

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORIC POPULATION  
MOVEMENTS IN TUSCALOOSA COUNTY USING  
CEMETERY ANALYSIS

by

HILLARY SUZANNE BURT

IAN BROWN, COMMITTEE CHAIR  
MARYSIA GALBRAITH  
C. HOBSON BRYAN  
KEITH JACOBI

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## ABSTRACT

Data were gathered from 16 cemeteries in Tuscaloosa County, Alabama to see if historic population movements, like the Great Migration of African Americans from the rural areas of the South in the twentieth century, could be detected in cemeteries. To answer this question data were collected from White and Black cemeteries to understand the organization of family groups in cemeteries through the use of family plots and familial references. It was expected that Black cemeteries in rural areas would contain the fewest family plots and references, because this group was influenced by out-migration to the greatest extent. However, Black and White cemeteries in urban areas and White cemeteries in rural areas were expected to have the most family plots as these groups were less affected by out-migration. Numerous maps photographs, and data tables were compiled for each cemetery. White urban cemeteries had the most plots, Black urban cemeteries had the next highest, then White rural cemeteries, and Black rural cemeteries had the fewest plots. The plot counts from the cemeteries were then statistically analyzed based on the date of the plots and the location of the cemeteries. Interesting family burial patterns were also noted in some of the Black cemeteries that contained partially raised vault burials aligned in a stair-step pattern. Out-migration from the area appears to have prompted a decrease in family plots and the development of a new form of burial less reliant on stable immediate families in black cemeteries.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to everyone who supported and encouraged me throughout my studies. Especially my close friends and family who gave me steadfast support in all of my research endeavors.

## DEFENITIONS OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

$df$	Degrees of freedom: number of values free to vary after certain restrictions have been placed on the data
$F$	Fisher's $F$ ratio: A ratio of two variances
$M$	Mean: the sum of a set of measurements divided by the number of measurements in the set
$p$	Probability associated with the occurrence under the null hypothesis of a value as extreme as or more extreme than the observed value
$s$	Sample standard deviation: dispersion of the measurements around the mean
$t$	Computed value of $t$ test
$<$	Less than
$=$	Equal to

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to collect archaeological data from 16 cemeteries in the Black Warrior River drainage area of Northwest Tuscaloosa County in the state of Alabama in order to observe the similarities and differences between the White and Black material culture of death, and to discover if historic migrations out of the area can be detected via cemetery analysis. By material culture of death I mean the “visible above ground artifacts associated with mortuary activities like funerary monuments and cemetery landscapes” (Garman 1994: 74). Through the analysis of the material culture of death, anthropologists are able to discover how people, rich and poor, actually lived and died in the past, which is sometimes missed or misrepresented through the study of historical documents (Mythum 1989; Walters 1980). Cemeteries are very distinctive components of both urban and rural landscapes, and can be regarded as distinctive cultural landscapes, with definable visual characteristics (Francaviglia 1971).

These cemeteries consisted of a mix of 10 Black, cemeteries and six White cemeteries. Table 1 shows the names of the cemeteries, their number, and the ethnicity of the buried individuals at the cemetery. To avoid any confusion, the term Black will be used to refer to individuals of African-American descent and to describe their cemeteries. The term White will be used to describe individuals of European descent and their cemeteries. Once the data from the cemeteries were gathered, it was quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed to discover any physical distinctions found between these two ethnic groups in regards to their perspective material cultures of death. These physical differences were compared in order to discern what

this might mean regarding the cultural differences present in these two populations concerning mortuary practices, family organization, and community organization. The dynamic nature of the cemeteries was also judged to see any changes through time in the two cemetery populations and what this might mean culturally. In addition, the data gathered were analyzed according to the location of the cemetery to see if any differences exist in the material culture of death of urban and rural cemeteries. Through these methods I attempted to see if any distinctions in the material cultures of death of the two ethnicities are linked to cultural differences caused by out-migration from the area in the twentieth century.

### *Anthropological Significance*

This study is significant because it extends previous research methods into new populations and hopes to fill in gaps in cemetery scholarship concerning death and the organization of the family, and how this is represented in American cemeteries. There has been plenty of past scholarly research regarding the dynamic nature of American cemeteries (Francaviglia 1971; Sloane 2006) and Southeastern cemeteries (Jeane 1992). Studies detailing the material culture and layout of American cemeteries, and how these are related to a community's social organization and ethnicity, have also been performed (Barber 1993; Brooks 2011; Buckham 2003; Fenza 1989; Foster & Eckert 2003; Garman 1994; Little 1989). Additionally, ethnographic studies have been published concerning grief, ethnicity, and the American cemetery (Collins & Doolittle 2006; Combes 1974; Crocker 1971; Huntington & Metcalf 1979; Laurie & Neimeyer 2008; Powell & Dockall 1995; Thursby 2006).

Through the completion of this research project, the unique aspects of some historic and modern cemeteries in Tuscaloosa County, Alabama will be recorded and preserved for the

descendents of the dead interred in these cemeteries, future generations of cemetery scholars, cemetery enthusiasts, and citizens of Tuscaloosa County. This research is also significant because natural and human processes will eventually destroy these cemeteries, so the information they can yield will not last forever. Furthermore, the conclusions drawn from my

Table 1. Cemeteries Studied and Ethnicity of Buried Individuals

<b>Cemetery Number <sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Cemetery Name</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>
15-G-11	Big Creek	White
16-G-3	Coker	White
16-G-6	Spring Hill	Black
16-G-9	Beautiful Zion Church	Black
16-H-1	Williamson	White
16-H-2	Rice Hill	Black
16-H-10	West Highland Memorial	Black
16-H-11	Pine Ridge	Black
16-H-16	Taylorville Community	Black
17-G-1	Holly Springs Church	Black
17-G-2/3	Dry Creek/Zion Hill Churches	Black
17-G-4	Grants Creek Church	White
17-H-1	Little Sandy Church 1	White
17-H-2	Little Sandy Church 2	Black
17-H-5	Big Sandy Church	White
17-H-7	Little Center	Black

<sup>1</sup>Cemetery numbers were assigned by Ian W. Brown, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alabama, as part of the Marking Graves Project.

research might help with understanding some of the socioeconomic issues that have historically impacted Black populations, and help Black citizens who are retracing their family history find missing family members. The findings of my cemetery research are expected to enhance our understanding of historic population movements beyond what is seen in census records and other surveys.

### *Historical Significance*

Historical events in the country may have given rise to shifts in social organization and mortuary practices. I am attempting to find out if the Great Migration (1915-1960) influenced the material culture of death present in Black cemeteries. During this migration an estimated 5 million Blacks left the South (Goodwin 1990; Gregory 2005; Harrison 1991). For various economic and social reasons numerous Black agricultural workers left farming jobs in the rural portions of Tuscaloosa County and sought industrial employment in more urbanized areas and cities. As a result of population movements, many Black families in Tuscaloosa were probably physically broken up, severing close-knit family ties. The individuals that remained were likely inclined to fill the vacancies in their immediate families with broader affiliations across their kinship groups and the overall community. The Black church may have facilitated this reorganization (Nigh 1997), as many of the Black cemeteries surveyed were associated with churches (Table 1). I believe that this migration, and the loss of immediate family members, might be reflected in Black cemeteries in this region, especially in rural areas of the Black Warrior River Valley.

In this project it is very important to have consulted historic census information for Tuscaloosa County in order to understand how the Great Migration of Blacks out of the South

affected this particular area. Census data, compiled by the United States Census Bureau from 1900-1960, were analyzed. These decades seem to display the most significant volume of Black migrants out of the South (University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center 2004). The Tuscaloosa County census information is discussed in the fourth chapter where the social and historical data regarding the region under study and the archaeological data compiled from the specific cemetery sites are discussed in detail. According to the census data from 1900 to 1950 the Black population percentage for the county drops, especially from 1920 to 1950, with a brief increase in 1960 when most scholars feel the Great Migration ended (University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center 2004).

### *Summary of Approach*

The following chapters will attempt to describe more fully my particular approach to understanding physical differences in cemeteries and how these might be related to social and cultural distinctions. The main research question is to determine if the material culture of death displayed in the 16 cemeteries surveyed has any relationship to the ethnicity of the individuals buried in the cemetery, the location of the cemetery, and time of burial. In order to answer the main research question, three secondary questions guided my research concerning the data gathered from three distinct types of material culture relating to mortuary practices: family plots, familial references, and vault burial groups. Do ethnicity and location of the cemeteries determine the frequency of family plots, and does this frequency change through time? Do ethnicity and location of the cemeteries determine the frequency of familial references, are there any specific types of familial references, and do their frequencies change through time? Does

location of the Black cemeteries determine the frequency of vault burial groups, are there any specific types of vault burial groups, and do their frequencies change through time?

The next chapter will cover all of the relevant literature pertinent to this cemetery study, including the importance of cemetery analysis, previous studies concerned with the social demographics and types of social organization displayed in cemeteries, descriptions of Southern mortuary practices, and thorough descriptions of the three specific categories of the material culture of death analyzed. My study was principally focused on family plots, which are visible demarcations in cemeteries enclosing a group of graves belonging to related individuals (Jeane 1992: 116). These features were introduced to American cemeteries in the early nineteenth century and continue to be used today (Sloane 1991: 44-64). Family plots are also a common feature found in cemeteries throughout the Southeastern United States (Jeane 1992: 116). The third chapter gives a comprehensive report on the Great Migration and historic population movements in the twentieth century, including the particular economic and social factors that contributed to the migration of millions of Black Southerners out of this region. I expected that this loss of families and individual family members created voids in Black kinship affiliations and families.

My past work in the eastern portion of Tuscaloosa County has produced data on the material culture of death that appears to follow the general American pattern (Burt 2010). Family plots were found in many White cemeteries in the area, but family plots were not typically found in the Black cemeteries that I observed. In many rural Black cemeteries family plots are not the typical form of burial for most individuals (Burt 2010). In these cemeteries burials are seldom grouped by surname or surrounded by enclosures (Burt 2010). In fact, in my earlier survey I found and recorded only one demarcated Black family plot (Burt 2010), so I really was not able

to say anything definitive as to whether or not Black cemeteries deviate from the overall Anglo-American pattern. As a result of my past research, I began to suspect that this switch from close to broad kinship relations might be seen in the cemetery populations if I could just increase the sample to include more Black cemeteries, especially in the Black Warrior River region of Tuscaloosa County where agricultural employment once was high. By the same token, I expected that the distinctiveness of close-knit kinship ties in White cemeteries would remain constant throughout the twentieth century, since this population most likely remained in place and maintained stable kinship groups. Already in my earlier research I had evidence to suggest this was the case, but I had not looked at the cemeteries in the Black Warrior drainage system where the migration of Blacks would have been felt the most. Then, the Black cemetery data could be compared with White cemetery data from the same region to see if there are any differences.

The inscriptions on the markers are valuable resources in cemetery analysis, and much work has been done which utilizes this information. This research will also utilize the inscriptions on the markers for my analysis of familial and communal organization in cemeteries. Not only were the burial dates used to analyze change through time in the three distinctive aspects of material culture of death under study, the inscriptions on the monuments were also used to observe indications of social relationships. I have adopted the term “familial references” to describe instances where family relationships, or the consanguineal and legal relationships, of buried individuals are specified with grave marker inscriptions. It is important to note that the inscriptions were only considered familial references if the specific names of relatives were mentioned on the markers of another individual. These messages can be transcribed from the markers to discover kinship dynamics represented in the material culture of cemeteries, similar to

the family plots analysis previously outlined. Four types of familial references were found in my survey. One type describes inscriptions on the graves of women referencing their husbands, like “Jane Beloved Wife of John Smith”. Another variety distinguishes the markers of children with references to their parents’ names, like “Johnny Jr. Son of John and Jane Smith”. A third form of familial reference was found on the markers of men mentioning the names of their wives: “Charles Stone Husband of Elizabeth Stone”. The final kind of familial reference was found on the markers of women where the names of their husbands and parents are indicated, such as “Lydia Howell Wife of Robert Malone and Daughter of William and Katherine Howell.”

Another component of my project involved research concerning the burial arrangements present in Black cemeteries in the absence of family plots. My previous research in the area seems to indicate that in some rural Black cemeteries a different sort of burial organization is in place. Instead of placing individuals in established patches of land or family plots, the burials were placed in neat rows of partially raised vaults that form a stair-step pattern resembling a stairway, and these vault groupings can incorporate a much larger group of individuals than most family plots (Burt 2010). Through my current research I attempted to discover if the individuals buried in these “stair-step” vault groups are related family members or more distant members of the community by examining the surnames of the individuals buried in the groups. My research also focused on determining if these “steps” are arranged in any specific pattern according to the average date of burial in the vault groups and the urban or rural location of the cemetery.

The third chapter discusses the Great Migration and historic population movements associated with the Southern Black population in greater detail. The socioeconomic precedents set in the nineteenth century are explained. Then, the specific social and economic reasons are put forward to explain why the Great Migration occurred. Census data for the area are also

included in order to show how the migrations out of the area decreased the proportion of the Southern population that was Black.

The fourth chapter gives a complete explanation of the research methodology I employed, specifically the research study design, sampling strategy, field methods, variables measured, and statistical analyses used. Each cemetery was surveyed to discover any displays of kinship affiliations that may have existed. Numerous photographs and maps were compiled to find any distinctions in the family plot, familial reference, or vault burial group data. The fifth chapter pays particular attention to the specific region and cemetery sites in my study. The number of family plots, familial references, and vault burial groups are given for each cemetery so that some of the unique aspects of these cemeteries can be observed. The information gathered from the burial configurations of kin groups and the inscriptions on the markers were separated into four cemetery populations. These groups were created by combining the variables of ethnicity and location, which produced four cemetery types representing four different subcultures: White urban cemeteries, White rural cemeteries, Black urban cemeteries, and Black rural cemeteries. The four cemetery types were compared in order to understand the relationship between the family plot, familial reference, and vault burial group data according to the variables of time, ethnicity, and location. By analyzing the four cemetery types I hoped to understand if the four subcultures associated with each type were influenced by out-migration during the twentieth century, as seen through the material culture of death utilized by each group. I also attempted to reconstruct the types of familial burial configurations found in the cemeteries. This study might yield an anthropological reconstruction of population movements in this area without having to analyze the cemeteries in their entirety.

The sixth chapter is the statistical analyses and results section of my study. In it are presented my predictions concerning the data associated with the three kinds of material culture of death in the analysis, and the data's relationship to the variables of time, ethnicity, and location. Aside from the frequency distributions, descriptive statistics, and inferential statistics were used to understand the relationship between the average dates of burial in the plots for each cemetery type to observe change through time. The associations between cemetery type, familial reference frequencies, date of familial references on markers, and type of familial references were also statistically analyzed. Any connection between the locations of Black cemeteries, the frequency of vault burials, average date of burial in vault groups, and types of vault burial groupings were statistically analyzed. Finally, the seventh and final chapter discusses the results, conclusions, limitations, and implications of my research, and recommendations for future research to improve upon this analysis.

### *Hypotheses and Findings*

Based on information derived from the scholarly literature and past cemetery research I performed in other portions of Tuscaloosa county (Burt 2010), I predicted that Whites in the Black Warrior River drainage area would display their nuclear family relations more so than Blacks in the region. Whites maintained greater immediate family stability and were more prone to display close kinship ties through the use of demarcated family plots and familial references on the inscriptions of individual markers, thus distinguishing kin groups from the rest of the cemetery population and asserting their unique family identity. For the Black cemetery population, I expected community connections to be more emphasized, as evidenced by material culture of death present in their cemeteries. I believe this change was brought about by an

amalgamation of economic and social forces, called the Great Migration, which pushed Black agricultural laborers out of the rural areas surrounding Tuscaloosa and towards cities, which needed an industrial labor force. The findings suggest that family plots are more common in White cemeteries compared to Black cemeteries.

My other hypotheses compared the material culture of death found in the four established cemetery types. I predicted that White urban cemeteries would have higher family plot and familial reference frequencies than any other cemetery type. Moreover, the frequencies would not decrease through time, since this group was least influenced by out-migration caused by the Great Migration in the twentieth century. As a result these cemeteries and people would be more likely to display family relationships in the material culture of death present in their cemeteries. I also hypothesized that White rural cemeteries would have the second highest frequencies of family plots and familial references, which would not decrease through time, because this group would be less influenced by out-migration compared to Blacks. Black urban cemeteries were expected to have the third highest frequencies for family plots and familial references. These frequencies were expected to decrease from 1920-1950 since these were the peak years of out-migration from the area for Blacks. Black rural cemeteries were expected to have the lowest frequencies of family plots and familial references, especially from 1920-1950. For various economic and social reasons, this group was most likely influenced by out-migration to the greatest extent of any other subculture under study. Interestingly enough, the findings seem to imply that ethnicity might not be the only variable that could influence the display of family ties in the material culture of death. In some cases the location of the cemetery was also a contributing factor. Since close-knit family members were leaving, the individuals in the Black community had to extend their kinship networks to include more distant family members and

community members still living in the area. This switch from close to broad kinship ties was expected to be seen in the decrease of family plot and familial reference frequencies, and the development of unique partially raised vault burial patterns in some Black cemeteries. The next chapter will discuss the relevant background literature involved in this research in regards to cemetery analysis.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND LITERATURE ON CEMETERY ANALYSIS

#### *Importance of Cemetery Research*

The study of death-related behavior has been of critical importance to many of the theoretical developments in anthropology and archaeology since the inception of the disciplines (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 5). In the field of anthropology it has been noted that death and its rituals not only reflect social values, but also are an important force in shaping them (Geertz 1973: 94-98). By paying close attention to the symbolic and sociological contexts of the corpse, the most profound explanations of the meaning of death and life in almost any society can be discovered (Hertz 1960; Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 17). In archaeology, grave assemblages were essential to research about early humanity and through analysis of the remains of symbolic activity of our ancestors (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 5). In fact, mortuary features are often the most impressive and revealing remains of early civilizations. Structures designed for the dead seem to provide special information about the ideologies and values of ancient societies (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 6). The study of cemeteries and mortuary features have been of the utmost importance to archaeological analysis since its beginnings in studies of ancient civilizations like the Greeks, Romans, Mesopotamians, and Egyptians (Stiebing 1993). The study of death remains is important in modern archaeology, and many new studies are concerned with the analysis of historic and modern cemeteries (Stiebing 1993: 270-271).

Cemetery analysis is a growing scholarly field, closely connected to historical archaeology, which has been steadily expanding in the past fifty years (Walters 1980). There is a

large body of literature that utilizes the data gathered from cemeteries and graveyards (Marr 2006: 93). Numerous scholarly works have focused on some aspect of grave marker iconography (Collier 2003; Gorman and DiBlasi 1981; Gabel 1994; Rainville 1999; Tarlow 2005) or on a specific cemetery (Broman 2001; Davidson 1998; Francaviglia 2006; Hobbs 2005; Sledge 1994 and 2002). Many scholars have analyzed the history of American cemeteries and their changes through time in both their mortuary architecture and geographic layout (Darnall 1983; Deetz 1977; Francaviglia 1971; Jackson & Vergara 1989; Sloane 1991). Through the analysis of the material remains of individuals, or the material culture of death, archaeologists are able to discover how people, rich and poor, actually lived and died in the past, which is sometimes missed or misrepresented through the study of historical documents (Mythum 1989; Walters 1980). Again, the material culture of death has been defined as, “the visible, above-ground artifacts associated with mortuary activities like funerary monuments and cemetery landscapes” (Garman 1994: 74).

Cemeteries and graveyards are very distinctive components of both urban and rural landscapes, and can be regarded as distinctive cultural landscapes, with definable visual characteristics (Francaviglia 1971). Cemeteries are often distinguished from graveyards in scholarship concerning the material culture of death. A “cemetery” is the term used to distinguish a place set apart for the burial of the dead (Strangstad 1995: 6). On the other hand, the term “graveyard” is used to describe early cemeteries and historical burial grounds, like churchyard burials, family graveyards associated with plantations, and small rural burying grounds from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Strangstad 1995: 6). Cemeteries reflect an area’s social, cultural, demographic, and economic structure and, because most are used for very long periods of time, cemeteries capture temporal changes in these structures (Marr 2006:

93). Demographic and mortality information can be easily recorded from grave markers and can give insight into social changes in greater detail than is found in early census records (Marr 2006: 93; Stockton 2003). It has been established by scholars that American cemeteries as a whole have undergone the same architectural and geographical evolution regardless of geographic location, because these patterns are deeply ingrained in the American mind (Francaviglia 1971; Sloane 1991). Sloane established a basic typology and timeline for American cemeteries, and he explained the dynamic history of the cemeteries by presenting the concept of an American “mosaic of death” containing a vast diversity of burial customs and places (2006: 1-3). Moreover, he asserts that this mosaic reflects many of the dynamic aspects of American culture including technology, business practices, demographics, cultural norms, social relationships, and material culture (Sloane 1991: 1-3).

### *History of American Cemeteries*

American cemetery traditions and transformations began around the time of the American Revolution when centrally located graveyards were removed to the outer fringes of growing communities (Sloane 1991: 13-43). An example of one of these early graveyards is the Old Burying Ground in Cambridge, Massachusetts, shown in Figure 1. Notice that the graves are arranged into clusters, and some scholars have found that these clusters were family groups (Brown 1992).



Figure 1. The Old Burying Ground in Cambridge, Massachusetts

In 1831 the rural cemetery movement occurred with the creation of Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In this movement overcrowded graveyards were replaced by cemeteries with a picturesque, natural garden atmosphere located in the suburbs. The purpose of these new cemeteries was to exhibit the best that nature and society had to offer (Sloan 2006: 44-64). This change dynamically affected how cemeteries were constructed, utilized, and viewed by the American public (Sloane 1991: 44-64). Their picturesque landscape, large ornate tombs, and emphasis on nature distinguish rural garden cemeteries (Figure 2). During their height of popularity, many tourists flocked to the scenic grounds (Darnall 1983; French 1974; Penny 1974; Sloan 2006: 55).

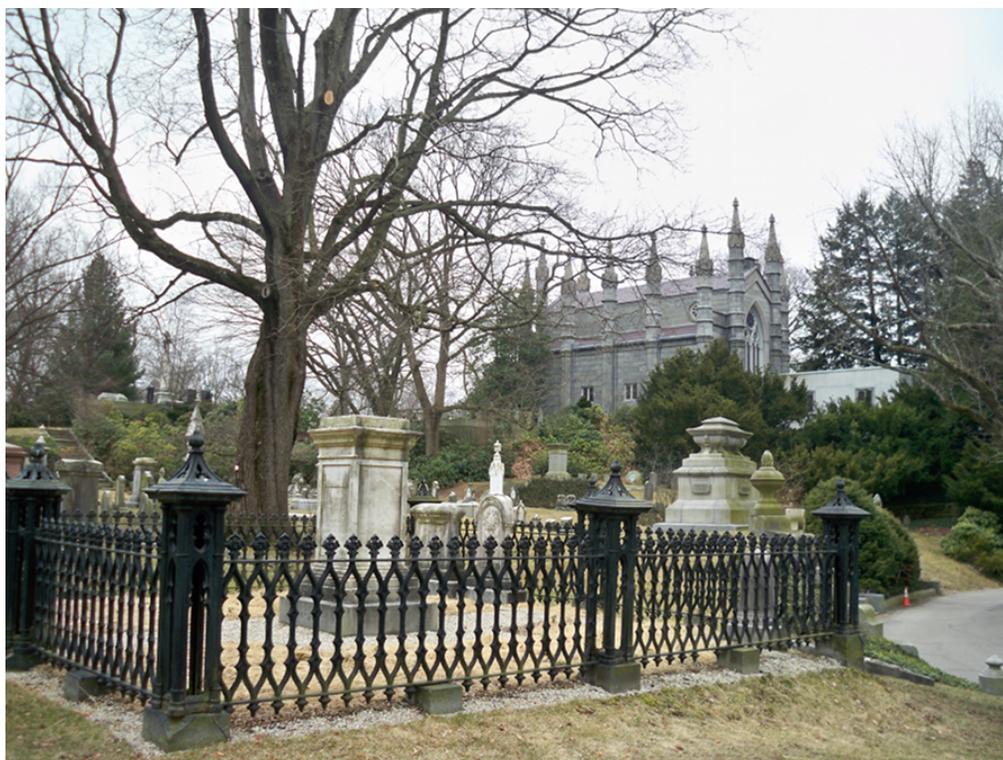


Figure 2. Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts

The use of the word “cemetery” instead of the traditional term “graveyard” suggests death as a type of sleep and a transition from mortal life to eternal life, which coincided with the religious and patriotic ideals of the period (Sloan 2006: 55). It is in the rural garden cemeteries, created from 1831 through the 1870s, that well-defined family plots first began to be utilized. It was a means for affluent families to show their wealth by adorning lots with ornate vegetation, tombs, and mausoleums (Sloan 2006: 53). The family plot was the focus of rural garden cemeteries, and in many later cemeteries family plots continued to be the focal point of their material culture and layout until modern times (Sloan 2006: 70).

Around 1850 the overcrowding and spatial confusion of rural cemeteries prompted new cemetery designers to create more rational, effective landscape designs and material culture in lawn-park cemeteries (Sloane 1991: 99). These cemeteries were more pastoral and park-like, were located in the suburbs, and had less ornate material culture (Sloan 2006: 4-5). The paradigm of this cemetery type was created in 1855 in Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio (Sloan 2006: 4-5). However, large family plots and monuments continued to be utilized in these cemeteries, and new Classical, Egyptian, and Gothic revival styles became very popular (Sloan 2006: 77).

Rural garden cemeteries and lawn park cemeteries denote social stratification and elitism, as reflected in staunch dissimilarities between elite and commoner gravestone and tomb size, material, decoration, epitaph, and placement within the cemetery (Little, Lanphear & Owsley 1992). In these cemeteries nuclear families enclosed within elaborate family plots were the basis of organization (Sloane 1991: 93). These cemeteries were drastically different from traditional colonial graveyards where the community was highly emphasized and family members would often be scattered among their neighbors (Sloane 1991: 93). However, other research has asserted that while it may be true for some colonial graveyards, there is far more of a tendency for families to be buried together (Brown 1992). In 1917 the memorial park cemetery type was created in an attempt to make the cemetery less stratified, more accessible, more comfortable, and more focused on the actual landscape (Sloane 1991: 159-190). Strict rules and regulations drastically decreased the architectural presence of social stratification, and the smaller more discrete markers seem to indicate that Americans were becoming more removed from death (Sloane 1991: 159-190). There are many cemeteries that resemble this cemetery type in Tuscaloosa County, Tuscaloosa Memorial Park Cemetery, being an example (Figure 3). Notice

how many families are arranged around large standing markers displaying their surname. Each individual grave is marked with discrete flush-with-the-ground markers.



Figure 3. Tuscaloosa Memorial Park Cemetery

Based on my previous research, it appeared that many White cemeteries in Tuscaloosa County adhere to these mainstream trends to a certain extent, but Black cemeteries appear to deviate from these movements in some ways (Burt 2010). Some of the cemeteries in this study were constructed in the rural garden cemetery type and, through time, transformed into a more lawn-park cemetery type. Eventually memorial park cemeteries developed in the twentieth century. Some of the cemeteries in this study are more recent and resemble the memorial park type of cemetery, with the exception that some of them contain family plots. With all of this diversity, a more thorough examination of Southern cemeteries is in order.

### *Previous Research on Southern Cemeteries*

While some people contend that American cemeteries have undergone the same general changes through time (e.g. Sloane 1991), cemetery scholarship has also established the presence of marked differences in American cemeteries dependent on region (Jeane 1987; Jeane 1992; Jordan 1982; Jordan-Bychkov 2003) and ethnicity (Brooks 2001; Foster & Eckert 2003; Garman 1994; Jamieson 1995; Little 1989; Meyer 1993; Nigh 1997). Previous scholarship has been dedicated to the study of the dynamic nature of American cemeteries situated in the southern portion of the country and their history (Jeane 1987; Jeane 1992; Jordan 1982; Jordan-Bychkov 2003). Scholars of the South have established various complexes and typologies to describe the material culture of death found in the region.

Cemetery scholar Gregory Jeane has pointed out that these cemeteries are a complex of cultural traits significant for an association of traits rather than for any single identifying element. He calls it the Upland South Cemetery Complex (Jeane 1992), the Upland South being defined as the region of the Southern United States. Cemeteries in this region are characterized by hilltop location, scraped (or grassless) ground, mounded graves, east to west grave orientations (with the feet facing east), creative decorations, preferred species of vegetation, the use of grave shelters, and cults of piety (1992: 107-108). All of the cemeteries studied fall into this cemetery complex.

Jeane identifies three phases of evolution beginning in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century for Upland South folk cemeteries: pioneer, transitional, and modern. He points out that the diversity and transformations of the basic types provide insight into both the shifting attitudes toward death and the changing material expression of those attitudes through time (1992: 108). The “Pioneer Phase” of the Southern Folk Cemetery is identified by all of the

features of folk cemeteries listed above. It is associated with the initial settlement of most of the Upland South in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and was well established across much of the South by the 1830s, even though today the origins and rationale for use of these particular traits have been lost to modern generations (Jeane 1992: 111; 115). The Southern cemetery then entered a period of transition spanning a lengthy time period that is still occurring today in some Southern cemeteries (Jeane 1992: 116).

The “Transition Phase” begins in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is widely distributed throughout the region and is characterized by a visible demarcation of family plots, a mixture of scraped plots and grassy interspaces, new species of preferred vegetation, a decline in creative decorations, and the virtual disappearance of organized cults of piety (Jeane 1992: 116), as at Williamson Cemetery in Northport (Figure 4). This particular phase is very important to my study since family plots are introduced and physical manifestations of social stratification begin to be seen. The “Transition Phase” lasted until about World War II. During this time new ideas about cemetery care were brought into the region due to rapid urbanization both inside and outside the South, increased use of automobiles, and the restructuring of local employment. These changes signified the start of the modern phase in Southern cemeteries (Jeane 1992: 119).



Figure 4. Williamson Cemetery

The “Modern Phase” has two landscape expressions: a rural version of the urban memorial garden and the true perpetual care mortuary complex (Jeane 1992: 119). The rural version of the urban memorial garden type contains vestiges of the transition phase. For example, all graves have grass on them, some plots still have fencing or coping, most graves have standardized commercial gravestones with new decorations and an absence of epitaphs, and plastic flowers and personal items are both present and abundant (Jeane 1992: 120). The perpetual care form of the folk cemetery is characterized by the disappearance of family plot enclosures, the presence of grass across the entire cemetery, the replacement of creative and personal decorations with only artificial flowers to be placed in specified receptacles, and maintenance responsibilities are now relegated to paid staff members (Jeane 1992: 120). This phase is also important to the study, because many of the cemeteries that I studied fall within the modern phase. I should say that, only rural versions of the urban memorial garden type

cemeteries were analyzed in my study since they contain family plots. Perpetual care cemeteries do not contain family plots, so no cemeteries of this type were included in my survey of Tuscaloosa County. An example of a rural memorial garden type cemetery found in this survey is Coker Cemetery (Figure 5). The more modern arrangement of families being grouped around surname stones with individual flush-with-the-ground markers is present, but family plots are still used.



Figure 5. Coker Cemetery

Other scholars have used Jeane's Upland South folk cemetery complex to classify the cemeteries found in various regions of the South. One of the more notable applications of this model was performed by Terry Jordan-Bychkov in his cultural geographic survey of the cemeteries of the Upland South (2003) and in Texas (Jordan 1982). Jordan described the particular traits that characterize Southern folk cemeteries in and cemeteries in Texas (Jordan

1982: 13-40). Jordan felt that the cemeteries of the South are “cultural conglomerates” containing contributions from the three main cultures that have populated the South: African Americans, Native Americans, and European Americans (1982: 14). Jordan then attempted to discover the origins for some of the traits found in Southern cemeteries, like the scraping of the cemetery grounds, the types of planted vegetation, the kinds of memorabilia left at grave sites, burial arrangements of married couples, grave houses, family plots, perimeter fences, and lichgates (1982: 17).

While the similarities present in cemeteries across the South have been adequately described and explained by these scholars, the differences present in the Upland South folk cemetery complex have not been sufficiently explored, especially with regard to the differences in Black cemeteries when compared to the more mainstream White cemeteries in the region. Therefore, a more elaborate description of the features and traits associated with Southern Black cemeteries is in order.

#### *Previous Research on Black Cemeteries and Vault Burials*

The synthetic literature on Black burial practices began with H. Carrington Bolton’s description of the various forms of grave decoration practiced by Blacks in South Carolina, which was published in 1891 in *The Journal of American Folklore* (p. 214). In this article Bolton describes the types of objects utilized by Blacks in their grave decorations, including oyster-shells, white pebbles, fragments of pottery, and glass bottles. A response to this article was written a year later by Ernest Ingersoll, who added further descriptions of the burial customs of Blacks in Columbia, South Carolina, especially with regard to the breaking of favored objects of the deceased (1892: 68-69). These practices appear to have survived since that time and are still

performed in some areas of the South today (Brooks 2011; Little 1989). A couple of years later Mary A. Waring wrote a similar article in the same journal discussing the funeral rituals and beliefs of Blacks. She described the funeral procession, beliefs about spirits, and rituals undertaken to prevent spirits from haunting the living members of the community (Waring 1894: 318-319). These writings on Black burial practices commented on the mortuary behaviors observed and attempted to catalog these African customs. This early work laid the groundwork for later analyses of Black mortuary behavior.

The evolution of the burial practices and arrangements in Black cemeteries became a topic of interest for many cemetery scholars, beginning with descriptions of historic slave cemeteries and burial practices. Traditionally, slave cemeteries were typically situated on marginal boggy lands. Perhaps they were placed there because the land could not be used for cultivation (Wright and Hughes 1996:40-45), maybe as an indication of the secondary status in America, or possibly because marshy areas contained water, which was considered a vehicle for spirit travel after death (Trinkley 1996: 4-9). The physical layout of slave cemeteries was less manicured and designed than White cemeteries. Trees in slave cemeteries were not planted for an aesthetically pleasing space and graves were not organized into neat rows (Trinkley 1996: 4-9). Also, burial near one's family was more important than the establishment and ownership of a specific family plot in slave cemeteries (Trinkley 1996: 4-9), and graves were crowded together to ensure there was room for the entire slave community (Wright and Hughes 1996: 18-22).

African burial traditions brought to America evolved over time due to exposure to White culture and Christianity, which changed the burial customs and arrangement of Black cemeteries. Some of the changes included east-to-west grave orientation (with the feet placed to the east), usage of plants, and the presence of artificial flowers and other modern decorations (Trinkley

1996: 9-13; Wright and Hughes 1996: 18-22). Some scholars believe the east-to-west burial orientation was purposeful so that the deceased could face God on judgment day (Wright and Hughes 1996: 18-22). Other sources have suggested that the east-to-west burial orientation was designed so that the deceased could look towards Africa (Trinkley 1996: 4-9). Plants were sometimes used as markers in slave cemeteries, or used in conjunction with wooden or stone markers as adornment for the graves (Conner 1989: 51-55). Yucca plants were used to keep the spirit in the grave due to its spiny, prickly appearance (Trinkley 1996: 4-9); cedars were planted upon graves so that the roots could penetrate the grave and help the soul to the spirit world; and, later, evergreens were planted symbolizing eternal life in the Christian tradition (Thompson 1983: 138). The tradition of planting specific vegetation in slave cemeteries has evolved to the use of artificial flowers for grave ornamentation, perhaps because of its affordability, availability, and durability. It is now a common feature in modern Black cemeteries (Conner 1989: 51-55). Another addition from White American culture was the practice of using clocks as grave decoration, but the clocks were used in the African tradition and sometimes the clock hands would be stopped at the time of the individual's death (Vlach 1991: 145).

The overlap of White and Black culture has also been noted in their uses of modern headstones (Vlach 1991). Wood and stone markers were available in historic times, and concrete and metal markers became more common as time went on (Conner 1989: 51-55; Little 1989a: 234-268). Stone and concrete markers were the most widely used types of markers in the White and Black cemeteries visited in my Tuscaloosa County survey. Concrete, wood, and metal markers appear to be more prominent in Black cemeteries than White cemeteries in general (Conner 1989: 51-55), which also was observed in my survey. While these types of markers are

less expensive than stone markers, it is important to remember that cost might not necessarily be the only motivation for using these materials (Little 1989a: 234-268; Rotundo 1997).

Modern Black cemeteries are usually found in wooded areas with a large amount of undergrowth present. Burials are arranged in the east-to-west orientation and they are not aligned in neat rows like in White cemeteries (Little 1989b: 106). This suggests a blending of African and Christian burial traditions, as at the Rice Hill Cemetery (Figure 6). Notice the unkempt appearance of the grounds caused by the undergrowth and uneven burial rows. Note also the yucca plants in the right background. Family burials tend to be loosely grouped and are seldom enclosed into family plots. The more typical unit of enclosure is the individual grave (Little 1989b: 106).



Figure 6. Rice Hill Cemetery

Markers tended to be made by local Black craftsmen using inexpensive materials. These markers are emotionally direct in the inscriptions, epitaphs, and pictorial symbols (Little 1989b: 103). Four basic kinds of markers have been noted in modern Black cemeteries: grave mounds, head and foot markers, grave enclosures, and grave sculptures (1989b: 103). Grave mounds consist of piled dirt and stones covering the extent of the grave. They are typically found in conjunction with other types of markers. During the 1960s flat concrete slabs on top of concrete grave vaults came into use and have continued to be quite popular in Black cemeteries. They have never been popular in White southern cemeteries however (1989b: 109). Concrete vault burials are also very popular in the Tuscaloosa County cemeteries I surveyed, as seen at Rice Hill (Figure 7). Some of these vault burials were even arranged in specific patterns, which I will discuss later in the last chapter. Based on all this information, it appears that White cemeteries and Black cemeteries display very different material cultures of death, and these differences might be related to social differences. Now I will describe some previous studies that focused on the analysis of cemeteries and burial practices to inform about a group's social organization.



Figure 7. Vault Burials at Rice Hill Cemetery

*Previous Studies on Cemeteries, Burial Practices, and Social Organization*

Some cemetery scholarship has been dedicated to the analysis of the material culture of death and how this might reflect differences in social organization between different populations. These types of studies have been performed throughout the United States (Fenza 1989; Foster & Eckert 2003; Garman 1994; Barber 1993) and Europe (Buckham 2003). Of particular importance to this study is the research performed by Foster and Eckert in their socio-historical reconstruction of a Black community based on cemetery data from Coles County, Illinois (2003). The researchers analyzed the variables of ethnicity, sex, age, year of birth, year of death, and whether the deceased were buried with others of the same surname or interred as isolates, in order to profile the Black community, and to compare Black and White communities in the rural Midwest in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Foster & Eckert 2003: 473). The researchers found that the Black community was not highly developed, not very stable, was a mobile population, and persisted and grew. Moreover, compared to the White community, the average age of the Black population was much younger because they did not live as long in adulthood. The Black community also exhibited a seasonal mortality pattern peaking in late summer (Foster & Eckert 2003: 486). It was found that the person-surname ratio for Blacks was much smaller compared to Whites, meaning that there were more individuals with the same surname in White cemeteries. That might imply that the Black community was less developed, integrated, or stable than the White community (Foster and Eckert 2003: 485). Further familial insight was gathered based on isolate burials, or surnames of individuals appearing only once in a cemetery, and their research found that there is a significantly greater proportion of Black isolates, thus supporting the idea of a tentative and marginal Black community (Foster & Eckert 2003: 486). The authors note that the lack of stability in the Black community was most likely caused by their new arrival

into the area from the Southern parts of the United States (Foster & Eckert 2003: 488). Similar methods utilized by these researchers have been applied to this study in order to discover relationships between social structure and cemeteries in Tuscaloosa County. Their conclusions will be compared to my analysis in order to test the validity of the approach, as well as regional differences between Southern and Midwestern populations. Perhaps both Foster and Eckert's cemetery analyses and my own support the idea that historic Black migrations in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries influenced the burial patterns of Blacks.

It is also important to make note of cemetery studies dedicated to the combination of ethnographic and archaeological research concerning cemeteries and death (Combes 1974; Collins & Doolittle 2006; Crocker 1971; Powell & Dockall 1995; Thursby 2006). Upon comparison of accounts concerning Southern White death practices (Crocker 1971) and Southern Black death practices (Collins & Doolittle 2006), more similarities than differences can be drawn. Both groups seem to view death as a transition to another existence and not as an end of being (Collins & Doolittle 2006: 962; Crocker 1971: 126). Also, both groups state that a funeral and burial with respect, typically involving a church, are necessary (Collins & Doolittle 2006: 965; Crocker 1971: 120). The main differences between the two populations seem to lie in their attitudes towards funeral attendance and the prescribed mourning period (Collins & Doolittle 2006; Crocker 1971). In Southern White culture the act of mourning is always associated with "blood ties", those with a close biological relationship to the deceased, even though all community members, friends, and more distant family relations are encouraged to attend the funeral service (Crocker 1971: 120-121). In Southern Black culture, on the other hand, the act of mourning and funeral attendance by immediate and extended families, fictive kin, and the broader kin network is encouraged, because even though an individual might not have a blood

relationship to the deceased the community connection is still strong (Collins & Doolittle 2006: 963). It is not uncommon in the Black kinship model for a grandparent, aunt, or uncle to have assumed a parent, brother, cousin, or sister role, which might strengthen broader family relationships than what is seen in Anglo-American kinship models (Collins & Doolittle 2006: 964). According to a psychological study by Laurie and Neimeyer in Tennessee, Blacks experienced greater grief for the loss of extended kin beyond the immediate family and maintained a stronger continuing bond with the deceased than did White Americans (2008: 173). These features of Black kinship structure might explain the almost haphazard burial placements and the lack of defined lineal family plots in Black cemeteries in Tuscaloosa County, since their mourning practices are focused on more than just nuclear family members. The similarities and differences in features that typify the Southern White death ways and Southern Black death ways seem to follow the established differences in the two types of cemeteries, where the immediate family relationships are more pronounced in White cemeteries than in Black cemeteries. This idea will be explored in further detail in the following chapters. The distinctive material cultures of death found in White and Black cemeteries seem to indicate two forms of social organization. Nuclear families are more emphasized in White cemeteries, with broader family and community connections displayed in Black cemeteries. My research focused on three specific types of material culture: family plots, familial references, and vault burial patterns. The previous literature concerning vault burials in Black cemeteries was already presented earlier in this chapter. Literature pertaining to the analysis of family plots and familial references will now be presented.

### *Analysis of Family Plots and Familial References*

Cemeteries are very distinctive components of both urban and rural landscapes, and can be regarded as distinctive cultural landscapes, with definable visual characteristics (Francaviglia 1971). One of the more distinctive and easily definable characteristics of American cemeteries is the presence of family plots. Family plots are visible demarcations in cemeteries enclosing a group of graves. Although the materials enclosing the graves can vary, typically the individuals interred within the boundaries of the enclosure are thought to be a group of related individuals (Jeane 1992: 116). Family plots were first introduced during the rural cemetery movement in the nineteenth century. They continued to be utilized in lawn-park cemeteries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and are found in some modern cemeteries today (Sloane 1991: 44-64).

The presence of family plots in any cemetery gives the viewer an impression of a distinct, defined space set apart from the rest of the cemetery population. Within this specific space a group of closely related individuals are buried. In fact, some of the enclosed plots in cemeteries are so distinctive they can easily be viewed in the aerial maps compiled for the respective cemetery. Within the plots themselves, if enough biographical information is given on the marker inscriptions a unique genealogical pattern can be seen, and it becomes easy to chart the passage of time through the generations of a defined kinship group. By placing a border around the burials the individuals are basically asserting their unique identity as a close-knit family unit.

Family plots have been found in many White cemeteries across the country since the nineteenth century (Sloane 1991: 44-64). Family plots have also been regarded as part of the Upland South Cemetery complex (Jeane 1992: 116), the feature having originated during the transition phase in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It continues to be present in

many of the cemeteries across the South. Terry Jordan (1982: 17, 31) asserted that there might have been some African cultural origins for this practices, but the most likely origin of family plots is from American Frontiersmen practices and innovations in the early years of European migration across the Southeast fostered by frontier isolation. Regardless of the origins of family plots in Southern cemeteries, its presence seems to be a universal characteristic of the region (Jordan 1982: 31). An example of a family plot found in a White cemetery is given in Figure 8, and an example of a Black family plot is given in Figure 9. Notice the subtle differences in the enclosures and the marker materials.



Figure 8. White Family Plot in Grants Creek Church Cemetery



Figure 9. Black Family Plot in West Highland Memorial Cemetery

My past work in the eastern portion of Tuscaloosa County produced data on family plots that follow the patterns seen in Southern cemeteries (Burt 2010). Family plots were found in many White cemeteries in the area, but were not typically found in the Black cemeteries that I observed. This observation alone leads me to agree with Jordan that European-American origins of family plots is more likely than origins in African culture. However, I would not trace the origins of family plots as far back into antiquity as he does. In my previous survey I found and recorded only one demarcated Black family plot (Burt 2010). Based on the results of my preliminary survey, I concluded that Black cemeteries deviate from the overall Anglo-American pattern. Due to the lack of explicitly stated physical kinship boundaries, I hypothesized that Blacks display community relationships more than nuclear family relationships in their cemeteries. Moreover, because family plots are more often found in White cemeteries, I also

hypothesized that greater importance is placed on the immediate family and less emphasis is placed on community relationships.

A great deal of cemetery research has focused on the epitaphs and written inscriptions found upon cemetery markers (Hamscher 2003; Huber 1984; Solomon 2004). My research will make use of the historical information applied to grave markers. Whereas the inscription comprises all of the writing on the marker, the epitaph is more particular in that it does not include the genealogical relationships of the deceased (Solomon 2004: 30). These explicitly stated family relationships of buried individuals on their grave markers, which I have called “familial references”, are a component of my study. These informative inscriptions are noted attributes of Southern cemeteries, implying that establishing kinship ties is important to many Southerners in historic times (Jordan 1982: 58). Perhaps this is due to the fact that before the twentieth century nuclear family bonds were very important to Southern social organization and kinship structure.

Through my current research, I found four kinds of familial references on the grave markers that were analyzed. The four categories will be discussed and photographic examples of each will be provided below. The most popular type was on the graves of children referencing their parents. An interesting example of this type is seen at Big Creek Cemetery (Figure 10). It shows the joint marker of two siblings: Trimm A. Son of W.L. & E.L. George 1881-1898 and Alma N. Daughter of W. & E.L. George 1888-1897. It is very easy to find both their parents and their siblings since the family members are all buried in the same family plot.



Figure 10. Children referencing their parents type of familial reference

The second most popular type of familial reference found were inscribed on the markers of women mentioning their husband's names. On older markers it might read, "Consort of..." and in more recent times it transformed into the common phrase, "Wife of...", as seen on the marker of Dovie Mitchell Wife of B.A. Smith 1873-1839 in Big Sandy Church Cemetery (Figure 11). Many markers of this type were found in my survey, and it appears that it was very common for the families of these women to indicate the names of their husbands on the grave markers.



Figure 11. Wife referencing her husband type of familial reference

The third most common type of familial reference was on the markers of women referencing both their husbands and their parents. It appears that it was quite common for a considerable amount of genealogical information to be placed on women's tombstones especially prior to the twentieth century. This includes mentioning parents' and husbands' names. An example of this type can be seen on the marker of Martha E. Daughter of John W. & Martha Beall & Consort of Jeremiah Doughty 1822-1838 in Big Creek Cemetery (Figure 12).



Figure 12 Example of wife referencing both her parents and husband type of familial reference

The least common type of familial reference found in this survey was on the markers of men referencing the names of their wives. Apparently it was not as popular for the surviving wives or children of the men to make familial references on their markers as it was for women. This might mean the genealogical connections of men were not important enough to state, or they were unnecessary since the families of the deceased men retained his surname and familial connections could be easily determined. An example of this type is seen at Little Sandy Church Cemetery 2 on the marker of Pat Husband of Lula Johnson 1866-1940 (Figure 13).



Figure 13 Example of husband referencing his wife type of familial reference

In this chapter I have presented the pertinent research concerning cemetery analysis, the dynamic nature of American cemeteries, and the distinguishing attributes of Southeastern cemeteries. The distinguishing traits of Black cemeteries have been provided, including some previous research performed on vault burials in Black cemeteries. I have also discussed previous studies involved in the utilization of cemetery analysis and studies of mortuary behavior to inform about forms of social organization. I described the three types of mortuary behaviors that this study has focused on (family plots, familial references, and vault burial patterns), as well as previous studies involved in these three types of material culture. Based on this research, I contend that the out-migration of Black citizens during the twentieth century caused a change in the material culture of death in their cemeteries. Let us now turn to the historical research relating to the Great Migration and twentieth-century Black population movements.

## CHAPTER 3

### OVERVIEW OF THE GREAT MIGRATION

The Great Migration is a term used by historians and other social scientists to describe the historic population movements of Blacks in the twentieth century from their homes in the rural South to industrialized areas in the North and other parts of America (Cohen 1991; Davis 1991; Goodwin 1990; Grossman 1991; Harrison 1991; Jackson 1991; Marks 1991; McMillen 1991; Gregory 2005; Tolnay and Beck 1991). However, some modern scholars have taken to calling this mass migration the “Southern Diaspora” to denote the heavy population movements out of the South in the first three quarters of the twentieth century (Gregory 2005: 11).

Regardless of the term used, most agree that the Great Migration began around the beginning of the U.S. involvement in World War I in 1917. However, some believe it began a bit earlier in the spring of 1916 (Marks 1991: 36), while others believe that it began in 1915 (Goodwin 1990; Harrison 1991). The general consensus for the end of the Great Migration is around 1960, when the Civil Rights Movement began to take hold in America and out-migrations from the South began to decrease (Goodwin 1990; Harrison 1991). Some recent scholarship divides the Great Migration into two phases with the first phase (The Great Migration) occurring at the start of World War I in 1917 and ending with the start of the Great Depression in 1929 (Gregory 2005: 23-28). After the interlude, the second phase of migration (The Second Great Migration) begins with World War II around 1939 and continues well into the 1960s and even the 1970s (Gregory 2005: 32-38). To avoid any confusion I will refer to the entire span of time from 1915 to 1960 as the Great Migration.

In the period from 1915-1960, an estimated five million Blacks left the South and moved to other areas of the United States, especially to the industrialized areas of the North. Some scholars posit that over seven million left the South in the twentieth century (Goodwin 1990; Gregory 2005: 330; Harrison 1991: vi). Traditionally, scholars have approached these population movements using a push pull theoretical approach to migration, wherein if the net attractiveness of a potential destination outweighs the net attractiveness of the place of origin then migration is expected to occur (Lee 1966; Ravenstein 1885; 1989; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 23). So, in the case of the Great Migration, the attractiveness of the North outweighed the conditions Blacks were experiencing in the South, which caused a massive out-migration from the Southern states. There are various theories to explain the specific causes of the Great Migration, but there is general consensus in the historical community that the two collective forces at work were economic and social in nature (Cohen 1991; Davis 1991; Goodwin 1990; Grossman 1991; Harrison 1991; Jackson 1991; Marks 1991; McMillen 1991; Gregory 2005; Tolnay and Beck 1991).

The immediate conditions for the Great Migration were created in the late nineteenth century, due to the social and economic unrest caused in the South by the Civil War, Emancipation Proclamation, and the Reconstruction era; these will be discussed first. Then, the various trends of Black migrations in the twentieth century will be discussed. Next, a more thorough examination of the specific economic causes contributing to the Great Migration will be given. After that, the social factors that prompted the movement of Blacks out of the South to other areas will be discussed. Finally, census data and other records, primarily relating to the twentieth century, will be presented to show how the Great Migration influenced Black demographics in the South.

### *Black Migrations in the Nineteenth Century*

Before the population movements in the twentieth century associated with the Great Migration can be discussed, an examination of the socio-economic conditions of Blacks in the South in the nineteenth century must be addressed. The commencement of the Civil War in 1861, allowed the enslaved masses of Blacks some freedom of movement (Goodwin 1990: 1; Harrison 1991: vi). However, it was not until the Emancipation Proclamation was signed into law in 1863 that Blacks were legally granted freedom of movement across the country. After the Civil War in 1865 and the subsequent onset of the Reconstruction era, the socio-economic conditions were in place for the initiation of the Great Migration (Harrison 1991: vii; Goodwin 1990: 1). Around 1863 Blacks were able to begin moving around and outside the South (Goodwin 1990: 1). During this time thousands of Blacks searched for lost family members, many sought out employment opportunities, and others simply desired to test their newfound freedom (Goodwin 1990: 2).

To quell the micro-migrations occurring throughout the region and establish their racial superiority, Southern legislatures passed strict laws limiting Black movement and social freedoms, and governing bodies in the North also passed laws restricting Black access to land (Goodwin 1990: 1). Various forces emerged to promote segregation in the South including using the myth of White supremacy to justify and enforce segregation laws with violence. In addition, a decrease in employment opportunities for Blacks, and an increased competition with Whites for employment kept Blacks in a socially inferior position in Southern society (Harrison 1991). Jim Crow laws began to be passed in the 1870s to limit the freedom of Blacks, and the 1896 Plessey vs. Ferguson Supreme Court decision to segregate railroad cars set the precedent for legalized segregation across the South (Goodwin 1990: 1-2; Harrison 1991: vii). Sometimes the

out-migration of Blacks was met with overt hostility and violence from local, state, and federal leaders in the South and other White Southerners (Goodwin 1990: 2; Harrison 1991: vii).

The myth of White supremacy was used to justify and enforce segregation laws with violence, and the lynching of Blacks who violated social norms was quite common (Goodwin 1990: 2; Harrison 1991: vii). The influx of migrants to states like Kansas in the 1890s caused shortages in labor and resources, was a burden to the local population, and led to violence and hostilities directed at the newly arrived Blacks (Goodwin 1990: 3-8). However, despite the economic and social hardships Blacks faced both inside and outside the South, out-migration from the Southern states continued at a faint but steady pace until the beginning of the twentieth century (Goodwin 1990: 8). During the nineteenth century numerous Blacks left their agricultural jobs in the rural South for better employment opportunities in the quickly industrializing areas of the North, large southern cities, lumber camps and lumber mills popping up across the South, setting the stage for a mass migration in the twentieth century (Goodwin 1990: 8). The census data on out-migration of Blacks from the South can be seen in Table 2. The census data suggest that proportionally the jump in out-migration from the decades 1891-1900 to 1901-1910 is bigger than out-migration between the decades 1901-1910 and 1911-1920. This might mean that the Great Migration was actually well underway in the first decade of the twentieth century and not as closely tied to World War I as some scholars has suggested.

Table 2. Estimation of Blacks Who Left the South in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Time Period	1870-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1920
Number of Blacks Leaving South	100,000	200,000	522,000	872,000

*Note:* Data from Taeuber 1969: 174, reprinted in Goodwin 1990: 10.

### *Black Migrations in the Twentieth Century*

In general, the Great Migration in the twentieth century was directed almost entirely towards the North and was a much larger migration of Blacks than what had occurred in the previous century (Goodwin 1990: 11). Northern migration gained momentum since the 1870s, gradually increased through the beginning of the twentieth century, and by 1915 the volume of Black movement to the North had amplified immensely (Taeuber 1969: 174; Goodwin 1990: 10). During this same period, from the 1890s to 1915, the movement of Blacks seems to have followed the technological and industrial developments leading to rapid urbanization in the twentieth century (Goodwin 1990: 8).

The increasing out-migration of Blacks from the South caused a variety of reactions from White Southerners. The upper echelons of White Southern society viewed the loss of cheap Black labor as a serious threat to their traditional Southern way of life (Goodwin 1990: 12). In fact, anyone who openly encouraged migration or tried to recruit migrants could be jailed. Even owning a copy of the *Chicago Defender*, a newspaper that encouraged migration and greatly influenced the Black population in the South, was a punishable offense (Goodwin 1990: 12). On the other hand, poorer White Southerners encouraged the departure of Blacks from the South, since the two groups were in fierce competition for employment opportunities in the region (Goodwin 1990: 13). Economic tensions caused social tensions to escalate in the South, and the poor economic climate caused increased hostilities towards Blacks. Forces outside of the South, like a decrease in foreign immigration and need for labor in the North, eventually culminated in the massive movement of Blacks out of the region and towards the North out of economic and social necessity in the twentieth century (Goodwin 1990: 11-14). The end result was the loss of a

much-needed workforce, acres of land were left untended, many businesses were forced to shut down, and domestic labor was difficult to find in the South (Goodwin 1990: 14).

In the North, Blacks had to modify their traditional rural lifestyles to adjust to urban life. They also had to endure poor housing, crime, and were subjected to racial conflicts and stigmatization (Goodwin 1990: 14). The migrants were going to regions of the country that had little racial diversity, and these movements would dramatically change the nation's racial distributions (Gregory 2005: 17). While many of the migrants felt that the socioeconomic conditions in the North were far better than what they had experienced in the South, plenty of Blacks chose to stay in the South for various reasons. They either experienced no racial problems in the area, did not want to leave their families, lacked the economic means for transporting themselves and their families out of the South, were economically well-off and unwilling to leave the South, owned property, or did not want to live in the North due to the high crime rates, harsh climatic conditions, and the idea that conditions in the North were no better than their current positions in the South (Goodwin 1991: 121).

### *Economic Causes of the Great Migration*

A more in-depth discussion of the specific economic causes of the Great Migration is in order, especially since traditional scholarship has attributed primary importance to the economic factors that contributed to the migration (Goodwin 1990; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 24). The push-pull hypothesis for the economic causes of the Great Migration has been widely discussed in the literature (Davis 1991; Goodwin 1990; Harrison 1991; Jackson 1991; Marks 1991; Gregory 2005; Tolnay and Beck 1991). The economic factors that pushed Blacks out of the South include lack of employment opportunities outside of agricultural labor, inability for social advancement,

exploitation of cheap Black labor in the South, and competition for jobs with poor Whites (Daniel 1985; Flynn 1983; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 24).

Many of the Blacks living in the South were impoverished sharecroppers and tenant farmers who were unable to acquire their own land or adequately provide for their families. Those living in urban areas of the South did not fair much better, toiling for poor wages in return for their unskilled labor (Goodwin 1991: 10; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 24). The South suffered an agricultural depression from 1913 to 1915 where wages and crop prices reached new lows (Goodwin 1990: 10). The arrival of the boll weevil in the South around 1915 and the subsequent infestation in the 1920s decimated cotton crops across the region, and further degraded economic prospects for agricultural labor (Goodwin 1990: 10; Marks 1991: 37-43). In fact, the boll weevil not only destroyed the cotton market in the South, but all other related industries as well (Marks 1991: 43). The downfall of cotton agriculture in the South caused a large surplus of unskilled Black laborers, who had little hope of finding employment in other economic spheres, due to the increasing competition for jobs with White workers (Daniel 1985; Flynn 1983; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 24). Furthermore, increased industrialization and agricultural mechanization across the South caused agricultural jobs and reliance on single-crop agriculture to decrease (Marks 1991: 38). The change from agricultural to industrial production in the South began in the 1880s, behind the North, and the transition was very slow (Marks 1991: 38). In fact, over half (57%) of the South's population was still engaged in agricultural labor in 1920, making the region resemble an underdeveloped country as compared to the North at the same time (Marks 1991: 38). The abundance of raw materials in the South allowed industrial manufacturing, like cotton mills, iron works, and coal plants, to increase steadily as the twentieth century wore on (Marks 1991: 40). In some cases these new technologies caused the labor requirements for particular

jobs to be refined and any social stigma attached to them decreased. Consequently, White Southerners increasingly sought employment in lesser status jobs once held by Blacks in the farming, railroad, and dock industries (Marks 1991: 41). As a result of these various economic downfalls and improvements in the South, Blacks were gradually being pushed out of their homes.

According to the push pull theory, in order for migration to occur there must be a more promising destination available that outweighs the present socioeconomic conditions (Goodwin 1990; Lee 1966; Ravenstein 1885; 1889; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 23). The more “promising” destination in this case was the North and, to a lesser extent, the American Midwest and West. World War I caused so many changes to the economic structure of the North that the region was in dire need of an industrial labor force. The Great War, and subsequently World War II, caused European immigration to America to drastically decrease, as stricter rules for entrance into America were established for protection and numerous Europeans departed to defend their homelands (Goodwin 1990: 10; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 20). The World Wars caused a significant increase in industrial production in the North, especially in the manufacture of goods for the conflicts (Marks 1991: 37; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 20). Perhaps because of the North’s need for industrial workers, salaries for Blacks were far superior to the wages currently available to them in their low-paying agricultural and unskilled factory jobs in the South (Goodwin 1990: 10; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 20). All of these factors pulled Blacks towards a northern migration because for the first time since their emancipation Black labor was in demand outside of the agricultural South. This opportunity was promising enough to prompt them to endure and overcome the obstacles of long-distance migration (Mantle 1978; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 25). More recent scholarship however, has challenged this purely economic explanation for the Great

Migration. Some scholars say that analyzing the labor market does not explain why people made individual decisions to move (Gregory 2005: 21). The social pressures put upon Blacks in the South also prompted them to look for equal rights, freedom, and more gainful employment.

### *Social Causes of the Great Migration*

Aside from the economic factors involved in the Great Migration, there were numerous social forces that both pushed Blacks out of the South and towards areas that held the promise of greater freedom and equality, like the North. These social catalysts have only recently become an area of interest for scholars, and have traditionally been ascribed secondary importance behind the economic forces involved in the Great Migration (Cohen 1991; Davis 1991; Goodwin 1990; Grossman 1991; Marks 1991; McMillen 1991; Tolnay and Beck 1991). Most of the social forces involved are seen as forces that pushed Blacks out of the South, and can be traced to the inferior social status ascribed to Blacks throughout the region and racial violence and hostilities to which they were subjected (Goodwin 1991: 11-14; Grossman 1991; Marks 1991; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 25-30). Institutionalized segregation, voter disenfranchisement, exclusion from politics, lack of educational opportunities, and racial violence prompted Blacks to leave the South in large numbers in the twentieth century (Goodwin 1990: 11; Harrison 1991; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 25-27).

Blacks had always been attributed a secondary social status in the South, and the Jim Crow laws, Black Codes, legalized segregation, and racial violence forced upon them made their inferior status to Whites very clear. The political rights of Blacks in the South were far inferior to their White brethren, and restrictive voting statutes constrained the political participation of the Black community in local, state, and federal elections and candidate nominations (Goodwin

1990: 11; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 25-26). Most scholars agree that the overt hostilities and physical violence towards Southern Blacks by the Whites is the most significant social issue that contributed to massive amounts of Blacks leaving the South in the twentieth century (Cohen 1991; Goodwin 1990; Gregory 2005; Grossman 1991; Harrison 1991; Jackson 1991; Marks 1991; Tolnay and Beck 1991).

Blacks in the South were exposed to excessive lethal violence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and lynching was a common method to punish those who perpetrated criminal acts or violated social rules (Tolnay and Beck 1991: 26). All too often, lynch mobs would form in White communities intent upon attacking members of the Black community. From 1882 to 1930 there were an estimated 1,663 individuals who were the victims of Southern lynch mobs (Tolnay and Beck 1991: 27). On top of that, Jim Crow laws and other legal precedents ensured that the criminal justice system would be biased towards punishing Black offenders, and an estimated 1,299 individuals were executed by the Southern court systems in “legal lynchings” (Goodwin 1990: 11; Harrison 1991: vii; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 27). There are numerous historical letters written by Southern Blacks during the early twentieth century describing the social pressures put upon them by their White neighbors and their desire to leave the South to search for more comfortable surroundings (Adero 1993).

Some scholars have also posited that there was a reciprocal relationship between the Great Migration of Blacks out of the South and the racial violence brought against them (Fligstein 1981; Tolnay and Beck 1991: 27-27). Here racial violence and migration are simultaneously seen as both independent and dependent variables, wherein the racial violence perpetrated against Southern Blacks induced their migration out of the South. As the Southern White ruling class saw the economic consequences of Black migration out of the South, out-

migration was then utilized by the Black community to reduce the level of violence against them (Tolnay and Beck 1991: 26). Many White landowners and business owners tried to stop the loss of Blacks from the South (Tolnay and Beck 1991: 29). Some employers intimidated, taxed, threatened, and even abused individuals who advocated migration. Other employers sought to improve the positions of Blacks in Southern society by raising their wages and reducing the physical and social abuses traditionally perpetuated against them (Tolnay and Beck 1991: 30). In general poor White laborers, competing with Black workers for employment, violently persecuted them and, in some of these communities, the racial violence against Blacks decreased as a result of their removal from employment competitions with Whites (Marks 1991: 41-42). All of this is to say that the Great Migration and the racial violence Southern Blacks experienced in their social lives had a reciprocal relationship.

In sum, the push-pull theory of migration has traditionally been employed in scholarly analyses of the Great Migration to understand the socioeconomic reasons for their departure from the rural South to other portions of the country. Various economic and social causes are thought to have contributed to this out-migration. Some of the factors that pushed Blacks out of the South include the region's outmoded land tenure system, unfavorable economic opportunities for Blacks, destruction of the South's economy caused by the boll weevil and subsequent agricultural depression, and the various forms of racial violence committed against Blacks. The forces that pulled, or enticed, Blacks north include better educational, employment, and housing opportunities. In the North, Blacks were given the chance to pursue equality and a greater degree of personal freedom than they had in the South. The migration also threatened the stability of the traditional agriculturally based Southern economy, and served to reduce the degree of physical violence and social restrictions placed upon Southern Blacks. Therefore, both the economic and

social causes must be addressed and analyzed together in order to fully understand the experience of Southern Blacks in the twentieth century and their reasons for leaving the South.

The most recent consensus on the net migrations by Blacks from the South during the twentieth century (1900-2000) comes to 7,881,768 (Gregory 2005: 330). However, when the census data are broken down by decade, it is clear that certain decades contained more intense migrations, as can be seen in Table 3. The 1920s, saw a drastic increase in the out-migration of Blacks from the South, but during the Great Depression in the 1930s it appears out-migration slowed. In the 1940s a huge increase in migration from the South occurred, which could be attributed to the numerous social and economic catalysts associated with World War II. The out-migration continued to be strong in the 1950s, which again could be related to the post-war boom in the U.S. economy. In the 1960s outward migration decreased, perhaps due to the social frictions experienced by northern Blacks in their fight for equality in the Civil Rights Movement. It is interesting to note that most scholars claim that the Great Migration ended with the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, and the Black population became more stable, but the migration from the South seems to have inexplicably escalated in the 1970s. This increase in out-migration could have been caused by new economic opportunities outside of the South. Out-migration greatly diminished in the 1980s until the dawn of the new millennium in 2000.

Table 3. Estimated Black Migration from the South by Decade

Decade	Estimated Migration from the South
1900-1910	204,382
1911-1920	437,154
1921-1930	810,614
1931-1940	391,641
1941-1950	1,447,229
1951-1960	1,105,836
1961-1970	813,907
1971-1980	1,552,618
1981-1990	603,471
1991-2000	515,916

*Note:* Data from Gregory 2005: 330

To summarize, various economic and social factors contributed to the out-migration of Blacks from the South in the nineteenth century. This migration continued and increased in volume in the twentieth century. Various economic and social causes have been posited to explain the reasons Blacks left the South. Both the economic and social explanations should be presented together as causes for the Great Migration to show the complex socio-economic climate of the South in the twentieth century. Now that the historical background on twentieth century population movements out of the South have been addressed, the methods of this research will be presented in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODS

There are many ways to approach cemetery analysis. The aim of some projects is to find ways to preserve cemeteries, and to record as much cultural and historical data as possible from the sites (Barker, Farber and Giesecke 1980; Strangstad 1995). Many projects seek to gain cultural knowledge from the buried individuals and the society that buried them, like their cultural values and social organization (Barber 1993; Brooks 2011; Buckingham 2003; Fenza 1989; Martin 2010). Regardless of the aims of the study, most cemetery studies involve recording various kinds of information from the grave markers and the overall cemetery landscape. My study is no different, as it incorporated various methods utilized by past researchers in order to obtain socio-cultural data from the surveyed cemeteries. First, a brief review of successful methods employed by previous cemetery scholars for analyses of social organization will be given. Then, the specific methods used in my study will be outlined.

#### *Previous Methods Used for the Analysis of Social Organization in Cemeteries*

Of particular importance to this study is the research performed by Foster and Eckert in their socio-historical reconstruction of a Black community based on cemetery data from Coles County, Illinois (2003). As discussed in Chapter 2, to obtain a profile of the Black community the researchers analyzed the variables of ethnicity, sex, age, year of birth, year of death, and whether the deceased were buried with others of the same surname or interred as isolates. The researchers wanted to compare Black and White communities in this area of the rural Midwest

during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Foster & Eckert 2003: 473). Essentially, they were analyzing the cemeteries of the area and attempting to observe the influx of migrants and the social challenges they might have faced. In order to understand the social atmosphere of the time, the researchers analyzed surnames. Foster and Eckert found that the person-surname ratio for Blacks was much smaller compared to Whites, meaning that there were more individuals with the same surname in White cemeteries. This led them to conclude that the Black community was less developed, integrated, or stable than the White community (Foster and Eckert 2003: 485-486). Further familial insight can be gathered based on isolate burials, or surnames of individuals appearing only once in a cemetery. The Illinois research found that there is a significantly greater proportion of Black isolates, thus supporting the idea of a tentative and marginal Black community (Foster & Eckert 2003: 486). These findings seem to agree with historical sources citing massive migrations of Blacks into the state of Illinois around the twentieth century (Goodwin 1990; Gregory 2005; Harrison 1991). If these methods could be utilized to see an influx of migrants into a particular area, it seemed reasonable for me to utilize similar methods to observe out-migrations through cemetery analysis.

In my study it was not necessary to find the total burial counts in each cemetery like the Illinois study, since I am only concerned with how each population grouped individuals and family groups. In doing so I hoped to understand the social stability of the White and Black populations, as well as to discover the relationship between social organization and burial patterns in Tuscaloosa County. Foster and Eckert's person-name ratio has been modified to fit my study concerning family plots. However, while in their study higher person-name ratios were indicators of more community solidarity and stability, in my study high family plot frequencies served as a measure of stability among close kinship groups.

### *Study Design and Sampling Strategy*

A one-shot case study design was utilized for this investigation at each of the cemetery populations. The one-shot case study design is typically used in anthropology to chart cultural change, where variable attributes are measured after the intervention has taken place (Bernard 2006: 124). In the case of my study the “intervention” is a change in family plot concentrations across the twentieth century, which has already occurred.

The sampling strategy used was a purposive or judgment sampling method. In this method the subpopulations of interest are determined and an unspecified number of subjects are then chosen for the final sample (Bernard 2006: 189-191). In my study I had four subpopulations of interest: White cemeteries in urban areas, White rural cemeteries, Black cemeteries in urban areas, and rural Black cemeteries. These four subpopulations were selected in order to see if there were any differences in the family plot counts in the two geographic areas (urban and rural) and the two ethnic groups (White and Black) due to out-migration of Blacks from the area in the twentieth century.

The subjects in my study are the family plots within each of the cemeteries. First, I had to select the appropriate cemeteries to survey. Cemeteries in the northwestern portion of the county were situated in communities that were heavily agricultural with a high Black population in historic times. These cemeteries were selected precisely because the people in this region of the county would have most likely been affected by an out-migration. Previous research in these cemeteries showed that some of them contained family plots while others did not (Edwards 2003). All of the cemeteries containing family plots were selected, since this is the focus of the study. Moreover, a few cemeteries without family plots were chosen to see if any other familial burial patterns could be observed.

### *Cemeteries Studied*

All six of the White cemeteries chosen were known to contain family plots (Edwards 2003), and all but one of them (Williamson 16-H-1) are found in rural areas. These White cemeteries were selected to see if family plot concentrations in rural White cemeteries changed at any time during the twentieth century. I also hoped to discover if family plot concentrations changed in an urban White cemetery in the Black Warrior drainage region, as this is the social group that I least expected to be influenced by any out-migration. There were fewer White cemeteries picked for study since my previous research seemed to indicate that family plots were a common trait of the White cemeteries in the area throughout the twentieth century.

The 10 Black cemeteries were studied for various reasons. Holly Springs Church (17-G-1) and Little Center (17-H-7) were chosen because they represent Black rural cemeteries containing family plots (Edwards 2003). Rice Hill (16-H-2), West Highland Memorial (16-H-10), and Pine Ridge (16-H-11) were selected because they represent urban Black cemeteries containing family plots. The other five Black cemeteries were studied because they were shown to be examples of Black rural cemeteries without family plots (Edwards 2003), I attempted to discover if any other forms of nuclear family identification, besides family plots, were present in these particular cemeteries. Provided in the next chapter are the names of the 16 cemeteries chosen for study, as well as brief descriptions of their layout, and photographs.

### *Field Methods*

With regard to specific methods that I utilized while in the field, first an aerial map was obtained from the Google maps website ([maps.google.com](https://maps.google.com)) in order to show the overall layout and design of each cemetery. Once I arrived at a cemetery, photographs were taken at the

entrance of the grounds in order to show further the design and layout of the cemetery, especially with regard to the placement of family plots within the overall cemetery population. All cemetery photographs were then referenced in a photo catalog with my initial observations about the cemetery and the burial patterns within it. The date the photo was taken, where I was standing, what direction I was facing, and why I chose to take it were noted in order to make any future research easier. It is important to note that not all the photographs were taken facing the same direction, and the photographs are simply meant to show as much of the cemetery grounds as possible. Also, a count of the total number of plots in the cemetery was recorded after the individual family plots were investigated; these counts were essential in the analyses portion of the project.

Next, maps were drawn of each of the individual family plots found in the cemeteries to show the distribution of burials within the plot. In this way I could assess any differences between the White and Black burial distributions within family plots. The overall orientation of the plot with regard to the rest of the cemetery and the direction of burials were also noted in order to see if any differences exist between the two groups in this regard. Within the various plots I assigned a number to each individual marker in order to facilitate recording biographical information about the buried individuals. Photographs were then taken of each family plot to provide information on construction and layout. These drawings and photographs were essential components of the data to help me see any differences between White and Black family plots and how community and family relationships were expressed through the material culture of death.

#### *Variables Measured*

Data were recorded concerning the plot enclosure and marker inscriptions found in each individual plot. The variables of marker enclosure material, full name of the individuals buried,

birth and death years of the individuals buried, sex of the individuals buried, and the presence or absence of familial references in marker inscriptions were also recorded. This information helped determine the kinship dynamics occurring within the plots.

The inscriptions on the individual markers allowed me to date the plot itself, a critical aspect of this study. Each plot was dated by the average date of burial in the plot, which was found by taking the midpoint of each decade, multiplying that by the frequency of burials in that decade, and dividing by the total number of graves in the plot. The plots were dated in this fashion so that burial change through time in the plots could be estimated and compared. These dates were most important in my comparisons between different populations and family plot usage through time. The same methods were used to date the vault burial groupings found in some of the Black cemeteries. The familial references were dated by using the date on the marker on which the reference was found.

All of the data were recorded in the hopes that distinctive differences would be found regarding the overall presence and persistence of family plots and familial references on markers in White and Black cemeteries. The data from the stair-step vault burial groupings were recorded to shed some light on the different types of burial for family members. Furthermore, I hoped to discover how these material differences might relate to the display of close knit kinship relationships in White cemeteries and broader kinship ties emphasized in Black cemeteries.

### *Statistical Analyses*

In order to understand the relationship between the amount of plots found and the variables of ethnicity and location, the family plot distributions were broken down into four groups. All the plots were distinguished by those located in White urban cemeteries, in White

rural cemeteries, in Black urban cemeteries, and in Black rural cemeteries. The number of plots, the average date of the plots, the standard deviation, earliest plot date, and latest plot date for each of the four groups is displayed in the results section. It is important to note that only the plots that could be dated, 145 in all, are analyzed here. The other three plots did not contain any marked burials, so the average date of burial in the plots could not be determined.

The same methods were used to display the frequencies concerning familial references from the markers in the four cemetery types. However, in the case of the familial references, another chart was compiled to show the frequency distributions of the four different types of familial references found in my survey. One type was on the markers of women referencing the names of their husbands. Another type was on the graves of children referencing the names of their parents. A third type was on the graves of men referencing their wives, and a final type was a combination where women referenced both their husbands and their parents.

Frequency distributions are also given in the results section for the stair-step vault burial data. These data only concern Black cemeteries, so there are only two groups being compared: vaults found in Black urban cemeteries, and vaults found in Black rural cemeteries. The sample size, average burial date in vault group, standard deviation, minimum date of vault burial, and maximum date of vault burial according to location are shown in the results section. The vault burial groups were also analyzed according to the distinctive type of burial arrangement of individuals. There were three types of vault burial groups found. One type concerns stair-step vaults arranged in a group pattern so that members of a family or extended kin group are buried in individual partially-raised vaults that resemble a staircase. Another type describes partially raised vault burials arranged between married couples. This type also resembles a sort of staircase, but because they appear in pairs, rows of this type of vault burial do not resemble

staircases and appear much more jumbled and haphazardly placed. The last type of vault burial describes groups of vaults that do not contain any partially raised vault to form steps but, instead, all of the vaults are aligned closely with the ground. A frequency table shown in the results section will display the sample size, average date of burial, standard deviation, earliest burial, and latest burial in each of the vault group types.

Statistical analyses were run on the plot, familial reference, and vault burial group data. In order to understand the relationship between the average date of the family plots and cemetery type a One-Way ANOVA statistic was run, and any statistically significant differences between the average plot dates from the four cemetery types was found using the Tukey HSD statistic (Bernard 2006: 598-603). A One-Way ANOVA was also run to find any statistically significant differences between the death date on the markers containing familial references and cemetery type. Multiple comparisons between groups were performed using Tukey HSD to find any statistically significant differences. The same method was used to find any statistically significant differences between the type of familial reference (wife referencing husband, child referencing parents, husband referencing wife, and combination wife referencing husband and parents) and death dates on the markers. Finally, an independent samples *t*-test was run to determine the relationship between average date of burial in vault groups and location (Black urban vs. Black rural). A One-Way ANOVA statistic was also executed to determine the relationship between the vault burial type (group, couple, no stairs) and average date of burial in the vault group. Again, the Tukey HSD statistic was used to find any statistically significant differences between the three types of vault burials using multiple comparisons.

These methods and statistical analyses are intended to show change through time in the use of family plots, familial references, and vault burial groups in the surveyed White and Black

cemeteries. Moreover, these analyses are also intended to understand the plot, reference, and vault data according to location. All of this work is intended to show how the four different groups under study: White urban cemeteries, White rural cemeteries, Black urban cemeteries, and Black rural cemeteries were influenced by out-migration during the twentieth century, as seen through the material culture of death found in each cemetery type. The results of these analyses are presented in the sixth chapter. The next chapter will summarize the different traits of the 16 cemeteries surveyed in this research, and general information about Tuscaloosa County demographics. Historical census data will also be presented to show how this particular county was influenced by the out-migration of Blacks during the Great Migration. The ethnicity, location, age, and size of each cemetery will be provided, and specific attention will be paid to the family plot, familial reference, and vault burial frequencies and patterns found in each cemetery.

## CHAPTER 5

### REGION AND SITES STUDIED

#### *Tuscaloosa County Demographics and Cemeteries Studied*

My study is situated in Tuscaloosa County, which is located in west central Alabama (Figure 14). This county is around 1,322 square miles, according to the most recent U.S. Census in 2010, and there is an estimated 147 people living per square mile in it (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). The most recent census data put the current population of Tuscaloosa County at 194,656 people. Around 66% of the population is White and about 30% of the population is Black (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). The population of Tuscaloosa County steadily grew during the twentieth century, and today it is one of the more heavily populated counties in the state.

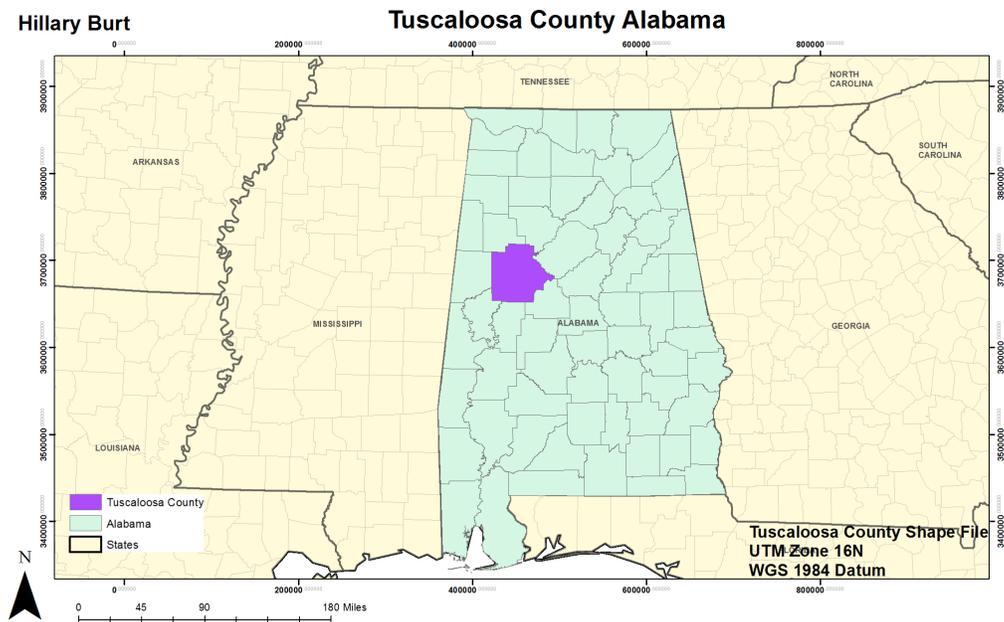


Figure 14. Map of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama created by author

Table 4. Tuscaloosa County Census Data 1900-1960

Decade	Total Population	Total Black Population	Percent of Total Population that is Black
1900	36,147	14,638	40.5%
1910	47,559	19,026	40%
1920	53,680	19,780	36.8%
1930	64,153	21,566	33.6%
1940	76,036	24,200	31.8%
1950	94,092	25,866	27.5%
1960	109,047	31,303	28.7%

*Note:* Data from University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center 2004

It is very important to present historic census information for Tuscaloosa County in order to understand how the Great Migration of Blacks out of the South affected this particular area. Table 4 shows census data compiled by the United States Census Bureau from 1900-1960, which covers the decades that saw the most significant volume of Black migrants out of the South. The table contains information about the total population of Tuscaloosa County during the decade, as well as estimates for the Black population living in the county. At first glance, it appears that the Black population of Tuscaloosa County increased along with the total population for the county. However, once the percentage of the total Tuscaloosa County population comprised of Blacks is calculated, a different pattern can be observed. It appears that from 1900 to 1950 the Black population percentage for the county dropped, especially from 1920 to 1950, with a brief increase in 1960 when most scholars feel the Great Migration ended. A decrease from 40.5% of the population being Black in 1900 to only 28.7% in 1960 is a truly amazing decline in the Black

population. The census data for Tuscaloosa County appear to agree with census records from other areas of the South.

Now that the current and historic social demographics of Tuscaloosa County have been addressed, the data gathered from each of the surveyed cemeteries can be presented. I will briefly describe the 16 cemeteries in my study including the cemetery's location within the county, estimated size of the cemetery, race of the individuals buried at the cemetery, estimated age of the cemetery, current condition of the cemetery, and types of burial patterns found within the respective cemetery regarding social organization. The family plot, familial reference, and vault burial frequencies will also be provided. The area of each cemetery was calculated using the measurement tool on the Google maps website ([maps.google.com](https://maps.google.com)), which provides both meters (m) and feet (ft).

All of these cemeteries are located in the portion of Tuscaloosa County around the Black Warrior River drainage area. Some of the cemeteries are located in urban areas while others are in the more rural portions of the county. The cemeteries were then sorted into specific community groups, depending on their nearness to established cities, towns, and communities. These community names were arbitrarily selected as some of the cemeteries are not located directly in the established boundaries of the cities and communities. A complete list of the cemeteries surveyed is shown in Table 5 and their geographic distributions across Tuscaloosa County can be seen in Figure 15. The cemeteries located in the urban areas of Tuscaloosa and Northport will be discussed first, and then I will present the cemeteries located in the more rural areas of Coker, Fosters, and Taylorville.

Table 5. Cemeteries Studied in Northwestern Tuscaloosa County

Location in Tuscaloosa County	Cemetery Name	Cemetery Number	Ethnicity
Tuscaloosa (urban)	West Highland Memorial	16-H-10	Black
	Pine Ridge	16-H-11	Black
	Beautiful Zion Church	16-G-9	Black
Northport (urban)	Williamson	16-H-1	White
	Rice Hill	16-H-2	Black
Coker (rural)	Big Creek	15-G-11	White
	Coker	16-G-3	White
	Spring Hill	16-G-6	Black
Fosters (rural)	Holly Springs Church	17-G-1	Black
	Dry Creek Church & Zion	17-G-2	Black
	Hill Church	17-G-3	Black
	Grants Creek Church	17-G-4	White
Taylorville (rural)	Taylorville Community	16-H-16	Black
	Little Sandy Church 1	17-H-1	White
	Little Sandy Church 2	17-H-2	Black
	Big Sandy Church	17-H-5	White
	Little Center	17-H-7	Black

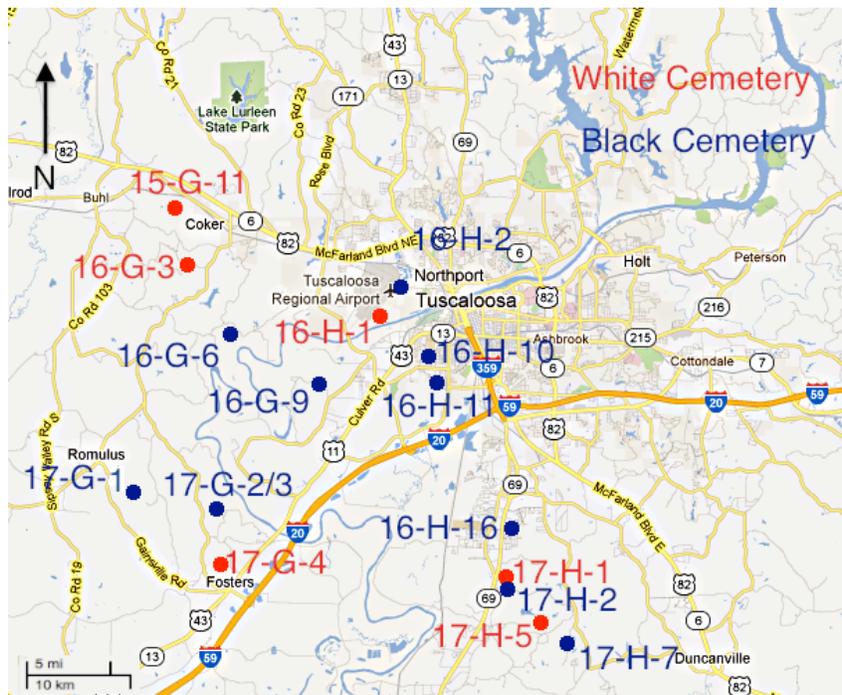


Figure 15. Location of Cemeteries in Tuscaloosa County, Alabama courtesy of Google Maps

### *Tuscaloosa City Cemeteries*

*West Highland Memorial Cemetery (16-H-10)*. This is an urban Black cemetery. An aerial photograph of the cemetery can be seen in Figure 16, and a photograph from its northeastern corner showing many family plots is shown in Figure 17. Judging by the dates on some of the markers, this cemetery was established some time in the early twentieth century and continues to be used today. The estimated area of the cemetery is around 30,690 square meters (323,379 ft<sup>2</sup>) and it was one of the largest cemeteries in my survey. A total of 30 plots were found here, but one of them could not be analyzed because there were no marked burials. The earliest plot dated to 1940, and the most recent plot dated to 2009. It appears that family plots were very popular in this cemetery, especially from the 1940s through the 1980s. This can be seen in Figure 18 where the dates of the family plot burials over the years is shown. So, perhaps the community that has utilized this cemetery throughout the twentieth century was not affected by out-migration to any extent. It is very likely that these individuals were able to remain in the area since they lived in the urban city of Tuscaloosa and were not tied to agricultural labor for their livelihoods. Therefore, they were able to maintain their immediate family ties and display them in the cemetery. Although there were numerous vault burials here, many of them were arranged in stair-step like patterns, most of them were enclosed within family plots and were not recorded for the vault burial analyses. In regards to the familial reference data gathered from this cemetery, only one reference was found. It occurred on the grave marker of a woman referencing her husband and is dated to 1949.



Figure 16. Aerial Photograph of West Highland Memorial Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 17. West Highland Memorial Cemetery

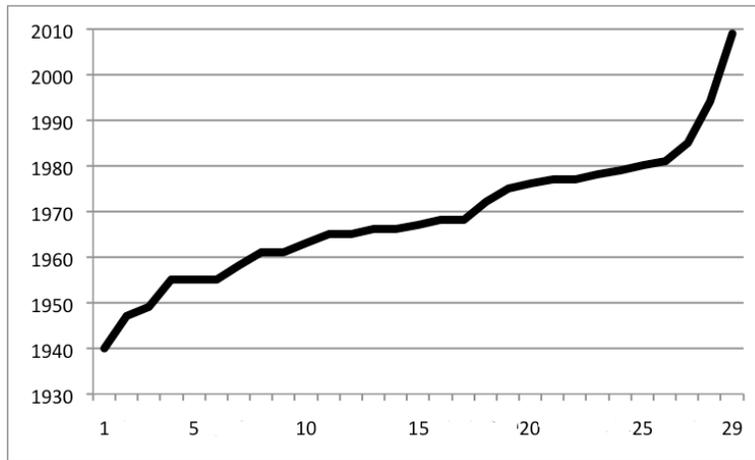


Figure 18. Family Plot Dates in West Highland Memorial Cemetery

*Pine Ridge Cemetery (16-H-11)*. This urban Black cemetery was established in the late nineteenth century. According to a historic marker on the site, the first burial occurred in 1894. However, there were modern graves from the twenty-first century found here as well. Figure 19 gives an aerial view of the cemetery and Figure 20 gives a view from the entrance to the cemetery. As one can see, there are far fewer family plots here than at West Highland and there are fewer markers as well. This might be due to the fact that Pine Ridge is an older cemetery and many of the earlier burials most likely used either temporary or wooden markers that were destroyed by the elements or they had no markers at all. The estimated area of the grounds is 15,840 m<sup>2</sup> or 165,632 feet squared. A total of seven plots were found at this urban Black cemetery, but dates could not be found on the markers in two of the plots. There were far fewer family plots found in this cemetery than at West Highland Memorial, which is surprising since they are both situated in an urban context. However, family plots appear to have been introduced in the 1920s at Pine Ridge, which is twenty years before they appeared at West Highland Memorial. The use of family plots does not seem to have been very popular at Pine Ridge, and the most recent plot dated to 1977. The dates of all the plots in this cemetery are shown in Figure

21. Perhaps the low family plot count found at this cemetery indicates that these individuals were involved in out-migration from the area, even though the cemetery is situated within the city of Tuscaloosa. Only two familial references were found here, and one vault burial grouping was recorded.



Figure 19. Aerial Photograph of Pine Ridge Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 20. Pine Ridge Cemetery

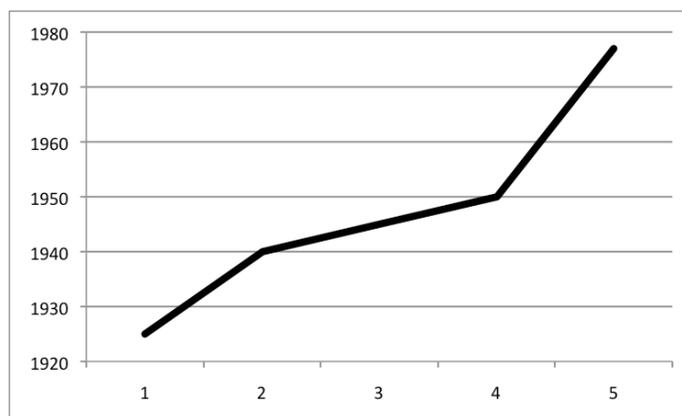


Figure 21. Family Plot Dates in Pine Ridge Cemetery

*Beautiful Zion Church (16-G-9)*. This cemetery is located on the outskirts of the city of Tuscaloosa. There are a number of expensive markers and high class individuals buried here compared to the other rural Black cemeteries in this survey. An aerial photograph and an image of the entrance of the cemetery can be seen in Figures 22 and 23. This cemetery was relatively small and the estimated area is around 2,924 m<sup>2</sup> or 37,260 ft<sup>2</sup>. The cemetery appears to have been established in the early twentieth century by a very affluent and tight knit Black community. Some of the markers displayed photographs of the deceased persons, and many of the individuals appeared to be very light-skinned, but the community and individuals seem to identify themselves as Black. Due to their appearance and the blending of different Black and European burial patterns, I believe this is a community of mixed race individuals. The presence of a distinctive metal fence around the grounds, familial references on groups of markers, and easily distinguishable groups of same-surname burials are all characteristic traits of White cemeteries in the region. Some of the Black cemetery traits found include an abundance naturally growing trees and undergrowth and a large volume of vault burials. However, there are few vault burials arranged into stair-step groups. Many of the vault burials seemed to be grouped according to

married couples rather than larger nuclear family groups, as was seen in other rural Black cemeteries (see below).

There were no family plots at Beautiful Zion Church. The most typical form of burial here was below ground individual burials with standing markers. These burials were loosely grouped into family and surname groups throughout the cemetery in the early part of the twentieth century, but in more modern times it became more typical for vault burials to occur and be arranged in spousal groups. A total of four vault burial groups were recorded here, and two markers contained familial references. Perhaps the transition from family to spousal burials and the absence of family plots at Beautiful Zion Church is reflective of out-migrations of the community, but the low family plot count was very surprising for this site since the Black community here appeared to be very affluent and stable. The data from this cemetery seem to show the limitations of my type of social organization analysis, since the main component of my study is the presence or absence of family plots. Perhaps if I had recorded every burial in this cemetery in order to understand past social demographics, like some previous researchers (Foster and Eckert 2003), a different pattern might have been seen. However, there were a few familial references in this cemetery, and this trait might be another way to gauge the solidarity of families in this cemetery community in the absence of demarcated family plots.



Figure 22. Aerial Photograph of Beautiful Zion Church Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps

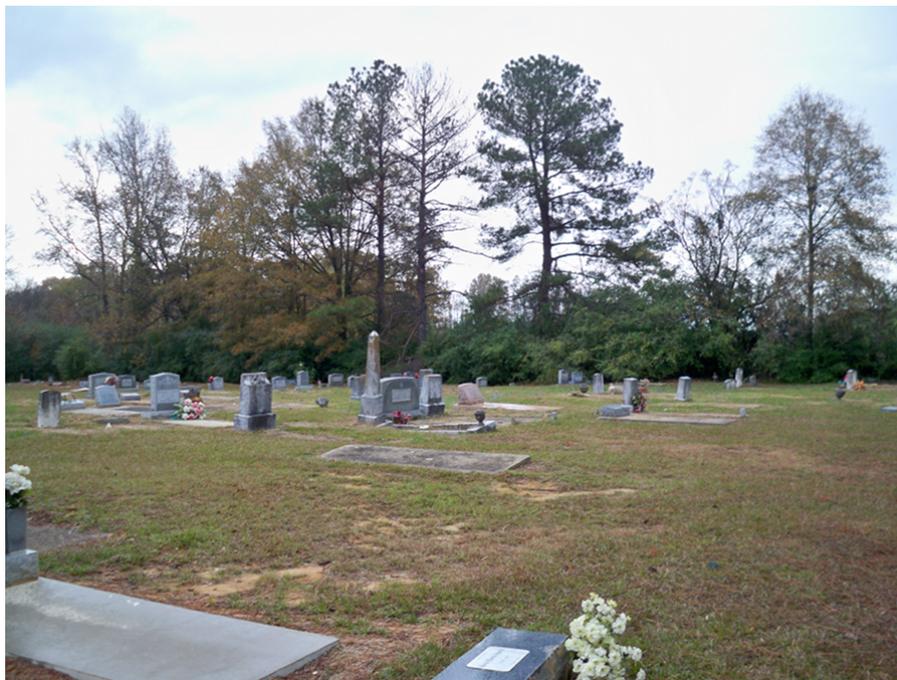


Figure 23. Beautiful Zion Church Cemetery

## *Northport City Cemeteries*

*Williamson Cemetery (16-H-1)*. This is the only urban White cemetery in my study. Figure 24 shows an aerial photograph of the site and Figure 25 shows a portion of the cemetery. This cemetery appears to have been in use since the late nineteenth century. The material culture and landscape reflect the cemetery trends typical of other American cemeteries, with both family plots and later memorial garden type grouped burials being present. The cemetery is very large and the estimated area is 35,905 m<sup>2</sup> or 387,984 ft<sup>2</sup>. As was expected, this cemetery had the largest family plot count and 67 plots were recorded in it. The range of family plot dates for this cemetery can be seen in Figure 26. It appears that family plots were popular here before the twentieth century in the 1890s and afterwards in 2003. The high plot frequency was not surprising, as I expected this area to be least affected by out-migration during the twentieth century. This is due to the fact that the individuals buried here appeared to be affluent White citizens, were most likely not involved in any sort of agricultural labor, and experienced no social stigma that would support leaving the area. Since the family plot counts in this cemetery were so high, it appears that the individuals here were members of a very stable and established community who have remained in the area since the late nineteenth century. The high volume of plots at Williamson, when compared to other White cemeteries located in rural areas, might indicate that many White citizens living in rural communities in the Black Warrior River portion of Tuscaloosa County left the area during the twentieth century for economic reasons. In regards to the familial reference data for this cemetery, a total of 45 references were found, which is not surprising since the use of familial references seems to be quite common in cemeteries of this age and type.

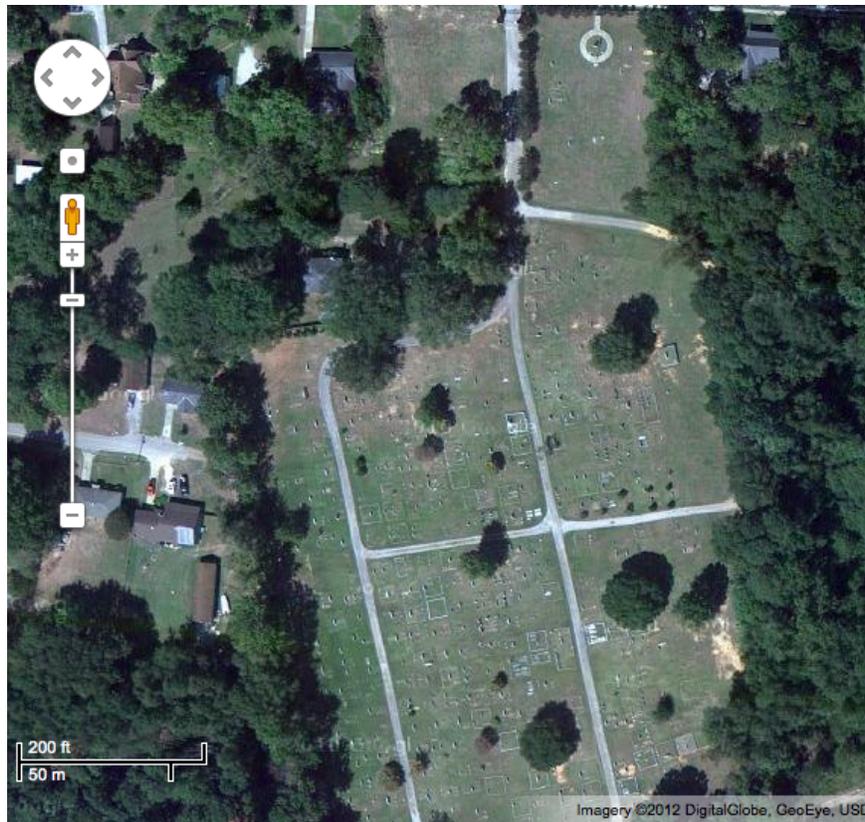


Figure 24. Aerial Photograph of Williamson Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 25. Williamson Cemetery

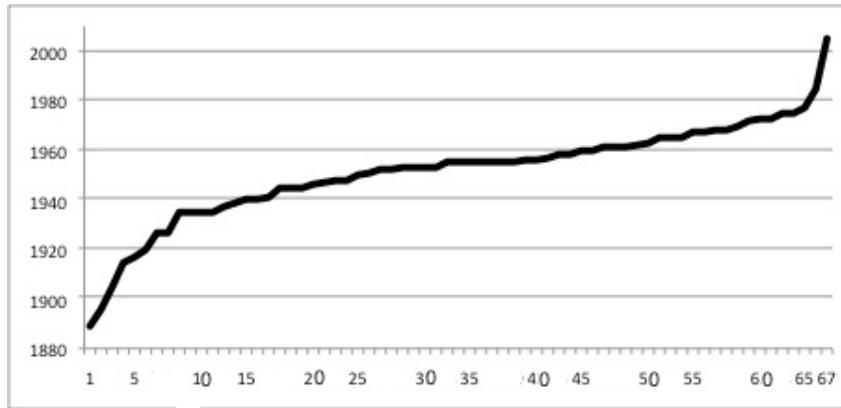


Figure 26. Family Plot Dates in Williamson Cemetery

*Rice Hill Cemetery (16-H-2)*. This is another urban Black cemetery in my study. It is located on the outskirts of the city of Northport only a few miles away from Williamson cemetery. The appearance of these two cemeteries could not be more different, despite their geographic closeness. As can be seen from the aerial photograph (Figure 27), Rice Hill is much smaller than Williamson and is an estimated 15,183 m<sup>2</sup> or 164,528 ft<sup>2</sup>. Figure 28 shows the site to be badly maintained, the undergrowth and tall grass makes walking across the grounds very difficult, and many of the markers and vaults are badly damaged by weathering and possible vandalism. The cemetery appears to have been in use since the early twentieth century, but charting the growth of the site is very difficult since historic and modern burials are generally mixed. The older burials are belowground with standing markers, while the more modern burials are arranged into vault groups. The three vault burial groups recorded here do not seem to follow any sort of stair-step pattern, but many of the burials appear to be situated into groups that might have been families rather than into husband/wife groups, like at other Black cemeteries. There are only two instances of familial references on the markers at Rice Hill, which is very different from Williamson where many familial references were found. There were eight family plots

found in Rice Hill. This is a relatively high plot count for a Black cemetery, but it is miniscule compared to the plot count from Williamson. This leads me to believe that the individuals at Rice Hill were less interested in displaying their immediate family relations in death compared to individuals at Williamson. Family plots were continuously used here from the 1920s until the 1980s, as seen in Figure 29, which might mean that some families remained in the area and were not influenced by out-migration. However, when comparing the plots found here to the plots found in Williamson, it seems that the community at Rice Hill was affected by twentieth century out-migration to a much greater extent than people at Williamson, but this was expected since they are Black.

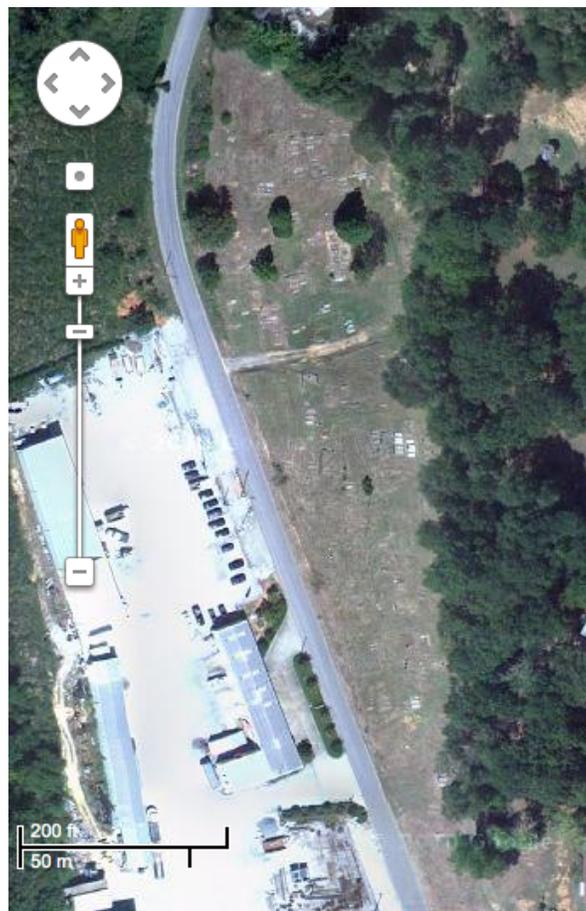


Figure 27. Aerial Photograph of Rice Hill Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 28. Rice Hill Cemetery taken by author

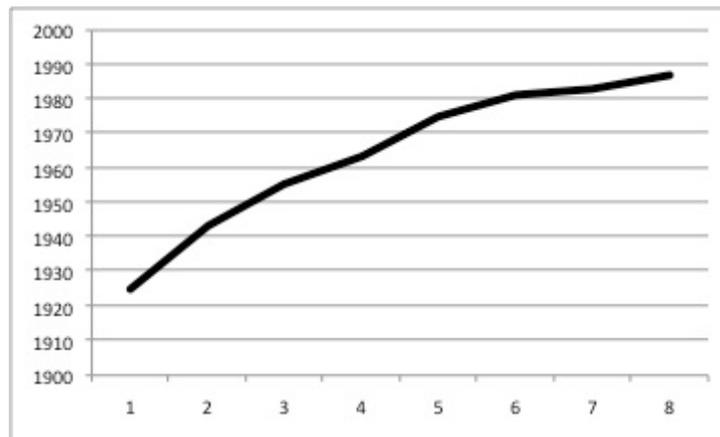


Figure 29. Family Plot Dates in Rice Hill Cemetery

### *Coker Area Cemeteries*

*Big Creek Cemetery (15-G-11)*. This is a White rural cemetery located in the Coker community to the west of the cities of Tuscaloosa and Northport. This is a very old cemetery that was established in the early nineteenth century and is still in use today. The estimated area of the

cemetery is 9,727 m<sup>2</sup> or 97,837 ft<sup>2</sup>. There were many familial references found on the markers within and outside of the family plots, and a total of 18 familial references were recorded here. It was easy to distinguish family groups here with these references, even if some of the burials were not enclosed in formal family plots. Ten family plots were found at Big Creek and most of them were located on the older eastern portion of the grounds. The plots decreased as the cemetery grew towards the west, as can be seen from the aerial photograph in Figure 30 and the photograph taken at the grounds in Figure 31. The earliest plot dated to 1908, and the most recent dated to 1951, as seen in Figure 32. Again, it appears that family plots are an earlier trend in White cemeteries than in Black cemeteries. Family plots were most popular here from 1900-1940. Based on the family plot data from this cemetery, it seems that it was a relatively stable community throughout the early to mid twentieth century when most out-migration of Blacks from the area was taking place. However, since fewer plots were found here than in urban White cemeteries, perhaps some members of this community left the area, but not to the extent as seen in Black rural cemeteries.



Figure 30. Aerial Photograph of Big Creek Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 31. Big Creek Cemetery taken by Ian W. Brown

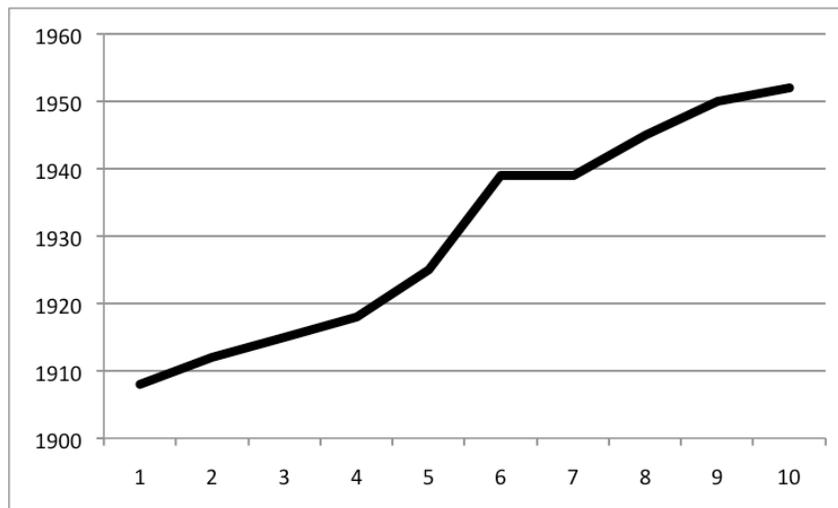


Figure 32. Family Plot Dates in Big Creek Cemetery

*Coker Cemetery (15-G-3)*. This is a White rural cemetery located to the south of Big Creek in the Coker community. This cemetery is smaller than Big Creek, as can be seen in

Figures 32 and 33, and the area is estimated to be around 5,307 m<sup>2</sup> or 53,671 ft<sup>2</sup>. Based on the marker dates and burial patterns, Coker seems to be a relatively modern cemetery compared to the other sites in my study and was probably established in the mid to late twentieth century. Only two familial references were found here. Both occurred on the graves of women and referenced their husbands and parents. There was only one family plot found at Coker, and most of the burials are of the memorial garden type with groups of small individual markers clustered around large standing markers denoting the surname of the group. The family plot here dates to 1945, which was the time when many Blacks and some poorer White agricultural workers were leaving the area. So, perhaps the rural location of the cemetery and the absence of family plots here is an indication that this White community was influenced by out-migration in the twentieth century for employment opportunities. Interestingly, this cemetery seems to contain a very small but close knit community, much like the Black community represented at the Beautiful Zion Church Cemetery. There appears to be a small amount of surnames at the Coker cemetery, and individuals with the same surname tend to be buried in distinct groups. Moreover, there are instances of familial references in the burial groups. So, perhaps this community was more stable than some of the rural Black groups in the area.



Figure 33. Aerial Photograph of Coker Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 34. Coker Cemetery

*Spring Hill Cemetery (16-G-6)*. This is a Black rural cemetery in the Coker area to the south of the rural White cemeteries at Big Creek and Coker. Its isolated location on a hillside

surrounded by natural vegetation and trees gives it a very distinctive appearance, as can be seen in Figures 34 and 35. The estimated area of the cemetery is 6,099 m<sup>2</sup> or 65,988 ft<sup>2</sup>. Based solely on the marker dates and burial patterns, this cemetery appears to be very old, but it continues to be used to modern day. According to a historic marker, the cemetery was established near Spring Hill Baptist Church, which no longer stands, and the earliest burial was in 1888. The western part of the cemetery contains the oldest burials with standing individual markers. The surnames of buried individuals were grouped indicating relatedness, and three familial references were found on the markers of women referencing their husbands in this older area. The cemetery seems to have grown to the east where more modern vault burials become the most common form of burial.

There were no plots found in this cemetery, but a very interesting pattern was observed in the vault burials in the eastern portion of the cemetery. Most of the vault burials were arranged into orderly rows in a general north/south fashion along the curvature of the hillside. Many of the burials in these rows grouped individuals with the same surname together, but isolate surnames were also incorporated into the rows. The dates on these vault burials seem to increase through time with each consecutive burial from north to south as the slope of the hill goes up to meet the road. So, for the most part, the oldest burials are downhill to the north and the death dates of the individual markers increase through time in rising up the hill to the south. Due to the lack of explicitly stated kinship boundaries with family plots, decrease in familial references through time, and the cemetery's rural location, this rural Black community might have been heavily influenced by out-migration from the area. Perhaps as family members left the area these people developed a new way to group individuals in a more communal fashion that could continuously

grow through time. They seem to have placed less emphasis on distinguishing nuclear family ties by segregating burials into family plots.



Figure 35. Aerial Photograph of Spring Hill Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps

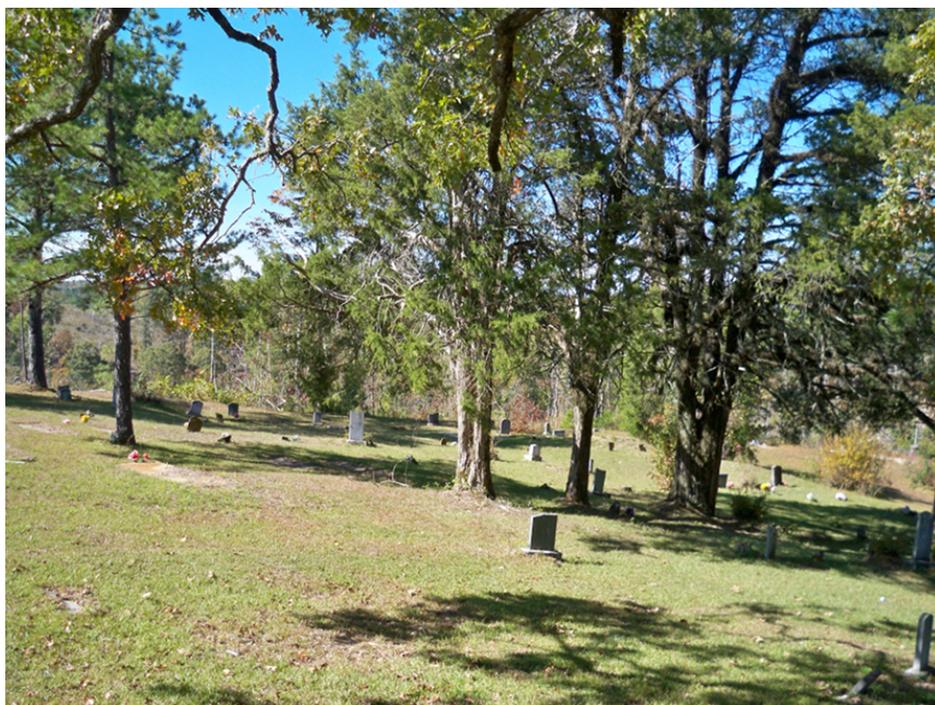


Figure 36. Spring Hill Cemetery

### *Fosters Area Cemeteries*

*Holly Spring Church Cemetery (17-G-1)*. This is a rural Black cemetery in the Fosters area of Tuscaloosa County southwest of the city of Tuscaloosa. The cemetery is located directly to the west of Holly Springs Baptist Church, which serves as the cemetery's eastern border. The marker dates, marker types, and burial patterns here seem to indicate that the cemetery was established in the early twentieth century and continues to be used by the community today, as can be seen in Figures 36 and 37. The estimated area of the cemetery is around 9,545 m<sup>2</sup> or 102,921 ft<sup>2</sup>. There was only one family plot found here and its construction was unlike any of the other plots found. The plot contained four individuals with each having their own freestanding marker. After the final burial an elongated concrete slab, which resembles the slabs covering individual vault burials, was placed over the burials. Perhaps this plot shows a blending of White and Black burial traditions by arranging the related individuals in a plot with standing markers, but the plot is constructed in a distinctly Black fashion. The first burial occurred in 1918 and is on the southern end of the row, the next dates to 1933, and the following one to 1944. The last burial occurred in 1985 and is situated on the northern end of the row. Finally, the enlarged vault cap was placed over the four graves. There are many grouped graves of below ground burials at this cemetery. Seven of the older markers display familial references, and many of the more recent burials are vaults. A total of five vault burial groups were recorded here. Although the vault burials are grouped in relatively orderly rows, there is no distinct stair-step pattern to suggest nuclear family groups. The most typical form of vault groupings in this cemetery seems to be between husbands and wives. In fact, many of the spouses shared standing markers but had their own individual vaults. This appears to be a more recent trend in Black cemeteries and suggests that burial beside one's spouse was more important than displaying nuclear families or

lineages. Due to the low frequency of family plots at Holly Springs Church, perhaps this rural community was influenced by out-migration during the twentieth century.



Figure 37. Aerial Photograph of Holly Springs Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 38. Holly Springs Church Cemetery taken by author

*Dry Creek Church and Zion Hill Church Cemeteries (17-G-2 & 17-G-3).* These two rural Black cemeteries are located to the east of Holly Springs Church cemetery closer to Tuscaloosa. The proximity of Dry Creek Church and Zion Hill Church to each other and roads segregating the burials made distinguishing which cemetery belonged to which church very difficult, so both cemeteries were studied together. However, it appears that the burials on the northern end are associated with Dry Creek Church, and the Zion Hill Church burials seem to be located to the south, as seen in Figure 38. The areas of these cemeteries were very difficult to map, but it is estimated that Dry Creek Church is 4,450m<sup>2</sup> or 48,325ft<sup>2</sup> and Zion Hill Church is about half the size at 2,204m<sup>2</sup> or 24,066ft<sup>2</sup>. The cemeteries seem to have been established in the early twentieth century and are still used by the modern community. The crowded, confusing configurations of the burials, absence of defined fence boundaries, and presence of unmanicured natural trees and vegetation adhere to Black burial patterns (Figures 39 and 40). The dates on the markers are not arranged chronologically, so it is difficult to tell how the cemeteries grew through time. However, it seems that the southern portion of Dry Creek Church is the oldest according to the types of markers and their dates. There were no family plots or familial references found here, so perhaps this community was greatly affected by out-migration in the twentieth century. In the older southern portion of Dry Creek Church some of the burials sharing the same surnames appear to be arranged into family groups. Yet, many of the burials in this area and in the newer parts of the cemetery are a mix of different surnames and do not appear to be grouped in a familial fashion. The absence of familial references on markers makes distinguishing family groups even more difficult. Only one of the vault burial groupings seemed to contain a group of related individuals arranged in a coherent stair-step pattern. The individuals are arranged along a hillside on the southern periphery of Zion Hill Church cemetery, and as the vaults make stair-

steps downhill through time so that the earliest burials are on the top of the hill to the north and the burials become progressively more recent as they go downhill to the South. This pattern is the exact opposite of the pattern seen at Spring Hill Cemetery.



Figure 39. Aerial Photograph of Dry Creek and Zion Hill Church Cemeteries courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 40. Dry Creek Church Cemetery

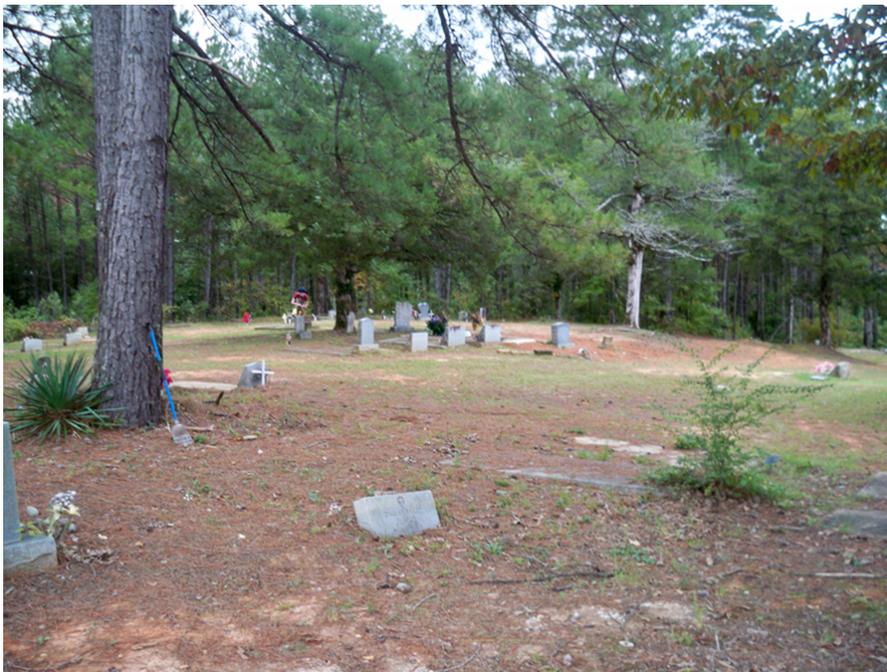


Figure 41. Zion Hill Church Cemetery

*Grants Creek Church Cemetery (17-G-4)*. This is a rural White cemetery located to the southwest of the Dry Creek Church and Zion Hill Church cemeteries in the Fosters area of the county. The cemetery is situated to the east of Grants Creek Baptist Church, which was established in 1828 according to a historical marker. The cemetery was most likely established a short time later in the mid to late nineteenth century, but there are a few modern burials here as well. The cemetery is relatively large with an estimated area of 11,692m<sup>2</sup> or 126,360 ft<sup>2</sup>, as can be seen in Figures 41 and 42. The material culture and marker dates seem to indicate that the older graves and most of the family plots are situated to the south, with newer graves and some plots located on the northern end of the cemetery. It was relatively easy to distinguish family groups in this cemetery because many groups shared the same surname. In fact, there were 11 familial references on the markers both inside and outside of defined family plots. In total seven plots were found at this cemetery. Plots appeared in the 1870s and continued to be used until the 1980s, as can be seen in Figure 43. Perhaps the low number of plots might indicate that some families and individuals were leaving the area in the twentieth century. However, the plots continue in use until the 1980s and half the plots were created from the 1960s through the 1980s, so the community utilizing this cemetery seems to have been well established in the area and very stable. Also, many of the markers are made of expensive materials like marble and display elaborate hand-carved decorations, which might indicate a class distinction, and the individuals buried here were probably not poor agricultural workers. Thus they could remain in place and maintain strong nuclear family bonds.



Figure 42. Aerial Photograph of Grants Creek Church Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 43. Grants Creek Church Cemetery

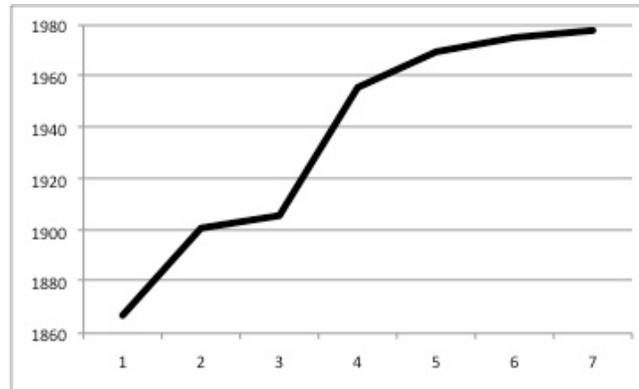


Figure 44. Family Plot Dates in Grants Creek Church Cemetery

### *Taylorville Area Cemeteries*

*Taylorville Community Cemetery (16-H-16).* This is a rural Black cemetery in the community of Taylorville, which is located to the south of the city of Tuscaloosa. The marker dates and high volume of vault burials seem to indicate that this cemetery was established in the mid twentieth century. The estimated area of the cemetery is around 4,450 m<sup>2</sup> or 47,724 ft<sup>2</sup>. The oldest burials seem to be situated in the center of the cemetery with more recent vault burials growing outward through time, especially in the eastern portion of the cemetery. Also, the vault burials seem to be arranged in more orderly rows on the eastern end with the passage of time. There were no family plots or familial references found here, which might indicate that this community was heavily influenced by out-migration in the twentieth century. As can be seen from the photographs, most of the burials in this cemetery have vault markers (Figures 44 and 45). A total of three vault burial groups were recorded here. The vaults appear to be arranged in stair-step patterns with a north-south alignment. The vaults steps go up the hill from north to south according to the date of death, with the oldest burials on the northern ends of the rows and the more recent burials higher up to the south. This is similar to the pattern found at Spring Hill Cemetery. Most of the vault groups appear to be of related individuals sharing the same

surnames, but there is some mixing of surnames on the ends of the rows, which might show the decreasing prominence of nuclear families in the community. However, some rows of vault burials seemed to be arranged in spousal groups with a greater variety of surnames, making it more difficult to distinguish familial lineages. Perhaps the lack of defined family groups in this cemetery indicates that this community lost family members to migration in the twentieth century. However, it is always important to remember that other social or religious factors could have influenced these burial traditions.



Figure 45. Aerial Photograph of Taylorville Community Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 46. Taylorville Community Cemetery

*Little Sandy Church Cemetery 1 (17-H-1)*. The two Little Sandy Church cemeteries are located in Taylorville to the south of Taylorville Community cemetery and are considered rural cemeteries. The cemeteries at Little Sandy Church could potentially be classified as one large cemetery containing both White and Black burials, but a large brick fence separates the two ethnic groups and splits the grounds into two smaller cemeteries (Figure 46). The segregation and proximity of these cemeteries to each other were the main reasons the site was chosen for my survey, because I hoped to observe material culture differences between the two ethnicities. The cemetery located to the north of the divide has been designated as Little Sandy Church Cemetery 1 (Figures 47 and 48). This cemetery contains White burials throughout the twentieth century and has an estimated area of 1,856 m<sup>2</sup> or 20,520 ft<sup>2</sup>. The older burials seem to be situated on the western end of the cemetery closest to the entrance, while more modern burials appear as one walks to the east. There were no family plots found in this rural White cemetery, making it the only White cemetery in the entire survey that did not contain a family plot. Perhaps this rural White community was influenced by out-migration in the twentieth century, but it is important to remember that there can be other reasons for the existence of family plots aside from migratory behavior. Interestingly, most of the individuals buried at Little Sandy Church Cemetery 1 are arranged into family groups due to the clustering of surnames and the presence of familial references on the markers. Five familial references were found, and even though this community did not construct family plots, it seems that displaying nuclear family relationships was important to the people at Little Sandy Church 1. This might suggest that the Whites in this area were less influenced by migration than their Black neighbors buried to the south in Little Sandy Church Cemetery 2.



Figure 47. Aerial Photograph of Little Sandy Church Cemeteries 1 & 2 courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 48. Aerial Photograph of Little Sandy Church Cemetery 1 courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 49. Little Sandy Church Cemetery 1

*Little Sandy Church Cemetery 2 (17-H-2)*. The cemetery to the south of the fence has been designated as Little Sandy Church 2 (Figure 46). The individuals buried here are Blacks, and the burials here span the twentieth century. There are many Black cemetery traits present, making it easily distinguishable as a separate entity from the White cemetery. Aside from the wall that borders the cemetery to the north, there are no other formal boundaries around the borders apart from trees and vegetation. The area of the cemetery is around 8,030 m<sup>2</sup> or 86,519 ft<sup>2</sup>, making it much larger than the White Little Sandy Church 1, as seen in Figure 46. In the older northern portion of the cemetery the grounds are not very well maintained. There are few marked burials in this section giving it a pastoral feel, and the burials that do have markers date to the early twentieth century. The southern portion of Little Sandy Church 2 housed newer burials from the mid to late twentieth century, and the grounds were better maintained. There are no

plots found here, but some interesting burial patterns were observed. The older northern half did not have any markers grouped into distinguishable family groups (Figure 51), but there was one marker that contained a familial reference of a husband mentioning his wife. The southern half is comprised of stair-step vault burials arranged into three neat rows with north-south alignments, as is clearly seen in the photographs (Figures 49 and 50). The vaults in these rows do not appear to have been grouped into stair-step patterns based on lineal nuclear family ties, due to the lack of surname clustering and familial references. The husband-wife spousal arrangement seems to have been the norm here. The rows contain many married couples, and the vaults seem to form stair-steps between spouses with the higher vault belonging to the spouse that died last. In this couple arrangement the oldest burials are still situated lower to the ground than newer burials, which is similar to the family stair-step vault burial patterns found at other Black cemeteries. Perhaps the lack of defined kinship groups through plots, group vault stair-step patterns, or many familial references is an indication that the nuclear family ties in this community were negatively influenced by out-migration during the twentieth century.

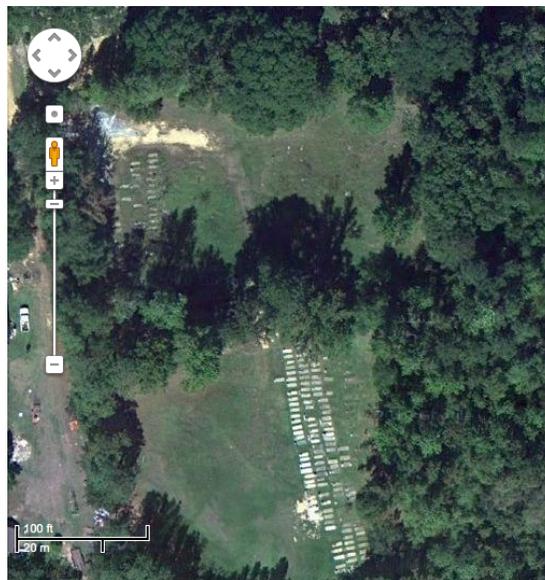


Figure 50. Aerial Photograph of Little Sandy Church Cemetery 2 courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 51. Little Sandy Church Cemetery 2

*Big Sandy Church Cemetery (17-H-5)*. This is a White rural cemetery in the Taylorville area to the south of Little Sandy Church Cemeteries 1 and 2. The cemetery is located to the east of Big Sandy Baptist Church, which can clearly be seen in the aerial photograph (Figure 52). The marker dates and high volume of family plots seem to indicate that this cemetery was established in the late nineteenth century and continues to be utilized by the community. The estimated area of the cemetery is 6,832 m<sup>2</sup> or 72,800 ft<sup>2</sup>. The most recent burials appear to be situated on the southern portion of the cemetery and around the periphery, with most of the older burials and family plots scattered in the central and northern areas of the site, as seen in Figure 52. The most typical form of burial here utilizes family plot enclosures, and 14 family plots were recorded. Big Sandy Church looks to be a very old cemetery used by a very stable community. The plot dates though time are graphically displayed in Figure 53. The earliest plot was found in the 1880s, and plots were continuously popular from the 1910s through the 1930s. However, from the 1940s

through the 1970s building new family plots does not seem to have been very popular. Finally, the most recent plots were established around 1975. This distribution of plots through time is very different from the urban patterns seen at Williamson or West Highland Memorial. Aside from the high volume of plots, there were seventeen instances of familial references on the markers within and outside the plots. Even when plots stopped being used in the late twentieth century, it is still easy to find families due to the clustering of same-surname burials and familial references. In fact, some of the family plots cluster together in the central portion of the cemetery, and the clustered plots share surnames. All of this might suggest that this particular rural White community was not affected by any out-migrations in the twentieth century. The individuals buried here were most likely not poor White agricultural laborers, and the elaborate markers and enclosures associated with some of the plots seem to indicate that these people were relatively affluent.

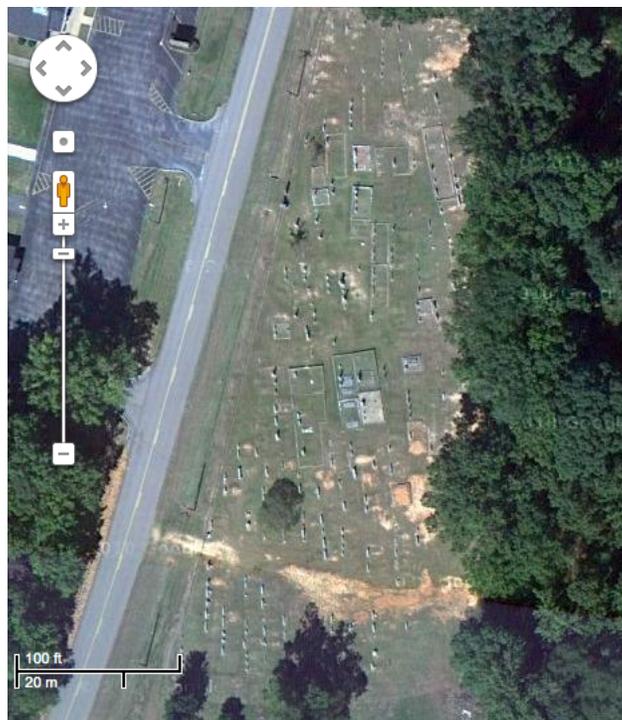


Figure 52. Aerial Photograph of Big Sandy Church Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 53. Big Sandy Church Cemetery

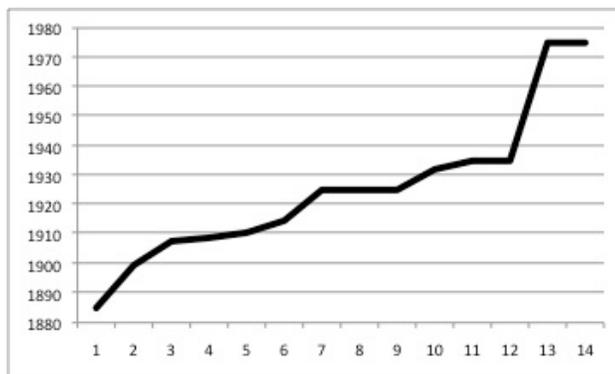


Figure 54. Family Plot Dates in Big Sandy Church Cemetery

*Little Center Cemetery (17-H-7)*. This Black rural cemetery is located just to the northwest of Big Sandy Church cemetery. It is located in a very remote rural area surrounded by forest and accessible by a small dirt road. According to the marker dates and vault burials, it appears this cemetery has been in use since the early twentieth century. It is a relatively small cemetery with an area of about 5,976 m<sup>2</sup> or 64,701 ft<sup>2</sup>, as can be seen in Figures 54 and 55. Despite the small size and remote location of this cemetery, there were three family plots present

at Little Center, which dated to 1975, 1979, and 1990. The family plots here were different from any plots found in White cemeteries in the county and, like the plots at Rice Hill, the enclosures were constructed with very cheap materials that could be purchased from any hardware store. In fact, the post and wire, post and chain, and small concrete coping enclosures found here will probably not be permanent like the concrete and marble enclosures used at other cemeteries. This could mean that family plots were constructed in other Black cemeteries using these cheap materials and now no longer stand; unfortunately this is yet another limitation of my project. The two larger plots were constructed with metal posts and wire or a strand of chain, and neither was fully enclosed on all sides. Unfinished plots or plots with unenclosed sides were very rare in the White cemeteries studied, where each nuclear family or lineage obtained their own defined space separate from all others. The open sided plots at Little Center allow for burials to continue, so the family plots could grow through time. The burials within the plots were not as neatly arranged, as compared to other White or Black cemeteries in the study. Some of the markers had no names and/or dates, and there was a considerable mixing of surnames within the plots. The absence of familial references further complicated attempts to discover distinct family ties. There was only one stair-step vault group recorded here, and the stair-steps go up from south to north as the death year becomes more recent. There were multiple surnames in this vault row, but like surnames were grouped together suggesting relatedness. This rural Black cemetery seems to show both Black and White traits. The use of family plots, albeit unorthodox, seems to show the longevity of a few families in the area. However, the communally based burial practices containing vault rows and open family plots might suggest that some of the individuals lost family members to out-migration.



Figure 55. Aerial Photograph of Little Center Cemetery courtesy of Google Maps



Figure 56. Little Center Cemetery

This chapter has outlined the considerable variability present in the sample of cemeteries that were chosen for analysis. The cemeteries were located in vastly different locations and contained very distinctive forms of material culture of death. In fact, although many cemeteries in this survey were located geographically very close, they displayed very different forms of material culture and cemetery layout. Nevertheless, it is important to reiterate that migratory practices might not be the only explanation for the existence and frequencies of family plots, familial references, and vault burial groupings in the cemeteries surveyed in my project. Now that each of the surveyed cemeteries have been discussed in detail, the family plot, familial reference, and vault burial frequencies and inferential statistics will be presented in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 6

### RESULTS

The main research question is to determine if the material culture of death displayed in the 16 cemeteries surveyed has any relationship to the ethnicity of the individuals buried in the cemetery, the location of the cemetery, and time of burial. In order to answer the main research question, three secondary questions guided my research concerning the data gathered regarding family plots, familial references, and vault burial groups. Does ethnicity and location of the cemeteries determine the frequency of family plots, and does this frequency change through time? Does ethnicity and location of the cemeteries determine the frequency of familial references, are there any specific types of familial references, and does their frequency change through time? Does location of the Black cemeteries determine the frequency of vault burial groups, are there any specific types of vault burial groups, and does their frequency change through time?

The data gathered were separated into four cemetery types determined by ethnicity and location: White urban cemeteries, White rural cemeteries, Black urban cemeteries, and Black rural cemeteries. The four cemetery types were compared in order to understand the relationship between family plot, familial reference, and vault burial group data according to the variables of time, ethnicity, and location. By analyzing the four cemetery types, I hope to understand if the four subcultures associated with each type were influenced by out-migration during the twentieth century, as seen through the material culture of death utilized by each group.

I hypothesized that White urban cemeteries 1) would have higher family plot and familial reference frequencies than any other cemetery type and the frequencies would not decrease through time, as this group was least influenced by out-migration caused by the Great Migration in the twentieth century; and 2) would be more likely to display family relationships in the material culture of death present in their cemeteries. I also hypothesized that White rural cemeteries would have the second highest frequencies of family plots and familial references, which will not decrease through time, because this group would be less influenced by out-migration compared to Blacks. Black urban cemeteries were expected to have the third highest frequencies for family plots and familial references, but these frequencies were expected to decrease from 1920-1950 since these were the peak years of out-migration from the area for Blacks. Finally, Black rural cemeteries were expected to have the lowest frequencies of family plots and familial references, especially from 1920-1950, as this group was most likely influenced by out-migration to the greatest extent of any other subculture under study for various social and economic reasons.

The relationship between cemetery type, family plot frequencies, and average plot date will be discussed first since this is the main component of my research. Aside from the frequencies, a One-Way ANOVA statistic was used to understand the relationship between the mean plot dates from each of the cemetery types, and to observe change through time. Next, the association between cemetery type, familial reference frequencies, date of familial references on markers, and type of familial references will be addressed. The frequencies and One-Way ANOVA statistics for these data were used to compare means between cemetery types to see change through time. Finally, any connections between the locations of Black cemeteries, the frequency of vault burials, average date of burial in vault groups, and types of vault burial groups

will be dealt with. Independent Samples *t* test and One-Way ANOVA statistics were performed on the vault burial data in order to compare means between the cemetery types and observe changes through time. The interpretations of these findings will be discussed in the final chapter.

*Relationship Between Cemetery Type and Average Plot Date*

The first research question concerned the possible association between the ethnicity and location of a cemetery and the frequency of family plots, and any changes in family plot frequency through time. Table 6 shows the frequency distribution and descriptive statistics related to the cemetery type and the average date of burial in each family plot. Based on these frequency distributions, it appears that most of the family plots (67 or 46%) were found in White urban cemeteries, which confirms my first hypothesis. My hypothesis that Black rural cemeteries would contain the fewest family plots (4 or 3%) was also confirmed. However, my hypotheses concerning the plot frequencies in White rural and Black urban cemeteries were not supported, as Black urban cemeteries had more plots (42 or 29%) than White rural cemeteries (32 or 22%).

Table 6. Frequency Distribution Between Cemetery Type and Family Plot Date

<b>Family Plot Statistics</b>	<b>White Urban</b>	<b>White Rural</b>	<b>Black Urban</b>	<b>Black Rural</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Frequency	67	32	42	4	145
Percent	46%	22%	29%	3%	100%
Mean	1951	1929	1965	1972	
<i>s</i>	19.773	27.418	17.487	19.296	
Earliest	1889	1867	1925	1945	
Latest	2005	1978	2009	1990	

The One-Way ANOVA statistical test was performed to determine the differences in the means of the average date of burial in the plots between the four cemetery types. The cemetery type was the independent variable, and the average date of burial in the plots was the dependent variable because I am hypothesizing that the ethnicity and location of each cemetery will predict the average date of burial for the plot. A significant statistical difference in the mean plot date of the four cemetery types was found ( $F = 18.477$ ;  $df 3, 141$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Since the ANOVA was significant, the Tukey HSD statistic was used to determine the nature of the mean plot date differences between each specific cemetery type. A significant statistical difference was found ( $p < .001$ ) between the mean plot dates in White urban ( $M 1951, s 19.773$ ) and White rural cemeteries ( $M 1929, s 27.418$ ), and it appears that the average plot date in White rural cemeteries is about 22 years earlier than the average plot date in White urban cemeteries. A statistically significant difference was also found ( $p < .006$ ) between the mean plot dates in White urban ( $M 1951, s 19.773$ ) and Black urban cemeteries ( $M 1965, s 17.487$ ), and it seems that the average plot date in White urban cemeteries is 14 years earlier than the average plot date in Black urban cemeteries. Also, a statistically significant difference was found ( $p < .001$ ) between the mean plot dates in White rural ( $M 1929, s 27.418$ ) and Black urban cemeteries ( $M 1965, s 17.487$ ). The average plot date in White rural cemeteries is 36 years earlier than the average plot date in Black urban cemeteries. Finally, a statistically significant difference was found ( $p < .001$ ) between the mean plot dates in White rural ( $M 1929, s 27.418$ ) and Black rural cemeteries ( $M 1972, s 19.296$ ), and the average plot date in White rural cemeteries is 43 years earlier than the average plot date in Black rural cemeteries. Perhaps the small sample size of plots from Black rural cemeteries prevented any other statistically significant mean plot date differences to be found.

### *Relationship Between Cemetery Type and Familial References*

The second research question concerned the possible association between the ethnicity and location of a cemetery and the frequency of familial references, any changes in familial reference frequencies through time, and if there exist specific types of familial references. Table 7 shows the frequency distribution and descriptive statistics related to the cemetery type and the date of familial references. In total 112 familial references were recorded. My hypothesis that White urban cemeteries would contain the most familial references was not confirmed (45 or 40%), as this cemetery type contained fewer familial references than the White rural cemeteries (49 or 44%). My hypothesis that Black rural cemeteries would contain the fewest familial references (11 or 10%) was also not confirmed, since the fewest familial references were found in the Black urban cemeteries (7 or 6%). However, it is clear from these frequencies that the vast majority of familial references (94 or 84%) were found in White cemeteries compared to Black cemeteries (18 or 16%).

Table 7. Frequency Distribution Between Cemetery Type and Familial Reference Date

<b>Familial Reference Statistics</b>	<b>White Urban</b>	<b>White Rural</b>	<b>Black Urban</b>	<b>Black Rural</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Frequency	45	49	7	11	112
Percent	40%	44%	6%	10%	100%
Mean	1921	1908	1940	1920	
<i>s</i>	28.866	27.721	25.382	17.812	
Earliest	1865	1838	1911	1892	
Latest	1994	1984	1987	1942	

The One-Way ANOVA statistical test was performed to determine the differences in the means of the date of familial references between the four cemetery types. The cemetery type was the independent variable, and the date of familial reference was the dependent variable because I am hypothesizing that the ethnicity and location of each cemetery will predict the date of familial references. A significant statistical difference in the mean familial reference date of the four cemetery types was found ( $F = 3.866$ ;  $df 3, 108$ ;  $p < .011$ ). Since the ANOVA was significant, the Tukey HSD statistic was used to determine the nature of the mean familial reference date differences between each specific cemetery type. A significant statistical difference was found ( $p < .022$ ) between the mean familial reference dates in White rural ( $M 1908, s 27.721$ ) and Black urban cemeteries ( $M 1940, s 25.382$ ), and it appears that the average familial reference date in White rural cemeteries is about 32 years earlier than the average familial reference date in Black urban cemeteries. Unfortunately the disproportionate sample sizes of familial references between the other cemetery types and Black rural cemeteries, and the fact that the data from the Black rural cemeteries are not quite normally distributed, might have prevented any other statistically significant differences.

Table 8 shows the frequency distribution and descriptive statistics related to the type of familial reference used and date of the reference. Of the 112 cases, it appears that the most common form of familial reference was on the markers of children (both male and female) referencing their parents (53 or 47%). However, references on the markers of women referencing their husbands (51 or 45%) came in a close second. Instances where a woman referenced both her husband and parents were far less common (5 or 5%), and references on the markers of men referencing their wives (3 or 3%) was the least common form of familial reference. It seems the

vast majority (109 or 97%) of familial references were found on the graves of women (56 or 50%) and children (53 or 47%) compared to references found on the graves of men (3 or 3%).

Table 8. Frequency Distribution Between Familial Reference Type and Reference Date

<b>Familial Reference Statistics</b>	<b>Wife References Husband</b>	<b>Child References Parents</b>	<b>Husband References Wife</b>	<b>Combination (Wife References Husband and Parents)</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Frequency	51	53	3	5	112
Percent	45%	47%	3%	5%	100%
Mean	1919	1913	1958	1901	
<i>s</i>	25.579	24.618	30.616	62.784	
Earliest	1853	1865	1940	1838	
Latest	1984	1987	1994	1984	

The One-Way ANOVA statistical test was performed to determine the differences in the means of the date of familial references between the four familial reference types. The familial reference type was the independent variable, and the date of familial reference was the dependent variable. A significant statistical difference in the mean familial reference date of the four reference types was found ( $F = 3.241$ ;  $df 3, 108$ ;  $p < .025$ ). Since the ANOVA was significant, the Tukey HSD statistic was used to determine the nature of the mean familial reference date differences between each specific reference type. A significant statistical difference was found ( $p < .033$ ) between the mean familial reference dates on children's markers mentioning their parents ( $M 1913$ ,  $s 24.618$ ) and the mean date on men's markers referencing their wives ( $M 1958$ ,  $s 30.616$ ). It appears that the average familial reference date of children referencing parents is about 45 years earlier than the average familial reference date of husbands referencing

wives on their markers. Another statistically significant difference was found ( $p < .027$ ) between the mean date of references where husbands mention their wives ( $M$  1958,  $s$  30.616) and the mean date of references where women mention both their husbands and parents on their marker ( $M$  1901,  $s$  62.784). The mean reference date of markers where women reference both their husbands and parents is 57 years earlier than the mean reference date of markers where men reference their wives. No other statistically significant differences between reference types were found. This might be due to the fact that the mean dates of the women referencing husbands ( $M$  1919,  $s$  25.579), children referencing parents ( $M$  1913,  $s$  24.618), and women referencing their husbands and parents ( $M$  1901,  $s$  62.784) types are very similar. Moreover, it appears that these three types of references occurred much earlier than any reference of men to their wives ( $M$  1958,  $s$  30.616).

#### *Relationship Between Cemetery Type and Vault Burial Patterns*

The final research question concerned the possible association between location of Black cemeteries and the frequency of vault burial groups, any changes in vault burial frequencies through time, and if there exist specific types of vault burial groups. Table 9 shows the frequency distribution and descriptive statistics related to the cemetery type and the average date of burial in the vault groups. A total of 24 vault burial groups were recorded. Two thirds of these groups were located in Black rural cemeteries (16 or 67%) the remainder being found in Black urban cemeteries (8 or 33%). Perhaps these physical differences are related to the fact that Black rural cemeteries, and by association the Black rural subculture, were most greatly impacted by the influences of out-migration during the twentieth century and were forced to create a new form of

burial promoting extended kinship ties beyond the immediate family. More interpretations related to this topic are in the final chapter.

Table 9. Frequency Distribution Between Cemetery Type and Vault Burial Date

<b>Vault Burial Statistics</b>	<b>Black Urban</b>	<b>Black Rural</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Frequency	8	16	24
Percent	33%	67%	100%
Mean	1969	1988	
<i>s</i>	20.389	13.188	
Earliest	1935	1963	
Latest	1991	2007	

An independent samples *t* test was performed to compare the average date of burial in the vault groups compared to the location since there are only two groups of Black cemeteries being compared (urban vs. rural). A statistically significant difference was found between the average vault group date and the location of the cemetery ( $t = -2.852$ ;  $df 22$ ;  $p < .009$ ). The average vault group date in Black urban cemeteries ( $M 1969$ ,  $s 20.389$ ) was significantly earlier than the average vault group date in Black rural cemeteries ( $M 1988$ ,  $s 13.188$ ). So, for some reason the average vault group date in Black urban cemeteries was almost two decades earlier than the average vault group date in Black rural cemeteries. These interesting results are discussed in the final chapter.

Table 10 shows the frequency distribution and descriptive statistics related to the type of vault burial group utilized and the average date of burial in the vault groups. The data were compiled based on the material culture of death found in both Black rural and Black urban

cemeteries. In order to discover any types of family burials other than family plots in Black cemeteries, only unenclosed groups of vault burials and not vault burials within family plots were recorded. The most common type of vault grouping is for vaults of families and extended kin groups to be arranged in a staircase-like pattern as seen in Figure 57 (16 or 67%). The second most common type of vault group is shown in Figure 58 where vaults of married couples are arranged in a segregated stair-step pattern (5 or 21%). This type appears more jumbled and haphazardly placed than the family vault arrangement. Figure 59 shows the least common type of vault arrangement where the vaults are closely aligned with the ground, and none of the vaults were partially raised to form any type of stair-step pattern (3 or 12%). Only distinctive clusters of vault burials of the “no step” type were recorded, since it becomes very difficult to establish boundaries between family units in this vault grouping type.

Table 10. Frequency Distribution Between Vault Burial Type and Vault Burial Date

<b>Vault Burial Statistics</b>	<b>Family Stair-Step Vault Type</b>	<b>Couple Stair-Step Vault Type</b>	<b>No Vault Steps</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Frequency	16	5	3	24
Percent	67%	21%	12%	100%
Mean	1982	1995	1958	
<i>s</i>	14.851	9.659	25.166	
Earliest	1950	1985	1935	
Latest	2005	2007	1985	

A One-Way ANOVA test was performed to understand the relationship between the vault burial types and average date of burial in the groups. A statistically significant difference was found between the average dates of burial in the vault group types ( $F = 5.542$ ;  $df 2, 21$ ;  $p < .012$ ).

Since a statistically significant ANOVA was found, the Tukey HSD statistical test was used to determine the mean differences in the vault group dates in relation to each specific vault group type. A statistically significant difference was found ( $p < .049$ ) between the average date of burial in the family type of vault arrangement ( $M 1982, s 14.851$ ) and the “no step” type of vault patterns ( $M 1958, s 25.166$ ). The “no step” type of vault grouping was used 24 years earlier than the family type of vault group. A statistically significant difference was also found ( $p < .009$ ) between the average vault group dates in the married couple type of arrangement ( $M 1995, s 9.659$ ) and the “no steps” type of vault pattern ( $M 1958, s 25.166$ ). Again, the “no step” type of vault grouping was utilized earlier, 37 years earlier, than the married couple vault group type. There was no statistically significant difference between the average date of burial in the married couple vault type and the family vault type ( $p < .257$ ), but it is worth noting that the placement of vaults according to family and extended kin groups ( $M 1982, s 14.851$ ) was utilized 12 years earlier than the married couple vault group type ( $M 1995, s 9.659$ ). Many interesting patterns have appeared in the family plot, familial reference, and vault burial groups data. These patterns and how they are related to change through time, ethnicity of the cemetery, and location of the cemetery will be discussed in the following chapter.



Figure 57. Family Staircase Type of Vault Group in Spring Hill Cemetery



Figure 58. Couple Stair-Step Type of Vault Group in Holly Springs Church Cemetery



Figure 59. No Stair-Step Type of Vault Group in Beautiful Zion Church Cemetery

## CHAPTER 7

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

My research is attempting to illustrate the physical differences found in the material culture of death in White and Black cemeteries in Northwest Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, and to give cultural and historical explanations for this diversity. Specifically, to posit that the social and cultural changes caused by the Great Migration, wherein millions of Black Southerners left the region with the hope of improving their social and economic status, caused changes in the burial patterns of families in the 16 cemeteries under study. The main research question is to determine if the material culture of death displayed in the 16 surveyed cemeteries has any relationship to the ethnicity of the individuals buried in the cemetery, the location of the cemetery, and the time of burial. In order to answer the main research question, three secondary questions guided my analyses of the data gathered from three distinct types of material culture relating to mortuary practices: family plots, familial references, and vault burial groups. Does ethnicity and location of the cemeteries determine the frequency of family plots, and does this frequency change through time? Does ethnicity and location of the cemeteries determine the frequency of familial references, are there any specific types of familial references, and does their frequency change through time? And does location of the Black cemeteries determine the frequency of vault burial groups, are there any specific types of vault burial groups, and does their frequency change through time?

My study was principally focused on family plots, defined as visible demarcations in cemeteries enclosing a group of graves belonging to related individuals (Jeane 1992: 116). The

materials enclosing the graves can vary, but typically one expects the individuals interred within the boundaries of the enclosure to be a group of related individuals (Jeane 1992: 116). This research attempted to determine if differences in family plot frequencies in cemeteries could be indicative of any kinship and social demographic changes caused by out-migration from the area in the twentieth century. This research also utilized the inscriptions on the markers for an analysis of familial and communal organization in cemeteries. Not only were the burial dates used to analyze change through time in the three distinctive aspects of material culture of death under study, but the inscriptions on the monuments were also used to observe indications of social relationships. I have adopted the term “familial references” to describe instances where familial relationships of the buried individual are specified in the marker inscriptions. These messages can be transcribed from the markers to discover kinship dynamics represented in the material culture of cemeteries, similar to the family plots analysis previously outlined. Four types of familial references were found in my survey. One type describes inscriptions on the graves of women referencing their husbands. Another variety distinguishes the markers of children with references to their parents’ names. A third form of familial reference was found on the markers of men mentioning the names of their wives. The last kind of familial reference was found on the markers of women where the names of her husband and parents are indicated.

Another component of my project involved research on the burial arrangements present in Black cemeteries in the absence of family plots. My previous research in the area seemed to indicate that in some Black cemeteries a different sort of burial organization is in place. Instead of placing individuals in established patches of land, or family plots, the burials are placed in neat rows of partially raised vaults that form a stair-step pattern resembling a stairway, and these vault groupings can incorporate a much larger group of individuals than most family plots (Burt

2010). Through my current research I attempted to discover if the individuals buried in these “stair-step” vault groups are related family members or more distant members of the community by examining the surnames of the individuals buried in the groups. My research also focused on determining if these “steps” are arranged in any specific pattern according to the average date of burial in the vault groups and the urban or rural location of the cemetery.

Data were gathered from the burial configurations of kin groups and the inscriptions on the individual markers, and maps and photographs were created for each cemetery, family plot, familial reference, and vault burial grouping. This information was separated into four cemetery groups. These categories were created by combining the variables of ethnicity and location, which produced four cemetery types representing four different subcultures: White urban cemeteries, White rural cemeteries, Black urban cemeteries, and Black rural cemeteries. The four cemetery types were compared in order to understand the relationship between the family plot, familial reference, and vault burial group data according to the variables of time, ethnicity, and location. By analyzing the four cemetery types I expect to understand if the four subcultures associated with each type were influenced by out-migration during the twentieth century, as seen through the material culture of death utilized by each group.

Frequency distributions, descriptive statistics, and inferential statistics were used to understand the relationship between the average date of burial in the plots for each cemetery type, and to examine any changes through time. The associations between the cemetery type, familial reference frequencies, date of familial references, and type of familial references were also statistically analyzed. Finally, any connection between the locations of Black cemeteries, the frequency of vault burials, average date of burial in vault groups, and types of vault burial groupings were statistically analyzed. The interpretations of these results are described below.

Based on information derived from the scholarly literature and past cemetery research, which I performed in other portions of Tuscaloosa county (Burt 2010), I predicted that Whites in the Black Warrior River drainage area displayed their nuclear family relations more so than Blacks in the region. Whites maintained greater immediate family stability and were more prone to display close kinship ties through the use of demarcated family plots and familial references on the inscriptions of individual markers, distinguishing kin groups from the rest of the cemetery population and asserting their unique family identity. For the Black cemetery population, I expected community connections to be more emphasized, as evidenced by fewer family plots and familial references, which seem to promote nuclear family ties, and the use of stair-step vault burials that can incorporate larger extended kin groups. I believe this change was brought about by an amalgamation of economic and social forces, called the Great Migration, which pushed Black agricultural laborers out of the rural areas surrounding Tuscaloosa and towards cities, which needed an industrial labor force. My other hypotheses are intended to compare the material culture of death found in the four established cemetery types.

I predicted that White urban cemeteries would have higher family plot and familial reference frequencies than any other cemetery type and the frequencies would not decrease through time, because this group was least influenced by out-migration caused by the Great Migration. As a result, these cemeteries would be more likely to display family relationships in the material culture of death present in the cemeteries. I also hypothesized that White rural cemeteries would have the second highest frequencies of family plots and familial references, which would not decrease through time, as this group would be less influenced by out-migration compared to Blacks. Black urban cemeteries were expected to have the third highest frequencies for family plots and familial references, and these frequencies were expected to decrease from

1920-1950 the peak years of out-migration from the area for Blacks. Black rural cemeteries were expected to have the lowest frequencies of family plots and familial references, especially from 1920-1950, and this group was most likely influenced by out-migration to the greatest extent of any other group under study for various social and economic reasons. Since close-knit family members were leaving, the individuals in the Black community might have been expected to extend their kinship networks to include more distant family members and community members still living in the area. This switch from close to broad kinship ties might be seen in the decrease of family plot and familial reference frequencies, and the development of unique partially raised vault burial patterns in some Black cemeteries. The results of the statistical tests for these hypotheses are presented below.

### *Interpretations of Results*

*Family Plots.* The main research question being addressed focused on determining if White cemeteries in this region contained more family plots than Black cemeteries. I predicted that White cemeteries would indeed contain more family plots than Black cemeteries, and reasoned that the out-migration of Blacks during the twentieth century was the explanation. A total of 148 plots were analyzed. Based on the plot frequencies, it seems that the prediction was confirmed. More family plots were found in White cemeteries (99 or 68%) compared to Black cemeteries (46 or 32%). This might be an indication that out-migration throughout the twentieth century impacted the material culture of death in Black cemeteries. Specifically the departure of family members might have caused a decrease in the construction and employment of family plots. However, it is important to remember that there may always be other reasons why these

differences in the material culture of death in White and Black cemeteries can occur, and some variations may be unrelated to the Great Migration.

Another research query involved the popularity and use of family plots through time and across geographic space in the two ethnic groups. Based on previous cemetery surveys I performed in the county and cognizant of the historical impact the Great Migration had on the Black population, I expected that White cemeteries in urban areas would have the highest frequencies of family plots. I also expected that White rural cemeteries would have the second highest number of family plots, then Black urban cemeteries, and finally Black rural cemeteries. These predictions were confirmed to some extent. The plot frequencies in White urban cemeteries were the highest (67 or 46%), while Black rural cemeteries did indeed contain the fewest family plots (4 or 3%). The Great Migration and loss of population and immediate family members might have caused this sizable disparity in family plot frequencies in White urban cemeteries compared to Black rural cemeteries. This is because the White citizens living in urban areas were least likely to be involved in any sort of out-migration out of the area, for the various economic and social reasons outlined in Chapter 3, and might have been able to maintain stable family bonds. This familial solidarity probably promoted the continued popularity of family plots in their cemeteries. However, Black citizens living in rural areas were highly influenced by the social and cultural changes involved in the Great Migration, and members of this group would have been inclined to leave the area, thus diminishing the stability of family relations. The decrease in family bonds might have prompted them to extend their kinship and social ties, creating an emphasis on communal solidarity and identity. This social change could have initiated a transformation in the familial burial patterns in Black cemeteries, which may explain why there are so few family plots in Black rural cemeteries compared to White urban cemeteries.

However, it appears that ethnicity might not be the only variable influencing family plot frequencies, as the location of cemeteries might also be a determining factor.

The plot frequencies for White rural cemeteries and Black urban cemeteries were surprising. I expected the White rural cemeteries would contain more family plots than Black urban cemeteries due to the fact that Black citizens would have been more likely to experience a decrease in family ties. However, these predictions were not realized, as Black urban cemeteries contained more family plots (42 or 29%) than White rural cemeteries (32 or 22%). This might mean that White citizens living in the rural areas of my survey were also encouraged to leave the area, much like their Black neighbors. There has been recent scholarship on the out-migration of White Southerners during the twentieth century (e.g. Gregory 2005). Akin to the financial pressures rural Blacks faced, many White workers in rural areas might have been compelled to leave in search of better economic opportunities, like employment in locally-based iron, steel, or coal-mining industries (Gregory 2005). This might have caused close family ties in the White rural population to break down, causing a decrease in the presence of family plots in their cemeteries. On the other hand, Black urban cemeteries had the second highest family plot frequency behind White urban cemeteries. Perhaps this group was not as economically pressed to leave, compared to Black and White citizens living in rural areas. Therefore, Black citizens in urban areas might have been able to preserve close kinship ties to immediate family members, which encouraged the exhibition of these bonds through the use of family plots in their cemeteries. Based on these surprising findings, it appears that cemetery location might also be an explanation for the diverse frequency of family plots in the material culture of death displayed in the White and Black cemeteries in my survey. Again, it is important to remember that the

Great Migration might have been one of the several influences on the material culture of death in the surveyed cemeteries. Other causal factors may have influenced family plot origins and usage.

Yet another component of my research analyzed the utilization of family plots during the twentieth century. I predicted that the Great Migration would have caused family plot frequencies in Black cemeteries, especially Black rural cemeteries, to decrease in the twentieth century, particularly in the years from 1920 to 1950, which was the peak period of out-migration for Black citizens in this county. Since White people were under less economic and social pressure to leave the area, White cemeteries, especially urban ones, were predicted to have high family plot frequencies throughout the twentieth century. A One-Way ANOVA statistical test was performed to compare the mean family plot dates from White urban, White rural, Black urban, and Black rural cemeteries. A statistically significant difference ( $p < .001$ ) was found in the average plot dates in White urban (mean 1951, sd 19.773) and White rural (mean 1929 sd 27.418) cemeteries, so the average date of plots in White rural cemeteries is significantly earlier than the average plot dates in White urban cemeteries. This might mean that the use of family plots decreased in popularity after 1929 in White rural cemeteries and after 1951 in White urban cemeteries. What is most interesting is the fact that the average plot dates in Black cemeteries, regardless of location, are much more recent than in White cemeteries. The mean plot date in Black urban cemeteries (mean 1965, sd 17.487) is 14 years later than the average plot dates in White urban cemeteries, which is a statistically significant difference ( $p < .006$ ). A statistically significant difference was also found between the average plot dates in White rural and Black urban cemeteries ( $p < .001$ ), with the average plot date being 36 years later in Black urban cemeteries. Moreover, a statistically significant difference ( $p < .001$ ) exists between the mean plot dates in White rural cemeteries compared to Black rural cemeteries (mean 1972, sd 19.296),

and the average plot date in Black rural cemeteries is 43 years later than in White rural cemeteries.

In sum, it appears that since the average plot dates from the Black cemeteries in urban (mean 1965) and rural (mean 1972) areas are more recent than White cemeteries. Perhaps these Black people received some stimulus to form family plots in more recent times but not to any extent between 1920-1950. The standard deviations are particularly useful to chart change through time for the average plot dates in the four cemetery types. Family plots were most popular in Black urban cemeteries from 1948-1982, even though the earliest plot dated to 1925. Maybe migration pressures prevented family plots from becoming more popular in Black urban cemeteries before 1940. The census data seem to indicate that this is the case, especially since more Black citizens left from 1920-1950 in Tuscaloosa County. The same case is true of Black rural cemeteries where the average family plot dates are even more recent. Family plots were most popular in Black rural cemeteries from 1953-1991, and the earliest plot found dates to 1945. These findings also correspond to the county census records. The idea is supported that the Great Migration might have influenced the material culture of death of Black citizens in Tuscaloosa County, since so few family plots were found from 1920-1950. What was not expected is the recent popularity of family plots, which might be due to Black population movements into the region as a kind of reverse migration. Some historians have posited that Black Southerners who left the South during the Great Migration are returning to the region (Gregory 2005), and this might explain the recent popularity of family plots in Black urban and Black rural cemeteries. Based on the cemetery data, maybe the reverse migration occurred in the later half of the twentieth century in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

*Familial References.* Another hypothesis predicted that White cemeteries, White urban cemeteries in particular, would contain more instances of familial references on grave markers than Black cemeteries, and specifically Black rural cemeteries. Of the 112 familial references analyzed it appears that more were found in White cemeteries (94 or 84%) than Black cemeteries (18 or 16%), as expected. Perhaps the pressures of out-migration explain this variation in familial references on markers, much like the family plot frequencies in White and Black cemeteries. The loss of immediate family members might have inhibited Black citizens in the study area from referencing their parents, spouses, and children on grave markers. Unexpectedly, more familial references were found in White rural cemeteries (49 or 44%) than White urban cemeteries (45 or 40%). An unexpected situation was also found in Black cemeteries, and more familial references were present in Black rural cemeteries (11 or 10%) compared to Black urban cemeteries (7 or 6%). These findings might suggest that referencing parents, spouses, and children on grave markers was more common for rural populations regardless of ethnicity. This may mean that there existed a stronger sense of family in the country, and would be a very interesting topic for future research.

The utilization of familial references through time in the four cemetery types and populations was also analyzed. I expected that out-migration from 1920-1950 would cause the amount of familial references in Black cemeteries, especially Black rural cemeteries, to decrease from 1920-1950 due to the loss of immediate family members. At the same time, I thought that instances of familial references in White urban, and to a lesser extent White rural, cemeteries would remain constant throughout the twentieth century. A significant statistical difference ( $p < .022$ ) was found in the average date of familial references in White rural (mean 1908, sd 27.721) and Black urban (mean 1940 sd 25.382) cemeteries. The average familial reference date in White

rural cemeteries occurred 32 years earlier than the average date in Black urban cemeteries. Familial references were most popular from 1881-1935 in White rural cemeteries. The earliest use of familial references in these cemeteries dates back to 1838 and the most recent familial reference dates to 1984. So, it appears familial references were quite popular in White rural cemeteries in historical times and continued to be used, to a lesser extent, until the end of the twentieth century. A different situation was found in the Black urban cemeteries, where familial references were most popular from 1915-1965, with the earliest instance dating to 1911 and the most recent to 1987. However, it is important to remember that only 7 familial references were found in Black urban cemeteries. No other statistically significant differences were found, which might be due to the fact that the average familial reference dates for White urban (1921), Black urban (1940) and Black rural (1920) cemeteries were so similar. It is possible that out-migration of Blacks from 1920-1950 just might not have been a major influence on familial referencing in Black cemeteries. Further study is needed concerning why familial references were most common from 1915-1965 in Black urban cemeteries and from 1903-1937 in Black rural cemeteries.

Another component of the familial reference research involved the analysis of the four different types of familial references found on the markers. The most common type was found on the graves of women referencing their husband's names (51 or 45%). The second most common type was on the graves of children referencing one or both of their parents' names (53 or 47%). There were fewer instances found where women mention the names of both their parents and husbands (5 or 5%). The least common type of familial reference was found on the markers of men making reference to their wives (3 or 3%). By far the most common forms of reference were on the markers of women and children mentioning their significant others and/or parents. A

statistically significant difference was found ( $p < .033$ ) between the average date of familial references on the graves of children mentioning parents (mean 1913, sd 24.618) and the average date of references on the graves of men mentioning their wives (mean 1958, sd. 30.616), with the references to children's parents occurring 45 years earlier. Another statistically significant difference was found in the average date of references on the markers of men referencing their wives and instances where women referenced both their husbands and parents (mean 1901, sd 62.784), with the latter occurring 57 years earlier than the former. These findings suggest that women and children are in subordinate positions in these relationships, the referencing of husbands and parents having been a social necessity. It should be noted that once males grew from boys to men, there were far fewer instances of men referencing family members. All of this may be reflective of a male dominated society that characterizes the South, and perhaps other regions of the U.S. as well. Interestingly enough, familial references on the markers of men referencing their wives are a very recent trend compared to the other types of references. The first instance of this type was dated to 1940 and the most recent to 1994. This might be reflective of the increased status of women in Southern society in recent decades and contrasts markedly with references on the graves of women in the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, which mentions their husband's names far more commonly.

*Vault Burial Patterns in Black Cemeteries.* The final research question concerned the relationship between the location of Black cemeteries and the frequency of vault burial groups, changes in these frequencies through time, and specific types of vault burial groups. A total of 25 vault burial groups were recorded, but one of the groups could not be analyzed because it contained markers with no dates. Most of these groups were located in Black rural cemeteries

(16 or 67%). The fewest amount of vault groups were found in Black urban cemeteries (8 or 33%). Perhaps these physical differences are related to the fact that Black rural cemeteries, and by association the Black rural subculture, were most greatly impacted by the influences of out-migration during the twentieth century and were inspired to create a new form of burial promoting extended kinship ties beyond the immediate family. A statistically significant difference ( $p < .009$ ) was found between the average vault group date and location of Black cemeteries. The average vault group date in Black urban cemeteries (mean 1969, sd 20.389) was 19 years earlier than the average vault group date in Black rural cemeteries (mean 1988, sd 13.188). Apparently stair-step vault burials were introduced in 1935 and continued to be used until 1991 in Black urban cemeteries, with most dating from 1949-1989. Vault burial groupings started being used in 1963 and continued to be utilized until 2007 in Black rural cemeteries, with most groups dating from 1975 to 2001. I expected this practice to originate in Black rural cemeteries since these cemeteries contained the fewest family plots and was probably influenced to the greatest extent by social and cultural changes brought about by the Great Migration. However, the opposite appears to be the case. Further analysis of this topic might yield an explanation for these findings, since my research has given no definitive reasons for the patterns. Yet again it is important to note that a single idea (in this case the event of the Great Migration) might not be the only matter that influences social behavior in these communities. For example, perhaps the idea to arrange vault burials in stair-step formations resembling a “stairway to heaven” came out of scripture and was first promoted in Black urban churches. If so, this burial practice may have then spread to the more rural areas of the county.

Finally, the three types of vault groupings encountered were statistically analyzed. By far the most common type of vault grouping is for vaults of families and extended kin groups to be

arranged in a staircase-like pattern (16 or 67%). The second most common type of vault group is for vaults of married couples to be arranged in a segregated stair-step pattern (5 or 21%), and this type appears more jumbled and haphazardly placed than the family vault arrangement. The least common type of vault arrangement was for the vaults to be closely aligned with the ground with none of the vaults partially raised to form any type of stair-step pattern (3 or 12%). It is also interesting to note that a statistically significant difference was found ( $p < .049$ ) between the average dates of the family type of vault arrangement (mean 1982, sd 14.851) and the “no step” type of vault patterns (mean 1958, sd 25.166), so the “no step” type of vault grouping was used 24 years earlier than the family stair-step type. Perhaps vault burial groups were introduced into Black cemeteries in the middle of the twentieth century in response to the loss of family members during out-migration from 1920-1950. These burials resembled the belowground burials marked by Tablets (vertical tombstones) traditionally seen in Black cemeteries, with the exception that the more modern vault markers are horizontally oriented. Maybe this form of vault burial eventually transformed into the type where the vaults of family groups are arranged in a stair-step pattern. The first instance of the family stair-step type was in 1950 when out-migration of Black citizens from this county evidently slowed.

Another statistically significant difference was found in the average dates in the married couple type of arrangement (mean 1995, sd 9.659) and the “no steps” type of vault pattern (mean 1958, sd 25.166). The “no step” type of vault grouping was utilized 37 years earlier than the married couple vault group type. The couple type of stair-step vault group appears to be the most recent vault burial type with the first instance dating to 1985 and the most recent to 2007. This seems to suggest that a transformation occurred in the vault burial types. The “no step” type was introduced first, which is not surprising since it resembles previous burial patterns with the

exception of the horizontal orientation of the marker. Then, the family stair-step vault type emerged in 1950, with most dating from 1968-1996. Finally, the arrangement of vaults by married couples appeared most recently in 1985, with most dating from 1986-2004. This variation in vault burial types was most likely unrelated to the Great Migration, but perhaps future research could determine what social or cultural factors in the second half of the twentieth century actually were involved.

My research indicates that family plots were more popular in White cemeteries than Black cemeteries. White urban cemeteries contained the most family plots, then urban Black cemeteries, and then rural White cemeteries, with Black rural cemeteries having contained the fewest family plots. So, it seems that both the ethnicity and location of the cemeteries in this study could determine the amount of family plots found. The popularity of family plots also changed through time with regard to ethnicity and location of the cemetery. Family plots were first used in White rural cemeteries, then in White urban cemeteries, then in Black urban cemeteries, and then, finally, in Black rural cemeteries. Most importantly, family plots did not become popular in Black cemeteries until around 1950 and then increased in popularity through the late decades of the twentieth century. This pattern might be due to the fact that many Black families and individuals left the area from 1920-1950.

The data on familial references did not conform to the Great Migration explanation as well as the family plot data. While more familial references were found in White cemeteries than Black cemeteries, familial references were popular in Black cemeteries throughout the early half of the twentieth century during the peak out-migration years. Perhaps this form of nuclear family identification was more applicable in Black cemeteries than the use of family plots, since it was not necessary for family members to be buried together in order to be identified. Finally,

it appears that the vault burial group data suggest that this form of burial arrangement was most popular in Black cemeteries towards the end of the Great Migration and afterwards starting in Black urban cemeteries and spreading to rural Black cemeteries. So, maybe the loss of immediate family members caused some Black citizens in this area to develop a more community-oriented form of burial.

### *Implications of Research*

The findings of this research indicate that cemeteries are very useful social and cultural landscapes available for addressing anthropological issues, especially in regards to the study of historic population movements. This research demonstrates the importance of cemetery analysis, and steps should be taken to preserve and protect the cultural data available in these sites. The burial practices utilized by different populations can yield more than just cultural information, such as the varieties of familial organization. They also provide information about the social and economic pressures experienced by particular populace, as was seen in the distinctions between the material cultures of death in the White and Black cemeteries in my study.

### *Limitations of Research*

It is important to note that there are some limitations in this research related to economic disparities between the different groups under study. Especially in historic times, the materials and labor required for the construction of grave markers and family plots was quite expensive. A major tenet of this research is that in the twentieth century the Black citizens in this county generally had less economic opportunities and stability than many White citizens in the area. So, it is not surprising that more plots and more markers were recorded in White cemeteries

compared to Black cemeteries, where cheaper and less-permanent materials like wood were used. It is important to keep these economic issues in mind when interpreting the results of this research of data compiled from the markers, plots, and vaults. Also, the sample of cemeteries surveyed in this project was limited. Only 16 cemeteries were surveyed for data collection and analysis, yet there are hundreds of cemeteries in Tuscaloosa County. In addition, this research was mainly focused on the organization of families in cemeteries, principally the arrangement of related individuals into family plots, and the potential historical explanations for these arrangements. The research might have yielded different results if data were collected on each marker in the cemeteries, but this was impractical. The research also has a very limited scope given that it is restricted to a very small geographic region and timeframe, since variations in the material culture of death in a small area of Tuscaloosa County during the twentieth century were the focus. For these reasons, the conclusions of this study are applicable primarily to the population under examination. However, these findings could still be used as a base for research in other areas of the Southeast that experienced similar historical events and social responses.

### *Suggestions for Future Research*

I hope I have demonstrated in this project that investigations concerning displays of kinship and family groups in cemeteries have great potential. Future studies could discover if there exist any variations in family plot frequencies based on location, time, or ethnicity within the Southeastern United States using the same methods outlined in this study. These same methods could also be used to discover if increases in population elsewhere in the nation that was due to an influx of migrants can be observed in analysis of kinship displays in cemeteries. A more spatially focused analysis could yield interesting results. For example, if enough time and

resources are available cemeteries could be surveyed in their entirety, and each burial in the cemetery could be individually mapped using GPS and total station surveying techniques. The burials could also be given exact dates from the inscriptions on the markers. GIS techniques could then be used to discover how cemeteries and communities developed through time.

Future research in the familial reference patterns utilized by this and other populations could yield interesting results as well. Historical sources and census records could be used to discover population fluctuations, like outbreaks of childhood diseases, and cultural changes, such as the increased social status of women in recent times. More extensive research could be undertaken concerning vault burial arrangements in Black cemeteries in this area and other places, especially regarding the transformation of vault group types through time and how this might be related to socio-cultural changes experienced by the Black population in the South and in other parts of the United States.

In addition, a more holistic anthropological study incorporating ethnographic analysis into this archaeological study could be performed. The conclusions from this archaeological research on the use of family plots, familial references, and vault burials in the White and Black cemeteries in this county could be explored and, hopefully, validated through ethnographic interviews. Informants who are members of the many churches associated with these cemeteries, undertakers, and gravestone carvers could be interviewed. Interesting data could be collected on their family and community histories in regards to out-migration from the area in the twentieth century, which might give more perspective to the patterns observed from the graves.

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## APPENDIX A

The family plot, familial reference, and vault burial grouping data are presented here for each cemetery. The plot, vault group dates, and familial reference dates are given. Then, the individuals' names, birth years, and death years are presented for each plot, vault burial grouping, and familial reference. The plot numbers correspond to the maps of the plots in Appendix B, so each individual burial shown here corresponds to the graphic displays in the next appendix.

***West Highland Memorial Cemetery (16-H-10)***

**Plot #1: Date 1979**

1	Lizzie Isaac	1867	1936
2	Charlie Thompson	1909	1976
3	Christine Thompson White	1900	1991
4	George Harris Jackson	1896	1986
5	Millie Lee Thompson Jackson	1906	2005

**Plot #2: Date 1968**

1	Clinton Johnson	1895	1972
2	Martha Gray McKey	1905	1980
3	George McKey	1906	1944

**Plot #3: Date 1947**

1A	Roxie Woodard	1900	1957
1B	John Woodard	1894	1966
2			
3		1931	1949
4	P. Woodard	1865	1935
5	M. Woodard	1872	1935
6			

**Plot #4: Date 1975**

1	William Marcus Gilchrist	1889	1940
2	Joanna M. Gafford Shackelford	1869	1957
3	Daisy B. Gafford Gilchrist	1898	1976
4	Eddie M. Gilchrist	1900	1991
5	Carlos J. Lewis	1950	2006

**Plot # 5: Contained 5 vault burials**

**Plot #6: Date 1949**

1			
2	Silas Mills	1876	1949

**Plot #7: Date 1961**

1	Luther Hall	1902	1976
2	Dewitt Hardy	1899	1948
3	Eunice Hardy	1927	1946
4	Holly Hall	1909	1975
5	Pinkie Hall	1889	1964

**Plot #8: Date 1955**

1	James Stephenson	1918	1944	
2	Mary P. Stephenson		1949	Wife of O. Stephenson
3	Olice Stephenson	1888	1968	
4	Lauelle Hurst	1912	1967	
5	Elnora C. Stephenson	1924	1953	

**Plot #9: Date 1968**

1	Shirley Hollie	1937	2008
2A	Genia Jones Mims	1898	1955
2B	Lue Cullars Sr. Mims	1893	1944

**Plot #10: Date 1966**

1	Peggie Sanders	1872	1961
2	Emma Preston	1892	1958
3	Oliver Levy Green	1912	1943
4		1894	1940
5	Annie Lee Green	1914	1990
6	Daniel W. Green	1910	1976
7	Aldie Cunningham	1897	1980

**Plot #11: Date 1940**

1	Jim Collins	1879	1937
2	Hester Prewitt Collins	1893	1942

**Plot #12: Date 1955**

1	Georgia Meriweather		1938
2			
3	Samull Meriweather	1905	1967
4	Waylon F. Meriweather	1915	1968

**Plot #13: Date 1963**

1	Johnny R. Smith	1914	1947
2	Edgar Leroy Daly	1921	1962
3	Maude Eleanora Daly	1892	1984
4	Charles Franklin Daly Sr.	1891	1942
5	Lottie B. J. Walton	1955	1978

**Plot #14: Date 1955**

1			
2			
3	James A. Stroder	1881	1954
4	Rev. John R. Dixon	1883	1956

**Plot #15: Date 1966**

1	Rena Sharper Lewis	1923	1956
2	Altha Reed	1909	1967
3	Frank Sharper	1928	1985
4	Rosia Lee Sander	1910	1967
5	Edward Sharper	1926	1969
6	James Reed	1912	1967
7	Emma Mason	1903	1969
8	Louvenia Wyatt	1879	1969

**Plot #16: Date 1978**

1	Hattie Hawkins	1879	1958
2	Turner Hawkins	1905	1951
3	Lloyd Tucker	1898	1964
4	Mary Lee Hardy	1914	2004
5			
6	Hattie M. Watson	1911	2005
7	William C. Sr. Watson	1911	1983

**Plot #17: Date 1972**

1	Robert Jones	1872	1961
2	Clara B. Hutcherson	1906	1993
3	Claude Hutcherson Sr.	1899	1976
4	Martha Hutcherson	1866	1958

**Plot #18: Date 1967**

1	Reuben George Tutwiler	1886	1954
2			
3			
4			
5			
6	Joseph C. Tutwiler	1924	1976
7	Henry R. Tutwiler	1888	1977
8	Agnes W. Tutwiler	1900	1963

**Plot #19: Date 1980**

1	Edna C. Cunningham	1911	1981
2	Christopher C. Cunningham	1907	1974

**Plot #20: Date 1965**

1	Theologus R. Cook	1913	1954
2	Octavia C. Dixon	1908	1973
3			
4			

**Plot #21: Date 1977**

1	Bertha S. Lewis	1902	1973
2	Israel Lewis	1893	1947
3	Julia Catherian Lewis Calmese	1924	2009
4	John E. Calmese	1923	1988

**Plot #22: Date 1977**

1	Walter Bushell	1901	1985
2	Anna Lou Bushell	1902	1968
3	Elsie Christian	1900	1981
4			
5	Percy Grant	1910	1977

**Plot #23: Date 1965**

1	Wyble Rollins	1914	1989
2	Gloria Gay White	1940	1954
3	Edmond Rollins	1886	1966
4	Sarah Azline Rollins	1884	1954

**Plot #24: Date 2009**

1			
2			
3			
4	William F. Nalls	1919	2009
5			

**Plot #25: Date 1976**

1	Martha Lillie O'Rourke	1919	1982
2	Timothy O'Rourke		1963
3	Sallie Ann O'Rourke		1956
4	Irene O'Rourke Berry	1922	2007
5	Joseph R. O'Rourke	1925	1985
6	Richard Reese O'Rourke		1962

**Plot #26: Date 1985**

1	James A. Wilkinson	1914	1957
2	Pearl Mae Ferguson Wilkinson		1974
3	Mary M. Wilkinson	1919	2005
4	Angelo Weatherspoon	1981	2004
5			

**Plot #27: Date 1958**

1A	James A. Gibbs		1951
1B	Henrietta M. Gibbs		1960
2	Joseph Carpenter	1913	1955

**Plot #28: Date 1994**

1			
2			
3			
4	Hester		
5			
6			
7	Robert Lee McGee	1920	1994
8			

**Plot #29: Date 1981**

1	Grace Elouise Tooson Sanders	1927	2009
2	Mattie Pearl Tooson	1902	1991
3	Mixon Tooson	1893	1948

**Plot #30: Date 1961**

1			
2			
3			
4	William Summerville	1873	1954
5			
6A	Charlie Beasey	1876	1961
6B	Estellia Beasey	1884	1968
7			
8			

***Pine Ridge (16-H-11)*****Plot #31:** Contained 5 burials**Plot #32: Date 1925**

1	Cora Jane Dudley	1867	1934	Was Loyal to Church and Family
2	H.R. Dudley	1900	1928	
3	Gennie Dudley	1883	1911	Was Loyal to Church and Family
4	T.E. Dudley	1908	1920	

**Plot #33: 1950**

1A	Laura B. Murphy	1889	1956
1B	William T. Murphy	1874	1943

**Plot #34: 1977**

1	William A. Evans Sr.	1907	1992
2	William Albert Evans Jr.	1938	1980
3			
4			
5	Ella R. Wright	1892	1936
6	Robert Mae Evans	1907	1990

**Plot #35: Date 1940**

1			
2A	Mary E. Lewis	1873	1948
2B	Chas M. Lewis Sr.	1857	1939

**Plot #36: Contained 4 burials****Plot #37: Date 1945**

1	Annie Patterson Barbour	1872	1925
2	James L. Barbour	1872	1952
3	Lubie Barbour	1874	1909
4A	Mariah Barber	1842	1937
4B	Mordecia Barber		
5A	Jack Barber	1844	1902
5B	Amanda Barber		
6A	Ocie Barber	1870	1912
6B	Ed Barber	1874	1937
7			
8	Delores L-Mecham Eten	1910	1975
9A	Elritt Jr. Mecham	1900	1979
9B	Essie W. Mecham	1903	2003
10	Carlos E. Mecham	1940	
11	Leola C. Mecham	1946	1998
12	Max L. Medows	1889	1913
13	Erlle Mecham	1874	1944

**Vault Burial Grouping #1: Date 1950**

1	Tom Strodder	1875	1960
2	Linda Strodder	1885	1962
3	Willie Harris	1880	1933
4	Mae Rachel Harris	1901	1926
5	Willie Harris	1905	1925
6	Lillie Harris	1903	1924
7			
8	Elnora Isaac	1909	1983
9	Louise Sanders	1907	1962
10	James Sanders	1907	1961

**Beautiful Zion Church Cemetery (16-G-9)**

**Vault Burial Grouping #2: Date 1935**

1	James Singleton	1906	1927	
2	Mattie Singleon	1865	1917	Wife of Ed Singleton
3	Ed Singleton	1850	1960	
4	Sarah Savage	1886	1933	Daughter of Ed Singleton
5	Angeline Foster	1881	1939	

**Vault Burial Grouping #3: Date 1988**

1				
2	John Andrew Martin		1914	1975
3	Mamie Lee Martin		1914	1984
4	Rosetta Thomas		1941	2000

**Vault Burial Grouping #4: Date 1973**

1	Everlina Burnett		1889	1981
2	Ruth Slayton		1891	1949
3	Roberta Slayton		1902	1977
4	Sam Slayton Jr.		1884	1976
5	Lillie Slayton		1887	1963
6	Samuel Slayton		1916	1991

**Vault Burial Grouping #5: Date 1991**

1	Shadie Bolden		1903	1977
2	Katherine Bolden		1902	1996
3	Leona Bolden		1933	2000

**Williamson Cemetery (16-H-1)**

**Plot #38: Date 1963**

1	William H. Ramsey		1888	1952
2	Viola Hughes Ramsey		1885	1964
3	Sallie F. Hughes		1860	1957
4	William R. Hughes		1862	1937
5A	Infant Bishop Pullen			
5B	Infant Barbara Pullen			
6	Mary Ruth Ramsey Pullen		1916	2002
7	Bishop M. Pullen		1906	1966

**Plot #39: Date 1965**

1	Walter N. Evans		1898	1956
2	Necie K. Evans		1898	1975

**Plot #40: Date 1948**

1A	Phillip J. Maklic	1884	1948
1B	Eddice Z. Maklic	1908	

**Plot #41: Date 1896**

1	Addie Cain Perry	1876	1915	
2	Albert Sidney Cain	1889	1893	
3	Wile Hagler Cain	1880	1884	
4	Joanna Cain	1869	1869	
5	Infant Son	1875	1875	
6	Eddie Propst	1888	1888	Grandson Little Eddie Propst Son of W.F. & Nora Cain Propst
7	Hazy Lee Cain	1872	1903	Hazy Lee Cain Devoted & Beloved Wife of Wilson C. Tucker
8	Adkin Cain	1832	1899	
9	Betty Hagler Cain	1846	1943	

**Plot #42: Date 1955**

1	S.Z. Darden Jr.	1914	1940
2	S.Z. Darden Dezzie L. Darden	1864	1929
3	Dezzie L. Darden	1879	1960
4	Mae Darden Farrow	1911	1974
5	Ralph Newton Farrow	1908	1961

**Plot #43: Date 1905**

1	Nannie Bealle Hardin	1861	1902	
2	Jack Hardin	1856	1924	
3	Grover Hardin	1885	1888	Grover Son of J & N.B. Hardin
4	Wilson Brown Hardin	1896	1896	
5	Nannie Jack Hardin	1898	1913	

**Plot #44: Date 1937**

1	Susan Evelyn Johnson	1915	1918	Susan Evelyn Daughter of W.E. & Mary Johnson
2	Infant Daughter	1938	1938	Infant Daughter of Mr & Mrs W.W. Sanford
3	Ruth Johnson Sanford	1912	2004	
4	William E. Johnson	1880	1956	
5	Mary Spencer Johnson	1881	1971	
6	Martha Helen Spencer	1843	1889	
7	Charles J. Spencer	1838	1907	
8	Susan Spencer	1860	1927	
9	Mattie Hudgins	1864	1934	

**Plot #45: Date 1953**

1	Alma C. Vinson		1896	1984
2A	Mary Frances Clements		1861	1947
2B	William Thomas Clements		1851	1906
3A	Amon Christian		1882	1916
3B	Willie Christian		1887	1970
4	Fred Anson Mills		1888	1965
5	Katie B. Mills		1890	1983

**Plot #46: Date 1940**

1	Ewell Sullivan	1891	1955	
2	Effie Sullivan Pruet	1888	1956	
3	William Edward Sullivan	1855	1919	
4	Julia Hughes	1857	1939	Julia Hughes Wife of W.E. Sullivan

**Plot #47: Date 1927**

1	Rebecca Hughes	1872	1932	
2	Festus Hughes	1886	1922	
3	Laura Francis Hughes	1916	1916	Laura Francis Infant Daughter of Festus Hughes
4				
5	Jim Hughes	1864	1935	

**Plot #48: Date 1953**

1	John Mart Brown	1906	1985	
2	Eupora P. Phillips	1896	1964	
3	Savina Brown	1901	1989	
4A	Ezral Mart Brown	1864	1914	
4B	Ellen Iteria Brown	1869	1918	
5	Infants of the Brown Family	1909	1909	Infants of E.M. & E.I. Brown
6	Lilian Brown	1887	1908	Lilian Brown Daughter of E.M. & E.I. Brown
7A	Alton M. Brown	1910	1977	
7B	Roberta Shirley Brown	1914	2007	
8A	Virgil L. Brown	1894	1935	
8B	Sarah Pearl Brown	1896	1947	
9	Alton Brown	1934	2007	

**Plot #49: Date 1955**

1	Jessie w. Brown	1867	1916	
2	Lonie Stanley Brown	1869	1962	Lonie Stanley Brown Wife of Jesse W. Brown
3	James T. Brown	1863	1925	
4	David L. Brown	1853	1926	
5	Martha A. Brown	1865	1927	
6	Mayme B. Wilkinson	1894	1987	Mayme B. Wilkinson Daughter of Jesse Brown
7	Louise Brown Stephens	1905	2001	
8	William Clarence Stephens	1905	1994	William Clarence Stephens Husband of Louise B. Stephens

**Plot #50: Date 1951**

1A	Charlie F. Shirley	1875	1953
1B	Annie Lewis Shirley	1885	1974
2	Terrel F. Shirley	1918	1920

**Plot #51: Date 1948**

1	Patton M. Wood	1921	1925
2	Bessie Morrow Wood	1889	1952
3	Doyle Leverne Wood	1927	1948
4	Callie Dean Wood	1915	1943
5	Enoch W. Wood	1889	1941
6	Anthony W. Wood	1912	1974

**Plot #52: Date 1958**

1	Alfred C. Powell	1874	1943
2	Estelle H. Powell	1880	1943
3	James Patton Powell	1924	1962
4	Arthur K. Powell	1904	1931
5	Estelle Powell	1914	1981
6	Howard Smith Powell	1917	1974

**Plot #53: Date 1970**

1A	Manning Freeman	1881	1957
1B	Alma Brown Freeman	1879	1959
2A	Sam M. Freeman	1852	1925
2B	Brazilda Ferguson Freeman	1867	1960
3	Spencer V. Johnson	1902	1986
4	Velma Brown Johnson	1905	1983
5	William R. Johnson	1923	1994
6	Mary Louise Bilettoff	1903	1993

**Plot #54: Date 1950**

1	Richard Pearson	1880	1969	
2	Louise Pearson	1867	1930	Louise Wife of Richard Pearson

**Plot #55: Date 1955**

1	Sarah Francis Bell Lewis	1930	2005	
2	C.P. Bell M.D.	1878	1935	
3	Jennie Archibald Bell	1881	1925	Jennie Archibald Wife of C.P. Bell M.D.

**Plot #56: Date 1920**

1	Martha Alice Christian	1869	1924	
2	Susan Durette Christian	1831	1912	Susan Durette Strong Wife of William Lewis Christian
3	William Lewis Christian	1824	1898	
4	Charles Pegues Pearson	1870	1945	
5	Viola Christian Pearson	1871	1930	Viola Pearson Wife of Chas. P. Pearson
6	Infant Daughter Pearson	1909	1909	Infant Daughter of Chas. P. and Viola C. Pearson

**Plot #57: Date 1947**

1	E. Paul Bell	1883	1934	
2	J.R. Bell	1846	1935	
3	Alabama Bell	1856	1927	Alabama Bell Wife of J.R. Bell
4	Edna Bell	1877	1910	Edna Bell was Married to Jasper Smith
5	Liston C. Bell	1886	1953	
6	Ester C. Bell	1895	1981	Ester C. Bell Wife of L.C. Bell
7	Nancy Edgeworth Bell	1936	1984	Nancy Edgeworth Bell wife of John B. Bell

**Plot #58: Date 1962**

1	Richard H. Maxwell		1863	1933
2	Belle Clements		1864	1942
3	Thomas Maxwell		1896	1918
4	Fannie Maxwell Malone		1898	1974
5	Samuel Clements Maxwell		1903	1978
6	Irene Waldrop Maxwell		1911	2004
7	John Beattie Maxwell		1900	1984

**Plot #59: Date 1955**

1	Reuben Lawrence Pearson		1922	1923
2	Johnie Elizabeth Pearson		1925	1927
3	Cora Lesley Pearson		1899	1982
4	John Stones Pearson		1897	1983

**Plot #60: Date 1967**

1	Cammie Payne Rhodes		1895	1973
2	Edward I. Payne		1887	1944
3	James D. Payne		1914	2000
4	Helon B. Payne		1919	1981
5	Edward I. Payne Jr.		1920	1926

**Plot #61: Date 1945**

1	Anders Laycock		1918	
2	Sarah Francis Laycock		1867	1957
3	Arthur Laycock		1862	1954
4	Fay Laycock		1919	1928

**Plot #62: Date 1973**

1	Samuel Cayton Latham		1932	2007
2	Lucile Clark Sims		1905	1977
3	James A. Clark		1914	1994
4	Clara Comerford Clark		1879	1955
5	E.C. Clark		1874	1936

**Plot #63: Date 1957**

1	Infant Son Bambarger			Infant Son of H.T. & F.L. Bambarger
2	Flora Clements Mims	1908	2003	
3	Ruby P. Clements	1900	1996	
4	Colonel W. Clements	1897	1966	
5A	Martha A. Clements	1876	1958	
5B	William H. Clements	1878	1940	

**Plot #64: Date 1967**

1A	George William Morris		1869	1951
1B	Hattie Roberts Morris		1877	1974
2	Hattie Davis Christian		1904	1985
3	Luther B. Davis		1902	1941
4	Luther B. Davis (II)		1923	1970

**Plot #65: Date 1961**

1	Largus Fletcher Barnes		1882	1962
2	May Ella Barnes		1884	1945
3	Walter Patton Archibald		1889	1951
4	David Sanderson Archibald		1892	1967
5	Willie Worrell Archibald		1893	1966
6	Nettie Lee Barnes		1892	1973

**Plot #66: Date 1965**

1	Robert Cornwell Holley		1894	1977
2	Clyde Kilgore Holley		1901	1983
3	Robert Calvert Holley		1928	1932

**Plot #67: Date 1961**

1	James L. Gray	1926	2011	
2	Fannie Lou Patton	1886	1979	
3	G.W. Patton	1879	1931	
4	Julia A. Patton	1885	1946	
5	Thomas Patton	1935	1935	Thomas W. Son of J.P. & Ruby Patton

**Plot #68: Date 1968**

1	Blanche Hamner Holston		1919	2001
2	Robert Jefferson Jr. Holston		1918	2009
3	William F. Vice		1886	1956
4	Mattie C. Vice		1871	1946
5	Mary Lee Hamner		1880	1953
6	Merriweather R. Hamner		1881	1943

**Plot #69: Date 1960**

1	Luther C. Curry	1875	1939
2	Nannie R. Curry	1879	1968
3	Lucile Curry Christian	1901	1999
4	Wilbourn O. Christian	1901	1948

**Plot #70: Date 1961**

1	Fred C. Strong	1895	1961
2	Bessie L. Strong	1902	1973
3	Mary Collins Strong	1926	1940

**Plot #71: Date 1939**

1	Thomas U. Cooper	1882	1911	
2	Josie Augusta Authur	1892	1978	
3	Richard Davis Arthur	1883	1965	
4	Burs. A.B. & A.J.	1832	1915	
5A	Fannie V. Cooper	1859	1944	
5B	W.D. Jack Cooper	1856	1943	
6	Augusta E. Taylor	1913	1913	Augusta E. Taylor Son of Jas. & Mimie Taylor

**Plot #72: Date 1917**

1	Mattie W. Shirley	1892	1892	Mattie W. Daughter of Z & C.E. Shirley
2	Cherrie Williamson Shirley	1849	1912	Cherrie Williamson wife of Z. Shirley
3	Zimri Shirley	1843	1923	
4	Velo Shirley	1870	1939	

**Plot #73: Date 1915**

1	Mattie D. Strong	1870	1951	
2	William Strong	1900	1900	William Infant Son of L & M Strong
3	Lucien Strong	1860	1936	
4	Catharine Rice Strong	1831	1913	Catherine Rice Wife of W.W. Strong
5	W.W. Strong	1823	1895	
6	Maria Elizabeth Strong	1881	1912	Maria Elizabeth Strong Wife of Dr. C.M. Hickman
7	Charles M. Hickman	1868	1903	
8	James H. Rice	1833	1896	

**Plot #74: Date 1889**

1	Frankie Rice	1864	1865	Little Frankie Son of T & F.M. Rice
2	Nettie Rice	1873	1884	Nettie Daughter of T.F. & M.P. Rice
3	Harriet Watson Rice		1900	
4	Maryetta P. Rice	1839	1883	Maryetta P. Rice Wife of T.F. Rice
5	Thomas F. Rice	1835	1897	
6	Charles E. Rice	1841	1907	
7	Katie C. Clements	1862	1886	Katie C. Wife of J.R. Clements

**Plot #75: Date 1953**

1	William Sylvester Whitson	1894	1968
2	William Harvey Whitson	1860	1936
3	Lela A. Cowden Whitson	1869	1936
4	Elizabeth Mary Whitson	1896	1902
5	Annie B. Whitson McCann	1892	1977
6	Harvey Daniel Whitson	1910	1993
7	Edith Stringer Whitson	1913	1964

**Plot #76: Date 1935**

1	Maryland Freeman	1839	1907
2	John B. Ambrose	1874	1956
3	George W. Boothe	1854	1929
4	Dora Freeman Boothe	1862	1956

**Plot #77: Date 1955**

1	Augustus Kennedy	1906	1906	Augustus Infant Son of H.J. & Grace Kennedy
2	Grace C. Kennedy	1879	1972	
3	Harrison J. Kennedy	1870	1923	
4	John Manley Kennedy	1910	1972	
5	Caroline Kennedy Dixon	1904	1995	
6	William Edward Dixon	1890	1953	

**Plot #78: Date 1952**

1	Bethany Thomas Powell	1916	1942
2	H. Wesley Sloan	1852	1934
3	Addie Sloan Powell	1890	1976
4	James Trimm Powell	1885	1959

**Plot #79: Date 1965**

1	Marsha Jan Fields	1950	2009	
2	Mae Hamner Strong Bethane	1896	1971	
3	Clara Maxwell Hamner	1872	1955	Clara Maxwell Wife of Charles R. Hamner
4	Charles R. Hamner	1866	1928	

**Plot #80: Date 1975**

1	George K. Zik	1929	1995	
2	Imogene Hobson Zik	1925	2011	
3	Shirley Jean Long	1943	1988	
4	James Robert Hobson	1922	1925	James Robert Son of W.A. & Alice Hobson
5	Richard Pearson Hobson	1934	1957	
6	Alice M. Hobson	1897	1987	
7	William A. Hobson	1892	1968	

**Plot #81: Date 1968**

1	Robert Robertson	1917	1993
2	Catherine Buroughs Robertson	1922	2007
3	Clarence E. Robertson	1921	1985
4A	Robert Robertson (I)		1923
4B	Bessie Moore Robertson	1893	1954
4C	Thomas W. Robertson	1915	1940

**Plot #82: Date 1935**

1	Alma H. Smallwood	1878	1943
2	C.A. Thomas	1848	1926
3	Cois Ellen Thomas	1854	1935

**Plot #83: Date 1952**

1	William Hobson Brown	1905	1954
2	Charlie Brady Brown	1878	1928
3	Annie Lee Brown	1882	1977
4	Ethel Brown Caudill	1901	1956

**Plot #84: Date 1956**

1	Guss F. Bradshaw	1924	1929
2	Earline Bradshaw	1921	1977
3	Lena M. Roberts	1902	1974
4A	Cynthia A. Robertson	1881	1952
4B	Gus B. Robertson	1860	1934
5	Nettie L. Mitchell	1907	1976

**Plot #85: Date 1985**

1	Cindy Sue Powell Eaton	1962	2003	Cindy Sue Powell Eaton Beloved Mother of Ashley and Jason
2	Audice Gerldeane Brooks	1920	1966	Audice Gerldeane Brooks Beloved Mother of Joyce Stockman Powell

**Plot #86: Date 2005**

1	R.A. Fourt Sr.	1928	2005
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**Plot #87: Date 1972**

1	Luranie Greathouse	1891	1972
2			
3			

**Plot #88: Date 1935**

1	Marzila H. Nabors	1853	1950
2	W.M.J. Price	1875	1924
3	Jack C. Nabers	1852	1923

**Plot #89: Date 1935**

1	Frank Rice	1873	1952	
2	Lola Rice-Anders	1871	1958	
3	John B. Anders	1848	1914	
4	Sarah Elizabeth Rice	1848	1917	Sarah Elizabeth Wife of Tolbert A. Rice
5	Tolbert A. Rice	1846	1930	

**Plot #90: Date 1953**

1	Mary A. Bealle		1893	1948
2	Albert Bealle		1895	1952
3	Jane C. Bealle		1888	1969
4	Lola Louise Bealle		1907	1997
5	nannie Sue Bealle		1902	1972
6	Ella P. Bealle		1865	1956
7	John Thomas Bealle		1859	1940
8	Mary P. Bealle		1858	1898

**Plot #91: Date 1955**

1	Basil M. Pettus		1909	1976
2A	Kittie H. Palmer Pearson		1867	1948
2B	John S. Pearson		1863	1949

**Plot #92: Date 1960**

1A	Dave Powell		1866	1953
1B	Ella Powell		1874	1945
2	W.D. McClendon		1883	1954
3	Maurine McClendon		1896	1982

**Plot #93: Date 1946**

1A	Pearl Smith Bridges	1886	1953	
1B	Oliver Barnes Bridges	1882	1943	
2A	Rosa S. Deason	1885	1964	
2B	Andrew J. Deason	1882	1974	
3	Thomas Search Smith	1911	1955	
4	Sarah Frances Smith	1870	1920	Sarah Frances Wife of M.R. Smith
5	Melvin Riley Smith	1859	1938	
6	Matilda Elizabeth Smith	1835	1918	Matilda Elizabeth Wife of T.M. Smith

**Plot #94: Date 1941**

1	E.J. Palmer		1854	1914
2	Mary Lee Palmer		1859	1917
3	Richard T. Palmer Jr.		1912	2001
4	1st Sgt. Robert Palmer		1891	1917
5	Mary Alva Palmer		1913	1915
6	Frank Ray Palmer		1926	1928
7	Fannie H. Palmer		1888	1989
8	Richard Terell Palmer		1885	1953

**Plot #95: Date 1955**

1	William Crump Palmer	1874	1930
2	Bessie Clements Lovett	1878	1969
3	Charles Edward Lovett	1879	1962

**Plot #96: Date 1975**

1	Edna F. Henderson	1927	2005
2	Marguerite H. Dempsey		2002
3	Julian Henderson		1967
4	Gertrude D. Henderson		1984
5	C.C. Henderson		1959
6	Samuel Henderson		1939

**Plot #97: Date 1945**

1	Joseph m. Wilson	1868	1946
2	Mittie Ann Kyzer	1874	1949

**Plot #98: Date 1956**

1A	Pearl Caldwell	1919	2009	
1B	James Willard Caldwell	1907	1977	
2	James Oliver Caldwell	1857	1939	James Oliver Caldwell Son of Hugh & Elizabeth P. Caldwell
3	Elizabeth T. Willard Caldwell	1864	1930	Elizabeth t. Willard Wife of James O. Caldwell
4	Amy Linker Caldwell	1894	1937	Amy Linker Caldwell Daughter of J.O. & Elizabeth Caldwell
5	Samuel Caffé Caldwell	1885	1959	Samuel Caffé Caldwell Son of J.O. & Elizabeth Caldwell

**Plot #99: Date 1973**

1	Meriweather R. Caldwell	1918	1989
2	Margret T. Caldwell	1923	1997
3A	Ira A. Abston	1882	1946
3B	Lillie Abston	1889	1977
4	Hattie Moore Truelove	1898	1973
5	Vaughn A. Truelove	1896	1967

**Plot #100: Date 1945**

1	Denah Mathis	1872	1945
2	Thomas Mathis	1872	

**Plot #101: Date 1958**

1	William Doughty	1912	1940
2	Bruces S. Doughty	1882	1952
3	Hazie Ayres Doughty	1884	1973

**Plot #102: Date 1977**

1A	John Robert Webster Sr.	1933	2008
1B	Patsy Trusty Webster	1938	2009
2	Randy John R. Webster Jr.	1957	1987
3	Thomas H. Powell	1866	1949
4	Fannie C. Powell	1875	1943
5	Lewis Powell	1901	1972
6	Helen Powell	1894	1988

**Plot #103: Date 1927**

1	Nellie Strong	1905	1905	Nellie Infant Daughter of Ada & Jim Strong
2	Ada Baker Strong	1872	1943	
3	James Rice Strong	1868	1945	
4	James Lucien Strong	1896	1918	

**Plot #104: Date 1940**

1	Alexander Allen Hardin	1907	1995	
2	Dora Pool Hardin	1875	1947	
3	Zimri Hardin	1868	1941	
4	Lula Hugh Graves Hardin	1940	1993	
5	Josie Loo Hardin	1906	1908	
6	Mamie Lee Hardin	1895	1896	Mamie Lee Daughter of Z & L.D. Hardin
7	Amy Bell Hardin	1897	1902	Amy Bell Daughter of Z & L.d. Hardin

***Rice Hill Cemetery (16-H-2)*****Plot #105: Date 1943**

1	Preston Singleton	1904	1959
2	Liddie Bell-Cooks	1904	1957
3	William Sinks Sr.	1865	1945
4	Laura V. Sinks	1885	1971
5	Julia Sinks	1904	1923
6	Julia Sinks	1832	1909

**Plot #106: Date 1955**

1	Lawrence Lyons	1877	1912
2			
3	Maggie Lyons	1875	1944
4	Rev. W.M. White	1869	1947
5	Tempia White Crove	1910	1948
6	Charles L. Little	1951	1967
7	Rev. Thomas L. Little	1906	1970
8	Lula Mae Little	1908	1970
9	Jessie W. Lee	1903	1976

**Plot #107: Date 1925**

1A	Green Williams	1847	1916
1B	Bettie Williams	1850	1931

**Plot #108: Date 1975**

1	Bessie Hughes	1872	1944
2	Gussie Mae Hinton	1906	1974
3	Mack Hinton	1890	1974
4	Robert Lee Hinton	1931	2006

**Plot #109: Date 1963**

1			
2	Walter Barnett	1901	1971
3	Irene Powell Jerry		1947
4			
5	Sam Hood	1904	1978
6	Annie Hood	1904	
7	Jennie Sanders	1885	1967
8	James Ellis Holt		1943
9	Adelle Barrett	1904	1979

**Plot #110: Date 1983**

1			
2			
3	Lizzie Thomas	1903	1983

**Plot #111: Date 1981**

1	James Giles	1903	1993
2	Elizabeth L. Giles	1915	1950
3	Judy Yoularda Giles	1966	1991
4			
5			
6			

**Plot #112: Date 1987**

1			
2	Jacob Christopher Martin	1902	1987
3			

**Vault Burial Grouping #6: Date 1985**

1	Lucy H. Horton	1905	1999
2	Houston H. Horton Jr.		
3	Chap H. Horton	1907	1978
4	Alonzo Horton		
5	Jennie Horton		

**Vault Burial Grouping #7: Date 1955**

1	Jeffrey Lynn Little	1955	1976
2			
3	Jessie Baker	1881	1932
4	Hellie Baker		1930
5	Will Baker	1878	1961
6	Rhoda Thomas Williams	1912	1967
7	Ed Baker	1889	1967
8			
9			

**Vault Burial Grouping #8: Date 1978**

1	Josh Burton Jr	1929	1945
2			
3	Callie Barrett	1881	1954
4	Willie Fields	1898	1961
5			
6	Viola Willis	1908	1969
7			
8	Jimmie Lee Burton Sr	1939	1979
9	James Barnett	1910	1985
10	Billie Earl Burton	1943	1996
11	John Alpert Burton	1945	1998
12	Velma Burton	1906	2001
13	Estella Barnett	1952	1996

**Isolate Burials with Familial References:**

Minnie Mullins	1893	1951	wife of Albert Mullins
Lavanda Miller Tyson	1915	1987	Daughter of Lawson and Lu Birdie Miller

***Big Creek Cemetery (15-G-11)*****Plot #113: Date 1915**

1	Lester Findley	1887	1928
2	E.M. Findley	1879	1919
3	Dollie B. Findley	1888	1947
4	S.N. Findley	1852	1899
5	Brady Findley	1890	1890

**Plot #114: Date 1918**

1	David Miller Findley	1888	1900	Son of John & Mary V. Findley
2	Mary V. Findley	1844	1924	Wife of John Findley
3	John Findley	1840	1927	

**Plot #115: Date 1939**

1	Erdie Barringer	1896	1947	
2	Thelma Thompson	1898	1927	Daughter of R.N. & Martha Barringer
3	Willie B. Barringer	1881	1944	
4	Pearl F. Barringer	1880	1958	

**Plot #116: Date 1912**

1	Alice L. Barringer	1861	1922	Wife of R.N. Barringer
2	F.L. Barringer	1889	1919	
3	Martha E. Barringer	1864	1900	Wife of R.N. Barringer
4	Riley Newbern Barringer	1856	1940	
5	Wonder. O. Barringer	1857	1885	Wife of R.N. Barringer

**Plot #117: Date 1925**

1		1905	1905	Infant Son of W.L. & E.L. George
2A	Trinn A. George	1881	1898	Son of W.L. & E.L. George
2B	Alma N. George	1895	1897	Daughter of W.L. & E.L. George
3	W.L. George	1855	1921	
4	Laeuna B. George	1863	1954	Wife of W.L. George
5	Ethel E. George	1892	1931	Daughter of W.L. & E.L. George
6	Trannie B. George	1897	1968	Daughter of W.L. & E.L. George

**Plot #118: Date 1945**

1	Josie F. Kemp	1914	1916	Daughter of Mr & Mrs W.D. Kemp
2		1912	1912	Infant Babe of Mr & Mrs W.D. Kemp
3A	William D. Kemp	1882	1970	
3B	Mattie D. Kemp	1882	1977	

**Plot #119: Date 1939**

1	Stanton Carr			
2	Jeannie Carr Kirk		1895	1931
3	James W. Carr		1852	1927
4	Sarah S. Carr		1857	1939
5	Henry Tilton Carr		1883	1941
6	Eliza P. Carr		1882	1959

**Plot #120: Date 1952**

1A	H.A. "Johnnie" Hulsey	1912	1987	
1B	Mary L. Hulsey	1915	1999	
2	Millard George	1913	1917	Son of P.E. & Willie George
3	Mary George	1916	1917	Daughter of P.E. & Willie George

**Plot #121: Date 1950**

1	S.S. Hulsey	1865	1929
2	Ester G. Hulsey	1887	1971

**Plot #122: Date 1908**

1	James Harvey George	1849	1908	
2	Jessie Fuller George	1879	1880	
3	Mary Elizabeth George	1850	1931	Wife of James Harvey George

**Isolate Burial with Familial Reference:**

Martha E. Doughty	1822	1838	Daughter of John W. & Martha Beall & Consort of Jeremiah Doughty
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***Coker Cemetery (16-G-3)*****Plot #123: Date 1945**

1	Robert Smith Snyder	1903	1959
2	Eddie George Snyder "Mamma Edd"	1902	1971
3	Howard Lee Snyder	1925	1945
4	George Robert Snyder	1922	1969
5	Linda McKnight Snyder	1943	1966

**Isolate Burials with Familial References:**

Katie P. Earl	1911	1918	Daughter of William L & Alice George
Natalie P. Henry	1922	1984	Wife of Earl P. Henry Mother of Edna A. Esquivel Daughter of J.T. & Katie Abston

***Spring Hill Cemetery (16-G-6)*****Vault Burial Grouping #9: Date 1991**

1	William F. Shepherd	1939	2000
2			
3	Ethel L. Shepherd	1920	1987
4	Lester "Nap" Shepherd	1918	1985
5			

**Vault Burial Grouping #10: Date 1963**

1	Joe Nathan Lyons	1942	1986
2	Lewis Marshall	1909	1965
3	Ida Marshall	1865	1962
4	Adell Marshall	1884	1961
5	Nathan Marshall	1885	1952
6	Elmore Marshall	1910	1942

**Vault Burial Grouping #11: Contained 5 burials**

**Isolate Burials with Familial References:**

Lillie Colwell	1832	1892	Wife of J. Colwell
A.S. Marshall	1858	1926	Wife of W.M. Marshall
Mariah Crawford	1846	1914	Wife of James Crawford

**Holly Springs Church Cemetery (17-G-1)****Plot 124: Date 1945**

1	Elijah Cameron	1885	1918
2	Johny Johnson Jr.	1923	1933
3	John T. Johnson	1869	1944
4	Margrett Johnson	1875	1985

**Vault Burial Grouping #12: Date 1967**

1	James A. Marshall	1905	1975
2	Bessie Marshall	1905	1963
3	Artesia "Tee" Marshall	1953	1963
4	Henry L. Marshall	1926	1968

**Vault Burial Grouping #13: Date 1995**

1	Elisha Sr. Stewart	1914	1992
2	Euna Mae Stewart	1915	1997
3	Elisha Stewart Jr.	1933	1993

**Vault Burial Grouping #14: Date 1981**

1	John Byrd Jr.	1946	2006
2	Walter Lee Hawkins Sr.	1934	1992
3	James A. Hawkins	1932	1977
4	Annie D.H. Byrd	1908	1972
5	John Byrd Sr.	1886	1958

**Vault Burial Grouping #15: Date 1986**

1	Willie Jane Taylor	1926	1991
2	Lester Taylor	1927	2008
3	Daisy P. Taylor	1891	1989
4	Willie James Taylor	1919	1986
5	Eli Taylor Sr.	1923	1970
6	Aleene Taylor Hamilton	1930	1976

**Vault Burial Grouping #16: Date 1975**

1	Mary Emma Brown	1908	1991
2	James Allen Sr.	1917	1976
3	Tom Allen	1914	1971
4	Emma Allen	1883	1956
5	Jim Allen		

**Vault Burial Grouping #17: Date 191985**

1	Leada Dunn	1900	1986
2	Morgan Dunn	1898	1981

**Vault Burial Grouping #18: Date 2000**

1	Hunley Jordan Sr	1933	2009
2	Suddie B. Jordan	1934	1998

**Isolate Burials with Familial References:**

Ozella Richardson	1912	1942	Wife of Henry Richardson
Henry Marshall	1901	1912	Son of W.C. & C.M. Marshall
Daisy Foster	1903	1928	Wife of Vido Foster
Bessie Wife of James Wells	1889	1924	Wife of James Wells
Rachel Wells	1862	1892	Wife of Hiter Wells
Suzie Lee Wells	1911	1915	Daughter of James and Bessie Wells
William C. Marshall	1875	1942	Husband of Celia Marshall

***Dry Creek Church and Zion Hill Church Cemeteries (17-G-2/3)*****Vault Burial Grouping #19: Date 1978**

1	Gladys Murray Cammon	1921	2011
2	Maine Samuel Murray	1894	1986
3	Lollie Wee Murray	1914	1969
4	Bessie Murray	1894	1959
5	Angeline Murray	1906	1962
6			
7	Freddie Murray	1936	1963
8	Henry E. Murray	1934	1970
9	Kevin M. Murray	1958	2010

***Grants Creek Church Cemetery (17-G-4)*****Plot #125: Date 1956**

1		1914	1914	Son of H.C. & Bettie Abernathy
2	John W. Abernathy	1847	1916	
3	Carry Ware Abernathy	1852	1941	
4	Charlie W. Abernathy	1871	1946	
5	Timothy Sean Abernathy	1979	2001	
6A	Elizabeth Ann Abernathy	1920	1997	
6B	John Wesley Abernathy	1920	1997	
7	Milton Abernathy	1927	1935	
8	A.G. Abernathy	1876	1943	
9	Mattie Abernathy	1886	1951	
10	A.G. Abernathy Jr.	1916	2000	
11	Foster C. Abernathy	1918	1979	

**Plot #126: Date 1901**

1	Justin B. Turner	1866	1954	
2	Carlos Turner	1877	1877	Son of Annie Belle & James Turner
3	Annie Bell Beebe Turner		1877	Wife of James Turner
4	James Turner			

**Plot #127: Date 1970**

1	Marie Sherill	1930	2008	
4	Younger Ward Snipes	1894	1962	
5	Emma B. Snipes	1899	1989	
6		1927	1927	Infant Son of Emma & Younger Snipes

**Plot #128: Date 1975**

2	Elbert (Rickey) Snipes		1954	1967
3	Mary Emma Snipes		1952	1978
4	Elbert R. Snipes		1918	1983

**Plot #129: Date 1978**

1	Cynthia Renee Fair		1961	1961
2A	Linnie V. Hydrick		1906	1970
2B	Oscar H. Hydrick		1907	1990

**Plot #130: Date 1867**

1A	Mary T.P. Foster	1821	1840	Daughter of Edmond & E.T. Prince Wife of John C. Foster
1B		1840	1840	Died 1840 giving premature birth to an infant son buried in the same grave
2	John Collier Foster	1813	1892	
3	Mary Ellen Foster	1791		Daughter of Joshua & Nancy W. Hill Married James Foster 1807
4		1887	1887	Infant Son of W.S. & J.E. Patton

**Plot #131: Date 1906**

1	Julia F. Morgan	1822	1853	Wife of Robert C. Morgan
2	Robert C. Morgan	1807	1860	
3	Permelia Medley Morgan		1893	Wife of R.C. Morgan
4	Lucy M. Wooley		1917	Wife of R.L. Wooley
5A	Rufus L. Wooley	1866	1948	
5B	Sara E. Wooley	1885	1968	

***Taylorville Community Cemetery (16-H-16)*****Vault Burial Grouping #20: Date 2005**

1	Jethroe Simmons		1930	2004
2	Ida Mae Royster Carter		1918	2003
3	Fannie C. Bush		1914	2002
4	George W. Bush		1913	2001

**Vault Burial Grouping #21: Date 1995**

1	Harvie Lee Blackmon	1931	2003
2	Louis W. Blackmon	1937	1997
3	Jersey Blackmon Patton	1932	1996
4	Jessie Blackmon Jr.	1908	1988

**Vault Burial Grouping #22: Date 1997**

1	Sarah Mae Sanders	1932	2010
2	Fleetwood Sanders	1918	2004
3	Willie E. Pullnam	1911	2002
4	Elizabeth Russel	1901	1991
5	Robert Lee Young	1924	2004
6	Roberta Young	1927	1984
7	Rosa Sanders	1913	1992
8	John Sanders	1907	1982

***Little Sandy Church Cemetery 1 (17-H-1)*****Isolate Burials with Familial References:**

Elanora Ryan	1861	1903	Mother Elanora wife of J.H. Ryan
Mary Ola Ryan	1873	1882	Mary Ola daughter of J.H. & E.M. Ryan
Alma Claudine Ryan	1881	1884	Alma Claudine daughter of J.H. & E. Ryan
Mary Jane Addington Hinton	1832	1910	Mary Jane Addington wife of William Troy Hinton
Infant of J.F. & E.P. Conaway			Infant of J.F. & E.P. Conaway

***Little Sandy Church Cemetery 2 (17-H-2)*****Vault Burial Grouping #23: Date 2007**

1	Sam Jr. McCollum	1938	2007
2	Bertha M. McCollum	1939	

**Vault Burial Grouping #24: Date 2000**

1	Sam McCollum	1912	1994
2	Helen McCollum	1916	2004

**Isolate Burial with Familial Reference:**

Pat Johnson	1866	1940	Pat Husband of Lula Johnson
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### **Big Sandy Church Cemetery (17-H-5)**

#### **Plot #132: Date 1935**

1A	John H. Neighbors	1858	1938
1B	Mary Etta Neighbors	1867	1937

#### **Plot #133: Date 1925**

2	Samuel Ellis Phifer Jr.	1890	1901
3	Samuel Ellis Phifer	1850	1935
4	Annie Cross Phifer	1864	1935

#### **Plot #134: Date 1925**

2	Willie Mitchell	1868	1922
3	Martha Mitchell	1842	1901
4	Axham Mitchell	1848	1927
5	Amanda Phipps	1850	1942

#### **Plot #135: Date 1932**

1A	Laura Adelia Winningham	1872	1949
1B	John Herbert Winningham	1868	1902
2A	Mrs. G. G. Phares	1844	1918
2B	G. G. Phares	1844	1907
3	Edna Elizabeth Phares	1878	1949
4A	Weldon Hinton	1874	1933
4B	Ludie Hinton	1874	1931
5	John H. Widdingham	1896	1978

#### **Plot #136: Date 1900**

1	Basil Manly Phifer	1856	1923	
2	Ida B. Cross Phifer	1857	1897	Wife of B.M. Phifer
3	B. Manley Phifer	1888	1889	
4	Hugh Phifer	1894	1897	

#### **Plot #137: Date 1885**

1	Etta C. Farmer Mosely	1863	1884	Wife of J.R. Mosely
2	Etta R. Mosely	1884	1884	Daughter of J.R. & E.C. Mosely

#### **Plot #138: Date 1911**

1	Caroline Smith	1839	1915	Wife of G.W. Smith
2	G.W. Smith	1828	1911	
3	W.A. Smith	1862	1884	
4	B.A. Smith	1869	1904	
5	Dovie Mitchell Smith	1873	1939	Wife of B.A. Smith

**Plot #139: Date 1975**

1A	Alvyn N. Smith	1866	1942
1B	Frannie Kitchens Smith	1872	1961
2	Clemmie Smith Wert	1901	1995
3	William Tyler Smith	1912	1951
4A	Erdeal Katherine Smith	1909	2001
4B	Alvy Newton Jr. (Newt)	1902	1985

**Plot #140: Date 1909**

1		1908	1908	Son of O.J. & B.A. Auxford
2	Minnie S. Auxford Davenport	1866	1940	Wife of J.D. Davenport
3	Sarah Sartain Auxford	1833	1910	Wife of F.M. Auxford
4	F.M. Auxford	1831	1894	
5	Little Douglas Auxford	1888	1888	Infant Son of Stephen M & Sallie P. Auxford

**Plot #141: Date 1925**

1	Lol Auxford	1875	1926
2	Yerby T. Auxford	1872	1928

**Plot #142: Date 1915**

1		1918	1918	Infant Daughter of J.L. & A.W. Auxford
2	Lucile Auxford	1914	1916	Daughter of J.L. & A.W. Auxford
3	Jackson Lewis Auxford	1888	1918	

**Plot #143: Date 1908**

1	Francis Y. Auxford	1910	1911	Son of Mr & Mrs J.W. Auxford
2A	Lou Lewis Auxford	1858	1899	Wife of J.W. Auxford
2B	John W. Auxford	1859	1917	

**Plot #144: Date 1975**

1	Dollie Auxford Barbour	1880	1942	Wife of Ben F. Barbour
2	Joseph S. Auxford	1914	2000	

**Plot #145: Date 1935**

1	Helen Hunt Clayton	1896	1971	
2	Fred Lee Clayton	1895	1954	
3	"Mother" Clayton	1867	1911	Mother in Loving Memory by Gus Clayton, Mayme Clayton Mosely, Fred Clayton, Dantzler Clayton
4A	James Clarence Clayton	1917	1917	Infant Sons of Fred & Helen Clayton
4B	Mason Cranor Clayton	1922	1922	Infant Sons of Fred & Helen Clayton
5	Lillie Hunt Evans	1865	1948	
6	John Clarence Calhoun	1877	1918	

***Little Center Cemetery (17-H-7)***

**Plot #146: Date 1990**

1	Willie D. Miller	1916	2001
2	Jimmie Miller Jr.	1913	1970

**Plot #147: Date 1976**

1	Eliza M.S.		
2	Will Lewis		
3	Emma Lewis		
4	Ollie Smith		
5	Pollie Smith		
6	Sarah L. Hall Smith	1919	1950
7	Fred Smith	1947	1992
8	Stacey E. Hall	1981	2007
9	Mr. Ollie Hall	1909	1965
10	Mr. Joe L. Hall	1914	1968
11	David A. Hall	1970	1971

**Plot #148: Date 1979**

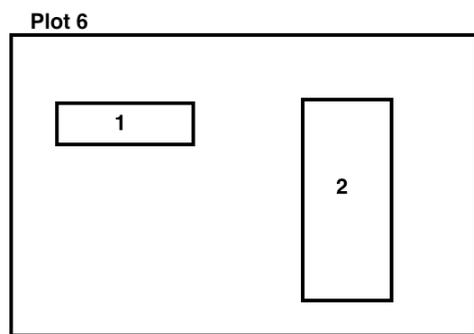
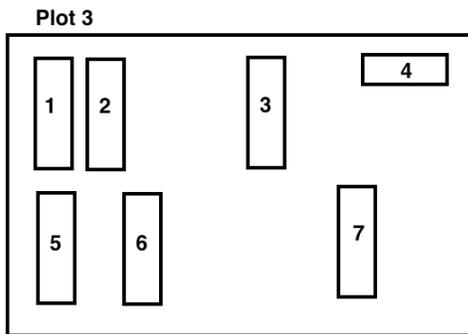
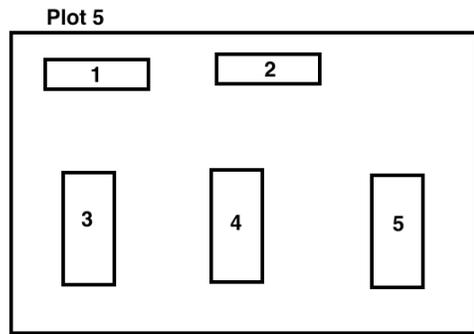
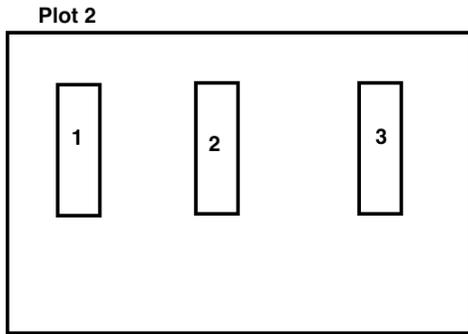
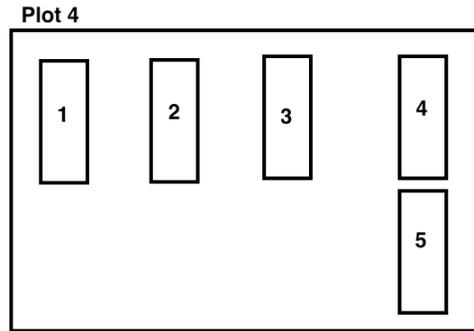
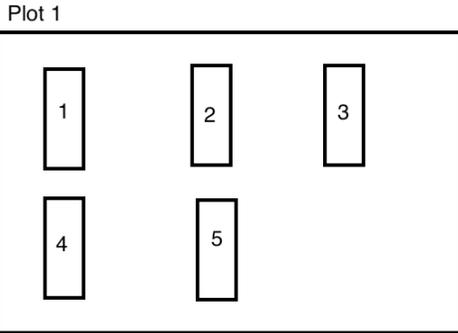
1	William Jones		
2			
3	Annie L. Wilson Thompson	1940	1979

**Vault Burial Grouping #25: Date 1998**

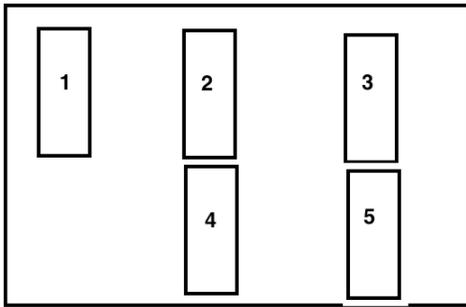
1	Elizan H. Frierson	1909	2007
2	Robert J. Frierson	1912	1986
3	James Frierson Jr.	1950	1996
4			
5	Maude Hall Mason	1922	1999
6	Samuel Lee Hall	1934	2000

## APPENDIX B

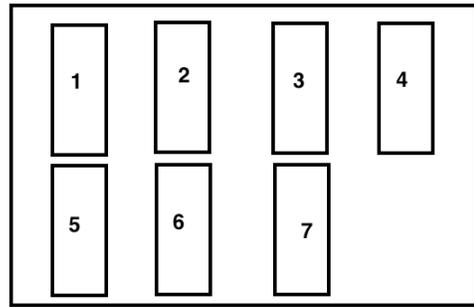
The maps compiled for each family plot and vault burial grouping are given here. None of the maps are drawn to scale as the goal was to show the burial distributions in each plot. The plot numbers correspond with Appendix A.



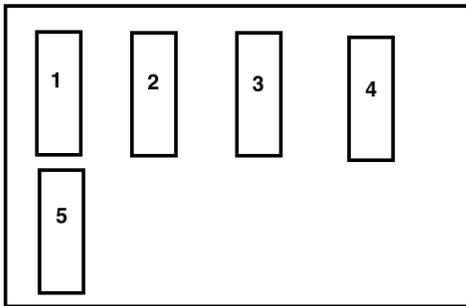
Plot 7



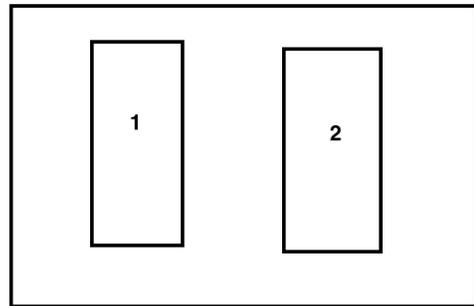
Plot 10



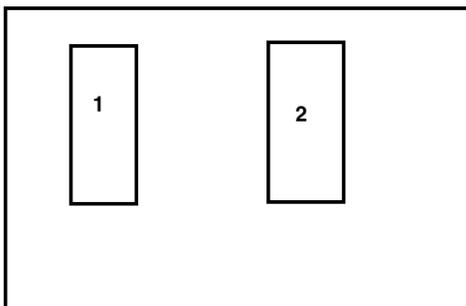
Plot 8



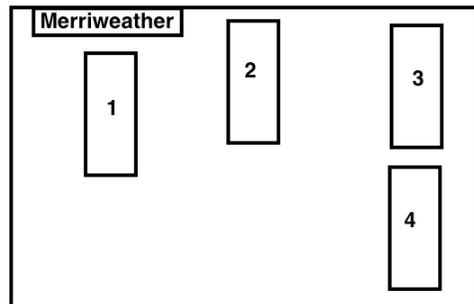
Plot 11



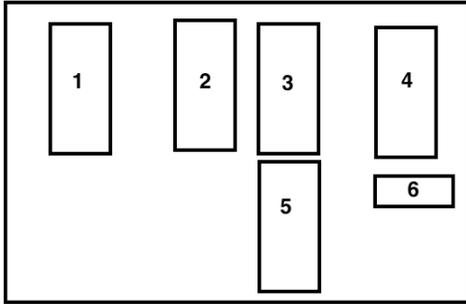
Plot 9



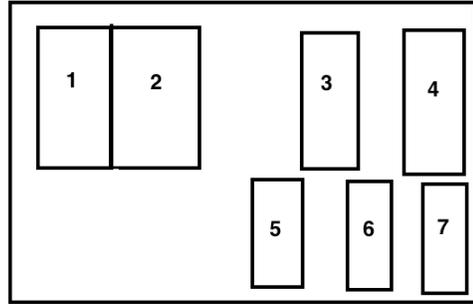
Plot 12



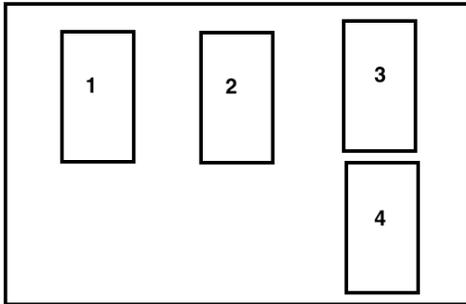
Plot 13



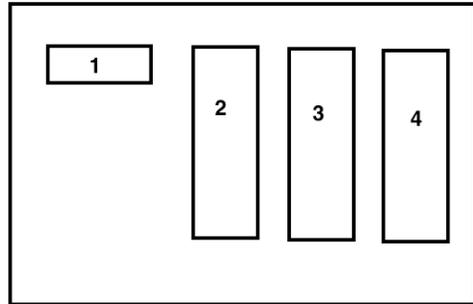
Plot 16



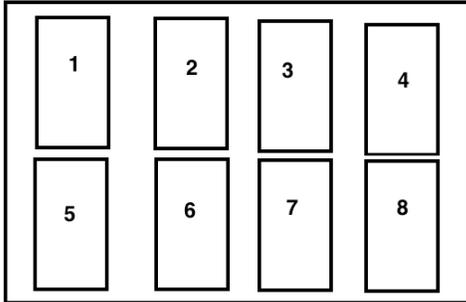
Plot 14



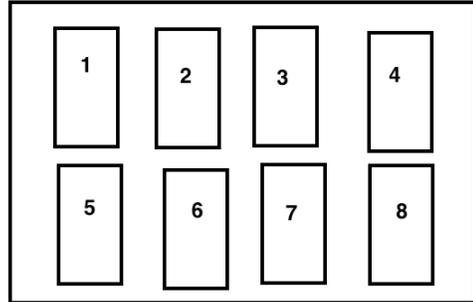
Plot 17



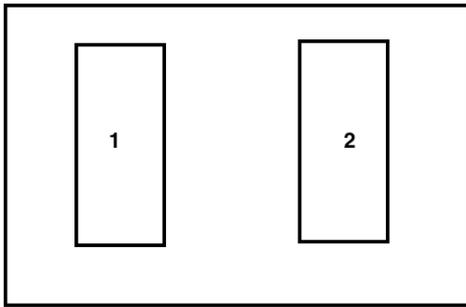
Plot 15



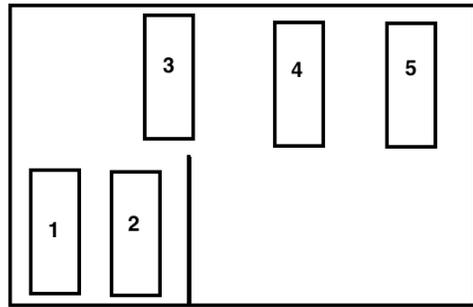
Plot 18



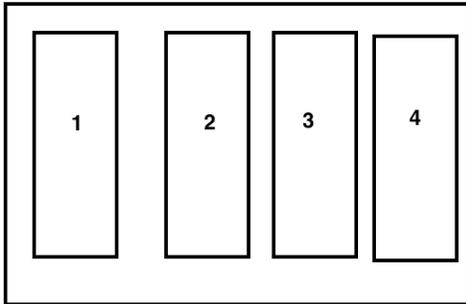
Plot 19



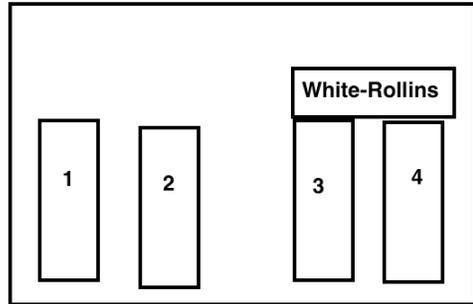
Plot 22



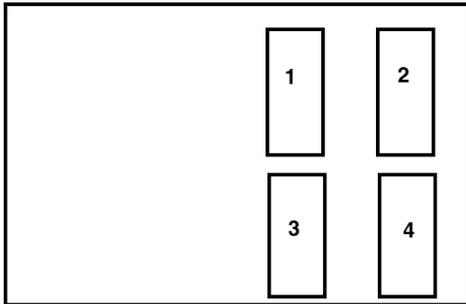
Plot 20



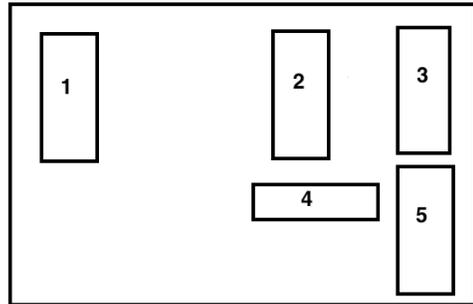
Plot 23



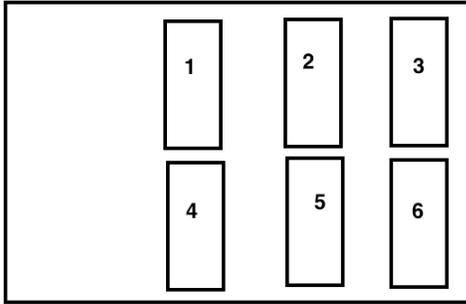
Plot 21



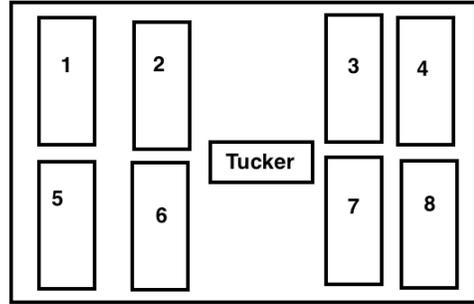
Plot 24



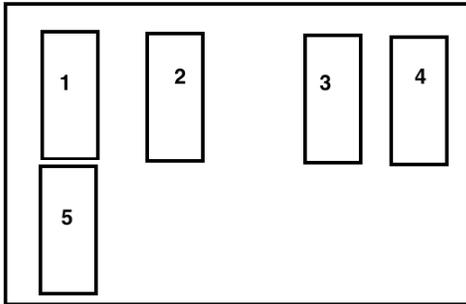
Plot 25



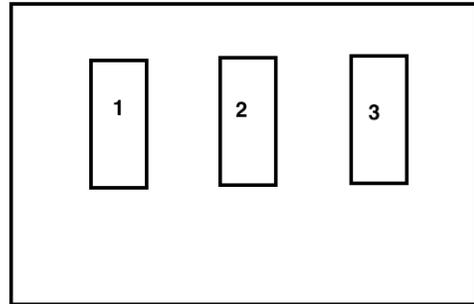
Plot 28



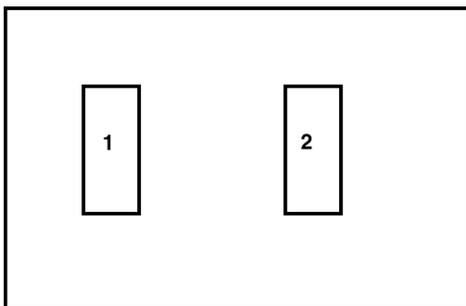
Plot 26



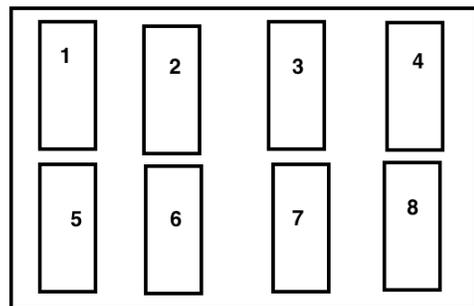
Plot 29



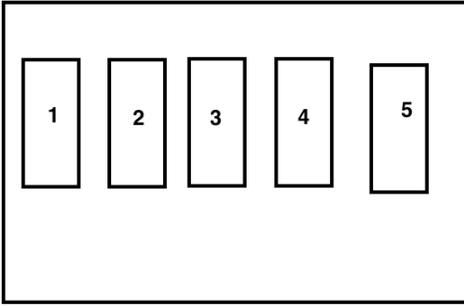
Plot 27



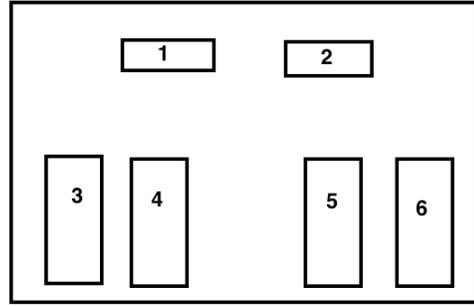
Plot 30



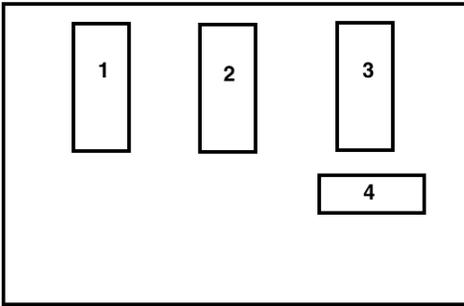
Plot 31



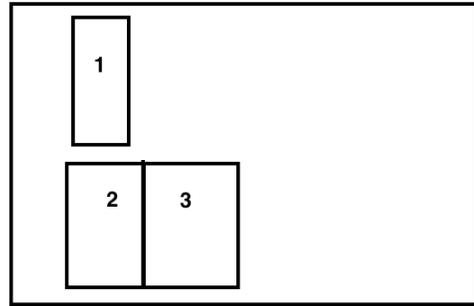
Plot 34



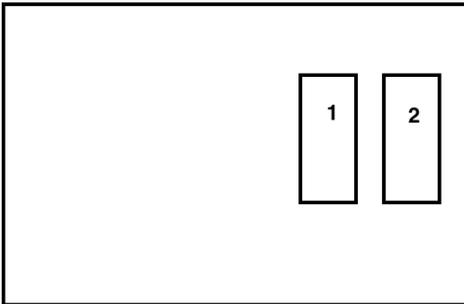
Plot 32



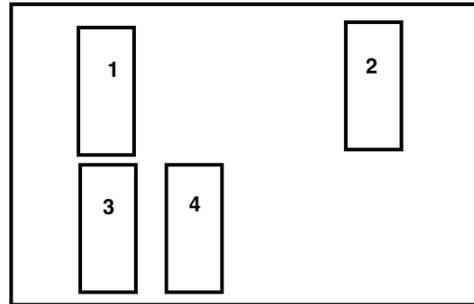
Plot 35

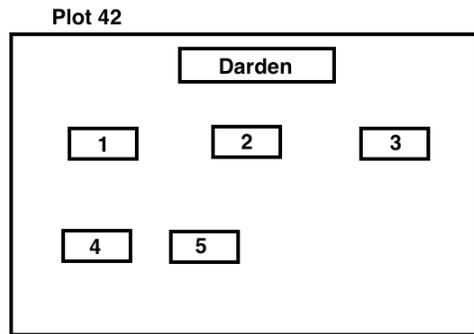
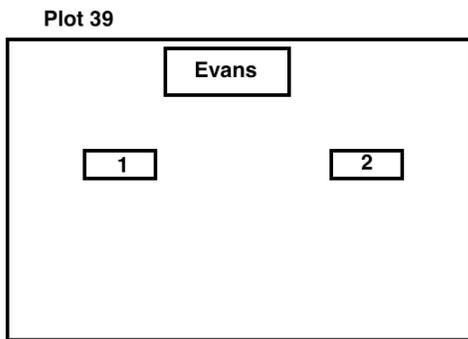
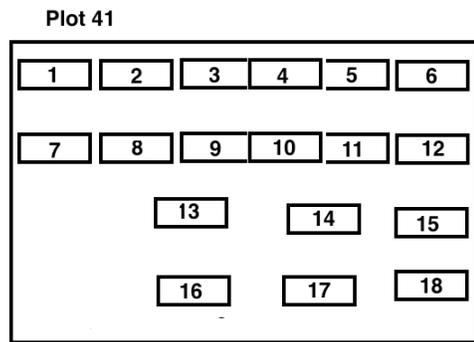
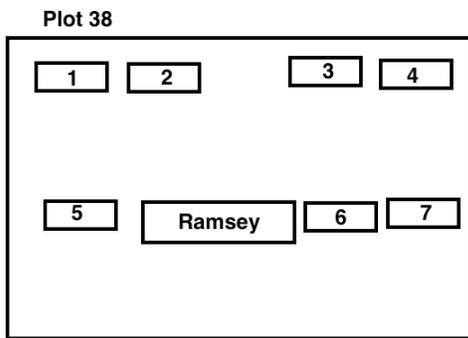
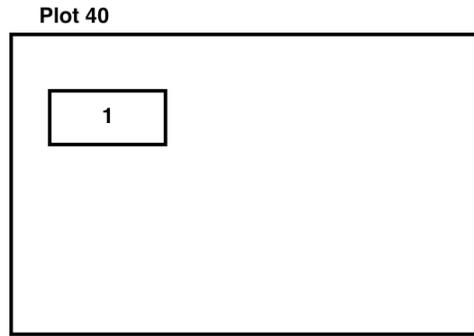
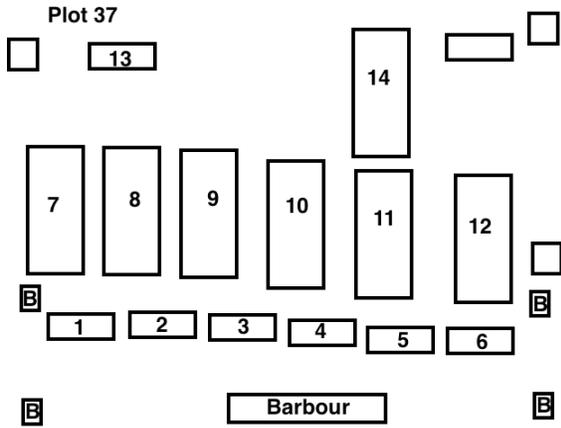


Plot 33

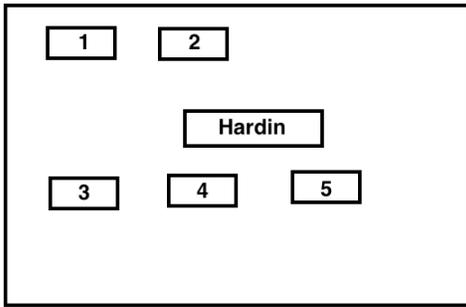


Plot 36

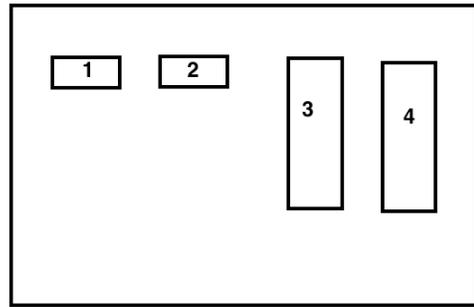




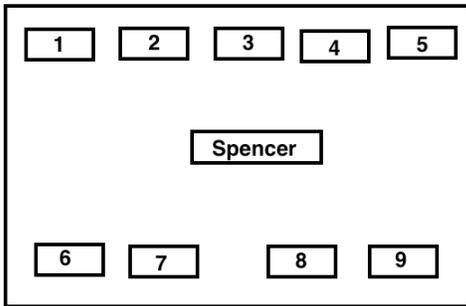
Plot 43



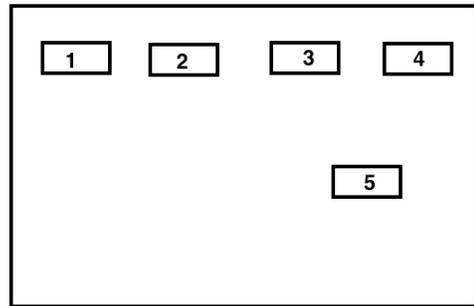
Plot 46



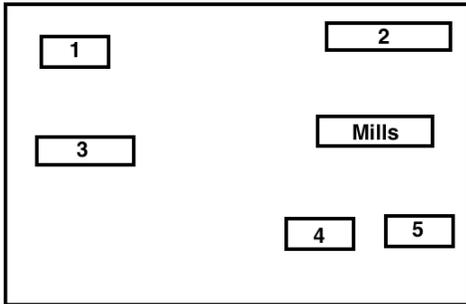
Plot 44



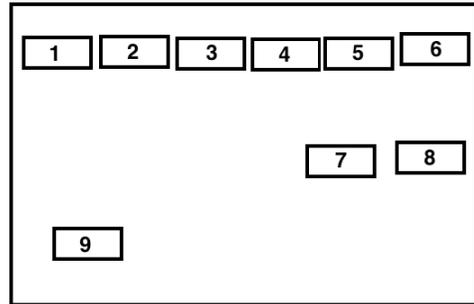
Plot 47



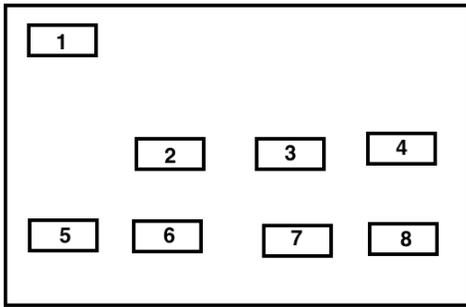
Plot 45



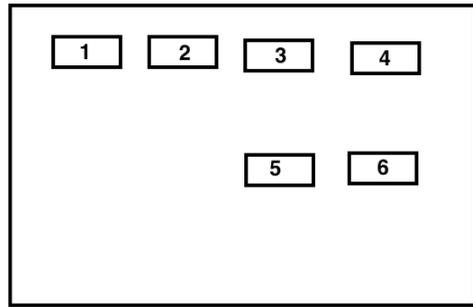
Plot 48



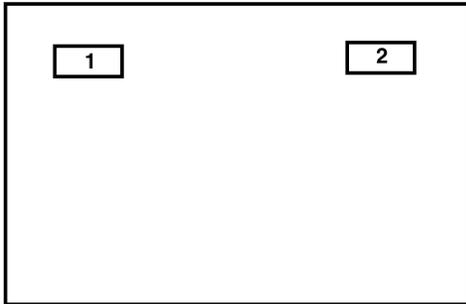
Plot 49



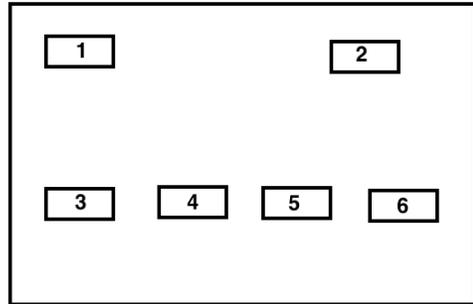
Plot 52



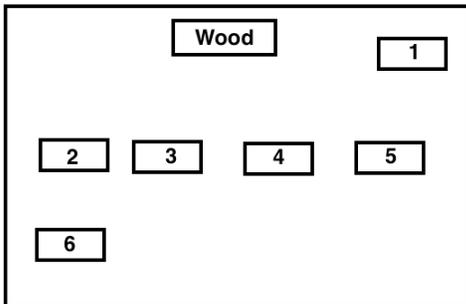
Plot 50



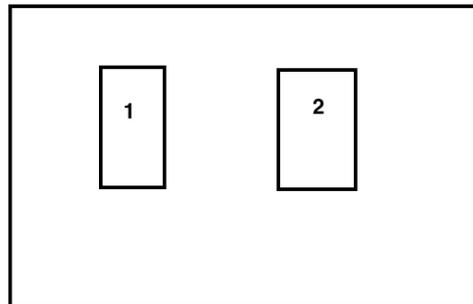
Plot 53



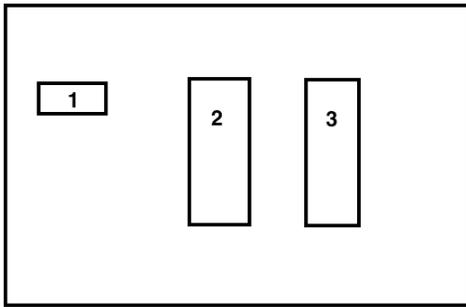
Plot 51



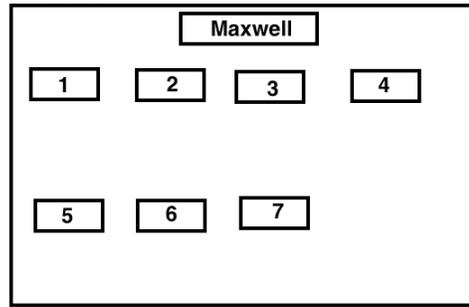
Plot 54



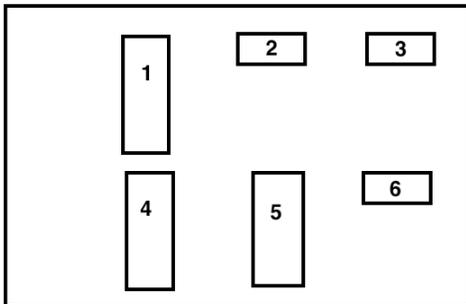
Plot 55



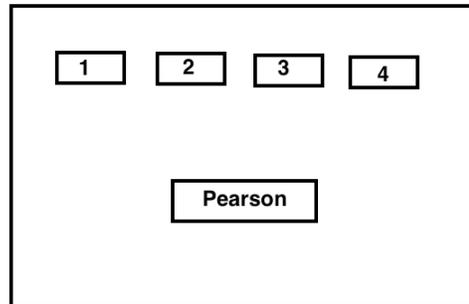
Plot 58



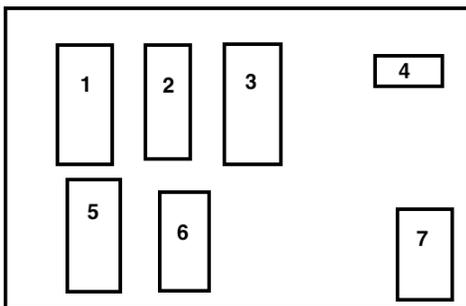
Plot 56



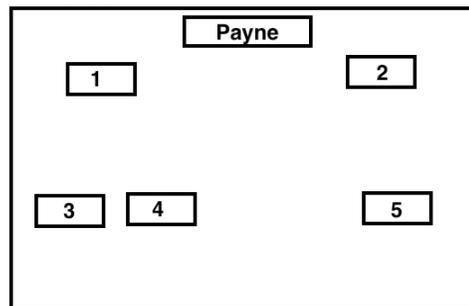
Plot 59



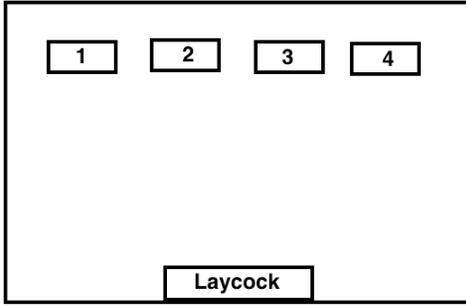
Plot 57



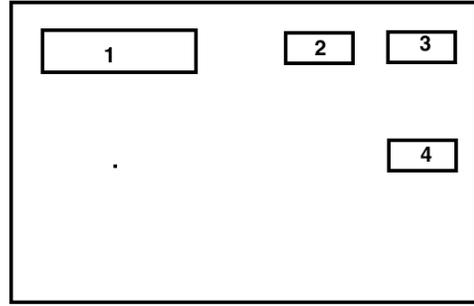
Plot 60



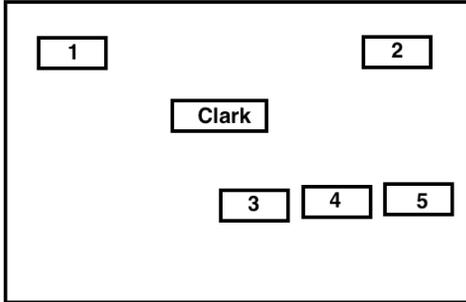
Plot 61



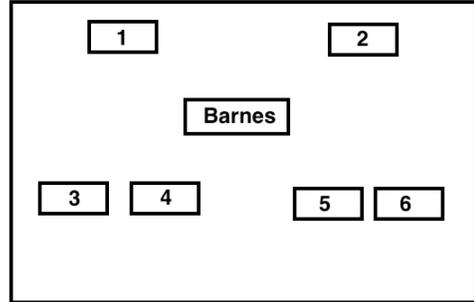
Plot 64



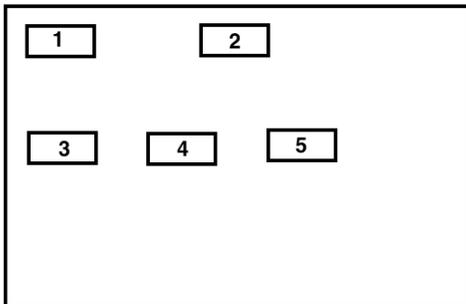
Plot 62



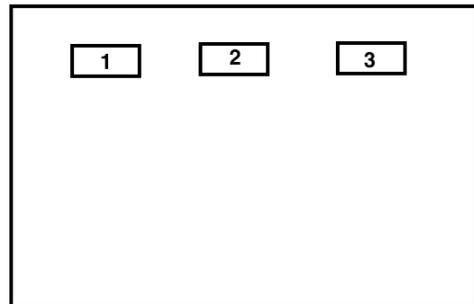
Plot 65



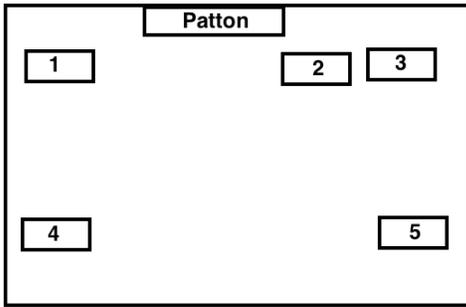
Plot 63



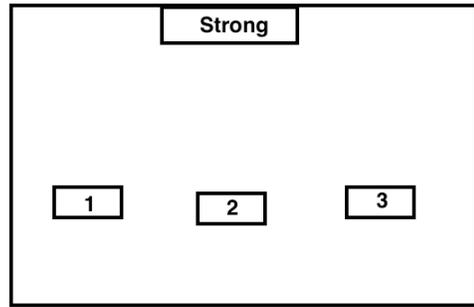
Plot 66



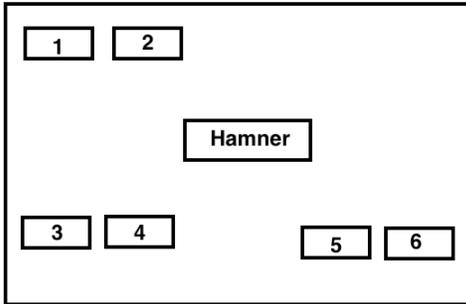
Plot 67



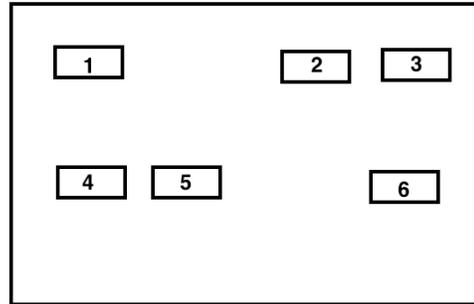
Plot 70



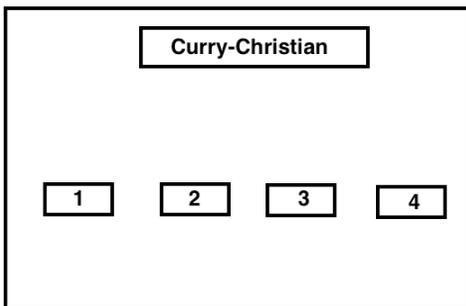
Plot 68



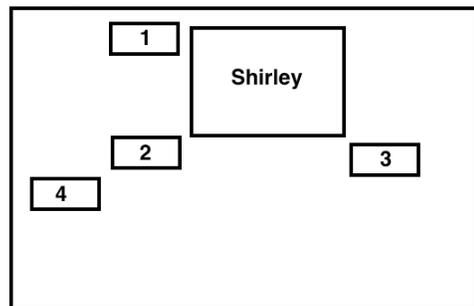
Plot 71



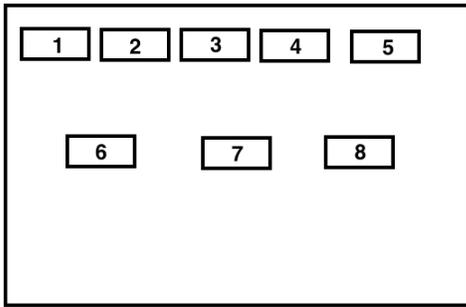
Plot 69



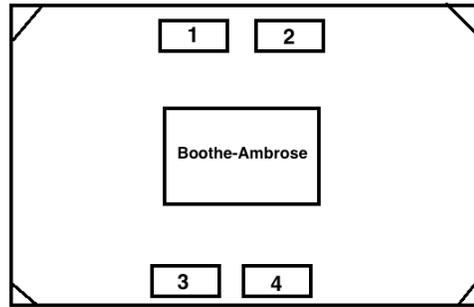
Plot 72



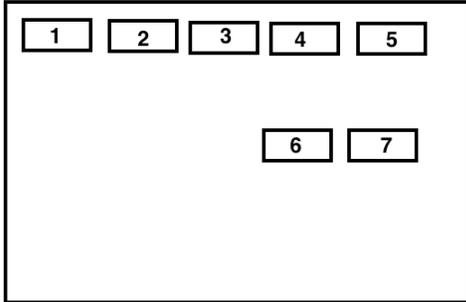
Plot 73



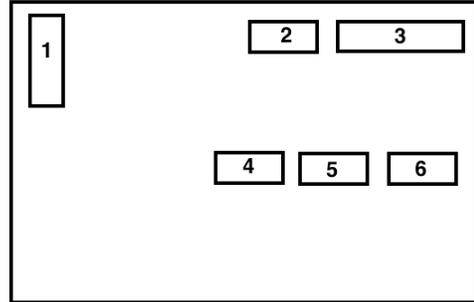
Plot 76



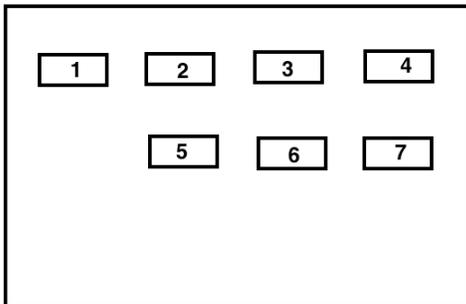
Plot 74



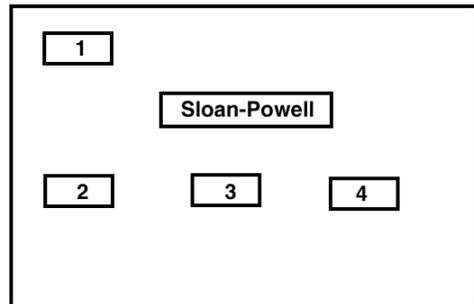
Plot 77



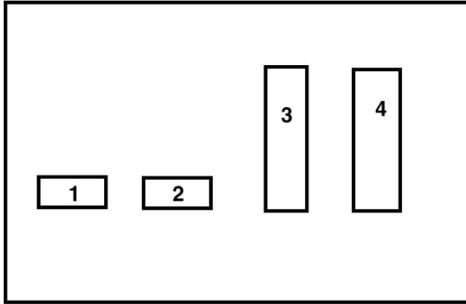
Plot 75



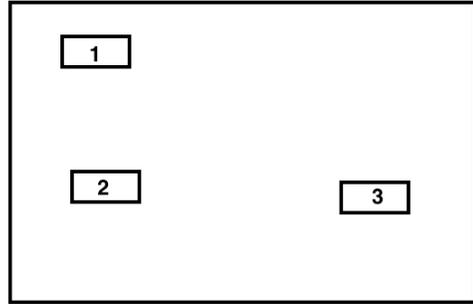
Plot 78



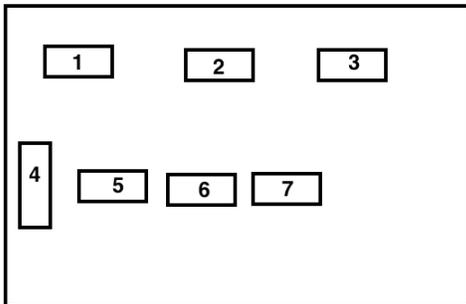
Plot 79



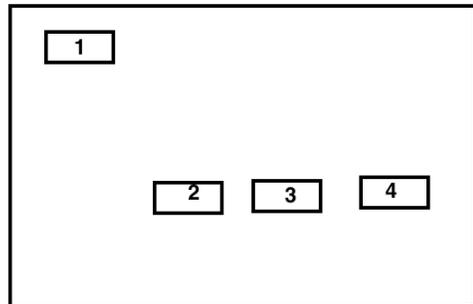
Plot 82



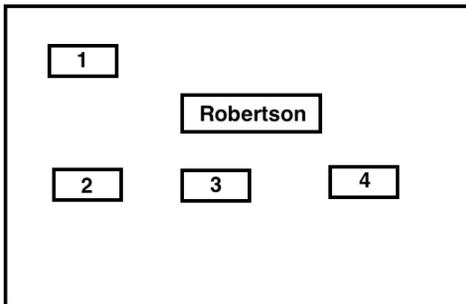
Plot 80



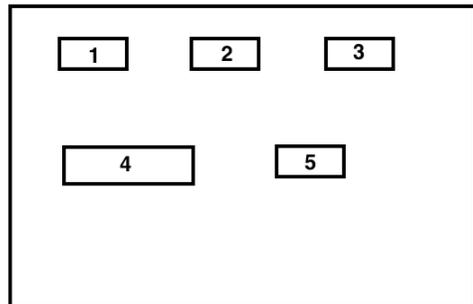
Plot 83



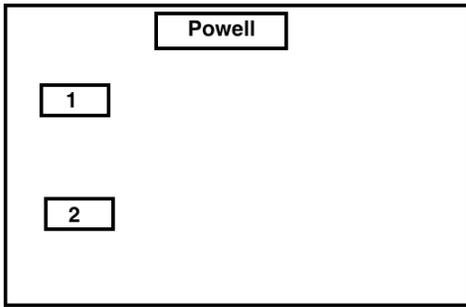
Plot 81



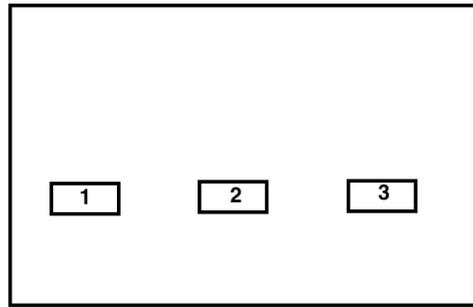
Plot 84



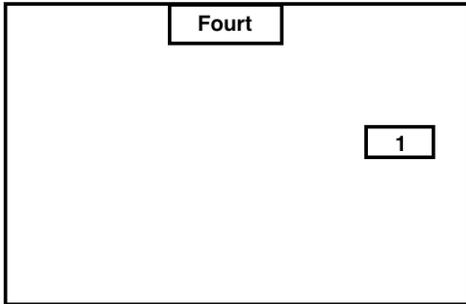
Plot 85



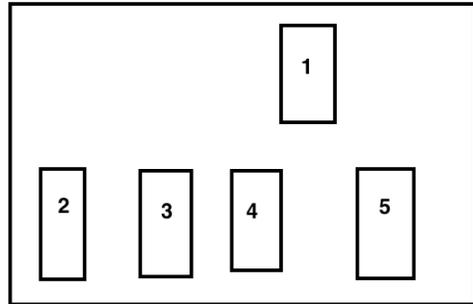
Plot 88



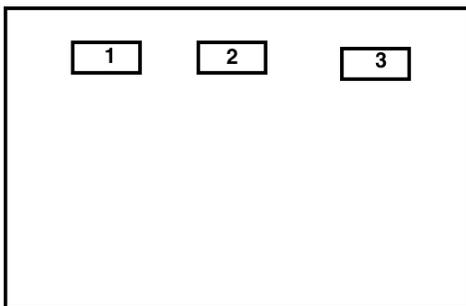
Plot 86



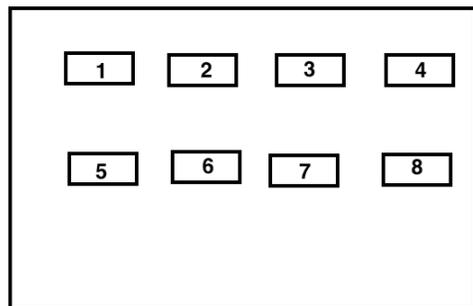
Plot 89



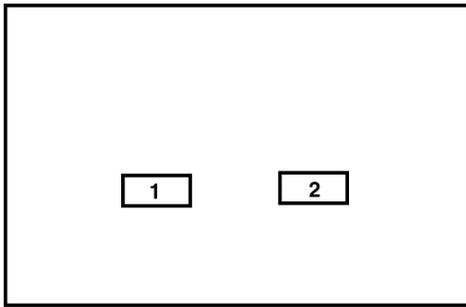
Plot 87



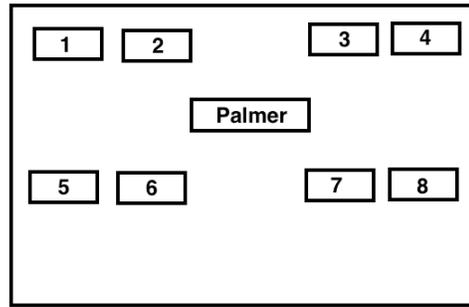
Plot 90



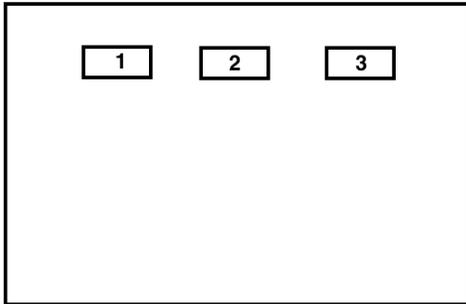
Plot 91



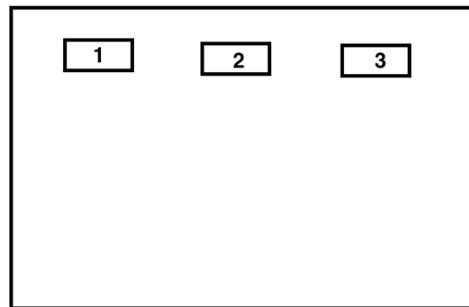
Plot 94



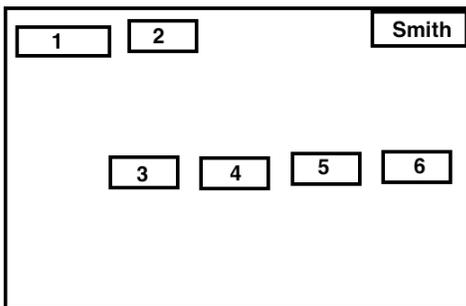
Plot 92



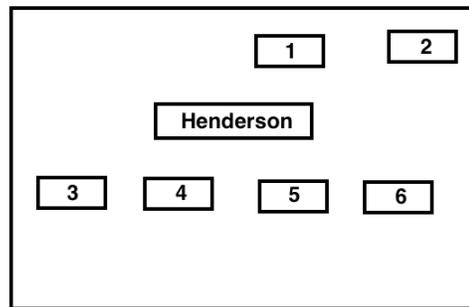
Plot 95



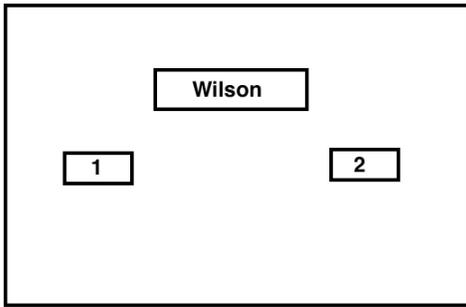
Plot 93



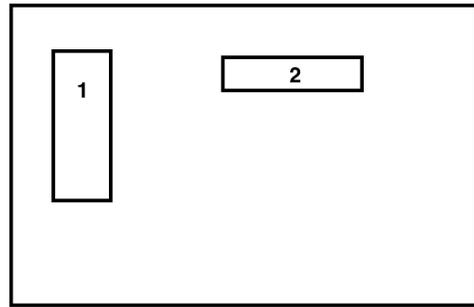
Plot 96



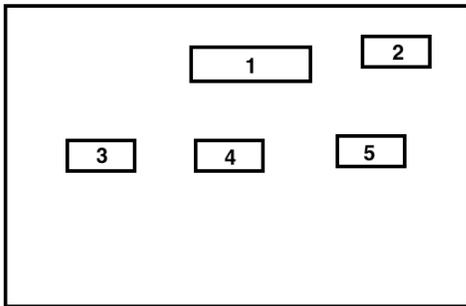
Plot 97



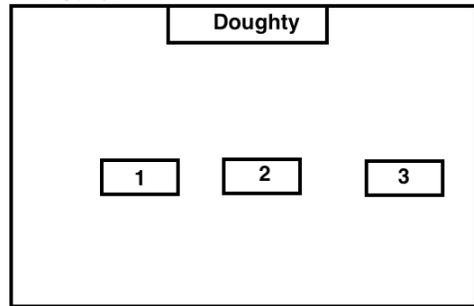
Plot 100



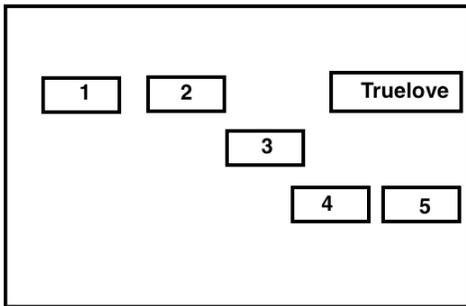
Plot 98



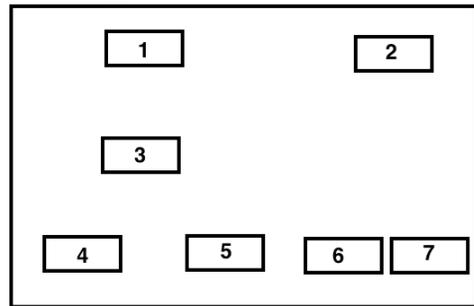
Plot 101



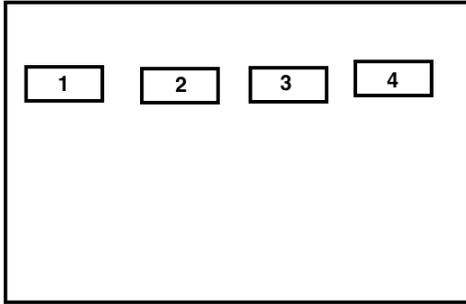
Plot 99



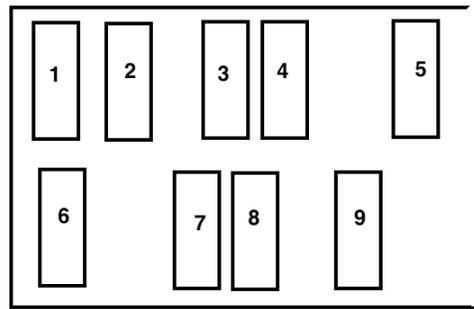
Plot 102



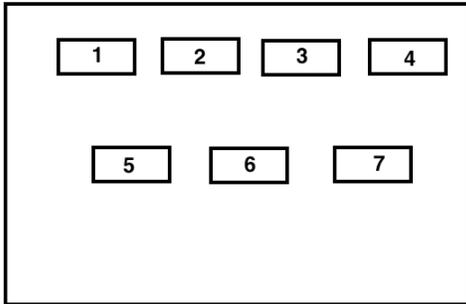
Plot 103



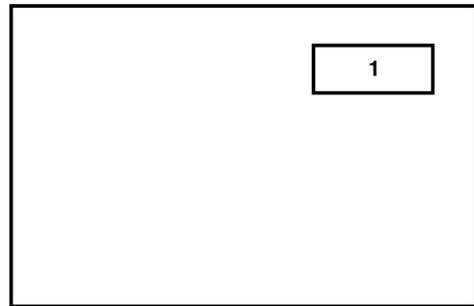
Plot 106



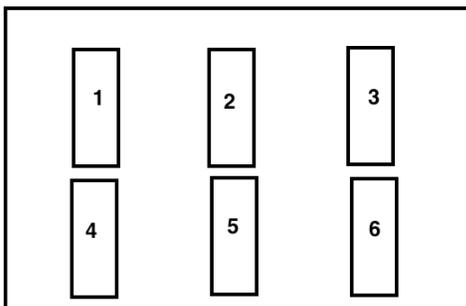
Plot 104



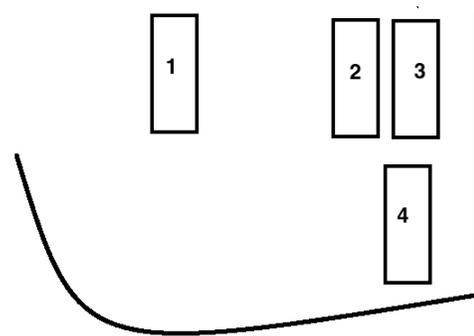
Plot 107



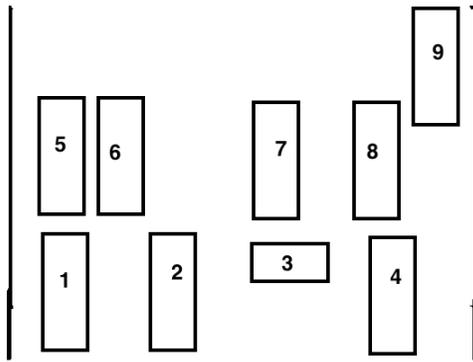
Plot 105



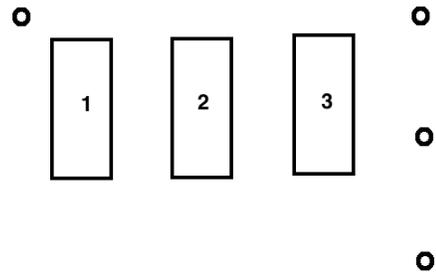
Plot 108



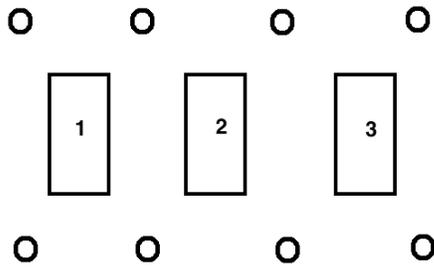
Plot 109



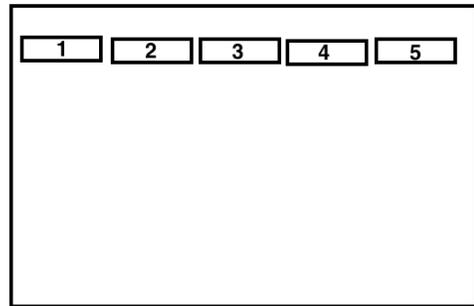
Plot 112



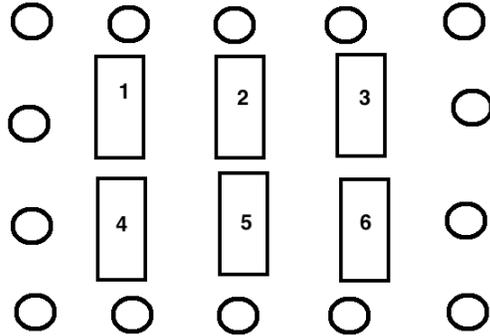
Plot 110



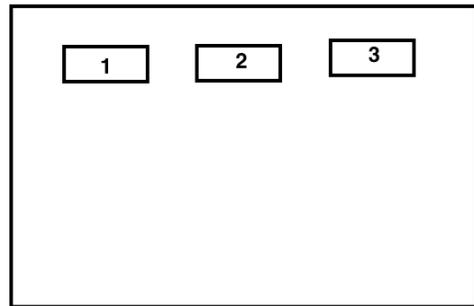
Plot 113



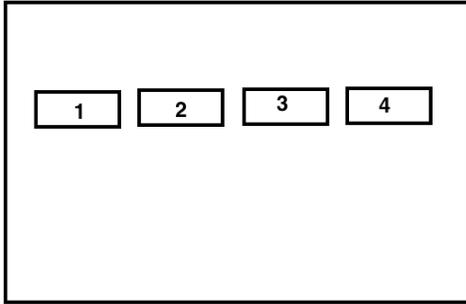
Plot 111



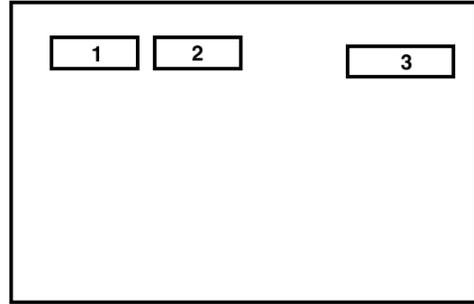
Plot 114



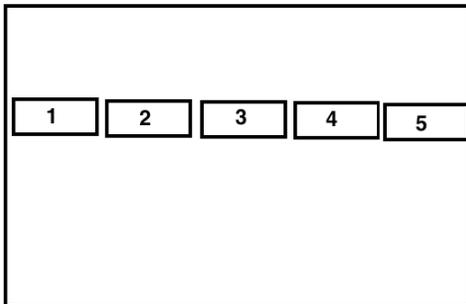
Plot 115



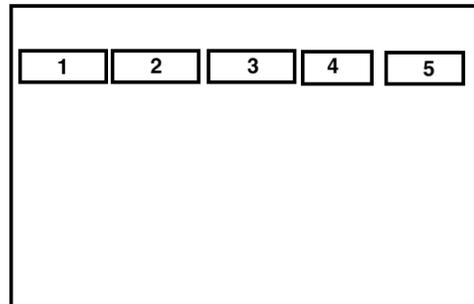
Plot 118



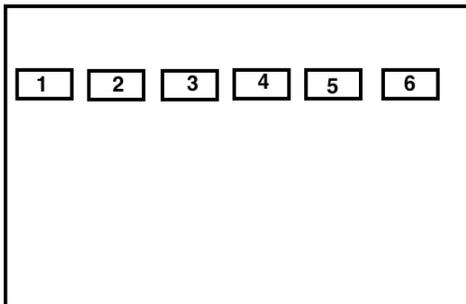
Plot 116



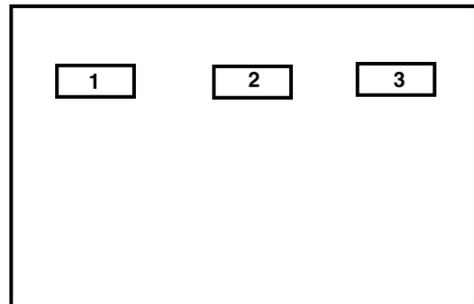
Plot 119



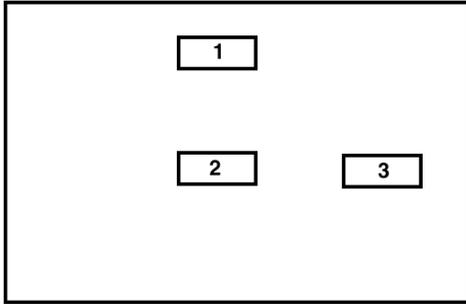
Plot 117



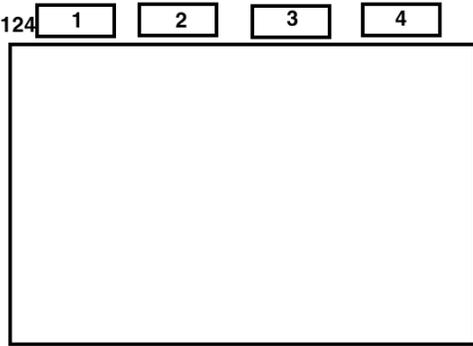
Plot 120



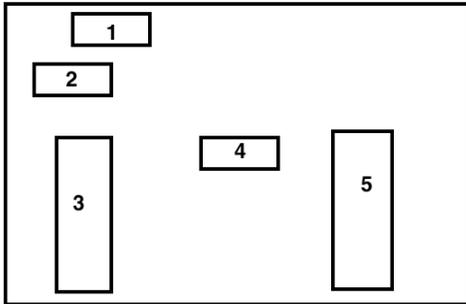
Plot 121



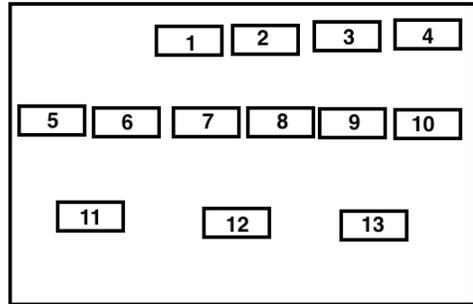
Plot 124



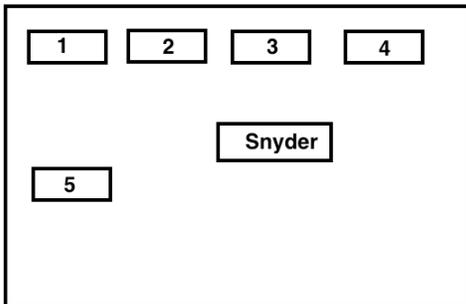
Plot 122



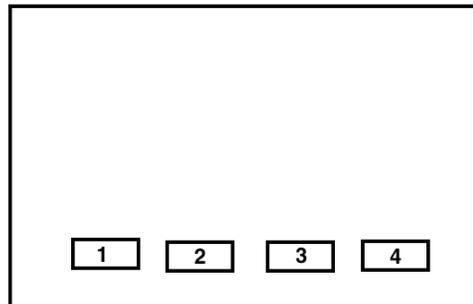
Plot 125



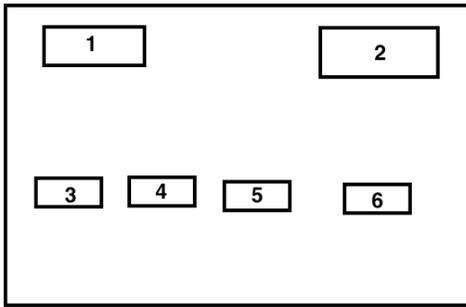
Plot 123



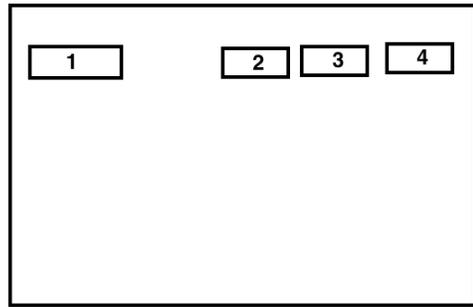
Plot 126



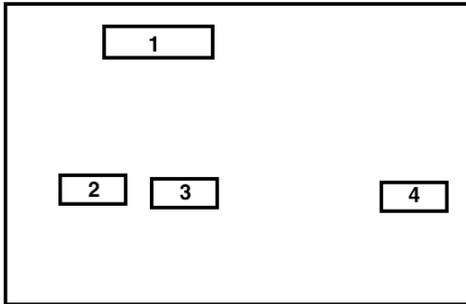
Plot 127



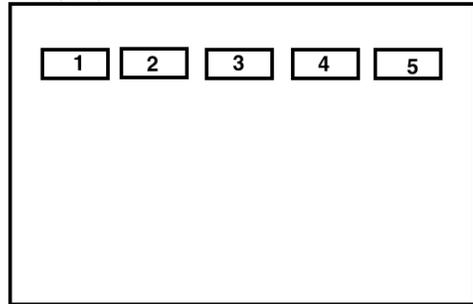
Plot 130



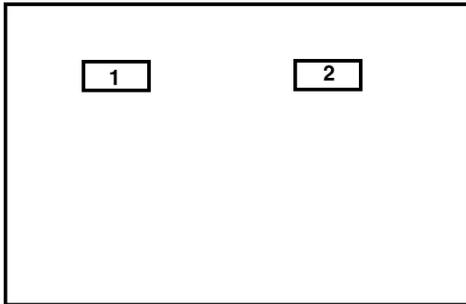
Plot 128



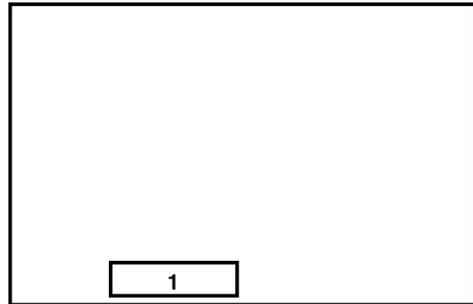
Plot 131



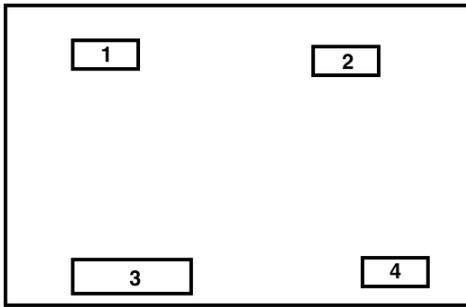
Plot 129



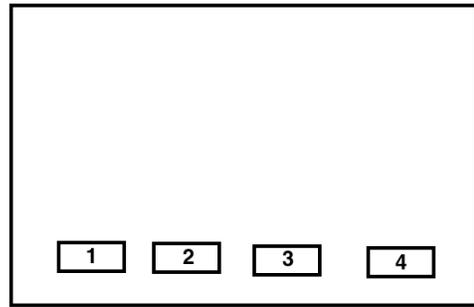
Plot 132



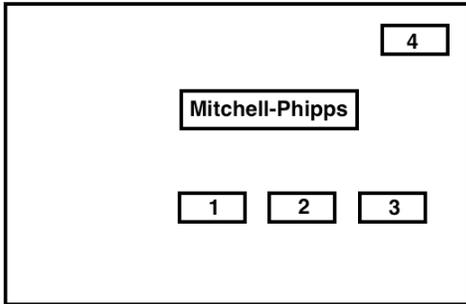
Plot 133



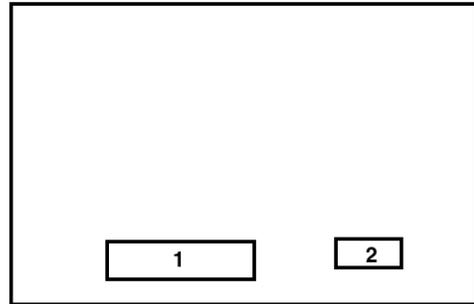
Plot 136



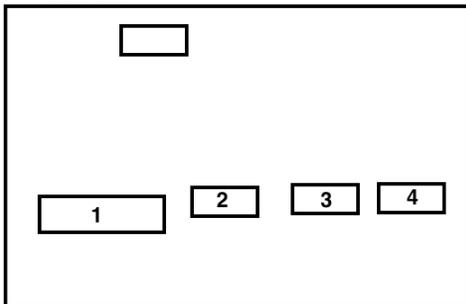
Plot 134



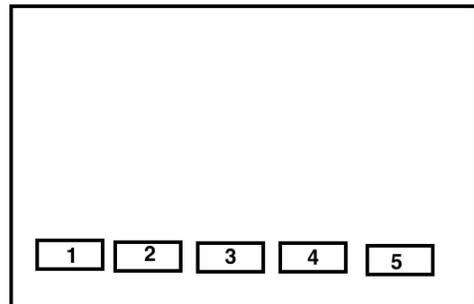
Plot 137



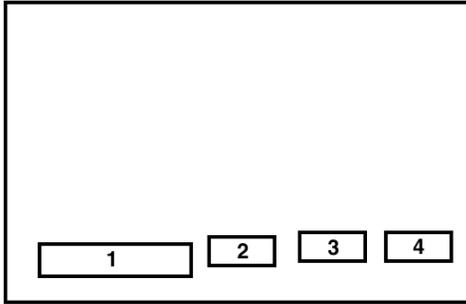
Plot 135



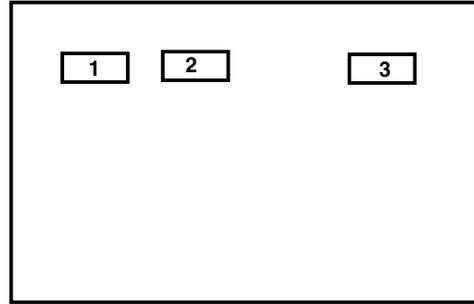
Plot 138



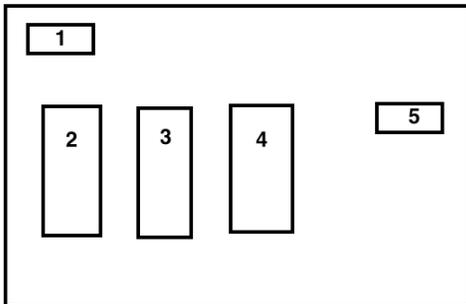
Plot 139



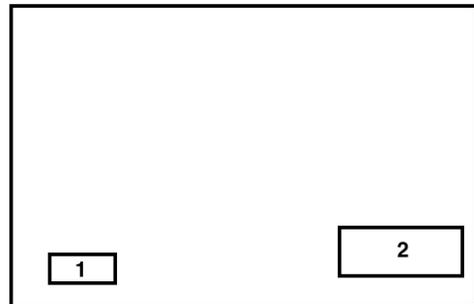
Plot 142



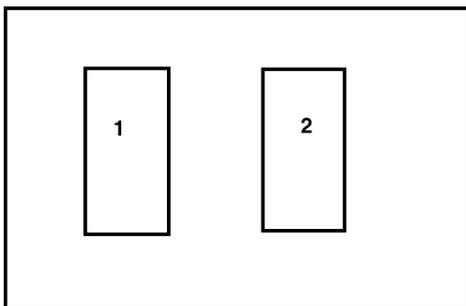
Plot 140



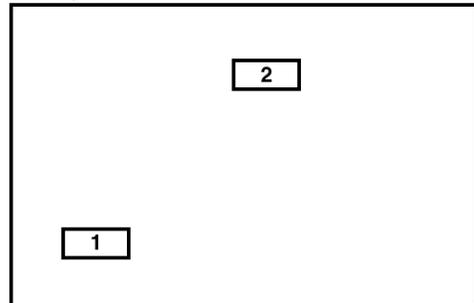
Plot 143



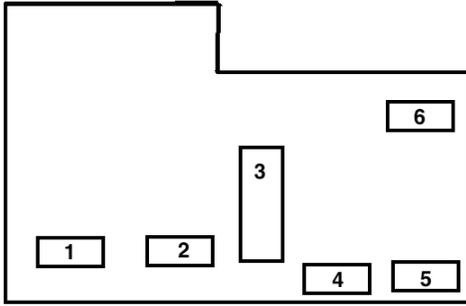
Plot 141



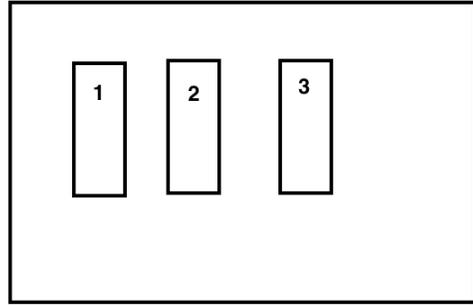
Plot 144



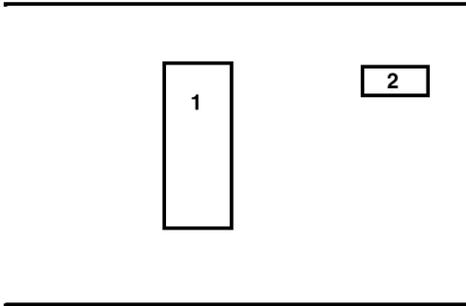
Plot 145



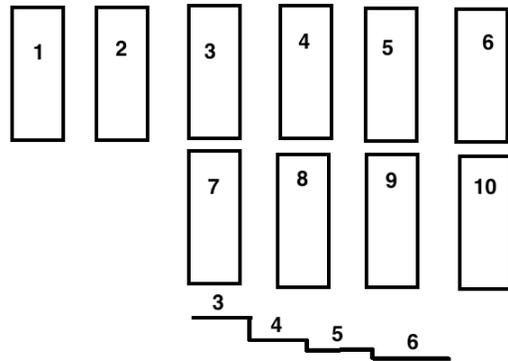
Plot 148



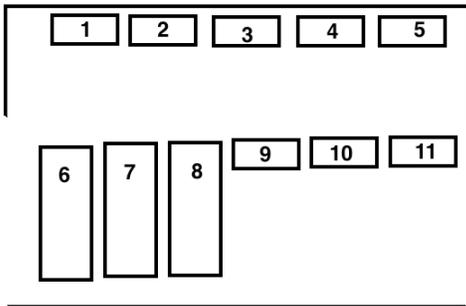
Plot 146



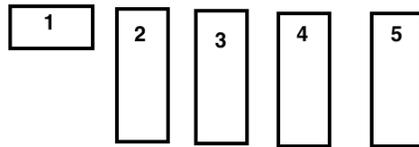
Vault 1



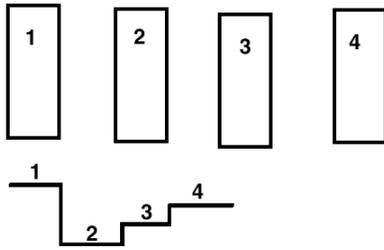
Plot 147



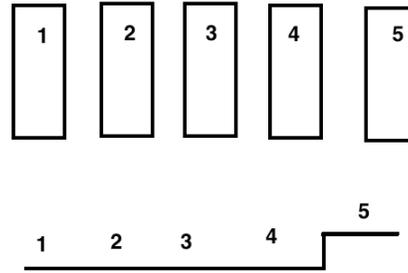
Vault 2



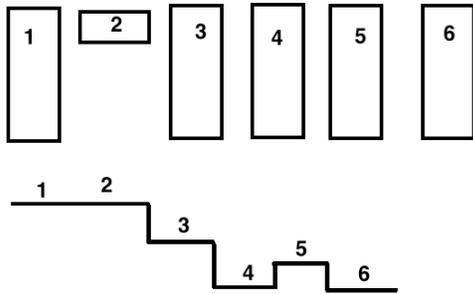
Vault 3



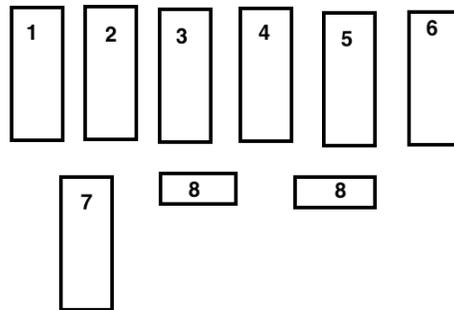
Vault 6



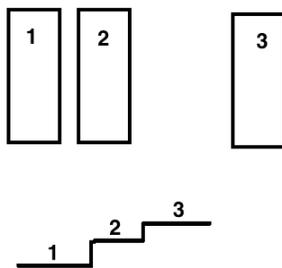
Vault 4



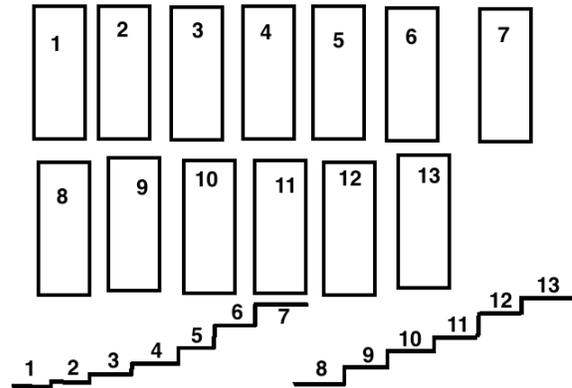
Vault 7



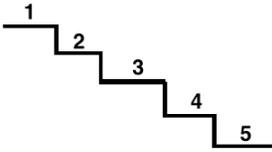
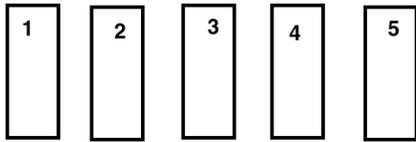
Vault 5



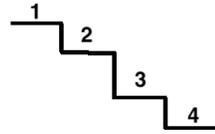
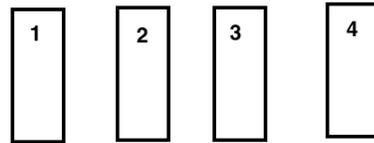
Vault 8



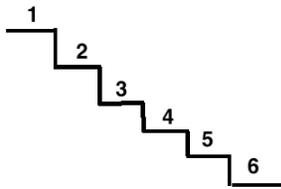
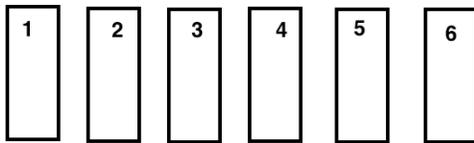
Vault 9



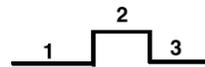
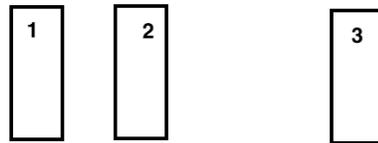
Vault 12



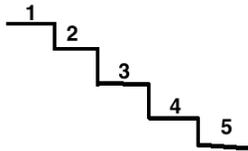
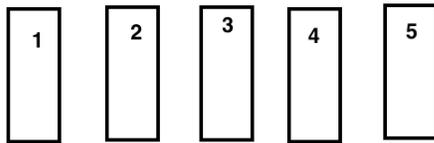
Vault 10



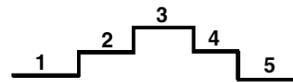
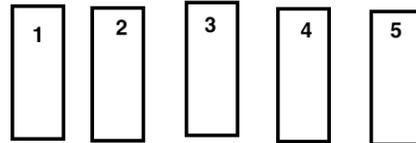
Vault 13



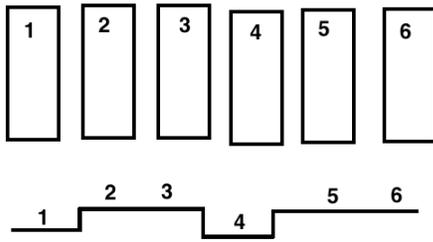
Vault 11



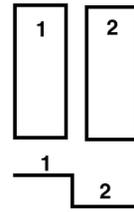
Vault 14



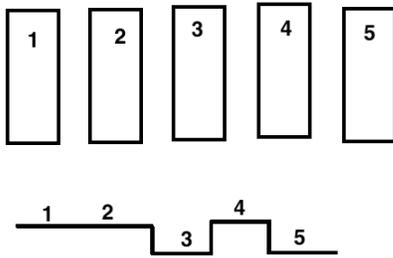
Vault 15



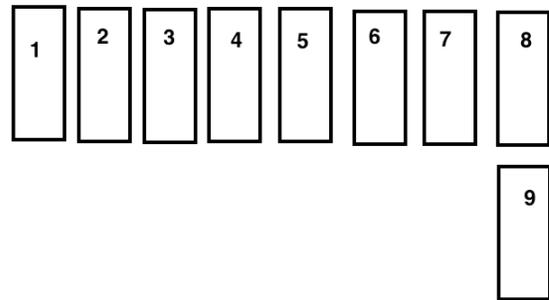
Vault 18



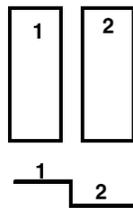
Vault 16



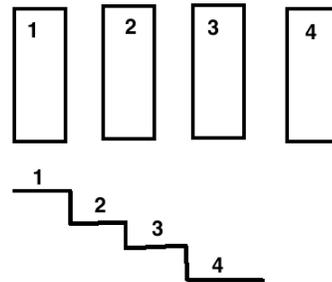
Vault 19



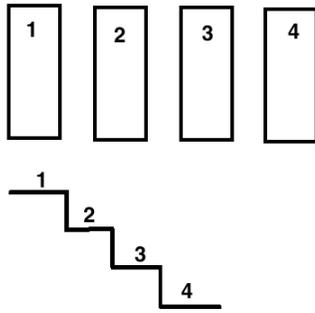
Vault 17



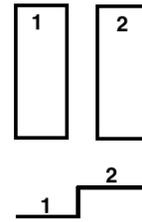
Vault 20



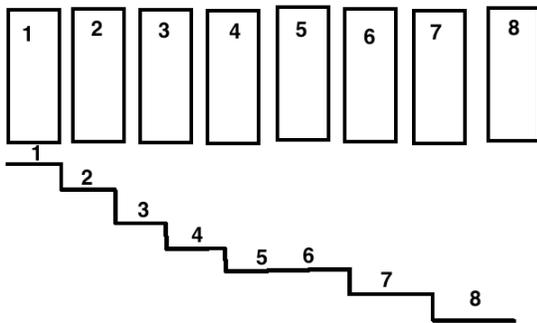
Vault 21



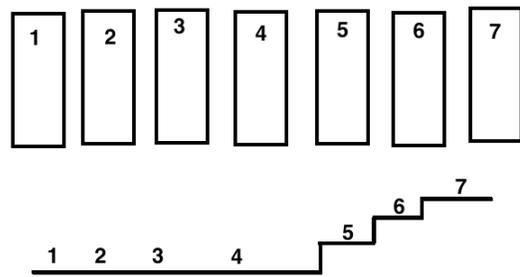
Vault 24



Vault 22



Vault 25



Vault 23

