia toward the end of the 19th century with prominent examples appearing in the 1880s-1890s, including Atlanta's Westview Cemetery in 1884. Laid out in 1904, Greenwood Cemetery would have been an early example of this style, especially on this scale, as the Lawn Park style remained prominent throughout the 20th century in Georgia.

Greenwood Cemetery is also significant for the NRHP-listed *Memorial to the Six Million*. A small Greek Revival chapel stands within the Greek Orthodox section of the cemetery. Chapels were popular in larger Lawn Park–style cemeteries to provide locations for services or quiet reflection. The chapel is a good example of the Greek Revival as it features a prominent temple front portico with full-height Doric columns atop brick pedestals.

In the area of Art, Greenwood Cemetery contains one of the state's largest collections of early to mid-20th-century Jewish and Greek Orthodox grave markers, as well as a small section of Chinese markers, all with a wide variety of cultural and religious symbology. The cemetery possesses a substantial collection of porcelain portraits; the markers that exhibit them date from the earliest burials through the present. The placement of photographs on markers has been available since the late 19th century and has evolved into
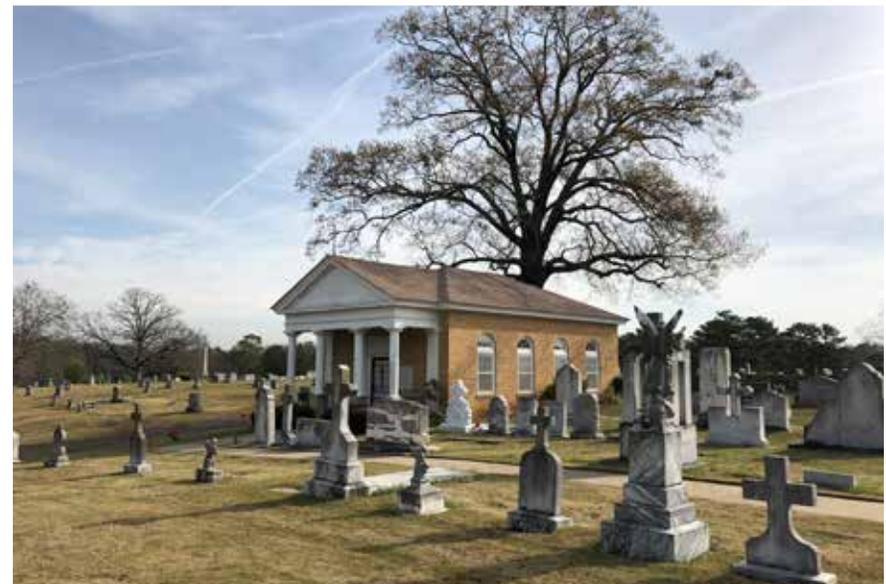
(Above) Marker on the *Memorial to the Six Million*. Visitors have left tokens and offerings at the memorial (see Section Two, *Offerings and Visitor Tokens*). (Below) Greek Revival chapel at Greenwood cemetery.

many alternative forms in recent years. The number and variety of examples in this cemetery span more than a century. The earliest forms include black and white, circular or oval insets, heart-shaped, colored portraits, and portraits within bronze enclosures.

In evaluating Greenwood Cemetery under Criterion D, consideration must be given to the cemetery's history and its place within the larger historical and social context. By developing research questions related to the significant data potential, it can help answer questions about the ethnic and social history of Jewish and Greek Orthodox congregations as well as Atlanta's Chinese American population. It is then possible to evaluate the various data sets that are present and whether they have the potential to help answer these questions. By examining the cemetery's history within its larger social and historical context, the list of research questions can be used to evaluate the available data sets and their integrity, as well as their ability to yield new and significant information.

Section One of this context demonstrates that Greenwood Cemetery's development was very much a product of its time and the social movements that structured American culture between 1900-1945. As discussed above, it was part of a new wave of urban cemeteries that were established to take advantage of a new market afforded by the presence and the increasingly affluent urban religious and ethnic minorities. As noted, Greenwood was among the earliest Corporate-type cemeteries built in the city to serve specific ethnic and religious groups that were previously marginalized, if served at all.

Knowing the cemetery's history within its historical context helps in developing a list of research questions for both the aboveground and below ground data sets.

Using the historical context of Greenwood Cemetery as the foundation for significance, research questions may include:

- In addition to ethnic and religious heritage, are socio-economic status or social status evident in the layout of the individual sections and the design and form of the markers?

- Is the artistic expression inherent in the inscriptions, and are the marker types and decorations important in creating and maintaining social identity as members of a specific ethnic or religious community?

- Is there a decrease in ethnic burials over time as Georgia's population became more homogenized? Additionally, as the population becomes more integrated, do expressions of ethnic and religious identity become more prominently featured in order to maintain membership in a group?

- How does this cemetery and its varying social groups reflect the changing economic landscape and rising consumerism for funerary goods and services?

- The Chinese Association Cemetery section is small in comparison to the Jewish and Greek Orthodox sections. Could this reflect a change in cultural mindset that the United States was now home to those of Chinese ethnicity, and it was no longer culturally necessary to send their deceased family members back to their ancestral homeland in China for burial?

The next step is to evaluate available data sets above and below ground. For aboveground resources, Appendix A of this context helps in identifying the formal headstones within the Greenwood Cemetery. Four distinct periods of marker traditions were observed, including: tablet on ledger and cradle types, which are classically themed and contain religious motifs; Modernist forms dating from the 1930s to the 1950s; robust granite tablets set on bases; and flush stone or bronze plaques with integrated planters typical of the Memorial Park style. Perhaps most notably, the cemetery holds a large collection of porcelain portraits on markers from the founding of the cemetery to the present. Basic information contained

on the markers themselves generally include inscriptions of the name of the deceased, age at the time of death, birth and death dates, and quotes that reflect the individual's cultural views on death. Additionally, many possess images of the deceased. While archival resources such as religious affiliation, population within the community, and military associations, are largely available within the historical record, Greenwood's cemetery's markers provide an additional dimension to our understanding of how Atlanta became a multi-cultural city. This added data stems from the combination of placement of individuals not only within their families, but also within their congregations.

Chronological, cultural, and socioeconomic relationships between individuals, families, and congregations can be inferred by locational information. Based on analysis of the available aboveground data sets, Greenwood Cemetery possesses significant data potential as it relates to eligibility under Criterion D.

The research potential for below ground data in terms of religious and cultural mortuary practices, health, and nutrition of those in the community may be present; nevertheless, it is difficult to assess whether or not subsurface data is present because excavation of cemeteries should not occur for the sole purpose of developing data potential. The effects of soil chemistry and other environmental factors on the preservation state of burial deposits can affect the ability of deposits to provide certain types of significant data. Without below ground investigations, the preservation status and integrity of deposits is unknown, and, therefore, their ability to address significant research questions is unknown.

Greenwood Cemetery holds significance under Criteria A and C; thus, it must meet Criteria Consideration D for cemeteries as well (Section Three). Greenwood Cemetery satisfies Criteria Consideration D: it is significant for ethnic heritage and social history as it exhibits distinctive design features and a rich collection of early 20th-century funerary art associated with

Atlanta's Jewish, Greek Orthodox, and Chinese-American cultural groups. Based on the archaeological considerations for the below ground data set, the eligibility of the Greenwood Cemetery under Criterion D is unknown.

ASSESSMENT OF INTEGRITY:

Greenwood Cemetery retains a high degree of integrity of all aspects. The cemetery remains in its original location. The historic plan, sections, and drives remain intact; the later growth and layout of new burial spaces to the north have not impacted any elements of the historic design. Historic built features, including the formal entrance gate, fountain, section gates, grave markers, hardscape (i.e. granite and concrete curbing along the historic roads), and historic buildings and structures, remain intact and largely unaltered by inappropriate repairs or the intrusion of non-historic materials; therefore, the cemetery retains integrity of materials. The same components of the built environment are able to convey methods of production and installation of markers, construction of the historic buildings and structures, and historic hardscaping at different stages throughout the 20th century; thus, it retains integrity of workmanship. A comparison of aerial photography since 1938 illustrates how the cemetery has maintained a thick, natural buffer from the surrounding community, sparsely placed trees within the interior, and an open, grassy terrain that is consistent today with the historic setting. The active use and careful maintenance of the cemetery has helped foster a strong connection between the historic landscape and the cemetery today, maintaining integrity of feeling and association.

NRHP RECOMMENDATION:

Greenwood Cemetery is recommended eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for Ethnic Heritage and Social History, and Criterion C for Landscape Architecture and Art. The cemetery exhibits excellent integrity. It is also recommended eligible under Criterion D for the research potential of its aboveground data sets. The cemetery's eligibility under Criterion D based on evaluation of below ground data sets could not be determined and is, therefore, unknown.

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8   Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 7.

9   Faust, *Republic of Suffering*, 6–7.

10   Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*.

11   Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799–1883* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1996), 55.

12   Laderman, *Sacred Remains*, 59.

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8	Bartram, *Travels of William Bartram*; Bushnell, *Native Cemeteries and Forms of Burial East of the Mississippi*.

9	John Reed Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1928).

10	Bushnell, *Native Cemeteries and Forms of Burial East of the Mississippi*, 10.

11	Bushnell, *Native Cemeteries and Forms of Burial East of the Mississippi*; Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine*.

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CHAPTER THREE: AFRICAN DEATH AND BURIAL: 1751–1860

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APPENDICES

Upton Cemetery, Coffee County.

APPENDIX A: MARKERS, MATERIALS, AND SYMBOLS

MARKER MATERIALS

- Stone
- Metal
- Cementitious
- Ceramic
- Wood

MARKER FORMS & FEATURES

- Informal Markers
- Formal Markers Forms
- Formal Markers Bases
- Grave Covers
- Appliqués
- Marker Embellishments
- Maker's Marks
- Temporary Markers

SYMBOLS

- Crosses
- Clan, Tribe, and Family Symbols
- Professions and Hobbies
- Organizational Symbols

MARKERS

There is almost an infinite number of burial options available to an individual just in the type of marker material, form, feature, and symbols available. This appendix describes the large variety of marker forms, styles, materials, and decorations, with a discussion of symbolism and other cemetery-related accessories. Although the term "monument" is commonly used in the mortuary industry to refer to a commercially made grave marker, this context uses the general term "marker" to refer to all objects used to denote the presence of a grave. These are subdivided into informal markers, which are made by a family or community member, and formal markers, which refer to a commercially available marker. For each of the items described in this section, date ranges are provided when possible. Due to a high degree of variation, and styles persisting for decades, these ranges are often very broad. Ranges are based on field observations unless otherwise noted.

Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

Materials

Markers are made from a wide variety of materials. The type of material used can inform researchers about when and where the marker was made and the person or community responsible for its production.

STONE

Granite

- Early use in the 1830s in Georgia, but became more popular and common after the 1880s. Remains popular today.
- Most of the granite used for commercially manufactured gravestones in Georgia comes from Stone Mountain-Lithonia quarries in DeKalb County and quarries in Elbert, Oglethorpe, and Madison counties.
- Available in fine, medium, and coarse grains in a variety of colors including white, gray, beige, pink, blue, green, gold, brown, red, and black.
- Granite from the Stone Mountain-Lithonia area is generally noted for its uniform light gray color and coarse or medium grain size.[1]
- Granite from the Elberton quarries varies in color from blue-gray to light gray and is fine to medium grained.
- Monuments made from non-local granites are imported from Minnesota, North Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and Wisconsin. This granite may be brought into Georgia as finished monuments or uncut stone.

Marble

- Marble was most popular in Georgia during the 19th century.
- Georgia marble (metamorphosed limestone from north Georgia) is pure white with a more crystalline grain than other marbles. It is more resilient against erosion due to its interlocking grains.[2]
- The Georgia Marble Company was founded in 1884. Before then, extremely high quality marbles were sometimes imported from domestic quarries in Indiana, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and Vermont or from quarries in Italy, France, and the Middle East.
- Georgia marble also comes in red, pink, blue, yellow, gray, green, or black varieties when mineral impurities are present.[3]
- Popular varieties of Georgia marble during the 20th century included stones that were pure white, opaque dark gray or speckled, and bluish-gray.[4]

Gray granite exhibits distinct grains of quartz, mica, and feldspar that make the stone appear speckled. Chupp Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Red Granite gets its color primarily from a high content of feldspar. Corinth Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

Black Granite monuments are made from stone likely imported from Minnesota. Melwood Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Although it is found in many colors, the marble used for markers is often white in color with a very small grain. When eroded, the grains become distinct and can be easily dusted off, a condition known as sugaring. Chupp Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Georgia Marble has large irregular interlinked grains. Decatur Cemetery, DeKalb County.

A-2

STONE (CONTINUED)

Slate

- Most common from the late 18th to early 19th centuries in Georgia.
- A metamorphosed form of shale or mudstone.
- Gravestone quality slate was generally imported from the Northeast, although small deposits were found in northeastern Georgia and may have been used for non-commercial markers.

Slate gravestones were not commercially made in Georgia. Most likely came from quarries in New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Virginia, and the United Kingdom, transported by ship, cart, or train depending on the time period. Midway Cemetery, Liberty County.

Sandstone

- Use began in the late 18th century and was used until it fell out of popularity prior to the Civil War.
- Sandstone outcrops can be found in northern Georgia, but little to any of it is a construction-grade material; most were imported from quarries in the Northeast.[5]
- Sedimentary stone composed largely of quartz granules held together with silica, clay, or calcite.
- Sandstone markers possess a coarse, sandy texture.
- Sandstone markers are most common along the coast as they were imported by ship.

Sandstone markers come in a variety of colors ranging from yellow to deep reddish grays. Midway Cemetery, Liberty County.

Soapstone

Handmade soapstone markers can be found in rural North Georgia cemeteries. They have a waxy texture, linear grains, a slightly greenish color, and their surfaces exhibit an opalescent shine. Wahoo Baptist Church, Hall County.

- Use seems to date to the first half of the 19th century, but its popularity had decreased by the 1880s and is rarely seen after 1900.
- Numerous deposits of soapstone scattered across North and Central Georgia; most of these outcrops are of limited value as gravestone material. It was never quarried commercially by the monument industry.
- Also known as steatite (metamorphic rock composed largely of talc and schist).
- Gravestones and tab-and-slot box crypts in Lumpkin, Hall, and White counties were made from locally obtained soapstone and tend to be large with simple decorations.[6]
- More intricately carved soapstone markers were manufactured in the mid- to late 18th century from quarries in the foothills of North and South Carolina.[7]

Fieldstone

- Fieldstone markers can consist of many types of rocks. Granite, schist, gneiss, quartzite, or feldspar are common, and limestone may be used as well.
- Fieldstone for markers was collected locally and often found close to the cemetery.
- Occasionally, these may be hand inscribed.

Collected locally, fieldstone markers make use of rocks found close to the cemetery. (Left to Right) Little-Terry-Strickland Cemetery, Forsyth County and Bellhaven Cemetery, Forsyth County.

METAL

Iron

- Associated with the Victorian and Romantic Movements of the mid- to late 19th century.
- No known commercial manufactures in Georgia, typically ordered from catalogs.
- Cast markers are uncommon in smaller cemeteries. Found most often in larger Rural Garden style and Municipal type cemeteries.
- Without maintenance, ferrous metals (including iron and steel) will flake apart from exposure to the natural elements.
- Common medium for folk markers. Vernacular objects including iron sheet plating, bars, and tools are sometimes used as markers.

Bronze

- Rarely used for primary markers before the early 20th century. Early forms were susceptible to corrosion and patination; however, modern bronze markers are made of new alloys and stand up to adverse weather conditions better than earlier forms.
- Occasionally used for decorative elements such as urns and statuary.
- Solid cast bronze markers are relatively easy to make, are cheaper than stone, and can have considerable detail in the design.
- Polished surfaces have a yellow, brass-like appearance.
- Common in Memorial Park cemeteries.

Zinc

- First produced in 1873 and most were manufactured by the Monumental Bronze Company. Popular medium for statuary and gravestones from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century.[8]
- Also referred to as 'white bronze.'
- Weathers well, resistant to corrosion, and tends to retain its original bluish-white color.
- Relatively lightweight and cheaper than bronze.
- Markers are hollow with bolts and pins holding them together. The joints are soldered by molten zinc.
- Some featured fully personalized plates, while others incorporated stock elements on the panels.

A-4

Iron allows highly ornate decoration to be cast. Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

Weathered bronze markers exhibit a blue-green patina, while less weathered forms have a brassy yellowish-gold finish. Melwood Cemetery, DeKalb County.

Complex decorative designs can be cast into zinc, making it an ideal medium for monument production. Cedar Hill, Terrell County.

CEMENTITIOUS

Cement, Concrete, and Tabby

- Emerged in the late 19th century when packaged dry cement became available.
- Cement markers are made by mixing sand, lime, calcium carbonate, and water.
- Concrete markers contain the same base mixture of concrete; however, they have a larger-grained aggregate, usually pebbles, added for strength.
- Varying the aggregates' grain size and adding dyes creates different textures, surfaces, and colors.
- Some markers were molded in stages to provide dimension and complexity, and some were molded to resemble common marker forms.
- Colored glass, marbles, tiles, and stones were added to the surface in the final drying stages to add color and symbolism.

- Tools, ornamental metal, and hand prints were sometimes pressed into the marker's surface, leaving only an impression of the object behind.
- Inscriptions were made with templates, or they were hand-inscribed with a stylus once a surface was almost dry.[9]
- Finished markers were also frequently painted or whitewashed to cover erosion or mildew, giving the entire stone a uniform finish.
- Tabby markers were made by using shell as the aggregate and were largely confined to coastal areas. Most common in the 19th century.
- Natural colored concrete and cement markers tend to be gray.
- Markers are frequently painted or whitewashed.
- Many markers made by Eldren Bailey were dyed to provide contrast between the inscription panel and the rest of the stone.
- The presence of shell mixed into the matrix as an aggregate is an important indication that a marker is made of tabby.

An upright concrete tablet marker. Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County.

A tabby marker with visible shell aggregate. Butler Cemetery, McIntosh County.

A-6

CERAMIC

- Southern funerary tradition includes sporadic use of pottery as grave markers.
- These may have been more common in Georgia, but are easily broken and frequently stolen.
- Usually turned cylinders topped with a cone.
- May be unglazed or coated with alkaline glaze.
- Frequently decorated, but rarely inscribed with the individual's name.
- Well-executed stoneware tablet markers were occasionally produced in Baldwin County.
- These are thought to have emerged during the post-Civil War depression, when many families were unable to afford other marker forms.[10]
- Used through the early 20th century.[11]

WOOD

- Readily available, inexpensive marker.
- Most were simple plank panels or crosses, but anthropomorphic figures or sculpted markers were occasionally used.
- Many were also painted and/or carved.
- Not many have survived due to decomposition, though isolated 19th- and early 20th-century examples have survived.
- Along the coast, durable woods including live oak, cypress, and cedar were used.[12]
- Wood has largely been abandoned as a medium for permanent markers.

(Left) Locally available brick clay was used to make ceramic markers in Baldwin County. Memory Hill, Baldwin County. (Far Left) Different shaped stoneware markers, sometimes called 'torpedo markers' were manufactured in Washington and Crawford counties.[13] Image courtesy Atlanta History Center.

Wooden markers were sometimes made from planks cut to look like stone tablets. Laurel Grove Cemetery, Chatham County.

MARKER FORMS & FEATURES

Informal grave markers, also referred to as folk markers, include modified and unmodified everyday objects that have been drafted into use as markers. For some communities, the vernacular marker can express ideas or information that more mainstream, commercial markers may not.[13] Recognition and interpretation of a folk marker frequently entails an understanding of local community cemetery traditions.

VERNACULAR (FOLK)

- Vernacular statuary provides an opportunity for artistic expression outside of gravestone norms.
- Non-traditional use of materials not originally intended for use as gravestone markers.
- May reflect work on an individual or cottage-industry production scale, sometimes mimicking traditional, commercially available forms.

(Left) Vernacular markers present opportunities for the freedom of artistic expression. Stone Mountain Cemetery, DeKalb County. (Middle) In some cases, vernacular markers may seek to imitate wooden forms. This one is reminiscent of wooden plank markers. Upton Cemetery, Coffee County. (Right) Vernacular forms provide the opportunity for personal expression, such as this marker for Eldren Bailey's grave, which was created by his son. South View Cemetery, Clayton County.

VERNACULAR WITH MAINSTREAM FORMS

- Vernacular markers can be made that reflect the forms of mainstream, commercially available markers.
- Concrete is commonly used to create marker forms typically constructed from stone.
- The writing is usually freehand, as opposed to stenciled.

(Far Left) A Vernacular Marker Handmade in the Composite Form Typical of Commercial Markers, Snellville Historical Cemetery, Gwinnett County. (Left) Tablet Form. Douglas City Cemetery, Coffee County.

A-8

NATURAL FIELDSTONE

- Rock obtained from local sources.
- These fieldstones have been left in their natural state; they are not modified.

New Bethany Baptist Church Cemetery, Hall County.

DRESSED FIELDSTONE

- Many fieldstones are chosen because their natural shape approximates the tablet shape of traditional grave markers.
- Dressed markers exhibit any modification of the original stone's shape.
- Fieldstones can occasionally be observed with hammer dressed or pecked margins. Plain/simple, arched, and gabled tops are common dressings.

Old Roswell Cemetery, Fulton County.

BALLAST STONE

- Stones formerly used as ship's ballast have been used as grave markers.
- Most common in coastal areas.
- Often appear as river-worn, non-local rocks.

Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County.

QUARTZITE

- Chunks of quartzite are common fieldstone markers.
- In African American communities, its white or milky color symbolizes the innocence and purity of newly released spirit.[14]

Wesley Chapel Cemetery, Carroll County.

CERAMIC/POTTERY

- Stoneware storage vessels were occasionally used as markers.

Cedar Hill Cemetery, Terrell County.

MASONRY (CINDERBLOCKS)

- Materials, including roofing slate and cinderblocks, were used as head and foot stones.

Cinderblock markers. New Bethany Baptist Church Cemetery, Hall County.

MASONRY (BRICK)

- Single bricks were used as head and foot stones.
- Common commericially-available marker forms may also have been constructed in vernacular style using bricks.

Brick Marker. An additional marker was added later to identify the individual. Wahoo Baptist Church, Hall County.

METAL

- Iron and iron tools were sometimes fashioned into marker forms.
- Metal was likely seen as a more durable vernacular marker than ceramic or wood.

Screwjack used as a marker. Old School Cemetery, Wilkes County.

TILE

- Drainage pipes made from ceramic, plastic, or concrete were sometimes used as vernacular markers.
- Drain tile markers associate water, a traditional African mortuary symbol, with the grave.[15]

Old School Cemetery, Wilkes County.

SHELL

- In coastal areas, large shells, particularly conchs and whelks, were sometimes used as grave markers.

Eugenia Cemetery, Chatham County.

CONCRETE

- Concrete was sometimes molded into shapes that did not follow typical gravestone forms.

The concrete 'T' marker is used to convey traditional West African concepts of the underworld.[16] Old School Cemetery, Wilkes County.

ARCHITECTURAL STONE

- Stone initially prepared for use on a building, furniture, or cabinet/counter installation was sometimes used as a marker.
- Pieces of marble were occasionally salvaged from furniture and structures for use as grave markers.

Dunwoody Cemetery, McIntosh County.

COMPOSITE

- Constructed using a variety of commonplace materials.

This composite marker was made from cement, brick, and an iron boiler or fireplace cover. Resthaven Cemetery, Wilkes County.

Formal grave markers are those markers that are manufactured commercially to be used to mark graves. They typically adhere to forms that are popular in the culture using them, as well as to any restrictions that may be imposed by the cemeteries where they are located. The markers are loosely grouped into three categories for this context: tablets, laminar, and composite. Additionally, there can be bases or foundations added, as well as grave coverings. It is important to note that some graves may incorporate different individual components. For example, one could describe a marker as a plain tablet marker with an effigy of a lamb, mounted on a simple base. Keeping to this segmented description, prevents having a typology of hundreds of marker types that would be necessary to describe the diversity of marker types in Georgia.

Tablets

SQUARED

ROUNDED

IONIC
(Post-Victorian)

GABLED

CROWNED
(18th and 19th centuries)

MODERN CROWNED
(20th century)

POINTED
(Victorian)

DIAMOND
(Early 20th century)

SILHOUETTE
(20th century)

CAPSTONE
(Modern)

NOTCHED
(Modern)

BOULDER
(Modern)
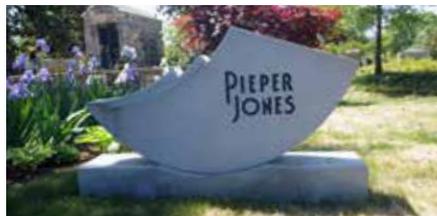
IRREGULAR
(Modern)

CIRCULAR
(Modern)

ASYMMETRIC
(Modern)

BLOCK
(Post-Victorian)
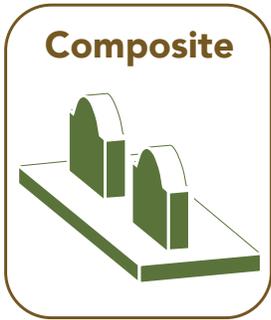
Composite

COMPOSITE
(Modern)

WINGED COMPOSITE
(Modern)

NOTCHED COMPOSITE
(Modern)

ARCHED COMPOSITE
(Modern)

SHARED COMPOSITE
(Modern)

Laminar

FLUSH
(Modern)

FLAT-TOP
(Post-Victorian)

ARCHED-TOP
(Post-Victorian)

BEVELED
(Post-Victorian)

Formal Markers Bases

Some markers, particularly tablets, are installed directly into the ground and, lacking a base, rely on their weight, the surrounding soil, and gravity to hold them upright. Many, however, are mounted onto a base or a foundation. Bases range from simple stone or concrete blocks to more elaborate combinations, such as socket or key style, or compound bases involving more than one component. Bases are typically installed above ground, although, over time, may become buried. Foundations are intended to be below ground, but in some cases, due to erosion or soil removal, become visible.

SIMPLE

- Made from a single stone, with the monument placed on top.
- Lack sockets or keyholes.
- Monuments are affixed to the bases via dead weight, pins, or adhesives.

This Herren family monument is mounted onto a simple base. East View Cemetery, DeKalb County.

SOCKET OR KEYED

- Socket and keyed bases appear almost identical with a stone standing upright and are often only recognizable when the associated tablet has been separated from the base or has fallen over.
- A socket base has a shallow indentation or bed cut into the base's center to give the monument a more secure footing.
- Pins are sometimes used to attach the monument to the base.
- Keyed bases have sockets as well, but typically are associated with keyed tablets with elongated tabs.
- Popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

(Right Top) Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Floyd County. (Right Middle) Clay Cemetery, DeKalb County. (Right Bottom) Keyed Table, Resthaven Cemetery, Wilkes County.

COMPOUND

- Composed of two or more blocks stacked between the foundation and the monument.
- Serves a dual purpose of providing a more secure foundation to a heavy or complex monument, and adds height, giving a greater sense of size and grandeur.

(Right) This shared tablet marker is installed on a two-tiered composite base with "Father" and "Mother" inscribed on the top tier. Smyrna Methodist Church, Wilkes County.

ABOVEGROUND FOUNDATION

- While most foundations are built below ground level, monuments are sometimes built on top of foundations to provide a stable surface that distributes the weight of the monument evenly, preventing the marker from tilting, sinking, or cracking.
- Foundations vary by the size and weight of the overlying base and monument. They are most commonly made from concrete, gravel, rubble, fieldstone, or brick.
- More common in coastal areas.

(Above Left) Brick foundation. Flemington Presbyterian Church, Liberty County.
(Above Right) Rubble and fieldstone foundation. Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

PILLARS

Pillars are vertical stones that rise at least twice the length or breadth of the marker from the ground surface. They come in two forms, columns and obelisks; are typically made of stone; and are usually mounted on a base. Drapes or palls are occasionally sculpted over their tops to symbolize death. These were popular during the Victorian movement in the 19th century and, based on field observations, tend to replace box tombs as markers.

Columns

Columns are circular in cross-section. They may include capitals (Doric, Ionic, Corinthian), bases, and pedestals. Sides of the column may be fluted or smooth.

Plain *(Victorian)*
- Lacking decorative elements on top of the capital.
- The plain column can have an ornate corinthian or ionic capital, but would lack a finial atop the capital.

Broken *(Victorian)*
- Intentionally sculpted to appear as ruins.
- Symbolizes a life cut short.[17]
- May be draped with a sculpted pall (cloth covering) or undraped.

Finialed *(Victorian)*
- Represents the top-most decorative element of a column.
- Ranging from simple turned designs to more complex objects such as birds, urns, or acorns.

(from Left to Right) **Plain**. Westview Cemetery, DeKalb County. **Broken**. Magnolia Cemetery, Richmond County. **Finialed**. Midway Cemetery, Liberty County.

Obelisks

Obelisks are typically square or rectangular in cross-section. Straight-sided pillars exhibiting six or eight sides are also classified as obelisks.

Plain *(Victorian)*
- Flat tops.
- Intentionally left undecorated.
- Not to be confused with a damaged monument.

Cross-Gabeled *(Victorian)*
- Characterized by crossed top-ridges.
- Ridges appear as gables on each side of the obelisk and may be straight or arched.
- Often mimics church windows.

Pointed *(Victorian)*
- Have a four-sided, pyramid-shaped top.
- Inspired by Egyptian revival architecture.[18]
- This example also sports a pall.

Finialed *(Victorian)*
- Obelisks are sometimes topped with a decorative finial.
- Common forms include turned finials, urns, balls, and the Hand of God, pointing upward and emphasizing the ascent of the soul to heaven.[19]

(from Left to Right) **Plain**. Magnolia Cemetery, Richmond County. **Cross-Gabeled**. Westview Cemetery, Richmond County. **Pointed**. Lithonia Cemetery, DeKalb County. **Finialed**. Magnolia Cemetery, Richmond County.

Grave Covers

Grave Covers are placed on top of a grave to define, honor, and protect it. It has been suggested that grave covers originated in the British Isles, although analogues can be seen in many cultures.[20] Durable grave covers are often inscribed and decorated and can act as the primary gravestone or complement other grave markers. These other grave markers should be described independently. For example, the grave can be described as having an inscribed concrete ledger covering with an accompanying, rounded tablet headstone on a simple base and a flat-top footstone.

SCRAPED (Ubiquitous)

- Flattened and barren from constant sweeping, scraping, and weeding. These actions define the grave area and prevent it from falling into disrepair.
- The act of scraping or sweeping emphasized that the community has not forgotten the dead.

Old School Cemetery, Wilkes County.

MOUNDED (Ubiquitous)

- Soil is intentionally mounded continuously to emphasize the grave's presence and show that the dead have not been forgotten.
- Usually oval, linear, or cigar shaped and may be either grass-covered or kept vegetation-free.

Basket Creek Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Douglas County.

CAIRN (Ubiquitous)

- Piles of rocks that have been mounded on top of a grave to mark and protect it.
- Generally composed of field or undressed stone and piled randomly.

Old Bethel Primitive Baptist Church, Butts County.

PAVEMENTS (Ubiquitous)

- Can consist of loose elements such as sand, pebbles, rock, or brick that are arranged on top of a grave or square or rectangular paved areas.
- Limited to the surface area of the grave.
- Not intended to be elevated above the ground surface.

Pebble Grave Cover. Sandy Plains Baptist Church Cemetery, Cobb County.

LEDGER (18th century to present)

- Large, flat, durable cover that protects the entire surface of the grave.
- Placed directly on top of the ground or installed to leave the stone flush with the ground.
- Frequently made from stone, concrete, or brick.

Some African American artisans incised wavy lines on concrete ledger stones as symbols of water and crossing to the land of the dead. Old School Cemetery, Wilkes County.

MOUNDED LEDGER (Late 19th to early 20th century)

- Cement ledger stones will occasionally have an arched or flat-topped linear mound of concrete added to the surface, intended to imitate the surface of a grave mound.
- Also referred to as concrete or cement cairns.

New Haven Independent Baptist Church Cemetery, Crawford County.

HIPPED LEDGER (20th century)

- Follows the architectural roof style of the same name.
- All four sides slope down from a central midline.
- Occasionally, the short ends of the cover may not be slanted forming a triangular gable at each end.
- More complex forms appear as stylized caskets, houses, or church sanctuaries.

Linwood Cemetery, Muscogee County.

TABLE STONE (19th century)

- Ledgers that have been placed on top of small pillars so that space beneath the ledger is open and the grave can be seen.

Bonaventure Cemetery, Chatham County.

Grave Covers (continued)

Box tombs (sometimes referred to as false crypts) are constructed above ground using ledger stones typically supported by stone panels. They are usually hollow and do not contain human remains, though historically there have been exceptions, particularly in crowded cemeteries or damp environments. Four general types of box tombs are found in Georgia: milled, unmilled, fieldstone, and slot and tab. Other types of grave covers are noted below.

MILLED BOX TOMB (Mid- to late 19th century)

- Commercially produced.
- Made from brick or slabs of marble or granite and topped with a ledger stone.
- Ornate decorations are common.

St. Paul's Church Cemetery, Richmond County.

UNMILLED BOX TOMB (Mid- to late 19th century)

- Constructed with large, thick (3-6 inches) slabs of granite and soapstone.
- Rarely inscribed; found north of the Fall Line.
- Range from hammer dressed to polished finishes.
- Often built on stone rails to distribute weight evenly across the grave site.

New Hope Methodist Church Cemetery, Fulton County.

FIELDSTONE BOX TOMB (Mid- 19th century)

- Constructed using stacked fieldstones.
- Found north of the Fall Line.
- Built using dry or wet masonry techniques.

Old Bethel Cemetery, Butts County.

SLOT AND TAB BOX TOMB (Victorian)

- Ledger stone has slots, which fit over the head and foot panels like a puzzle and lock the structure together.
- Found in rural northeastern Georgia, built with soapstone by Baptist English and Scottish communities.[21]
- They were most popular between the 1840s and 1880s.

Wahoo Baptist Church Cemetery, Hall County.

COMB GRAVES (Predominately 19th century)

- Made by placing slabs in a tent-like arrangement, with pitched roofs and gable ends.
- Found in northern Alabama, Central and East Tennessee and are likely present in North Georgia.
- Also referred to as tent graves.

Ray Hutchinson 2013; Mount Pisgah Cemetery, Putnam County, Tennessee.

VAULT COVERS (18th to 20th century)

- Slightly above, or slightly below, ground surface level.
- Serves as both ledger and cover for below-ground burial vaults.
- 20th-century vault covers are frequently made of concrete, while 18th- and 19th-century versions consist of a brick vault.
- Extends from the subsurface chamber to the surface with a marble or granite lid.

Old School Cemetery, Wilkes County.

GRAVE SHELTERS (Late 19th century to late 20th century)

- Provides protection from the elements.
- Unrestricted access to the enclosed graves from the sides.
- Lack exterior walls.
- Late 19th through the modern period.[22]

Chupp Family Cemetery, DeKalb County.

GRAVE HOUSES (Late 18th to early 19th century)

- Provides protection from the elements.
- Sides in the form of fences or walls frequently restrict access to the enclosed graves.
- Some forms have exterior walls.
- While still in use today, their greatest use was between 1880 and 1930.[23]

Oklahoma Baptist Church, Wilcox County.

A-15

Appliqués

Appliqués are features applied to a marker or grave. They can be purely decorative, commercial products or they can possess deeply personal, sometimes cultural meanings. Appliqués should be considered separate components from the marker because they can be added to standard forms of commercial markers with identified forms or vernacular markers.

URNS (Victorian)

- Designed to be simply decorative or to hold cut flowers and potted plants.
- Can be permanently affixed to the monument.

Corinth Baptist Church Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

PAINTED (Late 19th century to present)

- Paint is used to make the marker look clean and tidy and possibly protect it from the elements. There also may be times where different colors have a cultural meaning.
- Whitewash may be applied to cover stains and provide a white finish to markers; most commonly observed on concrete monuments and ledgers.
- In some African American communities, the color red may be viewed as a means of protecting a grave from malevolent, supernatural power.[25]

(Left) Hopkins-Belleville Cemetery, McIntosh County. (Right) Alta Vista Cemetery, Hall County.

PHOTOS (1890s to present)

- Ceramic disks bearing black and white photographs of the deceased have been available for application to Georgia markers since the 1890s.[26]
- Color versions emerged during the last quarter of the 20th century.

The Mattison Mausoleum bears photos of the individuals interred within. Southview Cemetery, DeKalb County.

FIGURINES (18th century to present)

- Figurines and small statues that were not included as part of the original marker design are sometimes added later by the family and friends.

This small ceramic angel was glued to the top of an individual open-vault mausoleum. Dorchester Cemetery, Liberty County.

EMBEDDED OBJECTS
(Late 19th century to present)

- Marbles, colored glass, shells, pebbles, tools, architectural ironwork, and other objects can be easily embedded in concrete markers during production.
- They provide color, texture, or information about the deceased and often carry hidden meaning.
- For example, in some African American communities shells are tangible metaphors for the water separating the lands of the living and the dead.[24]

Old Roswell Cemetery, Fulton County.

PLAQUES (Modern)

- Ceramic and bronze plaques with text or illustrations may be added to the gravestone.

This particular marker exhibits ceramic and bronze plaques, as well as a photograph and urns. Melwood Cemetery, DeKalb County.

TILE (20th century)

- Ceramic architectural tile is sometimes added to concrete markers to add color or a more durable ornamental surface to the monument.

Salem-St John Baptist Church Cemetery, Glynn County.

Marker Embellishments

These accessories provide minor alterations to the general shape of the tablet. They accentuate larger, more important marker forms, but do not replace the principal features used to define a general marker form.

CAPS/EARS

- Old European marker element, which can be traced back to at least the Roman period.[27]
- Usually found in the shapes of circles, lunettes, gables, or scrolls.
- Project upward from the shoulders of tablets.
- May be classified by the tablet shape and presence of caps, i.e. rounded capped, gabled capped, crowned capped, etc.

Midway Cemetery, Liberty County.

EFFIGY

- Typically a plain/simple tablet form with the addition of a sculpted figure at or near the top.
- Most common forms are doves, lambs, children, angels, and urns.
- Most common on stones for children and women.
- Cut, sculpted, or molded from the same material as the marker, rather than an appliqué.
- Appear to be most common on mid- to late 19th to early 20th century monuments.

(Abve Left) Westview Cemetery, Richmond County. (Above Right) Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

Maker's Marks

Markers provide an advertising opportunity for individuals or companies that either provided the stone, carved the marker form, decorated or inscribed the marker, or distributed it. Carvers, for example, occasionally signed their works, placing their name, sometimes including the company and/or city along the base or other unobtrusive place. The term "fecit," Latin for "made by," was sometimes added after the name to indicate that this was the work of a particular sculptor.[28] Concrete and bronze markers frequently provided the funeral home's name on the inscription panel. Carver/distributor signatures can provide valuable research data on not only who made a marker, but also time period and whether the marker was imported or obtained locally.

FUNERAL HOME

This bronze marker from Polk County advertises the name of a Floyd County Funeral Home. Mrs. Taylor's remains were either returned to Polk County for burial after living in Floyd County, or the marker was obtained from a Floyd County mortician. Aragon Cemetery, Polk County.

A-17

STONE CARVER SIGNATURES

Stone carver, Samuel B. Oatman, signed the front base of the Atkins Family monument to help market his work. Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

DISTRIBUTOR SIGNATURES

This stone was imported to Atlanta from New York City. Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

MANUFACTURER SIGNATURES

Iron fence manufacturer Stewart Iron Works was a prominent national source for iron cemetery fences. Smyrna Presbyterian Cemetery, Wilkes County.

Temporary Markers

Temporary markers (most often called funeral home markers) are commonly provided by the funeral home with the intention that they will be replaced with a more permanent marker.[29] Temporary markers consist of an identity box mounted on pegs or spikes, which are used to secure the marker to the ground. They minimally provide the decedent's name, date of death, and officiating organization. These are thought to be a 20th century tradition.

A-18

FLUSH
(20th century)

- Rectangular identity box with triangular spikes mounted on the short ends for insertion into the ground.
- Designed to lay flat on the ground surface.
- Flush to facilitate maintenance.

Crescent Baptist Church, McIntosh County.

SPIKE/PEG
(Mid-20th century)

- Usually made of zinc alloys finished in gold, copper, silver, or chrome finishes.

Wesley Cemetery, Terrell County.

SPIKE/PEG
(Mid-20th century)

- Information box mounted at the top of a single vertical spike or peg.
- Positioned vertically or canted at an angle to make it easier to read.
- Sometimes cross-shaped.
- Many peg markers possess die cast information boxes with slots designed to insert embossed letters and dates.

Hudson Cemetery, McIntosh County.

VERTICAL
(Post 1990)

- Polymer plaque supported on two pegs.
- Usually etched with the individual's information.
- More weather resistant than spike and flush forms.

Eternity Hills Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

In Loving Memory of

SALLIE MAE MINGO
1943-2013

ETERNAL HILLS MEMORY GARDENS

SYMBOLS

Information provided on a marker is not limited to the inscription; many also include other decorations like flowers or images, which convey a myriad of meanings. Symbols provide a means of combining multiple ideas into a single concept through the use of metaphor, pictograms, and artistic rendition. Symbols are meant to be easily interpreted by both literate and non-literate audiences. To be effective, symbolism requires that the artist and the audience both understand the meaning behind an image. While many common symbols are understood by Americans as a whole, others may be exclusive to a particular audience. Symbols frequently convey multiple meanings, are borrowed and used interchangeably between communities, and meanings are prone to change through time. Their meanings, therefore, must be treated as dynamic and grounded on the deceased's social context.

Wedded Hands
(19th to 20th century)

Empty Shoes
(19th to 20th century)

Here Lies (Hebrew)
(18th century to the Present)

Chain Hand
(19th to 20th century)

Wheat
(19th century)

A-19

Willow
(18th to 19th century)

Lilies
(19th century)

Praying Hands
(19th to 20th century)

Star
(18th century to the Present)

Gate of Heaven
(Mid-19th to 20th century)

Crosses

Crosses are one of the more commonly used symbols in American cemeteries. While most commonly associated with Christian religions, various cross forms can denote specific ideas, organizations, and specific branches within Christianity.

CALVARY

- Simple cross situated on a three-tiered base.
- Steps represent faith, hope, and love, or alternately the Holy Trinity.[30]

Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

CELTIC

- Distinguished by a circle intersecting the cross's arms.
- The Celtic Cross is a largely Catholic symbol.[31]
- Popular in the late 19th century.[32]

Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

CROSS IN CIRCLE

- Symbol for the West African cosmogram.
- On these crosses, the terminus of each arm intersects with an encompassing circle.
- Circle represents the path of the sun through the cosmos.
- Represents four moments: sunrise (birth/rebirth), mid-day (adult hood), sunset (death), midnight (afterlife).[33]

Old Smyrna Cemetery, Harris County.

CRUCIFIX

- This cross depicts the body of Christ at his crucifixion.
- Most frequently used by Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Christians.[34]

Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

ORTHODOX CROSS

- Three cross arms.
- Upper arm symbolizes the title board for the inscription "INRI" on Jesus' cross.
- Center arm represents the board where Christ's arms were nailed.
- Lower board, usually depicted at a slant, is the footboard.
- Commonly used by Russian and Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholic faiths.[35]

Sunset Hills Cemetery, Lowndes County.

FLEUR

- Side and top arms terminate in fleur-de-lis or liliform end caps
- In Christianity, the lily represents the Holy Trinity.[36]
- Widely accepted origin of use of the fleur-de-lis is associated with 12th-century French Catholicism.[37]

Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

GREEK

- Four arms of equal length.
- Used especially by the Eastern Orthodox Church and early Christianity.
- Also known as the crux immissa quadrata.

Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

WESTERN

- Most common symbol of Christianity.
- Single bar a third of the way down from the top.
- In Protestant cemeteries, symbolizes resurrection.[38]

Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

MALTESE

- Variant of the Greek Cross with arms that taper into the center.
- Outer ends of each arm are forked to create eight points.
- Arms symbolize arrows.
- Commonly used in military iconography.[39]
- Confederate Cross of Honor is based on the Maltese Cross.

Decatur Cemetery, DeKalb County.

T

- Represents the West African cosmogram's vision of afterlife.[40]
- Side arms represent death and rebirth; vertical element symbolizes life in the world of the dead.

Hopkins-Belleville Cemetery, McIntosh County.

A-20

Clan, Tribe, and Family Symbols

Heraldry, family crests, emblems, and coats of arms are groups of symbols used on graves to identify family heritage. In Europe, Asia, and other parts of the world, pedigree and the right to display a family crest defined rights and status and came with obligations to both the living and the dead. In America, however, most rights and obligations have fallen by the wayside, and these symbols are used largely to solidify a family's place in history. They are sources of family pride and provide social and geographic ties. European heraldry was originally designed as battle emblems and confirmed allegiances in Medieval societies.[41] Since families were often associated with specific geographical regions, family and town crests often share the same symbols. Care, however, should be taken in extracting historical meaning from these symbols as many crests and forms of heraldry are relatively recent inventions and not deeply tied to the past. In Britain, the law protects many symbols, and the use of heraldry is controlled by the College of Arms. These restrictions do not exist in the United States.

FAMILY CRESTS

- Tends to be placed in a prominent place on the monument, usually in close association with the surname.
- In this example, the McArthur family crest was positioned at the very top of the monument.
- Some families have more than one coat of arms.
- This crest is one of more than 80 designs associated with the King family.[42]

(Left Above) Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.
(Left Below) Dorchester Cemetery, Liberty County.

MON

- Historic Japanese crests, referred to as mon (emblem), identified clan status and showed alliances to military or political leaders.[43]
- Tend to be relatively simple, highly stylized, and are frequently drawn from designs in nature.[44]
- Identified both families and individuals
- Kamon represent inherited family crests and identify an individual's ties to a specific lineage.[45]
- Individuals can also invent a personalized mon.
- Either form (or both) may appear on a monument.
- Mon are often placed within circles.

Japanese Cemetery, San Mateo, California.

Common heritage symbols can solidify communities into a united network. For example, symbols associated with ancient clans or tribes help to unite Jewish families. Jewish history recognizes all Jews as having ties to one of four ancient tribes and/or to the Kohanim (priests). An animal or object represents each tribe (or division). The most common symbols linked with Traditional Jewish Groups are:

Symbol	Affiliation
Cohanim Hands	Kohanim (Priests)
Water Pitcher	Tribe of Levi
Deer	Tribe of Naphtali
Lion	Tribe of Judah
Wolf	Tribe of Benjamin

COHANIM HANDS

- Indicates ties to the Kohanim or priestly sector of Jewish society, as well as symbolizing a spiritual blessing.

Decatur Cemetery, DeKalb County.

LEVI

- Water pitchers and hands pouring water are symbols for members of the Levi tribe.

Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

A-21

Professions and Hobbies

During the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the profession and hobbies of the deceased became important pieces of information to record on their monument. Anchors, for example, defined a maritime profession, and books implied scholarly pursuits. Towards the latter end of the 20th century, improved stone-etching technologies and increased use of cast monuments meant that more complicated designs could be added to a monument. Today, computer-aided etching has paved the way for photographic quality images to be included on the monument, some of which are even in color.

- This individual has an anchor with a rope flanked by the letters U and S, which indicates that he was a member of the United States.
- This construction worker has a crane, hammer, and wrench included on his monument.

A-22

(Left) Westview Cemetery, Fulton County. (Right) Resthaven Cemetery, Wilkes County.

Organizational Symbols

Organizational memberships are frequently included on markers. Membership can include involvement in a wide variety of social, civic, political, and vocational groups. Many organizations have formalized crests or use particular objects, sometimes referred to as jewels, as symbols for their more important ideals. Among the Odd Fellows, for example, three linked chains stand for friendship, love, and truth.[46] Jewels can sometimes appear as part of a larger more complex motif. There are thousands of organizations in Georgia.

KIWANIS CLUB

MASON/ODD FELLOW

WOODMAN JEWELS

SHRINER

(Above) Examples of Organizational Symbols, Westview Cemetery, Fulton County.

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APPENDIX B: MILITARY MARKERS

MILITARY MARKERS

- Wooden Headboards
- Union Shield Tablet
- General Tablet
- Military Plaque
- "Unknown" Soldiers
- Confederate Tablet
- Confederate Medallion

Military Section, Laurel Grove Cemetery, Chatham County.

Military Markers

Prior to the establishment of the National Cemetery Administration (NCA) in 1862, military commanders were compelled to bury dead servicemen and women either where they died, in burial grounds on post, or in a nearby community.[1] Lacking standardization, a variety of markers were used on military installations across the U.S. In 1861, General Orders 75 authorized the Quartermaster General of the Army to provide wooden headboards to commanders for the purpose of marking the graves of Union servicemen.[2] A serviceman's name, registration number, and unit affiliation were frequently painted or carved into these markers. When the NCA determined that the costs of replacing these non-durable markers over 10 years and at five-year intervals would exceed one million dollars, wooden headboards were gradually replaced with more durable stone markers.[3]

In 1873, the Union war dead in National Cemeteries were issued a standardized tablet marker, known as a Union Shield Tablet, that was four inches thick and 10 inches wide.[4] Above the Mason-Dixon line, they were 42 inches long; below it, they were cut to 36 inches.[5] All headstones were set to expose 12 inches of stone above the ground's surface. They exhibited a rounded/arched top and a union shield cut into the face. Initially the grave number, identity, rank, unit, and home state were placed inside the shield in bas-relief.

In 1879, the Union Shield Tablet was authorized for unmarked veterans buried in private cemeteries.[6] The same stone form was used for veterans of the Spanish-American War, Revolutionary War, American Indian Campaigns, Mexican-American War, and the War of 1812, with the appropriate conflict added to the stone. Markers lacking a conflict inscription mark are Civil War veterans.

Around the turn of the century, modifications were made to the Union Shield Tablet. In response to a durability study, the stone's dimensions were changed to 39 inches tall, four inches thick and 12 inches wide in 1903.[7] Rather than bas-relief, the shield and inscriptions were inscribed into the stone's face. Birth and death dates were also added.

Initially the Union Shield Tablet was issued in white marble or granite, although some variations in stone form are known to exist.[8] Degradation of the marble led to the phasing out of the stone around 1924. It is likely that the more durable Georgia Marble was the preferred stone of choice during the period from 1924-1941. Stones issued between 1941 and 1947 were made exclusively of granite.[9] The program was discontinued after granite stones could not be procured within budget guidelines; however, the granite tablet was reintroduced in January of 1994.[10]

Following the end of World War I (WWI), the federal government adopted a new military marker for all post-Spanish-American War veterans, known as the General Tablet.[11] The first version of these stones were 40 inches tall, two inches thick and 10 inches
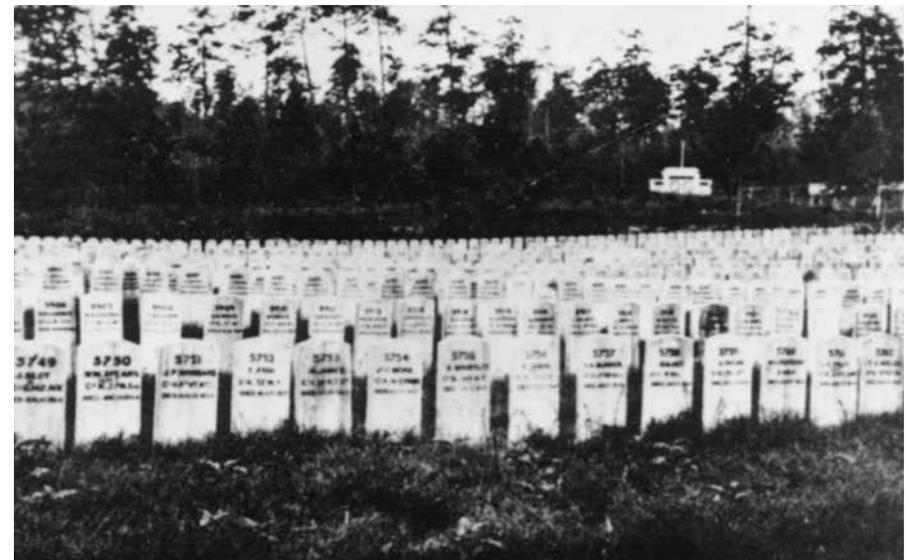
WOODEN HEADBOARDS

- Used from 1862 to 1873.
- Included name, registration number, and unit.
- Information painted or carved into marker face.
- Eventually replaced with more durable stone markers.
- No wooden military issued headboards are known to survive in Georgia's National Cemeteries.

Wooden grave markers in the Andersonville Cemetery. (Image courtesy of Andersonville National Historic Site).

UNION SHIELD TABLET

Civil War Type

- Used from 1873 to 1879.
- For Union war dead buried in National Cemeteries.
- Four inches thick and 10 inches wide.
- 42 inches tall above the Mason-Dixon Line, 36 inches tall below, with 12 inches of stone exposed above the ground.
- Rounded arched top.
- Recessed Union shield.
- Included grave number, name, rank, and unit carved in bas-relief.
- Marble or granite.

Post Civil War Type

- Used from 1879 to the turn-of-the-century.
- Authorized for veterans of all conflicts, including those buried in private cemeteries.
- Conflict added to stone; Stones lacking a conflict inscription mark are Civil War veterans.
- Same dimensions as previous stone.
- Recessed Union shield.
- Includes name, rank, unit, and conflict, carved in bas-relief.
- Marble or granite.

Early 20th-Century Type

- Used from around the turn-of-the-century until after WWI.
- Dimensions changed to 39 inches tall, four inches thick and 12 inches wide in 1903.
- Information carved into stone; no more bas-relief.
- Birth and death dates added.
- Rounded arched top.
- Marble or granite.
- Used to replace earlier markers that had worn out.

(All 3, Right) Marietta National Cemetery, Cobb County.

GENERAL TABLET

- From 1922 to present.
- For all post Spanish-American War veterans.
- 42 inches tall, 13 inches wide, and four inches thick.
- Marble or granite.
- Rounded arched top.
- Religious affiliation, name, home state, rank, unit, conflict, birth and death dates.
- Still issued by the Office of Veteran's Affairs for use in national and civilian cemeteries today.

(Right) Smyrna Methodist Cemetery, Cobb County.

inches wide. They were deemed unsatisfactory, and in 1922, the dimensions were changed to 42 inches tall, 13 inches wide, and four inches thick. The marker has a rounded/arched top, like its predecessors. Stones issued between 1920 and 1941 were made from white marble. As noted above, markers distributed between 1941 and 1947, and after January of 1994 were made of granite.[12] Modern versions of the U.S. Code Title 38 (II:2306c) allow general tablets to be made from materials that are "aesthetically compatible" so that they will match other monument materials used in the cemetery.

The inscription on the General Tablet includes name, rank, military unit affiliation, birth and death dates, and homes state all placed in straight-line text. An emblem identifying the service member's religious affiliation was added in 1922. Initially limited to Christian and Jewish faiths, no less than 25 additional religious preferences have since been added.[13] In 1944, the soldier's date of birth was added. In 1945, following the end of World War II (WWII), military conflict (WWI or WWII) was added to the inscription.[14] With the outbreak of the Korean War, the term "Korea" was added to war casualties in 1951, but saw more widespread use in 1954 to honor veterans who served in this conflict's theater of operations.[15] Similarly, the words, Vietnam, Lebanon, Granada, Panama, Somalia, and Persian Gulf have been added to honor service in these conflicts. In 1988, the Director of Monument Services (Department of Veterans Affairs) authorized the addition of "POW" and "MIA" to applicable monuments. The "General" tablet is still issued by the Office of Veteran's Affairs for use in national and civilian cemeteries.

MILITARY PLAQUE

- A response to requests to mark the graves of veterans buried in memorial park cemeteries where vertical monuments were prohibited.
- Federal government approved use of a flat marble marker in 1936 and granite plaques in 1939.[16]
- 12 inches wide, 24 inches long, and 4 inches deep; Reduced to 3 inches deep in 1948 and reset to 4 inches in 1974.[17]
- Name, rank, military organization, date of death, home state, religious affiliation, and conflict inscribed into the stone.
- Bronze markers approved in 1940; 24 inches in length, 12 inches wide, and 3/16 inch thick; typically mounted on a stone or concrete base.[18]
- Inscriptions on bronze markers were cast in relief.
- In 1973, religious emblem was moved to the base of the inscription, and the former, block-angled bronze margins were beveled.[19]
- Still issued today by the Office of Veteran's Affairs for use in national and civilian cemeteries.
- Markers can be issued retroactively for veterans of Revolutionary War and other conflicts.
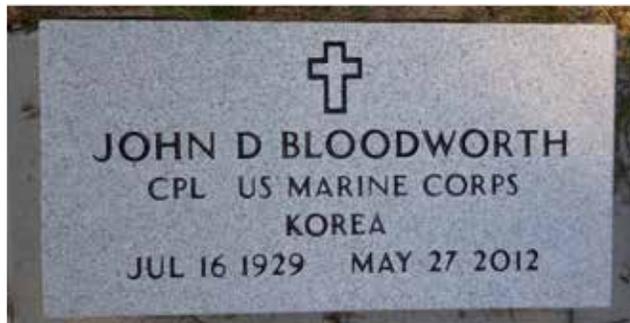
A New Marker Made of Marble. Memory Hill Cemetery, Baldwin County.

One of the Bronze Markers Approved in 1940. Memory Hill Cemetery, Baldwin County.

"UNKNOWN" SOLDIERS MARKERS

- No policy for marking the graves of unidentified servicemen existed before 1873.
- It was estimated that almost 42 percent of all military graves contained the remains of unidentified servicemen.[20]
- In 1873, Secretary of War William Belknap approved a small stone designed specifically to mark unknown graves.[21]
- Marble pillar, 6 inches square and 30 inches long with a grave number inscribed into the marker's flat top.
- Discontinued in 1903.
- Replaced with the same Union Shield marker provided to all veterans, inscribed with "Unknown."
- Modern markers for unidentified servicemen and women now include flat bronze and marble plaques.

The Marker of an Unknown Soldier at Marietta National Cemetery, Cobb County.

Military Markers (continued)

CONFEDERATE TABLET

- In 1906, Congress approved furnishing headstones for Confederate soldiers buried in federal cemeteries.[22] Prior to this, there was no standard marker.
- 15-24 inches tall, four inches thick, and 10-11 inches wide.[23]
- Gable-topped and inscribed with the soldier's name (sometimes placed in a text-on-curve format), rank, death date, unit, and the designation "CSA." (Confederate States of America)
- Confederate Cross of Honor added to the top of the marker in 1930.[24]
- Authorized for use in private cemeteries in 1929.
- Stones issued between 1941 and 1947 were made of granite.
- Modern Confederate markers may also be issued as horizontal flush plaques.

A Confederate Tablet Marker Authorized for Use in 1929 in Private Cemeteries. Oakland Cemetery, Fulton County.

CONFEDERATE MEDALLION

- Modeled after Confederate Cross of Honor, a medal originally issued during the early years of the Civil War.
- Grave medallions introduced in the early 20th century.
- Medallion design later adopted by the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) as a means of marking and honoring the graves of Confederate war veterans.[25]
- Production by independent foundries resulted in significant variation in the Confederate Cross designs across the U.S.
- At least two forms have been identified in Georgia. These are referred to in this document as Style 1 and Style 2.

Front Side (Above Left) and Back Side (Above Right); Confederate Cross of Honor Style 1. This type is still issued by the SCV. Stone Mountain Cemetery, Dekalb County.

Front Side (Above Left) and Back Side (Above Right); Confederate Cross of Honor Style 2. Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Floyd County.

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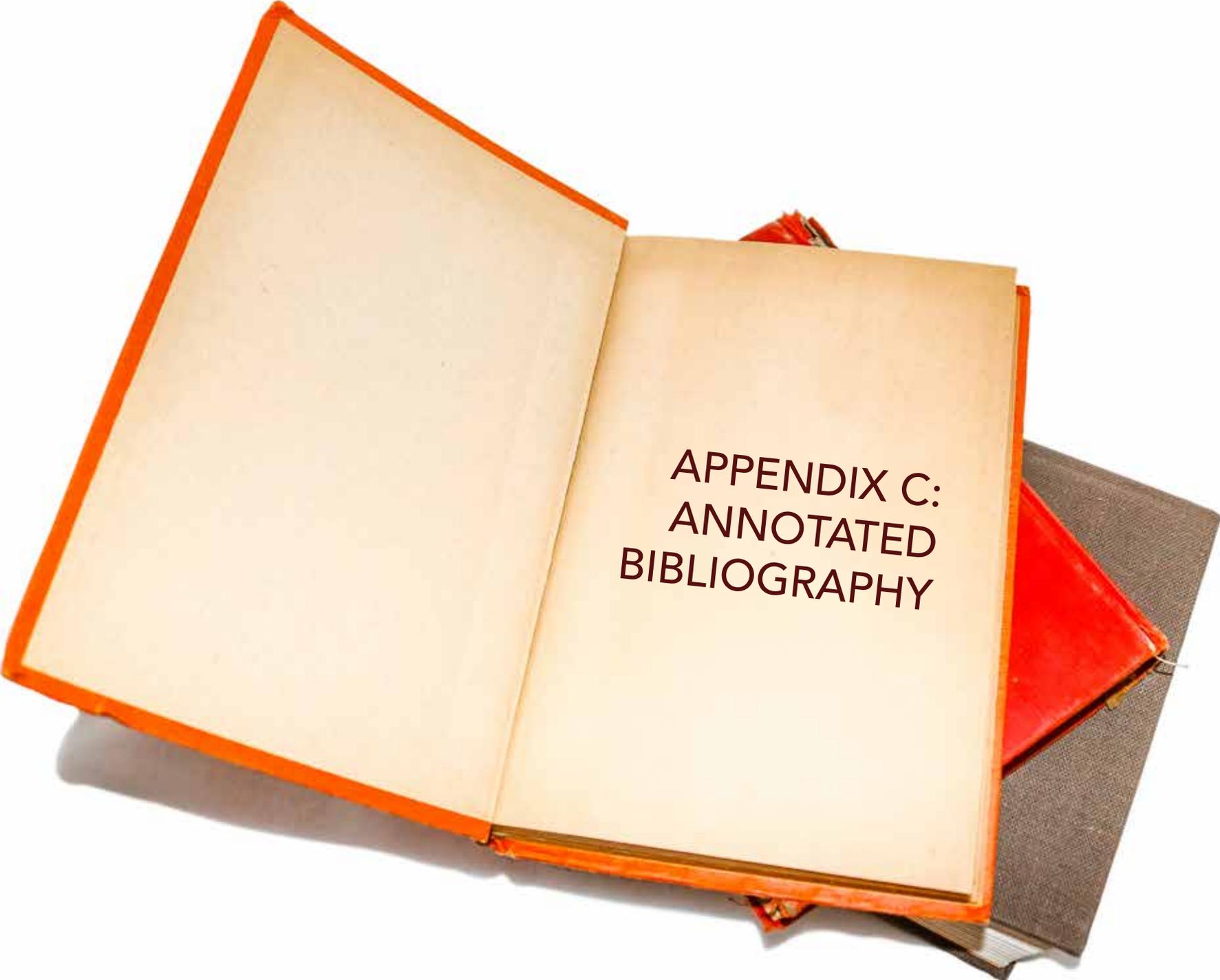
APPENDIX C: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Cherokee Graveyard

Type	Journal Article
Author	B. Cozzens
Volume	4
Issue	1
Publication	Pioneer America: The Journal of Historic American Material Culture
Date	1972

Abstract Cozzens' brief presentation emphasizes that the construction of grave houses was part of the historic Cherokee cemetery plan. The grave house was probably a tradition they followed in the Appalachian hills that survived the Trail of Tears and continued to be used into the twentieth century.

A History of Georgia

Type	Book
Editor	Kenneth Coleman
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	The University of Georgia Press
Date	1977

Abstract This volume is a classic on Georgia's history and development, providing context for people, events, and movements that influenced cemetery development and burial practices.

A Pictorial Catalog of Commemorative Plaques and Flagholders

Type	Web Page, Tri-County Genealogy and History Site
Author	Joyce M. Tice
URL	http://www.joycetice.com/flaghold/flaghold.htm
Date	2007

Abstract   This is probably the single-best source for information on the use of flagholders and medallions as grave decorations.
Tice draws information from contributors across the country, providing a catalogue of forms and organizations responsible for these grave decorations. The catalogue is an important 'go-to' source when trying to identify medallion types, particularly for those generated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A Preliminary Report on the Marbles of Georgia

Type	Book
Author	Samuel W. McCallie
Series	Geologic Survey of Georgia Bulletin
Edition	Second and Revised
Place	Atlanta, Georgia
Publisher	George W. Harrison State Printer
Date	1907

A Preliminary Seriation of Coffin Hardware Forms in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Georgia

Type	Journal Article
Author	Patrick Garrow
Volume	15
Issue	1 and 2
Pages	19-45
Publication	Early Georgia
Date	1987

Abstract Many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century graves lack monuments or records making it difficult to estimate when a particular grave was deposited. An examination of known and cross-dated graves from the Nancy Creek Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery in Fulton County and the Big Lazer Creek Cemetery in Talbot County enabled some forms of coffin hardware to be seriated, provided a general idea when undated graves were likely deposited. Coffin hardware was demonstrated to be sensitive enough to be used as an archeological temporal marker.

A Reexamination of Gravehouse Origins in the Upland South: Misunderstood Examples of Folk Mortuary Hardware

Type	Presentation
Presenter	Donald B. Ball
Place	Greensboro, Alabama
Date	2013
Meeting Name	Alabama Chapter of the Association of Gravestone Studies

Abstract Ball's topic is on the origins and distribution of gravehouses in the Southeast; however, an important focus is that grave covers, including gravehouses, comb graves, ledgers, table stones, and box crypts share common functional features (protection of a grave, marking a grave's location, sign of respect for the dead). Grave covers probably do not originate from one specific location and the forms do not likely share a common date of origin, but analogous forms indicate that the British Isles exerted considerable influence on their presence in the Southeast.

Rip in the Flesh, A Tear Into the Soul: An Ethnography of Dissection in Georgia

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Bones in the Basement: Postmortem Racism in 19th Century Medical Training
Author	Maureen M. Capozzoli
Editor	Robert L. Blakeley
Editor	Judith M. Harrington
Place	Washington, D.C.
Publisher	Smithsonian Institution Press
Pages	313-339
Date	1997

Abstract Capozolli reconstructs African American burial practices that were likely used by those who originally buried the dead represented in the Medical College of Georgia's skeletal assemblage. The article emphasizes why use of the dead for medical experimentation could have been repellent to the burial communities.

"A Vapor that Appeareth for a Little Time and then Vanish Away" Archaeology of the Wrenn-Hutchison Cemetery, Chantilly, Virginia.

C-3

Type	Report
Author	Charles LeeDecker
Author	Jason Shellenhamer
Author	Stephanie Jacobs
Place	Washington, D.C.
Date	2009
Institution	Louis Berger Group, Inc.
Report Type	Report Prepared for the Commonwealth Center Investors, LLC

Abstract This is a report on the archaeological recovery and examination of a middle to upper class family cemetery in northeastern Virginia. The report provides an excellent overview of rural cemeteries in the Middle Atlantic Region, and how they relate to national trends. This is a unique glimpse at a social stratum that mortuary specialists rarely are able to address archaeologically.

African American Fraternal Associations in American History: An Introduction

Type	Journal Article
Author	Joe W. Trotter
Volume	28
Issue	3
Pages	355-366
Publication	Social Science History
Date	2004

American Gravestones and Attitudes Toward Death: A Brief History

Type	Journal Article
Author	James A. Hijiya
Volume	127
Issue	5
Pages	339-363
Publication	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
Date	1983

Abstract   This article argues that changes in the way Americans view death and cemeteries were reflected in the shape and art found on gravestones. Hijiya observes that many of the trends in cemetery and gravestone form reflect national attitudes.

American Military Cemeteries: A Comprehensive Illustrated Guide to Hallowed Grounds of the U.S., Including Cemeteries Overseas

Type	Book
Author	Dean W. Holt
Place	Jefferson, North Carolina
Publisher	McFarland and Company, Inc.
Date	1992

Abstract   Holt provides an overview of how the National Cemetery system developed. The text includes an inventory of all National Cemeteries accompanied by a history of each burial ground. Holt also reviews major trends in military marker forms.

American Victorianism as a Culture

Type	Journal Article
Author	Daniel Walker Howe
URL	http://www.jstor.org/stable/2712438
Volume	27
Issue	5
Publication	American Quarterly
ISSN	0003-0678
Date	1975

And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death and Heaven in the Slave Community, 1700-1865

Type	Journal Article
Author	David Roedinger
Volume	Spring
Pages	163-183
Publication	The Massachusetts Review
Date	1981

Abstract   Roedinger explores antebellum African American views on death, burial, and the afterlife in this seminal historical overview. His data is drawn from throughout the South and includes some materials specific to Georgia. Much of what he illustrates can be seen in Georgia's antebellum slave cemeteries.

Archaeological and Historical Investigations of the Harris County Surplus Property Parcel

Type	Report
Author	Pamela A. Johnson
Author	Madeline L. White
Place	Atlanta, Georgia
Date	2008
Institution	Georgia Department of Transportation
Report Type	Report Prepared for the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division

Abstract   This report outlines a large folk cemetery located in a forested area in rural Harris County, Georgia. Differences in monument forms indicate that more than one community probably used the cemetery at different points in time.

Archaeological and Historical Investigations of the Redfield Cemetery, Jones County, Georgia

Type	Report
Author	Chad O. Braley
Author	William G. Moffat
Place	Athens, Georgia
Date	1995
Series Title	Report Prepared for the Macon Water Authority, Macon, Georgia
Institution	Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc.

Abstract Relocation of an isolated African American cemetery in Jones County provided an opportunity to examine what mortuar y traditions and lifeways this rural community practiced. Many of the features resemble both upland and coastal traditions. This site is one of the few archaeological examinations found in the Middle Georgia region.

Archaeology in a Geechee Graveyard

Type	Journal Article
Author	Nicholas Honerkamp
Author	Morgan R., Jr. Crook
Volume	31
Issue	1
Pages	103-114
Publication	Southeastern Archaeology
Date	2012

Abstract   How do you find graves in a poorly marked cemetery in a coastal sea island environment? This article reviews the history of the Behavior Cemetery on Sapelo Island, use of surface identification techniques and ground penetrating radar to locate graves and the results of these examinations. The authors emphasize that the greatest success in identifying graves comes not only with applying survey techniques but with strong interactions with the depositing community.

Architecture and the After-life

Type	Book
Author	Howard Colvin
Place	New Haven, Connecticut
Publisher	Yale University Press
Date	1991

Abstract   This volume focuses on the types of architecture found in cemeteries and how these reflect attitudes and belief systems that are associated with the dead. Architecture symbolizes a community's cosmologies, as well as concepts of their own community's organization. A review of forms emphasizes that there is great diversity in form reflecting a multitude of ideas and changes in these ideas over time.

Are Bodies Buried in a Specific Direction?

Type	Web Page
Author	Baruch S. Davidson
URL	http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/1672031/jewish/Are-Bodies-Buried-in-a-Specific-Direction.htm
Date	2014
Accessed	8/27/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Website Title	Chabad.org

Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery: An Illustrated History and Guide

Type	Book
Author	Ren Davis
Author	Helen Davis
Author	TimothyCrimmins
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	2012

Abstract   This volume addresses the history and structure of Oakland Cemetery. Oakland's growth is complex and its structure reflects different views of the cemetery's place in Atlanta over the course of the last century. Illustrations focus on important monuments, landscape, and structures in the cemetery.

Balancing Cultural Considerations and Preservation Priorities in African American Cemeteries

Type	Presentation
Presenter	D.L. Henderson
Place	Nashville, Tennessee
Date	2009
Meeting Name	Nationwide Cemetery Summit

Beyond the Good Death: The Anthropology of Modern Dying

Type	Book
Author	James W. Green
Place	Philadelphia
Publisher	University of Pennsylvania Press
ISBN	0-8122-4042-1 978-0-8122-4042-9
Date	2008

Abstract The author explores modern death with an anthropological mindset highlighting changes in burial practices and beliefs in the second half of the twentieth century. Also shows death's political nature in the modern era as new end-of-life experiences shaped by medical and cultural trends make their appearance.

Bioarchaeology in the Urban Context

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process
Author	Robert Blakeley
Author	Lane Beck
Editor	Roy S. Dickens, Jr.
Place	New York
Publisher	Academic Press
Pages	175-208
Date	1982

Abstract Prior to the 1980s, most cemetery excavations focused on relatively small, rural or less urban populations. Examinations of Oakland Cemetery in downtown Atlanta provided an opportunity to learn about mortuary behavior as practiced by an urban African American community. The assemblage represented aspects of a late nineteenth through early twentieth-century population. Many burial practices were similar to folk traditions practiced by rural southern African Americans. Like their rural counterparts, urban cemeteries provide an opportunity for mortuary traditions to be preserved and interpreted.

Bonaventure: From Plantation to Cemetery

Type	Document
Author	Michael Payne
Date	April 30, 2001
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Library Catalog	ahc.MSS989
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Bonaventure: The Colonial Home of the Tattnalls

Type	Document
Author	Georgia Society of the Colonial Dames of America
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Library Catalog	ahc.MSS989
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Brothers in Clay: The Story of Georgia Folk Pottery

Type	Book
Author	John A. Burrison
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	The University of Georgia Press
Date	1983

Abstract   While Burrison's work is not focused on cemeteries, he provides important insight on the use of stoneware to make grave markers. This work provides one of the few descriptions of the forms and distribution of these unique folk objects in Georgia.

Burial

Type	Book Section
Author	Herbert Thurston
URL	http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03071a.htm
Place	New York NY
Publisher	Robert Appleton Company
Date	1908
Accessed	8/26/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Book Title	The Catholic Encyclopedia
Archive	New Advent

Burial Terminology, A Guide for Researchers

Type	Book
Author	Roderick Sprague
Place	Oxford, England
Publisher	AltaMira Press
Date	2005

Abstract Mortuary literature is loaded with terms used to describe the same phenomenon or used by different researchers to describe vastly different things. Sprague attempts to standardize the meaning behind many basic features of a grave and cemetery, providing clear examples of what is meant by each term.

Cadaver Dog and Handler Team Capabilities in the Recovery of Buried Human Remains in the Southeastern United States.

Type	Journal Article
Author	Alanna E. Lasseter
Author	Keith P. Jacobi
Author	Rickey Farley
Author	Lee Hensel
Volume	48
Issue	3
Pages	617-621
Publication	Journal of Forensic Sciences
Date	2003

Abstract Five field trials were conducted to determine the capability of cadaver dogs and their handlers to find buried human remains. This information is important because law enforcement often relies on the dogs to detect deliberately buried remains. In the trials human and animal remains were buried in various scenarios near Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The remains ranged from fresh to skeletonized. The results showed that the dogs were able to find both fresh and fully skeletonized remains buried at significant depths. The authors note that though the trials were successful that there is a need for standardized training for the dogs and their handlers to increase the success rates.

Cadaver Dog Handbook: Forensic and Tactics for the Recovery of Human Remains

Type	Book
Author	Andrew Rebmann
Author	Edward David
Author	Marcella H. Sorg
Place	Boca Raton, Florida
Publisher	CRC Press
Date	2000

Abstract This book is aimed at trainers intending to train their scent detection dog how to detect human remains. Specific chapter topics include how scent is detected, training methods, postmortem changes to human remains, and what procedures to follow while conducting searches. Much of this information is valuable for researchers looking at scent detection as a means of identifying unmarked graves.

Cassville Confederate Cemetery (Pamphlet)

Type	Document
Author	Georgia Building Authority
Publisher	Georgia Building Authority, Atlanta, Georgia
Date	1997

Abstract This document reviews the role of the Georgia Building Authority as the custodian for six Confederate cemeteries in Georgia. There is a brief history of the Cassville Cemetery and a list of identified interments. While site-specific content varies, the same administrative information is provided in each of the six Confederate cemeteries maintained by the Georgia Building Authority.

Celebrations of Death: An Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual

Type	Book
Author	Richard Huntington
Author	Peter Metcalf
Place	London
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Date	1979

Abstract During the 1970s, anthropologists recognized cemeteries and mortuary rituals as important sources of cultural information. This text provides a detailed discussion of the manner in which cultural and archaeological information can be used to define the funeral experience.

Cemeteries

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Encyclopedia of Southern Culture
Author	Gregory D. Jeane
Editor	Charles Reagan Wilson
Editor	William Ferris
Place	Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Publisher	University of North Carolina Press
Pages	463-465
Date	1989

Abstract Jeane provides a general overview of what features make a southern cemetery distinct. His focus is on the rural folk cemetery, where he emphasizes geographic location, patterns of use, and forms of decoration as important elements of these burial grounds.

Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture

Type	Book
Author	Richard Meyer
Place	Logan Utah
Publisher	Utah State University Press
ISBN	978-0-87421-160-3
Date	1992

Cemeteries as Living Landscapes

Type	Book
Author	David B. Knight
Series	Ottawa Branch Publication
Place	Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
Publisher	Ottawa Genealogical Society
Date	1973
Series Number	73(8)

Abstract Knight provides a non-professional viewpoint on cemetery theory and interpretation. Written for the genealogist, this report illustrates how the different aspects of a cemetery can be used to identify features of its inhabitants and the world they lived in.

Cemeteries in the Urban Plan: Opportunities and Constraints

Type	Thesis
Author	Koonce, Collin
Date	2009
University	University of Georgia

Abstract The urban areas within American cities continue to increase in population density. Urban planners must continue to provide sufficient public open space in response to population influxes. Intense competition for land in urban areas impedes the development of essential public open spaces. Creative methods to generate land for parks are continually being suggested, but cemeteries are rarely a part of comprehensive plans, revitalization plans, or community conversions. Public open space is generally provided by parks alone despite the fact that cemeteries possess an innate ability to serve as public open space. A number of physical, cultural, and political constraints effectively devalue cemeteries and preclude the opportunity for planners to take advantage of these land-uses in long-range planning efforts. Associated constraints and opportunities are distinguished through an investigation of history, evaluation of contemporary conditions, identification and review of successful case studies, and an examination of typical urban planning policies.

Cemetery

Type	Book Section
Author	John Curran
URL	http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03504a.htm
Place	New York NY
Publisher	Robert Appleton Company
Date	1908
Accessed	8/26/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Book Title	The Catholic Encyclopedia
Archive	New Advent

Cemetery Maintenance: Standards and Procedures

Type	Document
Author	Marisa Johnson
Date	April 2001
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Library Catalog	ahc.MSS989
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Central State Hospital Cemeteries National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form

Type	Document
Author	Kenneth H. Jr. Thomas
Author	Catherine Wilson-Martin
Publisher	Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division
Date	2003

Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Georgia Coast

Type	Journal Article
Author	Clarence B. Moore
Volume	11
Issue	1
Pages	1-144
Publication	Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia
Date	1897

Abstract In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Clarence B. Moore set out to describe in detail the Native American mounds of the Georgia coast. In his account, he describes burial customs, artifact types, and mound construction. The work focuses on more than 50 mostly pre-Contact period mounds in Camden, Glynn, McIntosh, Liberty, Bryan, and Chatham counties.

Civil War Era National Cemeteries

Type	Report
Author	Sammartino, Therese T.
Pages	55
Date	August 31, 1994
Series Title	National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

Coffin Making and Undertaking in Charleston and Its Environs, 1705-1820

Type	Journal Article
Author	Bradford L. Rauschenberg
Volume	16
Issue	1
Pages	18-64
Publication	Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts
Date	1990

Coffins and Caskets: Their Contribution to the Archaeological Record

Type	Thesis
Author	Katheryn Ann Lang
Place	Moscow, Idaho
Date	1984
Type	M.A. Thesis
University	Department of Anthropology, University of Idaho

Abstract This is a good overview of coffins and caskets. Lang provides a documentary history of their forms and changes across American history and relates how their forms were influenced by both technological and ideological changes. Many of her observations can be translated into features observed in the mortuary archaeological record.

Common Landscapes of America, 1580-1845

Type	Book
Author	John R. Stilgoe
Place	New Haven, Connecticut
Publisher	Yale University Press
Date	1982

Crosses: Forms and Topics

Type	Web Page
Author	David Stiver
URL	http://www.crosscrucifix.com/glossaryhome.htm
Date	2011
Website Title	The Cross Crucifix

Dawn of the Dead: A Review of Archaeological Mortuary Research in Georgia

Type	Book
Author	Daniel T. Elliott
Author	Mark Williams
Author	W. Dean Wood
Publisher	Historic Cemetery Committee, Georgia Council of Professional Archaeologists
Date	2000

Abstract   This report provides an overview of the archaeological information available on cemeteries in Georgia as of 2000. Important projects are highlighted and the bibliography includes information submitted by members of the Society for Georgia Archaeology.

Death and Bereavement in Judaism

Type	Web Page
Author	American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE)
URL	https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/death.html
Date	2014
Accessed	8/26/2014,
Website Title	Jewish Virtual Library

Death and Dying in Central Appalachia

Type	Book
Author	James K. Crissman
Place	Urbana, Illinois
Publisher	University of Illinois Press
Date	1994

Abstract   This is probably the best single volume outlining death and burial among the upland communities of Appalachia. While not specifically focused on Georgia, many of the practices followed in Appalachia, are very visible in nineteenth- and twentieth-century cemeteries from North and Middle Georgia. The concepts outlined in Crissman's book are important towards understanding cemeteries located above the fall line.

Death and the American South

Type	Book
Editor	Craig Thompson Friend
Editor	Lorri Glover
Series	Cambridge studies on the American South
Place	New York, NY
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Date	2015

Abstract   "This rich collection of original essays illuminates the causes and consequences of the South's defining experiences with death. Employing a wide range of perspectives, while concentrating on discrete episodes in the region's past, the authors explore topics from the seventeenth century to the present, from the death traps that emerged during colonization to the bloody backlash against emancipation and civil rights to recent canny efforts to commemorate - and capitalize on the region's deadly past. Some authors capture their subjects in the most intimate of moments: killing and dying, grieving and remembering, and believing and despairing. Others uncover the intentional efforts of Southerners to publicly commemorate their losses through death rituals and memorialization campaigns. Together, these poignantly told Southern stories reveal profound truths about the past of a region marked by death and unable, perhaps unwilling, to escape the ghosts of its history. Craig Thompson Friend is Professor of History and Director of Public History at North Carolina State University. Lorri Glover is the John Francis Bannon Endowed Chair in the department of history at St. Louis University."

Death and the Enlightenment: changing attitudes to death among Christians and unbelievers in eighteenth- century France

Type	Book
Author	John McManners
Place	Oxford ; New York
Publisher	Oxford University Press
Date	1985

Abstract This volume provides insight into the critical change in attitudes in 18th-century France from individuals fearing death to accepting a more Romantic version as the tenets of the Enlightenment took hold. McManners analysis provided context for this important change, more fully bolstering the developmental steps laid out by Phillipe Aries in social attitudes toward death.

Death in Early America

Type	Book
Author	Margaret M. Coffin
Place	Nashville, Tennessee
Publisher	Thomas Nelson, Inc.
Date	1976

Abstract Coffin provides a broad overview of the mortuary practices and customs used in the continental United States. Much of Coffin's data is based on pre-1850 records and is better documented for the northern than the southern United States. It represents an excellent introductory and layman's text.

Death in England: An Illustrated History

Type	Book
Editor	Clare Gittings
Editor	Peter C. Jupp
Place	New Brunswick, N.J
Publisher	Rutgers University Press
Date	2000

Abstract This is a social history of death in England covering a wide breadth of time: 500,000 BC to the death of Diana, Princess of Wales in 1997. There are 10 essays tackling different eras. The essays most relevant to American death are the last three dealing respectively to the regulation of death, Victorian death, and the 20th century trend toward first a more institutionalized death replaced to some degree to a return of the good death in the form of hospice care.

C-18

Death in the New World Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1492-1800

Type	Book
Author	Erik R. Seeman
Publisher	University of Pennsylvania Press
Date	2010

Abstract This book was helpful in better understanding differences and similarities in death ways in American history. looking specifically at the different culture groups that composed colonial America. Taking a regional approach, this is one of the few scholarly works that speaks to death in the colonial south in its examination of African American death ways and burial practices in the Chesapeake.

Death's Head, Cherub, Urn, and Willow

Type	Journal Article
Author	James Deetz
Author	Edwin Dethlefsen
Volume	76
Pages	29-37
Publication	Natural History
Date	1967

Abstract Prior to this publication, gravestone art was viewed as a static phenomenon incapable of reflecting change. This landmark study, however, illustrated that gravestone art was tied to symbolism and that when ideas changed, the symbolism associated with them also shifted. The cemetery was recognized as a means of tracking social evolution through a community.

Deathscapes: Designing Contemporary Landscapes to Solve Modern Issues in Cemeteries

Type	Thesis
Author	Jessica Higgins
Date	2013
University	University of Georgia

Decoration Day in the Mountains: Traditions of Cemetery Decoration in the Southern Appalachians

Type	Book
Author	Alan Jabbour and Karen S. Jabbour
Place	Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Publisher	University of North Carolina Press
Date	2010

Abstract Centered around interpreting the custom of Decoration Day, much of this text focuses on cemeteries in the Upland South. The information within it provides important links to customs seen in North and Central Georgia.

Decoration Day: It's a Southern Thing

Type	Journal Article
Author	Larry Crawford
Volume	22
Issue	1
Pages	102-104
Publication	The Kentucky Explorer
Date	2008

Abstract This article explores the concept of Decoration Day. Crawford emphasizes that the practice has distinct southern origins that likely pre-date the Civil War. It is an important ritual helping to bond communities by honoring their ancestors.

Decoration of Graves of Negros in South Carolina

Type	Journal Article
Author	H. Carrington Bolton
Volume	4
Issue	12
Pages	214
Publication	The Journal of American Folklore
Date	1891

Abstract Bolton's brief article provides one of the earliest recognitions that African American cemeteries along the coast of South Carolina exhibited distinct decorations. His perspective lacks Victorian judgementalism, focusing more on unique qualities associated with these burial grounds. Many of the features identified are now recognized as important components of the Southern Folk traditions.

Design On the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture

Type	Book
Author	Norman T. Newton
Place	Cambridge, Massachusetts
Publisher	Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
ISBN	0-674-19870-0
Date	1971
Call Number	SB470.5 .N47

Do Jews Believe in Hell?

Type	Web Page
Author	Aron Moss
URL	http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/1594422/jewish/Do-Jews-Believe-in-Hell.htm
Date	2012
Accessed	8/27/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Website Title	Chabad.org

Documentation of Folk Grave Marker Tools

Type	Journal Article
Author	Anne Chance
Volume	34
Issue	1
Pages	12-14
Publication	Association of Gravestone Studies Bulletin
Date	2010

Abstract This article documents a set of wooden templates made by Shadrack Davis in the 1920s to letter concrete grave markers in Marion County, Georgia. Chance describes how the templates were used and aspects of grave marking in rural Georgia.

Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes

Type	Book
Author	Georgia Writers' Project
Edition	2nd Edition
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	1972

Abstract This review of African American lifeways contains numerous ethnographically important passages that relate to coastal funeral traditions followed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most of the information was obtained from interviews done in the 1930s, and includes practices followed before and after Emancipation.

Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina

Type	Book
Author	Diane Combs
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	1986

Abstract This is a more mainstream-oriented rendition of Combs' dissertation. It provides a number of photographs of the types of early gravestone art found in Georgia and South Carolina. Combs recognizes that styles change over time and emphasizes why these changes took place. Geographically, the volume focuses more on coastal than inland cemeteries, largely because most carved gravestones were located in coastal regions.

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth Century Brick-Lined Graves: Their Construction and Chronology

Type	Journal Article
Author	Timothy B. Riordan
Author	Ruth M. Mitchell
Volume	45
Issue	4
Pages	91-101
Publication	Historical Archaeology

Eighteenth-Century Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina

Type	Thesis
Author	Diane Combs
Place	Decatur, Georgia
Date	1978
Type	Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation
University	Emory University

Abstract At the time that Combs was working on her dissertation, little focus had been placed on colonial period gravestone art in the American South. Combs' work was a landmark publication, emphasizing that southern grave markers were equally as decorated as their northern counterparts. Many of the same traditions and styles used by northern manufacturers were found in the South, but a contingency of more southern ideas were also expressed.

Ethnicity and the American Cemetery

Type	Book
Author	Richard Meyer
Place	Bowling Green, Ohio
Publisher	Bowling Green State University Popular Press
Date	1993

Abstract This edited volume explores how cemeteries and gravestones can be used to express and identify ethnic and regional identities. The collected body of papers emphasizes the nature of cultural distinctiveness and how it is an important message expressed by American communities by using the cemetery as a means of communication.

Ethnography, Archaeology, and Burial Practices Among Coastal South Carolina Blacks

Type	Book Section
Book Title	The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers, 1972
Author	John D. Combes
Editor	Stanley A. South
Place	Columbia, South Carolina
Publisher	Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina
Pages	52-61
Date	1974

Abstract This is a relatively early recognition that coastal African American grave decorations were part of the archaeological record. This report provides a general overview of burial practices and emphasizes that these features may be useful in identifying otherwise unmarked folk cemetery sites.

Excavation and Analysis of a Late Nineteenth–Early Twentieth Century Burial Found on Hutchinson Island, Chatham County, Georgia

Type	Report
Author	Rita F. Elliott
Author	Judith Ann Harrington
Place	Athens, Georgia
Date	1993
Institution	Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc.
Report Type	Report Prepared for the US Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District

Abstract A coffin was observed eroding out of the shore of Hutchinson Island in Chatham County, Georgia. This examination of the coffin and its contents emphasized that the decedent was probably an isolated interment or from a small cemetery and was likely deposited in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. A brief review of coffins and their construction in coastal Georgia is presented in the report.

Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South

Type	Book
Author	Michael A. Gomez
Place	Chapel Hill, NC
Publisher	The University of North Carolina Press
Date	1998

Exploring Spatial Narratives and Mixed Reality Experiences in Oakland Cemetery

Type	Conference Paper
Proceedings Title	Proceedings of the 2005 ACM SIGCHI International Conference on Advances in Computer Entertainment Technology
Author	Steven Dow
Author	Jaemin Lee
Author	Christopher Oezbek
Author	Blair MacIntyre
Author	Jay David Bolter
Author	Maribeth Gandy
URL	http://doi.acm.org/10.1145/1178477.1178484
Place	New York, New York
Publisher	ACM
Pages	51–60
Date	2005
DOI	10.1145/1178477.1178484
Accessed	7/18/2013, 10:36:22 AM

Abstract The Historic Oakland Cemetery in downtown Atlanta provides a unique setting for exploring the challenges of location-based mixed-reality experience design. Our objective is to entertain and educate visitors about historically and culturally significant events related to the deceased inhabitants of the cemetery. We worked with the constraints and affordances of the physical environment of the cemetery to design an audio-based dramatic experience. The dramatic narrative is realized through voice actors who play the parts of cemetery residents and tell stories about the time periods in which they lived. The experience provides navigation and linearity through a main narrator who guides visitors to various gravesites. While at each grave, the visitor can choose from several categories of content using a handheld controller. Formative evaluations conducted with users in the cemetery indicate strengths of the current experience and suggest ideas for continued development.

Final Forms: What Death Certificates Can Tell Us and What They Can't

Type	Web Page
Author	Kathryn Schulz
URL	http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/04/07/final-forms
Date	2014
Accessed	7/14/2015, 11:09:32 AM
Website Title	The New Yorker

Folk Art in Rural Southern Cemeteries

Type	Journal Article
Author	Gregory D. Jeane
Volume	46
Issue	2
Pages	159-174
Publication	Southern Folklore
Date	1989

Abstract Cemeteries are mediums of artistic expression. In rural areas, the cemetery provides a means where concepts about death, cosmology and the individual serve as the foundation for symbolic art. Jeane emphasizes the different components of a grave where art can be applied.

Folklore and Graveyard Design

Type	Journal Article
Author	John R. Stilgoe
Volume	22
Issue	3
Pages	22-28
Publication	Landscape
Date	1978

Abstract Stilgoe recognizes that cemetery design is filled with meaning. Much of the design is based on beliefs and symbols that often have their roots in antiquity or popular notions of death and one's place in society. Stilgoe provides many specific examples to support his argument. These concepts can be seen in many of Georgia's cemeteries.

Folklore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina

Type	Book
Author	Elsie C. Parsons
Series	Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society
Volume	16
Publisher	American Folk-lore Society
Date	1923

Abstract Parson's memoir contains numerous descriptions of African American funerary traditions practiced along the South Carolina coast. These accounts mirror traditions that were used in Georgia and add additional insight to into how they were performed.

Forever Dixie A Field Guide to Southern Cemeteries and Their Residents

Type	Book
Author	Douglas Keister
Place	Salt Lake City, Utah
Publisher	Gibbs Smith
Date	2008

Abstract The focus in Keister's book is on 13 cemeteries reflecting distinctly southern art, architecture, and traditions. Lavishly photographed, he also provides definitions and examples of important monument forms and iconography.

From Mounds to Megachurches: Georgia's Religious Heritage

Type	Book
Author	David S. Williams
Place	Athens, Ga
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	2008

Abstract Interesting analysis that looked at the African American church in particular, its spread in Georgia, and how important it is to understand its influence on death ways on modern Georgians.

Funeral Customs in the Alabama Black Belt 1870-1910

Type	Journal Article
Author	Glenn Sisk
Volume	23
Issue	3
Pages	169-171
Publication	Southern Folklore Quarterly
Date	1959

Abstract Drawn largely from historical and folklore accounts, the focus of this paper is on how African Americans from the Black Belt of Alabama traditionally cared for the dead. The region is contiguous with West Georgia's coastal plain and many of the traditions illustrated are consistent with observations found in Georgia.

Further Observations on Gravehouse Origins in the Upland South

Type	Journal Article
Author	Donald B. Ball
Volume	62
Issue	2
Pages	17-30
Publication	Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin
Date	2006

Abstract Ball explores where grave houses may have originated. He recognizes them as one of many forms of grave covers with functional themes attributing them to the British Isles. Grave houses are generally viewed as nineteenth and early twentieth century installations found throughout the upland south. Gravehouses are generally found in rural settings.

Geological Methods For Archaeology

Type	Book
Author	Norman Herz
Author	Ervan G. Garrison
Place	New York, New York
Publisher	Oxford University Press
Date	1998

Abstract Herz and Garrison aim to provide an introduction to the many ways that geology has contributed to archaeological science. They provide a discussion on archaeological site and environment dating techniques, site exploration, and artifact analysis using techniques such as stable isotope analysis, ground penetrating radar, and paleoethnobotany. These methods are applicable to use in grave identification.

Geophysical and Archaeological Investigations for Location of a Historic Cemetery, Fort Stewart, Georgia

Type	Report
Author	Dwain K. Butler
Author	Jose L. Llopis
Author	Frederick L. Briuer
URL	http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA267096
Place	Savannah, Georgia
Date	1993
Accessed	1/13/2014, 7:00:00 PM
Series Title	Miscellaneous Paper
Institution	U.S. Army Corp of Engineers, Waterways Experiment Station

Abstract A variety of geophysical methods, including ground penetrating radar, magnetometry, and electromagnetometry, were used to identify the Durrance Cemetery, a circa 1808-1880 small family burial ground. Informant interviews and historic records were able to identify the approximate location of the burial grounds, but no surface remains were present. These non-invasive methods were able to successfully identify the location of the burial ground.

Georgia Cemetery Bibliography

Type	Web Page
Website Title	Georgia Genealogical Society
Author	Ted O. Brooke
URL	http://www.gagensociety.org/cemetery_resources.htm
Date	2012
Accessed	1/3/2014, 7:00:00 PM

Abstract As of 2012, there were 151 counties where cemetery surveys have been developed for the state of Georgia. This website provides a bibliography of these reports. The website and cited reports are aimed primarily at the genealogical but can provide important supplemental information about the history and development of cemeteries.

Georgia National Cemetery

Type	Web Page
Author	National Cemetery Administration
URL	http://www.cem.va.gov/cems/nchp/georgia.asp
Date	2013
Accessed	8/12/2013, 8:00:00 PM

Abstract This website briefly outlines the Georgia National Cemetery. It includes information about where the cemetery is located, how it was developed, and relevant visitor policies. It is an excellent starting point for those interested in this facility.

Georgia Veterans Memorial Cemeteries

Type	Web Page
Author	Georgia Department of Veterans Service
URL	http://veterans.georgia.gov/georgia-veterans-memorial-cemeteries
Date	2013
Accessed	8/12/2013, 8:00:00 PM

Abstract This website provides a brief overview of the Georgia Veterans Memorial Cemeteries. Cemetery rules, locations, capacities and administration are outlined. This is a good place to begin research into state-managed cemeteries.

Georgia Veterans Memorial Cemetery, Milledgeville, GA [Pamphlet]

Type	Document
Author	Georgia Department of Veterans Service
Publisher	Georgia Department of Veterans Service, Atlanta, Georgia
Date	2002
Loc. in Archive	Athens, Georgia
Archive	University of Georgia

Abstract   This pamphlet outlines policies overseeing development, qualification, and documentation needed for interment in a Georgia Veterans Memorial Cemetery.

Georgia's Confederate Monuments and Cemeteries

Type	Book
Author	David N. Wiggins
Place	Charleston, South Carolina
Publisher	Arcadia Publishing
Date	2006

Abstract   After the Civil War, cemeteries became places where it was acceptable to honor those who had fallen for the Confederate cause. This book includes descriptions and photographs of important cemeteries where these displays took place. Confederate cemeteries frequently were decorated in manners that may not have been considered acceptable to non-Southern mainstream American political ideals.

God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man

Type	Book
Author	Cornelia Bailey
Place	New York, New York
Publisher	Doubleday Books
Date	2000

Abstract   Bailey grew up on Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, Georgia, and this memoir contains information on African American folk cemeteries and funeral rituals as practices by African Americans on the island during the mid-twentieth century. Bailey provides traditional viewpoints and specific references to Gullah practices.

Gone Home: Southern Folk Gravestone Art

Type	Book
Author	Jack Solomon
Author	Olivia Solomon
Place	Montgomery, Alabama
Publisher	New South Books
Date	2004

Abstract Nineteenth- and twentieth-century commercially produced gravestone art in southern cemeteries has only been cursorily addressed by researchers. This volume introduces the subject and numerous examples of the more common forms of symbolism. Emphasis is placed more on interpreting epitaphs and less on iconography.

Gone to a Better Land: A Biohistory of a Rural Black Cemetery in the Pos-Reconstruction South

Type	Book
Editor	Jerome Rose
Series	Arkansas Archaeological Society Research Series
Place	Fayetteville, Arkansas
Publisher	Arkansas Archaeological Survey
Date	1985
Series Number	25

Abstract Rose's exploration of the Cedar Grove Cemetery in Lafayette County, Arkansas represents one of the first archaeological considerations of a post-Reconstruction Period African American Cemetery. African American funeral traditions have been recorded in folklore and ethnographic accounts; many of these were recognizable as part of the archaeological record. The use of vernacular materials to fulfill funerary needs mirror practices that were occurring at the same time in Georgia.

Graves Matter: Urban Graveyard Preservation in Savannah, Georgia and Charleston, South Carolina

Type	Thesis
Author	Katherine Anderson
Date	2006
University	University of Georgia

Gravestone Symbolism

Type	Web Page
Author	Beth Santore
URL	http://www.graveaddiction.com/symbol.html
Date	2013
Accessed	7/1/2014,
Website Title	Grave Addiction

Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them

Type	Book
Author	Harriette M. Forbes
Place	New York
Publisher	DaCapo
Date	1967

Abstract   This is an extensive examination of New England gravestone carvers and examples of the work that they generated. Written primarily from an art historian's perspective, it provides insight into the degree of art and symbolism that each carver provided in his work. The work of these carvers appears in some of Georgia's coastal cemeteries, where commissioned pieces were sometimes shipped.

Graveyards and Afro-American Art

Type	Journal Article
Author	John M. Vlach
Volume	5
Pages	161-165
Publication	Southern Exposure
Date	1977

Abstract Vlach recognizes that grave decoration is an important form of African American folk art. There are numerous examples of artistic expression and important works are recognized. African American grave art typically addresses ideas that are not available through mainstream commercially manufactured cemetery decorations. Many of these concepts can be observed in Georgia's African American cemeteries.

Ground-Penetrating Radar Techniques to Discover and Map Historic Graves

Type	Journal Article
Author	Lawrence Conyers
Volume	40
Issue	3
Pages	64-73
Publication	Historical Archaeology
Date	2006

Abstract Conyers outlines how GPR can be used to map graves and makes an argument for GPR as an effective tool in cemetery research. He discusses the history of GPR, how it works, and the types of grave features GPR may be able to map.

Harmony Grove Cemetery: A Window into Buckhead's Rural Past

Type	Journal Article
Author	W. Wright Mitchell
Volume	45
Issue	2
Pages	190-118
Publication	Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly
Date	2009

Abstract Mitchell's narrative places Fulton County's Harmony Grove Cemetery in a historical and social context that defines why the grounds occupy a wooded corner in Atlanta's Buckhead District. The cemetery provides an excellent example of an upland folk cemetery that developed while the surrounding countryside was still a rural environment.

Hidden Differences Beneath a Surface Equality: Mortuary Variability in Two Late-Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries in Crawford County, Arkansas

Type	Journal Article
Author	James Davidson
Author	Robert C. Mainfort
Volume	30
Issue	2
Publication	Southeastern Archaeology
Date	2011

Abstract A close examination of two rural folk cemeteries revealed that social differences between community members were expressed in mortuary representation. The article emphasizes that even in rural folk cemeteries, where more traditional markers of status are absent, these cultural features will find some means of expression.

Historic Bonaventure Cemetery

Type	Book
Author	Annie Marie Wilson
Author	Mandi Dale Johnson
Place	Charleston, South Carolina
Publisher	Arcadia Publishers
Date	1998

Abstract Packed with historic photos of this important Chatham County landmark, the text takes the reader from the early development period of Bonaventure Cemetery up through its modern form. Important monuments, distinctive sections within the cemetery, and significant personalities interred in Bonaventure are addressed.

Historic Linwood Cemetery

Type	Book
Author	Linda J. Kennedy
Author	Mary Jane Galer
Place	Charleston, South Carolina
Publisher	Arcadia Publishing
Date	2004

C-34

Abstract   This book provides a history of Columbus, Georgia's Linwood Cemetery. The cemetery spans much of the town's history, providing a rich array of monument styles and the names of important personalities buried there.

History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers

Type	Web Page
Website Title	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs
Author	National Cemetery Administration
URL	https://www.cem.va.gov/history/hmhist.asp

Abstract   The shape of U.S. military gravestones has not remained static, rather various forms have been used over time. This article provides a detailed outline of how and why military gravestones changed form since establishment of the National Cemetery Administration in 1862 to the present day. Some nuances among marker shapes can be used to narrow down when a particular monument was procured and installed.

History of Government Furnished Headstones and Markers

Type	Web Page
Website Title	National Cemetery Administration
Author	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs
URL	http://www.cem.va.gov/cem/history/hmhist.asp
Date	2013
Accessed	9/9/2013

Abstract   This webpage offers a short overview of federally issued gravestones and some of the changes that have taken place since establishment of the national cemeteries in the mid-nineteenth century. Several key pieces of legislation are outlined.

Hold Your Light on Canaan's Shore: A Historical and Archaeological Investigation of the Avondale Burial Place (9BI164)

Type	Report
Authors	Hugh B. Matternes, Valerie S. Davis, Julie Coco, Staci Richey, and Sarah M. Lowry
Place	Stone Mountain, Georgia
Date	2012
Institution	New South Associates, Inc.
Report Type	Report Prepared for Atkins Global, Inc. and the Georgia Department of Transportation

Abstract During the early stages of proposed construction improvements to Sardis Church Road in Bibb County, Georgia, an unmarked cemetery was identified. Ground penetrating radar, search and rescue dogs, exploratory trenching, and ultimately stripping identified 101 graves unmarked graves. An examination of the cemetery's contents indicated that this cemetery, referred to as the Avondale Burial Place, contained the remains of an African American community.

Graves dating to the 1870s were positively identified and evidence suggested that pre-Emancipation graves may be present. The burials probably represented slaves, ex-slaves, and slave descendants who worked as farmers and domestic laborers in the area.

Home-crafted "Brick" Grave Markers in the African-American Section of Memory Hill Cemetery, Milledgeville, Georgia

Type	Journal Article
Author	James J. D'Angelo
Volume	36
Issue	1
Pages	51-60
Publication	Early Georgia
Date	2008

Abstract Middle Georgia's clay sources are important for brick and tile making, but also saw use in the construction of folk grave markers. D'Angelo explores the use of brick and tile as informal grave markers in Milledgeville's twentieth century African American community.

Honoring Our War Dead: The Evolution of the Government Policy on Headstones for Fallen Soldiers and Sailors

Type	Journal Article
Author	Mark C. Mollan
URL	http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2003/spring/headstones.html
Volume	35
Issue	1
Publication	Prologue
Date	2003
Accessed	9/9/2013

Abstract   This is a historical overview of federal programs to issue gravestones to military veterans. It provides a good background on military gravestones. Military gravestones seen in Georgia cemeteries would have been obtained using these programs.

Honoring the Ancestors: Kongo-American Graves in the American South

Type	Journal Article
Author	Elizabeth Fenn
Volume	8
Pages	42-47
Publication	Southern Exposure
Date	1985

Abstract   Fenn argues that coastal African American folk burial practices have their origins in traditional burial beliefs from West Africa. She provides a wealth of ethnographic accounts emphasizing that these ideas are shared, and many aspects were still part of the coastal African American cosmology into the twentieth century.

I Cry "I Am" for All to Hear Me: The Informal Cemetery in Central Georgia

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Natural Expressions of the African Diaspora
Author	Hugh B. Matternes
Author	Staci Richey
Editor	Akinwumi Ogundaran
Editor	Paula Saunders
Place	Bloomington, Indiana
Publisher	University of Indiana Press
Pages	258-279
Date	2014

Abstract Cemeteries are a form of non-verbal communication which can be used to express ideas about a person and their community. This chapter recognizes that informal cemeteries lack formal institutional regulation and enable their users to convey a wider range of social expression than found in more formal, institution-controlled burial grounds. The Old School Cemetery in Washington, Georgia is provided as an example of an informal cemetery.

C-38

Iconography of Death

Type	Book
Author	Debi Hacker
Place	Columbia, South Carolina
Publisher	Chicora Foundation, Inc.
Date	2001

Abstract Hacker provides an interpretation of mortuary symbolism common encountered in southern cemeteries. Much of this information is grounded in Christian ideology.

Identification and Mapping of Historic Graves at the Colonial Cemetery, Savannah, Georgia

Type	Book
Author	Michael Trinkley
Author	Debi Hacker-Norton
Series	Chicora Foundation Research Series
Place	Columbia, South Carolina
Publisher	Chicora Foundation, Inc.
Date	1999
Series Number	54

Abstract Prior to the completion of this report, no comprehensive map of graves in Savannah's Old Colonial Cemetery existed. This report provides a brief history of the cemetery. It outlines methods used to identify gravesites and includes a map and inventory of all known graves. The report demonstrates that there are considerably more graves present in the cemetery than are represented by markers.

Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920

Type	Book
Author	James J. Farrell
Series	American civilization
Place	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Publisher	Temple University Press
ISBN	0-87722-180-4
Date	1980

Jewish Burial Customs

Type	Web Page
Author	Star of David Memorial Chapels, Inc
URL	http://jewish-funeral-home.com/Jewish-burial-customs.html#_Toc68663332
Date	2014
Accessed	8/26/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Website Title	Star of David Memorial Chapels, Inc.

Jewish Funeral Customs: Saying Goodbye to a Loved One

Type	Web Page
Author	Lisa A. Klug
URL	http://www.jewishfederations.org/funeral-customs.aspx
Date	2014
Accessed	8/26/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Website Title	The Jewish Federations of America

Judaism

Type	Book Section
Author	J. Gordon Melton
Author	Martin Baughman
Place	Santa Barbara, California
Publisher	ABC-CLIO, Inc.
Pages	731-738
Date	2002
Book Title	Religions of the World

Laurel Grove National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form

Type	Document
Author	Elizabeth Lyon
Date	1978
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Lay Down Body: Living History in African American Cemeteries

Type	Book
Author	Roberta H. Wright
Author	Wilber Hughes
Place	Detroit, Michigan
Publisher	Visible Ink
Date	1996

Abstract   This book focuses on the African American cemetery as an American landscape feature. It provides and overview of important African American cemeteries and funeral industry practitioners by state. There is a well-developed text that addresses Georgia.

Magnolia Cemetery "Museum"

Type	Document
Author	Diane Erdeljac
Date	N/D
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Library Catalog	ahc.MSS989
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Make Me a Grave: African American Cemetery Landscape Traditions

Type	Document
Author	Ellis Wilson
Date	April 29, 2002
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Modern Park Cemeteries

Type	Book
Author	Howard Evarts Weed
URL	http://books.google.com/books?id=5S4EAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=weed+modern+park+cemeteries& hl=en&sa=X&ei=9umDUpjsK5KpkAef74CICw&ved=0CEAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage& q=weed%20modern%20 park%20cemeteries&f=false
Place	Chicago, IL
Publisher	R.J. Haight
Date	1912

Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period

Type	Book
Author	Harold Mytum
Series	Manuals in Archaeological Method, Theory, and Technique
Place	New York, New York
Publisher	Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers
Date	2004

Abstract This volume views the cemetery as an archaeological landscape form capable of providing a wealth of information about burial communities. Cemeteries are approached as social entities where their classification and structure reveal many aspects of life in historic communities.

Mortuary Patterns at a Sixteenth-Century Town in Northwestern Georgia

Type	Journal Article
Author	David J. Hally
Volume	23
Issue	2
Pages	166-177
Publication	Southeastern Archaeology
Date	2004

Abstract Hally presents data on Mississippian mortuary patterns from the King site, a mid-sixteenth-century town in northwestern Georgia not far from Etowah. The excavation of 250 burials from household pots and public spaces provides information on non-elite individuals in the Mississippian community. Analysis of the burials suggested that age, sex, and personal achievement were important variables within the community's mortuary practices.

Mortuary Practices, Gender Ideology, and the Cherokee Town at the Coweeta Creek Site

Type	Journal Article
Author	Christopher B. Rodning
Volume	30
Pages	145-173
Publication	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
Date	2011

Abstract Rodning's paper examines mortuary patterns from the Coweeta Creek site located in southwestern North Carolina. He focuses his interests on gender ideology and leadership roles with in the local Cherokee community from the fifteenth

through the eighteenth centuries. Some discussion of general burial practices is provided.

Native Cemeteries and Forms of Burial East of the Mississippi

Type	Book
Author	David I. Jr. Bushnell
Series	Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 71
Place	Washington D.C.
Publisher	Government Printing Office
Date	1920

Abstract This Smithsonian Bulletin provides an account of American Indian burial practices as recorded in the journals of explorers and missionaries who traveled the lands east of the Mississippi River. This report provides information on burial customs of several of the major tribes throughout the eastern states. Of particular interest are the accounts of the Cherokee and Muscogee tribes of the southeast.

Oconee Hill Cemetery: Envisioning a Living Landscape

Type	Thesis
Author	Abbott, Judson Sheppard
Date	2005
University	University of Georgia

Abstract Oconee Hill Cemetery is an important historic landscape in the city of Athens, Georgia. However, management issues during the past decades have decreased its relevance to the local community. This thesis seeks to discover appropriate strategies to improve the current management approach at the cemetery. In order to do this, the thesis explores important background information such as the landscape's historical context, its current management structure, and current management issues. It also studies the opinions and values of current managers and cemetery visitors. Finally, it reviews successful management models that other cemetery management teams have adopted. By overlaying these threads of information, the thesis isolates a number of appropriate and feasible strategies for Oconee Hill's future management. Included in these recommendations are changes to the cemetery's current management structure, an increased focus on public outreach, and the adoption of a master plan.

Office of Catholic Cemeteries

Type	Web Page
Author	Archdiocese of Atlanta
URL	ttp://www.archatl.com/offices/cemeteries/
Date	2014
Accessed	8/26/2014
Website Title	Archdiocese of Atlanta

Old Burial Ground: Colonial Park Cemetery, Savannah, Georgia, 1750-1853

Type	Book
Author	Elizabeth C. Piechocinski
Place	Savannah, Georgia
Publisher	Oglethorpe Press
Date	1999

Abstract Developed in the eighteenth century, the burial grounds have been the final resting place for a significant portion of Savannah's Anglo-American Christian community. While the city developed around it, the Old Burial Ground has been transformed from a neglected eyesore to an important well-maintained cultural landmark. This text is a general overview of the history and development of the Old Burial Ground.

Old School Cemetery: Mapping, Documentation, Preservation, and Interpretation of a Significant Historic African-American Site, Washington, Georgia

Type	Report
Author	Staci Richey
Author	Hugh B. Matternes
Author	J.W. Joseph
Place	Stone Mountain, Georgia
Date	2008
Institution	New South Associates, Inc.
Report Type	Report Prepared for the City of Washington, Georgia

Abstract The Old School Cemetery is a large nineteenth-twentieth-century burial ground located on the outskirts of Washington, Georgia. It projects a combination of rural upland and African American folk characteristics. Many of its vernacular features are unintelligible when considered from a mainstream American viewpoint but are interpretable when viewed from rural upland and African American perspectives. The report provides recommendations on how to preserve and document these types of burial grounds.

Old Time Burials

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Firefox 2
Author	Eliot Wigginton
Editor	Eliot Wigginton
Place	Garden City, New York
Publisher	Anchor Press
Date	1973

Abstract Based largely on folklore from Appalachia, Wiggington outlines how rural upland funerals were traditionally conducted. In these semi-isolated cultural landscapes, communities relied on locally available natural and social resources to meet the physical and social needs associated with death and burial. Many of the features outlined correspond to cemetery and grave features visible in Georgia's rural upland cemeteries.

On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World

Type	Book
Author	Paul M. Pressly
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	The University of Georgia Press
Date	2013

Abstract This book looks at the relationship of Georgia to the larger economy of the Atlantic trade networks. It is useful in understanding groups of people who immigrated to Georgia during the Colonial Period.

Passing, The Vision of Death in America

Type	Book
Editor	Charles O. Jackson
Series	Contributions in Family Studies
Place	Westport, Connecticut
Publisher	Greenwood Press
Date	1977
Series Number	Number 2

Abstract Jackson's edited volume explores the historical, psychological, sociological, philosophical, and anthropological sides of death and funeral practices. Articles by leading scholars provide a solid foundation for understanding how and why cemeteries and funeral rituals evolved into the forms seen throughout American history. The information in this text addresses issues that are fundamental to most American cemeteries including those in Georgia.

Pauper Burials

Type	Web Page
Website Title	Upson County Cemeteries
Author	Lisa Graham
URL	http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~gaupson/cemetery.htm#pauper
Date	2013
Accessed	8/6/2013, 8:00:00 PM

Abstract   This is a brief explanation provided to Lisa Graham (the author) from the Fletcher Funeral Home concerning the ways in which pauper burials were handled in Upson, County Georgia. Burial of the indigent was seen as a community service. Land and services were donated by local churches and funeral homes to ensure that the dead received an appropriate burial.

Perpetual Care - Its Establishment and Regulation by the State

Type	Conference Paper
Author	W.N. Rudd
URL	http://www.iccfa.com/reading/1920-1939/perpetual-care-its-establishment-and-regulation-state
Place	Omaha, Nebraska
Date	September 1922
Accessed	11/10/2013, 7:00:00 PM
Conference Name	Association of American Cemetery Superintendents
Proceedings Title	AACS Proceedings of the 36th Annual Convention

Physical Anthropology and Archaeological Investigations of the Nancy Creek Baptist Church Cemetery, Chamblee, Georgia

Type	Report
Author	Patrick H. Garrow
Author	Steven A. Symes
Author	Henry W. Case
Place	Atlanta, Georgia
Date	1985
Institution	Garrow and Associates
Report Type	Report Prepared for Parsons, Brinkerhoff, Quade, and Douglas Inc.

Abstract This report outlines the relocation of 56 nineteenth- and early twentieth-century graves from the Nancy Creek Primitive Baptist Church in Chamblee, Georgia. Graves were identified by surface features then subsequently reidentified after mechanical removal of the surface. The cemetery provided identified individuals with death dates and interments that could be dated tightly enough to allow an initial seriation of coffin hardware in Georgia.

Places to Remember: Guidance for Inventorying and Maintaining Historic Cemeteries

Type	Book
Author	Carol Griffith
Author	Michael Sullivan
Place	Arizona State Parks
Publisher	Phoenix, Arizona
Date	2012

Abstract This guidebook was aimed at the general public with a goal of providing basic information on the types of cemeteries in Arizona and how to document graves and cemeteries. It also lays out the foundations for historic cemetery conservation. The focus is primarily on nineteenth- and twentieth-century burial grounds. The guidebook emphasizes that there are many tasks that non-professionals can accomplish that will improve the conservation of a cemetery prior to seeking professional assistance.

Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations in Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta, Georgia.

Type	Report
Author	Roy S. Dickens
Author	Robert L. Blakely
Place	Atlanta, Georgia
Date	1979
Institution	Department of Anthropology, Georgia State University

Abstract The pauper's field in Oakland Cemetery represented an open area with few surface features and even fewer records. Considerations of how to address the grounds ultimately refocused on needing to learn how graves were distributed across the field. A series of shallow trenches were excavated across the field to uncover the underlying grave shafts. Results indicated that the area likely held the remains of several thousand individuals organized in tightly packed rows. A sample of graves was excavated to learn of their contents. These emphasized that African Americans were interred in this area; many exhibited features commonly found in upland and coastal cemeteries.

Remarks [Rose Hill Cemetery]

Type	Journal Article
Pages	43
Publication	Southern Cultivator
Date	N/D
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Library Catalog	ahc.MSS989
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Renovation and Landscape Design for Jackson Street Cemetery, Athens, Georgia

Type	Thesis
Author	Paul Adams
Date	1976
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
University	University of Georgia
Number of Pages	76
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Research Guide for Headstone Records for U.S. Military Veterans Buried in Nonfederal Cemeteries, 1879-1985.

Type	Report
Author	Claire Kluskens
URL	http://www.archives.gov/research/military/veterans/headstones-nonfederal-cemeteries.pdf
Place	Washington, D.C.
Pages	1-10
Date	2013
Accessed	9/9/2013, 8:00:00 PM
Institution	National Archives and Records Administration

Abstract This is a 'go-to' document for anyone researching federal records for information pertaining to U.S. military headstones. The report provides a wealth of information on sources within the federal government that house headstone information.

Rich Man, Poor Man: Observations on Three Antebellum Burials from the Georgia Coast.

Type	Journal Article
Author	David Hurst Thomas
Author	Stanley South
Author	Clark S. Larson
Volume	54
Issue	3
Pages	395-420
Publication	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History
Date	1977

Abstract While examining a pre-Contact Period American Indian mound in Liberty County, Georgia, archaeologists encountered three nineteenth-century interments. These provided insight into Anglo- and African American burial practices from the same community. While there were numerous similarities, status and wealth played important parts generating differences between these interments.

Rose Hill Cemetery and the Ocmulgee Heritage Greenway: The Impact of Integration

Type	Thesis
Author	Jay Wansley
Date	2000
Call Number	LXC 15 2000W251
University	University of Georgia

Rose Hill Cemetery Master Plan

Type	Report
Author	Doran & Karwoski, Inc
Place	Macon, GA
Pages	63
Date	November 2004
Report Type	Master Plan

Rose Hill Cemetery: Derivation, Development, Degeneration

Type	Thesis
Author	Bruce Wayne Earnheart
Call Number	LXC 15 1989 .E125
University	University of Georgia

Savannah's Old Jewish Community Cemeteries

Type	Book
Author	B.H. Levy
Place	Macon, Georgia
Publisher	Mercer University Press
Date	1983

Abstract Levy provides a brief history and inventory of the Levi Sheftall family burial grounds and the Mordecai Sheftall Community Burial Grounds (Old Jewish Burial Ground) in Savannah, Georgia. The grounds represent the earliest Jewish cemeteries in Georgia, spanning the 1730s-1890s. Inventories in the book's appendices identify known interments and provide brief life histories of important personalities.

Savannah's Laurel Grove Cemetery

Type	Book
Author	John Walker Gus
Place	Charleston, South Carolina
Publisher	Arcadia Publishing
Date	2004

Abstract Gus provides a history of the Laurel Grove Cemetery in Savannah. The cemetery was built as a public burial ground, with separate graveyards established for the city's Anglo and African American communities. Prominent individuals, events, and monuments are noted throughout the book.

Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785

Type	Book
Author	David Dobson
Place	Athens
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	1994

Shimmering Glimpses of the Spirit World: Archaeological Recovery of Two Historic Cemeteries (9CH875 and 9CH1168) at Hunter Army Airfield, Chatham County Georgia

Type	Report
Author	Hugh B. Matternes
Author	Valerie S. Davis
Author	Sarah McIntyre
Author	Melissa Umberger
Author	Faris Cadle
Author	Kristie Lockerman
Place	Stone Mountain, Georgia
Date	2010
Series Title	Technical Report No. 1737
Institution	New South Associates, Inc.
Report Type	Prepared for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

Abstract The relocation of two unmarked and poorly documented cemeteries in Chatham County, Georgia provided an opportunity to examine African American funerary practices from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A church congregation likely formed the Area 1 Cemetery, while the Area 2 grounds probably represented an informal cemetery, established on an undeveloped tract of land. Archaeological evidence corresponded with ethnographic accounts of funeral traditions practiced in the region. The cemeteries provide important information about African- American communities in and around Savannah.

Silent Cities: Cemeteries and Classrooms

Type	Book
Author	Alexia Jones Helsey
Place	Columbia, South Carolina
Publisher	South Carolina Department of Archives and History
Date	1997

Abstract Helsey provides a detailed classroom curriculum for introducing elementary-level students to the information available in cemeteries. The curriculum involves numerous hands-on projects designed to teach students how to conduct research and gain an appreciation of the cemetery as a cultural and landscape feature.

Siras Bowens of Sunbury, Georgia: A Tidewater Artist in the Afro-American Visual Tradition

Type	Journal Article
Author	Robert Farris Thompson
Volume	18
Issue	3
Pages	490-500
Publication	The Massachusetts Review
Date	1977

Abstract Syras (Cyrus) Bowens is recognized as an early African American artist who was able to use mortuary representations as a form of expression. Thompson reviews what is known about Bowens, his work, and the importance of his contributions to mortuary and African American folk art.

Skeletal Analysis of a Nineteenth Century Grave from Sapelo Island

Type	Journal Article
Author	Ronald L. Wright
Author	Matthew Williamson
Author	David Colin Crass
Volume	31
Issue	1
Pages	91-97
Publication	Early Georgia
Date	2003

Abstract   The discovery of human remains eroding out of an embankment on Sapelo Island led to the recovery and investigation of who the individual might have been and the circumstances of their death. The near complete skeleton of a middle aged (40-55 years old) Anglo-American, likely a sailor or laborer, had been buried during the nineteenth century.

Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the Southern United States from Interviews with Former Slaves, Volume IV

Type	Document
Publisher	Works Progress Administration
Date	1941
Archive	Library of Congress

Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South

Type	Book
Author	Albert J. Raboteau
Place	Oxford, UK
Publisher	Oxford University Press
Date	1980

Slot and Tab Tombs of Northeast Georgia

Type	Web Page
Author	Tom Kunesh
URL	http://www.darkfiber.com/tomb/
Date	2012
Accessed	1/29/2017, 7:00:00 PM

Abstract   This website is focused on the slot and tab box crypts of Northeastern Georgia. There is additional information on grave houses and eastern Tennessee grave styles. the site features excellent photos and maps to where slot and tab box crypts may be observed.

Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Upper Creek Confederacy.

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology
Author	John R. Swanton
Place	Washington, D.C.
Publisher	Smithsonian Institution
Pages	23-472
Date	1928

Abstract   Swanton provides a short narrative synthesizing numerous ethnographic accounts of historic Creek Indian burial practices. Many of these accounts were made prior to the Creek being relocated to Oklahoma. The use of secondary burial, scaffolding, graveshelters, and stone mounds are specifically mentioned.

Some Early Epitaphs in Georgia, Compiled by the Georgia Society of the Colonial Dames of America with a Forward and Sketches by Mrs. Peter W. Meldrim

Type	Book
Author	Georgia Society of Colonial Dames (Compiler)
Place	Durham, North Carolina
Publisher	The Seeman Printery
Date	1924

Abstract   The focus of this volume was to record eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century epitaphs from several of Georgia's better-known colonial cemeteries. There are short histories of the colonies (with some information on the cemeteries) at the beginning of each inventory. These are good early recordings of Colonial, Federal, and Early Victorian period stone inscriptions, many of which have disappeared in the intervening century.

[Southern Cemeteries]

Type	Journal Article
Pages	265
Publication	The Sunny South or The Southerner at Home
Date	N/D
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

Southern Graveshelters and English Lych-gates: The Search for Culture Trait Origins

Type	Journal Article
Author	Gregory D. Jeane
URL	http://faculty.samford.edu/~dgjeane/lych_gates.htm
Volume	3
Pages	9-27
Publication	Tributaries: Journal of the Alabama Folklife Association
Date	2000
Accessed	7/24/2013, 8:00:00 PM

Abstract Jeane explores the possibility that gravehouses may have evolved from the British Lych Gate Tradition. The article provides a general overview of what constitutes a graveshelter and how the graveshelter fits into the southern folk cemetery tradition. There is a brief review of how Creek and Cherokee graveshelters may have played a part in the shelter's development.

Stable Isotopic Reconstruction of Diet and Residential Mobility in a Postbellum African American Community in Rural Georgia

Type	Journal Article
Author	Emily M.R. Vanderpool
Author	Bethany L. Turner
Volume	32
Issue	1
Pages	97-110
Publication	Southeastern Archaeology
Date	2013

Abstract The isotopic chemistry of human remains has seen little application in Georgia's historic cemetery contexts. This article demonstrates that aspects of African American diet and where members of a community came from are preserved and can be interpreted from samples of their teeth. Members of the Avondale Burial Place in Bibb County were eating local non-corn based foods and likely grew up in the local area.

Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography

Type	Book
Author	Douglas Keister
Place	Salt Lake City, Utah
Publisher	Gibbs Smith
ISBN	1-56731-776-6 978-1-56731-776-3
Date	2004
Language	English

Abstract Keister identifies a variety of symbolic features commonly used in gravestone art and interprets their meaning. Many of his discussions include historical background on the symbol. This is an important basic text for recognizing and understanding gravestone symbolism.

Techniques for Locating Burials, with Emphasis on the Probe

Type	Journal Article
Author	Douglas Owsley
Volume	40
Issue	5
Pages	735-740
Publication	Journal of Forensic Sciences
Date	1995

Abstract There are a number of non-invasive methods employed to identify buried human remains. These include visual inspection, trained dogs, and geophysical techniques. Owsley is a proponent of the probe as a simple, less expensive, non-invasive tool for grave identification. The article provides examples of probe surveys in forensic cases in urban and rural settings including crime scene and cemetery settings. In these examples the surveyors were successful in identifying graves and buried human remains using the probe technique.

Terms Used to Describe Cemeteries and Grave Markers

Type	Web Page
Author	Indiana Department of Natural Resources
URL	http://www.in.gov/dnr/historic/files/cem_glossary.pdf
Date	n.d.
Accessed	9/8/2013, 8:00:00 PM

Abstract This is a glossary of terms used by the Indiana Department of Natural Resources to standardize descriptions of cemeteries and cemetery architecture.

The "Rural" Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Material Life in America, 1600-1860
Author	Thomas Bender
Editor	Robert B. St. George
Place	Boston, Massachusetts
Publisher	Northeastern University Press
Pages	505-518
Date	1988

Abstract Bender views the rural cemetery movement as a response to the rise in industrialization. Cities and the machines within them were viewed as evidence of human conquest over nature and the rural cemetery emerges as a romanticized vision of nature. Movement of the cemetery to the outskirts of towns was seen as a measure to improve inner city health and a means of preventing the constant desecration of graves by the addition of new interments. The movement loses steam in the late nineteenth century as the rise in American middle class creates suburbs - where nature and urban life are blended into a common environment.

The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts

Type	Book
Author	John M. Vlach
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	1990

Abstract Vlach expands on his earlier works by recognizing grave decoration as an important art form with links to other forms of vernacular art. He reviews general themes in expression and postulates that some of these ideas likely have their origins in West African concepts. There are numerous photographic examples of grave art that illustrate his point.

The American Gasoline Station, 1920-1970

Type	Journal Article
Author	John A. Jakle
Volume	1
Issue	3
Pages	3
Publication	Journal of American Culture
Date	Fall 1978

The American Resting Place: 400 Years of History Through Our Cemeteries and Burial Grounds

Type	Book
Author	Marilyn Yalom
Place	Boston, Massachusetts
Publisher	Houghton Mifflin Harcourt
Date	2008

Abstract Yalom's book provides an overview of cemeteries as an American landscape phenomenon. The book reviews a wide variety of graveyards, providing historical sketches for type examples to illustrate aspects of American funerary material culture. Georgia is featured as a means of discussing southern cemeteries, with particular emphasis placed on Midway, Sunbury Missionary Baptist Church, Colonial Park, Laurel Grove, Bonaventure, and Oakland Cemeteries.

The American Way of Death Revisited

Type	Book
Author	Jessica Mitford
Edition	Rev. ed
Place	New York
Publisher	Alfred A. Knopf
Date	1998

Abstract This is an update to Mitford's classic *The American Way of Death* published in 1963 which skewered the American mortuary industry. This update continues in that vein, looking at the failures of the Federal Trade Commission, the costs of burying someone, etc.

The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: 2. Biocultural Interpretations of a Population in Transition

Type	Journal Article
Author	Clark S. Larson
Author	Inui Choi
Author	Anne E. Fresia
Author	Dale L. Hutchinson
Author	Julia Lee-Thorp
Author	Katherine Moore
Author	Mary Lucas Powell
Author	Christopher Ruff
Author	Katherine F. Russell
Author	Margaret J. Schoeninger
Author	Scott W. Simpson
Author	David Hurst Thomas
Editor	Clark S. Larsen
Author	Nikolaas van der Merwe
Volume	68
Publication	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History
Date	1990

Abstract   This report outlines an examination of the human remains and archaeology of a fifteenth-century Spanish mission on the Georgia coast. Most of the assemblage was composed of American Indian Christian converts, but there are a few European (presumably Spanish) decedents present. This was likely one of the first European-oriented cemeteries in Georgia.

The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris

Type	Book
Author	Richard Etlin
Place	Cambridge, Massachusetts
Publisher	MIT Press
Date	1984

Abstract   The origins of the Rural Cemetery Movement are tied to changes in the way Europe, particularly France, viewed landscape, architecture, and the need to restructure their cemeteries. This text looks at the reasons for these changes and the architecture that resulted from them. A better concept of how these patterns were interpreted by Americans can be gained by viewing how they were originally defined in France.

The Big Lazer Creek Unmarked Cemetery: A Multidisciplinary Investigation

Type	Report
Author	Patrick H. Garrow
Author	Steven A. Syme
Place	Atlanta, Georgia
Date	1987
Institution	Garrow and Associates
Report Type	Report Prepared for the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Game and Fish Division

Abstract The Big Lazer Creek Cemetery was an unmarked, unrecorded burial ground until inadvertently uncovered by construction activities. This examination of the cemetery revealed that it was likely a small nineteenth early twentieth- century burial ground associated with the Smith family.

The Cemeteries of Chattanooga, Tennessee and Their Design Influences.

Type	Thesis
Author	Karen L. Daniels
Place	Atlanta, Georgia
Date	1992
University	Department of History, Georgia State University

Abstract This thesis provides an overview of cemetery development in an upland city (Chattanooga, TN) and examines the city's cemeteries relative to national cemetery movements. Daniels finds a general concordance between family/pioneer, military, church, community, rural park and modern park movements. The thesis addresses cemeteries as a regional sample from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century to modern period facilities.

The Cemetery as a Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the "Rural Cemetery" Movement

Type	Journal Article
Author	Stanley French
Volume	26
Issue	1
Pages	37-59
Publication	American Quarterly
Date	1974

Abstract French's article provides an excellent foundation for understanding the Rural Cemetery Movement. French emphasizes that the cemetery was linked to changes in society and that the movement was not unique to America, rather had its roots in European shifts in landscape design.

The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape

Type	Journal Article
Author	Richard V. Francaviglia
Volume	61
Issue	3
Pages	501-509
Publication	Annals of the Association of American Geographers
Date	1971

Abstract This is an early exploration of the cemetery as a landscape feature by a cultural geographer. The focus was on cemeteries used from about 1870 to 1960 in the Willimette Valley of Oregon, with additional observations from cemeteries in Illinois, New York, Utah, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. This article provides a basic typology of gravestones and recognition that markers change form and popularity over time. Style and fashion changes over time at different rates across the U.S.

The Coffin Maker's Craft: Treatment of the Dead in Rural Eighteenth Century Delaware

Type	Journal Article
Author	Charles LeeDecker
Volume	17
Pages	1-14
Publication	Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology
Date	2001

Abstract LeeDecker examines how coffins were made from archaeological and historical information as they relate to nine individuals recovered from an eighteenth-century cemetery context in Sussex County, Delaware. Preservation allowed a detailed examination of manufacturing methods that are relevant to understanding now coffins were manufactured across the Eastern United States.

The Creation of Modern Georgia

Type	Book
Author	Numan V. Bartley
Place	Athens, GA
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	1983

The Detection of Buried Bodies

Type	Book
Author	Jack E. McLaughlin
Place	Yuba City, California
Publisher	Andermac
Date	1974

Abstract This book provides information on the mechanics and techniques of locating buried human remains. Probing, metal detecting, visual inspection, and the use of infrared imaging, among other techniques are discussed. Many of the techniques outlined in the text are applicable to grave detection in cemetery settings.

The Detection of Human Remains

Type	Book
Author	Edward W. Killam
Edition	Second
Place	Springfield, Illinois
Publisher	Charles C. Thomas Publishers
Date	2004

Abstract Killam provides a guide to the various methods of locating human remains applicable to both archaeological and forensic contexts. The core of the book contains a guide to standard strategies employed for locating surface and buried bodies, including looking for visual methods (vegetation differences and soil disturbances), air-scent dogs, probing, electronic remote sensing techniques, and aerial photography.

The Development of the Funeral Business in Georgia, 1900-1957

Type	Journal Article
Author	James I. Robertson
Volume	13
Pages	86-96
Publication	The Georgia Review
Date	1959

Abstract This article provides a brief overview of Georgia's funeral home industry. The general trends of the industry are outlined between anecdotes collected from a variety of Georgia morticians. The text is a good introduction to Georgia's place in the funeral industry.

The Different Types of Crosses in the Cemetery

Type	Blog Post
Author	Joy Neighbors
URL	http://agraveinterest.blogspot.com/2011/04/different-types-of-crosses-in-cemetery.htm
Date	2011
Accessed	7/1/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Blog Title	A Grave Interest

The English Way of Death

Type	Book
Author	Julian Litten
Place	London England
Publisher	Robert Hale
Date	1992

Abstract   The emphasis of this book is on English funerary practices. However, given that the foundations of many American funeral practices have their roots in English and European culture, the text provides an important foundation towards an understanding of funeral practices in Georgia.

The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia

Type	Book
Author	Joan Niles Sears
Place	Atlanta, GA
Publisher	Cherokee Publishing Company
Date	1979

The Flat Rock Community Mapping Project: A Case Study In Community Archaeology

Type	Journal Article
Author	J.B. Glover
Author	Kelly Woodard
Author	Jack Reed
Author	Waits, Johnny
Volume	40
Issue	1
Publication	Early Georgia
Date	2012

Abstract   The Flat Rock Cemetery has served an African American community for over a century, but the cemetery's size and contents had never been comprehensively recorded. This article reviewed the cemetery's history, burial traditions, and discussed aspects of the burial ground's layout in both the physical and cultural landscape.

The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1776

Type	Book
Author	Harold E. Davis
Contributor	Institute of Early American History and Culture (Williamsburg, Va.)
Place	Chapel Hill
Publisher	Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press
Date	1976

The Gullah People and Their African Heritage

Type	Book
Author	William S. Pollitzer
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	1999

The History and Archaeology of a Civil War Soldier

Type	Journal Article
Author	William R. Bowen
Volume	25
Pages	67-77
Publication	The Atlanta Historical Journal
Date	1981

Abstract   In 1978, GDOT relocated the isolated grave of Pvt. Jacob Wheeler, CSA from DeKalb to Liberty County. Archaeological investigations confirmed the grave's location and its accompanying artifacts were consistent with the remains of a Confederate soldier. The individual was buried in a wooden casket in a shallow grave. Missing skeletal elements may have indicated that the individual was exposed to the elements for some time prior to burial. The grave provides a good example of a Civil War-era military interment deposited under relatively hasty conditions.

The History of American Funeral Directing

Type	Book
Author	Robert W. Habenstein
Author	William M. Lamers
Edition	Second Revised Edition
Place	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Publisher	National Funeral Directors Association
Date	1985

Abstract   This tome provides a definitive overview of funeral directing in the United States. The book is packed with information addressing a wide variety of subjects and will provide an important foundation to understanding the funeral industry side of cemeteries. While there is a general lack of information specific to Georgia, much of the text relates to trends common to Georgia and the Southeast as a whole.

The Hour of Our Death - The Classic History of Western Attitudes Toward Death Over the Last One Thousand Years

Type	Book
Author	Philippe Ariès
Edition	lst Vintage Books ed
Place	New York
Publisher	Vintage Books
Date	1982

Abstract This is a landmark study the shows the evolution of our thoughts about life and death as it traveled from Medieval Europe to modern America. It is sweeping and draws upon a wide range of sources to show attitudinal change and to provide a context for it. Aries' work influenced this context, giving the narrative its meaning and structure.

The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History

Type	Book
Author	David C. Sloane
Place	Baltimore, Maryland
Publisher	Johns Hopkins University Press
Date	1991

The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homecoming Traditions, 1890-Present

Type	Book
Editor	Elaine Nichols
Place	Columbia, South Carolina
Publisher	South Carolina Humanities Council
Date	1990

Abstract Nichols draws together a variety of papers that outline aspects of the African American lowland funeral traditions. The papers are rich with important details not easily found in the historical record. Many of the rituals outlined correspond to forms used by Georgia's African American communities.

The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans

Type	Book
Author	W. Lloyd Warner
Place	New Haven, Connecticut
Publisher	Yale University Press
Date	1959

Abstract Warner's book is a relatively early consideration of symbolism in modern American culture. He uses a modern cemetery set in the fictional 'Yankee City' to demonstrate that urban communities use symbolism as a means of non-verbally communicating important social ideas. The wide range of symbols used in the cemetery are a critical means of helping the viewer determine what are culturally appropriate ways of viewing the dead and death.

The Mt. Gilead Cemetery Study: An Example of Biocultural Analysis from Western Georgia

Type	Report
Author	W. Dean Wood
Author	Karen R. Burns
Author	Steven R. Lee
Place	Athens, Georgia
Date	1986
Institution	Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc.
Report Type	Report Prepared for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District

Abstract Archaeological investigations of cemeteries in Georgia have traditionally been considered from a single perspective. This report however demonstrated that by approaching a cemetery from cultural, historical, archeological, and biological perspectives, the cemetery can generate a wealth of information about the depositing community. This report provides one of the earlier, better examples of success by examining a cemetery using a multi-disciplinary approach.

The Mullrynes and Tattnalls: Families of Bonaventure Plantation

Type	Document
Author	Terry Shaw
Date	October 9, 1994
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

The Negro Church

Type	Book
Author	William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Place	Atlanta
Publisher	The Atlanta University Press

The Oconee Hills Cemetery and Individuals Associated with the South's Garden History

Type	Document
Author	Leslie Stumpff
Date	December 8, 2005
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Library Catalog	ahc.MSS989
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

The Red Cedar in American Cemeteries: Religious and Symbolic Associations

Type	Document
Author	Hope Zacek
Loc. in Archive	James R. Cothran Papers
Library Catalog	ahc.MSS989
Archive	Cherokee Garden Library

The Restoration of the Fish Vault in Memory Hill Cemetery

Type	Journal Article
Author	Stephen Hammack
Author	Susan J. Harrington
Author	Matthew Williamson
Author	Hugh T. Harrington
Issue	Spring
Pages	11-13
Publication	The Profile
Date	2009

Abstract   Renovations to the mid-nineteenth century-Fish family vault in Memory Hill Cemetery provided a rare opportunity to examine how the dead from an upper class family were handled. Coffins were placed around the margins of the vault and deterioration meant that the human remains had become intermingled over time, information on their life and death could still be recovered.

The Resurrection Process

Type	Web Page
Author	Naftall Silberberg
URL	http://www.chabad.org/library/moshiach/article_cdo/aid/1127503/jewish/The-Resurrection-Process.htm
Date	2010
Accessed	8/27/2014, 8:00:00 PM
Website Title	Chabad.org

"The Roses So Red and the Lillies So Fair": Southern Folk Cemeteries in Texas

Type	Journal Article
Author	Terry G. Jordan
Volume	83
Issue	3
Pages	227-258
Publication	Southwestern Historical Quarterly
Date	1980

Abstract   Jordan outlines many aspects of the folk cemetery with particular reference to how they occur in rural Texas. Many of the basic concepts of social isolation and use of vernacular objects to fulfill mortuary needs are relevant to the examination of folk cemeteries in Georgia.

The Rural Cemetery

Type	Journal Article
Author	Naiomi R. Remes
Volume	5
Issue	4
Pages	52-55
Publication	Nineteenth Century
Date	1979

The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883

Type	Book
Author	Gary Laderman
Place	New Haven, Connecticut
Publisher	Yale University Press
Date	1996

The Search for Graves

Type	Journal Article
Author	Bruce W. Bevan
Volume	56
Issue	9
Pages	1310-1319
Publication	Geophysics
Date	1991

Abstract One of the first publications to deal specifically with cemeteries. Bevan used GPR and EM conductivity at nine different cemeteries in the U.S (diverse environmental settings). GPR tends to detect the bottom of the grave or the shaft. EM tends to detect grave shafts and/or metal (if in sufficient quantities in detectable range). Bevan concluded that there is no guarantee of success because of false positives and not detecting marked graves in certain cases. Although dated, this is an important article because it contains a range of cemetery types and has technical information assessing the results and it still holds relevance.

The Southern Folk Cemetery in Piedmont North Carolina

Type	Journal Article
Author	John W. Clauser, Jr.
Issue	Fall
Pages	2-7
Publication	North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office Newsletter
Date	1994

Abstract Clauser outlines the folk cemetery as it applies to North Carolina. He generally recognizes it as a rural phenomenon with an affinity for vernacular object use and adherence to traditional ideas. The concepts of folk that he applied to North Carolina cemeteries have applications to Georgia cemeteries.

The Southern Funeral Director: Managing Death in the New South

Type	Journal Article
Author	Charles R. Wilson
Volume	67
Issue	1
Pages	49-69
Publication	Georgia Historical Quarterly
Date	1983

Abstract This article provides a general history of the funeral director in the American South. It identifies major trends in business and while not specifically focused on Georgia, there are numerous references to Georgia firms. This document provides an excellent foundation for understanding the funeral director's role in the funeral industry.

The Upland South Cemetery: An American Type

Type	Journal Article
Author	Gregory D. Jeane
Volume	11
Pages	895-903
Publication	Journal of Popular Culture
Date	1978

Abstract This is Jeane's seminal paper where he outlines the basic features of the Upland South Cemetery. Jeane outlines cultural features that are common to all forms, noting that they are often found in rural, isolated landscapes and typically formed by Anglo-American communities.

The Upland South Folk Cemetery Complex: Some Suggestions of Origin

Type	Book Section
Book Title	Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture
Author	Gregory D. Jeane
Editor	Richard E. Meyer
Publisher	Utah State University Press
Pages	107-136
Date	1992

Abstract Jeane expands on his earlier concepts of the Upland South Folk Cemetery to infer that they developed from the cultural isolation of many southern rural areas. These communities held on to many of the ideas brought in during a region's frontier period and that these ideas form the foundation for more recent funeral traditions.

The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape

Type	Book
Author	Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov
Place	Santa Fe, New Mexico
Publisher	Center for American Places
Date	2003

Abstract The Upland South is defined and described as a cultural geographic region emphasized by specific landscapes, architecture, and communities. Among the features that make this region distinctive are the ways in which burial grounds are used. Jordan-Bychkov includes northern Georgia in the Upland South and features associated with Upland South cemeteries are relevant to understanding North Georgia's burial grounds.

The Use of Electromagnetic Induction in Locating Graves and Mapping Cemeteries: an Example from Native North America

Type	Journal Article
Author	Daniel P. Bigman
Volume	19
Pages	31-39
Publication	Archaeological Prospection
Date	2012

Abstract Bigman outlines the principles of EM induction and discusses why these principles could provide good data resolution at the Ocmulgee Funeral Mound. The survey successfully documented over 60 possible prehistoric graves and a few possible prehistoric or historic structures. There is a possibility that there may be some false positives and no testing was allowed on the site.

The Use of Scent-detection Dogs

Type	Journal Article
Author	Clare Browne
Author	Kevin Stafford
Author	Robin Fordham
Volume	59
Issue	2
Pages	97-104
Publication	Irish Veterinary Journal
Date	2006

Abstract A dog's olfactory organs are able to discriminate odors several times greater than the human nose. Canines have been trained to discriminate smells related to drugs, explosives, and living people; the scent detection dog has become an important component of law enforcement. These dogs can also be trained to identify human remains, including those buried for up to several centuries. This article provides an overview of canine scent detection that is useful for the layman and beginning researcher.

The Victorian Celebration of Death: The Architecture and Planning of 19th Century Necropolis

Type	Book
Author	James S. Curl
Place	New York
Publisher	Charles Scribner's Sons
Date	1980

Abstract The Victorian funeral ritual is one of the most complex forms observed in Western culture. Curl explores various aspects of the ritual, its background, and material results (cemeteries, attire, decoration, etc.). The focus of the book is on British interpretations, but much of the Victorian funeral was applicable to the United States. Curl devotes a chapter specifically to American versions. This book provides relevant insight into nineteenth-century Georgia cemeteries and funeral customs.

The Whole Death Catalog

Type	Book
Author	Harold Schechter
Place	New York, New York
Publisher	Ballentine Books
Date	2009

"They Laid Planks 'Crost the Coffins": The African Origin of Grave Vaulting in the United States

Type	Journal Article
Author	James M. Davidson
Volume	16
Issue	1
Pages	86-134
Publication	International Journal of Historical Archaeology
Date	2012

Abstract Davidson examined the two-stage or vaulted grave. This nineteenth century grave form is a common feature in many upland and rural cemeteries. Its origins are not well grounded. An extensive literature search points to the tradition as having its origins in West Africa. It may represent a practice that was acculturated by American communities through contact with enslaved and free West Africans.

This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War

Type	Book
Author	Drew Gilpin Faust
Place	New York
Publisher	Alfred A. Knopf
Date	2008

Abstract The enormous loss of life during the Civil War forced many Americans to reconsider their perceptions of death, funeral ritual, and spirituality. These changes had impacts on the way cemeteries and graves were memorialized. Aspects of the behavior addressed in this book can be found in many post-Civil War-era graves in Georgia.

To Claim One's Own: Death and the Body in Daily Politics of Antebellum Slavery

Type	Book Section
Editors	Craig Thomas Friend and Lorri Glover
Author	Warren, Jamie
Place	New York, NY
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Pages	110-130
Date	2015
Book Title	Death and the American South

To Serve the Living: Funeral Directors and the African American Way of Death

Type	Book
Author	Suzanne E. Smith
Place	Cambridge, Massachusetts
Publisher	The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
Date	2010

Abstract Smith outlines the role that the African American funeral director has played in society. Recognized as one of the first industries where African Americans were able to gain a foothold in business, funeral directors became important social and power brokers. Many times their influence was on par or exceeded that provided by church and other civic leaders. Smith's book outlines how early funerals were arranged and took place.

Using Land Trusts to Preserve Abandoned Graveyards in the American Southeast

Type	Thesis
Author	Jason Smith
Date	2001
University	University of Georgia

Vestiges of Mortality and Remembrance: A Bibliography on the Historical Archeology of Cemeteries

Type	Book
Author	Edward Bell
Place	Metuchen, New Jersey
Publisher	Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Date	1994

Abstract This bibliography provides a semi-comprehensive list of published and contract reports focusing on cemeteries, gravestone studies, and relevant examinations of human remains. The emphasis is placed on historic cemeteries. The volume is well indexed and includes materials prepared through the early 1990s.

Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present

Type	Book
Author	Philippe Ariès
Author	Patricia M. Ranum
Series	Johns Hopkins symposia in comparative history
Edition	John Hopkins pbk. ed
Place	Baltimore
Publisher	John Hopkins Univ. Press
Date	1975

When Roots Die, Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands

Type	Book
Author	Patricia Jones-Jackson
Place	Athens, Georgia
Publisher	University of Georgia Press
Date	1987

Abstract This article provides an overview of some of the cultural traditions associated with Georgia and South Carolina's coastal African American communities. There are numerous references to funerary traditions included in this text.

Where All Our Steps are Tending

Type	Book Section
Author	Stannard
Place	Stony Brook, NY
Publisher	Museums at Stony Brook
Date	1980
Book Title	A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America

Your Guide to Cemetery Research

Type	Book
Author	Sharon Debartolo Carmack
Place	Blue Ash, Ohio
Publisher	Betterway Books
Date	2002

Abstract Carmack's book is designed to teach the non-professional how to use a cemetery to learn genealogical, historical, and cultural information about a person or community. The text includes an overview of major ethnic groups in the U.S. and provides anecdotal information of unusual and colorful means of honoring the dead.